

ОДЪРЦИ

Том 2



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ODARTSI

ELEVENTH CENTURY CEMETERIES

Volume 2

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ЛЮДМИЛА ДОНЧЕВА-ПЕТКОВА

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Върху средновековното селище в м. Калето при с. Одърци, Добричко (публикувано в том 1), през 30-те години на XI в. възниква некропол (№ 1), от който са открити над 70 гроба. Друг голям некропол (№ 2) с 535 гроба се появява около средата на XI в. в подножието на хълма.

Тези некрополи с разнообразните гробни съоръжения, с различните позиции на скелетите, ориентация, езически и християнски елементи, както и със специфичния гробен инвентар разкриват духовната и материалната култура на нахлулите през XI в. по нашите земи печенези. Материалите от одърските некрополи говорят за народ със своеобразна култура, намиращ се в процес на изоставане на традиционните си верски и погребални обичаи и поел бавно и трудно по пътя на християнизирание.

Трудът е придружен с каталог с богат илюстративен материал — снимки и графични рисунки на всеки гроб и на откритите материали.

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The village of Odartsi, Dobrich district, has gained popularity in archaeological literature due to the excavations of many years of the late antiquity fortress and the medieval Bulgarian settlement on top of the hill called "Kaleto". The findings of the research work done concerning the medieval settlement are already published in Odartsi, volume I (Sofia, 1999). During the years of excavations many graves were found scattered all over the hill, between and above the devastated and abandoned dwellings of the Bulgarian population. They started to appear in the northernmost end of the site and continued to be met in numbers in its central part. Scattered finds are also known from the southern part of the hilltop. The southernmost graves were situated in square 462 (Plan 1). Straggling over the hill, the graves do not make everywhere an impression of a regular cemetery. Nevertheless, the number of graves, which exceeds 70 (together with those excavated by the Polish archaeological team within and around Buildings XX and XXI), gives grounds to present them as a particular whole under the name of "Cemetery No 1".

The discovery of the Bulgarian medieval settlement on the hill put forward the question about the location of its cemetery. In 1983, after long quests and many control drillings, a medieval cemetery was discovered at the foot of the hill. It is situated in a flat country, north-east of the latter. The area of the cemetery, amounting to 4375 square metres, was entirely excavated in nine archaeological campaigns. 535 graves were found.

Odartsi, volume II contains the results of the archaeological investigation of both discussed cemeteries - the one on the Kaleto Hill, and the other at the foot of the same hill. The work consists of introduction, three chapters, bibliography, catalogue of the graves and supplements (plans, tables, figures and plates).

Chapter One. The Cemeteries. The chapter includes several parts, each of them with its own title.

Topography and Surface Indication of the Graves. The long excavations proved that the graves of Cemetery No 1 (66 of them excavated by the Bulgarian team) belong to the latest archaeological monuments on the Kaleto Hill (Plan 2). They disturb the uppermost layer from the times of the First Bulgarian Kingdom and here and there reach even to the early Byzantine buildings. Most of the graves (about 40) were found in the central part of the hilltop, where the thickness of soil layer is greatest. Since medieval dwellings are almost missing there, presumably it was the square place of the medieval settlement. The soil layer in the southern part of the hilltop is much thinner and continental rock is often lying immediately beneath the grass and humus layer. Several graves (nos 40, 55, 64) are situated within medieval dwellings. Others destroy some of their walls (nos 42, 44, 53, 59, 60, 61) or are placed just next to them (nos 14, 39, 41, 48, 49, 51, 52, 62). Most of the graves are dug in the medieval layers, but the deepest ones (like no 31) reach the early Byzantine level. The graves' depth ranges between 0,10 and 0,90 m.

Cemetery No 2 is situated in a flat country, just next to the Kaleto Hill. There is a sinking in the southern part of the terrain, which marks the course of the early Byzantine defensive ditch (Plan 3). The graves are dug in the black earth to a depth of 0,30 to 1,20 m. The cemetery occupies part of the Bulgarian medieval settlement, which extended north of the Kaleto Hill in the 10th century. Seventeen of the dwellings that had been built there were studied during the excavations. After the Bulgarian population had abandoned them, graves were dug in their ruins. For example, 9 graves were found within dwelling 121.

It already has been said that graves are scattered almost everywhere on top of the Kaleto Hill. Nevertheless, certain arrangement in 2, 3 and even 4 lines is to be seen in the central part of the site, where most of the graves are situated. No cases of superimposing of later and earlier graves have been registered. Nor there is evidence about secondary use of one and the same grave.

Plan 3 shows that the graves of Cemetery No 2 are also scattered all over its territory. However, greater concentration is seen in its eastern half: the graves are more closely spaced there and linear arrangement from east to west is clearly observed in certain sectors. Those graves had been probably marked in certain manner and therefore stood out against the surface. Except for 3 or 4 cases, no superimposing of later and earlier graves has been registered in this cemetery, too. Graves nos 27, 28 and 29 give an example of partial triple superimposition. The male grave no 447 and child's grave no 448 are the other exception, since both deceased were buried in one pit. There are no cases of secondary use of one and the same grave.

