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MAKING AN EARLY MEDIEVAL *ETHNIE*: THE CASE OF THE EARLY
SLAVS (SIXTH TO SEVENTH CENTURY A.D.)

by

Florin Curta

A Dissertation
Submitted to the
Faculty of The Graduate College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the
Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
Department of History

Western Michigan University
Kalamazoo, Michigan
August 1998

MAKING AN EARLY MEDIEVAL *ETHNIE*: THE CASE OF THE EARLY
SLAVS (SIXTH TO SEVENTH CENTURY A.D.)

Florin Curta, Ph.D.

Western Michigan University, 1998

This study approaches the problem of the early Slavs from the perspective of current anthropological theories on ethnicity. The relationship between material culture and ethnicity is also examined, with particular emphasis on the notion of style. The historiography of the subject is vast and its survey shows why and how a particular approach to the history of the early Slavs was favored by linguistically minded historians and archaeologists. The historiography of the early Slavs is also the story of how academic discourse was used for the construction of national identity.

The study of the written sources indicates that the history of the Sclavenes and the Antes only begins with the early 500s. The archaeological evidence shows that the implementation of the sixth-century Danube *limes* under Emperor Justinian played a much more important role in the changes eventually leading to the withdrawal of the Roman armies in the early 600s than did Slavic raids. The same is true for sixth- and seventh-century hoards of Roman coins in Eastern Europe, which were often used to

map the migration of the Slavs. A high rate of non-retrieval can be better explained in terms of inflation.

On the other hand, the archaeological evidence from sites north of the Danube river suggests that specific artifacts, such as bow fibulae, may have been used for the construction of group identity. Assemblages found in the region where sixth- and seventh-century sources locate the Sclavenes and the Antes also indicate the rise of elites, which may have been responsible both for building ethnic boundaries and for the increase of Slavic raids in the last quarter of the sixth century. Many chiefs were mentioned in written sources, some of whom were called 'kings'. Because of these military and political developments Byzantine authors acknowledged the existence of groups to which they applied the names 'Sclavenes' and 'Antes'. Since no group called itself by either name, it is possible that a 'Slavic' ethnicity was invented by Byzantine authors, in order to make sense of the process of group identification which was taking place north of the Danube frontier.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

"Mein Freund, das ist Asien! Es sollte mich wundern, es sollte mich höchlichst wundern, wenn da nicht Wendisch-Slawisch-Sarmatisches im Spiele gewesen wäre..." (Thomas Mann, Der Zauberberg).

To many, Eastern Europe is nearly synonymous with Slavic Europe. The equation is certainly not new. To Hegel, the "East of Europe" was the house of the "great Sclavonic nation," a body of peoples which "has not appeared as an independent element in the series of phases that Reason has assumed in the World".¹ If necessary, Europe may be divided into western and eastern zones along a number of lines, according to numerous criteria. Historians, however, often work with more than one set of criteria. The debate about the nature of Eastern Europe sprang up in western historiography in the days of the Cold War, but despite Oskar Halecki's efforts to explicitly address the question of a specific chronology and history of Eastern Europe (Halecki 1950; cf. Sedlar 1993), many preferred to write the history of Slavic Europe, rather than that of Eastern Europe (Dvornik 1956; cf. Dvornik 1949).² Today, scholarly interest for Eastern Europe focuses especially on the

nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the period of nationalism. The medieval history of the area is given comparatively less attention, which often amounts to slightly more than total neglect. For most students in medieval studies, Eastern Europe is marginal and East European topics simply *exotica*. One reason for this historiographical reticence may be the uneasiness to treat the medieval history of the Slavs as (Western) European history. Like Settembrini, the Italian humanist of Thomas Mann's Magic Mountain, many still point to the ambiguity of those Slavs, whom the eighteenth-century *philosophes* already viewed as 'Oriental' barbarians (Wolff 1994:290). When Slavs come up in works on the medieval history of Europe, they are usually the marginalized, the victims, or the stubborn pagans. In a most recent and brilliant book on the 'making of Europe' (Bartlett 1993), the Slavs, like the Irish, appear only as the object of the conquest and colonization, which shaped medieval Europe.³ Like many others in more recent times, the episodic role of the Slavs in the history of Europe is restricted to that of victims of the 'occidentation,' the shift towards the ways and norms of Romano-Germanic civilization (Bartlett 1993:295). The conceptual division of Europe leaves the Slavs out of the main 'core' of European history, though not too far from its advancing frontiers of 'progress' and 'civilization'.

Who were those enigmatic Slavs? What made them so difficult to represent by the traditional means of Western historiography? If Europe itself was 'made' by its conquerors and settlers, who made the Slavs? What were the historical conditions in which this ethnic name was first used and for what purpose? How was a Slavic ethnicity formed and under what circumstances did the Slavs come into being? Above all, this dissertation aims to answer some of these questions. What binds together its many individual arguments is an attempt to explore the nature and construction of the Slavic ethnic identity in the light of the current anthropological research on ethnicity. Two kinds of sources are considered for this approach: written and archaeological. This dissertation is in fact a combined product of archaeological experience, mostly gained during field work in Romania, Moldova, Hungary, and Germany, and work with written sources, particularly with those in Greek. I have conducted exhaustive research on most of the topics surveyed in those chapters, which deal with the archaeological evidence. Field work at Sighișoara (1985-1991) and Târgșor (1986-1988) greatly contributed to the stance taken in this dissertation. I have already published a study on the Romanian archaeological literature on the subject (Curta 1994b) and two studies of 'Slavic' bow fibulae (Curta 1994c; Curta and Dupoi 1994-1995). A third

line of research, that represented in Chapter VII, grew out of a project developed for the American Numismatic Society Summer Seminar in New York (1995). With this variety of sources, I was able to observe the history of the area during the sixth and seventh centuries from a diversity of viewpoints. Defining this area proved, however, more difficult. Instead of the traditional approach, that of opposing the barbarian Slavs to the civilization of the early Byzantine empire, I preferred to look at the Danube *limes* as a complex interface. Understanding transformation on the Danube frontier required understanding of almost everything happening both north and south of that frontier. Geographically, the scope of inquiry is limited to the area comprised between the Carpathian basin, to the west, and the Middle Dnieper region, to the east. To the south, the entire Balkan peninsula is taken into consideration in the discussion of the sixth-century Danube *limes* and of the Slavic migration. The northern limit was the most difficult to establish, because of both the lack of written sources and a very complicated network of dissemination of 'Slavic' brooch patterns, which required familiarity with the archaeological material of sixth- and seventh-century cemeteries in Mazuria. The lens of my research was, however, set both south and east of the Carpathian mountains, in the Lower Danube region, an area

now divided between Romania, Moldova, and Ukraine.

My intention with this dissertation is to fashion a plausible synthesis out of quite heterogeneous materials. The conclusion I have reached is in sharp contradiction with most other works on this topic and may appear therefore as argumentative, if not outright revisionist. Instead of a great flood of Slavs coming of the Pripet marshes, I envisage a form of group identity, which could arguably be called ethnicity and emerged in response to Justinian's implementation of a building project on the Danube frontier and in the Balkans. The Slavs, in other words, did not come from the north, but became Slavs only in contact with the Roman frontier. Contemporary sources mentioning Sclavenes and Antes, probably in an attempt to make sense of the process of group identification taking place north of the Danube limes, stressed the role of 'kings' and chiefs, which may have played an important role in this process.

Chapter II is intended to familiarize the reader with both the anthropological model of ethnicity used in this dissertation and technical terms used throughout the dissertation, such as *ethnie* or emblematic styles. The relation between material culture and ethnicity is also examined in this chapter, with particular emphasis on the notion of style. Chapter III presents the *Forschungsstand*. The historiography of the subject is vast and its

survey shows why and how a particular approach to the history of the early Slavs was favored by linguistically minded historians and archaeologists. This chapter also explores the impact on the historical research of the "politics of culture," in particular of those used for the construction of nations as "imagined communities." The historiography of the early Slavs is also the story of how the academic discourse used the past to shape the national present. Chapter IV and Chapter V deal with written sources. Chapter IV examines issues of chronology and origin of the data transmitted by these sources, while Chapter V focuses on the chronology of Slavic raids. Chapter VI considers the archaeological evidence pertaining to the sixth-century Danube *limes* as well as to its Balkan hinterland. Special attention is paid to the implementation of Justinian's building program and to its role in the subsequent history of the Balkans, particularly the withdrawal of the Roman armies in the seventh century. Chapter VII deals with the evidence of sixth- and seventh-century hoards of Byzantine coins in Eastern Europe, which were often used to map the migration of the Slavs. A new interpretation is advanced, which is based on the examination of the age-structure of hoards. Chapter VIII presents the archaeological evidence pertaining to the presence of Gepids, Lombards, Avars, and Cutrigurs in the region north of the Danube river.

Special emphasis is laid on the role of specific artifacts, such as bow fibulae, in the construction of group identity and the signification of social differentiation. The archaeological evidence examined in Chapter IX refers, by contrast, to assemblages found in the region where sixth- and seventh-century sources locate the Sclavenes and the Antes. Issues of dating and use of material culture for marking ethnic boundaries are stressed in this chapter. The forms of political power present in the contemporary Slavic society and described by contemporary sources are discussed in Chapter X. Various strands of evidence emphasized in individual chapters are then brought into a final conclusion in the last chapter.

As apparent from this brief presentation of the contents, there is more than one meaning associated with the word 'Slav'. Most often, it denotes two, arguably separate groups mentioned in sixth-century sources, the Sclavenes and the Antes. At the origin of the English ethnic name 'Slav' is an abbreviated form of 'Sclavene', Latin *Sclavus*. When Slavs appear instead of Sclavenes and Antes, it is usually, but not always, in reference to the traditional historiographical interpretation, which tended to lump these two groups under one single denomination, on the often implicit assumption that the Slavs were the initial root from which sprung all Slavic-

speaking nations of later times. Single quotation marks are employed to set off a specific, technical, or, sometimes, specious use of ethnic names (e.g., Slavs, Sclavenes, or Antes) or of their derivatives, either by medieval authors or by modern scholars. Where necessary, the particular use of these names is followed by the original Greek or Latin. With the exception of cases in which the common English spelling was preferred, the transliteration of personal and place names follows a modified version of the Library of Congress system. The geographical terminology, particularly in the case of archaeological sites, closely follows the language in use today in a given area. Again, commonly accepted English equivalents are excepted from this rule. For example, "Chernivtsi" and "Chişinău" are always favored over "Cernăuți" or "Kishinew," but "Kiev" and "Bucharest" are preferred to "Kyïv" and "Bucureşti." In order to avoid excessive end-noting, full reference for various classes of artifacts referred to in the text is given in appendices. Since most dates are from the medieval period, "A.D." is not used unless necessary in context. In cases where assigned dates are imprecise, as with the numismatic evidence examined in Chapter VII, they are given in the form 545/6 to indicate either one year or the other.

The statistical analyses presented in Chapters VII, VIII, and IX were produced using three different soft-

wares. For the simple 'descriptive' statistics used in Chapter VII, I employed graphed tables written in Borland Paradox, version 7 for Windows 3.1. More complex analyses, such as cluster, correspondence analysis, or seriation were tested on a multivariate analysis package called MV-NUTSHELL, which was developed by Richard Wright, Emeritus Professor at the University of Sydney (Australia). The actual scattergrams and histograms in this dissertation were however produced using the Bonn Archaeological Statistics package (BASP), version 5.2 for Windows, written in Borland Object Pascal 7 for Windows by Irwin Scollar from the Unkelbach Valley Software Works in Remagen (Germany). Although the final results were eventually not included in the dissertation for various technical reasons, the study of pottery shape described in Chapter IX enormously benefitted from estimations of vessel volume from profile illustrations using the Senior-Birnie Pot Volume Program developed by Louise M. Senior and Dunbar P. Birnie from the University of Arizona, Tucson (for description, see Senior and Birnie 1995).

CHAPTER II

ETHNICITY AND *ETHNIE*: CONCEPTS AND APPROACHES

What is Ethnicity?

No other term in the whole field of social studies is more ambiguous, yet more potent, than ethnicity. The term 'ethnic' has long been used in English in its New Testament sense, as a synonym for 'gentile', denoting 'pagan' or 'non-Christian' and it retained this sense until well into the nineteenth century. The current usage of 'ethnicity' dates back to 1953, as it was first used to refer to 'ethnic character or peculiarity' (Fortier 1994). Today, we speak of ethnicity as a mode of action and of representation, but some twenty years ago, no definition seemed acceptable, for ethnicity was "neither culture, nor society, but a specific mixture, in a more or less stable equilibrium, of both culture and society" (Nicolas 1973: 107).⁴ As a consequence, few even bothered to define it (Isajiw 1974:111).

In an attempt to define ethnic groups in terms of subjective beliefs in common descent, Max Weber argued in the early twentieth century that ethnic membership is a presumed, rather than a 'real' identity (cf. Isajiw

1974:116-117). Almost a half century later, Soviet anthropologists still maintained that common culture is "a vital condition for the performance of ethnic functions by culture, for if the culture of an individual is not characteristic of the entire ethnos, it cannot be regarded as a distinctive feature" (Bromley 1974:64). Meanwhile, a Norwegian anthropologist, Fredrik Barth, made an attempt to define ethnicity as a way to organize interaction between groups (Olsen and Kobyliński 1991:11). But unlike Weber, Barth viewed ethnicity as a superordinate identity, one which transcends gender or status (Banks 1996:13).

Today, ethnicity is used to refer to a decision people make to depict themselves or others symbolically as bearers of a certain cultural identity. It has become the politicization of culture (Cohen 1993:197; cf. Verdery 1994:42). Ethnicity is not innate, but individuals are born with it; it is not biologically reproduced, but individuals are linked to it through cultural constructions of biology; it is not simply cultural differences, but ethnicity cannot be sustained without reference to an inventory of 'cultural traits' (Williams 1992). It is the "collective enactment of socially differentiating signs" (Eriksen 1991:141). Some, more prone to a historically structured analysis, even view ethnicities as entirely recent phenomena, resulting from dramatic

historical experiences, notably escape from or resistance to slavery. They argue that ethnicities grow out of "bits and pieces, human and cultural, that nestle in the interstices" between established societies (Chappell 1993: 272). Diasporas of exiles in borderlands coalesce around charismatic entrepreneurs, who gather adherents by using familiar amalgamative metaphors (kinship, clientelism, etc.), and also spiritual symbolism, such as ancestral aboriginality or other legitimizing events. Ethnicity may therefore be seen as an essential orientation to the past, to collective origin, a "social construction of primordiality" (Alverson 1979:15; Yelvington 1991:165).⁵ By contrast, some argue that ethnicity as such is a modern construct, not a contemporary category, and that examinations of 'ethnic identity' risk anachronism when the origins of contemporary concerns and antagonisms are sought in the past (Geary 1983:16). Others claim that ethnicity is only the analytical tool academics devise and utilize in order to make sense of or explain the actions and feelings of the people studied (Banks 1996: 186). But ethnicity is just as likely to have been embedded in socio-political relations in the past as in the present. What have changed are the historical conditions and the idiomatic concepts in which ethnicity is embedded (Jones 1994:79). It is precisely this historical character that is lacking in many definitions of ethnicity.

To Soviet ethnographers, such as Julian Bromley, ethnicity is based on a stable core, called *ethnos* or *ethnikos*, which persists through all social formations, though it may also be affected by the prevailing economic and political environment of any formation (the 'ethno-social organism' or ESO)(Bromley and Kozlov 1989:431-432; cf. Banks 1996:18-19). Language, therefore, is the "pre-condition for the rise of many kinds of social organisms, including ethnic communities," for only "the mother tongue, received and developed in early childhood, is capable of expressing the finest shades of the inner life of people, and enables them to understand each other" (Kozlov 1974: 79). To be sure, all ethnic identity claimed by people is associated with the use of a particular language. But language itself is only one of the elements by which access to an ethnic identity is legitimized in a culturally specific way. It is by means of an 'associated language' that language and ethnicity are related to each other (Eastman and Reese 1981:115).⁶

But the association between language and ethnicity, so tightly bound in the Soviet concept of ethnicity, is no accident. For a long period, the literature concerning ethnic phenomena was completely dominated by Stalin's definition of "nation" and by N. Ia. Marr's ideas. Marr (1864-1934) was a well trained Orientalist who had made valuable contributions to Armenian and Georgian philolo-

gy, and became interested in comparative linguistics and prehistory (Bruche-Schulz 1993:460; Slezkine 1996:831-841). As early as 1915, he adopted the view that language was part of the ideological superstructure depending upon the socioeconomic basis and therefore developing in stages like Marx's socio-economic formations.⁷ Marr treated ethnicity as something of a non-permanent nature, as ephemeral, and discounted 'homelands' and 'proto-languages'. Instead, he argued that cultural and linguistic changes were brought by socio-economic shifts. Though denying the permanency of ethnicity, he viewed class as a structure inherent to human nature, an idea well attuned to the Bolshevist ideology of the 1920s and to the policies of the Comintern (Taylor 1993:725; Shnirel'man 1995:122).⁸ Marr's theories were a reaction to the nineteenth-century approach of the culture-historical school based on Herderian ideas that specific ways of thought were implanted in people as result of being descended from an ancestral stock, the *Volksgeist*.⁹ Despite being viewed as 'revolutionary', Marrism was however gradually abandoned, as Stalin introduced his new policies stressing "Slavicness" and the "Roots of the Russian nationality" (Taylor 1993:726; Szykiewicz 1990:3). After 1934, as he adopted policies to foster assimilation of non-Russians into a supranational, 'Soviet nation', whose cultural makeup was to be Russian, Stalin called for a

'national history' that would minimize, obfuscate, and even omit reference to conflict, differences, oppression, and rebellion in relations between Russians and non-Russians (Velychenko 1993:20). Instead, historians were urged to combat actively the fascist falsifications of history, to unmask predatory politics toward the Slavs, and to demonstrate the 'real' nature of Germans and their culture (Shnirel'man 1995:130). Soon after Marr's death in 1934, large portions of his theory of language thus disappeared from scholarly discourse. As early as the late 1930s, but increasingly after the war, Soviet anthropologists abandoned the stadial theory, as Stalin himself was now inflicting the final blow when denouncing Marrism as 'vulgar Marxism' (Klejn 1977:13; Dolukhanov 1996:5; Slezkine 1996:852-853).¹⁰

In the late 1960s, a 'small revolution' (as Ernest Gellner called it) was taking place in Soviet anthropology. The tendency was now to treat ethnic identity as a self-evident aspect of ethnicity, though, like all other forms of consciousness, ethnic identity was still viewed as a derivative of objective factors (Bromley and Kozlov 1989:427; cf. Gellner 1988:135). Soviet anthropologists now endeavored to find a place for ethnicity among specifically cultural phenomena, as opposed to social structure. To them, ethnic specificity was the objective justification for a subjective awareness of affiliation

to a given 'ethnos' (Dragadze 1980:164). Despite considerable divergence as to what exactly constituted the 'objective factors' of ethnicity (language and culture for P. E. Kushner; territory for N. N. Cheboksarov; common origin and language for S. A. Tokarev), Soviet anthropologists viewed ethnicity as neither eternal, nor genetic, but as socially real and not as mystified expression of something else. Most Soviet scholars of the 1960s and 1970s more or less embraced, therefore, Otto Bauer's 'Austro-Marxist' interpretation of ethnicity as a culturally self-reproducing set of behavioral patterns linked to collective self-identity, which continues through different modes of production (Shanin 1989:413). Issues of continuity and discontinuity among ethnic entities and of their transformation were thus given theoretical and empirical attention as ethnic-related patterns of collective behavior (cf. Klejn 1981:13). Ethnohistory became a major field of study and ethno-genesis, the process of formation of ethnic identity, replaced social formation as the main focus (cf. Willenberg 1990:22). An enormous amount of intellectual energy went into the study of ethnogenesis and ethnic history of the Soviet Union's peoples. This new concept of ethnicity was closely tied into the official ideology of ethno-nationalism dominating the Soviet state, a politics in which ethnic groups legitimated their borders

and statuses by forming administrative units or republics. The classification of 'ethnic types' (tribe, *narodnost*', and nation)(cf. Sellnow 1990:202-212), involving such conceptual categorizations as Bromley's 'ethnosocial organism' (ESO) or *ethnikos* justified the administrative statehood granted to 'titular nationalities', those which gave titles to republics (Tishkov 1994:444). Paradoxically, the Soviet approach to ethnicity could be best defined as primordialistic, despite its admixture of Marxist-Leninist theory. By claiming that ethnicities, once formed through ethnogeneses, remained essentially unchanged through history, Soviet anthropologists suggested that ethnic groups were formulated in a social and political vacuum. According to them, ethnicity was thus a given, requiring description, not explanation (Banks 1996:186). To contemporary eyes, the academic discourse of ethno-nationalism in Eastern Europe in general and in the former Soviet Union, in particular, appears as strikingly tied to political rather than intellectual considerations. This may well be a consequence of the romanticization and mystification of ethnic identity, which is viewed as rooted in the ineffable coerciveness of primordial attachments (cf. Jones 1994: 48).

The *communis opinio* is that the emergence of an instrumentalist approach to ethnicity is largely due to

Fredrik Barth's influential book (Barth 1969), which ironically coincides in time with Bromley's 'small revolution' in the Soviet Union. Ethnicity, however, emerged as a key problem with Edmund Leach's idea that social units are produced by subjective processes of categorical ascription that have no necessary relationship to observers' perceptions of cultural discontinuities (Bentley 1987:24; Cohen 1994:59). But it is also true that Barth's approach represents a major shift towards new concerns in anthropology. Previously, Western anthropologists had limited their investigation to processes taking place within groups, rather than between groups. All anthropological reasoning has been based on the premise that cultural variation is discontinuous and that there were aggregates of people who essentially shared a common culture, and interconnected differences that distinguish each such discrete culture from all other. Barth shed a new light on subjective criteria (ethnic boundaries) around which the feeling of ethnic identity of the member of a group is framed (Olsen and Kobyliński 1991:8). Barth emphasized the transactional nature of ethnicity, for in the practical accomplishment of identity, two mutually interdependent social processes were at work, that of internal and that of external definition (categorization)(Jenkins 1994:198-199).¹¹ By focusing on inter-ethnic, rather than intra-group social relations, Barth laid

a stronger emphasis on social and psychological, rather than cultural-ideological and material factors. His approach embraced a predominantly social interactionist perspective, derived from Erving Goffman's work. Objective cultural difference was now viewed as epiphenominal, subordinate to, and largely to be explained with reference to, social interaction. Barth's followers thus built on concepts of the self and social role behavior typified by a dyadic transactional (the "we vs. them" perspective) or social exchange theory (Buchignani 1987:16).

Because it was a variant of the general social psychological theory of self and social interaction, Barth's approach led to a high degree of predictability and extensibility to new contexts and situations, which, no doubt, was a primary determinant of its popularity. To be sure, the subjective approach to ethnicity, which is so often and almost exclusively attributed to Barth, long precedes him. Both Weber and Leach were aware of its significance. Another important, but notably ignored, scholar is the German historian Reinhard Wenskus. Eight years prior to Barth's book's publication, Wenskus published a study of ethnic identity in the early Middle Ages, which would become the crucial breakthrough for studies of ethnicities in historiography. Wenskus' approach was based on the ideas of the Austrian anthropologist Wilhelm Mühlmann, himself inspired by the Russian

ethnographer S. M. Shirogorov, the first to have used the concept of 'subjective ethnicity' (Pohl 1994:11). In a Weberian stance, Wenskus claimed that early medieval *Stämme* were not based on a biologically common origin, but on a strong belief in a biologically common origin. His approach, much like Barth's, focused on the subjective side of ethnic belonging and he specifically attacked the concept of ethnogenesis (as understood at that time by Soviet anthropologists) and the model of the family-tree in ethnohistory. He pointed out that 'kernels of tradition' were much more important factors in making early medieval ethnic groups, for tradition also played an important political role, as suggested by the conceptual pair *lex* and *origo gentis*, so dear to medieval chroniclers (Wenskus 1961:14-18, 75-76, 140, 323, 378-379, etc.).¹² Wenskus' approach is congenial with Anthony Smith's more recent studies (Smith 1984; Smith 1986; Smith 1995) and was followed by some major contemporary medievalists (Wolfram 1988; Pohl 1988; cf. Pohl 1985:93-101). Though never clearly delineating its theoretical positions in regards to anthropology (though Wenskus himself has been more open to contemporary debates in the field), this current trend in medieval history quickly incorporated concepts readily available in sociological and anthropological literature. Patrick Geary, for instance, used the concept of 'situational ethnicity'

coined by Jonathan Okamura (Okamura 1981). He might have found it extremely useful that the structural dimension of situational ethnicity pointed to the essentially variable significance of ethnicity as an organizing principle of social relations (Geary 1983). More recently, Walter Pohl cited Smith's concept of *mythomoteur* as equivalent to Wenskus' 'kernel of tradition' (Pohl 1991: 41).¹³

Both Barth and Wenskus tried to show that ethnic groups are socially constructed. According to both, it is not so much the group which endures as the idea of group. They both argued that ethnic groups cannot exist in isolation, but only in contrast to other such groups. Unlike Wenskus, however, Barth does not seem to have paid too much attention to self-consciousness and the symbolic expression of ethnic identity (Cohen 1993:198). Enthusiasm for a transactional model of social life and for viewing ethnicity as process was accompanied in both cases by an interpretation of social relations as rooted in reciprocation, exchange and relatively equitable negotiation (Jenkins 1994:201). In most cases, activation of ethnic identity is used to explain contextual ethnic phenomena, but this very ethnic identity, since it is not directly observable, has to be derived from the actor's 'ethnic behavior' (Buchignani 1987:18). Barth's model of social interaction is so general that there is virtually

nothing theoretically unique about ethnic phenomena explained through reference to it, for the model could be as well applied to other forms of social identity, such as gender. Despite its strong emphasis on ethnic boundary processes, Barth's approach does not, in fact, address issues concerning objective cultural difference (subsistence patterns, language, political structure or kinship). Moreover, claiming that ethnic identity activation and salience are situationally specific poses great methodological problems, for distinguishing contextual salience can never be completely proved on the basis of material cultural evidence alone, which makes Geary's 'situational ethnicity' more of a 'black box' than an explanation.

There is no doubt that the instrumentalist approach received its new impetus from Abner Cohen, rather than Barth. Cohen, one of the important figures of the Manchester School, published his Custom and Politics in Urban Africa in 1969, that same year in which Barth published his revolutionary essay and, back in the USSR, Julian Bromley was carrying his 'small revolution'. Unlike both of them, Cohen's approach was more pragmatic. His main point was that political ethnicity (such as defined by Wenskus' students) is goal-directed ethnicity, formed by internal organization and stimulated by external pressures, and held not for its own sake but to

defend an economic or political interest. To him, such ethnicity needs to be built upon some pre-existing form of cultural identity rather than be conjured up out of thin air. Cohen's approach thus comes very close to Wenskus' idea of ethnicity as constructed on the basis of a 'kernel of tradition', or to Smith's concept of *mythomoteur*. Unlike them, however, Cohen concentrates on changes in corporate identification (not individual identification) and on the politicization of cultural differences in the context of social action. He pays attention to ethnicity as a social liability and opens the path for modern studies of ethnicity as a function of power relations (McGuire 1982:171 and 173; Roosens 1989: 158; Eriksen 1991:129). Many students of ethnicity now concentrate on ethnicity as an artifact, created by individuals or groups to bring together a group of people for some common purpose (Banks 1996:39). They are increasingly concerned with the implications of ethnic boundary construction and the meaning of boundary permeability for when, how, and, especially, why groups selectively fashion 'distinctive trait inventories,' symbolize group unity and mobilize members to act for economic or political gain, and 'invent' traditions. Scholars now struggle with the counterfactual qualities of cultural logics that have made ethnic the label of self- and other-ascription in modern nation-states (Williams 1992:609).

The emphasis of the post-Barthian anthropology of ethnicity has tended to fall on processes of group identification rather than social categorization. But if defined as the ascription of basic group identity on the basis of cognitive categories of cultural differentiation, ethnicity is very difficult to separate from other forms of group identity, such as gender or class. Moreover, both primordialist and instrumentalist perspectives tend to be based on conflicting notions of human agency manifested in an unproductive opposition between rationality and irrationality, between economic and symbolic dimensions of social practice (Jones 1994:42 and 61). It has been noted that cultural traits by which an ethnic group defines itself never comprise the totality of the observable culture but are only a combination of some characteristics that the actors ascribe to themselves and consider relevant (Roosens 1989:12). People identifying themselves as an ethnic group may in fact identify their group in a primarily prototypic manner. Recognizable members may thus share some but not all traits, and those traits may not be equally weighted in people's minds (Mahmood and Armstrong 1992:8). How is this specific configuration constructed and what mechanisms are responsible for its reproduction?

G. Carter Bentley's recent attempt to answer to this question resurrects the idea that ethnic groups are

bounded social entities internally generated with reference to commonality rather than difference (Bentley 1987). Bentley dismisses instrumentality by arguing that people live out an unconscious pattern of life, not acting in a rational, goal-oriented fashion. His approach draws heavily from Pierre Bourdieu's theory of habitus. Habitus is produced by the structures constitutive of a particular type of environment. It is a system of durable, transposable dispositions, "structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures" (Pierre Bourdieu, cited by Bentley 1987:28) Those durable dispositions are inculcated into an individual's sense of self at an early age and can be transposed from one context to another. Habitus involves a form of socialization whereby the dominant modes of behavior and representation are internalized, resulting in certain dispositions which operate largely at a pre-conscious level. Ethnicity is constituted at the intersection of habitual dispositions of the agents concerned and the social conditions existing in a particular social and historical context.¹⁴ For Bentley, the content of an ethnic identity is as important as the boundary around it. Though essentially a behavioristic conditioning model (Yelvington 1991:160), Bentley's approach raises an important issue, that of the reproduction of identity on the level of interaction. However, the precise nature of the relation-

ship between ethnicity and culture remains unexplored. The praxis of ethnicity results in multiple transient realizations of ethnic difference in particular contexts. These realizations of ethnicity are both structured and structuring, involving, in many instances, the repeated production and consumption of distinctive styles of material culture (Jones 1996:72). The very process of ethnic formation is coextensive with and shaped by the manipulation of material culture. It cannot be identified with, nor separated from its cultural dimension, but the relationship between them needs more studying. Bentley however deserves credit for having shown that the vector uniting culture and ethnicity runs through daily social practice. He emphasized the cultural character of the process of ethnic identity creation, which provides a key reason for the emotional power associated with it. On this basis, the creation of ethnic identities should have repercussions in terms of the self-conscious use of specific cultural features as diacritical markers, a process which might well be recorded in material culture (Shennan 1989:16-17). It may not be an accident that Bentley's thrust almost coincides in time with an independent line of research inspired by Edmund Husserl and stressing ethnicity as a phenomenon of everyday's life (*Alltagsleben*) (Greverus 1978:97-98; Räsänen 1994:18). Routine action, rather than dramatic historical experi-

ences, foodways rather than political action, are now under scrutiny (Tebbetts 1984:83 and 87; Tvengsberg 1991:17; Keefe 1992). As the idea of ethnicity turns into a mode of action in the modern world, it becomes more relevant to study the very process by which the ethnic boundary is created in a specific social and political configuration.

What is *Ethnie*?

'Ethnicity' derives from the Greek word ἔθνος, which survives as a fairly common intellectual word in French, as *ethnie*, with its correlate adjective *ethnique*. The possible noun expressing what it is you have to have in order to be *ethnique* is not common in modern French. In English, the adjective exists as 'ethnic' with a suffix recently added to give 'ethnicity'. But the concrete noun from which 'ethnicity' is apparently derived does not exist. There is no equivalent to the Greek ἔθνος, to the Latin *gens*, or to the French *ethnie*. Until recently, such a term was not needed, for it was replaced in the intellectual discourse by 'race', a concept which did not distinguish very clearly, as we do today, between social, cultural, linguistic, and biological classifications of people, and tended to make a unity of all these (Chapman, McDonald, and Tonkin 1989:12; Jones 1997:40-51; cf. Johnson 1995:12). 'Ethnicity', therefore, is an abstract

noun, derived by non-vernacular morphological processes from a substantive that does not exist. It makes sense only in a context of relativities, of processes of identification, though it also aspires, in modern studies, to concrete and positive status, as an attribute and an analytical 'concept' (Chapman, McDonald, and Tonkin 1989:16). Ethnicity is conceptualized as something that inheres in every group that is self-identifying as 'ethnic', but there is no specific word for the end product of the process of identification. When it comes to designate the human group created on the basis of ethnicity, 'ethnic group' is the only phrase at hand.

More recently, in an attempt to find the origins of modern nations, the British sociologist Anthony Smith introduced into the scholarly discourse the French term *ethnie*, in order to provide an equivalent to 'nation' for a period of history in which nations, arguably, did not yet exist. Smith argues that ethnicity, being a matter of myths and symbols, memories and values (Smith 1986:16), is carried by "forms and genres of artifacts and activities." The end product is what he calls an *ethnie*. The *ethnie* is a human group, a concrete reality generated by the meaning conferred by the members of that group over some generations, on certain cultural, spatial, and temporal properties of their interaction and shared experiences (Smith 1986:22). Smith identifies six compo-

nents of any *ethnie*: a collective name; a common myth of descent; a shared history; a distinctive shared culture; an association with a specific territory; and a sense of solidarity (Smith 1986:32; Smith 1995:29). He argues that in some cases, the sense of ethnic solidarity is shared only by the elite of a given *ethnie*, which he therefore calls a 'lateral' or aristocratic *ethnie*. In other cases, the communal sense may be more widely diffused in the membership, such an *ethnie* being 'vertical' or demotic (Smith 1986:76-77; Smith 1995:28). One can hardly fail to notice that to Smith, the *ethnie* is just the 'traditional' form of the modern nation.¹⁵ His list of traits to be checked against the evidence is also an indication that, just as with Bromley's 'ethnosocial organism', there is a tendency to reify ethnic groups and to treat ethnicity as an 'it', a 'thing' out there to be objectively measured and studied, albeit by means of ancestry myths rather than by language.

To my knowledge, Smith's attempt to find a concrete noun to be associated with the more abstract 'ethnicity' has not been followed by anybody. Terminology, however, does matter; it shapes our perceptions, especially of controversial issues. My reason for using Smith's *ethnie* is thus to avoid confusion between the ethnic group and the phenomenon it supposedly instantiates (ethnicity). I could have as well employed *gens* or *ἔθνος*, but the French

word is more convenient for a variety of reasons. More important, if viewed as a result of a process of differentiation and identity formation, the use of *ethnie* suggests that ethnic groups are not 'born', but made.

Ethnicity, Material Culture and Archaeology

It has become common knowledge that the foundations of the culture-historical school of archaeology were laid by Gustaf Kossinna. Today, it is fashionable to attack Kossinna's tenets and, whenever possible, to emphasize his association with Nazism and the political use of archaeology. No book on nationalism, politics and the practice of archaeology could avoid talking about Kossinna as the archetypal incarnation of all vices associated with the culture-historical school. Very few would actually bother to cite Kossinna's own work other than for his famous statement: "Sharply defined archaeological culture areas correspond unquestionably with the areas of particular peoples or tribes."¹⁶ Kossinna linked this guiding principle to the retrospective method, by which he aimed at using the (ethnic) conditions of the present (or the historically documented past) to infer the situation in prehistory. The two together makeup what he called the 'settlement archaeological method' (*Siedlungsarchäologie*). It has only recently been noted that in doing so, Kossinna was simply using Montelius'

typological method, which enabled him to establish time horizons for the chronological ordering of the material remains of the past (Klejn 1974:16; Veit 1989:39). To Kossinna, however, the concept of closed-find, which had been so important to Montelius (Trigger 1989: 157),¹⁷ as well as the stratigraphic principle, were less important than mere typology. The other element, which Kossinna introduced, was the extensive use of maps to distinguish between distribution patterns, which he typically viewed as highly homogeneous and sharply bounded cultural provinces. Nor was this method new. Before Kossinna, the Russian archaeologist A. A. Spicyn had used the map to plot different types of earrings found in early medieval burial mounds in order to identify tribes mentioned in the Russian Primary Chronicle (Formozov 1993:71). Like Spicyn, Kossinna simply equated culture provinces with ethnic groups and further equated those groups with historically documented peoples or tribes. Attempts to identify ethnic groups in material culture date back to Romanticism, and represent correlates of linguistic concerns with finding *Ursprachen* and associating them to known ethnic groups (Brachmann 1979:102). Before Kossinna, both Virchow and Tischler used the concept of culture province (Klejn 1974:13). Though not the first to attempt identifying archaeological cultures with ethnic groups, Kossinna was nevertheless the first to focus

exclusively on this idea, which became his *Glaubenssatz* (Eggers 1950:49). He was directly inspired by the Romantic idea of culture as reflecting the national soul (*Volksgeist*) in every one of its elements.

The Berlin school of archaeology established by Kossinna emerged in an intellectual climate dominated by the Austrian *Kulturkreis* school. The roots of biologizing human culture lie indeed not in Kossinna's original thought, but in the theory of migration developed by Fr. Ratzel and F. Graebner. According to Graebner, there are four means for determining whether migration (*Völkerwanderung*) caused the spread of cultural elements. First, one should look for somatic similarities possibly coinciding with cultural parallels. Second, one should check whether cultural and linguistic relationships coincide. Third, one should examine whether certain cultural elements are *schwerentlehnbar*, i.e., whether there are any obstacles to their transfer, in accord to Vierkandt's idea of readiness and need. If positive, the result may indicate that those cultural elements were carried by migrating groups. And finally, one should investigate whether two cultures occur entire (not fragmented or simplified) at two widely separated locations. This latter argument gains strength with distance and also to the extent that the set of culture elements occurs in closed form (Lucas 1978:35). Wilhelm Schmidt, the founder

of the famous journal Antropos, tended to speak of a *Kulturkreis* even when only one element was present, for this was to him a clue of the earlier presence of other elements (Lucas 1978:36).

The concept of a philosophically derived nationalism, acquired in an intellectual context molded by Herder's and Fichte's ideas (Hides 1996:41) applies therefore to Graebner, as well as to Kossinna. It is, however, a mistake to speak of Kossinna's blatant nationalism as causing his Herkunft der Germanen, for the first signs of his nationalistic views postdate his famous work (Smolla 1979-1980:5). Though often viewed as Kossinna's main opponent, Carl Schuchhardt shared many of his ideas, including that of identifying ethnic groups by means of archaeological cultures.¹⁸ Wenskus was certainly right in pointing out that Kossinna's mistake was not so much that he aimed at an ethnic interpretation of culture, than that he used a dubious concept of ethnicity, rooted in Romantic views of the *Volk* (Wenskus 1961:137). It is not the overhasty equation between archaeological cultures and ethnic groups that explains the extraordinary popularity the culture-historical paradigm enjoyed even among Marxist historians (Brachmann 1979:114). Of much greater importance is the concept of *Volk* and its political potential. It is therefore no accident that after World War II, despite the grotesque abuses of Kossinna's theo-

ries under the Nazi regime, this concept remained untouched. It was Otto Menghin, one of the main representatives of the prehistoric branch of the *Kulturkreislehre*, who began replacing the term *Volk* by the presumably more neutral and less dubious term 'culture'. Kossinna's post-war followers passed over in silence the fundamental issue of equating *Völker* and cultures (Veit 1989:41).

Like Kossinna, V. Gordon Childe used the concept of culture to refer to an essence, something intrinsically natural that preceded the very existence of the group, provoked its creation, and defined its character (Díaz-Andreu 1996:48).¹⁹ But he began using the phrase 'archaeological culture' as a quasi-ideology-free substitute for 'ethnic group', and the very problem of ethnic interpretation was removed from explicit discussion. The standard demand now was a strict division between the arguments used by various disciplines studying the past, in order to avoid 'mixed arguments'. This latter error derived, however, from considering culture as mirroring the national soul. Since all cultural elements were imbued with *Volksgeist*, this organicist concept of culture allowed one to use information about one cultural element to cover gaps in the knowledge of another (Klejn 1981:20). "March separately, strike together" became the slogan of this attempt at 'purifying' science and keeping apart the

disciplines studying ethnicity (Veit 1989:43). But in order to understand why and how Kossinna's ideas continued to be extremely popular in post-war Europe, it is necessary to briefly examine the situation in a completely different intellectual environment, that of Soviet Russia.

We have seen that a culture-historical approach was used by Spicyn some ten years before Kossinna. Much like in Germany, Spicyn and his colleagues' endeavors to unearth the national past further triggered significant changes in Russian historiography. Some of Kliuchevskii's students (Iu. V. Got'e, S. K. Bogoiavlevskii, N. P. Miliukov) participated in excavations of burial mounds and Kliuchevskii's successor at the chair of Russian history at the University of Moscow opened his course not with Kievan Rus', but with the Palaeolithic (Formozov 1993:71).²⁰ After the Revolution, Iu. V. Got'e would continue to teach Russian history at the same university and some of his students became major figures of the Soviet school of archaeology (A. V. Arcikhovskii, A. Ia. Briusov, B. A. Rybakov). But Marr's theories and the cultural revolution drastically altered this intellectual configuration. In the early 1930s, such concepts as 'migration' and 'archaeological cultures' were literally banned, being replaced by a bizarre concept of ethnic history, in which stages of development were equated to

certain historically attested ethnic groups (Formozov 1993:78-79).²¹ Marxism in its Stalinist version was brutally introduced in archaeology and the culture-historical paradigm was replaced with internationalism that required scholars to study only global universal regularities that confirmed the inevitability of socialist revolutions outside Russia (Shnirel'man 1995:124). Closely following Marr, Soviet archaeologists now stressed the association between migrationist concepts and racism, imperialism, and territorial expansionism. But following the introduction of Stalinist nationalist policies of the late 1930s, this new paradigm quickly faded away. As Stalin had set historians the task to combat actively the fascist falsifications of history, the main focus of archaeological research now shifted to the prehistory of the Slavs. Archaeologists involved in tackling this problem have, however, been educated in the years of the cultural revolution and were still working within a Marrist paradigm. M. I. Artamonov was the first to attempt a combination of Marrism and Kossinnism, thus recognizing the ethnic appearance of some archaeological assemblages, which rehabilitated the concept of 'archaeological culture' (Ganzha 1987:142; Shnirel'man 1995:132). The attitude toward migration and diffusion also changed from prejudice to gradual acceptance (Klejn 1977:14), though the general philosophical principles on which

Soviet archaeology was based remained the same: the dialectical leap, the sharp qualitative change in culture, and the revolution of society. As a consequence of this strange alliance, Soviet archaeologists tended to focus on two main issues: the problem of isolating archaeological cultures and the possibility of interpreting them in ethnic terms; the explanation of great qualitative transformations in culture (Klejn 1977:14).

The culture-ethnic concept was thus rehabilitated.

A. Ia. Briusov believed that archaeological cultures reflected groups of related tribes in their specific historic development, while Iu. M. Zakharuk equated archaeological cultures not simply with ethnic groups, but also with linguistic entities. Finally, M. Iu. Braichevskii claimed that no assemblage could be identified as culture, if it did not correspond to a definite ethnic identity. After 1950, Soviet archaeologists completely abandoned Marrist concepts and Soviet archaeology became of a kind that would have been easily recognizable to Kossinna and which would have been amenable to the kind of culture-historical *Siedlungsarchäologie* he developed (Briusov 1956:17-18; Shennan 1989:29; Dolukhanov 1996:5).²² M. I. Artamonov, the main artisan of this change, claimed that ethnicity (the word he specifically used was *ethnos*) remained unchanged through historical change, which could not alter its specific qualities.

Russians living under Peter the Great's rule were just those of Kievan Rus' in a different historical environment (Artamonov 1971:22). One can hardly miss the striking parallel to Bromley's idea of *ethnikos*. Indeed, if we are to believe Leo Klejn, Bromley's book, Ethnos and Ethnography, has made a great impression on Soviet archaeologists (Klejn 1977:29).²³ On the basis of this alliance with the theory of ethnos, archaeology now became the 'science about ethnogenesis' (Klejn 1993:43). Indeed, continuity of material culture patterning was now systematically interpreted as ethnic continuity (see Tringham 1993:4).²⁴

The culture-historical approach made extensive use of the concept of 'culture'. This concept carried many assumptions which were central to nineteenth-century classifications of human groups, in particular an overriding concern with holism, homogeneity and boundedness (Jones 1994:29). Traditionally, the archaeological culture was defined in monothetic terms on the basis of the presence or absence of a list of traits or types, which had either been derived from the assemblages or a type site, or were intuitively considered to be most appropriate attributes in the definition of the culture. In practice, no group of cultural assemblages from a single culture ever contains all of the cultural artifacts, a problem first acknowledged by V. Gordon Childe (Childe

1956:33 and 124; cf. Jones 1994:84).²⁵ Childe's response was to discard the untidy information by demoting types with discontinuous frequency from the rank of diagnostic types, thus preserving the ideal of an univariate cultural block. Culture-historical archaeologists regarded archaeological cultures as actors on the historical stage, playing the role for prehistory that known individuals or groups have in documentary history (Shennan 1989:6). Archaeological cultures were thus easily equated to ethnic groups, for they were viewed as legitimating claims of modern groups to territory and influence. The first criticism against the equivalence of archaeological cultures and ethnic groups came from within the framework of culture-history, but critiques usually consisted of cautionary tales (see Wahle 1941) and attributed difficulties to the complexity and incompleteness of the artifactual record, without calling into question the assumption of an intrinsic link between artifacts and groups (Hides 1996:26; see Klejn 1974:225; Klejn 1981:18). The general response in the face of such problems was therefore a retreat into the study of chronology and typology as ends in themselves, and the emergence of debates concerning the meaning of archaeological types, in particular whether such types represent etic categories imposed by the archaeologist or emic categories of their producers (Jones 1994:82).

Nor did the processualist approach associated with the New Archaeology seriously tackle this problem, for instead of answering the normative question "What do cultures relate to?", it simply took away the emphasis from such questions, as it concentrated on the adaptive role of the components of cultural systems (Hodder 1982: 5). According to the New Archaeology, culture is not shared; it is participated in. However, though criticizing the idea that all material culture distributions represent variation in the ideational norms of different ethnic groups, processualist archaeologists continued to accept the idea that some bounded archaeological distributions (if only in the domain of stylistic variation) correlate with the past ethnic groups (cf. Jones 1994:83; see Hegmon 1992:528). Nor did Barth's ideas change this perspective too much, for the social interaction model rests on the assumption that stylistic characteristics will diffuse or be shared among social entities to an extent directly proportional to the frequency of interactions between these entities, such as intermarriage, trade, or other forms of face-to-face communication. In other words, propinquity must produce stylistic (cultural) homogeneity, as in the case of the so-called 'Deetz-Longacre hypothesis' (Roe 1995:51-52; cf. Braun and Plog 1982:509).

In order to verify this assumption, Ian Hodder chose

East Africa as a suitable place to investigate through an ethnoarchaeological study the spatial patterning of artifacts in relation to ethnic boundaries. In his study of ethnic boundaries in the Baringo district of Kenya, Hodder found that, despite interaction across tribal boundaries, clear material culture distinctions were maintained in a wide range of artifact categories. He argued that distinct material culture boundaries are foci of interaction, not barriers (Hodder 1982:35; Jones 1994:90; Watson 1995:687). Hodder showed that material culture distinctions were in part maintained in order to justify between-group competition and negative reciprocity, and that such patterning may increase in time of economic stress (Hodder 1982:27 and 31; Jones 1994:90). However, not all cultural traits may be involved in such differentiation, since, typically, interaction continues between competing groups. Boundaries do not restrict movement of all traits and the between-group interaction and the diffusion of cultural styles may be used to disrupt the ethnic distinctions (Hodder 1982:187). Hodder thus suggested that the use of material culture in distinguishing between self-conscious ethnic groups will lead to discontinuities in material culture distributions which may enable the archaeologist to identify such groups. The form of inter-group relations is usually related to the internal organization of social relation-

ships within the group. In the case of the Baringo, between-group differentiation and hostility is linked to the internal differentiation of age sets and the domination of women and young men by old men (Hodder 1982:85 and 205; Jones 1994:91). Roy Larick's ethnoarchaeological research among the Loikop in Kenya also supports this argument, as spears, which play an important role in the construction of ethnicity, are constantly appropriated in the signification of age differentiation among the male population (Larick 1986; Larick 1991:317-318; Jones 1994:91).

Hodder provides another example of the way in which individuals may manipulate ethnic identity for their own goals. The Maasai may 'become' Dorobo in order to escape drought, raiding or government persecution. But, though the Dorobo have a real separate existence in the conscious thoughts of those who call themselves by this name, there is no symbolic expression of any differences between Dorobo and Maasai. Different groups may manipulate material culture boundaries in different ways depending upon the social context, the economic strategies chosen, the particular history of the socio-economic relations, and the particular history of the cultural traits which are actively articulated within the changing system (Hodder 1982:104).²⁶

Hodder thus suggests that the symbolic status and

cultural meaning of material items determine the morphology and distribution of those items within and beyond a single society. Though ethnicity may involve certain aspects of culture, the 'choice' of distinctive cultural styles is not arbitrary, for the signification of self-conscious identity is linked to the generative structures which infuse all aspects of cultural practice and social relations characterizing a particular way of life (Hodder 1982:161; Jones 1994:98). Hodder observes, for instance, that though there are no zooarchaeological indications of ethnicity *per se*, meat-eating, the division of the carcass or the dispersal of bones must always have a symbolic content behind which there is a conceptual order (Hodder 1982:161; see also Crabtree 1990:181; cf. Hesse 1990:198). This seems to come very close to Bentley's point that the cultural practices and representations which become objectified as symbols of ethnicity are derived from, and resonate with, the habitual practices and experiences of the agents involved, as well as reflect the instrumental contingencies of a particular situation (Jones 1994:104). Similarly, Stuart Baldwin argues that the roomsize pattern may be related to the proxemic values of the ethnic group that produced the spaces. On an individual level, this proxemic system is shaped to a great extent during enculturation as a child. Conformity to external social constraints brings in the

role of the dwelling as a symbol (Baldwin 1987:163 and 169; cf. Kobyliński 1989:309). Thus, the ethnic differences are constituted in the mundane as well as in the decorative, for the 'tribal' distinctions and negative reciprocity become acceptable and are 'naturalized' by their continual repetition in both public and private (Hodder 1982:56).

There is a problematic circularity in Hodder's definition of culture, as artifacts actively manipulated in the negotiation of identities based on age, gender, or ethnicity. The meaning of the artifact is derived from its context, and its context is defined by those associated artifacts which give it meaning (Hides 1996:27). Moreover, material culture is not primarily semiotic in character. Its structure is not essentially syntactical, but rather consists of 'constellations' of knowledge, which inhere in the immanent relation between actor and material. The 'meaning' of artifacts is not primarily semantic, in that artifacts do not communicate about anything. Their 'meaning' inheres in and through their use and their design for use. Material objects instantiate cognition in that they embody practices. They record a now-extinct relationship between an actor and the material world. Material culture is therefore fundamentally social: an artifact embodies a transaction, its manufacture represents the transfer of action from its maker to

its users or, in the case of the exchange of artifacts, the transfer of use between actors. Artifacts are thus rendered 'appropriate' for use only in social context (Graves 1995:165). Decisions about the use of artifacts are, however, embodied in artifacts themselves in terms of the conventions of culture (Graves-Brown 1996:90). Artifacts are not properties of a society, but part of the life of that society. They cannot and should not be treated as 'phenotypic' expressions of a preformed identity. Ethnic identity, therefore, represents a kind of polythesis. What should concern archaeologists is not so much what people do, what kind of pots they make, what shape of houses they build, but the "way they go about it" (Graves-Brown 1996:91).

Ethnicity and Style

The common notion that style is primarily expressive assumes that the primary use of material culture is to reinforce ethnic boundaries. Style may indeed be used to express ethnic identity, but convention is effectively the vocabulary from which expressive style is drawn (Graves-Brown 1996:90). This is why most archaeologists expect material correlates of ethnically specific behaviors to be better and more frequently represented in the archaeological record than the material symbols of ethnic identification (McGuire 1982:163; cf. Giardino 1985:17

and 22).²¹

The basic point of contention in recent debates about style is the question whether style symbolizes ethnicity, because it is intended by artisans to do just that or because it just happens to do so for other, perhaps less purposeful reasons. Another controversial issue is whether style resides in particular sorts of artifacts which have a social rather than a practical function or in all sorts of artifacts, from ceramics to tools, along with other qualities such as function (Franklin 1989:278).

The traditional approach borrowed from art history held that each group had its own style, which it has preserved through history, for it was assumed that cultures were extremely conservative (Pasztor 1989:17). In their criticism of this culture-historical approach, processualist archaeologists argued that style is a 'residue', properties of material culture not accounted for in *prima facie* functional terms. They also argued that material mediation is primarily practical and only secondary expressive. As a consequence, style must be treated as a form of social status communication, which reduces style to a particular form of practical mediation, since no matter what meaning style may have 'said' or had for its producers, its 'real' cause is founded on the adaptive advantage it granted to its users (Byers

1991:3). Moreover, this function of style is realized over a long period of time, beyond the life experience of any particular generation. Thus, its consequences are outside the awareness of the actors and always work 'behind their backs' (David, Sterner, and Gavua 1988:365 and 378-379; Morgan and Whitelaw 1991:93; cf. Roe 1995:45; Byers 1991:3).

But style and function are not distinct, self-contained, mutually exclusive realms of form in themselves, but instead complementary dimensions or aspects of variation that co-exist within the same form. If both style and function are simultaneously present in the artifactual form, then the question is how can we tell when, and to what extent, the observed makeup of an assemblage reflects ethnicity and when, and to what extent, it reflects activity? (Sackett 1990:34 and 38) James Sackett attempted to make a radical break with the residual view of style by invoking isochrestic variation, which he defined as the practical or utilitarian variation in objective properties of material culture things that makes no functional mediation difference. As a consequence, isochrestic variation grounds style and style is an intrinsic, rather than an added-on, or adjunct, function. In Sackett's view, style is thus a 'built-in' (Sackett 1985; Sackett 1986; Sackett 1990; cf. Byers 1991:10). Isochrestic variation permeates all aspects of

social and cultural life and provides the means by which members of a group express their mutual identity, coordinate their actions, and bind themselves together. It could thus be viewed as idiomatic or diagnostic of ethnicity (Sackett 1985:157; Sackett 1986:275; Hegmon 1994:172).²⁸ Such views seem to be rooted in those assumptions of holism, homogeneity and boundedness, which, as shown above, characterize the nineteenth-century concept of 'culture'.

In contrast, Polly Wiessner argued that style is a form of non-verbal communication through doing something in a certain way that communicates about relative identity (Wiessner 1983:257; Wiessner 1985:161; Wiessner 1990:107). Her approach is inspired by the information-exchange theory, which emphasizes that differences in stylistic behavior result more from social constraints on the choosing of alternative decorative options during the act of decoration, than on the social context in which a person learned his/her decorative repertoire (Braun and Plog 1982:510). Max Wobst first proposed the idea that style operates as an avenue of communication (Wobst 1977). Wobst was working within a functionalist, system-theory paradigm and he argued that since style is a relatively expensive form of communication, stylistic information exchange will only be used in certain contexts so as to maximize efficiency (Hegmon 1992:521).

Wiessner attacked this position by rightly pointing out that in identity displays efficiency of message is not a major concern. On the contrary, identity displays are often extravagant, the resources and effort expended being an index of ability and worth. Moreover, stylistic messages need not be clear or uniform, and in fact a certain amount of ambiguity may help achieve the desired effect (Wiessner 1985:162).

Wobst has raised another important problem. By stressing the communicative role of style he implied that not all material culture variation should be viewed as style. Rather style is only that part of material culture variation which conveys information about relative identity (cf. Hegmon 1992:521). Style is an intentional, structured system of selecting certain dimensions of form, process or principle, function, significance, and affect from among known, alternate possibilities to create variability within a behavioral-artifactual corpus (Roe 1995:31). Polly Wiessner even argued that one could differentiate between 'emblemic style', which has a distinct referent and transmits a clear message to a defined target population about conscious affiliation or identity, and 'assertive style', which is personally based and carries information supporting individual identity. Because emblemic style carries a distinct message, it should undergo strong selection for uniformi-

ty and clarity, and because it marks and maintains boundaries, it should be distinguished archaeologically by uniformity within its realm of function (Wiessner 1983: 257-258).

Style may be viewed as the pattern we make around a particular event, recalling and creating similarities and differences. It only exists in these repetitions and contrasts (Hodder 1990:45). But variation expressed in material items is multireferential, as Wiessner suggested, which implies that style is likely to be heavily invested with multiple levels of symbolic coding (Macdonald 1990:53). When used as tool in social strategies, style provides the potential for the control of the meaning and thus for power (Hodder 1990:46; Byers 1991: 12). Recent studies demonstrate that emblematic style appears at critical junctures in the regional political economy, when changing social relations would impel displays of group identity (McLaughlin 1987; see also Pasztory 1989:36). It has been argued, on the other hand, that with the initial evolution of social stratification and the rise of chiefdoms, considerable stylistic variability may exist between communities in clothing and display items. At the regional level, however, iconography and elite status become important to legitimize and 'naturalize' the inherent inequality in these systems. Extensive interchiefdom trade and shared political

ideology serve to deliver rare and foreign objects linked symbolically to universal forces (Earle 1990:74-75).

Conclusion

Understanding ethnicity in the past presents a particular challenge. The sweeping survey of the most relevant literature on ethnicity and material culture reveals that both topics have undergone considerable re-evaluation in recent years, with many other older assumptions being questioned. The increased interest in ethnicity, in general, and in the use of material culture for its construction, in particular, means that the old questions can be now looked at in new ways. Early medieval ethnicities are now one of the most lively areas of current research (e.g., Pohl 1988; Wood 1995; Heather 1996). The large volume of new material generated analytical advances of the first importance. Clearly it is misleading, if not impossible, to generalize over so wide an area and so eventful a chronological span. But modern historiography abounds in confident value-judgements about early medieval *ethnies*, many of which still rest on unacknowledged assumptions about what ethnicity is and how it works.

As a conclusion to this chapter, therefore, it might be helpful to state clearly the assumptions on which this study is based. In what follows, I start from the premise

that early medieval ethnicity was embedded in socio-political relations just as modern ethnicity is. I also view ethnicity as socially and culturally constructed and as a form of social mobilization in order to reach certain political goals. Then, just as now, an *ethnie* was built upon some pre-existing cultural identity, in a prototypic manner (cf. Mahmood and Armstrong 1992). But ethnicity is also a matter of daily social practice and, as such, it involves manipulation of material culture. Since material culture embodies practices, 'emblemic style' (cf. Wiessner 1983) is a way of communicating by non-verbal means about relative identity. Because it carries a distinct message, it is theoretically possible that it was used to mark and maintain boundaries, including ethnic ones. But ethnicity is also a function of power relations. Both 'emblemic style' and 'tradition' become relevant particularly in contexts of changing power relations, which impel displays of group identity. In most cases, both symbols and 'tradition' will entail a discussion of the power configuration in the Slavic society, with an emphasis on the political forces which may have been responsible for the definition of symbols, their organization and hierarchization. In asking what developments in material culture accompanied the making of a Slavic *ethnie*, I will therefore alternate the focus between power and style.

CHAPTER III

THE EARLY SLAVS, THEIR ORIGIN AND HISTORY: THE HISTORY OF A HISTORICAL PROBLEM

Our present knowledge of the origin of the Slavs is, to a large extent, a legacy of the nineteenth century. The history of the early Slavs remains a major, if not the most important, topic in East European historiography. In many cases, the search for the origins has been and still is of particular interest to communities struggling for national and cultural survival. In the absence of a comprehensive history of Slavic studies, the survey in this chapter is limited by default, focusing mainly on historiography and archaeology, despite the considerable significance of linguistic and philological studies for the general development of the question. Today, the history of the Slavs is written mainly by historians and archaeologists, but fifty or sixty years ago the authoritative discourse was still that of scholars trained in comparative linguistics. This chapter focuses on the complex interaction between approaches originating in those different disciplines. That there exists a relationship between nationalism, on one hand, and historiography and archaeology, on the other, is not a novel idea.

This historical overview presents the issues of Slavic studies and archaeology within the broader context of the "politics of culture" which characterizes all nation-states, as "imagined communities," since the mid-nineteenth century. By recognizing the impact of political factors on the interpretation of the past by historians and archaeologists, I do not intend to minimize their work, but to show how the image of the early Slavs was altered by the changing social and political context.

Japheth, the Sarmatians, the Thracians, and the Slavs

The first to consider the history of the Slavs as a whole and to tackle the problem of their origin was Nestor, the author of the twelfth-century Russian Primary Chronicle (Povest vremennykh let). According to him, the Slavs originated "beside the Danube, where the Hungarian and Bulgarian lands now lie" (Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor 1953:52-53 and 55). The name of the Slavs appears in the chronicle immediately after Illyricum (*Iliurik*), in a list of territories which were given "to the lot of Japheth" after the Flood (Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor 1953: 51). But Illyricum is also the region where, according to Nestor, apostle Paul lived (Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor 1953:63). The latter reference appears at the end of a long passage borrowed from the Life of St. Methodius, in which we are told that "prince Kotsel

appointed Methodius Bishop of Pannonia in the see of St. Andronicus, one of the Seventy, a disciple of the holy Apostle Paul" (Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor 1953:63). This betrays the use by Nestor of a late ninth-century Moravian source, which may have been responsible for his account of the Slavs. However, Nestor significantly altered the text of his source, in order to stress the possibility that the Slavs have accepted Christianity even before Cyril and Methodius (Avenarius 1992:2; Avenarius 1993:29-30; cf. Leciejewicz 1990: 32). The political motivation behind this alteration is quite obvious.²⁹ Nestor is thus the first author to claim the (early) Slavs as ancestors of an ethnic group. Much more influential was, however, his idea of the biblical origin of the Slavs. It was repeated by almost all Russian and Ukrainian chronicles until the late 1600s (Myl'nikov 1996:21). By contrast, the idea that the Slavs originally lived in Pannonia along the Danube re-surfaces only in the thirteenth-century Polish Kronika Boguchwała i Godysława Paska, from which it was later borrowed by Jan Długosz (1415-1480), Jan Dubravis (Historia Bohemica, 1575), and J. W. Valvasor (Ehre des Hertzogthums Crain, 1689)(Reisman 1988:14; Myl'nikov 1996:259).³⁰

Throughout the 1500s, colored by various national developments, European historiography began to tackle questions of national identity and politics. Guillaume

Postel emphasized the importance of the Celts for early French history, at the same time arguing that they were a people directly linked to the Israelites through Gomar, one of Noah's grandsons (Breisach 1994:171-172). In the same vein, the Polish chronicler Maciej Strykowski (1547-ca. 1582) claimed in his Chronicle, published in 1582, that the Slavs have come from the steppes north of the Black Sea, at the same time arguing that they were descendants of Mosokh, Japheth's son (Tolstoi 1995:8). Other Polish chroniclers went even farther. Both Martin Cromer (1512-1589), in his De origine et rebus gestis Polonorum, published in 1555, and Martin Biełski (1495?-1575), in his Chronicle, published in 1564, claimed that the early Slavs were Sarmatians. The idea of the Sarmatian origin of the Slavs was very popular in seventeenth-century Poland among members of the *szlachta*, who wished to be viewed as ethnically different from the socially inferior (Myl'nikov 1996:262-262 and 264).³¹ Similarly, the Croat historian Vinko Pribojević derived the Slavs from Thracians, *quae nunc Slavorum nomine censetur* (Sklenář 1983:25; Tolstoi 1995:9), while the Ragusan historian Mauro Orbini (Il regno degli Slavi, 1601) made them come from Scandinavia (Myl'nikov 1996:268). More than a century later, Paisii Hilendarski, the first Bulgarian historian, held that the Bulgars were Slavic people coming from Scandinavia, at the same time

arguing that there is a strict equivalence between Thracians, Illyrians, Slavs, and Bulgars (Alexander 1994:12).

By the mid-eighteenth century, the idea that Poles, Czechs, Croats, Russians, and others derived from an originally single, very ancient people was widely spread. This idea, based on the assumption of a single Slavic language with innumerable dialects, all of which were close to each other, is often associated with Baroque Slavism (Lencek 1983:123). Attempts to create all-Slavic languages were encouraged by Herder's ideas and extraordinarily favorable view of the Slavs. Herder was the first to speak of Slavs as victims of German warriors since the times of Charlemagne and he prophesied that the wheel of history would inexorably turn and some day, the industrious, peaceful, and happy Slavs would awaken from their submission and torpor to reinvigorate the great area from the Adriatic to the Carpathians and from the Don to the Moldau³² (Graus 1968: 206; Wolff 1994:310-315; Meyer 1996:31). More influential however were Herder's ideas about the *Volk*. After 1760, Herder viewed the *Volk* as an organic collective whole, which united diverse individuals through a common language, shared institutions, the arts, and literature. Among all, language was the strongest unifying and formative force (Breisach 1994:222).³³

The Indo-Europeans, the Venethi, and the Slavs

It is this emphasis on language that provided the first impetus for the development of Slavic studies. To be sure, when William Jones discovered in 1768 the first resemblances between Sanskrit, Latin, ancient Greek, Gothic, Celtic, and Old Iranian, Slavic languages were not yet recognized as Indo-European. It is only Franz Bopp's Comparative Grammar (Vergleichende Grammatik, 1833) that granted them that status (Niederle 1923:4; Sedov 1976:69). But Herder's concept of the character of a *Volk*, unalterably set in language during its early "root" period (Breisach 1994:222), made language the perfect instrument for exploring the history of the Slavs. In 1788, Josef Dobrovský (1753-1829), the founder of comparative Slavic linguistics and one of the most important figures of the Czech Enlightenment, published a paper on the homeland of the Slavs ("Über die ältesten Sitze der Slaven in Europa") in the Proceedings of the Royal Learned Society of Bohemia. Dobrovský was a convinced supporter of Josephinism, critically stripping bare the early history of the Czechs, because he believed that it was his duty to put before his countrymen "the bare unvarnished truth, without being ashamed of it" (Sklenář 1983:50). His quite unorthodox attitude toward the established national values became apparent when he

denounced the Green Mountain (Grünberg) manuscript as forgery.³⁴ Dobrovský was ready to recognize that all Slavic languages derived from a single, ancestral language, but he refused to push the antiquity of the Slavs as far back in time as Tacitus' Venedi. According to Dobrovský, Jordanes had called the Slavs Venethi only because, at that time, the Slavs lived where Tacitus' Venedi used to live.³⁵ His unusually critical approach to the problem of the origins of the Slavs did not deter some of his followers from accusing him to be a traitor³⁶ and dismissing his arguments on the basis of Bopp's discovery of the remarkable antiquity of the Slavic languages.

Pavel Josef Šafářik (1795-1861) derived from Herder the inspiration and orientation that would influence subsequent generations of scholars. Šafářik's approach in the Antiquities of the Slavs (Slovanské starožitnosti, 1843) was basically linguistic. To him, the "Slavic tribe" was part of the Indo-European family. As a consequence, the antiquity of the Slavs went beyond the time of their first mention by historical sources, for "all modern nations must have had ancestors in the ancient world" (Schafarik 1844:40). Šafářik, who opened the All-Slavic Congress in Prague in June 1848, shared these views with his friend, František Palacký (cf. Palacký 1868:74-89).³⁷ Like Palacký, he saw the Slavs as primari-

ly agriculturist, and their migration not as a violent conquest by warriors, but as a peaceful colonization by peasants (Schafarik 1844:42).³⁸ They succeeded in expanding all over Europe, because of their democratic way of life described by Procopius (Schafarik 1844, vol. 2:17). Unlike Dobrovský, Šafářik viewed Jordanes' account as accurate,³⁹ but blamed Tacitus for having wrongly listed the Venedi among groups inhabiting Germania. The Venedi, Šafářik argued, spoke Slavic, a language which Tacitus most obviously could not understand.⁴⁰ The evidence of the Peutinger map indicated, according to him, that the Venedi still existed when Jordanes equated them to Sclavenes and Antes (Schafarik 1844:127).⁴¹

To be sure, Šafářik was not the first to equate Tacitus' Venedi with the Slavs. Nor were his arguments entirely original. Some twenty years before he published the Antiquities of the Slavs, a Polish scholar, Wawrzyniec Surowiecki (1769-1827), had used Jordanes to claim the Venedi of Tacitus, Pliny, and Ptolemy for the Slavic history (Surowiecki 1964). A leading figure in the Polish national movement, Surowiecki's purpose was to prove that the Slavs (i.e. the Poles) were native to their own, at that time occupied, country. Inspired by Herder, he saw the Slavic Venethi as the largest European people in history, with a homeland stretching from the Vistula to the Dnieper and the Volga rivers (Szafran-

Szadkowska 1983:74-77). Surowiecki's ideas were shared by his contemporary, Adam Mickiewicz (1798-1855),⁴² and his theory of the Slavic Venethi inspired at least one important work of Polish Romantic literature, namely Julius Słowacki's famous tragedy, Lilla Weneda (1840) (Szafran-Szadkowska 1983:97-98). Others tried to find elsewhere a grandiose pre-history for the Slavs. Joachim Lelewel (1786-1861) believed the Getes and the Dacians of Antiquity to have been the ancestors of the Slavs (Lelewel 1972). He relied on Jordanes for equating Getes with Goths and found an equivalent to Zalmoxis, the Dacian god, among the ancient gods of the Lithuanians, who, he argued, spoke a language very close to Slavonic (Trynkowski 1980:326).

"The Slav is the Son and the Product of the Marsh"

With the code of *wie es eigentlich gewesen* instilled into European historiography by the German historical science during the second half of the nineteenth century, and with the demand that every historical work be based on the critical use of documents (Breisach 1994:263-264), Romantic visions of the past were no longer acceptable. The first attempt to reconsider the history of the early Slavs from a critical perspective was that of the Bulgarian Marin Drinov (1838-1906), a professor at the University of Kharkov (see Gorina 1983; Gorina 1985).⁴³

In his Settlement of the Balkan Peninsula by the Slavs (Zaselenie balkanskogo poluostrova slavianami, 1873), Drinov rejected the theory according to which the Slavs were native to the Balkans and criticized Šafárik for having relied too heavily on the evidence of place names at the expense of other sources, such as inscriptions. Drinov is the first to have interpreted Nestor's idea of the Slavs originally living along the Danube as pure invention (Drinov 1873:27). He also rejected any argument not based on solid evidence and regarded Fallmerayer's theories on the invasion of Greece by the Slavs (Fallmerayer 1845) with extreme suspicion (Drinov 1873:109-110). Drinov's knowledge of the medieval sources is quite impressive. For his interpretation of the past, he used the Miracles of St. Demetrius, Pope Gregory the Great's letters, Paul the Deacon, and poems by the Arab poet al-Akhtal. He concluded that the settlement of the Slavs in the Balkans went back to the fifth century (Drinov 1873:46). Drinov argued that since Theophylact Simocatta sometimes referred to the Sclavenes as Getae, it may be that the *Getae equites* mentioned by Marcellinus Comes in 517 were Slavs (Drinov 1873:92). His well-written book was very influential; Lubor Niederle later used it for his own account of the Slavic conquest of the Balkans. Drinov's interpretation of Marcellinus Comes' *Getae equites* still haunts modern accounts of the early

history of the Slavs (e.g., Stein 1968:105; Popović 1978:607). But his dating of the Slavic settlement in the Balkans was challenged in that same year by the German historian Robert Roesler, whose thorough analysis of the historical sources suggested that such a settlement could not have taken place before the reign of Phocas (Roesler 1873; cf. Charanis 1976:5-6).

Others took a different approach. Tadeusz Wojciechowski (1839-1919), later to become professor at the University of Lemberg (L'viv), published his Chrobacja. Analysis of Slavic Antiquities (Chrobacja. Rozbiór starożytności słowiańskich) in 1873, the same year in which Drinov's and Roesler's works appeared. For the first time, Wojciechowski examined in detail all the current theories about the origin of the Slavs, thus opening his own research with a state-of-the-art survey. He also introduced the retrogressive method to the study of the early Slavs, by which the conditions of the present (or the historically documented past) were used to infer about the situation in prehistory (or in the historically not documented past) (Szafran-Szadkowska 1983: 115). Unlike Drinov, Wojciechowski pointed to the value of such linguistic data as place names in reconstructing the early history of the Slavs and outlined a method of using them. His approach was quickly developed by others. In his From the History of Slavic Migrations (Iz istorii

slavianskikh peredvizhenii, 1901), A. L. Pogodin first had the idea of using place names, in particular river names, for finding the *Urheimat* of the Slavs. He put forward the influential suggestion that the appropriate homeland for the Slavs might be Podolia and Volhynia, where he found the oldest river names of Slavic origin (see Sedov 1976:70). A Polish botanist, J. Rostafiński, pushed the linguistic evidence even further. In his On the Homeland and the Economic Life of the Slavs in Prehistory (O pierwotnych siedzibach i gospodarstwie słowian w przedhistorycznych czasach, 1908), he argued that the homeland of the Slavs was a region devoid of beech, larch, and yew, for in all Slavic languages the words for those trees were of foreign (i.e., German) origin. In contrast, all had an old Slavic word for hornbeam, which suggests that the *Urheimat* was within that tree's zone. From the modern distribution of those trees, Rostafiński put forward the suggestion that the homeland of the Slavs was no other than the marshes along the Pripiet river, in Polesie (Kostrzewski 1969:11; Sedov 1976:71; Szafran-Szadkowska 1983:105). Both Pogodin's and Rostafiński's arguments were couched in the theory of Indo-European studies, a growing field at that time, which attempted to reconstruct the original language (*Ursprache*) of the original people (*Urvolk*) in their homeland (*Urheimat*), using the method of the "linguistic

paleontology" founded by Adolphe Pictet.⁴⁴ The Romantic theory that made language a defining factor in the formation of a particular culture type and world view pervades not only Pogodin's and Rostafiński's theories, but also the entire scholarly discourse about Indo-European origins (Anthony 1995:90). Such theories resisted considerable criticism even from fellow linguists, and are still to be found in some of the most recent accounts of the early history of the Slavs (e.g., Baran 1991; Dolukhanov 1996).⁴⁵

The rise of the positivist approach in the 1870s and 1880s, with its demand that all knowledge be based on directly observed phenomena and that all scientific endeavors aim at finding the general laws governing phenomena, had a still greater impact on the historiography of the early Slavs (Breisach 1994:274). In particular, Henry Thomas Buckle's History of the Civilization in England enjoyed a considerable success in Eastern Europe.⁴⁶ Buckle argued that in order to emulate the natural scientists' efforts to find fixed laws, historians should concentrate on phenomena shaping civilization, such as climate, food, soil, and the general aspect of nature (cf. Breisach 1994:275). This idea found enthusiastic supporters in Romania⁴⁷ and Bohemia.⁴⁸ In the latter case, Buckle's influence among the younger generation of the Czech positivist school, founded by the historian

Jaroslav Goll (1846-1929), coincided with a shift in emphasis from political history to the history of culture. Goll's pupil, Lubor Niederle (1865-1944), a professor of history at the Charles University in Prague, was one of the first to introduce the positivist approach to ethnography.⁴⁹ A co-founder of Český lid (1891), the main ethnographical journal in Czech, and a chief organizer of the great ethnographical exhibition in Prague (1895), Niederle saw ethnography as a historical science, which was expected to provide evidence for historical constructions based on the retrogressive method. Under the influence of the Viennese *Kulturkreis* school (in particular, of Wilhelm Schmidt and Wilhelm Koppers) and of the Russian ethnographer D. N. Anuchin,⁵⁰ Niederle viewed himself as continuing the work of Šafářik (Niederle 1923:vi; cf. Tomáš 1984:39). His multi-volume work, significantly entitled Slovanské starožitnosti (The Antiquities of the Slavs), like that of Šafářik, became a cornerstone of Slavic studies and still serves as a source for ethnographic material (Gojda 1991:4). Like Šafářik, Niederle pushed the antiquity of the Slavs far back into prehistory, thus equating Herodotus' Neuri and Budini, as well as the Scythian Plowmen with the Slavs (Niederle 1923:21). He also shared Surowiecki's argument that Jordanes' Slavic Venethi were Tacitus' Venedi (Niederle 1923:33). He embraced Rostafiński's "beech

argument" in order to locate the Slavic *Urheimat* in Ukraine (Niederle 1923:21; cf. Preidel 1980:1-2). But Niederle's approach was very different. To him, the linguistic argument suggested by Rostafiński was only a means to reach an even more compelling conclusion. Like Buckle, Niederle believed that climate and soil shape civilization. Since the natural conditions in Polesie were unfavorable, the Slavs, he argued, have developed forms of social organization based on cooperation between large families (of a type known as *zadruga*), social equality, and the democracy described by Procopius, which curtailed any attempts at centralization of economic or political power (Niederle 1923:26; Niederle 1926: 173). This hostile environment forced the early Slavs to migrate, a historical phenomenon Niederle dates to the second and third century A.D.⁵¹ In addition, the harsh climate of the Pripet marshes forged the sturdy Slavic character.⁵² Niederle did not hesitate to interpret modern developments in the light of his theory of Slavic prehistory. When the Slavs arrived on the territory of modern Czechoslovakia, they constituted a single people, the Czechoslovaks, united on the basis of the fundamental principles of cooperation set in the northern *Urheimat*. It was only the adversities of history and the implementation of the Austrian-Hungarian empire that drove the two halves of this people apart. The rise of

Czechoslovakia in 1918 finally repaired this historical injustice (Niederle 1923:156-157).

Niederle's approach, based on a considerable number of then known sources, aims to write social history and it has been rightly argued that with his Antiquities of the Slavs, he might have intended to give a reply to Karl Müllenhoff's famous Deutsche Altertumskunde (Labuda 1977:8). Though not entirely original, this approach has a considerable importance for the study of the early Slavs, because unlike all before him, Niederle introduced a new type of evidence into the scholarly discourse, that of archaeology. Inspired by Buckle's theories, he argued that besides the robust character of the Slavs, the nature of their original homeland forced them into a rather poor level of civilization, for, like the ancient Germans and Celts, the Slavs were *enfants de la nature* (Niederle 1926:1-2 and 5). Only the contact with the more advanced Roman civilization made it possible for the Slavs to give up their original culture based entirely on wood and to start producing their own pottery. Some of Niederle's contemporaries went even further. Jan Peisker (1851-1933), himself professor of history at the Charles University at Prague, became famous for his portrait of the Slavs in the Cambridge Medieval History (Peisker 1926; cf. Peisker 1905).⁵³ Under the influence of the ethno-sociological theories of Richard Hildebrand, who

argued that all agriculturists are prone to domination by nomads, Peisker built his argument around the idea of *Volkscharakter* (Fritze 1980:504-505).⁵⁴ Like Niederle, Peisker endorsed Rostafiński's theory of the Slavic *Urheimat*, and, of course, viewed Polesie as unhealthy, "for the putrefying marsh develops miasmatic gases causing epidemic lung and throat diseases, and the loathsome elf-lock" (Peisker 1926:420). But unlike Niederle, he believed that because the Pripet marshes made communication difficult, the Slavs in their homeland were divided into small groups⁵⁵ which had very little intercourse during the greater part of the year. Forced into a low grade of civilization,⁵⁶ they had no kind of political, territorial or social cohesion, and no notion of a State (Peisker 1926:420). Mesmerized by the "linguistic paleontology," Peisker observed that the ancient Slavs had no words of their own for cattle, heavy plough, milk,⁵⁷ or curd, but had to borrow them from German and Altaic sources (Peisker 1926:423). This, he concludes, shows that the only animal the Slavs had in Polesie was the pig. Because defense in Polesie was hopeless, the early Slavs were "exceptionally unwarlike and shy as the beast of the forest" (Peisker 1926:424), which made them an easy prey to nomads and Germanic warriors. Peisker's conclusion takes environmental determinism to its extreme: a nomadic milk-feeding horde (the Avars) dominated

a Slavic vegetarian peasant class (Peisker 1926:432). As a consequence, the migration of the Slavs, unlike the Germanic one, was a "gradual percolation, like that of a flood rolling slowly forward" (Peisker 1926:426).

Peisker's ideas were met with harsh criticism by Niederle, by the Russian historian A. A. Shakhmatov and by the German economic historian Alfons Dopsch (Tomáš 1984:43; Makarov 1989:89; Fritze 1980:505). They nevertheless remained popular among some Czech historians of the 1920s (cf. Fritze 1980:505) and, through Peisker's contribution to the Cambridge Medieval History, were particularly influential upon American scholars.⁵⁸

National Identities and the Slavs

Niederle viewed the ancient Slavs as ancestors of the Czechs and the Slovaks. Mykhailo Hrushevskyi (1866-1934) made the Antes the ancestors of the Ukrainians (Hrushevskyi 1911:208-210 and 464; cf. Liapushkin 1965:120). V. V. Khvoika (1850-1914), an Ukrainian archaeologist of Czech origin, who had just 'discovered' the Slavs behind the Neolithic Tripolye culture, was encouraged by Niederle's theories to ascribe the fourth-century Chernyakhov culture to them (Baran, Gorokhovskii, and Magomedov 1990:33; Dolukhanov 1996:4), an idea of considerable influence on Soviet archaeology and historiography after World War II. In the same vein, the Russian archae-

ologist A. A. Spicyn first assigned to the Antes finds of silver and bronze in central and southern Ukraine (Spicyn 1928; cf. Prikhodniuk 1989:65). In his Ancient Fate of the Russian Tribes (Drevneishie sud'by russkogo plemeni, 1919), A. A. Shakhmatov (1864-1920), though moving the Slavic *Urheimat* in central Lithuania, between the Neman river and the Western Dvina, argued that the Russians were a branch of the "common Slavic tribal group" and equated Jordanes' Venethi with the Vyatichi mentioned by the Russian Primary Chronicle (Sedov 1976:72; Reisman 1987:16; Makarov 1989:91). In Bulgaria, following Drinov's plea against the idea that the Slavs were native to the Balkans, Vassil Zlatarski (1866-1935), founder of the Bulgarian Historical Society (1911) and rector of the University of Sofia (1913-1914 and 1924-1925), argued in his History of the Bulgarian State in the Middle Ages (Istoriia na bǎlgarskata dǎrzhava prez srednite vekove, 1918) that Bulgaria has been colonized by the Antes and that the Bulgarian language derives from that of the Antes (Zlatarski 1970:52). Like Drinov, Zlatarski dismissed the association between Thracians and Slavs and dated the first Slavic settlements in the Balkans to the fifth century (Zlatarski 1936:360). Like the Goths, the Slavs contributed to the transformation of the Empire, for they had been hired as federates by the Romans (Zlatarski 1936:363). Unlike the Goths, however, the

Slavs were successful in colonizing the Balkans, because of their democratic society, which was not organized on the basis of a national principle (Zlatarski 1970:52).

Inspired by the positivist approach, historians were now searching everywhere for things Slavic, including places where the Slavs were not an ingredient of the national identity. On his admission into the Romanian Academy in 1905, the historian Ioan Bogdan opened his oration on the Romanian historiography by emphasizing "the influence of the Slavonic factor on the genesis of our nationality." He argued that the Romanian nation could not be historically conceived without the absorption of the Slavic elements during the sixth to tenth centuries, for the Romanians and the Lithuanians were the only non-Slavic peoples in Europe to have been directly and continuously influenced by the Slavs (Bogdan 1905:21; Bogdan 1894:39 and 14; Curta 1994a:129).⁵⁹ Bogdan noted that the study of the early Slavs, who "settled among us and lived together with us," thus contributing to the creation of an original Romanian civilization, has been deliberately and systematically ignored by "our national historians."⁶⁰ Even before Bogdan's harangue, A. D. Xenopol believed that time had come for a change in historiographical attitudes toward the Slavs (Xenopol 1985: 258; Curta 1994a:130-131). According to Xenopol, the Slavic influence must have been considerable partic-

ularly in agriculture, for half, if not more, of the Romanian terms referring to agriculture were of Slavic origin. Like Peisker, who saw the Slav as dreamy, confiding, and a lover of amusement (Peisker 1926:423), Xenopol, under the influence of Gustave le Bon and contemporary studies in ethno-psychology, believed that the Slavs were responsible for the "outburst of the poetical genius of the Romanian people," for the Romanian folklore was very close to that of the neighboring Slavic nations (Xenopol 1985:259 and 263; see Zub 1985:62). In the same vein, Dimitrie Onciul (1856-1923) argued that studying the early Slavs was of great importance to Romanian historians, for their assimilation by both Romanians and Hungarians may be viewed as an argument in favor of the Romanian continuity in Transylvania during the early Middle Ages (see Curta 1994a:132). Nicolae Iorga (1871-1940) believed that Ardagastus, Musocius, and Peiragastus mentioned by Theophylact Simocatta as Slavic 'kings' were ruling not only over their fellow tribesmen, but also over the Romanian population (Iorga 1924; cf. Costăchel 1970:502). Like Niederle and Peisker, Iorga, a former student of Karl Lamprecht, stressed the influence of the natural conditions, but also the cycles of history. To him, the Slavic raids into the Balkan provinces of the Empire were just a sixth-century version of the raids into the Ottoman Empire by the soldiers of the late

sixteenth-century Walachian prince Michael the Brave (Iorga 1937:314-315). Unlike Drinov, Iorga viewed the *Getae equites* of Marcellinus Comes not as Slavs, but as Avars, and, unlike Niederle and Peisker, he did not believe that the Slavs originally left their *Urheimat* because of the harsh environment, but because they were called by the Romans to become their allies against other barbarians (Iorga 1930:7-8; cf. Curta 1994a:133). Like Peisker, however, Iorga considered the Slavs to have been the slaves of the Avars, though the Slavs from the Walachia, who lived under a democracy, which Jean Jacques Rousseau would have admired (Iorga 1930:2), seem to have been rather independent (Iorga 1937:321-322). He believed that the Slavs have crossed the Danube by the fords of Portile de Fier and Isaccea in order to settle the Balkans (Iorga 1930:5). Like Pogodin, Iorga used river names to locate the Slavic settlements in the Walachian Plain (Iorga 1937:315). He argued that the names of the Slavic chiefs reported by Theophylact Simocatta derive from ancient names of local origin: Musocius was a name related to that of the Moldavian medieval dynasty, Mușat (Iorga 1937:307 and 313; cf. Curta 1994a:135). The funerary meal from which the Slavic chief, according to Theophylact Simocatta, returned dead drunk, only to be captured by Priscus' soldiers, was an indication of Christian customs, adopted by Musocius under the influ-

ence of his Romanian subjects (Iorga 1937:313).

Unlike Iorga, however, and sometimes against his ideas (cf. Zub 1989:171-172), the "new school" of younger Romanian historians pushed Bogdan's argument even further. Constantin C. Giurescu (1901-1977) argued that the Slavs played in the history of Romania the same role the Germanic tribes played in that of Western countries (Giurescu 1935:210; Giurescu 1975:7; cf. Panaitescu 1994:42). Like Niederle, Giurescu believed that the Slavs began to produce pottery only under foreign influence, though instead of Romans, he preferred to see the Romanians teaching the Slavs how to use the potter's wheel (Giurescu and Giurescu 1975:178). Both Giurescu and P. P. Panaitescu (1900-1967) insisted that the Slavs did not infiltrate, but came on Romanian soil as conquerors (Giurescu 1935: 218; Panaitescu 1994:43). Like Bogdan, they claimed a Slavic origin for the Romanian medieval institutions and argued that the Romanians were socially inferior, for Romanian medieval documents refer to villeins as *rumâni* (Giurescu 1935:238; Panaitescu 1994:64). In the same vein, Gheorghe I. Brătianu (1898-1953) believed that by the end of Justin II's reign, the entire eastern part of pre-World War II Romania had become a Sklavinia, just as it had formerly been a Gothia (Brătianu 1988a: 249; Brătianu 1988b:78; cf. Curta 1994a: 139-140). He viewed the Slavs as a middle class between the Avar

rulers and the Romanian subjects (Brătianu 1988a:256).

Pots, Language and Slavs

Niederle's emphasis on material culture pointed to a new direction in the development of Slavic studies. The foundations of a mature Slavic archaeology were primarily the work of Czech archaeologists. It was a new type of pottery identified in 1870 by the German prehistorian Rudolf Virchow (1821-1902), which caused the greatest shifts of emphasis in the early years of the twentieth century.⁶¹ Emanuel Šimek, the would-be professor of prehistory at Brno, put forward the suggestion that between Virchow's *Burgwallkeramik* and the Roman pottery, there must have been an intermediary stage. In his Bohemia and Moravia in Roman times (*Čechy a Morava za doby římské*, 1923; cf. Zeman 1966:170), he labeled this pottery the 'Veleslavín type,' on the basis of finds from a residential area of Prague. He believed this type to have imitated the early Germanic pottery. In contrast, Josef Schraníl, who succeeded Niederle as professor of prehistory at the Charles University in Prague, argued that the ancient Slavic pottery derived from the Latène pottery (Preidel 1954:56), an idea further developed by Ivan Borkovský. If the Slavs adopted so easily the decorative patterns of the Roman pottery, Borkovský argued, it is because their original pottery was typologically so close

to that of the Romans (Borkovský 1940:34). When they came to Bohemia and Moravia, the Slavs found remnants of the Celtic population still living in the area and borrowed their techniques of pottery production based on Latène traditions. The Slavs made this pottery their own, thus creating what Borkovský called the 'Prague type',⁶² a national, exclusively Slavic type.⁶³ According to him, the Prague-type is a hand-made, mica-tempered pottery with no decoration. Besides this vague definition, there were, however, no other criteria for classification. Borkovský viewed the Prague type as the earliest Slavic pottery,⁶⁴ the forms and rims of which began to change under the influence of the Roman pottery. After Charlemagne's conquest of some Slavic tribes, the Prague pottery was borrowed by the Franks and served as basis for the development of all other pottery types in early medieval Europe. This, Borkovský argued, showed the inconsistency of Peisker's argument that the Slavs had no culture before coming into contact with Germans or Avars (Borkovský 1940:33).

As Borkovský published his study, the Czechs in the protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia under Nazi rule were experiencing the first wave of massive arrests and the closure of all universities and colleges, following the anti-German demonstrations of October 1939. In his book, Borkovský boldly argued that the earliest Slavic pottery

derived from a local variant of the Latène pottery, not from the Germanic pottery. This was quickly interpreted as an attempt to claim that the Czechs (and not the Germans) were natives to Bohemia and Moravia (Preidel 1954:57). As a consequence, the book was immediately withdrawn from bookstores and Borkovský became a sort of local hero of the Czech archaeology, whose ideas, including the very influential suggestion that the Prague type represented the oldest Slavic pottery, would be followed and developed after the war (Preidel 1954:57; Sklenář 1983:162-163). Borkovský's book could certainly be viewed as a reaction to Nazi claims that the Slavs were racially and culturally inferior.⁶⁵ It was undoubtedly perceived as such by Lothar F. Zotz and Bolko Freiherr von Richtofen, who denounced Borkovský's ideas as anti-German and thus caused the withdrawal of his book from the market (Preidel 1954:57).⁶⁶

The association between Slavic studies and the rise of the Nazi ideology in Germany is even more compelling in the case of the Soviet Union. Until the mid-1930s, Slavic studies were viewed as anti-Marxist (Goriainov 1990) and the dominant discourse about the early Slavs was that inspired by N. I. Marr. N. S. Derzhavin (1877-1953), a professor at Petrograd until the Bolshevik revolution, later to become the rector of the University of Leningrad (1922-1925) and chair of the department of

Slavic languages at that university, was Marr's supporter. He became director of the Institute of Slavonic Studies established in Leningrad in 1931 and, in that capacity, he wrote the Institute's program of studies, based on Marxist methodology. Derzhavin believed that the Slavs were native to the Balkans and that sources began to talk about them during the 500s, because this was the time when the Slavs began to revolt against Roman slavery. In fact, he argued, the Slavs were not a new ethnic group arriving to the Balkans, but the old population subjugated to Roman landowners, who, because of their riots, were now depicted as barbarians (see Braichevskii 1962:81). But a new interpretation was abruptly put forward in the late 1930s. Little is known about why and how this new interpretation actually developed.⁶⁷ By 1934, academic research in the USSR was centralized and reflected political priorities. Institutionally, historiography was directed by the Propaganda and Agitation Department of the Central Committee, which formulated directives defining historical themes, indicated directions of research and then transmitted its decisions to historians. In matters of exceptional importance, Stalin intervened personally (Velychenko 1992:231). This was the case in 1936, as I. V. Stalin, A. Zhdanov, and S. Kirov published a booklet entitled Remarks on the Question of the Short Textbook for the History of the USSR, in which

they asked historians to write not simply history, but histories of the nations belonging to the USSR, of their interactions and relations to the outside world. This apparently benign requirement posed a remarkably difficult problem, for studying the nations of the USSR meant studying the process of ethnic formation and reviving the concept of ethnogenesis condemned by Marr's theories (Aksenova and Vasil'ev 1993:86). More important, the new treatise of Soviet history, the first volumes of which were specifically written in accordance to Stalin's recommendations, were expected to emphasize that the Slavs were natives to eastern Europe. Thus, the rise of Slavic archaeology in the Soviet Union was entirely the result of a political decision, which was meant to counter German claims linking the origins of the Goths to the territories now under Soviet control (Koroliuk 1976:7).⁶⁸

The first formal reference to the need to study the Slavic ethnogenesis is by A. D. Udal'cov at a meeting at the Academy of Sciences in September 1938 (Velychenko 1992:242; Aksenova and Vasil'ev 1993:88). In his paper, Udal'cov paid lip service to Marr and castigated the errors of fascist theories. But the most controversial paper of the meeting was that of A. V. Mishulin on early Byzantine sources concerning the early Slavs (Mishulin 1939). Mishulin boldly spoke of the Slavic migration to the Balkans. In reply, N. S. Derzhavin argued that the

Slavs lived since time immemorial in the Balkans and that Mishulin had taken his early Byzantine sources at their face value, without understanding their true meaning.⁶⁹ According to Derzhavin, Marr's theory could better explain Mishulin's evidence. During the 500s, the Slavs (e.g., the native inhabitants of the Balkans) had reached that level of development which, by the logic of historical materialism, required their separation from the Empire. Their struggle for independence was therefore depicted by the Byzantine sources as a barbarian invasion, but this bias only indicated that the Slavs were viewed as a serious threat to the power of the Roman landowners. Derzhavin's paper did not remain without response.

M. I. Artamonov, though carefully citing long passages from Marr's works, argued in favor of population movements. He embraced Šafářik's and Niederle's ideas about Herodotus' Neuri and Budini,⁷⁰ and spoke of Scythians as ancestors of the Slavs (Braichevskii 1962: 81; Aksenova and Vasil'ev 1993:89). Artamonov believed that since language was the crucial aspect of ethnicity, only linguists could have the ultimate word in the debate over Slavic ethnicity (cf. Klejn 1955:271; Klejn 1969: 27). I. V. Got'e, former head of the history department at the University of Moscow, who had been recently nominated member of the Academy, accused Marrist linguists of

being incapable of tackling the problem of how the Slavs developed from the proto-Slavs (Aksenova and Vasil'ev 1993:98-99).⁷¹ Others simply ignored Marr's teachings. At the same meeting at which Derzhavin presented his Marrist interpretation of the early Slavic history, M. V. Levchenko read a paper in which he argued that the homeland of the Slavs was in the lands north of the Carpathian mountains (Levchenko 1938), while B. T. Gorianov located it along the Upper Dnieper river (Gorianov 1939b; cf. Gorianov 1939a).⁷² At a subsequent meeting at the Academy of Sciences in April 1939, B. A. Rybakov, who had recently graduated from the Lomonosov University in Moscow (Hösler 1995:25), presented a paper, in which he claimed the Antes for Russian history (Rybakov 1939). At a conference at the Institute for the History of Material Culture in February 1940, the young scholar P. N. Tret'iakov, at that time a doctoral candidate in History at the University of Leningrad, read a paper on the ethnogenesis of the Slavs, in which, despite extensive citations from his works, Marr's theses were indirectly criticized. Soviet historians were now rushed into the study of the early Slavs and urged to produce relevant works. Soon after the Strategikon was translated into Russian in 1939 (see Kuchma 1978:6), Mishulin published the first collection of early Byzantine sources concerning the sixth- to seventh-century history of the

Slavs (Mishulin 1941), while Pigulevskaia and D'iakonov perused the Syrian sources (Pigulevskaia 1941; D'iakonov 1946). Editing and publishing source materials became a major task of Soviet historiography in the years following the war.⁷³

As Soviet war propaganda was searching for the means to mobilize Soviet society against the Nazi aggressor, the Slavic ethnogenesis, now the major, if not the only, research topic of Soviet archaeology and historiography, gradually turned into a symbol of national identity. As Marr's teachings were abandoned in favor of a culture-historical approach, the origins of the Slavs (i.e., Russians) were pushed even further into prehistory. Udal'cov saw a continuous ethnic sequence running through history from the bearers of the Tripolye culture of the Neolithic, the Scythians, the Sarmatians, and the Antes, to the modern Russians (Udal'cov 1943:72; cf. Shnirel'man 1993:61). Derzhavin, despite his orthodox Marrism, went so far as to speculate on the origins of the Russians in the Upper Palaeolithic culture of the Dnieper basin (Derzhavin 1944:3-4; cf. Shnirel'man 1993:61; Shnirelman 1995:133), while V. V. Mavrodin thought it would be appropriate to begin the history of the Slavs with Neanderthal Man (Mavrodin 1945:15; cf. Klejn 1969:22). Soviet archaeologists unanimously embraced Niederle's influential suggestion that the Slavic *Urheimat* was

located along the upper Dnieper river. As the Red Army was launching a massive offensive along the Vistula, reaching the heart of the Third Reich, they favored the idea of an enormous Slavic homeland stretching from the Oka and the Volga rivers, to the east, to the Elbe and the Saale rivers to the west, and from the Aegean and Black seas to the south to the Baltic sea to the north.⁷⁴ Soviet archaeologists and historians re-discovered that the ancestors of the Slavs were the Thracians and the Illyrians. Many accepted Derzhavin's idea that the Slavs had lived in the Balkans since time immemorial. Others, more prone to re-interpreting history in the light of recent Soviet conquests in Eastern Europe, argued that the Slavs came to the Balkans to assist the exploited masses in their struggle against Roman imperialism (cf. Braichevskii 1962:83).⁷⁵ The Slavs were now natives to the Baltic republics (recently re-incorporated into USSR), and, soon after the deportation of the Tatars in 1944, to Crimea.⁷⁶ The only apparent problem still bothering Soviet historians, was that of a "missing link" between Scythians and Kievan Rus'. Rybakov, now professor of history at the University of Moscow, soon to become chair of the history department (1950), then provost of that university (1952), corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences (1953), and director of the Archaeological Institute (1956)(Hösler 1995:25-26),

offered an easy solution. In the years of nationalist propaganda during the war, he published a seven-page article in which he attributed to the Slavs both Spicyn's "Antian antiquities" and the remains excavated by Khvoika at Chernyakhov (Rybakov 1943). Rybakov's argument was that the archaeological distribution of both coincided with Jordanes' description of the territory inhabited by the Antes. The association between the Slavs and the Chernyakhov culture was enthusiastically advocated after the war by the Russian archaeologists P. N. Tret'iakov and M. I. Artamonov, and by the Ukrainian archaeologists M. Iu. Braichevskii, E. V. Makhno, and M. Iu. Smishko (Liapushkin 1965:121; Shchukin 1980: 399).⁷⁷ The latter three were particularly active in claiming a long chronology for the Chernyakhov culture (second to seventh century A.D.), in order to bridge the gap between Scythians and the historically attested Antes. They continued to ascribe this culture to the Slavs even after Artamonov revised his previous views and argued, in 1955, that the Chernyakhov culture belonged to a coalition of ethnic groups under the leadership of the Goths (cf. Baran, Gorokhovskii, and Magomedov 1990:35-36).⁷⁸

The 1950s witnessed massive state investments in archaeology. With the unearthing of the first remains of sixth- and seventh-century settlements in Ukraine, the idea of the Chernyakhov culture as primarily Slavic

simply died out (Shchukin 1980:399, but see Sedov 1982: 27-28). Following S. S. Gamchenko's excavations in Volhynia (1896-1923),⁷⁹ large-scale horizontal excavations of settlements and cemeteries were carried by a younger generation of archaeologists (Rusanova 1976:12-13; Baran 1985:76; Baran 1990:59-60; Baran, Maksimov, and Magomedov 1990: 202).⁸⁰ In most cases, this resulted in the total excavation of sixth- to seventh-century villages, some of which were published as monographs (e.g. Rusanova and Timoshchuk 1984; Vakulenko and Prikhodniuk 1984; Baran 1988). V. V. Kukharenko called the hand-made pottery found in these settlements the 'Zhitomir type' (sometimes labeled also 'Korchak-Zhitomir type') which he viewed as a local variant of the Prague type established by Borkovský in 1940 (Kukharenko 1955:36-38; cf. Rusanova 1958; Petrov 1963:38; Rusanova 1970:93; Herrmann 1979b: 49).⁸¹ Later, Kukharenko abandoned the idea of a variant in favor of a single Prague type characterizing all Slavic cultures between the Elbe and the Dnieper rivers (Kukharenko 1960:112). V. P. Petrov, however, argued that since the pottery Gamchenko had found at Korchak, near Zhitomir, derived from the local pottery of the early Iron Age, the Zhitomir-Korchak type ante-dated Borkovský's Prague type: the earliest Slavic pottery was that of Ukraine, not that of Czechoslovakia (Petrov 1963:38; cf. Korošec 1958-1959:100).⁸² Irina P. Rusanova

first applied statistical methods for the identification of pottery types (Rusanova 1976). Her conclusion was that vessels of certain proportions made up what she called the Prague-Korchak-type (Rusanova 1976:123; Rusanova 1984-1987:94).⁸³ To Rusanova, this type was a sort of symbol, the main and only indicator of Slavic ethnicity in material culture terms (cf. Kobyliński 1989:307).⁸⁴ In contrast, V. V. Sedov spoke of two types of Slavic pottery. He attributed the newly established Pen'kovka-type, found in settlements excavated by D. T. Berezovec and P. I. Khavliuk in the 1950s and 1960s, to the Antes (Sedov 1970; Sedov 1979; Sedov 1987; cf. Prikhodniuk 1985:85; Prikhodniuk 1989:60).⁸⁵ Though still disputed,⁸⁶ Sedov's identification of the Pen'kovka culture with the Antes quickly gained supporters. Some began to speak of two different, though related, cultures, and then delineated on maps a 'Prague zone'--an archaeological equivalent of Jordanes' Sclavenes--and a 'Pen'kovka zone,' belonging to the Antes, fall-out curves neatly coinciding with the borders of the Soviet republics (Fedorov 1960:190; Fedorov 1961:90; Rafalovich 1972:23-24; Prikhodniuk 1989:60-61; Baran 1991:33).⁸⁷

The new archaeological discourse did not supersede the old search for the prehistoric roots of Slavic ethnicity. That the Slavs had now a culture of their own, which was archaeologically identifiable by means of the

Prague-Korchak type, did not prevent archaeologists from searching for the origins of this culture. Rybakov dismissed the retrogressive method altogether and simply argued that the beginnings of Slavic history ought to be dated around 1,400 B.C., as the first Bronze Age cultures emerged in the region between the Oder and the Dnieper rivers, the *Urheimat* of the Slavs (Rybakov 1981:214-230; see Rybakov 1994; cf. Sedov 1989:8).⁸⁸ Tret'iakov, chief editor of the journal Problems of history (Voprosy istorii) between 1950 and 1953, director of the Institute of Slavic Studies until 1959, then archaeologist and professor at the University of Leningrad until 1976 (Hösler 1995:20-21), first linked the Prague culture to the Zarubinec and Kiev cultures, though he also maintained the Slavic character of the Chernyakhov culture (Sedov 1976:74).⁸⁹ On the basis of pottery classification and burial rites, V. V. Sedov and I. P. Rusanova argued instead that the early Slavic culture was a continuation of the Przeworsk culture, while attributing the Zarubinec and Kiev cultures to the ancient Balts (Baran 1991:30). Sedov suggested that the ethnic and linguistic community of the first century B.C. to the first century A.D., to which belonged the Przeworsk culture of the Vistula basin, was that of Tacitus' Venedi. They began to move into the Upper Dniester valley during the first and second century A.D., but by the fourth century, as the

Chernyakhov culture emerged in western and central Ukraine, the Venethi formed the majority of the population in the area. As bearers of the Przeworsk culture, they assimilated all neighboring cultures, such as Zarubinec and Kiev. By 300 A.D., the Antes separated from the Przeworsk block, followed, a century or two later, by the Sclavenes. The new ethnic groups were bearers of the Pen'kovka and Prague-Korchak cultures, respectively (Sedov 1979; cf. Rusanova 1993b). Sedov's theory was used by others to push the Slavic ethnogenesis back in time, to the "Proto-Slavo-Balts" of the early Iron Age, thus "adjusting" the results of linguistic research to archaeological theories (Lebedev 1989).⁹⁰

In contrast, V. D. Baran has recently argued that the typical feature of the early Slavic culture is not the pottery, but the sunken building (*Grubenhaus*). Since such buildings already existed at the time of the Chernyakhov culture, Baran revived the idea of a Chernyakhov origin of the early Slavic culture (Baran 1978:13 and 32; Baran 1994:8; cf. Rusanova 1978:141; Vinokur 1980:875; Vakulenko 1983; Vakulenko and Prikhodniuk 1985:99-104; Sedov 1989:6). According to him, the Slavs were part of the Gothic confederation archaeologically identifiable as the Chernyakhov culture. They also survived under Hunnic rule and emerged as an independent political force by the end of the fifth century

(Baran 1994).⁹¹ A Chernyakhov origin was also claimed for the Pen'kovka culture (Prikhodniuk 1985:92; *contra*: Goriunov 1974b:110-112; Goriunov and Kazanskii 1981:15-16; cf. Baran 1979:82). Baran's ideas were, however, disputed by other archaeologists, in particular by Mark B. Shchukin, who, based on a thorough application of the retrogressive method, pointed to a substantial chronological gap between the latest Chernyakhov remains and the earliest Prague-type materials.⁹² Shchukin mapped all third- to fifth-century finds of Eastern Europe and observed that this distribution showed a large "white spot" in the Pripet basin. There, he argued, was the homeland of the Slavs (Shchukin 1980:408 and 407 fig. 5; Werner 1981:696).⁹³ Shchukin's reiteration of Niederle's and Peisker's theories is also accepted by some linguists, who still speak of the Slavs as "the sons and the products of the marsh" (e.g., Mokienko 1996).⁹⁴

Since the mid-1950s, archaeologists have dominated the scholarly discourse on the Slavic origins and the early Slavic history. But the coincidence between the discovery of the early medieval Slavic culture(s) and the development of the Slavic linguistics in USSR with their respective discourses during the post-Marrist decades was especially remarkable. The passionate debate about the Indo-European origins found its analogy in the efforts of Soviet archaeologists to push the origins of the Prague-

Korchak culture as far back in time as possible. Archaeology, on the other hand, offered easy possibilities of translating in simple, but concrete terms, the complex issues raised by the analysis of the historical sources. The uneasiness about the absence of any relevant information about the Slavs before ca. 500 A.D. was easily translated into an archaeological-linguistic jargon, using terms such as Proto-Slavs, Przeworsk, Zarubinec, or Kiev to refer to allegedly prehistoric Slavs. When the historian S. A. Ivanov recently observed that the Prague-Korchak culture was given the name 'Slavic' simply because it has been dated to the sixth century, as historical sources first mentioned the Sclavenes, he concluded that the notion of 'Proto-Slavs' is absurd. "The ethnic history of the Slavs begins in the 500s (*ethnicheskaiia istoriia slavian nachinaetsia s VI v.n.e.*)" (Ivanov 1991d:5). Some of the readers of Slavianovedenie, the publication of the Institute of Slavic and Balkan Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences from which this statement was cited, were outraged. After the publication of Ivanov's article, a passionate counteraccount appeared, authored by M. A. Vasil'ev. Its purpose was to show the falseness of Ivanov's assumptions and to suppress a growing heresy (Vasil'ev 1992). Vasil'ev dismissed Ivanov's thesis as biased and, based on Bromley's theories, argued that the evidence cited by Ivanov could only

show that by 500 A.D., the Slavs had reached the final stage in the process of ethnogenesis (see also Vasil'ev 1993:8).⁹⁵ Procopius spoke of Sclavenes and Antes as having the same language, which indicates the role language played in the formation of Slavic ethnic identity. Besides a common language, the Sclavenes and the Antes shared a common culture, archaeologically identifiable by means of the Prague and Pen'kovka types. To Vasil'ev, Sedov's model of the Slavic ethnogenesis (Sedov 1979) explained many of the questions raised by Ivanov (Vasil'ev 1992:8 and 16-17). Another author remarked that Ivanov's criticism of the use of 'Proto-Slavic' was unfair, for the phrase was commonly used for a stage of cultural or linguistic development, not for ethnic identity (Cheshko 1993:20). Ivanov replied by pointing to the considerable chronological gap between the Przeworsk and the Prague culture, which Sedov's theory overlooked, and noted that if language was the most important aspect of ethnic identity, it remained to be explained why historical sources spoke of Sclavenes and Antes, despite their having a common language (Ivanov 1993). In support of Ivanov's argument, V. Ia. Petrukhin argued that both archaeology and history showed that the 'formation' of the Slavs took place in a region of close contact with the early Byzantine civilization. The search for the Slavic *Urheimat* was therefore meaningless (Petrukhin

1993:4).⁹⁶

The recent debate in the pages of the journal Slavianovedenie points to considerable changes currently taking place in Russian historiography. It also shows that myths about the Slavic ethnogenesis die hard. The violence of the attack on Ivanov's ideas indicates that the discourse of Russian nationalism established during and immediately after World War II still yields considerable power. Vasil'ev's riposte may simply be viewed as contributing to its reproduction, yet differences are clearly noticeable. Indeed, before the collapse of the Soviet Union, despite the accumulation of historical data, 'expert' discourses, such as that of archaeology and that of linguistics, dominated the discipline. In the pages of Slavianovedenie, no archaeologist responded to Ivanov's challenge, though archaeological arguments were cited by both sides. In the end, the debate typically shifted to an emphasis of 'hard' data, and nobody seems to have come to grips with Ivanov's challenging question: were the Slavs an invention of the sixth century?

Slavic Archaeology After World War II

The establishment, between 1945 and 1948, of Communist-dominated governments under Moscow's protection profoundly altered the development of Slavic studies in Eastern Europe. The interpretation favored by Soviet

scholars became the norm even in countries like Poland and Czechoslovakia, where such studies had longer traditions than in Soviet Russia. In Romania and Hungary, where Slavic studies were less developed, the Slavs were now given the most important role in the study of the early medieval period (Bálint 1989b:191; Curta 1994b:238-239; cf. Papacostea 1996:189-190).

In Czechoslovakia, Borkovský's ideas about Slavic origins were rejected in favor of an interpretation stressing that the Slavs were immigrants to Moravia (Poulík 1948:15-19; cf. Rusanova 1976:115) and Bohemia (Zeman 1966:188-189).⁹⁷ They were archaeologically identifiable by means of the Zhitomir-Korchak type (with its local variant, known as the 'Prague type') originating in Ukraine (Klanica 1986:11; Klanica and Tržeštík 1991:12). But in the 1960s, Borkovský's thesis that the Slavs were natives to the territory of Czechoslovakia surfaced again in Czechoslovak archaeology (Budinský-Krička 1963; Bialeková 1968; cf. Budinský-Krička 1990:89-91). Others argued, like Godłowski, that the Slavic culture cannot be reduced to the Prague-type pottery,⁹⁸ and stressed the importance of sunken buildings and cremation burials (Zeman 1979:115 and 117). More recently, Zdenek Vaňá advocated the idea that "as a cultural and ethnic unit, in the form known from the sixth century A.D. on, [the Slavs] did not exist in antiquity" (Vaňá 1983:25; cf.

Vaňá 1981).

In Poland, Marian Plezia published the first collection of sources regarding the early Slavs (Plezia 1947), in which he also included Herodotus, Tacitus, Pliny, and Ptolemy. On the basis of this collection, Gerard Labuda published the first synthesis on the history of the early Slavs (Labuda 1954; cf. Ivanov 1991d:3). A Polish linguist, Tadeusz Lehr-Spławinski, attributed the Przeworsk culture to the Slavs, an idea later developed in the Soviet Union by I. P. Rusanova and V. V. Sedov (Lehr-Spławinski 1946). Lehr-Spławinski's thesis was widely accepted by Polish archaeologists until the mid-1960s (Sedov 1976:73; Hensel 1988: 203; Baran 1991:31; Parczewski 1993:15). In the late 1960s, Jozef Kostrzewski (1885-1969), professor at the University of Poznań and founder of the Polish archaeological school, was still speaking of the Slavic character of the Lusatian culture (Kostrzewski 1969).⁹⁹ After his death, there were still voices claiming the Bronze Age for the Slavic (pre)-history (e.g., Sulimirski 1973; Labuda 1977:2). As in the Soviet Union, many archaeologists focused on pottery as the most relevant archaeological category. The first attempt to classify the sixth- to seventh-century ceramic material found in Poland belongs to a Japanese student of Konrad Jażdżewski at the University of Łódź (Hasegawa 1975). But the breakthrough in early medieval archaeology

in Poland came with the elaboration in 1970, by Kazimierz Godłowski, from the University of Cracow, of the first chronological system for the archaeology of Central Europe during the third to early fifth century. Godłowski and, more recently, Michał Parczewski, insisted on the substantial differences between the early Slavic culture and its predecessors (the Przeworsk, Wielbark, and Chernyakhov cultures). Moreover, Godłowski argued that the Slavic culture cannot be defined only on the basis of pottery, and insisted that the sunken buildings (*Grubenhäuser*) and the cremation burials were equally important. Only when there is a combination of these three elements, can we speak of early Slavic culture. As a consequence, it is a meaningless enterprise to search for the origins of individual elements. The new cultural configuration we know as the early Slavic culture only emerged after large portions of Eastern and Central Europe were abandoned by the Germanic tribes. Godłowski thus postulated the existence of a considerable hiatus between the latest Przeworsk and Chernyakhov remains and the early Slavic culture, an argument congenial with Vaňá's and Ivanov's ideas that the Slavs only appeared in the 500s (Godłowski 1979a; Godłowski 1979b; Godłowski 1979c; Godłowski 1980a; Godłowski 1981; Godłowski 1983a; Godłowski 1983b; Godłowski 1985). Godłowski's student, Michał Parczewski, gave the final blow to traditional views that the Slavs

were native to the Polish territory, when arguing, on the basis of a thorough analysis of the archaeological evidence, that the early Slavic culture spread from Ukraine into southern Poland during the second half of the sixth century and the early seventh century (Parczewski 1988; Parczewski 1991; Parczewski 1992; Parczewski 1993). His method of pottery classification, as well as his archaeological approach inspired similar research in Slovakia (Fusek 1985; Fusek 1992; Fusek 1994), but through his new journal, Archaeoslavica, the influence of Parczewski's ideas now spreads even farther.¹⁰⁰

In Hungary, the presence of the Slavs before the arrival of the Avars to Pannonia was first advocated by Dezső Simonyi (Simonyi 1955). He suggested that the Slavs, who had come in the late fifth century from the Dnieper and Dniester areas together with the Cutrigurs, lived side by side with the Langobards. In the aftermath of the Soviet intervention against the revolution of 1956, it was not easy to deny this suggestion. It was only in 1968 that Agn  s Cs. S  s fully rejected not only Simonyi's argument, but also Rybakov's similar ideas (S  s 1968).¹⁰¹ Istv  n B  na also attacked Poul  k's interpretation of Prague-type pottery in Langobard burials as evidence in support of Simonyi's thesis (B  na 1979b; cf. B  na 1971:304-305).

Romania is a special case.¹⁰² To many, it is the key

territory for archaeologically understanding the spread and development of the Slavic culture (Kurnatowska 1974: 55 and 58; Vaňá 1983: 25). On the other hand, there is clear evidence that in Romania, attempts to give Slavs the primary role in national history needed serious encouragement from the Romanian Communist leaders and their Soviet counsellors (Georgescu 1991:27). Archaeologists and historians were urged to find evidence for the earliest possible presence of the Slavs. During the 1950s, excavations began on many sites with allegedly Slavic remains, such as Sărata Monteoru and Suceava. Kurt Horedt, the German-born Romanian archaeologist who first introduced the phrase 'Slavic pottery' to the archaeological jargon of his country, spoke of the Slavic expansion as the most important event in the early medieval history of the region (Horedt 1951:190). Maria Comşa, a student of M. I. Artamonov at the University of Leningrad, argued that the stone-oven, a heating facility frequently occurring in sixth- to seventh-century sunken buildings, was a specific Slavic artifact (Comşa 1959:66). Ion Nestor, the founder of Romanian medieval archaeology, who had begun excavations at Sărata Monteoru in 1943 and continued to work there after the war, insisted that the Slavs were primarily recognizable by means of cremation burials, either in urns or in simple cremation pits (n.a. 1953:86; cf. Nestor 1969:145). The only controversial issue was

the chronology of the earliest Slavic infiltrations. According to Maria Comşa, by the end of Justin I's reign, the Slavs had already occupied Walachia (Comşa 1975:171). Nestor thought that an effective, massive settling could not have taken place before the second half of the sixth century (Nestor 1959:49 and 53; Nestor 1965:147). He accused Maria Comşa of paying lip service to "Niederle's school" by trying to demonstrate that the expansion of the Slavs had begun as early as the fifth century (Nestor 1965:148).¹⁰³ According to him, "there is only a scant possibility that a few Slavic groups have settled in Moldavia and Walachia as early as the first half of the sixth century," for the expansion of the Slavs would have been impossible without the migration of the Avars. There can be no question of a Slavic presence in Romania before the Avars crossed the river Prut (Nestor 1965:148-149; Nestor 1973:30). During the 1970s, the dating of the earliest Slavic artifacts on the territory of Romania thus began to move into the late sixth and early seventh century (Teodor 1972b:34; Mitrea 1974-1976:87; Teodor 1978:40). By 1980, the earliest date of the Slavonic migration to the Lower Danube had been moved shortly before 600 A.D. or even later (Teodor 1984a:65; Diaconu 1979:167).

Nestor was well aware that the earliest information regarding the Slavs could be well dated to the early

sixth century. In order to eliminate the apparent contradiction between historical sources and archaeological evidence, he suggested that the Slavic warriors raiding the Balkan provinces were not coming from Walachia, but from their homeland beyond the Prut and the Dniester rivers (Nestor 1961:431; *contra*: Ștefan 1965:103). In the years following Ceaușescu's bold criticism of the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia, Romanian archaeologists directly attacked the idea, shared by many in the Soviet Union, that the Chernyakhov culture belonged to the Slavs (Teodor 1969a: 188; Teodor 1972a:106; Teodor 1973:202; Teodor 1978:35).¹⁰⁴ Following Brătianu's argument, Teodor located the fortress Turris, which, according to Procopius, was given by Justinian to the Antes in 545, at Bilhorod Dnistrovs'kyi (Akkerman) (Teodor 1981:19).¹⁰⁵ Teodor also criticized Maria Comșa for postulating three successive waves of Slavic migration. In fact, he argued, one could only speak of several ways by which the Slavs reached the territory of Romania, which could be identified by mapping finds of Slavic artifacts. Comșa and others had depicted the Slavs as peaceful and dedicated to agriculture (Comșa 1974:307 and 305; cf. Daicoviciu 1968:89). Nestor and Teodor insisted that the Slavs were savage conquerors (Nestor 1961:429; Teodor 1969a:191; Teodor 1980:78; Teodor 1982:38).¹⁰⁶ During the 1980s, Romanian archaeologists made every possible effort to

push the dating of the Slavic presence north of the Danube as close to 602 A.D. as possible, in order to diminish as much as possible the Slavic influence upon the native, Romanian population. The tendency was thus to locate the homeland of the Slavs as far as possible from the territory of modern Romania, and to have them crossing the Danube as quickly as possible, without letting them rest, at least for a while, in native Romanian settlements. A content analysis of the works of Romanian archaeologists during this period, which include references to the early Slavs, shows that this tendency coincides with the increasingly nationalistic discourse of the Communist government, in particular with Ceaușescu's claims that the Great Migrations were responsible for Romania lagging behind the West (Curta 1994b: 266-270).¹⁰⁷ During the 1950s and 1960s, the Slavs were viewed as political and military rulers of the local population and the third component of the Romanian ethnogenesis (cf. Curta 1994b:253). During the 1980s, any reference to their contribution to the Romanian ethnogenesis completely disappeared. In contrast, Romanian archaeologists now maintained that the Slavs "had neither the time, nor the force to change the components, the direction and the evolution of the Romanian ethnogenesis" (Teodor 1984b: 135). Nestor spoke of a general regression of civilization that the Slavs had caused at their set-

tling in Romania: the primitive hand-made pottery the Slavs have brought replaced the wheel-made one of better quality and, formerly good Christians, the Romanians now turned to cremation (Nestor 1970:104). Others blamed the Slavs for having caused a return to prehistory (Bârzu and Brezeanu 1991:213). Permanently wandering, bearing a rather primitive culture and dreaming of nothing else but to cross the Danube, the Slavs found their way to the benefits of civilization only after getting into contact with the native population and the Roman Empire (cf. Nestor 1969:144).

During the 1960s, large-scale excavations were taking place in Romania, some of which remarkably resulted, as in the Soviet Union, in the total excavation of sixth- to seventh-century villages.¹⁰⁸ But the results of these excavations proved very difficult to accommodate to the new orientation of the Romanian archaeologists. In 1958, the Slavic remains from Suceava-Şipot were viewed as perfectly matching finds from USSR (Teodor 1958: 527; cf. Nestor 1962:1435). Fifteen years later, Suceava-Şipot was viewed as an exemplary site on which one could see how "a few Slavic elements" were adopting the culture of the native population (Teodor 1970; Nestor 1973:31). Having decided that there were no genuine Slavic settlements to be found in Romania, the Romanian archaeologists now searched for the settlements of the natives before

the arrival of the barbarians. In 1964, one of Nestor's students, Victor Teodorescu, put forward the influential suggestion that the assemblages of archaeological material dated to the fifth to seventh centuries constituted a new culture, which he called Ipotești-Cândești (Teodorescu 1964; Teodorescu 1971; see also Dolinescu-Ferche 1984). Following his example, Dan Gh. Teodor 'discovered' in 1983 another culture, called Costișa-Botoșana (Teodor 1983). Initially, these new cultures were viewed as a combination of Slavic and native elements. Soon, however, the origins of the Ipotești-Cândești and Costișa-Botoșana assemblages were pushed back to the fifth century, before the arrival of the Slavs, and thus identified as the remains of the local Romanian population (Diaconu 1978; Dolinescu-Ferche 1984:144; Teodor 1984b:223-224). At this point, most of the archaeological assemblages ascribed to the Slavs a few decades before changed attribution. The Romanians taught the Slavs how to produce wheel-made or a better tempered hand-made pottery. Under the local influence, the Slavs gave up building stone ovens and preferred clay ones (Bârză 1979:85; *contra*: Comșa 1973). Once believed to be a relevant, if not the most important, archaeological index for the Slavs, cremation burials were now viewed as the sign of a sixth-century revival of older, Dacian traditions (Bârză 1979: 85). The large cemetery at

Sărata Monteoru, which was attributed in the 1950s and 1960s to the Slavs (n.a. 1953:86; Comşa 1959:65; Matei 1959:579; Nestor 1961:437), was now identified with the Ipoteşti-Cândeşti culture and attributed to the Romanian population (Teodor 1985:60).¹⁰⁹

While Romanian archaeologists were striving to make the Slavic settlement in Romania as late and short as possible, Yugoslav and Bulgarian scholars were following an opposite direction. In Yugoslavia, during the 1950s and early 1960s, the historian Franjo Barišić and the linguist Ivan Popović supported, like the Hungarian Dezső Simonyi, the idea of an early, late fourth- and fifth-century Slavic settlement in Pannonia (see Popović 1959: 705). Some archaeologists also believed that the roots of the Slavic Prague type were to be found in the pottery of the Dacians (Garašanin 1950:32-33). On the basis of a critical reading of the historical sources, Ljubor Hauptmann and Bogo Grafenauer argued, however, that no Slavic settlement in the Balkans could have occurred before 500 (see Ljubinković 1973: 173). Later, Barišić dismissed Roesler's thesis and argued that the massive settlement of the Slavs in the Balkans took place not after 602, but under Heraclius (Barišić 1956). The archaeologists, however, were much more skeptical. In 1954, in a paper significantly entitled "Is there any early Slavic pottery dating to the time of the Slavic

conquest?"("Gibt es frühslawische Keramik aus der Zeit der südslawischen Landnahme?"), the Croatian archaeologist Zdenko Vinski published a few pots from the collection of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, which he believed to have belonged to the Prague type (Vinski 1954). But Vinski's idea was not shared by all his fellow archaeologists.

Ljubo Karaman believed that the earliest Slavic pottery in Croatia should be dated to the eighth century and had nothing to do with the Prague type. He attacked Borkovský's theories for having identified this type only with the Slavs (Karaman 1956: 107-108). Josip Korošec further criticized the Soviet archaeologists for their attempts to link the Slavs to the Scythians or to the Chernyakhov culture, an accusation well attuned to the Yugoslav-Soviet relations of the late 1950s. He rightly pointed to the need of the Soviet archaeologists to create a pottery type that would be both earlier than Borkovský's Prague type and evidence for the presence of the Slavs in the Dnieper basin before the rise of Kievan Rus'. According to Korošec, however, there was no relation between the pottery found in Romania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia and the Prague type (Korošec 1958a:5; Korošec 1958-1959:77-79, 86 and 100; Korošec 1967:351). The only 'hard' evidence for the early presence of the Slavs in the Balkans remained that of bow fibulae and specific

earrings (Korošec 1952:15; Korošec 1954:10, 13-15).

Korošec's skepticism does not seem to have deterred historians from 'discovering' the earliest Slavic settlement. Franjo Barišić posited a massive Slavic settlement in Bosnia-Herzegovina after the raids of 550 and 551. He argued that the first *Sklavinia* to be established south of the rivers Danube and Save was that of Bosnia, though he admitted that a large-scale colonization of the Balkans took place only later, during Heraclius' reign (Barišić 1969:25-26). In support of his contention, Barišić cited the then recently excavated site at Mušići, near Sarajevo. Irma Čremošnik, who published the site shortly thereafter, argued that the pottery found at Mušići belonged to the early Slavic culture, such as found in Romania at Suceava. She specifically cited Ion Nestor as the authority in things Slavic and argued for a dating to the seventh century (Čremošnik 1969; Čremošnik 1970:58-59 and 61; Čremošnik 1970-1971:223).¹¹⁰ Others, in an attempt to legitimize the antiquity of the Slavs in Yugoslavia, believed that the materials found at Mušići are older than any other find from Romania and Bulgaria (Čorović-Ljubinković 1972:52; Ljubinković 1973:182). In the absence of any datable artifacts and with a dubious stratigraphical method, the interpretation of the materials excavated at Mušići remains problematic (see chapter IX). In Serbia, the earliest Slavic remains seem to be

those recently found at Mihajlovac, in the Iron Gates region. They have been dated to the seventh century, but the ascription of the pottery found there to the Prague type is based more on the need to legitimize the antiquity of the Serbian Slavs than on any clearly defined criteria (Marjanović-Vujović 1988:153-154; cf. Kalić 1985:375-376). The absence of any similarly dated remains from Macedonia made others believe that the Slavs did not bring with them to the Balkans anything but the clay pans, the bulk of their ceramic repertoire being directly borrowed from the Byzantine pottery (Babić 1976:64).

Prilep hosted in 1972 an international symposium on the Slavic *Landnahme* in the Balkans, which resulted in the foundation in that same city of an Institute of Slavic Studies and of its major publication, Balkanoslavica. But many Yugoslav archaeologists remained skeptical as to the possibility of dating the Slavic settlement in the Balkans on the basis of the archaeological evidence alone. Some suggested that the numismatic evidence was a better indicator, for it could be linked to the end of the Roman cities and forts, which was caused by the Slavic invasion (Kovačević 1969). Using Byzantine coin hoards and stray finds from Macedonia, Vladislav Popović concluded that the first *Sklavinia* was established not in Bosnia, but in Macedonia, as a result of the raids of 578-584 (Popović 1980), though he also accepted Barišić's

suggestion that the massive settlement of the Slavs took place only during Heraclius' reign (Popović 1975:490).¹¹¹

According to Popović, the earliest Slavic settlements were in the south, in Macedonia and Greece, not in the northern Balkans, where the earliest Slavic remains could be dated only to the seventh or eighth century (Popović 1980:257). However, those opening the way for the Slavic invasions of the mid-sixth century were the Cutrigurs. Popović was the first to have noticed the major contradiction between the discourse of the Romanian archaeologists and the historical evidence. If, as argued by Teodor and others, the Slavs only settled in Moldavia and Walachia after *ca.* 560, where did the Slavic marauders come from? Chilbudius' expeditions against the Slavs living north of the Danube frontier shows that the Slavs were already there in the 530s (Popović 1978:607). This, Popović argued, may explain why the pottery found by the Yugoslav archaeologists in Roman forts along the Danube is typologically related to that of the Ipotești-Cândești culture (Popović 1975:482; Popović 1978:631).

Similar ideas were held by Bulgarian archaeologists. As V. Mikov published the first article on the early Slavic history that took into consideration the archaeological evidence, he was forced to recognize that, in comparison with other countries, such as Czechoslovakia or USSR, there were still very few remains in Bulgaria

which could have been possibly associated with the sixth- to seventh-century Slavs (Mikov 1945-1947:143; cf. Vasilev 1979:12). Just one year later, a group of Soviet archaeologists and ethnographers came to Sofia, in order to teach Bulgarians how to organize the Slavic archaeology, now the task of the newly created department of the Institute of Archaeology. Krăstiu Miiatev (1892-1966), the former director of the Ethnographic Museum (1939-1945) and the would-be director of the Institute of Archaeology (1951-1963),¹¹² published the first study on Slavic pottery, primarily based on museum collections (Miiatev 1948; Alexander 1994:40). Probably inspired by Derzhavin's theories, which were very popular at the time, Miiatev attempted to derive the Slavic pottery from the Thracian one, but also embraced Niederle's idea that until their arrival at the Danube, the Slavs did not know how to use metal objects or how to make pottery, but used mainly wood (cf. Milchev 1970:30; Alexander 1994:40). But the leading figure of the Bulgarian Slavic archaeology of the following period was Zhivka Văzharova, who, like Maria Comşa in Romania, was trained in Leningrad and closely associated with Soviet scholars. Văzharova was the main Bulgarian member of the Soviet-Romanian-Bulgarian archaeological team, which started excavations in 1954 at Kaleto, near Popina, not far from Silistra, with the main purpose of teaching both Romanians and

Bulgarians systematic methodological excavation work (cf. Alexander 1994:42). It is no accident, therefore, that Văzharova's monograph of the Popina site (Văzharova 1954) is based entirely on the chronology and stratigraphy of the Romanian site at Garvăn (Dinogetia), from which the Communist cultural activists in Romania and their Soviet counselors also expected to reveal evidence of early Slavic materials (cf. Curta 1994b:238). In an article published in the USSR (Văzharova 1956), Văzharova first linked the ceramic material found at Popina to the Prague type, though she ended by dating the site to the seventh and eighth centuries. At the same time, she was working on another, neighboring site, at Dzhezdhovi Lozia, which she viewed as the earliest Slavic settlement found in the Balkans (cf. Vasilev 1979:14).¹¹³ At the Romanian-Bulgarian archaeological conference in Bucharest, in 1962, Văzharova attacked Nestor's ideas on the Slavic pottery and put forward a chronology of the Slavic culture in Bulgaria, based on her research at Dzhezdhovi Lozia and Popina. She suggested that the earliest level at Dzhezdhovi Lozia (which she called "culture I") coincided with the Prague and Korchak-Zhitomir cultures dating to the sixth and seventh century (Văzharova 1964; Văzharova 1965; Văzharova 1966; cf. Vasilev 1979:16). Văzharova's interpretation of the site was later challenged by her Soviet colleagues, Irina P. Rusanova and

Svetlana A. Pletneva (e.g. Rusanova 1978:142; cf. Alexander 1994:67), which forced her to change the dating from the sixth-to-seventh-century to the (late) seventh century and to accept significant differences between the pottery found at Dzhezdhovi Lozia and the Prague and Zhitomir-Korchak types (Văzharova 1968:154). More recently, she argued that the early Slavic culture in Bulgaria was the result of two different migrations, one coming from the north, across the Danube, the other coming from the west and originating in Pannonia (Văzharova 1973; Văzharova 1974; cf. Vasilev 1979:19).

But the need to push the antiquity of the Slavs back in time was too strong and the association between Slavs and Thracians too alluring. According to Atanas Milchev, upon their arrival at the Lower Danube, the Slavs were welcomed by the Thracian population of the Balkan provinces. To the native Thracians, the Slavs were not invaders, but allies against their common enemy, the Roman Empire (Milchev 1970:36; Milchev 1975:390; Milchev 1976:54; Milchev 1987:451-453; for a more cautious approach, see Tăpkova-Zaimova 1963:91). Against Rusanova's claims that the first Slavic settlements in Bulgaria cannot be dated earlier than the seventh century, Milchev argued that the archaeological evidence from Nova Cherna, near Silistra, shows that the Slavs first settled as federates in the service of the Roman empire (Milchev 1975:388;

Angelova 1980:4). The evidence cited, however, comes from a refuse pit inside the early Byzantine fort, in which Milchev and his colleague, Stefka Angelova, found sherds of hand-made pottery in association with early Byzantine, wheeled pottery and a late sixth-century bow fibula. They promptly ascribed the hand-made pottery to the Korchak-Zhitomir type, as defined by Rusanova (Milchev and Angelova 1970:29).¹¹⁴ As a consequence, in her monograph of the Garvan site, near Silistra, Zhivka Văzharova returned to her first thesis and maintained that the site's earliest phase was characterized by Prague-Korchak and Pen'kovka pottery, some of which could be dated as early as the sixth century (Văzharova 1986:70 and n. 1; cf. Văzharova 1972; *contra*: Koleva 1993).

In 1965, the International Union of the Archaeology of the Slavs was established, with the primary purpose of organizing, at five-year intervals, the international congress of Slavic archaeology.¹¹⁵ The congress brought together archaeologists from various neighboring countries in Eastern Europe with different, often contrasting, interpretations of the past. In certain cases, the congress was also the main arena of confrontation between different theories held by members of the same 'national' school of archaeology.¹¹⁶

The Early Slavs in American Historiography

While European views of the Slavic Middle Ages had a very strong impact in the United States, the American school of Slavic studies was established more by historians than by linguists (Lunt 1987:296). Like Derzhavin and Artamonov in contemporary Soviet Union, the Russian emigre George Vernadsky (1887-1973), a professor of Russian history at Yale, began his history of "ancient Russia" with the "Palaeolithic Era" and viewed it possible that some Scythian groups were "of Proto-Slavic stock" (Vernadsky 1943:51). Like Niederle, he believed that family communes of the *zadruga* type must have prevailed among the Slavs (Vernadsky 1943:5-6).¹¹⁷ But unlike them, Vernadsky's argument was inspired by Eurasianism.¹¹⁸ To him, the name Ros or Rus did not derive from the Varangians, but from the Iranian Antes of the fourth century (Vernadsky 1943:107-108). The Antes were "Slavs ruled by Alanic clans" (Vernadsky 1943:156; cf. Vernadsky 1939; Vernadsky 1938). They may be considered as forefathers of both Russians and Bulgarians, while the Sclaveni were the ancestors of the Serbs (Vernadsky 1943:167). Vernadsky's ideas were remarkably congenial with those of contemporary Soviet scholars. He cited Rybakov as an authority on the "Antian antiquities" (Vernadsky 1943:156-157; cf. Rybakov 1939) and M. V.

Levchenko for the Slavic colonization in the Balkans (Vernadsky 1943:196; cf. Levchenko 1938). This clearly indicates that, in New Haven, Vernadsky was well aware of current changes taking place in Soviet historiography.¹¹⁹ At the same time, Samuel Hazzard Cross (1891-1946), a professor at Harvard, was arguing that the proto-Slavs belonged to the northern long-headed race, not to the primitive Central European brachycephalics, "though with the lapse of time the stronger shortheaded brunette type came to dominate among the Slavs, as it does indeed today" (Cross 1948: 6). It is an argument directly borrowed from Niederle, though without citing him (cf. Niederle 1923:7-12).¹²⁰ Like Niederle, Cross believed that the most primitive social unit preserved among a Slavic people in historical times was the western Serbian *zadruga*, which, like the Indian "joint family" was a remnant "not merely of Slavic, but of common Indo-European antiquity" (Cross 1948:17). And like Niederle, he believed that the Slavic pottery derived from Roman prototypes (Cross 1948:19). A direct influence of both Niederle and Peisker is also visible in the case of the Czech emigre Francis Dvornik (1893-1975), who taught at Dumbarton Oaks after 1948.¹²¹ Like Peisker, Dvornik located "the cradle of the Slavs" in the marshes of the Pripet basin and quoted Rostafiński's "beech argument."¹²² He spoke of the Slavs as being "usually only

too happy to be left to their peaceful pursuits" and welcoming the protection of Avars or Vikings against other possible invaders (Dvornik 1956:59). He shared with Niederle the ideas that the basis of the social organization of the primitive Slavs was the *zadruga* and that the Roman pottery was imitated by the Slavs. Unlike Niederle, however, Dvornik believed, along with Polish archaeologists such as Jozef Kostrzewski and Tadeusz Sulimirski, that the Lusatian culture represents a product of the primitive Slavs (Dvornik 1956:4-5 and 8). In the same vein, he argued that the Slavs were in possession of Moravia and Slovakia as early as the fifth century, an argument congenial with ideas held in Hungary by Dezsö Simonyi, at about the same time.

With Marija Gimbutas' book (Gimbutas 1971), the first monograph on the early Slavs published in English, the emphasis definitely shifted from linguistic to archaeological arguments. A professor at University of California in Los Angeles since 1963, Gimbutas had just returned from the USSR, where she would return in 1969 as an exchange professor. Her book was remarkably well informed about almost all significant archaeological sites in the Soviet Union, Romania, and Bulgaria. Her interpretation too reflected current developments in the Slavic archaeology. Gimbutas cited Rostafiński's "beech argument" for locating the Slavic homeland, and, like all

Soviet scholars at that time, she believed that Slavic history began much earlier than the accounts of the Sclavenes written by sixth-century historians (Gimbutas 1971:23 and 16). The Slavs were initially an insignificant, repeatedly subjugated Indo-European group of farmers, whose expansion was not episodic like that of the Huns and Avars, but a true colonization (Gimbutas 1973:14).¹²³ They survived physically the period of Gothic domination and their dormant powers became manifest during the migrations (Gimbutas 1973:79). Gimbutas shared Niederle's idea that Proto-Slavic society was characterized by the existence of the joint family, a phenomenon "only recently extinct in Yugoslavia," though, in her eyes, the archaeological evidence was still insufficient to establish whether or not *zadrugas* had existed in all prehistoric periods of Proto-Slavic and early Slavic history (Gimbutas 1973:136). To Gimbutas the archaeologist, the Slavs were easily recognizable by the Prague-type pottery tempered with rough sand and crushed sherds, which she viewed as "typically Slavic" (Gimbutas 1973:110).

Vernadsky's Eurasianist thesis was recently developed by Omeljan Pritsak, a professor at Harvard since 1964 and initiator of the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute (1973). Like Vernadsky, Pritsak believed that the Antes were frontiersmen that the Alans used against

the aggressive attacks by Jordanes' Hermanaric, the king of the Ostrogoths (Pritsak 1983:397). But Pritsak, trained in history and Oriental studies at Berlin and Göttingen, pushed Vernadsky's influential suggestion to its extremes. To Pritsak, there was no such thing as a Slavic ethnic group. According to him, Venedi and Sclavenes were not names of ethnic groups, but of special military units within steppe empires. The unique characteristic of the Sclavene troops, "who were Bulgar military units," was that they were amphibious units for guerilla warfare both on water and on land. "To put it in American terminology, they were the marines of the epoch" (Pritsak 1983:411). Pritsak gave a new meaning to Peisker's powerful suggestion that a nomadic milk-feeding horde (the Avars) dominated a Slavic vegetarian peasant class (cf. Peisker 1926: 432). According to him, the tradition about the origin of the Slavs along the Danube, which appears in the Russian Primary Chronicle, referred to the period of Avar military colonies along the Danube frontier, where "untutored parochial peasants were trained, were formed into larger communities and worked out a more capacious and sophisticated *lingua franca*" (Pritsak 1983: 423-424).¹²⁴

In the last twenty-five years, no less than three American dissertations have focused on early Slavic history (Bačić 1983, Alexander 1994, Milich 1995). The

most remarkable thing about them is that all three rely heavily on the archaeological evidence. In a dissertation advised by Rado Lencek, Jakov Bačić argued that the Sclavenes are "a medieval people, for no classical author knew them, at least not by this name" (Bačić 1983:21). He started his argument with a critique of Niederle's theory of the Transcarpathian origin of the Slavs (Bačić 1983:176). Fully rejecting the idea of a Slavic migration from the north, Bačić observed that the Sclavenes and the Antes emerged on the steadily receding northern frontiers of the Empire in the wake of the Roman retreat and barbarian invasions. They do not seem to have appeared from anywhere, "but rather seem to have always lived along the Danube, where their massive presence is attested in the sources at the beginning of the sixth century" (Bačić 1983:210). In tune with Yugoslav and Hungarian archaeologists of the early 1950s, Bačić argues that the Slavs who invaded Illyricum and Thrace between 548 and 550 came into the Morava valley from Pannonia (Bačić 1983:271). Those invasions were a "rebounding of the northern peoples of Europe against the invaders from the south" (Bačić 1983: 304),¹²⁵ an argument curiously consonant with the Soviet archaeological discourse of the 1940s and 1950s.

In contrast, in a dissertation led by Speros Vryonis, Eugene Alexander argues that the Slavs were

never a very cohesive people. He echoes Peisker's theories when claiming that they were always ready to accommodate others (Alexander 1994:106). At the time of their migration, the Slavs were involved in a polyarchic tribal society, with no elevated notion of sovereignty. No Theodoric arose between the Slavs to gather their scattered communities into a state and attempt a symbiosis with the Greco-Roman civilization of Byzantium (Alexander 1994:205-206).

Petar Milich's dissertation, led by Timothy Gregory, is an attempt to demonstrate that "the Slavicization of the Balkans was accomplished by immigrant farmers," who moved peacefully into the Balkans over multiple generations, not by invasion (Milich 1995:241). He drew on Gimbutas' and Pritsak's work and argues that the Slavicization of the Balkans was a process associated with the spread of new technologies, particularly those based on plowshares and coulters (Milich 1995:249). But unlike Gimbutas, Milich's knowledge of the archaeological evidence was poor¹²⁶ and his conclusions were bizarre. He argued for instance that the people whose houses have been found at Dzhezdhovi Lozia by Zhivka Văzharova were incomers from Dacia, whose idiom was probably Common Slavic, or natives from Moesia inferior whose ancestors had lived there for centuries, but now adopted new forms of material culture and Common Slavic (Milich 1995:223).

Under the theory of "cumulative mutual Slavicity", Milich saw the gradual accretion of "Slavic qualities" over an extended period of time, spanning centuries of peaceful interaction with the indigenous population (Milich 1995: 244).

Conclusion

From a review of its long history, the study of the early Slavs emerges as an endeavor inextricably linked with forging national identities. The purpose of this study has been understood in many ways, the most important of which was to provide answers for current concerns. Slavic studies began as an almost exclusively linguistic and philological enterprise. The rise of the national archaeological schools shortly before and, to a greater extent, after World War II, added an enormous amount of information, but did not alter the main directions set for this discipline by their early nineteenth-century founders. More often than not, archaeology was merely used to illustrate conclusions already drawn from the analysis of the linguistic material. The exceptional vigor of the linguistic approach originated in the fact that, after Herder, language was viewed as the quintessential aspect of ethnicity. As depository of human experiences, languages could thus be used to identify various "historical layers" in "fossilized" sounds,

words, or phrases. In this ahistorical approach, human life and society is viewed as a palimpsest, the proper task for historians being that of ascribing various "fossils" to their respective age. It is an approach remarkably compatible with that of the culture-historical archaeologists, described in chapter II. This may also explain why so many archaeologists working in the field of Slavic studies were eager to adopt the views of the linguists, and rarely challenged them. The current discourse about the Slavic homeland has its roots in this attitude. Though the issue at stake seems to be an historical one, historians were often left the task of combing the existing evidence drawn from historical sources, so that it would fit the linguistic-archaeological model. S. A. Ivanov's most provocative article (Ivanov 1991) pointed out the danger of neglecting the historical dimension, but the response to his criticism illustrates how powerful the Herderian equation between language and *Volk* still is. Ironically, historians became beset by doubts about their ability to give answers, because of the considerable time dimension attributed to linguistic and archaeological artifacts. With no Tacitus at hand, archaeologists proved able to explore the origins of the Slavs far beyond the horizon of the first written sources.

Together with language, the search for a respectable

antiquity for the history of the Slavs showed two principal thrusts: one relied on the interpretation of the historical sources as closely as possible to the linguistic-archaeological argument; the other located the Slavic homeland in the epicenter of the modern distribution of Slavic languages. The former began with the affirmation of trustworthiness for Jordanes' account of the Slavic Venethi, an approach which ultimately led to the claim of Tacitus', Pliny's and Ptolemy's Venedi for the history of the Slavs. The cornerstone of this theory is Šafářik's reading of Jordanes--itself based on suggestions drawn from Surowiecki--as an accurate description of a contemporary ethnic configuration. As it will be shown in chapter IV, there are serious problems with this interpretation of Jordanes' text, but the extraordinary continuity of Šafářik's reading of it, despite considerable revision, in the last few decades, of traditional views of Jordanes and his Getica, deserves more explanation. It does not seem sufficient to point to either ignorance or language barriers. Jordanes' Venethi have become the key argument in all constructions of the Slavic past primarily based on linguistic arguments. Like Šafářik, many would show condescension for Tacitus' "mistake" of listing Venethi among groups living in Germania, but would never doubt that Jordanes' account is genuine. Archaeological research has already provided an enormous

amount of evidence in support of the idea that the Venethi were Slavs. To admit that Jordanes built his image of the Slavs on the basis of earlier accounts and maps, without any concern for accurate description, would mean to give up evolutionary models created for explaining how the early Slavic culture derived from earlier archaeological cultures identified in the area in which Tacitus, Pliny and Ptolemy apparently set their Venedi. An enormous amount of intellectual energy was invested in this direction between the two world wars and after 1945 and to question the theoretical premises of this approach is perceived as denying its utility or, worse, as bluntly revisionist. It is not without interest that Ivanov's challenge was met with the reaffirmation of Sedov's theory of Slavic culture originating from the Przeworsk culture, which is often identified with the Venethi (Vasil'ev 1992).

The more radical the reaffirmation of Slavic antiquity becomes, the more writing about the history of the Slavs takes on the character of a mere description of the history of humans living since time immemorial in territories later inhabited by the Slavs. Pavel Dolukhanov begins his book on the early Slavs published after he "came to the West" by observing that "the succeeding generations of people who lived in the vast spaces of the Russian Plain" without being noticed and recorded in any

written documents cannot be ascribed to any ethnic group. "They had no common name, whether it was 'Slavs' or anything else" (Dolukhanov 1996:ix). Yet, like Derzhavin and Mavrodin in the 1940s, Dolukhanov believes that "the origins and early development of peoples known as Slavs could be rightly understood only if viewed from a wide temporal perspective." This, in his description of Slavic history, means that the proper beginning is the Palaeolithic (Dolukhanov 1996:x).

But the diagnosis comes easier than the remedy. Historians and archaeologists dealing with the progress of the migration of the Slavs outside their established *Urheimat* have, at times, correctly perceived the contradictions and biases ingrained in the current discourse about the origins of the Slavs. But they still work within a framework defined by the concept of migration. The discrepancy between the efforts of Romanian archaeologists, who argue that the Slavs reached the Danube by the end of the sixth century and did not wait too long for crossing it *en masse*, and those of Bulgarian and Yugoslav archaeologists, who strive to demonstrate an early sixth-century presence of the Slavs in the Balkans, has prompted some to voice reservations and objections to both the dominance and the perceived accuracy of the archaeological view of Slavic history. Yet focusing on numismatic, rather than archaeological data did not

banish the concept of migration outright. Just as with pots, the invasions of the Slavs could nevertheless be traced by plotting finds of coins and coin hoards on the map.

Modifying the linguistic-archaeological view of Slavic history seems a better alternative than negating it. Even the American dissertations, in which this view was seriously challenged, speak of the Slavs at the Roman frontier as "the first row of countless and contiguous rows of Slavic, Venedic, and Antic peoples who spread from the Danube to the Dnieper and to the Elbe" (Bačić 1983:201) and of Proto-Slavs as forerunners of the Zhitomir or Prague cultures (Milich 1995:49 and 204). Indeed, in their very work of historiographical revision, historians still acknowledge the link between ethnicity and language. Either as "cumulative mutual Slavicity" or as Sclavene military units organized and controlled by steppe nomads, the idea that the Slavs became Slavs by speaking Slavic is pervasive.

CHAPTER IV

SOURCES FOR THE HISTORY OF THE EARLY SLAVS (CA. 500-700)

Much of what we know about sixth- and seventh-century Slavs comes from works of contemporary authors writing in Greek and, to a lesser extent, in Latin or Syriac. Most of them did not pay special attention to the Slavs, but simply mentioned them and a few other things about them in connection to events relevant to the history of the Empire. Some were accounts of eyewitnesses, but most were written long after the event or at a considerable distance. Their coverage is patchy, and the basic narrative has to be reconstructed from a wide variety of standpoints and perspectives. In this chapter, I will examine some of the issues concerning authorship, trustworthiness, and dating, which might be relevant for the image of the Slavs resulting from early medieval sources. The following chapter will take into consideration the image which is often derived from these accounts.

Procopius and Jordanes

Procopius was often viewed as the voice of the senatorial opposition to Justinian's regime (Irmscher

1969:470). He is believed to have addressed an audience still fond of Homer, Herodotus, and Thucydides (Benedicty 1965:52-53; Irmscher 1971:340). His description of the Slavic god as the 'maker of lightning' (τὸν τῆς ἀστραπῆς δημιουργόν) is indeed reminiscent of Sophocles.¹²⁷ The episode of the 'phoney Chilbudius' betrays the influence of the neo-Attic comedy and, possibly, of Plautus (Ivanov, Gindin, and Cymburskii 1991:231-232). There is also a weak echo of Thucydides where Procopius claims that he had written about buildings which he had seen himself, or heard described by others who had seen them (Buildings VI 7.18).¹²⁸ Despite his credentials as an eyewitness reporter, however, his account could hardly be checked, for he usually does not mention his sources (Veh 1951:35 n. 18; Cameron 1985:13). But doubts are rarely, if ever, raised about the authenticity of his account (cf. Cesa 1982:203; Litavrin 1986:25). It is nevertheless very likely that, except the regions in the immediate vicinity of the Capital, Procopius hardly knew the Balkan area other than from maps (Veh 1951:6; Cameron 1985:220 and 221 n. 96).¹²⁹ He probably had contact with the Slavs in Italy, where he was at Belisarius' side as his legal advisor and secretary (Evans 1970:219; Ivanov, Gindin, and Cymburskii 1991:171; Anfert'ev 1991:132).¹³⁰ In 542, Procopius was back in Constantinople, where he certainly was an eyewitness to the plague (Evans 1970:221; Cameron

1985:8). The writing of the Wars may have already started in the 540s, but books I-VII containing material relevant to the Slavs were only completed in 550 or 551, probably at the same time as the Secret History (Veh 1951:9; Evans 1972:37; Cameron 1985:8; Greatrex 1994:102).¹³¹ As for the Buildings, which has a very controversial dating, Procopius seems to have left it unfinished. Some have argued that parts of, if not the entire, work must have been written in 559/60 (Veh 1951:9; Whitby 1985:145; cf. Scott 1987:220). There is, however, a reference to the recent strengthening of the fortifications of Topeiros, after the city has been sacked by Slavene marauders in 550 (Buildings IV 11.14-17), as narrated in the Wars (VII 38.9-19)(Greatrex 1994:113; cf. Beshevliev 1967b:276).¹³² There are several other indications that Procopius had formed the plan of writing the Buildings while he was still at work on the very different Secret History (18.38; cf. Buildings II 7.2-16). If the two works were contemporary, we can date them with some exactitude before May 7, 558, the date of the collapse of the dome of Hagia Sophia (an event not mentioned in Procopius' Buildings)(Evans 1969:30). It is thus possible that the first books of the Buildings (including the reference to the Slavenes in book IV) were written before 558 and remained unrevised, probably because of their author's untimely death.

Procopius' view of the Slavs is a function of his general concept of *oikumene*. An analysis of his diplomatic terminology reveals his idea of an empire surrounded by 'allies' (ἑνσπονδοί), such as the Saracens, the Lombards, the Gepids, the Goths, the Cutrigurs, and the Antes (cf. Ivanov 1987:31). The Sclavenes do not belong to this group, most probably because Procopius viewed them as 'new'. Indeed, among all 41 references to Sclavenes or Antes in Procopius' work, there is no use of the adverbs παλαιόν, πάλαι, αἰ, ἐς ἐμέ, or ἀνέκαθεν, while all verbs used in reference to settlement (οἰκέω, ἰδρύομαι, νέμονται) appear in the present tense or in the medium voice (Gindin 1987:24-25; Gindin 1988:178-181). Procopius constantly referred to Sclavenes in relation to Antes and Huns or to other nomads (Wars V 27.2; VII 14.2; Secret History 18.20; cf. Gindin 1988:180-181). When talking about Slavic dwellings, he employed καλύβαι, a phrase he only used for military tents and for Moorish compounds. Both this phrase and the claim that the Slavs set up their dwellings far from one another (Wars VII 14.24) betray the influence of military terminology (Ivanov, Gindin, and Cymburskii 1991:224).

The Slavic ethnographic *excursus* is nevertheless the longest in all of his work. It includes a rich list of topics: political organization, religion, dwellings, warfare, language, physical appearance, ethnic name, and

territory. It is thus the richest of all *excursus*, an indication of the special interest of both Procopius and his audience for things Slavic (Ivanov, Gindin, and Cymburskii 1991:219). Moreover, the Slavic *excursus* shows that, despite claims to the contrary (Cesa 1982:207), Procopius' attitude toward Sclavenes is altogether not hostile, for to him they are neither θηριώδης, nor ἀγριώτερος, as most other barbarians are described (e.g., the Herules) (cf. Cesa 1982:212).¹³³ Most of this *excursus* was probably written on the basis of the information Procopius obtained through interviews with Slavene and Antian mercenaries in Italy. His knowledge of the Slavs in the period following his return to Constantinople seems, however, to have been primarily based on archival material and oral sources (Veh 1951:11; Litavrin 1986:27).¹³⁴ In the main narrative of the *Wars*, the accounts of Slavene raids are often introduced by temporal clauses (e.g., *Wars* VII 29.1; VII 38.1), as if Procopius is striving to synchronize events in the Balkans with those in Italy or on the eastern frontier. He even suggests that a certain Slavene raid may have not been an accident, but a deliberate attempt by Totila to keep Roman armies occupied in the Balkans (*Wars* VII 40. 31; cf. Cesa 1982:199).

If Procopius imagined the Slavs as newcomers and nomads, Jordanes viewed them totally different. It has

been suggested that in writing the Getica, Jordanes may have engaged in a polemic with Procopius over the issue of the Empire's attitude toward barbarians, in particular Goths (Goffart 1988:93-95 and 101). In order to explain why any relocation of the Goths would have been impossible, Jordanes stressed that Scandza was repulsive and Scythia so crowded with barbarians that it would not accommodate the Goths again. Parallels between Procopius and Jordanes were only discussed in relation to Scandza and Thule, to which Procopius' Herules returned from the Danube. But a closer look at Jordanes' and Procopius' treatment of Sclaveni and Antes suggests that Jordanes' polemic with his contemporary may have been broader than that. Jordanes' and Procopius' treatment of Sclaveni and Antes seems to confirm this idea. In an attempt to establish a quasi-legendary origin for the 'early Slavs', Jordanes talks of Venethi, Procopius of Spori. Procopius classifies Sclavenes and Antes as nomads, Jordanes gives them swamps and forests for cities (Getica 35). Procopius insists in locating the Sclavenes close to the Danube frontier of the empire. In contrast, Jordanes knows that the abode of the Sclavenes extends northward as far as the Vistula (Getica 35). Procopius maintains that the Sclavenes and the Antes "are not ruled by one man, but they have lived from of old under a democracy" (Wars VII 14.22), Jordanes gives the Antes a king, Boz. The number

of examples could easily be multiplied. The evidence is too compelling to rule out the possibility that Jordanes was responding to Procopius' account. The coincidence in time of their works also supports this idea.

It is generally agreed that Jordanes ended his Getica shortly before the Romana, in 550 or 551 (Várady 1976:487; Croke 1987:126; Anfert'ev 1991:99).¹³⁵ Jordanes refers to the Antes as the strongest among the Venethi (*eorum fortissimi*). This might point to their newly achieved status of ἑσπεροῖσι, after the treaty of 545 with Justinian. Jordanes may have indeed written his work in Constantinople, where he might have heard the news or even the report of the Antian embassy. Despite claims to the contrary, there is no evidence to support the idea that he wrote his Getica in a monastery in Moesia (Wagner 1967:27; Croke 1987:119-120; Goffart 1988:106-107; Anfert'ev 1991:98). Jordanes served as *notarius* to a certain general of the Empire named Gunthigis or Baza (Getica 266). From his work he appears to have been familiar with the horizons and view-point of the military or court circles in the Capital. His views are profoundly Christian, as evidenced by the preface to Getica, in which Jordanes heavily borrows from the preface of Rufinus to his translation of Origen's commentary on Romans. This further suggests that Jordanes was familiar with some serious theology, at a time when Origen was a

controversial author (O'Donnell 1982:227).¹³⁶ It has been also recognized that the work of Jordanes, like that of Augustine and Salvian, is a work of secular history meant to deny the significance of secular history, a recounting of stirring events designed to show that stirring events do not bring happiness (O'Donnell 1982:240; Anton 1994: 277). Jordanes apparently wrote in a sort of semi-retirement after his *conversio*, as a devout elderly layman deeply mindful of the transience of earthly life but nonetheless possessed of strong views on the state of the Roman world, and the immediate directions that imperial policy should take (Croke 1987:134).

But where did Jordanes find his information about Sclavenes and Antes? The problem of Jordanes' sources is extremely controversial. Nineteenth-century German scholars, such as Carl Schirren and Theodor Mommsen, claimed that Jordanes did no more than copy, with slight alterations, the now-lost Gothic History of Cassiodorus. Others tend to give him credit for originality.¹³⁷ Jordanes may not have been a very original writer, but there is no evidence to claim that he did more than use a cursory abridgement of Cassiodorus' work as the basis for a work of his own (Bradley 1966:79; Croke 1987:121; cf. Baldwin 1981:145). Could the information about the Slavs have come from Cassiodorus? For his digression on Scythia (Getica 30-38), he only cites the "written records" of

the Goths (*eorum... scriptae*) (Getica 38; cf. Croke 1987:123). Theodor Mommsen believed this paragraph indicated Cassiodorus as Jordanes' source. In fact, the passage looks more like an insertion by Jordanes (Barnish 1984:339). It has been observed, on the other hand, that in the description of the Venethi, Jordanes uses two names for the same river, Vistula. When referring to Sclavenes, he employs Viscla, when speaking of Venethi, he uses Vistula. Anfert'ev argues that this is a clear indication of two different sources (Anfert'ev 1991:131). In the case of the Venethi, Jordanes' information may have been derived from an ancient source similar to Ptolemy's geography, but it is also possible that he was inspired here by Tacitus, for, like him, Jordanes constantly associates Venethi with Aesti (Tacitus, Germania 46; cf. Getica 35-36 and 119-120; see Anfert'ev 1986:10; Anfert'ev 1991:131). Anfert'ev argues that the name Viscla indicates a Gothic oral source. But a closer look to the evidence of other sources does not support this view. Though usually referred to in ancient sources as Vistula, the river is named Vistla three times by Pliny the Younger (Nat. hist. IV 81, 97, and 100). Moreover, one of these references is associated with the Venedi (Nat. hist. IV 97). A citation from Pliny's work by Julius Solinus is rendered by some manuscripts as Vistla, by others as Viscla.¹³⁸ That Jordanes used Solinus has

long been demonstrated by Mommsen.¹³⁹ It is therefore very likely that Jordanes borrowed Viscla not from an oral source, but from a manuscript of the third-century Collection of Remarkable Facts.

Jordanes seems to have relied more heavily on written than on oral sources. This is also true for the passage referring to the conquest of Venethi by Hermanaric. The king of the Ostrogoths had subdued many tribes, which Jordanes refers to as *thiudos* (Getica 116). It is possible, as suggested by many, that both this term and the list of tribal names, were derived from a Gothic source, though nothing indicates this source to be an oral one (cf. Anfert'ev 1991:149-150; Kazanski 1991a: 36).¹⁴⁰ As for the subjugation of the Herules, Jordanes cites the historian Ablabius (Getica 117). He then moves on to narrate how Hermanaric defeated the Venethi. Could this latter part have been derived from either the 'Gothic source' or Ablabius? In my opinion, the answer must be negative for a variety of reasons. First, unlike the Herules, whom Jordanes describes as living near the Lake Maeotis, the only thing he has to say about Venethi is that they were "a multitude of cowards of no avail" (Getica 119) Second, the reference to God in this passage looks more like a commentary by Jordanes, with his idea of Divine Providence as the main force behind all events. Third, the passage contains a cross-reference, by which

Jordanes, as if not willing to repeat himself, sends us back to the 'catalogue of nations' (*Getica* 35) for further information on Venethi. The reference is not exactly accurate. Back in chapter 35, we are told that the Venethi are "chiefly called Sclaveni and Antes," which could only mean that Venethi were (later) subdivided into subcategories, such as Sclavenes or Antes. Here, in chapter 119, Jordanes claims that Venethi is one of the three current names (*tria nunc nomina ediderunt*). They are therefore not the archetype, but a subcategory. Jordanes repeats *nunc* when claiming that they, the Venethi, are raging in war far and wide. He seems to be more careful to evoke the sixth-century setting of his argument than to impress upon readers the very distant antiquity of King Hermanaric's victory over the peoples of Scythia (cf. Goffart 1988:90). He thus goes as far as to imply that Venethi was a name still in use during his lifetime. That this is not true is proved by contemporary evidence, first of all by Procopius, who only knows of Sclavenes and Antes. In his *Romana*, Jordanes himself only speaks of Bulgars, Sclavenes, and Antes (*Romana* 52). His audience must have been familiar with attacks by Sclavenes and Antes, but might have never heard of Venethi. The reference to Venethi may therefore be interpreted as an attempt to link the narrative of the Gothic history to current concerns. But Jordanes' narrative

strategy was not very well thought out, for he clumsily superposed a vague geographical concept of contemporary invasions on the ethnic configuration described in his 'catalogue of nations.'¹⁴¹

Moreover, when compared to Procopius, Jordanes' account of the Slavs is rather poor. Besides locating them in Scythia, the only thing Jordanes seems to know about Sclavenes is that they have swamps and woods for cities, a passage that has a distant parallel in Tacitus' description of the wooded and mountainous country raided by Venedi (Germania 46: *nad quidquid inter Peucinos Fennosque silvarum ac montium erigitur latrociniis pererrant*; cf. Pritsak 1983:381). As to the Antes, the only 'hard' piece of evidence is the episode of Vinitharius' victory over King Boz. Could this episode have originated in the oral Gothic tradition, as implied by Herwig Wolfram?(Wolfram 1988:251-252). Though the narrative pattern of the story seems to substantiate this idea (Anfert'ev 1991:159), the fact that Jordanes employs here an unusual spelling, *Anti* instead of *Antes*, may suggest a different solution. The only other place where he does so is Romana 52, and it has been rightly observed that in both cases Jordanes' source is Greek, not Latin (Anfert'ev 1991:159).¹⁴² If, as often assumed, he derived his account of the early history of the Goths (including the episode of Vinitharius) from Cassiodorus, he could

not have found the *Anti* there, for there is no indication that Cassiodorus read Greek (Croke 1987:121; O'Donnell 1982:235 and 229). It is more likely that, just as in the case of Hermanaric's episode, Jordanes filled the imaginary map of much earlier accounts with sixth-century ethnic names.

That Jordanes used a map in his *Getica* has long been recognized.¹⁴³ But his account of the Venethi seems to indicate more than one. No one has noticed that although there is plenty of evidence that to Jordanes the Vistula river has a south-north direction, the "abode of the Sclaveni extends... northward as far as the Vistula" (*Getica* 35). This seems to suggest a west-east direction for the Vistula river, which contradicts not only other references to this river, but also the entire geographical system on which Jordanes' description of Scythia is based. It is important to note, on the other hand, that the river referred here is *Viscla*, though Jordanes used *Vistula* in the preceding chapter. It is very unlikely that he derived his information directly from Pliny (who gives the equivalence of both names; cf. *Nat. hist.* IV 100: *Visculus sive Vistla*), for the latter clearly set his Venedi, along with Sciri and Cimbri, between the river *Vistla* and *Sarmatia*, thus acknowledging a south-north direction for this river (*Nat. hist.* IV 97). There is no other source referring to Sclavenes as being

bounded to the north by any river, except the Peutinger map. The surviving copy of this road map, Codex Vindobonensis 324, dates to the twelfth or early thirteenth century, but it has long been recognized as a copy of an early fifth-century map, which was itself based on a third-century prototype. The Peutinger map shows the Venedi placed between the Danube and another river, called *fl. Agalingus*, perhaps a reminiscence of Ptolemy's Axiaces river (Tabula Peutingeriana Segment VII.4; cf. Ptolemy, Geographia III 5.18). Moreover, the Venedi appear across the Danube, immediately beside a staging post named *Nouiodum. XLI*. This is, no doubt, the city of Noviodunum (present-day Isaccea), with the distance in Roman miles to the next staging post, Salsovia (present-day Mahmudia). It is possible that Jordanes' *ciuitas Nouitunensis* is equivalent to *Nouiodum* on the Peutinger map. If true, this would confirm that Jordanes' description is based on a road map, not on oral sources, and that he follows a route along the Danube. In this case, all attempts to locate *ciuitas Nouitunensis* in Nevioudunum in Pannonia would have to be abandoned (see Skrzhinskaia 1957:6-10, with a discussion of older interpretations).

Jordanes was not a thorough observer of the ethnographic situation on the northern frontier of the Empire in the mid-500s, as historians have imagined him. The very purpose of his work is not accurate description, nor

does Getica belong to the Herodotean type of historiography. It is very likely that Getica was meant to be a reply to Procopius in the current debate on the attitude towards barbarians. In order to prove Procopius' errors, Jordanes made extensive use of various, ancient sources. The description of Scythia shows him as heavily indebted to these sources for both his geographical framework and the tribal names used to fill the map.

The Venethi are no exception. An analysis of their description reveals at least three sources used by Jordanes. Tacitus may have served as the basis for the ethnographic material, but for his geographical orientation Jordanes certainly used maps. One of them, based on a conical or coniclike projection, had the river Vistula with a south-north direction and was probably close to, if not inspired by, Ptolemy. The other, however, had the same river with a west-east direction, so typical for Roman road maps with no real geographical projection. It may have been similar to, if not the same as the exemplar of the Peutinger map itself. Jordanes was unable to solve the apparent contradictions between these sources, most probably because he was not interested in matters geographical. The issue of history seems to have concerned him to a much higher degree. Jordanes interpreted his sources as evidence for contemporary concerns. The attacks of the Sclavenes and the Antes were an experience

too familiar to his audience to be neglected, even in a history of the Goths. Through his research in ancient sources about the geography of eastern Europe, Jordanes became convinced that the ethnic groups mentioned by second- or third-century authors were the same as those rampaging everywhere during his lifetime. Although in the mid-sixth century "their names were dispersed amid various clans and places" (*Getica* 35), the Venethi were still recognizable to Jordanes' eyes. And although they were now known as Sclavenes and Antes, it was the same *natio* that both Hermanaric and Vinitharius had subdued to the Goths.

Jordanes' perspective thus proves to be the exact opposite of Procopius' standpoint. Instead of representing the Slavs as 'new' and nomads, Jordanes calls them Venethi and thus makes them look ancient. This, however, is not a consequence of Jordanes' inability to cope with chronology, but derives from the specific purpose of his work. Like all Christian historians of the 500s and 600s, Jordanes had a high respect for the authority of the sources he used. He was aware that not to match account and source or to distort a document would damage the truthfulness of a writer. He fully embraced therefore the historical and geographical viewpoint of his predecessors, because he needed their authority as sources. This conclusion is in sharp contrast to traditional views,

which held Jordanes for a better and more accurate source for the history of the early Slavs than Procopius, because of his alleged use of Gothic oral sources (e.g. Sedov 1978 and, more recently, Eeckaute, Garde, and Kazanski 1992).

The Slavs, the Theory of Climates, and Constantinople

A substantial revision is also needed for the thesis claiming that the earliest reference to Sclavenes is that of the author of Erotapokriseis, known as Pseudo-Caesarius (Gorianov 1939:310; Skrzhinskaia 1957:13 and 35; Köpstein 1979:67). He must have been a Monophysite monk, most probably from the Constantinopolitan monastery Akimiton. His work is a collection of 220 queries and answers on a variety of topics (hence its Greek title, usually translated into English as Dialogues). Paradoxically, the style of the work reminds one more of a rhetorician than of a theologian (Ivanov 1991e:251).¹⁴⁴ Pseudo-Caesarius seems to have been familiar with court life and he had certainly visited Cappadocia, Palestine and the region of the Danube frontier. This is suggested not so much by his use of a biblical name for the Danube (Physon), as by the phrase 'Ριπιδνοί he uses in reference to the inhabitants of the Danube region. The term is a derivative of the Latin word *ripa* and most probably refers to inhabitants

of the province Dacia Ripensis, located immediately close alongside the Danube frontier (Riedinger 1969:306; Ivanov 1991e:255). A *terminus a quo* for the dating of Pseudo-Caesarius' work is the reference to Lombards as living beyond the Danube, which indicates a date after ca. 530 (Duichev 1953:205). Moreover, in a passage referring to the same region, Pseudo-Caesarius uses the example of the frozen Danube to illustrate an argument based on a biblical citation (Gen. 1.6). He argues that 10,000 horsemen were thus able to invade Illyricum and Thrace (for the Greek text, see Riedinger 1969:305). In my opinion, this is a clear reference to the invasion of the Cutrigurs in the winter of 558/9.¹⁴⁵ If true, this would imply that the Eratopokriseis was composed less than ten years after Procopius' and Jordanes' accounts. Pseudo-Caesarius, nevertheless, shares the former's attitude toward Slavs. He claims that the Sclavenes are savage, living by their own law and without the rule of anyone (ἀνηγεμóνευτοι)" (Riedinger 1969:302; for the English translation, see Bačić 1983:152). This may be an echo of Procopius' report that they "are not ruled by one man, but they have lived from of old under a democracy" (Wars VII 14.22).

Pseudo-Caesarius' point of view is, however, radically different from that of Procopius. His purpose was to refute the so-called theory of climates (*Milieu-theorie*), which claimed that the character of a given

ethnic group was a direct consequence of the influence exerted by the geographical and climatic region in which that group lived (Duichev 1953:206; Ivanov 1991e:253). Pseudo-Caesarius made his point by showing that completely different peoples could in fact live within the same climatic zone. He chooses, among other examples, the savage Sclavenes, on one hand, and the peaceful and mild inhabitants of the Danube region (the 'Physonites'), on the other. He seems to have endorsed the measures adopted by the fifth ecumenical council (553) against astrology (Ivanov 1991e:253). Pseudo-Caesarius' most evident bias against Sclavenes has led some to believe that his appalling portrait of the Slavs is in its entirety a cliché (Duichev 1953:207-208), while others are more inclined to give him credit of veracity (Malingoudis 1990).

A dating slightly later than, if not closer to, that of Pseudo-Caesarius' Eratopokriseis could also be assigned to Agathias of Myrina's History. He provides little information relevant to the history of the Slavs, except the names of an Antian officer and a Sclavene soldier in the Roman army operating in the Caucasus region (III 3.6.9; III 3.7.2; III.21.6; IV.18.1-3; IV.20.4). The importance of this source is rather that, together with John Malalas, Agathias is the first author to mention the Sclavenes under a new, shorter name

(Σκλάβοι, instead of Σκλαβηνοί or Σκλαυηνοί). Since he obtained most of his informations about Roman campaigns in Italy and Caucasus from written sources (military reports and campaign diaries), rather than from personal experience (Levinskaia and Tokhtas'ev 1991a:292), the question is whether this change in ethnic naming should be attributed to Agathias himself or to his sources. Though born in Myrina, in Asia Minor, Agathias lived most of his life in Constantinople. He was one of the most prominent lawyers in the city and he died there in *ca.* 582 (Veh 1951:18; Cameron 1970:3). He certainly was in Constantinople in 558/9, as Zabergan's Cutrigurs attacked the Long Walls, for the abundance of detailed information (names of participants, place names, consequences of the invasion) betrays an eyewitness (Bakalov 1974:207; Levinskaia and Tokhtas'ev 1991a:292).

The same event is narrated by John Malalas (XVIII 129) on the basis of a now lost source, a Constantinopolitan city chronicle, later used by Theophanes for a version of the same invasion clearly not inspired by Malalas (Litavrin 1991a:269 and 272).¹⁴⁶ Unlike Agathias, Malalas specifically refers to Sclavenes as participating to this invasion (XVIII 129). It is difficult to explain why Agathias failed to notice this detail, but it is important to note that, like him, Malalas (or his source, the Constantinopolitan chronicle)

employs the shorter ethnic name (Σκλάβοι).¹⁴⁷ Historians, perhaps influenced by the tendency to view Malalas as Justinian's mouthpiece to the masses (Irmischer 1969:471; Irmischer 1971:342), tend to give credit to Malalas and believe that Sclavenes may have indeed taken part to Zabergan's raid. There are, however, insurmountable difficulties in assuming that Malalas' audience were *breite Volksmassen* or monastic circles. Malalas provides a summary of world history from a sixth-century point of view organized around a central chronographical framework and informed by an overriding chronographical argument (Croke 1990:27 and 37). Whoever was responsible for the last part of Book XVIII, whether an aged Malalas living in Constantinople or someone else, appears to have been affected by the gloom of the latter part of Justinian's reign and so to have produced a desultory list of unconnected events of a sort to be associated with a putative city chronicle (Scott 1990b:84). Malalas did not witness the attack of 558/9 and, like Theophanes, relied exclusively on the Constantinopolitan chronicle. If Sclavene warriors participated to Zabergan's invasion, they probably had a subordinate role, for they were invisible to the otherwise trustworthy testimony of Agathias.

An equally Constantinopolitan origin must be attributed to the reference to *Sclavus* in Bishop Martin of Braga's poem dedicated to St. Martin of Tours, most

likely written in the late 570s (Ivanov 1991c:357).

Martin, who was born in Pannonia in the 510s, visited the Holy Land in 550 or 552, travelling via Constantinople (Ivanov 1991c:357 and 359). The short ethnic name given to the Slavs suggests a Constantinopolitan source. In writing his epitaph, Bishop Martin was inspired by two poems of Sidonius Apollinaris, in which, like Martin, he listed randomly selected ethnic, barbarian names, in order to create a purely rhetorical effect (Poems 5 and 7; Ivanov 1991c:359). Besides *Sclavus*, there are two other ethnic names not mentioned by Sidonius, but listed by Martin: *Nara* and *Datus*. The former is interpreted as referring to inhabitants of the former province of Noricum. This further suggests that, despite recent claims to the contrary (Schramm 1995:197), this new name originated not in the Balkans, from an alleged Thracian or Illyrian intermediary, but in Constantinople. *Noricum*, the latter as designating Danes (Ivanov 1991c:359-360). In spite of the obvious lack of accuracy of these geographical indications, some have attempted to locate the Sclavenes on a sixth-century ethnic map of Europe (Zeman 1966:165-166; Pohl 1988:97). It is very unlikely, however, that the mention of *Sclavus* in Bishop Martin's poem is anything more than a rhetorical device in order to emphasize the rapid spread of Christianity among *inmanes variasque gentes* through the spiritual powers of St.

Martin. Besides simply mentioning the Slavs, among other, more or less contemporary ethnic groups, Bishop Martin's poem has no historical value for the Slavs.

No contemporary source refers to Sclavenes during the reigns of Justin II and Tiberius II. The next information about them comes from Menander the Guardsman's now lost History. Menander wrote, under Maurice, a work continuing that of Agathias. It survived in fragments incorporated into De legationibus and De sententiis, two collections compiled under Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus in the mid-tenth century.¹⁴⁸ Menander's History may have been commissioned by emperor Maurice or by a powerful minister, for it seems that he enjoyed ready access to imperial archives (Blockley 1985:1). The work probably had ten books covering the period from the end of Agathias' History (558/9) to the loss of Sirmium in 582. The core of the work was built around the careers of the two men who are in the center of the narration, Tiberius and Maurice (Blockley 1985:5). The outlook is Constantinopolitan and the city's concerns are paramount. Menander relied heavily, if not exclusively, on written sources, especially on material from the archives (minutes of proceedings, supporting documents and correspondence, reports from envoys of embassies and meetings) (Blockley 1985:19). His views were traditional and his main interest was in Roman relations with foreign peo-

ples, in particular Persians and Avars. The Slavs thus appear only in the context of relations with the Avars (Blockley 1985:14). Menander reworked the material he presumably found in his written sources. When talking about the devastation of the territory of the Antes by Avars, who "ravaged and plundered (their land) (πιεζόμενοι δ'οὖν ταῖς τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιδρομαῖς)" (fr. 3), he strove to imitate Agathias' style (cf. I 1.1; Levinskaia and Tokhtas'ev 1991b:328). When Dauritas/Daurentius boastfully replies to the Avar envoy that "others do not conquer our land, we conquer theirs[; a]nd so it shall always be for us (ταῦτα ἡμῖν ἐν βεβαίῳ), as long as there are wars and weapons (emphasis added)" (fr. 21), this is also a phrase Menander frequently employed, particularly in rendering speeches of Roman or Persian envoys (Levinskaia and Tokhtas'ev 1991b:350).

Despite Menander's considerable contribution to the speeches, which served to both characterize the speakers and to explore the issues, it is likely that they were fairly close to the available records (Baldwin 1978:118; Blockley 1985:11). It is not as difficult to visualize the source for Daurentius' speech as R. C. Blockley believed (Blockley 1985:20 n. 83). The whole episode may have been based on a report of John, "who at this time was governor of the isles and in charge of the cities of Illyricum," for when referring to the Slavene chiefs,

Menander employs the phrase τοὺς ὅσοι ἐν τέλει τοῦ ἔθνους (fr. 21). This is a phrase commonly used in Byzantine administration in reference to imperial officials. It betrays an official document as source (Benedicty 1965: 53; cf. Levinskaia and Tokhtas'ev 1991b:349).¹⁴⁹ The same might be true for the episode of Mezamer (fr. 3). Detailed knowledge of Mezamer's noble lineage or of the relations between "that Kutrigur who was a friend of the Avars" and the chagan suggests a written source, arguably a report of an envoy (Levinskaia and Tokhtas'ev 1991b: 338). Menander may have only added his very traditional view of barbarians: greedy, cunning, arrogant, lacking self-control, and untrustworthy. To him, the Sclavenes murdered the Avar emissaries specifically because they lost control (fr. 21).

Unlike Menander, John of Ephesus personally witnessed the panic caused by Avar and Slav attacks during Tiberius' and Maurice's reigns. His Ecclesiastical History, now lost, contained three parts, the last of which had six books. Book VI was compiled at Constantinople over a period of years, as indicated by chronological references in the text (D'iakonov 1946:20; Whitby 1988: 110).¹⁵⁰ The last event recorded is the acquittal of Gregory of Antioch in 588 (Allen 1979:254). John first came to Constantinople in the 530s, where he enjoyed Emperor Justinian's favors. He was absent from the

Capital between 542 and 571, as he was first nominated missionary bishop in Asia Minor and then elected bishop of Ephesus. He was back in Constantinople, when Justin II launched his persecution of the Monophysites. Beginning in 571, John spent eight years in prison. Most of Book VI, if not the entire third part of the History, was written during this period of confinement. John must have died soon after the last event recorded in his work, for the surviving fragments leave the impression of a draft, which he may not have had the time to revamp (D'iakonov 1946: 25; Serikov 1991:276). The concluding chapters of book VI are lost, but significant parts could be reconstructed on the basis of later works, such as the eighth-century chronicle attributed to Dionysios of Tell Mahre, that of Elias Bar Shinaya (tenth to eleventh century), the twelfth-century chronicle of the Jacobite patriarch of Antioch, Michael the Syrian, and the thirteenth-century chronicle of Gregory Barhebraeus (D'iakonov 1946:21; Serikov 1991:276).¹⁵¹ John might have been influenced by the pessimistic atmosphere at Constantinople in the 580s to overstate the intensity of Slavic ravaging (Whitby 1988:112), but his view of the Slavs has another, different source. John is a supporter of that *Milieutheorie* attacked by Pseudo-Caesarius. To him, the Slavs were *lyt'* (accursed, savage; cf. III 6. 25), for they were part of the seventh climate, in which the sun rarely shone over

their heads. Hence, their blonde hair, their brutish character and their rude ways of life (Serikov 1991: 281).¹⁵² On the other hand, God is on their side, for in John's eyes, they are God's instrument for punishing the persecutors of the Monophysites (Nestor 1963:50; Serikov 1991:283). This may also explain why John insists that, beginning with 581 (just ten years after Justin II started persecuting the Monophysites), Slavs began occupying Roman territory, "until now, that is up to the year 895 [i.e. 584]... [and] became rich and possessed gold and silver, herds of horses and a lot of weapons, and learned to make war better than the Romans" (III.6.25).¹⁵³

Slavs or Avars?

The echo of the panic caused by Slavic raids in the Balkans also reached Spain, where John of Biclar recorded their ravaging of Thrace and Illyricum (pp. 214 and 216).¹⁵⁴ Between 576/7 and 586/7, John was in Barcelona, where he may have received news from Constantinople, via Cartagena (Cherniak 1991:395). The last part of his chronicle, written in 589/90, recorded only major events. For the year 575, there are thirteen entries concerning the East and ten referring to events in the West. The last entries, covering the period between 576 and 589/590, include only three events from the East, but twenty-two from the West. Two, if not all three, of the Eastern

events mentioned are in relation to Slavic raids (Cherniak 1991:395). Though John's chronology of Byzantine regnal years is wrong, both records could be fairly well dated to 576 and 581, respectively, for beginning with 569, entries in the chronicle are also dated by King Leuvigild's and his son's regnal years.¹⁵⁵ John of Biclar may thus have recorded events that, at the same time, in Constantinople, John of Ephesus interpreted as God's punishment for sinners.

In a passage most probably borrowed from a now lost part of John of Ephesus' History, Michael the Syrian speaks of Slavs plundering churches, but calls their leader, who carried away the *ciborium* of the cathedral in Corinth, a chagan (X 21). John of Biclar also speaks of Avars occupying *partes Graeciae* in 579 (p. 215). Evagrius, visiting Constantinople in 588 to assist his employer, Gregory, patriarch of Antioch, to defend himself against accusations of incest, recorded some information about the capture, enslavement, and destruction by Avars of Singidunum, Anchialos, the whole of Greece, and other cities and forts, which could not be prevented because of the empire's eastern commitments (VI 10). Both John of Ephesus and Evagrius must have learned about these events in the Capital and there are good reasons to believe that John of Biclar's ultimate source of information was also in Constantinople. It has been rightly

argued that Evagrius is definitely referring to invasions by Avars, not Slavs, and that it is unfair to accuse him of muddling Avars and Slavs (Whitby 1988:110). If this is true, however, we should apply the same treatment to both John of Biclar and John of Ephesus. Unlike Evagrius, they both refer elsewhere to Slavs, in the context of otherwise well datable events. We may safely assume, therefore, that in the 580s, in Constantinople, devastations in Greece were attributed to Avars, not Slavs. The ethnic terminology of later sources, such as the Chronicle of Monemvasia or Vita S. Pancratii may be considered as a dim recollection of this interpretation of events.¹⁵⁶

That the Slavs were considered the most important danger, however, is suggested by the analysis of a military treatise known as the Strategikon (Kuchma 1978:12). Its author was an experienced officer, who had undoubtedly participated to Maurice's campaigns against Avars and Sclavenes, some ten years after the events narrated by John of Ephesus, John of Biclar, and Evagrius. He was accustomed to the life of military camps and knew a lot about different forms of warfare from his own experience of fighting on at least two different fronts (Dennis and Gamillscheg 1981:13; cf. Mihăescu 1974:201). Unlike other military treatises, the author of Strategikon devotes a whole chapter to what might be called today 'exercise deception,' describing a series of mock drills to be

practiced so that enemy spies will not find out which one will be applied by Roman troops. He is also an enthusiastic proponent of misleading the enemy with 'dis-information' and has a sophisticated appreciation of how to make defectors and deserters work against, instead of for, enemy interests (Petersen 1992:75). All this is strikingly similar to Theophylact Simocatta's later account of Priscus' and Peter's tactics during their campaigns against the Sclavenes and the Avars.

That the chapter in the Strategikon dedicated to Sclavenes and Antes is entirely based on the author's experience is shown by his own declaration at the end of Book XI:

Now then, we have reflected on these topics to the best of our ability, drawing on our own experience (ἐκ τῆς περὶ τῆς πείρας αὐτῆς) and on the authorities of the past, and we have written down these reflections for the benefit of whoever may read them (XI 4.46).

