

ON THE NORTHERN BOUNDARIES OF THE VISTULANS

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Abstract: *This article discusses the northern border region of the Vistulans, a community mentioned in sources from the 9th century. Great hillforts, mounds, and iron axe-shaped bars called the Lesser Poland or the Vistulan type characterized the areas the community occupied. The four hillforts, namely Udórz, Kostkowice, Złoty Potok and Siedlec, which were discussed in the text, were almost absent in the literature, and the researchers solely focused on Cracow as the central place and great hillforts, such as Stradów. Recent discoveries of imports and deposits of iron axe-shaped bars, along with accompanying archaeological material, indicate the significance of hillforts situated on the boundaries of the Vistulan territory in terms of their tribal organization. As a result of the recent examination of the distribution patterns of hillforts combined with the spread of iron axe-shaped bars, it is necessary to revise the existing understanding of the geographical positioning of Vistulan settlements. The previously suggested territorial extension of this area along the upper Vistula as documented in literature should be expanded from the southeast to the northwest.*

Rezumat: *Acest articol analizează regiunea nordică de graniță a vistulanilor, o comunitate menționată în sursele din secolul al IX-lea. Mari cetăți de deal, movile și bare de fier în formă de secure, numite tipul Polonia Mică sau tipul Vistulan, caracterizau zonele ocupate de această comunitate. Cele patru cetăți de deal, și anume Udórz, Kostkowice, Złoty Potok și Siedlec, analizate în text, erau aproape absente în literatura de specialitate, cercetătorii concentrându-se exclusiv pe Cracovia, ca loc central, și pe cetățile mari, cum ar fi Stradów. Descoperirile recente de importuri și de depozite de bare de fier în formă de secure, împreună cu materialul arheologic asociat, indică importanța cetăților de deal situate la granițele teritoriului vistulanilor, în ceea ce privește organizarea lor tribală. Ca urmare a examinării recente a tiparelor de distribuție a cetăților de deal, coroborată de răspândirea barelor de fier în formă de secure, este necesară revizuirea înțelegerii existente a poziționării geografice a așezărilor vistulanilor. Extinderea teritorială a acestei zone sugerată anterior de-a lungul*

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Vistulei superioare, după cum este documentată în literatură, ar trebui să fie extinsă de la sud-est spre nord-vest.

Introduction

The Vistulans have been inspiring the imagination of archaeologists as well as of historians for quite a long time. This has been caused by their still unclear role in the forming of state structures in Lesser Poland in the times before the Piast dynasty. In connection to their misty influence, the special interest of researchers is drawn to the territorial extension of this community, which, according to some, comprised the Cracow land alongside the Sandomierz land¹, or solely the Kraków land². Some more precise base to determine this territorial extension is taken by assuming its boundaries by the means of localizing the so called great hillforts regarded as a kind of showcase of the Vistulans' settlement. Due to this, the territorial extension determined this way would comprise mainly the areas northeast and east of Cracow, which makes out the surface area of 7000 square km³. Four hillforts namely Udórz, Kostkowice, Złoty Potok and Siedlec, localized north and northwest of Cracow would be entirely omitted whilst in our opinion, they must have constituted a part of the Vistulans' territory building its important defensive northern flank (**Fig. 1**).

The aim of this text is the presentation of four hillforts, often ignored or marginalized in literature, localized on the peripheries of the Vistulans' community, and their potential importance in the Vistula land.

Beginnings of the Vistulans

As a result of not yet clearly identified processes involving probably the stabilisation and growing density of settlement, particularly around the later borough of Cracow, and most probably also some outside impulses like raids from the territory of Avar Khaganate⁴ (**Fig. 2**), the Slavic community of the Vistulans was formed on the upper Vistula in the 8th or maybe 9th century, a formation known from some foreign written sources. Under the ethnonym *Vuislane* they were mentioned only once by the so called Bavarian Geographer but two geographical mentions more can be associated with them – firstly, the mention of the Vistula land (*Wisleland*) by Alfred the king of Wessex (died in 899) and the second mention about a very powerful pagan prince who had a seat at Vislech, i.e. on the land of Vistula (*v Vislech*) in the Pannonian Legend (Fragment of the Life of St. Methodius)⁵. They remained a part of the vast Slavic cultural area of which the segment inhabiting the Polish territory is sometimes called Rüssen-Chodlik (post-Prague)⁶ cultural zone, while the segment east of Poland is termed Rajkovetska culture (called also Luka Rajkovetska)⁷. This division is completely artificial because it resulted from the post-war border between

¹ LABUDA 1988, p. 186, fig. 4.

² ŁOWMIAŃSKI 1973, p. 372, 430, fig. 7.

³ KURNATOWSKA 2005.

⁴ LIWOCH 2020a, p. 273–276.

⁵ SŁOWIAŃSZCZYŻNA 1999, p. 56–58, p. 108.

⁶ LECIEJEWICZ 1989, p. 55.

⁷ MIHAYLINA 2007, p. 8.

the states of Polish People's Republic and the USSR and was caused by their limited exchange of research and archaeological analyses⁸.

Of this tribal community of Vistulans, quite multiple archeological relics have remained like cemeteries, of which the one in Krzemionki, Cracow, will be mentioned here when discussing the burial of Krak, the legendary eponym of Cracow; furthermore, there are axe-like iron bars and hillforts, but as in the title of the work, only the northern hillforts will be shortly discussed here.

One of the material remainder of one of the Vistulans' princes is Krakus Mound (or the Krak Mound) (Fig. 3 and 4), which should probably be included in the numerous group of graves with the burial on top of the tumulus. It differs from other burials of this type only by its size gained probably with respect to the high rank of the deceased buried there. The mound was a dominant element of the vast Cracow barrows cemetery⁹ (Fig. 5), although the archaeological examination of it is unfortunately impossible now because it has suffered damages in many ways for a thousand years. Some pre-war archeological research of the ducal burial brought finds allowing for the dating of the mound's origin into the time between the 8th and the 10th centuries. The first of these finds was a Late Avar belt fitting (Fig. 6), and the second one was a coin of Boleslaus II the Pious, Duke of Bohemia (d. 999)¹⁰, unfortunately lost.