Grave Constructions. The 66 graves on the Kaleto Hill and the other 535 ones excavated at the hill

foot reveal different types of grave constructions, which can be divided into five main groups: I. Simple pits; II. Pits covered with stones; III. Pits marked with stones; IV. Pits surrounded by stones; V. Pits surrounded by and covered with stones - the so-called stone chambers or cist-graves. Representatives of these groups were discovered throughout the area of both cemeteries. No territorial differentiation of particular grave constructions has been registered. Graves of different types were often found situated next to each other. The first group is the largest, and the second one - the least numerous among the graves belonging to each of both cemeteries.

Positions of Skeletons. In both cemeteries the deceased were usually buried in stretched position on their back. In little more than 20 cases the skeletons were discovered slightly turned on their right (towards south) or left side (towards north). Based on the position of limbs, a great variety of general positions of skeletons have been differentiated in the cemeteries near Odartsi.

Twenty-one general positions were registered in Cemetery No 1, and 50 in Cemetery No 2. Most of them mark differences in arm position, while legs are stretched in one and the same way. Some 30 skeletons in both cemeteries reveal different position of legs (general positions 29-51). Two skeletons from Cemetery No 1 and four from Cemetery No 2 resemble hockers (general positions 49, 50) (Plan 4). Arm position does not depend on sex and age. While general positions 1-9 and 24-28 seem to be basically pagan, general positions 10-15, 25 and 26 might well be related to Christian burial practice. It is noteworthy that burials with bent legs were most often found in grave constructions of group I (simple pits), followed by such of groups II, III and IV.

The anatomical study produced important information. Only 12 of 66 graves from Cemetery No 1 belong to children. The youngest three of them were at an age of 2-2,5 years. Graves of men are prevailing. Slash wounds are registered in 5 of the cases. Cemetery No 2 reveals another situation. Almost half of the graves in it (44,29 per cent) are of children, some of them new-born. Most of the buried were comparatively young individuals. Only one of the men was at an age of 60. Two women were between 55 and 60, and two others - between 70 and 75 years old. The buried were representatives of the European race, with a slight or moderate admixture of Mongolian racial features.

Orientation. The general orientation is west-east for both cemeteries. A little more than one fourth of the graves in Cemetery No 1 (17) is orientated exactly west-east. The others reveal deflections. The prevailing part of those (36 graves) are somewhat turned in southern direction, which points out that mortality-rate was probably higher in the summer. Only 9 of the graves are with a northern deflection. Two graves are orientated north-south and another one - south-north.

Almost one third of the graves in Cemetery No 2 (143) are orientated west-east. In contrast to Cemetery No 1, nearly half of the graves in the discussed one (44,47 per cent) reveal a northern deflection, and 26,16 per cent - towards south. The deflections usually range between 10 and 20 degrees. Only 3 graves are orientated north-south. Closely situated graves of equal or almost equal as well as such of entirely different orientation were registered in both cemeteries (Table I).

Rituals against Reincarnation and Diseases. Fear from reincarnation of dead, from their transformation into evil spirits who could come back and harm the alive, had existed among the population which left both cemeteries near Odartsi. Nor less was their fear from diseases. Some of the observations prove that certain precautions used to be taken against reincarnation and diseases: deliberate destruction of graves; putting stones on the chest (heart), head or legs of the buried (Plates XXI, XXII); tying together the legs; cutting off the feet; disjoining the skull (before or after decomposition of the soft tissues).

The belief in purifying power of fire is attested by the traces of burning in several graves from Cemetery No 2 as well as by the deposition of flints in other graves. Charcoals and lime were also considered purifying factors. The large number of trepanned skulls is one of the most impressive features of Cemetery No 2. Forty-one cases of symbolic and a single one of real trepanation (of a child of 7 from grave no 92) were registered in the cemetery. Symbolic trepanations are attested among men and women at an age of 20 to 70, but most often between 30 and 40. The observations of anthropologists prove that trepanation was very skillfully done, most probably by one and the same "healer" from the village. Trepaned skulls are almost missing in the western part of the cemetery (Plan 5).

Animal Bones in Graves. Isolated animal bones were found in graves in both cemeteries. However, there was no whole animal skeleton laid by the human one in any of the graves. A whole horse skeleton was found near grave no 409. The isolated bones are from cattle, horses, sheep, pigs, and in a few particular

cases - from a donkey and a rabbit. There were remains of 2 or 3 different animals in some of the graves. Mussels were found in a grave in Cemetery No 1 and in other three in Cemetery No 2. The discussed animal bones are considered remains from the sacrificial food which had been put in graves mostly of grown-up individuals.

Chapter Two. Grave Goods. The chapter presents a detailed discussion on all the materials which were found in the graves - personal belongings as well as offerings. Materials of both kinds were found in 14 of the graves in Cemetery No 1 and in 158 of those in Cemetery No 2. The finds are mainly adornments, different items related to spiritual life, clothing, everyday life and games, weapons, coins. Both basic criteria - function and form - prompt differentiation of those into particular groups and types. Classification for each of the groups of finds is offered.

