

# GREAT MORAVIA

AND THE BEGINNINGS  
OF CHRISTIANITY

Pavel Kouřil (ed.)



The Institute of Archaeology of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, Brno





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MORAVA**

1150 let křesťanství ve střední Evropě

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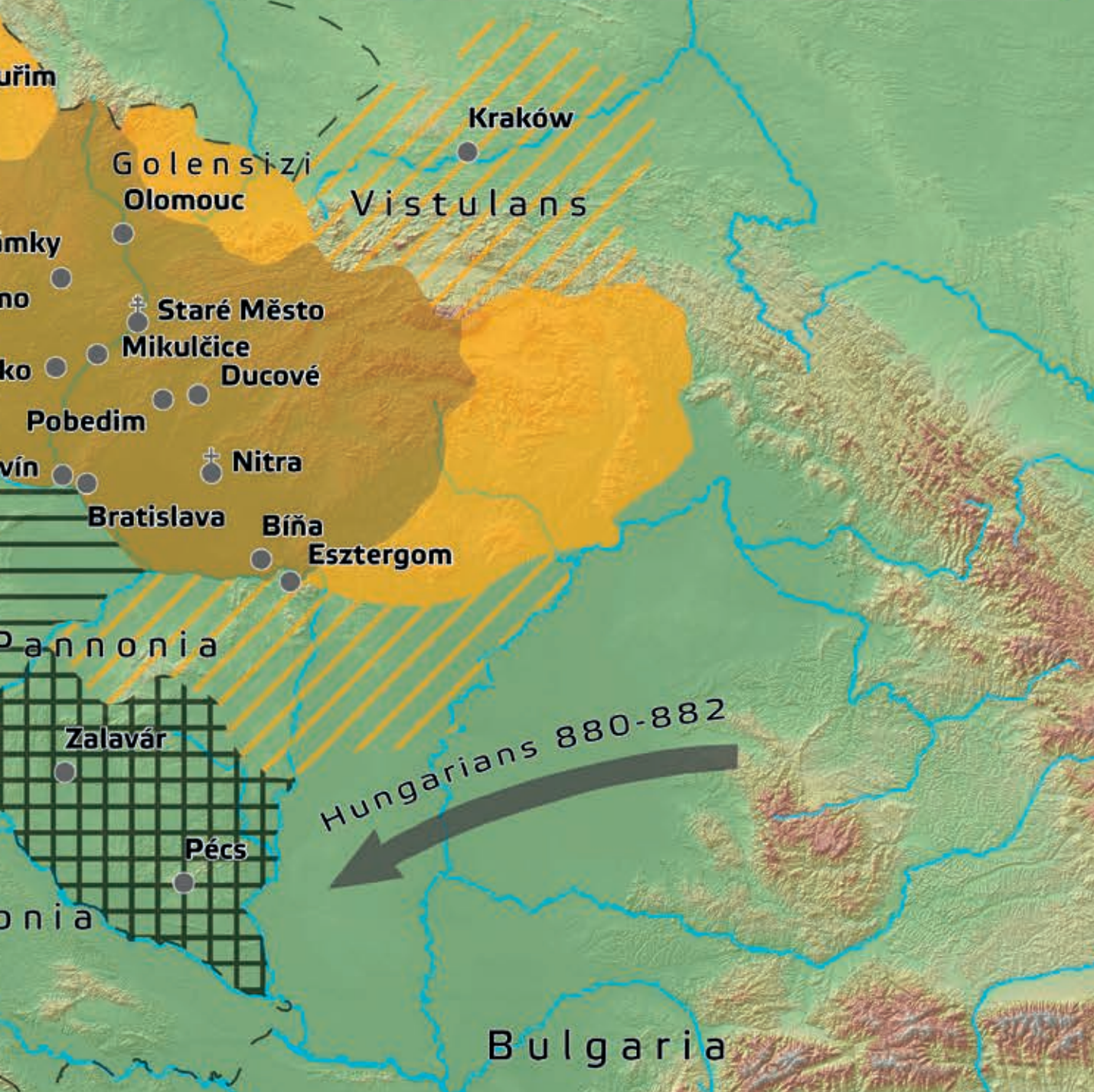
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# GREAT MORAVIA AND THE RISE OF CHRISTIANITY

## Foreword

When half a century ago (1963) an exhibit titled "Great Moravia", which presented the amazing results of especially the postwar archeological research, was opened to the public, it received much acclaim not only in Czechoslovakia but also in many other European countries. Great Moravia, the earliest principality of the Slavs on the central Danube, was thus for the first time introduced, in this form and on such a scale, to scholarly and lay audiences as an important phenomenon of Central European history of the 9th and the beginning of the 10th century, a heritage which was – and is – in many ways considered fertile and above dispute. It took over and assimilated impulses from important civilization centers of the medieval world (including Byzantium, Italy or the Frankish Empire) and based on these models created an original syncretic culture. *Gens Moravorum* also rather early received Christianity and soon absorbed and developed its values. The work of the Byzantine pastoral mission in Moravia led by the Thessalonian brothers Cyril and Methodius then had a far-reaching impact via its continuation in other Slavonic countries.

In course of the 50 years, which went by since this memorable exhibit, a number of new important Great Moravian locations have been found, further excavations in key agglomerations on the Morava conducted and a number of objects of material culture discovered. These finds were accompanied by progress in theoretical research carried out not only in the Czech Lands but also in the neighboring countries, especially Slovakia. This research focuses on themes studied in interdisciplinary context, which at present dominate the fields of history and archeology whether they concern the core of Great Moravia and its location, its development, character (the beginnings of the principality) and historical significance, but also questions connected, among others, with socio-political and cultural structures and genetic sources.

The new exhibit and the present catalogue feature a number of little known or unpublished finds along with formerly known artefacts of high significance and informative value, seek to capture and inquire into the above, varied aspects. Focusing mainly on the prime period of Great Moravia it does not avoid the preceding period and devotes adequate attention also to the final phases of its existence and the gradual emergence of the Czech state. In context of the 1150th anniversary of the Cyrillo-Methodian mission it also accentuates the theme of Christianization reflected, among others, in modern representations of relevant Great Moravian sacred buildings based mostly on recent revision excavations of these objects.

In total, the visitor may see nearly 1400 artefacts the majority being originals (one of the basic premises of the project).

The exhibit aims, in an engaging manner, to introduce the richness and variety of mobile cultural heritage acquired by excavations not only in Moravia but also in Bohemia, Slovakia, Poland and Austria. We would like to thank all local and international institutions, more than thirty in number, which at our request lent articles from their collections. We are simultaneously obliged to interested researchers for studies, consultations and fruitful suggestions and especially to our co-workers from the Brno Institute of Archeology, who played an important role in materializing the project.

The exhibit titled 'Great Moravia and the rise of Christianity' is one of the end-results of the project of applied research and development of national and cultural identity sponsored by the Ministry of culture of the Czech Republic (NAKI) and titled 'Great Moravia and 1150 years of Christianity in Central Europe' materialized by the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic represented by the Archeological Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic in Brno in co-operation with the Ministry of Culture of the Czech Republic represented by the Moravian Land Museum in Brno. The exhibit will take place in the Palace of the Nobleswomen (Brno, 27. 11. 2014 – 28. 2. 2015), at the Prague Castle in the Imperial Stables (17. 4. 2015 – 28. 6. 2015) and at Bratislava Castle (7. 8. 2015 – 1. 11. 2015).

The event was officially endorsed by the president of the Czech Republic, minister of culture of the Czech Republic and the highest church dignitaries, the archbishops of Prague and Olomouc and chairman of the Czech Academy of Sciences. Their interest witnesses the fact that the theme of Great Moravia remains fresh and inspiring and that we may perceive it as one of the basic pillars of Czech staterdom and therefore also of our present.

Pavel Kouřil

Brno, September 2014

# THE HISTORY AND PROGRESS OF RESEARCH INTO GREAT MORAVIA

Zdeněk Měřínský

This is not the place to describe in detail and evaluate the paths of Moravian and Silesian historiography focused on the Early Middle Ages, either separately or in context of syntheses of the history of the Czech lands or just Moravia and Silesia, from the first indications of interest even as early as in the during the Middle Ages until today's research results, including the oldest periods from the arrival of the Slavs in our lands to the Great Moravian period and the "dark" 10th century, with the main role played by archaeology (comp. with e.g. *Albrecht 2003*, also see on pp. 21–26 briefly explained traditions of the Great Moravian Empire during the Middle Ages and the historiography of the Early Modern Age up to the 18th century and on pp. 27–33 the development of Great Moravian and Cyrillo-Methodian traditions and their historiography in Upper Hungary (since 1918 Slovakia) during the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century), until the definitive annexation of the country to the Czech Premyslid state most probably during 1018–1019, and the fate of Moravia during the appanage period, or better said the princely or appanage principality period. However, this topic of the historiography of mediaeval Moravia exceeds our focus. Let us at least briefly highlight that the interpretation of Moravian history represented a part of Czech history as a whole, or a specific point of view of provincial history, i.e. the Margraviate of Moravia. However, we must mention the first Moravian history by Beda Dudík (1860–1878; 1871–1884; for our periods of interest 1860; 1871), in the context of Cyrillo-Methodian traditions and the period of the Early Middle Ages, which caused a significant commotion with its German and Czech versions. They were, however, never finished (comp. *Kutnar – Marek 2009*, 85–87, 106–109, 170, 308–310). Followed the works by the students of the Vienna school of Vincenc Brandl (1863, 92–159; 1870; 2008, 92–159; comp. *Kutnar – Marek 2009*, 310–313) and Bertold Bretholz (1895; 1896), both of whom had researched Moravian history; B. Bretholz (1862–1936) wrote a synthesis in German, which focused on the Czech lands up till the extinction of the Premyslid dynasty in 1306 (*Bretholz 1912; 1921*; comp. 1916) as well as many other studies (*Bretholz 1897; 1905–1908; 1909*), including a series of *Cosmas' chronicle* (*Bretholz 1923*; 2. comp. 1955; 3. comp. 1980) and necessary pre-studies (*Bretholz 1895a; 1909; 1910*; comp. *Kutnar – Marek 2009*, 657–660). Another such important person was professor Adolf Bachmann (1849–1914) of the German University in Prague, who researched this period through a number of works and syntheses focusing until the 1400s and who tried to find proof in the age-old rivalry between the Czechs and the Germans regarding political equality of both provincial nations, which caused a nationalistic negative reaction on the Czech side, understanding it as provocation and an attack on the very nature of national history. The history of Moravia

was not closely researched in his works as he considered it a Czech "march", which only changed after the newly created Imperial Margraviate in 1182 (*Bachmann 1899*; comp. *Kutnar – Marek 2009*, 353, 662–663; on the progress in Moravia from 1848 until the downfall of the Hapsburg Monarchy and on individual personalities *Albrecht 2003*, 36–42; on the person of B. Dudík, L. Schlesinger, A. Naegle, and B. Bretholz same title, p. 52–53, 55–57; on the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition in the 2nd half of the 19th century, e.g. *Kolejka 1963*). The most detailed, and to this day superior, interpretation of Czech history in terms of the facts contained, the interpretation, analysis and reliability of them, from the first historical mentions in the protohistoric period to the period of Premyslid Otakar II, is contained in Leichter's project *České dějiny* (Czech History) by Václav Novotný (1912; 1913; 1928; 1937), born in Ivančice (1868–1932). Moravia is given much more attention in this project, mainly with regard to events going on in the centres of political power of the Czech Premyslid state (comp. *Kutnar – Marek 2009*, 538–544; on his understating of Great Moravian history *Albrecht 2003*, 54–55).

It is also necessary to mention that after the foundation of an independent Czechoslovakian state, Great Moravia and the Cyrillo-Methodian traditions become, besides specific conceptions of Czechoslovakian history, e.g. in the works of Josef Pekař, Kamil Krofta and Bertold Bretholz as well as Václav Chaloupecký, Jan Slavík or the philosopher Emanuel Rádl, political and ideological topics too, including the relations to different churches and Slovakia, where later in 1939–1945 the Slovakian State knowingly and strongly emphasised the Great Moravian and Cyrillo-Methodian traditions, systematically pointing them out in the works of some Slovakian historians (*Albrecht 2003*, 61–86). It would be fitting to mention the movement *Národopisná Morava* (Ethnographic Moravia) known for its strong accent on the traditions of Great Moravia, efforts to separate south-east Moravia from the Böhmen und Mähren Protectorate and incorporate it into the Slovakian State (*Albrecht 2003*, 74–75; *Mezihorák 1997*).

Until the end of the Second World War in 1945, Moravia and Silesia were witness to linguistic and nationalistic/ideological duality of Czech and German historiography, which was manifested in individual monographs and in particular in synthetic works. This resulted in the publishing of German magazines like *Zeitschrift des deutschen Vereins für Geschichte Mähren und Schlesiens* from 1897 to 1944 and *Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kulturgeschichte Österreichisch-Schlesiens* (1905–1933; from 1918 *Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kulturgeschichte Schlesiens*) on the one hand (comp. *Kutnar – Marek 2009*, 449–458, 657–670, 953–969), and on the other hand

the body of the organisation Matice moravská (Moravian Foundation) transformed on March 1st 1853 from the Moravská národní jednota (Moravian National Union) founded in 1849 (active from March 9th, after negotiations on March 9th officially recognised on November 1st) represented by the magazine *Časopis Matice moravské*, published since 1869 as the second professional journal in Moravia and the fifth in the Czech lands (Janák 2000, 12–15; Pánek 2000, 21–28). We also have to mention the organisation Vlastenecký spolek musejní in Olomouc (the Patriotic Museum Society in Olomouc), which will be expanded on later, founded in 1883 (Písková 1983), *Časopis Vlasteneckého spolku musejního v Olomouci* (originally from 1886 *Časopis Musejního spolku olomouckého*), published from 1884 (e.g. Měřínský – Vignatiová 1984) until 1950, where it was closed down. In 1888 Musejní spolek was founded in Brno (Kubiček 2008) with its main goal being the publishing of *Vlastivěda moravská*, as well as other publications later on. A toponymical series, published according to political and court districts, issued its last volume *Moravskotřebovsko* in 2002 (Brno – Moravská Třebová – Svitavy; comp. Nekuda 1997; 2003), and the planned general national history *Země a lid* remained unfinished (in regards to the Moravian history of our period of interest Dvořák 1899–1900; 1906; 2nd issue 2000, 7–28) and only now is a new series being published (comp., further; Verbík – Janák 1988; Kubiček 1988; 1992; Funioková 1999). These institutions became, until the foundation of an independent state, the core of Czech scientific and cultural life in Moravia. After 1945, Muzejní spolek began in 1946 to publish the magazine of Moravian and Silesian national history *Vlastivědný věstník moravský*. During 1945–1948 several collections were published drawing attention to the position and purpose of Moravia and Silesia in the Czech state (*Slezsko, český stát a česká kultura 1946; Morava v českém státě 1948*). However, with that we enter the period of revolutionary changes that occurred after 1948. Moravian historical development and related events are often, similar to the aforementioned syntheses of Czech history, included only peripherally in the context of Czech history.

Let us at least mention some of them. Due to the focus on the archaeology of pre-Great Moravian and in particular the Great Moravian periods, we cannot mention, in this paper, a number of overviews and syntheses of Czechoslovakian and Czech history of the 2nd half of the last century, where attention is paid to the surprising results of archaeological research (e.g. *Československá vlastivěda 1963*, 89–155; *Kavka 1963*, 39–100; *1964*, 51–125; *Dějiny Československa v datech 1968*, 21–59; *Československé dějiny v datech 1986; Čapka 1998*; 3rd issue 1999, 22–97; *Vykoupil 1994*; 2nd issue 2000) or the collective work *Přehled dějin Československa I/1* (1st issue 1980, 2nd issue 1982, 49–147) edited by O. Říha, J. Janáček and

R. Marsina, the overview of Czech history published in Paris by J. Macek (1984) and other similar compendiums, mostly having a textbook character or popular educative character with many pictures, published mostly after 1989 (e.g. *Urban 1991*, 12–33; *Polišenský 1991; České a československé dějiny 1991; Dějiny Československa 1990*, 27–96; *Dějiny zemí Koruny české 1992*, 24–65; *Harna – Fišer 1995*, 27–81; *Beneš – Petrání 1997; Agnew 2004; Pánek – Tůma a kol. 2008*, 23–26, 47–77; *Sláma – Vavřínek 1996; Nový 1996; Žemlička 1996*) in specialised summarising works containing relevant chapters regarding the Early Middle Ages (e.g. *Mezník – Měřínský 1998*, 39–49; *Měřínský 2011*). A real turning point in the complex view of the historical development of mediaeval Moravia was introduced by a modern concept of this land's history (see comp. e.g. *Pánek 2000*, 28–30) published in 1983 only as a study text (*Válka 1983*) and later in 1991 as one of the first volumes of the re-issued publication *Nová řada Vlastivědy moravské Země a lid*, volume no. 5 called *Středověká Morava, Dějiny Moravy 1 (Válka 1991)*, and a volume dedicated especially to the 6th to 10th centuries by Z. Měřínský (2013), *Morava na úsvitě dějin, Vlastivěda moravská, Země a lid*, NŘ v. 4. Brno (published 2011). The oldest Czech history as well as the beginnings of the Premyslids and Great Moravia were all captured by Dušan Třeštík (e.g. 1987; 1991; 1997; 2001; 2003; and other works cited further on) and the Czech state of the “last of the Premyslids” including Moravian relations are dealt with in a number of the syntheses of Czech history by J. Žemlička (1992; 2005; 2nd issue 2007; and other works cited further on). The Early Middle Ages, from the point of view of archaeology and history, are described in selected passages of the first volume of *Velké dějiny zemí Koruny české I. – do roku 1197* by authors M. Bláhová, J. Frolík and N. Profantová (Bláhová – Frolík – Profantová 1999). We should also not forget to mention publication endeavours such as the collective collection *Přemyslovci. Budování českého státu (2009)* and a number of partial studies regarding the history of Moravia and Silesia by J. Bláha (2000), L. Jan (1999; 2000; 2000a; 2001; 2005; 2006), D. Kalhous (e.g. 2005; 2007), A. Merhautová (2000; and other works cited further on), R. Procházka (e.g. 1993; 2000; 2009) and many other researchers. We must also mention some contributions contained in the collection *Slezsko v dějinách českého státu (Slezsko 1998)*.

Questions regarding the relationship of the Bohemians and Moravians with the mediaeval Empire as seen from the German side may be found in the respective volume of *Dějiny Němců na východě Evropy* in the ten-part volume *Böhmen und Mähren* redacted by F. Prinz (1993; 2nd issue 2002). A more objective point of view is only offered by F. Seibt (1959; 1965; 1965a; 1971; 1993; 1996; Seibt, Hrsg. 1974); the four-part

*Handbuch der Geschichte der böhmischen Länder* redacted by K. Bosel (1966–1974; *Handbuch 1966–1974*) must also be mentioned, as our period of interest is contained in its first volume, or in the works of H. Schenk (1993) and J. Bahlčický (2nd issue 2000) regarding Silesia.

We must also mention some significant works researching tangible relics in their broadest context but also subject to very specialised fields of research. These are chiefly the compendium *Dějiny hmotné kultury* (1985) and further syntheses of the history of Czech fine arts (*Dějiny českého výtvarného umění* 1984) and essential lists of historical works of art (Samek 1994; 1999). A separate position is held by numismatic research (e.g. Sejbal 1979, 26–30; 1997, 73–76).

Archaeology of the Early Middle Ages represents a period beginning at the end of the great migration of peoples in the first two thirds of the 6th century and ending with the extensive changes to the Czech lands around the 13th century, paving the path for the High Middle Ages (*Klápště* 2005); a process that had been going on in Western Europe from the late 11th century (e.g. Mezník 1995). Older literature named this period after the dominant ethnic group – the Slavs, but currently there are efforts to label this period in a manner that does not favour a specific dominant ethnic group in various territories – the Early Middle Ages. Research history is closely connected with its general development in the Czech lands and the beginnings of scientific interest may be found towards the end of the 18th century. A representative of this critical approach is Josef Dobrovský (17. 8. 1753 – 6. 1. 1829), who was the first to identify the value of archaeological finds and to adopt a critical approach (*Sklenář* 1970; *Beranová – Lutovský* 2009, 10; comp. aforementioned). Further research drawing on Dobrovský's work started only after the Romantic period, about a hundred years later. Another scientific personality who significantly influenced the process of researching the Slav world was Pavel Josef Šafařík (Šafárik; 13. 5. 1795 – 26. 6. 1861; *Sklenář* 2005, 553–554) with his *Slovanské starožitnosti* published in 1836 and 1837. In its time, this did not only cover material culture in its broader context or relics of crafts and works of art, but also historical documents of every kind – written sources, literary remains, ethnographic and folklore materials, numismatic and archaeological finds, etc. (Šafařík 1836–1837). His work surely stood at the beginning of a complicated process of gaining knowledge and was created at a time when Thomsen's basic dividing of prehistoric times into Stone, Bronze and Iron was published in the *Handbuch der germanischen Alterthumskunde* by Gustav Klemm and the oldest history of the Germans by Johann Kaspar Zeuss (1837; 1837a; 2nd issue 1857), and when the first part of the German account of Czech history by František

Palacký was published in Prague as well as Jungmann's dictionary (*Beranová – Lutovský* 2009, 10; *Kutnar – Marek* 2009, 230–234; *Albrecht* 2003, 34–35). We find ourselves in the Romantic period, a time of the awakening of modern nations predicted by Herder, which, however, also brought the beginnings of nationalism that was negatively to influence the history of Europe of the 2nd half of the 19th century and the 1st half of the 20th century.

From other researchers who significantly influenced the development of Czech, and also Moravian archaeology, we must mention at least Jan Erazim Wocel (Vocel; 23. 8. 1802 – 16. 9. 1871). It is possible to say that the first impulses towards the development of mediaeval archaeology came from the research of fine arts, at the beginning of which stood this personality of the founder of Czech archaeology and fine arts research and the first professor of archaeology at Charles University in Prague (*Sklenář* 1981; 2005, 625–626; *Kutnar – Marek* 2009, 234–237). In 1850, he set the following goal: "The purpose of Czech archaeology of these Christian times is to create a true image of the life of the Czechs in the Middle Ages, by researching ancient relics." (*Wocel* 1850, 542). However, before this individual field could be established, a period of more than a century had to go by, accompanied with successes, searching, but also mistakes, i.e. everything typical of new and unresearched, undefined and unknown things (general comp., e.g. *Sklenář* 1974; 1977; for Moravia, e.g. *Vignatiová* 1975). However, we are now jumping ahead in the description of the complex development that led to the establishment of a new research field of archaeology and culminated at the beginning of the 1950s by the founding of – not very precisely titled – historical archaeology, which dealt with High Middle Ages and existed along with Slavic archaeology, which dealt with the Early Middle Ages. Very slowly, originally only regarding the end of the 11th and the 12th centuries, they managed to merge into a single field, today known as mediaeval archaeology (*Měřínský* 2000a, 81–82; 2002a, 122–125; further literature contained within).

In this period the initial interest, mainly in cultural history, and the orientation towards the history of fine arts can be seen, which is characteristic for the first generation of researchers, but also for the following ones, which focused mainly on the study of mediaeval artistic crafts, architecture and who were generally interested in antiquities, the foundation of museum collections made up of oddities and spectacular items, such as attractive stove makers' products, unusual pottery, and also artefacts of other fields, including the processing of non-ferrous and precious metals, jewellery, ironwork, weapons and military equipment and gear. The culture of everyday life, represented by modest and not very spectacular items, and

broader conclusions of research into such items, which would bring some light into the social and economic development of mediaeval society and the life of ordinary people – or people across various spheres and levels of mediaeval social hierarchy – were outside the researchers' interest (comp. above; *Albrecht 2003*, 42–49; *Měřínský 2002b*, 122–123; *Kutnar – Marek 2009*, 343).

The situation only changes after the rise of a new research generation, the so-called Goll's school (comp. *Kutnar – Marek 2009*, 589–599) and here we have to mention the personality of Lubor Niederle (20. 9. 1865 – 14. 6. 1944), author of the monumental *Slovanské starožitnosti*, published between 1902 and 1925 and continuing the work of P. J. Šafařík. Even today it represents an irreplaceable source of information, having general and significant influence on the development of Slavic studies, having been continued and still being continued by many researchers, especially by his student Jan Eisner (26. 4. 1885 – 2. 5. 1967). Lubor Niederle was able to connect a group of scientific fields together – historical research, ethnography, anthropology and other fields; today, this has only become possible due to the amount of information and the strong development of specialised fields, by using a multi-field and team-based cooperation between several fields of social sciences and natural history and technical sciences (*Lutovský 2001*, 211–212; *Beranová – Lutovský 2009*, 10; *Sklenář 2005*, 156–158; *Albrecht 2003*, 44–45; *Kutnar – Marek 2009*, 593–597).

During the fifties, Jan Eisner participated in the creation of the collection *Vznik a počátky Slovanů (Origine et débuts des Slaves)*; its first volume was published in 1956. It was supposed to supplement and broaden the primary work of Lubor Niederle and was published by a working group from the ČSAV Slavic department. However, in 1963 the department was administratively closed down and the final seventh volume of the collection was published in 1972. J. Eisner also intended to follow on from the work of L. Niederle with his *Rukověť slovanské archeologie*, which, however, remained a torso; it was only thanks to his students that the first volume was finally published posthumously in 1966, supplementing the work of L. Niederle with new information regarding Slavic ethnogenesis, ceramics, religious beliefs and the periodisation of the age (*Eisner 1966*). With some correction and terminological amendments, it has remained valid to this day and will be further researched (*Lutovský 2001*, 71; *Beranová – Lutovský 2009*, 10–11; *Kutnar – Marek 2009*, 864–866).

In Moravia and Silesia, the rise of interest in Slavic history in a Romantic sense and under the interpretation of Ša-

fařík can be found in the works of Jindřich Wankel (15. 7. 1821 – 5. 4. 1897) and his circle, represented e.g. by J. Havelka (23. 11. 1839 – 20. 10. 1886), M. Wankelová (1865–1922) and others. Proof of this interest are many, often romantic initiatives and societies focused on Velehrad topics (comp. e.g. *Sklenář 2005*, 207–208, 635–637; *Albrecht 2003*, 47–49; *Kutnar – Marek 2009*, 343, 598). The beginning of the 1880s saw a significant escalation in nationalistic tension between Czech and German speaking citizens in Moravia and Silesia and the beginning of a new theory explaining the continuity of the colonisation of the Czech lands by Germanic populations since the times of the Markomanni, which managed to survive in these regions even after the arrival of Slavic settlers and lived through a new wave of German-speaking colonists (*Bretholz 1912; 1916; 1921*, 30n., 100–126; comp. *Šimek 1923*, in particular pp. 145–147; *1947–1948*, 29–34, 38–42; comp. *Kutnar – Marek 2009*, 659–660; *Měřínský 2009*, 64, comment no. 74–76 on p. 708, also further literature). The dispute itself could not be decided based on literary sources and this is why interest turned to archaeology, and the Czech intelligentsia tried to prove the autochthonism and original culture of the Slavs in Moravia.

The development leading to the establishment of archaeology of the Middle Ages in Bohemia and Moravia as well as in Silesia followed similar steps. At the beginning, similar to Bohemia, there was the interest in fine arts and antiques, concentrated around the Vlastenecký spolek musejní v Oloumouci society (founded 1883) and its magazine *Časopis Vlasteneckého a musejního spolku v Olomouci* published from 1884 (*Měřínský – Vignatiová 1984*), as well as interest in vanished mediaeval settlements. This can be demonstrated by the first research into erstwhile mediaeval villages undertaken between 1882–1883 in the Oslavany area by V. Čapek (11. 2. 1862 – 25. 6. 1926) and J. Knies (26. 11. 1860 – 5. 3. 1937; *Sklenář 2005*, 110, 294–295), villages which existed in the Early Hillfort period and disappeared during changes in population structures in the 2nd half of the 13th century (*Měřínský 1977–1978*).

One can say that a certain organisational foundation was created in 1883 by the Vlastenecký spolek musejní v Olomouci society and in 1888 by the Musejní spolek v Brně society (comp. above). All this was mirrored in the romantic view of Slavic history and antiques in the above-mentioned broadest context. That is why many relics and artefacts were considered Slavic, even though they belonged to quite different prehistoric and protohistoric cultures, or even to the Late Mediaeval period. The Brno Musejní spolek society was characterised as non-political, professional and scientific and promised the publishing of collections from prehistoric and



historical fields and historical toponyms. Besides publication activities focused on history, toponyms and national history, this society founded its own museum collection and stressed the importance of archaeology and libraries, right at the beginning of its activities. After Františkovo museum in Brno (in existence from 1818) was made a state-owned institution and was granted language equality – and the Moravská musejní společnost society was founded in 1899 – the conditions changed and between 1901 and 1902 the committee of the Musejní společnost society handed over archaeological and numismatic collections, libraries and archives to Františkovo museum after some negotiations. Even though the society kept its name until 1979, it stopped being a museum society in the strict sense of the word and became a national history institution (Verbík – Janák 1988, 17–19).

At the beginning of interest in the Slavic period in Moravia, there is the personality of I. L. Červinka (1. 2. 1869 – 3. 10. 1952), who significantly influenced the research into all periods of Moravian prehistoric and early historic times. From the 1890s he focused on archaeology, which resulted in a synthesis of the development from Moravian prehistoric times to the Early Mediaeval Ages in 1902, named *Morava za pravěku*, and was part of the series *Vlastivěda moravská 1, Země a lid, díl 2, Brno 1902* and contained a brief summary of the issues of the Slavic period in Moravia, including a list of locations (Červinka 1902). I. L. Červinka (1908) planned to follow up this overview with an extensive multi-volume work *Moravské starožitnosti*, however, only the 2nd volume was published as part II, *O pokoleních skrčených koster na Moravě, Kojetín na Hané 1908*. It was planned to become the complementary work to *Starožitnosti země české* by Píč, but did not actually achieve this, owing to its failure to combine all the Moravian finds with theoretical research. Despite this unsuccessful attempt, from the 1930s he was able to create a number of lists of finds and locations from various periods of prehistoric times until the Late Middle Ages, e.g. *Staří Slované – Moravané* (Červinka 1939), catalogues of vanished villages, small castles and forts (Červinka 1942; 1942a) etc. (comp. Fišer – Podborský 2004, 174–175). These remained only as manuscripts, but represent an invaluable source of information. He was able to lay the foundation for archaeology of the Early Middle Ages in Moravia with his work *Slované na Moravě a říše Velkomoravská, Brno 1928* (which is even valued today), where he also took into account literary sources (Červinka 1928a), and in the preceding year he wrote a paper on the last Slavic burial grounds in Moravia (Červinka 1927), and in 1948 he issued an updated list of Moravian hillforts (Červinka 1948). He significantly influenced the Moravian archaeological scene by founding the Moravský archeologický klub (MAK) club and by publishing the first

Moravian archaeological magazine *Pravěk (Prehistory)* during 1903–1913, 1926–1928 and in 1933, re-launched under the name *Pravěk Nová řada (NŘ)* in 1991 (comp. Lutovský 2001, 53; Fišer – Podborský 2004; Sklenář 2005, 119–121; Albrecht 2003, 49–51; Kutnar – Marek 2009, 598–599).

Some research into the Early Middle Ages in Moravia was also done by E. Šimek (3. 4. 1883 – 16. 6. 1963; see e.g. Sklenář 2005, 562–563; Kutnar – Marek 2009, 861–862) in his paper *Problémy moravské prehistorie (Šimek 1935)* in a debate about the concept and tasks of Moravian archaeology with I. L. Červinka, and this issue includes a number of syntheses of Bohemian and Moravian prehistory, beginning with Červinka's informative slogan *Böhmen und Mähren (mit der Slowakei)* in the 2nd volume of Ebert's *Reallexikon* (Červinka – Rzehak 1925, 58–103) and a group of other slogans in volumes I–II and VI–X and XII (Červinka 1924; 1925; 1926; 1927b; 1927c; 1927–1928; 1928; comp. Lutovský 2001, 51; Sklenář 2005; Fišer – Podborský 2004, 168–169), and he further tried a new interpretation of *Pravěk země českých*, but this did not go any further than an extremely interesting Introduction (Červinka 1927a). We must also mention *Einführung in die Urgeschichte Böhmens und Mährens, Reichenberg 1926* by O. Menghin and *Die Vorgeschichte Böhmens und Mährens, Berlin – Leipzig 1928* written by J. Schránil. This was followed by the *Kronika objeveného věku* from 1941, whose approach has not been outmatched to this day, written by Jaroslav Böhm, and a number of other works after 1945. Let us at least mention *Pravěké Československo* by J. Filip (1948), *Die vor- und frühgeschichtliche Siedlungsräume in Böhmen und Mähren, München 1953* by H. Preidel, the novel by J. Poulík *Z hlubin věků, Praha 1956* and mostly important the work of the collective authors of the editorial team of *J. Neustupný (Hásek – Hralová – Břeň – Turek) Pravěk Českoslovenka, Praha 1960* and published in the same year *Nástin pravěkých dějin Československa* by Evžen and Jiří Neustupný (1960, 210–212) in the Collection of the National Museum in Prague, section A – History.

I have already briefly mentioned the archaeology of the Middle Ages. It separated from archaeology as such into an independent field quite later, with small steps until the full foundation of a new separate field in the mid-1950s. This is not the place to describe in detail individual research endeavours that resulted in the foundation of this new field, the successes and mistakes that accompanied this path, and in particular the search for its own methodological procedures and grounds, either for research in the field or the description and classification of materials, defining research goals and the subject of study, cooperation between fields, etc. The facts on the development of archaeological research in relation

to studying the Middle Ages are all summarised in several contributions focused on this issue (e.g. *Richter – Smetánka 1975; Smetánka 1987, 279–293*). We can briefly summarise that the development of an individual archaeological field researching the Middle Ages was the same in Bohemia and Moravia and reflected similar trends from abroad.

After the rise of an independent state in 1918 and the foundation of the State Archaeological Department in Prague a year later (1919; comp. *Albrecht 2003, 89–91*) mediaeval archaeology was still not present in the Department's research programme, even though the research into Prague Castle conducted by K. Guth, which started in 1925 (comp. coll. *Frolík – Smetánka 1997, 16–17*), and into other locations – together with archaeologist I. Borkovský – indisputably belonged in this field, and many other were related to the Slavic period (comp. *Richter – Smetánka 1975, 63*). The first indications of a different approach to the meaning of mediaeval cultural materials was introduced at the end of the thirties and the following years. New impulses appeared after 1945, when the State Archaeological Department in Prague became the main archaeological institution in the Czechoslovakian state, led from the pre-war period (1939) by J. Böhm (8. 3. 1901 – 6. 12. 1962; *Lutovský 2001, 25; Sklenář 2005, 82–83; Kutnar – Marek 2009, 866–868*) and later on in 1952 becoming integrated into the ČSAV structure. A second workplace that participated in creating a general concept and description of mediaeval archaeology is the National Museum in Prague (comp. *Richter – Smetánka 1975, 63–65*). To some extent there was a similar situation in Moravia as well, the main role being played by the Prague branch of the State Archaeological Department in Brno, founded in 1942 and formally managed by J. Poulík (*Albrecht 2003, 91; Lutovský 2001, 245*), also later becoming integrated with the Prague department into the ČSAV; research into the Late Middle Ages is represented mostly by the Historical Department of the Moravian Museum in Brno (*Měřínský 2002b, 123*).

Post-war development meant a diversion of the then current orientation and sole focus on the history of fine arts. Art-historical methods are not applicable to all types of finds and artefacts which we come into everyday contact with during archaeological research. The task to overcome this one-sided concept and to consider its benefits fell to future developments and in essence to the new generation of researchers (*Richter – Smetánka 1975, 66*). Their arrival mirrored the interest in economic history, which was newly awakened in the sphere of historical sciences, and related research into mediaeval villages, discovering social processes and revolutionary movements, e.g. the Hussites, etc. The need for new sources, knowledge and material in these fields

of archaeological research was illustrated by the discussion about early feudalism and the information possibilities of tangible sources for uncovering the wider connections of historical and social processes, published in the ethnographic magazine *Český lid* (*Böhm 1951; 1953; Graus 1952; 1953; Husa 1953; Černožorský 1952; 1953; etc.*), and the following expositions organised by the Prague National Museum (*Měřínský 2002b, 123*): The Hussite revolutionary movement, 1953 (*Denkstein 1951*), Czech mediaeval village, 1956 (*Drobná 1957*), and Mediaeval pottery in Czechoslovakia, 1963 (*Středověká keramika 1963*).

Mediaeval archaeology only slowly managed to transform itself into an independent field of archaeology, including finding its own subject of study and work methodology, field research, as well as classifying and describing materials, and mostly finding the approach to general historical conclusions (*Měřínský 2002b*; more lit. available). These impulses culminated in a "Work conference of historical archaeology" that took place in Prague on 1. 6. – 2. 6. 1953 thanks to the initiative of J. Böhm and where the main paper was introduced by K. Černožorský and the related supplementary paper by V. Denkstein (*1953*). His short, but very accurate and still undervalued text was in essence the first comprehensive, theoretically elaborated European concept of mediaeval archaeology, understood as an independent field, or as the newly-created field was called at that time – historical archaeology. Slavic archaeology as an independent field, focused mostly on Slavic settlements on our lands from the 6th to the 10th or even the 12th century, had not yet been founded and stayed out of the scope of interest until the beginning of the 1990s. This somewhat two-pronged approach can be registered in the development of the entire field since the beginning of the 20th century. On the one hand we have so-called Slavic archaeology based on specific ethnic and partially national characteristics, or later on political influence, against other similar and identically defined subjects of study on the other hand, e.g. Germanic or Avar archaeology, etc. (comp. e.g. *Leube Hrsg. 2002; Brather 2004; 2009; Klápště 2009*), which from the 1920s were specifically used in the services of German national socialism (comp. *Döbler 1992, 47–54, 72–74, 107–109, 149–150, 156–162, 211–214, 218–225, 229, 282–284, 290–292; Pringleová 2008*; with several contributions and a lit. collection *Schachtmann – Strobel – Widera, Hrsg. 2009*; the last collection to articles relating to the exhibitions at the Focke-Museum, Bremer Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte, 10. März bis 8. September 2013 in Bremen *Graben für Germanien 2013*; in particular *Halle – Mahsarski 2013* dedicated to Czechoslovakia; *Urban 2013* dedicated to Austria before the "Anschluß" and during the national socialist regime). An unseen boom of research in this

area occurred in our lands after the year 1945 in Moravia and particularly in connection with research into the Early Slavic period until the Great Moravian period, that is, between the 6th and 10th centuries. The period between the second half of the 10th century and the 12th century represented a certain hiatus (in Moravia, not in Bohemia, comp. e.g. *Böhm et al. 1963*), which was not fully researched by Slavic nor historical archaeology, which constituted a different direction of research. This direction was fully established only in the first half of the 1950s. Only gradually did this period become an integral part of mediaeval archaeology, as this field is named in accordance with modern research trends in other European countries, or in the terminology of that time as historical archaeology. As already said above, this field was able to constitute itself during the fifties; behind this process stood the developing interest in economic history – and related research into mediaeval villages – and in the Hussite period as well as the discussion concerning the possibilities of tangible sources for uncovering wider connections of historical and social processes (establishment of feudalism, etc.; *Měřínský 2000a*, 81; *2002a*, 122–124; contains further lit.).

It is currently necessary to integrate both fields into one and to name this in compliance with the trends in other European countries – mediaeval archaeology under our conditions would cover the turn of the 5th century until the mid-16th century (West Europe prefers to specify its beginning to the turn of the 4th century; this means it covers most of the great migration of peoples). Despite the above stated, it is necessary to further divide this period into two stages, one in our lands representing the Early Middle Ages (until the 13th century) and the second the High to Late Middle Ages (from the 13th century). We have to evaluate the results achieved considering these dimensions and the previously independent positions of both areas of interest of archaeological research of the Moravian Middle Ages. During the fifties we can also see traces of the distinguishing of another special archaeological field – post-mediaeval or modern archaeology (comp., e.g. *Měřínský 1992*; *Novotný 1959*; *Pajer 1982*; *1983*), and later in the 1970s also montane and industrial archaeology researching production facilities and technologies using archaeological methods (see a number of collections from the seminars *Zkoumání výrobních objektů a technologií archeologickými metodami* published from 1980, by the editorial team of J. Merta, until 1992; no. 7 is entitled *Archeologia technica*). That is it for the constitution of mediaeval archaeology that gradually integrated Slavic archaeology (comp. *Měřínský 2002b*, 123–124).

Its unprecedented development after 1945 was last critically summarised by S. Albrecht (*2003*, 121–282) and represents

a number of syntheses and monographs (let us name the most important ones, e.g. *Poulik 1948*; *1948–1950*; *1960*; *1963*; *1975*; *Hrubý 1955*; *1965*; and others later authors, particularly *Kalousek 1971*; *Dostál 1966*; *1975*; *1985*; *1986*; *Klanica 1986*; *Měřínský 1985*; *1986*; *2002*; *2006*; *2013*; *Bednaříková – Homola – Měřínský 2006*, 11–26; *Snášil – Procházka 1981*; *1985*; *Snášil 1987*; *Kouřil 1994*; *Galuška 1996a*; *2000*, *2013*; *Jelínková 1990*; *Klíma 1999* etc.).

### **The arrival of the Slavs to our lands and the oldest Early Slavic period**

It is the study of this topic that has uncovered many new discoveries over the last twenty years about the life of village settlements and their material culture. We cannot go into detail regarding the complicated issue of Slavic ethnogenesis, nor opinions regarding the processes of the definitive occupation of the new homeland by the Slavic population, even though research leans towards the end of the first third of the 6th century as the date for this. Whether this was a one-off event or a gradual influx of population remains to be answered. However, at present we have available researched settlements in Mutěnice, Pavlov, in the Pohansko area near Břeclav, parts of the settlements in Přítluky and other individual structures or groups of them. Neither a modern updated and detailed list nor a detailed publication of the above-mentioned locations is yet available. The situation is identical with the processing of Early Slavic cremation necropolises, including the biggest in Přítluky, already researched in the first half of the fifties (*Klanica 1986*, 49–222; *2008*; *2009*, 9–40; *Dostál 1985*; *Jelínková 1985*; *1990*; *1993*; *Měřínský 2000a*, 82; *2002a*, 34–170; *2013*, 16–90; *Bednaříková – Homola – Měřínský 2006*, 11–40).

### **Pre-Great Moravian period**

New research has proven that early fortified settlements gradually developed into the most important Great Moravian centres in the Lower and Upper Moravian basins (Mikulčice – Valy, Uherské Hradiště – Ostrov sv. Jiří, Olomouc – Povel), which also played an important role in the initial phases of the nation-forming process and expansion related to the foundation of an entire state, at the latest from the last quarter of the 7th century. Unfortified settlements of this period have been researched only sporadically; cremation necropolises continued being used for burials, and at least in two cases (Dolní Dunajovice, Hevlín) in the South Moravian area we have found the remains of an inhumation grave with cast decorations (*Klanica 1972*; *1986*, 117–192; *2009*, 45–48, 51–55, 59–60; *Poulik 1988*, 189–216; *Bláha 1988*, 155–170; *1998*, 136–139; *Snášil 1987*; *Měřínský 2000a*, 82, comment no. 5 on p. 82–83; *2002*, 171–520; *2013*, 91–203).

### Great Moravian period

Interest was focused mainly on researching the main Great Moravian fortified centres and their sacral architecture (Mikulčice, Pohansko near Břeclav, Staré Město – Uherské Hradiště agglomeration, further on Strachotín – Petrova louka, Staré Zámky near Líšeň, etc.) and only recently has research into other locations been developed (Olomouc, Znojmo – Hradiště sv. Hypolita, etc.). With some exceptions, we still lack research into unfortified village settlements (Dolní Věstonice, Prušánky, Palonín, Uherské Hradiště – Sady “Dolní Kotvice” orchards), even since Dostál’s evaluation of the inhumation burial grounds of this period and a new evaluation of them including a listing of them, because the number of locations has grown significantly over the last thirty years (currently 265 locations). Only now are catalogues of some previously researched necropolises (Mikulčice burial ground, Mušov) being created thanks to the project Moravia Magna. Other key locations are still awaiting publication (Dolní Věstonice, Josefov, Strachotín – village and others; comp. *Poulik 1963; 1975; 1985; Hrubý 1955; 1965; Bláha 1988, 139–144; Cibulka 1958; Dostál 1966; 1975; 1987; 1988; Galuška 1996a; 2000; Goš – Kapl 1986; Hanáková – Stloukal 1966; Hanáková – Staňa – Stloukal 1986; Hanáková – Stloukal – Dobisíková 1999; Jelínková 1999; Kalousek 1971; Klanica 1985a; 2006; 2008; Klíma 1985; 2001; 2001a; 2004; 2009; 2010* /mentioning two Great Moravian churches in Hradiště sv. Hypolita that are not proven; comp. further the entry Znojmo/; *1999; Kouřil 2008a; 2010; Macháček 2001a; 2002; 2007; 2010; 2011; Marešová 1983; 1985; Měřínský 1985; 2000a, 83 and comment no. 6 on pp. 83–84; 2005; 2006; 2013, 203–621; Měřínský – Unger 1990; Michna 1982; Snášil – Procházka 2009; Staňa 1972; 1985; Vignatiová 1992*).

### The Post-Great Moravian period

This is a transitional period which must be given increased attention, because it is a period of the formation of new social, economic and power relationships in the entire Central European area, new political orientations of countries, culminating in the annexation to the Czech Premyslid state, probably during the years 1018–1019, as well as changes in the tangible culture as such (*Měřínský 1986; 2000, 71–76; 2000a, 84; 2001, 118–121; 2008a; Kouřil 2003; 2006; 2008*).

The Brno branch of the archaeological department led by J. Poulik, became a workplace that led generously designed and organised research into the Slavic period in Moravia and Silesia; a certain culmination and evaluation of the existing results of nearly twenty years of field experience after 1945 was embodied in the exhibition *Great Moravia* in 1963 in Brno, later installed in Prague, followed by Nitra and other European cities (*Staňa – Novotný – Tichý 1964; Albrecht 2003, 199–220*).

In the past, interest was mostly focused on pre-Roman Great Moravian architecture known from such Great Moravian centres as Valy near Mikulčice, the Uherské Hradiště – Staré Město agglomeration, or the Pohan area near Břeclav (comp., e.g. *Cibulka 1958; Pošmourný 1971; 1971a; Richter 1965*).

In order to uncover social structures, as well as the state of the population’s health and its demography in the Early and High Middle Ages, including questions regarding foreign ethnic groups, archaeological research into burial grounds and cemeteries is very important (*Měřínský 2008; comp. above*). A comprehensive evaluation of cremation necropolises of the oldest Slavic settlers with Prague type pottery culture (overview *Dostál 1985, 89–92*) still does not exist to this day, and since the last synthesis of Great Moravian inhumation burial grounds from the 9th century to the 1st half of the 10th century, created by B. Dostál (*1966*), nearly thirty years have passed as well, during which many new locations have been discovered and researched (comp. e.g. *Měřínský 1985a; 2013, 431–495; Měřínský – Unger 1990*). Greater interest should also be given to tangible culture as such, mainly due to some groups of moveable artefacts (*Měřínský 2009*).



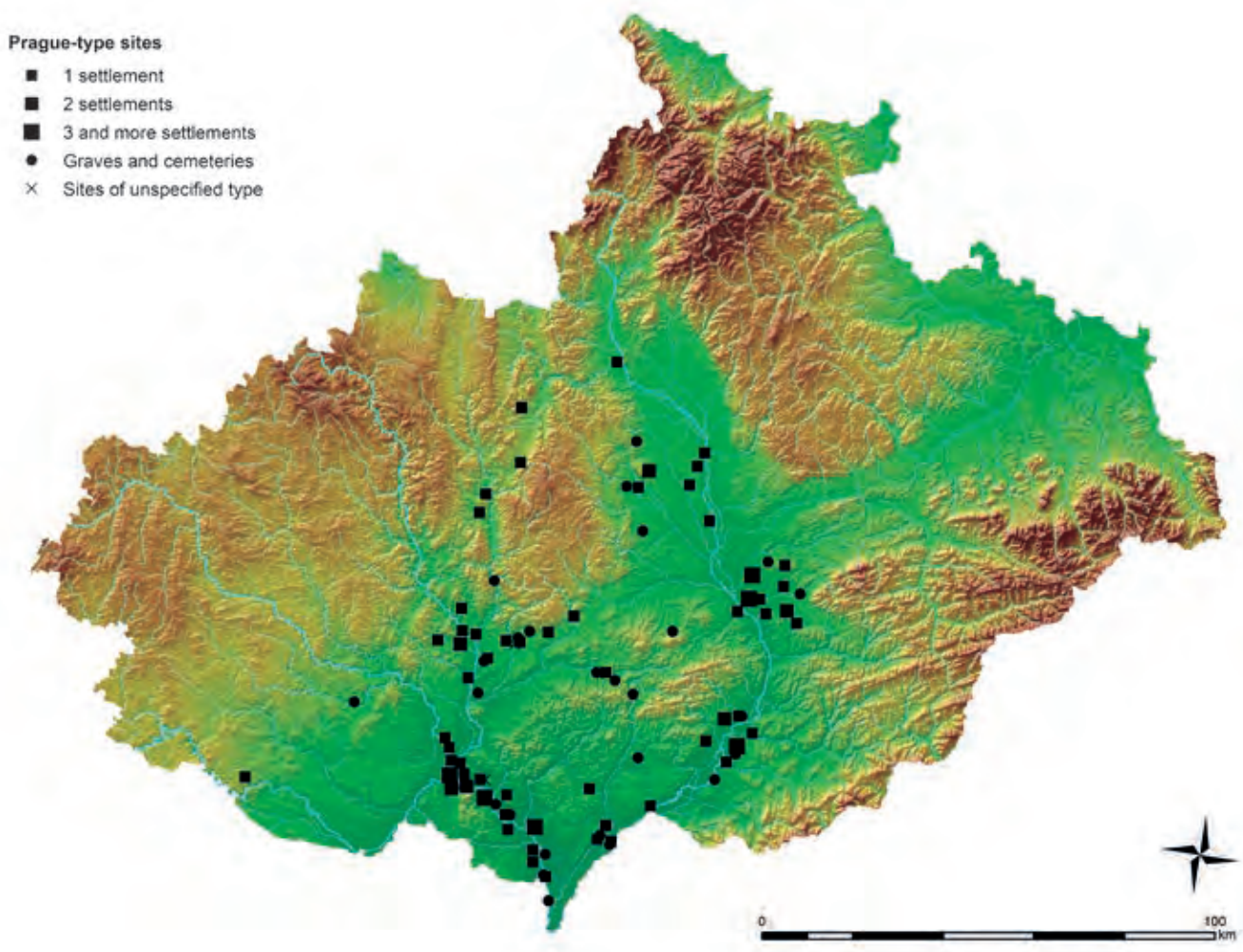
# THE ORIGINS OF SLAVIC SETTLEMENT IN MORAVIA

Dagmar Jelínková

The question of the origins of Slavic settlement is mainly topical in the area north of the Middle Danube, that is, on the territory where later the nucleus of the Great Moravian Empire was. Progress in this regard was brought by the works of I. Borkovský (1939, 105nn.; 1940), who for the first time managed to define the earliest Slavic pottery in Central Europe and named it Prague-type pottery. Since then, the picture of the Prague-type pottery culture has constantly been being supplemented and specified thanks to intensified field research, mainly after World War II. Among typical attributes of this culture are hand-built, simple, mostly vase-shaped and undecorated vessels, pit houses almost square in plan, with a stone oven most often placed in one of the northern corners, and sometimes with a second sunken (bread) oven going beyond the perimeter of the house, as well as a strictly observed cremation rite.