Despite his reliance on the "authorities of the past" and his concern with restoring the *neglecta disciplina*, which he shares with Vegetius (Giuffrida 1985:846), there can be no doubt that, when describing Slavic settlements, warfare, or society, the author of the Strategikon speaks of things he had seen with his own eyes. In contrast, the chapters on "blonde races" (Franks and Lombards) and "Scythians" (Avars) have a more bookish aspect (Kuchma 1978:11). Moreover, the chapter dedicated to Sclavenes and Antes, twice labelled Ἑθνη (XI 4.1 and 4), is slight-

ly smaller than all chapters on Franks, Lombards, and Avars taken together (Mihăescu 1974:202; Kuchma 1978:11; cf. Giuffrida 1985:857).¹⁵⁷ The importance attributed to Sclavenes also results from the reference to 'Sclavene spears' (λογχίδια Σκλαβινίσκια; XII B 5), which were expected to be part of the regular weaponry of the Byzantine light armed infantry, along with other items, such as crossbows, 'Gothic shoes' or 'Bulgar belts' (XII B 1; cf. Dennis 1981).¹⁵⁸

In sharp contrast to all treatises written before him, the author of the Strategikon boldly introduced ethnographic data into a genre traditionally restricted to purely military topics. It is true, however, that ethnographic details appear only when relevant to the treatise's subject matter, namely to warfare. Indeed, the author of the Strategikon seems to have been inspired by the same concept of *Milieutheorie* John of Ephesus had also embraced. He believed that the geographical location of a given ethnic group determines not only its lifestyle and laws, but also its type of warfare. If the Strategikon pays attention to such things as to how Slavic settlements branch out in many directions or how Slavic women commit suicide at their husbands' death, it is because its author strongly believed that such details might be relevant to Slavic warfare (cf. Kuchma 1991: 365).

Who was the author of the Strategikon and when was this work written? Both questions are obviously of great importance for the history of the 'early Slavs'. The issue of authorship is still a controversial one. The oldest manuscript, Codex Mediceo-Laurentianus 55.4 from Florence, dated to ca. 950, attributes the treatise to a certain Urbicius. Three other manuscripts dated to the first half of the eleventh century, attribute the work to a certain Maurice, whom Richard Förster first identified with one of Emperor Maurice's contemporary namesakes (Förster 1877). The most recent manuscript, Codex Ambrosianus gr. 139, reproducing the oldest version, explicitly attributes the treatise to Μαυρικίου...τοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλέως Μαυρικίου γεγονότος (Dennis and Gamillscheg 1981:18). It is very likely that Emperor Maurice had commissioned this treatise to an experienced high officer or general of the army (Dennis and Gamillscheg 1981:18; Kuchma 1982:48-49).¹⁵⁹ This seems to be supported by a few chronological markers contained within the text itself. There is a reference to the siege of Akbas in 583, as well as to stratagems applied by the chagan of the Avars during a battle near Heraclea, in 592. Some have argued, therefore, that Strategikon may have been written during Maurice's last years (after 592) or during Phocas' first years (Wiita 1977:24; Dennis and Gamillscheg 1981:16). A long list of military commands in

Latin occurring throughout the text also suggests a dating to the first three decades of the seventh century, at the latest, for it is known that after that date, Greek definitely replaced Latin in the administration, as well as in the army (Mihăescu 1974:203; Petersmann 1992: 225-228; cf. Olajos 1981-1982:43).¹⁶⁰ But it is difficult to believe that the recommendation of winter campaigning against the Slavs (XI 4.19) could have been given, without qualification or comment, after the mutiny of 602, for which this strategy was a central issue (Whitby 1988:131). The Strategikon should therefore be dated to Maurice's reign exclusively, most probably between 592 and 602. In any case, at the date the Strategikon was written, the Sclavenes were still north of the river Danube. Its author recommended that provisions taken from Sclavene villages by Roman troops should be transported south of the Danube frontier, using the river's northern tributaries (XI 4.32).

The Saint and the Barbarians

The next relevant information about Slavs is to be found in book I of a collection known as the Miracles of St Demetrius, written in Thessalonica. The collection, which was offered as a hymn of thanksgiving to God for His gift to the city, is a didactic work, written by Archbishop John of Thessalonica in the first decade of

Heraclius' reign (Whitby 1988:116; Macrides 1990:189).¹⁶¹

A clear indication of this dating is a passage of the tenth miracle, in which John refers to events happening during Phocas' reign but avoids using his name, an indication of the *damnatio memoriae* imposed on Phocas during Heraclius' first regnal years (I 10.82; Lemerle 1981:44).¹⁶² Book I contains fifteen miracles which the saint performed for the benefit of his city and its inhabitants. Most of them occurred during the episcopate of Eusebius, otherwise known from letters addressed to him by Pope Gregory the Great between 597 and 603. The purpose of this collection was to demonstrate to the Thessalonians that Demetrius was their fellow citizen, their own saint, always present with them, watching over the city. The saint is therefore shown as working for the city as a whole, interceding on behalf of all its citizens in plague, famine, civil war, and war with external enemies (Macrides 1990:189-190).¹⁶³ The fact that sometimes Archbishop John addresses an audience (οἱ ἀκούοντες), which he calls upon as witness to the events narrated (e.g., I 12.101), suggests that the accounts of these miracles were meant for delivery as sermons (Lemerle 1953:353; Lemerle 1981:36; Ivanova 1995a:182; Skedros 1996:141).¹⁶⁴

Moreover, each miracle ends with a formulaic doxology. John also notes a certain rationale which he follows

in the presentation of miracles. His aim is to recount St. Demetrius' "compassion and untiring and unyielding protection" for the city of Thessalonica (Prologue 6), but the structure of his narrative is not chronological.¹⁶⁵ The episode of the repaired silver *ciborium* (I 6) is narrated before that of the fire which destroyed it (I 12). Following a strictly chronological principle, the plague (I 3), the one-week siege of the city by the chagan's army (I 13-15), and the subsequent famine (I 8) should have belonged to the same sequence of events. Archbishop John wrote, however, five self-contained episodes, each ending with a prayer and each possibly serving as a separate homily to be delivered on the saint's feast day. This warns us against taking the first book of the Miracles of St Demetrius too seriously. The detailed description of the progress of the two sieges should not be treated as completely trustworthy, but just as what it was meant to be, namely a collection of a few sensational incidents which could have enhanced St. Demetrius' glory. John depicted himself on the city's wall, rubbing shoulders with the other defenders of Thessalonica during the attack of the 5,000 Slavene warriors (I 12.107). Should we believe him? Perhaps.¹⁶⁶ It may not be a mere coincidence, however, that, though never depicted as a warrior saint, St. Demetrius also appears on the city's walls ἐν ὁπλίτου σχήματι during the

siege of Thessalonica by the armies of the chagan (I 13.120).¹⁶⁷ Moreover, John would like us to believe that he had witnessed the attack of the 5,000 Sclavenes, which occurred on that same night the *ciborium* of the basilica was destroyed by fire. That very story, however, had been told to him by his predecessor, Bishop Eusebius (I 6.55). On the other hand, John was well informed about the circumstances of the one-week siege (I 13-15). He knew that, at that time, the inhabitants of the city were harvesting outside the city walls (I 13.127), the city's eparch, together with city's troops, were in Greece (I 13.128), and the notables of Thessalonica were in Constantinople, to carry a complaint against that same eparch (I 13.129). He also knew that the Sclavene warriors fighting under the chagan's command were his subjects (I 13.117), unlike those who attacked Thessalonica by night, whom John described as "the flower of the Sclavene nation" (I 12.108) and as infantrymen (I 12.110).¹⁶⁸ My impression is that John may have been an eyewitness to the night attack, but he certainly exaggerated the importance of the one-week siege. Despite the chagan's impressive army of no less than 100,000 warriors (I 13.118; cf. I 13.126) and the numerous handicaps of the city's inhabitants, the enemy was repelled after only one week with apparently no significant losses for the besieged (cf. Tăpkova-Zaimova 1964:113-114). To blame

Archbishop John's contemporary, Theophylact Simocatta, for having failed to record any of the sieges of Thessalonica (cf. Olajos 1981:422; Whitby 1988:49)¹⁶⁹, is therefore to simply take the Miracles of St Demetrius at their face value and to overestimate the events narrated therein. That the sieges of Thessalonica were not recorded by any other source might well be an indication of their local, small-scale significance. As for Archbishop John, who was using history to educate his fellow citizens and glorify the city's most revered saint, he may have been well motivated when exaggerating the magnitude of the danger.

The Siege of Constantinople, the Campaign Diary,
and the Wends

There are few Western sources that mention the Slavs after John of Biclar and Gregory the Great. By the end of his chronicle, Isidore of Seville refers to the occupation of Greece by Slavs, sometime during Heraclius' early regnal years (p. 479; Szádeczky-Kardoss 1986b:52-53; Ivanova 1995b:356-357). It is difficult to visualize Isidore's source for this brief notice, but his association of the Slavic occupation of Greece with the loss of Syria and Egypt to the Persians, indicates that he was informed about the situation in the entire Mediterranean basin.¹⁷⁰

Isidore's Chronica maiora ends in 624 or 626 and there is no mention in it of the siege of Constantinople by Avars, Slavs, and Persians. We have good, though brief, descriptions of the role played by Slavs in the works of three eyewitnesses. George of Pisidia refers to them in both his Bellum Avaricum, written in 626, and his Heraclias, written in 629 (Ivanov 1995c:66-67).¹⁷¹ The author of the Chronicon Paschale, a work probably completed in 630 and certainly extending to 629, was also an eyewitness to the siege, despite his use of written sources, such as the city chronicle of Constantinople (Scott 1990a:38; Ivanov 1995d:75).¹⁷² As for Theodore Syncellus, he is specifically mentioned by the author of the Chronicon Paschale as having been one of the envoys sent from the city to the chagan on August 2, 626. His name is derived from the office he held under patriarch Sergius, the great figure behind the city's heroic resistance. Theodore Syncellus' mention of the Slavs is therefore important, particularly because he is the first author to refer to cremation as the burial rite favored by Slavs (Ivanov 1995a:80). What all these three authors have in common is the awareness that there were at least two categories of Slavene warriors. First, there were those fighting as allies of the Avars, the 'Slavic wolves,' as George of Pisidia calls them. On the other hand, those attacking Blachernae on canoes were the

subjects of the Avars, as clearly indicated by the author of Chronicon Paschale (Ivanov 1995d:82). We have seen that Archbishop John also recorded that Thessalonica was attacked at one time by the chagan's army, including his Slavene subjects, at another by 5,000 warriors, "the flower of the Slavene nation," with no interference of the Avars.

Was Theophylact Simocatta also a witness to the siege of 626? He certainly outlived the great victory, for the last events explicitly mentioned in his History are Heraclius' victory over Rhazates in 627, the death of Khusro II, and the conclusion of peace with Persia in the following year (VIII 12.12-13; Olajos 1981-1982:41; Olajos 1988:11; Whitby 1988:39). It has also been argued that since the introductory Dialogue of his History alludes to the patriarch of Constantinople, Sergius, as the man who had encouraged the composition of the work, Theophylact must have pursued his legal career in the employment of the patriarch (Whitby and Whitby 1986:xiv). It is therefore very likely that he was in Constantinople in 626, though there is no evidence for that in his work. Theophylact has often been compared to George of Pisidia or the author of the Chronicon Paschale, for having composed substantial parts of his narrative in the optimistic mood of the late 620s, after Heraclius' triumph, or to Theodore Syncellus, for his style (Whitby 1988:40

and 340). His History only focuses on the Balkans and the eastern front, in other words only on Roman dealings with Avars (and Slavs) and Persians, the two (three) major enemies of 626 (cf. Olajos 1988:11). It is possible that Theophylact's History was an attempt to explain current events in the light of Maurice's policies in the Balkans and the East. If so, this could also explain Theophylact's choice of sources for Maurice's campaigns across the Danube, against Avars and Slavs.

It has long been noted that, beginning with book VI, Theophylact's narrative changes drastically. Although his chronology is most erratic, he suddenly pays attention to such minor details as succession of days and length of particular marches (e.g. VI 4.3, VI 4.7, VI 4.12, VI 6.2-VI 11.21, etc.). The number and the length of speeches diminishes drastically, as well as the number of Theophylact's most typical stylistical marks (Olajos 1982:158; Olajos 1988:132 and 136; Whitby 1988:49-50, 93 and 96). The reason for this change is Theophylact's use of an official report or bulletin, to which he could have had access either directly or through an intermediary source. Haussig rightfully called this official report a *Feldzugsjournal*, a campaign diary (Haussig 1953:296), which was completed after Phocas' accession of 602 (Whitby 1988:96). Indeed, there is a consistency of bias throughout this part of Theophylact's History, for he

obviously favors the general Priscus at the expense of Comentiolus and Peter. Peter's victories are extolled and his failures minimized, while his rivals appear lazy and incompetent (Whitby and Whitby 1986:xxiii). Any success they achieve is attributed to their subordinates, either Alexander, in 594, or Godwin, in 602, both winning victories against the Slavs for Peter (Olajos 1988:131; Whitby 1988:99). But Priscus was Phocas' son-in-law and it may be no accident that Theophylact (or, more probably, his source) laid emphasis on the army's dissatisfaction against Maurice on the question of winter campaigning against the Slavs, for this was the very issue triggering the revolt of 602.¹⁷³ It has even been argued that for the chapters VIII 5.5 to VIII 7.7 narrating the events of 601 and 602, particularly Phocas' revolt of November 602, Theophylact may have used reports of surviving participants, such as Godwin himself, who is in the middle of all actions (Olajos 1988:152).

The campaigns in the *Feldzugsjournal* were narrated in correct sequence (Duket 1980:72), but without precise intervals between important events. The account tends therefore to disintegrate into a patchwork of detailed reports of individual incidents, deprived of an overall historical context. This caused Theophylact considerable trouble, leading him to overlook gaps of months or even years.¹⁷⁴ He must have been aware of the fact that his

source recorded annual campaigns (usually from spring to fall), without any information about intervals between them. He therefore filled in the gaps with information taken from other sources, in particular from the Constantinopolitan chronicle (Olajos 1988:133-134), without noticing his dating errors.¹⁷⁵ The Constantinopolitan chronicle also provided Theophylact with information about some major military events in the vicinity of the capital, such as Comentiolus' victories over the Slavs (I 7.1-6), in which there is no hint of the anti-Comentiolus bias of the *Feldzugsjournal* (Whitby and Whitby 1986:xxv).¹⁷⁶

But Theophylact's inability to cope with contrasting sources led him and modern historians into confusion. Theophylact places the beginning of the emperor's campaign against Avars and Slavs immediately after the peace with Persia, in 592. On the other hand he tells us that in that same year a Frankish embassy arrived in Constantinople, which has been sent by a king coming to power only in 596 (VI 3.6-7; cf. Olajos 1988:167 and n. 705). Without any military and geographical knowledge, Theophylact was unable to understand the events described in his sources and his narrative is therefore sometimes obscure and confusing. This is also a result of Theophylact's bombastic style. In books VI-VIII, he uses the affected 'parasang' instead of 'mile',¹⁷⁷ an element

which could hardly be ascribed to his source. He describes the problem of Romans drinking from a stream under Slavic attack as a "choice between two alternatives..., either to refuse the water and relinquish life through thirst, or to draw up death too along with the river" (VII 5.9). Again, it is very hard to believe that these were the words of the *Feldzugsjournal*. It is true that books VI-VIII contain no Homeric citations (cf. Leanza 1972:586), but the stylistic variation introduced in order to attenuate the flat monotony of the military source amounts to nothing else but grandiloquent rhetoric.¹⁷⁸ More often than not, the end result is a very confusing text.¹⁷⁹

In addition, Theophylact's view of history, as expressed in the introductory Dialogue between Philosophy and History, is that of a sequence of events that were fully intelligible to God alone.¹⁸⁰ History is far superior to the individual historian whose role is to function as History's lyre, or even as her plectrum (Dial. 15; cf. Whitby 1988:311). Theophylact believed in the "extensive experience of history" as being "education for the souls," for the "common history of all mankind [is] a teacher" (Proem 6 and 13). As a consequence, his heroes are not complex human beings, but repositories of moral principles (Krivushin 1991:54; Krivushin 1994:10).

Far from being an eyewitness account of Roman cam-

paigns against the Slavs, replete with personal observations, Theophylact's narrative is thus no more than a literary reworking of information from his military source. Like Diodorus' *Bibliotheca*, his work remains important for having preserved historical evidence from sources that are completely or partially lost (Whitby 1988:312 and 350). This is, in fact, what makes Theophylact's *History* an inestimable source for the history of the early Slavs. Despite his evident biases, Theophylact was unable to entirely absorb the *Feldzugs-journal* into his narrative and his intervention is relatively well visible. The episode of the three Sclavenes captured by Maurice's bodyguards at Heraclea, who wore no iron or military equipment, but only lyres, is certainly a cliché, for the same is said by Tacitus about the Aestii (*Germania* 46; cf. Ivanov 1995b:48).¹⁸¹ This is in sharp contrast to the factual tone of Theophylact's account of Priscus' campaign against Ardagastus and Musocius or Petrus' expedition against Peiragastus. Books VI and VII have little direct speech and flowery periphrases are comparatively fewer than in preceding books (Olajos 1982:158).¹⁸² Theophylact preserved not only the day-by-day chronology recorded in the campaign diary, but numerous other details, such as the names and the status of three Slavic leaders. Moreover, there are several instances in which the actions of Priscus or

Peter seem to follow strictly the recommendations of the Strategikon.¹⁸³ It is possible, though not demonstrated, that the author of the *Feldzugsjournal* was a participant in those same campaigns in which the author of the Strategikon gained his rich field experience. If true, this would only make Theophylact's account more trustworthy, despite his literary reworking of the original source. We may well smile condescendingly when Theophylact tells us that the three Sclavenes encountered by emperor Maurice did not carry any weapons, "because their country was ignorant of iron and thereby provided them with a peaceful and troublefree life" (VI 2.15). But there is no reason to be suspicious about his account of Priscus' campaign in Slavic territory. He may have clothed the plain narrative of the *Feldzugsjournal* with rhetorical figures; but he neither altered the sequence of events, nor was he interested in modifying details.

Theophylact's approach is slightly different from that of his contemporary in Frankish Gaul, the seventh-century author known as Fredegar. Until recently, the prevailing view was that the Chronicle of Fredegar was the product of three different authors, the last of whom was responsible for the Wendish account (Krusch 1882),¹⁸⁴ but new research rejuvenated Marcel Baudot's theory of single authorship (Baudot 1928; cf. Goffart 1963; Kusternig 1982:12; Wood 1994a:359). Fredegar's Book IV

must have been written some time after 658, for the chronicler knows that, after being elected king by the Wends, Samo "ruled them well for thirty-five years" (IV 48). The Wendish account, therefore, may have been written around 660 (Labuda 1949:90-92; Goffart 1963:239; Kusternig 1982:5 and 12). Fredegar shows a most erratic attitude to chronology in Book IV (Gardiner 1978:40 and 44), but this seems to be the result of his interest in matters other than exact dates.

Fredegar was a partisan of the Austrasian aristocracy, in particular of the Pippinid family. In spite of a relatively greater use of rhetorical figures in the last 48 chapters of Book IV (Bardzik 1964:32), he shows a good knowledge of juridical and administrative formulaic language (IV 1 and IV 36), of relationships between polities,¹⁸⁵ treaties and territorial partitions (IV 53, 57, 74, 75, 76, 78, and 89), and even of what might have been the official language of the Byzantine court (IV 64). He may therefore have been close to or even involved in the activity of the chancery (Kusternig 1982:12). On the other hand, Fredegar's purpose seems to have been to entertain his audience, as suggested by the epic style of his stories about Aetius, Theodoric, Justinian, or Belisarius (II 53, 57-59, 62; see Kusternig 1982:7; cf. Goffart 1988:427-428).¹⁸⁶ His anti-Merovingian attitude and declared hostility toward Brunhild and her attempts

at centralization of power also show Fredegar as a partisan of the Austrasian aristocracy (Goffart 1963:217 n. 50; Kusternig 1982:12; Wood 1994a: 366).

Assigning Fredegar to a specific aristocratic milieu might also be important for the problem of his sources (see Curta 1997:144-155). Fredegar was well informed about the conflict that led to Dagobert's expedition against Samo. Where did he find this information? Baudot proposed that he had obtained it all from the mouth of Sicharius, Dagobert's envoy to Samo (Baudot 1928:161). Goffart believed Sicharius' episode to be just a tale (Goffart 1963:237-238). But Fredegar's criticism of Dagobert's envoy¹⁸⁷ indicates that he had detailed knowledge of the juridical background of the conflict.

Chapter 48, in which Fredegar introduced the 'ethno-genetic myth' of the Wends, suggests that he had access to some 'native' material. The Wends, according to Fredegar, emerged from a peculiar union of Avar warriors and Slavic women. He also claimed that the Slavs have long since been subjected to the Avars, "who used them as *Befulci*." The word is cognate with *fulcfree*, a term occurring in the Edict of the Lombard king Rothari. Both derive from the Old German *felhan*, *falh*, *fulgum* (hence the Middle German *bevelhen*), meaning "to entrust to, to give someone in guard" (Schütz 1991:410-411). To Fredegar, therefore, Wends was a name for special mili-

tary units of the Avar army (cf. Fritze 1980:498-505; Pritsak 1983:397 and 411).¹⁸⁸ The term *befulci* and its usage further suggest, however, that Fredegar re-interpreted a 'native', presumably Wendish account.¹⁸⁹ His purpose was show how that Wendish *gens* emerged, which would later play an instrumental role in the decline of Dagobert's power.¹⁹⁰

Fredegar had two apparently equivalent terms for the same *ethnie*: *Sclauos coinomento Winedos* (IV 48 and 68). There is an apparently unpredictable use of both ethnic names. Fredegar had variants for *Sclau*, such as *Esclavi* or *Sclavini*, but also for *Winidi*, such as *Winodi*, *Winedi*, or *Venedi*.¹⁹¹ This may further indicate different sources for his Wendish account, especially for chapters 48 and 68, where the two terms, along with their variants, appear together. It is interesting to note, however, that 'Wends' occur particularly in political contexts: the Wends, not the Slavs, were *befulci* of the Avars; the Wends, and not the Slavs, made Samo their king (IV 48). There is a Wendish *gens*, but not a Slavic one. In contrast, *Sclavini* are a mere *genus*. Elected by the Wends, Samo is nevertheless *rex Sclauinorum*. After those chapters in which he explained how a Wendish polity had emerged (48 and 68), Fredegar refers exclusively to Wends (chapters 72, 74, 75, and 77). This further suggests that there is a meaning behind Fredegar's presumably inconsis-

tent ethnic vocabulary. Perhaps 'Wends' and 'Sclavenes' are meant to denote a specific social and political configuration, in which such concepts as 'state' or 'ethnicity' are relevant, while 'Slavs' is a more general term, used in a territorial rather than an ethnic sense (Curta 1997:152-153).¹⁹²

Fredegar did not invent this pair of ethnic names. They were already in use when he wrote Book IV, as indicated by Jonas of Bobbio's Life of St Columbanus, written sometime between 639 and 643 (Wood 1994b:248-249; Ronin 1995b:359-363). Jonas, speaking of Columbanus's missionary goals, claimed that he had once thought to go preaching to the Wends who are also called Slavs (*Venetiorum qui et Sclavi dicuntur*). He gave up this mission of evangelization, because the eyes of the Slavs were not yet open for the light of the Scriptures (Vita Columbani I 27). Fredegar certainly knew Jonas' work, for he cited a long passage directly from Vita Columbani (IV 36). It has been argued that Jonas of Bobbio's source on Columbanus' missionary activity was his disciple, Eustasius, abbot of Luxeuil (Ronin 1995b:360). Fredegar's Wendish account may have been inspired by missionary reports.¹⁹³ He may have used the perspective, if not the accounts, of the missionaries for explaining the extraordinary success of Samo against Dagobert and his Austrasian army. In Fredegar's eyes, the Wends were a

gens primarily in the political sense of the term. To him, they were agents of secular history, though more of political dissolution, as indicated by their alliance with Radulf, whose victories "turned his head" to the extent that he rated himself King of Thuringia and denied Sigebert's overlordship (IV 77; cf. Fritze 1994:281). The use of missionary reports may also explain why Fredegar's image of the Slavs does not include any of the stereotypes encountered in older or contemporary Byzantine sources. No *Milieutheorie* and no blond Slavs emerge from his account. Despite Fredegar's contempt for Samo's haughtiness, he did not see Wends primarily as heathens. Samo's 'kingdom' may have not been the first Slavic state (cf. Labuda 1949), but Fredegar was certainly the first political historian of the Slavs.

The Saint and the Barbarians Again

In contrast to Fredegar's attitude, to the unknown author of the Book II of the Miracles of St Demetrius the Slavs are nothing else but savage, brutish, and, more important, heathen barbarians. Despite his ability to speak Greek and to dress like Constantinopolitan aristocrats, King Perbundos dreams only of slaughtering Christians (II 4.241). At any possible moment, the Slavs are to be impressed by St. Demetrius' miracles. When an earthquake devastates the city, they are stopped from

plundering the victims' destroyed houses by a miraculous vision (II 3.219). After yet another failure to conquer Thessalonica, the barbarians acknowledge God's intervention in favor of the city and St. Demetrius' miraculous participation in battle (II 2.214). St. Demetrius slaps in the face a dexterous Slavene craftsman who builds a siege tower, driving him out of his mind and thus causing the failure of a dangerous attack on the city walls (II 4.274). On the other hand, however, one gets the impression that the Slavs are a familiar presence. They are repeatedly called "our Slavic neighbors" (II 3.219; II 3.222; II 4.231). They lived so close to the city, that after the imperial troops chased them from the coastal region, the inhabitants of Thessalonica -- men, women, and children -- walked to their abandoned villages and carried home all provisions left behind (II 4.279-280). Moreover, while some were attacking the city, others were on good terms with its inhabitants, supplying them with grain (II 4.254). Still others were under the orders of the emperor in Constantinople, who required them to supply with food the refugees from the Avar chaganate under Kuver's commands (II 5.289). In contrast to archbishop John's account, Book II also provides a more detailed image of the Slavs. Its author knew, for instance, that the army of the Slavenes besieging Thessalonica comprised units of archers, warriors armed

with slings, lancers, soldiers carrying shields, and warriors with swords (II 4.262). Unlike John who invariably referred to them as either Σκλαβίνοι or Σκλαβηνοί, the author of Book II employed Σκλάβοι as well. He also provided the names of no less than seven Slavic tribes living in the vicinity of Thessalonica.¹⁹⁴

He also seems to have used oral sources, especially those of refugees from Balkan cities abandoned in the early 600s, such as Naissus or Serdica (II 2.200). It has been argued that he may have used written sources as well, probably the city's annals or chronicle, which Paul Lemerle believed to have been similar to the much later Chronicle of Monemvasia (Lemerle 1981:84).¹⁹⁵ He specifically referred to some iconographic evidence (ἐν γραφῇ) in order to support a point that he made (II 1.194; cf. Lemerle 1979:174 n. 19). It is also true that Book II has fewer miracles and miraculous deeds than Book I and seems to have relied more heavily on documentary material.

Unlike Archbishop John, who was using history to glorify St. Demetrius and to educate his fellow citizens, the author of Book II, despite his obvious desire to imitate John's style, took a different approach. He wrote some seventy years later, shortly after the events narrated. His account is visibly better informed, his narration approaches the historiographic genre (Lemerle 1981:172). Paradoxically, this is what would make Book II

less popular than Book I, despite the growing influence of St. Demetrius' cult in the course of the following centuries. There are numerous manuscripts containing miracles of Book I, but only one rendering Book II (Lemerle 1979:34). In the late ninth century, Anastasius Bibliothecarius translated into Latin ten miracles from Book I, but only one from Book II (Ivanova 1995a:94). Unlike Archbishop John, the author of Book II was more concerned with facts supporting his arguments and often referred to contemporary events, known from other sources. His mention of "July 25 of the fifth indiction" and of the emperor's war with the Saracens (II 4.255) makes it possible to date the siege of Thessalonica precisely to July 25, 677 (cf. Ivanova 1995a:203).¹⁹⁶ Book II must have been written, therefore, at some point during the last two decades of the seventh century.

Later Sources

With Book II of the Miracles of St Demetrius we come to the end of a long series of contemporary accounts on the early Slavs. None of the subsequent sources is based on autopsy and all could be referred to as 'histories,' relying entirely on written, older sources (cf. Mango 1990:7). First in this group is patriarch Nicephorus. His Breviarium may have been designed as a continuation of Theophylact Simocatta, but Nicephorus did not have per-

sonal knowledge of any of the events described¹⁹⁷ and it is very unlikely that he had recourse to living witnesses (Mango 1990:7). The source of the first part of the Breviarium, covering the reigns of Phocas and Heraclius, was most probably the Constantinopolitan chronicle. In tone with such sources as George of Pisidia or the Chronicon Paschale, Nicephorus spoke of Slavs besieging the capital in 626 as the allies of the Avars, not as their subjects (Brev. 13). When referring to Slavic canoes attacking Blachernae, Nicephorus spoke of μονοξύλοι ἀκατίοι, which suggests that at the time he wrote his Breviarium, a Slavic fleet of canoes was something exotic enough to need explanation (Litavrin 1995d: 236). For their respective accounts of the settlement of the Bulgars, both Nicephorus and his contemporary, Theophanes Confessor, used a common source, probably written in the first quarter of the eighth century in Constantinople (Mango 1990:16).¹⁹⁸

But unlike Nicephorus, Theophanes' accounts of Maurice's campaigns are a combination of the Constantinopolitan chronicle and Theophylact Simocatta. At several places, Theophanes misunderstood Theophylact's text and confused his narrative, as in the case of Theophylact's reference to the city of Asemus (VII 3.1), which Theophanes transformed into the ἐπίσημοι of Novae (p. 274; cf. Whitby 1983:333; Litavrin 1995a:299). But

the most significant alterations of Theophylact's text result from Theophanes' efforts to adapt Theophylact's loose chronology, based on seasons of the year, to one that employed indictions and the world years of the Alexandrine chronological system (Duket 1980:85; Whitby 1983:333). This makes the controversy over Theophanes' reliability a cul-de-sac, for any chronological accuracy that is present in Theophanes is merely accidental. Theophanes spread some of Theophylact's campaigns over more than one year, and at one point he repeated some information which he had already used. He paraphrased the much longer and more grandiloquent account of Theophylact (Whitby 1982:9). Though Theophylact had no date for the Slavic raid ending with Comentiolus' victory over Ardagastus' hordes (I 7.5), Theophanes attached the year A.M. 6076 (583/4) to this event, on the basis of his own interpretation of Theophylact's text (p. 254; cf. Chichurov 1980:90). Theophanes dates Priscus' campaign against the Sclavenes to A.M. 6085 (592/3), abbreviates Theophylact's account and changes parasangs into miles.¹⁹⁹ The end result is that Theophylact's originally confusing narrative becomes even more ambiguous. It is only by considering Theophanes' summary of Theophylact that we begin to appreciate the latter's account, based as it is on the *Feldzugsjournal*. If Theophylact's history had been lost, Theophanes' version of it would have been

entirely misleading, if not altogether detrimental, to any attempts to reconstruct the chronology of Maurice's wars against Avars and Sclavenes. Since he had also incorporated bits of information from other sources, now lost, this caveat should warn us against taking Theophanes' text at its face value. It is true that Theophanes, together with Nicephorus, is the first to use the word Σκλαυινία to refer to a loosely defined Sclavene polity, arguably a chiefdom. There is no basis, however, for interpreting his use of the term in both singular and plural forms, as indicating the fragmentation of an originally unified union of tribes into smaller formations (Litavrin 1984:198).²⁰⁰ Composed as it was in ca. 812 (Whitby 1982:9), the Chronographia of Theophanes is not the work of an historian in the modern sense of the word. He was certainly capable of skillful amalgamation of various sources, but his coverage of the seventh century is poor and it is very unlikely that his labor went beyond mere copying of now extinct sources.

Modern approaches to the history of the Balkans during the first half of the seventh century have been considerably influenced by one particular text: De Administrando Imperio, a work associated with the emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus. There is not too much material relevant to the history of the 'early Slavs' in this tenth-century compilation, but chapters 29 to 36

represent a key source for the controversial issue of the migration of Croats and Serbs. It has long been recognized that all these chapters were written in 948 or 949, with the exception of chapter 30, which must be regarded as a much later interpolation, composed by another author, after 950, arguably after Constantine's death in 959 (Bury 1906). In any case, the book seems to have never received its final editing, for there are striking differences, as well as some repetition, between chapters 29, 31 and 32, on one hand, and 30, on the other. The problem of reliability and truth raised by this source derives primarily from the fact that it contains two significantly different accounts of the same event, the migration of the Croats. The one given in chapter 30 is a legendary account, which may well represent a 'native' version of the Croat *origo gentis*, arguably collected in Dalmatia, in one of the Latin cities. The same is true about the story of the migration of the Serbs, which most probably originated in a Serbian account (Maksimović 1982; Lilie 1985:31-32). By contrast, the narrative in chapter 31 betrays a Byzantine source, for Constantine rejects any Frankish claims of suzerainty over Croatia. He also mentions a minor Bulgarian-Croatian skirmish almost a century earlier, but has no word for the major confrontation between King Symeon of Bulgaria and Prince Tomislav of Croatia, which happened in his own lifetime

(926). This further suggests that the account in chapter 31 is biased against both Frankish claims and Croatian independent tendencies, in order to emphasize Byzantine rights to the lands of the Croats (cf. Fine 1983:52). This led Bogo Grafenauer to believe that chapter 30 is the only trustworthy source for early Croat history, for it reflects Croat native tradition, and to reject the version given by chapter 31 as Constantine's figment (Grafenauer 1952:1-30). Indeed, the presumed Croat version in chapter 30 has no room for Emperor Heraclius helping Croats in settling in Dalmatia or ordering their conversion to Christianity. By contrast, the constant reference to Heraclius and the claim that Croatia was always under Byzantine overlordship were clearly aimed at furthering Byzantine claims of suzerainty (Fine 1983:54). But the 'Croat version' is not without problems. The motif of the five brothers, which also occurs in the account of the Bulgar migration to be found in Theophanes and Nicephorus, is a mythological projection of a ritual division of space which is most typical for nomadic societies (Pohl 1985a:294-295). Moreover, in both chapter 30 and 31, the homeland of the Balkan Croats is located somewhere in Central Europe, near Bavaria, beyond Hungary, and next to the Frankish empire. In both cases, Constantine makes it clear that Croats, "also called 'white'," are still living in that region. 'White'

Croatia is also mentioned in other, independent sources, such as King Alfred the Great's Anglo-Saxon translation of Orosius' History of the World, tenth-century Arab geographers (Gaihani, Ibn-Rusta, and Mas'udi), the Russian Primary Chronicle, and the German emperor Henry IV's foundation charter for the bishopric of Prague (Pohl 1988:264).²⁰¹ None of these sources could be dated earlier than the mid-ninth century and no source refers to Croats, in either Central Europe or the Balkans, before that date.²⁰² Traditional historiographical views, however, maintain that the Serbs and the Croats referred to by Constantine were a second wave of migration, to be placed during Heraclius' reign (e.g. Fine 1983:53 and 59).²⁰³ There are other anachronisms and blatant errors that warn us against taking Emperor Constantine's account at its face value.²⁰⁴ That De Administrando Imperio contains the first record of a 'native' version of the past cannot be denied. There is, however, no reason to project this version on events occurring some two hundred years earlier.

The same is true about other late sources. Emperor Leo VI's treatise entitled Tactica borrows heavily from the Strategikon. But unlike the author of the Strategikon, Leo had few original things to say about the Slavs, in general, and those of the sixth and seventh centuries, in particular. To him, Slavs represented no

major threat, for they were already converted to Christianity, though not fully subjugated (Tactica 98). Leo placed the narrative taken from the Strategikon in the past and claimed that the purpose of Byzantine campaigns against the Sclavenes had been to force them to cross the Danube and "bend their necks under the yoke of Roman authority" (Tactica 78). Another late source, the eleventh-century chronicle of Cedrenus, referred to Heraclius' reconstruction in his fourteenth year of the Heraios leper hospital at Galata, which had been burnt by Slavs (pp. 698-699). According to the Life of St Zotticos, written under Emperor Michael IV (1034-1041), the hospital was, however, restored by Maurice, after being burnt by Avars (p. 82). It is very likely therefore that Cedrenus' reference to the Slavs at Galata is the product of some confusion (Whitby 1988:124).

Highly controversial is also the testimony of the so-called Chronicle of Monemvasia, the source on which Fallmerayer based his theories concerning the extent of the Slav penetration into Greece (Fallmerayer 1845:367-458). The chronicle survives in three late manuscripts. Only one of them, which is preserved at the Iberon monastery at Mount Athos and dates to the sixteenth century, deals exclusively with Avar invasions into Peloponnesus, the settlement of the Slavs and Nicephorus I's campaigns against them. The *communis opinio* is that this manuscript

should therefore be treated as the earliest version of the text. It also gives the impression of a more elaborate treatment which has led to a more 'scholarly' style (Charanis 1950:142-143; Setton 1950:516).²⁰⁵ But recent studies have shown that the Iberon manuscript uses the Byzantine system of dating, whereas the other two manuscripts use the older Alexandrine system. As a consequence, the Iberon cannot be the earliest of all three, for the Byzantine system of dating was introduced only after the Alexandrine one (Kalligas 1990:13). The Chronicle of Monemvasia is not a chronicle properly speaking, but a compilation of sources concerning Avars and Slavs and referring to the foundation of the metropolitan see of Patras. Patras, and not Monemvasia, is at the center of the narrative. It has been argued therefore that this text may have been written in order to be used in negotiations with the metropolitan of Corinth over the status of the metropolitan of Patras.²⁰⁶ Since the emperor Nicephorus I is referred by the unknown author of the text as "the Old, who had Staurakios as son," it is often believed that he must have written after the reign of Nicephorus II Phocas (963-969) (Duichev 1976:xliii; Duichev 1980).²⁰⁷ It has been noted, on the other hand, that the text explicitly refers to the death of Tarasius, the patriarch of Constantinople (784-806), which gives the first *terminus a quo*. Moreover, the author refers to

Sirmium as Στρίμπος and locates it in Bulgaria, an indication that he is writing before the conquest of that city by Basil II, in 1018. The Chronicle therefore may be relatively well dated to the second half of the tenth century or the early eleventh century.²⁰⁸ Its author drew his information from Menander the Guardsman, Evagrius, Theophylact Simocatta, and Theophanes (Charanis 1950:145; Duichev 1976:xl ii). Descriptions of the attacks of the Avars in the Chronicle are modelled after the description of Hunnic attacks by Procopius (Kalligas 1990:25). But the author of the Chronicle was completely ignorant of Balkan geography outside the Peloponnesus, for he confounds Anchialos with Messina in Macedonia (p. 8). More important, his account of invasions into the Peloponnesus refers exclusively and explicitly to Avars, not Slavs (p. 16; cf. Litavrin 1995c:338; Pohl 1988:100-101).²⁰⁹ But this account comes very close to a scholium written by Arethas of Caesarea in the margin of a manuscript of Nicephorus' Historia Syntomos written in 932.²¹⁰ In some instances, the one repeats the other verbatim. Arethas, nevertheless, speaks only of Slavs (Litavrin 1995e:346). Though the Chronicle of Monemvasia was clearly composed much later, it is very unlikely that its author derived his information from Arethas (Charanis 1950:152-153). It has been argued, therefore, that both drew their information from an unknown source, but it is also possible that

there was more than one hand at work in the earliest known version of the Chronicle. Others have argued that since Arethas only speaks of Slavs, the Avars are a later addition to the Chronicle (Chrysanthopoulos 1957). But the evidence of the eighth-century Life of St Pancratius, as well as of sixth-century sources, such as Evagrius, John of Ephesus, or John of Biclar, contradicts this view (cf. Olajos 1986). If the source for the Chronicle's account of heavy destruction in Greece during Maurice's reign were oral traditions of Greek refugees in southern Italy and Sicily (cf. Setton 1950:517; Pohl 1988:101), then we must also admit that they remembered being expelled by Avars, not by Slavs. Arethas, who had been born at Patras in or around 850 to a rich family (Litavrin 1995e:345), may have well applied this tradition to a contemporary situation and therefore changed Avars into Slavs.²¹¹ Family memories or stories may well have been the source for Arethas' detailed knowledge about such things as the exact period (218 years) between the attacks of the Slavs and the settlement of Greeks in Peloponnesus by Emperor Nicephorus I, or the exact whereabouts in Italy of the population transferred to Greece by that emperor. But it is much more difficult to visualize how the emperor himself could have known that the successors of those expelled from Patras by the Slavs, more than two hundred years earlier, were still living in

Reggio Calabria.²¹² This warns us against pushing too far any kind of argument based on either the Chronicle or Arethas.

After 700, Slavs also appear in Western sources. One of St. Columbanus' disciples, Bishop Amandus, even preached among them, sometime around 630. His Life, written some hundred years later, describes his journey across the Danube, to the Slavs (*Sclavi*), who "sunk in great error, were caught in the devil's snares" (p. 440). Amandus' mission had no success,²¹³ but the association of Slavs with the river Danube proved to be a lasting one. Sometime after ca. 650, the Frankish Cosmography speaks again of that river as providing grazing fields to the *Sclavi* and bringing *Winidi* together (vv. 22-24).

Much of what we know about the early history of the Slavs in the West derives, however, from Paul the Deacon's History of the Lombards (Curta 1997:155-161). Paul introduces the Slavs only in book IV, the first book which looks for much of its course like a chronicle. The entries concerning the Slavs fall into two groups: those referring to conflicts between Slavs and Bavarians (chapters 7, 10, and 39) and those in which Slavs appear in a more or less direct relation to Lombards (chapters 28, 37, 38, 40, and 44). Except chapter 44, all these references cannot postdate the year 612, for until that date, Paul closely follows a now-lost *historiola* of Secundus of

Trento (IV 40; cf. Kos 1931:207; Gardiner 1983:147; Pohl 1988:9).²¹⁴ These references are characteristically dated, sometimes even by month, a practice quite uncommon for the rest of Paul's History (IV 7, IV 10, IV 28, IV 39, and IV 40). This, in fact, is almost the only part of the whole work in which exact dates are given (Gardiner 1983:150).

In chapter 37, Paul first introduces the Avars as a hostile force (all previous references described them as allies or friends of the Lombards). The chapter is also meant to introduce "a few things of a private character" concerning Paul's genealogy (IV 37). Here Paul inserts the story of his great-grandfather escaping, just like Grimoald and his brothers, from the Avars, helped by a mysteriously vanishing wolf and an old Slavic woman, as if he were the hero of a folktale. This chapter also introduces the Slavs as friends, though in the main narrative Paul announced us that the Slavs were at the orders of the Avars (IV 28). The old Slavic woman fed Lopichis, Paul's great-grandfather, helped him regain his strength, and showed him the way back home. By her agency, the hero thus found again the direction of his journey. Paul's attitude toward Slavs is well illustrated by this episode. Subsequent references to them follow a similar pattern.

The Slavs are described as allies (IV 28) or paying

tribute to the dukes of Forum Julii, "up to the time of Duke Ratchis" (IV 38). Some of Paul's heroes are well accustomed to their presence. According to Paul, when Raduald, the duke of Beneventum, attempted to revenge the death of Aio by the hands of the invading Slavs, he "talked familiarly with these Slavs in their own language, and when in this way he had lulled them into greater indolence for war," he fell upon them and killed almost all of them (IV 44).²¹⁵ Friulan Lombards were annoyed by *latrunculi Sclavorum*, who "fell upon the flocks and upon the shepherd of the sheep that pastured in their neighborhoods and drove away the booty taken from them" (VI 24). The Slavs were a familiar neighbor: in times of trouble, both Arnefrit, Lupus' son, and Duke Pemmo fled to the Slavs (V 22 and VI 45). Knowing that his audience was familiar with the Slavs,²¹⁶ Paul projects this familiarity into the past. He argues that, sometime after 663, when the invading Slavs saw Duke Wechtari coming from Forum Julii against them with only twenty-five men, "they laughed, saying that the patriarch was advancing against them with his clergy" (V 23). This is pure anachronism, since according to Paul's own testimony, Calixtus, the patriarch of Aquileia, moved to Forum Julii only in 737 or shortly before that (VI 51). Moreover, Wechtari raising his helmet and thus provoking panic among Slavs, is a stereotypical gesture, pointing to the style and ethos of

an oral heroic model, and may be easily paralleled by a series of similar accounts (Pizarro 1989:153 and 238 n. 51).

Paul's Slavs, particularly those from later references in Book V and VI, are lively beings, have 'faces' and feelings, and are always in action, not passive elements. The old woman is capable of pity, furnishes Lopichis with food, gives him provisions and tells him in what direction he ought to go. One can speak with the Slavs in their own language or use their corruptly constructed place-names. They can laugh, recognize a hero from his bald head, be alarmed or terrified, cry or even fight manfully (VI 24). In contrast with Slavs, Avars, for instance, are a more undifferentiated 'mass', only defined by *Avarorum libido* (IV 37). But Paul frequently refers to their *cacanus*, who is explicitly *rex Avarorum* and plays a central role in the episode of Romilda (IV 10, 20, 22, 37, 51; V 2, 19). There is nothing comparable about Slavs in Paul's History. Since we know that at the time Paul wrote his History, the *Carantani* were already organized as a polity under their *dux* Boruth and his successors,²¹⁷ Paul's attitude could only be interpreted as deliberate choice to avoid details that would have not been suitable to his portrait of the Slavs. Though Paul's Slavs are a *gens* and even have a *patria*, they lack any political organization that would make them comparable to

other *gentes*. Unlike Fredegar's Wends, they have no *rex* and no *regnum*. No Slavic leader whatsoever appears in Paul's account. Here and there individuals such as the old Slavic woman may remain on focus for a moment. If looking for more narrowly defined social groups, we are left only with the *latrunculi Sclavorum*. Despite its animation, Paul's picture is thus a stereotypical one, probably rooted in ethnic stereotypes developed along the Friulan border by successive generations of Lombards (Curta 1997:160-161).

Conclusion

There are at least three conclusions which are important for the thesis of this dissertation, to be drawn from this survey of sources concerning the history of the 'early Slavs' between ca. 500 and 700. First, many contemporary accounts are based on second-hand information (Table 1). Some authors, like Jordanes, Agathias, or Menander the Guardsman, only used written sources of various origins. There are, however, a number of sources that most certainly originated in eyewitness accounts, such as the *Strategikon* or Theophylact Simocatta's narrative of Maurice's campaigns against Avars and Sclavenes. The analysis of other accounts reveals a possible contact of some sort with the Slavs, as in the case of Procopius' *Wars*, arguably based on interviews with Slavene and

Table 1
Sources of Sources: Origin of Accounts

Eyewitness	Possible contact	Second-hand information
<u>Strategikon</u>	Procopius	Jordanes
George of Pisidia	Pseudo-Caesarius	Agathias
<u>Chronicon Paschale</u>	<u>Miracles of St Demetrius</u>	John Malalas
Theodore Syncellus		Menander the Guardsman
Theophylact Simocatta (<i>Feldzugsjournal</i>)		John of Ephesus John of Biclar Gregory the Great Isidore of Seville Fredegar

Antian mercenaries in Italy. Second, there is a substantial overlap in the time-spans covered by these accounts (see Table 2), despite their divergent perspectives and aims. This has encouraged historians to look for parallels, but also to fill in the gaps of one source with material derived from another. It is clear, however, that only a few, relatively short periods witnessed an increasing interest with Slavs and things Slavic (Table 3). No source specifically talks about Slavs before the reign of Justinian (527-565), despite Jordanes' efforts to fabricate a venerable ancestry for them by linking

Table 2

Time-Spans Covered by Sixth- and Seventh-Century Sources

Years	500	525	550	575	600	625	650
Source							
Jordanes	-----						
Procopius	-----						
Agathias			-----				
John Malalas	-----						
Menander the Guardsman					-----		
John of Ephesus	-----						
John of Biclar			---				
Evagrius	-----						
Theophylact Simocatta					-----		
Miracles I					-----		
Isidore of Seville	-----						
Chronicon Paschale	-----						
Fredegar					-----		
Miracles II						-----	

Sclavenes and Antes to Venethi.²¹⁸ It was the first half of Justinian's reign that witnessed the rise of a 'Slavic problem'. During the last half of Justinian's reign and during the reigns of his successors, Justin II (565-578) and Tiberius II (578-582), informations about Slavs became rarer. The 'Slavic problem' came to the fore again under Emperor Maurice (582-602). This is the period in which some of the most important sources were written, such as Menander the Guardsman's History, the Strategikon, and the campaign diary later used by Theophylact Simocatta for his History. Finally, the last period witnessing a considerable interest in Slavs is that of

Table 3
Chronology of Sources

Date	Source	Emperor
		Justinian
550/1	Jordanes, <u>Getica</u> Jordanes, <u>Romana</u> Procopius, <u>Wars I-VII</u> Procopius, <u>Secret History</u>	
ca. 554	Procopius, <u>Wars VIII</u> Procopius, <u>Buildings IV</u>	
ca. 560	Pseudo-Caesarius	
		Justin II
ca. 560-580	Agathias	
ca. 565-574	John Malalas	
ca. 570-579	Martin of Braga	
		Tiberius II Maurice
582-602	Menander the Guardsman	
ca. 590	John of Ephesus John of Biclar	
ca. 592-602	<u>Strategikon</u>	
ca. 593	Evagrius	
599/600	Gregory the Great	
		Phocas Heraclius
610-620	<u>Miracles of St Demetrius</u>	I
626	George of Pisidia, <u>Bellum Avaricum</u>	
629	George of Pisidia, <u>Heraclias</u>	
630	<u>Chronicon Paschale</u>	
ca. 630	Isidore of Seville, <u>Chronica maiora</u>	
ca. 630	Theophylact Simocatta	
ca. 626-641	Theodore Syncellus	
		Constans II

Table 3--Continued

Date	Source	Emperor
639-642	Jonas of Bobbio, <u>Life of St Columbanus</u>	
ca. 660	Fredegar	Constantine IV Justinian II
ca. 690	<u>Miracles of St Demetrius</u>	II

Heraclius' reign, most probably because of their participation in the siege of Constantinople in 626. The Slavs now appear in the works of those who had witnessed the combined attacks of Avars, Slavs, and Persians on the capital city (George of Pisidia, Theodore Syncellus, and the author of the Chronicon Paschale). Archbishop John of Thessalonica viewed them as a major threat to his city requiring the miraculous intervention of St. Demetrius. Theophylact Simocatta incorporated the *Feldzugsjournal* written in the last few years of the sixth century into his narrative of Maurice's reign. The same period witnessed the first attempts to convert the Slavs to Christianity, which most likely stimulated Fredegar to write the first independent account in the West. After Heraclius' reign, there are no other sources referring to Slavs, except Book II of the Miracles of St Demetrius. Justinian (the mid-sixth century), Maurice (the late sixth century), and Heraclius (the second third of the seventh

century) are thus the major chronological markers of the historiography of the early Slavs.

CHAPTER V

THE SLAVS IN EARLY MEDIEVAL SOURCES (CA. 500-700)

A major, still unresolved, problem of the modern historiography of the early Middle Ages remains that of defining the settlement of the Slavs in the Balkans. On the assumption that the Slavs originated in an *Urheimat* located far from the Danube river, nineteenth-century historians, such as František Palacký or Pavel Šafářik, were speaking of migration (*Einwanderung*, *Auswanderung*) (Schafarik 1844:11; see Bogdan 1894:15; cf. Schneider 1993:21). They were followed by modern historians under the influence of the concept and the historiography of the *Völkerwanderung* (Lemerle 1980 [first published in 1954], Guillou 1973, Ditten 1978, Ivanova and Litavrin 1985:57; Pohl 1988:95; for *Völkerwanderung* as a historiographical construct, see Goffart 1989). More recently, a linguist searching for the original homeland of the Slavs even spoke of *reconquista* (Trubachev 1985:204; Trubachev 1991:11). Palacký and Šafářik also insisted, a few years before the Slavic Congress in Prague (1848), that the migration of the Slavs was a peaceful one, quite unlike the brutal Germanic invasions (Schafarik 1844:42; Palacký 1868:74-89).²¹⁹ As a consequence, some modern historians

and archaeologists prefer to write of colonization or of *Landnahme* and imagine the early Slavs as a people of farmers, travelling on foot, "entire families or even whole tribes" (Gimbutas 1971:14), to the promised land (Evert-Kapessowa 1963; Zasterová 1976; Weithmann 1978: 18; Braichevskii 1983:220; for *Landnahme* as a historiographical construct, see Schneider 1993). Noting, however, that such a *Landnahme* was completely invisible to early medieval sources, Lucien Musset called it an *obscure progression* (Musset 1965:75, 81, and 85; Musset 1983:999), a tag quickly adopted by others (Pohl 1988: 95). After World War II, particularly in Communist countries, the acceptable terms were 'infiltration' and 'penetration' (Comşa 1960:733; Cankova-Petkova 1968:44; Popović 1980:246; Velkov 1987; cf. Cross 1948:7 and 28) and the favorite metaphor, the wave (Skrzhinskaia 1957:9; Váňa 1983:39). Others, more willing to use the perspective of contemporary sources, observed that more often than not, after successful raids, the Slavs returned to their homes north of the Danube. Current usage has therefore replaced 'migration' and 'infiltration' with 'invasion' and 'raid' (Ensslin 1929; Fine 1983:29; Ferjančić 1984; Whitby 1988:85-86 and 175; Pohl 1988:68; Fiedler 1992:6; Stavridou-Zafraka 1992).

It is often assumed that Jordanes' source for his account of the Slavs was Cassiodorus, who wrote in the

late 520s or early 530s. Some argued therefore that the Getica is a genuine report of the earliest stages of the Slavic infiltration in Eastern Europe (Waldmüller 1976: 19; Sedov 1978:9; Anfert'ev 1991:134-135). In the eyes of Procopius, Jordanes' contemporary, the Slavs were, however, a quite recent problem, which he specifically linked to the beginnings of Justinian's reign (Secret History 18.20-21). Since no other source referred to either Sclavenes or Antes before Justinian, some have rightly concluded that these two *ethnies* were purely (early) medieval phenomena (Bačić 1983:21; Godłowski 1983b:257; Váňa 1983:16).

In this chapter, I intend to examine the historical sources regarding the Sclavenes and the Antes in the light of a strictly chronological concern. My purpose is not a full narrative of events, for which there are better and more informative guides at hand (see Ensslin 1929; Stein 1968; Waldmüller 1976; Ditten 1978). This chapter has a different scope. I devote particular attention to the broader picture in which Slavic raiding activity occurred, partly in order to point up its relative impact in comparison to other problems of the Danube frontier. Discussion of interaction between Slavs, on one hand, Gepids, Cutrigurs, Avars, and Bulgars, on the other, occupy a large amount of space for similar reasons. The chapter's emphasis is on the Slavs rather than

the empire, and so it points to the territories north of the Danube, where transformations may have occurred that are reflected in our sources. Those transformations may provide a key to the problem of defining the Slavic settlement and to understand the mechanisms of Slavic raiding activities, two aspects discussed in detail in Chapters IX and X.

Slavic Raiding During Justinian's Reign

Procopius is the first author to speak of Slavic raiding across the Danube. According to his evidence, the first attack of the Antes, "who dwell close to the Sclaveni" (Wars VII 40.5), may be dated to 518. The raid was intercepted by Germanus, *magister militum per Thraciam*, and the Antes were defeated (Wars VII 40.6). There is no record of another Antian raid until Justinian's rise to power (Nestor 1965:148; Comşa 1973: 197; Comşa 1974:301; Ditten 1978:86; Irmscher 1980:158). It is possible therefore that this attack, like that of the *Getae equites* of 517 (Marcellinus Comes, pp. 39 and 120), was related to Vitalianus' revolt (Waldmüller 1976:34; Weithmann 1978: 64; Velkov 1987:157; Soustal 1991:6970; for Vitalianus' barbarian allies, see Schwarcz 1992).

The Sclavenes first appear in the context of Justinian's new, aggressive policies adopted toward bar-

barians on the Danube frontier. In the early 530s, Chilbudius, a member of the imperial household, replaced Germanus as *magister militum per Thraciam* (Wars VII 14.1-6).²²⁰ He gave up defending the Balkan provinces behind the Danube line and boldly attacked barbarians on the left bank of the river.²²¹ This is the first time the Romans are launching campaigns north of the Danube frontier since Valens' wars with the Goths between 367 and 369.²²² Chilbudius' campaigns also indicate that the Sclavenes were not far from the frontier. Three years after his nomination, he was killed in one of his expeditions north of the river.²²³ Indirectly criticizing Justinian's subsequent policies in the Balkans (Ivanov, Gindin, and Cymburskii 1991:217), Procopius argues that thereafter, "the river became free for the barbarians to cross all times just as they wished" (Wars VII 14.4-6). Elsewhere, he describes the territories between the Black Sea and the Danube as "impossible for the Romans to traverse," because of incessant raids (Wars III 1.10).

At the end of the episode of Chilbudius, Procopius claims that "the entire Roman empire found itself utterly incapable of matching the valor of one single man" (Wars VII 14.5). This may well have been intended as a reproach for Justinian (Ivanov, Gindin and Cymburskii 1991:217 and 232). It is, however, true that the death of Chilbudius, which coincides in time with the beginning of Justinian's

wars in the West, was followed by a radical change of policy in the Balkans. Besides the measures taken to fortify both the frontier and the provinces in the interior, to be discussed in the next chapter, Justinian now remodelled the administrative structure of the Balkans. In 536, he created the *quaestura exercitus*.²²⁴ The new administrative unit combined territories at a considerable distance from each other, such as Moesia Inferior, Scythia Minor, some islands in the Aegean Sea, Caria, and Cyprus, all of which were ruled from Odessos (present-day Varna) by the "prefect of Scythia." The prefect of the *quaestura* was given a special *forum* for a court of justice and an entire staff, both of them being "generated from the prefecture [of the East]" (John Lydus, On Powers II 28). The only link between all these provinces were the sea and the navigable Danube. Since Cyprus, the Aegean islands, and Caria represented the most important naval bases of the Empire, but were also among the richest provinces, the rationale behind Justinian's measure may have been to secure both militarily and financially the efficient defense of the Danube frontier.²²⁵ Important changes were also introduced at the other end of the Danube frontier. The novel 11 of 535, which created an archbishopric of Justiniana Prima, also moved the see of the Illyrian prefecture from Thessalonica to the northern provinces.²²⁶ The bishop of Aquis, a city in Dacia

Ripensis, on the right bank of the Danube, was also given authority over the city and the neighboring forts, an indication that, instead of aggressive generals, Justinian's policies were now based on the new military responsibilities of the bishops (Corpus Iuris Civilis, p. 94).

But this adjustment of policy in the Balkans did not prevent Justinian from boasting about Chilbudius' victories. In November 533, a law was issued with a new intitulation, in which Justinian was described as *Anticus*, along with titles such as *Vandalicus* and *Africanus* relating to Belisarius' success against the Vandals.²²⁷ The title *Anticus* occurs in Justinian's intitulation until 542, then again between 552 and 565. It is also recorded in inscriptions (CIG IV 8636; CIL III 13673). Despite Justinian's new defensive approach on the Danube frontier, Roman troops were still controlling the left bank of the river. This is suggested by a law issued by Justinian in 538, which dealt with the collection of taxes in Egypt. Officers refusing to assist *augustales* in collecting taxes were facing the punishment of being transferred, together with their entire unit, to the region north of the river Danube, "in order to watch at the frontier of that place."²²⁸

But Justinian also adopted another way of dealing with the problems on the Danube frontier. In accordance

with traditional Roman tactics, he sought to divide and rule. Shortly after the reconquest of Sirmium from the Ostrogoths (535/6), the Gepids took over the city and rapidly conquered "almost all of Dacia" (Proc., Wars V 3.15, V 11.5, and VII 33.8; Secret History 18.18).²²⁹ The capture of Sirmium by his old allies, the Gepids, and their subsequent hostile acts were hard for Justinian to take. In response to this, he settled the Herules in the neighboring region of Singidunum (present-day Belgrade)(Proc., Wars VI 15.30-40; VII 33.13).²³⁰ The same principle was applied to the situation on the Lower Danube frontier. Procopius tells us that, sometime between 533/4 and 545, probably before the devastating invasion of the Huns in 539/40, the Antes and the Sclavenes "became hostile to one another and engaged in battle," which ended with a victory of the Sclavenes over the Antes (Wars VII 14.7-10; cf. Waldmüller 1976:36).²³¹ It is possible, though not demonstrable, that the conflict had been fueled by Justinian (cf. Ferjančić 1984: 88). In any case, as Antes and Sclavenes fought against each other, Romans recruited soldiers from both ethnic groups. In 537, 1,600 horsemen, most of whom were Sclavenes and Antes, "who are settled above the Ister river not far from its banks (οἱ ὑπὲρ ποταμὸν Ἰστρὸν οὐ μακρὰν τῆς ἐκείνῃ ὁχθῆς ἰδρυνταί)" (Proc., Wars V 27.1), were shipped to Italy, in order to rescue Belisarius, who

was blocked in Rome by the Ostrogoths (Wars V 27.2; see Teall 1965:302; Comşa 1973:197; Waldmüller 1976:60; Velkov 1987:154).²³²

But none of Justinian's attempts to solve the problems in the Danube area proved to be successful. In December 539, a numerous "Hunnish army" crossed the frozen Danube and fell as a scourge upon the eastern Balkan provinces. This, Procopius argued, "had happened many times before, but ... never brought such a multitude of woes nor such dreadful ones to the people of that land" (Wars II 4.1 and 4-7).²³³ According to Procopius, the Hunnic raid covered the entire Balkan peninsula from the Adriatic coast to the environs of Constantinople, and resulted in 32 forts taken in Illyricum and no less than 120,000 Roman prisoners. Since Procopius is our only source for this raid, there is no way of assessing the accuracy of his testimony. It is possible, however, that he had the same raid in mind when claiming (Secret History 23.6) that the Huns, the Sclavenes, and the Antes, in their daily inroads (σχεδόν τι ἀνὰ πάντων καταθέοντες ἔτος), wrought frightful havoc among the inhabitants of the Roman provinces. As in the Wars, he argues that more than twenty myriads of these inhabitants were killed or enslaved, so that a veritable "Scythian wilderness" came to exist everywhere in the Balkan provinces (τὴν Σκυθῶν ἐρημίαν ἀμέλει ταύτης πανταχόσε τῆς

ξυμβαίνειν; Secret History 18.20–21).²³⁴ In the same vein, Jordanes refers to regular invasions (*instantia cottidiana*) of Bulgars, Antes, and Sclavenes (Romana 388; Pritsak 1983:367; Soustal 1991:70). A sixth-century Midrashic homilist also complains about havoc brought to Jewish communities by Berbers and Antes ('*Anatiim: Midrash Tehillim* 25.14).²³⁵ Mistakenly applying John Malalas' account of Zabergan's invasion of 559 (XVIII 129; cf. Theophanes Confessor, p. 233) to the events of 540, some argued that Sclavenes may have also participated in the Hunnic invasion of 540 (Angelov 1981:8; Bonev 1983:113; Pritsak 1983:367; Velkov 1987:154; *contra*: Nestor 1963:58). Taking into account that Procopius describes in his Wars similar invasions of the Sclavenes, with a similar development (Weithmann 1978:66), and clearly refers to Sclavenes, along with Huns and Antes, in his Secret History, it is a likely possibility. However, since Procopius is our only source for the raid of 540, there is no way to prove the point and the wisest solution is to believe that Procopius' reference to Sclavenes in his Secret History cannot be dated with any precision. He might have referred in general to the situation in the Balkans during the 530s.²³⁶ On the other hand, Procopius certainly had in mind a new raid when claiming that during their conflict with the Sclavenes between 533 and 545, the Antes invaded Thrace and plun-

dered and enslaved many of the Roman inhabitants, leading the captives with them as they returned to their "native abode" (οἵπερ ἐπαγόμενοι ἀπέκομίσθησαν εἰς τὰ πατρία ἡθη; Wars VII 14.11).²³⁷

At this point in his narrative, Procopius introduces a young Antian prisoner of war, named Chilbudius, like the former *magister militum per Thraciam*. The story is clearly influenced by plots most typical of neo-Attic comedy or of Plautus (Ivanov, Gindin, and Cymburskii 1991:231-232). Since Antes and Sclavenes were now on peaceful terms, 'phoney Chilbudius' was redeemed from the Sclavenes by one of his fellow tribesmen, who also had a Roman prisoner with a Machiavellian mind. The latter persuaded his master that the man he had just purchased from the Sclavenes was Chilbudius, the Roman general, and that he would be richly recompensated by Justinian if he would bring Chilbudius back to "the land of the Romans" (Wars VII 14.11-16; Bonev 1983:109-112). But as soon as he was brought back to his fellow tribesmen, 'phoney Chilbudius' frankly revealed his true identity, for he now expected to join again his tribe as a freeman. The whole story was made public when "the report was carried about and reached the entire nation [of the Antes]" (Wars VII 14.21). Under their pressure, 'phoney Chilbudius' then agreed to claim that he really was the Roman general and the Antes sent him immediately to Constantinople. At

about the same time, as if knowing what was going on, Justinian sent an embassy to the Antes, asking them all to move into "an ancient city, Turris by name, situated to the north of the river Ister" (Wars VII 14.32). The city had been built by Trajan, but was left deserted, after it had been plundered by the barbarians of that region. Justinian promised to give them the city and the region around it, and to pay them great sums of money, on condition that they should become his allies (ἔνσπονδοι) and constantly block the way against the Huns, "when these wished to overrun the Roman domain" (Wars VII 33).²³⁸ The Antes accepted all conditions, provided that Chilbudius, the *magister militum per Thraciam*, would be restored to his office of general of the Roman army and would assist them in settling in Turris.²³⁹ The rationale behind their request, Procopius argues, was that they wanted and stoutly maintained that the man there among them was Chilbudius, the Roman general (αὐτὸν ἐκείνον ἰσχυρίζόμενοι ἥπερ βούλοντο, Χιλβούδιον εἶναι) (Wars VII 14.34). In the end, the whole plot was unmasked by Narses, who captured 'phoney Chilbudius' on his way to Constantinople (Wars VII 14.32-35; cf. VII 13.24-26).²⁴⁰

It is difficult to visualize the source of this story. Some have argued that Procopius may have had access to the official forms of the cross-examination of 'phoney Chilbudius' by Narses (Rubin 1954:198), others

that he might have heard the whole story from the mouth of the Antian envoys in Constantinople (Litavrin 1986: 27). Whatever its origin, Procopius surely re-worked the account and arranged it according to comic narrative patterns (Ivanov, Gindin, and Cymburskii 1991:231). He may have intended to stress a few important points. First, there is the ambition of the Antes, as a group, to be given a Roman official who would guide them into some more sophisticated organization. They all agreed to become Justinian's *ἐνσπονδοί* and would remain allies of the Empire until 602 (Ensslin 1929:698-699; Ditten 1978: 82; *contra*: Stein 1968:522).²⁴¹ The fact that Justinian transferred to his new allies a Roman fort on the left bank of the Danube river shows that Romans were still claiming rights to territories north of the frontier (cf. Chrysos 1987:36). Procopius' story is thus designed to adjust such claims to the actual situation. He also needed 'phoney Chilbudius' in order to explain how Justinian could conceivably have allied himself with barbarians who "are not ruled by one man, but... lived from old under a democracy (*ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ ἐκ παλαιοῦ βιοτεύουσι*)" and by whom "everything which involves their welfare, whether for good or for ill, is referred to the people (*ἐς κοινὸν ἄγεται*)" (*Wars* VII 14.22). Barbarians ignorant of the benefits of monarchy²⁴² may have understood 'Chilbudius' not as a certain person, but as a

military and political title of an official able to bolster their request (cf. Bonev 1983:11). Narses unmasking the plot of the Antes did not, therefore, cause the invalidation of the *foedus*, for in the following years, Antes would constantly appear in historical sources as allies of the Romans.²⁴³

From a Roman perspective, the treaty of 545 was meant to eliminate the problem of Hunnic raids, against which one of its stipulations was clearly phrased.²⁴⁴ The rationale behind Justinian's offer may have been the devastating invasion of 540 (Waldmüller 1976:38).²⁴⁵ But the respite was only temporary, for a still more destructive attack would be launched eighteen years later by Zabergan's Cutrigurs (Pohl 1988:19; Soustal 1991:70).

In response to the threat posed by the Frankish king Theudebert, who, according to Agathias, was preparing a large coalition of barbarians against the Empire (I 4.1-3), Justinian offered in 546 an alliance to the Lombard king Auduin. Just like in the case of the Antes, the Lombards were settled on formerly Roman territory, in Pannonia, and were paid great sums of money (Proc., Wars VII 33.10-12; Paul the Deacon, History of the Lombards I 22 and II 27; cf. Christou 1991:78-79 and 82). Just as Turris, Pannonia was only nominally under the control of the Romans. The Lombards were now very close to the Gepids and a conflict soon arose between the two groups.

Since both recognized the Empire's nominal claims of suzerainty over their respective territories, embassies from both arrived in Constantinople. Justinian decided for the Lombards, for the Gepids were still controlling Sirmium. However, despite his victory over the Herules, who had meanwhile turned into the allies of the Gepids, and despite his permanent efforts to fuel the rivalry between Lombards and Gepids, both groups eventually agreed to a truce in 547 (Proc., Wars VII 34.1-40; VII 35.12-22; Paul the Deacon, History of the Lombards I 21; cf. Christou 1991:91).

At this moment, a candidate to the Lombard throne, Hildigis, fled to the Sclavenes, who presumably lived somewhere near the Gepids and the Lombards (Wars VII 35.16, 19, and 21-22).²⁴⁶ As Justinian offered the *foedus* to Auduin, Hildigis went to the Gepids, followed by a retinue of Lombards and Sclavenes. He later returned to the Sclavenes, together with his followers, but then moved to Italy, where he joined the army of King Totila, "having with him an army of not less than six thousand men."²⁴⁷ After some skirmishes with Roman troops, Hildigis recrossed the Danube river, probably in 550 (Godlowski 1980a:225; for a slightly earlier date, see Christou 1991:91),²⁴⁸ and, once again, went to the Sclavenes.²⁴⁹ Meanwhile, in 549, the kings of the Lombards and the Gepids had agreed to a truce. But the

attitude of the Gepids toward the Empire remained hostile, for they would later invite the Cutrigurs to a joint raid across the Danube (Wars VIII 18.16-18).

Justinian seems to have been able, by means of payments of large sums of money, to contain the threat to the Danube frontier by the mid-sixth century. He allied himself with Lombards and Antes against Gepids and Huns, respectively. Sclavenes were obviously not part of this new system of alliances. It is no surprise, therefore, to see them starting their own, independent raids. In 545, a great throng of Sclavenes crossed the river Danube, plundered the adjoining country and enslaved a great number of Romans (Proc., Wars VII 13.24-26; Waldmüller 1976:39 and 56; Irmischer 1980:162; Velkov 1987:155).²⁵⁰

The Herulian mercenaries under Narses' command intercepted and defeated them and released the prisoners. According to Procopius, this is the moment when Narses discovered "a certain man who was pretending to bear the name of Chilbudius" (Wars VII 13.26). It would be difficult to believe that the recently appointed leader of the Antes, who wished so much to enter the Roman alliance, could have joined the plundering raid of the Sclavenes. Procopius has told us that 'phoney Chilbudius' had spent some time with the Sclavenes, as a prisoner of war (Wars VII 14.19-20), and, according to the chronology of his narrative, the raid of the Sclavenes may have followed

the assembly of the Antes, in which they had proclaimed their fellow tribesman to be 'Chilbudius'. It is very unlikely that the Antian envoys to Constantinople arrived there as Narses' prisoners. Did Procopius intend to minimize the importance of the *foedus* of 545 by implying that it has been agreed upon by the emperor dealing with a barbarian liar who had entered Roman territory as an enemy? In view of his criticism of Justinian, who "kept bringing all the barbarians into collision with one another" (Secret History 11.5-9), it may be a plausible hypothesis. It is also possible that the entire story of 'phoney Chilbudius' was made up by Procopius, as a narrative strategy in order to emphasize Justinian's weakness. The use of comic patterns may support this idea.

In any case, Procopius provides clear evidence that no attempts were made to approach the Sclavenes with similar offers of alliance. They always appear on the side of the Empire's enemies, as in the episode of Hildigis. To Procopius, the Sclavenes were unpredictable and disorderly barbarians (Adshead 1990:104). His attitude thus comes very close to that of the author of the Strategikon who, some decades later, describes the Sclavenes as completely faithless and having "no regard for treaties, which they agree to more out of fear than by gifts" (XI 4.4). Here and there, individual Sclavenes may indeed appear as fighting for the Romans, as in the

case of Souarounas, a Slavene soldier in the Roman army operating in the Caucasus region (Agathias IV 20.4; cf. Waldmüller 1976:61).²⁵¹ Another Slavene mercenary proved himself useful to Belisarius during the siege of Auximum in 540 (Wars VI 26.16-22). But unlike Antes, these soldiers seem to have been hired on an individual basis, due to their special skills.²⁵²

In 548, another army of Slavenes crossed the Danube, probably via the Iron Gates fords (Maksimović 1980:33-34).²⁵³ They raided deep into Roman territory, reaching Dyrrachium in Epirus Nova. Procopius even claims that they succeeded in capturing numerous strongholds, "which previously had been reputed to be strong places" (Proc., Wars VII 29.2). The military commanders of Illyricum followed them at a distance with an army of 15,000 men, without getting too close or engaging in any battle (Wars VII 29.3). The following year (549), another 3,000 Slavene warriors crossed the Danube and immediately advanced to the Hebrus (present-day Maritsa) river, which they also crossed with no difficulty. They split into two groups, one with 1,800, the other with 1,200 men (Proc., Wars 7.38.1-23).²⁵⁴ The two sections separated from each other. One of them attacked the cities in Thrace, while the other invaded Illyricum. Both routed Roman armies sent against them, and both captured many fortresses, although, as Procopius argues, "they neither

had any previous experience in attacking city walls, nor had they dared to come down to the open plain" (Wars VII 38.7). But Procopius' narrative focuses more on those Sclavenes who came closer to the capital city. He tells us that the commander of the cavalry cohorts stationed at Tzurullum (present-day Çorlu) was defeated, captured, and savagely executed (cf. Braichevskii 1953:24). Procopius claims that the Sclavenes of 549 "had never in all time crossed the Ister river with an army before" (Wars VII 38.10).²⁵⁵ It is hardly conceivable that Procopius forgot what he had reported about the invasions following Chilbudius' death, particularly about that of 545 (Wars VII 13.24-26). Could he have implied that the Sclavenes of 549 were not those of 545?²⁵⁶ Theoretically, it is not impossible that the marauders of 549 were just a different group than those of 545. However, there are two reasons for not favoring this interpretation. First, Procopius' source for this raid seems to have been a combination of archival material (as suggested by such indications as the number of Sclavenes, the direction of their attacks, or the mention of Asbadus, Justinian's bodyguard who commanded the cavalry troops stationed at Tzurullum) and oral reports (as indicated by the obviously exaggerated number of prisoners taken after the capture of Topeiros and by the description of their torture and execution). Second, what Procopius has to say about

these 'newcomers' ("they [never] dared to come down to the open plain") is strikingly similar to what John of Ephesus would write about the Sclavenes of the 580s (they "had never dared to leave the woods and the inaccessible areas"; VI 25). Procopius was certainly not an alert observer of the Sclavenes and it is unlikely that he was able to distinguish between the two raids in such minute details. He might, however, have had access to more material on the raid of 549 than on those of 545 or 548, which allowed him to make comments on the margins. He reports that, for the first time, the Sclavenes succeeded in conquering a city (Topeiros, near Abdera, in Rhodope). In a long passage, he also describes in detail how the Sclavenes captured the city and what happened to those taken prisoner (Wars VII 38.11-23).²⁵⁷ Procopius' description of the atrocities committed by Sclavenes after conquering Topeiros (Wars VII 38.21-23) matches not only contemporary historiographical clichés about barbarians,²⁵⁸ but also the appalling portrait of the Sclavenes by Pseudo-Caesarius.²⁵⁹ But Procopius' argument is consistent: the Slavs are indeed an unpredictable enemy. Until conquering Topeiros, they "had spared no age..., so that the whole land inhabited by the Illyrians and Thracians came to be everywhere filled with unburied corpses" (Wars VII 38.19). After the bloodshed at Topeiros, as if they "were drunk with the great quantity

of blood they had shed," the Sclavenes suddenly decided to spare some prisoners, whom they took with them when departing on their homeward way (Wars VII 38.23). Again, Procopius seems to have forgotten what he himself told us, namely that in 545, the Sclavenes had also taken a great number of prisoners, later to be released by Narses' Herulian mercenaries.

In the summer of the year 550, as Roman troops were gathering in Serdica under the command of Germanus in order to be sent to Italy against Totila, a great throng of Sclavenes, "such as never before was known," crossed the Danube and easily came close to Naissus (present-day Niš) (Wars VII 40.4-5 and 7-8).²⁶⁰ The attack of the Sclavenes occurred at a time when Narses, who was also preparing to embark for a campaign to Italy, was forced to postpone his departure by Cutrigur attacks on Philippopolis (present-day Plovdiv) (Wars VIII 21.20-21; cf. Soustal 1991:71).²⁶¹ According to Procopius, the Sclavenes were bent on capturing Thessalonica and the surrounding cities. The threat must have been truly serious, for Justinian ordered Germanus to defer his expedition to Italy and to defend Thessalonica and the other cities. This measure proved to be efficient, for the Sclavenes gave up their plans to capture Thessalonica. Instead, they crossed the mountain ranges to the west and entered Dalmatia, at that time still

disputed by Ostrogoths and Romans.²⁶² Germanus did not follow them, both because of his other commitments and because once in Dalmatia, the Sclavenes did not represent any major threat to southern Macedonia. He would soon die, before being able to advance on Italy. As for the Sclavenes, Romans did nothing to make them leave Dalmatia. Despite their great number, therefore, the Sclavenes of 550 did not pose any major problem to the Roman defense. But the raid is significant for another reason. Procopius tells us that the Sclavenes spent the winter of 550 and most of the following year in Dalmatia, "as if in their own land (ὥσπερ ἐν χώρῃ οἰκείῃ διαχειμάζοντες)" (Wars VII 40.31-32). They had no fear of any possible Roman attack, an indication of the confused situation in Dalmatia on the eve of Narses' campaign of 552, which put an end to the Ostrogothic war and kingdom. This is the first case of a two-year Slavene raid (Nestor 1963:47-48; Cankova-Petkova 1970:221; Waldmüller 1976:44; Velkov 1987:161), but there is no reason to believe that the Slavene marauders intended to settle (cf. Ditten 1978:87). They seem to have recrossed the mountains to the east in the spring of 551 and joined another group of Slavene warriors who had just crossed the Danube.²⁶³ Just as in 549, they all divided themselves into three groups operating separately. Procopius' narrative, however, focuses only on the group approaching

Constantinople.

Annoyed by their devastations, the emperor now sent an army commanded by several generals, but headed by an imperial eunuch, Scholastikos (Wars VII 40.31-45; cf. Ensslin 1929:699).²⁶⁴ At only five days' journey from Constantinople, near Adrianople, the Roman army came upon one of the three groups mentioned by Procopius. The Sclavenes were carrying with them a great deal of booty. In the ensuing battle, most of the Roman army was destroyed, and, according to Procopius, "the generals came within a little of falling into the hands of the enemy, succeeding only with difficulty in making their escape with the remnant of the army" (Wars VII 40.41). The Sclavenes savagely plundered the region in the vicinity of the capital, up to the Long Walls. With some of the troops saved from the debacle at Adrianople, the Romans intercepted some of them, rescued a vast number of Roman captives and recovered a standard, which has been captured during the battle of Adrianople. The rest of the Sclavenes, however, "departed on the homeward way with the other booty" (Wars VII 40.45).

The year 551 was not yet over, when a great throng of Sclavenes (Σκλαβηνῶν δὲ πολὺς ὄμιλος) descended upon Illyricum and "inflicted sufferings there not easily described" (Wars VIII 25.1-6).²⁶⁵ The army sent by Justinian under the command of Germanus' sons cautiously

followed the raiders, without engaging into any confrontation. The raid continued and the Sclavenes were able to return home with all their plunder. The Romans did nothing to stop them at the crossing of the Danube river,²⁶⁶ for the Gepids took the Sclavenes "under their protection and ferried them across," receiving one solidus per head as payment for their labor (Wars VIII 25.4-6).²⁶⁷

In response, Justinian started negotiations with the Gepids, but at the same time supported Lombards against Gepids. An army sent by Justinian under the command of Amalafridas, King Alboin's brother-in-law, sided with the Lombards and defeated the Gepids, and killed their king Turismod. The 'eternal peace' agreed upon by King Alboin and Turisind, the new king of the Gepids, would last another ten years (Jord., Romana 386-387; Proc., Wars VIII 25.1-10 and 13-15; VIII 27.1-5 and 7-29; Paul the Deacon, History of the Lombards I 23-24).

But the key to Justinian's new policy in the Balkans was not playing off Lombards and Gepids against each other. Shortly before 558, most likely in 554, as Procopius was finishing Book IV of his Buildings, the building program on the Danube frontier was completed. According to Procopius, Justinian built or renewed more than 600 forts in the Balkans, eight times more than in the entire Asian part of the empire (Shuvalov 1991: 40).²⁶⁸ There is a tendency among scholars to downplay

the significance of this major building program or to treat Procopius' evidence with extreme suspicion. The archaeological evidence will be examined in detail in the following chapter. It is worth mentioning for the moment that, just because the Buildings is a panegyric, it does not mean that we should expect a heightening of the evidence. It is not true that Procopius, in accordance with the convention of the time, credited Justinian with achievements which were not his. Two recently discovered inscriptions from Byllis, in Albania, corroborate Book IV. They clearly attest that the forts in Moesia, Scythia Minor, Illyricum, and Thrace were built for Justinian by his architect, Viktorinos (Feissel 1988). We have all reasons to believe that Justinian's strategy described in Book IV was realized in practice and that Procopius' description of it is, in its essentials, sound. The ending phase of this building program may have been sped up by the devastating Slavene raids of 549-551,²⁶⁹ for the Slavenes are the only barbarians to whom Procopius specifically refers in relation to Justinian's building program. He tells us that the fort at Ulmetum (present-day Pantelimonu de Sus, in Dobrudja) had come to be wholly deserted and "nothing of it was left except the name," for the Slavenes had been making their ambushades there for a great length of time and had been tarrying there very long (διατρίβην τε αὐτόθι ἐπὶ μακρότατον

ἐσχηκότων) (Buildings IV 7). The fort was built all up from the foundations (see Nestor 1961:429; Nestor 1963:45).²⁷⁰ Justinian also built a new fort named Adina, because the "barbarian Sclaveni were constantly laying concealed ambushes there against travellers, thus making the whole district impassable" (Buildings IV 7).²⁷¹

The evidence of the Buildings gives one the impression that Procopius perceived the challenge of the Sclavenes as the great military problem of his day and, at the same time, saw himself challenged to describe it (Adshead 1990:107). Procopius explains that the entire strategy underlying the building program in the Balkans was centered upon the Danube frontier and that the forts built by Justinian responded to a particular kind of warfare, being designed to resist sudden attacks from the north.²⁷² The defense system was also designed to protect the countryside rather than the urban centers, for, according to Procopius, the first target of the barbarian raids were fields, not cities (Buildings IV 1). According to Procopius, Justinian's strategy was therefore not to close the frontier, but to build three successive lines, one along the Danube, the other along the Stara Planina range, and a third one along the Istranča Daglari range, in the vicinity of Constantinople. All three were expected to slow down, rather than stop, any barbarian

raids. Book IV has therefore been viewed as a 'codified' map of the barbarian invasions into the Balkans, of their direction and impact (Ivanov 1984).²⁷³ In any case, despite claims to the contrary, Procopius' Buildings provides solid evidence that in the mid-500s, the Danube frontier together with the provinces in the interior received a level of fortification the Balkans had never witnessed before (Velkov 1987:155).

Justinian's concept of defense proved its efficiency, for no Sclavene raids are recorded for the period between 552 and 577 (Whitby 1988:88; Soustal 1991:71). Except for Zabergan's invasion of 558/9 and the raid of the Cutrigurs in Dalmatia in 568 (Menander the Guardsman 12.5; cf. Blockley 1985:268 n. 160), there is no mention of any raiding activity in the Balkans until the last quarter of the sixth century. It has been argued that this may be an indirect result of Justinian's decisive victory against the Goths in Italy (Shuvalov 1989). However, Zabergan's devastating invasion of 558/9 does not support this argument. According to Agathias of Myrina, Zabergan crossed the frozen river "as if it were land" (καθάπερ χέρσον), with a great number of horsemen (V 11.6; cf. Bakalov 1974:206; Waldmüller 1976:48). Victor of Tunnunna, writing in 565 in Constantinople, reported that the Huns captured and killed a magister militum named Sergios, the son of a certain priest named

Bacchus (p. 205; cf. Waldmüller 1976:50). The same details are reported by John Malalas, who also claimed that the invaders found parts of the Long Walls collapsed, as they indeed were after the earthquake of 557 (XVIII 129). Theophanes gave a slightly different account of the same attack (p. 233). Sclavenes among Zabergan's hordes appear in both John Malalas' and Theophanes' accounts (Irmischer 1980:163; Pohl 1988:19; Fiedler 1992:8), but are not mentioned by either Agathias or Victor of Tunnunna. If groups of Slavene warriors participated in Zabergan's invasion, they certainly played a subordinate role (Bakalov 1974:206). No independent raid of the Sclavenes is known for the entire period until 578, despite the fact that the period is covered by more than one source.²⁷⁴

The Avars and the Slavs: Raiding Activity in the 580s

As a consequence of the calamitous invasion of Zabergan's Cutrigurs, the Avars became Justinian's new allies (Szádeczky-Kardoss 1986a:267-268; Soustal 1991:71). The newcomers were remarkably successful in establishing their suzerainty in the steppes north of the Black Sea. One by one, all nomadic tribes were forced to acknowledge their supremacy. Among them were also the Antes, for the Avars, in about 560, "ravaged and plundered the[ir] land" (Menander the Guardsman, fr. 3; Bonev

1983:114; Szádeczky-Kardoss 1986a:268; Litavrin 1991b:8; Levinskaia and Tokhtas'ev 1991b:327).²⁷⁵ Mezamer,²⁷⁶ the envoy sent by the Antes to ransom some of their tribesmen taken prisoner by the Avars, was killed at the orders of the chagan. Menander the Guardsman claims that the chagan's decision was taken under the influence of "that Kutrigur who was a friend of the Avars and had very hostile designs against the Antae" (Menander the Guardsman, fr. 3). It is very likely that, in order to subdue the world of the steppe, the Avars took advantage of dissensions between nomadic groups. In this case, Menander's reference to the leaders of the Antes, who "had failed miserably and had been thwarted in their hopes" (Menander the Guardsman, fr. 3), may imply that, before the arrival of the Avars, the Antes had experienced some serious defeat by the hands of their Cutrigur neighbors (Litavrin 1991b:9; *contra*: Blockley 1985:253 n. 25; Levinskaia and Tokhtas'ev 1991b:328).²⁷⁷ Following the defeat of the Antes, the Avars became the masters of the steppe, with no other rivals except the Gök Türk empire to the east (Pohl 1988:40; Szádeczky-Kardoss 1986a:267-268).²⁷⁸ They felt indeed strong enough to send an embassy to Justinian asking for land south of the Danube, in Scythia Minor. This request was denied to them, but a later source, the Chronicle of Monemvasia, claims that Justinian granted the Avars the city of

Durostorum (p. 9; cf. Pohl 1988:47). A few years, later, however, the Avars, in alliance with the Lombards, destroyed the Gepids in Pannonia and soon remained the only masters of the Hungarian plain.

The direct consequences of this conquest were immediately visible. The Avars attacked Sirmium, and peace negotiations with the Romans failed to provide a peaceful solution to the conflict (Menander the Guardsman, fr. 27,2). The indirect consequences were, however, even worse. Most likely encouraged by the success of the Avars (Lemerle 1980:289), the Sclavenes resumed their raids. In 578, according to Menander the Guardsman, 100,000 Sclavene warriors "devastated Thrace and many other areas" (Menander the Guardsman, fr. 20,2; cf. Metcalf 1962b:135; Popović 1975:450; Whitby 1988:87). The number of the invading Sclavene warriors mentioned by Menander the Guardsman is certainly exaggerated. But his account may be corroborated by others. John of Biclar probably referred to this same invasion when reporting Sclavene destruction in Thrace and Avar naval attacks on the Black Sea coast (*Avares litora maris captiose obsident et navibus litora Thraciae navigantibus satis infesti sunt*; John of Biclar, p. 214; cf. Waldmüller 1976:106; Levinskaia and Tokhtas'ev 1991b:343). Since Avars were never at ease on sea, in sharp contrast to Sclavenes, whose sailing abilities are often mentioned by various

other sources, John may have muddled Avars with Sclavenes (Waldmüller 1976:106; Weithmann 1978:78; Pohl 1988:68; Whitby 1988:87; Cherniak 1991:398). The scale of the raid was considerable, for according to Menander the Guardsman, the Sclavenes were still plundering in Greece (Ἑλλάς), when the chagan Baian organized an expedition against their territories north of the Danube (Menander the Guardsman, fr. 21; cf. Levinskaia and Tokhtas'ev 1991b:343).²⁷⁹

Despite the omnipresence of the Avars, there is no reason to doubt that the raid of 578 was an independent one. The chagan himself seems to have taken the independent attitude of the Slavene leaders very seriously. Indeed, Menander the Guardsman cites, for the first time, the name of a Slavene chieftain, Daurentius (or Dauritas), to whom the chagan sent an embassy asking Sclavenes to accept Avar suzerainty and to pay him tribute (Menander the Guardsman, fr. 21; cf. Pohl 1988:68-69; Levinskaia and Tokhtas'ev 1991b:349-350).²⁸⁰ The rationale behind the chagan's claims was that the chagan knew that the land of the Sclavenes was "full of gold (πολυχρήματον τὴν γῶραν), since the Roman Empire had long been plundered by the Slavs, whose own land had never been raided by any other people at all" (Menander the Guardsman, fr. 21). This could only mean that the arrival of the Avars to the Lower Danube, and their wars for the

domination of the steppe north of the Danube Delta and the Black Sea, had no effect on the neighboring Sclavenes (Szádeczky-Kardoss 1986a:268; Pohl 1988:69). The answer given by the independently minded Dauritas and his fellow chiefs to the Avar envoys may have been pure boasting designed to illustrate Menander's idea of barbarians "with haughty and stubborn spirits" (Menander the Guardsman, fr. 21). It is nevertheless a plausible answer (cf. Baldwin 1978:118). In an episode apparently constructed as the opposite of that of Mezamer and Bayan, Menander tells us that the Sclavenes eventually slew the envoys of the chagan. Baian now had a good reason for his long awaited expedition. In addition, Emperor Tiberius II also needed him to force the Sclavenes raiding the Balkans to return home (Menander the Guardsman, fr. 21). Tiberius ordered the *quaestor exercitus* John, who was at the same time *magister militum* (or *praefectus praetorio*) *per Illyricum* and apparently commanded the Danube fleet (Jones 1964:307; Hendy 1985:653; Szádeczky-Kardoss 1985:64; Pohl 1988:68; Levinskaia and Tokhtas'ev 1991b:346), to transport 60,000 Avar horsemen on ships along the Danube, from Pannonia to Scythia Minor.²⁸¹ Since the Avar horsemen landed in Scythia Minor, the Slavene villages to which Baian set fire must have been located on the left bank, not far from the river, in eastern Walachia or southern Moldavia.²⁸² Bayan laid waste the fields, which

may indicate that the expedition took place in the late summer or early fall of 578.²⁸³ None of the Sclavenes "dared to face" the chagan, and most of them took refuge to the nearby woods (cf. Theophylact Simocatta VI 7.10; Strategikon XI 4.38).

Baian's expedition against the Sclavenes, however, did not fulfill Tiberius II's expectations (Waldmüller 1976:165; Rusu 1978:123; *contra*: Ferjančić 1984:94). That the situation in the northern Balkans remained confused is shown by the fact that, in 579, the Avar envoy himself, and his small Roman escort, were ambushed by Sclavene marauders on their way back from Constantinople through Illyricum (Menander the Guardsman, fr. 25,2; cf. Pohl 1988:72).²⁸⁴ According to John of Ephesus, two years later, "the accursed people of the Slavs" set out and plundered all of Greece, the regions surrounding Thessalonica (the Syrian word is *ṭslwnyq'*), and Thrace, taking many towns and castles, laying waste, burning, pillaging and seizing the whole country (VI 6.25).²⁸⁵ On the double assumption that the first Sclavene attack on Thessalonica occurred in 586 and that John died shortly after 585, Theresa Olajos proposed an emendation of the text, replacing Thessalonica with Thessaly (Olajos 1985:514-515; cf. Grégoire 1944-1945:109). To my knowledge, her point of view remains unchallenged. A closer examination of her assumptions may, however, lead to a

different conclusion. First, John could not have died in about 585, for the last event recorded by his Ecclesiastical History is the acquittal of Gregory of Antioch in 588 (Allen 1979:254). As a consequence, he could well have had knowledge of a Slavene raid reaching the environs of Thessalonica (Serikov 1991:282). Archbishop John of Thessalonica mentions an attack on the city by 5,000 Slavene warriors (Miracles of St Demetrius I 12.107-113), but the currently accepted dating of this event (604) is based on Paul Lemerle's dubious interpretation of the text and his questionable chronology of the events narrated in chapters 12 through 15 of Book I (Lemerle 1981:40 and 72). According to Lemerle, the attack of the 5,000 warriors narrated in miracle 12 must have occurred after the siege of Thessalonica narrated in miracles 13 to 15, which he dated to 586 (Lemerle 1981:40; for the dating, see Lemerle 1981:69). He pointed to a passage of miracle 13, in which Archbishop John claimed that it was for the first time that the citizens of Thessalonica, particularly those who had not served in the army, were seeing a barbarian army so close to them that they could examine it in great detail (I 13.124). By contrast, as the 5,000 Slavene warriors attacked the city by surprise, the citizens of Thessalonica could hear from a distance "certain signs of that barbarian cry to which ears were accustomed (καί τινα τῆς βαρβαρικῆς

κραυγῆς σημεῖα διὰ τῆς ἐθάρδος ἀκοῆς ἐπεγίνωσκον)" (I 12.112). This, Lemerle argued, was an indication that the attack of the 5,000 Slavene warriors occurred some time after the siege of 586, for the Slavene battle cry was by now recognizable to the inhabitants of the city.²⁸⁶

The evidence cited by Lemerle should be treated with great caution. First, an accurate translation of the passage referring to the Slavene battle cry suggests a different interpretation. The ears accustomed to the barbarian cry are not necessarily those of the inhabitants of the city attacked by the 5,000 warriors. John may have referred to members of his audience, some of whom had indeed witnessed this event, as well as other, subsequent attacks (cf. I 12.101). Moreover, what John says is not that the citizens of Thessalonica were able to recognize the battle cry because they had already heard it many times before, but simply that they were able to distinguish the cry from the general noise of the battle. Second, what John says about the citizens of Thessalonica seeing for the first time a barbarian army refers to the whole army of 586, including Slavenes under the orders of the chagan, as well as other barbarians (I 13.117), all organized in companies of soldiers and in order of battle. What is new to the eyes of the inhabitants of the city are not the Slavenes, but the spectacle of the chagan's army (Ivanova 1995a:188).

I therefore suggest that the attack of the 5,000 Slavene warriors may as well be dated before the siege of 586.²⁸⁷ Indeed, despite claims to the contrary (Lemerle 1981:71), Archbishop John's narrative leaves the impression of a raid organized by 'professional' warriors coming from afar, not by marauders living in the vicinity, for John calls them *διὰ τὸ παντὸς τοῦ τῶν Σκλαβίνων ἔθνους τὸ ἐπίλεκτον ἄνθος* (I 12.108). The reaction of the inhabitants of Thessalonica is also instructive. There is no mention of any army within the city's walls, but when an official of the prefecture gave the alarm, nobody panicked. Instead, everybody rushed home to bring his weapons and then took his assigned position on the walls (I 12.107). To judge from Archbishop John's evidence, the inhabitants of Thessalonica were already prepared for the attack, which they seem to have expected at any moment. I suspect this to be an indication of a serious and continuous threat on the city, of a kind which may be associated with the invasion referred to by John of Ephesus. The attack of the 5,000 Slavene warriors occurred at a time of intense raiding, when the citizens of Thessalonica had become accustomed to barbarian onslaughts. Indeed, John of Ephesus, to whom the "accursed Slavs" were just the instrument of God for punishing the persecutors of the Monophysites, claims that they were still occupying Roman territory in 584, "as if it belonged to them" (VI 6.25;

Nestor 1963:50). The Slavs had "become rich and possessed gold and silver, herds of horses and a lot of weapons, and learned to make war better than the Romans" (John of Ephesus VI 6.25). I think, therefore, that Franjo Barišić was right when relating the attack of the 5,000 Sclavene warriors on Thessalonica to the events referred to by John of Ephesus (Barišić 1953:49-55; cf. Ivanova 1995a: 182).²⁸⁸

However, questions still remain. Both Archbishop John and John of Ephesus seem to describe an independent raid of the Sclavenes reaching Thessalonica and also, according to John of Ephesus, Greece (*contra*: Metcalf 1962b:135). In distant Spain, John of Biclar knew that in 581, Greece had been occupied by Avars (p. 216; cf. Weithmann 1978:88; Yannopoulos 1980:333).²⁸⁹ It is known, however, that at that time, the major Avar forces were concentrated at Sirmium, which actually fell in 582.²⁹⁰ Is it possible that John muddled Avars with Slavs? Taking into consideration the considerable distance at which he wrote, it is not altogether impossible. But there is additional evidence to prove the contrary. Writing at the end of the sixth century, Evagrius recorded some information on Balkan events of the 580s, which he may have obtained in Constantinople, during his visit to Constantinople in 588, in order to assist his employer, Gregory the patriarch of Antioch. He reports that Avars

conquered and plundered cities and strongholds in Greece (VI 10).²⁹¹ The date of this raid is not given, but there is no reason to accuse Evagrius of muddling Avars and Slavs (Whitby 1988:110; cf. Yannopoulos 1980:336; Pohl 1988:107).²⁹²

In addition, Michael the Syrian, in a passage most likely borrowed from John of Ephesus, records an attack of the Sclavenes (*sqwlyn*) on Corinth, but refers to their leader as a chagan (X 21). He then attributes the attack on Anchialos not to the Avars, but to the Sclavenes. The reference to Anchialos could be used for dating the attack on Corinth in or shortly before 584 (Yannopoulos 1980:366). But it is very difficult to disentangle Michael's narrative and decide who exactly was raiding Greece in about 584. Michael the Syrian is a later source. He might have used John not directly, but through an intermediary (possibly the eighth-century chronicle attributed to Dionysius of Tell Mahre). As a consequence, he might have muddled Avars with Slavs. But neither the evidence of John of Biclar, nor that of Evagrius can be dismissed so easily on similar grounds. There is good reason to suspect, therefore, that in the early 580s, Greece was raided by both Avars and Slavs. It is possible that some of the Slavs were under the orders of the Avars, but others, such as the 5,000 warriors storming Thessalonica, may have operated on their own.

That some Slavene groups were under the command of the Avar chagan is also suggested by Theophylact Simocatta's report of another raid across Thrace, which reached the Long Walls. In 584, according to him, "the Avars let loose the nation of the Sclavenes" (I 7.3-6; cf. Theophanes Confessor, p. 254; Waldmüller 1976:128). The threat seems to have been so great that Emperor Maurice was forced to use circus factions in order to garrison the Long Walls.²⁹³ The imperial bodyguards were led out from the city, under the command of Comentiolus, and they soon intercepted a group of Sclavenes. One year later (585; see Whitby and Whitby 1986:29 n. 37; cf. Waldmüller 1976:128), Comentiolus encountered a larger group under the command of a certain Ardagastus, roaming in the vicinity of Adrianople. After crushing Ardagastus' warriors, Comentiolus began clearing the entire region of Astike. Could Ardagastus have been under the orders of the chagan? In 584 and 585, the Avars were busy capturing cities and forts along the Danube frontier (Pohl 1988:77-78 and 85). Moreover, a few years later, as Priscus' troops chased him across his territory north of the Danube river (Theophylact Simocatta VI 7.1-5), Ardagastus appeared as an independent leader (Waldmüller 1976:128; cf. Ferjančić 1984:96). On the other hand, there is no reason to believe that the group of Sclavenes intercepted by Comentiolus in 584 is the same as the one of 585,

which was under Ardagastus' command. The raid of 584, which was directed at Thrace, might have been part of, if not the same as, the invasion of 581 to 584, which is reported by John of Ephesus as having reached Greece, the region of Thessalonica, and Thrace.

The situation in the years following Baian's expedition against Dauritas seems to have been as follows, to judge from the existing evidence. The campaign itself did not have immediate results, for only one year later the Avar envoy to Constantinople was attacked by Slavene marauders somewhere in Illyricum (Menander the Guardsman, fr. 25,2). But as soon as the Avars began the siege of Sirmium in 579, they may have encouraged, if not ordered, massive Slavic raids to prevent the rapid access of Roman troops to the besieged city on the northern frontier. If we are to believe John of Ephesus, this diversion kept Romans in check for four years, even after Sirmium was conquered by the Avars. The evidence of John of Biclar, Evagrius, and Michael the Syrian suggests, on the other hand, that, at the same time, the Avars too raided some of those regions. The peace between Tiberius II and Baian following the fall of Sirmium in 582, in which the emperor agreed to pay an annual stipend of 80,000 solidi to the Avars (Pohl 1988:75), did not stop Slavene raids. John of Ephesus claimed that the Slavenes were still on Roman territory in 584. The 5,000 warriors storming

Thessalonica at an unknown date before 586, were certainly not obeying to any Avar orders. On the other hand, the Avar polity experienced some social and political turmoil at that same time, as a new chagan was elected in 583 (Pohl 1988:177). Baian's son followed his father's aggressive policy and in 584, as Emperor Maurice denied his request of increased subsidies, he attacked and conquered Singidunum, Viminacium, Augusta, and plundered the region of Anchialos, on the Black Sea coast (Pohl 1988:77-78). At the same time, according to Theophylact Simocatta, the new chagan of the Avars ordered the Sclavenes to plunder Thrace, as far as the Long Walls. The next year (585), Maurice agreed to pay increased subsidies to the Avars, which now amounted to 100,000 solidi (Pohl 1988:82). The affair of the Avar shaman Bookolabra troubled again Roman-Avar relations, and the chagan's troops plundered all major cities and forts along the Danube frontier, from Aquis to Marcianopolis (Theophylact Simocatta I 8.2-11; Pohl 1988:85). At the same time, Comentiolus was kept busy fighting Ardagastus' Sclavenes near Adrianople.

That in the eyes of the Roman emperor, the Sclavenes and the Avars were two different problems, is suggested by the methods which Maurice chose to tackle them. Avars were paid considerable amounts of money, when Roman troops were lacking or were unable to resist. There is nothing comparable in the case of the Slavs. Instead,

Maurice preferred to use Justinian's old policies of inciting barbarian groups against each other. According to Michael the Syrian, the Romans paid the Antes for attacking and plundering the "land of the Sclavenes," which the Antes did with great success (X 21).²⁹⁴

Maurice's policy might indeed have produced visible results in the case of the Sclavenes operating on their own.

But the war with the Avars continued in Thrace in 586, with indecisive victories on both sides (Pohl 1988: 85-89). At the same time, an army of 100,000 Sclavenes and other barbarians obeying the orders of the chagan appeared under the walls of Thessalonica (Miracles of St Demetrius I 13.117; cf. Nestor 1963:56; Avenarius 1973: 13-14; Pohl 1988:105). The number of soldiers in the army besieging Thessalonica is evidently exaggerated (cf. I 13.126; Charanis 1976:10; Skedros 1996:170). The attack, however, may well have been associated with the war in Thrace (Popović 1975:473; Whitby 1988:147). Its precise date could be established on the basis of Archbishop John's reference to a Sunday, September 22, when the alarm was first given in Thessalonica. We are also told that the attack occurred at the time of the emperor Maurice (I 13.117). September 22 in the reign of Maurice could have fallen on a Sunday in either 586 or 597. A strong argument in favor of the latter date is the fact

that Eusebius, the bishop of Thessalonica at the time of the attack (I 14.131), is mentioned by Pope Gregory the Great in three letters, the earliest of which is dated to 597 (Lemerle 1953:353-354; Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou 1970: 173; cf. Nestor 1963:56). This is, however, no indication that Eusebius was appointed bishop in the 590s (Lemerle 1981:50; Pohl 1988:104). He could have been bishop of Thessalonica since the 580s. Speros Vryonis has also argued that 597 should be preferred, for the poliorcetic technology and the siege machines employed during the one-week attack on Thessalonica could not have been acquired before 587. In that year, the chagan's army besieged and conquered Appiaria in Moesia Inferior, after being instructed by a certain Roman soldier named Busas as to how to construct a siege engine (Theophylact Simocatta II 16.1-11; Vryonis 1981:387-390). Theophylact Simocatta's story has been dismissed by many (e.g. Pohl 1988:88) as a cliché, designed to emphasize that barbarians could have had access to high-tech siegecraft only through traitors.²⁹⁵ More important, the story clearly refers only to Avars, while Archbishop John describes an attack by an army of Sclavenes and other barbarians, which, though obeying the orders of the chagan, was not led by the chagan himself and apparently did not include any Avar troops (cf. Lemerle 1981:48).

Barišić and Lemerle supported a date of 586, on the

basis of a better fit of this event into the general picture of Avar-Byzantine relations in the 580s (Barišić 1953:57-67; Lemerle 1981:49-69; cf. Waldmüller 1976:123; Weithmann 1978:87; Popović 1975:450-451; Popović 1978: 622; Popović 1980:132; Yannopoulos 1980:339; Whitby 1988:117-118; Ivanova 1995a:186-187). In 586, as well as in 597, the bulk of the Avar forces led by the chagan were far from Thessalonica. But in the 590s, most, if not all, of the operations of the Avar-Byzantine war took place in the northern part of the Balkans. The 580s are the only period in which the Avars are known to have reached regions so far to the south. In addition, Archbishop John explains that the attack was ordered by the chagan, because he wanted to take revenge on Emperor Maurice, after his embassy's requests had been denied. We do not know of any such dealings preceding the campaign of 597. We do know, however, that shortly after the Avar shaman Bookolabra defected to the Romans, an Avar envoy to Constantinople, who was coming for the 100,000 solidi paid as annual subsidies to the chagan, was arrested and sent to jail by the order of the enraged emperor Maurice (Theophylact Simocatta I 8.7-10). This event took place just before the Avar campaign along the Danube, in 585. It would make sense to identify this incident with the failed negotiations referred to by Archbishop John as causing the attack on Thessalonica (Pohl 1988:84 and

105).

Two years later (588), a group of Slavene warriors, whom Theophylact Simocatta calls Getae (τὸ δὲ Γετικόν, ταῦτόν δ' εἰπεῖν αἱ τῶν Σκλαυηνῶν), raided Thrace (III 4.7).²⁹⁶ That Theophylact refers to these Slavenes as 'Getae', without any mention of Avars, may indicate an independent raid. But Theophylact also mentions Slavs, who were subordinated to the chagan. In 592, in order to conquer Singidunum, the chagan ordered the Slavenes to build boats for his troops to cross the Danube river (VI 3.9-4.1; Whitby and Whitby 1986:162; cf. Waldmüller 1976:140). The Slavenes engaged in "timber operations" (ξύλουργεῖν) at Sirmium in that same year had their own officers, apparently appointed by the chagan (VI 4.4-5; cf. Pohl 1988:134). The Avar army itself consisted of a considerable number of Slavene warriors, as suggested by the great number of prisoners captured by Priscus in 599 (Theophylact Simocatta VIII 3.14-15; cf. Theophanes Confessor, p. 282).²⁹⁷ In 603, the chagan sent Slavene warriors to help Agilulf, the king of the Lombards, to conquer Cremona (Paul the Deacon, IV 28). Small Slavene tribal units were also developing on the western frontier of the chaganate. They seem to have been clients of the chagan, for they were involved in petty warfare with the Avars' western neighbors, the Bavarians. According to Paul the Deacon, in 592, duke Tassilo of Bavaria raided

provincia Sclaborum and returned home *cum maxima praeda* (IV 7; Popović 1975:465; Waldmüller 1976:183; Fritze 1980:536-537; Bertels 1987:92-95; Pohl 1988:150).²⁹⁸

War Against the Sclavenes: Maurice's Campaigns of the 590s

To Roman eyes the real danger was not the Slavs under Avar authority, but the independent ones in the immediate vicinity of the frontier. All attempts to deal with them, from Justinian's building program to the practice of setting barbarian groups against each other, had borne no fruits. Maurice's reign, however, brought a drastic change. For the first time since Chilbudius' campaigns, the Roman army launched operations across the Danube frontier (Goubert 1963:115; Pohl 1988:135-136).²⁹⁹ That no effort seems to have been made to drive out the Slavs from Roman territory shows that the perceived danger was still north, not south, of the Danube frontier. The real problem was not to remove the Slavs presumably infiltrated and settled on imperial lands in the Balkans or in Greece, but to deal with those remaining beyond imperial frontiers. From Theophylact's evidence, however, it is clear that the main attraction was not booty or the extraction of tribute, but the propaganda value of relatively easy military victories which could be celebrated in Constantinople.³⁰⁰ Roman attacks were

almost exclusively targeted against a territory corresponding to present-day eastern Walachia and Moldavia (Janković 1981:202). They did not aim to conquer, but strictly to protect what was still viewed as the frontier of the empire. On the other hand, operations against the Avars in Pannonia were only launched after the campaign against the Sclavenes north of the Danube, which emphasizes Maurice's priorities.³⁰¹

The dating of these events is a most controversial issue. According to Theophylact Simocatta, our main source for this period, Maurice launched his campaign after concluding a peace with Persia, in 592.³⁰² At the same time, Theophylact mentions a Frankish embassy arriving in Constantinople. The embassy has been sent, according to Theophylact, by a ruler named Theodoric, but there was no ruler by that name in 592 (VI 3.6-7). Theodoric II became king of Burgundy only in 596 (cf. Olajos 1988:167 and n. 705). Some have argued therefore that the beginning of the campaign should be placed in 596 (Labuda 1950:170).³⁰³ Since Theophylact's source for this part of his *History* is the *Feldzugsjournal*, his chronology is based on annual campaigns. The campaign against the Sclavenes could therefore be fairly well dated to 593, by counting back the campaign years from the final campaign of Maurice's reign in 602. Moreover, Theophylact tells us that at the beginning of the cam-

paign, Maurice appointed Priscus as *magister equitum* and Gentzon as *magister peditum* (VI 6.3). In July 593, Priscus received a letter from Pope Gregory the Great, congratulating him for having regained the emperor's favor (III 51; cf. Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou 1970:164; Olajos 1988:171; Whitby 1988:158). It is likely, therefore, that the campaign was launched in the spring of 593 (Ştefan 1967:255; Waldmüller 1976:142; Whitby and Whitby 1986:167; Pohl 1988:128-129). A month after leaving Heraclea (present-day Yeşilköy), Priscus crossed the Danube river, already knowing that Ardagastus was gathering Slavene warriors for a new raid across the Danube. Taken by surprise in the middle of the night,³⁰⁴ Ardagastus barely escaped being captured (VI 7.5; cf. Wiita 1977:334; Zasterová 1971:65). Priscus had crossed the Danube at Durostorum (present-day Silistra) and his troops encountered Ardagastus just one night after the crossing. It is possible, therefore, that Ardagastus' territory was located somewhere between the swampy Mostiştea valley, to the north-east from Durostorum, and the river Argeş, across which Ardagastus swam to escape his followers (VI 7.4).³⁰⁵

The booty captured by Priscus was considerable enough to excite protests from the troops, when he attempted to send it all to Constantinople. Just as Dauritas and his fellow tribesmen, the Sclavenes of the

590s seem to have been prosperous. The author of the Strategikon, who most likely was a participant in this campaign or in those of 594 and 602, would later recommend officers of the Roman army operating north of the Danube to transport provisions found in Slavene settlements "to our own country" (Strategikon XI 4.32; cf. Pohl 1988:140-141).

Priscus himself seems to have acted as if advised by the Strategikon. He ordered some men to move ahead on reconnaissance (cf. Strategikon XI 4.41), and commanded the brigadier Alexander to march into the region beyond the adjacent river Helibacia, most likely the present-day Ialomița river (Cihodaru 1972:5; Comşa 1974:309; Schramm 1981:257; cf. Whitby and Whitby 1986:171).³⁰⁶ He encountered a group of Sclavenes, who quickly made their escape in the nearby marshes and woods (Theophylact Simocatta VI 9.1).³⁰⁷ All attempts to capture them failed, but Alexander found a Gepid, "who had once long before been of the Christian religion," who divulged to the Romans where the Sclavenes were hidden (VI 9.1). He also told Alexander that the Sclavenes were subjects of Musocius, "who was called *rex* in the barbarian tongue (ὁπὸ Μουσώκιον τὸν λεγόμενον ῥῆγα, τῇ τῶν βαρβάρων φωνῇ)" and lived thirty parasangs (93 to 111 miles) away (VI 9.1).³⁰⁸ If the Roman army headed north-east and not west,³⁰⁹ Musocius' territory must have been located some-

where in southern Moldavia.

Alexander did not pursue his mission into Musocius' territory, for it was too far for his small-sized contingent. He re-crossed Helibacia and returned to Priscus, bringing with him the barbarian prisoners and the Gepid defector. Priscus ordered the execution of the Sclavene prisoners. The deserter agreed to beguile the Sclavene 'king' in exchange for gifts.³¹⁰ He returned to Musocius, asking to be provided with canoes (μονοξύλων), in order to ferry across the refugees from Ardagastus' territory. With 150 canoes and 30 oarsmen, the Gepid re-crossed the river Paspirius.³¹¹ Since the river seems to be navigable, at least for canoes, we may identify Paspirius with the lower course of the Siret river.³¹²

In the middle of the night, the Gepid came to Priscus, who sent him back together with 200 soldiers under the command of the brigadier Alexander.³¹³ Drunk and asleep,³¹⁴ the Sclavenes were no match for Alexander's men. An additional Roman force of 3,000 men crossed the river on the canoes captured from the Sclavenes.³¹⁵ Just as with Ardagastus, the Roman army took the Sclavenes by surprise. But unlike Ardagastus, 'king' Musocius was taken prisoner, while most of his subjects were killed. Apparently, this was not a decisive victory, for the next day, Priscus' soldiers barely escaped being destroyed by Sclavenes. Theophylact claims

that Roman troops were saved only by the swift intervention of *magister peditum* Gentzon, an indication that both generals participated in the expedition north of the Danube (VI 9.14). After this last combat, Priscus moved south of the Danube. There may have been at least one more raid by Roman troops in Slavene territory, until Tatimer's return from Constantinople in the fall of 593 (Waldmüller 1976:146).

Tatimer had been sent to Maurice with the prisoners captured after Priscus had stormed Ardagastus' territory (VI 8.4-8). Somewhere on his way to Constantinople, he was ambushed by Sclavenes roaming freely on Roman territory, despite Priscus' campaign north of the Danube frontier. Some Roman infantry troops were, however, stationed in the environs, for their intervention allowed Tatimer to reach finally Constantinople. Maurice sent him back to Priscus, with orders for his army to pass the winter season "where they were," probably on Slavene territory, which may suggest that Priscus recrossed the Danube against the Sclavenes. It is not known whether Maurice's decision was dictated by tactics described in the *Strategikon* (XI 4.19; cf. Pohl 1988:139) or by his need to avoid military expenditures during the winter season. But as soon as "the royal utterances became known, the army was kindled by commotion" (VI 9.1). As if rehearsing for Phocas' revolt of 602, the soldiers

claimed that the "hordes of barbarians [were] irresistible" (VI 10.1-3; cf. VIII 6.2). The conflict was just settled and Roman troops had just returned south of the Danube, when Priscus learned that the Avars were preparing a new incursion and that the chagan had ordered Sclavenes to cross the Danube against Roman troops (VI 11.5). It is hard to believe that these were the same Sclavenes Priscus had just defeated north of the Danube frontier. They might have been subjects to the chagan and therefore may have come from the region under his control. However, during negotiations for peace with Priscus, the chagan demanded a substantial part of the booty taken by Roman troops during the campaign of 593. He claimed that in doing so, Priscus had attacked his land and had wrought injury to his subjects (VI 11.17). It is difficult to separate reality from mere boasting, but beyond declarations and threats, it appears that the Sclavenes had now become a bone of contention between the empire and the chaganate.

The campaign of the following year (594) was led not by Priscus, but by Maurice's brother, Peter. At Marcianopolis, Peter's advanced guard, under the command of brigadier Alexander, encountered 600 Sclavenes, returning from a raid across Moesia Inferior (VII 2.1-10).³¹⁶ The Sclavenes were carrying the booty in wagons, which they placed round as a barricade as soon as they

perceived the danger. The Romans dismounted from their horses and approached the barricade. Though the Sclavenes fought fiercely, Alexander's men broke the barricade and slew them all. Just as the episode of Tatimer, this incident seems to indicate that Priscus' campaign against the Sclavenes north of the Danube had no effects on Slavic raiding activity (Whitby and Whitby 1986:180 n. 5; Pohl 1988:141-142). Moreover, Maurice, learning that the Sclavenes were directing their attacks towards Constantinople (VII 2.15), asked Peter to postpone his expedition across the Danube and to remain for a while in Thrace, most likely for cleansing operations.

Peter had meanwhile reached the Danube frontier. The movements of the Roman army on the right bank, from one fort to another, are difficult to follow, for Peter often changed direction for no apparent reason.³¹⁷ Theophylact, who seems to have been completely ignorant of Balkan geography, misunderstood his source (arguably, the *Feldzugsjournal*), and the resulting narrative is very confusing.³¹⁸ Peter's intention may have been to patrol along the Danube, between Zaldapa and Asemus, in order to prevent Slavs from crossing the river.³¹⁹ His troops, most likely, were already on the left bank when a reconnaissance mission was captured by Slavene horsemen (VII 4.8-13).³²⁰ The last city on the right bank visited by Peter was Asemus, where he attempted to remove the local

garrison and to include it among his own troops (VII 3.1-10). The city was located at the mouth of the river Asemus (present-day Osâm), which may suggest that Peter's confrontation with the Sclavenes occurred somewhere near the mouth of the Olt river, on the left bank. In this case, Peter may have headed east, for some time after the confrontation his troops reached the Helibacia river, which can be safely located in the vicinity of Durostorum (cf. VI 8.9).

At the crossing of an unknown river north of the Danube (perhaps the Olt river?), Peter's army was ambushed by the Sclavenes under the command of their leader Peiragastus, whom Theophylact calls a "brigadier" (ταξίαρχος; VII 5.4). The Roman troops, however, were able to land on the opposite bank and to encircle the "barbarian hordes." Peiragastus was killed and his warriors turned to flight. Without horses, Romans were initially not able to press the pursuit, but the next day Peter dispatched a numerous detachment to follow the Sclavenes. Theophylact claims that the army's guides "made a great error, with the result that a water shortage beset the camp" (VII 5.6). Despite Theophylact's bombastic style, the meaning of the passage seems to be that the Roman troops found themselves in the middle of some sort of desert, for in the absence of water, soldiers "assuaged their thirst with wine" (VII 5.6). Fortu-

nately, a Slavene captive showed them the way to the nearby Helibacia. If Peter's troops were heading east and Helibacia is Ialomița, the arid country may have been the Burnaz plain between the Vedeia and the Argeș rivers.³²¹ This would nicely dovetail with the four-day distance between Helibacia and the point where the Romans have encountered Peiragastus (VII 5.6-7). Attacked by Sclavenes from the opposite bank of the Helibacia river, the Roman troops attempted to cross the river against them, but were overwhelmed and turned to flight (VII 5.8-9).

Since Theophylact does not tell us anything else about the expeditionary force, and only reports that Peter was soon replaced by Priscus as "general in Europe" (cf. VIII 4.9),³²² we may presume that Peter's campaign of 594 ended in failure. This, however, did not prevent Maurice from continuing to wage war against Sclavenes on their own territory. This is suggested by the treaty he concluded with the Avars in 598 (VII 15.14). The Danube was agreed not as a frontier, but "as an intermedium (μεσότης) between Romans and Avars," for "there was provision for crossing the river against Sclavenes" (VII 15.14). That these were not mere intentions, is shown by the fact that war against the Sclavenes resumed in 602, as Peter's second-in-command, Godwin, crossed the river and "destroyed the hordes of the enemies in the jaws of

the sword" (VIII 5.12). In response, the chagan attacked the traditional allies of the Romans, the Antes. The Avar general Apsich was sent "to destroy the nation of the Antes (ὅπως τὸ 'Αντῶν διολέσειν ἔθνος)" (VIII 5.13). Theophylact claims that "in the course of these very events, large numbers defected from the Avars and hastened to desert to the emperor" (VIII 6.1). At first glance, the text seems to suggest that because of the defection, the intentions of the chagan had not been accomplished (cf. Litavrin 1995b:309). But Theophylact is the last source referring to Antes and the last time the title *Anticus* appears in the imperial intitulature is in 612 (Ivanov 1991b:261). It is likely, therefore, that Apsich's campaign, notwithstanding numerous defections to the Romans, resulted in the destruction of the Antian polity. After 602, the Antes disappear from all historical sources.

Godwin seems to have remained for a long while north of the Danube, waging war against the Sclavenes (VIII 5.12). Maurice's new orders to his troops to pass the winter in Slavene territory were, however, received with dismay. Just as in 593, they caused mutiny. According to Theophylact, the soldiers were

troubled by the emperor's purpose, both because of the booty itself, and because of the exhaustion of the horses, and in addition because hordes of barbarians were surging around the land on the opposite bank of the Ister (VIII 6.2).

It is true that the author of the Strategikon recommends attacking the Sclavenes during winter,

when they cannot easily hide among bare trees, when the tracks of fugitives can be discerned in the snow, when their household is miserable from exposure, and when it is easy to cross over the rivers on the ice (XI 4.19).

The audience of the Strategikon, consisted of generals and officers, not of the common soldiers, who, in 602, wanted to go home (cf. Theophylact Simocatta, VIII 5.12). On the other hand, there is no indication that the revolt itself was caused by the allegedly increasing barbarian pressure.³²³ Godwin was just returning from a successful campaign and there is no reason to believe that the situation was in any way different from that of 593. It is still a widely spread belief, however, that Phocas' revolt caused the collapse of the Roman frontier. As a consequence, ever since Robert Roesler (1873) argued that the settlement of the Balkan peninsula south of the Danube and the Save rivers could not have taken place before the reign of Phocas, historians speak of a Slavic stream now pouring in an irresistible flood and submerging the entire peninsula (Ostrogorsky 1959:4; cf. Haldon 1990:37). This view, however, is contradicted by all existing evidence. First, Phocas' purge of the Danubian army (Peter, Comentiolus, Praesentinus, and other officers) did not affect its discipline and morale (Olster 1993:69). The seventh-century Armenian chronicle attrib-

uted to Sebeos provides clear evidence that, after overthrowing Maurice, the army returned to the Danubian front and continued "to oppose the enemy" (p. 80). It must have remained there until Phocas concluded a treaty with the chagan in 605, in order to transfer the army to the Persian front (Olster 1993:69).³²⁴

Second, as Franjo Barišić (1956) has demonstrated, there is no evidence for raiding activity, by either Avars or Slavs, during Phocas' reign. By contrast, Heraclius' early regnal years witnessed some devastating incursions. Relying on information borrowed from the *historiola* of Secundus of Trento, Paul the Deacon tells us that in 610 or 611, following the conquest of Forum Iulii by the Avars, the Sclavenes devastated Istria, which has been until then under Byzantine control (IV 40). George of Pisidia, in a poem dedicated to Heraclius, describes the perils the new emperor was facing at the beginning of his reign. Among them, he lists the Sclavenes, gathering like wolves in hordes and moving swiftly by land and by sea (*Heraclias* II 75-78). In distant Spain, Isidore of Seville knew that at the beginning of Heraclius' reign, as Persians were conquering Syria and Egypt, "the Slavs took Greece from the Romans (*Sclauī Graeciam Romanis tulerunt*)" (p. 479; cf. Szádeczky-Kardoss 1986b:53; Ivanova 1995b:356-357).³²⁵ It has been argued that Isidore's notion of *Graecia* was very

vague and might have referred to what used to be Illyricum, rather than to Greece proper (Charanis 1971). This might indeed be the case for Isidore, but certainly does not apply to the author of Book II of the Miracles of St Demetrius. He knows that before attacking Thessalonica, the Sclavenes had devastated Thessaly and its islands, the islands of Greece (τὰς περὶ αὐτὴν νήσους καὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος), the Cyclades, Achaia, Epirus, and the most part of Illyricum, as well as parts of Asia (II 1.179; cf. Koder 1986:530-531).³²⁶ The reference to both Illyricum and Greece makes it clear that there is no confusion.

The Seventh Century

Unfortunately, the attack on Thessalonica by Slavs previously raiding Greece is impossible to date with any precision. We are only told that it occurred under the episcopate of John, the author of Book I (II 1.179). The description of the territories ravaged by Sclavenes before they turned against Thessalonica is viewed by many as fitting into the picture of Heraclius' early regnal years, snapshots of which are given by George the Pisidian or Isidore of Seville. In particular, the fact that the author of Book II specifically refers to maritime raids on canoes (ἐξ ἐνὸς ξύλου γλυπτὰς νῆας; cf. II 4.253 and 254) reminds one of what George of Pisidia has

to say about the Slavene wolves. Historians agree, therefore, in dating this attack to the first decade of Heraclius' reign.³²⁷ For the first time, we are told that the Sclavenes had also brought with them their families (τὰς αὐτῶν γενεάς), for "they had promised to establish them in the city after its conquest" (II 1.180). This suggests that they were coming from the surrounding countryside, for the author of book II used 'Sclavenes' as an umbrella-term for a multitude (πλήθος ἀπειρον) of tribes, some of which he knew by name: Drugubites, Sagudates, Belegezites, Baiunetes, and Berzetes (II 1.179). There are several cross references to most of these tribes in the rest of Book II. In all cases, we are left with the impression that they were a familiar presence.³²⁸ The Sclavenes were not just invaders, they were "our Slavic neighbors" (II 3.219; II 3.222; II 4.231). It is hard to believe, therefore, that those tribes were responsible for the devastation of the islands of Thessaly, the Cyclades, of most of Illyricum, and of parts of Asia (Speck 1993:354). Book II of the Miracles of St Demetrius contains two other cases of 'lists of provinces' (II 2.197; II 5.284), one of which betrays an administrative source.³²⁹ I suggest therefore that in describing a local event -- the attack of the Drugubites, Sagudates, Belegezites, Baiunetes, and Berzetes on Thessalonica -- of relatively minor significance, the

author of Book II ascribed it to a historical and administrative context, in order to make it appear as of greater importance. When all the other provinces and cities were falling, Thessalonica alone, under the protection of St. Demetrius, was capable of resistance (cf. II 2.197). As in 586, the siege itself did not last more than a week.³³⁰ Unlike the siege of 586, however, the Sclavenes did not give up their idea of establishing themselves in Thessalonica after its conquest. More important, they now called upon the chagan for assistance (II 2.197). They offered him rich presents and promised him much more provided that he would help them capture the city. The times when the Sclavenes were obeying the orders of the chagan were now gone. The Sclavenes were negotiating an alliance with the Avars as equals. That other Sclavenes, however, were still subjects of the chagan is shown by the composition of the army sent by the chagan to Thessalonica (II 2.198).

Nor was the siege of Thessalonica by the combined Slavene and Avar forces an event of major importance. The author of Book II specifically tells us that, as a matter of fact, it was ignored by everybody (πάντας γνοεῖν), including the emperor (II 2.210). We are not told who that emperor was, but he must have been Heraclius, for the siege occurred not long after the one described in the first homily of Book II. Indeed, two

years after being offered the alliance of the Sclavene tribes who had failed in capturing Thessalonica, the chagan marched against Thessalonica (II 2.198). The siege must have taken place in 617 or 618, at the latest (Lemerle 1981:99-100; Pohl 1988:242-243).

Eight years later, the army of the chagan were bent on capturing another city. This time, in alliance with the Persians, the chagan aimed at conquering Constantinople itself (George of Pisidia, Bellum Avaricum 197-201). The Sclavenes also appear as the allies of the chagan (εἰς συμμαχίαν: Nicephorus, Breviarium, p. 58; cf. Chronicon Paschale, p. 173; see Litavrin 1995d:236; Ivanov 1995d:80). Those Sclavenes represented the major force of attack from the very first day of the siege, July 31, 626 (Chronicon Paschale, pp. 173-174; cf. Barišić 1954:380; Waldmüller 1976:281). Byzantine ships intercepted their fleet of canoes on August 4 (Chronicon Paschale, p. 183; Barišić 1954:385). But just as under the walls of Thessalonica, in 617, the bulk of the chagan's troops also consisted of Sclavenes, most likely his subjects (Barišić 1954:394). Those Sclavenes attacked Blachernae on canoes, which they had presumably brought with them from the Danube (Chronicon Paschale, p. 174; Theodore Syncellus, De Obsidione Avarica Constantinopolis VI 22; Nicephorus, Breviarium, p. 58; George the Pisidian, Bellum Avaricum 409-412). They were accompanied

by their women, whose corpses were later found in the water (Nicephorus, Breviarium, p. 60).³³¹ That they were subjects of the chagan is shown by the fact that those escaping the massacre swam back across the straits to the bank where the chagan was positioned, only to be slain at his injunction. When, one after another, the Slavene squads abandoned the battle-field, the defeat turned into a general retreat (Chronicon Paschale, p. 178-179). Conflicts between the Avars and Slavenes may have continued for some time after the siege, as suggested by George of Pisidia's evidence (George of Pisidia, Restitutio crucis 78-81; cf. Pohl 1988:255).

Avar power suffered considerably from this humiliating setback. According to Fredegar, Samo, the Frankish merchant elected the king of "those Slavs who are known as Wends," proved his *uiletas* in battle against the Avars, bringing victory after victory to his subjects (IV 48). Fredegar claims that Samo went to the Slavs "in the fortieth year of Chlothar's reign" (623/4) and that he ruled them for thirty-five years. Some took this chronological indication at its face-value and concluded that the rebellion of the Wends against the Avars must have started before the siege of Constantinople (Szádeczky-Kardoss 1991:181).³³² Others found good reasons for doubting the precision of Fredegar's chronology (Gardiner 1978; Kusternig 1982:; Pohl 1988:257). They claimed that

the episode of Samo could not have taken place before the humiliating defeat of the chagan under the walls of Constantinople. Even if Samo came to power in 623/4, he must have taken advantage of this defeat and consolidated his power. In 631/2, Samo defeated Dagobert's army at Wogatisburc and his success encouraged other Slavic chiefs, such as Dervanus, *dux gente Sorbiorum que ex genere Sclavinorum*, to declare their independence (IV 68).³³³ Ten years later, in 641, Samo was still powerful enough for Radulf, the duke of Thuringia, to seek his alliance (IV 87).

We have only a vague idea about what was going on in the Balkans at the time of Samo's successful campaigns against the Avars. According to a late source, the thirteenth-century History of Split of Thomas the Archdeacon, in 641, Pope John IV sent a certain abbot Martin to Dalmatia, in order to redeem Christians taken captive by the Slavs (p. 29; for Thomas the Archdeacon, see Katić 1950-1951:101-102; Fine 1983:250). It is known that Thomas used various documents, but since none could be checked by means of other sources, it is difficult to assess the value of this information. Thomas also claims that in the mid-600s, the citizens of Salona, together with their archbishop, fearing the Slavic raids, decided to move the relics of St. Anastasius to Split (p. 34). This may indicate an abandonment of the city, but there

is no way to decide whether or not Thomas was transmitting some trustworthy piece of evidence.³³⁴ Dalmatian Slavs may have been responsible for the raid of ca. 642, which reached the duchy of Benevento, for Paul the Deacon describes them as having sailed across the sea (Paul the Deacon, IV 44; *Chronica S. Benedicti*, p. 200; cf. Waldmüller 1976:347; Weithmann 1978:96).³³⁵ According to Paul the Deacon, when Raduald, the duke of Benevento, attempted to revenge the death of Aio at the hands of the invading Slavs, he "talked familiarly with these Slavs in their own language, and when in this way he had lulled them into greater indolence for war, he fell upon them and killed almost all of them" (IV 44). Raduald was Gisulf's son and had previously been duke of Forum Julii (IV 39), an area in which Slavs were a familiar presence at the time. In the 610s or the early 620s, two other sons of Gisulf, Taso and Cacco, who succeeded their father as dukes of Friuli, were ruling over *Sclavorum regionem quae Zellia appellatur* (IV 38).³³⁶ At some point after 663, some 5,000 Sclavenes were raiding the duchy of Friuli (V 23). At about the same time, however, Arnefrit, son of the Friulan duke Lupus, fled *ad Sclavorum gentem in Carnuntum, quod corrupte vocitant Carantanum* (V 22). This has rightly been viewed as the first reference to the *Carantani* (Bertels 1987:109), later to emerge as a strong polity under the dynasty of *dux Boruth* (*Conversio*

Bagoariorum et Carantanorum c. 4-5; cf. Wolfram 1987: 342).

Similar polities have also developed in the eastern Balkans. For 658, Theophanes reports a campaign of Emperor Constans II against the *Sklaviniai* (Σκλαυινίαι), most likely located in the hinterland of Constantinople (p. 347; cf. Graebner 1978:44; for *Sklaviniai*, see Litavrin 1984). Those polities must have represented a serious threat, for this first Byzantine campaign against the Slavs since 602 was followed by some significant population transfers. The Georgian continuation of John Moschus' Leimonarion, preserved in a ninth-century manuscript, refers to some Slavic villages in western Asia minor (Ivanov 1995e). Furthermore, when the Muslim general Abd al Rahman b. Khalid b. al Walid led a particularly successful raid in 669, he encountered a people entirely new to the Arabs, the Slavs, whom he settled in Syria, near Apamea (Theophanes, p. 348; cf. Graebner 1975: 41).³³⁷

Theophanes, our major source for this period, may have based his account, among others, on some Syrian or Arab source (Whitby 1982:15; Litavrin 1995b:250). This may explain his emphasis on eastern developments, including those involving Slavs. There is comparatively little information on the interior of the Balkans. Both Nicephorus and Theophanes, who were apparently using the

same source (Mango 1990:15), report that in 681, shortly after Asparuch's Bulgars crossed the Danube, "in the direction of Varna" (Theophanes, p. 359; Nicephorus, p. 91), they subjugated the neighboring Slavic tribes. Only Theophanes provides the names of the tribes. He claims that the Bulgars resettled the Severs (τοὺς μὲν Σέβερες) on their new frontier with the Empire, near the Veregava (Rish) mountain pass.³³⁸ They also moved 'seven tribes' (ἐπτὰ γένη) on their southern and western frontier, against the Avars (δύσιν μέχρις Ἀβαρίας).³³⁹

The best documented case of Slavic tribes established in the Balkans is, however, that revealed by Book II of the Miracles of St Demetrius. The fourth miracle is an extremely valuable source for the seventh-century Balkan Slavs and without this text there would be very little to say. To the unknown author of Book II the Slavs a familiar presence, "our Slavic neighbors" (II 3.219; II 3.222; II 4.231). He described what might have been, in Theophanes' words, a powerful *Sklavinia*, that of the Rynchines, ruled by 'king' Perbundos. There were, however, other groups of Sclavenes in the vicinity of Thessalonica, such as those living in the Strymon valley or the Sagudates, who concluded an alliance with the Rynchines against the Empire in general, and Thessalonica in particular, as soon as they learned that the king of the Rynchines had been arrested and executed (II 4.242).

Later, another tribe, the Drugubites, with their many 'kings', decided to join the alliance (II 4.255). The ensuing siege of the city can be precisely dated to July 25, 677, on the basis of a reference to "July 25 of the fifth indiction" (II 4.255). The Sclavenes appear as better organized than in any of the preceding sieges, with an army with special units of archers and warriors armed with slings, spears, shields and swords (II 4.262). In a long story derived, most likely, from an oral account, the author of Book II tells us of a skillful Sclavene craftsman who was building a siege machine, when St Demetrius slapped him in the face and drove him out of his mind (II 4. 271-276). But we also see Sclavene tribes living at a considerable distance and not being part of the alliance besieging Thessalonica. Moreover, some, such as the Belegezites, living near Thebes and Demetrias, supplied the inhabitants of the city with grain (II 4.254 and 268).³⁴⁰ The author of Book II also referred to Slavic pirates raiding as close to Constantinople as the island of Proconnesus (II 4.277). They apparently caused a military reaction by the emperor (whose name is not given) who sent an army to Thrace and to the "land on the opposite side" (II 4.278), against the Strymonian Slavs. Since the siege can be dated to 677, and we are specifically told that the unknown emperor was preparing for a war with the Arabs (II 4.232) shortly before the siege,

the author of Book II may have referred to an expedition of Constantine IV against the *Sklaviniai* of southern Macedonia. Not mentioned by any other source, this successful campaign may have occurred shortly after the Arab blockade of Constantinople ended in failure in 678 (Lemerle 1981:131-133). Ten years later, Justinian II attacked again the *Sklaviniai* and reached Thessalonica, where he remained for some time (Theophanes, p. 364).³⁴¹ But according to Theophanes, Justinian directed his expedition against both Bulgaria and the *Sklaviniai*. This suggests that the *Sklaviniai* of 688/9 were clients of the Bulgar chagan. The same may be true for the Severs and the ἐπὶ γένεσιν, whom the Bulgars resettled in 681, despite the fact that Theophanes seems to imply that the latter had been, until then, clients of the Byzantine emperor (ὕπὸ πάκτον ὄντας: p. 359; cf. Voinov 1956; Avenarius 1976: 301-302; Waldmüller 1976:403-404; Bonev 1985:67 301-302; contra: Beshevliev 1967a:57). Judging from the existing evidence, it seems that the creation of a Bulgar chaganate south of the Danube, on what was still regarded at Constantinople as imperial territory, significantly altered the balance of power and drove many *Sklaviniai* into the orbit of the new state (cf. Graebner 1978:43-46).

Conclusion

I began this chapter with the statement that the nature of the Slavic settlement remains obscure to many modern historians. Several conclusions follow from the preceding discussion, but the most important is that, whether or not followed by actual settlement, there is no 'infiltration' and no *obscure progression*. The evidence of written sources is quite explicit about this.

Could then 'migration' be an appropriate term? Modern studies have shown that migration is a structured aspect of human behavior (Lee 1966), involving a more or less permanent change of residence. Historians, however, generally treat migration as chaotic and inherently not explicable through general principles. Recent formulations of migration as a structured behavior have established that migrations are performed by defined subgroups (often kin-recruited) with specific goals, targeted on known destinations and likely to use familiar routes (see Anthony 1990:899-905). Most migratory streams develop a counterstream moving back to the migrants' place of origin (Gmelch 1980). The problem with applying this concept of migration to the case of the sixth- and seventh-century Slavs is that there is no pattern of an unique, continuous, and sudden invasion. Moreover, until the siege of Thessalonica during Heraclius' early regnal

years, there is no evidence at all for outward migration, in the sense of a permanent change of residence. Almost all raids reported by Procopius in the mid-sixth century were followed by a return to the regions north of the Danube frontier, though the Slavene warriors may have also spent the winter on Roman territory, as in 550/1. Menander the Guardsman makes it clear, when explaining why Baian decided to attack the Sclavenes in 578, that the wealth acquired during Slavene raids was usually carried back home, across the Danube.

John of Ephesus, on the other hand, claims that in 584, after four years of raiding, the Sclavenes were still on Roman territory. They have become "rich and possessed gold and silver, herds of horses and a lot of weapons, and learned to make war better than the Romans" (VI 25). This, however, could hardly be interpreted as a reference to the settlement of the Sclavenes. John speaks here of warriors, not of migrant farmers. Michael the Syrian, in a passage most likely borrowed from John, describes a Slavene leader who takes with him the *ciborium* of a church in Corinth, not a chief establishing himself in the conquered city. The only evidence for such a decision is that of the Slavene tribes besieging Thessalonica in the early years of Heraclius' reign. They have brought their families with them, for they intended to establish themselves in the city after its conquest.

This also indicates, however, that they were not coming from afar, for the prisoners they have taken after the siege were later capable of returning to Thessalonica, together with parts of the booty taken by the Sclavenes from the inhabitants of the city (Miracles of St Demetrius II 2.196). Moreover, some of the tribes mentioned in the second homily of Book II are described in the fourth homily as living in the immediate vicinity of the city. When did they settle there? Paul Lemerle argued that a Slavic settlement around Thessalonica must have been, in the 610s, quite a recent phenomenon (Lemerle 1981:90). How recent, however, is impossible to say. The evidence regarding the mid-600s and the second half of that century, though dated much later, suggests that the Sclavenes were already established by then at a short distance from the eastern frontier of the Lombard kingdom and from Constantinople. In 681, as the Bulgars moved south of the Danube, there were already Slavic tribes in the eastern Balkans and around Thessalonica. Judging from the existing evidence, therefore, a true migration may have only occurred in a relatively short period of time, not long after Heraclius' accession to power.³⁴² To Theophylact Simocatta, writing about Maurice's reign on the basis of a late sixth- or early seventh-century source (the *Feldzugsjournal*), *Sklavinia* was still north of the Danube frontier (VIII 5.10; cf. Litavrin 1984:

196).³⁴³ Slightly more than a half century later, the *Sklaviniai* have moved to the outskirts of Constantinople and Thessalonica.

The survey of Slavic raiding activity during the sixth and the early seventh century produces another important conclusion. There seems to be a certain raiding pattern (Table 4). Independent Sclavene raids started in the 540s and did not continue after 551/2. They resumed in the late 570s and seem to have come to an end only after Maurice's campaign against the Sclavenes north of the Danube. A new phase was inaugurated by massive raids, both on land and on sea, during the early years of Heraclius reign. One can hardly fail to notice the coincidence of this pattern with periods of major engagement of the Roman armies on other fronts: in Italy, in the 540s and 550s, and in Persia and on the eastern front in the 570s and 580s, as well as in the 610s. It has indeed been argued that the pattern of information-movement across the Danube frontier proves that northern peoples often seem to have known when sectors of the empire's defence were weakened as a result of Roman problems elsewhere (Lee 1993:141-142). The Sclavenes of 550, who were bent on capturing Thessalonica, quickly changed their plans as soon as they learned that Germanus was in Serdica. The figures advanced by Menander the Guardsman (fr. 20,2) and Archbishop John of Thessalonica (I 13.117)

Table 4
Raiding Activity in the Balkans

Date	Group	Target	Source
493	Bulgars	Thrace	Paul the Deacon
499	Bulgars	Europe	Marcellinus Comes, Jordanes
502	Bulgars	Thrace, Illyricum	Marcellinus Comes Theophanes
504/5	Ostrogoths	Moesia Superior	Jordanes, Procopius, Ennodius, Cassiodorus
505	Gepids	Dacia Mediterranea	Jordanes, Ennodius, Marcellinus Comes
	(Mundo)		
518	Antes	Balkans	Procopius
519	Bulgars	Illyricum	Zonaras
526/7	Ostrogoths	Dacia Mediterranea	Procopius, Cassiodorus
529/30	Bulgars	Thrace	Marcellinus Comes, John Malalas
	(Huns)		
533-545	Antes	Thrace	Procopius
535	Bulgars	Moesia Inferior	Marcellinus Comes
	Gepids	Moesia Superior	Procopius, John Lydus, Theophanes
539	Bulgars (Huns)	Scythia Minor Moesia Inferior Thrace	John Malalas Theophanes
540	Huns	Illyricum, Europe Asia Minor, Thessaly, Achaia	Procopius
544/5	Huns	Illyricum	Procopius
545	Sclavenes	Balkans	Procopius
548	Sclavenes	Epirus Nova	Procopius
549	Sclavenes	Thrace Illyricum	Procopius

Table 4--Continued

Date	Group	Target	Source
550	Herules, Gepids, Bulgars	Illyricum	Procopius, Jordanes
	Sclavenes	Dacia Mediterranea Dalmatia	Procopius
551	Cutrigurs	Illyricum, Thrace	Procopius
	Sclavenes	Haemimons, Europe	Procopius
	Sclavenes	Illyricum	Procopius
558	Cutrigurs	Scythia Minor,	Agathias
	Sclavenes?	Moesia Inferior, Achaia, Rhodope, Europe	John Malalas, Theophanes
574	Avars	Balkans	Evagrius, Theophanes
578	Sclavenes	Thrace, Greece	Menander the Guardman, John of Biclar
579	Sclavenes	Illyricum	Menander the Guardman
579-582	Avars	Moesia Superior	Menander the Guardman
581	Avars	Thrace, Greece	John of Biclar
581-584	Sclavenes	Greece, Macedonia, Thrace	John of Ephesus <u>Miracles of St Demetrius</u>
584	Avars	Moesia Superior, Dacia Ripensis, Haemimons	Theophylact Simocatta
	Sclavenes	Thrace, Europe	Theophylact Simocatta
585	Sclavenes	Haemimons	Theophylact Simocatta
585	Avars	Dacia Ripensis, Moesia Inferior Scythia Minor	Theophylact Simocatta

Table 4--Continued

Date	Group	Target	Source
586	Avars	Scythia Minor Moesia Inferior, Haemimons, Europe, Thrace, Macedonia, Achaia	Theophylact Simocatta
	Sclavenes	Macedonia	<u>Miracles of St Demetrius</u>
588	Sclavenes	Thrace	Theophylact Simocatta
592	Avars	Europe	Theophylact Simocatta
593	Sclavenes	Moesia Inferior	Theophylact Simocatta
594	Sclavenes	Moesia Inferior	Theophylact Simocatta
595	Avars	Moesia Superior, Dalmatia	Theophylact Simocatta
597	Avars	Dacia Ripensis, Moesia Inferior, Scythia Minor	Theophylact Simocatta
598	Avars	Moesia Inferior Europe	Theophylact Simocatta
601/2	Avars	Istria	Paul the Deacon
609/10	Avars	Illyricum	John of Nikiu
610/1	Sclavenes, Avars	Istria	Paul the Deacon
610-620	Sclavenes	Thessaly, Greece, Cyclades, Achaia Epirus, Illyricum, Asia	<u>Miracles of St Demetrius</u>
615	Avars	Dacia Mediterranea	<u>Miracles of St Demetrius</u>
617/8	Avars	Macedonia	<u>Miracles of St Demetrius</u>
618	Avars	Thrace	Theophanes
623	Avars	Europe	<u>Chronicon Paschale</u>
626	Avars, Sclavenes Bulgars	Europe	<u>Chronicon Paschale,</u> George of Pisidia Theodore Syncellus, Nicephorus

for the Slavene raids of the 580s might well have been grossly exaggerated. They nevertheless suggest the efforts of these authors to explain why barbarians achieved success against the empire in spite of being numerically and organizationally inferior to the Romans. In the 580s and the late 590s, the Slavenes seem to have known remarkably well where to strike, in order to avoid major confrontations with Roman armies, and when to attack, in order to take advantage of the absence of troops.

I would stress, however, another important conclusion following from the preceding discussion. None of the Slavene raids in the 540s or early 550s was organized under the leadership of a chief. Procopius was capable of differentiating between 'throngs' and 'armies', but he ignored any names of Slavene chiefs or leaders.³⁴⁴ He claims that the Slavenes and the Antes "are not ruled by one man, but they lived from old under a democracy, and consequently everything which involves their welfare, whether for good or for ill, is referred to the people" (Wars VII 14.22; cf. Benedicty 1963:46; Benedicty 1965: 53; Evans 1989:63). As the story of 'phoney Chilbudius' suggests, the Antes did not even have a name for the Roman official, who was supposed to guide them into some sophisticated organization. They just called him 'Chilbudius'.

However, writing as he does in ca. 560, Pseudo-Caesarius knows that, though living without the rule of anyone (ἀναγεμόνευτοί), the Sclavenes often kill their leaders "sometimes at feasts, sometimes on travels" (Riedinger 1969:302). At the turn of the century, the picture radically changes, as the author of the Strategikon now recommends that Roman officers to win over some of the Slavene chiefs by persuasion or gifts, and to attack the others, "so that their common hostility will not make them united or bring them together under one ruler (μοναρχία)" (XI 4.30). As soon as the Slavene raids resumed in the late 570s, we learn of many Slavene leaders. Dauritas, Ardagastus, Musocius, and Peiragastus, though certainly different in status from each other, sharply contrast to the absence of chief-names in Procopius' work. Other names, such as Chatzon, Samo, Dervanus, Walluc, or Perbundos, appear in seventh-century sources. Is the absence of names in Procopius' work the result of some narrative strategy designed to exemplify the 'Slavic democracy'³⁴⁵ or does it reflect some contemporary reality of the Slavic society? The answer to this question is most difficult. But it is hard to understand why Procopius would have invented a 'Slavic democracy' if there was nothing in contemporary Slavic society, as he knew it, to justify the use of such a construct. It is interesting to note that, with the exception of the

quasi-legendary King Boz of the Antes (Getica 247), Jordanes, Procopius' contemporary, also ignores any Slavic leaders. I am inclined, therefore, to take Procopius' evidence as a strong *argumentum ex silentio*. Something had radically changed in the Slavic society as the Slavic raiding activity resumed in the late 570s. This changes will be discussed in detail in Chapter X. It is worth noting for the moment that the Sclavenes of the 580s were different from those of the 540s in terms of their social organization.

Finally, there are important changes concerning the very name of the Slavs. Until the first decade of Heraclius' reign, as Sclavene groups seem to have settled on Roman territory, all sources -- Greek, Latin, or Syriac -- spoke exclusively of Sclavenes and/or Antes. The author of Book II of the Miracles of St Demetrius was the first to introduce tribal names, such as the Drugubites, the Sagudates, the Belegezites, the Berzites, or the Rynchines. Fredegar spoke of Wends and Theophanes of Severs. The evidence is too strong to be interpreted as mere accident. The author of the Strategikon, a direct participant in Maurice's campaigns of the 590s, knew only of Sclavenes and Antes. The campaign diary later used by Theophylact Simocatta, but most likely written at about the same time as the Strategikon, also used only 'Sclavenes' and 'Antes'. In this particular case,

'Sclavenes' seems to be an umbrella-term for those groups living beyond the frontier, in *Sklavinia*. In contrast to Procopius, Jordanes preferred Venethi, a name he used, however, for the same purpose. As soon as *Sklaviniai* moved south of the Danube, the precise affiliation to any one of the 'tribes' referred to by the author of Book II of the Miracles became important. Indeed, some of them are described as hostile and bent on conquering Thessalonica, while others were quite friendly, supplying the besieged with food. The same might be true for Fredegar. As they successfully fought the Avars and elected a king for themselves, the Sclavenes, in Fredegar's eyes, became 'different' and required a new name, the Wends. A similar conclusion follows from Theophanes' account. According to him, after crossing the Danube in 681, the Bulgars did not encounter an undifferentiated mass of 'Slavs', but (at least) two groups, the Severs and the 'seven tribes'. They were approached and treated differently by the newcomers.

What all this suggests, in my opinion, is that the name 'Sclavene' may have been a purely Byzantine construct, which was designed to make sense of a rather heterogeneous ethnic configuration on the other side of the northern frontier of the empire. Byzantine criteria for the classification of ethnic groups were indeed very different from ours. In spite of their common language,

"an utterly barbarous tongue" (Proc., Wars VII 14.26), the Sclavenes and the Antes were often at war with each other. On the other hand, though he only speaks of Sclavenes, the author of the Strategikon knows that "there are many kings among them always at odds with one another" (XI 4.30). Despite the obvious differences in status, both those who attacked Constantinople in 626 as the Avars' allies and those who fought under the walls of the city as subjects of the chagan were known as 'Slavs'. It might be that 'Sclavene' was first the self-designation of an ethnic group (Pekkanen 1971; Schelesniker 1973:11; *contra*: Schramm 1995:165). In its most strictly defined sense, however, the 'Sclavene ethnicity' is a Byzantine invention.

CHAPTER VI

THE BALKANS AND THE DANUBE *LIMES* DURING THE SIXTH AND SEVENTH CENTURIES

No discussion of the early Slavs can avoid the very controversial issue of their role in the transformation of the Roman world that led to the "fall of the old order" (Whittow 1996:69-95) and the rise of the new empire, which historians call Byzantium. The withdrawal of Roman administration and armies from the Balkans in the early seventh century is viewed by many as a result of the Slavic *Landnahme*. More often than not, accounts of the early Slavic history focus on the destruction brought by the invading hordes to the flourishing cities of the Balkans. The classical urban culture was unable to survive the strain of the barbarian invasions. As with the Germans in the West, the Slavic "obscure progression" led to the slow dissolution of the Roman frontier and the Empire finally succumbed to the growth of forces beyond its control.

Archaeological and other evidence does not confirm this over-simplified picture. Long before the first Slavic raid attested by historical sources, the urban landscape in the Balkans began to change. It is clear,

however, that some change was also taking place in the Balkans at the time of Slavic and Avar raids. The remaining question is whether or not the Slavs were responsible for any of these changes. Emphasizing almost exclusively the Roman side of the story, historians also neglected the equally important question of the Roman influence on the 'invading' barbarians. The archaeological evidence of late fourth- and early fifth-century barbarian graves between the Rhine and the Loire suggests that a process of small-scale cultural and demographic change had been taking place on both sides of the Roman frontier (see Young 1992). Can we envisage Roman-Slavic relations in a similar way? In this chapter, I will attempt to give answers to some of these questions, focusing on issues of urban change. My purpose is to show that the Roman world, as Slavic warriors saw it in the 500s, was very different from the classical civilization many historians have in mind when describing their inroads. Using primarily archaeological evidence, I will focus on internal mechanisms of change. I will argue that Justinian's building program drastically altered both the network of settlements in the Balkans and the relations with the barbarians, specifically with the Slavs. The idea that the implementation of the fortified frontier in the mid-500s had a profound effect on the making of the 'early Slavs' will be further developed in the last chapter.

Urban Change in the Balkans

More often than not, modern studies of Late Antique cities are narrowly focused upon textual evidence of public institutional change within civic urban communities, ignoring the archaeological evidence. On the other hand, archaeologists inspired by the culture-historical approach strive to link archaeological phenomena with historical narratives, with particular barbarian raids or earthquakes and ignore the historical implication of their research (Dunn 1994:72-73). Proponents of both approaches attempt to answer the controversial issue of what happened to the ancient city, the polis, during the fourth to sixth centuries.

Procopius claimed that there was a hierarchy of settlements in the Balkans (Dagron 1984:7-8). In his Buildings, he carefully distinguished between three major categories: large cities, called πόλεις, such as Diocletianopolis in Thessaly, Euroia in Epirus, and new foundations such as Justiniana Prima; cities ranked lower, presumably because of their size, and called πολίχνια, such as Photike and Phoinike in Epirus Vetus; and fortified sites in the countryside, such as the forts along the Danube, or the refugia-type settlements in Thessaly, all known as προύρια. A comparison between Procopius and the archaeological evidence yields no clear

parallels. The city described by Procopius as Justiniana Prima has been tentatively located at Caričin Grad. The identification is most likely correct, but the entire area of the site at Caričin Grad is no larger than 4.55 ha, slightly smaller than the size of Nicopolis (5.74 ha), which Procopius calls a *φρούριον* (Table 5). Diana, a *πολίχνιον*, is even smaller (1.87 ha), while Novae, a *φρούριον*, covers about 32.5 ha. The only observable pattern is that settlements which Procopius lists as *φρούρια* tend to be rather small, between one and three hectares.

Another relevant body of evidence is that of the contemporary legislation (Maksimović 1984:156). The urban administration during the sixth century was gradually shifting from the decurions, a social group on the verge of disappearing, to cliques of local notables headed by the local bishop (Dagron 1984: 10). Emperor Anastasius granted to the committee of local landowners, chaired by the bishop, the task of procuring grain for the city (Cod. Just. I 4.17 of 505; see Velkov 1977:79). The process is still more visible through Justinian's legislation. Novel 8, of 535, prevented provincial governors from appointing their representatives in cities, while novel 65 of 538, which concerned cities in Moesia, allowed local committees of notables headed by bishops to replace the *curiales* in the urban administration.

Table 5

Sixth- to Seventh-Century Sources and Balkan Settlements

Name	Procopius	Menander	Theophylact Simocatta	Area	Churches	Other
Tropaeum Traiani	-	-	πόλις (I.8.10)	ca. 12.5 ha	4	HP*)
Troesmis	φρούριον (B.IV.11.20)	-	-	ca. 2 ha	3	-
Noviodunum	φρούριον (B.IV.11.20)	-	-	-	1	-
Ulmetum	όχύρωμα (B.IV.7.17)	-	-	ca. 2.1 ha	1?	-
Novae	φρούριον (B.IV.11.20)	-	πόλισμα (VII.2.19)	ca. 32.5 ha	2	HP? ER
Iatrus	φρούριον (B.IV.7.6)	-	πόλις (VII.2.16; VII.13.9)	ca. 2.8 ha	1	W
Nicopolis	φρούριον (B.IV.11.20)	-	- (VII.13.8)	5.74 ha	2	W?
Abritus	φρούριον (B.IV.11.20)	-	-	ca. 14.9 ha	2	W?
Diocletia- nopolis	-	-	πόλις (II.17.1)	ca. 30 ha	1	HP
Philippo- polis	- (W.VIII.21.21; B.IV.11.19)	-	πόλισμα (II.17.2)	ca. 81.6 ha	1	-
Iustiniana Prima	πόλις (B.IV.1.20)	-	-	4.55 ha	8	HP ER W,T

Table 5--Continued

Name	Procopius	Menander	Theophylact	Area	Churches	Other
			Simocatta			
Serdica πόλις (W.VII.40.1; B.IV.4.3)	-	-	-	3	-	-
Sucidava φρούριον (B.IV.11.20)	-	-	-	ca. 2.1 ha	1	-
Ratiaria πόλις (B.IV.6.24)	-	πόλις (I.8.10)	-	-	-	-
Castra Martis χωρίον (B.IV.6.34)	-	-	-	1.25 ha	-	-
Diana πολίχνιον (B.IV.6.6)	-	-	-	1.87 ha	-	-
Novae ὀχύρωμα (B.IV.6.1)	-	-	-	1.8 ha	1	-
Smorna φρούριον (B.IV.6.5)	-	-	-	0.2 ha	1	-
Campsā φρούριον (B.IV.6.5)	-	-	-	0.1 ha	-	-
Taliata φρούριον (B.IV.6.5)	-	-	-	1.8 ha	1	-
Sirmium πόλις (W.VII.33.8)	πόλις (frg.12, 5.24; 12,6.24; 12,7.3; 25,1.11, etc.)	πόλισμα, ἄστυ (I.3.3)	-	-	-	W?

*)HP - house with peristyled courtyard; W - workshops;
ER - episcopal residence; T - *thermae*

Novel 128 of 545 gave the final blow to the city councils by granting bishops, together with committees of notables, the right to assume the fiscal responsibilities of the decurions. The most important consequence of this series of decrees issued in a relatively short period of time is that they gave bishops considerable powers and enabled them not only to organize the civilian life of the cities, but also to take even larger responsibilities in the organization of the defense of both the city and the surrounding countryside.³⁴⁶ It is therefore no surprise that provinces tend to be replaced as administrative units by important ecclesiastical centers with their surrounding forts and *πολίχνια*. In his *Buildings*, Procopius knew no province named Dacia Mediterranea or Dacia Ripensis. Both have been replaced by regions centered on important cities, such as Serdica, Pautalia, Naissus, Remesiana, and Aquis ((Maksimović 1984:157).³⁴⁷

Cities: The Archaeological Evidence

Sixth-century cities on the Black Sea coast display signs of prosperity and economic activity. The presence of merchants from the East is attested by inscriptions found at Tomis (*ILG* 23,44) and Callatis (*IGL* 92-93). In Odessos, the preparation of hides, presumably for export, was an important local industry (*SGLI* 99-100, 102-104, and 126). Wine seems to have been a major import: a

trader from Alexandria was engaged in supplying Tomis (IGL 28; cf. Poulter 1992:127). This economic activity seems to have caused the growth of a middle class of craftsmen and merchants, who undertook most of the traditional tasks of the decurions (Velkov 1983:183). An inscription found in the wall at Tomis attests that *munera* on behalf of the city were carried out in the 500s by *collegia*: the *pedatura* of the city wall was erected by the city's butchers (Popescu 1967:170; Barnea and Vulpe 1968:401). Scythia Minor, on the other hand, was a highly militarized province. The social group most frequently referred to in fourth- to sixth-century inscriptions is the military, while great landowners seem to have been completely absent (Barnea 1990a:402). The active economic life in coastal cities provided the means for remarkably wealthy individuals. At Histria, excavations carried since 1949 revealed a building boom and a prosperous city. Near the city's western wall a bazaar (*tabernae*) was erected in the middle of what Romanian archaeologists called the "Commercial Sector" (Condurachi 1957:243 and 251; Condurachi 1967:167-168; Barnea and Vulpe 1968:473). This area has three building phases, the second of which is dated to the second third of the sixth century. Besides two large basilicas, it included a large number of small houses with walls of stone and clay, each room with three to seven *dolia*. Many were interpreted as storage

facilities, but two of them served as smithy and bakery, respectively. Small dwellings with walls of stone and clay were also found close to the western curtain, outside the city wall (Condurachi 1957:255).

A wealthy residential area was unearthed in the north-east corner of the city (Barnea and Vulpe 1968: 427). "Domus I," with two building phases, was a two-floored *villa urbana* with eight rooms. Its latest phase is dated by a coin issued under Tiberius II (Condurachi 1957:259 and 254 fig. 3; Condurachi et al. 1970:187-188; Condurachi 1975:174). "Domus II," located across the street from "Domus I," had a large, central courtyard and an apsed *triclinium* (Condurachi 1957:259; Condurachi 1975:175-176 and 176 fig. 3).³⁴⁸ A third building, "domus V," had a bath with *caldarium* and *suspensurae* found *in situ*. Here the central courtyard seems to have been used for the household's needs: an oven was built in its south-east corner (Pippidi, Bordenache, and Eftimie 1961:238; Condurachi 1975:177-179; 179 fig. 4). All three houses produced the only evidence of sixth-century glass windows at Histria.

'Aristocratic' houses were also found in other cities. At Adamclisi (Tropaeum Traiani), excavations carried after 1968 near the city's eastern gate revealed three buildings, one of which, built on top of older ruins of a fourth-century house, had a central courtyard

and a portico (Barnea et al. 1979:106; Bogdan-Cătănciu 1979:185; Sâmpetru 1994:33-53). Judging from the evidence found in this house (a stone mold and a small anvil), at least one of its rooms may have been a workshop.

The urban landscape was drastically modified by new buildings, first of all by churches. No other public buildings were found in any city of Dobrudja. At Slava Rusă (Ibida), the only monumental building erected was the three-aisled basilica with mosaic pavement (Ștefan 1977:457-458). Three churches existed at Histria during the sixth century (Barnea 1958:287-289 and 291-292; Barnea 1960a:205). Three new basilicas were also built at Adamclisi during the period between Anastasius' and Justinian's reigns (Barnea and Vulpe 1968:470-471; Barnea et al. 1979:229). At Constanța (Tomis), two basilicas were erected in the late 400s and the 500s in the western part of the city (Barnea and Vulpe 1968:466).³⁴⁹ At Iglița (Troesmis), older excavations carried in 1865 by Ambroise Baudry and Gustave Boissière in the eastern settlement revealed the existence of three basilicas, though it remains unclear whether or not they could all be dated to the sixth century (Barnea and Vulpe 1968:425). Salvage excavations at Isaccea (Noviodunum) revealed a basilica built immediately next to the city's northern wall (Barnea and Vulpe 1968:477). At Mangalia (Callatis), a fifth-century basilica of Syrian plan,

built against the city's northern rampart, was twice renewed during the sixth century, when it probably became an episcopal church (Pillinger 1992:97-98; see Theodorescu 1963). After 600, walls of stone bonded with clay were erected in the interior, the basilica being already abandoned.

The evidence from Moesia Inferior is even more compelling. The late-sixth century source (the *Feldzugs-journal*) used by Theophylact Simocatta for his account of Maurice's campaigns against the Slavs and the Avars in the 590s lists thirty towns in Dacia and Moesia with a cluster of cities between Novae and Iatrus (Schreiner 1985:62-64). All are called πόλεις. At Svishtov (Novae), the excavations carried since 1960 by a joint Bulgarian-Polish team showed that in its last phase of existence, tentatively dated to the fifth or sixth centuries, the fourth-century building with peristyled courtyard located in the north-west corner of the city was subdivided into smaller rooms by walls of stone bonded with clay, while its northern portico was blocked (Press and Sarnowski 1990:242; see also Press et al. 1973:103-124). Between 470 and 480, Novae was ruled by Theodoric the Great and it may be during this period that the episcopal basilica was built on top of the city's abandoned *thermae*. With its long and wide nave, the three-aisled basilica is the largest of all early Christian churches currently known

in Bulgaria. Three other basilicas were built in the eastern part of the city, north of the forum, and outside the city's walls, to the west (Parnicki-Pudelko 1983:242 and 268-269; Parnicki-Pudelko 1984:271 and 301-302). Around 500 the first intramural burials appeared near the episcopal basilica, probably of some wealthy sponsors (Chichikova 1983:15-16; Press and Sarnowski 1990:243). During Justinian's reign, both the basilica and the episcopal residence located on its northern side underwent substantial restoration. To the northeast, some small houses and workshops were built in stone and clay (Press and Sarnowski 1990:243).

An important city existed not far from the abandoned site at Nicopolis, on top of the Carevec hill near modern Veliko Tŕrnovo (Pisarev 1990). The city was built entirely during the period between Anastasius and Justinian. Large, two-storied buildings were still constructed in stone and adobe. The site is dominated by a three-aisled basilica and its adjacent episcopal residence. A single-naved church below the episcopal church was attached to a cruciform building with a common portico, arguably a sixth-century martyrion (Hoddinott 1975:251).

At Razgrad (Abritus), the excavations led by Teofil Ivanov focused more on the city's defenses and very little is known about its internal organization. We only know that walls of stone and brick were erected within

the defenses during the fifth and sixth century (Ivanov 1980:77). A three-aisled basilica existed east of the west gate, but its dating to the sixth century is not certain (Ivanov and Stoianov 1985:33). Building VII with peristyled courtyard (also known as the "town house") produced a large number of iron implements (plowshares, sickles, pruning knife, woodcarving tools, etc.). Their dating to the sixth century is, however, doubtful. A wall of stone bonded with clay was erected during this period inside the abandoned *horreum*, and other similar structures appeared north and south of the *horreum*. Other buildings of similar fabric were built along the walls during the fifth and sixth century (Ivanov and Stoianov 1985:27 and 31). At Gigen (Oescus), where no basilica was found until now (Ivanov 1993:42), the portico and the courtyard's vestibule of the temple dedicated to Fortuna were subdivided during the fifth and sixth centuries and rooms were built with walls of stone bonded with clay (Ivanov 1974:64).

Some cities in Thrace, such as Philippopolis, continued to erect statues of emperors and army commanders as late as the end of the fifth century, which suggests that municipal life may have survived longer than in any other place (Velkov 1977:153). But even in Philippopolis, the ancient urban street grid seems to have been drastically altered. Salvage excavations in the downtown area

of modern Plovdiv unearthed a considerable portion of the ancient city's forum. During the first half of the fifth century, a large three-aisled basilica was built on top of two *insulae*, thus blocking the *decumanus* and the *cardo* separating them. By the end of the following century, the basilica itself was abandoned and turned into a necropolis (Kessiakova 1989).³⁵⁰ But the baths of the city remained in use until the late 500s (Hoddinott 1975:291). At Hissar (Diocletianopolis), an aristocratic house was accidentally discovered by bulldozers, which destroyed half the remains of the building. The plan was reconstructed from what was left of the foundations plus a partial excavation of the western half. The western part of this multi-roomed building was occupied by a spacious peristyled courtyard, the vestibule being paved with brick. It led to a large room, no doubt the *triclinium*. There is significant evidence of glazed windows. Most likely, the building had two phases, the first of which could be dated to the early 400s (Hoddinott 1975:311-312).³⁵¹ Beroe/Augusta Traiana also underwent major transformations during the sixth-century. A house by the south gate, excavated in 1962, overlaid an older building. Two rooms produced *dolia* and probably served for storage. Another fourth-century house built at the corner of the *cardo* and the probable *decumanus* retained its original floor and exterior walls, but the interior was radically

altered. A series of rooms were located on the southern side, with a small court with a pool faced with marble slabs, a big stone mortar, and five or six *dolia* (Hoddinott 1975:313 and 314 fig. 19).

Little is known about cities in Haemimons and Europe, except Mesembria, the only city in the entire diocese of Thrace having five basilicas, only one of which, the church near the city's northern tower, was explored (Hoddinott 1975:323; Velkov 1992:19-20).³⁵² Nothing is known about cities in the immediate vicinity of the capital, in the region of the modern frontier between Turkey and Bulgaria, except Annie Pralong's description of the early Byzantine walls at Çorlu (Tzurullum) and Kiyiköy (Pralong 1988:185-186 and 192).

Before Justinian's reign, Serdica was an urban center of the foremost importance in northern Illyricum, i.e., the diocese of Dacia (Velkov 1991:94). The city was an important bishopric, whose last bishop, Felix, was mentioned in 594. It was a local bishop, Leontius, who, according to an inscription found in 1953, and dated to 580, sponsored the restoration of the city's aqueduct (Beshevliev 1964:2; Stancheva 1978:217).³⁵³ The main cemetery of early Byzantine Serdica was located along the road to Philippopolis (Hoddinott 1975:269). The St. Sophia church probably functioned as *basilica coemeterialis*.³⁵⁴ Nothing is known about the city's internal

organization. At Kyustendil (Pautalia), the site in the plain co-existed with a fort built some 150 meters above it, on the Hissarlyk hill. In the plain, a three-aisled, single-apsed basilica was found, with fine mosaic floor, dated to the fifth century (Hoddinott 1975:285). At Germania, Belisarius' hometown, the defenses were restored under Justinian, but nothing is known about the internal organization of the city (Bavant 1984:247). The same is true about Ulpiana, in Dardania. Vladislav Popović suggested that after 545 Ulpiana, rebaptized Justiniana Secunda, was replaced by the newly founded Justiniana Prima as metropolis of Dardania. This, he argued, was meant to eliminate any possible competition between the bishoprics of Serdica and Justiniana Prima (Popović 1989-1990:279-280).

A similar picture emerges from the Bulgarian excavations on the Krakra hill near Pernik. Despite claims to the contrary (Liubenova 1981:195), there is enough evidence to suspect that walls built later were erected on top of earlier, presumably sixth-century ramparts (cf. Changova 1963). Within the settled area, archaeologists found houses with walls of stone, mortar, and adobe, sometimes provided with brick ovens (Liubenova 1981:112). The settlement had two basilicas, one of which was destroyed during the second half of the sixth century. A few *exagia* indicate that at Pernik gold coins were common

enough to require control (Liubenova 1981:195). The presence of gold coins may bear witness to the presence of the military (see Chapter VII).

The most important city in the region was, however, Justiniana Prima, identified with the site at Caričin Grad. The city had been built shortly before 535, as Justinian's novel XI established an archbishopric there. The novel announced the imminent transfer of the Illyrian prefecture to Justiniana Prima, but it is unlikely that it was ever moved from Thessalonica. This may further explain the specific design of this imperial foundation in the Balkans (cf. Maksimović 1984:145 and 149). Excavations at Caričin Grad, which started in 1912, revealed that at first the acropolis, no larger than 1 ha, was occupied by a large episcopal church with a baptistery and a residential area to the north, quickly interpreted as episcopal residence (Duval and Popović 1984:549; Bavant 1984:273; Duval 1984:407-414; see also Krautheimer 1986:274).³⁵⁵ The upper city is divided into four unequal parts by two main colonnaded streets meeting in a large, circular plaza surrounded by porticoes.³⁵⁶ The lower city, measuring 2.25 ha in area, was built only later, after ca. 550. The north-south colonnaded street, which was curved to protect a large basilica with transept, continued to the south gate as a simple street without porticoes.

The upper city provided evidence for significant economic activities. Workshops and a bakery, as well as store-rooms with *dolia*, were found north of the west-east colonnaded street (Bavant 1984:276). An "aristocratic house" (*villa urbana*) with central courtyard and apsed *triclinium* was located just south of the three-aisled basilica in the eastern part of the upper city. Just as in Histria, the vestibule of the house had a baking oven, arguably used for the needs of the entire household. Later, some workshops, including a jeweller's shop, were built in the area between the *villa urbana* and the city's southern wall (Bavant 1984:279-280). At that time, the basilica with transept was already abandoned and a few houses with simple hearths and a baking oven were built in its ruins. Other houses with walls built in stone bonded with earth were found north of the basilica. In addition, two structures, one outside the walls, close to the south gate of the upper city, the other close to the east gate of the lower city, were interpreted as *thermae*. Soon after being built, they were abandoned and the latter's ruins were reused by houses with walls of stone bonded with clay (Bavant 1984:281; cf. Mano-Zisi 1969:210 and 212).

At Caričin Grad, as many as eight churches have come to light, all different in plan from each other, but going back to prototypes of earlier date, drawn from

Constantinople or Thessalonica and merged with local elements (Krautheimer 1986:273). The nave and the atrium of the cathedral had mosaic floors. The eastern portico of the atrium of the basilica B with cruciform plan produced three burials, a clear indication that shortly after the city's foundation, burials had already appeared in intramural contexts (Duval 1984:410 and 421-422). Except for a capital of Proconnesian marble from the tribelon of the basilica with transept (basilica D), which bears Justinian's monogram,³⁵⁷ there are no dedicatory inscriptions of donors. All extent mosaic floors (the cathedral's baptistery, the basilica with transept, basilica E, basilica B, the cathedral, and the atrium of the upper city *thermae*) display a remarkable unity of style, which may indicate the same "workshop" of local, provincial taste (Duval 1984:432).³⁵⁸ The building program at Caričin Grad seems to have been extremely ambitious and very expensive, but the actual building was left to local craftsmen working with local techniques (Duval 1984:480).

Caričin Grad stands out among all Balkan cities as an unique example of a sixth-century, entirely new city. It is not without interest that when describing Justiniana Prima (Buildings IV 1), though referring to administrative buildings, Procopius mentioned no civic administration, and no buildings of that sort have been

found. Bernard Bavant (1984:282-285) argued that the building of the city started shortly before 535 on the acropolis and in the upper city area. This building phase included the basilica with transept, the lower city *thermae*, and the basilica with triconch, located some 350 meters away from the lower city's rampart. The rampart itself was built only later, during the second half of Justinian's reign, together with the upper city *thermae*, the two-aisled basilica, and the lower city cistern. Bavant suggested that this second building phase also included some drastic alteration of the initial building program. Its main purpose seems to have been to include as many churches and public buildings as possible within the city's walls. Soon, however, many public buildings and churches (such as the basilica with transept) were abandoned and an encroachment phase seems to have taken place. This third building phase, dated after ca. 565 until about 615, is characterized by houses with walls built in stone bonded with clay and a significant quantity of agricultural implements, which indicate that the status of the new inhabitants was now defined by agricultural occupations, rather than crafts. This phase has been traditionally attributed to a Slavic settlement following the invasions of the late sixth and early seventh century, but Bavant rightly pointed to the stone-cum-clay building technique, which has nothing to do with

sunken buildings found on contemporary sites north of the Danube river (see Chapter IX), and to the absence of artifacts similar to those found on such sites.

That this building phase pre-dates the abandonment of the city and the settlement of the Slavs in the Balkans is clearly indicated by a house found in the western portico of the once colonnaded street running from the circular plaza to the upper city's south gate (Mano-Zisi 1958:312-313). The house was built with walls of stone and clay and had a small hearth. Three *dolia* were found inside the house, all filled with grain. Two other, smaller vessels contained dried pears and nuts. Domestic animal bones were scattered around the hearth, together with three arrowheads, an earring with basket-shaped pendant, two fibulae, and two belt-buckles. One of the two buckles has good parallels in the destruction debris of the abandoned houses of the palaestra in Anemurium, on the Cilician coast (Russell 1982:142 and fig. 6/7-8). The other buckle belongs to a type with shield-shaped end, derived from the so-called Salona-Histria class with belt-strap (Uenze 1966:166; Varsik 1992:80). Such buckles, also found at Anemurium (Russell 1982:143 and fig. 7/21), are especially frequent on several early Byzantine sites in the Balkans and in Crimea. Much clearer chronological indications are provided by one of the two brooches, a cast fibula with bent

stem. Such fibulae were produced in and associated with military sites on the Danube frontier, as evidenced by the workshop found at Turnu Severin (Drobeta)(Bejan 1976). Their dating to Justin II's reign is secured by two hoards found at Bracigovo and Koprivec, respectively, both including such fibulae and concluding with coins struck for that emperor (Uenze 1974; Janković 1980:173; Uenze 1992:156; Curta 1992:84; see Kharalambieva and Ivanov 1986:16; Kharalambieva and Atanasov 1991:57). A dating to the late sixth century is also suggested by the bow fibula, a variant of Werner's class II C (Werner 1950), as well as by the earring with basket-shaped pendant. Such earrings, deriving from Late Roman ones with à-jour pendant welded to the ring, were found in late sixth- or seventh-century cemeteries north of the Alps and in Pannonia, but none is known to have been found on any contemporary site north of the Danube river (Kastelić 1956:127; Slabe 1986:201; Bierbrauer 1987:147; Riemer 1992:126).

The evidence cited shows that the house cannot be interpreted as "Slavic infiltration into the Byzantine urban design," primarily because it pre-dates the earliest evidence of Slavic settlements in the Balkans, known from historical sources. (Mano-Zisi 1958:312). Instead, it seems to indicate the presence of the military (arrow heads, cast fibula with bent stem) and the shift from a

purely urban to a ruralized environment. The excavations at Caričin Grad certainly bear out Procopius' description of the city's amenities, according to which it boasted churches, fountains, an aqueduct, baths, paved streets, private buildings, and colonnades (Buildings IV 1; Poulter 1992:125). But they also show that less than fifty years after the city's foundation, Caričin Grad witnessed the same process of subdivision and encroachment visible on other, less representative, sites.

At Sirmium, this process had started long before the sixth century. In the late 300s or early 400s, the city's walls had been leveled and a three-aisled basilica erected on top of them. A group of houses built with *spolia* bonded with earth surrounded the church. By the second half of the fifth century and during the sixth century, the basilica was abandoned and, on top of its ruins, new houses were built with brick fragments bonded with clay. The remains of the *villa urbana* located to the north of the hippodrome and the "aristocratic house" near the city's south gate (probably a fourth-century imperial residence) were drastically altered to accommodate a few structures built in the stone-cum-clay technique. In both cases, this new occupation also included isolated burials, some cutting through the mosaic floor of the *villa urbana*. As the city was occupied by the Ostrogoths and then by the Gepids, most of the public buildings were

already abandoned, the city itself disintegrating into small hamlets emerging in urban areas not used before (Popović 1982:550-554).

Except for Sirmium, very few things are known about cities on the northern frontier. A joint Bulgarian-Italian team started excavations at Archar (Ratiaria) in 1978, but no relevant sixth-century material is known from the site. We only know that under Justinian those parts of the city were restored which had been severely damaged by the Hunnic raids of the mid-400s (Susini 1982:239; Giorgetti 1983:19 and 33; see also Giorgetti 1980). An inscription ("Anastasiana Ratiaria semper floreat"), found in 1983 in the wall of the city's main gate, was initially interpreted as evidence of an earlier phase of reconstruction under Anastasius. This interpretation, however, was recently challenged by Vladislav Popović on philological grounds (Velkov 1984; Velkov 1985:886; cf. Popović 1989-1990:283).

Evidence of an early phase of subdivision and encroachment also comes from several Macedonian cities. At Stobi, large palatial residences with elaborate courtyards with decorated fountains, floors with pavements of mosaic or *opus sectile*, and walls covered with frescoes and, occasionally, mosaics, were still in use in the early 500s (Wiseman 1984:310). At that time, however, the theater was only a quarry for building material (Mikulčić

1974:200; Hattersley-Smith 1988:85; see also Neppi Mòdona 1974:112). Small houses with walls of stone and clay were built in the ruins. Similar houses were found on the eastern slope of the acropolis, to the west from the theater (Mikulčić 1974:200). Stobi had five basilicas. After the early sixth-century earthquake, the episcopal church was modified to accommodate galleries built above the aisles and an enormous terrace was built along the south side between the church and the baptistery. Sidewalks were also built beneath arcades along the east side of the Via Sacra and in front of the semicircle court opposite the basilica's main entrance. The lower walls of the church were covered with marble revetment, with molded and brightly colored stucco above and fresco along the upper parts. The narthex and the south aisle were repaved with fine mosaics (Hattersley-Smith 1988:107-109). The care and expense needed to restore the episcopal basilica so lavishly are in sharp contrast to the refurbishment of other buildings in the city. In the aftermath of the Hunnic invasion of the mid-400s, the House of the Fuller (the name is derived from the quantity of murex-shells found to the north of the apsidal hall), built in the early 300s, was divided by rough walls of brick bonded with clay into a storehouse and a workshop. Both produced a considerable quantity of spindle-whorls and loom weights (Mikulčić 1982:536-537;

Popović 1982:561-562; Hattersley-Smith 1988:106). Sometime after 570, the city was abandoned, before the Avars and the Slavs began raiding the area (Mikulčić 1982:537; *contra*: Wiseman 1984:310). The uniform presence of powdery grey silt, several feet deep all over the site, suggests that sixth-century Stobi experienced extremes of cold and dry weather followed by wind-blown dust storms which aggravated the existing problem of soil erosion (Hattersley-Smith 1988:123).

At Heraclea Lyncestis, the theater was also abandoned in the fifth century, long before the implementation of Justinian's legislation against gladiator fighting (Neppi Modona 1974:112). Just as in Stobi, it became a quarry for building material and during the second half of the sixth century, a group of houses with walls of stone bonded with clay was built in its ruins (Popović 1982:560 fig. 16). One of them produced no less than six querns. Around the middle of the sixth century, the colonnade in front of the small basilica's baptistery was dismantled and the whole area enlarged to include a second mosaic floor (the west mosaic), which is strikingly similar in composition to the narthex mosaic in the basilica with transept at Caričin Grad, dating to the second or third quarter of the century (Hattersley-Smith 1988:184). When the narthex of the small basilica was later in need of repair, the large worn areas between the

entrance doors on the west side of the narthex and the central door into the nave were simply patched up with bricks and mortar. Both basilicas at Heraclea Lyncestis seem to have been built with money donated by private individuals, as suggested by the nave mosaic of the large basilica and the Corinthian capital with monogram found in the small basilica (Hattersley-Smith 1988:186 and 190).³⁵⁹ One of these donors may have owned the *villa urbana* built in the late third century in the eastern part of the city and rebuilt in the fifth and sixth century (Mikulčič 1986a:237). By contrast, at Sandanski (tentatively identified with Zapara, mentioned as bishopric in 553), the inscription of the floor mosaic in the three-aisled basilica partially excavated in 1960 indicates Bishop John as the main donor. The city had three other basilicas, two of which had mosaic floors (Ivanov, Serafimova, and Nikolov 1969; Pliakov 1973:177-180).³⁶⁰

At Ohrid (Lychnidos), although seven churches were found inside the ancient city's defenses, very little is known about its internal organization. Sometime during the fifth or sixth century, the acropolis was fortified with strong walls, but nothing is known about the lower city's street grid (Mikulčič 1974:194; Mikulčič 1986a:238). The same is true for Bargala, where a large episcopal basilica was remodelled in the late 400s or early 500s (Aleksova 1969:110; Aleksova 1975-1978:77-79;

Aleksova 1986:24). Its orientation is entirely different from all other, earlier buildings, which suggests that the old street grid was abandoned after ca. 500. After the destruction of the episcopal basilica, a smaller, single-naved church was built on top of its ruins, re-using many of the architectural fragments of the former building. Coins issued by Phocas indicate that this church was still in use in the early seventh century (Mikulčič 1986a:241).

An entirely different picture results from the examination of three Macedonian towns located on the coast: Philippi, Amphipolis (near modern Iraklitsa), and Thessalonica. At Philippi, despite numerous alterations to the structures within the *insulae* and the partial covering up of two streets, the initial grid system dominates the urban plan until the early 600s. New alterations were brought to the Octagon in the first quarter of the sixth century and though small buildings obstructed the south-west street sometime after ca. 600, the Commercial Road remained open to traffic until at least the ninth century (Hattersley-Smith 1988:133). Basilica C, restored in the second quarter of the sixth century, yielded a considerable quantity of colored fragments of glass, many of which were carefully cut into different shapes and have been found in association with strips of lead. This seems to be the earliest known example of

stained-glass (Hattersley-Smith 1988:149). Pieces of colored glass were also found in the second phase of the extramural basilica, reconstructed and remodelled under Justinian. That Philippi had its own glass-making industry is suggested by a glass and metal workshop built on top of a Roman building in the southern range of the city (Hattersley-Smith 1988:158). Basilica B (Direkler) had a cross-domed unit in addition to the vaults over the aisles, galleries, nave, and transept wings. The combination of a transept and a cross dome reminds one of the Justinianic buildings of Constantinople, in particular of St. Sophia and SS. Sergius and Bacchus (Hattersley-Smith 1988:155). Not long after the building's erection in *ca.* 540, the dome collapsed and the main part of the basilica was never rebuilt, but structures on the northern and southern sides of the transept continued to be used as baptistery and small chapel, respectively. Nothing is known about further changes during the seventh century, the next piece of evidence being coin-dated to the 800s (Hattersley-Smith 1988:159).

Amphipolis had several basilicas, four of which (including a hexagonal church) were built at different times during the sixth century. By the end of that century, the acropolis was surrounded by a new wall, the west side of which was built across the narthex of basilica A of the first half of the sixth century. A fifth basilica

(C) was thus left outside the encircled area. Its lavish decoration seems to have been paid for by a group of donors, as evidenced by the mosaic inscription. A small, single-naved chapel was erected in the late 500s or slightly later on the basilica's east side (Hattersley-Smith 1988:202, 207 and 208).