The northern boundaries of the Vistulans' territory in the light of archaeology

The arrival of Slavs – the Early Slavic Phase

Around the half of the first millennium A.D., a fundamental cultural and ethnic change happened in the territory of today's southeastern Poland. It was the Slavs who arrived from the East in the partially desolate lands on the upper Vistula (Fig. 7) with their modest if not poor material culture which, taking its name from the Czech Prague and from its archaeological sites with the characteristic hand-made pottery (Fig. 8) is now called the Prague culture¹¹. It expanded over the vast lands from the Dnieper and Pripjat rivers to the Elbe and Danube, yet, astonishingly, it was poorly diversified which can be explained by its genetic homogeneity with young traditions¹². The lands were desolate although not completely, as it is indicated by many pre-Slavic toponyms and by material traces, although extremely scarce, of possible contacts. The first indicator is the evidence of continual oral heritage, and consequently also the continuity of settlement, in the times between the Antiquity and the Middle Ages. This heritage mainly includes names of rivers (potamonyms), but also oronyms like the Tatra for the mountain range, the name absolutely ungrounded in the languages used in this territory during the Middle Ages and later¹³. Witold Mańczak¹⁴ elucidates the issue in following simple words: "[...] names of Polish rivers can be distinguished in two categories: 1. Names intelligible for Poles such as

⁸ PARCZEWSKI 1999, p. 183.

⁹ RADWAŃSKI 2000a, p. 267–280.

¹⁰ JAMKA 1965, p. 223; TYNIEC 2018.

¹¹ BORKOVSKÝ 1940; PARCZEWSKI 1988; SZMONIEWSKI 2016.

¹² PARCZEWSKI 1991, p. 29–30.

¹³ BABIK 2001.

¹⁴ MAŃCZAK 2004, p. 37.

Kamienna (the stony river), *Bystrzyca* (the rushing water) or *Prądnik* (the current) which are relatively recent, and 2. Potamonyms incomprehensible for Poles such as *Wisła* (the Vistula), *Odra* (the Oder) *Raba*, *Soła*, *Nysa* (the Neisse), *Nida*, *Bug*, *Drwęca*, *Gwda*, *Skrwa*, etc., names which emerged in the ancient past hundreds if not thousands of years before the 5th century AD. At that time, in the 5th century, there were no geographic atlases, not to speak of the fact that the Slavs were illiterate then. In those circumstances, the question arises in which way Slavs who were arriving in desolate parts of the Oder and the Vistula basins should have learnt the names of the rivers having been used there before their arrival". However, it must be noted that linguists' opinions regarding some potamonyms vary significantly, the perfect example of which is the *Warta*, considered as pre-Slavic by Zbigniew Babik¹⁵, whilst Janusz Rieger and Ewa Wolnicz-Pawłowska¹⁶, noticing its association with the Polish verb "wiercić (się)" (to spin, to whirl, to turn) along with W. Mańczak¹⁷ seeking its origin in *Vřta, do not doubt its Slavic root. In opposite, the matter with the *Soła* mentioned above and listed by W. Mańczak as non-Slavic, is discussed by Z. Babik¹⁸ as follows: "Surely, one can believe in the 'pre-Slavic' origin of the name of the *Soła* river, but it cannot be denied that it could have originated on the Slavic ground after the divergence from the Proto-language [...]. Identical (or similar) toponyms from some non-Slavic territories could have therefore originated independently of this one, on grounds of various Indo-European languages", maintaining that this name refers to the salt content of the river. However, in the light of archaeological data, there is no doubt that the pre-Slavic settlement was vestigial as material traces of contacts with Sclaveni/Sklabenoi coming from the east (such were the names given to Slavs in written sources)¹⁹ with most probably German local population were extremely scarce.

Any remains of the early Slavic material culture are most scarce, too. Apart from a cluster of several settlements localized along the upper Vistula valley between Cracow Nowa Huta and Złotniki to the east, as the closest site to the analysed area we can mention one cremation cemetery, partially explored, in Siemonia, Upper Silesia, where three clay urns of the Prague type were found, and the site in Korzkiew, south-eastern part of the Olkusz Upland, where pottery from the Early Slavic phase was found in a pit²⁰ (Fig. 7).

¹⁵ BABIK 2001, p. 293–297.

¹⁶ RIEGER, WOLNICZ-PAWŁOWSKA 1975, p. 169.

¹⁷ MAŃCZAK 2004, p. 37–38.

¹⁸ BABIK 2001, p. 561–563.

¹⁹ Jordanes, writing in the 6th century, noted that: "Within these rivers lies Dacia, encircled by the lofty Alps (Carpathians Mountains – note by R.L., B.S.) as by a crown. Near their left ridge, which inclines toward the north, and beginning at the source of the Vistula, the populous race of the Venethi dwell, occupying a great expanse of land. Though their names are now dispersed amid various clans and places, yet they are chiefly called Sclaveni and Antes" (GETICA 34, transl. MIEROW 1915, p. 59), while Procopius of Caesarea mentioned an event from 512: "When the Eruli, being defeated by the Lombards in the above-mentioned battle, migrated from their ancestral homes, some of them, as has been told by me above, made their home in the country of Illyricum, but the rest were averse to crossing the Ister River, but settled in the very extremity of the world; at any rate, these men, led by many of the royal blood, traversed all the nations of the Sclaveni one after the other, and after next crossing a large tract of barren country, they came to the Varni, as they are called" (PROCOPIUS VI: XV 1–3, transl. DEWING 1919, p. 415).

²⁰ NOWAK *et alli* 2016.

Tribal phase – the Vistulans

It is highly probable that in (the 8th?) 9th and 10th centuries, the northern part of the Vistulans' territory was the Kraków-Częstochowa Upland (Polish Jurassic Highland)²¹. This is evidenced by some known, although not satisfactorily researched and often disregarded hillforts from the tribal phase²² positioned along the line south/southeast – north/northwest (**Fig. 1**), as well as iron deposits and multiple imports associated with them. One reminiscence of the connection between this region and the Cracow cluster of settlements were the later northwestern borders of the Cracow diocese and the administrative entity of Kraków land, and with the course of time, of the Cracow voivodeship together with Lelów County.

