

THE IMAGE AND ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE PECHENEGS

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“Taken in the mass, this is a nation to be feared, and a treacherous one”¹. Thus wrote Michael Psellos about the “western barbarians,” whom he regarded as closer to the realm of animals than to the society of humans:

When they are thirsty, if they find water, either from springs or in the streams, they at once throw themselves down into it and gulp it up; if there is no water, each man dismounts from his horse, opens its veins with a knife and drinks the blood. So they quench their thirst by substituting blood for water. After that they cut up the fattest of the horses, set fire to whatever wood they find ready to hand, and having slightly warmed the chopped limbs of the horse there on the spot, they gorge themselves on the meat, blood and all. The refreshment over, they hurry back to their primitive huts and lurk, like snakes, in the deep gullies and precipitous cliffs which serve as their walls².

Many at that time agreed with Psellos. In his *typikon* for the Bačkovo Monastery, Gregory Pakourianos, the Domestic of the West under Emperor Alexios I, who had just battled the Pechenegs in the northern Balkans, described them as “the most terrible and most arrogant enemies who set themselves not only against the Roman Empire, but also every race of Christians”³. John

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¹ Michael Psellos, *Chronographia* VII 69, ed. by Emile Renauld (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1928), p. 126; transl. by E. R. A. Sewter (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953), p. 243.

² Psellos, *Chronographia* VII 68, ed. Renauld, p. 126; transl. Sewter, pp. 242-243. Horse meat as a staple of Pecheneg diet is also mentioned by Otto of Freising, *Chronica*, ed. by A. Schmidt and W. Lammers (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1961), pp. 448-49. See also Victor Spinei, *The Great Migrations in the East and South East of Europe from the Ninth to the Thirteenth Century* (Cluj-Napoca: Romanian Cultural Institute/Istros, 2003), p. 99.

³ *Typikon of Gregory Pakourianos for the Monastery of the Mother of God Petritzonitissa in Bačkovo*, transl. by R. Jordan, in *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents. A Complete*

Mavropous compared them to frogs living in swampy or marshy areas. They discovered humanity only through baptism⁴. Michael Attaleiates gave a gory description of the savage mutilation of Michael Dokeianos, the Byzantine commander captured at Adrianople in 1050. The Pechenegs opened his body, took the guts out, cut his hands and legs, and then tossed them inside the body instead of the entrails⁵. Attaleiates was also disgusted by the eating habits of the Pechenegs, which he described as “impure”⁶. However, most authors writing about the Pechenegs did so half a century or more after their first major raids into the Empire: Gregory Pakourianos, Michael Psellos and Michael Attaleiates in the 1080s, and a little later, John Skylitzes and Theophylact

Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typika and Testaments, ed. by J. Thomas and A. Constantinides Hero (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2000), p. 526. For Pakourianos' victory against the Pechenegs in 1082 or 1083, see V. A. Arutiunova, “K voprosu o vzaimootnosheniakh Vizantii s pechenegami i polovcami vo vremia normanskoi kampanii,” *Vizantiiskii Vremennik* 33 (1972), 115-19; Peter Doimi de Frankopan, “A victory of Gregory Pakourianos against the Pechenegs,” *Byzantinoslavica* 57 (1996), 278-81; Marek Meško, “Notes sur la chronologie de la guerre des Byzantins contre les Petchénègues (1083-1091),” *Byzantinoslavica* 59 (2011), nos. 1-2, 134-48, at 142. Pakourianos died in battle against the Pechenegs: Anna Comnena, *Alexiad* VI 14.3, ed. by Diether Reinsch and Athanasios Kambylis (*Corpus fontium historiae Byzantinae*, 40)(Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2001), p. 200; transl. by E. R. A. Sewter (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1987), p. 213.

⁴ John Mavropous, *or.* 182.8-9, in Paul de Lagarde (ed.), “Ioannis Euchaitorum metropolitae quae in cod. Vat. Gr. 676 supersunt,” *Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* 28 (1881), no. 1, 1-228, at 144. See also Jacques Lefort, «Rhétorique et politique: trois discours de Jean Mauropous en 1047,» *Travaux et mémoires du Centre de recherches d'histoire et civilisation byzantines* 6 (1976), 265-303, at 285. For Pechenegs compared to animals, particularly to insects (bees or locusts) or to dogs, see also Paul Meinrad Strässle, «Das Feindbild der Petschenegen im Byzanz der Komnenen (11./12. Jh.),» *Byzantinische Forschungen* 28 (2004), 297-313, at 306. As Elisabeth Malamut, “L'image byzantine des Petchénègues,” *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 88 (1995), 105-147 (at 123) notes, Mavropous is the only eleventh-century author who believed that the Pechenegs had changed their ways after conversion to Christianity.

⁵ Michael Attaleiates, *History*, ed. by Immaculada Pérez Martín (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2002), p. 27. According to Paul Stephenson, *Byzantium's Balkan Frontier: A Political Study of the Northern Balkans, 900-1204* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 94, the vestarch Michael Dokeianos served as the first katepano of Paradounavon. However, the seal which Stephenson attributes to him belongs in fact to another person. See Ivan Iordanov, *Pechatite ot strategiiata Preslav (971-1088)* (Sofia: Universitetsko izdatelstvo “Sv. Kliment Ohridski”, 1993), pp. 143-144.

⁶ Attaleiates, *History*, p. 24.

of Ochrid⁷. Moreover, all regarded them as people from the North and, as such, greedy and insatiable, arrogant and boasting, as well as untrustworthy. That is why they rarely employed their supposed self-designation (Pechenegs) and preferred instead names of ancient peoples, such as the Scyths or the Mysians⁸. Skylitzes, although occasionally calling them “Patzinaks,” explains that the Pechenegs were in fact “Scyths pertaining to the so-called ‘Royal Scyths’”⁹. Echoes of Herodotus are even stronger in Theophylact of Ochrid’s encomium for Emperor Alexios I¹⁰. To describe the Pechenegs Attaleiates employed the late sixth- or early seventh-century description of the Avars in the *Strategikon*¹¹. According to Psellos, when going into battle, the Pechenegs “emit loud war cries, and so fall upon their adversaries.” If the noise they produce is sufficiently terrifying and they succeed in pushing their adversaries back, “they dash against them in solid blocks, like towers, pursuing and slaying without mercy”¹². At a close examination, this was also inspired by the description the *Strategikon* gives of young Slavene warriors, who in encounters with the enemy, shout all together and if their opponents begin to

⁷ O. Schmitt, “Die Petschenegen auf dem Balkan von 1046 bis 1072,” In *Pontos Euxeinos. Beiträge zur Archäologie und Geschichte des antiken Schwarzmeer- und Balkanraumes. Manfred Oppermann zum 65. Geburtstag*, edited by Sven Conrad, R. Einicke, A. E. Furtwängler, H. Löhr and A. Slawisch (Langenweissbach: Beier & Beran, 2006), pp. 473-83, at 473.

⁸ Psellos, *Chronographia* VII 67, p. 241: “In the old days [they] had been called Mysians, but later their name was changed to its present form.” Throughout his *Chronographia*, Psellos never mentions the “present form” of the “western barbarians’s.” name. Attaleiates’ “Scyths” are called “in vernacular Patzinaks” (Attaleiates, *History*, p. 24). For Anna Comnena’s use of “Scyths,” see Strässle, “Feindbild der Petschenegen,” p. 302.

⁹ John Skylitzes, *A Synopsis of Byzantine History, 811-1057*, ed. by Hans Thurn (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1973), p. 455; transl. by John Wortley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 426. Skylitzes employs “Scyths” for the Rus’ as well.

¹⁰ Paul Gautier, “Le discours de Théophylact de Bulgarie à l’autocrator Alexis Ier Comnène (6 janvier 1088),” *Revue des études byzantines* 20 (1962), 93-130, at 111 and 123; Strässle, «Feindbild der Petschenegen,” p. 305.

¹¹ *Strategikon* XI 2, ed. by Ernst Gamillscheg and George T. Dennis (Vienna: Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1981), p. 366. For the image of the Avars in the *Strategikon*, see Bohumila Zástěrová, *Les Avars et les Slaves dans la Tactique de Maurice* (Rozprawy Československé Akademie Věd, 81)(Prague: Academia, 1971); Georgios Kardaras, „To ‘schema ton Abaron’ sto Strategikon tou Maurikiou. Mia kritike proseggise,” *Vyzantinos Domos* 16 (2007-2008), 151-66.

¹² Psellos, *Chronographia* VII 68, ed. Renauld pp. 125-126; transl. Sewter, p. 242.

give way at the noise, they attack violently¹³. In order to explain the surrender of the Pechenegs who had crossed the frozen Danube in the winter of 1046/1047, Skylitzes claims that they had “found a plentiful supply of beasts, of wine and of drinks prepared from honey of which they have never even heard. These they consumed without restraint and were afflicted with a flux of the bowels; many of them perished each day”¹⁴. This, however, is an old *topos* employed before Skylitzes by Agathias in relation to the Frankish warlord Boutelinos operating against Narses in Italy¹⁵.

None of those late eleventh-century authors knew about the extensive account about the Pechenegs, which Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus had written more than a century earlier¹⁶. Many did not therefore have reliable information about the Pechenegs on the other side of the Danube. Psellos knew that the invasion of the Pechenegs had been caused by the “activities of the Getae, their neighbors, who by their plundering and ravaging compelled them to abandon their own homes and seek new ones”¹⁷. Anna Comnena regarded the Pechenegs as a “Scythian tribe,” which “having suffered incessant pillaging at the hands of the Sarmatians, left home and came down to the Danube,” where they entered negotiations with the local people¹⁸. She also knew that Tzelgu has been “the supreme commander of the Scythian army,” who had with him

¹³ *Strategikon* XI 4, p. 383. For a commentary on this particular passage, see Florin Curta, *The Making of the Slavs. History and Archaeology of the Lower Danube Region, c. 500-700* (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, 52)(Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 325. For tactics employed by the Sclavenes, as reflected in the *Strategikon*, see A. K. Nefedkin, “Taktika slavian v VI v. (po svidetelstvam rannevizantiiskikh avtorov),” *Vizantiiskii Vremennik* 62 (2003), 79-91.

¹⁴ Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, ed. Thurn, p. 458; transl. Wortley, p. 429.

¹⁵ Agathias, *Histories*, ed. by Rudolf Keydell (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1967), pp. 44-45; Malamut, “L’image byzantine,” p. 119. That the story was not meant to be taken literally results from Skylitzes’ remark that after being “afflicted by a flux of the bowels,” the Pechenegs “no longer had any stomach for the battle.”

¹⁶ Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *On the Administration of the Empire* 37, ed. by Gyula Moravcsik, transl. by R. J. H. Jenkins (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, 1967), pp. 166-171. There is also abundant information about the Pechenegs in chapters 1-8, pp. 48-57. See also Malamut, “L’image byzantine,” pp. 109-115; Aleksander Paroń, “Pieczyngowie na kartach ‘De administrando imperio’ Konstantyna VII Porfirogenety,” *Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis. Classica Wratislaviensia* 27 (2007), 97-112.

¹⁷ Psellos, *Chronographia* VII 67, ed. Renauld, p. 125; transl. Sewter, p. 241. Most historians believe the “Getae” to be the Oghuz.

¹⁸ Anna Comnena, *Alexiad* VI 14.1, p. 199; transl. Sewter, p. 212.

“about 80,000 men, Sarmatians, Scyths, and a large contingent of Dacians led by one Solomon.” But she had no knowledge of the territories from which this large army had come, even though she mentioned that the crossing had taken place on the “upper Danube valley”¹⁹. By contrast, John Skylitzes knew of 13 Pecheneg tribes (*geneai*), “all of which have the same name in common, but each tribe has its own proper name inherited from its own ancestor and chieftain”²⁰. He even knew the names of the two tribes under Kegen’s command—Belemarnis and Pagoumanis—none of which appears in Emperor Constantine’s extensive list of clans (*geneai*)²¹. Skylitzes must have relied on independent sources, and Elisabeth Malamut has revived Petre Diaconu’s older suggestion that that source was Katakalon Kekaumenos, the governor of Paristrion in 1043, who in 1049 was rescued by a Pecheneg named Koulinos at the battle of Diakene²². According to her, in order to explain the Pecheneg

¹⁹ Anna Comnena, *Alexiad* VII 1.1, p. 203; transl. Sewter, p. 212. Anna calls “Ister” the lower course of the river, and “Danube” the next segment upstream, although it is not altogether clear where the former stops and the latter begins. Historians believe the “Sarmatians” to be the Oghuz and the “Dacians” the Hungarians. The latter were apparently under the command of the ex-king Salomon. See Petre Diaconu, *Les Pétchénergues au Bas-Danube* (Bibliotheca Historica Romaniae, 27)(Bucharest Editions de l’Académie de la République Socialiste de Roumanie, 1970), p. 117; Stephenson, *Byzantium’s Balkan Frontier*, p. 102; Marek Meško, “Pečenežsko-byzantské dobrodružstvo uhorského kráľa Salamúna (1083-1087),” *Konštantínove listy* 4 (2011), 77-94, at 84-93.

²⁰ Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, ed. Thurn, p. 455; transl. Wortley, p. 426.

²¹ Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, ed. Thurn, p. 456; transl. Wortley, p. 427. Of all Pecheneg clans, Giazichopon “is neighbor to Bulgaria” and Kato Gyla “is neighbor to Turkey” (i.e., Hungary). This is commonly interpreted as the former being in the Walachian Plain, and the other to the northwest from the Black Sea shore. See Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *On the Administration of the Empire* 37, p. 169; Victor Spinei, *Moldavia in the 11th-14th centuries* (Bibliotheca Historica Romaniae, 20)(Bucharest: Editura Academiei RSR, 1986), pp. 85-86.

²² Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, ed. Thurn, p. 469; transl. Wortley, pp. 437-438; Petre Diaconu, “Despre pecenegi la Dunărea de Jos în prima jumătate a secolului al XI-lea,” *Studii și cercetări de istorie veche* 18 (1967), no. 3, 463-76, at 473; Malamut, “L’image byzantine,” pp. 118 and 126; Schmitt, “Petschenegen auf dem Balkan,” p. 477 with n. 30. For Katakalon Kekaumenos as the first duke or *katapano* of Paradounavon, see Alexandru Madgearu, “The military organization of Paradunavon,” *Byzantinoslavica* 60 (1999), no. 2, 421-46, at 424. According to Skylitzes, Koulinos “knew who Kekaumenos was because he came from the fortresses on the Danube where the peoples mingle with each other.” Malamut goes as far as to presume that the one who saved Kekaumenos was Goulinos, Kegen’s son. It was from Kekaumenos that Skylitzes must have learned that Kegen had come to Silistra with 20,000 Pechenegs and had taken shelter on a “little island in the river (Danube)” (Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, ed. Thurn, p. 456; transl. Wortley, p. 427). The island in question has

invasion into the Balkans, Skylitzes re-worked the information he had obtained from his source, which had attributed the war to the rivalries between Tyrach and Kegen²³. If so, this may explain the apparent contradictions in Skylitzes' account of that conflict. The Pechenegs "graze their flocks on the plains which extend beyond the Danube from the river Borysthenon [Dnieper] to Pannonia." Within that territory, "the leader of the people was Tyrach son of Bilter," who, despite his noble origin, proved ineffective in battling the Oghuz, and "took refuge in the marshes and lakes along the Danube." By contrast, when he learned about Tyrach's plans to murder him, Kegen "fled to the marshes of the Borysthenon" to escape death. From the banks of the Dnieper, he further contacted his relative and fellow tribesmen to mobilize them against Tyrach, but "was eventually overcome by weight of numbers." He fled again to the marshes (presumably along the Dnieper) where he decided to "take refuge with the emperor of the Romans." Skylitzes does not explain how were Kegen and his 20,000 men capable to cross the entire territory between the Dnieper and the Danube without encountering serious opposition from the numerically superior forces under Tyrach, who had controlled the "marshes and lakes along the Danube" from the very beginning of the conflict²⁴.

Similarly, Skylitzes's claim that the Pechenegs were "nomads who always prefer to live in tents" and whose subsistence economy was based on pastoralism is contradicted by his own account about Tyrach's Pechenegs, who were more or less forcefully settled in the "desert plains of Bulgaria" between Sardike (Sofia), Naissos (Niš), and Eutzaopolis (Ovče Pole)²⁵. When they joined the Pecheneg rebels returning from their expedition to Iberia, their fellow tribesmen were equipped with "rustic axes, scythes and other iron tools taken from the fields," which suggests that they were practicing the cultivation of crops²⁶. That Pechenegs could be agriculturists even without the pressure of

been (wrongly) identified with that at Păcuiul lui Soare near Silistra: Ivan Bozhilov and Vasil Giuzelev, *Istoriia na Dobrudja* (Veliko Tărnovo: Faber, 2004), p. 147.

²³ Malamut, "L'image byzantine," p. 118.

²⁴ Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, ed. Thurn, p. 456; transl. Wortley, p. 427. Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus mentions the Dnieper in relation to the Pechenegs, but as Danapris, not as Borysthenon. For the distribution of Pecheneg clans to the west from the river Dnieper according to the *On the Administration of the Empire*, see Gyula Czebe, "Turco-byzantinische Miszellen. I. Konstantinos Porphyrogennetos, *De administrando imperio* 37. Kapitel über die Petschenegen," *Körösi Csoma-Archivum* 1 (1922), no. 3, 209-19, at 216-7.

²⁵ Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, ed. Thurn, p. 459; transl. Wortley, pp. 427 and 430.

²⁶ Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, ed. Thurn, p. 461; transl. Wortley, p. 431. See also Diaconu, *Les*

the imperial government results from Anna Comnena's independent account of the Pechenegs who when not waging war, "they tilled the soil and sowed millet and wheat".²⁷ Psellos claims that "they are not divided up by battalions, and when they go to war they have no strategic plan to guide them. The terms 'vanguard', 'left wing', 'right flank' mean nothing to them"²⁸. However, it has been noted that the earliest Pecheneg raids into the Balkans shifted from west (1027) to east (1036), in order to spare provinces that had been attacked in previous years. The reason for this shift in raiding appears to be that the regions of western Bulgaria, Serbia, and Macedonia were less fortified²⁹. At any rate, that the Pechenegs carefully chose their targets indicates the existence of a strategic plan. Moreover, when in 1086 they encountered Tatikios' troops near Beliatoba, the Pechenegs "arranged themselves in Scythian fashion, obviously spoiling for a fight and provoking the Romans"³⁰. Anna Comnena drove the point home when noting that "war is in their blood—they know how to arrange a phalanx"³¹. The strategic talents of Kegen were most certainly appreciated when, in 1047 he was given the supreme command of the troops from Paristrion, Thrace, and Bulgaria in order to repel the invasion of Tyrach's Pechenegs. According to John Skylitzes, Kegen's strategy was to avoid pitched battles in the field, and to organize daily and incessant raids on the enemy³². It was precisely military skills who convinced Emperor Constantine

Pétchénegues, p. 65. The Pechenegs settled between Sofia, Niš, and Ovčepole are believed to be among the first to have become sedentary. See Muallâ Uydu Yücel, "Pechenegs in the Balkans," in *The Turks*, edited by Hasan Celal Güzel, Cem Oğuz, and Osman Karatay (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye, 2002), pp. 632-42, at 634. However, Schmitt, "Petschenegen auf dem Balkan," p. 480 argues that the decision to settle the Pechenegs between Sofia, Niš, and Ovče Pole betrays the imperial administration's intention to force the Pechenegs to adopt a vertical, as opposed to a horizontal form of transhumance, given that the region offered no large, flat fields for grazing. There is no evidence in Skylitzes that the Pechenegs settled between Sofia, Niš, and Ovče Pole being pastoralists.

²⁷ Anna Comnena, *Alexiad* VI 14.1, p. 199; transl. Sewter, p. 212.

²⁸ Psellos, *Chronographia* VII 68, ed. Renauld, p. 125; transl. Sewter, p. 242.

²⁹ Diaconu, *Les Pétchénegues*, pp. 47-49; Georgi Atanasov, "Anonimnye vizantiiskie follisy klasa B i nashestvie pechenegov v Dobrudzhu 1036 g.," *Stratum+* (1999), no. 6, 111-22, at 114.

³⁰ Anna Comnena, *Alexiad* VI 14.7, p. 202; transl. Sewter, p. 214. No battle ensued, as the two armies faced each other for three days, before the Pechenegs decided to withdraw.

³¹ Anna Comnena, *Alexiad* VII 3.7, p. 211; transl. Sewter, p. 224. At Dristra, in 1087, the Pechenegs began by "placing ambushes, binding together their ranks in close formation, marking a sort of rampart from their covered wagons," before advancing en masse against Emperor Alexios I's troops.

³² Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, ed. Thurn, p. 458; transl. Wortley, p. 429.

IX to send 15,000 Pecheneg warriors under the command of Soutzoun, Selte, Karaman, and Kataleim against the Seljuks in Iberia³³. Even Alexios Comnenus showed his appreciation of Pecheneg strategy, when employing the “Scythian stratagem” of the feigned retreat to obtain a victory against the Pechenegs at Tzouroulos (Çorlu)³⁴.

When going to war, the Pechenegs apparently came with large numbers of horses. Alexios Comnenus even thought of seizing them while they were grazing on the plain, next to the battlefield³⁵. However, not all Pechenegs fought on horseback. In the battle at Dristra, the Pechenegs moved in with their wagons, together with their wives and children. After the debacle, two infantrymen leapt upon Emperor Alexios I and seized his horse by the bits, only to be killed on spot³⁶. The Pechenegs also knew how to take a fortified city such as Adrianople by filling the ditches with stones and branches. They would have stormed the walls, had one of their chieftains not been struck by an arrow thrown from a catapult³⁷. Psellos claims that the Pechenegs “built no palisades for their own protection, and they are unacquainted with the idea of defensive ditches on the perimeter of their camps”³⁸. However, in 1053, in order to defend themselves against the army led by Michael Akolouthos and the synkellos Basil Monachos, the Pechenegs erected a palisade adjacent to Preslav, fortified it with a deep moat and stockades, and enclosed themselves inside the stronghold. Their strategy succeeded, as the Byzantines decided to raise the siege and to withdraw, only to be massacred by Tyrach and his men who organized a bold sortie and attacked the retreating troops³⁹. Psellos also claims that “treaties of friendship exercise no restraining influence over these barbarians, and even oaths sworn over their sacrifices are not respected, for they reverence no deity at all, not to speak of God”⁴⁰. However, according to John Skylitzes, Kegen’s Pechenegs converted to Christianity and were baptized by a monk named Euthymios sent by Emperor Constantine IX⁴¹.