Still more compelling is the evidence from Thessalonica. In his Secret History (I 11), Procopius refers to the grandfather and father of Antonina, Belisarius' wife, who had demonstrated their skills as charioteers in Thessalonica, an indication that the city's hippodrome was still in operation during the early sixth century. Archbishop John, the author of the first book of the Miracles of St. Demetrius, mentions both the city's stadium and the theater (I.1.24 and I. 14.132; cf. Spieser 1984a:319; Hattersley-Smith 1988:236). During the plague shortly preceding the siege of 586 by the army of the chagan, the sick who had taken refuge in the church of St. Demetrius were making their way every morning to the baths (I.3.39). We are also told that Marianos, the praetorian prefect, descended from the church of St. Demetrius to the *praetorium* (αὐτόπορος κἀτείσιν εἰς τὸ πραιτώριον αὐτοῦ; I.1.23), which was probably located in the lower, southern part of the city (Hattersley-Smith 1988:66). Marianos was also depicted as donor on one of the basilica's exterior walls (I.1.24).³⁶¹ Two other

wealthy citizens, Menas and John, donated money for the reconstruction of the wooden roof and the *ciborium* of the basilica of St. Demetrius (I.6.60-61; see Hattersley-Smith 1988:63).

In addition to the episcopal basilica, several other churches were built in Thessalonica between 400 and 600: St. Demetrios, Acheiropoietos, and the octagonal church near the Vardar Gate. The Rotunda was also converted into a church, now known as St. George's (Popović 1982:561; Hattersley-Smith 1988:269). In the Acheiropoietos, two inscriptions surviving on the soffits in the south arcade and the central arch of the tribelon refer to private donors. St. Demetrius, on the other hand, was the beneficiary of imperial patronage, as evidenced by a mutilated inscription fragment found on the ground, near the basilica's north wall. The inscription may have been an edict issued by Justinian I (Hattersley-Smith 1988:304). More than a century later, Justinian II granted all profits from the city's salt-pans to the same church, as evidenced by another inscription, now lost (Hattersley-Smith 1988:310). While becoming the main focus of local patronage and occasional imperial donations, Thessalonica's new churches coexisted for a time with elements of the ancient city, such as the agora, which retained its commercial significance, as suggested by the association of the Megalophoros' western side with the

copper trade from Late Antiquity through the present day (Spieser 1984a:319; Hattersley-Smith 1988:316). Unfortunately, none of the three Macedonian cities discussed above offered any evidence for urban habitat, for research has typically focused on either city walls or Christian monuments. The only *villa urbana* known from southern Macedonia is that explored at Tocatlis, on Thasos island, dated to the fifth or sixth century. It was a two-storied building, with a large *atrium* and a fountain (Sodini 1984a:357).

The evidence of the Miracles of St. Demetrius may help explain how Thessalonica survived as a major urban center in the Balkans. On at least two occasions, the Slavs launched attacks against the city while its citizens were busy harvesting their crops on their estates and small holdings outside the city walls (I.13.127 and II.2.199). But at the same time, Thessalonica relied heavily on its rations of public grain (*annona*), as evidenced by the eighth homily of book I. Preventing corn supplies from reaching the city must have been one of the main reasons behind the attempt of the Slavs, sometime during the first decade of Heraclius' reign, to block the port with their fleet of canoes and to attack Thessalonica by sea (II.1.180). This further suggests that a crucial role in the city's survival was its role as a harbor which remained open to outside shipping. As

long as Egypt was under Byzantine control, Thessalonica continued to receive regular supplies of corn to supplement the foods its population cultivated locally. With the Persian conquest of Egypt in 619, the Empire's main source of grain was lost, and the city could no longer expect shipments of public corn. Thessalonica was thus forced to depend on the products of its own hinterland and on those brought from the neighboring regions, as shown by the city's embassy sent to the Belegezetes of Thessaly (II.4.254), during the siege of 677. One could further speculate that the survival of urban centers and regular supplies of public corn were intimately connected and that this relation may explain the collapse of Byzantine authority in the Balkans during the seventh century.

Evidence for a later survival of coastal cities also comes from the western Balkans. The early Byzantine walls at Nicopolis in Epirus Vetus enclosed an area of 30 ha in the north-east corner of the early Roman city. The towers at the west gate were similar in size to those of the large wall at Constantinople and to the larger towers at Resafa (Gregory 1987a:260). This suggests that the building was entrusted to an imperial architect, being sponsored by the urban community and by the provincial authorities, with some imperial assistance (Hellenkemper 1987:250). Nothing is known, however, about the city's internal organization, except three churches, dating to

the sixth century: the "Alkison basilica" (also known as basilica B), built at some point before 518; the basilica D, perhaps contemporary; the "Dumetior basilica" (basilica A), dated to the second quarter of the century. All show the layout of tripartite basilicas with transepts (Krautheimer 1986:131). At Butrint, the early Roman walls were still in use during the sixth century (Karaiskaj 1984:161). Again, the internal organization of the sixth-century city is not known, with the exception of two basilicas.³⁶² At Dyrrachium, Emperor Anastasius' hometown, the city walls were rebuilt at his order, as evidenced by brick stamps (Zheku 1972:42; Anamali 1989:2618). They were still in use during the early medieval period.³⁶³ The same seems to be true for some of the city's public buildings and churches, as recently shown by excavations at the extramural triconch church at Arapaj (Koch 1988:124). Byllis also witnessed a period of economic prosperity during the sixth century, as Viktorinos, Justinian's architect, rebuilt the city walls (Feissel 1988). Two churches, both with mosaic floors, were built during this period (Anamali 1989:2632; Korkuti and Petruso 1993:738). The city was, however, abandoned after 600 and a rural settlement grew around a sixth-century extramural basilica at Ballshi, at a short distance from the town (Anamali 1989:2626). A sixth-century building phase was also identified at Sarda, but the

dating to this period of six houses built in stone bonded with clay remains controversial (Spahiu 1976:154-155; cf. Karaiskaj 1989:2647).

Unfortunately, little is known about the sixth-century habitat at Salona, despite extensive excavations since the late nineteenth century. We know that in ca. 530, the sanctuaries dedicated to Nemesis in the city's amphitheater were turned into churches, while *Porta postica* was blocked (Neppi Modona 1974:115-116). Judging from the existing evidence, out of eight churches so far identified in Salona, only one, the Gradina, was built after 500 (Marin 1989:1127).³⁶⁴ After partial destruction, probably in the early seventh century, the transept and the apse of the basilica at Manastirine, not far from the city, were turned into a smaller church, which Rudolf Egger called a *Notkirche*. He suggested that this new church became the focus of religious life after the presumed destruction of Salona by the invading Slavs (see Duval 1990:438-439). But similar evidence was later found at Kapljuč and comparable alterations were identified at the basilica at Marusinac. They all confirm that the city was still inhabited by Christians during the first half of the seventh century (Nikolajević 1975:92 and 94).

The Synekdemos of Hierocles lists about eighty cities (called πόλεις) in the province of Achaia, apparently making Greece one of the most highly urbanized

regions of the eastern Mediterranean (Gregory 1984a:273). At Athens, the post-Herulian wall included the Acropolis, but excluded the Agora, for by that time the city's government offices and commercial center had already shifted eastward from the Agora to the less-damaged Library of Hadrian and the Roman Market (Hattersley-Smith 1988:367). Statues of high-ranking officials were still erected in the fifth century, as evidenced by one found in the north-east corner of the so-called Gymnasium of the Giants (in the middle of the ancient Agora) (Hattersley-Smith:374). In the early 500s, *thermae* were built on top of an older fountain, on the southern side of a late Roman house on the Areopagus. A collection of antique marble sculptures was found in a courtyard north of the bath. Given their specific location, which suggests they were hidden, the sculptures have been quickly interpreted as evidence for Justinian's anti-pagan legislation of 529. Similar evidence has been recently found at Antioch and Carthage. A mosaic floor in the room south of the baths was replaced with *opus sectile* in a cruciform pattern (Sodini 1984a:348-349). Another *villa urbana* was found in the southern corner of the Acropolis and has been attributed to Proclus. A large *triclinium*, a relief representing the goddess Cybele, and an altar, are viewed as sufficient evidence for this attribution (Sodini 1984a:350). A third *villa* comes from the eastern area of

the Library of Pantainos. The earlier stoa was converted into an elegant suite of small rooms belonging to a two-storied building. On the first floor, there was a large peristyled courtyard and an apsed *triclinium*. Room B on the first floor had a barrel vault and the walls of rooms A, B, and C had niches for statues. The house was included in the Late Roman fortification and was used, with alterations, until the eighth century (Shear 1973:393-394; Sodini 1984a:351-352). On the northern slope of the Acropolis, houses with inner courtyards, built in the fifth century B.C., were rebuilt at some point during the fifth century A.D. and were still in use during the sixth century (Sodini 1984a:359). After 600, the old colonnade of the Stoa lost its original architectural integrity and was subdivided into small rooms. In room 6, hundreds of terracotta roof tiles recovered from the fallen debris of the house destroyed sometime in the 630s were piled in neat rows for possible reuse. These later alterations are dated by coins of Constans II (Shear 1973:397).

During the sixth century, two industrial establishments were set up on either side of the Panathenaic Way, near the south-east corner of the Agora: a flour mill driven by a water wheel, which was active between ca. 450 and ca. 580 (the water coming from the newly restored Hadrianic Aqueduct), and a small olive mill (Hattersley-Smith 1988:377).³⁶⁵ In contrast, the reuse of buildings

inside the city walls for Christian purposes is dated comparatively later. At some point during the late 400s or the early 500s, a three-aisled basilica was erected on the foundations of the Asklepieion. The Gymnasium of the Giants was abandoned and the Olympeion and the Temple of Kronos and Rhea were converted into churches. After ca. 580, both the Parthenon and the Erechtheion followed suit, and a three-aisled basilica was built over the ruins of the quatrefoil building of Hadrian's Library (Hattersley-Smith 1988:383 and 386). Shortly after 500, burials were introduced within the urban area, on the south side of the Acropolis, as well as in the area between the Odeion of Pericles and the Theater of Dionysos (Gregory 1984a:273; Hattersley-Smith 1988:381).

The situation at Corinth was slightly different. With the exception of a statue erected, probably, in honor of Constans II (Kent 1950),³⁶⁶ no honorific inscriptions dated after ca. 400 have been found in the forum area. Any use of the forum as a public square or for private housing ceased by 500 (Iverson 1996:104). The corridors along the east and northern sides of the peristyled courtyard known as the Peribolos of Apollon were transformed in the early 500s into small rooms (Hattersley-Smith 1988:403). A house was built in the northern half of the Great Bath on the Lechaion Road. It dates to the first half of the sixth century. The walls

were partially built of re-used material. A coin issued under Justin II gives a *terminus post quem* for the hearth in the south-east corner of the house (Biers 1985:12).

Corinth was twice hit by earthquakes (522 and 551) and was devastated by the plague (542). One of the buildings severely damaged by the earthquake of 551 was the H. Leonidas basilica at Lechaion, built in the mid-fifth century (Krautheimer 1986:132-133). Shortly after the mid-sixth century, a group of houses was built in the basilica's *atrium* and the immediate vicinity. All had water wells or cisterns in the middle of a small, inner courtyard. Some were also provided with reduced versions of *triclinia* with earthen semicircular benches. Baking ovens, querns and *dolia* bespeak the agricultural character of this settlement (Sodini 1984a:372). The effects of the plague are illustrated by a mass burial of over one hundred adults and children, which was found in Reservoir IV at Lerna (Hattersley-Smith 1988:407). Toward the end of the century, there is evidence of a sudden abandonment and subsequent pillaging and dismantling of buildings of their stones. A late sixth-century or early seventh-century church was erected on the hill north of the Agora. Its narthex was richly decorated in *opus sectile* pavement and colored marble revetment. A modest chapel was built on the spring house near the Asklepieion sometime after ca. 665/6 (Hattersley-Smith 1988:411 and 413).

By the mid-sixth century, burial activity was well established in the forum area, with tombs in the ruins of the fourth-century shops and baths to the rear of the South Stoa. Two sixth-century burial vaults were found in the court of the Sacred Spring of Pierene (Iverson 1996:104). Whether or not these burials were intramural, remains an object of dispute, for it is not yet clear what exactly constituted the city of Corinth during the 500s (Gregory 1984a:273; Gregory 1982a:53; Snively 1984:121; Iverson 1996:112).

The evidence from other cities in Greece remains scarce. At Nemea, a sixth-century building extended over the Bath and post-fourth century cist burials with tiles were found in the area south of the Temple of Zeus (Birge, Kraynak, and Miller 1992:239; Miller 1977:3 and fig. 5). The ruins of two churches have been identified within the late Roman walls at Sparta. One of them, St. Nikon, was probably built in the sixth century. If true, this would make Sparta the only early Byzantine city in Greece with ecclesiastical representation within its walls (Gregory 1982a:55). Elsewhere, the archaeological evidence points to the existence of *villae urbanae*. At Mantinea, a second-century two-roomed building was restored during the 500s, as a bath and a large *triclinium* were added (Sodini 1984a:364).³⁶⁷ On the other hand, smaller dwellings, often interpreted as squatter-houses,

were installed in the ruins of earlier residences, as in Aixone, Argos, or Castelli Kisamos, in Crete (Sodini 1984a:370).

Changing Cities, Rural Settlements, and Monasteries

How far is it possible to generalize from this rich archaeological evidence? Despite some variation a pattern of change is easily recognizable. In most cases, ancient cities contracted and regrouped around a defensible acropolis, usually dominated by the church. The process of disintegration of the urban nucleus into small settlement areas was accompanied by the subdivision into smaller rooms of formerly finer buildings, by the re-use of various architectural elements, and by new buildings with mud and brick walls. Large *civitates* were replaced by comparatively smaller forts, or coexisted with them, as in the case of Pautalia. The urban population of the Balkans concentrated primarily in coastal cities, such as Dyrrachium, Mesembria, Thessalonica, or Salona, and in Constantinople (Mikulcić 1986b:269).

Subdivision and encroachment on the sites of former grand buildings were not restricted to the sixth-century Balkans. Similar phenomena have been observed at Carthage ("Michigan sector"), Anemorium, and Sbeitla (Cameron 1993:161).³⁶⁸ The same is true for the presence of burials within urban areas. At Constantinople, Justinian's

legislation had already allowed intramural interments between the old and the new precincts, as well as in Blachernae and Sykae (Dagron 1991:167). The difference, if any, between the Balkans and the rest of the Roman world is one of degree rather than quality. In any case, the process of encroachment and change of use, though different in rhythm in various parts of the Empire, seems to indicate an urban change which cannot be attributed to particular local causes, such as plague or invasion, but must have been connected to economic and administrative factors, above all to the relation of these new urban centers to the central administration. It is important to note, for example, that cities in the interior of the Balkans lack the signs of long-distance trade so evident in those of the Black Sea coast or in Greece. Phocaeen Red Slip wares (also known as Late Roman C), produced at Phocaea in western Anatolia, began to appear in significant quantities on the western Black Sea coast after 470 and remained relatively frequent until about 580 (Minchev 1983:197; Poulter 1992:130; Opait 1996:137; see Mackensen 1987:235). They are also abundant at Argos during the first half of the sixth century (Abadie-Reynal 1989b: 155). On the site of Diocletian's palace in Split, they were still in use after 600 (Dvoržak Schrunk 1989:94). Extensive excavations on sites in the interior, such as Ratiaria, Iatrus, Sacidava, and Karanovo, yielded only

small quantities (Kuzmanov 1987:112; Böttger 1979:62; Scorpan 1978:160-161; Borisov 1988a:106). At Sadovec, Phocaeen Red Slip wares are completely absent (Mackensen 1992a:235). All sites in the interior, however, produced a large quantity of amphora sherds, which suggests that the relative absence of Phocaeen Red Slip Ware is not an accident. This picture is confirmed by finds of lead seals. Among 82 sixth- to seventh-century specimens known from the northern Balkans, 46 (56 percent) have only the name of the owner, without office or title (see Appendix A).³⁶⁹ They were most likely commercial seals.³⁷⁰ The largest number were found at Constanța (Tomis). The westernmost specimen found is that from Călărași (Appendix A, no. 1), on the left bank of the Danube, just across from the important city of Silistra (Durostorum). In addition, two lead seals of clear Aegean provenance (one from Pergamon, the other from Ephesus) were found in Dobrudja (Appendix A, nos. 68-69). No such seal was found in the rest of the Balkans, an indication that commodities traded by seal owners did not reach the interior. The commercial circuit signaled by lead seals included but a small area easily accessible by sea. Disruption of commercial links between coastal trade centers and settlements in the interior illustrates the degree of autonomy of the northern Balkan cities, which Procopius listed by regions, rather than by provinces.

That this phenomenon was also associated with significant social changes is shown by the quality of buildings now erected within the urban area. To be sure, many buildings seem to have been abandoned, but the existence of a derelict and useless temple or gymnasium in the heart of an ancient city is no guide to the prosperity or otherwise of that city as a whole. Nor can mud and brick walls be described *ipso facto* as 'barbarian' (Hattersley-Smith 1988:169 and 299; Whittow 1990:19). The inhabitants of early Byzantine cities displayed their wealth and status by building churches and paying for their lavish decoration with mosaic floors (Whittow 1990:18). Except in Thessalonica, there is no evidence for any other public buildings erected at that time. Caričin Grad (Justiniana Prima) was dominated by the acropolis on which the episcopal church was located. This further suggests that the power granted to local bishops by Justinian's legislation drastically altered the urban landscape. Newly built churches, such as that of Plovdiv (Philippopolis), often obstructed or even obliterated the old street grid. With few exceptions (such as Thessalonica), the forum ceased to represent the focus of building activity and was abandoned. Ancient baths were converted into churches, though *thermae* were still built anew during the 500s, as in Justiniana Prima. In some cases (Histria, Tropaeum Traiani, Diocletianopolis,

Justiniana Prima, Tocatlis, Athens, and Mantinea), archaeological excavations revealed the existence of houses with peristyled courtyards and apsed *triclinia*, used as main representative rooms (Sodini 1984a). They were most likely residences of the rich, though attempts to identify their inhabitants with the new urban elite (e.g., bishops) should be treated with extreme caution. They are in sharp contrast with houses built in stone bonded with clay, which archaeologists often equate with the last building phase. That such buildings cannot be attributed to the invading Slavs, allegedly establishing themselves in the conquered and destroyed cities, is suggested by the house at Caričin Grad. Since, in some cases, such buildings encroached into earlier *villae urbanae*, they might indicate that the place of the rich was taken by the less well-off. The last decades of the Balkan cities may thus have witnessed a rise in the number of poorer citizens. Querns, spindle whorls, baking ovens, and smithies may illustrate a process of ruralization, which immediately preceded and was encouraged by the Slavic invasions. But the existing archaeological evidence suggests a much more complex picture. It is certainly difficult, if not impossible, to assess in each case the relative importance of the stone-cum-clay buildings. The absence of any agricultural tools which could be safely dated to the sixth or early seventh century is in itself

significant. There is no reason to believe that these new houses or rooms built in stone bonded with clay were a hasty, if provisory, solution to the problem of countless refugees from the countryside, now savagely raided by the Slavs (Barnea et al. 1979:107). Moreover, the goods found in the house at Caričin Grad suggest a military occupation which is otherwise comparable to that of contemporary forts.

This trend is also recognizable in the disappearance, after ca. 450, of medium-sized villa estates in the urban hinterland, which had provided the majority of decurions (Poulter 1992:122).³⁷¹ The only evidence of rural *villae* comes from Akra Sophia, near Corinth, where a systematic archaeological exploration yielded a sumptuous villa with mosaic floor in room VII, probably a *triclinium* (Gregory 1985:418-420). A single fragment of hypocaust brick suggests the presence of a small bath which is otherwise unattested in the surviving architectural remains. The walls were built of rubble set in lime mortar mixed with large pebbles. A fragment of a late sixth- or early seventh-century amphora (Late Roman 2) was found embedded in the mortar of the foundations of the north side of the north wall of room VII. The owner of the villa may have been an imperial military official in charge with the defense of the near-by Hexamilion. Another *villa rustica* was found in 1949 at Polače, on the

island of Mljet in the Adriatic. It has been dated to the fifth or sixth century (Nikolajević 1971:281). The building complex found in 1930 at Breza, near Sarajevo, interpreted by Đuro Basler as an *aula* of an Ostrogothic high official, perhaps a *comes*, is more likely a basilica (Basler 1993:28-29).

On the other hand, evidence exists that there were still large estates in the Balkans during the 500s. An inscription found near Sliven, in Bulgaria, refers to an ἐπίσημος, a state or church estate (Velkov 1962:60 n. 164). By the time Procopius wrote his Wars there were still large herds of horses near Apri, in Thrace, probably belonging to a *domus divina*. A law of 535 (Cod. Just. 1.2.24) shows that the St. Sophia cathedral in Constantinople owned large estates and had a *scribinium* with cartularies located somewhere in Thrace (Kaplan 1992:143).³⁷² But the evidence of peasant settlements is very scarce. According to Procopius, Justinian "made the defenses so continuous in the estates (χωρία), that each farm (ἀγρός) either had been converted into a stronghold (προούριον) or lies adjacent to one which is fortified" (Proc., Buildings IV 1). This has been interpreted as an indication of an important rural population in the sixth-century Balkans (Patoura 1985:206).³⁷³ Indeed, Procopius even provided an example of a village entirely transformed into a stronghold, due to Justinian's

munificence.³⁷⁴ But he also described peasants becoming "makeshift soldiers for the occasion" (Buildings IV 2), thus suggesting that agricultural occupations were now abandoned. The only evidence for the survival of a significant peasant population comes from the immediate vicinity of the Capital. Theophylact Simocatta refers to a χωρίον some fifteen miles away from Heracleia, in Europe (VI.1.4). The village had a large population and was a food supplier for the imperial armies. Two inscriptions found at Selymbria and Charköy, in Thrace, refer to the estates of a certain Zemocarthos (Velkov 1962:62). Elsewhere the existence of open settlements with exclusively agricultural functions remains doubtful.³⁷⁵

Despite the evident biases of early Byzantine archaeology in the Balkans toward urban centers, the evidence for rural settlements is remarkably scanty. Recent excavations at Kurt Baiâr, near Slava Cercheză, in Dobrudja, not far from the presumed monastic site at Slava Rusă, unearthed a rectangular, single-roomed house built in stones bonded with clay and mud bricks. The building has two phases, dated to the fifth and sixth centuries, respectively (Opaiț and Bănică 1992:105-106). Salvage excavations near Novgrad, not far from the ancient site of Iatrus, have also revealed two similar structures, one of which is dated by a coin issued by Justin II (Stefanov 1974:291-292). Altogether, this is

all the evidence we have so far from the Balkans. There is nothing comparable to the village at Qasrin, in the Golan highlands, nothing similar to the two-storied peasant houses found in the hinterland of the city of Kyaneai, in Lycia, or to those found in the Silifke region of Cilicia (Sodini 1993:152). The rarity of rural settlements could be explained in reference to contemporary legislation. In 505, emperor Anastasius was compelled to acknowledge the impossibility of collecting the *annona* in Thrace and to introduce the *coemptio* (Cod. Just. 10.27.2; cf. Velkov 1962:58; Kaplan 1992:382). Thirty years later, Justinian issued the novel 32, which attempted to stop an ever-accelerating decline of the peasant population in Haemimons and Moesia inferior. Because of high-interest loan rates, peasants were compelled to give away their lands; some fled and some died of starvation, the general situation being described as worse than after a barbarian invasion. In that same year, Justinian's novel 33 extended the stipulation of novel 32 to Illyricum, because creditors there were taking the lands (*terrulae*) of the peasants (Kaplan 1992:378). No improvement occurred and, ten years later, Justinian's novel 128 introduced the *epibole* to the fiscal law, in order to cope with the demographic instability of the countryside upsetting the process of tax collection. Every farmer was now burdened with liability for taxes

from the abandoned land of his next-door neighbor (Gorecki 1989:225). Justinian's successor, Justin II, twice granted tax exemptions for peasants in Moesia and Scythia Minor (novels 148 and 162; see Velkov 1962:59). In both cases, at stake were food supplies for troops stationed in these two provinces. Whether or not barbarian invasions contributed to the rapid deterioration of the economic situation in the Balkans, the evidence cited suggests that in this region the rural class was on the verge of disappearing. This is substantiated by recruitment shortages, which were already visible during Justinian's reign (Fotiou 1988:66-67). In 544, Belisarius barely raised a force of 4,000 volunteers in Thrace, whom he later deprecated as a "small and pitiful band... altogether unpracticed in fighting" (Proc., Wars III 10.1).

The rarity of rural settlements may explain the rarity of monasteries. The association between the two is strongly advocated by cases of monasteries established in densely populated regions with numerous rural communities (see Trombley 1985:46-51). But the evidence for monasteries in the Balkans is very scarce. To be sure, literary sources indirectly suggest the existence of monasticism. During Justinian's reign, the 'Scythian monks' were zealous supporters of a formula attempting to reconcile adherents of the council of Chalcedon with the

Monophysites (Zeiller 1918:383-384; Barnea and Vulpe 1968:458-459; Moorhead 1994:125-128).³⁷⁶ A few decades later, at the time of Tiberius and Maurice, John Moschus wrote about hermitages around Thessalonica in his biographies of abbot Palladius and David the Ascetic (Rose 1887:15-16; cf. Moutsopoulos 1987:129). Other sources are less explicit. Archbishop John, the author of the first book of the Miracles of St Demetrius, clearly states that there were two notable churches outside the city walls of Thessalonica: that dedicated to the three sister saints Chione, Irene, and Agape, and that of St. Matrona (I. 12.107 and 108; I.13.119). The latter is also called a *προούριον* and may have been a fortified church. Nothing indicates, however, that it was a monastery (*contra*: Moutsopoulos 1987:154). In 592, Emperor Maurice, on the eve of his campaigns against the Sclavenes and the Avars, forbade soldiers or civil servants from becoming clerics or monks until their period of service has been completed. His edict brought a reprimand by Pope Gregory the Great, who argued that the emperor had no right to interfere with religious vocations. In response, Maurice agreed to limit the law to soldiers who had not yet served for three years (Frazee 1982:276). It has been argued that Maurice's edict referred to the male population of Thrace, an indirect indication of monasteries there (Gorecki 1989:226). Though the edict was issued in

connection with the Slav and Avar invasions into the Balkans, there is no evidence to support the idea that Maurice's edict referred to recruitment in Thrace. Soldiers and civil servants could have joined monasteries located anywhere else in the empire.

The archaeological evidence for monasteries is also very meager. From written sources we know that by 536, in Constantinople and its vicinity, there were 67 male monasteries (Gerostergios 1974:435; Frazee 1982:271),³⁷⁷ but archaeological investigations in the Balkans have yielded no comparable result. There is some evidence of monasteries on the Adriatic coast. A fifth-century monastic site was found on the island of Majsan, near Orebić and Korčula. It was organized around two porticoed courtyards and included a small church with *memoria* containing St. Maximus' relics (Cambi 1989:2420). The site was still occupied during the second half of the sixth century, for it has also produced a Byzantine coin hoard closed under Justin II (Fisković 1981:146; Mirnik 1982).³⁷⁸ At Isperikhovo, near Plovdiv, in Thrace, an early Byzantine monastery incorporated a small single-naved church with a baptistery on the southern side and another annex containing a font later added on the north-western side. The rest of the complex consisted of a series of rooms, some roughly mortared with mud. They included a cattle shed and a bread oven. Tools for woodwork and agriculture and

household pots show that soon after the church was built a group of monks settled here and cultivated the land. The complex was surrounded by a wall sometime during the sixth century (Hoddinott 1975:297). At Anevo, in the same area, Bulgarian archaeologists recently explored another monastic complex, dated to Justinian's reign (Dzhambov 1989:2519). East of the basilica at Palikura, near Stobi, in Macedonia, there was a courtyard and beyond this an octagonal baptistery and numerous other annexes. On the basis of this evidence, some believe Palikura was a monastic site (Hoddinott 1963:185; Mikulčić 1986a:233 and 246). A cave monastery may have existed not far from the modern monastery Aladzha, near Varna. Its early dating to the fourth century is secured by fragments of glassware, but coins of Justinian indicate that the complex may have still been in use during the 500s (Atanasov 1991:34-35). Finally, at Slava Rusă, in Dobrudja, recent excavations have unearthed a monastic complex with two single-naved churches and three building phases dated to the late fifth, early sixth, and late sixth century, respectively. Sometime in the last decades of the sixth century a wall was built around the complex (Opaiț, Opaiț, and Bănică 1992:113-117).

With this rarity of monasteries and rural settlements, the problem of urban change in the Balkans can be rephrased in new terms. It is now clear that during the

sixth century, the region witnessed a serious contraction, but the complex readjustments taking place almost everywhere do not seem to have involved any rural sites. What was the role, if any, of the rural environment in the survival and, in some case, the prosperity of the sixth-century Balkan cities? There seems to be no simple answer to this question, but from the existing evidence it appears that urban life in the Balkans was not based on a thriving rural economy. All textual evidence indicates a sharp decline of the rural areas and archaeologists have not been able to identify any significant number of villages in the hinterland of the great cities. Moreover, the Church itself seems to have been rather resistant to the idea of implementing monastic communities in a region devoid of substantial rural population. If so, who fed the remaining urban population? There is no indication of agricultural work inside any of the sixth-century Balkan cities. The Miracles of St. Demetrius suggest that a large city, such as Thessalonica, relied heavily on supplies of public corn, but it is dangerous to extrapolate this evidence to other Balkan cases. The explanation may lie at a more structural level, in the military and building programs implemented in the Balkans, in particular on the Danube frontier under Emperor Justinian.

The *Limes* and the Sixth-Century Balkans

The idea of making the Lower Danube the frontier of the Roman state was an old one. It dates back to Julius Caesar. The natural and the military borders complemented each other and formed an intricate matrix of Roman imperial self-definition (Olster 1996:94). In the mid-500s, Procopius of Caesarea still viewed the Danube as the barrier against barbarians, πρόβολον ἰσχυρότατον (Buildings IV 1.33). Procopius was also a witness to the increasing differentiation between political and administrative frontiers, on one hand, and cultural boundaries, on the other. Long before the sixth century, the *limes* had ceased to be a purely military zone and had become an area of contact and exchange with populations living on the left bank of the Danube. Some argued that its main purpose was now that of a buffer zone, specifically designed to divert and to slow down, if not to stop, the invasions of the Slavs (Zanini 1988:268). Others believe that the Roman frontier was never intended to be a preclusive perimeter defense, but a deep zone that included the *limes* itself, the supporting provinces and, in some cases, even the territories across the frontier (Miller 1996:162). Denys Pringle's research on the African *limes* revealed a hierarchy of forts with various functions, operating on different levels in a sophisticated system

of in-depth defense (Pringle 1981). The situation in the Balkans is even more compelling. According to Procopius, Justinian built or renewed more than 600 forts in the Balkans, eight times more than in the entire Asian part of the empire (Shuvalov 1991:40). Moreover, recent excavations reveal that a number of then modern and sophisticated building techniques, such as the use of hexagonal bastions, so dear to the author of the De re strategica (12, p. 35), were widely prevalent in the building defenses on the Danube *limes* or in the interior.³⁷⁹

There is still a tendency among scholars to downplay the significance of this major building program or to treat Procopius' evidence with extreme suspicion.³⁸⁰ More recently, two inscriptions found at Byllis, in Albania, clearly attest that the forts in Moesia, Scythia Minor, Illyricum, and Thrace were built for Justinian by his architect, Viktorinos (Feissel 1988). The evidence of these inscriptions suggests that Procopius should be given some credit for veracity.

Procopius and the *Limes*

It has been long argued that Procopius' Buildings has three main themes: church building, fortifications, and water supply. Part of an imperial propaganda effort (Evans 1970:223), all that is described by Procopius under these topics is attributed to Justinian alone, as

though the emperor had personally initiated and carried it through (Cameron 1985:86-87). It is not without interest that Procopius sees a certain continuity between Justinian and his predecessors, in particular Constantine the Great (IV 5 and 7). But Justinian does not follow Constantine's program in all details (cf. IV 6). "As if seeking to excuse his imperial predecessor's want of propriety," he builds an aqueduct and a public bath, churches, and a palace and stoas in Helenopolis (Constantine's mother's native city; V 2.1-5). Not even Trajan is spared for Procopius' faultfinding approach. Unlike Justinian, the *Optimus Princeps* was "of an impetuous and active temperament and filled with resentment that his realm was not unlimited, but was bounded by the Ister River" (IV 6.11-18). Procopius' attitude toward Justinian's closer predecessors is also critical. The Long Walls illustrate an ill-applied strategic concept (IV 9) and Anastasius is accused of having miscalculated the effects of building a fortress at Dara (II 1.4-17), failing to raise the walls of Theodosiopolis, in spite of rebaptizing the city after his imperial name (III 5.4-12), relinquishing Martyropolis to the Persians (III 2.9-14) and dying before the completion of the work at Melitene. In all those cases, Justinian is presented as having remedied his predecessors' errors and, at least in the case of Martyropolis, as a more aggressive leader.

But the tendency to exaggerate Justinian's achievements, particularly in comparison to those of his predecessors, was a feature built into the genre (Cameron 1985:90). The overall impression is that a sudden and overwhelming effect was brought about by Justinian's building policies (Cameron 1985:109). Procopius' narration is set in a timeless atmosphere, which may have been intended to suggest the permanence of the emperor's achievements (Whitby 1985:141). That the Buildings may be viewed as a panegyric is also shown by a comparison of Procopius' portrait of Justinian with other contemporary propaganda media. In the Buildings, Justinian is "the founder of the civilized world" (ὁ τῆς οἰκουμένης οἰκιστής; IV 1.17), a builder *par excellence*. This reminds one of an inscription from Callatis (Popescu 1967:170) and of brick stamps from Mesembria (Ognenova-Marinova 1969:109 and 111), both of which call Justinian φιλοκτίστης.

On the other hand, with his Buildings, Procopius may be reflecting a contemporary taste for the cataloguing of buildings, which is also recognizable in sixth-century chronicles and in special works about the physical history of cities (Cameron 1985:90). Book IV, which deals with the Balkans, looks, however, like an annotated itinerary of the network of roads (Adshead 1990:108). The Thracian list begins with the forts along the Via Egnatia. In his

description of Scythia Minor, Procopius follows the old imperial road from Tropaeum Traiani to the north (Aricescu 1977:170).

Is the Buildings then a purely rhetorical exercise? Some have argued that Procopius' work is not a factual record, despite its appearance of documentary authenticity (Cameron 1985:110). Others believe that the Buildings has been under-valued as a work of strategic insight and point to many links between book IV and the renaissance of military treatises in the sixth century, from the Anonymus Byzantinus to the author of the Strategikon (Adshead 1990:107 and 113).³⁸¹ In order to assess Procopius' reliability, however, it is first necessary to identify his sources. Noticing that Procopius' information is accurate and detailed, some have argued that he found it all in the imperial archives (Evans 1972:77 and 81). Others, observing that the description in book IV follows the network of roads, concluded that Procopius used an official map. This may also explain why most fort names are rendered in ablative or accusative plural (-is), as on Roman itineraries or on the Peutinger map (Beshevliev 1967b:278). Lists of forts in book IV are given by provinces, which also suggests that Procopius' source may have been some sort of administrative document. It is not without interest that when Procopius introduced his narration, he had a completely different

set of terms, indicating not administrative boundaries, but the traditional ethnic geography of the Balkans, which is also identifiable in Viktorinos' inscription from Byllis (Feissel 1988:143).³⁸²

The description of the road from Strongylum to Rhegium, which was probably the first segment of the Via Egnatia, seems to be based on personal experience. Procopius may have indeed seen that road and its exceptionally coarse paving stones, giving the appearance "not simply of being laid together at the joints," but of having actually grown together (IV 8). But the description of Justiniana Prima, despite the significance of the city for the purpose of the Buildings, is vague and lacking in detail, unlike that of Carthage (Cameron 1985:94). In contrast to other books, book IV lists no churches, and the lack of coherence in the direction of the account may reflect lack of personal experience in the area (Adshead 1990:108). There is also some contradictory information. In his Secret History (23.33), Procopius claims that no buildings were restored and nothing else was done in the whole of Greece, including Athens. In the Buildings, we are told that all cities south of Thermopylae were made safe and their walls renewed, and Procopius cites Corinth, Athens, and Plataea (IV 2). There is extensive repetition of fort names in book IV, usually of two forts in two neighboring prov-

inces. This suggests that Procopius' source listed a particular fort only under a particular province. Procopius, who was unfamiliar with Balkan geography,³⁸³ in particular with provincial boundaries, may have ascribed a fort to more than one province, because he was concerned with providing an accurate account.

Despite all this, however, Procopius seems to have been well aware of what he was trying to do in book IV. To him, the Danube, when getting "close to Dacia, for the first time clearly forms the boundary between the barbarians, who hold its left bank, and the territory of the Romans, which is on the right" (IV 5).³⁸⁴ His emphasis on the Danube is meant to help explain that the entire strategy underlying the building program in the Balkans was centered upon the Danube *limes*.³⁸⁵ The forts built by Justinian, according to Procopius, were designed as a response to a particular kind of warfare, namely sudden attacks coming from the north.³⁸⁶ Justinian

reflected that if it should ever be possible for the enemy to break through somehow, they would fall upon fields which would be entirely unguarded, would enslave the whole population, from the youths upwards, and would plunder all their property (IV 1).

The defense system was therefore designed for protecting the estates (χωρία) and for transforming each farm (ἀγρὸς ἑκαστος) into a stronghold (προὔριον) (IV 1). Procopius thus suggests that barbarian raids were targeted not on large cities, but on "fields" in the countryside. In any

case, he implies that Justinian's building program was a direct response to the impact and direction of these attacks. Some went as far as to claim that the Buildings may be interpreted as a 'codified' map of the barbarian invasions into the Balkans, of their direction and impact (Ivanov 1984).

Justinian's strategy, according to Procopius, was based on three successive lines, one along the Danube, the other along the Balkans, and a third along the Istranča Daglari range. But a closer examination of only one sector of the defense system (the region between the Iskār and the Ogost rivers in northern Bulgaria) reveals that during Justinian's reign, another line of defense was added between the one along the Danube and the one along the Balkans (Poutiers 1975:61-63). A simple reckoning of the forts listed in book IV (Table 6) shows that northern Illyricum received the largest number of forts in the Balkans. The highest density was that of northern Dacia Ripensis, especially in the area of the Timok valley (Ivanov 1983:42-43).³⁸⁷ Most of them were restored, not built anew.³⁸⁸ This may relate to the fact that Illyrian armies were often involved in wars in Italy or Pannonia and Illyricum lacked large cities on which the defense network could be centered (Ivanov 1984: 49).³⁸⁹ The solution in Illyricum seems to have been

Table 6
The Fortification of the Balkans According to
Procopius' *Buildings* IV

	New	Restored	Total
ILLYRICUM:	92	207	304
Epirus Nova	32	26	58
Epirus Vetus	12	24	36
Macedonia			46
Thessaly		7	7
Dardania	8	61	69
(Dacia Mediterranea):			140
near Serdica			9
Cabatzus region	1	16	17
near city ?	5	23	28
near Germente	1	6	7
near Pautalia			5
Kasseta region			5
near Naissus	32	7	39
near Remesiana			30
(Dacia Ripensis):			38
near Aquae	1	37	38
THRACE:			179
Europe			2
Rhodope			12
Thrace			35
Haemimons			53

Table 6--Continued

	New	Restored	Total
Moesia Inferior			51
μεσογεία			26
LIMES:			
(Moesia Superior)			28
(Dacia Ripensis)			29
(Moesia Inferior)			20
(Scythia Minor)			8

decentralization, as suggested by the absence from Procopius' account of both Dacia Ripensis and Dacia Mediterranea. Both were replaced as administrative units by regions centered on major urban centers.³⁹⁰ In contrast, Thrace had large cities in the plains, such as Diocletianopolis, Philippopolis or Beroe. Moreover, Procopius' description of Thrace lacks the division into 'new' and 'restored' forts. Topeiros is referred to in the lists as 'new', but elsewhere we are told that Justinian only "added a great deal to the height of the wall" (IV 11). In Thrace, Justinian's approach was based more on administrative measures. Novel 26 gave civilian and military power to the praetorian prefect, while Novel 34 extended the power of the governor of Haemimons to

Moesia Inferior (see Ivanov 1984:50). Finally, the creation of the *quaestura exercitus* in 536 radically altered the old administrative structure of the region.

That Justinian's strategy described in book IV was realized in practice is confirmed by the two inscriptions of Byllis, dedicated to Viktorinos, the imperial architect. Procopius' description may thus be viewed, in its essence, as sound. The archaeological evidence substantiates this conclusion.

The *Limes* and the Balkans: An Archaeological Survey

The archaeological evidence from Scythia Minor and the neighboring regions on the Black Sea coast reveals a variety of forts.³⁹¹ At Ovidiu, ten kilometers to the north of the modern city of Constanța, Romanian archaeologists explored a *quadriburgium* destroyed in the mid-sixth century (Bucovală and Papuc 1981:211 and 215; Bucovală and Papuc 1986:171). At Cape Kaliakra (Acrae), there were three successive defense lines across the promontory, at 1.2 km distance from the sea (Dimitrov 1985:123). New buildings with walls of stone bound with mortar were erected at Capidava as late as the last quarter of the sixth century (Florescu and Covacef 1988-1989:203). At Garvăn (Dinogetia), recent excavations by Alexandru Barnea confirmed that after a destruction coincided to 559, occupation of the fort ceased, though

traces of a non-military habitation dating to sometime after 559 were also found (Barnea 1986:448; see also Barnea 1984:344).³⁹² The three-aisled basilica built sometime during the fourth or fifth century close to the city's south tower was restored first under Anastasius',³⁹³ then during Justinian's reign (Barnea 1980:251). Small houses with walls of stone and adobe bonded with clay are in sharp contrast to the aristocratic houses of Histria. Similar buildings were also found at Musait (Sacidava), and have been dated to the late sixth and early seventh century (Scorpan 1974:114). The large fort at Pantelimonu de Sus (Ulmetum) excavated before World War I by Vasile Pârvan was rebuilt by the *lanciarii iuniorii* of the emperor's palace at Constantinople, as evidenced by the inscription found in one of the towers (Barnea and Vulpe 1968:423). The most interesting site, however, is Topraichioi, in central Dobrudja, where two Romanian archaeologists, Mihai Zahariade and Andrei Opaiț, excavated a *burgus*. The nature of activity within this small fortification seems to have drastically changed in the mid-fifth century, when a considerable reduction in the quantity of weaponry is recorded. The fortification gradually lost its military nature and became a storehouse for the local military *annona* with the aim of ensuring the supplies of troops passing by (Zahariade and Opaiț 1986:565, 567,

569-571).

North of the Stara Planina range, the most striking feature is the ubiquity of fortified hill-top sites, concentrated along river valleys and the northern slopes of the mountains, occupying strongly defensive positions perched above cliffs or on top of steep-sided hills (Poulter 1983:98). Few have been explored by systematic excavations, but those that have (Nova Cherna, Krivina/Iatrus, Sivri Tepe near Kochovo,³⁹⁴ Zmei kale near Koprivce, Gradăt, near Batoshevo, Krumovo kale near Tărgovishte, Dolno Kabda,³⁹⁵ Sadovsko kale near Sadovec, Biala,³⁹⁶ and Shumen) seem to have been substantially restored sometime during the sixth century, most often during Justinian's reign. That the building program may have started even earlier is suggested by the inscription found at Vavovo kale near Gradec mentioning Emperor Anastasius (Velkov and Lisicov 1994:263). Most of these forts were constructed with walls of ashlar filled up with white mortar and rubble (*opus implectum*)(see Biernacka-Lubańska 1982; Poulter 1983:99). Walls are massive, with towers along the circuit³⁹⁷ and double enclosures (*proteichismata*) sometimes added to earlier fortifications, as in Shumen (Antonova 1987:55-56). Most of these forts are called πόλις by Theophylact Simocatta. He refers twice to Iatrus as a πόλις (VII 2.16 and VII 13.9). After being destroyed by the Huns in the

mid-400s, Iatrus had been abandoned for at least fifty years (Bülow 1990:369). When building restarted in phase D (late fifth to early sixth century), the πόλις had turned into a mere fort (Wachtel 1974:140; Döhle 1989: 41). The only building in stone and the largest on site is the basilica (Herrmann 1987a:190). A building with a portico (Building XXXIII), but with no apparent use as dwelling, may have had some representative role, perhaps in connection with the military commander of the garrison (Herrmann 1979c:18; Bülow 1990:372). In the ruins of the fourth-century *horreum*, a complex of eleven houses was built, with walls of stones and mud bricks. A two-storied house was located in the *horreum*'s south-east corner (Mitova-Dzhonova 1968:13 and 15 fig. 4). On top of the former *principia*, now abandoned, a workshop was erected, with a kiln of bricks (Bülow 1990:383). Most of these houses were buildings of adobe or stones bonded with clay, if not outright sunken buildings. Despite this obvious contraction, the use of glass vessels (*Stengelgläser*) seems to have continued, though it remains unclear whether they were of local production or imports (Gomolka 1976:40; cf. Bierbrauer 1986:457). During phase E, covering most of the seventh century, houses were built in stone bonded with clay, which produced hand-made pottery and a bow brooch (Herrmann 1986a:10; Herrmann 1979a:114-115). More important, the faunal material from

this period typically contains a large number of species, particularly dog and wild animals, which suggests an increasing reliance on hunting for meat procurement (Bartoszewicz and Choyke 1991:191).

A similar picture is provided by excavations at Nicopolis. The Roman city at Nicopolis ad Istrum had been abandoned before the early 400s. The early Byzantine fort built in the former city's south-east corner encloses an area of 5.74 ha, little more than one fourth of the size of the Roman city (21.55 ha) (Poulter 1995:40). Early Byzantine Nicopolis had no regular street grid and no agora surrounded by public buildings. A large basilica, built at the highest point on the east side of the enclosure, was the dominant feature within the defenses. A second, single-naved church was still in use in the last quarter of the sixth century, as evidenced by a coin issued under Tiberius II and found above the nave floor (Poulter 1992:181). Despite clear evidence that the large basilica was destroyed by fire, the absence of metal fittings and roof-tiles from the destruction levels suggests that the church had been systematically stripped of reusable material, before being abandoned (Poulter 1995:166). A series of buildings running from east to west seems to have served as barracks or storehouses. In the center of the fort there was a two-roomed structure, perhaps a workshop, crudely built from limestone blocks

and reused architectural fragments bonded with earth and supporting mud walls (Poulter 1995:41). Large 'open spaces' existed along the north side of the site, on the west side and around the basilica. There is no sign of large-scale grain cultivation and there seems to have been a shift from winter-sown cereal crops to garden cultivation of millet and legumes,³⁹⁸ which could have been grown close to the city or, conceivably, in the open land which existed inside the defenses (Poulter 1995:42, 44 and 46).

Andrew Poulter has argued that since most of the forts in Moesia Inferior were built in isolated and almost inaccessible sites, they might not have been occupied permanently. However, most of them had at least one church, sometimes with a baptistery, as in Gradăt (Milchev and Koicheva 1978a:60).³⁹⁹ Moreover, houses built in the stone-cum-clay technique have been found on many sites,⁴⁰⁰ as has evidence of agricultural (sickles, at Gradăt) and industrial activities (a smithy in the pentagonal tower at Sadovsko kale). At Sadovsko kale, one of the rooms built against the fort's wall produced twenty-nine gold coins, while two skeletons were found in the neighboring room, in a non-burial context, together with five gold coins and silver jewels, including two bow brooches, all scattered on the room's floor. The rooms immediately next to the pentagonal tower have been inter-

puted as belonging to elite members of the fort's garrison, clearly caught by surprise and killed during an attack (Werner 1992:411).

How did the occupation on these sites end? At Nova Cherna (Milchev and Angelova 1970:36; Ivanov 1974:68-69; Milchev 1977), numerous traces of fire catastrophe were found within the *quadriburgium*, but this event is dated to the first half of the sixth century. Clear evidence of destruction by fire was found in several parts of the fort at Gradăt, the last coins found there being issued by Justinian (Milchev and Koicheva 1978a:60 and 61). At Sadovsko kale, the archaeological evidence from rooms 2 and 3 clearly indicates an attack, which, however, does not seem to have been followed by either fire destruction or systematic plundering. The last coins found on the site are those of Maurice (Uenze 1992:127).

The situation is slightly different on the territory of the former provinces Dacia Ripensis and Moesia Superior. Some forts were restored during Anastasius' or Justin I's reign,⁴⁰¹ during Justinian's reign,⁴⁰² or as late as Justin II's reign.⁴⁰³ Sixth-century forts were at about six kilometers from each other, in a sight distance, with *refugia* on hilltops, no farther than 150 to 200 m away from the Danube line (Janković 1981:208 and 211). Most of them were square or rectangular in plan, but the preference for angular architecture so typical

for Justinian's reign is also visible.⁴⁰⁴ More often than not, these forts incorporate into a larger fortification an older *burgus*, often dating to the fourth century.⁴⁰⁵ Some forts were completely destroyed by fire at some point during the last quarter of the sixth century.⁴⁰⁶ Most, however, were simply abandoned.⁴⁰⁷

At Gamzigrad, the imperial palace was abandoned as early as the fourth century. During Theodosius I's reign, a basilica was built on top of the palace's south wing, and a glass workshop was installed in the former *thermae* (Popović 1982:556). After being destroyed sometime during the sixth century, the basilica was restored and a baptistery added on its southern side (Srejović, Lalović, and Janković 1980:77; Popović 1982:556 and 557 fig. 13). A small settlement with houses built in stone bonded with earth appeared around the basilica (see Srejović 1986: 90). During most of the sixth-century, Gamzigrad may have functioned as a fortified village (Popović 1982:556). The presence of a considerable number of querns and agricultural implements bespeaks its rural character. Bulgarian excavations at Mikhailovgrad (Montana) have revealed a house built near the northwestern tower. The house produced a significant quantity of amphora sherds and agricultural implements, as well as a weighing balance. Fragments of bronze vessels may indicate a workshop. The settlement had only one single-naved church (Aleksandrov

1987:64 and 79). Evidence of long-term occupation also comes from Golemanovo kale. The fort had between 35 and 40 houses, in addition to about 40 to 50 storage rooms. The most impressive feature of this site is the presence of two-storied houses with no heating facilities, such as I 6 or the so-called "Nestor house" (named after the Romanian archaeologist Ion Nestor, who excavated it in 1937). The latter produced a hoard of seven gold coins, in addition to silver jewels (including a pectoral cross), illustrating the wealth of its inhabitants. All houses were built in stone bonded with clay. The abundance of agricultural implements and spindle whorls has been too hastily interpreted as indication of a rural settlement, with no military function (Uenze 1992:116-119; Werner 1992b:415).⁴⁰⁸ Similar houses with glass windows and heating facilities were found on the acropolis of the site at Mokranjska stena, in the Iron Gates segment of the *limes*. They are in sharp contrast with poorer dwellings in the lower part of the settlement (Janković 1981:212). Closer to the Danube line, smaller forts produced evidence of more modest dwellings. At Celei (Sucidava), on the left bank, rooms with brick ovens were built against the curtain. A two-roomed building was found in the middle of the fort, not far from a *hypocaustum* probably belonging to a larger building, now completely destroyed. A "secret fountain" outside the

fort had an underground access beneath the southern wall (Tudor 1965:109 and 116-117).⁴⁰⁹ Small rooms built against the curtain were also found at Hajdučka Vodenica (Jovanović 1982-1983:321),⁴¹⁰ and wattle-walled houses appeared at Bosman (Kondić 1982-1983a:141). At Mora Vagei, there were no buildings at all, which may suggest that soldiers lived in tents (Cermanović-Kuzmanović and Stanković 1986:455).⁴¹¹ Some forts had single-naved churches,⁴¹² as in Sucidava, with burials both inside and outside the basilica (Tudor 1965:111; see also Tudor, Toropu, Tătuilea, and Nica 1980). The fort at Golemanovo kale produced an unique case of a two-storied church, included in a bastion (*peribolos*) on the northern rampart (Uenze 1992:52). An older church built outside the fort continued to be used during the 500s, but its baptismal function was transferred to the intramural basilica. In other cases, the church stood between the main walls and the *proteichisma*. At Berkovica, the three-aisled basilica built outside the fort, immediately next to its wall, was later incorporated into a large bastion-like structure protruding from the fort's precinct (Mitova-Dzhonova 1984:342-343; cf. Mitova-Dzhonova 1974). A second church was incorporated with its apse into the fort's north-east rampart (Mitova-Dzhonova 1984:340-341). At Botevo, a small military outpost near Ratiaria, Bulgarian archaeologists discovered in 1947 a church of cruciform plan

(Hoddinott 1975:242).⁴¹³ In addition, the northern Balkans provide two examples of fortified churches built in the middle of nowhere, apparently without any related settlements or cemeteries. At Dzhanaavar tepe, 4 km south of Varna, in Bulgaria, a single-naved basilica was built with projecting north and south rooms inscribing both apse and narthex, all in the form of powerful towers. The one on the northwestern side was a baptistery. Some have suggested Syrian influences (Pillinger 1985:285-287),⁴¹⁴ but there is no doubt as to the defensive character of the complex. A still more compelling example is the Stag's basilica at Pirdop, in western Bulgaria, with a massive rectangular wall with four angle towers enclosing the church. The precinct seems to have been built at the same time as the extant church.⁴¹⁵ Despite claims to the contrary (Mitova-Dzhonova 1974:56), the defensive character of the complex is betrayed not only by its walls and towers, but also by barrel vaults and domes replacing the timber roof during the last building phase (Pillinger 1985:284-285; Krautheimer 1986:251-252). It is not clear why these two churches were fortified in this way.⁴¹⁶ Taking into consideration their isolated location, however, it may however be possible to associate them with churches built within city or fort ramparts or close to the strongest parts of the precincts.

The situation in Moesia Superior is remarkably

similar. Under Justinian, no less than nine new forts were built in the Iron Gates segment of the Danube *limes*, three of which incorporated older *burgi* (Vašić and Kondić 1986:555; cf. Popović 1991:14). The only period of restoration or building indicated by coin-dated archaeological contexts is indeed that of Justinian's reign, as clearly shown by excavations at Sapaja (Dimitrijević 1982-1983: 48-49), Saldum (Kondić 1974:46; Petrović 1982-1983:133), Čezava (Kondić 1974:41; Vašić 1990:907),⁴¹⁷ and Svetinja (Popović 1987:10; Milošević 1987:57).⁴¹⁸ Wattle-walled houses have been found at Ravna (Kondić 1982-1983b:249) and Svetinja, near Viminacium (Popović 1987:12-13; Milošević 1987:49). In the latter case, they were all similar in size and form, with surfaces ranging from twenty to twenty-seven square meters. Loom weights found in houses 1 and 3 suggest that weaving was an important activity. Except for house 3, which produced only seeds of millet, most samples of grain seeds collected were mixtures of wheat, rye, barley, and millet, a clear indication of three-field rotation (Borojević 1987:67 and 70). Supplies of corn undoubtedly came from outside the small military settlement, probably from the neighboring city. During the third building phase, which is coin-dated to the end of the sixth century, a smithy was established on the other side of the rampart. The house produced a considerable quantity of soot with iron dust

and slag (Popović 1987:28-29; Milošević 1987:47).⁴¹⁹ Elsewhere, there is evidence of storage facilities, presumably indicating supplies of corn from other areas.⁴²⁰ At Sapaja and Čezava, despite an abundance of ceramic material testifying to the intensity of human activity, there were no buildings at all. Soldiers may have resided in tents (Dimitrijević 1982-1983:47; Vašić 1990:907). But the forts at Čezava, Veliki Gradac, and Boljetin were dominated by single-naved churches, the latter two with later additions of baptisteries (Bošković 1978:437; Kondić 1984a:155; Vašić 1990:907).⁴²¹ Fire destruction is only attested at Ravna (on the profile A-A' at the south-west wall), dated to 596 on purely historical grounds (Kondić 1982-1983b:249). At Svetinja, the second building phase ended with heavy destruction as evidenced by a thick layer of rubble mixed with fallen parts of the upper rampart construction. This destruction has been coin-dated between 575 and 587. The settlement in phase III was, however, abandoned at some point after 590/1, the date of the last coin found on the site (Popović 1987:27 and 35). At Saldum and Čezava, the abandonment may have taken place shortly after 592/3 and 593/4, respectively (Petrović 1982-1983:133; Vašić 1990:907).

In the interior, the evidence of forts is rather scarce. In connection with special measures taken for the

protection of the mining district on the Morava valley, several forts seem to have been built at key points (Werner 1986). Only Momčilov Grad near Potočac has been explored and published (Brmbolić 1986). The great number of coins issued under Justinian's reign is a good indication for the dating of the site (Brmbolić 1986:207).⁴²²

The fort near Pautalia was built in the early 400s. When Procopius spoke of Justinian restoring Pautalia, he may have referred to this fort, not the city itself (Goceva 1971:431). The coin-dating of the small fort at Dyadovo, in Thrace, excavated by a Dutch-Bulgarian team, is confirmed by an inscription found near Nova Zagora indicating substantial building activity during Justinian's reign (Boer 1988-1989:9). Radiocarbon dating of grain seeds from houses destroyed by fire at the end of the building phase C indicate that the fort at Karasura, in Thrace, was rebuilt sometime after the early sixth-century, thus confirming Procopius' textual evidence (Buildings IV 11; see Herrmann 1992:174; Döhle 1992:196).

At Karasura, only the extramural *basilica coemeterialis* has been explored (Schöneburg 1991).⁴²³ More interesting is the evidence of intramural habitation. Two storage rooms containing no less than 167 amphoras and four *dolia* were built against the north-west wall shortly after the early sixth century. House N 10/W 10 had two stories, and the presence of a quern suggests that its first floor may

have served as mill. The great number of weapons found in N 10/W 10 does not necessarily indicate fighting, despite clear evidence that the house ended in fire, for the house's second floor may have also been used as armory (Böttger 1992:245 and 249). Three houses with walls of stone and adobe bonded with clay were built on top of the ruins of the storage rooms erected during the building phase D. Subdivision of the area formerly designed for storage indicates that the new buildings served as dwellings. The pottery found in these houses has no analogy in the Balkans. It has been therefore interpreted as an indication of Armenian settlers brought to Thrace during the seventh century (Wendel 1992:290).⁴²⁴ Moreover, house S 5/W 34, dated to the same building phase as the three houses already mentioned, produced wheeled pottery (called "Byzantine" by the German archaeologists), arrow heads, a shield, bronze and iron brooches (including fibulae with bent stem) and a stirrup, all artifacts strikingly reminding one of the house found at Caričin Grad in the western portico of the colonnaded street running from the circular plaza to the upper city's south gate (Herrmann 1992:175; Mano-Zisi 1958:312-313). Just as in that case, there is no evidence to substantiate the idea of a Slavic settlement. On the other hand, there is clear evidence that the fort at Karasura was destroyed by fire sometime after Justinian's

reign (Böttger 1992:245). Buildings belonging to the next phase (E) were also destroyed by fire at some point during the seventh century, as evidenced by burnt layers on many house floors (Wendel 1987:201).

Thanks to an excellent survey of the archaeological evidence in Thrace and the neighboring areas (Soustal 1991),⁴²⁵ it is possible to visualize the distribution of forts in the region south of the Stara Planina range (Figure 1). One of the most striking features of this distribution is the clustering of forts around the main mountain passes. Particular attention seems to have been paid to passes of lower altitude.⁴²⁶ Some of them are large forts (over 2 ha), sometimes with an extra-fortified acropolis. With only one exception, forts in the Stara Planina range have no churches, but many were equipped with cisterns or wells. Despite the lack of systematic excavations, their dating to Justinian's reign is secured by the presence of *proteichismata*, as well as of triangular, pentagonal, and horseshoe-shaped towers (see Ovcharov 1973; Biernacka-Lubańska 1982:148, 159, and 162; cf. Gregory 1987:260).⁴²⁷

Even more compelling is the evidence from Macedonia. Here forts could be clearly separated from fortified villages or *refugia* because they were apparently built by military experts.⁴²⁸ In many cases, interior amenities (cisterns,⁴²⁹ *horrea*, *armamentaria*) are easily

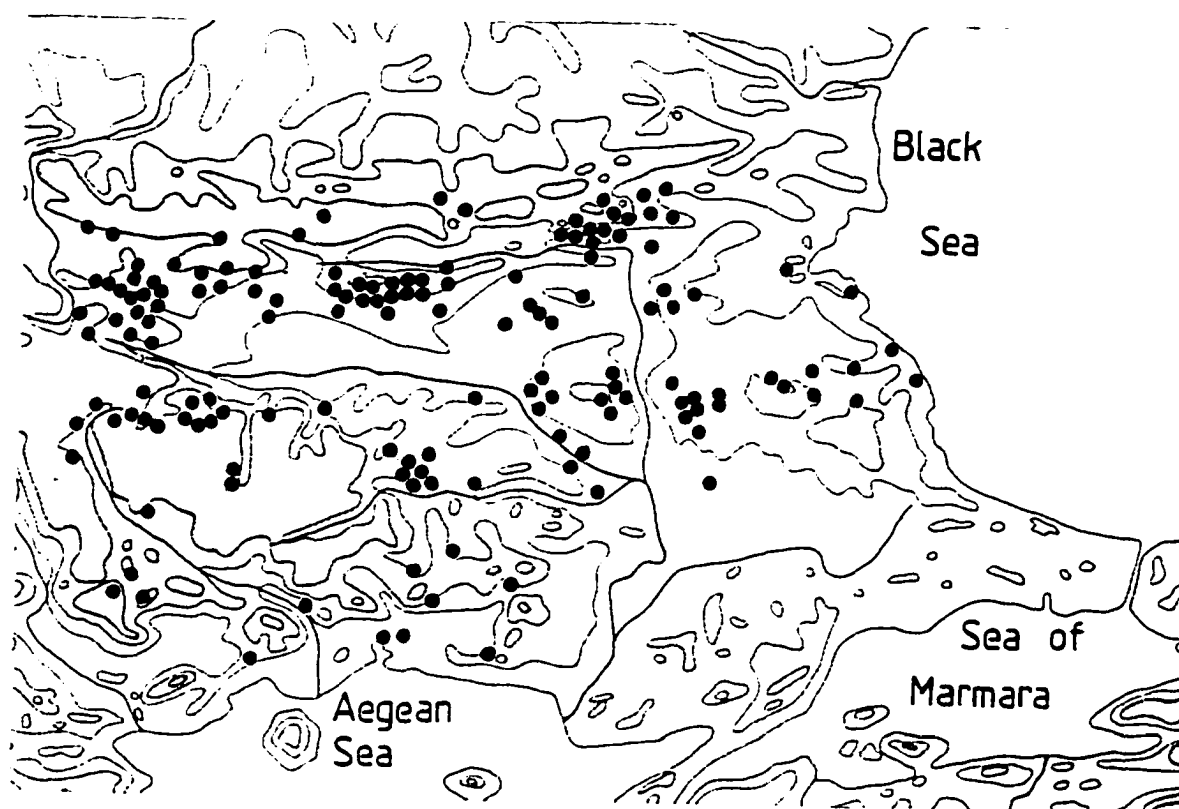


Figure 1. The Distribution of Known Fifth- to Sixth-Century Forts in Thrace. Lowest Contour 200 m, Thereafter 500 m and Over 1000 m. Data: Soustal 1991.

recognizable.⁴³⁰ Typical for Justinian's period are the disappearance of *praetoria*⁴³¹ and the building of interior structures against the ramparts⁴³² (Mikulčič 1986b:261 and 266). A dating to Justinian's reign is suggested by the presence of triangular and pentagonal towers,⁴³³ and confirmed by coin finds.⁴³⁴ All Macedonian forts have churches, either three-aisled⁴³⁵ or single-naved basilicas.⁴³⁶ Despite clear evidence of heavy destruction by fire, the fort at Markovi Kuli was twice restored. In the end, it seems to have been abandoned sometime after 601/2, the date of the last coin found in the fort's aqueduct (Mikulčič and Bilbija 1981-1982:214). The same is true for the fort at Debrešte, though an exact date for its abandonment cannot be conjectured (Rauhutowa 1981:47). In both cases, there is no indication that the abandonment was the result of any external threat.

Elsewhere in the Balkans, the evidence is too meager to permit any conclusions. In Albania, only three forts have been identified so far as dating to the sixth and seventh century: Drisht-Shkodër, Shurdhah, and Kruja (Komata 1976:182). Their dating is based on the presence of triangular and horseshoe-shaped towers, a feature most typical for Justinian's period. Though excavations were carried at Shurdhah, the original dating of the houses found in the interior has been disputed (Spahiu 1976:154-155 and 158; cf. Karaiskaj 1989:2647). Nor is it clear

what was the relation between the famous cemetery at Kruja and the neighboring fortress (cf. Anamali and Spahiu 1963). Except for the large fort at Isthmia, which may have accommodated soldiers and their families, as suggested by burials with female skeletons (Kardulias 1992:284; cf. Kardulias 1988:208), the evidence from Greece is also very scarce.⁴³⁷

Farther to the north, forts produced evidence dated to the period immediately following the Byzantine occupation of Dalmatia.⁴³⁸ Recent archaeological excavations at Dubrovnik reveal that shortly after Justinian's conquest of the eastern Adriatic coast, a fort was built on the former island of Lave. It was immediately followed by a large extramural, three-aisled basilica, built on the site of the modern cathedral of the city (Stevović 1991:142; see also Cambi 1989:2400 and 2402). The fort was the largest on the Adriatic coast and in mainland Montenegro, comparable in size to cities such as Dyrrachium, Onhezmos, and Butrint. Sometime after 536, but before 597, the bishop of neighboring Epidaurus was transferred to the new basilica erected under the eastern ramparts of the fort. Dubrovnik thus became a bishopric and, perhaps, a lesser center of Justinian's administration of the coastal region (Stevović 1991:147 and 150).

In Slovenia, there are no settlements dated to the fifth and sixth century, other than hillforts (Ciglenečki

1987a:272). The abandonment of settlements in the low-lands was accompanied by drastic changes in the economic profile of those communities, with a greater emphasis on pastoralism (see Petru 1978:226). At Ajdovski gradec, most of the faunal remains were bones of sheep and goat, followed at a distance by pig and cattle (Knific 1994:215). The dating of the forts in the northwestern Balkans to Justinian's reign is confirmed by finds of coins⁴³⁹ and fibulae.⁴⁴⁰ In most cases, the fort's interior contained mostly open spaces, probably under cultivation (Ciglencčki 1979:463; Ciglencčki 1987b:114-115). At Tinje, houses were cut in rock, with wattle or wooden superstructure. One of them, no. 4, produced a hoard of agricultural implements, with socketed shares, a mattock, and a scythe (Ciglencčki 1987b:44). At Rifnik, houses were built in stone bonded with clay. One of them, built very close to the church, produced evidence of glass windows. Another house may have served as smithy (Bolta 1978a:511; Bolta 1978b:50). Houses built in stone bonded with clay were also found at Ajdovski gradec. House A had four rooms and produced exceptional artifacts: a bronze bowl, stamped pottery, *spatheia*, a marble mortar, and a silver pin. It may have been an episcopal residence (Knific 1994:212). House D had a single room with a heating system with channels under the floor of lime mortar. It may have been used for keeping manuscripts or

cloth. House E produced a considerable number of tools (awl, knife, whetstones, saws), which suggest that the building may have been a workshop. Handmade pottery, otherwise unknown from the site, was found in house G, built immediately close to the precinct (Knific 1994: 216). A multi-roomed building was also found at Gornji Vrbljani, in western Bosnia. It had an inner courtyard, an oven and a kitchen. No other buildings were apparently built on the site (Ciglenečki 1987a:107; Basler 1993:33). In contrast, at Korinjski hrib, in Slovenia, some of the towers of the precinct may have served as dwellings, as suggested by the existence of hearths. Another tower contained a cistern (Ciglenečki 1987b:101-103; cf. Ciglenečki 1987a:274). At Rifnik and Korintija, on the island of Krk, the cisterns were cut in rock (Bolta 1978a:511; Bolta 1978b:51; Tomičić 1986-1987:151). At Ajdovski gradec, Biogradi,⁴⁴¹ and Kaštelina, on the island of Rab, the cisterns were part of the precinct (Knific 1994:214; Tomičić 1988-1989:33). Almost all forts have at least one single-naved church located on the highest point of the settlement.⁴⁴² But Christian congregations on the north shore of the Adriatic, in the Alpine region farther north and in Bosnia, clung to architectural types established in the early fourth century (see Krautheimer 1986:179). Box churches without apses, the altar pushed forward into the nave and a semicircular

clergy bench behind the altar, have been found at Rifnik (Bolta 1978a:515; Bolta 1978b:53) and Ajdovski gradec (Knific 1994:212).⁴⁴³ It is often assumed that the occupation of the forts in the northwestern Balkans ceased sometime before or shortly after 600, as a consequence of Avar or Slavic attacks (Bierbrauer 1984:53-54; Ciglencčki 1987a:285; cf. Basler 1993:30). At a closer examination of the published material, however, there is no indication of destruction by fire, except at Gornji Vrbljani, for which, however, there is no indication of date (Ciglencčki 1987b:107).

Conclusion

Justinian, or, more probably, one of his Vaubans, such as Viktorinos, designed the defense system of the Balkans as a network of three interrelated fortification lines. This plan is spelled out by Procopius (Buildings IV 1) and archaeological investigations proved the existence of three successive lines of fortifications along the Danube, the Stara Planina range, and the Istranča Daglari. The system may have been implemented shortly after the devastating invasion of the Cutrigurs in 539/540 (Maksimović 1984:152). The major part of this grandiose building program was already finished in 554, when Procopius ended book IV of his Buildings. This program was later extended to the northwestern Balkans, following

the defeat of the Ostrogoths and the conquest of Dalmatia. In the central Balkans, Justinian laid a stronger emphasis on the second line of defense, for the largest number of forts were found around the main mountain passes across the Stara Planina. Many forts in the northern and central Balkans were quite small. Among 70 forts found in Bulgaria until 1977, more than half were less than 1 ha, and among those, the majority had no more than 0.5 ha (Ovcharov 1982:22). A tabulation of some of the most important forts mentioned in the archaeological survey, for which exact data on the occupied area is available, confirms this conclusion (Table 7). Moreover, a closer examination of the tabulated forts shows that most of those built along the Danube *limes*, in either Moesia Superior or Dacia Ripensis, were remarkably small. By contrast, forts built in Macedonia, in Scythia Minor, or Achaia tend to be large, over 1 ha. How could this situation be explained?

One way to answer this question is to tackle the problem of the troops used to man these forts. On the basis of recent archaeological investigations at Isthmia, Nick Kardulias has recently argued that estimates of the military population of sixth-century forts should be based on a coefficient of 1.8 to 2.7 square meters per man, which corresponds both to calculations based on the archaeological evidence from the Late Roman forts at

Table 7

Sixth-Century Balkan Forts: Area and Estimated Number of Soldiers

Fort	Province	Area (in hectares)	Estimated number of soldiers
Nikiup	Moesia Inferior	5.74	3589 to 3651
Venec	Macedonia	3	1876 to 1908
Pčinja	Macedonia	3	1876 to 1908
Krivina	Moesia Inferior	2.8	1751 to 1781
Debrešte	Macedonia	2.8	1751 to 1781
Isthmia	Achaia	2.71	1694 to 1724
Balchik	Scythia Minor	2.6	1626 to 1654
Dolojman	Scythia Minor	2.5	1563 to 1590
Pantelimon	Scythia Minor	2.2	1375 to 1399
Enisala	Scythia Minor	2	1250 to 1272
Karataš	Dacia Ripensis	1.87	1169 to 1189
Vavovo	Moesia Inferior	1.8	1125 to 1145
Korinjski	Dalmatia	1.8	1125 to 1145
Kaliakra	Scythia Minor	1.7	1063 to 1081
Korintija	Dalmatia	1.7	1063 to 1081
Momčilov g.	Dacia Mediterranea	1.5	938 to 954

Table 7--Continued

Fort	Province	Area (in hectares)	Estimated number of soldiers
Saldum	Moesia Superior	1.36	850 to 865
Kaštelina	Dalmatia	1.3	813 to 827
Kula	Dacia Ripensis	1.25	781 to 795
Dvorište	Macedonia	1	625 to 636
Sapaja	Moesia Superior	0.86	538 to 547
Nova Cherna	Moesia Inferior	0.81	506 to 515
Vrbljani	Dalmatia	0.66	413 to 420
Sadovec	Dacia Ripensis	0.65	406 to 413
Sivri tepe	Moesia Inferior	0.5	312 to 318
Zelenikovo	Macedonia	0.5	312 to 318
Cetacea	Dacia Ripensis	0.47	294 to 299
Ovidiu	Scythia Minor	0.37	231 to 235
Ljubičevac	Dacia Ripensis	0.36	225 to 229
Dyadovo	Thrace	0.36	225 to 229
D. Butorke	Dacia Ripensis	0.33	206 to 209
Ljubanci	Macedonia	0.3	188 to 191
Glamija	Dacia Ripensis	0.28	169 to 172
Milutinovac	Dacia Ripensis	0.27	168 to 171

Table 7--Continued

Fort	Province	Area (in hectares)	Estimated number of soldiers
Ravna	Moesia Superior	0.24	150 to 153
Bosman	Moesia Superior	0.2	125 to 127
Mora Vagei	Dacia Ripensis	0.03	19

Lejjun, on the Arabian frontier, and at Thamughadi, in North Africa, and to the sleeping space in modern, standard US-army 25-man barracks for enlisted men (Kardulias 1992:282-283). Figures obtained by using this coefficient show that most small forts did not hold more than a *numerus* (or *tagma*), the basic tactical unit of the early Byzantine army, with numbers varying from 100 to 500 men. Garrisons at large forts, such as Krivina (Iatrus), Isthmia or Nikiup (Nicopolis), may have held maximum forces ranging between 2,000 and 4,000 (cf. Kardulias 1988:207). By contrast, adding up the lowest estimated numbers of soldiers for all garrisons of forts with known area, which were found in the Iron Gates segment of the Danube *limes*, we obtain a total force of slightly more than one legion with an operational strength of 5,000 men (Figure 2).⁴⁴

It has been argued that Justinian depended on local farmers, serving as a kind of peasant militia, to defend

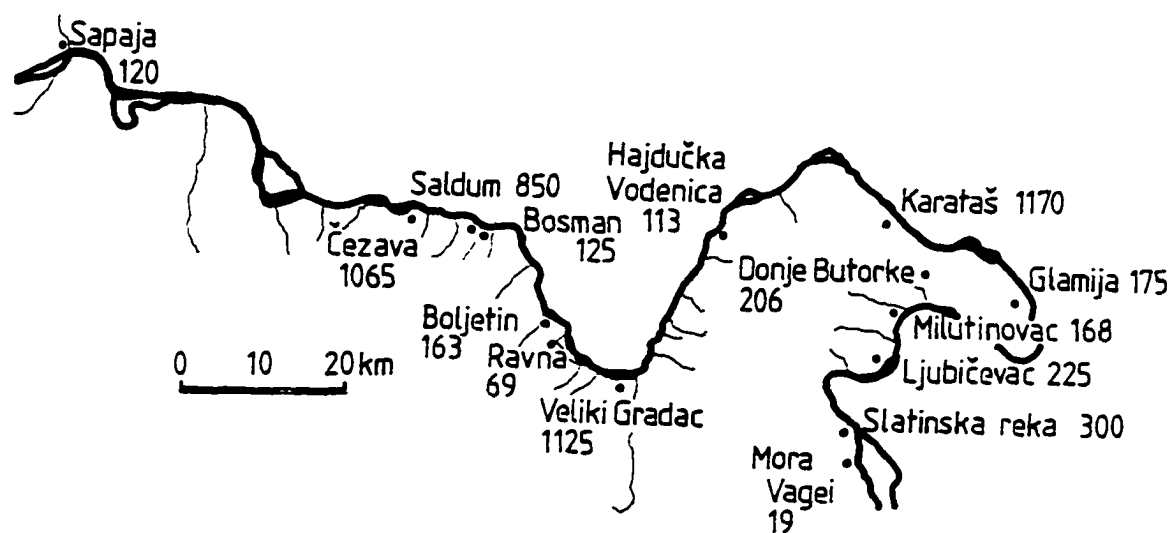


Figure 2. Sixth-Century Forts in the Iron Gates Segment of the Danube *Limes*, With Estimated Numbers of Soldiers.

his walls and forts in the Balkan peninsula (Rosser 1985:253). Both the absence of rural settlements and the great number of forts, especially in the northern Balkans, show this conclusion to be wrong. It would not have made much sense for the state to undertake such expensive building projects, only to leave defense of these fortifications in the hands of local militias. Whether or not the troops which manned the forts remained there for a longer term cannot be decided on the basis of the archaeological evidence alone. But the general picture obtained from this evidence is one of rather permanent garrisons, at least in medium to large forts, with houses, amenities, and churches.

The evident association of smaller forts with the regions in the northern Balkans does not indicate that the defenders were fewer. Justinian's building program was designed to increase the potential of the existing troops by dividing and subdividing them into smaller units capable of manning the newly built or restored forts. Special frontier districts, such as that of the important metal processing centers at the border between Dacia Ripensis and Moesia Superior, received special treatment with barrier walls and towers built across the outlets of the tributaries into the Danube (Werner 1986: 562).⁴⁴⁵ An important role was that of the Danube fleet. Theophylact Simocatta shows that in the late sixth centu-

ry, Securisca was still an important center for producing boats and rafts for the army (VIII 6.7). Archaeological excavations indicate that the location of forts on the right bank of the Danube was influenced by the location of three major ports of the Danube fleet (Mitova-Dzhonova 1986:506).⁴⁴⁶ The Danube fleet was under the command of the *quaestor exercitus*, the office created by Justinian in 536 by combining two Balkan provinces, Scythia Minor and Moesia Inferior, and two provinces overseas, Caria and Cyprus, into a single administrative unit in which the fleet played an obviously crucial role. Moreover, since the *quaestor exercitus* was not only the most important military commander of the Thracian diocese, but also the most important administrative office in that region, some historians suggested that the *quaestura Iustiniana exercitus* was an antecedent to the first theme, the Karabisianoi (Szádeczky-Kardoss 1985:61 and 63).

In contrast to other regions, where Justinian's program simply consisted of restoring older constructions, the building activity in the northern Balkans seems to have been taken more seriously. Local quarries, such as those of oolithic limestone in the Svishtov-Ruse area, supplying all sites in the Iantra valley, provided most of the building materials for the forts.⁴⁴⁷ Who took the responsibility for all these forts? Frank Wozniak suggested that local aristocrats and their personal

armies took the provincial defence into their own hands (Wozniak 1982:204; Wozniak 1987:265). If true, this hypothesis would still have to account for the problem of how forts were supplied with ammunition, weapons, and food. Themistius' evidence from the fourth century suggests an important role of the central government and the imperial administration (Velkov 1987:147).⁴⁴⁸ There are some indications that the system was still in use during the sixth century.

Letters from the emperor to officials in Scythia Minor were relatively frequent, as suggested by no less than thirteen imperial seals found there, nine of which belong to Justinian (see Appendix A and Barnea 1985a: 298).⁴⁴⁹ As late as the first half of the seventh century, there were still imperial letters sent to Scythia Minor (Appendix A, no. 76). Even more compelling is the evidence of amphoras. Egyptian papyri show that the daily food ratio for a soldier consisted of three pounds of bread, two pounds of meat, two *sextarii* of wine and $1/8$ *sextarii* of olive oil (Böttger 1990:926). At least three elements of this ratio were commodities usually transported in amphoras. The capacity of these vessels varied minimally, as suggested by a few measurements taken, and never exceeded forty to fifty liters, the majority ranging between fifteen and twenty-five liters (Bakirtzis 1989:73; Van Doorninck 1989:248). There are two basic

types according to the shape: squat or globular, and oblong or elongated. The first type, subdivided into Late Roman 2 (LR 2), Kuzmanov XIX=Scorpan XIII, and Kuzmanov III=Scorpan VI, is well represented in sixth-century Balkan forts, particularly the former variant. LR 2 amphoras were produced in the Aegean and were used for transporting either wine (as indicated by grape seeds found in some cargo amphoras on the Yassi Ada shipwreck; see Van Doorninck 1989:252) or olive oil (Hautumm 1981:48).⁴⁵⁰ Such amphoras were quite common on sixth-century cities in Greece, such as Argos (Abadie-Reynal 1989a:53), as well as in north and central Balkan forts.⁴⁵¹ The same is true for Kuzmanov III=Scorpan VI, a type well represented at Ratiaria and Cape Kaliakra. As for the Kuzmanov XIX=Scorpan XIII amphoras, presumably used for transporting wine (Böttger 1990:926), they were found in great quantities at Krivina (Iatrus) and Voivoda (Kuzmanov 1985:25). To my knowledge, however, globular amphoras were found in the Balkans only in contexts dating to the sixth century.⁴⁵²

Elongated amphoras of a type known as Late Roman 1 (LR 1) were also a familiar presence. Produced in Cilicia, near Antioch, in Cyprus, as well as in Rhodes, they were used for transporting wine, oil, or grain (Mackensen 1992:252; Hautumm 1981:64). They were the commonest of all amphoras at Argos, in Greece, at

Saraçhane in Constantinople (Hayes 1992:64), and in many Balkan forts.⁴⁵³ They were also found in great quantities in Crimea and on the eastern Black Sea coast (Iakobson 1979:14). The Yassi Ada shipwreck produced a large number of LR 1 amphoras, though in relatively fewer quantities than the LR 2 type (Van Doorninck 1989:247). Unlike this latter type, LR 1 amphoras are also known from early seventh century contexts.⁴⁵⁴ A closely similar type, Kuzmanov XV=Scorpan XII is one of the three types found at Krivina (Iatrus)(Böttger 1990:926), but it is also known from early Byzantine forts on the eastern Black Sea coast (Pitiunt, Anakopia, Suhumi) and in Crimea (Tiritaka, Ilichevka)(Iakobson 1979:12).⁴⁵⁵ A second variant of the elongated type is known under the rather improper name of *spatheion*. *Spatheia* were most probably produced in the east Mediterranean area (Mackensen 1992:252) and may have been used for carrying olive oil, though other commodities, such as *garum* or honey, may not be excluded (Böttger 1990:926; Mackensen 1992:252). Such amphoras were relatively rare at Argos and in Constantinople. The Yassi Ada shipwreck produced only two specimens. But they were very common in the northern Balkans,⁴⁵⁶ and the only type of early Byzantine amphoras found on hilltop sites in Slovenia (Mackensen 1987:258; Knific 1994:220).

By contrast, types produced in Palestina (Late Roman

4 to 6), which were common in the western Mediterranean area and in Gaul (Bonifay, Villedieu, Leguilloux, and Raynaud 1989:31), where they certainly transported wine, are comparatively much rarer. Only a few fragments were found in Constantinople, at Histria (Pippidi, Bordenache, and Eftimie 1961:241), and at Cape Kaliakra. Large quantities come from Argos and from some other sites in Greece, where LR 1 and LR 2 do not occur too frequently. Catherine Abadie-Reynal first attempted to explain this difference in distribution patterns by pointing to different distribution networks. She argued that Palestinian amphoras, in particular the so-called "Gaza amphora" (LR 4), seem to indicate "free-market commerce" (Abadie-Reynal 1989b:159), for they crossed the Mediterranean and reached Gaul in significant quantities. Their relatively lower frequency in the Aegean area and total absence in the Balkans (except a few trade centers on the coast) suggest that the Balkans were an area of state-run distribution. The frequency curves for LR 1, LR 2, and *spatheion*-type amphoras seem therefore to support the hypothesis of *annona*-type distributions to the army. This is also suggested by the constant association of these amphoras with military sites, as well as by their relatively homogeneous typology.

That the sixth-century *limes* still relied heavily on central distribution of grain is shown by legislative

measures taken by emperors from Anastasius to Justin II. All attempted to provide a solution to the irremediable problem of making a much impoverished and depopulated region of the empire capable of producing enough food for the troops coming to its defense. Approaches to this problem ranged from compulsory collection of the *annona* to tax exemptions (Velkov 1962:58-59), but in all cases at stake were food supplies for troops stationed in Thrace or Moesia Inferior. Some have even and rightly assumed that the very creation of the *quaestura exercitus* in 536 was a solution to the problem of helping Scythia Minor and Moesia Inferior feed their troops with supplies from the rich overseas provinces (Velkov 1962:59). That none of these measures proved to be successful is indirectly shown by the Strategikon. Its author, an experienced military officer, not only seems to know very well that the Sclavenes "bury their most valuable possessions" in secret places (XI 4.8), but also recommends that "provisions found in the surrounding countryside should not simply be wasted, but use pack animals and boats to transport them to our own country" (XI 4.32). The evidence of the Strategikon is archaeologically confirmed by the changing consumption patterns. In addition to shipments of *annona*, the soldiers of the fort at Iatrus relied heavily on hunting for meat procurement. Garden cultivation of millet and legumes at Iatrus and

Nicopolis, as well as the occasional presence of agricultural implements elsewhere, suggest that the *annona* was not sufficient for the subsistence of the frontier troops. On the other hand, that Roman soldiers may have relied on food captured from the enemy is also a good indication of the ongoing crisis.⁴⁵⁷

A project of gigantic proportions and overall excellent execution, Justinian's system failed to provide the expected solutions because its maintenance would have required efforts far beyond the potential of the Roman state, particularly of the Balkan provinces. Clearly what seems to have happened after Justinian's death, if not earlier, is that the emperor's building program, whose implementation coincides with the last phase of a sharp decline of the rural population, proved to be an unbearable burden for the provincial administration. When central distribution of *annona* completely ceased, maintaining the troops on the frontier became impossible. During Maurice's reign, the Roman army on the Danube *limes* twice mutinied, and the second rebellion brought about the emperor's rapid fall. In both cases, at stake was the deterioration of the living standards and the social status of the field army as a consequence of Maurice's intended reforms.

But when did the system eventually collapse? The *communis opinio* is that as soon as Phocas' rebellion

broke out, the *limes* crumbled and the Slavic tide invaded the Balkans. This idea, however, does not stand against the archaeological evidence. The year 602 has no archaeological significance for the early Byzantine settlements in the northern Balkans (cf. Shuvalov 1989). Most cities and forts along the Danube *limes* had already suffered heavy destruction by fire at some point between Justinian's and Maurice's reigns, at least twenty years before Phocas' rebellion. In many cases, destruction was followed by rebuilding. We have seen that the number of forts apparently abandoned without any signs of violence by far exceeds that of forts presumably sacked and destroyed by barbarians. Moreover, recent research shows that Phocas' purge of the Danubian army did not prevent it from returning to the Danubian front after overthrowing Maurice, in order to continue operations against the Avars and the Slavs (Sebeos, p. 80; cf. Olster 1993:69). It remained there until Phocas concluded a treaty with the chagan in 605, in order to transfer the army to the Persian front. In 620, Heraclius definitely moved all troops from Europe to the eastern front. The general withdrawal of troops from the Balkan front and the definite cessation of grain supplies (*annona*) from Egypt, now occupied by the Persians, cannot be a mere coincidence. The effects of the latter on grain supplies for Thessalonica are well, if indirectly, documented by the

Miracles of St. Demetrius.⁴⁵⁸ The Arab conquest of Syria and the subsequent developments prevented the return of the army to Thrace. They would be relocated in western Anatolia and Thrace remained without any Byzantine troops until 680 or 690, when, probably under emperor Justinian II, a Thracian theme was finally created (Lilie 1977:27). By that time, Justinian I's system of defense was already history.

CHAPTER VII

INVASION OR INFLATION? SIXTH- TO SEVENTH-CENTURY BYZANTINE COIN HOARDS IN EASTERN EUROPE

Hoards and Invasions

Hoards are generally believed to have been deposited close to the date of the latest coin. An unusual clustering of hoards within a short space of time is often interpreted as indicating some severe threat to the region. Plotted on maps, hoards could thus be used for tracing movements of armies or peoples, areas of unrest, regions of wealth, etc. (Kent 1974:202; Banning 1987:7; Metcalf 1991:141). This is particularly true for archaeological studies, in which the association of hoarding with impending disaster appears to be irresistible. A hoard is too often viewed as a mute testimony to a misfortune, calamity or tragedy. Coin hoards represent an ideal case for culture-historical archaeology, as described in Chapter II, with its striving to discover historical events in the archaeological record. Archaeologists are also interested in chronology, because they perceive the need for increasingly tight controls over chronological as well as cultural variation. Identifying temporal changes within sites over relatively short

periods of time become crucial for answering questions of a historical nature. Recovering information from historical sites is expected to corroborate and expand what is known about their history from written records. It is therefore not surprising to see archaeologists making extensive use of coin hoards especially for tracing migrations, since archaeology now becomes closely aligned with history and is seen as offering insights into the development of particular peoples.

The use of coin hoards for spotting barbarian invasions has a long history. The first to establish coin hoards as a class of evidence recording chronologically and spatially a concealer's fear of loss and his inability to retrieve was the French numismatist Adrien Blanchet (Blanchet 1900; Blanchet 1936; cf. Okamura 1990:45; Kazhdan 1986:208).⁴⁵⁹ His method was revealed in an exemplary article published in 1936 and was characteristically based on the idea of associating each individual hoard with its corresponding political event. Numerous hoards would therefore bear witness of major invasions, and when coin hoards are found in or near destroyed forts, the evidence for barbarian assaults is even more compelling. Blanchet interpreted the hoard of Bărzovica, for example, as evidence for the raid of the Bulgars in 499, and that of Șeica Mică as witnessing the arrival of the Lombards in Pannonia. To him, the Vid hoard "éveille le souvenir

de l'inertie de ce monarque [i.e. Tiberius II] à l'égard des Avars" (Blanchet 1936:246-247). Blanchet's approach was almost universally applied after World War II, especially in studies referring to frontier areas. Howard Adelson first associated hoards of sixth-century solidi found in southern Ukraine with the migration of the Bulgars in the late 600s (Adelson 1957:93; cf. Yannopoulos 1978:106; Popović 1980:252; Butnariu 1983-1985:216). In two articles published in 1962, D. M. Metcalf argued that several hoards found in Athens indicate devastating raids by Slavs in Greece in 582/3 and that Slavonic invasions into the Balkans during Heraclius' first regnal years may have resulted in the deposition of later hoards found in Thasos, Nea Anchialos, Chalkis, Solomos, and Athens (Metcalf 1962a; Metcalf 1962b; cf. Picard 1979:450; Athanassopoulou-Penna 1979:203).⁴⁶⁰ As shown in Chapter III, J. Kovačević was the first, among Yugoslav archaeologists, to use the numismatic evidence for documenting Slavic invasions (see also Ferjančić 1984:97). Finally, the Bulgarian numismatist Iordanka Iurukova explicitly argued that any sixth century hoard found in Bulgaria should be viewed as indicating Slavonic invasions (Iurukova 1969:259).⁴⁶¹ Hoards are also invoked as archaeological evidence for the advent of the Slavs into those territories for which contemporary historical sources are scarce, if not com-

pletely absent, like southern Poland and eastern Germany (Godłowski 1980a:229; Herrmann 1972:318; Laser 1982:24). It has been argued, on the other hand, that hoards found in the northern Balkans or beyond the Danube river may reflect the Roman counter-offensive against the Slavonic tribes living beyond the Danube river, during the last part of Maurice's reign (Popović 1978:629; Whitby 1988:135; cf. Ferluga 1983:313).

In spite of caveats and criticisms raised against his views (Hohlfelder 1970:70; Hohlfelder 1976:335; cf. Casey 1986:56-57; Berghaus 1987:17-18; Dengate 1981:154 and 158),⁴⁶² the subject is still dominated by a prominent series of articles by Vladislav Popović. Though he is not entirely responsible for the introduction of the culture-historical approach to the problem of the sixth- and seventh-century Byzantine coin hoards, his name is commonly associated with what D. M. Metcalf called an "over-interpretation of the numismatic data" (Metcalf 1991:145). Popović was the first to link the diminution and the interruption of activity of the mint of Thessalonica with the Slavic incursions of 579/80 to 583/4, a hypothesis too easily embraced by other scholars (Popović 1975:463; cf. Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou 1986:348-351). He emphasized the importance of the siege and conquest of Sirmium by the Avars in 582, and considered hoards found in Dalmatia (Vid and Grabovnik) or along the

Iron Gates sector of the Danube frontier (Veliko Orašje, Veliko Gradište, Boljetin, and Tekija) as reverberations of the disaster in areas easily accessible from Sirmium (Popović 1975:467 and 484).⁴⁶³ In a later article, Popović dealt with hoards dated to the first half of the sixth century. He associated many of them with specific raids of the Cutrigurs and Slavs (Patelenica, Sadovik, Trud, Simitlii, Katunica, Klinovac, and Dobra), though he also noticed that the relatively small number of accurately dated hoards from this period is an important impediment to an historical interpretation (Popović 1978:610-611). Popović has not attempted to map the hoards in order to show in detail how far away they lay from the conjectural routeways and focal areas of settlement, but produced a series of maps showing directions of the invasions, on the basis of find spots of hoards or stray losses (Popović 1978:609 fig. 6 and 618 fig. 7; cf. Metcalf 1991:145). He however noted that hoards dated to the first half of the sixth century are primarily found in rural areas, while later hoards concealed during Justin II's or Maurice's reigns were found in urban, fortified centers (Popović 1978:611). Though he correctly observed that not every incursion provoked hoarding (there is no trace of coin hoarding related to the serious raid by Zabergan's Cutrigurs in 558/9) (Popović 1978:611; cf. Metcalf 1991:145),⁴⁶⁴ Popović does not seem to

have been deterred from using the evidence of hoards for 'discovering' invasions that no historical source ever mentioned (Popović 1978:621; Popović 1981; cf. Kazhdan 1986:208). D. M. Metcalf's harsh criticism of Popović's articles -- "a superficial and almost worthless exercise" (Metcalf 1991:145) -- emphasized the lack of any attempts to establish the *terminus post quem* of the hoards, one by one, or to assess from their size and age-structure how soon after the *terminus post quem* their concealment is likely to have been. But Metcalf himself overlooked the weakest point of Popović's approach, namely the use of archaeological and numismatic data to evidence invasions.⁴⁶⁵

A culture-historical approach to Byzantine coin hoards, with its obstinate focus on tracing invasions, fails to provide an explanatory model that can also account for the curious phenomenon of coin hoarding in relatively quiescent periods. 'Saving deposit' may not be the only possible interpretation to coin hoards. The deposition of low denomination bronze coins has been attributed to economic factors, primarily to inflation, with its particularly marked effect on the radiate, making it practically worthless. Large hoards of radiates may thus have been originally buried for safe-keeping, but not retrieved because inflation had rendered them valueless or they were already worthless and were buried

as a means of disposal (Aitchison 1988:273-274; Berghaus 1987:16).⁴⁶⁶ But the circumstances of concealment or loss of any particular hoard will always remain conjectural (Metcalf 1991:141).⁴⁶⁷

It has been argued, on the other hand, that the early Byzantine Empire operated a closed economy, in which the monetary value of coins was officially sanctioned. Therefore, copper coins which passed beyond the sphere of control of the issuing authority may have lost their value, because coinage in that metal was almost uniformly of a fiduciary nature. Exporting it beyond the imperial frontiers would have immediately dropped its value to that of its bullion content (Hendy 1985:257; Aitchison 1988:270; *contra*: Pottier 1983:225; cf. Morrisson 1989:251). It may be that the presence of the light solidi in the Lower Dnieper area of Ukraine is not the result of trade, as Howard Adelson once believed, but of payments, subsidies, or simply gifts for the barbarian chieftains (Hendy 1985:263).⁴⁶⁸ But none of these solutions could be used for explaining the presence of copper coin hoards north of the Danube river, where historical sources locate the Sclavenes.

If the contents of hoards represent coins which are withdrawn from circulation (cf. Bruun 1978:114) and deposited immediately, then a direct relationship must exist between circulating currency and deposited coins.

However, assemblages from coin deposits rarely exhibit the features which one would expect of currency in circulation. But how does it come that hoards concealed beyond the frontiers of the empire have a pattern similar to those found in neighboring provinces?

The historical sources analyzed in Chapter V suggest that beginning with the 570s the raids of the Slavs considerably increased and changed in both direction and effects. Some argued that until 602 the most destructive invasions were in the south Balkans and that Roman cities in the north survived until Heraclius' early regnal years (Popović 1980:257). Did then invasions of the Cutrigurs, Avars, and Slavs result in such clear-cut changes in the pattern of coin-hoarding in various provinces, that we can identify particular moments when these provinces were overrun (Metcalf 1991:140)? The distribution of hoards in the Balkans would at best indicate that large tracts in the western and central parts were not touched by invasions at all (Figure 3).⁴⁶⁹

Beyond the empire's frontiers, historically well documented, crucial events such as the collapse of the kingdom of the Gepids and its conquest by Lombards and Avars (567/8), the arrival of the Avars to the Lower Danube (562) or the formation of the Antian chiefdom and its alliance to the Empire by means of a *foedus* (including large subsidies), left no trace in coin

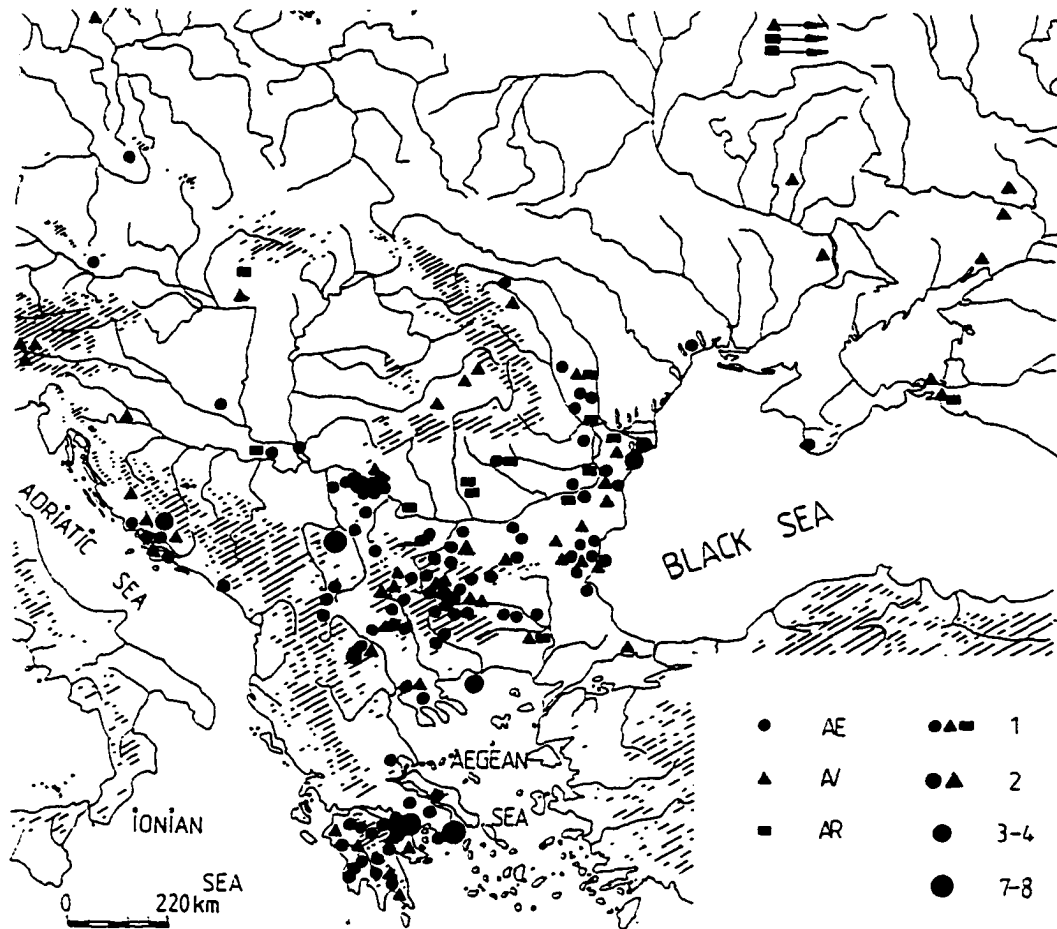


Figure 3. The Distribution of Sixth- to Seventh-Century Byzantine Copper (AE), Silver (AR), and Gold (AV) Coin Hoards in Eastern Europe.

hoarding: from the Lower Oder river to the Lower Dnieper and Don area, no hoards were found except those concentrated in the Lower Danube zone.⁴⁷⁰

The Balkans and the regions north of the Danube river represent one of the most interesting areas for studying relationships between the empire and its 'barbarian' neighbors and coins come to the forefront in all discussions on this subject. Large museum collections have been recently published in Serbia (Ivanišević 1988), Croatia (Delonga 1981; Demo 1981), Macedonia (Razmoska 1983), Bulgaria (Kovacheva 1990), and Romania (Ionescu 1973-1975; Pavel 1977; Oberländer-Târnoveanu and Popușoi 1992; Oberländer-Târnoveanu and Constantinescu 1994) and carefully published site excavations paid special attention to finds of stray coins.⁴⁷¹ Thanks to their special character of 'closed finds', hoards are, however, a better path for studying economic, social, and political aspects. Instead of merely illustrating invasions recorded by historical sources with numismatic evidence, archaeologists should first be aware of the particular nature of a hoard and, just as in the case of any other category of the archaeological record, see it in its specific context.

In this chapter, I will examine the hoarding phenomenon over a large area, in an attempt to identify what A. H. M. Jones has called 'currency habits' (Jones 1956:30-

31) of the population in the Balkan provinces and in the regions immediately close to them. 'Hoards' in this context should be understood as referring to a group of coins, while 'deposit' denotes coins which do not necessarily comprise a closed group and may have entered the archaeological record over a period of time (Aitchison 1988:271; Meier 1986:133). Appendix B lists hoards from a wide variety of archaeological contexts. A considerable number of hoards come from urban, fortified settlements, such as Caričin Grad/Iustiniana Prima, Pustogradsko/Stobi, Adamclisi/Tropaeum Traiani, Athens, Corinth, or Solin/Salona. Most of the Serbian hoards come from Roman camps in the Iron Gates area of the Danube frontier (Brza Palanka, Boljetin, Tekija, Veliko Gradište, Veliki Gradac, Bosman). But while hoards found in the "Fountain of the Lamps" in Corinth or in the mill house in Athens consisted of coins scattered over a large area (Dengate 1981:153-154; Metcalf 1962b:138-139), later hoards, such as Brza Palanka and Adamclisi, were found in containers, usually ceramic pots (Jovanović 1981:31; Barnea et al. 1979:22; cf. Morrisson 1981a:323). Almost all hoards found north of the Danube frontier have ceramic containers. Some hoards found in the Lower Don area and in the Urals were hidden in silver bowls (Limarovka, Bartym; see Kropotkin 1962:35 and 26), while others consisted of coins and jewelry, a clear indication of a 'saving de-

posit' (Aitchison 1988:273). Where coins are associated with other artifacts, a certain pattern could be discerned. While two hoards with the last coin issued during Justin II's reign include cast fibulae with bent stems,⁴⁷² hoards of silver of the late 600s (Zemianský Vrbovok, Silistra, Priseaca) contain silver ear-rings with star-shaped pendants of a type usually found in the late 500s (Uenze 1992:165-166).⁴⁷³ Archaeological observations thus suggest the existence of certain regularities in hoarding activity. A closer examination of the numismatic data may verify this hypothesis.

An important assumption of this chapter is that similar hoarding patterns would cluster not only spatially, but also chronologically. I therefore arranged all hoards included in Appendix B by the year of their last coin, though for a large number of them there is no exact date available, either because of incorrect publication or because of special difficulties in attribution. At first glance, there is a clear contrast between hoards of copper and gold coins, on one hand, and those of silver and gold coins, on the other (Figure 4⁴⁷⁴).⁴⁷⁵ A large group of hoards of the former category were closed during the period between Anastasius and the early years of Justinian's reign, with a peak in the late 520s and 530s (Figure 4 a). Though only a few hoards were closed between 535 and 565, their number drastically decreased and

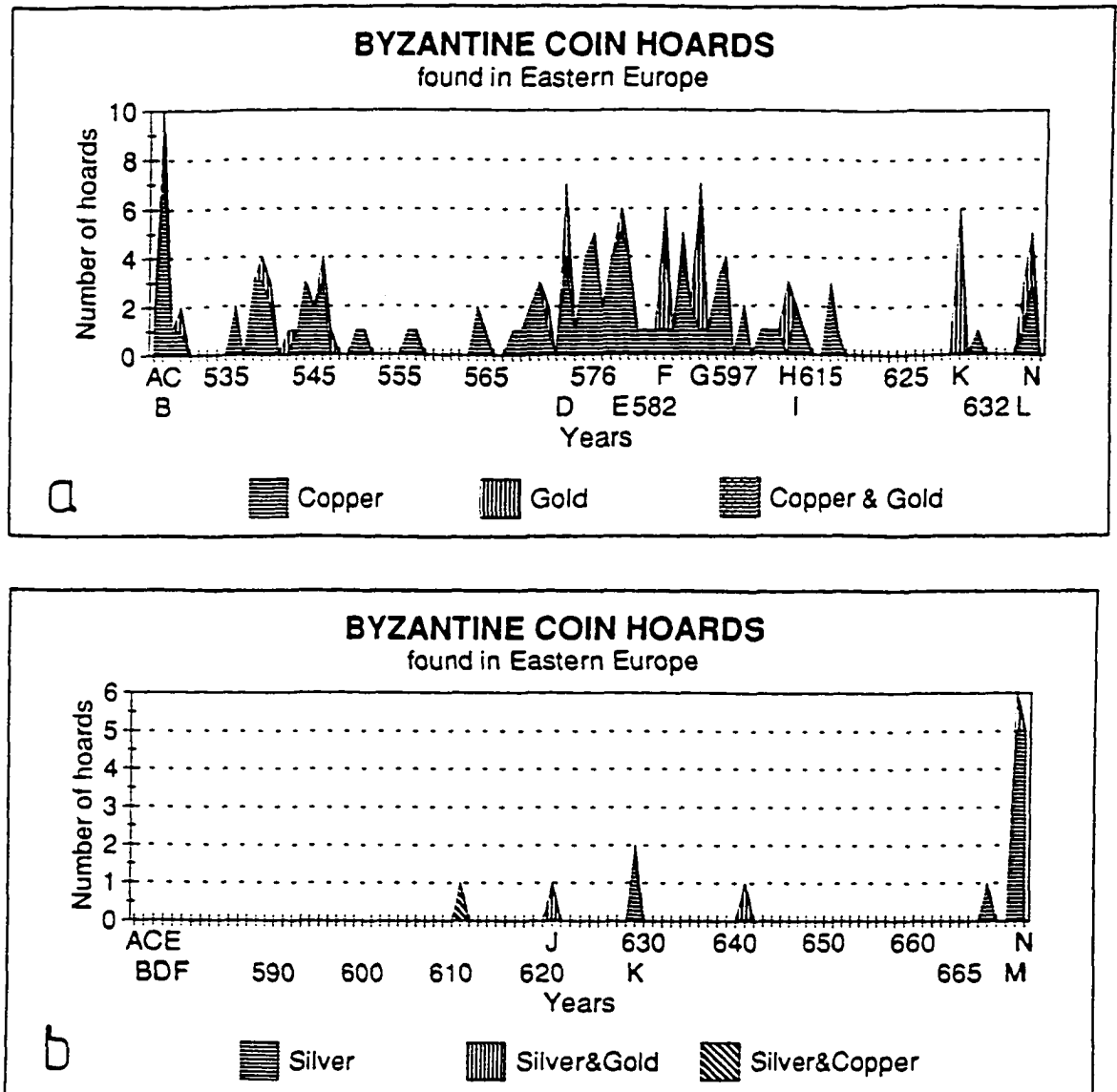


Figure 4. The Mean Number of Sixth- to Seventh-Century Byzantine Coin Hoards Found in Eastern Europe.

a new increase would not come until about 570. It should however be reminded that the large number of undatable hoards shut during Justinian's reign may have blurred the resulting image and were not included in the graphed sample. Hoards were constantly closed between about 570 and 615, with a few interruptions in 573, 580, 597, 599, and 614-615. The largest number of them were shut in 574. Hoards, especially of gold, were also closed after 614, as late as the last decades of the seventh century, shortly after the arrival of the Bulgars into the Balkans (Obârşeni, Sofia, Nesebăr I and II, Nova Nadezhda) (Figure 4 a). However, the seventh century witnessed a significant increase, particularly after 670, of the number of hoards of silver, silver and copper, or silver and gold (Figure 4 b).

It seems that the culture-historical interpretation of hoards is thus confirmed. The number of hoards increases in those periods when invasions of Slavs, Avars, and, later, Bulgars, overran the Byzantine provinces. However, one could hardly fail to notice the absence of a significant number of hoards between 535 and 565, a period in which major raids occurred, such as the Cutrigur raids of 539/40 and 558/9. On the other hand, no attempts were made to differentiate between hoards found north and south of the Danube frontier, as well as between various provinces in the Balkans, which neither

experienced the same invasions, nor were they overrun at the same time. As shown in Chapter V, the diocese of Thrace was systematically raided by Cutrigurs and Sclavenes in the late 400s and the early 500s, by Sclavenes and Avars in the late 500s. One would expect to find a large number of hoards in an area under such a serious threat. A distribution map of all hoards found in the Balkans plotted by provinces shows however a striking difference between central provinces, such as Dacia Mediterranea and Macedonia, and the eastern provinces included in the diocese of Thrace (Figure 5).⁴⁷⁶ Except Mezek, closed during Justinian's reign, there is no hoard in the eastern Balkans shut before 600. In the province of Thrace hoards were closed during Justin I's reign (Rakovski, Haskovo), but the bulk were closed before 550 (Patelenica, Parvomai, Oriakhovo, Pavelsko, Katunica, Trud, Crăncha, Zlatosel, Cvetino). Their number drastically dropped in the following decades and hoards completely disappeared between 580 and 680. One can easily find similar examples in Thessaly and the western provinces of the Balkans, for which clear evidence exists that they were also raided by the Avars or the Sclavenes. However, no hoard was found on the territory of Epirus Vetus, Prevalitana, and Epirus Nova, while Thessaly is ranked close to the eastern provinces. On the contrary, the largest number of hoards were found in Greece, which

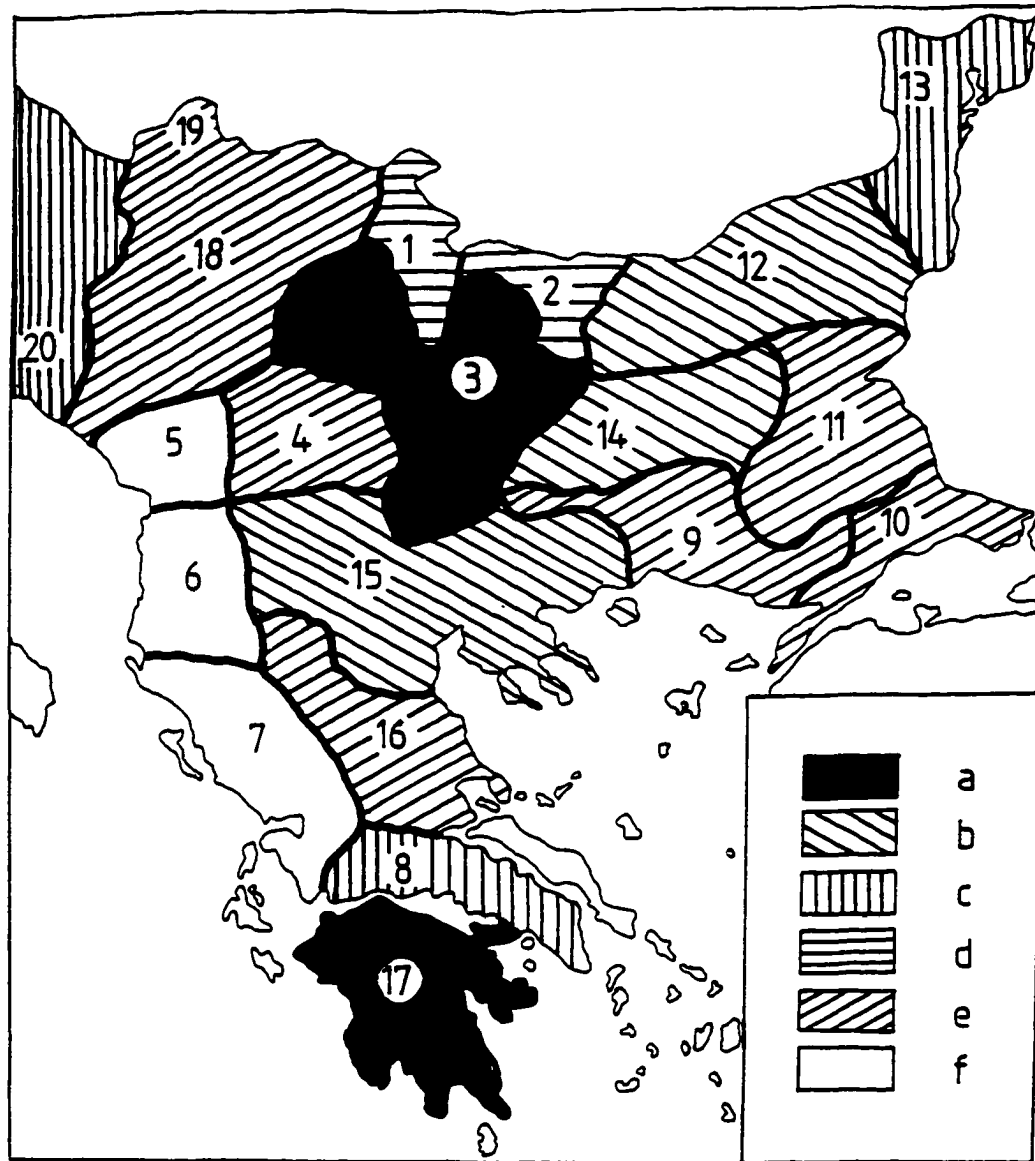


Figure 5. The Distribution of Sixth- to Seventh-Century Byzantine Coin Hoards in the Balkans, Plotted by Provinces. For Legend, See Text.

was seriously threatened only after ca. 580. But a hoard of 8 pieces of 16 nummia found in Athens, the hoard of 1179 minimi found in Zacha or the later hoard of 257 pieces, including 226 minimi found in Hagia Kyriaki could hardly compete with the considerable value of the Bargala hoard, with no less than 270 copper and 13 gold coins, besides a gold ring with carnelian intaglio (Metcalf 1976b:47; Adelson and Kustas 1964; Avramea 1983:68; Aleksova and Mango 1971; cf. Duncan 1993:148).⁴⁷⁷

Hoards so different in composition could be compared on a solid basis only using face value, i.e. the value of coin within the monetary system, as criterion. This is true particularly for copper, which has a high degree of surplus value and numerous denominations. The coin per regnal year ratio may indicate intensity of coinage penetration, but fails to differentiate between various fractions of the follis. The folles per regnal year ratio would in contrast overlook important variations in reckoning the follis to the solidus (as money of account), brought by several monetary reforms during the sixth century.⁴⁷⁸ Prices in the late sixth century were still reckoned in terms of nummia, despite the disappearance of the nummion itself in Justinian I's years and the growing rarity of the pentanummion (Grierson 1982:19),⁴⁷⁹ which seems to indicate that the nummion had become a ghost money. A clearer image of relative purchasing capacity

could therefore be obtained by using a nummia per year ratio. Either as 'saving hoards' or 'currency hoards', the multifarious diversity of sums accumulated and hidden in a variety of archaeological contexts could then be compared with each other, though their absolute value may differ in conformity with various rates of exchange introduced by monetary reforms. Since price levels in the sixth century seem to have also varied regionally (Grierson 1982:19 and 47), a true comparison between nummia per year ratios of different hoards should take into consideration their distribution by provinces.⁴⁸⁰ I will therefore examine the hoarding pattern for each province and attempt, where possible, to explain it in local, small-scale terms. Finds from six major sites (Corinth, Athens, Caričin Grad, Iatrus/Krivina, Sucidava/Celei, and Dinogetia/Garvăn) and stray losses from present-day Macedonia and Romania will provide the necessary comparison for checking local patterns of circulation. A more general picture will then appear in the last section, which will take into consideration conjunctural changes on a longer term, while contrasting data resulting from the examination of local hoarding patterns. The case of the silver hoards will be treated separately and a new hypothesis will be advanced for their peculiar distribution and age-structure. I will finally attempt to provide a qualification, if not an

alternative, to the traditional interpretation of sixth- to seventh-century Byzantine coin hoards in Eastern Europe.

Achaia

Greece, particularly Peloponnesus, is the region in the Balkans with the largest number of hoards recovered. Hoards are already numerous in the period before 570 -- in Justin I's years (Corinth), during Justinian's reign (Corinth, Athens, Zacha, Trypi, Nestani) and in the 560s (Corinth) -- and cluster around the Isthmus of Corinth. After 570, hoards also occurred in Attica. Hoards from Achaia were usually found in urban areas (Corinth, Athens, Mantinea, Thebes, Olympia, Argos). A distinctive feature of hoards found in Greece is the constant presence, at least until the 580s, of lesser fractions of the follis (Athens, Zacha, Corinth, Thebes, Trypi, Hagios Nikolaos, Kenkhreai, Olympia, Hagia Kyriaki, Priolithos Kalavryton, Pellene) and of Ostrogothic and Vandalic issues (Corinth, Kenkhreai, Athens) (Pottier 1983:226; Duncan 1993:147). This may indicate that minimi were still in use in day-to-day transactions during most of the sixth century, at least until the 580s, and that price levels in Achaia should therefore have been rather low. Even larger hoards including higher copper denominations cannot be viewed as major savings. By transforming

into solidi the value of fourteen hoards⁴⁸¹ (Corinth -- no. 97, Athens -- no. 111, Hagios Nikolaos, Kenchreai -- no. 117, Mantinea, Thebes, Kenchreai -- no. 120, Nemea, Athens -- no. 123, Athens -- no. 132, Athens -- no. 135, Athens -- no. 146, Chalkis, and Nea Anchialos) it becomes evident that none exceeded 1/2 of a solidus (a semissis). Most of them were indeed worth just a *modius* of grain, at its current price in the early 600s (Mantinea, Nemea, Nea Anchialos). Others were equivalent to the minimal subsistence level recorded in about 528 (Athens) or even below that level (Corinth, Athens, Kenchreai, Hagios Nikolaos).⁴⁸²

A relatively high number of low denominations entered hoards during Anastasius' and Justin I's reigns, as well as during Justinian's early regnal years. Although coins continued to enter hoards in the following years, with a few interruptions, their number drastically dropped, though their value increased, as compared to the preceding decades. A considerable increase only occurred in the 560s and 570s, with a peak of 27 pieces of high denominations in 575. This flow abruptly stopped in the early 580s and no coins entered hoards found in Achaia until the 610s (Chalkis, Nea Anchialos). More than a third of all coins found in those hoards were issued by the mint in Thessalonica, particularly between 562 and 579 (cf. Duncan 1993:148) and in 615 (Chalkis, Nea

Anchialos, Solomos). Coins issued by the Constantinopolitan mint, as well as specimens minted by the Ostrogothic kings, mainly occur in the period between Anastasius and the mid-sixth century, but reappear at the same time as coins issued in Thessalonica, though on a smaller scale. Hoards of five to ten solidi, such as 'Peloponnesus', Nestani, Pinios river, Apidea, Athens (no. 157), Vasaras, and Solomos (no. 194) may be interpreted as *donativa*. Their homogeneous composition, with coins almost exclusively issued in Constantinople in a short period of time, supports this hypothesis.⁴⁸³ It is known that under Tiberius II, the accessional *donativum* was 9 solidi and the quinquennial one 5 solidi. Their payment survived as late as 578, and probably as late as 641, which may account for Vasaras and Solomos (Hendy 1985:188 and 646-647; cf. Hahn 1981c). This interpretation may thus confirm an older idea suggesting a significant presence of the Byzantine army in Peloponnesus in the 580s.⁴⁸⁴ In contrast, hoards including only lesser fractions, usually in large number (Corinth -- no. 34, Corinth -- no. 36, Trypi, Zacha, Olympia) may have first been buried for safe-keeping, but never retrieved because inflation had rendered them valueless.⁴⁸⁵

This picture is partially confirmed by stray finds in Athens, where over one-quarter of Justinian's coinage found in the Agora consists of five-nummia pieces (Thomp-

son 1954:104).⁴⁸⁶ A clear increase in both number and value of the coins collected there only occurred shortly before and after 570. Just as in hoards, circulation abruptly dropped in the 580s, but unlike hoards, coins continued to appear on the Athenian market not only in the early 600s, but also in the second half of the century, particularly in the late 650s and 660s, with a peak of 108 pieces (4320 nummia) in 657. While coins minted in Thessalonica dominate the first increase of the 570s, specimens from Constantinople, which represent almost 75 percent of all sixth to seventh century coins found in the Agora, dominate the increase of the 650s and 660s. In Corinth a relatively high number of high denominations were in circulation shortly after 538, but the real increase in both number and value of coins came in the 570s, with a peak of 13 pieces (380 nummia) in 571 (Edwards 1933:121-133). Most of the circulating half-folles of this period were minted in Thessalonica. Coins were also in circulation in Corinth in the early 600s, but in contrast with Athens, the number of specimens minted in the 650s and 660s is relatively smaller. Constantinopolitan issues still dominate, though unlike Athens, they represent slightly less than 50 percent of all coins recovered. The fact that hoards found in Achaia do not display any copper issues datable after 650 proves that the above mentioned phenomenon may have been re-

stricted to a few settlements such as Corinth and Athens and may have been limited to only one or two decades.

Macedonia

Along with Thrace and Moesia Inferior, Macedonia is the second in number of hoards retrieved. They were found particularly in the middle Vardar river basin, around Pustogradsko/Stobi or along the Roman road from Pautalia to Heraclea, via Bargala. Hoards were sealed in Macedonia under Justin I, but especially under Justinian I (Suva Reka, Sekulica, Adam Zagliveriou, Berovo, Kičevo, Kavadarci, Kratovo, Zagrade, Grnčar, Simitlii, and Selce). During the last decades of the sixth century, hoards retrieved particularly in urban areas (Thessalonica, Stobi, Thasos, Bargala) included especially gold coins (Pustogradsko/Stobi, Thessalonica, Goren Kozjak/Bargala). In contrast with hoards found in Achaia, the Bargala hoard's value transformed into gold is almost 14 solidi and should be viewed as an important accumulation, but nonetheless far less important than those of Sekulica (no. 21), worth about two pounds of gold,⁴⁸⁷ and Thessaloniki. The extensive die-linking of coins of Justin II and Tiberius within the Thessaloniki hoard suggests that coins had not changed hands much since they left the mint (Metcalf 1988:73).⁴⁸⁸ This hoard may represent a substantial payment to a high official of the

great city of Macedonia. Hoards sealed before 560 include a large number of low denominations issued during Anastasius' and Justin I's reigns and Justinian's early regnal years (Sekulica, Suva Reka), most of which are issues from the Constantinopolitan mint. The Thasos hoard (no. 11) includes the only two imitations found in Macedonia.⁴⁸⁹ Although on a much smaller scale, penetration of high denominations (folles) continued with a few interruptions (552-555 and 561-563) until 565, as indicated particularly by the Goren Kozjak/Bargala hoard. Most of the coins from this period are issues of the Constantinopolitan mint or of Antioch. The number of coins increased again after 562-565 and reached a peak of 42 coins (880 nummia) in 579. This growth is evident both on the continent (Baba, Goren Kozjak) and on the island Thasos. Most of the coins from this period are issues of Thessalonica, which represent more than a half of all coins that entered hoards in Macedonia. Penetration of coins abruptly dropped in 586, Thasos (no. 185) being the only hoard with seventh century issues (the last one from 616).

This picture is confirmed by stray finds in Macedonia (Popović 1980:243). A very large number of coins issued during Anastasius' and Justin I's reigns, as well as during Justinian's early regnal years, were in circulation there. Coin circulation continued without inter-

ruption throughout the mid-sixth century, though on a much smaller scale, until 563. Then a new increase occurred, which immediately ended after 585.

Dalmatia

Dalmatia belongs to the third group of provinces in number of hoards retrieved, along with Scythia Minor, Achaia, and Dacia Ripensis. Hoards were closed already in Justinian's early regnal years (Sisak, San Lorenzo, Pučišće, Budva, Kaštel Stari) and continued to be sealed during the rest of his reign (Kötschach-Laas, Solin, Slatine). Most of the hoards of gold were closed only after 570 (Arnoldstein, Majsan, Grabovnik, Vid), some of them only in the 620s and 640s (Potkom, Nerežišće). These later hoards may have still represented *donativa*. The Austrian hoards (San Lorenzo, Kötschach-Laas, Arnoldstein), each with 15 to 20 pieces, make up a separate, distinctive group. They are in a sharp contrast with Dalmatian hoards, usually concealed, particularly during Justinian's years, in or around Salona (Mirnik 1981:87; Duncan 1993:60). Unfortunately, there are but two published hoards of copper from Dalmatia (Majsan and Solin -- no. 199). Conclusions drawn on this basis should be cautiously considered. Only one single piece occurred from the whole period between Anastasius and Justinian's early regnal years,⁴⁹⁰ but a considerable number of coins

issued between 566 and 576 entered the two hoards, with a peak of 8 pieces (230 nummia) in 570. Only Solin comprises a relatively large number of folles from the following period, including seventh century coins, the last of which, an issue of 631, served Ivan Marović for redating the abandonment of Salona (Marović 1984). Issues of the Constantinopolitan mint represent almost fifty percent of all coins from both hoards. Before 565, Salona, for a time the headquarters of the Byzantine army operating against Totila, issued half-folles, some of which were accumulated in the small hoard of Kaštel Stari.

Dacia Mediterranea

After Peloponnesus, Dacia Mediterranea is the region in the Balkans with the largest number of hoards retrieved. If Dardanian hoards are included, the total number recorded is 24, by far the largest in the Balkans, after southern Greece. Hoards were closed during Anastasius' reign (Bărzovica), Justin I's reign (Sofia) and the early years of Justinian (Sadovik). Their number considerably increased during the rest of Justinian's reign (Dolno Kobile, Gorno Vassilica, Mirovo Gara, Klinovac, Niš, Caričin Grad -- no. 87, Caričin Grad -- no. 101) and immediately after 570 (Caričin Grad -- no. 102, Caričin Grad -- no. 103, Caričin Grad -- no. 104,

Batuliia). A few hoards were also shut immediately before and after 600 (Caričin Grad -- no. 167, Donja Vrežina, Caričin Grad -- no. 181). The last hoard, found in Sofia, consists of only three solidi, the last of which was issued for Constantine IV. Like Bărzovica and Mirovo Gara, it may indicate ceremonial gifts (*donativa*). Before 560, hoards cluster around Serdica/Sofia, either along the road to Pautalia or along the one to Philippopolis. However, the largest number of hoards shut after 560 comes from urban areas, particularly from Niš/Naissus and from Caričin Grad/Iustiniana Prima.⁴⁹¹ Hoards closed between 540 and 570 are characterized by a relatively large number of folles issued between Anastasius and the early regnal years of Justinian. In contrast, hoards sealed after 570, especially those recovered in Caričin Grad/Iustiniana Prima, include a relatively smaller number of lesser fractions issued in that period. The vast majority of coins from these years are issues of the Constantinopolitan mint, some hoards, like Sadovik or Gorno Vassilica, including only coins from the Capital.⁴⁹² There are very few coins issued between 540 and 562 in both groups of hoards. The number of pieces rapidly increased, with a few interruptions, after 562 until 579, with a peak of 9 pieces (200 nummia) in 570. The largest number of coins from this period are issues of the Thessalonican mint, which represent more than a

half of all pieces amassed in hoards recovered from Dacia Mediterranea. Despite intermittent penetrations in the 590s, accumulation resumed after 600, but only for a short while (with a peak in 613). At the time, there were only Constantinopolitan issues.

Coin finds from Caričin Grad suggest the existence of an interesting relationship between hoarding activity and circulation (Guyon and Cardi 1984:90; Popović 1984:130-131; Ivanišević 1990:259-267). The number of coins and their value in nummia began to increase precisely at the same moment as in hoards, namely between 561 and 571, with a peak in 562. Almost all coins from this period are issues of the Thessalonican mint, which represent almost 40 percent of all pieces recorded on the site. Circulation continued with a few interruptions until 590, but just as in hoards, a large number of coins occurred in the early 600s, with a peak in 610. However, unlike hoards, the largest number of specimens from this period came from the Thessalonican mint.

Dacia Ripensis and Moesia Inferior

The two provinces are ranked second, after Dacia Mediterranea and Achaia, in the number of hoards retrieved. Hoards first appeared in Moesia during Justinian's reign (Osikovo, Riakhovec, Satu Nou), clustering around Varna (Hadzhi Sinalar, Kamchya river's

mouth, Komakovci, Varna). Except Hadzhi Sinalar, a veritable treasure with its 200 solidi, all hoards shut during this period are made up of copper. After 560, their number rapidly increased (Golliama Kotlovica, Baniska, Chatal dere, Koprivec, Sadovec, Popovo, Galata, Reselec, Rakita). The number of hoards of gold also increased: Biala Reka, Shumen, Sadovec -- no. 159, Sadovec -- no. 160. The latter's exceptional value sharply contrasts with Biala Reka and Gorna Oriakhovica, which may be interpreted as *donativa*. In the territory of Aquis, organized as a distinctive administrative unit under the authority of the local bishop (Janković 1981: 205; Ivanov 1984:45), hoards were already closed under Anastasius (Gamzigrad) and Justinian (Prahovo, Hajdučka Vodenica, Dobra, Malo Golubinje, Riakhovec), but the largest number conclude in the last three decades of the century (Brza Palanka, Boljetin, Pirot, Tekija, Veliko Orašje, Veliki Gradac, Bosman). Hoards closed after 570 were found in small camps (Sadovec, Brza Palanka, Boljetin, Tekija, Veliko Orašje, Veliki Gradac, Bosman) in the Iron Gates segment of the Danube frontier. Sometimes, they include accessories of the military dress (belt buckle at Veliko Orašje, fibula at Koprivec). In contrast, hoards found in Moesia Inferior and the eastern part of Dacia Ripensis cluster around Varna/Odessos and Reka Devnja/Marcianopolis, during Justinian's reign,

around Nicopolis ad Istrum in the following decade, and around Sadovec in the last three decades of the century, all centers mentioned being located along the main route linking the Black Sea coast to Mikhailovgrad/Montana, on the Ogost river.⁴⁹³ Hoards sealed before 570 include a large number of folles from Anastasius to the early regnal years of Justinian, particularly from Justin I's reign (325 pieces with 1400 nummia/year), all of which were issues of the Constantinopolitan mint. In contrast, hoards closed after 570-577 include a small number of lower denominations. This group of hoards is characterized by a considerable decrease in the number of pieces (usually lower denominations) issued between 540 and 568. The number of coins rapidly increased in the late 560s and early 570s, with a peak of 29 pieces (900 nummia), in 575. This is the moment when, along with issues of Constantinople, Cyzicus, and Nicomedia, a few coins from Thessalonica were accumulated.⁴⁹⁴ A drastic decrease came in the early 580s, when some of the hoards were closed, and accumulation completely ceased shortly before 600. The only seventh-century hoard known from this region consists of solidi (Gorna Oriakhovica).

Conclusions drawn from the analysis of hoards may now be compared with stray finds in Sucidava/Celei, a Roman fort located north of the Danube frontier, but still a part of Dacia Ripensis (Butnariu 1983-1985:226-

227). A relatively large number of folles circulated here between 538 and 542, but only a few issues of the period 543-568 were found. The vast majority of coins dated to these years are issues of Constantinople and Nicomedia, both representing about 75 percent of all stray losses from the site. The number of coins rapidly increases just before 570, with a peak of 140 nummia in 570 and a short interruption between 572 and 575. After a new interruption in 578-579, coins continued to appear until 598, but on a much smaller scale (peak of 80 nummia in 588). This is the period in which issues of Thessalonica were also found, though not in the same number as those of the eastern mints. The latest coin found in Sucidava, an issue from Antioch, is dated 607. A similar picture emerges from the analysis of stray finds in Iatrus/Krivina (Kluwe 1966:410-411; Schönert-Geiß 1979:206-107; Schönert-Geiß 1991:236-238), although there circulation ceased long before 600.

Scythia Minor

Though at the time one of the most endangered outposts of the Empire, present-day Dobrudja is only ranked third in number of hoards retrieved. Hoards appear during Justinian's reign and Justin II's early years (Satu Nou, Anadolchioi, Topalu), but the majority were dated after 570. Many come from fortified settlements, either along

the Danube (Adamclisi, Hinog) or the Black Sea coast, from Aegyssus/Tulcea to Tomis/Constanța (Murighiol, Slava Rusă, Histria). The only hoards dated to the 580s consist of solidi (Adamclisi, Hinog, Slava Rusă), and may represent *donativa*, at least in the case of Hinog and Slava Rusă. Just before and after 600, hoards only came from Histria. Hoards sealed before 580 contain a large number of lesser fractions issued by the Constantinopolitan mint or even Vandalic and Ostrogothic specimens (Anadolchioi). After 539, coins penetrated only intermittently, numerals being high in hoards closed before 580 and low in those sealed after 580. The former also include a few coins issued during Anastasius' and Justin I's reigns or Justinian's early regnal years. The number of coins suddenly increases in 565 and numerals tend to be high. The majority of, if not all, coins were Constantinopolitan (two thirds of all pieces found in Scythia Minor) and Nicomedian issues, but there are also specimens minted in Thessalonica. Hoards found in Histria have a new peak around 590 (140 nummia/year).

This picture is partially confirmed by coin finds in Dinogetia/Garvăn (Mitrea 1974). After a relatively large number of fractions of the folles occurred during Anastasius' and Justin I's reigns, as well as during Justinian's early regnal years, circulation practically ceased between 541 and 567. The number of coins and their

face-value suddenly increased in the 570s, with a peak in 572. Some of these specimens came from Thessalonica, although more than 75 percent of all pieces found on the site were issued by the eastern mints (Constantinople, Nicomedia, and Cyzicus). This flow abruptly dropped after 574, but circulation continued with a few interruptions until 591/2.

Thrace

Although some were already shut during Justin I's reign (Rakovski, Haskovo), the largest number of Thracian hoards come from Justinian's time, especially before 550 (Patelenica, Parvomai, Oriakhovo, Pavelsko, Dragoinovo, Katunica, Trud, Crâncha, Zlatosel, Cvetino). Only three hoards are dated after Justinian's reign (Bracigovo, Borec, Resenovo) and no hoards have been identified that are dated between 580 and 680, when the Nesebăr and Nova Nadezhda hoards ended.⁴⁹⁵ Thracian hoards cluster along the Marica river, particularly in the triangle Philippopolis-Diocletianopolis-Augusta Traiana (Beroe). None, however, was found in urban areas (Iurukova 1969: 257; Popović 1978:611).⁴⁹⁶ Unfortunately, there are no published data about Thracian hoards that could be used for this analysis. We only know that three hoards (Patelenica, Pavelsko, Cvetino) consist primarily of issues of Constantinople and Nicomedia, to a lesser

extant of Cyzicus and Antioch (Gerasimov 1959:358-359; Gerasimov 1969:233; Conchev 1960:208). While Resenovo may represent a *donativum*, hoards found in Parvomai and Dragoinovo indicate considerable resources and perhaps a higher social status, just like the Bracigovo hoard, which produced also two cast fibulae with bent stem.

Romania (Figures 6-7)⁴⁹⁷

Hoards were first closed north of the Danube river during Justin I's reign (Cudalbi, Șeica Mică)⁴⁹⁸ and the early regnal years of Justinian (Hotin). However the significant number of hoards of copper retrieved from this region are dated to the last three decades of the century (Gropeni, Unirea, Horgești, Movileni). Except Râncăciiov and Obârșeni, after 610-620 hoards consist solely of hexagrams (Drăgășani, Piuă Petrii, Vârtopu, Galați, Priseaca) or solidi (Firtușu, Udești, "Vădaș").⁴⁹⁹ This dichotomy is also suggested by objects found together with coins. In Horgești, folles and half-folles were found in a bronze jug, together with a bronze chain. In Priseaca, hexagrams concealed in a ceramic pot were found together with silver ear-rings. It is typical for hoards recovered in the region north of the Danube frontier to be found in ceramic containers (Gropeni, Cudalbi, Movileni, Râncăciiov, Galați). While hoards shut before 600 cluster in the area of confluence of the Siret

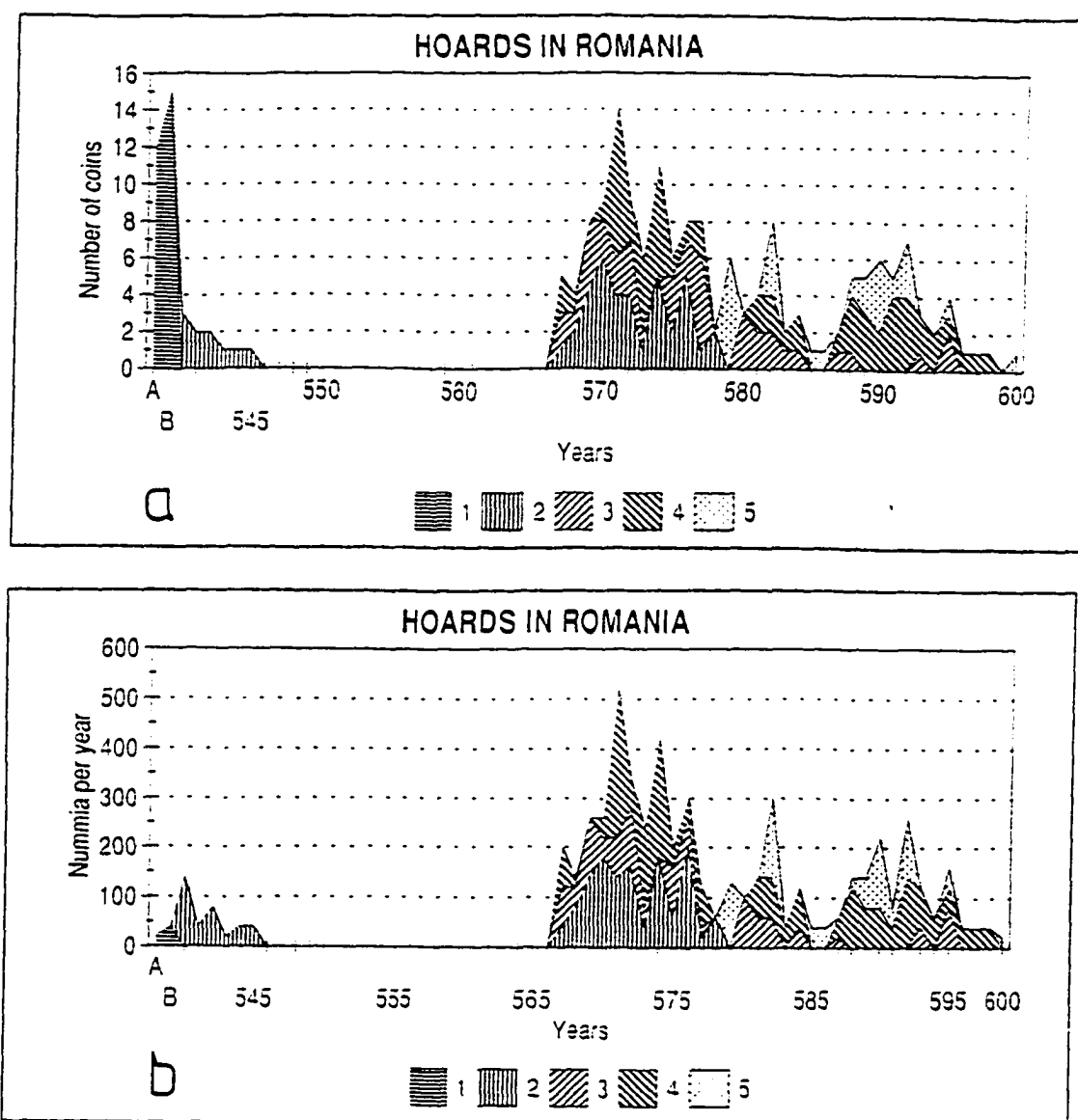


Figure 6. The Mean Number of Coins (a) and Nummia per Year (b) in Hoards Found in Romania.

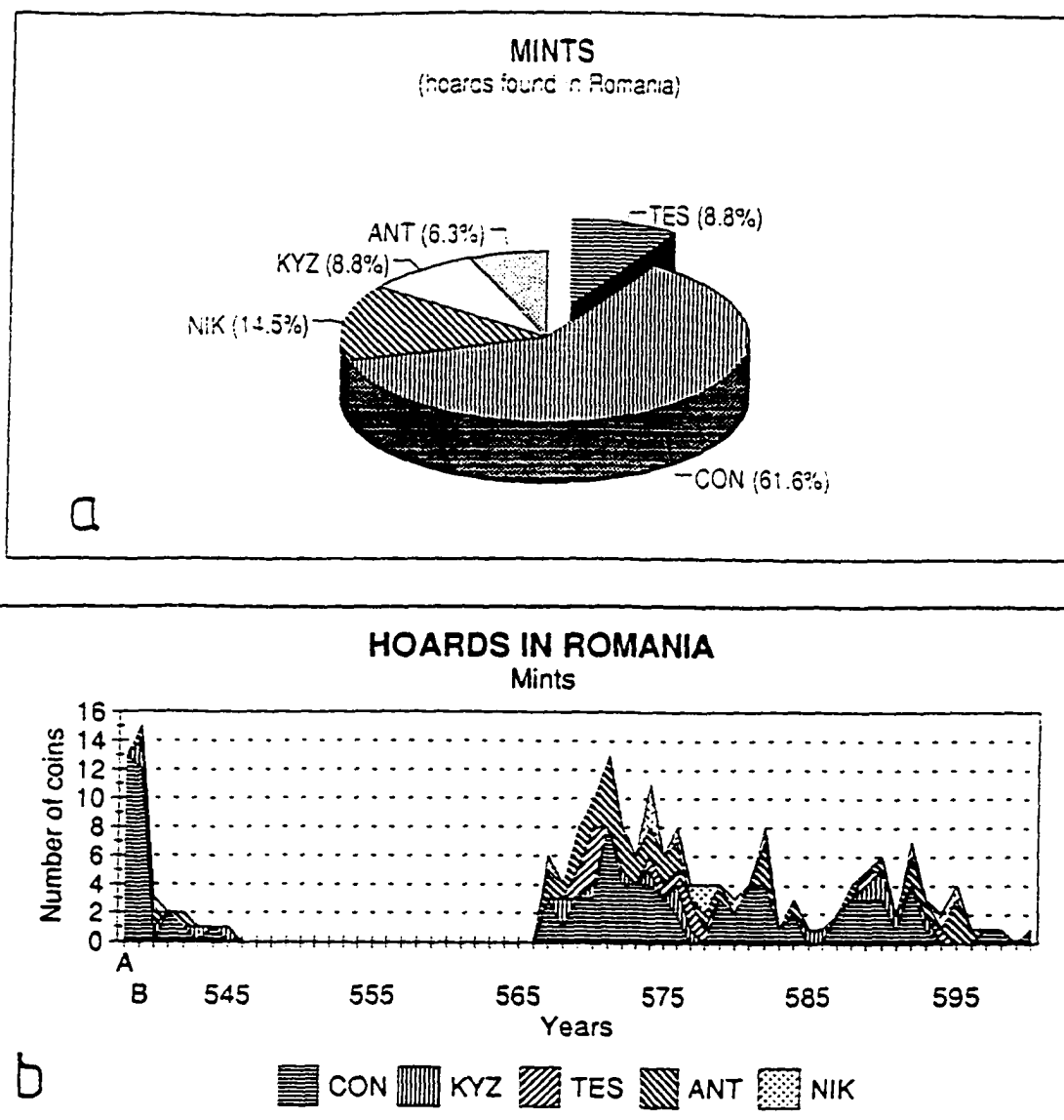


Figure 7. The Frequency (a) and the Mean Number of Coins per Year (b) Issued in Mints Represented in Hoards Found in Romania.

and Danube rivers, close to the ford at Dinogetia-Barboși, those closed after 620 were also found in western Walachia, Transylvania or central and northern Moldavia. The former group includes a large number of pieces with low numerals from Anastasius' and Justin I's reigns. Accumulation of coins ceased between 546 and 566. After that their number suddenly increased, with a peak of 14 pieces (520 nummia/year) in 571. With a slight decrease in 585-586, accumulation of coins continued uninterrupted until 600. Issues of the Constantinopolitan mint dominate the early period, but also the intervals 566-577, 578-585, 586-594, 596-600, and represent almost two thirds of all coins found in Romanian hoards. Between 566 and 578 and again between 586 and 594 the highest number of coins is however given by issues from Thessalonica.

This picture is only partially confirmed by stray finds (Appendix C and Figures 8-11⁵⁰⁰; see also Butnariu 1983-1985:216-224). A relatively small number of coins with high numerals were in circulation immediately after Justinian's reform of 538, with a peak of 10 pieces (240 nummia/year) in 540. After that, despite intermittent penetrations in 548 and 555-558, circulation practically ceased. After 566, it resumed with large fluctuations until 606, with two peaks of 10 pieces (180 nummia/year) in 570 and 575, respectively. Though the frequency of

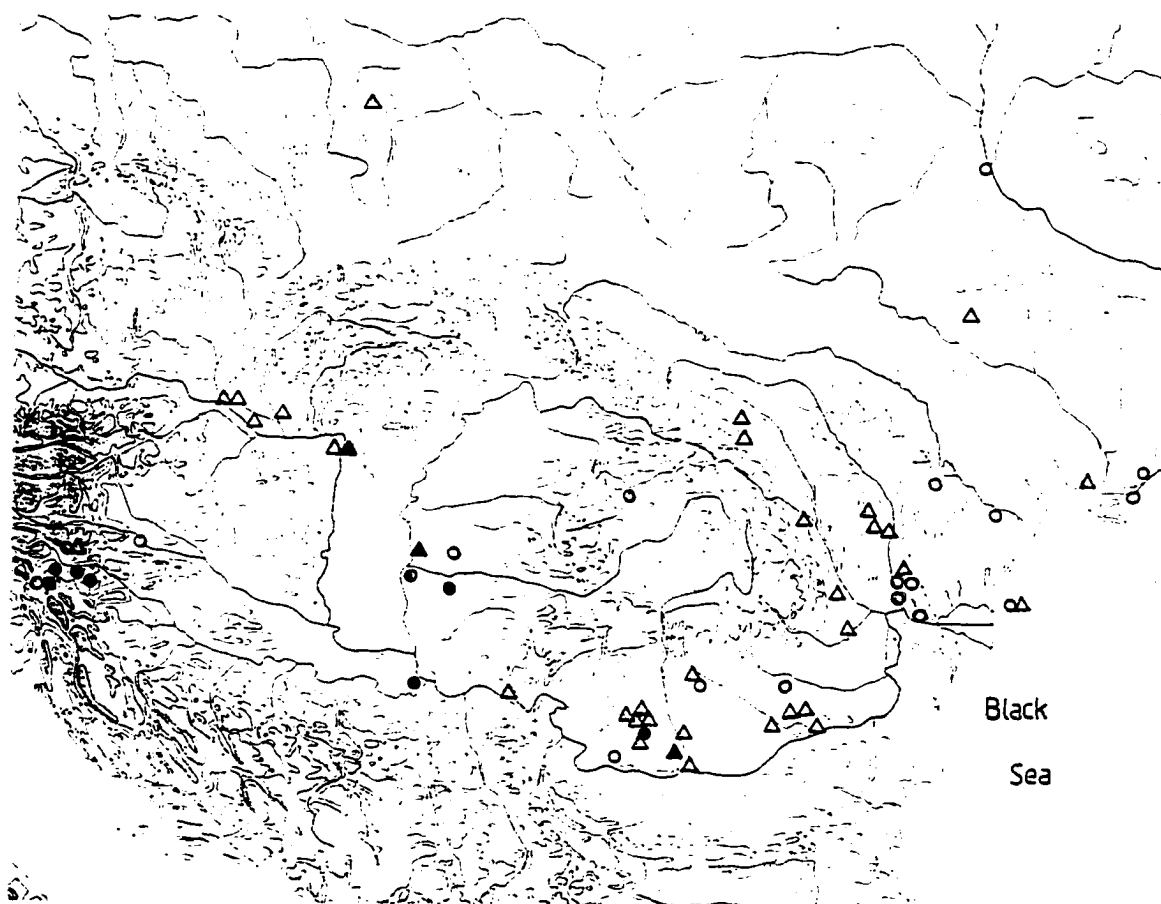


Figure 8. Distribution of Stray Finds of Coins of Anastasius and Justin I North of the Danube Frontier. For Legend, See Text.

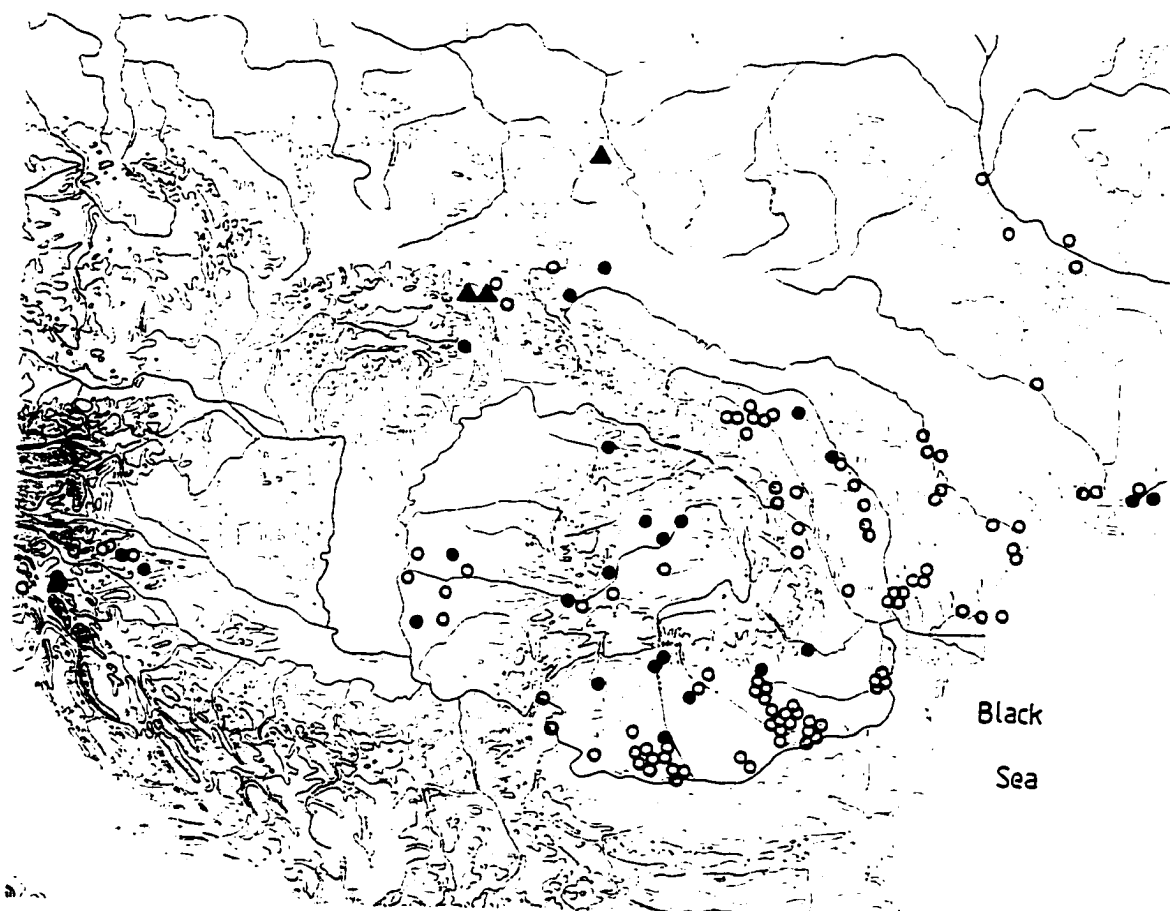


Figure 9. Distribution of Stray Finds of Coins of Justinian North of the Danube Frontier. For Legend, See Text.

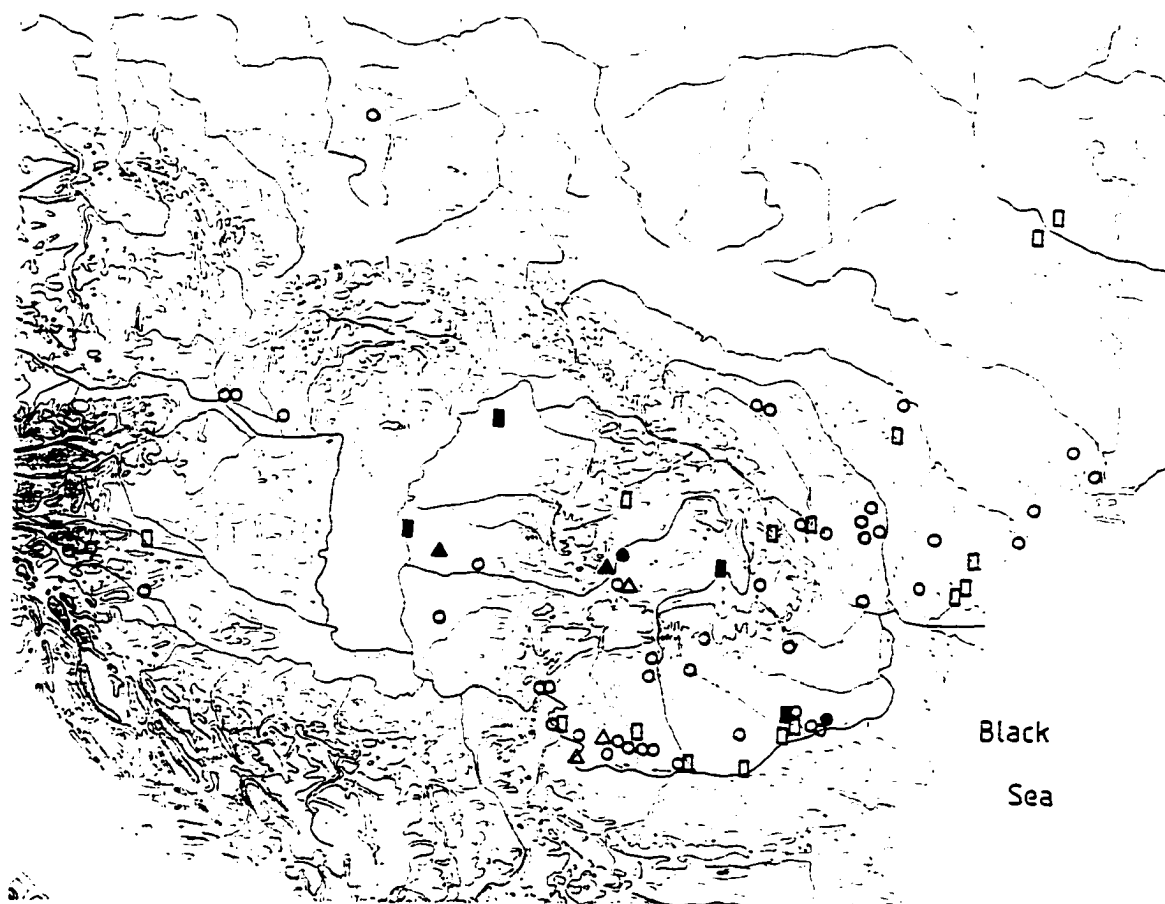


Figure 10. Distribution of Stray Finds of Coins of Justin II, Tiberius II, and Maurice North of the Danube Frontier. For Legend, See Text.

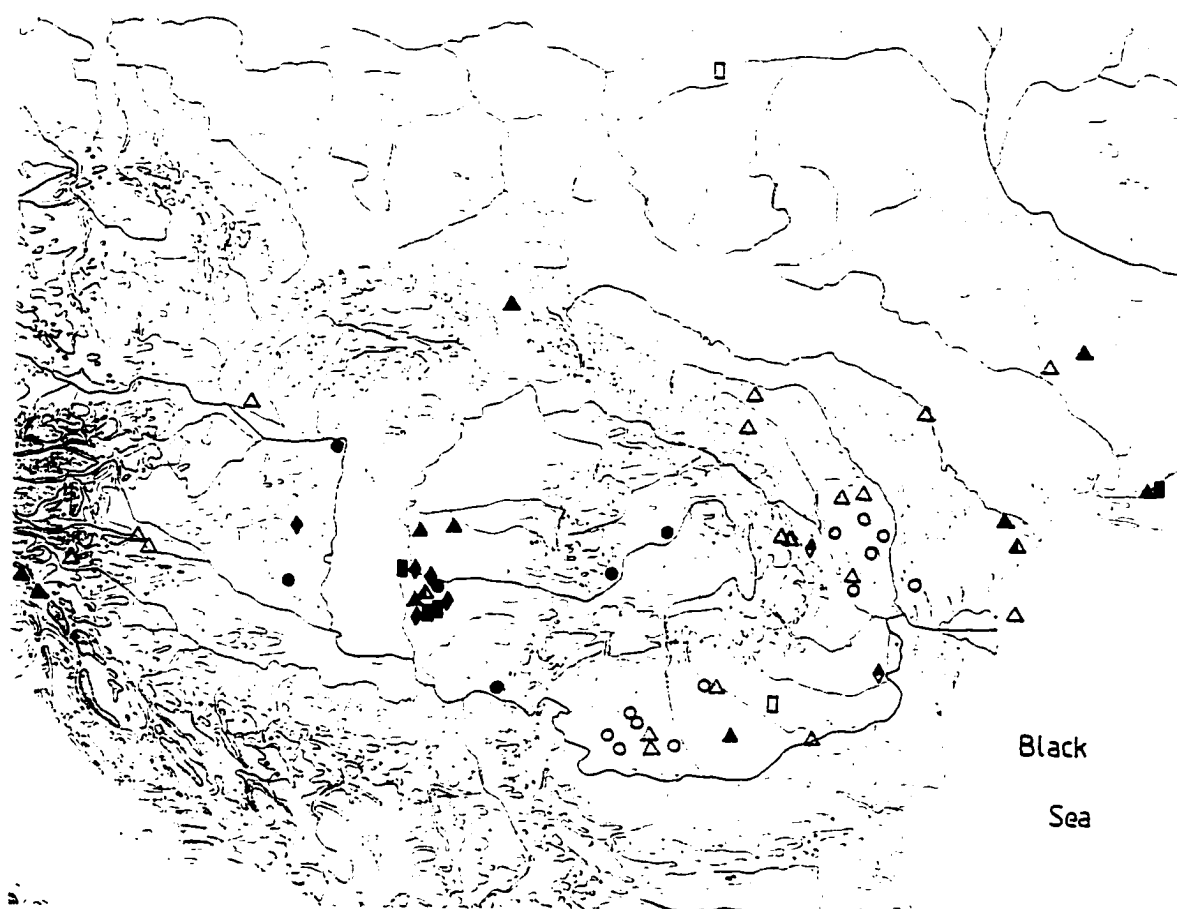


Figure 11. Distribution of Stray Finds of Coins of Phocas, Heraclius, Constans II, and Constantine IV North of the Danube Frontier. For Legend, See Text.

mints represented in stray finds and hoards is almost the same, specimens minted in Thessalonica circulated not only in the 560s and the late 570s, but also in the early 600s. A few folles even entered the regions north of the Danube as late as 621.

Further to the north and to the east, hoards were closed especially during Justinian's reign.⁵⁰¹ In the lower Don river area, north of the Sea of Azov, in the southern Ural mountains or in central-eastern Europe, hoards of this period consist only of solidi and are usually concealed in gold or silver containers, together with jewelry (Voroshylovhrad, Beloiarovka, Il'ich, Orsk, Biesenbrow).⁵⁰² Later hoards only occurred during Heraclius' reign. In the Ural area or in the Danube river valley, they usually consist of hexagrams (Bartym, Shestakovo, Zemiansky Vrbovok, Krnov, Stejanovci). In the Azov area they include solidi (Maistrov, Sukko).

Conclusion

Where it is abundant, the evidence of hoards shows some important features. First, hoards closed before 570 (560, in Macedonia, 580, in Scythia Minor) include a fairly large number of pieces issued mainly in Constantinople, during the whole period between Anastasius and the first part of Justinian's reign. Some hoards of the central Balkans consist only of

Constantinopolitan issues (Sadovik, Gorno Vassilica, perhaps also Patelenica, Pavelsko, and Cvetino). In Scythia Minor, Macedonia, Achaia, and north of the Danube frontier, the value of these pieces is low, while in Moesia Inferior, Dacia Ripensis, and Dacia Mediterranea, it is comparatively higher. The former case is confirmed by stray finds from Macedonia, where coins circulated in large numbers during the early 500s. This is contradicted, however, by stray finds from Scythia Minor, and by archaeological finds in Histria, on the Black Sea coast.⁵⁰³ During this period, hoards found in Achaia and Scythia Minor include a very large number of minimi, as well as a significant number of Ostrogothic and Vandalic specimens. In the Thasos and Pirot hoards, so-called "barbarian imitations" were also recorded. Hoards dated to this period are usually interpreted as indicating continuous raids by Cutrigurs, Antes, or Sclavenes (Preda and Nubar 1973:81; Popović 1978:610; Poenaru-Bordea and Ocheșanu 1980:387), but a closer look to hoards shut after 570 (560, in Macedonia, 580, in Scythia Minor) may suggest a different solution. This group of hoards typically include a much smaller number of coins, usually lesser fractions of the follis, issued in the late 400s and early 500s. Since accumulation had often begun in the early 500s, we may infer that owners of hoards concluding during Justin II's and Tiberius II's reigns deliberately

avoided lesser fractions, because of the growing inflation. On the other hand, the production of a considerable number of multiple nummia, which imitated issues of Nicomedia, Constantinople, Cyzicus or Thessalonica may have been associated with the implementation of the *quaestura exercitus* in 536/537 (Hendy 1985:404). We have seen that this new administrative unit combined maritime provinces, such as Caria or Cyprus, with Danubian provinces, such as Moesia Inferior and Scythia Minor. The only possible communication between these remote locations was by sea. The fact that very low denominations are only found in maritime provinces like Scythia Minor and Achaia may support this idea. In any case, at the time when hoards were closed in the 570s and 580s, 1/4, 1/8, and 1/40 fractions of the follis were already valueless and probably out of circulation. If so, then hoards including very low denominations, which were shut shortly before 570 (Corinth -- nos. 34, 36, and 37, Trypi, Zacha, Anadolchioi), as well as a large number of saving hoards with minimi from Achaia, dated after 570 (Hagios Nikolaos, Athens -- nos. 123, 132, and 135, Olympia, Hagia Kyriaki, Pellene) may have not been later retrieved by their owners not necessarily because of external threats, but because they had become valueless.⁵⁰⁴

The Zagrade/Nicopolis ad Nestum hoard, found in Rhodope, closes, however, in 574/5 and includes a large

number of nummia. This seems to contradict all data available from Greece and Dobrudja. But the Zagrade hoard is exceptional, since unlike hoards found in these two areas, it displays a remarkably continuous accumulation of a relatively large number of high denominations between 538 and 554 (except for the years 547/8, 549/50 and 551/2). The peak in both number of coins and value in nummia was nevertheless in the early 570s (15 coins with 540 nummia), just before the hoard concluded. It is possible therefore that the majority of nummia were put together in the Zagrade hoard at the same time as in hoards from Achaia and Scythia Minor.

Although the number of coins substantially diminished after 539 and accumulation was intermittent in some areas (interruptions between 550 and 555 and again between 560 and 563 in Macedonia, Moesia Inferior, and Dacia Ripensis), issues of the eastern mints (Constantinople, Antioch, and Cyzicus) continued to be hoarded until 566-568. In Moesia Inferior and Dacia Ripensis, coins of this period are usually half-folles, while hoards in Macedonia and Scythia Minor closed before 580 include only folles.⁵⁰⁵ During this period, hoards in Dacia Mediterranea include only a few coins dated between 540 and 565, while penetration completely ceased north of the Danube between 546 and 566. Hoards found in Achaia are a special case. Those closed before 570 witnessed a

significant decrease in both number and value of coins until 554, when circulation completely ceased. In contrast, hoards sealed after 570 witnessed a continuous circulation between 539 and 561, though only a few coins (less than 10 pieces per year), usually lesser fractions of the follis, were amassed. Hoards in Achaia typically include, even after 570, a large number of very low denominations (*minimi*). At the same time, half-folles issued in Salona were stored in the Kaštel Stari hoard.

One way to explain this case would be to refer to the consequences of the highly unpopular reform introduced in 542 by Peter Barzymes, Justinian's *comes sacrarum largitionum*, who decreased the number of folles to 180 per solidus.⁵⁰⁶ Appointed praetorian prefect of the East in 543, Peter Barzymes sold off surplus stocks of Constantinople at good prices, but was compelled by the failure of the Egyptian harvest in 545 to make extensive compulsory purchases of wheat in Thrace, Bithynia and Phrygia. Dismissed in 546, he was soon reappointed to the *largitiones* and became praetorian prefect once again in 554/5, holding the office until 562. Although the financial situation was very difficult, he was able to supply Narses with funds sufficient to pay off the arrears which had accumulated in Italy and to raise the very considerable army with which he finally defeated the Ostrogoths. It was Peter Barzymes who raised in 545, 551, and 562 the

sums totalling over 7,500 lb. gold in order to buy the two truces and the final peace with Persia (Jones 1964: 295-296).⁵⁰⁷ The general decrease in coin circulation in the Balkans and the proportional increase of low or very low denominations may have something to do with these strains. The drastic decrease of the number of coins after 542/3 may have been associated with the plague and the subsequent famine in Constantinople.⁵⁰⁸ The complete absence of coins of 554/5 may also be connected with the project of a new reform, namely to decrease the weight of the half-follis. This measure, introduced in 553, caused a violent reaction in Constantinople (Pottier 1983:241; Morrisson 1986:115). The evidence of hoards suggests, however, an alternative interpretation.

In Dacia Mediterranea, Scythia Minor, and north of the Danube frontier, the number of hoards closed during Justinian's reign was small. This period, particularly until about 550, witnessed, however, the largest number of Thracian hoards. Though 39 hoards, many of them found in present-day Bulgaria, have no exact date, 10 out of 16 Thracian hoards with known date close during this period. They cluster along the roads linking Philippopolis to Diocletianopolis and to Augusta Traiana (Beroe). All were found in or near small-size forts. Similarly, hoards found in forts from Moesia Inferior cluster around Odessos and Marcianopolis or along the road to Montana.

By contrast, contemporary hoards found in Dalmatia cluster around the city of Salona. The same is true for Macedonia, where a large number of hoards were concealed in or near forts around Stobi or along the road from Pautalia to Heraclea. In Achaia, the largest number of hoards from this period comes from Corinth.

This distribution of hoards and their relative chronology were traditionally interpreted as indicating Slavic raiding, which reached a peak around 550.⁵⁰⁹ Procopius' evidence suggests that the raids of both Cutrigurs (in 551) and Sclavenes (in 549, 551, and, possibly, 545) focused on the diocese of Thrace (see Chapter V, Table 4), which would nicely dovetail with the evidence of Thracian hoards. But Procopius' account, as shown in Chapters IV and V, is based on a combination of archival material and oral reports, both of which dealt primarily with Constantinople and its hinterland. His narrative highlighted only those Sclavenes who approached the walls of Constantinople and completely ignored concurrent developments in Illyricum. On the other hand, except Malo Golubinje and Riakhovec, there are no hoards dated to the last fifteen years of Justinian's reign (550-565), a period in which Slavic raids completely ceased, but the eastern Balkans suffered heavy destruction from the invading Cutrigurs of 558/9. There is no evidence to substantiate Vladislav Popović's theory that

hoards and stray finds from Pirot, Niš, and Caričin Grad indicate a Slavic raid around Sofia in 563 or 564, which historical sources might have omitted (Popović 1978:617).

The diminishing hoarding activity between ca. 545 and 565 coincides in time with the implementation of Justinian's defense system in the Balkans. The completion of this building program can be dated, as shown in Chapter VI, shortly before 558. A connection between Justinian's building program and contemporary hoards is suggested by their archaeological association with small-size forts (Mirovo Gara, Hajdučka Vodenica, Dobra, Crâncha, Riakhovec, Malo Golubinje). Justinian's gigantic project in the Balkans and its execution must have strained the local coin circulation. The increasing number of payments and other monetary transactions brought by this economic conjuncture afflicted particularly small savings, such as those reflected by hoards of radiate. This may also explain the sharp decline in accumulation, as fewer coins were now withdrawn from circulation. Everywhere in the Balkans, there is a striking parallel between hoarding developments and the picture given by stray finds. In both cases, the number of coins in the late 540s and in the 550s drastically dropped, although to different ratios in Achaia, Macedonia, Dacia Mediterranea, or Scythia Minor. More interesting, circulation of coins between 545 and 560

practically ceased north of the Danube frontier, a clear indication that relation between the river's two banks were interrupted as a consequence of Justinian's building program.⁵¹⁰ This conclusion is supported by finds of gold coins north of the Danube (see Appendix C). There are thirteen specimens dated to the first half of Justinian's reign (Reșca, Valea Voievozilor) or without exact dates, but most likely of the same period (Apalina-Reghin, Borolea, Buzău, Cetea, Găești, Iași, Măgura, Ohaba-Jiu, Sângeorgiu de Câmpie, Stolniceni, and Vețel). By contrast, there are only seven gold coins from the rest of Justinian's reign, as well as from Justin II's and Tiberius II's reigns (Șomcuta Mare, Săbed, Mănăstirea, Șpălnaca, Alba Iulia, and two unknown locations in Oltenia and Transylvania).⁵¹¹

Though small hoards of gold, like those found in Nestani, Mirovo Gara and Bărzovica, may be interpreted as *donativa*, all collections of solidi closed during this period (Hadzhi Sinalar, Sekulica, Sisak, San Lorenzo, Parvomai, Dragoinovo) represent considerable riches. It is not surprising to see the same large sums accumulated in hoards of gold found in Barbaricum, from Crimea and the Ural mountains to eastern Germany. These sums most probably indicate gifts that should be interpreted in connection with the intensive diplomatic activity of Justinian.⁵¹²

The number of hoards of copper begins to grow after 564/5, with a peak of 10 hoards in 574. An important feature of Tiberius II's reign and the first years of Maurice's are hoards of five to eight solidi (Pustogradsko, Hinog, Pinios river's dam, Resenovo, Athens -- no. 157, Apidea, Slava Rusă), many of which are dated immediately after 578 and probably represent *donativa*, in connection with a significant presence of the Byzantine army in the Balkans (Poenaru-Bordea and Ocheșanu 1983-1985:180).⁵¹³ Hoards concluding after 560/565 were usually found in urban areas (Caričin Grad, in Dacia Mediterranea; Pustogradsko, Goren Kozjak, Thasos, in Macedonia; Athens, Mantinea, Thebes, Kenchreai, Olympia, Argos, Isthmia, in Achaia; Vid, in Dalmatia) or Roman camps in the Iron Gates segment of the Danube frontier or in Scythia Minor. While before about 570, hoards in Achaia clustered around the Corinth isthmus, now they frequently appear in Peloponnesus. In Dacia Mediterranea, hoards closed after 560-565 cluster around Naissus or along the road to Serdica, both areas being far more to the west than the previous distribution. A similar phenomenon could be observed in Dacia Ripensis and Moesia Inferior, where hoards were found either around Nicopolis ad Istrum or around and in the Golemannovo kale fort in Sadovec. In contrast, Thracian hoards completely disappear after 580. This distribution

may reflect the shift of military operations from the eastern to the western Balkans, which took place in the late 570s and early 580s in connection with the siege of Sirmium by the Avars and the explosion of Slavic raiding deep into the Balkans as far as Greece (Metcalf 1962b: 147; Iurukova 1966:226; Popović 1975:467-468; Popović 1978:620 and 622; Picard 1979:450; Popović 1981:122; Ferjančić 1984:98; Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou 1986:348; Frantz 1988:93).

The number of coins accumulated suddenly increased after 562-565 (561, in Achaia, 566, in Dalmatia and north of the Danube river, 568, in Moesia Inferior and Dacia Ripensis). Except hoards found in Achaia, that still include half-folles or even minimi, accumulated coins are usually high denominations. The peak in both number and numeral is attained in about 570 (571, north of the Danube, 572-573 in Scythia Minor, 575, in Moesia Inferior and Dacia Ripensis, 578-579 in Achaia and Macedonia), but this rapid growth suddenly stopped in the early 580s (578/9, in Dacia Mediterranea and Scythia Minor, 580-583, in Moesia Inferior and Dacia Ripensis, 585/6 in Macedonia and the territory north of the Danube frontier). A similar conclusion could be drawn from stray finds in the territory north of the Danube, where the peak was attained in 570 and again in 575, and from Caričin Grad, Dinogetia, and Sucidava, where after a sudden increase in

the number of coins in 568, the peak is attained in 570. This period witnessed the introduction of issues of Thessalonica in hoards found in Dalmatia, Dacia Ripensis⁵¹⁴ and Moesia Inferior, Scythia Minor,⁵¹⁵ and the territory north of the Danube. These coins dominate in hoards found in Dacia Mediterranea (over 50 percent of all coins), Macedonia (about 35 percent of all coins), and Achaia (over 40 percent of all coins). But since accumulation in general seems everywhere to have drastically diminished, if not ceased, in the 580s, Vladislav Popović's numismatic argument for dating the first siege of Thessalonica in 586 should be abandoned (Popović 1975:464).⁵¹⁶ In contrast, the sudden increase in number of coins accumulated in the 560s, 570s and the early 580s may reflect an inflationist policy followed by Justin II, who increased the number of folles to 720 the solidus. Gold reserves may have been strained by the first subsidies paid to the Avars and by court expenditures, but Tiberius II, Justin II's very popular successor, is also known for having promoted a bolder attitude toward barbarians. It is interesting to note that among 38 hoards of gold found in Eastern Europe, 22 include less than 10 coins and, except Udești, were all found within the empire. Many of them date to the late 570s and early 580s. Both their dispersion and the possible connection between their structure and the distribution of *donativa*

suggest intensive military activity in the Balkans, which is only occasionally reflected in historical sources.⁵¹⁷ Even hoards of copper were sometimes interpreted as payments to the military, particularly because of the presence of only high denominations issued in Constantinople.⁵¹⁸ If the connection between increase in mint output and hoarding, on the one hand, and military preparations, on the other (Metcalf 1976a:92), is proved to be correct, then we may see Justin II's financial and monetary measures as picturing Maurice's reform of the system of military finances (Whitby 1988:13).

That beyond conflict and military confrontation, this increase in mint output even reached the territories north of the Danube, at the time inhabited by Sclavenes, demonstrates D. M. Metcalf's idea that the economy and society of the Slavonic tribes functioned without the use of petty currency, both before and after their settlement south of the Danube (Metcalf 1991:141), to be untenable. Low value coinage (bronze, copper) does not seem to have ever been too attractive either as booty or as subsidies or gifts. The greater part of this type of coinage, usually found during the fourth to sixth century, in regions of *barbaricum* immediately adjacent to the empire, is more likely to testify to trading activity (Lee 1993: 73). One of the most striking features of the distribution of sixth- and seventh-century Byzantine coins beyond

the northern frontier of the empire is the clustering of stray finds of copper in the regions immediately close to the Danube river (Plates 8-11).⁵¹⁹ Neither to the west, within the Carpathian basin, nor to the east, in the steppes north of the Black Sea, were copper coins found in such quantity. The distribution of stray finds matches that of hoards. Regardless of their origin (trade transactions or booty), hoards found north of the Danube are theoretically not incompatible with the Sclavene society. The range of a currency's function in a given social group of people is defined by that group's socio-economic structure, by the methods of classifying and distributing goods and services.⁵²⁰ Use of 'primitive money' is usually associated with an economy with a marked incidence of balanced exchange in peripheral social sectors (Sahlins 1972:227 and 229).⁵²¹ Initially acquired in external market exchange, Byzantine coins may thus have become used internally for commercial and non-commercial transactions, as evidenced by the episode in 551, when the Sclavene warriors paid in solidi their Gepid neighbors for ferrying services across the Danube.⁵²² Specific historical circumstances may have put premiums on delayed exchange and on tokens that store value in the interim, as suggested by the Strategikon (XI 4.4):

They do not keep those who are in captivity among them in perpetual slavery, as do other nations. But they set a definite period of time for them and then

give them the choice either, if they so desire, to return to their own homes with a small recompense (μετὰ τινοῦ μισθοῦ) or to remain there as free men and friends (emphasis added).⁵²³

The use of currency in monetary form seems to have been particularly associated with transactions involving prisoners, as in the episode of the "phony Chilbudius" reported by Procopius. In this case, where "phony Chilbudius" was purchased by one of his fellow tribesmen from the Sclavenes, former enemies of the Antes, money may have been used for transactions outside the social system of the Antes, beyond its most peripheral sectors (Wars VII 14.16).⁵²⁴ Leadership systems of a kind easily identifiable in the case of the Slavene chiefs Dauritas/Daurentius, Ardagastus, Peiragastus and Musocius may have rendered delayed balanced exchange functional, by converting wealth into tokens and calculating development of money loans in exchange. When a massive call on goods comes, the whole fund of wealth, given away, could be converted into status (Sahlins 1972:229). The whole mechanism is recognizable in Dauritas' case, whose rise to power in a country "full of gold" was only curtailed by the Avar invasion.

While in hoards retrieved in Achaia, Macedonia, and Dacia Mediterranea, coins issued after 585/6 are very rare, if not absent, in Scythia Minor (especially at Histria), Dacia Ripensis and Moesia Inferior, in Dalmatia

and in the territories north of the Danube, accumulation continued, though on a smaller scale, until 595/6. Usually low denominations, these coins are issues of Thessalonica (Dalmatia, regions north of the Danube), but also of Nicomedia and Constantinople. Hoards dated to the last decade of the sixth century were only found along the Lower Danube river. They may indicate Maurice's counter-offensive against Sclavenes and Avars that started in 593 (Popović 1978:623 and 629; cf. Popović 1980:246 and Ferluga 1983:313). Both hoards and stray finds contradict the idea that with Phocas' rebellion the *limes* crumbled and the Slavic tide invaded the Balkans.⁵²⁵ A last increase in number and value of coins found in hoards occurred between 613 and 615 (613 at Caričin Grad, 615 at Chalkis, Nea Anchialos, and Thasos). Seventh-century folles even penetrated north of the Danube as late as the 620s. In Sucidava, circulation completely ceased only in 607.

The vast majority of early seventh-century coins are issues of the Constantinopolitan mint, although the Solomos hoard also includes issues of Thessalonica signed ΘEC instead of TES, usually interpreted as a measure of the disruption in the western Balkans at that time (Metcalf 1962a:16 and 20).⁵²⁶ Many hoards found in Macedonia and Greece were interpreted in connection with Sclavene invasions (Metcalf 1962a; Nystazopoulou-

Pelekidou 1986:349), and recent doubts raised by the author of this interpretation himself did not provide an alternative (Metcalf 1991:140-141).

A new perspective based on a global consideration of hoards found in Eastern and Southeastern Europe leads us to an interesting conclusion concerning the questions, are there any regularities in the hoarding activity recorded in various provinces or beyond the frontier, in *barbaricum*? And if so, how could these regularities be explained? Hoarding patterns certainly exist, but not because of the action of any external cause related to the invasions of Cutrigurs, Avars, or Sclavenes. They result from historical convergences combined with basic, economically set limitations on the political and military efforts of the sixth to seventh century empire. Collecting together a 'treasure' of coins in cash was a response rather to general tendencies occurring on the money market and in circulation resulting from economic change, than to wartimes or even social turmoil (Berghaus 1987:17; Mikołajczyk 1982:972). Taking copper coinage into consideration, one must admit that there are striking correlations between hoarding behavior and the evolution of this particular type of coin, with such a high degree of surplus value that it could safely be called 'fiduciary' in nature. When, following Justinian's death, the tendency was to diminish the follis and to

alter its relation to gold, along with an increasing coin production (Morrisson 1986:118), the number of hoards of copper significantly increased and their structure began to change. As for the concealment of hoards, one should be reminded that the hoards' owners, particularly in the case of *donativa*-type of hoards, most probably indicating the presence of the military, may have kept their savings in cash in a hiding place *custodiae causa*, rather than *ob metum barbarorum*.

An Addendum: Seventh-Century Hoards of Silver

After 615-620, hoards of silver began to appear in the regions north of the Danube, although gold (Firtușu, Udești) and copper (Obârșeni) did not completely disappear. The last coins in the Balkans are those of the Salona hoard (dated 631), but small hoards of five to seven solidi (Potkom, Nerežišće, Solomos) may still indicate *donativa*. Hoards of hexagrams found in the territories north of the Danube are commonly interpreted in connection with the invasion of the Bulgars (Adelson 1957:93; Yannopoulos 1978:106; Popović 1980:252; Bonev 1985; Dimitrov 1985:119). But hoards of hexagrams were also found in significant number in southern Caucasus and in the Kama-Urals region, while being completely absent from the steppes north of the Black Sea (Smedley 1988: 118; Noonan 1982:279).⁵²⁷ They also appear in the

Carpathian basin, although we have detailed information only about the Zemianský Vrbovok hoard. Yannopoulos's monograph on hexagrams, though the first serious attempt to study this coinage, failed to provide an explanation for this distribution pattern.⁵²⁸ Looking in detail at the finds in Eastern Europe and the Caucasus area, one feature becomes immediately apparent: there is a concentration of finds with coins of Heraclius and Constans II's early regnal years in the Caucasus. In contrast, issues of Constantine IV cluster in the Lower Danube area.

A considerable number of specimens (482) of Heraclius' first series (Yannopoulos I=MIB 140-145), dated between 615 and 638 come from Armenia [Dvin I, with 106 specimens, Dvin II, with 84, Kosh, with five (Kropotkin 1962:42), Leninakan, with three (Kamera and Golenko 1961)⁵²⁹ and Grchi, with only one) or Georgia [Marganeti, with four specimens (Abaramishvili 1977)⁵³⁰, Mckheta, with an unknown number of specimens (Kropotkin 1962:44)] or from two other hoards found in the Kama-Perm region (Bartym, with 264 specimens, Shestakovo, with eleven).⁵³¹ Only six specimens known so far come from the Lower Danube area [Galați, with three, Vârtopu, Marazlievka, and Sânnicolau Mare, each with one specimen (Mitrea 1972:146)], one was found in a burial at Gurzuf-Chufut Kale in Crimea (Sokolova 1968:262), another from

Szadzko (Poland)(Gassowska 1979:208), another one in the excavations at Sardis (Yannopoulos 1978:102), and the half of a third one, in a burial at Linz-Zizlau, in Austria (Hahn 1978-1979:163). The next series (Yannopoulos II=MIB III 146), which is dated to 638-641, has only 16 specimens, all of which come from Armenian hoards (Dvin I, with nine, Kosh, with four, and Leninakan, with two). Other four hoards from Caucasus (Igdir, Mckheta III, Echmiadzin, Tbilisi) include an unknown number of coins of Heraclius. This distribution pattern suggests that hexagrams issued by Heraclius after 614/5 were, more than the series of miliaresia of his predecessors, merely ceremonial coins or minted for the payment of soldiers recruited by the emperor for his Persian campaign (Jones 1964:316; Grierson 1982:104; Hahn 1981a:99). The raids of the Khazars allied with Heraclius and eventually the fall of Tiflis in 629 may have caused the accumulation of a considerable amount of silver in their hands, some of which may have been later traded to the Kama region, where the native population needed silver for religious and ritualistic purposes (Noonan 1982:271-287).

Accumulation of hexagrams continued in Armenian and Georgian hoards during Constans II's rule. His second series (MIB III 144-146) issued between 647 and 651 and his third series (MIB III 147-148), minted between 651

and 654 are only known from Leninakan and Marganeti. Though specimens of Constans II's first (MIB III 142, dated between 642 and 646) and fourth series (Yannopoulos II 1 and 3=MIB III 149-151, dated between 654 and 659), that were found in Caucasus still dominate,⁵³² four pieces of the former (Drăgășani, with three specimens, and Valea Teilor, with only one) and six of the latter (Galați, with four specimens, Prișeaca, with two) indicate that these silver coinage have reached the Lower Danube area in the mid-600s. However, the most interesting phenomenon of Constans II's silver coinage related to Eastern Europe are his miliaresia. All known specimens come from the Zemianský Vrbovok hoard (17). Besides two other hexagrams, the hoard itself seems to have been primarily made up of these miliaresia. Die-links prove that the miliaresia group could be divided into two subgroups of coins with different obverses and reverses (Fiala 1986:17-19 and fig. 2-3). This further suggests that the Zemianský Vrbovok hoard probably represents gifts or bribes (Bonev 1985:63; Kolníková 1989:27-29)⁵³³ and that miliaresia of Constans II may have been struck in limited amount, specifically for shipment to some barbarian chieftain at the northern frontier of the empire. It is tempting to associate the date of the miliaresia in the Zemianský Vrbovok hoard (659) with Constans II's campaign of 658 against the Thracian and

Macedonian *Sklaviniai*, but the distance between the two renders any such explanation very dubious. However, since the hoard's last coin is a specimen of Constans II's last series (Yannopoulos III 1=MIB III 152-154), issued in 659-668, one may think of a later moment for the transfer of the whole collection from the imperial mint and/or treasure to its owner. This is the moment when accumulation starts in the Priseaca hoard (6 specimens), which may indicate that year 660 represents a significant political moment, perhaps in connection with the proclamation of Heraclius and Tiberius as co-emperors.