In the southeastern part of the Upland, in Udórz (Żarnowiec municipality, Zawiercie County) on the stream of Udorka, a hillfort was built (**Fig. 9**), which, basing on the ceramic material, can be dated in the period from the end of the 8th to the first quarter of the 13th century²³, however, both the chronology of its beginnings and its functioning in the early state phase require verification. Recently, two spurs have been found on this site with hooks bent inwards, which belong to technotype III technical variant 2 and morphological variant B according to Jan Žak's classification (**Fig. 10**). They should be dated into the half of the 8th – beginning (?) of the 9th century²⁴. The presence of these hooked spurs probably imported from beyond the Carpathian Mountains, in the Udórz hillfort could be regarded as the evidence of the place's significant role within the Vistulans' tribal community being perhaps in the early stage of state formation, as well as they are a sign of some significant settlement processes occurring on these locations during the final phase of the Avar Khaganate existence and before the rise of the Moymirid dynasty.

In the central part of the Upland, in Kostkowice, (Kroczyce municipality, Zawiercie County) on Słupsko Hill, there is a hillfort which has not yet been excavated but under an ongoing surface survey research (**Fig. 11, 12 and 13**). Archaeologically, only a small cave located on the north-eastern slope of Mount Słupsko, called Jaskinia nad Bramą Słupską (Cave above the Słupsko Gate), was examined. Ceramics from the 9th–10th centuries were discovered in its layers²⁵. The results of this surface survey research and findings obtained there in the course of the surface reconnaissance conducted in 2023, multiple fragments have been found of clay vessels typical for the 9th–10th centuries, i.e. for the tribal phase of the Middle Ages²⁶ (**Fig. 14**). Its Early Medieval chronology is also suggested by two nearby deposits of axe-like iron bars of the Lesser Poland type (**Fig. 15**) from the 9th century²⁷. Furthermore, one more find already mentioned here should be added, the archival find coming from monadnock in nearby Kroczyce²⁸, along with a settlement

²¹ LABERSCHEK 2014, p. 19–20.

²² POLESKI 2013, p. 332.

²³ BRODA 2005, p. 107.

²⁴ BUGAJ, ZDANIEWICZ, LIWOCH 2020.

²⁵ KRAJCARZ *et alli* 2014, p. 26, fig. 5.

²⁶ SZMONIEWSKI, ROZMUS in print.

²⁷ ZAGÓRSKA-TELEGA, BOCHNAK 2001, p. 39–47; ROZMUS, SZMONIEWSKI, TRONCIK 2006, p. 101–113.

²⁸ SZMONIEWSKI, ROZMUS in print a.

from the tribal phase of the Early Medieval Period located at its base on the stream Białka. The settlement has been researched to a small extent by the means of excavations (**Fig. 16**)²⁹, as well as by a surface reconnaissance with the result of finding fragments of ceramic vessels (**Fig. 17**), clay roasters and animal bones from the 9th and 10th centuries³⁰.

At this point, our attention should be turned to a concentration of axe-like bars in the settlement microregion of Kostkowice-Kroczyce (**Fig. 18**). This is another piece of evidence in support of including the region in the territorial extension of the Vistulans' community because such bars like these are typical solely for Lesser Poland. The bars were iron items shaped like axes. In literature, there is an ongoing discussion regarding their function³¹, the occurrence of the axe-like bars is limited to Lesser Poland³² and especially to the area of the diameter of about 65 km around Cracow as the central borough³³. Within this area, the bars were discovered on following sites: the biggest deposit in Okół, Cracow, including 4212 items of the total weight surpassing 3.5 tons of iron³⁴, in Mogiła, Nowa Huta, Cracow (1 item and a fragment of another one)³⁵, in Zwierzyniec, Cracow (number unknown)³⁶, and in Modlnica (1 item)³⁷. In a close distance from Cracow, in the Szklarka valley near Jerzmanowice, a unique deposit was found consisting of a dozen of bars intentionally cut into pieces. Another deposit in the number of 39 items displaying various grades of preservation was found in the tribal phase settlement in Brzesko near Uszwica³⁸. On the northwestern boundary of the Vistulans' community, two deposits were discovered (6 items and 9 items) in the hillfort of Kostkowice and in the nearby Kroczyce respectively, and in the southeastern boundary, the find in the hillfort of Zawada Lanckorońska³⁹. Outside this one particular region, one axe-like bar was found in Radymno on the San River⁴⁰ and one on the bank of the Poprad River, in Slovakia⁴¹.

The fact that the bars were found in places so distant from one another like Kostkowice and Zawada Lanckorońska can be interpreted as a trace of a fiscal system of the community being in the early stage of state formation (?) encompassing the region with the main borough in Cracow with its hillfort on the hill of Wawel and having at its disposal the vast hoard – princely treasury (?) – of axe-like bars in Okół at the foot of Wawel⁴².

²⁹ KOJ 1998, p. 92–95; MŁODKOWSKA-PRZEPIÓROWSKA, KOJ 1999, p. 145, 167, 170, 172, fot. 5–6.

³⁰ SZMONIEWSKI, ROZMUS in print b.

³¹ SZMONIEWSKI 2010; HÁJNIK 2019; HLAVICA, BÁRTA 2021; HLAVICA, KOURIL, MIKULEC 2022.

³² SZMONIEWSKI, ROZMUS 2022, fig. 1.

³³ SZMONIEWSKI, ROZMUS 2022, fig. 2.

³⁴ ZAITZ 1990.

³⁵ HACHULSKA-LEDWOS 1971, p. 26–27, 48, 51.

³⁶ ZAITZ 1990, p. 162–163.

³⁷ LIWOCH 2013.

³⁸ SZMONIEWSKI *et alli* in print.

³⁹ ŻAKI 1961; SZMONIEWSKI, ROZMUS 2022, fig. 9/1–2

⁴⁰ KOPERSKI 1980, p. 99, 110.

⁴¹ BÉREŠ 2002, p. 139–140, fig. 1/1.

⁴² RADWAŃSKI 2000b, p. 535–555.

