

# **THE WORLD OF THE SLAVS**

Studies on the East, West and South Slavs:  
Civitas, Oppidas, Villas and Archeological Evidence  
(7<sup>th</sup> to 11<sup>th</sup> Centuries AD)

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## 5 The Typology of Early Medieval Settlements in Bohemia, Poland and Russia

IRENA CVIJANOVIĆ

Development of settlements on the territory of Bohemia, Slovakia, Poland and Russia in the Early Middle Ages was shaped by different political, historical and economical conditions.<sup>1083</sup> Comparison between written sources and archaeological finds on the territory of Bohemia, Slovakia and Poland shows that the Slavs were primarily bearers of Prague-type culture.<sup>1084</sup> In Slovakia the Presov-type culture appeared, with close analogies in

- 1083 A. Gieyzstor, *Aux origines de la ville slave: ville de grands, et ville d'Etat aux IXe-XIe siècles*, I Miedzynarodowy kongres archeologii słowiańskiej, Wrocław - Warszawa - Kraków 1968, 129; И. Херманн, *Структура поселений и общественные отношения в славянских странах в раннем средневековье*, Тезисы докладов делегации ГДР на IV Международном конгрессе славянской археологии, Берлин 1980, 5-19; В. В. Седов, *Начало городов на Руси*, Труды пятого международного конгресса славянской археологии, Москва 1987, 12-31; D. Čaplovic, *New Facts About the Development of Medieval Rural House in East Slovakia*, Slovenska archeologia XXXV-1, Bratislava 1987; Б. А. Тимошук, *Археологические признаки посада древнерусского города*, Труды пятого международного конгресса славянской археологии I, Москва 1987, 70-77; Д. А. Авдусин, *Образование древнерусских городов лесной зоны*, Труды пятого международного конгресса славянской археологии II, Москва 1987, 5-12; W. Hensel, *Archaeology on the Origins of Polish Towns*, Slovenska archeologia XXXVI-1, Bratislava 1988, 77-84.
- 1084 H. Brachmann, *Slawische Stämme an Elbe und Saale*, Zu ihrer Geschichte und Kultur im 6. bis 10. Jahrhundert-auf Grund archäologischer Quellen, Berlin 1978, 7-20.

Poland.<sup>1085</sup> Based on research of a great number of towns and villages in ancient Russia, five cultures can be determined: East Slavic culture, Prague-Korchak, Penkovka, Ipotesti-Candesti and Volincevo culture.<sup>1086</sup> In the forest-steppe areas of Ukraine the widespread cultures are Prague-type, Penkovka, Zhitomir and Raikovets.<sup>1087</sup>

The main problem in the research of Early Medieval settlements is dating them. Relative chronology is mainly based on typological classification of ceramics.<sup>1088</sup> The most common type of dwelling were sunken huts and in addition to them, in Ukraine and South Russia, village huts were also present. Izba, a form of a rural log cabin, is characteristic of the forest areas around Novgorod and Moscow.<sup>1089</sup> Pile dwellings were built on the lakes and rivers in Poland. Other than these simple forms of dwellings were strongholds (*gradishta*), towns surrounded with walls. As the population expanded, first towns came to be in the open spaces around courts or within walls.

- 1085 V. Budinský-Krička, *Nález staroslovanskej polozemunice v Prešove*, Archeologické rozhledy VII, Praha 1955, 494-496, 505-509, 561, 566; V. Budinský-Krička, *Príspevok k poznaniu včasnostredovekej dediny na východnom Slovensku*, Slovenska archeológia XVIII (1970) 167-188.
- 1086 А. В. Куза, *Социально-историческая типология древнерусских городов X-XIII вв.*, Русский город (исследования и материалы), Москва 1983, 6-15.
- 1087 В. Д. Баран, *Пражская культура*, Этнокультурная карта территории Украинской ССР в I тысячелетии н.э., Киев 1985, 85-93; О. М. Приходник, *Пеньковская культура*, Этнокультурная карта территории Украинской ССР в I тысячелетии н.э., Киев 1985, 85-93; В. Д. Баран, *Раннесредневековые древности славян Юго-Восточной Европы (проблемы сложения, периодизации и социальной структуры)*, Труды пятого международного конгресе славянской археологии, Москва 1987, 52-57.
- 1088 V. Hraby, *Zur Typologie der Siedlungsagglomeratione in der großmährischen Epoche*, Miedzynarodowy kongres archeologii słowiańskiej, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1970, 174; В. В. Седов, *Начало городов на Руси*, Труды пятого международного конгресе славянской археологии I, Москва 1987, 12-31.
- 1089 Е. Н. Носов, *Новгород и новгородская округа IX-X вв. В свете новейших археологических данных (к вопросу о возникновении Новгорода)*. Новгородский исторический сборник 2 (12). Ленинград 1984, 3-38.

### Types of dwellings

#### Sunken huts in the forest steppes

Already at the end of the first millennium, sunken huts were widespread throughout the Slavic territories.<sup>1090</sup> They were of circular or square shape - a primitive dwelling, which was essentially a dug-in room with a hearth in the middle. Its cover was a pitched thatch roof, placed on low walls made of timber logs and branches, pasted with white clay. The diameter of pits ranged from 2 m to more than 4 m with a vestibule in front. Stairs dug in the ground were used as entryway.

All the dwellings archaeologists excavated in Moravia (e.g. Mutjenice or Najdek) and in Kiev area, were small shelters at first, dug in the ground.<sup>1091</sup> Later appeared a kind of rectangular hut - pit house, with sunken ground. Families no longer lived in spacious, common houses, but in separate houses built one next to another, as the excavations of the seventh to ninth century period in the villages of Motomel and Malocharnia showed.<sup>1092</sup>

#### Village houses (huts) in the steppe

Apart from sunken huts, village house (hut) was used in Ukraine and southern Russia. It was built of unbaked brick and tree branches or woven reed, and placed directly on the ground. Huts are most often found in steppes.<sup>1093</sup>

1090 V. Budinský-Krička, *Nález staroslovanskej polozemunice v Prešove*, Archeologické rozhledy VII, Praha 1955, 494-496.

1091 S. Beebz, D. Buckton, *Zd. Klanica, Great Moravia*, The Archaeology of Ninth Century Moravia, London 1982, 17-25.

1092 N. Ščapov, *Bol'saja i malaja sem'i na Rusi, VIII-XIII v.*, Stanovlenie rannefeodal'nix gosudarstv, Kijev 1972, 180-193; I. Ja. Frojanov, *Sem'ja i verv' kievskoj Rusi*, Sovetskaja Etnografija 3, 1973.

1093 В. Д. Баран, *Раннесредневековые древности славян Юго-Восточной Европы (Проблемы сложения, периодизации и социальной структуры)*, Труды пятого международного конгресса славянской археологии, Москва 1987, 52-57; F. Kont, *Sloveni. Nastanak i razvoj slovenskih civilizacija u Evropi (VI-XIII vek)* I, Beograd 1989, 117.

## Forest izbas

Izba, a rural log cabin, is characteristic in woodland areas in Slavic lands. Around Novgorod and Moscow, Izba was built immediately on the ground, or on the columns. It was built of cordwood with beams stacked one over another in layers.<sup>1094</sup> Cold vestibule served as both entrance and pantry while a masonry stove was in the inner warmed part.

## Pile dwellings

Pile dwellings are huts built on timber logs, driven into the bottom of lakes or rivers. There are many remains of pile dwellings that were discovered in Poland.<sup>1095</sup>

## Courts of princes (knezi)

The construction of wooden walls and ceilings was built on the foundations made of stone without mortar. A court was a large building with one main hall and small halls adjacent to it, with many rooms around. Wealthier Slavic rulers employed foreign masons and artisans. The appearances of the courts can be partially ascertained through the excavations in the area around Kiev.<sup>1096</sup> The court in Prague was reconstructed.<sup>1097</sup>

Of all the courts, only one was preserved, in Aboba-Pliska.<sup>1098</sup> It was built for a foreign dynasty that ruled the Slavs. The court was fortified with walls, within which were preserved parts of a stone palace, smaller buildings also made of stone and remains of a basilican temple.

1094 B. Kerblay, *L'Izba d'hier et d'aujourd'hui*, Lozana 1973, 28.

1095 Z. Kurnatowska, A. Losińska, *Stan i potrzeby badań nad wczesnym średniowieczem w Wielkopolsce*, Stan i potrzeby badań nad wczesnym średniowieczem w Wielkopolsce. Materiały z konferencji, Poznań 14-16 grudnia 1987 roku, Poznań - Wrocław - Warszawa 1992, 105-153.

1096 V. I. Mezentsev, *The Territorial and Demographic Development of Medieval Kiev and Other Major Cities of Rus': A Comparative Analyses Based on Recent Archeological Research*, Russian Review 48, No. 2 (Apr., 1989), 145-154.

1097 M. Goliński, *Ka rekonstrukcji pierwotnych funkcji tyńskiego dworu w Pradze*, Wratislavia antiqua 2, Średniowieczny śląsk i czechy centrum średniowiecznego miasta Wrocław a Europa środkowa, Wrocław 2000, 126-138.

1098 С. Бонев, *Предварително съобщение за нов архитектурен паметник в Пеславска дворец*, Плиска - Преслав 10, Варна 2004, 244-252; Р. Рашев,

### Types of settlements

#### Gradishta

Other than the previously described simple residences, the Slavs built circular, oval, quadrangular and triangular forts surrounded by walls called gradishta.<sup>1099</sup> The interior was a suburb divided by transversal ramparts. On the highest terrace were a court, a shrine and defensive towers. In the suburb were settlements of the population from the town and the surrounding area. Sometimes gradishta have long lines of simple embankments and cuts, so-called snake ramparts, which have been particularly researched in Bohemia, Poland and Russia.<sup>1100</sup>

First towns were a type of settlement in transition from rural to urban. In the first phase, the urban population practiced agriculture and other professions. They gathered in the open settlements around courts or within ramparts. Excavations in many parts of Poland, Bohemia and Russia unearthed so much new material that we may speak of the formation of towns, accepting the definition of a town as a settlement with independent economy, compact structure, defensive character, specific position in the military and administrative system, and existence of law. Towns that served for permanent and reinforced protection of a large settlement, that is, a prince's seat and a trade centre, had stronger and better built ramparts. The

*Керамични съдове от подземния ходник на Крумовия дворец в Плиска,*  
Плиска-Преслав 10, Варна 2004, 62., обр. 1.0.

1099 S. Vencl, *K problematice fortifikací v archjeologicke*, Archeologické rozhledy XXXV-3, Praha 1983, 284- 315.

1100 В. Генезель, *Примениние археологического метода к исследованиям о возникновении польских городов*, Slavia Antiqua, Poznań 1962, 113-137; J. Böhm, B. Havránek, J. Kolejka, J. Poulik, V. Vaněček, *Velká Morava, Tisíciletá tradice státu a kultury*, Praha 1963, 56-68; V. Hruba, *Zur Typologie der Siedlungsagglomeratione in der großmährischen Epoche*, Miedzynarodowy kongres archeologii słowiańskiej, Wrocław - Warszawa - Kraków 1970, 174; W. Losiński, J. Olczak i K. Siuchniński, *Zródła archeologiczne do studiów nad wcześnieśredniowiecznym osadnictwem grodowym na terenie województwa Koszalińskiego IV*, Poznań 1971, 158-262. В. В. Седов, *Славяне в раннем средневековье*, Москва 1995, 284-288. M. Kuna, N. Profantová, *Počátky raného středověku v Čechách (The Onset of the Early Middle Ages in Bohemia)*, Praha 2005, 319.

strongest construction of a Slavic town from the end of the tenth century was discovered during the excavations of Bielgorod on the river Irpen, west of Kiev.<sup>1101</sup> It was built by Vladimir the Great as his court on the trade route from Kiev through Zhitomir and Galicia, which is why it was strongly fortified. It is possible to establish the chronology of early towns. At first they appeared on the territory of Great Moravia, then among Serb tribes, then around the river Vistula, then among the north-western Slavs, then in Ruthenia, Bohemia, and at the end among central and northern Polish tribes.

#### Rural settlements

Rural settlements are divided in three types: scattered, round or closely packed. The basic type is scattered, with houses detached from each other. The closely packed one has village houses adjacent to each other. Shape of the round type resembles a closed horseshoe with a narrow entrance and a market square in the middle.

Beside the houses were grain pits - barns, holes in the ground with burnt walls, which were used for preserving food grain. Sometimes they were dug next to refuse pits.

#### Habitation among the Slavic peoples

##### Moravia

A great number of villages, gradishta, and especially towns was explored in Moravia. Most of the time, gradishta were built on top of ancient settlements. In the period between the reigns of Mojmir and Rastislav appeared the following towns: Mikulčice, Líšeň, Staré Zámky at Brno-Líšeň, Znojmo, Staré Město, Pohansko u Břeclavě,<sup>1102</sup> Pobedim, Ducové, Nitra, Devín, Bratislava, Bíňa. By 874, Moravia expanded and

1101 V. I. Mezentsev, *The Territorial and Demographic Development of Medieval Kiev and Other Major Cities of Rus': A Comparative Analysis Based on Recent Archaeological Research*, Russian Review 48, No. 2 (Apr., 1989), 165-170.

1102 F. Kalousek, *Břeclav-Pohansko I*, Brno 1971, 103-104; Б. Достал, *Городские черты городища Поганского*, Труды пятого международного конгресса славянской археологии, Москва 1987, 79-85.

took control on the north-west over the towns of L. Hradec, Praha, Stare Kouřim; while on the north-east fell the towns of Krakow, Zemplin and Feldebrö. During the reign of Svatopluk (882-892), Moravia expanded to the south and gained the towns: Savária, Ostrihom, Omuntesprech, Blatnograd, Pätkostolie, Solnik, Uherského Hradište.<sup>1103</sup> Early towns of Stare Kourim, Levi Hradec and Libice in old Bohemia appeared in the second quarter of the tenth century.<sup>1104</sup> Towns Hradecin and Visehrad were probably separate fortified centres with urban settlements around them that formed the early Prague through a merger. Archaeological excavations point to a parallel existence of two centres in the second quarter of the tenth century.<sup>1105</sup>

Ibn Rosteh mentioned the town of Djervab, i.e. *Djradista/Gradiste*, as the seat of the Moravian ruler Svatopluk.<sup>1106</sup> Idrisi refers to Gradishte (Agridiska) as an important, populated town on the confluence of Morava into Danube: „On the shores of the river Morava are water mills, vineyards and gardens. Gradishte is a rich merchant town, situated on tilled, fertile and well-irrigated land with grain. It takes two and a half days to travel from Gradishte to the town of Neokastro, going down the Danube. Gradishte is 75 miles away from Belgrade (Belgradun) by land and two days by river. The two fortified towns of Ravna and Gradishte are also two days apart by river and 100 miles by land.“<sup>1107</sup>

Mikulčice at Hodmine was a very important centre for trade and craftsmanship.<sup>1108</sup> The early urban centre developed in the eighth century on the foundations of an earlier settlement. Throughout the ninth century it grew to become a large settlement with a surface area of 200 ha. It is surmised that the centre was comprised of one large fortification with a surface area of 6 ha and a few smaller ramparts around the suburb settlement populated with warriors, craftsmen, merchants and peasants.<sup>1109</sup>

1103 J. Dekan, *Vel'ka' Morava*, Bratislava 1976, 71-74.

1104 J. Böhm, B. Havránek, J. Kolejka, J. Poulik, V. Vaněček, *Velká Morava*, Tisíciletá tradice státu a kultury, Praha 1963, 56-68; R. Turek, *Libice, le bourgwall princier du Xe siècle*, Prague 1966-71, 7-26.

1105 J. Kláپsté, Z. Smetánka, Z. Dragoun, *Středovéke Prahy*, Archeologické rozhledy XXXV-4, Praha 1983, 387-419.

1106 Ibn Rosteh, *Kitab al-a'lák An-Nafisa VII*, BGA (ed. De Goeje), Lugduni-Batavorum (Leiden) 1892, 144; И. Цвијановић, *Средоземље у делима арапских географа (IX-XII век)* (докторска теза), Београд 2010, 156-157.

1107 Idrisi, *Kitab Nuzhat al-Mušqat fi Ihtiraq al-Afaq*, Bejrut 1989, 882-903.

1108 J. Böhm, B. Havránek, J. Kolejka, J. Poulik, V. Vaněček, *Velká Morava*, Tisíciletá tradice státu a kultury, Praha 1963, 56-68.

1109 B. Kavánová, *Pozustatky orbz v Mikulčich*, Archeologické rozhledy XXXVI -4, Praha 1984, 423-429.

During the excavations in the suburb more than one hundred log cabins with clay floors and clay-coated ovens were discovered.<sup>1110</sup> Residential buildings ranged in size from ten to seventy square meters. The town was built of stone and had ten stone churches of which the basilica with baptistery was the most distinguished one. At the highest point of the fortress was discovered a rectangular building, possibly a prince's court. Remains of plaster and ornamented stone indicate that the interior of the fortification was elaborately decorated and there are indications that material from older buildings was reused. Despite the great area the town of Mikulčice seems to have covered, preliminary research make place to estimate the population below two thousand inhabitants. The size of Mikulčice is comparable to most town centres in central Europe and some parts of western Europe in the eleventh and twelfth century.

Another important trade centre was *Staré Město* where remains of stone churches were discovered as well.<sup>1111</sup> During the excavations, A. Zelentiem and L. Niderle discovered at the site named Velehrad a church with graves beside it, with many movable finds that provided the basis for dating the site from the second half of the ninth to the first half of the tenth century. The church was single-naved with a horse-shoe apse, separated by a triumphal arch. North-west of the church a medieval gradishte with remains of house foundations made of stone and lime can be seen. V. Hrubi proposed that a wooden construction was erected on stone foundations.<sup>1112</sup>

In the place *Modré* only a ninth century church with rectangular apse, built on foundations of older church, has been preserved.<sup>1113</sup>

The whole architecture of the settlement *Sadech* can be dated to two phases.<sup>1114</sup> The church had an apse on the western side that leant on a narthex with a crypt, with an adjacent baptistery. Around the church were

1110 B. B. Седов, *Славяне в раннем средневековье*, Москва 1995, 284-288.

1111 L. Hrdlička, *Centrum raně středověk Prahy*, Wratislavia antiqua 2, Średniodwieczny śląsk i czechy centrum średniowiecznego miasta Wrocław a Europa środkowa, Wrocław 2000, 191-214.

