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*Archaeological Finds
from Eastern Europe*

Text by
KLEMENT BENDA

Photographs by
K. and J. NEUBERT

Text by K. Benda
Translated by I. Urwin
Photographs by K. and J. Neubert
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FOREWORD

The early history of Europe is dominated by the Roman Empire to such an extent that it is easy to forget about the other civilizations which flourished at the same time. The Slavs, who inhabited the area to the east of the Empire, have been consistently neglected in this way; they never became involved with Rome, never even met the legions in battle, and were virtually ignored by classical writers. Later historians have tended to follow this example, for although the Slavonic peoples spread across enormous areas of land in great numbers, they never impinged upon Europe in the dramatic way that the Goths and Huns did; and it comes as a surprise at first to learn of their political and cultural achievements.

It is perhaps the size and extent of the Slavonic tribes that makes them unfamiliar. They could be found from the Baltic to the Balkans, from the Elbe to the Oka River; it is no wonder that they lack any apparent distinctive characteristic. Without what might be called a strong personality of their own, they were quick to adopt the manners and way of life of their neighbours. In the south, this meant that they were open to classical influences from the Greek settlements around the Black Sea; later, in the west, the empire of Charlemagne left its mark on Slavonic life and culture, while in the east Viking settlers provided the stimulus for the establishment of the Kiev State. Perhaps the most significant foreign influence of all came from Byzantium in the ninth century: in 863 Saints Cyril and Methodius introduced Christianity, and with it learning, literature and monumental art.

Before this, Slavonic art had consisted of what we should now call applied art or ornament. As can be seen from the illustrations in this book, jewellery was one of the most successful of

these art-forms, and one which seems to have been peculiarly suited to the Slavonic temperament. It was worn by men as much as by women: the warrior's uniform was held together by straps and belts, and these were extensively decorated with gold or bronze mounts, buckles and strap ends.

It seems astonishing that jewellery of such delicacy could be produced with only primitive tools; however, it must be remembered that the most elaborate pieces illustrated here are made of pure gold, which is softer than the carat gold used today, but has a higher melting-point: this means that it is easier to work when cold, and easier to control when heated.

There are basically three ways of making something out of metal; the first is to heat the metal until it melts, and then *cast* it from a mould. Or the object to be cast can be modelled in wax. This is covered with a layer of clay to make a strong mould. The mould is then heated and baked until the wax runs out, leaving a cavity the same shape as the model. Molten bronze is poured into this cavity, forming a replica of the original model. The mould has to be broken to release this replica. This method, known as *cire perdue*, permits much more complex shapes to be cast, but the mould can only be used once; the former, simpler method has the advantage of producing a number of identical casts from the same mould.

The second way of working metal is by shaping it when cold. *Hammering* is the most obvious method, but hardly suitable for producing subtle forms. Some of the finest work illustrated here was done in *repoussé*, in which the design is beaten out from the back with a hammer and punch while the metal is held against a resilient surface like leather or pitch. Afterwards the design is elaborated from the front, a process known as *chasing*, and may be further decorated by *engraving*, in which strips of metal are gouged out of the surface.

Engraving can also be used on its own; and areas from which the metal has been removed can be *inlaid*, or filled with another contrasting metal. Engraved silver was often inlaid with black metallic sulphides known as *niello*.

These last processes belong to the third category of metalworking, which involves the addition of metal to metal: many of the more complex pieces of jewellery were built up in this way. Two techniques popular with the Slavs were *granulation*, in which beads of gold were soldered to the surface of the object; and *filigree*, in which the object was adorned with gold wire.

Enamel and gems were incorporated in jewellery, too. The enamel could be inlaid, or fastened to the surface by wire in the technique known as *cloisonné*. It is not unusual to find antique cameos re-used in mediaeval jewellers' work.

Fortunately for archaeologists, jewellery was buried with the dead in pre-Christian times, for use in the after-life; and much belonging to later periods has been discovered hidden in the ground, presumably concealed from raiders. Consequently much of what remains is in excellent condition, and can be appreciated and enjoyed more immediately than many other works of art closer to us in time but less well preserved.

M. E.

INTRODUCTION

Because Slavonic jewellery does not form a distinctive stylistic group, its very existence has often been ignored; much of the jewellery found in graves and hoards has been regarded as imported work from Byzantium or the Orient. As this book shows, the Slavs did produce jewellery in quantity. The illustrations of imported jewellery from eastern and western workshops show by comparison how the Slav artists assimilated these new influences. The probable origin of each piece is given in the catalogue.

The traditions of Greece and of the Roman provinces, on which Slav craftsmen drew, gave to the products of a wide area a unity of form and technique; the numerous local variants only emphasize this. The ornament, too, remains fundamentally the same. The Pontic workshops, and those in other outlying districts of the Byzantine Empire, also exercised a powerful influence on Slav jewellery, but Islamic and post-Sassanian culture, and that of the nomadic tribes, was little felt. After the second half of the eighth century the arts and crafts of the western and some southern Slavs, who were partly dependent on Avaric traditions, came into contact with strong Frankish and Langobard influences. These, however, did not become predominant.

Slav jewellery was created in two main areas, around the basins of the Danube and the Middle Dnieper. Each centre had its own traditions and developed independently, but the general characteristics of the culture of the Black Sea coast were stronger, and work from both areas is essentially similar. Certainly the geometrical style which is the first specific characteristic of Slav jewellery is common to both: during the seventh century it appeared in silver repoussé ornaments produced at Martynovka in the Ukraine, and at Čadjavica in Croatia.

It used to be assumed that any jewellery found in Slav territory came from abroad; but cartographic analysis of the different types of jewellery and their incidence shows that they were practically restricted to one clearly defined area. This also partly answers the question of where the workshops were; the rest of the answer has been supplied by systematic archaeological exploration, which has revealed foundries and jewellers' workshops in the middle of large settlements and in the forts. Precious metals were treated in ways that show a high degree of skill. Local crafts developed not under the influence of imported articles, but through constant, lively interchange between neighbouring districts. This book sets out to show the distinctive character of the Slav contribution to the art of jewellery in the early Middle Ages.

The authors wish to thank Dr. V. F. Levinson-Lessing, Deputy Director of the State Hermitage, Leningrad; Dr. J. Poulík, Director of the Brno branch of the Archaeological Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy; Dr. V. Hrubý, Keeper of the Prehistoric Collections in the Moravian Museum, Brno; Dr. F. Kalousek, Professor of Prehistory and Ethnography in the Purkyně University, Brno; and Dr. M. Šolle, of the Archaeological Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy, Prague, for kind permission to photograph articles found by them or in the collections of their Institutes. Professor Poulík is in charge of the excavations of the Slav fort in Mikulčice; Professor Kalousek is in charge of the work being done at the Břeclav—Pohansko Slav fort; and Dr. Hrubý is carrying out a systematic archaeological survey in the region of Staré Město. All these places are in southern or south-eastern Moravia.

The primary source of information about Slavonic art during the early Middle Ages is provided not by paintings and sculpture, but by the crafts. The reason for this is not only that few examples of monumental art came into being during this period in Eastern Europe, but also that, in early mediaeval times, craftsmen's work such as jewellery was not thought of as applied art, secondary to the 'fine arts' of the painter and sculptor, but as being equally important. It was, furthermore, the sphere of original and independent invention. Compared with the architecture, painting and sculpture of the time, the crafts looked back far less to classical antiquity; rather they were dependent on the traditions of the region where they came into being. These traditions went back perhaps to primeval times. The crafts borrowed extensively from this native source, which was modified and augmented under the influence of the many different cultures which met in Eastern Europe. This accounts for the syncretic character of Slavonic art.

The Slavs emerged as an independent Indo-European ethnological and linguistic group in the territory between the upper Vistula and the middle Dnieper. As with the other Indo-European groups, this happened some time during the Bronze Age. The ancestors of the Slavs were the people of the *Kurgan* culture, builders of great funeral barrows; they were the direct forerunners of the Central European 'corded-ware' culture of the late Stone Age. They came into being surrounded by ethnic groups of greatly differing types; on the north and north-west there were Balts, their closest linguistic relations; on the east and north-east there were Ugro-Finnish tribes, who were mostly hunters; on the south and south-east there were Iranian and Turkish pastoral peoples; on the west there were the Illyrians; and on the south-west the Thracians. It has not yet been determined how far the eastern branch of the Lusatian culture, in the region between the Oder and the Vistula, is connected with the emergence of the Slavs. Pottery, ornamental style and burial practice show that during this long period the old Slav and Proto-Slav culture underwent several sudden changes.

The most important influence on the culture of the Proto-Slavs was always that of their southern neighbours, who brought them into contact with the advanced culture of the Mediterranean basin. At first, these neighbours were the Scythians, who were greatly influenced by the Greek cities on the Black Sea coast; later, during the second century BC, the Sarmatians, a similar tribe, overwhelmed the Scythians. It is believed that 'Scythian ploughmen' mentioned by Herodotus were the Proto-Slavs. At this stage of history, however, it is not possible to distinguish this agricultural people from the peripheral Scythian culture. During the period from the second century BC to the second century AD, they can be identified with the Zarubincy culture, named after an agricultural settlement and burial ground to the south of Kiev. From the second to the fifth century AD the culture called after the village of Chernyakhovo in the Kiev region is also that of Slav tribes. Pontic influence was strong in the central Slav areas when the Chernyakhovo culture was at its height. At this time, during the third century AD, the Goths invaded Southern Russia and seized the Black Sea cities of the Greeks. The empire created by the famous Gothic king Ermanarik was enormous but short-lived; it was overthrown by the Asiatic Huns in AD 375—376.

The most southerly Slav tribes were conquered by the Goths; it is probably after this that the Slavs were distinguished by the two names used by the Byzantine writers Jordanes and Paulus Diaconus: Sclaveni and Antae. The Sclaveni were settled more to the north, on the border of the wooded steppes, and were less affected by the Goths. The two kinds of hill-fort built by the Slavs (the Romny type, built on the Desna, the Sula and the Vorskla; and the Borshevo type, built on the upper Don and the Oka) are connected with the period of the Chernyakhovo culture; but they may date from the beginnings of the Kiev state, and it is very difficult to be more exact. Excavation in the settlements and burial grounds belonging to this period has produced very little in the way of metal objects whose form could be used to support hypotheses on the question of dating.

The Hun expansion was probably the main reason for the movements of the Slav peoples. These movements, being those of an agricultural people, were neither sudden nor marked, but they involved enormous numbers. All historians of the time speak of the hordes of Slavs suddenly appearing on the borders of the Empire. The first movement was to the north, into the territory settled by the Baltic tribes; then to the west, and finally to the south, into the Balkan peninsula and Greece. In the west the Slavs penetrated as far as the Elbe and the Main. The Slav culture of the time of their expansion in the fifth and sixth centuries AD is revealed by urn burial grounds, and settlements yielding pottery, known as the Prague type; this pottery, first distinguished by I. Borkovský in burial grounds in and around Prague, consists of slender vase-like vessels shaped by hand. The older pieces are without ornament; later they are usually decorated with simple linear patterns. Urn burial grounds where the Prague type of pottery is found also yield simple ornaments such as necklaces of bone rings, and coloured glass beads, which are probably the work of provincial workshops. It must of course be remembered that the rite of urn burial would destroy all wooden ornaments, and, to a certain extent, bone ones. All that remains in the urns are bits of bone combs decorated with linear patterns, triangles and concentric circles: motifs which persisted in the work of village craftsmen for a very long time.

In some regions the period of expansion also saw the beginning of Slav metalwork. It is paradoxical that the oldest metal ornaments found are fibulae, which were rarely worn by the Slavs; these are cast bronze fibulae of the Roman bow type, with rays and a mask on the pin. Chronologically they already belong to the Chadyavitsa-Martynovka group; and J. Werner has interpreted a cartographical analysis of the incidence of this type to show that they were products of the Ukraine. They are among the late manifestations of Pontic influence in the Gothic period, and are found accompanying the Slavs in the Balkans and in Greece. Nevertheless, these fibulae represent a short episode which was not repeated; fibulae never became usual in Slavonic costume and some scholars prefer to consider them a relic of Hunnish tribal culture, or of a poor provincial society.

Recent research indicates that in about AD 500 the Slavs broke through the Carpathian passes into the Danube basin. Here, as everywhere they moved to from now on, the Slavs found others before them; Gepidae, Langobards and, particularly in Pannonia, the provincial inhabitants of the Roman empire who were used to life in urban settlements and to craft production. The Slavs were followed into the Danube basin by another Asiatic tribe, the Avars, who invaded in *c.* 568. They were predominantly Turko-Mongolian nomads who had been in movement on the Black Sea coast for more than ten years, alternately helping and fighting the Byzantines. The Langobards brought the Avars into their war against the Gepidae; after helping to destroy the Gepidae the Avars then turned against the Langobards themselves. King Alboin of the Langobards was forced to agree to find his people a new home.

The arrival of the Avars decided the fate of the Carpathian Danube basin for the next two hundred and fifty years. The Slavs, who were farmers and lacked any form of political organization or social hierarchy, did not antagonize the Avars; on the contrary, they provided them with food and formed the main body of their auxiliary foot soldiers. With the help of

the Slavs, the Avars attacked Byzantium several times, even conducting an unsuccessful siege against it in 626. The organization and culture of the Avars could not fail to leave some mark on that of the Slavs.

The Avars came into the Danube basin with a provincial Byzantine culture which they had partially adapted to their own way of life during their nomadic existence in the Black Sea steppes. The same thing had happened in the middle and lower Dnieper basin, where east Slav tribes lived, brought there by the tide of expansion and ending up not so far from their original homes. This provincial Byzantine culture had a marked Pontic flavour. The striking arms and equipment of the Avaric rulers, including the long narrow swords without a cross-piece, or with only a short one and a P-shaped hanger, scale armour, plain and decorated repoussé strap mounts, pseudo-buckles and pseudo-clasps, all came from Black Sea workshops. The women's jewels included ear-rings with pyramidal clusters of beads on the lower half of the hoop. In addition to what is found in graves, the treasure of ruling families and the hoards of wandering craftsmen provide a source of information on the culture of the period. A number of important finds have been made confirming that the style in art over the broad area of south-east Europe was unified and stable: among them are the princes' graves in Bócsa and Igar; the metal-workers' graves in Fönlak and Kunszentmárton with moulds for repoussé ornaments (all in Hungary); the rich grave in Čadjavica (Croatia); and hoards from Zalesie (Galicia), Zemianský Vrbovok (Slovakia), Martynovka and Malaya Pereshchepina (the Ukraine), Kamunta (Caucasus) and Kelegeiskiye Khutory (near Kherson). These examples of hammered work and repoussé metalwork of provincial Byzantine character show that this was not a style introduced by the Avars, but the style of a certain period, and not limited to the territory of the First Khaganate, but spread wherever there were Slav settlements. It is usually referred to as the 'Martynovka-Čadjavica' style.

During the seventh century a new race invaded the Slav lands: the Bulgars. They were hostile to the Avars and settled in what had been the Roman provinces of Lower Moesia and Illyricum in about 670; this interrupted direct contact between the Carpathian basin and the centres of Byzantine culture round the Black Sea for a long time. The style of eighth-century art moved further and further away from classical provincial traditions. Cast bronze began to take the place of hammered or repoussé metalwork. The skeleton graves of the period yield great numbers of sets of cast bronze buckles, mounts and strap-ends decorated with griffons or palmette designs, often incorporating an openwork technique. There are thousands of such ornaments from the Danube basin. Cast metal was used for ornament by people of the highest social standing, as can be seen from the gold buckles and strap mounts from what is known as the Albanian treasure, from Vrap. Occasionally, one finds ornament introducing figures of Dionysus, Heracles, Niké or the Nereids, showing the persistence of the Hellenistic tradition, though in a decidedly stylized and deformed manner; or a vine tendril, as yet untouched by the tendency to abstraction, represents the survival of antique style.

In women's jewellery, this change affected the quality rather than the design. Necklaces, bracelets, rings and glass paste beads have been found, but ear-rings are the most numerous as well as the most important remains. Silver is no longer the usual material for jewellery, and cast-metal work is used as well as wire decoration. Among the typical forms are ear-rings with a round, pear-shaped, or polygonal glass bead on the lower half of the hoop, or with a cluster or pyramid of glass-paste or metal beads; circular clasps set with coloured glass are also common.

Towards the end of the eighth century there is a revival of Pontic influences. Repoussé ornaments with engraved patterns on punched backgrounds are found, and abstract plant motifs, developed in repoussé work, are applied to the technique of casting: an example is the palmette shaped like a fleur-de-lis. These ornaments are characteristic of the style of the Nagyszentmiklós treasure in the lower Tisa valley, which is now generally believed to have come from ruling Bulgar circles. The grave-goods in the Danube skeleton graves of the eighth century, the chief types and characteristics of which we have described, show that there the

Slav population was following the ruling Avars in funeral rites as well as in other customs. Anthropological research shows a decrease in Mongoloid characteristics, and confirms that Slavs and Avars mingled.

Bohemia and Moravia were independent of the Avars; excavations there have revealed fortified settlements, containing equipment and bronze ornaments dating from the second half of the eighth century.