Also, in the central part of the Upland, in Złoty Potok (Janów municipality, Częstochowa County) close to the springs of the River Wiercica, the hillfort of Wały is located (Fig. 19 and 20), and north of it on the same small river, there was a medieval settlement. The hillfort probably functioned in the second half of the 9th century and/or at the beginning of the 10th century⁴³ (Fig. 21). One particularly important find from Złoty Potok is a spur strap loop (Fig. 22) made of a copper alloy which presumably served for reeving a thong to lash a spur to an ankle. According to the most recent Zbigniew Robak's classification of spur strap loops belonging to the Carolingian type, this sample can be included in type 3 – i.e. to the loops of small sizes with the wrought upper edge, and in variant e – encompassing the loops with their plates having undulated longer sides or semi-oval swellings across the axis of the plate. Regarding the form, items closest to the one from Złoty Potok are iron loops dated in the 9th century from Pobedim and Naszacowice although they do not have holes in their plates. Therefore, it can be assumed that the described loop was also made in the 9th century. It was brought to Potok (the shorter medieval name of the place), to the settlement or hillfort in the northwestern boundary of the territory belonging to the Vistulans' tribal community, perhaps from Great Moravia, most probably in the second half of the 9th century⁴⁴.

The widest scope of research was drawn by excavation works on the site located in the northern part of the Częstochowa Jurassic Upland, on the hill overlooking the gorge of the river Warta, with the hillfort Gąszczyk on top (Fig. 23 and 24) in Siedlec (Mstów municipality, Częstochowa County). These excavation works, however, have brought relatively humble results including pottery from the Late Bronze/Early Iron epochs, and from the Early Medieval Period (2nd half of the 9th – the half of 10th century) as well as a few artefacts of other raw materials (Fig. 25)⁴⁵. The site in Siedlec can initially be identified with the primary Mstów which had been set on the forefront of the vast settlement microregion and had been mentioned as *opole de Mstov* in Boleslaus V the Chaste's document from 1263 releasing serfs from the surrounding villages from the obligation of watching over falcon's nests⁴⁶.

The Early state Period

Basing on the localization and chronology it can be assumed that in the times of the Principality and Kingdom of Poland, the successor of destroyed or desolate Vistulan hillforts (?) became Lelów – today, a village in Częstochowa County, but a county town in the time between Late Medieval Period and 19th century. As the successor, we mean more accurately Lelów before the foundation privilege, i.e. the settlement located in the area of today's village Staromieście (nomen omen, as it means old town), not far away from Kostkowice and Złoty Potok. It is true that neither in Staromieście nor in Lelów any hillfort or hillforts could be reliably identified but some archeological sites could be recognized there as dating back to the times of the Principality and Kingdom of Poland, including those researched by excavations conducted in the year 2022 and a cemetery explored in 2023. The latter

⁴³ LIWOCH 2020b, p. 119–125.

⁴⁴ LIWOCH 2020b, p. 119–121, 123–124.

⁴⁵ WIECZOREK-SZMAL, KOSIŃSKI, BIELIŃSKA 2019, p. 77–102.

⁴⁶ LABERSCHEK 2017, p. 35.

is presumably a fragment of a larger row necropolis which can be initially dated in the 11th to the beginning of the 12th century.

On the examined area, 5 inhumation burials were found, 4 of which belonged to adults and 1 to a child (**Fig. 26**). The assortment of grave goods laid into the graves with the bodies in the examined part of the cemetery in Lelów-Ślężany is typical for cemeteries. This assortment consisted of: temple rings, rings, beads, knives, a buckle, a clay pot, an axe. In the ploughed topsoil, following artefacts were found which most probably came from damaged graves: a fragment of a denar of Bretislav I (died 1055) as well as temple rings, rings and beads⁴⁷.

It should be also noticed that in the neighbourhood of Lelów, three villages have survived; they had the character of serf villages (specialized in various labours as services to the ruler; such services were typical for the economy of the Duchy of Poland): Sokolniki (falcon breeding, training and hunting with falcons), Woźniki (production of wheels and carts) and Psary (breeding hunting dogs, hunting with dogs), the fourth of them – Szczytniki (production of shields for warriors), evidenced in documents only once in 1469, disappeared most probably as early as in the Middle Ages⁴⁸.

Conclusions

All the issues mentioned in this text require further studies. It seems that in the next future, only the state of research on these four Jurassic hillforts is going to be improved while the issue of the territorial extension of the Vistulans as well as the characteristics of their political formation will continue to raise doubts. The authors however take the liberty to assume that the Vistulans' domain extended from the southeast to the northwest with the axis formed by the hillforts with the borough of Cracow set more or less in its centre (**Fig. 1**), and not along the Vistula as it is usually reconstructed. This hypothesis seems to be supported by the localization of the finds of axe-like bars along the line from Zawada Lanckorońska (Zakliczyn municipality, Tarnów County) through Cracovian Okół with the huge princely hoard (?) to Kostkowice (**Fig. 18**).

On the basis of the above, it appears that the area of the Vistulans community was larger than suggested by Zofia Kurnatowska⁴⁹. Moreover, the position of Cracow as a central place in relation to the surrounding areas changed and the area itself became the largest central area in the Polish territories, surpassing the central area of Gniezno. The question remains as to why the germ of a state, which could have led to the emergence of the Polish state, did not form around Cracow. These factors are still unclear considering the fact of the presence of a permanent and appropriately hierarchical territorial structure in this area since the end of the 9th century⁵⁰.

We hope that gradual and systematic archaeological research will give an answer to the above question.

⁴⁷ SZMONIEWSKI, SOBOTA-LIWOCH, ROZMUS 2024.

⁴⁸ LABERSCHECK 2017, p. 31.

⁴⁹ KURNATOWSKA 2005, p. 25.

⁵⁰ KURNATOWSKA 2005, p. 27.