1112 V. Hruba, *Staré Město - Velehrad, ústřední z doboz Velkomoravské říše*, Praha 1964, 7-28; V. Hruba, *Stare Mesto - Velkomoravsky Velehrad*, Praha 1965, 350-356.

1113 J. Böhm, B. Havránek, J. Kolejka, J. Poulik, V. Vaněček, *Velká Morava*, Tisíciletá tradice státu a kultury, Praha 1963, 51-53; J. Lichardus, *Základy staroslovanského kostola v Modrej*, Slovenska archeológia LI, Praha 2003, 15-19; I. Richardus, *Grundriss einer altslawischen holzkirche von Modra*, Slovenska archeológia LI, Praha 2003, 109-110.

1114 J. Böhm, B. Havránek, J. Kolejka, J. Poulik, V. Vaněček, *Velká Morava*, Tisíciletá tradice státu a kultury, Praha 1963, 54-56.

graves and grave chapel in which a prominent person was buried. The church was destroyed in a fire at the beginning of the tenth century. According to V. Hrubeh the new necropolis was established in the latter half of the eleventh century.

Another well-researched gradishte is *Pohansko u Břeclavě*, placed on the confluence of the river Duje into the Morava.<sup>1115</sup> Its surface area is 27 ha. Under the ruins of the gradishte was discovered a single-naved church 18.6 m long and 7.2 m wide, with painted walls, horse-shoe apse, narthex and sacristy. Around the church was a necropolis.

In *Devin* a settlement was discovered that was situated on the confluence of the Morava into the Danube, where today stands Bratislava.<sup>1116</sup> According to J. Dekan it was built at the same time as *Závěr*, in the second half of the ninth century.<sup>1117</sup>

At the site of *Mikov dvor* there are three horizons of occupation that show *Nitra* was built in the sixth-seventh century.<sup>1118</sup> During the excavations it was ascertained that three construction phases were executed in the eleventh century: the court, wooden palisade and stone rampart. Remains of churches were discovered in the town.<sup>1119</sup>

The town of *Libice* is situated in the basin of Elba, in central Bohemia. During the archaeological excavations remains of a settlement were discovered that existed from the eighth to the twelfth century on the location of present-day village, which bears the same name. The town was the seat of the noble Slavnik family from the ninth to the tenth century.<sup>1120</sup>

During the excavations of the settlement *Bína* two horizons were discovered.<sup>1121</sup> In the first horizon, four small village huts from the tenth-

1115 F. Kalousek, *Břeclav-Pohansko I*, Brno 1971, 103-104; Б. Достал, *Городские черты городища Поганско*, Труды пятого международного конгресса славянской археологии, Москва 1987, 79-85; В. В. Седов, *Славяне в раннем средневековье*, Москва 1995, 292-294.

1116 V. Plachá, *Römerzeitliche besiedlung von Bratislava-Devin*, Archeologické rozhledy XXXVIII-4, Praha 1986, 339.

1117 J. Dekan, *Devin a Velká Morava, priroda a spoločnost*, Praha 1961, 25-29.

1118 G. Fusek, *Včasnoslovanské sídlisko v Nitre na Mikovom dvoru*, Slovenska archeológia XXXIX-1-2, Praha 1991, 281-315. P. Bednar - M. Samuel, *Entwicklung der befestigung der Nitraer burg im 11. jahrhundert*, Slovenska archeológia XLIX, Praha 2001, 301-345.

1119 B. Chropovský, *The Situation Archeological of Nitra in the Light of Find*, Historica VIII, Praha 1964, 5-34.

1120 R. Turek, *Libice, le bourgwill princier du Xe siècle*, Prague 1966-71, 7-50.

1121 M. Ruttkaz - I. Cheben, *Včasnostredoveké sídlisko a pohrebisko v Bíni*, Slovenska archeológia XL-1, Praha 1992, 109-117.

eleventh century were discovered dug into the ground. In the second horizon remains of huts were discovered, spread widely on a large area, about 200 m long. One of the houses was dug into the ground and it is assumed that the others were built on the ground.

The early medieval settlement of *Bajč-Medzi Kanálmi*, on a peninsula in the valley of the river Zhltava, occupied the surface area of 3.5 ha.<sup>1122</sup> More than five hundred houses were discovered in the settlement that was developing from the sixth to thirteenth century.<sup>1123</sup> Houses had an underground room, jars for storage, separated ovens, pottery for baking, and a channel. Next to the settlement, a necropolis was in use from the ninth to tenth century, with graves of warriors.

Remains of settlement in *Bielovciach*, on the lower stream of the river Ipel, are dated to the tenth or eleventh century. Among the remains of sunken huts were discovered a well and a house destroyed in fire, which preserved the ovens and ceramics.<sup>1124</sup>

The town of *Pobedim* was built in the first third of the ninth century between the rivers Dudvah and Duboveja in the Trencin area. The complex consisted of the town, suburb and ramparts.<sup>1125</sup>

#### Bohemia

Al-Bakri described *Prague*: "The town of Prague was built with stone and lime, on the shores of a river."<sup>1126</sup> It is the biggest centre of trade.<sup>1127</sup> Russians and Slavs come to it for trade from the town of Kraków. Merchants from the Turkish lands, Muslims, Jews and Turks go to it as well. Deliverers are scattered and they bring their fine spices, tin and Arabic coinage.

- 1122 M. Ruttkay, *Mittelalterliche siedlung und gräberfeld in Bajč-Medzi Kanálmi*, Slovenska archeológia L-2, Praha 2002, 245-322.
- 1123 M. Ruttkay, *Stredoveké sídlisko a pohrebisko v Bajči-Medzi Kanálmi*, Slovenska archeológia LI, Praha 2003, 317-322.
- 1124 G. Fusek, *Torzo stredovekého sídliska v Bielovciach*, Slovenska archeológia XLVIII-1, Praha 2000, 101-158.
- 1125 D. Bialeková, *Poptrava živočíšneho pôvodu v Pobedimskej sídliskovej ekuméne v 9. storočí*, Slovenska archeológia XL-3, Praha 1988, 296-305.
- 1126 Al-Bakri, *Al-Masálik w'al-Mamalik*, Bejrut 2003, 252-253; И. Цвијановић, *Средоземље у делнику арапских географа (IX-XII век)* (докторска теза), Београд 2010, 208.
- 1127 И. Цвијановић, *Арапски писани извори о трговачким путевима и градовима у словенским земљама од IX до XII века*, Архаика 2, Београд 2009, 231.

They make saddles for horses, reins and leather shields in the town of Prague. In the majority of the many researched villages prevail sunken huts. The earliest town of Prague was a three-part gradishte with an acropolis in the middle.<sup>1128</sup> It appeared in the middle of the ninth century.<sup>1129</sup>

The settlements of *the Prague-type culture* are spread throughout Bohemia.<sup>1130</sup> They appeared at the time of Slavic expansion, consisting of groups of three to six houses. About 150-156 sites with typical the Prague-type culture material have been identified; on 18 locations several settlements were researched, most of all were at the sites Prague-Hradčany (5), Prague-Bohnice (4), and Most (3). Sites with two settlements are Prague-Bubeneč, Prague-Horníč, Počernice, Prague-Michle, Prague-Dejvice, Lovosice and Kanin. The most important excavations were carried out on the sites Libice, Lovosice, Prague-Čimice, Prague-Bubeneč, Jenišův, Ujezd, Turnov, Brezno and Rozotky, but most of the findings have not been published.<sup>1131</sup>

An extraordinarily high number of early medieval houses of the the Prague-type culture was discovered in *Rozotky*.<sup>1132</sup> About 122 residential houses were explored, 35 storage pits and it was estimated that the settlement had 500 houses, which is a number exceeding the number of huts from the same period on the other sites in Bohemia.<sup>1133</sup> Other settlements had a small number of houses, indicating small early medieval communities. The settlement Rozotky had existed for about 150 years and it is estimated that the houses were used for a period of seven to twenty-five years. They built

1128 Л. Лециевич, *Западнославянский город-структурные преобразования в XI-XII вв.*, Труды пятого международного конгресса славянской археологии, Москва 1987, 121-123; L. Hrdlička, *K výpověďistratigrafického vývoje Pražského hrádu*, Archeologické rozhledy XLIX-4, Praha 1997, 649-658; L. Hrdlička, *Centrum raně středověké Prahy*, *Wratislavia antiqua* 2, Średniowieczny śląsk i czechy centrum średniowiecznego miasta Wrocław a Europa środkowa, Wrocław 2000, 191-214.

1129 I. Boháčová - J. Froulík, *Nové archeologické prameny a počátky pražského hrádu*, Archeologické rozhledy XLIII-4, Praha 1991, 562-576.

1130 H. Brachmann, *Slawische Stämme an Elbe und Saale*, Zu ihrer Geschichte und Kultur im 6. bis 10. Jahrhundert-auf Grund archäologischer Quellen, Berlin 1978, 7-20.

1131 M. Kuna, N. Profantová, *Počátky raného středověku v Čechách (The Onset of the Early Middle Ages in Bohemia)*, Praha 2005, 120-123.

1132 M. Gojda - M. Kuna, *Časně slovanský sídelní areál v rozotkách (okr. Praha - západ) - stav výzkumu a jeho perspektivy*, Archeologické rozhledy XXXVII-2, Praha 1985, 152-169.

1133 M. Kuna, N. Profantová, *Počátky raného středověku v Čechách (The Onset of the Early Middle Ages in Bohemia)*, Praha 2005, 25-30.

only single-room quadrangle huts with a stone oven. Such houses are typical of the Prague-type culture and are found throughout the Central Laba/Elba area, in western Ukraine and around lower Danube.<sup>1134</sup> This type of hut is characteristic for early medieval houses in wide area of Central, East and South-East Europe. It is assumed that this type of house originated from the steppes of western Ukraine. In the first half of the first millennium, there were other types of houses that were characteristic for the cultures of western Ukraine and neighboring areas (Prevorsk, Zarubnecka, Cernikov culture), but the houses that would become fundamental to the Prague-type culture appeared in the fifth century.<sup>1135</sup> In contrast with the earlier types, the huts of the Prague-type culture are sunken huts with a typical quadrangle base, rectangular or trapezoidal. In the corner of the room was always a stone oven on a square base with sides forty to sixty centimeters in length. The ovens were built of large stone blocks and usually parallel with one side of the house. Next to the oven was a vessel dug into the ground. The houses were made of wood and covered with roof made of straw or branches. Early medieval houses sometimes had a dug-in storage and on the site Rozotky seven findings of that feature were discovered. The entrance is most of the time a narrow, dug-out passage. Houses sometimes had a storage dug on the sides or into the floor. This space was used as a small cellar with vessels for storage of grain foods. In Rozotky the houses were sometimes arranged one next to another, in line but this is not a rule. Very rarely were they arranged in a semicircle, like on the sites of Breclav-Pohansko and Dunaujvaros. It is assumed that the settlement was inhabited by several groups, communities of different origins, which is indicated by the position of ovens and the sporadic presence of dug-in storage jars.

Settlement *Brezno* was discovered in Bohemia, north-west of Prague and it deserves special attention.<sup>1136</sup> The explored area contains thirty-two houses. In contrast with other early medieval villages in which all the quadrangle sunken houses were of the same type, in the settlement *Brezno*, twenty-two houses were typically Slavic while the others were

1134 H. Brachmann, *Slawische Atämme an Elbe und Saale*, Zu ihrer Geschichte und Kultur im 6. bis 10. Jahrhundert-auf Grund archäologischer Quellen, Berlin 1978, 7-20, 161-167.

1135 Л. Лещевич, *Западнославянский город. Структурные преобразования в XI-XII вв.*, Труды пятого международного конгресса славянской археологии, Москва 1987, 118-126.

1136 J. Böhm, B. Havránek, J. Kolejka, J. Poulik, V. Vaněček, *Velká Morava, Tisíciletá tradice státu a kultury*, Praha 1963, 53-55.

elongated, rectangular, with three holes for spikes in each corner. Slavic and German ceramics was found. The ceramics mostly belongs to several phases of the Prague-type culture, the last one correlated with the fortification on the hill. Germanic people had lived in this settlement before the arrival of the Slavs. Pleinerova dated the early Slavic settlement of Brezno to the sixth century and the phase with the fortifications on the hill to the eighth century.

An important centre was gradishta *Budeci*, 20 km west of Prague.<sup>1137</sup> It was built on a round hill and has the surface area of twenty-two hectares. It was divided into two parts, town, round in shape with the surface area of six hectares, and suburb. Excavations showed that the fortification was built at the end of the eight and the beginning of ninth century. In the construction of fortification ramparts, which is six meters wide, a stone rampart from the Bronze Age period was used. It shaped the external contours of the walls, and its internal part was made of wood. At the end of the ninth and the beginning of tenth century a new, ten-meter wide wall was built on the ruins of the old one. Its outer side was made of sandstone and inner of logs. At the same time a suburb was built surrounded by a stone wall. On the inner side, the suburb rampart was made of lattice construction with clay filling. These structures in the fortress were later restored several times. The excavations proved that starting from the ninth and tenth century, the gradishta were solidly built.

The houses of the ninth and tenth century were partially dug-in sunken huts with a square base and houses on the ground with a pillar construction. In the eleventh and twelfth century, overground hut were widespread and some of them had stone foundations. Pits for grain storage were discovered around many houses. One pit from the ninth century contained a rich finding of grains, wheat and rye. Many finds point to development of handcrafts.

The legends of St. Vaclav mentioned that a Czech prince Spitignev (891-916) founded c. 900 the temple of St. Peter. Its remains were discovered in town. The foundations are in the shape of rotunda with inner columns and an apse. On the south part of gradishta a homestead with huts on stone foundations and a road covered with stones were discovered. The temple was fenced with a palisade. The homestead was established in the tenth century, but prior to that, the site had been inhabited for two centuries.

<sup>1137</sup> J. Böhm, B. Havránek, J. Kolejka, J. Poulik, V. Vaněček, *Velká Morava, Tisíciletá tradice státu a kultury*, Praha 1963, 56-57.

Gradishte *Libice nad Cidlina* is situated on the river Cidlina not far from the confluence in the Vltava. Multiple archaeological remains were discovered of one of the fortified settlements of the Zlichani.<sup>1138</sup> The settlement in Libice existed in the Bronze Age, early Slavic period, in the sixth century, and the Slavic fortification dates to a period between the eight and twelfth century.<sup>1139</sup> It is assumed that in the second half of the tenth century it was the residence of the noble family Slavnikovic. The Přemyslids took over the control of the gradishte in 995 and the settlement became a court-town. The inner fortification of the settlement had the surface area of ten hectares. Slavic settlers moved into that area in the sixth century. During the excavations there were discovered partially dug-in sunken huts with stone ovens and hearths. The first structures in the fortress were built at the end of the eighth century. First, a wall was built with foundations of logs filled with clay and stone. Ditches were dug out on both the inner and outer side of the wall. There was an internal passage that led from the gradishte to the suburb. The first doors burnt in the middle of the ninth century and they were restored as a light construction on pillars. In the second half of the tenth century stone doors were built with a tower above. During the reign of the Přemyslids, the gradishte was theirs and it consisted of overground structures constructed on pillars or logs. Other than houses, there are remains of auxiliary rooms, tannery, fish pond, and storage-pits for preserving grain foods. At the end of the eight century, the suburb of Libica was there as well. In the Zlicin period there were three kinds of buildings existed here: partially dug-in sunken huts, overground houses with construction of pillars, and log cabins. In the north part of that suburb there were forges and smithies. In the middle of the tenth century, a court of Mother of God was built in the suburb, the remains of which were not discovered during the excavations. On the south part of the suburb was a log cabin with several rooms on a layer of stone. Under the wooden floor, a water drainage channel was found discovered. Among the finds linked to that log cabin, a vessel for ritual water pouring was found. In the middle of the tenth century, when the noble family Slavnikovic was established at the gradishte, a single-floor stone court and a two-storey

<sup>1138</sup> J. Justová, *Archeologický výzkum na predhradí slovanského hradiště v Libici nad Cidlínou a v jeho zázemí v letech 1985-1989*, Archeologické rozhledy XLII-6, Praha 1990, 661-673.

<sup>1139</sup> J. Justová, *Archeologický výzkum na predhradí slovanského hradiště v Libici nad Cidlínou a v jeho zázemí v letech 1980-1984*, Archeologické rozhledy XXXVII-3, Praha 1985, 661-673.

wooden court were built and connected by a bridge. South of the court was a mint workshop, and among its remains were discovered three systems for casting and craftsman smelter's inventory with traces of silver and copper. When the Přemyslids conquered Libice, most of the settlement was destroyed and burned. Most of the inhabitants moved into neighboring villages. From the eleventh century, new buildings were being built on the ruins of the old gradishte while the suburb was deserted.

Important data on the culture of the Czech state were acquired during the excavations on the gradishte of *Stara Kourim*, from the middle of the eighth to the middle of the ninth century; then gradishta *Lensi* in the region *Litomerzice*, the settlement *Gradec* near *Stod* in the south-west of the Czech valley.<sup>1140</sup> The power of the Přemyslids was based upon a network of fortified points situated in strategically important places, within the country and on the borderlands. This network of gradishta was already built in the ninth century. Starting from the late ninth century and throughout the tenth century, new construction takes place, towards the suburb. First fenced-off homesteads appeared, and first Christian church buildings, as well. In the second half of the tenth century, any new gradishta were built, probably connected with the rise of centralized administration. Village settlements from this epoch have been left archaeologically unresearched.

