

Research into the Early History of the Slav Populations in the Territory of the German Democratic Republic

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IN THE early Middle Ages the territory of today's German Democratic Republic was almost completely settled by Slavs. West of a line marked by the rivers Elbe and Saale they lived in close relation with and political dependence upon the early Germanic population, whereas E. of this line for several centuries they had a relatively independent social development. Here they have left many traces of themselves that are still evident, and now belong to the heritage both of the Slav and of the German peoples, to whose genesis the Slavs made a substantial contribution.¹ The Serbs, an ethnic minority, live as a Slav population in the territory of the G.D.R. in Upper and Lower Lusatia, whose history is linked directly with this early time.²

Research into the early history of the Slavs in the G.D.R. can be traced back to a long German research tradition shaped by humanistic pursuits and interests, which began in the second half of the 19th century and was linked with such scholars as R. Virchow, A. Götze, C. Schuchhardt and W. Unverzagt. This research had also to eliminate the arbitrary distortions and falsifications of the sources about the early Slav period. In continuation of the research done by our Slav neighbours with a view to describing their national past, G.D.R. research has, especially in the past 25 years, been successful in making its own internationally important contribution towards the problem (Fig. 1).

At present research is based on a comparatively wide spectrum of sources both published and in course of preparation. First and foremost this applies to the archaeological sources themselves. Thus the inventory of archaeological finds of the 7th–12th centuries from the territory of the G.D.R. and operated in the form of a corpus based on uniform principles has resulted over the last ten years in more than a doubling of the amount of source material available for research.³ The first three of five volumes planned for the territory of the G.D.R. indicated more than 5,000 sites for the period under study.

In addition to this corpus, manual-like compilations of early fortresses and burial places are available together with a great number of monographs on

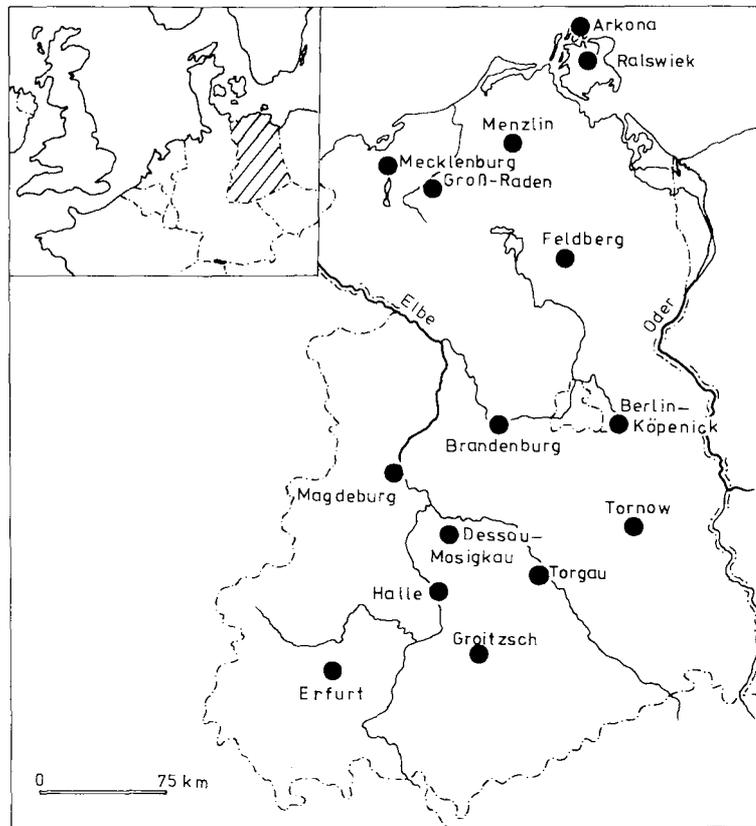


FIG. 1

Places mentioned in the text in the territory of the G.D.R.

important excavations of settlements, strongholds and towns.⁴ Regional reviews and comparative studies on the existence of Slav names for settlements, fields and rivers have also been published,⁵ providing source material which together with the historical tradition and geographical studies has been instrumental in reshaping the picture of early Slav history. Incorporation of the natural sciences, specifically botany, zoology and anthropology, into archaeological research has substantially enriched the spectrum of results, notably with regard to elucidating the economic foundation of Slav societies.⁶

The Slavs are not indigenous to the territory of the G.D.R. Their land-taking was done essentially in the 6th and 7th centuries and from various directions, as can be seen from the characteristics of their material culture, economy, social structure and cultural and religious ideas.⁷ The differences identifiable from the very beginning between the various communities make perceptible the complexity and variety of the historical influences to which the Slav tribes were subjected on the way to expansion to the W. Today in the territory of the G.D.R. and the F.R.G. (Bundes-

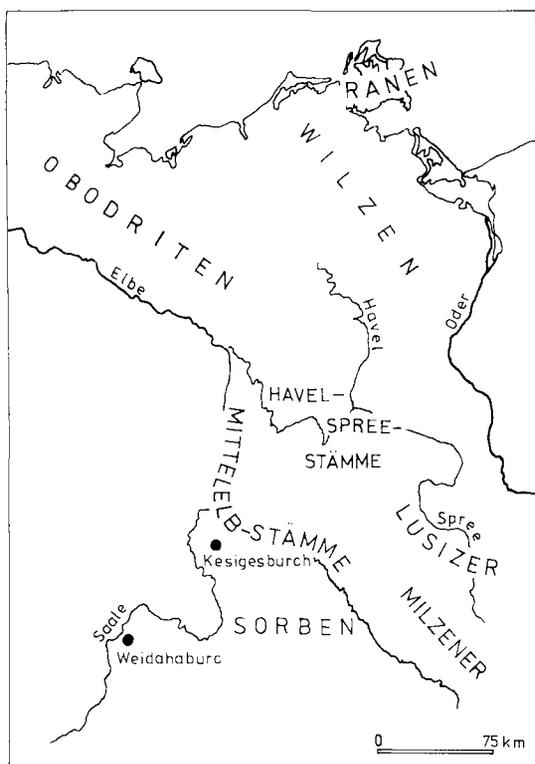


FIG. 2

Slav tribes and societies between the Elbe and the Oder

republik Deutschland) we distinguish six distinct archaeological and cultural regions (Fig. 2). On the basis of written records we are able to relate them, at least in part, to tribal communities known by name: in Schleswig-Holstein, Wagrien and Mecklenburg these were the Abodrites, in eastern Mecklenburg the Vilzens, in eastern Brandenburg and in Lusatia, in western Brandenburg and the central district of the R. Elbe there were various communities not to be identified by a single name, and the Serbs in the area between the Saale and Elbe rivers. A sixth group seems to be traceable on the island of Rügen and its surroundings.