Among the lowest, and therefore earliest finds are spurs; the Avars themselves did not use spurs, nor did they build forts. The Slavs adopted the customs of the inhabitants of the Carpathian basin, and these spurs and the slightly later cast bronze mounts found in the forts, are the first signs of the influence of the future neighbour of these western Slavs — the Frankish Empire.

II

From the late eighth century, when Charlemagne broke the political power of the Avars in two campaigns (AD 791 and 796), there is an uninterrupted line of development in Slavonic arts and crafts. Soon, with the first Christian missions, monumental art appeared in Moravia, and later in Bohemia. In this region it was created roughly a century earlier than in the territories of the eastern Slavs and in Poland, and contemporaneously with the same development in Croatia and Slovenia, where conditions were similar. After the fall of the Avars, the first Slavs to become politically organized were those living on the outskirts of the Avaric Khaganate; and it seems probable that these regions in the early ninth century attracted the craftsmen who had previously worked for the Avars. One such outlying region became the germ of the Great Moravian Empire; at the height of its prosperity under Prince Svatopluk in the second half of the ninth century, it extended its influence beyond what is now Moravia to cover the western half of Slovakia, part of Pannonia, Lower Austria, Silesia, Little Poland and Bohemia.

What is known as the Blatnica-Mikulčice style originated in the territory of the later Moravian and Nitra princedom. As the result of contact between the Carolingian style and the cast-metal techniques of the later Avaric period, it reflected the change in the political situation. The term Blatnica-Mikulčice serves to indicate those features of style common both to the Blatnica find, near Martin, Slovakia (now in the Historical Museum, Budapest), which is probably only a part of the grave-goods of a Slav ruler; and the finds in the oldest strata of graves round the first churches in the Valy fort near Mikulčice, southern Moravia. In the Blatnica find the Carolingian imports (a magnificent sword of Rhenish workmanship and oval and three-lobed scabbard mounts) are comparable to the cast bronze mounts of late Avaric art, with only the harness mounts suggesting that the two elements are merging; but the finds from Mikulčice already present both elements conflated in an independent style. Nevertheless, there are remarkable similarities between the two finds. The stylized human masks that appear in the work of provincial craftsmen and on Merovingian ornaments from territory of the Franks and Alemanni, as well as in northern Europe, are also to be seen on the hilt of the Blatnica sword and on the spurs, the buckle frames and the edging of the strap-ends from grave No. 44, near the foundations of the second Mikulčice church. The masks originally served a talismanic function, but in both the Blatnica and the Mikulčice examples they are rhythmically repeated in the design, suggesting a purely decorative purpose. Another set of spurs, from grave No. 50 in the double-apsed rotunda No. 6 in the same fort, is decorated both on the sides and on the tip with Carolingian half-palmettes in chip-carving; a similar type of palmette is well known from the manuscripts of the Tours school.

The massive strap-end from grave No. 100 in the burial ground near the second Mikulčice church belongs stylistically to the same period. It is a typical product of local workshops, combining in an original manner the ideas of the West with the casting technique of the late Avaric period. Short and broad, with five 'pin-heads' set in beaded wire at the wide end, it follows Carolingian models; while the heavy rounded edging of the tip is modelled on the tongue-shaped strap-ends of the latest Avaric-Slav burial grounds. The dense granulation is of course

cast, while the narrow broken band below the row of 'pin-heads' links this mount with the spurs from grave No. 50. The pair of human masks in the inner field, divided into two by cast beading, was either executed in niello or inlaid. The circular shape and the stylized hair of the upper mask recall the Danube basin culture of the eighth century, while the lower mask is difficult to interpret: it may not represent a face at all.

We have attempted to determine the actual effect of each of these two influences; we reach the same conclusion when considering the bronze buckle and strap-end found in grave No. 240 near the third church (known as the basilica) on the acropolis of the fort of Mikulčice. The edging of both the buckle and the strap-end, set in a three-sided border, links this set with those from the two Mikulčice graves referred to above as coming from the same workshop. The high relief in reverse, on the upper side of the strap-end, has a somewhat surprising figure of a frog in the centre. This grotesque relief design contrasts sharply with the engraved pattern on the stamped underside. The figure holds in raised hands a hammer and either a drinking horn or a hunting horn; the treatment of the eyes is similar to that in the figure on the reverse side of a strap mount from grave No. 13 in Pohansko fort near Břeclav (southern Moravia). The significance of the figure, and particularly of the symbols it is holding, is not clear; all we can say for the time being is that it goes back to pre-Christian ideas. The punched background suggests the influence of south-eastern tradition. The connection between this find and that in Pohansko shows that the art of the central region of the Great Moravian Empire had a unified style; since the church in the Pohansko fort is dated by recent research to the second half of the ninth century, it also shows that these heavy cast-metal ornaments were still used on men's dress then. The same situation obtained in Slovenia, Croatia and Dalmatia in the earlier ninth century, when local traditions were combining with new ideas from the west in the work of the local craftsmen. This can be seen particularly in the finds from Brestovac in Slavonia, of about AD 800, and from Biskupije, Velem and Ptuj. The finds in the rich Slav graves in Styria, such as those at Krungl and Hohenberg, are also closely related to the Blatnica find.

Chip carving is characteristic of the ornamental techniques favoured in the first half of the ninth century, so is inlaid work, usually with silver, set in cast or forged iron. Most of the articles were gilded by amalgamation in fire.

The graves of women from the same social class and the same period either do not contain typical articles, or lack all funeral offerings. Their jewellery was probably of bronze, either cast or made of wire, and presumably differed little in form from the grave-goods of the second half of the eighth century. In dealing with women's jewellery in the Danube basin early in the ninth century it is essential to distinguish between the graves of wealthy Slavs in the chief forts, and the burial grounds of the rural population; one must also distinguish between the districts: traditional patterns and techniques survived well into the ninth century among the country people of south-west Slovakia, where contact with the interior of the Carpathian-Danube basin was closest. The different regions developed at a different rate in other respects as well, for instance in their pottery; and they changed from cremation to inhumation at different dates.

Around the middle of the ninth century new materials and techniques came into use. Casting is no longer so important, and its place is taken by hammered, repoussé and wire ornament. In the graves of wealthy women in the main fortified settlements, which is where most of the material known to us has been found, the funeral offerings are mostly gold and silver objects that had belonged to the deceased. Gold jewellery seems to have predominated soon after the middle of the century, while towards AD 900 silver was more common. We still do not know where this gold came from, and whether its frequent appearance is evidence of trade contacts within the Danube region or of wider connections. But metal-casting workshops have been discovered in the Staré Město settlement area, near Uherské Hradiště, S. E. Moravia, and in the fort of Valy near Mikulčice, and these, together with finds of semi-finished gold products on various sites, and sound typological arguments, suggest that most of these magnificent pieces

of jewellery were the work of craftsmen in the central region of the Great Moravian Empire, in the valley of the Moravia. New forms were created by using new techniques and exploiting the peculiar properties of the precious metal. Some of these designs, like the ear-rings with a simple cluster of finely granulated beads, or the pyramid and pendant ear-rings adorned with a glass pearl, show quite clearly their descent from Danubian traditions of the previous period. Others, especially the ear-rings with a double ear of corn so characteristic of Moravia, owe a debt to the Pontic region. Some of the types of ear-ring brought to Moravia by craftsmen under Byzantine oriental influence reveal a remarkable degree of skill: they are decorated with bells and 'baskets' or with a wire mesh forming an open-work column between two balls. Silver ear-rings are often gilded. Coarse and fine granulation is the usual ornament: the grains are formed into triangles, lozenges, and pyramidal protuberances. Filigree decoration, made from twisted or beaded wire, is very common, especially in rings, in the glass paste necklaces with crescent-shaped pendants and in the few locket-pendants of other shapes. From the strap-ends found in grave No. 490 near the three-nave church in Mikulčice we see that this delicate, fragile style, the result of a revival of Roman provincial techniques and contacts with the distant regions of the south east, was also used to adorn men's apparel.

The most typical items of ninth century Moravian jewellery are buttons, formed by hammering the two halves on an iron mould and soldering them together. They were made of bronze, gilt, silver and more rarely of gold, and have been found smooth, granulated, decorated with twisted wire with bosses and with a mesh of gold or silver strip metal soldered on to make a double shell. Some are set with blue glass or beads, proving that even incrustation was not an unknown technique in Moravia at this time; others are made entirely out of glass. An important group is formed by the spherical buttons decorated with repoussé or engraved designs usually based on the palmette, on a punched background. The palmettes are frequently shown as though suspended from ribbons; rosettes of almond-shaped petals and bird motifs in medallions of twisted strip metal also occur, but less commonly. Both the motifs of the ornament and the punched background point clearly to a Black Sea origin; they resemble the ornament on the gold vessels of the later items in the Nagyszentmiklós treasure. The same source, which is on the border between post-Sassanian and early Islamic metalwork, has given us the motif of the falconer on horseback, well-known from the silver medallion found in Staré Město-Špitálky (Moravia).

It is often difficult to tell which of these magnificent weapons and pieces of jewellery are local work and which are imported. The Špitálky falconer, for instance, has a subject unique in Moravian jewellery, (although there is a pendant from a princess's grave in Želénky, near Duchcov in N. W. Bohemia, with a repoussé and engraved design showing a hunted stag), but its material, style and technique suggest native work. The buttons and the elegant types of ear-ring mentioned above are found only within the area of the Great Moravian Empire, and especially in the central forts. Here the evidence quite clearly indicates native workshops. The situation is more involved when a single object stands above the level of local production in its subject or execution, or when only one of these two aspects can be compared. Thus we are fairly safe in attributing to a local workshop the enamelled strap-end shaped like a book, found in grave No. 253 at Pohansko near Břeclav; the ornament resembles the enamelled work of the Carinthian region (Kettlach) and there is a certain formal resemblance between this mount and the Mikulčice pendant from grave No. 505. The latter is quite evidently the work of craftsmen of the Great Moravian Empire, both in its technique and in the manner of ornamentation.

The set of gold strap-ends and the silver-gilt dagger scabbard from grave No. 23/48 in the skeleton burial ground at Na valách in Staré Město, Uherské Hradiště, present a different problem. The shape of the weapon (it is a Baltic type dagger) and the cloisonné enamel technique are unusual for Moravia, so this is probably a Carolingian import. The gold pendant set with glass in imitation of an almandine, and decorated with two rows of pearls, is unique in the

Moravian sphere; it is probably the strap-end of a woman's belt, and comes from the burial ground round the basilica on the Mikulčice acropolis. It is equally difficult to determine the origin of the horn medallion found in grave No. 251 in the Mikulčice fort; it can be compared to the ornament on the 'bull's horn' from 'Black Mound' in Chernigov, and that on the hunting horn from the Jász-Berény church, or to the scenes on the casket from Terracina. It is perhaps significant that carving in bone and horn was a very ancient and widespread craft in the Slav world. The interpretation of the scenes carved on some ornaments would help in determining their origin, but we lack adequate knowledge of the mythology of the Danubian Slavs before the arrival of Christianity. It is extremely difficult to attempt a reconstruction of these ideas from hints in isolated scenes; the subjects are often open to directly opposed interpretations. Research to date would seem to show, however, that the Slav cosmology in eastern Central Europe derives from that of the Orient, and that ancestor worship played an important part in it.

At the end of the ninth century the products of the Moravian workshops found their way far into Bohemia. The jewellery from the Želénky barrow, part of the Kolín find, the grave-goods of the rich graves of Levý Hradec, Prague Castle, and in part those of Stará Kouřim, are all Moravian imports. However, in Stará Kouřim, in the eastern part of central Bohemia, which was the chief fort of the Zličans tribe, there was a workshop making jewellery of the Great Moravian type as well. It was active far into the tenth century and worked mainly in silver, at the time when the Moravian workshops proper had fallen victim to the Magyar hordes, in the collapse of the whole Empire about the year 906. The Kouřim workshop was affected by the new wave of silver jewellery from the Arab world, such as ear-rings with chain pendants, animal figures and fine granulation and filigree work; some of these forms already herald the arrival of what is known as the silver-hoard style, because it is represented in caches of coins and fragments of ornaments, broken up for use as currency.

Nevertheless, isolated examples of Moravian jewellery, or cast imitations of it, are found right to the end of the tenth century in Poland, Volhynia, Pannonia, the Tisa valley, Croatia, Dalmatia, and even in Bulgaria. For the most part these are ear-rings of various types, including cluster, ball and 'basket' ear-rings, and ones with crescent-shaped pendants; the spherical buttons are less frequently found. The crafts and traditions of the Great Moravian Empire contributed to the development of the Belobrdó culture in the second half of the tenth century, which was the expression of the Slavonic element in territories permanently occupied by the Magyars. It is probably this culture that created the popular mass-produced jewellery of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, notably the S-shaped hair ornaments found in the graves of the western and southern Slavs. These were worn behind the ear and remained popular for a very long time; they can be seen in the illuminations of the Bohemian Velislav Bible, dating from the middle of the fourteenth century. The thicker, smaller types are the older ones, found as early as the second half of the tenth century. The cast bronze bar was sometimes plated with silver. The later forms are larger and made of thin twisted wire.

III

The oldest relics of early mediaeval arts and crafts found in the territory of the Polish tribes are of Scandinavian origin. The most important articles were found in Warpno in the Wągrówiec district, including a gold bracteate of the portrait type. Two simple gold rings of twisted metal were discovered at Piotrowce in the Kołobrzeg district; and fragments of hollow stamped bracelets, and a gold necklet, broader at the ends, have been recovered, dating from the sixth century. Arts and crafts of the Avaric type are exemplified only by a few finds of later cast mounts from Biskupin in the Żnin district, and Boleslawiec in Silesia. Jewellery of Moravian origin appears at the end of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth century particularly in the Vistula basin, which under Svatopluk (871—894) was dependent on Moravia. Cluster and crescent ear-rings and hollow silver beads with bosses have been found in Zawada Lanckorońska in the upper Vistula valley, in the Bochnia district. The Moravian type of ear-ring also appears in the silver hoards of the tenth and eleventh centuries; in addition to the types already mentioned we find column designs at Psary, Obra Nowa, Oleśnica, Gostyń, Kania, Obrzycko, Borucin and Krętki, which are mostly in the territory between the Oder and the Vistula, or in the middle Oder valley. It is not impossible that much of this jewellery was made in Polish workshops; evidence of this is to be seen particularly in the Zasada Lanckorońska find, which is in the vicinity of an extensive fortified settlement where the crafts were obviously highly developed.

In other respects the silver hoards resemble both Russian and Scandinavian work in form and technique; besides necklaces, bracelets and pendant ear-rings we find circular pendants with geometrical ornaments executed in beaded wire, which have also been found in graves. An interesting feature of the finds of this date are the pendant lockets known as *kaptorgs*; decorated with repoussé ornament, they display oriental motifs such as heraldic pairs of birds grouped round the tree of life (a copper mould for these *kaptorgs* was found in Brzesć Kujawski), entwined wild animal (Biskupin), and griffons (Chelm Drezdenecki). There were five such lockets in the rich Chelm treasure. Of the other interesting items in this collection we should mention the repoussé Greek cross pendant and a set of toilet requisites. Similar lockets occasionally appear in Bohemia as well as at Dobrovíz and Dobroměřice; they were probably used to hold perfume.

Amber beads and rings of the same period as the silver jewellery are frequently found, as well as glass and glazed and unglazed pottery beads. Finds of cast pectoral crosses of Kiev or Black Sea origin, and oriental metal vessels, are rare in Polish territory. In the twelfth century the Kiev imports to Poland included ear-rings of what is known as the Kiev type, which have three beads or silver pearls on the lower hoop. Like Bohemia, the region of the Polish Slavs inclined more to the west in the course of the thirteenth century, even in the arts and crafts, where links with the east lasted longest. Among the oldest articles of western provenance are the bronze Hanseatic bowls of the late Romanesque period.

IV

The Antae reached the height of their prosperity during the first half of the sixth century, but the tribal organization soon broke down under the attacks of the Avars, and at the same time the cultural unity of the eastern Slav world fell apart. One of the results of Slav expansion was that it was no longer possible to maintain contact between the different eastern Slav regions. A large number of tribes sprang up, usually as the result of geographical factors; we learn of them both from Byzantine writers like Constantine Prophyrogennetos and from such western sources as the Bavarian Geographer. In Nestor's chronicle (c. 1113) the term 'Russian' means no more than all the eastern Slav tribes together (he mentions fourteen). In the period prior to the rise of the Kiev state, Russia could be divided into three main cultural regions: firstly that of the Middle Dnieper, where the Poliane lived and where the Kiev state arose in the second half of the ninth century; here the predominant influences were Byzantine. Secondly, that of the Volga and Don valleys, inhabited mainly by Sieveriane and influenced by the vicinity of the Khazars. Thirdly, the region round Lake Ilmen, which had been settled by Slovenes from Novgorod, and where the dominant influence was Nordic. It should not be forgotten that Kiev itself was founded in the region where Greek and Nordic influences mingled.