The Prague-type pottery culture is spread over a vast territory from Ukraine and Belarus through the major part of Poland to East Germany, in the area north of the Danube to Slovakia, Moravia, Bohemia and a part of Lower Austria, and in the southern direction it penetrates to what is now Romania (Fusek 2008, Abb. 8; Stanciu 2011, 106nn., Fig. 18; Pleterski 2013, Fig. 6) and southern Greece (Vida – Völling 2000).

Remains of the Prague-type pottery culture in Moravia are represented by numerous settlements and burial grounds, excavated especially in South Moravia. Among the largest settlements are the localities at Pavlov, Přebuz, Mutěnice and Břeclav – Pohansko (Jelínková 1990; 1993; Poulik 1956, 241–242; 1960, 34, Fig. 14; Kostelníková 1970, 39; 1971, 21; Klánica 2008; Dostál 1985, 35nn). The most extensive cremation cemetery including 400–500 cremation burials had already



▲ Fig. 1. A map of sites with Prague-type pottery.

been excavated at Přebuz in the 1950s (*Poulik 1960*, 32; *1995*, 89–91). Among burial grounds with a smaller number of preserved graves are Břeclav – Pohansko (55 graves), Velatice (43 graves), Stará Břeclav (34 graves) and other places in Moravia (Lanžhot, Vícemilice etc.). Currently we know of more than 100 sites with Prague-type pottery here (**Fig. 1**).

The localities are mainly situated in river valleys. Their dense concentration is visible in the Lower Morava Valley with the highest number of sites on the Dyje-Morava floodplain between Strachotín and Lednice; other accumulations appear in the vicinity of Břeclav and Mikulčice and in the northern part between Veselí and Uherské Hradiště. In the Dyje-Svratka Valley, above all on the Dyje-Svratka floodplain, we identify a conspicuous accumulation of localities at the confluence of the rivers Jihlava, Svratka and Dyje, where the settlement is linked with localities on the Dyje-Morava floodplain. The Dyje-Svratka Valley also has the Prace Upland, in whose northern part there are some localities linked with those in the Vyškov Gate. In this area, lacking any wide river floodplains, the sites are distributed within a zone stretching from SW to NE, probably along an important connecting line leading to the Moravian Gate. Localities in the Upper Morava Valley are scattered in the Prostějov Upland, in the neighbourhood of Prostějov and on the Holešov Plateau between Přerov and Holešov. Further sites are recorded more northerly, in the neighbourhood of Olomouc. From the grouping of localities on the map we can infer that the early Slavs mainly colonised strategically important places along roads, at river fords, in places with natural protection etc. The location of several sites indicates that the Slavs penetrated further to the west through the Bohemian-Moravian Highlands on a road along the River Svitava towards Jevíčko, which had already been in use since prehistoric times. On the boundary between Moravia and Bohemia, the Prague-type pottery culture has most likely been associated with some new ceramic finds from surface collecting at Jevíčko – Předměstí 3 and Knínice 6 (*Profantová – Vích 2008*, 137, 142, 143, 144–145), and (with some reservation) also with finds from the Chornice 6a, 6b site (*Profantová – Vích 2008*, 137, 145, Fig. 8–16).

The frequent occurrence of settlements on river floodplains, where the dominant type of soil is fertile chernozem, testifies that settlement at that time had an agrarian character. Numerous bones of domestic animals give evidence of livestock breeding and the relatively frequent finds of millstones attest to the processing of cereals. Several settlement features have yielded evidence of small craft production, for example the metal-casting ladles from Přebuz and Věrovany intended for the casting of non-ferrous metals, and an ingot with an imprinted bottom of a metal-casting ladle from Pavlov. These

ladles have many analogies throughout the vast territory inhabited by the early Slavs (*Jelínková – Šrein – Šťastný 2012*, Fig. 12). In this regard, it is interesting that objects made of non-ferrous metals that have so far been found are not very numerous. More frequent are iron products, mainly knives, buckles, a fire steel, arrowheads and various fittings etc. Local specialised craft production is also evidenced by a bone processing workshop discovered at Mutěnice. Trimmed pieces of antler and two cover plates for bone combs were found here, among other things (*Klanica 1986*, 152, Fig. 54; *2008*, 204).

In the search for the origins of the Prague-type pottery culture, most researchers have paid attention to cultures in East Europe. Autochthonous theories, basing themselves on the Slavic character of the local Central European culture of the previous period and trying to prove the continuity of the original (Slavic) ethnic substrate, have mostly been rejected (*Fusek 2001*; *Fusek – Zábojník 2005*, 542). The current results of archaeological research rather speak for older opinions on the affinity between our own and the other Central European finds of the Prague type, and cultures of the forest-steppe zone between the rivers Dniester and Dnieper, above all the Korchak type (*Parczewski 1993*, 132; *Profantová 2003a*, 27; *Kuna – Profantová 2005*, 224; *Fusek – Zábojník 2005*, 551nn.; *Gavrituchin 2005*, 403–461; *Pleterski 2013*, 618nn., 629nn.). This is based on the evident accord between the earliest Prague-type pottery on the territory under review and finds from the East European nucleus area.

Apart from vase-shaped forms with a short, almost vertical rim, which are typical of the earliest phase of the Prague type, there also are flat plates with a short rim, which are typical of this cultural environment and proceed from East European cultures of the Roman period (Zarubintsy and Kiev cultures). From the sphere of the Prague type in Moravia they are at present known from about 20 localities. Trapezoidal sheet bronze pendants (Mutěnice) or simple spectacle ornaments (Mikulčice) are considered elements of eastern fashion among the sparse finds of small metal objects in Central Europe; their origins can also be sought in some older cultures of the East European forest-steppe zone, but they often occur later as well (*Klanica 1986*, 144–145; *1995*, 433; *2008*, 207–218; *Profantová 2003a*, 27; *Kuna – Profantová 2005*, 189–190; *Rudnicki 2010*, 669nn.).

Even though the above cultural and archaeological relations rather indicate a migration-based concept of the origins of the Prague-type pottery culture on our territory, there are also other concepts which regard the problem of the genesis of this culture in a different way. Among the most discussed opinions at present are those which do not associate the expansion of Prague-type pottery culture with the earliest

Slavic migration wave to Central Europe. Such a theory of the origins of the Slavic peoples and their culture was formulated by F. Curta (2001; 2008; 2009). The theory is based on the

assumption that the 6th and 7th century populations that settled in the zone north of the Danube, that is, beyond the northern frontier of the Byzantine Empire, in an area densely



▲ Fig. 2. 1 – Přebuz, inhumation grave 114; 2 – Určice, cremation grave. After Fojtík – Šmíd 2008, tab. 1: 3–7; 3 – Břeclav – Líbivá, settlement feature 93. After Macháček 2000, Fig. 10: 2.

inhabited by the bearers of Prague-type pottery culture, cannot be identified with the Slavs in the sense of the usual ethno-cultural criteria. The author criticised the previous opinion, which was based on the idea of immigration of Slavic peoples, and considered it dependent on the ideology of the past years. The terms *Sklaveni* and *Antes*, which were used to describe this population, are regarded by Curta as mere artificial constructs of Byzantine annalists; he claims that in fact they were most probably an ethnically indeterminate mass living beyond the frontiers of Byzantium, who did not speak the Slavic language and whose Slavic cultural and linguistic identity only gradually developed later. A similar perception of the problem also appears with some other authors who suppose that the spread of the Prague-type pottery culture does not reflect the physical penetration of real members of this culture, but rather cultural adaptation and the adoption of a new way of life (Barford 2001).

The above opinions on the formation of Slavic peoples and their culture have mostly been criticised (Fusek 2004, 161–186; Profantová 2009, 303–330; Pleterski 2013, 618nn.). However, it cannot be ruled out that the definitive formation of the earliest Slavic ethnic and cultural environment was also connected with various forms of acculturation and assimilation, which may have taken on various forms in individual regions. These processes may have resulted in the merging of the residual indigenous population with foreign newcomers in a new ethnic complex (Pleterski 2013, 634).

This problem has a specific character on the territory of the Czech Republic, where the culture of Merovingian row burial grounds (which have been associated with the Lombards) was superseded by the Prague-type pottery culture in the final phase of the Migration Period. According to the concept by F. Curta, these changes would not have been induced by the arrival of new peoples, but rather by acculturation of the indigenous population. According to him, “the Slavs did not have to leave any homeland to become Bohemians and Moravians” (Curta 2008, 682; on the problem esp. Pleterski 2013, 630nn.). The question arises then of which mutual relation in fact existed between these cultures and whether there perhaps was, despite the evident change in the archaeological inventory, some continuity of the residual local population from the previous period, which was gradually assimilated under the pressure of the migration wave of people of the Prague-type pottery culture (Tejral 2012, 58–60). Difficulties, however, are caused by the lack of archaeological evidence which could attest to the survival of original autochthonous traditions within the Prague-type pottery culture. It is important to distinguish the Merovingian elements in general, which may have influenced the earliest

Slavic culture regardless of any possible contribution of the local (i.e. Lombard) substrate and which do not suggest direct developmental continuity. Attempts to identify the origins of Slavic settlement based on archaeological evidence do not always come to full agreement. The starting point is the assumption of a Slavic origin for the Prague-type pottery culture, which appears suddenly in Central Europe. Sometimes an earlier beginning of the Prague-type pottery culture is supposed, to be precise before the mid-6th century (Zeman 1976, 212; 1979; Bialeková 1980, 215, 216nn.; Galuška 2000, 127; Třeštík 1996, 277–278; Fusek 1994, 118–119; Kuna – Profantová 2005, 223; Dostál 1985, 92–93), and sometimes a later time is considered, most probably the last third of the 6th century (Jelínková 2012, 16–17). In this time at the latest a cultural change supposedly occurred, namely the demise of inhumation burial grounds of the Merovingian culture on the territory of Bohemia and Moravia, associated with Elbe-Germanic tribes, above all the Lombards and Thuringii (Tejral 2012, 58–60), and their replacement by different cultural phenomena represented by the Prague-type pottery culture. Even the 7th century has been considered as well.

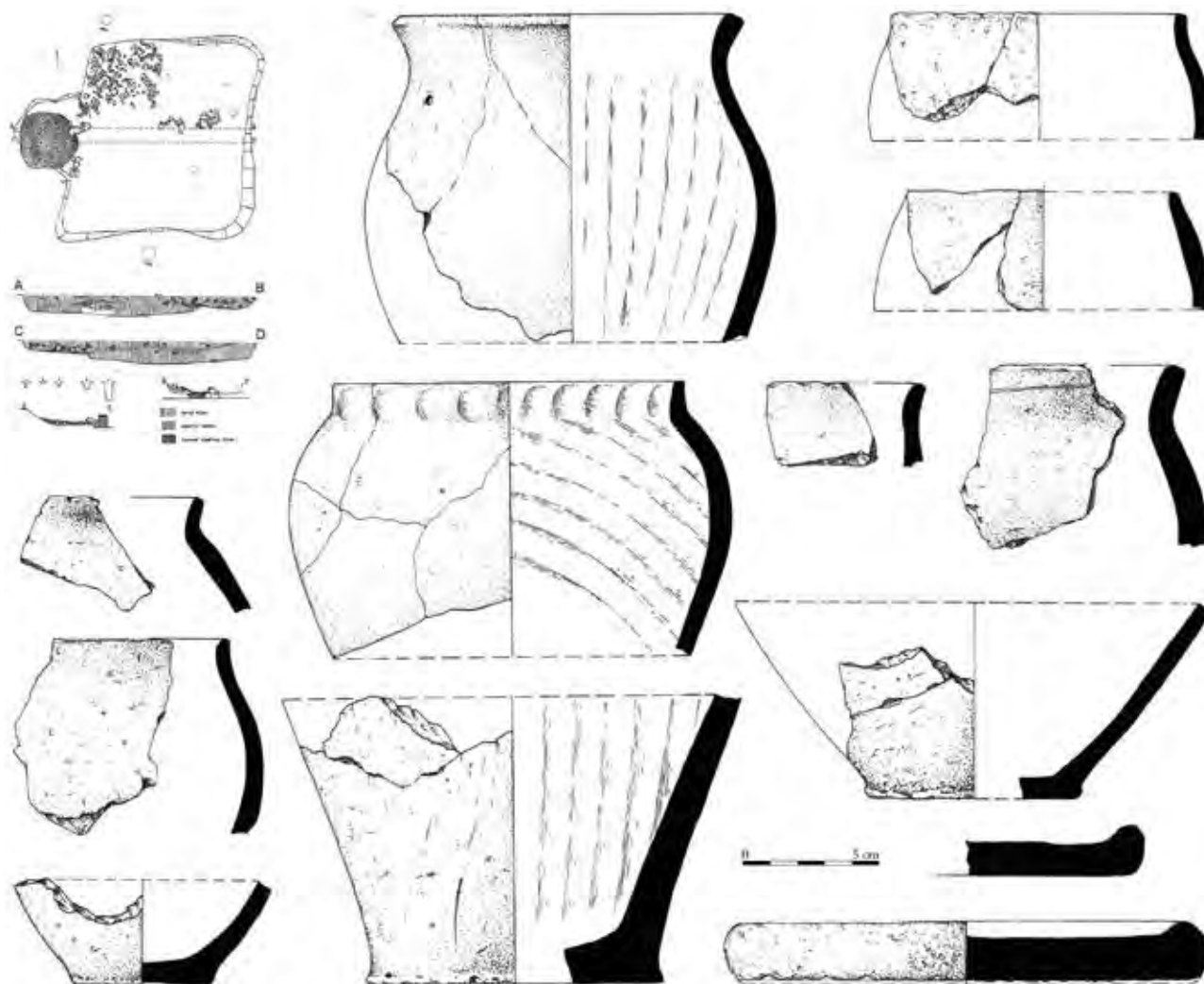


▲ Fig. 3. 1 – Velatice, cremation grave XVI; 2 – Velatice, cremation grave XII; 3 – Přebuz, cremation grave 5/45 under Barrow II. After Poulik 1951, Fig. 71; 4 – Velatice, cremation grave XXXII; 5 – Velatice, cremation grave XV. Scale 1: 1. Photo by J. Foltýn.



Chronologically sensitive artefacts suitable for dating the finds with Prague-type pottery are rare, not only in Moravia. In early Slavic contexts so-called Merovingian artefacts have been used. In Bohemia there are, for example, a brass belt loop and an iron tongue-shaped strap-end from settlement features at Roztoky, which may be dated to the turn of the 6th and 7th centuries, or to the 1st third of the 7th century (Kuna – Profantová 2005, 224–225; Profantová 2003a, 26–27, Fig. 2; 2008, Fig. 10). Similar examples from Moravia are represented by a bronze Merovingian tongue-shaped strap-end from a cremation grave in Určice, which was found in the remains of a ceramic vessel filled with charred bones, together with comb remnants and a small bi-conical bead of the “Merovingian type” made of a ceramic substance with

faience finish. A neighbouring decorated vessel, also filled with charred bones (Fojtík – Šmíd 2008, 20, tab. 1), fell within the later phase of the Prague-type pottery culture. The grave most probably dates from the second half of the 7th century (Měřínský 2002, 132, 137, 140; Profantová 2003a, 27). Parallels to the ceramic bead (of unevenly bi-conical through to barrel-shaped form with dark red faience finish, decorated with a white wavy line) from settlement feature No. 93 from Břeclav – Líbivá have been found by J. Macháček (2000, 34, Fig. 10: 2) on the Merovingian row burial grounds, in graves dated to around and after AD 600 (Fig. 2). Merovingian models or analogies (Fig. 3) can also be seen in small yellow discoidal beads from cremation graves at Velatice (Grave XII and XVI), in several types of oval iron buckles from the same



▲ Fig. 4. Pavlov – Horní pole, Feature 953. <sup>14</sup>C dates. 2 σ 1. 553–648 (95.4 %), 2. 551–646 (95.4 %), 3. 533–643 (91.5 %). 1 σ (68.2 %) 1. 582–637, 2. 574–632, 3. 547–602.

burial ground (Grave XXXII) and from Přítluky (Grave 5/45 under Barrow II) or in a fire steel (Velatice, Grave XV). These artefacts, however, are dated within a broader time span. The chronology of relics with Prague-type pottery is sometimes based on finds of unilateral or bilateral antler or bone combs. However, considering they occur over a long time-span (*Losert 2003*, 222–230; *Siegmund 1998*, 115–116), their significance for a more accurate dating of the origins of the Prague-type pottery culture is only marginal. A contribution in this regard can be seen in the find of an iron seax from inhumation grave 114 from Přítluky (**Fig. 2**), which was situated in the middle of cremation graves containing characteristic Prague-type pottery. In terms of typology it can be classed among light broad seaxes (Ger. leichter Breitsax). Fragments of engraved decorative interlace patterns were identified on both sides of the blade. However, it cannot be recognised whether or not the interlace pattern filled in the entire field between the longitudinal lines on both sides, or whether it alternated in some sections with, for example, an animal pattern. Even though analogous types of weapons may also have occurred earlier, they did not begin to be widely used until the 570s or even 580s. On the Merovingian burial grounds, light broad

seaxes, some of which are also decorated with interlace patterns, fall within the late 6th and early 7th centuries. The oldest evidence has already been detected here in the second half of the 6th century (*Wernard 1998*, 752nn.; *Koch 2001*, 61, Abb. 23: SD fáze 6–7 (555–580); *Aufleger 1997*, 157; *Walter 2008*, 169; *Legoux – Périn – Vallet 2006*, 11, 54).

Attempts have been made to date the earliest layer of relics with Prague-type pottery within the distribution area of this culture with the help of scientific methods, mainly the <sup>14</sup>C dating. <sup>14</sup>C dates were obtained from two charcoal samples from a free-standing domed oven (Feature 1) in Suchohrad, SW Slovakia, which was classed based on a typological analysis of the pottery to the earliest phase of Prague-type pottery culture. The charcoal sample from oak yielded a calibrated date of 130–550 with 95% probability, and the ash sample gave the result of 420–570 with 95% probability. Even though these dates are too wide for dating the earliest phase of Prague-type pottery culture, according to the authors they enable us to date the local Slavic settlement to the time before the arrival of the Avars (*Fusek – Zábajník 2010*, 164nn.).



▲ **Fig. 5. Prague-type pottery from settlements in Moravia.**  
Source Archive of IAASB.

Dates obtained with the help of the <sup>14</sup>C method from House No. 953 at the settlement of Pavlov – Horní Pole in South Moravia are also important for the chronology of the earliest finds of the Prague-type pottery culture. Pottery from this feature is classed with the earliest phase of the settlement, which is represented by undecorated slim vessels with a narrow base and a prevailing short straight or slightly in-turned or everted rim, or by more bulbous vessels with a wider base and everted rim, and flat plates (Fig. 4). Analyses of three samples of animal bones have yielded dates which enable us to place the existence of the feature between the years 533 and 648 with 95.4 % probability. The house thus probably dates from the end of the 6th century (Jelínková 2012, 17). The typological range of pottery from House 953 essentially corresponds to the material from the earliest phase of the Prague-type pottery culture as was defined based on the analysis of a wider inventory of finds from other Moravian sites (Jelínková 1990; Fig. 5).

However, archaeological analysis of the situation in which objects were found, analysis of the seax from Grave 114 from Přítluky and the results of the radiocarbon dating of samples from Feature 953 from Pavlov, which indicate that local finds can be dated to the late 6th century or to the turn of the 6th and 7th centuries, do not offer any unequivocal clues to the origins of the Prague-type pottery culture in Moravia as such. If the dates obtained most probably point to the turn of the 6th and 7th centuries, they can rather be considered *termini post quem*. The settlement had already been in existence some time before (Jelínková 2012, 17).

Comparing the absolute dates obtained for the earliest phase of the Prague-type pottery culture with the dating of the terminal phase of the Merovingian row burial grounds in Moravia, we again come back to the problem of possible synchronous contact between these two different cultural phenomena. It turns out that the pre-Slavic culture in the area north of the Danube existed longer than previously supposed, maybe until as late as the last third of the 6th century. This is probably evidenced by several types of brooches and small ornaments from Lužice, Velké Pavlovice and from a recently discovered burial ground at Kyjov, and by bag-shaped ceramic vessels with stamped decoration from Velké Pavlovice and Kyjov, which have exact analogies in Pannonian finds from the 2nd half of the 6th century (Tejral 2011, 63nn., esp. 69nn., Fig. 6, Fig. 29: 24; 2012, 56nn., Fig. 18, 19; Šmerda 2012, fig. on p. 48). It is also indicated by late assemblages of finds from the territory south of the Danube, e.g. from graves at Pottenbrunn (Neugebauer 2005) and Freundorf (Blesl 2008) in Austria or from Rusovce in south Slovakia (Schmidtová – Ruttkay 2008) and from some other places inside Pannonia

(Müller 1999–2000). The dating of them to maybe as late as 568, that is, to the time of the historically recorded departure of the Lombards from Pannonia and from our territory as well, is based on finds of artefacts decorated in the so-called animal Style II (Tejral 2011, 70nn.). They might indicate the survival of the bearers of Merovingian cultural traditions until as late as the time when the Carpathian Basin was already occupied by the Avars. From the territory of Pannonia we also have evidence of Merovingian elements surviving in archaeological material from the early Avar burial grounds of Kölked – Feketekapu (Kiss 1996). This leads to the conclusion that the bearers of Merovingian traditions – the Gepids or the residual Lombards – still survived here at the time of Avar hegemony in the 1st half of the 7th century (Kiss 1996; Daim 1998, 108), that is, at a time when the territory north of the Danube is supposed to have seen the definite consolidation of the Prague-type pottery culture.

Seen hypothetically, it is certainly possible that the aftermath of the Merovingian culture of inhumation burial grounds may have chronologically overlapped with the Prague-type pottery culture in the area north of the Danube. However, the question of whether the people of the Prague-type pottery culture had already penetrated into the area north of the Middle Danube and settled down here during the existence of Lombard burial grounds has not yet been solved. It has been considered that the territorial distribution of Merovingian inhumation burial grounds in Moravia and in Lower Austria north of the Middle Danube does not overlap in any way with the geographical spread of the earliest finds with Prague-type pottery in SW Slovakia and that the local Slavic settlement thus may be contemporaneous with the Lombard occupation of Moravia (Fusek – Zábajník 2010). If we take a look at the map of Lombard settlement in Moravia (recently Tejral 2012, fig. on p. 8) then it seems (unless this situation is influenced by the present state of research) that the part of Moravia north of Prostějov was not occupied by the Lombards. Seen hypothetically, it may have been an area where Slavs had settled down earlier than mentioned above.

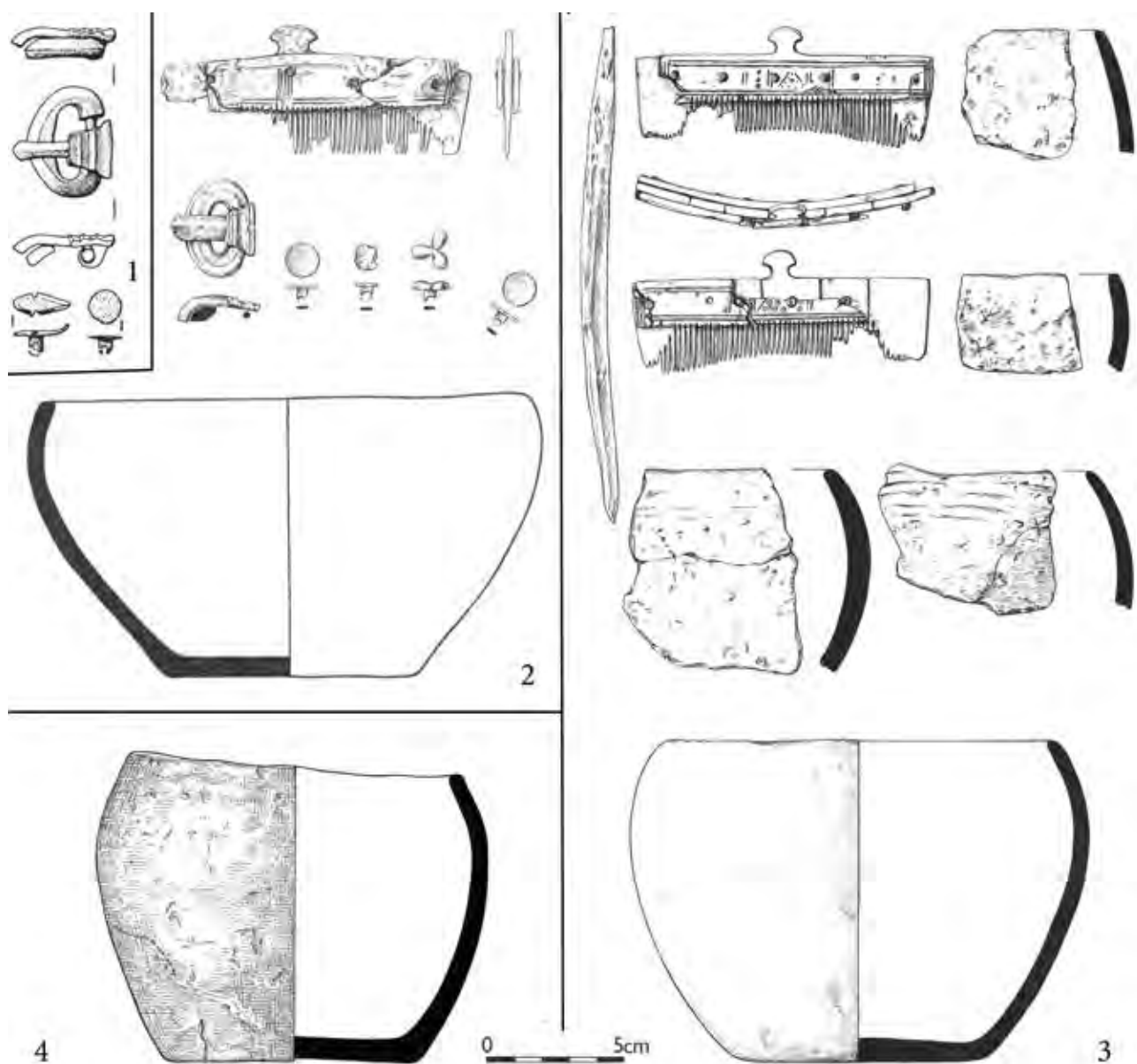
If we take into account the initial infiltration of the Prague-type pottery culture, and along with it also Slavic peoples, into Lombard settlement territory at the time it was still in existence, the question arises of how the possible contact might have been reflected in archaeological finds.

Significant differences in burial rites springing from different cultural traditions and the roots of the two cultures provide only little space for chronological and cultural comparison. This is mainly caused by the remarkable poverty of cremation graves. Only a few of them include some extraordinary grave

goods which are comparable to finds from the Merovingian area. For many of these objects, moreover, it cannot be identified whether they were borrowed directly from the environment of the so-called Lombard burial grounds in the area north of the Danube, or whether they represent forms which were widespread over the whole of the 6th and 7th centuries throughout Merovingian Europe. This probably also applies to combs. Similar forms of unilateral elongated combs do not necessarily attest only to contact with Lombards but,

as was the case with several types of beads and buckles, they may also have resulted from a more general impact of Merovingian civilisation on the Slavs who had recently settled in Central Europe.

Evidence of direct chronological and cultural contact between the early phase of the Prague-type pottery culture and a generally Merovingian, but probably “non-Lombard” environment, is represented by Grave 114 from Přítluky. Unlike



▲ Fig. 6. 1 – Grossprüfening, cremation grave 6. After Losert 2011, Abb. 5: 1; 2 – Holubice, inhumation grave 30, After Čížmář 1997, Fig. 3; 3 – Podolí, settlement feature 1/III. After Čížmář 1997, Fig. 2; 4 – Přítluky – Velký hon, Square 4, a find from the occupation layer.



the geographically closest examples of seaxes from the Carpathian Basin, the blade of the seax from Přebuz is decorated with an engraved interlace ornament (**Fig. 2: 1**). Seaxes decorated in this manner are typical of the western Merovingian sphere, above all of the Frankish-Alamannic region. Even though their highest occurrence falls within the late 6th and early 7th centuries, they may already have been popular earlier, as is evident from some seaxes of the second half of the 6th century. The position of the weapon in the grave pit is important with regard to the general evaluation and maybe also dating of Grave 114 from Přebuz. Especially frequent in Merovingian graves, the position of seax is often at the left side of the deceased, or on the left upper extremity or the left side of the body, with its tip turned upwards. On territory inhabited by the Slavs since the late 6th century, this ritual custom, which was widespread in the Merovingian sphere, may even indicate the physical presence of a foreigner. If we take into account the provenance of the weapon, then the individual buried in this grave more probably had relations with the Merovingian West, and a Lombard identity is therefore less likely (*Jelínková 2012, 11*).

An important piece of evidence for the study of the mutual relationship between both of the cultural areas, the Elbe-Germanic-Lombard sphere and the Prague-type pottery culture, mainly with regard to the assumption that one of them transformed into the other without the determinative influence of an allochthonous factor in the sense of Curta's conclusions, can be provided by a comparison of various types of settlement buildings. The current state of archaeological evidence, however, is quite unbalanced in this regard. Whereas the number of

early settlements with Prague-type pottery has been increasing in the recent past, relics of settlements which can reliably be associated with the Merovingian environment have only been identified sporadically in Moravia. Among them is a pit house with corner posts from Podolí near Brno (*Čížmář 1997, 634, Fig. 1*) and maybe also an isolated hut from Holubice, formerly associated with the so-called Late Roman "Zlechov" horizon (J. Tejral, personal communication). Further "Lombard" settlements, which could correspond chronologically to the earliest phase of settlements with Prague-type pottery, are known from the territory of Pannonia (*Skriba – Sófalvi 2004, 121nn.; Skriba 2006, 55nn.*). Finds from Bohemia are also important, above all those from the settlement of Březno near Louny, where the Merovingian group of finds of an Elbe-Germanic character was superseded by the horizon of finds with Prague-type pottery (*Pleinerová 2000; 2007*). From these comparisons, considerable differences in the types of buildings as well as in the archaeological inventory follow. The main type of dwellings in the Merovingian culture is represented by semi-dugout houses, mostly without any heating device, with supporting posts in corners or in the middle of short sides, which is typical of the whole Migration Period with non-Slavic peoples. Early Slavic settlements, on the other hand, are characterised by the above-mentioned pit houses with a stone oven in one of the corners.

Significant differences also occur in other parts of the material culture. An important component of the inventory in settlements of the Lombard or, more generally, Elbe-Germanic cultural sphere is above all hand-made pottery. The variety of vessel shapes proceeds from the original Elbe-Germanic tradition. Material from all settlements of a similar kind (from Bohemian territory through Moravia to as far as Pannonia) is dominated by barrel-shaped pots or deep bowls with an in-turned rim, sometimes accompanied by atypical jars with a wide base and everted rim. This ceramic inventory is at first glance different from the chronologically not very distant Prague-type pottery (**Fig. 5**).

From the above facts it is evident that we are dealing with two different cultural and archaeological environments, reflecting not only a different way of life, but probably also a different ethnic composition of the bearers, and these did not exhibit any mutual developmental relationship. However, various forms of possible intrusions or contacts cannot be excluded. In this connection we must mention a still entirely isolated occurrence of unusual ceramic forms in the context of settlement finds with Prague-type pottery in Moravia (Přebuz, Pouzdřany) and grave finds from the burial ground at Přebuz. For example, during a planum excavation of the settlement at Přebuz, a bowl-shaped vessel with in-turned



▲ **Fig. 7. Přebuz – Velký hon.**  
Square 4, a find from the occupation layer.

rim (**Fig. 6: 4, Fig. 7**) was found in association with Prague-type pottery inside the occupation layer in Square 4. This vessel has many analogies in finds from Lombard graves, but mainly from settlements, and among others also in the above-mentioned Moravian settlement feature from Podolí near Brno (**Fig. 6: 3**). The feature yielded relatively coarse pottery, mostly fragments of vessels with in-turned rims, and a unilateral antler comb with a cover plate on the top of the handle (*Čížmář 1997*, 685, Fig. 2: 2). A comb of similar type, which has multiple parallels in the 6th century Merovingian environment, was found in Grave 30 from Holubice (*Čížmář 1997*, Fig. 3; *2011*, 146, Taf. 12, 30/1) together with a buckle with a trapezoidal transversely fluted shield at the root of the tongue. Buckles of the same type, sometimes with belt fittings, are known from Merovingian inhumation burial grounds from the Carpathian Basin through south Germany to as far as Gaul (*Losert 2011*, 478nn., Fig. 5: 1; *Koch 2001*, 62, 296, 437, Tab. 30A: 4–5, Fig. 23: M 54). U. Koch (*2001*, 62, 85nn.) dates them upon Frankish analogies to her south German phase 6 (555–580), and H. Losert dates their production to the 3rd quarter of the same century at the latest (*Losert 2003*, 209, Fig. 38: 24–26, Var. 8; *2011*, 478nn.).

It is problematic to draw any conclusions from the find of a bowl-shaped vessel with in-turned rim in the settlement with Prague-type pottery at Přítluky. At the same place, prior to the settlement with Prague-type pottery, there may formerly have existed an older settlement from the time of Lombard occupation, similar to that in Podolí. Its settlement structures, characterised by semi-dugout huts with corner posts, may have been considerably damaged by subsequent settlement activities of the Slavic inhabitants (any more exact conclusions would require an analysis of all ceramic material obtained from occupation layers at this site). The nearest Lombard burial ground is known from Šakvice. The situation with Suchohrad in West Slovakia might be analogous, where a feature with Prague-type pottery was examined and an openwork discoidal fitting was found inside the occupation layer. However, the ornament may also have been related to early Slavic settlement, according to the authors (*Fusek – Zábajník 2010*, 155nn.).

A clue for solving the questions of the earliest infiltration of people of the Prague-type pottery culture and their possible mutual contacts with a population who buried their dead in Merovingian inhumation graves is offered by the situation detected in Regensburg – Grossprüfening (*Losert 2011*, 475–489; *2007–2008*, 317nn.). A total of 22 Slavic cremation graves were identified in the area of this multicultural site – only nine of them were urn graves; the other thirteen were cremation pit graves. Besides Prague-type pottery, funerary

assemblages from this site also contain significant small finds. Among them are objects known from early Slavic contexts, for example ornaments of bronze wire with a spiral end (sometimes spectacle-shaped) and trapezoidal bronze sheet pendants or other artefacts such as buckles, belt fittings, a fragment of tweezers, glass beads or remnants of three-layered bone combs, which attest to influence from the Merovingian cultural sphere (*Losert 2011*, 478nn., Fig. 5–6).

H. Losert (*2011*, 483–484) associates the burial ground at Grossprüfening with a group of people descending from the Middle Danube region or Pannonia or the area north of the Black Sea, who had already left for the west before the expansion of Avar power into the Carpathian Basin (after 568). The location of the burial ground in the immediate neighbourhood of Regensburg indicates that the newcomers could not settle down in the place without the consent of the prominent person who resided in the nearby original Roman fort of Castra Regina and controlled its hinterland. According to the above-mentioned author it was probably one of the Bavarian dukes, to whom the armed “early Slavic elite” was apparently subordinated as his allies.

The cremation burial ground at Grossprüfening is interesting in the fact that even though it was surrounded by an entirely different cultural environment, it existed here for some time as an isolated phenomenon. However, maintaining its own forms typical of East Europe, it only sporadically adopts foreign Merovingian objects from the surroundings (several buckles and beads). The strict observance of cremation, that is, of their own funerary traditions, is particularly characteristic. The graves, among other things, are characterised by poor funerary equipment containing in most cases only isolated clothing components (it is interesting that the dead were wrapped in bear furs) and meat inclusions (*Losert 2011*). Even though this situation did not necessarily last long, it seems that both of these very different cultural environments may have existed for some time parallel to each other in specific conditions and in various regions, without any intensive acculturation or disappearing of the one or the other. Only further findings will prove or disprove whether this can also be considered an example of archaeological conditions in the area north of the Middle Danube, that is, in Moravia as well.

As is indicated by the newest evidence for a later dating of the end of Lombard burial grounds, some temporary contact (caused by for example the penetration of smaller groups of warriors or prospectors of Slavic origin into the neighbourhood of the Lombard settlement territory already during this early period) cannot be entirely excluded. Historical reports on the activities of the Lombard Prince Hildigis, who was making

use of Slavic military troops around the mid-6th century, also would attest to this assumption. Even though these warriors most probably did not come directly from Moravia or from the western part of the area north of the Danube in general, Slavic settlements, to which Hildigis repeatedly had recourse and from which he hired the groups of warriors, were not necessarily far from the Lombard or Gepidic centre. In this period, people of the Prague-type pottery culture, who can be regarded as the historically-attested Sklaveni, may have obtained the first important and necessary information on the area which they were subsequently to colonise. The definitive formation and stabilisation of the Slavic settlement area is documented by an abrupt increase in the number of settlements during the 7th century. The concentration of them in regions where the Slavic centres of the Great Moravian period would later emerge indicates that the early Slavic settlement, and maybe the power structures too, had already been consolidated at that time.

# THE SLAVS AND THE AVAR KHAGANATE

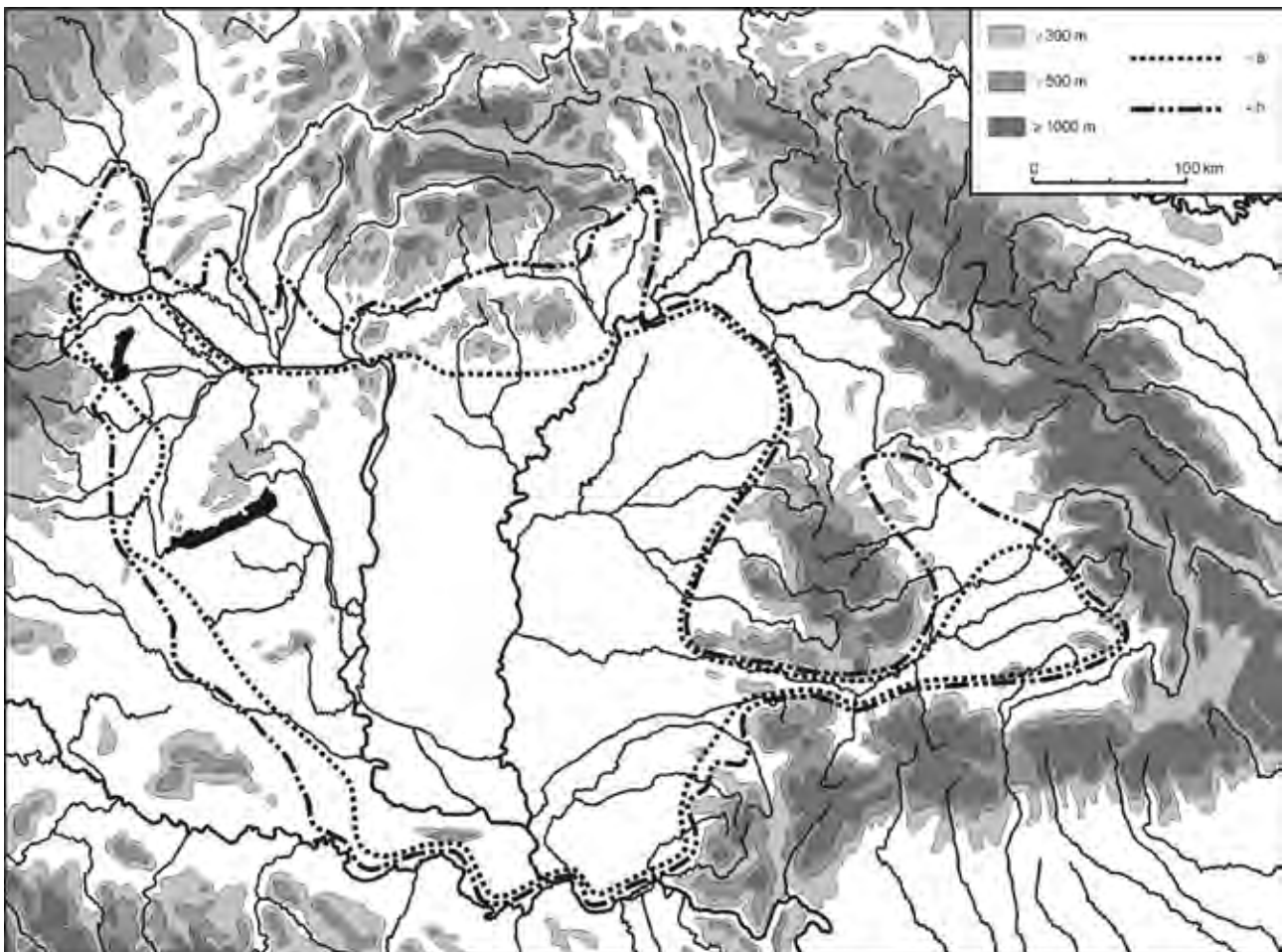
Jozef Zábajník

As much as a hundred years after the gruesome Hunnic power had been eliminated, a new threat arose in the European East. It fits into the pattern of the periodical occurrence of nomadic elements which, trying to secure their living space or being threatened by some other power, penetrated to the west. In 558 the first Avar delegation arrived in Constantinople in an effort to find a new home, being in flight from the Turkish threat. So began a new period of encounters between the Byzantine Empire, other European powers and the “threat from the East”.

In the beginning it is necessary to mention historical events which considerably affected the development of early mediaeval Central Europe. The rise of the power-political unit which is known as the Avar Khaganate had its prelude in marauding campaigns of the Avars targeted at the territory of the Frankish Empire. It was above all the second one (in 566) that not only ended with their victory but also resulted

in a treaty of alliance with the Lombards, who had already been fighting for a long time against their eastern neighbours – the Gepids. After the Gepids were defeated (in 567), their territory around the River Tisza was captured by the Avars. On the Middle Danube a new political unit arose – the Avar Khaganate (**Fig. 1**), a barbarian empire named after its ruler – the Khagan. This power co-formed the history of Central European lands over a relatively long period of time. This time span is delimited by the arrival of the Avars in the Carpathian Basin (at the turn of 567/568) and by the c. 15-year-long period of Frankish-Avar Wars under the rule of Charlemagne (788–803) when the Khaganate was militarily liquidated and suffered political decline.

The Avars and the Avar Khaganate also considerably influenced the history of Slavic peoples who had expanded from their homeland around the mid-5th century AD and settled vast territories in Central and Eastern Europe. Until the arrival



▲ **Fig. 1. Territorial extent of the Avar Khaganate:**

a – boundaries of the so-called Early Avar Khaganate; b – boundaries of the so-called Late Avar Khaganate. After Zábajník 2009, Fig. 1.



of Avar groups, however, central parts of the Carpathian Basin fell within the sphere of power of Germanic tribes. In its western part there was the Kingdom of the Lombards, and territory east of the River Tisza was settled by the East Germanic Gepids after the downfall of the Hunnic Empire. The pre-Avar Slavic settlement was therefore driven out to the peripheral zone of the Carpathian Basin.

Slavic penetration into the Carpathian Basin can be supposed to have taken place during the final phase of the Migration Period, that is, prior to the arrival of the Avars. This premise is corroborated by strong indications resulting from the analysis of literary sources (for details see *Fusek 2004*, 163–164). Not less important is the analysis of spatial relation between Slavic settlement and territories inhabited by Germanic peoples. In the north-western part of the Carpathian Basin and in the Záhorie Region, which is beyond its borders, it was clearly proved that the Slavs and the Germans mutually recognised the boundaries of their settlement territories (*Fusek – Zábajník 2010*, 172; Fig. 10). A similar situation can also be found in the eastern part of the Carpathian Basin where Slavic settlement was documented on territories outside the Kingdom of the Gepids (*Fusek – Olexa – Zábajník 2010*, 351–354, Fig. 16). Such recognising of boundaries is a distinct indication of contemporaneity. The third fact which makes us suppose there was Slavic settlement in the Carpathian Basin before the arrival of the Avars is no longer an indication, but a true proof. It is the result of radiocarbon analysis of a wood sample taken from a settlement feature in Suchohrad (*Fusek – Zábajník 2010*, 165, 166, Fig. 7, 8).

It is beyond doubt that the role which the Avars played in the history of Slavic peoples cannot generally be considered positive. However, misinformation about this period of our history, demonisation of Avar society, rejection or even damnation of all those positives which our ancestors drew from contact with the Avar Khaganate would be non-historical displays of attachment to an idealised picture of our history. It is also necessary to emphasise the importance of the existence of the Avar Khaganate, which acted as a mediator of progressive cultural achievements and advanced technologies from the Mediterranean area to northerly situated regions. The acquired knowledge of political systems, mainly in the Byzantine environment, was surely of considerable importance. The fact that the joint history of our ancestors with the originally nomadic peoples, and their coexistence, whether forced or voluntary, found reflection in literary sources (among others) is also not negligible. In the so-called *Chronicle of Fredegar*, the Slavs who were part of the Avar army are mentioned as “befulci” (*Ratkoš 1968*, 56).

Recognising the varied character of relations between the Slavs and the Avars is enabled above all by the analysis of literary sources. It is to a certain extent surprising and, for the Hungarians, also dismaying that the latest comprehensive synthetic works dealing with the history of the Avars were written by non-Hungarian historians (*Kollautz – Miyakawa 1970; Avenarius 1974; Pohl 1988*). It is maybe also because the “Avar Age” holds an extremely important position in the history of Hungary and in the thinking of the Hungarian people, still strengthened by something like a spiritual affinity of the Hungarians – descendants of a nomadic people foreign to Central Europe – to similar ethnic groups who established their power-political units on the organisational principles of nomadic societies and whose original homeland was in the vast steppe zones of Eurasia. Displays of “collective mentality”, sometimes suppressed and other times accentuated, are those accelerators of social consciousness which indisputably influence the establishing of spiritual bonds with the past.

Since the monograph by W. Pohl (1988) reached the specialised public, I do not find it meaningful to give a detailed overview of history of the Avars. This unrivalled and modern synthesis presents all the known facts resulting from a critical analysis of literary sources in an exhaustive way. It is particularly positive that this work recognises the contribution of archaeological research and regards the knowledge obtained from analyses of archaeological material as an important supplement to critical evaluation of historical sources.

From among the large number of literary sources it is necessary to mention at least those which describe the relationship between the Slavs and the Avars from the beginning of their mutual contacts. The facts mentioned in the description of historical events from 558–582 are very important in this regard; they were gathered by the Byzantine historian and ethnographer Menander by order of Emperor Maurice. Of his work *Historiae*, however, only fragments are preserved, above all in the Excerpts of Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (905–959).

The historiographer Theophylact Simocatta, an Egyptian by descent (+ c. 628), wrote his work *Historiai* during his time in the imperial court of Constantinople under Emperor Maurice (582–602) and as such it can be considered a continuation of the historical writings by Menander.

A third extraordinarily important source is a work which is known in specialised literature as the *Chronicle of Fredegar*. The reports on a revolt of the Slavs living north of the Danube against the Avars are of particularly high value. The chronicle tells about the rise of a tribal union referred to as the Empire

of Samo. It not only played the role of a defender against the Avars, but also, for a time, stopped the advance of Frankish expansion to the east. The *Chronicle of Fredegar* colourfully describes events associated with the activities of Samo and his Slavs. From it we also learn about a dispute between Samo and the Frankish King Dagobert, and about the defeat of the Frankish army near Wogastisburg.

The ambiguity of literary sources and the total absence of evidence, on the basis of which it would be possible to bring some specifics of material culture into relation with the Empire of Samo, caused the rise of several theories about the empire's location. All of the three most frequently mentioned hypotheses (the so-called "Carinthian", "Bohemian" and "Danubian") run into discrepancies caused by the interpretation of sparse literary sources or by their inability to elucidate the geographic background of historical events.