Land-taking by these communities was done largely independently of each other, the territory between Elbe and Oder being occupied from the E., both from the Polish low plain and from the Silesian foreland; for the region between Saale and Elbe, however, the thrust came from the SE., from the Danube region via Bohemia and Moravia. Especially for the last group, the Serbs, recent research allows closer characterization of the settlement processes.⁸

By the first half of the 6th century Slav land-taking groups had settled in the region NE. of the lower and middle part of the R. Danube.⁹ Here they had come across a dense population conversant with a high level of economic development on

account of its temporary affiliation to the Roman Empire, with which they had intermingled and whose developed production techniques they had acquired in line with their social patterns and interests. Archaeologically, this process becomes especially conspicuous with the introduction of the potter's wheel and thus the manufacture of comparatively high-quality ceramics. When in the course of the 6th and 7th centuries the Slavs continued migration, yielding to the pressures of the Avars,¹⁰ they spread their adapted culture southwards beyond the Danube, but also along the Danube up to Moravia, Bohemia and into the Saale-Elbe region. Thus settlers arrived here who on account of contacts during migration had evolved a new material culture unknown in their regions of origin E. of the Carpathian Mountains and also differing from that of other land-taking groups, thus securing them a permanent lead in development even in the new regions of settlement. The Serbs gave preference to the fertile loess soils, which they cultivated with ploughs mounted with iron plough-shares. Specialized manufacturing collectives settled in the vicinity of suitable deposits of raw materials, and are easily identifiable archaeologically as millstone producers, an interpretation confirmed by onomatological sources (*Zor-nošeky* — millstone manufacturer, localities, such as Sornzig, Sörnzig, etc.).¹¹ In goldwork their own artistic views had become predominant. Their particularities were reflected in the dry walls used in the construction of fortifications.¹² These common characteristics have for centuries connected the Serbic tribes with their place of origin: relations also reflected in political alliances recorded for the 7th century (Dervan-Samo), 9th century (Great Moravia) and the 10th/11th centuries (German Reich-Bohemia).¹³

In all the other land-taking groups these traditional contacts have so far become apparent only in the settlement phase. Apart from local factors, however, these contacts had obviously shaped future developments also. This is especially perceptible in the relationship of tribes to arable farming and animal husbandry.¹⁴ Studies on residual vegetable specimens and analyses of pollen and animal bones demonstrate for all tribes the predominance of agriculture in economic life. This has been proved by the primacy of rye cultivation, the developed crop-rotation, the generally high proportion of domestic animals, the use of cattle for breeding and the growing number of finds of agricultural implements, such as wooden hooks and stick ploughs, hoes and digging sticks and also a frame-type harrow (Groß Raden).¹⁵ Nevertheless, regional differences cannot be overlooked. Thus the tribes along the Havel and Spree rivers went in for intensive arable, the role of domestic animals being slight, since analyses of animal bones have proved the very high proportion of game in the meat diet. In Lusatia, by contrast, domestic animal breeding and arable farming were equally well developed, although the two regions were hardly distinguishable from each other geographically. When such analyses are based on dated groups, these statements have to be further differentiated. Thus the proportion of arable to stock farming in the multi-phase complex of castle-settlement in Tornow/Calau was subject to changes between the 8th/9th and the 9th/10th centuries without any causes so far being recognized.¹⁶ A change of social conditions is supposed to be the underlying reason. Changing social conditions appear to be also the cause of changes in the composition of animal bone assemblages, for example those found in the

strongholds of the 9th/10th till the 13th century at Groitzsch/Borna.¹⁷ The imposition of feudal production modes in the 11th century resulted in an obvious change in the relationship of tributes and imposts: initially the animals were slaughtered and eviscerated within the fortresses, with equal proportions of male and female swine bones, and complete skeletons, being found. In a more developed stage, however, only those bones are found that had rich lumps of meat and the boar was predominantly the animal slaughtered.

In the late Slavonic sanctuary of Arkona/Rügen the relationship is shown in yet another different light.¹⁸ Among the finds of the fortress destroyed by the Danes in 1168 were young animals (slaughtered around August), bird species with fine feathers, and rare kinds of wild animal. These finds testify to the harvest festivals and the offerings of animals made every year in front of and inside the fortress.¹⁹ Interestingly, horse bones are largely non-existent among the finds although the horse and horse-breeding played an outstanding role in the cult of the Slav population on Rügen. Recent pollen-analytical studies have confirmed the finding that oats among the cereals cultivated assumed a predominant position that was not observable at other places. Obviously horses were not eaten.²⁰