The basis of the tribal organization of the Antae was probably made up of the Duliebi, the Volhynians and the Buzani tribes, together with the Croats. They inhabited what was then Volhynia, in between the two Bug rivers. In about AD 560, the Croats succumbed to the attacking Avars and moved southwards, to the Balkans. The rulers of these tribes must have used articles of hammered and repoussé silver as early as the middle of the sixth century. Of the eastern Slav tribes the most important were the Poliani, for it was among them that the process of unification finally led to the emergence of a state. They were settled in the Middle Dnieper valley and Kiev was their chief fortified settlement. After being occupied for a short time by the Varangians, or Vikings, Askold and Dir, Kiev was taken in AD 882 by another Varangian, Oleg, and the foundations of Kievan Russia were laid. The name Russia itself is now generally believed to have come, as B. D. Grekov suggested, from the name of the river Ros, a tributary of the Dnieper on the right bank; on this river the important fort of Roden was built.

The Drevlyani lived in the woods to the south of Pripet, on the edge of the steppes; their chief fort was Iskorosten, and their culture had not reached a very high level. To the north of the Drevlyani were the Dregovichi, who were always overflowing into the Baltic tribes' sphere of settlement, the Lithuanian region to the north-east. The Novgorod Slovenes had settled round Lake Ilmen in territory formerly occupied by Finns. In 862 the Varangians took their chief fort, Novgorod.

The Radimichi, Krivichi, Sieveriani, and especially the Viatichi, pushed far to the east, to the basin of the Desna, Sula, Sozha, and Vorskla. Here they came into contact with Ugro-Finnish tribes, the Mordva, Merja and Muroma. At the time of their greatest expansion the Sieveriani moved as far as the Don, Donetz and the Volga. The most southerly tribes were the Tivertsi and Ulichy, on the Bug and the Dniester; they were subjected to constant pressure from nomads, particularly the Pechenegi, and their southern frontier was never stable.

The history of Kievan Russia, to which the Mongol Tartars put an end in AD 1240, is the history of a long series of struggles between the different feudal princes, and between the princes and the nomads: the Pechenegi in the first half of the tenth century and the Polovci from the second half of the eleventh century onwards. The feudal domains often bound the scattered tribal organization closer together again; the most important of these were the princedoms of Pereyaslav, Galicia, Volhynia, Polotsk, Smolensk, Chernigov, Ryazan and Novgorod: the names are eponymous with their fortified settlements. There was a special domain of Tmutorakan, which was a Russian colony on the shores of the Sea of Azov.

The Russians conducted important campaigns against Byzantium, the most serious being Igor's two unsuccessful attacks on Constantinople in 941 and 944 and Vladimir's conquest of Korsun in the Crimea in 988. In 965 Sviatoslav conquered the Khazar fort of Sarkel on the Don and in 969 he defeated the Bulgars. Even this brief account of the wars of the Kiev princes is sufficient to show how anxious the Russians were to maintain access to the Black Sea and to the centres of Byzantine culture which had been cut off even before the Avaric invasion. The belt of nomad settlements across southern Russia had considerably slowed down the development of the Slav regions. Christianity was not accepted here until 988, under Vladimir; in the Balkans, Moravia and Bohemia it had come more than a century earlier, in Poland under Mieszko I in 966, while the Elbe Slavs were later still. Compared with other branches of the Slavs they were also slower in the transition from cremation to inhumation. There are even barrows over urn burials as late as the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in outlying districts.

The most important information about the development of the arts and crafts from the sixth to the ninth century in Kievan Russia comes from the chance finds of hoards in the forest-steppe and forest belts. The grave-goods and the settlements of this period are extremely poor, not even excepting the striking barrows left by the Slovenes and Krivichi (the *sopki* and the long *kurgans*), and the central Russian forts of the late Dyakovo type named after the fort of Dyakovo near Moscow. In the ninth and tenth centuries another source of information appears in the rich barrows, still used for urn burial, near the large fortified settlements. They provide an idea of the dress and armour of the princes and their warriors. Between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries, forts offer another important source of information; not only the large forts of the princes but also particularly for the earlier phase the village strongholds: fortified hill-tops inhabited by farming people. Of the important forts studied in the past the most notable are Kiev itself, Chernigov, Staraya Ryazan, Novgorod, Pskov, Staraya Ladoga, Smolensk and Moscow: the chief princes' forts. Besides jewellery, that is to say finished products, they yielded workshops with raw materials, half-finished goods and tools.

The eighth century was a period when casting techniques were in general use among the eastern Slavs, and one in which repoussé work lost its popularity. This can be seen in the mounts, ear-rings and hair ornaments decorated with rays and small cast pyramids, in the Zarsk hoard from the Poltava region and in the hoard of cast silver bracelets, cast ear-rings with star-shaped pendants, and necklace pendants found in the fort of Pastyrskoye on the river Tiasmin in the Ukraine (c. 700). They are not so exclusively princely in origin as is the next magnificent set from Malaya Pereshchepina, dated to the end of the seventh century, and we need not hesitate therefore in attributing both to the Slavs. Research on the Pastyrskoye site revealed considerable evidence of metal-working; the ornaments found in the hoard were probably made on the spot.

The Martynovka-Čadjavica style is best represented among the eastern Slavs by the Malaya Pereshchepina treasure from the Poltava region; found in 1912, it is in the collection of the Hermitage, Leningrad. The gold Byzantine coins in the treasure date it to the last third of the seventh century. It included eighteen silver vessels, the most remarkable being a plate belonging to Bishop Paternus of the early sixth century, and a gilt Sassanian bowl with a hunting scene in relief picturing Shapur II: the latter dates from the fifth century. There were also seventeen gold vessels; from the workshop marks stamped on them they were mostly contem-

porary with the coins, and were of Byzantine or Pontic origin. In addition, the treasure contained gold and silver buckles, pendants, rings, bracelets, harness mounts, saddle mounts, and 460 gold sequins. Some of the bracelets are massive, with flared ends. Beaten and repoussé work predominates: the most common forms of ornamentation are granulation and incrustation with glass. For the art historian, the most striking motif is the arabesque used on what is probably a gold pommel mount, though some scholars think it comes from a quiver; this heralds the development of the palmette ornament in the art of the Carpatho-Danubian basin in the eighth century. The dating of the treasure is facilitated by the design of some of the items in it, such as the buckles, the P-shaped sword hangers, the tripartite belt mounts and the stirrups. With the exception of the Bishop Paternus dish and the one depicting Shapor II out hunting, all the vessels belong to the later period; their shape is represented in the older strata of the Nagyszentmiklós treasure (the *rhyton* and pitchers) and the Vrap find from Albania (goblets, pitcher and amphora). Together with these two, the Malaya Pereshchepina treasure is one of the most important early mediaeval treasures ever discovered; for this reason more space has been devoted to it in spite of the fact that it is questionable how far it can be considered Slav.

The Kharyev (Ukraine) find, of the eighth century, also exhibits features of this period; it includes silver and gold ear-rings with spherical and star-shaped pendants. But except for these finds the eighth century was a time of stagnation and uncertainty in style, and the same is true to some extent of the ninth century. The few rather mean treasures discovered consist mostly of ray pendants and ear-rings in cast metal, rough necklaces and bracelets which already foreshadow the 'Islamic' silver finds from Poltava and Ivakhniki in the Poltava region. Isolated examples of silver or silver-plated armour appear; they are oval, with short lobes, and were probably worn on the chest (there were some in the Kharyev find, too). Islamic money, in the form of *dirhams*, is usually found in the jewellery hoards, and this continues into the next period. Before attempting a characterization of this Islamic influence in silver work, with its wealth of forms and techniques, we must consider several types of ear-rings of the tenth and eleventh centuries, which we believe are significant for the Danube basin. There are three main types: those with a pyramidal pendant on the lower hoop, based on the Szentendre type, also found in Kamunta (Caucasus), dating from the seventh century and found in the Yurkovtsy treasure from the Kiev region and in the Dienis treasure from the Poltava region, and dating from the second half of the tenth century; those of the Volhynian type, in which the apex of the pyramid is formed by a ball covered in fine granulation (Yurkovtsy); and finally the crescent type of ear-ring decorated with a cluster of granulation. The cluster is sometimes replaced by a column of round beads like the example from Gushchino, near Chernigov. It is worthy of note that with these types of ear-rings we find crescent pendants decorated with fine granulation in intricate patterns, and disc pendants with hollow loops, often cast by the *cire-perdue* method.

Ear-rings of the Kiev type with three smooth or granulated beads on the lower hoop, which appear in large numbers in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, are also found in the early Belobrdó period (Tokay, Hungary). These were manufactured in specialized workshops in the chief forts or *gorods*.

Mention must be made of the silver beaten mounts on the bull's horn *rhyton* from the prince's tumulus in Chernigov of the tenth century. It must be remembered that this was a pagan burial. The character of the ornament suggests the early tenth century: abstract plant forms like palmettes on ribbons, and similar motifs interwoven in an endless pattern, are reminiscent of Old Magyar ornament of the time when the Carpathian basin was being settled. The mouth of the *rhyton* is ornamented with a frieze showing a hunting scene in fairly high relief, on a punched background. B. A. Rybakov has suggested that the scene is taken from the legend of Mary and Ivan Godinovich (the 'Immortal Koshchei'). The important feature, for us, is that the archers are armed with the nomad type of bow; this is frequently represented in the art of eastern Europe at this time. (See the discussion of the horn roundel from Mikulčice.) This

rhyton was made in what was then Atelkuzu region in the lower Dniester-Dnieper basin, settled by the Magyars in the second half of the ninth century, before they moved into the Danube basin in 895—896. The Chernigov horn is one of the earliest examples of oriental or oriental-style toreutics in a Slavonic environment. Another example included in the illustrations is a goblet of Islamic, Central Asiatic origin; the dancing girls should be noted. The sword from Kiev, with a silver-plated hilt ornamented with similar plant motifs, also belongs to the same period and type of find.

In the eleventh century silver work reached its height, but towards the end of the century catastrophe overtook it, at least in the Arab world: there was not enough ore. The workshops no longer produced and sent into Russia new silver designs. At the end of the eleventh century the jewellers of Kievan Russia began to seek inspiration in Byzantium.

The silver work influenced by Islam was fairly stereotyped both in technique and in pattern, based on round or flat silver wire or strip metal. The flat wire is ridged and twisted, the round wire twisted and intertwined. Ingenious fasteners and safety clasps are introduced on necklets and necklaces, incorporating tubes, hooks and toggles, and ornamented with engraved designs, openwork, plant and animal motifs; but in other respects the jewellery does not change. Filigree and granulation provide the main forms of ornament. The most beautiful and skilfully made jewellery of this period includes the necklets of hollow silver beads with pendants, found in the Nievelsk treasure, from the Vitebsk region, and ear-rings with chain pendants and animal figures on the lower hoop; the latter, however, are more frequent in Poland (R. Jakimowicz, Group I). Among the Russian finds the ear-rings from the Spassko treasure, near Kazan, are outstanding. The main items in this treasure were necklets with granulated disc pendants and acorn-shaped pendants, rings with polyhedral and circular crowns ornamented in niello work, ear-rings of the Kiev type and pendant hoops of fine plaited wire. In most cases there are also *dirhams* and silver ingots in the treasure. The reason why so many hoards were concealed during the period was firstly nomad raids, and then, as we have already seen, the constant wars between the individual princes.

The revival of contacts with Byzantium brought with it new techniques and designs. Cloisonné enamel, which called for considerable skill, gradually became familiar, and the niello technique in which an engraved design was filled with black metallic sulphides was also popular. Both these techniques were particularly favoured for the crescent ear-rings or hair ornaments (it is difficult at times to determine exactly how these articles were worn). The basic form is the crescent-shaped ear-ring worn in the Mediterranean basin from late antiquity onwards, particularly in Sicily and Egypt. These 'kolty ear-rings' were often engraved with busts of nimbed saints (Mother of God, Staraya Ryazan), the oriental cosmological motif of affronted birds on either side of the tree of life (Kiev, near Diesyatinaya tserkov), sirens (birds with female heads, found near Kiev, Yesikorsky settlement), or griffons or animals of prey with plaited ornament (Svyatozero treasure, near Chernigov); the underside was usually ornamented with geometrical or plant patterns.

Three forms of 'kolty ear-rings' can be distinguished. Firstly, those with a plain plaque, the main ornament being a scene in cloisonné in the centre, on both sides; secondly, those with a frame in filigree or granulated work and a smaller enamel plaque than in the former type; thirdly, large plaques with a broad border of filigree work set with precious stones and a fairly large central panel (this type is known only from the Staraya Ryazan treasure found in 1822). The first type is found as early as the eleventh century, while the two remaining types date from the twelfth and thirteenth century. Cloisonné enamel was also used in the decoration of magnificent diadems, such as a gold diadem with the triumph of Alexander the Great on the central panel and others decorated with geometric and abstract plant designs, from the Ros valley, eleventh century, or a Kiev gold diadem with a large *Deesis*, twelfth century; in necklets like the gold necklet from Kamenny Brod, made up of medallions with busts of Christ, the Virgin Mary, archangels, apostles and saints, dating from the first half of the thirteenth

century; in sequins, and necklet links, for instance the gold treasure of Sachnovka, and that of Dievichya Gora, Kiev region, of the end of the twelfth century; in cross pendants like that from Belaya Tserkov, with saints' heads in medallions on the arms of the cross, of the twelfth century; and on the covers of liturgical books such as the Mstislav evangelistary of c. 1117.

By this time Christianity was reaching the lower social strata too, and numbers of pendant crosses appear; they are sometimes solid, but often hollow, with the two halves hinged to allow relics to be placed inside, when they are known as *encolpia*. Usually these crosses are cast, with relief scenes of the Crucifixion or a *Deesis*, or simply adorned with the heads of Christ, the Virgin Mary and the apostles in medallions. Some are decorated in simple cloisonné work, others in niello. The most wide-spread are small pectoral crosses from Crimean workshops, from Korsun; they were carried throughout south-eastern Europe and were brought by merchants even as far as Bohemia, where they have been found at Opočnice near Poděbrady, and Dřevíč near Rakovník.

An interesting fusion of pagan and Christian ideas is seen in the cast medallion-amulets known as *zmeyeviks*. They are usually of bronze, and decorated on the upper side with a bust of the Virgin Mary or a saint (usually St Theodore) accompanied by a votive inscription by the owners, while on the reverse is a tangle of snakes and Medusa's head (both of them symbols of evil). Some of these amulets are double and hinged like the *encolpia*. They date from the twelfth and early thirteenth century.

Two examples of pre-Mongolian Russian metalwork of the first half of the thirteenth century are remarkable: one is a pair of silver bowls shaped like antique craters, quatrefoil in cross-section, on a roundel base enlivened by curvilinear relief ornament. The body is decorated with a band of tendrils in beaten metal, Sassanian palmettes, and a figure of the Virgin *orans* in high relief; the handle is a cluster of grapes. Two Novgorod craftsmen, Kosta and Bratila, signed their names on the bottom of the bowls. The second remarkable piece of metal-work is the helmet of Prince Yaroslav Vsevolodich with its unique decoration: the archangel Michael is depicted on the front plaque, while on the four smaller plaques round the peak are St George, Christ, St Theodore and St Basil, as if to protect the wearer from all four points of the compass. The relief is fairly low and rough, but very effective.

Of the metal-plated work we should mention the steel axe with a lengthened head, inlaid with bands of silver which were later gilt, ornamented in niello and chased. On one side there are heraldic confronted birds and on the other a plaited motif. This is a product of a Suzdal workshop of the twelfth century, and said to have been the property of Prince Alexander Bogolyubsky. This axe is very close in style to one found in Bilyarsk near Chistopole, and the ornament is identical.

At the beginning of the thirteenth century Russian craftsmen were masters of practically all the materials and techniques of the day. Drawing inspiration from different and often opposing sources, they created an original independent style. Their work, in the form of 'folk art' as well as luxury articles, travelled to neighbouring countries and far afield. The prospects of development were great, but the Mongolian invasion of about 1240 put a sudden end to this flourishing art. Kievan Russia and its arts and crafts ceased to exist.

PLATES

Žuráň-Podolí, Brno district. From the second prince's grave, under a tumulus; dating from late migration period. Both graves robbed soon after burial. *c.* AD 550—650.

h. 70 mm.

Archaeological Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy, Brno.

This is the largest of three fragments of an ivory pyx found during excavation of the Žuráň tumulus in 1948. The barrow was first investigated in the 1850s by the owner of the land on which it stands.

The fragment shows the figure of an apostle in relief; part of another figure can be seen on the left. Another fragment, not shown here, depicts Christ, bearded, carrying a processional cross. The pyx is of eastern Mediterranean origin, probably from Antioch. The graves are attributed to the Langobards by H. Mitscha-Märheim, and to the Slavs of Sámó by J. Dekan. Dekan bases his view on the evidence of an egg-shaped vessel of the Prague type found in the earth filling the graves. The later dating of the find by Volbach, however, would make it impossible for them to be Langobard graves. Other remnants of the grave-goods include fragments of beams of the burial chamber, ornamented with a braided motif; three iron objects, resembling candlesticks, with pendants, probably standards according to P. E. Schramm; fragments of blue and green glass vessels; glass-paste beads; and small gold belt ornaments.

The Žuráň type of burial of the tribal leaders is characteristic of the later migration period, and shows the circumstances under which the Slavs began to settle in eastern Central Europe.