During excavations of several villages, only a few objects and ceramics were found. From those at the settlement *Kounich*, it was established that some rural settlements from the eighth and ninth century were fortified with clay or wooden walls.<sup>1141</sup>

The oldest Slavic settlement, *Prag-Hradcani* appeared in the sixth century. The settlement developed rapidly in the period from the ninth to tenth century and by then, it expanded on the entire area of *Hradčani*.<sup>1142</sup>

In the settlement *Prague-Hornich* were discovered remains of partially dug-in sunken huts and lots of ceramics, originating from two phases. The oldest Slavic ceramics were dated to the sixth century.<sup>1143</sup>

1140 Л. Лециевич, *Западнославянский город-структурные преобразования в XI-XII вв.*, Труды пятого международного конгресса славянской археологии, Москва 1987, 118-126.

1141 J. Kudrnáč, *Slovanské vyšinné sídliště v Kounicích ve vztahu k osídlení v Pošembeřích*, Archeologické rozhledy XXXVI-3, Praha 1984, 279-287.

1142 J. Frolík, *Osídlení západního předpolí Pražského hradu před vznikem města Hradčan*, Archeologické rozhledy XXXVIII-1, Praha 1986, 73-84.

1143 S. Vencl - J. Zadák, *Časně slovanská polozemnice z Praha - Hornich Počernic*, Archeologické rozhledy XXXVII-3, Praha 1985, 297-306.

Idrisi named all known towns in Bohemia: *Basu, Akra, Bits, Sinulaus*.<sup>1144</sup> Two rivers in Bohemia originate from the mountain Balavat, first separating, then connecting and meeting the Danube. On the shores of these rivers are towns Akra and Bits. From Bits to Nitra, are forty miles north-westerly. Bits is a very important town with five churches and people live around town. From Akra to Arini, a small town on the eastern side, lie eighty-nine miles. From Akra to Basu, a town in Bohemia, lie eighty miles towards south-west. From Basu to Massala or Masla, town nice for living, surrounded with fertile soil and defensive ramparts, there are hundred-and-fifty miles. From the same town to Sinulaus, an oriental town, and to Ifrankbila, there are eighty miles.

The Serbo-Lusatian culture appeared in the seventh century around the middle course of the Oder and in the basin of the Shpre-Havel.<sup>1145</sup> The new culture was named tornovska after one of the excavators, Torno. The Slavs of the Sukow-Dziedzice culture on the south-western part and Slavs of the presko-korcaksa culture, settled in this territory during the migrations in the sixth century. Small gradishta with strong defensive constructions were being built and one such was discovered completely dug out in Tornovo. During the excavations, the gradishta were classified into two types.

Type A gradishte had a round base. Ring-shaped rampart nine-meters high had a wooden latticed construction within it.

On the outer side, a ditch was dug out, with auxiliary rooms on the inside, made of logs ten to fifteen centimeters in diameter. A five by two-point-two meter room had walls built of pillars. A well was discovered and a storage pit for grain foods. In the pit were found remains of a great quantity of grains, rye and barley.

Type B gradishte rose on the ruins of a earlier village in Tornovo, where a new gradishte was built. Protected with a strong ring rampart ten to fourteen meters wide and with a ditch from five to eight meters wide. On the occasion of construction, parts of older constructions inside the ramparts were used. Additional objects were built with the construction of vertical pillars. The older and younger gradishte had a corridor from 1.5 to 1.6 meters wide, and nearby was built a nineteen-part building. It was built of logs combined with vertical pillars.

Housing objects included three parts of the gradishte while others served as barns for preserving food reserves, as charred cereals were

1144 Al-Idrisi, *Kitab Nuzhat al-Mušqat fi Ihtiraq al-Afaq*, Bejrut 1989, 882-885.

1145 L. Veliačik, *Hradiská lužickej kultury na slovensku*, Archeologické rozhledy XXXV-1, Praha 1983, 14-22.

therein discovered that were burnt with the settlement. The dimensions of the barn were from 0.8 - 0.6 to 1.05 with 0.98 meters, with the height from 9.5 to 17 cm. In the middle of the settlement was a structure consisting of two main rooms. Size of one room was 4 x 0.7 to 1.2 m, and it was built of horizontal beams fastened by supporters, with floor made of leveled clay. Another room was made of beams, dimensions 2 x 1.2 m. The same type of building was discovered in gradishte B in Forberg. In contrast with the gradishte Tornovo which was burnt in the ninth century, this one was used in the tenth century as well. Behind the ramparts on the hill was an unfortified part of the settlement, dimensions 100 x 90 m. During the excavations, many pillar pits were discovered. The inhabitants of the Tornovo group were primarily farmers, so cereal grains were found in the gradishte. It was established that the main crop was rye but that they grew other crops as well. Handcraft workshops existed from the eighth to ninth century in the settlements of the Turnovo area that were connected with the neighbouring and farther areas. It was established that the tribes of the Tornovo culture were in fact Lusatians who settled in the eastern area of Lusatia. In the valley of the Lusitian stream, in the Kadansk region, the mining area of north Bohemia, development of settlements can be traced from paleolithic through mesolithic, Halstatt, La Tene and Roman period. Slavic settlements appeared in the second half of the sixth century.<sup>1146</sup>

#### Slovakia

Development of settlements on the territory of Slovakia during the seventh and the eighth century was instigated by different political, historical and economic conditions. Slavic settlements developed on the north, behind the Small and the White Carpathians, in north-eastern and north-western Slovakia. The southern part of west and central Slovakia, and the Košice basin was a part of the Avar Khaganate. It is surmised that the Avars broke into the territory of Slovakia in the mid-seventh century and settled down in two phases. Based on archaeological material, a clear line can be defined which separates the settlements of the Avars from the settlements of the Prague-type culture.<sup>1147</sup> The south-western part of Slovakia was settled by bearers of the *Prague type culture*.

1146 Z. Smrž, *Vývoj a struktura osídlení v mikroregionu Lužického potoka na Kadansku*, Archeologické rozhledy XXXIX-6, Praha 1987, 601-621.

1147 J. Zábojník, *On the Problem of Settlements of the Avar Khaganate Period in Slovakia*, Archeologické rozhledy XL-4, Praha 1988, 401-435; On the basis

*The Prešov type of culture* which has close analogies in Poland appeared in eastern Slovakia. This culture was developing in the area which encompassed Germanic (Vandal) and Slavic ethnic groups. East of Košice in Prešov, Early Slavic settlements were excavated. Most of the material from these sites belongs to the Prezvorsk type culture, but handmade ceramics typical for Ukraine and Moldavia and supposedly belonging to the Prague type of culture appear as well. Excavations of the settlements of the Prešov type culture confirmed that the inhabitants practiced animal husbandry and agriculture. Budinský Krička, researcher of the settlements of the Prešov type culture made the conclusion that the material from these sites points towards continuity of one language group, undoubtedly Slavic.<sup>1148</sup>

In western Slovakia about twenty settlements from Early Slavic period were excavated.<sup>1149</sup> The settlements were concentrated around rivers Morava, Vah (Vag), Dudavah, Nitra, Gran and Eipel.<sup>1150</sup> Some settlements were discovered immediately above the abandoned settlements from the Roman period. Slavic villages were not fortified and consisted of small, dispersed, halfway dug-in houses, like in the place Korchak. Halfway dug-in houses on the site of Nitrinski Hradok near Nitra were very small, dimensions 2 x 2.5 to 5.5 x 3.8 m. Stone ovens were not discovered, nor spike holes, but the ceramics point to Slavic origin. Near the houses were found round barns. On the well explored site Sidalice on the river Vah, four houses of similar dimensions were discovered. Stone ovens were placed in the north-eastern or north-western corner.

During the systematic research in eastern Slovakia, large scale excavations were performed in the area of the village Svinica in the region

of the ceramic material there can be separated 10 settlements in Slovakia which have belonged to the Avar khaganat: Bratislava-Devinska, Nová Ves, Bratislava-Rusovce, Cifer-Pac, Šturovo-Obid, Ulany on Žitavoy.

- 1148 V. Budinský-Krička, *Nález staroslovanskej polozemunice v Prešove*, Archeologické rozhledy VII, Praha 1955, 494-496, 505-509, 561, 566; V. Budinský-Krička, *Príspevok k poznaniu včasnostredovekej dediny na východnom Slovensku*, Slovenska archeológia XVIII (1970) 167-188.
- 1149 Л. Чапалович, *Экономическое, культурное и этническое развитие Восточной Словакии после гибели Великой Моравии*, Труды пятого международного конгресса славянской археологии III, Москва 1987, 101-106.
- 1150 П. Шалковски, *Великоморавские городища Словакии*, Труды пятого международного конгресса славянской археологии I, Москва 1987, 126-132.

Košice and on the deserted medieval hill settlement of Krigov, in the cadastre of the village Pavl'any, district of Spišská Nová Ves, which contributed to a better understanding of development and visual appearance of the houses.<sup>1151</sup>

The houses were mostly halfway dug-in huts, with a regular plan, one room, stone hearth and domed oven placed in the corner opposite the entrance. Traces of spike holes indicate there was a porch above the entrance on the site Prešov-Nižná Šebastová.<sup>1152</sup> Huts with a regular ground plan existed in Slovakia from tenth to thirteenth century. This type of settlement was well researched in the places Zemplín, Trebišov,<sup>1153</sup> Prešov-Nižná Šebastová,<sup>1154</sup> Šarišských Michal'any,<sup>1155</sup> Prešov destrict,<sup>1156</sup> Svinica, district of Košice-environs,<sup>1157</sup> Veľký Slavkov, district of Poprad,<sup>1158</sup> Pavl'any-Krigov, district of Spišská Nová Ves,<sup>1159</sup> Hnojné, district of Michalovce.<sup>1160</sup>

- 1151 D. Čapalovič, *New Facts About the Development of Medieval Rural House in East Slovakia*, Slovenska archeológia XXXV-1, Bratislava 1987, 7-14.
- 1152 V. Budinský-Krička, *Príspevok k poznaniu včasnostredovekej dediny na východnom Slovensku*, Slovenska archeológia XVIII (1970) 167-188.
- 1153 D. Čapalovič, *Slovenská a stredoveká osada v Trebišove*, Nové obzory 21, Prešov - Košice 1979, 147-169.
- 1154 V. Budinský-Krička, *Príspevok k poznaniu včasnostredovekej dediny na východnom Slovensku*, Slovenska archeológia XVIII (1970) 167-188.
- 1155 S. Šiška, E. Hajnalova, *Stredoveké obydlie a depot semien konopy siatej zo Šarišských Michalian*, Štud. Zvesti Archeol. St. SAV v Nitre 20, Nitra 1983, 303-317.
- 1156 V. Budinský-Krička, *Nález staroslovenskej polozemunice v Prešove*, Archeologické rozhledy VII, Praha 1955, 494-496, 505-509, 561, 566; V. Budinský-Krička, *Príspevok k poznaniu včasnostredovekej dediny na východnom Slovensku*, Slovenska archeológia XVIII (1970) 167-188.
- 1157 D. Čapalovič, *Archeologický výskum zanikutej stredovekej dediny v Svinici, okr. Košice-vidiek*, Archaeologia historica 3, Brno - Nitra 1978, 19-29.
- 1158 A. Ruttkay, *Včasnostredoveký príbytok z Veľkého Slavkova, okr. Poprad*, Nové obzor 11, Prešov - Košice 1969, 271-283.
- 1159 F. Javorský, *Výskumy a prieskumy Výskumnej expedície Spiš Archeologického ústavu SAV*, Archeologické výskumy a nálezy na Slovensku v roku 1980, Nitra 1981, 108-126; D. Čapalovič - F. Javorský, *Záchranný výskum zanikutej stredovekej dediny Krigov*, Archeologické výskumy a nálezy na Slovensku v roku 1981, Nitra 1982, 66-70; D. Čapalovič - F. Javorský, *Archeologické výskum profánnej stredovekej architektúry v Pavlanoch*, Archeologické výskumy a nálezy na Slovensku v roku 1982, Nitra 1983, 70-72; D. Čapalovič - F. Javorský, *Pokračovanie výskumu zanikutej stredovekej dediny Krigov v Pavlanoch*, Archeologické výskumy a nálezy na Slovensku v roku 1983, Nitra 1984, 65-66.
- 1160 S. Šiška, *Slovenské sídliskové objekty v Hnojnom, okres Michalovce*, Archeologické rozhledy XVI (1984) 379-395, 407-408.

In the period from tenth to thirteenth century in eastern Slovakia another type of houses appeared, of irregular elongated ground plan with hearths of ovens out of the dug-in part, sometimes without the dome-shaped oven. Huts with irregular ground plan were found on the hill Smotor, in the village Smotor, district of Trebišov, and they appear very often on the best explored Slavic settlements in the period from the eighth to ninth century, in the place Blatné Remety, region Michalovce, Nemcovce, district of Prešov and Dvorianky, district of Trebišov.<sup>1161</sup>

#### Poland

At the beginning of the Middle Ages, two Slavic groups had been settling in Poland: *Sukow-Dziedzice* and *Prague-Korchak*.<sup>1162</sup> During the migrations they inhabited two zones. In the first zone lived the native population of Pshevorsk culture. After the Slavs of Sukow-Dziedzice culture re-conquered the land in Polish Pomerania, another zone was formed. Research has shown that the first fortified settlements in the land of the Vislans belonged to small principalities.

North of the Danube many new settlements came to be between the seventh and tenth century as tribal centres, fortified religious centres, and princely seats (*knezi*) always placed in favorable strategic places.<sup>1163</sup> The towns were palisaded with spikes fortified with earth. Inhabited quarters with handcraft workshops and often with a stone church were in the town. By the end of the ninth century, the most important towns dominated large areas of land and were often episcopal centres with princely courts. Courts of rulers and artisanal-handcraft quarters were separated by

1161 Významné slovanské nálezy na slovensku (VSNS), Bratislava 1978, 26-27, 131-132; V. Budinský-Krička, *Nové nálezy na východnom Slovensku*, Archeologické výskumy a nálezy na Slovensku v roku 1982, Nitra 1983, 57-65; D. Čapalovič, *New Facts About the Development of Medieval Rural House in East Slovakia*, Slovenska archeológia XXXV-1, Bratislava 1987, 8.

1162 M. Parczewski, *Początki kultury wczesnoświątostwiskiej w Polsce. Krytyka i datowanie źródeł archeologicznych*, Wrocław - Warszawa - Kraków - Gdańsk - Lódź 1988, 15-63; Idem., *Najstarsza faza kultury wczesnoświątostwiskiej w Polsce*, Kraków 1988, 31-68; B. B. Седов, *Славяне в раннем средневековье*, Москва 1995, 7-68.

1163 W. Dzieduszycki, *Socjotopograficzne przemiany miast polskich*, Труды пятого международного конгресса славянской археологии II, Москва 1987, 74-78; W. Hensel, *Archaeology on the Origins of Polish Towns*, Slovenska archeológia XXXVI-1, Bratislava 1988, 77-84; B. B. Седов, *Славяне в раннем средневековье*, Москва 1995, 341-344.

the eleventh century. Then artists, craftsman and merchants started to live surrounded with another fence beyond the court ramparts. This type of Slavic towns appeared north of the Danube by the twelfth century and was built the traditional way, most of the time, with certain foreign influences through the church and small groups of Germanic merchants.<sup>1164</sup> The towns depended on each another and were closely connected by trade routes.

The main centre was Krakow, town on the river Vistula.<sup>1165</sup> Idrisi described Polish town, and Al-Bakri separated Krakow as an important centre of trade.<sup>1166</sup> The king of Krakow lived in Mashak, which according to Al-Bakri's opinion, was their largest town, 30000 cubits long.<sup>1167</sup> There is a lot of food, cattle, honey and fields. People get wages as labourers every month. Krakow is good example of an Early Slavic town.<sup>1168</sup> Archaeological research showed that the early medieval settlement of Vislani existed from the sixth century onwards. The earliest history of the town is behind a veil of mystery and legends but it is supposed that the settlement on the hill Vavel was built in the middle of the ninth century. This supposition is supported by the concentration of settlements in the Early Middle Ages and a huge tombstone of Kraka, the legendary founder of the town. The Vislani had settled along the entire lower and, in part, middle Vistula in the tenth century, focusing afterwards on Krakow. During the eleventh century Krakow became the residential centre of Polish kings, which contributed to a faster development of the town.

After coming to power in 929, Moravian ruler Boleslaus I wrestled away the territories of Slezani, Dadosezani, Bobrani, Opolini and Golens from the tribes in the valley of upper Odra, and from Vislani with their main centre Krakow.<sup>1169</sup> Mieszko I (963-992) became the first ruler and the founder of the Piast dynasty. Marrying Bobrava (Dubravka), daughter of

1164 Л. Лециевич, *Западнославянский город. Структурные преобразования в XI-XII вв.*, Труды пятого международного конгресса славянской археологии, Москва 1987, 118-126.

1165 K. Radwanski, *Kraków przedlokacyjny. Ryciny*, Krakow 1970, Ryc. 1, 11, 16, 19.

1166 И. Џвијановић. *Арапски писани извори о трговачким путевима и градовима у словенским земљама од IX до XII века*, Архаика 2, Београд 2009, 231.

1167 Al-Bakri, *Al-Masâlik w'al-Mamalik*, Beirut 2003, 252; И. Џвијановић, *Средоземље у делима арапских географа (IX-XII век)* (докторска теза), Београд 2010, 207.

1168 J. Piekalski, *Od kolonii do Krakowa. Przemiana topografii wczesnych miast*, Wrocław 1999, 82-83, 116-118.

1169 B. Leitgeber, *Multi-Ethnic Glimpses of Old Poland*, The Slavonic and East European Review 67/3, London 1989, 435-441.