The stratigraphy of graves, which are situated above or within dwellings of the driven away Bulgarian population, the perforated miliarenses and different other materials show that Cemetery No 1 came into being after the destruction of the settlement in the 30s of the 11th century. The search for parallels aims not only at more precise dating of the finds, but also at tracing the routes of penetration of the grave goods and ethnical determination of the buried.

2.1. Adornments. The adornments form the most numerous group of grave goods. Items of the kind were found in 8 graves in Cemetery No 1 and in 136 graves in Cemetery No 2 (Plan 6). The graves of group I were richest in adornments, followed by those of groups III and V. The rest of the graves (groups II and IV) yielded only isolated specimens. In view of their standing place and general function, the adornments are divided into 2 main groups: adornments for body and for dress decoration.

The adornments for head decoration include a single diadem (or torque?) and a great number of earrings. The latter belong to six particular types. Most numerous are the simple rings (type I) (Fig. 4). Earrings were worn by children, women and men.

Chest was decorated with different beads and pendants, while arms and hands - with bracelets and rings. In a few cases bracelets were found by the legs of the buried.

Beads are among the most beautiful adornments. The prevailing part of them are made of plumbic-silicate or sodium-calcium-silicate glass (Table 2, 3). Differences in form give reason to distinguish 19 types of glass beads (Table 4). Some of the graves in Cemetery No 2 yielded beads made of rock-crystal (32 pieces), carnelian (3 pieces), amber (a single piece) and clay (2 pieces). The string of the buried in grave no 174 includes small snail shells, too. A single bead made of clay was found in Cemetery No 1.

Glass beads reveal continuity of classical traditions. Types I-IV are mostly pieces of small size which are not characteristic of the early medieval pagan cemeteries. Cemetery No 2 yielded a great number of beads of middle and larger size. Specimens of the kind are almost missing in graves dated to the 12th century or later, in which tiny-sized ones are usually found. The bulk of beads are most probably of Byzantine origin. Some of the others might well have been made in workshops in the Middle East, Syria or Egypt.

Pendants made of metal and bone were found in several, mainly children's graves. The elliptical (or heart-shaped) pendants, which had initially formed the lower part of two-piece composite adornments known from Hungarian cemeteries, are characteristic of the cemetery (Fig. 5; Plate XXVI). A fragment of an open-work pendant was found in grave no 1216 (Fig. 5, 1216). Pendants of this kind are attributed to the Petchenegs and their distribution corresponds to the route of Petcheneg migration - from the South Russian steppes to Dobroudja and North-Eastern Bulgaria. Grave no 37621 yielded the only round pendant with a hook for hanging, which initially had been the upper part of a two-piece composite adornment. The two nice silver globular pendants found on the chest of the child buried in grave no 1602,3 resemble very much the early Great Moravian gombicas. The bronze horseman from grave no 3485 was for the first time found in Bulgaria in situ - on the breast of the buried child. Both similar specimens from Pliska and the one from Skala were found in layers dated to the second half of the 10th and the first half of the 11th century. Together with the figurine from Odartsi they suggest that the numerous pendants of this type of unknown provenance, which are kept now in many Bulgarian museums, can no more be related to the Protobulgarians: they rather seem to have been brought or used by the Petchenegs.

Seventeen bronze trinklers from 10 graves form another group of grave goods (Fig. 5; Plate XXVI). They were found in different places: on both sides of the skull, on the clavicle and pelvis or in the hands of buried women and children. Except for the cemeteries of Pliska, similar trinklers were spread all over the territory between the Old Russian towns and Central Europe. They are usually dated to the 10th-13th centu-

ries. The finds from Cemetery No 2 in Odartsi, Pliska, Sarkel, Birlad-park etc. attest the use of these trinklers in the 11th century.

Pectoral crosses of different form and material (copper, silver, lead alloys) were found in 5 graves (Fig. 6; Plate XXVII). Only one of them belongs to the group of feretories. It is a reused obverse half with a strongly worn out representation of the Crucifix (grave no 1103). The monuments of Christian cult comprise three more medallions. The first one is made of lead and reveals a half-length representation of a saint - most probably St. Demetrius (grave no 1606). The other medallion is also made of lead and comes from grave no 2352. There is a representation of St. George on one of its sides and a rather enigmatic one on the other (the symbols there may well stand for Christ). The third medallion was found in grave no 204. The six-leaved rosette depicted on it is a sun symbol closely related to Christ - "The Light of the World". The single lunula (from grave no 2353) also belongs to the Christian monuments from the cemetery. There relief representations on its both sides are almost identical: a cross flanked by cypresses.

Bone pendants are also met among the finds from Cemetery No 2. To this group belong two deer teeth (from graves nos 1103 and 3409) and maybe both figurines from grave no 1265,6 (Fig. 6), which were probably hanging on the breast. However, the latter may also be identified with chess figurines or children's toys.