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2,3 BEATEN SILVER BOWL, SILVER GOBLET, HOLLOW SILVER BRACELET
WITH BROAD ENDS AND PUNCHED ORNAMENT. GENERAL VIEW AND
DETAIL OF BOWL

Chance find from hoard, Zemianský Vrbovok, Zvolen district.
AD 670—700.

Calotte bowl: h. 34 mm; circumference 164 mm. Goblet: h. 74 mm;
circumference of cup 90 mm. Bracelet: diam. 64 mm (61 mm re-
spectively).

Slovak National Museum, Martin.

The bracelet, goblet and bowl came from a rich hoard of silver vessels, jewellery and Byzantine silver coins, found in 1937 near Zemianský Vrbovok in Central Slovakia. The hoard comprised two pairs of bracelets, a necklace, a pair of crescent pendants, two bowls, one of which is without ornament, the goblet, fragments of ornaments (or semi-finished material for ornaments), and eighteen coins, the latest being of the reign of Constantine IV Pogonatus, AD 668—685. The coins date the hoard to the time of crisis during the second Avaric kaganate. From the archaeological point of view this is the most important collection of articles of the Čadjavica-Martynovka period found in Czechoslovakia.

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Graves 10 and 29, Slav-Avaric burial ground, Žitavská Tôň, near Radvaň on the Danube, Komárno district. Second half of eighth century.

Repoussé bridle mount from grave 10; h. 65 mm.

Heart-shaped cast mount: h. 37 mm.

Two cast openwork hinged belt mounts, one with the upper part broken off: h. 48 mm.

Cast tongue-shaped strap-end from grave 29: h. 91 mm.

Cast medallion, showing a reverted animal (a sheep?): l. 23 mm. Slovak National Museum, Martin.

Specimens of the grave-goods from two rich graves in the Slav-Avaric burial ground in Žitavská Tôň on the left bank of the Danube. The strap-end, the hinged mounts, the heart-shaped mount and the medallion decorated the various belts on the dead warrior's costume, while the bridle mount ornamented with human masks came from the harness. The intricate abstract plant motif and the small rings stamped on the background of the strap-end and the medallion place the collection right at the end of the second Avaric kaganate. The renewed Pontic influence which is so clearly seen in the later vessels of the Nagyszentmiklós treasure (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum) is most evident here in the palmette forms on the heart-shaped mount. The masks on the repoussé bridle mount are of Avaric type and used only in decoration; they probably represent the heads of the defeated enemy, which the victorious warrior carried on his saddle. (See pitcher 2 from the Nagyszentmiklós treasure, Tisa Valley.) At this period the Slavs were the decisive economic element in the Danube basin. The burial grounds are common for both ethnic groups; the nomadic Avars are so far integrated that the mongoloid racial characteristics have receded. In the central region, however, the political organization of the kaganate was still maintained.

Literature.

V. Budinský-Krička, 'Pohrebisko z neskorej doby avarskej v Žitavskej Tôni na Slovensku — Ein Gräberfeld aus der späten Awarenzeit in Žitavská Tôň in der Slowakei' in *Slovenská archeológia* 4, 1956, 16 ff, 29 ff, 52 ff, pls 17, 18, 28 and 30.



Grave 10, Slav-Avaric burial ground, Žitavská Tůň, near Radvaň on the Danube, Komárno district. Second half of eighth century.
h. 65 mm.

Slovak National Museum, Martin.

See also Plate 4.

Literature.

V. Budinský-Krička, *op. cit.* 57 ff, 26 ff, ill. 17; J. Poulík, 'Výsledky výzkumu na velkomoravském hradišti Valy u Mikulčic — Die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen auf dem großmährischen Burgwall Valy bei Mikulčice' in *Památky archeologické* 48, 1957, 296 ff, ill. 80; *Catalogue of the Great Moravian Empire Exhibition*, Prague, 1964 (hereafter called *Great Moravian Catalogue*), pl. 6.

6 CAST BRONZE MEDALLION WITH THE MOTIF OF A REVERTED ANIMAL ON A BACKGROUND OF SMALL PUNCHED RINGS

Grave 29, Slav-Avaric burial ground, Žitavská Tůň, Radvaň on the Danube, Komárno district.

diam. 23 mm.

Slovak National Museum, Martin.

Medallions with animal motifs were usual in the costume of a mounted warrior of the late Avaric period. The design is too stylized for it to be possible to determine what animal is represented, and it is equally difficult to decide whether there is any connection with totem ideas. The background shows the influence of south-eastern trends in the second half of the eighth century.

Literature.

V. Budinský-Krička, *op. cit.* 54, pl. 28. See literature for Plate 3.





Grave 760, Slav-Avaric burial ground, Devínska Nová Ves, Bratislava district. Eighth century.

diam. 90 mm.

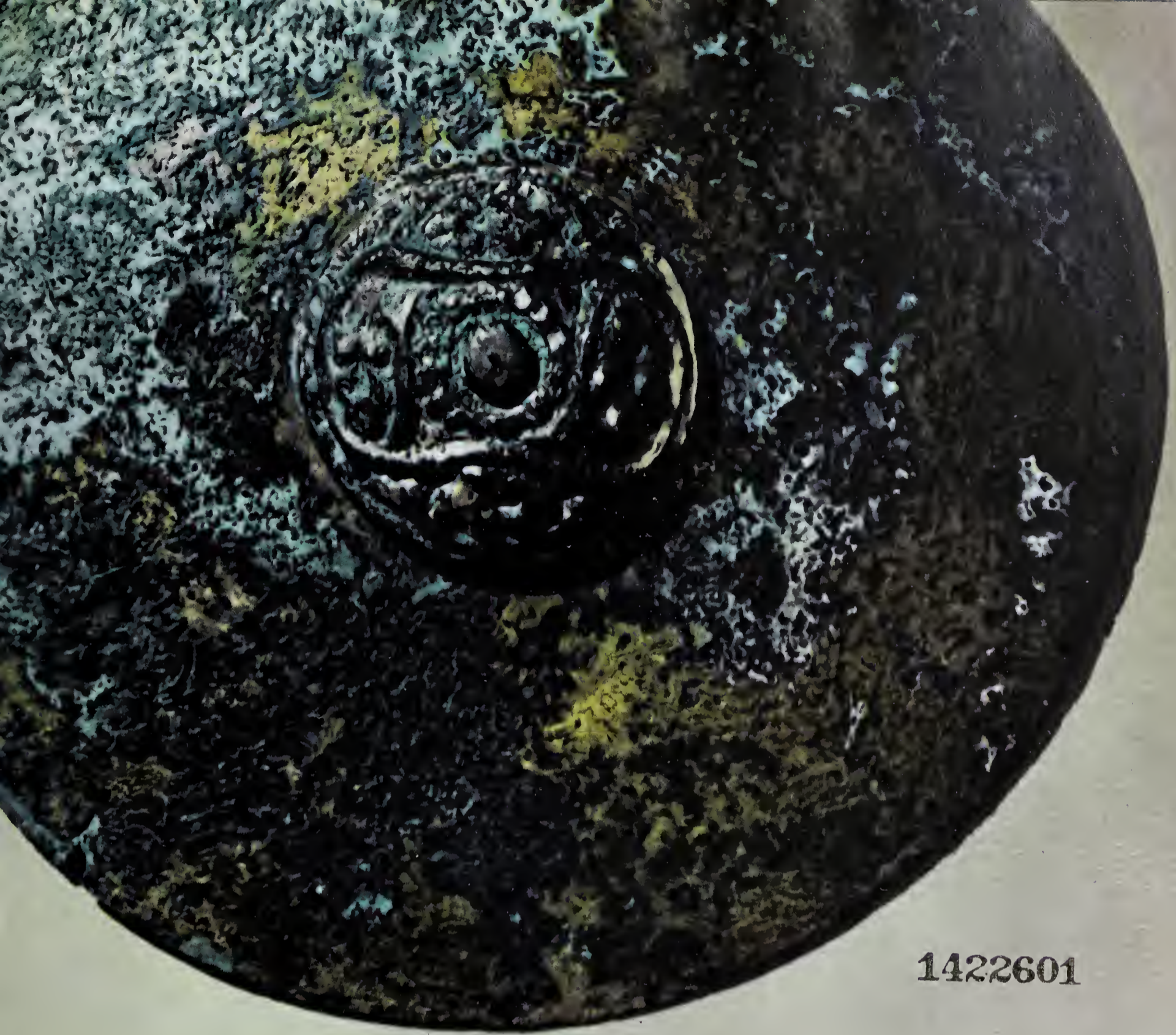
Slovak National Museum, Bratislava.

From the grave-goods in a single grave. The boss in the centre of the phalera, which decorated a horse's harness, usually the breast collar, clearly shows that the article came from the Danube basin late in the eighth century. Bosses with a centre pin are usually either cast (like this one) or repoussé (like the one found in the Szob burial ground, Hungary). Thus, both in style and in technique, they are the forerunners of the hollow spherical buttons found in the Moravian skeleton graves, usually those of women and children, from the second half of the ninth century. They are evidence of the continuity of production in the Danube workshops even after the fall of the Second Avaric Khaganate, destroyed by Charlemagne in the two campaigns of 791 and 796. Most of the craftsmen left Pannonia at this time for more stable conditions; many went to Moravia.

Unlike the harness mount, the strap-ends shaped into horses' heads are unique in late Avaric finds. The style of the formalized design and the stamped dots reveal post-Sassanian influence.

Literature.

J. Eisner, *Devínska Nová Ves, slovanské pohřebiště — Begräbnisstätte aus dem 7. und 8. Jahrhundert in Devínska Nová Ves bei Bratislava in der Slowakei*, Bratislava 1952, 159 ff., 279 ff., pl. 82, 83.



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Grave 760, Slav-Avaric burial ground, Devínska Nová Ves, Bratislava district. Eighth century.

h. 70 and 29 mm.

Slovak National Museum, Bratislava.

For description and literature see Note on Plate 7.



9 CAST BRONZE MOUNTS SHAPED LIKE PALMETTES, COMPOSED OF TWO GRIFFINS' HEADS AND A COROLLA OF THREE PETALS

Grave 760, Slav-Avaric burial ground, Devínska Nová Ves, Bratislava district. Eighth century.

l. 42 and 43 mm.

Slovak National Museum, Bratislava.

Abstract plant patterns begin to appear in eastern Mediterranean ornament during the eighth century. The final phase in this transformation of antique ornament is represented by the arabesque, which assumed a regular form under the Fatimids. The Danube basin also contributed to this process; as in other regions the palmette is the basic motif. The strap-ends illustrated here are a unique example of the way the two most important motifs in Danube cast bronze work, usually found separately until about 750, were combined: these are the *paskudzh* type of griffin and the round foliate half-palmette. In these mounts the affronted griffin heads really take the place of a volute calyx; they are rounded off above and below by a corolla of three petals.

See literature for Plate 7.



Graves 53 and 69, Slav-Avaric burial ground, Bernolákovo, Bratislava district. Eighth century.

Ear-rings: h. 33 and 38 mm.

Pendant: h. 33 mm.

Slovak National Museum, Bratislava.

These examples of women's jewellery of the eighth century show typical wire ear-rings with glass beads, while the pendant is less common in Slav-Avaric graves. The bird figures become more usual in the following century, especially in the design of clasps.

Literature.

L. Kraskovská, 'Pohrebisko v Bernolákove — Das Gräberfeld von Bernolákovo' in *Slovenská archeológia* 10, 1962, 473, 474, pl. 12.



Chance find, Pohořelice, Břeclav district. Second half of eighth century.

h. 148 mm.

Moravian Museum, Brno.

This cast bronze tongue-shaped strap-end comprises two hinged parts. The upper part is not illustrated. The figure on horseback, probably an ancestor in heroic guise, is repeated three times on the front side. This motif is not unusual in the closing phase of the Slav-Avaric period. The uppermost figures, not shown here, represent a man struggling with an animal. J. Dekan sees in this a barbarian treatment of the Hellenistic theme of Eros on a leopard. The reverse side is ornamented with a highly stylized design.

Literature.

E. H. Zimmermann, *Die spätrömische Kunstindustrie nach den Funden in Österreich-Ungarn II*, Vienna 1923, pl. 19, 1-3, p. 45; I. L. Červinka, *Slované na Moravě a říše Velkomoravská* (Slavs in Moravia and Great Moravian Empire), Brno 1928, 197; J. Schránil, *Die Vorgeschichte Böhmens und Mährens*, Berlin-Leipzig 1928, 286, pl. 63/11; J. Skutil, *Avarské nálezy na Moravě* (Avaric finds in Moravia), Litovel 1937, 16 ff; N. Fettich, 'Die Metallkunst der landnehmenden Ungarn' in *Archeologia Hungarica XXI*, Budapest 1937, 153 ff., pl. 7; J. Poulík, 'Staroslovanská Morava' (Old Slav Moravia) in *Monumenta arch.*; I, Prague 1948, 179, pl. 76; J. Poulík, *Jižní Morava* (South Moravia), ill. 104; D. Csallány, *Archäologische Denkmäler der Awarenzeit in Mitteleuropa*, Budapest 1960, 180; J. Cibulka, 'Velkomoravský kostel v Modré u Velehradu a začátky křesťanství na Moravě — Die großmährische Kirche in Modrá bei Welehrad und die Anfänge des Christentums in Mähren' in *Monumenta arch.* VII, Prague 1958, 223, pl. 21-2,3; R. Turek, in *Pravěk Československa*, 395 ff., ill. 169; J. Dekan, *op. cit.* 288; J. Dekan, 'Les Motifs figuraux humains sur les bronzes moulés de la zone danubienne centrale à l'époque précédant l'empire de la Grande Moravie' in *Studia historica slovacca II*, Bratislava 1964, 59 ff.

Grave 91-61, Slav-Avaric burial ground, Nové Zámky. Eighth century.

h. 140 mm; max. breadth 27 mm.

Archaeological Institute of the Slovak Academy, Nitra.

The motif of a man sitting cross-legged with his arms raised is repeated four times down the mount. We believe this motif to be of Asian origin, connected with the ancestor cult in a shamanist-totemist society. It shows that besides Hellenistic mythology there were totemist ideas in the Danube basin, brought by the Avars from Asia.

Literature.

Great Moravia Catalogue, pl. 6.





One part is uncleaned, and fragments of cloth still adhere to it. Grave 7, late Avaric burial ground, Dolní Dunajovice, Břeclav district.

This small burial ground of seven graves appears to be connected with heightened military activity on the Avaric Frankish border at the end of the eighth century; it probably belonged to an Avaric garrison. At the time when the burial ground was started, the Slav fortified settlement of Mikulčice was already standing, only twenty-two miles away.

Literature.

J. Skutil, *Avarské nálezy*, 9 ff; J. Poulík, *Jižní Morava* (South Moravia), 66 ff., ill. 110; J. Dekan, *O genéze výtvarného projevu*, 288; J. Dekan, *Les motifs figuraux*, 54 ff.

Grave 22, burial ground of the Great Moravia church, Modrá, near Velehrad, Uherské Hradiště district. End of eighth or beginning of ninth century.

Open-work ornament: h. 55 mm.

Chip-carved ornament: h. 41 mm.

Moravian Museum, Brno.

The open-work ornament from Modrá is late Avaric in style, while the chip-carved ornament found in the same grave is closer to Carolingian art in its technique, proportions and the introduction of a row of 'pin-heads' at the broad end. The open-work ornament shows the same use of narrowed palmette forms as the heart-shaped mount from grave 10 in Žitavská Tůň (Plate 4). Both in shape and in the arrangement of the pattern the closest objects are the fragments of beaten gold strap end from Brestovac (Yugoslavia), which belong to the same style as the latest vessels in the Nagyszentmiklós treasure.

Literature.

V. Hrubý, V. Hochmanová, and J. Pavelčík, 'Kostel a pohřebiště z doby velkomoravské na Modré u Velehradu' (Church and burial ground of Modrá—German summary) in *Čas. Mor. muzea* 40, 1955, 94, pl. 24; 7, 8; K. Benda, 'Pozdně avarské nákončí z hr. 22 v Modré u Velehradu' — Eine spätawarische Riemenzunge aus Grab 22. des Gräberfeldes von Modrá bei Velehrad' in *Památky archeologické* 53, 1962, 339 ff.



Grave 7, late Avaric burial ground, Dolní Dunajovice, Břeclav district. End of eighth century.

h. 124 mm.

Moravian Museum, Brno.

Plate 13 illustrates the two identical halves of this large tongue-shaped strap-end, which were cast in the same mould. The one has been cleaned, while fragments of cloth are still adhering to the other. J. Dekan believes that the ornament represents a barbarian version of scenes from the Heracles cycle including Heracles with Queen Hippolyte, Heracles struggling with the Centaur, Heracles clad in a lion's skin, holding his club, and, in the separate field next to the hinge, Heracles with the dragon Erymantes. Similar scenes can be seen on the contemporary strap-end found in Pančevo (Yugoslavia). It is not rare to find Hellenistic motifs on cast bronze ornaments from the Danube basin; from Czechoslovak finds we may mention a strap-end with the figure of Niké, found in Šárka, Prague; a medallion with a Nereid on a dolphin, found in Hevlín on the Dyje; and another scene showing a man fighting with a lion, from Šurany, Nové Zámky district.