One possible solution is to regard the Empire of Samo as an extensive territory in Central Europe (*Lutovský – Profantová 1995*, Fig. 14). The question remains whether it is possible to ascertain a geographically integrated territory that would correspond to such a purpose-built tribal union. Regarding the territorial spread of the so-called Empire of Samo an "insular" hypothesis can also be taken into consideration, assuming that this formation was not geographically compact. Regions inhabited by multiple Slavic groups were maybe integrated for individual operations of specific military and political purpose. The most important role in liberation campaigns against the Avars was played by the Slavs living on the territory north of the Danube adjacent to the Avar Khaganate (South Moravia, Lower Austria, part of southwest Slovakia). The main burden of wartime events during the conflict with Dagobert was borne above all by the tribes based in Moravia and Bohemia. Raids by the Lombards (Dagobert's allies against the Slavs) mostly affected the Slavs living in the western parts of the Carpathian Basin and in Alpine valleys. The geographical disunity reflected in the existence of several weakly interconnected islands (peninsulas) was maybe one of the reasons why the formation which was established and held for over 35 years by "*homo nomen Samo natione Francos de pago Senonago*" (cit. after *Ratkoš 1968*, 387) finally disintegrated.

Some information was preserved in works by other authors. Among them, above all, there is one of the most important Byzantine historians of the 6th century, Procopius of Caesarea (490/507 – c. 562) and the Byzantine Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (905–959). From among hagiographic sources it is necessary to mention the *Ecclesiastical History* by John of Ephesus (c. 507 – c. 585) or the *Miracles of Saint Demetrius / Miracula Sancti Demetrii*. These works tell how

the town of Thessalonica was besieged by allied troops of the Slavs and Avars.

Among Latin written sources there is the *History of the Lombards / Historia Langobardorum* whose author was Paul the Deacon / Paulus Diaconus (who lived in the 8th century). Despite its biased character, the piece *The Conversion of the Bavarians and the Carantanians / Conversio de Bagoariorum et Carantanorum* provides knowledge of the Avars. The information obtained from this work is related above all to the western parts of the Khaganate, which were inhabited by Slavs. The treatise also compiles older sources, above all the *Chronicle of Fredegar* (or its abstract – *Gesta Dagoberti*), imperial annals and maybe also other literary sources (deeds) which are unknown today.

The relationship between the Slavs and the Avars should be judged mainly from a chronological point of view. In the early period of mutual contacts (the terminal decades of the 6th century and the beginning of the 7th century) we can suppose repressions which resulted in a revolt against the Avars and the rise of a tribal union under Samo. Later, this situation probably gradually transformed into mutual influences. From the end of the 8th century we have evidence of the active participation of Slavic peoples in the military liquidation of the Khaganate.

The above ethnic groups, however, should also be correlated in a spatial regard. It is evident that Slavic peoples living in thrall to the Avars or in the immediate neighbourhood of the Khaganate had a strong feeling of dependence on it. Slavs inhabiting the territories distant from the Khaganate, on the other hand, were not dependent on the Avars. In this case an alliance can be supposed based on the same motives – for example looting in raids on Byzantine territories.

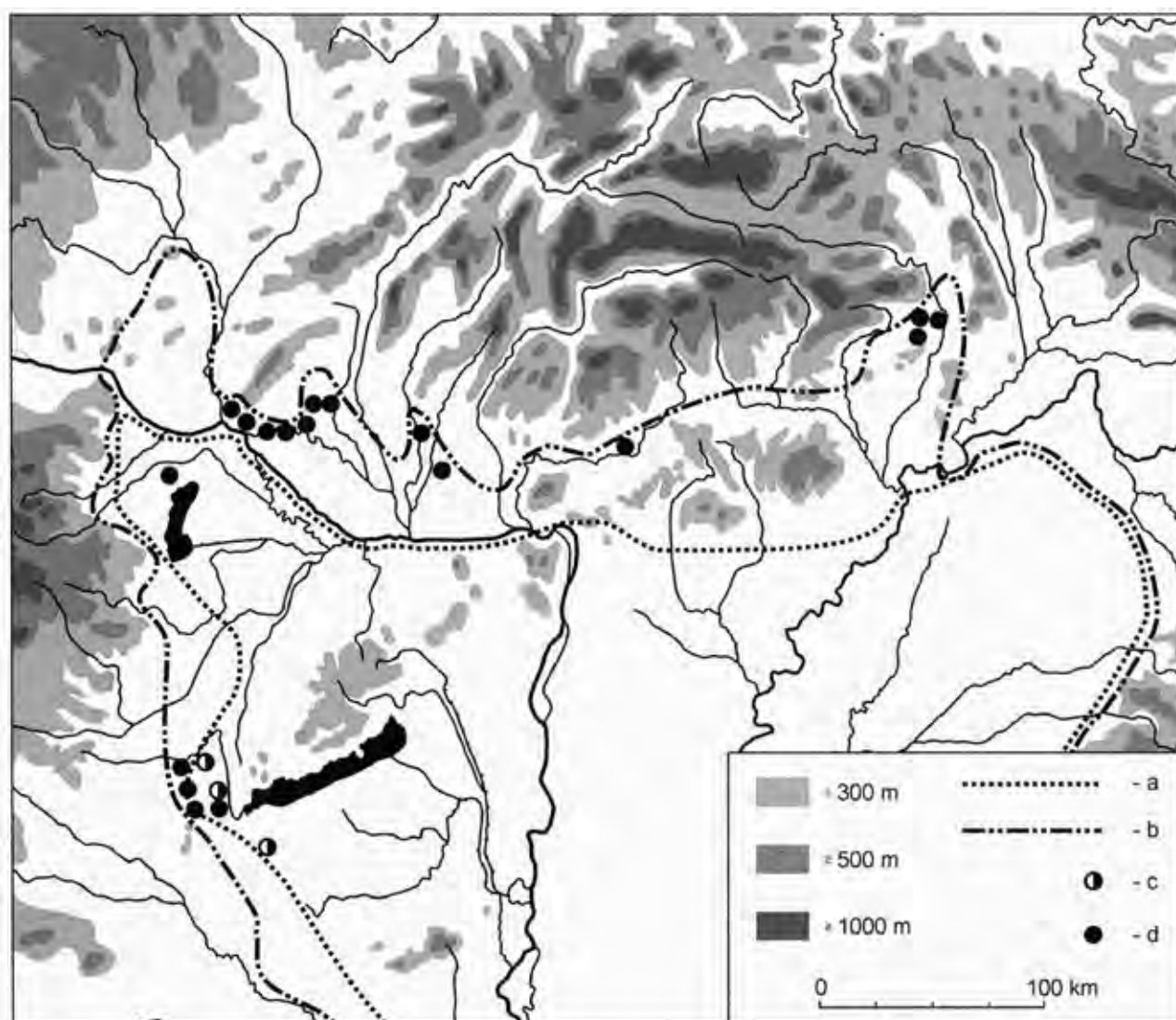
The Avar Khaganate – a power-political hegemon in early mediaeval Central Europe – left huge numbers of finds and findspots in the lowland zones over as good as the whole of the Carpathian Basin (*Szentpéteri 2002*, Map 1). Until recently, archaeological sources were dominated by finds from graves and burial grounds. The number of known cemeteries amounts to almost 2,500 while the number of graves – due to many ambiguities and inaccuracies – is only estimated to be within the range of 60,000–100,000. The immense mass of grave finds is supplemented with an enormous amount of data resulting from the analysis of burial rites.

Currently we also know of numerous settlement localities. These can essentially be divided into two groups of different quality – settlements with archaeologically examined features

or settlements and traces of settlement activities identified by survey. Unlike the graves and burial grounds, however, they do not exhibit any “ethnographic” displays and characteristics which would make us reflect upon their ethnicity.

The huge amount of information on the one hand becomes an objectifying factor in solving the problem, but on the other hand represents a fact considerably limiting our knowledge due to the inability of an individual to embrace it in its complexity. This is maybe also the reason why so far no comprehensive work has been written which would evaluate all of the available categories of archaeological sources.

Dealing with the relationship between the Slavs and the Avars on the basis of archaeological material is particularly complicated. One of the few distinct displays of coexistence of the Avars and the Slavs is represented by bi-ritual burial grounds in peripheral zones of the Carpathian Basin (*Zábojník 2004*). They are found in the northern and western periphery of the Khaganate (**Fig. 2**) but also in Transylvania from where we know them as the Mediaș group (*Turčan 2004*, 359). Based on spatial and chronological analysis of them it is possible to suppose that they resulted from a long-term coexistence of two ethnically and culturally different peoples.



▲ **Fig. 2. Biritual burial grounds in the western and northern periphery of the Khaganate:**

a – boundaries of the so-called Early Avar Khaganate; b – boundaries of the so-called Late Avar Khaganate; c – early Avar bi-ritual graveyards (so-called Pókaszpetk-Zalakomár group); d – biritual graveyards of the middle and late phase of the period of the Avar Khaganate. After Zábojník 2009, Fig. 2.



▲ **Fig. 3. Grave of a richly equipped equestrian.**  
The burial ground at Holiare. After Točík 1968, Fig. 6.

On a narrower territory of Central Europe, the rise of the Avar Khaganate was associated with a whole series of phenomena which can be considered novelties. Among them are, above all, specific features of burial rites. This group comprises the form of burial, design of grave pits, equestrian graves (**Fig. 3**) etc. No less important are the characteristic displays of material culture, above all belt fittings, weapons, personal ornaments, components of horse harness etc. (**Fig. 4**).

The Avars brought full metal stirrups (Zábojník 2009, 53, 54) to Europe. They not only stabilised the position of the rider in saddle but above all enhanced the comfort of horse riding. The Avar rider (**Fig. 5**) could stand up in the stirrups and turn backwards. It is probably not necessary to emphasise the importance of this fact to the velocity and accuracy of shooting, not only in a forward but also in a backward direction.

At the same time, the legs of a rider standing in stirrups acted like a sort of damper, equalising the movements of a galloping horse and thereby enhancing the accuracy of targeting and improving the cadence of shooting. An important factor is the moment when the arrow leaves the bow. This takes place when all four legs of the horse are in the air. At that moment the negative impact of the horse's movement is minimal, which increases the possibility of an accurate hit. Therefore it can be supposed that a saddle equipped with metal stirrups, together with new types of weapons and armour (cutting weapons, penetrative spears, reflex composite bows, lamellar armour), considerably contributed to the military success of the Avar troops, above all in the early phase of their activity on European battlefields.

It is generally accepted that the political decline of the Avar Khaganate was caused by the eastern expansion of the Frankish Empire under Charlemagne. At the end of the 8th century, it was only a question of time when these two neighbouring powers would come into military conflict with one another. The Frankish Empire, encouraged by military success at pacifying the Saxons and wielding considerable military potential, did not hesitate to expand its power to the east. A powerful rival, whose existence had not been immediately endangered until that time, fell victim to this expansion. But it is not only the Frankish military factor which caused the decline of the Khaganate within 15 years. The reasons for its end must be regarded as a complex of terminal illnesses, whose diagnoses can be characterised as follows:

Decentralisation of power structures hindered the mobilisation of all powers capable of military defence of the Khaganate. Exhaustion of economic potential did not enable them to conduct an expensive war for a long time. Internal disintegration of society as a result of different development in individual regions caused the inability to combine various interests. This fact was exacerbated by resurgent ethnic animosity. The society of the Avar Khaganate was not feudalised, so it could not make use of the progressive achievements of this socio-economic system. The process of mass Christianisation, with all its ideological and organisational positives, was absent. A powerful enemy such as the Avar warriors had not met since their arrival in the Carpathian Basin had appeared on the European scene. Avar troops were able to win only one or a handful of battles. They could not achieve strategic victory over a well-organised and numerous enemy because battle tactics, organisation and the equipment of armies had changed in the meantime.

The Khaganate, despite the above-mentioned facts, resisted decline fiercely and for a relatively long time; this is also proved





▲ Fig. 4. Selection of luxury goods.

Belt fittings, personal ornaments and decorative components of horse harness from graves of the period of the Avar Khaganate. Source Archive of IASAS.



by the enormous deployment of Frankish military forces. The residues of the Avarised ethnic substrate on the territory of the Carpathian Basin north of the Danube were gradually incorporated into newly emergent political structures and culturally and ethnically assimilated into a prevailing Slavic environment during the 9th century.

The end of the "Avar Age" is dated in various ways, depending on which criterion is taken into consideration. It is above all Hungarian researchers who base themselves on presumed further development of "Avar" material culture and suppose that the Avars survived the whole 9th century and were later culturally and ethnically assimilated into the ancient Magyar population. The above hypothesis has been criticised above all by "non-Hungarian" historians. Other concepts are based on information provided by literary sources, mainly by the latest ones dealing with the Avars, and date the end of the "Avar Age" deep into the 9th century. Since I am using the term "Period of the Avar Khaganate", absolute dating is based on chronological determination of the existence of this power-political unit, which is delimited by the years 567 and 803.



▲ Fig. 5. An Avar rider shooting a reflex bow.  
After Galuška 1991, 17.

This, of course, does not mean any denial of the existence of an "Avar" or rather "Avarised" ethnic substrate and its culture fading away after 803. It mainly concerns the population of those parts of the Carpathian Basin which were only marginally affected by the events of the Frankish-Avar Wars. Otherwise we would have to rule out, for example, the survival of a Romanised provincial population with so-called Keszthely culture after the Middle Danube Limes and the province of Pannonia had been given up by Rome, or further development of the Slavic population and its culture in the 10th century on territory incorporated into the power sphere of an emergent Hungary etc. In the history of mankind, a similar situation has repeated itself countless times and resulted in essentially two outcomes: The population of a defunct power formation adapts to altered conditions and evolves culturally, more or less independently and distinctively, within the new political structure. Having lost its integrating factor, the society gradually assimilates into a new environment, at first culturally and then probably also biologically.

Since I do not assume that the peoples of the period of the Avar Khaganate were wiped out by genocide, we can maybe take into consideration the second alternative. The assimilation process was probably quite dynamic and this is maybe also why we find almost no other Avar relics than the numerous objects from burial grounds.

The wide-ranging contacts between the Slavic population and the Avar Khaganate induced an acceleration of evolution and helped to establish the basis for further development of Central European territory mainly in the following phase of the Early Middle Ages – the Great Moravian Period.

# ARCHAIC SLAVIC RELIGION

Michal Téra

Not much can be said about the archaic Slavic religion. For a detailed description of this phenomenon we lack relevant sources – especially written ones. Unlike many other traditions, Slavic paganism did not produce its own texts; the Slavs adopted literary culture hand in hand with Christianity. The frequency of historical reports from the neighbours of the Slavs is not sufficient, either – most of the reports written by contemporaneous informers are fragmentary and contain not only contempt for any “pagan” faith but also misapprehension and inaccurately recorded facts. Therefore it is not possible to reconstruct satisfactorily the mythological and ritual system of the ancient religion, its cosmogony or its legal and taboo regulations. Nevertheless, even though scarce, the reports allow us to draw some conclusions which are the results of textual analysis, etymology, comparative religious studies and analysis of archaeological material; therefore I do not claim definitive validity.

The religion of the Old Slavs undoubtedly proceeded from archaic Indo-European culture, so we can find many similarities which link the Slavic environment with other Indo-European peoples in their archaic phase. The Slavs were most affiliated with the Balts, but we also find analogies with the Germanic, Celtic and Old Greek environment. A specific example is represented by the Iranian cultural and linguistic area, which left traces in Old Slavic culture and language and for some time undoubtedly exerted influence upon the Slavic ethnogenesis taking place in East Europe (Toporov 1989). The influence of Finno-Ugric tribes is also possible, and in a later phase, of Turkish-Tartaric peoples, who migrated over East and Central Europe in early mediaeval times.

For the period of Great Moravia we lack any records of the paganism of the Moravian Slavs – all surviving sources about this problem are much younger (Fig. 1). Nevertheless, it can be supposed that the pagan cult was in essence conservative and that 11th and 12th century reports also reflect a much older reality. The archaic Slavic religion undoubtedly defined and explained the whole existing world (*vesь mirь*), its emergence, structure and purpose – so it undoubtedly knew both *cosmology* and *cosmogony*. Regarding the arrangement of the pagan world, it also determined which mutual relationships should dominate human society (*mirь*) – this way it also constituted the archaic law (*pravьda*), from personal matters to social structure and its institutions. This archaic ideology was interpreted by specific authorities and implemented in the social life of the community by a set of rites within the widest spectrum – from family and personal magic to all-tribal rituals.

Slavic paganism knew the world of people and the world of gods. We know only little about the Slavic pantheon; only the

numerous names of old deities from the territory of the East and the West Slavs are preserved, with only vague characteristics or none at all. And yet, we can draw some fundamental conclusions. 1) The names of deities are relatively many in number and it is certainly possible that various names refer to one and the same god. 2) The world of gods was structured, including both dominant and subordinate relationships. 3) Slavic paganism knew deities of various realms: uranic (celestial), solar, telluric (related to the earth), chthonic (ruling the underworld). 4) Slavic paganism knew both active and passive deities. 5) The Slavs had a well-developed mythology, which became the basis for rituals as well as later genres of so-called folk culture: dynastic legends, fairy tales, ritual songs etc.

According to reports related to the Northwest Slavs, the Slavic sphere was familiar with a most powerful deity, who was superordinate to the other gods but passive towards earthly events.<sup>1</sup> This deity occurs in later narratives from the Slavic collection about the creation of the world, which tells about the first powerful god, who is kind and filled with the power of creation, thanks to which he creates the world and people. He has a partner who is not endowed with the power to create, but is active and often directs and leads the act of creation. In later times this myth, which was widespread not only in the Slavic environment but also over the whole of northern Eurasia and the Far East, was Christianised and the above two deities were superseded by God and the Devil. According to this legend, at the beginning of time there was only a cosmic ocean, on which both of the deities were swimming as water birds. After the creation of this world, the supreme god and creator ascended to heaven and cared only little for earthly matters (Eliade 1997, 72–112).



▲ Fig. 1. Statue of pagan god in Kiev. Liking illustrator Radziwill Chronicle – 15th century. Library of the Academy of Sciences in Saint Petersburg.



The so-called second-generation gods are more active. They were associated with various natural phenomena – the sun, earth, storms and the animal kingdom among others. This connection, however, does not represent the main characteristic of these deities, but rather an attribute which is reflected in cult or mythology. It is because these gods namely fulfil the fundamental “social” functions: they always guarantee one of the aspects of human life or society. Sacrificial sites and seasonal feasts were consecrated and sacrifices were offered to them; they are also the main objects of cults. It can also be supposed that the pantheon of the pagan Slavs reflected the ancient Indo-European trifunctional ideology, which divided the world of gods and people into three layers – the field of law, religion and magic, the field of warfare, and the field of fertility and prosperity (Dumézil 2001).

Among the most frequently mentioned deities is the god of thunder, whom we know under the name of *Perun*. He was probably one of the most important Slavic deities and is also most often mentioned in sources; 6th century sources already report his veneration (Procopius of Caesarea, translation by Beneš 1985). His name mainly appears in the East Slavic area, but under the same name he was probably known to the West and South Slavs as well, even though the possibility cannot be excluded that he was also known by other names (*Svarožic*, *Svantovit*, *Rugjevit*). His cult was undoubtedly popular with warriors and thereby also among the ruling elite of Slavic society (Fig. 2). However, he was also important to the mass of peasants, thanks to whom his veneration survived Christianisation in the agrarian environment by him being dressed up as a Christian and being given a Christian name (e.g. the Archangel Michael, Prophet Elijah etc.). An undoubtedly deep respect was paid to the earth, which in the Slavic (but also generally Indo-European) environment represented the maternal and female principle, with all its positive and negative connotations (Eliade 1998, 140–142). The earth was associated with powerful female deities, who were not many in number in the Slavic area (as well as with other Indo-Europeans), but were all the more significant. From available sources we only know of two names of female goddesses – for the East Slavs it was *Mokoš* (this name, however, occurs over the whole of the Slavic area) and in the sphere of the Northwest Slavs the theonym of *Siva* (maybe *Živa*) survived. The great reverence this goddess enjoyed, however, is best documented by later Christianised folk culture with an immensely strong cult of the Mother of God, which instead of Christian characteristics exhibited purely pagan attributes (Ivanov – Toporov 1984, 175–197).

◀ Fig. 2. So-called Svantovit found on the island of Wolin. In today’s northwestern Poland – 9th century. Regional Museum in Wolin.



▲ **Fig. 3. So-called Twins.**

Wooden idol found in the former Slavic stronghold on a Fishing island (Fischerinsel) in Tollensee lake in Mecklenburg, 11th/12th century. Regional Museum in Neubrandenburg.

An important role was undoubtedly played by chthonic deities – that is, rulers of the underworld and magic. The chthonic realm has often been associated with many symbols – the colour black, a world beyond the sea or a subterranean world, the animal kingdom and the forest as a place where the world of the living meets the world of the dead and where natural wilderness and chaos are dominant instead of a well-arranged human society. Available sources contain some theonyms which especially evoke this mythical space – *Černoboh* (Black God), *Tiarnoglofi* (*Černohlav*, i.e. “Blackhead”), *Triglav* (Three-headed) or the most popular name of *Veles* (*Volos* in the East Slavic variant). It is, of course, certainly possible that all these names designate only a single deity – the Lord of the Underworld and Magic. In the later folk culture of Slavic peoples, there are several figures with distinct attributes of magic and the underworld – *wolf herder*, *Saint George*,

*Saint Nicholas* and many others (Mencej 2001), who bear in themselves both positive and negative traits. The most typical heir to this underworld deity, however, is the Slavic *Chort* (devil) – a being from the underworld with animal traits, which masters magic, communicates with people and can be both harmful and beneficial. The chthonic realm, however, was also a magic landscape visited by Slavic ecstasies – magicians, sorcerers and various types of Slavic shamans, whose activities are documented in folk culture by either fairytale narratives or ethnographic records. We also sporadically learn about shamanic techniques from early mediaeval sources.

Divine figures were also undoubtedly associated with the sphere of fertility. In Slavic rituals there is a divine figure who has been buried and reanimated again and is associated with human and animal fertility and the fruitfulness of fields, for example the East Slavic *Jarilo* (Ivanov – Toporov 1974, 181). From early mediaeval sources we know of the *Jarovit* deity, who was identified in a very similar way with generative and life-giving power,<sup>2</sup> as follows from the root of the name: *jar-* = “full of male (generative) power”. Fertility in the West Slavic area was attributed to the mythical founders of dynasties (Přemysl and Piast the ploughmen, the agrarian duke of the Slavic Carantanians) and in the East Slavic environment to one of the “older” heroes of the Old Russian *bylinas* – Mikula Seljanin. There is a real possibility that all these figures in archaic Slavic culture – deities as well as heroes – stemmed from only a single prototype.

The world of people was organised in a similar way to the world of gods. Here the old Indo-European trifunctional ideology was also probably reflected to a certain degree – the division of society into the spheres of magic and law, warfare, and fertility and prosperity. Indications of this division of Slavic society are reflected in both literary texts related to the Early Middle Ages (dynastic legends in the Polish and the Bohemian area, the enstoolment ritual of the Carantanian dukes) and in direct references in 11th and 12th century sources, which



▲ **Fig. 4. Reconstruction of Slavic temple in Groß Raden.** Mecklenburg; by Ewald Schuldt excavations, 9th/10th century.



suggestively divide society into warriors (retinue members, equestrians, *viteže*), peasants (*smerdi*, *smardi*, *smurdi*) and representatives of the ecclesiastical or legal sphere (e.g. *župani*; Brankač 1964). The whole of society was governed by its representative – the duke. It was originally a sacred institution (similar to Latin *rex*, Indian *raja*, or Scandinavian *konungr*), which was supposed to guarantee prosperity, safety and justice for the whole community and was responsible for them especially when faced with the gods. In the Early Middle Ages, however, it was already a function of power which was tightly linked with the warrior class retaining many sacred attributes. Among them was chiefly the way of installing the duke into his office – the enstoolment. This action was carried out as a specific ritual where the duke was seated on a stone stool and thereby attached on a sacred level to the divine sphere. Such a ritual we know of from the Carantanian and Bohemian area (Grafenauer 1952), but it can also be supposed in other Slavic regions because it is indicated by the term for the residential town of the duke in Slavic languages – *stolica*.

The cult in pre-Christian times was organised at all levels of society. Emergent Slavic states adopted cults which would have been performed by the then political and cultural units – peoples (or *gentes*) – until they began to adopt Christianity. In the Slavic area cultic centres emerged – mostly at regional and tribal, but later also at supra-tribal, level (Fig. 4). A specific trait in the Slavic area was the rise of special sacred strongholds, which played the role of religious as well as social centres of a region or tribe (Rusanova 1997, 47–62). For example, the cultic centre of the Bohemian people became the area of what is now Prague Castle; for the Polani tribe it was Lech Hill in present-day Gniezno (Kurnatowska 2002, 60–70); for the Veletian tribal union it was Rethra, and for the Rani from Rügen it was Arkona or Korenitz. Many of these sacrificial sites or sacred strongholds have been archaeologically documented in East Europe. Sacred compounds served not only as sacrificial sites but also as assembly points, places for ducal enstoolment, burials or sacrificial feasts. Apart from the territory of the Northwest Slavs we do not have any evidence of sanctuaries; most rituals took place in the open air.

The central parts of sacrificial sites were represented by places with statues of pagan gods. In each sacrificial site there could have been either a single or multiple statues; in the latter case, however, one of them was always of central significance. Slavic idols were usually wooden, made very skilfully (their realistic appearance is documented in contemporaneous sources) and often decorated with precious metals (Stupecki 1993, 33–69). Contact with them was most probably regulated by taboo orders and they were also characterised by other attributes (Fig. 2–3, 5). They were given the spoils of war, weapons, and



▲ Fig. 5. A deity wooden head found in Jankow. About 12th century. Archaeology Museum in Poznan – original stolen by Germans during WW2.

had special servants at their disposal. Divination (prophetic) horses belonged to sanctuaries in the area of the Northwest Slavs, and the Svantovit deity in the Arkona sanctuary on the island of Rügen had his own retinue. Sacrifices were often made in the presence of idols and at sacrificial sites. From archaeological finds we know that the main offering which was consumed in sacrificial feasts was domestic animals. Horses were also frequently offered. The Slavs, however, also practised human sacrifice until as late as the end of the Early Middle Ages, which is documented by both literary sources and archaeological finds.<sup>3</sup> Among the sacrificed humans there were also small children. That is why sacrificial sites and above all the idols were the first to be destroyed after the adoption of Christianity (Timošćuk 1989, 74–83).



For an organised cult we suppose a well-organised class of priests, which is documented by written sources only in the area of the Northwest Slavs again. Specialists in the sacred sphere, however, probably existed throughout the Slavic area and were divided into several groups. Among them there were probably specialists in sacrifices and rituals, and also priests specialised in prophecies and practical magic. Specialists in prophetic and ecstatic practices also long survived Christianisation and became an integral part of

Slavic folk culture. This group also comprised specialists in texts, the collection of which was probably quite voluminous and included ritual chants, invocations and prayers as well as extensive epic and mythological texts. A part of this legacy is preserved in folklore as well as in the South Slavic and East Slavic epic cycles (**Fig. 6**). Mythological and epic themes also found their way into early mediaeval texts in the Slavic environment and became the foundations of dynastic and ethnogenetic legends, which include the earliest historical



▲ **Fig. 6. Bulgarian ritual mask, so-called derviši.**  
Paradžiško 1980. Photo N. Kapčeva.

texts from the Slavic area (e.g. the Přemyslid legend). Bearers of archaic tradition are already mentioned in early mediaeval texts. From the Old Russian environment we know of magicians and shamans, the so-called *volchvi*, who retained their strong influence in a poorly Christianised environment and practised their customs long after the official adoption of baptism (Szymański 1977, 567–568).

Slavic religion also governed the yearly cycle which was determined by feasts and celebrations. In the Slavic area the archaic agrarian calendar was mainly applied, which divided the year into two main periods – winter and summer. According to these periods pagan feasts were also determined, which followed the solar cycle (Tolstoj 2003, 27–36). The highlight of the archaic year was represented by the summer solstice, which was celebrated in expectation of the highest activity of the generative powers in nature. The related feast appealed to generative deities associated with the symbolism of death and rebirth. During these feasts people therefore often buried, burned or drowned a ritual figure, simulated death and rebirth, and the whole community underwent purification by fire and water. The generative powers of the earth were also woken and the world was “rejuvenated” by being reborn from chaos. This chaos was symbolised by the break-up of all existing rules so that these all-night feasts were accompanied by orgiastic practices and extensive sexual freedom. After Christianisation, these feasts were associated with the Feast Day of the Nativity of John the Baptist and had a considerably loose character right up to modern times. The counterpart to the summer solstice was the winter solstice which, in contrast, was perceived as the darkest and most dangerous part of the year when the world of the living comes into close contact with the world of the dead. Most active at this time was the so-called impure power, which may have appeared in the form of sorcerers, witches, demons, werewolves or vampires. It was also possible to communicate with the dead, who returned to the world and were symbolised by masked carollers. The connection to the chthonic sphere then gave the ability to make prophecies and practise various kinds of magic. After Christianisation, all these customs were united with Christmas. The equinoxes were also of crucial importance for the religious perception of time. The autumnal equinox was mostly associated with the celebration of harvested crops. From the West Slavic area we have evidence of a feast held in the sanctuary of Svantovit on the island of Rügen, associated with divination of the harvest for the next year and boisterous alcoholic merrymaking. Similar harvest festivities are known from the entire Slavic area; in Bohemia after Christianisation they were associated with the Saint Wenceslas feast. The spring equinox was celebrated as the arrival of generative powers and the departure of winter.

A ritual figure was destroyed, who probably represented the original human sacrifice for luck in the next vegetative period. These sacrificed humans were probably young females, who may have returned to the earth in the following spring months as fairies and water nymphs (Vinogradova 2000). In spring time it was also possible to communicate with the dead, who appeared and came to visit people – they were later symbolised by masked processions. But the main action was the ritual waking of the generative powers of soil, trees and also humans (this is where the Bohemian custom of *pomlázka* comes from = whipping people or livestock with braided pussy-willow twigs to “make younger”/pomladit). After the adoption of Christianity, the spring equinoctial festivities were disrupted by a long Lenten period so that we find echoes of them both at the beginning of Lent (e.g. Shrovetide customs) and at its end among Easter traditions (Klejn 2004).

The sacred sphere penetrated not only into the yearly cycle but also into the cycle of life. The landmarks of life – birth, marriage, death, or the accession to adulthood – were regulated. Relics of old rituals survived Christianisation by hundreds of years. The archaic religion was most distinctly reflected in burial rites, which are the easiest to document as well. The Slavs originally cremated their dead and buried the ashes either in urnfields or in burial mounds. The dead individuals were incinerated together with their belongings (or at least a part of them), the remains of the funerary feast, and according to many sources also with their own wife or maidservant. The bereaved then performed ritual plays at the burial mound, which also included orgiastic elements. The dead were seen out in a way that was supposed to prevent them from returning to their relatives – the belief in vampires and other revenants was very strong in the Slavic environment and anyone who did not undergo a proper funeral ceremony (i.e. cremation) may have become one. The question of the afterlife was probably not sufficiently clearly defined in the Slavic environment. A belief in the reincarnation of souls undoubtedly existed (Veleckaja 2003, 12–18), as did a belief in the existence of the underworld, in which the dead joined their ancestors; or they ascended to the heavens in the smoke from their funeral pyre (Lutovský 1996a, 21–22). More concrete ideas, however, were overlaid by Christianity with its sophisticated teaching of the afterlife and eschatology. Nevertheless, the Slavs assumed that a whole life, its content and length, could be determined by the sacred sphere – this is documented by the widespread belief in the spirits of destiny (*sudičky, rojenice, sudenice*), which is also appropriate to other Indo-European peoples.

So, if we would like to get an idea of Moravian society at the time of Christianisation, then it would be a community

who still lived and practised the archaic religion. In Moravia, thus, there were undoubtedly sacred centres where people performed sacrifices (including human ones), made prophecies related to both private and public matters, and the whole of society was bound by archaic customary law. Society was governed by a duke who was mainly a sacred figure guaranteeing fertility, prosperity, safety and justice for the whole of society. Most of the deceased were still cremated, even though inhumation had already spread among the Central European Slavs in the pre-Christian period. The focal point of the cult was a polytheistic pantheon led by several gods representing the main components of society – magicians, warriors and peasants. Besides the ruling warrior class and peasants there was also a class of specialists in the archaic cult, who were at the same time experts in magic as well as in mythological and ritual texts. Fundamental events – birth, death, marriage, initiation into adulthood, military campaigns, the enstoolment of a duke and the prevention of a disaster – were accompanied by archaic rituals. Within the archaic culture it was possible to perform human as well as animal sacrifices, practise polygamy and trial by ordeal, exercise blood revenge or liquidate those who were thought to be harmful to others with their magic. The whole year was divided by regular feasts, whose main purpose was to secure safety and prosperity for the whole of society. The adoption of Christianity thus represented a tremendous cultural shock. Society was torn out of its ancient customs, and its view of the origins, purpose and course of the world was entirely changed. In a part of society, the change of faith undoubtedly caused aversion and fear that the gods would take revenge for the offence and that the world would collapse without the old rituals. It is therefore in no way surprising that archaic religion survived long and its elements were also adopted by the Christianised society and have been maintained until today. The archaic unity of everyday life and the sacred sphere also meant that the incoming Church had to set up legal regulations for the functioning of society and supersede the sacredness which has originally been provided by paganism. The connection between ecclesiastical and worldly power was thus already established in the very bud of Christianisation.

# FROM THE MORAVIANS TO GREAT MORAVIA AND BACK AGAIN

Martin Wihoda

It is not long ago that Great Moravia was considered “the first common state” of the Czechs and Slovaks. Even though much has changed since the break-up of the federation on January 1st, 1993, the Mojmirid story has not yet been able to rid itself of the load of revivalistic and national-historical tales (*Galuška 2007a*, 50–62). Embarrassment is already related with the name itself, which per se implicates that Moravia, accompanied and at the same time embellished with the attribute “Great”, was a splendid example of a state-forming entity. The jubilation also drowned out the fact that nobody has so far been able to classify either the social structures or their mutual relationships (*Macháček 2010*). And it is still unknown how the Mojmirids legitimised their reign over the Moravians, who undoubtedly had their own elites partly independent from the ducal dynasty, because they remained both subject and object of Central European development, even after the break-up of Great Moravia. It is also worth remarking that the term Great Moravia (μεγάλη Μοραβία) was not used by Constantine Porphyrogenetos earlier than dozens of years after its decline (*Havlík, ed. 1969a*, 13, 383–384) and that by this term he may have meant not only the famous Moravia, but also the defunct or simply distant one. But even if it were true that a powerful 9th century empire arose on the lower reaches of the river Morava, it is hard to imagine that it was “Great” from the very beginning to the end. This means we will need to explore terminology. Great Moravia can indisputably be declared a state, but who established it? Mojmir, Rostislav, or maybe Svatopluk? And provided that the “state of the Moravians” was established by Svatopluk, what was it preceded by? Within the limits of the possible we will thus distinguish between a demesne which was ruled hereditarily by the Mojmirids and probably directly, a domain, or wider demesne, which was represented by the Morava river basin with the subordinate Olomouc and Nitra regions, and an empire, which was reigned over by Svatopluk and consisted of a centre and several freely and often only tributarily dependent peripheries.

Strictly speaking, the supposed entry of the Moravians into history is dated to the year 822, when their envoys attended the Assembly of Frankfurt (*Kurze, ed. 1895*, 159). However, the origins of their history maybe overlap with the break-up of the Avar Khaganate, which was induced by military actions by Charlemagne – though the honourable role was evidently played by the Slavs, who captured the legendary khagan’s treasure in 795. From the year 805 there comes a report that the Avar ruler (styled “kapkhan”) appealed to the emperor for new settlements under the protection of the Franks, because the old ones were being threatened by Slavic hostility. Six years later some Slavic dukes from the Danube area set off to the Emperor who was seated far away in Aachen (*Pohl 1988*).

While the plundering of the Avar Hring in 795 has been associated with Carantanian Slavs (*Kurze, ed. 1895*, 98), the other two reports admit that the writer may have meant the peoples (*gentes*) who controlled the northern bank of the river Danube and the wide valleys along the river Morava. Here, on the external border of the Khaganate, even though in its shadow, well-armed mounted forces had settled, who may have been a serious threat to the weakened Avars. Also at that time, in Moravia there arose several power centres, among them chiefly Valy u Mikulčic, St George’s Island near Staré Město, and Olomouc more to the north. The character of these changes in general was recorded by Frankish scriptoria. In 811, the dukes of the Danubian Slavs (*duces Sclavorum*) appeared in Aachen (*Kurze, ed. 1895*, 135); in 817 they were subordinated by a partial charter to the East Frankish King Louis the German (*Boretius, ed. 1883*, 2, 270–273, No. 136), and in 822 the Franks took into account that the Moravians had settled in the Middle Danube region and classed them with the “eastern Slavs” (*orientalium Sclavorum*), besides the Obodrites, Sorbs, Veletes, Bohemians and Pannonian Avars (*Kurze, ed. 1895*, 159).

Moravians are also mentioned in a brief enumeration of settlements and lands adjacent to Francia on the northern side of the Danube, which Louis the German had allowed to be set up before the mid-9th century. The interpretation of entries concerning Moravia is unfortunately not entirely clear because the original structure was erased by later amendments. The Moravians (*Marharii*) with 11 civic communities (*civitates*) appear both behind the Bohemians and before the Bulgarians, and in an enigmatic comment, that “there is also a people named the Merehani” (*est populus, quem vocant Merehanos*), they are said to reign over thirty settlements. “Merehani” may have meant the Slavs of Nitra, but it also may have been a later parenthesis reflecting the upswing of the Moravians under Svatopluk in 870–894 (*Horák – Trávníček, ed. 1956*, 2).

Also worth consideration is a treatise from around the year 871, in which the Metropolitan of Salzburg advocated the missionary merits of his see among the Bavarians and Slavs. He wrote that the Frankish Count Ratbod granted refuge to a certain Pribina (*quidam Priwina*), who built a church on his property (*in sua proprietate*) in a place called Nitra (*loco vocavit Nitrava*) and afterwards was expelled by the Moravian Duke Mojmir (*a Moimaro duce Maravorum*). As Adalwin wrote, Pribina’s church was consecrated by Archbishop Adalram, which dates our storyline to approximately between the years 828 and 833 (*Havlík, ed. 1969*, 10, 310–311; 11, 312; *Třeštík 2001*, 112–126). Moreover, the Salzburg sources also mentioned a dynasty to which the Bavarian bishops in the year 900 (*Havlík, ed. 1969b*, 239) disrespectfully remarked

that these Mojmirids, that is Slavs, had descended from disbelievers and pagans (*Moimarii vero Sclavi a paganis et ethnicis venerunt*).

The Bavarians were right in a way. Mojmir adopted Christianity during his reign, about which we essentially only know that it ended with Frankish intervention in 846, when Mojmir was superseded by his nephew Rostislav by the will of Louis the German (*Kurze, ed. 1891, 36*). Almost the same scenario took place again in 869–871. First the Franks devastated the domain of Duke Rostislav and his nephew Svatopluk (869), and when Svatopluk together with his land (*una cum regno, quod tenebat*) submitted to Carloman, Rostislav attempted to assassinate him. He himself, however, fell into Svatopluk's trap, was taken captive and extradited to Bavaria, sentenced to death and eventually only blinded after being pardoned by Louis the German. Rostislav then died in a monastery (870). Svatopluk was also imprisoned, and during his absence he was briefly (871) and involuntarily deputed by his relative (*propinquus*), the priest (*presbyter*) Slavomir (*Kurze, ed. 1891, 67–73; Waitz, ed. 1883, 109, 114, 117; Simson, ed. 1909, 28, 30–31*). Svatopluk then reigned over the Moravians until his death in 894 and, as it seems, passed the sceptre over to his sons, Mojmir and maybe the younger Svatopluk (*Kurze, ed. 1891, 125; 131–132*), with whom the whole dynasty died out at the beginning of the 10th century. The Franks became reconciled to the privileged status of the Mojmirid dukes, even though their idea of the administration of Moravian affairs was maybe different. In the year 900 Theotmar, the Archbishop of Salzburg, complained in his letter to Pope John IX that the Moravians had revolted against Frankish power and took pride in their being separated from the Frankish commonwealth (*Havlik, ed. 1969b, 232–244, č. 109*).

Frankish interventions were formerly interpreted as arbitrary acts or unimportant propaganda (*Havlik 1963, 140*). Contemporaneous sources, however, agree with each other that the Carolingians considered Moravia a part of their empire (*Koller 1970, 33–45*). In this way we can also understand the frontier clashes as well as expensive wars which ought to have brought Duke Rostislav to heel. In 852 he took care of Albgis, a Frankish nobleman who had abducted Patrick's wife to the "farthermost regions of the kingdom" (*ad extremos fines regni*), to the Moravian peoples (*Boretius – Krause, ed. 1897, 189*). Protracted unrest required the personal intervention of Louis the German in 855, but Rostislav is said to have withdrawn behind a solid defensive wall (*vallo munitum*). After the retreat of Frankish troops he crossed the river Danube and plundered the neighbouring territories (*Kurze, ed. 1891, 45–46*). Frankish influence was revived after 864 (*Kurze, ed. 1891, 62*), when Rostislav was caught unawares in

a fortress named Devín (*in quadam civitate, quae lingua gentis illius Dowina dicitur*). He had to deliver hostages and then and there take an oath of loyalty for himself and for his great men (*cum universis optimatibus suis fidem se cunctis diebus regi servaturum esse iuramento firmavit*). In the midsummer of 869, Moravia became a battlefield again. While the main Frankish forces were plundering the land and penetrating as far as the seat of Rostislav – an indescribable and unprecedented fortress (*in illam ineffabilem Rastizi munitioem et omnibus antiquissimis dissimilem*) – another army was plundering the land (*regnum*) of Rostislav's nephew Svatopluk (*Kurze, ed. 1891, 67–69*). A year later, Rostislav was taken captive by the Franks and sentenced to death by common verdict of the Franks, Bavarians and Slavs. A special pardon by Louis the German made him a blind man, who had to spend the rest of his life in a monastery, which was the usual penalty for traitors and perjurers. Meanwhile the son of Louis, Carloman, seized Moravia with all its settlements and castles (*civitates et castella*) and captured the treasure (*ditatusque gaza regia*) of the Mojmirid dukes (*Kurze, ed. 1891, 70–71*). However, the mark of Cain was also set upon Svatopluk, who was accused of perfidy (*infidelitatis crimine*) in 871 and imprisoned. Administration of the land passed over into the hands of the Frankish counts Engelschalk and William. An uprising broke out immediately thereafter, and the Moravians, led by the pardoned Svatopluk, managed to catch the Bavarians unawares at the gates of the old seat of Rostislav (*urbem antiquum Rastizi*). Conditions thus returned to those of the time before 869 (*Kurze, ed. 1891, 73–74*).

The re-established Moravian ruler Svatopluk delivered several bitter defeats to the Franks. He was also searching for a way to reconciliation, so that in 873 he sent to the Emperor an Alaman named Berethram, who had originally been taken captive in Moravia and was now supposed to put forth a proposal for the reconciliation of disputes (*Kurze, ed. 1891, 78*). A year later, Louis the German led negotiations with priest John of Venice (*Havlik 1968, 80–88*), who allegedly announced under oath (*sacramento firmabat*) that the Moravians were prepared to take an oath of loyalty and pay the required tribute (*Kurze, ed. 1891, 83*). The usual commitments of loyalty (*homo, sicut mos est, per manus imperatoris efficitur, contestatus illi fidelitatem iuramento*) were also confirmed by Svatopluk on Mount Comiano near Tulln, where he met Charles III in 884 (*Kurze, ed. 1891, 113*). As is also evident from an 891 letter, in which Margrave Aribio reported to the Frankish King Arnulf about the establishment of collection points after an assembly of all Moravians (*omnes Marahoni*), Svatopluk did not refuse to pay tribute (*Schwarzmaier 1972, 57*). Ceremonial oaths (*iuramento firmatum est*) were taken in a 901 court assembly in Regensburg, where the envoys of Mojmir II concluded



peace with the Bavarians (*Kurze, ed. 1891, 135*). From this act it is evident that vassal loyalty and payment of tributes determined the status of Moravia under the Mojmirids and its relationship to Francia until its break-up (*Steinhübel 2006, 144–158*).

However, where did the well-armed Moravian forces come from, which were able to resist Frankish pressure and, during the campaigns to Pannonia in 884, allegedly passed by a place from dawn till dusk (*Kurze, ed. 1891, 112*)? From various scattered reports it is known that the Mojmirids did not make decisions independently, but searched among other dukes or noble retainers for counsel on serious matters. Rostislav was allegedly acting in accordance with the “dukes and Moravians” when he appealed to Constantinople for missionaries (*Večerka, ed. 1967, 98*). And in 864 (*Kurze, ed. 1891, 62*), Louis the German made the duke and all his great men (*cum universis optimatibus*) take an oath of loyalty. Twenty years later Emperor Charles III met not only Svatopluk but also his dukes (*cum principibus suis*), and the voice of great men (*omnes primates*) also resounded in 901, when the Moravians and Bavarians took an oath of peace (*Kurze, ed. 1891, 135*). The same is also contained in the curial correspondence, which reveals that in the year 880 a certain “*Semisisen*” led negotiations in Rome and communicated to Pope John VIII that Svatopluk and his people had decided to apply for the patronage of St Peter (*Havlík, ed. 1969b, 197–208, No. 90*). Curial protection was also granted to Svatopluk and all his people by Pope Stephen V five years later (*Havlík, ed. 1969b, 215–225, No. 101*), and a letter by Margrave Aribo indicates that public matters were discussed in an assembly of the Moravians (*Schwarzmaier 1972, 57*).

This brief enumeration unfortunately confirms that the Carolingian scriptoria followed the social structure of Moravian society from a respectful distance. Because the legal texts translated in Moravia (?) adhered to Byzantine originals and the occasional notes by Arabian or Jewish merchants only offer narrow cut-outs of historic reality, literary sources become only a starting point for any generally conceived considerations (*Graus 1966, 133–219; Havlík 1978; 1980, 1–39*). Moreover, partial reports refer to the situation which existed at the end of the life of Duke Rostislav and his successor Svatopluk and therefore it is disputable to what extent their testimony can be related to the 1st half of the 9th century. One piece of evidence might be the fact that the main seats of the Mojmirids were not significantly fortified until the end of Rostislav’s reign (*Procházka 2009*). This could also correspond to an AD 869 comment by the Annalist of Fulda that the Franks penetrated to the “unprecedented” fortress of Rostislav (*Kurze, ed. 1891, 69*). But perhaps we

will be committing no mistake by assuming that old family clans retained some public influence. The sumptuous funerary equipment, apart from a few exceptions not exactly datable, most probably demonstrated the social status of its owners within the still fragile power structures (*Klanica 2005, 35–47; Ungerman 2005, 209–224*). A key to more generally conceived considerations may also be the age-specific spurs, axes and sets of belt fittings in children’s graves, which may refer to the hereditary “nobleness” of the deceased individuals (*Klápště 2005, 20–34*).

The graves of warriors with specific funerary equipment comprising rare winged spearheads or their imitations allow for another explanation. They might give evidence of the symbolic distribution of monarchic power from the centre to rural areas and to peripheral or tributary regions (*Kouřil 2005, 67–99; 2004, 55–74*). The assemblage of objects with symbolic meaning also comprises swords (*Košta 2005, 157–191*) and decorative spurs and equestrian equipment, because according to an anonymous Arab report in the transcription by Ibn Rusta, horses, strap-ends from precious and non-ferrous metals, as well as gold, silver and bronze jewellery, were only owned by the highborn (*Hrbek, ed. 1969a, 346–347*). Not all valuables must have come from ducal gifts. However, since the *Annals of Fulda* mentioned a treasure which was allegedly captured in 870 by Carloman, the son of Louis (*Annales Kurze, ed. 1891, 71*), it is certainly possible that the Mojmirids at least in part followed Avar traditions and, the same way as once the khagans had, made treasure a sort of sacred keystone of the community under their reign (*Pohl 1988*).

Today we can only estimate how many warriors fought under the banners of the Moravian dukes, how many of them were of noble descent, and how many came from the old families who were resident in individual manors (*Ruttikay 2005, 225–254; Kouřil 2009, 359–376*). We should rather pose the question of how the Mojmirid domain and empire were administered. Were they governed by “župans” (*s.w.t.dž*), who are mentioned in an anonymous Arabian report (*Hrbek, ed. 1969a, 347*), or did the Mojmirids rely on local dukes and noblemen, whose loyalty they purchased in exchange for lavish gifts? The origins of the dynasty also remain unclear, whose connection to the land was so strong that the Moravians elected the priest Slavomír ruler only because he was related to the imprisoned Duke Svatopluk (*Kurze, ed. 1891, 73*).

Our idea about the appearance of the centre is better founded. The conspicuous quantity of gold and silver jewellery and decorative components of heavy equestrian equipment and armament indicates that the area along the river Morava between Pohansko u Břeclavi, Mikulčice and Staré Město was

particularly important. Here must be sought the indescribable and unprecedented fortress of Rostislav. The borderline of a narrower Mojmirid demesne probably ran along the Danube, further across the Dyje and through St Hippolytus' Stronghold to Staré Zámky u Líšně, passed through the Vyškov Gate in the north, continued from there through the Morava valleys and the Carpathians to the east and came back along the river Váh to the Danube. Beyond the hereditary demesne were the Nitra and Olomouc regions which, however, were considered integral parts of the ducal domain, which Svatopluk surrounded with a wreath of tributary peoples. From which source, however, arose the power of the Mojmirid dukes and why did it vanish so quickly, almost without a trace, from the focal point of scriptoria?

Leaving aside the popular story of the betrayal and fall of the "Moravian Kingdom" (*Wihoda 2008*, 129–136; *2010*, 11–14; 75–81), a clue may be hidden in the valuables which gave Mojmirid Moravia the attribute of having "shone with gold". But where did all the precious gold and silver jewellery for local customers come from, and how is it possible that on the river Morava there arose settlements whose extent and wealth did not have many parallels in Slavic Europe, since the Moravians did not control any important deposit of precious metals and their incomes were constantly burdened with tributes to Francia? All necessary things could have been obtained during military campaigns, but the Moravians were not usually able to penetrate into the flourishing regions of southern or western Europe and had to content themselves mostly with what their closest neighbours could modestly offer. Apart from booty they could only take advantage of the "Moravian market" (*ad mercatum Marahorum*) attended by merchants with articles in demand, which was mentioned in the *Rafelstetten tax ordinance* (*Havlík, ed. 1971b*, 8, 119; *Mitterauer 1980*, 235–263).