Bracelets are among the often met adornments. In certain graves their number reaches 5 to 7 pieces. Grave no 109 yielded even 10 bracelets. They were worn on both wrists. The glass bracelets (45 pieces) are one-colour, two-colour and rarely three-colour closed rings made of sodium-calcium-silicate glass (Table 6). They were found in graves of children (even babies), girls and young women. On the basis of their cross-section the glass bracelets are divided into three types. Variants are also distinguished within some of those types. Adornments of the discussed kind have been attested in the Black Sea and Mediterranean Byzantine centres as well as in the territory of modern Greece, Romania, Bulgaria and Macedonia. The westernmost area of their diffusion is Eastern and Central Serbia. The bulk of glass bracelets were made in Byzantine workshops like those in Corinth and Stara Zagora, which functioned about the mid-11th century. The metal bracelets are 53 in number. All of them are open hoops made mostly of copper alloys and more rarely of copper threads and iron. They were worn by elder children and women and are missing in babies' graves. The metal bracelets are divided into 15 types, some of them with variants. The representatives of type I are most numerous. The most beautiful specimen is the two-hinge bracelet (type XII) from the richest grave no 37626. The open ends of the greater part of the pieces are shaped like snake heads. This was done for apotropaic reasons - to heal and prevent from diseases. Since iron bracelets were found in rich graves as well, they must have had similar function.

Rings. The only ring from Cemetery No 1 was found in grave no 6. The number of similar finds in Cemetery No 2 is 57. Rings are characteristic of graves in which girls and young women were buried. Although rarely, they are also met in graves of children (placed there as offerings), older women (graves nos 40 and 209) and men. Twenty-seven types of rings have been differentiated, some of them with variants. The most beautiful ring was found in the grave of a man of 40-45 (grave no 3571). It is made of silver and decorated with niello. Most of the types have close parallels among the finds from Northern Dobroudja, Macedonia, Serbia and Greece. That points out to their common Balkan, most probably Byzantine origin. Though in restricted numbers, some of those types (I, II, IV, VII, VIII, IX) are also attested in Central Europe (in graves in Hungary and Slovakia). This diffusion may be explained with the activity of itinerant craftsmen or merchants.

The adornments for dress decoration comprise buttons, buckles, loops and different appliques. Some of these objects had utilitarian as well as decorative function.

One glass and 22 metal buttons (18 intact and 4 halves) were found in graves belonging to Cemetery No 2 (Fig. 16; Plate XXXV). They are divided into 7 types. Most of them are cast of copper, but others (type I, variant B) - of lead alloys. The buttons of type VII are made by stamping.

Three buckles of different types were found in 2 men's graves (Fig. 17). Seven other graves yielded loops made of iron, lead and copper alloys. In two of them (nos 2213 and 4452) the loops were found near the pelvis, which points out that they maybe were component parts of belts. Similar loops were also used as rings (e.g. grave no 1931,2).

The most interesting grave goods are the appliques. Objects of the kind were found only in Cemetery No 2. The total of 145 pieces comes from 32 graves. Most of them were found in rich graves of children and

young women. The appliques had different location: around the cervical vertebrae (beneath the chin), sometimes lined up next to each other; along the spine or on both sides of it; on the chest; under the clavicles; on the skull and on both sides of it; on the neck etc. (Plates XXVII, XXVIII). They are made of different metal alloys by means of casting and much more rarely stamping. The greater part of the samples are made of copper alloys and most of them have a silvery coating which almost does not contain silver (Table 7). The second group of appliques are cast of silver alloys and many of them are gold-plated. One piece (from grave no 12324) is decorated with niello (Table 8). A few small appliques of equal form are cast of lead. The discussed kind of adornments are rather varied by shape, size and decorative motifs. Therefore 51 types are distinguished between them (Fig. 19-23; Plates XXXVIII-XLII). The prevailing part are round-shaped (types I-XXXIX). There are only 2 types of elliptical appliques (XL-XLI). The pentahedral pieces are represented by types XLII-XLVII, and the polyhedral ones - by type XLVIII. There are several objects which had initially been used as front decorations of harness but were later reused as appliques. A number of stylistic and technical features relate the appliques from Odartsi to similar adornments from the steppes of South Russia and the North Black Sea region. The archetypes of the motifs presumably originate in the eastern toreutics. Many of the elements however, like pearl rings, interlacing, volutes, palmettoes in rings, "winged" palmettoes etc., are known in Byzantine art as well. What seems most probably is that Byzantine workshops of great capacity, whose enormous production was specially intended for Barbarians, had functioned in the towns along the northern Black Sea coast.

2.2. Remains of cloth and threads. Several graves revealed insignificant remains of cloth from the dress of the buried. Pieces of cloth were found on appliques (mainly on those from graves nos 111 and 150), a bracelet (grave no 81), a cross (grave no 139), a buckle (grave no 20) etc. (Plate XIII). All the remains are of linen. A piece of skin is also preserved on an applique from grave no 1504. The remains show that people wore clothes made of linen. Moreover, the deceased were most probably covered or wrapped up in shrouds made also of linen. The orange-red colouring of the bones in 3 women's graves (nos 182, 507 and 520) is maybe due to the colour of their clothes. Remains of thin threads have survived on several appliques. The threads were used to sew these objects to clothes, ribbons or hats.