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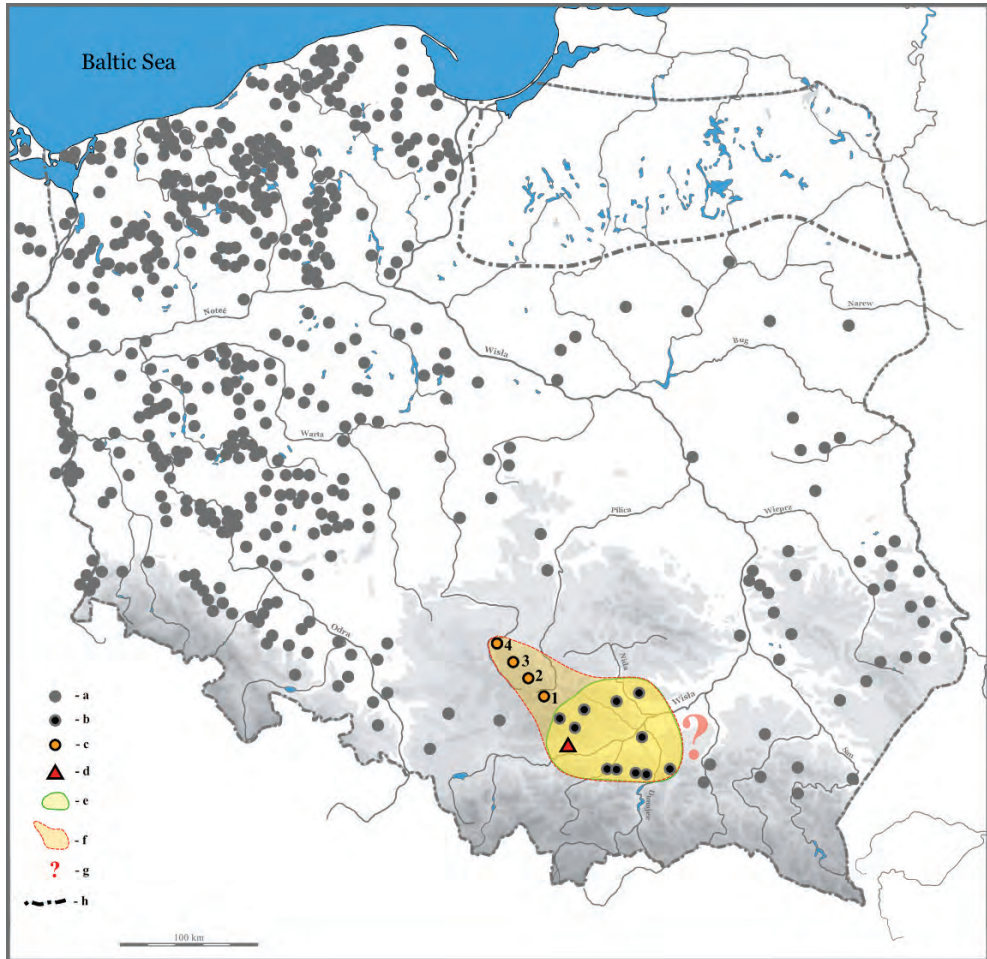


Fig. 1. Distribution of hillforts in Polish lands from 8th–10th centuries (after KURNATOWSKA 2005 and BUKO 2021 with authors' modifications; drawing B. Sz. Szmoniewski): a – hillforts; b – Vistulans' hillforts; c – omitted Vistulans' hillforts; d – Cracow – central place; e – core settlement area of the Vistulans according to KURNATOWSKA 2005; f – core settlement area of the Vistulans according to authors; g – probable area of the Vistulans settlements; h – border between Slavic and Baltic communities (1 – Udórz; 2 – Kostkowice; 3 – Złoty Potok; 4 – Siedlec).



Fig. 2. The Iron triple-winged arrowhead (Avars?) from Maszków and Pobiednik Wielki, Cracow District, Poland (after LIWOCH 2020a).



Fig. 3. Krakus Mound, Cracow, Poland. A contemporary view (photo B. Sz. Szmoniewski).

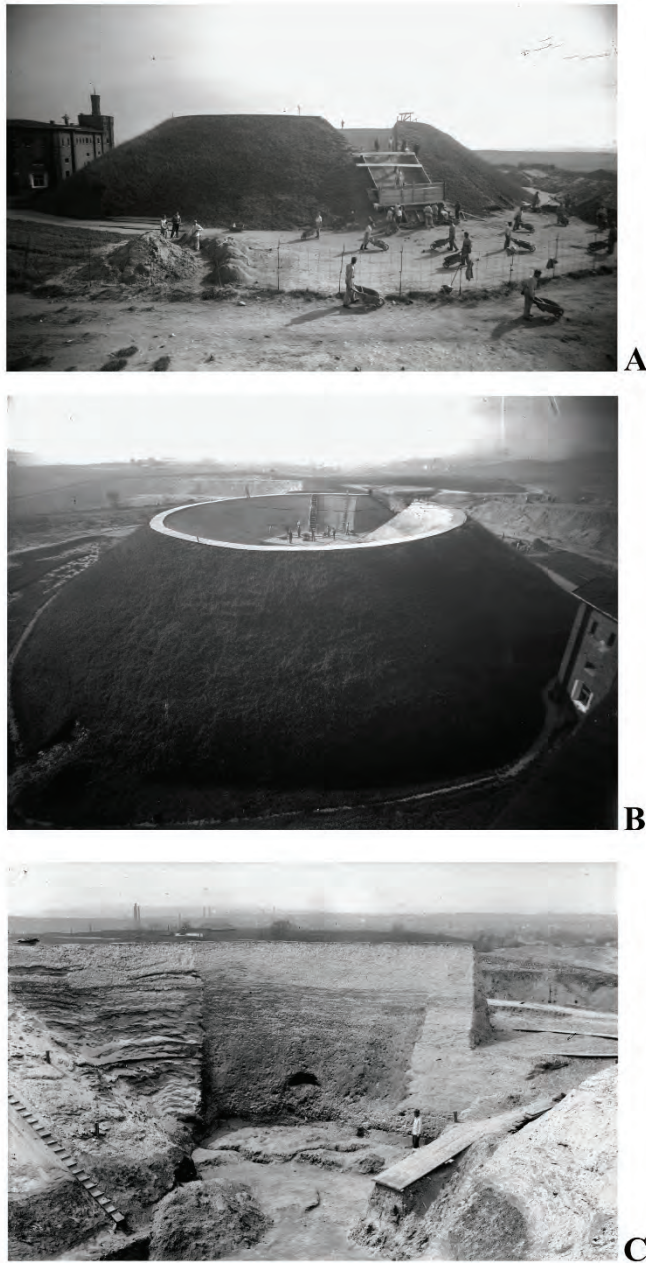


Fig. 4. Krakus Mound, Cracow, Poland. Archeological investigation in 1930s (source: Narodowe Archiwum Cyfrowe / National Digital Archives, Public domain): A – Side view of the mound; B – Aerial view of the excavated area; C – Excavation area inside of the mound.