From this agricultural base, crafts and trades gradually developed among the Slav tribes between Elbe/Saale and Oder. The foci of crystallization of this process were the centres of tribes and small social communities which had been provided with ramparts since the 7th, but particularly since the 8th, century. The wealth of the communities subordinate to them was collected here. While initially the community at large was able to dispose of its production this system was steadily monopolized by the tribe's nobility, first as the representative of common interests, but later with an increasing complexity of contradictory personal interests. Craftsmen settled in centres where presumably the nobility itself engaged in trade. It was possible to prove the process of concentration of economic and political power at the previously cited example of Tornow/Calau.²¹ Here over the course of several centuries the formation of a local collective that had settled in the *Burg* as well as in the *Vorburg* became discernible, marked by agricultural and handicraft production (Fig. 3). As a result the close correlation between the emergence of specialized workshops and the transition to permanent and intensive arable farming became impressively obvious, together with the development of higher forms of social organization. As was shown by further studies, this example appears to be characteristic of the Slav tribes settling in the Lusatian area, and the finds substantiate the great number of craft activities. These crafts were in part at least domestically operated, partly as a seasonal activity and, to a certain extent, already as specialized activities separated from agriculture. In individual cases it is difficult to decide, but transitions may be conjectured. In the household the basic needs of daily life were secured, the preparation of food (e.g. grinding of cereals), the manufacture of clothing (spinning, weaving, leather processing) and of domestic and economic needs. But already the manufacture of ceramics, the manufacture and processing of iron, the mastering of wood-working and turning as well as other activities requiring special skills and tools would have been accomplished by specialists, presumably at specific seasons. Transition to crafts producing for the market is apparent. The

distribution of base stamps on Slav ceramics of the 11th/12th century in the vicinity of the principality of Brandenburg may serve to indicate such production (Fig. 4).²² It is clearly documented for the supra-regional distribution of millstones made of a material with high-performance potential.²³ They were produced by special collectives.²⁴ The apparent connection of specialized production with suitable raw materials appears to be found also in the field of salt production (Halle/Saale).²⁵ In this context the construction of fortification is of note. It is especially the complicated carpentry technology which suggests the idea that in the entire region of the Abodrites specialists had worked.²⁶ Mention has already been made of the distinctive products of the Serb goldsmiths.²⁷

The emergence of a market production that went beyond barter can be evidenced in other ways. In 805 Charlemagne in the capitulary of Diefenhofen prohibited the export of weapons to the Slavs.²⁸ As frontier trading places for our region reference is made to Bardowiek near Lüneburg, Schezla, Magdeburg and Erfurt. It is possible that in the Slav settlement areas the main tribal centres served as the initial meeting places. This is partly expressed in the place-names (Torgau — slav. *targ*, market-place; Weidahaburg 766 and Kesigesburch 839, with the determinative word *-burg* which at that time was suggestive of 'urban character'), partly in the reports of commercial travellers (Ibrâhîm ibn Ja'qûb c. 965) in Mecklenburg, Schwerin, Magdeburg, Halle or Merseburg and Prague (ČSSR), and is also demonstrated by the distribution of finds of coins and cut silver in their immediate

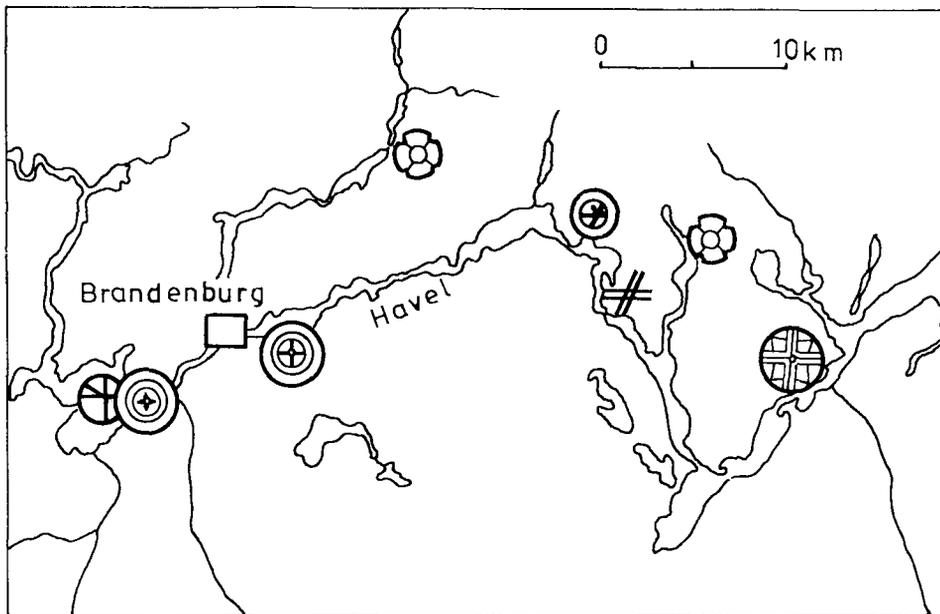


FIG. 4

Distribution of base stamps on Slav ceramics identical to those discovered at the Slav tribal centre in Brandenburg (after Grebe, *AuF* (21, 1976), 158)

vicinity. Weapons, precious metals and slaves were the preferred trade items, but honey, furs, pigs, cereals and clothes are all mentioned in documents of Ottonian origin.²⁹

Regular trading stations developed early along the coastal region of the Baltic Sea. Thus the Danish King Göttrik in 808 destroyed Reric (in the Slav region of settlement, though up to now not precisely located), and he resettled the merchants resident there at Haithabu.³⁰ The reality of this story is supported by recent discoveries in Menzlin and Ralswiek; from the latter especially it was possible to get enlightening insights into the shape and character of an early urban Slav settlement.

The first settlement emerged here in the course of the 8th century, but was destroyed in the middle of the 9th (Fig. 5).³¹ It comprised farmsteads made up of main and ancillary buildings, the latter partly used for craftwork. From the farmsteads via an artificially constructed jetty, access was provided to an open-sea basin leading to the Baltic Sea, now filled up by alluviation.