2.3. Everyday life objects. Everyday life objects were rarely met in the graves. The group includes a hoe, a few knives, a whetstone, spindle weights, a horn, fragments of a glass vessel, flints, nails.

2.4. Playing objects. Two knucklebones belong to this group - one from grave no 61 of Cemetery No 1, and the other from grave no 366 of Cemetery No 2. The already-mentioned bone figurines from grave no 1265,6 might well be considered playing objects, too.

2.5. Military life objects. Except for several arrow heads (Fig. 24), no other weapons or items of horse equipment have been discovered. Both arrow heads which were found among the bones of the skeleton in grave no 49 of Cemetery No 1 seem to have caused the death of the buried 60-year old man. Five other arrow heads were most probably laid as offerings in men's, women's and children's graves in Cemetery No 2. Four types of arrow heads are distinguished. Most of them are characteristic of the 11th century, too.

2.6. Coins. The number of coin finds is 15 - one from Cemetery No 1 (grave no 20), and the rest from graves in Cemetery No 2. One of the coins is Hellenistic, 4 - Roman, and 10 - Byzantine. Three of the Byzantine coins were struck under Emperor Justinian I, and the other seven are miliarenses which stand closest by time to the cemetery. The earliest miliarense is of Emperor Leo VI (886-912). It was found in grave no 109, together with two miliarenses of Emperors Basil II and Constantine VIII (976-1025) which commemorate the victory of Basil II over Bardas Phocas in 989. Another miliarense from the time of the joint reign of both emperors was found in grave no 33. The latest coins are the two miliarenses from grave no 495. They were struck under Emperor Constantine IX Monomachus (976-1025) and most precisely determine the dating of the cemetery. Each of the miliarenses has two small holes near its periphery, which shows that they surely had been used as adornments.

Chapter Three. Ethnical Attribution and Dating of the Cemeteries. This chapter examines the evidence of written sources about the Petcheneg incursions south of the Danube. They started in 1027 and followed in 1032, 1034, 1035, 1036. The greatest incursion took place in 1048. In 1053 Emperor Constantine IX Monomachus concluded a peace treaty with the Petchenegs. It is only natural to assume that the Petchenegs, who had crossed the Danube and settled in the lands south of it, have left material traces in modern North and South Bulgaria. The first archaeological corroboration came from several sites in North-East Bul-

garia, where Petcheneg clay cauldrons were found during excavations (Tsar Assen, Odartsi, Krivina, Pliska, Preslav, Silistra, Kaliakra, Balchik and more recently Vetren, Skala, Tutrakan). The traces of fire, the ruined and abandoned dwellings and the latest coins (Byzantine anonymous folles of Class B, dated by numismatists either to 1028-1034 or 1030/1035-1042) prove that settlements like Tsar Assen, Odartsi and Skala were destroyed in the 30s of the 11th century. Some of the arrow heads, parts of harness (bridles, bone and iron psalia, stirrups, spurs), adornments and clay cauldrons are identical with those used by the Petchenegs in the lands of modern South Russia, the Ukraine, Moldova and Romania. In Odartsi they did not settle in the dwellings of their predecessors. Most probably they lived in yurts, whose traces is impossible to make out on the ground. Different objects characteristic of the Petchenegs were found here and there, but no corresponding cultural layer has been identified either on the hill or at its foot.

The places once settled by the Petchenegs are usually marked by isolated graves as well as whole cemeteries. Both discussed cemeteries near Odartsi offer most instructive and important evidence about that. The first graves found on the Kaleto Hill gave grounds to suggest then that the Bulgarian settlement had been destroyed by the Petchenegs, who soon later had left the region. The discovery of the big cemetery changed the former opinion. During the first year or two of its excavation we believed that this had been the cemetery of the settlement in the Christian period of its development. The next campaigns brought about increasing hesitations based on the peculiarities of grave constructions, burial practice, skeletons' positions, composition of grave goods. Now is maintained with conviction that a Petcheneg group had settled somewhere in the vicinity and left the discussed Cemetery No 2.

The investigation of both cemeteries made it possible to compare them and draw out conclusions about their common features and distinctions. The graves in both cemeteries are situated above abandoned earlier dwellings. Although more than half of the graves in Cemetery No 1 reveal a deflection to south, the general orientation in both of them is alike - west-east. The similarities also concern grave constructions and skeletons' positions. No cases of superimposing of later and earlier graves have been registered (with 2 or 3 exceptions for Cemetery No 2). Single individual was buried in each of the graves (with one exception per cemetery). In both cemeteries there are isolated graves orientated north-south as well as skeletons in bent and semi-bent position. The practice of laying ritual food, charcoals, knucklebones, iron knives and spindle weights in the graves is also equally attested.