What is important, nevertheless, is that silver coinage during the reign of Constans II seems to have preserved, at least in part, its ceremonial character. This function is more evident in the case of Constantine IV's hexagrams, all of which [except two specimens in the Sukko hoard (Golenko 1965:165 and fig. 1/6-7)] were found in the Lower Danube area. All three series of the reign are represented in the Priseaca hoard: Yannopoulos I 1 and 2=MIB III 62 a-b (668-669) with five specimens, Yannopoulos II 1, 4, and 5=MIB III 64-65 (669-674) with 97 specimens (two also in Valea Teilor and Galați) and Yannopoulos II=MIB III 66-68 (674-680) with 31 specimens (four also come from the Galați hoard). The Piua Petrii find also includes a hexagram of Constantine IV, but the type is unknown. One can hardly fail to notice that the

largest group of coins of the Priseaca hoard dates to the 670s, which may indicate that coins were in fact not 'gathered', but received, all at the same time.⁵³⁴ That the Priseaca hoard represents a considerable amount of minted silver is also suggested by the fact that it includes more than a half (142) of all known specimens of Constantine IV's hexagrams (251)(Hahn 1978-1979:160). In Eastern Europe, the only known hexagrams of Constantine IV are those found in Romania (Priseaca, Valea Teilor, Galați, Piuă Petrii).⁵³⁵ Except two hexagrams of Heraclius in the Belopoliane hoard, which belong to one of the series issued between 615 and 637, there are no hexagrams in the Balkans, despite continuity of hoarding of both copper (Bălgarevo and Bakirköy) and gold (Catalça, Belopoliane, and Nesebăr).⁵³⁶ The Silistra hoard, including silver jewelry of the late sixth-century, is a case in itself. The three silver coins found there are one miliaresion of Justin II and two silver tokens of 1/2 siliqua minted in Constantinople.⁵³⁷ These tokens were not money, but propaganda means for the anniversary of either Rome (April 21) or Constantinople (May 11) or for consular ceremonies (Hahn 1975:156). Their presence on the Lower Danube is not a surprise, for a lead seal of Constantine IV was also found in Silistra (see Appendix A, no. 71). The presence of the emperor on the (former) Danube frontier in 680 is also confirmed by

historical sources (Theophanes Confessor, p. 56; cf. Stratos 1974:108-110). The ceremonial connotations of the Silistra tokens may have something to do with the festive atmosphere surrounding the defeat of the Arabs at Constantinople in 678.⁵³⁸

It would however be a mistake to explain by the same token the presence of the hexagrams north of the Danube river. As already shown, the bulk of the coins in the Priseaca hoard are dated 669 to 674, that is to the time when the Arab fleet organized by Mu'awiya inflicted the first serious defeats to the Byzantines, prior to the siege of the capital in 674 (Bonev 1985:68). Hexagrams from Priseaca and other related hoards may therefore represent bribes or gifts sent to the Bulgars, who had recently advanced to 'Onglos' and become an important political and military factor in the area (cf. Theophanes Confessor, p. 56). This is also suggested by the association of hexagrams with silver earrings with star-shaped pendant of a type often encountered during the Middle Avar period (last quarter of the seventh century) (Čilinská 1975:71; Curta 1994c:249-250 and 256 fig. 6/5, 8, and 9). If this interpretation proves to be correct, then we should admit that by sending hexagrams to Asparuch and his Bulgar warriors, Constantine IV was aiming at ensuring good relations with the new barbarians at the empire's northern frontier, in the difficult

circumstances of the Arabs besieging Constantinople.⁵³⁹ His attitude toward these newcomers was not different from that toward Kuver.⁵⁴⁰ Following the admission to Thessalonica of Mauros, Kuver's shrewd companion, we are told that Constantine IV officially acknowledged him as leader of his 'tribe' settling in Thessalonica (Miracles of St Demetrius II 5.292; see Stratos 1974:71-88; Beshevliev 1981:161-166). This is confirmed by Mauros' lead seal, with his title of *patricius* and *archon* of the Sermesianoi and the Bulgars, which was recently published (Zacos and Veglery 1972:934).⁵⁴¹ With both Asparuch and Kuver, Constantine IV chose to maintain good relations, while concentrating on defeating the Arabs.

This interpretation, if proved to be correct, may then provide new evidence for the long-debated location of Onglos. The distribution of finds, all west and southwest of the Prut river,⁵⁴² and the presence of the emperor's seal in Silistra/Durostorum substantiate the older idea that the Byzantine troops encountered Asparuch's Bulgars in present-day Walachia (Diaconu 1970). But, more important, this new interpretation may shed a new light on related archaeological finds, some of which have intrigued scholars by their unusual character. The large, 'exotic' curved fibula from Coşovenii de Jos, dated to the early seventh century, was found together with two earrings with star-shaped pendant, one similar

to that of Zemianský Vrbovok, the other identical with that of Prișeaca.⁵⁴³ There are only a few similar fibulae, but all seem to have been found in the eastern Balkans,⁵⁴⁴ that is from the main theater of operations in 680/1. The dating, the context and the distribution of this group of fibulae clearly show that they do not belong to the group of the so-called 'Slavic' brooches. Rather than an 'index-fossil' for invasions, they may be associated with status symbols and ceremonial gifts in connection with the arrival of the Bulgars at the Lower Danube and the Byzantine attitude toward them in the 670s and early 680s.

CHAPTER VIII

BARBARIANS ON THE SIXTH-CENTURY DANUBE FRONTIER: AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY

Following the collapse of the Hunnic polity in the mid-fifth century, and the military and political recovery of the Empire in the late fifth and early sixth century, the northern frontier along the Middle and Lower Danube became a key element of early Byzantine foreign affairs. The fifth to seventh centuries were also a period of dramatic changes among the empire's northern neighbors. For the making of the Slavic *ethnie*, these changes were particularly crucial. Justinian's defensive program on the Danube frontier triggered the social and political effects that led to the process of ethnic formation described in the last part of this dissertation. Equally important was the Empire's relationship with the neighbors of the Slavs, the Gepids, the Lombards, the Cutrigurs, and the Avars. The boom which has occurred in the medieval archaeology over the last few decades has made this relationship far more visible than was possible on the basis of written sources alone. This chapter will provide a survey of the results of archaeological investigations and the problems raised by

their interpretation. Emphasis will be laid upon how material culture was used for building group identity or constructing symbols of power. I will first examine the evidence from the sixth-century Carpathian basin and neighboring regions, followed by a brief survey of Avar archaeology. The last section of this chapter is devoted to the archaeology of the steppe north of the Black Sea and to problems of chronology and interpretation of hoards of silver and bronze, which are relevant for the archaeological assemblages discussed in the next chapter.

The Carpathian Basin

Attila's death in 453 and the rapid demise of the Huns opened the way to the rise of new political forces in the Middle Danube region. The Gepids were among the first to take advantage of the power vacuum. Their king, Ardaric, who ruled between 451 and 455, became Emperor Marcian's ally, and the Gepids were paid 100 pounds of gold *solidi* annually (Bóna 1956:235; Bóna 1976:16; Christou 1991:56). In 471, the Gepids occupied Pannonia Secunda (present-day Srem and Slavonia), but were attacked in 504 by an Ostrogothic army led by Count Pitzia.⁵⁴⁵ The Gepids attempted to regain Sirmium, but Vitigis ousted them in 528. As the Gothic war started in Italy, however, they finally occupied both Sirmium and Bassiana (Procopius, Wars VII 33.8-11; Secret History

18.16-19; Pohl 1980:289). They allied themselves with the Franks and began raiding the Balkan provinces.⁵⁴⁶ In response, Emperor Justinian offered the Lombards the annual subsidies, which had, until then, been paid to the Gepids.⁵⁴⁷ The Gepids were defeated in 547 by an allied Lombard-Byzantine-Herul force, and again, in 551 or 552, by the Lombards.⁵⁴⁸ The Gepids were led by petty kings ruling over the eastern part of the Carpathian basin. In the late 480s, Thrapstila was 'king' of Sirmium, followed at his death by his son, Thrasaric. Cunimund, who ruled between 560 and 567, also resided in Sirmium, together with the Arian bishop of the Gepids. In Sirmium, Cunimund minted silver coins, which imitated Byzantine and Ostrogothic coinage (Bóna 1976:71).⁵⁴⁹

Following their victory over the Heruls in ca. 507, the Lombards moved south of the Danube's middle course into Pannonia, though they probably settled there only after 526 or 527 (Christou 1991:59 and 62). They were most likely federates, since they appear as defending the Danube frontier, much like the Suebians before them. In addition, Justinian allowed them to expand between the Sava and the Drava rivers, which brought them very close to Sirmium and other Gepid settlements. Wacho, the king of the Lombards, had close ties to the Merovingian rulers in Reims. His eldest daughter, Wisigarda, married Theudebert in ca. 530, while his younger daughter,

Walderada, became wife to Theudebert's son, Theudebald (547-555)(for Frankish-Lombard relations, see Werner 1962:136; Bóna 1990b:14-15). In addition, the collapse of their 'kingdom', after Theudebert's victory of 534 or 535, caused the migration of a large number of Thuringians to 'Lombardia'. Auduin, who ruled from 547/548 to 560/565, married Rodelinda, the daughter of Herminafred, the last king of the Thuringians (Bóna 1990b:14).

The first to speak of 'Gepid culture' in relation to sixth-century artifacts found in the Hungarian plain (east of the Tisza river) was József Hampel, the founder of medieval archaeology in Hungary (Hampel 1905:776; Bóna 1979a:10). The first cemetery was excavated in the early 1900s by Gábor Csallány at Berekhát, near Szentes. In 1925, K. Eperjesy unearthed the cemetery at Csanád-Bökény, the first to be coin-dated to the late fifth century (Csallány 1961:17). Shortly after World War II, Kurt Horedt unearthed at Morești, in Transylvania, the first sixth-century, fully excavated settlement in the Carpathian basin (Horedt 1979a). The 'Gepid culture,' however, was more often associated with funerary assemblages. In his still unrivaled monograph of 1961, Dezső Csallány listed 275 cemeteries with more than 1,900 burials, with an immense quantity of artifacts. Kurt Horedt first emphasized the association of the 'Gepid

culture' with contemporary assemblages in Germany and France and called it the easternmost *Reihengräber* group.⁵⁵⁰

By contrast, the evidence of sixth-century burials west of the Middle Danube, in the area presumably inhabited by Lombards, is comparatively meager. Only seventeen cemeteries are known so far in western Hungary with about 400 burials dated to the period of the Lombard presence in Pannonia (Bóna 1979a:393-394; Bóna 1979b:24; Menghin 1982:59-60; cf. Christie 1995:37). Ever since Joachim Werner subdivided the archaeological material attributed to the Lombards into three chronological phases, artifact-categories from Pannonia are viewed as different from those of Italy and the region north of the Danube river (Werner 1962; cf. Tejral 1990:231). Recent studies, however, have produced a far more complex picture. Instead of a uniform, unidirectional migration movement, archaeologists now emphasize the ties maintained between regions north and south of the Middle Danube.⁵⁵¹ After ca. 450, a new kind of funerary assemblage made its appearance in Bohemia, Moravia, and Slovakia. Warriors were buried with a large quantity of weapons (swords, spears, arrow heads, shield bosses, and axes). Close contacts were maintained with Merovingian Gaul, as indicated by the glass beaker found at Zohor (Pieta 1987:394-395), and with the Scandinavian world, as exemplified by

the cross-brooch found at Orasice (Zeman 1987:521). A significant change in fashion is also visible in female burials. Besides a pair of brooches at shoulders, women wore one or two additional fibulae attached to leather straps hanging from the belt and adorned with amber or glass beads (Zeman 1987:521; cf. Bóna 1976:41). That occupation of the area north of the Danube continued even after the Lombards established themselves in Pannonia is shown by finds of stamped pottery in Moravia (Oblekovice, Borotice, Šakvice, Lužice).⁵⁵² On the other hand, strong ties were maintained with the regions further to the north. This results, for example, from the unusual association at Kajdacs of 38 inhumations with 10 contemporary cremation burials (Bóna 1979a:395; Menghin 1982:60). Further confirmation comes from finds of handmade pottery similar to that produced in central Bohemia (Werner 1962:60). Some archaeologists laid a particular emphasis upon a variety of small, handmade pots, which were found only in children's burials (Várpálota, Rácálmás, Bezenye, Vörs, Szentendre, Kajdacs). Such pots were hastily classified as Slavic, Prague-type pottery, in an attempt to provide an archaeological illustration to Procopius' story of Hildigis and his retinue of Slavene warriors, which is discussed in Chapter V. Similar pots, however, appear in contemporary children burials east of the Tisza river, in 'Gepidia' (Kishomok, Szentes-Kökényzug, and

Szöreg). This further indicates that deposition of handmade pots should be interpreted in connection with age status, rather than ethnic identity. István Bóna rightly rejected the interpretation of handmade pots in connection with the episode of Hildigis, by pointing to differences in dating (Bóna 1979a:399-400).⁵⁵³

Cemeteries in 'Lombardia' appear along the right bank of the Danube, between Vienna and Budapest, often near already abandoned Roman forts, but no associated settlements have been found.⁵⁵⁴ Contacts with the western Frankish world increased during this period, as indicated by the growing number of Frankish-Alamannic brooches, which are otherwise absent from both Bohemian-Moravian and later Italian finds.⁵⁵⁵ The same is true for finds of swords with damascened blades (such as that from Tamási), which point to production centers in the Rhine valley (Bóna 1978:112).⁵⁵⁶ Unlike the Frankish *Reihengräber-kreis*, cemeteries in western Hungary produced a relatively large quantity of *millefiori* beads. Such beads were produced in Italy or somewhere else in the eastern Mediterranean (Tomka 1980:22; Koch 1974:497-503; Fiedler 1992:81). By contrast, amber beads almost disappear from funerary assemblages (Bóna 1956:213; Werner 1962:82), though connections with Scandinavia certainly continued, as evidenced by the introduction of the so-called 'animal Style I' for the decoration of local types of brooches or

by finds of bracteates, such as those from burial 21 at Várpalota (Haseloff 1981:702; Werner 1962:80; Bóna 1976: pl. 80). Scandinavian connections, perhaps mediated via 'Lombardia,' are also visible in funerary assemblages within the Empire's frontiers. A pair of Scandinavian brooches was found in association with a freshly minted solidus of Justinian (dated after 538), in a female burial in Gračanica (Kosovo, Serbia). Their closest analogy is the fibula from Skodborgus (Denmark), which was found together with B- and D-bracteates, dated to the early sixth-century (Popović and Čerškov 1956:319-320; Vinski 1968:106 and pls. II-III; cf. Haseloff 1981:238-241 and pl. 32/1).⁵⁵⁷

Archaeologists traditionally divide 'Gepidia' into three areas: the Tisza plain, north Serbia and Transylvania (Bóna 1976:29-30; Cseh 1986:205). Large sixth-century settlements excavated in Transylvania (Moreşti, Cipău, Dipşa, Bratei) include sunken buildings (*Grubenhäuser*) with the superstructure supported by five, six or, sometimes, even more posts, but without any heating facility.⁵⁵⁸ Such buildings were common in contemporary settlements of central and western Europe (Bärhorst, Gladbach, Weimar, and Irl, in Germany; West Stow in England; Brebières, in France)(Kiss 1992:59). The earliest, but also richest, burials, dated to the second half of the fifth century also come from Transylvania.

High-status burials with many types of often costly grave-goods, found there (Șimleul Silvaniei I and II, Apahida I and II, and Someșeni) may indicate the creation of a center of power, perhaps the most important in the area during the entire period following the demise of Attila's Hunnic empire (Harhoiu 1982:587).⁵⁵⁹ By 500, however, the distribution of wealth changed dramatically. Rich, but isolated graves were replaced by relatively large cemeteries, and costly objects of gold by other, comparatively simpler status markers.⁵⁶⁰ Unlike fifth-century funerary assemblages, such markers often appear in women's graves. Among the most important were silver eagle-headed buckles, lavishly decorated with niello and cabochons (Rusu 1959; see also Bóna 1976:pl. 13-15) and equally luxurious silver or gilded silver brooches of the Aquileia class (Kühn 1965:95-101; Harhoiu 1982:589; Harhoiu 1990:187). Both artifact-types also occur in contemporary funerary assemblages in Crimea, which points to long-distance contacts with 'Gepidia' (Ambroz 1968:14 and 17; Aibabin 1990:32-35). A small number of sixth-century Byzantine coins (cf. Bóna et al. 1993:77) suggests that relations with the empire were, in material culture terms, comparatively insignificant. By contrast, contacts with Scandinavia were much stronger. Nils Åberg believed that a true commercial network existed between sixth-century Gotland and Italy, in which 'Gepidia,'

particularly after the conquest of Sirmium, played a major role (Åberg 1953:90 and 100-101; cf. Hines 1984:277). Two eagle-headed buckles were found in a sixth-century cemetery in Mazuria (Tylkowo; Rusu 1959:12) and Joachim Werner rightly pointed to 'imports' from 'Gepidia' found with the warrior burial at Taurapolis, in Lithuania (Werner 1977). An equal-armed brooch found in grave no. 84 at Szentes-Nagyhegy, in Hungary, is a typical specimen of the phase B of the animal Style I in east Sweden, dated to the early sixth century (Csallány 1961:59-62; pl. XXXIX/5 and pl. XLI/1; Åberg 1953:102; Haseloff 1981:187-188).⁵⁶¹ To the same direction points the buckle accidentally found at Gyula, near the present-day Hungarian-Romanian frontier (Csallány 1961:113 and pl. CXCI/2), which was certainly produced in Scandinavia in a style strikingly similar to local fibulae decorated in animal Style I, such as that of Gummersmark (Haseloff 1981:701). Finally, the square-headed brooch with foot-plate bar, which was found in burial no. 124 at Szolnok-Szandaszöllös (Csallány 1961:211 and pl. CCXLVI/1) is a unique continental specimen of a purely Scandinavian series of the early 500s (Haseloff 1981:702 and 705; Hines 1984:271-272; Hines 1997:28 and pl. 102a). Such contacts were probably the result of a variety of factors, such as gift-exchange, exogamy, and, possibly, travelling craftsmen (Hines 1984:272). It is much more

difficult to decide whether or not trade was also involved. In any case, once they reached 'Gepidia', Scandinavian and Baltic goods were further re-distributed into neighboring regions. This is most evident from the examination of sixth-century amber finds within the Carpathian basin. Unlike contemporary funerary assemblages in western Pannonia, burials in eastern Hungary and Transylvania produced a large number of amber beads, often in more than one specimen and in combination with glass or chalk beads (cf. Csallány 1961:272). The largest quantity in a single cemetery, 138 in total, is from Kiszombor, but neighboring cemeteries (Szentcsanak-Nagyhegy, Berekhát, Szentcsanak-Kökényzug, Szöreg) also produced large numbers of amber beads. A distribution map of all known finds (Figure 12)⁵⁶² shows a concentration in 'Gepidia', especially in the region on the left bank of the Tisza, between the Körös/Criş and the Maros/Mureş rivers. Despite the lack of any characterization studies, it is possible that these beads were made of succin amber, which is found on the shores of the Baltic Sea.⁵⁶³ That amber travelled along the Vistula trade route is demonstrated by amber deposits, such as that found at Basonia (Wielowiejski 1987:77-79 and 83), but none could be dated later than ca. 450. The distribution map shows that if amber beads were imported into 'Gepidia' from the Baltic coast, comparatively few were allowed to pass further,

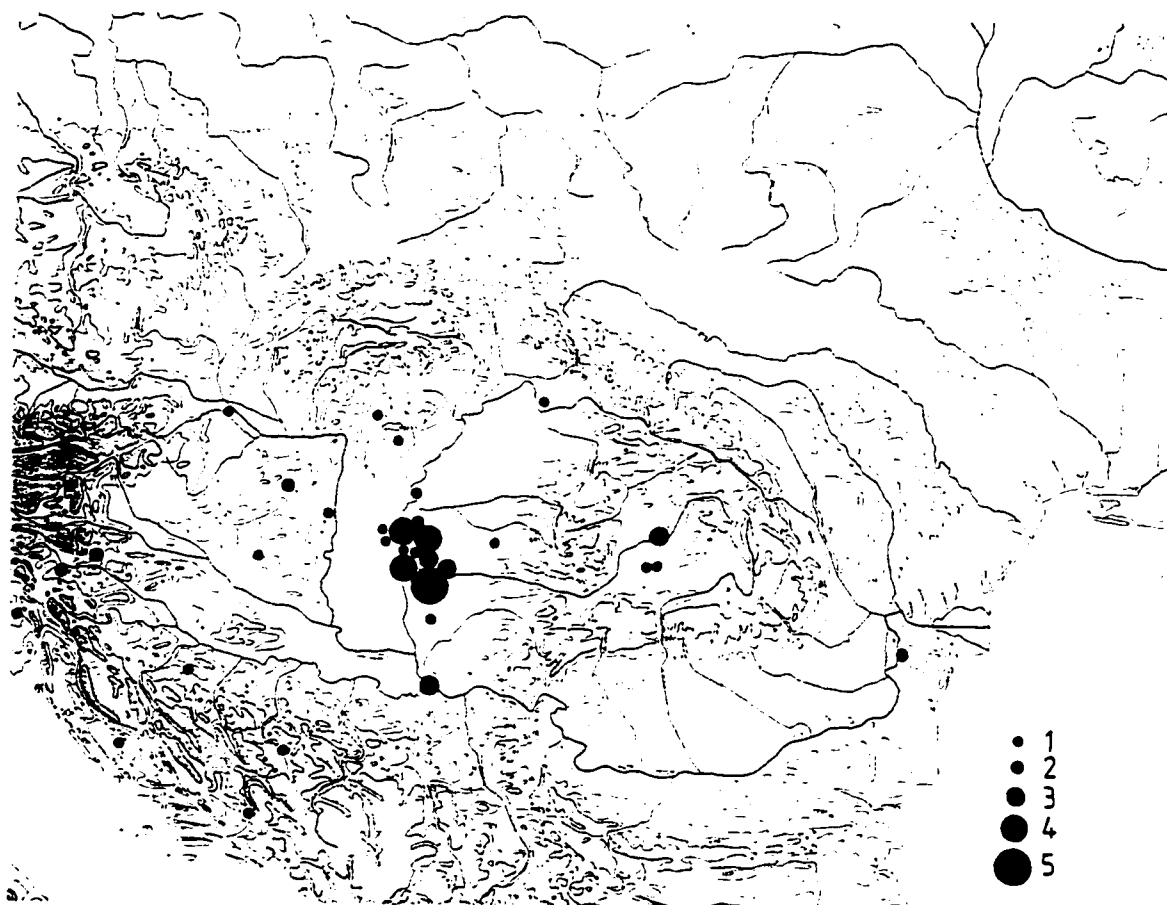


Figure 12. Distribution of Amber Beads in Late Fifth- or Sixth-Century Funerary Assemblages Within the Carpathian Basin and Neighboring Areas. For Legend, See Text.

which may indicate that they were used, between ca. 500 and ca. 565, as markers of group identity in 'Gepidia'. This is also suggested by the distribution of amber beads dated to the Early Avar period (ca. 570 to ca. 670; see Tóth and Horváth 1992:205-206), which sharply contrasts with the previous, more localized distribution (Figure 13).⁵⁶⁴

As shown in Chapter II, 'emblemic style' often marks and maintains boundaries and transmits a clear message to a defined target population. It becomes highly visible particularly in times of socio-political stress and between-group competition and hostility. Archaeological finds in Hungary and the neighboring regions, which could be dated to the late fifth century or to the first two thirds of the sixth century, concentrate on either the right bank of the Danube or on the left bank of the Tisza river (Figure 14).⁵⁶⁵ There are few known finds in the land between the two rivers and no sites of a fortified nature. This area was often interpreted as a "no man's land" separating the Lombards from the Gepids (Werner 1962:116; Christie 1995:55). There was undoubtedly significant interaction across this buffer zone.⁵⁶⁶ The construction of male identity in both 'Lombardia' and 'Gepidia' operated with the same artifact-categories, which are most visible from the dress of deceased at burial or from the provision of military gear. With few

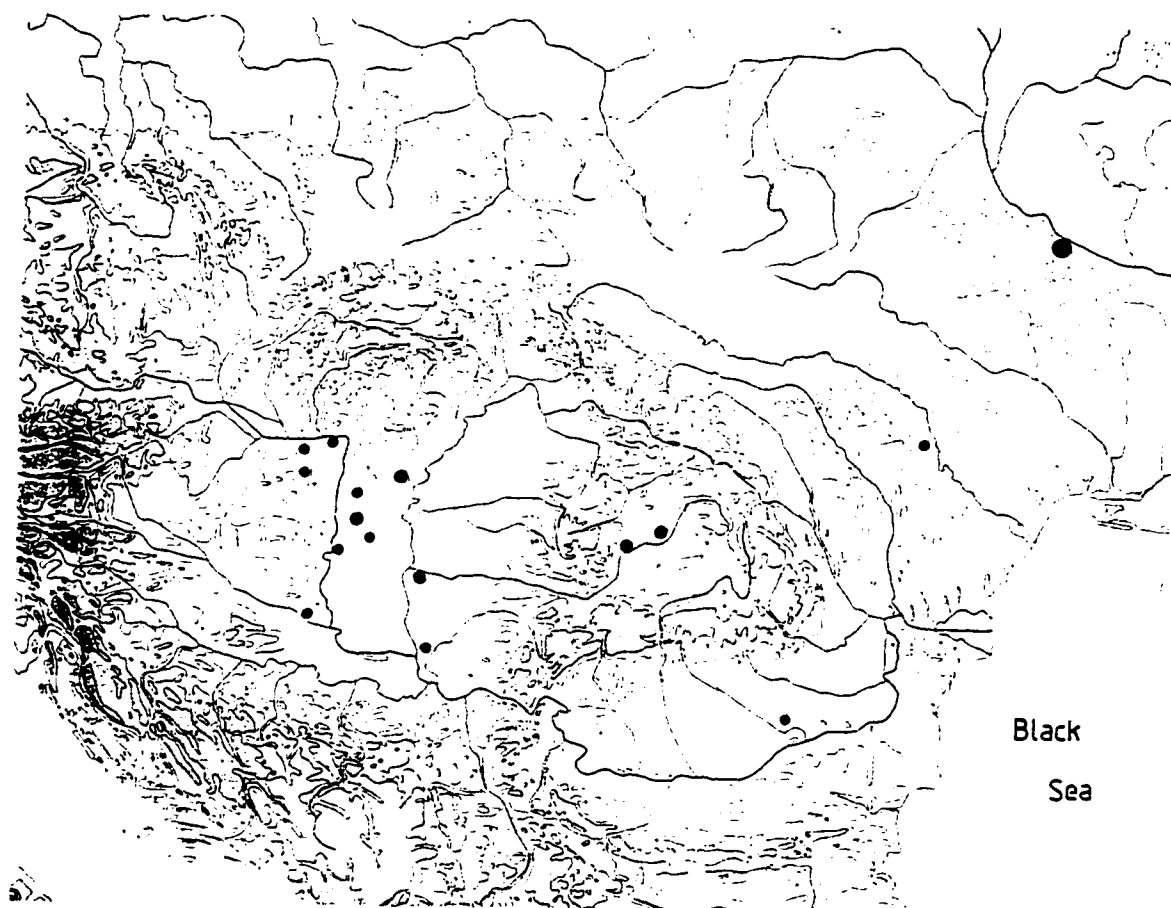


Figure 13. Distribution of Amber Beads in Seventh-Century Assemblages Within the Carpathian Basin and Neighboring Areas. For Legend, See Text.

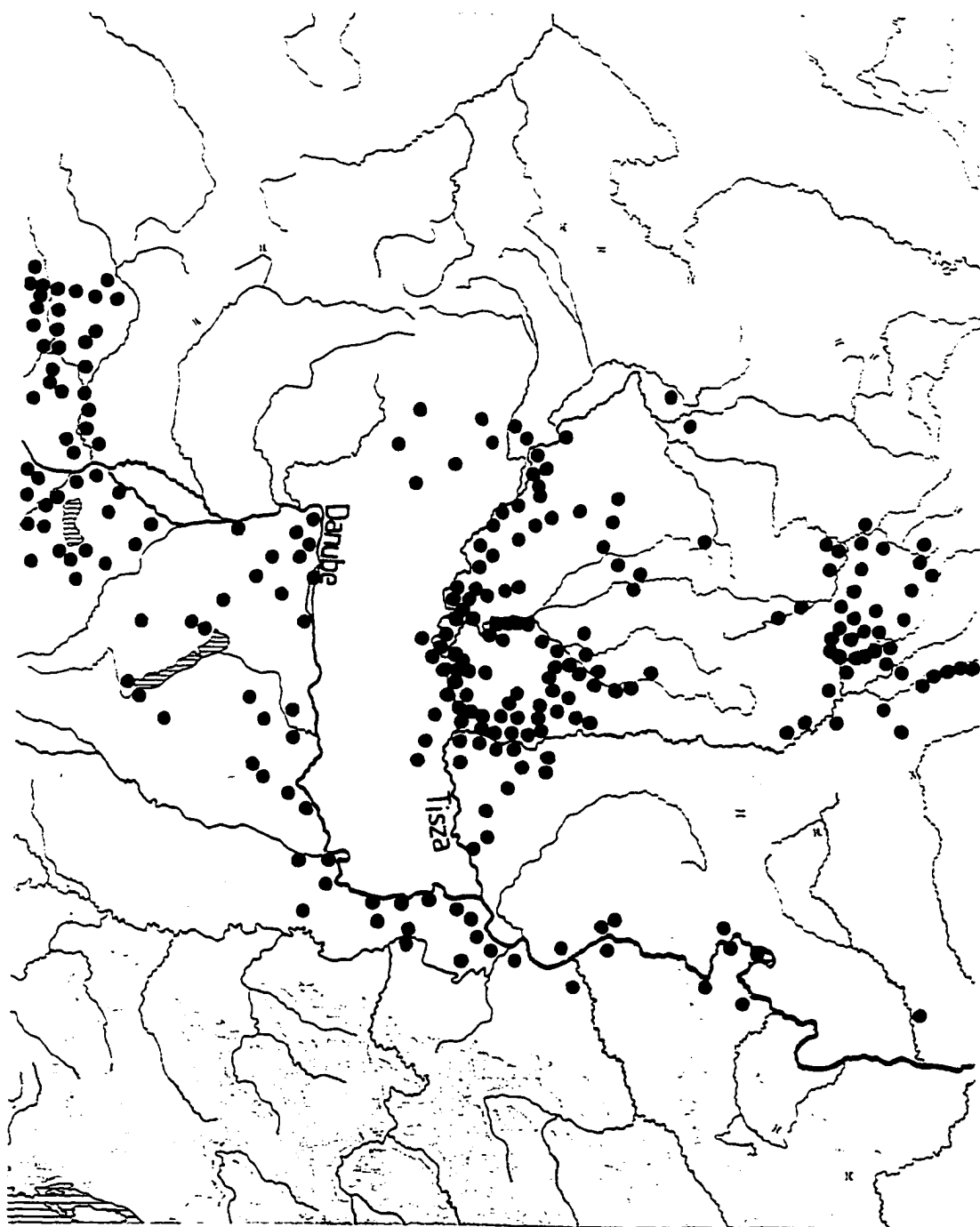


Figure 14. Distribution of Late Fifth- and Sixth-Century Finds Within the Carpathian Basin.

exceptions (such as the damascened blades from Tamási), there is no difference between swords found in warrior graves in western Pannonia and 'Gepidia',⁵⁶⁷ despite Jordanes' claim that the *ensis* was a typically Gepid weapon (*Getica* 50; cf. Csallány 1961:258; Cseh 1990a:30; Kiss 1992:52). In both cases, these were double-edged weapons, ranging from 80 to 100 centimeters in length. In both areas, as elsewhere in Europe, shield deposition signaled male adulthood (cf. Dickinson and Härke 1992:69). Both west of the Danube and east of the Tisza river the prevalent type of shield boss was indeed not different from contemporary Anglo-Saxon or west Merovingian specimens with convex cone, straight wall and five flange rivets (Dickinson and Härke 1992:13-17; Hübener 1989:94).⁵⁶⁸ Helmets of the Baldenheim class, which were also used by Roman army officers, were found in both 'Lombardia' (Dolné Semerovce and Steinbrunn) and 'Gepidia' (Batajnica and Berekhát)(Figure 15).⁵⁶⁹ Such rare and expensive artifacts, which clearly signalize high social status (Böhner 1993:206),⁵⁷⁰ are easy to distinguish from slightly later helmets of the Niederstotzingen class, for which parallels could be found as far as Bokchondong in South Korea (Werner 1988a).⁵⁷¹ The evidence of interaction between 'Lombardia' and 'Gepidia' is even more compelling in the case of stamped pottery. There are some forty stamped

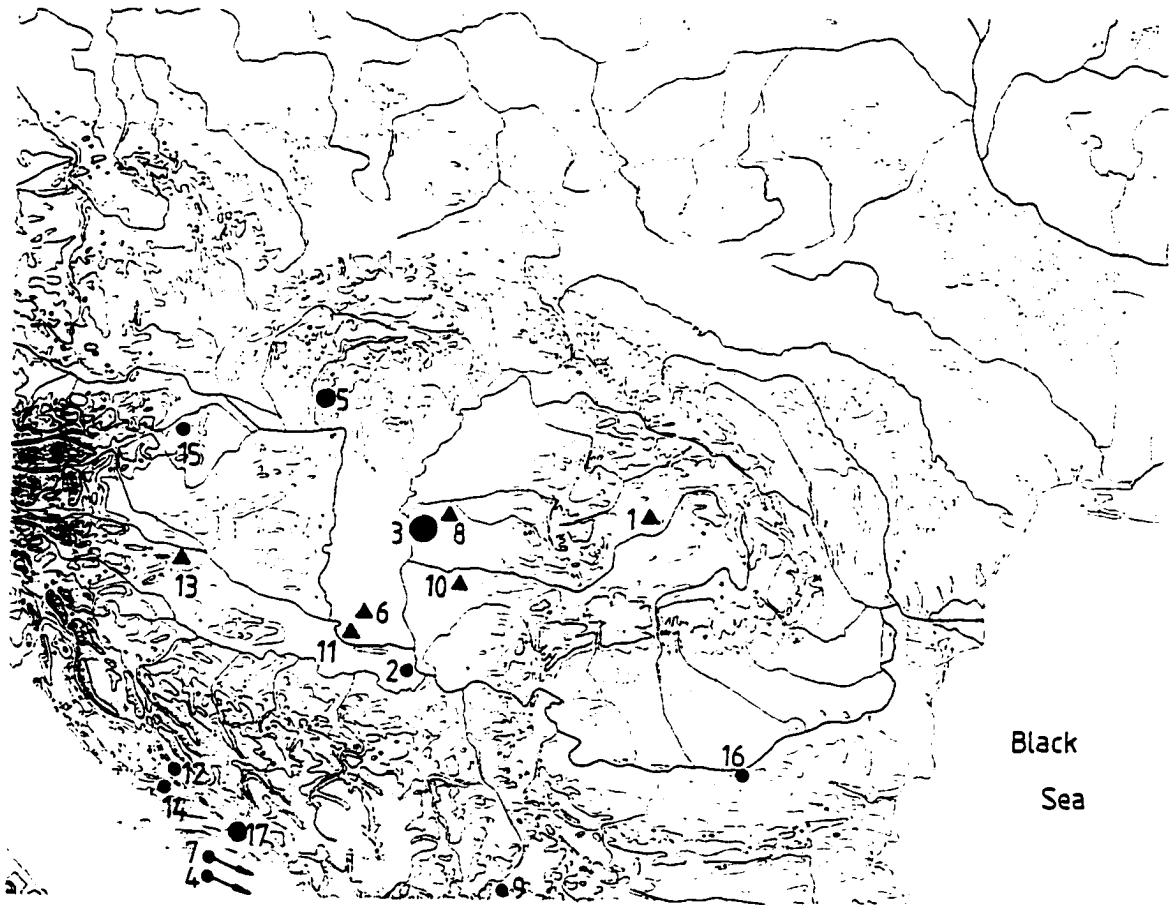


Figure 15. Distribution of Helmets of Baldenheim and Niederstotzingen Classes Within the Carpathian Basin and Neighboring Areas. For Legend, See Text.

vessels found in 'Gepidia' and some thirty pots found in 'Lombardia.' Pots with stamped decoration were certainly produced locally, as evidenced by the kiln and the associated potsherds found at Törökszentmiklós, in eastern Hungary (Cseh 1990b).⁵⁷² Such pottery was only rarely found in settlements.⁵⁷³ All known finds of stamped pottery come from male burials (Simoni 1977-1978:231; Kiss 1984:135; Bóna 1990b; for Slovenian finds, see Knific 1994). There is yet no die-study of stamped vessels from cemeteries in western Pannonia and 'Gepidia', comparable to C. J. Arnold's analysis of stamped urns from Anglo-Saxon cemeteries (Arnold 1983; Arnold 1988). The methodology used by Attila Kiss in identifying sixth-century stamps that were also used during the Early Avar period is based on the macroscopic comparison of the stamps presented in the form of a presence/absence diagram (see Kiss 1992:55 and 77-79; cf. Kiss 1996). According to Kiss, there are five stamps which appear on both 'Gepid' and 'Lombard' vessels and four stamps which appear on 'Gepid', but not on 'Lombard' pottery. In reality, though most likely cut in different dies and with different frequency, almost all stamps were used in both areas.⁵⁷⁴ In the absence of die-studies, however, it is difficult to decide whether or not and to what extent dies, as Arnold (1983:27) suggested for those found in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, moved from one site to the other, following

family or kin connections. In any case, judging from the evidence available from published photographs and/or drawings, it seems there was no specific clustering. Stamps, if not dies, were used on both sides of the "no man's land" between the Danube and the Tisza.

Clear material culture distinctions were maintained, however, in a wide range of artifact categories found in women's graves. As elsewhere in contemporary Europe, female apparel may have been used as internal and external badge and reminder of ethnic identity (Sasse 1990:48; Strauß 1992:70; Dickinson 1993:39; Hines 1994:52; cf. Pancake 1991:46). While cemeteries in western Pannonia produced no specimens of any kind (cf. Sági 1964:396), various types of earrings, especially those with polyhedral cube, were particularly frequent in 'Gepidia'.⁵⁷⁵ Unlike graves in 'Lombardia', where single-layered combs were preferred, women and children in 'Gepidia' were buried with double-layered ones in their hair (Bóna 1956:213; Bóna 1976:43).⁵⁷⁶ Unlike Lombard women's graves, Gepid ones had no straps with fastened jewels, though they occasionally produced reliquaries attached to the belt (such as in burial no. 84 at Szentes-Nagyhegy; Csallány 1961:pl. XXXIX/4). In 'Lombardia', after ca. 530, there were no burials, either of children or of women, with artificially deformed skulls (Zeman 1987:524).⁵⁷⁷ By contrast, artificial cranial deformation, a

practice introduced by the Huns in the early 400s, was maintained in 'Gepidia' during most of the sixth century (Cseh 1990a:60).⁵⁷⁸

No other artifact category, however, is more relevant in relation to the construction of ethnic boundaries than brooches. The distribution of all types of bow fibulae⁵⁷⁹ which were in use during the first two thirds of the sixth century (Figure 16)⁵⁸⁰ shows a sharp contrast between the area west of the Danube and the region east of the Tisza river. A particularly popular class of brooches in 'Gepidia' was the Gurzuf type (Kühn 1974:728-742),⁵⁸¹ which also occurs in Crimea (Gurzuf, Suuk Su, Sevastopol, Kerch) and in Mazuria (Gruneiken, Kielary), an indication of long-distance contacts established with 'Gepidia'.⁵⁸² However, the most popular fibulae were those of the Hahnheim class (Kühn 1974:799-811), many of which have parallels in Germany (Mühlhausen, Naumburg) or France (Arcy-Ste. Restitue and Orsoy).⁵⁸³ There are two variants of this class, apparently of local production and use (Horedt 1979b:183).⁵⁸⁴ A related, also very popular type of brooch was that of the Krainburg class (Kühn 1974:758-766).⁵⁸⁵ Brooches of this class appear in Crimea (Suuk Su), Mazuria (Lehlesken), Germany (Flomborn), and France (Marchélepot). Specimens with a slightly different decoration were also found in Italy (Sant'Andrea di Grottamare and an unknown location near Pavia; see

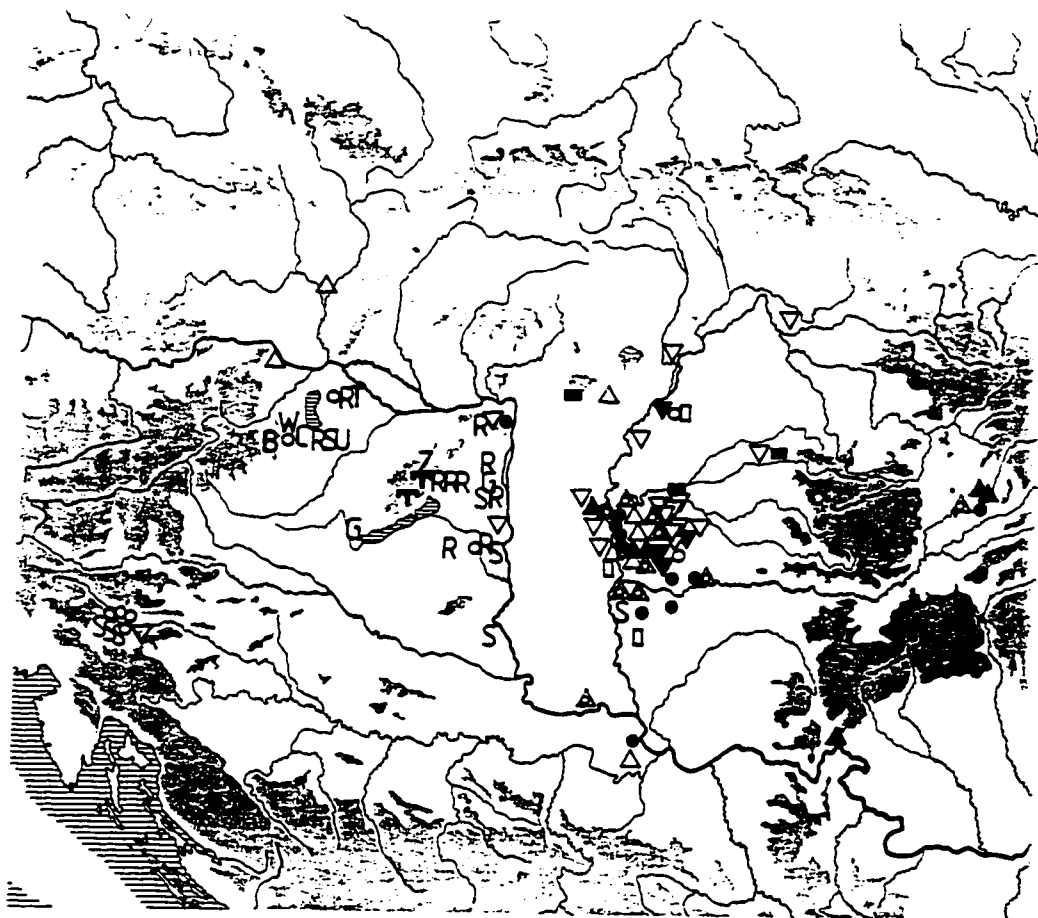


Figure 16. Distribution of Sixth-Century Fibulae Within the Carpathian Basin. For Legend, See Text.

Bierbrauer 1975:284 and pl. XXIII/2; Bierbrauer 1978:221-222 and pl. XCIII/7.3). They were interpreted as 'imports' from 'Gepidia' (Bierbrauer 1978:216). By contrast, fibulae of the Reggio Emilia class (Kühn 1974:718-726) may have been Ostrogothic 'imports' into 'Gepidia'.⁵⁸⁶ Two specimens of the Suuk Su group (Kühn 1974:510-546), that of Kiszombor (grave 146) and that of Magyartés, have analogies in Spain (Estebanvela, Estagel). Two other classes, Pfullingen (Kühn 1974:639-648)⁵⁸⁷ and Wittislingen (Kühn 1974:891-894)⁵⁸⁸ originated in the West.⁵⁸⁹ By contrast, S-shaped fibulae and disc-brooches are very rare in the area east of the Tisza river.⁵⁹⁰

The range of brooch classes in 'Lombardia' is also very wide (cf. Tejral 1990). A brooch of Kühn's Burghagel class (Kühn 1974:965-970) was found at Hegykö (grave 21). Its closest analogy is a fibula from Besançon (Kühn 1974:968 no. 9). Frankish analogies may also be cited for two specimens of the Trivières class (Kühn 1974:1094-1106), found at Várpálota (grave 5) and Jutas. This is also true for the fibula of Kühn's Ulm class found at Fertőszentmiklós, for the *Zangenfibel* found at Várpálota (grave 13), and for the fibula of Kühn's Wiesbaden class found at Hegykö (grave 4)(cf. Kühn 1974:689-694, 827-840, and 1076-1086). The only specimen of the Gurzuf class, which was so popular in contemporary 'Gepidia', was found

at Szentendre. From the same cemetery (grave 33) comes the only specimen of the Hahnheim class found west of the Danube river.⁵⁹¹ By contrast, the number of S-shaped⁵⁹² and disc-brooches⁵⁹³ is comparatively larger. The distribution of fibulae west of the Danube river is also characterized by a relatively large number of brooches without any analogies outside 'Lombardia', except Italy. Kühn's Goethe,⁵⁹⁴ Cividale,⁵⁹⁵ Ravenna⁵⁹⁶, and Castel Trosino⁵⁹⁷ classes are cases in point (Kühn 1974:996-1006, 1187-1191, 1217-1224, and 1239-1248).

The distribution of all these types speaks for itself. Completely different, but co-existing, types of brooches were in use and fashion on each side of the "no man's land" between the Danube and the Tisza river. We can clearly speak of two different 'styles' of brooch-use and assume that they convey information about relative identity of the brooches' owners. The patterns and contrasts created did not produce, however, ethnically specific artifact categories. Very few, if any, brooch classes were creations *ex nihilo* and many were either 'imports' or produced as replicas of 'imported' specimens. In other words, no particular class could be *a priori* diagnosed as either 'Gepid' or 'Lombard'. The ethnic boundary emerged from the manipulation of specific types, without assigning an 'ethnic value' to any of them. More important, this coincides in time with in-

creasing rivalry between the two groups, following the Lombard settlement of the land between the Sava and the Drava rivers, not far from Sirmium, now in Gepid hands. The Lombard-Gepid wars of the mid-sixth century may have contributed to the consolidation of emblemic styles on the Lombard-Gepid frontier. According to Theophylact Simocatta, the final confrontation between Alboin and Cunimund was caused by Rosimunda, the daughter of the Gepid king, who was kidnapped by Alboin (VI 10.8). This may suggest that aristocratic women played a major role in the display of emblemic styles.

The Avars

Few events in the medieval history of East Central Europe were given more importance by historians than the annihilation of both the Gepid and, later, the Lombard 'kingdoms' and the conquest of the Carpathian basin by the Avars. To many, the year 568 is the beginning of the Middle Ages, an East European equivalent of 476 (cf. Pohl 1988:52-57).⁵⁹⁸ Archaeologists working within a culture-historical framework maintain that AD 568 represents an important chronological marker and cultural watershed.

József Hampel (1905) was the first to acknowledge the existence of two chronological horizons in the archaeological material attributed to the Avars. András Alföldi (1934) first pointed to the importance of

Byzantine coins found in burials for the phasing of the 'Avar culture.' Despite recent caveats,⁵⁹⁹ some fifty Byzantine coins found as either funerary offerings or ornamental objects in rich male burials still underpin the entire chronological system of Avar archaeology (cf. Bóna 1990a:113). There are more than 50,000 burials dated to the period between ca. 570 (the foundation of the Avar chaganate) and ca. 800 (the collapse of the Avar chaganate following Charlemagne's victories). Based on the analysis of burials in the Alattyán cemetery, Ilona Kovrig (1963) first divided this period into three phases, namely Early (568-650/660), Middle (650/660-700), and Late Avar (700-792) (Kovrig 1963; cf. Bóna 1971:291; Sós 1973b:86).⁶⁰⁰ Only the first phase was datable by means of Byzantine coins,⁶⁰¹ but Kovrig claimed that some Early Avar assemblages, especially those associated with coins minted for Justinian, Justin II, or Tiberius II,⁶⁰² should be dated earlier than the first half of the seventh century, as was the case until then in Avar archaeology. This claim, however, proved to be groundless, given the underlying problems of the chronological association of coins and artifacts and of their respective use-life (cf. Bálint 1989a:149; Bálint 1993:246).⁶⁰³ The number of Byzantine coins produced so far by Early Avar assemblages, on the other hand, is remarkably small.⁶⁰⁴ As a consequence of various treaties with the Empire,

Byzantine payments to the Avars between 568 and 626 totalled at least 6 million solidi (Pohl 1991b:598; for a list of treaties and payments, see Pohl 1988:502).⁶⁰⁵ It is very likely that a good part of this incredible wealth was later redistributed within the Avar chaganate as gifts. It is possible that the majority of these coins were melted to provide raw material for gold jewelry, for the exact weight of the largest earrings with pyramid-shaped pendants, which are so typical for Early Avar assemblages, is an equivalent of either eight, nine, or ten light solidi (Bóna 1990a:117). Since the use of gold, instead of the usual silver, is restricted to a few exceptionally rich burials, it is possible that supplies of Byzantine gold became the monopoly of a small elite headed by the chagan (cf. Garam 1990:258). If this is true, it may be more productive to treat Early Avar assemblages as indicative of social stratification,⁶⁰⁶ than to continue to draw lists of chronologically sensitive artifact-categories.

Some writers ascribe archaeological assemblages to the Early Avar period on the basis of their alleged analogies in Central Asia or the Middle East, but rarely can contemporary parallels for Early Avar artifact-categories be found outside the Carpathian basin (Bálint 1989:149 and Garam 1990:253; cf. Bálint 1993:214).⁶⁰⁷ Equally unique are burials with both human and horse

skeletons (Bóna 1979c:18-19). Swords with P- or 3-shaped sheath attachments are typical for the earliest assemblages attributed to Avar warriors, but all pre-date their often cited East European or Central Asian analogies (Bálint 1993:219; cf. Ambroz 1986).⁶⁰⁸ It is also difficult to demonstrate a Central Asian origin for the wheel-made grey ware, which was produced only during the Early Avar period in southwest Hungary (Vida 1990-1991: 133).⁶⁰⁹ Both bow-shaped stirrups and stirrups with elongated attachment loop, which are viewed as typical for Early Avar assemblages and the earliest European stirrups,⁶¹⁰ were found in the Kudyrge cemetery in Tuva (east of Lake Baikal, near the Chinese-Russian-Mongolian frontier). Turkic archaeology, however, is notoriously lacking any firmly established chronological system (Bálint 1989:249 and 242-243). As a consequence, there is no possibility yet to decide whether or not such stirrups were brought by the Avar horsemen from Central Asia or 'invented' by them in the Carpathian basin. The majority of Early Avar, published, burials were either isolated finds or found in small groups of graves. In the absence of large cemeteries,⁶¹¹ which would permit an analysis of frequency, distribution, and toposeriation (cf. Djindjian 1985) of artifact-categories, the relative chronology of the Early Avar period remains problematic.

Another major difficulty is the dating of Middle

Avar assemblages. On the exclusive basis of burial evidence and without sufficient settlement finds⁶¹² for comparison, it is almost impossible to discriminate between (late) Early and Middle Avar artifact-categories, despite the fact that the second half of the seventh century certainly witnessed some dramatic cultural change (Bálint 1993:201).⁶¹³ The Middle Avar phase was identified first within the Kisköre-Halastó cemetery, but its best known monuments are rich burials of the so-called Tótipusztá-Dunapentele-Igar group (Garam 1976:129 and 140; cf. Fülöp 1988; Müller 1989; Fülöp 1990), dated by means of coins minted for Emperors Constans II and Constantine IV. These burials have close analogies in extremely rich funerary assemblages from Ukraine, which will be discussed in the following section of this chapter (Voznesenka, Malo Pereshchepino, Glodosy, and Zachepilovki).⁶¹⁴ These astonishing parallels at such a great distance were interpreted as evidence for the migration to the Avar chaganate, in the late seventh century, of a Bulgar group fleeing the civil war inside the western Turkic chaganate.⁶¹⁵ But there are also signs of remarkable continuity between the Early and the Middle Avar assemblages, particularly in western Hungary. Beginning with the last decades of the Early Avar period, belt buckles and plates were decorated with an original variant of the animal Style II, characterized by the frequent occurrence of the

dentil pattern (Nagy 1988; Nagy 1995). Single-edged sabres, of a type commonly dated to the Middle Avar period, were found in at least three Early Avar contexts, that of the Sânpetru German burial (dated by means of a perforated coin struck for Heraclius and Heraclius Constantine), that of burial 259 from Kölked-Feketekapu, and that of grave X from Tarnaméra-Urak düllő (Dörner 1960; Kiss 1996:230 and 232; Szábo 1965:42 and 69 pl. VIII/1-3; cf. Bálint 1992:339).⁶¹⁶ Combat axes, though typical for the Middle, but especially for the Late Avar period, are also known from Early Avar contexts and from contemporary, seventh-century assemblages in Italy and Albania (Kiss 1996:238 and 318).

The understanding of Avar history and archaeology is crucial for the problem of Slavic ethnicity, particularly because, as shown in Chapter V, in the aftermath of the Avar conquest, numerous groups of Sclavenes became subjects of the chagan. The subject of Avar-Slavic relations is extremely controversial (Avenarius 1973, Fritze 1980, Tyszkiewicz 1989, Avenarius 1991). The debate has often been embittered by nationalistic claims, but there is also little understanding of how the Early Avar society and chaganate operated. As far as written sources allow us to see, the territorial division following the conquest of the Carpathian basin resembles a Turkic scheme (of Chinese origin) based on *æl* ("the peace zone"),

including all territories under the chagan's direct rule, and *yāgI*, the territory of the enemy, who refuses to obey to the chagan's orders. The Avars viewed the Danube river as the frontier between *yāgI* and *ēl*. Their chagan, Baian, considered the Sclavenes in Walachia to be part of the *ēl* (Göckenjan 1993:284-285). Ethnic cleavage within the *ēl* may not be easily identifiable, particularly because the Avars themselves were subdivided in clans and tribes (cf. Strategikon XI 2.34-35; for non-Avar groups within the Avar chaganate, see Pohl 1988:225-236). The archaeological evidence substantiates this complex picture.⁶¹⁷ Recent studies show that within the Carpathian basin, various artifact-categories, particularly dress accessories, have a restricted, localized, distribution, and, in fact, there are few items which could be considered 'Avar' on the basis of their wide distribution.⁶¹⁸

The Steppe North of the Black Sea

There was no heir to the Hunnic 'empire' north of the Black Sea. Beginning with the late 500s, Cutrigurs, Utigurs, Saragurs, and Onogurs appear to have shared both the control over the steppe and the interest of historical sources. The first to mention the Cutrigurs were Procopius and Agathias. Both referred to them as 'Huns'. A German historian of the Romantic era, however, claimed, that the Cutrigurs and the Utigurs were Bulgars (Zeuss

1837:713-714). To many, his claim is still indisputable truth, despite the fact (already noticed by A. Burmov in 1948) that no source referring to Bulgars mentions the Cutrigurs and vice-versa (Romashov 1992-1994:218).

Bulgars appear in written sources as early as the mid-fourth century (*Vulgares*: MGH AA 9:105), but all sources locate them in the region north of the Caucasus mountain range.⁶¹⁹ By contrast, the 'Hunnish' Cutrigurs were constantly located in the area close to Crimea and to the northern shore of the Black Sea.⁶²⁰ They probably controlled the entire steppe corridor up to the Danube river. Since Menander the Guardsman is the last source to mention the Cutrigurs, they most likely did not survive politically in the aftermath of the Avar invasion (cf. fr. 12.6). During the last years of Justinian's reign, the control of the steppe was disputed between Utigurs and Cutrigurs, but the rise of the Gök Türk empire brought the Utigurs, the Onogurs, and other groups under the domination of the western chaganate. At the same time, the Cutrigurs became subjects of Baian, the chagan of the Avars. The two 'empires' most likely collided on the Don river. As the civil war broke within the western Gök Türk chaganate after the death, in 630, of the yabghu qaghan T'ung, two confederations were competing for power and control over the steppe north of the Caucasus range: the Bulgars, under the leadership of a heir of the Dulo,

the leading clan of the left division of the western chaganate, and the Khazars, led by a member of the charismatic Ashina clan of the Turkish chaganate, associated with the right division.⁶²¹ The Bulgar chaganate established shortly after 630 by Koubratos, who concluded a treaty with Emperor Heraclius, probably reached the Dnieper river to the west, which is viewed as an indication that, in the first half of the seventh century, the steppes between the Dnieper and the Danube rivers were still in the hands of the Avars (Szádeczky-Kardoss 1986: 153-162).

As in many other cases, the archaeological evidence does not fit the picture drawn by historians on the basis of written sources. The steppe north of the Black Sea has not produced so far any materials datable to the late fifth century (Orlov 1985:101).⁶²² Finds of the following period (sixth to seventh century) fall into Ambroz's groups IV and VI (Ambroz 1981).⁶²³ Group VI, which Ambroz viewed as representing the 'lower class', the 'commoners' of the steppe society, consists of burials with no weapons, but with perforated buckles, mounts and strapends, all datable to the late sixth and early seventh century (Veliki Tokmak, Akkerman, Bilozerka). By contrast, group V includes only extraordinarily rich burials, such as Malo Pereshchepino (Werner 1984a), Kelegeia (Bálint 1989: 95), Glodosy (Smilenko 1965), Zachepilovki (Smilenko

1968), and Voznesenka (Grinchenko 1950; Bálint 1989:92-94).⁶²⁴ Burials of group IV, such as Sivashs'ke, Kostogryzovo, Kovalevka, and Iablonia, usually associate a human skeleton (often a male) with that of a horse or with parts of a horse skeleton (skull and legs).⁶²⁵ Ambroz's tripartite scheme, which was designed to provide an easy model for understanding the society of the steppe nomads, does not seem, however, to stand against the existing evidence. First, many burials of Ambroz's sixth and fourth groups are female graves (Khristoforovka, Malaia Ternovka, Akkerman, Veliki Tokmak), which can easily explain the absence of weapons. Second, burials of group VI and V do not coincide in time (*contra*: Bálint 1989:102). Besides an extensive array of gold and silver grave-goods, extremely rich burials, such as Kelegeia, Malo Pereshchepino, and Zachepilovki, also produced Byzantine gold coins, often in relatively great numbers. The last coins are in all three cases, those issued for Emperor Constans II (641-668).⁶²⁶

The dating of group VI is more difficult, for there are no coin finds, with the exception of Iosipivka, which produced a perforated coin issued for Heraclius and Heraclius Constantine (613-641). All other graves can be dated only on the basis of perforated belt mounts and straps. Such dress accessories signalize the use of a belt with multiple, secondary straps, which was first

used in Sassanian Persia, as indicated by the Taq-i Bustan reliefs dated to Khusro II's reign (590-628) (Werner 1974:132; Bálint 1992:327; Bálint 1993:220).⁶²⁷ The belt with multiple straps did not originate in the steppe milieu, for the earliest assemblages with belt mounts dated to the first half of the sixth century were found in Transcaucasia (Somogyi 1987:138; Bálint 1993:220).⁶²⁸ The number of graves with belt mounts and strap-ends increased suddenly in the mid-500s in both Transcaucasia and Crimea.⁶²⁹ Perforated specimens, commonly known as 'Martynovka mounts',⁶³⁰ became popular in the steppes north and northeast of the Black Sea only in the second half of the sixth century and the early seventh century (Somogyi 1987:137). The use of a buckled belt became so strongly associated with the horsemen of the steppe,⁶³¹ that an early seventh-century Egyptian papyrus referred to such dress accessories as 'Bulgarian belts' (papyrus Erzherzog Rainer 9010, in Wessely 1889:242, l. 5-6; cf. Setton 1950:524;⁶³² Bálint 1992:415). The distribution of perforated belt mounts and strap-ends confirms this association (Figure 17⁶³³).⁶³⁴ Belts with 'Martynovka mounts' were in use in the Balkan provinces of the Empire during the sixth century, as demonstrated by their presence in both forts⁶³⁵ and funerary assemblages⁶³⁶ excavated south of the Danube river. They were in use in 'Gepidia' even before the arrival of the

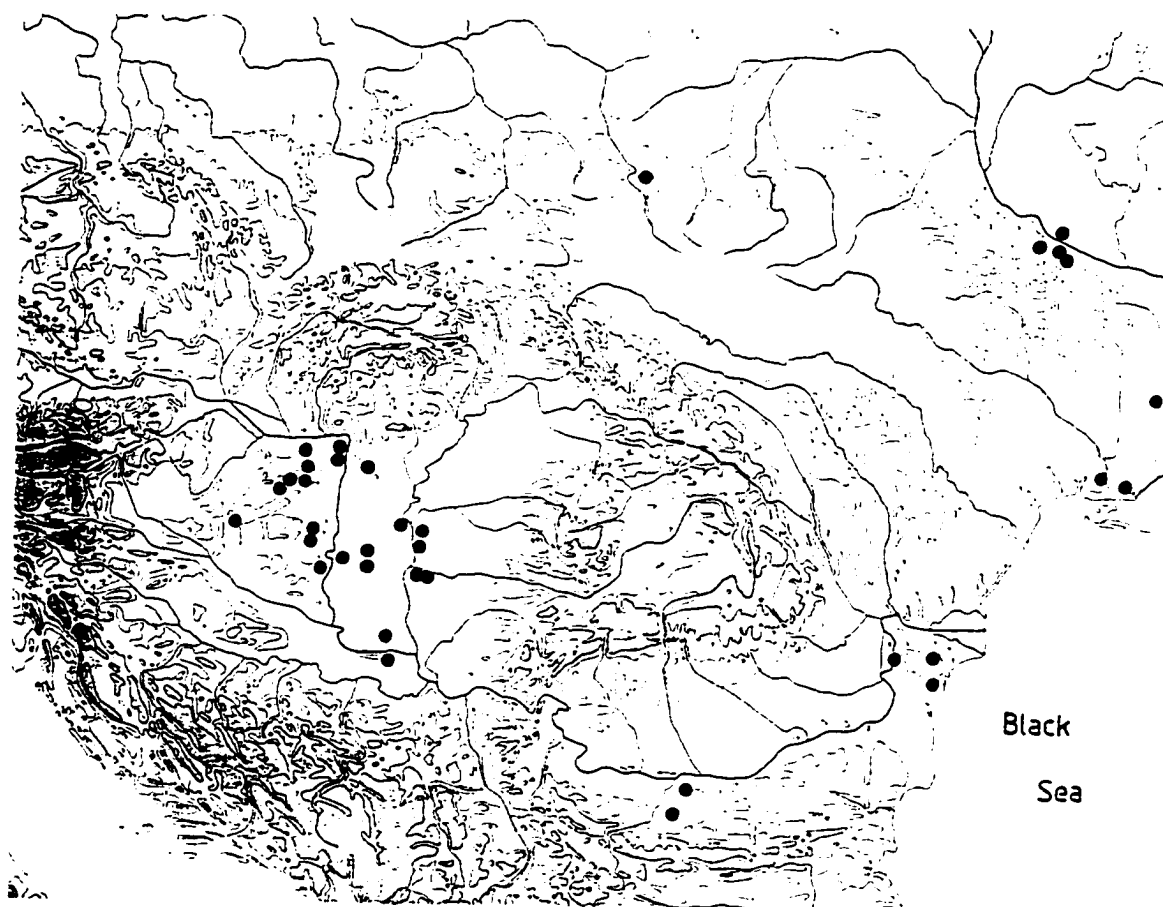


Figure 17. Distribution of Perforated, Martynovka-Type Belt Straps.

Avars, as shown by the burial no. 29 at Szentcs-Nagyhegy, where a 'Martynovka mount' was found in association with a Sucidava belt-buckle, which is typical for early Roman forts of the Justinianic age (Csallány 1961:50-51 and pl. XXV/14; cf. Vinski 1967:38; Fiedler 1992:73; Varsik 1992:78; Varsik 1993:208). Their frequency increased shortly after ca. 600 in Avar assemblages from Hungary (cf. Bálint 1993:238).

Assemblages with perforated belt mounts and strapends are therefore earlier than rich burials such as Malo Pereshchepino, Zachepilovki or Glodosy, which include only mounts and strapends with granulated ornament. The best analogies for these burials are both late Early Avar assemblages, such as Bócsa and Kunbábony (Tóth and Horváth 1992), dated to the second or last third of the seventh century, or Middle Avar assemblages of the so-called Tótipusztá-Dunapentele-Igar group (Garam 1976: 140), some of which also produced coins minted for the Emperors Constans II and Constantine IV (Garam 1995: 129).⁶³⁷ They are also paralleled by the earliest archaeological evidence attributed to the Bulgars in Bulgaria, namely that from burial no. 5 from Madara (Fiedler 1992: 143-144). Among grave-goods found with this burial were gold belt mounts and strapends with granulated ornament, which were probably among the latest of their kind (Garam 1988:162 and 167).⁶³⁸

The different dating and interpretation of these two groups of burials in the steppes north of the Black Sea becomes even more evident when we introduce another class of evidence, that of hoards of silver and bronze (Figures 18-21). A. A. Spicyn called them 'Antian antiquities,' because he believed their distribution matched Procopius' and Jordanes' description of the Antes (Spicyn 1928: 492).⁶³⁹ As shown in Chapter III, his idea had a remarkable influence on the development of Soviet archaeology, particularly after World War II.⁶⁴⁰ Many embraced G. F. Korzukhina's very influential suggestion that both the distribution and the composition of hoards of silver and bronze from the forest-steppe belt were different from those of rich burials of the steppe area. No hoards were found in the steppe area and none included either weapons or horse gear. By contrast, no burial produced such artifacts as bow fibulae or earring with star-shaped pendant (Korzukhina 1955:69 and 71-72). This contrast was often interpreted as indicating two different ethnic groups: the nomads (burials) and the Slavic Antes (the hoards). The distributions of sixth- and seventh-century burials and hoards of silver and bronze found in the area north of the Black Sea are indeed in sharp contrast (Figure 22).⁶⁴¹ A cluster analysis of seventeen hoards of silver and bronze and five burials by means of chi-square distance, which accounts for differences in total

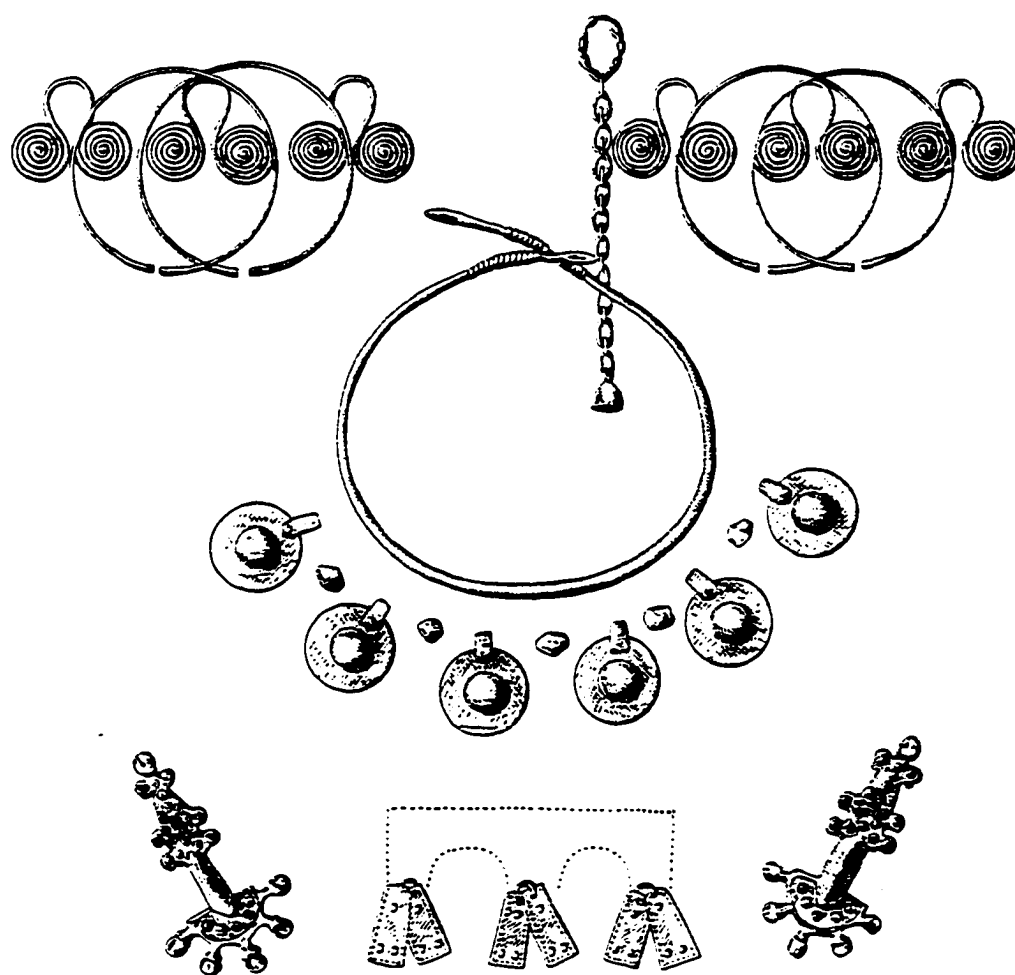


Figure 18. An Early Seventh-Century Hoard of Silver and Bronze From Sudzha (Source: Rybakov 1953).

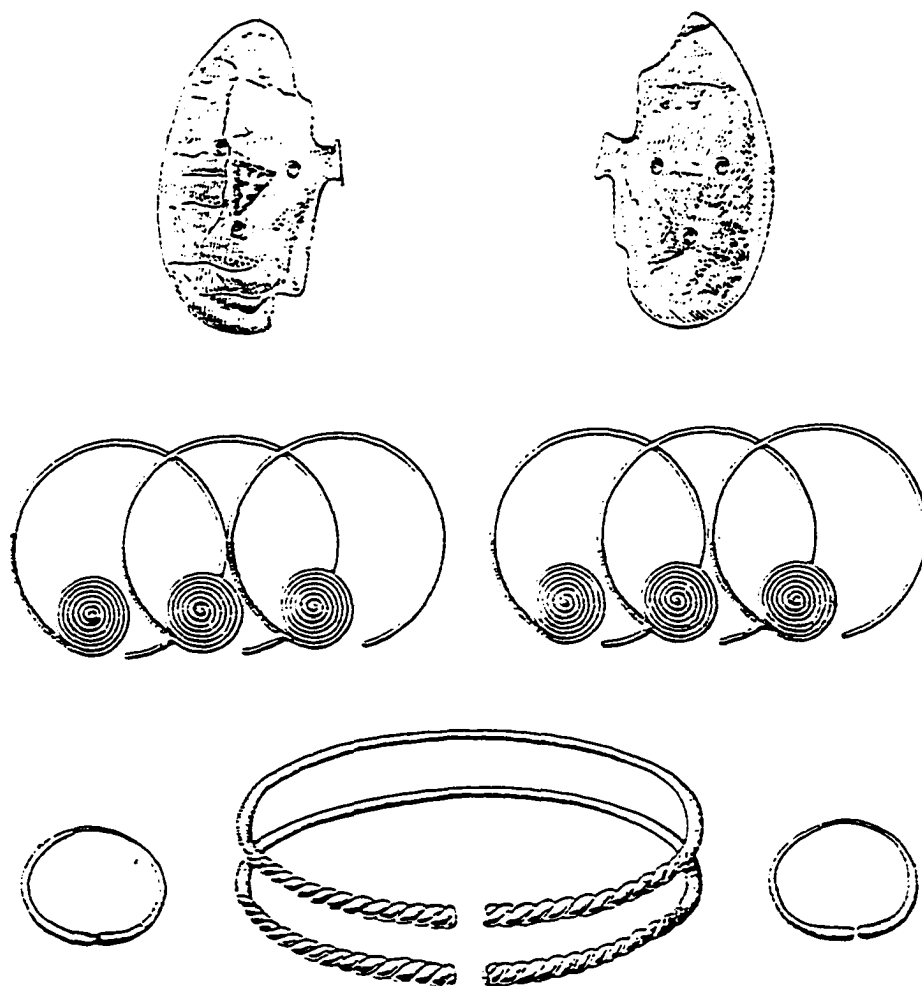


Figure 19. An Early Seventh-Century Hoard of Silver and Bronze From Malii Rzhavec (Source: Rybakov 1953).

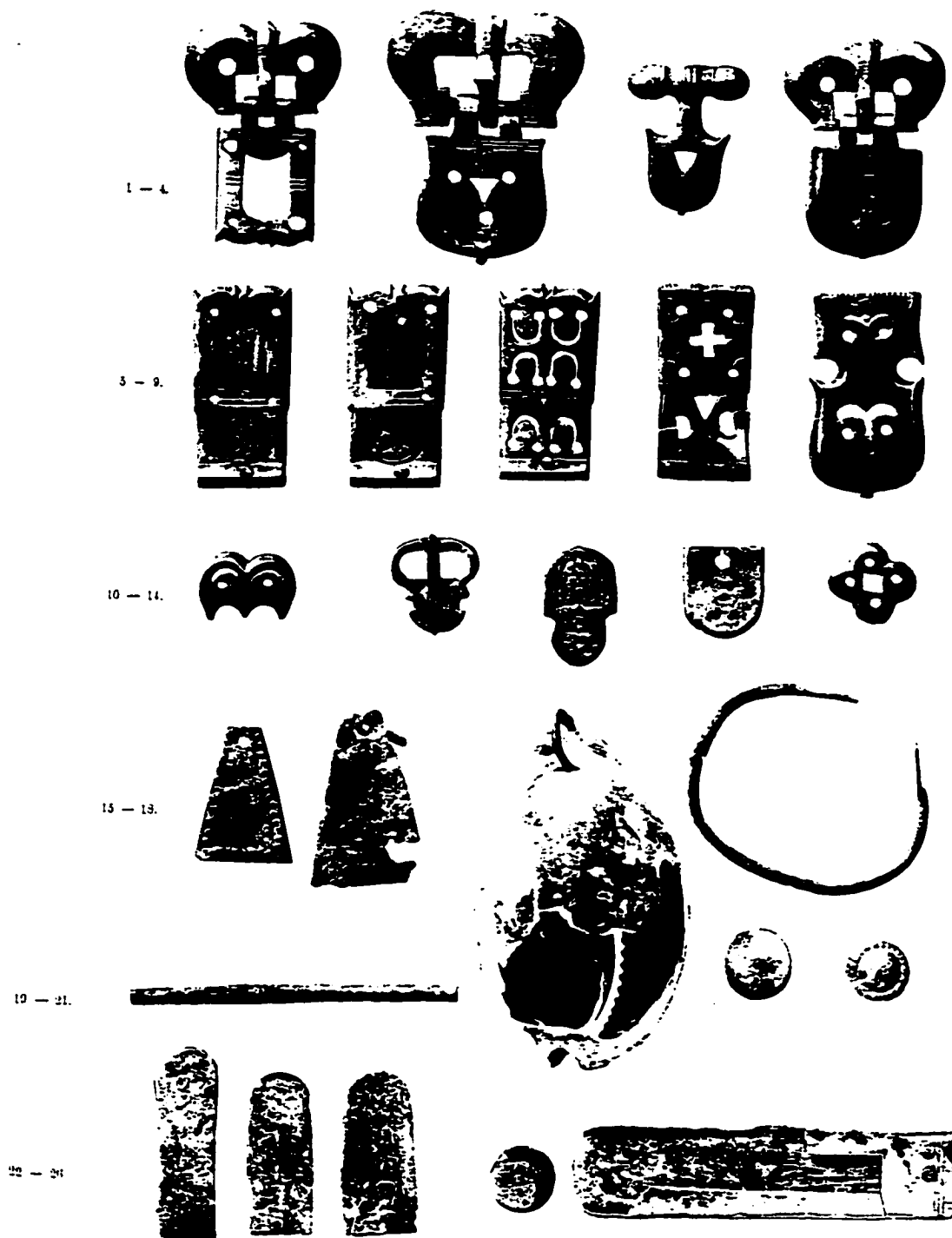


Figure 20. An Early Seventh-Century Hoard of Silver and Bronze from Khacki (Source: Bobrinskii 1901).

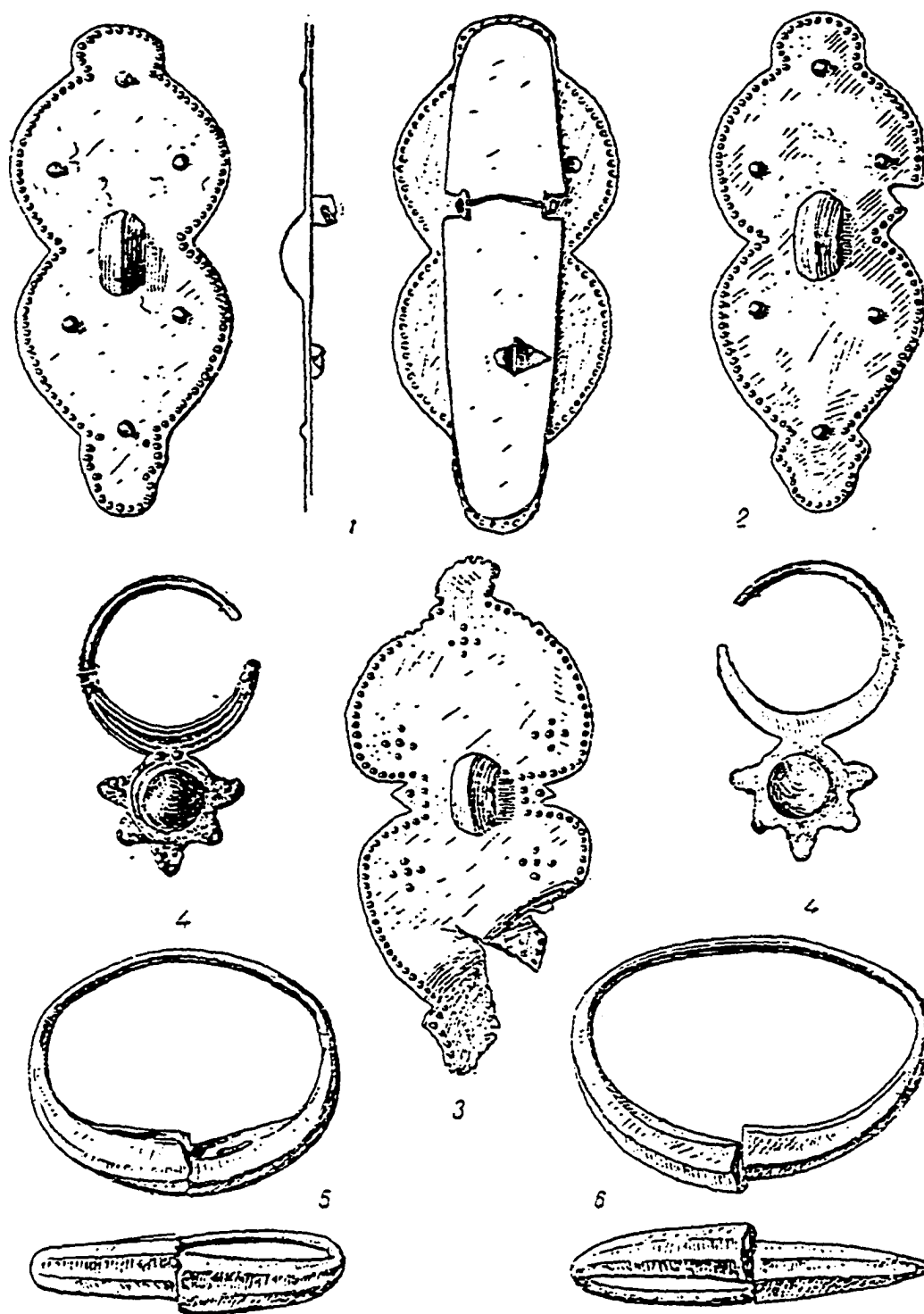


Figure 21. A Seventh-Century Hoard of Silver From Pastyrs'ke (Source: Braichevs'kii 1952b).

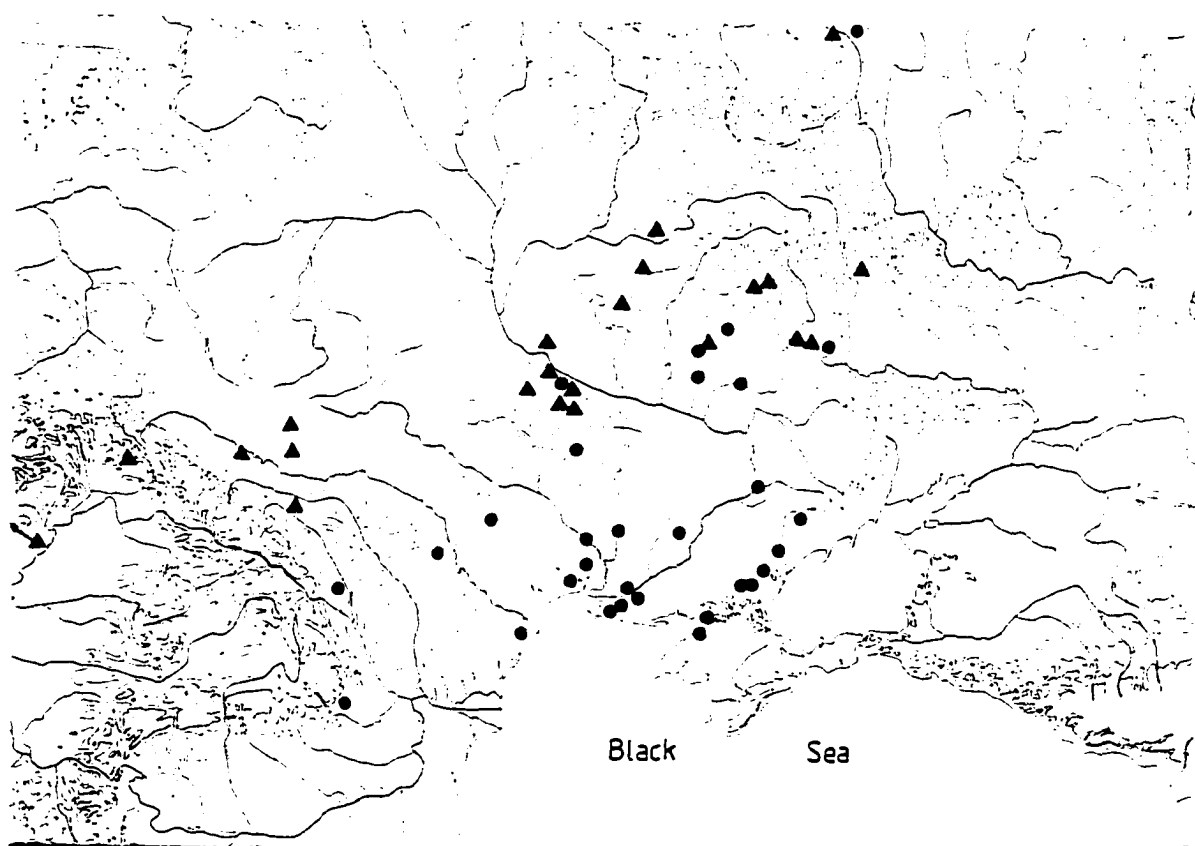


Figure 22. Distribution of Sixth- to Seventh-Century Burials (Circle) and Hoards (Triangle) in the Area North of the Black Sea.

quantity of types in the assemblage, gives, however, a picture radically different from that suggested by Korzukhina (Figure 23).⁶⁴² Rich burials belong to the same cluster as hoards of silver and bronze, such as Kharyvki and Zemianský Vrbovok. With a correspondence analysis, a technique recently introduced to archaeology,⁶⁴³ the relationships between hoards, between artifact-categories, and between artifact-categories and hoards may be all analyzed together and represented in the same scattergram or series of scattergrams produced by the plotting of pairs of orthogonal axes. What catches the eye at first on the scattergram showing the relationships between assemblages is the clear segregation between hoards and burials (Figure 24).⁶⁴⁴ An examination of the second scattergram, which represents relationships between artifact-categories found in both hoards and burials, indicates this split to be a chronological one (Figure 25).⁶⁴⁵ Burials are characterized by the presence of swords with typical cross-bars, similar to those depicted on seventh- and eighth-century Soghdian silverware or in fresco scenes at Afrasiab and Pendzhikent (Ambroz 1986:63; see also L'vova and Semenov 1985:83). Earrings with bead-pendants, such as found at Malo Pereshchepino, Glodosy, and Zachepilovki, are a typical artifact-category of the Middle Avar period in Hungary. A specimen of this category was found at Ozora-Tótipusztá

Near Neighbour Clustering of hoards

Similarity Coefficient: Jaccard

Number of Neighbours considered: 9

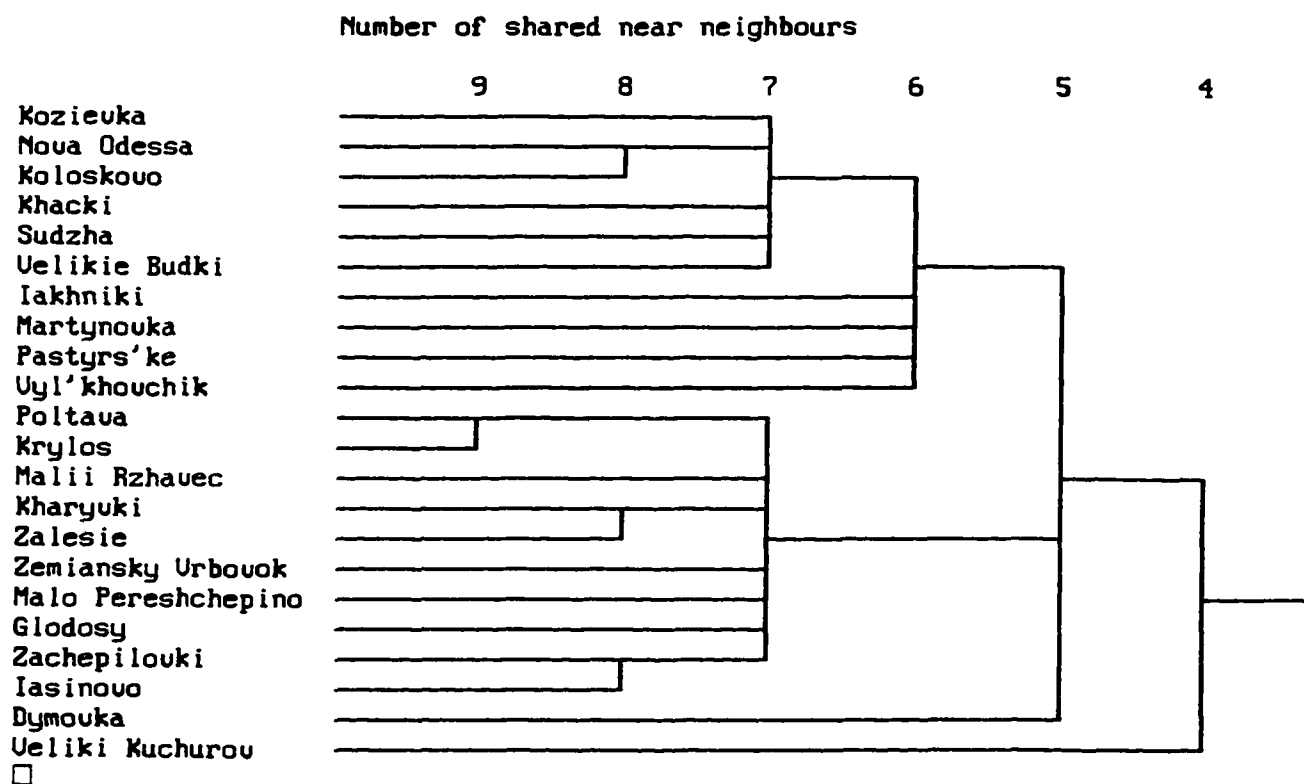


Figure 23. Cluster Analysis of Seventeen Hoards of Silver and Bronze and Five Burials Found in the Area North of the Black Sea, in Relation to the Artifact-Categories Found in Them.

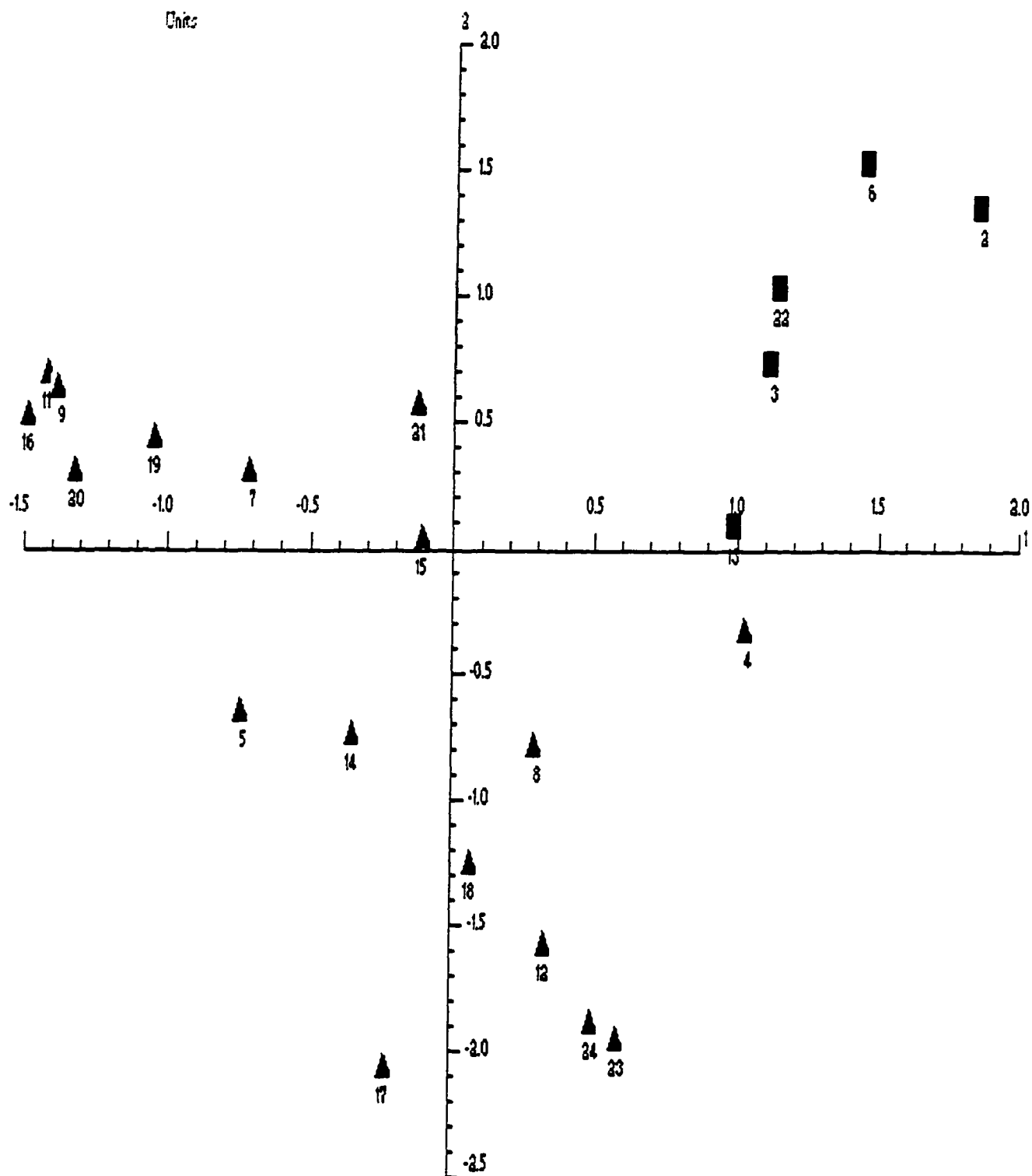


Figure 24. Correspondence Analysis of Seventeen Hoards of Silver and Bronze and Five Burials Found in the Area North of the Black Sea. For Numbers, See Text.

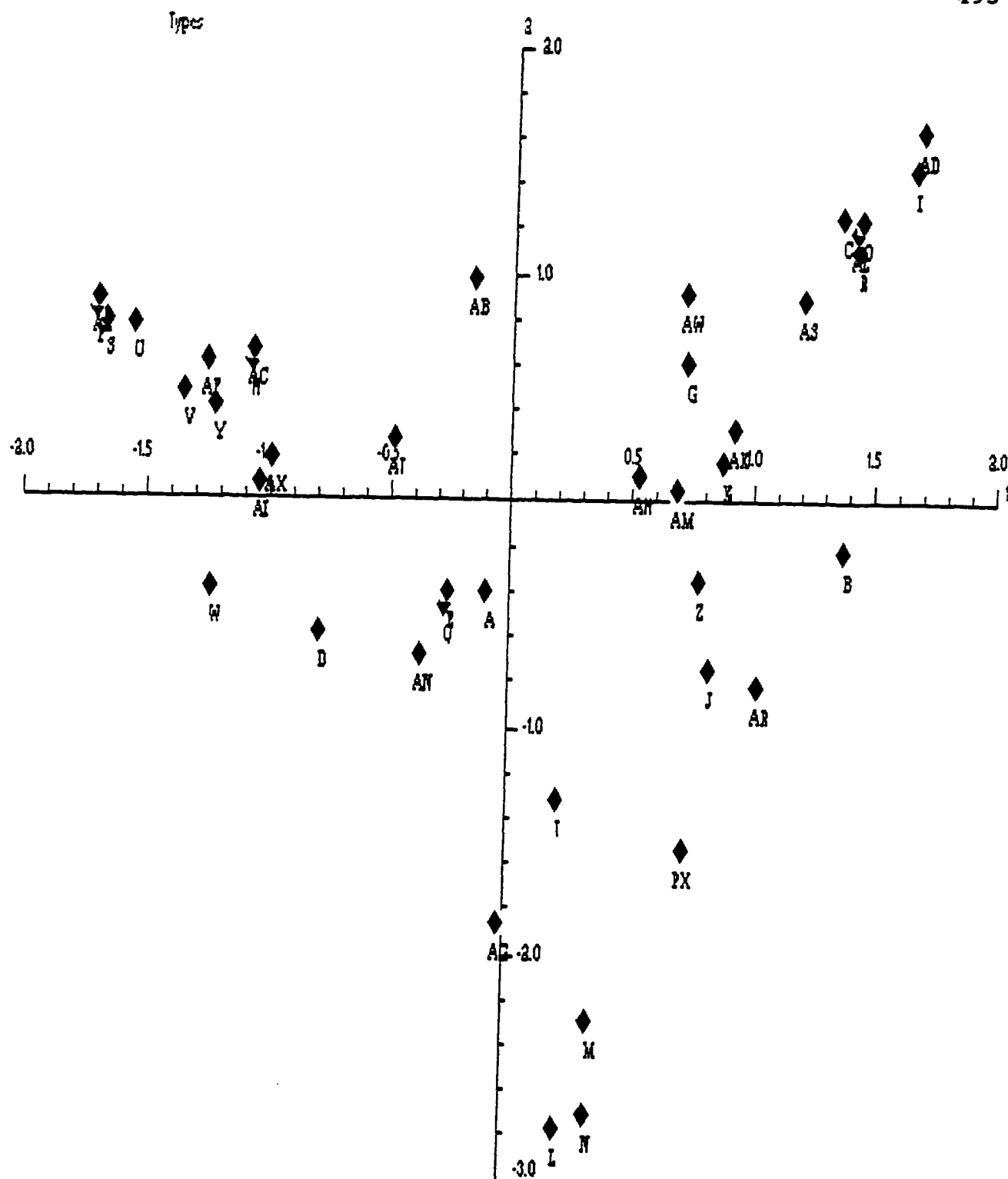


Figure 25. Correspondence Analysis of Artifact Categories From Seventeen Hoards of Silver and Bronze and Five Burials Found in the Area North of the Black Sea. For Abbreviations, See Text.

in association with a solidus minted for Emperor Constantine IV (Garam 1992:150).

By contrast, hoards are characterized by the presence of repoussé bronze pendants, an artifact-category frequently encountered in Early Avar assemblages, but not later (Szatmári 1980:100-101; Comşa 1984:70; Kiss 1996:201). Such pendants were only found with female burials. They might have belonged to corolla-type head-dresses or head-bands or might have trimmed veils or lappets hanging from the head-dress (Sós 1958:110 and fig. 21; Sós 1973a:66; Sós and Salamon 1995:47).⁶⁴⁶ Hoards produced other artifact-categories typically associated with Early Avar assemblages, such as 'Martynovka mounts' and 'Slavic' bow fibulae.⁶⁴⁷ The latter will be discussed in detail in the following chapter. Brooches with bent stems, such as those found at Koloskovo, Nova Odessa, or Kozievka, have good parallels in funerary assemblages in Albania, dated to the early seventh-century (the so-called 'Koman culture'; cf. Goriunov and Kazanskii 1978:26; Vinski 1971:388; Uenze 1992:153-154). Burials such as Glodosy, Voznesenka, Kelegeia, and Malo Pereshchepino also include Sassanian silverware (Bálint 1989:108). Hoards often display sets of Byzantine stamped silverware, which was produced as *largitio* objects, for imperial distribution (Painter 1988:104; Mango 1992:214). Four control stamps on the base of the Martynovka cup date to

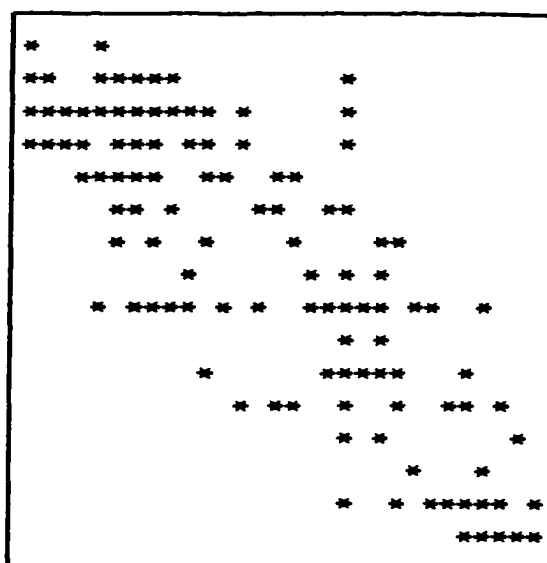
the reign of Justin II, possibly to 577, when Theodore Petri was the *comes sacrarum largitionum*. The closest analogy for the large goblet is the chalice found at Kaper Koraon, stamped in 605-610 (Mango 1995:80). Five stamps on the base of the large silver bucket (*situla*) from Veliki Kuchurov are dated to 613-629/30 (Gschwantler 1993:177 and 178 fig. 6).⁶⁴⁸ Like most other 'barbarian' groups of silver plate, such as Sutton Hoo or finds from the Kama region, hoards display almost complete functional sets, with large plates, drinking vessels (goblets, cups, bowls), and washing vessels (buckets, ewers, basin) (Mango 1995:81).⁶⁴⁹ Since stamps not only guaranteed silver purity, but also authorized release of state silver (Mango 1992:215), hoards with stamped Byzantine silverware are good indicators of the distribution of people important enough to own them. As diplomatic gifts or some other form of imperial largesse, Byzantine silver indicates that hoards with 'Martynovka mounts' were not equivalent to 'burials of commoners', but truly symbolized the highest social status.

However, not all hoards of silver and bronze were contemporary. A seriation of sixteen hoards reveals two groups, with the Martynovka hoard at an intermediary position (Figure 26). Applying a correspondence analysis to the same data, it becomes clear that we are actually dealing with three different groups (Figure 27).⁶⁵⁰

Input Correlation: 0.0918 Output Correlation: 0.8282 % Variance: 20.9895

SAFUAVAYHAAWAEQGAATAAZLMJNPA
E F C X I Z T M G K O

Uelike Budki
Kozieuka
Koloskovo
Nova Odessa
Sudzha
Khacki
Iakhniki
Malii Rzhauec
Martynouka
Poltava
Kharyuki
Pastys'ke
Krylos
Ueliki Kuchurov
Zalesie
Zemiansky Urbouok



[0,0]□

Figure 26. Seriation of Sixteen Hoards Found in the Area North of the Black Sea. For Abbreviations, See Text.

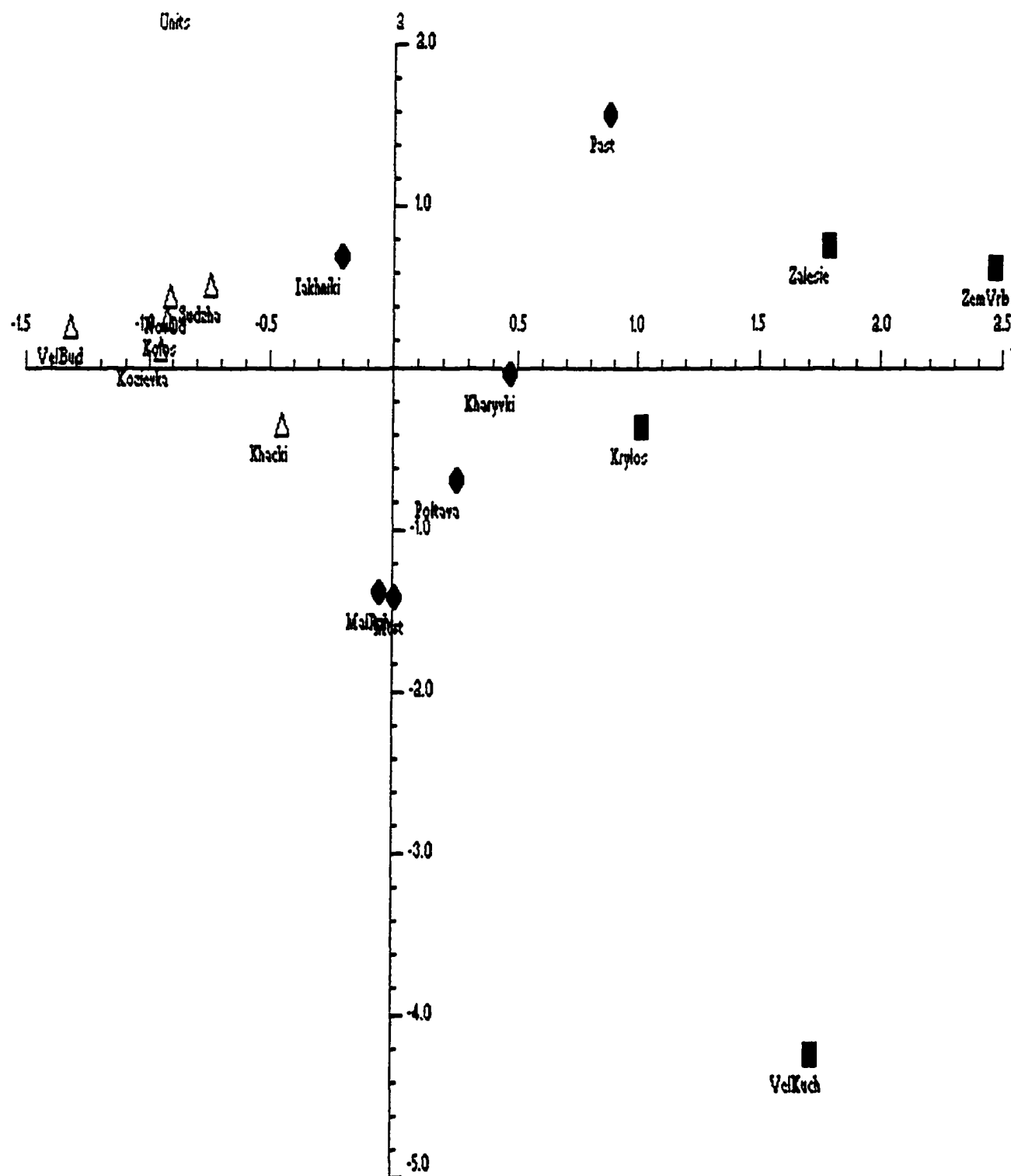


Figure 27. Correspondence Analysis of Sixteen Hoards Found in the Area North of the Black Sea.

The second scattergram representing relationships between artifact-categories indicates three different chronological phases (Figure 28). Velikie Budki, Koziievka, Koloskovo, Nova Odessa, Sudzha, and Khacki are all earlier than Malii Rzhavec, Martynovka, Iakhniki, Pastyrs'ke, Poltava, and Kharyvki, which, in turn, are earlier than Krylos, Zalesie, Veliki Kuchurov, and Zemianský Vrbovok. Earlier hoards are characterized by repoussé bronze pendants, 'Slavic' bow fibulae, 'Martynovka mounts', lead mounts, and brooches with bent stems, while later hoards include earrings with bead or star-shaped pendant. The association of earrings with star-shaped pendant with miliaresia of Constans II in the Zemianský Vrbovok hoard and with hexagrams of Constantine IV in the almost contemporary coin hoard of Priseaca (both discussed in Chapter VII), shows that the third phase represented on the first scattergram coincides in time with rich burials, such as Malo Pereschepino or Zachepilovki.⁶⁵¹ That Martynovka should be placed somewhere between the earliest and the latest hoards is suggested by the dating of the nine anthropomorphic and zoomorphic mounts, traditionally said to have been used for the decoration of the saddle (László 1955:276-284; Ambroz 1989:78; S-wietosławski 1993:284; Kidd and Pekarskaya 1995:352). Such mounts were found in late sixth- and early seventh-century burials at Pregradnaia and Kugul

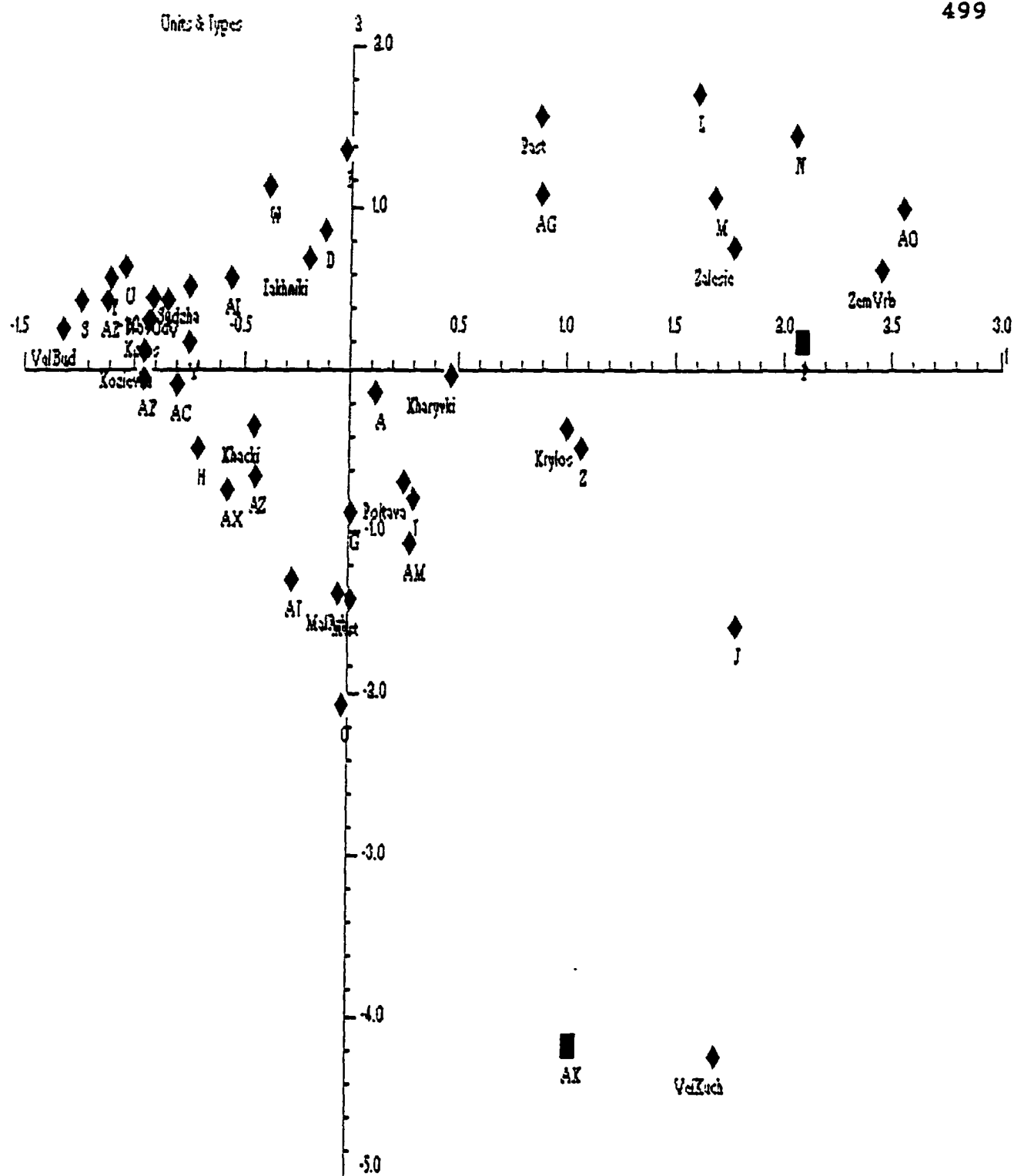


Figure 28. Correspondence Analysis of Sixteen Hoards Found in the Area North of the Black Sea and Their Respective Artifact-Categories. For Legend, See Text. Rectangles Signalize High-Inertia Types.

(North Caucasus), in association with 'Martynovka mounts' (Ambroz 1989:79-80). Similar specimens come from three early seventh-century burials in the Lombard cemetery at Castel Trosino, in Italy (Vallet 1995:335). Zoomorphic mounts were however found with the Malo Pereshchepino burial, dated to the second half of the seventh century (Werner 1984a:29)⁶⁵² and with a 'hoard' of mounts from Velestinon (Thessaly), which most likely date to the seventh century (Werner 1953; Kidd 1992).⁶⁵³

The interpretation of this pattern is not easy, because of the lack of contextual information. It is clear, however, that the meaning behind hoards of silver and/or bronze did not remain constant. That the same type of hoard may be found in areas hundred of kilometers apart raises important questions about demographic mobility, spread of fashions, and, ultimately, the significance of hoards. It is also interesting to note that later hoards were found north of the Carpathian basin, while earlier ones cluster in the Middle Dnieper area. Spicyn's interpretation cannot be accepted, for the simple reason that the earliest hoards cannot be dated earlier than ca. 600. At that time, according to the literary sources analyzed in Chapter V, the Antes had already ceased to exist politically. If not ethnicity, then what? There is nothing in these hoards that is obviously utilitarian, and in most cases we can use the

evidence of contemporary funerary assemblages to infer that some, if not all, artifact-categories were female dress-accessories. Later hoards present some connections with contemporary, very rich burials, which seem to have been male graves, for they produced weapons and horse gear. The lack of representation of high-status women in burials at this time suggests that, unlike the situation in the Carpathian basin, women were not vehicles for displaying the status of their husbands. What, then, is the significance of hoards, at least of earlier ones, in which female dress accessories played such an important role?

Hoards of silver were certainly not collections of raw silver or 'hacksilver.' There are no broken objects and no metalworking residues. The deliberate choice of items, usually found in pairs or more than two specimens, and the value attached to Byzantine silver seem to indicate conspicuous consumption of a type known to anthropologists as 'potlatch.'⁶⁵⁴ In times of social and political stress, such consumption may have served a number of functions, such as celebrating rites of passage or succession to office. It certainly was the privilege of an aristocratic group and probably involved the provision of food and of certain other valuables that did not survive in the archaeological record.⁶⁵⁵ Lavish offerings such as hoards of silver, involving the deposition in locations

from which items could not be recovered, might have provided a way of fixing status and of claiming the prestige associated with it. Initially, female dress accessories were as common currency for this type of social behavior as women were for displaying the status of their husbands. Contemporary male burials (with or without horse skeletons) are comparatively much poorer than hoards of silver. In the late 600s, however, men assumed this role for themselves and extremely rich burials with a vast array of gold (rather than silver) grave-goods dwarfed displays of wealth through hoarded silver.

Conclusion

There are at least three important conclusions to be drawn from this sweeping survey of the archaeology of the Carpathian basin and the steppe north of the Black Sea. First, in all discussed cases, material culture may be and was indeed used for the construction of social identities. Despite interaction across the buffer zone between the Danube and the Tisza rivers, clear material culture distinctions were maintained in a wide range of artifacts. The nature and function of these distinctions is very similar to those identified by Ian Hodder in the Baringo district of Kenya. As in East Africa, material culture contrasts were maintained in order to justify

between-group competition and negative reciprocity. Displays of 'emblemic styles' were particularly important at the time of the Lombard-Gepid wars in the mid-500s. More often than not, such styles were associated with the status of aristocratic women, wives, daughters, or mothers of 'kings.' This may be a result of the special emphasis laid on public representation of group identity, but may also be an indication of the intricate relationship between ethnic and gender identities.

The examination of hoards of silver and bronze also shows that women were symbolic vehicles for the construction of social identities. In this case, however, it is more difficult to decide precisely what kind of identity was constructed through displays of female dress accessories. Unlike the Carpathian basin, the specific way in which identity was expressed was not funerary assemblage but lavish offering of silver and bronze artifacts, which may have represented a particular form of potlatch. However, just as with displays of wealth in rich female graves, deposition of hoards may have served as 'tournaments of value' (Bradley 1990:139). Like funerals, hoards were used for social display mainly during periods of instability when the status of the individual needed underlining. An important route to social advancement was most likely access to foreign goods, such as Byzantine silver plate. Within the Empire, the social status which

silver plate conferred or reflected was often seen in terms of wealth and power. The donation of family silver to be recycled into liturgical silver or given to the poor became a literary *topos*. In 'barbarian' contexts, transactions in which silver plate was symbolically displayed were certainly different. To claim that acquisition, imitation, and use of Roman silver plate reflects the degree to which barbarians were Romanized (cf. Mango 1995:81) is simply to ignore that the symbolic system changed with the changing contexts in which imported objects were employed. There can be no doubt, however, that Byzantine silver plate was viewed as 'exotic' and 'precious' for an image of power, for stamped objects were only produced for imperial distribution. The ability to acquire fine *largitio* objects carried a considerable premium. The same is true for objects of possibly Sassanian origin, such as the Zemianský Vrbovok bowl. On the other hand, that hoards of silver conveyed an image of power much stronger than grave goods may be deduced from the fact that some contain several sets of ornaments, which suggests that such collections were the property of more than one person. In other words, hoards of silver and bronze may have permitted a more 'extravagant' display of metalwork than the provision of grave goods.

Finally, the survey of the archaeological evidence

from the Carpathian basin and the steppe north of the Black Sea strongly suggests that in order for material culture to participate in the construction of social identities, artifacts need to be given meaning in social context. Swords with P-shaped sheath attachments or stirrups with elongated attachment loops were not 'Avar' because of being of Central Asian origin, but because of being used in a specific way in specific transactions (such as display of grave goods) in the new social milieu in which Avar warriors found themselves in Pannonia after 568. Similarly, there are no specific 'Lombard' or 'Gepid' brooches, for many fibulae found in female burials on both sides of the "no man's land" either were 'imported' from distant locations or imitated such exotic imports. There are, therefore, no 'phenotypic' expressions of a preformed ethnic identity, though identity is constructed by manipulating certain artifact-categories. The value of each of these artifact-categories depended less on questions of supply and origin than on the social strategies employed by those who used them. On the other hand, objects that are the prerogative of an elite may be imitated by lower-ranking groups. 'Citations' from the material culture discourse which can be identified in rich burials or hoards may be found in completely different contexts, such as settlements. As I will argue in the last chapter, just as in the case of 'Lombard' and

'Gepid' identities, Slavic ethnicity may have been communicated through displays of objects whose use was restricted to local elites. In such cases, artifacts similar to those found in Ukrainian hoards are not mere analogies. They have become metaphors.

CHAPTER IX

ELITES AND GROUP IDENTITY NORTH OF THE DANUBE FRONTIER: THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

If the social label of various ethnic identities in Barbaricum, both East and West, can be pinned down to material culture, matters are more difficult when it comes to the symbols by which Slavic ethnicity may have been expressed. Archaeologists, beginning with Ivan Borkovský and ending with Vladimir Baran, have focused on specific artifacts, particularly pottery, in an effort to reconstruct a 'Slavic culture' by which Slavic ethnicity may be then identified at any place and time. I discussed the problems and difficulties involved in this approach in Chapter III. I will attempt now to show that, just as with contemporary Gepids, Lombards, or Bulgars, no particular item was ethnically specific to the Slavs. Material culture, nevertheless, played a crucial role in building ethnic boundaries. The social mechanisms by which artifacts were manipulated and used for statements of group identity may well have been at work in 'Sclavinia', just as in 'Lombardia' or 'Gepidia'.

A survey of Slavic archaeology is beyond the scope of this dissertation. By default, a discussion of Slavic

ethnicity will entail only certain aspects of the Slavic culture, if such a thing ever existed. Instead of a standard description of material culture items, which is the current practice with monographs on the Slavic culture (e.g., Parczewski 1993), I will focus on only three issues, which I believe are relevant for the formation of a Slavic *ethnie*.

First, I will examine problems of chronology and dating, which are fundamental for the understanding of changes in material culture and their historical background. Much too often, archaeologists have imposed the rigid framework of written sources on the archaeological record, without noticing chronological discrepancies.

Second, I will focus on a specific group of bow fibulae, which the German archaeologist Joachim Werner first called 'Slavic brooches' (Werner 1950). More than any other artifact category (with the exception, perhaps, of pottery), this group of fibulae has been used to 'illustrate' Slavic ethnicity and the migration of the Slavs has been reconstructed on the basis of their map distribution. Since fibulae, as well as other dress accessories, particularly those of the female dress, became badges of group identity during the confrontation between Gepids and Lombards in the Middle Danube area, it is theoretically possible that Slavs too used brooches as symbols of ethnic identity. Unlike the contemporary

situation in the Carpathian basin, however, the distribution of various subgroups of 'Slavic brooches' and their dating suggest a much more complex mechanism of appropriation of the symbolism attached to these dress accessories.

Finally, I will take into consideration changes in material culture, which might be considered as 'emblemic style'. I will focus on buildings and pottery, with an emphasis on pottery decoration and clay pans, a ceramic category associated with the consumption of special foods, particularly flat loaves of bread. My intention is to show that, just as with 'Slavic' brooches, the introduction of a 'standard' form of sunken building equipped with a single heating facility (either stone or clay oven), the generalization of certain styles of pottery decoration, as well as the intrasite distribution of clay pans, might all have been connected with the rise of elites. This argument will have a key role in asserting the association between chiefs and ethnicity, which is the major point of the concluding chapter of this dissertation.

Dating the Change: Where Were the Earliest Slavs?

Ever since Ivan Borkovský identified the Slavic pottery (the Prague type), archaeologists have used ceramic assemblages for dating the early Slavic culture.

V. V. Kukhareenko and Irina P. Rusanova re-baptized Borkovský's type 'Korchak-Zhitomir' on the basis of extensive excavations in the 1950s and 1960s in the Zhitomir Polesie, south of the Pripet marshes. Ukrainian sites now replaced those of central Bohemia as the earliest phase of the Slavic culture, and Soviet archaeologists made all possible efforts to demonstrate that the pottery found at Korchak and other sites in the Teterev valley, east of Zhitomir, was based on local traditions going back to the early Iron Age. The pottery type identified by Irina Rusanova by means of statistical analysis became the main and only indicator of Slavic ethnicity in material culture terms (Rusanova 1976). At any place and time, finds of Korchak-Zhitomir-type pottery would indicate the existence of an early, sixth-century phase of Slavic habitation (Chapter III). Archaeologists from other countries, such as Romania or Bulgaria, quickly embraced Rusanova's theories, and used the Korchak-Zhitomir pottery as a diagnostic type for their own research. More often than not, this involved visual, intuitive comparison of vessel shape or rims with those found at Korchak and used by Rusanova in her work on the early Slavic culture. Rusanova's ideas were further developed by Polish and Slovak archaeologists (Parczewski 1993; Fusek 1994), who focused on rim sherds, since whole vessels rarely came out of excavated settlements. Rim

attributes were now a favorite trait for any analyses of Slavic ceramics, and newly discovered sites were dated on the basis of the presence or absence of certain lip forms in the ceramic assemblage (e.g., Podgórska-Czopek 1991; Postică 1994; cf. Fusek 1995:28).⁶⁵⁶ Sherds, however, represent only random and arbitrary subdivisions of the vessel shapes. They are not discrete units of cultural behavior and should not be used as *ad hoc* boundaries for defining design elements (Skibo, Schiffer, and Kowalski 1989:401). Variability in primary forms, such as shapes, usually in gross functional terms, is more likely than secondary variables (lip, base, or appendages) to inform about change in function, activities and production. Ethnoarchaeological studies on modern communities of potters show that significant differences in rim form and size may appear even within a single-size class of vessels produced by specialist potters (Rice 1987:279; Rice 1989:113; cf. Richards 1982:40).⁶⁵⁷

There are, however, some major problems with Rusanova's approach. As is often the case in archaeology, it remains unclear whether the meaning of types, as imposed by archaeologists onto a group of artifacts, is only in the mind of the classifier, or, as Rusanova believed, nominal categories discovered by archaeologists by means of statistical identification of combinations of attributes may have also been recognized by manufacturers

and users in the past (Cowgill 1990:67-74; Neverett 1991:32).⁶⁵⁸ If the mental template used by the 'original' Slavic potters in the Zhitomir Polesie was the Korchak-Zhitomir type, it remains unclear why and how it remained unchanged, almost frozen in tradition, long after the Slavs reached the limits of their alleged expansion. Chronological problems, however, are of comparatively greater importance for the purpose of this chapter. Rusanova and her followers emphasized ceramic attributes, because settlements excavated in the Teterev valley produced very few (if any) metal artifacts to be used for building relative chronologies and dating the sites. Rusanova dated the handmade urns found in cremation burials in eastern Volhynia (Miropol', Chernyakhov, Korchak) by visual comparison with pots found in Czechoslovakia and believed by Borkovský to be "very old." For dating the ceramic assemblages found in all settlements excavated at Korchak, Rusanova relied upon information provided by the stratigraphical excavations at the nearby hillfort of Khotomel' (Rusanova 1958). Kukhareenko's and Rusanova's work at Khotomel' was based on a heavily stratified site, which was divided into standard sized units and dug in arbitrary, horizontal levels (cf. Praetzelis 1993).⁶⁵⁹ Even if they destroyed much stratigraphic data that could be used to reconstruct the site's own history, their technique was appropriate

in relation to Rusanova's frequency-based method of analysis. Like many before her, Rusanova considered archaeological layers as containing objects peculiar to each stratum ('index-fossils') which could be used to identify deposits of the same date in other localities. The percentage of cultural remains which were comparable with more recent forms of objects should decrease as the lower and earlier deposits were examined. She employed a rudimentary form of seriation, very similar to the "battleship curves" used by contemporary American archaeologists, in order to convert percent frequencies of pottery categories into a relative order. She then developed an evolutionary scheme for the handmade pottery, assuming that simple vessel shapes were earlier than complex ones. Vessel categories established in this way were then dated by means of metal objects, in association with which they were found in each arbitrarily excavated level. The earliest level at Khotomel' was thus dated to the late seventh and early eighth century. Despite clear evidence that the medieval history of the site had begun long after the 'migration of the Slavs,' Rusanova decided that the earliest pottery found at Khotomel' was of the sixth century, because it displayed ceramic profiles similar to those of pots found on fourth-century sites of the Chernyakhov culture (Rusanova 1958:44-45; Rusanova 1973b:21).

With serious methodological flaws and without acknowledging the impossibility of using vessel shapes or rims as chronological markers, Rusanova's conclusions should be regarded with extreme suspicion. One major problem with the exclusive use of ceramic types in dating studies is the implicit assumption of strong covariation of all attributes through the life of a type. There is, however, no indication of the actual degree of covariation (Plog and Hantman 1986:89). In addition, in the absence of metal objects or alternative methods of dating (such as dendrochronology), no exact date could be assigned to any one of the settlements excavated at Korchak. The pottery found there, which was classified as Korchak-Zhitomir, has no chronological value in itself. In other words, there is no indication that this pottery represents the earliest phase in the development of the Prague-Korchak-Zhitomir type. It cannot be considered as the earliest evidence of Slavic settlements. Moreover, Rusanova was not capable of recognizing much earlier materials excavated at Korchak, which were taken to be of the sixth century. In fact, her monograph on sixth- to ninth-century 'Slavic antiquities' in eastern Volhynia (Rusanova 1973) often lists ceramic assemblages, which are likely to be of a much earlier date. For example, the decoration with notches on a clay band applied to the vessel's shoulder, such as found in features 4 and 8 at

Korchak I (Rusanova 1963:48-49; 47 fig. 8), and in features 7, 8, and 13 at Korchak VIII (Rusanova 1973b:pl. 5/11, 7/7, and 6/3), is typical for ceramic assemblages of the Wielbark culture, dated to the first three centuries A.D. (e.g., Jaskanis 1996:108 and pl. IV/22.1; cf. Wołagiewicz 1993:149-157).⁶⁶⁰ No such decoration was found on any site attributed to the Slavs and clearly dated to the sixth or seventh century.⁶⁶¹ A slightly later dating may be ascribed to vessels decorated with clay knobs on the shoulder, which are typical for assemblages of the Dytynych-Trishina phase of western Ukraine (Baran 1984-1987:81).⁶⁶²

Mis-dating archaeological sites is, by no means, restricted to Soviet archaeology. In Romania, the site at Ipotești gave its name to the Ipotești-Cândești culture, the archaeological culture 'invented' by Romanian archaeologists in order to illustrate the life of the civilized Romanians before the arrival of the savage Slavs (Chapter III). The site produced a relatively large quantity of wheel-made pottery and comparatively fewer sherds of handmade pottery, which could be arguably attributed to the Slavs. Eager to use this argument in demonstrating an earlier dating of the ceramic assemblage at Ipotești--much earlier than the date of the Slavic migration--, Romanian archaeologists failed to notice that one of the two sunken buildings excavated there produced a coin

issued for the Roman emperor Nerva (96-98), but no artifacts clearly dated to the sixth century (Roman and Ferche 1978:79-85).⁶⁶³ At Botoșana, one of the most important sixth- and seventh-century sites in Romania, one of the 31 sunken buildings excavated there by Dan Gh. Teodor produced a fourth-century fibula with bent-stem which is typical for assemblages of the Chernyakhov culture (Teodor 1984a:22-24; 108 fig. 29/4). The same is true for the iron fibula with bent-stem found in a sunken building at Kavetchina, near Kamianec Podil's'kyi (Khmiel'nyc'kyi region, Ukraine), which was recently used by O. M. Prikhodniuk and L. V. Vakulenko as an argument for claiming that the early Slavic culture originated in late fourth- and early fifth-century Chernyakhov assemblages in Podolia (Vakulenko and Prikhodniuk 1984:82 and 57 fig. 32/9; cf. Vakulenko and Prikhodniuk 1985).⁶⁶⁴

A strong commitment to the culture-historical paradigm, with its emphasis on using written sources for dating the archaeological record, may have been responsible for the mis-dating of several Balkan sites. The ever-changing dating of the early Slavic culture in Bulgaria, particularly in Zhivka Văzharova's work, has been discussed in Chapter III. Under the influence of Rusanova's theories, according to which the earliest Slavic settlements in Bulgaria could not ante-date the presumably sixth-century sites in the Zhitomir Polesie, Văzharova

initially gave up the idea of associating the ceramic assemblages found at Dzhezdhovi Lozia with the Prague and Korchak-Zhitomir cultures (Văzharova 1968; cf. Rusanova 1978:142). Atanas Milchev's and Stefka Angelova's work on the early Byzantine site at Nova Cherna, however, prompted her to change attribution. She now argued that at Garvan, near Silistra, the earliest phase should be dated to the late sixth and early seventh century (Văzharova 1986:70 and n. 1). The site, however, produced clear evidence of a much later dating, such as ninth- and tenth-century ceramic kettles and pottery with lustred decoration (e.g., the settlement feature 2, Văzharova 1986:80 and 83 fig. 2). Văzharova attributed 24 features (20 sunken buildings and four ovens) to the sixth and seventh century, but no artifact was found in any of them, which could be dated with some degree of certainty. The presence of clay pans (feature 67; Văzharova 1986:137 and fig. 140/1-4) and potsherds decorated with either notches or finger impressions on the lip (features 67 and 87; Văzharova 1986:137 and fig. 140/1-4; 156 and fig. 165/1-5) may suggest that at least some assemblages at Garvan coincided in time with late sixth- and early seventh-century archaeological assemblages in Romania, Moldova, and Ukraine. In reality, the earliest phase at Garvan may well date to the late seventh or early eighth century.⁶⁶⁵ In the absence of datable artifacts,

Văzharova's conclusions should be regarded with extreme caution, particularly because the dating of the potsherds found at Garvan was based exclusively on visual comparison with rim sherds of handmade pottery found at Nova Cherna.⁶⁶⁶

To many archaeologists, Greece appears as the ideal territory for testing hypotheses on the migration of the Slavs, because of the expected association of 'Slavic' artifacts with well datable contexts of early Byzantine sites (Baratte 1984:178). Unfortunately, the appealing culture-historical paradigm has prevented a serious archaeological analysis of the existing evidence. This is most obvious in the case of the French excavations at Argos. The ceramic assemblage from the ruins of Bath A was dated with surprising precision to A.D. 585. The only basis for this dating was the association of this assemblage with debris, which were hastily interpreted in connection with Slavic raids into Greece, known from written sources (Aupert 1980; for the date of these events, see Chapter V). Since a settlement of the Slavs, following this invasion, would have been inconceivable for various reasons, the French archaeologist Pierre Aupert claimed that the 'Slavic ware' testified to a temporary camp established by the Slavic marauders in the ruins of the city, just before returning to their homes north of the Danube river. The relatively large quantity

of 'Slavic ware' found at Argos and on various other sites in Greece (see Aupert 1976:646; Kilian 1985-1986; Etzeoglu 1989) sharply contradicts Aupert's views. In addition, his interpretation, which was rapidly embraced by other scholars (Baratte 1984:170-171; Vryonis 1992:26-27 and 33), is based on a blatant error of dating. To be sure, the ceramic assemblage of Bath A at Argos is extremely difficult to date in the absence of closed finds and metal objects. In this particular case, however, the best guide for an, at least, approximate dating is the pottery decoration. A pot found during excavations at Koutroubis, as well as other fragments of pottery made on a tournette (a turntable device turned with the hands) display a particular type of incised decoration with combed, vertical lines, sometimes cutting through the adjacent horizontal lines (Aupert 1980:380-381 nos. 23-34; figs. 15-20, 22-24, 30). No such decoration was found on any category of pottery (either wheel- or handmade) on any sixth- or seventh-century site north of the Danube river. A recent analysis of the pottery found in early medieval cemeteries in the Lower Danube region shows, however, that this decoration is particularly frequent on pots found with eighth- and ninth-century burials and settlements in southeast Romania and northeast Bulgaria (Fiedler 1992:153). Such a late date should be also assigned to the 'Slavic' pottery from the cremation

cemetery found at Olympia, which many regard as the only 'hard' piece of archaeological evidence for the presence of the Slavs in Greece (Bouzek 1971; Vryonis 1992).

Despite previous caveats by Ion Nestor (1969:144) and Jean-Pierre Sodini (cf. Baratte 1984:170 n. 33), Speros Vryonis recently dated the site to the late sixth and early seventh century (Vryonis 1992:33), on the basis of Văzharova's classification of the early Slavic pottery from Bulgaria. Like Rusanova's, Văzharova's classification is based on vessel shape. By contrast, Nestor and Sodini rightly pointed to the vessel decoration. Six pots published by Vryonis, five of which were certainly used as urns, present the same pattern of combed decoration as the pottery found at Argos.⁶⁶⁷ That at least some burials at Olympia should be dated to the eighth rather than the sixth or seventh century, is further suggested by three spindle-shaped glass beads found in grave 9 (Vryonis 1992:36). They belong to a category known to archaeologists as *Melonenkernperle*, which is typical for Late Avar assemblages (ca. 700-800), but often appears in later contexts dated to the early ninth century (Kovrig 1963: 164-165; Čilinská 1975:87; Fiedler 1992:188 and 190).⁶⁶⁸ In any case, there is no indication of a date earlier than ca. 700.

Elsewhere in Greece, the archaeological context points to a date in the 600s, most probably in the second

half of the century. This is the case of the mortuary assemblages found in Corinth (Davidson 1937:230, 232, and 235; Davidson 1974; Ivison 1996:114-120), Philippi (Gounaris 1984:47), Edessa (Petsas 1969:307; Gounaris 1984:52 and 57), Athens (Travlos and Frantz 1965:166-167), and Porto Cheli (Rudolph 1979:297-298). Nothing, however, was found in any of these assemblages, which may be associated with the 'Slavic culture' north of the Danube river. By contrast, many artifact categories have good analogies in Avar assemblages.⁶⁶⁹ There is, therefore, no serious basis for the bizarre claim that such burials belong to seventh-century Slavic *foederati*, invested with land by the Byzantine state (Ivison 1996:119).⁶⁷⁰

Where, then, were the earliest Slavs (Figures 29-30)?⁶⁷¹ Drawing on an earlier suggestion by Kazimierz Godłowski (1979a:424), the Ukrainian archaeologist Vladimir Baran recently argued that the earliest assemblages, which could be attributed to the Slavs, are those of the Upper Prut and Upper Dniester area (Baran 1991:36; Baran 1994:6). He cited Irina Rusanova's and B. O. Timoshchuk's work at Kodyn, near Chernivtsi, in Ukraine (Rusanova and Timoshchuk 1984), where handmade pottery allegedly of the Prague type was found in association with an iron crossbow brooch (sunken building 10: Rusanova and Timoshchuk 1984:22 and 48; 21 fig. 19/2).

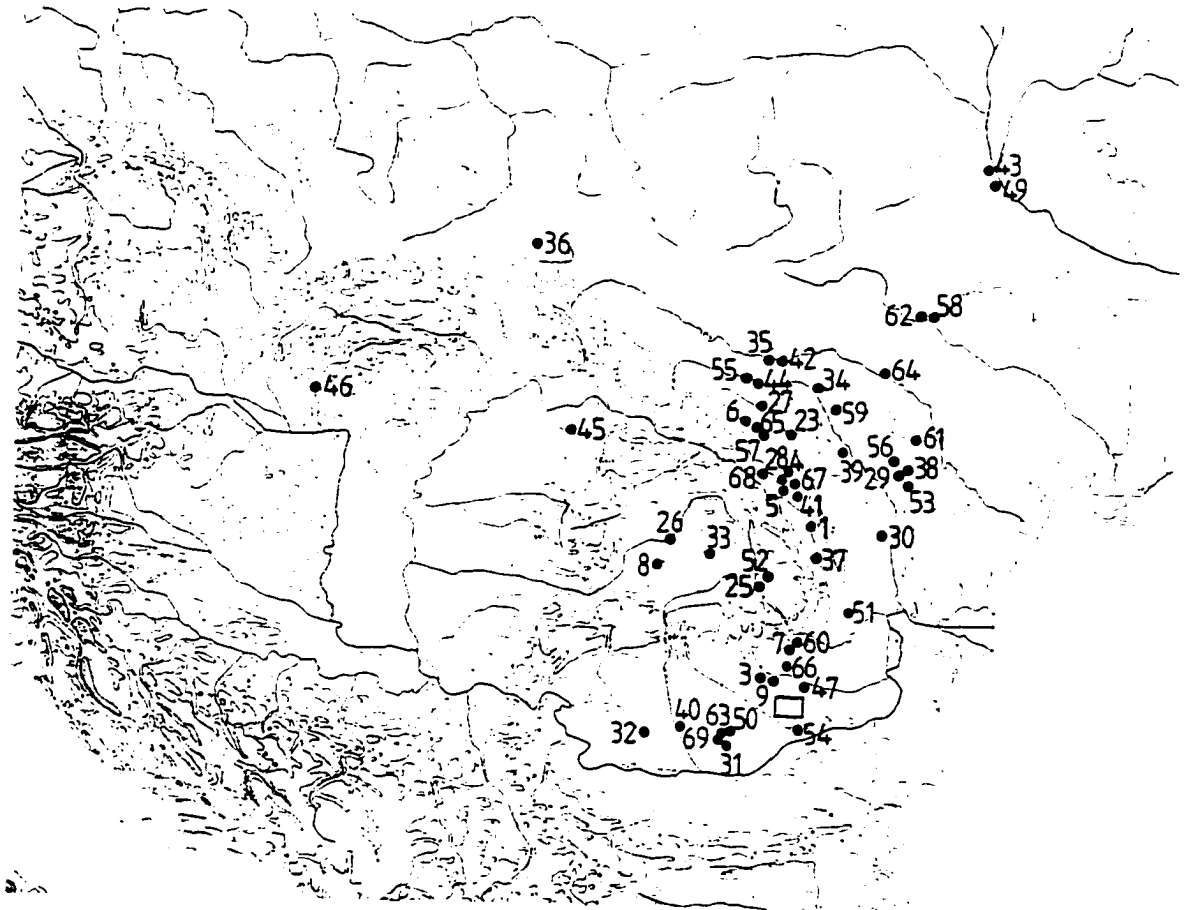


Figure 29. Location Map of Principal Sites Mentioned in the Text.

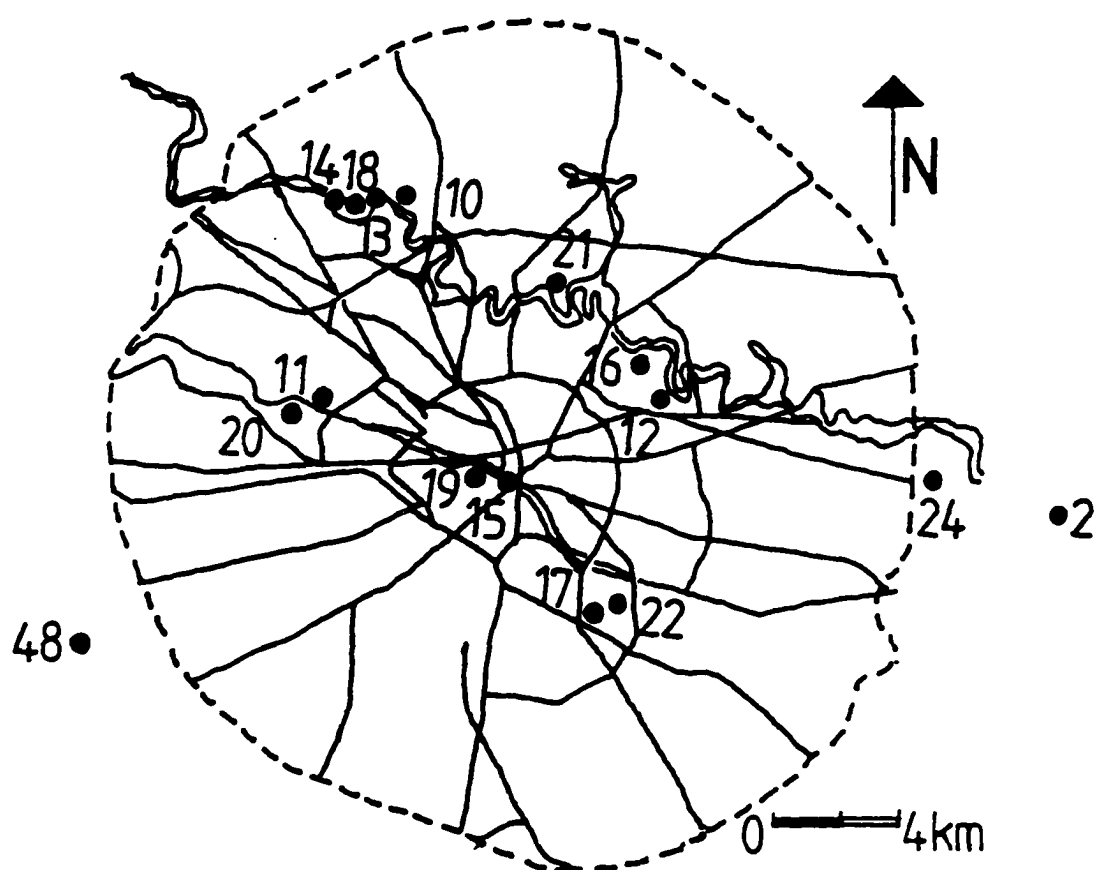


Figure 30. Location Map of Principal Bucharest Sites Mentioned in the Text. Sites Cluster Along Two Main Rivers, the Colentina (to the North) and the Dâmbovița (to the South).

A second crossbow brooch with twisted bow was found not far from the sunken building 21, which also produced handmade pottery (Rusanova and Timoshchuk 1984:22 and 21 fig. 19/2). Such fibulae belong to a class of crossbow brooches, known as the Prague class (Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986:600-603). They were particularly frequent in two regions of East Central Europe: within the Carpathian basin and in the Baltic area of Mazuria and Lithuania. Two specimens similar to that of Kodyn 10 come from two late fifth- and early sixth-century settlements in Transylvania (Moreşti: Horedt 1979a:pl. 41/5, 7; Bratei, sunken building 10: Bârză 1994-1995:290 fig. 16/13).⁶⁷² A third one was found in grave 106 of the Berekhát cemetery on the left bank of the Tisza river (Csallány 1961:82 and pl. LXXXI/2). A good analogy for the second brooch was found in a sunken building at Battonya, together with fine, grey wheel-made pottery with lustred decoration which was common in 'Gepidia' around A.D. 500 (Szábo and Vörös 1979:225 fig. 9/1). Two other specimens come from a late fifth- and early sixth-century settlement at Bratei, in Transylvania (Bârză 1994-1995:290 fig. 16/11 and 17). In Lithuania, a Prague-type crossbow brooch was found in association with a buckle with scrollwork decoration and a sword of Menghin's class A in a warrior burial at Taurapilis, dated to the second half of the fifth century (Werner 1977). Such fibulae were also found in early

Byzantine hillforts in the Balkans and in some of their associated cemeteries.⁶⁷³ On the basis of the two fibulae from Kodyn, Baran argued that the early Slavic culture originated in Podolia, not in Polesie, as claimed by Rusanova. He maintained that no other region of the Slavic *oikumene* produced assemblages as early as those of the Upper Prut and Upper Dniester area. In conclusion, this must have been the Slavic *Urheimat*.

Leaving aside the fact that Baran's argument is exclusively built on the evidence of two brooches, there are several other chronological markers of the late fifth- and early sixth century in the neighboring regions. Notwithstanding the absence of closed finds, which may clearly be dated to phases D3 (third quarter of the fifth century) and E (last quarter of the fifth century) (cf. Harhoiu 1990:204), the two crossbow brooches from Kodyn are not the only late fifth-century artifacts in the region east and south of the Carpathians. A fibula with semicircular head-plate, similar to late fourth- and early fifth-century silver- or bronze-sheet brooches, was found in grave 1502 at Sărata Monteoru (Fiedler 1992:82 and 83 fig. 11/7). Grave 140 of the same cemetery produced a small brooch which reminds one of larger specimens of the Vyškov class, dated to the second half of the fifth century (Fiedler 1992:82 and 83 fig. 11/5; cf. Bierbrauer 1989:151 and 155).⁶⁷⁴ The Sărata Monteoru cem-

etery also produced a bronze buckle with embossed decoration (Fiedler 1992:84 and 85 fig. 12/3). Such buckles were popular during the late fifth century in the Mediterranean area (Kazanski 1994:161). A crossbow brooch of the Viminacium type was recently found in a small settlement excavated at Molești, near Cimișlia (Moldova)(Figure 31).⁶⁷⁵ Brooches of the Viminacium class could be dated to the late fifth or early sixth century (Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986:606-608; Kharalambieva and Atanasov 1991: 44-45)⁶⁷⁶ The closest analogy of the Molești fibula is the specimen found not far from a sunken-building in the Lug II settlement near Pen'kyvka (Kirovograd region, Ukraine)(Berezovec 1963:fig. 18/4). The Molești fibula is not the only artifact found in Moldova, which may be dated to the fifth century. The neighboring site at Hansca, near Chișinău, produced a bronze mirror of the Chmi-Brigetio type, which could be dated to the mid-400s (Rafalovich 1972c:33 fig. 3/8; cf. Werner 1956:18)(Figure 32/7). The best analogies for a brooch with bent-stem found at Moldoveni, in Romanian Moldavia (Mitrea 1973:664 fig. 1/1), are the so-called Emmanuel fibula from Salona and a similar specimen found in a late-fifth century burial in Jerusalem (Uenze 1992:151). A similar dating was advanced for another brooch with bent stem found at Târgșor, near Ploiești, in south Romania (Teodorescu 1971b:126 fig. 2/2; Harhoiu 1990:179).⁶⁷⁷

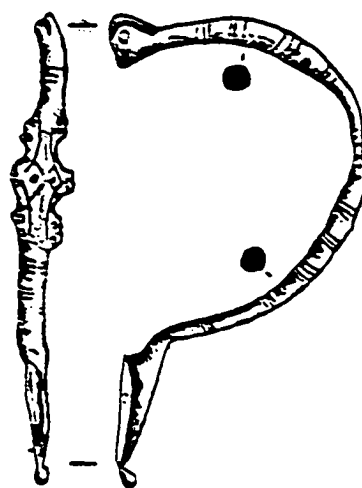


Figure 31. Crossbow Brooch From Molești-Râpa Adâncă (Moldova). Drawing by Ioan Tentiuc, Archaeological Museum of Chișinău.

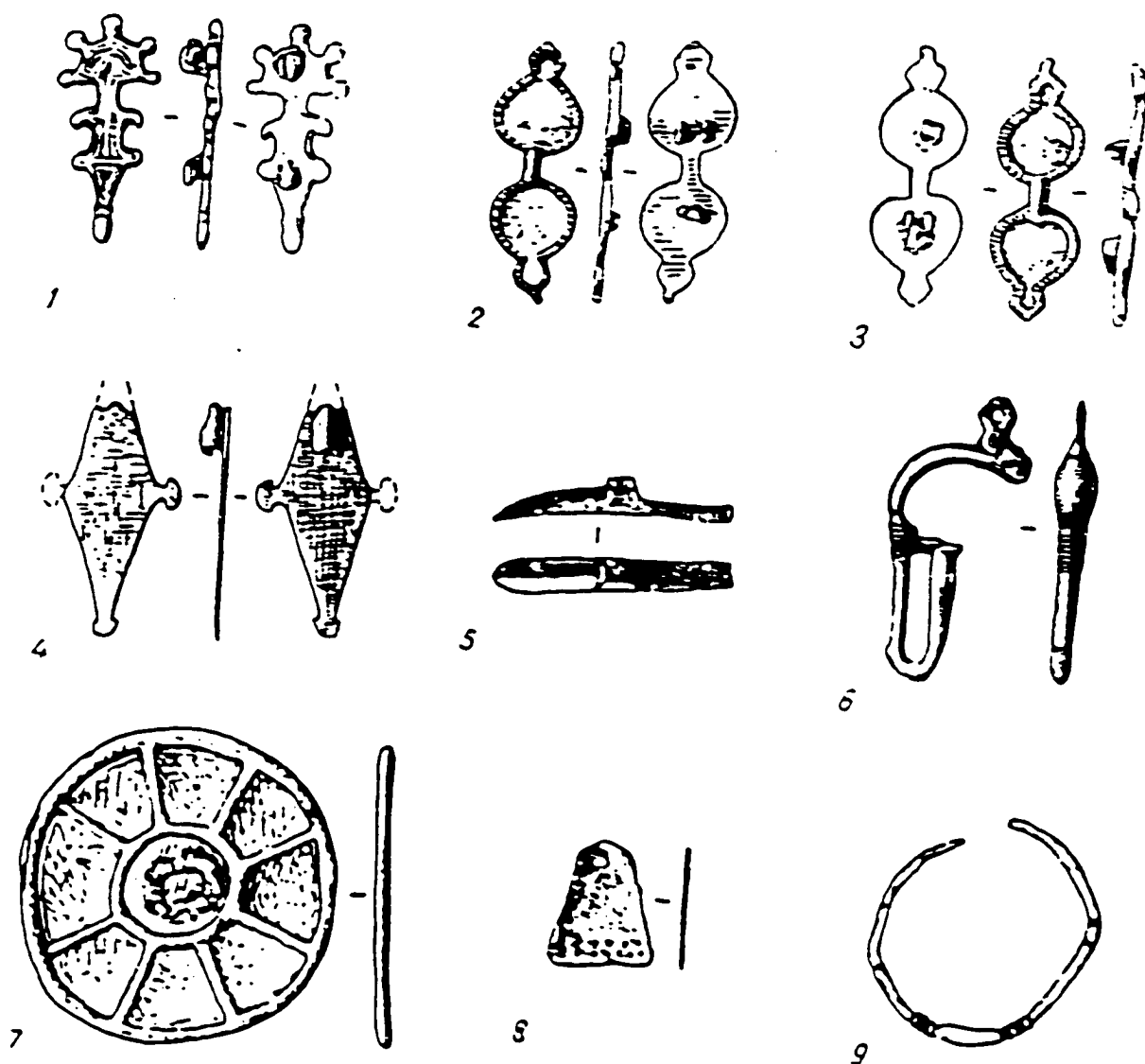


Figure 32. Metal Artifacts from Fifth- to Seventh-Century Sites in Moldova (Source: Rafalovich 1972).

An almost identical fibula found at Dragosloveni, in a sunken building, is probably of the same date (Comşa 1972:fig. 4/2).

What all this brief survey shows is that we only now begin to conceptualize in archaeological terms the period which spread from the demise of the Hunnic 'empire' to the first Slavic raids known from historical sources. Due to the absence of closed finds, archaeologists have been unable to pin down those assemblages which may be dated to the late fifth or early sixth century, but the situation might well change in the nearest future.⁶⁷⁸ The Kodyn brooches are not unique, but because they were found in closed finds, they are invaluable elements for building a relative chronology of contemporary archaeological assemblages.

A seriation by correspondence analysis of 327 settlement features (sunken buildings, kilns, ovens, and pits) in relation to 42 artifact categories (including various types of pottery decoration), which may be chronologically sensitive, clearly shows that Kodyn 10 and Kodyn 21, which produced crossbow brooches, should be separated from assemblages of both the same site and other regions (Figure 33).⁶⁷⁹ After being abandoned as a house, Kodyn 10 served as a rubbish pit. Materials found in the filling are therefore later than those found on

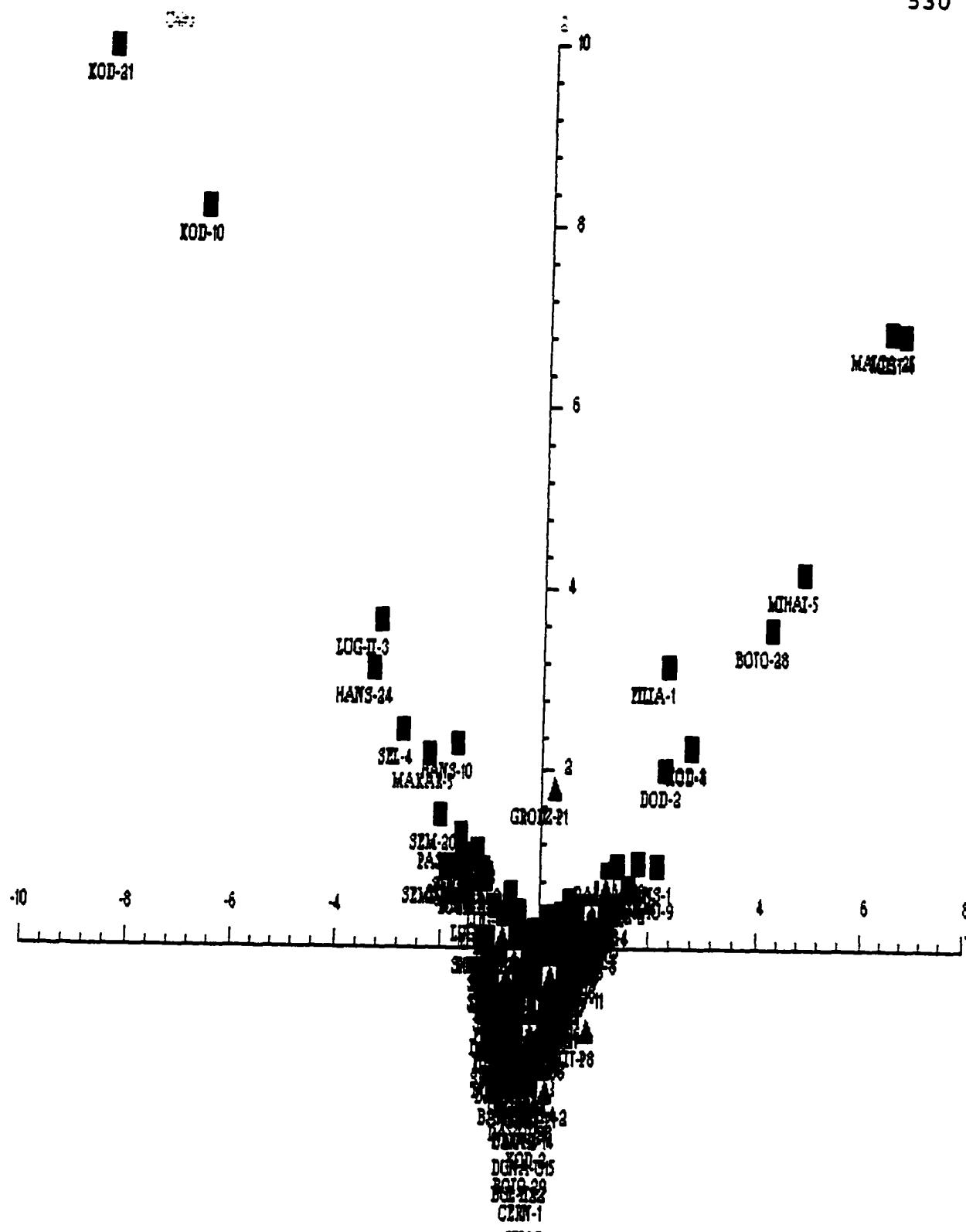


Figure 33. Seriation by Correspondence Analysis of 327 Settlement Features in Relation to Categories of Artifacts With Which They Were Associated.

the house's floor. Despite the presence of a crossbow brooch, a sherd of handmade pottery with finger impressions on the lip, which was found in the filling of Kodyn 10, caused the inclusion of this sunken building in the second phase of the seriation, though still far from the main cluster at the tip of the parabola (Figure 34).⁶⁸⁰

A much smaller group of units belong to the third phase. An examination of the scattergram showing the relationships between artifact categories (Figure 35)⁶⁸¹ indicates that this phase should be dated much later than the other two, primarily because of the exclusive presence of flint steels.⁶⁸² The flint steel found in feature 4 at Bucharest-Militari was associated with a scraping tool (Henning's class P2), wrongly interpreted as adze (cf. Henning 1981:69). The earliest specimens of this kind, dated to the fourth and fifth century, come from southern Siberia, but similar implements frequently occur in sixth- and seventh-century warrior burials from the present-day Tuva autonomous region.⁶⁸³ In Europe, scraping tools occur in eighth-century burials in the Lower Don area. Along with certain axe-types, they have been recently interpreted as social status markers for second-rank Khazar warriors, the so-called *afsad* (Afanas'ev 1993:141-142). In the middle Danube region, such tools were also found with warrior graves dated to the Middle Avar period (Kovács 1981:100).

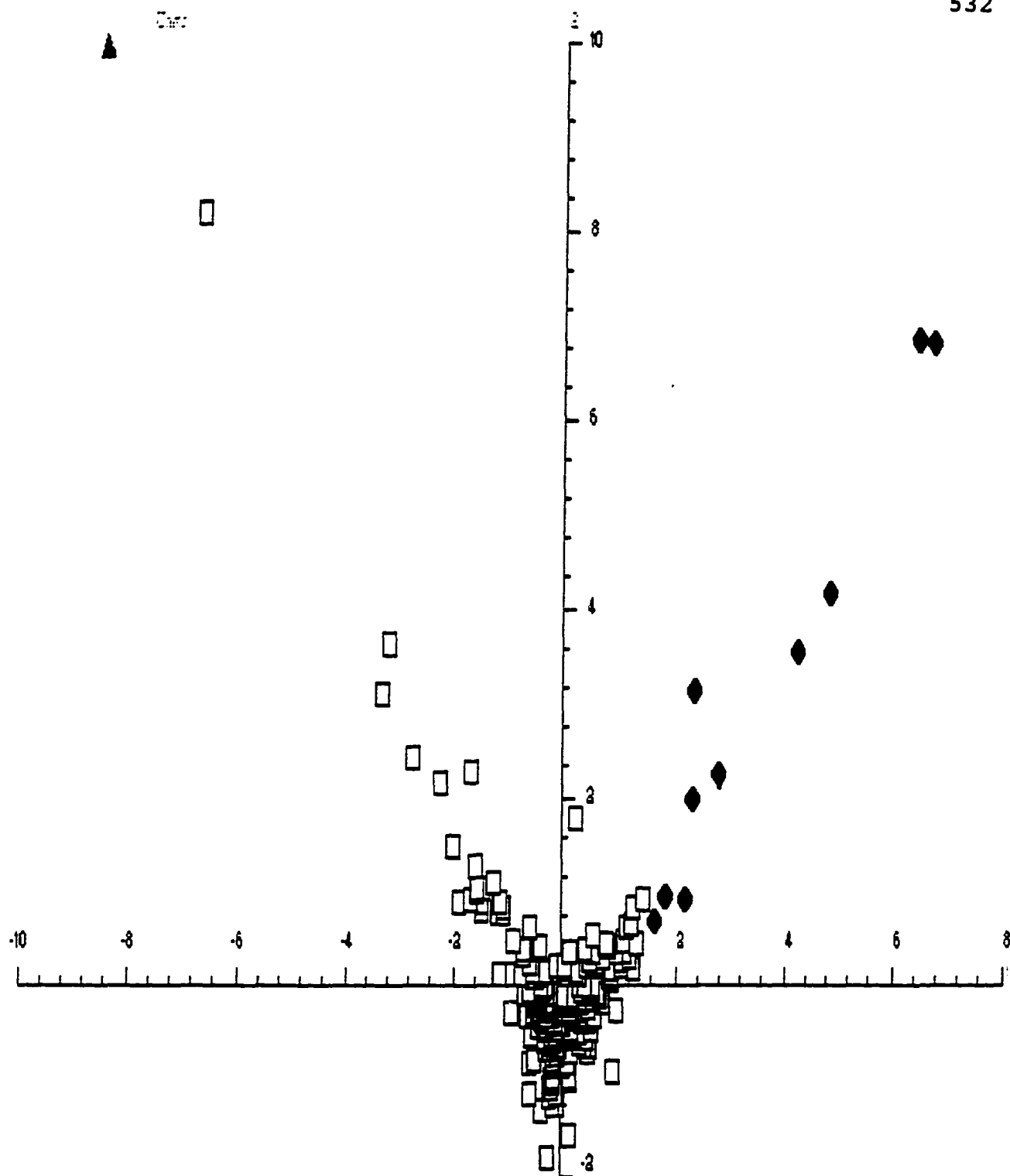


Figure 34. Phasing of 327 Settlement Features Seriated by Correspondence Analysis in Relation to Categories of Artifacts With Which They Were Associated.

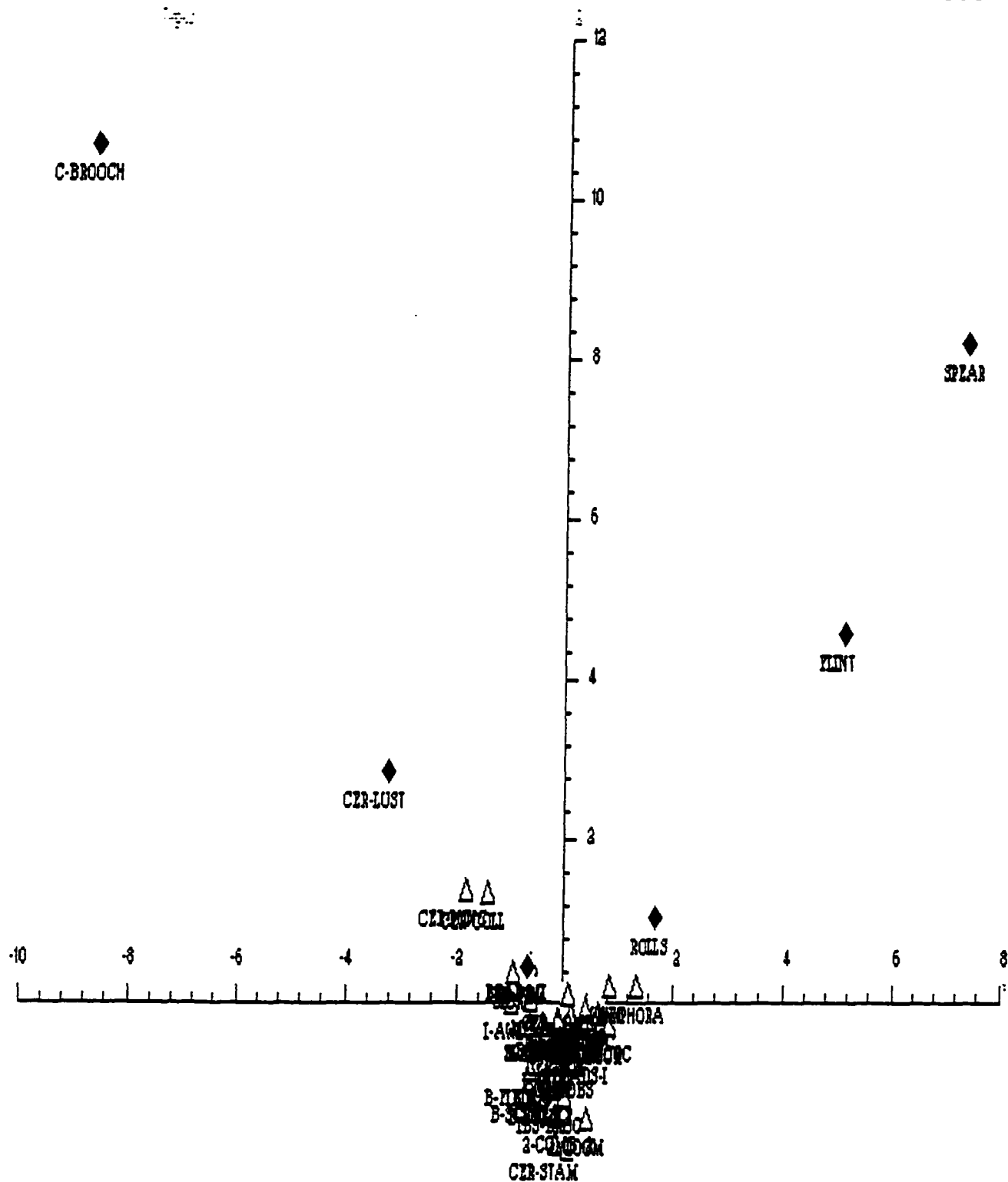


Figure 35. Seriation by Correspondence Analysis of 42 Artifact Categories Found in Sixth- and Seventh-Century Settlement Features.

A date to the late seventh or early eighth century should be assigned to the mortuary assemblage from grave 7 at Aradka, which produced a flint steel very similar to those from settlement features of the third group (Nagy 1959:pl. II/3). The same is true for two flint steels from Kalaja Dalmaces and Kruje, in Albania (Ippen 1907:17 fig. 25; Anamali and Spahiu 1963:6 fig. 1).⁶⁸⁴ Of a slightly earlier date is the flint steel from grave 5 at Unirea (Vereşmort), in Transylvania (Roska 1934:124 fig. 2 C/7). The grave produced an iron clasp used for attaching the quiver to the belt, which has a good analogy in the rich warrior grave at Kunbábony, dated to the second or last third of the seventh century (Tóth and Horváth 1992:160; cf. Kaminskii 1986:28-29). In conclusion, phase III may be dated to the second half of the seventh century, possibly to the late 600s.

The majority of the seriated settlement features cluster in the second phase. A zoomed detail of the scattergram showing relationships between artifact categories (Figure 36) indicates those which are closely associated with this phase. At least six artifact categories, which are specially marked in order to be easily identified, can assist us in estimating the date of the second phase. In addition, two settlement features from Botoşana (nos. 13 and 20) produced coins struck for Emperor Justinian. Both are folles minted in

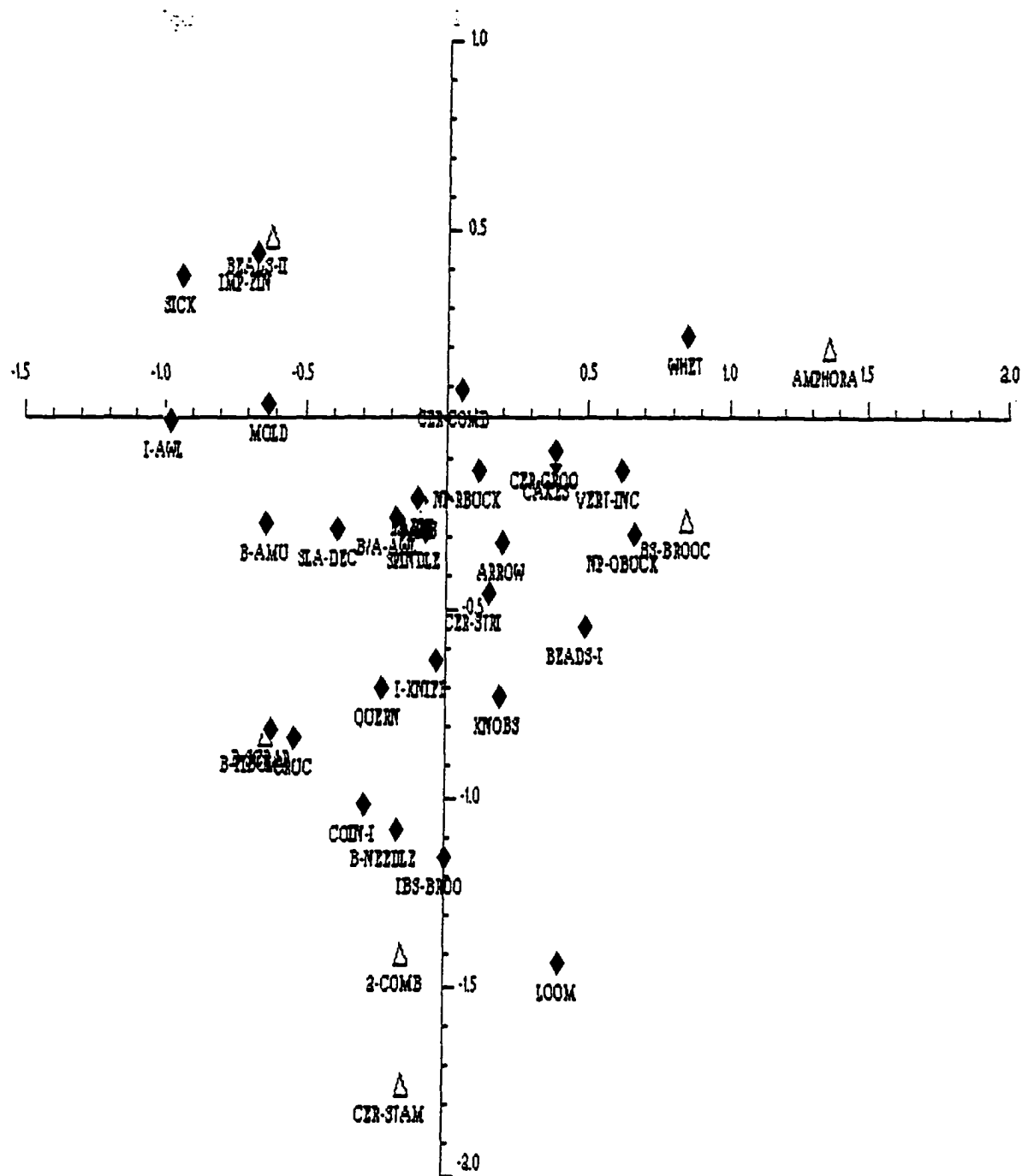


Figure 36. Zoomed Detail of the Seriation by Correspondence Analysis of 42 Artifact Categories Found in Sixth- and Seventh-Century Settlement Features. Special Artifacts Categories Discussed in the Text Are Marked by Triangles. For Abbreviations, See Text.

Constantinople before the monetary reform (i.e., between 527 and 538)(for type attribution, see Butnariu 1983-1985:217). Coins dated to the first half of Justinian's reign were found on several other sites, though none in a closed find comparable to the Botoşana settlement features.⁶⁸⁵ These coins can only provide a *terminus a quo*, for it is impossible to know how long they circulated before entering the archaeological deposit through loss or discarding. As shown in Chapter VII, hoards closed before ca. 570 include a fairly large number of pieces issued between the reign of Anastasius and the first part of Justinian's reign. Folles minted during this period were occasionally collected even after ca. 570, unlike lower denominations, which seem to have become valueless and probably went out of circulation.⁶⁸⁶ This warns us against pushing the evidence of coins too far. All that Justinian's folles from Botoşana can tell us is that the archaeological context in which they were found cannot be dated earlier than A.D. 527.

That phase II must be dated later than that is suggested by the specially marked artifact categories. Beads with eye-shaped inlays first occur in Early Avar mortuary assemblages in Hungary, though they remained popular during the Middle Avar period. The earliest beads of this kind are those of grave 2 at Szentendre, in which they were found together with a tremissis minted for

Emperor Justin II, and those of grave 116 at Jutas, where they were associated with a bronze coin struck for emperor Phocas (Garam 1992:151; Kiss 1996:197).⁶⁸⁷ Handmade pottery with stamped decoration, such as found at Poian (Székely 1992:267 fig. 16/1-2) and Cernat (Székely 1992:285 fig. 26/B 4), comes from Early Avar sites in Bohemia, Moravia, and Slovakia (Bechovice and Mutenice: Klanica 1993:87; Bratislava-Dubravka: Hromada 1991). The cremation cemetery at Bratislava-Dubravka also produced a bronze bracelet, which is typical for early seventh-century assemblages in northern Italy (Werner 1991).

Single- or double-layered combs are rare on early medieval sites in Eastern Europe (Vakulenko and Prikhodniuk 1985:96), but relatively frequent in Central Europe, particularly on sixth-century sites. They remained popular during the Early Avar period (for a list of finds, see Kiss 1996:190), as well as later (e.g., Rejholcová 1990:380). A late sixth-century settlement at Ludanice (Slovakia) produced clear evidence of comb production (Fusek, Staššiková-Štukovská, and Bátora 1993:33). A comb-case similar to that found at Davideni (Mitrea 1974-1976:fig. 18/1-2), which is decorated on either side with an incised and punched geometrical pattern, comes from grave 33 of the Early Avar cemetery at Pécs-Köztemető (Kiss 1977:96 and pl. XXXVI/33; see also Popović 1984a).

Amphora sherds were found on several sites south and east of the Carpathian mountains.⁶⁸⁸ Many belong to LR 1 and LR 2 amphorae (Figure 37⁶⁸⁹).⁶⁹⁰ Both types may be dated to the sixth and seventh century. With LR 2 amphorae, a narrower dating is given by the presence or absence of a pointed tip, a feature that disappeared after ca. 550 (Mackensen 1992a:241 and 244). Specimens with combed decoration in the form of wavy lines should be dated to the second half of the sixth century and the early seventh century (Scorpan 1977:274; Opait 1984:316).⁶⁹¹ Unfortunately, finds of amphora tips are rare, the most frequently encountered sherds being those of shoulders or bodies.⁶⁹² Excavations at Bucharest-Mihai Vodă produced a LR 2 amphora tip, which suggests that the ceramic assemblage found there should be dated to the first half of the sixth century (Cantea 1959:33-34). Most other fragments have wavy combed decoration, a detail pointing to a date in the late sixth or early seventh century.

The fibula with bent stem found in oven 1 at Bucharest-Militari (Sgîbea-Turcu 1963:379 pl. II) belongs to a group which includes almost identical specimens coming from sites along the Lower Danube (Izvoarele-Pârjoaia, Adamclisi, Krivina/Iatrus, Prahovo/Aquis, and Korbovo). This may indicate a center of local production, probably at Prahovo (Janković 1980:177; see also

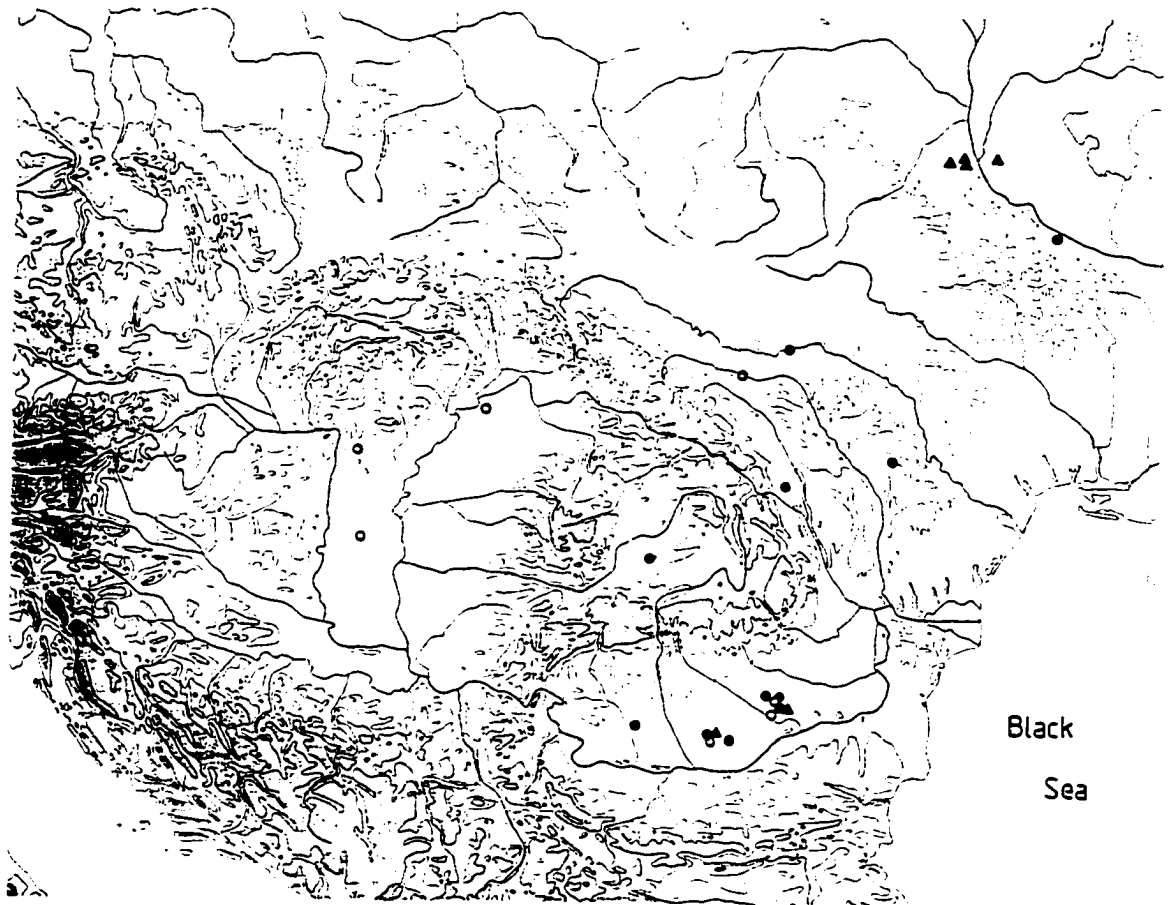


Figure 37. Distribution of LR 1, LR 2, and Other Classes of Sixth- and Seventh-Century Amphorae.

Uenze 1992:147-148).⁶⁹³ Since all specimens with known archeological context (except the Bucharest brooch) come from early Byzantine forts,⁶⁹⁴ such fibulae may be associated with the implementation of Justinian's building program in the northern Balkans and should therefore be dated to the mid-500s (Uenze 1992:151; for a dating to the second half of the sixth century, see Curta 1992:87).

A fibula with bent stem was found in the sunken building 6 at Bucharest-Militari (Sgîbea-Turcu 1963:379 pl. II/1), together with handmade pottery with finger impressions and notches on the lip. All known parallels⁶⁹⁵ come from military sites along the Danube frontier of the Empire. They are all of the same size and have identical decoration, which strongly suggests they were produced in the same workshop, probably at Prahovo.

Analogies for the fibula with bent stem found in a sunken building at Poian (Székely 1992:269 fig. 17/6), together with a clay pan and a single-layered comb, are only known from two mortuary assemblages in 'Gepidia' dated to the first half of the sixth-century (grave 102 at Berekhát and grave 146 at Kiszombor; Csallány 1961:pl. LXXV/1 and CXXXV/2). Unlike these two specimens, however, the Poian brooch displays a characteristic hook at the end of the bow, which is viewed by some scholars as an indication of a slightly later dating, probably in the mid- or late sixth century (Uenze 1992:149-151).

Three fibulae with bent stem found at Davideni also indicate a date in the late 500s. One of them (Mitrea 1974-1976:fig. 15/1) has a characteristic trapezoidal foot, which is reminiscent of the gold fibula found at Markovi Kuli in a small hoard, together with a buckle of the Sucidava class, which may not be earlier than ca. 550 or later than ca. 600 (Mikulčić and Bilbija 1981-1982:213 fig. 7; cf. Vinski 1967:37-38; Werner 1989-1990:594; Uenze 1992: 186; Varsik 1992:80; Fiedler 1992:73).⁶⁹⁶ A second fibula was found in feature 16, together with a bronze cross (Mitrea 1974-1976:fig. 15/3). It is made of iron, instead of bronze. Such fibulae appear in late sixth-century contexts on Balkan hillforts. At Markovi Kuli, one such fibula was found in association with two coins issued for Emperor Justin II (dated 575/6 and 577/8, respectively)(Mikulčić and Nikuljska 1978:148 fig. 17).⁶⁹⁷ Finally, the third specimen found at Davideni (Mitrea 1974-1976:fig. 15/4) is also made of iron and has no exact analogy. The closest parallels are a fibula from Heraclea (Perinthus) and another from an unknown location in Romania (Popescu 1941-1944:503 fig. 10/115). All three have a wide bow and a comparatively narrower foot, a feature which reminds one of iron and bronze brooches found in seventh-century mortuary assemblages in Albania and the neighboring region (the so-called "Koman culture").⁶⁹⁸

Cast fibulae with bent stem are even stronger indications of a late dating. Despite slight ornamental variations, this group of fibulae is remarkably homogeneous. Its dating to the reign of Justin II (565-578) is secured by specimens associated with hoards of copper concluding with coins issued for that emperor (Bracigovo and Koprivec; see Appendix B, nos. 91 and 98). In addition, the "Nestor house" at Sadovec produced a cast fibula with bent stem and coins struck for Justin II (Uenze 1974; Kharalambieva and Ivanov 1986:16; Uenze 1992:156; Curta 1992:84-85). Fibulae of this kind were found in great numbers in forts, particularly in the northern Balkans.⁶⁹⁹ It has been suggested that they were part of the military uniform. Specimens found in mortuary assemblages, always with female skeletons (as in Piatra Frecăței), indicate, however, that cast fibulae with bent stem were worn by women, arguably by wives of soldiers. That such fibulae were produced locally is shown by a workshop recently found at Drobeta Turnu-Severin, on the left bank of the Danube (Bejan 1976). Since the specimens found at Bârlălești (Coman 1971a:309 fig. 16/4) and Hansca (Rafalovich 1972c:33 fig. 10/2)(Figure 32/6) are unique, it is also possible that replicas of such fibulae were produced in Barbaricum.

All this archaeological evidence suggests that the major part of the seriated settlement features, which

were ordered into the second phase, should be dated to the second half or the last third of the sixth century and to the early seventh century. It is important to emphasize that some assemblages may be of an earlier date, possibly of the first half of the sixth century. The LR 2 amphora tip from Bucharest-Mihai Vodă or the presence at Sfințești of grey gritty ware (Kuzmanov I 4), which appears around or just before the middle of the fifth century, but becomes popular shortly after 500 A.D. (Kuzmanov 1985:47; Borisov 1988a:100; Kuzmanov 1992:213; Hayes 1992:54; cf. Vékony 1973:213), point to that direction. Lacking datable artifacts for the first half of the sixth century, archaeologists are not yet capable of differentiating the earlier material from later assemblages. It is not unlikely, however, that a significant number of ceramic assemblages with no associated metal artifacts are earlier than ca. 550.

One important conclusion resulting from this analysis is that during the second half of the sixth century and the first decades of the seventh, a relatively large number of sites appeared east and south of the Carpathians, which displayed a similar set of artifact categories. Many must have begun much earlier, as suggested by finds in Kodyn or Bucharest-Mihai Vodă. Others continued to be occupied during the seventh century, such as Bucharest-Militari. On the evidence of the selected

sites, it seems that the dramatic increase in number of sites took place during the second half of the sixth century, shortly after the implementation of Justinian's building program in the Balkans. As shown in Chapter VII, this is also the period in which the number of coins from both hoards and stray finds suddenly began to increase. More important, Slavic raids resumed during this period on a very large scale, often under the leadership of Slavic 'kings' (Chapter V). Social and political change seems to have coincided with material culture change, a coincidence which will be discussed in detail in the following chapter. That this coincidence is no accident is shown by the analysis of another artifact category associated with settlement features of the second phase: 'Slavic' bow fibulae.

'Slavic' Bow Fibulae in Eastern Europe

A German archaeologist, Herbert Kühn, has once called the bow fibula the early medieval artifact *par excellence* (Kühn 1965). Textbooks and art history studies use it to illustrate sections dedicated to the Dark Ages. There are probably thousands and hundreds of thousands of bow fibulae in European museum collections. A still greater number of specimens come out of archaeological excavations and their incredible diversity defies any attempts to establish unequivocal typologies.

The first classification of bow fibulae found in Eastern Europe was produced by Joachim Werner, who also attached the label 'Slavic' to the name of this class of artifacts (Werner 1950; see also Werner 1960; Werner 1984b).⁷⁰⁰ Werner divided his corpus into two classes (I and II), further subdivided into groups, on the basis of presumably different terminal lobes, shaped in the form of either human face ("mask") or animal head. A quick glimpse at those brooches ascribed by Werner to his respective classes, however, yields no positive result. There is no significant correlation between variables used by Werner and the brooches he discussed.⁷⁰¹ More important, Werner's approach is rooted in Gustav Kossina's concept of *Siedlungsarchäologie* (see Chapter II). He used artifacts to identify 'cultures.' The distribution of artifacts was then interpreted as reflecting 'cultural provinces,' which he further viewed as coinciding with settlement areas of tribal or ethnic groups. The distribution of bow fibulae in Eastern Europe convinced Werner that the migration of the Slavs may have been responsible for the spread of this dress-accessory in areas so afar from each other as Ukraine and Greece (Werner 1950:166 and 172).

An important element of his theory was the idea that unlike the 'Germanic' ethnic dress, 'Slavic' bow fibulae were usually worn not in pairs, but singly, and that they

were more likely to be found in association with cremation (the presumably standard burial rite of the early Slavs) than with skeleton graves.⁷⁰² A large number of his 'Slavic bow fibulae' have been found prior to World War II in a limited area in Mazuria, in archaeological assemblages which were foreign to anything both Werner and Soviet archaeologists viewed as typically 'Slavic'. Aware that his theory of the Slavic migration might not work in the case of the Mazurian brooches, Werner proposed that in this case bow fibulae should be interpreted as a result of long-distance trade between Mazuria and the Lower Danube region, along the 'amber trail' (Werner 1950:167; Werner 1984b).⁷⁰³ In accordance with the widely spread belief that mortuary practices were an indication of status hierarchy (cf. Binford 1971:15), he believed that bow fibulae found in Mazurian graves marked the status of the rich 'amber lords' of the North.

Werner's ideas were taken at their face value by many archaeologists and never seriously questioned. Despite heavy criticism (Menke 1990, Fiedler 1992, Curta 1994c), his interpretation of the 'Slavic' bow fibulae is the scholarly standard in many countries of Eastern Europe, where a strong undercurrent of German archaeological tradition is still apparent. To be sure, despite occasional errors of attribution, Werner's classification is still valid and will be used in the following analy-

sis. The principal question that remains to be tackled is whether the introduction of 'Slavic' bow fibulae can be explained in terms of migration. Werner's dating of the entire corpus to the seventh century, an important element of his theory, is a starting point for discussing this group of artifacts.⁷⁰⁴

Werner's group I B (Vețel-Coșoveni), which I examined in detail elsewhere (Curta 1994c), can be subdivided into two series. One of them includes brooches similar to a gilded specimen with lavish scrollwork decoration, which is said to have been found at Constantinople and is now in a private collection in Switzerland (Werner 1960: 119 and pl. 2; Curta 1994c:260). Fibulae with similar, but more modest, decoration were found as far north as Liuliakovo, in Bulgaria (Mikhailov 1977:317-318 and pl. 7), Vețel, in Romania (Salin 1935:130 fig. 349; Simonova 1970:75 and 76 fig. 1; Teodor 1992:137 and 142 fig. 1/1), and Sovetsk (former Schreitlauken), in East Prussia (Kühn 1981:317 no. 502 and pl. 75/502). Formal parallels for fibulae of this group may be found only among specimens of Kühn's Aquileia class, particularly those of the Lower Danube area and Crimea, all of which should be dated to the second half of the fifth century (Curta 1994c:245-247). These fibulae display two kinds of ornamentation, one resulting in coloristic effects (garnet inlay and mercury gilding), the other in textural effects

consisting of chip-carving, scrollwork decoration on both head- and footplate (cf. Leigh 1991:107). The scrollwork is reminiscent of the so-called Gáva-Domolospuszta-style metalwork of the late fifth century (Bierbrauer 1975:140; Menke 1986; Menke 1990:190; Harhoiu 1990:187; for the Gáva buckle, see Bott and Meier-Arendt 1988:415 and 403 pl. 66/IX.27a; for the Domolospuszta brooch, see Bierbrauer 1978:215 and fig. 12/1). A *Prunkfibel* with typically Early Avar decoration in animal Style II (cf. Nagy 1988; Nagy 1995), which was found at Coşoveni together with two silver earrings with star-shaped pendant and a silver collar, was used by Werner for dating the entire corpus of 'Slavic' bow fibulae to the seventh century (Werner 1950:150-152 and 157). The Coşoveni brooch should be treated, however, as an exceptional specimen of the I B group, in terms of both decoration and archaeological context.

A date to the early seventh century may be assigned only to the second series, which is represented by four brooches found in Greece (Litochoron/Dion, Sparta, Demetrias, and Nea Anchialos). This is suggested by the crisp style decoration of the Nea Anchialos fibula, which is reminiscent of a horse-shaped figurine from the Biskupije hoard, dated to the seventh century, or the copper-alloy 'votive hand' recently auctioned in New York (Werner 1953:5 and pl. 4/4; Korošec 1958b; Kidd 1992:511

and 514 fig. 5e). A good analogy for all four fibulae from Greece was found in an Early Avar grave at Ellőszállás (Sós 1963:315 and 314 fig. 5b), which confirms the results of the stylistic analysis. A cluster analysis by the Jaccard coefficient of similarity shows indeed that fibulae of Werner's group I B fall into two variants, each defined by different ornamental patterns (Figure 38). When plotting on a map the nearest-neighbor relationships resulting from this analysis, it becomes clear that the two variants, though related to each other, have different distributions (Figure 39).⁷⁰⁵ In terms of ornamental patterns, fibulae found in Romania seem to represent the intermediary link between the two variants, for fibulae found in Greece or in Hungary are not direct analogies of the Constantinopolitan brooch.