See literature for Plate 13.



Pre-Great Moravian stratum settlement, Valy Fort, Mikulčice, Hodonín district. Second half of eighth century.

Pendant: diam. 69 mm.

Roundels: diam. 27 mm.

Archaeological Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy, Brno.

Pendants as phalerae and clasps of this type have been found in Slav-Avaric burial grounds. The Mikulčice find is all the more significant since it shows how elements of style formerly attributed exclusively to the Avars came into use in a purely Slav environment. The beading round the border is a reminiscence of antique traditions, but a tendency to geometrical stylization is seen in the ornamental treatment of the griffins' heads.

Literature.

J. Poulík, *Staří Moravané budují svůj stát — Die alten Mähren gründen ihren Staat*, Gottwaldov 1960, pl. V; J. Poulík, 'Dvě velkomoravské rotundy v Mikulčicích — Zwei großmährische Rotuden in Mikulčice' in *Monumenta archaeologica* 12, Prague 1963, 124, pl. 38,1.



Grave 44, burial ground of church 2, and grave 50, burial ground of church 6, Valy Fort, Mikulčice, Hodonín district. First half of ninth century.

Spurs from grave 44 (2): h. 122 mm.

Spurs from grave 50 (6): h. 116 mm.

Archaeological Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy, Brno.

Both pairs of spurs are good examples of the Blatnica-Mikulčice style of the first half of the ninth century in the Great Moravian Empire. The shape of the spurs, with a short cylindrical spike and a parabola frame, is based on early Carolingian models. The ornament is arranged in panels on both spike and frame; on one pair the motif is human masks, on the other a design of semi-palmettes. The mask motif, as well as the half palmettes in relief, comes from Carolingian art. We believe that the masks on the spurs and on the set of strap mounts and buckles found in the same grave served as talismans.

Literature.

J. Poulík, *Výsledky výzkumu — Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen*, 292 ff., 366 ff., ill. 76, 77; J. Poulík, *Dvě rotundy — Zwei Rotunden*, 41 ff., 143 ff., ill. 16, pl. 16; K. Benda, 'Karolinská složka blatnického nálezu — Der karolingische Teil des Fundes von Blatnica' in *Slovenská archeológia* 11, 1963, 219.

18 ORNAMENT ON THE CAST BRONZE SPURS

Grave 44, church 2, and grave 50, church 6, Valy Fort, Mikulčice, Hodonín district. First half of ninth century.

For description and literature see Note on Plate 17.





Grave 490, burial ground of church 3 (known as the basilica), Valy Fort, Mikulčice, Hodonín district. Second half of ninth century.

h. 72 mm.

Archaeological Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy, Brno.

The ornament is based on a lattice of smooth beaded and broken ribbons in relief. The technique is similar both to that on the basket earrings (Plate 45) and to that of the double-shell buttons (Plate 62) from the Moravian workshops of the ninth century. This is sufficiently clear evidence of the Moravian origin of this strap-end.

A cabochon engraved with the figure of a horse is set near the flat end; below is a classical gem representing Mercury cut in cornelian and dating from the second or third century, set back to front. It is not clear whether the gems (which are not unique in Great Moravia) came from Italy or the Black Sea Coast. It is certainly remarkable that the gem was set backwards, so that the design was not seen until restoration was undertaken. In the same way — back to front — a third century gem has been set in the small silver mount found in grave 433 in the same burial ground. In this example the intricate design is composed of the head of Jupiter, an eagle's head, and a satyr's head (Socrates?).

Literature.

J. Poulík, 'The Latest Archaeological Discoveries from the Period of the Great Moravian Empire' in *Historica I*, Prague 1959, 38, pl. 10; J. Poulík, in *Velká Morava, tisíciletá tradice*, 63, ill. 18; *Great Moravia Catalogue*, pls. 20, 21, 22.



Grave 490, church 3, burial ground on the acropolis of the fort, Valy Fort, Mikulčice, Hodonín district. Latter half of ninth century.

The thin silver plate is punched with dots; on it the figure of a man at prayer has been worked in repoussé. The hands are raised in the characteristic gesture of adoration. The man's coat is open, showing trousers and soft boots, he is wearing a belt. We may assume that the figure represents one of the rulers in riding dress. The posture of adoration places this strap-end among those items of apparel that served a talismanic function.

For description and literature see Note on Plate 19.



Grave 100, Valy Fort, Mikulčice, Hodonín district. First half of ninth century.

h. 51 mm.

Archaeological Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy, Brno.

This is a typical product of local workshops, fusing in an original manner the ideas of the West with the casting technique of the late Avaric period. Short and broad, with five 'pin-heads' set in beaded wire at the broad end, it follows Carolingian models; while the heavy rounded border is modelled on the tongue-shaped mounts found in the latest Avaric-Slav burial ground. The dense granulation is of course cast, while the narrow broken band below the row of 'pin-heads' links this mount with the spurs from grave 50/6, shown in Plates 17 and 18. The two human masks in the inner field, divided by cast beading, were either executed in niello or inlaid; chemical analysis to discover which has not yet been carried out. The circular shape and the stylized hair of the upper mask suggest the Danube basin in the eighth century (see Žitavská Tůň), while the lower mask is difficult to interpret; it may not be a face at all.

Literature.

J. Poulík, *Výsledky výzkumu — Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen*, 309 ff., 369 ff., ill. 90—92; R. Turek, in *Pravěk Československa* 446, ill. 193; J. Poulík, in *Velká Morava, tisíciletá tradice státního a kulturního života*, Prague 1963, 61, ill. 12; *Great Moravia Catalogue*, pl. 17, 18.



Grave 100, Church 2 burial ground, Valy Fort, Mikulčice, Hodonín district.

The figure of a priest or saint at prayer, perhaps with a circular halo, is engraved on the reverse side; he wears a Greek cross round his neck. There can be no doubt that this is a talisman worn for protection, which suggests that the same significance should be ascribed to the masks on the other side of the mount. Christian and pagan ideas are thus combined in this object, which is one of the most remarkable examples of the early art of the Great Moravian Empire.

For description and literature see Note on Plate 20.



Grave 433, church 3, burial ground on the acropolis of the fort, Valy Fort, Mikulčice, Hodonín district. Latter half of ninth century.

h. 67 mm.

Archaeological Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy, Brno.

The form of this strap-end probably evolved like that of the one on Plate 21, from a combination of late Avaric and Carolingian features. Amongst the former are the rounded border and sunken central panel with a design of two opposed leaves; the latter are represented by the row of 'pin-heads' set in beaded wire ornament. The decoration makes use of late classical motifs such as the beaded and twisted wire, and the Danubian lunette pattern. The ornament on the reverse side (see Plate 24) reveals influences from the south-east: the Sassanian engraved palmette on the stamped background recalls the patterns used on the mounts of Old Magyar saddle-bags, and one of the pendants of oriental origin found in the Birka burial ground in Sweden.

Literature.

Great Moravia Catalogue, pl. 20, below.



24 REVERSE SIDE OF THE SILVER STRAP-END ENGRAVED WITH PLANT
ORNAMENT

Grave 433, church 3, burial ground on the acropolis of the fort,
Valy Fort, Mikulčice, Hodonín district. Latter half of ninth
century.

For description and literature see Note on Plate 23.



25 SPHERICAL GOLD BUTTON DECORATED WITH FINE GRANULATED WORK; POLYHEDRAL GOLD BUTTON SET WITH BLUE GLASS; CAST SILVER STRAP-END, CAST SILVER PECTORAL CROSS AND CAST LEAD PECTORAL CROSS

Graves 440, 271, 380 and 329, church 3, burial ground on the acropolis of the fort, Valy Fort, Mikulčice, Hodonín district.

Granulated button: h. 20 mm.

Polyhedral button: h. 27 mm.

Strap-end: h. 43 mm.

Crosses: h. 45 and 42 mm.

Archaeological Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy, Brno.

See also Plates 26-29, 34.

In the second half of the ninth century gold and silver jewellery for women became common in Moravia. Great skill was employed in making such items as ear-rings and the various types of button (the Slavs did not use fibulae). Glass incrustation was combined with granulation so fine that it resembles poppy-seed, and with wire techniques that produce a filigree effect. This increasingly delicate metal-ware can be regarded as a manifestation of the growing social differentiation. The designs are developed from provincial Danube traditions which persisted throughout more than three centuries of Avaric rule, enlivened by Mediterranean and Pontic influences. These pectoral crosses are among the earliest artistic evidence of Christianity in this country.

Literature.

J. Poulík, *The Latest Archaeological Discoveries*, 37, pl. 8 (buttons); *Great Moravia Catalogue*, pl. 24 (mount), pl. 27 (buttons); The literature for the pectoral crosses is given under Plates 27 and 29.



Grave 380, church 3, burial ground on the acropolis of the fort, Valy Fort, Mikulčice, Hodonín district. Latter half of ninth century.

h. 43 mm.

Archaeological Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy, Brno.

The arrangement of the ornament is not unlike that of the strap-end from grave 433 in the same burial ground, except that in the object illustrated here the palmettes sprout from the border and the division between the panels. The flat border is also inlaid. In its proportions and in the technique used, this mount (and another pair found in the same grave) show Carolingian influence.

Literature.

Great Moravia Catalogue, pl. 24.



Grave 339, church 3, burial ground on the acropolis of the fort,
Valy Fort, Mikulčice, Hodonín district. Ninth century.

h. 34 mm. (without loop); 43 mm. (including loop).

Archaeological Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy, Brno.

This is certainly the work of local craftsmen. It is worthy of note
that a figure of Christ is engraved on the other side of the cross
as well. This is in the tradition of Byzantine pectoral crosses
which also have figures on both sides; the one on the back is
usually the Virgin Mary. During the eighth century, lead was
frequently used in the Danube basin for mounts, ear-rings and
other ornaments. Another lead pectoral cross, with Christ in
a colobium on the front and a Greek inscription on the back,
was found in the burial ground round the foundations of the
Great Moravian church in Sady, Uherské Hradiště.

Literature.

L. Poulík, *The Latest Archaeological Discoveries*, 57, ill. 18.



28 REVERSE SIDE OF THE CAST LEAD PECTORAL CROSS, WITH AN
ENGRAVED FIGURE OF THE CRUCIFIED CHRIST

Grave 339, church 3, burial ground on the acropolis of the fort,
Valy Fort, Mikulčice, Hodonín district. Ninth century.

For description and literature see Note on Plate 27.



Found near church 3 on the acropolis of the fort, Valy Fort, Mikulčice, Hodonín district. Ninth century.

h. 45 mm.

Archaeological Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy, Brno.

A cast silver pectoral cross with the figure of the crucified Christ wearing a sleeveless tunic or colobium. Above the bearded and haloed head of Christ are symbols of the sun and moon. The cross is of the Byzantine pre-Iconoclastic type (see, for example, the staurothek in the Fieschi-Morgan collection). The most comparable article is a lead cross in the City of Mainz Museum. The under side of the Mikulčice cross is plain.

Literature.

J. Poulík, *The Latest Archaeological Discoveries*, 57, ill. 18;

J. Poulík, *Výsledky výzkumu — Die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen*, 314.



Grave 251, church 3, burial ground on the acropolis of the fort, Valy Fort, Mikulčice, Hodonín district. Ninth century.
diam. 43 mm.

Archaeological Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy, Brno.

The position of the bowman on one knee, the stylization of his hair and beard, and the taut bow, all suggest oriental influences. There are similar figures on the ivory hunting horn from Jász-Berény (Hungary), for instance, and on a wooden chest from Terracina (Rome, Palazzo Venezia). On the other side is a design of two stylized animals of fantastic appearance, probably representing game. Bone and horn carving is one of the oldest techniques in Moravia, widely used even by village craftsmen. It is therefore highly probable that this horn medallion comes from Moravia itself. A study of the iconography would undoubtedly help to decide this, but, unfortunately, not enough is known about the pre-Christian mythology of the ancient Moravians.

Literature.

J. Poulík, *The Latest Archaeological Discoveries*, 39, 59, ill. 19; *Great Moravia Catalogue*, pl. 31.

31 REVERSE SIDE OF HORN MEDALLION, SHOWING ANIMAL FIGURES

Grave 251, church 3, burial ground on the acropolis of the fort, Valy Fort, Mikulčice, Hodonín district. Ninth century.

For description and literature see Note on Plate 30.



Grave 505, church 3, burial ground on the acropolis of the fort, Valy Fort, Mikulčice, Hodonín district. Second half of ninth century.

h. 42 mm.

Archaeological Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy, Brno.

This pendant is unique in form among the Moravian jewels, but it does not differ from them in technique or type of ornament. Hammered bronze decorated with granulation in triangular patterns, and filigree formed from two strands of wire twisted in opposite directions and joined together, were both common techniques in the Moravian workshops. H. Preidel quotes a close parallel from the grave of a warrior in Merching, Bavaria; the only difference is in the arrangement of the ornamental elements, and the use of almandines set in the bronze.

Literature.

J. Poulík, *The Latest Archaeological Discoveries*, 38 ff., pl. 9; J. Poulík, in *Velká Morava, tisíciletá tradice*, 63, ill. 16; *Great Moravia Catalogue*, pl. 29; H. Preidel, 'Die neuentdeckten frühmittelalterlichen slawischen Burgwälle bei Mikulschitz und bei Lundenburg in Südmähren' in *Stifter-Jahrbuch* 7, Gräfelfing near Munich 1964, 125 ff., pl. 1.



Burial ground of church 3, Valy, Mikulčice, Hodonín district.
Not found in a grave. Second half of ninth century.

h. 34 mm.

Archaeological Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy, Brno.

The pendant consists of a large double almandine of glass, set in gold and decorated with relatively large pyramids of granulation. Small pearls are set round the narrow end. The ornament is unique in Moravian jewellery, and it is not possible to say exactly what function the object served. Although the stone is only a glass imitation of almandine, it is possible that the object was a Mediterranean import. Some idea of how the pendant reached Moravia is suggested by the find of jewellery in Trilje, near Sinje, Dalmatia, where the technique of incrustation is also employed; ear-rings of the Moravian type date this find to the second half of the ninth century.

This ornament from Mikulčice probably came from a grave that had been robbed; it is only a fragment.

Literature.

J. Poulík, *The Latest Archaeological Discoveries*, 39, 57, ill. 18.



34 SPHERICAL GOLD BUTTON WITH GRANULATED ORNAMENT, AND
POLYHEDRAL GOLD BUTTON SET WITH BLUE GLASS DROPS

Graves 440 and 271, church 3, burial ground on the acropolis of the fort, Valy, Mikulčice, Hodonín district. Second half of ninth century.

h. 20 and 27 mm respectively.

Archaeological Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy, Brno.

For description and literature see Note on Plate 25.



Grave 662, church 3, burial ground on the acropolis of the fort, Valy, Mikulčice, Hodonín district. Second half of the ninth century. h. 36 mm.

Archaeological Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy, Brno.

Further to what we said concerning the subject of Moravian jewellery of the later ninth century (see Note on Plate 25), stylistically the hollow button of beaten metal with abstract plant ornament is one of the most remarkable types. This is most frequently the palmette or its derivatives, the rosette, or simply almond-shaped leaves. The way in which the elements are combined, and the degree to which they are stylized, places these buttons in the period of the latest stratum of the Nagyszentmiklós treasure. The buttons also show that craftsmen were at work in the Danube basin throughout the eighth and ninth centuries; there is not only physical continuity of production, but continuity of style as well. They are also evidence of contact between the Moravian regions and the lower Danube basin, and the Black Sea. (See also Plate 7). The way in which the buttons were made is technically interesting. They consist of two hemispherical parts, each of which was made in repoussé on an iron mould. Moulds have been found in Stará Kouřim. The two halves were then soldered together so that the seam was barely visible. Melted pitch was poured in through the hole left for the loop, and when stiff the resin protected the thin sides from caving in.

This exhibit has not previously been published.



Grave 45, Slav burial ground, Na pískách, Dolní Věstonice, Břeclav district. Ninth century.

Beads: h. 17—18 mm.

Pendant: h. 32 mm.

The extensive Dolní Věstonice burial ground, with about two thousand graves, holds a special place among the large ninth-century cemeteries in Moravia. Since the burial ground does not lie near a large fort, the graves are not those of the wealthy, and there is no gold jewellery here. This was the grave-yard of villagers in an outlying part of the Great Moravian Empire. The chronology of this burial ground can be deduced from its relation to Slav burial grounds in Pannonia, Lower Austria and Carinthia. This necklace, however, made of glass beads with a cast bronze crescent pendant, is typical of Great Moravian jewellery both in the villages and in noble circles. Crescent-shaped pendants were common from Roman times; they were made in a variety of metals and techniques.

Literature.

J. Poulík, *Jižní Morava — South Moravia*, 81, ill. 41 b; *Great Moravia Catalogue*, pl. 41.



Brno-Líšeň, hill fort of Staré Zámky. Second half of the ninth century.

h. 38 mm.

Moravian Museum, Brno.

This is one of the most beautiful Moravian ear-rings. The edge of the crescent and the ridged lower loop are decorated with beaded wire.