Boleslaus I, in 965, Mieszko established closer connections between the two Slavic countries, and converted to Christianity in 966. After that the Christianity spread faster through the kingdom and in 969 Krakow became an episcopal see, one year later than Poznań. Mieszko I has consolidated his power between 967 and 990, expanding territory towards south and connecting the Polish church to Rome. Formally he recognized the Holy See in 990, thus avoiding the authority of the German church. This diplomatic act helped him to set himself free of Bohemian dependance. From 989 to 992, he successfully waged war and put Silesia and Kraków under his power. According to the Bohemian sources from the twelfth century, Boleslav II (967-99) kept the eastern regions, and Bohemia held onto the province of Kraków until 999.<sup>1170</sup> This contradicts the Polish sources, although Kraków probably remained a part of Bohemia at least throughout the 970s and the 980s.<sup>1171</sup> Mieszko's heir, Boleslaus I the Brave (992-1025) quickly united Polish provinces, after Mieszko's sons devided them up in 992.<sup>1172</sup> Boleslaus I continued his father's expansionistic policy and increased the state beyond the borders of Polish tribes. Otto III and papal legates visited the new Polish state and established a new ecclesiastical province in Gniezno. The archbishopric in Gniezno was to have under its jurisdiction the episcopal sees in Kraków, Wrocław and Kołobrzeg.<sup>1173</sup>

At the beginning of the eleventh century, Krakow was part of one of the largest countries in Europe, in size, military and political organization. Geographically, Poland at that time encompassed the whole basin of Odra and Vistula. During the reign of Boleslaus I, the country prospered in both trade and army. New towns were built and trade thrived in the centres like Kraków. Arrival of foreign merchants was encouraged.

1170 R. Hotzmann, *Böhmen und Polen im 10. Jh.*, Zeitschrift der vereins für Geschichte Schlesiens 52, Bereslau 1918, 25-32.

1171 S. Kętrzynsk, *The Introduction of Christianity and the Early Kings of Poland*, The Cambridge History of Poland, Cambridge 1950, 21.

1172 H. J. Lang, *The Fall of the Monarchy of Mieszko II Lambert*, Speculum 49/4 (1974) 623-639.

1173 W. Hensel, *Kołobrzeg we wczesnym średniowieczu*, Wrocław 1961, 9-35, 96-109; P. Górecki, *Parishes, Tithes, and Society in Earlier Medieval Poland c. 1100 - c. 1250*, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society 83/2 (1993) 1-146; L. Leciejewicza, M. Rębkowski, *Początki i rozwój miasta lokacyjnego w Kołobrzegu. Świadectwo archeologii*, Salsa Cholobergensis, Kołobrzeg 2000, 147-161.

Great number of Polish towns was explored and among them are Kraków,<sup>1174</sup> Gniezno,<sup>1175</sup> Kruszwicą,<sup>1176</sup> Nowej-Huty,<sup>1177</sup> Poznań,<sup>1178</sup> Opole,<sup>1179</sup> Szczecin,<sup>1180</sup> Gdańsk<sup>1181</sup> and Wolin,<sup>1182</sup> Wrocław,<sup>1183</sup> Pułtusk.<sup>1184</sup> It was

- 1174 J. Piekalski, *Od kolonii do Krakowa. Przemiana topografii wczesnych miast*, Wrocław 1999, 81- 82, 117.
- 1175 G. Mikolajczyk, *Początki Gniezna*, Warszawa - Poznań 1973, 24-107.
- 1176 J. Piekalski, *Od kolonii do Krakowa. Przemiana topografii wczesnych miast*, Wrocław 1999, 91-92; B. Dzieduszycka, W. Dzieduszycki, *Prezimiany urbanistyczne centrum małych miast w świetle badań nad średniowieczną Kruszwicą*, Wratislavia antiqua 2, Średniowieczny śląsk i czechy centrum średniowiecznego miasta Wrocław a Europa środkowa, Wrocław 2000, 97-100.
- 1177 R. Hachulska-Ledwos, *Wczesnośredniowieczna osada w Nowej Hucie-Mogile*, Materiały Archeologiczne Nowej Huty III, Kraków 1971, 205; J. Piaskowski, *Metaloznawce badania przedmiotów żelaznych i żużła z wczesnośredniowiecznej osady w Nowej Hucie-Mogile*, Materiały archeologiczne Nowej Huty V, Kraków 1971, 181-199.
- 1178 S. Zajchowska, *Rozwój sieci osadniczej Poznania i najbliższego zaplecza w średniowieczu*, Początki i rozwój Starego Miasta w Poznaniu w świetle badań archeologicznych i urbanistycznych - architektonicznych, Materiały z ogólnopolskiego sympozjum 18-19 października 1973 (ed. W. Błaszczyk), Warszawa - Poznań 1977, 37-50; J. Piekalski, *Od kolonii do Krakowa. Przemiana topografii wczesnych miast*, Wrocław 1999, 83, 85, 124, 189; H. Kóćka-Krenz, *Poznań w dobie Zjazdu Gnieźnieńskiego w świetle najnowszych odkryć archeologicznych*, Trakt cesarski, Ława - Gniezno -Magdeburg, Poznań 2002, 103-119.
- 1179 A. Nasz, *Opole, osada staropolska w Opolu w świetle dotychczasowych prac wykopaliskowych*, Wrocław 1948, 5-53; R. Jamka, *Szczegółowe sprawozdanie z prac wykopaliskowych w Opolu za okres 1948-1949 r.*, Warszawa 1951, 1-26.
- 1180 R. Kiersnowski, *Wolin i Szczecin jako główne ośrodki pomorza zachodniego we wczesnym średniowieczu*, Szczecin i Wolin we wczesnym średniowieczu (ed. W. Brodzki), Wrocław 1954; T. Wieczorowski, *Szczecin w świetle wykopališk*, Szczecin i Wolin we wczesnym średniowieczu (ed. W. Brodzki), Wrocław 1954, 45-64; L. Leciejewicz, M. Rulewicz, S. Wesołowski, T. Wieczorowski, *La ville de Szczecin des IXe-XIIIe siècles*, Archeologia Urbium, fascicule 2e, Wrocław - Warszawa - Kraków - Gdańsk 1972, Pl. I-XX.
- 1181 K. Jadżewski, *Gdańsk, wczesnośredniowieczny w świetle wykopališk*, Gdynia 1961, 5-34.
- 1182 K. August Wilde, *Die bedeutung der grabung Wollin 1934*, Hamburg 1953, 5-98; W. Filipowiak, *Wolin w świetle wykopališk*, Szczecin i Wolin we wczesnym średniowieczu (ed. W. Brodzki), Wrocław 1954, 5-30, 31-44.
- 1183 J. Piekalski, *Struktura osadnicza i drogi Wrocławia przed wytyczeniem regularnej sieci ulic*, Ulice średniowiecznego Wrocławia, Wrocław 2010, 47-51; M. Mlynarska-Kaletynowa, *Wrocław w XII-XIII wieku, przemiany społeczne i osadnicze*, Wrocław - Warszawa - Kraków - Gdańsk - Łódź 1986, 7-80; J. Piekalski, *Od kolonii do Krakowa. Przemiana topografii wczesnych miast*, Wrocław 1999, 120, 154-155.
- 1184 A. Gołębniuk, W. Pole, *The Beginnings and the Development of Pułtusk in the Middle Ages in the Light of Archaeological Sources (Up to the End of the 15<sup>th</sup> c.)*,

explored great number of fortified settlements and towns in the region of Sudetach,<sup>1185</sup> Koszaliń dukedom<sup>1186</sup> and the Dukedom of Greater Poland.<sup>1187</sup> A good sample of early Polish towns are the remains of the settlements discovered in the earliest layers in Gniezno, Poznań, Opole, Wrocław and Wolin, Pultusk. Among them Gniezno, Poznań and Wrocław have common characteristics, settlements concentrated next to a strongly fortified court.<sup>1188</sup> Each of these settlements has scattered buildings that show many rural characteristics. Archaeological excavations showed that Gniezno was an open settlement at its beginning, founded on the mountain Leha at the end of the eighth century.<sup>1189</sup> In the following century, the settlement had a three-part structure, a town fortified several times, a suburb protected with ramparts and an open settlement. In the mid-ninth century, Gniezno became a well-fortified town, probably the centre of the great tribal principality of Poliane. In the mid-tenth century, the rampart of the town was reconstructed and strengthened. The suburb was protected with ramparts as well. Within the town, open settlements developed with some having

Труды пятого международного конгресса славянской археологии IV, Москва 1987, 44-57.

- 1185 K. Jaworski, *Grody w Sudetach (VIII-X w.)*, Wrocław 2005, 101-240.
- 1186 W. Losiński, J. Olczak, K. Siuchiński, *Źródła archeologiczne do studiów nad wcześnieśredniowiecznym osadnictwem grodowym na terenie województwa Koszalińskiego IV*, Poznań 1971, 9-136, 158-262.
- 1187 Z. Kurnatowska, A. Losińska, *Stan i potrzeby badań nad wcześnieśredniowieczem w Wielkopolsce*, Stan i potrzeby badań nad wcześnieśredniowieczem w Wielkopolsce. Materiały z konferencji, Poznań 14-16 grudnia 1987 roku, Poznań - Wrocław - Warszawa 1992, 105-153; M. Kara, M. Krapiec, *Wyniki badań archeo-dendrochronologicznych z terenu historycznej Wielkopolski, przeprowadzonych w roku 2003*, Fontes archaeologici posnanienses 41, Poznań 2005, 95-101; M. Kara, M. Krapiec, G. Teske, *Winiki badań archeo-dendrochronologicznych wybranych grodzisk wcześnieśredniowiecznych z terenu historycznej Wielkopolski, przeprowadzonych w 2005 roku*, Fontes archaeologici posnanienses 42, Poznań 2006, 53-76; A. Krzyszowski, *Nowe materiały wcześnieśredniowieczne z Chludowa, stan. 62, suchy Las, w woj. wielkopolskim*, Fontes archaeologici posnanienses 42, Poznań 2006, 76-83; A. Krzyszowski, *Chludowa, stan. 62, suchy Las, w woj. wielkopolskim*, Fontes archaeologici posnanienses 42, Poznań 2006, 80-91.
- 1188 Л. Лециевич, *Западнославянский город. Структурные преобразования в XI-XII вв.*, Труды пятого международного конгресса славянской археологии, Москва 1987, 121-122.
- 1189 G. Mikolajczyk, *Początki Gniezna*, Warszawa - Poznań 1973, 24-107; J. Piekalski, *Od kolonii do Krakowa. Przemiana topografii wcześniezych miast*, Wrocław 1999, 80-81.

merchant characteristics. Obviously, the early medieval town was being formed at that time. Construction of the tenth century ramparts of Gniezno is particularly interesting, with foundations made of multi-layered logs. Lower logs were stacked along the ramparts and the upper ones across. Row of logs was fastened to logs with hooked beams. Residential buildings in Gniezno, and in settlements of Greater Poland were over-ground huts, rare residential constructions that kept the local tradition of building houses. In the land of Polyane there were two more centres other than Gniezno: Kruszwicą and Poznań. Besides them, a great number of small town with purely defensive function was known in the land of Polyane. Some of them were small administrative centres, and others were pagan holds.

*Opole* was founded in the eighth century on the small island in the river Odra.<sup>1190</sup> It is supposed that the original settlement was surrounded with common ramparts, within which the administrative centre was in the middle, later on separated by a particular rampart. In the tenth century Opole was already a well-fortified settlement surrounded with a high rampart. The excavations showed that it was a densely populated town. Houses were being built outside the ramparts. At the beginning of the tenth century, streets of Opole were paved with wood. It was established that craftsmen lived and worked in the settlement. In Polish Pomerania, two principalities were formed, the western principality centred in Szczecin, and the eastern one in Gdańsk.<sup>1191</sup> Early Medieval settlement in Szczecin was founded in the eighth century on the location of an earlier settlement of the Lusatian culture. In the first half of the ninth century, defensive ramparts were built and in the tenth century an unfortified suburb sprung next to the town. In the second half of the tenth century *Wolin* became an important merchant and cultural centre on the Baltic Sea.<sup>1192</sup>

1190 A. Nasz, *Opole, osada staropolska w Opolu w świetle dotychczasowych prac wykopaliskowych*, Wrocław 1948, 5-53; R. Jamka, *Szczegółowe sprawozdanie z prac wykopaliskowych w Opolu za okres 1948-1949.*, Warszawa 1951, 1-26.

1191 J. Kamińska, A. Zbierski, *Ville de Gdańsk du haut Moyen Age à la lumière des recherches archéologiques*, Archaeologia Polona IV, Warszawa 1960, 148-168; W. Hensel, *Le Gdańsk des Xe-XIIIe siècles*, Warszawa 1966, 9-12.

1192 W. Filipowiak, *Wolin w świetle wykopalisk*, Szczecin i Wolin we wczesnym średniowieczu (ed. W. Brodzki), Wrocław 1954, 5-30, 31-44; K. August Wilde, *Die bedeutung der grabung Wollin 1934*, Hamburg 1953, 5-98; D. Jankowska, *Settlement in the Baltic Costal Zone in Prehistory and the Middle Ages*, Journal of Coastal Research 22. Polish Coast: Past, Present and Future (Autumn 1995), Coconut Creek, Florida 1995, 73-79.

*Zbąszin* is a mid-sized town in the Obnizenie Obrazinskie (Bruzda/Zbaszinska) area in the western part of Greater Poland; on the river Obra on the north-eastern shores of the lake Zbąszinski, also known as lake Bledno.<sup>1193</sup> In the course of the excavations, remains of settlements from Paleolithic to the Early Middle Ages were discovered. The area is rich in archaeological sites, and the early medieval fortified settlements of Przypostina and Zbąszin were particularly important for its history, as was the small fort Nadinia, which became a town in the thirteenth century.

The early medieval complex was discovered during the excavations on *Slava* site in the region Wschowski.<sup>1194</sup> Remains of the fortifications were discovered, dated to the ninth and tenth century, based on ceramics. Parts of an older settlement were destroyed when the fortification was being built. Beside the fortification were found traces of another settlement. The early medieval complex at the *Slawia* site ceased to exist at the end of the tenth century.

In the Koszaliń dukedom a great number of early medieval settlements and towns was discovered:<sup>1195</sup>

|  |   |
|--|---|
| Bardy – 7 <sup>th</sup> -9 <sup>th</sup> /10 <sup>th</sup> c.        | Macznik – 7 <sup>th</sup> -9 <sup>th</sup> c.               |
| Bogucino – 10 <sup>th</sup> -11 <sup>th</sup> c.                     | Miechecino – 7 <sup>th</sup> -9 <sup>th</sup> c.            |
| Budzistowo – 9 <sup>th</sup> -13 <sup>th</sup> / 14 <sup>th</sup> c. | Piotrowice – 7 <sup>th</sup> -10 <sup>th</sup> c.           |
| Vedzice – 10 <sup>th</sup> -11 <sup>th</sup> c.                      | Plawecino – 9 <sup>th</sup> -10 <sup>th</sup> c.            |
| Vłoszczorze – 7 <sup>th</sup> -9 <sup>th</sup> c.                    | Polomino – 9 <sup>th</sup> -10 <sup>th</sup> c.             |
| Goscino – 7 <sup>th</sup> -12 <sup>th</sup> c.                       | Pustary – 11 <sup>th</sup> -14 <sup>th</sup> c.             |
| Grzybowo – 9 <sup>th</sup> c.  | Ryman – 7 <sup>th</sup> / 8 <sup>th</sup> c.                |
| Dargocice – 10 <sup>th</sup> c.                                      | Rosciecino-Kopydlowko – 8 <sup>th</sup> -9 <sup>th</sup> c. |
| Drzonowo – 11 <sup>th</sup> -12 <sup>th</sup> c.                     | Rusowo – 10 <sup>th</sup> -11 <sup>th</sup> c.              |
| Dygowo – 10 <sup>th</sup> -11 <sup>th</sup> c.                       | Swielubie – 9 <sup>th</sup> -12 <sup>th</sup> c.            |
| Zieleniewo – 11 <sup>th</sup> c.                                     | Siemysl – 11 <sup>th</sup> c.                               |
| Kamica – 9 <sup>th</sup> -10 <sup>th</sup> c.                        | Skronie – 8 <sup>th</sup> -9 <sup>th</sup> c.               |

1193 A. Wyrwa, *Stan badań nad przemianami osadniczo kulturowymi w Zbąszinie i jego najbliższej okolicy*, Fontes archaeologici posnanienses 44, Poznań 2008, 37-49.

1194 D. Nowakowski, *Wczesnośredniowieczny zespół osadniczy w Slawie (stan. 21), pow. Wschowski, w świetle badań archeologicznych 2004 roku*, Fontes archaeologici posnanienses 44, Poznań 2008, 128-135.

1195 W. Losiński, J. Olczak i K. Siuchniński, *Źródła archeologiczne do studiów nad wcześnieśredniowiecznym osadnictwem grodowym na terenie województwa Koszalińskiego IV*, Poznań 1971, 9-136.

Kedrzyno – 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> c.  
 Klopotowo – 9<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> c.  
 Kolobrzeg – 6<sup>th</sup>/7<sup>th</sup>, 11<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> c.  
 Lejkowo – 11<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> c.

Stare Miasto – 10<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> c.  
 Stojkowo – 11<sup>th</sup> c.  
 Trzynik – 7<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> c.