An anonymous Arabian report relates that Moravian markets took place on three days in a month, in a place called *Dž.r.wáb* (*Hrbek, ed. 1969a*, 347; *Třeštík 2000*, 65–67). Moravia under the Mojmirids, however, did not know coins or, more exactly, did not use coins in domestic circulation, so that exchange must have abided by some other rules, most probably by oral agreement between sellers and buyers. And what was the article of exchange? The Moravians were interested in precious metals, weapons, amber, glass and valuable fabrics. Another supply, much more modest, most probably included livestock, honey, wax, furs, grain (?) and maybe also iron ingots (?). The most valuable item may have been represented by slaves, who were negotiated at Rafelstetten, even though the extent of trade in human misfortune remains hidden behind the curtain of time (*Henning 1992*, 403–426; *Galuška 2003*, 75–86).

*The Life of St Naum* relates that the disciples of Methodius were sold to Jews and then taken away to Venice (*Večerka, ed. 1967a*, 178; *Leciewicz 2001*, 257–266), which indicates that the "Moravian market" was linked with the Amber Road, whose course has recently been described by Michael McCormick. From finds of Arabian and Byzantine coins he inferred that the caravans of merchants travelled from the Adriatic area to the late antique Carnuntum on the Danube and from there further to the north or west (*McCormick 2002*, 171–180). The strongpoints at Devín and Bratislava, where the trade route entered the territory of the Moravians, and the location of the main Mojmirid settlements on the lower reaches of the river Morava, give evidence that it must have been a connecting line of major importance (*Štefan 2011*, 41–43). With this we come back to the question of what made the merchants travel to regions with "rude manners" which were situated at the very edge of the Frankish Empire? A little is revealed in the *Rafelstetten tax ordinance*, which regulated the conditions of trade on the Danube around the year 904. In this connection it was ordered that merchants sailing to the "Moravian market" ought to have paid duty in the amount of one solidus of their ship and the value of freight. The last paragraph reveals that Jews and other merchants were obliged to pay duty on slaves and other articles to the king (*Havlík, ed. 1971b*, 9, 119; *Koller 1995*, 283–295; *Hardt 2007*, 103–120), but it is not clear what the counter-value was. Was it perhaps coins, whose melting and transformation into Great Moravian jewellery remains a tempting hypothesis, or gold ingots, hack-silver (*Hårdh 2002*, 181–193), utility objects or rare spices? And which place did the Moravians themselves occupy in the slave trade? Did they perhaps organise slave hunts, or were they content with mere supervision, making their "market" a sort of neutral and protected ground? And last but not least, where should the Moravian market be sought? In Mikulčice (*Třeštík 1973*, 869–892; *Poláček 2007*, 499–524), or perhaps in Staré Město? We do not know, so we must content ourselves with the conclusion that the Mojmirid domain arose at a junction of long-distance trade routes, the Danube Road and the Amber Road, and that the market, which was probably inaccessible to common people, represented a lucrative source of income. From there most probably came all the valuables with which the Mojmirids rewarded their faithful ones and established the power structures which, at the peak of Svatopluk's reign, encompassed the major part of Pannonia, Bohemia and maybe also Vistula Land. The ritual of reciprocal gifts, however, had to be repeated, which exhausted the ducal treasury. Dependence on long-distance trade, at the same time, shifted the power structures to a vulnerable position. It sufficed to disturb the traffic on the Amber Road. And, as it seems, this is how the fate of the Mojmirid Dynasty was sealed at the beginning of the 10th century.

The last pages of the story of Mojmirid Moravia may be tarnished by the death of Duke Kusal in 904, who accepted an invitation to Bavaria and was treacherously murdered, maybe at a banquet table (*Pertz, ed. 1826, 54; Arx, ed. 1826, 77*). This act provoked a crushing retaliation which affected both the offenders and the domain of the Bavarian ally Mojmir II. It seems that the ducal dynasty died out in a turmoil of bloody clashes in 905 or 906 (*Třeštík 1987, 36–37*). The later, high mediaeval, Hungarian tradition associates the “land-taking” with Nitra, so that it is certainly possible that the crucial battle was fought somewhere in the neighbourhood (*Jakubovich, ed. 1937, 33–37, 74–80*). The Magyar cavalry then rode from this place to the northwest and quickly seized the main Moravian strongholds. The ducal castle at Mikulčice was burnt down. Its garrison tried to defend both of its gates, and after the line was broken through, the remaining defenders retreated into the stone-built churches. The Moravians in other places experienced similar crises. The religious compound at Sady was plundered, Pohansko was also afflicted by the Magyars, fighting took place in Strachotín. Staré Zámky u Líšně and St Hippolytus’ Stronghold in Znojmo were destroyed (*Kouřil 2003, 110–146; 2008, 113–134*).

The horrible defeat of the Moravians was described years later by Liutprand, Bishop of Cremona, who sighed that the Magyars conquered everything as far as the Bavarian frontier (*Becker, ed. 1915, II/2, 36–37*). Constantine Porphyrogenetos wrote that Moravia was not only destroyed but also occupied by the “Turks”, that is, Magyars (*Havlík, ed. 1969a, 13, 383–384; 41, 399–400*). In fact, it so happened that Magyar tribes retreated to the southeast and their influence in the Nitra region was indirect (*Steinhübel 2007, 57–65; 2008, 39–50*) and in the central Morava Basin maybe negligible, even though a group of warriors probably stayed for some time in the neighbourhood of Olomouc (*Kouřil 2003, 128–136*). It is not known how the nomadic garrisons were treated by the Moravians, particularly by the uppermost classes who survived the fall of the Mojmirid dynasty. Memories of the defunct empire survived in Central Moravia, where Olomouc and a group of settlements began to flourish in the 1st half of the 10th century (*Bláha 2000, 179–196*). Settlements in southwest Moravia were also revived. Staré Zámky u Líšně (*Staňa 1972, 109–171*) and Zelená Hora u Vyškova (*Staňa 1996, 275–278*) were restored, and St Hippolytus’ Stronghold in Znojmo was maintained as a provincial centre (*Wihoda 2010, 123–125*). Mikulčice, on the other hand, gradually came to an end, even though in the northern part of the former acropolis quite a densely populated settlement survived. A small community also lived in Pohansko, whereas the Staré Město agglomeration changed into an ordinary agrarian village (*Procházka 2009, 89–108*).

But the question is why Moravia was not restored as a state, because the fact is that the Moravians survived the sad times weakened, but the basic power structures were preserved in the Olomouc region and the devastated core was also, in a way, still alive. One possible answer might be hidden in the character of Mojmirid power, which was probably based on a cobweb of oaths (*Esders 2009, 423–432*) and reciprocal gifts. Unstable and rather decreasing incomes most probably weakened the authority of Duke Mojmir II, and his impoverished court maybe ceased to be attractive for the neighbours and for the Moravians themselves. The devastated settlements, which had formerly flourished on long-distance trade routes, also lost their significance, because trade connections to the Mediterranean area were interrupted. The centre of the land was relocated to Olomouc, where a sort of order was established at least on a provincial level, whereas political events on the lower reaches of Morava began to be determined by the Magyars. It was shortly after 955 that the Moravians came under the supervision of the Přemyslids, and at the beginning of the new millennium they opened their gates to the armies of Bolesław the Valiant. In 1017 they even declared themselves allies of the Piast Dynasty and participated in fighting on the Bavarian frontier. Their return to a place in the sun, however, did not take place, because the land was annexed to the Přemyslid domain. Two centuries had to pass before the Moravians restored the identity of their land and entered the Central European arena for a second time, in a stable alliance with Bohemia (*Wihoda 2010*).

# REX, PRINCIPES, OPTIMATES – THE ELITES OF GREAT MORAVIA

Luděk Galuška

In comparison to the Early Slavic Period (6th–mid-7th century) and the most part of the following 8th century, the society of the Great Moravian Period underwent significant changes. One of the most important ones was the rise of elites. Many of their members gradually singled themselves out from the original relatively egalitarian community of the Moravian Slavs, or from several powerful families, and became the main movers and shakers of the development leading to the establishment of Great Moravia – an entity which in many regards already had the form of an early mediaeval state. However, new elites also arose, whose origin would vainly be sought in the domestic environment. When we say “elites”, we mean mainly high-ranking representatives of the Christian Church, that is archpriests and bishops, as well as members of the so-called proprietary and maybe also warrior elites who were not yet very many in number.

Even though often fragmentarily and not always entirely clearly, some of the members of the 9th century Great Moravian elites are mentioned in literary sources. Among these sources there are works which were written on the territory of Moravia or are immediately related to this territory (e.g. *The Life of Constantine*), those which were written in the mostly hostile environment of the Frankish or East Frankish Empire (e.g. the *Annals of Fulda*), and some others, whose authors were more or less impartial writers of Byzantine or Arab origin (e.g. Ibn Rustah) or churchmen from the Holy See in Rome (e.g. the bull *Industriae tuae*). From this point of view, however, members of the elites are attributed with various titles, names and levels of social status. Several prominent individuals, on the other hand, are known from literary sources by their real names, such as for example the nobleman Zemižizn, who was mentioned in association with events concerning Svatopluk and Methodius. From the beginning it is necessary to take into consideration that Moravian society of the 9th and the early 10th centuries, that is, for the most part of the existence of Great Moravia, was not a static society with well-developed and well-established classes and power structures. Quite the opposite. It evolved in a dynamic way, became more and more differentiated and in the course of time some changes surely also occurred within the elites themselves, mainly those in connection with the constantly consolidating position of the Moravian ruler (e.g. *Havlík 1981–1982*, 71–112; *Třeštík 1997*, 287–296).

When we first turn our attention to the evidence of literary sources, it is clear that the highest representative of the 9th century Moravian elites was the ruler, in the domestic environment referred to as *knědz*, that is, prince, in Frankish sources as *dux* (duke) or *regulus* (little king), but in others also as *rex*, i.e. king, which mainly concerned the person of Svatopluk I.

These titles are maybe most significant in a personal letter by Pope Stephen V, which was brought from Rome to Svatopluk in Moravia by Wiching, the Bishop of Nitra, in the autumn of 885. It should be added that the Arab traveller, Ibn Rustah, designated Svatopluk as “crowned” and titled him “ruler of rulers” or “prince of princes” (*Pauliny 1999*, 99). In general, however, it is very important that all Great Moravian rulers, beginning from the first historically evidenced ruler, Mojmir I (833–845/846), through Rostislav (846–869), the above-mentioned Svatopluk I (871–894) to as far as Mojmir II (894–905?), descended from the same dynastic family – the Mojmirids (e.g. *Galuska 2007b*, 5–20). The significance of this dynasty is evident from, for example, the events around the year 870. At that time, when Moravia was occupied by the Bavarians and Franks and the Dukes Rostislav and Svatopluk were held captive, a still unknown Mojmirid, Slavomír, was installed as the head of a rebellion of the Moravians, owing to his being considered a symbol of the ruling family. However, Slavomír did not quite accept his new position because he was a cleric, not a warrior (recently *Profantová – Profant 2014*, 128). The significant status of the Mojmirids, in our opinion, reached back deep into the past. Family members may have won their prestige in wars against the Avars at the turn of the 8th and 9th centuries, or maybe even earlier. Anyway, this was the base from which all the rulers of Great Moravia arose.

But what was the position of the Moravian rulers within Moravian society – and moreover what was their relationship to local elites? It seems that Mojmir can already be considered quite an autocratic ruler, because he implemented a new religion among the Moravians, Christianity, in 831, after he himself, his family members and loyal nobles received baptism. And it does not look like he would have met with any radical opposition, as happened fifty years later when the Přemyslid Bořivoj, freshly baptised by Methodius, was expelled and sent back to Moravia by the Bohemians, who had him replaced in the leading position by the “pagan” Strojmir. The action of Mojmir, however, was surely not met only with a generally positive response. Evidence exists that some part of the nobles initially did not convert to Christianity, but continued to worship within the framework of the ideas of the traditional “paganism” of their ancestors, as it is indicated by, for example, the situation at Modrá u Velehradu (*Galuska 2012*, 91–110). However, the responsive attitude of most dukes and nobles signified that Christianity, after all, began to take roots in Moravia, whereby the position of the Moravian Duke as a Christian ruler was considerably strengthened. Rostislav, the second ruler of the Moravians and at the same time nephew of Mojmir, was initially dependent on both the East Frankish King Louis II the German and probably also on the decisions by his dukes and maybe also representatives of



the Moravians. From the beginning of the 850s, however, he began to assert an independent policy and as a consequence thereof he fought several battles, all of them victorious, with the Franks and Bavarians. After 885, from their point of view, he "in fact arrived at the position of king, that is, the ruler of an independent regnum" (*Třeštík 2001*, 166). He retained this position, despite a defeat by Louis II the German in 864 at *Dowina* and some other mishaps, until his being captured and imprisoned in 870. However, what was his position towards the elites of the Moravians at that time? "For Rostislav, the Duke of Moravia, through God's admonition, took counsel with his dukes and with the Moravians, (and) appealed to Emperor Michael, saying [...]" (*Večerka, ed. 2010*, 78). In these lines of Chapter XIV of *The Life of Constantine*, related to the year 863, some researchers clearly see Rostislav's dependence on deciding exclusively in accordance with ducal elites, whose representatives at the same time "reigned with him, commanded his armies and probably also administered the land" (*Třeštík 2001*, 188). The archaeologist Jiří Macháček goes even further, because he sees in the above-mentioned sentence one of the main arguments why there was no system of proper government in Great Moravia but only a "cyclical chiefdom" (*Macháček 2012*, 778–779). However, if Rostislav was indeed such a weak player on the domestic scene, then how can the words of Třeštík be explained, when he says that "the regnum of Nitra was an appanage duchy, which Rostislav gave to Svatopluk in the 860s as to an adult member of the Mojmirid dynasty capable of reigning" (*Třeštík 2001*, 195). Provided that the above Moravian ruler indeed gave part of the territory under his administration to another member of his own family, who had come of age and was capable of reigning, then it does not in any way imply that he was dependent on the will of other dukes. Quite the opposite. The words thus reflect Rostislav's status of suzerain and indicate the privileged position of the Mojmirids among prominent Moravian families. This also coincides with conclusions by Naďa Profantová and Martin Profant, who regard the above-cited extract from *The Life of Constantine* as evidence that Rostislav acted as a "suzerain monarch, who grants his dukes only an advisory voice and is used to disposing of his own apparatus of coercion" (*Profantová – Profant 2014*, 135). This also corresponds to our opinion. We think that the influence of elites (or even of an authority within the meaning of a "ducal council" – if it existed at all) on the will of the Moravian ruler should not be overestimated, not even when Rostislav indeed took "counsel", which, after all, was usual for each ideal early mediaeval ruler, and did not represent any special Moravian feature (*Kalhous 2014*, 179; cf. *Havlík, ed. 2008*, 131–132).

In our opinion, similar words can also be related to the reign of Svatopluk I (871–894), nephew of Rostislav, the third ruler

of Great Moravia in a row, who was probably even a greater sovereign than his uncle. Written reports inform us that he was the major land owner, commander-in-chief of all military forces and governed the collection of taxes. In the case of a military victory he automatically obtained 1/6 of the booty, from which the major part of the treasure which was stored in the ducal residence probably came. It certainly included luxury fabrics, rare skins and furs, precious weapons, coins, jewellery and other artefacts made of gold and silver. This treasure, *gaza regia*, as it was called by the author of the *Annals of Fulda*, probably emerged gradually, from the time of Duke Rostislav at the latest, because it is known that it was stolen in 870 by Carloman who seized the "old town of Rostislav" upon Svatopluk's betrayal. According to Ibn Rustah, Svatopluk also owned huge herds of horse and a considerable part of the equipment and armament of his retainers (*Havlík 1978a*, 15–19; *1981–1982*, 77–79). Among his possessions there was also of course his residence with the relevant immovable assets and human staff, inclusive of a church. Based on the results of archaeological research we can look for this residence most probably in the area of Staré Město – Uherské Hradiště, that is, in Veligrad, or at "Valy" by Mikulčice. Only these two significant localities currently meet the criteria which are hypothetically placed on the possible centre of Great Moravia under Svatopluk. It seems that while the Mikulčice agglomeration, together with the seat of the Archpriest of Passau, maybe the "old or original town of Rostislav", may have been a centre under Mojmir I and Rostislav, the Staré Město – Uherské Hradiště agglomeration, that is, Veligrad, with a power centre in the location "Na Dědině u sv. Michala" and a Christian centre at "Sady", may have played this role under Svatopluk I and Mojmir II (*Galuška 1993a*, 96–102). It is, however, also possible that while Mikulčice was rather the power centre, the Staré Město – Uherské Hradiště agglomeration played the role of a religious centre and seat of Archbishop Methodius. Anyway, the occasionally presented assumption that the Moravian rulers did not have any main seat where they would stay for most of the time, and that they reigned from horseback, or, in other words, travelled from one castle to another, lived there temporarily and collected taxes, we do not consider likely for many reasons. The above-mentioned Arab traveller Ibn Rustah, for example, wrote about Svatopluk that "the town in which he lives is called Girváb". But this town, unfortunately, was not exactly localised and described by him.

After the death of Svatopluk in 894, the ducal throne of Moravia was taken, maybe in line with Svatopluk's own decision, by Mojmir II, his elder son whom he probably had with the Bohemian Duchess Svatožizna. Mojmir soon had to solve a conflict of succession with his younger brother Svatopluk II, supposed son of Svatopluk and Gisela – sister of Arnulf of

Carinthia, who had been supported by the local pro-Frankish orientated nobles. Mojmir II also relied on “the faithful ones” and because he had more of them, he eventually captured and imprisoned his brother. Shortly thereafter, by command of the Frankish King, Svatopluk II was set free by military intervention from abroad and ended up, together with his faithful ones, in Bavarian exile. We can rightly assume that the existence of two competing power groups on the domestic scene, and the subsequent departure of one of them from Moravia, signified a considerable or even fatal weakening of the uppermost social class of the Moravians. This, hand in hand with other inauspicious conditions, above all the attacks by the Old Magyars, can also be considered one of the main reasons for the decline of Great Moravia at the beginning of the 10th century.



▲ **Fig. 1. Staré Město – “Špitálky”.**  
Vestibule/narthex of the church – detail of a silver disc portraying a horseman holding a short baton, the so-called “Falconer” from grave 16, 2nd half of the 9th century.  
Photo by S. Doleželová.

The sources say nothing or only very little about the insignia and appearance of the ruling dukes. A feathered headband or crown is sometimes regarded as one of the insignia. This headwear of the Moravian dukes was accompanied, just as it was with Frankish monarchs, by long hair with a centre parting. A piece of headwear recalling a “feathered crown” is maybe being worn by a man with a bird of prey who is portrayed on a cast strap-end from the group of so-called Avar bronze casts, which was found in Moravský sv. Ján; long hair falling across the face is depicted on unique decorative metal discs from Mikulčice and Staré Město (*Radoměský 1995, 281–323; Klanica 1997, 99–100, etc.*). However, the silver disc from Staré Město, referred to as the “Falconer” (**Fig. 1**), portraying a horseman with a bird of prey sitting on his arm, is also inspiring from another point of view: it seems that the horseman – maybe the ruler himself – is not holding reins in his other hand, as is often supposed, but a short baton, one end of which broadens into a round facet with a hole in the middle. The disc featuring a “falconer” was a part of a wooden object containing also leather, textile and silver sockets. It comes from the excavations of the remains of the church in Staré Město – Špitálky from a grave of a girl belonging to a higher class of the Moravians, as the place of her burial and the golden and silver jewellery found in her grave suggest (*Poulik 1955, Galuška 2014*). As is evident from pictorial sources and archaeological finds, sceptres represented a relatively frequent insignia of Frankish Kings (*Porcher 1969, 141, 147; James 1997, 149–154*). As far as the appearance is concerned, the ceremonial wardrobe of rulers, above all maybe that of Svatopluk, was made from imported fabrics of Byzantine, South European or Central Asian origin. The footwear maybe consisted of knee socks and leather shoes equipped with straps and metal fittings. The waist was girded by a precious belt with buckle and decorative strap-end (**Fig. 2**). A similar expensive wardrobe and gold jewellery were probably also usual for princely consorts, in the case of Svatopluk probably the Bohemian Svatožizna and the German Gisela. Only the former one, however, is more or less verified; she was mentioned as “Suentazizna” in the early 870s together with her husband and a certain Predslav (maybe their first-born son?) in the Gospel Book of the monastery in Cividale, North Italy.

In the hierarchy of Old Moravian elites, the positions closest to the ruler were occupied by the above-mentioned dukes or princes, in literary sources of that time referred to as *principes, nobiles viri* or *knedzi* (*Havlík 1981–1982, 79–81*). Below them were probably the non-ruling members of the Mojmirid Dynasty, or those Mojmirids who were installed as appanage dukes in the Duchy of Nitra, as it was with Svatopluk I under Rostislav in the 860s (in detail e.g. *Marsina*



▲ **Fig. 2. Modrá u Velehradu, near the church.**

Reconstruction of a belt with a gilded strap-end of Carolingian character and bird-shaped iron clasps from grave 22, 1st third of the 9th century. Photo by S. Doleželová.

1996, 156–157). Dušan Třeštík wrote that among them there may also have been some powerful and influential individuals descended from the old family aristocracy, even though they were “rivals” whom the Mojmirid rulers soon removed and replaced with their own loyal adherents. And why not – the minions of rulers may certainly have become nobles. At the same time, however, no evidence exists that this took place in a violent way or, in other words, that the Mojmirids in Moravia physically liquidated other Moravian families, as was the case with the Přemyslids of Prague in the 10th century. Something of the kind might only be taken into consideration if we accept the theory (Třeštík 2001, 131) that Pribina was a native of Moravia, and the expulsion of himself and his faithful ones from Nitra by the Moravian Duke Mojmir in the 830s was evidence of a power struggle between competing Moravian families, which eventually gave rise to an entity referred to as Great Moravia. Within this category indisputably falls the above-mentioned case of Svatopluk’s sons from the 2nd half of the 890s, which represented a true struggle for succession within the ruling dynasty.

It is likely that the dukes were land owners, even though rather minor ones. If not then we would have to pose for example the question of which means these dukes, as is often supposed, used to build the first Christian stone buildings on our territory, that is, churches, which surely represented

expensive enterprises. They lived with their families in manors or residences within fortified pre-urban settlement agglomerations, owned, or at least maintained, a small retinue of mounted warriors, which in time of war reinforced the main retinue of the ruling duke, and lived off the work of slaves and specialised craftsmen. Therefore it seems that they were rather supportive of the ruler, instead of strongly opposing him. To the above dukes of “local origin” we can also add those from territories seized by, or at least conforming to, the Moravians. They were installed as local leaders of the “occupational” administrative apparatus of Great Moravia (Havlík 1980–1981, 80). Among such dukes were, for example, the Přemyslid Bořivoj in Bohemia after 883, or a duke of unknown name in the Vistula Land, who was baptised even by Archbishop Methodius himself.

Among the uppermost class of 9th century Moravian society we can also place the “noble people”, that is, aristocrats, who were mentioned in literary sources as *primates* or *optimates*. They probably mainly consisted of family members and military aristocracy. Some of them occupied significant posts in the administrative apparatus, or served with the permanent mounted forces of the ducal retinue. They lived with their families in settlement agglomerations and mainly in strongholds, but, as it seems, we find them settled in several large unfortified settlements as well. Descended

from aristocratic circles, *župans* (counts), that is, members of the power-administrative apparatus, carried out the will of the ruler in those regions of Great Moravia where they lived, or where they were installed by the ruling duke (e.g. *Havlík 1981–1982*, 81–83; *Třeštík 1999a*, 177–181). In the castle system of Great Moravia, these officials of the ruler occupied the offices of administrators of individual castles and the adjacent districts, that is, *župy* (counties). *The Bavarian Geographer* mentioned a total of 11 such counties during the 1st half of the 9th century. The “*župans*” organised life within the entrusted territory and acted in the name of the ruler. For example, they decided local legal disputes, commanded local garrisons, collected taxes and grain and decided on the organisation of community service such as the repairing of bridges, fortifications, roads etc. (*Havlík 1981–1982*, 83–84, 87–90; *Třeštík – Žemlička 2007*, 122–123). The “*župans*” thus held offices similar to those of counts in the Frankish Empire. However, we can also find them among the courtiers of the ruler: one of them held the office of commander-in-chief of the ducal armies.

The category of elites also comprised prominent representatives of the Christian clergy, such as archpriests of the Bishops of Passau, the Bishop of Nitra, Wiching, the Archbishop of the “Holy Moravian Church”, Methodius, and their four disciples of unknown name, ordained as bishops in Moravia itself in AD 900. The privileged status of these dignitaries in the society was based on the fact that since 831 Christianity had been the official religion in Moravia, so it was logically supported by the Mojmirid rulers, dukes and most nobles. From the phrase “may the private property of bishops be separated from Church property” from the *Namocanon* by Methodius, it can be inferred that in their hands they had not only the so-called tithe, that is, a tenth part of the taxes collected by the ruler, as well as some churches and maybe also homesteads and fields with peasants, which were probably given to them by the ruler, but also some private property. What it was composed of, however, is not known. Maybe a precious wardrobe, liturgical objects, gold and silver coins (?).

While the literary sources provide us with a relatively varied picture of the world of the Moravian elites, the situation is much more complicated and unclear from the view of archaeological finds or funerary archaeology. We can literally only estimate to what extent the social prestige of an individual was reflected in burial rites, how this act was influenced by old customs or new rituals, or even by what individuals had requested before they died, or the influence of family or the whole of society. And there is also another important aspect: at the very beginning of the period under review some Moravian Slavs, maybe particularly the powerful ones, had

already abandoned the ideas of their traditional “pagan” religion and began to familiarise themselves with a new religion, Christianity. Duke Mojmir I installed this new faith as the official religion (831) after he himself and his those closest to him had themselves baptised. The next series of ruling dukes, Rostislav and after him especially Svatopluk I, strove for, and eventually also succeeded in, the establishment of their own independent Church led by an Archbishop. The latter ruler, along with his people, were even taken by Pope John VIII under the protection of the See of St Peter (880). This almost hundred-year-long story of early Moravian Christianity also found reflection in the sphere of burial customs – Christians do not cremate their dead but bury them in the earth, preferably in the neighbourhood of churches and in the case of the most prominent persons also in their interior. However, the resting places of Great Moravian rulers and along with this the manner of their burial too are not known for certain, even though attempts have been made to identify some grave finds with particular rulers. The discoverer of Mikulčice, Josef Poulik, for example, suggested that in the location called “Valy”, in Grave No. 240 near Church No. 3, which is near a basilica, Mojmir I (*Poulik 1975*, 79–81) may have been buried. His supposed funerary equipment contained a “ritual” belt with a precious golden strap-end, one side of which portrays the motif of a human figure clothed in a jacket, who, in his raised hands, is holding some objects in the form of a hammer or standard (a “*labarum*”) and a drinking horn (**Fig. 3**). These objects are considered either symbols of monarchical power, or attributes of major pagan gods, the Germanic Thor and the Slavic Perun (*Denkstein 1961*, 206–214). Svatopluk I was also supposed to have been buried in Mikulčice (*Klanica 1993*,



▲ **Fig. 3. Mikulčice near Church No. 3.**

Gilded belt strap-end with the motif of a human figure holding a standard (a “*labarum*”) and a drinking horn on its reverse. Found near grave 240, 1st half of the 9th century. Photo by S. Doleželová.



107–108). His grave was supposedly located near Church No. 6, a “double-apse rotunda” – according to Zdeněk Klanica a representational building of the above ruler – and it was identified with Grave 50/VI (cf. *Profantová 2003*, 21–22, fig. 36). The grave contained the skeletal remains of a 30–40-year-old male with precious gilded spurs and belt fittings. The grave was placed outside the building, but allegedly in a place of honour near the supposed entrance to the church. This possible resting place of Svatopluk is also associated with the Christian centre on the hill Metodějova výšina, the former Sadská výšina, in Uherské Hradiště – Sady. It is grave/tomb 12/59 situated on the axis of a funeral chapel added to the northern wall of a church with cruciform layout. The grave contained the skeletal remains of a robust male aged 40–45 years, whose robe was fastened together by two gilded buttons. No other grave goods were found. The male, however, rested in a large plank coffin fitted with 36 iron mounts, which was laid on the mortar-and-stone bottom of a wood-faced burial chamber with board cover. The boards were first covered with large stone slabs and then encrusted with mortar. This mortar “lid” was then decorated with paintings (*Galuška 1996*, 122–125; *1997*, 53–64). As far as the age of both the deceased individuals is concerned, the Mikulčice variant appears little likely. In 869, when the name of Svatopluk I as the co-recipient of a charter/bull by Pope Hadrian II appears for the very first time, immediately behind the names of Rostislav and Kocel, he would have been aged between 5 and 15 years, which is indeed too young for an appanage co-ruler in Nitra. The deceased individual from tomb 12/59 in Sady, on the other hand, would have been aged 20 to 25 years, which could correspond to the age of a young and “ambitious” duke. One of the few researchers who have at least touched on the topic of the graves of Moravian rulers is Michal Lutovský. From both the above-mentioned alternatives he clearly prefers the one that places the possible grave of Svatopluk on the hill Metodějova výšina in Sady, arguing that “the end of the 9th century, in a country with a more than fifty-year-long Christian tradition, cannot produce graves of rulers with equestrian equipment. Such equipment might have been usual for Mojmir, but not for a man whose land was taken by the Pope under the patronage of St Peter” (*Lutovský 1997*, 186–187; *2005*, 61; *Bravermanová – Lutovský 2001*, 114–116). In accordance with some other researchers and our own opinions, he also supposes that the graves of Christian rulers – inclusive of those in Moravia – can, similar to the graves of bishops, almost certainly be sought only in the interior of significant churches, and their funerary equipment should contain objects and accessories with symbolic meaning rather than weapons and equestrian gear (in detail e.g. *Schulze Dörlamm 1995*; *Sasse 1997*). When we try to summarise it in short, then graves in naves of churches from the 9th to the

early 10th centuries were found in Uherské Hradiště – Sady (7–8), Staré Město “Na Valách” (2), Pohansko near Břeclav, Church No. 2 (5; personal communication by J. Macháček), and “Valy” u Mikulčic, Church No. 3 (4–5?) and Church No. 2 (1). Graves in narthexes, that is, church vestibules, were found again in Uherské Hradiště – Sady (13) and Mikulčice, Church No. 3 (1), further in Staré Město “Špitálky” (5?), Pohansko near Břeclav, Church No. 1 (9) and probably also in Kopčany (Slovakia), Church of St Margaret (1). In connection with this category, however, we must take into account that some of the graves discovered in the area of narthexes might be older, which means that they may already have been laid out next to a church before the construction of the entrance room, so that in fact they ended up placed there by chance. This is also the case with 3 graves which were unearthed in the narthex area of Church No. 3 in Mikulčice, but which were evidently partly overlaid by its foundations (cf. for example *Poláček 2010*, fig. 11). Graves in other sacred rooms, separate chambers added to churches, were found in Uherské Hradiště – Sady (1), at “Valy” u Mikulčic, Church No. 2 (4?), and Pohansko near Břeclav, Church No. 1 (1?). It should be remarked that in one case, namely in Uherské Hradiště – Sady, another two elite graves were placed in a masonry-built chapel which was added to a local central church with cruciform layout and to the funeral chamber. From the above-mentioned facts it is evident that the category of graves in the interiors of sacred buildings is clearly dominated by the Christian complex in Uherské Hradiště – Sady with about 23 graves. The whole Staré Město – Uherské Hradiště agglomeration is clearly dominant with c. 30 graves, followed by the Mikulčice-Kopčany agglomeration with a maximum of 11 graves (?), and the stronghold with manorial residence and suburbium in Pohansko near Břeclav with about 18 graves. This finding is in no way surprising, because at these localities there almost certainly lived not only the Moravian dukes with their families, but also the most part of the social elites as well as the most prominent ecclesiastical dignitaries. It is certainly worth mentioning that the four 9th century churchyards in the eastern part of Great Moravia, which is in what is now West Slovakia, with a total of a mere 61 graves, have not yielded any grave situated inside the church proper (*Hanuliak 2004*, 45–46). This finding is particularly surprising not only for Nitra, the seat of a bishopric since 880, where, however, no Great Moravian church has yet been discovered, but also for Bratislava Castle and, last but not least, Devín Castle too, which has even sometimes been uncritically considered the residence of Duke Rostislav.

If we take a more detailed look at the graves from naves of the two most significant sacred buildings in Great Moravia, that is, Church No. 3 – basilica at “Valy” u Mikulčic and the

church with cruciform layout in Uherské Hradiště – Sady, we can make some remarkable findings. From the three naves of Church No. 3, 4 (*Klanica 1985*, 119–120) or 5 graves (*Poláček 2010*, fig. 11) have usually been presented. Most attention has so far been paid to Grave 580, containing equipment typical of a nobleman-warrior – a sword and axe; it was supposed to have been the grave of Archbishop Methodius (*Klanica 1993*, cf. *Galuška 1996*, 118–120). It was found in the main nave of the church, just as Grave 380 was, in which the buried individual, probably an adult male, had his calves originally wrapped in straps with gilded mounts; a piece of gold sheet was placed in his mouth as Charon’s obol, and a golden button was sewn onto his robe. The funerary equipment of both the above deceased individuals also comprised buckets (?), and both of them were buried in plank coffins fitted with iron bands. Both the above graves have usually been drawn in plans along the southern edge of the northern foundation strip separating the main nave of the church from the northern nave, as if they could have recognised the boundary. However, as was evidenced by recent revision excavations directed by Lumír Poláček, the pits of both these graves reached (in longitudinal direction) c. 30 cm below the base of the northern foundation strip, so that they were evidently overlaid by the foundations. This finding, in our opinion, indicates that they were laid out before the construction of the basilica, that is, much earlier than in the 880s, as is also evident from several older conclusions by Zdeněk Klanica. This author wrote that “archaeological material from the tombs in the basilica can preliminarily be dated to the first three quarters of the 9th century. The fact that the graves contained not only weapons, but even buckets with beverages, rather refers to an older phase of said period” (*Klanica 1985*, 120). He still classed two other graves, namely 318 in the northern nave and 544 in the southern nave of Church No. 3, among the tombs. They also contained buckets as well as “not really advanced” gold and silver female jewellery accompanied by silk (Grave 318), and a hammered bronze button “recalling in its appearance some cast works” (Grave 544) and thus relatively old-fashioned. The female and an unspecified individual who were buried in these graves rested again in iron-fitted coffins. All the deceased individuals from the graves inside the three-nave basilica were thus connected by their having been buried in coffins with sumptuous funerary equipment including buckets (?), and by their adult age. The situation of the church with cruciform layout in Sady was entirely different (*Galuška 1996*). Four graves were placed here in the main nave – in three of them the dead rested on a wooden bier. Among them there were two females aged 30 to 40 years without any grave goods (Graves 25/59 and 87/59) and a 6–7-year-old boy buried with a pair of large gilt hammered buttons, a knife and small spurs with straps and fittings (Grave 22/59). All of the above three

graves were dated to the 1st half of the 9th century. The fourth grave in the church nave again contained the burial of a small boy, as is indicated by a miniature axe accompanied by a silver button and a jingle bell (Grave 103/59). The time of burial probably falls within a period as late as the turn of the 9th and 10th centuries, as was the case with another 3 graves placed in a row one behind the other in the southern corridor of the church. The individuals in these graves were buried in metal-fitted plank coffins. Among them there was a small boy with a golden button, a crystal bead and a pair of “children’s” spurs with straps and fittings (Grave 16/59), a male about 40 years old without funerary equipment (Grave 17/59), and a child about 5 years old with three golden buttons (Grave 19/59), on whose coffin there still rested a second small child (Grave 27/59). It can be summed up by noting that the church in Uherské Hradiště – Sady included the burials of 5 small boys accompanied by attributes with symbolic meaning, 2 of them in coffins and 1 on a bier, and 3 adult individuals (1 male and 2 females), all of them without funerary equipment, but resting either on a bier or in a coffin in places of honour. The relatively rich funerary equipment in the graves of children descended from the elite circles of Great Moravia is a well-known fact, so that it does not really surprise anybody. It might be evidence of relatively strong connections between parents and children, or it might also signify that the Church tolerated old rituals with burials of children more than with adults (*Profantová 2005*, 75–77; *Ungerma 2001*, 247), even in the area of sacred buildings. However, in the case of the religious compound at Sady it seems that the graves or tombs which were found in the centre of a chapel on the northern side of the church were even more prestigious than those in the church proper. Grave 12/59, as the hypothetical resting place



▲ **Fig. 4. Staré Město “Na Valách”.** Iron belt strap-end and spur strap-fittings with gold foil and silver inlay from grave 266/49, 1st third of the 9th century. Photo by S. Doleželová.

of Duke Svatopluk, was already mentioned above, but in its immediate neighbourhood there was the other Grave 11/59. The latter contained the skeletal remains of a 30–35-year-old male without any grave goods, who, however, rested again in a large plank coffin fitted with 12 iron bands (*Galuška 1996*, 134). Possible family relations between both these males cannot yet be evidenced, even though some similarities, as well with some other significant individuals who were buried in the churchyard at Sady, have already been indicated by anthropologists in the past. Graves which are usually referred to as “sumptuous or elite graves”, particularly with regard to

their funerary equipment, can be found not only in the interiors of sacred buildings but also in their neighbourhood and even in some burial grounds without any direct connection to churches. As far as the churchyards are concerned, it cannot be said for certain that these graves would only concentrate next to the walls of churches or at least on their southern sides, which are sometimes considered “more prestigious” than the others (*Klanica 2005*, 44). This is partly determined



▲ **Fig. 5. Mikulčice, near Church No. 2.**  
Gilded belt strap-end with a motif of a priest in a gesture of adoration with a notable cross on his abdomen from grave 100, 9th century. Photo by S. Doleželová.



▲ **Fig. 6. Staré Město “Na Valách”.**  
Massive silver belt strap-end decorated with gold filigree, gemstones and different kinds of glass from grave 96/AZ, 9th century. Photo by L. Chvalkovský.



▲ **Fig. 7. Drawing by Antonín Zelnitius.**  
Showing the find situation of warrior grave 119/AZ from Staré Město “Na Valách”, 2nd half of the 1920s. A. Zelnitius’ registration book stored in the Slováké Museum in Uherské Hradiště. Photo by L. Galuška.



by the fact that several churches were built in already existing cemeteries (Staré Město "Na Valách", Mikulčice, Church No. 2 and 3), so that the relationship of older graves from the "pre-church" phase of the burial ground to the relevant sacred building may be purely accidental. It is also possible that the bereaved were content with the mere placement of the grave within the sacred area of the cemetery. Not all of the Moravian nobles, after all, were deeply convinced Christians at the time of their death, so that instead of the closest neighbourhood of the church they rather may have found their resting place in a group of their own ancestors buried earlier, as is indicated by the situation in the burial ground at Staré Město "Na Valách". At the same time, however, it cannot be said for certain that these "sumptuous" or "elite" graves would be characterised by any "uniform" equipment, as is for example the case with old Celtic warrior graves, or by some specific adjustment of grave pits or tombs. The determination as to which object, or even type or group of finds from funerary equipment, symbolises the burial of

a member of the Great Moravian elite then appears all the more complicated, let alone the identification of whether it was the proprietary, family or military elite. Besides this, there also is a chronological phenomenon. It is almost certain that the view of the meaning of several objects laid into graves or worn as parts of garment components changed over time, so that some of them may have completely vanished, whereas some others may have appeared or been innovated.

Precious belts with metal buckles, mostly gilded, and decorated strap-ends have generally been regarded as an important component of male elite equipment (**Fig. 2–6**). Šimon Ungerman wrote that about 20 such belts were found in Mikulčice, Modrá u Velehradu, Rajhradice u Brna and in Staré Město. Nobles who carried out the will of the duke wore them as a symbol of wealth and high social status. It means that these belts were regarded as "insignia of high office" (Ungerman 2001, 245–253; 2002, 93–121), and this assumption can be accepted. For completeness' sake we



▲ Fig. 8. Staré Město "Na Valách".

A selection of jewellery from the extremely rich closed finds from female grave 24/48, 2nd half of the 9th century. Photo by S. Doleželová.



still add that precious belts, similar to spurs or axes, were also found in the graves of barely 5-year-old boys, and within the above-mentioned group further belts should also be classed, for example that from Grave 266/49 in Staré Město "Na Valách" (**Fig. 4**) with gold-foil and silver-inlaid iron fittings (*Galuška 1998*, 95–107) or a belt from Grave 13 at Břeclav – Pohansko with decorative gilded strap-end and buckle (*Kalousek 1971*, 33). Further objects which are often mentioned in connection with the attributes of male elite graves are swords and spurs. However, in saying this we do not mean all of them, but only those whose fabrication was a technologically demanding, time-consuming and expensive process. As far as swords are concerned, it was mainly the specimens with brass-inlaid pommels and cross-guards and damascened blades, sometimes also accompanied by decorative fittings of scabbard straps. These swords are prevailingly classed as type H or K by Petersen, and they were mostly laid into graves in the early Great Moravian Period – e.g. 119/AZ (**Fig. 7**) and 223/51 in Staré

Město "Na Valách", or 1759 in Mikulčice – Kostelisko and Grave 90 at Church No. 2 (*Košta 2005*, 158–160, 183–184). Spurs, mainly those with end plates, are represented by hundreds of specimens, but only a few of them are made of, or decorated with, precious and non-ferrous metals. As such we mean, for example, the cast gilt spurs with strap fittings from Grave 50 at Church No. 6 in Mikulčice, or the massive iron spurs with alternating brass, silver and copper inlays over the whole surface, again accompanied by strap fittings, from Grave 224/51 in Staré Město. From Mikulčice, Staré Město, but also for example from Ducov in Slovakia, we could give further examples of precious spurs, but we would rather mention those from Grave 225 at Church No. 1 in Břeclav – Pohansko. They were of a "child's" size; their whole surface was inlaid with copper strips and they were mounted on the feet of a small 3–4-year-old boy. The funerary equipment also comprised a bucket and two silver hammered buttons (*Kalousek 1971*, 133–134). This is again a clear example of a small child classed within a group



▲ **Fig. 9. Staré Město "Na Valách".**

A selection of jewellery from the extremely rich closed finds from female grave 282/49, 1st half of the 9th century. Photo by S. Doleželová.



▲ **Fig. 10. Staré Město "Na Valách".**

A pendant in the form of the Greek letter omega crafted out of gold strip from the significant elite male grave 23/48, 1st half of the 9th century. Photo by S. Doleželová.

of the social elite in Great Moravia. Sometimes classed within the equipment of noblemen, rather on the basis of historical pictures and some rare archaeological finds, we also find spears, mainly those of western origin with winged spearheads, and *calf straps* equipped with sets of decorative buckles, loops and strap-ends (cf. *Klanica 2005*, 46; *Kouřil 2005*, 67–99). Both of these last categories, however, only occur in several burial grounds. Pavel Kouřil wrote that not a single winged spearhead comes from graves in churchyards, and all of them are known from burial grounds "of a military-guarding rather than agrarian-pastoral character, which are mostly situated in the hinterland of extensive settlement agglomerations, exceptionally also out of their range, that is, prevailingly in a rural environment, but often on important lines of communication" (*Kouřil 2005*, 94). This indicates that winged spearheads may have symbolised the "warrior" elite who, however, in general did not really enjoy high prestige in Moravian centres (*Klanica 2005*, 44). But this conclusion, in our opinion, cannot be generalised. The situation with calf straps is a little different, because we know them from "elite" graves, for example Grave 380 in the area of Church No. 3 in Mikulčice, or Grave 129/62 in the churchyard on the hill Metodějova výšina in Sady. In the latter grave, two sets of calf strap fittings, composed of pairs of cast bronze strap-ends, buckles with chapes and lily-shaped loops, were found right at the knees of a c. 8-year-old boy, whose robe was decorated with two gilded buttons (*Galuška 1996*, 140, fig. 95: 11–16). Just as a matter of interest, graves with calf straps are also known from other burial grounds, for example Nechvalín, Prušánky or Uherské Hradiště – Sady "Horní

Kotvice". What is remarkable is that 13 such graves were found in Staré Město "Na Valách", whereas not a single one was identified at Church No. 2 in "Valy" u Mikulčic (*Klanica 2005*, 45). It is evident that it cannot yet be definitely decided whether or not calf straps on the whole were attributes of Moravian noblemen.

Gold is a phenomenon whose role in the history of mankind is stable and unshakeable. It is beyond doubt that, at the time of Great Moravia, objects made of this metal could only be afforded by members of the elites (whichever) and became part of their funerary equipment. As far as the occurrence of golden objects in graves is concerned, the richest Great Moravian cemetery – even though considerably damaged – is that in Staré Město "Na Valách", while "in second place in this regard is the churchyard at the basilica of Mikulčice, where, compared to the cemetery in Staré Město, only about 2/3 of the number of golden objects were found" (*Klanica 2005*, 44). This is partly determined by the fact that the cemetery "Na Valách" – initially maybe a burial ground of the local stronghold and later, after the church was built, probably the central churchyard for the entire "Christian population" of Veligrad – encompassed almost 2,000 still undiscovered graves, whereas the above-mentioned cemetery in Mikulčice "only" somewhat more than 550. This, however, indicates at the same time that among the numerous 9th century population in the area of what are now the towns of Staré Město and Uherské Hradiště, there also lived many members of the elites with their families. As regards the occurrence of golden jewellery, both of the Moravian centres, that is, Mikulčice and Staré Město – Uherské Hradiště, as well as Pohansko near Břeclav, have yielded the most exclusive and richest graves of women and girls from the uppermost



▲ **Fig. 11. Staré Město "Na Valách".**

Gold "branch" earrings and raw gold bar from grave 189/51, 2nd half of the 9th century. Photo by S. Doleželová.

circles of Moravian society. Worth mentioning are at least three graves from Staré Město "Na Valách", namely 24/48 (**Fig. 8**) and 193/51, each of them containing 10 pieces of golden jewellery, and 282/49 with even 12 such ornaments (**Fig. 9**), Grave 209/59 with 6 and twin graves 86/61 and 87/61 with 8 golden ornaments at the church in Uherské Hradiště – Sady, and then in Mikulčice graves 505 and 240 from the churchyard at the basilica, with 5 and 4 golden ornaments respectively (*Galuška, 2013, 229–231, 225–227; Ungerman – Kavánová 2005, fig. 10, fig. 9: 2–5*). Gold was also present in graves in the form of partly worked raw material, that is, gold blanks or bars, or production "waste" with the appearance of spattered drops, which, among other things, indicates the existence of local goldsmithing. The most graves with such funerary equipment were found again in Staré Město "Na Valách", but they are also known from Mikulčice or Nechvalín. These graves undoubtedly did not belong to goldsmiths, that is, to craftsmen, but almost certainly to members of noble families, as is evidenced by, for example, a gold strip in the form of the Greek letter omega from the significant male elite grave 23/48 (**Fig. 10**), or a gold bar which was found in Grave 189/51 in association with two pairs of golden earrings (**Fig. 11**), or an irregularly-shaped piece of gold accompanied by one golden earring and three golden buttons from Grave 145/51, all of them found in the cemetery "Na Valách" in Staré Město (*Galuška 2013, 175–181*).

Besides gold, precious fabrics, above all silk, imported from distant regions of Central Asia and mainly Byzantium, were certainly also regarded as an attribute of the uppermost social class. The production of silk in this significant centre, however, was strictly controlled by the state until as late as the year 900, so that silk fabrics left the Empire almost exclusively in the form of gifts, not by trade (*Březinová 1997, 125–126*). It was a true silk fabric with glossy surface and satin weave with a density of 30 to 65 yarns/cm, referred to as *satín*. Most graves with evidence of silk were found in the cemetery of Staré Město "Na Valách" (6), followed by Mikulčice and Pohansko near Břeclav (3 each). The other grave finds, for example from Nechvalín, seem to be not very conclusive (*Hrubý 1955, 217–219; Kostelníková 1972, 8–9; 2006, 285; cf. Klanica 1997a, 54*). Almost all the graves with evidence of silk, belonging to both adults and children from the families of Moravian nobles, are characterised by either exclusive funerary equipment, or by taking up a significant location within the burial ground. Among them is, for example, Grave 323/49 of an 8–9-year-old girl from the cemetery "Na Valách" in Staré Město with 12 golden and silver ornaments, where the deceased child was maybe completely wrapped in silk (!). From the same cemetery

comes Grave 70/48 too, which evidently contained not only silk but also mohair, which is again a very rare product made from the soft hair of the Angora goat, almost certainly imported from Asia Minor.

We can maybe close our considerations with the conclusion that if graves containing burials equipped with the above-mentioned attributes appear in burial grounds of central strongholds and settlements of pre-urban type, be it in the neighbourhood of churches or elsewhere, we are dealing almost certainly with the burials of members of the Great Moravian elites, all the more so if these attributes occur in combinations. But on the other hand, graves without any funerary equipment do not necessarily imply that the person buried was poor. Even less so if this individual was resting in an iron-fitted wooden coffin or on a bier, and was laid to rest in a tomb situated in the interior of a sacred building, in its nave, or rather in the church chapel. In these cases we are certainly not mistaken when we class these individuals as members of ducal families and of the uppermost social class of the Moravians, without whom Great Moravia could never have been established.