The prevailing part of skeletons from Cemetery No 1 belong to men. Only 3 of those men (graves nos 32, 39 and 63) were at an age of 18 to 25 years. There are traces of wounds on the skulls of two of them, which shows that they must have taken part in the battle of capturing or defending the settlement. Most of the buried men (20 of 29) and women (12 of 21) were over 40-year old. The children's skeletons are 12. The youngest of them were 2/2,5-year old. No babies have been buried in the cemetery. If the latter is to be attributed to the inhabitants of the settlement, the younger of them, and especially the men, must have been absent at the moment of the attack. Cemetery No 2 reveals a much different picture. Almost half of the graves in it are of children, a considerable number of which were new-born. The adults over 45 are only 3,55 per cent of the buried, which proves that this cemetery belonged to newly settled population. The great number of graves in it shows that Cemetery No 2 has been formed in the course of a longer period of time compared to the cemetery on the hill.

Except for the fragment of millstone laid on the chest of the buried in grave no 41, no other precautions against reincarnation have been registered in Cemetery No 1. Symbolic trepanations are also missing there. The grave goods are scarce and much poorer. The group of adornments comprises only 5 earrings, one bead and a ring. No glass beads, glass bracelets, pendants and appliques have been found.

The dramatic termination of the life in the settlement on the Kaleto Hill is illustrated not only by the burnt down dwellings, but also by the slash wounds on the skulls of some of the buried men at an age of 25 to 60 years. The graves are shallow. They were dug in a hurry and were carelessly covered up with stones. These graves may equally belong to Petcheneg attackers and Bulgarian defenders of the settlement. The west-east orientation and the Christian position of great part of the skeletons found in different types of grave constructions remind that some of the graves should rather be attributed to those of the local inhabitants who had stayed behind and defended their settlement. The buried children might well belong to the local population, too. Most of the graves seem to have appeared immediately after the battle. Even though, it is somewhat strange for autochthons to be buried here, and not in the old cemetery of the settlement (that cemetery has not been discovered yet). However, there are graves on the hill which should with greatest

probability be considered Petcheneg. The skeletons are laid in bent and semi-bent position in some of them. Others are orientated north-south and south-north. Different positions of arms have been registered in those graves and some of them yielded remains of sacrificial food. The earliest Petcheneg graves on the Kaleto Hill maybe appeared immediately after capturing the settlement. Others are probably somewhat later.

The cemetery at the foot of the hill may hardly be related to the Petchenegs who invaded and settled the region in the 30s of the 11th century. The skeletons do not reveal wounds and the few arrow heads found in graves rather seem to be offerings. The great number of graves, the marks of planning, the traces of ritual actions, the considerable number of symbolically trepanned skulls, the huge amount of adornments and the varied grave goods prove that this cemetery had been formed longer and in more peaceful times. Cemetery No 2 most probably belongs to another Petcheneg group, which was granted land and settled in this region after the peace-treaty of 1053. The miliarenses of Constantine IX Monomachus from grave no 495 corroborate this suggestion. The Petchenegs who settled here had already changed their original way of life. They were a sedentary population which, except for breeding horses, sheep, cattle, pigs and donkeys, seems to have been already engaged in certain branches of agriculture. The considerable number of women's and especially children's burials also points to a fixed way of life. The new lands greatly influenced the aesthetic tastes of this population. The Petchenegs began to wear necklaces, bracelets and rings, which had not been characteristic of them while living in the steppes of South Russia and in the North and North-Western Black Sea regions. The former harness appliques were used here already for dress and hair decoration. Similar practice is also attested by the finds from Isacceia and Cipraria.

Were the buried pagans or Christians is one of the many questions raised by the discussed cemetery. Some of the grave goods (like pectoral crosses, medallions, the lunula, appliques decorated with crosses) and the diversions from or even relinquishing the traditional Petcheneg burial practices may well be considered testimonies of the fact that the cemetery is left by population newly converted to Christianity. For example, the habit of placing horses' dummies in the graves was either entirely given up due to Christian religion or simply was not characteristic of this particular Petcheneg group. A number of details attest the survival of older and the adoption of new elements in the burial rite, all of which give the outline of a new specific religious syncretism, characteristic of the 11th century. The west-east orientation was a traditional one for the Petchenegs but not a Christian innovation. The few graves with north-south and south-north orientation in Cemetery No 1 remind of much older Turk religious beliefs. The pagan survivals are illustrated by the old tradition of heaping up small stone mounds above the grave pits, the stretched or bent in different positions towards the chest or the shoulders arms, the ritual destruction of graves and laying stones on the buried bodies, the presence of animal bones and different pagan amulets in the graves. The syncretism is marked by the presence of Petcheneg (appliques, pendants, trinklers) as well as Byzantine adornments (beads, bracelets, rings), crosses and medallions. The graves surrounded by stones and the stone chambers in Cemetery No 2 may be considered influenced by local Christian traditions. The buried in them are laid with their arms bent on the stomach or chest. Since they are some 20 years later, these graves by no means belong to inhabitants of the former Bulgarian settlement. Just next to them are situated similar graves surrounded and covered up with stones, but the position of the buried in them has nothing to do with the Christian tradition and habits. The arms' and legs' positions are however similar to those registered in the numerous graves of the simple-pit type. On the other hand, animal bones have been found in stone chambers, too (e.g. grave no 383). It is also noteworthy that many graves (over 30) which belong to the types of simple pits and pits marked with stones contain skeletons laid in typical Christian positions.