Fig. 5. Barrow cemetery in Krzemionki Podgórskie, Cracow, Poland. 19th century copy of the Austrian plan by Charles de Hoefern from 1779 (after RADWAŃSKI 2000a).



Fig. 6. Late Avar belt fitting from Krakus Mound (photo A. Susuł).

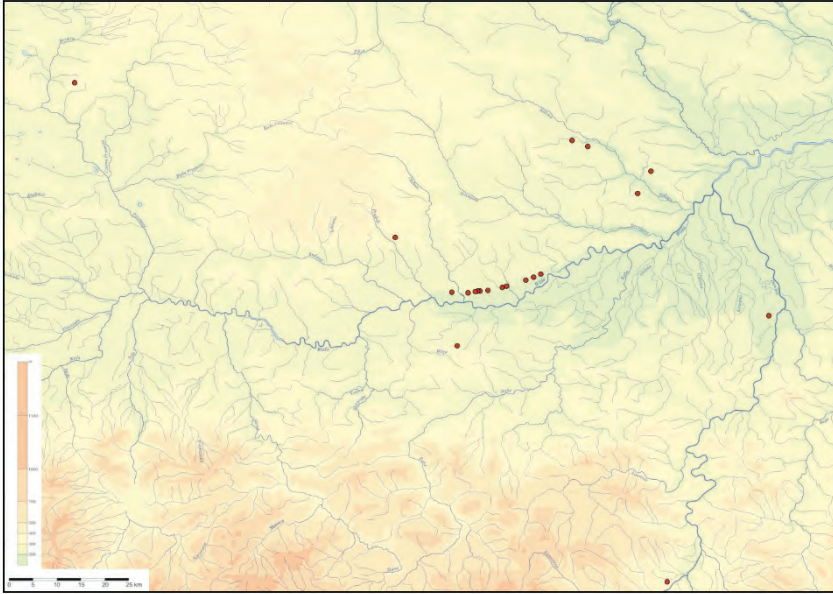


Fig. 7. Early Slavs' settlements – Prague Culture in western part of the southeastern Poland (5th/6th–half 7th century) (compiled and drawing B. Sz. Szmoniewski).



Fig. 8. The Prague Culture vessels from cremation cemetery from Siemonia, Śląskie Voivodeship, Poland (photo R. Liwoch).



Fig. 9. Hillfort in Udórz, Śląskie Voivodeship, Poland, with marked find places of spurs with hook-shaped terminals (after BUGAJ, ZDANIEWICZ, LIWOCH 2020).

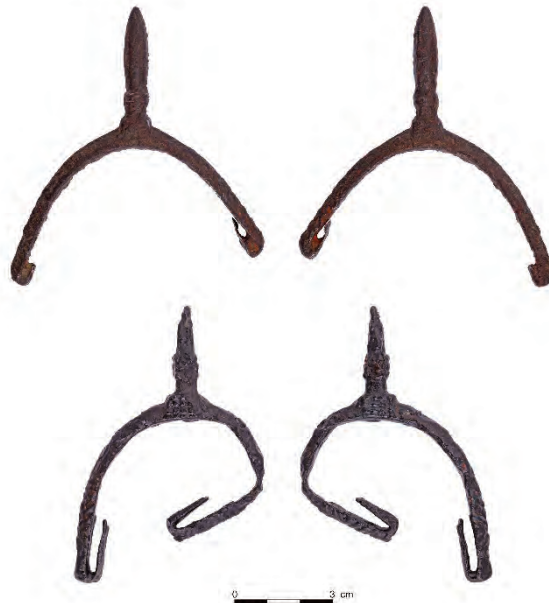


Fig. 10. The spurs with hook-shaped terminals from the hillfort in Udórz, Śląskie Voivodeship, Poland (after BUGAJ, ZDANIEWICZ, LIWOCH 2020).