# POWER ELITES IN 9th–10th CENTURY BOHEMIA

Nada Profantová

Power elites in early mediaeval society, just as the uppermost classes in later times, evolved and changed depending on their social status and wealth. These early mediaeval changes, however, are difficult to identify without a sufficient amount of literary sources. Nevertheless, the emergence of elites in Bohemia in the last third of the 8th and the 1st half of the 9th century is evidenced by archaeological finds such as hooked spurs, cast belt fittings or seaxes and other imported weapons (Profantová 1997, 106, Fig. 3–5; 2001, 328, Fig. 4; 2011, esp. Fig. 1–4, 7–12). The picture of the elite which is documented by fragmentary written reports thus becomes more accurate (Profantová, 2014a). Bohemia entered the visual field of Frankish politics, as well as Latin annals and chronicles, which attest to the existence of an elite class. The administrative role of elites is indicated, for example, in a later report by Abraham ben Jacob, even though it was developed to only a minimal extent (Hrbek ed. 1969, 416) compared to Mediterranean centres (mainly in comparison with the Bulgarian Empire).

A typical representative of the power elite is a magnate or great man, sometimes referred to as *dux* (duke) or *comes* (originally administrator). In general we are dealing with elites, because there were several groups of them. The social status of individuals sometimes depended entirely on their tight personal relationships with the duke. Among these dependants were, for example, retainers or people whom the duke installed in particular (administrative or judicial) offices (Profantová 2009a, 142). Some of them were the duke's own relatives.

The title *dux* in 9th century Bohemia causes some interpretational difficulties when used in the plural (the *Annals of Fulda* tell of 14 *duces* in 845). Bohemian research in the past created a theory of many Czech tribes governed by these dukes. In contemporaneous sources, however, Bohemians always appeared as a single polity. This is probably also evidenced by a report on the first Bohemian duke, according to other sources even king, whom we know by name (Lecho or Becho). He was killed in a battle against the Franks in 805 and in chronicles he is mentioned as the Bohemian ruler, not as one of the many Bohemian dukes (*Chronicon Moissianence* ad a. 805, Pertz ed. 1826a, 307–308; *Annales Fuldenses* ad a. 805, Kurze ed. 1891, 16). About the status of great men in the Bohemian environment we paradoxically learn the most from stories of those who lost this position. Highborn refugees such as the Bohemian Slavitah, Strojmir, Bořivoj or the most famous among them, the Moravian Pribina, found refuge in the Bavarian Kingdom, in Serbia (in Elbe region) or in Moravia. This was evidently facilitated by their belonging to a wider “multinational” group with a high standard of living

and wide-reaching family relationships. Through the medium of the politics of marriage they were related to the East Frankish elite (e.g. the spouse of Pribina descended from a Bavarian aristocratic family, and Duke Herimann, who was mentioned in 872, may have obtained his name from his Frankish mother; *Annales Fuldenses* ad a. 872, Kurze ed. 1891, 76). Members of the domestic elite, however, were also related to Slavic allies. From the Slavic milieu descended the ducal consorts, such as Duchess Drahomíra and probably also Duchess Ludmila who married Bořivoj in about 873/4. They also gave their daughters to these Slavic allies, as is evidenced by a Bohemian bride who married one of the Mojmirids in 871 (*Annales Fuldenses* ad a. 871, Kurze ed. 1891, 75).

The most important aspect of all this was probably the origin of significant persons and related power claims, which persisted even in exile. These can be regarded as an indirect testimony of inheritable power status, which was also formally underlined. Expatriates also maintained a significant group of “their own people”, that is, retainers, who were personally bound to their lord, as is evidenced in the case of Pribina (Havlík ed. 1969, 10, 310–312).<sup>4</sup> The story of a conflict between the sons of Duke Wistrach (*Annales Fuldenses* ad a. 857, Kurze ed. 1891, 47) testifies that the magnates of that time laid claims to the hereditary holding of castles. Dukes became involved in politics, which might result in a life in exile (e.g. Slavitah in Moravia, and his brother in Serbia), or some decisive changes such as, for example, participation in a war (e.g. the fighting in 846–848 in Bohemia) or adoption of baptism (in Regensburg in 845). Their major political capital was their origin (prominent status of the family) and significant local as well as foreign social contacts, which facilitated many of their decisions, victories or defeats. They also established new important contacts by having themselves baptised. Archbishop Drogo of Metz, illegitimate son of Charlemagne (Charvát 2010, 67), could have been involved in such a relationship in Regensburg in the year 845. In Moravia there arose a politically important baptismal kinship between Bořivoj and Duke Svatopluk I in 882/3 (Třeštík 1985, 274).<sup>5</sup> The social status of another group of elites was based on religious matters. It may have been connected first with a pagan cult and later with the position within the newly-emergent ecclesiastical organisation (priest Paul, priest Kaich, who was brought to Levý Hradec by Bořivoj etc., see *Christian's Legend, Ludvíkovský* 1978, 20–21, 32–33, a teacher-priest called Učeň at Budeč in the *Second Old Slavonic Legend, Vajs* 1929, 90).

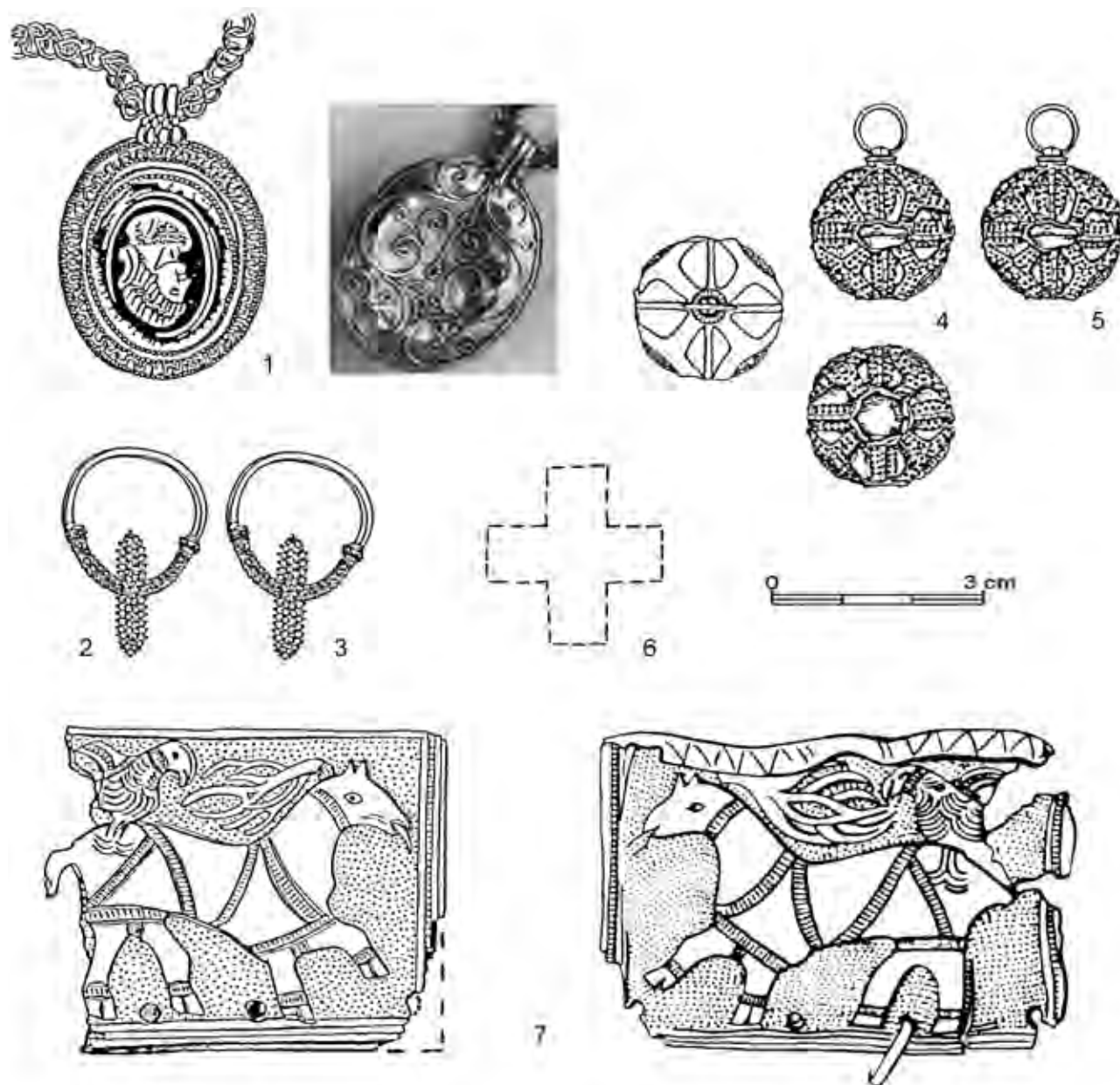
Indirect evidence of contacts between the Bohemian and Moravian elite is provided by the synchronous invasion of Bohemia and Moravia by Frankish troops. In the year 846, for example, there was a part of the Frankish army returning



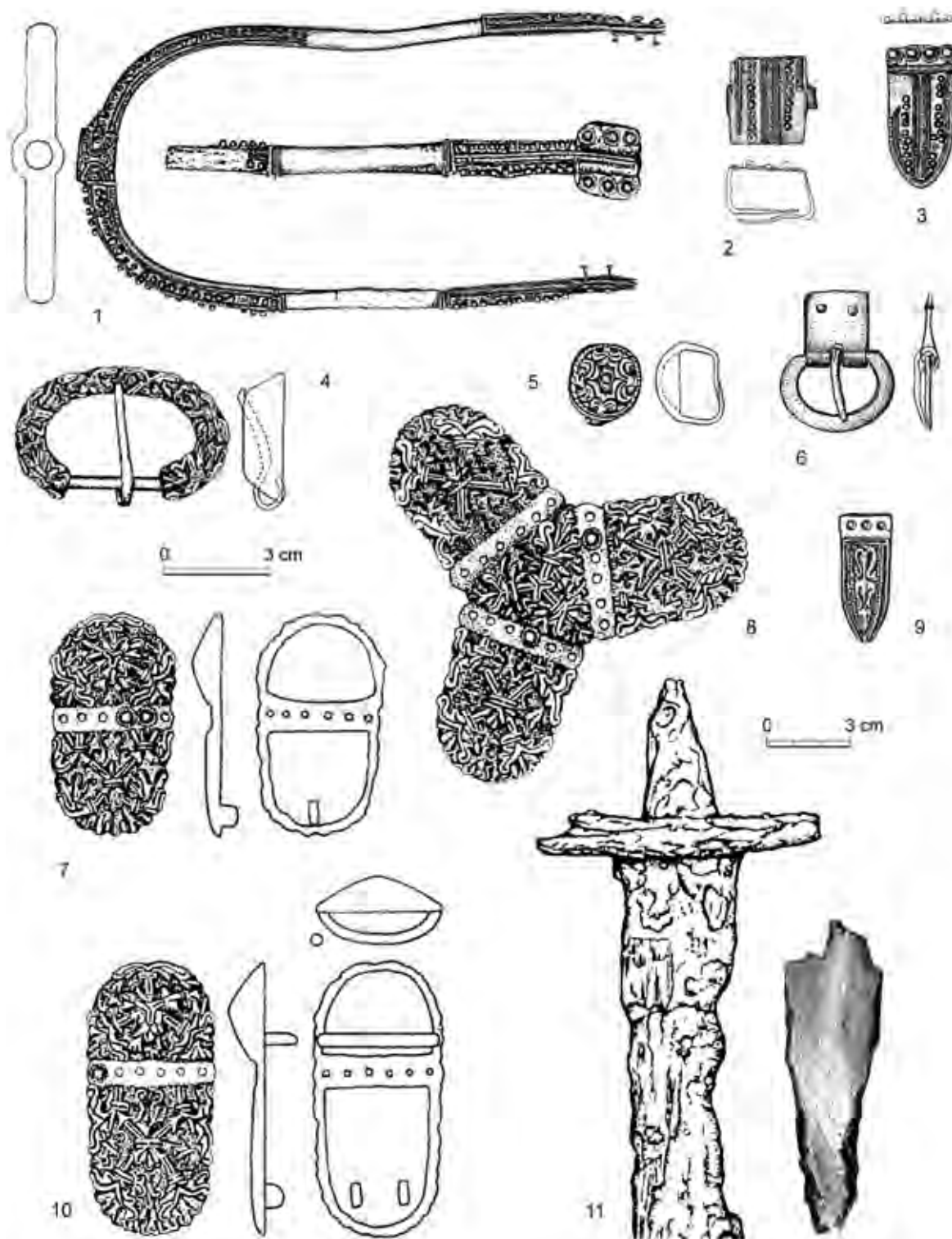
"per Boemos" from a campaign in Moravia (*Annales Fuldenses* ad a. 846, *Kurze ed.* 1891, 36). The Bohemians are reported to have caused "serious trouble and heavy losses to the (Frankish) armies". Some evidence of trans-regional contacts between elites (inclusive of marriages) can be supported by archaeological finds, above all when the bride brought a collection of jewellery with her to her new home. This was, for example, the case with Želénky, where a huge barrow from after AD 860 included the burial of a female

from Moravia, most probably from Mikulčice, as is evidenced by her double-shell buttons (**Fig. 1: 4, 5**; Profantová – Militký 2000, 189–191 with photos). The same is probably attested by the funerary equipment of a female from the princely grave in Kolín – Součkova cihelna (*Lutovský* 1996, Fig. 6–7, Tab. VI–VII).

It was in 848 that the Bohemians sent hostages (members of the elite) to Louis the German (*Annales Fuldenses* ad a. 848,



▲ **Fig. 1. Želénky, female burial with funerary equipment of Moravian origin and a medallion of western origin.** The golden cross (6) which was originally placed at the forehead of the deceased female is not preserved. After Profantová 2009b and 2011.

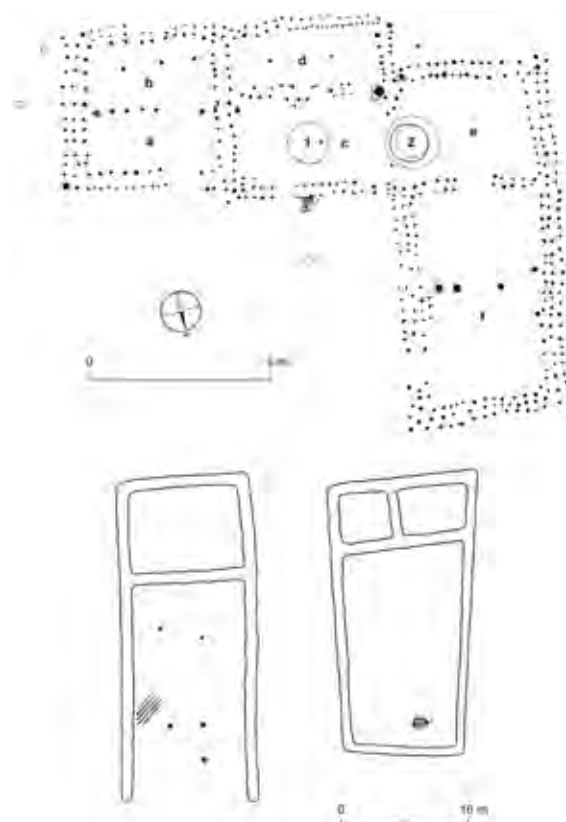


▲ Fig. 2. Part of the funerary equipment of a nobleman from Kolín – Součková cihelna.

Carolingian imports from after the mid-9th century, niello-inlaid sword belt fittings. Gilt and partly gilt silver (4–5, 7–9, 10); gilt bronze (1–3, 6); iron (11). Some equipment components were possibly a baptismal gift. After Profantová 2011, Fig. 7; Lutovský 1996.

Kurze ed. 1891, 37–38), and these probably lived somewhere in Bavaria, for example in Regensburg.<sup>6</sup>

Members of the elite are mostly characterised by luxury components of their clothing as well as by their equipment and armament, which are known from sumptuous inhumation graves (in Bohemia Kolín, Kouřim, Prague, Želénky; **Fig. 1**). The situation got more complicated at the times of cremation. For the time when cremations were prevalent we have to work from lost components of equipment (hooked and eyelet spurs) or costumes, which are mostly found in strongholds (Dolánky – Rubín, Tismice, Toušeň, Prague-Šárka, Češov).<sup>7</sup> In this case, however, it is difficult to identify which objects were worn by local nobles and which were left there by, for example, foreign negotiators or warriors (the case with the Kal stronghold). It only can be concluded that the costume of elites in Bohemia considerably changed in the first third of the 9th century. Late Avar belt fittings gradually vanished and fittings in western style began to be worn (Češov, Rubín u Podbořan, later Kouřim, Libice). The foremost men wrapped their legs in straps



► **Fig. 3. Layouts of palatial buildings.**

1 – Levý Hradec, first outer ward – multi-room aboveground house, possible residence of a magnate (9th century); 2 – Mikulčice, palace (9th century); 3 – Libice acropolis, palace (11th century). After Vařeka 2001 (1), Poulík 1975 (2), Turek – Hásková – Justová 1981 (3).

Site	Location	Dimensions (m)	Number of rooms	Floor	Other	Dating
Kouřim	first outer ward	90 × 4–6			post-built hall	9th cent.
Libice	acropolis	20 × 10	3 (1 great hall)	mortar (from older building?)	stone substruction without mortar, wooden storey, heating device	11th cent.
Libice	outer ward	22 × 4.75	4–5	wood	stone substruction	9th–10th cent. then non-violent decline
Mikulčice	acropolis	26 × 10	2 (1 great hall)	cast mortar	stone substruction, wooden storey, heating device	9th cent.
Němětice	acropolis	18 × 8.25			2 rooms, dry stone wall, heating device, part of a manor	9th cent.
Staré Město – Na Dědině	within the suburbium agglomeration?	18 × 10	2(?)	cast mortar	stone bound with mortar, roofing of antique type	9th cent. secular elite
Uherské Hradiště – Sady, Metro-politní výšina	at a significant church	35 × 8 and 8.5 × 6.2 L-shaped	2 (1 great hall)		wooden double-aisle, 2 heating devices	9th cent. ecclesiastic elites, school
Žatec	at the church	more than 7 and 4.5		wooden planks	all-wood	1st half of 11th cent. ducal milieu

▲ **Tab. 1. 9th–11th century palaces for secular and ecclesiastic elites in Bohemia and Moravia with available basic data.**

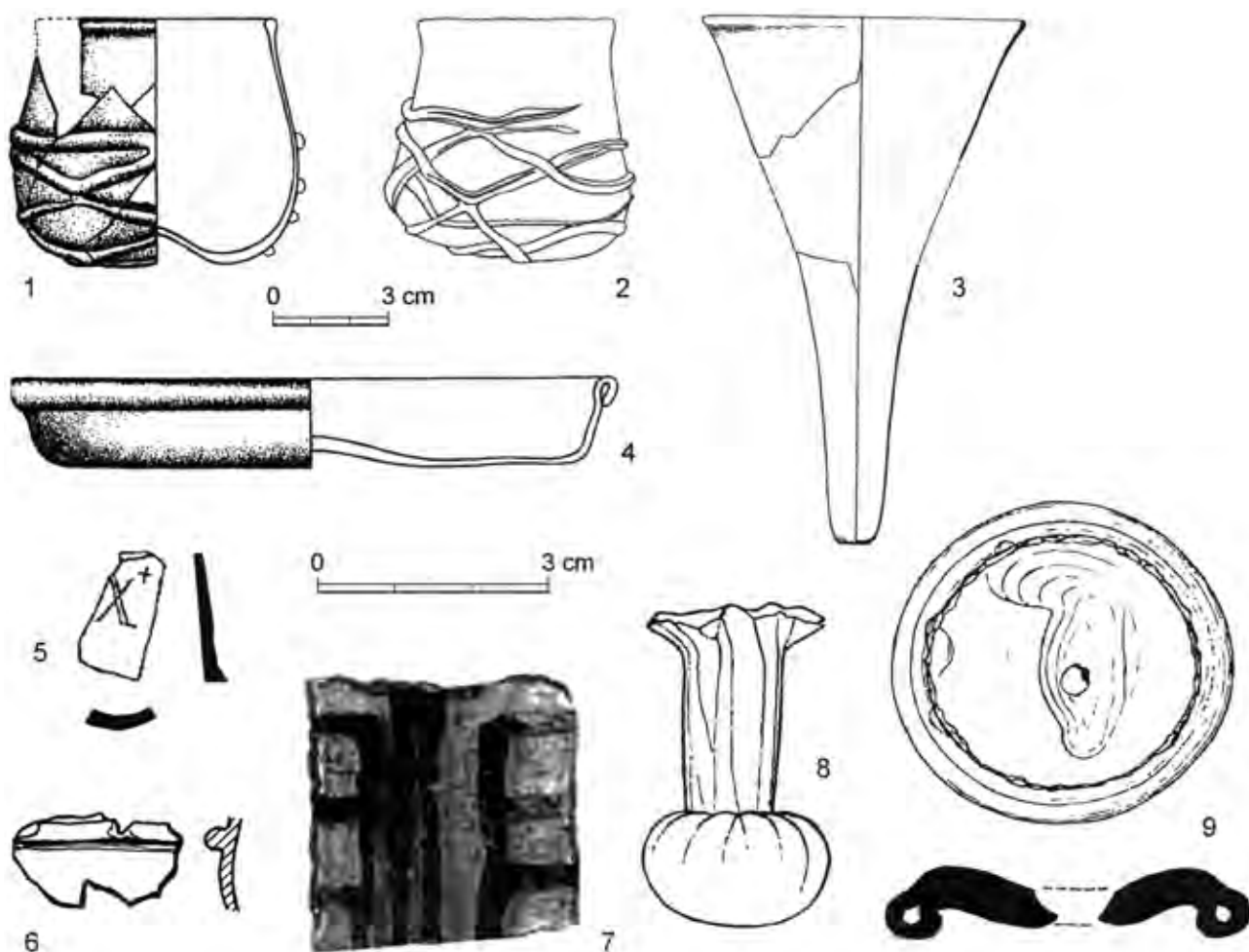
Some palaces are located within an enclosed court (Žatec), the others are mostly found at a church (Libice, Žatec), usually in the acropolis. The width is always 10 m.



with the help of buckles and loops manufactured according to western patterns (Fig. 2: 5, 9; Profantová 2011, 79–80; 2012, Fig. 2). The uppermost class wore sword belts of western origin (Fig. 2: 4, 7–8, 10).

Members of the elite resided in castles (Canburg Castle on the Elbe, *Chronicon Moissiancense* ad a. 805, Pertz ed. 1826a, pp. 307–308; Wistrach's castle maybe in NW Bohemia, castles in Central Bohemia, *Annales Fuldenses*, ad. 872, Kurze ed. 1891, 76). From archaeological findings, however, we know that not all of these castles served residential purposes (e.g. Klučov). In significant castles we suppose the existence of a palace. For the earliest period we are informed about such a palatial building only in Doubravčice (Profantová 1998, Fig. 16). Mul-

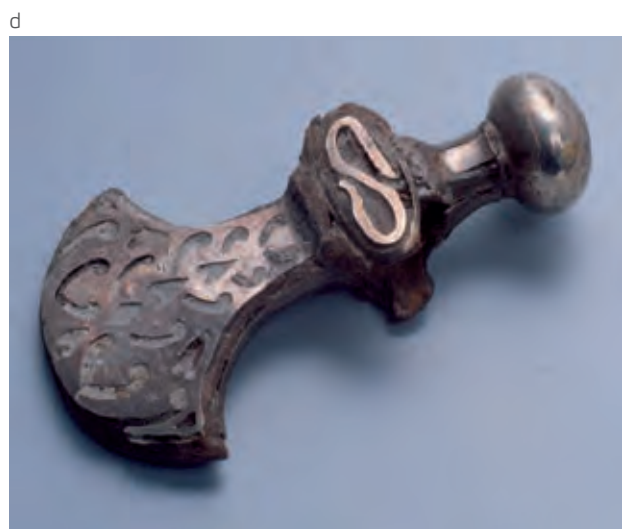
ti-room buildings were unearthed at Levý Hradec (Fig. 3: 1; Tomková 2001, Fig. 23; Vařeka 2001, 254–6, Fig. 1) and Nēmětice (Tab. 1), where an entire small hillfort with a function of enclosed court/maner probably served residential purposes in the last third of the 9th century (Michálek – Lutovský 2000, 194–5, 232). The manor at Nēmětice is comparable with the ducal residence in Ducové which, moreover, included a sacred building. At the end of the 9th century, a fortified manor also arose in the acropolis of Budeč, where the stone Church of St Peter is supposed to have been built most probably in the years 895–900 (Bartošková 2003, 184–185; more generally Profantová 2009c, 98–99). The palace, however, is overlaid here by a modern cemetery. A spacious building most probably also existed in Přistoupim, but it was identified only



▲ Fig. 4. 9th century glass from Bohemia and Moravia (selection).

1, 4 – Kolín, grave; 2 – Pohansko u Nejdku; 3, 8, 9 – Mikulčice; 5, 7 – Uherské Hradiště – Sady; 6 – Dolánky – Rubín, outer ward, Feature 1/84. Most of the artefacts are of western origin (bowls and goblets), the finds from Sady are of Byzantine origin, inclusive of the fragment with a Greek letter X and a small cross (5). The glass goblet lamp from Mikulčice (8) is probably of Syrian origin. Fragment No. 9 also comes from a lamp. Drawings in 1:2 scale, only 6, 8, 9 in 1:1; No. 7 is painted with gold. After Galuška – Macháček – Pieta – Sedláčková 2012 from various pictures; Bubeník 1997, Fig. 26: 1.





▲ Fig. 5. Kouřim, Graves 55 (a, b) and 120 (c, d).

An imported oriental war axe (hammeraxe?) and a niello-inlaid spear butt of western origin are special attributes of local noblemen, besides the more common sword and spurs.

by geophysical survey and therefore it has not been dated exactly. However, considering its almost central location, it is most probably contemporaneous with the hillfort (*Křivánek 2003, 228*).

A comparison between the building at Levý Hradec, which probably did not serve the duke (it is located in the bailey), and the buildings from Mikulčice (**Fig. 3: 2**; *Poulik 1975, 90, Tab. 58*) and Staré Město (*Galuška 2011, Fig. 9Aa reconstruction*) shows clearly how different they are. The building at Levý Hradec does not have any stone substruction or great hall. This fact is, however, most probably explained by the purpose of the building which is extraordinarily structured for that time and influenced by western building practices. The length of one of its wings varies around 9 m. From *Christian's Legend* we know that the mid-10th century palace in Prague Castle was multi-storeyed, and the house of priest Paul was "surrounded with spacious galleries" (*Ludvíkovský 1978, 32–33*). Further

examples of palaces are known from later times: the so-called priestly house on a stone substruction from the 1st and 2nd third of the 10th century unearthed in the outer ward of Libice (*Princová 1995, 258*), the major part of the palace in Žatec from the turn of the 10th–11th centuries up to the last third of the 11th century, belonging probably to one of the non-ruling Přemyslid dukes (*Čech 2004, 73–74*), and the "Přemyslid" palace on a stone substruction from the acropolis of Libice nad Cidlinou (**Fig. 3: 3**; *Turek – Hásková – Justová 1981, Fig. 36*). Its older precursor had a cast mortar floor, just as the palace at Staré Město did (**Tab. 1**).

Only little is preserved from the interior equipment of individual palaces. It most probably included bronze, silver or glass vessels, which are frequent in Moravia (**Fig. 4**; *Himmelová 1995, 85–86*; *Galuška – Macháček – Pieta – Sedláčková 2012, 62–63*), inclusive of a unique fragment with a Greek letter (Uherské Hradiště – Sady; **Fig. 4: 5**) and a glass goblet lamp,



▲ Fig. 6. The most important 9th century western imports on the territory of Bohemia (map and examples).

**Finds:** a – western import; b – grave with western imports (9th century); c – coins of Charlemagne (minted after 770–814); d – coins of Louis the Pious (814–840) and Charles the Bald (840–877); e – coins of Arnulf of Bavaria (until 937); f – coins of Henry I (minted until 955).  
**Localities:** 1 – Dolánky – Rubín; 2 – Češov; 3 – Hudčice/Martinice, Hradec; 4 – Jedomělice; 5 – Kolín, princely twin grave; 6 – Kouřim, grave H 55; 7 – Kozojedy – Dřevíč; 8 – Kováry, Budeč; 9 – Libice – outer ward; 10 – Milíčov (spear); 11 – Nové Sedlo; 12 – Plužná, hoard, maybe from as early as the end of the 8th century; 13 – Plzeň – Doudlevec (sword); 14 – Prague – Šárka; 15 – Prachov, hoard; 16 – Roudnice – Bezděkov (spear); 17 – Tismice; 18 – Žatec; 19 – Želánky u Duchcova; 20 – Hradsko u Mšena (belt loop, strap-end); 21 – Jindřichov – Cheb (seax); 22 – Stradouň.  
**Examples:** 1 – Češov; 2 – Libice (belt loop); 3 – Kouřim (silver fittings from grave H 120); 4 – Kouřim (gilt strap-end from the first bailey, unpublished); 5 – Hradsko u Mšena. Decorated with silver (1), gilded (2, 3, 4). After Profantová 2012a (1); Profantová 2011, Fig. 9, 11: 2, 12: 1 (2–3, 5).

maybe of Syrian origin (Mikulčice; **Fig. 4: 8**). In Bohemia, hollow glass is evidenced in a 10th–11th century settlement context from Libice (*Justová 1990*, 669), and a 9th century fragment is known from Rubín (Fig. 4: 6; *Bubeník 1997*, Fig. 26: 1). Metal vessels are only known from the twin grave at Kolín (*Lutovský 1996*, Fig. 9: 2–3, or Fig. 10). An iron stylus and fragments of a clay aquamanile bearing the motif of a lamb (*Princová 1995*, 258; *Turek – Hásková – Justová 1981*, Fig. 47–48, 59: 1, 3) were found in a palace in the outer ward of Libice. From Žatec comes unique evidence of a mosaic in the form of blue glass cubes, stem fragment of a glass goblet, glass rings, lead seals and decorative bone knife grips (*Čech 2004*, 77). In the 11th century palace milieu coins also occurred, of course.

Members of the elite were always clothed in precious fabrics. Luxury clothes were worn during official ceremonies, in privacy, or as a part of funerary equipment: Kouřim, a girl in grave H 23 – a silk and linen headband; Boleslaus I or II, or, more precisely, burial H 98 in the Basilica of St George – a silk stocking lace; grave H 97 in the same church, that is, the grave of Vratislaus I; bishops buried in Prague Castle (cf. recently *Profantová 2008*, 92, Tab. 4, Fig. 6 and Tab. 4 – also with Moravian finds). In the 11th century graves of bishops we find, for example, a shoe of Bishop Severus (+1068) made of silk velvet; part of the bordure of an episcopal mitre and a gold-embroidered fabric were found in the grave of Bishop Cosmas (+1098; *Bravermanová 2005*, 124). Other material evidence of the elites is represented by the components of board games. Gaming pieces do not come directly from palaces, but from their neighbourhood: from 11th century Libice (*Princová 2000*, 176–177), and from the 10th–11th century horizon in Prague Castle (*Kaván 1975*, Tab. 2: 36–37).<sup>8</sup> Sporadic finds of astragals are also known, for example at Budeč (*Profantová 2014*). A 9th century stone tablet for the Mill Game was found in Prague-Butovice (*Mašek 1970*, Fig. 3: 1) and a second find, most probably from the 10th century, comes from Libice (*Princová 2000*, 176). The number of dressed gaming pieces in Bohemia is smaller than in the Great Moravian environment.

Affiliation with the social elite is also evidenced by objects of special purpose. Among the most typical ones are the attributes of noblemen, such as swords, spurs, the banderium or butt of a banner or spear pole (*Profantová 2011*, Fig. 1–4, 7, 10, 11; *Smetánka 2006*, 157, Fig. 2–3). The best-known find of this kind was made in Kouřim (**Fig. 5**). The niello- and lead-inlaid spear butt from this locality has a faithful analogy in a find from Regensburg (*Profantová 2011*, 73–5, obr. 10). Recently, luxury components of clothing and equipment have also been known as isolated finds from strongholds (Češov – a metal-inlaid loop, **Fig. 6: 1** in this work, *Profantová 2012a*, Fig. 2: 2; Hradsko; **Fig. 6: 5** in this work) or from other sites,

even in little known regions (Stradouň near Vraclav; **Fig. 6: 22**, or another locality in the Hradec Králové region with exact parallel in Staré Město; *Profantová 2014*). Several weapons and spurs were manufactured in miniature size, giving evidence of the high status of some buried children. Among them are mainly the graves of boys equipped with miniature axes, spurs and combat knives (*Profantová 2005a*, esp. Fig. 2; 4) which were found in Kouřim, Prague – za Jízdárnou and in Lhota – Závist (*Profantová 2005a*, Abb. 2; 8). These finds indicate the heritable status of the buried children, the status of a mounted warrior, which they never achieved due to their early death. Girls are often adorned with ornaments, which were either obtained during baptism, or intended for their wedding, or served as special protective amulets (lockets/ amulet containers, crescent-shaped pendants; *Profantová – Šilhová 2010a*, Tab. 1, Fig. 3, 12, 15, 17).

Considering the different research strategies, it is difficult to compare archaeological evidence of Moravian and Bohemian elites, above all when we base ourselves on the comprehensive knowledge of noble residences.<sup>9</sup> Extensive systematic excavations in Moravia have induced relatively conclusive attempts to interpret the structure of individual noble seats, for example Břeclav – Pohansko (*Macháček 2012*, 781–782), on a power-political and functional base. However, archaeologically verified reports of the Legends of St Wenceslas (*Profantová 2009b*, 288n.) also exist, and offer an argued view of noble residences. Based on these sources, the 9th–10th century Bohemian castles can be identified with particular localities in the landscape, which allows us to draw further historical conclusions, for example those on the structure of the emergent early state. In the course of the Christianisation process, the earliest churches arose in some of these castles, and soon thereafter they turned into burial places for the elites (Prague – Castle, Church of the Virgin Mary, Rotunda of St Vitus, Basilica of St George with burials of members of the Přemyslid family; *Profantová 2009b*; *Frolík 2005*, Fig. 1, 2, 3: 1–2). The gravestones with written latin inscription from the end of the 10th century were found outside Libice church.



# WARFARE IN GREAT MORAVIA

Alexander T. Ruttkay

Written reports from the 9th–10th century about the territory of Great Moravia mainly deal with political and power disputes which were solved by military action. Internal social development and, above all, the course of interactions with neighbours were mainly based on military power. The testimony of literary sources, however, is often biased. It reveals little about the weapons, equipment and physical condition of those who bore them. The skeletal remains of people from various social classes of that time (which have been studied and compared with each other anthropologically) reveal that there was natural selection – based on fitness, too – of those who became successful warriors.

The production of weapons required a well-developed technology of high quality, or at least a quality higher than the average for ordinary craft production of that time. Material culture also enables us to compare many other spheres of life and culture within a wider geographical context, and weapons are a suitable criterion.

To introduce Great Moravian warfare, it is maybe necessary to point out three factors: 1. The early mediaeval period was characterised by a general convergence of warfare and military equipment across large parts of Europe; 2. Great Moravia inclined most to the sphere of West European warfare; 3. Military as well as general cultural interactions with the Frankish area were of crucial importance for the development of the Slavs north of the Danube in the 8th – 9th centuries.

Literary sources contain information about or references to 65 military or military-political activities in 833–907. Detailed information with varying degrees of testimonial value comes from external – above all Frankish – sources, less frequently from Byzantine or oriental sources. Most reports – about essentially all kinds of military events, but particularly about those connected with expansive wars on foreign territory – concern the years 871–894, that is, the reign of Svatopluk I. Most “details” recorded by Frankish authors also come from this period. Based on them – and using the numerous archaeological discoveries and knowledge from other scientific branches – we can reconstruct the general characteristics and specifics of Great Moravian warfare. For filling in the gaps in literary sources it may also be possible, in due proportion, to use knowledge of Frankish warfare, or of the forms of combat in Nordic countries. However, a significant characteristic besides the convergence of warfare of professional mounted troops was the fact that individual specifics of warfare and military equipment were also preserved: they proceeded from previous local development, as will be shown in this short overview of warfare in Great Moravia.

## Geopolitical context and war aims

Permanent Franco-Great Moravian antagonism appears to be the only fundamental in studies of the warfare of our ancestors. The absence of sources hinders us from following up for example the origins of military-political relationships with the Old Magyars in Central Europe, which were forming possibly as early as AD 862, and certainly by 882. Literary sources contain only sporadic and unclear references to military conflicts with the Bulgarian state.

The military expansion of Svatopluk I, associated with immense territorial growth, testifies to a huge military potential and wide-reaching state-forming ambitions. The expansion, however, often only took on the form of a counter-strike, that is, coerced defence. Of this kind were the devastating attacks of Svatopluk in 882–884 on Pannonia, as a response to Frankish pressure.

The frequent conflicts inside the uppermost class in Great Moravia, or, to be more precise, in the ruling dynasty, fall within a wider military context. These were usually a welcome opportunity for Frankish intervention. However, Great Moravian rulers also took advantage of power disputes within the East Frankish branch of the Carolingian dynasty.

The effort to gain spoils of war and extend the size of the exploitable population were secondary aims of all wars involving Great Moravia, and the main goal of most. At the beginning of early mediaeval states, internal wars were a precondition of annexation and thus led to the merging of smaller units into larger formations. The expansion of Mojmir, the removal of Pribina from power and the establishment of a territorial core correspond to this pattern. The process of the emergence of this core, with regard to currently known archaeological findings, can perhaps be documented most markedly in West and North Slovakia. It might have been before the mid-9th century that some of the older strongholds lost the power position of a regional centre. This phenomenon may also have involved economic aspects. “Internal expansion” may have been targeted at, for example, the Central Slovak regions which were rich in natural resources, the former domain of Pribina. Economic aspirations are also reflected in Svatopluk’s campaigns in the Tisza region and Vistula Land, which may have been motivated by access to salt mines and potential control over trade roads.

The goals of early mediaeval wars were often only single and occasional (plundering, the binding of enemies to “loyalty”), less frequently permanent (the annexation of foreign territory as a possible source for permanent exploitation). Among



these wars of conquest were Svatopluk's actions against the Vistulans, Bohemi and Lusatian Sorbs in the last quarter of the 9th century and the annexation of their territories. These did not become an integral part of Great Moravia, but were rather a source of military-political tension and instability. When the Great Moravian Dukes weakened, the annexed regions immediately broke away.

The seizure of the Transdanubian forefield (the Pilis Hills and Visegrád) maybe provided a possible starting point for raids on Pannonia.

In general, the forms of economic exploitation of, or the means of control over, captured territories are not known. It is likely that the primary importance may have consisted of the provision of a stable military alliance.

### **Fortresses**

Military organisation was based on a network of multifunctional strongholds, which were supplemented, particularly after the mid-9th century, with the specific institution of manors. The earliest of the hitherto explored Old Slavic strongholds had already been built by around AD 800. Their dimensions were varied, probably depending on the size of the population inhabiting the area under administration.

The shape of the fortified area and type of fortification mainly depended on the landscape relief. Results of archaeological excavations have disproved the axiomatic theories that assumed that the Slavic centres were "marshland" forts situated exclusively in lowlands or on the floodplains of water-courses. This assumption corresponded to traditional opinions which sought the original homeland of the Slavs somewhere in the marshy regions around the Rivers Dnieper and Bug and in anachronic written reports on their warfare. The well-known eighteenth chapter of the treatise by Emperor Leo the Wise entitled *On the Tactics of War*, as well as other works by Byzantine authors dealing with warfare, are verbatim copies of the work of the so-called Pseudo-Maurice from the turn of the 6th and 7th centuries, reflecting the early Slavic invasion of the Balkans. It would not be harsh to say these sources have nothing to do with 9th century Slavic warfare. Therefore it is in no way surprising that the most significant forts and manors are situated in dominant locations, sometimes even in places where later mediaeval stone castles were built.

The earliest Slavic strongholds emerged amidst well-developed settlement areas and represented territorial centres. They fall within a period in which the Slavic milieu north of the Danube no longer exhibited any evidence of tribal structure.

The large dimensions of the fortified area, a high demand for resources and an immense volume of work required from the local populace in the construction of fortifications – among them, for example, the defensive walls with a timber latticework or grid structure inside – testify that the construction, defence and maintenance of these forts required the involvement of many people. This process also induced changes in environmental conditions (deforestation and extension of the area of cultivated soil). The territorial organisation and deepening social differentiation are also reflected in the fact that within the fortified area there arose a separate residential compound for the needs of the leader – the duke of the local stronghold. The fort not only fulfilled an administrative and economic function but also represented a refuge for people living in its neighbourhood in the time of military threat.

The network of forts changed after the rise of Great Moravia, meeting the new organisational needs.

Some data for the estimation of the number and structure of strongholds can be inferred from written reports. Whereas the so-called Bavarian Geographer in his text from AD 843 entitled *Description of cities and lands north of the Danube* mentions 11 *civitates*, in the years 882–890 thirty such centres were already being reported. The term *civitates* has usually been explained by archaeologists as fortified towns, that is, extensive fortified settlements representing individual "temporary residences" of the duke, his court and armed retinue, with extensive craft production and an agrarian hinterland. They have also been interpreted as centres of ecclesiastical organisation and "castle districts", that is, the fundamental elements behind power and military organisation. According to present knowledge, Mikulčice, the settlement agglomeration of Uherské Hradiště – Staré Město, and Nitra in Slovakia are the main centres that can be classed as such fortified towns. This classification is not evidenced in other localities, but this fact does not diminish in any way their significance with regard to organisation and territorial defence.

An important role among the archaeologically-identified fortified sites was played by the manors. It seems that the institution of manors began to be organisationally important chiefly after the 2nd half of the 9th century.

### **Composition and organisation of armies**

The structure of Great Moravian armies reflected the opinion that warfare should mainly be a matter for the privileged classes. Military forces composed of members of the social



▲ **Fig. 1. Great Moravian cavalryman – member of the ducal retinue (top).** After L. Galuška; **armed retainer at the gate of the Great Moravian fortified manor in Ducové (bottom).** Model in the Archive of the Institute of Archaeology of the Slovak Academy of Sciences in Nitra.

elite represented the permanent military reserve of the duke. They comprised higher aristocracy (senior retinue) and members of proper ducal troops (junior retinue). One part of the latter warrior class was descended from the residues of family aristocracy. All the other soldiers, however, were members of a new military force which also involved lower classes of free people. The Great Moravian army also employed warriors of foreign origin, not only individuals but also whole troops. This is attested by written reports and archaeological finds. Besides the well-documented Frankish warriors we can also take into account the early presence of retainers from the East, and maybe among them some of Magyar origin too.

The retainers owed their social advancement to the favour of the duke. As a reward for their support they gained advantages from the duke: food and equipment for free and various bonuses, mainly in the form of a share of booty. Retainers of foreign origin did not enjoy support from the locals, which is why their status may have been rather insecure.

One part of the retinue formed the permanent armed escort of the duke; the others were garrisoned as a permanent armed and military-organisational contingent in individual strongholds or other centres (**Fig. 1**). This arrangement also secured food for the professional warriors, and the retinue could also better play its repressive role towards the common people, if necessary.

It was approximately under Svatopluk I that the power of aristocratic demesnes with residences of manorial type began to rise. Individual manors probably maintained their own small armed troops. This is a new element – military forces maintained by individual aristocrats but from the military point of view they were an integral part of the ducal army. In critical situations a decentralising aspect came to the fore – the power and separatist aspirations of individual members of the aristocracy.

The most reliable support the duke had was those members of his retinue who remained entirely dependent. They were probably obliged to render support to their lord even if a given situation was unfavourable for him. Such a relationship, however, was not typical. The armed retinue was not based on the principle of “loyalty”. In the case of power and political turmoils the retainers did not usually share in the fate of their lords but – if they had not fallen in battle – changed their sphere of action as professional warriors. The mention of the break-up of Great Moravia and the consequent scattering of the Moravian population and its joining up with neighbouring peoples – the Bulgarians, Magyars and Croats, could also be related to former retainers.

The other part of the armed forces was composed of lower classes of free people (the reserve). This organisational element proceeded from older traditions of military duty within individual communities governed by elders. The regional organisation, on the other hand, was established under the conditions of the castle system and was secured by individual burgraves. Reserve forces for the most part did not consist of professional warriors. However, with their number and their skills in mastering widely-used types of weapons they represented a considerable power. They were mainly important in the defence of their own territory, and to a lesser extent in campaigns. When military forces were organised within castle centres, other strongholds, manors etc., units of retainers could be deployed to use repressive methods against the common people.

The size of Great Moravian armies is mainly based on subjective demographic estimates. Considering the estimated size of the population in the core of Great Moravia, its social structure and the system we have indicated for the organisation of armies, it is only possible to credit a maximum capacity for mobilisation of up to 15–30,000 men, and that was something that was only achieved sporadically. In the case of foreign aggression, however, virtually all – that is, including non-military – components of the population were involved in battles and sabotage actions.

As far as the number of mounted retainers is concerned, on the basis of contemporaneous sources from Western Europe it can be estimated that their total number in central and peripheral power centres and private manors was not more than about 3,000 men.

The size of the reserve was more variable. Frankish annals described Great Moravian troops as impressive with regard to their number and visual appearance, and equal to Frankish military forces. The mention of Svatopluk's army in Pannonia, which "was seen passing through the same place from dawn till dusk" can also be used with caution as a hypothetical base for calculation of the total size of the armed retinue and the reserve: up to 5,000 equestrians and 15–20,000 foot soldiers.

Partial sources for calculating the size of troops were obtained by archaeological excavations. As much as one third of the male population buried in cemeteries at castle centres exhibit the typical attributes of warriors. The share of warrior graves in manors is even higher: 20–40 %. Auxiliary data is provided by sources from other regions of Europe, dealing with the minimum size of troops which was needed for the defence of strongholds. The results indicate that even some hundreds of people were needed for the construction and maintenance of

a fortification; the defence of it required approximately the same number of warriors.

### **Armament**

The duke provided his own retainers with weapons and horses. Professional warriors were sponsored by other members of the elite or ecclesiastical institutions, as well. The military reserve, on the other hand, mostly used its own weapons according to archaic tradition and the partially preserved integrity of communities.

Weapons which were lost during battle could be replaced from the supplies of tradesmen accompanying the troops. The damaged weapons were repaired by smiths who were on service with the duke. Well-developed iron production was reflected in the increased number of home-made weapons. Virtually all known types of weapons from that time were manufactured. Craft production was mainly concentrated in the neighbourhood of power centres.

Weapons were imported from the Frankish Empire, where workshops in the Rhineland produced above all high-quality swords. The import of Frankish weapons was particularly important in places where home production was not developed. In such cases a ban on the export of weapons became a very effective commercial and political tool. The Franks applied this method to several territories. A similar embargo against Great Moravia with its well-developed iron production, however, would not have had any practical effect. For this reason, if Frankish merchants met the existing operational conditions, they were probably allowed to trade on Slavic territory in all kinds of wares, that is, also in weapons. One part of the armament production of Frankish origin was imported into Great Moravia as an article of trade; the other products were imported into this area as part of booty and, to a lesser extent, in the form of gifts within diplomatic contacts and promises of peace (amongst other things).

Militaria of Frankish origin probably represented only a small part of the overall volume of Great Moravian weaponry, but did also serve as prototypes for some types of local armament production.

As much as 83 % of hitherto discovered 9th century militaria comes from burial grounds, 11 % from fortified and unfortified settlements and 6 % is represented by isolated finds.

Weaponry is dominated by types which were also used before the 9th century. Viewed genetically, we can distinguish the following three categories: a) the original East European



▲ **Fig. 2. Blatnica, Martin Dist.**

Metal sword grip with rich hammered decoration and a detail of the decorative pattern in the lower part of the grip. Photo Archive of the Institute of Archaeology of the Slovak Academy of Sciences in Nitra.



▲ **Fig. 3. 9th century swords (selection).**

From left Detva (cross and circle symbols on both sides of the blade, made with iron bars); Malé Kozmálovce (a cross on the blade, made with a bronze bar); Žabokreky (Damascus blade). Photo Archive of the Institute of Archaeology of the Slovak Academy of Sciences in Nitra.

type (the sphere of so-called Avar nomadic armament), used mainly in the Middle Danube region as early as the 7th–8th centuries (narrow axes with elongated head, maces, trefoil or simple leaf-shaped tanged arrowheads, so-called Avar stirrups); b) types with a connection to older forms from the



▲ **Fig. 4. Ducové (silver-inlaid spurs); Svätý Jur (stirrup with decoratively profiled frame).**

Photo Archive of the Institute of Archaeology of the Slovak Academy of Sciences in Nitra.



Roman Era and subsequent long-term local development in the Carpathian Basin (narrow axes with short head, broad axes, bearded axes, spearheads with a flat leaf-shaped head and short socket) or in the broader Central European area (socketed arrowheads); c) armament components, originally from Western Europe, which were imported into the Slavic area north of the Danube mainly after the mid-8th century and underwent local development on this territory (e.g. eyelet and hooked spurs, whose derivatives survived until as late as the mid-9th century, and sporadically also seaxes).

Several types of weapons which in the 7th–8th centuries were linked with the nomadic (Avar) technique (sabres, narrow quadrangular spearheads, reflex bows).

Coming into the foreground, there were types of weapons and equipment components of Western European origin, which on our territory had occurred only sporadically before

the 9th century (double-edged swords, spurs with end plates); the influence of western-type equipment is also documented by stirrups with a broad massive base, and by the frequent occurrence of winged spearheads (Fig. 3–5).

Sporadically but indisputably evidenced, there is also the militaria which does not have any local “nomadic” 7th–8th century precursors, but many 9th century analogies from Eastern Europe (e.g. rhombic or forked tanged arrowheads, several variants of bits with cheek bars). Examples already occur within the horizon of the 1st half of the 9th century.

Most militaria comes from graves. It represents what is relatively the most suitable source for the study of the composition of warrior equipment. The graves contain a total of 9 types of weapons and equipment components in the following proportions: combat knives and daggers in about 72 %, axes 43 %, spurs 33 %, spears 26 %, arrowheads



▲ Fig. 5. Winged spearhead from Dobrá Voda and two battle axes from Nitra.

