

## SUMMARY

### **The Antes. History and Culture (4th-8th c.)**

The monograph aims to offer a global perspective on the history and culture of the Antes, a people of Slavic origin with a relatively brief historical presence in the turbulent era of Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages. In addition to presenting an overview of historical and cultural issues, the work offers a critical approach and a fresh look on certain aspects such as the credibility of Pseudo-caesarius' testimonies, the comparison of the information in Maurice's *Strategikon* on the attacks against Slavic settlements with the archaeological data and, mostly, the determination of Antic identity, taking into account the written testimonies as well as archaeological finds. The monograph includes an Appendix with all the references of the title *Anticus* used from Justinian I to Heraclius in the historical sources, legal documents, epistolae and inscriptions.

Introduction: *Research data and historiographic approaches.* After a short reference to the main, mostly Greek, sources on the Antes (Jordanes, Procopius, Agathias, Menander Protector, etc.), as well as a note on the title of *Anticus* (see Appendix), the focal point of the introduction is the state of research on the Antes. One of the most controversial issues in modern historiographical discourse is the question of ethnic identity. Although it is widely accepted that after their formation the Antes were a Slavic people, something mentioned by the written sources, the discussion continues regarding their Slavic or Iranian origin. Further, while scholars agree that the name *Antes* was given to them by others, the etymology of the term (was it Slavic or Iranian) is still under discussion. Topics such as the suggestion that the Antes were the ancestors of modern Ukrainians or the bearers of the Cherniakhov culture are also discussed. Also, in addition to the development of the state

of the research in Russia and the Ukraine, the equivalent development in other countries in the last decades is noted.

First chapter: *The Venethi question and the Early Slavs*. Regarding the question of the ethnogenesis and the cradle of the Slavs, the information on the «forgotten» people of Venethi in Jordanes' *Getica*, dated in the middle sixth century, is discussed. Jordanes' testimony, the references to the Venethi from ancient authors as Plinius the Elder, Tacitus and Ptolemaios, who place the Venethi/Venedi in the area of the river Vistula, and the geographical location of the people in *Tabula Peutingeriana* are scrutinized. Further, the chapter looks at the correlation, by some scholars, of the Venethi, Sclaveni and the Antes with ancient tribes mentioned by Ptolemaios (Stavanoi, Suovinoi) and Herodotus (Neuroi, Budinoi) in order to establish a continuity between these tribes and the Early Slavs. Reference is also made to historiographical approaches on the Venethi question from the «romantic» historians of the nineteenth century up to today, as well as the importance of the Venethi and certain ancient cultures in the development of national historiography in the Slavic countries. The association of Venethi with the Early Slavs (Sclaveni and Antes) is rejected, taking into account the plausible location of Venethi in Lower Vistula and the Baltic Sea area, and the appearance of the early Slavic cultures, namely Kolochin, Korchak-Prague and Pen'kovka, in the area of modern Russia, Ukraine and Belarus.

Second chapter: *Early history and ethnography of the Antes*. The chapter initially considers the area of settlement as well as early historical testimonies, ethnographic data and social organization. For the first case, Procopius describes the Antes as a people living close to the Danube but also north of the Utigurs. His testimony on the area of Antic settlement is in accordance with the description of Jordanes, who places its center of Antic settlement in the area between the rivers Dniester and Dnieper. From the historical sources and the archaeological data we could conclude that the Antic expansion in the sixth century covered the space between the Lower Danube and the river Donets. The focus of the early testimonies is placed on the attacks of the Ostrogoths against the Antes during the reign of Hermanarich and Vinitharius and the subjugation of the Antes to the Ostrogoths. The distinction between Western and Eastern Antes is accepted too, as well as that the Antes were a tribal union of

Eastern Slavs. The examination of the social organization of the Antes is based on the testimonies of Procopius and Maurice. Taking into account the finds of weapons or the titles of the leaders in early Slavic society, certain models such as the *chefferie/chieftom* or the *military democracy*, as well as the meaning of *democracy* to the early Slavs are discussed along with the credibility of Pseudocaesarius on some primitive rituals of the Slavs and the identification of the Antes with the *Ripianoi/Physonitai*.