Werner's group I C (see Appendix D, nos. 49-119; Figure 40/3, 6; Figure 41) is characterized by a footplate in the form of a lyre with one or two pairs of bird-heads. The only known parallel to this specific feature are buckles of the Boly-Želovce class, which derived from earlier lyre-shaped buckles, such as those found in Greece (Athens, Mitilini, Cyprus) and Syria (Latakia), which may be dated to the early 600s (Ibler 1992:143-144; Varsik 1992:86-87). This is further substantiated by two specimens of Werner's group I C (Vela and Kiev), with a decoration of bronze kernels applied to

Near Neighbour Clustering of vetel-cosoveni

Similarity Coefficient: Jaccard

Number of Neighbours considered: 7

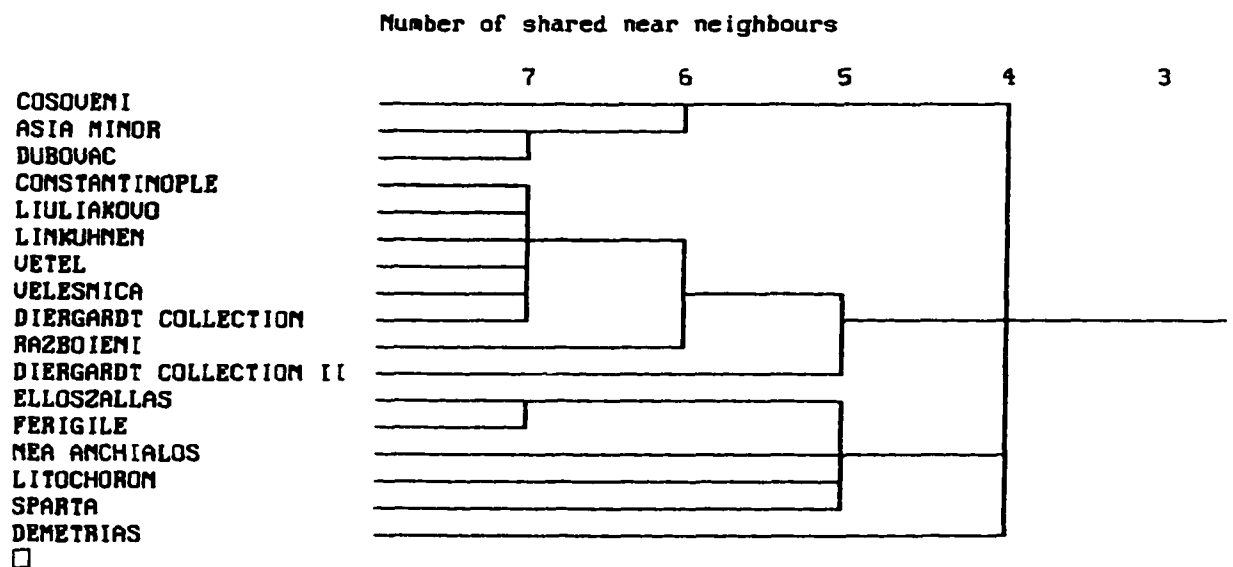


Figure 38. Cluster Analysis of 17 Brooches of Werner's Group I B, in Relation to Their Ornamental Patterns.

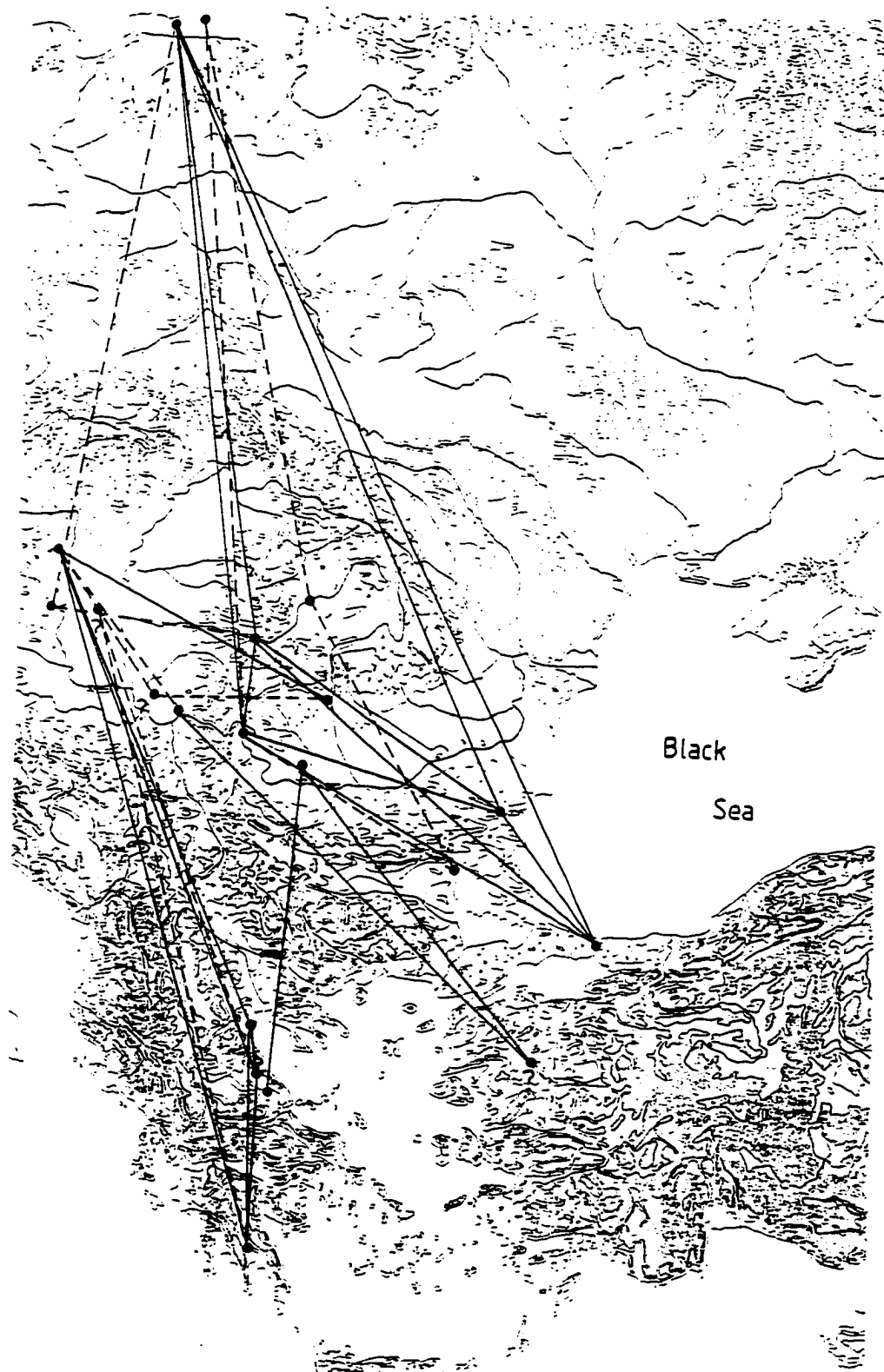


Figure 39. Plotting of the Nearest-Neighbor Similarity of 17 Brooches of Werner's Group I B.

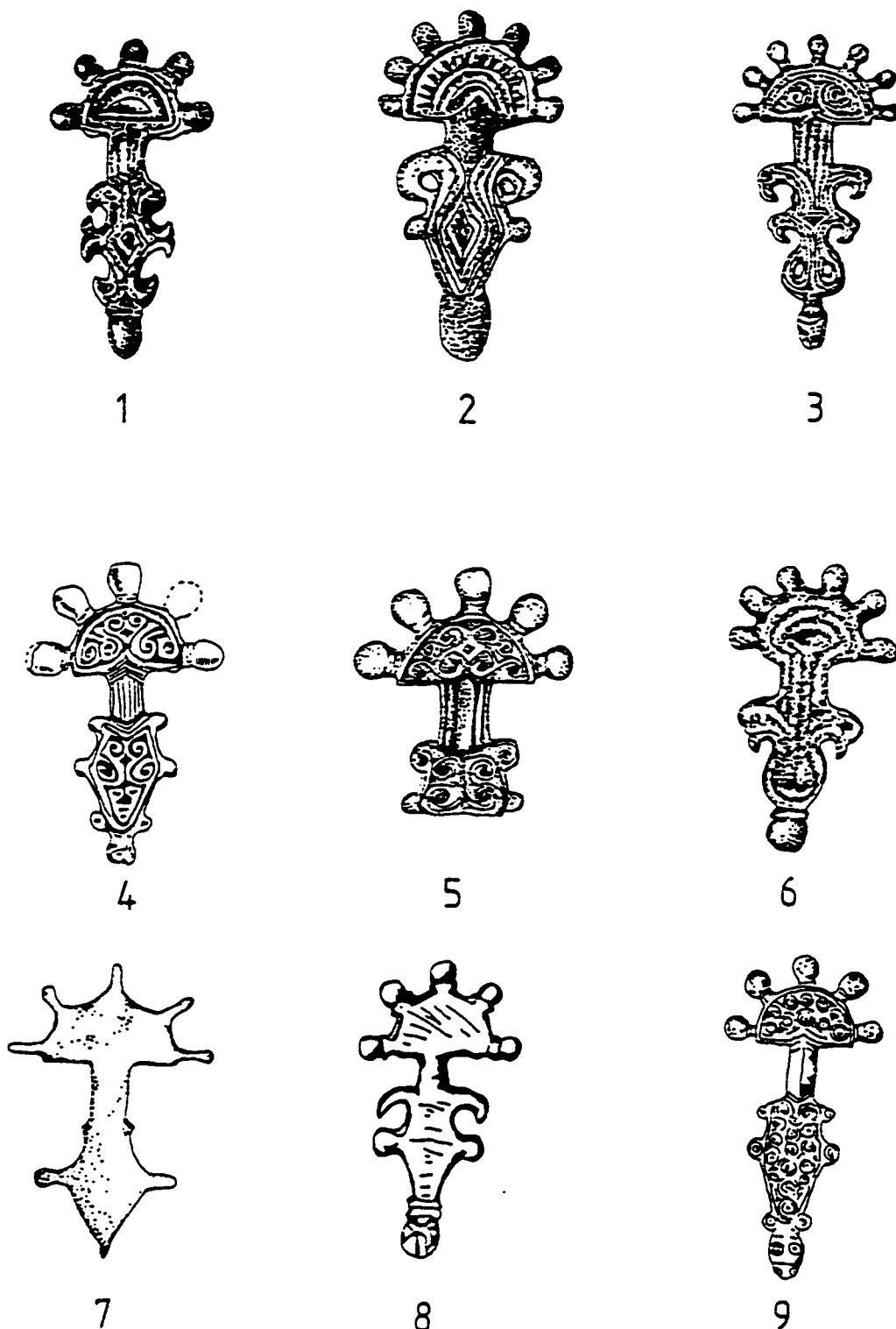


Figure 40. Examples of 'Slavic' Bow Fibulae: Bratei (1, 2), Gâmbaş (3), Vârtoape (4), Pietroasele (5), Poian (6), Butimanu (7), Selişte (8), and Dănceni (9). Drawings by Author.

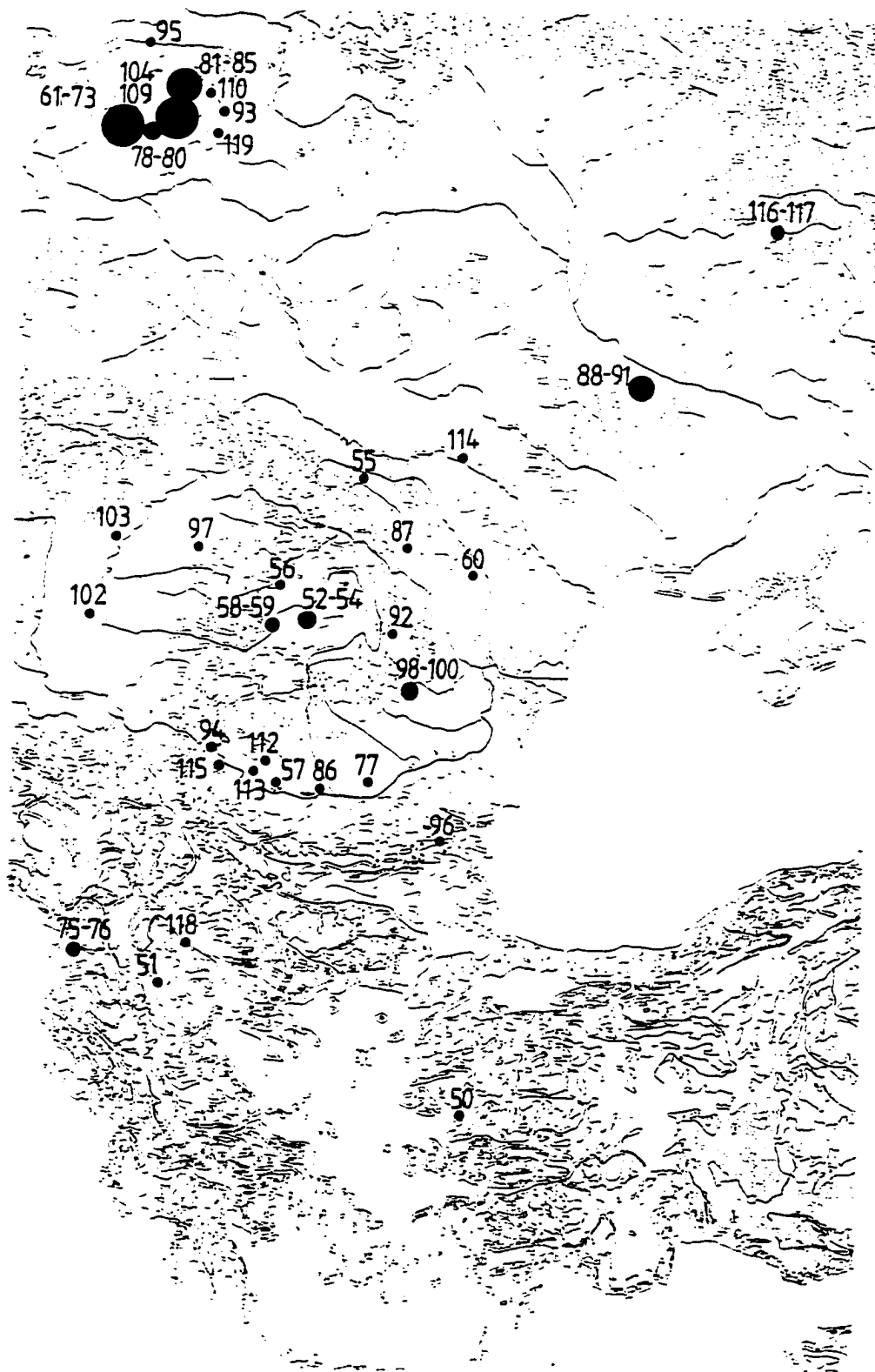


Figure 41. Distribution of 'Slavic' Bow Fibulae of Werner's Group I C. Numbers Refer to Specimens Listed in Appendix D.

the smooth metal surface. The same decoration may be found on some buckles of the Boly-Želovce class (Želovce, Târnava, Szentes-Kajan).⁷⁰⁶ The earliest specimens of group I C may be dated to the late 400s or early 500s. The mortuary assemblages of graves 8 and 30 at Kielary produced two specimens of group I C and crossbow brooches, which are typical for late fifth- and early sixth-century assemblages in the Baltic region and in Finland (Bitner-Wróblewska 1991:236).⁷⁰⁷ But group I C was still in fashion in the mid-500s, as suggested by the specimen found in grave 113 at Bratei together with a buckle of the Sucidava class, which may be dated to ca. 550 at the earliest (Csallány 1962a:61; Uenze 1992:186; Varsik 1992:78; cf. Fiedler 1992:73). Specimens with two pairs of bird-heads (Cornești, Gâmbaș, Kruje) are the latest of the entire group. At Kruje, two such fibulae were associated with a buckle of the Corinth class, which cannot be dated earlier than ca. 600 (Varsik 1992:83). At Gâmbaș, two other specimens were found together with earrings with star-shaped pendant and globe-shaped hollow silver beads. The Prișeaca hoard, which concludes with hexagrams issued for Emperor Constantine IV dating to 674-681, produced almost identical earrings.

What catches the eye on the plotting of the cluster analysis of 41 brooches of Werner's group I C in relation to their shape and ornamental pattern (Figures 42-43)

Near Neighbour Clustering of GAMBAS-PERGAMON

Similarity Coefficient: Jaccard

Number of Neighbours considered: 11

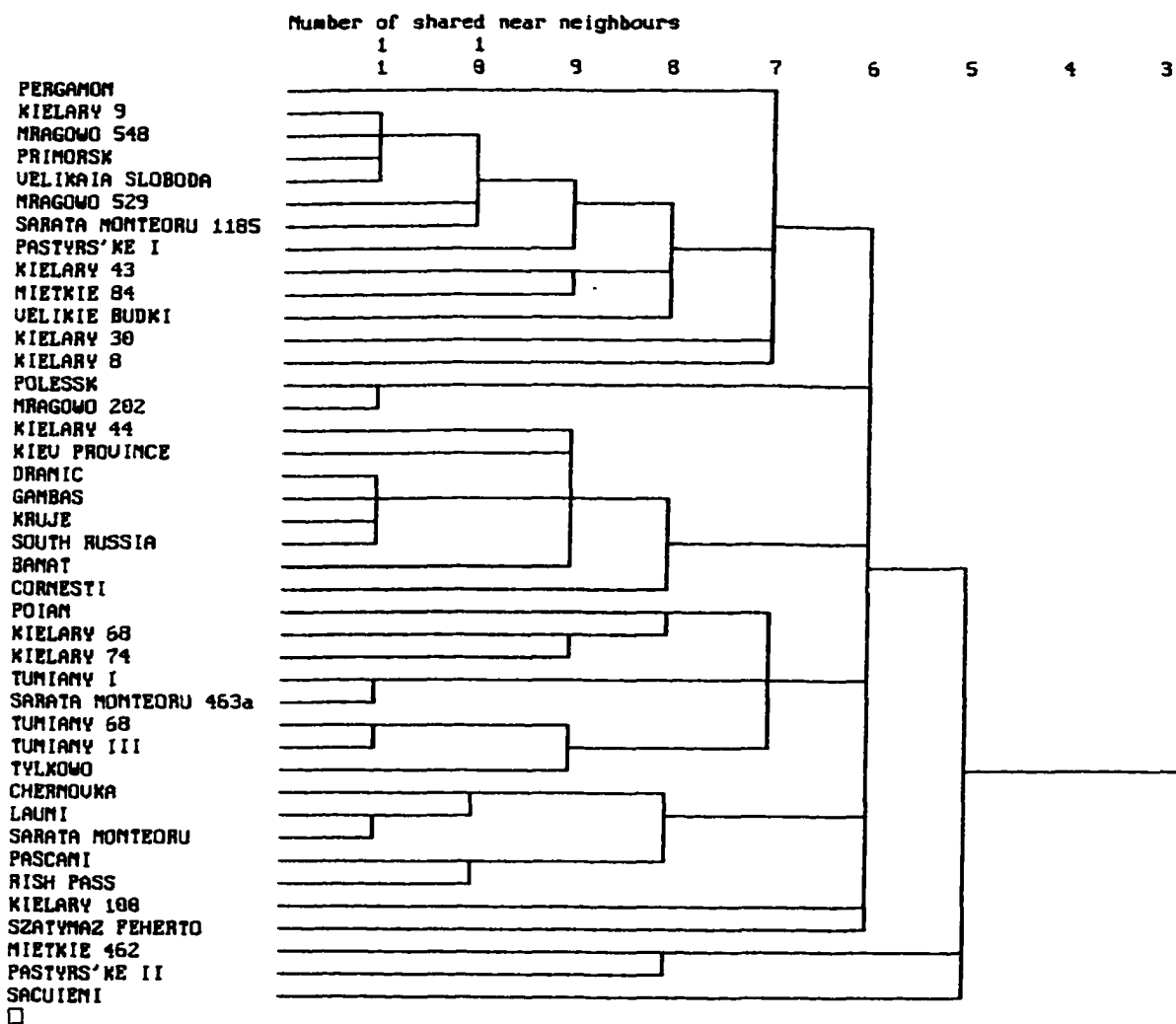


Figure 42. Cluster Analysis of 41 Brooches of Werner's Group I C, in Relation to Their Shape and Ornamental Patterns.

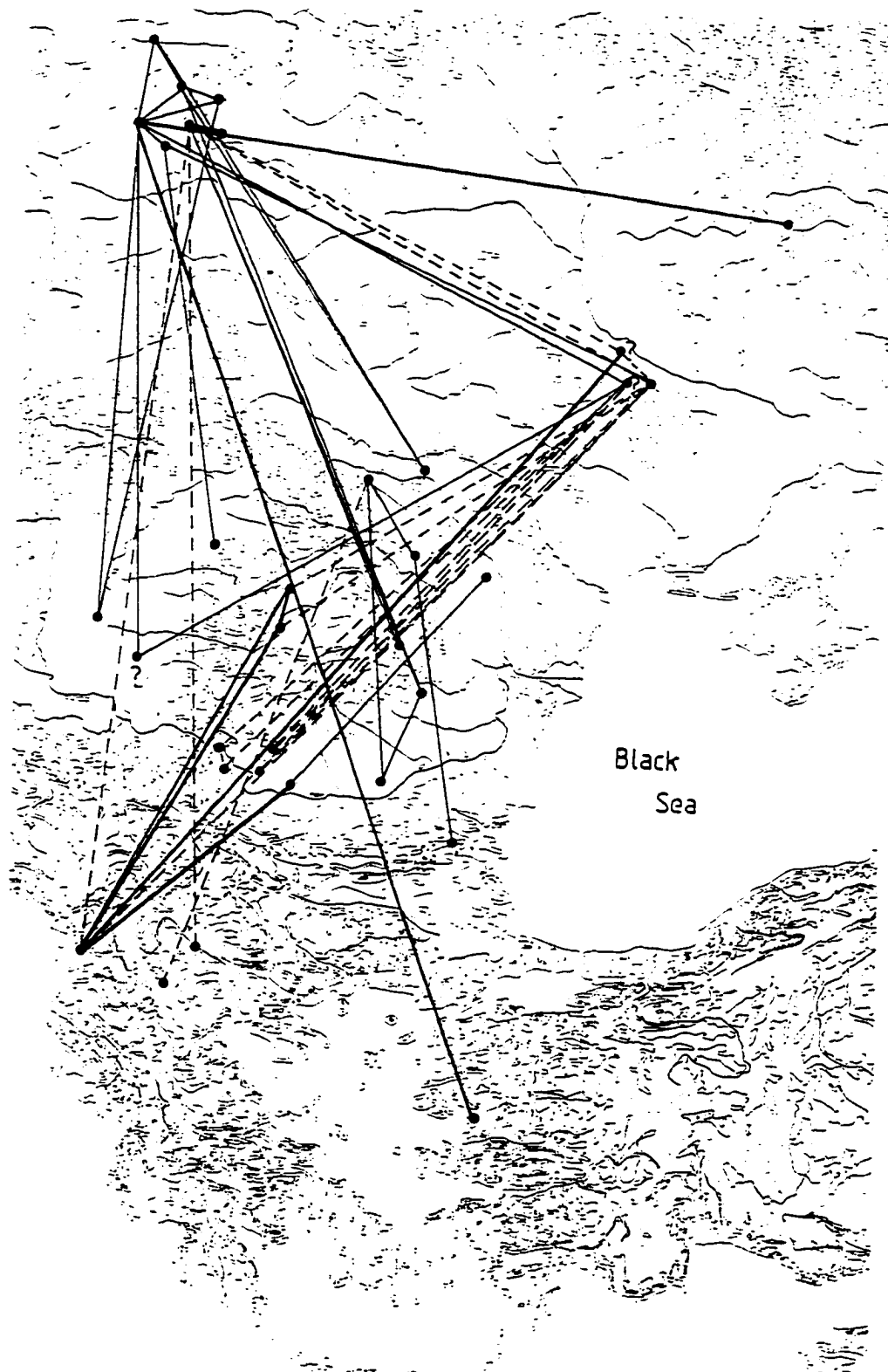


Figure 43. Plotting of the Nearest-Neighbor Similarity of 41 Brooches of Werner's Group I C.

is that there are very few specimens without analogies in at least one of the seven Mazurian cemeteries which produced such fibulae. Furthermore, the earliest specimens are those of Mazuria. Among brooches with two pairs of bird-heads, which can be dated significantly later, the one with the most elaborated decoration (niello triangles on all edges, paw-shaped head-plate knobs, etc.) is the fragmentary specimen found at Tumiany (Appendix D, no. 108). Brooches found in some Mazurian cemeteries (Tumiany, Tyłkowo, Kielary) are almost identical, sometimes to such minute details as the terminal lobe. One can hardly avoid the conclusion that they were all worked by the same jeweller or by jewellers working after the same model. Brooches found in the Middle Dnieper region, in Romania or in the western Balkan area are all dated later and display a much simplified version of the Mazurian specimens' decoration. We should note, however, that similar, if not identical, fibulae are now found at greater distance, without any Romanian intermediary. Furthermore, four brooches of a small series (Lăuni, Pașcani, Chernovka, and Sărata Monteoru) are all alike, but have comparatively fewer links with the rest of the group. This may indicate a locally produced series. In any case, everything points to the precedence taken by Mazurian specimens.

Fibulae of Werner's group I D (Appendix D,

nos. 1-48; Figures 40/2 and 44) are modelled after late fifth- and early sixth-century brooches of the Aquileia and Hahnheim classes. The pair of opposing slanting spirals on the head-plate of a number of fibulae of this group (Brebeni, Sărata Monteoru 36, Tylkowo 46, Warwen, Kanev) is reminiscent of the decoration of fifth-century Aquileia fibulae from Bulgaria (Kharalambieva 1984:Plate 4a and b). By contrast, the radial head-plate decoration of specimens found at Căscioarele, Căzănești, Izvoarele, Luchistoe, Pastyrs'ke, and Tumiany, is very similar to the decoration of early sixth-century brooches of the Hahnheim class (Csallány 1961:pl. I/28; pl.CCXXVI/4; Horedt 1979a:175 fig. 87/1, 4). This is further confirmed by the scrollwork decoration of the brooch found in grave 140 at Sărata Monteoru, as well as by the ribbed borders of both head- and foot-plate on fibulae from Mietkie, Negulești, Plenița, Tylkowo, and Smolanka, all of which appear on late fifth-century fibulae. This early dating is also substantiated by the pair of brooches found in grave 126 at Basel-Kleinhüningen, dated to the late 400s and the early 500s, which are very similar to Werner's group I D (Roth and Theune 1988:34).

When we examine the plotting of the cluster analysis of 34 brooches of this group in relation to their decoration (Figures 45-46), it becomes clear that most specimens have analogies in Mazuria. At a closer look,



Figure 44. Distribution of 'Slavic' Bow Fibulae of Werner's Group I D. Numbers Refer to Specimens Listed in Appendix D.

Near Neighbour Clustering of WERNER_I_D

Similarity Coefficient: Jaccard

Number of Neighbours considered: 6

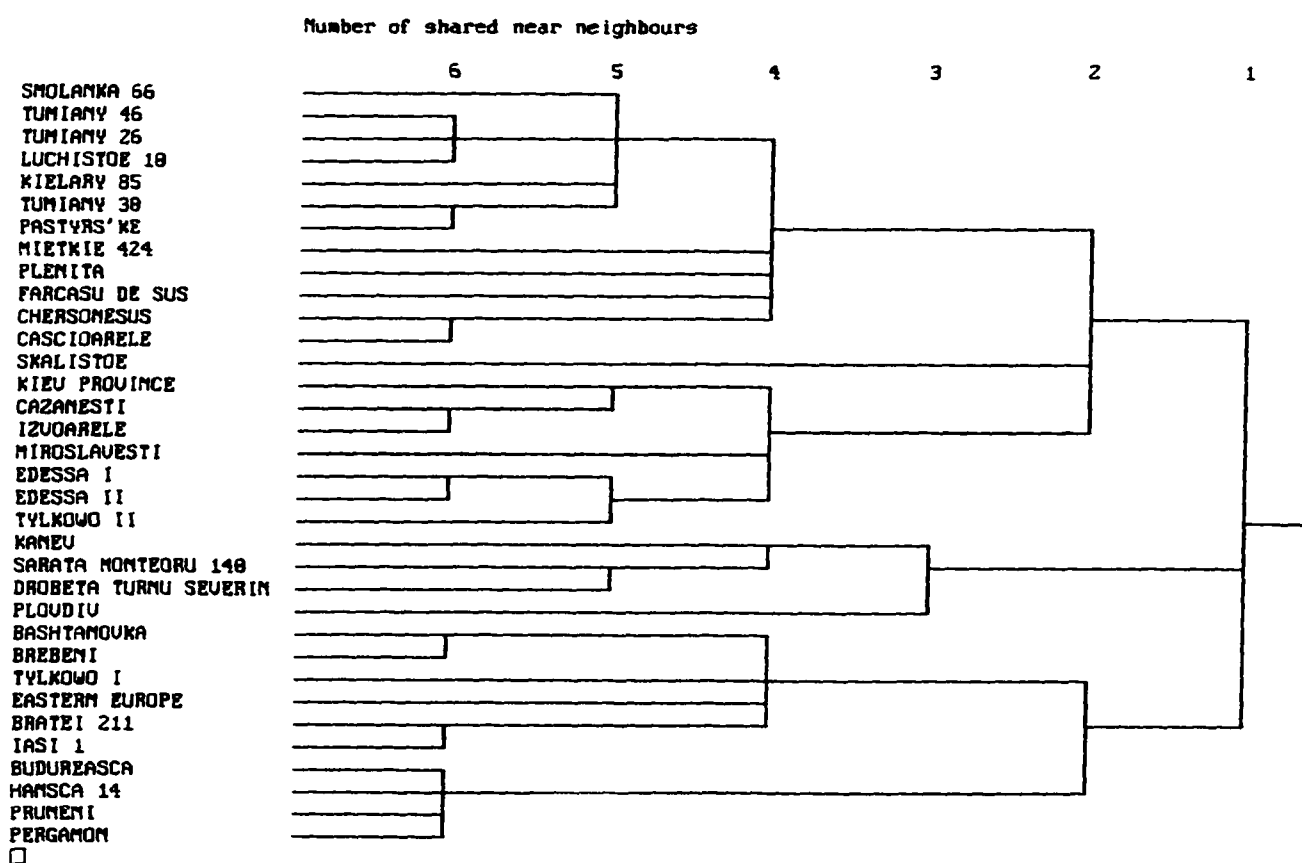


Figure 45. Cluster Analysis of 34 Brooches of Werner's Group I D, in Relation to Their Ornamental Patterns.

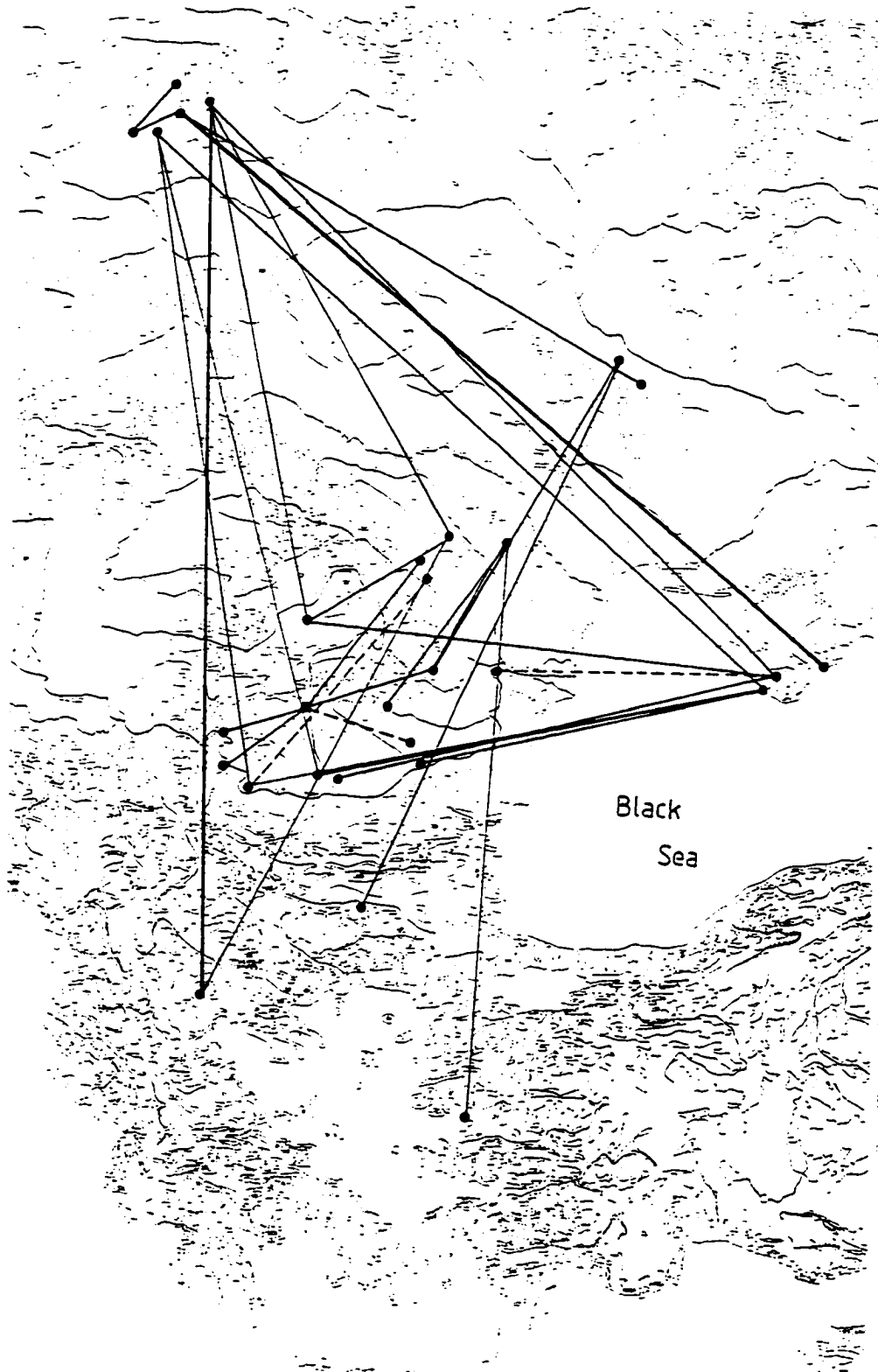


Figure 46. Plotting of the Nearest-Neighbor Similarity of 34 Brooches of Werner's Group I D.

almost all parallels to late fifth-century brooch ornamentation are also from Mazuria. The mortuary assemblage of grave 46 at Tumiany combined a I D fibula with another brooch, which seems to imitate the early fifth-century Vinarice class (Kühn 1974:565-571). The fibula found in grave 85 at Kielary was associated with silver strap-ends dated to the first half of the sixth century (Åberg 1919:98). Outside Mazuria, specimens of Werner's class I D should be dated much later, most likely to the late sixth century. This is the case of the fibula from the burial chamber 10 at Luchistoe, in Crimea, which was found together with silver sheet brooches with trapezoidal head-plate (Ambroz's class II b) and a buckle with eagle-headed plate (Ambroz's class IV). Both may be dated to the late 500s and early 600s. An even later date may be assigned to the pair of I D brooches found at Edessa, in Greece, together with a buckle of the Syracuse class, which cannot be earlier than *ca.* 600 (Werner 1955:40; Varsik 1992:81; Martini and Steckner 1993:125-126; see also Repnikov 1906:9-10; Loboda 1976:137 and 141; Russell 1982:142; Waldbaum 1983:118; Gill 1986:264-265; Neeft 1988:5; Kiss 1996:207).

At Skalistoe, in Crimea, a fragmentary brooch of Werner's group I D was found in association with a buckle with cross-shaped plate and a silver cross. Crimean analogies for both artifact categories strongly suggest

that the Skalistoe assemblage should be dated to the late seventh or even early eighth century (Veimarn and Aibabin 1993:79 fig. 54/21;80 fig. 55/21, 22; cf. Varsik 1992:85; Martini and Steckner 1993:127-128; Kovalevskaja 1979:32). The datable context and the damage noted on the Skalistoe brooch suggest therefore that it should be regarded as *Altstück*, if not heirloom. We should also note that though I D fibulae were also found in the Middle Dnieper area, there are no analogies between them and the Crimean brooches (cf. Ambroz 1970: 74). In both areas, however, there are strong links to Mazurian specimens. By contrast, Romanian brooches have closer links to each other than to outside specimens. This may suggest the existence of a local production. Moreover, there is at least one variant (Hansca, Budureasca, and Pruneni), which has no parallels in either Mazuria or Crimea. Production of this series may have involved the use of hard models, such as the silver-alloy model found at Bucharest-Tei (Rosetti 1934:207 fig. 1/4), which is remarkably similar to the Hansca brooch (Appendix D, no. 19).⁷⁰⁸

In sharp contrast to other series, Werner's group I F (Pietroasele) may have originated in Romania (Figures 40/4-5, 47, and 48). Fibulae of this group were modelled after specimens of the Aquileia class and decorated with scrollwork inspired by Gáva-Domolospusztá metalwork, both dated to the late fifth century (Curta and Dupoi

Near Neighbour Clustering of pietroasele

Similarity Coefficient: Jaccard

Number of Neighbours considered: 8

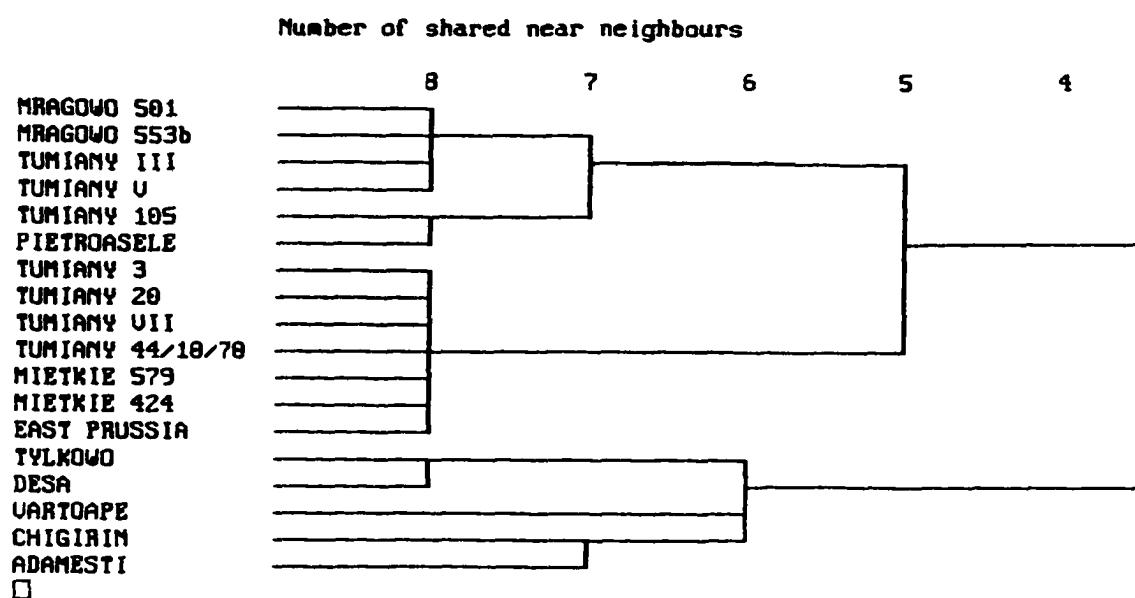


Figure 47. Cluster Analysis of 18 Brooches of Werner's Group I F, in Relation to Their Ornamental Patterns.

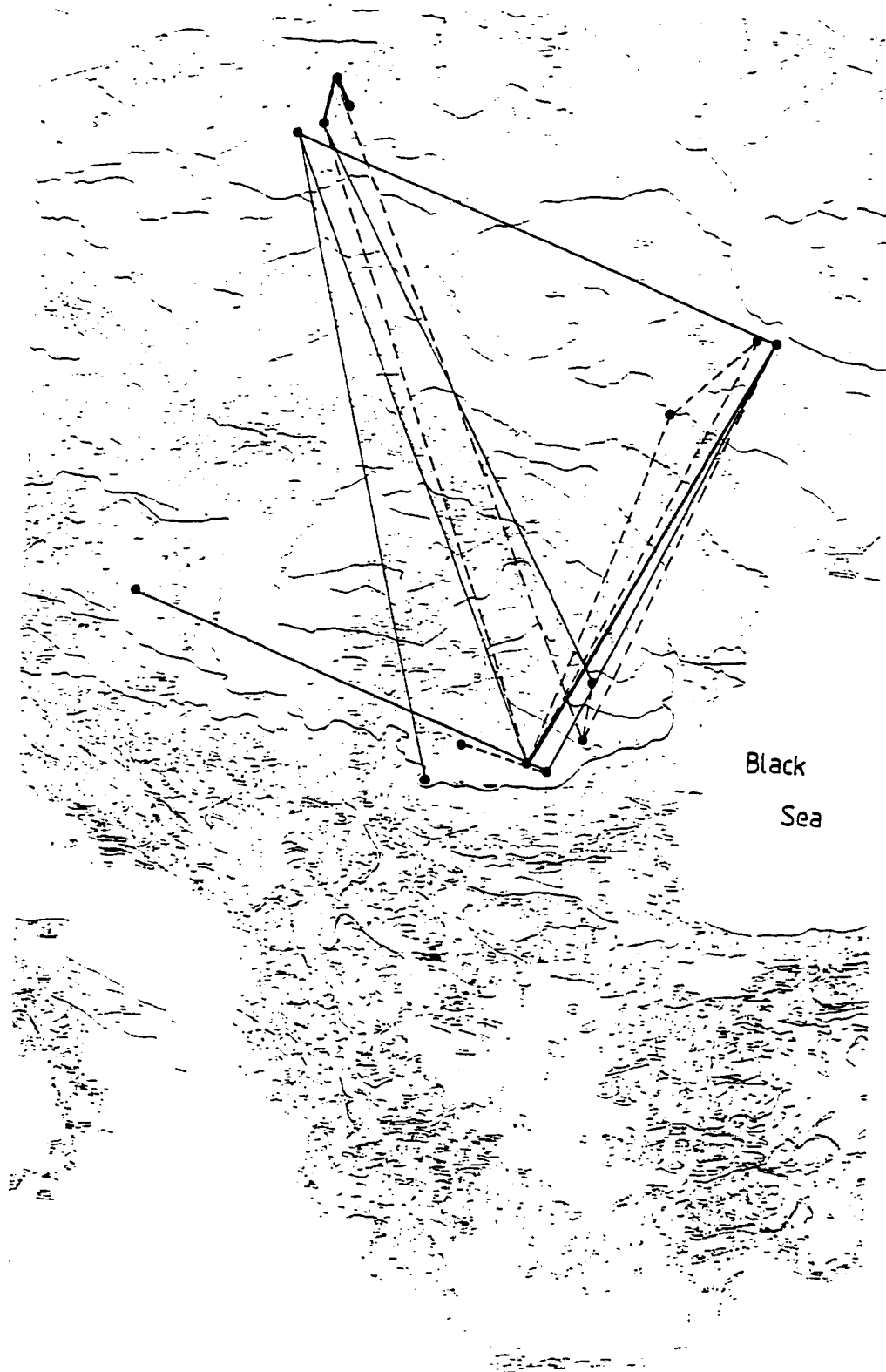


Figure 48. Plotting of the Nearest-Neighbor Similarity of 18 Brooches of Werner's Group I F.

1994-1995). Brooches cast in silver, with careful chip-carving in standard Gáva-Domolospusztá style, were found at Pietroasele and Bucharest-Băneasa. By contrast, Mazurian brooches present a grossly simplified version of this ornament. Only two brooches found at Mragowo (graves 501 and 553b) have analogies outside Mazuria. No Romanian specimen was found in a datable archaeological context, but the unique association of a I F brooch with another of Werner's group I D in grave 424 at Mietkie suggests that the two groups coexisted. If, as suggested by their archaeological context, Mazurian I D brooches may be dated to the early sixth century, then the mortuary assemblage at Mietkie could also be dated to that period. In this case, we should admit a similar date for Werner's group I F. That this group must be dated earlier than the others, perhaps to the first half of the sixth century, is also suggested by the absence of such fibulae from Early Avar mortuary assemblages in Hungary.⁷⁰⁹

The main characteristic of Werner's group I G (Appendix D, nos. 151-174; Figures 40/1, 49, 50, and 51) is the tongs-shaped foot-plate, most probably inspired by early and mid-sixth-century *Zangenfibeln* (Popović 1984a: 174).⁷¹⁰ A large number of specimens, all found in Mazuria, display an elaborate ornamentation, which suggests links with Werner's group I C (paw-shaped head-plate knobs, ribs on bow, etc.). No specimen of this



Figure 49. Distribution of 'Slavic' Bow Fibulae of Werner's Group I G. Numbers Refer to Specimens Listed in Appendix D.

Near Neighbour Clustering of sarmizegetusa-kiskoros

Similarity Coefficient: Jaccard

Number of Neighbours considered: 10

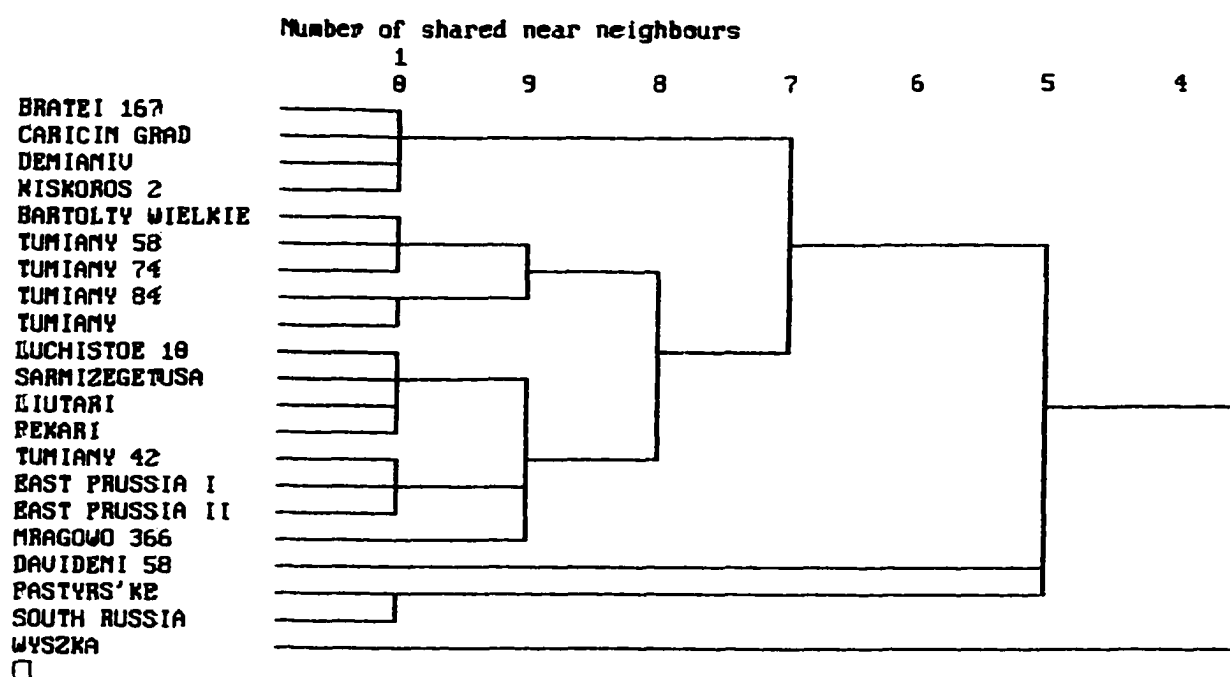


Figure 50. Cluster Analysis of 21 Brooches of Werner's Group I G, in Relation to Their Ornamental Patterns.

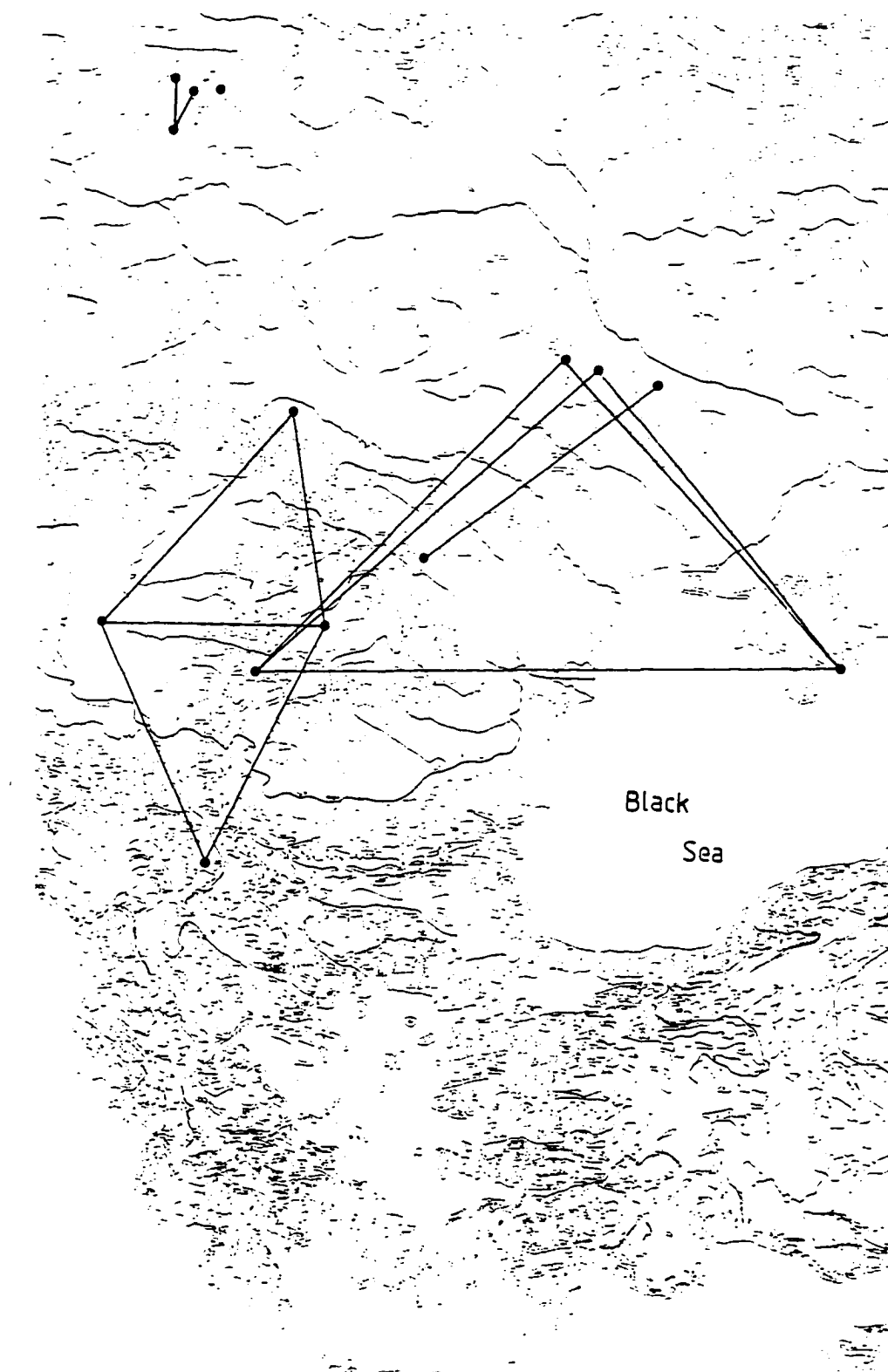


Figure 51. Plotting of the Nearest-Neighbor Similarity of 21 Brooches of Werner's Group I G.

series was found outside Mazuria, though the Demianiv fibula displays a vaguely similar decoration on the foot-plate. This brooch is closely linked to three other specimens (Bratei, Kiskörös, Caričin Grad), but not to those of the Middle Dnieper or Crimea. This is a picture completely different from that given by the distribution of I F fibulae. Werner's group I G should therefore be dated much later than group I F, but not later than, at least, some brooches of group I D. This is indicated by the association at Luchistoe, in burial chamber 10, of a brooch of Werner's group I D with a I G fibula. That I G should be dated to the early seventh century is suggested by the Caričin Grad specimen, which is said to have been found in an archaeological layer with coins issued for emperor Heraclius. This is further substantiated by the archaeological context of grave 2 from Kiskörös, which points to the Early Avar period.

The same may be true for Werner's group I H (Appendix D, nos. 129-150; Figure 40/7, 8; Figure 52). This group is characterized by extreme simplification and, with few exceptions, by the absence of any textural ornamentation. Brooches of Werner's group I H fall into three variants. Some have only three knobs and are very similar to each other (Pastyr's'ke, Piatra Frecăței). They seem to have been inspired by fifth-century brooches of the Bratei class (Bierbrauer 1989:141-147; cf.

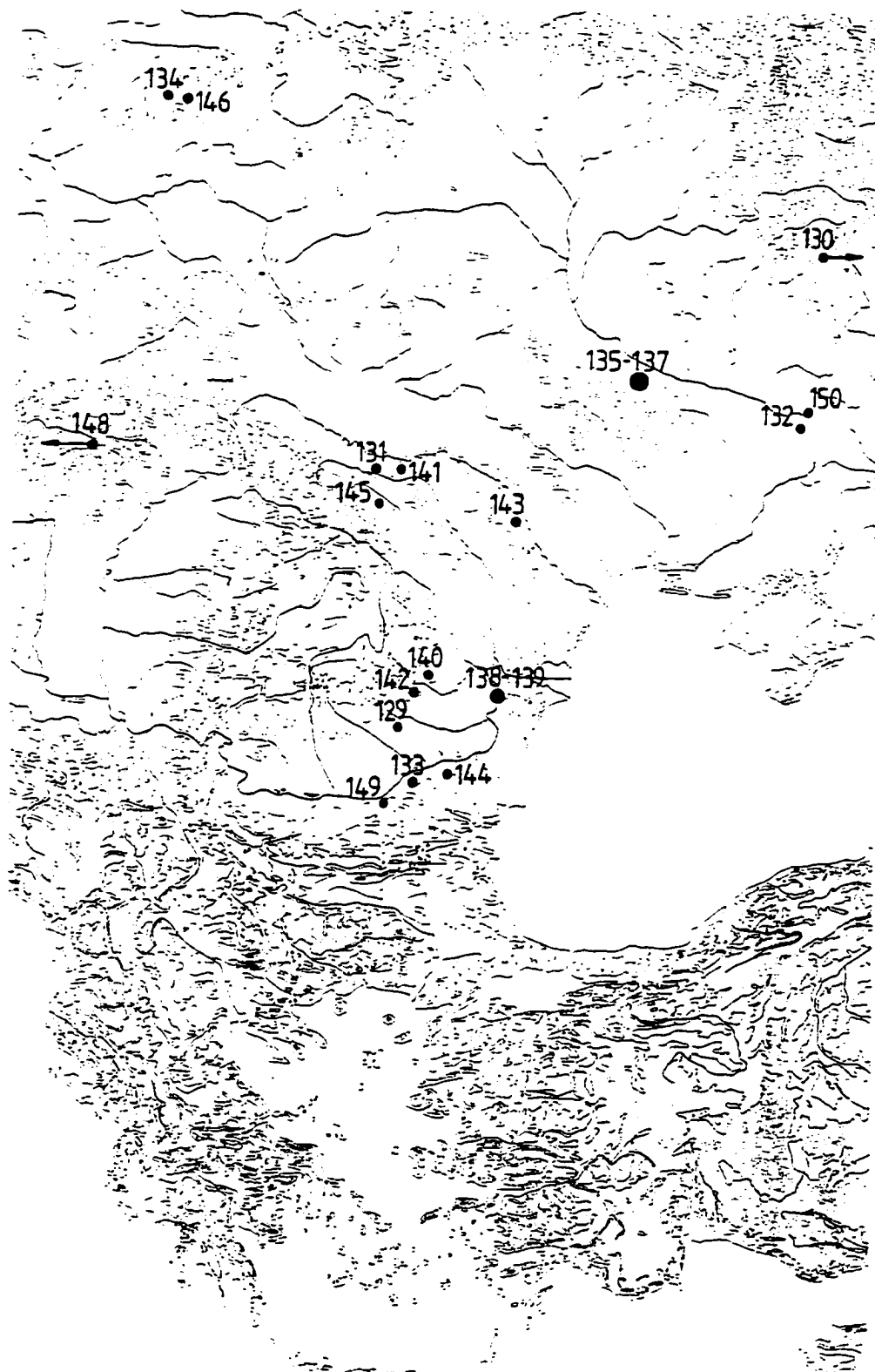


Figure 52. Distribution of 'Slavic' Bow Fibulae of Werner's Group I H. Numbers Refer to Specimens Listed in Appendix D.

Gavritukhin 1991b:131 and 141 n. 14; Fiedler 1992:82). Brooches of this variant were found primarily in the Lower Danube region (Piatra Frecăței, Vardim, Sărata Monteoru). Others have five knobs and are also almost identical. Both variants occur at Pastyrs'ke. A third variant is represented by only three brooches (Butimanu, Určice, and Cherkasskii Bikin). Group I H is relatively common in Mazurian cemeteries. At Mragowo (grave 366) a I H fibula was associated with a local variant of the Hahnheim class.⁷¹¹ A sixth-century date is also suggested by the association of a fibula found at Krivina/Iatrus with a sixth-century bronze coin. At Pruneni, a I H fibula was found together with a brooch of Werner's group I D. Finally, the Seliște brooch was associated with a repoussé bronze pendant (Rafalovich and Lapushnian 1973: 131 fig. 9/6), a dress accessory which appears in late sixth and early seventh century Ukrainian hoards of silver and bronze (Chapter VIII) and in Early Avar assemblages in Hungary (for a detailed discussion, see Szatmári 1980:99-101; Comşa 1984; Kiss 1996:201).

A date to the late sixth or early seventh century may be assigned to Werner's group I J (Appendix D, nos. 120-128; Figure 53). This is supported by the association of the Óföldreák brooch with glass beads with eye-shaped inlays in an Early Avar mortuary assemblage. Fibulae of Werner's group I J may have been produced with

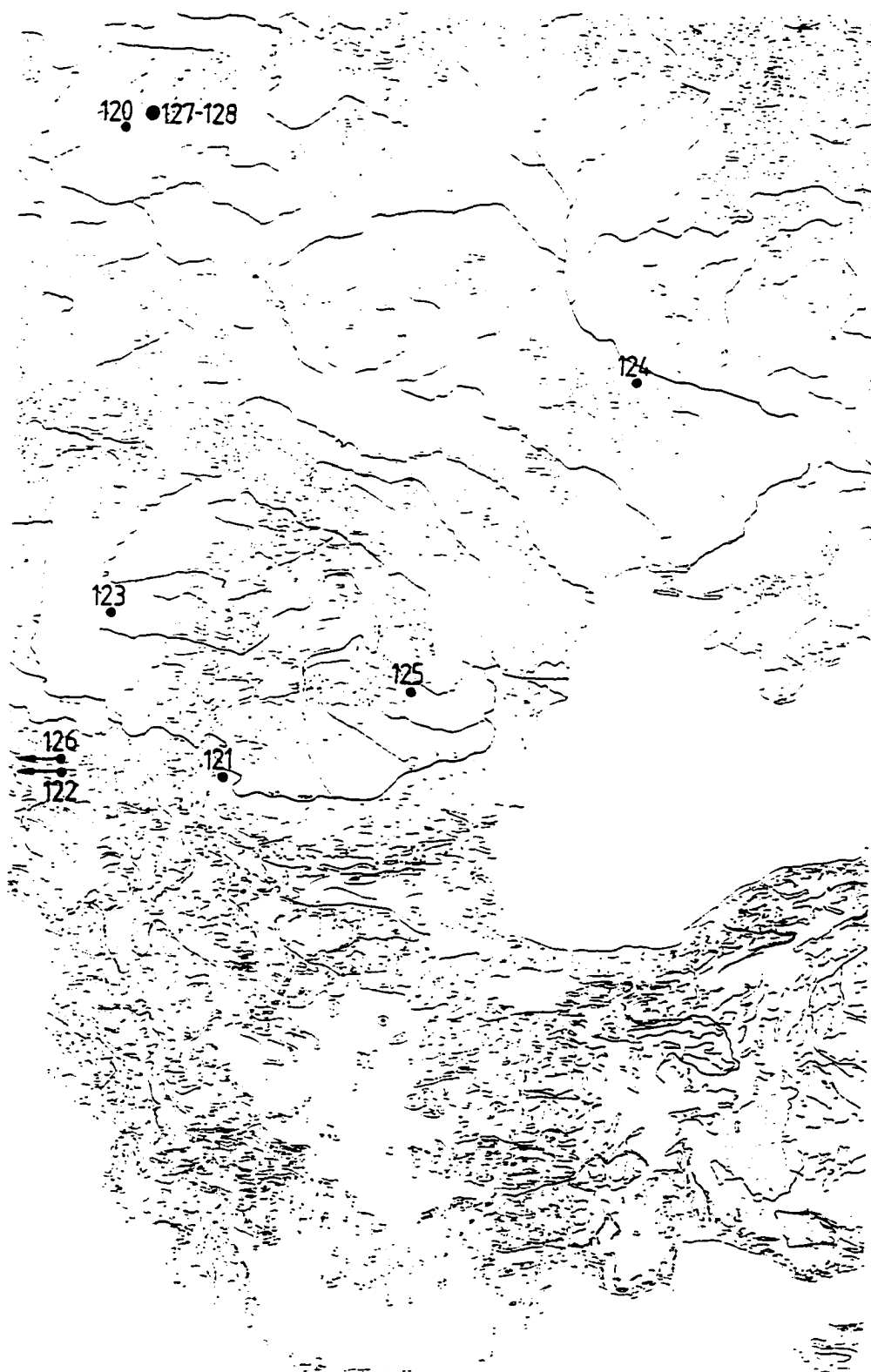


Figure 53. Distribution of 'Slavic' Bow Fibulae of Werner's Group I J. Numbers Refer to Specimens Listed in Appendix D.

copper-alloy models, such as that found in a jeweller's grave at Felnac, together with a complete set of models for belt plates. Some of these models (e.g., Hampel 1900:pl. II/5; Dömötör 1901:pl. I/7) may be linked to identical belt plates found in Early Avar mortuary assemblages together with solidi of Heraclius (Hajdudorog and Sânpetru German; see Garam 1992:155 and 160). The Felnac assemblage may therefore be dated to the 630s.

A typical feature for Werner's group II C (Appendix D, nos. 175-224; Figure 40/9; Figure 54) is the circle-and-spot decoration, which Werner himself viewed as a 'cheap imitation' of the scrollwork ornament (Werner 1950:163). Two rows of ten circles decorating the head-plate of II C fibulae reproduce the distribution of spirals in scrollwork decoration of brooches of Werner's I B group, while the one-row-of-four-circles pattern may be considered as an imitation of the two slanting, opposing spirals on head-plates of Werner's I F group. Parallels with I F brooches could also be drawn on the basis of the size and shape of the foot-plate. Strong similarities with brooches of the Aquileia class are shown by the decoration of the bow, with one or many longitudinal ribs and accentuated ends, an imitation of bead-and-real rings on the bow of late fifth-century brooches (Domolospusztá, Répcelak, Swielino, Uherce; see Harhoiu 1990:187). Some specimens (Papa, Pastyrs'ke, Artek, Suuk Su 86) have

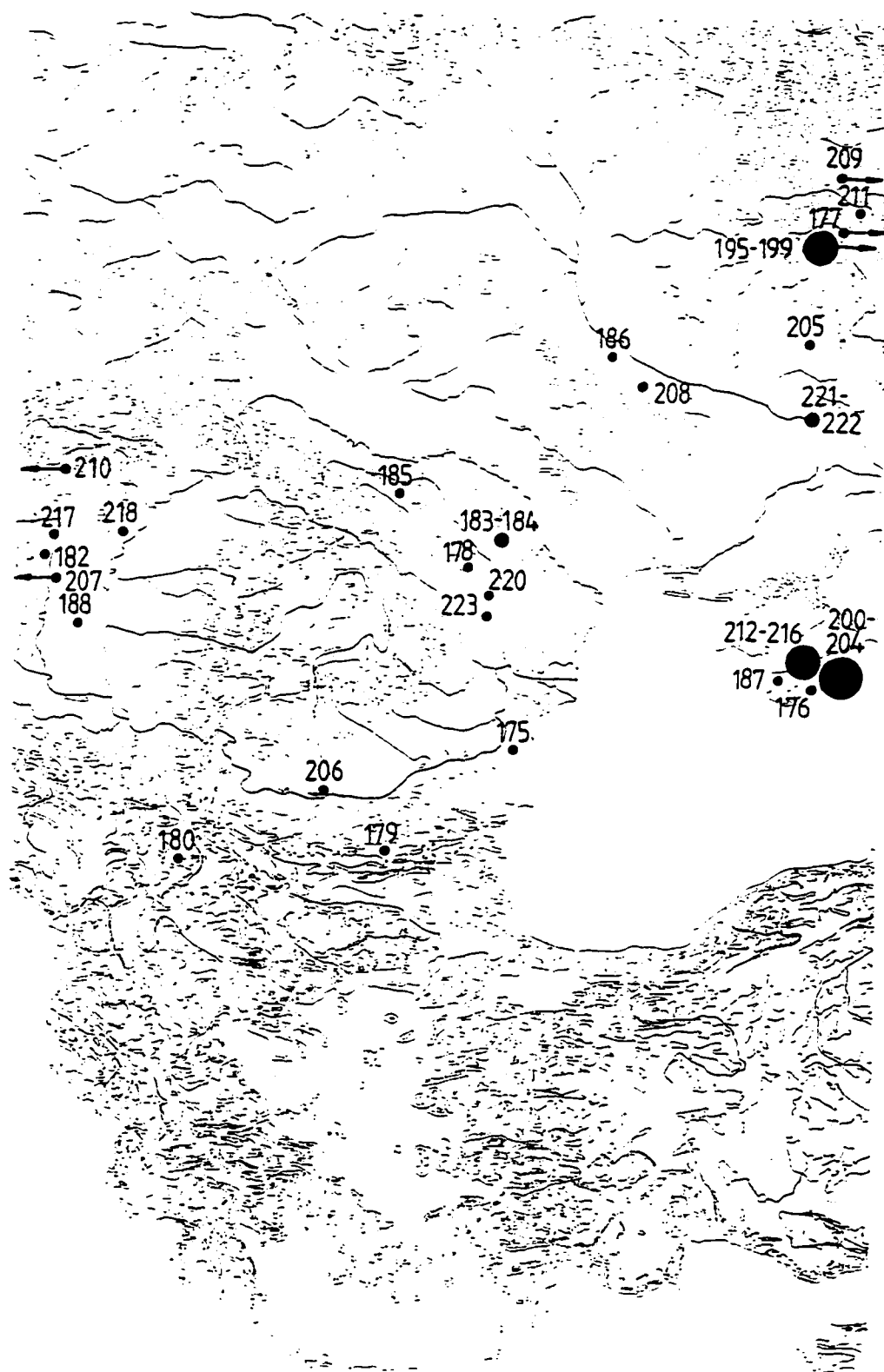


Figure 54. Distribution of 'Slavic' Bow Fibulae of Werner's Group II C. Numbers Refer to Specimens Listed in Appendix D.

an enlarged inlay cell just above the terminal lobe, a clear indication that the model used were Aquileia brooches with a terminal large cabochon, such as those from Șeica Mică, Reggio Emilia, or Kranj (Horedt 1964: fig. 8; Bierbrauer 1975:pl. 48/1, 2; Stare 1980:pl. 26/58.4). Other fibulae (Staasdorf, Suuk Su, Kiev, Gatér, Cherkassy, Luchistoe 46) display a foot-plate decorated with circle-and-spot and a rectangular lattice pattern in the middle, which is reminiscent of the central cabochon of Aquileia fibulae, such as those from Oradea-Salca, Iași-Crucea lui Ferent, south Russia, and northern France (Csallány 1961:pl. CCVIII/5-6; Teodor 1992:149 fig. 8/1; Kühn 1965:pl. 63/4.4 and pl. 65/4.24).¹¹²

Brooches of Werner's group II C may be dated to the second half of the sixth century, as suggested by the association of the specimen found at Carevec with a cast fibula with bent stem, dating to Justin II's reign. The same is true for the fibula found in a house at Caričin Grad, which, besides a cast fibula with bent stem, produced an earring with basket-shaped pendant of the Allach class, dated to ca. 600 (Bierbrauer 1987:147; cf. Riemer 1992:126). At Szigetszentmiklós-Háros, a II C fibula was found together with two gold earrings with globe pendants. Such earrings were found at Szentendre in association with a tremissis struck for Justin II. The fibula found in the mortuary assemblage of grave 86 at Suuk Su,

in Crimea, was found in association with a bronze coin issued for Emperor Maurice and dated to 597-602 (Repnikov 1906:23 and pl. VIII/4). To the same date point the hat-shaped pendants and the repoussé bronze pendants found at Luchistoe (burial chambers 38 and 54). Such artifacts are common with late sixth- and early seventh-century hoards of silver and bronze, such as Sudzha and Nova Odessa (Chapter VIII). Crimean brooches coincide in time, for many were found in association with the same artifact categories (silver sheet brooches, repoussé bronze pendants, buckles with eagle-headed plate).

When examining the plotting of the cluster analysis of 35 brooches of Werner's group II C (Figures 55-56), it becomes readily obvious that, with few exceptions, all specimens are linked to Crimean brooches. Fibulae found in hoards in Left Bank Ukraine or in Early Avar burials in Hungary all have analogies in one of the four Crimean cemeteries (Eski Kermen, Luchistoe, Suuk Su, and Artek) which produced such brooches. Moreover, there is a striking resemblance between the fibula from the Martynovka hoard and the specimens found at Cherkassy and Luchistoe 36, including the characteristic rectangular lattice pattern on the foot-plate. The only difference is that instead of circle-and-spot, the Martynovka fibula is covered with scrollwork ornamentation. That this correspondence also points to a coincidence in time is

Near Neighbour Clustering of WERNER II C (DANCENI-SUUK SU)

Similarity Coefficient: Jaccard

Number of Neighbours considered: 28

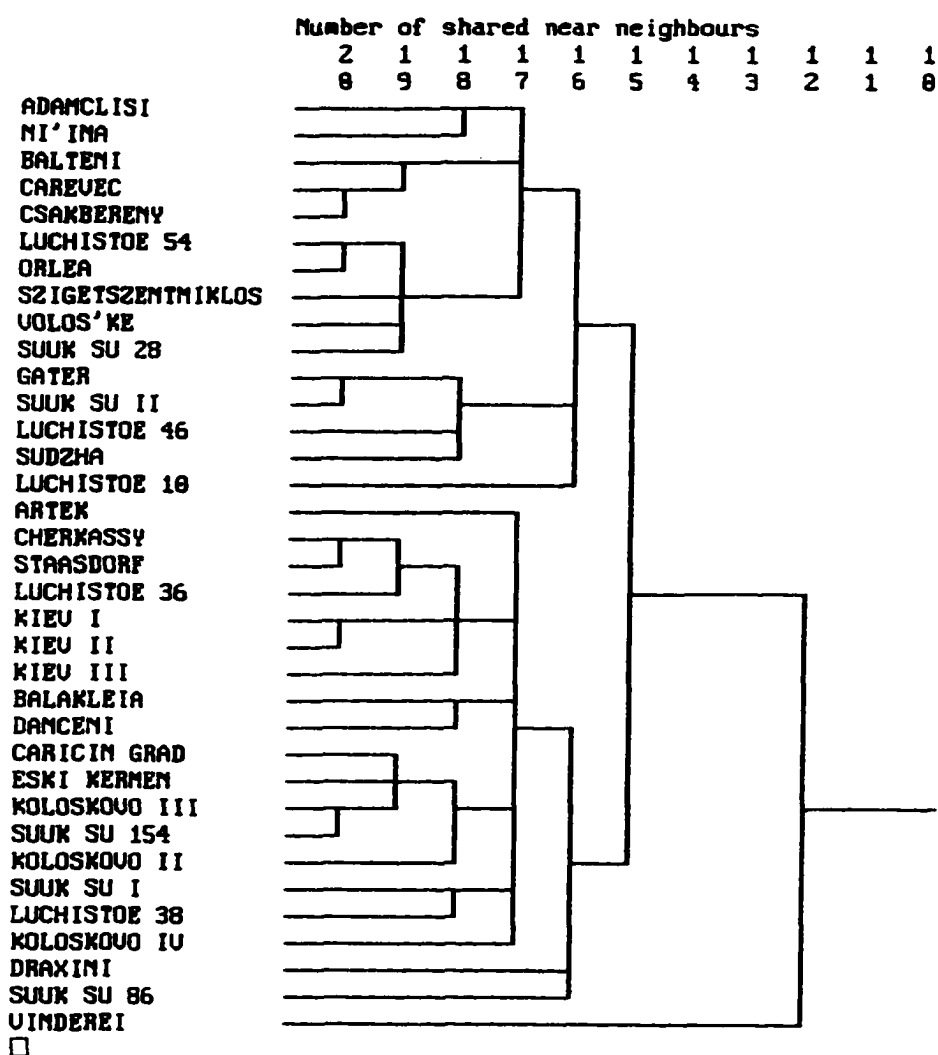


Figure 55. Cluster Analysis of 35 Brooches of Werner's Group II C, in Relation to Their Ornamental Patterns.

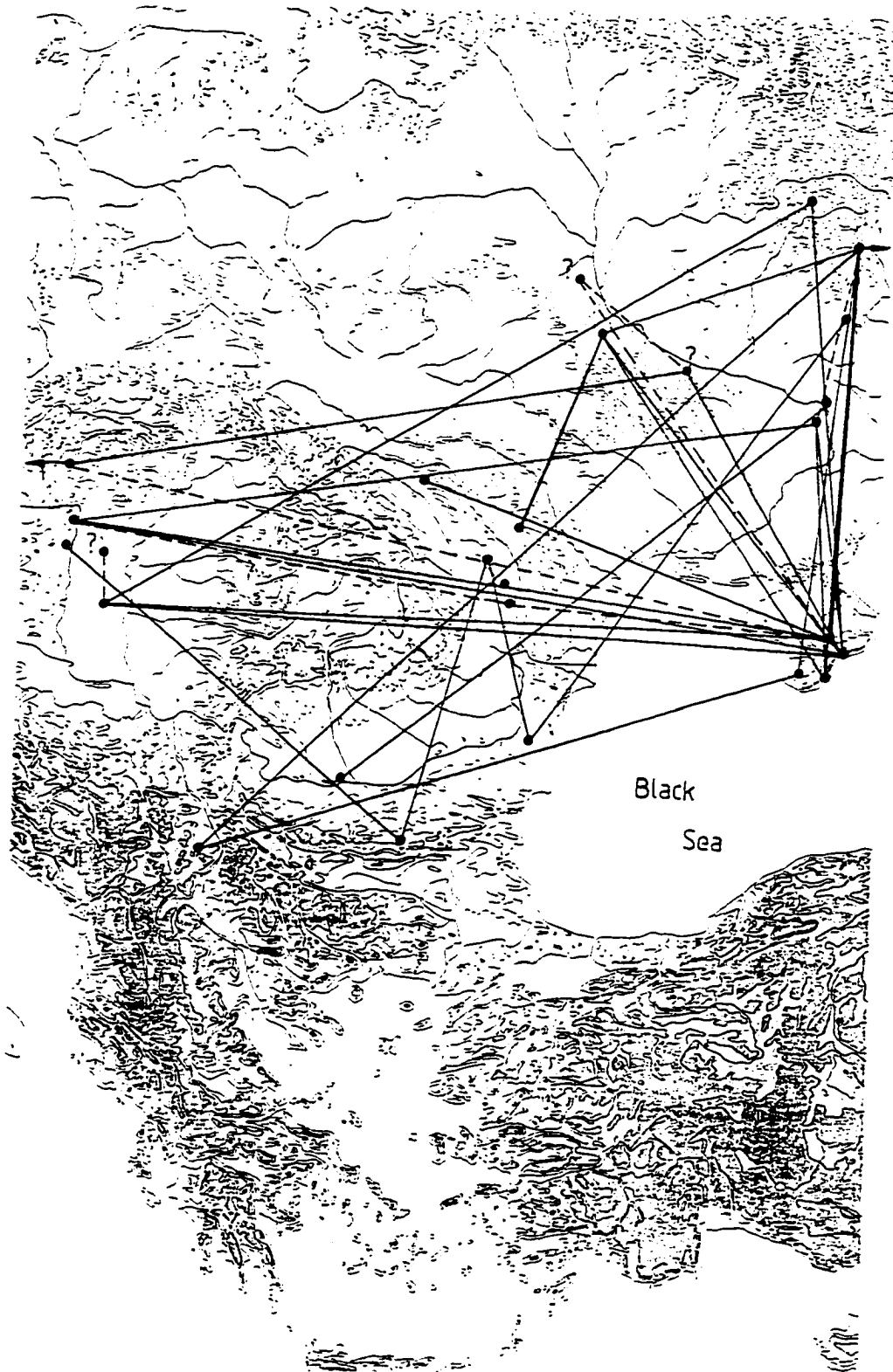


Figure 56. Plotting of the Nearest-Neighbor Similarity of 35 Brooches of Werner's Group II C.

demonstrated by the association of the Martynovka fibula with a silver cup bearing four stamps dated to Justin II's reign. Crimean burials with bow fibulae include 'citations' from contemporary hoards of silver and bronze, such as female dress accessories. By contrast, there are no fibulae of this group in Mazuria.

What immediately follows from this chronological survey is that all bow fibulae considered here were 'in fashion' around year 600, though they certainly enjoyed different popularity rates (Table 8). This is even true in spite of their different distribution patterns. Though no fibulae of Werner's groups I C and I J were worn in Crimea, and, accordingly, no Mazurian site yielded any II C brooch, all groups occurred at different moments in time in the Lower Danube region. As plottings of various cluster analyses show, fibulae found in this region have multiple links to brooches from distant areas, such as Mazuria or Crimea. The dissemination of the ornamental patterns described by these plottings may indicate the extent of social connections between manufacturers, clients, or wearers. Linked pieces of ornamental metalwork are likely to emphasize the extent of the movement of people and, therefore, of contact (Arnold 1997:140-141).

In the early 500s, brooches of group I F, such as found in the southern area of present-day Romania

Table 8
Dating of 'Slavic' Bow Fibulae

Werner' Class	500	525	550	575	600	625	650	675	700	725
I C	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
I D	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
I H	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
I F	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
II C	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
I J	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
I G	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
I B	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

dots: date range possible but uncertain
bold line: firm date range

(Pietroasele, Bucharest-Băneasa), were imitated by brooches found in Mazuria and in the Middle Dnieper area. At about the same time, brooches of group I D, the earliest specimens of which are those of Mazuria, may have served as models for those found in Romania and in the Middle Dnieper region. In Mazuria, at least, these two groups co-existed, as shown by the assemblage of grave 424 at Mietkie. During the 500s, smaller and more simple replicas of the I D series were produced in Romania and the neighboring regions (Hansca, Budureasca, Pruneni, Bucharest-Tei). Brooches of group I C, which probably originated in Mazuria, made their way into Romanian assemblages dated to the second half of the sixth century. At that time, I D brooches were still in fashion, as

indicated by the association of the two groups in the assemblage of grave 211 at Bratei. Mazuria also produced the earliest specimen of group I H (Mragowo 366). It is possible that in the meantime, I B brooches, which most likely originated in the Balkans, had already reached Mazuria.

Probably during the reigns of Justin II and Maurice, the first brooches of group II C appeared in Crimean mortuary assemblages, as circle-and-spot replicas of contemporary brooches with scrollwork decoration, such as that found at Martynovka. Brooches of Werner's group II C rapidly spread to the Balkans, to Hungary and to Left Bank Ukraine, but not to Mazuria. By the end of the sixth century, I G brooches appeared in Crimea and some other places, which were similar with, but not identical to a specifically Mazurian series. Shortly before or after ca. 600, a distinct series of the group I B was produced, which substituted the scrollwork decoration with a purely geometric pattern. This is also the period in which the exceptional *Prunkfibel* from Coşoveni was manufactured. After 600, I D brooches similar to those, which were in fashion in Mazuria during the sixth century, appeared in Greece (Edessa) and Crimea (Luchistoe). This coincided in time with the introduction of I C brooches with two pairs of bird-heads, such as those from Gâmbaş and Kruje, and of I H brooches with three or five knobs.

It appears that early sixth-century distributions were more localized than late sixth- or early seventh-century ones, when we see a greater degree of interconnectedness. The apparent patterning among groups of brooches and types of ornament raises some important questions. Theoretically, the dissemination of a brooch-form or of ornamental details may take place at any time through the movement from one area to the other of either brooches (as gifts or trade), with or without their owners, of models for brooches, or, finally, of craftsmen carrying manufactured brooches or models (cf. Leigh 1991:117; Hines 1997:213; Arnold 1997:145). Werner believed that 'Slavic' bow fibulae reached Mazuria in exchange for amber. In reality, many Mazurian specimens ante-date their analogies found outside Mazuria. In addition, there are no finds of Baltic amber on any sixth- and seventh-century site in eastern and southern Romania. By contrast, the majority of amber beads in the Danube region are those from contemporary assemblages in 'Gepidia'.

Another interpretation favors the idea of moving craftsmen. Prevailing views about the organization of production in the early Middle Ages are still based on the idea of itinerant specialists (Werner 1970; Capelle and Vierck 1971). Finds of models, such as those from Bucharest-Tei and Felnac, were believed to be sufficient

proof for itinerant craftsmen carrying durable bronze or leaden models, which presumably allowed the creation of the brooch design in two-piece clay molds (Teodorescu 1972:79-80). There are indeed some examples of bow fibulae which accord with the idea of models being used, but there are more examples which do so only partially, if at all. There is little evidence for the physical copying of an existing brooch, though some parts of brooches may have been reproduced very closely, probably by some mechanical means, such as templates. Furthermore, the metallographic analysis of one brooch from the Ukrainian site Pastyrs'ke yielded different alloy compositions for the head- and foot-plate, respectively (Prikhodniuk 1994:63). That each brooch may have been made from its individual model makes the idea of an itinerant craftsman carrying bronze or leaden models for each brooch pair a non-sense. There is also clear evidence of local production (Dąbrowski 1980). A soapstone mold for bow fibulae was found, along with other smelting implements, in a sunken building at Bernashivka, near Mohyliv Podils'kyi (Vinnica region, Ukraine)(Vinokur and Megei 1992; Vinokur 1994). Although, to my knowledge, there is no matching brooch for the mold from Bernashivka except the pair of brooches found in burial chamber 10 at Luchistoe (Aibabin 1984:239 and fig. 1), the mold itself suggests that production was based on a different technology than that

implied by the existence of bronze or lead-alloy models. Models presuppose two model- and mold-making pieces. A stone mold excludes the use of models, because the technique employed in this case is the lost-wax process (for a good description, see Franke 1987). Regional variation is certainly possible and we should probably envisage multiple technologies being used at the same time for the production of the same class of artifacts.

The absence of exact replication with many groups of bow fibulae is a strong indication that each brooch or pair of brooches was produced as required, probably for only one occasion at a time. This shifts the emphasis from manufacturer to user or wearer. In Mazurian graves, bow fibulae were never associated with spurs. Eduard Šturms first interpreted this dichotomy as indication of gender division: bow fibulae were usually found in female graves, while spurs may have been male attributes (Šturms 1950:21; Jaskanis and Kachinski 1981:31). In the Merovingian world, bow fibulae found with women, usually late adolescents or adults (20 to 40 years old), suggest a 'threshold of acquisition' exactly comparable with access to shields and/or swords (*spatha* or *sax*) among weapon-bearing men (Sasse 1990:48; Strauß 1992:70; Dickinson 1993:39).⁷¹³ This arguably took place at marriage. Furthermore, the absence of brooches or other dress-fasteners from other female graves might lead to

the conclusion that access to brooches was also dependent upon social status (Sasse 1990:56).

The existing archaeological evidence shows that brooches worn with the female dress were easily visible, probably the most visible accessories, a particular sort of badge. They may have played an important communicative role particularly in public, 'beyond-the-households' contexts of social action.⁷¹⁴ This is substantiated by a comparison of distributions for various classes of sixth- and seventh-century brooches on both sides of the Danube frontier. Uwe Fiedler noted a sharp contrast between the distribution of Aquileia brooches and that of 'Slavic' bow fibulae (Fiedler 1992:91-105). The contrast is even more evident when we take into consideration other classes, such as fibulae with bent stem and cast fibulae with bent stem (Figure 57).⁷¹⁵ Despite continuous interaction, there is a tendency for bow fibulae to cluster north of the Danube river. By contrast, finds of fibulae with bent stem and cast fibulae concentrate in early Byzantine forts south of the river. This suggest that bow fibulae communicated a locative imagery, which went beyond the simple delimiting of a space of origin. Like bow fibulae in the Carpathian basin (Chapter VIII), they may have been used for building ethnic boundaries. On the other hand, the manner in which decorative patterns displayed by bow fibulae were interchanged and new one occasionally

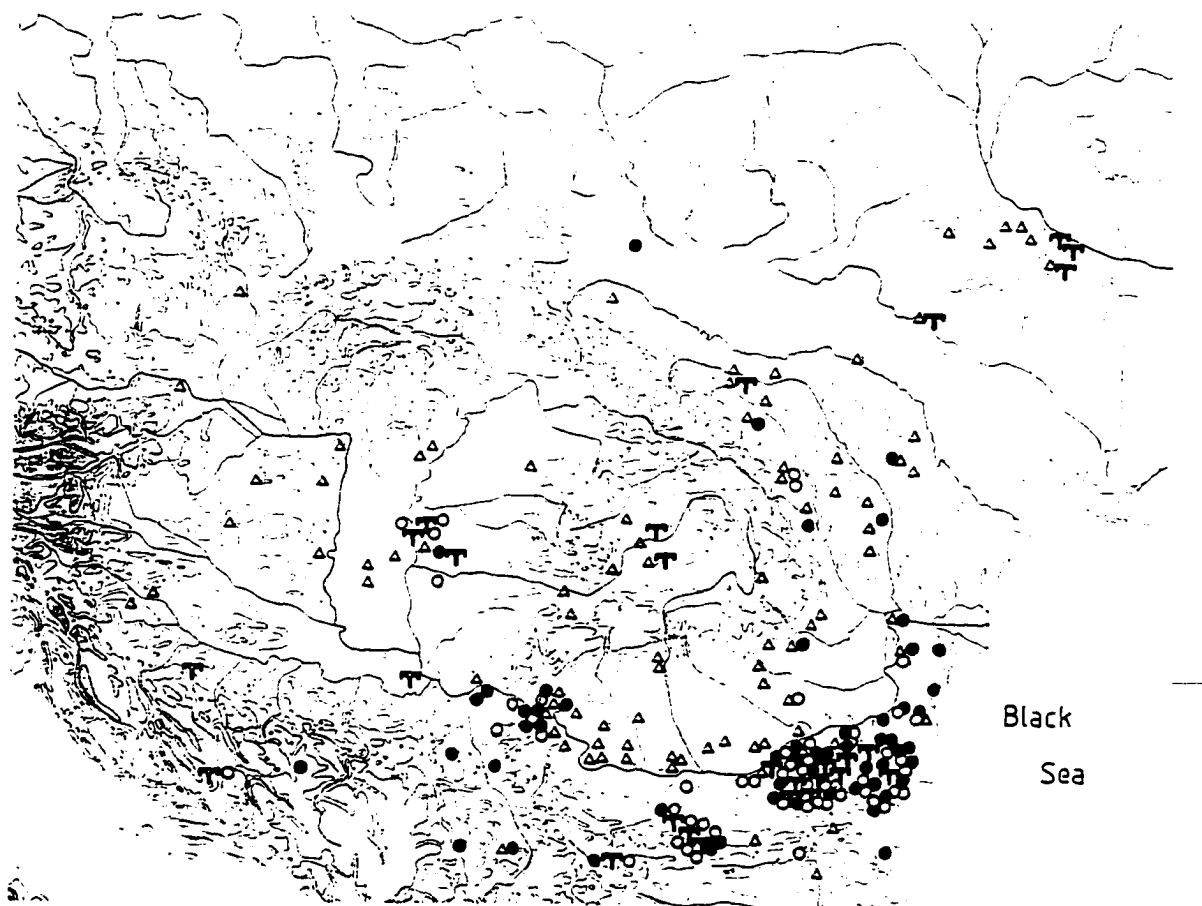


Figure 57. Distribution of Crossbow Fibulae, Fibulae With Bent Stem, Cast Fibulae With Bent Stem, and Bow Fibulae. For Legend, See Text.

added indicated a sort of heraldry, perhaps denoting individual descent groups. If this is true, linked patterns of brooch ornamentation may point to long-distance relations between such groups, perhaps exogamy.

Bow fibulae may thus indicate movement of people. This movement, however, was not a migration in the true sense of the word. Networks of linked fibulae may testify to a different form of mobility, that of gifts or of women married to distant groups in forging alliances. There are two reasons for favoring this approach. First, the movement of ornamental patterns is not that of a unidirectional movement of people, but a two-way transfer: some brooch-forms travelled north, others moved south, often at about the same time. Second, there is no fibula which may be ascribed to any one region alone, despite the precedence taken at times by Mazuria or Crimea in the dissemination of new forms. As soon as a new group emerged, linked specimens spread rapidly over wide distances, a phenomenon which could hardly be explained by means of itinerant specialists or transmission of models. Moreover, there is no chain of communication between the main areas of dissemination and, at times, no links exist between fibulae found in adjacent territories.

Everything points to the conclusion that 'Slavic' bow fibulae were not simply symbols of social status or

gender, but badges of power. This was the power of those able to establish long-distance relations and thus to yield influence. Like amber beads or Scandinavian brooches in 'Gepidia', 'Slavic' bow fibulae may have started by being exotic enough to produce prestige. They did not become 'Slavic', therefore, until some time after contact with a distant dissemination center, especially Mazuria, was established. Soon thereafter, a transferred 'model' was copied in less sophisticated forms apparently in response to an exclusively local demand. It is no accident that all groups co-existed shortly before and after ca. 600. This is the period in which symbols of personal identity seem to have been in higher demand. Brooch-forms borrowed from other cultural settings were now culturally authenticated and an 'emblemic style' emerged, which existed only in the repetitions and contrasts created by the replication of ornamental patterns or forms.

The social meaning attached to these dress accessories may have also been fixed in time, as the rise of Slavic 'kings', many of whom were able to mobilize large numbers of warriors in successful raids across the Danube, necessitated markers of sharper social differentiation. What distinguishes the area south and east of the Carpathian mountains on a distribution map, is the fact that a large number of bow fibulae were found in settlements, not in mortuary assemblages (Figure 58).

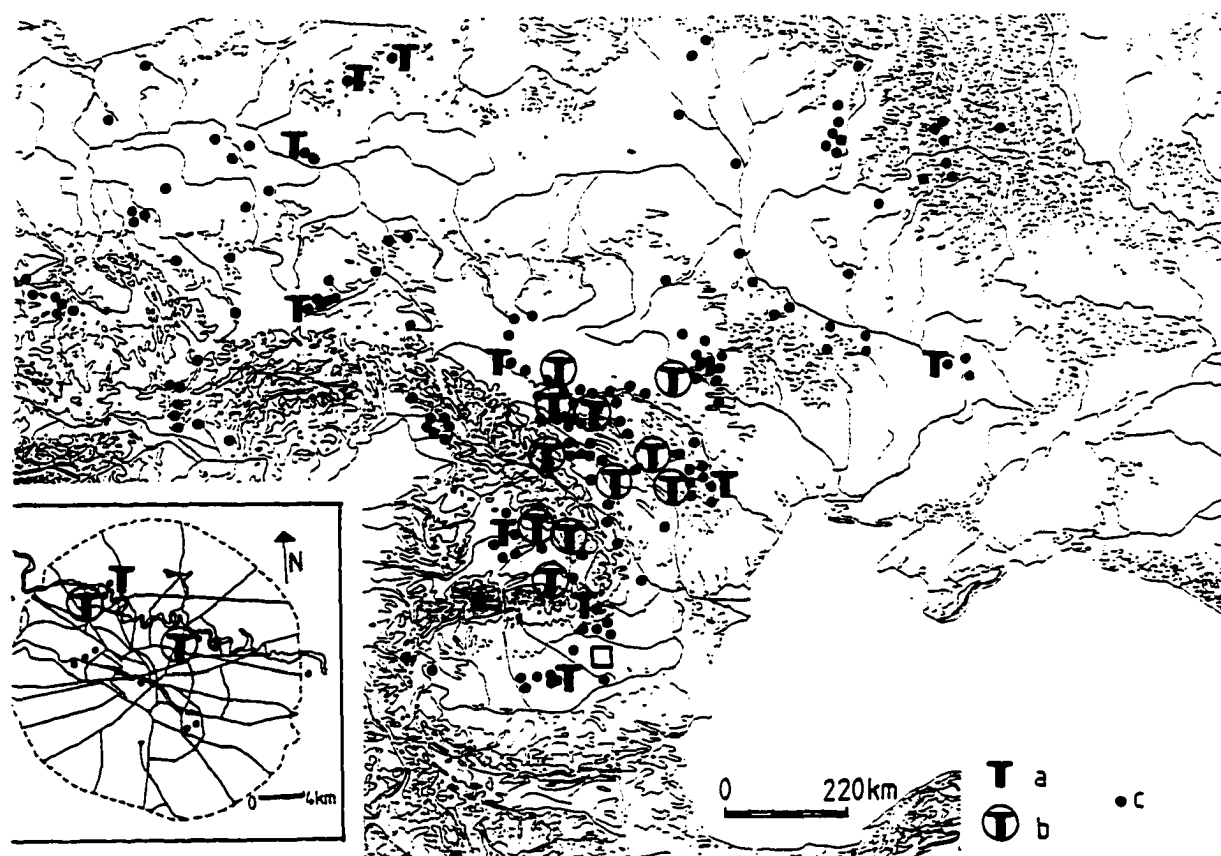


Figure 58. Distribution of Bow Fibulae (a: Stray Find; b: Found in a Sunken Building) in Relation to Sixth- and Seventh-Century Settlements (c). Insert: the Territory of Modern Bucharest.

Despite systematic excavations and, in some cases, a considerable number of settlement features unearthed, no settlement produced more than one brooch. In most cases, the building in which this brooch was found was also the one with the richest furnishings, which may indicate that access to brooches as symbols of identity was restricted to elites. More important, the intrasite distribution of artifacts, as I will show in the next section, points to the use of material culture, including brooches, for the construction of a new social hierarchy.

Not all 'Slavic' bow fibulae should be dated to the seventh century, as Werner once believed. Some, like group I F, were probably in fashion in the early 500s. For many groups, the earliest specimens were found in Mazuria, which suggests that they were neither 'Slavic' inventions, nor products of early Byzantine workshops (cf. Petre 1966; Pallas 1981). The dissemination of bow fibulae to the Lower Danube region, as well as to other areas, is likely to indicate long-distance contacts between communities and to signalize the rise of individuals having the ability to both entertain such contacts and to employ craftspersons experienced enough to replicate ornamental patterns and brooch-forms. Instead of treating 'Slavic' bow fibulae as 'index-fossils' for the migration of the Slavs, we should therefore regard them as indicators of contacts established by such individu-

als and as symbols of social identity.

*Grubenhäuser, Pots, and Clay Pans: Material Culture
in Action*

Some 100 sixth- and seventh-century settlements have been excavated so far in Romania, Ukraine, Moldova, Poland, and Slovakia. Only a few were systematically explored. There are even fewer cases in which research was designed from the very beginning on a micro-regional scale.⁷¹⁶ It is not easy to generalize from this patchy evidence, but a settlement pattern is already visible. In Slovakia, as well as in Walachia (southern Romania), settlements are located on the lowest river terraces, below the 200- or 300-meter contour, at the interface between everglades and higher ground (Šalkovský 1988:387; Dolinescu-Ferche 1984:122-123). This specific settlement pattern in Walachia did not go unnoticed by contemporary sources.⁷¹⁷ The largest number of settlements are sited on rich soils, stagnogleys or chernozems. Those which have been systematically excavated proved to be no larger than 0.5 to 2 hectares, with a small number of features per habitation phase, ranging from ten to fifteen (Pleinerová 1980:51; Timoshchuk 1985:12).⁷¹⁸

Though still limited, micro-regional research offers some glimpse into the phenomenon of settlement mobility. Suzana Dolinescu-Ferche's work at Dulceanca, near the

modern city of Alexandria (Romania), admirably demonstrated how sixth- and seventh-century settlements were relocated. The first identifiable sixth-century occupation at Dulceanca was a fifteen-feature settlement, which was abandoned at some point during the 500s (Dolinescu-Ferche 1974). A new settlement grew at 1 km distance from the old one, on the bank of the Burdea creek (Dulceanca II; Dolinescu-Ferche 1986b). During the second half of the sixth century, the settlement moved to the south (Dulceanca III; Dolinescu-Ferche 1992). It was smaller (nine features), of briefer duration, and more dispersed. A fourth, seventh-century settlement was installed here some time after the previous settlement was abandoned (Dolinescu-Ferche 1992). It is apparent from all this that Dulceanca was not a village but a series of shifting hamlets. It is very likely that these transfers were brought about by the condition of arable land which lost its fertility, after repeated corn-growing campaigns without manuring, and regained it only after several years (Pleinerová 1980:53-54; cf. Beranová 1984:12; for a description of 'itinerant agriculture,' see Stahl 1980: 61).⁷¹⁹

Two types of buildings were found on settlements of the period. Ground-level buildings were only found at Dulceanca I (Dolinescu-Ferche 1974:63-80), but this may well be only the result of exceptionally careful methods

of excavation. The largest proportion of settlement features were, however, sunken buildings of the kind known in Germany as *Grubenhäuser* and in Russia as *poluzemlianki* (Figures 59, 60, and 61). The Russian word refers to a structure partially dug into the ground, often less than 1 m deep. The structure had a gable roof, as suggested by postholes found on either two or all sides of the pit. Table 9 shows that this was, by no means, a general rule. Relatively large settlements, such as Dulceanca II or Filiaș, produced no buildings with posts, while others had considerably fewer buildings without posts.⁷²⁰ Despite comparatively smaller number of cases with posts in Walachia (Bucharest-Băneasa, Bucharest-Militari, Bucharest-Străulești, and Dulceanca), there seems to be no regional pattern (*contra*: Pleinerová 1979:631). Moreover a few seventh-century, or even later, sites produced evidence of tent-like, circular buildings, with one central and a multitude of surrounding posts, which were interpreted as yurts (Văzharova 1971:18; Bóna 1973:68; Čremošnik 1980:137 and 140). The actual *Grubenhaus* was erected over a rectangular pit, ranging in size from four to over 25 square meters of floor area.

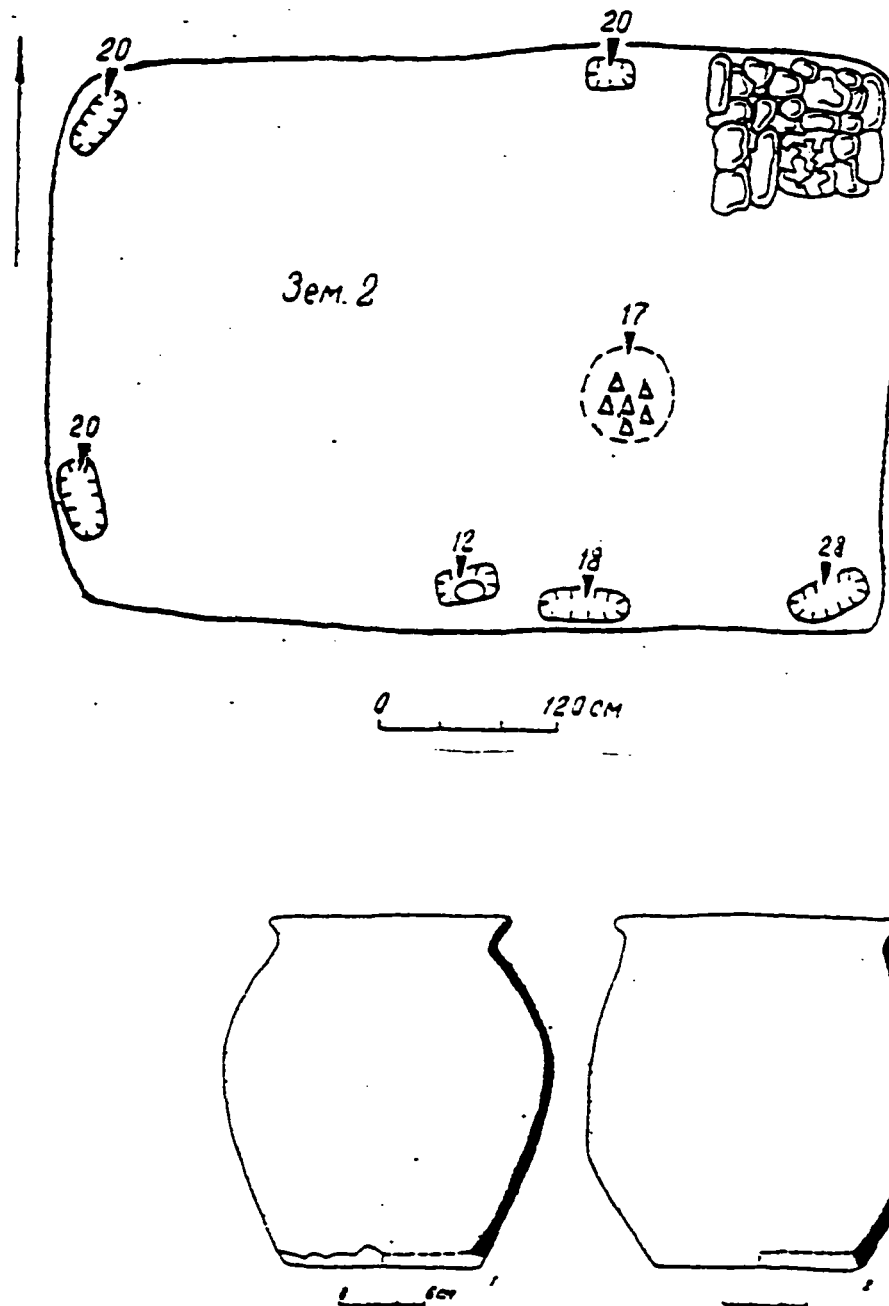


Figure 59. Seliște, Six-Post Array in Sunken Building 2 With Stone Oven; Plan and Associated Artifacts. From Rafalovich and Lapushnian 1973.

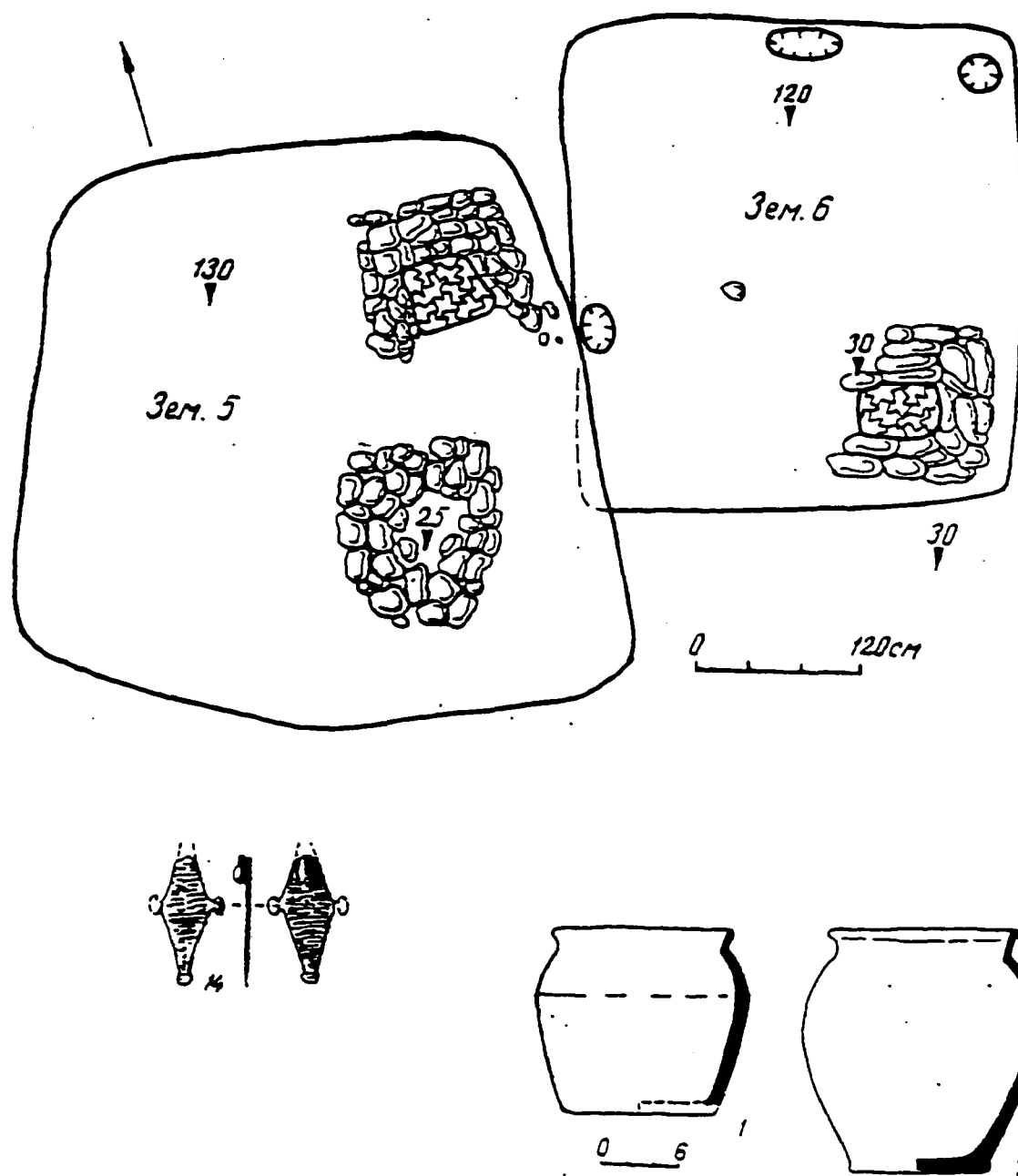


Figure 60. Seliște, Sunken Buildings 5 and 6 With Stone Ovens; Plans and Artifacts Associated with Sunken Building 5. From Rafalovich 1974.

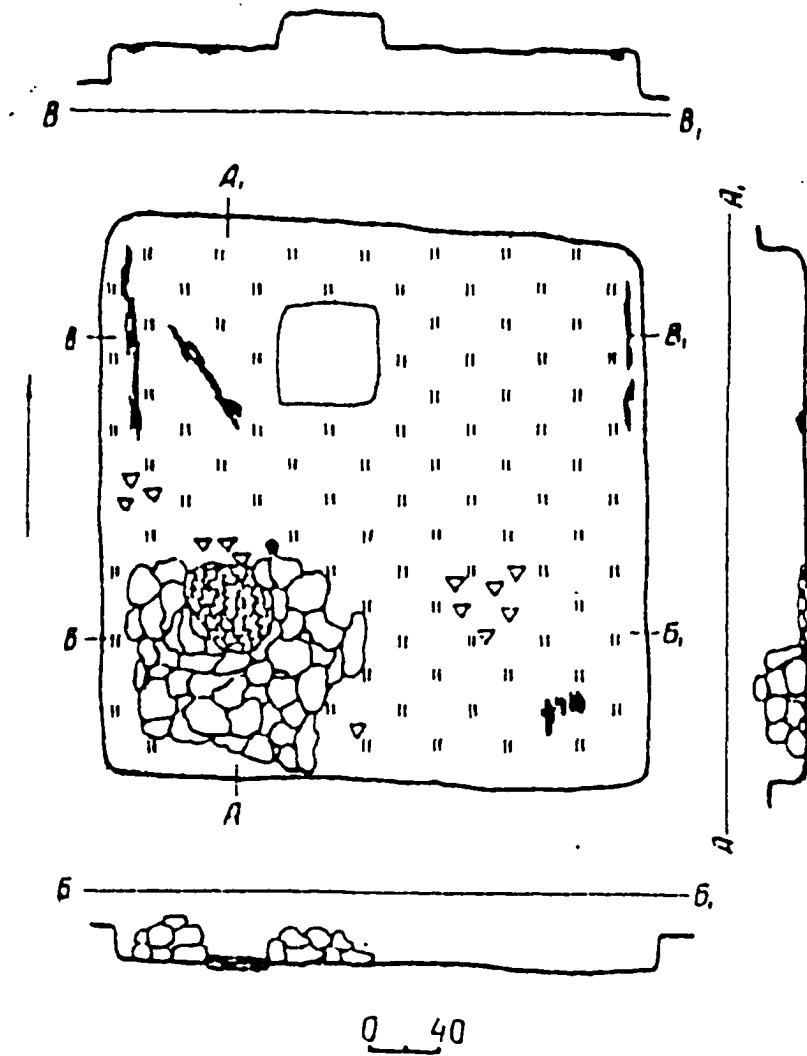


Figure 61. Recea, Sunken Building 1 With Stone Oven;
Plan and Profiles. From Rafalovich 1972.

Table 9
Sunken Buildings in Sixth- and Seventh-Century
Settlements

SETTLEMENT	BUILDINGS WITH POSTS										Total	BUILDINGS WITHOUT POSTS
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	>=10		
Bacău		1	1	2			1				5	3
Biharea		1						1			2	0
Botoșana		3	1	1	2	4	2	6	2	1	22	1
Bratei	7	8	2	2	1						20	50
Bucharest-												
Băneasa											0	9
Bucharest-												
Ciurel	1		2								3	6
Bucharest-												
Militari											0	8
Bucharest-												
Ghivan			2		1						3	11
Bucharest-												
Străulești											0	7
Bucharest-												
Măicănești											0	8
Cățelu Nou	2	1									3	5
Cernat											0	4
Cucorăni								2			2	4
Dănceni					1						1	0
Davideni	1			1	1						3	27
Dipșa		1									1	8
Dodești		1	1								2	4
Dulceanca I	2										2	18
Dulceanca II											0	13
Dulceanca III											0	8
Dulceanca IV											0	13
Filiaș											0	33
Gorecha							1	1	1		3	0
Gutinaș		1									1	6
Hansca	1										1	11
Iași-Nicolina											0	3
Izvoare-Bahna											0	7
Kavetchina	1			1	1						3	20
Kiev		1									1	2
Kodyn	9	5	3	3	4	5	4	6	2	1	42	9
Lazuri											0	2
Malu Roșu											0	2
Mălăești				1							1	0
Morești		7	2		6	5	1		1	1	23	13

Table 9--Continued

SETTLEMENT	BUILDINGS WITH POSTS										Total	BUILDINGS WITHOUT POSTS
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	>=10		
Obukhyv	1										1	2
Oreavu											0	1
Poian	1										1	15
Recea	1										1	1
Şapte-Bani (Hucea)								1			1	6
Selişte			2				1				3	3
Semenki											0	8
Skibincy			1						1		2	0

Table 10 shows the degree of variation within each listed settlement. A pattern is easily discernable. On sixth- and seventh-century sites east and south of the Carpathians, the majority of sunken buildings are under 15 square meters of floor area. The same is true for contemporary settlements in 'Gepidia', such as Bratei or Moreşti. By contrast, all wattle-walled houses found on the early Byzantine site at Svetinja, near Viminacium (Chapter VI) are over 20 square meters of floor area. To explain this pattern is not easy, but an experiment stemming from excavations of the early medieval settlement at Březno, near Prague, might offer some hints. The building experiment consisted of two houses, which were exact replications of two sunken buildings excavated on the site, one of the late sixth or early seventh century, the other of the ninth.

Table 10

**Size of Sunken Buildings From Sixth- and Seventh-Century
Settlements by Floor Area**

SETTLEMENT	FLOOR AREA (in sq. meters)					TOTAL NUMBER OF BUILDINGS
	4-10	10-15	15-20	20-25	over 25	
Cernat	4					6
Cucorăni	1	2	2			7
Gutinaș	1	5	1			7
Seliște	2	3	1			14
Izvoare-Bahna	3	3	1			7
Bucharest-Ciurel	3	3	1	1		10
Bacău	3	2	1	1		8
Filiaș	5	15	11			40
Botoșana	4	17	3			31
Poian	5	7	3	1		32
Davideni	8	9	2			46
Morești	11	16	4	2	1	37
Kavetchina	15	4	2	1		37
Kodyn	16	12	2	1	1	32
Bratei	34	18	5			74
Budeni		3				3
Dodești		5				6
Dipșa		6	2			17
Kiev		2	1			3
Semenki		3	1	2	2	14
Svetinja			1	2	3	7

The sixth- to seventh-century feature was relatively large (4.20 x 4.60 m) and deep (80 cm under the original ground). The excavation of the rectangular pit represented some fifteen cubic meters of earth. The excavation, as well as other, more complex operations, such as binding horizontal sticks on the truss or felling and transport of trees, required a minimum of two persons. The building of the house took 860 hours, which included

the felling of trees for rafters and the overall preparation of the wood. Building the actual house required 2.5 cubic meters of wood (ash, oak, and beech). In itself, the superstructure swallowed two cubic meters of wood. Three to four cubic meters of clay were necessary for daubing the walls and reeds harvested from some 1,000 square meters, for the covering of the superstructure. Assuming 60 to 70 working hours per week and a lot more experience and skills for the early medieval builders, the house may have been built in three to four weeks (Pleinerová 1986: 113 and 139; for the experiment's biases in measuring building time, see 113-114).¹²¹

The experiment clearly demonstrated that a house like this could accommodate a family of no more than five (the experimental family included two adults and two children), provided that the available room was divided and certain activities were assigned fixed places (Pleinerová 1986:162). This suggests that, despite claims to the contrary, the basic social unit represented in sixth- and seventh-century settlements was the minimal family (Rappoport 1975:154; Prikhodniuk 1988:189; Timoshchuk 1990b:184; Parczewski 1993:113; Čilinská 1980:80-81; cf. Litavrin 1987:36).¹²² The average settlement may have consisted therefore of some fifty to seventy individuals (Timoshchuk 1985:12; for slightly larger estimates, see Baran 1986:168). This further suggests

that the lowest level at which the archaeological evidence from settlements should be interpreted is most likely that of descent groups. Occasional finds of intra-site graves of infants, which were buried next to sunken buildings, as in Dulceanca III or Dunaújváros (Dolinescu-Ferche 1992:133; Bóna 1973:72) may point to the same direction.⁷²³

The most important characteristic of sixth- and seventh-century sunken buildings in Eastern Europe is the presence of a stone oven placed in one of the structure's corners and built directly on the floor. At a micro-regional level, there seems to be some consistency in terms of the oven's position within the house, though it is not clear whether this should be interpreted as a practical response to local conditions (such as wind direction) or as 'emblemic style' (cf. Tel'nov 1991:161-162). Vladimir Baran claimed that the stone oven was an ethnic badge for the Slavs, for the earliest examples of *Grubenhäuser* equipped with such ovens were found in association with fourth-century sites in that area of the Chernyakhov culture, in which Baran believed the early Slavic culture originated (Baran 1986:170; cf. Vakulenko 1983:176). Others emphasized the contrast between 'Slavic' *Grubenhäuser* with stone ovens and sunken buildings found in early medieval settlements in Central and Western Europe, which had no heating facility (Donat

1980:57)). That a strong relationship existed between sunken buildings and stone ovens is confirmed by the Březno building experiment mentioned above, which also included measurements of heating during winter time (January through early February). In temperatures below zero centigrade, a replica of a late sixth- and early seventh-century sunken building with stone oven offered protection of some six to seven centigrades. Intensive heating during more than two weeks, which required 1.35 cubic meters of wood, increased the average temperature inside the house from seven to fourteen centigrades.⁷²⁴ Between twelve and eighteen cubic meters of wood may have been necessary to maintain this temperature through the cold season.⁷²⁵ The experiment demonstrated that thermal isolation was considerably enhanced by sinking the floor below the ground level (Pleinerová 1986:145, 148, and 152). This concern with maintaining a comfortable temperature for indoor activities may also be recognized in cases where ovens were built in clay, not in stone, as in all four settlements at Dulceanca (Dolinescu-Ferche 1995:162; cf. Gavritukhin 1993:110). Such ovens were often associated with clay rolls found in great numbers on the hearth, which may have served for retaining heat within the oven area (Tel'nov 1991:159; Dolinescu-Ferche 1995:163). There are a few examples of sunken buildings equipped with two ovens, only one of which produced clay

rolls (as in Dulceanca II). The other may have been used for cooking (Dolinescu-Ferche 1995:173-176).

If regional variation in oven building can be easily detected, it is much more difficult to explain it, for no one-to-one relationship seems to exist between the kind of oven preferred and resources available. Clay ovens often occur in regions which were otherwise rich in stone, sometimes in association with stone ovens, either within the same settlement or even within the same building (cf. Šalkovský 1993:73). A distribution map of sixth- and seventh-century heating facilities (Figure 62)¹²⁶ suggests that the contrast is not simply one between buildings with stone or clay ovens and buildings without ovens, as Peter Donat (1980) once suggested. Many sixth-century forts in the Balkans produced evidence of brick ovens, but not of stone or clay ones. The remarkable cluster of clay ovens in Walachia, close to the Danube frontier, may therefore represent not just a local adaptation of the standard sunken building with stone oven, but a stylistic variation.

This may also be true when we examine another class of evidence, that of pottery. As shown in Chapter III, it was often believed that Slavic ethnicity was 'represented' by the Prague type, reified as ethnic badge. The Romanian archaeologist Ion Nestor (1969) asserted that potsherds exhibiting rilling or, in the case of bases,

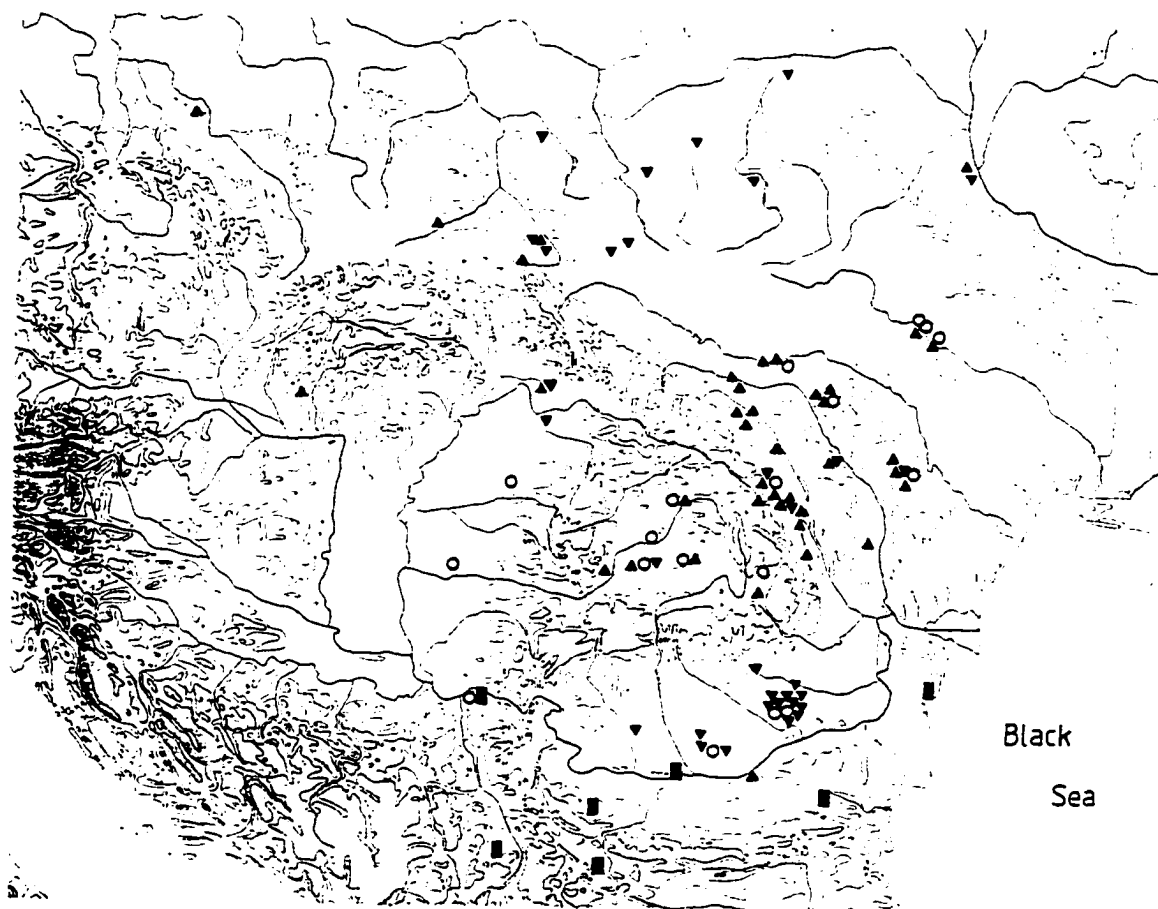


Figure 62. Distribution of Heating Facilities on Sixth- and Seventh-Century Sites. For Legend, See Text.

concentric striations caused by removing the vessel while the wheel was still turning, were either 'imports' or later developments of the early Slavic culture. Soviet and Bulgarian archaeologists emphasized handmade pottery as a hallmark of Slavic ethnicity. Some even insisted that the Slavic pottery is characterized by use of specific tempers, such as crushed sherds (Rafalovich 1972c: 137; Rusanova 1973b:12). Suzana Dolinescu-Ferche's excavations at Dulceanca I proved, however, that local potters produced both handmade and wheel-made pottery with a variety of tempers but using the same kiln (Dolinescu-Ferche 1969), in which temperatures over 800 centigrades were easily attained (cf. Pleiner 1988). In most other cases, handmade pots were fired using the clamp method, i.e., a bed of fuel, then pottery, and finally more fuel on top. Temperatures attained by such bonfires range between 600 and 800 centigrades.⁷²⁷ There are few studies based on textural or petrological analysis⁷²⁸ and even fewer in which the focus is the basic technique used for constructing the pot. The potter may have divided the pot conceptually into various parts and use different sequences for building the vessel, such as 'opening' the lump of clay by inserting fingers and squeezing the clay (pinching technique) or constructing the vessel from upside down, using one or more slabs of clay (slab modeling). From a cognitive point of view, these are funda-

mental aspects which link pottery-making to other aspects of culture and permeate very large areas of the activity of any group of people (Richards 1982:35; Rice 1987:124-127; Guthnick 1988:91-93; Cowgill 1990:73; Van Der Leeuw 1994). For a *chaîne opératoire* approach, it is interesting to note that handmade pots from at least one site (Rashkov, Ukraine) were all made using the coiling technique (Baran 1988:52). More studies are needed, however, for making comparisons which may be relevant for the question of ethnic identity.

Another possibility is to treat pots as tools, for their shapes and, to a certain extent, their decoration, are constrained by their intended contexts and conditions of use (Braun 1980; Braun 1983; Shapiro 1984; Smith 1988; for the relation between form and content in ceramic classification, see also Zedeño 1985). Recent studies have shown a strong correlation between volume and shape of vessels found on early medieval sites in Slovakia (Bialeková and Tirpaková 1983). The Březno experiment demonstrated that 3-liter pots were the most suitable for cooking soups and porridges, while 1-liter pots served as containers for milk and for manipulation. All cooking operations were performed using a set of eleven pots of different shapes and three vessels of wood (Pleinerová 1986:162).⁷²⁹ This is also confirmed by ethnographic studies, which reveal that full vessel assemblages in

present-day communities typically consist of between eight and twenty morphological vessel types (Hally 1986: 273 and 275).⁷³⁰

The experiment suggests that early medieval pottery-making may have operated on the basis of 'prototypic shapes', mental models of the potter's preference for morphological set attributes, which could be recognized in vessels belonging to the same family (Buko 1992). Other studies show that despite variation in size, functionally equivalent vessels in various ceramic assemblages display identical proportions (Stehli and Zimmerman 1980; cf. Whallon 1982). There are many methods for shape representation for boundary retrieval and display using pattern matching to provide automatic retrieval (Caselitz and Michl 1988; Lewis and Goodson 1991; for a survey of various methods, see Kampffmeyer, Zamperoni, Teegen, and Graça 1988).⁷³¹ Handmade pots from early medieval ceramic assemblages in Eastern Europe are, however, typically asymmetrical, which suggests that approaches based on vessel ratios should be preferred to those based on vessel profiles (Parczewski 1993:28). The advantage of using ratios is that they eliminate all differences which would arise in comparing vessels of similar shape but different size (cf. Whallon 1982; Madsen 1988:17; Tírpaková and Vlkolinská 1992:184). In Eastern Europe, the most popular approach to shape analy-

sis based on vessel ratios is that pioneered by the Russian archaeologist Vladimir Gening (1973; 1992) and used by Irina Rusanova for her analysis of the early Slavic pottery (Rusanova 1976:10-11; for a brief history of this approach, see Tírpaková and Vlkolinská 1992). The method is still used, with slight variations, by archaeologists working with sixth- and seventh-century ceramic assemblages in Moldova (Posticǎ 1994:15-16), Slovakia (Fusek 1994; Fusek 1995), and Poland (Parczewski 1993:31-32).⁷³² Genning's approach consists of a number of basic measurements made from scale drawings of vessels (Figure 63),⁷³³ which are then used to derive shape variables, viewed as ratios between these measurements. Classification is obtained by applying the Robinson coefficient of agreement to the matrix of shape variables (Genning 1973:120-123 and 132).⁷³⁴ Classes of pottery are thus derived, which are then considered as chronologically sensitive and used for dating sites.

The classification of sixth- and seventh-century pots found on East European sites raises two major problems. One is that of dating, which I already discussed in a previous section of this chapter. The other is that of the mental template, a combination of technological, functional, cognitive, and cultural factors, which in the eyes of many archaeologists was specific to the early Slavs, and only to them. The idea of a mental template

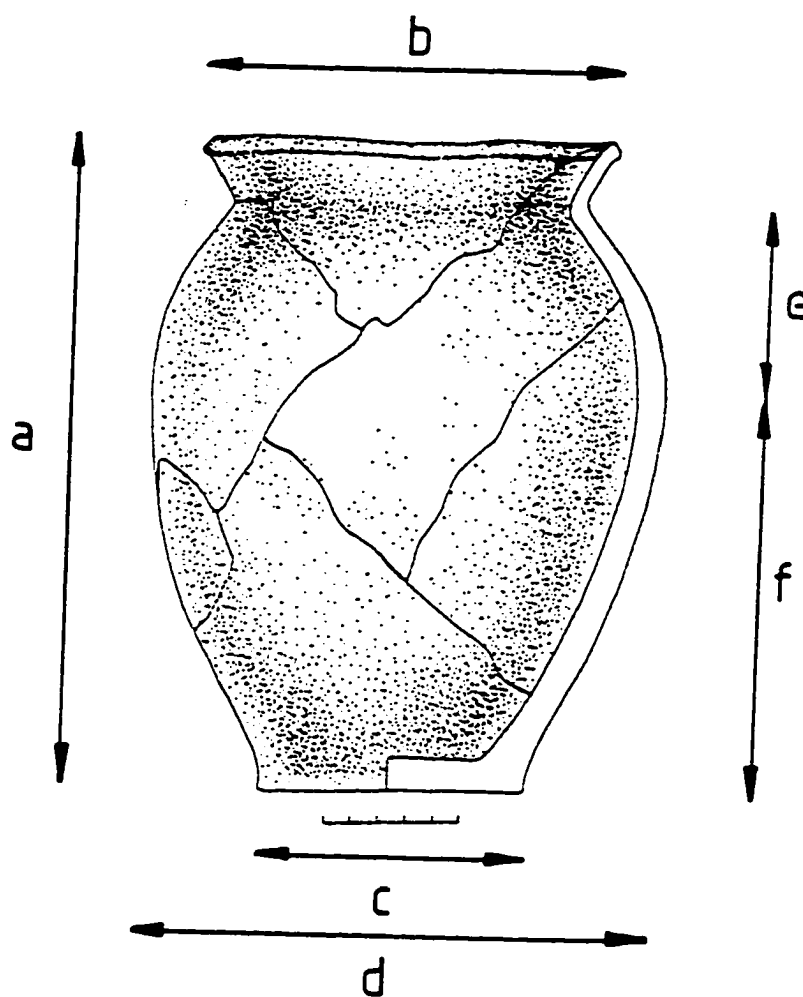


Figure 63. Measurements Used for Vessel Shape Analysis Based on Vessel Ratios.

was behind Borkovský's Prague type and Rusanova's Zhitomir-Korchak type. Rusanova and others made extensive use of statistical methods for shape analysis, in order to approximate as closely as possible that combination of mechanical and aesthetical executions, which, in their eyes, formed a definite structural pattern in the minds of the early medieval potters. In order to test the idea of template expression, I chose 112 vessels from various sites in Romania, Ukraine, and Moldova, both hand- and wheel-made (see Appendix F). Some of these pots were found in archaeological assemblages with no certain date (Korchak IX). Others were associated with mortuary assemblages in 'Gepidia,' which have nothing to do with the 'Slavic culture' (Bistrița). Another pot was found during excavations on the early Byzantine site at Capidava. All pots were classified according to two sets of variables proposed by Vladimir Gening and Michał Parczewski, respectively (Figures 64 and 65).¹³⁵

Both plots show a strong resemblance between almost all pots considered, regardless of where they were found. Two zoomed details of these plots indicate that very similar proportions were used for the manufacture of both hand- and wheel-made pots (Figures 66 and 67). Can this pattern be interpreted as a template, in Borkovský's and Rusanova's sense? In my opinion, the answer must be negative for a variety of reasons. First, Borkovský and

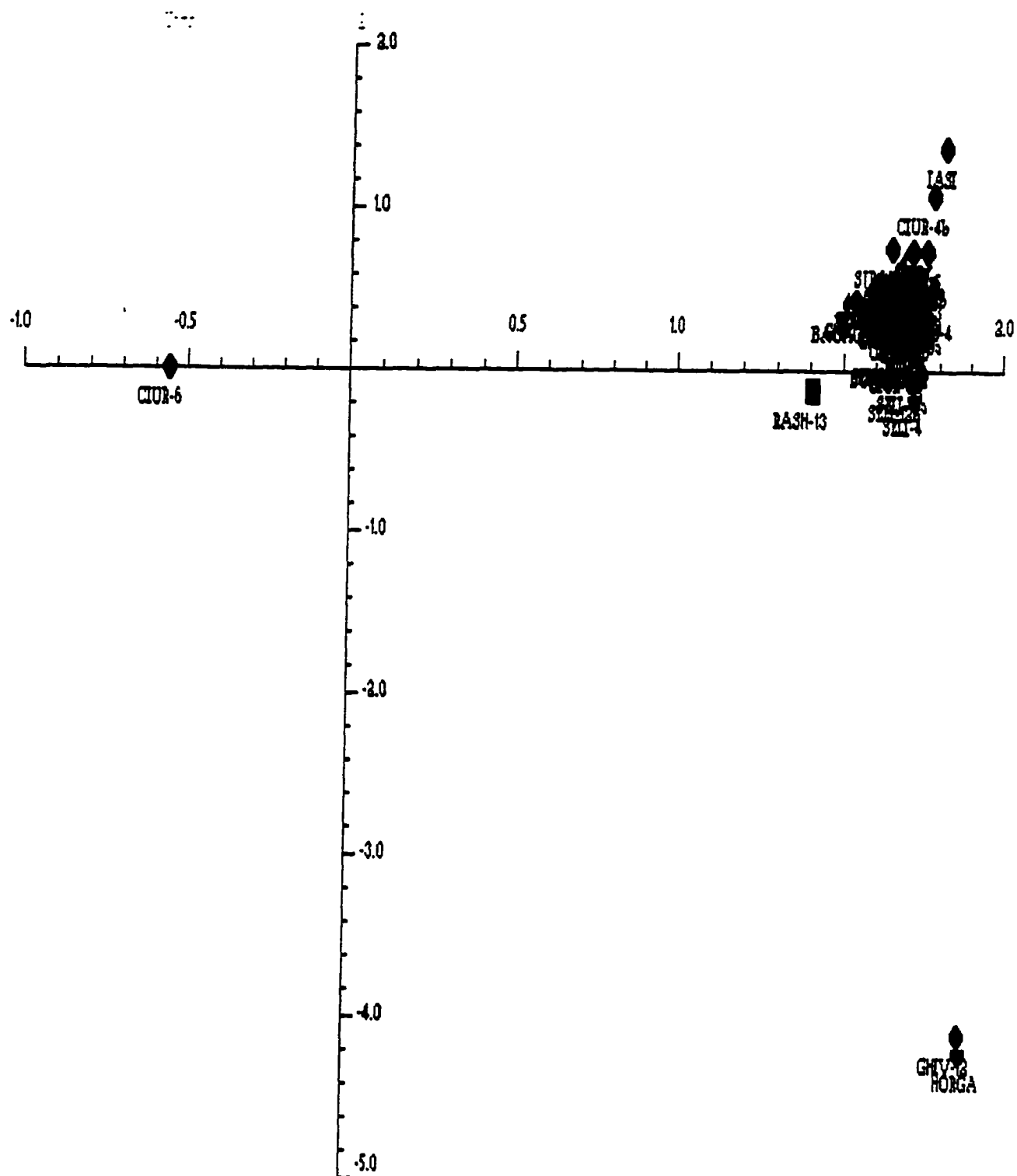


Figure 64. Correspondence Analysis of 112 Vessels in Relation to Eight Ratios Proposed by Gening 1992. For Site Name Abbreviations, See Appendix F.

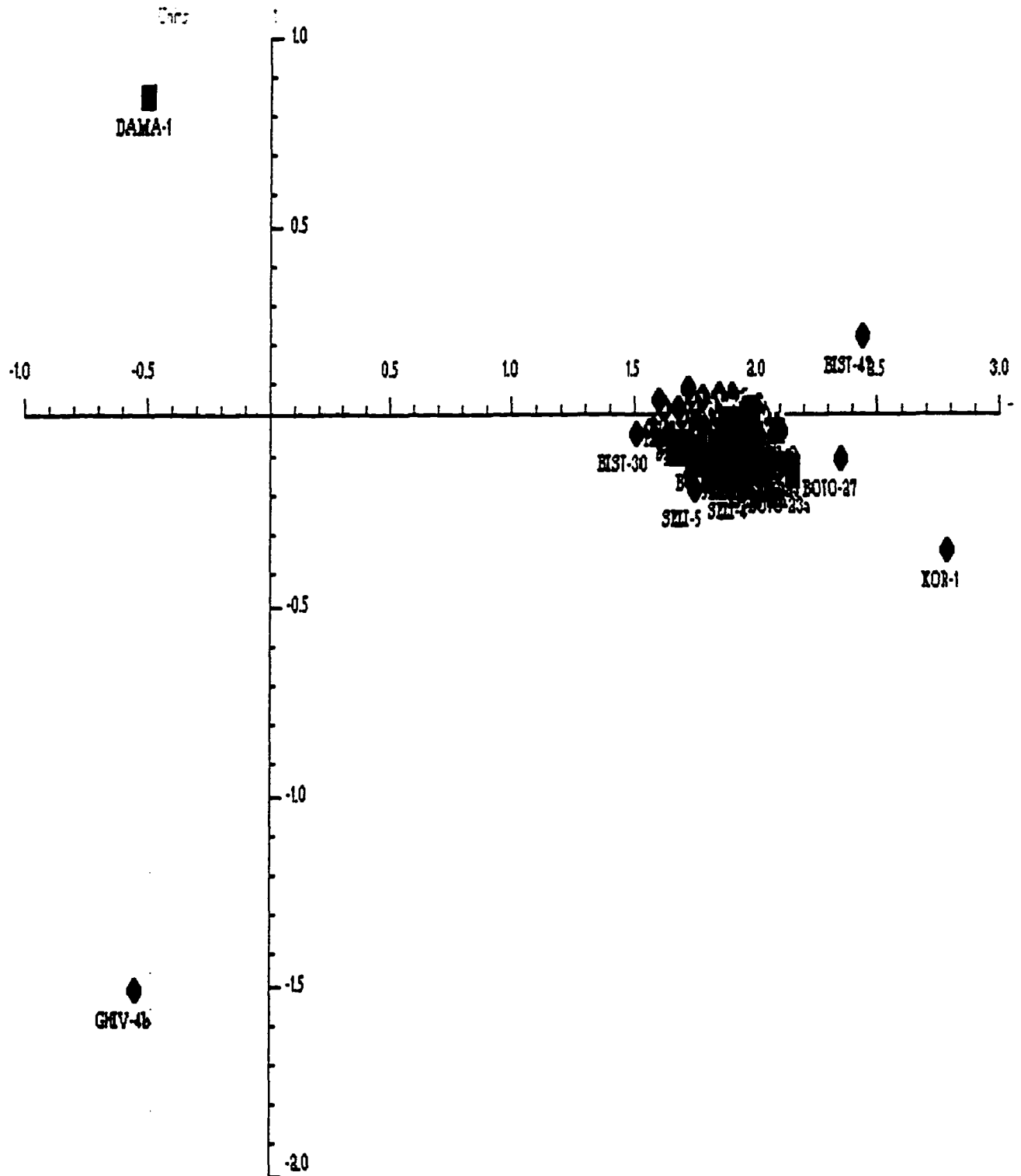


Figure 65. Correspondence Analysis of 112 Vessels in Relation to Six Ratios Proposed by Parczewski 1993. For Site Name Abbreviations, See Appendix F.

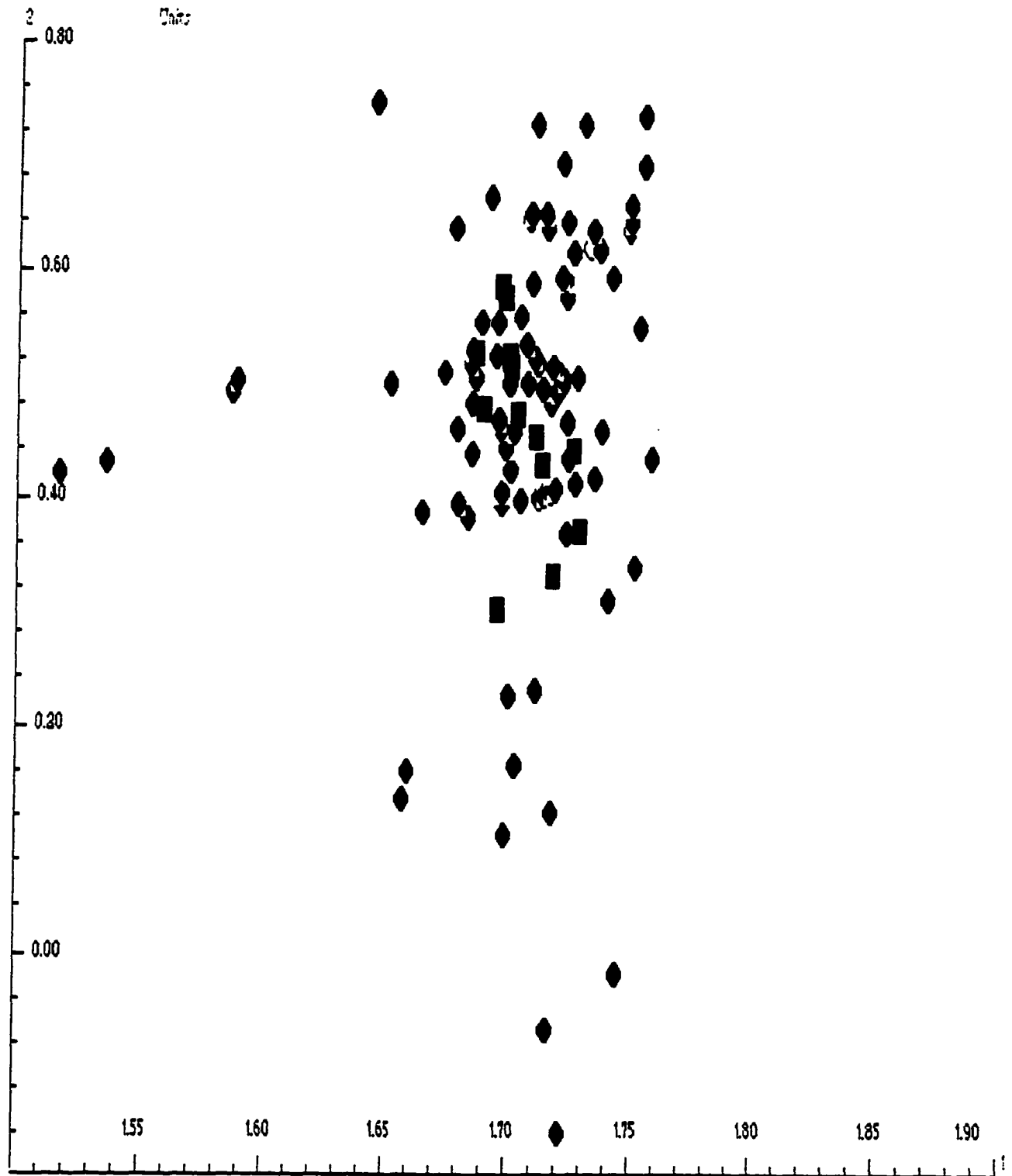


Figure 66. Zoomed Detail of the Correspondence Analysis of Hand- (Circle) and Wheel-Made (Rectangle) Vessels in Relations to Eight Ratios Proposed by Gening 1992.

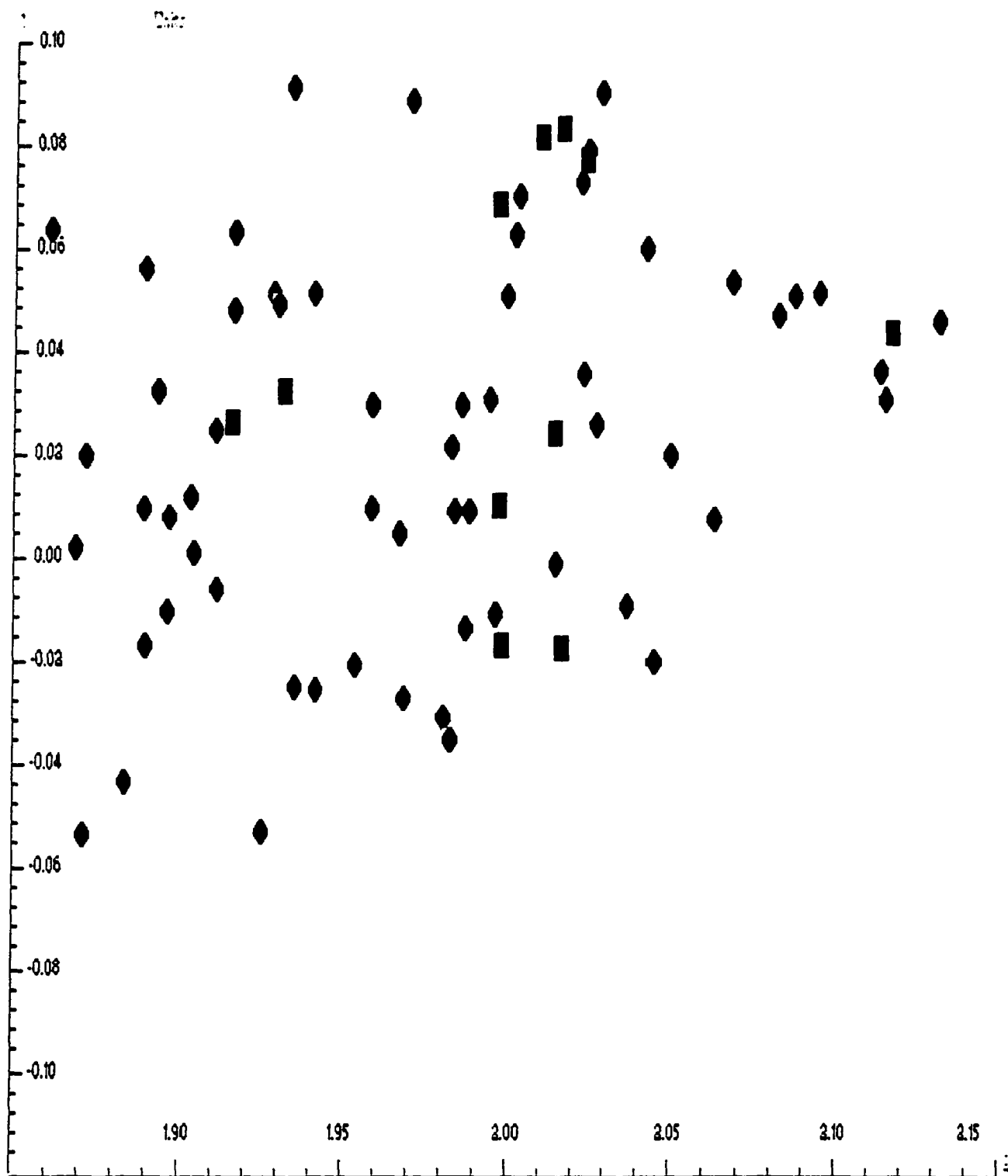


Figure 67. Zoomed Detail of the Correspondence Analysis of Hand- (Circle) and Wheel-Made (Rectangle) Vessels in Relation to Six Ratios Proposed by Parczewski 1993.

Rusanova insisted that the Prague type is a specific class of handmade pottery, but this series of plots clearly shows that both hand- and wheel-made pots were shaped similarly (cf. Fusek 1994:19). Second, the Březno experiment and the fact that very similar shapes appear in ceramic assemblages considerably different in date suggest that vessel shape is primarily determined by vessel use and is not a function of 'ethnic traditions.' Furthermore, the experiment demonstrated that contents of all pots had to be mixed frequently as the cooking was mostly carried out at the hearth by the oven gate, so that only half of the pot was usually exposed to fire (Pleinerová 1986:162). This seems to point to a certain correlation between use of cooking ovens and vessel shape and size. If so, the allegedly prototypic shape should be interpreted in relation to food preparation, not to 'emblemic style.'⁷³⁶ Third, archaeologists working on distinguishing artifact variability that reflects differences in consistent practices or templates from 'accidental' variability normally focus on single assemblages or, at the most, on assemblages from the same site. As the example from Rashkov shows, procedural modes pertaining to the manufacture of pots may have existed at the individual site level. A limited number of distinct practices and templates may have been in use in any given community (Baran 1986:52; cf. Cowgill 1990:72).⁷³⁷ It is

unknown whether or not such isomorphism existed between sites, particularly between those located at considerable distance from each other, such as Rashkov and Dulceanca.

We may be in a better position when examining not vessel shape, but vessel decoration. Ethnographic evidence indicates that pottery decoration may be used for building ethnic boundaries (Işfănoni 1991). Stamped pottery was used in both 'Lombardia' and 'Gepidia' and no specific clustering of stamps or dies was found on either side of the "no man's land" between the Danube and the Tisza rivers (Chapter VIII). When compared to the distribution of pots with finger impressions or notches on lip, which were found on contemporary sites, the distribution of stamped pots reveals, however, an interesting contrast (Figure 68). There is a significant cluster of vessels with finger impressions or notches east of the Carpathians,⁷³⁸ while stamped decoration is abundant especially within the Carpathian basin. The earliest specimens of handmade pottery with finger impressions or notches on lip (Figure 69) were found in association with artifacts of the second half of the sixth century.

This decoration became popular, however, after ca. 600. Potsherds with finger impressions and notches were found at Bucharest-Militari in association with a jingle bell very similar to those from contemporary hoards of silver and bronze in Ukraine (Chapter VIII)

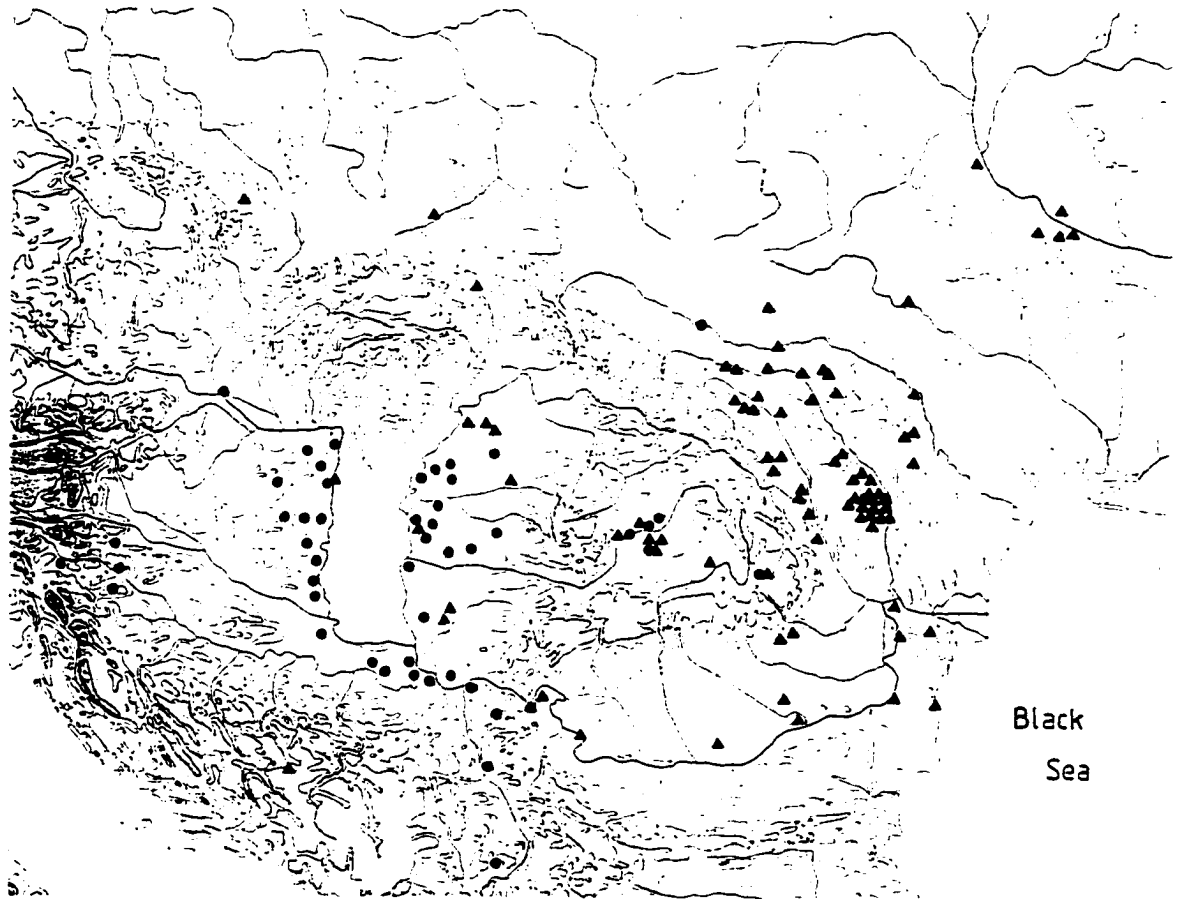


Figure 68. Distribution of Stamped Pottery (Circle) and Pottery Decorated With Finger Impressions or Notches on Lip (Triangle).

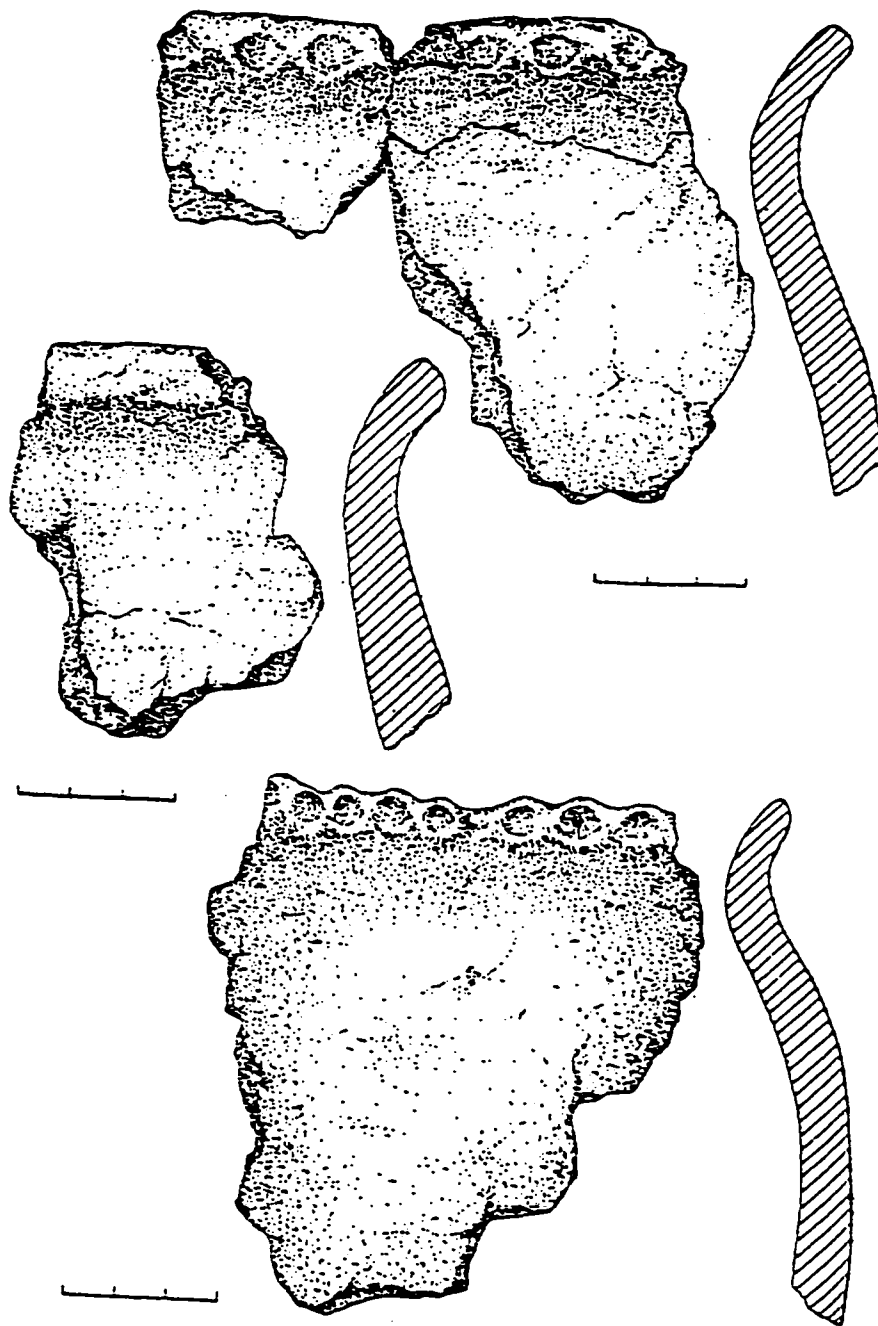


Figure 69. Examples of Handmade Pottery with Finger Impressions on Lip. From Tel'nov 1985.

and a sixth-century fibula with bent stem (Zirra and Cazimir 1963:63). At Dodești, potsherds with similar decoration were associated with a bronze buckle with three lobes, which is typical for early seventh-century *Reihengräberkreis* and Early Avar assemblages (Teodor 1984b:46 fig. 18/1, 4, 6; 47 fig. 19/3; 31 fig. 8/1; cf. Swoboda 1986; Varsik 1992:84; Kiss 1992:56). At Hansca, fragments of such pottery were associated with a pair of equal-armed brooches (Figure 32/2, 3), which cannot be dated earlier than ca. 650 (Godłowski 1980b:83 and 99 fig. 15; Prikhodniuk 1994:70 and 73 fig. 9/5-8; for a much later dating, see Ambroz 1993:182). This is also confirmed by finds from the Early Avar site at Dunaújváros (Bóna 1973) and by mortuary assemblages in Crimea, where pots with finger impressions and notches on lip were associated with Martynovka mounts (Baranov and Maiko 1994:98). The distribution of finds strongly suggests that this type of decoration was used in the late 500s and early 600s to mark ethnic boundaries.

An interesting case is that of signs incised on both pots and spindle whorls. More often than not, such signs consist of simple crosses,⁷³⁹ sometimes followed by a wavy line,⁷⁴⁰ or swastikas.⁷⁴¹ There are also images of fish⁷⁴² and even short inscriptions.⁷⁴³ That such signs may have carried a Christian symbolism was already suggested by some authors (Coman 1971b; Barnea 1985b; Teodor

1991). In the light of the existing evidence, this is a plausible interpretation. Two pectoral crosses and a few molds for producing such artifacts were found north of the Danube river.⁷⁴⁴ Identical crosses with a distinct Christian symbolism were popular on contemporary sites in the central and western regions of the Balkans.⁷⁴⁵ Besides being used as pectorals, they were often attached to dress pins or earrings. Molds similar to those found north of the Danube come from early Byzantine forts (cf. Uenze 1992:164 fig. 9/6 and Dănilă 1983:559). As for the pottery decoration, it is interesting to note that very similar, if not identical, signs were found on various sites located far from each other (e.g., crosses with "tails" at Bacău and Dulceanca). The handmade pottery on which such signs were incised is, however, of indisputably local production. This suggests the existence of a cross-regional set of symbols shared by potters and/or users of pottery, despite an arguably localized production. The relatively large number of cases indicates that this was a widespread phenomenon, which coincides in time with the use of finger impressions and notches.⁷⁴⁶

As shown in Chapter II, the study of ethnicity as a mode of action recently caused a shift in emphasis from group boundaries to group experience, as ethnicity is now viewed as a phenomenon of the *Alltagsleben* (Greverus 1978; Räsänen 1994a). Foodways is an important aspect of

this new line of research (Tebbetts 1984), for food preparation is a daily activity involving habitual dispositions, which, according to some authors (Bentley 1987), are key elements in understanding how ethnicity is created and recreated through material culture. Very few things are known about diet in the 500s and 600s, but one aspect deserves particular attention. It has long been noted that a characteristic of sixth- and seventh-century ceramic assemblages in Romania, Ukraine, Moldova, and, to a lesser degree, Bulgaria, is the presence of clay pans (Figure 70). As the ethnographic evidence suggests, these handmade vessels served for baking flat loaves of wheat or millet bread (Babić 1972:114-115; cf. Herrmann 1986b: 270; Zábojník 1988:419).⁷⁴⁷ Their use indicates cultivation of wheat or millet, a fact also attested by contemporary sources.⁷⁴⁸ Manual-rotation mills (quern stones) also bear out an overwhelming emphasis on growing bread cereals and on flour-based foods. On sixth to seventh-century sites east and south of the Carpathians, they were typically found in association with clay pans. A long-held belief has been that clay pans are specific Slavic artifacts and that their presence signals that of the migrating Slavs (e.g., Babić 1972; cf. Szöke 1995:54). Soviet archaeologists argued that early medieval pans derive from clay discs, often found in ceramic assemblages of the Zarubinec culture of the first



Figure 70. Examples of Clay Pans. From Rafalovich 1972.

centuries A.D. (Tret'iakov 1974:66-67; Maksimov and Terpilovskii 1993:111). They were also common on third- and fourth-century sites in the Desna basin and in Left Bank Ukraine (Symonovich 1969:88 and 90 fig. 2; Goriunov 1974a:124-125; Sukhobokov 1975:35; Terpilovskii 1984:28; Abashina 1986:79; Baran, Maksimov, and Magomedov 1990:147). Such discs, however, served as lids for cooking pots or urns, not for baking, which makes the alleged typological link very problematic.⁷⁴⁹

By contrast, true pans first occur in sixth- and seventh-century assemblages (Figure 71)(Rafalovich 1974:97-98; Sukhobokov and Iurenko 1978:133; Kravchenko 1979:86; Jelinková 1990:257; Jelinková 1993:79). The earliest specimens were found on Romanian sites. A mid- or late sixth-century fibula with bent stem was associated with clay pans in the assemblage of the sunken building 20 at Poian (Székely 1992:263). At Botoșana, the sunken building 13 produced both fragments of clay pans and a coin struck for Emperor Justinian before 538 (Teodor 1984a:31 and 128 fig. 49/1, 3). At Bacău, fragments of clay pans found in sunken building 6 were associated with a cast fibula with bent stem, dated to Justin II's reign (Mitrea and Artimon 1971:236). At Davideni, clay pans were associated with early seventh-century 'Slavic' bow fibulae in two sunken buildings (no. 41: Mitrea 1994:305 and 321 fig. 22/7, 9; no. 58: Mitrea 1994-1995:446).⁷⁵⁰

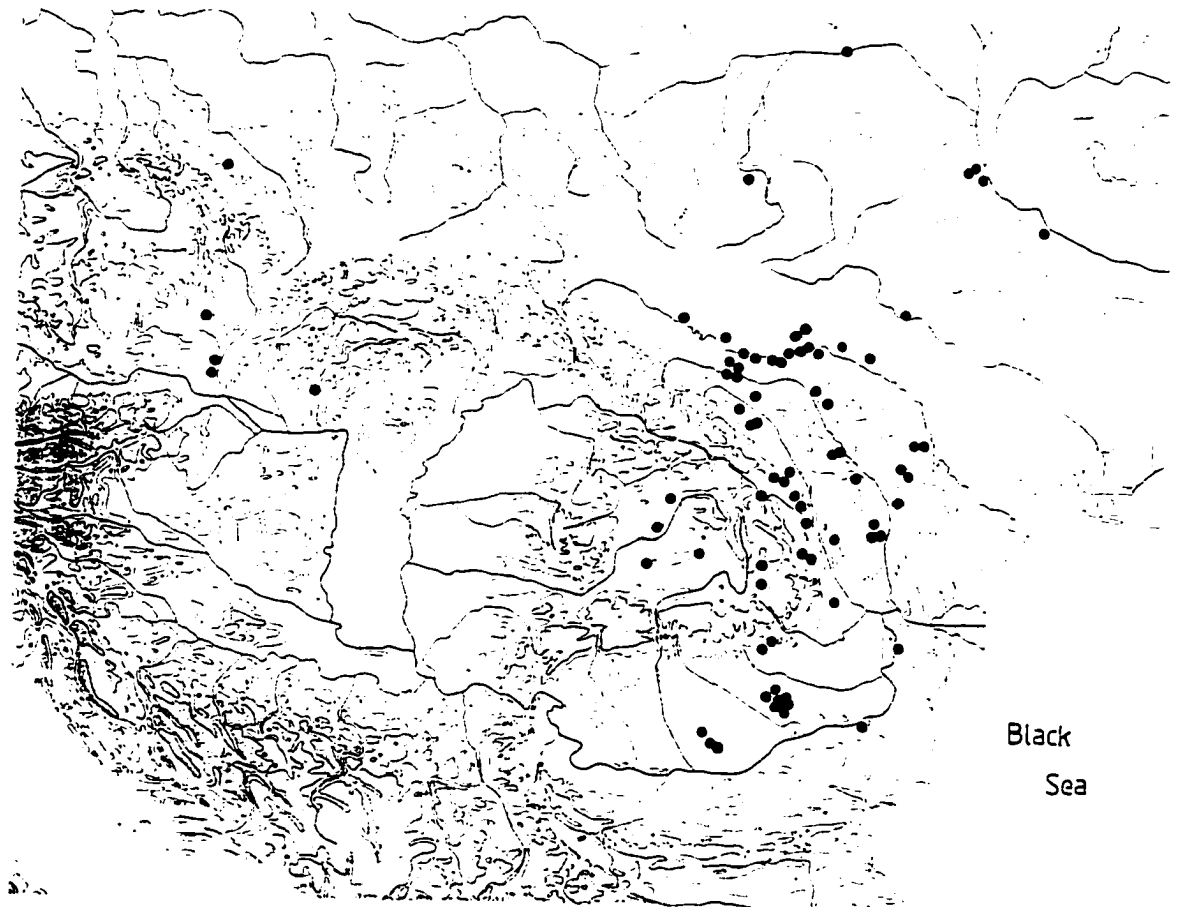


Figure 71. Distribution of Clay Pans on Sixth- and Seventh-Century Sites.

A glass bead with eye-shaped inlays, typical for Early and Middle Avar assemblages, was found together with fragments of clay pans at Dulceanca II (Dolinescu-Ferche 1986b:148 fig. 21/9, 11).

To judge from the existing evidence, clay pans and the associated foods (flat loaves of bread) were first introduced in the late 500s on sites east and south of the Carpathians, not far from the Danube river. Clay pans never represent more than three to four percent of the entire ceramic assemblage found on any given site. Furthermore, the distribution of clay pans within the site is not uniform. Not all settlement features produced clay pans and their distribution is not random. An examination of the settlement pattern of a few sixth- and seventh-century sites suggests that this is no accident. Ever since Gordon R. Willey introduced the concept, settlement pattern analysis has been viewed as the strategic point for interpreting archaeological cultures as reflecting various institutions of social interaction and control (Willey 1953; Willey 1989; cf. Trigger 1970:239). Since the late 1930s, a similar concept guided Soviet archaeologists (Timoshchuk 1990a:129; cf. Prikhodniuk 1988:189). According to current views, the distribution of storage pits and work areas on a given site directly reflects social relations within that community (Prikhodniuk 1988:191; cf. Hayden and Gargett 1990:16). Storage pits

grouped within or next to individual sunken buildings, such as found at Hansca, are believed to be an indication of private consumption, if not property (Timoshchuk 1985:12; Prikhodniuk 1988:193; for Rashkov, see Baran 1987:64). In contrast, storage pits found at Seliște, which were located far from any other settlement feature, have been interpreted as indication of surviving communal property (Figure 72). Needless to say, in both cases, there is no clear chronological relation between storage pits (usually devoid of any refuse material) and the rest of the settlement. In addition, such an approach entirely ignores the intrasite distribution of artifacts.¹⁵¹

People's decisions on how to organize the use of space within their residences and settlements may indeed be influenced by the socioeconomic organization of the group. This influence, however, is mediated by the kind of activities performed on the site at a given date. 'Activity,' in this context, must be understood as a specific task resulting in the deposition of clustered diagnostic archaeological remains. The spatial correlate to activity is the activity area, defined as an archaeologically consistent, spatially clustered, association of artifacts and/or ecofacts in a minimally dated archaeological horizon (Ferring 1984:117). At Seliște (Figure 72),¹⁵² two groups of sunken buildings were located on either side of a large, central place with only one

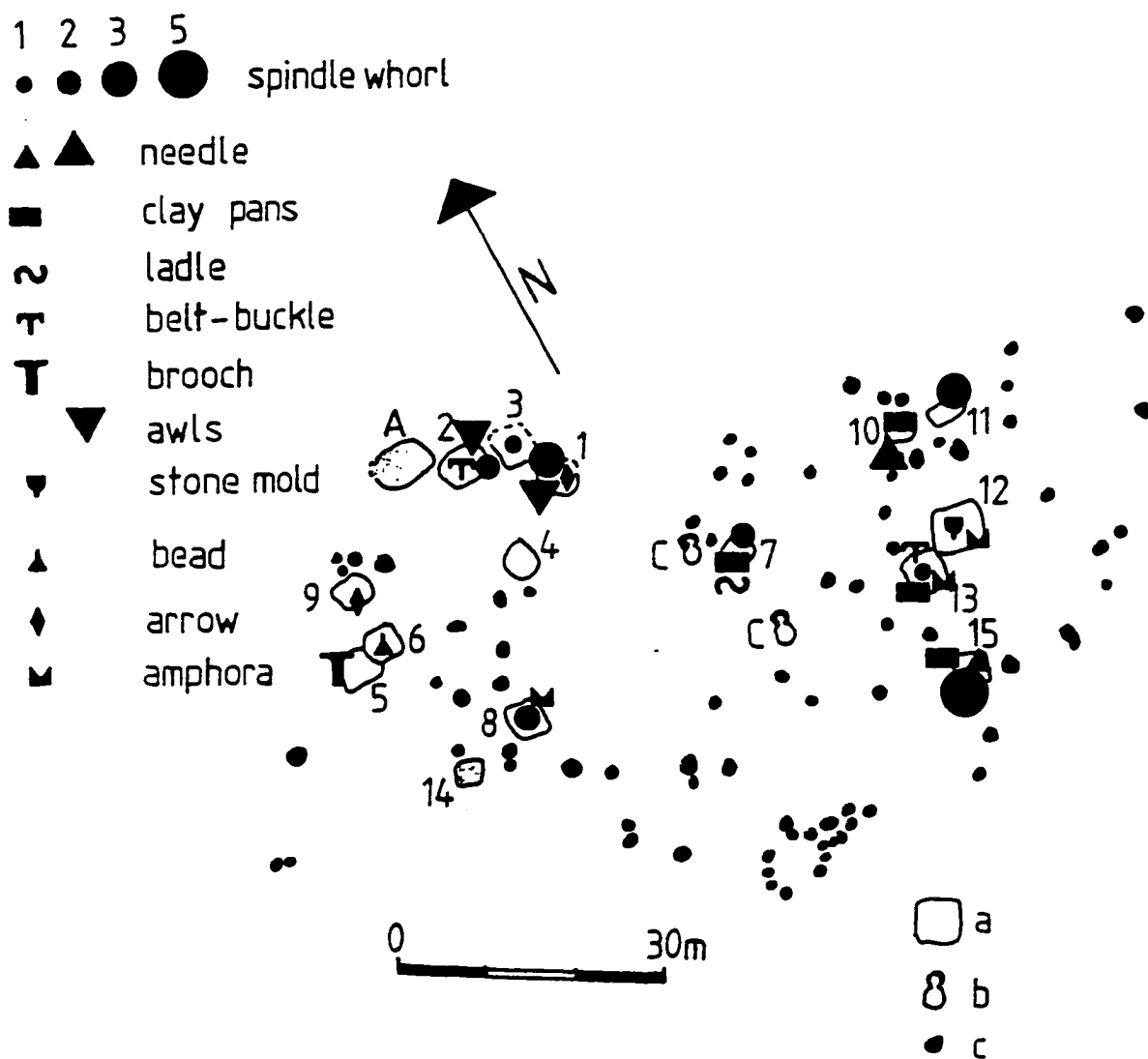


Figure 72. Seliște, Intrasite Distribution of Artifacts. Data From Rafalovich 1972 and Rafalovich and Lapushnian 1974.

building surrounded by two ovens. Five sunken buildings in the eastern part of the site (nos. 10, 11, 12, 13, and 15) produced all needles, most of the amphora sherds, and all clay pans found on site. By contrast, all arrow heads, awls, and dress accessories (beads and bow fibula) were found on the western side of the settlement. Furthermore, three of the five buildings in the east (nos. 10, 13, and 15) had no heating facility. This may indicate that, unlike structures in the western part of the settlement, which were equipped with stone ovens, buildings in the east were not permanently used. Perhaps they were not dwellings. The almost exclusive association of clay pans and amphora sherds with this settlement sector suggests that some sort of activities were performed there, which involved consumption of special foods.

Though on a comparatively smaller scale, the site at Bucharest-Soldat Ghivan Street (Figure 73)⁷⁵³ shows an arrangement very similar to that of Seliște. Settlement features, all of which had clay ovens, were placed around a large area devoid of any structures. A large building on the northern side produced all tools and weapons found on site, while a neighboring structure had the only fragments of clay pans. No such artifacts occurred in the south. A 'Slavic' bow fibula, a potsherd with an incised cross, which were found in building 12, and a handmade

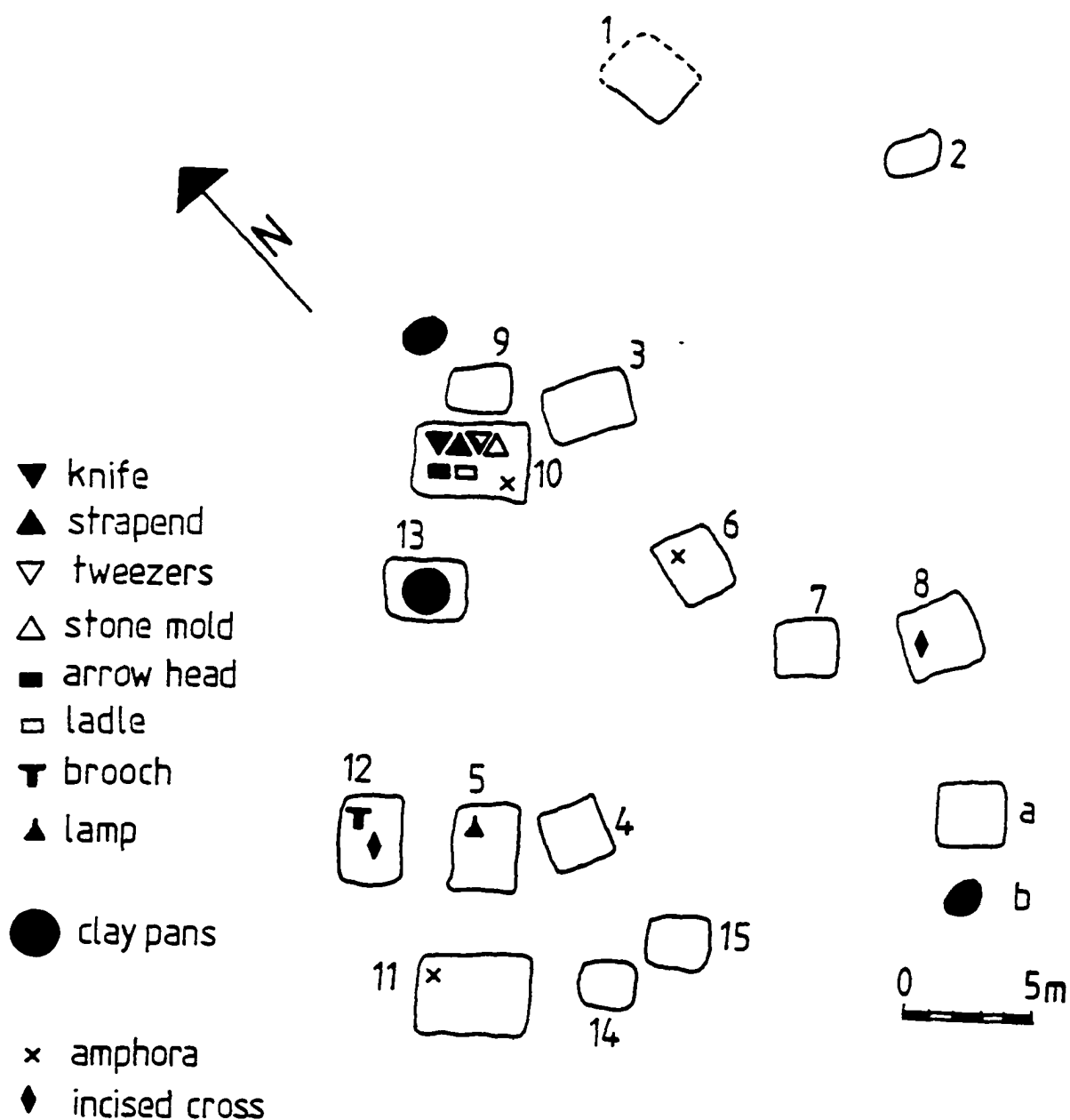


Figure 73. Bucharest-Soldat Ghivan Street, Intrasite Distribution of Artifacts. Data From Dolinescu-Ferche and Constantiniu 1981.

lamp found in building 5, are in sharp contrast with the artifact distribution to the north.

At Poian (Figures 74-75),⁷⁵⁴ the distribution of dress accessories (combs, a bow fibula, and a brooch with bent stem) deviates from that of tools (chisel, awls) and querns. A group of three buildings in the southern part of the settlement (nos. 18, 19, and 20) produced most items of the first category, but also the only fragments of handmade pottery with stamped decoration. A similar arrangement may be seen at Dulceanca I (Figure 76).⁷⁵⁵ The site consists of three sunken buildings with clay ovens and twelve ground-level buildings without any heating facility, all arranged in a loose semicircle around a central place dominated by a kiln. A sunken building on the northern side produced all dress accessories and jewels (beads, brooch, finger-ring, and bracelet) found on site, while another, on the southern side, was associated only with tools (whetstone, mold, and spindle whorls). At Dulceanca II (Figure 77),⁷⁵⁶ a site with sunken buildings arranged in a circle around two ovens, sherds of clay pans and amphorae cluster on the southern side of the settlement, while tools occur mostly in the northern sector.

The site at Davideni was divided into two groups of sunken buildings, presumably separated by a creek. The larger group to the north includes the largest structures

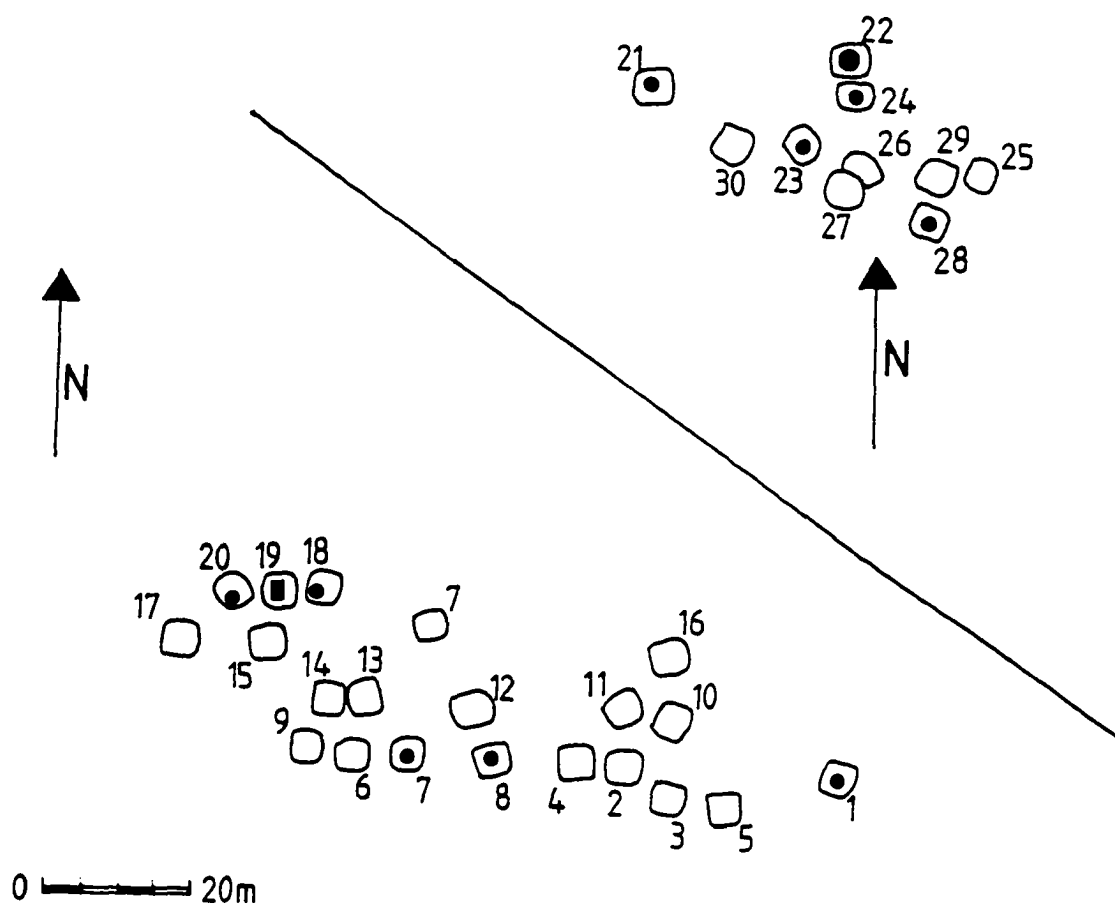


Figure 74. Poian, Intrasite Distribution of Clay Pans (Circle) and Handmade Pottery With Stamped Decoration (Rectangle). Data from Székely 1992.

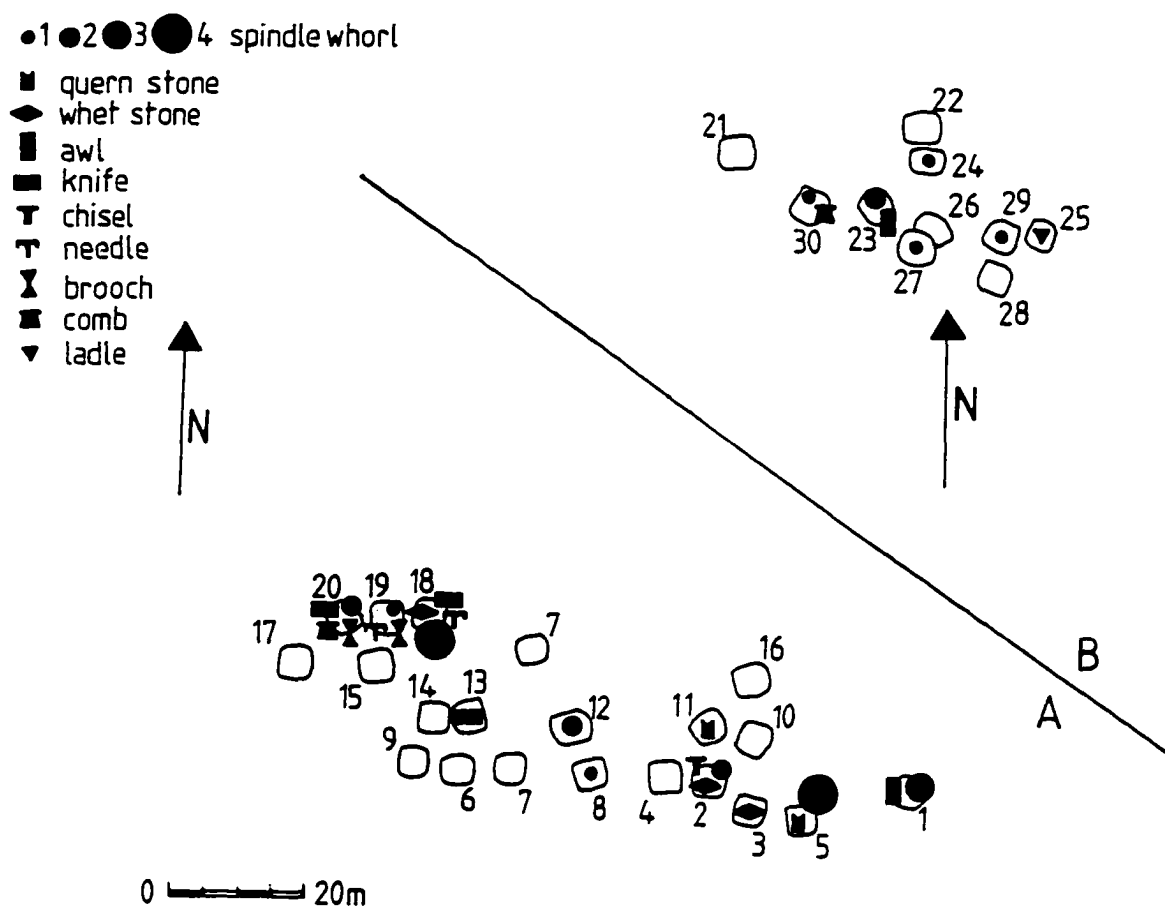


Figure 75. Poian, Intrasite Distribution of Non-Ceramic Artifacts. Data From Székely 1992.

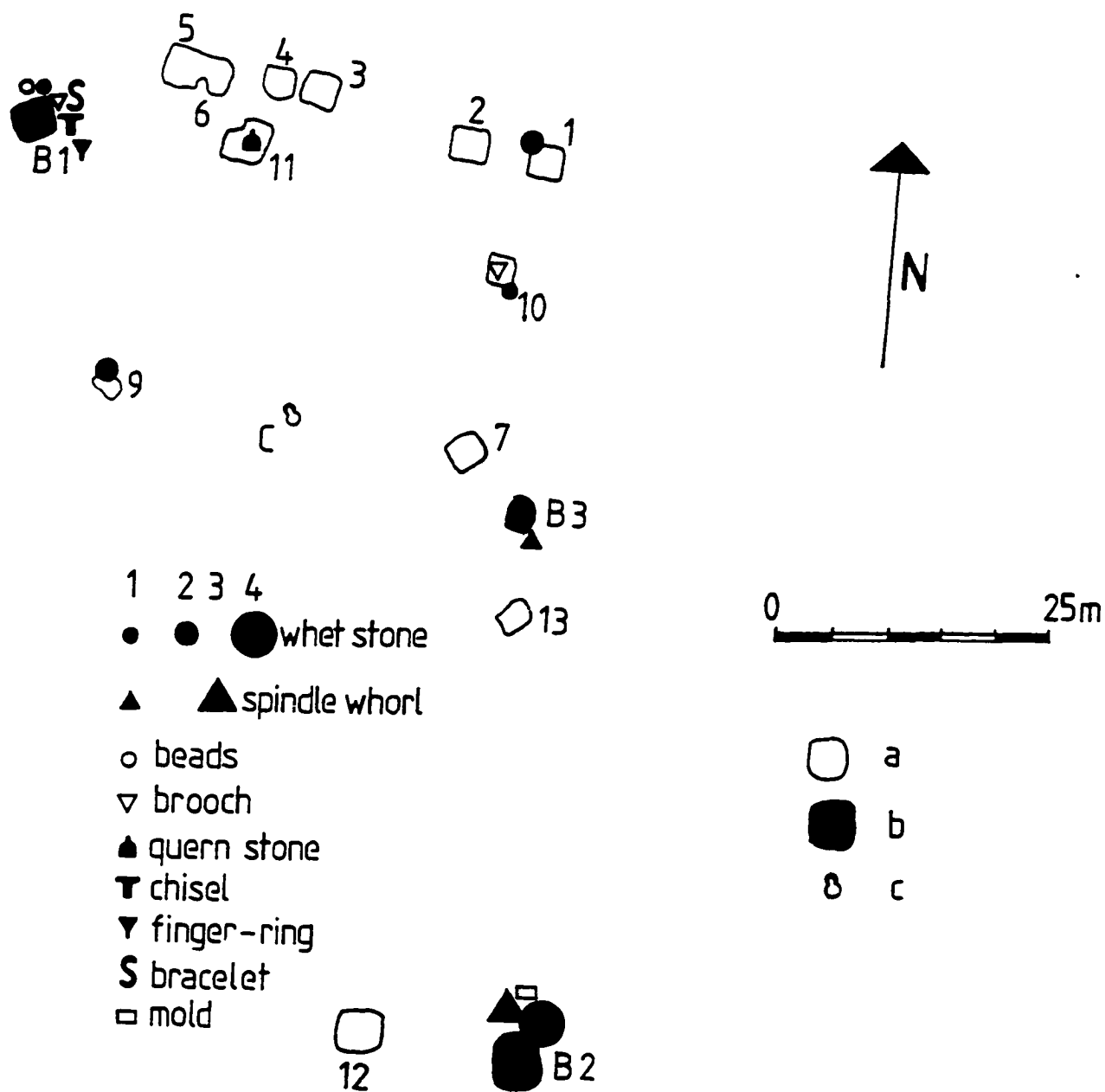


Figure 76. Dulceanca I, Intrasite Distribution of Artifacts. Data From Dolinescu-Ferche 1974.