Photo Archive of the Institute of Archaeology of the Slovak Academy of Sciences in Nitra.



▲ Fig. 6. Bojná I. A hoard of five spurs and parts of mail armour (camail from a helmet?).

Photo Archive of the Institute of Archaeology of the Slovak Academy of Sciences in Nitra.



▲ Fig. 7. An iron hoard from Pružina including axes, spurs, stirrups and bits. Photo Archive of the Institute of Archaeology in Brno.

24 %, double-edged swords 7 %, stirrups 2.5 % and bits in 1 % of graves with equipment components. This assemblage was then analysed using two criteria: 1. joint occurrence of different types of militaria; 2. basic combinations of types present. The most frequent weapon in individual combinations is the sword, followed by spear, axe, and bow/arrow (Fig. 2). The graves mostly contain only one type of militaria, usually in combination with a knife: axe 27.3 %, spurs 18.3 %, arrowheads 13.8 %, spearhead 9.1 % (among others). A knife as the only weapon (the precondition for this is a blade more than 14 cm long) occurred in 5.4 % of all cases. In reliably documented grave assemblages there is mostly a combination of four types of militaria (axe, spear, knife and spurs).

Warrior graves with equestrian attributes represent 36.7 % and those without these attributes the remaining 63.3 % of

the whole assemblage under review. Provided that spurs or rarely-occurring stirrups and bits signify mounted soldiers (Fig. 6–7), then the above-mentioned main types of weapons would be represented as follows: sword 85.2:14.8 %; spear 48.1:51.9 %; axe 17.0:83.0 %; bow and arrow 11.4:88.6 %.

The result is in accordance with the generally accepted connection between a sword and mounted combat, and the occurrence of spears corresponds to the versatile character of this cavalry and infantry weapon. The axes found do not contradict their being used mainly by infantry, either. Unlike 8th century equestrians equipped with reflex bows, Great Moravian archers – it seems – were mainly foot soldiers.

In several cases, however, the composition of military equipment may reflect the possessions of the buried person but

not the weapons which were in fact used in battle. Such combinations are spear/bow and arrow, or spear/axe.

Military equipment was quite expensive, so in Great Moravia as much as in other places, a complete panoply can only be expected in the most prominent circles. In the graves of such people there are also helmets, mail armour and greaves. Our knowledge of those parts of Great Moravian military equipment which were not deposited in graves can be supplemented with data from Frankish sources, where helmets, armour and greaves are also mentioned among the optimal combinations of armaments prescribed by the ruler. A complete panoply (helmet, armour, sword with scabbard, greaves, shield and spear, spurs and horse with harness) had a value equal to almost 50 cows. Members of the elite even owned multiple sets of such equipment. Most of the equestrians and the foot soldiers, however, were only equipped with basic arms and armour – spear and shield. Members of the lower classes of free people in defensive wars were often equipped with only a bow and a club.

### **Strategy, tactics and conduct of war**

Written reports contain valuable information about the strategic and tactical elements used by the Slavs north of the Danube in the 9th century. It concerns the interactions with Frankish troops.

The chief commander in most of the military actions was the duke. This position granted him full authority over the army, which was very heterogeneous with regard to social rank, military equipment and combat tasks. If the duke did not take an active part in a military action, the post of commander was taken over by another member of the ruling family. The choice is therefore in no way surprising in the case of Slavomír in AD 871, even though he was a cleric. We can see, for example, that Frankish prelates were also relatively often commanders of the army. In Great Moravia, problems arose with unified command due to the dual organisation of military forces in the Moravian and the Nitra part of the state. The most demonstrative example thereof is represented by the dynastic disputes in the years 870 and 898. Power conflicts, or betrayal by several aristocrats, to be more exact, are evidenced by, for example, the AD 897 requirement by Great Moravian envoys to Arnulf not to grant asylum to exiles from Great Moravia.

The army, however, was probably a fairly reliable support to the duke, in terms of upholding his power. No mention is known of any dissatisfaction within, or revolt of, the retinue. Among ordinary offences against discipline we mainly find penalties

for weapon and horse theft and for each unauthorised usurpation of any share of the booty.

The main criterion for the internal structure of armies was the division into cavalry and infantry. Cavalry, mainly composed of ducal retainers, was supplemented in the case of greater mobilisation with troops of retainers maintained by individual aristocrats and with small mounted contingents from the communal reserve. The organisation of equestrian troops was most probably based on the decimal system, a reflection of which is preserved in Slavic military terminology. The highest unit in this system was a regiment, which corresponds (with its approximately 1,000 men) to the term “legion”. In connection with the organisation of the Great Moravian retinue we also must take into consideration the basic term designating the armed troops of Frankish rulers – the *scara*. In terms of quantity, one *scara* signified a unit of about 250–300 equestrians.

Infantry reserve troops went to war under the command of elders. However, it is certainly possible that communal contingents and, above all, troops of the retainers of individual aristocrats formed separate units of mounted troops, as well.

The choice of when to wage war was up to the attacking side and followed hundreds of years of experience. One of the criteria was how likely it would be to gain food and the richest possible booty. It was mostly the months of July, August and September that fulfilled these requirements. When the domestic cereal harvest had been brought in, the mobilisation of larger troops and a sufficient supply of food for them was possible. An attack, however, was also prompted by the assumption of full storerooms on enemy territory. The above-mentioned time of the year also provided favourable conditions for fast redeployment (low levels of rivers, dry roads). More than 80% of precisely-dated 9th century military actions fall within the above three months.

The organisation of an attack was linked with knowledge of the defensive system of the enemy and who he was currently allied with. Multiple Frankish attacks were waged in the form of two or three battlefronts with separate objectives. In 869, for example, one army moved against the domain of Rostislav in Moravia, a second against Svatopluk's Duchy of Nitra, and a third was sent out to defeat the Sorbs. In 871, two armies moved against Great Moravia and a third went to Bohemia. A military invasion organised in this manner was supposed to prevent any help on the part of known or potential allies of the land being invaded. Another example is a concentrated attack based on a distinct superiority in numbers. The attack on Great Moravia in 892 saw the

involvement of two armies under the command of Arnulf, an army of the Pannonian Duke Braslav and an army of Old Magyars from a fourth direction.

A unique example is represented by the strategic simulation of the objective of an attack with the aim of confusing the enemy. Louis the German spread the rumour that he was preparing an army for an invasion of Great Moravia, but in fact it was deployed in Carantania against his rebellious son.

The plan of attack was based on strategic information about the targeted country. Such a military-strategic overview of the power and organisational system of defence in the wider neighbourhood of the Frankish state is again partly presented by, for example, the *Bavarian Geographer*. The East Frankish and the Great Moravian states were very well informed of each other owing to frequent military, diplomatic and economic interactions. A source of information may also have been the specific knowledge of tradesmen, released captives, hostages, and information "from their own troops", that is, from deserters seeking diplomatic or military support from the enemy in the case of domestic disputes.

Topical information concerning the plan of a military attack on enemy territory was provided by reconnaissance units. This was also the mission of the spies (*speculatores*) who were sent by Svatopluk beyond the Danube in 883 to destroy the property of the sons of William and Engelschalk, that is, to conduct sabotage in the rear of the enemy.

The redeployment of armies took place in the form of streams which were arranged depending on how passable the relevant connection roads were. The average speed of redeployment may have been up to a maximum of 30–40 km daily. A considerable obstacle to movement (and in battle) was also represented by major watercourses. Among the duties of the lower classes of local inhabitants may thus have been various engineering services for military purposes and, exceptionally, also the construction of bridges. However, armies generally crossed rivers via fords. Ships and boats were used to cross great rivers, such as the Danube. A direct report on such an event exists for example for the year 871 in connection with a movement of Frankish troops to the north.

The basic early mediaeval battle formation was a frontal phalanx. The line-up of Slavic armies in phalanxes is indicated by a disputable mention for the year 893. Great Moravian troops were sometimes also arrayed two ranks deep. A depth of two ranks is mentioned in the 9th century in connection with Frankish armies. Military strategy also involved reserve

forces. For example, during the flexible manoeuvres by Svatopluk in 871 and 872, victory was based on "reserve troops" which surprised the encamped Franks.

The chance for a commander directly to lead a battle ended with the onset of fighting. The beginning was traditionally represented by an assault of cavalry with spears. Such an attack was most effective when the equestrians also maintained a straight line in loose formation. Somewhat later, Liutprand, for example, when describing the battle against the Old Magyars at the Unstrut in 933, mentions that the cavalrymen were ordered by the commander not to try to outpace the others, even if their horses were faster. After the cavalry assault, the battle continued in a disorganised manner and transformed into the characteristic personal duels of individuals. From then on the result depended on the number of warriors, their individual skills and the quality of their armament. If the cavalry assault did not bring decisive success to any of the parties, the subsequent course of the battle depended on a superiority in numbers of foot soldiers and their manoeuvring skills on the battlefield, which was often quite confined. For this reason, equestrians fighting in a common unit dismounted and reinforced the infantry. The goal was also to liquidate or capture the enemy commanders, as is indicated by a report from the year 893 (in which Great Moravian warriors are said to have tried to capture King Arnulf).

A chaotic retreat by defeated troops, which often changed into a stampede, also fits in with the disorganised nature of early mediaeval battles. Frankish warriors, when in flight, were known to have been liquidated by common Slavs. Written reports inform us about numbers of soldiers who drowned in rivers.

The results of most wars were decided during small-scale combat and by variable tactical moves. The combat tactics of the Great Moravian army against Frankish attacks was mostly based on fracturing the war into smaller conflicts which constantly disquieted the enemy. Such tactics also involved the population and all fortifications being on maximum alert for combat, and a concentration of military forces and large numbers of inhabitants in mighty forts or fortified towns that played the role of almost impregnable refuges, according to Frankish sources. A failed siege of these castles, the taking of hostages and only a weak pledge of vassal loyalty, or the paying of tributes and above all plundering of the land – this was often the maximum which Frankish troops achieved. Moreover, the besiegers themselves were gradually faced with subsistence problems and then often defeated in an effort to leave enemy country.



These military tactics of the Great Moravian dukes changed under Svatopluk I. The expansion of the Great Moravian state was disguised by the ruler in the form of, for example, the repressions against Transdanubia. The duration of these plundering campaigns by Svatopluk was limited by supply problems, which hindered the armies from staying in a foreign country any longer than one or two months. One of the campaigns to Pannonia in 884 lasted twelve days, and Svatopluk then returned to his own territory. Later – probably after the supply problems were solved – he sent one part of the army back to Pannonia.

The description of attacks on Great Moravia in Frankish annals also contains information about the plundering conducted by Frankish troops, which had two objectives: gaining supplies for the maintenance of armies and gaining the richest possible booty. The local inhabitants hid their supplies and belongings in various pits, caves and suchlike. The enemy, however, often found out about these places. Carloman, who was plundering the Moravian and Nitra part of the core of Great Moravia in 869, is said to “have found and captured with his soldiers everything which was hidden in forests or buried in fields”. The next year, after a power dispute between Rostislav and Svatopluk, the Franks temporarily seized some of the Great Moravian centres and Carloman is even said to have “taken possession of a royal treasure”.

Another form of plundering can be referred to as strategic. Cutting down the cereals across whole regions or – for example during Arnulf’s invasion in 890 – even a systematic felling of fruit-bearing trees is an example of the effort to cause serious economic damage to the land under attack. The aim was to establish conditions which would make the beleaguered side accept the conditions of the invader. The plundering raids by Great Moravian armies beyond the frontier were of similar dual purpose. The description of actions conducted by Svatopluk’s armies in Transdanubia, for example, clearly reflects “scorched earth” tactics and the creation of a devastated zone in buffer regions between the Frankish power domain and Great Moravia.

One of the main impulses for the mobilisation and combat activity of early mediaeval armies was the dream of booty. It comprised, among other things, the weapons and equipment of killed and captured enemies and all the material gained by plundering the invaded territory. This is why there was an effort to codify the rules for dividing booty as soon as in the Great Moravian milieu. The privileged position of the duke in this regard was taken for granted; one part of the dynastic treasure probably came from the spoils of war. The *Law for Judging the People* (*Zakon sudnyj ljudem*) claims that

in the case of a victory, “every sixth part of the booty shall belong to the Duke; everything else is to be taken for all the people and divided at home equally among the great and the little, because the counts (i.e. ispáns, župans) already receive enough from the Duke and other booty is to be divided among their people.” Some part of the booty was also supposed to be given to guards or reserves who had not taken an active part in battle. Combat activity and bravery were meant to be rewarded from the ducal share.

The practicability of the provisions included in the *Law for Judging the People* can be called into question, but the code of law also contains facts which were valid in the 9th century. Among them is, for example, a mention of purchasing captives and of how they may be redeemed. In the description of the Franco-Great Moravian wars, Frankish annals only rarely mention the taking of captives, be it on the one or the other side. Hostages are mentioned more frequently because they guaranteed the observance of negotiated commitments. An entry from AD 871 mentions an effort to redeem some Bavarian soldiers, many of whom had been “captured by Svatopluk alive right in the camp”, in exchange for Slavic hostages. The assumption that most enemies were killed is unfounded; the fact that captives were not taken cannot be explained as a remnant of the family system or the immaturity of early feudal relationships. Manpower, in the broadest sense of the word, can be regarded as a very worthwhile part of booty. The social structure of Great Moravia already included a class of unfree people. One part of this class consisted of prisoners of war. Svatopluk’s campaigns after 874 on the territory of the “Duke of the Vistulans” and among the “pagans” may also have been targeted at taking captives for labour.

# CHRISTIANITY AND THE BYZANTINE MISSION IN GREAT MORAVIA

Vladimír Vavřínek

The first attempts to spread Christianity in Moravia date back to the great mission of the Bavarian episcopate in Pannonia at the beginning of the 9th century. In 795/796 Charlemagne's army destroyed the Avar Khaganate and the Emperor immediately ordered the Bavarian bishops to Christianise the inhabitants of the conquered territories. In the same year, an ecclesiastical synod gathered on the shore of the Danube under the guidance of the Salzburg bishop (shortly afterwards raised to the office of archbishop) and discussed how most efficiently to accomplish their task. There were, however, not enough priests capable of undertaking such a mission and thus the Patriarch of Aquileia, whose clergy had already garnered sufficient experience with missions among the Slavs settled in Friuli and Carinthia, was asked to join in. Pannonia was inhabited not only by the Avars but also by their much more numerous Slavic subjects on whom the Christian missionaries mainly focused.

Led by their zeal, missionaries soon entered the Slavic principalities north of the Danube, Moravia and Nitra; they were governed by their own dukes and independent of (though formally recognising) the Frankish ruler. The success of these missionaries is evidenced in cemeteries, where burials of unburned bodies gradually outnumbered earlier immolation burials, and the custom of pointing the graves towards the east likewise grew. Instead of pagan gifts (food, drinks) the dead received objects marked with Christian symbols (crosses, captorgas, and also secular objects such as metal belt finial bearing the engraving of a priest in adoration pose).

The activities of the first missionaries in Moravia nevertheless lacked organisation. They were enthusiastic individuals who turned to whichever local communities and their leaders were willing to listen and receive the faith which they proclaimed to them. Perhaps already at this time and due to their support, the first Christian churches appeared in Moravia, either made of wood, the remains of which have not been preserved, or stone, such as the church whose foundations were discovered close to the village of Modrá by Velehrad, perhaps the oldest Great Moravian ecclesiastical building yet discovered. It was a simple church with a prolonged right-angle bema constructed in the 820s–830s (based on archaeological evidence found in the surrounding tombs).

The situation changed around 830 when Mojmir, Duke of Moravia, forced the still pagan Duke of Nitra Pribina to leave his principality; he then joined this territory to his state. He himself, along with the members of his retinue and other Moravian leaders, received baptism from the hands of the Passau Bishop Reginharius, who afterwards considered Moravia his missionary sphere. He sent his priests there, who, with the

material aid of the duke and local nobles, built churches in the hillforts and fortified farmsteads. He himself went there occasionally in order to organise synods of the local clergy and discuss problems of ecclesiastical government. For the time of this absence he appointed an archpresbyter (archpriest) as his vicar, the *archpresbyter* (archpriest), to whom all other clerics were subjected.

These clerics were not only Franks but also missionaries from the area of the Aquileian patriarchate, from north Italy and Dalmatia. Along with them, building masters from these regions, which had preserved the knowledge of late Roman crafts and the advanced techniques of Roman architecture, also arrived in Moravia and based on the architectural models of their homeland built stone churches there, such as the first church in Sady by Uherské Hradiště with foundations in the shape of a simple cross, church no. 10 in Mikulčice marked by an oblong right-angle presbytery and external buttresses characteristic of the sacral architecture of the Salona region in Dalmatia, and also, for example, the church with a triple closure at the border fort in Děvín by Bratislava. Another testimony to the presence of southern missionaries was the discovery of nine gilded plaques with figures of Christ, angels and a hermit in the hillfort in Bojná, Slovakia, which initially served as a decoration for a reliquary or a portable altar, the origin of which also goes back to north Italy. The mission sacramentary (*libellus missae*) of north Italian provenance also used later in an Old Church Slavonic translation by the Cyrillo-Methodian mission is nowadays known as the *Kiev Fragments*.

Around the mid-9th century the greater part of Moravian ruling society converted to Christianity. Duke Rostislav (846–870), himself certainly a sincere convert, was however not content with the situation. In the course of several years he managed to improve Moravian society both economically and politically, promoting the political independence of the Moravian state from the East-Frankish realm. Ecclesiastically, however, his state remained subject to the Passau bishop represented by the archpresbyter, the head of the local clergy, who was instituted by the archbishop and responsible to him. He wanted to achieve the establishment of an independent Moravian ecclesiastical diocese led by its own bishop and thus make Moravia independent in this respect too. Sometime after 860, feeling he had reached the zenith of his power, Rostislav turned with this request to Pope Nicholas I, who however did not grant it. In spite of this he did not give up and in 863 sent his envoys to the Byzantine emperor requesting a bishop and teacher who would educate local pupils and prepare them for ordination.

The Byzantines did not immediately answer his appeal as they did not approve of sending a bishop to a country about

which they had no prior information and establishing an independent diocese there. They did, however, dispatch two brothers, Constantine and Methodius, already proved in various state offices and diplomatic missions, to Moravia. Their assignment was to reconnoitre the situation in the principality, educate local disciples and prepare the conditions for the later institution of a Moravian ecclesiastical province. The brothers came from Thessalonica (partly inhabited by Slavs) and were thus proficient in the Slavic language, which created a good basis for the success of their mission. The younger of them, Constantine, who already in his youth had acquired the epithet “the Philosopher” for his great learning (he received the monastic name Cyril only towards the end of his life, upon entering a monastery), knew several languages and was an excellent philologist. He connected his essentially ecclesiastical mission with a magnificent cultural programme. He decided that he would translate the books of the Gospel into Slavic, in order for the people to whom he was sent to be able to hear the word of God in its authentic form in their own language.

Before their departure for Moravia the brothers, along with several co-workers devoted to the same idea, translated the lectionary (selected readings from the Bible read in the course of the liturgy) and continued this work intensely in Moravia, making a complete translation of all four Gospels and other books of the New Testament. These translations were primarily intended for their pastoral work. The brothers, however, did not end their efforts there but also translated the Psalter and other liturgical texts and began to deliver the liturgy in Slavic. This practice was a complete novelty within contemporaneous missionary usage, not only in the West but also in Byzantium.

To use their vernacular, Greek, in liturgy, was quite natural for the Byzantines but it did not mean that the Greek missionaries sent by the Byzantine authorities to foreign countries would have attempted to utilise local vernaculars in their missionary practice. When at the end of the 8th and in the 9th century the Byzantine emperors set about conquering the Slavic tribes previously settled on Greek territory, they considered Christianisation and Hellenisation the most effective means of achieving the acculturation of the tribes. Both processes were closely intertwined. In less than two centuries, the use of Slavic dialects disappeared in Greece. Similarly the missionaries whom the patriarchs Photios and Ignatios sent in the 2nd half of the 9th century to Bulgaria and other countries all were Greeks and there is no evidence that they would have delivered the liturgy in any language other than their own.

If the idea of using “barbarian” languages in ecclesiastical practice met with a deep misunderstanding in the environment

of Byzantine intellectuals, who were mostly persuaded of the superiority of their own culture and arrogantly overlooked everything non-Greek (including Latin), the liturgical innovations introduced by Constantine and his colleagues in Moravia must have faced determined resistance from the Latin, mainly Frankish clergy who were persuaded that liturgy could only be celebrated in Latin or Greek (and theoretically also in Hebrew) with the rationalisation that these three languages were used in the inscription on the cross on which Jesus Christ had died.

On the other hand, preaching and singing liturgy in the Slavic language, which the locals could understand, won the Byzantine missionaries much favour among the local population. They met the full support of the duke too and thus could, within a mere three years, prepare enough local disciples for receiving ordination. The difficulty lay in the fact that there was no bishop among them able to ordain them. Constantine himself was a mere priest and Methodius, though an abbot, was only a deacon. In the course of their stay in Moravia, the brothers moreover understood that the principality belonged, both geographically and by tradition, to the sphere of the western patriarchate. The original aim of establishing a Moravian diocese within the framework of the Constantinopolitan patriarchate proved even less feasible when the Bulgarian Khagan Boris, whose land separated Moravia from Byzantium, accepted the jurisdiction of the Papal See by the end of 866. It seems that Constantine and Methodius attempted to have their disciples ordained by the patriarch in Grado (Venice) but when they did not succeed there they decided to accept the invitation of Pope Nicholas I and turn to Rome. On their journey they spent some time in Pannonia at the court of Duke Kocel, whom they also won over to the idea of establishing, together with Rostislav, an independent Slavic ecclesiastical province.

On their arrival in Rome at the beginning of 868 the new Pope, Hadrian II, gave them a magnificent welcome as they bore in the relics of St Clement, the fourth bishop of Rome, discovered by Constantine in the course of his diplomatic journey to the Khazars in the Crimean Cherson. This event also played its role in the Pope’s corroboration of Constantine’s translations. Hadrian further ordered the Slavic liturgy to be held in several Roman churches and had Methodius and some of Constantine’s disciples ordained as priests and deacons. It was a great success, but further negotiations about putting the plans of the Slavic rulers into practice progressed slowly, certainly also due to the tense relations between Rome and Byzantium. The ailing Constantine entered a Roman monastery at Christmas 868, received the monastic name Cyril, and died on February 14 of the following year. With the aura of a saint, he was buried in the Church of St Clement, close to

the tomb containing the relics he had brought to Rome a year earlier.

Only after Cyril's death did Hadrian II, following an agreement with Duke Kocel, adopt the plan to renew the independent Pannonian archdiocese destroyed by the attacks of nomadic tribes at the end of the 6th century. He ordained Methodius its archbishop and dispatched him there as an apostolic legate to the Slavic lands with the right to deliver liturgy in the Slavic language. This Slavic ecclesiastical province, which included Moravia and Nitra too, was to remain under the direct jurisdiction of the Roman Curia, stabilising Papal power against the expansion of the Constantinopolitan patriarchate on one hand and against the excessive expansionism of the East-Frankish bishops on the other. This plan, however, did not materialise. Duke Kocel received Methodius festively in Pannonia and the archpresbyter of the Salzburg archbishop had to leave his residence. Sometime later, Methodius went to Moravia where a political coup d'état took place. Through the treachery of Rostislav's nephew Svatopluk, the Frankish army occupied the land and the Moravian duke was taken captive, blinded and imprisoned at the command of King Louis the German. The same fate was also intended for Methodius, who was taken prisoner too. The Bavarian bishops accused him of illegally usurping their territory and, in a manipulated trial, condemned him to spend the rest of his life in a Swabian monastery.

Only the sharp intervention of another Pope, John VIII, forced the Bavarian bishops to release Methodius and allow him to return to Moravia, which Svatopluk in the meantime had freed from the power of the Frankish armies. The duke placed churches at all hillforts under his government and Methodius, together with his colleagues and ordained disciples, quickly organised widespread pastoral and educational activity. In a rather short time he managed to educate a number of new pupils whom he, as archbishop, could also ordain. A lawyer, he gave his knowledge in this area to the service of the principality. Based on the Byzantine model, he created the first law code written in Slavic preserved under the title *Law for Judging the People (Zakon sudnyj ljudem)*. In this time, the prosperity of the Slavic church in Moravia reached its zenith.

Methodius' activity nevertheless met with much resistance from the Frankish and other Latin priests, who refused to recognise his authority. They accused Methodius of preferring various Byzantine customs to the Roman ones in ecclesiastical practice and attacked the fact that he and his disciples were celebrating liturgy in Slavic even though Pope John VIII had forbidden this practice in 873. They found an ally in Svatopluk, who, after reconciliation with the East-Frankish king, aspired

to imitate the royal noblemen and thus also went for the Latin mass. He nevertheless did not want to judge the conflict between the two camps and preferred to refer it to the Pope who summoned Methodius to Rome.

Methodius, however, managed not only to defend his orthodoxy in front of the Pope and his cardinals but in a bull known as *Industriae tuae* published in June 880 he also had Pope John VIII confirm him in the office of Archbishop of the "Holy Moravian Church", over which he received sovereign authority. He also promised to ordain further bishops in order to make Moravia an independent church province and in contrast to his earlier decision he now allowed the celebration of Slavic liturgy, though only on the territory of the Moravian archdiocese confined within the borders of Svatopluk's realm. Moreover, he recognised the Moravian duke as a sovereign ruler standing under the direct protection of the Holy See and not subject to any other secular duke, an excellent result of Methodius' diplomacy but also one of the paradoxes so typical of the Cyrillo-Methodian mission. The independent Moravian diocese requested by Rostislav in Byzantium was in the end established not within the framework of the Byzantine Church but under the jurisdiction of Rome. It was the Pope and not the Patriarch of Constantinople who ordained Methodius, a foremost figure of the Byzantine mission, archbishop. The Moravian duke (not Rostislav who supported the Slavic party but rather Svatopluk who had sided with its Latin opponents) was, due to Methodius' diplomacy, recognised as a sovereign ruler, though not under the aegis of the Byzantine emperor but under the patronage of the Holy See.

However controversial it may seem on the outside, both brothers, first together and then, after Constantine's death, Methodius alone, were led by a single thought: to serve the people to whom they had been sent. In the time of the first major conflict between the eastern and the western Church, the so-called Photios' Schism, they showed an extraordinary impartiality living, thinking and acting in the spirit of early Christian universalism and humanism as members of one undivided Church of Christ. By accepting the reality that Moravia belonged to the sphere of the western patriarchate they were merely accepting reality without taking an anti-Byzantine position. In contrast, the Old Church Slavonic *Lives of Constantine and Methodius* (composed in Great Moravia) reflect elements of Byzantine political philosophy based on the thesis that the Byzantine emperor was the ultimate ruler of the whole Christian world established by God as his vicar on earth! This theoretical position was then practically confirmed by Methodius in the course of his journey to Constantinople, which took place perhaps in 881/882, where both the Emperor and the Patriarch corroborated his activities.



Methodius also showed a great amount of tolerance and flexibility in his behaviour towards the Latin clergy, which culminated in his decision to establish as his successor not one of the companions who had originally come with him from Byzantium but his Moravian disciple Gorazd, who was educated not only in Slavic but also Latin books and thus in a position to unite both parties of the Moravian Church.

Methodius' openness, however, did not resonate with the Frankish clergy, whose opposition towards him increased especially since their leader, a priest of Swabian origin called Wiching, was ordained Bishop of Nitra in 880 at Svatopluk's request. As Methodius' suffragan he had to subordinate himself to the former, but instead of doing so he kept conspiring against him and accused him of introducing Byzantine customs, different from the ones of Rome, into Moravia. In the end his attacks reached such a degree that Methodius, shortly before his death, considered it necessary to anathematise him until he would submit to his will. Instead, Wiching went to Rome and with the aid of a false bull persuaded the new Pope, Stephen V, that Methodius was not only spreading heretical Byzantine doctrines about the origin of the Holy Spirit but that, together with his clergy, he was celebrating the liturgy in Slavic, despite the prohibition of John VIII, which Methodius had promised to respect. Based on similar lies and half-truths, Pope Stephen V strictly condemned Methodius' actions and teaching in the letter he sent to Svatopluk, which Wiching exploited in order to achieve the duke's agreement to imprison and later exile Methodius' closest co-workers from Moravia; then he even – of his own volition – sold the younger Slavic priests and deacons into slavery to Jewish traders.

The exile of Methodius' disciples ended the Slavic period of Great Moravian ecclesiastical history. The Church organisation, however, did not completely disappear. The Frankish and other Latin priests continued their work under Wiching's direction. Wiching himself was not, against his expectation, ordained Moravian archbishop but, though only as the Bishop of Nitra, effectively controlled the ecclesiastical government. Svatopluk nevertheless soon learned that he was wrong in his complete reliance on Wiching. The beginning of the 890s brought new military conflicts with the new East-Frankish king Arnulf, and Wiching decided to change sides and defected to Arnulf, who made him his chancellor. Moravia once again remained without a single bishop and the already complicated ecclesiastical situation deteriorated.

The Moravian archdiocese was however revived one more time. Svatopluk died in 894 and his son and successor Mojmir II had to defend his inheritance not only from the Franks

but also from his brother. Though various marginal parts of Great Moravia were lost, Mojmir preserved the unity of the Moravian state and in 899 requested new bishops from Pope John IX. The latter granted his request and sent his legates to Moravia where they ordained an archbishop and three bishops. The Moravian archdiocese was thus finally established as complete and the Bavarian bishops could only protest powerlessly.

It was, however, only an ephemeral success, as the Great Moravian state collapsed under Hungarian attacks in 904–907. Along with it the renewed ecclesiastical organisation disappeared, though perhaps not entirely. Written sources do not mention it but archaeological finds indicate that, while many churches were destroyed, some may still have continued to function for some time. A later tradition, which however cannot be verified, mentions that until 926 a bishop named John worked in Moravia. After that there is a long lapse and after the last decades of the 10th century the history of Moravia and its Church started to evolve within the framework of the Přemyslid state.

# CULTURE AND LEARNING IN GREAT MORAVIA

Vladimír Vavřínek

In the early mediaeval West, book learning was closely connected with Christianity. One of the signs of the decline of civilisation which followed the fall of the Western Roman Empire and the emergence of the so-called barbarian kingdoms, was the reality that knowledge of reading and writing practically disappeared among the lay population and all literary education was concentrated in the clerical environment, where the only literary language was Latin.

Written manuals necessary for missionary practice arrived in Moravia along with Frankish and southern missionaries, especially after a simple ecclesiastical organisation headed by an archpresbyter named by the Passau bishop emerged there after 830. The number of such books, however, must not be exaggerated. The making of books written on parchment was expensive and competent scribes few. These books were mostly liturgical texts necessary for celebrating mass and manuals used by confessors, the so-called penitentials, which contained advice on how to punish various sins. Two later translations of Latin manuals in Old Church Slavonic compiled in Moravia witness the existence of such books there already before the arrival of the Cyrillo-Methodian mission.

One of them is the *Kiev Fragments*, the oldest preserved Glagolitic manuscript containing a sacramentary, a collection of prayers read outside of the canon in the course of the Divine Liturgy on common days. The original from which it was translated was a text related to a sacramentary compiled in north Italy probably in the 6th century, now preserved in the chapter library in Padua. It was probably missionaries from the Patriarchate of Aquileia who were working in Moravia, along with Frankish missionaries, who used this *libellus missae*. In an attempt to adjust their work to the already extant practice, Cyril and Methodius later translated it into Slavic and enriched it with various Byzantinisms and especially with prayers read in the course of liturgy delivered at the Feast of St Clement, the patron of their mission. Another text of western origin preserved in an Old Church Slavonic translation is the so-called *Regulations of the Holy Fathers* (*Zapovědi svętychъ otъcbъ*). It contains a translation of a confession manual of Frankish origin very close to the so-called *Merseburg Penitentiary* and Archbishop Methodius either translated it himself or, more probably, ordered one of his pupils previously educated by the Frankish priests to translate it.

In order to convert the Moravians to the Christian faith, the Frankish priests had to explain its principles to them in their own language, which they must have roughly mastered. They had already acquired experience in this respect earlier in course of their work among the Slavs living in Pannonia and Carinthia. The principles of this missionary work go back to

the court theologian of Charlemagne, Alcuin. In order for the converted pagans to receive baptism, they had to learn the Lord's Prayer (Our Father) and Credo by heart. After making the baptismal promise, they were then gradually instructed about vices and virtues and learned to repeat the confession prayer, in the course of which they would renounce the Devil. The new believers could not be expected to learn and understand these texts in Latin and Frankish ecclesiastical synods therefore repeatedly agreed that it sufficed for the believers to master them in their mother tongue. These basic texts had therefore already been translated for Pannonian missionary purposes into the west-Slavic dialect in the beginning of the 9th century and also been used by Frankish missionaries in their work in Moravia. The *Euchologium Sinaiticum* is a Glagolitic manuscript from the end of the 11th century, which, however, contains several liturgical prayers from the Great Moravian period. Among them there is also the Old Church Slavonic translation of the confession prayer, very similar to the so-called *Bavarian (St Emmeram) Prayer*. Another copy of this prayer, inscribed however in Latin letters, appears in the so-called *Freising Fragments*, a manuscript compiled in the episcopal scriptorium in Regensburg at the turn of the 11th/12th century. This confession prayer appears next to another text created doubtlessly in the environment of the Cyrillo-Methodian mission if not by Constantine-Cyril himself. In both cases, the openness of the Thessalonian brothers to incorporate the work of their Latin predecessors becomes evident in that they did not hesitate to translate their texts and include them in the collection of their own.

It is probable that the Frankish missionaries sought out gifted young men from the foremost Moravian families who were willing to study the Latin books in order to take orders. One of them was probably Rostislav's relative Sclagamar (Slavomír), whom the Moravians raised to the position of duke during Svatopluk's imprisonment by the Franks in 871, and who had already become a priest by then. Another may have been Gorazd, later one of the leading disciples of Methodius, whom the dying archbishop established as his successor with the explanation that he was a man well educated not only in the Slavic but also in the Latin books. Gorazd could only acquire such an education from the Latin priests, perhaps still prior to the arrival of the Byzantine mission. It is also not certain whether young Moravians could learn from the Frankish missionaries working in Moravia or, which seems more probable, whether they acquired a higher Latin education in one of the monasteries in Bavaria. These were nevertheless unique cases and the general situation is well characterised by the acts of the Mainz synod of 852, which speaks of the still "rough and immature Christianity of the nation of the Moravians" (*rudis adhuc christianita gentis Maraensium*).

When in 863 Duke Rostislav turned to the Byzantine Emperor Michael III requesting the dispatch of missionaries, he was thus not interested in “apostles” who would convert his principality to Christianity. He wanted a bishop to establish an independent ecclesiastical diocese there and thus make Moravia independent of the Passau bishop. The Byzantines, however, did not want to grant such a petition without sufficient precursory measures and therefore first decided to send to Moravia a group of clerics who would prepare the conditions for the fulfilling of Rostislav’s request and train a sufficient number of local disciples to take over the ecclesiastical government of the principality later. Constantine, known for his extraordinary learning as “the Philosopher”, and his elder brother Methodius, an abbot, led the mission. They had both previously proved their abilities in various state and diplomatic missions and excellently mastered the Slavic language in their native Thessalonica, the surroundings of which were still at that time inhabited by the Slavs.

The brothers, however, connected their official ecclesiastical-political mission with a magnificent cultural programme too. They decided to translate the Scriptures and necessary liturgical texts into Slavic for the purposes of their mission in Moravia, in order to celebrate the liturgy in Slavic. Such an intention was then a complete novelty, something absolutely unheard of. It was not, as some believe, a common Byzantine missionary practice but a personal initiative of Constantine the Philosopher. In his time, this thought had no equal and it represented a turning point, which surpassed the thinking of his contemporaries not only in the West but also of Constantine’s Byzantine contemporaries who characteristically felt culturally superior to everything non-Greek. Typical in this respect were the views of Patriarch Photios, the teacher of Constantine-Cyril, that divine providence intentionally chose Greek as the means for spreading the Christian faith because only this language commanded sufficient means of expression to represent and formulate precisely all its subtleties.

In his interpretations Photios devoted much attention to the Epistles of the Apostle Paul (among other things) and in the commentaries on his first Letter to the Corinthians he closely examined the comprehensibility of interpretation and the use of the power of words for educational purposes. The language he had in mind was, however, the only one imaginable for a Byzantine scholar – Greek. These ideas clearly deeply impacted the young Constantine. While preparing for his missionary work, he greatly surpassed his teacher in his reflections, being persuaded that Christ’s teaching must be presented to a pagan nation so that they could understand it, because only then would they be able to receive it; it therefore had to be introduced in a language they could understand, their own language.

From childhood, Constantine had clearly been extraordinarily linguistically gifted. His interest in the Old Testament books and exegesis of them brought him to the study of Hebrew. He also knew that the eastern Christian nations living outside the borders of the Byzantine Empire – the Syrians, Egyptian Copts, Armenians and Iberians (Georgians) in the Caucasus and many others – celebrated liturgy in their own languages and developed their own literary learning in these languages. In contrast to many of his contemporaries he considered it their indisputable right, justified by the letters of the Apostle Paul who had broken down the closed nature of the Jewish community and taught that Christ’s words must be proclaimed to all nations. Inspired by this example he decided to enable the Slavs, to whom he had been sent, to learn the word of God in its authentic form, in order to read it and hear it as inscribed in the Gospel texts of the Scriptures.

Constantine took up this assignment immediately and with great energy and, along with his brother Methodius, translated the lectionary (passages from the Gospels and Epistles read in liturgy) before leaving Constantinople. In Moravia they continued their translation work intensively and translated all four Gospels. The meaning of this act can hardly be sufficiently appreciated. Since Wulfila’s translation of the Biblical books into Gothic in the 4th century (and apparently only some of them at that), it was the first time in mediaeval Europe that the books of Scripture, and the New Testament in particular, until then accessible only to a small group of scholars able to read Latin in the West, had been translated into a people’s vernacular.

In his enthusiasm over the finished work, Constantine wrote a rhymed prologue for his translation known as *Proglas*, in which, in a number of fascinating metaphors, he expressed the extraordinary gift bestowed on the Slavs through the translation of the Gospels into their own language because “it would only be a sound of a copper bell”, if the word of the Lord should be proclaimed to a nation in a foreign language, that nations without comprehensible books “would be as if naked in the struggle against the enemy of human souls”, for “deprived of books, the human soul seems dead”. Thus, at the beginning of Slavic literary production there stands a magnificent poem of grand pathos and with numerous metaphors, breath-taking in the beauty of its words.

As well as the Gospels, both brothers also translated the Apostle, that is, the Acts and Epistles of the apostles (though it is not clear whether they translated all of these texts or only selected passages), the Hours (prayers read by priests at various parts of the day), liturgical texts used in the Divine Office and the Psalter, not only used in liturgy. In Byzantium,

the Old Testament Psalms served as the texts with which reading skills were practiced and it is therefore very probable that Constantine and Methodius used their translations in teaching their Moravian disciples too.

For the literary purposes of the Slavic language, Constantine considered it necessary to create a special alphabet which had letters for each of its phonemes (today called *Glagolitic*). In this he was apparently inspired by the nations of the Christian East, which had developed their literature in their own languages, always using their own specific alphabets. It was, however, not only the letters, though their creation filled his contemporaries with much awe (or great wrath). In order for Constantine and Methodius to be able to implement their intentions, they first had to create a Slavic literary language (nowadays known as Old Church Slavonic). Both brothers of course knew Slavic from their native Thessalonica but it was a straightforward, very simple language without sophistication, useful only for everyday life in the family, marketplace and work in the fields. For the purposes of translating the Gospels this commonly spoken language did not suffice. Therefore Constantine and Methodius not only had to enrich its vocabulary with many new expressions but also create a number of hitherto non-existent syntactic phrases and turns. The result of their work is admirable.

The Frankish and other Latin priests in Moravia condemned the translations into Slavic and especially its use in liturgy. After his arrival in Rome in 868, Constantine nevertheless managed to persuade Pope Hadrian II to corroborate them. He himself died a year later in Rome but the Pope later sent Methodius, ordained as bishop, and as his apostolic legate to the Slavic lands with permission to continue in the work he had begun in Moravia with his younger brother. When, after much suffering and the direct intervention of the new Pope John VIII, Methodius finally reached the principality, he immediately became involved in widespread literary activity. A lawyer by education, he decided to create a law code for the Moravians in their own language, preserved under the title *Law for Judging the People (Zakon sudnyj ljudem)*. He based it on the then common Byzantine code known as *Ekloga*, changing some of its articles and adding three original decrees. This law code did not become a binding legal norm in Great Moravia but Methodius nevertheless zealously tried to introduce its principles into the public and private life of the Moravians, as the homily addressed to the duke-judges preserved in the *Glagolitic Codex Clozianus* from the 11th century indicates.

Methodius also took steps to eternalise the literary work of his younger brother. He translated Constantine's polemic against Judaism into Slavic, which had been based on disputations led

with the Jewish scholars at the court of the Khazar khan. This translation has not been preserved completely but its sizeable summary was incorporated into the Old Church Slavonic *Life of Constantine*. It is probable that Methodius also translated the apology for Slavonic literature presented by Constantine at the gathering of the Latin clergy in Venice, which he also later pronounced in front of the Pope. Whether he completed these works alone or commanded one of his disciples to do so, Methodius took care that Constantine's description of the finding of the relics of St Clement, the fourth bishop of Rome, discovered in the course of his stay in Cherson in the Crimea on his journey to the Khazars, would be translated into Old Church Slavonic. It was preserved in a later, language-wise however quite damaged copy under the title *Words on the transfer of the relics of the most holy Clement*.

Methodius completed his translation activity close to the end of his life. Though almost seventy years old (a very advanced age for his time), he journeyed to Constantinople, where according to his hagiographer he was festively received by the emperor and the patriarch, who gave him many gifts. Among them there were probably mainly books, which then represented very valuable objects much esteemed by Methodius. Immediately following his arrival in Moravia, he began work on a translation of the *Books of the Fathers*, a collection of homilies by early Christian church teachers. To his earlier translation of the civil code he also added a translation of the *Nomocanon*, a collection of ecclesiastical-legal decrees based on the legal collection known as the *Synagoge of 50 titles* compiled in the 6th century by the Constantinopolitan patriarch John Scholastikos, which he nevertheless significantly shortened and partly adjusted. His final work was a translation of the remaining books of the Old Testament, which according to the information of his hagiographer he completed in the course of a mere eight months, dictating it directly from the Greek text to two of his disciple-stenographers.

This information witnesses that Methodius involved his pupils in his literary work, whether as helpers or as co-authors, and led them to their own literary activity. He inaugurated his translation of the Old Testament in a celebration performed in the main Moravian church, which included the singing of the *Canon in honour of St Demetrius* (patron of his native Thessalonica) composed by him for the occasion. It is a beautiful hymn, which respects the models of contemporary Byzantine hymnography and is easily one of the most magnificent works in this tradition, despite the fact that it was compiled in Old Church Slavonic and not in Greek.

One of Methodius' pupils wrote, perhaps jointly with Methodius, the *Life of Constantine*, a hagiographic work excellent in both



language and style; it was written according to contemporary Byzantine legends, though it does nevertheless have one specific feature. More than half of it depicts Constantine's four alleged disputations with the opponents of the true Christian faith – along with the already-mentioned polemic with the Jewish scholars, there is also his disputation in defence of the iconophile position and his polemic with the Muslims. Whether all these disputations indeed took place is not certain but we may reasonably suppose that their depiction is based on Constantine's original works written in Greek, of which the *Life* presents more succinct or more detailed summaries in Slavic. The Moravian reader or listener thus received a brief compendium of the main theological questions discussed in contemporary Byzantium. The first three disputations, which introduce Constantine as a specialist and defender of the true faith, aim to intensify the impact and persuasiveness of his fourth polemic defending his life's work, the inauguration of Slavic literature.

The *Life of Methodius*, written soon after his death by one of his disciples while still in Moravia, has an even more pronounced apologetic tendency. The work is preceded by a long theological prologue apparently based on Methodius' *professio fidei* (Credo), which he had to present to Pope Hadrian and later also to John both orally and in writing before he was ordained and later confirmed as bishop. The depiction of Methodius' life is set within a rhetorical framework compiled based on excerpts from two panegyrics of Gregory of Nazianzus. Otherwise its text is stylistically dry and pragmatic; the description of the events selected shows that Methodius always acted based on the commands of the supreme secular and ecclesiastical authorities or at the request of the Slavic rulers, and that his activities were only to the advantage of the Moravian dukes. In support of his arguments he introduces a number of citations from official letters and papal bulls or at least refers to them, which makes this *Life* unique within the hagiographic literature of its time.

The Cyrillo-Methodian mission was active in Great Moravia for less than a quarter of a century. The cultural work which it produced within this short time is therefore astounding. For the first time in the history of the European West the books of Scripture were translated into a vernacular, creating a basis for the composition and development of Slavic literature. Based on translations from Greek, it soon progressed to the original production of excellent language, style and content quality and included various genres such as theological treatises, homilies, hagiographies, rhetorical encomia and legal works. These works naturally imitated Byzantine originals but often achieved great originality and became models for generations of later authors writing in the language created

by Constantine-Cyril and his brother Methodius. The Slavic disciples of both brothers were later exiled from Moravia; their work, however, was taken over by the southern and later also eastern Slavs, for whom it became the basis of historical, cultural and spiritual development, while the Czech lands further developed within the sphere of western, Latin civilisation.

# GREAT MORAVIAN RELIGIOUS ARCHITECTURE

Lumír Poláček

The set of sacral architecture from the reign of the Mojmir dynasty in today's Moravia and Slovakia, though not extensive, is a comprehensive record of its period and conditions of origin as well as of the context of its discovery. Besides one exception of a still-standing structure – the Church of Saint Margaret of Antioch in Kopčany (**Fig. 1**), the other locations are solely archaeological finds of ruins. It is the state of preservation and the conditions of the discovery itself that give the entire set a specific character while significantly influencing today's progress of understanding this phenomenon. Uncovering Great Moravian churches was part of a remarkable stage of great discoveries in Slavic strongholds in the post-war period. This research stage is one of the historical chapters of archaeological research in the countries of the former Czechoslovakia and it is in such a context that their positive and negative aspects must be understood. We should certainly not condemn the research, even though this sometimes happens. We may only regret that all the church structures were uncovered during a period that had at its disposal only modest possibilities and less experience when compared to the technical and methodological know-how of today's archaeology. On the other hand, the fact that such unique research was not properly processed and published as source publications in its time serves as a memento. Processing undertaken after 50 years has caused a significant loss of information. A hope and impulse for further research are the field finds from recent times, new field revision research into church structures and the first results of the processing of the "old" research.

The history of research into Great Moravian sacral architecture began in 1949 in Staré Město. This was the year when, in the "Na Valách" location, the first Moravian church from the 9th century was discovered and archaeologically

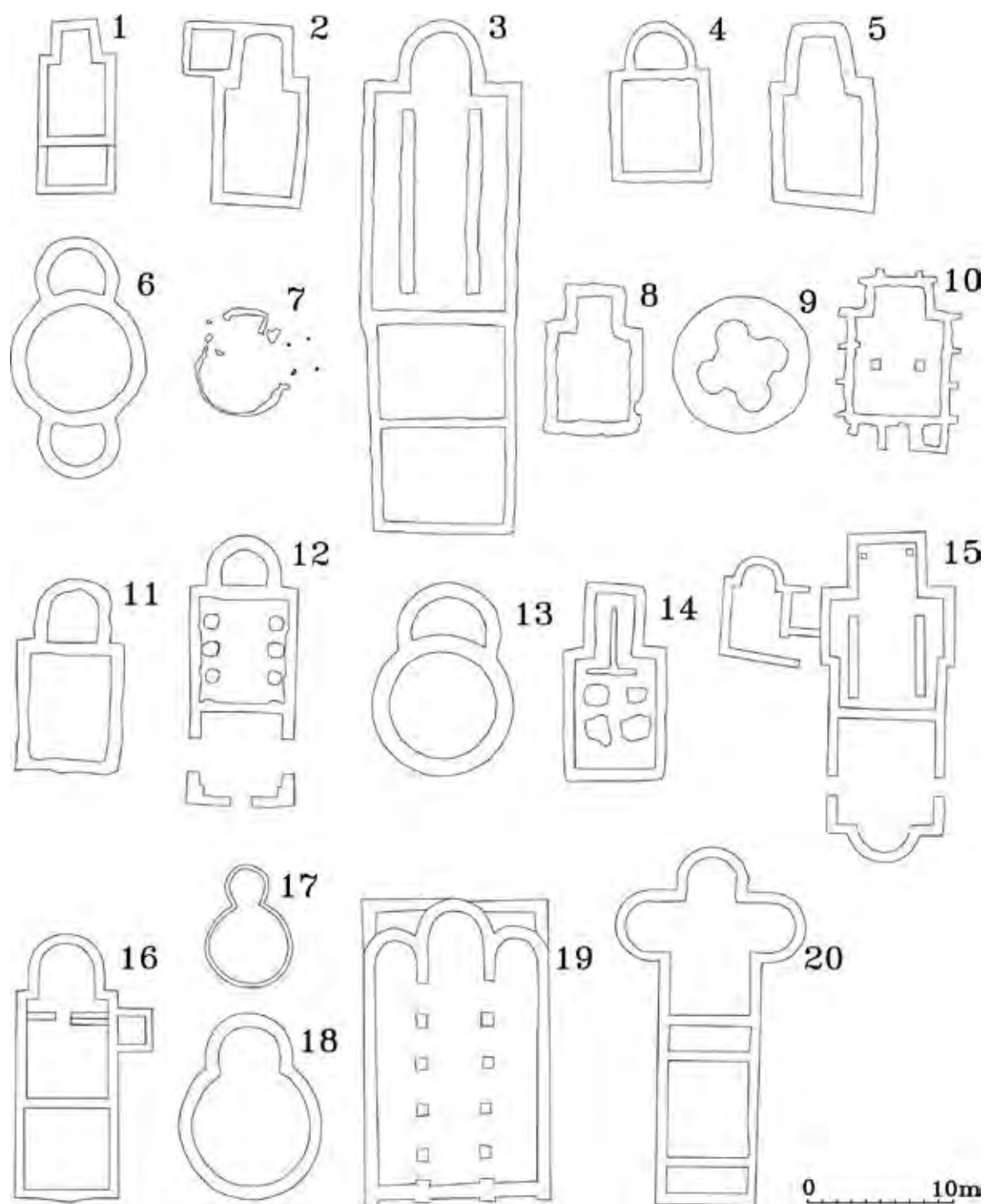


▲ **Fig. 1. Kopčany – Chapel of St. Margaret of Antioch.** From the north-east, condition after removing plastering in 2008. Photo by L. Poláček.

researched. Shortly after this more finds followed; it is possible to consider the 1950s and 60s a "golden age" of discoveries of Great Moravian sacral architecture. A new church was being discovered nearly every year. The concept of pre-Romanesque Czech architecture that archaeologists, historians and especially art historians from that time had rapidly changed and a period of fierce discussions and polemics began regarding the typology, origin and dating of Great Moravian church structures. The protagonists of these discussions included historian Josef Cibulka, architect Josef Pošmourný and art historian Václav Richter. Archaeologists were for the most part represented by Vilém Hrubý and Josef Poulik. Despite the theoretical nature of these debates – many newly discovered structures were not documented over the following 50 years in any critical publications – the entire campaign meant a remarkable boom in the interest of experts and laymen regarding questions of Christianisation, sacral architecture, ecclesiastical relations, liturgy, language and general culture and education in Great Moravia.