³³ Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, ed. Thurn, p. 460; transl. Wortley, p. 430.

³⁴ Anna Comnena, *Alexiad* VII 11.1, p. 232; transl. Sewter, p. 243.

³⁵ Anna Comnena, *Alexiad* VII 11.3, p. 233; transl. Sewter, p. 241.

³⁶ Anna Comnena, *Alexiad* VII 3.9, p. 212; transl. Sewter, pp. 224 and 225-226.

³⁷ Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, ed. Thurn, pp. 470-471; transl. Wortley, pp. 439.

³⁸ Psellos, *Chronographia* VII 68, ed. Renauld, p. 125; transl. Sewter, p. 242.

³⁹ Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, ed. Thurn, p. 475; transl. Wortley, p. 443; Malamut, “L’image byzantine,” p. 127.

⁴⁰ Psellos, *Chronographia* VII 69, ed. Renauld, p. 126; transl. Sewter, p. 243.

⁴¹ Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, ed. Thurn, p. 457; transl. Wortley, p. 428. According to Stephenson,

Kegen was certainly Christian as attested by his seal, the inscription of which reads “Lord, have mercy upon the *magistros* John Kegen, the *archon* of Patzinakia”⁴². After their defeat in 1047, Tyrach and 140 of his followers were also baptized in Constantinople⁴³. Moreover, in 1053 the Pechenegs agreed to a thirty-year peace with Constantine IX, which they seem to have respected for at least fifteen years, as no raids are known to have taken place before the 1072 rebellion in Paristrion under the leadership of Tatos, Sesthlav and

Byzantium's Balkan Frontier, p. 97 the appointment of a metropolitan of Dristra with at least five suffragan sees in Paradounavon was not without relation to the conversion of Kegen's Pechenegs. For the conversion of the Pechenegs to Christianity, see Gerald Mako, “Two examples of nomadic conversion in Eastern Europe: the Christianization of the Pechenegs, and the Islamization of the Volga Bulgars (tenth to thirteenth century A.D.),” M. Phil. Thesis, Cambridge University (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 36-44.

⁴² Ivan Iordanov, “Pechati na Ioan Kegen, magistăr i arkhont na Pechenegiia (1050-1051),” *Numizmatika i sfragistika* 5 (1998), no. 1, 96-101, at 96. According to Schmitt, “Petschenegen auf dem Balkan,” p. 484, Kegen was made *magistros* and *archon* of Patzinakia in 1050 or 1051, following the failed attempt on his life, and shortly before his assassination by the Pecheneg rebels with whom he was sent to negotiate. Patzinakia mentioned on the seal was a region of Paradounavon (perhaps the so-called Hundred Hills) in what is now northeastern Bulgaria. See Alexandru Madgearu, “Observații asupra revoltei din Paradunavon din 1072-1091,” in *Istorie și ideologie. Omagiu profesorului Stelian Brezeanu la 60 de ani*, edited by Manuela Dobre (Bucharest: Editura Universității din București, 2002), pp. 34-46, at 41; Alexandru Madgearu, “The periphery against the centre: the case of Paradunavon,” *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog Instituta* 40 (2003), 49-56, at 51. For Kegen, see Alexios G. K. Savvidis, “Kegenes, ho Patzinakos ‘Patrikios’ sta mesa tou endekatou aiona,” in *13th Panellenio Historio Synedrio (29-31 Maiou 1992)*, edited by Ioannis Karagiannopoulos (Thessaloniki: Ekdoseis Vantias, 1993), pp. 143-55; Jarosław Dudek, “Pieczęć magistra Jana Kegeny jako wyraz polityki Bizancjum wobec stepowców w połowie XI w.,” in *Causa creandi. O pragmatyce źródła historycznego*, edited by Stanisław Rosik and Przemysław Wiszewski (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2005), pp. 327-43.

⁴³ Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, ed. Thurn, p. 459; transl. Wortley, p. 430. When converting to Christianity, Tyrach and his 140 followers did so from a position inferior to that of Kegen and his men, because they had all been disarmed before coming to Constantinople. Nonetheless, the conversion must be regarded as a *sine qua non* condition for the integration of those warriors into the Byzantine army, especially since the intention seems to have been to send them against the Seljuks. See Schmitt, “Petschenegen auf dem Balkan,” p. 481; Victor Spinei, *The Romanians and the Turkic Nomads North of the Danube Delta from the Tenth to the Mid-Thirteenth Century* (East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450-1450, 6) (Leiden: Brill, 2009), p. 109; Sergei A. Kozlov, “Byli li pechenezhskie soiuzniki vizantiitsev ‘khristoliubivym voinstvom’?” in *Kondavoskie chteniia III. Chelovek i epokha. Antichnost’-Vizantiia-drevniia Rus’*, edited by N. N. Bolkov (Belgorod: Izdatel'stvo Belgorodskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta, 2010), 238-44.

Satzas⁴⁴. When confronted with Kegen's repeated raids across the Danube, Tyrach protested and asked the emperor to stop attacks on the Pechenegs with whom he had treaties and whom he viewed as his allies⁴⁵. According to Michael Attaleiates, the *mixobarbaroi* of Paradounavon were paid annual subsidies in cash, while the Pechenegs received "gifts"⁴⁶. However, the Pechenegs were clearly accustomed to the use of the Byzantine coins. At the beginning of his reign, Emperor Romanos III Argyros ransomed "the prisoners held in Patzinakia" after the raid of 1028⁴⁷. Less than ten years later, Gregory Mavrokatalon was captured by the Pechenegs and ransomed by Emperor Alexios I for "40,000 pieces of money"⁴⁸. Following the debacle at Dristra, the emperor also sent for a large sum of money from Constantinople to buy back his men who had fallen into the hands of the Pechenegs⁴⁹.

The late eleventh-century authors writing about the Pechenegs have very little to say about their daily life, customs, dress, and political institutions. This is surprising, given the relatively large number of prisoners who spent some time among the Pechenegs before being ransomed, and who could have offered details about what they had seen and heard during their captivity. One of them, Nikephoros Melissenos, a Byzantine general, even wrote to Emperor

⁴⁴ Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, ed. Thurn, p. 476; transl. Wortley, p. 443.

⁴⁵ Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, ed. Thurn, p. 457; transl. Wortley, p. 428. See Diaconu, "Despre pecenegi," p. 471.

⁴⁶ Attaleiates, *History*, p.150.

⁴⁷ Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, ed. Thurn, p. 375; transl. Wortley, p. 354. Patzinakia refers here to the territories north of the river Danube. Nothing is known about the five commanders captured by the Pechenegs in 1036 (ed. Thurn, p. 399; transl. Wortley, p. 376), but it is likely that they too were ransomed, following Harald Hardrada's successful expedition against the Pechenegs. See Krijnie N. Ciggaar, "Harald Hardrada: his expedition against the Pechenegs," *Balkan Studies* 21 (1980), 385-401, at 401. The eleventh-century hoards of Byzantine gold from Borănești, Tega, and an unknown site in northeastern Walachia most likely are ransom payments to the Pechenegs. See Ernest Oberländer-Târnoveanu, „Aurul monetizat în spațiul românesc - două milenii și jumătate de istorie,” in *Colecții din Muntenia-Collections from Wallachia*, Muzeul Județean Buzău, Muzeul "Dunării de Jos" Călărași, Muzeul "Teohari Antonescu" Giurgiu Muzeul Județean de Istorie și Arheologie Prahova, edited by Ernest Oberländer-Târnoveanu (Bucharest: CIMEC - Institutul de Memorie Culturală, 2001), pp. 7-51, at 11.

⁴⁸ Anna Comnena, *Alexiad* VI 2.3, p. 205; transl. Sewter, p. 219. For his seals found in Preslav and Silistra, see Gheorghe Mănucu-Adameșteanu, "Aspecte ale politicii împăratului Alexios I Comnenul la Dunărea de Jos în lumina ultimelor descoperiri sfragistice și numismatice," *Revista Istorică* 6 (1995), 345-66, at 349.

⁴⁹ Anna Comnena, *Alexiad* VII 4.4, p. 216; transl. Sewter, p. 228.

Alexios I from captivity to inform him about the plans of the Pechenegs to sell their prisoners of war⁵⁰. Even when not in captivity, the Byzantines were often sufficiently close to their enemies to note that, when partying, they were “dancing to flutes and cymbals” or that some of their leading men spoke the language of the Cumans⁵¹. The conference held by the four Pecheneg leaders sent with 15,000 horsemen to Iberia to fight against the Seljuks was presumably called *komenton* in their own language⁵². Skylitzes, who seems to have been better informed than others, calls Tyrach an “emperor” (*basileus*) and explains that the Pechenegs honored him “for his family” although they preferred Kegen for his “outstanding bravery and his skill in war”⁵³. He also knew that Kegen received from the Emperor Constantine IX the title of patrician, in addition to “three of the fortresses standing on the banks of the Danube and many hectares of land,” and that he was “inscribed among the friends and allies of the Romans”⁵⁴. It remains unclear what exactly was given to Kegen—the actual fortresses or the revenue from the tax-exempted “hectares of land”

⁵⁰ Anna Comnena, *Alexiad* VII 4.4, p. 216; transl. Sewter, p. 228.

⁵¹ Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, ed. Thurn, p. 473; transl. Wortley, p. 441; Anna Comnena, *Alexiad* VIII 5.6, pp. 247-48; transl. Sewter, p. 257.

⁵² Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, ed. Thurn, p. 460; transl. Wortley, p. 431. Skylitzes’ source for this detail may have been the patrician Constantine Hadrobalanos who was sent with the Pechenegs as a guide (and chaperon, apparently) to Iberia. When, at Kataleim’s recommendation, the Pechenegs rose in rebellion and returned to the Balkans, Constantine Hadrobalanos is said to have escaped them by hiding on the upper floor of a three-storied house in Damatrys, not far from Constantinople. For the meaning and origin of the word *komenton*, see Gyula Moravcsik, “Κομέντον - pechenezhskoe ili russkoe slovo?” *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 1 (1951-1952), 349-60; Nicholas Oikonomides, «Des Valaques au service de Byzance? A propos de l’utilisation du mot ‘komenton’ aux Xe et XIe siècles,» *Revue des études sud-est-européennes* 25 (1987), 187-90.

⁵³ Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, ed. Thurn, p. 456; transl. Wortley, p. 427. Some have interpreted this passage as evidence that the Pechenegs were organized in a complex (so-called “compound”) chiefdom, in which several simple chiefdoms united as semi-autonomous, or “vassal” units subordinated to the administration of a paramount chief, such as Tyrach. See A. V. Marey, “Social-political structure of the Pechenegs,” in *Alternatives of Social Evolution*, edited by N. N. Kradin (Vladivostok: Far Eastern Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences, 2000), pp. 289-93, at 292. Schmitt, “Petschenegen auf dem Balkan,” p. 476 believes that Tyrach may have been accepted as a paramount chief in the aftermath of the defeat inflicted upon the Pechenegs by Yaroslav the Wise (1036), followed by the incursions of the Oghuz into the Pecheneg territories in Left-Bank Ukraine.

⁵⁴ Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, ed. Thurn, p. 456; transl. Wortley, p. 428; Malamut, “L’image byzantine,” p. 119.

in their hinterland. If the latter, Kegen is one of the earliest, if not *the* earliest recipient of a *pronoia*⁵⁵. As for Tyrach, after being set free in 1048 or 1049, he became again a chieftain in 1053, when the military threat of a Byzantine invasion of the Hundred Hills forced the Pechenegs to seek unity against a common enemy. However, he does not appear at the subsequent negotiations leading to the thirty-year peace. As a matter of fact, no Pecheneg chieftains are mentioned in relation to that peace treaty and after 1053 Tyrach disappears from the radar of the written sources⁵⁶. With the exception of Tzelgu, no paramount chiefs are known to have led the Pechenegs during their confrontations with the Byzantine armies under Emperor Alexios I⁵⁷.

Anna Comnena has an interesting story in relation to those confrontations. Blocked by the Pechenegs at Chirovanchoi, not far from Constantinople, Alexios made a sortie against his enemies, who were “getting ready for a meal and rest,” while others were busy plundering the hinterland. After killing some and taking many prisoners, the emperor “clothed his soldiers in the Scyths’ uniforms and told them to ride the Scythian horses.” He then “went down with the Scythian standards and his men clad in Scythian uniforms to the river which flows near Chirovanchoi.” The returning Pechenegs, seeing them

⁵⁵ Diaconu, *Les Pétchénegues*, p. 58 with n. 162; Vasilka Tăpkova-Zaimova, “Vtorata ‘varvarizaciia’ na Dunavskite gradove (XI-XII v.),” in *Srednovekovniiat bălgarski grad*, edited by Petăr Khristo Petrov (Sofia: Bălgarsko istoricheskoto druzhestvo, 1980), pp. 47-55, at 48; Schmitt, “Petschenegen auf dem Balkan,” p. 477.

⁵⁶ Schmitt, “Petschenegen auf dem Balkan,” p. 486.

⁵⁷ To be sure, “Scythian leaders” are mentioned in relation to the battle at Dristra (1087), but they are not named. Anna Comnena, *Alexiad* VII 2.8, p. 208; transl. Sewter, p. 228. Anna mentions two names in connection with the “Scyths,” but none of them belongs to a Pecheneg chieftain. Travlos was the leader of the Paulicians in Thrace, who had married “a daughter of a Scythian chieftain” and “strove to foster a Scythian invasion in order to hurt the emperor” (*Alexiad* VI 4.4, p. 174; transl. Sewter, p. 187). Tatos, who ruled in Dristra at the time of Emperor Alexios I’s siege of that city in 1087 was definitely not a Pecheneg, but a chieftain of the local population—“the people living near the river” in Anna’s words (the *mixobarbaroi* mentioned by Attaleiates). For Pechenegs as clearly different from the *mixobarbaroi*, see Madgearu, “Observații,” p. 45; Jacek Bonarek, “Le Bas Danube dans la seconde moitié du XI-ème siècle: nouveaux états ou nouveaux peuples?” in *Byzantium, New Peoples, New Powers: the Byzantino-Slav Contact Zone, From the Ninth to the Fifteenth Century*, edited by Miliiana Kaimakamova, Maciej Salamon and Małgorzata Smorąg Różycka (Cracow: Towarzystwo Wydawnicze “Historia Iagellonica”, 2007), pp. 193-200. For Tatos as not Pecheneg, see Teodora Krumova, “Pecheneg chieftains in the Byzantine administration in the theme of Paristrion in the eleventh century,” *Annual of Medieval Studies at the CEU* 11 (2005), 207-21, at 218.

standing there and mistaking them for their fellow tribesmen, fell into the trap and were massacred or captured. Alexios then returned to Constantinople with the prisoners in a convoy, having the “men holding the Scythian standards” first, followed by captives, “each guarded by natives of the country” (i.e., Byzantines). Others held aloft the severed heads of the Pechenegs on spears, and behind them at a moderate distance, was the emperor himself with his men and the Roman standards. This bizarre procession was sufficiently convincing to fool George Palaeologos, who caught up with it “in the plain of Dimyilia” and thought that he had stumbled upon Pecheneg marauders⁵⁸. The story is significant, because if we are to trust Anna Comnena, there definitely were such things as Pecheneg “uniforms,” horses, and standards. While one may be ready to admit the historical reality of the latter, perhaps also inclined to imagine that the Pechenegs rode smaller horses of a species different from that of the Byzantine horses and thus easy to distinguish, it remains unclear what exactly was a “Scythian uniform.” That Anna’s story should not necessarily be taken at face value results from her remark following the description of the reaction George Palaeologos and his men had when first seeing the convoy set up by Emperor Alexios: “On this occasion, the use of Scythian uniforms tricked and deceived our own folk”⁵⁹. Initially used by the Byzantines to trick the Pechenegs, the Pecheneg dress can now confuse the Byzantines themselves. The story is therefore meant to be taken as a joke (and apparently was intended as such by Emperor Alexios) and is indeed reminiscent of the *parodos* in *Thesmophoriazusae* with its strong emphasis on the comical effects of cross-dressing and disguise⁶⁰. In other words, there is only a thin line between Roman and barbarian. Dressed up as barbarians, the Byzantines appear as Pechenegs, just as, in Psellos eyes, the Pechenegs could blend into the surrounding nature to escape their pursuers: “One hurls himself into a river, and either swims to land or is engulfed in its eddies and sinks; another goes off into a thick wood and so becomes invisible to his pursuers”⁶¹.

One cannot therefore be sure whether the “Scyths” of the late eleventh-century Byzantine sources are truly Pechenegs or Byzantines in disguise. Nor can those sources inform us in any detail about who the Pechenegs thought they

⁵⁸ Anna Comnena, *Alexiad* VIII 2.2, p. 239; transl. Sewter, p. 249.

⁵⁹ Anna Comnena, *Alexiad* VIII 2.2, p. 239; transl. Sewter, p. 250.

⁶⁰ Anna Comnena certainly knew Aristophanes, whose name she mentions in the *Alexiad* I 8.2, p. 30; transl. Sewter, p. 23.

⁶¹ Psellos, *Chronographia* VII 68, ed. Renauld, p. 126; transl. Sewter, p. 242.

were, their understanding of their new position in the Balkans, their relations to the Empire, or to other “Scyths” across the river Danube. Undoubtedly under the influence of the image of the Pechenegs as constructed in the written sources, archaeologists studying the eleventh-century Balkans have equally identified the Pechenegs with destruction and massacre. The Pechenegs have been blamed for the abandonment of Capidava, the burial of the Garvăn I hoard, and the blocking of the gate, as well as the subsequent abandonment of the stronghold at Păcuilul lui Soare⁶². The absence of anonymous folles of class B, which are attributed to Emperor Romanos III Argyros, is taken to indicate that the sites from which they are missing must have been destroyed or abandoned before those coins came into being or shortly after that⁶³. No source mentions the sacking of Pliska, but the Pechenegs are blamed for a layer of destruction by fire identified in the earliest excavations on the site conducted between 1899 and 1900 by Karel Shkorpil near the eastern and northern gates, inside the northeastern round tower and within the pentagonal tower to the north from the eastern gate⁶⁴. At Odărcei, the presence of skeletons with traces of trauma in graves dug into the ruins of the tenth-century settlement on the Kaleto hill have been interpreted as victims of a Pecheneg attack which destroyed the settlement in the 1030s⁶⁵. The mass burials at Garvăn and Capidava (the latter

⁶² Emil Condurachi, Ion Barnea and Petre Diaconu, «Nouvelles recherches sur le Limes byzantin du Bas-Danube aux Xe-XIe siècles,» in *Proceedings of the XIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies. Oxford, 5-10 September 1966*, edited by Joan M. Hussey, Dimitri Obolensky and Steven Runciman (London/New York/Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1967), 179-93, at 191; Krumova, “Pecheneg chieftains,” p. 208.

⁶³ Atanasov, “Anonimnye vizantiiskie follisy,” p. 111; Krumova, “Pecheneg chieftains,” p. 209; Gheorghe Mănușcu-Adameșteanu and Ingrid Poll, “Un tezaur de folles anonimi din clasa A2-A3 descoperit la Noviodunum-Vicina (?) -Isaccea,” *Pontica* 39 (2006), 435-59, at 438.

⁶⁴ Liudmila Doncheva-Petkova, “Pliska i pechenezite,” *Pliska-Preslav* 9 (2003), 244-58, at 245. Pavel Georgiev and Stoian Vitliyanov, *Arkhiiepiskopiata-manastir v Pliska* (Sofia Akademichno Izdatelstvo “Prof. Marin Drinov”, 2001), pp. 33-34 have even linked the destruction to the Pecheneg raids of 1032 and 1036.

⁶⁵ Liudmila Doncheva-Petkova, “Adornments from a 11th century Pecheneg’s necropolis by Odartsi village, Dobrich district (north-eastern Bulgaria),” *Archaeologia Bulgarica* 6 (1998), no. 3, 126-37, at ?. The last coins found on the Kaleto Hill are anonymous folles of class B. Coins have been used to link the end of occupation on different sites to various Pecheneg raids. The end of occupation at Dervent and Capidava is attributed to the invasion of Tyrach’s Pechenegs in 1046/7. Several sites in the interior (Enisala, Sălcișoara, Ghiolul Pietrei, and Histria) were supposedly destroyed by the raid of 1036, even though others on the Black Sea coast (Constanța and Mangalia) show no signs of destruction. See Diaconu, “Despre pecenegi,” p. 467; Gheorghe Mănușcu-Adameșteanu, “Les invasions des

dated to the reign of Michael IV by means of the associated folles of class C), and the decapitated skeletons of the last phase of occupation at Derwent have all been blamed on the Pechenegs⁶⁶. A historian even wrote of a “second barbarization” of the northern Balkans, thus suggesting a direct parallel between Late Antiquity and the second half of the eleventh century⁶⁷. The phenomenon may supposedly be recognized archaeologically in the abandonment of the quasi-urban network in the region and in ephemeral housing in the ruins of old buildings. At Odărçi, for example, the fort appears to have been re-occupied soon after its destruction and the new inhabitants are believed to be Pechenegs recently converted to Christianity, because of the associated pottery, especially fragments of clay kettles⁶⁸. Ever since Karel Shkorpil’s first excavations on the site, archaeologists have widely accepted the idea that after sacking Pliska, Pechenegs also settled on the site, and various categories of artifacts have been attributed to them, from clay kettles and handmade pottery to leaf-shaped pendants with open-work ornament, horseman-shaped amulets, jingle bells, appliqués, and bridle mounts, arrow heads, and stirrups. The eleventh-century population of Pliska appears to have lived in scattered groups amongst the ruins of the city, including those of the archbishop’s palace and the adjacent monastery⁶⁹. Four sunken-floored buildings discovered in 1995 and 1996 have

Petchénègues au Bas Danube,” in *Numizmatichni i sfragistichni prinosi kăm istoriata na zapadnoto Chernomorie. Mezhdunarodna konferenciia, Varna, 12-15 septemvri 2001 g.*, edited by Valeri Iotov and Igor Lazarenko (Varna: Zograf, 2004), pp. 299-311, at 306.

⁶⁶ Diaconu, «Despre pecenegi,” p. 470; Mănuclu-Adameşteanu, «Les invasions des Petchénègues,» pp. 303-5. A skeleton associated with a layer of destruction by fire next to the remains of a sunken-floored building in the southern segment of the excavations carried out at Pliska by the western rampart of the Inner Town has also been interpreted as that of a victim of a Pecheneg attack. See Liudmila Doncheva-Petkova, “Novi prouchvaniia krai zapadnata krepotna stena na Pliska,” *Pliska-Preslav* 6 (1993), 79-84, at 79 fig. 1; Doncheva-Petkova, “Pliska i pechenezite,” p. 248

⁶⁷ Tăpkova-Zaimova, “Vtorata ‘varvarizaciia,’” pp. 48-49.