Cemetery No 2 presents a great variety of grave constructions. Graves of the five main groups are situated just next to each other, at equal depth. The similarity of finds, the common anthropological type, the skull trepanations and the animal bones prove that the graves date from almost one and the same time. They belong to a homogeneous population - Petchenegs converted to Christianity, most of whom had adopted the Christian burial rite.

The grave constructions and skeletons' positions in both cemeteries present an incredible blend of traditions, rites and beliefs, which is only natural for periods of transition. No regularities can be detected in this aspect.

The composition of grave goods is the most instructive archaeological criterion revealing the property and social status of the buried. Cemetery No 2 presents contradictions between rich finds and simple grave constructions (pits) as well as between carefully built graves and poor grave goods. The simple pits

and the pits marked with stones were not used for burying only the poor inhabitants of the settlement. On the contrary, most of the adornments were found in graves belonging to both these types. Moreover, graves nos 1, 4, 10, 33, 49, 81, 109, 115, 118, 121, 123, 160, 326, 327, 328, 340, 348-350, 376, 495, 531 and 532 are the richest ones in the cemetery. Rich graves are here and there situated next to each other (Plan 5). They might well belong to people in relationship who obviously were representatives of the local elite. Surprisingly the graves surrounded with stones and the stone chambers (like graves nos 38, 59, 74, 89, 90) proved to contain poor grave goods. Earrings, rings and appliques were rarely met in them. Strongest influence of the Christian canon is felt in these graves. Nevertheless, each of them has yielded at least a single object (an earring, bead, ring, bracelet, applique, button, trinkler etc.) which perfectly correlates with similar finds from the other grave types.

The interpretation of the cemeteries excavated near Odartsi necessitated a search and thorough study of the available comparative material. Many good parallels are provided by finds and discoveries from Bulgaria and the rest of the huge territory crossed by the Petchenegs while migrating from north-east and east to south-west and west - from Russia, the Ukraine, Moldova, Romania, Macedonia, Yugoslavia (Serbia and Vojvodina), Slovenia, Hungary, Slovakia.

The graves along the circuit wall and in front of the Eastern gate of Pliska, which are synchronous with Cemetery No 2 in Odartsi, reveal especially close features. Much the same are some other graves from Pliska: those near the motel (site no 20); in and around the periphery of tumuli XXXII, XXXIII and XXXIV; near the Palace church; in the south-east part of the Inner Town. Similar graves build up the not entirely excavated cemetery in the locality "Selishte" near Preslav. Certain of the discussed peculiarities in burial rite and adornments like those from Odartsi have also been registered and found in many cemeteries and isolated graves which are dug in older burial mounds (Staroselets near Lovech and Dolno Sahrane in South-Eastern Bulgaria) or superimpose older plane cemeteries (Djadovo, Karanovo, Madrets, Iskritsa). Great part of these cemeteries belong to autochthonous population or emigrants from North-Eastern Bulgaria, who were however strongly influenced by alien ethnical groups.

The adornments from sites in Northern Dobroudja, like Dinogetia-Garvan and Pacului lui Soare, reveal many common features. A number of graves from the same region (from Istria, Isaccea and Dinogetia-Garvan) present similarities in burial rite. Burials with close parameters and analogous grave goods have been registered in several cemeteries in the territory of Macedonia and Serbia. Round appliques with small opposite holes like those from Odartsi were found in graves by the St. George church in the locality called Bargala near Goren Kozjak, in the region of Ovche pole. Similarities are also met in the cemeteries near Demir Kapija, Matichane (by Prishtina) and Nish. These pieces of evidence are very important, because the written sources mention that the Petchenegs of Tirah were settled in 1048 in the region of Sofia, Nish and Ovche pole.

Only a few cemeteries but much more isolated graves have been discovered in the lands dwelt by the Petchenegs for decades - around the Don and Donets rivers, on the Crimean Peninsula, by the Dnepr, South Bug, Dnestar, Prut and Seret rivers and on the Lower Danube. The nomadic way of life explains the insignificant traces of Petcheneg settlements and the rarity of permanent cemeteries (like that in Sarkel and a few others in the North-Western Black Sea region). The easternmost analogies to the materials from Odartsi are found in Gaevka on the Middle Don and in the Sarkel cemetery on the Lower Don. There are two rich cemeteries near Kotovka and Kamenka on the Dnepr. Several other Petcheneg cemeteries are situated between the Dnepr and Dnestar rivers: near Gorozheno, Nova Kamenka and Pervokonstantinovka in Herson district; near Mirnoe and Tuzla in Odessa district; near Antonovo and Bulgakovo in Nikolaev district; by Sarajli-Kijat on the Crimean Peninsula. All these cemeteries have yielded earrings, buckles, trinklers and appliques similar or very close to those from Cemetery No 2 near Odartsi. The prevailing part of the graves in the North-Western Black Sea region are pits containing animal bones (remains of sacrificial food which had been laid by the head or legs of the buried) and sometimes parts of horses' skeletons. They are poor in grave goods. The graves are usually dug in burial mounds dating from the Bronze or Early Iron Age. The cemetery near Hanska-Cipraria in Moldova is a colourless copy of Cemetery No 2 near Odartsi. Its graves are of one and the same type (simple pits) but the positions of skeletons are rather varied. Some of the skulls reveal traces of trepanation. The grave goods are similar but much poorer than those from Odartsi - open loop earrings, round appliques, a lyre-shaped buckle, iron loops, buttons, iron knives.