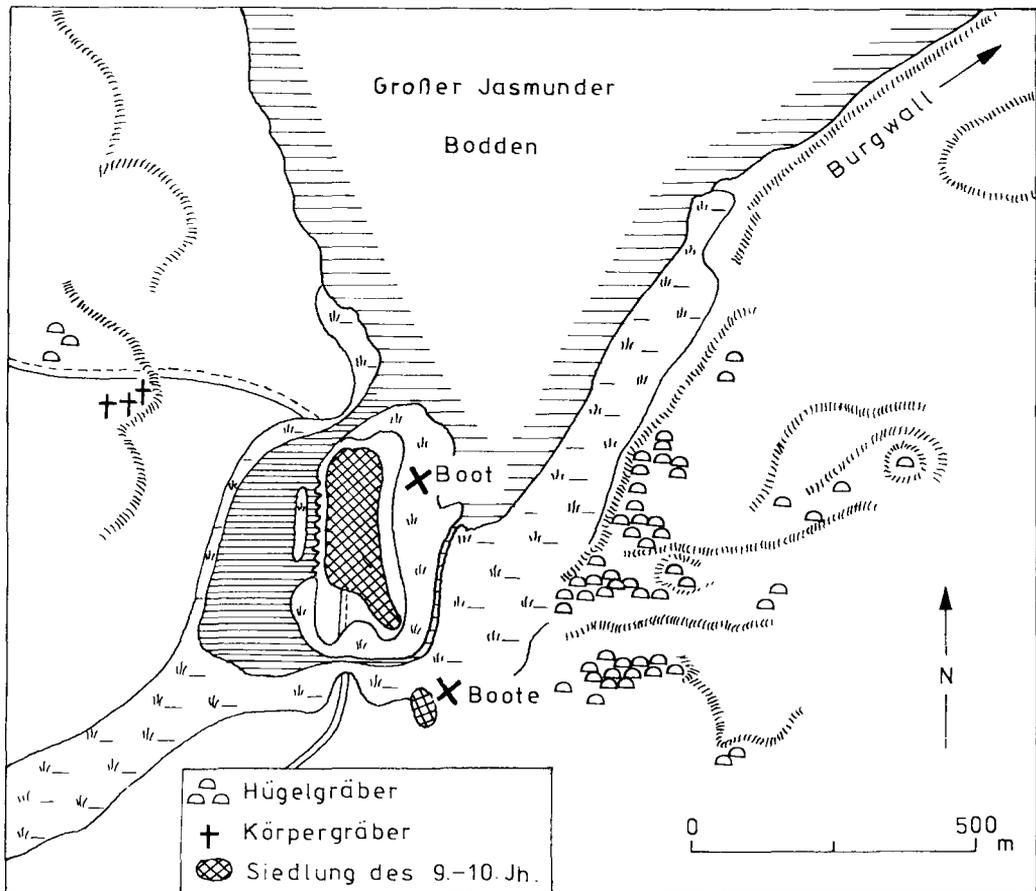


FIG. 5

Ralswiek/Rügen. Settlement, harbour and neighbouring cemeteries (after Herrmann, op. cit. in note 31)

A treasure hoard was found in one of the destroyed houses, containing some 2200 Arab silver coins (the latest dated 842) with a total weight of 2750 g. A fragment of a Permian ring was included in it.³² The uniform composition of the treasure reflects contacts with settlers to the E. Soapstone and jewelry imports from Scandinavia, the Baltic region and Eastern Europe were to be found already in the first settlement. In the second half of the 9th century the settlement was rebuilt and it continued to exist until the 11th/12th century, developing a local extension. Near the coast four wrecks of Slav clinker boats have been found, which were suitable for coastal and open-sea navigation.³³ The caulking of one boat was dated to the 9th century by radiocarbon. The trade-oriented character of the settlement is further attested by other imports. Among them is a bone pencil with an ancient Aramaic inscription dating back to the 11th century B.C.³⁴ The settlement included several burial mounds with more than 400 graves altogether. One of them proved to be a cremation burial with or in a ship, identifiable by the large number of iron rivets.³⁵

In addition to the quantity of imports the ship-like graves in Menzlin deserve special recognition since they imply that this place inside the Slav region of settlement was closely connected with Scandinavia.³⁶

While these sea-trading places were gradually losing their importance during the 11th century, some of the tribal centres inside the country developed continuously into early townships.³⁷ This development was based on the economic and social stabilization of the Slav communities in the 11th and 12th centuries. A special role was played in this by the establishment of stable market relations with the surrounding region, in addition to the continuation of long-distance trading. Already for the previous centuries the use of unofficial substitutes for coins (linen cloths, iron bowls) was proof of the developed state of intra-societal relations.³⁸ Now this process was continued. In the 12th century the first coins were minted (Pribislaw/Heinrich in Brandenburg; Alt-Lübeck; Jaxa in Köpenick/Berlin).³⁹

The plans of these centres were adapted to meet the new demands. In Brandenburg the Slav settlement began with an open settlement, which subsequently became the Cathedral Island (Fig. 6).⁴⁰ It was given fortifications in the second half of the 7th century that were repeatedly renewed or rebuilt until the 10th. After a transitory German settlement the place flourished in the 11th and 12th centuries as the centre of the Slav Hevellian tribe. The stronghold had assumed a dimension of approximately four hectares. The finds testify to the intensive craft and trade activities of the settlers (among them there are moulds, scales and weights).

Apart from various agriculturally oriented settlements the market activities of the place developed around the 10th century. The Parduin quarter emerged outside the fortification at the beginning of the 12th century as the settlement of merchants. This is the period when the first coins were minted, as mentioned above. According to the sources, merchants came from Brandenburg, and one of the most important trade routes passed through the area from the German Reich (Magdeburg) to the E.⁴¹ In the middle of the 12th century Brandenburg fell into German hands through inheritance. In consequence, the Parduin quarter was merged with the old city that had developed S. of it and had received municipal law in 1170. By the end of the 12th century a new city had emerged, exclusively orientated towards trade and craft, S. of