Gradishta in the Koszaliń dukedom.<sup>1196</sup>

|  |  |
|--|--|
| Bialecino – 9 <sup>th</sup> -11 <sup>th</sup> c.                 | Kopan – 9 <sup>th</sup> -11 <sup>th</sup> c.     |
| Boryszewo – 9 <sup>th</sup> -10 <sup>th</sup> c.                 | Malechowo – 8 <sup>th</sup> -9 <sup>th</sup> c.  |
| Warszkowo – 12 <sup>th</sup> c.                                  | Ostrowiec – 8 <sup>th</sup> -10 <sup>th</sup> c. |
| Wrzesnica – 8 <sup>th</sup> -9 <sup>th</sup> c.                  | Polanow – 10 <sup>th</sup> -12 <sup>th</sup> c.  |
| Darlowo – 9 <sup>th</sup> /10 <sup>th</sup> -11 <sup>th</sup> c. | Porzecze – 9 <sup>th</sup> -10 <sup>th</sup> c.  |
| Zieleniewo   | Slawno – 8 <sup>th</sup> -9 <sup>th</sup> c.     |
| Zydwowo – 10 <sup>th</sup> -12 <sup>th</sup> c.                  | Slawsko – 10 <sup>th</sup> -12 <sup>th</sup> c.  |
| Jezyczki – 8 <sup>th</sup> -9 <sup>th</sup> c.                   | Stary Krakow – 10 <sup>th</sup> c.               |
| Kwasovo – 11 <sup>th</sup> c.                                    | Cisowo – 11 <sup>th</sup> -12 <sup>th</sup> c.   |

Idrisi described Poland as a land covered with towns and settlements.<sup>1197</sup> The land is fertile, crisscrossed with river streams, covered in vineyards, orchards, surrounded with mountains that separate it from Buania (Bohemia), Sasunia (Saxony) and Russia. Main rivers in Poland are Butent (Maros) and Tesia (Theis) that get water from the springs on the mountains that separate Poland from Russia north by south. They flow westwards, merge and meet the Danube west of Kavurza (Karlovac). Main towns are Krakal (Kraków), Djenazia (Gnesen), Aiklaia, Serdava, Nehgrada i Sitiu. Kraków is one of the most important towns, famous for its numerous churches, markets, vineyards and gardens. When you go westwards from there is Masla (Preslav?), an inhabited town 130 miles away. From Masla, five days southwards is Bitsa. From Kraków to Djanazia, a flourishing town, there are 100 miles eastwards. From Djenazia to Benkalje (Dukla?) there are sixty miles. From Benkalia to Sermelia, a town in the province Subara (Sievierz), there are 100 miles. From Kraków to Hala, a town in Saxony, very important and densely populated, there are 100 miles. From Krakow to Nirburk (Nizburk), another Saxon town, there are 100 miles. Idrisi writes

1196 W. Losiński, J. Olczak i K. Siuchniński, *Źródła archeologiczne do studiów nad wcześnieśredniowiecznym osadnictwem grodowym na terenie województwa Koszalińskiego IV*, Poznań 1971, 158-262.

1197 Idrisi, *Kitab Nuzhat al-Mušqat fi Ihtiraq al-Afaq*, Beirut 1989, 882-903.

that all towns are beautiful, flourishing and famous, particularly those in which people familiar with Greek science and religion live and are welcoming to intellectuals. Poland is land known for numerous educated people. Many Greeks, amateur scientists, were coming to them from different lands. He mentions that from the town Zaka to Bernovo there are 180 miles, and from Bernove to Galisia 200. Those are the last countries when going towards Russia.

#### Russia

A great number of towns and villages from the period of ancient Russia were explored.<sup>1198</sup> In Russian principalities, the towns Kiev, Novgorod and Smolensk distinguish themselves.<sup>1199</sup> Among the better explored gradishta are Zimno, Hotemlj, Bila.<sup>1200</sup> Ibn Rosteh, Ibn Khordadhb and Ibn Fadlan portrayed Russia.

Al-Bakri said: "The Russians had three kingship tribes and the king of one of them had his seat in the town of Kujaba (Kiev).<sup>1201</sup> They were closest to Bulkars." Ibn Rosteh cited: "The Slavs were in the town named Vatib/Vabit at first and that to reach it, one needs to travel through desert and two impassable countries, without water or trees. It is assumed that this town is Kujaba (Kiev)."<sup>1202</sup>

Russian land consisted of principalities formed in the ninth century.<sup>1203</sup> The country is situated in the valley of the middle Dnieper with the seat

- 1198 Б. А. Тимошук, *Археологические признаки посада древнерусского города*, Труды пятого международного конгресса славянской археологии I, Москва 1987, 70-77; Ж. Бленкофф, *Западноевропейские и древнерусские города. Сопоставление генезиса и эволюции*, Труды международного конгресса славянской археологии II, Москва 1987, 27-34; В. И. Мезентьев, *The Territorial and Demographic Development of Medieval Kiev and Other Major Cities of Rus': A Comparative Analyses Based on Recent Archeological Research*, Russian Review 48/2 (1989) 145-170.
- 1199 П. П. Толочко, *Древний Киев*, Труды пятого международного конгресса славянской археологии, Москва 1987, 80-83, 86-93.
- 1200 Д. А. Авдусин, *Образование древнерусских городов лесной зоны*, Труды пятого международного конгресса славянской археологии II, Москва 1987, 55-12.
- 1201 Al-Bakri, *Al-Masâlik w'al-Mamalik*, Bejrut 2003, 58.
- 1202 Ibn Rosteh, *Kitab al-a'lâk An-Nafisa VII*, BGA (ed. De Goeje), Lugduni-Batavorum (Leiden) 1892, 143.
- 1203 Б. А. Рыбаков, *Киевская Русь и русские княжества XII-XIII вв.*, Москва 1982, 423.

of the principality in the town of *Kiev*.<sup>1204</sup> There are two theories on the development of Kiev from the ninth to eleventh century. Most authors consider that Kiev was the leading urban centre at the time of the Kiev state, when it was the capital of Russia.<sup>1205</sup> After the flourishing period, came political disintegration, culminating in 1240, when the Tatars took Kiev. The valley of Dnieper had completely lost its importance and became a part of the great medieval Polish-Lithuanian state in the fourteenth century. After the fall of Kiev, the state fell apart into independent principalities that grew stronger during the twelfth and thirteenth century. From the twelfth century onwards, Kiev lost its importance as an intermediary in the trade between Byzantium, Muslim Orient and Western Europe because the main trade route that used to connect East and West moved from Russia to Mediterranean. However, the same authors consider that in the twelfth and thirteenth century Kiev reached the zenith in crafts, domestic and foreign trade, construction and culture. Despite the political disintegration of the Kiev state and the raids, Kiev remained the greatest, wealthiest and politically, most influential Russian town until the Mongol invasion.<sup>1206</sup> According to Tolochko, who conducted the excavations in Kiev from 1970s to 1980s, the town continued to expand in territory and demographically throughout the whole pre-Mongol period, and reached its greatest size in the twelfth and thirteenth century.<sup>1207</sup>

The urban area of medieval Kiev consisted of two main parts: the upper town and the lower town.<sup>1208</sup> The upper town was situated on the hill above the right shore of Dnieper, on "Kiev's hills" or „Hills" as they

- 1204 Б. А. Рыбаков, *Город Київ. Вопросы истории*, Киев 1980, 31-47; И. Цвијановић, *Абу Хамид о мусліманима у земљи Словена и јужној Угарској*, Рад музеја Војводине 54, Нови Сад 2012, 124.
- 1205 И. Цвијановић, *Арапски писани извори о трговачким путевима и градовима у словенским земљама од IX до XII века*, Архаика 2, Београд 2009, 231-232.
- 1206 Я. Е. Боровский, *Язычество древнего Киева*, Труды пятого международного конгресса славянской археологии, Москва 1987, 92-100.
- 1207 P. P. Tolochko, *Drevnii Kiev*, Kiev 1983, 268-70, 302-304; V. I. Mezentsev, *The Territorial and Demographic of Medieval Kiev and Other Major Cities of Rus': A Comparative Analyses Based on Recent Archeological Research*, Russian Review 48/2 (1989) 145-154.
- 1208 С. Р. Килиевич, *Историческая топография киевского детинца*, Труды пятого международного конгресса славянской археологии, Москва 1987, 92-100; В. В. Седов, *Начало городов на Руси*, Труды пятого международного конгресе славянской археологии I, Москва 1987, 18.

were mentioned in chronicles.<sup>1209</sup> At the bottom of the hills, on the lower part of the right shore of the river, the lower town was situated, known since the Middle Ages as “Podil” or “Podol”. The town developed when several early Slavic settlements merged. This complex included four forts on the hills near the upper town, known as Old Kiev hill (surface area 2 hectares), Kyselivka hill fort (surface area 10 ha), Shchekavytsia hill and Lysa hill, as well as the unfortified villages on Dytynka hill and in Podil.

In the ninth and tenth century, number of inhabitants grew and the building activities in Podil and in the upper town increased, particularly on Starokyivs'ka plateau. At the end of the tenth century, Kiev's Prince Volodimir the Great (980-1015) built a fort spanning ten hectares, on the promontory of Starokyivs'ka Hill.<sup>1210</sup> This fort is known as “Volodimir's town” and was the first urban socio-political centre of Kiev, where were the residences of rulers and nobles, administration centres, and the most important churches of the town.<sup>1211</sup> South of Volodimir's town, prince Yaroslav the Wise founded in 1037 a new, more spacious seat, known as “Yaroslav's town”. Prince Izyaslav Yaroslavich expanded the seat in 1060, founding the monastery of St. Mihail which had its own fortifications and was known as Izyaslavich-Svyatopolk's town, east of Yaroslav's town. Yaroslav's and Izyaslav-Svyatopolk's town jointly covered the surface area of seventy hectares.

According to Tolochko, the part for merchants and craftsmen spread gradually and was fortified later than the central part of nobles.<sup>1212</sup> It was called Kopyrev's End and on the west, it bordered Yaroslav's town. This region was fortified in the twelfth century and had the surface area of forty hectares. Podil, or the lower town, was also fortified in the twelfth century and took up the surface of 180-200 hectares.<sup>1213</sup> From the eleventh

1209 *The Russian Primary Chronicle* (trans. and ed. Samuel H. Cross), Cambridge, MA 1930, 164-65.

1210 V. I. Mezentsev, *The Territorial and Demographic Development of Medieval Kiev and Other Major Cities of Rus': A Comparative Analyses Based on Recent Archeological Research*, Russian Review 48/2 (1989) 151-159.

1211 Н. Г. Логвин, *К вопросу о строительной технике и формах архитектурных сооружений Киева X-начала XII в.*, Труды пятого международного конгресса славянской археологии VI, Москва 1987, 169-177; И. С. Красовский, *О плану десятинной церкви в Киеве*, Российская археология 3, Москва 1998, 158-173.

1212 P. P. Tolochko, *Istorychna topografia starodavn'oho Kyieva*, Kiev 1970, 174, 190, 196.

1213 П. П. Толочко, *Древний Киев*, Труды пятого международного конгресса славянской археологии, Москва 1987, 83.

to the twelfth century, the hills of Kyselivka, Shchekavytsia and Lysa, covered altogether the surface area of 30 hectares, and were expanding just like the settlements, monasteries and villas of the nobles in the suburbs of Kiev such as Dorohozhytsi, Cyril and Klov monasteries, Uhors'ke, Berestove, Caves Monastery, Vydubychi and others. The settlements in the suburb covered around thirty to fifty hectares. The surface area of the centre and the suburb was 360-380 hectares in the twelfth and at the beginning of the thirteenth century. According to the research of Stefania Kilievych, the upper town, which encompassed the nobles' and the merchant-craftsmen part, developed at the end of the ninth and during the tenth century, and took its final shape within the ramparts in the mid-eleventh century.<sup>1214</sup> The core of Volodimir's town on the Old Kiev hill was inhabited throughout the ninth and tenth century. Excavations of Yaroslav Borovs'kyi in 1970 showed that Kopirev's End was expanded and fortified in the tenth century. The ramparts of Kopirev's End were probably built by prince Volodimir. Konstantyn Gupalo excavated in Podil in 1970s and in the early 1980s and published data on this settlement.<sup>1215</sup> Remains of sixty wooden huts built from the ninth to twelfth century were discovered. Thirty huts were well preserved, which enabled precise dendrochronological dating, with a deviation of one year. Based on these data, Gupalo claimed that the core of Podil could not have been inhabited before the ninth century and that it developed by the end of the ninth century. According to the dendrochronological analysis, the oldest hut in Podil was dated to 887.

Volodimir Vezentsev believes that the dating of the oldest huts does not show the right time of this region's settling and thinks that the higher areas west of Podil were inhabited by the end of the ninth century while the lower, central regions at the beginning of the tenth century.<sup>1216</sup> Based on excavations and the dendrochronological method, twelve sites in Podil are dated to the period between the ninth and eleventh century. On the highest, western parts of Podil, close to the foothill of the upper town,

1214 S. R. Kilievych, *Detinets Kieva IX - pervoi poloviny XIII vekov*, Kiev 1982, 48-49.

1215 K. N. Gupalo, *Do pytannia pro formuvannia posadu davn'oho Kieva*, Arkheoloohichni doslidzhennia starodavn'oho Kyieva, Kiev 1976, pp. 12-18; Idem, *Podol v drevnem Kieve*, Kiev 1982, 15, 28-33.

1216 V. I. Mezentsev, *The Territorial and Demographic Development of Medieval Kiev and Other Major Cities of Rus': A Comparative Analysis Based on Recent Arhaeological Research*, Russian Review 48/2 (1989), 145-170.

on Zhitnica, the oldest huts are dated to 887. It is considered that this part of Podil was first to be inhabited. In the lower, central part of Podil, were excavated the oldest huts: in Verkhni Val street dated by dendrochronological method to 900, in the street Nizni Val to 901 and in Podil Red Square to 913. Excavations between Heroiv, Tripil and Horeva street in the same central part of Podil showed that the oldest traces of settlement are dated to the tenth century, based on ceramics and coins found.<sup>1217</sup> The excavations in the eastern part of Podil, on the shores of Dnieper, in Volos'ka street showed that the earliest settlements were formed in the tenth century and traces from the eleventh century were also discovered. In the north, in Yaroslav street, the oldest huts were dated to the twelfth century.

On the periphery of Podil, the earliest traces of settlements were dated to the tenth and eleventh century. On the southern part of Podil, in the Zdanov street wooden huts were discovered dated with the dendrochronological method to 1054. On the north-western edge of Podil, in Obolenska street, there are the oldest traces of settlement, dated to the tenth century, in Gupalo's opinion, and to the eleventh century according to Tolock.<sup>1218</sup> Farther to the south, in Yaroslav street, the oldest settlement remains are dated to the eleventh century, and in Sekavits street between the tenth and eleventh century.<sup>1219</sup> Archaeologists consider that the north-western part of Podil was first inhabited during the reign of Volodimir the Great (980-1015).

All the above mentioned datings confirm Gupalo's conclusion that the core of Podil was settled by the end of the tenth century, and that it reached its greatest surface area of 180-200 hectares in the eleventh, and not in the twelfth or thirteenth century as Tolocko believed. Podil was situated at the foothill below the upper town, so it certainly had a row of fortifications that connected both ends of the defensive walls of the upper town, protecting Podil from the south-west. It is supposed that the fortifications of Podil and the upper town were built at the same time, as an integral part of the town's singular defensive system. Podil was probably fortified with ramparts during the reign of Volodimir the Great, when Volodimir's town, Kopir's End and the upper town were fortified as well, and the central part of Podil was already populated. The ramparts around

1217 P. P. Tolochko, *Drevnii Kiev*, Kiev 1983, 268-70, 302-304.

1218 K. M. Gupalo, *Podo v drevnem Kieve*, Kiev 1982, 29; P. P. Toločko, *Drevnii Kiev*, Kiev 1983, 29.

1219 G. Iu. Ivakin and L. Ia. Stepaneno, *Raskopki v severo-zapadnoi chasti Podola v 1980-1982 gg.*, Arkheologicheskie issledovaniia Kieva 1978-1983. gg., Kiev 1985, 94, 105.

Podil were probably built during the reign of Yaroslav the Wise (died in 1054), when in 1037 a unique defensive system of Yaroslav's town, Kopir's End, Sekavitsia hill, was built and the territory of Podil was already densely populated. The construction during the reign of Yaroslav the Wise was connected with the construction of the defensive system covering the entire urban territory of Kiev, including Podil. That includes lower town, and integral parts of the upper town, except for the monasterial complex of St. Michael, which was built later.

The seat of the Early Medieval state of East Slavs was moved from the middle Dnieper to the region between Volga and Oka, suitable for developing agriculture.<sup>1220</sup> The region around Moscow and in Volga-Oka region is less attractive, but still similar to the region around Kiev on the middle Dnieper. The centre of power shifted to the principality of Moscow that imposed its might in the end.<sup>1221</sup> Later on, when the seat of power shifted to it, the region between the Volga and the Don, which was mostly a land of hunters, developed. Early Slavic settlements probably developed under the influence of the Finns.

The decline of Kiev and the rise of Moscow are in part the consequence of the rule inheritance among the dukes and princes in the region around Kiev, which led to the rise of several smaller feudal lands whose rulers were associated to Kiev. Besides, Kiev state weakened because of the Tartar invasion and of the other peoples of the steppe, and the road that lead along the Black Sea to Kiev lost its importance. The position on the main east-west road from Smolensk to Klazmja to the Volga and the importance of the Volga basin added to the rise of Moscow. The position of Moscow on this road was particularly important because of the intersection on the north-south road from Novgorod to Volga and Oka.<sup>1222</sup> By the end of the twelfth and thirteenth century, Kiev was still one of the greatest towns in Russia but others towns in southern Russia, such as Halich and

1220 A. S. Morris, *The Medieval Emergence of the Volga-Oka Region*, Annals of the Association of American Geographers 61/ 4 (1971), 697-710; И. Цвијановић, *Средоземље у делима арапских географа (IX-XII век)* (докторска теза), Београд 2010, 221-227; И. Цвијановић, *Абу Хамид о муслиманима у земљи Словена и јужној Угарској*, Рад музеја Војводине, Нови Сад 2012, 120-125.

1221 А. А. Юшко, *К итогам археологического изучения Московьи и Подмосковья*, Российская археология 4, Москва 1997, 79-93.

1222 А. Г. Векслер, *Археологические исследования в Москве*, Труды пятого международного конгресса славянской археологии IV, Москва 1987, 35-40.