⁶⁸ Liudmila Doncheva-Petkova, „Zur ethnischen Zugehörigkeit einiger Nekropolen des 11. Jahrhunderts in Bulgarien,” in *Post-Roman Towns, Trade, and Settlement in Europe and Byzantium*, edited by Joachim Henning (Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2007), pp. 643-60, at 644.

⁶⁹ “Pecheneg” artifacts have been found within the central area of the Inner Town in building Д, a building excavated in 1968 by Stoian Damianov to the north from the Court Basilica, and a building excavated by Atanas Milchev to the south from Shkorpil’s grave. To a Pecheneg occupation have also been attributed two sunken-floored buildings, one near the eastern rampart of the Inner Town, the other to the west from the palatial compound, near the northern rampart. An eleventh-century occupation has been by now signaled in the Outer Town as well. Finally, a number of burial chapels in the southeastern corner

been promptly attributed to the Pechenegs because of the ceramic remains—handmade pottery with a decoration similar to that of pots found in Skala and Car Asen together with fragments of clay kettles⁷⁰. In Silistra, the Pechenegs buried their dead in the narthex of the basilica, as supposedly demonstrated by a leaf-shaped pendant with open-work ornament found in one of the graves⁷¹. A presence of the Pechenegs in Thrace is now supposedly attested by finds of clay kettles from Sliven⁷². On several sites in Dobrudja, the appearance of leaf-shaped pendants with open-work ornament and of clay kettles is believed to coincide in time with the arrival of Kegen's Pechenegs shortly before 1046⁷³.

Nonetheless, if circumspection is required when dealing with the image of the Pechenegs in the written sources, any effort to recognize the Pechenegs in the archaeological record by means of specific artifact categories must be regarded with suspicion, especially when associated with the idea that the archaeological record is expected to illustrate what we already know from

of the Inner Town, in the northwestern corner of the Outer Town, and by the eastern gate into the Outer Town have all been dated to the same period. See Doncheva-Petkova, "Pliska i pechenezite," pp. 247-48. The first fragment of a clay kettle to be discovered in Pliska was published by Karel Shkorpil, "Domashnii vid' i promysel'," *Izvestiia Russkogo arkheologicheskogo instituta v Konstantinopole* 10 (1905), 301-17, at 302 and pl. LX.д7.

⁷⁰ Ianko Dimitrov and Khristina Stoianova, "Zhilishta v iztochnata chast na taka narechenata 'citadela' v Pliska (razkopki prez 1995-1996)," in *Bălgarskite zemi prez srednovekovieto (VII-XVII v.). Mezhdunarodna konferenciia v chest na 70-godishninata na prof. Aleksandăr Kuzev*, edited by Valeri Iotov and Vania Pavlova (Varna: Regionalen istoricheskii muzei, 2005), 121-34, at 126. However, in one of the four buildings excavated in Pliska handmade pottery with incised ornament was found together with fragments of glazed ware of an undoubtedly Byzantine manufacture.

⁷¹ Liudmila Doncheva-Petkova, "Dobrudja v kraia na X-XI v.," in *Bălgarskite zemi prez srednovekovieto (VII-XVII v.). Mezhdunarodna konferenciia v chest na 70-godishninata na prof. Aleksandăr Kuzev*, edited by Valeri Iotov and Vania Pavlova (Varna: Regionalen istoricheskii muzei, 2005), 63-72, at 67-68.

⁷² Boris Borisov and Gergana Sheileva, "Arkheologicheski danni za kāsni nomadi na iug ot Balkana," *Pliska-Preslav* 8 (2000), 247-51 at 247 and 249 fig. 1a. For clay kettles in Dobrudja, see Antal Lukács, "Observații privind răspîndirea căldărilor de lut de pe teritoriul României," *Studii și cercetări de istorie veche și arheologie* 35 (1984), no. 4, 320-30, at 325 fig. 2. In Car Asen, fragments of clay kettles appear in the last phase of occupation, which is dated with anonymous folles of class B. See Liudmila Doncheva-Petkova, "Mittelalterliche Tonkessel aus Bulgarien," in *Die Keramik der Saltovo-Majaki Kultur und ihrer Varianten*, edited by Csanád Bálint (Budapest: Institut für Archäologie der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1990), 101-11, at 105.

⁷³ Mănuclu-Adameșteanu, «Les invasions des Petchénègues,» p. 306.

the written sources. Nobody seems to have been intrigued by the fact that the presence of the Pechenegs in the Balkans is supposedly betrayed by cooking kettles and ornaments of the female dress, but no warrior graves have so far been found on any site in Dobrudja or in Bulgaria, which could be associated with the Pechenegs, even though the information regarding the Pechenegs in the written sources is overwhelmingly about the devastation and plundering done by groups of armed men. The serious problems of interpretation of the archaeological evidence are currently obscured by a heavy reliance on the written sources, even though it has been long recognized that none of them reflects, even remotely, the perspective of the Pechenegs.

The idea of linking finds of clay kettles to the tenth- and eleventh-century nomads of the steppe lands north of the Black Sea and of tracing by such means the migration of the Pechenegs to the Danube and the to Balkans has been first put forward by the Romanian archaeologist Petre Diaconu. He noted that, although clay kettles seem to appear earlier in Dobrudja than in Transylvania, they must have originated in the East. According to him, the Pechenegs settled in the highlands of present-day Moldavia, the region in which the clay kettles must have first been used and from which they later spread to both Dobrudja and Transylvania⁷⁴. A very large number of finds have come to light since the publication of Diaconu's study in the mid-1950s in Moldova, Romania, Hungary, and Bulgaria, some of them in well datable assemblages. Gheorghe Postică, Liudmila Doncheva-Petkova, Miklós Takács, and Victor Spinei's studies have considerably modified our understanding of this ceramic category, of its function and chronology⁷⁵. It is now very clear that clay kettles appeared in Bulgaria long before the earliest Pecheneg raid mentioned in the written sources. Over 400 such kettles are known from Topola, seven of

⁷⁴ Petre Diaconu, «Cu privire la problema căldărilor de lut în epoca feudală timpurie,» *Studii și cercetări de istorie veche* 7 (1956), nos. 3-4, 421-37, the Russian version of which has been published as «K voprosu o glinianykh kotlakh na territorii RNR,» *Dacia* 8 (1964), 249-64, at 257 and 260.

⁷⁵ Gheorghe Postică, «Glinianye kotly na territorii Moldavii v rannesrednevekovyi period,» *Sovetskaja Arkheologija* (1985), no. 3, 227-40; Doncheva-Petkova, «Mittelalterliche Tonkessel»; Miklós Takács, *Die arpadenzeitlichen Tonkessel im Karpatenbecken* (Budapest: Varia Archaeologica Hungarica, 1986); Victor Spinei, «Die Tonkessel aus dem Karpaten-Dnestr-Raum,» in *Die Keramik der Saltovo-Majaki Kultur und ihrer Varianten*, edited by Csanád Bálint (Budapest: Institut für Archäologie der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1990), pp. 327-42.

which were found intact in a kiln excavated on that site⁷⁶. A whole vessel is also known from Devnia, and clay kettles made of Gray Ware with burnished ornament have been found in Odărcei (Bulgaria) and Castelu (Romania). All those vessels may be dated before 900, although some may have remained in use after that as well⁷⁷. A different type of clay kettle appears on sites in northeastern Bulgaria in the eleventh century. In Car Asen and Odărcei, such vessels have been found in association with anonymous folles of class B, which suggests that the eleventh-century clay kettles came into being in the 1030s, although they most certainly remained in use throughout the eleventh century and even after 1100⁷⁸. Clay kettles also appear on tenth- and eleventh-century sites in Moldavia and Walachia, where they must have been produced in some quantity, as demonstrated by the sand-tempered fabric similar to that of the local wares⁷⁹. Whole kettles have also been found on contemporary sites near the Danube Delta, at Bohate, Krynychne, and Orlivka IV, but fragments are known from farther up north, at Tvardița, Chiriet-Lunga, and Novo Ivanivka (Fig. 1)⁸⁰. While in the Lower Danube region, clay kettles occasionally appear even in assemblages attributed to the tenth- or eleventh-century Pechenegs⁸¹, they are conspicuously absent from the lands farther to the east. Not a single clay kettle has so far been found on any site to the east from the river Dniester

⁷⁶ Liubka Bobcheva, «Dve grăncarski peshti v rannosrednovekovното selishte pri s. Topola, Tolbukhinski okrăg,» *Izvestiia na Narodniia muzei Varna* 13 (1977), 172-77; «Glineni kotli ot rannosrednovekovното selishte pri s. Topola, Tolbukhinski okrăg,» *Izvestiia na Narodniia muzei Varna* 16 (1980), 126-30; and «Prabălgarsko selishte pri s. Topola, Tolbukhinski okrăg,» *Pliska-Preslav* 2 (1981), 198-201.

⁷⁷ Doncheva-Petkova, «Mittelalterliche Tonkessel,» pp. 103-4.

⁷⁸ Doncheva-Petkova, «Mittelalterliche Tonkessel,» p. 105. Those are the same clay kettles as Postică's class II (cauldron-like kettles; Postică, «Glinianye kotly,» pp. 232-35)

⁷⁹ Spinei, «Tonkessel,» pp. 328 and 330. There are many more specimens in Moldavia and Moldova than in Walachia. Clay kettles are more commonly found in assemblages of the so-called Răducăneni culture (which is believed to begin in the mid-eleventh century) than in those of the previous Dridu culture. See Victor Spinei, «Contribuții la istoria spațiului est-carpatic din secolul al XI-lea pînă la invazia mongolă din 1241,» *Memoria Antiquitatis* 6-8 (1974-1976), 93-162, at 125-26.

⁸⁰ Ion Tentiuc, *Populația din Moldova centrală în secolele XI-XIII* (Iași: Helios, 1996), pp. 119; 246 fig. 3.

⁸¹ Fragments of eleventh-century clay kettles have been found in the filling of grave 2 in barrow 3 at Cărnățeni. See T. Demchenko and G. F. Chebotarenko, «Pogrebeniia kochevnikov v kurganakh nizhnego Podnestrov'ia,» in *Srednevekovye pamiatniki Dnestrovsko-Prut'skogo mezhdurech'ia*, edited by P. P. Byrnia (Kishinev: Shtiinca, 1988), p. 95-105, at 102-103.

or in the Middle Dnieper region of Ukraine, a region which, according to the written sources, the Pechenegs most certainly inhabited in the tenth and eleventh century⁸². Moreover, there are now in Dobrudja and Bulgaria more finds of clay kettles securely dated to the eleventh century than in the lands to the north of the river Danube. This may well be a reflection of the current state of research, but all finds of clay kettles from Walachia, Moldavia, and Moldova are from local settlement sites. Even if one would admit that the source of inspiration for the production of clay kettles in the Balkans came from the lands north of the river Danube, there is no reason whatsoever to treat that ceramic category as “nomadic pottery”⁸³. Instead, it may well be an indication of the strong contacts between communities in Walachia and Moldavia with the towns and forts in Paristrion, contacts which are otherwise well documented in the archaeological record⁸⁴. That in Bulgaria, the cauldron-like kettles first appear in the 1030s, often in association with the last phase of occupation on several sites cannot be a coincidence. In other words, there is nothing nomadic about the eleventh-century clay kettles, but it is not impossible that they became fashionable at the time of the Pecheneg raids into the Balkans, perhaps in connection with new ways to prepare the meat over an open fire⁸⁵. In other words, while it is definitely possible that some of

⁸² Spinei, “Contribuții,” p. 125; Lukács, “Observații,” p. 323. For the earliest presence of the Pechenegs in Ukraine, see Ruslan S. Orlov, “Pro chas poiavy pechenigiv na terytorii Ukrainy,” in *Etnokul’turni protsesy v Pivdenno-Skhidniy Evropi v I tysyacholitti n.e. Zbirnyk naukovykh prats’*, edited by Rostislav V. Terpylovs’kyi, N. S. Abashina, L. E. Skiba and V. I. Ivanovs’kyi (Kiev/L’viv: Instytut arheologii NAN Ukrainy, 1999), pp. 174-85.

⁸³ Dimităr I. Dimitrov, “Nomadska keramika v severoiztochna Bălgariia,” *Izvestiia na Narodniia muzei Varna* 11 (1975), 37-58. No clay kettles have so far been found on sites north of the river Danube, which could be dated before 900 with any degree of certainty. However, the production of such kettles in ninth-century Bulgaria is now well documented through excavations in Topola (Bobcheva, “Dve grăncharski peshti” and “Glineni kotli”). This in turn raises the possibility of the clay kettles in Bulgaria (and the regions north of the river Danube) having a local, and not “eastern” or “nomadic” origin.

⁸⁴ Spinei, “Contribuții,” pp. 131-40; Ion Tentiuc, “Some considerations regarding Byzantine influence in the East of the Carpathians in the 10th-13th centuries,” in *Exchange and Trade in Medieval Europe*, edited by Guy de Boe and Frans Verhaeghe (Zellik: Instituut voor het Archeologisch Patrimonium, 1997), pp. 15-22.

⁸⁵ That no finds of eleventh-century clay kettles are known from other regions of the Balkans in which the Pechenegs settled shows that it is wrong to establish a direct correlation between a ceramic type and ethnic identity. In the mid-eleventh century, Dobrudja and northeastern Bulgaria—the only region of the Balkans in which kettles have so far been found—were the home of Attaleiates’ *mixobarbaroi*.

those whom the written sources call “Scyths” or “Patzinaks” used clay kettles to cook their stew, there is no indication that this particular ceramic category served as a badge of Pecheneg, or any other kind of ethnicity.

The question of the archaeological visibility of the Pechenegs may also be approached from a different perspective. Ever since Svetlana A. Pletneva and German Fedorov-Davydov’s pathbreaking studies, the archaeological evidence pertaining to the medieval nomads of the Eurasian steppe lands has been primarily collected from burial sites⁸⁶. Fedorov-Davydov distinguished several groups of burials, the first one of which he dated to the late tenth and eleventh century. Most typical for this group, according to him, are burials in small barrows or, more often, graves dug into prehistoric mounds; either no grave pits properly speaking or only small pits; the deposition of the skull and legs of a horse, commonly on the left side of the human skeleton, either directly in the pit or in a small, adjacent niche; sometimes, the pit floor is covered with organic material, most likely the hide of the sacrificed horse; cenotaphs in which there are no human bones, just the skull and the legs of a horse; and the west-east orientation of the grave. This group is particularly well represented by the cemetery excavated in Belaia Vezha (Sarkel, in the Volgograd province of Russia), which is the largest cemetery of its kind in Eastern Europe⁸⁷. On the basis of analogies from that cemetery, Svetlana Pletneva has also advanced the idea that certain artifact categories, such as snaffle bits with rigid mouth-pieces or certain varieties of sabers are most typical for Pecheneg warrior graves⁸⁸. The earliest such grave in the region immediately to the north of the river Danube was discovered in 1997 during excavations in Platonești, not far from

⁸⁶ Svetlana A. Pletneva, “Pechenegi, torki i polovcy v iuzhnorusskikh stepiakh,” in *Trudy Volgo-Donskoi arkheologicheskoi ekspedicii*, edited by Mikhail I. Artamonov (Moscow/Leningrad: Izdatel’stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1958), pp. 151-226; German A. Fedorov-Davydov, *Kochevniki Vostochnoi Evropy pod vlast’iu Zolotoordynskikh khanov. Arkheologicheskie pamiatniki* (Moscow: Izdavatel’stvo Moskovskogo universiteta, 1966). To date, no camp sites have been found which could be dated between the tenth and the thirteenth century.

⁸⁷ Fedorov-Davydov, *Kochevniki*, pp. 115 and 134-145; Svetlana A. Pletneva, *Kochevniki iuzhnorusskikh stepei v epokhu srednevekov’ia, IV-XIII veka. Uchebnye posobie* (Voronezh: Izdatel’stvo Voronezhskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta, 2003), pp. 124-125.

⁸⁸ Svetlana A. Pletneva, *Pechenegi i guzy na Nizhnem Donu (po materialam kochevničeskogo mogil’nika u Sarkela- Beloi Vezhi)* (Moscow: Institut Arkheologii AN SSSR, 1990). For a critique of the use of such criteria for either dating or ethnic attribution, see Spinei, *Romanians and the Turkic Nomads*, pp. 292-295.

Balta Ialomiței in eastern Walachia. The skeleton (presumably, of a male) was found next to the head and legs of a horse, together with a saber and a ceramic pot dated to the tenth or possibly even the late ninth century⁸⁹. In Moldavia, the earliest burial assemblage attributed to the Pechenegs is Grozești, which has equally been dated to the tenth century on the basis of a bit similar to finds in the Sarkel cemetery⁹⁰. Farther to the east, Iablonia and Antonivka (in the region of Mykolaïv, Ukraine) belong to a group of inhumations with bridle mounts which has been dated to the last quarter of the ninth century and are believed to be the earliest Pecheneg presence in the northern Black Sea area⁹¹. Grave 7 in barrow 10 excavated in Bădragii Vechi (northern Moldova) has been dated to the tenth or eleventh century on the basis of the associated silver belt set (Fig. 2)⁹². A similar date has been assigned to the belt set found in Trapivka, the decoration of which is regarded as most typical for a group of burials with silver bridle mounts richly decorated in a style directly inspired by the Byzantine art (Fig. 3)⁹³. Those burials have therefore been attributed

⁸⁹ Adrian Ioniță, «Morminte de călăreți la nordul Dunării de Jos în sec. X-XIII», in *Prinos lui Petre Diaconu la 80 de ani*, edited by Ionel Cîndea, Valeriu Sîrbu and Marian Neagu (Brăila: Istros, 2004), pp. 461-88, at 465 and 474. Because of the early date of the assemblage and the fact that the grave was within a very large cemetery in which burial has begun in the ninth century, the grave has been attributed to a Bulgar, not Pecheneg warrior. Most other burials in the Walachian Plain cannot be dated with more precision than to the eleventh and/or the twelfth century.

⁹⁰ Spinei, *Moldavia*, p. 101. Most other early “nomadic” burials attributed to the Pechenegs have also been dated on the basis of snaffle bits with rigid mouth-pieces (for a list, see Spinei, *Romanians and the Turkic Nomads*, p. 294).

⁹¹ Orlov, “Pro chas poiavy pechenigiv,” pp. 179 and 181-82. See also Evgenii V. Kruglov, “K voprosu o pechenegakh,” in *Problemy vseobshchei istorii. Materialy nauchnoi konferencii, sentiabr’ 1993 g.*, Volgograd), edited by D. M. Tugan-Baranovskii (Volgograd: Izdatel’stvo Volgogradskogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta, 1994), pp. 35-41, at 36-37.

⁹² A. Iu. Chirkov, “Novye dannye o pozdnikh kochevnikakh Srednego Poprut’ia,” in *Arkheologicheskie issledovaniia molodykh uchenykh Moldavii*, edited by Valentin A. Dergachev (Kishinev: Shtiinca, 1990), pp. 158-68, at 166 and 162 fig. 4. Four miliaresia struck for John Tzimiskes are known to have been found in a burial on the border between the Tarutino district of the Odessa region and the Căușani district of Moldova, while an unidentified, tenth-century Byzantine coin is reported from Izhyts’ke. In both cases, nothing else is known about the grave goods found in those burials. See Elena S. Stolarik, *Essays on Monetary Circulation in the North-Western Black Sea Region in the Late Roman and Byzantine Periods (Late 3rd Century-Early 13th Century AD)* (Odessa: Polis, 1992), p. 99; A. O. Dobroliubskii, *Kochevniki Severo-Zapadnogo Prichernomor’ia v epokhu srednevekov’ia* (Kiev Naukov Dumka, 1986), pp. 96-97.

⁹³ A. O. Dobroliubskii and L. V. Subbotin, “Pogrebenie srednevekovogo kochevnika u

to the elite of the Pecheneg society⁹⁴. There were eighty bridle mounts on the horse skull deposited on the right side of a human skeleton found in Myrne (Fig. 4). One of those mounts has a good analogy in a grave from Gaivka (in the Voronezh region of Russia), which was found together with a gold coin struck for Emperors Basil II and Constantine VIII (976-1025)⁹⁵. On the other hand, a good analogy for the large, heart-shaped mount from Myrne is known from Tuzla, a burial assemblage which can also be dated to the eleventh century⁹⁶. Most burial assemblages that can be dated with any degree of certainty are of an eleventh-, not tenth-century date. Out of over seventy assemblages so far known from the area between the Danube and the Dnieper (Fig. 5), a considerable number may have coincided in time with the raids and invasions into the Balkans mentioned in the written sources. Almost all of them have been dug into prehistoric barrows which must have been much taller in the eleventh century than they are now. The vast majority of the sites on which those graves have been discovered are within less than 100 km from the river Danube⁹⁷. Twelve out of 21 sites on which graves with weapons have been found are also located close to the Danube. In three cases, two graves

sela Trapovka,” in *Pamiatniki rimskogo i srednevekovogo vremeni v Severo-Zapadnom Prichernomor’ie. Sbornik nauchnykh trudov*, edited by A. V. Gudkova (Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1982), pp. 169-73, at 169.

⁹⁴ Many more burials with richly ornamented bridle mounts have been found in northern Crimea and the neighboring steppe lands. See Ruslan S. Orlov, “Pivnichnoprychornomors’kii tsentr khudozh’noi metaloobrabotky u X-XI st.,” *Arkheolohiia* 47 (1984), 24-44, at 25, 26, 27 fig. 2, and 30.

⁹⁵ N. G. Dokont, “Kochevnisheskoe pogrebenie XI v. u s. Mirnoe,” in *Arkheologicheskie issledovaniia severo-zapadnogo Prichernomor’ia. Sbornik nauchnykh trudov*, edited by V. P. Vanchugov, G. O. Dzys-Raiko, Petr O. Karyshkovskii, Isaak B. Kleiman and V. N. Stanko (Kiev: Naukova Dumka, 1978), 193-96, at 194, 195 fig. 1.8, and 196; Fedorov-Davydov, *Kochevniki*, p. 264.

⁹⁶ V. N. Stanko, “Detskoe zakhoronienie kochevnika v XI v. v.ozle s. Tuzly,” *Zapiski Odesskogo arkheologicheskogo obshchestva* 1 (1960), 281-83.