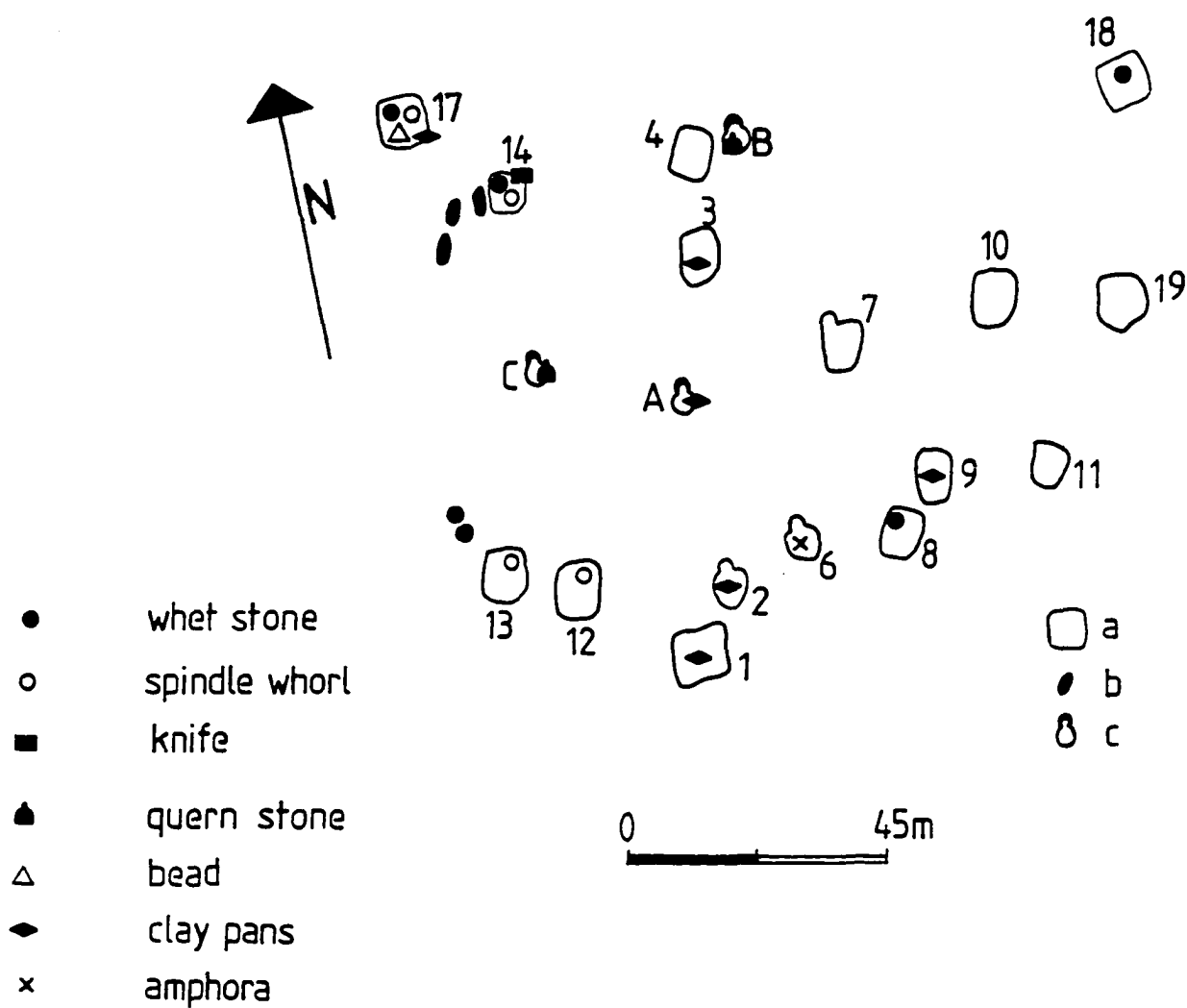


Figure 77. Dulceanca II, Intrasite Distribution of Artifacts. Data From Dolinescu-Ferche 1986.

found on site, but also some of the smallest buildings, such as no. 38 (only 8.25 square meters of floor area), which was located in the middle of a central, open area. Though too small to accommodate a family, Davideni 38 had two heating facilities, a stone oven and an open hearth (Figure 78⁷⁵⁷).⁷⁵⁸ This structure produced no tools and no dress or personal accessories, only a few sherds of handmade pottery and clay pans (Figures 79, 80, 81, and 82). It is interesting to note that most other buildings surrounding the central area were equipped with two heating facilities. Davideni 42, a large structure of over 16 square meters of floor area, had three ovens, two of stone and one of clay. There is only one structure with two heating facilities in the smaller group of buildings, to the south. This group, however, was associated with three open-air ovens. Like no. 38, many sunken buildings surrounding the central area to the north produced large numbers of clay pans. Four of them (nos. 33, 35, 36, and 39) also produced the majority of tools found on site. The largest number of spindle whorls and needles were also found in this area. Sunken building 41, which was next to Davideni 42, produced a 'Slavic' bow fibula and a fragment of double-layered comb. Judging from the intrasite distribution of artifacts, the central area on the northern side of the settlement may have been a locus of industrial activities, such as smelting and,

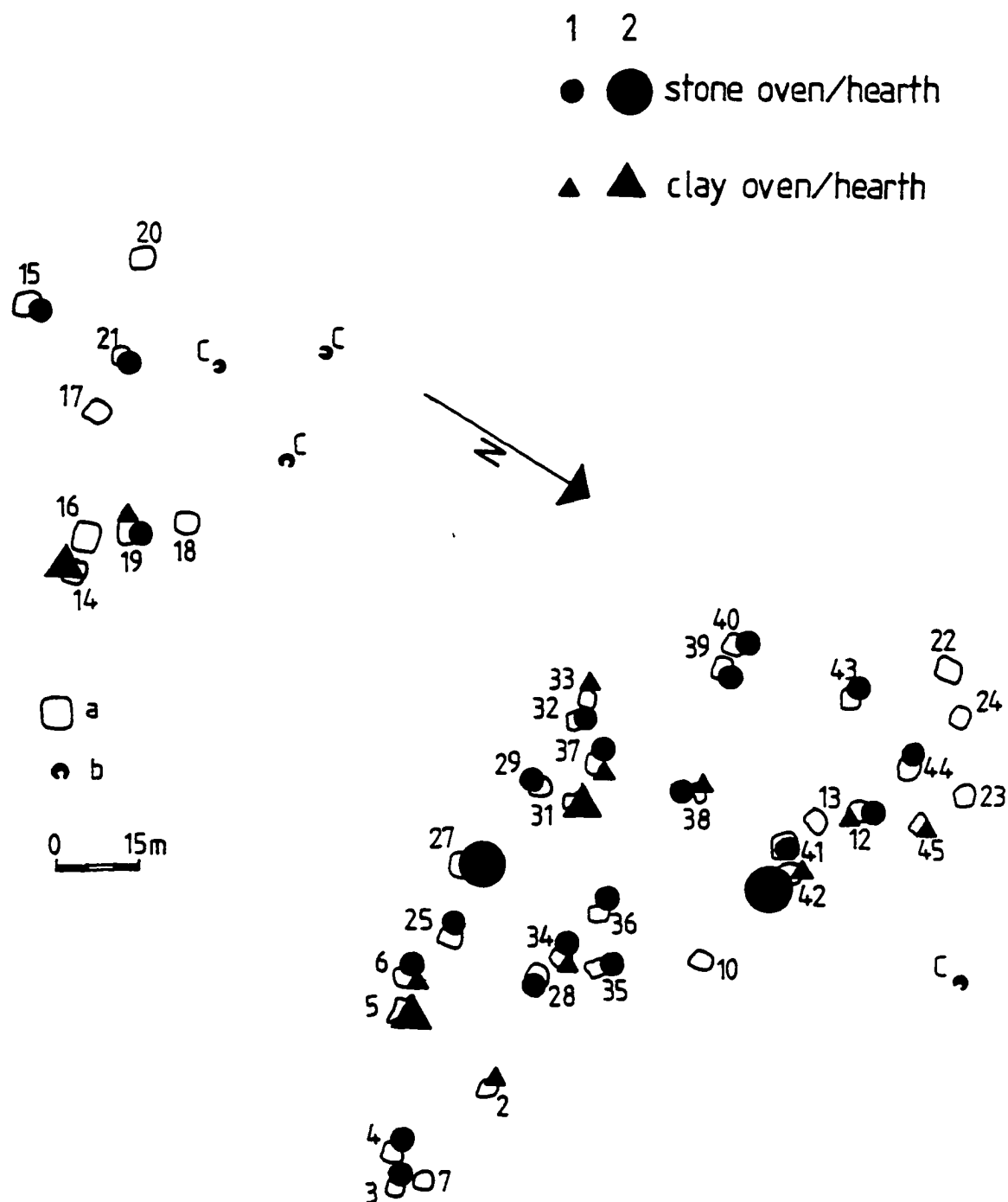


Figure 78. Davideni, Intrasite Distribution of Heating Facilities. Data From Mitrea 1972, Mitrea 1974/1976, Mitrea 1992, and Mitrea 1994.

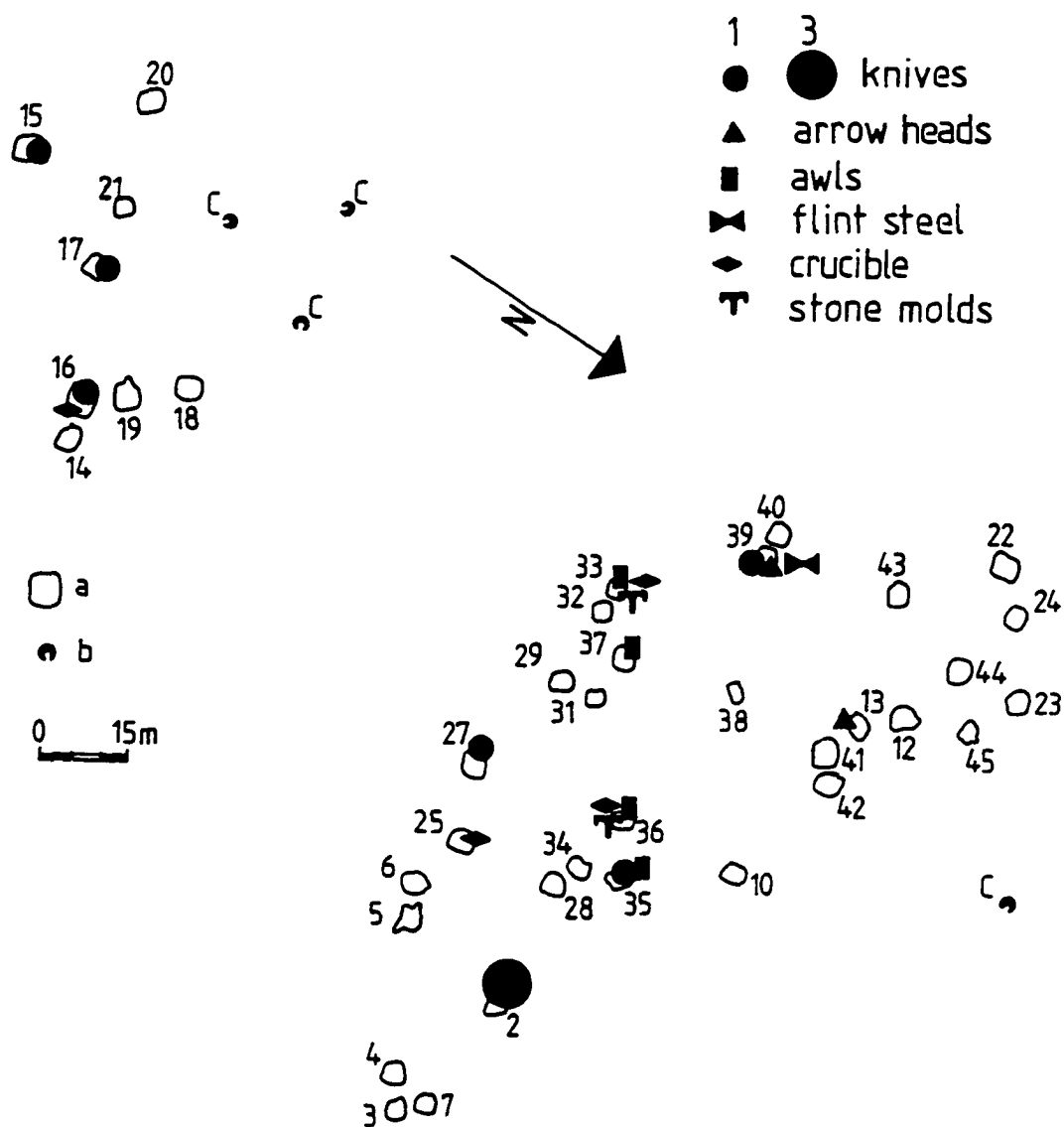


Figure 79. Davideni, Intrasite Distribution of Tools and Other Non-Ceramic Artifacts: a - Sunken Building; b - Oven. Data From Mitrea 1972, Mitrea 1974/1976, Mitrea 1992, and Mitrea 1994.

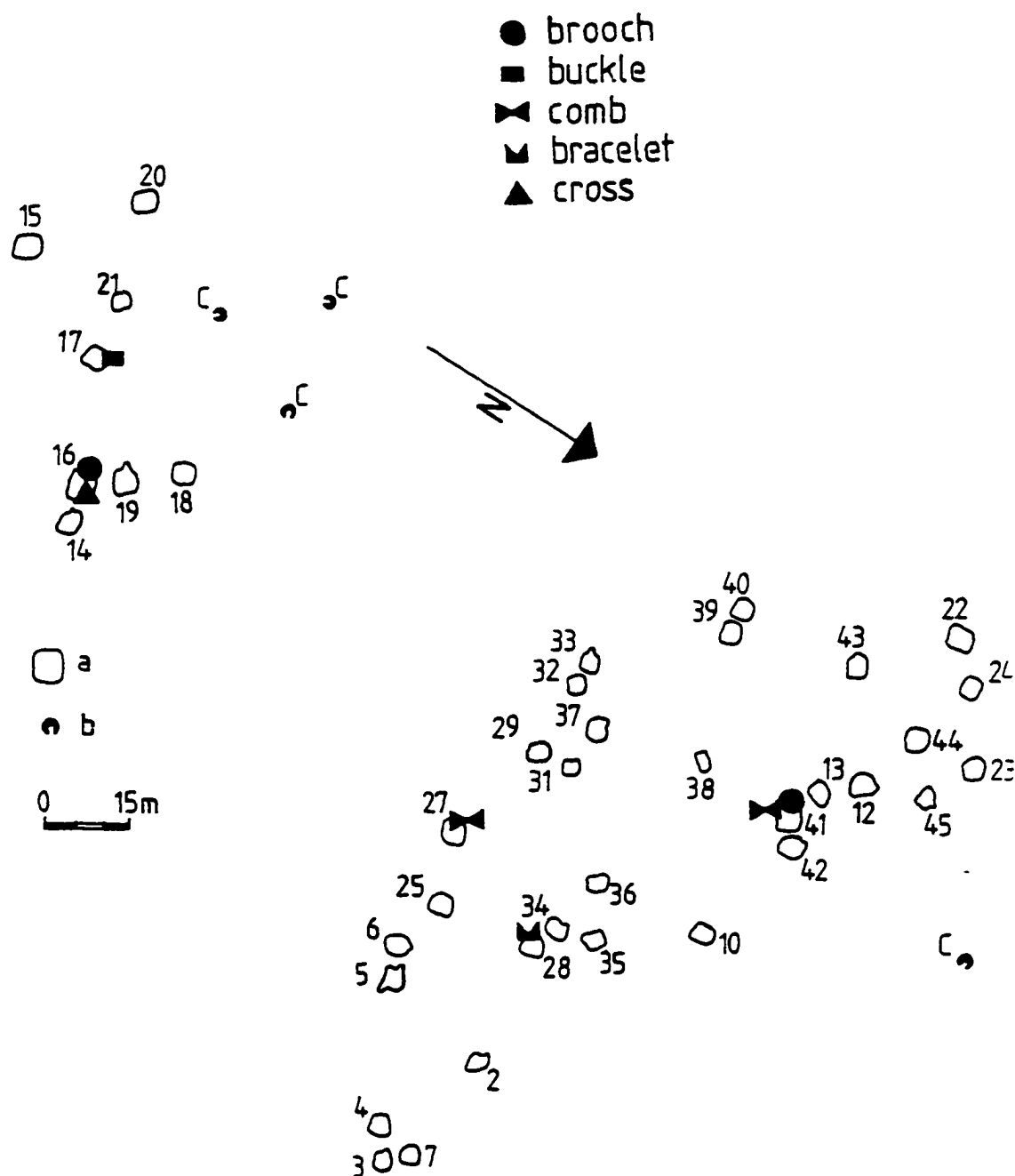


Figure 81. Davideni, Intrasite Distribution of Dress and Personal Accessories: a - Sunken Building; b - Oven. Data From Mitrea 1972, Mitrea 1974/1976, Mitrea 1992, and Mitrea 1994.

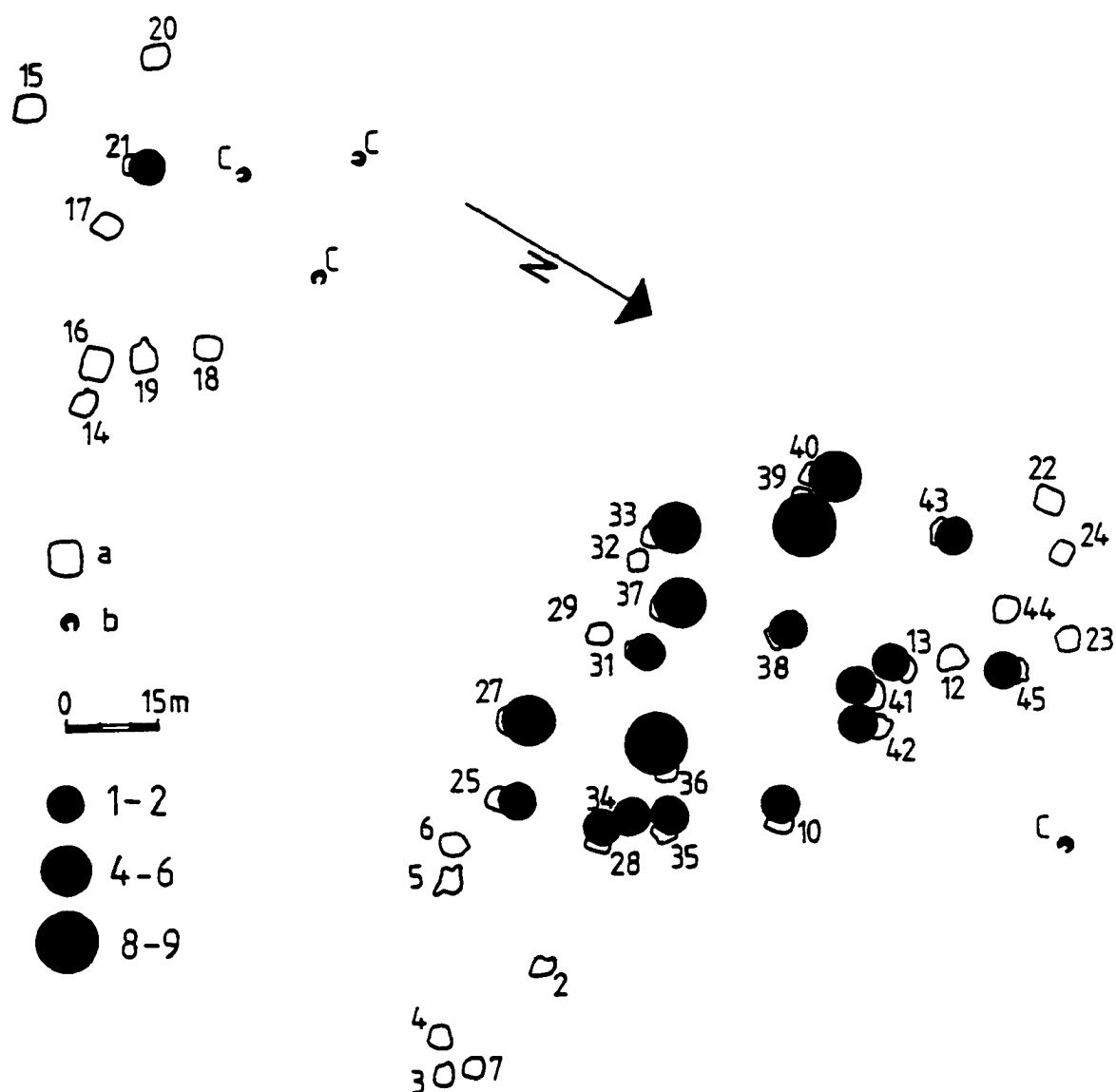


Figure 82. Davideni, Intrasite Distribution of Clay Pans: a - Sunken Building; b - Oven. Data From Mitrea 1972, Mitrea 1974/1976, Mitrea 1992, Mitrea 1994.

possibly, production of dress accessories. It was also an area of special activities involving consumption of special foods. Clay pans were more frequently associated with features equipped with two or three ovens (nos. 27, 31, 34, 37, 38, and 42), which were located in this region. A comparison of the distribution of clay pans (Figure 82) to that of faunal remains (Figure 83) may strengthen the point. Consumption of flat loaves of bread substantially differed from that of meat. Moreover, processing of cereal-based foods is more complex than meat preparation and, consequently, more demanding in terms of space and equipment.⁷⁵⁹ As in Seliște, clay pans may signalize the existence at Davideni of an area of communal activities involving, among other things, production and consumption of flat loaves of bread. It is reasonable to believe that structures equipped with more than one heating facility were associated with such activities, particularly if we think of Davideni 38 and other neighboring structures, which were too small to serve as dwellings.

The analysis of the intrasite distribution of artifacts on these sites reveals a systematic organization and use of space, which further generates a specific site structure and a patterned arrangement of artifacts. The most important characteristics of this arrangement are the presence of the central, open area and the

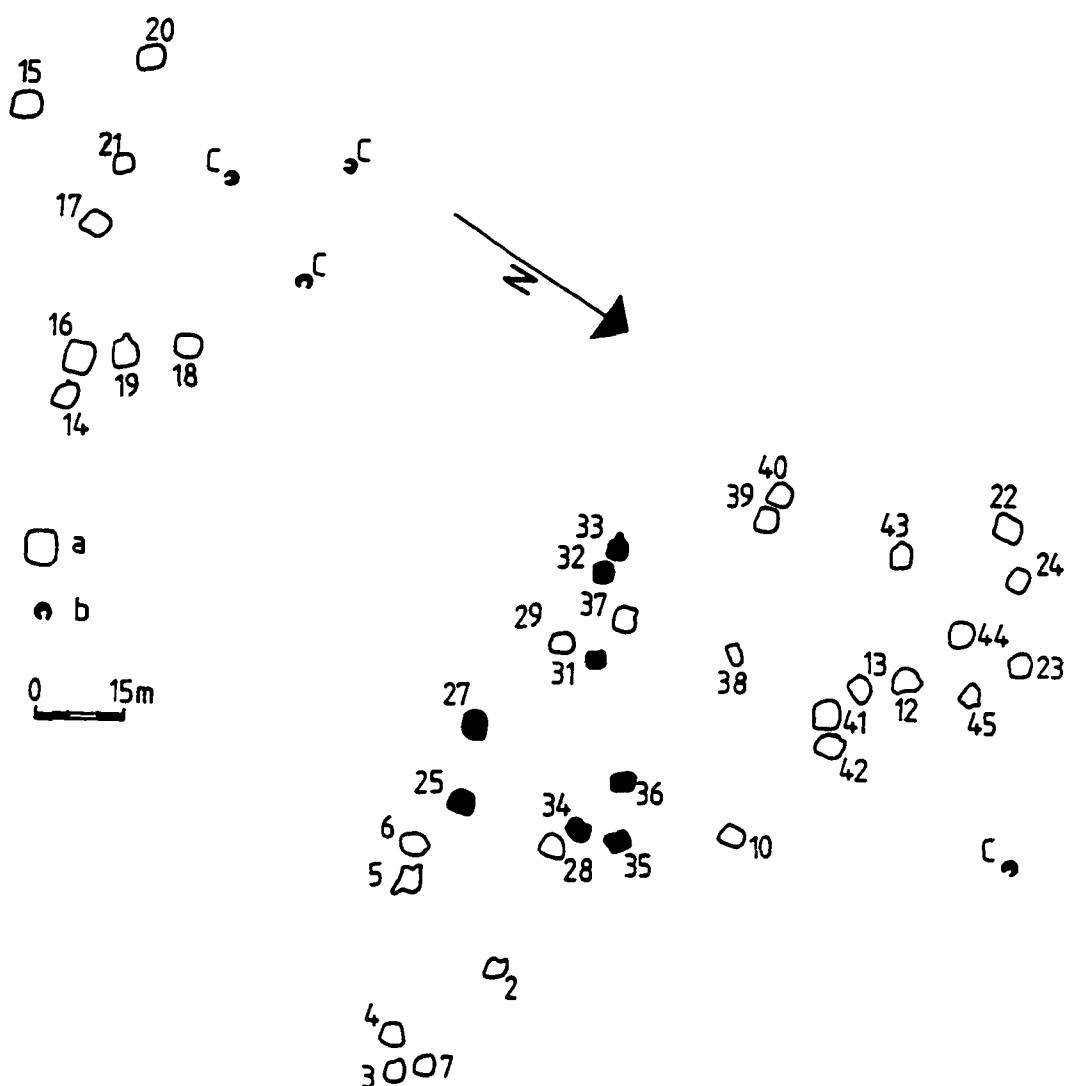


Figure 83. Davideni, Intrasite Distribution of Faunal Remains (Full Contours): a - Sunken Building; b - Oven. Data From Mitrea 1972, Mitrea 1974/1976, Mitrea 1992, Mitrea 1994.

polarization of the artifact distribution. All examined sites are examples of sociopetal settlements, in which the communal front region, where activities involving the entire community are performed, is placed at the center (Oetelaar 1993:664; cf. Pleinerová 1980:52). This area may have served as the stage for communal activities and ceremonies involving consumption of special foods, such as feasts or assemblies. As the center for intervillage social, religious, or economic events, the communal front region may have acquired a special public character as the symbol for the community as a whole. It is important to note that artifact categories which may have been used to express cross-regional identities, such as clay pans, pottery decorated with incised signs, or 'Slavic' bow fibulae, were especially associated with the communal front region. The intrasite distribution of artifacts at Seliște, Bucharest-Soldat Ghivan Street, and Davideni indicates, however, that bow fibulae, though found close to the communal front region, were part of artifact assemblages which suggest that, unlike most other neighboring buildings, no craft activities were undertaken there. If 'Slavic' bow fibulae were symbols of power, such assemblages may represent either a dominant descent group or the head of the entire community. While the status of these individuals is reflected in the marked contrasts revealed by the intrasite distribution of

artifacts, bow fibulae, many of which have analogies in such distant location as Mazuria or Crimea, indicate their claims to an overarching, supra-regional identity. The communal front region was thus not only a locus of communal activity, but also an arena of social competition, a 'beyond-the-households context' for displays of symbols of leadership.

Conclusion

The archaeological study of identity and status is often based on the analysis of mortuary assemblages, notably of the nature and symbolism of grave goods. The extensive use of cremation, rather than inhumation, as well as the possible use of funerary rites that may have left no trace in the archaeological record (Zoll-Adamikova 1980:948; Zoll-Adamikova 1983), prevented the use of such data for Slavic archaeology.⁷⁶⁰ The data on which this chapter derives primarily from settlement excavations. Despite this bias, there are some important conclusions to be drawn for the reconstruction of social organization and ethnic identity.

First, there is already enough evidence to move away from the migrationist model which has dominated the discipline of Slavic archaeology ever since its inception (Chapter III). A retreat from migrationism is necessary simply because the available data do not fit any of the

current models for the study of (pre)historic migration (Rouse 1986; Anthony 1990; Stark, Clark, and Nelson 1995). Cultural correspondences were too often explained in terms of long-distance migration, despite lack of any clear concept of migration to guide such explanations. Recent research in anthropology and other social sciences laid a strong emphasis on discriminating between such diverse phenomena as seasonal population movements, 'scouting,' and outward migration. It has become increasingly evident that migrations across ecological or cultural boundaries would require considerable planning on the part of the migrants, and should leave substantial and clear archaeological evidence. "'Cultures'," as one archaeologist noted, "do not migrate. It is often only a very narrowly defined, goal-oriented subgroup that migrates" (Anthony 1990:909). To speak of the Prague culture as the culture of the migrating Slavs is, therefore, non sense.

Furthermore, the archaeological evidence discussed in this chapter does not match any long-distance migratory pattern. Assemblages in the Lower Danube area, both east and south of the Carpathian mountains, ante-date those of the alleged Slavic *Urheimat* in the Zhitomir Polesie, on which Irina Rusanova based her theory of the Prague-Korchak-Zhitomir type. More recent attempts to move the *Urheimat* to Podolia and northern Bukovina (Baran

1978; Godlowski 1979a; Baran 1981; Baran 1991; Baran 1994) are ultimately based on the dating of crossbow brooches found at Kodyn and some other places. These brooches, however, are not the only late fifth- or early sixth-century artifacts in the area. Despite lack of closed finds comparable to those at Kodyn, there are good reasons to believe that at least some archaeological assemblages in south and east Romania go back as early as *ca.* 500. The evidence is certainly too meager to make any firm conclusions, but from what we have it appears that instead of a 'Slavic culture' originating in a homeland and then spreading to surrounding areas, we should envisage a much broader area of common economic and cultural traditions. The implementation of an agricultural economic profile, which is so evident on later sites, is very likely to have involved some short-distance movement of people. The dominant type of economy seems to have been some form of 'itinerant agriculture' which encouraged settlement mobility (cf. Ștefan 1968). Suzana Dolinescu-Ferche's research at Dulceanca brilliantly illustrates this model. Such population movements, however, cannot be defined as migration. There is simply no evidence for the idea that the inhabitants of the sixth- and early-seventh-century settlements in Romania, Moldova, and Ukraine were colonists from the North.

Nor does the idea of a 'Slavic tide' covering the

Balkans in the early 600s fit the existing archaeological data. South of the Danube river, no archaeological assemblage comparable to those found north of that river produced any clear evidence for a date earlier than ca. 700. By contrast, there is no doubt that at least some early Byzantine forts in the Balkans were finally abandoned only during Heraclius' early regnal years (chapter VI). The ceramic assemblages found at Argos and Olympia have nothing to do with these developments, for there are good reasons to believe they are of a much later date. It is unlikely that either the small settlement at Mušići or the cremation cemetery at Olympia existed at the time of the final withdrawal of Roman armies from the Balkans. The archaeological assemblages at Garvan may also be of a much later date than assumed by the archaeologist who led excavations there. Though both Greece and Albania produced clear evidence of seventh-century mortuary assemblages, they have nothing in common with the 'Slavic culture' north of the Danube river.

The analysis of a considerable number of settlement features found in Romania, Moldova, and Ukraine has shown, on the other hand, that the second half of the sixth century and the early seventh century was a period of crucial change in the culture history of communities leaving north of the Danube river. While many settlements may have started to exist at a much earlier date, it is

precisely during this period that they began to share a number of stylistic traits which may have been associated with the 'emblemic styles.' Pots ornamented with finger impressions or notches on lip, clay pans and *Grubenhäuser* with stone or clay oven are just a few examples of regional styles which became the norm in the late 500s and early 600s. Not all represented ethnicity, as the example of Christian symbols incised on pots suggests. Others may have represented cross-regional identities, as in the case of 'Slavic' bow brooches with their ornamental patterns pointing to long-distance social contacts. Symbols drawn from 'exotic' milieus may have been culturally authenticated and transformed into 'native' symbols. The production of local series of bow fibulae, some imitating larger or more sophisticated specimens, may indicate this process. As such 'imports' were 'internalized,' emulation of elite styles may have contributed to the dissemination of ornamental patterns.

Second, the analysis of intrasite distributions of artifacts suggests that with the agricultural economy established as a dominant subsistence pattern, processing and consumption of special, cereal-based foods, such as flat loaves of bread, became an essential ingredient of communal activities. The principal locus for these activities was now the settlement's communal front region. It is around this region that finds of tools and clay pans

cluster. This may have also been an arena for ceremonies orchestrated to convey complex messages of group identity.

It is against this background that the relative status of those who wore 'Slavic' brooches becomes visible in both social and archaeological terms. Since fibulae were primarily female dress accessories, it is likely that, as with contemporary hoards of silver and bronze in Ukraine, women were symbolic vehicles for the construction of social identity. Just what kind of identity was symbolized is a matter of how are 'Slavic' bow fibulae to be interpreted. Wearing a Mazurian or a Crimean brooch may have given the wearer a social locus associated with images of power. Wearing a local reproduction of such a fibula was, no doubt, a very different statement, though still related to status. Beyond emulation, therefore, 'Slavic' bow fibulae, particularly much cruder specimens, without complicated scrollwork ornaments, may have conveyed a message pertaining to group identity. Whether living within the same region or widely scattered, adherence to a brooch style helped to integrate isolated individuals within a group whose social boundaries crisscrossed those of local communities. At the same time, brooches articulated a hierarchy of identities both within and between those communities. Production of bow fibulae involved knowledge of complicated technological

processes and access to them was certainly restricted by the ability to either procure such items from distant locations or to employ a craftsman with enough experience and skill to replicate ornamental patterns and brooch-forms. Just as with 'Lombard' and 'Gepid' brooches, 'Slavic' bow fibulae were not 'phenotypic' expressions of a preformed ethnic identity. There were no 'Slavic' fibulae *per se*. Access to and manipulation of such artifacts, however, may have been strategies for gaining admission into a group of people known to Byzantine authors as 'Slavs'.

CHAPTER X

'KINGS' AND 'DEMOCRACY': POWER IN THE EARLY SLAVIC SOCIETY

One of the most persistent stereotypes about the early medieval history of Eastern Europe is that, at the time of their migration, the Slavs were organized in a "polyarchic tribal society with no elevated notion of sovereignty" (Alexander 1994:205; cf. Anderson 1977:216 and 285). No Theodoric arose among the Slavs to gather their scattered communities into a state and attempt a symbiosis with the Greco-Roman civilization of Byzantium (Alexander 1994:206; cf. Pohl 1988:94). Incapable of organizing themselves on the state level, the Slavs could not escape being conquered by Goths, Huns or Avars, who thus eliminated any incipient aristocracy the Slavs may have developed (Richards 1986:327; cf. Grafenauer 1960). The idea of the political inferiority of the Slavs in the Middle Ages, in contrast with a Germanic stratified society, is not new. It may be traced back as far as Herder's notion of a 'democratic', egalitarian Slavic society (Graus 1968:206; see Chapter III).⁷⁶¹ Today, the notion of the politically 'primitive' Slavs of the early Middle Ages is a commonplace. This idea is still based on

Procopius' frequently cited description of the Sclavenes and the Antes in the mid-500s:

For these nations, the Sclavenoi and Antae, are not ruled by one man, but they have lived from of old under a democracy (ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ ἐκ παλαιοῦ βιοτεύουσι), and consequently everything which involves their welfare, whether for good or for ill, is referred to the people (ἐς κοινὸν ἄγεται) (Wars VII 14.22).

Some have argued that 'democracy' is derisively applied here to what, in Procopius' eyes, might have been the opposite of Byzantine monarchy (Benedicty 1963:46-47; Havlík 1985:174; cf. Benedicty 1965:53). Others blame Procopius for being an unqualified witness, who could not distinguish between acephalous societies and 'primitive democracies' (Evans 1989:63). Some others, particularly among Soviet historians, believe Procopius to have described what is now known under the Marxist concept of 'military democracy' (Braichevskii 1953:22; Cankova-Petkova 1962:267; Benedicty 1965:61-62; see also Litavrin 1985:101 and Havlík 1985:176; cf. Rubin 1954:198).

There is still much confusion about this account and no attempt has been made to take a fresh look at historical sources referring to Sclavenes and Antes in the light of modern anthropological thought. My purpose in this chapter is to examine these questions from the scarce evidence that we have. This evidence has usually been analyzed by historians as an undifferentiated body of information. It is assumed that, despite their own biases

towards what constituted a 'civilization' and a 'barbarian' mode of life, the authors of our sixth and seventh-century sources gave a reliable picture of the newcomers. I discussed both biases and accounts in Chapter IV. My intention here is to focus on what little textual evidence exists on descriptions of polity or society. I will first take into consideration two major theses about early medieval Slavic society, namely the 'military democracy' and the 'segmentary society' and I will analyze their basic tenets against the evidence of historical sources. By emphasizing the mechanism of the accumulation of power in the hands of the Slavic 'kings,' I will then focus on the applicability of the modern concept of chiefdom to Slavic society and compare Slavic leaders with both their Germanic counterparts and 'classical' examples of big-men and great-men, on the basis of a theory of symbolic power.

'Military Democracy': Useful Concept or Procrustean Bed?

Procopius' account of the Slavic 'democracy' first stirred historiographical interest in the days of the Slavic Congress in Prague (1848). Both Palacký and Šafářik interpreted Procopius' text as referring to a distinctive quality of 'Slavdom,' as opposed to the aggressiveness and brutality of the Germans (Palacký 1868:74-89; cf. Schafarik 1844, vol. 2:17). To Niederle,

the Slavic 'democracy' was as a pristine form of ancestral, Indo-European social structure based on social equality and cooperation between large families. He imagined these families as identical to the Balkan *zadruga*, 'discovered' by Western ethnographers in the late nineteenth century (Schrader 1901:73; Niederle 1923:26; Niederle 1926:173; see Chapter III). Like Niederle, many still argue that the peculiar social organization of the early Slavs prevented centralization of economic and political power (Richards 1986:326; cf. Cross 1948:17), despite clear evidence that the *zadruga* was a much later phenomenon (Baumann 1982; Todorova 1993:133-158).⁷⁶²

By contrast, Soviet historians of the late 1930s referred to early Slavic society only as a 'military democracy' (Levchenko 1938; Mishulin 1939; Gorianov 1939a; Gorianov 1939b; cf. Herrmann 1982:15).⁷⁶³ As such, the early Slavic society was by no means different from the Germanic one (Kuchma 1978:7; cf. Sverdlov 1977:47-48 and 50).⁷⁶⁴ The concept was first introduced to the academic discourse by Lewis Morgan. In his Ancient Society (1877), Morgan described the 'military democracy' as the transitional stage from kin-based societies to state societies. According to him, the military democracy presupposed the existence of an elected and removable chief, a council of the elders, and a popular assembly (Guhr and Schlette 1982:910; Peršic 1988:78). Frederick

Engels first gave the concept its economic and social meaning. To Engels, 'military democracy' concerned war and organization for war, since those were now "regular functions of the life of the peoples who began to regard the acquisition of wealth as one of the main purposes in life" (Engels 1968:581; see Guhr 1984:239-240). He considered population pressure to be the primary cause for the emergence of the military democracy. Engels insisted that the military democracy contained both elements of the kin-based society and, *in nuce*, the principles of class-based state society. Not surprisingly, Soviet historians fully endorsed Engels' definition. To them, Procopius' notion of Slavic democracy was just 'military democracy' *avant la lettre*. Since Engels emphasized warfare, Soviet historians used the Strategikon to argue that the Slavic 'military democracy' implied a particular form of slavery, which they described as 'patriarchal'.⁷⁶⁵ Warfare brought a large number of captives, who became slaves. Such slaves, however, played no determining role in production, and, in time, they were even given freedom (Sverdlov 1977:54; cf. Litavrin 1984: 193). Drawing on Engels's suggestion, S. P. Tolstov argued that the military democracy represented the final stage of primitive society, the last step before class society (Tolstov 1935:206; see Guhr and Schlette 1982:914 and Khazanov 1974:134). The theory of the 'military demo-

cracy' gradually lost its popularity after World War II and during the 1960s was exposed to harsh criticisms from both Soviet and Western Marxists (see Herrmann 1982:17; Khazanov 1974:144; Peršic 1988). The wide variety of political forms and structures described by anthropologists and ethnographers made the rigid scheme derived from Engels's work a totally inadequate concept. Some have argued that, if at all, the 'military democracy' may have some conceptual value only when applied to the military tribal organization (Peršic 1988:85). With much of its initial appeal long dissipated, the military democracy was now replaced by the 'Germanic mode of production' as a model for the description of decentralized stratified societies (Bromley 1979:207; Gailey and Patterson 1988:81; Krüger 1988; Kristiansen 1991:19-20).¹⁶⁶ Since there is no critical evaluation of the 'military democracy' thesis in relation to Slavic society, it is necessary to examine the arguments and to discuss the relevance of this theory.

True, historical sources, particularly the Strategikon, describe warfare as one of the most important features of early Slavic society. This, however, is an indication of the Byzantine authors' concern with the military organization of those whom they described as the enemy of the Empire. John of Ephesus, in a furious outburst, even complained that during their invasion of 581,

the Sclavenes had learned to make war better than the Romans (VI 25). Both John and the author of the Strategikon refer to the javelin as the favorite weapon of the Sclavene warriors (John of Ephesus VI 25; Strategikon XI 4.11; see also Procopius, Wars VII 14.25).⁷⁶⁷ Procopius and the Strategikon considered ambushes, sudden attacks, and the stratagem of the feigned retreat to be typically 'Slavic' (Procopius, Wars VI 26.18 and VII 38.11-23; Buildings IV 7.12-13; Strategikon XI 4.9, 13, 25, 29, and 39).⁷⁶⁸ At the time, however, Roman troops were themselves equipped with 'Slavic javelins' and knew how to combat Sclavenes, using their own stratagems (Strategikon XII 2.5 and XI 4.29). It is true that the Strategikon had only praises for the treatment of prisoners by Sclavenes and seems to have suggested that the Sclavenes were only concerned with "a small recompense" in exchange for freeing their captives (Strategikon XI 4.4). Both Procopius and Theophylact Simocatta, however, describe scenes of mass slaughter, in which captives were intentionally and systematically decimated, apparently with no concern for their 'economic' value (Procopius, Wars VII 38.15-23; Theophylact Simocatta VII 2.3 and 9). To some, one important characteristic of the "Germanic mode of production" is that societies organized in this way often supply tribute-based states with slaves drawn from neighboring kin-

organized groups (Gailey and Patterson 1988:82). All Slavic raids known from historical sources were targeted to and resulted in the capture of a great number of prisoners.⁷⁶⁹ No indication exists, however, of Sclavenes raiding neighboring territories in order to supply the Empire with slaves.⁷⁷⁰

An important argument for interpreting early Slavic society as a military democracy is the existence of the chief's retinue of warriors (Benedicty 1964:49-50, 54-55; Benedicty 1965:66; cf. Pohl 1988:127; *contra*: Sverdlov 1977:57). According to Menander the Guardsman, the attack of the Avars in 578 was directed against Daurentius and "the chiefs of his people (τοὺς ὄμοι ἐν τέλει τοῦ ἔθνους)" (Menander the Guardsman, fr. 21). Some argued that this particular passage indicated the existence of a tribal aristocracy, whose authority was presumably based on wealth differentials (Benedicty 1965:53). That Daurentius was a warrior leader is beyond any doubt. Furthermore, the existence of Sclavene chiefs as primarily military leaders is well documented by Theophylact Simocatta. There is, however, no evidence for the council of the elders, one of the institutions both Morgan and Engels viewed as a necessary condition for the existence of a military democracy. Nor can Menander the Guardsman's evidence be used to postulate the existence of a political hierarchy, in which the power of the military leader

was checked by that of the "chiefs of his people." On the other hand, when Procopius refers to 'the people' or to public affairs, there is no indication of chiefs (Wars VII 14.21-22). Where chiefs appear, there is no indication of their clear-cut separation from the agrarian substrate.

The model of the military democracy presupposes a form of tribal military organization, characterized by the existence of a military leader. This is, however, in sharp contrast with the lack of coordination of many Sclavene raids. At several times, different groups of warriors seem to have operated on their own, without any master strategy or division of military tasks (see Chapter V). Nor does the practice of slaying the prisoners fit this picture, and even less so the cannibalism attested by Pseudo-Caesarius.⁷⁷¹ It is also difficult to understand why Sclavenes are constantly referred to as using rather 'primitive' military equipment, though John of Ephesus did not fail to notice their adaptability to Roman warfare and weaponry (VI 25).⁷⁷² Insofar as the existence of military democracy is presumed, it is also difficult to explain the Strategikon's contradictory evidence with reference to Sclavene 'kings.' The author of this treatise suggests that Roman generals should win over some of these 'kings' by persuasion or gifts, but considers Sclavenes, in general, to have no regard for

treaties, "which they agree more out of fear than by gifts" (Strategikon XI 4.30 and 14).¹¹³

In Engels's terms, military democracy was a form of social organization typically associated with the gradual disintegration of communal ownership and with the emergence of private ownership and exploitation based on tribute and clientship (see Herrmann 1982:20; cf. Herrmann 1987b:263-264). Recent theorists stress the decentralized form of subsistence production, with village communities or farms scattered across the landscape and household-based relations of production (Kristiansen 1991:19-20; Gailey and Patterson 1988:81). Although there seems to be no definite stratification, as Tolstov once believed, wealth differentials may truly exist in the "Germanic mode of production." Chiefs set themselves apart from the agrarian substrate and rule through a retinue of warriors. The warrior chief or king controls and exploits the farming communities through tribute and taxation (Kristiansen 1991:19-20). As a hallmark of a complex pre-state society, many scholars emphasize the importance of inter-regional market-places (emporia, ports-of-trade), where trading activities were controlled by kings or chiefs (Engels 1968:581; Guhr and Schlette 1982:915; Hodges and Whitehouse 1983:92-93; Kristiansen 1991:20; cf. Smith 1976).

There is no indication of trading communities, let

alone towns, in historical sources concerning the early Slavs. Where available, the archaeological evidence of hillforts could hardly be dated prior to the eighth or ninth centuries (Pohl 1992:15; see also Stana 1985).¹⁷⁴

The author of the Strategikon refers to the "abundance of all sorts of... produce" and livestock that Roman armies might expect to find in Slavene villages. We are told that the Slavenes used to bury their most valuable possessions in secret places (τὰ ἀναγκαῖα τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτῶν ἐν ἀποκρύφῳ χωννύουσιν), keeping nothing unnecessary in sight (Strategikon XI 4.5 and 8). Can this be an indication of storage facilities under the chief's control, as some have argued (Litavrin 1987:38-39)? Nothing in the passage indicates that this might be the case. By contrast, the passage is reminiscent of another in Book II of the Miracles of St Demetrius (II 4.280). Its author knew that every house left deserted in a Slavene village near Thessalonica contained reserves of corn, pulses, and utensils. This dovetails with the archaeological evidence presented in Chapter IX, which suggests that late sixth- and early seventh-century communities living north of the Danube river were characterized by an economic profile strongly oriented toward agriculture and by consumption of cereal-based foods. That Slavene communities south of the Danube were able to produce food in large quantities is demonstrated, on the other hand, by the fact that, at

the order of the emperor, the Drugubites were capable of feeding the entire population returning from the Avar chaganate under the leadership of Kuver (II 5.289-290; cf. Ivanova 1980:86). It is therefore very likely that keeping all valuable possessions in "secret places" was just a response to frequent inroads by outsiders, including Roman armies.

Procopius, when briefly describing the religion of the Sclavenes, claimed that they sacrifice to "one god, the maker of the lightning... cattle and all other victims" (Wars VII 14.23-24).¹⁷⁵ If taken at its face value, this passage may be, and has indeed been, interpreted as referring to conspicuous consumption (Ivanova and Litavrin 1985:47),¹⁷⁶ but it could hardly be invoked as an argument for accumulation of wealth. To Emperor Leo the Wise, writing in the early 900s, the Sclavenes appeared as completely indifferent toward accumulation.¹⁷⁷ Emperor Leo specifically referred to land property, which in late ninth- or early tenth-century Byzantium was a key factor for defining social status. Other sources, however, emphasize accumulation of chattels as a consequence of continuous raiding into the Roman provinces resulting in considerable amounts of booty.¹⁷⁸ As shown in Chapter VII, collection of Byzantine coins is attested by a relatively large number of Romanian hoards. It would be difficult, however, to associate these hoards with accu-

mulation of wealth. With a rampant inflation in the mid-sixth century, the amounts accumulated in hoards were worth slightly more than one or two *modii* of Egyptian wheat.⁷⁷⁹ Exotic wealth and the associated external ideologies may have been used as status-defining markers and as political currency in manipulating political relationships (Earle 1989:85). This might have been the case of fibulae with bent stem or pectoral crosses discussed in Chapter IX. There is no indication, however, that such artifacts participated in the construction of power or of class-society, in any way comparable to the model of 'military democracy.'

Because it attempts to define society in terms of the impact of war and trade on economic relations that might have offered the path for transformation into a class-based society, the theory of the 'military democracy' is inappropriate for a description of early Slavic society. Marxist theorists tend to limit research on 'pre-capitalist' formations to scholastic discussion about the typology of modes of production and generally employ a restricted definition of economic interest (as a historical product of capitalism), without acknowledging that the theory of strictly economic practice is simply a particular case of a general theory of practice (Bourdieu 1994:173 and 194). In reality, 'economic calculations' should be extended to all the goods, material and symbol-

ic, without distinction, that present themselves as rare and worthy of being sought after in a particular social formation.

The current literature on chiefdoms depicts them as institutions depending upon the interlocking of three major components of power: control over economy, military force, and ideology (Earle 1989:86). It is precisely economic control that is absent from any description of early Slavic society. There are, however, clear cases of accumulation of 'symbolic capital.'⁷⁸⁰ John of Ephesus described the Sclavenes of the early 580s as becoming rich and possessing "gold and silver, herds of horses and a lot of weapons," in sharp contrast to the "simple people" they used to be, who never dared "to leave the woods" (VI 25). The same phenomenon might have been at work in the episode of a Slavene chief narrated by Michael the Syrian (X 21). During their raid into Greece, the Sclavenes carried off on carts the holy vessels and *ciboria* from devastated churches. In Corinth, however, one of their leaders took the great *ciborium* and using it as a tent, made it his dwelling. In doing so, he might have imitated the chagan of the Avars, who at one time had met the Byzantine embassy seating on a golden throne under a canopy (ὡςπερ καλύβης τινός) (Menander the Guardsman, fr. 27).⁷⁸¹ The Slavene chief seems to have clearly grasped the symbolic potential of the otherwise

useless stone *ciborium*, shaped as it was like a canopy over a throne (Nikolajević 1983:803).⁷⁸² This further suggests that, at least in this case, simple accumulation of 'material capital' cannot account for the process of power concentration.

The idea of military democracy indirectly suggests the potential for secondary state formation, that is, a social formation which is pushed toward a higher form of organization by an external power which has already been raised to statehood. There are, however, no attempts to examine the connections between Slavic chiefdoms and Roman frontiers. Moreover, the 'military democracy' model only accounts for what is viewed as a transitional stage to state-level society. No explanation is given for the emergence of the presumed Slavic military democracy from 'primitive society.' Dissatisfaction with this model may explain why, more recently, historians, following the pervasively Romantic ideas of Palacký and Šafářik, have focused on a specific, historically determined 'Slavic way of life,' which may be used for describing long-term historical processes in Eastern Europe. In contrast with highly stratified and centralized societies of the Germanic successor states, the early Slavs have emerged in recent literature as the medieval 'segmentary society' *par excellence*.⁷⁸³

Segmentary Society: Ideology or Actuality?

When historians speak of the 'segmentary society' of the early Slavs they usually refer to the Strategikon, whose author claimed that Sclavenes were unable to fight a battle standing in close order or present themselves on open and level ground (XI 4.16; see also XI 4.9 and 19; cf. Procopius, Wars VII 22.3 and 5; VII 38.7; VII 40.7; Buildings IV 7.12-13 and 17; Theophylact Simocatta VII 4.13-VII 5.1; VII 5.8). This lack of strategy, he argued, was a direct consequence of their political organization:

Owing to their lack of government (ἀναρχα) and their ill feeling toward one another (μισόλληλα ὄντα) they are not acquainted with an order of battle (οὐδὲ τάξιν γινώσκουσιν) (XI 4.12; cf Zasterová 1971:51-52; Kuchma 1978:8)

"Lack of government," it has been argued (Pohl 1988:126), refers to a segmentary lineage system. The underlying idea of such a system is that the functions of maintaining cohesion, social control, some degree of 'law and order,' which normally depend on specialized agencies, with sanctions at their disposal, can be performed with tolerable efficiency, simply by the 'balancing' and 'opposition' of constituent groups. Societies that Émile Durkheim coined 'segmentary' are thus characterized by a paradoxical configuration: complex social organization, but lack of hierarchy, of super-ordination and subordination (Durkheim 1893:150). E. Evans-Pritchard has called

this 'ordered anarchy' (Evans-Pritchard 1940:181; Fortes and Evans-Pritchard 1940:296; see also Sigrist 1967).

What is usually referred to as 'segmentary society,' however, is one that is in some way structured in terms of descent, in terms of lineage (Munson 1989:387; cf Evans-Pritchard 1953:26; Sigrist 1967:27). The segmentary lineage model has as its premises a genealogical ordering of political alliances based on the principle of complementary opposition (Lindholm 1985:21; Ausenda 1995:19). Lineages are relative social entities, arising only when aroused by competition. Marshall Sahlins has argued that a segmentary lineage system is a predatory organization confined to societies in migration, for, as a social means of intrusion and competition in an already occupied ecological niche, it develops specifically in a tribal society which is moving against other tribes (Sahlins 1961:323 and 337; see also Sigrist 1967:43 and 98; cf. Holy 1979:2). The invading nucleus is eventually joined by people of related segments and all distribute themselves according to genealogical distance, paralleling their original positions (Sahlins 1961:337-338; Sigrist 1967:67-73).

At first glance, Slavic settlements north of the Danube river seem to fit this model perfectly. In the early 500s, Procopius described the scattered, "pitiful hovels" of the Sclavenes (Wars VII 14.24 and 29; cf.

Benedicty 1965:75). At the turn of the century, everything changed: the settlements of the Sclavenes and Antes were now laying in rows along the rivers, so close to each other that "there was practically no space between them" (Strategikon XI 4.38). Just as the Tiv of more recent times (Bohannan 1958:11; Sigrist 1967:198-200 and 217-218), Sclavenes violently reacted against any attempts to impose on them rulers from the outside. The author of the Strategikon knew that Sclavenes and Antes were "both independent, absolutely refusing to be enslaved or governed, least of all in their own land" (XI 4.1).⁷⁸⁴ Emperor Leo the Wise witnessed the same stubborn resistance:

Even if they had crossed over [the Danube] and been compelled to accept servitude, they did not wish to be happily persuaded by an outsider, but through some method by their own people. They would rather be led to destruction by a leader of their own tribe than to be enslaved and submit to Byzantine laws nor have they received the sacrament of the baptism of the Savior until our time, in this case giving way to some extent in the practice of their ancient freedom (XVIII 99; English translation from Wiita 1977:259; cf. Pseudo-Caesarius, Eratopokriseis, in Riedinger 1969:302; cf. Zasterová 1971:59; Pohl 1988:126).

Sclavenes may in fact unite to attack or repel an enemy at one time, but may also fragment into feuding factions at another, quarreling over land or personal injuries. The former case is illustrated by 'king' Musocius, who agreed to provide assistance for rescuing the Sclavenes from the neighboring territory of

Ardagastus, previously attacked by the Romans (Theophylact Simocatta VI 9.6). The Sclavene tribes living around Thessalonica allied themselves in order to defend 'king' Perbundos, arrested by Byzantine authorities (Miracles of St Demetrius II 4.231). It is with this fact in mind that the author of the Strategikon recommended that Roman generals use any possible means to thwart Sclavenes from uniting "under one ruler" (XI 4.30). Emperor Tiberius' idea to incite Avars against the Sclavenes, "so that all of those who were laying waste Roman territory would be drawn back by the troubles at home, choosing rather to defend their own lands" (Menander the Guardsman, fr. 21), was based on the same assumption. However, the 'massing effect'⁷⁸⁵ may evaporate in the absence of a common danger:

When a difference of opinion prevails among them, either they come to no agreement at all or when some of them do come to an agreement, the others quickly go against what was decided. They are always at odds with each other (πάντων ἐναντίων ἀλλήλων φρονούντων) (Strategikon XI 4.14; cf. XI 4.30).

When the defensive objectives that had induced confederation have been accomplished, the confederation dissolves again into its several segments, and leaders that had emerged now fall back into social oblivion or retain only local influence. Ardagastus might have achieved enough fame beyond his primary group, enough indeed to be influential among neighboring, related segments, and to orga-

nize raids across the Danube with other warriors coming from distant regions (Theophylact Simocatta VI 7.5; Zasterová 1971:78-79). But once his territory was devastated by Roman troops in 593, Ardagastus narrowly escaped capture and his name, which he had begun to build,⁷⁸⁶ rapidly vanished from Byzantine sources and, we may presume, among Sclavenes.

Can we then apply the model of the segmentary lineage system to the Sclavene case? In other words, was the early Slavic society structured in terms of descent? Inspired by Pierre Clastres's model of the "Society against the State," Walter Pohl derived a segmentary system from the presumed absence of social mechanisms contributing to the consolidation of royal authority (Pohl 1988:126, based on Strategikon XI 4.1). Unlike the highly centralized model of Germanic society, the early Slavic society was characterized by a form of leadership, which typically enhanced 'tribal hierarchies,' without replacing them (Pohl 1988:127). Soviet historians cited the Strategikon as evidence for their claims that the Slavic society was a 'military democracy.' Pohl used the same source for advocating the idea of a 'segmentary society'.

What he obviously ignored is that lineage theory and segmentation are not at all the same thing. The former deals with sequences of events at the level of observa-

tion, in particular with the appearance of groups, whereas the second deals with formal relations that characterize the types of events possible (Dresch 1986:309). The segmentary lineage model has been strongly criticized by historically minded anthropologists precisely for reifying local ideology to the level of social theory (Lindholm 1987:21).⁷⁸⁷ In other words, in assuming that segmentary societies ignore hierarchy and political leadership, anthropologists did not, in fact, refer to a set of empirical facts about actual behavior, but to a set of actors' ideas about their political relations or to the anthropologists' own set of ideas about the actors' representations.

Can our sources prove the existence of a segmentary lineage system? They have almost nothing to offer to anthropologists dealing with lineage theory. We are completely ignorant about what social mechanisms were responsible for the descent structure of the early Slavic society. We know that 'king' Musocius attended a funeral ceremony for his departed brother, in accordance with the Sclavene custom (Theophylact Simocatta VI 8.12). This, however, does not tell us anything about the structure of kin groups. Menander the Guardsman, on the other hand, narrates an episode of the Avar conquest, in which the leaders of the Antes, under the pressure of Avar incursions, decided to send an embassy to the Avars and ap-

pointed as ambassador Mezamer "the son of Idariz and brother of Kelagast." If we are to believe the Cutrigur who had joined the Avars and incited them to kill the ambassador, Mezamer was "the most powerful of all amongst the Antes (οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ μεγίστην ἐσὶν περιβεβληται δύναμιν ἐν Ἀνταίς)" (Menander the Guardsman, fr. 3). Irrespective of what exactly was Mezamer's office, it seems evident that, according to Menander the Guardsman, his status was derived from lineage. In this case, however, the organization of the Antes was more a ranked than a segmentary society.

It has been observed that a segmentary structure of society involves a segmentary structure of space, the minimal unit of which represents the 'primary tribal segment,' as the smallest multifamily group that collectively exploits an area of tribal resources and forms a residential entity (Balandier 1970:53; Sahlins 1961:325; Dirks, Eley, and Ortner 1994:13).⁷⁸⁸ How large was a segment? The author of the Strategikon understood that for an invasion into Slavene territory to be successful, a fairly large force should be dispatched against each settlement (χωρίον) (XI 4.43). For attacking a settlement, he recommended the use of one or two bandons, i.e. 400 to 800 men, some going about pillaging, while the others kept guard over them. He even insisted that it was not wise to detach more bandons, even if the settlement

happened to be a large one, thus implying that 400 to 800 men were a sufficiently large force to overcome any resistance. We may safely presume therefore that the population of a Slavene χωρίον was slightly inferior in size to the Roman force attacking it, assuming that the estimations of the Strategikon are based only on the military potential of the enemy, that is, on the number of warriors, not on the total number of inhabitants.⁷⁸⁹ This is indirectly confirmed by the episode of the Roman soldiers slaughtered by the warriors of Peiragastus in 594. Theophylact Simocatta (VII 5.1) relates that Peter, the general of the Roman army, not knowing that the Sclavenes were preparing an ambush, ordered his army to cross the Danube. The first 1,000 men were killed, but Peter managed to cross his entire army, and the Sclavenes were eventually forced to withdraw, as Peiragastus himself was killed. The Slavene army may thus be estimated as somewhat larger than 1,000 men, the equivalent of a Byzantine ποίρα or brigade.⁷⁹⁰ Peiragastus may have thus commanded over a number of warriors equivalent to the military potential of at least three to four χωρία. These warriors certainly came from a distance, since after killing Peiragastus and starting to chase the survivors of his army across the Slavene territory, Peter's army did not encounter any settlement.⁷⁹¹ Both this episode and the recommendations of the Strategikon suggest that

the force the Romans encountered in 594 did not represent a single segment. In other words, Peiragastus was not one of those 'kings' living close to the Roman frontier, to be won by persuasion or gifts, so that "their common hostility will not make them united" (Strategikon XI 4.30).

The archaeological evidence may also indicate a segmentary organization of space. Groups of households found on sixth- and seventh-century sites north of the Danube river may be interpreted as communal villages of a type described by Henri H. Stahl for early modern Romania (Stahl 1980:44). The family organization of the communal village allowed sons to found their own households and settle down near their parents, clear land and build houses together, but the households lived separately, as small individual families. Once a family group was established, by clearing or simply taking over a certain part of the territory, it grew, biologically and socially, until it formed a hamlet. The group expressed its solidarity by invoking an ancestor, whose name, if necessary, it invented, taking it from that of the hamlet (cf. Timoshchuk 1985:15). Paul Bohannan (1958) has found the same mechanism in the spatial distribution of Tiv primary segments in western Africa and his model may work with the Slavic case. If this is true, however, the early Slavic society was by no means unique, for the principle

of segmentation may be found in many early medieval societies. Emile Durkheim has already classified Germanic tribes as "polysegmental societies doubly compounded" (Durkheim 1958:84).¹⁹²

It remains unclear, however, how much of what we know from Byzantine sources should be viewed as a set of empirical facts about actual behavior. It is logical to believe that the author of the Strategikon had a better (most likely first-hand) knowledge about Sclavenes than Procopius. In spite of significant differences, however, when the author of the Strategikon claims that Sclavenes were always at odds with each other, this is a well worn *topos*, used by many before him, including Procopius.

The model of the 'segmentary society' ignores historical process. It is very unlikely that Sclavene society had remained 'frozen' in its 'primitive,' segmentary stage during contact with the Empire. Though Byzantine sources make it clear that Sclavenes had their own 'kings', advocates of this model described the Sclavene society as characterized by social mechanisms inhibiting the rise of political leadership (Pohl 1988:126-127). In fact, by ideologically defining any political action as an affair of segments in balanced opposition and not an affair of particular individuals, the notion of the segmentary lineage structure allows for the emergence of men entrusted with considerable authority and wielding

great political power (cf. Lederman 1990:10). As long as political leadership remains personal and does not become institutionalized into an office, it can be accounted for within the given ideology and the ideological dictum of egalitarianism upheld in spite of considerable political inequality on the ground (Holy 1979:19). The fact that so little attention has been paid to political leadership in societies classified as having segmentary lineage structures, such as that of the Sclavenes, and the fact that inequality of status, political authority, and power have been consistently underplayed in historical analysis is a typical consequence of mistaking the ideology for actuality.

Great-men, Big-men, and Chiefs

In a passage describing the savage Sclavenes, in contrast to the peaceful Physonites, Pseudo-Caesarius claimed that the Sclavenes "call each other with the howl of wolves (τῇ λύκων ὠρυγῇ σφᾶς προσκαλούμενοι)" (Riedinger 1969:302). A Greek writer has interpreted the passage as referring to lycanthropy and argued that this pertained to a system of beliefs and rituals, in which the essential part was a ritual transformation of the young warrior into a wolf (Malingoudis 1990:90-91; cf. Stange-Zhirovova 1980-1981). The 'howling wolves' were mentioned by various other sources, always in connection

with warfare (Steindorff 1985). The author of the Strategikon, on the other hand, knew that in Slavene territory, the Roman armies should be prepared for sudden attacks by Slavene young warriors (οἱ νεώτεροι αὐτῶν) (XI 4.39). In encounters, they shouted (κράζοντες) all together and if their opponents began to give way at the noise, they attacked violently (XI 4.12). The inhabitants of Thessalonica were all accustomed to the Slavene battle cry, after being attacked three times by Slavenes warriors (Miracles of St Demetrius I 14.138; see also I 1.185 and II 4.235-236).

It is difficult to decide from this evidence whether or not Malingoudis' interpretation of Pseudo-Caesarius is correct. He seems to suggest that the 'howling wolves' may have gone through a kind of initiation that is often associated with secret brotherhoods of warriors, the *Männerbünde* which Georges Dumézil's studies of Indo-European mythologies have rendered famous (Dumézil 1969: 127; see also Przyluski 1940:130 and 145).⁷⁹³ It is not impossible, but the evidence is too scarce to make the point convincing. If Malingoudis is right, this evidence would rather suggest that the 'howling wolves' were some sort of 'age sets,' pan-tribal social groupings of young warriors, which cross-cut kinship and descent ties. Some authors pointed to the state-building potency of these associations, since they usually break through the kin-

ship and neighborhood organization of society (Schürtz 1902:324; Lowie 1961; Krader 1968:99; Ausenda 1995:25).

Pseudo-Caesarius' evidence, nevertheless, is important for another reason. Writing in the 560s (Chapter IV), he was familiar with the region of the Danube frontier, which suggests he had access to first-hand information. Pseudo-Caesarius is the first author to refer to Sclavene chiefs, who were often killed at feasts or on travels, that is during peacetime (συνεχῶς ἀναιρουντες, συνεστιώμενοι ἢ συνοδεύοντες τὸν σφῶν ἡγέμονα καὶ ἀρχοντα) (Riedinger 1969:302; cf. Benedicty 1963:50). This suggests that strategies chiefs employed to expand their prominence and draw followings were checked by their kinsmen.⁷⁹⁴ Pseudo-Caesarius used this example to show that the Sclavenes were living by their own law and without the rule of anyone (ἀνηγεμόνευτο), a remark which dovetails with the evidence of other sources (Procopius, Wars VII 14.22; Strategikon XI 4.30). That the purge of would-be tyrants took place during feasts further suggests that chiefs were coordinators of communal ceremonies.

Ever since Elman Service defined chiefdoms as "redistributional societies with a permanent central agency of coordination" (Service 1971:134), chiefs have been viewed as the prevailing characteristics of the social organization in early medieval Europe, which had existed

beyond the Roman frontiers and persisted into the migration period (Hodges 1982:187; Haldon 1993:213; cf. Alexander 1994:238). According to current anthropological views, chiefdoms are regionally organized societies with a centralized decision-making hierarchy coordinating activities among several village communities (Earle 1987:288; Earle 1989:84; cf. Townsend 1985:144).

Were all Slavene 'kings' of the sixth and seventh century truly chiefs? The terminology employed by Greek sources is very complex and difficult to interpret. Though already used with reference to Sclavenes by Pseudo-Caesarius (Riedinger 1969:302), the author of the Strategikon (XI 4.21; cf. Kuchma 1991:388), and the author of Book II of the Miracles of St Demetrius (II 4.271-273), and with reference to Antes by Menander the Guardsman (5.2), the term ἀρχων appears with some consistency only in ninth- and tenth-century sources, such as Theophanes Confessor and Constantine Porphyrogenitus. An archon was a ruler with full, regionally organized authority (Ferluga 1982).⁷⁹⁵ To the unknown author of Book II of the Miracles of St Demetrius, Chatzon, the leader of the Sclavenes who besieged Thessalonica, was an 'exarch' (ἐξάρχος) (II I.193; cf. Antoljak 1982:386). The word would later be used by the author of the Life of St. Gregory Decapolites with reference to Slavene leaders who were subordinates of the Byzantine emperor (Weiss and

Katsanakis 1988:136; cf. Ivanova 1987:61). Menander the Guardsman referred to Dauritas' "fellow chiefs" as both ὅσοι ἐν τέλει τοῦ ἔθνους and ἡγεμόνες (fr. 21; cf. Levinskaia and Tokhtas'ev 1991b:348). ἡγεμών is a term Menander employs frequently to refer to barbarian leaders. Ambrus and Alamundar, the chiefs of the Saracens subject to the Romans, Sandilkh, the chief of the Utigurs, and Sarosius, the king of the Alans, were ἡγεμόνες too (fr. 6.1, 9.3, 2.1, 5.1).⁷⁹⁶ The same is true, however, for leaders with an obviously different status, such as Sigisbert, the king of the Franks, Sizilbul and Turxanthos, both chagans of the Turks, and Bayan, the chagan of the Avars (Menander the Guardsman, fr. 11, 4.2, 19.1, 12.4). By contrast, Alboin, the king of the Lombards, is a μόναρχος, just like Arsilas, the eldest ruler of the Turks (fr. 12.1, 19.1). This suggests that those to whom Menander refers as ὅσοι ἐν τέλει τοῦ ἔθνους were not subordinates or in any way inferior in rank to Dauritas. All seem to have enjoyed a similar status and joined into what might be best described as a tribal confederation.

Theophylact Simocatta, who wrote in the late 620s on the basis of a source written in the late 500s, has the widest variety of terms. The rulers of the Sclavenes living "at the boundary of the western Ocean" are ἑθνάρχαι, a term Theophylact only employed for rulers of

distant, almost legendary tribes.⁷⁹⁷ Both Peiragastus, the tribal leader of 594, and the "appointed officers" of the Sclavenes under Avar rule are ταξιάρχαι (VI 2.12, VII 5.4, VI 4.5). This is a word Theophylact commonly applied to subordinate commanders of the Roman army.⁷⁹⁸ Peiragastus, however, is also called a φυλάρχος (VII 4.13), like Ogyrus and Zogomus, the "tribal chiefs" of the Ghassanid Arabs (II 2.5). Finally, Musocius is a ῥῆξ (VI 9.1). The only other occurrence of this word in Theophylact Simocatta is the reference to the king of the Lombards in the story of the Gepid murderer (VI 10.13). The author of the Strategikon employed the same word for the Slavene 'kings,' in general (XI 4.30). Less than a century later, the unknown author of Book II of the Miracles of St Demetrius applied the same title to both Perbundos and the 'kings' of the Drugubites (II 4.231; II 4.235-236).⁷⁹⁹ The word was often used in late Roman sources in reference to independent barbarian leaders (Havlík 1974:184). Such leaders had significant power over their fellow tribesmen, a feature which is also recognizable in Musocius' case:

But the Gepid described everything and revealed things in detail, saying that the prisoners were subjects of Musocius, who was called rex in the barbarian tongue (ὁπὸ Μουσώκιον τὸν λεγόμενον ῥῆγα, τῇ τῶν βαρβάρων φωνῇ) (emphasis added)(VI 9.1; cf. Benedicty 1964:51; Benedicty 1965:66; Havlík 1974:184-185; Ivanova 1987:58)

It is interesting to note that Menander the Guardsman,

and the author of Book II of the Miracles of St Demetrius referred to ἡγεμόνες and ἄρχοντες only in plural, whereas 'ρῆξ was bestowed on individuals, often known by name (Musocius, Perbundos). This suggests that there were many Sclavene leaders at any one time, but not all yielded the same kind of power. While Pseudo-Caesarius' leaders were killed at feasts or on travels, arguably by their fellow tribesmen, 'king' Musocius is explicitly said to have had "subjects."

In anthropological terms, this variety of leadership forms may be best described as the coexistence of three different sorts of power. Anthropologists distinguish chiefs, whose powers are largely ascribed and coincide with privileged control of wealth, from big-men, whose powers are largely achieved and derived from the manipulation of wealth, and great men, whose powers may have be largely ascribed or achieved, but are not based upon the control of wealth (Whitehouse 1992:118). The distinction between chiefs and big-men goes back to Marshall Sahlins, who depicted the typical Melanesian leader as a 'big-man,' because he achieved his position in a context of egalitarian ideology and competition, and his Polynesian counterpart as a chief, because he succeeded to a hereditary position in a context of social hierarchy (Sahlins 1963; cf. Allen 1984:20). 'Big-man' arose as a conceptual model primarily because of the need to differ-

entiate between self-made leaders and ascribed chiefs. Big-men are leaders who organize feasts and festivals, daring warriors and commanders in warfare, aggressors in interpersonal and intergroup conflict, orators, directors of communal work and enterprise, men of authority who arbitrate disputes within the community, ritual practitioners, magicians and sorcerers. Some dominate by their physical strength, particularly in contexts where leading warriors are politically important, some by force of character (Brown 1990:97; cf. Lederman 1990:6). The concept of big-man leadership was applied outside Melanesia when achievement rather than ascribed leader status was under discussion (Brown 1990:100). Big-men are more likely to arise in exchange activities involving the entire community (Khazanov 1985:86). When they compete as peers, the stakes are prestige, wealth, or even physical well-being of their respective social groups, not just the leader's own status (Wason 1994:45).

More recently, Maurice Godelier (1986) took as a starting point that the big-men system is derived from the great-men system. To Godelier, a big-man belongs within a peculiar institutional system, in which the principle of competitive exchange takes precedence over the principle of war. By contrast, the great-man advances alone toward the enemy lines, followed by a handful of assistants, and engages in single combat with any warrior

prepared to match his skill and strength. He gains prestige, a name for himself, and admiration, but not wealth. In times of war, his authority is unquestioned, in peacetime his function disappears, but his prestige remains (Godelier 1986:105 and 109-110).

As described by Theophylact Simocatta, Ardagastus fits well the model of the great-man. No particular title is attached to his name, though he appears twice in Theophylact's narrative. Ardagastus had a remarkable physical size and strength, which helped him escape from being captured by Romans in 593 (VI 7.3). He had a 'territory' of his own, which Priscus' troops devastated in that same year (VI 7.5). It is interesting to note that the inhabitants of this χώρα are never referred to as his subjects, only as 'Sclavene hordes' or his 'followers' (VI 7.1 and 9.6; cf. VI 9.1). Ardagastus may have been a warrior leader, 'specializing' in the organization of raids across the Danube. Warriors from afar may have come to his 'territory' and joined him in his plundering expeditions (Zasterová 1971:78-79; cf. Avenarius 1991: 29).⁸⁰⁰ No mention is made of a village and, if we are to believe Theophylact Simocatta, Ardagastus was on the point of launching a new raid against the Roman provinces, when Priscus' attack took him by surprise. Ardagastus also led the raid of 585, which was intercepted by Comentiolus not far from Adrianople

(Theophylact Simocatta I 7.3-6). That Ardagastus was a real threat for the Romans is indicated by the fact that Priscus directed his first operations beyond the Danube against his $\chi\acute{o}\rho\alpha$. Ardagastus' power was most likely achieved, with his remarkable physical strength at the basis of this political prominence. He had already begun to build a name for himself, when Priscus' expedition north of the Danube frontier put an end to his career. Though he may have survived the Roman aggression, Ardagastus fell back into social oblivion, for nothing is reported about him in the otherwise well documented events of the following decade.

Can we bestow the title of great-men upon other Sclavene leaders? Peiragastus is briefly mentioned by Theophylact in relation to Peter's campaign north of the Danube, in 594. He was therefore a contemporary of Ardagastus. To the author of the *Feldzugsjournal*, which served as the main source for Theophylact's narrative in book VII (see Chapter IV), Peiragastus was a 'brigadier' (VII 5.4). The word, which often appears in relation to subordinate commanders of the Roman army, indicates that the author of this campaign diary was himself a military or was writing for one. That Peiragastus is called by the same name as commanders of the Roman army suggests that he was just a military leader. It is true that he is also called "the tribal leader ($\phi\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\alpha\rho\chi\omicron\varsigma$) of that barbarian

horde" (VII 4.13). Knowing that the same term is applied to two Saracen leaders, who appear in book II, it is possible that it was Theophylact (who wrote much later), not the author of the *Feldzugsjournal*, who applied the word to Peiragastus. Moreover, what we know about him from Theophylact refers exclusively to the military confrontation with Peter's troops. Mention is made of forces under his command, but significantly enough, unlike Ardagastus, Peiragastus had no 'territory.' Immediately after his death in battle, Sclavenes "turned to flight" and Romans were concerned with pursuing them, not with ravaging neighboring villages that might have existed in the area. We may conclude that Peiragastus and his 'horde' had come from afar in what might have been an expedition against Peter's troops. It is very unlikely, therefore, that Peiragastus was anything else than a warrior leader.

The association between Pseudo-Caesarius' leaders and feasting suggests they were big-men. Generation of debt and the prospect of future gain for all supporters are the critical aspects for understanding the emergence of accumulators through competitive feasting (Hayden and Gargett 1990:14 and 16). This seems to be supported by the archaeological evidence, particularly by the intra-site distribution of artifacts discussed in Chapter IX. We have seen that big men are prominent in those contexts

in which personification or embodiment of collective interest and responsibility is not only possible, but becomes a recurrent practice. They play a key role in 'making' groups. Their oratorical interventions during meetings, together with private persuasions, transform actions that would otherwise be construed as merely personal into collective ones as well (Lederman 1990:10; cf. Rousseau 1985:41). Such seems to have been the case of Menander the Guardsman's Dauritas and Fredegar's Samo, both of whom are described as speaking in the name of their respective groups, boldly proclaiming their independence and thus 'creating' their new identity (Menander the Guardsman 21; Fredegar IV 68; cf. Havlík 1974:183; Fritze 1994:281 and 428 n. 1736). Unlike Dauritas, however, Samo's *utilitas* won him not only the admiration of the Wends, but also his election as their 'king.' The Wendish *rex* proved his skills as commander in warfare, his prudence and courage always bringing victory to the Wends (Fredegar IV 48). A self-made leader, Samo forged alliances with several Wendish families, marrying no less than twelve Wendish women, "who bore him twenty-two sons and fifteen daughters."⁸⁰¹ He was involved in long-distance trade and his economic and political influence produced not only wealth and high status, but also strong alliances, particularly after the debacle of the Frankish army at *castrum Wogastisburc* (cf. Avenarius 1987:73).⁸⁰²

More than twenty years earlier, another *rex*, Musocius, had "subjects," that he could send to reconnoitre or to give assistance to refugees from neighboring territories (Theophylact Simocatta VI 9.1). Strong ties of loyalty linked this 'king' to his subjects, as indicated by the episode of the prisoners taken by the Romans, who, though under torture, refused to reveal the location of their chief's village (VI 8.14). Unlike Samo, however, Musocius' chiefdom was territorially more limited. In order to destroy it, Priscus needed only to capture Musocius and to devastate his village. By contrast, the power of the other *rex*, Perbundos, 'king' of the Rynchines (τοῦ 'Ρυγχίνων 'ρηγός, τοῦνομα Περβούνδου), was built upon a special relationship with the Byzantine imperial authority (Miracles of St Demetrius II 4.231). Chief Perbundos wore the dress of the Byzantine aristocracy and fluently spoke Greek. Arrested and brought to Constantinople, he found well connected friends to help him out of trouble (II 4.233-237). Like Musocius, Perbundos was also very popular. When he was finally captured and executed, all the "Sclavene nations" (τὰ Σκλαβίνων ἔθνη) around Thessalonica mutinied and besieged the city (II 4.242).

The examples of Musocius, Perbundos, and especially Samo show the importance for chiefdoms of direct or indirect contact with a previously existing state (Kipp

and Schortman 1989).⁸⁰³ The *foedus*, a pact between Romans and barbarians whereby the latter could settle on Roman territory in return for serving as a military buffer against other barbarians, was one of the most important means by which a decentralized system could enter the orbit of the Roman 'Commonwealth.' An interesting example is Procopius' episode of the 'phoney Chilbudius' (Wars VII 14.1-6; see Chapter V). When his story "was carried about and reached the entire nation of the Antes (ἸΑΥΤΑΙ ΣΧΕΔὸν ἅπαντες, κοινὴν δὲ εἶναι τὴν πράξιν ἡξίουσιν)," Chilbudius was forced to take on a false identity, claiming that he was a Roman general. Under this cloak, he was immediately sent to Constantinople to negotiate a treaty with Justinian, by which the Antes received an old Roman city, Turris, and stipends, in exchange for becoming the emperor's allies (ἐνσπονδοί) and protecting the Danube frontier against the Hunnic inroads (Wars VII 13.24-26).

Whatever the source for this story and the degree to which Procopius re-worked the account (see Chapter IV), it is clear that in his eyes the Antes, who "are not ruled by one man, but... lived from old under a democracy" (Wars VII 14.22) needed a chief in order to negotiate the *foedus* with Justinian. 'Chilbudius' was not a person, but an office, by which their acephalous, de-centralized system (ἸΑΥΤΑΙ... ἅπαντες) could become the emperor's

ally. Some time later, when the Antes were attacked by Avars (Chapter V), they already had ἀρχοντες and an ambassador of 'noble' origin (Menander the Guardsman, fr. 3). The episode of the powerful Mezamer, "son of Idariz and bother of Kelagast," may be viewed as a clear indication of conical clans one of the most important social characteristics of chiefdoms (Yoffee 1993:62). Several segments were now ranked relative to each other, and their leaders, true chiefs, hold offices in an extensive polity, able to resist the Avars.

Conclusion

There is no indication of Slavic chiefs before ca. 560. Notwithstanding his detailed description of the Slavic society, Procopius knew nothing about them. He carefully recorded, however, the names of several other barbarian leaders in the area, especially kings of the Gepids, Herules, and Lombards, or Cutrigur chieftains. That this is no accident is shown by Procopius' claim that both Sclavene and Antes "are not ruled by one man, but they lived from old under a democracy" (Wars VII 14.22). No Slavic raid recorded in the Wars seems to have been organized by a military leader and the story of the "phoney Chilbudius," with its emphasis on the false identity of the would-be chief of the Antes resonates with Procopius' notion of the Slavic 'democracy'. The

Slavic ethnographic *excursus*, which is probably based on his interviews with Sclavene and Antian mercenaries in Italy, is the longest in all of Procopius' work. The absence of Slavic leaders cannot therefore be explained by either Procopius' lack of interest or his hostility towards those whom he viewed as nomads (see Chapter IV). His image of the Slavs is much more favorable than that of their neighbors in Procopius' *oikumene*. Only Slavs, however, are denied political leadership. There is no reason to believe that Procopius deliberately omitted to mention the names of Slavic military leaders, when he was so attentive in distinguishing Sclavene 'throngs' from Sclavene 'armies' (Chapter V).

The first political leaders appear in Pseudo-Caesarius' Eratopokriseis, which was written in the 560s. The largest number and the widest variety of leadership forms, however, occur in sources regarding the last twenty-five years of the sixth century. Names of individual chiefs suddenly appear in Menander the Guardsman, Strategikon, and Theophylact Simocatta. In sharp contrast to the picture given by Procopius, the author of the Strategikon even suggests that Sclavene chiefs may at times unite and accept, though only temporarily, to be "ruled by one man." This is also the period in which chiefs emerge, who speak in the name of their respective groups, boldly proclaiming their independence. It is also

during this period that chiefs, often mentioned by name, were leading more or less successful raids across the Danube. These were the raids which most strikingly coincided with major engagements of the Roman armies in the east. The chiefs knew where and when to strike, in order to avoid major concentrations of Roman troops. This strongly suggests that among all three categories of leaders discussed in this chapter, which may have possibly existed at that time, warrior leaders (great-men) were the most common.

The end of the sixth century is also the period in which we can see increasing competition between chiefs. The author of the Strategikon knew that there were many Sclavene 'kings,' "always at odds with each other" (XI 4.30), a useful political detail for any Roman general who may have found himself in a position to make war against any of them. What were the stakes of this competition, we can only guess. As shown in Chapter IX, the second half of the sixth century was a period of dramatic change in the material culture of communities living north of the Danube river. Shortly before and after A.D. 600, symbols of personal identity were in higher demand. The greatest number of links between ornamental patterns displayed by bow fibulae found in Romania, Crimea, and Mazuria, is that of specimens dated to this period. Long-distance connections, as well as the display of different

patterns on various groups of 'Slavic' bow fibulae point to social competition. If the intrasite distribution of artifacts in the common front region of the sites analyzed in Chapter IX can, in any way, be associated with competitive feasting, which is a typical feature for big-man leadership, we may be able to visualize some aspects of this competition. War, however, was the overwhelming concern of those whom the author of the Strategikon viewed as unable to fight in ordered battle, but who were nevertheless extremely skillful in ambushing Roman troops. That Slavic society was geared up for warfare is evident from the significant number of weapons, especially arrow- and spear-heads, which, despite claims to the contrary (Dolinescu-Ferche 1984:145), was found on sixth- and seventh-century sites.⁸⁰⁴ It is possible, therefore, that some, at least, of the evidence of destruction by fire, which at times appears in sixth- to seventh-century sites in Romania, Moldova, and Ukraine, is the result of inter-group conflicts.⁸⁰⁵ After all, as the author of the Strategikon observed, in the Slavic 'democracy', "nobody is willing to yield to another" (XI 4.14).

CHAPTER XI

CONCLUSION: THE MAKING OF THE SLAVS

As its title suggests, the subject matter of this dissertation is not the Slavs, but the process leading to what is now known as 'the Slavs'. This process was a function of both ethnic formation and ethnic identification. In both cases, the 'Slavs' were the object, not the subject. The preceding nine chapters have presented a series of perspectives on the history and archaeology of the Lower Danube area during the sixth and seventh century. Each approached a different aspect of the process of construction of a Slavic *ethnie* and each highlighted specific themes and arguments. This chapter will review those themes, but will also attempt to string them all together in a tripartite conclusion. In doing so, it will focus on the major issues presented in the introduction: the migration and the making of the Slavs. I must emphasize that my argument agrees with that of S. A. Ivanov (1991d; 1993), discussed in Chapter III. Ivanov's conclusion was that the history of the Slavs began in the sixth century. Unlike him, I argue that the Slavs were an invention of the sixth century. Inventing, however, presupposed both imagining or labeling by outsiders and

self-identification.

Migration

The examination of the historiography of the 'Slavic problem' presented in Chapter III yields an important conclusion: the dominant discourse in Slavic studies, that of 'expert' linguists and later, archaeologists, profoundly influenced the study of the early Slavs. Though the evidence, both historical and archaeological, presented itself in a historical light, historians were expected merely to comb the written sources for evidence to match what was already known from the linguistic-archaeological model. Because this model was based on widely spread ideas about such critical concepts as culture, migration, and language, the basic assumptions on which the model was based were rarely, if ever, questioned. One such assumption was that *ethnies*, like languages, originate in an *Urheimat* and then expand over large areas through migration. Migration was defined in the terms of the *Kulturkreis* school, as the relatively rapid spread of racial and cultural elements. This led many scholars to abandon a serious consideration of the historical evidence and to postulate instead a Slavic *Urheimat* located in the marshes of the Pripet river, from which, chased by the rigors of the harsh climate of the North, the Slavs inundated Eastern Europe. A Slavic

homeland implied, however, that the history of the Slavs was older than the first Slavic raids known from historical sources. The cornerstone of all theories attempting to project the Slavs into prehistory was Jordanes' Getica. Jordanes equated the Sclavenes and Antes with the Venethi also known from much earlier sources, such as Pliny the Younger, Tacitus, and Ptolemy. This made it possible to claim the Venedi of Tacitus, Pliny, and Ptolemy for the Slavic history. It also provided a meaning to archaeological research of 'Slavic antiquity'. A Polish linguist, Tadeusz Lehr-Spiawinski, first suggested that the archaeological culture of the Vistula basin during the first century B.C. to the first century A.D., which was known as the Przeworsk culture, was that of Tacitus' Venedi. Soviet archaeologists argued that the Slavic Venethi were the majority of the population in the area covered by the Chernyakhov culture of the fourth century A.D. They claimed that by 300 A.D., the Antes separated themselves from the linguistic and archaeological block of the Venedi, and were soon followed by the Sclavenes. More often than not, therefore, archaeology was merely used to illustrate conclusions already drawn from Jordanes' account of the Slavic Venethi.

Without any doubt, Jordanes had in mind contemporary concerns when describing barbarians living beyond imperial frontiers. He also used written, ancient sources

regarding the regions under his scrutiny. When applying such sources, however, what was his concept of geography? What was he thinking about the ethnographic material provided by his sources in the light of what was known to him about recent developments in those same regions? Why did he use three different names for what was apparently one group of people? Chapter IV, while addressing many issues of authorship and chronology of sources, provides possible answers to these questions. It is argued that instead of being an eyewitness account, Jordanes' description of Sclavenes and Antes is based on two or more maps with different geographical projections, the imaginary space of which he filled with both sixth-century and much earlier ethnic names he found in various sources. This seriously diminishes the value of the most important piece of evidence invoked by advocates of both a considerable antiquity of the Slavs and their migration from the North. Moreover, no source dated before Justinian's reign (527-565) refers to Slavs or Slavic Venethi. Despite some overlap in time-spans covered by Procopius' Wars and the chronicle of Marcellinus Comes (including the continuation to 548 added by another author), the chronicle never mentions Slavs. Procopius, on the other hand, made it very clear that a 'Slavic problem' arose, along with others, only during Justinian's reign (Secret History 18.20-21).

The Slavs did not migrate from the Pripet marshes because of hostile environmental conditions. Nor did they develop forms of social organization enabling them to cope with such conditions and presumably based on cooperation and social equality (*zadruga*). Niederle's thesis does not stand against the existing evidence and is based on an outdated concept of migration. That the migrationist model should be abandoned is also suggested by the archaeological evidence examined in Chapter IX. No class of evidence matches current models for the archaeological study of (pre)historic migration. More important, assemblages of the Lower Danube area, where, according to the migrationist model, the Slavs migrated from the Pripet marshes, long ante-date the earliest evidence available from assemblages in the alleged *Urheimat*. Short-distance population movements, but not migration, must have accompanied the implementation of a form of 'itinerant agriculture,' which, though not based on the slash-and-burn method, may have encouraged settlement mobility.

That the Slavs were present on the northern bank of the Danube before the implementation of Justinian's building program in the mid-500s is demonstrated by their raids known from Procopius. Whether or not any of the groups arguably living in contemporary settlements excavated by Romanian archaeologists called themselves

Sclavenes or Antes, will probably remain unknown. This was, however, the region from which Romans recruited mercenaries for the war in Italy. This is also the region which produced the largest number of coins struck under Emperors Anastasius and Justin I, as well as during Justinian's early regnal years. A small number of hoards closed during this period was also found in this area. It is hard to judge from the existing evidence, but from what we have it appears that the Slavic raids mentioned by Procopius originated in this same region. This also explains why Chilbudius' campaigns of the early 530s targeted against Sclavenes, Antes, and Cutrigurs were directed to a region not far from the Danube river.

We are fortunate to have first-hand sources of information for the late 500s and the early 600s, such as the Strategikon, and the campaign diary used by Theophylact Simocatta's books VI-VIII. In both cases, our knowledge, however restricted, of what was going on north of the Danube river is based, almost certainly, on eye-witness accounts. Neither Theophylact, nor the author of the Strategikon knew any other area of Slavic settlements except that located north of the Danube frontier. Furthermore, no clear evidence exists of an outright migration of the Slavs (Sclavenes) to the regions south of the Danube until the early years of Heraclius' reign. Phocas' revolt of 602 was not followed by an irresistible flood

of Sclavenes submerging the Balkans. In fact, there are no raids recorded during Phocas' reign, either by Sclavenes or by Avars. By contrast, large-scale raiding activities resumed during Heraclius' early regnal years. This is also confirmed by the archaeological evidence discussed in Chapter VI. Some forts along the Danube or in the interior were destroyed by fire at some point between Justinian's and Maurice's reigns. In many cases, however, restoration followed destruction and forts were abandoned at various dates without signs of violence. After Maurice's assassination, Phocas' army returned to the Danube and remained there at least until 605, if not 620. This is clearly attested by Sebeos and does not contradict in any way what we know from the archaeological and numismatic evidence (see also Chapter VII). The earliest archaeological evidence of settlement assemblages post-dating the general withdrawal of Roman armies from the Balkans is that of the 700s. This suggests that there was no 'Slavic tide' in the Balkans following the presumed collapse of the Danube frontier. In addition, the archaeological evidence confirms the picture drawn from the analysis of written sources, namely that the 'Slavs' were isolated pockets of population in various areas of the Balkans, which seem to have experienced serious demographic decline in the seventh century.

The discussion in Chapter VI has been based on the

concept that the disintegration of the military system in the Balkans, which Justinian implemented in the mid-500s, was the result not so much of the destruction inflicted by barbarian invasions, as of serious economic and financial problems caused both by the emperor's policies elsewhere and by the impossibility of providing sufficient economic support to his gigantic building program of defense. This conclusion is substantiated by the results of the analysis of sixth-century Byzantine coin hoards presented in Chapter VII, which suggest that inflation can better explain high rates of non-retrieval than barbarian raids.

Ethnicity and *Ethnie*: The View From the Inside

After Chilbudius' death in 533, there was a drastic change in Justinian's agenda in the Balkans. From this moment until Maurice's campaigns of the 590s, no offensive strategy underpinned imperial policies in the area. Instead, Justinian began an impressive plan of fortification, of a size and quality the Balkans had never witnessed before. The project, or at least the most important part of it, was probably completed in some twenty years. It was in its basic lines completed when Procopius finished Book IV of his Buildings. In addition, Justinian remodelled the administrative structure of the Balkans and created the *quaestura exercitus* in order to support

both financially and militarily those border provinces which were most affected by his building program. He also shifted military responsibilities from army generals to local authorities, especially bishops (novel 11).

These measures were not taken in response to any major threat, for Roman troops were still in control of the left bank of the Danube, possibly through bridge-heads such as those of Drobeta/Turnu Severin and Sucidava/Celei. This is shown by the edict 13, issued in 538, which clearly stated that troops were still sent (if only as a form of punishment) north of the Danube river, "in order to watch at the frontier of that place."

In addition to military and administrative measures, Justinian offered his alliance to the Antes (*foedus* of 545) and began to recruit mercenaries from among both Sclavenes and Antes for his war in Italy. All this suggests that Chilbudius' campaigns of the early 530s opened a series of very aggressive measures by the Roman state on the Danube frontier, which were meant to consolidate the military infrastructure of the Balkan provinces. It is during this period of aggressive intrusion into affairs north of the Danube frontier that Sclavenes and Antes entered the orbit of Roman interests. Justinian's measures were meant to stabilize the situation in Barbaricum, which is why the *foedus* with the Antes was only signed after the end of the war between Antes and

Sclavenes. Whether or not he intended to create a buffer zone between the steppe corridor to the northeast and the Danube frontier, Justinian's goal was only partially fulfilled. Two devastating invasions by the Cutrigurs, in 539/40 and 558/9, respectively, broke through both Justinian's system of alliances and his fortified frontier. None of the subsequent Slavene raids can be compared in either size or consequences to the Cutrigur invasions. However, knowing that the first recorded raid of the Sclavenes is in 545, it is possible that Slavene raiding was a response to Justinian's aggressive policies, with both the fortified frontier and his barbarian allies. The Sclavenes may have felt encouraged by the Cutrigur breakthrough of 540, but it is no accident that their first raid coincided with Justinian's alliance with the Antes.

The interruption of Slavene raids coincides with the completion of the building program. With the exception of Zabergan's invasion of 558/9, there were no raids across the Danube for twenty-five years. This is an indication of the efficiency of the defensive system, consisting of three interrelated fortification lines, the strongest of which was not along the Danube, but along the Stara Planina. Later, this grandiose program was extended to the northwestern Balkans, following the defeat of the Ostrogoths and the conquest of Dalmatia.

Along the Danube and in the immediate hinterland, forts were relatively small (less than 1 hectare of enclosed area). Each one may have been garrisoned by a *numerus* (*tagma*), the minimal unit of the early Byzantine army, with 100 to 500 men. This may explain why relatively small armies of Sclavenes (such as those responsible for the raids in the late 540s and early 550s), with no more than 5,000 men, had no problems taking a relatively large number of forts. It also explains why Slavene or Avar armies, no matter how large, moved with remarkable speed after crossing the Danube, without encountering any major resistance. The excavation of forts and the estimation of the number of soldiers who may have manned these forts in the Iron Gates area indicate that the entire sector may have relied for its defense on forces amounting to some 5,000 men, the equivalent of a Roman legion.³⁰⁶ If, as argued in Chapter X, the population of a Slavene *χωρίον*, according to the *Strategikon*, was somewhat inferior in size to one or two bandons (400 to 800 men), we may be able to visualize the effort of mobilizing warriors for a successful raid across the Danube, which a great-man like Ardagastus may have faced. It is hardly believable that any chief would have been able to raise an army of 100,000, as claimed by Menander the Guardsman (fr. 20,2). The 5,000 warriors who attacked Thessalonica at some point before 586 is, nevertheless, a likely figure. In

any case, there is no reason to doubt the ability of Archbishop John, who may have been an eyewitness, to give a gross estimate of the enemy's force. If so, then this indicates that raids strong enough to reach distant targets, such as Thessalonica, usually aimed at mobilizing a military force roughly equivalent to a Roman legion. Furthermore, if such an important and relatively long segment of the Danube frontier, as the Iron Gates sector, was covered by no more than the equivalent of one legion may explain why the Sclavenes were never thwarted from crossing the Danube.⁸⁰⁷ No evidence exists that Romans ever tried to prevent the crossing, despite the existence of a Danube military fleet. Moreover, all major confrontations with Slavene armies or 'throngs' took place south of the Stara Planina range.

Nevertheless, the efficiency of the fortified frontier, at least in its initial phase, cannot be doubted. During the last fifteen years of Justinian's reign, no Slavic raid crossed the Danube. The implementation of the fortified frontier seems to have been accompanied by its economic 'closure'. This is indicated by the absence of both copper and gold coins dated between 545 and 565 in both stray finds and hoards found in Romania (Chapter VII). The economic 'closure' was not an intended effect, for it is likely that the strain on coin circulation, which is also visible in hoards found south of the Danube

frontier, was caused by the very execution of Justinian's gigantic plan. Fewer coins were now withdrawn from circulation, and even fewer found their way into hoards. It is possible, however, that the implementation of the fortified frontier strained not only the coin circulation within and outside the Empire, but also economic relations between communities living north and south of the Danube frontier, respectively.

The evidence of hoards analyzed in Chapter VII shows that most were equivalent to the cost of one or two *modii* of Egyptian wheat. We can speculate that hoards found north of the Danube were payments for small quantities of grain sold to soldiers in sixth-century forts south of the Danube. In any case, these hoards, which primarily consist of copper, testify to trading activity. Stray finds of coins struck for Justinian and his followers, some of which were found in settlement contexts, confirm the hypothesis advanced in Chapter VII that Byzantine coins were used for commercial and non-commercial transactions in communities living north of the Danube. Whether or not these coins were used as 'primitive money,' their very existence presupposes that copper coinage was of some value even outside the system which guaranteed its presumably fiduciary value. If so, the inflation delineated by the analysis of hoards found in the Balkans (south of the Danube river), which became visible espe-

cially after 550, as the purchasing power of the follis decreased drastically, as well as the economic strains on the general circulation of goods, may have affected also the owners of the Romanian hoards. It is interesting to note, therefore, that between 545 and 565 the coin circulation was interrupted both north and south of the Danube river. This interruption was most probably accompanied by a strong crisis in trading activities across the Danube and a subsequent scarcity of goods of Roman provenance, which may have been obtained by such means and played, as shown in Chapter IX, an important role as prestige goods.⁸⁰⁸ This may have increased the level of social competition and encouraged the rise of leaders whose basis of power was now warfare. It is most probably during this period that we can see the first signs of emblematic styles in the material culture changes described in Chapter IX. Great-men, like Ardagastus, and big-men, like the leaders mentioned by Pseudo-Caesarius, represented different responses to these historical conditions. These two forms of power may not only have coexisted, but also been used by the same individuals. One way or another, both forms implied access to prestige goods, the quantity of which, if we are to believe Menander the Guardsman, was considerable. It is because he knew that he would find the land of the Sclavenes "full of gold," that Bayan, the chagan of the Avars,

decided to launch his punitive expedition of 578 against Dauritas and his fellow chiefs. It is because of prestige goods, such as gold, silver, horses, and weapons, that the Sclavene warriors of 581, according to John of Ephesus, were still ravaging the Balkan provinces in 584. Finally, the evidence of amphoras found on sites north of the Danube frontier, many of which should be dated only to the second half of the sixth century, points to the same direction. Olive oil, wine, or *garum* were as good for showing off as horses and weapons. However, Byzantium was not the only source of prestige goods. The study of 'Slavic' bow fibulae in Chapter IX highlighted multiple and very complicated networks for the procurement of such goods. Finally, the analysis of hoards of silver in Chapter VII and that of silver and bronze in Chapter VIII suggests that around A.D. 600, this was by no means a unique phenomenon.

The majority of sites found next to the Danube frontier and in the neighboring regions of Romania, Moldova, and Ukraine, produced a relatively large number of artifacts that indicate a date in the second half of the sixth century or in the early seventh century. Though many such sites may have come into existence at an earlier date, artifacts displaying emblematic styles, such as 'Slavic' bow fibulae became popular only after ca. 550. Such dress accessories point to long-distance relations

with communities in Mazuria and Crimea, which may indicate gifts or matrimonial alliances. Specimens brought from such distant locations into the Lower Danube area were quickly imitated in less sophisticated ornamentation, apparently in an effort to respond to an increasing local demand of symbols of group identity. Since 'Slavic' bow fibulae from Romania were primarily found in settlements and since there is always only one fibula per settlement, it is possible that these dress accessories were symbols of social identity, which served as markers of social status for the newly emerging elites. The analysis of the intrasite distribution of artifacts presented in Chapter IX reveals the existence, on many sociopetal sites, of a common front region, which was both a locus of communal activities involving consumption of special foods (flat loaves of bread) and an arena of social competition, a 'beyond-the-household' context for displays of leadership symbols. It is tempting to relate the results of this analysis, particularly the connection between bow fibulae and the communal front region to the evidence of Pseudo-Caesarius, who linked chiefs to feasting. The mechanisms by which some of the big-man-like leaders known from written sources may have reached power were probably connected with the orchestration of communal ceremonies, of feasts and assemblies, in which those leaders played a crucial role.

The earliest changes in material culture which can be associated with emblemic styles and arguably represent some form of group identity post-date by a few decades the first mention of Sclavenes and Antes in historical sources. Can we call (Slavic) ethnicity this identity constructed by material culture means? The analysis presented in Chapter VIII shows that material culture may have been and indeed was used for the construction of ethnicity. Despite intensive interaction across the "no man's land" between the Tisza and the Danube, clear material culture distinctions were maintained in a wide range of artifacts. Material culture contrasts were created and maintained in order to justify between-group competition. As a consequence, emblemic styles were particularly visible during the Lombard-Gepid wars of the mid-500s. Because group identity, and especially ethnicity, necessitated public displays of such styles, artifacts used for the construction of ethnicity were, more often than not, associated with the female apparel, in particular to that of aristocratic women. The same is true for hoards of silver and bronze in the Middle Dnieper area. In addition, hoards emphasize that an important route to social advancement was access to foreign goods, such as Byzantine silver plate. Finally, ethnicity, as defined in Chapter II, presupposes an orientation to the past, determined by charismatic entre-

preneurs, who gather adherents by using familiar amalgamative metaphors. The inspiration for many ornamental patterns on 'Slavic' brooches were fifth-century decorative patterns, such as the Gáva-Domolospusztá scrollwork, brooch forms of the Aquileia class, or pairs of bird heads. At least bird heads can be viewed as 'citations' from the 'heroic' past, for this decoration was typically associated with artifacts dated to the times of Attila's Hunnic empire (Werner 1956:72-73; Bierbrauer 1994:147; cf. Kazanski 1993).

To judge from the existing evidence, the rise of the local elites was coincidental with the dissemination of emblematic styles which may have represented some form of group identity. It is very likely that this is more than simple coincidence. Big men and chiefs became prominent especially in contexts in which they embodied collective interest and responsibility. Chiefs like Dauritas and Samo 'created' groups by speaking and taking action in the name of their respective communities. Political and military mobilization was the response to the historical conditions created by the implementation of the fortified frontier on the Danube. In this sense, the group identity represented by emblematic styles was a goal-oriented identity, formed by internal organization and stimulated by external pressure. The politicization of cultural differences is, no doubt, one of the most important features of

ethnicity. Repeated production and consumption of distinctive styles of material culture may have represented ethnic identity. The construction of ethnicity was, however, linked to the signification of social differentiation. Changing social relations impelled displays of group identity. The adoption of the dress with bow fibulae was a means by which individuals could both claim their membership of the new group and proclaim the achievement and consolidation of elite status.

Can we put the name 'Slavic' to this (or these) ethnic identity(-ies)? As suggested in Chapter V, the 'Sclavene' ethnicity is likely to have been an invention of Byzantine authors, despite the possibility, which is often stressed by linguistically minded historians, that the name itself was derived from the self-designation of an ethnic group. It is interesting to note that this ethnic name (*slovene*) appeared much later and only on the periphery of the Slavic linguistic area,⁸⁰⁹ at the interface with linguistically different groups (Ivanov and Toporov 1980:14; Schramm 1995:199). Was language then, as Soviet ethnographers had it, the "precondition for the rise of ethnic communities" (Kozlov 1974:79)? In the case of the Slavic *ethnie*, the answer must be negative, for a variety of reasons. First, contemporary sources attest the use of more than one language by individuals whom their authors viewed as Antes or Sclavenes. The 'phoney

Chilbudius' was able to successfully claim a false identity, that of a Roman general, because he fluently spoke Latin, and Perbundos, the 'king' of the Rynchines, had a thorough command of Greek. In fact, language shifts were inextricably tied to shifts in the political economy in which speech situations were located (cf. Urciuoli 1995). How complicated this political economy was is shown by the case of the Gepid taken prisoner by Priscus' army, during the 593 campaign. He was close to the Sclavene 'king' Musocius and communicated with him in the 'king's language'. Formerly a Christian, he betrayed his leader and cooperated with Priscus, presumably using Latin as the communication language. Finally, both the Gepid traitor and Musocius' Sclavene subjects, who were lured into the ambush set by the Roman troops, were accustomed to Avar songs, which were presumably in a language different from both Slavic and Latin.

Second, Common Slavic itself may have been used as a *lingua franca* within and outside the Avar chaganate. This may explain, in the eyes of some linguists, the spread of this language throughout most of Eastern Europe, obliterating old dialects and languages. It may also explain why this language remained fairly stable and remarkably uniform through the ninth century, with only a small number of isoglosses that began to form before Old Church Slavonic was written down (Lunt 1985:203; Birnbaum 1992:

7; cf. Birnbaum 1993:359).⁸¹⁰ This is also confirmed by the fact that Old Church Slavonic, a language created on the basis of a dialect spoken in Macedonia, was later understood in both Moravia and Kievan Rus' (Birnbaum 1992:16). The same conclusion can be drawn from the episode of Raduald, Duke of Benevento, reported by Paul the Deacon and discussed in chapter V. Raduald, who had previously been duke of Friuli, was capable to talk to the Slavs who had invaded Benevento, coming from Dalmatia across the sea. Since the duchy of Friuli had been constantly confronted with Slavic raids from the neighboring region, we may presume that duke Raduald learned how to speak Slavic in Friuli. His Slavic neighbors there, however, apparently spoke the same language as the Dalmatian Slavs.

Slavic was also used as a *lingua franca* in Bulgaria, particularly after the conversion to Christianity in 865. It is only the association with this political development that brought Slavic into closer contact with other languages. This explains why, despite the presumed presence of Slavic-speaking communities in the Balkans at a relatively early date, the influence of Common Slavic on the non-Slavic languages of the area (Romanian, Albanian, and Greek) is minimal and far less significant than that of Bulgarian, Serbo-Croatian, and Macedonian.⁸¹¹ The absence of a significant influence of Common Slavic in the

Balkans is also evident from the small number of Balkan place names of Slavic origin, which could be dated on phonetical grounds, with some degree of certainty, before ca. 800 (Schramm 1981:160).

As with material culture emblemic styles, the Slavic language may have been used to mark ethnic boundaries. The emblematic use of Slavic (cf. Eastman and Reese 1981), however, was a much later phenomenon and cannot be associated with the Slavic *ethnie* of the sixth and seventh century. Slavs did not become Slavs because they spoke Slavic, but because they were called so by others.

The Slavic *Ethnie*: The View From the Outside

All written sources of the sixth century and some of the seventh use exclusively Sclavenes and/or Antes to refer to groups living north of the Lower Danube. Though the author of the Strategikon specifically mentioned that there were many 'kings', which suggests more than one political and, presumably, ethnic, identity, there are no other names besides Sclavenes and Antes.⁸¹² Moreover, despite the fact that the Antes were since 545 the allies of the Empire, the author of the Strategikon listed them among potential enemies. By contrast, the first tribal names (Drugubites, Sagudates, Belegezites, etc.) appear almost concomitantly in Book II of the Miracles of St Demetrius and in Fredegar. In both cases, the difference

between *ethnies* was important, because of differing political interests linked with various ethnicities. Some of the tribes described by the author of Book II of the Miracles of St Demetrius were among those besieging Thessalonica. He viewed them as savage, brutish, and heathen. Others, like the Belegezites, were friendly and, at times, potential and important allies, who were able to supply the besieged city with food. To Fredegar, the Wends were different from the rest of the Slavs because of their successful revolt against the Avars, and, more important, because of their role in the demise of Dagobert's power. The same is true for Theophanes' account of the Bulgar migration. The two Slavic groups mentioned in connection with the conquest of Asparuch's warriors of northeastern Bulgaria have specific tribal names, because they were treated differently by both Byzantium and the conquering Bulgars. The Severs were resettled on the frontier between the Bulgar chaganate and Byzantium, while the ἐπὶ γέφυρῳ,⁸¹³ who until then had probably been clients of the Byzantine emperor, were moved on the western frontier against the Avars.

In all those cases, ethnicity was a function of power in a very concrete and simple way. *Ethnies* were not classified in terms of language or culture, but in terms of their military and political potential. Names were important, therefore, because they gave meaning to cate-

gories of political classifications. If this is true, however, then 'Antes' were also a similar example, since from 545 to 602, they played a completely different role for imperial policies on the Danube frontier than the Sclavenes. The Antes were constantly allies of the Romans, while Sclavenes always appeared on the side of their enemies. A different Antian ethnicity may have thus existed irrespective of the common, "utterly barbarous" language, which, according to Procopius, both *ethnies* used (Wars VII 14.26). Emperor Maurice's campaigns of the late 500s against all potential and true enemies (Avars and Sclavenes) may have blurred this difference or at least made it negligible. In the eyes of the author of the Strategikon, the Sclavenes and the Antes not only had the same customs, weapons, and tactics, but were both treated as potential enemies.

In the light of these remarks, the very nature of a Slavene ethnicity needs serious re-consideration. Procopius and later authors may have used this ethnic name as an umbrella-term for various groups living north of the Danube frontier, which were neither 'Antes', nor 'Huns' or 'Avars'. Jordanes did the same, though unlike others, he chose an ancient name, the Venethi, probably because he believed that the contemporary configuration of *gentes* beyond the limits of the Empire was a consequence, if not a re-incarnation, of that described by

ancient authors such as Tacitus or Ptolemy. To him, in other words, the barbarians of the sixth-century, unless touched by the course of Gothic history, were frozen in time and space, basically the same and in the same places as viewed by the ancient authors. That no Slavic ethnicity existed in the eyes of any sixth- or seventh-century Byzantine author, which could be compared to the modern concept of ethnicity, is shown by Pseudo-Caesarius usage of the term 'Sclavenes'. The opposite of 'Sclavenes', according to him, is no *ethnie*, for 'Ριπιαβοί are not Romans, but inhabitants of the province Dacia Ripensis. The contrast is that between a group living north and another living south of the Danube frontier, to which Pseudo-Caesarius referred by the biblical name Physon. His focus was on the specific location, within one and the same climate, of groups supposedly different in customs and religious life. The same is true for the author of the Strategikon. If Sclavenes were discussed in a different chapter than Avars, it is because, in his eyes, they had radically different social and political systems and, as a consequence, different forms of warfare. Roman generals, therefore, ought to learn how to fight them differently. Nevertheless, when it comes to real raids, the evidence discussed in Chapter V reveals that many authors were not at ease pinning down who exactly was ravaging Thrace and who, at the same time,

was in Greece in the 580s.

This, I must emphasize, is in sharp contrast to other authors' concepts of Slavic ethnicity (e.g., Pohl 1988:107-108).⁸¹⁴ That to our sixth- and seventh-century authors, ethnicity was an instrument to differentiate between enemies and allies is also shown by Theophylact Simocatta's episode of the Gepid captured by Priscus' army in 593. To the author of the *Feldzugsjournal* used by Theophylact as a source for Priscus' campaign, this 'Gepid' was different from 'Sclavenes', even if he had chosen to live among them and was a friend, if not a subject, of 'king' Musocius. His 'Gepid' ethnicity became apparent and important only when it became necessary to make a difference between him, a former Christian, and the other, 'Sclavene' prisoners, who refused to reveal the location of their chief's village. Unlike them, the 'Gepid' deserter would become a key factor for the successful conclusion of Priscus' campaign. Viewed from this perspective, ethnicities were just labels attached to various actors in historically determined situations. Like all labels, they sometimes were misleading. The author of the *Strategikon* warns against those still claiming to be 'Romans' ('Ρωμαῖοι'), but who "have given in to the times," forgot "their own people," and preferred "to gain the good will of the enemy," by luring Roman armies into ambushes set by the Sclavenes (XI

4.31). To the experienced soldier who wrote the Strategikon, if not backed by a politically correct affiliation, any ethnicity, including a Roman one, should be treated with extreme suspicion.

Byzantine authors seem to have used 'Sclavenes' and 'Antes' to make sense of the process of group identification which was taking place under their own eyes just north of the Danube frontier. They were, of course, interested more in the military and political consequences of this process, than in the analysis of Slavic ethnicity. Chiefs and chief names were more important than customs or culture. When customs and culture came to the fore, as in the case of the Strategikon, it was because its author believed that they were linked to the kind of warfare preferred by Sclavenes and Antes. A similar concept may have guided Procopius in writing his Slavic *excursus*. It is because of their military skills that the Sclavenes and the Antes stirred the interest of the Romans. As early as 537, Slavene mercenaries fought in Italy on their side. The first Slavene raid recorded by Procopius pre-dates by only five or six years the publication of the first seven books of the Wars. In his work, Procopius viewed the Sclavenes and the Antes as 'new' and their presence in the Lower Danube region as recent. Although he constantly referred to Sclavenes in relation to Huns or other nomads, there is no indication

that he believed them to have recently come from some other place. That he considered them to be 'new' can only mean that they have not, until then, represented a political force worth being treated like the Lombards, the Gepids, the Cutrigurs, and all the other 'allies' surrounding the empire. It is because he thought the Sclavenes and the Antes were not politically important (or, at least, not as important as Lombards, Gepids, or Cutrigurs) that Procopius failed to record any chief names. To be one of Justinian's ἑσπεροῖσι, one needed first to have a 'king'. The irony behind the episode of the "phoney Chilbudius," with its plot setting imitating that of a neo-Attic comedy, is that the Antes, who eventually became Justinian's ἑσπεροῖσι, did not have a true leader, for they had "lived from old under a democracy."

The making of the Slavs was less a matter of ethno-genesis and more one of invention, imagining and labeling by Byzantine authors. Some form of group identity, however, which we may arguably call ethnicity, was growing out of the historical circumstances following the implementation of the Danube *limes*. This was therefore an identity formed in the shadow of Justinian's forts, not in the Pripet marshes. There are good reasons to believe that this identity was much more complex than the doublet 'Sclavenes-Antes' imposed by the Byzantine historiography. Book II of the Miracles of St Demetrius and

Fredegar's chronicle give us a measure of this complexity. That no 'Slavs' called themselves by this name not only indicates that no group took on the label imposed by outsiders, but also suggests that this label was more a pedantic construction than the result of systematic interaction across ethnic boundaries. The first clear statement that "we are Slavs" comes from the twelfth-century Russian Primary Chronicle (Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor 1953:63). With this chronicle, however, the making of the Slavs ends and another story begins: that of their 'national' use for claims to ancestry.

NOTES

1. G. W. F. Hegel, Lectures on the Philosophy of History, tr. J. Sibree (London, 1902), 363.

2. For Eastern Europe as an historiographical concept, see Okey 1992 and Kłoczowski 1995.

3. Even the drawing up of the first charters and the minting of the first pennies by the twelfth-century Wendish dynasties between the Elbe and the Oder reflects "the fuller and deeper incorporation of the trans-Elbian lands into the Latin and Frankish world" (Bartlett 1993: 286).

4. To be sure, Nicolas referred to *ethnie*, as a product of what English authors refer to as 'ethnicity'. The latter, however, is more and more frequently used to refer to the end result of a process of ethnic formation (e.g. Chappell 1993). In an attempt to prevent confusion, Anthony Smith has proposed *ethnie* to be a necessary correlate of ethnicity, as used in the Anglo-Saxon literature (Smith 1986).

5. However, as Burkhard Ganzer observes, the orientation to the past also typifies social classes, as in the case of the English aristocracy (Ganzer 1990:5).

6. It is also true that much of what constitutes identity, including its ethnic dimension, takes form during the individual's early years of life. Recent studies insist that the family contributes in a fundamental way to the formation of ethnic identity and recommend that family-based studies become the methodological strategy of future research on ethnic identity (Keefe 1992:43).

7. Marr first presented his theory of language in a series of lectures at the State University of Azerbaijan in Baku in 1927, which he published in 1928 (Slezkine 1996:843 and n. 79). According to Marr's ideas, meaning was attached to thought processes which were characteristic for a given social formation. The lesser or lower production stages produced lower or 'primitive' forms of thought and language (Bruche-Schulz 1993:462).

8. Marr's influence is also due to his exceptional social and political status. Before the Revolution, he was a full member of the Russian Academy of Sciences since 1912 and the dean of the Department of Oriental Languages of the University of St. Petersburg, since 1911. After 1917, he became director of the Institute of Archaeology, then president of the newly founded State Academy for the History of Material Culture (which had replaced the Archaeological Institute), president of the Japhetic Institute (later the Institute of Language and Thought), and head of the Section of Materialist Linguistics of the Communist Academy (Slezkine 1996:830).

9. According to one of his most loyal disciples, V. B. Aptekar', Marr specifically attacked the idea of *Volksgeist* inspired by the desire of nineteenth-century German romantics to "weasel their way out of a despised European provincialism" into a "good noble genealogy" (cited by Slezkine 1996:85).

10. According to Yuri Slezkine, the postwar period, particularly the years of the "Lysenko affair," also witnessed attempts to restore Marrism, as Zhdanov launched his offensive on the culture front. But Marrist concepts amidst the postwar patriotic campaign could hardly have any influence. Stalin's intervention on the side of Arnold Chikobava's attacks on Marr, in 1950, would decisively condemn Marrism to oblivion (cf. Slezkine 1996:854-856 and 859).

11. "This means focusing on the boundary and the process of recruitment, not on the cultural stuff that the boundary encloses" (Barth 1994:12). See also Verdery 1994:34-35.

12. Cf. Jarnut 1985:84 and 86, who nevertheless believes that "am Anfang ihrer Evolution, begriffen sich ihre Angehörigen [the members of the *gens*] wohl tatsächlich vor allem als Abstammungsgemeinschaft" (emphasis added).

13. For the *mythomoteur* as the constitutive myth of the ethnic polity, see Smith 1986:15. Smith typically views ethnicity as "a matter of myths, symbols, memories, and values. They are 'carried' by forms and genres of artifacts and activities which change very slowly. Therefore, an *ethnie*, once formed, tends to be exceptionally durable under 'normal' vicissitudes" (Smith 1986:16 and 28). Smith also argues that "without a *mythomoteur* a group cannot define itself to itself or to others, and cannot inspire or guide effective action" (Smith 1986:

25). There is, however, no attempt to explain the association between a particular 'myth-symbol' complex and an *ethnie*, for Smith characteristically lists among the latter's components, "a distinctive shared culture" (Smith 1986: 32). He thus seems to reproduce the general fallacy of identifying ethnic groups with discrete cultural units. More important, though recognizing that artifacts could provide a rich evidence of cultural identity, Smith argues that they "cannot tell anything [about] how far a community felt itself to be unique and cohesive" (Smith 1986:46).

14. It is interesting to note that the same may be true about 'culture'; see Bader 1995:33.

15. He indeed argues that in Tönnies' terms, an *ethnie* is a *Gemeinschaft*, and a nation, a *Gesellschaft* (Smith 1986:157).

16. "Streng umrissene, scharf sich heraushebende, geschlossene archäologische Kulturprovinzen fallen unbedingt mit bestimmten Völker- und Stammesgebiete" [Die Herkunft der Germanen. Zur Methode der Siedlungsarchäologie (Würzburg, 1911), p. 3; cf. Ursprung und Verbreitung der Germanen in vor- und frühgeschichtlicher Zeit (Leipzig, 1936), p. 15].

17. The concept of 'closed-find' was first introduced into the archaeological discourse by Christian Jürgensen Thomsen (Trigger 1989:76 and 78).

18. Schuchhardt also approved Kossinna's violent anti-Slavic diatribes (Klejn 1974:29).

19. For a similar approach in the archaeology of the Merovingian period, see Young 1992:135.

20. An approach remarkably similar to Dolukhanov's recent book on the early Slavs (Dolukhanov 1996).

21. Marrist theories received official support after Marr gave a lecture in the presence of Stalin at the sixteenth Congress of the Communist Party (1930), partly in Russian, partly in Georgian (Stalin's native language). After the congress, Marr became the chairman, the president, or the vice-president of every major institution related to language in the Soviet Union (Bruche-Schulz 1993:466).

22. To Wenskus, these new trends in Soviet archaeology appeared in 1961 as 'curiously' similar to

Kossinna's approach (Wenskus 1961:113 n. 1).

23. Bromley's theories are cited by Irina P. Rusanova in the introduction to a recent collection of studies dedicated to Proto-Slavic cultures. Rusanova believes that, since there are no two ethnic groups (*naroda*) with the same culture, it is worth trying to identify the Slavs by archaeological means (Rusanova 1993a:5).

24. For a similar approach in contemporary American archaeology, see Fiedel 1987; Redmount 1995:188; Dever 1995:210; cf. Chapdelaine 1991:47.

25. For similar remarks made by L. S. Klejn and Iu. M. Zakharuk in the Soviet Union in the early 1960s, see Ganzha 1987:147-148.

26. For a similar example, see Bursche 1996:229-230. See also Lyons 1987:101-114, especially 108.

27. This also explains why it is wrong to take a *priori* individual pottery types or decoration, ceramic design elements, design layout, surface treatment, etc. as ethnic indicators (Kleppe 1977:39; Esse 1992:102-103; Kobylinski 1989:306-307; Redmount 1995:188; Cordell and Yannie 1991:98-99).

28. For a slightly modified version of this theory, see Sackett 1990:39 and 45, where Sackett admits that "isochrestic behavior provides the raw materials of style and not style as such."

29. "Since Paul is the teacher of the Slavic race, from which we Russians too are sprung, even so the Apostle Paul is the teacher of us Russians, for he preached to the Slavic nation... But the Slavs and the Russes are one people..." (Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor 1953:63).

30. In contrast, according to the twelfth-century chronicle of Cosmas of Prague, who still counts the Slavs among the lot of Japheth, the Slavs lived from the very beginning (i.e., from the times of the Flood) in Bohemia. This makes Cosmas the first author to have claimed that the Slavs were natives to the countries they inhabited (Tolstoi 1995:6).

31. On the eve of the Prague revolt against the Habsburgs, which initiated the Thirty Years War, the idea of the Sarmatians as ancestors of the Slavs seemed appealing to some Czech scholars. Following the Habsburg

victory at the White Mountain (1620), however, the idea of bringing the Slavs from Russia became politically dangerous (Sklenář 1983:26; Myl'nikov 1996:267).

32. J. G. Herder, Sämtliche Werke, ed. B. Suphan, 33 vols. (Berlin, 1877-1913), 14:277-280.

33. "Has a nation anything more precious than the language of its fathers? In it dwell its entire world of tradition, history, religion, principles of existence; its whole heart and soul" (Sämtliche Werke 17:58).

34. The Queen's Court (Königinhof) and the Green Mountain (Grünberg) manuscripts, "discovered" in 1817 and 1818, respectively, contained lyric-epic poems and songs in archaic Czech. Their genuine character was defended by František Palacký and Pavel Josef Šafářik. They viewed the manuscripts as potential symbols for the nationalist propaganda. Jan Erazim Vocol, the founder of Czech archaeology, based his description of the early Slavic civilization in his Prehistory of the Land of Bohemia (Právek zeme České, 1868), on the manuscripts. Even Goethe admired the poems and Václav Hanka, their "discoverer" and "translator" gained considerable fame. They were proved to be forgeries by Masaryk and Goll in the late 1800s. See Zacek 1970:71-72. There is an archaeological counterpart to those manuscripts. The fantastic picture of the pagan mythology of the ancient Slavs in the Elbe basin and on the Baltic coast, as it was created by medieval chroniclers, inspired the fabrication of a series of bizarre artifacts said to be pagan idols and even to have "Slavic runes" carved on them. The most famous is "Perun", one of the so-called "Idols of Prillwitz" in Mecklenburg, which appeared on the scene in the 1760s and figured in dozens of polemic articles, as well as in an extensive monograph by A. G. Masch (1771). As discovered much later, they were actually made by a goldsmith named Sponholz from Neubrandenburg. See Sklenář 1983:56-57 and fig. 12.

35. "Jordanes ist der erste, der die Slawen Wenden und Winden nennt, weil er sie zu seiner Zeit da fand, wo ehemals des Tacitus Venedae saßen" (Dobrovský 1818:9).

36. Enraged by Dobrovský's denouncing of the Green Mountain manuscript as a forgery, Šafářik, in a letter of 1828 to Ján Kollár, spoke of him as "the slave of the rabid Germans" (*rasende Deutschen*) (Plaschka 1955:48).

37. For the Manifesto to European nations from Palacký's pen, which was adopted by the Slavic Congress,

see Pech 1969:133. For Palacký's image of the ancient Slavs, see Zacek 1970:84-85.

38. Neither Šafářik, nor Palacký can be made responsible for this approach. Judging from the existing evidence, the "dove-like Slavs," in sharp contrast to the rude Germans, was a common stereotype in pre-1848 Bohemia. In his Pagan Places of Sacrifice, Graves, and Antiquities in Bohemia (Böhmens heidnische Opferplätze, Gräber und Alterthümer, 1836), the first complete survey of the archaeological material found in Bohemia, Mathias Kalina of Jäthenstein attributed graves with weapons to the Germans and graves of "farmers" or "craftsmen" to the Slavs. See Sklenář 1983:95.

39. "Die Slawicität der Winiden des Jornandes (sic) ist gesichert" (Schafarik 1844:75).

40. "Hätte er [Tacitus] wenigstens einige Kenntniss von der Sprache der Weneden gehabt, so würde er sicherlich nicht geschwankt haben, sie [the Venedi] von den Deutschen vollkommen zu scheiden und für eignen Stamm zu erklären" (Schafarik 1844: 78).

41. Having shown the antiquity of the Slavs by such means, Šafářik pushed back their origins long before Christ's birth. He was the first to argue that the Neuri and the Budini mentioned by Herodotus (IV 17, 21, 100, 102, 105, etc.) were Slavs (Schafarik 1844:184-199).

42. For Mickiewicz, see Grudzinska-Gross 1995.

43. Drinov occupied a government post in Bulgaria between 1877 and 1879, but later returned to Kharkov.

44. For a survey of the early development of Indo-European studies, see Mallory 1973.

45. Marija Gimbutas took Rostafiński's argument at its face value, without, however, citing his name: "The Slavic homeland must have been located in a climatic zone where certain trees were absent, for which the Slavs did not have Slavic names... The name for the 'beech', Slavic *buk*, is presumed to have borrowed from the Germanic languages. The same is true for 'larch', 'yew', and several other trees, which indicates that the Proto-Slavic area was outside the zone where these trees grow" (Gimbutas 1971:23). For a good survey of the most recent developments in Slavic linguistics, in which the "Indo-European argument" refuses to die, see Birnbaum 1986; Birnbaum 1993.

46. For the Czech positivist historiography, see Kudrna 1971; Tomáš 1980; Tomáš 1984; Koralka 1992. For Polish positivist historiography, see Vlcek 1989; Wandycz 1992. In Polish historiography, the positivist approach emerged in the 1850s on the influence of Buckle and, after 1860, of Auguste Comte, Hippolyte Taine, and Karl Lamprecht. For the positivist approach of the Romanian "critical school", see Zub 1985.

47. A. D. Xenopol dedicated a special study to Buckle, while Mihai Eminescu frequently referred to his work (Zub 1985:229).

48. Buckle's work was translated into Czech in 1884, and T. G. Masaryk published a study of his work in that same year (Tomáš 1984:36).

49. On Niederle's life and work, see Eisner 1948.

50. Anuchin was an enthusiastic supporter of the *Kulturkreis* approach. For the reception of the *Kulturkreis* theories in Russia, see Shnirel'man 1993:54.

51. "Telle est ma thèse fondamentale sur l'évolution initiale des Slaves méridionaux..." (Niederle 1923:49).

52. "Un peuple vigoureux, aussi heureusement placé et apte à mettre à profit les avantages de la nature, avait devant lui de grandes perspectives: un vaste champ était ouvert à sa civilisation, à sa colonisation, à son impérialisme" (Niederle 1923:171).

53. For Peisker's life and work, see Šimák 1933.

54. For contemporary Romanian historians (A.D. Xenopol, Vasile Pârvan, Dimitrie Onciul) under the influence of ethno-psychology, as theorized by H. Steinthal and M. Lazarus, the founders of the *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft* (1859), see Zub 1985:62-63, 65, and 223.

55. Peisker rightly argued that the *zadruga* is not the archaic form of organization of the early Slavs, but a rather recent development resulting from specific circumstances in the Balkans (Peisker 1926:421-422; cf. Baumann 1982).

56. "The Slav is the son and the product of the marsh" (Peisker 1926:426).

57. A misreading of Pseudo-Caesarius' passage referring to Sclavenes led Peisker to the wrong conclusion that the Slavs were vegetarian (Peisker 1926:432).

58. Samuel Hazzard Cross embraced Peisker's arguments that "originally a peaceful race, the primitive Slavs were unskilled in the use of weapons... [and] had no mounted troops until well into the historical period." He borrows Peisker's idea of the migration of the Slavs as "a slow expansion in all directions rather than a sudden shift of position" (Cross 1948:22 and 28). Francis Dvornik, who was a student of both Niederle and Peisker (Nemec 1973), also accepts the idea of a Slavic *Urheimat* in the marshes of the Pripet basin (Dvornik 1956:4-5). More recently, Omeljan Pritsak put forward a theory about the relations between Slavs and Avars that, though never mentioning Peisker's name, is strikingly similar to his ideas (Pritsak 1983).

59. For a brief survey of Bogdan's life and work, see Mihăilă 1973:177-181.

60. This, however, did not prevent him from being accused to have insulted the Romanian nation when claiming a Slavic origin for the medieval Romanian institutions (Zub 1985:109), an accusation later targeted against another Slavacist, P. P. Panaitescu. The phenomenon is certainly not unique. One of the accusations used in the language controversy by the Greek philologist George Mistriotis (1839-1916), a supporter of the "purists", was that the demoticists, who claimed that Greek national language should be based on vernacular, were Slavonizers (Vryonis 1994:768).

61. As early as 1847, G. C. F. Lisch has recognized the combed wavy line as a typical feature of Slavic pottery in north-eastern Germany. Six years later, the Czech archaeologist M. Lüssner reached the same conclusion for the Bohemian material, and this was confirmed in 1858 by L. Šnjadr. But their finds fell into oblivion until Virchow revived the issue. See Sklenář 1983:95 and 125.

62. To illustrate his Prague type, Borkovský cited, besides finds from the city of Prague, Rosetti's finds from various areas on the territory of Bucharest. The Romanian finds formed the basis for his dating of the type to the sixth century, since at Bucharest-Dămăroaia Rosetti has found hand-made pottery associated to a bronze coin of Justinian issued in 539 (Rosetti 1934; Borkovský 1940:61). According to Borkovský, who stressed

typology more than dating by archaeological context, the earliest Prague-type vessels should be dated to the fourth century (Borkovský 1940:63; see Zeman 1966:172). His idea about the Celtic origins of the Slavic pottery was revived after the war by the Polish archaeologist Aleksander Gardawski (1974).

63. "...jako národní keramika výhradně slovanská" (Borkovský 1940:35).

64. "Slované v prvních stoletích křesťanského letopočtu byli pohřbíváni většinou s keramikou tehdy módní... keramika, které tehdy používali Slované, nemusela býti jednotná, nýbrž různá, odpovídající rušné době" (Borkovský 1940:25).

65. Borkovský, of course, laid more stress on culture than on race. The publication of his book coincided with the first failure of the Nazis to pigeonhole the Czechs as racially inferior. In 1940, Karl Valentin Müller, a Dresden anthropologist in the service of the Nazis, toured central and eastern Bohemia with twenty assistants, studying archaeological excavations, parish records on births, marriages and deaths, and inscriptions in village cemeteries. He reinterpreted the history of Bohemia and Moravia from the point of view of race, but, quite unexpectedly for Frank's regime, he argued that the local Slavs of the prehistoric period, as seen from the archaeological evidence, appeared to have been a fair-haired people with elongated skulls, quite different from the supposedly inferior *Ostmenschen* (Mastny 1971:130-131).

66. Zotz has been appointed professor at the Prague German University. On Lothar Zotz as archaeologist and documentary filmmaker under the Nazi regime, see Arnold and Hassmann 1995:80. For archaeology in Nazi Germany, see Arnold 1990. The concept of Prague-type pottery was, however, quickly picked up and used by some German archaeologists working under the Nazi regime, such as Theodor Voigt, for defining and dating ceramic artifacts found in cremation burials excavated in Germany (Brachmann 1983:23).

67. Shnirel'man (1993:59) argues that the rehabilitation of the concept of national history coincides with the Soviet-Finnish war.

68. It may be no accident that the sudden interest in things Slavic and the rise of Slavic archaeology in the USSR coincided with the rise of nationalistic press

propaganda shortly before and immediately after the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact and the conquest of eastern Poland by Soviet troops in 1939 (Thompson 1991).

69. Derzhavin reiterated his theory in 1939, at another meeting at the Academy of Sciences (Derzhavin 1939).

70. As a representative of "bourgeois science", Niederle's name was, of course, never cited, until Slovanské starožitnosti was finally translated into Russian and published in 1956.

71. With his two-volume Studies on the History of Material Culture in Eastern Europe to the Rise of the First Russian State (Ocherki po istorii material'noi kul'tury Vostochnoi Evropy do osnovaniia pervogo Russkogo gosudarstva, 1925 and 1930), Got'e was the first to use both archaeological and linguistic data for explaining the origin of the eastern Slavs on the basis of equating them to the Antes (Reisman 1987:19).

72. To Artamonov, both Levchenko and Gorianov appeared in 1939 as directly attacking Marr's teachings (Aksenova and Vasil'ev 1993:103).

73. Procopius was first published in 1950, Agathias in 1953, followed by Theophylact Simocatta in 1957 and Jordanes, in 1960 (Braichevskii 1962:94).

74. The first to speak of this "Slavic realm" was, again, Derzhavin (1944:46). See Shnirelman 1995:134.

75. Some explained the migration itself by the Slavs' need to fight back Roman expansionism (S. A. Nikitina, in Tret'iakov 1954:38-39). Historians working in the field of Byzantine studies, such as M. Ia. Siuziumov and A. P. Kazhdan, were urged to study the role played by the Slavs in the transformation of the empire from a Roman to a Byzantine one (Braichevskii 1962:95).

76. Archaeological activities in Crimea, generously sponsored by the state, witnessed a sudden increase shortly after 1944, as archaeologists were given the task to prove that the Slavs were natives to the area (Shnirel'man 1993:62).

77. In 1955, Braichevskii's efforts to bridge the gap between Scythians and Kievan Rus' by means of the Chernyakhov culture appeared as dangerously reviving Khvoika's ideas (Klejn 1955:258; cf. Korzukhina 1955:69).

Such theories were still popular in the 1970s (Sedov 1972).

78. Such views are still prevalent in recent studies. In his recent book on the early Slavs, Dolukhanov speaks of "indisputable archaeological evidence proving that the peoples who made up the bulk of the agricultural population of the east Gothic 'state' were Slavs" (Dolukhanov 1996:158).

79. Most of the results of Gamchenko's excavations remained unpublished until 1963 (see Petrov 1963a).

80. Between 1956 and 1964, V. Iu. Kukharenko excavated the settlement at Babka, near Roven' and the burial mounds at Miropol', where Gamchenko had already worked in the 1890s. V. V. Aulikh and Iu. N. Zakharuk started excavations on the important site at Zimno, in western Ukraine, while V. D. Baran and V. V. Aulikh began working at Ripnev. The 1950s also witnessed large-scale excavations on several sites in Moldova (Gârbova, Alcedar, Echimăuți, Lopatna, Cobusca Veche, Scoc, Brănești), led by G. B. Fedorov (Fedorov 1961; Fedorov 1964; Hynku 1965). During the 1960s and 1970s, the center of archaeological activities shifted from Polesie to the basins of the Dniester and Prut rivers, close to the Ukrainian-Romanian border: V. D. Baran fully excavated the settlements at Bobshev, Dem'ianiv, and Zelenyi Gai; I. G. Smirnova, that at Nezvisko, and S. P. Pachkova, that at Gorosheva. At the same time Baran opened excavations at Rashkov, I. P. Rusanova and B. O. Timoshchuk at Kodyn, and L. V. Vakulenko, at Glubokaia (Baran 1990:59-60; Baran, Maksimov, and Magomedov 1990: 202).

81. It is interesting to note that, at that time, others were still striving to make the Dacians the ancestors of the Slavs, a reading of history which nicely dovetailed with official claims that Soviet Moldova was only inhabited by Russians (Fedorov 1955:75; Fedorov 1961:91; cf. Prikhodniuk 1983:186).

82. For a similar claim for Belarus, see Pobol' 1973.

83. Despite her emphasis on pottery as the defining element of early Slavic culture, Rusanova recognized, however, that vessels of the same type were also frequent in later periods (Rusanova 1976:16). She also observed that not all vessels found by Gamchenko and published by Petrov (1963a) were of the same date, thus implying that the category called Korchak by Petrov contained earlier,

probably prehistoric specimens (Rusanova 1966:577).

84. To Rusanova, the Prague-Korchak pottery was definitely a Slavic pottery, because its distribution coincided to that of river names of Slavic origin (Rusanova 1968:148).

85. Like Rybakov, Prikhodniuk linked Spicyn's "Antian antiquities" (i.e., sixth- to seventh-century hoards of silver found in central and southern Ukraine) to the Pen'kovka culture (Prikhodniuk 1989:65).

86. For a brief survey of the discussions on the ethnic attribution of the Pen'kovka culture, see Bálint 1989a:84-85.

87. For an attempt to identify the Slavic tribes mentioned by the Russian Primary Chronicle with sixth- and seventh-century archaeological cultures, see Smilenko 1980.

88. For a critique of Rybakov's historiographical and political activities after 1960, see Novosel'cev 1993.

89. For the Zarubinec, Kiev, and other related cultures of the first to fourth centuries A.D., see Baran, Maksimov, and Magomedov 1990:10-97; Terpilovskii 1994. On the Kiev culture, see also Maksimov and Terpilovskii 1993. Others maintain that the Kiev culture participated only in the forming of the Kolochin culture, with only an indirect influence on the Prague culture (Sedov 1982:33; Terpilovskii 1992:16; cf. Prikhodniuk 1991:113-123). For the Kolochin culture, see Symonovich 1975.

90. As Horace G. Lunt wittingly remarked, the impression one gets from recent accounts on this matter is that one remote generation that spoke Indo-European produced children who spoke Slavic (Lunt 1992:468). For a critique of Lunt's own concept of the Slavic ethno-genesis, see Trubachev 1987:919.

91. For a recent attempt to push back again the origins of the Slavic culture as early as the fourth century, while shifting the emphasis to Polesie, see Egoreichenko 1991.

92. Recent studies substantiate Shchukin's conclusion, for, despite intensive research, the fifth, latest phase of the Chernyakhov culture has not been documented

in west Volhynia, where, according to Baran, the earliest Slavic culture originated (Gorokhovskii 1988; cf. Shovkoplias and Gavritukhin 1993:61).

93. The idea of the Slavs originating in the densely forested area of the North first appears in the work of the German archaeologist Joachim Werner (Werner 1971). Werner's paper presented to the eighth congress of pre-historical and proto-historical studies in Belgrade was highly appreciated by Soviet archaeologists. It was translated into Russian and published in Sovetskaia Arkheologiia (Werner 1972). Werner's thesis was enthusiastically embraced by archaeologists from Belarus, some of whom were already arguing that the roots of the Slavic culture in Polesie went as far back in time as the Bronze Age (Pobol' 1983; contra: Perkhavko 1978). Werner's theory was, however, challenged by Ukrainian archaeologists, such as Vladimir D. Baran, who wanted the Slavs to have originated in Volhynia (see Baran 1979:77-81).

94. For archaeological research on the early Slavic culture in Polesie, see Rusanova 1973. No settlement found in the area produced conclusive chronological evidence (Rusanova 1973:20). After Irina Rusanova's investigations in the Pripet basin, few excavations were carried in the early 1980s. As a consequence of the nuclear catastrophe of Chernobyl' (1986), located on the south bank of the Pripet river, this situation is unlikely to change in the nearest future.

95. The answer to this problem, he argued, cannot be given by history, but by a special science, called 'ethnogenesology,' still to be born, which would synthesize all partial results of auxiliary sciences, such as history, linguistics, anthropology, and the like (Vasil'ev 1992:5).

96. For an earlier, but similar argument, see Koroliuk and Naumov 1980:8-9.

97. Some argued, however, that that there were two migrations to Slovakia, one from the west (Moravia), the other from the south, where the Avar chaganate was located during the late sixth and seventh century. In Moravia, the earliest Prague-type finds were dated to the second half of the sixth century (Jelinková 1990:277; cf. Dostál 1979:194). The idea that the Slavs came to Slovakia from the south is advocated by both archaeologists and linguists (cf. Parczewski 1975:36-37; see also Zábojník 1988:401-402). For a similar theory regarding Bohemia, see Zeman 1966:188-189; Zeman 1984-1987:48. It is worth

mentioning that, unlike Ukraine or Romania, no systematic excavations were carried on any sixth-century site in Slovakia (Fusek, Staššíková-Štukovská, and Bátorá 1993: 25, cf. Jelinková 1993).

98. For a brief history of archaeological attempts to classify the early medieval pottery of Bohemia, see Zeman 1966:166-189; Pleinerová and Zeman 1970:721-723.

99. For the Polish historiography in the aftermath of the German occupation during World War II, and especially for Kostrzewski's myth-making activity, see Vykoukal 1994. Kostrzewski's ideas about the Lusatian culture die hard; see Hensel 1975; Hensel 1994.

100. For Belarus, see Egoreichenko 1991, Gavritukhin 1991a, and Vergei 1993.

101. Sós did not denied the presence of the Slavs in Pannonia after 568, as the Avars forced the Lombards to leave. According to her, the hand-made pottery found in inhumation burials at Oroszlány belonged to the Zhitomir-Korchak type (Sós 1963).

102. For a detailed discussion of the Romanian case, see Curta 1994b.

103. For the polemic between Nestor and Comşa, see Curta 1994b:242-243.

104. For the anti-Russian attitude of the Romanian historiography during this period, see Georgescu 1991: 103-104.

105. Brătianu's work was still on the blacklist of the Communist regime for its anti-Soviet and bourgeois faults. This may explain why Teodor used the argument without citing Brătianu's name.

106. In their enthusiasm for proving that the Slavs, like the modern Russians, were aggressors, some pointed to layers of destruction by fire identifiable in some of the sixth- to seventh-century settlements of Romania, arguing that this indicated the destruction of native (Romanian) settlements by the Slavs (Mitrea 1968: 257; Teodor 1969a:191). This argument was however rapidly abandoned as soon as it became evident that it would work against the cherished idea of continuity of the Romanian population.

107. For nationalism and cultural politics under

Ceașescu's regime, see Verdery 1991.

108. Many were published much later, such as the four settlements at Dulceanca, in Walachia (Dolinescu-Ferche 1974; Dolinescu-Ferche 1986b; Dolinescu-Ferche 1992), those excavated in Bucharest (Dolinescu-Ferche 1979; Dolinescu-Ferche and Constantiniu 1981), and the settlements excavated by Dan Gh. Teodor and Ioan Mitrea in Moldavia (Dodești: Teodor 1984b; Botoșana: 1984a; Davideni: Mitrea 1974-1976; Mitrea 1992; Mitrea 1994a).

109. Recently, the Ukrainian archaeologist V. D. Baran was criticized by Dan Gh. Teodor for attempting to locate the Slavic *Urheimat* in northern Bukovina, a region conquered in 1940 by the Soviet troops from Romania (Teodor 1994:224).

110. For a similar claim for the urns found at Maklinovo brdo, near Kašić, in Dalmatia, see Belošević 1972:126. Although Russian, Polish, Ukrainian, Romanian, and Bulgarian archaeologists point to the rectangular sunken pit-house as typically Slavic, Čremošnik believed that the yurt-like huts found at Jazbine, near Bijeljina, in eastern Bosnia, belonged to a Slavic community and traced their origin to Neolithic house forms (Čremošnik 1980:133-134).

111. On the basis of the numismatic evidence, Popović also argued that the Danube *limes* collapsed not in 602, but in 595/6, which offered the opportunity to the Slavic tribes to cross *en masse* the river and to establish themselves in the Balkans (Popović 1978:631; Popović 1980:246).

112. Miiatev graduated in Slavonic philology at Vienna and took his Ph.D. in history at Berlin in 1922. He is one of the originators of Bulgarian medieval archaeology and headed long-term excavations in all three capitals of medieval Bulgaria (Pliska, Preslav, and Veliko Tŕrnovo).

113. Văzharova ascribed the urns found in cremation burials at Garvan-Stareca, near Silistra, to the Prague-Korchak type, and thus dated the entire cemetery to the late sixth and early seventh century (Văzharova 1971:18).

114. More recently, Stefka Angelova attributed to the Pen'kovka type small fragments of pottery found in a sunken building and spoke of Antes as the first Slavs to have come to Bulgaria, a dim recollection of Zlatarski's ideas (Angelova 1980:3; cf. Zlatarski 1970:52). But, like

Vladislav Popović, Stefka Angelova also argued that the Slavs brought to the Balkans not only the hand-made pottery of Korchak-Zhitomir or Pen'kovka type, but also the wheel-maded pottery which was typical for the Ipotești-Cândești culture (Angelova 1980:4-5).

115. In 1965 the congress took place in Warsaw, in 1970 in Berlin, in 1975 in Bratislava, in 1980 in Sofia, in 1985 in Kiev, and in 1990 in various cities in Yugoslavia (Gojda 1991:6). To my knowledge, there no congress of Slavic archaeology was organized after 1990.

116. E.g., the attacks on Miiatev by Atanas Milchev in his paper presented at the first congress in Warsaw, in 1965 (Milchev 1970) or the challenge to Comșa's theories brought by Teodor's paper presented at the third congress in Bratislava, in 1975 (Teodor 1979). For a Polish case, see Godłowski 1979.

117. Niederle's influence is also visible in Vernadsky's argument that Samo established the first Czech state (Vernadsky 1943:199).

118. When he began working on the major project which dominated his research between 1938 and 1968, his five-volume history of Russia to 1682, Vernadsky was still committed to Eurasianist ideas, to which he had been exposed during his staying in Prague (Halperin 1982). In Czechoslovakia, Vernadsky and Lubor Niederle had become good friends.

119. At the height of World War II, many Russian émigrés were ready, whatever their political convictions, to serve the cause of Mother Russia, a policy fostered by Stalin's use of Russian slogans (Manning 1957:63).

120. Niederle's influence is also visible in Cross's argument that those overthrowing the Avar hegemony under Samo were the Czechs (Cross 1948:30).

121. On Dvornik's life before and after his immigration to the United States, see Nemec 1973. Dvornik has studied in Prague with both Niederle and Peisker.

122. Dvornik borrows Vernadsky's explanation of the *Spali-Spori* (Dvornik 1956:22; cf. Vernadsky 1938).

123. "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" (Gimbutas 1971:26). At that time, as well as now, museum collections in Ukraine or Bulgaria undoubtedly prove Gimbutas's statement to be wrong.

124. A linguist and philologist, Horace G. Lunt, enthusiastically embraced Pritsak's ideas. Like Pritsak, Lunt believes that the intervention of the Avars created a Slavic *lingua franca* which spread throughout the Slavic territory, obliterating older dialects and languages (Lunt 1985:203).

125. "We shall call these efforts a reconquest, rather than a *Völkerwanderung*" (Bačić 1983:304).

126. Ignoring most of Suzana Dolinescu-Ferche's recent work, in particular her monograph and subsequent articles on the sites at Dulceanca (Dolinescu-Ferche 1974; Dolinescu-Ferche 1986b; Dolinescu-Ferche 1992), Milich concludes that the evidence there is that of "a mixed settlement in which Dacian dwellings and ceramic wares were discovered together with immigrant farmer semi dug-outs and pottery (Prague and Penkovka wares)" (Milich 1995:207). In fact, the site at Dulceanca I includes two phases, separated from each other by three hundred years. The "Dacian dwellings" had long been abandoned when the sixth-century settlement began its existence. Similarly, Milich speaks of archaeological evidence, which, in reality, does not exist, such as coins from Heraclius found in settlements in Bucharest, issues from Justinian found at Suceava, or inhumation burials found at Sărata Monteoru (Milich 1995:207 and 212).

127. Aias 1035: ἐχόλκευσε ξίφος... Αἶδης δημιουργὸς ἄγριος. Cf. Ivanov, Gindin, and Cymburskii 1991:221. For Procopius' concept of God and gods, see Veh 1951:21 and 23; Elferink 1967.

128. Despite claims to the contrary (Benedicty 1963; Benedicty 1965), the influence of Classical models seems to have been restricted to introductory and conclusive formulas, sequences of notations, and interpretive patterns (Cesa 1982:203).

129. Procopius' description of the road between Strongylum and Rhegium, on the *via Egnatia*, leaves the impression that he has seen the coarse paving stones with his own eyes (Buildings IV 8). But the lack of coherence in the direction of the author's account of Illyricum and Thrace in Book IV of the Buildings may reflect the lack of personal experience of the area (Adshead 1990:108).

Other details, such as the use of Mysia for Moesia (inferior), may be attributed to the influence of Homer (IV 6; cf. Il. XIII 5).

130. After the first siege of Rome, Procopius was sent to Naples, in charge of supplies for the army, and then to Auximum, in 539/40, where some Sclavene mercenaries were used by Belisarius to capture some Ostrogoths from the besieged city (Wars VI 26.16-22).

131. For a different, but unconvincing dating of the Secret History, see Scott 1987:217. Cf. Greatrex 1994:104. Book VIII was finished in 554 (Cameron 1985:8).

132. In his Buildings, Procopius places the capture of the city οὐ πολλῶ ἔμπροσθεν. He also lists the Goths among the empire's neighbors on the Danube frontier, which could only refer to a situation prior to the year 555 (IV 1).

133. Incidentally, the description of the physical appearance of the Sclavenes ["they never wear corselets ... (or) even a shirt or a cloak, but gathering their trews up as far as to their private parts, they enter into battle..."; Wars VII 14.27] is more of a stereotype than an accurate description (cf. Benedicty 1965:75-76). Compare to the description of the Herules ["(they) have neither helmet nor corselet nor any protective armor..."; Wars II 25.27] or to that of the Moors (Wars IV 6.12). For the Slavic ἀναξυρίδα as neither pants nor trousers, but as gaiters, see Ivanov, Gindin, and Cymburskii 1991:226. For a cautious approach to Procopius' digressions and 'origins'-passages, see Cameron 1985:213.

134. Procopius' Constantinopolitan perspective is betrayed by his account of the Sclavene invasion of 549 (Wars VII 38.21-23). Procopius tells us that after crossing the Danube river, the 3,000 Sclavene warriors split into two groups, operating independently. One group attacked the cities in Thrace, the other invaded Illyricum. But Procopius' account focuses only on those Sclavenes who have approached the walls of Constantinople and completely ignores those raiding Illyricum. Cf. Ivanov, Gindin, and Cymburskii 1991:243. It is likely that Procopius used an oral source for the obviously exaggerated figure of 15,000 prisoners taken by the Sclavenes after capturing Topeiros, as well as for the description of their torture and execution (Wars VII 38.23).

135. More recently, Walter Goffart attempted to

date the Getica no earlier than 552. He believed it was well suited to 554, the year of the Sanctio pragmatica, though he also recognized that an exact year of composition after 552 cannot be established (Goffart 1988:106-107). But as Hans Hubert Anton has shown, Goffart badly needed this date for his peculiar interpretation of the Getica (Anton 1994:280 and 283). For a critique of Goffart's thesis, see also Heather 1991:44 and 47-49. In any case, there is no textual evidence for this late dating.

136. Justinian's adviser in matters regarding adherents and opponents of the council at Chalcedon was Bishop Theodore Ascidas of Caesarea, an enthusiastic supporter of Origen's doctrines. It is on Theodore's advise that Justinian issued the famous edict of the Three Chapters in 543/4 (Moorhead 1994:130).

137. For a survey of the relevant literature, see Anton 1994:275-276.

138. Collectanea rerum memorabilium 20.2, p. 96: *de internis eius partibus Alba Guthalus Viscla amnes latissimi praecipitant in Oceanum*. Eight manuscripts of Mommsen's classes I and II have *uiscla*, while three of his class III read *uistla*.

139. Th. Mommsen, "Prooemium," in Getica, p. xxxi; id., in Collectanea rerum memorabilium, p. xxvi.

140. For a different, but less convincing interpretation, see Wolfram 1988:87-88, who interprets this passage as indicating that the Greutungi succeeded "in gaining control of the entire trade route from the Volga bend downstream as far as the Don and the Black Sea." Though nothing in Getica seems to prove his interpretation, Wolfram believes that Hermanaric's kingdom included not only Slavs (i.e. Venethi), but also Antes (Wolfram 1988:86 and 116). Cf. Heather 1996:55.

141. There is additional evidence that the reference to Venethi in the account of Hermanaric's military deeds originated in the 'catalogue of nations.' Following his victory over the Venethi, Hermanaric subdued the Aesti, "who dwell on the farthest shore of the German Ocean" (Getica 120). Cf. Wolfram 1988:86-87; Kazanski 1991:36 and 38. Again, the Tacitean association between Venethi and Aesti betrays Jordanes' sources.

142. For the spelling of Antes in both Greek and Latin, see Werner 1980:577.

143. Mommsen, "Prooemium," p. xxxi.

144. The verb γυναικομαστοβορέω, which Pseudo-Caesarius uses in reference to Sclavenes, is an unique occurrence, with no other parallel in any older or contemporary text. It may have been invented by Pseudo-Caesarius (Ivanov 1991e:257).

145. Agathias of Myrina refers to a multitude of horsemen, crossing the frozen river "as if it were land (καθάπερ χέρσον)" (V.11.6). This is a clear parallel to Pseudo-Caesarius phrasing: χείμονος πηγνυμένου καὶ εἰς λιθώδη ἀντιτυπίαν μεθισταμένης τῆς μαλακῆς τοῦ ῥείθρου φύσεως. See Bakalov 1974:48. For the literary cliché of the frozen Danube river, which northern barbarians cross as if it were land, see Hornstein 1957:155-158.

146. The use of a Constantinopolitan city chronicle for Book XVIII of Malalas' chronicle is also betrayed by his dating by indiction, which is rare before the middle of Book XVI and becomes frequent only from the beginning of XVIII. At this point, entries in Malalas' chronicle are brief and almost entirely focused on Constantinople (Jeffreys 1990a:166; Jeffreys 1990b: 214).

147. This further suggests that, despite recent claims to the contrary (Schramm 1995:197), this new name originated not in the Balkans, from an alleged Thracian or Illyrian intermediary, but in Constantinople.

148. Another fragment has been identified in a fourteenth-century manuscript at the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris (Halkin 1973).

149. Inconsistency in rendering the name of the Sclavene chief (Dauritas/Daurentius) should not necessarily be interpreted as evidence for two sources, for such examples are not rare in Menander's History (Blockley 1985:10).

150. John is mostly praised for his precise chronology, which is based on the Seleucid era (Serikov 1991:281).

151. Though Michael the Syrian claims that the material borrowed from John of Ephesus ends at X 20, much of his chapter X 21 is also derived from John's Ecclesiastical History. He might have used John through an intermediary, possibly the chronicle attributed to Dionysius of Tell Mahre, who might have misled him over the precise conclusion of John's work. Michael the Syrian

certainly borrowed from John his account of widespread Slav ravaging, including the sack of churches at Corinth, and the payments made by Maurice to the Antes to attack Slavic territories north of the Danube (Whitby 1988:111).

152. Such explanations would resurface in later descriptions of the Slavs by Arab sources, such as Mas'udi.

153. This passage is one of the key arguments for the chronology of the Slavic *Landnahme* of the Balkans; cf. Nestor 1963:50-51; Ferjančić 1984:95; Pohl 1988:82; Popović 1975:450; Weithmann 1978:86. In fact, like Pseudo-Caesarius, John of Ephesus may have been inspired by the intensifying eschatological apprehension, which is evident in a number of contemporary texts, such as John Malalas and Romanos the Melodist's hymn On the Ten Virgins. See Magdalino 1993:5 and 7.

154. John also knows of Avars attacking Thrace, Greece and Pannonia (p. 215). Cf. Weithmann 1978:88; Yannopoulos 1980:333; Pohl 1988:76 and 359 n. 40.

155. The first raid is most probably misdated by two years (578 instead of 576); cf. Waldmüller 1976:106.

156. That this selective memory ostensibly operated only in connection with certain Constantinopolitan sources is indirectly suggested by Pope Gregory the Great's epistles. Though he had spent some time between 579 and 585/6 in Constantinople as papal *apocrisiarius*, before being elected pope, Gregory was apparently unaware of the importance of Avars in contemporary events relevant to the Balkans. Throughout his considerable correspondence (over 850 letters), there is no mention of the Avars, but two letters (IX 154 of May 599 and X 15 of July 600) specifically refer to Slavene raids in Istria (cf. Ronin 1995a:351-352). Paul the Deacon, arguably relying on independent sources, would however claim later that not only Slavs, but also Lombards and Avars, had invaded Istria (History of the Lombards IV 24). In the tradition established by Constantinopolitan sources that have inspired both Agathias and Malalas, Gregory speaks of *Sclavi*, instead of *Sclaveni* (IX 154: *de Sclavis victorias nuntiastis*; X 15: *Sclavorum gens*).

157. Some would even go as far as to claim that the chapter on the Slavs is the only original part of the work (Cankova-Petkova 1987:73) and this might not be too far-fetched. It is interesting to note, however, that the Strategikon lists Antes among enemies of the Empire,

despite their being allies of the Empire since 545 (Kuchma 1991:381).

158. The heavy armed infantry was in turn equipped with 'Herulian swords' (XII 8.4). Cf. Giuffrida 1985:855.

159. J. Wiita believed the Strategikon to have been written by Philippikos, Maurice's brother-in-law and general, who had served on the Eastern front between 577 and 582, had become *comes excubitorum* and, in 583, *magister militum per Orientem*. According to Wiita, the treatise was calculated to facilitate Philippikos' return to power after Phocas' coup, "just as Macchiavelli's Il Principe was so intended" (Wiita 1977:47-48).

160. Others argued that the army described by the Strategikon corresponds to that resulting from the military reforms introduced by Tiberius II and Maurice (Giuffrida 1985:859).

161. Recently, Paul Speck argued that Archbishop John was not the author of Book I, which is a much later collection dating to the ninth century (Speck 1993:275, 512, and 528). I find Speck's arguments totally unconvincing, for a variety of reasons. He strove to demonstrate that John mentioned by the author of Book II as responsible for the collection in Book I is not a bishop, but an abbot. He is however specifically mentioned as πατήρ καὶ ἐπίσκοπος (II 2.201).

162. Paul Lemerle believed that, though written in the early regnal years of Heraclius, parts, at least, of Book I may have been composed even earlier (Lemerle 1981:80).

163. The fifteenth miracle even shows him disobeying God, who is explicitly being compared to the emperor, by refusing to abandon the city to the enemy (I 15.166-175).

164. In the prologue, John addresses the entire brotherhood (πᾶσαν τὴν ἀδελφότητα) and the pious assembly (ὁ φιλόθεος ἐκκλησία). He will not speak from his 'hand' or 'pen', but with his tongue (γλῶττα, διὰ μιᾶς γλῶττης), and will employ a simple and accessible language (Prologue 6-7).

165. He begins with miracles of bodily healing (I 1-3), move on to a miracle of healing of the soul (I 4), then present three miracles in which the saint appears to individuals (I 5-7), and ends his collection with mira-

cles that directly affect Thessalonica and its citizens (I 8-15).

166. The author of Book II explicitly states that Archbishop John led the resistance of the Thessalonians during the thirty-three-day siege of the city by the chagan (II 2.204).

167. Paul Lemerle even suggested that St. Demetrius became a military saint only after the attacks of the Avars and the Sclavenes (Lemerle 1981:41). In Book II, St. Demetrius already introduces himself to bishop Kyprianos as στρατιώτης (II 6.309).

168. Unlike the anonymous author of Book II, John never refers to the Slavs as Σκλάβοι, only as Σκλαβίνοι or Σκλαβηνοί (Ivanova 1995a:185 and 194).

169. For a similar accusation against Theophanes, see Proudfoot 1974:382.

170. The use of an official, perhaps Constantinopolitan report is also betrayed by the use of *Sclavi* instead of *Sclavini*. The same event is recorded by *Continuatio hispana*, written in 754 (*Sclavi Greciam occupant*). Its author derived this information not from Isidore, but from another, unknown source, which has been presumably used by Isidore himself (Szádeczky-Kardoss 1986b:54; cf. Ivanova 1995b:355).

171. *Bellum Avaricum* would in turn become Theophanes' source for his account of the combined Persian-Avar attack upon Constantinople in 626 (Proudfoot 1974:382).

172. The Constantinopolitan chronicle was also used for the period between 602 and 641 by Nicephorus, in part I of his *Breviarium* (Mango 1990:14).

173. The complimentary reference to Bonosus, Phocas' hated henchman (VIII 5.10), is also an indication that the source was produced in the milieu of Phocas' court (Olajos 1988:129; Whitby 1988:104).

174. As a result, one year that was probably taken up by embassies and military preparations (VIII 1.11) has been omitted (Whitby and Whitby 1986:xxvi). Theophylact's inability to understand his source may have also been responsible for some obscure passages, such as VII 4.8, where the river crossed by Peter's army against Peiragastus is not the Danube, for ποταμός only occurs

singly when preceded by ὁ Ἰστρος (ποταμός) (Ivanov 1995b:59). Theophylact may have omitted that paragraph from his source which dealt with the crossing of the Danube and only focused on the actual confrontation with Peiragastus' warriors.

175. E.g., the death of the patriarch of Constantinople, John Nesteutes, which is placed by Theophylact at the end of his account of the campaign of 594 (VII 6.1-5), actually happened on September 2, 595. Moreover, in inserting this information into his account, Theophylact believes he goes "back to the older events of the history," thus dating the patriarch's death four years earlier.

176. The Constantinopolitan chronicle, however, did not provide Theophylact with enough military information to help him resolve the chronological uncertainties of his military source (Whitby 1988:106).

177. S. A. Ivanov believes that Theophylact uses 'parasang' as an equivalent to 'mile' (Ivanov 1995b:50). But Theophylact's text indicates that he had a clear understanding of the difference between the two. The distance between Constantinople and Hebdomon is at one time given in parasangs (V 16.4), at another in miles (VIII 10.1), and Theophylact also uses miles separately (e.g. VII 4.3).

178. In preparing the ambush against Peter's soldiers, Peiragastus "concealed himself in the woods like an overlooked bunch of grapes on the vine" (VII 4.13). Theophylact's bombastic style was already remarked by Photius, who noted that his use of metaphorical words and allegorical concepts "leads to a certain frigidity and juvenile lack of taste" (pp. 79-80; cf. Olajos 1982:157; Whitby and Whitby 1986:xxvii).

179. In his account of the victory of the Romans against Musocius, Theophylact tells us that "the Romans inclined toward high living" (πρὸς τρυφὴν κατέκλινοντο), "were sewed up in liquor" (τῇ μέθῃ συρρήπτονται), and disregarded sentry-duty (τῆς διαφρουρᾶς κατημέλησαν). Although all three actions took place at the same definite time in the past, Theophylact's use of tenses is most inconsistent, for, in a bizarre combination, he employs imperfect, present, and aorist, respectively. Cf. Olajos 1982:160.

180. For Theophylact's concept of God's role in history, see Leanza 1971:560 and 565.

181. A literary influence may also explain why Theophylact sometimes called the Slavs Γετικὸν (ἔθνος), a phrase commonly used for Goths (Ivanov 1995b:47). It is interesting to note that he also called the Persians 'Babylonians' and the Avars 'Scythians.'

182. Despite claims to the contrary (Olajos 1988: 135), the fact that the last part of the History is less stylish and organized does not support the idea that Theophylact's historical interest in books VI-VIII was only limited and that he must have died before re-editing this part of his work (cf. Whitby 1988:49-50).

183. Ardagastus is attacked by surprise, in the middle of the night (VI 7.1; cf. Strategikon IX 2.7). The author of the Strategikon knows that provisions could be found in abundance in Sclavene territory, a fact confirmed by the booty taken by Priscus which caused disorder among his soldiers (VI 7.6; cf. Strategikon XI 4.32). Following Strategikon's counsels, Priscus orders some of his men to move ahead on reconnaissance (VI 8.9 and VI 9.12; cf. Strategikon XI 4.41). Finally, Maurice's orders for his army to pass winter season in Sclavene territory (VI 10.1; VIII 6.2) resonate with strategic thoughts expressed in the Strategikon (XI 4.19).

184. For a detailed discussion of the multiple authorship thesis, see Goffart 1963.

185. As his knowledge of embassies shows (IV 45, 51, 62, 65, 68, 71, and 73).

186. His story about Xerxes, Theoderich's Avar captive (II 57), is strikingly close to an impressive list of similar stories drawn from Dietrich sagas or the Charlemagne cycle (Tirr 1976:118).

187. According to Fredegar, Samo did not reject the idea of punishing those who had "killed and robbed a great number of Frankish merchants," but "simply stated his intention to hold an investigation so that justice could be done in this dispute, as well as in others that had arisen between them in the meantime" (IV 68). Samo thus rejected Dagobert's claims that criminals should be sent to him. On the other hand, Sicharius, *sicut stultus legatus*, reminded Samo that he and his people owed fealty to Dagobert (for the rhetorical duel between the two, see Bardzik 1964:6; Schütz 1992:56). In other words, he claimed that since they were all under the king's *dicio*, Dagobert was entitled to have the ultimate word in that case. At this crucial point of the story, Samo's state of

mind is marked by standard phrases, as Fredegar makes him reply "by now weary" to Sicharius' threats (cf. Pizarro 1989:123). As if talking with a fool, Samo restrained his anger and proposed instead friendly relations with Dagobert. But *amicitia*, as Wolfgang Fritze has shown, would have again implied equal rights and obligations (Fritze 1994:102). Sicharius maintained his position, although, as Fredegar points out, "he had no authority." Fredegar's criticism appears based on the assumption that Sicharius had no right to bring into discussion the *seruitium* that Samo presumably owed to Dagobert.

188. "The Wends were called Befulci by the Huns, because they advanced twice to the attack in their war bands, and so covered the Huns" (IV 48).

189. A dim recollection of the same story is preserved in the Russian Primary Chronicle. The first to notice the resemblance and to claim a Western origin for Nestor's account of the Dulebians oppressed by Avars was A. A. Shakhmatov (see Zasterová 1964; Swoboda 1970:76). For a detailed discussion, see Curta 1997:150.

190. He stressed that the Wendish *gens* was the outgrowth of a military conflict, but it was through the long-suffering *uxores Sclavorum et filias* that the *befulci* turned into a fully-fledged *gens*. The story of how a Wendish *gens* was created thus operates as a counterpart to other equivalent stories, such as that of the Trojan origin of the Franks or that of chapter 65 of book III, significantly entitled *De Langobardorum gente et eorum origine et nomine*. For the role of the saga in a period and within a historiographic genre obsessed with *origo gentis*, see Wolfram 1981:311; Wolfram 1990:789-801; Anton 1994.

191. To my knowledge, Fredegar is the only source to use all three names (Wends, Sclavenes, Slavs).

192. Samo as a merchant went *in Sclauos* to do business (IV 48), those *gentes* eager to receive Dagobert with open hands lived *circa limitem Auarorum et Sclauorum* (IV 58), and Lombards made a hostile attack *in Sclauos* (IV 68).

193. This interpretation dovetails with his explanation of Samo's behavior: "as is the way with pagans and men of wicked pride" (IV 68). It may also explain Sicharius' attitude, especially his bold reply to the Wendish king: "It is impossible for Christians and servants of the Lord to live on terms of friendship with

dogs" (ibid.). This metaphor reminds one of the answer given by Caesara, the wife of the Persian emperor, to the envoys that her husband had sent to seek for her: "I shall not address these fellows. They live dogs' lives. I will answer them only if they will do as I have done, and become Christians (emphasis added)" (IV 9). At the sixth ecumenical council in Constantinople (November 680) *Sclavi* were known as having welcomed Christian missionaries (see Litavrin 1995a).

194. For a list of five tribes, see II 1.179; for other tribes, see II 4.232.

195. For the use of some administrative sources, see Beshevliev 1970a:287-288. For the attitude toward the central government reflected in Book II, see Margetić 1988:760; cf. Ditten 1991.

196. It has even been argued that because its author refers to a numerous Slavic population living near Bizye, at a short distance from Constantinople (II 4.238), Book II must have been written after emperor Justinian II's campaign of 688 against the Sclavenes living in the immediate vicinity of the capital (Ivanova 1995a:200).

197. In 769, the terminal date of his Breviarium, Nicephorus was about eleven years old (he was born in or about 758, in the reign of Constantine V) (Litavrin 1995d:221). Litavrin proposes a date of the work itself between 775 and 787, but it is not until 828 that the Breviarium was finished (Litavrin 1995c:222).

198. Ivan Bozhilov believed this source to have been the Great Chronographer, but there is no evidence to support this idea, for only a few fragments survive from that source, none of which refers to the settlement of the Bulgars (Bozhilov 1975:29). On the other hand, for much of the seventh and eighth centuries, Theophanes was also dependent on a Syriac chronicle, not available to Nicephorus (Scott 1990a:41). It is possible that this source provided Theophanes with a description of the Black Sea northern coast and an *excursus* on the history of the Bulgars, which cannot be found in Nicephorus (cf. Chichurov 1980:107). For relations between the Great Chronographer and Theophanes, see Whitby 1982.

199. There are also some instances of innovative modification, as in the case of the episode of Peter's military confrontation with 1000 Bulgar warriors (VII 4.1-7), which Theophanes enriches with a short reply of

Peter to Bulgar offers of peace (p. 275), which is absent from Theophylact's account.

200. For the use of the word (*Sclavinia*) in contemporary Carolingian sources, see Bertels 1987:160-161.

201. In contrast, a duke of the *Sorbi* is known to Fredegar (IV 68). But *Sorabi*, *quae natio magnam Dalmatiae partem optinere dicitur*, do not appear in Frankish annals before 822 (Pohl 1988:268). Moreover, as Neven Budak (1990:130) has shown, Emperor Constantine's own work provides enough evidence to prove that the ethnic and political configuration of the western Balkans during the tenth century was far more complex than a Croat-cum-Serb arrangement.

202. The name of the Croats first occurs in documents dated to Prince Trpimir (852) and Prince Branimir (879-892), that of the Balkan Serbs slightly later (Budak 1990:130).

203. In order to make his story more credible, Constantine himself seems to have felt it necessary to explain why Croats were living in two different areas of Europe, so far from each other. But he only and clumsily added an impossible and meaningless etymology: "'Croats' in the Slav tongue means 'those who occupy much territory'" (chapter 31). The first who noticed the anachronism contained within both versions of the Croat *origo gentis* was Ernst Dümmler (1856), followed by Konstantin Jireček (1911:108) and Josip Mal (1939:57-58). Despite the clear evidence that both accounts were amalgamations of various sources freely interpreted only in accordance to Byzantine political claims, the idea of migration is too powerful to be abandoned by modern historians. More recently, Lujo Margetić (1977) and Nada Klaić (1984; 1985) have tried to demonstrate that, because of Constantine's chronological blunders, we should re-date the migration of the Croats to the late eighth or early ninth century, after the demise of the Avar chaganate. But there is no reference to any migration during this otherwise relatively well documented period (cf. Pohl 1988:262 and 432 n. 8). For the Serbs, see also Schuster-Sewc 1985.

204. The Serbs sent a request to Emperor Heraclius through the military governor of Belgrade (Βελέγραδον, instead of Σιγγιδών, as in chapter 25). They were first given land in the province (ἐν τῷ θεματι) of Thessalonica, but no such theme existed during Heraclius' reign. Emperor Constantine's explanation of the ethnic

name of the Serbs as derived from *servi* is simply wrong.

205. For the use of paronomasia, homoioteleuton, *constructio ad sensum*, *infinitivus cum articulo*, and a unique example of athesauriston, see Koder 1976:76.

206. For the ecclesiastical division in Peloponnesus, see Yannopoulos 1993. For the Chronicle of Monemvasia as a forgery of ecclesiastical origin, perpetrated by or in behalf of the metropolitan of Patras, see Setton 1950:517.

207. The first to infer this dating from the text was S. B. Kougeas (1912:477-478). His main argument was that the Chronicle was copying at some point a scholium written by Arethas of Caesarea in 932 (cf. Setton 1950:516). But as Franjo Barišić has shown, the chronicler based his account of the Avar invasion into Greece on a lost source using a chronological system similar to that used by Theophanes (Barišić 1965; cf. Kalligas 1990:12-13).

208. Attempts to attribute the Chronicle to Arethas of Caesarea and to date it to about 900 (Koder 1976:77; Pohl 1988:99) fail to explain the clear chronological markers indicated by Ivan Duichev (cf. Duichev 1980).

209. That the author of the Chronicle of Monemvasia was not alone in attributing to Avars (not Slavs) the invasion into Attica results from the mention of Avars living near Athens by the unknown author of the eighth-century Life of St Pancratius (Olajos 1986; for the relevant passages and the dating of the Life, see Litavrin 1995b:333-334).

210. Because the scholium refers to both Thessalia prima and Thessalia secunda, an administrative division often dated to the eleventh century, its dating and authenticity have been disputed by J. Karayannopoulos (1971:456-457).

211. When referring to Patras, Arethas has in mind his own home town (πατρις ἡμῶν, p. 12). The list of territories conquered by Slavs, which can also be found, in a slightly modified form, in the Chronicle, derives from Book II of the Miracles of St Demetrius (II 1.179; cf. Pohl 1988:369 n. 4).

212. In contrast to the richness of detail in the preceding paragraph, Arethas' text is very vague here. We are only told that the emperor "has been informed"

(βασιλεὺς γὰρ ὁ εἰρημένος ἀναμαθών) where the "ancient inhabitants" (τοῖς ἀρχῆθεν οἰκήτορσιν) of Patras lived at that time (p. 19).

213. Some sixty years after Bishop Amandus, St. Marinus was burnt at stake by *Uuandali* somewhere in the borderlands of Bavaria (*Vita Sancti Marini*, p. 170). By contrast, the bishop of Salzburg, St. Hrodbert, is known for having converted a *rex Carantanorum* in the late 600s, and for having preached to the *Wandali* (*Vita Hrodberti*, p. 159). For 'Vandals' as Wends, see Steinberger 1920.

214. According to Paul, Secundus was an important cleric, apparently a supporter of the Three Chapters Schism, and had close relations with the Lombard court, at the time of King Agilulf and Queen Theudelinda (III 29 and IV 27).

215. Paul's story of the Slavs invading Beneventum by sea is confirmed by the *Chronica S. Benedicti*, who refers to Aio's death by the hands of the Slavs in about 642 (p. 202; cf. Borodin 1983:56).

216. Paul's purpose with his *History of the Lombards*, written in the late 780s, may have been to edify and instruct young Grimoald III, the son of Paul's one-time patron, Adalperga (Goffart 1988:333 and 340).

217. Boruth ruled between ca. 740 and ca. 750, followed by his son Cacatius (ca. 750 to 752) and his nephew Cheitmar (752 to ca. 769), then by Waltunc (ca. 772 to ca. 788), and Priwizlauga (ca. 788 to ca. 799). Cf. *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum* c. 4-5.

218. Marcellinus Comes, whose chronicle covered the period between 379 and 518, to which he later added a sequel down to 534 (a supplement to 548 being added by another author), had no knowledge of Sclavenes, despite considerable overlap in time-spans covered by his chronicle and Procopius' *Wars*.

219. For Palacký's image of the ancient Slavs, see Zacek 1970:84-85.

220. For Procopius' confusion between Justinian and Justin, see Ensslin 1929:698; Rubin 1954:227; Ivanov, Gindin, and Cymburskii 1991:240-241. Probably influenced by Procopius' story of Chilbudius' Antian namesake, some historians argued that the *magister militum per Thraciam* himself was a Slav (see Ditten 1976:78; Ferjančić 1984: 88; Litavrin 1986; Whitby 1988:82; Soustal 1991:70;

Moorhead 1994:150; cf. Duichev 1960:34). Procopius, however, clearly states that Chilbudius was a member of the imperial household. For the origin of the name, see Strumins'kyj 1979-1980:790.

221. The terms used by Procopius to indicate that Chilbudius stopped barbarians to cross the Danube (ὁ ποταμὸς διαβάτος, τὴν διάβασιν πολλάκις, διαβῆναι), but permitted Romans to cross over the opposite side (ἐς ἡπείρον τὴν ἀντιπέρας... ἰόντες ἐκτείναν τε) show that the Lower Danube still was, at least in his eyes, an efficient barrier (Chrysos 1987:27-28; cf. Lemerle 1980:286).

222. At the same time, Mundo, who had recently been appointed *magister militum per Illyricum*, was launching a large-scale offensive in Illyricum against the *Getae* (Marcellinus Comes, p. 43). See Beshevliev 1981:81.

223. For the date of Chilbudius' death, see Waldmüller 1976:36.

224. Novel 41 of May 18, 536 (Corpus Juris Civilis, p. 262).

225. According to John Lydus, Justinian set aside for the prefect of Scythia "three provinces, which were almost the most prosperous of all" (On Powers II 29). For the *quaestura exercitus*, see also Stein 1968:474-475; Lemerle 1980:286; Hendy 1985:404; Szádeczky-Kardoss 1985; Whitby 1988:70.

226. It is, however, very unlikely that the see was ever transferred to Justiniana Prima (Granić 1925:128; Maksimović 1984:149).

227. See the introduction to *Institutiones*, Codex Iustinianus (Corpus Iuris Civilis, p. xxiii); cf. the novel 17 (Corpus Juris Civilis, p. 117); Velkov 1987:159; Irmscher 1980:161; Ivanov 1991b:261; Günther 1992. Justinian's successors imitated his intitulation. The last emperor to do so was Heraclius (novel 22 of May 1, 612).

228. Codex Justinianus, edict 13 (Corpus Juris Civilis, p. 785). See Whitby 1988:166 n. 34. Despite claims to the contrary (Barnea 1985b:96), this passage has nothing to do with John Lydus' reference to Scythia (On Powers II 28). He may well refer to Justinian's intentions to emulate Trajan, but Scythia cited here is just the name of the province located south of the Dan-

ube, later to be included in the *quaestura exercitus*.

229. The first conquest of Sirmium by Gepids dates back to 473 (Šašel 1979:750; Pohl 1980:299; Christou 1991:64-65). Sirmium would become the major bone of contention between Byzantium and barbarians living in the Danube basin (Wozniak 1979:144-147).

230. As a consequence, sometime around 539, the Gepids allied themselves with the Franks and the Lombards (Agathias I 4); cf. Pohl 1980:299. For the policy of settling one group of barbarians against the other, as a fundamental principle of Justinian's policy on the northern frontier, see Wozniak 1979:156.

231. It is on this occasion that, according to Procopius, a young man of the Antes, named Chilbudius, was taken captive by a Slavene. The namesake of the former *magister militum per Thraciam* proved himself a vigorous warrior, thus distinguishing himself by his deeds of valor, "through which he succeeded in winning great renown" (*Wars* VII 14.8-9). Procopius is preparing us for the story of how the Antes would obtain a *foedus* from Justinian, a story in which the *quiproquo* created by 'phoney Chilbudius' would play a major role (cf. Litavrin 1986:27).

232. This is a remarkably numerous troop, especially when compared to Belisarius' entire army amounting to no more than 5,000 men. More important, this is a rare case of Procopius mentioning the place of origin for foreign mercenaries. Among thirteen ethnic groups fighting within the Roman army mentioned in the *Wars*, there are only two similar cases (*Wars* I 15.1; VIII 14.6; Ivanov, Gindin, and Cymburskii 1991:208 and 210). In my opinion, there is no reason to be suspicious about Procopius' knowledge of the place of origin of the Slavene and Antian mercenaries. (cf. Nestor 1965:147).

233. The date of the raid could be established on the basis of Procopius referring, in the same passage, to a comet, "at first long as a tall man, but later much larger" (Rubin 1954:108). It is often assumed, perhaps wrongly, that the Huns of 539/40 were Bulgars (Beshevliev 1981:84).

234. For the date of Procopius' reference, see Ferjančić 1984:92. For the cliché of the 'Scythian wilderness,' first used by Aristophanes, see Ivanov, Gindin, and Cymburskii 1991:247.

235. The reference to Berbers points to the Moorish revolts between 534 and 548, as Byzantine Africa was raided by Berber tribes (Sperber 1982:179-182).

236. The same is true about Procopius' reference to Huns, Sclavenes, and Antes, who had plundered "the whole of Europe, and some of the cities had been levelled to the ground, and others had been stripped of their wealth in very thorough fashion through levied contributions," for the invaders enslaved the population "with all their property, making each region destitute of inhabitants by their daily inroads (ταῖς καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπιδρομαῖς)" (Secret History 23.6). Procopius refers here to events happening at the time Medes and Saracens were plundering "the greater part of the land of Asia." This may refer to hostilities following Khusro's breaking, in 540, of the peace established in 532. But the text is too vague to support any argument. Cf. Pritsak 1983:367. For the conjectural 'Antes', see Ivanov, Gindin, and Cymburskii 1991:247.

237. Thrace referred to by Procopius is most likely the diocese, not the province known by the same name.

238. It would make sense to locate Turris, the city transferred by Justinian to the Antes, in the region that could have blocked the access of steppe nomads to the Danube frontier. Whether Turris is Tyras (present-day Bilhorod Dnistrovs'kyi, also known as Akkerman)(Brătianu 1988:254), Barboși, near Galați (Comșa 1960:731 n. 3; Madgearu 1992), or, more likely, Pietroasele, near Buzău (Rusu 1978:123; Rusu 1980:196; Rusu 1981:21 n. 12), cannot be decided. See also Bolșacov-Ghimpu 1969. Tyras was indeed occupied by a Roman garrison shortly after the conquest of Dacia by Trajan, as troops of the legion V Macedonica moved into the city. But no remains of a sixth-century use of the Roman fort were found in recent archaeological excavations (Karyshkovskii and Kleiman 1985:225). Procopius' location of Turris (ὕπερ ποταμὸν Ἰστρον) is very vague and it is unlikely that he himself had a very clear image of the geography of the region. Nevertheless, since he uses neither ἐν τῇ ἀντιπέρᾳ ἡπείρῳ nor ἐπὶ θάτερα, there is no reason to believe that Turris was located close to the Danube river (Stein 1968:522; cf. Ivanov, Gindin, and Cymburskii 1991:229). On the other hand, any land offered for settlement through the *foedus* had to be less populated, have had no major cities and be strategically isolated and controllable (cf. Chrysos 1989:17).

239. Dewing's unfortunate translation ("to give

them all the assistance within his power while they were establishing themselves") stands for καὶ σφίσι ξυνοικεῖν μὲν δυνάμει τῇ πάσῃ. But συνοικέω literally means 'to settle', as in Wars II 14.1: "Now Chosroes built a city in Assyria... and settled (ξυνώκισεν) there all the captives from Antioch." Note that the use of the prefix ξυv- implies that Justinian intended to bring together at least two different groups (Ivanov, Gindin, and Cymburskii 1991:229).

240. Bozidar Ferjančić (1984:89) argued that the capture of 'phoney Chilbudius' occurred sometime during the fall of 545. According to Procopius, 'phoney Chilbudius' was fluent in Latin (which has contributed to his claiming a false identity), a remarkable fact given that Gilacius, an Armenian who had become a military commander in the Roman army, "did not know how to speak either Greek or Latin or Gothic or any other language except Armenian" (Wars VII 26.24).