Chernichov, were gaining a more important role. The town of Halich reached the surface area as large as Kiev and Chernichov even surpassed it. It appears that the size and the population density in Russian towns were connected with the level of socio-economic and political development, and the growth of administration, government, cultural and religious institutions. In the pre-Mongol period the concentration of towns around the Dnieper was high. In the region around the middle Dnieper, from the eleventh to the twelfth century developed the towns of Bilhorod, Vishorod and Torsesk. On the north-west of Russia, the greatest towns were Smolensk and Polotsk, while Suzdal and Riazan occupied an area twice as small. Archaeological research was conducted in Kiev,<sup>1223</sup> Novgorod,<sup>1224</sup> Smolensk, Osovik,<sup>1225</sup> Pskov,<sup>1226</sup> Ladoga,<sup>1227</sup> Staria Russia,

- 1223 П. П. Толочко, *Древний Киев*, Труды пятого международного конгресса славянской археологии, Москва 1987, 80-86.
- 1224 М. Ц. Алешковский, Л. Е. Красноречьев, *О датировке вала и рва новгородского Острога*, Советская археология 4, Москва 1970, 54-73; С. Н. Орлов, *Славянское поселение на берегу р. Прость около Новгорода*, Советская археология 2, Москва 1972, 127-138; В. Л. Янин, *Новгород: Проблемы социальной структуры города X-XI вв.*, Труды пятого международного конгресса славянской археологии, Москва 1987, 86-93; Е. Н. Носов, *Новгород и Рюриково городище в IX-XI вв. (К вопросу о происхождении Новгорода)*, Труды пятого международного конгресса славянской археологии I, Москва 1987, 5-14.
- 1225 К. Б. Павлова, П. А. Раппопорт, *Городище Осовик*, Советская археология 1, Москва 1973, 200-216.
- 1226 И. К. Лабутина, *Псков в X-XV вв. Историческая топография по данным археологии*, Труды пятого международного конгресса славянской археологии, Москва 1987, 129-136; В. Л. Белецки, *Довмонтов город средневекового Пскова*, Труды пятого международного конгресса славянской археологии, Москва 1987, 31-36; К. А. Меркапова, *Численность населения средневекового города возможности реконструкции на примере Пскова*, Советская археология 4, Москва 1991, 216-224.
- 1227 А. Н. Кирпичников, *Ладога и Ладожская земля VIII-XIII вв.*, Труды пятого международного конгресса славянской археологии, Москва 1987, 101-111; Г. С. Лебедев, *Ладога. Торговый, политический, сакральный центр словен новгородских*, Труды пятого международного конгресса славянской археологии, Москва 1987, 138-146; Т. Н. Джаксон, *Древнерусские города в исландских королевских сагах*, Труды пятого международного конгресса славянской археологии II, Москва 1987, 71; Б. А. Рябинин, Н. Б. Черных, *Стратиграфия и хронология нижнего слоя староладожского земляного городища в свете новых исследований*, Советская археология 1, Москва 1988, 85-9.

Polotsk,<sup>1228</sup> Minsk,<sup>1229</sup> Bereste,<sup>1230</sup> Suzdal,<sup>1231</sup> Beloozero<sup>1232</sup> and Stari Riazan,<sup>1233</sup> Druck,<sup>1234</sup> Pendizken,<sup>1235</sup> Gnezdov,<sup>1236</sup> Saraj,<sup>1237</sup> Bogojavlenskoj,<sup>1238</sup> and Dedilovo, Serensko, Mcensk, Kromu, Tesilov, Deviatogorsk,<sup>1239</sup> Lavov.<sup>1240</sup> In the twelfth century the towns of Zvenihorod, Chernihiv,<sup>1241</sup> Novgorod-

- 1228 Г. В. Штыхов, *Критерии города эпохи Киевской Руси (по материалам Полоцкой земли)*, Труды пятого международного конгресса славянской археологии I, Москва 1987, 148-154; Д. А. Авдусин, *Образование древнерусских городов лесной зоны*, Труды пятого международного конгресса славянской археологии II, Москва 1987, 5-12.
- 1229 Г. В. Штыхов, *Критерии города эпохи Киевской Руси (по материалам Полоцкой земли)*, Труды пятого международного конгресса славянской археологии I, Москва 1987, 148-154.
- 1230 П. Ф. Лысенко, *Берестье*, Труды пятого международного конгресса славянской археологии IV, Москва 1987, 14-19.
- 1231 М. В. Седова, *Сузdal в X-XIII вв. (топография, застройка)*, Труды пятого международного конгресса славянской археологии III, Москва 1987, 100-110.
- 1232 А. А. Шенников, *О «Крытых дворах» в Старой Ладоге и Белоозере*, Советская археология 4, Москва 1970, 239-244.
- 1233 В. П. Даркевич, Г. В. Борисевич, *Древняя столица Рязанской земли*, Москва 1995, 23-130.
- 1234 Н. А. Кирьянова, *О находках зерен сельскохозяйственных культур при раскопках городища Друцк*, Советская археология 3, Москва 1972, 355-357.
- 1235 И. Рахматуллаев, *Жилой квартал древнегородища Пенджикент*, Советская археология 1, Москва 1982, 143-155.
- 1236 Е. А. Шмидт, *Об этническом составе населения Гнездова*, Советская археология 3, Москва 1970, 102-109.
- 1237 Л. Л. Галкин, *Кашинский кувшин из селитренского городища*, Советская археология 3, Москва 1971, 281-284; Н. Н. Бусятская, *Стеклянные, бусы селитренного городища*, Советская археология 1, Москва 1973, 217-224.
- 1238 В. С. Флеров, *Поселение VIII-IX в. в уст. Богоявленской*, Советская археология 2, Москва 1971, 258-265.
- 1239 Т. Н. Никольская, *К исторической географии земли Вятской*, Советская археология 4, Москва 1972, 158-170.
- 1240 Р. С. Багрий, *Древнерусский город Львов в свете археологических и архитектурных исследований (1975-1985 гг.)*, Труды пятого международного конгресса славянской археологии III, Москва 1987, 20-24.
- 1241 Б. А. Рыбаков, *Столицей город Чернигов и удельный город Вещиж*, По следам древних культур. Древняя Русь, Москва 1953, 98; А. В. Кузя, *Социально-историческая типология древнерусских городов X-XIII вв.* Древнерусский город, Киев 1984, 72; В. П. Коваленко, *Основаны этапы развития летописных городов Чернигово-Северской земли*, Труды пятого международного конгресса славянской археологии, Москва 1987, 122-128.

Siversk, Vir, Bilhorod, Vishorod, Putivl, Ciurnaiv and Periaslav<sup>1242</sup> developed. Some of Kiev's residents moved to the northern Russian towns.

Riazan was a political and cultural centre and one of the greatest and richest Russian towns in the twelfth century.<sup>1243</sup> Archaeological research was conducted in *Old Riazan*, situated on the river Oka. The gradishte was surrounded with high ramparts and deep trenches, which have been well-preserved. The architecture of the Riazan complex consisted of wooden buildings. Through evolving from a small town on the shores of Oka to a capital of a powerful principality, Riazan's urban plan was becoming more perfect. Archaeological excavations allowed for a reconstruction of the town through different phases of its construction. The north promontory is the oldest part of the town situated on the confluence of Srebjanka and Oka. At first, the promontory was used as a fort and its position enabled further expansion of the town. There were three towns with a similar reef structure: Pskov, Krom and Novgorod. The north promontory of Riazan has not been thoroughly explored, because of the seventeenth-century cemetery established above it.<sup>1244</sup>

By the end of the first and the beginning of the second millennium, the Slavs were gladly settling the forest-steppe area between the rivers Dnieper and Don, which offered best conditions for agriculture.<sup>1245</sup> The settlements were often built in the region of small villages around Tula, the river Upa and its tributaries, especially around upper Upa and the Shat. The most explored settlements in the valley of Upa are Supruti, Torhovo and Utkino. In all three habitation layers, sunken huts with ovens were discovered, with a rectangular basis, recesses with ovens and apparent orientation to cardinal points. Surface areas of the houses ranged from 3 x 3m to 5 x 5m. In the settlement Torhovo, the surface of only two buildings can be determined, and it was less than 8 m<sup>2</sup>. Houses in the settlement Utkino had a surface of 11 to 11.5 m<sup>2</sup>. The houses were made of planks and clay

1242 Г. Х. Логвин, *О внешнем облике древнерусских городов*, Труды пятого международного конгресса славянской археологии VI, Москва 1987, 163-169.

1243 В. П. Даркевич, *Старая Рязань (итоги археологических исследований 1970-1979 гг.)*, Труды пятого международного конгресса славянской археологии III, Москва 1987, 63-70.

1244 В. П. Даркевич, Г. В. Борисевич, *Древняя столица Рязанской земли*, Москва 1995, 23-38.

1245 А. В. Григорьев, *Славянское население водораздела Оки и Дона в конце I - начале II тыс. н.е.*, Тула 2005, 23-25.

with pillars in corners and the middle, or no pillars in the construction. Sunken huts with two or four pillars were widespread in the ninth century on the left shores of Dnieper. Stone ovens were in one of the corners, usually in the northern part.

The great Gornaljsko gradishte is mentioned in the chronicles of Severans as the gradishte of the Romenska culture but in the course of further excavations this opinion changed.<sup>1246</sup> In the tenth-century residential buildings were ovens while pits almost make no appearance. Research of the village Suljinka showed that the buildings do not belong to the typical Romenska-culture architecture. Log cabins were built overground. Similar structures were found in the Volincevo settlement and around it. The material culture of the Severans sustained considerable changes in the period from the seventh to the first half of the eleventh century.

Gradishte is the main settlement type in the Romenska culture. In the settlement near the village of Gorbovo, tenth-century log cabins were discovered with traditional Russian stone ovens and those made of clay. Complete absence of pillar pits is very peculiar. The village of Gorbovo was destroyed at the end of the tenth century.<sup>1247</sup>

Towns provide information on economy and trade because they are connected with other parts of land. Towns produced goods that were needed in rural, agricultural regions. Some towns were on the river banks with fertile soil, indicating the importance of agriculture. Archaeological exploration and the written sources give information about urban life. Urban centres had defensive or military role. From the ninth century, towns in Russia were being fortified with wooden palisades and they were administrative, military and trade centres. Volodimir founded towns along the rivers Desna, Ostra, Trubez, Sula and Stugna in 988 so that he could protect the approach to Kiev from the south and from eastern border with the steppe. Archaeological excavations showed that these towns were fortified and merchant centres. Yaroslav the Wise brought Polish captives who built new fortifications in 1031. The towns of Ladoga, Beloozero, Izyaslav, Belgorod, Suzdal and others were built the similar way but they grew into towns with other purposes.<sup>1248</sup> Military centres remained only in

1246 А. В. Григорьев, *Северская земля в VIII - начале XI века по археологическим данным*, Тула 2000, 13-21.

1247 А. В. Григорьев, *Северская земля в VIII - начале XI века по археологическим данным*, Тула 2000, 52-54.

1248 М. В. Седова, *Сузdalь в X-XIII вв. (топография, застройка)*, Труды пятого международного конгресса славянской археологии III, Москва 1987, 100-110.

the steppes on the south-east. Some gradishta were built before the rise of Kiev, and became towns later, which points to their defensive role although they had an important role in trade, as well. A few towns were discovered that were primarily religious centres, and that later on expanded their purpose. The main centres of trade were Kiev, situated on the river banks of Dnieper; Nizhni Novgorod on the confluence of Volga and Oka; and the Great Novgorod, well connected with other towns. The old merchant towns were Novgorod,<sup>1249</sup> Staraja Ladoga,<sup>1250</sup> Kostroma, Ustjug and Volkolamsk. Many important settlements in the country were built on small rivers or streams which were unsuitable for agriculture. The north-eastern part of the land, including Moscow, had the best conditions for the development of agriculture. Rostov and Suzdal, important, old towns on the north-east, were not built on a river but were surrounded with forest, on a very fertile soil.<sup>1251</sup> Then, Tihomirov, which was a trade centre, too. Five regions with fertile soil and plenty of towns can be named: the region surrounding Kiev, Galih-Volhynia, Polotsk-Smolensk, Rostov-Suzdal and Riazan. Handcraft was very developed in the towns of Kiev Russia. Goods were mostly very crude and produced for local needs, and were not exported to other lands. In the area of the early medieval Russi, we can speak of several cultures that developed around the urban centres.<sup>1252</sup>

East-Slavic culture underwent great changes, mostly under the influence of the Saltovo culture to which Khazars, Bulgars and Alans used to belong.<sup>1253</sup> It seems that the constant Khazar raids induced the Slavs to fortify their settlements. It is supposed that the Khazars pushed the Slavs

- 1249 В. А. Буров, *Уличанская община древнего Новгорода по археологическим данным*, Советская археология 4, Москва 1985, 90-106, Б. Александрович Колчин, Б. Лаврентьевич Янин, С. Васильевич Ямщиков, *Древний Новгород*, Москва 1985, 8-16; Е. Ю. Медникова, П. А. Раппопорт, *Строительные растворы древнего Новгорода*, Советская археология 4, Москва 1991, 413-425.
- 1250 С. Н. Орлов, *Раскопки на территории каменной крепости в Старой Ладоге (Из материалов староладожской экспедиции 1949 г.)*, Советская археология 4, Москва 1973, 262-269.
- 1251 А. Е. Леонтьев, *Ростов. Предпосылки возникновения древнерусского города*, Труды пятого международного конгресса славянской археологии II, Москва 1987, 151-158.
- 1252 А. В. Кузя, *Социально-историческая типология древнерусских городов X-XIII вв.*, Русский город (исследования и материалы), Москва 1983, 6-15.
- 1253 М. Г. Рабинович, *О происхождении и развитии восточнославянских городов*, Rapports du IIIe Congrès International d'Archéologie Slave, Bratislava 1980, 359-360.

north, towards Baltic.<sup>1254</sup> The Radimich tribe settled around the lower Soz river and along the rivers Iput and Beseda. There was no Slavic material in this region before the tenth century. The Dragovichi expanded from Pripeta northwards to the Baltic lands, before the ninth century. Other tribes on the territory of Belorussia and north Russia, such as the Krivichi, came from West-Slavic lands. In the eleventh and the twelfth century the Krivichi dispersed throughout the area between the upper flow of Nemun and west to Kostrom on the upper Volga on the east, and from the lake Pskov on the north to upper Soz and river Desna on the south. The earliest finds from Krivichi date from the sixth to ninth century. In the region of Smolensk, where later settlements of the Krivichi were discovered, there were no Slavic finds before the eighth century. The influence of the Balts and of the Finno-Ugric people played an important role in the formation of the *Krivichi culture*.<sup>1255</sup>

Modern Belarus, area in which East Slavic languages are spoken today, was populated with East Balts (ancestors of Lithuanians) up to the tenth century and the Baltic ethnicities did survive even after the Slavic expansion.<sup>1256</sup> The Baltic tribe Goliad (Galinidianus) lived in the basin of upper Oka, sout-west of Moscow up to the twelfth century. Archaeological finds show that the Balts assimilated slowly into Slavic tribes. It is assumed that the Slavs made it so far the north across eastern Poland and the basin of upper Nemuan. The Slavic expansion in Russia did not end before the ninth/tenth century.

Early settlements in Russia were small agricultural communities without territorial organisation until the end of eighth century.<sup>1257</sup> These early settlements with scattered houses were without defensive ramparts, or fortified with soil ramparts and canals, or situated in naturally protected areas on a hill surrounded by a river.<sup>1258</sup> The settlement on the hill in

1254 Э. Ю. Тыниссон, *Особенности возникновения городов в Прибалтике*, Труды пятого международного конгресса славянской археологии I, Москва 1987, 86-92.

1255 В. В. Седов, *Начало городов на Руси*, Труды пятого международного конгресса славянской археологии I, Москва 1987, 22-31.

1256 О. Н. Левко, *Социально-топографическая и планировочная структура белорусского феодального города (по материалам Витебска)*, Труды пятого международного конгресса славянской археологии II, Москва 1987, 147-151.

1257 Б. А. Тимощук, *Начало классовых отношений у восточных Славян*, Советская археология 2, Москва 1990, 62-75.

1258 И. Цвијановић, *Средоземље у делима арапских географа (IX-XII век)* (докторска теза), Београд 2010, 140, 190, 214-215.

Novotroitski, east of mid-Dnieper, completely explored by I. I. Ljapuskin in the 1950s, is an example of a naturally protected settlement.<sup>1259</sup> Ramparts around villages enabled these communities to connect and to gain firm hold. In the late eighth and the ninth century, settlements are typically better fortified and well-fortified settlements on hills, *castra*, surrounded by open settlements, make appearance. These open settlements were not very distant from each other and they were the smallest units in territorial organization. On the upper and middle Odra, these settlements covered from twenty to seventy km<sup>2</sup>, and sometimes 150 km<sup>2</sup>. Forts on the hills had massive earthen ramparts with inbuilt wooden gate, a so-called box-construction, known from the excavations of the fort on the Bonikovo hill and in Bruszcevo in western Poland. The core of the inner and outer rampart was built of stone. Forts on hills were residences of the upper classes, who ran the government. Merger of a few small settlements into one court was the next phase of the territorial and social organization. Countries developed when one competent leader subjugated other tribe leaders to his power and became a prince of a larger territory. In this period, from the seventh to ninth century, the population concentrated in large settlements that became administrative centres. At that time in Russia, great towns of Kiev, Staraja Ladoga, Pskov and Novgorod came to be.

The settlements of *Prague-Korchak culture* were, as a rule, placed on rivers, near water sources.<sup>1260</sup> Unfortified settlements are typical, mainly small, with eight to twenty households with courtyards.<sup>1261</sup> Settlements of both low and high number of houses are known. In the settlement Raskov 3, ninety-two houses were discovered, but some buildings were destroyed when the river banks of Dniester slid. A very small number of houses has been excavated completely, so it is not possible to determine their size. Explorers did notice that in many regions of Prague-Korchak culture, the settlements were formed in the shape of a nest. In Pripjatsko

1259 И. Фодор, *Некоторыи общие черты славянских и венгерских поселений раннего средневековья*, Труды пятого международного конгресса славянской археологии I, Москва 1987, 109-113.