⁹⁷ In Moldova, there is also a cluster of graves near Căușeni on the Lower Dniester, in the vicinity of the ford at Tighina-Tiraspol. See Gheorghe Postică, *Civilizația medievală timpurie din spațiul pruto-nistean (secolele V-XIII)* (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Române, 2007), p. 91. For graves found between the Dniester and the Dnieper, see Fedorov-Davydov, *Kochevniki*, p. 140 fig. 20; A. O. Dobroliubskii, “Drevnosti srednevekovykh kochevnikov v Nizhnem Podnestrov’e (materialy raskopok I. Ia. Stempkovskogo),” in *Kurgany v zonakh novostroek Moldavii*, edited by I. I. Artemenko (Kishinev: Shtiinca, 1984), pp. 155-73, at 164-166; Dobroliubskii, *Kochevniki*, pp. 84, 86, and 93-101.

with weapons were planted within one and the same burial mound⁹⁸. There is a cluster of weapons—other than bows and arrows—in the Walachian Plain (battle axes at Vitănești and Bucharest-Tei, saber at Bucharest-Tei, and lance head at Jilava)⁹⁹ and in the Budzhak (swords at Iablonia and Trapivka, saber at Pavlivka)¹⁰⁰. On the other side of the Danube, most Byzantine strongholds known to have been in operation at some point during the eleventh century are either on the bank of the river or within a very short distance from it. This distribution reminds one of the Crimea, where tenth- and eleventh-century graves with weapons—all in prehistoric mounds—appear within a short distance from the main Byzantine settlement area centered upon Chersonesos and Sudak¹⁰¹. A grave discovered in 1961 in Chokchura near Simferopol, on the left bank of the Salhyr River, produced a long, single-edge sword and bow

⁹⁸ Vitănești: Valeriu Leahu and George Trohani, “Două morminte de călăreți nomazi din Cîmpia Teleormanului,” *Studii și cercetări de istorie veche și arheologie* 29 (1978), no. 4, 529-39, at 529-30. Licoșteanca (the barrow at Movila Olarului): Nicolae Harțușche and Florea Anastasiu, “Morminte de călăreți nomazi descoperite în județul Brăila,” *Istros* 1 (1980), 263-80, at 267 and 269. In Taraclia and Pavlivka, there were two graves in the same barrow, but only one of them produced weapons (bow and arrow in Taraclia; 7 arrow heads and a saber in Pavlivka): Gheorghe Postică, Eugen Sava, and Sergei M. Agul’nikov, “Morminte ale nomazilor turanici medievali din tumulii de lângă localitățile Taraclia și Cazaclia,” *Memoria Antiquitatis* 20 (1995), 141-71, at 149; Victor Spinei, *Realități etnice și politice în Moldova meridională în secolele X-XIII. Români și turanici* (Iași: Junimea, 1985), p. 115.

⁹⁹ For Vitănești, see above, n. 100. For Bucharest-Tei, see Sebastian Morintz and Dinu V. Rosetti, „Din cele mai vechi timpuri și pînă la formarea Bucureștilor,” in *Bucureștii de odinioară în lumina săpăturilor arheologice*, edited by Ion Ionașcu (Bucharest: Editura Științifică, 1959), 11-47, at 33-34. For Jilava, see Dinu V. Rosetti, “Siedlungen der Kaiserzeit und der Völkerwanderungszeit bei Bukarest,” *Germania* 18 (1934), 206-14, at 209.

¹⁰⁰ For Trapivka, see above, n. 95. For Pavlivka, see above, n. 100. For Iablonia, see Orlov, “Pro chas poiavy pechenigiv,” pp. 179-81. The sabers found in Bucharest-Tei, Copanca, and Pavlivka remained unknown to A. V. Evgelevskii and Tatiana M. Potemkina, “Vostochnoevropeiskie pozdnekochevnicheskoe sabli,” in *Stepy Evropy v epokhu srednevekov’ia. Sbornik statei*, edited by Svetlana A. Pletneva, O. V. Sukhobokov, P. V. Dobrov, R. D. Liakh and G. P. Erkhov (Donetsk: Institut Arkheologii NAN Ukrainy/ Doneckii gosudarstvennyi universitet, 2000), 117-80.

¹⁰¹ Tatiana I. Makarova and Aleksandr I. Aibabin, „Krym v X-pervoi polovine XIII veka,” in *Krym, severo-vostochnoe Prichernomor’ie i Zakavkaz’e v epokhu srednevekov’ia, IV-XIII veka*, edited by Tat’iana I. Makarova and Svetlana A. Pletneva (Moscow: Nauka, 2003), 68-86 and 130-45, at 74. In the eleventh century, the Byzantine power was reduced to Chersonesos and Sudak, but most tenth- and eleventh-century rural sites and forts on the southern coast of Crimea and in the mountains witnessed a period of economic boom, which is to be attributed to the Byzantine rule.

reinforcement plates. Another grave found in 1924 in Bakchi-Eli (now within the suburb of Simferopol known as Krasnaia Gorka) was dug into a barrow and contained a male skeleton, 25-30 years of age at death, with the head and limbs of a horse on his right side, and a 1.25-m long saber on his left side¹⁰². In the Walachian Plain, the Budzhak, and the Crimean Lowlands, the prehistoric mounds in which a few select warriors were buried were prominent features in the steppe landscape. Those were therefore not just burials, but monuments of power and prestige. Their proximity to Byzantine settlements suggests that those monuments served as markers of territory and influence. The fact that the graves with weapons in Walachia and the Budzhak were so close to the Byzantine fortresses manned in the eleventh century by Kegen's Pechenegs may be further interpreted as a powerful statement on the frontier between "Patzinakia" of old and the new Patzinakia established on Byzantine soil.

But where did all those warriors come from? Where were their homes and their families? Archaeologists currently draw a sharp distinction between "native" settlement sites and burial sites of the "late nomads"¹⁰³. The former are believed to have survived the onslaught of the nomads well into the eleventh century. Proof of that is, among other things, the anonymous follis of class B found in a sunken-featured building of the "native" settlement excavated in Şendreni, near Galaţi¹⁰⁴. The abandonment of those native settlements in the Walachian Plain, southern Moldavia, and the Budzhak came only in the mid-eleventh century, and the population in the contact zone between the lowlands and the highlands moved out completely by the late twelfth century. However, during the late tenth and the first half of the eleventh century, both "native" settlements and "nomadic" burial assemblages appear to have co-existed,

¹⁰² E. N. Cherepanova and A. A. Shchepinskii, "Pogrebeniia pozdnykh kočevnikov v stepnom Krymu," in *Arkheologicheskie issledovaniia srednevekovogo Kryma*, edited by O. I. Dombrov's'kyi (Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1968), pp. 181-201, at 188, 190, 192-193; 190 figs. 8-9; 191 fig. 10; 193 fig. 13. The oldest "Pecheneg" grave in Crimea was found in Tankova near Krasnoperekovska, on the Chatyryk river and was dated to the tenth century.

¹⁰³ E.g., Spinei, *Romanians and the Turkic Nomads*, pp. 213-220 and 279-298.

¹⁰⁴ Dan Gh. Teodor, "Descoperiri arheologice de la Şendreni-Galaţi," *Danubius* 1 (1967), 129-35, at 129-130 and 134 fig. 4; Spinei, *Great Migrations*, p. 120. For the identification of the coin, see Stoliarik, *Essays*, p. 145, who mentions five more coins of that class from the same region of the Lower Danube. Romanian archaeologists currently believe that the Pechenegs did not appear on the Lower Danube before the early eleventh century, shortly before their first raids into the Balkans. See Mănuclu-Adameşteanu, «Les invasions des Petchénègues," p. 299; Spinei, *Great Migrations*, p. 218.

often on one and the same site¹⁰⁵. Moreover, artifacts commonly associated with “Pecheneg” burials—arrow heads, snaffle bits with rigid mouth pieces, and leaf-shaped pendants with open-work ornaments—have been found on several “native” sites¹⁰⁶. There was therefore no physical separation between “natives” and “late nomads,” and it is quite possible that the homes and the families of the warriors buried in prominent barrows in the steppe were in the neighboring villages. The collapse of the network of “native” settlements in the mid-eleventh century could then be explained in terms of the conflict between Kegen’s Pechenegs in Byzantine service and Tyrach’s Pechenegs north of the Danube. Irrespective of the accuracy of the numbers advanced by the Byzantine sources, the many people who migrated to the Balkans in the winter of 1046/7 as well as later—men, women, and children—may not have come from afar. If so, the absence of the archaeological evidence of the “Pechenegs” in the Balkans is remarkable. There are no eleventh-century graves in burial mounds in Dobrudja and Bulgaria and no burials with the skull and legs of a horse deposited next to the human skeleton¹⁰⁷. To day, no

¹⁰⁵ Spinei, *Romanians and the Turkic Nomads*, p. 349. For “native” settlements in Bârlad and Bucharest-Tei, see Nicoleta Ciucă, “Descoperiri de tip protodridu la Bîrlad-cartierul Munteni, jud. Vaslui,” *Materiale și cercetări arheologice* 10 (1973), 225-29; Morintz and Rosetti, „Din cele mai vechi timpuri,” pp. 33-34. In Curcani, the “nomadic” burial is said to have cut through the occupation phase of a “native” settlement, an indication that the grave post-dates the abandonment of the settlement.

¹⁰⁶ Victor Spinei, “Relations of the local population of Moldavia with the nomad Turanian tribes in the 10-13th centuries,” in *Relations Between the Autochthonous Population and the Migratory Populations on the Territory of Romania*, edited by Miron Constantinescu, Ștefan Pascu and Petre Diaconu (Bucharest: Editura Academiei RSR, 1975), pp. 265-76, at 271-73.

¹⁰⁷ This is particularly significant, given that burials in prehistoric mounds are known from those regions in Hungary, which have been settled by Pechenegs in the eleventh century. See István Erdélyi, “O pechenegakh na territorii Vengrii (k postanovke voprosa),” in *Materialy I tys. n. e. po arkhologii i istorii Ukrainy i Vengrii*, edited by István Erdélyi, Oleg M. Prykhodniuk, A. V. Simonenko and Eugénia Szimonova (Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1996), pp. 163-66, at 164. To be sure, graves dug into prehistoric barrows have also been found to the east from the Inner Town at Pliska. Over ninety of them were discovered in barrow 34, a situation reminding one of sixty secondary burials in barrow 52 in Vyshneve, 46 of which have been dated between the tenth and the fourteenth century. See Doncheva-Petkova, “Pliska i pechenezite,” p. 250; L. V. Subbotin, A. N. Dzigovskii, and A. S. Ostroverkhov, *Arkheologicheskie drevnosti Budzhaka. Kurgany u sel Vishnevoe i Beloles’e* (Odessa: Unda LTD, 1998), p. 8. However, in the absence of any firm chronological markers, dating the Pliska graves to the eleventh century must be treated with suspicion. Similarly, no solid evidence exists of an eleventh-century date for the horseman grave found next to the southern

finds of snaffle bits with rigid mouth-pieces are known from the Balkans and no bridle mounts have been found there, which may be compared to the exquisite specimens decorated with ornaments of Byzantine inspiration from the burial assemblages in Saraili Kiiat, Novokam'ianka, Bulhakove, Pershokostiantynivka, or Trapivka. Besides clay kettles, the only other artifact category commonly attributed to the Pechenegs is the leaf-shaped pendant with open-work ornament. Two such pendants have been found with a female skeleton in a grave discovered in 1972 in the ruins of the Roman bath at Histria (Fig. 6). Both pendants were found next to the jawbone and were most likely part of a necklace including 11 glass beads of various colors¹⁰⁸. A leaf-shaped pendant with open-work ornament was also found together with a string of glass beads in the grave of a child in Palanca (northern Moldova)¹⁰⁹. To date, 35 leaf-shaped pendants with open-work ornament are known from the Lower Danube region, 29 of which have been found on sites in Dobrudja and northeastern Bulgaria (Fig. 7)¹¹⁰. No such pendants are known from any part of the steppe lands north of the Black Sea. All other analogies are from sites located to the east from the river Don¹¹¹. A fragmentary specimen was found together with another pendant on the left side of the neck in a child

rampart at Pliska. The associated stirrups could just as well be of an earlier date. See Ivan Zakhariiev, "Iuzhnata krepostna stena na Pliska i nekropolat, otkrit do neia (razkopki prez 1971-1974 g.)," *Pliska-Preslav* 1 (1979), 108-38, at 137.

¹⁰⁸ Alexandru Suceveanu, «Un mormint din sec. XI la Histria», *Studii și cercetări de istorie veche* 24 (1973), no. 3, 495-502. According to Doncheva-Petkova, "Dobrudja," pp. 67-68, another pendant is from a grave discovered in the narthex of the basilica in Silistra. However, nothing is known about the sex or the age of the associated skeleton.

¹⁰⁹ V. D. Gukin and S. I. Kurchatov, "Pozdnekochevnicheskoe pogrebenie u sela Palanka," *Arkheologicheskie vesti* 4 (1995), 143-45.

¹¹⁰ For specimens from Romania, see Petre Diaconu, "Două pandantive foliforme de bronz de la Păcuiul lui Soare," *Cultură și civilizație la Dunărea de Jos* 3-4 (1987), 113-14; Spinei, *Romanians and the Turkic Nomads*, pp. 293-294. For Bulgarian finds, see Valeri Iotov, "O material'noi kul'ture pechenegov k iugu ot Dunaia - listovidnye azhurnye amulety XI v.," *Stratum+* (2000), no. 5, 209-12, at 210; Teodora Krumova, "Pechenezhskie pamiatniki v severno-vostochnoi Bolgarii," *Analele Asociației Naționale a Tinerilor Istoricii din Moldova* 1 (1999), 142-49, at 143; 147 fig. 1.1, 3.

¹¹¹ Only 26 specimens are known to date from the entire region of the Lower Volga and the Lower Don, as well from the lands between the Volga and the Ural rivers. See L. M. Gavrilina, "Kochevnicheskii ukrasheniia X v.," *Sovetskaiia Arkheologiia* (1985), no. 3, 214-26, at 214; Gennadii N. Garustovich, Aleksei I. Rakushin, and A. F. Iaminov, *Srednevekovye kochevniki Povolzh'ia (konca IX-nachala XV veka)* (Ufa: Gilem, 1998), pp. 119 and 139; 315 pl. XII.1 and 332 pl. XXIX.9.

burial from Sarkel (Fig. 8)¹¹². Unlike Histria and Palanca, there were no beads in that assemblage. A mid- to late tenth-century date for, at least, some of those leaf-shaped pendants may be advanced on the basis of the association of four different specimens with four dirhems struck in 954/5 and a fels struck in 958/9 in a female grave found in the Caspian Depression at Lapas (in the Astrakhan region of Russia)¹¹³. In both the Lower Danube and the Lower Volga regions, leaf-shaped pendants with open-work ornament have been found in graves of females or children. In graves of females, such artifacts often appear in pairs (even two pairs, as in the Lapas grave), often around the neck or next to the skull, while in child burials they appear singly. None of those burials was particularly rich and it has been suggested that the artifacts themselves may have been amulets related to fertility¹¹⁴. Almost all of those found in the Volga region have a long appendix, which led to the conclusion that they were used as ear-cleaners¹¹⁵. Of all specimens known from the Lower Danube region, only three have appendices¹¹⁶. Most other specimens with the leaf-shaped pendant still intact have a broken appendix and some of them seem to have been cast without it. A fragmentary casting model made of lead and found in the Roman bath at Varna suggests that the production of those artifacts may have taken place on one or several sites in the northern Balkans¹¹⁷. Whatever

¹¹² Svetlana A. Pletneva, "Kochevnicheskii mogil'nik bliz Sarkela-Beloi Vezhi," in *Trudy Volgo-Donskoi arkheologicheskoi ekspedicii*, edited by Mikhail I. Artamonov (Moscow/Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1963), pp. 216-59, at 233 and 256 fig. 27.1; Pletneva, *Pechenegi i guzy*, 18, 17 fig. 4.59, and 73 fig. 26.5-7. Two more specimens are known from the fortified settlement.

¹¹³ V. A. Filipchenko, "Pogrebenie X v. v Astrakhanskoi oblasti u s. Lapas," *Sovetskaia Arkheologiia* (1959), no. 2, 239-42, at 239, 240 fig. 1.4, and 241. As in Palanca and Histria, the four pendants were most likely attached to a string of 13 beads.

¹¹⁴ Gavrilina, "Kochevnicheskoe ukrasheniia," pp. 222-223.

¹¹⁵ Svetlana S. Riabceva, "O listovidnykh ukrasheniiax - podveskakh, kopoushkh i reshtakh," *Revista Arheologică* 1 (2005), no. 1, 350-58, at 356; Vladimir A. Ivanov, "Kul'turnye sviazi srednevekovykh kochevnikov Evrazii (po materialam dekorativno-prikladnogo iskusstva)," in *Drevnetiurkiskii mir: Istoriia i tradiciia*, edited by A. A. Arslanova, V. F. Baibulatova and I. K. Zagidullin (Kazan': Institut istorii Akademii Nauk Respubliki Tatarstan, 2002), 106-24, at 115. However, Gavrilina, "Kochevnicheskoe ukrasheniia," p. 214, rightly argues that ear-cleaners with open-work ornament may have also served as dress accessories and amulets at the same time.

¹¹⁶ Victor Spinei, «Découvertes de l'étape tardive des migrations à Todireni (dep. de Botoșani),» *Dacia* 17 (1973), 277-92, at 277-82; 279 fig. 1.3, 4; 281 fig. 2.3, 4; Riabceva, «O listovidnykh ukrasheniiax," pp. 350; 351 fig. 1.10.

¹¹⁷ Iotov, "O material'noi kul'ture," p. 210.

their initial function—ear-cleaner, amulet, or a simple dress accessory—leaf-shaped pendants with open-work ornament appear only in two regions of Eastern Europe at a distance of more than 900 miles from each other. They do not appear in the Middle Dnieper region, northern Crimea, and Left-Bank Ukraine, where large groups of Pechenegs are known to have lived during the tenth and the eleventh centuries. How could this distribution be explained? It is important to note at this point that almost five times more pendants have been found south than north of the river Danube. Moreover, at a closer examination, most specimens do not have exact analogies in the Lower Volga region. The pendants found in Garvăn, Nufăru, Păcuiul lui Soare, Varna, and Glodzhevo are much simplified imitations of specimens with more elaborate decoration. Of all pendants found in the Balkans, only one of the two specimens from Histria has a close analogy in Sarkel, but the other is almost identical to pendants found in Varna and Pliska. Leaf-shaped pendants with open-work ornament seem to have suddenly become very popular in the northeastern Balkans. The demand triggered by that fashion led to the production of a relatively large number of imitations of a few “genuine” ear-cleaners from the Lower Volga region. Judging from their state of preservation, however, most imitations may not have been used as ear-cleaners at all. Unfortunately, there is yet no incontrovertible evidence for establishing a firm chronology for this phenomenon, but it is only in the eleventh century that exotic dress accessories from the Lower Volga region could have become the fashion in the northern Balkans. I would suggest that the adoption of this fashion has much to do with the political changes taking place in the middle decades of that century, particularly with the confrontation between Kegen and Tyrach, the creation of an almost independent “Pecheneg district” in the Hundred Hills region, and the Pecheneg-Cuman conflicts. It is in the circumstances surrounding the Pecheneg wars of the second half of the eleventh century, that a new sense of identity was created out of bits and fragments of the “traditions of the steppe.”

This is further substantiated by the examination of the largest eleventh-century cemetery so far found in the region. No less than 535 graves have been found during the excavations carried out between 1983 and 1991 at the foot of the hill on which stood the Byzantine fortress in Odărcei¹¹⁸. Several graves

¹¹⁸ A number of graves have also been found within the ruins of the fort as well. Many of them cut through the floors or even the walls of houses built during the last phase of occupation. See Liudmila Doncheva-Petkova, *Odărcei 2. Nekropoli ot XI vek* (Sofia: AI “Prof. Marin Drinov”, 2005); Doncheva-Petkova, “Zur ethnischen Zugehörigkeit,” p. 646.

overlap a number of houses of a late antique settlement, and a number of ancient coins have been found in the graves, including coins struck for Emperor Justinian (graves 6, 9, and 393)¹¹⁹. Many graves are lined up or, sometimes, covered with stones. Some are even covered with piles of stones, which the excavator interpreted as smaller-size imitations of barrows¹²⁰. Almost half of all burials are of children, an unusual rate for medieval cemeteries in Europe. There are only 14 adults who died after reaching 45 years of life (five males and nine females) and only one who died at an age older than 60¹²¹. Twenty graves—many of which are female burials—contain skeletons with flexed knees, while skeletons in two other graves (both under piles of stones) have folded arms or legs¹²². There are also several cases of mutilated bodies: missing skulls or skulls separated from the body and buried face down; severed legs placed next to the skeleton; or skeletons without legs. In many cases, a large stone was placed over the head, the chest or the feet of the deceased¹²³. However, the most spectacular feature revealed by the anthropological analysis is the fact that more than a third of all skeletons have trephined skulls. Those are skeletons of individuals who died between 30 and 40 years of age, 20 males and 23 females¹²⁴. All are cases of "symbolic trepanation", in that the surgical operation performed on the calvaria of a living subject did not penetrate the inner table of the skull. In fact, it was all done by burning or

¹¹⁹ Doncheva-Petkova, *Odărci* 2, p. 158; Doncheva-Petkova, „Zur ethnischen Zugehörigkeit,” p. 654. There were nine graves inside the perimeter of house 121, one of 17 late antique dwellings discovered at the foot of the Kaleto hill.

¹²⁰ Doncheva-Petkova, „Zur ethnischen Zugehörigkeit,” p. 647. Three of those graves have skeletons with a north-south orientation, in sharp contrast to most other graves in the cemetery.

¹²¹ Doncheva-Petkova, „Zur ethnischen Zugehörigkeit,” p. 650.

¹²² Doncheva-Petkova, „Zur ethnischen Zugehörigkeit,” p. 649.

¹²³ Doncheva-Petkova, „Zur ethnischen Zugehörigkeit,” p. 649.