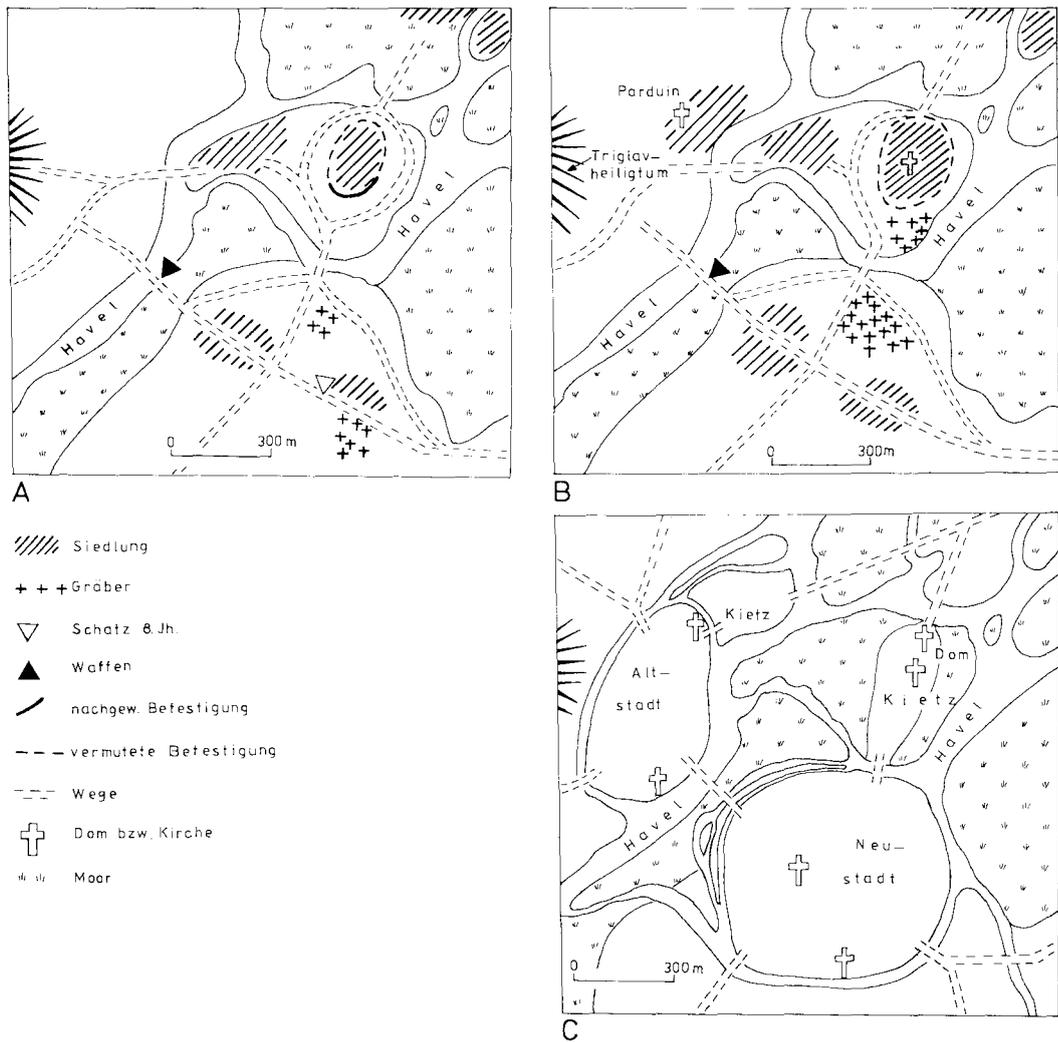


FIG. 6

Brandenburg. (A) Earlier and (B) later Slav *Burg* and settlement complex, with (C) the later medieval town (after Herrmann, *AuF* (21, 1976), 172)

the fort where the walls had been dismantled and where in 1165 the construction of today's cathedral had begun.

The Slav town was dominated by the fortress. Within this topographic dualism between *Burg/Vorburg* and the market social relations continued to exist which were liquidated only in the time of German expansion to the E. and the imposition of new municipal rights, as was shown by the example of Brandenburg.

With the description of the development of towns we have already gone far into the problems of the development of settlements and society. However, it should be