The above-mentioned sites scattered over a huge territory have yielded adornments similar to those

from the cemeteries near Odartsi. The poor graves resemble very much those in Cemetery No 1, while the rich ones find good parallels in Cemetery No 2. Except for open loop earrings, earrings with a globule, trinklers, buttons, buckles and some types of beads, the round appliques are particularly specific of all these cemeteries as well as of the settlements in Moldova and Dobroudja. Their diffusion can be traced out from the cemeteries near Odartsi, Pliska and Preslav and the settlements near Skala, Vetrino and Madara in western direction to the cemeteries by the St. George church near Goren Kozjak and Matichane near Prishtina. Though with some doubts, the round appliques with two opposite small holes might be considered an ethnical indicator of Petcheneg presence. Similar appliques and necklace pendants are known from cemeteries in the territory of Serbia, Vojvodina, Slovenia and especially Hungary and Slovakia. All these cemeteries (like Halimba, Mohach-Tagladjar, Majsh, Pjushpjokladni, Tisaslar-Bashalom, Subotika-Verusich, Dolni Peter II, Male Kosihi, Chakajovce etc.) are dated after the mid-10th and in the 11th century. The similarities concern the grave types and their orientation, the presence of trepanned skulls, some objects of adornment and everyday life, the weapons (lyre-shaped buckles, buttons, trinklers, beads, amulets of deer teeth, arrow heads). The discussed cemeteries are usually attributed to the Hungarians or to mixed Hungarian and Slav population within the limits of the so-called Belo Brdo culture.

The common features in material and spiritual culture are not surprising because the Petchenegs followed the migration route of the Hungarians and both nations had once been neighbours in the steppes around the Azov and Black Sea. When the Hungarians left for Middle Europe their former land called Atelkuz was occupied by the Petchenegs. Later, already in the second half of the 10th and especially in the 11th century, the Petchenegs reached and settled on the Middle Danube. M. Reihalcova with much reason determines the cemeteries of that time as polyethnical. Were there Petchenegs among the buried Slavs and Hungarians? This question should be answered by the researchers in those countries.

The chemical composition (silver-plated copper alloys, silver alloys, gold-plating) and the decorative elements prove that the round appliques, the elliptical pendants and the front decorations of harness were products of one and the same or several related to each other workshops. The specific style of these objects (smooth umbo-shaped central part, pearl rings, decoration with three-leaved palmettoes, rosettes etc.) places them in a particular group which represents the current fashion of nomadic aristocracy. The silver ring from grave no 3571 and the decorated with niello applique from grave no 12324 were maybe made in another workshop. That also concerns the different kinds of adornments which were cast of lead - earrings of type IV, the open-work pendant, medallions, the cross from grave no 223, appliques, rings. Except for objects brought from the steppes of the Northern Black Sea region (appliques, pendants, front decorations of harness), the adornments from Cemetery No 2 near Odartsi include a large and varied group of beads, bracelets and rings which were most probably bought from Byzantine craftsmen and workshops already in these lands. Some other adornments, like open loop earrings, torques, lunulas, buttons and trinklers, are attested within an extremely wide area which encompasses even the region of diffusion of the Belo Brdo culture. However, many of the characteristic elements of that culture, like the S-shaped earrings for example, are missing among the finds from the Odartsi cemeteries.

In spite of the huge amount of adornments and other objects connected with the clothing, it is difficult to precisely define the way of dressing of the population which left both cemeteries. Figure 25 shows a possible reconstruction of the clothing and adornments of the woman buried in grave no 326.

In author's opinion, Cemetery No 1 appeared suddenly in the time of the Petcheneg attack in the 30s of the 11th century. It seems to have continued functioning in the next decades, maybe even after the establishment of Cemetery No 2. The big cemetery belongs to another Petcheneg group, which settled in the vicinity of the former Bulgarian settlement after 1048, and most probably after the conclusion of the peace treaty in 1053. Almost the complete lack of graves overlying each other, the similar adornments and the miliarenses show that the cemetery was created by a numerous Petcheneg group but was in function for a short period of time, maybe within one or two human generations. The close analogies with Pliska give grounds to consider 1064 (the incursion of the Uzes) a possible date of its termination, but the time seems too short for accumulation of so many graves. The cemetery might well have ceased functioning sometime in the 70s or 80s of the 11th century, as a result of the Cuman invasions. The latest possible chronological limit of Cemetery No 2 is surely 1091, when the Petchenegs suffered a devastating defeat from the Byzantine Empire and the remains of them were settled in different places.

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