¹²⁴ “Real” (i.e., surgical) trepanation has been recognized on the skull of the seven-year old child in grave 92. See Iordan Iordanov and Branimira Dimitrova, “Danni ot antropologichno izsledvane na pogrebanite v srednovekovia nekropol no. 2 pri s. Odărci, Dobrichko, XI. v.,” in Doncheva-Petkova, *Odărci* 2, p.444. Trephined skulls have also been found in some of the graves excavated in Pliska (Doncheva-Petkova, “Pliska i pechenezite,” p. 252). A relatively large number of trephined skulls is also known from the Hansca-Căprăria cemetery, in which it is more often associated with older men and women (who were more than 30 years of age when dying). See Ion Hâncu, *Kapraria - pamiatnik kul'tury X-XII vv.* (Kishinev: Shtiinca, 1973), pp. 19, 20, 21, 23-24, 39-40, and 40-41. On the other hand, large numbers of trephined skull have not been identified on any other sites in the steppe lands of Eastern Europe (Spinei, *Great Migrations*, p. 215).

scraping the external lamina of the skull, mostly on the cranial sutures¹²⁵. The purpose of this operation may have been or believed to be medical, but its high incidence betrays in the Odârci cemetery betrays ritual concerns. The excavator claims that graves with traces of trepanation do not form any cluster within the cemetery, but the distributions of graves with trephined skulls and stone-lined graves, respectively, are mutually exclusive (Fig. 9). Graves with a few stones around the pit are much more evenly distributed (Fig. 10). Further details about the burial ritual have been obtained from the analysis of pit fillings. Several graves contained charcoal and traces of a fire purification of the grave pit¹²⁶. Some produced animal bones (primarily cattle, sheep, pig, and horse). They cluster in the western part of the cemetery (Fig. 11). By contrast, coins appear especially in the central and eastern parts of the cemetery (Fig. 12). The most recent coins are miliaresia of Leo VI (grave 109), Basil II (in graves 109 and 118), and Constantine IX (grave 495), and bronze coins struck for Basil II and Constantine VIII (grave 33). The two coins of Constantine IX can only give a *terminus post quem* of 1042-1055 for the grave in which they were found, because, like all others found in the cemetery, this coin was pierced and may have been worn as a pendant for a long period of time¹²⁷. Nonetheless, an eleventh century date for at least some of the graves excavated in Odârci is supported by the analysis of grave goods. To be sure, most burials had no grave goods whatsoever (Fig. 13). The correspondence analysis of 73 features and artifact categories identified in 159 graves confirms the opposition between stone-lined graves, on one hand, and graves with stone markings and burials with animal bones, on the other hand (Fig. 14). However, the most interesting aspect of this analysis is another outlier, namely arrow heads. The only weapons known from the Odârci cemetery, they have all been found in graves on the western side of the cemetery (Fig. 15). A large number of burials with

¹²⁵ Jordan Iordanov, Branimira Dimitrova, and Sp. Nikolov, "Symbolic trepanations of skulls form the Middle Ages (IXth-Xth century) in Bulgaria", *Acta Neurochirurgica* 92 (1988), 15-18; Iordanov and Dimitrova, "Danni," pp. 446, 449-451, and 456.

¹²⁶ In grave 12, the fire was set to the pit after the body had been laid out inside it, for the skeleton displays charred vertebrae and ribs (Doncheva-Petkova, "Zur ethnischen Zugehörigkeit," p. 650). Krumova, "Pecheneg chieftains," p. 214 believes that placing of charcoal in the grave pit is a typical feature of "nomadic" (specifically, Pecheneg) burial sites in the steppe lands of southern Russia, but no such feature appear on any of the sites with burials in mounds in the Walachian Plain, southern Moldavia, or the Budzhak.

¹²⁷ Spinei, *Great Migrations*, p. 215. With one exception, the coin in grave 33, all coins were found on the upper chest of the skeleton, an indication that they were worn as pendants.

grave goods cluster in the "cloud" near the intersection of the orthogonal axes, an indication that they all are of relatively the same age (Fig. 16). In addition, there does not seem to be any clear-cut gender or age differentiation, despite the relatively larger number of female burials in the first than in the second quadrant. However, a closer examination of some artifact categories reveals interesting contrasts. There are fewer burials with earrings in the western than in the central and eastern parts of the cemetery (Fig. 17). This is also true for the distributions of beads, buttons, and jingle bells (Figs. 18-19). Pectoral crosses, medallions, and various types of pendants have an even more restricted distribution (Figs. 20-21). Many analogies for the pendants are known from tenth- and eleventh-century cemeteries in Hungary and Slovakia, with only one from the lands north of the river Danube¹²⁸. There is a group of graves with bracelets in the center of the cemetery, although no clusters based on various types of bracelets (Fig. 22). The same is true for mounts of various shapes, which were found in thirty assemblages either with graves of young women (who died between 20 and 25 years of age) or with child burials. More often than not, such mounts have been found in rich burials, commonly around the neck of the deceased, underneath the jawbone, or on the forehead¹²⁹. Given that almost all circular mounts, irrespective of their size, each have two diametrically opposed perforations, and that traces of thread have been found on some of them, it has been suggested that those mounts were stitched to the clothes or perhaps to a linen headcover or headband. Teodora Krumova, who studied this phenomenon, believes that such mounts served for the decoration of the bridle and that in the steppe lands from which the Pechenegs had come bridle mounts have been found only in burials with horses¹³⁰. There are, however, several cases of single mounts found in female burials in positions very similar to those in which the Odârci mounts were found. A single bridle boss, for example, was found on the head of the female skeleton in a grave dug into a prehistoric barrow at Kato (in the Volgograd region of Russia)¹³¹. Closer

¹²⁸ Doncheva-Petkova, *Odârci* 2, pp. 90-91. One of the hearth-shaped pendants in grave 4 has a good analogy in Dănești. See Mircea Petrescu-Dîmbovița and Emilia Zaharia. "Sondajul arheologic de la Dănești (r. Vaslui)," *Materiale și cercetări arheologice* 8 (1962), 52-56, at 54 fig. 9.1.

¹²⁹ Doncheva-Petkova, *Odârci* 2, p. 130.

¹³⁰ Teodora Krumova, "Secondary usage of Pecheneg bridle-bosses as dress decoration," *Archaeologia Bulgarica* 5 (2001), no. 3, 65-70, at 66. Most analogies for the small, circular mounts in Odârci (Doncheva-Petkova's types I-IX) are from burial assemblages in Hungary and Slovakia, not in the steppe lands of Eastern Europe (Doncheva-Petkova, *Odârci* 2, p. 152).

¹³¹ Garustovich, Rakushin, and Iaminov, *Srednevekovye kochevniki*, pp. 139 and 329 pl.

to the Lower Danube region, a bridle mount of conical shape with circle-and-dot ornament was found on the collar bone of a female skeleton in Beloles'e¹³². In the Hansca-Căprăria cemetery, silver bridle mounts were found in the pelvic area, both in a child and in a male burial (Fig. 24)¹³³. Much like in Odărçi, none of them came from a grave with traces of trepanation. All circular mounts from Hansca-Căprăria have double perforations suggesting that they had initially been made for a different purpose than the one which they served at the moment of their burial deposition. Such "recycled" mounts have also been found in the cemetery discovered in 1989 during the salvage excavations in front of the eastern gate into the Outer Town at Pliska¹³⁴. The excavations revealed 131 graves to the east, southeast, and northeast of a small chapel. The northern wall of the chapel cut through grave 125, but other graves seem to have been dug inside the built chapel. Another (grave 118) appears to have been placed within the ruins of the chapel, believed to have been destroyed by the Pecheneg attacks of the 1030s. As in Odărçi, most burials are stone-lined graves without any grave goods. There is a large number of child burials (41 percent of all burials, and 80 percent of all burials with grave goods). Two anonymous folles of classes A2 and B found in graves 7 and 30, respectively, suggest that the Pliska cemetery started in the late tenth or early eleventh century, when the chapel was most probably built. After its destruction, presumably in the 1030s, the cemetery continued to be used. The stones used

XXVI.15. Heart- and cross-shaped bridle ornaments appear on the horse skull found in Bolgarka I (southern Ural region) together with a female skeleton dressed up in a caftan with small circular mounts decorating its sleeves and the lower margins. See S. Gucalov, "Pogrebenie oguzo-pechenezhskogo vremeni v kurgane Bolgarka I (Aktiubinskaiia oblast')," in *Novoe v srednevekovoi arkheologii Evrazii*, edited by Vera B. Kovalevskaiia (Samara: Istoriko-kul'turnaia associaciia "Artefakt", 1993), 91-94, at 91-92 and 94 fig. 1.17-19, 21. In Pershokonstantynivka, the bridle mounts and strap end were deposited in a small niche next to the human skeleton. There were no horse bones in the grave and the bridle must have served as *pars pro toto*. See Anatolii I. Kubyshev and Ruslan S. Orlov. "Uzdechnyi khabor XI v. iz Novo-Kamenki," *Sovetskaia Arkheologiia* (1982), no. 1, 238-46, at 245 and fig. 5. At any rate, there are comparatively fewer heart- or shield-shaped bridle mounts in the steppe lands north of the Black Sea than in the Ural-Volga region. See Ivanov, "Kul'turnye sviazi," pp. 114-115.

¹³² Subbotin, Dzigovskii, and Ostroverkhov, *Arkheologicheskie drevnosti*, pp. 90 and 91 fig. 33.3-4.

¹³³ Hâncu, *Kapraria*, pp. 11 and 18.

¹³⁴ Ianko Dimitrov, „Cărkva i nekropol vāv Vānshniia grad na Pliska (kraia na X-XI v.),” *Pliska-Preslav* 7 (1995), 42-70.

for the lining of grave 94 are from the ruins of the chapel¹³⁵. Bridle mounts very similar to those from Odârci have been found exclusively in child burials, often on the skull or next to the jawbone, either singly or in groups of 3, and in association with glass beads and bracelets¹³⁶. Much like in Odârci and Hansca-Căprăria, the graves with bridle mounts were centrally located and adjacent to each other (Fig. 25). Although the hypothesis will need to be verified in the future by means of the DNA analysis of their bone remains, it is likely that in Odârci and in Pliska, children and young women buried together with recycled bridle mounts were members of the same kin groups. Judging by the number and quality of the grave goods with which they were buried, those may have been the most prominent kin groups in their respective communities.

Burial around a chapel is a clear indication of a church graveyard, and the cemetery excavated in Pliska by the eastern gate into the Outer Town has rightly been interpreted as Christian¹³⁷. Although no church was found within or near the cemetery in Odârci, the presence of pectoral crosses and of a medallion with the portrait of St. George strongly suggests that at least some burials were Christian¹³⁸. Liudmila Doncheva-Petkova even believed that the community in Odârci must have been recently converted to Christianity, for the burial rituals preserved pre-Christian elements, such as burial in a contracted or semi-contracted position, the use of trepanation and of charcoal in the grave pits, as well as the placement of stones over the body¹³⁹. According to her, the archaeological evidence from Pliska points to a mixed population, most likely Attaleiates' *mixobarbaroi*, some of whom were supposedly Pechenegs¹⁴⁰. By contrast, Doncheva-Petkova concluded that the community burying their dead in Odârci must have been all Pecheneg, because there was no settlement around, a sign that that community was one of nomads¹⁴¹. The Pechenegs in Odârci supposedly looked back to their ethnic heritage—as demonstrated by the use of

¹³⁵ Dimitrov, "Cărkva i nekropol," p. 51. No indication exists that the cemetery was still in use after ca. 1100.

¹³⁶ Dimitrov, "Cărkva i nekropol," pp. 53, 56, 58, and 62-63; 61 fig. 10.1-8, 10; 67 fig. 13.

¹³⁷ Doncheva-Petkova, "Pliska i pechenezite," pp. 253-254. In Preslav, twenty graves have been found, fifteen of them to the east from a church, and many cutting through the ruins of three buildings coin-dated to the eleventh century. There were several bridle mounts around the skull of the child in grave 7 (see Krumova, "Pecheneg chieftains," p. 217).

¹³⁸ Doncheva-Petkova, *Odârci* 2, p. 97.

¹³⁹ Doncheva-Petkova, "Adornments," p. 137.

¹⁴⁰ Doncheva-Petkova, "Pliska i pechenezite," p. 253.

¹⁴¹ Doncheva-Petkova, „Zur ethnischen Zugehörigkeit," p. 655.

bridle bosses—but adapted and applied their traditions to a new environment¹⁴². However, there are no traditions linking the burial assemblages found north of the Black Sea and near the Danube River to the cemetery in Odărçi. There are no parallels in the steppe lands for the idea of burying together large numbers of children and adults; for inhumations in stone-lined graves; for burials in contracted position under piles of stones; or for large-scale trepanation. To bridge the gap between the world of the steppe and the material culture of the Odărçi community, Liudmila Doncheva-Petkova and Teodora Krumova rely primarily on the bridle mounts. The engraved decoration on the silver specimen found in grave 123 is said to be similar to the ornamental patterns of the mounts from Gaevka, Novokam'ianka, and Pershokonstantynivka, and most other mounts are regarded as similar to those found in Rus' assemblages of the tenth and eleventh century¹⁴³. Even the chemical analysis of the alloy shows that a very similar composition for artifacts found in Odărçi and in Pecheneg graves of the Middle Dnieper region¹⁴⁴. On the other hand, there are so many late tenth- and eleventh-century belt and bridle mounts in Bulgaria and Dobrudja that Stanislav Stanilov suggested that they were all locally made, and not brought from afar¹⁴⁵. Even Doncheva-Petkova admits that at least some of the mounts found in Odărçi may have been produced on the site and that one or more workshops for the manufacturing of bridle mounts were in operation somewhere in Dobrudja or northeastern Bulgaria¹⁴⁶.

It remains unclear how much we can rely on the reconstruction Doncheva-Petkova proposed for the dress of the female buried in grave 326 in Odărçi¹⁴⁷. Its "Oriental" look, particularly the use of shalwars and long boots for which there is actually no evidence in the archaeological record, is in sharp contrast with Doncheva-Petkova's own observations concerning the bridle mounts found around the skull of the skeleton. Such mounts have analogies

¹⁴² Krumova, «Secondary usage," p. 66.

¹⁴³ Doncheva-Petkova, *Odărçi* 2, pp. 147 and 151.

¹⁴⁴ Doncheva-Petkova, *Odărçi* 2, p. 148. Given that the same raw material (most likely Byzantine coins and silver or bronze jewelry) was used for the production of artifacts in both Bulgaria and the Middle Dnieper region, there is no surprise that their chemical composition is the same.

¹⁴⁵ Stanislav Stanilov, "Starobălgarski remăchni ukrasi ot Nacionalniia arkheologicheski muzei," *Razkopki i prouchvaniia* 22 (1991), 5-70, at 28; and "Metalni garnituri za remăci i obleklo ot dvoreca văv Veliki Preslav," *Pliska-Preslav* 7 (1995), 110-35, at 122.

¹⁴⁶ Doncheva-Petkova, *Odărçi* 2, pp. 150 and 173.

¹⁴⁷ Doncheva-Petkova, *Odărçi* 2, p. 173 fig. 27.

either in other burial assemblages in Odărci or in Garvăn, but not on any site north of the Danube River and the Black Sea¹⁴⁸. Even more instructive is the examination of the analogies which Doncheva-Petkova has (correctly) found for the many dress accessories in grave 376, the richest of the entire cemetery in Odărci¹⁴⁹. Many of them have been found around the neck together with a large number of glass beads, some of which have no parallels in other graves. There was a bronze bracelet on each arm and finger-rings on both hands of the female skeleton. As in grave 326, some mounts and bracelets have analogies in other graves excavated in Odărci, while others have no analogies whatsoever¹⁵⁰. When plotted on a map of Southeastern Europe, the analogies Liudmila Doncheva-Petkova identified for the bridle mounts, the bracelets, the finger-rings, some of the glass beads, the button, and the pendant found in grave 376 appear as much stronger in a northwestern and southwestern than in a northern and northeastern direction (Fig. 26). With just five exceptions (only three of which are from "nomadic" burials) there are no analogies in the whole of Eastern Europe for the dress accessories of the woman buried in grave 376. While most analogies for bracelets and finger-rings are from contemporary sites in Macedonia or Serbia, analogies for mounts are mostly from Hungary and Slovakia. The presence of the Pechenegs in eleventh-century Hungary is of course well documented in the written sources, and there is also evidence that some of them came from the Balkans¹⁵¹. Since

¹⁴⁸ Doncheva-Petkova, *Odărci 2*, pp. 140 and 142.

¹⁴⁹ Doncheva-Petkova, *Odărci 2*, pp. 136, 137, and 143.

¹⁵⁰ E.g., the mounts shown on plates 134.4 and 135.13.

¹⁵¹ Sixty Pechenegs are mentioned coming with their families from Bulgaria and being granted royal protection by King Stephen. See Hartvik, *Life of St. Stephen*, ed. by Emma Bartoniek, in *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum tempore ducum regumque stirpis arpadianae gestarum*, vol. 2 (Budapest: Academia litteraria Hungarica, 1938), p. 426. In 1071, the Pechenegs crossed the Sava from the south and raided southern Hungary. King Salomon pursued the marauders to the walls of Belgrade, and then besieged the city. Its inhabitants called the Pechenegs for help, but the city was eventually conquered and the Pechenegs defeated by Count Ian of Sopron, who took many prisoners, all of whom he then moved to the county of Sopron. It is possible that the Pechenegs in question were Byzantine border guards. There were Pecheneg guards of the royal domain near Zsitvabesenyő in what is now southwestern Slovakia, when King Géza I donated that village to the Abbey of Garam St. Benedict. See Hansgerd Göckenjan, *Hilfsvölker und Grenzwächter im mittelalterlichen Ungarn* (Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des östlichen Europa, 5) (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1972), pp. 98 and 112; Zoltán Kordé, „A magyarországi besenyők az Árpád-korban,” *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis de Attila Jozsef nominatae. Acta Historica* 90 (1990), 3-21;

Hungarian and Slovak specimens are themselves linked to specimens from the Balkans, the distribution of analogies points to fashions spreading from south to north and not the other way around. There is, in other words, no substantial reason for taking grave 376 in Odărcei for a “nomadic,” much less a Pecheneg burial, and such skepticism must also be extended to the interpretation of the entire cemetery.

In the material presented in this paper, one can easily see the development of a critique similar to the general approach to ethnicity, which is now gaining momentum among students of the early Middle Ages: written sources are late and in any case cannot be trusted, while the archaeology has been largely misused to fit preconceived ideas about barbarians. The recycling of the stereotypes embedded in the ethnographic literature of the Late Antiquity by eleventh- and twelfth-century authors, so well illustrated by the use of archaic names such as “Scyths” instead of any “new” names or self designations, seems to raise the serious question of whether (re-)reading those authors can truly inform us about the eleventh-century Pechenegs, or is rather another way to reveal the rhetorical sophistication of the medieval sources¹⁵². The conversion to Christianity of some of those Pechenegs who settled on Byzantine soil and the extraordinary difficulties which several emperors had in the second half of the eleventh century to control the political and military situation in the northern Balkans may have offered unexpected opportunities for ethnographic commentary. More often than not, however, that commentary is cast in the language and the conceptual framework of the late antique ethnography. On the other hand, archaeologists failed to notice the double incongruence of the material pertaining to the presence of the Pechenegs in the Balkans. First, there is no one-to-one correlation between the features and the artifacts attributed to them in the lands north of the river Danube and the Black Sea, on

Gábor Hatházi, “A besenyő megtelepedés régészeti nyomai Fejér megyében,” *Savaria. A Vas megye múzeumok értesítője* 22 (1992), no. 3, 223-48.

¹⁵² Vasilka Tăpkova-Zaimova, «L'emploi des ethnica et les problèmes de la communication à Byzance», In *He epikoinonia sto Byzantio. Praktika tou B' diethnous symposiou, 4-6 oktobriou 1990*, edited by Nikos Moschonas (Athens: Kentro Vyzantinon Ereunon, 1993), pp. 701-09 ; Walter Pohl, „Die Namen der Barbaren: Fremdbezeichnung und Identität in Spätantike und Frühmittelalter“, in *Zentrum und Peripherie - gesellschaftliche Phänomene in der Frühgeschichte. Materialien des 13. internationalen Symposiums „Grundprobleme der frühgeschichtlichen Entwicklung im mittleren Donauraum“*, Zwettl, 4.8. Dezember 2000, edited by Herwig Friesinger and Alois Stuppner (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2004), pp. 95-104.

one hand, and those resulting from the excavation of settlement and cemetery sites in Dobrudja and Bulgaria. Driven by their own commitment to a culture-historical interpretation of the archaeological record, archaeologists do not seem to have been at all surprised that, once they crossed the Danube, the Pechenegs seem to have become archaeologically invisible, at least by the standards employed for their identification in the steppe lands of Eastern Europe. Impervious to the inconsistency of their own mode of thinking, those archaeologists seem to have been happy with using selected artifacts—clay kettles, leaf-shaped pendants with open-work ornament, or bridle mounts—as ethnic badges for the identification of the elusive Pechenegs of the eleventh-century Balkans. Second, there is currently no attempt to explain either the gender-specific use of such artifacts as the leaf-shaped pendants and the bridle mounts, or the lack of any archaeological correlate of the martial poses of various Pecheneg chieftains, which are so prominent in the written sources. Radically different kinds of representation through mortuary ritual were at work north and south of the river Danube. Furthermore, nobody seems to have noted that such contrast matches the admittedly biased testimony of the written sources. In fact, many of those sources—no doubt perpetuating an old *topos* of the ethnographic literature—claim that the barbarians were transformed one way or another simply by virtue of them crossing the Danube: they came to know about food and beverages of which they had no previous knowledge; they accepted baptism; they settled and turned to the cultivation of crops; they formed political alliances and were capable of agreeing to long-term peace treaties with the Empire. And, as the evidence from Anna Comnena's *Alexiad* seems to suggest, in order to survive, the Byzantines too had to become a bit more like the Pechenegs, to adopt their ways of living and fighting, to incorporate their tactics, and to learn their language. One has therefore every reason to wonder about the archaeological invisibility of the Pechenegs in the Balkans. The cluster of burial monuments in the Walachian Plain and the Budzhak in plain sight of the Byzantine fortresses on the right bank of the river Danube suggests that the material culture attributed to the Pechenegs before and during their migration to the Balkan provinces was already influenced, if not even conditioned, by the political and military developments in the Empire. The existence of large cemeteries with stone-lined graves in northeastern Bulgaria, such as those as Odărci and Pliska, must equally have a social and political explanation. According to the written sources, this was the region of the Balkans inhabited by a mixed population

(to which Michael Attaleiates referred with a phrase lifted from the ancient literature, *mixobarbaroi*), including large numbers of Pechenegs. A general tendency towards the adoption of the Christian burial, including coffin-like structures associated with stone-lined graves as well as burial in and around cemetery chapels, seems to have worked rapidly through a number of factors, which did not necessarily lead to the eradication of pre-Christian practices. It seems as if traits that are not at all prominent in the archaeological record of the East European steppe lands—trepanation, charcoal in the grave pit, or bridle mounts recycled as dress accessories—were now activated to mark the material culture boundaries of a new sense of group identity. The absence from the region of any signs of the military posturing so typical for burials in prehistoric barrows north of the river Danube is simply the other side of the same coin.