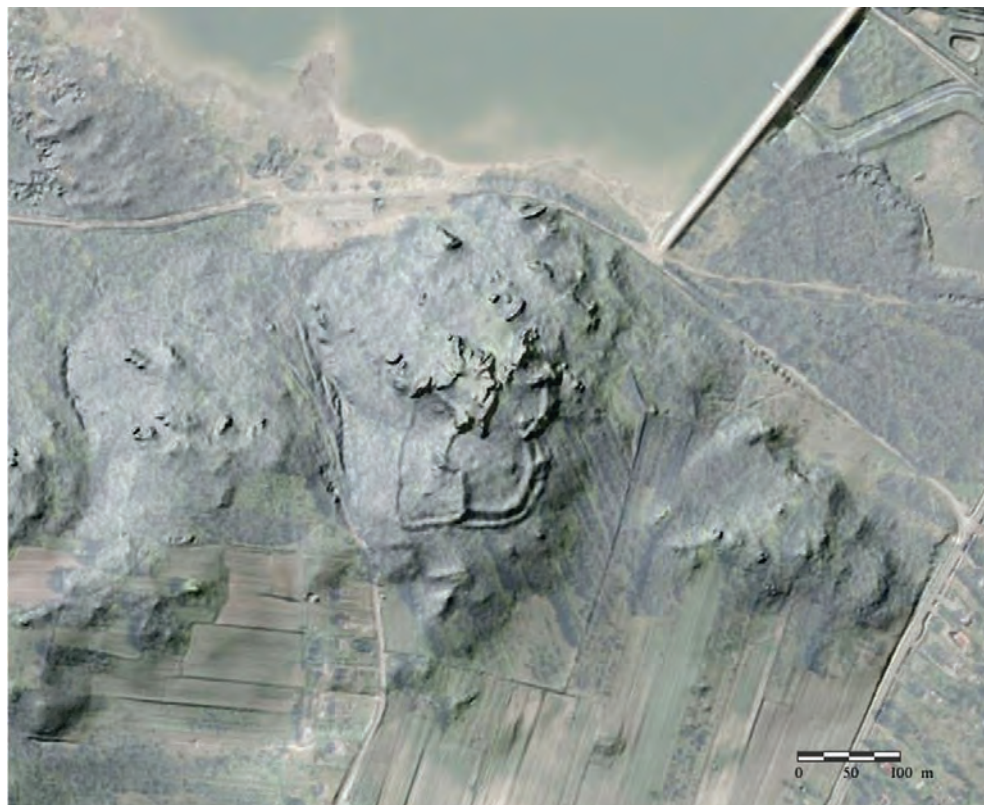


Fig. 11. Hillfort in Kostkowice, Śląskie Voivodeship, Poland (after geoportal.gov.pl).



Fig. 12. Hillfort in Kostkowice, Śląskie Voivodeship, Poland (photo R. Liwoch).

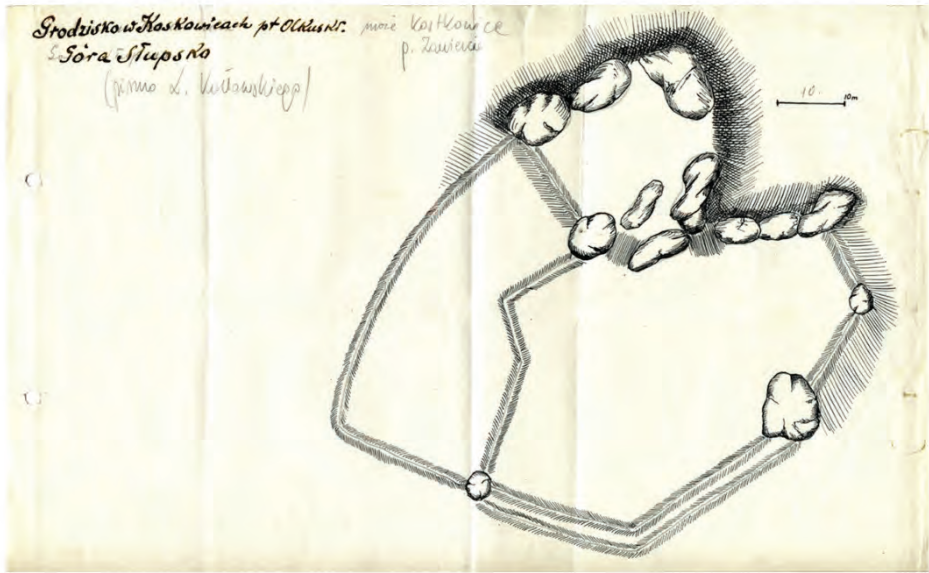


Fig. 13. The archival plan of the hillfort in Kostkowice, Śląskie Voivodeship, Poland (the Archives of the Archeological Museum in Kraków).



Fig. 14. Pottery fragment from the surface of the hillfort in Kostkowice, Śląskie Voivodeship, Poland (photo B. Sz. Szmoniewski).



Fig. 15. The examples of the iron axe-shaped bars discovered in the hillfort from Kostkowice, Śląskie Voivodeship, Poland (photo B. Sz. Szmoniewski).

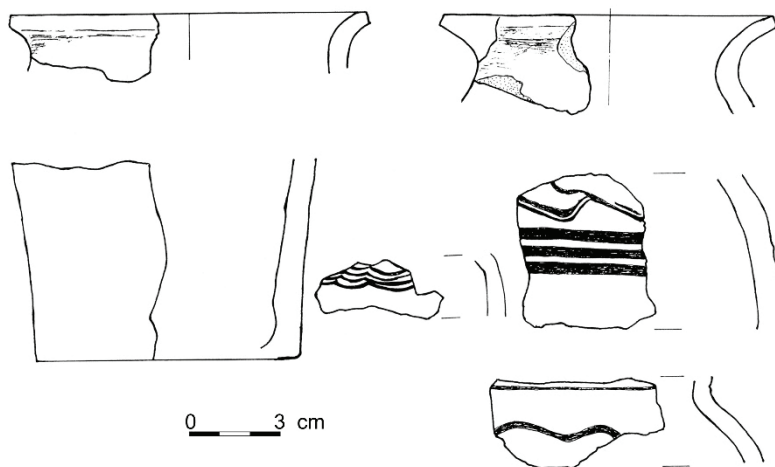


Fig. 16. Pottery fragments from open settlements in Dzibice, site 3, located near hillfort Kostkowice, Śląskie Voivodeship, Poland (after KOJ 1998).



Fig. 17. Pottery fragment from open settlements in Dzibice, site 3, located near hillfort Kostkowice, Śląskie Voivodeship, Poland (photo B. Sz. Szmoniewski).

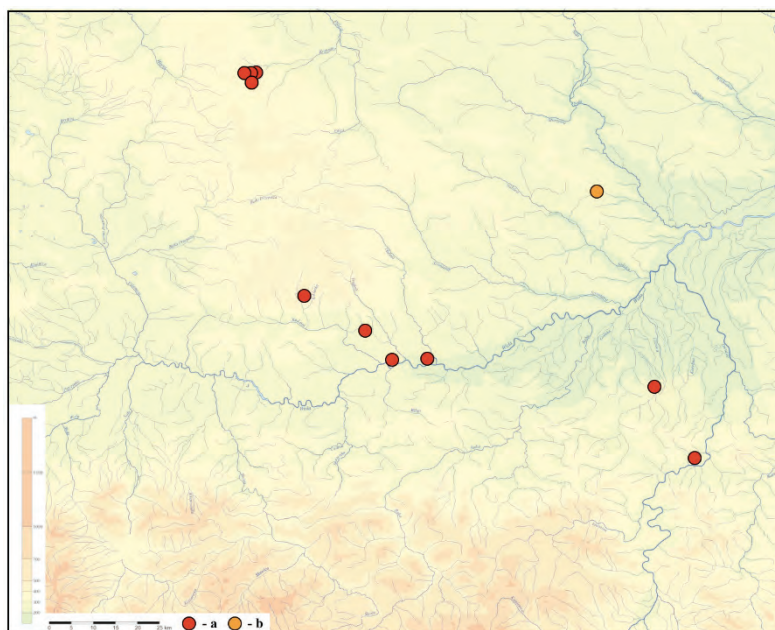


Fig. 18. Iron axe-shaped bars from western part of southeastern Poland: a – Lesser Poland /Vistulans type; b – Great Moravian type (compiled and drawing B. Sz. Szmoniewski).