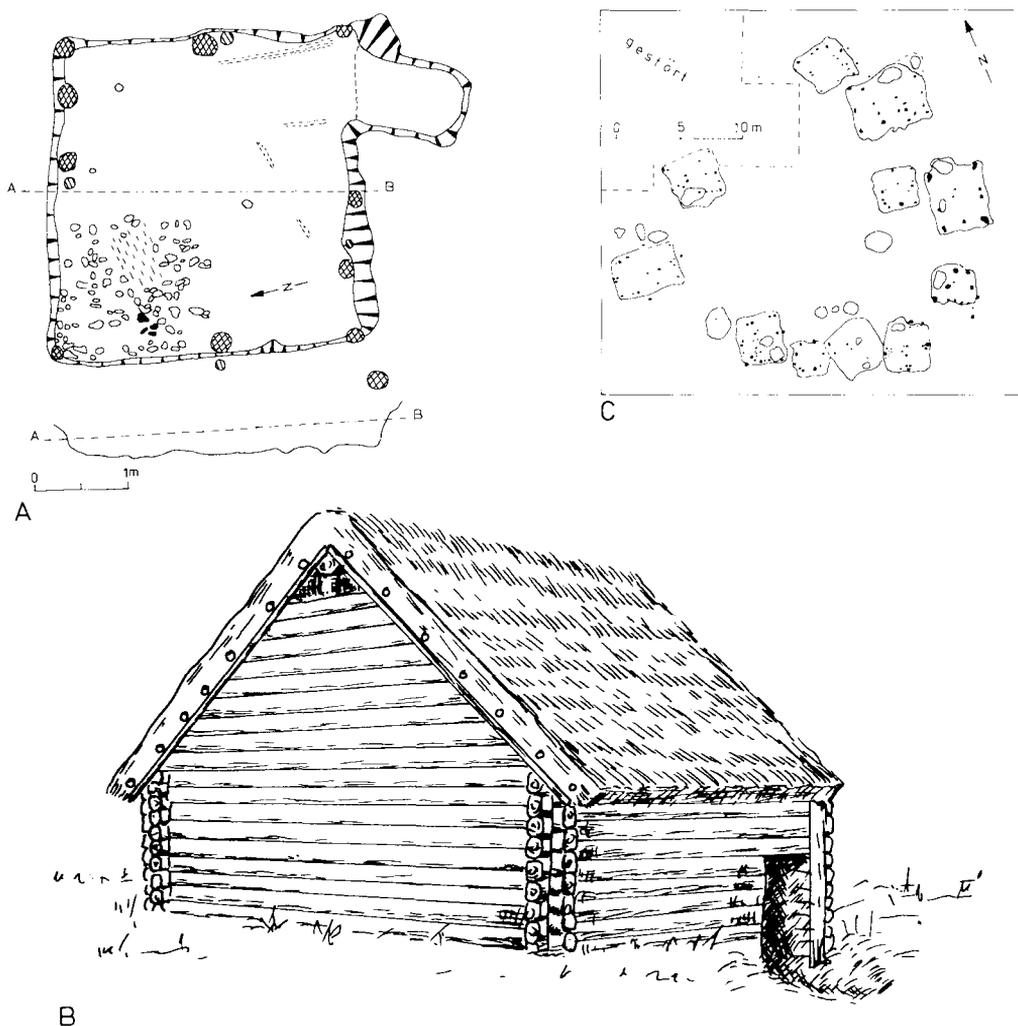


FIG. 7

Dessau-Mosigkau. Early Slav house (A: ground-plan; B: reconstruction) and (C) plan of one phase of settlement (after Krüger, *op. cit.* in note 4; C after Brachmann, *op. cit.* in note 8)

stressed that Slav society over the entire period we are concerned with was primarily rurally orientated. Accordingly, rural sites predominated in the pattern of settlement. We have gathered only insufficient information about them so far. The completely excavated settlement of Dessau-Mosigkau dates back to the settlement period (Fig. 7).⁴² It comprised 44 sunken buildings and more than 120 pits of varying functions. At first the only buildings were heatable dwellings in block construction, the semi-circular arrangement of which made it possible to identify five stages of settlement with a life-span of about 25 years each. The number of some

eight to ten houses per phase of settlement is indicative of a relatively small settlement comprising hardly more than 35 inhabitants. It is disputable whether the various stages are the settlements of relatives, that is whether the farmyard accommodated a clan, or whether we can speak of a rural settlement based on a small family. Different from the layout of Mosigkau were the settlements of Tornow-Lütjenberg and Tornow-Borchelt.⁴³ Initially, ground-level post-built structures of considerable dimensions predominated here, which, in the excavators' view, were grouped to farmsteads with auxiliary buildings within a nucleated village (*Haufendorf*). As a result of the apparently consolidating system of power and exploitation (emergence of manorial strongholds) post construction was successively replaced in favour of smaller block-like ground-level buildings without earth-fast posts, but without essential change in the structure of settlement.

Yet differences are reflected in the construction of houses in both settlements.⁴⁴ We are taken back to the traditions of the years of migration, to peculiarities and experience linking these settlers to their regions of origin.⁴⁵ Thus the housebuilding of Dessau-Mosigkau, marked by the characteristic square sunken buildings with a hearth in one of the house corners, indicates geographic latitudes influenced by continental climate and seasonal extremes of temperature, that is the black-soil regions of the U.S.S.R. The experience gained there over many generations in battling with nature had become so much a part of the traditional cultural heritage that even under different climatic conditions in the new home country modifications were made only slowly. The ground-level building is, by contrast, found in the northern regions and is characteristic of areas with sandy soils and the rather humid atlantic climate. However, in both regions wooden buildings predominate. From many finds we know of wattle-work and block-construction. There are also buildings of posts and staves. Insight into this kind of house-building was obtained by the recent excavations at Gross Raden/Sternberg.⁴⁶ Here in the region of settlement of the Abodrites a two-phase complex of *Burg-Vorburg* of the 9th/10th century was investigated, where the buildings of the first phase (38 houses) had average measurements of 4 × 5 m and consisted of one room. Their walls, 2 m in height, consisted of narrow, slightly deepened stave boards connected by wattle. They were kept together by a frame carrying at the same time the hip- or saddle-roof covered with reed. In the second phase, two-room block houses predominated, measuring, on average, 4 × 7 m.

Due to favourable preservation conditions it was possible in Gross Raden to lay open for the first time a Slav temple of the 9th century and to show all its essential design details (Fig. 8).⁴⁷ It was a single-room hall of 7.6 × 13 m with 2 m high walls of stave construction. Roof and walls were additionally supported by a frame made of posts. In front of the stave-constructed wall, yet linked with it, there were decorative planks put up one beside the other without any structural function. The hip-roof was covered with wooden tiles. The hall was surrounded by a kind of special gallery. Temple buildings were previously only known from written documents, or from badly preserved sites (especially Feldberg). These finds were supplemented by a number of representations of gods (Neubrandenburg, Altfriesack, Ralswiek).⁴⁸