Instead of concentrating on individual traits or even artifact categories, let me finish by discussing the implications of this new interpretation of the evidence. I started off by trying to pin down the characteristics of various Pecheneg groups, which entered the Balkans at several moments during the second half of the eleventh century. Most of the evidence from written sources shows, however, that without names of political and military leaders, Byzantine authors were incapable of differentiating between those groups and do not seem to have been aware of their possibly different group identities. All treated the Pechenegs as a single “nation” with multiple “tribes,” which, to paraphrase Skylitzes, have a common name, even though each tribe is also known by the name of its ancestor. From the little of what we know about the political developments among the Balkan Pechenegs, it seems that a certain sense of regional identity formed in the region of the Hundred Hills. That identity may have at times operated like a magnet for dispersed groups or individuals, but was otherwise different from the identity of the warriors who, for example, followed Tzelgu in 1087. More importantly, the regional identity in the Hundred Hills area seems to have been created on the basis of the political agreement which allowed Kegen’s Pechenegs to occupy three fortresses on the bank of the river Danube and to live off the tax-exempted lands in their hinterland. From a purely historical point of view, there seems to be no evidence for the identity of Kegen’s group—whatever that was—morphing into the regional identity of the later decades of the eleventh century. Archaeologically speaking, the 1050s do not have any significance in the understanding of the material culture of the region.

The rise of a regional identity in northeastern Bulgaria relates very closely to the conclusions Liudmila Doncheva-Petkova drew from her analysis of the cemetery in Odărçi. She believed that the cemetery belonged to a community of recently converted Pechenegs, who were nomads practicing pastoralism in the steppe-like landscape of the Ludogorie plateau. According to her, the non-Christian traits of the mortuary rituals could only be attributed to the contacts with the cultural milieu of the pagan Pechenegs still roaming in the East European steppe lands. For Doncheva-Petkova, as well as for Teodora Krumova, the dominant characteristic of the Odărçi cemetery was that women were buried with head-covers, head-bands, veils, or other clothes displaying mounts initially made to decorate the horse bridle. This in turn showed that although by now in an accelerated process of acculturation, the Pechenegs were still holding—one way or another—onto their cherished steppe traditions.

The re-examination of the cemetery, which I have offered in this paper, presents a different picture. The cemeteries excavated in Odărçi and Pliska stand out among all similar sites in the Balkans because of the unique combination of cultural traits, which can be related primarily to practices and objects in use in Southeastern Europe since at least the tenth century. Elements regarded as reflections of the traditions of the steppe may have well been in fact "quotes" designed to give a "Pecheneg look" to a regional identity at a time of considerable political and social turmoil. It is no accident that the markers of that "look" were attached especially to the dress of (young) women and children. Burying them with leaf-shaped pendants with open-work ornament cannot be taken as the deceased person's declaration of ethnic membership; it is rather a mirror of the political aspirations of those who buried that person and for whom the meaning attached to those pendants could have signaled political and military allegiance. Because of their ephemeral success in establishing an almost independent polity in the northern Balkans and the resounding victories they had obtained against many armies sent from Constantinople, the "Pechenegs" may have appeared in eleventh-century Paristrion as upstarts worth emulating. Two leaders of the Paulician rebels in the environs of Philippopolis—Lekas and Travlos—most certainly thought so when marrying Pecheneg princesses. But do not take my word for that: let Anna Comnena show you those men of her father—all dressed up in "Scythian uniforms" and with Scythian standards standing in wait on the bank of the river in Chirovanchoi. Would you not say they look just like Pechenegs?

IMAGINEA ȘI ARHEOLOGIA PECENEGILOR

Rezumat

Izvoarele bizantine ce îi privesc pe pecenegi sunt pline de stereotipuri culturale care sunt mai des folosite pentru descrierea lor decât s-a crezut până în momentul de față. Cu toate acestea, arheologii și-au pus încrederea în aceste izvoare și, ca urmare, au pus pe seama pecenegilor orice urmă de distrugere sau masacru identificată prin intermediul săpăturilor arheologice. Se prea poate, totuși, ca piese de inventar arheologic precum căldările de lut, pandantivii foliacei cu decor ajurat sau plăcile ornamentale ale curelelor de harnașament să fi servit nevoilor de a crea o identitate de grup în regiunea autonomă pecenegă cunoscută sub numele de Patzinakia, care a luat naștere în regiunea de nord a peninsulei balcanice în decursul celei de-a doua jumătăți a secolului al XI-lea.

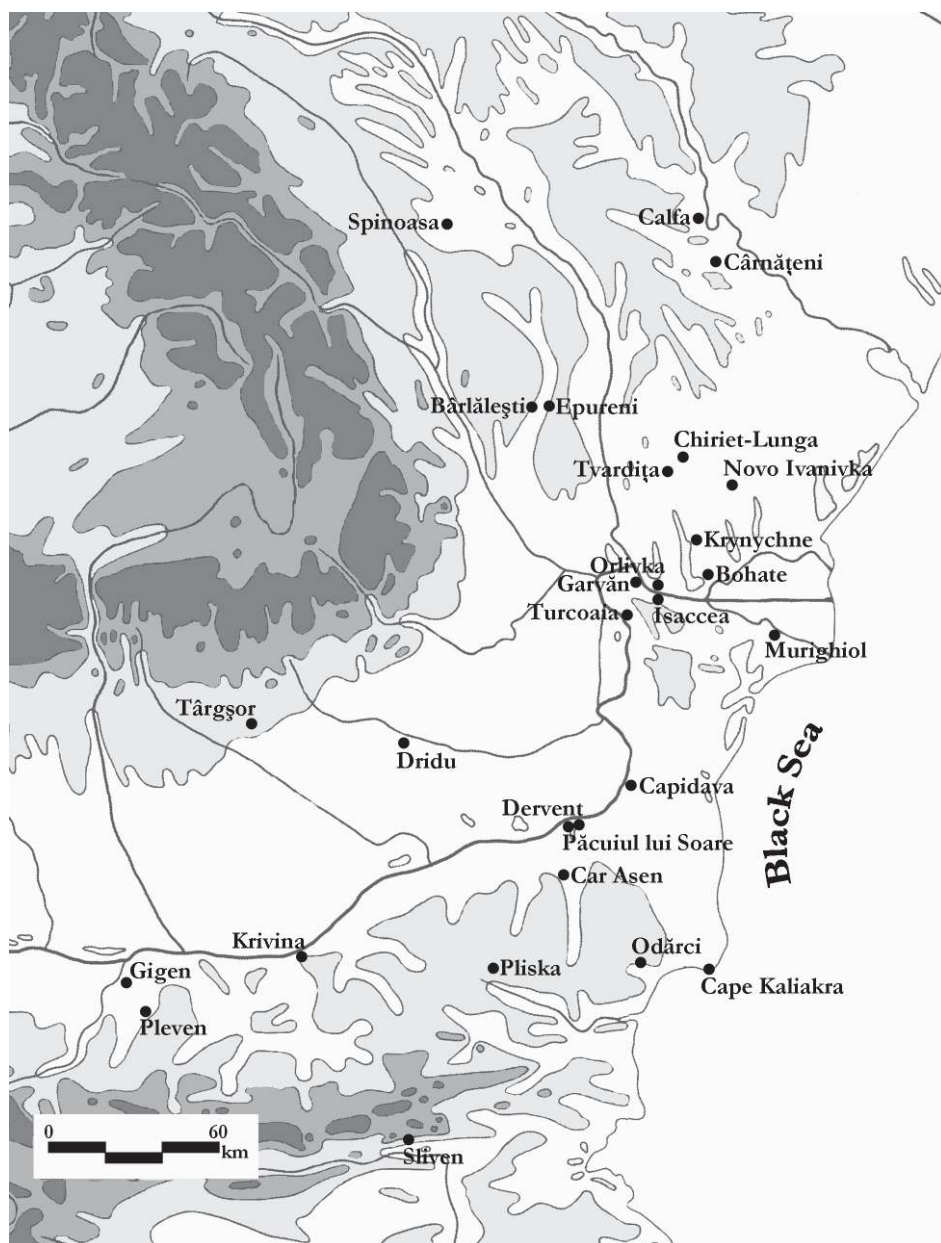


Fig. 1. The distribution of clay kettles on late tenth- and eleventh-century sites in the Lower Danube region. Data after Spinei, “Die Tonkessel” (see n. 75), Doncheva-Petkova, “Mittelalterliche Tonkessel” (see n. 72), and Tentiuc, *Populația* (see n. 80), with additions.

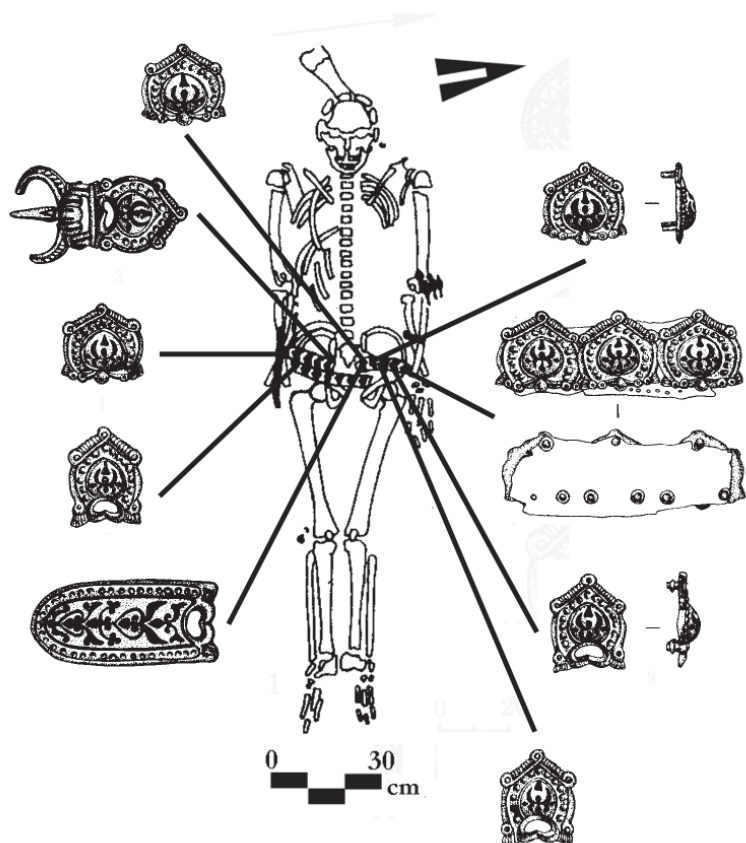


Fig. 2. Bădragii Vechi (Moldova), barrow 10, grave 7: grave plan and associated belt set. After Chirkov, “Novye dannye” (see n. 92)

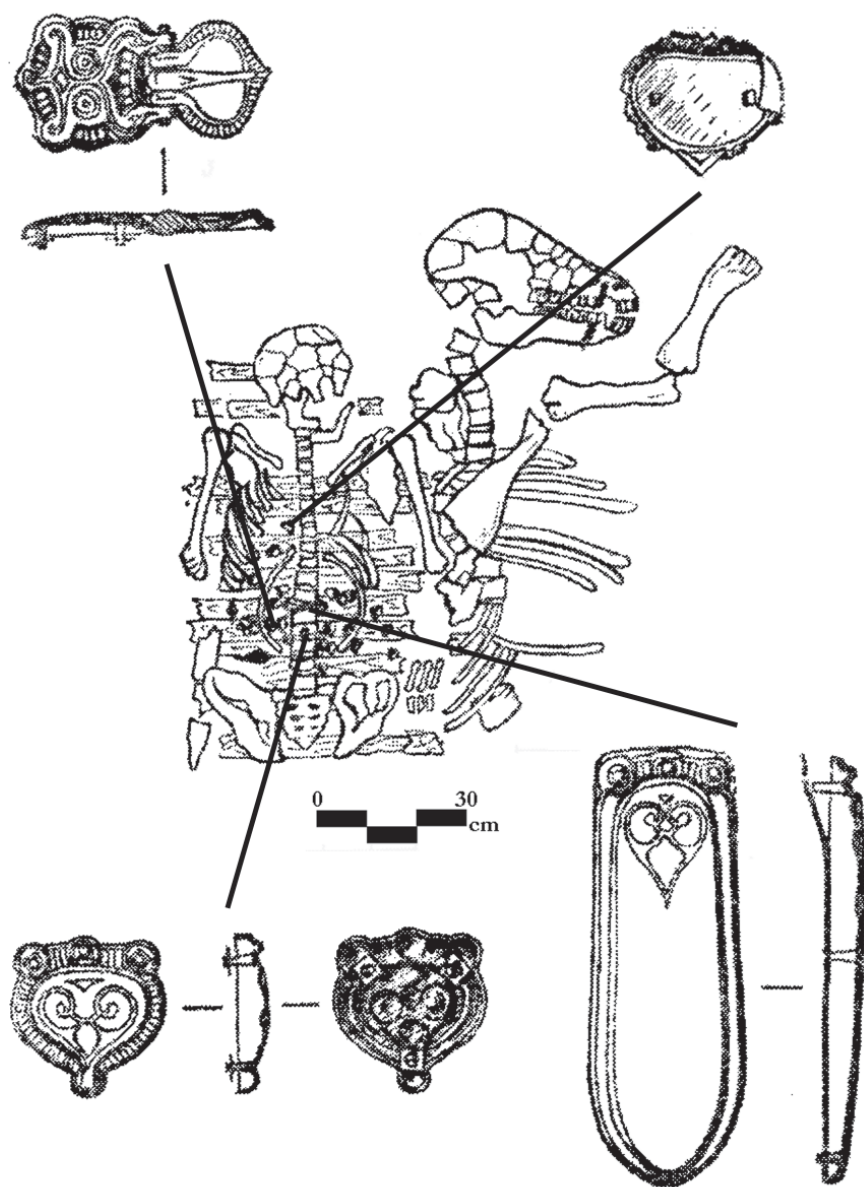


Fig. 3. Trapivka (Ukraine): grave plan, belt set, and arrow heads. After Dobroliubskii and Subbotin, “Pogrebenie” (see n. 92).

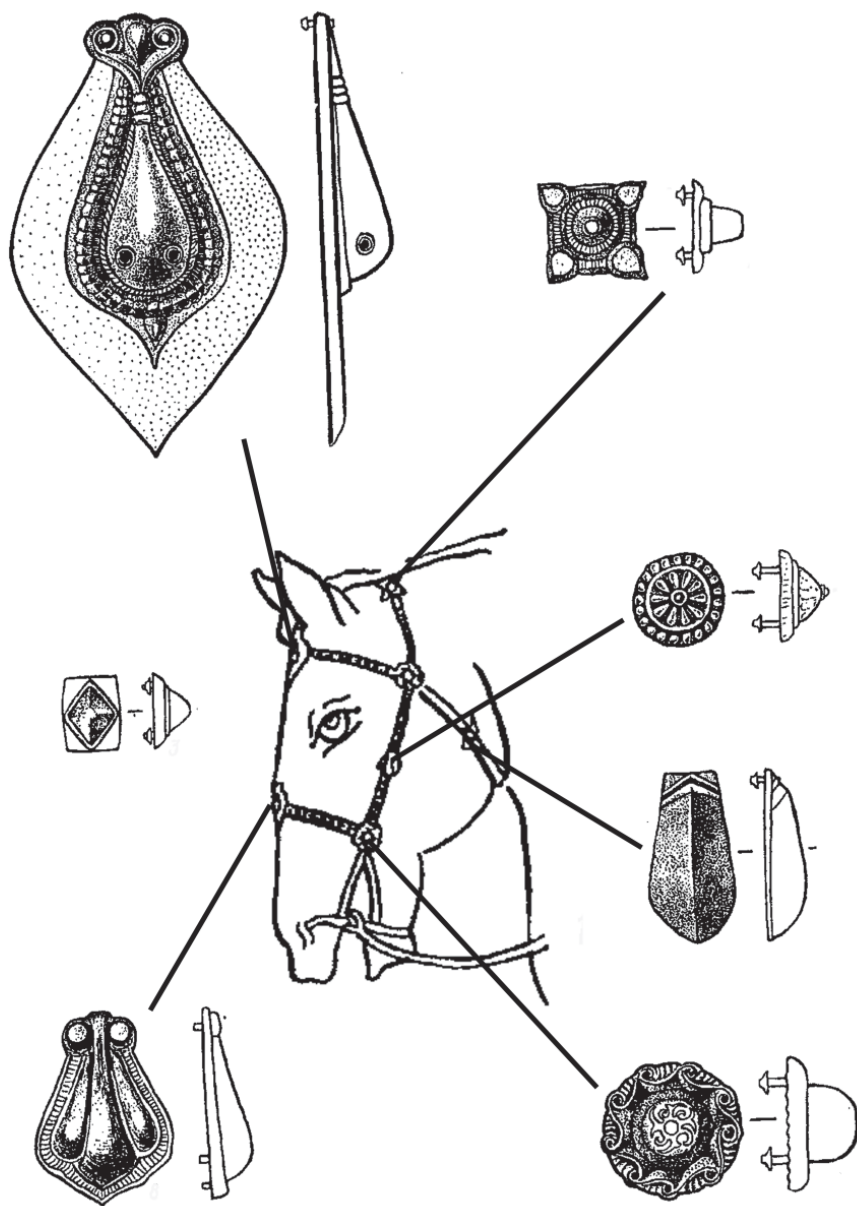


Fig. 4. Myrne (Ukraine): earring and bridle mounts. After Kubyshev and Orlov, „Uzdechnyi khabor” (see n. 131).

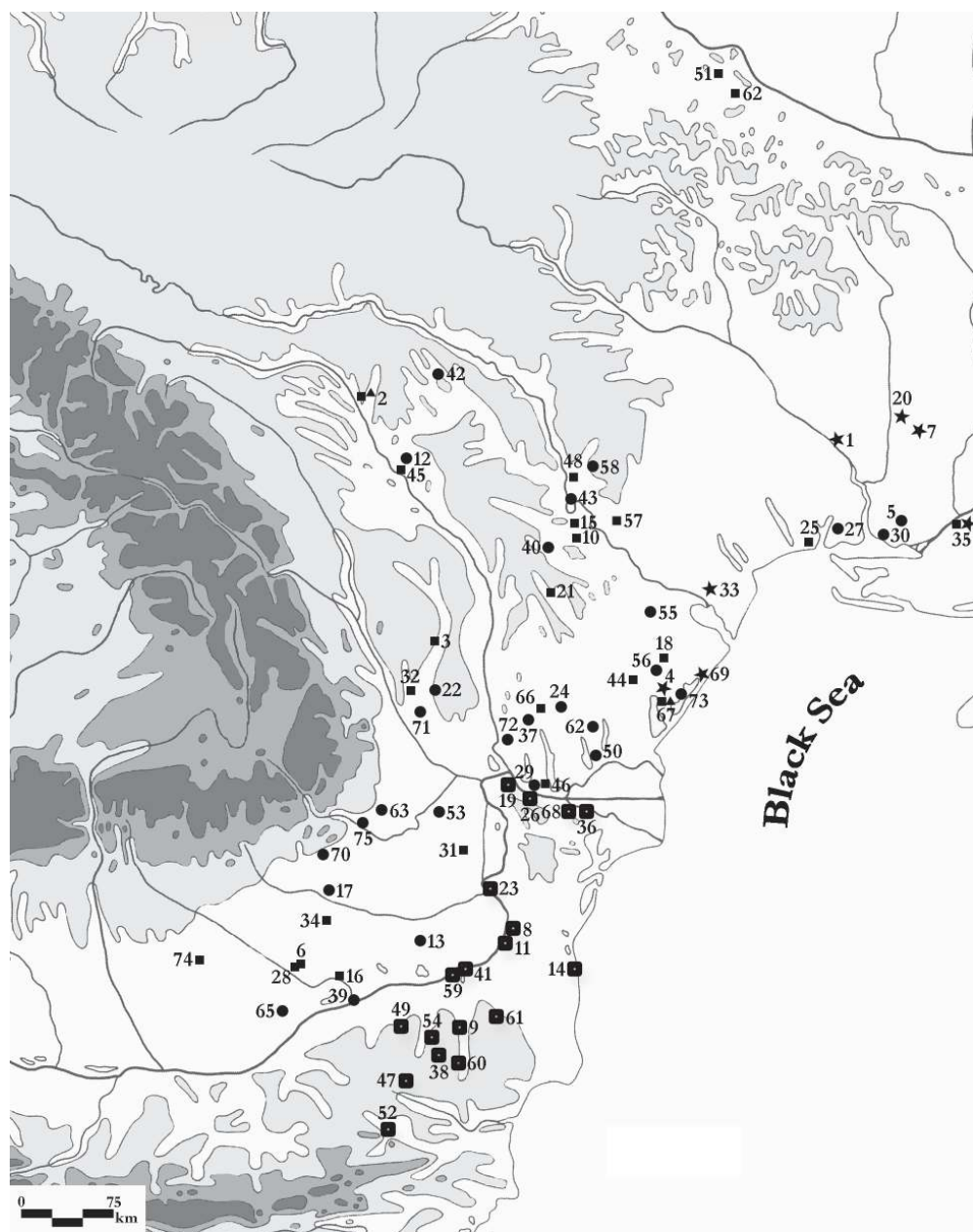


Fig. 5. The distribution of eleventh-century strongholds (large squares) and graves (circle) in barrows with belt sets (triangle), weapons (small square), and bridle mounts (star): 1 – Antonivka; 2 – Bădragii Vechi; 3 – Bârlad; 4 –

Beloles'e; 5 – Bilozirka; 6 – Bucharest-Tei; 7 – Bulhakove; 8 – Capidava; 9 – Car Asen; 10 – Cârnăteni; 11 – Cernavodă; 12 - Chirileni; 13 – Ciulnița; 14 – Constanța; 15 - Copanca; 16 – Curcani; 17 – Dridu-Snagov; 18 – Fridensfeld; 19 – Garvăn; 20 – Gorozhenov; 21 – Grădiște; 22 – Grivița; 23 – Hârșova; 24 – Horodnie; 25 – Iablonia; 26 – Isaccea; 27 – Izhyts'ke; 28 – Jilava; 29 – Kalanchak; 30 – Krilos; 31 – Licoșteanca; 32 – Matca; 33 – Myrne; 34 – Movilița; 35 – Novo Kam'ianka; 36 – Nufăru; 37 - Ogorodnoe; 38 – Okorsh; 39 – Oltenița; 40 – Opaci; 41 – Păcuiul lui Soare; 42 - Palanca; 43 – Parkany; 44 – Pavlivka; 45 – Petrești; 46 – Plavni; 47 – Pliska; 48 – Ploskoe; 49 – Podles; 50 - Pomazany; 51 – Potik; 52 – Preslav; 53 – Râmnicelu; 54 – Ruino; 55 – Săiți; 56 – Sărata; 57 – Sculeia; 58 – Serbka; 59 – Silistra; 60 – Skala; 61 - Sredishte; 62 – Stația Zânelor; 63 – Stepantsi; 64 – Știubei; 65 – Tangăru; 66 – Taraclia; 67 - Trapivka; 68 – Tulcea; 69 – Tuzla; 70 – Ulmeni; 71 – Umbrărești; 72 – Vadu lui Isac; 73 – Vyshneve; 74 – Vitănești; 75 – Ziduri.