Third chapter: *The Antes and Byzantium*. The more extensive third chapter is divided in four sub-chapters. In the first one, under consideration are Byzantine-Antic relations from 518 to 545/46. The focal points are the first attack of the Antes against Byzantium in 518, as well as the testimonies on further raids of the Antes, the Slavs and the «Huns» during the reign of Justinian. The view that the general of Thrace, Germanus, who defeated the Antes in 518, was a nephew of the emperor Justin I and not of Justinian I is accepted. Having mentioned the victories of Chilbudius and Mundus over the invaders, the chapter considers the case of the title *Anticus* appended to the titlature of the emperor Justinian I and to that of his successors until 612. A reference to the struggle between the Slavs and the Antes (probably between 533 and 540/45), followed by the victory of the Slavs, is also made. Another important issue of the sub-chapter is the Byzantine-Antic treaty in 545/46. Justinian's rapprochement with the Western Antes was part of a wider frame of alliances with a view to protect the northern frontier of the empire. According to Procopius, the main points of the treaty were the settlement of the Western Antes as federates in the area of the ancient city Turris north of the Danube, in order to be allies of the Empire and, on the other hand, to prevent the raids of the nomadic peoples. Regarding the question of Turris' location, its identification with modern Barboși (close to Galați and the roman Dinogetia) is accepted. Further, it is assumed that the federates Antes had as «sector of responsibility» the northern part of the Scythian *limes* in order to defend the local fortresses as well as the road network of Scythia Minor. A result of the treaty was the recruitment of Antic troops into the Byzantine army, the presence of certain military commanders of Antic origin in the imperial forces, and the use of Antes as mercenaries in Italy during the Ostrogothic wars.

The second sub-chapter considers the reorganization of the Danubian

limes during the reign of Justinian I, taking into account the testimonies of Procopius' *De Aedificiis* as well as the archaeological data. The fortresses of Moesia Prima, Dacia Ripensis, Moesia Secunda and Scythia Minor are recorded in detail along with their identification with earlier Roman fortresses and/or modern toponyms. Reference is also made to certain fortresses on the northern bank of the Lower Danube, and in connection to Justinianian ideology, namely the restoration of the Byzantine rule at the area. The third sub-chapter tackles the episode of Pseudo-Chilbudius (dated in 545/46), an Antian namesake of the *magister militum per Thraciam* Chilbudius, who fell in the battle in 533. Leaving aside the rather fantastic character of the narration, attention is paid to certain information on the morals, customs and social hierarchy in Antic society. On the other hand, the Antic origins of the Byzantine general Chilbudius is accepted (since Procopius mention this name as an Antic one), as well as the assumption that Chilbudius entered the court of Justinian after the Byzantine-Antic conflict of 518.

The fourth subchapter considers Byzantine-Antic relations from 545/46 until 602/12. During this half century, although the written testimonies are few, we could assume that the Antes remained constant allies of Byzantium. The provisional subjugation of the Antes to the Avars between 558 and 562 as well as the attack of the Antes against the Sclaveni in 584, following the orders of the emperor Maurice, are noted, while the assumption that the Antic attack caused the Slavic raids of 583-584 and also the campaign of Ardagastus until Adrianople is rejected. The lack of information on the Antes during the conflicts of Byzantium with the Sclaveni or the Avars in the Lower Danube is also discussed. In order to approach the question of the continuity of the Byzantine-Antic alliance, is examined the use of the title *Anticus*, which possibly suggests the maintenance of Byzantine supremacy over the Antes, emphasizing on the fact that the use of this title by the emperors Justin II, Tiberius and Maurice coincides with some Avar attacks against Byzantium, as in 570 (Thrace), in 582 (Sirmium) and 584-585 (Lower Danube cities). Finally, is considered the final mention of the Antes in the sources in 602, when the Avars attacked them. The view that the Avar attack caused the end of Antic hegemony is rejected, as the title *Anticus* occurs again in 612 in a *Novella* of Emperor Heraclius. The conclusion drawn is that

the last reference of the title is possibly associated with the downfall of the Scythian *limes* (the last part of the *limes* at the Lower Danube) in c. 614/15 and the dissolution of western Antic hegemony, which brought an end of Justinian's strategic plan for the protection of the northeastern part of the Danubian *limes*, a plan which had lead to the Byzantine-Antic treaty of 545/46.

Fourth Chapter: *The Pen'kovka culture*. The last chapter regards the finds of the Penkovka culture, usually linked with the Antes, namely:

a) The beginnings of the culture. Reference is made to the main -and common- features of the three early Slavic cultures (Pen'kovka, Kolochin and Korchak-Prague), namely the hand-made pottery, the sunken huts and cremation, as well as their relation to certain eastern European cultures, as the Late Zarubintsi and Kiev. The assumptions of modern scholars on the settlement of Penkovka tribes into an area that the Goths abandoned in the middle of the 5th c., and the replacement of the Cherniakhov culture by Pen'kovka is also discussed. Beside this, the problem of the Cherniakhov's influences on the latter is also examined.