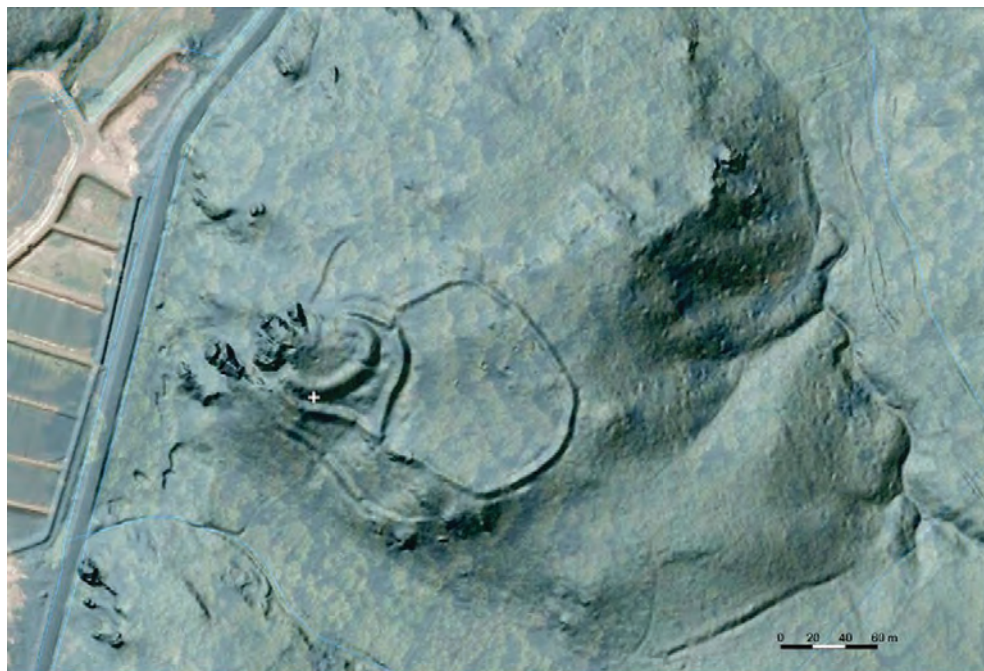


Fig. 19. Hillfort Wały in Złoty Potok, Śląskie Voivodeship, Poland (after LIWOCH 2020b).



Fig. 20. Hillfort Wały in Złoty Potok, Śląskie Voivodeship, Poland (after LIWOCH 2020b).



Fig. 21. Pottery fragment from hillfort Wały in Złoty Potok, Śląskie Voivodeship, Poland (after LIWOCH 2020b, photo R. Liwoch).

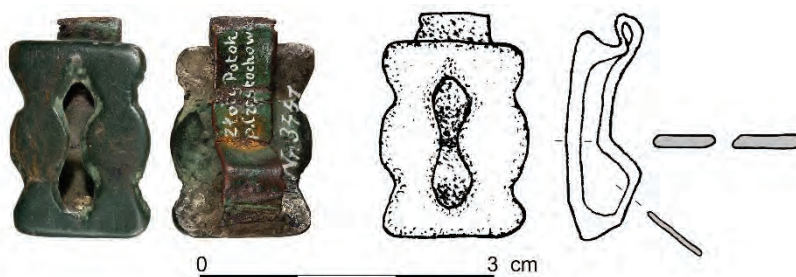


Fig. 22. A Carolingian type spur strap loop from hillfort Wały in Złoty Potok, Śląskie Voivodeship, Poland (after LIWOCH 2020b).



Fig. 23. Hillfort Gąszczyk in Siedlec, Śląskie Voivodeship, Poland (after geoportal.gov.pl).



Fig. 24. Hillfort Gąszczyk in Siedlec, Śląskie Voivodeship, Poland (photo R. Liwoch).

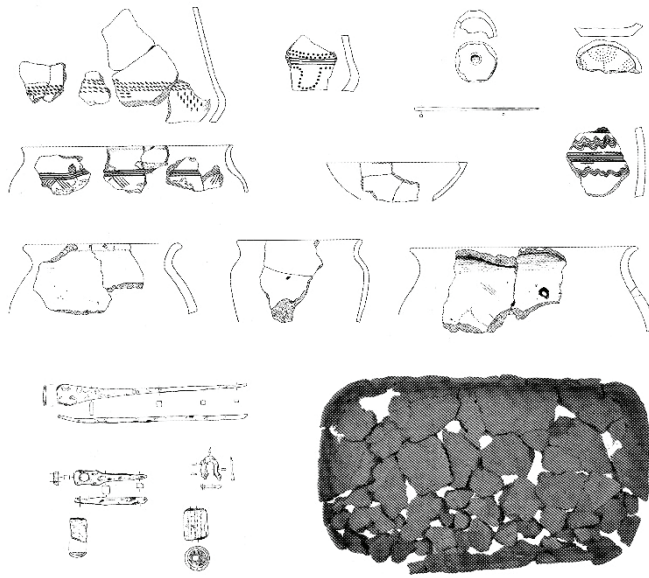


Fig. 25. Pottery from hillfort Gąszczyk in Siedlec, Śląskie Voivodeship, Poland (after BIELIŃSKA, KOSIŃSKI, WIECZOREK-SZMAL 2014).



Fig. 26. Grave no. 4 from the early medieval cemetery in Lełów-Ślężany, site 17, Śląskie Voivodeship, Poland (photo B. Sz. Szmoniewski).