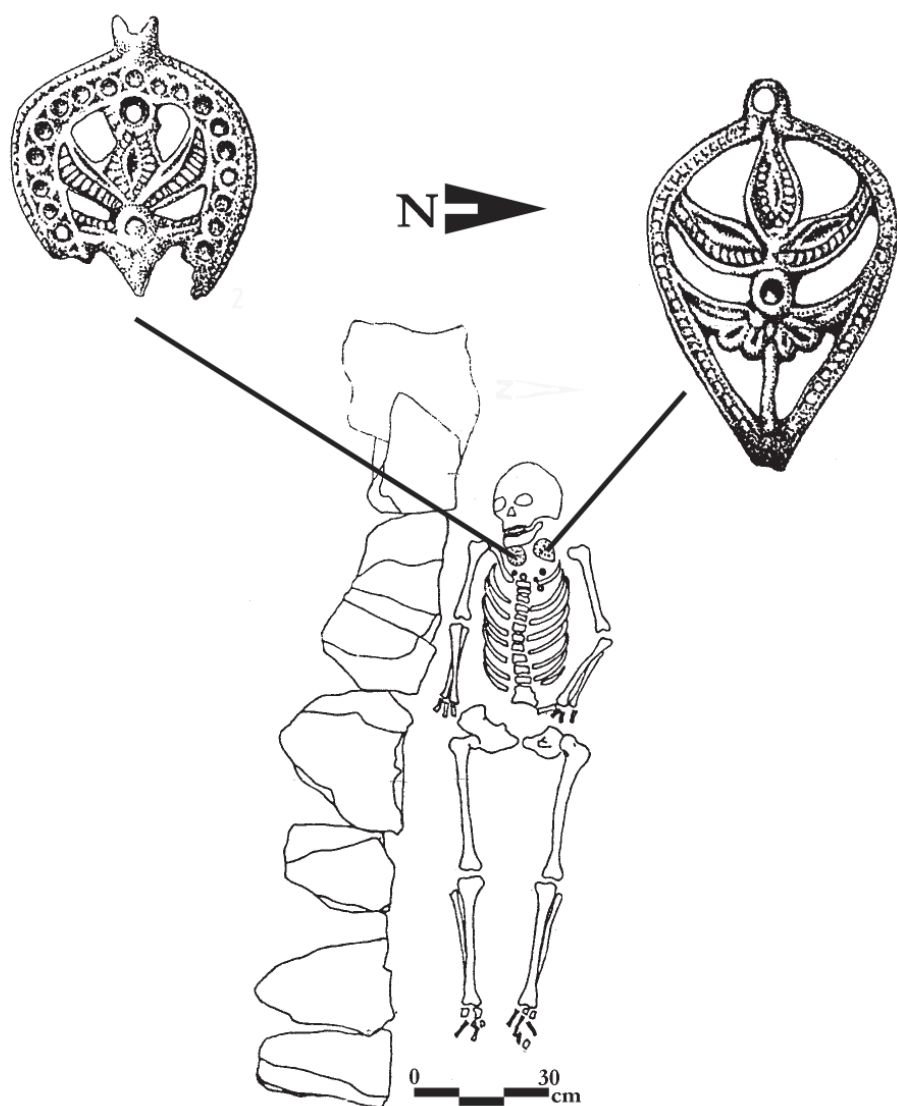


Fig. 6. Histria (Romania): female grave with associated leaf-shaped pendant with open-work ornament.

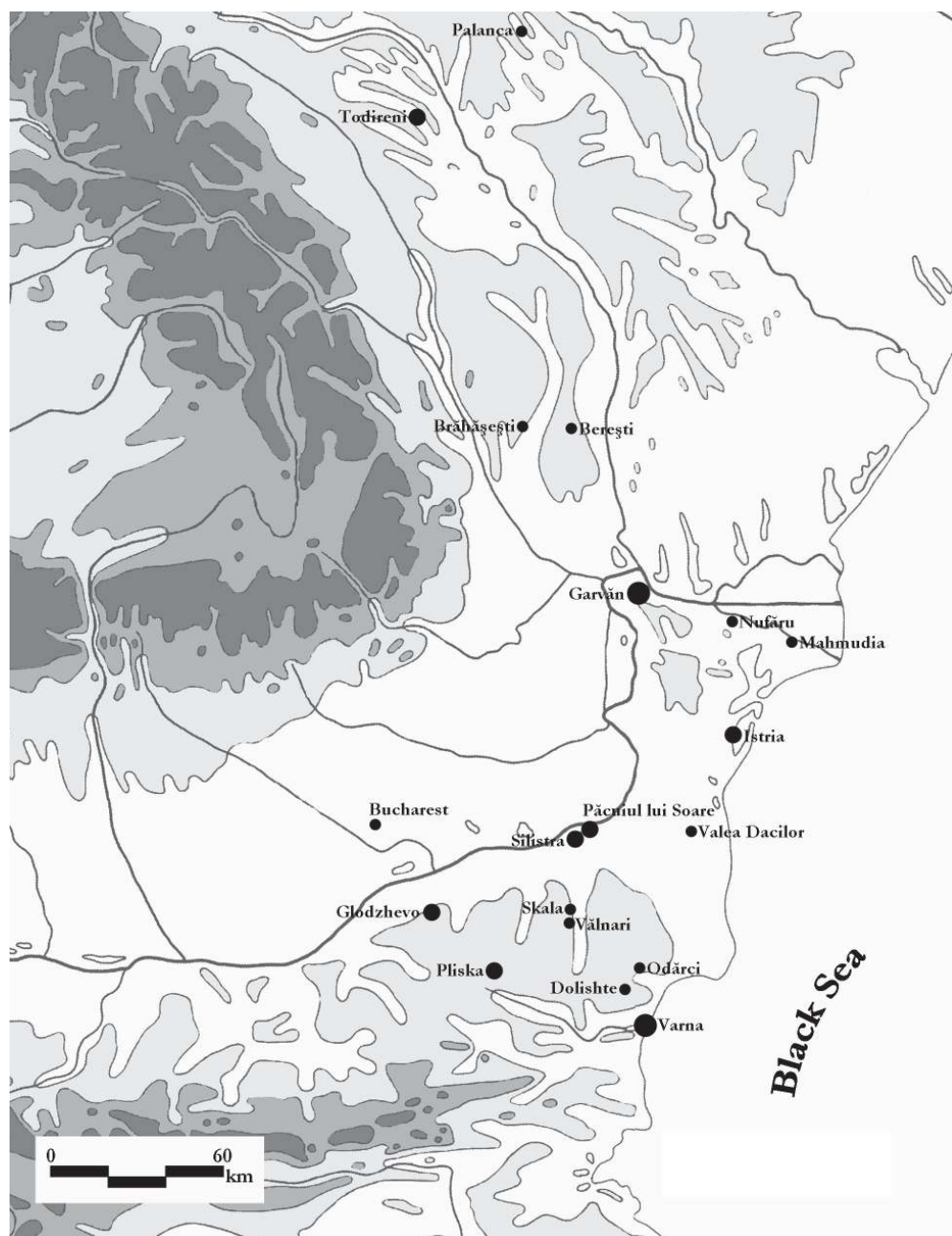


Fig. 7. The distribution of leaf-shaped pendants with open-work ornament in the Lower Danube region. Smallest symbols represent one specimen, larger ones two and three or more specimens, respectively. with open-work ornament.

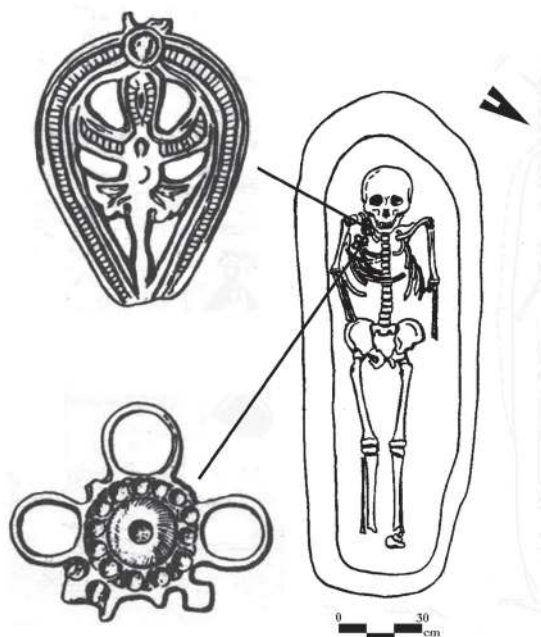


Fig. 8. Belaia Vezha (Sarkel), grave 59: grave plan and associated pendants with open-work ornament.

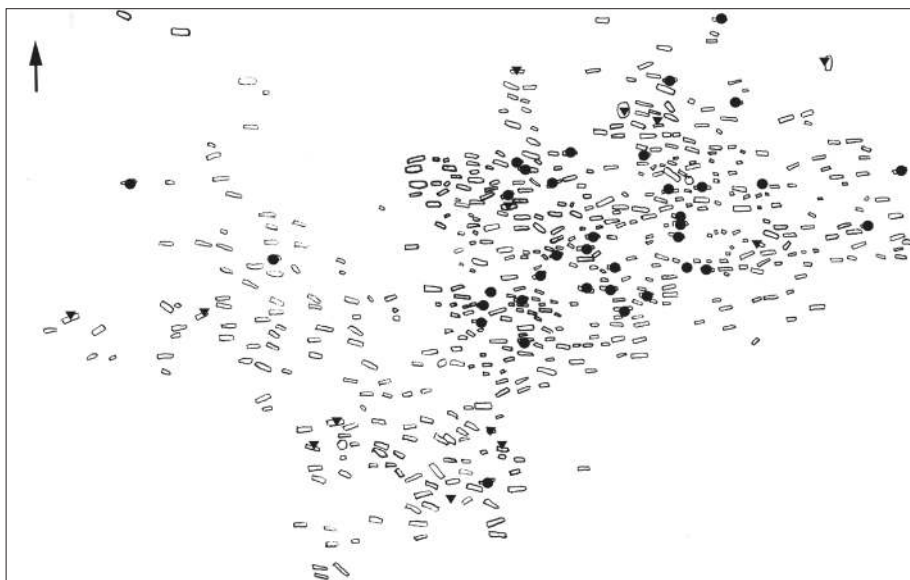


Fig. 9. The distribution of graves with traces of trepanation (circle) and of stone-lined graves (triangle) within the eleventh-century cemetery at Odărci

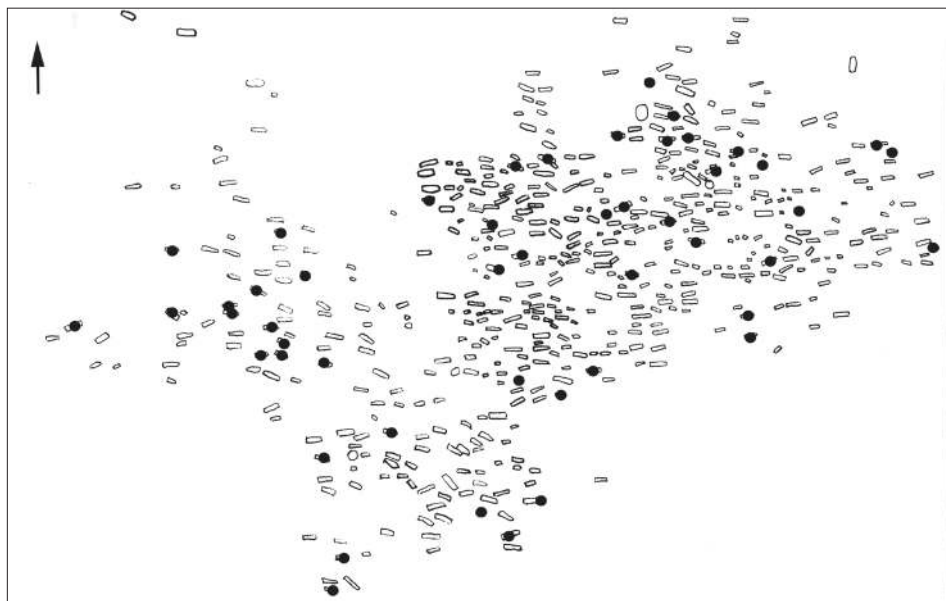


Fig. 10. The distribution within the eleventh-century cemetery at Odârce of graves with a few stones around the grave pit.

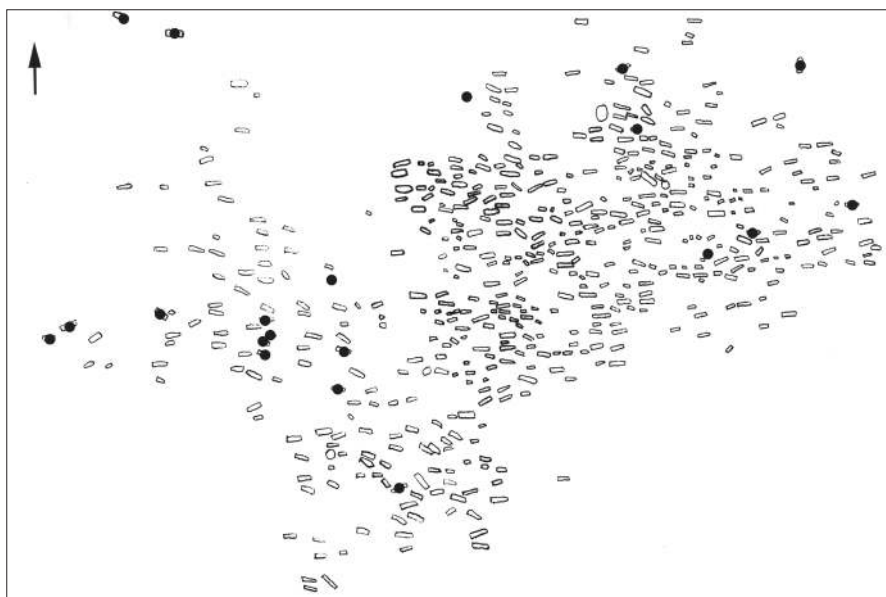


Fig. 11. The distribution of animal bones inside the eleventh-century cemetery in Odârce

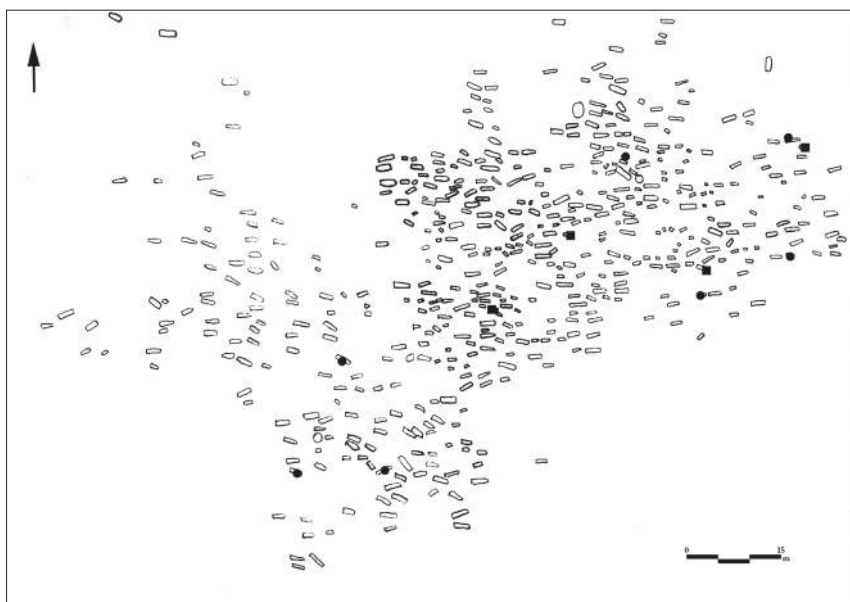


Fig. 12. The distribution of Late Roman (circle) and Byzantine (square) coins inside the eleventh-century cemetery in Odărci

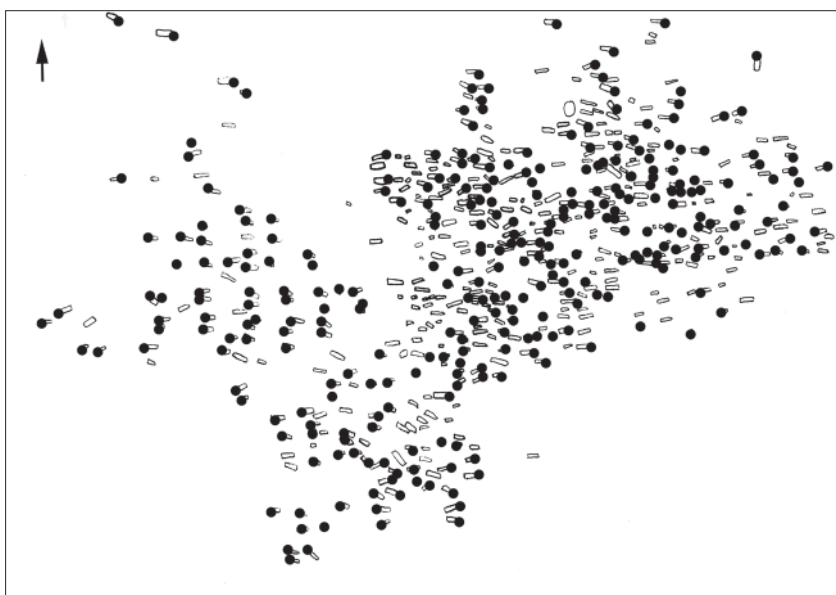


Fig. 13. The distribution within the eleventh-century cemetery in Odărci of burials without grave goods

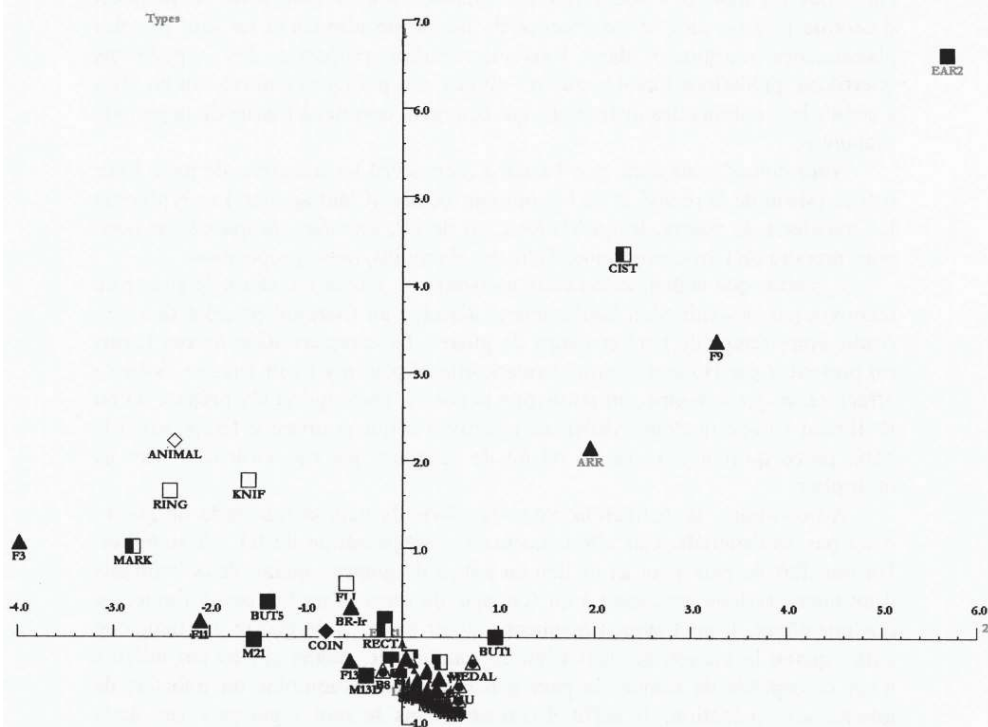


Fig. 14. The correspondence analysis of 73 features and artifact categories identified in 159 graves of the eleventh-century cemetery in Odârçi: B-S – stone beads; B1 – glass beads (Doncheva-Petkova's type I); B2 – glass beads (Doncheva-Petkova's type II); B3 – glass beads (Doncheva-Petkova's type III); B4A – glass beads (Doncheva-Petkova's type IVA); B4V-D – glass beads (Doncheva-Petkova's type IVB-Д); B5- glass beads (Doncheva-Petkova's type V); B6 – glass beads (Doncheva-Petkova's type VI); B8 – glass beads (Doncheva-Petkova's type VIII); B11 – glass beads (Doncheva-Petkova's type XI); B12 – glass beads (Doncheva-Petkova's type XII); B13 – glass beads (Doncheva-Petkova's type XIII); B14 – glass beads (Doncheva-Petkova's type XIV); B15 – glass beads (Doncheva-Petkova's type XV); B16 – glass beads (Doncheva-Petkova's type XVI); B17 – glass beads (Doncheva-Petkova's type XVII); B18 – glass beads (Doncheva-Petkova's type XVIII); B19 – glass beads (Doncheva-Petkova's type XIX); BR-B – bracelet, bronze wire; BR-F – bronze bracelet, band; BR-G – glass bracelet; BR-I – bronze bracelet, interwoven wires; BR-Ir – iron bracelet; BUT1 – button (Doncheva-Petkova's

type I); BUT3 – button (Doncheva-Petkova's type III); BUT5 – button (Doncheva-Petkova's type V); CIST – stone-lined grave; COIN – coin; CROS – pectoral cross; EAR1 – earring, simple; EAR2 – earring, spiral end; F-BEZ – finger-ring with raised bezel; F1 – finger-ring (Doncheva-Petkova's type I); F2 – finger-ring (Doncheva-Petkova's type II); F9 – finger-ring (Doncheva-Petkova's type IX); F11 – finger-ring (Doncheva-Petkova's type XI); F13 – finger-ring (Doncheva-Petkova's type XIII); F15 – finger-ring (Doncheva-Petkova's type XV); FLI – flint; JBEL – jingle bells; KNIF – knife; LOCK – lock ring; M1 – circular mount (Doncheva-Petkova's type I); M2 – circular mount (Doncheva-Petkova's type II); M3 – circular mount (Doncheva-Petkova's type III); M4 – circular mount (Doncheva-Petkova's type IV); M5 – circular mount (Doncheva-Petkova's type V); M6 – circular mount (Doncheva-Petkova's type VI); M12 – circular mount (Doncheva-Petkova's type XII); M13 – circular mount (Doncheva-Petkova's type XIII); M13B – circular mount (Doncheva-Petkova's type XIIIБ); M13D – circular mount (Doncheva-Petkova's type XIIIД); M14 – circular mount (Doncheva-Petkova's type XIV); M16 – circular mount (Doncheva-Petkova's type XVI); M18 – circular mount (Doncheva-Petkova's type XVIII); M19 – circular mount (Doncheva-Petkova's type XIX); M21 – circular mount (Doncheva-Petkova's type XXI); M23 – circular mount (Doncheva-Petkova's type XXIII); M28 – circular mount (Doncheva-Petkova's type XXVIII); M37 – circular mount (Doncheva-Petkova's type XXXVII); M51 – circular mount (Doncheva-Petkova's type LI); MARK – grave with stone markings; MEDAL – medallion; P1 – oval pendant; RECTA – rectangular grave pit; RING – iron ring; SHEET – bronze sheet, pierced; STONE – grave with a few stones around the pit