b) *General features and geographical area*. Having as the centre of interest the area between the rivers Dniester and Dnieper, as well as the extension of Pen'kovka until the Lower Danube and the river Donets respectively, focal point are the finds of the culture. A geographical determination of the forest-step zone is given, along with the limits of the Pen'kovka with other Slavic cultures to the north and west and the nomads to the south. Certain contact zones and mutual influences between the Pen'kovka and other early Slavic cultures are recorded as well as the opinions of certain scholars on the first specimens of the Pen'kovka culture (the type Roishche-Bogoroditsnoe, according to O. Prikhodniuk) and the date of the Pen'kovka culture according to the three periods of its development. Further, a reference to the discussion on the ethnic character of the Pen'kovka culture, its local peculiarities and the distinction of the culture into five zones (east of the Dnieper, between Dniester and Dnieper, Nadporozh'e and Lower Orel, between Prouth and Dniester as well as between Prouth, Sereth and Lower Danube, namely an «infiltration zone») is made.

c) *Settlements, sunken huts and fortifications*. Reference is made to the main features of the Pen'kovka settlements (location, extent, groups of

sunken-huts) etc. In order to provide some more information about the extent of these settlements, attention is paid to the testimony of Maurice's *Strategikon* on the military operations against the Slavic settlements, namely the necessary troops, the distances and the coordination between the commanders. Regarding the cemeteries of the Pen'kovka, their location in the settlements and the burial customs (cremation and urns as well as few cases of inhumation), are mentioned. The sunken-huts of the Pen'kovka and their characteristics according to the three phases of the culture are also considered. The type of construction, the form and dimensions, the depth, the open hearth or the stone/clay oven, are noted with some relevant statistics. The influences from the Slavic as well as the nomadic space (some round or oval sunken-huts), and some other elements, as the workshops or the pits for the storage of the products, are parts of the sub-chapter. Further, in addition to the fortresses of Budishche and Şeliste, there is a discussion on the Pastyrskë fortress, its construction, the archaeological finds within and the assertions on its function as a political or religious centre.

d) *Pottery and metallurgy*. After a short description of the main features of the Pen'kovka pottery, a classification of their vessels according to their typology is given, as the biconical, the short and round vessels, the tulip-shape of Kolochin, the Korchak-Prague type etc. Some influences, e.g. from Cherniakhov or nomadic cultures as well as a variety of other ceramic objects (disks, bowls etc.) are also examined. The sub-chapter deals also with metal objects of the Pen'kovka culture such as buckles, brooches, bracelets, earrings, necklaces, etc. Following a short reference to workshops, tools for agriculture and objects of daily use, the focus point are the brooches classified in certain types as *Dnieper/Antic* or *Danube* and, on the other hand, the anthropomorphic and zoomorphic decorative motifs on brooches and buckles. Further, the so-called Ipo-teşti-Cindeşti-Ciurel culture, and more specifically the finds in modern Moldova and Romania, which correspond to elements of Pen'kovka and Korchak-Prague culture (pottery, sunken-huts etc.) as well as the finds of the Costişa-Botoşana type in Moldova, linked to the first waves of the Slavic immigration in the area, are also considered. Regarding the finds of the Pen'kovka culture in some Byzantine fortresses or cities in the Lower Danube, it seems plausible to attribute them to the Antic troops

that served in the Byzantine army following the Byzantine-Antic treaty of 545/46.

e) *The Martynovka type treasures*. Reference is made to a number of treasures that came to light in the Middle Dnieper area (Hacki, Koziievka, Novaia Odessa, Koloskovo, Trubchevsk etc.), and especially the treasure of Martynovka. Regarding the latter, the silver finds (pendants, belt-sets, brooches, etc.) are classified according to their owners (male or female). Some objects of Byzantine origin are recorded too. The assumptions on the date of the treasures, their similarities with finds in Central and Southeastern Europe, the existence of a social hierarchy in the Antic society etc., are considered.

Summarizing the data of our research, we could conclude that the Antes were a Slavic people related to the Sclaveni. These two peoples formed the two branches of the Early Slavs. Sixth-century Byzantine sources make clear that they shared similarities but actually were not one and the same at all. When compared to the Sclaveni, the Antes accepted more influences from the Germanic or steppe peoples and shown by their political organization and their material culture (the metallurgy of the Pen'kovka was more developed than the Korchak-Prague or Kolochin culture). The model of the centralized power to the Antes is appeared only in the 4th century. For the 6th century, the data shows that the leaders (*archontes*) of the Antes held an intermediate position between a monarch and a chieftain, while in the case of the Sclaveni are rather evident only the chieftains. These *archontes* were leaders of the Antic tribal unions which still had a not developed social hierarchy. The fact that these leaders were not simple tribal chiefs is confirmed by the genealogy of certain Antes and, from the archaeological point of view, by the Martynovka type treasures and the possible role of Pastyorsk'e fortress as an administrative center. The most important fact, however, is that Byzantium concluded a treaty with the Western Antes, but not with Sclaveni, which probably means that the Antes possessed, at the very least, some sort of centralized power structure. The historical and cultural evolution of the Antes was not the same with that of Sclaveni, but this does not alter their ethnic and cultural identity. Consequently, their Slavic character should not be a matter for discussion.