241. For ἑσπονοδοὶ as *foederati* and σύμμαχοι as barbarian troops fighting for the Romans under their own commanders, see Christou 1991:32-35. In Procopius' terms, however, ἑσπονοδοὶ were not only barbarians, but also Romans, for instance in relation to Persia (cf. Wars VIII 11.24; Secret History 11.12). Unlike σύμμαχοι, ἑσπονοδοὶ is a concept involving more than a military alliance, for ἑσπονοδοὶ were also political partners (Ivanov 1987:28). Other examples of ἑσπονοδοὶ mentioned in Procopius' Wars: the Lombards (VII 33.12), the Gepids (VII 34.10), the Saginae (VIII 2.18), the Goths (VIII 5.13), the Sabiri (VIII 11.24), and the Cutrigurs (VIII 19.5). Note that most of those allies were on the northern frontier of the empire (Ivanov, Gindin, and Cymburskii 1991:230).

242. For the concept of 'democracy' derisively applied to Slavic society by Procopius, as the opposite of Byzantine monarchy, see Benedicty 1963:46-47; Havlík 1985:174; cf. Benedicty 1965:53. See also Chapter X.

243. Three hundred Antes fought in 547 in Lucania (Italy) against the Ostrogoths (Proc., Wars VII 22.3-6; Teall 1965:309-310). Dabragezas, a Roman officer of Antian origin (Δαβραγέζας, Ἄντης ἀνὴρ, ταξιάρχος), commanded the Roman fleet during the siege of Phasis in Crimea and participated to the campaigns of 555 and 556 against Persia in Lazike (Agathias III 6.9; III 7.2; III 21.6). In the 580s, the Romans bribed the Antes to attack the settlements of the Sclavenes (John of Ephesus VI 45). In 602, the Chagan dispatched Apsich, his general, to destroy the "nation of the Antes, which was in fact

allied to the Romans" (Theophylact Simocatta VIII 5.13). For *foedus*, in general, see also Chrysos 1989:17.

244. There is no evidence to support Ivan Duichev's idea (Duichev 1960:33; cf. Bonev 1983:112 and 114), that the *foedus* of 545 was directed against Sclavenes.

245. It is therefore hardly tenable that negotiations with the Antes may have begun prior to the Hunnic invasion, as Johannes Irmischer (1980:161) believed. According to Procopius, negotiations actually started only when peace was re-established between Antes and Sclavenes.

246. The *communis opinio* is that the Sclavenes to whom Hildigis fled were living somewhere in present-day Slovakia (Zeman 1966:164; Godlowski 1979a:434; Szydlowski 1980:234; Godlowski 1980a:225-226; Pohl 1988:96-97). Hildigis' father, Risiulfos, was the nephew of king Vasces, who had been overthrown by Auduin (Rubin 1954:225).

247. The phrase 'army' (στράτευμα) most probably refers to horsemen (Ivanov, Gindin, and Cymburskii 1991:236).

248. For Hildigis' route, see Margetić 1992:169.

249. Hildigis resurfaced in 552 in Constantinople (Wars VIII 27; cf. Ivanov, Gindin, and Cymburskii 1991:236).

250. The word 'throng' (ὄμιλος) is used by Procopius seventy times in his Wars, always in reference to a group of warriors without either discipline or order (Ivanov, Gindin, and Cymburskii 1991:214).

251. At about the same time, Agathias refers to an Antian officer Dabragezas, the commander of the Roman fleet in Crimea in 554/5 (III 6.9; III 7.2; III 21.6; cf. Werner 1980:590; Strumins'kyj 1979-1980:792). In the same context (III 21.6), he mentions another officer, Leontios, believed by many to have been Dabragezas' son. This is further viewed as a case of a successful assimilation of the Slavs (Ditten 1976:80; Waldmüller 1976:64). But Λεόντιος ὁ Δαβραγέζου refers to Dabragezas' *bu-cellarius*, not son, for the phrase is obviously a counterpart to Ζύπερ ὁ Μαρκελλίνου δορυφόρος in the first part of the sentence (Levinskaia and Tokhtas'ev 1991a:307).

252. At Auximum, Belisarius is told that the Sclavenes "are accustomed to conceal themselves behind a rock or any bush which may happen to be near and pounce upon an enemy" and that "they are constantly practicing this in their native haunts along the river Ister, both on the Romans and on the [other] barbarians as well." This reminds one of what the author of the Strategikon has to say about Sclavenes: "They make effective use of ambushes, sudden attacks, and raids, devising many different methods by night and by day" (XI 4.9).

253. The Sclavenes of 548 were most probably horsemen, for Procopius calls them an 'army' (στράτευμα; cf. Wars I 12.6, p. 96; I 21.15, p. 198; II 4.4, p. 286; III 18.13, p. 158, etc.; see also Ivanov, Gindin and Cymburskii 1991:234). This is also suggested by the fact that they raided deep into Roman territory, moving rapidly. For the date of the raid, see Ensslin 1929:221; Waldmüller 1976:39; Irmischer 1980:162; Bonev 1983: 114; Velkov 1987:155.

254. For the Sclavenes of 549 as horsemen, see Ivanov, Gindin, and Cymburskii 1991:236.

255. To my knowledge, only Berthold Rubin has noticed the difficult interpretation of this passage. He argued that, as a rule, Procopius' narrative following Chilbudius' death tends to be contradictory (Rubin 1954: 226).

256. Note also the difference in terms applied by Procopius to these two groups. The Sclavenes of 545 were a 'throng' (ὄμιλος), those of 549, an 'army' (στράτευμα).

257. Topeiros captured by Sclavenes is also referred to in the Buildings (IV 11). For the ancient city's location in present-day Paradeisos, on the Nestos river, see Soustal 1991:71 and 480-481.

258. Procopius tells us that the Sclavenes of 549 imprisoned their victims in their huts (ἐν τοῖς δωματίοις) together with their cattle and sheep, and then "set fire to the huts without mercy". This is remarkably similar to the treatment of prisoners by the *Getae equites* of 517, who, enraged of not being paid the requested amount, burnt their prisoners alive, together with their houses (*inclusi suis cum domunculis captivi Romani incensi sunt*; Marcellinus Comes, pp. 39 and 120). For a comparable treatment of prisoners by Vidini and Gelones, see Ammianus Marcellinus 31.2.13-16. Such evidence should warn us against speculating, as Ernest Stein

did, that the Slavs had learned such cruelties from their Bulgar masters (Stein 1968:523).

259. The Sclavenes consume with pleasure the breasts of women, full of milk, dash infants with rocks like rats, are savage and live by their own and without the rule of anyone, and feed on foxes and wild cats and boars (Riedinger 1969:302; Bačić 1983:152).

260. It is possible that the Sclavenes of 550, like those of 549, crossed the river by the Iron Gates fords (Popović 1978:608; Maksimović 1980:35; Janković 1981:197). For the date of this raid, see Teall 1965:311.

261. This coincidence led some historians to suggest that the attack of the Sclavenes has been instigated by Totila (Ensslin 1929: 699; Weithmann 1978:68; Ditten 1978:87; Irmscher 1980:162). According to Procopius, however, Justinian ordered his military commanders in Thrace and Illyricum to avoid any confrontation with the invading Huns, for he viewed them as his allies against the Ostrogoths (Secret History 21.26; cf. Beshevliev 1981:85).

262. An Ostrogothic army under Duke Indulf had plundered the Dalmatian coast from Makarska to Salona in 548, but Totila was unable to regain Dalmatia. On the other hand, only parts of the former province of Dalmatia had been reoccupied by Roman troops in 535. Parts of northern Bosnia were occupied by the Lombards (Basler 1993:17).

263. "But the Slavs reappeared, both those who had previously come into the emperor's land, as I have recounted above, and others who had crossed the Ister not long afterwards and joined the first, and they began to overrun the Roman domain with complete freedom" (Wars VII 40.31).

264. That Scholastikos was appointed chief commander may indicate Justinian's distrust of his generals, following the conspiracy of 549 (Ivanov, Gindin, and Cymburskii 1991:243).

265. For the dating of this raid, see Ensslin 1929:700; Waldmüller 1976:551; Velkov 1987:162; Fiedler 1992:8. Notice that for both raids of 551, Procopius speaks of 'throngs' rather than 'armies'.

266. The Sclavenes may have crossed the Danube by the fords in southern Banat (Comşa 1987:219). Vladislav

Popović (1978:608) argued that the Sclavenes may have asked the Gepids to assist them in crossing the Danube, for they feared returning home by the same route (presumably farther to the east). Procopius does not say anything about the starting point of the raid, nor does he describe the routes followed by the Sclavenes to reach Illyricum. Popović's case is thus no more than mere speculation.

267. Procopius views this as a "large payment." In the late 500s, the ransom paid for a prisoner could amount to as much as twelve solidi (Nikolajević 1973:75). The Gepids may have acted in this way in order to intimidate Justinian into concluding an alliance with them against the Lombards, by showing their ability to control the access of the Sclavenes to the Balkan provinces of the Empire (Wozniak 1979:151). There is no reason to believe, as Ernest Stein did (Stein 1968:534; cf. Waldmüller 1976:46), that there was a second crossing by Sclavenes with the assistance of the Gepids.

268. By contrast, Justinian's building program in the eastern Black Sea area was restricted to the coastal road linking Lazike to Trebizond (Lekvinadze 1973:170-171).

269. Notice that in 548, the Sclavenes raiding Illyricum were able to capture an unspecified number of forts, which were known as inexpugnable (Proc., Wars VII 29.1-3). It is possible that those forts have been either recently built or renewed. The Sclavene raids may have briefly interrupted the finishing phase of Justinian's building program.

270. For the name of the fort, see Beshevliev 1970b:124. For its location, see Aricescu 1976; Aricescu 1977:172.

271. The location of Adina is not known. For plausible hypotheses, see Aricescu 1977:177.

272. "Indeed it was the custom of these peoples [barbarians, in general] to rise and make war upon their enemies [the Romans] for no particular cause, and open hostilities without sending an embassy, and they did not bring their struggle to an end through any treaty, or cease operations for any specified period, but they made their attacks without provocation and reached a decision by the sword alone" (IV 1).

273. It is also clear that Justinian laid a stron-

ger emphasis on the second line of defense, for the largest number of forts dating to this period were found around the main mountain passes across the Stara Planina range (Ovcharov 1977:468; cf. Maksimović 1984:152; Ovcharov 1982:19).

274. For a totally unconvincing attempt to reconstruct a Slavene raid not recorded by historical sources on the basis of numismatic evidence, see Popović 1978: 617; Popović 1981.

275. For the location of the Antian polity, see Ditten 1978:89 and 93. For the dating of the Avar attack on the Antes, see Litavrin 1991b:8; Levinskaia and Tokhtas'ev 1991b:328.

276. For Mezamer's name, see Wiita 1977:262; Werner 1980:590; Strumins'kyj 1979-1980:792-793.

277. There is no reason to believe that following the attack of ca. 560, the Antes became allies of the Avars (cf. Rusu 1978:123; Ditten 1978:89; Rusu 1981:21).

278. The confederation of tribes known as the Gök Türk empire had formed in 552 when the Ashina clan had seized power from their Juan-Juan overlords. The empire was divided into a senior eastern and a junior western chaganate. Envoys of the western chaganate came to Constantinople in 562 or 563 to complain about Justinian's alliance with the Avars (Theophanes Confessor, p. 239; cf. Pohl 1988:40-41; Whittow 1996:220-222). The Byzantine response was the embassy of Zemarchus to Chagan Sizabul, in 569 (Menander the Guardsman, fr. 10,2). In November 565, Justin II was already using the Gök Türk as a threat against the Avars (Pohl 1988:49). In 576/7, Bosphorus (Panticapaeum) fell to the chagan of the western division, Turxanthos (Menander the Guardsman, fr. 19,2; cf. Gajdukević 1971:518; Szádeczky-Kardoss 1986a:269; Pohl 1988:67.). Chersonesus followed suit in 579 (Menander the Guardsman, fr. 25,2; cf. Szádeczky-Kardoss 1986a:270). That, on the other hand, the Avars seem to have taken the threat of the western chaganate very seriously, is suggested by their sudden withdrawal from the Balkan front in 584, as soon as they learned that Gök Türk troops were advancing from the east (Michael the Syrian, X 21).

279. The exact meaning of Ἐλλαç is a controversial issue. Despite its vague territorial content, it is clear that Menander refers here to the southern regions of the Balkan peninsula (Weithmann 1978:85; Popović 1980:231; Yannopoulos 1980:332 Levinskaya and Tokhtas'ev 1991b:343;

Chiriac 1993:193). Whether Ἑλλάς is central Greece or Peloponnesus is not important, for both are located far from Thrace and the Danube frontier and could serve as an indicator for the magnitude of the Slavic raid.

280. For the dating of the embassy to the late 560s, see Litavrin 1991b:13.

281. Menander calls these ships ὀκλάσι μακραῖς and ἀμφιπρύμνι. Such vessels had been used by the Roman army during Valens' wars with the Goths (Bounegru 1983:276-277). The number of Avar horsemen is certainly exaggerated, as suggested by Menander's use of λέγεται (Levinskaia and Tokhtas'ev 1991b:346).

282. The Avar horsemen may have used the fords at Carsium/Hârşova (present-day location of the Giurgeni-Vadu Oii bridge) or those at Dinogetia/Garvăn-Galați, in northern Dobrudja (Chiriac 1980:255; Chiriac 1993:198-199; cf. Pohl 1988:68-69; Nestor 1965:148; Levinskaia and Tokhtas'ev 1991b:346-347).

283. The fields may have been cultivated with millet (κῆρυκος) or Italian millet (ἔλυμος); cf. Strategikon XI 4.5.

284. For a later date of this incident, see Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou 1986:348.

285. For the date of this invasion, see Waldmüller 1976:110. John of Ephesus' notion of 'Hellas' is vague and it cannot be decided whether or not he also implied Peloponnesus (cf. Weithmann 1978:88).

286. On the assumption that it occurred at a later date than the siege of 586, Lemerle also dated the Slavic raid involving 5,000 warriors to 604, based on the translation of τῇ δευτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ τῆς ἑορτῆς ἀφνω μέσης νυκτός as "le lundi jour de la fête, au milieu de la nuit" (I 12.102; Lemerle 1981:72). This is an unfortunate mistranslation, to say the least. All that Archbishop John says here is that the Sclavenes attacked on the night of the second day of the festival (Whitby 1988:119-120; Speck 1993:423; Ivanova 1995a:182).

287. The only element available for dating this episode is its connection to the episode of the destroyed *ciborium* of St. Demetrius' church, which John attributes to the time of Bishop Eusebius (I 6.55). Bishop Eusebius is, however, known only from letters written by Pope Gregory the Great between 597 and 603 (Lemerle 1981:27-

28). The date of his appointment is not known. It must have been a long episcopate, for he is mentioned as bishop in 586, as the army of the chagan besieged Thessalonica (I 14.131).

288. John of Ephesus' evidence is considered by many to be a key argument for dating the Slavic settlement in the Balkans. But John is only saying that the Sclavenes were still occupying Roman territory, after four years of raiding. Whether they had established themselves temporarily or on a longer term, is not at all clear (Nestor 1963:50-51; Ferjančić 1984:95; Pohl 1988: 82; Soustal 1991:72; contra: Popović 1975:450).

289. The date is indicated by John of Biclar's mention of both Tiberius II's third regnal year and King Leuvigild's eleventh year.

290. Walter Pohl believes that John of Biclar indeed referred to this concentration of forces when mentioning Pannonia along with Greece (Pohl 1988:76 and 359 n. 40; Cherniak 1991:399).

291. Unlike John of Biclar, Evagrius also reports that cities and strongholds had been conquered by Avars "fighting on the parapets" (ἐξῆπολιόρκησαν).

292. The raid may be that of 584, when Singidunum fell and the vicinity of Anchialos was ravaged (Theophylact Simocatta I 4.1-4; Pohl 1988:77-78; Whitby 1988:110).

293. The threat is also indicated by Comentiolus's hasty appointment as *magister militum praesentalis* (Theophylact Simocatta, I 7.4).

294. For the location of the "land of the Sclavenes," see Nestor 1963:53-54; Pigulevskaja 1970:214; Waldmüller 1976:123; Szydlowski 1980:234; Serikov 1991: 279-280 and 289.

295. Evagrius clearly attests to the fact that when raiding Greece, the Avars were capable of conquering cities and strongholds by "fighting on the parapets" (ἐξῆπολιόρκησαν; VI 10).

296. There are two other cases in which Theophylact refers to Slavs as 'Getae' (VI 6.14 and VII 2.5), but it is difficult to explain this usage. Given Theophylact's bombastic style, it may be simply literary antiquarianism. For the dating of this raid, see Waldmüller 1976:

137; Whitby and Whitby 1986:77 n. 14.

297. Among the barbarians taken captive there were 3,000 Avars, 6,200 other barbarians, and 8,000 Sclavenes. The important point here is not how accurate these figures are, but the proportion in numbers of soldiers in the army of the chagan, which clearly indicates that the Sclavenes played the most important role.

298. For the location of the *provincia Sclaborum*, probably in the upper Drava basin, see Bertels 1987:93. For the Avar protection of the Slavs against the Bavarians, see Paul the Deacon, IV 10. The Sclavenes struck back in 610, as Duke Garibald, son of Tassilo III, was defeated by them at Aguntum (present-day Lienz). Encouraged by Avars, the Sclavenes plundered Bavarian territories in the upper Drava valley (Paul the Deacon, IV 39). The political influence of the chagan reached even farther to the north, as suggested by Theophylact Simocatta's account of the three Sclavenes captured by the imperial bodyguards near Heraclea, in 591 (VI 2.10-16; cf. Theophanes Confessor, pp. 268-269). The Sclavenes belonged to a tribe living "at the boundary of the western ocean," to which the chagan had dispatched envoys, in order to levy a military force.

299. The emperor led the first part of the campaign in person (before reaching the frontier), something no other Roman emperor had done since the days of Theodosius I (Ditten 1978:94).

300. Maurice kept vigil at the church of St. Sophia and "made prayers of supplication" to God to grant "more glorious trophies" after Tatimer returned to Constantinople with the Roman booty from the Sclavenes (Theophylact Simocatta, VI 8.3-8).

301. That the Sclavenes against whom Maurice launched his campaign were not subjects of the Avars is shown by the answer Priscus gave to the Avar envoys: the agreement and the truce with the Avars had not concluded the 'Getic war' as well (Theophylact Simocatta, VI 6.13; cf. Waldmüller 1976:142-143; Rusu 1981:23).

302. This is confirmed by the seventh-century Armenian chronicle attributed to Sebeos, who knows that after the peace was signed between Maurice and Khusro, Maurice "ordered all troops in the Eastern area to be taken across the sea and assembled against the enemy in the Thracian area" (p. 51).

303. For an even later dating (598), see Duket 1980:55.

304. For night attacks, see the Strategikon IX 2.7.

305. The normal marching speed during summer was four Roman miles (about 6 km) per hour (Vegetius, I 9; cf. Watson 1969:55 and n. 170). There are some 40 km between Silistra and the Mostiștea valley, but the pursuit of Ardagastus seem to have been the work of horse-men, not of infantry troops.

306. Helibacia was large enough to pose crossing problems (cf. Theophylact Simocatta VII 5.7-10). The only stream tributary to the Danube that could pose such problems in this region is Ialomița. Alexander attempted to set fire to the woods to which the Sclavenes fled as soon as they saw him coming. He failed, Theophylact explains, because of the damp conditions. This detail may point to a swampy region at the confluence of Sărata and Ialomița, around the modern city of Urziceni. If so, Alexander might have crossed the river somewhere between present-day Snagov, near Bucharest, and Slobozia.

307. For the emendation of βάρβαρον into βορβορώδη, meaning 'swampy', see Whitby and Whitby 1986:169. For the retreat into woods and swamps, see Strategikon XI 4.12 and 38.

308. In Classical sources, a parasang is the distance covered in a fifth of one day marching, i.e. 3.1 to 3.7 miles. Musocius was thus at a considerable distance (about three days of marching) from Helibacia, which probably formed the border between his territory and that of Ardagastus. For Musocius' name, see Braichevskii 1953:23; Cihodaru 1972:5; Comșa 1974:310; Ditten 1978:80 n. 2.

309. If Priscus headed west in order to reach the Paspirius river, Peter's army, in 594, would have encountered Paspirius before reaching Helibacia (cf. Theophylact Simocatta, VII 5.6).

310. In both cases, Priscus closely followed the counsels of the Strategikon: to kill the prisoners (XI 4.45) and to promise gifts to those deserters who can provide valuable informations (IX 3.8).

311. Though Theophylact does not mention the first crossing, it is clear that in order to reach Musocius' territory, one had to cross the river Paspirius (VI 9.10

and 12). The small number of oarsmen may indicate that the Gepid was expecting to find available oarsmen among the refugees. That Musocius agreed to help those coming from Ardagastus' territory seems to confirm the suspicions of the author of the Strategikon. He recommends Roman officers to win over some of the Sclavene chiefs by persuasion or by gifts, then to attack the others, so that "their common hostility will not make them united or bring them together under one rule" (Strategikon XI 4.30; cf. Cankova-Petkova 1962:267).

312. According to the Strategikon, all northern tributaries of the Danube were navigable (XI 4.32). Paspirius has often been identified with the Buzău river, mainly on the basis of the dubious derivation of Musocius' name from the river's ancient name, Musaios (Iorga 1937:307; Nestor 1970:104; Comşa 1974:310; Pohl 1988:141).

313. Taking into account the considerable distance, it seems that these soldiers reached Paspirius by horse.

314. The signal of attack was given by the Gepid "by means of Avar songs" (VI 9.10). Avar songs were apparently familiar to both Romans and Slavs.

315. Cf. Strategikon XI 4.44; see Wiita 1977:335.

316. The forts mentioned by Theophylact Simocatta (Zaldapa, Aquis and Scopi) as having been raided by the Sclavenes were all located in Moesia Inferior (Waldmüller 1976:148-149; contra: Whitby and Whitby 1986:180 n. 5; Whitby 1988:160 and n. 30).

317. For the Roman army's route, see Schreiner 1985:64; Whitby and Whitby 1986:182 n.10.

318. Theophylact tells us that before his march along the Danube, Peter "reached the habitations of the Sclavenes" (VII 2.14). Michael Whitby believes this to be an indication that Peter had already crossed the Danube against the Sclavenes, although Theophylact, because of his bias against the general, did not credit him with such energetic action (Whitby and Whitby 1986:181 n. 9). If so, it is difficult to understand why Peter recrossed the river, only to monitor the barbarians from the right bank. At this point, Theophylact's text is obscure and no conclusions can be drawn as to the relative chronology of the Roman army's movements.

319. At the same time, 1,000 Bulgar warriors, who

were subjects of the chagan, were patrolling on the left bank, apparently in order to protect the frontier (VII 4.1-2).

320. The river referred to in the text (VII 4.8) is not the Danube, for ποταμός only occurs singly when preceded by ὁ Ἰστρος ποταμός (Ivanov 1995b:59). Peter's army, however, may have been not too far from the Danube (cf. Strategikon XI 4.22).

321. In this case, the Roman troops may have reached the Ialomița river at some point north of Bucharest.

322. Both Priscus and Peter seem to have combined the *quaestura exercitus* with the office of *magister militum per Illyricum*, for, judging from Theophylact's evidence, there is always only one commander for all operations on the Balkan front (Szádeczky-Kardoss 1985:61 and 64 n. 7).

323. It has been argued that the revolt of Phocas may have been incited by the chagan (Frances 1968:529). The Avars, however, had their own problems at that time. Following the defection to the Romans of a great number of his warriors, the chagan seems to have faced a serious political crisis. It is very unlikely that he was in any position to influence the revolt of the Roman army.

324. A decisive withdrawal of all troops from Europe only came in 620, as Heraclius was preparing his campaign against Persia (Theophanes, p. 302). These troops were expected to return to Thrace after the campaign, but the conquest of Syria by the Muslims and the defeat of the Byzantine army at Rabbath Moab prevented the return of the European troops. After the battle near the Yarmuk river, all troops were brought to Asia Minor, including those of Thrace. Thrace proper remained without any Byzantine troops until about 680, as a *hypostrategos* of Thrace, who was also count of Opsikion, is known to have taken part to the sixth ecumenical council (Lilie 1977: 27; Soustal 1991:76).

325. The raid is dated by the Continuatio hispana to Heraclius' fourth regnal year (Szádeczky-Kardoss 1986b:54).

326. That the Sclavenes raided the islands in the Aegean is confirmed by an eighth-century Syrian source known as the Liber Chalifarum, presumably including fragments of the earlier, seventh-century chronicle of

the priest Thomas of Kenneshre. According to this source, in 623, the Slavs attacked Crete and other islands (p. 115). The authenticity of this source has been questioned, though not very convincingly, by J. Karayannopoulos (1971:448-50).

327. Barišić (1953:86-95) dated it to 616, Lemerle (1980:91-94) to 615. For a general dating to the 610s, see Ivanova 1995a:191.

328. For the location of the Slavene tribes mentioned in Book II, see Lemerle 1981:89-90.

329. At II 5.284, the author lists provinces which he believes were parts of the Illyrian prefecture. He lists two Pannoniae, two Daciae, but also includes Rhodope, which belonged to the Thracian prefecture. He knows, however, that Sirmium used to be the capital city of the province of Pannonia (πάλαι μητρόπολις). Veselin Beshevliev (1970a:287-288) argued that the author of Book II had only a rough knowledge of the sixth-century administrative geography of the Balkans, but this may simply indicate that by the end of the seventh century, when the author of Book II wrote his miracles of St. Demetrius, that administrative configuration was already history.

330. The Sclavenes attacked on the fourth day (II 1.185) and the decisive battle seems to have been over by the end of that day.

331. There is a similar report on Bulgarian women in *Anonymus Vaticanus*, in relation to Nicephorus I's campaign of 811. Skylitzes also tells a similar story about corpses of Rus' women found by John Tzimiskes' soldiers after the battle at Dristra in 971 (cf. Litavrin 1995d:237). For the role of the Sclavenes and Bulgars in the battle of August 6-7, 626, see Angelov 1981:9; Pohl 1988:254-255.

332. Fredegar knew about a "violent quarrel in the Pannonian kingdom of the Avars or Huns," which he dated to Dagobert's ninth regnal year (631/2: IV 72; cf. Pohl 1988:269).

333. A Wendish duke, Walluc, ruled over a 'Wendish March', probably free from any form of Avarian control (IV 72). For *marca Winedorum* as part of Samo's chiefdom, see Fritze 1994:279.

334. Such a late date for the abandonment of Salona has been recently advanced on the basis of numismatic

evidence (Marović 1984).

335. For the Dalmatian origin of this raid, see Guillou 1973:13; Borodin 1983:57.

336. For Taso and Cacco, see Hauptmann 1915:252-253; Fritze 1994:90 and 110. For the *Sclavorum regio Zellia*, see Mal 1939:22; Bertels 1987:99-103.

337. At the battle of Sebastopolis, in 592, 20,000 Slavs deserted to the Arabs (Theophanes, p. 365). They constituted the majority of Muhammad b. Marwan's raid of 693/4 (Theophanes, p. 367). During the late seventh century, the Slavs had become a familiar presence to Muslims in the Near East, as suggested by al-Akhtal (ca. 640-710), who referred to the golden-haired, though dangerous, Slavs in his *Diwan* (p. 189; cf. Kalinina 1995).

338. For the location of the Veregava pass, see Soustal 1991:75 and s.v. For a most dubious etymology of the name of the Severs, see Kunstmann 1993:42-43. The Severs are again mentioned by Theophanes in relation to their chief, Sklavunos, whom Constantine V arrested on the eve of his 763/4 campaign against Bulgaria (p. 436).

339. For the "seven tribes" as a single polity, see Tăpkova-Zaimova and Voinov 1965:38; Beshevliev 1967a:54; Cankova-Petkova 1968:157; Cankova-Petkova 1970:221-222; Koder 1978:316; Pohl 1988:277; Soustal 1991:75.

340. The Drugubites also supplied food to Kuver and his people (II 5. 289).

341. When visiting the city in 688/9, Justinian II granted all profits from Thessalonica's salt-pan to the church of St. Demetrius, as evidenced by an inscription on a marble plaque, now lost (Hattersley-Smith 1988:310). For Justinian II's route across the southern Balkans, see Grigoriou-Ioannidou 1982; Karayannopoulos 1989:14-15.

342. It should be noted, however, that, in either case, there is no evidence that the Sclavenes established south of the Danube were coming from regions located north of that river.

343. Whitby's unfortunate translation ("Peter prepared to move camp against the Slavene horde") stands for Πέτρος κατὰ τῆς Σκλαυηνίας πληθύος στρατοπέδεύεσθαι παρ' ἑσκέυαζεν.

344. By contrast, he has good knowledge of leaders of the Herules (Daios and Aordos, V 15.29; Suartua, V 15.33), Gepids (Torisind, VII 18.3), Lombards (Auduin, VI 34.5; Hildigis, VII 35.16), and Cutrigurs (Chinialon, VII 18.15).

345. Paul the Deacon also avoids mentioning any Sclavene leaders, though at the time he wrote the History of the Lombards, the Carantani were already organized as a polity under *dux* Boruth and his successors. That the Carantani had a rex not long after Arnefrit, the son of the Friulan duke Lupus, fled *ad Sclavorum gentem in Carnuntum, quod corrupte vocitant Carantanum* (V 22) is attested by the Life of St Hrodbert, the bishop of Salzburg (Vita Hrodberti, p. 159).

346. Andrew Poulter argued that the change from poleis to centers for ecclesiastical and military administration cannot be dated as late as the reign of Justinian (Poulter 1992:131). While it is true that the origins of this process may be traced back to the crisis of the third century, it is during the sixth century, in particular during Justinian's reign, that the effects became fully visible in the Balkans.

347. Novel XI of 535 specifically deals with the power of the bishop of Aquis not only over the city, but also over its territory, forts (*castella*) and parishes (*ecclesiae*).

348. The apsed *triclinium* was usually interpreted as private chapel, which led some to the wrong conclusion that the house belonged to the local bishop. See, more recently, Sâmpetru 1994:62. For apsed *triclinia*, see Sodini 1993:148-149.

349. Two lead seals were found at Constanța (Tomis), one belonging to a bishop, the other to a deacon (Catalogue 1, nos. 13 and 23). It is very likely that they were both members of the local clergy, for ecclesiastical seals rarely move beyond the area of their production (Cheynet and Morrisson 1990:110). Cf. two seventh-century bishops of Chersonesus attested by seals (Sokolova 1991:209).

350. For a similar example at Sv. Erazmo, near Ochrid, see Malenko 1976:232-234.

351. For the city's churches, see Hoddinott 1975:310; Madzharov 1989.

352. It is not without interest that Mesembria, together with Serdica, is the only city in the Balkans having a church named after St. Sophia in Constantinople.

353. Theuprepus, whose epitaph has been found in Sofia, may have also been bishop of Serdica (Beshevliev 1964:10).

354. And not as episcopal church, as implied by Velkov 1991:94. However, its dedication to the Holy Wisdom establishes a link with Constantinople (Krautheimer 1986:256). For the St. Sophia church in Serdica, see also Kousoupov 1984; cf. Sotiroff 1972; Chaneva-Dechevskia 1984:619.

355. This interpretation has been disputed by Noël Duval (1984:417). For episcopal residences, in general, see Müller-Wiener 1989.

356. There is no evidence to substantiate Popović's idea that the plaza was dominated by a colossal statue of the emperor (Duval and Popović 1984:549).

357. For Proconnesian marble capitals as indications of imperial munificence, see Barsanti 1989:211. There is no indication of any Constantinopolitan work at Caričin Grad, though carvers from the Capital may have worked elsewhere in Illyricum, e.g., at Lechaion near Corinth, in Thessalonica, Philippi, or Amphipolis (Sodini 1984b:256). For Proconnesian marble capitals in Crimea, see Bortoli-Kazanski 1981:63. For the east Black Sea coast, see Khrushkova 1979:134.

358. There are some later alterations of a different style at the basilica with transept.

359. For the extramural *basilica coemeterialis* with mosaic floor, see Maneva 1981-1982.

360. For Bishop John, see Pillinger 1985:298.

361. Another praetorian prefect, Hormisdas, may have been responsible for the city's impregnable walls (Vickers 1974:251 and 254).

362. For the three-aisled basilica in the upper city, see Koch 1988:124.

363. For a funerary chapel decorated with superb mosaics build in the ruins of the abandoned amphitheater, see Koch 1988:136.

364. A papyrus destroyed during World War II and containing a fragment of a mid-sixth-century will attests that churches and *castella* in the hinterland of Salona were supplied with revenue from medium-size estates on the island of Mljet, on the Adriatic coast (Nikolajević 1971:286).

365. The lamp production at Athens seems to have considerably diminished during the 500s (Spieser 1984a: 320).

366. The inscription indicates a dedication to "Flavius Constan," which could stand for Constantine, Constantius, or Constans. Kent's attribution was disputed by Peter Charanis (1952:348-349), but Charanis' arguments were in turn challenged by Kenneth Setton (1952:361-362).

367. All examples of sixth-century baths in Greece are later additions to earlier buildings (Sodini 1984a: 386).

368. Sixth-century Chersonesus seems to have preserved, like Thessalonica, the Hellenistic street grid, though some secondary streets were blocked by new religious buildings, such as the basilica "1935." The city expanded westward to the expense of an earlier cemetery. The theater in the southern part of the city was abandoned before 500. A cruciform church was erected in its ruins, sometime during or after Justinian's reign. Two-storied buildings were still built during this period, as evidenced by the "Wine-dresser's House" (Bortoli-Kazanski and Kazanski 1987:448-450). The city had at least ten churches between 500 and 600 (Beliaev 1989:173). For the Uvarov basilica, see Kosciushko-Valiuzhinich 1902. For the martyrion, see Kutaisov 1982. Other churches were built during Justinian's reign at Mangup, Eski-Kermen, and Partenitae (Zubar' and Pavlenko 1988:70).

369. There is a wide variety of names, sometimes represented by more than one seal (such as Damianos, George Theodoulos, Leontius, or Peter). There are also cases of namesakes (four different individuals named John, three named Peter, and three named Theodore).

370. Some may have belonged to local merchants, as suggested by Thracian names, such as Boutzios, Bassos, or Moldozos (Barnea 1987a).

371. The *villae rusticae* explored on the Bosnian sites at Brodac and Tutnjevaca, in the hinterland of Sirmium, were abandoned shortly after 450 (Kurz 1969:96).

and 99). The burden upon the curial class in the Danubian provinces must have been proportionately greater than in the more prosperous provinces away from the frontier, though evidence of rural estates and villas is also absent from the relatively more-at-ease Syria (Sodini 1993:147).

372. There is no evidence to support Michel Kaplan's idea that burials found at Porto Cheli (lower town of Halieis) were those of the slaves working on the nearby villa's estates. See Rudolph 1979:297-298; cf. Kaplan 1992:159.

373. According to Agathias, the Cutrigur chieftain Zabergan, who led the invasion of 558/9, quickly reached Thrace after crossing many deserted villages in Moesia and Scythia minor (V 11).

374. Bellouros, in Rhodope (Proc. Buildings IV 10).

375. One could include into this category Hood's "isles of refuge" in the bay of Itea (Hood 1970) and the site at Diporto in the Gulf of Domvrena (Gregory 1984b), though the latter settlement seems to have been primarily commercial in orientation.

376. That the Scythian monks were neither too popular nor too influential in their home region is proved by the fact that Bishop John of Odessos signed the condemnation of Anthemius, the new patriarch of Constantinople, accused in 536 of being a Monophysite (Zeiller 1918:384). This might have been a result of their known connection with Vitalianus' revolt (Schwarcz 1992:9).

377. For a late sixth and early seventh century monastic complex in Samos, see Steckner 1989; Martini and Steckner 1993:194.

378. Two monasteries seem to have existed near Salona, at Rižinice and at Crkvine (Marin 1989:1129). At Dabravine, on the Stavnja river, in Bosnia, a small three-naved church with carved capitals has been interpreted as monastic complex, though no annexed buildings and no cells were found (cf. Basler 1993:52).

379. Justinian's reign coincided with the introduction of the *proteichismata*; some walls were thickened and elevated and triangular or pentangular bastions were retained. Bastions were also blocked and converted into bastides (Ovcharov 1973:14-16 and 18-19; Ovcharov 1977:469; Biernacka-Lubańska 1982:219-220).

380. Skepticism toward Procopius' Buildings goes back to Edward Gibbon, who surmised that most of the forts mentioned by Procopius were no more than solitary towers surrounded by moats (see Evans 1996:222-223).

381. Procopius acknowledges the existence of a strategy behind Justinian's buildings in the Balkans: "he made the defenses so continuous in the estates that each farm either has been converted into a stronghold or lies adjacent to one which is fortified" (IV 1.35).

382. Procopius starts describing Illyricum at Justiniana Prima, in Dardania, then goes to Dacia Mediterranea (without referring to it by that name), then to Epirus Vetus, Hellas, Thessaly, Euboea and Macedonia. In the lists at IV 4, the order is different: Epirus Nova, Epirus Vetus, Macedonia, Thessaly, Dardania, Dacia Mediterranea, and Dacia ripensis (the latter two not being mentioned by their actual name). Thrace is described in the following order: Moesia inferior, Scythia (minor), Europe, Rhodope. Between Scythia (minor) and Europe, there is a section in which we are told that "all the building that was done by the emperor Justinian in Dardania, Epirus, Macedonia, and the other parts of Illyricum, also in Greece and along the river Ister has already been described by me" (IV 8). Procopius then resumes the description of Thrace in the following order: Europe, Rhodope, Thrace, Moesia, and ἐν τῇ μεσογείᾳ. Since Moesia includes cities that were actually located in Scythia (minor), it is possible that ἐν τῇ μεσογείᾳ refers to the newly created *quaestura exercitus*.

383. To him, "the spurs of the Caucasus range extend in one direction to the north and west and continue into Illyricum and Thrace" (Wars VIII 3.3).

384. Procopius used here the plural Δακίαι, which referred to both Dacia Ripensis and Dacia Mediterranea, none of which was mentioned in the text by its actual name.

385. "For these works have been executed with due regard for the nearness of the Ister river and for the consequent necessity imposed by the barbarians who threaten the land" (IV 1).

386. "Indeed it was the custom of these peoples [barbarians] to rise and make war upon their enemies for no particular cause, and open hostilities without sending an embassy, and they did not bring their struggle to an end through any treaty, or cease operations for any

specified period, but they made their attacks without provocation and reached a decision by the sword alone" (IV 1).

387. According to Procopius, all forts along the Danube received garrisons of troops (IV 1). In contrast, the defense of Greece before Justinian's building program relied only on "some peasants from the neighborhood, [who,] when the enemy came down, would suddenly change their mode of life, and becoming makeshift soldiers for the occasion, would keep guard there in turn" (IV 2).

388. It is not without interest that when describing the rebuilding of forts, Procopius refers to small settlements. When speaking of big cities, he only refers to repairing of walls or minor works of fortification. Note that book IV contains a rare reference to an imperial architect, Theodore, who had built the fortress Episkopeia (IV 8).

389. The average distance between cities along the Danube is 50 km, that between forts, 12 km (Poutiers 1975:61).

390. In his lists, Procopius gave the names of the forts under the name of the city, preceded by *ὑπό*, an indication that those forts were under the direct administration of that city. In Dacia Mediterranea, Procopius listed the forts by regions (*χώραι*) belonging to various cities. Serdica had two such *χώραι*, one in Cabetzus, the other around an unknown city (Beshevliev 1967b:272).

391. For Enisala, see Ștefan 1977:458-459; for Cape Dolojman (Argamum), see Barnea and Vulpe 1968:424-425; for Balchik (Dionysopolis), see Dimitrov 1985:124.

392. For a similar situation identified at Tropaeum Traiani, see Papuc 1977:358.

393. As evidenced by bricks from the nave's pavement with stamps bearing the emperor's name (Barnea 1958:295-296; Barnea 1960a:251).

394. See Antonova 1970:304.

395. See Ovcharov 1971.

396. See Dimitrov 1985:125.

397. At Sadovsko kale, Ivan Velkov's excavations focused exclusively on the western half of the plateau,

leaving most of the fort unearthed. The plan of the fort, as published in 1934, is still viewed, nevertheless, as a 'classical' example of early Byzantine defense architecture in the Balkans (Werner 1992b:409).

398. For a similar reliance on oats and peas at the contemporary site of Iatrus, see Hajnalová 1982:232. At Voivoda, near Shumen, a house built parallel to the fort's wall, with stones bonded with clay and mud bricks, probably served as grinding area. Despite claims to the contrary, the agricultural tools found there should all be dated much later, to the eighth or ninth century (see Damianov 1976:17 and 24).

399. Other churches inside forts: Gradishte near Gabrovo (Milchev and Koicheva 1978b:25, 27 and 31); Malko Chochoveni near Sliven, and, possibly, Markellai near Burgas (Soustal 1991:344 and 349). All were three-aisled basilicas.

400. Gradăt: Milchev and Koicheva 1978a:60; Zmei kale near Koprivec: Milchev and Draganov 1992:39; Sadovsko kale near Sadovec: Uenze 1992:125; Shumen: Antonova 1987:61.

401. Glamija: Gabričević 1986:72.

402. Golemanovo kale: Uenze 1992:97; Hajdučka Vodenica: Jovanović 1982-1983:328 and 330.

403. Milutinovac: Milošević and Jeremić 1986:250.

404. Bosman: Kondić 1982-1983a:141; Kondić 1984:142.

405. Ljubičevac: Kondić 1984:144-145; Donje Butorke: Kondić 1984:145-147.

406. For Sucidava, see Tudor 1965:124; for Golemanovo kale, where the destruction has been coincided to ca. 580, see Uenze 1992:107.

407. For Hajdučka Vodenica, see Jovanović 1982-1983:330; for Mora Vagei, see Cermanović-Kuzmanović and Stanković 1986:455. For Kula (Castra Martis), see Atanasova 1987:125; cf. Atanassova-Georgieva 1974:167.

408. In order to emphasize the lack of military functions, some have pointed to the absence of a *horreum* (Werner 1992b:403). Except for Veliki Gradac, however, sixth-century Balkan forts had no *horrea*. This does not

make them less 'military'.

409. Another well was found at Bosman (Kondić 1982-1983a:141 and 143).

410. The fort had a small port, an indication that supplies for the garrison may have come via the Danube (Kondić 1984:140). Another anchorage is said to have existed at the neighboring fort at Čezava (Kondić 1984:155), but it does not appear on any of the published plans.

411. The occupation of the site is evidenced by six *dolia* and faunal remains, the majority of which are of pig (Cermanović-Kuzmanović and Stanković 1986:454-455).

412. Despite claims to the contrary (Kondić 1984:138), the church erected on top of the square tower at Hajdučka Vodenica is a much later building (Jovanović 1982-1983:330).

413. Other cross-shaped churches in the Balkans: Carevec near Veliko Tärnovo (Hoddinott 1975:251), Čärkvishte near Pirdop (Hoddinott 1975:279), Caričin Grad (basilica D: Duval 1984:419), and Thessalonica (H. David: Krautheimer 1986:239-240). In at least one case (that of Carevec), such churches might have served as martyria.

414. The church has been dated, without any arguments, to the fifth century (Hoddinott 1975:327).

415. For the dating of the church, see Hoddinott 1975:283. Though the last building phase may be Justinianic (see Krautheimer 1986:252; Chaneva-Dechevskia 1984:619), a final remodelling of the church may have occurred some time during the last third of the sixth century (Krautheimer 1986:251).

416. To my knowledge, there are no other examples of isolated churches in the Balkans, despite claims to the contrary; cf. Mikulčić 1986a:244. The only other case is located outside the area under discussion, in Istria (see Šonje 1976-1978; Šonje 1976).

417. Miloje Vašić's subdivision of the sixth-century phase into two sub-phases (Vasić 1982-1983:102) is not supported by the published archaeological profiles.

418. The construction of the bulwark across the narrow strip of land between the Danube branch and the Mlava bed is coin-dated to 542/3. New houses were built

under Justin II and Maurice on both sides of the rampart. Svetinja seems to have been part of a larger network of fortifications in and around Viminacium. The soldiers who manned the bulwark (whom Popović 1987:35 viewed as Gepid mercenaries, on the basis of stamped pottery found on the site) most probably came from that city.

419. Among artifacts found in the house, there were two folles struck for Maurice in 587/8 and 590/1, respectively, in addition to parts of two armors made of small rectangular iron plates and a fragment of a comb case sheath (see Popović 1987:29-31).

420. A *horreum* at Veliki Gradac (Vašić and Kondić 1986:558).

421. The church at Čezava was restored at an unknown date (Vašić 1982-1983:102). The apsed tower at Saldum has been wrongly interpreted as chapel (Bošković 1978:437; *contra*: Kondić 1984:143).

422. For another sixth-century site near Čačak, on the Western Morava, see the reports published by Mihailo Milinković on the Jelica web site (<http://arheo.f.bg.ac.yu/projekti/jelica/index.html>, visit of December 3, 1997). The latest coin found at Jelica so far is a solidus minted for Justin II.

423. Other fort churches in Thrace: Karanovo, near Nova Zagora (Borisov 1988b; cf. Soustal 1991:300); Devin, near Smolian (Soustal 1991:238), and Tzepaina, near Pazardzhik (Soustal 1991:488). Except Devin, all are three-aisled basilicas.

424. It is not at all certain that any Armenian settlers came to Thrace during this period. According to Sebeos (pp. 70-71 and 81), Maurice had the intention to conscript the Armenian nobility to serve in the Balkans and attempted twice to settle Armenian families in Thrace, the last time just before being overthrown by Phocas. There is no indication, however, that the settlers ever arrived in Thrace.

425. On the Black Sea coast, two forts were identified at Sv. Nikola and Maslen nos, both on the bay of Burgas, but no excavations were carried in any of them (Soustal 1992:62-63).

426. Kotel (685 m), between the upper Ticha valley and the Luda Kamchiia, and Traianova vrata (Succi, 843 m) between the Eledzhik and the Dolna Vassilica mountains.

The latter was the most important pass on the main highway across the Balkans, from Constantinople to Singidunum. Each one of these two passes was defended by ten forts, unlike passes at higher altitude (such as Troian, Zlatiški prohod, or Shipka), which had fewer.

427. For *proteichisma* in Justinianic fortifications in Crimea, see Veimarn 1958:10. For a case of pentangular tower in the Caucasus region, see Voronov and Bgzhaba 1987:118.

428. For the use of levelling courses of brick (*opus latericum*) or alternating courses of brick and stone (*opus mixtum*), with bricks set in a bed of red mortar, as typical for the late fifth- and sixth-century military architecture, see Ovcharov 1977:470-471; Ovcharov 1982:68; Gregory 1987:258.

429. Two at Markovi Kuli (Mikulčić and Bilbija 1981-1982:213), one outside the ramparts, at Dvorište (Mikulčić 1986b:266).

430. There is clear indication of smithing activities within the fort at Ljubanci (Chausidis 1985-1986:191).

431. At Markovi Kuli, a house with three rooms and a long corridor was located in the middle of the acropolis. It is certainly not a *praetorium* (Mikulčić and Nikuljska 1978:139).

432. At Dvorište, near Titov Veles (Mikulčić 1986b:266).

433. E.g., at Pčinja, where a pentangular tower was added to the fourth-century tower in the east and a triangular tower built just south of it (Georgiev 1985-1986:203-204).

434. At Markovi Kuli, the triangular tower is coindated to Justinian's reign. New work was added during Justin II's reign (two coins issued between 575 and 578 date phase II). After heavy destruction, a new restoration amplified the triangular tower into a massive, polygonal bastion. This latter phase is coindated to the last regnal years of Justin II or to Tiberius II's reign (Mikulčić and Nikuljska 1978:139 and 141; Mikulčić and Nikuljska 1979:72).

435. Venec-Miokazi, near Kičevo: Spasovska-Dimitrioska 1981-1982:170-171; Debrešte, near Prilep:

Rauhutowa 1981:45-46; Čučer: Mikulčić 1986b:266. The basilica at Venec has a baptistery, that of Debrešte was built close to an episcopal residence (Rauhutowa 1981:45-48).

436. Zelenikovo near Skopje: Mikulčić 1986b:266.

437. For a sixth-century reoccupation of much older watchtowers and small forts in Attica, see Ober 1987:226.

438. Even before starting the war against the Goths, Justinian began building a defense line on the left bank of the Neretva river, with forts at Debelo brdo, Bobovac, Usora-Bosna, and Zecovi near Prijedor (Basler 1993:17). At the same time mining at Bosanski Novi was reactivated, though it is not clear by whom (Basler 1993:18).

439. The last restoration at Rifnik is dated by a follis of Justinian issued in 541/2, which was found in the apse of the church (Bolta 1978a:515; Bolta 1978b:53).

440. A fibula with bent stem at Biogradi, near Lištica (Čremošnik 1987-1988:94).

441. Đuro Basler (1993:38) interpreted this structure as a church.

442. Sv. Juraj, on the island of Pag: Tomićić 1988-1989:30-32; Korintija: Faber 1986-1987:123; Tomićić 1986-1987:151; Korinjski hrib: Ciglenečki 1987b:102; Kaštelina: Tomićić 1988-1989:33.

443. One of the two churches at Ajdovski gradec had a baptistery. A similar case at Crvenica, near Duvno, in Bosnia (Basler 1993:48). Box churches were also found in Istria, at Guran and Sv. Foška near Peroj, both dated to the late 500s (Bratož 1989:2381).

444. The unknown author of De re strategica recommends that "the men in the garrison should not have their wives and children with them." However, "if a fort is extremely strong, so that there is no danger of its being besieged, and we can keep it provisioned without any problems, then there is no reason why the men cannot have their families reside with them" (p. 9). Indeed, the only evidence for the presence of women in sixth-century forts comes from large ones, such as Isthmia.

445. Elsewhere in the Balkans, barrier walls seem to have been either earlier constructions (the

Hexamilion, see Gregory 1982b:21) or designed to protect water supplies (the Long Wall, see Harrison 1974:247).

446. (Se)curisca/Dimum/Quintodimum controlling the segment between the modern cities of Zimnicea and Turnu Măgurele; Transmarisca/Daphne/Appiaria, controlling the area around the former lake Greaca; Ratiaria/Curisca/Bononia-Ad Malum in the area of the present-day border between Bulgaria, Romania, and Yugoslavia. The majority of the lakes and swamps on the right bank of the Danube have been drained out and put under cultivation in the last century or so, which makes the present-day Danubian landscape substantially different from that of the 500s.

447. Most cities in central Macedonia were supplied with marble from the local quarries at Sivec, Pletvar, Kurilovo, and Markov Stap (Keramidchiev 1981-1982:123). For stone-cutting at Nicopolis ad Nestum, in Thrace, see Vaklinova 1984:647-648.

448. Cf. Themistius, *Or.* 10.136, tr. P. Heather and J. Matthews (Liverpool, 1991), p. 44.

449. By contrast, only one is known from the regions of the interior (Catalogue 1, no. 82). The National Museum at Sofia has another seal of Justinian, but it is not clear whether or not it was found in Bulgaria (Mushmov 1934). Among eight known seals of Justinian, five were found in Scythia minor alone. In the whole of Crimea, there is only one seal of Justinian, that found at Chersonesus (Sokolova 1991:204). There is also an abundance of seals belonging to various officials: prefects, eparchs, consuls, *chartularii*, *magistri*, a *secretis*. Most of them may have belonged to the local administration (Morrisson and Cheynet 1990:108). There are three individuals bearing the title of *stratelates*, one of which may have been the last king of the Gepids, Cunimund. By contrast, there are no prefects, eparchs, or consuls, and no military in the sigillographic material from Chersonesus (Sokolova 1991).

450. Its use as container for grain is very unlikely, both because of the vessel's narrow neck and of its distribution (cf. Böttger 1988:73-74). Such amphoras reached southern England and southern Ireland (Hautumm 1981:43-44) and made their way into a wealthy Avar warrior's tomb at Kunbábony and into three settlements north of the *limes* at Hansca, Bucharest, and Gutinaş (Iakobson 1979:14; Cantea 1959:22; Mitrea, Eminovici, and Momanu 1986-1987:224). Such a distribution suggests a precious substance, arguably a liquid, rather than plain

grain supplies.

451. Ratiaria: Kuzmanov 1987:115; Cape Kaliakra: Kuzmanov 1978:21; Ovech near Provadiia: Kuzmanov 1974:313; Golemanovo kale: Uenze 1992:302; Mackensen 1992:252; Svetinja: Popović 1987:13.

452. The only known exception, the Yassi Ada shipwreck, on which LR 2 amphoras represented the majority of identified amphoras (Van Doorninck 1989:247), does not belong to the area under consideration.

453. Golemanovo kale: Mackensen 1992:252; Hajdučka Vodenica: Jovanović 1982-1983:325; Svetinja: Popović 1987:13; Murighiol: Opaiț 1984:320; Ovech: Kuzmanov 1974:312; Cape Kaliakra: Kuzmanov 1978:22.

454. E.g., Murighiol: Opaiț 1984:320.

455. This distribution proves Böttger's idea of an exclusively north Balkan, locally produced type to be wrong. Cf. Böttger 1988:74.

456. Krivina (Iatrus): Böttger 1990:926; Karanovo and Hissarlyk near Sliven: Borisov 1985:42; Prahovo, Kovilovo grad, Milutinovac, Golemanovo kale, and Hajdučka Vodenica: Jovanović 1982-1983:325.

457. Roman armies and populace were twice supplied with food by the Avars, first after the fall of Sirmium, as the conquering Avars supplied the desperately starving besieged with "bread and wine" (John of Ephesus V.32); and during a five-day truce for the celebration of Easter, in 598, "when famine was pressing hard on the Romans" and the chagan "supplied the starving Romans with wagons of provisions" (Theophylact Simocatta VII 13.3-4). By contrast, the Avars, unlike Germanic federates, never received supplies of grain from the Romans (Pohl 1991b: 599).

458. It is interesting to note that, though there is a great number of commercial lead seals found in Dobrudja and the neighboring regions, to my knowledge, no seal has been found, either there or anywhere else in the Balkans, which could be attributed to a *kommerkiarion*. By contrast, seals of African *kommerkiaria* become frequent at Carthage between 615 and 629, as regular shipments of *annona* ceased in Constantinople and other major cities (Morrisson and Cheynet 1990:112-113). Two seals of *kommerkiaria* were found at Chersonesus (Sokolova 1991: 209).

459. Adrien Blanchet's 'criticism' of the new direction opened by the future Annales school emerging at that time is indicative of his theoretical position: "Et quand je considère les tendances d'une certaine école historique actuelle, qui prétend s'occuper de la marche de la Civilisation, en reléguant, à un plan très effacé, les guerres et les combinaisons politiques qui les font naître, je ne puis m'empêcher de penser que ce système est condamné d'avance à une somme considérable d'erreurs (emphasis added)" (Blanchet 1936:6).

460. For a reconsideration of the problem by D. M. Metcalf, see Metcalf 1991.

461. Iurukova recently proposed a different interpretation for tremisses found in two Roman forts at Sadovec, which might represent payments to Roman troops; cf. Iurukova 1992:287.

462. For an alternative view, see Poenaru-Bordea 1976:207, who in an attempt to explain the deposition of the Topalu hoard, believed that "on pourrait aussi penser à des phénomènes inflationnistes, mais surtout à la nécessité de remplir un vide relatif, dû à la diminution de la circulation effective ainsi qu'à la disparition d'une quantité de monnaies du marché, par suite de la thésaurisation." For a culture-historical interpretation of this hoard, see Popović 1978:611, who ignoring Poenaru-Bordea's caveat, argued that it should be linked to the arrival of the Avars to the Lower Danube. For alternative interpretations of hoards, see more recently Poenaru-Bordea and Ocheșanu 1983-1985:177-197 (the hoard of Hinog/Axiopolis as *donativum*, without any necessary connection with military activity caused by Slavic invasions) and Marović 1988:308 (the hoard of Vid/Narona as "financial resources... delivered from Constantinople to some high functionary of the Byzantine administration in Narona").

463. For a connection between hoards and the network of roads, see Koledarov 1980:81.

464. Both scholars seem to ignore the fact that coin hoarding in the Balkans increased particularly at the time when, according to historical sources, there was no major Slavic invasion or any other barbarian attack across the Lower Danube, namely between 558/9 and 578/9.

465. D. M. Metcalf himself made extensive use of the (political and) historical argument in explaining the rate of non-recovery of hoards. See, more recently,

Metcalf 1988:68.

466. The best example of a modern hoard that was never retrieved because inflation had rendered its content practically valueless is the hoard found in Sándorfalva, near Szeged (eastern Hungary), dated to 1917 (Nagy 1978-1979).

467. The classical account of the collection, concealment and recovery of a hoard in Samuel Pepys's diary (1667) shows how specific circumstances (in this case, not so much the arrival of the Dutch fleet off Sheerness, in June 1667, as the subsequent panic) could influence the recovery of a hidden hoard to the extent that the peculiar location of a hoard may signify "nothing more than the foolishness of those charged with its concealment" (Casey 1986:53-55; Higbed 1967; cf. Kent 1974:205-206). Andrzej Mikołajczyk, on the other hand, has shown, in the case of sixteenth to eighteenth century Central Poland, that burying coins in the soil was a mark of economic recession, which gradually extended to the wealthier social strata. Though the crisis was accompanied by political disturbances, wars, local riots, and frequent robberies and requisitions made by the home and foreign armies, these circumstances only played a secondary role, for decisions to bury money in the earth were ultimately of an economic character (Mikołajczyk 1982: 973; cf. Sarvas 1981:9-10).

468. However, light-weight solidi are also frequent in Byzantine border provinces, such as Scythia Minor; see Poenaru-Bordea Ocheșanu 1983-1985:190. For other approaches to the problem of the light-weight solidi, see Hahn 1981a; Smedley 1988; Hahn 1989 (as a response to Wriechen 1989); Salamon 1991.

469. For the Slavene raid of 548, which reached Epidamnus/Durrës, see Procopius of Caesarea, Wars VII 29.1-3. For Byzantine coins found on the territory of present-day Albania, see Spahiu 1979-1980.

470. For hoards in eastern Germany, see Laser 1982. Lajos Huszár (1955) and Dezső Csallány (1952) have studied coins found in Gepidic and Avar contexts in present-day Hungary, but an updated study is still missing. See, however, Avenarius 1989, Kiss 1991, Garam 1992, Kiss 1996b, and Somogyi 1997. Besides Kropotkin's monograph, Byzantine coins were paid special attention in the regions close to the Lower Danube and to the Black Sea; see Kropotkin 1962; Kropotkin 1965; Nudel'man 1976; Nudel'man 1982; Nudel'man 1985:58-83; Stoliarik 1992:39-49. For

present-day Romania, see Preda 1972 and Butnariu 1983-1985.

471. Pernik, Bulgaria: Iurukova 1962; Bozhkova 1980; Iurukova 1981:218-261. Mikhailovgrad/Montana, Bulgaria: Aleksandrov 1980; Aleksandrov 1983. Odärcei, Bulgaria: Krzyzanowska 1983. Cape Kaliakra, Bulgaria: Parushev 1991. Sadovec, Bulgaria: Mackensen 1992; Werner 1992. Riakhovec, Bulgaria: Văchvarov 1992. Crimea: Sokolova 1968; Golenko 1972. Sevastopol/Chersonesus: Krushkol 1957; Anokhin 1980; Sokolova 1983; Gilevich 1991. Olbia: Karyshkovskii 1965. Trogir, Croatia: Delonga 1985. Zrmanje, Croatia: Mirnik 1990. Hinog/Axiopolis, Romania: Poenaru-Bordea, Ocheșanu, and Nicolae 1989. For a complete catalogue of finds in Slovakia, see Fiala 1989; for Slovenia, see Kos 1986:225-227. For fifth- to sixth-century finds on the Baltic coast, see Gaul 1981.

472. Bracigovo: Uenze 1974:485-486; Koprivec: Milchev and Draganov 1992:39. For a recent discussion of this group of fibulae, see Curta 1992:83-85 and Uenze 1992:154-158. See also Chapter IX.

473. For a general discussion of ear-rings with star-shaped pendants, see Comşa 1971, Aibabin 1973, and Čilinska 1975.

474. Condensed intervals: A -- 498-518; B -- 518-527; C -- 527-538; D -- 565-578; E -- 578-582; F -- 582-600; G -- 584-602; H -- 602-610; I -- 610-620; J -- 613-629; K -- 615-629; L -- 630-641; M -- 641-662; N -- 659-685.

475. Fifth- and sixth-century hoards found beyond the Empire's frontiers never blend copper with silver and/or gold coins (Meier 1986:135).

476. Symbols: a -- over twenty hoards; b -- fifteen to twenty hoards; c -- ten to fourteen hoards; d -- five to nine hoards; e -- two to four hoards; f -- no hoards. Encircled numbers: 1 -- Aquis and its hinterland; 2 -- Dacia Ripensis; 3 -- Dacia Mediterranea; 4 -- Dardania; 5 -- Praevalitana; 6 -- Epirus Nova; 7 -- Epirus Vetus; 8 -- Achaia (without Peloponnese); 9 -- Rhodope; 10 -- Europe; 11 -- Haemimons; 12 -- Moesia Inferior; 13 -- Scythia Minor; 14 -- Thrace; 15 -- Macedonia; 16 -- Thessaly; 17 -- Achaia (Peloponnese); 18 -- Moesia Superior; 19 -- Bassianae and its hinterland; 20 -- Dalmatia.

477. For *thesauri* as collections of both coins and valuable objects, see Morrisson 1981:323.

478. For a summary of the changes before 539, see Whitting 1973:90. For a detailed discussion of the relation between the solidus/follis ratio and monetary reforms, see Poenaru-Bordea and Ocheșanu 1980:380-384. For changes in the ratio gold/silver, see Durliat 1980:145. By fixing the value of the copper currency in relation to the solidus, the imperial government virtually established a compulsory rate of exchange; it is tempting to connect the reductions with supposed attempts of the government to finance its wearisome wars. See Hahn 1973b:177.

479. The last nummia were issued by Maurice, the last pentanummia by Constantine IV, see Morrisson 1989:250. However, regional stress in the copper coinage supply may have caused small-scale production of leaden imitations of low denominations. For the Danube frontier, see Culică 1976-1980. For specimens on the eastern frontier of the Empire, see Morrisson 1981 and Weiser 1985. See also Morrisson 1989:241. For sixth-century prices in copper denominations, see Morrisson 1989:258-259.

480. As argued in Chapter VI, provinces as administrative units seem to have waned, if not totally disappeared, during the sixth century. For the purpose of this chapter, however, provinces are just practical means to describe in detail regional variation. No historical value is attached to the administrative boundaries discussed in relation to sixth- and seventh-century coin hoards.

481. For methodology, see Hahn 1973a:27 and Hahn 1975:14-17.

482. For prices and wages in fifth- to seventh-century Byzantium, see Morrisson 1989:252-256. For the Balkans, see Iurukova 1976.

483. All solidi in the hoard found near the Pinios river's dam in Ilis were issued in Constantinople. The same is true for the Apidea hoard (Avramea 1983:66).

484. Yannopoulos 1980:359; cf. Miracles of St. Demetrius I 1.128.

485. The drastic decrease of the purchasing power of the follis occurred mainly after 550; see Morrisson 1989:250 and 263.

486. A few minimi were recorded during these excavations, including two Vandalic specimens.

487. The amount is equal to the annual wage of the *assessores*; cf. Ivanišević and Kondijanov 1992:81.

488. For the Thessaloniki hoard, see also Hahn 1981b. For die-links within the Sekulica hoard, see Ivanišević and Kondijanov 1992:82.

489. For the problem of "barbarian" imitations, see Iurukova 1965; Gaj-Popović 1973. More examples in Zhekov 1987. For blundered legends, as a characteristic of the Antioch mint at the end of Justinian I's reign, see Whitting 1973:77.

490. Ostrogothic issues and fourth- to fifth-century Roman *minimi* remained in use in Dalmatia until at least 530 or 540 (Duncan 1993:73).

491. For Caričin Grad/Iustiniana Prima as part of Dardania, not of Dacia Mediterranea, see Ivanov 1984:42; Popović 1989-1990:279-280.

492. There is no evidence from this period that substantiates G. L. Duncan's assertion (Duncan 1993:73) that Dacia was more isolated from the rest of the Empire during the sixth century than it had been in the fourth and that comparatively few coins from mints other than Thessalonica were in use there. Duncan's distorted view is a result of his use of a sample of only 55 coins found in Sirmium.

493. However, the last coins found in Montana are *solidi* of Anastasius (Aleksandrov 1983:24-25).

494. For earlier Thessalonican coins in the Prahovo hoard, see Metcalf 1980:23-24.

495. At Balchik/Dionysopolis, coin circulation seems to have come to an end as early as Tiberius II's reign (Dimitrov 1982).

496. The only exceptions are the two hoards found in Nesebăr (Gerasimov 1950:321; Penchev 1991:5-6).

497. Legend: 1 -- Cudalbi; 2 -- Gropeni; 3 -- Unirea; 4 -- Horgești; 5 -- Movileni. Condensed intervals: A -- 498-518; B -- 518-527; C -- 527-538; D -- 565-578; E -- 578-582; F -- 582-600; G -- 584-602; H -- 602-610; I -- 610-620; J -- 613-629; K -- 615-629; L -- 630-641; M -- 641-662; N -- 659-685. For abbreviated mint-names, see Appendix B.

498. Coins were collected in the Șeica Mică hoard primarily during the 400s (Kiss 1986:107-108).

499. Republican denari found in the Hungarian hoard, known as "Vădaș", should be carefully separated from two later silver coins of Leo VI and Romanus IV (Kiss 1986:121).

500. Full symbols: gold coins; half-filled symbols: silver coins; empty symbols: bronze coins. Figure 8: Anastasius (circle) and Justin I (triangle). Figure 10: Justin II (circle), Tiberius II (triangle), and Maurice (rectangle). Figure 11: Phocas (circle), Heraclius (triangle), Constans II (rectangle), and Constantine IV (lozenge).

501. This even applies to the curious Pécsvárád hoard (Biró-Sey 1987:171; Duncan 1993:19).

502. See, however, the Streleck Bay hoard in Crimea and the Hellmonsödt hoard in Austria, both made up of copper. In contrast, see the Makukhivka hoard of gold jewels with only one solidus of Heraclius, Heraclius Constantine and Heraclonas (Kropotkin 1965:178).

503. There are no pieces in Dobrudja dated before Anastasius' reform of 498. The coins-per-regnal-year ratio remains very low until 512, perhaps because of the emperor's severe monetary policy. An increase in the number of stray losses may have been caused by the conclusion of Vitalianus' episode. Cf. Poenaru-Bordea 1971: 51-57; Poenaru-Bordea 1976; Poenaru-Bordea and Ocheșanu 1980:382 and 387. For finds in Histria, see Preda and Nubar 1973:81-82.

504. Inflation during Justinian's reign was encouraged by the financial ability of John the Cappadocian, who levied a supplement to the land tax, called the 'air tax' which added 3,000 lb. gold to the annual revenue, in order to balance the budget grievously threatened by the Persian wars. See Jones 1964:284. For contemporary legislation concerning retrieval of 'treasures', see Morrisson 1981:333-334.

505. That higher denominations were preferred for accumulation is suggested by stray finds from Dobrudja. The folles-per-reform-year ratio in Scythia Minor drastically dropped after 542, the large number of half-folles being interpreted as indicating the raids of the Cutrigurs. See Poenaru-Bordea and Ocheșanu 1980:387-388; see also Mitrea 1983:249. By contrast, circulation con-

tinued at Dinogetia until 558, when the fort presumably fell to the Cutrigurs (Mitrea 1974:288; Barnea 1990:288). That circulation was drastically curtailed everywhere after 542 is also shown by archaeological finds in Sucidava and by stray losses north of the Danube, where circulation completely ceased between 546 and 566. Cf. Mitrea 1983:150, who interpreted the Gropeni hoard in connection with the coinage in Dobrudja. Circulation also ceased in 540/1, 545/6, and 546/7 at Aquis (Janković 1981).

506. Procopius, Secret History 25.12; see Whitting 1973:106; Grierson 1982:46-47. For Peter Barzymes' curriculum vitae, see Delmaire 1989:269.

507. During the 550s troops were transferred from the Balkans to Italy, against the Ostrogoths (Whitby 1988:79).

508. For the plague, see Durliat 1989. For its effect on mint output, see Pottier 1983:241.

509. The association between hoards found in Thrace and Macedonia and Slavic raiding was first suggested by Iurukova 1969:257 and Popović 1978:610-611. See also Poenaru-Bordea 1976.

510. Stray finds of coins of Anastasius and Justin I in present-day Romania are relatively numerous (Figure 8), but the largest number of coins were minted for Justinian (Figure 9). Out of 96 coins of Justinian known to have been found in *barbaricum* (Eastern Europe), 54 are Romanian finds. Among them, 40 were published with exact dates. Only eight of them were minted after ca. 550 (see Appendix C).

511. It is interesting to note that one of these coins, that of Şomcuta Mare, was minted in Ravenna, not in Constantinople.

512. See Herrmann 1972:318, who interpreted the Biesenbrow hoard as part of the gifts sent by the chagan of the Avars to the Baltic Slavs. *Contra*: Laser 1982:24, who noticed that Biesenbrow should probably be related to similar hoards found in Bornholm, Öland, and Gotland. For hoards of solidi in Scandinavia, Fagerlie 1967. For fifth- and sixth-century solidi on the Baltic coast, see Gaul 1984. For the singular position of the Biesenbrow hoard in northern Central Europe, see Godłowski 1979:325. For light-weight solidi of Justinian in hoards beyond the Empire's borders, see Hahn 1989:165-167; Smedley 1988:

129. That Maurice minted 23-carat solidi as a means to pay mercenaries recruited in present-day Georgia seems to be evidenced by the Nokalakevi hoard (Abramishvili 1963; cf. Hahn 1981a:97).

513. Iordanka Iurukova (1992:287) interpreted the large number of tremisses found in Sadovec as indicating the military character of the settlement: "Il semble en somme que les tremisses servaient au paiement de la solde des unités militaires, installées dans la forteresse." The last coins found in some small forts along the Danube are dated to this period, as they were most probably abandoned or destroyed (Poenaru-Bordea 1968; Poulter 1981:200; Barnea 1990:288).

514. Almost all post-560 coins were found in Aquis were issued in Thessalonica (Janković 1981:203).

515. During Justin II, issues of Thessalonica, mainly half-folles and dekanummia, were ranked second in Dobrudja, after those of the Constantinopolitan mint (Poenaru-Bordea and Ocheșanu, 1980:394). See also Preda and Nubar 1973:84.

516. For the use of issues of the Thessalonica mint for "proving" a Slavene invasion not mentioned by any historical sources, see Popović 1981.

517. For maneuvers in 578, under John, the "governor of the isles", see Menander the Guardsman, fr. 21. Cf. Jones 1964:307; Pohl 1988:68; Hendy 1985:653; Chiriac 1993:195-196.

518. Popović 1975:467 (for Veliko Orašje) and 484 (for Bosman). Cf. Iurukova 1992:287, who interpreted the absence of lesser fractions of gold in Sadovec as indicating the military character of the settlement.

519. The contrast between the distribution of gold coins and that of copper coins, particularly during the early seventh century (Figure 11), suggests trading activity rather than booty. Seventh-century gold coins tend to appear in burials in either the Carpathian basin (within the Avar chaganate) or in the steppes in the Lower Dnieper region of Ukraine. Copper coins of Phocas and Heraclius appear only south and east of the Carpathian mountains.

520. The acceptance of a currency which was the product of a different social-economic structure is

evidence for special exchange needs (Gaul 1984:88 and 97).

521. For the concept of 'primitive money', see Duncan 1971:176.

522. Procopius of Caesarea, Wars VIII 25.4-6. For use of currency in both monetary and non-monetary form for commercial and/or non-commercial transactions, see Gaul 1984:94.

523. A similar account referring to a Roman prisoner, in Procopius of Caesarea, Wars VII 14.12.

524. Although Procopius does not specifically mention what kind of coins were used for this transaction, it is beyond any doubt that the term χρήματα refers to a payment in currency, not in kind (Ivanov, Gindin, and Cymburskii 1991:218).

525. For a critique of the idea that stray finds delineate the profile of the monetary collapse of the *limes*, see Metcalf 1991:141. For the interpretation of the hoards found in Histria, see Poulter 1981:203 and n. 30.

526. For stray finds from Dobrudja, only issues of Constantinople and Nicomedia, see Poenaru-Bordea and Ocheșanu 1980:395.

527. Silver imitations of semisses of Constans II were also found in a burial near Dnepropetrovsk (Kropotkin 1962:31) and in an Avar burial at Kiskörös (Biró-Sey 1977-1978:50).

528. Yannopoulos (1978:105) believed the absence of hexagrams from the Balkans to be a result of the devastation and general impoverishment brought by Slavic raiding. For a similar point of view, see Bonev 1985:69. Without any die-study of his material, Yannopoulos's chronology is, however, questionable. For a critical review of his book, but also for a general typology and chronology of the hexagram's series, see Hahn 1978-1979.

529. The hoard also includes 92 Sassanian drachms.

530. The hoard also includes eleven Sassanian drachms.

531. Most of the stamped silver plate found in the Kama region also dates to the first part of Heraclius'

reign (613-629/30) (Noonan 1982:281).

532. Within the Caucasus area, the only stray losses of silver are hexagrams of either Heraclius or Constans II (Kropotkin 1962:30-31).

533. Similarly, 20-carat solidi of Justinian I and of the seventh-century emperors from Phocas to Constans II were minted to be sent as tribute, bribes or gifts, in order to buy peace from and ensure good relations with the barbarians on the empire's northern frontier, in southern Russia (Kiss 1986:121; Smedley 1988:129).

534. There are no worn specimens, and occasional 'bad' striking is more likely to be a result of over-used dies (Mitrea 1975:117).

535. By contrast, solidi of Constantine IV are more evenly distributed. They were found in Russia (Serpovoe, Romanovskaia stanica), Crimea and the Kuban region (Uyotnoe, Kerch', Amgata), as well as in Hungary (Szeged) and western Romania (Şeitin, Sânpetru German, Orţişoara) (Butnariu 1983-1985:213 pl. VII; cf. Nudel'man 1982:37; Bonev 1985:65).

536. For the two hexagrams at Belopoliane, see Somogyi 1997:141. For contemporary hoards of gold in the Aegean area, see Oeconomides and Drossoyianni 1989.

537. Erroneously published as a 1/8 siliqua of an Italian mint (Angelova and Penchev 1989:40; cf. Hahn 1975:156).

538. According to Nicephorus (pp. 86-87), "when this news had reached the peoples that live in the West, namely, the chief of the Avars and the princes of neighboring nations further west, they <too> sent ambassadors to the emperor bearing gifts and asked for peace." It is perhaps at this moment that the last solidi of Constantine IV entered the Avar chaganate (Pohl 1988:278).

539. For the chronology of Asparuch's arrival to the Lower Danube, see Bonev 1985:63-67.

540. Kuver's arrival to Macedonia coincides in time with the siege of Constantinople by the Arabs (Beshevliev 1981:163).

541. A patricius by the same name is known to have commanded the Byzantine fleet besieging Chersonesus in

710/1 (Pohl 1988:278-279).

542. The traditional historiographical view is that Asparuch settled in southern Bessarabia, between the Prut and Dniester rivers, see Beshevliev 1981:176-177 (with all references); Rashev 1982; Pohl 1988:277; Fiedler 1992:21-22.

543. For a detailed discussion of the Coşovenii de Jos find, see Curta 1994b. For the silver earring with star-shaped pendant from Zemianský Vrbovok, see also Svoboda 1953:38-40 and fig. 4 and 23.

544. Liuliakovo, near Burgas (Bulgaria): Mikhailov 1977:317-318 and pl. 7; a specimen said to have been found at Constantinople, now in a private collection in Luzern (Switzerland): Werner 1960:119 and pl. 2; another specimen with unknown location (but certainly found in Eastern Europe), now at the State Museum of History in Stockholm: Werner 1950:151 and fig. 1. See also Curta 1994b:260-261.

545. In 523, the Ostrogoths uprooted the remaining Gepid population of the region and moved them to Provence to act as a bulwark against the Burgundians. It is most likely to these Gepids that Salvian referred when speaking of *Gipidarum inhumana... religio* (cited by Bóna 1976:87).

546. During their raid of 539, they killed *magister militum* Calluc (Jordanes, Romana 387).

547. To Jordanes, the Lombards were the Empire's allies against the Gepids (Romana 386).

548. The chronology of the Lombard-Gepid wars has been disputed. Most scholars, however, give 547 for the first confrontation, 549 for the second, and 551 for the third war. See Christou 1991:84, 91, and 95; Pohl 1997: 90.

549. For the succession of Gepid kings, see Kiss 1989-1990.

550. The concept of *Reihengräberkreis* was coined in 1858 by L. Lindenschmidt and was used to describe funerary assemblages dated to the period of the Merovingian dynasty in Frankish Gaul. The German archaeologist Joachim Werner first attempted to build a chronology for this archaeological horizon (Werner 1935).

551. For the North-Danubian phase, see also Tejral 1975.

552. Stamped pottery was only produced in Pannonia, after ca. 530 (Werner 1962:54).

553. At Gyömk (burial no. 5), an allegedly Prague-type pot is associated with stamped pottery and a S-shaped fibula (Bóna 1979b:400). Such fibulae were already in use in the late fifth-century (Tejral 1990:234 and 236). In addition, there is no indication of contact, in Moravia, between sites with Prague-type pottery and those with artifacts attributed to the Lombards (see Tejral 1987:359).

554. Finds of stamped pottery or specific brooch-types come from abandoned Roman sites (Szakony, Sárísáp, Intercisa, Annamatia, Tác, Vinkovci)(Bóna 1976:33).

555. A brooch of Kühn's Trivières class found at Várpalota (burial no. 5) has a parallel at Haulchin, in Hainaut (Belgium) (cf. Kühn 1974:1094-1106). The fibula from Hegykő, burial no. 4 belongs to the Wiesbaden class, with an exact analogy at Wiesbaden-Dotzheimerstraße, found in association with a tremissis issued for Justinian (Werner 1962:62; Kühn 1974:1076-1086). Tongs-shaped fibulae, which are typical for funerary assemblages in Bohemia and Moravia, occasionally appear in the West (Geisenheim, burial no. 22, Streudorf, near Suhl, Villey-Sainte Etienne, burial no. 46, all of which are similar to the specimen found at Várpalota burial no. 13)(Kühn 1974:827-840).

556. An even stronger case could be made for the funerary assemblages found at Mosonszentjános, in north-western Hungary. One of them included a Frankish bell-beaker of Rhenish origin and a wooden bucket with plate escutcheon mounts with anthropomorphic heads, which are also allied to an extensive group in the Rhenish area (e.g. the child burial in the Cathedral at Cologne)(Bóna 1976:pl. 72-74; Menghin 1982:66-67).

557. I wish to thank Dr. Mihailo Milinković (University of Belgrade) for his kind assistance in reconstructing the exact position of the grave-goods found at Gračanica and for sharing with me his excellent knowledge of sixth-century archaeological assemblages in Serbia. Joachim Werner assigned the pair of fibulae to a Kentish variant of square-headed brooches, but no such specimen is known from Anglo-Saxon England (Werner 1970:77; cf. Hines 1997). That contacts with Scandinavia may

have been mediated via 'Lombardia' is shown by the large, single fibula, with its footplate inspired by brooches of the Cividale, Ravenna, or Castel Trosino classes (Kühn 1974: 1187-1191, 1217-1224, and 1239-1248). In addition, the Gračanica burial produced a buckle and two belt straps for which the closest analogies are those from the second burial at Mosonszentjános.

558. Moreşti: Horedt 1979a; Cipău: n.a. 1955a and Vlassa et al. 1966; Dipsa: Gaiu 1994; Bratei: Bârză 1994-1995 and Zaharia 1994-1995. There are no fully excavated, sixth-century settlements in the Tisza region, though similar buildings were accidentally found at Battonya, Tiszafüred, Derecske, and Szarvas (Szábo and Vörös 1979: 219-221; Bóna 1979a:23).

559. The Hunnic gold, or at least a good part of it, most likely fell into the hands of the anti-Hunnic coalition of 454. Knowing that the Gepid king Ardaric was the leader of this coalition, it is tempting to associate the 'princely graves' at Apahida I and II (with objects weighing more than 1 kg and more than 2.4 kg gold, respectively) with the late fifth-century Gepid royal seat (Kiss 1987:58 and 61).

560. István Bóna interpreted this change as an indication that "the majority of Gepids had lost their clan rights as many were hit by poverty, wealth and power being concentrated in the hands of a small group of nobles relying on their small armed retinues" (Bóna 1976:72). With no serious, quantitative study of 'Gepid' funerary assemblages, although plausible, Bóna's interpretation is no more than pure speculation. The change in burial patterns, which occurred around 500, was accompanied in Transylvania by the rise of hillforts (Moreşti, Porumbeni Mici, Şeica Mică), a phenomenon probably linked to dramatic social changes (Horedt 1957; Horedt 1964; Horedt 1969; cf. Harhoiu 1982:590). No such forts were found in the Tisza region, which produced, however, the richest and largest cemeteries dated after ca. 500.

561. The animal Style I decoration of this fibula is very similar to that of 'Lombard' fibulae in western Hungary (e.g., burial no. 8 from Bezenye)(Haseloff 1981: 702).

562. Legend: 1 - one specimen; 2 - between two and ten specimens; 3 - between ten and twenty specimens; 4 - between 30 and 40 specimens; 5 - over 100 specimens.

563. A Baltic origin was demonstrated through

provenance analysis for beads found in Merovingian burials in France (Pétrequin et al. 1987:280-282). For contacts between Merovingian Gaul and the Baltic coast, see also Kazanski 1991b. Almost fifty percent of the beads found in cemeteries in the northern Caucasus region and in Crimea were made of amber from the Kurzem coast (Krumphanzlová 1992:361; cf. Deopik 1961:204 table I).

564. Amber beads found in Early Avar assemblages are viewed as markers of the identity of Gepid communities under Avar rule (Kiss 1996:197).

565. Data after Menghin 1982 and Bóna et. al. 1993.

566. E.g., Wacho, the Lombard king, married Austrigusa, the daughter of the Gepid king (Paul the Deacon, History of the Lombards I 21). The episode of Hildigis also points to interaction between Lombards and Gepids.

567. For a distribution of graves with swords in pre-Avar 'Gepidia,' see Kiss 1992:96 fig. 1.

568. It is true, however, that well-datable burial contexts in western Pannonia show that by the mid-sixth century there was a change in shape of shield bosses from sugar-loaf to convex-coned, presumably under the influence of Gepid and Byzantine weapons (Werner 1962:80). Both forms of shield bosses were still in use during the Early Avar period (Kiss 1992:52).

569. Legend: 1-Batajnica (Vinski 1957:pl. I-VII/7; Vinski 1982:pl. IX/1); 2-Berekhat, burials nos. 13, 15, and 40 (Csallány 1961:pl. LI/8, pl. LXXXV/3, and pl. LIX/5); 3-Bitola (Maneva 1987); 4-Dolné Semerovce (two specimens: Pieta 1987:394); 5-Markovi Kuli: Mikulčić and Nikuljska 1979:69 fig. 4; 6-Pčinja: Georgiev 1985-1986: 210 fig. 6/3; 7-Sinj: Vinski 1982:pl. I/1; 8-Svishtov: Press et al. 1973:137 fig. 1-2; 9-Split: Vinski 1982:pl. X/2; 10-Steinbrunn: Bóna 1976:50 fig. 11; 11-Vid: Vinski 1982:pl. VII/2-3. Symbols represent specimens of Baldenheim (circle) and Niederstotzingen (triangle) classes.

570. The Ostrogothic kings Totila and Teias and the Visigothic king Leuvigild were all represented on their own, respective, coinage as wearing Baldenheim-type helmets (Böhner 1993:206). Similar helmets appear in very rich burials in western Europe (Vinski 1982:19-20). For the rich decoration of the Bitola helmet, which imitates coin-studded jewelry, see Marinescu 1996:294.

571. Band, burial no. 10: Kovács 1913:281 fig. 13; Mali Ižoš, Selenča, and Mézövásárhely: Maneva 1987:102 and Cseh 1990a:30; Sânpetru German: Dörner 1960:fig. 3/1; Soderica: Vinski 1982:pl. XV. Such helmets originated in the Far East. Their appearance in eastern and central Europe, as well as in Italy, is often attributed to the Avars (Vinski 1982:14; Maneva 1987:102; Swietosławski 1993:284; cf. Kryganov 1990:76). Despite claims to the contrary (Maneva 1987:102), the cheek-piece found in the early Byzantine fort at Markovi Kuli belongs to a Baldenheim, not to a Niederstotzingen specimen.

572. The kiln at Törökszentmiklós produced decorated pots which are die-linked to stamped vessels with unknown provenance ("Hungary"), now in the National Museum in Budapest (Cseh 1990b:236). The presence of an antler stamp within the early Byzantine fort at Momčilov grad, near Paračin (Brmbolić 1986:fig. 37) indicates that decorated pottery was also produced within the empire's frontiers.

573. Morești, sunken building no. 27: Horedt 1979b:pl. 37/1; Svetinja, sunken buildings C 3/1 and C 4: Popović 1987:22 fig. 17/7, 9-12; Bratei, sunken buildings 1 and 5: Bârză 1994-1995:288 fig. 14/8, 12, and 19.

574. Lattice square: Morești (sunken building 27), Stari Kostolac (sunken building C 3/1), Markovi Kuli, Battonya, Szentes-Nagyhegy (grave 17), Szöreg (grave 23), Derecske, in 'Gepidia', and Dör (grave 2), in 'Lombardia'. Lattice rectangle: Berekhát (grave 213) and Hódmezővásárhely (graves 52, 63, 80, and 83), in 'Gepidia', Kajdacs, Rácálmás, Sopron, and Stinkenbrunn, in 'Lombardia'. Simple lattice rectangle: Kisújszállás (grave 1), in 'Gepidia', Szentendre (graves 43 and 56), Kajdacs (graves 1 and 5), Gyöngyös (grave 51), and Dör (grave 2), in 'Lombardia'. Lattice lozenge: Kengyel, Kamenovo (grave 2), Szentes (grave 10), Békésszentandrás, Kisújszállás (grave 1), Kétegyháza (graves 2 and 5), Hódmezővásárhely, Szolnok-Szandaszőlös, Öcsöd, Szarvas, Batajnica, and Kuzmin, in 'Gepidia', Sümeg, Kápolnásnyék (grave 1), Szentendre (graves 43 and 56), Kajdacs (graves 1, 5, and 43), Tamási (grave 1), Várpalota (grave 29), and Vinkovci, in 'Lombardia'. Simple lattice lozenge: Bratei (sunken buildings 1 and 5) and Szöreg (grave 64), in 'Gepidia', Kápolnásnyék, in 'Lombardia'. Lozenge: Hódmezővásárhely (grave 10), Berekhát, Szöreg (grave XXVIII), Gyula, Kengyel, Törökszentmiklós, Kétegyháza (grave 11 and 19), in 'Gepidia', Mohács (grave 5), in 'Lombardia'. Rosette: Hódmezővásárhely (grave 80), Derecske (grave 1), and Bratei (sunken building 5), in

'Gepidia', Tamási (grave 1), in 'Lombardia'. The lattice circle, which is viewed as a typically Lombard stamp, occurs frequently on handmade, sixth-century pottery in south-east and south-west Germany (Kelheim, Gielsing, Feldmoching, Linz-Zizlau)(Werner 1962:60). Two stamps, the lattice lozenge and the simple lattice rectangle, are particularly frequent on pottery found in Italy (Cividale-Gallo, Testona, and Cividale-Giudaica). Stamped pottery also appears in early Avar ceramic assemblages, but there are no die-linked specimens (Vida 1990-1991: 133; Vida 1995:104).

575. For earrings with polyhedral cube, see Horedt 1979b:245-246; Bierbrauer 1987:150; Uenze 1992:163; for such earrings as typically 'Gepid', see Cseh 1990a:29-30. Such earrings occur, however, in sixth-century cemeteries in Slovenia (Rifnik, Dravljje)(Slabe 1986:201). For other types of earrings, see Kiss 1992:52-53; Kiss 1996:309.

576. Such combs were produced locally, as evidenced by artifacts found in sunken building no. 8 at Biharea (Dumitraşcu 1982).

577. Artificial cranial deformation is however attested in contemporary cemeteries in the western Balkan area (Pilarić 1975; Slabe 1978; Vuga 1980).

578. For 'Hunnic' artificial cranial deformation, see Werner 1956. For artificial cranial deformation in Merovingian Gaul, see Crubézy 1990. The practice is also attested in Crimea, for both female and male burials (Kropotkin 1959:190). For a cross-cultural perspective on artificial cranial deformation and its relation to social status, see Garrett 1988.

579. Cast fibulae with bent stems and crossbow brooches, which were particularly frequent in 'Gepidia', were not taken into consideration in this analysis. The same is true for fifth-century brooch types, such as Alkofen (Kühn 1974:571-575; a specimen at Erdökövesd) or Krefeld (Kühn 1974:587-595, a specimen at Novi Banovci).

580. Circle: disc-brooches; filled circle: Gursuf class; triangle: Hahnheim class; filled triangle: Hahnheim class, variant with lozenge decoration on the foot-plate; circle within triangle: Hahnheim class, variant with circle-and-dot decoration; reversed triangle: Krainburg class; filled reversed triangle: Reggio Emilia class; upright rectangle: Szentes-Berekhat class; horizontal rectangle: Wittislingen class; B: Burghagel class; C: Cividale class; G: Goethe class; R: Ravenna

class; S: S-shaped brooches; T: Castel Trosino class; bold T: Trivières class; U: Ulm class; W: Wiesbaden class; Z: tongs-shaped brooches (*Zangenfibeln*). Data compiled from Csallány 1961, Kühn 1974, Werner 1962, and Bóna 1990b.

581. Assigned brooches: Csánád-Bökény, Kiszombor (grave 88), Moreşti, Novi Banovci, Pecica, Szentes-Rákoczi utca, Szentes-Kökényzug (graves 49 and 66), Berekhát (graves 2 and 43), Szentes-Nagyhegy (grave 22) and Sânnicolau Mare.

582. Specimens produced in Crimea may have imitated 'imports' from 'Gepidia' (Aibabin 1990:20-21).

583. Assigned brooches: Hódmezővásárhely-Gorzsa (grave 94), Magyartés, Szentes-Kökényzug (grave 56), Berekhát (grave 274), Tarnaméra, and Jankovo (grave 13). Despite Kühn's claims to the contrary, it is possible that this class of fibulae originated in the West, some-time before or after 500, and was later 'imported' to 'Gepidia'.

584. Variant with lozenge decoration on the foot-plate: Magyartés, Moreşti (graves 5 and 73), Orşova, and Lakitelek-Szikra. Variant with circle-and-dot decoration: Csánád-Bökény, Hódmezővásárhely-Gorzsa (grave 22), Kunszentmárton-Péterszög, Moreşti (grave 4 and stray find), Pecica, Berekhát (graves 36 and 61), Szentes-Nagyhegy (grave 15), Szöreg (graves 16 and 29), and Kamenovo (grave 1). Brooches of this variant were sometimes compared to the so-called 'Slavic brooches' of Werner's class II (n.a. 1954:210; Horedt 1977:258), a comparison rejected by Werner himself (1950:167).

585. Assigned brooches: Beregovo, Csongrád-Kettőshalmi, Dunaföldvár, Kistelek, Oradea, Szentes-Nagyhegy (grave 77), Szentes-Kökényzug (graves 29 and 50), Tiszaroff (grave 1), and Tiszaladány.

586. Assigned brooches: Szentes-Nagyhegy (grave 8), Berekhát (grave 105 and stray find), and Tiszafüred.

587. Only one specimen, at Kiszombor (grave 247).

588. Assigned brooches: Gyöngyös, Oradea, Szarvas, Ószöny.

589. The only known analogy for the fibulae from Berekhát (grave 202), Tiszafüred (grave 1), and Bočar (grave 4) is the specimen found at Mainz (Kühn 1974:288

no. 190). They all form Kühn's class Szentes-Berekhat (Kühn 1974:1275-1278). Three other brooches (Moreşti, Novi Banovci, and Szentes-Kökényzug, grave 29), which belong to Kühn's class Taman (Kühn 1974:766-779), have no analogies outside 'Gepidia'.

590. Assigned brooches: Szöreg (grave XI), for S-shaped fibulae, Tiszafüred (grave 1) and Hödmezővásárhely (grave 77), for disc-brooches.

591. Two other specimens were found at Mistřín, near Hodonín, and Vienna (see Werner 1962:68).

592. Assigned specimens: Kajdacs (grave 2), Rácálmás (graves 16 and 20), Fertőszentmiklós (grave 9), Mohács (grave 5), Kranj (several specimens).

593. Assigned specimens: Hegykő (graves 18 and 21), Bezenye (grave 8), Kajdacs (grave 2), Kranj (graves 193/1907, 43, 58, and 66).

594. Assigned brooches: Keszthely (grave B) and Rácálmás (grave 2).

595. Assigned brooch: Hegykő (grave 18).

596. Assigned brooches: Bezenye (grave 20), Várpalota (graves 1, 17, and 19), Kápolnásnyék, Szentendre (graves 29 and 56), Kajdacs (grave 2), Tamási (grave 6), Rácálmás (grave 16), and Fertőszentmiklós (grave 9).

597. Assigned brooch: Bezenye (grave 8).

598. In István Bóna's words, the year 568 witnessed the end of "almost 600 years' rule by successive Germanic tribes in the Carpathian basin" (Bóna 1976:105).

599. In a recent survey of Avar archaeology, Csanád Bálint claims that to separate the Early Avar material from the Middle Avar one is a very difficult, if not impossible, task. As an example, he rightly pointed to the bracelet with trumpet-shaped ends found at Szentendre, in association with a coin minted for emperor Phocas (607-610). Its closest parallel was found in the Zemianský Vrbovok hoard, together with miliaresia struck for emperor Constantine IV (668-669) (Bálint 1993:201; for the Szentendre burial, see Garam 1992:138-139).

600. The existence of an Early Avar phase had already been postulated by Dezső Csallány (1946-1948),

who was also the first to assign artifact-categories to this archaeological phase.

601. Middle Avar assemblages produced Avar imitations of non-identifiable Byzantine coins (Bóna 1980:34).

602. Kunágota: light-weight solidus of Justinian; Szentendre: tremissis of Justin II; Békécsaba: half of a solidus of Tiberius II. See Garam 1992:138-139.

603. The Kunágota burial is now dated to the first third of the seventh century (Garam 1995:127).

604. The same is true about pieces of Byzantine jewelry, such as the gold bangle with monogram from Kölked, the golden ornamental buckle with enamel inlay at Kunbábony, or the gold mounting of the Kunágota sword (Bóna 1990a:115).

605. Unlike Goths, Lombards, or Gepids, Avars never received payments in food. On the contrary, they seem to have twice supplied the starving Romans with grain (John of Ephesus V 32; Theophylact Simocatta VII 13.3-4).

606. As recently proposed by József Szénpeteri (1993a, 1993b).

607. A clear Central Asian origin may be claimed only for bone artifacts, such as needle cases, buckles (cf. Bóna 1980:52 and 54), awls (cf. Sekeres 1957), or belt pendants. 'Asian' are also finds of single earrings with male skeletons, the deposition of the belt (without buckle), sword, and quiver on the right side of the skeleton, with the bow on top of the coffin (Bálint 1993:217-218 and 237; Tomka 1995:83). The only parallels for the deposition of armor slats are those from the Altai region and the Tuva basin (Bóna 1980:45). By contrast, there is no 'Asian' element in the decoration of belt buckles and plates. Silver rosette-mounts, such as frequently found in Early Avar assemblages, have no analogies outside the Carpathian basin, except two rich burials in Ukraine (Malo Pereshchepino and Glodosy) (Bálint 1993:234; cf. Sós and Salamon 1995:33). In addition, the use of earrings by adult males was probably inspired by Sassanian models (Bóna 1980:39). Attempts to identify Central Asian Avars by means of physical anthropology were unsuccessful (Tóth 1967).

608. The dating of the Avar specimens is suggested by the warrior burial found at Szegvár-Sápoldal, in which a double-edged sword with P-shaped sheath attachments was

associated with an 'Avar' imitation of a solidus struck for emperor Maurice. Another, similar specimen was found in burial 2 at Kiszombor O, in association with a solidus struck for emperor Phocas. The latest P-shaped sheath attachments known so far are those from the horseman burial at Ivánca, dated to the late seventh century, but such artifacts were already rare by AD 630 (Garam 1992: 157). Swords with 3-shaped sheath attachments, such as found in Early Avar assemblages, have no parallel outside the Carpathian basin, except the rich burial at Malo Pereshchepino.

609. A Central Asian origin for this ceramic category was claimed by István Bóna, but other authors found interesting parallels in sixth-century ceramic assemblages in Romania, belonging to the so-called Ipotești-Cândești culture (Vékony 1973). For certain ceramic categories with clear Central Asian analogies, see Vida 1992.

610. Truly Avar stirrups first occurred in Merovingian burials in southern and western Germany during the second third of the seventh century. Replicas of Avar stirrups with elongated attachment loops were produced there as early as the second half of the seventh century (Bott 1976:227).

611. Such cemeteries only appear after ca. 650 (Bóna 1971:292). For large cemeteries with Early Avar material, see Salamon and Erdelyi 1971, Sós and Salamon 1995, Kiss 1996 and Bárdos 1995.

612. The first (Late) Avar sunken building was excavated in 1962 by Otto Trogmayer at Bokros (Bóna 1971:313). István Bóna published the monograph of Dunaújváros, the first and, to date, the only fully excavated (Early and Middle) Avar settlement (Bóna 1973).

613. The most important ones are a shift from swords to sabres and combat axes, which seems to indicate a change in warfare, and the use of a completely new decoration style on belt buckles and plates, which makes extensive use of the interlaced pattern (Bálint 1989:156-160; Garam 1992:158-159). For Middle Avar sabres and their Sassanian parallels, see also Bálint 1978:184.

614. The first to postulate the existence of a separate chronological phase (now known as Middle Avar), which he labeled the "Igar-Ozora-Dunapentele" group, was the Hungarian archaeologist Gyula László (1955).

615. For a survey of this very controversial inter-

pretation, see Bálint 1989:169.

616. For the transition from double-edged swords to sabres, see Simon 1991 and Simon 1991-1992.

617. The existence of a buffer zone between Middle Avar cemeteries in south and southeast Slovakia and presumably Slavic settlements with Prague-type pottery has been inferred from the distribution of both. Such cemeteries were interpreted as Avar outposts in Transdanubia against Samo and his 'kingdom' (Zábojník 1988:401-402).

618. Bracelets with trumpet-shaped ends of the so-called Szentendre type are a case in point. The majority of the specimens known so far come from Transdanubia (Sós and Salamon 1995:41). The same is true about buckles of Ibler's classes Pécs and Nagyharsány (Ibler 1992:138 and 143).

619. John of Antioch, however, refers to Bulgars in relation to events in the Lower Danube region in 480 and the Bulgars first crossed the Danube in 499. They were subsequently mentioned as allies of the Gepids. Dezső Simonyi argued, therefore, that these were not Cutrigurs, but a separate group of Bulgars who came to Pannonia with the Huns and remained there until the arrival of the Avars (Simonyi 1964). This theory was very popular in the 1960s and 1970s and had a considerable influence upon interpretations of the Early Avar archaeological evidence (cf. Csallány 1963; Fettich 1972; Beshevliev 1981:85-86). István Bóna argued, however, that the idea of fifth-century Pannonian Bulgars is Paul the Deacon's invention, since no other source specifically referred to Bulgars in the Hungarian Plain (Bóna 1981; cf. Bóna 1971:302).

620. According to John Malalas, a 'king' of the 'Huns' in the region of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, named Gordas, converted to Christianity, only to be assassinated by his subjects, who refused being converted. Cf. Golden 1980:261; Bálint 1989:14.

621. As the Tang dynasty came to power with Turkic assistance, almost all sources for the history of the Gök Türk chaganate are Chinese. They have been collected by Edouard Chavannes 1969 (reprint, first published in 1903). The death of yabghu qaghan T'ung coincides with the collapse of the eastern chaganate. For the ensuing civil war, see also Golden 1980:37-42; Golden 1982:40-41 and 50-54; Bálint 1989:239-240; Whittow 1996:222.

622. Most sixth- to eighth-century funerary assemblages in the steppe north of the Black Sea were found in the area between the Danube and Dnieper rivers. There are comparatively fewer finds in Left Bank Ukraine and virtually no finds between the Don and the Volga rivers (Dimitrov 1987:63; Bálint 1989:102). For a rare instance of the presence of perforated belt mounts in Left Bank Ukraine, see the cremation cemetery at Lebiazh'e, near Kursk (Lipking 1974:145-147); for the steppe east of the Don river, see Bezuglov 1985.

623. Other authors use a different classification, based on the shape and size of the grave pit (Baran and Kozlovskii 1991:235).

624. The interpretation of the Malo Pereshchepino assemblage as a burial has been disputed, for no human bones were found there (Kazanski and Sodini 1987:72; see also Schulze-Dörrlamm 1987b). Joachim Werner argued in favor of a funerary assemblage, pointing to fragments of gold sheet bearing traces of wood, which he interpreted as casket mounts (Werner 1984a:7-33). Knowing that the assemblage was accidentally found in 1912 and no systematic excavations were carried thereafter, there is no way to decide whether or not Malo Pereshchepino was a specific, ritual site of a kind illustrated by the assemblage at Voznesenka. By contrast, the site at Glodosy produced cremated fragments of a male skeleton (twenty to forty years old; Smilenko 1965:7-10).

625. For a deposition of a sacrificed animal in a wooden bucket, at Sivashovka, see Orlov 1985:104.

626. Joachim Werner argued that all 68 coins found at Malo Pereshchepino belonged to a 'ceremonial or marriage belt,' for they were all perforated and decorated each with a cabochon applied on the obverse (Werner 1984a:17). For the coins found at Kelegeia, see Kropotkin 1962:37.

627. Judging from the iconography of the Taq-i Bustan reliefs, the number of secondary straps indicated social rank, for the use of as many as ten or twelve straps was restricted to the king, while lesser nobles wore only three to six straps (Werner 1974:132). Belts were also used as symbols of social status in contemporary Byzantium; see Martini and Steckner 1993: 134-136 [Martini's and Steckner's reference to John Lydus' *On Powers* is misleading, for the text points not to a *cingulum*, but to a *balteus*, and the buckle indicated by Martini and Steckner is nothing else but "a crescent

made of gold" (II.13)]. For examples of buckles used in association with belts with multiple straps, see Schulze-Dörrlamm 1987a:802 and 803 fig. 63 and Bálint 1992:324 and 438 pl. 2/1.

628. At Mokraia balka, near Kislovodsk, perforated belt mounts occur in the second interment phase of the cemetery. In burial chamber 1, such mounts were associated with a Sassanian coin issued for Kavad I (488-531) (Afanas'ev 1979:47). As in the Balkan area, perforated mounts were also found in Justinianic forts, such as Podkumskoe (Afanas'ev 1975:53 and 60).

629. In Crimea, perforated belt mounts were in use in the mid-sixth century, as suggested by their association with a coin issued for Justinian in burial no. 56 at Suuk Su (Repnikov 1906:15-16; cf. Afanas'ev 1979:47). The analysis of burials from this cemetery indicates that access to belts with perforated mounts was restricted to adults, both female and male (Uenze 1992:170). For perforated mounts at Skalistoe, see Veimarn and Aibabin 1993:12-13.

630. Nándor Fettich is the first who linked the Martynovka hoard to assemblages with perforated belt mounts. He also coined the phrase 'Martynovka mounts' (Somogyi 1987:122).

631. The use of buckled belt has been associated with wearing trousers or tights, a garment believed to have been first introduced by barbarian soldiers in the Roman army (Russell 1982:146). As the Taq-i Bustan reliefs suggest, however, belts with multiple straps were worn with tunics (cf. Martini and Steckner 1993:133). In other cases, perforated belt mounts (such as Somogyi's class A 9; cf. Somogyi 1987) may have been used to attach shoe straps (Bálint 1992:357).

632. Setton believed that 'Bulgarian belts' are also attested by Strategikon XII B.1 as accessories of the military dress of foot-soldiers. The relevant passage in Greek is Ζωνάρια δὲ λινὰ καὶ οὐ Βουλγαρικά σάγια. George Dennis's translation ("Their mantles should be simple, not like the Bulgarian cloaks...", p. 138) is wrong, for λινὰ and σάγια are not at all synonyms. A better translation is that of Ernst Gamillscheg: "Außerdem (tragen die Soldaten) schmale Gürtel, aber keine bulgarischen Mäntel" (p. 420). The term σάγιον occurs also in V 4.3, where it certainly refers to "doppelte Decken, einerseits um sich zuzudecken, wenn es notwendig werden sollte, andererseits um sie als Zelt,

d.h. als Rundzelt zu haben" (p. 212). The specific item associated with Bulgars in this case, therefore, is the cloak, not the belt.

633. Data after Bálint 1992, with additions.

634. Good examples of belts with multiple straps, but without perforated mounts, are the specimens found at Mersin, in Cilicia, or the one now preserved in the Dumbarton Oaks collection in Washington (Bálint 1992: 345).

635. Slava Rusă: Opaiț 1990:46 fig. 18/53-57; Sadovec-Sadovsko kale: Uenze 1992:pl. 11/1-5, 8-10, 14-17.

636. Piatra Frecăței, burial no. B 14: Petre 1987: pl. 130 fig. 207 d-e; Histria, burial no. 4: Alexandrescu and Vîlceanu 1962:402 fig. 5/1; Pleven: Vaklinova 1989: 136 fig. 2.

637. I leave aside the highly controversial issue of whether or not the Middle Avar period witnessed a new wave of migrants from Koubratos' Bulgaria.

638. For analogies in Transcaucasia, see Atavin and Paromov 1991.

639. Incidentally, it is worth mentioning that Spicyn attributed to the Antes not only hoards, but also burials with bow fibulae, such as that of Balakleia, near Kharkov (Spicyn 1928:494).

640. The only contrasting view was that of M. I. Artamonov, who attributed both hoards of silver and bronze and burials such as Voznesenka, Malo Pereshchepino, and Glodosy, to the Cutrigurs (Artamonov 1969). For a critique of Artamonov's interpretation, see Tret'iakov 1971.

641. Circles indicate burials, triangles indicate hoards.

642. Iakhniki: Braichevskii 1952a:45-46; Khacki: Bobrinskii 1901: 147-148 and pl. XIV; Kharyvki: Berezovec 1952; Koloskovo: Liapushkin 1961:186-187 and 185 fig. 87; Kozievka: Rybakov 1953:66-67; Krylos: Kropotkin 1970 and Kropotkin 1971; Malii Rzhavec: Rybakov 1953:74-76; 75 fig. 16; Martynovka: Prikhodniuk, Shovkopliias, Ol'govskaia, and Struina 1991 and Pekarskaja and Kidd 1994; Nova Odessa: Rybakov 1953:67 and 69 fig. 13;

Pastyrs'ke: Braichevs'kii 1952b; Poltava: Braichevskii 1952a:46-47; Sudzha: Rybakov 1949; Veliki Kuchurov (Kuczurmare): Noll 1974 and Gschwantler 1993; Velikie Budki: Romanova 1983:311 and Goriunova 1987:85-87; Vyl'khovchik: Prikhodniuk 1980:129 and 99 fig. 61; Zalesie: Ugrin 1987; Zemianský Vrbovok: Svoboda 1953. I left aside two hoards, which included only one or two artifact-categories: Grigoryvka, with only five earrings with star-shaped pendant (Prikhodniuk 1980:131) and Halič, with a necklace and two earrings with star-shaped pendant (Garam 1980:172 and fig. 7). Not considered was the hoard from Tépe, for which I have been unable to find complete information (cf. Thomas 1988:143). My analysis also excludes hoards of Sassanian silverware, such as Khomiakovo, Pavlovka, and Sloboda Limarovka, for which see Bálint 1989:106 and 108-109. Despite lack of irrefutable evidence, I assumed that the finds from Martynovka and Kharyvki were hoards, not burials (cf. Kidd and Pekarskaya 1995).

643. Correspondence analysis belongs to a group of data reduction methods, which became popular in the archaeological literature in the late 1980s. The method was first developed in the 1960s in France by J. P. Benzécri and his team of the laboratory for the Mathematical Statistics at the University of Paris VI. The first to adopt the correspondence analysis were Scandinavian archaeologists (Bølviken et al. 1982). Its adoption by American and British archaeologists came comparatively later. For the algebra, see Bølviken et al. 1982:42-44. See also Djindjian 1989, Madsen 1989, Shennan 1990:283-286, and Ringrose 1992. For various statistical methods and their use in archaeology, see Djindjian 1984 and Djindjian 1990.

644. Legend: 1-Bilozerka, 2-Dymovka, 3-Glodosy, 4-Veliki Kuchurov, 5-Iakhniki, 6-Iasinovo, 7-Khacki, 8-Kharyvki, 9-Koloskovo, 10-Kovalevka, 11-Kozievka, 12-Krylos, 13-Malo Pereshchepino, 14-Malii Rzhavec, 15-Martynovka, 16-Nova Odessa, 17-Pastyrs'ke, 18-Poltava, 19-Sudzha, 20-Velikie Budki, 21-Vyl'khovchik, 22-Zachepilovki, 23-Zalesie, 24-Zemianský Vrbovok. Triangles represent hoards, rectangles represent burials.

645. Abbreviations: A-armlet with enlarged ends, AB-spear, AC-'Martynovka mounts,' AD-bridle bit, AE-brooch with bent stem, AF-'Slavic' bow brooch, AG-shield-shaped bow brooch, AH-pseudo-buckle, AI-chain, AK-cup, AL-finger-ring, AM-horse-harness mounts, AN-silver ingot, AO-neckring with embossed decoration, AP-collar, AR-necklace, AS-stirrup, AT-silver sheet strapend, AV-cast

strapend with scrollwork decoration, AW-sword, AX-earring with spiral-end, AZ-seashells, B-hinge bracelet, C-arrow-head, D-amber beads, E-glass beads, F-jingle bells, G-cast belt mounts, H-buckle (Sucidava class), I-rectangular buckle, J-chalice, K-silver or gold coin, L-silver wire earring, M-earring with star-shaped pendant, N-earring with globe-pendant, O-earring with bead pendant, P-silver goblet, Q-helmet cheek-piece, R-jug, S-lead mounts, T-neckring with widened ends, U-hat-shaped pendant, V-repoussé bronze pendant, W-circular bronze pendant, Y-spectacle-shaped pendant, Z-silver plate.

646. The same is true for lead mounts, such as found in the Velikie Budki, Nova Odessa, Kozievka, and Khacki hoards (Goriunova 1987:90).

647. The same is true for the silver bow brooch with peacocks found at Martynovka. Its closest parallel comes from the female burial no. 388 of the early Avar cemetery at Kölked (Kiss 1996:201).

648. There is no known, datable analogy for the control stamp with the name Vitalius on the base of the Krylos silver bowl (Kropotkin 1971:68).

649. For the silver spoon from Martynovka, see Hauser 1992:56. Such spoons were more likely to signalize social status than Christian beliefs and were certainly not baptismal spoons (Simoni 1988:82 and Hauser 1992:81; *contra*: Petrikovits 1966:181, Dănilă 1986:91).

650. Legend: phase I - triangle, phase II - oval, phase III - rectangle.

651. Earrings with star-shaped pendants also occur in late seventh-century funerary assemblages in Albania (Anamali 1993:443). For this artifact-category, see also Comşa 1971, Aibabin 1973, and Čilinská 1975.

652. For a similar specimen found at Sardis, wrongly interpreted as *Tierfibel*, see Waldbaum 1983:117 and pl. 43/688. For finds from the Crkvine cemetery near Salona, see Vinski 1967:17 and Vinski 1970:701-702 and 703 fig. 1.

653. A bronze model for the production of such mounts was found in the Biskupija hoard (Croatia)(Korošec 1958b).

654. It is tempting to associate the burial of

earlier hoards, for which a date may be tentatively assigned to ca. 630, with the beginning of the civil war within the western division of Gök Türk empire and the subsequent rise of the Bulgar chaganate. Both were, however, located in Left Bank Ukraine and the steppe north of the Caucasus mountain range, at a considerable distance from the main concentration of hoards in the Middle Dnieper area. Moreover, the hoarding phenomenon clearly continued through the second half of the seventh century, as hoard finds began to appear in Volhynia and Slovakia.

655. Artifacts in the Khacki hoard were found wrapped in silk (Bobrinskii 1901:147).

656. Despite her efforts to establish a pottery classification based on the statistical ordering of whole vessels, Rusanova claimed that rim and lip variations ultimately provided the most valuable chronological information (Rusanova 1976:11). Without the information provided by the base, however, the primary breakdown of vessel types is impossible (Froese 1985:239). Doubts about the possibility of dating pottery on typological grounds alone were already expressed by Czech archaeologists, such as J. Poulik and Z. Klanica (see Dostál 1979:191).

657. Other studies show that effective capacity (maximum volume of material that is normally placed in a vessel) and use are strongly correlated with orifice diameter in all shape classes. Liquid separation, for instance, is made possible by outflaring rims, but not by vertical or insloping rims, which suggests that rim variation is primarily functional, not stylistical (Shapiro 1984:696; Hally 1986:279-280).

658. The idea that types were entirely constructed by archaeologists was first advanced by J. A. Ford (1954). By contrast, following A. Krieger (1944), A. C. Spaulding (1953, 1982) believed that types were mental templates of prehistoric manufacturers and users. For the 'emic' nature of types, see also Tschauner 1985:40-53 and Rice 1987:283.

659. Archaeologists using the metrical (arbitrary) stratigraphy often fail to understand that archaeological stratification is man-made and therefore not directly subject to the laws of geological stratification. Archaeological artifacts are inanimate, and thus not subject to a normal life-cycle or the process of evolution by normal selection (they may be even occasionally reproduced in

later periods).

660. For a brief introduction to the archaeological and historical problems of the Wielbark culture (formerly known as the 'Gotho-Gepidan' culture), see Heather 1996: 21-30. Rusanova attributed this decoration to an alleged cultural influence from the south (Rusanova 1963:46-47). It is clear, however, that she was not aware of the existence at Korchak of much earlier materials, which had nothing to do with sixth- or seventh-century ceramic assemblages.

661. Further indication of Rusanova's wrong dating of the site at Korchak I is an iron knife (Rusanova 1973b:pl. 32/5), which belongs to Minasian's class I. Such knives were particularly frequent in fourth- and fifth-century sites in the area between the Upper Dnieper and the Volga (Minasian 1980:69).

662. Such vessels were found in features 7 and 8 at Zelenyi Gai, near Zastavna (Chernivtsi region, Ukraine). Since the site also produced stamped pottery of the Early Avar period, it is likely that we are dealing with two occupation phases.

663. There is no indication of an earlier occupation at Ipotești, but the salvage excavation carried there unearthed only two settlement features. The extant of the original settlement is unknown. Doubts about the archaeological and historical value of the materials excavated at Ipotești were recently cast by Petre Diaconu (1993:299).

664. The Kavetchina fibula belongs to the so-called 'Gothic' class of brooches with bent stem, which characterizes fourth-century mortuary assemblages of the Chernyakhov milieu (see, more recently, Curta 1992:85-86). Unlike Botoșana, the site at Kavetchina produced no sixth-century artifacts.

665. Văzharova herself attributed four settlement features (15, 28, 59, and 97) to this period. Since she also dated 24 features to the sixth and seventh century, she suggested that the site had three phases of occupation. Neither the site's stratigraphy, nor the material resulting from the excavation of sunken buildings and ovens produced any evidence in support of this implication.

666. To be sure, small quantities of handmade pottery were found on many early Byzantine sites in the

Balkans, at Krivina/Iatrus (Böttger 1979:34-35), Garvăn/Dinogetia (Ștefan, Barnea, and Mitrea 1962:676), Musait/Sacidava (Scorpan 1978:160-161), Adamclisi (Barnea et al. 1979:192 and 226), Mangalia/Callatis (Diaconu 1959:487-489), Tulcea/Aegyssus (Opaiț 1996:105), Murighiol (Opaiț 1991:157), and Piatra Frecăței (Vîlceanu and Barnea 1975). A handful of sherds came out the excavations at Saraçhane, in Constantinople (Hayes 1992:53).

667. The urns of graves I, III, IX, 9, and 29, and one pot with no grave attribution (Vryonis 1992:figs. 38, 8, 2, 9, 37, and 29). The same is true for a potsherd found in feature 4 at Mušići, in Bosnia, a site long viewed as the earliest Slavic settlement in former Yugoslavia (Čremošnik 1972; Čremošnik 1975). The potsherd presents an ornament with vertical and oblique combing, which is very similar to that of the pottery found at Argos and Olympia (Čremošnik 1975:109 fig. 7/a).

668. According to Vryonis' description, two spindle-shaped beads had traces of bronze, which may be viewed as a strong argument in favor of interpreting them as *Me-lonenkernperlen*, for the production of such beads involved the use of bronze sheaths (cf. László 1970:100-101).

669. Burials in Corinth may be dated to the seventh century by means of buckles of the following classes: Nagyhasány (Ibler 1992:143; Varsik 1992:88), Corinth (Hessen 1974:549-550; Varsik 1992:83; Anamali 1993:443), Boly-Želovce (Ibler 1992:143-144; Varsik 1992:86-89), and Bologna (Varsik 1992:84; Martini and Steckner 1993:120-121 and 124-125). The classification of seventh-century buckles goes back to Werner 1955. Of particular interest is the knuckle-guard of the sword found in the burial of the 'Wandering Soldier' (Davidson 1974). A similar specimen was found in grave 85 of the cemetery at Aradka, in northern Serbia, which could be dated, on the basis of accompanying belt fittings, to the second quarter of the seventh century. Five other specimens were found in Avar warrior graves: no. 259 at Kölked, no. X at Tarnaméra, no. III at Igar, no. 65 at Gyenesdiás (Hungary), and no. 4 at Aiudu de Sus (Transylvania, Romania). The Kölked and Tarnaméra swords are slightly earlier than the others and may be dated to the mid-600s. The other four are all dated to the late seventh century (Kiss 1996:230 and 232; Szábo 1965:42 and 47-48; Fülöp 1988:183; Simon 1995:117; Horedt 1958a:93; cf. Simon 1992:307). Good parallels are also the swords found in the Ukrainian rich burials at Malo Pereshchepino, Glodosy, Voznesenka, and Kelegeia (Kiss 1987; Kazanski and Sodini 1987:78; Ambroz 1986:63;

see also Chapter VIII).

670. The debate over the seventh-century burials at Corinth goes back to the controversy between Kenneth Setton (1950, 1952) and Peter Charanis (1952). Both were driven by a strong desire to read culture history in the archaeological record and, at least in Charanis' case, to prove the authenticity of the Chronicle of Monemvasia by archaeological means.

671. Settlements: 1-Bacău, 2-Bălăceanca, 3-Băleni-Români, 4-Borniș, 5-Borșeni, 6-Botoșana, 7-Bozieni, 8-Bratei, 9-Brăteștii de Sus, 10-Bucharest-Băneasa, 11-Bucharest-Ciurel, 12-Bucharest-Colentina, 13-Bucharest-Străulești, 14-Bucharest-Dămăroaia, 15-Bucharest-Foișorul Mavrocordăților, 16-Bucharest-Soldat Ghivan Street, 17-Bucharest-Lunca, 18-Bucharest-Măicănești, 19-Bucharest-Mihai Viteazu, 20-Bucharest-Militari, 21-Bucharest-Tei, 22-Bucharest-Văcărești, 23-Budeni, 24-Cățelu Nou, 25-Cernat, 26-Cipău, 27-Cucorăni, 28-Davideni, 29-Dănceni, 30-Dodești, 31-Dulceanca, 32-Făcăi, 33-Filiaș, 34-Gordinești, 35-Rashkov, 36-Grodzisko Dolne, 37-Gutinaș, 38-Hansca, 39-Iași, 40-Ipotești, 41-Izvoare-Bahna, 42-Kavetchina, 43-Kiev, 44-Kodyn, 45-Lazuri, 46-Ludanice, 47-Malu Roșu, 48-Mihăilești, 49-Obukhyv, 50-Olteni, 51-Oreavu, 52-Poian, 53-Proscuriani, 54-Radovanu, 55-Gorecha, 56-Recea, 57-Rus-Mănăstioara (Udești), 58-Samchincy, 59-Șapte-Bani (Hucea), 60-Sărata Monteoru, 61-Seliște, 62-Semenki, 63-Sfințești, 64-Skibincy, 65-Suceava, 66-Târgșor, 67-Valea Neagră, 68-Vânători-Neamț, 59-Vedea.

672. That Kodyn 10 should be dated to the late fifth- or early sixth-century is also suggested by the presence of fine, grey wheel-made ware. This ceramic ware was found in great quantities on contemporary sites in 'Gepidia' and archaeologists were able to identify at least one production center at Törökszentmiklós (Cseh 1990b). Rusanova's and Baran's claims that this ware is indicative of Chernyakhov traditions in the early Slavic culture have no archaeological substance.

673. Viminacium: Schulze-Dörflamm 1986:602. Iatrus: Gomolka-Fuchs 1982:pl. 55/243, 244, 249, 255, and 257-258. Pernik: Liubenova 1981:169 fig. 108/1, 2. Zvānec: Kharalambieva 1991:34 fig. 11. Two crossbow brooches of the Prague type were found in the Middle Dnieper area (Tret'iakov 1974:97 fig. 16/1; Kazanski 1992:fig. 1/21, 22).

674. A similar specimen was found at Bratei, in the

same settlement which produced crossbow brooches similar to the Kodyn fibulae (Bârzu 1994-1995:290 fig. 16/14).

675. Ioan Tentiuc, "Otchet o rabotakh iuzhno-slavianskoi arkheologicheskoi ekspedicii OE i IAN MSSR na poselenii Moleshty-Rypa adynka," an archaeological report in the archives of the Institute of Ancient History and Archaeology, Chişinău, 1990. I am grateful to Dr. Ioan Tentiuc from the Archaeological Museum in Chişinău for allowing me to see the still unpublished material found at Moleşti-Râpa Adâncă and to publish the brooch.

676. A dating to the early sixth century is suggested by the association, in the burial chamber 122 at Mokraia balka (near Kislovodsk, north of the Caucasus range), of two crossbow brooches, one of the Prague, the other of the Viminacium class, with belt plates and buckles decorated with cabochons. Similar plates were found in the burial chamber 1 of the same cemetery together with a silver coin issued for the Sassanian king Kavad I (488-531) (Afanas'ev 1979:45 and 47; Ambroz 1989: 112 fig. 26/1-13). According to Schulze-Dörrlamm, the knob at the end of the brooch's foot is a typological development which originated in the Caucasus region (Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986:680).

677. A fibula of this kind was found in a house of the early Byzantine fort at Gabrovo. Associated with it was another brooch, which could be dated to the fifth century (Koicheva and Kharalambieva 1993:pl. I/5). A second brooch found at Târgşor, is an equal-armed fibula, which may also be dated to the fifth century (Teodorescu 1971b:126 fig. 2/1).

678. Beginning with Anastasius' issues, Byzantine coins reappeared north of the Danube river after a long interruption. A relatively large number of coins issued for the emperors Anastasius and Justin I were found in Romania, Moldova, and Ukraine (Figure 8). However, since old issues remained in circulation long after leaving the mint, they do not prove anything, for it is impossible to decide whether or not these coins reached the regions where they were found during the reigns of the emperors for whom they were minted.

679. For abbreviations of site names, see Appendix E.

680. Triangle: phase I; rectangle: phase II; circle: phase III.

681. Abbreviations: "CAKES": clay lumps; 2-COMB: double-layered bone comb; AMPHORA: shards of LR 1 or LR 2 amphoras; ARROW: arrow head; B-AMU: bone amulet; B-FIBULA: two fibula; B-NEEDLE: bone needle; B-SCRAP: bone scrapper; B/A-AWL: bone or antler awl; BEADS-I: small-sized glass beads; BEADS-II: glass beads with eye-shaped inlays; BS-BROOCH: brooch with bent stem; C-BROOCH: crossbow brooch; CER-COLL: hand- or wheel-made pots with collar; CER-COMB: wheel-made pottery with combed decoration; CER-GROO: wheel-made pottery with grooves; CER-LUST: wheel-made pottery with lustred decoration; CER-PUNC: handmade pottery with punctuation depressions; CER-STAM: hand- or wheel-made pottery with stamped decoration; CER-STR1: handmade pottery decorated with striation; COIN-I: sixth-century Byzantine coin; CRUC-crucible; FLINT: flint steel; I-AWL: iron awl; I-KNIFE: iron knife; IBS-BROO: iron brooch with bent stem; IMP-FIN: handmade pottery with finger impressions on rims; KNOBS: handmade pots with knobs on shoulders; LADLE: clay ladle; LOOM: loom weights; MOLD: stone or bone mold; NP-OBUCK: oval buckle without plate; NP-RBUCK: rectangular buckle without plate; PANS: clay pans; QUERN: rotary quern; ROLLS: clay rolls (found in the oven); SICK: sickle; SLA-DEC: hand- or wheel-made pottery with notches on rims; SPEAR: spear-head; SPINDLE: spindle whorl; VERT-INC: handmade pottery with vertical incisions; WHET: whetstone.

682. Bucharest-Militari, sunken building 4: Zirra and Cazimir 1963:69 fig. 17/1-2; Botoșana, sunken building 28: Teodor 1984a:97 fig. 18/2; Dodești, sunken building 2: Teodor 1984b:30 fig. 6/8; Kodyn I, sunken building 3: Rusanova and Timoshchuk 1984:73 pl. 13/6 (the same flint steel is attributed to the sunken building 4 from the second settlement; cf. Rusanova and Timoshchuk 1984: 22 and 54).

683. Kovács 1981:92 (specimens from the museum in Minusinsk); Mogil'nikov 1981:26 (sixth and seventh-century cemetery from Kokel'). Farther to the west, similar implements were found with warrior graves in the Upper Ob' valley, around Tomsk (Kovács 1981:93), in the Upper Irtysh valley, at Bobrovsk (Mogil'nikov 1981:124 fig. 20/39), and in the southern Ural region, at Briskom (Makhitov 1981:25 and 116 fig. 13/58). Cf. Henning 1989: 91.

684. The dating of the Kalaja Dalmaces assemblage is secured by the presence of two battle axes, both with good analogies in late seventh- and early eighth-century warrior burials in Croatia (Milošević 1987:114).

685. Bucharest-Colentina: a follis struck at Cyzicus in 539/40 (DOW I, p. 125, no. 165a.1-3); Bucharest-Măicănești: a follis struck in Constantinople between 527 and 538 (DOW I, p. 78, no. 28a.1) and a 20-nummia piece minted in Cyzicus in 540/1 (DOW I, p. 183); Băiceni: a 20-nummia piece minted in Constantinople in 540/1 (DOW I, p. 96, no. 64a). Two other coins issued for Justinian, which could not be attributed to any mint or year, were found at Bucharest-Dămăroaia and Bacău. See Butnariu 1983-1985:217-218.

686. It is true that no Romanian hoard closed after ca. 570 contains coins ante-dating Justinian's monetary reform of 538. Gropeni (see Appendix B, no. 125) has only three 20-nummia pieces dated to 539/40 and 540/1, respectively. Some hoards buried next to the Danube frontier display, however, a different pattern. Veliki Gradac (see Appendix B, no. 164), closed in 594/5, has two coins issued for Anastasius, three for Justin I, and one pre-reform coin of Justinian. In the Murighiol hoard (see Appendix B, no. 121), twelve out of 38 identifiable coins were pre-reform issues.

687. Such beads are relatively common in contemporary assemblages in Romania. At Sărata Monteoru, fourteen percent of all beads are with eye-shaped inlays (Fiedler 1992:80).

688. Bălăceanca: Vasilica Sandu, "Bălăceanca, archeological report," paper presented at the 28th National Archaeological Conference (Satu Mare, May 12-15, 1994); Bucharest-Băneasa: Constantiniu 1965a:90-91; Bucharest-Foișorul Mavrocordăților: Turcu and Marinescu 1968:125 fig. 6/8; Bucharest-Mihai Vodă: Cantea 1959:33-34; Bucharest-Soldat Ghivan Street: Dolinescu-Ferche and Constantiniu 1981:319 fig. 16/3, 6; Bucharest-Străulești: Constantiniu 1963:83-84; Bratei: Bârzu 1994-1995:285 fig. 11/11; Dulceanca I: Dolinescu-Ferche 1974:fig. 85/6-8; fig. 99-100; Dulceanca II: Dolinescu-Ferche 1986b:137 fig. 10/9, 10; Dulceanca III: Dolinescu-Ferche 1992:136 fig. 5/5, 6; 139 fig. 8/9, 11-14, 18-19; 143 fig. 12/8; 144 fig. 13/4, 5, 20; 146 fig. 15/2-5; 148 fig. 17/2, 4-5; Gutinaș: Mitrea, Eminovici, and Momanu 1986-1987:224; Hansca: Rafalovich 1972c:38 fig. 8/8; Ișalnița: Toropu 1976:212; Kavetchina: Vakulenko and Prikhodniuk 1984:61 fig. 34/10; 64 fig. 37/10, 15; Kodyn: Rusanova and Timoshchuk 1984:18 fig. 12/3; Olteni: Dolinescu-Ferche 1973; Seliște: Rafalovich 1972b:127. Unlike Avar mortuary assemblages, no whole amphoras were found on any settlement site. Early Avar burials produced only LR 1 amphoras (Tettamanti 1980:158; Vida 1990-1991:134; Vida 1993:279-

280), but local replicas of such amphoras were also found in Middle Avar assemblages.

689. Circle: LR 1, full circle: LR 2, triangle: other classes.

690. Amphorae of the Scorpan IX=Kuzmanov XVI=Antonova V=Opaiț B-Id class, though common in late sixth-century deposits in Dobrudja, were only found in the Middle Dnieper area. Two specimens were found in Kiev, one at Kyselivka, the other on the Podyl; a third specimen on the opposite bank, at Svetil'ne (Shovkopliias 1957:101; Shovkopliias 1963:140). A fourth amphora was found in a Kievan suburb, at Vishgorod (Prikhodniuk 1980:130). Other classes are also represented. A specimen of the LR 1 class comes from A. V. Bodianskii's excavations at Iaicevoi-Zaporizhzhia, on the Lower Dnieper, and a fragment of LR 2 was associated with pottery with lustred decoration in a sunken building found at Budishche, near Cherkassy (Prikhodniuk 1980:130 and 127). Just as with contemporary specimens found in Cornwall and Ireland, the presence of these amphoras in regions so far away from their production centers in the eastern Mediterranean area should be explained as a result of trade. That Byzantine ships were sailing on the Lower Dnieper in the early seventh century is suggested by the anchor found at Khorticia, near Zaporizhzhia (Shapovalov 1990). Its closest analogy is the anchor of the Yassi Ada shipwreck.

691. A dating to the early seventh century of LR 2 amphoras is secured by 719 specimens found on the cargo of the Yassi Ada shipwreck, which sank in 626 (Van Doorninck 1989:248).

692. At Iatrus, the ratio between sherds of amphora body, rim, base (or tip), and handle is 16.4:1:0.2:0.5 (Wendel 1986:114).

693. This is further substantiated by finds of fibulae with the inscription MINNA on the foot (Gencheva 1989:34).

694. Dragoevo: Kharalambieva and Atanasov 1991:56 pl. VIII/4; Kiten: Kharalambieva 1989:pl. II/6; Krivina/Iatrus: Gomolka-Fuchs 1982:pl. 55/269; Riakhovo: Kharalambieva and Ivanov 1986:pl. III/18; Snezhina: Kharalambieva 1989:pl. III/9; Venchan: Kharalambieva 1989:pl. II/7 and III/6; Zdravkovec: Koicheva and Kharalambieva 1993:pl. VII/2-4.

695. Prahovo: Janković 1981:pl. XVI/3 and XVI/1; Korbovo: Janković 1981:126 fig. 70; Sadovec: Uenze 1992: pl. 3/5; Sv. Nikola (near Dobrich): Kharalambieva 1989: pl. III/5; unknown location in Bulgaria: Kharalambieva 1989:pl. III/4.

696. Other analogies: Prahovo (Janković 1981:pl. XVI/5); Venchan (Kharalambieva 1989:pl. II/7); unknown location in Bulgaria (Kharalambieva 1992:134 pl. III/12).

697. Other analogies: Svishtov/Novae: Dimitrov et al. 1965:55 fig. 23; Sadovec: Uenze 192:pl. 2/8; Malāk Preslavec: Kharalambieva and Ivanov 1986:pl. II/15; Koprivec: Kharalambieva and Ivanov 1986:pl. II/16; Nikiup/Nicopolis ad Istrum: Poulter 1988:83 fig. 10/11; Mogila: Kharalambieva and Atanasov 1991:51 pl. VI/8; Gabrovo: Koicheva and Kharalambieva 1993:pl. I/9; pl. II/5; pl. III/10; pl. III/12; Dragoevo: Kharalambieva and Atanasov 1991:pl. IV/8; Cherencha: Kharalambieva and Atanasov 1991:pl. IV/9. With few exceptions, specimens of this group are very similar to each other, particularly in the case of those found on the same site. The existence of a local production of such fibulae during the sixth century has been postulated for Sadovec (Uenze 1992:150) and Gabrovo (Koicheva and Kharalambieva 1993: 61).

698. Such fibulae appear in great numbers at Roman, Kalaja Dalmaces, Bukël, Lezhë, and Shurdhah, all in Albania, at Mijeje in Montenegro, Sv. Erazmo, near Ochrid, and at Aphiona, on the island of Corfu. See Vinski 1971:388; Goriunov and Kazanskii 1978:26; Uenze 1992:149. Another specimen was found in a ninth-century cemetery at Mishevsko, near Kărdzhali (Văzharova 1971:6; Văzharova 1973:265).

699. Analogies for the specimen found in a sunken building at Bacău (Mitrea and Artimon 1971:242 fig. 13/1) come only from military sites: Adamclisi: Barnea et al. 1979:218 fig. 169/10.2; Cape Kaliakra: Kharalambieva 1989:pl. VI/7; Kapitan Dimitrovo: Kharalambieva 1992:pl. III/7; Koprivec: Kharalambieva and Ivanov 1986:pl. I/4; Mirovci: Kharalambieva and Atanasov 1991:55 pl. VII/1; Momčilov grad: Brmbolić 1986:fig. 31; Prahovo (23 specimens): Janković 1981:pl. XIV/2-6, 8-13; pl. XV/1-10, 12; Rtkovo: Gabričević 1986:86 fig. 19/8; Sadovec: Uenze 1992: pl. 3/8, 14; pl. 4/2; pl. 122/15, 16; Stălpishte: Kharalambieva and Ivanov 1986:pl. I/2, 5; Stan: Kharalambieva 1989:pl. VI/1; Venchan: Kharalambieva 1989:pl. IV/1, 3, 8; pl. VI/2, 3, 8; Voinikovo: Kharalambieva 1992:pl. III/6. The same is true for the

specimen found at Suceava-Șipot. Similar fibulae were found at Brza Palanka (Janković 1981:pl. XIV/7) and Botevo (Kharalambieva 1989:pl. V/9). For examples of cast fibulae with bent stem found south of the Stara Planina range, see Gencheva 1989:35. A cast fibula with bent stem was found in the American excavations at Saraçhane in Constantinople (Gill 1986:266 and fig. V).

700. Before Werner, the Soviet archaeologist Boris Rybakov (1948) had already ascribed these brooches to the early Slavs, but because of linguistic and ideological barriers, his work was far less influential in Europe than Joachim Werner's. It is interesting to note, on the other hand, that 'Slavic bow fibulae' were included in Herbert Kühn's impressive monograph on early medieval brooches from Germany (Kühn 1965, Kühn 1974, and especially Kühn 1981), but no mention was made of Werner's 'Slavic' class.

701. See for instance his class I, to which he ascribed brooches with animal-head terminal lobe (Werner 1950, pl. 29 and 31).

702. Though Herbert Kühn provided a considerable number of examples from East Prussia, in which pairs of identical brooches were found in association with cremation (Kühn 1956), Werner persisted in his idea that 'Slavic bow fibulae' were typically worn singly, not in pairs (Werner 1960:115).

703. This idea goes back to the work of the Latvian archaeologist Eduard Šturms, who first claimed that during the early Middle Ages, the present-day district of Olsztyn in Poland possessed Europe's richest amber resources (Šturms 1950:22). As shown in Chapter VIII, connections between the Baltic region and the Carpathian basin are well illustrated by finds of amber beads, which were particularly frequent in 'Gepidia'.

704. When it comes to chronology, Werner's thesis is self-contradicting. He dated all 'Slavic bow fibulae', including those of Mazuria, which he explained by means of trade relations, to the seventh century. However, he also claimed that regular trade relations between the Danube region and the North were interrupted shortly before 600 by the arrival of Avars and Slavs (Werner 1984b; cf. Okulicz 1973:565; Dąbrowski 1975b:196; Kulakov 1990:45; Teodor 1992:128).

705. Full circles represent finds, lines nearest neighbors, and dotted lines next nearest neighbors.

706. A similar treatment of the surface may be seen on the fibula found in an Early Avar grave at Szákály-Öreghegy, together with a fragmentary brooch of Werner's group I B (Csalog 1944-1945:pl. 93/24). The former fibula combines a foot-plate of Werner's group I C with a head-plate typical for Kühn's Müngersdorf class from the Rhenish region, which may be dated to the early seventh century (Kühn 1965:pl. 95/29.1-13; Kühn 1974:1106-1112). Perforated lyre-shaped plates are also characteristic for buckles of the Nagyharsány class (Nagyharsány, Čadjavica, Salona, Cikó), dated to the late sixth or early seventh century (Ibler 1992:141-142). The terminal lobe of the Nagyharsány buckle is very similar to those of brooches belonging to Werner's group I C (Drănic, Bergama, Kielary 43, Tumiany 68, Vela).

707. Another I C fibula was found in grave 1185 at Sărata Monteoru in association with a brooch, which is reminiscent of the Bratei class, dated to the early fifth century (Bierbrauer 1989:141-147).

708. For the use of models in early medieval metal-working, see Capelle and Vierck 1971:51 and 86-87; Hines 1984:183; Roth 1986:46 and 48; Mortimer 1994; Hines 1997:211-213.

709. According to Manfred Menke (1990:151), the Keszthely brooch pre-dates the migration of the Avars.

710. For the *Zangenfibel*, see Kühn 1965:pl. 82/19.1-27 and Kühn 1974:840. Such fibulae were still in use during the Early Avar period, as evidenced by the specimen found in a female grave at Várpalota (Werner 1962:65). For other possible parallels, see Petre 1966:265 and Ibler 1992:144.

711. Such fibulae appear only in Mazuria: Babieta (Kühn 1981:70), grave 34 at Tumiany (Kühn 1981:105), Jagielki (Kühn 1981:309), Schönwarling (Kühn 1981:316), grave 89 at Mietkie (Kühn 1981:221-222), Polesk (Kühn 1981:309), Tylkowo (Kühn 1981:311), and an unknown location in East Prussia (Kühn 1981:263). The Schönwarling specimen was found in a cemetery, which produced a solidus struck for Emperor Leo I (457-474). This suggests that we should date the whole series, with some caution, to the late fifth or early sixth century.

712. This is further confirmed by the Martynovka and Ni'ina brooches (Werner 1950:pl. 37/7-8), both of which have the same lattice pattern in the middle of the foot-plate, but scrollwork instead of circle-and-spot

decoration.

713. Studies based on microwear analysis suggest that there is a direct correlation between the degree of use and the age of the wearer, which may indicate that the same brooches acquired at betrothal or marriage were then worn during the rest of the lifetime (Martin 1987: 278 and 280; for penannular brooches, see Nieke 1993:129; *contra*: Clauss 1987:530 and 564). The early ninth-century Lex Thuringorum clearly states that brooches (*nuscae*) were inherited by daughters from their mothers (ed. C. von Schwerin, c. 28, tit. 6.6).

714. The phrase 'beyond-the-households context' is that of Margaret Conkey (1991).

715. T: crossbow fibula; circle: fibula with bent stem; full circle: cast fibula with bent stem; triangle: bow fibula.

716. An unique and excellent example is Suzana Dolinescu-Ferche's work in the Vedea valley in southern Romania (Dolinescu-Ferche 1967; Dolinescu-Ferche 1973; Dolinescu-Ferche 1974; Dolinescu-Ferche 1986b; Dolinescu-Ferche 1992; Dolinescu-Ferche 1995; see also Dolinescu-Ferche 1984).

717. "The settlements (τὰ χωρία) of the Slavs and Antes lie in a row along the rivers, very close to one another. In fact, there is practically no space between them, and they are bordered by forests, swamps, beds of reeds." (Strategikon XI 4.38).

718. Settlements in Walachia tend to have larger numbers (twenty to thirty) of sunken buildings per occupation phase (Dolinescu-Ferche 1984:124).

719. Despite claims to the contrary, there is no evidence, neither at Dulceanca, nor at other sites in Walachia, of slash-and-burn agriculture, which is archaeologically visible through evidence of woodland, growing cereals and high proportions of hunted animals. Judging from the existing evidence, the dominant pattern seems to have been some flexible form of natural fallow sequence in which arable lands were periodically allowed to lie fallow for a varying number of years, sometimes for a period sufficient for old fields to turn back to waste land. No parts of ploughs were found on any sixth-century site, and the number of agricultural tools is very limited. That cultivation of cereals was the basic economic activity is, however, confirmed not only by contemporary

sources (cf. Strategikon XI 4.5), but also by the relatively large number of querns found in sixth- and seventh-century settlements, all of which belong to Minasian's class I (Minasian 1978:104 and 110). Very few, if any, such implements were found on contemporary sites in the Middle and Upper Dnieper area, where querns were associated only with seventh- to eighth-century sites (Sedov 1982:40).

720. The largest number of buildings with posts, often in six-, seven-, eight-, and nine-post array, were found at Morești, Kodyn, and Botoșana. The first two sites also produced evidence of an earlier occupation phase, dated to the late fifth- or early sixth century, which may indicate that such buildings are older than those without posts. Rappoport argued that the absence of postholes should not automatically be interpreted as indicating buildings without posts, for the ethnographic evidence demonstrated that buildings often had posts, which left no trace in the archaeological record (Rappoport 1975:114; cf. Timoshchuk 1978:188).

721. Various prohibitions (e.g., selection of the building site, propitious time for starting the building, etc.), as well as a number of ritual practices pertaining to the symbolism attached to the house, some of which are known from the ethnographic evidence, may have considerably delayed the building process.

722. Many scholars believe that the extended family group is archaeologically visible through long-houses (*Wohnstallhäuser*), a feature typical for early medieval sites in Central Europe (Baran, Maksimov, and Magomedov 1990:122-123; Heather 1991b:58). According to B. A. Timoshchuk, however, the extended family group may also be associated with sunken buildings surrounding a central area, as on the Ukrainian sites Kodyn II and Semenki (Timoshchuk 1990a:132).

723. Four other intrasite burials were found at Korchak IX and Teterevka (Rusanova 1973b:4). In the absence of datable artifacts, their chronology is uncertain.

724. In a constantly inhabited building, the temperature may have been even higher, for additional heating may have been given by taking in domestic animals, such as sheep or goat.

725. In addition, some eighteen cubic meters of firewood per year may have been necessary for cooking

(Pleinerová 1986:153).

726. Rectangle: brick oven; triangle: stone oven; reversed triangle: clay oven. Circles indicate sunken buildings without any heating facility.

727. For an archaeological example of open firing, see Rafalovich 1972c:138.

728. For a classification of medieval pottery into fabric types, using multivariate statistical analysis (Principal Component Analysis), see McCorry and Harper 1984.

729. Use of wooden vessels is archaeologically confirmed (Fusek, Staššiková-Štukovská, and Bátora 1993: 34).

730. In archaeological contexts, however, it is impossible to use potsherds for making statements about parent population assemblages, for the number of pots from which we have a sample is unknown and one cannot tell what proportion of the population is missing (cf. Orton 1993:178).

731. For equiangular swept radii profile codes and fuzzy boundary discrimination used for deriving classes of pottery and allocating unknown pots to known classes, see Liming, Hongjie, and Wilcock 1989. For the use of a mathematical model for vessel morphology (fifth order polynomial), see Smith 1994:68-69. For an automatic artifact classification using image analysis techniques (the Generalized Hough Transform) to extract the initial information for classification, see P. Durham, P. H. Lewis, and S. J. Shennan, "Classification of Archaeological Artifacts Using Shape" on the web site of the University of Southampton (<http://www.ecs.soton.ac.uk/-research/rj/im/lewis/phl.html>, visit of October 28, 1997).

732. For a similar approach in American archaeology, see Froese 1985; cf. Karstens 1994. J. D. Richards (1982) applied a similar method for the classification of Anglo-Saxon urns.

733. Maximum vessel height: a, rim diameter: b, base diameter: c, maximum vessel diameter: d, height from neck to shoulder: e, height to maximum diameter: f.

734. For a brief mathematical description of the Brainerd-Robinson method of ordering assemblages, see

Shennan 1988:191-192.

735. For a detailed description of the ratios used in this analysis, see Gening 1992:50-51; Parczewski 1993:32.

736. The archaeological context in which some of the 112 pots selected for analysis were found strongly supports this hypothesis. They were usually on the hearth, by the oven's gate.

737. This is substantiated by detailed analyses of ceramic assemblages from sites dated by dendrochronology, which point to a long use-life of most pottery types (Donat 1986:85).

738. By contrast, there are very few examples of this decoration on seventh- to ninth-century sites in Poland, Slovakia, east Germany, and Bohemia (Madyda-Legutko and Tunia 1991:85).

739. Bacău 7 and 9: Mitrea and Artimon 1971:246 fig. 16/7-8 and 247 fig. 17/1-2; Borniş: Teodor 1991:133 fig. 15/3; Botoşana 9 and 23: Teodor 1984a:126 fig. 47 and 121 fig. 42/3; Bratei: Nestor and Zaharia 1973:195; Bucharest-Băneasa 4: Constantiniu 1965a:93; Bucharest-Soldat Ghivan Street 12: Dolinescu-Ferche and Constantiniu 1981:314 fig. 12/3; Bucharest-Străuleşti: Constantiniu 1965b:178 fig. 85/2; Bucharest-Tei: Morintz and Rosetti 1959:pl. XXXI/5; Davideni 3 and 42: Mitrea 1974-1976:fig. 5/3 and Mitrea 1994:322 fig. 23/4; Dodeşti 1: Teodor 1984b:47 fig. 19/7; Dulceanca, grave 1 and oven 6: Dolinescu-Ferche 1992:150 fig. 19/2 and 143 fig. 12/10; Gutinaş 2 and 7: Mitrea, Eminovici, and Momanu 1986-1987:243 fig. 10/1, 4 and 246 fig. 13/5; Horga: Coman 1971a:481 fig. 2/4; Horodok 2: Timoshchuk and Prikhodniuk 1969:77 fig. 4/3, 4; Izvoare-Bahna 17: Mitrea 1980:444 fig. 11/2; Kavetchina 2: Vakulenko and Prikhodniuk 1984:46 fig. 21/15; Lozna: Teodor 1991:133 fig. 15/5-6; Murgeni: Coman 1971a:481 fig. 2/5; Sighişoara: Baltag 1979:pl. XXXVIII/3; Sălaşuri 10: Székely 1975:pl. XXXVI/1; Selişte 15: Rafalovich and Lapushnian 1974:132 fig. 11/6; Suceava: Teodor 1991:133 fig. 15/1, 4.

740. Dulceanca 1: Dolinescu-Ferche 1974:fig. 52/2; Bucharest-Dămăroaia: Rosetti 1934:210 fig. 5/4; Scoc: Teodor 1991:138 fig. 19/2.

741. Bratei 8: Zaharia 1994-1995:349 fig. 13/7; Bucharest-Ciurel 2A: Dolinescu-Ferche 1979:189 fig. 4/21;

Bucharest-Soldat Ghivan Street 8: Dolinescu-Ferche and Constantiniu 1981:309 fig. 9/6; Dănceni 1: Teodor 1991: 125 fig. 7/8; Dulceanca 9: Dolinescu-Ferche 1974: fig. 70/1; Hansca: Teodor 1991:125 fig. 7/9; Pen'kyvka-Lug I: Berezovec 1963:fig. 19.

742. Botoșana 22: Teodor 1984a:98 fig. 19/5; Corlăteni: Teodor 1991:130 fig. 12/5.

743. Târgșor: M[ητῆρ] Θ[εοῦ] (Teodorescu 1971b: 109); Hansca: NHH (Teodor 1991:137 fig. 19/1, 8).

744. Crosses were found at Rashkov (Baran 1988:21 fig. 12/7) and Davideni (Mitrea 1974-1976:fig. 14/1. The sunken building no. 27 at Botoșana produced a mold for the production of such crosses (Teodor 1984a:99 fig. 20/1). Two other molds, found at Bucharest-Străulești and Olteni, respectively, are stray finds (Constantiniu 1966:675 fig. 5/3; Preda 1967).

745. Čipuljići (Bosnia): Vinski 1968:pl. IV/19; Ram (Serbia): Vinski 1968:pl. VII/30. Similar cross brooches were found at Gračanica (Serbia), Kranj (Slovenia), Mali Vrh and Sisak (Croatia), and Lesh (Albania) (Vinski 1968:pl. III; Simoni 1989:pl. 4/4; Prendi 1979-1980:pl. IX/V.22).

746. At Bucharest-Ciurel, both kinds of decoration were associated in sunken building 2A. The same is true for Davideni 42 and Dodești 1.

747. Until very recently, clay pans were still produced by women in various regions in the Balkans, such as Bosnia, Macedonia, and Bulgaria. In all those regions, pans remained in used as long as the baking of the bread on an open hearth survived (Filipović 1951:6 and 159; cf. Bratiloveanu-Popilian 1968). Ethnographic data indicates that production of clay pans was accompanied by complex magic rites: the days were strictly determined (usually on May, 1), rites were performed during the production process, a particular woman was chosen for the task, and compulsory purification rites were performed upon participants and audience (Babić 1972:114-115). Restrictions concerning the time and the place were in direct connection with the cult of the dead (Filipović 1951:126-130).

748. The Sclavenes "possess an abundance of all sorts of... produce, which they store in heaps, especially common millet (κέρυκρος) and Italian millet (ἐλυρος)" (Strategikon XI 4.5).

749. Clay discs used as vessel lids already occur in Early Iron Age (Hallstatt B1-B3) assemblages in Slovakia and Volhynia. Both discs and pans are absent from ceramic assemblages of second- and third-century sites in Walachia and Moldova or from the vessel set of the subsequent Chernyakhov culture (Moscalu 1983:87 and 89; Rafalovich 1972c:132 and 151). For clay discs used as urn lids, see Symonovich 1975:22 n. 18; Rusanova 1973a:5; Lipking 1974:144 and 149; 145 fig. 4/46.

750. The same association occurs at Hansca (Rafalovich 1968:97 and 100) and Semenki (Khavliuk 1974:207).

751. For a statistical approach to intrasite frequency distributions, though only applicable to sites lacking internal physical boundaries which might serve *a priori* as delimiters of potential activity loci, see Johnson 1984.

752. Legend: a - sunken building; b - oven; c - storage pit. Shaded contours: data unknown.

753. Legend: a - sunken building; b - storage-pit.

754. Legend: A - southern part; B - northern part; a - whole vessels; b - clay pans.

755. Legend: a - ground level building; b - sunken building; c - kiln.

756. Legend: a - sunken building; b - storage pit; c - oven.

757. Legend: a - sunken building; b - open-air oven.

758. This is also true for Davideni 31 (6.19 square meters), with two clay ovens.

759. The Březno experiment indicated that for a day of an exclusively cereal menu, the experimenting family of four needed 1.7 kg of flour, which was processed by the wife in some two hours of grinding (Pleinerová 1986:161-162).

760. The long awaited publication of the large cemetery at Sărata Monteoru may bring significant changes to current views on status and identity expressed through mortuary displays. For an interesting study based exclusively on cemeteries, see Losert 1991.

761. This idea further implies that stratified social structures were later introduced by force under foreign (particularly German) domination. Beda Dudik first claimed that Slavs were a 'peasant nation,' which did not need or did not know how to set up a political entity and thus became an easy pray for nomads, especially for Avars and Mongols. See Fritze 1980:504-505, with reference to Dudik's Dejiny Moravy (Prague, 1875). Jan Peisker viewed Vikings as the driving force behind Slavic state formation in the Middle Ages. Through his substantial contribution to the second volume of Cambridge Medieval History, he had a considerable impact upon Western ideas about medieval Slavs. See Peisker 1905:188; cf. Wiita 1977:266.

762. The word *zadruga* is a neologism in all South Slavic languages and was probably coined by Vuk Karadžić, who, in his Serbian dictionary of 1818, first applied it to the family. Much of the discussion about the medieval *zadruga* and its origin in taxation practices of the medieval Serbian, Byzantine or Ottoman states is based on a misinterpretation of the article 70 of the law code of the Serbian tsar Stephen Dušan of 1349 or 1354 (Todorova 1993:133 and 140).

763. A Polish historian, Gerard Labuda, first applied the concept to Samo, Fredegar's 'king' of the Slavs (Labuda 1949). V. D. Koroliuk described all medieval Balkan states as 'military democracies' (Koroliuk 1970). Labuda's interpretation of Samo's state is still prevalent (see Čilinská 1980:80) and the concept remains popular in Eastern Europe, even after the demise of the Communist regimes (cf. Parczewski 1993:114).

764. Carsten Goehrke argued that the concept was the *sine qua non* of the Soviet theory of the rise of the medieval state in Russia, for it could both explain this rise in socio-economic terms and avoid Normanist arguments, thus presenting a process of internal changes causing the rise of the state long before Vikings reached the Russian lands (Goehrke 1992:150).

765. "They do not keep those who are in captivity among them in perpetual slavery, as do other nations. But they set a definite period of time for them and then give them the choice either, if they so desire, to return to their own homes with a small recompense or to remain there as free men and friends" (Strategikon XI 4.4).

766. The "Germanic mode of production" has been elaborated with reference to the Sahara-Sahel nomadic

herders (Bonte 1977) and the Maasai of East Africa (Rigby 1985). To be sure, the 'Germanic mode of production' is neither identical with nor a more fashionable substitute of the 'military democracy' in Engels's terms. Marx defined the 'Germanic mode of production' in opposition to the 'Asiatic' one, as characterized, among others, by a significant expansion of private property, with dispersed family, self-sufficient groups coming together only for reasons of defense (Marx 1965:75-80).

767. V. V. Kuchma argued that the author of the Strategikon, by referring to "two [javelins] to each man," may have described what we know as military democracy, for in this kind of society every adult man was also a warrior (Kuchma 1991:384-385). Besides the blatant misuse of the concept, Kuchma's argument is not supported by the evidence of the text.

768. The late sixth-century military treatise known as De militari scientia lists Slavs and Antes, along with Saracens, Persians, and Scythians, as examples of nations making extensive use of ambushes (Ivanov 1991a:362).

769. Raid of 545: Procopius, Wars VII 13.24; raid of 548: Wars VII 29.1; raid of 549: Wars VII 38.20; raid of 551: Wars VII 40.45; raid(s) of 581: John of Ephesus VI 25; raid of 585: Theophylact Simocatta I 7.3-6; raid of 594: Theophylact Simocatta VII 2.1. The chagan of the Avars boasted of having freed a great number of Roman prisoners he had found north of the Danube, during his punitive expedition of 578 (Menander the Guardsman, fr. 21; cf. 25.1).

770. By contrast, the very name of the Sclavenes seems to have been at the origin of the term 'slave' in both Greek and Latin. See Verlinden 1937:125; Schelesniker 1973:7; Köpstein 1979:72; Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou 1986:358. To my knowledge, the only instance in which we can see Sclavenes selling their prisoners of war is the episode reported by the unknown author of Book II of the Miracles of St. Demeterius (II 4.249). In this case, however, prisoners were sold not to the Byzantines, but to other Sclavenes.

771. "The Sclavenes... with pleasure consume the breasts of women, full of milk, dashing infants with rocks like rats..." (Riedinger 1969:302, English translation quoted from Bačić 1983:152).

772. For Slavene weaponry, see Procopius, Wars VII 14.25; Strategikon XI 4.11.

773. The same is true for the Slavene federation. The author of the Strategikon knows that there are many 'kings' at odds with one another, but does not seem to overrule the possibility of seeing them brought together under one ruler (μοναρχία)(XI 4.30).

774. There is no evidence, either archaeological or historical, to support Bohumila Zasterová's interpretation of ὄχυράματα in Strategikon (XI 4.29) as hillforts; see Zasterová 1971:70. The earliest medieval hillforts found in Eastern Europe, such as those excavated in Szeligi, Hacki (Poland), and Zimno (Ukraine) were more likely loci of communal social and religious ceremonies, not 'royal centers.' See Kobylński 1989:309; Kobylński 1990:152 and 155.

775. For use of livestock by pastoralists in all social nexuses in payment or sacrifice at naming ceremonies, circumcisions, weddings, and funerals, see Ausenda 1995:27-28.

776. Conspicuous, presumably ritual consumption of liquor may also be derived from Theophylact's account of 'king' Musocius. The Slavene 'king' was captured by Roman troops in the middle of a night of the year 593, as he was "drunk and debilitated by liquor, since on that day there had been a funeral celebration for his departed brother in accordance with their [Slavene] custom" (VI 9.12). For liquor consumption at funerary celebrations, see Goehrke 1992:146.

777. "They much prefer even short rations, than bearing with difficulty the other burdens of farming, because they prefer to lead a rather free and careless existence rather than to acquire property or costly food through great effort" (Tactica XVIII 106, English translation from Wiita 1977:276). Cf. Burmov 1963:61.

778. The chagan of the Avars was persuaded by emperor Tiberius to organize a punitive expedition against Dauritas and "the chiefs of his people", because he knew the Avars would find "the land full of gold (πολυχρήματον τὴν χώραν), since the Roman empire had long been plundered by Slavenes, whose land, however, had never been raided by other people at all..." (Menander the Guardsman, fr. 21). See Havlík 1985:175.

779. For sixth-century prices in Byzantium, see Morrisson 1989:239-260. A *modius* is equivalent to about 15 kg.

780. The phrase 'symbolic capital' is that of Pierre Bourdieu (1994).

781. In Byzantine literature, disrespect for holy instruments or clothes, especially those usually kept in churches, is a stereotypical complaint against barbarians (Serikov 1991:289).

782. In the 570s, the throne of the Byzantine emperor was usually associated with the throne of Christ, particularly after Justin II initiated the building of a new throne in the imperial palace (the so-called Chrysotriklinos). Justin II's coins emphasize this quasi-religious theme of the enthroned emperor, already glorified by Flavius Cresconius Corippus in his poem on the ceremonial of the emperor's rise to power. For more details on contemporary imperial imagery, see Cameron 1981:221.

783. Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou 1986:354: "en effet, les tribus slaves -- malgré leur vie sédentaire en Grèce de plus de cinquante ans -- n'avaient pas encore dépassé l'état des sociétés primitives dont parle déjà au tournant des VI-e/VII-e siècles le Stratégikon de Maurice -- c'est-à-dire l'état des sociétés 'ségmentaires' qu'a si bien décrit Emile Durkheim." Walter Pohl (1988:126) cited Pierre Clastres (1977) instead of Emile Durkheim. Cf. Richards 1986:332.

784. The chroniclers of the Fourth Crusade described the Milings and Ezerites of southern Greece in similar terms. According to the Livre de la Conquête de la Princée de l'Amorée, they were "un gent de volenté et n'obeissent a nul seignor" (cited by Weithmann 1978:117).

785. The phrase 'massing effect' is that of Marshall Sahlins (1961).

786. Ardagastus had also organized the expedition crushed by Comentiolus under the walls of Adrianople, in 585 (Theophylact Simocatta I 7.5).

787. See David Turton's comments to Giorgio Ausenda's paper (Ausenda 1995:47): "The Langobards obviously had a descent construct but this could have had other uses apart from group recruitment. It would be wrong to assume that, because they had a descent construct, they necessarily had groups that were recruited by means of it. The fara may have been a local group of assorted kin and affines organized around an 'agnatic core' (emphasis added)."

788. The Bulgarian historian Marin Drinov first argued that those Slavs who settled the Balkan peninsula were divided into numerous separate families, bound not so much by their common descent, as by their life together. See Koledarov 1969:125 and 127-128; Cankova-Petkova 1962:266; Evert-Kapessowa 1964:81; Evans 1989:273.

789. This estimate is much larger than that derived from the archaeological evidence discussed in chapter IX. An average number of inhabitants per settlement, ranging between fifty and seventy, was inferred from excavations of *Grubenhäuser* with under fifteen square meters of floor area. It is possible, however, that *Strategikon*'s χωρίον is the equivalent not of an archaeological settlement, but of a larger cluster of settlements.

790. It is interesting to note that Theophylact (or his source) calls Peiragastus a brigadier (ταξίαρχος), i.e. commander of a division (μέρος), including three brigades.

791. Moreover, Theophylact's account allows us to believe that before reaching the Helibacia river, the Roman soldiers have crossed a desert, most probably the Burnaz plain between the Vedeia and the Argeş rivers in present-day Romania.

792. A 'polysegmental society doubly compounded' results from the "juxtaposition or fusion of several simply compounded polysegmented societies." For the Lombard society as segmentary, see Ausenda 1995.

793. Beliefs in lycanthropy were widely spread and by no means restricted to Indo-Europeans (Eliade 1973; Comba 1991).

794. For examples of strategies responsible for the creation and maintenance of regional polities, see Earle 1989:84-85; cf. Webster 1975:466.

795. The word for ἀρχων used by the early tenth-century Old Church Slavonic translation of Pseudo-Caesarius' *Eratopokriseis* is *knyaz* (prince) (Benedicty 1963:54; for this translation see Duichev 1957).

796. The same term is used for Alamundar by Theophylact Simocatta (III 17.7).

797. Ἐθνάρχης is also the ruler of the 'nation of Kolch,' who was defeated and killed in battle by the chagan of the Turks (VII 8.6).

798. E.g., Ansimuth, a Roman brigadier in Thrace (II 12.7), Alexander, brigadier in Priscus' army (VI 8.9), and Vitalius, a Roman commander in the east, in 586 (II 3.1).

799. Taking into consideration that the term is used by more than one source, L. M. Whitby's argument that Theophylact had apparently misused a Latin term applied to barbarian chiefs, is untenable (Whitby 1982b: 428). See also Baldwin 1977:357-359 and Ivanova 1980:88 and 101. There are several similar examples of 'kings' to be found in the anthropological literature (Clastres 1977:182; Earle 1987:283).

800. The English equivalent to the Greek construction τὰ τῶν Σκλαυηνῶν πλήθη ἀπόδημα is "the Sclavene hordes from abroad," not "(Ardagastus was sending) the Sclavene hordes abroad," as wrongly translated by Michael and Mary Whitby. In this context, ἀπόδημα is an adjective modifying πλήθη, not an adverb.

801. Though Samo's rank, wealth and status hinged on achievement, his rank was not inherited. No mention is made of any of Samo's 22 sons becoming a 'king' after Samo's death, despite clear evidence that the Frankish chronicler outlived the Wendish leader.

802. Dervan, *dux gente Surbiorum*, "placed himself and his people under the rule of Samo" (Fredegar IV 68).

803. For the role of the Roman frontier and peripheral area in state formation in Barbaricum, see Willems 1989:43-44.

804. Arrows: Bucharest-Ciurel 8 (Dolinescu-Ferche 1979:205 fig. 22/15), Bucharest-Fundeni (Rosetti 1934:212 fig. 7/4), Bucharest-Soldat Ghivan 10 (Dolinescu-Ferche and Constantiniu 1981:322 fig. 18/9); Bucharest-Văcărești 3 (Turcu and Ciuceanu 1992:200); Cucuteni (Teodor 1980: fig. 31/8); Davideni (stray find and sunken buildings 13 and 39: Mitrea 1974-1976:figs. 16/1 and 15/5; Mitrea 1994:328 fig. 27/5); Dodești 3 (Teodor 1984b:29 fig. 6/7); Dulceanca II (Dolinescu-Ferche 1986b:fig. 22/21, 22); Filiaș 22 and 28 (Székely 1974-1976:pl. X/24 and 25); Găneasa (Toropu 1976:211); Seliște (Rafalovich and Lapushnian 1973:133 fig. 10/15); Hansca (Rafalovich 1968:96 fig. 29/8). Spears: Bucharest-Militari 4 (Zirra and Cazimir 1963:60); Bucharest-Măicănești 25 (Constantiniu 1965b:182); Filiaș 1 (Székely 1974-1976:pl. X/8); Kavetchina 4 (Vakulenko and Prikhodniuk 1984:68 fig. 38/1). A battle-axe was found at Kavetchina 27

(Vakulenko and Prikhodniuk 1984:68 fig. 39/9).

805. This is particularly true for the settlements excavated at Bucharest-Măicănești, where 8 features present clear evidence of destruction by fire (nos. 6, 7, 8, 12, 15, 25, 30, and 34), and Kavetchina, with 6 sunken buildings and an oven producing traces of fire. By contrast, the large settlement at Davideni has only 2 buildings which may have been destroyed by fire. The same is true for Seliște and Dulceanca III.

806. This figure may have been even smaller if, as suggested in Chapter VI, some forts were inhabited by soldiers with their families.

807. Forts, at least those of medium and large size, were permanently occupied, but the number of soldiers actually manning these forts may have considerably varied in time. Judging from the general picture of military operations in the 500s, it is likely, however, that this number was often too small. By contrast, the estimated number of *milites ripenses* on the Danube frontier in Dobrudja during the fourth century is 15,000, including two legions, eight cavalry corps, eight infantry units, two auxiliary units of seamen, and two formations of sailors subordinated to the legions (Aricescu 1977:189).

808. It is important to note that trading activities signalized by stray finds and hoards found north of the Danube frontier did not cease after 602. Copper coins of Phocas and Heraclius continued to appear south and east of the Carpathians, which suggests that at that time the forts from which these coins were coming have been not yet abandoned.

809. The Slovenes of Novgorod, the Slovincy (or Kashubians) of the Baltic area, the Slovaks, the Slovens of Slovenia, and the Slavonians of Croatia.

810. The closing of a more or less uniform development of Slavic is set at the approximate time of the "fall of the weak jers" (i.e., the disappearance of the reduced vowels ѣ and ѝ in certain well defined positions) and the subsequent "vocalization of the strong jers" (i.e., the development of these reduced vowels to regular full vowels in other positions) (Birnbbaum 1975:4). This sound shift cannot be dated earlier than ca. 600 and some linguists argue that it should be dated to the tenth or even twelfth century. Another *terminus ad quem* for the late Common Slavic is the palatalization of velars, a

phenomenon which, according to some scholars, did not take place before ca. 600. Finally, the metathesis of the liquids began only after ca. 750 and was complete before ca. 900 (Birnbaum 1975:228 and 232). One of the most frequently cited arguments for a late dating of Common Slavic is Charlemagne's name (Karl), which presents in all modern Slavic languages (in which the name designates the 'emperor') a similar and archaic phonetical treatment (Ivanov 1976:44; Pătruț 1976:187).

811. The greater part of Slavic elements in Romanian seem to have entered the language through literary channels (the Church, the chancery, popular literature) (Nandriș 1939). Only fifteen words can be attributed to a Common Slavic influence on the basis of their phonetical treatment (for a complete list and discussion, see Mihăilă 1973:16; Duridanov 1991:15). All of them appear in all Romanian dialects, both north and south of the Danube river (Mihăilă 1971:355). One of them is *șchiau/șchei*, which is derived from the ethnic name of the Slavs (Latin *Sclavus*), but refers to Bulgarians (Hurdubețiu 1969; Petrovics 1987). No other word of a very long list of Slavic loans in Romanian can be dated earlier than the ninth century (Bărbulescu 1929; Pătruț 1968; Pătruț 1971:307-309; Pătruț 1974:104-105, 121, and 241; cf. Mańczak 1988). For a statistics of Slavic loans in Romanian, see Rosetti 1954:12; cf. Pătruț 1971:301 and n. 10. Most other phonetical features in Romanian, which were long considered to have been borrowed from Common Slavic, proved to be segments that developed internally (Petrucci 1995). As in Romanian, the transformation of 'n' into 'r' (a phenomenon known as rotacization) ended before the largest number of Slavic loans entered Albanian (Brâncuș 1989). Only three words have been identified as certainly Common Slavic loans (Ylli 1997; cf. Hamp 1970). As in Romanian, the word *Shqā* in the dialect of northern Albania (Geg) refers to any Slavic-speaking group of the Orthodox faith, particularly to Bulgarians (Mihăilă 1973:16; Schramm 1995:192). Among all non-Slavic languages in the Balkans, Greek has the smallest number of Slavic loans (Popović 1959:718). The number of Common Slavic features, however, is comparatively higher, especially when we consider place names (Malingoudis 1985; Malingoudis 1987).

812. The same is true for the contemporary source used by Theophylact Simocatta for his account of Priscus' and Peter's campaigns north of the Danube river in the 590s.

813. Whether or not this was the real name of this

group or simply a phrase employed by Theophanes for some sort of tribal confederation, he made it clear that they were a category separate from the Severs.

814. In relation to the Slavic raids of the 580s, and especially to the evidence of the Chronicle of Monemvasia, Walter Pohl believed that the reason for which many authors muddled Avars and Slavs was the fluidity of the early medieval concept of ethnicity. Those who viewed themselves politically closer to the Avars, chose to leave at the end of the raid, together with the chagan. Those who presumably remained and settled in Greece, became Slavs. The analysis presented in Chapter V shows, however, that this interpretation does not stand against the existing evidence.

Appendix A

**Sixth- and Seventh-Century Lead Seals in the Northern
Balkans**

1. Călărași (Romania); cross-shaped monogram: Ζάρμου (Zarmos); Barnea 1966:279 and fig. 1; Barnea 1987a:204.
2. Călărași (Romania); cross-shaped monogram: Θεωκτίστου στρατ(η)λάτου (Theoktistos, stratelate); Barnea 1966:279-280 and 280 fig. 2.
3. Călărași (Romania); inscription: +Χρήστῳ ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων (Chrestos, ex-eparch); Barnea 1966:281.
4. Constanța (Romania); inscription: Iustinianus (Justinian); Barnea 1984:95.
5. Constanța (Romania); cross-shaped monogram: Petru (Peter); Barnea 1984:95.
6. Constanța (Romania); cross-shaped monogram: ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ (Theodore); Barnea 1984:95.
7. Constanța (Romania); cross-shaped monogram: ΒΑΣΙΛΙΟΥ (Basil); Barnea 1984:95.
8. Constanța (Romania); cross-shaped and block monograms: ΕΠΙΦΑΝΙΟΥ ΠΑΤΡΙΚΙΟΥ (Epiphanius, *patricius*); Barnea 1984:95.
9. Constanța (Romania); cross-shaped monograms: ΕΥΚΤΡΑΤΙΟΥ ΜΑΓΙΣΤΡΟΥ (Eustratius, *magister*); Barnea 1984:96.
10. Constanța (Romania); cross-shaped monogram: ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ (John); Barnea 1984:96.
11. Constanța (Romania); cross-shaped and block monograms: ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ ΑΠΟ ΥΠΑΤΩΝ (John, ex-consul); Barnea 1984:96.
12. Constanța (Romania); cross-shaped and block monograms: ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ...; Barnea 1984:97.
13. Constanța (Romania); cross-shaped monograms: ΜΑΤΘΕΟΥ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ (bishop Matthew); Barnea 1984:97.
14. Constanța (Romania); cross-shaped monograms: ΜΟΛΔΟΖΟΥ ΠΑΤΡΙΚΙΟΥ (Moldozos, *patricius*); Barnea 1984:97.
15. Constanța (Romania); block monograms: ΜΟΧΟΥ

ΠΑΤΡΙΚΙΟΥ (*Moschus, patricius*); Barnea 1984:97.

16. Constanta (Romania); cross-shaped and block monograms: ΦΩΤΙΟΥ ΕΠΑΡΧΟΥ (*Photius, eparch*); Barnea 1984:98.

17-19. Constanta (Romania); cross-shaped monogram: СЕРГІΟΥ; (*Sergius*); Barnea 1984:98.

20. Constanta (Romania); cross-shaped monograms: СЕРГІΟΥ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ (*Sergius Theodore*); Barnea 1984:98.

21-22. Constanta (Romania); cross-shaped monogram: THEODORU (*Theodore*); Barnea 1984:98.

23. Constanta (Romania); cross-shaped monograms: ΖΑΧΑΡΙΑ ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΥ (*Zacharias, deacon*); Barnea 1984:99.

24. Constanta (Romania); cross-shaped monogram: ΑΘΑΝΑΣΙΟΥ (*Athanasius*); Barnea 1984:99.

25-26. Constanta (Romania); cross-shaped monogram: ΔΑΜΙΑΝΟΥ (*Damianos*); Barnea 1984:99.

27. Constanta (Romania); cross-shaped monogram: ΕΥΚΤΑΘΙΟΥ (*Eustathius*); Barnea 1984:99.

28. Constanta (Romania); cross-shaped monogram: ΓΑΒΡΙΗΛ (*Gabriel*); Barnea 1984:100.

29. Constanta (Romania); cross-shaped monogram: ΓΕΝΝΑΔΙΟΥ (*Gennadios*); Barnea 1984:100.

30. Constanta (Romania); cross-shaped monogram: ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΥ (*George*); Barnea 1984:100.

31. Constanta (Romania); cross-shaped monogram: ΗΣΥΧΙΟΥ (*Hesychius*); Barnea 1984:100.

32. Constanta (Romania); cross-shaped monogram: ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ (*John*); Barnea 1984:101.

33-34. Constanta (Romania); cross-shaped monogram: ΛΕΟΝΤΙΟΥ (*Leontius*); Barnea 1984:101.

35. Constanta (Romania); cross-shaped monogram: ΜΑΡΚΙΑΝΟΥ (*Marcianus*); Barnea 1984:101.

36. Constanta (Romania); cross-shaped monogram: [ΜΑΡΙΑΝΟΥ] (*Marianos*); Barnea 1984:101.

37. Constanta (Romania); cross-shaped monogram: NAPCOY (Narses); Barnea 1984:102.
38. Constanta (Romania); block monogram: ΠΑΒΛΟΥ (Paul); Barnea 1984:102.
39. Constanta (Romania); cross-shaped monogram: PETRU (Peter); Barnea 1984:102.
- 40-42. Constanta (Romania); cross-shaped monogram: ΠΕΤΡΟΥ (Peter); Barnea 1984:102.
43. Constanta (Romania); cross-shaped monogram: ΦΩΤΙΟΥ (Photius); Barnea 1984:103.
44. Constanta (Romania); cross-shaped monogram: СЕРГІΟΥ (Sergius); Barnea 1984:103.
45. Constanta (Romania); cross-shaped monogram: СЕРГІΟΥ (Sergius); Barnea 1984:103.
46. Constanta (Romania); cross-shaped monogram: ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ (Theodore); Barnea 1984:103.
47. Constanta (Romania); block monogram and inscription: ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ CHARTULARII (Theodore, *chartularius*); Barnea 1984:104.
48. Constanta (Romania); block monogram: Θ(ΕΟΤΟΚΕ) Β(ΟΗ)Θ(ΕΙ) Θ(ΕΟ)ΔΩΡΩ ΥΠ(ΑΤΩ)(Theodore, consul); Barnea 1984:104.
- 49-50. Constanta (Romania); cross-shaped monogram: ΘΕΟΔΩΛΟΥ (Theodoulos); Barnea 1984:104.
51. Constanta (Romania); cross-shaped monogram: ΘΕΤΤΑΛΟΥ (Thettalos); Barnea 1984:104.
52. Constanta (Romania); inscription: CONIMUNDU STRATILATU (Conimund, stratelate); Barnea 1985c:239-240.
53. Constanta (Romania); block monograms: ΛΕΟΝΤΙΟΥ ΠΑΤΡΙΚΙΟΥ (Leontios, *patricius*); Barnea 1985c:241.
54. Constanta (Romania); inscription: +ΛΕΟΝΤΙΟΥ +Α ΣΕΚΡΕΤ[ΙΣ] (Leontius, *a secretis*); Barnea 1985c:241-242.
55. Constanta (Romania); inscription: TH[e]ODOSIO ILSL (Theodosius, *illustris*); Barnea 1987b:77.
56. Constanta (Romania); cross-shaped monogram and

inscription: ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ CHARTULARII (John, *chartularius*); Barnea 1987b:78.

57. Constanța (Romania); cross-shaped monograms: BOYTZIOY MEZEOY (Boutzios, son of Mezeos); Barnea 1987b:79.

58-59. Constanța (Romania); inscription: Βάσσου (Bassos); Barnea 1987a:203.

60. Constanța (Romania); inscription: +ΘΕΟΔΟCΙΟΥ ΑΠΟ ΕΠΑΡΧ[ω]Ν (Theodosius ex-prefect); Barnea 1960b:323-324.

61. Histria, Constanța county (Romania); cross-shaped monogram: Θεοδῶτου (Theodotos); Nubar 1964:81-83.

62. Isaccea, Tulcea district (Romania); inscription: ΚΙΡΙΑ(ου) (Cyril); Barnea 1975:159.

63. Isaccea, Tulcea district (Romania); inscription: [+]Κ(ύρι)Ε [β(οή)θ(ει)] Νεῖκ[ίτ] ὑπ[ά]τ[ρ]/ω (Nikaias, consul); Barnea 1975:160.

64. Isaccea, Tulcea district (Romania); cross-shaped monogram: ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟΥ (Julian); Barnea 1975:160.

65. Isaccea, Tulcea district (Romania); cross-shaped monogram: ΑΝΑCΤΑCΙΟΥ (Anastasius); Barnea 1975:161.

66. Isaccea, Tulcea district (Romania); cross-shaped monogram: ΓΡΗΓΟΡΙΟΥ (Gregory); Barnea 1975:161.

67. Isaccea, Tulcea district (Romania); inscription: (Ι)ustin(i)an(us)(Justinian); Schultz 1978:100; Barnea 1985c:237.

68. Isaccea, Tulcea district (Romania); inscription: Περ/γαμῆ/νῶν (Pergamon); Barnea 1985c:238.

69. Izvoarele, Oltina county, Constanța district; block monogram: Justinian; Culică 1975:246.

70. Silistra (Bulgaria); monogram: ΕΦΕCΙΩΝ (Ephesus); Barnea 1982:202.

71. Silistra (Bulgaria); inscription: Iustinianus (Justinian); Barnea 1982:202.

72. Silistra (Bulgaria); inscription: CONSTANTINOS CONSTANTOS KE ANASTASI[a] [b]ASILIS RO[maion] (Constantine IV); Barnea 1981; Barnea 1982:202.

73. Silistra (Bulgaria); no inscription, but probably belonging to emperor Justinian; Gerasimova-Tomova 1992:70.

74-76. Unknown location in Dobrudja; inscription: [D](ominus) N(oster) IVSTINI[anus P(ater) P(atriae) AVG(ustus)] (Justinian); Barnea 1969:29-30.

77. Unknown location in Dobrudja; inscription: Domini nostri Heraclius et Heraclius Constantinus, perpetui Augusti (Heraclius); Barnea 1969:30.

78. Unknown location in Dobrudja; inscription: +ΘEOΔCΙΟΥ ΑΠΟ ΕΠΙΛΡΧΩΝ (Theodosius, ex-prefect); Barnea 1969:31.

79. Unknown location in Dobrudja; inscription: ΝΙΚΑΙΑ CΤΡΑΤΗΛΑΤΟΥ (Nikaias, stratelate); Barnea 1969:32.

80-81. Unknown location in Dobrudja; inscription: ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟ ΤΗ[Ο]ΔΩ[Υ]ΛΟΥ (George Theodoulos); Barnea 1969:32.

82. Unknown location in Dobrudja; inscription: +ΡΕ[Τ]ΡΟS ΕΧ [C]ΟΝSΥ[Λ]ΕΤ...ΛΟΓΟΤΗΤΗΣ (Peter, ex-consul and logothete); Barnea 1990:316.

83. Zvečan, Mitrovica district, Kosovo region (Serbia); inscription: D(ominus) N(oster) IVSTI(nia)NVSPPAVG (Justinian); Gaj-Popović 1980:165.

Appendix B
Sixth- and Seventh-Century Byzantine Coin Hoards
in Eastern Europe

In the following list of hoards, abbreviations are most currently used for metals (AV -- gold, AR -- silver, and AE -- copper), denominations (M -- 40 nummia, K -- 20 nummia, IS -- 16 nummia, IB -- 12 nummia, I -- 10 nummia, E -- 5 nummia), and mints (CON -- Constantinople, NIK -- Nicomedia, KYZ -- Cyzicus, ANT -- Antioch, ALEX -- Alexandria, CAR -- Carthage).

498-518

1. 491-518 BÄRZOVICA, Kyustendil district, Bulgaria; site "Zidini"; found in 1926, in a leaden box; 5 AV; Mushmov 1926-1927:323; Mosser 1935:15.

2. 491-518 GAMZIGRAD, Zaječar district, Serbia; found during the 1980 excavations in a building situated between the edifice with nave and porch and the temple; 41 AE, including three bronze coins issued in the third and fourth centuries, three coins issued by Theodosius II, one by Marcianus, six by Leo I, six by Zeno, seven by Anastasius, 13 illegible coins, and two leaden coins; Janković 1984:7-9.

520-530

3. 518-527 CORINTH, Greece; 478 AE; Mosser 1935:20.

4. 518-527 CUDALBI, Galați district, Romania; found in 1931, in a ceramic pot with stone lid; 28 AE; Dimian 1957:190-191; Butnariu 1983-1985:228.

DATE	CON	TES	NIK	KYZ	ANT	TOTAL
498-518	9M 2K I E					9M 2K I E
518-527	6M K 5E		K 2K			6M 4K 5E
TOTAL	15M 3K I 6E		K 2K			15M 6K I 6E

5. 518-527 RAKOVSKI (former Kalăchlii, General Nikolaevo), Plovdiv district, Bulgaria; found in 1950, during occasional excavations for a drain-pipe; 10 AE; Conchev 1960:207.

6. 518-527 HASKOVO, Bulgaria; found in 1936, during occasional excavations for the interception of a mineral spring; AE; Gerasimov 1937:324; Iurukova 1969:261.

7. 518-527 LIMAROVKA, Bilovods'ke county, Voroshylovhrad

region, Ukraine; found in 1872 in a Sassanid silver kettle; AV; Kropotkin 1962:35 no. 231.

8. 518-527 MOMIN-BROD, Varna district, Bulgaria; 106 AE; Mosser 1935:55; Iurukova 1969:262.

9. 518-527 SOFIA, Bulgaria; found in 1929, together with a bronze ring; 20 AE; Mushmov 1930-1931:314; Mosser 1935:81.

10. 518-527 ȘEICA MICĂ, Sibiu district, Romania; found in 1856 in a hillfort; 80 to 100 AV, including two coins issued by Anastasius and Justin I, respectively; Mosser 1935:46; Horedt 1964:198.

11. 518-527 THASOS, Greece; found in 1977 near the western sea gate; 59 AE, including three coins issued by Theodosius I, two by Honorius or Arcadius, three by Theodosius II, one by Marcianus, one by Leo I, one by Zeno, 17 nummia and one 10-nummia piece by Anastasius, another one issued by Justin I, three illegible AE, two imitations, and 23 illegible minimi; Picard 1969:430-432.

12. 518-527 GREECE (unknown location); found prior to year 1939; 224 AE, including five fourth and fifth century issues, 4 nummi of Marcianus, 4 nummi of Zeno, 19 nummi of Anastasius and Justinian, 15 nummi of Justin I, 7 nummi of Tharasamund, 2 of Athalaric, 7 of Baduila and 147 nummi of sixth century fabric or completely illegible; Bendall 1977:82.

530-540

13. 527-538 HOTIN, Chernivtsi district, Ukraine; found in 1942; only 3 AE, issued by Anastasius, Justin I, and Justinian, respectively, were preserved in the private collection Fădor Serafim from Rădăuți (Romania); Preda 1972:407; Mitrea 1972:122 n. 36; Butnariu 1983-1985:200.

14. 530 SISAK, Croatia (=Siscia); AV; Mirnik 1981:89.

15. 535/6 PUČIŠĆE, Brač district, Croatia; 119 AE; Mirnik 1981:89.

16. 536 BUDVA, Montenegro; found prior to 1942; 59 AE; Petrović 1956:97-102; Mirnik 1981:88.

17. 537/8 SUVA REKA, Prizren district, Serbia; found prior to 1972, during ploughing operations, in a ceramic pot; only 40 AE were preserved; Popović 1978:610 n. 31; Gaj-Popović 1984:18-21.

DATE	CON	TES	NIK	KYZ	ANT	TOTAL
498-518	2M		K			2M K
518-527	15M		M			16M
527-538	20M					20M
537/8					M	M
TOTAL	37M		M K		M	39M K

18. 537/8 PRAHOVO, Negotin district, Serbia; 602 AE, including three early imperial Roman issues; Popović 1978:610 n. 31; Spaer 1978:70; Popović 1984c:58.

DATE	CON	TES	NIK	KYZ	ANT	Imit.	TOTAL
498-518	146M 7K		M			3M	150M 7K
518-527	245M 6K	9M	32M	5M	M	19M	311M 6K
527-538	89M 6K		6M		M	5M	101M 6K
537/8	16M K		M				17M K
TOTAL	496M 20K	9M	40M	5M	2M	27M	579M 20K

19. 537/8 SEKULICA, Kumanovo district, Macedonia; site "Gradište"; found in 1966 by miners of the "Silex" mines in Kratovo; 217 AE; Keramidchiev 1975-1978:159; Mirnik 1981:89; Kondjianov 1987-1989:202-211.

DATE	CON	TES	NIK	KYZ	TOTAL
498-518	58M				58M
518-527	97M	8M	11M K		116M K
527-538	38M		M		39M
537/8	3M				3M
TOTAL	196M	8M	12M K		216M K

20. 536-539 SAN LORENZO, Pustertal, Friuli-Venezia Giulia district, Italy; 22 AV; Hahn 1987:462.

21. 538-542 SEKULICA, Kumanovo district, Macedonia; found in 1966 in a ceramic pot within the fortress at Gradište; 159 AV; Popović 1975:460; Popović 1978:620; Kondjianov 1987-1989:199-201; Ivanišević and Kondijanov 1992.