1260 H. Brachmann, *Slawische Atämme an Elbe und Saale*, Zu ihrer Geschichte und Kultur im 6. bis 10. Jahrhundert auf Grund archäologischer Quellen, Berlin 1978, 7-20, 161-167.

1261 И. П. Русанова, Б. А. Тимошук, *Кодви́н-славянские поселения X-XIII вв. на р. Прут*, Москва 1984, 23-28; В. Д. Баран, *Раннесредневековые древности славян Юго-Восточной Европы (проблемы сложения, периодизации и социальной структурии)*, Труды пятого международного конгресса славянской археологии, Москва 1987, 52.

Plesje settlements were found in the shape of a nest that consisted of three to four villages only 300-500 m away from each other, with the distance between them of 3-5 km.<sup>1262</sup> Similar concentration of settlements was discovered close to Desan-Mozikane on the Elbe.<sup>1263</sup> On the terrace/plateau above the valley of the river were five settlements, each consisting of six to eleven houses. Two types of settlements are distinguished:

- The most widespread type was built without a plan and buildings are in irregular groups. In the open space between them, pits were discovered that were used by a few families.

- The second type of settlements are those that were planned and constructed on the river banks or other water surfaces.

In the village Desan-Mozikan, there is another type of construction. About ten houses are distributed in a circle, with no buildings in the centre of the village. Gradishta are familiar among the settlements of Prague-Korchak culture. The best known gradishte is in the village Zimno on Volhynia.<sup>1264</sup> It was built on the promontory above the bank of river Lug, a right tributary of the Western Bug.<sup>1265</sup>

Gradishte was situated on the central part of the prominence surrounded with deep ditches. The dimensions of gradishte are 100 x 40 m. The excavation showed that the south-western part was fastened with supporting pillars fastened with horizontal logs and a wooden palisade. On the sides were steep slopes, inaccessible for an enemy. In the south-western part of the site, thirteen clay hearths were discovered. On the Zimovsko gradishte, findings included many metal objects, tools for labour, pieces of clothes and jewelry. These sites indicate that the gradishte was a crafts centre with blacksmiths, goldsmiths and stonecutters living in it.

The residential buildings of Prague-Korchak culture were primarily sunken huts with square base, dimensions 8 - 20 m<sup>2</sup>.<sup>1266</sup> The depth of the digs in the ground could be 0.3 - 1 m and deeper, with a usual depth of 0.5 - 1 m. A variety of construction techniques was used for walls. Some were made of stacked logs, rarely of cordwood, and other walls were made of

1262 В. Д. Баран, *Ранні слов'янини між Дністром и прип'яттю*, Київ 1972, 25-32.

1263 B. Krüger, *Dessau-Mosigkau, ein frühslawischer Siedlungsplatz im mittleren Elbgebiet*, Berlin 1967, 36-48.

1264 В. В. Аулих, *Зимнівське городище - слов'янська пам'ятка VI-VII ст. н.е. в Західній Волині*, Київ 1972, 35-46.

1265 И. П. Русанова, *Славянские древности VI-IX вв. между Днепром и Западным Бугом*, Москва 1973, 43-56.

1266 В. В. Седов, *Славяне в раннем средневековье*, Москва 1995, 7-39.

horizontally placed cordwood that intersected or was fastened to spikes covered with earth. Floors were of earth, sometimes greased with clay or paneled in planks. In one of the houses walls entrance was made with wooden doors. At the entrance, wooden ladders for going downstairs were placed. It is assumed that the total height of the residential building was two meters. Pitched roofs had a wooden frame which was covered with planks or straw. In the western part of a house of Prague-Korchak culture were ovens of small dimensions, made of stone and clay. Position of the hearth in one corner of the residential house represents an ethnographical characteristic of Slavic house interior. In the interior of the house, benches carved out of wood or of material covered in wood were placed along the walls. They served as beds or as benches. In the earthen floor of some of these houses, pits full of charred wood were found. Traces of furniture legs can be seen on the floor. Small pits with large clay vessels containing household supplies were also found. P. Donat described the construction of Slavic houses in the Early Middle Ages. In his works he showed the main differences between Slavic and Germanic houses.<sup>1267</sup>

He differentiated two types of Slavic houses:

1. Half-earthen houses, widespread in the central and southern parts of the Slavic world in the Early Middle Ages.
2. Sunken huts characteristic for Prague-Korchak culture and clearly different from the houses of the North Slavs at the beginning of the Middle Ages. Similar houses were widespread on the settlements of Penkovka and Ipotešti-Candesti culture.

*The Sukow-Dziedzice (lehit) culture* grew in the Odra basin, the lands of the middle Povislenje, and on the west between the rivers Odra and Elba.<sup>1268</sup> The culture has got name according to two well explored sites, gradishte Sukow in Mecklenburg, and village Dziedzice in the Polish Pomerania.<sup>1269</sup> In the literature in German it is usually called Sukow-Seligi. The unique element of the Sukow-Dziedzice culture was the building construction of houses, which clearly limits the area of that culture from the

1267 P. Donat, *Haus, Hof und Dorf in Mitteleuropa vom 7.-12. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1980, 9-31.

1268 J. Herrmann, J. Siedlung, *Wirtschaft und gesellschaftliche verhältnisse der slawischen Stämme zwischen Oder/Neisse und Elbe*, Berlin 1968, 53-71; Idem, *Die Slawen in Deutschland*, Berlin 1985, 21-32.

1269 А. Грингмут-Далмер, *Расселение славянских племен. Предпосылки возникновения города в Восточном Мекленбурге*, Труды пятого международного конгресса славянской археологии II, Москва 1987, 67-74.

area of the Prague-Korchak culture.<sup>1270</sup> In contrast with the sunken huts of the Prague-Korchak culture, Sukow-Dziedzice built overground houses made of cordwood. In the course of excavations, they are hard to discover, with their base having empty, oval and irregular pits. Their dimensions vary, from 2.5-2 x 1.5 m – 3.1 x 1.9 m, and 0.4 m deep. During the excavations pits of houses and auxiliary buildings were found. They are usually of small dimensions and buried under earth with refuse. Beside hearths were pits. The hearths were built of stone in one or two levels, or they were recesses filled with a layer of coal. Average dimensions of hearths were 1.5 x 1.2 m. Near the hearth, remains of a stone oven were found. In this area several settlements with lattice support construction were found, which bears semblance to Germanic houses. They probably took it up from the Germanic tribes that inhabited the region during the Roman period. However, the archaeological material found in those houses was made of carved wood, which indicates a Slavic settlement.

The basic type of the *Penkovka culture* settlement was an open village on river terraces and near water sources.<sup>1271</sup> Settlements were built on sites naturally protected by rivers, forests, swamps, which is why they were not fortified with ramparts. Fertile land and pastures for cattle grazing were usually in the vicinity of the settlements. The surface area of a village did not exceed one to two hectares and most of them covered half a hectare, at most. Most of the settlements contained from seven to fifteen households. Thus in the village Semenki, eleven households were excavated. Unplanned construction was the rule, and houses were 14-15 m away from each other. On great, well explored settlements concentration of houses into groups was noticed. Unplanned construction is also characteristic for the settlements in Moldavia (Huc) and Poddniprya (Stecovka).

The basic type of the Penkovka culture was a sunken square hut, with the surface area of 12-20 m<sup>2</sup>.<sup>1272</sup> In its basic characteristics, it is identical to the houses of the Prague-Korchak type. The depth of digs at the site was 0.4-1 m. Walls of these houses were made of beams or posts,

1270 В. Б. Седов, *Славяне в раннем средневековье*, Москва 1995, 40-68.

1271 О. М. Приходник, *Пеньковская культура*, Этнокультурная карта территории Украинской ССР в I тысячелетии н.э., Киев 1985, 85-93; В. Д. Баран, *Раннесредневековые древности славян Юго-Восточной Европы (проблемы сложения, периодизации и социальной структуры)*, Труды пятого международного конгресса славянской археологии, Москва 1987, 52-57.

1272 В. Б. Седов, *Славяне в раннем средневековье*, Москва 1995, 68-95.

mainly of beams. In the area between the Dnieper and the Dniester, houses take 75%, on the left bank of Dnieper 79%, and in Prut-Dniester region more than 80 %.<sup>1273</sup> Huts had a circular base. It is estimated that the overground part was 1.5 - 2 m high. As a part of the post construction, cordwood was placed horizontally and fastened with spikes or by crossing ends. Roofs had wooden frame covered with straw or reed. In the village Berebikovci, the houses had pitched roofs of baulks covered with clay. Most of the houses of the Penkovska culture had a stone hearth and few clay ovens. In the second phase, clay ovens prevailed, and in few houses were stone hearths.

Sunken huts in Dnieper-Dniester area mostly had stone ovens. Stone ovens with hearths were discovered only on the periphery of the Penkovka culture region.

Throughout the Middle Ages, it was customary to place ovens in one of the corners of the sunken huts. In most of the Penkovka culture huts, ovens were built of stone immediately on the floor or, rarely, slightly dug into the ground or raised above it. In the early phases, ovens were made of small stones, and were discovered demolished, their construction unknown. Later, foundations of ovens were built of crisscrossed stone plates, covered with a stone plate. Dimensions of ovens hearths were 0.5-0.6 m, and 0.3-0.5 m in height. Very rarely were they made of clay. In the villages Hanska in Moldavia, clay ovens with oval base were discovered, with radius between 0.5 to 0.7 m. In contrast with the houses from the earlier period, it was distinctive that they were placed in one of the corners beside the northern wall of the house, because in that time, entrances were on the southern side. Later, the arrangement would change. The interior of the Penkovka huts was bare, equipped only with benches beside the wall. The floor was mostly made of rammed earth, and occasionally of wooden beams, although it is assumed unverified by excavations. At the entrance, one would climb down the hut by a wooden ladder. Sometimes stairs were dug in the ground itself. In most of the houses, rectangular or oval pits 0.5 m wide were dug opposite the oven. Sunken huts of Penkovka villages Hitci, Skribinci, Seliste, Kocobevka I, Dauceni were of the second type. They had a central support post that probably held up the construction. All

1273 П. П. Бирня, *К вопросу об этапах градообразования в Днестровско-прутском междуречье (до установления османского ига)*, Труды пятого международного конгресса славянской археологии II, Москва 1987, 43-49; А. П. Моля, *К проблеме градообразования на Левобережье Днепра в XI-XII вв.*, Труды V Международного конгресса Славянской археологии I, Киев 1987, 164-170.

huts of this type belong to the earliest horizon of Penkovka villages. Such buildings do not exist among the houses of the next phase. Incoming emigrants from the lands around upper Dnieper brought with them the construction of huts with the central support post, which were widespread in those lands in the first quarter of the first millennium. The huts of the upper Dnieper lands were of the Kiev and Kolochin cultures. In time, the upper Dnieper population assimilated into Penkovka population, and the huts with the central post disappeared. In the southern areas of Poddniprya, the population of Penkovka culture completely assimilated into Turkic-Yazig nomads. Many Yazig villages were discovered: Osipovka, Sepovka, Lug II, Budisce, Cernescina. Remains of houses with oval and round bases with indents were excavated, which resemble the nomadic yurtas. In the village of Stecovki, an oval building was discovered, with base dimensions 6 x 7.2 m and a 0.5 m deep indent, around which a canal was dug, 0.3-0.4 m in diameter and 10-15 cm deep. The floor was covered with straw in Budisce, where a rectangular hut with thickened corners was found. A stone hearth was in the centre. It is assumed that those houses belonged to nomads that commenced practicing agriculture. Huts found in the village of Zovnin, with recesses, walls of clay and floors of mudbrick and clay, did not belong to Slavs; neither did the buildings with stone foundations in the small village of Zvonecka. It is obvious that in the Penkovka culture, there were houses different in plan from the buildings of the Saltov culture, which points to Alano-Bulgar infiltration into Slavic territory. The auxiliary rooms set them apart from the huts of Penkovka culture. Sometimes these were overground huts or seemingly residential buildings on posts, with more frequently cylindrical, bell-like or barrel-shaped pits, of a 0.3 - 2 m radius. In the pits and auxiliary rooms beside the house, grain and other food supplies had been preserved. In the village of Semenki, there were twenty-five houses, 0.5-2.5 m apart, surrounded with seven pits. The pits were discovered in the village Kocebevka, too. The villages in which auxiliary rooms, pits and pantries formed a singular complex together with the residential area, belong to the period of the initial development of a familial aggregation when the production was collective. In other villages, such as Budisce and Hitci, pits and auxiliary rooms belonging to a household were on the periphery of the village, and the sunken huts took the largest area, indicating that the produce was communal property. In the area of the Penkovka culture a few fortified villages are known, such as a completely explored settlement in Moldavia.

A fortified village was built on the plateau at the confluence of the rivers Vatica and Reut. At the approachable side, it was protected with a rampart and a deep canyon. The dimensions of gradishte were 130 x 60 m. In the village sixteen sunken huts and eighty-one pits were excavated. Finds in the sunken huts point to handcrafts related to goldsmithing. Researchers of monuments consider that Gradishte was one of the administrative centres of the Penkovska population.

*Ipotesti-Candesti culture* developed on the remains of the Roman period in the area between the Prut and lower Danube.<sup>1274</sup> The population was consisted of Romanized descendants of Daco-Getic, Germanic, and Slavic tribes.<sup>1275</sup> The Ipotesti-Candesti culture developed in the mid-sixth century by merging elements of Prague-Penkovka with local ones.<sup>1276</sup>

A specificity are unfortified settlements, situated on the river terraces. Several dozens of settlements were explored. Residential buildings were rectangular in plan, with ovens made of stone or clay. Ovens were often made in the walls of sunken huts' pits, which were regularly in one of the corners of the house. Walls of the houses were made of logs or had a support post construction. In all characteristics, the houses of Ipotesti-Candesti culture were identical with Slavic huts of the Prague-Korchak and Penkovka range, and it is obvious that the Slavic settlers brought them in the lower Danube region. In the village Ben Jasa near Bukurest, more than ten huts belonging to the third phase were explored. More than thirty sunken huts with stone ovens in their corners were excavated in the village Botosan-Suceava. Some ovens were well preserved, enabling detailed reconstruction. Most of the houses had walls constructed posts, but huts made of logs can also be encountered. The houses were modestly equipped and covered with a pitched roof.

*Volincevo culture - Slavs on the southeast of the Russian plains.* In the seventh and the eighth century two cultural groups appeared on the south bank of Dnieper.<sup>1277</sup> The forest-steppe lands belonged to the population of the Penkovka culture, Sahnov phase, while the northern regions,

1274 Г. Теодор Дан, *Новые данные о славянах в Карпато-Дунайских областах в VI-VII вв.н.е.*, Interaktionen der mitteleuropäischen Slawen und anderen Ethnica im 6.-10. Jahrhundert, Nitra 1984, 261-265; В. В. Седов, *Славяне в раннем средневековье*, Москва 1995, 95-109.

1275 О. Торпу, *Romanitatea tirizie și străromânii in Dacia Traiană sudearpatică*, Craiova 1976, 119-144.

1276 S. Dolinescu-Ferche, *La cultur "Ipotești-Ciurel-Cindești" (V-VII siècles). La situation en Valoachie*, Dacia 28, București 1984, 117-147.

1277 В. В. Седов, *Славяне в раннем средневековье*, Москва 1995, 186-209.

around the rivers Seim and Podesenia, was inhabited by the tribes of Kolocin culture. At the end of the seventh and the beginning of eighth century, development of these cultures was interrupted by an arrival of relatively great masses of a new population. The migration took in a small part of Prague-Korchak area in which the Luki-Raikovets culture stood in the seventh century. On a part of the right bank of the Kiev region around Dnieper, local population accepted the culture of newcomers and threw in their own elements. In that process, a new archaeological culture called Volincevo culture appeared on the left bank of the Dnieper forest-steppe region, named after the complex of monuments discovered around the village Volincevo of the Putivlj area in the Sumska region.<sup>1278</sup> Volincevo settlements were not fortified. According to the topographic characteristics and shape they are similar to the Slavic settlements from the previous period. They were formed on the terraces and plateaus between river valleys. In the last phase, settlements were built on hills. Settlements tended to be of smaller dimensions but bigger settlements are also known, with a surface area 6-7.5 ha. Little data are known about the plan and character of the settlement. A good example are the remains of Volincevo settlement, surface area of 4800 m<sup>2</sup> in which fifty-one structure and auxiliary structures from different periods of construction were explored. Structures are arranged in four compact groups within which the houses were built unplanned. Fortifications were not built in Volincevo settlements, but the influence of this culture is obvious in Bitic and Oposnji gradishte. Remains of the monuments on Bitic are related to skivska time, and the fortifications in Oposnji have connections to Romenska period. The basic type of Volincevo culture settlement has, as its characteristic, square or rectangular structures of sunken huts type of a surface area 20-25 m<sup>2</sup>. Most of them were dug into the ground at a depth of 1-1.2 m, with a rare occurrence of deeper digs of 1.2-1.6 m depth. Most of the structures had walls with latticed support construction with horizontally placed beams or wattle. A few log cabins were discovered. Roofs of the houses were pitched and approximately 1.2 m high. A thin layer of earth mixed with clay was applied to the wooden roof. Entrance to the houses was by wooden stairs. They often had pits as house storages dug into the ground or wall. Besides that, outside the residential buildings were overground or underground storage room. Clay ovens were in the houses, usually built with the same

1278 E. A. Горонов, *О памятниках волынцевского типа*, Москва 1975, 3-10.

material or specially rammed clay at the time of the entire construction. In addition, in the Biticki and Oposnji settlements, open hearths were also found. The topography of the settlement and the structures indicate an agricultural character of Volincevo settlements.