The ear-rings of the Great Moravian period can be classified into cluster, basket, ball and crescent, and column types. For the most part these types have developed from those of the Danube basin in the seventh and eighth centuries. There are a great many stylistic variants, and also differences of technique. The silver and gold wire ear-rings decorated with granulation and filigree work are characteristic of the wealthier section of the population, living in the larger forts, while the cast metal types are usually found in villages and the more outlying parts of the Empire. The cluster type of ear-ring was probably the result of Pontic influence. Jewellery of the Great Moravian Empire type was found all over the Balkans and in Poland in the second half of the ninth and in the tenth century; certain forms, (among them this cluster and crescent type) were adopted also in the Kiev-Volhynia region.

Literature.

J. Poulík, 'Velkomoravské středisko Staré Zámky u Brna — Staré Zámky près Brno, un centre de l'époque de la Grande Moravie', in *Archeologické rozhledy* I, 40, 45, 49—51, 94, 101; V. Hrubý in *Almanach Moravského muzea*, Brno 1962, 95.



Grave 3, burial ground of the Great Moravian church, Modrá, Velehrad, Uherské Hradiště district. Second half of ninth century.
h. 15 mm; with loop, 20 mm.
Moravian Museum, Brno.

This cut cornelian dates from the third century, while the pendant itself is ninth-century. On the reverse there is a typical loop pattern worked in beaded wire. On the subject of antique gems and cameos in Great Moravia see Notes on Plates 19 and 63. The bezel setting of the gem should be noted.

Literature.

V. Hrubý, V. Hochmanová, J. Pavelčík, *Kostel a pohřebiště z doby velkomoravské na Modré u Velehradu* (Church and burial ground dating from the Great Moravian Empire, in Modrá, Velehrad), 86, pl. 21/3; *Great Moravia Catalogue*, pl. 15 (showing also the reverse of the pendant); V. Hrubý, 'Staré Město—Velehrad, Ústředí z doby říše Velkomoravské' (Great Moravian Centre), *Památníky naší minulosti* I, Prague 1964, ill. 8 (a rubbing of the gem).



Grave 15, in the narthex of the Great Moravian church, Na Špitálkách, Staré Město, Uherské Hradiště district. Second half of the ninth century.

h. 43 mm.

Archaeological Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy, Brno.

The medallion was beaten in thin silver plate, and some of the details like the twisted border, the tunic, and the falcon's feathers, were then touched up by chasing. Small circles have been punched on the background. The relief is low, from 1.5 to 2 mm. above the background. Comparable subjects can be seen on a fragment of silk of east Iranian provenance in St Cuthbert's tomb, Durham (end of the tenth century), and on the medallion on the inner surface of a beaten silver bowl from Utemilsky (Viatka region, Siberia) now in the Leningrad Hermitage. In our medallion a hole has been pierced between the rider's head and his left hand, showing that it was later worn as a pendant. Features of its style and iconography such as the stamped background, the costume, the static symbolical treatment of the figure show the influence of post-Sassanian toreutics; although the type of work involved does not preclude the possibility that it was the work of a Moravian craftsman. This item is one of the finest examples of Great Moravian art.

Literature.

J. Poulík, 'Nález kostela z doby říše Velkomoravské v trati Špitálky ve Starém Městě — Die Entdeckung der 2. Kirche in Staré Město, (Altstadt, in Südmähren)' *Památky archeologické* 46, 1955, 328, 332, 335, 337; K. Benda, 'Stříbrný terč se sokolníkem ze Starého Města u Uherského Hradiště — Silberne Zierscheibe mit Darstellung eines Falkenreiters von Staré Město in Mähren' in *Památky archeologické* 54, 1963, 41—66; *Great Moravia Catalogue*, pl. 8.



Grave 96, Great Moravian burial ground, Na Valách, Staré Město, Uherské Hradiště district.

End of ninth century.

h. 80 mm; breadth 50 mm.

Moravian Museum, Brno.

As with the silver strap-end from grave 433 on the Mikulčice acropolis, it is not clear how the style of this mount should be classified. In the arrangement and treatment of the coloured incrustation of topaz, ruby and garnet, it resembles Carolingian book-bindings and reliquary cases. On the other hand the loop patterns between the precious stones are typical of Moravian ornament. The reverse side, with repoussé acanthus leaves and almond-shaped palmettes on a punched background, is of oriental character and recalls the designs on Magyar silver saddle-bag mounts.

Literature.

L. Niederle and A. Zelnitius, 'Slovanské pohřebiště ve Starém Městě u Uherského Hradiště' (Slav burial ground) in *Zprávy Archeol. ústavu* I, 1929, 31, ill. 16; L. Niederle, *Příspěvky k vývoji byzantských šperků ze 4.—10. stol.* (On the development of Byzantine jewellery), Prague 1930, 61, 62; V. Hrubý, 'Staré Město — velkomoravské pohřebiště Na valách — Die grossmährische Begräbnisstätte Na valách' in *Monumenta archaeologica* III, Prague 1955, 198—200, 379, pl. 28; V. Hrubý, *Staré Město—Velehrad*, ill. 9.



41 REVERSE SIDE OF THE SILVER STRAP-END, WITH REPEATED PATTERN
OF ACANTHUS LEAVES

Grave 96, Great Moravian burial ground Na valách, Staré
Město, Uherské Hradiště district. Second half of ninth century.

For description and literature see Note on Plate 40.



Grave 267,51, Great Moravian burial ground Na valách, Staré Město, Uherské Hradiště district. Second half of ninth century. Moravian Museum, Brno.

From the earliest times the graves of both rich and poor women contained necklaces of many-coloured glass beads. This necklace is made up of 277 beads; black beads with yellow glass thread fused on predominate. The date of the various types of necklace is still a matter of debate.

Literature.

V. Hrubý, *Velkomoravské pohřebiště Na valách — Die grossmährische Begräbnisstätte Na valách*, 531, pl. 82.





43 SPHERICAL GOLD BUTTON COVERED WITH GRANULATION, AND
A GOLD RING WITH GRANULATED CROWN

Graves 282/49 and 24/48, Great Moravian burial ground, Na valách, Staré Město, Uherské Hradiště district. Second half of ninth century.

Button: h. 39 mm.

Ring: diam. 19 mm; with crown, 25 mm.

Moravian Museum, Brno.

Both these articles show the fine granulated work of the Moravian workshops late in the ninth century. This technique was much more common than true filigree work.

Literature.

V. Hrubý, *Velkomoravské pohřebiště Na valách — Die grossmährische Begräbnisstätte Na valách*, 413, 456, pl. 55/9, 10; 66/1,2; *Great Moravia Catalogue*, pl. 10.

44 GOLD EAR-RING WITH FILIGREE ORNAMENT AND PEARLS ON THE LOOP

Grave 209, 59, burial ground around the group of Great Moravian churches, Uherské Hradiště—Sady. Second half of ninth century.
h. 31 mm.

Moravian Museum, Brno.

The workshops of Great Moravia took over almost without change the old Danubian type of ear-ring, commonly found in eighth century burial grounds. The clusters are made up of pearl-white glass beads, which are sometimes placed on the upper loop as well. In this ear-ring the whole loop is covered with real filigree mesh, a rather rare ornament in Moravia.

Literature.

V. Hrubý, *Uherské Hradiště—Sady, Guide to the excavations*, Uherské Hradiště 1963 (back cover).



Staré Město—Na valách: ball type, grave No. 22/48; cluster type, grave No. 22/48; basket type, grave No. 290/49; Uherské Hradiště — Sady: crescent type, grave No. 209/59; Břeclav-Pohansko, burial ground around a Great Moravian fort: silver crescent type, grave No. 99; Valy, Mikulčice, burial ground of church 3: basket type with twelve baskets, grave No. 328. All exhibits from the second half of the ninth century.

Size vary from 18 mm (six-basket ear-rings) to 34 mm (the twelve-basket ear-rings).

Moravian Museum, Brno; J. E. Purkyně University, Brno; Archaeological Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy, Brno.

Literature.

V. Hrubý, *Velkomoravské pohřebiště Na valách — Grossmährische Begräbnisstätte Na valách*, 412, 457, pl. 53/5, 6; pl. 53/1, 4; pl. 66/11, 12; V. Hrubý, *Staré Město—Velehrad*, ill. 27; F. Kalousek, *Břeclav—Pohansko, Guide to the excavations*, Břeclav 1961, 8; *Great Moravia Catalogue*, pl. 28, pl. 37.



Graves 33/48 and 193/51, Great Moravia burial ground Na valách,
Staré Město, Uherské Hradiště district.

Second half of ninth century.

Pyramid ear-ring; h. 36 mm.

Ball ear-ring: h. 48 mm.

Moravian Museum, Brno.

The pyramid-shaped ear-rings are a development of an older
Danubian type which had a large hollow bead smelted on to the
lower loop; they are characteristic of the First and Second Khaganate
burial grounds, surviving into the eighth century.

The ear-rings decorated with hollow beads covered with granu-
lated work have no such direct antecedents, but are an original
Moravian type which emerged as late as the second half of the
ninth century. It has still not been determined whether they owe
anything to Pontic influences. Contemporary Dalmatian forms,
from Trilje, Cetinje and elsewhere, appear to be Moravian imports,
and so are the Polish finds from Zasada Lanckorónska.

Literature.

V. Hrubý, *Velkomoravské pohřebiště Na valách — Grossmährische
Begräbnisstätte Na valách*, 415, 519, pl. 55/24, 25; pl. 84/1,4.



Grave 328, burial ground of church 3, Valy Fort, Mikulčice, Hodonín district. Both second half of the ninth century.

Six-basket ear-ring: h. 18 mm.

Twelve-basket ear-ring: h. 43 mm.

Moravian Museum, Brno, and the Archaeological Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy, Brno.

The 'basket' type of ear-ring had a predecessor in Pannonia, the Keszthely type, which goes right back to the late provincial period. Naturally the forms evolved in Great Moravia are richer, and the number of 'baskets' varies. These spheres are formed from rings of beaded wire and are sometimes ornamented with small pyramids of fine silver or gold granulation.

Literature.

V. Hrubý, *Velkomoravské pohřebiště Na valách — Grossmährische Begräbnisstätte Na valách*, 457, pl. 66/11; *Great Moravia Catalogue*, pl. 28.



Grave 23/48, Great Moravian burial ground Na valách, Staré Město, Uherské Hradiště district. Second half of ninth century. Strap-end: h. 18 mm. Moravian Museum, Brno.

This is a unique find of cloisonné work on Great Moravian territory. Each medallion represents a stylized vase with two flowers. The set is completed by a dagger of Baltic type; the lower end of the sheath is ornamented with the same design. Each medallion is surrounded by silver rosettes in relief. A similar motif was used in the cloisonné ornament on the moulding of the Milan Paliotto, on the iron crown in the Monza cathedral treasure, and on a mount in the Voor Geschiedenis Museum in Amsterdam. Our articles were Western imports.

Literature.

V. Hrubý, *Velkomoravské pohřebiště Na valách — Grossmährische Begräbnisstätte Na valách*, 175 ff., 413, pl. 54/2, 3; R. Turek, in *Pravěk Československa*, 120, 485.





49 SILVER EAR-RING WITH PENDANT CHAINS, A PAIR OF SILVER EAR-RINGS OF THE COLUMN TYPE, AND A SILVER RING SET WITH A RED STONE (PYROPE?)

Graves 158, 256 and 43, burial ground of the Great Moravian fort, Břeclav—Pohansko. End of ninth century.

Ear-ring with pendant chains: h. 111 mm.

Ear-rings with column: h. 32 mm.

Ring: diam. 25 mm.

Moravian Museum, Brno.

This type of ear-ring with pendant chains must be dated to the end of the Great Moravian Empire. Like jewellery found in Stará Kouřim, Bohemia (see Plates 71—76), it already belongs to the new style of the silver hoards which draws on Iranian-Pontic traditions. This find from Pohansko is the earliest example in Central Europe of this new fashion, influenced by Islamic jewellery. In Mikulčice this type of ear-ring is rarely seen, while the other ornaments do not diverge from the standard grave-goods of wealthy women's graves in the central Great Moravian forts.

Literature.

F. Kalousek, 'Velkomoravské hradiště Pohansko u Břeclavě' in *Archeologické rozhledy* 12, 1960, 521, 525, ill. 194 and 197; F. Kalousek, 'Die grossmährische Burgwallstadt Břeclav-Pohansko' in *Sborník prací filos. fak. brněnské univ.* 9, 1960, series E, No. 5, ill. 6/1,2; J. Poulík, in *Velká Morava, tisíciletá tradice*, ill. 21; B. Dostál, 'Výzkum velkomoravského hradiska Pohansko u Břeclavě — Die Erforschung des grossmährischen Burgwalls Pohansko bei Břeclav' in *Slovácko* III, 1961, ill. 413.



50 GILT BRONZE SPHERICAL BUTTON WITH AN ENGRAVED AND PARTLY REPOUSSÉ GRIFFIN OF THE PASKUDZH TYPE (I. E., WITH A BIRD'S HEAD).

Grave 136, burial ground around the church in the Great Moravian fort, Břeclav—Pohansko. Second half of ninth century.

h. 32 mm.

J. E. Purkyně University, Brno.

Articles and ornaments of the same type found in different places testify to the unified character of the culture of the Great Moravian Empire, and to the probable existence of some very important jewellers' workshops. One of these was on the site of what is now Staré Město, then known as Veligrad, the most important craft centre in the Morava valley. The buttons have already been mentioned twice (Notes on Plates 25 and 35); the griffin motif is repeated three times on this button from Pohansko. The highly formal treatment does not obliterate the post-Sassanian similarities. Birds as well as griffins are found on buttons, but the most common ornamental designs use plant forms.

Literature.

F. Kalousek, 'Velkomoravské hradiště Pohansko u Břeclavě' in *Archeol. rozhledy* 12, 1960, 509 ff., ill. 186; J. Poulík, in *Velká Morava, tisíciletá tradice*, ill. 21; *Great Moravia Catalogue*, pl. 36.



Grave 225, burial ground around the church in the Great Moravian fort, Břeclav—Pohansko. Ninth century.

h. 98 mm.

J. E. Purkyně University, Brno.

Inlaid armour and equipment has been found in graves in all the main forts. The technique was taken over from the west as early as the beginning of the ninth century.

Literature.

B. Dostál, *Výzkum velkomoravského hradiska Pohansko u Břeclavě — Die Erforschung des grossmährischen Burgwalls Pohansko b. Břeclav*, 27.



Grave 3, burial ground around the church in the Great Moravian fort, Břeclav—Pohansko. Second half of the ninth century.

h. 38 mm.

J. E. Purkyně University, Brno.

The front side of this massive strap-end is divided by raised lines radiating from a central hub. The reverse side shows a highly formalized engraved figure on a background punched with dots. The treatment of the eyes relates this object to the massive cast bronze mount found in grave 240 in the burial ground of church 3, Mikulčice (illustrated in the *Great Moravia Catalogue*, pl. 30, pl. 23), where the back is decorated with an engraving of a human figure holding in raised hands attributes which cannot be positively identified: they seem to represent a hammer and a horn; but they may be a labarum, or classical standard, and a pennant. The similarity between these two objects emphasizes the talismanic function of the figures engraved on them, whether their significance was Christian (see the strap-end from graves 100 and 490 in Mikulčice, Plates 19 and 22) or pagan, as here and as with the strap-end from grave 240, Mikulčice. We shall return to the question of the shape of this strap-end when discussing Plate 67.

Literature.

F. Kalousek, 'Velkomoravské hradiště Pohansko u Břeclavi' in *Archeol. rozhledy*, 509 ff., ill. 186; F. Kalousek, 'Die grossmährische Burgwallstadt' in *Sborník prací filol. fak.* Brno, 15, ill. 8; F. Kalousek, *Velkomoravské hradištní město* (guidebook) ill. 12; B. Dostál, *Výzkum velkomoravského hradiska Pohanska u Břeclavi — Die Erforschung des grossmährischen Burgwalls Pohansko bei Břeclav*, pl. III/17; *Great Moravia Catalogue*, pls 34, 39.

53 UNDERSIDE OF THE CAST BRONZE GILT STRAP-END WITH HIGHLY FORMALIZED ENGRAVED FIGURE

Found in the burial ground around the church in the Great Moravian fort, Břeclav—Pohansko.

For description and literature see Plate 52.





Grave 253, in the burial ground around the church, Břeclav—Pohansko. Second half of ninth century.

h. 41 mm.

J. E. Purkyně University, Brno.

The decoration consists of four 'pin-heads', two rounded bands suggesting the spines of books, and dark blue and red cloisonné enamel. The underside is plain. This piece of jewellery is unique.

Literature.

F. Kalousek, *Velkomoravské hradištní město Břeclav—Pohansko* (guide book), 12; B. Dostál, *Výzkum velkomoravského hradiska Pohansko u Břeclavi — Die Erforschung des grossmährischen Burgwalls Pohansko bei Břeclav*, 25, ill. 4/14; *Great Moravia Catalogue*, pl. 34.



Found in 1863. The foot and the lower part of the knop have been improperly reconstructed and restored. Import from a Rhenish workshop. Around the middle of the ninth century.

h. 226 mm.

National Museum, Prague.