22. 538/9 PATELENICA, Pazardzhik district, Bulgaria; site "Dălgata mezhdă"; found in 1956; 70 AE, but only five were preserved (one issued by Justinian in Nicomedia, and

four issued by Justin I in Constantinople); Gerasimov 1959:358-359; Iurukova 1969:256 n. 7.

23. 538/9 SADOVIK, Pernik district, Bulgaria; found in 1946 near "Sveta voda" springs; 100 AE, all issued in Constantinople; Gerasimov 1950:318; Iurukova 1969:256 n. 7.

24. 539/40 TURNOV, Severočesky district, Czech Republic; found prior to year 1961; 17 AE, including two pieces of Justinian, one of 10 nummia, the other of 20 nummia; Pochitonov 1964.

25. 539 STARI SLANKAMEN, nowadays in Novi Slankamen, Stara Pazova district, Serbia; 5 AE; Mirnik 1981:89.

26. 535-540 PARVOMAI, Plovdiv district, Bulgaria; 21 AV; Iurukova 1969:256 n. 7.

27. about 540 KAŠTEL STARI, nowadays in Kaštela, Split district, Croatia; found prior to 1943; 22 AE, all being K issued in Salona under Justin I and Justinian; Mirnik 1975; Mirnik 1981:88.

No exact date (Justinian's reign, 527-565)

28. 527-562/3 ADAM ZAGLIVERIOU, Chalkidiki region, Greece; 35 AE, including one 10-nummia and 34 16-nummia pieces; Metcalf 1976b:47.

29. 527-562/3 ATHENS, Greece; 8 16-nummia pieces; Metcalf 1976b:47.

30. 527-565 ASPARUKHOVO (former Chenge), Varna district, Bulgaria; site "Monastir"; found in 1924; only 7 AV were preserved; Mushmov 1925:254; Mosser 1935:87; Iurukova 1969:262.

31. 527-565 BEROVO, Štip district, Macedonia; Popović 1978:610 n. 33.

32. 527-565 BIESENBROW, Angermünde county, Frankfurt district, Germany; found in 1850, together with fragments of golden wire; about 200 AV, but only six were preserved (the last four coins being issued by Justinian); Herrmann 1972:316; Laser 1982:106-110.

33. 527-565 BOEOTIA, Greece (no exact location); 152 AE, including 150 pieces of 16 nummia and two pieces of 8 nummia, all minted in Thessalonica; Bendall 1993.

34. 527-565 CORINTH, Greece; found during the 1930 excavations of the Roman precinct; 742 AE (minimi); Adelson and Kustas 1964:162-163; Avramea 1983:52-53.
35. 527-565 CORINTH, Greece; found in May 1933, in the Agora; 460 AE, including 245 illegible coins; Adelson and Kustas 1964:163; Avramea 1983:54.
36. 527-565 CORINTH, Greece; found in 1965; 90 AE (minimi), issued by Valentinianus I, Leo I, Anastasius, Justin I, Justinian, and the Ostrogothic kings; Avramea 1983:54.
37. 527-565 CORINTH, Greece; found in September 1971; 626 AE (minimi), including 94 coins issued by Anastasius, 45 by Justin I, 45 by Anastasius or Justin I, five by Justinian, nine coins of fifth or sixth century fabric, and ten of sixth century fabric; Avramea 1983:55.
38. 527-565 CORINTH, Greece; found in November 1971 in a basin along the wall of the easternmost fountain chamber cut through the south wall of the bath-fountain complex; 36 AE, including coins issued by Theodosius II, Justin I, and Justinian; Dengate 1981:175-178; Avramea 1983:56.
39. 527-565 DOLNO KOBILE, Kyustendil district, Bulgaria; found in 1940; 10 AE; Gerasimov 1940-1941:282; Iurukova 1969:261.
40. 527-565 DRAGOINOVO, Plovdiv district, Bulgaria; AV; Iurukova 1969:262.
41. 527-565 GORNO VASSILICA, Sofia district, Bulgaria; found in 1968 in a ceramic pot, during occasional excavations for the installment of a television station; 30 AE, all issued in Constantinople; Gerasimov 1979:134.
42. 527-565 HADZHI SINALAR, Varna district, Bulgaria; 200 AV; Mosser 1935:38; Iurukova 1969:262.
43. 527-565 IL'ICH, Temr'uk county, Krasnodar region, Russia; found in a pot with red slip buried near the eastern section of the precinct; 135 AV, including 130 third- to fourth-century pieces issued for Bosporan kings; Frolova and Nikolaeva 1978.
44. 527-565 KAILASKI DOL, Pleven district, Bulgaria; 10 AE; Iurukova 1969:261.
45. 527-565 KAMCHYIA river's mouth, Varna district, Bulgaria; 3 AE; Iurukova 1969:261.

46. 527-565 KAVADARCI, Titov Veles district, Macedonia; Popović 1978:610 n. 33.
47. 527-565 KIČEVO, Ohrid district, Macedonia; Popović 1978:610 n. 33.
48. 527-565 KOMAKOVCI, Varna district, Bulgaria; AE; Iurukova 1969:262.
49. 527-565 KRATOVO, Kumanovo district, Macedonia; Popović 1978:610 n. 33.
50. 527-565 VOROSHYLOVHRAD (former Lugansk), Ukraine; found in 1899; AV; Kropotkin 1962:35 no. 232.
51. 527-565 MEGARA, Attica, Greece; found near the apsis of an early Christian basilica; 15 AE (three K and 12 M, the latter being minted at Constantinople, Nicomedia, and Antioch); Zorides 1979:57.
52. 527-565 MEZEK, Svilengrad district, Bulgaria; AE; Iurukova 1969:262.
53. 527-565 MIROVO GARA, Sofia district, Bulgaria; site "Küy dere"; found in 1961 in the ancient hillfort; 8 AV; Gerasimov 1963:260.
54. 527-565 ORIAKHOVO, Smolian district, Bulgaria; site "St. Elijah"; found in 1934; 34 AE; Gerasimov 1934:471.
55. 527-565 ORSK, Orenburg region, Russia; found in 1922, together with golden jewelry; AV; Kropotkin 1962:26 no. 68.
56. 527-565 OSIKOVO, Vraca district, Bulgaria; found in 1941, in the village's meadow; 84 AE; Gerasimov 1946:237; Iurukova 1969:261.
57. 527-565 PAVELSKO, Smolian district, Bulgaria; site "Kotlanica"; found in 1967; 40 AE, of which only 25 were preserved, including 2 M issued by Anastasius in Constantinople, 19 M, and 4 K issued by Justinian in Constantinople, Nicomedia and Cyzicus; Gerasimov 1969:233; Bendall 1978:62.
58. 527-565 PÉCSVÁRÁDI, Baranya district, Hungary; 465 AE, most of which are debased folles and cententionales of the mid-fourth century (only one follis issued by Justinian); Bíró-Sey 1987:171-192..
59. 527-565 PELOPONNESUS, Greece (no exact location);

found in 1948; 8 AV, perhaps part of a larger, dispersed hoard; Metcalf 1988:107.

60. 527-565 SATU NOU, Oltina county, Constanța district, Romania; 25 AE; Mosser 1935:78; Mitrea 1983:259.

61. 527-565 SOLIN, Split district, Croatia (=Salona); 110 AE; Mirnik 1981:89.

62. 527-565 SOLIN, Split district, Croatia (=Salona); 32 AE; Mirnik 1981:89.

63. 527-565 SOLIN, Split district, Croatia (=Salona); 18 AE; Mirnik 1981:89.

64. 527-565 STRELECK BAY, Crimea, Ukraine; found prior to 1902; 317 AE, including issues of Anastasius and Justinian; Kropotkin 1962:34 no. 220; Sokolova 1968:260.

65. 527-565 TRYPI, Laconica, Greece; found in 1936; 945 AE (minimi); Avramea 1983:65.

66. 527-565 VARNA, Bulgaria; 306 AE; Mosser 1935:94; Iurukova 1969:261.

67. 527-565 ZACHA, Triphylia, Greece; found prior to 1920; 1179 AE (minimi); Adelson and Kustas 1964:159-205.

68. 542-565 HAJDUČKA VODENICA, Negotin district, Serbia; found in a burnt layer inside the Roman camp, together with a small balance and lead weights, several potsherds (perhaps from the container), a fragment of a bronze plaque, a bone plate and a small fragment of glass; 30 AV (29 solidi and one tremissis); Popović 1978:610 n. 33; Kondić 1984c.

69. 542-565 KÖTSCHACH-LAAS, Hermagor district, Austria; about 20 AV, but only four were preserved; Hahn 1987:454.

540-550

70. 541/2 GRNČAR, Priština district, Serbia; found in December 1990, in a ceramic pot; 89 AE and 1 AV; Radić 1991.

DATE	CON	TES	NIK	KYZ	ANT	TOTAL
498-518	12M					12M
518-527	29M	M	4M			34M
527-538	28M		M		M	30M
540/1				M		M

DATE	CON	TES	NIK	KYZ	ANT	TOTAL
541/2	M					M
TOTAL	70M	M	5M	M	M	78M

71. 542/3 KATUNICA, Plovdiv district, Bulgaria; 40 AE; Iurukova 1969:259.

72. 543/4 KLINOVAC, Vranje district, Serbia; 23 AE; Gaj-Popović 1973a:30-32; Popović 1978:610; Gaj-Popović 1984:21-22.

DATE	CON	TES	NIK	KYZ	ANT	?	TOTAL
491-518	5M					M	6M
518-527	6M		M				7M
527-538	7M		M				8M
537/8					M		M
543/4	K						K
TOTAL	18M K		2M		M	M	22M K

73. 543/4 STARYE BELIARY, Kominternivs'ke county, Odessa region, Ukraine; found in 1982; 20 AE; Stoliarik 1984; Stoliarik 1992a:41 and 42-43 fig. 12-13.

74. 543/4 TRUD (former Chirpilie, Klimentinovo), Plovdiv district, Bulgaria; AE; Iurukova 1969:256; Soustal 1991:486.

75. 544/5 DOBRA, Negotin district, Serbia; site "Monastir"; found during the 1968 excavations in the necropolis; 20 AE; Popović 1978:610; Minić 1984b.

DATE	CON	TES	NIK	KYZ	ANT	?	TOTAL
498-518	7M						7M
518-527	3M		M		2M		6M
527-538	M		M			2M	4M
538/9	K						K
543/4			K				K
544/5				K			K
TOTAL	11M K		2M K	K	2M	2M	17M 3K

76. 544/5 SIMITLII, Blagoevgrad district, Bulgaria; found in 1936, during occasional excavations for the railroad; only 5 AE preserved; Gerasimov 1937:323; Iurukova 1969:259.

77. 545/6 ANADOLCHIOI, nowadays residential area in Constanța, Romania; found in 1929; 383 AE, including a bronze coin issued by Maximianus, 198 minimi issued between Constantius II's and Zeno's reigns, 45 minimi issued by Anastasius, 7 minimi issued by Anastasius or Justin I, 7 minimi issued by Justin I, 4 minimi issued by Justinian, 2 "Vandalic" minimi, 1 issued by Theodoric or Vitigis, one issued by the Ostrogothic king Theodahad, 71 illegible minimi, and 21 leaden coins); Mitrea 1983:252-261; Poenaru-Bordea and Nicolae 1986-1991:101-113.

DATE	CON	TES	NIK	KYZ	ANT	TOTAL
498-518	10M 2K					10M 2K
518-527	37M 9K 2E	B	7M	K M K		45M 11K 2E B
527-538	29M 4K		5M	M	M K	36M 5K
527-565		2E				2E
539/40	M 2K					M 2K
541/2	2M 2K					2M 2K
542/3	M K					M K
543/4	M K			K		M 2K
544/5	M		M			2M
545/6	2K					2K
TOTAL	82M 23K 4E	B	13M	2K 2M K	M K	98M 27K 4E B

78. 545/6 CRÂNCHA, Pazardzhik district, Bulgaria; found in 1941, in the ruins of an old church, in the southern part of the village; only 18 AE were preserved; Gerasimov 1946:238; Iurukova 1969:261; Popović 1978:610.

79. 545/6 NESTANI, Tsipiana county, Arcadia, Greece; found in 1946; 5 AV, three being issued in Constantinople, one in Carthage and another one in an unknown mint; Avramea 1983:62.

80. 545/6 ZLATOSEL (former Sară demirdzhii), Plovdiv district, Bulgaria; found in 1936; 50 AE; Gerasimov 1937:322; Iurukova 1969:256.

81. 546/7 BELOIAROVKA, Amvrosiivka county, Donets'ke region, Ukraine; found in 1913; 50 AV; Kropotkin 1962:36 no. 253.

550-560

82. 549/50 CVETINO (former Florovo), Pazardzhik district, Bulgaria; site "Tärli"; found in 1955, in the northern part of the village; 62 AE, including four coins issued by Anastasius, nine issued by Justin I, 45 by Justinian, and four illegible coins, all issued in Constantinople, Nicomedia, Cyzicus, and Antioch; Conchev 1960:208; Iurukova 1969:256; Soustal 1991:232.

83. 550/1 SELCE, Bitola district, Macedonia; 267 AE; Popović 1978:610; Mirnik 1981:89.

84. 555/6 RIAKHOVEC, Gorna Oriakhovica district, Bulgaria; found in 1986 in the southern area of the fortified settlement; 8 AE; Vächvarov 1990:33-34, 39-40 and 35 fig. 1; Vächvarov 1992:44 and pl. II/1-5.

DATE	CON	TES	NIK	KYZ	ANT	TOTAL
498-518	3M		M			4M
527-538	2M		M			3M
555/6	M					M
TOTAL	6M		2M			8M

85. 556/7 MALO GOLUBINJE, Negotin district, Serbia; found during the 1968 excavations in the Roman camp; 3 AE; Popović 1978:611, n. 39; Popović 1984c:58-59.

DATE	CON	TES	NIK	KYZ	ANT	TOTAL
545/6			M			M
555/6	M					M
556/7					M	M
TOTAL	M		M		M	3M

560-570

86. 562-565 NIŠ, Serbia; 11 AE; Popović 1978:612 n. 49; Popović 1981:114; Popović 1984c:59-61.

DATE	CON	TES	NIK	KYZ	ANT	TOTAL
498-518	M K				M	K
518-527	K					K

DATE	CON	TES	NIK	KYZ	ANT	TOTAL
527-538	M				M	
536-562			3IS			3IS
544/5				M	M	
547/8	I					I
563/4			K			K
562-565			K			K
TOTAL	2M 2K I		2K 3IS M		3M 4K I 3IS	

87. 563/4 CARIČIN GRAD, Lebane district, Serbia; found in the atrium of the eastern basilica; 5 AE; Popović 1978:612 n. 43; Popović 1981:116; Popović 1984c:61-63.

DATE	CON	TES	NIK	KYZ	ANT	CAR	TOTAL
518-527	M				K		M K
539/40						K	K
541/2	M						M
563/4		K					K
TOTAL	2M			K	K	K	2M 3K

88. 563/4 SLATINE, Trogir district, Croatia; found in 1911; 168 AE, but only 111 were preserved; Marović 1986.

89. 565-573 BANISKA, Ruse district, Bulgaria; 20 AE; Iurukova 1969:261.

90. 565-573 BIALA REKA, Shumen district, Bulgaria; found in 1947; only 8 AV were preserved; Gerasimov 1950:320; Iurukova 1969:262.

91. 565-573 BRACIGOVO, Pazardzhik district, Bulgaria; found together with two cast fibulae with bent stem; 170 AE; Iurukova 1969:262; Uenze 1974:485-486.

92. 565-573 CHATAL DERE, Tărnovo district, Bulgaria; found in 1934; about 80 AE; Gerasimov 1934:470; Iurukova 1969:261.

93. 565-573 GOLIAMA KOTLOVICA, Mikhailovgrad district, Bulgaria; AE; Iurukova 1969:262.

94. 565-573 PUSTOGRADSKO, Titov Veles district, Macedonia (=Stobi); 5 AV; Popović 1975:458 and 460; Popović 1978:620 n. 79.

95. 565-573 SHUMEN (surrounding region), Bulgaria; AV; Iurukova 1969:262.

96. 565-578 CORINTH, Greece; found during the 1925 excavations in an area to the north of the great basilica; 86 AE, including 48 illegible coins, 20 minimi, and 4 nummia; Avramea 1983:52.

DATE	CON	TES	NIK	KYZ	ROME	TOTAL
538-549					K?	K?
568/9	M					M
574/5	M			M		2M
565-578		E				E
TOTAL	2M	E		M	K?	3M K? E

97. 565-578 CORINTH, Greece; found in November 1971 in the "Fountain of the Lamps", near the Gymnasium; 579 AE were preserved, including four ancient Greek coins, 62 late Roman issues, and 113 nummia, issued by Anastasius or Justinian, Justin I, Justinian, Baduila, etc.; Dengate 1981:153-175; Avramea 1983:55-56.

DATE	CON	TES	NIK	KYZ	ANT	?	TOTAL
527-538	M	E			M	2E	2M 3E
537/8						E	E
542-552		5E					5E
549/50	I						I
561/2			I				I
564/5					M		M
569/70		K					K
573/4	M						M
574/5		2K		K			3K
565-578			M			E	M E
TOTAL	2M I	6E	3K M I	K 2M		4E	5M 4K 10E 2I

98. 565-578 KOPRIVEC, Ruse district, Bulgaria; site "Zmei kale"; found in the fortified settlement, together with a cast fibula with bent stem; 40 AE; Milchev and Draganov 1992:39 and fig. 5.

99. 565-578 THESSALONIKI, Greece; 6 AE; Metcalf 1976b:50-51; Popović 1981:117.

100. 567/8 TOPALU, Constanța county, Romania; found on the Danube's left bank; 55 AE; Dimian 1957:191-192;

Poenaru-Bordea 1976:207; Popović 1981:113.

DATE	CON	TES	NIK	KYZ	ANT	ALE	?	TOTAL
527-538	7M 3K				2M K		9M 4K	
527-565						2IB		2IB
535-562		2IS						2IS
538-552	9E		4E	2E			15E	
538-558				K			K	
538-565						3M3M		
538/9				M			M	
539/40	M						M	
540/1	M						M	
541/2	2M						2M	
544/5	M						M	
546/7				M	M		2M	
547/8					M		M	
554/5					M		M	
556/7	2I		2I					4I
561/2			2I					2I
565/6		K					K	
566/7		K					K	
567/8		K					K	
<hr/>								
TOTAL	12M3K9E2I3K2IS	4I4E2MK2E5M	K	2IB3M22M8K15E6I2IS2IB				

101. 568/9 CARIČIN GRAD, Lebane district, Serbia; found near the atrium's northern wall of the transept basilica; 6 AE; Popović 1978:612; Popović 1981:114-115; Popović 1984c:63-64.

DATE	CON	TES	NIK	KYZ	ANT	TOTAL
542-547			IS			IS
post 562/3		K				K
565-568	K					K
567/8		K				K
568/9		2K				2K
<hr/>						
TOTAL	K	4K	IS			5K IS

570-580

102. 569/70 CARIČIN GRAD, Lebane district, Serbia; found in 1952, near the northern wall of the "Columns' Hall"; 15 AE; Popović 1978:612; Popović 1981:115; Popović 1984c:64-66.

DATE	CON	TES	NIK	KYZ	ANT	?	TOTAL
518-527	K						K
535-562		3IS					3IS
546/7					K		K
556/7	K						K
562/3						K	K
563/4		K					K
564/5		K					K
566/7		K					K
567/8		2K					2K
568/9		2K					2K
569/70		K					K
TOTAL	2K	8K 3IS			K	K	12K 3IS

103. 569/70 CARIČIN GRAD, Lebane district, Serbia; found in 1975, in the ruins of a house near the thermae's southern wall; 7 AE; Popović 1978:612 n. 45; Popović 1981:116; Popović 1984c:66-67.

DATE	CON	TES	NIK	KYZ	ANT	TOTAL
562-4		K				K
564/5		K				K
567/8		K				K
568/9		2K				2K
569/70		2K				2K
TOTAL		7K				7K

104. 570/1 CARIČIN GRAD, Lebane district, Serbia; found in 1979 in a ceramic pot hidden near the atrium of the transept basilica; 14 AE; Popović 1978:116-117; Popović 1984c:68-69.

DATE	CON	TES	NIK	KYZ	ANT	TOTAL
532-537	M					M
550/1					M	M
559/60					M	M
565/6		2K				2K
566/7		3K				3K
568/9		K				K
569/70		4K				4K

DATE	CON	TES	NIK	KYZ	ANT	TOTAL
570/1		K				K
TOTAL	M	11K		2M		3M 11K

105. 570/1 MAČVANSKA MITROVICA, Sremska Mitrovica district, Serbia; found in 1896; 3 AE; Dautova-Ruševljanin 1981:71; Mirnik 1981:89.

106. 570/1 PIROT, Serbia (=Turres); 11 AE; Popović 1978:612; Popović 1981:113-114; Popović 1984c:69-70.

DATE	CON	TES	NIK	KYZ	ANT	TOTAL
570/1	11M					11M
TOTAL	11M					11M

107. 571/2 ARNOLDSTEIN-Thörn-Maglern, Villach district, Austria; about 15 AV, but only six were preserved; Hahn 1987:454.

108. 571/2 ORCHOMENUS, Arcadia, Greece; found in 1913; 4 AE; Avramea 1983:63.

109. 571/2 THASOS, Greece; found in July 1957, on the eastern side of the amphitheater; 119 AE; Picard 1979:450 and 453; Popović 1981:117.

DATE	CON	TES	NIK	KYZ	ANT	TOTAL
498-518	M	3K				M 3K
518-527		3K		K	K	5K
527-538	4M	3K	E	M	M	M 3K E
539/40	2M		M		K	4M K
540/1	2M					2M
541/2	2M			M		3M
542/3	2M	K				2M K
543/4	M	K	M			2M K
544/5	M					M
545/6	M					M
546/7	M			M	3M	5M
547/8				M		M
548/9	2M					2M
550/1				2M		2M
555/6	2M			M	M	4M
556/7	M				M	2M

DATE	CON	TES	NIK	KYZ	ANT	TOTAL
557/8	4M		M			5M
558/9	M					M
559/60					M	M
562/3	2M	2K				2M 2K
563/4		K				K
564/5		K				K
565/6	2M	K				2M K
566/7	M	4K				M 4K
567/8	M	6K		M		2M 6K
568/9	3M	12K	M			4M12K
569/70	M	2K 10K	M			2M12K
570/1	4M					4M
571/2	2M					2M
565-578		K				K
TOTAL	43M	13K	38K	E	6M	K 8M 7M2K64M54K E

110. 573/4 BOZIKAS, Argolis, Greece; found in 1957; 10 AE; Avramea 1983:60.

111. 574/5 ATHENS, Greece; found in April 1933 in the mill house, immediately outside the Late Roman fortification wall; 397 AE, including 12 "Vandalic" and "Ostrogothic" nummia, 27 nummia with imperial monogram, and 324 illegible nummia; Metcalf 1962b:138-141.

DATE	CON	TES	NIK	KYZ	ANT	?	TOTAL
498-518		4E					4E
518-527		2E					2E
527-538	M				K	M	K
550/1	M					M	
556/7						I	I
570/1			K				K
571/2			K				K
574/5			K				K
TOTAL	2M	6E	3K		K	I	2M 4K 6E I

112. 574/5 MAJSAN island, Dubrovnik district, Croatia; found in a room on the northern side of a monastic complex; 13 AE; Mirnik 1981:87; Mirnik 1982; Mirnik 1985:88 and 93-94.

DATE	CON	TES	NIK	KYZ	ANT	TOTAL	
541/2	M					M	
544/5	M					M	
545/6	M					M	
547/8	M					M	
555/6	M					M	
566/7					M	M	
568/9			M			M	
569/70	M	2K				M	2K
574/5	M	K		M		2M	K
TOTAL	7M	3K	M	M	M	10K	3K

113. 574/5 MURIGHIOL, Tulcea district, Romania; found in 1982; 9 AE; Opaiț 1991:477-478.

DATE	CON	TES	NIK	KYZ	ANT	TOTAL	
518-527		K					K
556/7			M			M	
557/8				M		M	
569/70					K		K
570/1	M					M	
571/2			2M			2M	
573/4	M					M	
574/5				M		M	
TOTAL	2M	K	3M	2M	K	7M	2K

114. 527-565 ZAGRADE (former Hisarlăka), nowadays in Gärmen, Blagoevgrad district, Bulgaria (=Nicopolis ad Nestum); found in room A of the building A, near the angular south-eastern tower of the precinct; 4497 AE, including 4360 nummia; Penchev 1988; Soustal 1991:377.

DATE	CON	TES	NIK	KYZ	ANT	CAR	TOTAL	
491-518	2M 2K						2M	2K
518-527	7M 2K		3M		M		11M	2K
527-538	3M K				K		3M	2K
538/9	2M		M				3M	
539/40				M	M	K	2M	2K
540/1	2M			M			3M	
541/2	5M			M			6M	
542/3	2M		M	M			4M	
543/4	M						M	

DATE	CON	TES	NIK	KYZ	ANT	CAR	TOTAL
544/5	2M			M			3M
545/6	2M		M	M			4M
546/7	K		K	M			M 2K
548/9	2M K						2M K
550/1	2M						2M
552/3					2M K		2M K
553/4					M		M
556/7	M		M				2M
557/8			M				M
563/4		3K					3K
562-565		2K					2K
565/6		K					K
566/7		4K					4K
567/8	M	5K				M	5K
568/9	3M	10K	4M			7M	10K
569/70		7K					7K
570/1	7M 2K	K	5M			12M	3K
571/2		2K				M	3K
572/3		5K	2M	M		3M	5K
573/4	M			M		2M	
574/5		K	M			M	K
TOTAL	45M 9K	41K	20M	K10M	6M 3K	K 81M	55K

115. 575/6 BRZA PALANKA, Negotin district, Serbia; found in 1980, in a ceramic pot hidden near the southern wall of the Late Roman camp, near Slatinska reka river's mouth; 22 AE; Jovanović 1984:31-35.

DATE	CON	TES	KYZ	NIK	ANT	TOTAL
539/40			M			M
541/2	K					K
543/4	3M					3M
544/5	M					M
556/7				M		M
563/4		K				K
567/8	M	2K				M 2K
568/9		K				K
569/70				M		M
570/1	M	K			K	M 2K
571/2			M			M
574/5		4K				4K
575/6		K				K
TOTAL	6M K	10K	2M	2M K		10M 12K

116. 575/6 HAGIOS NIKOLAOS, Cynouria county, Arcadia, Greece; found prior to 1935; 88 AE, including one ancient Greek coin and 84 minimi of fifth and sixth century fabric; Avramea 1983:64; Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou 1986:348.

DATE	CON	TES	NIK	KYZ	ANT	TOTAL
539/40	M					M
565/6			K			K
575/6			K			K
TOTAL	M		2K			M 2K

117. 575/6 KENCHREAI, Corinthia, Greece; found during the 1963 excavations in an area to the north of the city's harbor; 36 AE, including 16 illegible coins, and 3 bronze coins issued by Arcadius; Hohlfelder 1970:68-72; Hohlfelder 1975:252-253; Hohlfelder 1976:335; Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou 1986:348.

DATE	CON	TES	NIK	KYZ	ANT	RAVENNA	TOTAL
518-527						3E	3E
547/8		I					I
570/1			K				K
575/6	M						M
TOTAL	M	I	K			3E	M KI 3E

118. 575/6 MANTINEA, Arcadia, Greece; found in 1972 or 1973; 10 AE, including an illegible coin (probably K); Avramea 1983:62-63; Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou 1986:348.

DATE	CON	TES	NIK	KYZ	ANT	TOTAL
538/9	3M					3M
539/40	M					M
545/6				M		M
552/3				M		M
572/3				M		M
574/5			K			K
575/6			K			K
TOTAL	4M		2K	3M		7M 2K

119. 575/6 THEBES, Viotia, Greece; found in 1932; 219 AE, including an early imperial issue, 6 illegible coins and

6 pieces of 16 nummia; Athanassopoulou-Penna 1979:203-211; Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou 1986:348.

DATE	CON	TES	NIK	KYZ	ANT	CAR	TOTAL
498-518	8M						8M
518-527	5M		M	M			7M
527-538	13M						13M
539/40	3M K					M	4M K
540/1	4M						4M
541/2	2M						2M
542/3	3M K				K		3M 2K
543/4	M K			M			2M K
544/5	3M		M	M			5M
545/6			M	M			2M K
546/7					M		M K
547/8	2M		M				3M
548/9	2M			3M	M		6M
549/50	M						M
551/2					M		M
552/3	M						M
555/6	M		M		M		3M
557/8			M		2M		3M
558/9	M				M		2M
559/60					4M		4M
562/3		2K					2K
563/4	M	3K					M 3K
564/5		6K			M		M 6K
565/6	2M	3K					2M 3K
566/7	M	5K					M 5K
567/8	3M K	26K		3M	3M		9M 27K
568/9	4M K		M				5M K
569/70	4M	5K	M				5M 5K
570/1	4M	4K	2M				6M 4K
571/2	M	2K	3M				4M 2K
572/3	M	8K	2M				3M 8K
573/4	M	7K					M 7K
574/5	M	13K					M 13K
575/6		K					K
TOTAL	73M 7K	85K 15M	10M		15M K M		114M 93K

120. 576 (?) KENCHREAI, Corinthia, Greece; found in 1963, in an area near the city's harbor; about 200 AE, but only 108 were preserved, including a coin issued by Tiberius, one by Arcadius, two by Theodosius II, three by Marcianus, two by Leo I, two by Zeno, 5 minimi issued by Anastasius or Justinian, one by Justin I or Justin II, two by Justin I or Justinian, four "Vandalic" minimi, four "Ostrogothic" minimi, and 61 illegible minimi;

Hohlfelder 1973:90-91; Hohlfelder 1975:253; Hohlfelder 1976:336; Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou 1986:348.

DATE	CON	TES	NIK	KYZ	ANT	CAR	TOTAL
527-538	M						M
538/9	K						K
539/40						A	A
547/8					K		K
549/50	I						I
558/9	I						I
559/60	2I						2I
565-578		E					E
TOTAL	M K 4I E				K	A	M2K4IEA

121. 576/7 MURIGHIOL, Tulcea district, Romania; found in 1985; 39 AE, including an illegible coin issued in the fourth century and another one issued in the sixth century; Opaît 1991:478-479.

DATE	CON	TES	NIK	KYZ	ANT	TOTAL
498-518	5M					5M
518-527	M					M
527-538	3M	K			K I	3M 2KI
538/9					K	K
539/40				K		K
542/3				M	K	M K
543/4			M			M
562/3		K				K
565-570		K				K
565-578	M				K	M K
568/9		K	M			M K
569/70	M		2M			3M
570/1	2M	K				2M K
571/2	2M			K		2M K
573/4	2M				K	2M K
575/6	M					M
576/7	M					M
TOTAL	19M 2K	3K	4M 2K	M	K	4K I 24M 12KI

122. 576/7 NEMEA, Argolis, Greece; found in 1979 in the ancient stadium; 23 AE, including 5 minimi of fifth and sixth century fabric, and two coins that cannot be attributed to any one of the sixth century emperors represented in the hoard; Avramea 1983:59; Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou 1986:348.

DATE	CON	TES	NIK	KYZ	ANT	TOTAL
538/9	M					M
539/40	M					M
543/4	M					M
546/7					M	M
548/9				M		M
549/50					M	M
566/7		2K				2K
569/70	K		M			M
570/1		K				K
571/2			M			M
573/4		K				K
574/5	M	K				M
576/7		K				K
TOTAL	4M K	7K	2M	M	2M	9M 7K

123. 577/8 ATHENS, Greece; found in 1908 near Dipylon, the western gate of the external precinct; 598 AE, including 18 E, 24 illegible coins, and 472 minimi; Svoronos 1909-1910; Mosser 1935:7; Metcalf 1962b:145-146.

DATE	CON	TES	NIK	KYZ	ANT	TOTAL
527-538	M	3K		M		2M 3K
539/40	2M					2M
541/2				M		M
543/4					K	K
545/6	M					M
546/7			2M			2M
547/8			M			M
549/50				2M		2M
551/2	M					M
554/5					M	M
558/9		K				K
559/60		K				K
563/4					M	M
565/6	M					M
566/7					K	K
567/8		K				K
568/9	M		K			M
569/70	2M	2K	2M		K	4M 3K
570/1	M	K	M		M	3M
571/2		K				K
572/3	M	K	M		M	3M
573/4		K				K
574/5	M	K	M		M	3M
575/6		K				K

DATE	CON	TES	NIK	KYZ	ANT	TOTAL
576/7	M	K	M			2M K
577/8		K				K
TOTAL	13M	16K	8MK	8M	2M 3K	31M 20K

124. 577/8 ATHENS, Greece; found in 1971, on the Panathenaic way, at the northern edge of the Agora, together with two metal vessels, a bronze situla and a bronze oinochoe; 341 AE, including two E issued by Anastasius or Justinian, seven nummia of the first century B.C. to the fifth century A.D., 11 nummia issued by Anastasius, two by Justin I, fifteen by Justinian, nine Ostrogothic nummia, 62 nummia of sixth century fabric, and 140 illegible coins; Kroll, Miles, and Miller 1973:301-302.

DATE	CON	TES	NIK	KYZ	ANT	TOTAL
527-538	M					M
538/561		K				K
552/3					K	K
553/4					K	K
562/3		K				K
564/5		2K				2K
565/6		K				K
567/8	M	2K				M 2K
568/9	M	2K	K			M 4K
569/70		3K				3K
570/1		K	K		K	3K
571/2		K	M		M	2M K
572/3	M	5K				M 5K
573/4	M	3K	M			2M 3K
574/5		5K				5K
575/6		4K				4K
576/7		11K				11K
577/8		6K				6K
565-578		4E 3K				3K 4E
TOTAL	5M	4K 4E	48K 2M 2K		M 3K 8M	57K 4E

125. 577/8 GROPENI, Brăila district, Romania; found in May 1934, in a ceramic jug, not far from the Danube's bank; 47 AE; Dimian 1957:193-194; Butnariu 1983-1985:228.

DATE	CON	TES	NIK	KYZ	ANT	TOTAL
539/40				M	M	K 2M K
540/1		2K				2K
541/2	M			M		2M
542/3					K	K
543/4	M					M
544/5					M	M
566/7				M		M
567/8	M				M	2M
568/9	2M		K	M		3M K
569/70	M		2K	M K	M	3M 3K
570/1	M	K		2M		3M K
571/2	M			2M	M	4M
572/3	M					M
573/4	2M		K	M		4M K
574/5				M K		M K
575/6	M			2M	2M	5M
576/7			K			K
577/8			K	M		M K
TOTAL	12M	3K	6K	14M2K	7M K	M K 34M 13K

126. 577/8 BOLJETIN, Negotin district, Serbia (=Smorna); found during the 1968 excavations in the Roman camp; 6 AE; Popović 1975:467; Popović 1978:617; Popović 1984c:71-72.

DATE	CON	TES	NIK	KYZ	ANT	TOTAL
544/5	M					M
569/70				M		M
570/1			K			K
572/3	M					M
574/5			K			K
577/8				M		M
TOTAL	2M		2K	2M		4M 2K

127. 568-578 PINIOS river's dam, Ilis, Greece; found in 1968; 6 AV, all being issued under Justin II in Constantinople; Avramea 1983:66; Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou 1986:348.

128. 573-578 BATULIIA, Sofia district, Bulgaria; found in 1933; 25 AE; Gerasimov 1934:467; Iurukova 1969:261 and 263.

129. 573-578 BOREC (former Salalii), Plovdiv district, Bulgaria; Iurukova 1969:262.

130. 573-578 POPOVO, Bulgaria; Iurukova 1969:261 and 263.

131. 573-578 SADOVEC, Pleven district, Bulgaria; Iurukova 1966:24; Popović 1978:618.

132. 573-578 SOFIA, Bulgaria; Iurukova 1969:261.

133. 578/9 GALATA, Varna district, Bulgaria; 54 AE; Iurukova 1966:226; Iurukova 1969:261; Popović 1978:620.

134. 578/9 SADOVEC, Pleven district, Bulgaria; 162 AE; Iurukova 1966:224; Popović 1975:470; Popović 1978:617; Iurukova 1992:295-299.

DATE	CON	TES	NIK	KYZ	ANT	CAR	TOTAL
498-517	5M K						5M K
518-527	8M K		M		M		10M K
527-538	7M K		M			K	8M 2K
538/9	M						M
539/540	3M			K		M	4M K
540/1	M						M
541/2	3M 2K		2M		K		5M 3K
542/3	2M						2M
543/4	M		2M				3M
545/6			M	M			2M
547/8	2M		M	M		K	4M K
548/9	3M						3M
550/1					M		M
551/2				2M			2M
552/3	2M						2M
553/4			M				M
555/6	M						M
556/7					M		M
557/8	2M		M				3M
559/560					2M		2M
561/2	M				M		2M
565/6		K					K
566/7	3M	2K	M		M		7M
568/9	6M	4K	3M				9M 4K
569/570	3M K	2K					3M 3K
570/1	4M K		5M				9M K
571/2	5M K		3M		M		9M K
572/3	3M			M			4M
573/4		K	4M				4M K
574/5	4M	K	8M	4M			16M K
575/6	2M	K	M				3M K
576/7	6M		M				7M

DATE	CON	TES	NIK	KYZ	ANT	CAR	TOTAL
577/8		K					K
578/9	M						M
TOTAL	78M 8K	13K 36M		9M2K8M	K M		132M 24K

135. 578/9 TEKIJJA, Negotin district, Serbia (=Transdierna); found in 1969 near the Roman camp; 24 AE; Popović 1975:467-468; Popović 1978:617; Popović 1984c:23-26.

DATE	CON	TES	NIK	KYZ	ANT	?	TOTAL
518-527						K	K
527-538		K			M		K
post 562/3			K			3K	4K
563/4			K				K
565-578				M			M
567/8			K				K
568-582			K				K
568/9			2K				2K
569/70			2K				2K
569-574			K				K
570/1	M						M
571/2			K				K
574/5			3K				3K
577/8			K				K
578/9			K				K
TOTAL	M	K	15K	M		M 4K	3M 20K

137. 578/9 VELIKO ORAŠJE, Smederevo district, Serbia; found at an unknown date, together with a bronze buckle; 34 AE; Gaj-Popović 1973b:33-37; Popović 1975:467; Popović 1978:617; Gaj-Popović 1984:23-26.

DATE	CON	TES	NIK	KYZ	ANT	?	TOTAL
527-538	K						K
538-542		IS					IS
541/2	M						M
542/3				M			M
543/4	M						M
545/6			M				M
546/7	M		M				2M
547/8					M		M
552/3					M		M

DATE	CON	TES	NIK	KYZ	ANT	?	TOTAL
555/6	M						M
556/7					K		K
559/60					M		M
562/3	M						M
563/4		K					K
566/7			M		M		2M
567/8	M	K					M K
568/9	2M		M				3M
569/70	2M						2M
570/1	M						M
571/2	2M		M				3M
573/4	M		M				2M
574/5		K					K
565-578					K		K
578/9	M						M
TOTAL	15M	2K 2K IS	6M	M	4M	K K	26M 6K IS

138. 580/1 VELIKO GRADIŠTE, Požarevac district, Serbia (=Pincum); found in the Roman camp; 17 AE; Popović 1975:467; Popović 1978:617; Popović 1984c:75-77.

DATE	CON	TES	NIK	KYZ	ANT	TOTAL
498-518	2M K					3E 2M K 3E
518-527	2M K E		M			3M K E
567/8		K				K
569/70		2K				2K
574/5		2K				2K
580/1	M					M
TOTAL	5M 2K E	5K	M			3E 6M 7K 4E

580-590

139. 578-582 ADAMCLISI, Constanța district, Romania (=Tropaeum Traiani); found in 1908, together with a gold ring with cross monogram, in a ceramic jug hidden near the "cistern-basilica"; 101 AE and AV; Barnea et al. 1979:22, and fig. 2; Mitrea 1980:376.

140. 578-582 ATHENS, Greece; found in March 1933, in a burnt debris area near the Tholos; 18 AE, including 4 illegible coins and 5 nummia; Metcalf 1962b:141-143.

DATE	CON	TES	NIK	KYZ	ANT	?	TOTAL
527-565						K	K
569/70		K					K
571/2		K					K
572/3		K					K
573/4		K					K
574/5		2K					2K
575/6		K					K
578-582		K					K
TOTAL		8K				K	9K

140. 578-582 GRABOVNIK, near Mostar, Bosnia-Hercegovina; 23 AV; Popović 1975:466; Mirnik 1981:88.

141. 578-582 HINOG, Cochirleni county, Constanța district, Romania (=Axiopolis); found in July 1899 in a room near the northern gate; 5 AV; Poenaru-Bordea and Ocheșanu 1983-1985:177-180.

142. 578-582 OLYMPIA, Ilis, Greece; 9270 AE (minimi); Avramea 1983:67; Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou 1986:348.

143. 578-582 RESENOVO (former Gerche bunar), Pazardzhik district, Bulgaria; found in 1927 in Karakytuk river bed; 7 AV; Mushmov 1928-1929:382; Iurukova 1966:226; Popović 1978:620.

144. 578-582 THESSALONIKI, Greece; 115 AV; Oeconomides-Caramessini and Touratsoglou 1979:294-310; Hahn 1981b:178-182.

145. about 580 ARGOS, Argolis, Greece; found in 1968 in the ancient agora; Avramea 1983:60-61; Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou 1986:348.

146. 581/2 ATHENS, Greece; found in 1908, near the north-western entrance to the Agora area, not far from the church St. George (previously the Temple of Hephaistos); 18 AE; Metcalf 1962b:144.

DATE	CON	TES	NIK	KYZ	ANT	?	TOTAL
541/2			K				K
545/6	M						M
546/7	M			M			2M
548/9					M		M
553/4						M	M

DATE	CON	TES	NIK	KYZ	ANT	?	TOTAL
559/60					M		M
561/2					M		M
568/9			M			M	2M
569/70	M						M
570/1			2M				2M
571/2					M		M
574/5	M	K					M K
580/1	M						M
581/2	M						M
TOTAL	6M	K	3M K	M	4M	2M	16M 2K

147. 582/3 HAGIA KYRIAKI, Messenia, Greece; found in 1960; 257 AE, including 226 minimi; Avramea 1983:68; Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou 1986:348.

148. 583/4 BITOLA, Macedonia (=Heraclea Lyncestis); found on the floor of a dwelling house (unit 5A) built over the abandoned theater; 84 AE, including one nummion issued under Justinian; Janakievski 1978:189-196; Popović 1980:242.

DATE	CON	TES	NIK	KYZ	ANT	TOTAL
527-538	M					M
543/4	M					M
547/8			M			M
527-562			IS			IS
568/9		K				K
570/1	M					M
571/2		3K I	M			M3KI
572/3		2K				2K
573/4		2K	M			M2K
574/5		4K				4K
575/6	M	5K				M5K
577/8		K				K
578/9		6K				6K
580/1		4K				4K
583/4		15K				15K
TOTAL	4M	43K I IS	3M			7M43KIIS

149. 583/4 BITOLA, Macedonia (=Heraclea Lyncestis); found on the floor of a dwelling house (unit 5A) built over the abandoned theater; 84 AE, including one nummion issued under Justinian; Janakievski 1978:196-198.

DATE	CON	TES	NIK	KYZ	ANT	TOTAL
562-565			IS			IS
567/8			M			M
568/9		K				K
569/70		K				K
571/2		K				K
573/4		K				K
574/5		K				K
577/8		K				K
580/1		K				K
583/4		K				K
TOTAL		8K	IS	M		M 8K IS

150. 583/4 ISTHMIA, Corinth, Greece; 270 AE; MacDowall 1965; Popović 1978:621; Avramea 1983:56-57; Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou 1986:348.

151. 583/4 PRIOLITHOS KALAVRYTON, Arcadia, Greece; site "Kokori"; found in 1979; 120 AE, including 15 minimi of fifth and sixth century fabric; Avramea 1983:62; Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou 1986:348.

152. after 583/4 VID, Makarska district, Croatia (=Narona); found in December 1901, together with golden jewelry, between two houses in the village, about 40 to 50 m far from the building with mosaic, in the forum; 65 AV; Mosser 1935:57; Popović 1975:466; Mirnik 1981:89; Marović 1984:300; Marović 1988.

153. 584/5 BABA, Bitola district, Macedonia; found prior to 1969; 51 AE; Kepeski 1977; Popović 1980:242.

DATE	CON	TES	NIK	KYZ	ANT	TOTAL
562/3		K				K
563/4		K				K
566/7	M	K				M K
567/8		2K				2K
568/9	M	8K				M 8K
569/70		7K				7K
570/1		K				K
571/2		K				K
573/4	M	3K				M 3K
574/5		3K				3K
575/6		3K				3K
576/7		K				K
577/8		K				K

DATE	CON	TES	NIK	KYZ	ANT	TOTAL
565-578		2K				2K
578/9		10K				10K
580/1		K				K
583/4		K				K
584/5		K				K
TOTAL	3M	48K				3M 48K

154. 584/5 GOREN KOZJAK, Radanje district, Macedonia (=Bargala); found in 1968 in the city's southern area, together with a golden ring with carnelian intaglio; 270 AE and 13 AV; Aleksova and Mango 1971:273; Popović 1975:460; Popović 1978:621-622; Popović 1981:242.

DATE	CON	TES	NIK	KYZ	ANT	?	TOTAL
498-518	2M						2M
518-527	4M	K	M				5M K
527-538	3M						3M
538/9	M		M				2M
539/40	3M		M				4M
540/1	M		M				2M
542/3		K					K
544/5	2M						2M
545/6			M	M			2M
546/7					K		K
547/8						M	M
548/9				M			M
550/1				M			M
552/3				M			M
554/5						M	M
555/6	M					M	2M
557/8				K		M	M K
562/3						M	M
563/4		K					K
565/6		7K					7K
566/7	M	12K					M 12K
567/8	M	7K					M 7K
568/9		3K					3K
569/70		7K					8K
570/1		K	4M				4M K
571/2			2M				2M
572/3		6K		K	K		8K
573/4		3K	2M		K		2M 4K
574/5		12K		M	K	2M	3M 13K
575/6		7K					7K
576/7		K					K

DATE	CON	TES	NIK	KYZ	ANT	?	TOTAL
577/8		6K					6K
578/9	M	31K					M 31K
579/80		4K					4K
580/1		12K					12K
581/2		6K					6K
582/3		5K					5K
583/4		25K					25K
584/5		10K					10K
TOTAL	20M 3K	166K	13M 2K	5M	4K	7M	45M 175K

155. 584/5 PELLENE, Corinthia, Greece; found in 1936; 419 AE, including 229 minimi; Avramea 1983:60; Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou 1986:348.

156. 582-600 APIDEA, Laconica, Greece; found prior to 1976; 8 AV, all issued in Constantinople, six under Justin II, one under Tiberius II, and one under Maurice; Avramea 1983:66; Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou 1986:348.

157. 582-600 ATHENS, Greece; found during the 1947 excavations in an osteothekē on Sophroniskos Street, not far from the Acropolis, to the south of the Temple of Olympian Zeus; 7 AV; Metcalf 1962b:145.

158. 582-600 SLAVA RUSĂ, Constanța district, Romania (=Ibida); 8 AV; Poenaru-Bordea and Mitrea 1989:265.

159. 582-602 KLEITORIA, Arcadia, Greece; site "Kouvoukli"; found prior to 1933; 86 AE; Avramea 1983:61; Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou 1986:348.

160. 584-602 SADOVEC, Pleven district, Bulgaria; 34 AV and 38 AE; the last coins are three solidi (582/3, 583/4, 584-602) and a tremissis (584-602), issued under Maurice's reign; Mosser 1935:74-75; Adelson 1957:83; Iurukova 1966:224; Popović 1978:618; Iurukova 1992:299-301.

DATE	CON	TES	NIK	KYZ	ANT	TOTAL
545/6				M		M
548/9				2M		2M
552/3				M		M
563/4		3K				3K
565/6		K				K
567/8			M	K		M K

DATE	CON	TES	NIK	KYZ	ANT	TOTAL
568/9	2M		M			3M
569/570			M			M
570/1	M		2M			3M
571/2			2M			2M
572/3				M		M
573/4	2M		M			3M
574/5	2M	K		3M	M	6M K
575/6	M			M		2M
576/7	M K				M	2M K
TOTAL	9M K	5K8M	9M	K	2M	28M 7K

161. 584-602 SADOVEC, Pleven district, Bulgaria; 25 AV, found together with two silver ear-rings with star-shaped pendant; Iurukova 1992:282 and 302.

162. 584-602 SADOVEC, Pleven district, Bulgaria; 125 AV; Iurukova 1992:303.

590-600

163. 593/4 HISTRIA, Istria county, Constanța district, Romania (=Histria); found in 1950 in a drain near the thermae's apse; 22 AE, including two coins issued probably under Maurice and two illegible coins; Preda and Nubar 1973:231-233; Suceveanu and Poenaru-Bordea 1982:157-158.

DATE	CON	TES	NIK	KYZ	ANT	TOTAL
527-538	K E				K	2K E
546/7		I				I
551/2	K					K
558/9		I				I
566/7	M					M
568/9		M				M
574/5		K	K			2K
565-578					2E	2E
588/9			K			K
591/2	K	K				2K
592/3	2K					2K
593/4	M					M
TOTAL	2M 5K E 2I	M 2K	2K	K	2E	3M 10K 2I3E

164. 594/5 VELIKI GRADAC, Negotin district, Serbia; found

in the eastern tower of the Roman camp's northern gate;
107 AE, including one early imperial issue; Popović
1978:483-484; Popović 1980:246; Minić 1984a:39-47.

DATE	CON	TES	NIK	KYZ	ANT	TOTAL
498-518	4M	2K				4M 2K
518-527	2M	3K	2M			4M 3K
527-538	M					M
538/9	2M					2M
540/1			M			M
541/2	4M					4M
542/3				M		M
543/4	M					M
544/5					K	K
545/6				M		M
547/8				2M	M	3M
548/9	M					M
553/4			M			M
554/5	M					M
555/6	2M					2M
557/8				2M		2M
558/9			M			M
561/2				M		M
563/4			2K			2K
565/6		K	K			2K
567/8		K	K			2K
568/9	M		3K			M 3K
569/70			5K			5K
570/1	4M		3K		M	6M 3K
571/2	2M		K			2M K
572/3			K			M K
573/4	6M		M	M		8M
574/5	2M		10K		K	2M 11K
575/6			5K	2M		2M 5K
576/7	M					M
577/8			3K			3K
578/9			3K			3K
581/2	M					M
587/8	M					M
594/5	M					M
TOTAL	37M	7K	40K 10M	8M	2K 2M	57M 49K

165. 594/5 HISTRIA, Istria county, Constanța, Romania
(=Histria); 21 AE; Preda and Nubar 1973:229-231.

DATE	CON	TES	NIK	KYZ	ANT	TOTAL
527-538	M					M
568/9		2K				2K
571/2	M		M			2M
572/3			2M			2M
573/4	M					M
574/5	M					M
575/6	2M					2M
581/2	M		M			2M
585/6	M					M
587/8	M K					M K
589/90	M					M
590/1			M			M
591/2					K	K
594/5	M		M			2M
TOTAL	11M K		2K 6M			K 17M 2K

166. 594/5 UNIREA (former Șocariciu), Ialomița district, Romania; found in 1938 on Danube's bank; 32 AE; Dimian 1958; Butnariu 1983-1985:228.

DATE	CON	TES	NIK	KYZ	ANT	TOTAL
566/7	2M					2M
567/8				M		M
568/9	K	K	2M			2M 2K
569/70		2K				2K
570/1	M		M			2M
571/2	2M		M			3M
572/3	M					M
574/5	2M	K				2M K
575/6		K			M	M K
576/7		K				K
579/80	M K				M	2M K
580/1	M K					M K
581/2	M K					M K
583/4			M			M
586/7	K					K
592/3			M			M
594/5			2M			2M
TOTAL	11M 5K		6K 8M		M 2M	22M 11K

167. 595/6 BOSMAN, Negotin district, Serbia; found during the 1966 excavations, near the north-eastern wall of the Roman camp; 17 AE; Popović 1975:483-484; Popović

1978:624; Kondić 1984b:51-54.

DATE	CON	TES	NIK	KYZ	ANT	TOTAL
566/7	M					M
568/9			M			M
572/3		K				K
574/5	M					M
575/6			M			M
576/7	M	K				M
581/2			M			M
583/4					M	M
584/5	M					M
586/7		K			M	M
589/90	M					M
590/1	M					M
591/2	M					M
592/3	M					M
595/6	M					M
TOTAL	9M	3K	3M		2M	14M 3K

168. 595/6 CARIČIN GRAD, Lebane district, Serbia; found in 1952 on the eastern street; 16 AE; Popović 1975:485; Popović 1984c:77-79.

DATE	CON	TES	NIK	KYZ	ANT	TOTAL
498-518	M					M
569/70	M		K			M
570/1			M			M
571/2			M			M
572/3			M			M
574/5			M			M
577/8			M			M
586/7		K				K
588/9			K			K
588-591		K				K
589/90	M					M
595/6			4K			4K
TOTAL	3M	2K	6K 5M			8M 8K

169. 595/6 RESELEC, Pleven district, Bulgaria; found in 1961; 26 AE; Gerasimov 1963:264; Iurukova 1969:263; Iurukova 1966:306-307.

DATE	CON	TES	NIK	KYZ	ANT	TOTAL	
569-570	M					M	
570/1			2M			2M	
571/2					M	M	
572/3	M	K				M	K
573/4	M		M			2M	
574/5	M	K				M	K
576/7	M					M	
580/1			M			M	
583/4	M					M	
585/6	M	K				M	K
586/7	M					M	
587/8		K					K
589/590	M					M	
590/1	2M					2M	
591/2			M			M	
592/3	M					M	
594/5	M	K				M	K
595/6	M	K				M	K
TOTAL	14M 2K	4K	5M		M	20M	6K

170. 595/6 RAKITA, Pleven district, Bulgaria; 20 AE;
Iurukova 1992:307-308.

DATE	CON	TES	NIK	KYZ	ANT	TOTAL	
570/1	M					M	
571/2			M			M	
573/4	2M	2M				4M	
574/5	3M	2M	M	K		6M	K
575/6	M					M	
582/3	M					M	
590/1	M					M	
592/3				M	M	2M	
594/5			M			M	
595/6					M	M	
TOTAL	9M			6M	2M K	2M	19M K

171. 597/8 HISTRIA, Istria county, Constanța district, Romania (=Histria); found in 1954 in the "Economic Sector"; 12 AE; Preda and Nubar 1973:228-229.

DATE	CON	TES	NIK	KYZ	ANT	TOTAL
567/8	K					K
569/70					M	M
570/1	K					K
571/2			2M			2M
574/5	M	K				M
580/1	M					M
587/8	K					K
588/9				M		M
589/90	K					K
597/8	M					M
TOTAL	3M 4K	K	2M	M	M	7M 5K

172. 597/8 HORGEȘTI, Răcătău county, Bacău district, Romania; site "Cânepărie"; found in May 1968, in a bronze jug, in the Răcătău river bed, 150 m far from village, together with a bronze chain; 57 AE; Căpitanu 1971; Buzdugan 1973-1974; Butnariu 1983-1985:229.

DATE	CON	TES	NIK	KYZ	ANT	TOTAL
566/7	M		M			2M
567/8			M			M
569/70	M					M
570/1	5M K		2M			7M K
571/2	M			K		M K
572/3	2M		2M			4M
573/4	2M		M	M	2M	6M
574/5	M					M
575/6	M					M
576/7				M	M	2M
580/1	2M					2M
581/2	M				M	2M
582/3	M					M
583/4	2M					2M
586/7	M					M
587/8	2M		M			3M
588/9	M K	K				M 2K
589/90			M	M		2M
590/1				M		M
591/2	M		2M		K	3M K
592/3	M			M		2M
593/4		K			M	M K
594/5			M			M
595/6			M			M
596/7	M					M

DATE	CON	TES	NIK	KYZ	ANT	TOTAL
597/8	M					M
TOTAL	28M 2K	2K 13M K 5M		5M	K	51M 6K

173. 599/600 MOVILENI, Galați district, Romania; found in 1938 in a ceramic jug, near Siret river's bank; 26 AE; Dimian 1957:194-195; Iliescu 1975:20-31; Butnariu 1983-1985:228.

DATE	CON	TES	NIK	KYZ	ANT	TOTAL
578/9		3I	M		M K	2M K 3I
581/2	M		3M			4M
584/5				M		M
585/6				M		M
587/8		K				K
588/9		K		M		M K
589/90	2M	K		M		3M K
590/1	M					M
591/2	3M					3M
594/5					M	M
599/600		K				K
TOTAL	7M 4K 3I	4M	4M	2M	K	17M 5K

600-610

174. 600/1 HISTRIA, Istria county, Constanța district, Romania (=Histria); found in 1950; 10 AE; Preda and Nubar 1973:231.

DATE	CON	TES	NIK	KYZ	ANT	?	TOTAL
565/6	M						M
570/1	M						M
572/3	M						M
573/4	M						M
579/80			M				M
580/1						M	M
585/6	M						M
589/90	M				M		2M

DATE	CON	TES	NIK	KYZ	ANT	?	TOTAL
600/1						M	M
TOTAL	6M		M		M	2M	10M

175. 601/2 BĂLGAREVO, Varna district, Bulgaria; found in 1959 in a ceramic pot; 21 AE; Gerasimov 1962:229; Iurukova 1966:225.

177. 602 PAIANIA, Attica, Greece; 5 AV; Metcalf 1988:108.

178. 608/9 PELLANA, Sciritis, Greece; found in May 1982; 14 AE; Avramea 1983:64-65; Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou 1986:349.

179. 602-610 BERNECZE, Nógrád county, Hungary; found in 1862; 17 AV, including one gold coin of Honorius and another one of Phocas; Rómer 1864:164; Kiss 1986:120.

179. 602-610 VASARAS, Laconica, Greece; site "Kalyvi"; found in 1907; 10 AV, but only one solidus issued under Phocas was preserved; Avramea 1983:65; Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou 1986:349.

610-620

180. 610-611 RANCĂCIOV, Călinești county, Argeș district, Romania; found in 1942 or 1943 in a ceramic pot; 200 AE and AR, but only nine coins were preserved, the latest being a K issued under Heraclius; Poenaru-Bordea and Dicu 1989:79 no. 85 and pl. III/95.

181. 610-613 BAKIRKÖY, Istanbul, Turkey; Popović 1980:247 n. 67.

182. 610-613 DONJA VREŽINA, Niš district, Serbia; Popović 1975:495; Popović 1981:247.

183. 613 CARIČIN GRAD, Lebane district, Serbia; found in 1953 in the window of a house to the south-east of the forum; 6 AE; Popović 1980:247; Popović 1984c:80-81.

DATE	CON	TES	NIK	KYZ	ANT	TOTAL
603/4	K		K			2K
612/3	M					M

DATE	CON	TES	NIK	KYZ	ANT	TOTAL
613	3M					3M
TOTAL	4M	K		K		4M 2K

184. 615/6 CHALKIS, Evvoia, Greece; 16 AE; Metcalf 1962a:22; Popović 1980:248.

DATE	CON	TES	NIK	KYZ	ANT	?	TOTAL
574/5				K			K
613/4				3K			3K
614/5	M	3M	5K			M	5M 5K
615/6		2M					2M
TOTAL	M	5M	9K			M	7M 9K

185. 615/6 NEA ANCHIALOS, Magnesia, Greece; found in 1930; 21AE, including five illegible coins; Metcalf 1962a:21-22; Popović 1980:248.

DATE	CON	TES	NIK	KYZ	ANT	?	TOTAL
612/3	3M		4M				7M
613/4	4M		M				5M
614/5	3M						3M
615/6	M						M
TOTAL	11M		5M				16M

186. about 616 ATHENS, Greece; Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou 1986:349.

187. 616/7 THASOS, Greece; found in the Dionysion; 19 AE; Mosser 1935:87; Picard 1979:451-452.

DATE	CON	TES	NIK	KYZ	ANT	?	TOTAL
612/3	2M		M				3M
613/4	M		3M				4M
614/5	3M	M	2K				4M 2K
615/6	2M					M	3M
616/7		2M	K				2M K
TOTAL	8M	3M	3K	4M		M	16M 3K

188. 620 SOLOMOS, Corinthia, Greece; found in 1938; 346 AE, including a K issued in Thessaloniki in 574/5, a M issued in Constantinople in 605; 140 M, issued in Constantinople, 56 M, issued in Thessaloniki, 37 M, issued in Nicomedia, one M, issued in Cyzicus, and 8 K, issued in Thessaloniki, all under Heraclius; Avramea 1983:58-59; Metcalf 1962a:14; Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou 1986:349.

189. 616-625 BELOPOLIANE (former Akalan), Kărdžali district, Bulgaria; found in 1913, together with golden jewelry; 420 AV and 2 AR; Mosser 1935:1; Popović 1980:248; Soustal 1991:198; Somogyi 1997:141.

620-630

190. 613-629 CATALÇA, Turkey; 152 AV; Mosser 1935:18; Metcalf 1962a:14-15; Popović 1980:248.

191. 613-629 FIRTUȘU, Eliseni county, Harghita district, Romania; found in 1831; about 300 AV; Ferenczi 1939; Butnariu 1983-1985:231.

192. 613-629 GORNA ORIAKHOVICA, Bulgaria; found in 1957 in a vegetable garden in the village; 10 AV; Gerasimov 1969:263; Iurukova 1969:263.

193. 613-629 POTKOM, Gračac district, Croatia; found prior to 1938; 5 AV; Mirnik 1990.

194. 613-629 SOLOMOS, Corinthia, Greece; found prior to 1956; 6 AV, including three solidi issued under Phocas in Constantinople, and three other issued under Heraclius in Constantinople; Popović 1980:248; Avramea 1983:58; Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou 1986:349.

195. 613-629 UDEȘTI, Suceava district, Romania; 3 AV; Rădulescu 1977:49; Butnariu 1983-1985:231.

196. 615-629 BARTYM, Ber'ozovka county, Perm district, Russia; found in 1950, in a Sassanid silver kettle; 264 AR; Kazamanova 1957; Kropotkin 1962:26 no. 69.

197. 615-629 SHESTAKOVO, Suksun county, Perm region, Russia; found in 1851, together with silver and gold jewels; 24 AR, including eleven Sassanid issues, two coins issued in Bactria, and eleven Byzantine coins; Mosser 1935:65; Kropotkin 1962:26 no. 70.

630-640

198. 630-641. MAISTROV, Solone county, Zaporozhzhia district, Ukraine; only one golden coin was preserved; Kropotkin 1962:31-32.

199. 630/1 SOLIN, Split district, Croatia (=Salona); found during the 1976 excavations in "Voljak" factory's yard, in the eastern part of the ancient city; 51 AE; Marović 1984.

DATE	CON	TES	NIK	KYZ	ANT	TOTAL
527-538		I				I
554/5		I				I
561/2		I				I
566/7	M					M
567/8				K		K
568/9			K			K
569/70			3K	2M		2M3K
572/3	M					M
573/4	M		M			2M
574/5			K			K
583/4		K			M	M K
584/5			K			K
585/6	2M					2M
586/7			M			M
587/8			M			M
589/90					M	M
590/1			M			M
592/3			M			M
593/4			K			K
604/5	M		M	M		3M
607/8	M					M
612/3	2M					2M
614/5	M					M
630/1		K				K
TOTAL	10M	2K 3I	7K	8M	M K	2M 21M10K3I

200. MAKUKHIVKA, Poltava district and region, Ukraine; gold objects found together with one single gold coin of Heraclius and his sons; Kropotkin 1962:178.

201. 641 HUNGARY (unknown location, but known as "VĂDAȘ, Neaua county, Mureș district, Romania"); 52 AR and 6 AV; Butnariu 1983-1985:231; Kiss 1986:121.

202. 641-662 OBARȘENI, Voinești county, Vaslui district, Romania; found in 1945; 34 AE; Dimian 1957:196; Butnariu

1983-1985:230.

203. 659-668 DRĂGĂȘANI (surrounding area), Vâlcea district, Romania; AR; Butnariu 1983-1985:230.

204. 668/9 ZEMIAŇSKÝ VRBOVOK, Stredoslovenský district, Slovakia; found together with silver objects, including earrings with star-shaped pendant; 19 AR; Radomersky 1953; Huszár 1955:103; Butnariu 1983-1985:231; Fiala 1986.

205. 660-670 KRNOV, Severomorávský district, Slovakia; Popović 1980:252 n. 89.

206. 660-670 STEJANOVCI, Sremska Mitrovica district, Serbia; AR; Popović 1980:252 n. 89.

207. ca. 668 NEREŽIŠĆE, Brač district, Croatia; found in 1919; only 7 AV were preserved; Bulić 1920; Marović 1984:302.

208. 668-673 VALEA TEILOR, Izvoarele county, Tulcea district, Romania; 2 AR, probably part of a larger hoard; Oberländer-Târnoveanu 1980:163-164.

209. 669-673 SUKKO, Anapa county, Krasnodar district, Russia; found in 1955; 20 pieces, but only 3 solidi of Constans II, two solidi and two hexagrams of Constantine IV were preserved; Kropotkin 1962:22 no. 26; Golenko 1965; Kropotkin 1965:168; Yannopoulos 1978:106.

210. 668-685 SILISTRA, Bulgaria; found in 1986, during occasional excavations on "Komsomolski" avenue; 3 AR, together with 21 silver ear-rings and two silver rings; Angelova and Penchev 1989:40.

211. 668-685 PIUA PETRII, nowadays in Giurgeni, Ialomița district, Romania; AR; Yannopoulos 1978:105.

212. 668/685 VÂRTOP, Dolj district, România; found in 1939 (coins being scattered); 2 AR; Mitrea 1977:380-381; Chiriac 1991:374.

670-680

213. 674-681 GALAȚI, Romania; found in 1946, together with potsherds; 12 AR; Dimian 1957:196-197; Butnariu 1983-1985:230.

214. 674-681 PRISEACA, Olt district, Romania; found in 1965, in a ceramic pot, together with two fragmentary

silver ear-rings with star-shaped pendant; 141 AR; Butoi 1968; Mitrea 1975:113-118, 121-122, and 124; Butnariu 1983-1985:230.

215. 674-681 SOFIA (surrounding area), Bulgaria; found in 1967; only 3 AV were preserved, one being issued under Constans II, Constantine IV, Heraclius, and Tiberius, another one under Constans II and Constantine IV, and the third one under Constantine IV; Gerasimov 1969:234.

216. 681/5 NESEBĀR, Burgas district, Bulgaria (=Messembria); found in September 1947, in the yard of the church "St. George Malki"; 9 AV; Gerasimov 1950:321; Iurukova 1966:227; Iurukova 1980.

217. 689/90 NESEBĀR, Burgas district, Bulgaria (=Messembria); found in 1979 or 1980, during levelling excavations; only 8 AE were preserved, including 6 folles issued by Constans II (one in 655/6, one in 655/6 or 656/7, and four in 666-668), one piece of 10 nummia issued by Constantine IV (674-685) and a half-follis issued by Justinian II in 689/90; Penchev 1991.

218. 685-695 HELLMONSÖDT, Urfahr district, Austria; 4 AE; Hahn 1987:459.

219. 685-695 NOVA NADEZHDA (former Gerdina, Kniagina Nadezhda, and Nadezhda), Haskovo district, Bulgaria; 50-60 AE; Gerasimov 1950:322; Iurukova 1969:262.

Appendix C

Stray Finds of Sixth- and Seventh-Century Byzantine Coins in *Barbaricum* (Eastern Europe)

The following list of stray finds is compiled from Huszár 1955; Kropotkin 1962; Kropotkin 1965; Gassowska 1979; Butnariu 1983-1985; Kos 1986; Fiala 1989; Stoliarik 1992b, with additions.

I. Copper (AE):

Anastasius

Date	Value (in <i>nummia</i>)	Location	Country
491-518	40	Budăi, Vulcănești district	Moldova
	40	Olănești, Ștefan Vodă district	Moldova
	40	Slobozia Mare, Vulcănești district	Moldova
	40	Cocioc-Periș, Ilfov district	Romania
	40	Gherla, Cluj district	Romania
	40	Orlea, Olt district	Romania
	40	Popovicieni-Goicea Mică, Dolj district	Romania
	40	Križna Gora, Cerknica district	Slovenia
	40	Ptuj	Slovenia
	40	Šempeter, Žalec district	Slovenia
	40	Kiev-Kyselivka	Ukraine
	20	Dorobanți, Arad district	Romania
	20	Stârci-Costești, Argeș district	Romania
	20	Novosel'skoe-Reni, Odessa region	Ukraine
	10	Vadul lui Isac, Vulcănești district	Moldova
		Vinogradnoe-Goloprstan, Kherson region	Ukraine
		Zaim, Căușani district	Moldova
		Zmeinyyi Island	Ukraine
		Kherson	Ukraine
		unknown	Moldova

Justin I

Date	Value (in <i>nummia</i>)	Location	Country
518-527	40	Manta, Vulcănești district	Moldova
	40	Trebujeni, Orhei district	Moldova
	40	Bacău	Romania
	40	Cârja-Murgeni, Vaslui district	Romania
	40	Drăgoiești, Suceava district	Romania

Date	Value (in nummia)	Location	Country
518-527	40	Ghindeni-Malu Mare, Dolj district	Romania
	40	Orlea, Olt district	Romania
	40	Panciu, Vrancea district	Romania
	40	Plumbuita-Tămădău, Călărași district	Romania
	40	Răcari-Brădești, Dolj district	Romania
	40	Sărățeni-Murgeni, Vaslui district	Romania
	40	Țânțăreni, Gorj district	Romania
	40	Bratislava	Slovakia
	40	Šempeter, Žalec district	Slovenia
	20	Șerpeni, Anenii Noi district	Moldova
	20	Bucharest (G-ral Ștefănescu Street)	Romania
	20	Oțeleni-Deleni, Vaslui district	Romania
	20	Răcari-Brădești, Dolj district	Romania
	20	Ulmeni, Călărași district	Romania
	20	Ochakiv, Mykolaiv region	Ukraine
	10	Răcari-Brădești, Dolj district	Romania
	10	Zmeinyi Island	Ukraine
	5	Pojejena, Caraș-Severin district	Romania
	5	Bratislava	Slovakia
	5	Dobrohošt', Dunajská Streda district	Slovakia
	5	Štúrovo, Nové Zámky district	Slovakia
		Szentendre, Pest district	Hungary
		Łódź	Poland
		Alimănești-Izvoarele, Olt district	Romania
		Neajlovu-Clejani, Giurgiu district	Romania
		Pitești	Romania
		Rădăuți, Suceava district	Romania
		Șuțesti, Brăila district	Romania
		Astrakhan	Russia
		Ust'-Karama, near Markov, Saratov region	Russia
		Kichkas, Zaporizhzhia region	Ukraine
		Krasnopolka-Uman, Cherkassy region	Ukraine
		Prizernoe-Prymorsk'yi, Crimea	Ukraine
		Suuk Su-Bakhchisarai, Crimea	Ukraine

Justinian

Date	Value (in <i>nummia</i>)	Location	Country
527-565	40	Deszk, Csongrád district	Hungary
527-565	40	Hódmezővásárhely, Csongrád district	Hungary
539/40	40	Razas, Ogr' district	Latvia
539/40	40	Colibași, Vulcănești district	Moldova
539/40	40	Fuzăuca, Rezina district	Moldova
539/40	40	Lopatna, Orhei district	Moldova
542/3	40	Colibași, Vulcănești district	Moldova
554/5	40	Korotnoe, Slobozia district	Moldova
527-565	40	Delacău, Grigoriopol district	Moldova
527-565	40	Hagimus, Tighina district	Moldova
527-565	40	Popești, Râbnita district	Moldova
527-538	40	Botoșana, Suceava district (two specimens)	Romania
527-538	40	Bucharest-Piața de Flori	Romania
527-538	40	Bucharest (Șelari Street)	Romania
527-538	40	Bucharest-Străulești	Romania
527-538	40	Găești, Dâmbovița district (four specimens)	Romania
527-538	40	Orlea, Olt district	Romania
527-538	40	Ulmeni, Călărași district (two specimens)	Romania
537-539	40	Horga-Epureni, Vaslui district	Romania
537-539	40	Ulmeni, Călărași district	Romania
538/9	40	Orlea, Olt district	Romania
539/40	40	Bucharest-Fundeni	Romania
539/40	40	Otopeni, Ilfov district	Romania
539/40	40	Romanați district	Romania
540/1	40	Novaci, Giurgiu district	Romania
540/1	40	Țigănești, Teleorman district	Romania
541/2	40	Dumitrești Gălății-Schitu Duca Iași district	Romania
541/2	40	Ghindeni-Malu Mare, Dolj district	Romania
541/2	40	Huși, Vaslui district	Romania
541/2	40	Ostrovu Mare-Gogoșu, Mehedinți district	Romania
541/2	40	Țibucanii de Sus, Neamț district	Romania
541/2	40	Uroi-Simeria, Hunedoara district	Romania
542/3	40	Perișor, Dolj district	Romania
543/4	40	Dobrun, Olt district	Romania
543/4	40	Timișoara	Romania
544/5	40	Uricani-Miroslava, Iași district	Romania
547/8	40	Stâncești-Mihai Eminescu, Botoșani district	Romania
554/5	40	Mârșani, Dolj district	Romania
554/5	40	Rojiște-Bratovoști, Dolj district	Romania

Date	Value (in <i>nummia</i>)	Location	Country
555/6	40	Conțești, Teleorman district	Romania
556/7	40	Ghindeni-Malu Mare, Dolj district	Romania
556/7	40	Sebeș, Alba district	Romania
540/1	40	Šentjur, Šentjur pri Celje district	Slovenia
538-552	40	Šempeter, Žalec district	Slovenia
538/9	40	Maiaki-Biliaivka, Odessa region	Ukraine
539/40	40	Zolotonosha, Cherkassy region	Ukraine
541/2	40	Kherson	Ukraine
542/3	40	Bilhorod-Dnistrovskyi, Odessa region	Ukraine
548/9	40	Mel'niki-Chigirin, Cherkassy region	Ukraine
538/9	20	Câmpeni, Vulcănești district (two specimens)	Moldova
538/9	20	Colibași, Vulcănești district	Moldova
540/1	20	Băiceni-Mănăstirea Doamnei, Botoșani district	Romania
540/1	20	Bucharest-Străulești	Romania
555/6	20	Orlea, Olt district	Romania
538/9	20	Vasil'evka-Kiliia, Odessa region	Ukraine
527-565	12	Bratei, Sibiu district	Romania
527-565	12	Poiana-Dulcești, Iași district	Romania
552/3		Celje	Slovenia
562/3		Celje	Slovenia
527-565	10	Parutyne-Ochakiv, Mykolaiv district	Ukraine
556/7	5	Plumbuita-Tămădău, Călărași district	Romania
556/7	5	Ulmeni, Călărași district	Romania
527-562	5	Reșca-Dobrosloveni, Olt district	Romania
527-565	5	Tg. Ocna, Bacău district	Romania
527-565		Burlăceni, Vulcănești district	Moldova
		Colibași, Vulcănești district	Moldova
		Biecz, Krosno district	Poland
		Dukla, Krosno district	Poland
		Przemyśl	Poland
		Arad (three specimens)	Romania
		Bacău	Romania
		Bucharest-Blănari	Romania
		Bucharest-Dămăroaia	Romania
		Bucharest-C. C. S. Theater	Romania
		Dorohoi, Botoșani district	Romania
		Fălticeni, Suceava district	Romania
		Leu, Dolj district	Romania
		Livezeni-Stâlpeni, Argeș district	Romania
		Orșova, Mehedinți district	Romania
		Piatra Neamț, Neamț district	Romania
		Pitești, Argeș district	Romania

Date	Value (in <i>nummia</i>)	Location	Country
527-565		Piua Petrii, in Giurgeni, Ialomița district (four specimens)	Romania
		Răcari-Brădești, Dolj district (two specimens)	Romania
		Sănnicolau Mare, Timiș district	Romania
		Șerbănești-Zvoriștea, Suceava district	Romania
		Tecuci, Galați district	Romania
		Vaslui	Romania
		Vol'sk, Saratov region	Russia
		Volgograd	Russia
		Vipava, Sežana district	Slovenia
		Fursy-Belocerkva, Kiev region	Ukraine
		Chufut Kale-Bakhchisarai, Crimea (two specimens)	Ukraine
		Kiev-Kyselivka	Ukraine
		Ochakiv, Mykolaiv region	Ukraine
		Pervomais'ke, Mykolaiv region	Ukraine
		Shabo-Bilhorod-Dnistrovskiy, Odessa region	Ukraine
		Suuk Su-Bakhchisarai, Crimeea	Ukraine
		Vilkovo-Kiliia, Odessa region	Ukraine
		Zmeinyi Island	Ukraine
		unknown	Moldova
		unknown ("Oltenia")	Romania

Justin II

Date	Value (in <i>nummia</i>)	Location	Country
570/1	40	Leont'evo, Ștefan Vodă district	Moldova
5701/	40	Odaia, Rezina district	Moldova
565/6	40	unknown ("Transylvania")	Romania
566/7	40	Bucharest-National Stadium	Romania
567/8	40	Orșova, Mehedinți district	Romania
568/9	40	Calafat, Dolj district	Romania
568/9	40	Giurgiu, Dolj district	Romania
568/9	40	Lăceni-Orbeasca, Teleorman district	Romania
569/70	40	Budureasca-Fântânele, Prahova district	Romania
569/70	40	Dobrușa-Zlătărei, Vâlcea district	Romania

Date	Value (in <i>nummia</i>)	Location	Country
569/70	40	Râureni, in Râmnicu Vâlcea, Vâlcea district	Romania
569/70	40	Sebeş, Alba district	Romania
570/1	40	Arad	Romania
570/1	40	Corni, Botoşani district	Romania
570/1	40	Ulmeni, Călăraşi district	Romania
571/2	40	Orşova, Mehedinţi district	Romania
573/4	40	Vameş-Piscu, Galaţi district	Romania
574/5	40	Bacău	Romania
574/5	40	Ghindeni-Malu Mare, Dolj district	Romania
574/5	40	Giarmata, Timiş district	Romania
574/5	40	Putna-Baloteşti, Vaslui district	Romania
574/5	40	Ulmeni, Călăraşi district	Romania
576/7	40	Balta Verde-Gogoşu, Mehedinţi district	Romania
576/7	40	Fălciu, Vaslui district	Romania
576/7	40	Cernat, Covasna district	Romania
565-578	40	Câmpulung, Argeş district	Romania
565-578	40	Bratislava	Slovakia
565-578	40	Štúrovo, Nové Zámky district	Slovakia
574/5	40	Šempeter, Žalec district	Slovenia
576/7	40	Bolhrad, Odessa region	Ukraine
576/7	20	Sălcuţa, Căuşani district	Moldova
566/7	20	Ghindeni-Malu Mare, Dolj district (two specimens)	Romania
568/9	20	Orlea, Olt district	Romania
569/70	20	Horga-Epurenii, Vaslui district	Romania
569/70	20	Oţeleni-Deleni, Vaslui district	Romania
574/5	20	Cucorăni-Mihai Eminescu Botoşani district	Romania
576/7	20	Giurgiu, Dolj district	Romania
565-578	20	Bratislava	Slovakia
574/5	20	Celje	Slovenia
565-578		Zagreb	Croatia
		Sulejów, Piotrków Trybunalski district	Poland
		Huşi, Vaslui district	Romania
		Piteşti, Argeş district	Romania
		Valea Stanciului, Dolj district	Romania
		Chernomorka-Bilaivka, Odessa region	Ukraine
		Parutyne-Ochakiv, Mykolaiv region	Ukraine
		Zatoka-Bilhorod Dnistrovskyi, Odessa region	Ukraine

Date	Value (in <i>nummia</i>)	Location	Country
565-578		unknown unknown ("Oltenia")	Moldova Romania

Tiberius II

Date	Value (in <i>nummia</i>)	Location	Country
580/1	40	Sebeș, Alba district	Romania
578/9	20	Giurgiuța, Dolj district	Romania
578-582		Banului Island, Dolj district unknown ("Transylvania")	Romania Romania

Maurice

Date	Value (in <i>nummia</i>)	Location	Country
589/90	40	Vășcăuți, Orhei district	Moldova
583/4	40	Popovicieni-Goicea Mică, district Dolj	Romania
588/9	40	Gherla, Cluj district	Romania
588/9	40	Zimnicea, Teleorman district	Romania
593/4	40	Prundu, Giurgiu district	Romania
596/7	40	Ostrovu Mare-Gogoșu, Mehedinți district	Romania
599/600	40	Bacău	Romania
589/90	40	Vasil'evka-Kiliia, Odessa region	Ukraine
582-602	40	Kerch	Ukraine
582-602	40	Skalistoe-Bakhchisarai, Crimea	Ukraine
582-602	40	Suuk Su-Bakhchisarai, Crimea	Ukraine
582-602	40	Volos'ke, Dnepropetrovsk region	Ukraine
582/3	20	Orlea, Olt district	Romania
582/3	20	Popești-Mihăilești, Ilfov district	Romania
584/5	20	Shevchenkovo-Kiliia, Odessa region	Ukraine
582-602	20	Pavlovka-Arcyz, Odessa region	Ukraine
582-602		Oituz, Bacău district	Romania
		Cherepiny, near Korsun'-Shevchenkovs'kyi, Cherkassy region	Ukraine

Date	Value (in nummia)	Location	Country
		Kerch	Ukraine
		Koreiz-Bakhchisarai, Crimea	Ukraine
		Laspi-Kuibysheve, Crimea	Ukraine
		Novo-Bobrovka, near Kuibysheve, Crimea	Ukraine
		Zolotonosha, Cherkassy region	Ukraine

Phocas

Date	Value (in nummia)	Location	Country
602-610	40	Kerch	Ukraine
602/3	20	Mircești-Tăcuta, Vaslui district	Romania
603/4	20	Grumezoaia-Dimitrie Cantemir, Vaslui district	Romania
602-610	20	Cioroiu Nou-Cioroiși, Dolj district	Romania
602-610	20	Oțeleni-Deleni, Vaslui district	Romania
602-610		Trubaevka, Vulcănești district	Moldova
		Argetoaia, Dolj district	Romania
		Cioroiășu-Fălcoiu, Dolj district	Romania
		Pitești, Argeș district	Romania
		Răcari-Brădești, Dolj district	Romania
		Salcia-Umbrărești, Galați district	Romania
		Țânțăreni, Gorj district	Romania

Heraclius

Date	Value (in nummia)	Location	Country
620/1	40	Alcedar, Rezina district	Moldova
612/3	40	Almăj, Dolj district	Romania
612/3	40	Comănești, Bacău district	Romania
612/3	40	Craiova, Dolj district	Romania
619/20	40	Comănești, Bacău district	Romania
614-17	40	Migiia-Pervomais'ke, Mykolaiv region	Ukraine
610-641	40	Maribor	Slovenia

Date	Value (in <i>nummia</i>)	Location	Country
610-641	40	Ptuj	Slovenia
610-641	40	Šempeter, Žalec district	Slovenia
610-641	40	Zmeinyi Island	Ukraine
610-641		Dorohoi, Botoșani district	Romania
		Fălticeni, Suceava district	Romania
		Huși, Vaslui district	Romania
		Oltenița, Călărași district	Romania
		Pitești, Argeș district	Romania
		Tecuci, Galați district	Romania
		Vaslui	Romania
		Snetogorskii monastyr', Pskov region	Russia
		Horné Saliby, Galanta district	Slovakia
		unknown ("Oltenia")	Romania

Constans II

Date	Value (in <i>nummia</i>)	Location	Country
649-59	20	Novaci, Giurgiu district	Romania
641-668		Pinsk, Brest region	Belarus

Constantine IV

Date	Value (in <i>nummia</i>)	Location	Country
668/9	40	Nizhniaia Duvanka, Voroshylivhrad region	Ukraine

II. Silver (AR):

Anastasius (491-518)
Szöreg, Csongrád district (Hungary)

Justinian (527-565)
 Chełm (Poland)
 Rabka, Nowy Sacz district (Poland; two specimens)

Heraclius (610-641)
 Szadzko, Szczecin district (Poland)
 Sânnicolau Mare, Timiș district (Romania)
 Chufut Kale-Bakhchisarai, Crimea (Ukraine)
 Marazlievka-Tatarbunary, Odessa region (Ukraine)

Constantine IV (665-681)
 Piua Petrii-Giurgeni, Ialomița district (Romania;
 two specimens)
 Scurta-Orbeni, Bacău district (Romania)

III. Gold (AV)

Anastasius (491-518)
 Kiszombor, Csongrád district (Hungary)
 Engure, Tukum district (Latvia)
 Smetówko, Gdańsk district (Poland)
 Craiova, Dolj district (Romania)
 Jakovo, Belgrade district (Serbia)
 Ljubljana (Slovenia)
 Mokronog, Trebnje district (Slovenia)
 Študen, Ajdovščina district (Slovenia)
 Trbinc, Trebnje district (Slovenia)

Justin I (518-527)
 Szentendre, Pest district (Hungary)
 Hódmezővásárhely, Csongrád district (Hungary)
 Vădastrița, Olt district (Romania)

Justinian (527-565)
 Dated 527-545:
 Predloka, Koper district (Slovenia)

 Dated 538-545:
 Reșca-Dobrosloveni, Olt district (Romania)
 Valea Voievozilor-Răzvad, Dâmbovița district
 (Romania)
 Ilirska Bistrica (Slovenia)
 Svete Gore, Sevnica district (Slovenia)
 Šentjur, Šentjur pri Celje district (Slovenia)

 Dated 545-565
 Săbed-Ceuașu de Câmpie, Mureș district (Romania)
 Unknown location ("Oltenia") (Romania)

 Dated. 555-565

Șomcuta Mare, Maramureș district (Romania)

No date:

Kunágota, Békés district (Hungary)

Apalina, in Reghin, Mureș district (Romania)

Borolea-Hănești, Botoșani district (Romania)

Buzău (Romania)

Cetea-Galda de Jos, Alba district (Romania)

Găești, Dâmbovița district (Romania)

Iași (Romania)

Măgura-Mihăilești, Vâlcea district (Romania)

Ohaba-Jiu, near Bolboși, Gorj district (Romania)

Sângeorgiu de Câmpie-Sâmpetru de Câmpie, Mureș district (Romania)

Stolniceni, Vâlcea district (Romania)

Vețel, in Deva, Hunedoara district (Romania)

Bočar, Kikinda district (Serbia)

Obišovce, Košice district (Slovakia)

Ilirska Bistrica (Slovenia; two specimens)

Aleshinkie Khutora, near Tsiurupynsk'e, Kherson region (Ukraine)

Artek-Bakhchisarai, Crimea (Ukraine)

Gorodenka, Ivano-Frankyvs'ke region (Ukraine)

Kapustincy-Zbarazh, Ternopol' region (Ukraine)

Kelegeiskie Khutor, near Goloprstan, Kherson region (Ukraine)

Kerch (Ukraine)

Kichkas, Zaporizhzhia region (Ukraine)

Starosel'e-Bakhchisarai, Crimea (Ukraine)

Topolevka-Staryi Krym, Crimea (Ukraine)

Unknown ("Transylvania"; two specimens)(Romania)

Justin II (565-578)

Mănăstirea, Călărași district (Romania)

Șpălnaca-Hopârta, Alba district (Romania)

Unknown location ("Transylvania")(Romania)

Unknown location (Slovenia)

Tiberius II (578-582)

Békécsába, Békés district (Hungary)

Alba Iulia (Romania)

Maurice (582-602)

Nyíregyháza, Szabolcs-Szátmar district (Hungary)

Szegvár, Csongrád district (Hungary)

Domnești, Ilfov district (Romania)

Hoghiz-Ungra, Brașov district (Romania)

Ptuj (Slovenia)

Malo Pereshchepino, Poltava region

(two specimens)(Ukraine)

Taushan Bazar-Feodosiia, Crimea (Ukraine)

Unknown (Mureş district)(Romania)

Phocas (602-610)

Kiszombor, Csongrád district (Hungary)
 Pécs, Baranya district (Hungary)
 Szentendre, Pest district (Hungary)
 Alba Iulia (Romania)
 Cruşiţa-Sicheviţa, Mehedinţi district (Romania)
 Voiniceni-Ceuaşu de Câmpie, Mureş district (Romania)

Heraclius (610-641)

Mezőbény, Békés district (Hungary)
 Szentes, Csongrád district (Hungary)
 Tudora, Ştefan Vodă district (Moldova)
 Zólków, Krosno district (Poland)
 Alexandria, Teleorman district (Romania)
 Kristur, Kikinda district (Serbia)
 Boštanj (Slovenia)
 Savci (Slovenia)
 Kelegeiskie Khutor, near Goloprstan, Kherson
 region (Ukraine)
 Maistrov-Solone, Zaporizhzhia region (Ukraine)
 Malo Pereshchepino, Poltava region
 (six specimens)(Ukraine)
 Pampuk-Kaia, near Kuibysheve, Crimea (Ukraine)
 Rivne-Novoukrainka, Kirovograd region (Ukraine)
 Unknown location ("Torontal-Sighet")(Serbia)

Constans II (641-668)

Szeged, Csongrád district (Hungary)
 Carani, Timiş district (Romania)
 Orţişoara, Timiş district (Romania)
 Unknown location ("Torontal-Sighet")(Serbia)
 Kelegeiskie Khutor, near Goloprstan, Kherson
 region (Ukraine)
 Kupianskaia uezd, Kharkov region (Ukraine)
 Malo Pereshchepino, Poltava region
 (18 specimens)(Ukraine)
 Zachevilovki-Novî Sanzhary, Poltava region
 (two specimens)(Ukraine)
 Unknown location (Dnepropetrovsk region)(Ukraine)

Constantine IV (668-681)

Tótipusztá-Ozora, Fécser district (Hungary)
 Szeged, Csongrád district (Hungary)
 Orţişoara, Timiş district (Romania)
 Sânpetru German-Secusigiu, Arad district (Romania)
 Şeitin, Arad district (Romania)
 Romanovskaia stanica-Romanov, Rostov region (Russia)
 Serpovoe-Morshansk, Tambov region (Russia)

Unknown location ("Torontal-Sighet")(Serbia)
Arshyncevo, Crimea (Ukraine)
Dzhankoi, near Kerch (Ukraine)
Kerch (Ukraine)
Uiotnoe-Sudak, Crimea (Ukraine)

Appendix D
'Slavic' Bow Fibulae in Eastern Europe

In the following catalogue, sites are followed by a brief description of the archaeological context and by the metal composition of the artifact. All measurements are given in centimeters. Specimens found in pairs are listed separately.

I. Werner's Class I D

1. Bashtanovka, Bakhchisaray district, Crimea (Ukraine); stray find; Aibabin 1990:199 fig. 20/3.
2. Băleni-Români, Băleni county, Dâmbovița district (Romania); settlement find; bronze; L=5.5; Teodor 1992:137 no. 1.
3. Bergama (=Pergamon) (Turkey); stray find; Kühn 1956:93-94 and pl. XXIII/II.35.
4. Bratei, Sibiu district (Romania); found in the inhumation burial no. 149; bronze; Teodor 1992:138 no. 1.
5. Bratei, Sibiu district (Romania); found in the inhumation burial no. 211, together with another bow fibula; bronze; L=6.5; Teodor 1992:137 no. 2.
6. Bratei, Sibiu district (Romania); found in the inhumation burial no. 255, together with a wheel-made, undecorated pot, and an identical fibula; bronze; L=6.1; Teodor 1992:137 no. 2; Eugenia Zaharia, personal communication, 1992.
7. Bratei, Sibiu district (Romania); found in the inhumation burial no. 255, together with a wheel-made, undecorated pot, and an identical fibula; bronze; Eugenia Zaharia, personal communication, 1992.
8. Brebeni, Olt district (Romania); stray find; bronze; L=6.7; Butoi 1970:434-435 and fig. 1; Teodor 1992:137 no. 3 and 145 fig. 4/4.
9. Bucharest-Dămăroaia (Romania); found in a sunken building, together with wheel- and hand-made pottery; bronze; L=3.3; Rosetti 1934:21-22 and 27 fig. 1/9; Werner 1950:155 and fig. 3; Morintz and Rosetti 1959:33-34 and pl. XXXI/6; Teodorescu 1972:74 and 78 fig. 2/4; Teodor 1992:137 no. 5 and 146 fig. 5/4.

10. Budureasca, Fântânele county, Prahova district (Romania); settlement find; bronze; L=4.95; Teodorescu and Penes 1984:47 fig. 22/2; Teodor 1992:138 no. 3 and 147 fig. 6/3.
11. Căscioarele, Călărași district (Romania); stray find; bronze; L=6.5; Comșa and Ionescu 1960:419-420 and fig. 1; Teodorescu 1972:86 fig. 7/2; Teodor 1992:137 no. 6 and 146 fig. 5/2.
12. Căzănești, Buleta county, Vâlcea district (Romania); stray find; bronze; L=6.5; Petre-Govora 1967:185-186 and fig. 1; Teodor 1992:137 no. 4 and 145 fig. 4/5.
13. Drobeta Turnu-Severin, Mehedinți district (Romania); stray find; bronze; L=3.7; Davidescu 1980:218 and 217 fig. c; Teodor 1992:137 no. 7 and 146 fig. 5/7.
14. Drobeta Turnu-Severin, Mehedinți district (Romania); stray find; L=5.0; Teodor 1992:145 fig. 7/5.
15. Edessa, Macedonia (Greece); found in an inhumation burial, together with an identical bow fibula, a buckle of the Syracuse class, and a knife; Petsas 1969:307 and fig. 320/ε; Popović 1980:237 and 235 fig. 1; Pallas 1981:298 and fig. 4; Gounaris 1984:52 and 55 fig. 1.
16. Edessa, Macedonia (Greece); see no. 15; Petsas 1969:307 and fig. 320/η; Pallas 1981:298 and fig. 4.
17. Fărcașu de Sus, Fărcașele county, Olt district (Romania); stray find; L=6.5; Nica 1970:327-329 and fig. 1; Teodor 1992:137 no. 8 and 146 fig. 5/1.
18. Garvăn, Jijila county, Tulcea district (=Dinogetia)(Romania); found in the early Byzantine fort; bronze; L=7.3; Ștefan et al. 1960:632-633 and 633 fig. 7; Nestor 1961:440 and 444 fig. 3/1 a-b; Teodor 1992:138 no. 9 (where L=7.1) and 145 fig. 4/8.
19. Hansca, Ialoveni district (Moldavia); found in the sunken building no. 14, together with hand-made pottery; bronze; L=5.4; Rikman, Rafalovich and Hynku 1971:65 and 64 fig. 9/1; Rafalovich 1972c:32-33, 196-197 and 32 fig. 2, 33 fig. 3/1; Teodor 1992:138 (where L=5.9) and 147 fig. 6/2.
20. Iași (Romania); found in the sunken building no. 1, together with hand-made potsherds and a bone awl; bronze; L=7.3; Teodor 1969b:268 fig. 9/1; Teodor 1969a:202 fig. 16/5; Teodor 197a1:120 and 127 fig. 3/2; Teodor 1972b:38

fig. 6/5; Teodor 1973:206 fig. 3/2; Teodor 1978:41, fig. 13/5 and fig. 15/4; Teodor 1979:817 and 821 fig. 3/2; Teodor 1992:138 no. 10 and 146 fig. 5/8.

21. Izvoarele, Gruia county, Mehedinți district (Romania); stray find; bronze; L=6.4; Davidescu 1980:218 and 217 fig. b; Teodor 1992:138 no. 11 and 145 fig. 4/6.

22. Kanev, Cherkassy region (Ukraine); stray find; Werner 1950:155 and fig. 31/54.

23. Khersones, near Sevastopol', Crimea (=Chersonesus) (Ukraine); stray find; Aibabin 1990:199 fig. 20/7.

24. Kielary (former Kellaren), Olsztyn district (Poland); bronze; L=6.2; Kühn 1956:90 and pl. XXII/II.36; Kühn 1981:185 no. 264 and pl. 42/264.

25. Kielary (former Kellaren), Olsztyn district (Poland); found in the cremation burial no. 85, together with a buckle and a strap-end; bronze; L=6.3; Kühn 1956:90 and pl. XXII/II.9; Kühn 1981:183 no. 259 and pl. 41/259.

26. Luchistoe, Bakhchisaray district, Crimea (Ukraine); found in the burial chamber no. 10, skeleton no. 2, together with a bow fibula (Werner I G), a bow fibula with trapezoidal head-plate and elongated foot-plate, and a buckle with eagle-head-plate decorated with scrollwork; bronze; L= 5.2; Aibabin 1990:22 and 199 fig. 20/6.

27. Mietkie (former Mingfen), Szczytno district (Poland); found in the cremation burial no. 424, together with a bow fibula with scrollwork decoration; bronze; L=6.3; Kühn 1956:90 and pl. XXII/II.7; Kühn 1981:229 no. 344 and pl. 54/344.

28. Miroslăvești, Iași district (Romania); stray find; bronze; L=6.0; Teodor 1992:138 no. 12 and 145 fig. 4/3.

29. Negulești, Dealu Morii county, Bacău district (Romania); stray find; bronze; L=4.1; Mitrea 1986-1987:261 and 263 fig. 1; Teodor 1992, 138 no. 14 (where L=4.2) and 145 fig. 4/2.

30. Pastyrs'ke, Smila county, Cherkassy region (Ukraine); bronze; L=6.2; Åberg 1919:74 fig. 77; Werner 1950:153 and pl. 29/25; Kühn 1956:90 and pl. XXI/II.5; Dovzhenok et al. 1975:104 fig. 23/1; Prihodniuk 1994:70 and fig. 7/6.

31. Plenița, Dolj district (Romania); stray find; bronze; L=7.9; Plopșor 1925:49-50 and fig. 1; Berciu 1939:232 no.

5 and fig. 289/1; Werner 1950:153 and pl. 29/25; Teodor 1992:138 no. 16 (where L=8.0) and 145 fig. 4/1.

32. Plovdiv (=Philippopolis)(Bulgaria); found in the early Byzantine city; bronze; Kharalambieva 1993:29 and fig. 4/4.

33. Province of Kiev (Ukraine); Werner 1950:153 no. 27 and pl. 29/27.

34. Pruneni (former Clociti), Zărnești county, Buzău district (Romania); found in an inhumation burial, together with another bow fibula (Werner I H) and a comb; Comșa 1972:15; Comșa 1973:210; Fiedler 1992:100.

35. Sărata Monteoru, Merei county, Buzău district (Romania); found in the cremation burial no. 140, together with a small brooch with three knobs; bronze; L=7.5; Teodor 197b2:38 fig. 6/8; Fiedler 1992:81-82; Teodor 1992:138 and 148 fig. 7/2 (where L=6.4).

36. Sărata Monteoru, Merei county, Buzău district (Romania); pewter?; L=2.1; n.a. 1955b:511 and 510 fig. 11/3; Fiedler 1992:83 fig. 11/10 (who wrongly ascribed the brooch to grave no. 710); Teodor 1992:138 (where L=2.8) and 148 fig. 7/6.

37. Sărata Monteoru, Merei county, Buzău district (Romania); found in the cremation burial no. 1160; bronze; Nestor and Zaharia 1960:511 fig. 1/3; Fiedler 1992:83 fig. 11/12; Teodor 1992:138 and 147 fig. 6/11.

38. Skalistoe, Bakhchisaray district, Crimea (Ukraine); found in the burial chamber no. 279, together with a buckle, a *phylacterion*, a silver cross with glass inlay and 86 glass beads; bronze; L=2.6; Aibabin 1990:199 fig. 20/5; Veimarn and Aibabin 1993:52-53 and 51 fig. 31/28.

39. Smolanka (former Landskron), Bartoszyce district (Poland); found in the cremation burial no. 66; bronze; L=6.3; Kühn 1956:90 and pl. XXII/II.8; Kühn 1981:194 and pl. 45/281.

40. Tumiany (former Daumen), Olsztyn district (Poland); found in the cremation burial no. 26/1969 (child burial), together with an identical fibula; bronze; L=7.1; Dąbrowski 1975b:267 and 278 fig. 16.

41. Tumiany (former Daumen), Olsztyn district (Poland); see no. 40; Dąbrowski 1975b 267 and 278 fig. 16.

42. Tumiany (former Daumen), Olsztyn district (Poland); found in the cremation burial no. 30, together with a silver pendant, bronze belt fittings, and glass beads; gilded silver; L=7.8; Åberg 1919:74 fig. 76; Salin 1935:55 and 57 fig. 126; Werner 1950:153 no. 28 and p. 29/28; Kühn 1956:90 and pl. XXI/II.6; Gurevich 1960:400 and 402 fig. 61/4; Kudlaček 1964:13 and pl. V/10; Odoj 1968:138-139 and 140 fig. 15; Kühn 1981:105-106 and pl. 18/112.
43. Tumiany (former Daumen), Olsztyn district (Poland); found in the cremation burial no. 46/1970 (female burial), together with a bow fibula with three knobs; bronze; L=6.5; Jaskanis and Kachinski 1981:47 no. 47 and pl. 47/3; Kühn 1981: 113-114.
44. Tylkowo (former Scheufelsdorf), Szczytno district (Poland); bronze; L=6.8; Werner 1950:pl. 29/29; Kühn 1956:90 and pl. XXII/II.11; Kühn 1981:311 no. 491 and pl. 73/491.
45. Tylkowo (former Scheufelsdorf), Szczytno district (Poland); stray find; bronze; L=5.7; Kühn 1956:91 and pl. XXII/II.15; Kühn 1981:312 and pl. 74/496.
46. Unknown location (perhaps Wallachia)(Romania); bronze; L=3.0; Popescu 1941-1944:505 and 504 fig. 11/123; Teodor 1992:138 no. 13 and 145 fig. 4/7.
47. Unknown location (Eastern Europe); bronze; Werner 1950, 155 no. 51 and pl. 31/51.
48. Warwen, near Liepaja (Latvia); bronze?; Werner 1950:154 and pl. 30/31; Kühn 1956:90 and pl. XXII/II.10.

II. Werner's Class I C

49. Banat region (Romania); stray find; pewter; L=8.6; Nestor and Nicolaescu-Plopșor 1938:37 and pl. 9/2; Werner 1950:pl. 29/16; Csallány 1961:196 and pl. 240/2; Teodor 1992: 137 no. 1 (where the brooch is considered to be a model) and 143 fig. 2/5.
50. Bergama (=Pergamon)(Turkey); bronze; L=7.0; Werner 1950:153 and pl. 29/20.
51. Bitola area (Macedonia); bronze; Babić 1976:63 and fig. 5/b.

52. Bratei, Sibiu district (Romania); found in the inhumation burial no. 113, together with a buckle of the Sucidava class; bronze; Teodor 1992:137 no. 1.
53. Bratei, Sibiu district (Romania); found in the inhumation burial no. 130; bronze; Teodor 1992:137 no. 1.
54. Bratei, Sibiu district (Romania); found in the inhumation burial no. 211, together with a bow fibula; Eugenia Zaharia, personal communication, 1992.
55. Chernyvka, Chernivtsi region (Ukraine); found in the sunken building no. 5, together with hand-made pottery; bronze; L=5.6; Timoshchuk, Rusanova, and Mikhailina 1981:91 and fig. 7; Teodor 1992:137 no. 2 and 144 pl. 3/9.
56. Cornesti, Cluj district (Romania); found in an inhumation burial, together with 141 yellow glass-beads, 10 black glass-beads, 24 brown glass-beads with spiral inlays and a bead with eye-shaped inlays ("Augenperle"); bronze; L=9.6; Pálko 1972:677-678 and pl. I/5; Teodor 1992:137 no. 2 and 143 fig. 2/6.
57. Drănic, Dolj district (Romania); stray find; bronze; L=5.5; Toropu, Ciucă, and Voicu 1976:97-98 and 99 fig. 3/8; Ciucă 1978:47; Teodor 1992:137 no. 3 and 144 fig. 3/10.
58. Gâmbas, in Aiud, Alba district (Romania); found in the inhumation burial no. 3, together with four pewter ear-rings with star-shaped pendant, 47 glass-beads with eye-shaped inlays ("Augenperlen"), several staves and the handle of a wooden bucket, an iron knife, 136 glass-beads of different colors and forms, and several silver beads; bronze; L=9.2; Nestor and Nicolaescu-Plopșor 1938:37 fig. 2; Horedt 1958:97-98 and 79 fig. 15/8; Horedt 1986:93 fig. 44/1; Werner 1950: 153 and pl. 29/15; Teodor 1992:137 no. 3 and 143 fig. 2/1.
59. Gâmbas, in Aiud, Alba district (Romania); see no. 58; Werner 1950:153 and pl. 29/15; Horedt 1958a:97-98 and 79 fig. 15/9; Teodor 1992:137 no. 3 and 143 fig. 2/4.
60. Horga, Epureni county, Vaslui district (Romania); stray find; bronze; L=4.9; Teodor 1978:41 and fig. 13/1; Coman 1979:203 and 200 fig. 9/7; Coman 1980:131 and 368 fig. 158/2; Teodor 1980:29, 51 n. 177 and fig. 13/1; Teodor 1984c:263 fig. 1/2; Teodor 1992:137 no. 4 (where L=5.0) and 144 fig. 3/1.

61. Kielary (former Kellaren), Olsztyn district (Poland); found in the cremation burial no. 8, together with an identical fibula, three bronze strap-ends, seven bronze belt-plates, a bronze chain, several glass-beads and a cross bow brooch; bronze; L=5.0; Kühn 1981:177 no. 237 and pl. 38/237.
62. Kielary (former Kellaren), Olsztyn district (Poland); see no. 61; Kühn 1981:177 no. 237.
63. Kielary (former Kellaren), Olsztyn district (Poland); found in the cremation burial no. 9, together with an identical fibula, an iron knife, fragments of tools and several glass-beads; Kühn 1981:179 no. 243 and pl. 39/238.
64. Kielary (former Kellaren), Olsztyn district (Poland); see no. 63; Kühn 1981:179 no. 238.
65. Kielary (former Kellaren), Olsztyn district (Poland); found in the cremation burial no. 13, together with an identical fibula, three silver pendants, a bronze chain, and three glass-beads; bronze; L=4.4; Kühn 1981:177 no. 239 and pl. 39/239.
66. Kielary (former Kellaren), Olsztyn district (Poland); see no. 65; Kühn 1981:177 no. 239.
67. Kielary (former Kellaren), Olsztyn district (Poland); found in the cremation burial no. 30, together with a cross-bow fibula and a bronze strap-end; silver; L=3.7; Kühn 1956:91 and pl. XXII/II.13; Kühn 1981:179 and pl. 39/243.
68. Kielary (former Kellaren), Olsztyn district (Poland); found in the cremation burial no. 43, together with an identical fibula; bronze; L=4.0; Kühn 1981:180 no. 248 and pl. 39/248.
69. Kielary (former Kellaren), Olsztyn district (Poland); see no. 68; Kühn 1981:180 no. 248.
70. Kielary (former Kellaren), Olsztyn district (Poland); found in the cremation burial no. 44, together with a finger-ring and bronze tweezers; bronze; L=5.0; Kühn 1981:180 no. 249 and pl. 40/249.
71. Kielary (former Kellaren), Olsztyn district (Poland); found in the cremation burial no. 68, together with a spindle-whorl; bronze; L=3.8; Kühn 1956:92 and pl. XXII/II.22; Kühn 1981:181 no. 252 and pl. 40/252.

72. Kielary (former Kellaren), Olsztyn district (Poland); found in the cremation burial no. 74, together with a bronze buckle, two strap-ends, and two glass-beads; pewter (or silver alloy?); L=4.2; Kühn 1956:93 and pl. XXIII/II.34; Kühn 1981:182 no. 254 and pl. 40/254.

73. Kielary (former Kellaren), Olsztyn district (Poland); found in the cremation burial no. 100, together with a buckle and a knife; bronze; L=5.0; Kühn 1956:92 and pl. XXII/II.24; Kühn 1981:184-185 and pl. 41/263.

74. Province of Kiev (Ukraine); bronze; L=7.1; Werner 1950:153 and pl. 29/18.

75. Kruje (Albania); found in an inhumation burial, together with an identical fibula, two silver earrings, three glass beads, two knives, a suspension ring, and a buckle of the Corinth class; bronze; L=9.0; Anamali and Spahiu 1963:16, 34-35, and 57-58; 34 fig. 13; 58 pl. XII/2; Anamali and Spahiu 1979-1980:61-62 and pl. 7/11 and 11/1.

76. Kruje (Albania); see no. 75; Anamali and Spahiu 1979-1980, 61-62 and pl. 7/12.

77. Lăuni, in Alexandria, Teleorman district (Romania); stray find; bronze; L=5.5; Spiru 1970:531 and fig. 2; Teodor 1992:137 no. 4 and 144 fig. 3/8.

78. Mietkie (former Mingfen), Szczytno district (Poland); found in the cremation burial no. 84; bronze; L=3.7; Kühn 1981:219 no. 335 and pl. 53/335.

79. Mietkie (former Mingfen), Szczytno district (Poland); found in the cremation burial no. 462, together with an identical fibula; bronze; L=4.0; Kühn 1981:221 no. 346 and pl. 54/346.

80. Mietkie (former Mingfen), Szczytno district (Poland); see no. 79; Kühn 1981:221 no. 346.

81. Mragowo (former Alt-Kossewen)(Poland); found in the cremation burial no. 202, together with an identical fibula; bronze; L=4.0; Kühn 1981:57 no. 10 and pl. 2/10.

82. Mragowo (former Alt-Kossewen)(Poland); see no. 81; Kühn 1981:57 no. 10.

83. Mragowo (former Alt-Kossewen)(Poland); found in the cremation burial no. 529, together with an identical fibula; bronze; L=4.7; Kühn 1981:59 and pl. 4/21.

84. Mragowo (former Alt-Kossewen)(Poland); see no. 83; Kühn 1981:59.
85. Mragowo (former Alt-Kossewen)(Poland); found in the cremation burial no. 548; bronze; L=4.7; Kühn 1981:59 no. 22 and pl. 4/22.
86. Orlea, Olt district (Romania); stray find; bronze; L=1.6; Comşa 1961:105 and fig. 1; Teodor 1992:137 no. 5 and 144 fig. 3/7.
87. Paşcani, Iaşi district (Romania); stray find; bronze; L=4.3; Teodor 1984c:263 fig. 1/1; Biţa 1985:99 and fig. 1; Teodor 1992:137 no. 6 and 144 fig. 3/5.
88. Pastyrs'ke, Smila county, Cherkassy region (Ukraine); stray find; bronze; Werner 1950:153 and pl. 29/17; Prikhodniuk 1994:71 fig. 7/1.
89. Pastyrs'ke, Smila county, Cherkassy region (Ukraine); stray find; Gavritukhin 1991b:131 and 144 pl. II/30.
90. Pastyrs'ke, Smila county, Cherkassy region (Ukraine); stray find; Gavritukhin 1991b:133 and 143 pl. II/25.
91. Pastyrs'ke, Smila county, Cherkassy region (Ukraine); stray find; Gavritukhin 1991b:133 and 143 pl. II/17.
92. Poian, Covasna district (Romania); found in the sunken building no. 19, together with hand-made pottery, a bone needle and a spindle-whorl; bronze; L=2.8; Székely 1970:135 fig. 7/1-1a; Székely 1971a:355 fig. 2/1; Székely 1971b:131 and 133 fig. 3/1-1a; Horedt 1986:93 fig. 44/2; Székely 1992:263 and 266 fig. 15/1a-b; Teodor 1992:137 no. 7 and 144 fig. 3/6.
93. Polessk (former Löbertshoff), Kaliningrad region (Russia); stray find; L=4.3; Kühn 1981:210 no. 320 and pl. 50/320.
94. Prahovo, Negotin district (=Aquis)(Serbia); silver alloy; L=2.6; Janković 1981:250 pl. XVI/16.
95. Primorsk (former Warengen), Kaliningrad region (Russia); found in the cremation burial no. 18; Kühn 1981:356 no. 558 and pl. 82/558.
96. Rish Pass, Shumen district (Bulgaria); stray find; Kharalambieva 1993:29 and fig. 4/1.
97. Săcuieni, Bihor district (Romania); found in an

inhumation burial together with a hand-made pot; bronze; L=4.6; Chidioşan and Nánássy 1968:517-520 and fig. 2; Dumitraşcu 1983:89 no. 13 (where L=4.7); Teodor 1992:138 and 147 fig. 6/4.

98. Sărata Monteoru, Merei county, Buzău district (Romania); found in a cremation burial; gilded silver; L=4.2; Nestor and Zaharia 1959:517 fig. 3 (where the brooch is made of bronze); Teodor 1972b:38 fig. 6/10; Fiedler 1992:83 fig. 11/1; Teodor 1992:137 no. 8 and 144 fig. 3/3.

99. Sărata Monteoru, Merei county, Buzău district (Romania); found in the cremation burial no. 1185, together with a bow fibula with three knobs; bronze; L=4.1; Nestor and Zaharia 1960:513 and 511 fig. 1/7; Fiedler 1992:83 fig. 11/2; Teodor 1992:137 no. 8 and 144 fig. 3/4.

100. Sărata Monteoru, Merei county, Buzău district (Romania); probably found in the cremation burial no. 463a; bronze; Fiedler 1992:83 fig. 11/3; Teodor 1992:137 no. 8 and 144 fig. 3/2.

101. South Russia (unknown location); Kühn 1981:pl. 95/648.

102. Szatymáz-Fehértó, Csongrád district (Hungary); found in the inhumation burial no. 375, together with 73 glass-beads, two silver ear-rings, two iron bracelets, an iron buckle and a knife; silver alloy; L=4.9; Csallány 1961:228 and pl. 259/3 and 3a.

103. Tiszanagyfalu, Szabolcs-Szatmár district (Hungary); found in an inhumation burial, together with a bronze fibula with bent stem, a single-layered comb and a handmade pot; Csallány 1961:219.

104. Tumiany (former Daumen), Olsztyn district (Poland); found in the cremation burial no. 68, together with a bronze buckle, a bronze strap-end, and six glass-beads; bronze; L=5.2; Kühn 1981:107 no. 119 and pl. 19/119.

105. Tumiany (former Daumen), Olsztyn district (Poland); stray find; silver alloy; L=5.2; Kühn 1956:92 and pl. XXII/II.19; Kühn 1981:109 and pl. 21/128.

106. Tumiany (former Daumen), Olsztyn district (Poland); stray find?; Åberg 1919:74 fig. 79.

107. Tumiany (former Daumen), Olsztyn district (Poland);

stray find; bronze; L=4.6; Kühn 1981:110 no. 129 and pl. 21/129.

108. Tumiany (former Daumen), Olsztyn district (Poland); stray find; Kühn 1981:111 and pl. 21/135.

109. Tumiany (former Daumen), Olsztyn district (Poland); stray find; bronze; L=4.6; Kühn 1981:110 and pl. 21/130.

110. Tylkowo (former Scheufelsdorf), Szczytno district (Poland); bronze; L=5.0; Kühn 1981:310 no. 489 and pl. 73/489.

111. Unknown location (Poland); Gavritukhin 1991b:131 and 144 pl. II/26.

112. Vârtop, Dolj district (Romania); stray find; bronze; L=2.5; Comşa 1961:105-106 and fig. 2; Teodor 1992:137 no. 6 and 143 fig. 2/3.

113. Vela, Dolj district (Romania); stray find; bronze; L=2.4. Plopşor 1925:49-50 and fig. 2; Berciu 1939:232; Werner 1950:153 and pl. 29/19; Teodor 1992:137 no. 5 (where L=2.8) and 143 fig. 2/2.

114. Velika Sloboda, Mohyliv Podils'kyi county, Vinnica region (Ukraine); found in the sunken building no. 63; Gavritukhin 1991b:133 and 143 pl. II/1.

115. Velesnica, in Kladovo, Negotin district (Serbia); bronze; L=3.0; Janković 1981:250 pl. XVI/17.

116. Velikie Budki, Nedryhailiv county, Sumy region (Ukraine); found in a hoard, together with an identical fibula, a fragment of another brooch with scrollwork decoration, bronze bracelets, belt-straps with embossing decoration, all in fragments, and 1,000 small belt plates of silver alloy; bronze; L=4.5; Romanova 1983:311.

117. Velikie Budki, Nedrigailov county, Sumy district (Ukraine); see no. 116; Romanova 1983:311.

118. Viničani, Titov Veles district (Macedonia); found in an inhumation burial; Čorović-Ljubinković 1972:47 and fig. 1/3; Babić 1976:63 and fig. 5.

119. Waplewo (former Waplitz), Szczytno district (Poland); found in the cremation burial no. 21; bronze; L=4.8; Kühn 1981:355 no. 556 and pl. 82/556.

III. Werner's Class I J

120. Kielary (former Kellaren), Olsztyn district (Poland); stray find; bronze; L=5.0; Werner 1950:154 and pl. 30/46; Kühn 1956:101 and pl. XXVIII/VIII.3; Kühn 1981:185 no. 265 and pl. 42/265.

121. Negotin (Serbia); stray find; bronze; L=5.0; Csallány 1961:356 and pl. CCXIII/7.

122. Novi Banovci, Zagreb district (Croatia); stray find; bronze; L=5.0; Csallány 1961:240 and pl. CCXIII/3; Kühn 1956:101 and pl. XXVII/VIII.2.

123. Óföldreák, Csongrád district (Hungary); found in an inhumation burial, together with 12 glass-beads with eye-shaped inlays ("Augenperlen"); bronze; L=5.1; Csallány 1961:138 and pl. CXCI/16 and CCLIX/1.

124. Pastyr's'ke, Smila county, Cherkassy region (Ukraine); bronze; L=4.5; Werner 1950:154 and pl. 30/45; Kühn 1956:101 and pl. XXVII/VIII.1.

125. Sărata Monteoru, Merei county, Buzău district (Romania); found in the cremation burial no. 1321; bronze; L=2.8; Nestor 1961:446; Fiedler 1992:81 and 83 fig. 11/9.

126. Donji Stenjevec, Zagreb district (Croatia); found in a cremation burial; bronze; Vinski 1954:79 and pl. 50; Werner 1960:118; Kudlaček 1964:42 pl. V/2; Simoni 1981:156 and fig. 2.

127. Tumiany (former Daumen), Olsztyn district (Poland); found in the cremation burial no. 56; bronze; L=5.5; Kühn 1956:101 and pl. XXVII/VIII.4; Kühn 1981:106-107 and pl. 19/116.

128. Tumiany (former Daumen), Olsztyn district (Poland); stray find; bronze; L=5.0; Kühn 1956:101 and pl. XXVII/VII.5; Kühn 1981:110 and pl. 21/132.

IV. Werner's Class I H

129. Butimanu, Dâmbovița district (Romania); stray find?; bronze; L=3.2; Unpublished (History and Art Museum of the City of Bucharest, inv. 1599F).

130. Cherkasskii Bikin', Valuiki county, Belgorod region (Russia); stray find; Gavritukhin 1991b:130 and 142 pl. I/8.

131. Gorosheva, Khotyn county, Chernivtsi region (Ukraine); settlement find; bronze; L=5.0; Baran and Pachkova 1975:95 and fig. 8; Teodor 1992:20 and 29 fig. 6/7.

132. Igren'-Podkovka, Dnipropetrovs'ke region (Ukraine); settlement find; Gavritukhin 1991b:130 and 142 pl. I/7.

133. Krivina, Ruse district (=Iatrus)(Bulgaria); found in the sunken building 66/23N, together with a sixth century bronze coin; bronze; L=6.1; Herrmann 1974:303 and pl. 44/b; Herrmann 1979a:114-115 and 114 fig. 46/a; Wendel 1986:78 and 178-179.

134. Leleszky (former Lehlesken), Szczytno district (Poland); stray find; bronze; L=3.6; Kühn 1956:88 and pl. XXI/I.19; Kühn 1981:201 and pl. 47/294.

135. Pastyrs'ke, Smila county, Cherkassy region (Ukraine); bronze; L=3.8; Werner 1950:154 and pl. 30/42; Prikhodniuk 1994:71 fig. 7/3.

136. Pastyrs'ke, Smila county, Cherkassy region (Ukraine); bronze; L=4.4; Werner 1950:154 and pl. 30/43; Prikhodniuk 1994b:71 fig. 7/4.

137. Pastyrs'ke, Smila county, Cherkassy region (Ukraine); stray find; Gavritukhin 1991b:130 and 143 pl. I/10.

138. Piatra Frecătei, Frecătei county, Brăila district (Romania); found in the cremation burial B 42, together with a similar fibula, a bronze ear-ring, three bronze bracelets, an iron finger-ring, and a comb; bronze; L=4.9; Petre 1962a:581 and fig. 18/1; Petre 1962b:226 fig. 12/1-b/1; Petre 1987:77-78 and pl. 141/233 b; Teodor 1992:138 and 147 fig. 6/9.

139. Piatra Frecătei, Frecătei county, Brăila district (Romania); see no. 136; Petre 1962a:581 and fig. 18/1; Petre 1962b:226 fig. 12/1-b/2; Petre 1987:77-78 and pl. 141/233 b; Teodor 1992:138 and 147 fig. 6/10.

140. Pruneni (former Clociti), Zărnești county, Buzău district (Romania); found in a skeleton grave, together with a bow fibula (Werner I D) and a comb; Comșa 1972:15; Comșa 1973:210; Fiedler 1992:100 no. 24.

141. Rashkov, Khotyn county, Chernivtsi district (Ukraine); found in the sunken building no. 76, together with hand-made pottery; bronze; L=4.7; Baran 1988:116 and 157 pl. LVI/4; Teodor 1992:20 and 29 fig. 6/5.

142. Sărata Monteoru, Merei county, Buzău district (Romania); found in a cremation burial; bronze; L=4.3. n.a. 1955b:511 and 510 fig. 11/2; Teodor 1992:138 and 147 fig. 6/6.

143. Seliste, Orhei district (Moldavia); found in the inhumation burial no. 59, together with two millefiori beads, an amber bead, a spindle-whorl and a bone needle; bronze; L=5.0; Rafalovich and Lapushnian 1973:139 and 131 fig. 9/2.

144. Stărmen, Ruse district (Bulgaria); stray find; Kharalambieva 1993:30 and 31 fig. 6/8.

145. Suceava (Romania); found in the sunken building no. 2, together with hand-made pottery, a spindle-whorl, an awl, and a glass bead; bronze; L=3.8; Matei and Nicorescu 1962:741-744 and 744 fig. 5; Teodor 1972b:38 and fig. 6/6; Teodor 1973:205 and 206 fig. 3/3; Teodor 1978:41-42, fig. 13/2 and 15/2; Teodor 1979:821 fig. 3/5; Teodor 1992:138 (where L=3.9) and 147 fig. 6/8.

146. Tylkowo (former Scheufelsdorf), Szczytno district (Poland); stray find; bronze; L=3.3; Kühn 1956:88 and pl. XXI/I.18; Kühn 1981:311 and pl. 73/492.

147. Unknown location (Poland); Gavritukhin 1991b:131 and 143 pl. II/31.

148. Určice, Prostějov county, Moravia (Czech Republic); bronze; Werner 1950:154 and pl. 31/43a.

149. Vardim, Svishtov district (Bulgaria); stray find; Kharalambieva 1993:30 and 29 fig. 4/2.

150. Volos'ke, Dnipropetrovs'ke region (Ukraine); settlement find; Berezovec 1963:197 and fig. 24/14.

V. Werner's Class I G

151. Bartolty Wielkie (former Gross-Bartelsdorf), Olsztyn district (Poland); found in the cremation burial no. 15; Kühn 1981:149 and pl. 32/198.

152. Bratei, Sibiu district (Romania); found in the inhumation burial no. 167, together with a wheel-made pottery; bronze; L=5.6; Teodor 1992:138 no. 1 (where L=5.5).
153. Caričin Grad, Lebane district (=Justiniana Prima)(Serbia); stray find; bronze; Mano-Zisi 1954-1955:178 fig. 38; Vinski 1958:28 and pl. XVIII/3; Nestor 1961:445 fig. 4/3; Corović-Ljubinković 1972: 47 and fig. 1/2; Popović 1984a:174 and 175 fig. 187.
154. Davideni, Tibucani county, Neamt district (Romania); found in the sunken building no. 58, together with hand-made pottery; bronze; L=6.8; Mitrea 1994-1995:446 and fig. 1.
155. Demianiv, Halych county, Ivano-Frankivs'ke region (Ukraine); settlement find; Dovzhenok et al. 1975:129 and 133 fig. 33/3.
156. Kiskörös, Bács-Kiskun district (Hungary); found in the inhumation burial no. 2 (female burial), together with two silver ear-rings, glass-beads, a bone needle case, a spindle-whorl, a knife, an iron chain and a gilded bronze plate; bronze; L=5.5; Csallány 1961:230 and pl. CCLXXII/8.
157. Liutari, Smila county, Cherkassy region (Ukraine); stray find; Gavritukhin 1991b:128 and 143 pl. I/8.
158. Luchistoe, Bakhchisaray district, Crimea (Ukraine); found in burial chamber no. 10, skeleton no. 2, together with a bow fibula, another one with trapezoidal head-plate, and a buckle with eagle-head-plate; bronze; L=6.5; Aibabin 1990:22 and 199 fig. 20/2.
159. Mragowo (former Alt-Kossewen)(Poland); found in the cremation burial no. 366, together with an identical fibula; Kühn 1981:57 and pl. 2/11.
160. Mragowo (former Alt-Kossewen)(Poland); see no. 158; Kühn 1981:57.
161. Pastyr's'ke, Smila county, Cherkassy region (Ukraine); bronze; Åberg 1919:77 and 75 fig. 82; Werner 1950:154 and pl. 30/36; Kudlaček 1964:15 and pl. III/6; Prihodniuk 1994:71 fig. 7/5.
162. Pekari, Smila county, Cherkassy district (Ukraine); stray find; Gavritukhin 1991b:128 and 143 pl. I/9.

163. Sarmizegetusa, Hunedoara district (Romania); bronze; L=7.0; Horedt 1956:106 and 107 fig. 2/2; Popa 1988:46 and fig. 6; Teodor 1992:138 and 146 pl. 5/6.

164. Southern Russia; Kühn 1981:pl. 95/649.

165. Tumiany (former Daumen), Olsztyn district (Poland); found in the cremation burial no. 42, together with an identical fibula; Kühn 1981:106 and pl. 19/114.

166. Tumiany (former Daumen), Olsztyn district (Poland); see no. 165; Kühn 1981:106.

167. Tumiany (former Daumen), Olsztyn district (Poland); found in the cremation burial no. 58, together with two glass beads; Kühn 1981:107 and pl. 19/118.

168. Tumiany (former Daumen), Olsztyn district (Poland); found in the cremation burial no. 74, together with an identical fibula; Kühn 1981:108 and pl. 19/120.

169. Tumiany (former Daumen), Olsztyn district (Poland); see no. 168; Kühn 1981:108 and pl. 20/122.

170. Tumiany (former Daumen), Olsztyn district (Poland); found in the cremation burial no. 93; Kühn 1981:109 and pl. 20/124.

171. Tumiany (former Daumen), Olsztyn district (Poland); found in a cremation burial; Kühn 1981:114 and pl. 24/151.

172. Unknown location (Eastern Prussia); bronze; Kühn 1981:263 and pl. 63/407.

173. Unknown location (Eastern Prussia); bronze; Kühn 1981:351 and pl. 81/550.

174. Wyszka, Pisz district (Poland); bronze; L=6.1; Okulicz 1973:477 fig. 243/d.

VI. Werner's Class II C

175. Adamclisi, Constanta district (=Tropaeum Traiani)(Romania); found in an inhumation burial (female burial); bronze; L=10.8; Papuc 1987:207, 209-210; 208 fig. 1/a-b; Teodor 1992:138 (where L=11.2) and 150 fig. 9/1.

176. Artek, Bakhchisaray district, Crimea (Ukraine); bronze?; Werner 1950:161 and pl. 39/21.
177. Balakliia, Kharkiv district (Ukraine); stray find; bronze; L=14.0; Werner 1950:161; p. 39/26.
178. Bălteni, Vaslui district (Romania); stray find; gilded bronze; L=15.8; Maxim-Alaiba 1981:459-461; Teodor 1984c:262 and 263 fig. 1/3; Teodor 1992:138 and 151 fig. 10/1.
179. Carevec, in Veliko Tărnovo (Bulgaria); found in the sunken-building IX/2, together with a cast fibula with bent stem; bronze; Fiedler 1992:100-101; Kharalambieva 1993:25 and 26 fig. 1/1.
180. Caričin Grad, Lebane district (=Iustiniana Prima)(Serbia); found in a house built in the western portico of the colonnaded street, together with three arrow heads, an earring with basket-shaped pendant, a cast fibula with bent stem, and two buckles; bronze; Mano-Zisi 1958:312-313 and 327 fig. 39; Popović 1984a:175 and 176 fig. 188.
181. Cherkassy region (Ukraine); stray find; bronze; Werner 1950:160; pl. 37/12.
182. Csákbéreny, Fejér district (Hungary); found in an inhumation burial; Sós 1963:315 and 314 fig. 5/c.
183. Dănceni, Strășeni district (Moldova); found in the inhumation burial no. 280 (female burial), together with an identical fibula, a necklace of glass-beads (including one with eye-shaped inlays), a bronze bracelet, and a hand-made ceramic pot; bronze; L=14.3; Rafalovich 1986:25-26 and pl. XIV/1; Werner 1988b:260-262 and 262 fig. 13/1; Teodor 1992:138 and 151 fig. 10/3.
184. Dănceni, Strășeni district (Moldova); see no. 183; Rafalovich 1986:25-26 and pl. XIV/2; Werner 1988b:260-262 and 262 fig. 13/2; Teodor 1992:138 and 151 fig. 10/4.
185. Draxini, Băluseeni county, Botosani district (Romania); stray find; bronze; L=13.5; Rață 1965:379-381 and 380 fig. 1; Teodor 1974:107 fig. 4/5; Teodor 1978:41 and fig. 13/4, 15/5; Teodor 1979:821 fig. 3/6; Păunescu and Șadurschi 1989:346 and 354 fig. 1; Teodor 1992: 139 (where L=13.4) and 150 fig. 9/6.
186. Dudary, Kanev county, Cherkassy region (Ukraine); stray find; Rybakov 1953:57 n. 1; 58 fig. 9/2.

187. Eski-Kermen, Bakhchisaray district, Crimea (Ukraine); found in the burial chamber no. 257, skeleton no. 6, together with another bow fibula with scrollwork decoration, a buckle with eagle-head-plate, a cross-pendant, and a solidus of Heraclius (629/30-641); bronze; L=12.9; Aibabin 1982:184-187; Aibabin 1990:197 fig. 18/1.
188. Gatér, Csongrád district (Hungary); found in the inhumation burial no. 238, together with a knife; bronze; L=16.6; Csallány 1961, 231 and pl. CCXIX/11.
189. Hungary (unknown location); bronze; Werner 1950:161; pl. 39/23.
190. Province of Kiev (Ukraine); bronze; Werner 1950:160; pl. 37/13.
191. Province of Kiev (Ukraine); bronze; Werner 1950:160; pl. 37/14.
192. Province of Kiev (Ukraine); bronze; Werner 1950:160; pl. 38/16.
193. Province of Kiev (Ukraine); bronze; Werner 1950:161; pl. 39/29.
194. Province of Kiev (Ukraine); bronze; Werner 1950:161; pl. 39/30.
195. Koloskovo, Valuiki county, Belgorod region (Russia); found in a hoard, together with four other, similar fibulae, and other silver dress accessories; bronze; Rybakov 1953:66 and 58 fig. 9/8, 65 fig. 12; Liapushkin 1961: 186-187 and 185 fig. 87.
196. Koloskovo, Valuiki county, Belgorod region (Russia); see no. 195; Rybakov 1953:66 and 65 fig. 12; Liapushkin 1961:186-187 and 185 fig. 87; Kudlaček 1964:12 and 13 fig. 9.
197. Koloskovo, Valuiski county, Belgorod district (Russia); see no. 195; Rybakov 1953:66 and 65 fig. 12; Liapushkin 1961:186-187 and 185 fig. 87.
198. Koloskovo, Valuiki county, Belgorod region (Russia); see no. 195; Rybakov 1953:66 and 65 fig. 12; Liapushkin 1961:186-187 and 185 fig. 87.
199. Koloskovo, Valuiki county, Belgorod region (Russia); see no. 195; Rybakov 1953:66 and 65 fig. 12; Liapushkin 1961:186-187 and 185 fig. 87.

200. Luchistoe, Bakhchisaray district, Crimea (Ukraine); found in the burial chamber no. 10, together with an identical fibula; bronze; L=13.6; Aibabin 1984:240 and 239 fig.; Aibabin 1990:fig. 20/1.
201. Luchistoe, Bakhchisaray district, Crimea (Ukraine); see no. 200; Aibabin 1984:240 and 239 fig.
201. Luchistoe, Bakhchisaray district, Crimea (Ukraine); found in the burial chamber no. 36, skeleton no. 14, together with another bow fibula; bronze; L=15.0; Aibabin 1990:22 and 196 fig. 17/3.
202. Luchistoe, Bakhchisaray district, Crimea (Ukraine); found in the burial chamber no. 38, skeleton no. 9, together with another bow fibula and a circular silver plate; bronze; L=10.0; Aibabin 1990:22 and 196 fig. 17/6.
203. Luchistoe, Bakhchisaray district, Crimea (Ukraine); found in the burial chamber no. 46, skeleton no. 5, together with a buckle with eagle-head-plate; bronze; L=16.4; Aibabin 1990:23 and 198 fig. 19/2.
204. Luchistoe, Bakhchisaray district, Crimea (Ukraine); found in burial chamber no. 54, skeleton no. 20, together with another bow fibula, two circular bronze plates, two silver earrings with polyhedral pendant, five jingle bells, and several trapezoidal bronze pendants; bronze; L=10.9; Aibabin 1990:196 fig. 17/5 and 237 fig. III/1.
205. Niina, Kharkiv region (Ukraine); stray find; bronze; Werner 1950:161; pl. 39/24.
206. Orlea, Olt district (Romania); bronze; L=7.0; Nestor 1961:438 no. 19 and 445 fig. 4/1; Tudor 1978:456 and 460 fig. 149/4; Teodor 1992:139 and 150 fig. 9/4.
207. Papa, Tolna district (Hungary); stray find; bronze; L=9.6; Werner 1950:160; pl. 38/19.
208. Pastyrs'ke, Smila county, Cherkassy region (Ukraine); bronze; L=8.7; Werner 1950:161; pl. 39/23.
209. Smorodino, near Graivoron, Borisyvka county, Belgorod district (Russia); stray find; Rybakov 1953:57 n. 1; 59 fig. 10/3.
210. Staasdorf, in Tulln, Vienna inset (Austria); bronze; L=16.5; Werner 1950:160; pl. 38/15.

211. Sudzha, Kursk district (Russia); found in a hoard, together with 12 circular bronze plates, six silver strap-ends, twelve trapezoidal bronze pendants, four amber beads and other bronze dress accessories; Rybakov 1949:75-84; 76 fig. 30.

212. Suuk Su, Bakhchisaray district, Crimea (Ukraine); found in the inhumation burial no. 28, together twenty amber beads, another bow fibula, a buckle with eagle-head-plate, and two silver bracelets; bronze; Repnikov 1906:8-9 and pl. VII/3.

213. Suuk Su, Bakhchisaray district, Crimea (Ukraine); found in the inhumation burial no. 86, together with another bow fibula, millefiori beads and glass-beads with eye-shaped inlays, a silver buckle with eagle-head-plate, and two bronze bracelets; bronze; Repnikov 1906:25 and pl. VI/1; Werner 1950:160 and pl. 39/20; Kudlaček 1964:16 and pl. IV/2.

214. Suuk Su, Bakhchisaray district, Crimea (Ukraine); found in the inhumation burial no. 154, together with another bow fibula and a buckle with eagle-head plate; bronze; L=8.7; Aibabin 1990:197 fig. 18/2.

215. Suuk Su, Bakhchisaray district, Crimea (Ukraine); stray find; bronze; Repnikov 1906:pl. VII/7.

216. Suuk Su, Bakhchisaray district, Crimea (Ukraine); stray find; bronze; Repnikov 1906:pl. VII/9.

217. Szigetszentmiklós-Háros, Pest district (Hungary); found in the cremation burial no. 14, together with glass-beads with eye-shaped inlays and two earrings with globe-shaped pendant; bronze; Sós 1961:51 and 40 fig. 11/1; Sós 1963:315 and 316 fig. 6/1.

218. Tiszabura, Szolnok district (Hungary); found in an inhumation burial, together with two silver earrings and glass beads with eye-shaped inlays; bronze; L=10.5; Csallány 1961:215 and pl. CXCVI/2.

219. Unknown location (Ukraine); Rybakov 1953:58 fig. 9/9.

220. Vinderei, Vaslui district (Romania); stray find; bronze; L=9.1; Teodor 1978:41 and fig. 13/3; Coman 1979:203 and 200 fig. 9/2 (where L=8.3); Teodor 1979:817 and 821 fig. 3/3; Coman 1980:269 and 368 fig. 158/1 (where L=8.3); Teodor 1980:29 and 51 n. 177, fig. 13/3; Teodor 1992:139 (where L=8.5) and 150 fig. 9/5.

221. Volos'ke, Dnipropetrovs'ke region (Ukraine); bronze; Dovzhenok et al. 1975:107 fig. 24/7.

222. Volos'ke, Dnipropetrovs'ke region (Ukraine); settlement find; bronze; Berezovec 1963:fig. 24/15.

223. Vutcani, Vaslui district (Romania); stray find; bronze; L=12.3; Teodor 1969a:268 fig. 9/5; Teodor 1969b:201 fig. 15/1; Teodor 1973:206 fig. 3/8; Teodor 1978:41 and fig. 14/3 and 15/1; Teodor 1979:817 and 821 fig. 3/7; Coman 1980:278 and 368 fig. 158/7; Teodor 1980:29 and fig. 14/3 and 51 no. 155; Teodor 1992:139 and 151 fig. 10/4 (where L=12.2).

Appendix E

List of Settlement Features Used in the Seriation by Correspondence Analysis

Abbreviations used in the following list are those of Figure 33.

Bacău-6: Bacău-Royal Court, sunken building 6; Mitrea and Artimon 1971:236; 242 fig. 13/1; 249 fig. 19/5/6.

Bacău-7: Bacău-Royal Court, sunken building 7; Mitrea and Artimon 1971:236, 239; 229 fig. 4; 242 fig. 13/3-4; 245 fig. 15/6; 246 fig. 16/7-8; 250 fig. 20/3, 4, 6.

Bacău-9: Bacău-Royal Court, sunken building 9; Mitrea and Artimon 1971:239; 230 fig. 5; 242 fig. 13/5-6; 243 fig. 14/1, 4, 6; 246 fig. 16/1-3, 9; 247 fig. 17/1-2; 248 fig. 18/2, 5; 249 fig. 19/3-4; 250 fig. 20/7-8.

Bahna-7: Izvoare-Bahna, sunken building 7; Mitrea 1978:207; 231 fig. 1/2; 236 fig. 6/4-12; 237 fig. 7/1-3, 5-6, 10; 238 fig. 8/4, 10, 14-16.

Bahna-8: Izvoare-Bahna, sunken building 8; Mitrea 1978:207-208; 231 fig. 1/3; 236 fig. 6/1-2.

Bahna-20: Izvoare-Bahna, sunken building 20; Mitrea 1983:429 and 433; 430 fig. 1/1; 431 fig. 2/1-3; 432 fig. 3/1-5.

Bako-22: Bakota, sunken building 22; Vinokur 1980:870 and fig. 3.

Bako-35: Bakota, sunken building 35; Vinokur 1980:870; 872 fig. 5A.

Bane-1: Bucharest-Băneasa, sunken building 1; Constantiniu 1965a:89, 89-90, and 92.

Bane-2: Bucharest-Băneasa, sunken building 2; Constantiniu 1965a:90.

Bane-3: Bucharest-Băneasa, sunken building 3; Constantiniu 1965a:79, 90-91; 83 fig. 8; 87 fig. 12/2.

Bane-4: Bucharest-Băneasa, sunken building 4; Constantiniu 1965a:89, 91-93; 80 fig. 3; 81 fig. 4; 93 fig. 19/1-6.

Bane-5: Bucharest-Băneasa, sunken building 5; Constantiniu 1965a:79 and 92.

Bane-8: Bucharest-Băneasa, sunken building 8; Constantiniu 1965a:79 and 93-94.

Bane-12: Bucharest-Băneasa, sunken building 12;
Constantiniu 1965a:79 and 94.

Bane-15: Bucharest-Băneasa, sunken building 15;
Constantiniu 1965a:79 and 85; 83 fig. 7.

Bane-20: Bucharest-Băneasa, sunken building 20;
Constantiniu 1965a:79 and 95.

Bors-1: Borşeni, sunken building 1; paper presented by
Ioan Mitrea and Gh. Dumitroaia at the 29th National
Conference of Romanian Archaeology, Cluj-Napoca, May 11-
14, 1995.

Bors-2: Borşeni, sunken building 2; paper presented by
Ioan Mitrea and Gh. Dumitroaia at the 29th National
Conference of Romanian Archaeology, Cluj-Napoca, May 11-
14, 1995.

Bors-4: Borşeni, sunken building 4; paper presented by
Ioan Mitrea and Gh. Dumitroaia at the 29th National
Conference of Romanian Archaeology, Cluj-Napoca, May 11-
14, 1995.

Boto-1: Botoşana, sunken-building 1; Teodor 1984a:22-24,
52-54; 83 fig. 3 a; 84 fig. 5/1; 96 fig. 17/3; 103 fig.
24/8; 104 fig. 25/7; 107 fig. 28/1; 108 fig. 29/1, 4; 109
fig. 30/4, 10; 110 fig. 31/1, 5, 7; 111 fig. 32/3; 113
fig. 34/5; 114 fig. 35/1, 4, 5, 7; 117 fig. 38/1; 122
fig. 43/1; 128 fig. 49/8.

Boto-2: Botoşana, sunken-building 2; Teodor 1984a:24-25;
82 fig. 3/6; 96 fig. 17/4.

Boto-4: Botoşana, sunken-building 4; Teodor 1984a:25-26;
82 fig. 3 d; 98 fig. 19/3; 101 fig. 22/3; 109 fig. 30/6;
117 fig. 38/3; 123 fig. 44/4; 124 fig. 45/7.

Boto-5: Botoşana, sunken-building 5; Teodor 1984a:26; 83
fig. 4 a; 84 fig. 5/3; 96 fig. 17/2; 104 fig. 25/2; 117
fig. 38/4; 124 fig. 45/2.

Boto-6: Botoşana, sunken-building 6; Teodor 1984a:26-27;
83 fig. 4 b; 103 fig. 24/9; 117 fig. 38/6.

Boto-7: Botoşana, sunken-building 7; Teodor 1984a:27; 83
fig. 4 c; 84 fig. 5/4; 104 fig. 25/1; 105 fig. 26/3; 124
fig. 45/5.

Boto-8: Botoşana, sunken-building 8; Teodor 1984a:28; 85
fig. 6; 103 fig. 24/3; 109 fig. 30/5; 123 fig. 44/7.

Boto-9: Botoșana, sunken-building 9; Teodor 1984a:28-29; 85 fig. 6; 95 fig. 16/1; 96 fig. 17/1; 101 fig. 22/3; 108 fig. 29/2; 111 fig. 32/15; 112 fig. 33/2, 8; 113 fig. 34/1, 7; 114 fig. 35/2; 115 fig. 36/4, 7; 117 fig. 38/2, 5, 7; 122 fig. 43/7; 124 fig. 45/1; 125 fig. 46; 126 fig. 47.

Boto-10: Botoșana, sunken building 10; Teodor 1984a:29-30; 83 fig. 4 d; 84 fig. 5/6; 104 fig. 25/3; 107 fig. 28/6; 127 fig. 48/4.

Boto-12: Botoșana, sunken building 12; Teodor 1984a:30-31; 86 fig. 7 b; 87 fig. 8/2; 98 fig. 19/1; 101 fig. 22/6; 102 fig. 23/6; 105 fig. 26/5; 111 fig. 32/4; 118 fig. 39/1; 127 fig. 48/2.

Boto-13: Botoșana, sunken building 13; Teodor 1984a:31; 86 fig. 7 c; 98 fig. 19/2; 101 fig. 22/1; 103 fig. 24/5; 109 fig. 30/1, 3; 110 fig. 31/6; 119 fig. 40/1-3; 127 fig. 48/3; 128 fig. 49/1, 3.

Boto-14: Botoșana, sunken building 14; Teodor 1984a:31-32; 86 fig. 7 d; 96 fig. 17/10; 97 fig. 18/3; 98 fig. 19/9; 101 fig. 22/2; 103 fig. 24/6; 108 fig. 29/3; 110 fig. 31/2; 114 fig. 35/6; 115 fig. 36/2-3; 119 fig. 40/4-6; 123 fig. 44/2; 128 fig. 49/7.

Boto-15: Botoșana, sunken building 15; Teodor 1984a:32-33; 88 fig. 8/3; 95 fig. 16/3; 104 fig. 25/8; 107 fig. 28/3; 122 fig. 43/5.

Boto-16: Botoșana, sunken building 16; Teodor 1984a:33-34; 87 fig. 8/4; 88 fig. 9 a; 96 fig. 17/7; 98 fig. 19/7; 95 fig. 16/2; 102 fig. 23/3; 120 fig. 41/2; 122 fig. 43/8; 123 fig. 44/3.

Boto-17: Botoșana, sunken building 17; Teodor 1984a:34; 84 fig. 25/6; 87 fig. 8/5; 88 fig. 9 c; 96 fig. 17/5; 97 fig. 18/8; 98 fig. 19/3; 101 fig. 22/4; 103 fig. 24/2; 116 fig. 37/3, 6; 127 fig. 48/6.

Boto-18: Botoșana, sunken building 18; Teodor 1984a:35; 87 fig. 8/6; 88 fig. 9 d; 96 fig. 17/6; 98 fig. 19/10; 99 fig. 20/6; 105 fig. 26/2; 123 fig. 44/1; 122 fig. 43/4.

Boto-19: Botoșana, sunken building 19; Teodor 1984a:35-36; 89 fig. 10 d; 91 fig. 12/1; 97 fig. 18/5; 103 fig. 24/4; 104 fig. 25/4; 112 fig. 33/7; 115 fig. 36/1; 120 fig. 41/1.

Boto-20: Botoșana, sunken building 20; Teodor 1984a:36-

37; 89 fig. 10 a; 91 fig. 12/2; 98 fig. 19/14; 99 fig. 20/2, 4-5; 100 fig. 21/2; 112 fig. 33/5; 116 fig. 37/5; 120 fig. 41/3-4; 127 fig. 48/1; 105 fig. 26/1; 109 fig. 30/2.

Boto-22: Botoșana, sunken building 22; Teodor 1984a:37-38; 89 fig. 10 b; 91 fig. 12/4; 98 fig. 19/5; 102 fig. 23/1; 106 fig. 27/1; 107 fig. 28/5; 123 fig. 44/5.

Boto-23: Botoșana, sunken building 23; Teodor 1984a:38-39; 90 fig. 11 a; 91 fig. 12/5; 97 fig. 18/4; 98 fig. 19/2; 106 fig. 27/4-5; 108 fig. 29/5; 109 fig. 30/9,11; 110 fig. 31/3; 111 fig. 32/1-2; 121 fig. 42/3; 122 fig. 43/6.

Boto-25: Botoșana, sunken building 25; Teodor 1984a:39-40; 90 fig. 11 b; 98 fig. 19/6; 99 fig. 20/3; 103 fig. 24/7; 112 fig. 33/1,3; 115 fig. 36/6; 121 fig. 42/1; 122 fig. 43/3; 127 fig. 48/5.

Boto-26: Botoșana, sunken building 26; Teodor 1984a:40; 92 fig. 13 a; 94 fig. 15/1; 107 fig. 28/4.

Boto-27: Botoșana, sunken building 27; Teodor 1984a:40-41; 92 fig. 13 b; 94 fig. 15/2; 97 fig. 18/7; 99 fig. 20/1; 100 fig 21/1 a-c; 102 fig. 23/5; 109 fig. 30/7; 121 fig 42/4.

Boto-28: Botoșana, sunken building 28; Teodor 1984a:41-42; 92 fig. 13 c; 94 fig. 15/3; 97 fig. 18/2; 98 fig. 19/8; 106 fig. 27/6; 108 fig. 29/6; 110 fig. 31/4; 121 fig. 42/2; 123 fig. 44/6.

Boto-30: Botoșana, sunken building 30; Teodor 1984a:42-43; 93 fig. 14 b; 94 fig. 15/5; 96 fig. 17/9; 98 fig. 19/11; 102 fig. 23/4; 105 fig. 26/4; 106 fig. 27/2-3; 113 fig. 34/2-3,8; 115 fig. 36/5; 116 fig. 37/4; 128 fig. 49/2,6.

Boto-31: Botoșana, sunken building 31; Teodor 1984a:43-44; 93 fig. 14 c; 94 fig. 15/6; 95 fig. 16/6; 96 fig. 17/8; 97 fig. 18/1, 6; 102 fig. 23/2; 113 fig. 34/4, 6; 116 fig. 37/1-2; 121 fig. 42/5.

Brat-O2: Bratei, oven 2; Bârză 1994-1995:268; 278 fig. 4/4.

Brat-P1: Bratei, pit 1; Bârză 1994-1995:268.

Brat-P16: Bratei, pit 1; Bârză 1994-1995:268; 292 fig. 18/1; 294 fig. 20/1; 295 fig. 21/1.

Brates: Brăteștii de Sus; Tudor and Chicideanu 1977:136-137; 146; 138 fig. 8; 148 fig. 15; 149 fig. 16/8-15.

Budeni: Budeni, pit 1: Teodor 1978:147; 159 fig. 11.

Cernat-1: Cernat, sunken building 1; Székely 1992:281; 282 fig. 23/B1.

Cernat-2: Cernat, sunken building 2; Székely 1992:281; 282 fig. 23/B2.

Cernat-3: Cernat, sunken building 3; Székely 1992:281; 283 fig. 24.

Cernat-4: Cernat, sunken building 4; Székely 1992:281; 285 fig. 26/B 4.

Chepa-2: Chepa, sunken building 2; Kotigoroshko 1977:87-88; 83 fig. 3/6; 91 fig. 9/34; 92 fig. 10/8, 9.

Chern-5: Chernovka, sunken building 5; Timoshchuk, Rusanova, and Mikhailina 1981:91 and fig. 7-8.

Ciur-1A: Bucharest-Ciurel, sunken building 1A; Dolinescu-Ferche 1979:185; 201-205; 186 fig. 1; 187 fig. 2; 188 fig. 3.

Ciur-1B: Bucharest-Ciurel, sunken building 1B; Dolinescu-Ferche 1979:185-188, 207, 209; 208 fig. 25/H 1B; 193 fig. 8; 194 fig. 9.

Ciur-2A: Bucharest-Ciurel, sunken building 2A; Morintz 1961:659-660, 661; 660 fig. 2-3; Dolinescu-Ferche 1979:185, 206-207; 189 fig. 4; 190 fig. 5; 191 fig. 6; 192 fig. 7.

Ciur-3: Bucharest-Ciurel, sunken building 3; Dolinescu-Ferche 1979:191-194, 210, 216; 208 fig. 25/H 3; 195 fig. 11; 196 fig. 12.

Ciur-4: Bucharest-Ciurel, sunken building 4; Morintz and Roman 1962:766, 759 fig. 4/2, 3, 5, 10-11; Dolinescu-Ferche 1979:194-196, 210-211; 208 fig. 25/H 4; 197 fig. 13; 198 fig. 14; 199 fig. 15/1.

Ciur-5: Bucharest-Ciurel, sunken building 5; Dolinescu-Ferche 1979:196, 211-212; 208 fig. 25/H 5; 200 fig. 16; 201 fig. 17.

Ciur-6: Bucharest-Ciurel, sunken building 6; Morintz 1961:662; 661 fig.4; Morintz and Roman:759 fig. 4/9;

Dolinescu-Ferche 1979:196, 212; 208 fig. 25/H 6; 199 fig. 15/2-13.

Ciur-7: Bucharest-Ciurel, sunken building 7; Dolinescu-Ferche 1979:196-198, 212-213, 216; 202 fig. 18; 203 fig. 19.

Ciur-8: Bucharest-Ciurel, sunken building 8; Morintz and Roman 1962:766; Dolinescu-Ferche 1979:198-200, 213-215, 216; 203 fig. 20; 204 fig. 21; 205 fig. 22.

Corpa: Corpaci, sunken building; Tel'nov 1985:104-105.
Dama: Bucharest-Dămăroaia, kiln; Rosetti 1934:211-212; 207 fig. 1/6-9; 210 fig. 5/1-4; 211 fig. 6; Morintz and Rosetti 1959:33-34; pl. XXXI/6.

Cuco-2: Cucorăni, sunken building 2; Teodor 1975:151, 154; 152 fig. 18/a; 198 fig. 59/1, 3; 199 fig. 60/12, 16; 200 fig. 61/4-7; 201 fig. 62/6.

Cuco-4: Cucorăni, sunken building 4; Teodor 1975:151; 152 fig. 18b; 198 fig. 59/4, 6; 200 fig. 61/3, 16.

Cuco-17: Cucorăni, sunken building 17; Teodor 1975:151; 153 fig. 19/a; 198 fig. 59/8; 199 fig. 60/5-6, 13; 200 fig. 61/10, 12; 201 fig. 62/7.

Cuco-19: Cucorăni, sunken building 19; Teodor 1975:151-152; 153 fig. 19/b; 198 fig. 59/5; 199 fig. 60/3-4, 7-9, 11, 16; 200 fig. 61/1, 8, 9, 14, 15; 201 fig. 62/3-5.

Cuco-20: Cucorăni, sunken building 20; Teodor 1975:152; 154 fig. 20; 198 fig. 59/2, 7; 199 fig. 60/1-2, 10, 15, 17; 200 fig. 61/11, 13; 201 fig. 62/1-2.

Danc-1: Dănceni, sunken building 1; Rafalovich and Golceva 1981:128-131; 128 fig. 3; 129 fig. 4; 130 fig. 5/1, 2; 131 fig. 6.

Danc-78: Dănceni, sunken building 78; Dergachev, Larina, and Postică 1983:130; 129 fig. VIII/9.

David-3: Davideni, sunken building 3; Mitrea 1974-1976:66, 76-77; fig. 5/3, 7-8; fig. 10/1.

David-5: Davideni, sunken building 5; Mitrea 1974-1976:67, 69, 73, 79; fig. 6/1, 4, 11; fig. 72; fig. 10/4; fig. 17/1; fig. 19/1.

David-8: Davideni, sunken building 8; Mitrea 1974-1976:67, 70; fig. 5/5-6; fig. 7/4, 6; fig. 12/6; fig.

16/8, 9; fig. 19/5, 11.

David-9: Davideni, sunken building 9; Mitrea 1974-1976:67, 73-75, 77; fig. 6/2, 8; fig. 7/5; fig. 8/4; fig. 9/2; fig. 11/11.

David-10: Davideni, sunken building 10; Mitrea 1974-1976:67, 73, 76, 78; fig. 6/9, 12; fig. 8/3, 5, 8; fig. 10/7, 8; fig. 13/6; fig. 14/7; fig. 17/2, 3, 7; fig. 19/2, 3.

David-13: Davideni, sunken building 13; Mitrea 1974-1976:67, 70, 73-74; 77-79, 83; fig. 4/9; fig. 5/4, 5; fig. 11/11-13; fig. 12/7; fig. 15/5; fig. 17/4, 12

David-14: Davideni, sunken building 14; Mitrea 1974-1976:66, 69-70, 77-78; fig. 11/4-6; fig. 13/4, 7; fig. 14/18; fig. 17/11.

David-16: Davideni, sunken building 16; Mitrea 1974-1976:66, 69, 74, 88; fig. 9/2; 11/3; fig. 13/3; fig. 14/1, 14; fig. 15/3; fig. 17/8; fig. 19/6, 10.

David-17: Davideni, sunken building 17; Mitrea 1974-1976:69, 82; fig. 15/5-6; fig. 16/2-4; fig. 19/7, 13.

David-21: Davideni, sunken building 21; Mitrea 1974-1976:66, 69, 73-74; fig. 8/7-8; fig. 9/8, 10, fig. 11/16.

David-25: Davideni, sunken building 25; Mitrea 1992:204-205; fig. 2; fig. 3/1; fig. 6/1-2, 4; 7/1-3; 8/1-6; 11/1-4, 7.

David-27: Davideni, sunken building 27; Mitrea 1992:209-211; fig. 3/2; fig. 4; fig. 9/1-3, 5-7; fig. 10/1-6; fig. 12/2-4, 7, 9, 11, 12; fig. 13/2, 5, 8, 11-13; fig. 14/1-4.

David-28: Davideni, sunken building 28; Mitrea 1992:211-212; fig. 5/1; fig. 9/1; fig. 12/1, 5, 8, 10; fig. 13/1, 3, 4, 6, 10; fig. 14/6, 7.

David-30: Davideni, sunken building 30; Mitrea 1994:281 and 283; 282 fig. 2; 300 fig. 11/1; 304 fig. 13/1; 306 fig. 14/21, 33, 36; 310 fig. 16/13; 312 fig. 17/2.

David-31: Davideni, sunken building 31; Mitrea 1994:283 and 285; 284 fig. 3/1; 300 fig. 11/2; 304 fig. 13/15; 329 fig. 28/2, 5, 7.

David-33: Davideni, sunken building 33; Mitrea 1994:285,

287 and 289; 284 fig. 3/3; 304 fig. 13/9, 14, 27; 306 fig. 14/26; 308 fig. 15/1, 2, 7, 13; 310 fig. 16/1, 2; 312 fig. 17/11; 314 fig. 18/4; 318 fig. 20/2; 329 fig. 28/3, 4, 6; 330 fig. 29/3, 7.

David-35: Davideni, sunken building 35; Mitrea 1994:291 and 293; 284 fig. 3/4; 306 fig. 14/2-4, 6, 13, 19-20, 29, 37; 308 fig. 15/14; 310 fig. 16/3, 8, 10-12, 14; 312 fig. 17/5, 8; 318 fig. 20/4; 329 fig. 28/1; 330 fig. 29/5, 8-10.

David-36: Davideni, sunken building 36; Mitrea 1994:293 and 295; 286 fig. 4/1; 304 fig. 13/2, 3, 6, 10, 12, 16, 20, 24, 28; 306 fig. 14/7, 8, 11, 14, 39; 308 fig. 15/6, 8; 310 fig. 16/6, 7, 9; 312 fig. 17/1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 9; 314 fig. 18/1, 2, 5, 6; 318 fig. 20/3, 8; 329 fig. 28/8, 9; 330 fig. 29/1, 4.

David-37: Davideni, sunken building 37; Mitrea 1994:295 and 297; 286 fig. 4/2; 304 fig. 13/4-5, 7, 18, 19, 25; 306 fig. 14/1, 5, 24, 25, 31, 32, 35, 41, 42; 312 fig. 17/12; 314 fig. 18/7; 318 fig. 20/1, 5, 6; 330 fig. 29/6.

David-38: Davideni, sunken building 38; Mitrea 1994:299, 301 and 303; 288 fig. 5; 294 fig. 8; 304 fig. 13/3; 316 fig. 19/1, 4; 320 fig. 21/7; 321 fig. 22/5; 325 fig. 25/1, 5; 328 fig. 27/1, 3, 5, 7.

David-41: Davideni, sunken building 41; Mitrea 1994:305 and 307; 290 fig. 6; 294 fig. 8; 304 fig. 13/22; 320 fig. 21/1, 3; 321 fig. 22/1, 4, 7-9; 322 fig. 23/5, 8; 324 fig. 24/3; 325 fig. 25/3, 4; 326 fig. 26/1, 3, 4.

David-42: Davideni, sunken building 42; Mitrea 1994:307, 309 and 311; 290 fig. 6; 296 fig. 9/1; 304 fig. 13/23; 322 fig. 23/1, 2, 4, 6, 7; 324 fig. 24/1, 5, 8; 326 fig. 26/5, 6.

David-46: Davideni, sunken building 46; Mitrea 1994:315 and 317; 292 fig. 7/3.

David-58: Davideni, sunken building 58; Mitrea 1994-1995:446 and fig. 1/2.

Dod-1: Dodești, sunken building 1; Teodor 1984b:22-23; 27 fig. 5/a; 31 fig. 8/1, 2, 5; 33 fig. 9/2; 34 fig. 10/1; 37 fig. 11; 42 fig. 15/3, 6; 46 fig. 18/1-2, 4, 6; 47 fig. 19/1-4, 7.

Dod-2: Dodești, sunken building 2; Teodor 1984b:23; 27 fig. 5/b; 33 fig. 9/5; 34 fig. 10/3; 42 fig. 15/2, 4-5;

46 fig. 18/3, 5.

Dod-3: Dodești, sunken building 3; Teodor 1984b:23-24; 27 fig. 5/c; 29 fig. 6/7, 9; 33 fig. 9/1; 34 fig. 10/4; 39 fig. 13/1-5; 42 fig. 15/1; 43 fig. 16/1-2, 6.

Dod-4: Dodești, sunken building 4; Teodor 1984b:24-25; 27 fig. 5/d; 29 fig. 6/1-3, 10-11; 30 fig. 7; 31 fig. 8/3, 6, 7; 33 fig. 9/3, 4; 40 fig. 14/3-4; 43 fig. 16/3, 5.

Dul-II1: Dulceanca III, sunken building 1; Dolinescu-Ferche 1992:128; 129 fig. 2/1; 136 fig. 5; 137 fig. 6; 138 fig. 7.

Dul-II2: Dulceanca II, sunken building 2; Dolinescu-Ferche 1986b:124, 130-132, 150; 125 fig. 2/2; 135 fig. 8.

Dul-II3: Dulceanca II, sunken building 3; Dolinescu-Ferche 1986b:124; 130-132, 150; 125 fig. 2/3; 136 fig. 9/1-2, 4-10; fig. 24/1.

Dul-II4: Dulceanca III, sunken building 4; Dolinescu-Ferche 1992:128; 129 fig. 2/2; 139 fig. 8.

Dul-II5: Dulceanca III, sunken building 5; Dolinescu-Ferche 1992:128 and 130; 130 fig. 3/1; 141 fig. 10; 142 fig. 11; 143 fig. 12/1-2.

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Sel-2: Seliște, sunken building 2; Rafalovich 1972b:131, 133, and 134; 132 fig. 7-8; 133 fig. 9; 133 fig. 10/8, 13.

Sel-4: Seliște, sunken building 4; Rafalovich 1972b:134-135.

Sel-5: Seliște, sunken building 5; Rafalovich 1972b:135 and 137; 133 fig. 10/14; 136 fig. 11; 137 fig. 12/2.

Sel-6: Seliște, sunken building 6; Rafalovich 1972b:137-139; 130 fig. 6/6; 136 fig. 11; 137 fig. 12/1; 138 fig. 13/1.

Sel-7: Seliște, sunken building 7; Rafalovich 1972b:139-140; 138 fig. 13/1, 4; 139 fig. 14; 140 fig. 15/1, 2.

Sel-8: Seliște, sunken building 8; Rafalovich and Lapushnian 1971:362; Rafalovich 1973:138-139.

Sel-9: Seliște, sunken building 9; Rafalovich and Lapushnian 1971:362; Rafalovich 1973:139-140; 140 fig. 3/3.

Sel-10: Seliște, sunken building 10; Rafalovich and

Lapushnian 1973:129-130; 130 fig. 8/1; 131 fig. 9/3, 9.

Sel-13: Seliște, sunken building 13; Rafalovich and Lapushnian 1973:133-134; 130 fig. 8/3; 133 fig. 10/5.

Sel-15 Seliște, sunken building 15; Rafalovich and Lapushnian 1974:130-131 and 133; 131 fig. 10; 132 fig. 11.

Sem-I: Semenki, sunken building I; Khavliuk 1961:188; 190 fig. 3/1-4.

Sem-VI: Semenki, sunken building VI; Khavliuk 1963:335-336; fig. 6/8; fig. 13/8; fig. 14/3, 4.

Sem-VII: Semenki, sunken building VII; Khavliuk 1963:336 and 338; 332 fig. 12/1; 338 fig. 17/4; fig. 6/9.

Sem-VIII: Semenki, sunken building VIII; Khavliuk 1974:207; 202 fig. 11/1, 2.

Sem-15: Semenki, sunken building 15; Khavliuk 1974:199; 198 fig. 9/15; 199 fig. 10/5, 10.

Sem-20: Semenki, sunken building 20; Khavliuk 1974:204; 198 fig. 9/20; 202 fig. 11/22.

Sem-21: Semenki, sunken building 21; Khavliuk 1974:204; 203 fig. 12/7.

Sem-22: Semenki, sunken building 22; Khavliuk 1974:204; 198 fig. 9/22; 202 fig. 11/3, 20.

Sem-29: Semenki, sunken building 29; Khavliuk 1974: 207; 202 fig. 11/11, 13.

Sfint: Sfintțești, sunken building 1; Dolinescu-Ferche 1967:127-131; 128 fig. 1; 129 fig. 2; 130 fig. 3; 131 fig. 4; 131 fig. 5.

Skib-1: Skibincy, sunken building 1; Khavliuk 1974:188-189; 189 fig. 5/12.

Skib-2: Skibincy, sunken building 2; Khavliuk 1974:189-190; 189 fig. 5/1, 3, 5, 6.

Skib-3: Skibincy, sunken building 3; Khavliuk 1974:190; 189 fig. 5/2, 4, 7, 8, 9, 11-13; 191 fig. 6/1.

Skib-4: Skibincy, sunken building 4; Khavliuk 1974:190; 191 fig. 6/2.

Spin: Spinoasa, sunken building 5; Nitu, Zaharia, and Teodoru 1960:532-533; 533 fig. 2; 534 fig. 3/2; 534 fig. 4/1, 10-13.

Stec-3: Stecyvka, sunken building 3; Petrov 1963b:214; 215 fig. 2/2.

Stec-5: Stecyvka, sunken building 5; Petrov 1963b:214; 215 fig. 2/4.

Stec-8: Stecyvka, sunken building 8; Petrov 1963b:216; 217 fig. 3/3.

Stec-9: Stecyvka, sunken building 9; Petrov 1963b:216 and 218; 221 fig. 4/1; 223 fig. 5/1, 2, 4; 224 fig. 6/2.

Stec-10: Stecyvka, sunken building 10; Petrov 1963b:218; 221 fig. 4/2.

Stec-11: Stecyvka, sunken building 11; Petrov 1963b:218; 221 fig. 4/3; 222 fig. 6/6; 223 fig. 8; Prikhodniuk 1980:57 fig. 34.

Strau-8: Bucharest-Străulești, sunken building 8; Constantiniu 1965b:174, 176, 184 and 187; 178 fig. 85/2-3.

Strau-9: Bucharest-Străulești, sunken building 9; Constantiniu 1963:83-84; 83 fig. 6.

Strau-17: Bucharest-Străulești, sunken building 17; Constantiniu 1963:84, 96; 85 fig. 7b.

Strau-21: Bucharest-Străulești, sunken building 21; Constantiniu 1965a:174, 176, 182, and 186; 180 fig. 87/4.

Suce-2: Suceava-Șipot, sunken building 2; Matei 1962:151-158; 152 fig. 2; 156 fig. 4-5; 157 fig. 6.

Suce-4: Suceava-Șipot, sunken building 4; Teodor 1970:381-382; 380 fig. 5.

Targ-5: Târgșor, sunken building 5; Constantinescu 1960:168-172; 169 pl. I; 170 fig. 2; 171 fig. 3; 173 fig. 4.

Tere-21: Teremcy, sunken building 21; Baran 1988:72; 73 fig. 33.

Ude-P2: Udești, pit 2; Matei and Rădulescu 1973:274-275 and 277; 274 fig. 7/1,3,4; 275 fig. 8/2.

Vana-2: Vânători-Neamț, sunken building 2; Corman 1994:302 and 307; 303 fig. 2/L 2; 304 fig. 3/1-4, 6; 305 fig. 4/1-4, 6-7; 306 fig. 5.

Vaca: Bucharest-Văcărești, sunken building 3; Turcu and Ciuceanu 1992:199-200; 198 pl. I/10, 11 a-b.

Appendix F
Handmade and Wheel-Made Pots Used for Shape Analysis

Abbreviations used in the following list are those of Figures 64 and 65.

Bacău-1: Bacău (Romania), sunken building 1; Mitrea and Artimon 1971:241 fig. 12/1.

Bacău-2a: Bacău (Romania), sunken building 2; Mitrea and Artimon 1971:241 fig. 12/2.

Bacău-2b: Bacău (Romania), sunken building 2; Mitrea and Artimon 1971:241 fig. 12/4.

Bacău-4: Bacău (Romania), sunken building 4; Mitrea and Artimon 1971:241 fig. 12/3.

Boto-1: Botoșana, Suceava district (Romania), sunken building 1; Teodor 1984a:117 fig. 38/1.

Boto-5: Botoșana, Suceava district (Romania), sunken building 5; Teodor 1984a:117 fig. 38/4.

Boto-9a: Botoșana, Suceava district (Romania), sunken building 9; Teodor 1984a:117 fig. 38/2

Boto-9b: Botoșana, Suceava district (Romania), sunken building 9; Teodor 1984a:117 fig. 38/5.

Boto-9c: Botoșana, Suceava district (Romania), sunken building 9; Teodor 1984a:117 fig. 38/7.

Boto-9d: Botoșana, Suceava district (Romania), sunken building 9; Teodor 1984a:125 fig. 46.

Boto-12: Botoșana, Suceava district (Romania), sunken building 12; Teodor 1984a:111 fig. 32/4.

Boto-16: Botoșana, Suceava district (Romania), sunken building 16; Teodor 1984a:120 fig. 41/2.

Boto-19: Botoșana, Suceava district (Romania), sunken building 19; Teodor 1984a:120 fig. 41/1.

Boto-20a: Botoșana, Suceava district (Romania), sunken building 20; Teodor 1984a:127 fig. 48/1.

Boto-20b: Botoșana, Suceava district (Romania), sunken building 20; Teodor 1984a:99 fig. 20/4.

Boto-23a: Botoșana, Suceava district (Romania), sunken

building 23; Teodor 1984a:111 fig. 32/1.

Boto-23b: Botoșana, Suceava district (Romania), sunken building 23; Teodor 1984a:121 fig. 42/2.

Boto-25: Botoșana, Suceava district (Romania), sunken building 25; Teodor 1984a:121 fig. 42/1.

Boto-27: Botoșana, Suceava district (Romania), sunken building 27; Teodor 1984a:121 fig. 42/4.

Boto-31: Botoșana, Suceava district (Romania), sunken building 31; Teodor 1984a:121 fig. 42/5.

Bane: Bucharest-Băneasa (Romania), settlement find; Constantiniu 1965a:90 fig. 15.

Bist-30: Bistrița (Romania) grave 30; Gaiu 1992:117 fig. 2/23.

Bist-47: Bistrița (Romania), grave 47; Gaiu 1992:119 fig. 4/1.

Bozieni: Bozieni, Buzău district (Romania), settlement find; Teodorescu 1971b:128 fig. 4/4.

Capi: Capidava, Constanța district (Romania) stray find; Scorpan 1968:fig. 22b.

Ciur-1Aa: Bucharest-Ciurel (Romania), sunken building 1A; Dolinescu-Ferche 1979:186 fig. 1/5.

Ciur-1Ab: Bucharest-Ciurel (Romania), sunken building 1A; Dolinescu-Ferche 1979:187 fig. 2/3.

Ciur-1B: Bucharest-Ciurel (Romania), sunken building 1B; Dolinescu-Ferche 1979:193 fig. 8/3.

Ciur-2Aa: Bucharest-Ciurel (Romania), sunken building 2A; Morintz 1961:660 fig. 2/1.

Ciur-2Ab: Bucharest-Ciurel (Romania), sunken building 2A; Morintz 1961:660 fig. 2/2.

Ciur-2Ac: Bucharest-Ciurel (Romania), sunken building 2A; Morintz 1961:660 fig. 2/3.

Ciur-2Ad: Bucharest-Ciurel (Romania), sunken building 2A; Dolinescu-Ferche 1979:191 fig. 6/1.

Ciur-2B: Bucharest-Ciurel (Romania), sunken building 2B;

- Dolinescu-Ferche 1979:194 fig. 10.
- Ciur-3a: Bucharest-Ciurel (Romania), sunken building 3;
Dolinescu-Ferche 1979:196 fig. 12/1.
- Ciur-3b: Bucharest-Ciurel (Romania), sunken building 3;
Dolinescu-Ferche 1979:195 fig. 11/1.
- Ciur-3c: Bucharest-Ciurel (Romania), sunken building 3;
Dolinescu-Ferche 1979:195 fig. 11/6.
- Ciur-3d: Bucharest-Ciurel (Romania), sunken building 3;
Dolinescu-Ferche 1979:195 fig. 11/11.
- Ciur-4a: Bucharest-Ciurel (Romania), sunken building 4;
Dolinescu-Ferche 1979:198 fig. 14/1.
- Ciur-4b: Bucharest-Ciurel (Romania), sunken building 4;
Dolinescu-Ferche 1979:199 fig. 15/1.
- Ciur-4c: Bucharest-Ciurel (Romania), sunken building 4;
Dolinescu-Ferche 1979:197 fig. 13/13.
- Ciur-5a: Bucharest-Ciurel (Romania), sunken building 5;
Dolinescu-Ferche 1979:201 fig. 17/1.
- Ciur-5b: Bucharest-Ciurel (Romania), sunken building 5;
Dolinescu-Ferche 1979:200 fig. 17/1.
- Ciur-6: Bucharest-Ciurel (Romania), sunken building 6;
Morintz and Roman 1962:759 fig. 4/6.
- Ciur-8a: Bucharest-Ciurel (Romania), sunken building 8;
Dolinescu-Ferche 1979:205 fig. 22/1.
- Ciur-8b: Bucharest-Ciurel (Romania), sunken building 8;
Dolinescu-Ferche 1979:203 fig. 20/1.
- Ciurel 1: Bucharest-Ciurel (Romania), settlement find;
Comşa 1972:10 fig. 1/10.
- Ciurel 2: Bucharest-Ciurel (Romania), settlement find;
Comşa 1972:11 fig. 2/2.
- Ciurel 3: Bucharest-Ciurel (Romania), settlement find;
Teodor 1972b:32 fig. 3/7.
- Ciurel 4: Bucharest-Ciurel (Romania), settlement find;
Morintz and Roman 1962:765 fig. 4/1.
- Craiova: Craiova (Romania), stray find; Toropu 1976:209.

Cuco-4a: Cucorăni, Botoșani district (Romania), sunken building 4; Teodor 1975:198 fig. 59/6.

Dămă-1: Bucharest-Dămăroaia (Romania), settlement find; Rosetti 1934:210 fig. 5/1.

Dămă-2: Bucharest-Dămăroaia (Romania), settlement find; Rosetti 1934:210 fig. 5/4.

Davi-12: Davideni, Neamț district (Romania), sunken building 12; Mitrea 1974-1976:fig. 11/1.

Davi-26: Davideni, Neamț district (Romania), sunken building 26; Mitrea 1992:fig. 7/4.

Davi-39a: Davideni, Neamț district (Romania), sunken building 39; Mitrea 1994:316 fig. 19/1.

Davi-39b: Davideni, Neamț district (Romania), sunken building 39; Mitrea 1994:316 fig. 19/4.

Davi-40: Davideni, Neamț district (Romania), sunken building 40; Mitrea 1994:316 fig. 19/3.

Dod-1: Dodești, Vaslui district (Romania), sunken building 1; Teodor 1984b:42 fig. 15/6.

Dod-3: Dodești, Vaslui district (Romania), sunken building 3; Teodor 1984b:42 fig. 15/1.

Gheor: Sfântu Gheorghe-Iernut, Mureș district (Romania), settlement find; Vlassa et al. 1966:405 fig. 6/9.

Ghiv-4a: Bucharest-Soldat Ghivan Street (Romania), sunken building 4; Constantiniu and Dolinescu-Ferche 1981:103 fig. 2/7.

Ghiv-4b: Bucharest-Soldat Ghivan Street (Romania), sunken building 4; Constantiniu and Dolinescu-Ferche 1981:103 fig. 2/9.

Ghiv-7a: Bucharest-Soldat Ghivan Street (Romania), sunken building 7; Dolinescu-Ferche and Constantiniu 1981:298 fig. 4/6.

Ghiv-7b: Bucharest-Soldat Ghivan Street (Romania), sunken building 7; Dolinescu-Ferche and Constantiniu 1981:298 fig. 4/9.

Ghiv-7c: Bucharest-Soldat Ghivan Street (Romania), sunken building 7; Dolinescu-Ferche and Constantiniu 1981:298

fig. 4/2.

Ghiv-11a: Bucharest-Soldat Ghivan Street (Romania),
sunken building 11; Dolinescu-Ferche and Constantiniu
1981:298 fig. 4/4.

Ghiv-11b: Bucharest-Soldat Ghivan Street (Romania),
sunken building 11; Dolinescu-Ferche and Constantiniu
1981:300 fig. 5/3.

Ghiv-12: Bucharest-Soldat Ghivan Street (Romania), sunken
building 12; Dolinescu-Ferche and Constantiniu 1981:298
fig. 4/7.

Ghiv-14: Bucharest-Soldat Ghivan Street (Romania), sunken
building 14; Dolinescu-Ferche and Constantiniu 1981:298
fig. 4/8.

Ghiv-16a: Bucharest-Soldat Ghivan Street (Romania),
sunken building 16; Dolinescu-Ferche and Constantiniu
1981:300 fig. 5/5.

Ghiv-16b: Bucharest-Soldat Ghivan Street (Romania),
sunken building 16; Dolinescu-Ferche and Constantiniu
1981:300 fig. 5/4.

Ghiv-16c: Bucharest-Soldat Ghivan Street (Romania),
sunken building 16; Dolinescu-Ferche and Constantiniu
1981:298 fig. 4/1.

Ghiv-16d: Bucharest-Soldat Ghivan Street (Romania),
sunken building 16; Dolinescu-Ferche and Constantiniu
1981:300 fig. 5/6.

Ghiv-16e: Bucharest-Soldat Ghivan Street (Romania),
sunken building 16; Dolinescu-Ferche and Constantiniu
1981:298 fig. 4/10.

Horga: Horga, Vaslui district (Romania), sunken building;
Coman 1971b:fig. 2/2.

Iași: Iași-Crucea lui Ferent (Romania), sunken building
1; Teodor 1971:128 fig. 4/11.

Kor-1: Korchak IX, Zhytomyr region (Ukraine), sunken
building 1; Rusanova 1973b:pl. 8/7.

Kor-4a: Korchak IX, Zhytomyr region (Ukraine), sunken
building 4; Rusanova 1973b:pl. 8/17.

Kor-4b: Korchak IX, Zhytomyr region (Ukraine), sunken

building 4; Rusanova 1973b:pl. 8/18.

Kor-5: Korchak IX, Zhytomyr region (Ukraine), sunken building 5; Rusanova 1973b:pl. 9/1.

Kor-7: Korchak IX, Zhytomyr region (Ukraine), sunken building 7; Rusanova 1973b:pl. 9/16.

Kor-M: Korchak IX, Zhytomyr region (Ukraine), grave; Rusanova 1973b:pl. 9/20.

Malu-1: Malu Roșu-Fierbinți, Ialomița district (Romania), sunken building; Filipescu 1984:130 pl. I/1.

Malu-2: Malu Roșu-Fierbinți, Ialomița district (Romania), sunken building; Filipescu 1984:130 pl. I/2.

Mili-1: Bucharest-Militari , settlement find; Teodor 1972b:36 fig. 5/10.

Mili-2: Bucharest-Militari (Romania), settlement find; Teodor 1972b:10 fig. 1/3.

Mili-3: Bucharest-Militari (Romania), settlement find; Zirra and Cazimir 1963:67 fig. 15/1.

Rash-13: Rashkov III, Chernivtsi region (Ukraine), Chernivtsi region (Ukraine), sunken building 13; Baran 1988:151 pl. XXX/9.

Rash-22: Rashkov III, Chernivtsi region (Ukraine), sunken building 22; Baran 1988:151 pl. XXXIII/3.

Rash-25: Rashkov III, Chernivtsi region (Ukraine), sunken building 35; Baran 1988:152 pl. XXXV/1.

Rash-30: Rashkov III, Chernivtsi region (Ukraine), sunken building 30; Baran 1988:152 pl. XXVI/1.

Sărat-1: Sărata-Monteoru, Buzău district (Romania), cemetery find; n.a. 1955b:510 fig. 11/1.

Seli-1: Seliște, Orhei district, settlement find; Rafalovich and Lapushnian 1973:114 fig. 2/1.

Seli-2: Seliște, Orhei district, settlement find; Rafalovich and Lapushnian 1973:133 fig. 10/1.

Seli-3: Seliște, Orhei district, settlement find; Rafalovich and Lapushnian 1973:133 fig. 10/2.

Seli-4: Seliște, Orhei district, settlement find;
Rafalovich and Lapushnian 1973:133 fig. 10/3.

Seli-5: Seliște, Orhei district, settlement find;
Rafalovich 1974:126 fig. 8/1.

Seli-12a: Seliște, Orhei district, sunken building 12;
archaeological report in the archives of the
Archaeological Institute in Chișinău.

Seli-12b: Seliște, Orhei district, sunken building 12;
archaeological report in the archives of the
Archaeological Institute in Chișinău.

Seli-12c: Seliște, Orhei district, sunken building 12;
archaeological report in the archives of the
Archaeological Institute in Chișinău.

Seli-16a: Seliște, Orhei district, sunken building 16;
Rafalovich 1974:126 fig. 8/2.

Seli-16b: Seliște, Orhei district, sunken building 16;
Rafalovich 1974:126 fig. 8/3.

Seli-P73: Seliște, Orhei district, pit 73; Rafalovich
1974:126 fig. 8/4.

Strău 1: Bucharest-Străulești (Romania), settlement
find; Teodor 1972b:fig. 4/1.

Strău 2: Bucharest-Străulești (Romania), settlement
find; Teodor 1972b:fig. 32/2.

Strău 3: Bucharest-Străulești (Romania), settlement
find; Teodor 1972b:fig. 32/3.

Strău 4: Bucharest-Străulești (Romania), settlement
find; Teodor 1972b:fig. 32/4.

Strău 5: Bucharest-Străulești (Romania), settlement
find; Teodor 1972b:fig. 32/6.

Strău 6: Bucharest-Străulești (Romania), settlement
find; Teodor 1972b:fig. 32/8.

Uzhho: Uzhhorod-Halaho, Zakarpatska region (Ukraine),
sunken building; Peniak 1980:34 fig. 10/2.

Uzhho-1: Uzhhorod-Halaho, Zakarpatska region (Ukraine),
grave 1; Peniak 1980:34 fig. 10/1.

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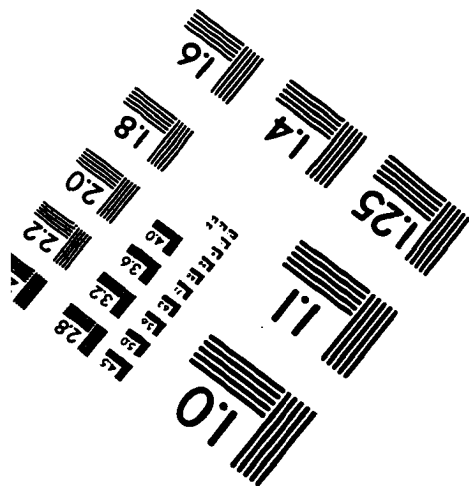
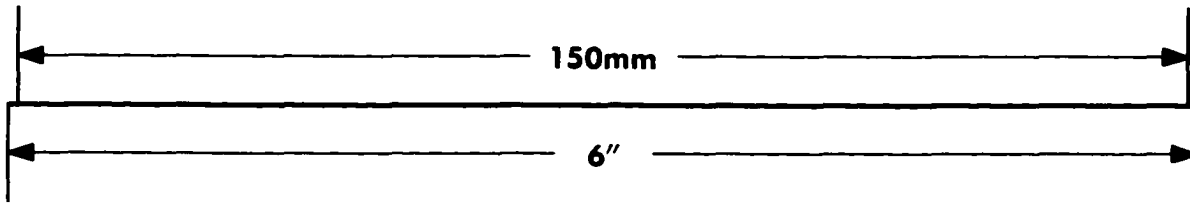
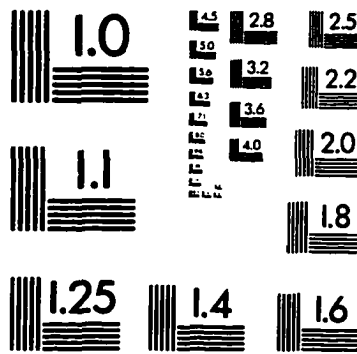
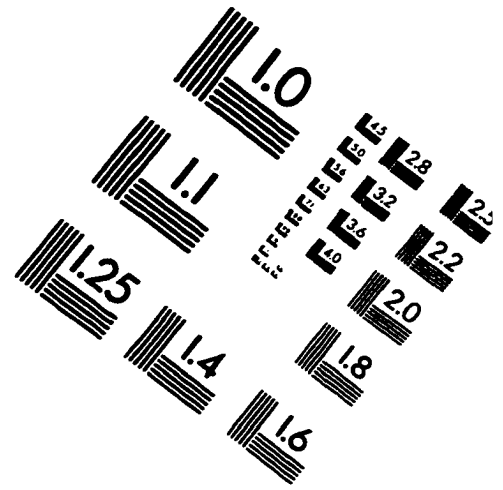
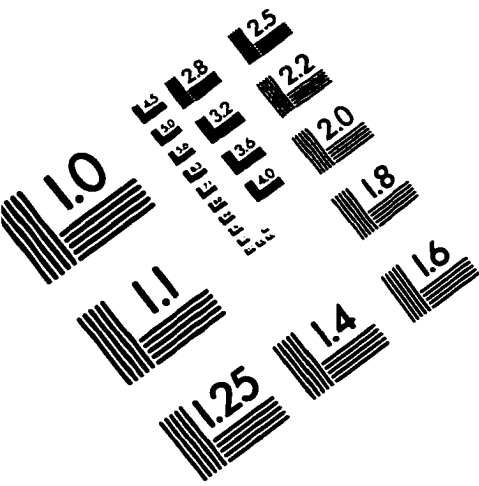
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