#### Ukraine

*Raikovets culture* stretched between the Dnieper in the east and the Carpathian mountains in the west, from Pripyat in the north to the lower Danube on the south.<sup>1279</sup> Most of the settlements were unfortified, situated in naturally protected areas, near waterways. Settlements of Raikovets culture often existed synchronously with the settlements of the Prague and Penkovka type, situated in the same topographic conditions, as settlements that existed side by side, grouped in the same territory.<sup>1280</sup>

They were built above Iron Age settlements and fortified with wooden walls. Most of the houses of Raikovets culture had square foundations and one room. They are classified in two types: sunken and over-ground houses. Each house had an oven, usually made of stone, and sometimes from wattle and mud.

Sunken houses are divided in two types, according to the manner, wood was used in the construction of walls: houses made of wooden spikes and rough cordwood. Overground houses were made exclusively of cordwood and consisted of a living room and an underground workroom. Between the eighth and tenth century, between the Dnieper and the Carpathians, a type of a sunken hut was prevalent, made of spikes, which represented a continuation of the local building tradition from the previous period and existed on this territory until the eleventh century, with an occasional appearance in the twelfth century. The houses made of cordwood were rare and this type only began being adopted from the eighth to ninth century. Overground houses with a cellar appeared in the tenth century and belonged to the upper class of society.

Archaeological research and written sources confirm great changes in the first millennium when it comes to the development of houses among the East Slavic communities that formed the economic basis of the

1279 Л. Михайлина, *Слов'яни VIII - X ст. між Дніпром і Карпатами*, Київ 2007, 75-105, 282-285.

1280 В. Д. Баран, *Пражская культура*, Этнокультурная карта территории Украинской ССР в I тысячелетии н.э., Киев 1985, 83.

Kiev state. Animal husbandry was the main occupation of the East Slavic population between the Dnieper and Carpathians between the eighth and tenth century, like in the period before. Discovery of the grain seeds together with grass (weeds) is of great significance, and this is typical for winter wheat in the settlement of Revinianski. Development of metallurgy was of special importance, as it provided a sufficient amount of quality iron tools. The introduction of potter's wheel developed the production of high quality ceramics fast, thanks to the ovens. Settlements of the Raikovets culture appeared at the time of rise of the Kiev state. The development of handcrafts and agriculture brought to the flourishing of import and export trade. New trade routes, foreign products, Byzantine and Kufa coins in the area of the Raikovets culture, all point to stable mercantile, economic connections between the Slavic tribes and the neighboring peoples. The East Slavic tribal communities were divided into tribes led by princes (knez), ruled by the grand prince. From the area of the Raikovets culture, we know of princes of Poljani, Drevljani, Ulici, Volinjani and Croats. Locations of the Raikovets culture shrines were not pinpointed by archaeological research.

The expansion of Slavic settlements was limited by the forest-steppe zone in the western Ukraine. The Slavs avoided the steppes and settled in the areas suitable for agriculture. The earliest Slavic material in Ukraine was classified into the western and eastern group, Zhitomir and Penkovka. The settlements of Zhitomir culture were situated west of Dnieper in the basin of the river Teterev, around the town of Zhitomir in Volhynia, and they spanned westwards until south-eastern Poland.<sup>1281</sup> The settlements of Penkovka culture were grouped in the valley of Dnieper and scattered between Dnieper and the middle Prut in Moldavia.<sup>1282</sup> From this space, Slavs expanded north, south and westwards.

The Zhitomir group is known for the settlements situated on the river terraces and sand dunes close to a river. Villages were connected with a small hill fortification built for defence. A barely noticeable cultural layer of habitation on this site indicates to a short period of occupation. Houses were very small and lightly constructed.

One of the settlements of this culture is Korchak, situated on the bank of the river Tetrev near Zhitomir in West Ukraine. The settlement consisted of sunken square huts scattered in an area 100 m long and 30-50

1281 M. Gimbutas, *The Slavs*, London 1971, 80-85.

1282 M. Gimbutas, *The Slavs*, London 1971, 86-90.

m wide. Twelve houses were excavated, about 10 to 15 m apart, dug into the ground to a depth of one meter or more. Hearth made of large stones were built in the north-eastern corner of each house. On the floors of the huts traces were found of post holes that had supported the roofs. Some huts had an entrance with stairs.

The settlements in the area of Zhitomir have close analogies in the areas around the upper Dnieper and Western Bug in Volhynia and south-eastern Poland. Good examples are the systematically surveyed villages in Ripnjevo in the region of Lvov on the Western Bug, and in Nezviski on the upper Dniester. On both sites, small sunken square huts with a clay or stone hearth were found. Analogies exist in Moldavia, Bohemia, Slovakia and central Germany. A few huts in the settlement of Ripnjev were excavated right above a layer of the earlier Chernyakhov culture, dated after the fibulas to the fourth and fifth century. One of the Early Medieval Slavic buildings was a small fort on the Zimno hill in the Volin region.

Early Medieval complex Luka-Raikovetskya, dated to the eighth and ninth century, was discovered after a few open settlements and forts on a hill in the area of Zhitomir.<sup>1283</sup> The Slavic settlements on the hill started making appearance from the eighth century and existed later on in the Slavic lands as well as throughout the Balkans and central Europe. Fortifications were situated on the river banks, in quite inaccessible areas, and covered surface areas between 1000 and 3000 m<sup>2</sup>. It is assumed that they were seats of tribal leaders and connected with the open settlements. One of the best explored fortifications is in Kotomel, in the valley of the river Gorin in the area Brest. The fort was round and fortified with double ramparts, and canals on the side toward the river.

The building complexes of the Zhitomir culture expanded from its core to south, west and north. When some groups separated, in the area of Zhitomir culture, the tribes of Poljani, Drevljani and Dragovici united. In the ninth century they moved farther north of the river Pripet and settled in the Baltic lands in the north, while in the west they arrived to the Dvina (Dugava).

The settlements of the Penkovka group are well explored in the area around the Dnieper: around Cerkasi, north-west of Kremenchug, between Dnepropetrovska and Zapozhe and around the middle flow of

1283 Д. А. Авдусин, *Образование древнерусских городов лесной зоны*, Труды пятого международного конгресса славянской археологии II, Москва 1987, 5-12.

the Southern Bug.<sup>1284</sup> Penkovka culture got its name after a village in the area around Kirovgrad, west of the Dnieper. D. T. Berzovets conducted excavations in the 1950s, on five sites with remains of the settlement in Penkovka. Since then, more than sixty settlements of Penkovka culture were discovered. The settlements were always situated on the river banks. A thin cultural layer points to a short duration of settlements' existence, just like with the Zhitomir culture. At one site, only ten sunken huts were discovered, and it is assumed that only five or six existed at the same time. In Penkovka settlement, small houses were discovered, rarely more than three meters in width, with a stone oven in one corner, usually. Remains of wooden planks used for the support of earthen walls were preserved in some houses. Vertical spikes were also used for construction of walls. A special study of the Early Slavic sunken huts, and those that are still being made in Ukraine, showed that they did not exist for a long time. During the reconstruction of an Early Medieval settlement Berzovets, it was established that the huts were in a good condition without repairs for only six to seven years, and that they could be used for fifteen to twenty years at most. Six to seven people could live in each house, but if family grew, a new hut would have to be built. Zhitomir and Penkovka cultures are just regional variations of one culture with a practically same economic and social structure. The sites of Penkovka culture probably constitute the core of the East Slavs, maybe Antes. Tribes Ulichi and Tiveri were also traced in this territory.

The expansion of Penkovka culture in the region east of the Dnieper is confirmed on the sites such as Volincevo from the sixth and seventh century, and from the eighth and ninth century hill forts of the Romny group, in the area inhabited by Severani.<sup>1285</sup> The Volincevo site, in the valley of the river Sejm near Putivil in the Sumi region, delivered basic information about the Early Slavic culture in this area. The remains of the settlement were discovered in the valley, on the river bank. The village was naturally protected with an almost impassable swamp on three sides. Sunken huts, with a surface area of 6 m<sup>2</sup>, were built in three rows. In the middle of the settlement was a big building with three ovens, possibly a

1284 О. М. Приходник, *Пеньковская культура*, Этнокультурная карта территории Украинской ССР в I тысячелетии н.э., Киев 1985, 85-93.

1285 В. Д. Баран, *Раннесредневековые древности славян Юго-Восточной Европы (проблемы сложения, периодизации и социальной структуры)*, Труды пятого международного конгресса славянской археологии, Москва 1987, 52-57.

workshop. Houses were divided in two groups: houses built with horizontally placed cordwood and houses made with vertical spikes covered with wattle and daub. One house in this settlement is burnt, although parts are quite well preserved. The cordwood walls were still standing and fragments of a flat roof without a chimney, made of logs, were found. The floor was made of clay with a dug-out pit for storage. In the north-eastern corner was a place for an oven made of local porous clay. The part around the oven was separated with a partition wall. Workshops and barns were in a separate building, and some workshops had three ovens. In the fortified settlement Vishneva Gora a big workshop was discovered with wooden vessel full of yellowish matter. Chemical analyses confirmed that it was honey and wax.

Larger villages fortified with ramparts with canals dug all around are typical for the early ninth century. The architecture and economy of the Volincevo phase held out longer, and the sites of this culture have been discovered along the rivers Desna, Sejm, Psel, Sula and Vorskla; and Romny type named after a fortified settlement was excavated near the town of Romny in 1901. The inhabitants were surely of the Severani tribe.

In the areas of Early Medieval Bohemia, Slovakia, Poland and Russia, several types of dwellings can be distinguished. The most widespread were sunken huts. Early sunken huts had one round or square base, with a roof made of straw, stairs dug into the ground or ladders, and a hearth. Later, a form of a square sunken hut appeared, halfway dug into the ground. Families no longer lived in common houses, but in houses adjacent to each other.

Besides these huts, in Ukraine and southern Russia, a peasant house – a hut made of mudbrick was built, which is typical of the steppe. Isba, a peasant house - log cabin, built of cordwood and beams, is characteristic of lands around Moscow and Novgorod. In Poland, many pile dwellings were discovered, placed on wooden spikes, driven into the bottom of a lake or a river. Slavic rulers built princely courts, with one main hall and smaller halls next to it, with many rooms around them. A court in the vicinity of Kiev is well-known.

Rural settlements were built first, and are classified in three types: scattered, round or the closely packed type. The basic type is scattered, with houses apart from each other. The closely packed one has village houses adjacent to each other. And the round type resembles a closed horseshoe with a narrow entrance and a square in the centre. Along with

the simple settlements, gradishta were built: circular, oval, square or triangle strongholds, fortified with ramparts. The interior was divided by transversal ramparts, and on the highest terrace would be a shrine and defensive towers. First towns were a type of settlement in transition from rural to urban.

In Moravia, a great number of villages, gradishta, and towns in particular, was explored. From the time of Mojmir by the reign of Rastislav, appeared the towns of: Mikulcica, Lisen, Stare Zamki at Lisen in Brno, Znojmo, Stare mesto, Pohansko at Breclav, Pobedim, Ducove, Nitra, Devin, Bratislava, Bina. By 874, Moravia expanded to and encompassed on the north-west the towns of L. Hradec, Praha, Stare Kourim; while on the north-east the towns of Krakow, Zemplin and Feldebro were taken. During the reign of Svatopluk (882-892), Moravia extended southwards to include the towns: Savaria, Ostrihom, Omuntesprech, Blatnohrod, Patikostolie, Solnik, Uherske Hradiste. Early towns of Bohemia such as Stare Kourim, Levi Hradec and Libice appeared in the second quarter of the tenth century. The towns of Hradecin and Visehrad were probably fortified centres separated from each other, but with urban settlements around them, which then merged to create the early Prague. Archaeological excavations point to a parallel existence of two centres in the second quarter of the tenth century.

The settlements of *the Prague-type culture* are widespread in Bohemia, south-western Slovakia and Poland. They consisted of groups with three to six houses, and appear in many areas of Central and South-east Europe. It is assumed that this type of house originated in the steppes of the western Ukraine and that it appeared in the fifth century. Huts of the Prague-type culture are mostly sunken huts with characteristic square, rectangular or trapezoid basis. Sometimes they had storages dug beside the sides or in the floor. In the corner of the room always stood a stone oven with a square base, with dimensions 40-60 cm. Ovens were made of big stone blocks and usually oriented parallel to one side of the house. They usually placed a dish in the ground next to the oven. Huts were made of wood and covered with a roof made of straw or branches. Most settlements were discovered on the sites of Prague-Hradcani (5), Prague-Bohnice (4), and Most (3). The sites with two settlements are Prague-Bubench, Prague-Horni, Pocernice, Prague-Mihle, Prague-Dejvice, Lovosice and Kanin. The most important excavations were on the site Libice, Lovosice, Prague-Cimice, Prague-Bubenc, Jenisuv, Ujezd, Turnov, Brezno and Rozotki.

The south-western part of Slovakia was settled by bearers of the *Prague-type of culture*. The *Presov type of culture*, with close analogies in Poland, appeared in eastern Slovakia. The space in which this culture was developing included Germanic, barbarian and Slavic ethnic groups. Two Early Slavic settlements were excavated east of Košice in Prešov. In western Slovakia, about twenty settlements from the Early Slavic period were excavated, concentrated around the rivers Morava, Vah (Vag), Dudvah, Nitra, Gran and Eipel.

Two Slavic groups lived in Poland at the beginning of the Middle Ages: *Sukow-Dziedzice* and *Prague-Korczak*. The main centre was Krakow, town on the river Vistula. A great number of Polish towns was researched, such as Kruszwica, Poznań, Opole, Szczecin, Gdańsk and Wolin. A great number of early medieval settlements and towns was discovered in the Koszalin dukedom.

In ancient Russia, research was conducted in a great number of towns and villages. Early settlements in Russia were small agricultural communities without a territorial organization until the end of the eighth century. These early settlements with scattered houses were either without defensive ramparts, or fortified with earthen ramparts and canals, or situated in naturally protected areas on a hill surrounded with rivers. Ramparts around villages allowed these communities to connect and consolidate.

Characteristic of the late eighth and ninth century are better fortified settlements and the appearance of well-fortified settlements on hills, castra, surrounded with open settlements. These open settlements were only mildly distant and represented the smallest units of territorial organization. On the middle and upper Odra, those settlements had a surface between twenty and seventy square kilometers, sometimes even 150 km<sup>2</sup>. Hillforts had massive earthen ramparts with inbuilt wooden gate, a so-called box-construction, known from the excavations of the fort on the Bonikovo hill and in Bruszcevo in western Poland. The core of the inner and outer rampart were built of stone. Forts on hills were residences of the upper class, who ran the government. Merger of a few small settlements into one court was the next phase of the territorial and social organization. Countries developed when one competent leader subjugated other tribe leaders to his power and became a prince of a larger territory. In this period from the seventh to ninth century, the population concentrated in large settlements that became administrative centres. In Russia of that time, great towns of Kiev, Staraja Ladoga, Pskov and Novgorod came to be. Among the best explored gradishta are Zimno, Hotemlj Bila.

Five cultures are distinguished in Russia: East Slavic culture, Prague-Korchak, Penkovka, Ipotesti-Candesti and Volincevo. Cultures in the forest-steppe zones of Ukraine were the Prague-type, Penkovka, Zhitomir and Raikovets. The East Slavic culture was under the influence of Saltovo culture of Khazars, Bulgars and Alans. Early settlements had scattered houses without defensive ramparts but the constant attacks of Khazars forced the Slavs to move northwards, to Baltic and fortify their settlements. Houses of Prague-Korchak and Penkovka cultures are similar. Sunken square huts made of beams and with a thatched roof were the most widespread. During the Early Middle Ages ovens were placed customarily in one of the corners on the hut. In the Penkovka settlement huts with a round base appeared. Ipotesti-Candesti culture developed in the mid-sixth century, merging local Germanic elements with those of the Prague-Korchak. Characteristic settlements were unfortified, with sunken square huts and stone or clay ovens. The houses of Ipotesti-Candesti culture were identical in all aspects with the Slavic huts of Prague-Korchak and Penkovka areas, considering their features, so it is obvious that they were brought to the Danube valley by Slavic settlers. On the south-east of the Russian plains, Volincevo culture emerged, named after the archaeological complex discovered around the village of Volincevo. In their topographic characteristics and in their shape, they resemble the unfortified settlements of the previous period. There are sunken square huts with walls built of posts in a grid-construction with horizontally placed logs or wattle. The area of Sukow-Dziedzice culture is clearly demarcated from others by the characteristic overground houses made of cordwood and auxiliary rooms. Stone hearths had one or two storeys, and beside the hearth remains of stone ovens were found.

Expansion of the Early Slavic settlements was limited by the forest-steppe zone in western *Ukraine*. Slavs avoided the steppes and were settling in the areas suitable for agriculture. The earliest Slavic material in Ukraine was assorted into the western and eastern group, Zhitomir and Penkovka. Settlements of *Zhitomir culture* were situated west of Dnieper in the basin of the river Teterev around the town of Zhitomir in Vohyinia, and extended westwards to south-eastern Poland. Settlements of *Penkovska culture* were grouped in the valley of Dnieper and scattered between the Dnieper and the Middle Prut in Moldavia. From this area the Slavs expanded towarda north, south and west.

In Ukraine, *Raikovets culture* developed between the Dnieper in the east and the Carpathians in the west, from Pripyat in the north to the

lower Danube in the south. Most widespread are unfortified settlements, with sunken or overground huts. Most of the Raikovets culture houses had a square base and one room. According to the type of the wooden wall construction sunken huts are divided in two groups: houses of wooden spikes or rough cordwood. Overground houses were built exclusively with cordwood and consisted of a living room and an underground workroom. From the eighth to tenth century, a type of a sunken hut made of spikes was prevailing between the Dnieper and the Carpathians, a form which continued the local building tradition of the previous period and would exist on this territory until the eleventh century, with an occasional appearance in the twelfth. Cordwood houses are seldomly encountered and this type begun to spread from the eighth/ninth century. Overground houses with a cellar emerged in the tenth century and used to belong to the upper classes of society.