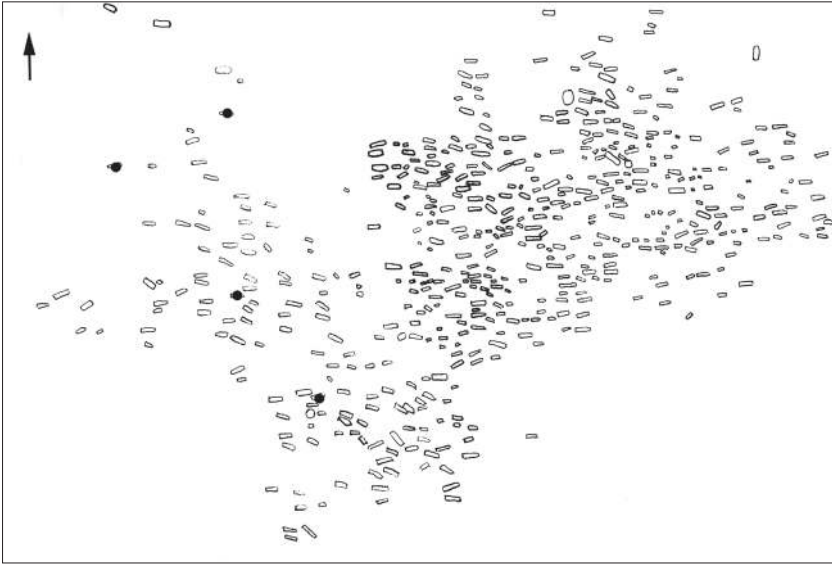


Fig. 15. The distribution of arrow heads within the eleventh-century cemetery in Odărci

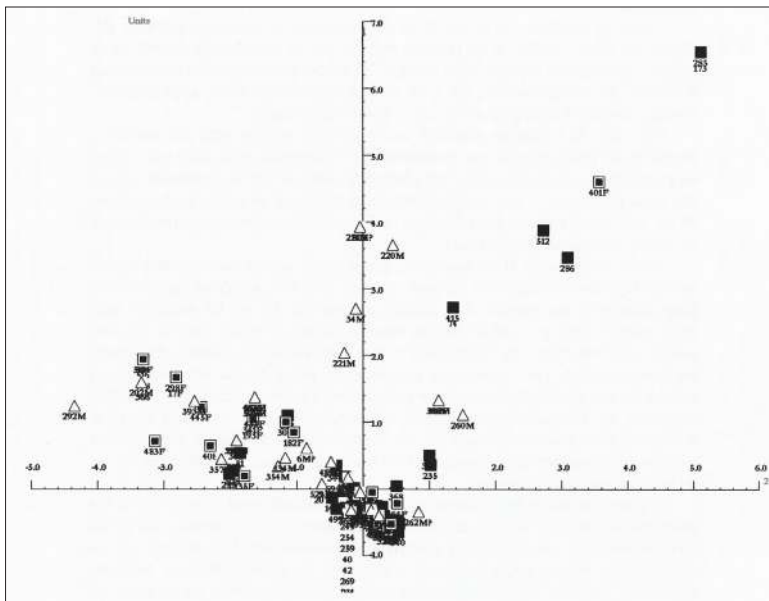


Fig. 16. The correspondence analysis of 159 graves of the eleventh-century cemetery in Odârçi: male (triangle), female (white square), and child (full square) burials

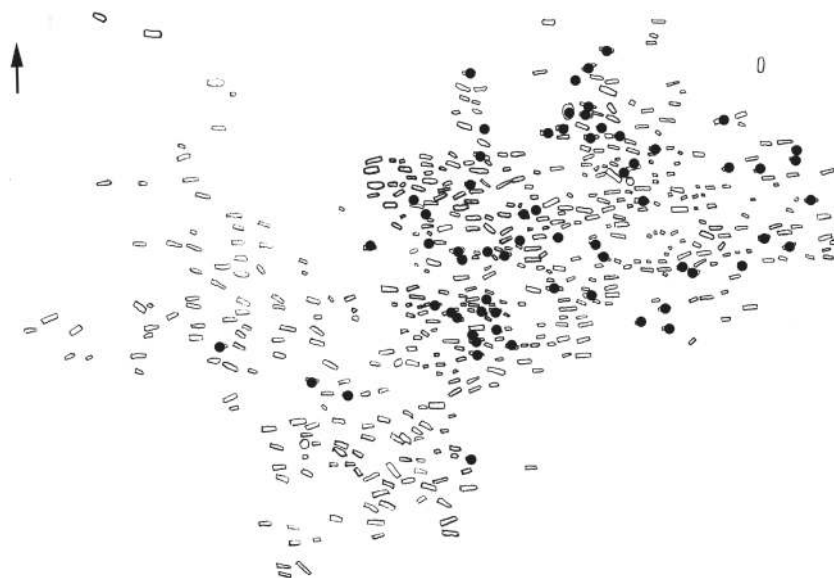


Fig. 17. The distribution of earrings within the eleventh-century cemetery in Odârcei

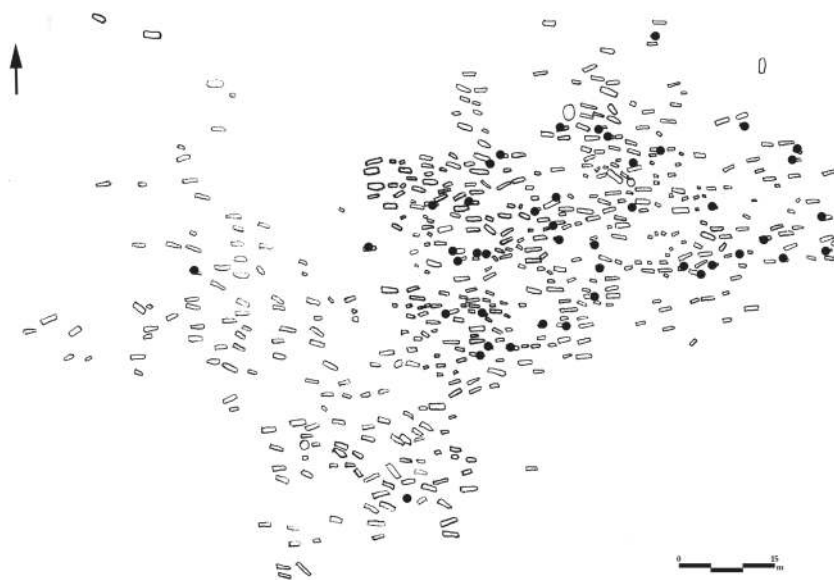


Fig. 18. The distribution of beads within the eleventh-century cemetery in Odârcei

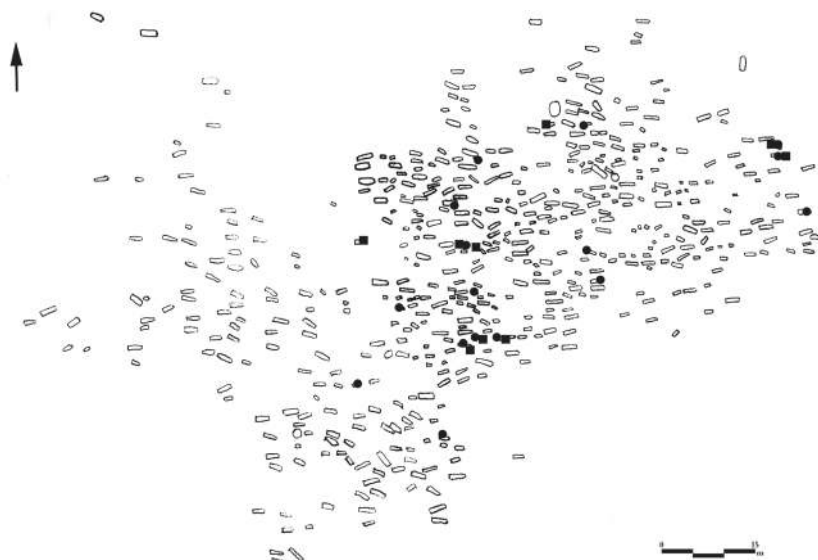


Fig. 19. The distribution of buttons (circle) and jingle bells (square) within the eleventh-century cemetery in Odărci.

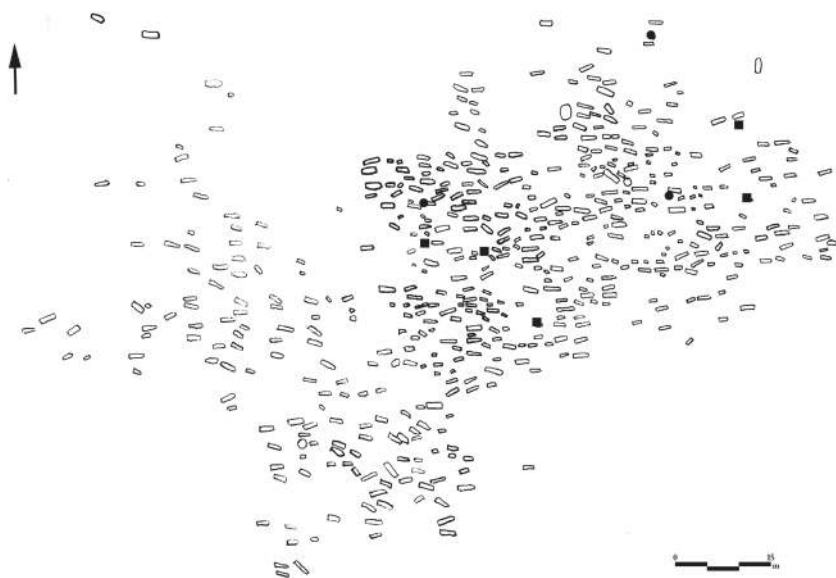


Fig. 20. The distribution of pectoral crosses (square) and medallions (circle) within the Odărci cemetery

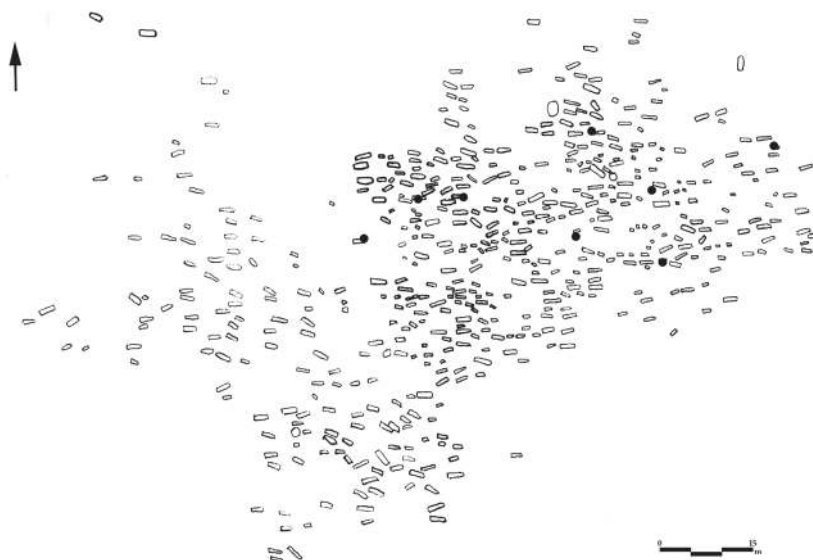


Fig. 21. The distribution of pendants within the eleventh-century cemetery in Odârcei

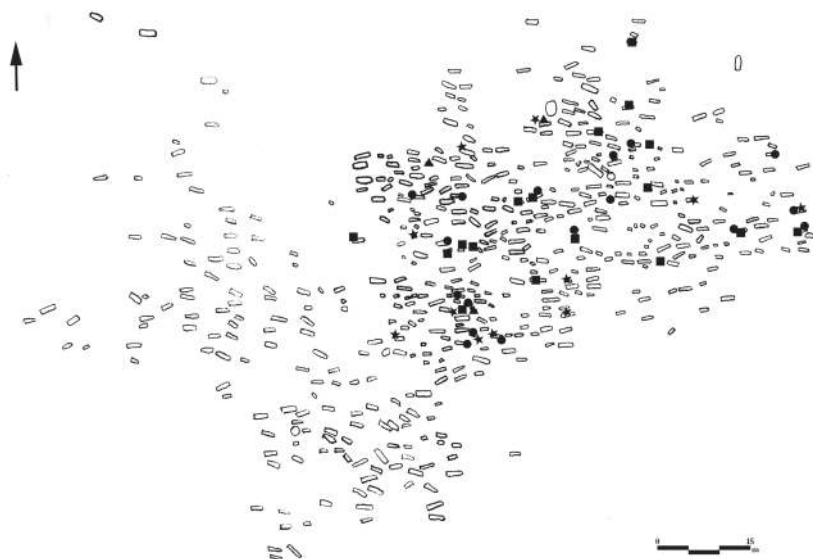


Fig. 22. The distribution of glass (circle), bronze band (square) and rod (star) bracelets, and of bracelets made of interwoven wires (triangle) within the eleventh-century cemetery in Odârcei

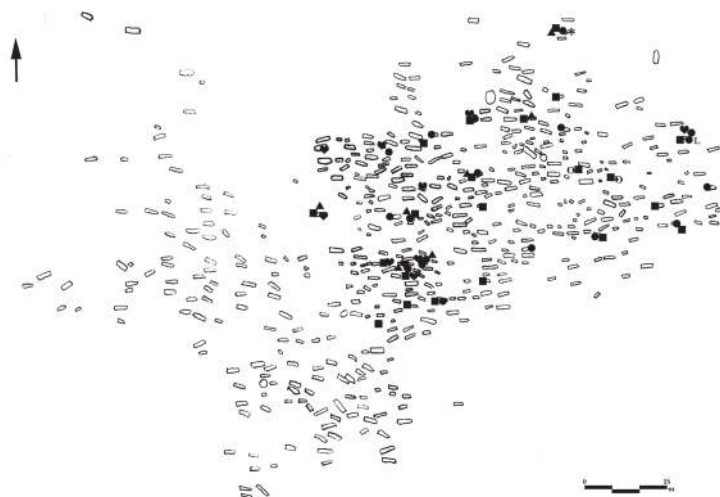


Fig. 23. The distribution of (bridle) mounts within the Odărci cemetery. Symbols: heart - heart-shaped mounts; circle – small, circular mounts (Doncheva-Petkova's types I-IX); square – middle-size, circular mounts (Doncheva-Petkova's types X-XXVI); triangle – large, circular mounts (Doncheva-Petkova's types XXVI-XXXIV); L – leaf-shaped mounts; o – Doncheva-Petkova's types XXXV-XXXVI; * - Doncheva-Petkova's type XXXIX.

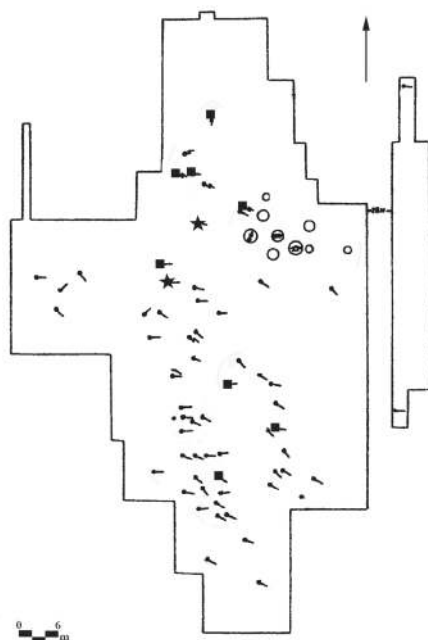


Fig. 24. The distribution of bridle mounts (star) and skeletons with trephined skulls (square) within the Hansca-Căprăria cemetery.

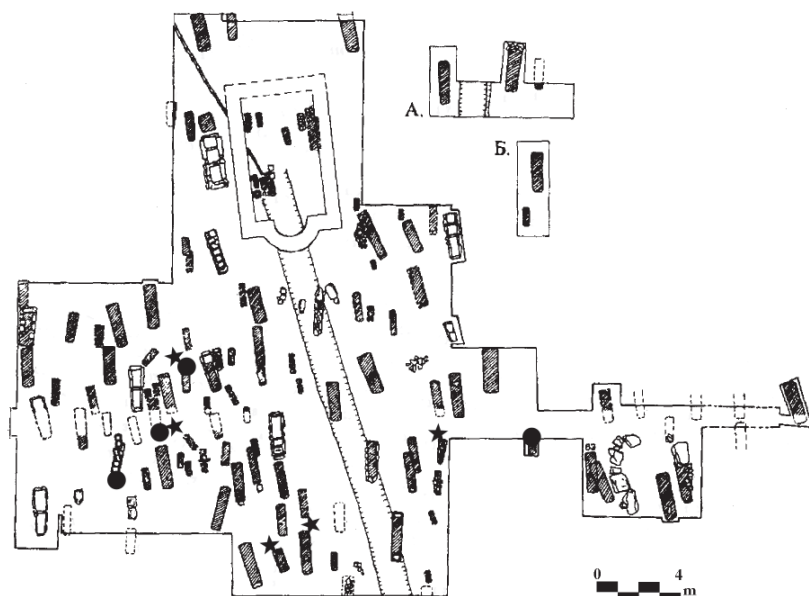


Fig. 25. The distribution of bridle mounts (circle) and beads (star) within the cemetery next to the eastern gate into the Outer Town at Pliska

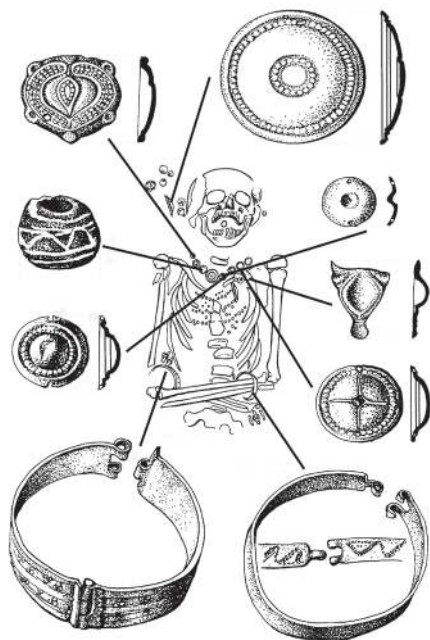


Fig. 26. Odarci, grave 376: plan of the upper part of the skeleton with associated bridle mounts, beads, and bracelets

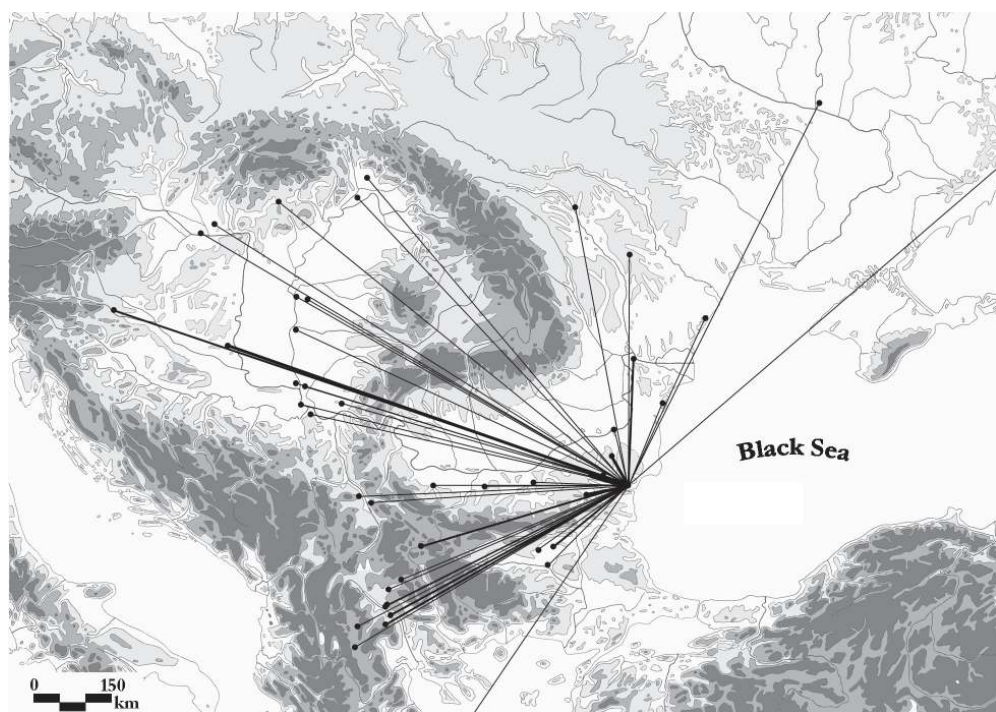


Fig. 27. Plotted analogies for the dress accessories (mounts, bracelets, finger-rings, some glass beads, button, and pendant) found in Odărci in grave 376. The size of the line shows the number of analogies with one and the same site, from one (thinnest) to over three (thickest).