One of the most important ninth-century finds in Bohemia was the Kolín double grave containing the remains of a man and a woman. Like the grave-goods found in the Stará Kouřim burial ground (see Plates 66—76), this find belonged to rulers of the important Zličans tribe, inhabiting the eastern part of Central Bohemia and part of East Bohemia. Besides the goblet the grave-goods included an iron sword of indeterminate character (the upper part of the hilt and pommel are missing), a Moravian type axe, a set of silver mounts for fastening the sword to the belt (Plates 57 and 58), a pair of silver-plated bronze Carolingian spurs, a silver strap-end (Plate 59), slip buckles, a bone relic set in gold, fragments of a pendant trapezoid locket (*kaptorga*), gilt bronze buttons and silver ball ear-rings of the Moravian type, bronze and glass beads, and a bowl and goblet of Rhine glass. Thus the grave-goods, partly Moravian and partly Carolingian, suggest the two directions in which Bohemia was already looking in cultural and political life, at the very beginning of her history. Unfortunately, the circumstances of the find were not fully recorded, making it impossible to make full use of this material. See Note on Plate 56.

Literature.

J. L. Pič, in *Památky archeologické* 15, 1892, 715—728, pls. 51—53;
J. L. Pič, *Starožitnosti země České III/1, Čechy za doby knížecí* (Bohemian Antiquities, Bohemia under the princes), Prague 1909, 98, 100, 103, 106, 107, 109, 124, 128, 131, 337, pls 18—20; A. Riegl and E. H. Zimmermann, *Die spätromische Kunstindustrie II*, 63—67, pl. 27; J. Schránil, 'Několik příspěvků k poznání kulturních proudů v zemích Českých v 10. a 11. věku' (A contribution to knowledge of cultural trends in Bohemia in the 10th and 11th centuries) in *Obzor praeh.* 4, 1925, 161—170; J. Schránil, *Die Vorgeschichte*, 293, pl. 64; J. Schránil, *Země České za doby knížecí* (Bohemia under the princes) Prague 1932, 16; J. Eisner, 'Počátky českého šperku — Die Anfänge des böhmischen Schmucks' in *Památky archeologické* 46, 1955, 218 (Revision of the date); R. Turek, 'On the chronology of the 9th century in Bohemia' in *Chronologie préhistorique de la Tchécoslovaquie*, Prague 1956, 68 ff.; R. Turek, in *Pravěk Československa*, 434, 446, ill. 116—119; R. Turek, *Čechy na úsvitě dějin* (Bohemia at the dawn of history), Prague 1963, 149, 288, pl. 21.



When the grave was discovered, local enthusiasts believed they had found the last resting place of the Hussite leader Prokop the Great, who was killed in the battle of Lipany in 1434. The Kolín congregation of the Bohemian Brethren took the goblet and had it restored by a Prague goldsmith for use in the Communion service. Only the bowl is left of the original Carolingian goblet; there is an antique *cyma* ornament below the rim and the lower third of the bowl is delicately ridged. The upper part alone of the double knop is old; it is composed of S-shaped spirals and acanthus leaves bearing the bowl.

The goblet closest in style to this is the one found in Petöháza (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum).

For further information and literature see Note on Plate 55.



57 CAST SILVER GILT MOUNTS FOR FASTENING A SCABBARD TO A BELT,
ORNAMENTED IN NIELLO. CAROLINGIAN WORK, ORIGINATING IN
THE RHINELAND

Kolín find; see Notes on Plates 55, 56, 58 and 59. About the middle of the ninth century.

Three-lobed mount: h. 93 mm.

Larger oblong mount with rounded ends: h. 77 mm.

Smaller oblong mount with rounded ends: h. 62 mm.

Buckle: h. 36 mm; breadth: 59 mm.

National Museum, Prague.

The three-lobed mount, two oblong mounts, and the buckle, are all products of some Rhineland workshop dating from the first half of the ninth century. This acanthus-palmette ornament in relief with niello work on the stems, is very similar to the ornamentation of the Drogo Sacramentary (826—855), an outstanding product of the Metz school, as Zimmerman proved.

See literature to Plate 55.



58 DETAIL OF THE THREE-LOBED CAST SILVER MOUNT, WITH ACANTHUS LEAVES IN RELIEF: PARTIALLY GILT AND NIELLO WORK

Kolín find. For description and literature see Notes on Plates 55 and 57.



Kolín find. See Note on Plate 57. About the middle of the ninth century.

Mount: h. 38 mm.

Bone: h. 17 mm; breadth 39 mm.

National Museum, Prague.

The strap-end may perhaps be of local origin; this is suggested by the band of herring-bone ornament on the inside of the border. The head of the fantastic animal indicates a model from the Salzburg district of about AD 800.

Besides the fragments of a reliquary found in this grave, and the silver cross on the forehead of the princess buried beneath the Želénky barrow, which has not survived, this bone relic is one of the earliest proofs of the penetration of Christianity into Bohemia from both Bavaria and Moravia at the same time.

See literature to Plate 55.



From a barrow in which a Lemuzian princess was buried, Želénky, Duchcov district. Second half of ninth century.

h. 48 mm; breadth 60 mm.

The barrow was excavated in 1850 by employees of the Lobkovitz family estate.

This plaque belongs to the same group of objects influenced by Oriental art as the Staré Město medallion depicting a falconer and the horn medallion showing a bowman, found in Mikulčice (Plates 30, 31 and 39). On both sides of the plaque, made by bending a piece of silver, the illustration of a legend of a miraculous hunt has been beaten in low relief. However, the local craftsman, probably from Great Moravia, has considerably deformed the post-Sassanian motif. There are analogies to this motif of a stag hunted by a bird of prey, for example on a silver flagon from Kurylovka (Perm region); on a silver bowl from an unknown locality in Siberia (both in the Leningrad Hermitage); on the hunting horn from Jász-Berény, Hungary; and on a chest from Terracina, Rome. The bands across the body of the hunted beast are purely ornamental, breaking up the plain surface. The ground is enlivened by punched dots.

Literature.

J. E. Wocel, 'Archaeologische Parallelen' in *Sitzungsber. d. phil.-hist. Kl. d. k. k. Akad. d. Wiss.* 11, 1853; II, *Die Kleinode aus dem Grabhügel von Schellenken*, 751—759; J. L. Píč, *Čechy za doby knížecí*, 98—100; J. Schránil, *Několik příspěvků*, 173—174; J. Schránil, *Die Vorgeschichte*, 294, 312—313; J. Schránil, *Čechy za doby knížecí*, 19; L. Niederle, *Život starých Slovanů* (Life of the Old Slavs) III/2, Prague 1925, 680; L. Niederle, *Příspěvky k vývoji byzantských šperků*, 50; J. Eisner, *K dějinám našeho hradištního šperku*, 50; J. Eisner, *Počátky českého šperku — Die Anfänge des böhmischen Schmucks*, 218; R. Turek, in *Pravěk Československa*, 446; R. Turek, *Čechy na úsvitě dějin*, 154, 288; R. Turek, *Chronologie préhistorique*, 168 ff.



Found in barrow in which a Lemuzian princess was buried, Želénky, Duchcov district. Second half of the ninth century.
h. 48 mm; breadth 60 mm.

The reverse side of the plaque shows the obverse design reflected mirror-wise. The stylized deformation of the figure of the beast led some scholars to take the view that it represented a horse, and that the upper part of the design, which we consider to be the stag's horns, represented the branch of a tree. Against this view it must be pointed out that the animal has cloven hooves and that the bands of engraved ornament on the neck, body and legs of the animal cannot be said to form a system of harness straps, but merely enliven the otherwise plain surface. The strongest argument, of course, is provided by the analogy mentioned in the Note on Plate 60, where the relevant literature is also quoted. We might add that the motif of an eagle fighting a stag is frequent from the end of the classical period.

See literature to Plate 60.



62 PAIR OF SPHERICAL GOLD BUTTONS WITH A DECORATIVE LATTICE
SOLDERED ON, AND SETTINGS FOR PRECIOUS STONES

Discovered in a barrow in which a Lemuzian princess was buried,
Želénky, Duchcov district. Second half of the ninth century.
See Note on Plate 60.

h. 28 mm.

National Museum, Prague.

These spherical buttons are very similar to some of those found
in ninth-century Moravian burial grounds. The double shell
buttons from grave 505 on the acropolis of the Mikulčice fort
are of even more delicate workmanship: loop ornament in beaded
wire covers the empty parts of the outer shell.

See literature to Plate 60.



Discovered in a barrow in which a Lemuzian princess was buried, Želénky, Duchcov district. See Note on Plate 60. Second half of the ninth century; cameo from the second quarter of the fourth century.

Medallion: h. 34 mm; with loop 40 mm.

National Museum, Prague.

The onyx (?) cameo of the Constantine period is set upside down in the manner of classical antiquity; the owner thus sees the portrait the right way up when wearing the medallion on a chain round his neck. The oval of sheet gold is framed in beaded wire and a band of annular pattern on the upper side, and ornamented with an arabesque in both plain and twisted wire on the back; it is contemporary with the gold chain. The jewel is an Italian or Byzantine import. The ornament on the back of the cameo resembles that on one of the pendants in the Mainz treasure of the Empress Giselle.

Literature.

J. Frel, 'Kamej ze Želének — Camée de Želénky' in *Archeologické rozhledy* 8, 1956, 536, 579—80.

For further literature information see Note on Plate 60.



Found in a barrow in which a Lemuzian princess was buried,
Želénky, Duchcov district. Second half of ninth century.
National Museum, Prague.

See literature to Plate 60.



Found in a barrow in which a Lemuzian princess was buried, Želénky, Duchcov district. Second half of ninth century.

h. 25 mm and 28 mm.

National Museum, Prague.

Altogether three gold ear-rings were found in this barrow, with an 'ear of corn' cluster above and below the hoop. Typical Móra-vian form, imported.

See literature to Plate 60.



Grave 55, princes' burial ground in Stará Kouřim, Kouřim, Kolín district. End of the first half of the ninth century.

Scabbard: h. 150 mm.

Mount: h. 71 mm.

National Museum, Prague.

The cast silver scabbard is a magnificent find from a prince's grave in the chief fort of the Zličans, one of the most important Slav tribes in Bohemia. It protected the lower end of a pike or spear; remnants of the wooden haft were found inside it. It is decorated with two bands of chip-carved plant ornament, gilded and outlined with an inlay of lead. Inlaid lead was also used for the borders and the band of dog-tooth ornament between the arabesques. Inlay is not the best term for the method employed, however, as it is nearer to niello; it is a kind of incrustation technique under heat. Both the technique and the motifs suggest a connection with the Tassilo sceptre (the *Kremsmünster* candlesticks). See also Note on Plate 67.

Literature.

M. Šolle, 'Knížecí pohřebiště na Staré Kouřimi — Die Fürstliche Begräbnisstätte in Stará Kouřim' in *Památky archeologické* 50, 1959, 353—506, scabbard 380 ff., ill. 44; R. Turek, in *Pravěk Československa*, 440, 446; R. Turek, *Čechy na úsvitě dějin*, 161.



Grave, 55, princes' burial in Stará Kouřim, Kouřim, Kolín district.
Before the middle of the ninth century.

Buckle: h. 59 mm.

Strap-end: h. 64 mm.

National Museum, Prague.

Part of the fastenings for attaching the sword scabbard to the belt. In form and ornament both the buckle and strap-end are derived from late Avaric models, although the proportions have been influenced by western products of the second half of the eighth century. The broad tip of the strap-end is decorated with 'pinheads' (a purely western element) as well as the fleur-de-lis palmettes characteristic of late Avaric mounts; its main ornament is a heart-shaped arabesque. A similar border can be seen in the strap-end illustrated in Plate 52, from grave 3 in Břeclav-Pohansko. Among the grave-goods there was also a trefoil bronze mount and two oval ones, all Carolingian in style, as well as articles made in local workshops. The nearest to this set in style (see Plate 66) is the trefoil mount from Velký Bysterec in Northern Slovakia (National Museum, Budapest). The burial furniture is of the Blatnica-Mikulčice group.

Literature.

M. Šolle, *Knížecí pohřebiště — Die Fürstliche Begräbnisstätte*, 401, 412 ff; R. Turek, in *Pravěk Československa*, 441; R. Turek, *Čechy na úsvitě dějin*, 157.



Grave 120, prince's burial ground in Stará Kouřim, Kouřim,
Kolín district. Ninth century.
Breadth 117 mm (from blade to half).
National Museum, Prague.

Both the elongated form terminating at one end in a knob, and the style of the pierced ornament on the blade, suggest that this weapon, which was probably only ceremonial, or a sign of rank, came from the Khazar-Iranian area; it is here, at Bilyarsk, that we find the most similar axe. The Kouřim axe is another proof that Great Moravia maintained contact, in the broadest sense of the word, with Pontic influences.

Literature.

M. Šolle, *Knížecí pohřebiště — Die Fürstliche Begräbnisstätte*, 383—390
392, 393; R. Turek, *Čechy na úsvitě dějin*, 156.



Grave 120, princes' burial ground in the Zličans' fort of Stará Kouřim, Kouřim, Kolín district. Second half of ninth century h. 170 (178) mm.

National Museum, Prague.

These iron spurs of Carolingian type, with parabola frames, long cylindrical spikes, and flat oblong heel-tabs, are plated on the outer side with silver-gilt; the ornament is in repoussé with some engraving. The decoration consists of a repeated pattern of palmettes suspended from ribbons: compare the hollow repoussé buttons. Here too we see the two stylistic influences at work, the Carolingian and the Danubian; the combination is a characteristic of the art of the Great Moravian Empire. Besides the spurs the set included mounts and buckles executed in the same technique and with the same ornament.

Literature.

M. Šolle, *Knižecí pohřebiště — Die Fürstliche Begräbnisstätte*, 395, 404 ff;
R. Turek, *Čechy na úsvitě dějin*, pl. 22.



Grave 120, princes' burial ground of the Zličans' fort in Stará Kounim, Kounim, Kolín district. Second half of the ninth century.

Buckle: h. 39 mm.

Strap-end: h. 36 mm.

National Museum, Prague.

Half the set found in the grave is illustrated here. The shield-shaped strap-end terminates in a trefoil palmette. Its shape, ornament, and technique suggest Carolingian craftsmanship; so does a comparison with the spurs, buckle and mount from Biskupije near Knin in Dalmatia.

Literature.

M. Šolle, *Knížecí pohřebiště — Die Fürstliche Begräbnisstätte*, 403, 417;

R. Turek, *Čechy na úsvitě dějin*, 158.



Princess's grave (106B) in the burial ground of the Zličans' fort
in Stará Kouřim, Kouřim, Kolín district. Ninth-tenth century.

h. 108 mm.

National Museum, Prague.

Unlike graves 55 and 120, 106B is among the latest in the burial
ground. The chain pendants are attached to the two mitres on
which the animals stand with a hinge-pin. The fine granulated
work not only forms the rhombs and pyramids customary up to
this time, but crosses and stars as well. These silver ear-rings
with pendant chains conclude the development of Great Moravian
jewellery. Like the Pohansko ear-rings above (Plate 49) they are
already marked by the style of the silver hoards.

Literature.

N. Šolle, *Knižecí pohřebiště — Fürstliche Begräbnisstätte*, 417, 431;
Great Moravia Catalogue, pls 46, 47.



Princes' burial ground in the Zličans' fort, Stará Kouřim, Kouřim,
Kolín district.

National Museum, Prague.

For details see Plates 74—76.

Up to the present pendants like these, representing horses harnessed three-in-hand, have been found only in Stará Kouřim and at Libice, another important fort in the eastern part of Central Bohemia, and the seat of the Slavnikids, the ruling Croat family of the 10th century. The Slavnikids fought with the Přemyslids for power in Bohemia, and were vanquished in 995; this completed the unification of the Bohemian Slavs. The pendants are of hammered silver, while the horses' heads are linked by silver strips. Granulation and twisted wire are used in the ornament. We find a similar technique on the upper side of the mount from grave 490 in Mikulčice (Plate 19). From this find, and that of the silver ear-rings with chain pendants, it is evident that some elements of the silver-hoard style were already known in Bohemia in the ninth century.

It is doubtful whether the flat oblong locket is, as M. Šolle suggested, a reliquary, or whether it is indeed a locket at all. In shape it is quite different from the reliquaries or *kaptorgs* we know, and is closer to the Želénky plaque (Plate 60). Both objects were made by bending a flat piece of silver; in the Želénky find the two ends were fastened by pins, while in this one a hinge-pin is secured by tiny chains ending in oak leaves.

Literature.

M. Šolle, *Knížecí pohřebiště — Fürstliche Begräbnisstätte*, 452 ff.; *Great Moravia Catalogue*, pls 46, 48.



Princess's grave (106B) in the burial ground of the Zličans' fort, Stará Kouřim, Kouřim, Kolín district. End of the ninth, first quarter of the tenth century.

Locket, without chain: h. 51 mm.

National Museum, Prague.

See Note on Plate 73.

The repeating pattern of trefoil palmettes within heart-shaped frames is similar to the designs on the hollow repoussé buttons. This demonstrates how a unified style had spread throughout Great Moravia by the end of the ninth century despite differences in technique and types of ornament. The hollow silver bead with granulation ornament is characteristic of the style of the first half of the tenth century.