Further knowledge was gathered relatively slowly, as Vladimír Vavřínek commented in his evaluation paper during a conference in Břeclav – Pohansko in 1980, saying that the set of Great Moravian churches that had been discovered provided an almost identical image to that of 15 years before. The same could be said about the following period: in the 80s and 90s, these field-discovered sacral structures were of partial nature and besides the monographically processed church complex in Sady "Na Špitálkách" by Luděk Galuška, there was no extensive processing of older research into these church structures.

A turning point came after the year 2000. New field discoveries became an impulse for change in the same manner as in the previous stages. The first of them was located on the Slovakian side of the Mikulčice agglomeration in Kopčany. The Church of Saint Margaret of Antioch that stands in the fields about two kilometres from the Mikulčice castle had, until then, been considered a Late Romanesque structure. After the beginning of the structural-historical and archaeological research, it soon became obvious that this is a pre-Romanesque structure. Change came in 2004 when the Krajský pamiatkový úrad v Bratislave (Regional Monuments Board in Bratislava) uncovered the first graves with items characteristic of the Moravian social elite in the 9th century. All evidence pointed to the fact that the church had been built in the 9th century – i.e. in the period during which this local settlement was part of the Mikulčice settlement agglomeration (**Fig. 1, 2: 1**). The dating that was suggested by the evidences was being continually confirmed during further structural-historical and restoration work. Meanwhile archaeologists researched the surroundings



▲ Fig. 2. Floor plan of Great Moravian churches.

1 – Kopčany, Church of St Saint Margaret of Antioch; 2–10 – Mikulčice, churches nos. 2 to 10 (numbers correspond with the current labelling of individual structures); 11 – Staré Město "Na Valách"; 12 – Staré Město "Špitálky"; 13 – Staré Město "Na Dědině"; 14 – Modrá u Velehradu; 15 – Uherské Hradiště – Sady; 16–17 – Břeclav – Pohansko, churches nos. 1 and 2; 18 – Ducové; 19 – Bratislava; 20 – Devín. According to P. Baxa (1); after localisation of J. Vlach and O. Marek from 1959–1962 (2–10); according to V. Hrubý (11–15); B. Dostál and J. Macháček (16–17); T. Štefanovičová (18–20). Graphics O. Marek and P. Čáp.

of the chapel in order to place the structure into a settlement context of that time, during which they discovered a courtyard-like structure using aerial and geophysical research for the church surroundings. Archaeological field research into this structure began in 2014 in order to verify its dating and function. The Chapel of St Margaret became an archaeological sensation in the domestic environment – with its surrounding settlements; it is a concrete example of a model situation of a settlement area of the 9th century at the outskirts of a power centre. The advantage of this location from the point of view of modern archaeology (in comparison with Mikulčice) is its relatively good preservation thanks to the absence of modern construction and the relatively small extent of areas “depleted” by large-scale archaeological research in the 2nd half of the 20th century.

Another important impulse for the study of the sacral architecture of Great Moravia was the discovery of a church no. 2 in Pohansko near Břeclav in 2008 (**Fig. 2: 17**). Fifty years after the discovery of church no. 1 (**Fig. 2: 16**) located in the area of the nobleman’s courtyard, another structure was discovered – this time to the north-east of the extramural settlements. The existence of the church was initially verified using probes and geophysical research, then during 2008–2009 with blanket archaeological research. It was possible to uncover a simple structure with a central layout – a rotunda, surrounded by a burial site. Its simple form, combined construction structure, relatively small size and the absence of internal paraphernalia classifies this as a “secondary” structure of Great Moravian sacral architecture. It resembles another church structure built using a combination of wood, mortar and stone – church no. 7 from the Mikulčice stronghold extramural settlement (**Fig. 2: 7**). For the purpose of understanding Great Moravian sacral architecture, this uncovered structure carries significant importance: new information was acquired thanks to the opportunities afforded by modern terrain research that were not known during the “old” research work in the previous century. Even the way the wood was used to construct the church gives us large amounts of information regarding the construction techniques used and allows us to interpret constructional-technical elements of the finds. As impressions of wooden elements left in the once fresh mortar and plaster of the Mikulčice churches show, even the most sumptuous church structures had a relatively large share of wood used in their construction. The newly discovered church in Pohansko also helps define and better understand other specific features of Moravian church architecture. The rotunda structural type seems to be typical of secondary areas of agglomeration settlements, but even so, their layout and technical design varies across a range of structures, from the most luxurious types (double apsis rotunda in Mikulčice) to the simplest of



▲ **Fig. 3. Mikulčice stronghold – Valy, acropolis.**

East part of the 4th church after revision research in 2012. The floor of the entire east part of the nave dropped secondarily and formed the filling of a large pit. Ceramic materials from the backfill of the pit shift the dating of the structure into the early or late Mojmir period. Photo by L. Poláček.

structures (7th church in Mikulčice). From a historical point of view, the most important task is to put the church in Pohansko into a settlement and historical context regarding the entire location – however, this will only be possible after processing the adjacent burial ground and evaluating the currently ongoing research into the wider surroundings of the structure.

The third and most extensive project regarding the sacral architecture of Great Moravia was revision research into the set of Mikulčice churches from 2008 to 2013 (**Fig. 3**). In relation to preparations for a new exhibition of stone structures in Mikulčice, churches discovered in the 1950s and 60s were uncovered again. Only church no. 7 and hypothetical structures nos. 11 and 12 were left untouched. Among the main goals of this project was the revision and detailed documentation of individual structural remains, and in addition stratigraphic, chronological, structural-historical and constructional-technological issues. Revision research made it possible to complete and verify the existing view of sacral architecture in Mikulčice and acquire information for the comprehensive evaluation of all sources of individual structures from old and new research. The evaluation of the entire research campaign is in its infancy and so here it is not possible to give some preliminary information about proving what construction technologies were used and about dating.

Regarding the conclusive existence of individual structures, revision work confirmed the scepticism about the existence of church no. 1, originally searched for by J. Poulík in the area east of church no. 2 (**Fig. 2: 2**); the first Mikulčice church most likely did not exist at all. Comparison of the floor plans of



individual structures from the original terrain documentation with foundation remains still visible today came out “in favour” of the old research: it confirmed that archaeologists in the 50s–60s were able relatively reliably to identify the main structural remains – i.e. the “negatives” (negative fillings of foundation remains) – and so correctly “model” the floor plans of individual churches.

From the point of view of the quality of construction and use of materials in the 9th century in Mikulčice, we may talk about various levels of church structure: an explicitly “secondary” structure is the wood-and-mortar central structure of the 7th church (its combined construction is similar to that of the 2nd church in Pohansko). Most of the structures were of a higher – “standard” – quality, comparable with e.g. the construction of the still extant Chapel of St Margaret in Kopčany. This average was only exceeded by one structure – by Mikulčice church no. 3, a three-nave basilica (**Fig. 2: 3**). It was different thanks to its massive foundations, significant dimensions, high quality of material used and internal paraphernalia. It is possible to identify it as the only “monumental” church structure of 9th-century Moravia. It is obvious this was an important building, whose actual importance can only be imagined without any written documents; it may have been the symbol of a prince’s or ruler’s power together with being a family burial place, the residence of important ecclesiastical institutions and a specific liturgical place.

The massive use of wood in Great Moravian stone structures has been proven by the recent processing of constructional-technological elements from old research into Mikulčice and other areas. Fragments of mortar and plaster often bear the imprints of wooden elements – rods, round timber, squared timber or planks. Wood was not only used for typical wooden building structures such as ceilings, roof trusses, wood jambs, etc. but also for load bearing constructions, reinforcements or tie beams, or construction equipment such as scaffolding or framework. Proof of reinforcements has recently – during revision research in Mikulčice – been discovered in the 8th church in the north extramural settlement (**Fig. 2: 8**). It is probable that the builders used wood at an increased rate where they did not have sufficient sources of construction stone or where they were not sure of the static properties of stone structures, or where easily shaped wood and formable plaster replaced processed stone and masonry details. Due to the fragmentary nature of the remains of Great Moravian churches, proof of such construction can only rarely be seen in the field. An exception is the 7th Mikulčice church and the 2nd church in Pohansko, where wooden elements were the load bearing structure of the buildings. The recent related finds from the Church of St George in Kostolany pod Trábečom

near Nitra, Slovakia, are inspiring. Inside the stone pre-Romanesque church structure possibly from the 1st half of the 11th century, thanks to revision archaeological research, the post construction of an older shrine was discovered. It is possible to assume that some other Great Moravian churches also had wooden predecessors, but that it was not possible to discover them during field research. One specific example can be named in relation to the 2nd Mikulčice church, whose older phase was wooden with a poured mortar floor. We must consider the possible existence of entire stand-alone wooden churches, for Mikulčice and other centres, and that their existence does not have to be distinctly visible in the given soil conditions. It is not possible categorically to deny that Great Moravian churches were temporary wooden structures and that the oldest layers of Christian shrines in Great Moravian locations cannot even be discovered.

In order to utilise the discovery of the churches to support historical interpretations, archaeologists endeavoured to date the individual structures exactly. But because no exact chronological aids existed at that time, e.g. dendrochronology, other methods had to be used. They relied on adjacent burial grounds, i.e. the dating of burial items. Today, this method is not considered the best. When dating, we prefer stratigraphic relations, naturally taking into account all other relations and conditions, including the dating of graves. Because churches in the Mikulčice acropolis and to some extent in the extramural settlements were built in areas that had been populated earlier, foundations were dug into cultural layers and often violated settlement structures, sometimes even graves (structures and graves in “superposition”). Finds from these situations are very important with regard to dating a construction as they must be older than the structure itself. During new revision research in Mikulčice, thanks to settlement structures found super-positioned with the church, the dating of some structures was shifted into earlier periods. Such an altered image is more realistic than the original ideas of archaeologists who dated most of the church structures in Mikulčice (similar to other locations) to the 1st half of the 9th century, i.e. before the arrival of the Cyrillo-Methodian mission. We are only now discovering that the majority of churches belong to the earlier or later period of Mojmirid reign in Moravia. Western Christian missions were active in Moravia as early as the beginning of the 9th century, but concrete proof of their activities in written (and archaeological) sources is scant; most information is related to the last third of the 9th century and events related to the Cyrillo-Methodian mission, i.e. to the foundation of ecclesiastical organisation. V. Vavřínek was the one to point out this situation, when he expressed doubts about the early archaeological dating of Great Moravian churches.

Dating church structures found in super-positions with graves is much more complicated and depends on the total evaluation of the respective burial grounds. However, we do know today that the traditional image of Mikulčice church structures, strictly respected by all the graves in the adjacent graveyard, does not apply. Newly discovered graves lying under the foundations of the 2nd, 3rd and 9th church are proof.

Let us summarise the basic findings of research into Great Moravian religious architecture. The entire set of church structures from the assumed power-political central area of Great Moravia is made up of between 20 and 25 members. At most only 20 are archaeologically conclusive. In the Staré Město – Uherské Hradiště agglomeration this includes five structures: in the “Na Valách”, “Špitálky”, “Na Dědině” (St Michal) locations, also the church complex in Uherské Hradiště – Sady and finally Modrá (**Fig. 2: 11–15**). In the Mikulčice-Kopčany agglomeration this includes 10 conclusive churches – churches no. 2 to 10 in Mikulčice (**Fig. 2: 2–10**) and the Chapel of St Margaret in Kopčany (**Fig. 2: 1**). The Břeclav – Pohansko stronghold contains two churches – nos. 1 and 2 (**Fig. 2: 16–17**). In the Slovakian areas we know about Bratislava, Devín and Ducové, although the dating of the remains here is slightly less conclusive due to the long-term population of these areas (**Fig. 2: 18–20**). Besides these archaeologically proven structures, we have to consider other hypothetical structures. These include cases where the fragmentary condition of the remains does not allow for an unequivocal interpretation (e.g. Mikulčice “churches” no. 11 and 12) or where a still existing pre-Romanesque structure cannot be more precisely dated (Nitrianska Blatnica). The existence of other sacral structures is indicated by local names, historical connection or other indications related to the central areas of the Great Moravian settlements (Znojmo – Hradiště sv. Hypolita, Hradiště sv. Klimenta near Osvětimany and other potential locations in the Staré Město and the Uherské Hradiště area).

Construction types of Great Moravian churches exhibit wide variety, although they are usually the standard forms of early mediaeval churches. They are most often found as a hall area with either a right-angled chancel (6x) or an apsis (4x). Central structures also are found quite often – rotundas (6x), even though a large variability exists regarding floor plans and construction. A quite rare structure is the basilica, as it represents the most prestigious type of Great Moravian church (2x). Then there remains the more complicated church complex in Uherské Hradiště – Sady, created by gradual development, with a longitudinal layout and finalised with a trefoil in Devín (**Fig. 2: 19**). The most ambitious building in Moravia – apart from the Mikulčice basilica – is the church complex in Sady. This is indicated by its relatively complex layout that

was formed over time, the graves in the interior, the separate burial chapel and the overall character of the material culture.

As for the construction material for Great Moravian churches, quarry stone with mortar was used in the main, together with a wooden framework. It seems that good quality stone was fairly rare and so it had to be replaced by wood even in important buildings. Lime mortar was of rather good quality and was used in abundance during the construction of churches. As mortar for stucco work it was used to model constructional details and to stand in for worked stone elements. The stonework was covered inside and outside with lime plaster and the interior had a larger or smaller portion of wall paintings. Significant fragmentation of painted plaster hinders the reliable reconstruction of individual motifs or scenes, let alone the entire iconographical programme of Great Moravian churches. Some researchers are, however, convinced that the inside walls of churches were covered with figural decorations with regularly-arranged panels with belts of geometrical ornaments or possibly draperies. A demonstrative concept of how such decoration might have looked can be offered by paintings in the Church of St George in Kostofany pod Trbečom from the 1st half of the 11th century or by many examples of decorated churches from the 9th century in West and South Europe.

Regarding the origin of Great Moravian sacral architecture, many contradictory theories have been published since the 60s. Sources have been searched for in Byzantium to the east, through the Adriatic area to the south and in the Frankish Empire to the west. It has been said that Great Moravian churches have most in common with Old Croatian architecture from the Adriatic area. What connected these two groups – the Moravian and Croatian – at that time was their location on the periphery of the Carolingian Empire. During the 9th century this area was a source of ideas for architecture and arts and crafts, naturally under the co-influence of Byzantine ideology. The main difference was that the Adriatic region was able to continue in the Late Antique architectural tradition and use rich resources of high quality stone. Contrary to the situation in the Adriatic region, the Slavic environment of Moravia at that time with its traditional “wooden” culture first had to familiarise itself with new construction techniques (and also gain experience, as demonstrated by some amateurish structures). The closest examples the Moravians found were from the Upper Danube area, or from the east part of the Frankish Empire. Here they could witness ageing provincial Roman, Merovingian and mostly new Carolingian buildings – sacral as well as prestige ones. It was probably here or in the north Adriatic region where the Moravians discovered real architecture. It is probable that the first church builders came

from here as well – either together with the missionaries or later after invitations from Moravian rulers or noblemen. It is obvious that inspiration arrived from Byzantium, mainly after the arrival of the Cyrillo-Methodian mission. These influences, it seems, did not leave any significant marks on Moravian architecture. Sometimes this “movement” is connected with the construction of narthexes and burial chambers/mausoleums. It actually seems that many of these secondary areas of Moravian temples were part of earlier construction phases (e.g. the west part of the Mikulčice basilica with a narthex and atrium or the extension in the north part of the choir in the 2nd Mikulčice church), and so the model under consideration could be valid.

Opportunities to discover sacral architecture from the time of the reign of the Mojmir dynasty are significantly limited by the condition of the remaining structures. Foundations are extant only as imprints of the foundation masonry – i.e. negatives. We are missing construction details, worked details, church interiors and decorations. Significant limitations are caused by the absence of written data and exact elements for dating. On the other hand, today we have available a comprehensive set of structures from the 9th century, which in most cases we are able to place into a specific settlement context. Considering the entire set of Great Moravian structures, we are able to differentiate three significant groups representing the main power centres of the land: Mikulčice (10 churches), Staré Město (5 churches) and Břeclav – Pohansko (2 churches). Further processing should be based on these natural groups. It is obvious that processing must have an interdisciplinary character. It should include the evaluation of the structures, as well as of the settlement and burial context. It should be founded on vertical and horizontal principles of the stratigraphy of entire sacral areas. A necessary element and condition of further meaningful research is critical source publications of all structures including those already published. If possible, revision field research as a standard part of processing “old” documentation should be used. Significant informational potential – should we leave aside the results of the above-mentioned field research – lies in construction-technological and decorative elements. This includes mortars, plasters – plain and painted, floor fragments, grave covers, etc. This opens wide possibilities for interdisciplinary research and new analytical methods.

# BURIAL RITE AT THE TERRITORY OF THE GREAT MORAVIA

Milan Hanuliak

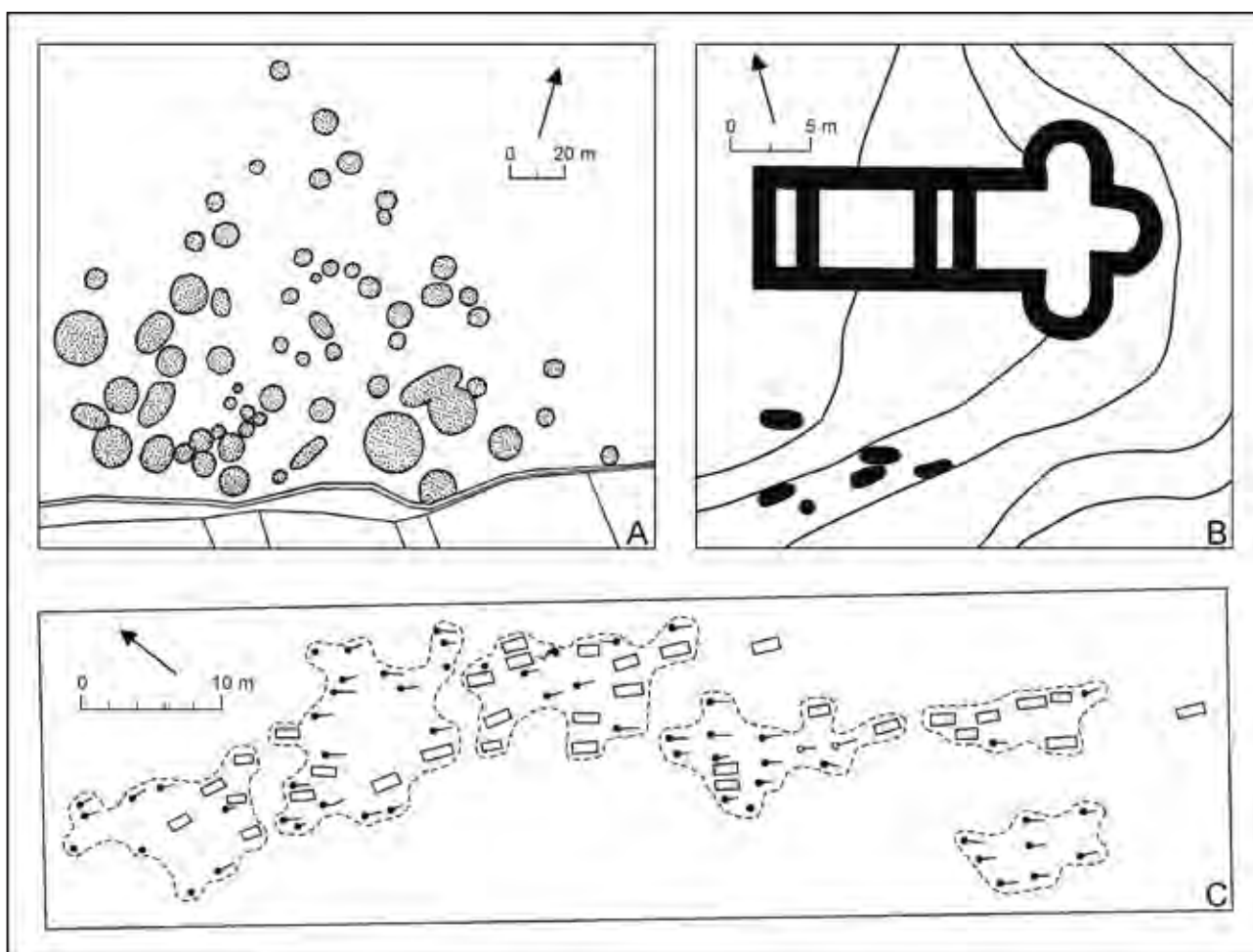
Burial grounds are a standard part of settlement zones. Their existence is the result of grouped burials of the dead. Besides family ties, these individuals are also connected by property and social relationships, economic activities and religious beliefs. Based on these characteristics we can distinguish two basic groups of communal burial grounds – barrow fields on the one hand, and graveyards as well as church cemeteries with so-called flat graves on the other hand.

## Barrow fields

Examples of this group are mainly found in higher-located hilly landscapes. From central and northerly-situated regions of what is now Moravia and Slovakia we know of almost 90 localities. Barrows within a burial ground can be scattered or arranged to form a linear pattern or a cluster (Fig. 1: A). Burial mounds are piled up of clay, intentionally, from the

immediate neighbourhood. Their circular bases are mostly 7–10 m in diameter and 0.5–0.8 m in height. At the end of the 8th century, cremation was replaced by bi-ritual burials and afterwards inhumation became dominant. Cremation remains can be either scattered in the burial mound or deposited in pits or cinerary urns. In the 9th century, the dead bodies were laid on the surface of the ground or put into proper grave pits. In Eastern Slovakia cremation persisted until the 10th–11th centuries.

Our knowledge of barrow burials provides scant information. It is so because only about a third of all registered barrows have been examined, and settlement localities are as good as unknown. Diverse data on burial rites, the composition of grave goods, the design of grave pits and the way human remains were deposited are indicative of some differences in the social status of the individuals who were buried. However,



▲ Fig. 1. Plans of burial grounds.

A – Skalica, large barrow field; B – Bratislava – Devín (Hradný kopec / castle hill), church cemetery; C – Nitra – Zobor (Lupka), large burial ground. After M. Hanuliak 2004.



the reasons why, from the 9th century, in some geographic regions, barrow burials occurred parallel to strict Great Moravian inhumation cemeteries are not known. The pastoral farming we would logically presuppose surely does not represent the main reason why the dead were buried inside barrows. Despite some lack of knowledge, barrow fields provide primary evidence that the territories in question were inhabited by an autochthonous Slavic population (*Hanuliak 2001*, 279–295; *Kavánová 1993*, 52–55).

### Burial grounds with so-called flat graves

In the 9th – mid-10th century in southern and central regions of what is now Moravia and Slovakia burial grounds typically occurred, including about 13,000 graves (*Dostál 1982*, 290; *Hanuliak 2004*, 27–28). Individual graves were not overlaid with intentionally piled-up burial mounds but only with soil loosened by the excavation of grave pits. Burial grounds are distributed at various densities in the lowland landscape with elevations of up to 200 m. It mostly includes regions with soils of higher quality and hydrological and climatic conditions favourable for agricultural production. Not only the number of members of individual communities, but also the extent of their burial grounds, depended on the quality of these factors and the extensiveness of farming (*Hattenhauer 1998*, 6; *Klápště 2002*, 42–43). That is why nearly half of them are represented by small cemeteries with 2–20 graves. Medium-large and large burial grounds with more than 60 graves (**Fig. 1: C**) are situated in the neighbourhood of administrative and economic centres with a higher density of permanently settled locations. In burial grounds of the category under review we can observe displays of stable mortuary practices. Their wide range was intended to eliminate the impure condition which, in the pre-Christian period, each individual entered after death. Besides the elimination of his/her negative influence, it was necessary to secure the passage of the body of the deceased into the afterworld. An important role was played here by its material nature. According to what was then believed, individuals pass into the afterworld in their original physical form. This raised fears of a possible return of the dead into the living world.

The environment of burial grounds therefore had to be protected by various magic means. They were intended to reduce the harmful effects of buried individuals and isolate the bereaved from everything which came into contact with the dead (*Bednárik 1972*, 77; *Navrátilová 1993*, 69–70). Funerary customs of a purgatory, protective and placatory character served this purpose.

Purgatory needs were satisfied by a nearby water source and the action of the sun. Rays of sunshine beamed over all

the hilltop locations and the southern slopes of hills, where burial grounds were preferably placed. A protective effect was attributed to having a sufficient distance between burial grounds and settlements. If a cemetery was situated too far away, the chance to protect the sacred space of dead ancestors effectively against pollution or grave robbery was lost. The purgatory function was also fulfilled by ceremonial washing of corpses with water from specific vessels. These vessels came into contact with the dead; therefore, it was inevitable they would be intentionally broken into pieces and thrown into the grave. Another group includes shattered vessels which were used in the magical purification of dead bodies, and grave pits with herbs and wood that had been left smouldering (*Marešová 1983*, 44; *Měřínský 1985*, 68).

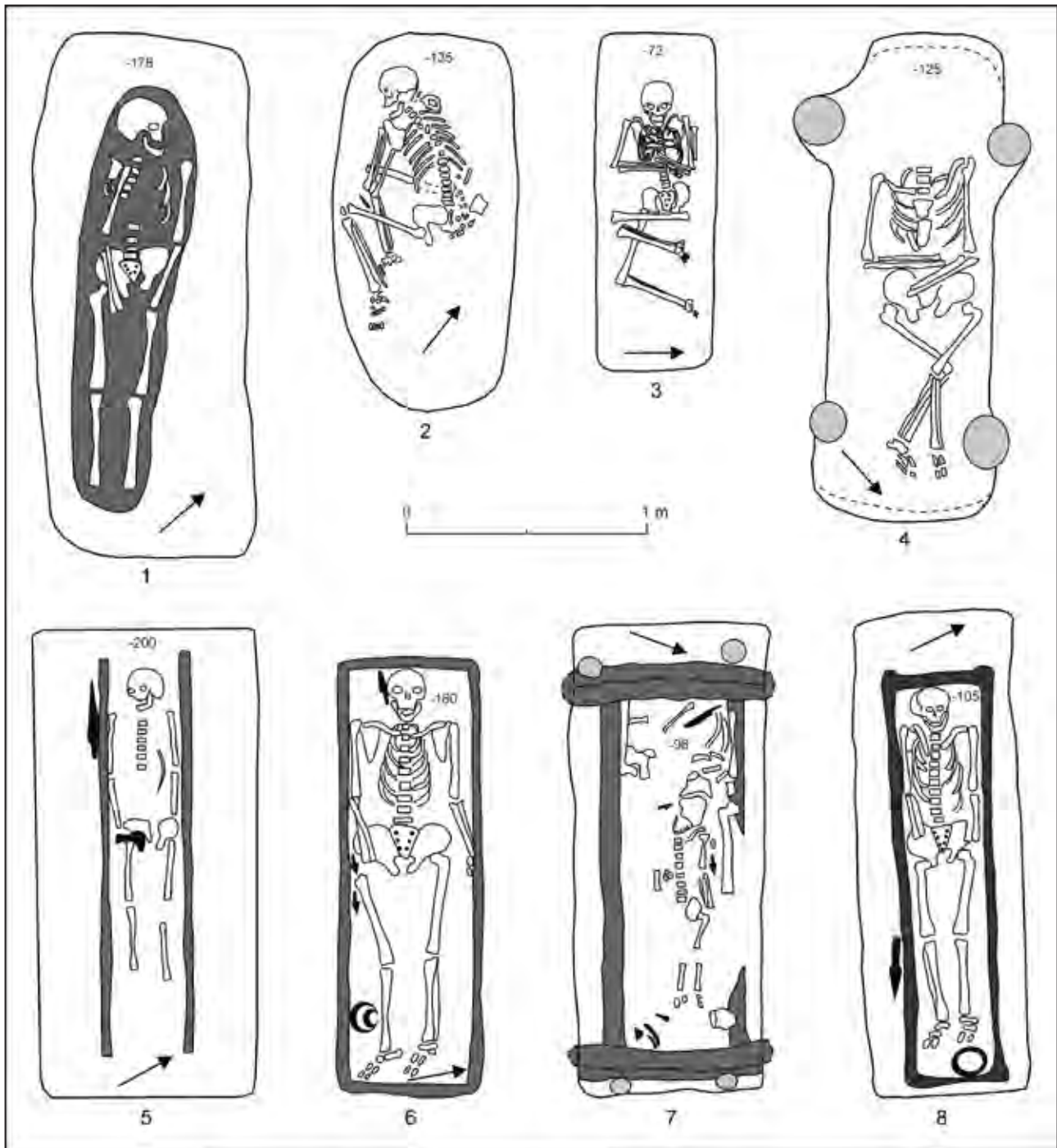
Among the protective aspects of funerary customs, there are also the positions of buried individuals. An appropriate position was necessary for their successful passage into the afterworld. We can regard an extended supine position with the head resting on the nape of the neck, and with the upper and lower extremities lying parallel to the axis of the body (**Fig. 2: 5–6, 8**), as an ideal form. Such a position expressed peace, conciliation with death and with departure from the living world (*Hanuliak 1990*, 155–156). A shift of the head sideways did not in any way disturb the primary conclusion because it occurred by chance when the body was laid into the grave and covered with soil (**Fig. 2: 1, 5**). There is no relevant explanation for the placing of the left or right forearm, rarely both of them, in the lap (**Fig. 2: 1, 4, 6, 8**). The reasons for the frequent occurrence of such positions of the upper extremities in adult females and the increase in the number of them during the Great Moravian period cannot be deduced from the available components of material obtained from burial grounds. The same problems also arise with moderately bent lower extremities, bent or crossed shinbones (**Fig. 2: 4**).

The protective effects of mortuary practices can also comprise the orientation of graves. In accordance with the main aim, the vast majority of graves were laid out on a western azimuth. Such a direction is not accidental because the dead in these graves were turned with their head towards the afterworld (**Fig. 2: 1, 3, 5, 6, 8**). In the pre-Christian period, this space was associated with the setting sun (*Bylina 1995*, 14; *Wozny 2002*, 48). The opposite position of an individual, with the head turned towards the east with diversion to the north or south (**Fig. 2: 4, 7**), reveals however an effort to deflect the way of the undesirable dead and prevent them from finishing their journey to the traditional afterworld.

An increased intensity of the protective factor occurs with dead individuals buried in an exceptional way. It may

be an extended prone position. More often we find a bent body laid on the right or left side. The head is tilted back; the upper and lower extremities are unnaturally flexed or

crouched (**Fig. 2: 2**). Less frequent is a supine position with the body distorted sideways and with flexed upper and lower extremities (**Fig. 2: 3**).



▲ **Fig. 2. Positions of buried individuals and design of grave pits.**

1 – Čakajovce, Grave 166; 2 – Bešeňov, Grave 16; 3 – Čakajovce, Grave 372; 4 – Galanta, Grave 3/82; 5 – Veľký Grob, Grave 89; 6 – Bojničky, Grave 23; 7 – Mužla – Čenkov, Grave 36; 8 – Michal nad Žitavou, Grave 23. After M. Hanuliak 2004.

These rare variants, which are known in about 4 % of all cases, resulted from precautions against individuals who were considered dangerous. Among them may have been people with physical handicaps, extraordinary spiritual skills, experienced healers and masters of magical powers. The exceptional positions of their bodies were intended to lock these people up in the grave to prevent them from leaving this posthumous dwelling place and harming the health or activities of the bereaved with their unusual powers (*Brodala 2000, 59; Le Goff – Smitt 1993, 81*).

If the bereaved became suspicious of being harmed by some of those interred, they conducted posterior interventions in the graves. Protective practices of this category were intended to eliminate such an individual by the total destruction of their mortal remains or at least some important parts thereof. This mainly concerned the head, with the sensory organs and the upper half of the body with the organs that are essential to life. Evidence of such interventions is given by intentionally shattered or detached skulls, and relocated bones of the chest or of lower extremities necessary for movement (**Fig. 2: 4, 7; Hanuliak 1999, 580–582**).

Graves of this group, which are known in about 8 % of all cases, were scattered all over the burial ground. According to their position and the variety of grave goods, they originally pertained to blameless individuals. They did not enter the risk group until some time after the funeral, when a suspicion arose that they were connected with impure powers. Such a condition may have been caused by inconsistently performed funerary rituals or by suspicious circumstances at death (*Bednárik 1939, 86; Navrátilová 1992*).

Graves of the dead from the risk group represent a part of normal burial grounds. However, insufficient bonds of some dangerous individuals to the local community or a higher degree of negative impact they might have had, together with serious violation of the then customary norms, meant that these individuals were not allowed to be buried in the communal burial ground. Its sacred space was only intended for those who had died in accordance with valid rules (*Ariés 2000, 65; Jágerová 2001, 25*). Such individuals were sporadically deposited in isolated graves on the periphery of settlement zones, in graves scattered over settlement areas or in defunct settlement features (*Hanuliak 2004a, 41–42*).

A dignified departure of the deceased from the world of the living was promoted by placation practices. With the help of them, family ties and property relationships were set right. Most of these practices are part of funerary customs. Conducting them expressed appropriate respect to an indi-

vidual and regret for their departure from the living world; objects of material culture were laid into the grave. Part of these practices reflected the social status of the buried individual; others were intended to satisfy their needs during the journey into the afterworld (*Hanuliak 2004, 209*).

Funerary rites in the environment of burial grounds provide some valuable information on the life of the time. From available data, the importance of social bonds can be derived; these bonds were inevitable for the survival of the community members, the satisfaction of physiological needs and the ability to reproduce (*Hanuliak 2004, 203*). Evidence thereof is provided by burial compounds whose area was divided into irregular sectors intended for the members of particular family groups. Graves of relatives were placed close to one another within these sectors. The above micro-areas were separated from each other by strips of land free of graves (**Fig. 1: C**). They were probably overgrown with vegetation attributed with magical properties (*Jágerová 2001, 15*).

Differences in the social status of individuals are reflected in the information on grave pits. It is in no way surprising that their dimensions show higher average values with adult males than with females. The interior of burial pits in male graves often contains intricate wooden constructional elements, whereas the design of female graves is much simpler. Among these sporadic simple elements are underlying wooden boards, constructions of four vertical posts, a lateral lining of the body with boards or planks (**Fig. 2: 1, 4–5**) and chambers sunk into the bottom of the grave and overlaid with wooden boards. Among more complicated types, there is wooden panelling on grave walls, closed case-shaped timber frame constructions, and chambers built of round or square logs (**Fig. 2: 6–7**). The most elaborate variant is coffins made of tree trunks or boards bound together using carpentry skills and iron bands (**Fig. 2: 8**). In the early phase of the Great Moravian period, earthen chambers sunk into the side walls of grave pits in the form of a niche also occurred (*Hanuliak 2004, 88–96*).

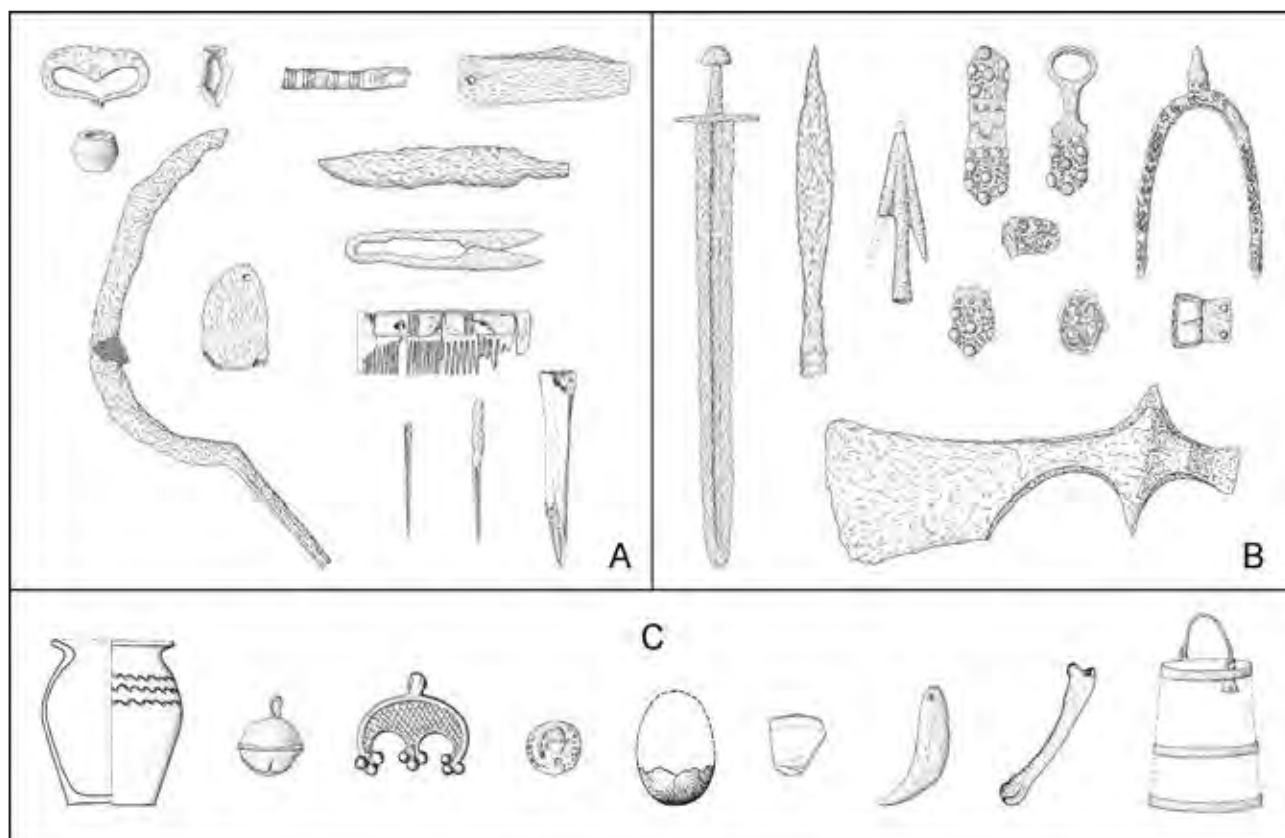
Only moderate attention was paid to modifying the bottom. The sporadic occurrence of floors daubed with clay, covered with moss, grass and straw may rather have had a magical meaning. A hygienic purpose can be considered in the case of lime spread, and a healing function comes into consideration with the use of appropriate plants. According to the position of a deceased individual within the community, they were laid into the grave in either everyday or festive clothes. In a few cases bodies may have been wrapped in skins or textile (*Hanuliak 2004, 79–81, 96–98*).

Interior modifications of grave pits together with increased depth and volume are among the indicators of higher, above-standard, social status of individuals, associated with an abundance of possessions. Mutual interconnection of both these indicators is confirmed by funerary equipment. Grave inclusions in graves with interior modifications are not only more abundant and typologically more varied but also more valuable. Graves of adult males have yielded mainly weapons and warrior's equipment, razors, long knives, inclusions of meat food, and buckets. In graves of adult females we can find numerous examples of precious personal ornaments and garment components made of rare and precious metals (Hanuliak 2005, 274–275).

In the other graves of average social status, objects of traditional variety, comprising more than 80 main types and a high number of various forms, occur sporadically. These objects can be divided into five material groups according to how they were used. Along with the above-mentioned militaria, personal ornaments and garment components (Fig. 3: B; 4: A, B), funerary equipment also included

articles of everyday use, tools as well as cultic objects (Fig. 3: A, C). Besides various forms of amulets used to protect the health or secure the livelihood of their owners, this group also comprised food inclusions occasionally placed in ceramic vessels.

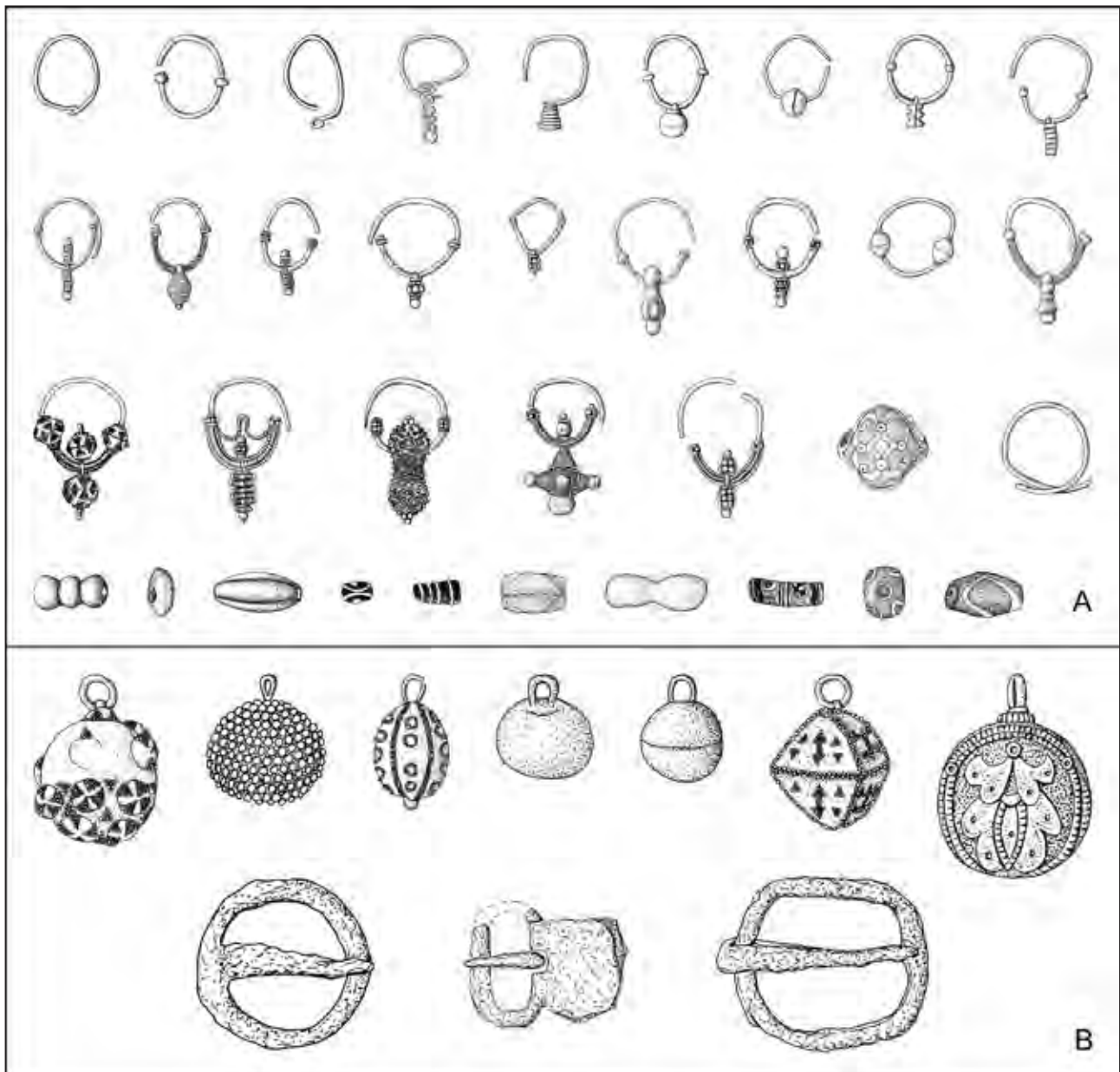
Inclusions of food, together with articles of everyday use and tools, give evidence of the material nature of the afterlife. Examples of this group were, that is, intended to satisfy the fundamental needs of the dead during their journey into the afterworld. Their real use is indicated by numerous inclusions of particular objects found with individuals of relevant sex and age. An illustration of this is personal ornaments dominant in the graves of adult females, and the razors and militaria found especially with adult males. The activities of the latter are also closely connected with working tools and an increased number of articles of everyday use. Female individuals, on the other hand, were often given objects used for sewing and spinning. Their graves also contained short knives and large ceramic vessels intended for cooking.



▲ Fig. 3. Selection of basic components of funerary equipment.

A – Articles of everyday use and tools; B – Weapons and parts of a warrior's equipment; C – Cultic objects. Without scale. After M. Hanuliak 2004.





▲ Fig. 4. Selection of basic components of funerary equipment.

A – Head, arm and neck ornaments; B – Garment components. Without scale. After M. Hanuliak 2004.

Graves of adult males, on the other hand, included long knives as well as medium-size vessels used for serving food. The smallest children were given low vessels containing the food which was most important for them. Males were not equipped with articles of everyday use until their middle age, after they had mastered the skills needed for work. In the graves of young females it was simple forms of personal ornaments (Hanuliak 1998, 57–65; 2006, 269–273).

#### Church cemeteries

Unlike the distinct predominance of communal burial grounds for a rural population with pre-Christian burial rites, church cemeteries represented a new quality. They were founded around stone-built churches which only arose in fortified centres of major importance. These cemeteries were used by local elites and the closest members of the administrative apparatus.

The cemeteries testify that the Christian Church assumed responsibility for the earthly life of adherents of the new religion and for the salvation of their souls. From burial customs we can deduce that the fear people had previously had of death was eased by their hope of further existence in a new type of afterworld. It was a diametrically different environment, situated in a supernal paradise free of bodily needs. This is also why the cemeteries often lack tools and many articles of everyday use, cultic objects and displays of purgatory and protective practices.

Cemeteries no longer had to be distant from settlement areas for protective reasons. On the contrary, they became part of them and were usually situated at the most important dominant place in the fortified area. During the 9th century, however, burials had not yet achieved their standard form. Graves were not yet laid out strictly in rows and their spatial relation to a religious building may still have been absent (**Fig. 1: B**). In funerary equipment, moreover, some articles of everyday use and vessels containing food occurred sporadically (*Hanuliak 2004, 210–211*).

# PRODUCTION, CRAFTS AND TRADE IN THE PRE-GREAT MORAVIAN AND GREAT MORAVIAN PERIODS IN MORAVIA AND SILESIA

Zdeněk Měřínský

The cornerstone of the entire period's economy is indisputably represented by agricultural production. The general model of agricultural development in the last third or last quarter of the 7th along with the 8th century and the related questions of economic development and social changes which are often discussed together with it, are based on the presumption that intensive agricultural production was undertaken in the Central European environment after the arrival of the Slavs and was typified by low work productivity. During the second half of the first millennium AD, the Slavs as well as Germans east of the Rhine began extensive farming characterised by growing grain and breeding animals, mainly pigs (*Sus scrofa f. domestica*). This meant a decrease in production of approximately a half, but also a significant increase in work productivity per person. It was these changes that caused the decline of clan-type villages and the transition to neighbour-type villages which accelerated during the 8th and 9th centuries. Simultaneously, a significant demographic increase occurred. The result of this 3–4% annual increase was a decrease in productivity. A solution eventually cropped up, which dealt with these processes and their negative consequences: internal colonisation brought about by this economic and social pressure (*Beranová 1980*, 173–174, 248, 252–253, 257–258; *Beranová – Kubačák 2010*, 55–71; 99–111; comp. *Měřínský 2002*, 294; *Měřínský 2013*, 115–116).

Crop farming continued with the cultivation of the same crops that had been being grown before the early Slavic period, as we are informed by some palaeobotanical analyses. Compared to the previous period, the number of items and tools related with agricultural production, chiefly those found in hoards of iron items chronologically belonging to the end of the pre-Great Moravian period, suggest (only to some extent, as the actual quantity of iron items and tools from the early Slavonic period that were valuable and certainly repeatedly re-forged and used can hardly be accurately estimated) a qualitative and quantitative increase in their presence. An ard with an iron share was used for ploughing, sometimes used with a coulter and to a limited extent in the most developed areas of the lower Morava area even a small sole with an asymmetrical share, one mouldboard and a coulter. For the 8th–10th century period, M. Beranová (*1980*, 186–187; comp. *Bartošková 1986*, 68–69; *Měřínský 2013*, 116) presents the use of five types of ards. The most often used was the sole ard, equipped with a sliding beam – sole.