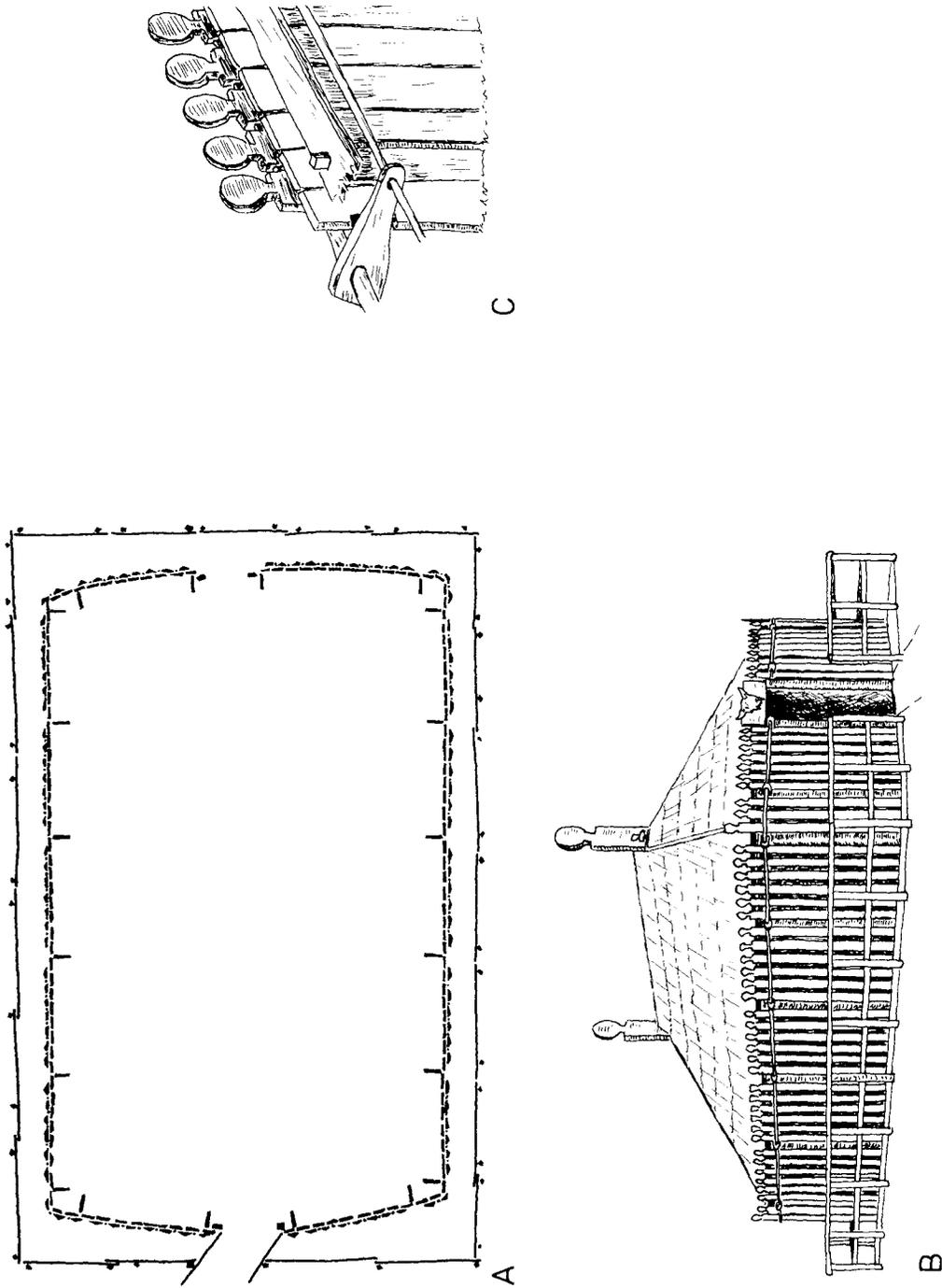


FIG. 8
Gross-Raden/Sternberg. Early Slav temple: (A) ground-plan, (B) reconstruction, (C) constructional detail (after
Schuldt, op. cit. in note 47)

The first strongholds date back to the early phase of Slav settlements. As repeatedly stressed, they were initially the fortified centres of tribes consolidating their new areas of settlement. Radiocarbon and dendrochronology date Mecklenburg, centre of the Abodrites, back to the 7th century (second phase of fortification *c.* 680, i.e. first wall about first third of the 7th century, wall 12 m wide and at least 7 m high), comparable to Brandenburg, centre of the Hevellians (fourth phase of fortification, dendrochronologically *c.* 830/840, i.e. first construction of stronghold about the end of 7th century). The construction of the centre of the Wagrier, the Oldenburg, was found to belong to the 8th century. Evidence shows the first strongholds of the Serbs also to have been constructed by the various tribes in this period (Pl. VIII). This process became a general phenomenon, an expression of political decentralization demonstrable by the increase in fortifications even at the level of smaller social communities (*Siedlungskammern*). This state of affairs in the settlement of Slav tribes between the Elbe/Saale and Oder is obviously assumed by the Bavarian geographer who at the beginning of the 9th century described a great number of tribes and tribal unions in this territory as subdivided partly into '*regiones*' and '*civitates*'.⁴⁹ However, this process did not take place uniformly in the various regions, but assumed different forms in accordance both with the different traditions already stressed and with the local conditions, as well as with developing economic and social relationships. Thus the tribal centres of the rulers of Abodrites, Hevellians and Serbs, and the construction of smaller manorial strongholds by smaller Lusatian social communities, were supplemented by the construction of co-operative large-scale fortresses by the Vilzens (Fig. 9).⁵⁰ This phase of development can be seen as the final eclipse of the early social system.⁵¹ Migrations, land-taking and the almost immediate conflicts between land-taking groups both amongst each other and especially with their Franconian and Saxon neighbours favoured this process. Since the 7th century, but especially the 8th, written records identify most of the communities settling between the Elbe/Saale and Oder, with their representatives and successors laying claim to office partly by inheritance and partly by election.⁵² The sources refer to them as '*reges*' or '*duces*'. At their side there was a greater number of '*primores*' or '*praestantiores*' standing out from the mass of the generally still free tribal population as the heads of the centres of smaller settlement units. Both of them, thanks to their function, established their power on the wealth accumulated by the community, which they amassed in the community centres, their seats. They soon had independent control of this wealth.

This process, described above with reference to the example of the stronghold/settlement of Tornow/Calau, was primarily based on tribal centres developing into early towns. It presupposes a superior ownership claim to all the land cultivated by village communities in individual use by families. Such an ownership structure can be posited, with caution, from the mode of house-building of local Slav settlements which showed only slight differences until the 10th century,⁵³ from early decrees of German landlords in this region in virtually enclosed rural structures (e.g. allocations to monasteries) and from comparisons with later, historically better documented conditions existing among their Slav neighbours in Poland and Bohemia.