Literature.

M. Šolle, *Knížecí pohřebiště — Fürstliche Begräbnisstätte*, 429, 431, 452 ff.



Princess's grave (106B) in the burial ground of the Zličans' fort, Stará Kouřim, Kouřim, Kolín district.

See Note on Plate 73.

End of the ninth, first quarter of the tenth century.

h. 43 mm.

National Museum, Prague.

Small animal figures are not unusual in the jewellery and ornaments of this period. See the lamb pendant from Komárov, near Opava; the horse, Matzhausen, Oberpfalz; the ear-rings with a duck on the lower loop, from Spassko, near Kazan, U.S.S.R.; and many Polish finds in the silver hoards of Jakimowicz Group I, Rudelsdorf, Gostyń, Wielonek, Psary, Piaski, etc. These last, however, are somewhat later.

Literature.

M. Šolle, *Knížecí pohřebiště — Die Fürstliche Begräbnisstätte*, 429.



Princess's grave (106B) in the burial ground of the Zličans' fort, Stará Kouřim, Kouřim, -Kolín district.

End of the ninth—first third of the tenth century.

h. 43 mm.

National Museum, Prague.

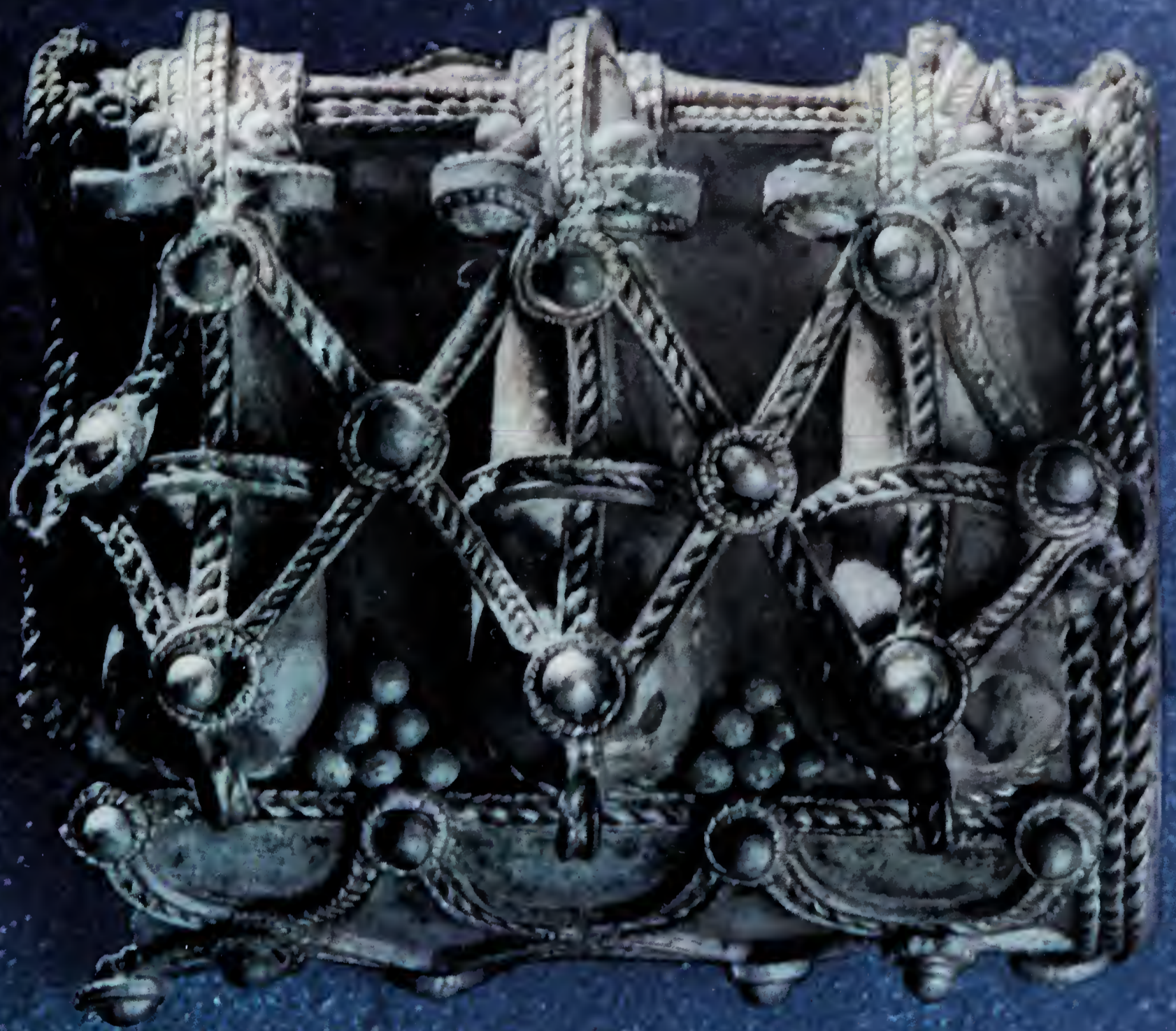
See Note on Plate 73.

In addition to two pairs of pendants in the shape of a modelled three-in-hand, found on the territory of the Zličans, there is a third from the Libice fort (Libice, near Poděbrady). This confirms the view that there was a silversmith's workshop active in the Slavníkid region at the beginning of the tenth century, where the latest innovations of style were known and utilized with a high degree of skill.

The pendants were attached to the necklet by a tube. The harness traps are decorated with granulation where they cross over. There are also triangular arrangements of granulation in the empty spaces between the animals. The sides of the pendants are edged with a double band of filigree ornament.

Literature:

M. Šolle, *Knížecí pohřebiště — Fürstliche Begräbnisstätte*, 452 ff.



Gniezdovo near Smolensk, known as the First Gniezdovo treasure, discovered in 1868. Second half of the tenth century.

Large crescents: h. 60 mm and 59 mm.

Small crescents: h. 26 mm, 21 mm and 25 mm.

Hermitage Museum, Leningrad.

See also Notes on Plates 78 and 84.

There are four hoards of silver jewellery of the late tenth and early eleventh centuries, from around the village of Gniezdovo in the Upper Dnieper valley, settled by the Radimici; all are reliably dated by the coins in them. The richest of the four was found in 1868 and includes ornaments of Scandinavian origin such as bowl-shaped cast bronze fibulae with relief ornament, circular clasps with figures in relief and pendants, circular cast silver pendants in openwork, massive tubular necklets and part of an iron sword, as well as Russian jewellery showing the influence of Islamic toreutics, including crescent pendants, medallions ornamented with granulation and filigree work, several types of silver beads and many necklets of twisted silver wire. The most remarkable of the ornaments in this treasure is a *kaptorga*, a pendant locket, in imitation of the Islamic talisman pendants which contained a scroll inscribed with a verse from the Koran. The Gniezdovo locket is no more than an ornament to hang on a necklace, like the one from Kouřim in Bohemia. These pendants were typical of finds in the silver hoards. Some of the ornaments were decorated with silverwork, instead of incrustation with precious stones or pearls. There were also twenty coins in the treasure, of Samanid, Indian, Anglo-Saxon, and Byzantine origin; the greatest number were Samanid *dirhams* of the first half of the tenth century, which suggests widespread trading activity. The hoards of this period are connected with the wars waged by the Kiev state for its consolidation, as a result of which surrounding areas were brought under the rule of the Kiev princes.

Literature.

N. P. Kondskov, *Russkiye drevnosti V.*, SPb. 1897, 61—64, ill. 48, 50—63; A. K. Markov, *Topografiya kladov vostochnykh monet*, St Petersburg, 1910; A. S. Gushchin, *Pamyatniki khudozhestvennogo remesla drevnei Rusi X-XIII vv.*, Moscow-Leningrad 1936, 30 ff., 53—57, pls I—IV; G. F. Korzuchina, *Russkiye klady IX—XIII vv.*, Moscow-Leningrad 1954, pp. 15, 18, 22, 23, 38, 40, 48, 87—88.



From the first Gnezdovo treasure (1868), Gnezdovo, near Smolensk. Second half of tenth century.

Circumference 850 mm and 778 mm; weight 457.2 gr and 388 gr. Hermitage Museum, Leningrad.

For literature see Note on Plate 77. (Illustration of the lower necklet in A. S. Gushchin, *loc. cit.*, *pl.* I/2; the upper is reproduced here for the first time).



Nevelsk treasure, found in 1892 near the village of Shalakhovo, former Nevelsk district, near Vitebsk. Eleventh century.

Circumference 355 mm.

Hermitage Museum, Leningrad.

There were twenty-three items of silver jewellery in the Nevelsk treasure. Besides the necklet illustrated here, noteworthy pieces are the ear-rings, each with a silver oval bead; rings with semi-spherical crowns; a braided bracelet; clasps; and an ornamental buckle. This treasure was probably buried during the fighting between the Polock princes and the people of Novgorod some time during the last third of the eleventh century. It thus belongs to different circumstances and a different style from the treasure described above. Nor is there any trace of Scandinavian influence. The strongest evidence for dating the treasure is supplied by the braided jewellery; the necklets are fastened by tubular clasps, the narrower passing into the wider and being secured by a peg; this type was common in the twelfth century. This find belongs to the group of silver hoards which show the effect of the crisis in the Islamic currency: for lack of metal, coins have been replaced by bits of silver from broken articles. Clear Arabic influences can be seen in this elaborate necklet of eleven beads alternating with ten pendants, cushion-shaped on the upper side, with a diagonal cross of repoussé bosses, and suspended by tubular loops. The under side of the pendants is plain. The beads are ornamented in filigree work; the rest of the decoration is made up of fine granulation. They are threaded on strong silver wire, and fastened with a hook.

Literature.

N. P. Kondakov, *Ruskiye drevnosti* V, 59—60; A. S. Gushchin, *loc. cit.* pp. 57—59, pl. V/5; G. F. Korzuchina, *loc. cit.*, pp. 25—26, 39, 40, 65, 97 ff.; M. I. Artamonov, 'Sarkel—Belaya vezha' in *Materialy i issledovaniya po archeologii SSSR* 62, *Trudy volgo-donskoi arkheol. ekspeditsii* I, Moscow 1958, 56 ff.



Slav burial ground in Belaya vezha, Sarkel on the Don. Eleventh century.

Ring: diam. 28 mm.

Pendant: h. 30 mm.

Cross: h. 33 mm.

Hermitage Museum, Leningrad.

Finds from a Slav burial ground, already Christian, in the old Khazar fort of Sarkel (Russian: Belaya vezha). The Khazar Khans established the fort in 837; it was destroyed in 965, during the war with Prince Sviatoslav of Kiev.

Literature.

M. I. Artamonov, 'Sarkel—Belaya vezha' in *Materialy i issledovaniya po arkheologii SSSR 62, Trudy volgo-donskoi arkheol. ekspeditsii I*, Moscow 1958, ill. 49.



Slav burial ground, Belaya vezha, Sarkel on the Don. Eleventh century.

h. 75 mm.

Hermitage Museum, Leningrad.

Literature.

M. I. Artamonov, 'Belaya vezha' in *Sovetskaya archeologiya* 16, 1952, 42—76, ill. 12.



82, 83 SILVER-GILT SPHERICAL GOBLET WITH HAMMERED AND
ENGRAVED ORNAMENT. GENERAL VIEW AND DETAIL

Found in Russia, further details unknown. Twelfth century.
h. 117 mm; diam. 185 mm.
Hermitage Museum, Leningrad.

Just below the rim is a narrow frieze of running animals engraved on a stippled background. The scale-like bosses are partly engraved, partly worked in repoussé, with figures of sphinxes, sirens, dancing women and animals. The foot is decorated with peacocks and hares. Both in the pictorial motifs and in the technique employed, this goblet reveals its Central Asian origin.

Literature.

A. V. Bank, 'Serebryannye bratiny 12—13 vv.' in *Pamyatniki epochi Rustaveli*, Leningrad 1938, 257.





Kiev; from the Pogodin collection. Twelfth century.

Encolpiae: h. 90, 107 and 110 mm.

Zmeyevik: diam. 62 and 72 mm.

Hermitage Museum, Leningrad.

No details about these objects are known, and they have not yet been published. The *encolpia*, double cast-metal pectoral crosses hinged together, were produced in large numbers by South Russian workshops, as ornaments (Kherson). Those illustrated here are of a late type; the two above, with the Virgin Mary in relief and medallion heads of Christ and apostles at the ends of the arms, are older than the lower cross with straight-ended arms and the figure of Christ robed. The cast-metal medallions on either side of this cross, with Greek inscriptions round the edge, are talismans or *zmeyeviks* to protect their wearers from danger. The one on the right shows a rough relief of the Virgin Mary of the *Umileniye* type; the other motifs used were the Archangel Michael as, for example, on the *Chernigov medal*, a gold *zmeyevik* probably belonging to Grand Prince Vladimir Monomach. The medallion on the left shows the back, a Gorgoneion with nine snake or dragon heads, the symbol of evil and dark, hostile forces (hence the Russian name).



First Gniezdovo treasure (1868), Gniezdovo, near Smolensk.

Second half of tenth century.

diam. 45 mm.

Hermitage Museum, Leningrad.

See also Notes on Plates 77 and 78.

The openwork roundel is ornamented with two identical scenes, the one a mirror-image of the other; they are composed of the ribbon-like forms of the Scandinavian Jellinge style, and depict a man fighting a serpent. Another pair of pendants was also found in the first Gniezdovo treasure and there were similar openwork roundels with zoomorphic ornament in treasure 14. It is unnecessary to point out that these are imports, but it may be noted that A. S. Gushchin considers the majority of the ornaments in the treasure to have been men's jewellery.

For literature see Note on Plate 77; illustration in A. S. Gushchin, *loc. cit.* pl. III/2.



Found in 1883, in a burial ground around the cathedral at Chernigov. Twelfth century.

h. 44 mm (without hoop); breadth 50 mm.

Hermitage Museum, Leningrad.

The ear-rings called in Russian 'kolty' are really a special type of crescent ear-ring. The crescent which forms the lower part is made of two pieces of metal soldered together. In the example shown here the interior of the crescent is filled so that it is almost a circle; N. P. Kondakov, in *Russkiye klady* 201 ff., gives an interesting account of how this development occurred. The edge of the crescent is usually either decorated with radial open work, or surrounded by a border of beaded hollow wire. The ornament on both sides is usually cloisonné, less frequently niello; both oriental and Christian subjects are used, including figures or busts of the saints, and affronted birds or sirens round the tree of life, which may be represented by Sassanian palmettes or a simple geometrical or formal plant motif. This type of ear-ring came from Byzantium to Kievan Russia towards the end of the eleventh century, settling down there, changing shape somewhat, and becoming the outstanding, though not the only, ornament worn by richer women until the Mongolian invasion.

The Chernigov pair of ear-rings has a radial border. It is not clear whether the find was part of a hoard or grave-goods; the latter is more likely.

Literature.

N. P. Kondakov, *Russkiye klady* I, St Petersburg 1896, pl. XIII/1-3.



Found in 1885 near the cathedral of St Sophia, Kiev, Yesi-
korsky mansion. First half of thirteenth century.

h. 57 mm (with loop); w. 49.5 mm.

Hermitage Museum, Leningrad.

This rich hoard was buried in a vessel at the time of the Mongol invasion about 1240. It contained much gold and silver jewellery, including two pairs of kolty ear-rings (one gold and one silver), fifty-three ear-rings of the Kiev type, thirteen gold pendant medallions, gold and silver braided bracelets, a braided silver necklet, seven cast silver rings, a gold ring set with an amethyst, and silver ingots of the Kiev type. On the reverse side of the gold ear-ring, illustrated here the cloisonné ornament represents a palmette, with two oblong panels filled with plant motifs at the sides. It may be added that two iron locks were buried with the hoard, which was thought to protect it against thieves. There are other examples of this superstition; sometimes a key was buried with the hoard.

Literature.

N. P. Kondakov, *Ruskiye klady* I, 124—132, pl. II/9, 10; *idem*, *Istoriya i pamyatniki vizantiyskoy emali*, St Petersburg 1892; *idem*, *Ruskiye drevnosti* V, 119—121, ill. 181—188; A. A. Ilyin, *Topografiya kladov serebryannykh i zolotykh slitkov*, Petrograd 1921, 26, No. 85; G. F. Korzuchina, *loc. cit.* 11, 18, 31, 49, 60, 117 ff.



Michailov monastery, Kiev. Beginning of the thirteenth century.
Length of the beads varies from 0.7 to 1.4 mm.
Hermitage Museum, Leningrad.

Altogether there were 1339 beads hidden in the amphora. 1274
were cut beads of rock crystal, while the remainder were cast
from vitreous paste. They were found during excavation of the
site of the Michailov monastery, in a hut which had probably
housed a bead workshop.

Literature.

M. K. Karger, 'Novye dannye k istorii drevnerusskogo zhilishcha',
Kratkiye soobshcheniya IIMK, 38, 1951, 11; *idem*, *Drevniy Kiev, ocherki
po istorii drevnerusskogo goroda I*, Moscow-Leningrad 1958, 473 ff.,
pl. 96.