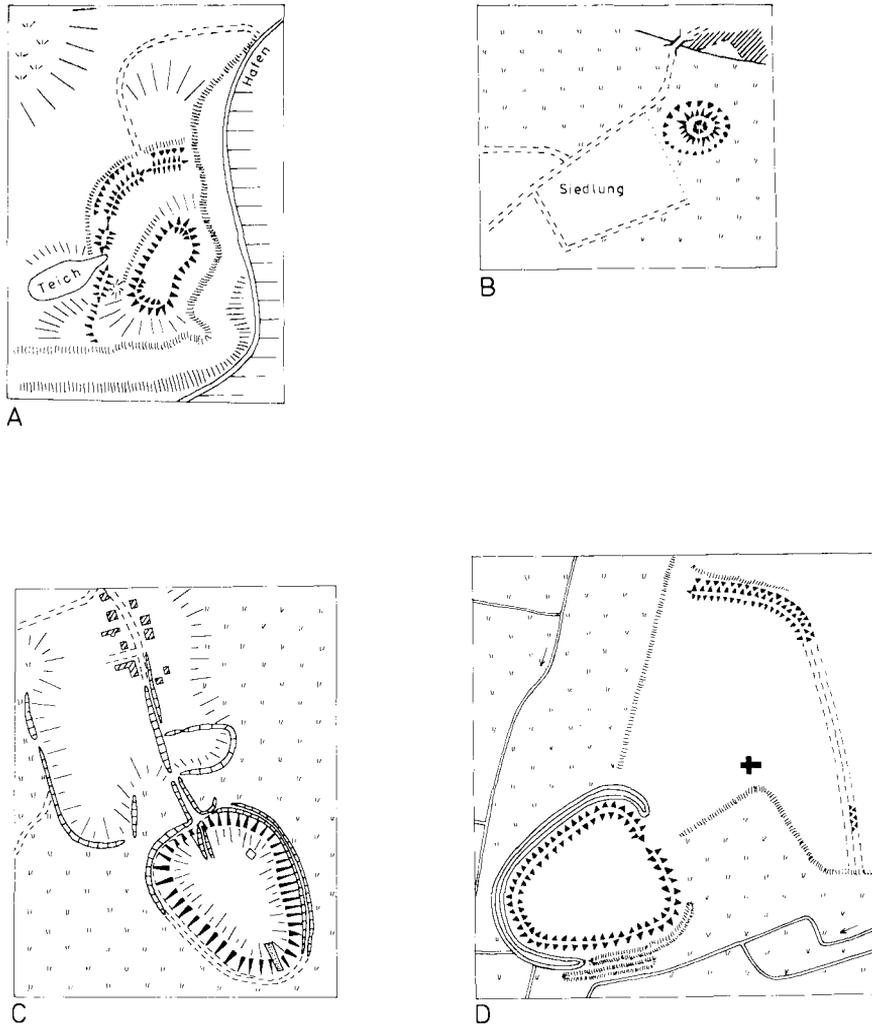


FIG. 9

Early Slav fortresses. Ground-plans of (A) Feldberg, (B) Tornow, (C) Mecklenburg and (D) Cörsitz. Scale 1:10000 (A-C after Herrmann, *op. cit.* in note 6; D, author)

Parts of the Slav tribes, following the great uprising of the Slavs in 983, managed to free themselves from German domination once again for some 150 to 200 years.⁵⁴ They established new social structures as a result of constant struggles waged primarily with German, Polish and Danish armies. In western Mecklenburg the early feudal state of the Abodrites emerged as the only state in this territory, with Alt-Lübeck forming the new political, economic and cultural centre. The erection of a church in the major fortress, which at the same time served as a burial-place for the ruling élite, is suggestive of the new ideological orientation. Similar developments occurred amongst the Hevellians. East of both territories a union was formed with

the 'Lutizen-union', where a wide circle of nobility ruled with the participation of free peasants and priests. Its centre was formed by the temple fort Rethra which has so far not been definitely located.

In the long run, however, these new communities could not withstand the pressure from outside and from conflicting internal social forces. In 1068 the centre of the 'Lutizen-union', Rethra, fell, in 1147/50 Brandenburg passed from the last ruler Pribislaw/Heinrich, who was already Christian, to the later Margrave Albrecht the Bear and about the same time the state of the Abodrites was finally destroyed. In 1168 the temple fort Arkona on Rügen surrendered.

This military surrender was the end of the independent history of the Slavs between the Elbe and Oder. Their further development proceeded within the frame of the German, Danish and Polish feudal states. Their territory was subdivided in the wake of violent internal clashes. In several parts of the country the new powers associated themselves closely with the former Slav aristocracy. It was integrated into the new ruling class, or ruled in its own right (e.g. the princess of Rügen and Mecklenburg).⁵⁵ But as a result of the complete establishment of feudal production modes, that is the hierarchically organized private disposal of land, the rural population was subjugated. The outward sign of this process was the reorganization of land ownership on the basis of the hide constitution (*Hufenverfassung*). This resulted largely in a restructuring of settlement types.⁵⁶ Ultimately it was accompanied by a substantial influx of German and Dutch farmers. But the towns also received a new plan-form. The acceptance of municipal liberties fixed in municipal laws achieved in Western Europe opened up new opportunities for initiatives to be taken by the citizens. Beside the former ancient Slav urban complexes with *Burg*, *Vorburg* and market there was now the planned settlement with a central market-place, arranged in a grid pattern that emerged topographically as the core of the new town. Within the framework of the new territories and under the conditions of the developed feudal society a balance was comparatively quickly reached between the former Slav people and the newly arrived multi-tribe German population. The ethnic differences became unimportant by comparison with the common social interests developed by class differences. The end of the process marked the emergence of so-called new tribes, such as the Brandenburger, Mecklenburger and Pommeranians. Their most conspicuous external characteristic was the formation of their own languages, for example the Middle Low German in Northern Germany, or the Upper Saxon or Meissen between the Saale and the Elbe. The later modern standard German language developed ultimately from the Meissen dialect.

NOTES

¹ J. Herrmann, *Die Nordwestslawen und ihr Anteil an der Geschichte des deutschen Volkes* (Sitzungsberichte AdW der DDR 5, Berlin, 1972).

² *Geschichte der Sorben. Gesamtdarstellung*. 4 Bände, Bautzen 1974 ff.

³ J. Herrmann and P. Donat (eds.), *Corpus archäologischer Quellen zur Frühgeschichte auf dem Gebiet der DDR (7. bis 12. Jahrhundert)*, (Berlin); volumes now published, 1/1973, 2 and 3/1979.

⁴ P. Grimm, *Die vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Burgwälle der Bezirke Halle und Magdeburg* (Berlin, 1958); J. Herrmann, *Die vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Burgwälle Großberlins und des Bezirkes Potsdam* (Berlin, 1960); J. Herrmann, *Köpenick. Ein*

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