The share was rested on it or attached to it as well as sometimes the coulter in front of it. This widespread type was certainly used for very shallow ploughing and implies the do-

minant manner of cultivating land as well the system used. In comparison to the sole ard, the bow or beam ard did not have a sole and an unsupported stilt was inserted askew from the bottom into its draft-pole. The share would then be attached to it, but the stilt as well as the sole could have been adjusted for ploughing without the share. However, the Slavs on our territory most probably did not use the bow ard. The development of both types of ploughing device, typically in various shapes and versions, culminated after a long period of time in the invention of devices that would invert the soil – the first would be the plough and the second a two-prong plough. The size of most shares lets us assume that ploughing was quite shallow; most of the shares were intended for loosening lighter looser and softer soils.

Finds of slightly asymmetrical shares in the later periods show attempts to invert and move soil to the side. Ards with coulters were ideal for ploughing heavy soils with sods or areas that had not been ploughed before, as well as types equipped with a larger narrower and reinforced, so-called blade-shaped, share. Ploughing was probably done once or twice at most and in a cross-like fashion. Sometimes it was enough to sow in loose soil. Fields lying fallow or newly created fields could have been processed using ploughing but also prepared for farming using the slash-and-burn technique. Fields were harrowed using branches and twigs; harrows are not known to have been used in that period. Sowing was done very shallowly, or the seeds were not even covered over; sowing was also done less densely than when using the three-field system. Fields were probably laid out as block ploughing areas with sides that could have lain fallow. It is probable that they used simple methods of fertilising, maybe even using animal manure, most often from cattle grazing on harvested or fallow fields. However, we lack proof of fertilisation. Corn would have been harvested using typical sickles with offset handles; drying was followed by threshing, and hand-rotated grinders with a new design were used for grinding (*Beranová 1980*, 167–173, 174, 176–178, 181, 183–184, 186–194, 198–215, 254–258, 310–311; *Beranová – Kubačák 2010*, 55–64; comp. *Měřínský 2002*, 294–297; *2013*, 116–117).

For the pre-Great Moravian and Late Hillfort periods, we have positively documented the use of durum and miracle wheat and club wheat (*Triticum aestivum* L. /durum/ *turgidum* + compactum HOST), further spelt wheat (*Triticum spelta*), multi-rowed and two-rowed (common) barley (*Hordeum distichon* L., *vulgare* L. a sp.), cereal rye (*Secale cereale* L.), common oats (*Avena sativa* L./A. *fatua* L.), European millet (*Panicum miliaceum* L.) and foxtail millet (*Setaria italica* L. P. Beauv.), and also winter

tares (*Vicia sativa* L.) together with vetch (*Vicia* sp.) and flax (*Linum usitatissimum* L.). Also in Brno – in the Starý Lískovec district – several types of wheat were found: einkorn (*Triticum monococcum* L.), emmer (*Triticum dicoccum* L.) and common wheat (*Triticum aestivum* L.), rye, millet, common vetch and a weed called corn-cockle (*Agrostemma githago* L.; Čížmářová 1994, 278). Winter and spring wheat was probably already being sown as we are informed by a record by Abraham ben Jacob from the 10th century; the “double harvest” mentioned in this record could be interpreted as the partial harvest of unripe wheat before the standard harvest. The unripe wheat was probably immediately processed in times of need into pražmo (roasted unripe wheat), or in other ways (Beranová 1980, 194–196, 310–311; Beranová – Kubačák 2010, 72–78; comp. Měřínský 2002, 297; 2013, 117). Findings of winemaker knives in the fertile lands of South Moravia and south-west Slovakia prove the growing of grapes (*Vitis vinifera* L. ssp. *sativa*; e.g. Bartošková 1986, 34, 71, fig. 12: 31–33 on p. 35) and it may be legitimately assumed that fruit-growing and other additional branches such as vegetable growing began to be developed. However, we know very little about fruit gardens and gardens, or even which plants were deemed useful. It has been proved that the following plants grew in gardens and even openly among settlements, probably during this period or later during the Great Moravian period: several types of damsons (*Prunus* L. s. s.; comp. e.g. Opravil 1972, 17–18, comment. No. 8 on p. 17), walnut (*Juglans regia* L.), sloe-blackthorn (*Prunus spinosa* L.), hazelnut (*Corylus avellana* L.), crab apple (*Malus sylvestris* Mill.), wild and common pears (*Pyrus pyraeaster* (L.) Burgsd., *Pyrus communis* L.) and (proven maybe later in the Middle Hillfort period) even cherry (*Cerasus mahaleb* and *avium* ssp. *avium* (L.) Moench and var. *silvestris*), sour cherry (*Cerasus vulgaris* Mill.), peach (*Persica vulgaris* Mill.) and various types of plums (*Prunus domestica* L.). Besides these wild fruit was certainly collected as well. Archaeological finds from the Late Hillfort period prove the existence of fruit trees such as the plum tree (*Prunus spec.*) and the common hazel (*Corylus avellana* L.). According to L. Niederle (1953, 209–210) there were onions, wild carrot (*Daucus carota* L.), radish (*Raphanus sativus*), cucumber (*Cucumis sativus* L.), pumpkin (*Citrus vulgaris* Schrad.), watermelon (*Citrus lanatus*), beetroot (*Beta vulgaris*), nipplewort (*Lapsana communis* L.) and various types of cabbages (*Brassica oleracea*), probably even celery (*Apium graveolens* L.), cannabis (*Canabis sativa* L.), caraway (*Carum carvi* L.) and from the legumes lentils too (*Lens esculenta* / *culinaris* / Med.); the existence of peas (*Pisum sativum* L.) has also been proven, and beyond them we also find, chiefly in the Mikulčice region, the opium poppy (*Papaver somniferum* L.), turnip rape (*Brassica rapa* L.), rucola (cf. *Eruca sativa* Mill.), camelina (*Camelina sativa* (L.) Crantz subsp. *sativa*), bitter vetch (*Vicia ervilia* (L.) Willd.), dill (*Anethum graveolens* L.), common

purslane (*Portulaca oleracea* L.), hollyhock mallow (Rosenmalve, *Malva alcea* L.), sloe-blackthorn (*Prunus spinosa* L.) and service tree (*Sorbus domestica* L.). All these were being grown before the 10th century. Various types of spices were gathered, as were medicinal herbs. Uncultivated fruit was consumed for a long time, specifically the species *Malus* (apple tree), *Pyrus* (pear tree), *Prunus* (damson, blackthorn, cherry) and water caltrop (*Trapa natans* L.). From the Mikulčice channel under the so-called acropolis (Opravil 1976, 25) we have proof of the common hop (*Humulus lupulus* L.). Slavic fruit and wine growing, mainly in the areas of South Moravia and south and south-west Slovakia, followed and was influenced by the Carpathian Basin and its Roman-provincial traditions. This type of agricultural activity used more types of tools related mainly to crop farming, which were discovered in hoards of iron items, scarcely also in settlement-related material: hoes, hoe-type tools, shovels and spades and other shovel-like tools. The concentration of these artefacts in the South Moravia area and south-west Slovakia surely implies the advanced level of development in these areas and a certain edge over the north Slovakia and Bohemia regions. It is not uninteresting that, in relation to these findings, it is not possible to omit the fact that only very scarcely are agricultural tools found in assemblages from Late Hillfort and pre-Great Moravian fortified settlements. This implies the segregation of agricultural production and the relocation of obligations to secure supplies for the pre-Great Moravian headquarters from the adjacent areas – surrounding unfortified village settlements (Beranová 1980, 217–227; Beranová – Kubačák 2010, 78–95, 127–140, Opravil 1972; 2000, 16–36; Bartošková 1986, 70–72; comp. Měřínský 2002, 297–298; 2013, 117–118).

As with crop farming, it is possible to use data received for the previous early Slavonic period regarding cattle breeding, where most often finds of beef cattle have been made – cattle (*Bos primigenius* f. *taurus* L.), domestic pig (*Sus scrofa* f. *domestica* L.) and to a smaller extent also sheep (*Ovis ammon* f. *aries* L.) or goats (*Capra aegrus* f. *hircus* L.) and the domestic fowl (*Gallus gallus* f. *domestica*). From osteological analyses of bones we know they kept the horse (*Equus caballus*), dog (*Canis lupus* f. *familiaris*), domestic cat (*Felis lybica* f. *catus*) and game animals: the brown bear (*Ursus arios*), aurochs (*Bos primigenius*), red deer (*Cervus elaphus*), roe deer (*Capreolus capreolus*), wild boar (*Sus scrofa*) and European hare (*Lepus europaeus*; comp. e.g. Kratochvíl 1969; 1969a). Birds and fish were caught and shellfish were collected; it is still unknown whether for the purpose of consumption or as feed for domesticated animals. As development progressed further, mainly in fortified pre-Great Moravian settlements and hillforts where the newly emerging power elite was concentrated, the consumption of pork meat as well as sheep and goat meat (*ovis*, *capra*) increased for the citizens of these centres. The



horse is also more significantly represented in animal bone finds (2% are reported in Mikulčice) which is probably related to the presence of horse riders and generally the presence of higher social classes. As said before, mainly in the pre-Great Moravian settlements in Mikulčice, finds of pigs among the osteological material prevails, but also game animals are represented here – aurochs, red deer, bear, wild boar, etc. An important secondary role is played by fishing. Interesting finds will surely be presented by the processing of 6,352 animal bones from the fortification of a pre-Great Moravian settlement in Olomouc – Povel (*Bláha 2000a*). An interesting fact is that more than 70% of the pigs were slaughtered at the age of one year which proves to be a certain extreme (*Bláha 2000a; 2000b*, 103). Three finds of donkey bones (*Asinus africanus f. domestica*), according to *Bláha (1998, 138; 2000a)*, probably evidence contact between this location and the Mediterranean area. However, it also could mean the first beginnings of the breeding and utilisation of this animal in our lands, because we have further proof from e.g. Slovakia and even the following Early Middle Ages (*Beranová 1980, 227–232; Měřínský 2002, 298–299; 2013, 42–43, 117*).

As with crop farming, we usually have data about animal bones processed within the frame of broader time spans and so it is not possible to present exact conclusions for the Late Hillfort and pre-Great Moravian period if this data includes the Middle Hillfort period as well, or the early Slavonic period. This is the case with e.g. 50% of pig bones in Mikulčice (*Kratochvíl 1981; 1988; comp. Beranová 1980, 227*). *I. Pleinerová (2000, 232–239; comp. Beranová 1980, 228)* states that settlements from the 8th and 9th century in Březno still have a slight majority of beef cattle and a rising share of pork. Also a settlement from the 7th–8th century in Brno – Starý Lískovec had prevailing finds of cattle bones – 42.9% out of all osteological finds, pig 32.8%, sheep or goat 10.2% and sheep itself 3.4% (*Čížmářová 1994, 278*). Slovakia on the other hand, according to *M. Beranová (1980, 229)*, has a higher representation of sheep and goat keeping, as proven by their share in inhumation graves with cast decorative items. In any case, the main farmed animals are beef cattle and pigs. Generally, the breeding and consumption ratio is balanced; however, some regions could have a significantly different ratio due to geographical or climatic conditions. The pig prevailed in Moravia. On the other hand, we have to take into account that beef cattle provided much more meat in terms of one animal than compared to e.g. sheep, goats or even pigs. Settlements were certainly full of various breeds of dogs, if it is possible to talk about dog breeds this early on. However, we do not have any proof that dogs were used as food, because the osteological materials of dog remains do not show any signs of cutting or chopping. Proof of a large

amount of dogs running around the settlements is provided by the gnawing marks on bones of animals consumed by people (*Beranová 1980, 228–229, 232; Beranová – Kubačák 2010, 142–147; comp. Měřínský 2002, 299–300; 2013, 118*).

When looking into the breeds of cattle that have been discovered, we find beef cattle to be a primitive form with great resistance, good pull, but also with only slight milk-giving abilities. The production of meat was not very effective either due to the small height and long maturing of the cattle. Short-horned cattle of small stature were kept. They had a shoulder height calculated by *Z. Kratochvíl (1969, 5–18, 35)* for a younger Great Moravian herd from Pohansko near Břeclav as 98 to 120 cm; the average shoulder height would have been 105 cm. In Mikulčice, the representation of both sexes is equal but more than 70% of the females lived longer than 8 years. Bulls were often castrated for pulling and better meat. Beef cattle were bred by Slavs for meat and pulling, as can be proved by deformed horns caused by the attachment of yokes and also the production of milk products, specifically cheese. Of great importance was the processing of hides. However, individual animals were primarily used as a source of meat and less for producing milk, which was not very plentiful; sheep and goats were strong competition. Most often younger mature animals, rather than calves, were slaughtered (*Kratochvíl 1982; comp. Bláha 2000b, 104*). For Middle Hillfort Olomouc J. *Bláha (2000b, 104)* gives a preliminary estimate of bovine representation at 20–30%.

Pigs were also smaller, had longer legs and a larger head and they resembled smaller wild boars. This implies an incomplete domestication process; however, it is not impossible that while grazing in the open the two forms cross-bred, because later historical evidence shows that pigs were not kept, as we know today, in sties, but grazed freely in herds just like sheep. Primarily the broad-leaved forests in the bottomlands provided sufficient food sources. Also later iconographic documents show slender bristly animals with long legs and boar tusks; they are often of a dark colour. This breed often matured later and had less meat and fat. However, we register a great variability in some animals that were close to the size of female wild boars; they were definitely more robust with an average shoulder height of 78 cm (*Kratochvíl 1981, 122–138; 1982; comp. Bláha 2000b, 103*). Even the consumption of pigs in the 8th century in Moravia, compared to Bohemian pre-Great Moravian fortified settlements, was higher than beef cattle and as early as in the 8th century pork meat had a 50% share in Mikulčice and represented a dominant part of meat consumption for the local elite. This was mostly motivated by the need to acquire meat, bacon and lard, factoring in possible long-term methods of preserving these products, such as smoke-curing and other

conservation methods. Due to the undeveloped infrastructure and ways of sheltering the animals, the easiest solution was to slaughter the young pigs in autumn and process the meat and bacon by smoking or with other conservation methods, render the lard and only keep breeding animals for the reproduction of the entire herd. This type of production implies the slaughtering of younger animals at the age of one and a half to two years, or older piglets, or at the other extreme very old animals, as suggested by Z. Kratochvíl (1981, 122–138) for Mikulčice with more than 63% reaching an age of 1.7 years, as for other Great Moravian locations such as e.g. Pohansko near Břeclav (Kratochvíl 1969, 18–28, 35). It is necessary to take into account that the production and consumption ratio could be misrepresented by the extraordinary status of these rather non-agricultural agglomerations, supplied with good quality meat stock from the surrounding agricultural environment, for which we lack data about the proportional shares of species being bred due to the conditions of current research. Z. Kratochvíl (1981; 1982; comp. Bláha 2000b, 103) speculated about the keeping of pigs for breeding purposes and then for the need of lard: primitive forms of the domestic pig got fatter after their third year of life (comp. Beranová 1980, 230–234, 238–239; Beranová – Kubačák 2010, 143–145; comp. Měřínský 2002, 300–301; 2013, 118–119).

Similarly, not even sheep reached today's sizes. Sheep were small, coarsely-bred and undemanding forms with low-quality wool. Their shoulder height, as calculated by Z. Kratochvíl (1969, 28–35) in Great Moravian Pohansko, ranged between 48 and 58 cm and was on average 52.8 cm. The local males typically had strong three-sided horns; some animals had short stunted flat horns and other mutations did not have horns at all. Only a few castrated rams were discovered in the Pohansko near Břeclav region. Due to the difficulty of telling a sheep apart from a goat using standard osteological material, we do not know much about goats. Their average size was probably similar to that of the sheep. Breeding goats was beneficial for meat and milk production as well as wool and fur. Breeding goats for wool is proven by finds of shears in hoards of iron items from the end of the pre-Great Moravian period (comp. Bartošková 1986, 88; Beranová 1980, 231, 239–240; Beranová – Kubačák 2010, 145; comp. Měřínský 2002, 301; 2013, 119).

Most findings point to eastern-type horses that were similar to the Ukrainian tarpan or Przewalski's horse (*Equus przewalski f. caballus*), i.e. to the wild horse (*Equus caballus*) which is represented at 5.65% in Brno-Starý Lískovec (Čížmářová 1994, 278). Its shoulder height ranged approximately from 120 to 150 cm, the average being 137 cm. The East Slavic horse typically had a smaller stature compared to the West Slavic and West European forms. Early mediaeval animals

are expected to have been very resistant, powerful and undemanding regarding care and feed. Evidence of horses is rather rare; the remains are usually incomplete and do not provide enough data to come to a reliable conclusion regarding their appearance and breed. For example the horse specimens discovered in a burial ground with cast decorative items in south and south-west Slovakia belonged, based on their craniometrical features, to forms of light hot-blooded horses, but analysing their grinders classified them as cold-blooded horses. These various features were probably dependent on the level of breeding, which during the following centuries of the High Middle Ages as well as modern times significantly developed and differentiated into various breeds, as supported by evidence from Pohansko near Břeclav (Kratochvíl 1969a, 5–10, 38; 1982; Beranová 1980, 231–232, 240, 240; Beranová – Kubačák 2010, 145–147; regarding individual breeds and their variations, e.g. Chrzanowska – Krupska 2003; 2003a, 151–172; comp. Měřínský 2002, 301; 2013, 119).

The growing role of the horse as a symbol of the higher social class and power elite, as well as horse riders, is documented in the Late Hillfort period and entire pre-Great Moravian development in Moravia by the quantity of finds of bridles and rider equipment – spurs with hooks, stirrups, bits, ironwork and horse harnesses. Even though horse shoes are known from the La Tene period, we cannot discover them in our period of interest. Besides riding, horses could have been used for carrying cargo or pulling carts, but it was not possible to harness a horse in the same way as other animals using a belt placed around the neck in order to pull heavy loads, nor was it possible to use it for field work. Two horses were needed to pull a weight of 500 kg. The fact that bones in settlement layers and structures are seldom found show that, even in this period, horse meat was rarely eaten and probably only came from old animals. As already mentioned above, finds of horse bones in Mikulčice represent only about 2% of osteological material found (Beranová 1980, 241–244; Beranová – Kubačák 2010, 176–183). Other authors claim this to be only 0.9% (Chrzanowska – Krupska 2003a, 170), but this does not take into consideration the number of animals compared to the number of bones. For more on the use of bridles and horse riding equipment see e.g. Bartošková 1986, 81, 83–86; Klanica 1986, 95–106; Profantová 1992, 632–638; 1994; for horseshoes see e.g. Kaźmierczyk 1978; comp. Měřínský 2002, 301–302; for spurs with hooks and loops *ibidem*, 402–414.

As for the dog, it had not yet developed into special breeds. Finds present its form to be close to today's stray breeds, but in Great Moravian Pohansko near Břeclav a form similar to today's Spitz was found. The shoulder height of other dogs ranged from 30 to 60 cm; the vast majority were medium

sized, with small and large dogs only occurring rarely. In Brno – Starý Lískovec, dogs represented 3.4% of bones discovered (Čížmářová 1994, 278). The domestic fowl (*Gallus gallus* f. domestica) was the size of today's leghorn chicken; its stature, however, was weaker. The pre-Great Moravian period has very little evidence of it, as its representation is 1.65% in Olomouc-Povel, and it only begins to be commonly found during the Great Moravian period (Bláha 2000b, 104). The same applies to geese, which are found relatively rarely, but which represent the absolute majority of finds in Mikulčice. During this period, this animal was in the initial phases of domestication and was similar to the wild bean goose or the greylag goose (*Anser fabalis* Lath., *Anser anser* L.). The same applies to ducks (*Anas platyrhynchos* L.), where it is very hard to differentiate between the domestic and wild form (Kratochvíl 1969a, 15–22; Beranová 1980, 232; Beranová – Kubačák 2010, 147–149; e.g. Mlíkovský 2003, 218–235, 249–272, 275–284; comp. Měřínský 2002, 302; 2013, 119–120).

We know only little about the manner of cattle breeding in the pre-Great Moravian or the Great Moravian periods. We do not understand or cannot interpret the traces of barns, stables, cots and pens for cattle. During the Great Moravian period narrow embedded structures with a length of 11 to 14 meters (sometimes longer) and a width of 2–3 meters are interpreted as stables. For example in the Great Moravian horizons of the Břeclav – Pohansko fortification, entire skeletons of perished or burnt animals were found in these structures. Some pens defined by furrows or posts could have been used to concentrate cattle herds (Dostál 1987, 24–25, fig. 11: 5–7 on p. 26). E.g. one such pen is mentioned by J. Kudrnáč, in the Klučov fortification by Český Brod, dated to between the 8th century and first half of the 9th century (Beranová 1980, 232; Měřínský 2002, 302a). We know that beef cattle, pigs, sheep, goats and even horses belonged to resistant breeds that could withstand the perils of living in the open and were able to find their own food. This is why we can assume year-round grazing in the open without special dependence on the settlements. Despite the possible existence of protected winter pastures, it was necessary to prepare certain amounts of fodder for the period of the colder months. The main part of winter feed was hay. We can assume that leaves were used as feed as well as bedding. Pigs were probably fed with chestnuts, acorns, beechnut and other fruits, despite there being no archaeological proof from settlements. Fodder was harvested using a short scythe. The mass use of barns was not necessary. These were mostly used for the protection of selected draught and breeding animals; other animals were probably put up in emergency shelters in the lee of the homestead. Poor care of herds and life in the open even in unfavourable winter conditions is implied by pathological changes discovered in

the bones of beef cattle that are related to long exposure to damp and cold environments or to overloading with hard work, including immature animals. Much more care was provided to horses (Beranová 1980, 232–234; Beranová – Kubačák 2010, 149–176; comp. Měřínský 2002, 302–303; 2013, 120).

Hunting was a complementary means of living and entertainment for higher social classes. Game animals were represented in osteological remains in 8th century locations as well as later Great Moravian hillforts and the total of bones amounts to about 2%, though when recalculated for individual animals, the number will be triple or even quadruple. A quite high share of game animals was discovered e.g. in the Brno – Starý Lískovec settlement (Čížmářová 1994, 278), where, out of 111 fragments found, 25 belonged to game animals, of which 11 belonged to the European ground squirrel (*Spermophilus citellus*) and European mole (*Talpa europae*); we should also name the wild boar (6.8%) and red deer (6.8%). Certainly game was also hunted for its fur and the social elite was entertained by falconry, where the peregrine falcon (*Falco peregrinus*) could have been used for hunting, and also other types of predators: the saker falcon (*Falco cherrug*), Eurasian sparrowhawk (*Accipiter nisus*), northern goshawk (*Accipiter gentilis*) etc. A great record of falconry in the pre-Great Moravian period is the scabbard chape discovered in the well-known hoard in Moravský Svätý Ján, dated to the end of the 8th century (Beranová 1980, 246–247; 1992; Beranová – Kubačák 2010, 142; Kratochvíl 1988a; Mlíkovský 2003, 218, 235, 273, 284–285; for the scabbard chape from Moravský Svätý Ján, e.g. Dekan 1968, 85–86; 1976, 83–84, 245, fig. 66; 1980, 87–88, 249, fig. 66 on p. 111; Klanica 1970a, 426, fig. 5 on p. 427; Profantová 1992, 621, 698, Tab. 43: 3 on p. 757, 53: 12 on p. 767; comp. Měřínský 2002, 303; for the scabbard chape from Moravský Svätý Ján *ibidem*, 519–520, 526–527).

We have evidence of fishing: there are items related to Mikulčice (iron fishing hooks, harpoons, bone needles and fishing nets) and hooks from Olomouc – Povel, as well as fish bones from Olomouc (Bláha 2000b, 105); for most of these items from Mikulčice it is, however, not possible stratigraphically to determine whether they originated as early as in pre-Great Moravian times (Andreska 1975; Poláček – Marek – Skopal 2000, 202–203; Zawada 2003; Mazuch 2003), even though the existence of fishing can quite safely be assumed, as well as the remains of fish bones and scales. These remains are especially perishable in the fillings of structures and in layers but careful research with rinsing and sifting is able to discover them. Similar finds can be named from the Early Great Moravian period, e.g. from fillings of settlement structures in the hillfort area of Břeclav – Pohansko (Beranová 1980, 247–248; Beranová – Kubačák 2010, 142, 183; comp. Měřínský 2002, 303; 2013, 120).

In conclusion we must mention one more branch related to the production of foodstuffs and stimulating foods, and that is bee-keeping (the honeybee / *Apis mellifera*). We have sufficient references in texts from the 10th century that probably represent older conditions during the previous period. Despite not having direct archaeological proof of iron gaffs tied to the foot and used to climb trees in order to collect from the nests of wild bees, nor having proof of special iron bee-keeping knives – uncapping knives for collecting honey – known from the eastern Slavs, nor having finds of honey, wax or honeycombs, it is possible to assume this activity was carried out during the pre-Great Moravian period particularly in forested areas. Honey and wax could have been collected directly from forest nests or intentionally produced in mould hives. If mead was for the west Slavs an intoxicating drink replacing wine in the 10th century then we may assume that its use is of an older tradition. This mainly applies to the Bohemian area (*Beranová 1980*, 245–246; *Beranová – Kubačák 2010*, 185–186; *Měřínský 2013*, 120–121). In Moravia and south-west Slovakia, which are open to the Carpathian Basin and influence from Roman provincial cultural traditions, the finds of winemaker knives in the pre-Great Moravian period prove the growing of grapes and the production of wine (comp. aforementioned and *Měřínský 2002*, 303–304; *2013*, 121).

A great qualitative and quantitative leap occurred in individual branches of crafts in comparison to the Early Slavic period. Whereas, in the oldest development periods of Slavic settlements in our lands, crafts (besides some specialised branches) did not exceed home-made production due to the overall state of the society, in the last third of the 7th century social development slowly began to separate off some specialised production activities that were intended for a specific distribution ring or even orderers. In relation to this division of labour, barter trading increased in importance and was realised in a natural form or with items of pre-coin currency. This process culminated in the Great Moravian period. Obviously some production activities have a higher specialisation than others and some, such as textile production, did not have to transform from the style of home-made production of simple fabrics. This also depended on the different social environments. On one hand there are provincial settlements whose citizens are nearly self-reliant and, on the other hand, there are fortified pre-Great Moravian centres with an already settled large group of producers supplying the local power elite including a wide distribution network. Somewhere in the middle of these dimensions, communities could have settled near resources of specific raw materials, in particular ore, stone, etc. or seasonal agricultural products (comp. *Měřínský 2002*, 304; *2013*, 121).

An important role in the economy was played by iron makers and blacksmiths producing newer and better farming tools and supporting the increasing volume of crop farming, and also craftsmen's tools for improving and increasing the quantity and quality of their product range, and also products related with horse riders' equipment and weapons. It is from the pre-Great Moravian period that we find proof of the oldest production of iron in northern Moravia and the Drahany Highlands area. Metallurgical workshops processing iron ore were situated near the raw material sources in order to have an uninterrupted supply of the material without unnecessarily complicated transport. The location of iron works was influenced by other factors as well, such as having a source of water in the immediate vicinity and enough wood for producing charcoal. Usually effort was made to found the workshop on a spot that could access all the resources necessary for a successful technological process. For the oldest production centres from the 8th century, in the case of Želechovice in North Moravia, this was a quartz variety of haematite-magnetite ore of the Lahn-Dill type probably mined in the Vrbno iron ore band in the direction of Úsov – Vrbno pod Pradědem. As was discovered from preserved pieces of ore from the iron works, this ore was not roasted, even though it has a very compact structure. Its original source was located 1–5 km from the iron works and this ore was ground and sorted before being smelted (*Pleiner 1954*, 200, 209; *1955*, 17–20; comp. *Měřínský 2002*, 305; *2013*, 121).

Other deposits used from the 8th century onwards were located in the Drahany Highlands in the central part of the Moravian Karst. These were high quality arenaceous ores that were easily reduced when using limestone as an additive. These ores, mainly of goethite and limonite, had an average iron content of around 38%, but ore concretions had a Fe<sub>2</sub>O<sub>3</sub> content of up to 70%. Ore from the Great Moravian iron works near Olomučany, their foundation reaching back to the 8th century, contained around 40–60% of iron oxide. The most mined ore in the Moravian Karst and the most widespread ore was limonite; it belongs to the group of peroxide ores – oxides. This is a type of ore that is very suitable for smelting in simple and small iron works' smelting furnaces, as is the liquid iron peroxide – goethite. However, limonite is the primary ingredient, and has remained important until modern times; this is also the reason why the locations of individual mining areas from the Hillfort period are uncertain. However, some definitely originate in this period (*Součopová 1986*, 63–68; *1995*, 40–46, 80; *Součopová – Stránský 2008*, 47–53; comp. *Měřínský 2002*, 305–306; *2013*, 121–122).

Should we want briefly to describe other technological procedures of iron ore working, the first necessary step would



be to increase the concentration of the basic metal in the raw material that would be put into the furnace. Waste rock would be separated from parts containing the actual ore by crushing, washing and drying. These processes were most probably undertaken directly at the mining location in order to reduce unnecessary transport of useless materials. Further processing was done with heat: this was the roasting that was done to disrupt the ore's structure and remove any dampness and other unwanted components, such as sulphur, in order to make it more accessible to the effects of reduction gasses, i.e. to make it easy to melt. We have proof of this heat processing of iron ore from e.g. some iron works in the centre of the Moravian Karst. Experimental verification of possible technological procedures has confirmed our assumptions that the ore was roasted before melting and that this was not very intensive or even and was done on piles with full access to air. Besides ore, the entire iron production process needed charcoal as fuel; its consumption was so great that it could have caused changes in the composition of surrounding forests or even their total destruction. Charcoal was produced in pits or round surface kilns. It is assumed that the wood produced about 30–50% of charcoal according to its mass. The selection of suitable materials to build the smelting furnaces was also very important – usually clay mixed with a specific ratio of sand was used to achieve the necessary plasticity and heat resistance. In the Moravian Karst, a good quality and easily available material was kaolin clay, its heat resistance being about 1400°C. Depending on the slag's crust, the temperature of the internal puddled layer was around 1300°C (Pleiner 1955, 14–17; Souchopová 1986, 64–68, 89–93 /exkurz E. Opravitl; 1995, 45–49; Souchopová – Stránský 2008, 54–60; comp. Měřínský 2002, 306–307; 2013, 122).

This material was used by Slavic ironworkers from the 8th century to build the oldest single type of iron smelting furnaces chiselled into the terrain for the West Slavs; this type was named after the eponymous North Moravian location – Želechovice. According to R. Pleiner (1954; 1955, 29–34; 1958, 206–224) and V. Souchopová (1986, 16–17; 1995, 13–17; Souchopová – Stránský 2008, 38–39) the Želechovice-type furnaces were built to the same construction plans – furnaces chiselled into banks of compact soil with long tunnels in the chest area and with a horseshoe-shaped cavity in the back wall of the shaft. Air was pumped into the furnaces using bellows with a slanting air duct leading into the area where the horseshoe cavity ceiling bends into the shaft wall. For its time, the furnace was an ingenious device, because thanks to its horseshoe cavity it was also able to produce steel. This was proven by experimental smelting (Souchopová 1995, 50–51; Souchopová – Stránský 2008, 97–105). Building the nearly entire body of the furnace into compact soil ensured very

good heat stability during smelting. The tunnel in its chest was probably only used for preparations and enabled the quick heating of the furnace to the necessary temperature. Furnaces were built in series significantly rationalising their operation (comp. Měřínský 2002, 307–308; 2013, 122–123). As noted above, the Bohemian lands represent the first proof of furnaces of this type. Iron producing facilities were discovered in the pre-Great Moravian ironworks by Želechovice near Uničov. This location had been known since 1930 and researched during 1931–1935 by J. Schirmeisen and J. Gabriel, but it was R. Pleiner's revision research that introduced significant discoveries (1954; 1955; 1958, 208–224) during 1950–1951. The ironworks were located north-west of the settlement on the west slope of a slight loess loam creating a terrace above the former floodplains of the left bank of the Oskava. The entire workshop was built at once, systematically and well-planned at a suitable location and with good knowledge of the local weather, soil and mineralogical conditions. During its operation, some furnaces were replaced with newer smelting devices. The entire workshop facility was chiselled by the iron producers into a double bent loess bench, with furnaces pointed west. A total of 24 iron melting furnaces were discovered in the Želechovice iron smelting area. Based on the discovery of typical wheel-turned and decorated ceramics from the Danube production area in the workshop facility and dated to around the 8th century, the entire Želechovice ironworking facility may be considered pre-Great Moravian. The Želechovice ironworks were also capable of producing steel. It was the type of horseshoe cavity in the rear of the shaft wall that was ideal for this purpose (Pleiner 1954, 200; 1955, 14, 34–39; 1958, 222–224; Souchopová 1995, 50–51; comp. Měřínský 2002, 308–310; 2013, 123–124).

Another location with similar furnaces is Olomučany (Blansko region) where the first iron smelting furnace was discovered in 1978. The workshop labelled 98/3 is very important and lies 140 m south-west of the first iron works discovered in 1978 and labelled 98/2. Unlike the first furnace discovered, the second presented piles with remains of ceramic materials dated to the 8th century. Workshop 98/2 was situated on the brook bank and contained a total of seven underground furnaces chiselled into the hillside with a modified forehearth pit. Workshop 98/3 was situated on a promontory created by the same watercourse approximately 140 m south-west and this array had eight furnaces. The only difference between the two arrays is that the furnaces in smeltery 98/2 were mostly filled with slag; array 98/3 had been cleaned during the last few smelting operations. Similar to Želechovice, Olomučany had, during the initial stages of iron processing, horizontal furnaces dug into benches of compact earth with air blown through slanting channels leading through the back of the shaft wall.

The entire smelting device was equipped on the chest side with a long tunnel which was probably closed during smelting. The back side of the shaft had a small horseshoe cavity used as a space for carburising sponge iron. All of the furnaces described were equipped with slanting air ducts in the back wall; an important finding is that a bulkhead was used to seal the chest channel of the furnace during smelting. The furnace tunnel was used to blow air during the initial smelting stages. The need for this can be explained by the need to supply the inside of the furnace with a strong and concentrated airflow in order to heat the furnace and heat up its walls (*Souchopová 1986*, 15–23; *1995*, 77–78; *Souchopová – Stránský 2008*, 38–39; comp. *Měřínský 2002*, 310–312; *2013*, 124).

The Olomučany furnaces are typified by being of a smaller size than those in Želechovice. However, their individual arrays were different too. A waste layer on the steep slope leading to the brook under array 98/3 contained slag, fragments of ceramic bricks and remains of the furnace inside the layer, and especially ceramics that made it possible to date the operation of this smeltery, the same as Želechovice, to the 8th century (*Pleiner 1955*, 34–39; *1958*, 222–224; *Souchopová 1986*, 15–37; *1995*, 20–29; *Souchopová – Stránský 2008*, 39–44; comp. *Měřínský 2002*, 312–313; *2013*, 124). The production of iron in the Olomučany region continued during the Great Moravian period where we can see another two types of iron furnace, i.e. built-in furnaces with a thin chest. Five remains of aboveground shaft furnaces with a shallow crucible and a large mould panel were also found here. Cup-shaped crucibles were the only remains found shallowly sunk into the underlying layers and cleaned out after the last smelting operations. These smelting devices are dated to the 9th century and are very similar to the shaft furnaces in Hungary named after the eponymous location in the west part of the country – Nemeskér. Generally West Slavic iron metallurgy, based on current findings, is typified by its horizontal design of furnaces and the oldest typical feature from the 8th century is the horseshoe shaped carburising cavity in the back wall of the shaft. This technical improvement to furnace construction was probably implemented during a specific time period over a small area. We have a total of 39 furnaces registered across the entire Moravian area that are capable of producing steel and we do not know of any from the west Slavic areas. We know of similar iron smelting furnaces with a cavity in the back wall in the Ukraine. It is also important that the beginning of the building and use of this type of furnace falls within the pre-Great Moravian period, during which the economic preconditions for the foundation of Great Moravia in the following 9th century were being created (*Souchopová 1986*, 14–16, 23–37; *1995*, 20–29; *Souchopová – Stránský 2008*, 39–44; comp. *Měřínský 2002*, 312–313; *2013*, 124–125).

The production capacity of these devices remains unanswered, although it probably did not differ considerably from the capacity of the earlier Great Moravian built-in furnaces with a thin chest. The yield of the most successful experimental Moravian smelting in this furnace was, according to V. Souchopová, 44% of iron from the inserted ore charge, equating to sponge iron of 8.80 kg from 20 kg of iron ore, depending on the forgeability of the ore. An estimate of iron production from one production device, based on the amount of slag weighing 902 kg under Great Moravian furnace No. IX in Olomučany (98/3) is around 54 to 270 kg of iron (6–30 kg of iron per 100 kg of slag), meaning an average of 162 kg per furnace; an entire array of ten Great Moravian furnaces could have produced around 1,620 kg of iron. This is the lowest estimate, because much better results could have been achieved and the highest estimate is 2,700 kg of iron (*Souchopová 1995*, 25–26; comp. *Měřínský 2002*, 313–314; *2013*, 125).

Further findings were presented by experimental smelting done in Želechovice-type furnaces by R. Pleiner (*Souchopová 1995*, 50–51). He undertook three smelting tests in two experimental furnaces. The main part of the iron sponge was quite compact, despite containing a range of non-ferrous materials. The samples that were researched proved that this was essentially hard steel with a carbon content around the eutectoid value; this is why a martensitic structure could be seen under the microscope. Only those parts of the sponge that were closest to the airflow jet had a ferritic structure. From this layer, the metal changed to parts enriched with carbon. Only after two hours of carburising the iron sponge in the horse shoe cavity atmosphere, in the back wall of the shaft, was it broken out, and immediately after being removed it was cooled in water. This meant that the iron sponge structure ranged from hard areas to very hard carbon steel areas with martensitic and troostitic structure. Experimental smelting proved the design ingenuity of the Želechovice-type furnace. The shape of its furnace top, through which the charge is loaded, was able to support the cone-like structure that was created during a certain smelting phase when the charge added began to slide into the horse shoe cavity in the back wall of the shaft, where, out of reach of the blown air, the iron sponge that had been created was liquidised and carburised. This is why the metal produced does not undergo reoxidation. This period of liquidation and heating in the shaft cavity is very important for the final structure of the iron sponge. It has been proved by the results of the most successful smelting, during which the iron sponge was left in the furnace another two hours after the smelting had finished. The yield consisted of a compact sponge weighing 2.41 kg representing around 25% of the charged iron ore. The direct iron production method would probably also have been

around 30%. Experimental smelting of iron in a reconstructed Želechovice-type furnace has shown that even richer carburised iron could have been produced – quenched steel. This means that with further processing, Slavic blacksmiths produced steel using secondary cementation and also steel produced directly in the smelting furnaces (comp. *Měřínský 2002*, 314; *2013*, 125).

Most iron works were abandoned peacefully, so it is rare that we come across findings of tools and other equipment in these workshops. This also applies to blacksmith workshops. Based on experimental smelting, we can assume the iron-working workshops used pliers, small shovels, buckets, iron rods, baskets for holding the charge, anvils, hammers, etc. The most common finds in workshops are chisel-like iron tools with socket handles and a length of around 20 cm and a blade width of around 3 cm. A typical tool is a small narrow shovel with a pick and a length of 50 cm. Stone anvils and wooden hammers could also have been used. Part of the iron works' equipment were manual stone whetstones and rotary grinders; axes were also necessary for charcoal production, drawknives and hoes for making furnaces, spades and shovels (*Souchopová 1986*, 68–79; *1995*, 68–82; comp. *Měřínský 2002*, 314–315; *2013*, 125–126).

The next phase was the process of forging the iron that had been obtained and this was probably done within the iron works. The first step was to transform the smelted sponge iron into an iron bloom. This step required the repeated heating of the iron in a forge filled with charcoal; after reaching temperatures ranging from 700–1200 °C iron-scales – iron(II,III) oxide – would be created; removing them required the use of various materials such as reduction quartz sand, crushed limestone or aluminium. Iron-scales that did not flake began to transform into slag and run through the charcoal into a bowl in the forge and mix with ashes. During such processing of the entire iron sponge, even the original slag created during the smelting gets into the forge, then it pools at the bottom of the forge as typical forging slag and takes on the shape of the forge's bottom – plano-convex loaf-shapes or pie-shaped slag casts with a diameter of around 15 cm. As proof of blacksmithing activities, we can also consider findings of iron blooms, larger amounts of slag, the remains of forges and forge shields that protected the bellows from the heat. The original furnaces could have been used as forges after removing the top parts of the walls. We have proof of such devices in Olomučany and other locations from the beginning of the Great Moravian period. Further processing of the iron was done beyond the iron works, producing iron raw material in semi-finished shapes suitable for transportation. West Slavic and East Slavic iron workshops are often typified by their loaf-shaped iron blooms,

sometimes with a notch. Such artefacts are known e.g. from Olomučany where they were discovered at the location of a Great Moravian iron works. The final processing was done in hillforts and their outworks and other open settlements. This forging also needed repeated heating of the iron in a forge filled with charcoal and temperatures between 700 and 1200 °C. Use of the above-mentioned methods and the addition of various types of additives created iron-scales and typically shaped slag (*Souchopová 1986*, 71–75; *1995*, 61–67; *Souchopová – Stránský 2008*, 61–82; comp. *Měřínský 2002*, 315–316; *2013*, 126).

D. Bialeková (*1981*, 17) recognises two types of blacksmith workshops in Slavic settlements of the late Great Moravian period and the Early Hillfort period, specifically surface structures with a total area of 12–15 m<sup>2</sup> and underground workshops, i.e. dugouts. This second type used natural soil benches created by placing the entire structure underground. No pre-Great Moravian blacksmith workshop has been discovered, unlike those found in the Great Moravian period, and only some locations indicate the existence of this craft with finds of slag and other blacksmithing items and tools. We know them mainly from pre-Great Moravian fortified settlements and hillforts. The presence of this blacksmithing slag is also mentioned in e.g. pre-Great Moravian Mikulčice and a variety of evidence also originates from Olomouc – Povel, where Bláha (*1988*, 165) even speculates on a certain link between blacksmith production and the North Moravian iron area, represented by the Želechovice iron works as a pre-Great Moravian centre of the Upper Moravian Basin for distributing iron and trading in it. Proof of blacksmith production is also mentioned by R. Snášil (*1984*, 155) in Ostrov sv. Jiří in today's historical centre of Uherské Hradiště where a pre-Great Moravian fortified settlement was located (comp. *Měřínský 2002*, 316–317; *2013*, 126).

The best indirect documentation of iron production in the last quarter or third of the 8th century is the wide range of finds of various iron items found in hoards, most probably with the majority originating before the end of the 8th century and the turn of the 9th century. Some of these items, such as simple construction iron work, nails, etc., did not need complicated technological processes, but in other cases, such as tools and weapons, the ancient Slavic blacksmiths had to use a gamut of technological skills passed on from generation to generation and acquired by experience gained by entire generations of smelters and blacksmiths. It would be useless to name the entire range of blacksmith products in detail as an overview may be gained by viewing documented iron items from the entire period. However, this certainly cannot be considered final, as new research will definitely bring new and unknown findings (*Bartošková 1986*). The production of iron is closely related to labour organisation and the social status

of smelters and blacksmiths, including their role in the pre-Great Moravian economy. It is necessary to emphasise what has just been said. Iron smelting was based on the empirical knowledge of entire generations and this led to a strong influence of tradition and use of traditional and verified methods. On the other hand, this did not prevent the search for new and better technologies and the adoption of them from surrounding, even ethnically different, environments. Based on ethnological analogies, the operation of one furnace was ensured by 2–4 smelters and their helpers; however, it is necessary to consider other circumstances created by the type of production of the iron works. The Želechovice and Olomučany iron works are examples of closed iron production, dislocated to geographically limited areas and with strict labour organisation. They are typified by their planned furnace layout in the workshop area, the grouping of furnaces into arrays and intensive production. A more important finding is that the iron works in the central part of the Moravian Karst worked with an every-other-furnace system, i.e. the simultaneous operation of 3–4 furnaces. This meant more smelters were needed for operating one array. It is not impossible that work could have been organised by only one expert smelter. He would have monitored the process, given technological instructions and commands; only workers looking after the charge and manning the bellows would have worked directly at the furnaces. With a simultaneous operation of 3–4 furnaces in one workshop and 2–4 men working at each furnace, this would mean 6–16 men would have been needed to man the entire array; most probably a median value of twelve workers and one foreman was used (Součopová 1995, 35–39; comp. Měřínský 2002, 317–318; 2013, 126–127).

This type of iron smelting may be considered typical for larger craft clannish villages. Their members carried out various activities from prospecting to blacksmith-cleaning and processing smelted iron blooms. The structure of these small iron works with limited production capacities was based on a smaller number of smelters and their helpers, probably coming from their families. Labour organisation was also concerned with the need to supply iron ore and mine it, along with charcoal and other necessary raw materials and additives, as well as the repair and construction of furnaces. All of this required an operating base. For example in the Želechovice iron works from the 8th century, charcoal supplied by specialised charcoal burners for one smelting in twenty furnaces amounted to about 10 tonnes and the supposed amount of 6–18 tonnes of iron would need, according to calculations made by R. Pleiner, about 50–100 tonnes of charcoal (Pleiner 1955, 20–21; 1958, 223). The volume of iron production even before the pre-Great Moravian period as well as later in the Great Moravian period forces us to think

about the management and organisation undertaken by the governing elite and its local representatives, or local rulers in the pre-Great Moravian period. Even though we still lack clear proof and evidence of such processes, it is quite legitimately assumed that the production and especially distribution of iron was organised from pre-Great Moravian fortified centres, to which these production facilities and producers belonged, in some manner that currently cannot be explained in more detail. The Želechovice iron works were definitely linked to the fortified settlement in Olomouc – Povel and the entire iron area in the central part of the Moravian Karst was affiliated with the Líšeň hillfort. Nothing more detailed is known about the social status of smelters in this period and we do not know the settlements or settlement buildings that belonged to these iron works (Měřínský 2002, 318; 2013, 127).

The existence of these specialised crafts is proven by the findings themselves. Individual pieces of direct evidence of these activities, such as workshops or at least specialised tools and other evidence such as semi-finished products and items related to production are very scarce, but what is typical is that they are concentrated in hillforts and other fortified pre-Great Moravian centres or agglomerations, e.g. Pohansko near Břeclav, from which Great Moravian fortified centres were built. An example is the jewellery workshop (structure 10/5) by church No. 5 in Mikulčice, probably already in operation in the time of the pre-Great Moravian fortified centre. According to Z. Klanica (1974, 56–67), besides copper, bronze and maybe even precious metals, even iron and glass were used. Metal casting and jewellery production in the Mikulčice hillfort are documented with melting pots dating to the pre-Great Moravian layers. We also have indications of metal casting production from the pre-Great Moravian centres in Ostrov sv. Jiří and today's centre of Uherské Hradiště. One of the bronze spurs with hooks discovered here was obviously prepared for smelting, because it was a rough casting made from a two-part clay mould (Snášil 1984, 156–158). In Olomouc – Povel, work with non-ferrous metals is documented by the remains of a smelting pot, a strip of sheet copper, clay with smelted bronze or iron slag and other artefacts (Bláha 1988, 165). Dies for pressing star-shaped ornaments for Čadjavica-Martinivka earrings cast from white metal are known from settlement I in Břeclav – Pohansko. According to B. Dostál (1975, 224–225, fig. 28: 3; 1985, 72–73, fig. 18: 7) the discovery is either related to the Early Slavic or Late Hillfort time line of this settlement and if this artefact was not lost here then it represents proof of jewellery production in Pohansko dating back to the pre-Great Moravian period (comp. Měřínský 2002, 319–320; 2013, 127–128).

Indications of specialised and supplementary bone product production in open settlements are known from the Early



Slavic period and findings of this production, despite the workshop not yet having been discovered, are plentiful from pre-Great Moravian Mikulčice from where we also have a very extensive collection of bone items. Workshops are sure to have been located in pre-Great Moravian Mikulčice by virtue of bone waste and semi-finished products and partially processed antler material. We should in particular mention the semi-finished bone needle cases and two- and three-part antler cases, so typical of the pre-Great Moravian time line. We can find semi-finished products of other artefacts as well, such as more common bone production (awls, picks, so-called skates, etc.), but in most cases it is not possible to decide whether these items stratigraphically belong to the pre-Great Moravian or to the later Great Moravian time line. According to B. Kavánová (1995, 248–251), semi-finished bone and antler products and their waste are concentrated in the north half of the Mikulčice acropolis, specifically in the vicinity of church No. 5 and further in the surroundings of church No. 4, as well as antler cases and other special waste and semi-finished products west and east of church No. 3. Evidence of semi-finished products and raw materials is registered at the “Štěpnice” outworks. Bone production was also located in Ostrov sv. Jiří in Uherské Hradiště (Snášil 1984, 153–154; comp. Měřínský 2002, 320; 2013, 128).

Clothing crafts are connected with a large range of activities related to textile and leather processing, sewing clothing, shoes, etc. All these industries were in operation, but the level of specialisation was different for each industry; they were also mostly carried on in open provincial settlements or in fortified pre-Great Moravian settlements and hillforts. Provincial sewing of clothes, weaving of textiles and even the production of shoes certainly did not exceed the frame of home-made production, whereas in the centre this could have been developed into the production of luxury clothes and shoes and had the character of a specialised activity. We have proof of a tannery (Snášil 1984, 154) located in Ostrov sv. Jiří under today's centre of Uherské Hradiště which, due to the technology used, had to have the character of a special craft. So-called bone skates could have been used for smoothing during the processing of hides and maybe even textiles (Kavánová 1995, 122–161). Other clothing production documented by finds of weaving weights, wharves, awls and bodkins or needle cases in settlements did not necessarily mean that they lost the home-made character of production or seasonal production such as clothing and shoe repair, besides the above-mentioned exceptions. A number of these findings, often of universal tools, are known e.g. from pre-Great Moravian Mikulčice (Marek – Kostelníková 1998; Kavánová 1995, 161–171); bone awls, bodkins and wharves are known from Olomouc – Povel (Bláha 1988, 165) and other locations. Some

of the larger published collections of wharves used as the flywheels of the bottom part of a spindle (in order to keep it balanced while the threads were being wound) undoubtedly prove the home-made character of textile production, and the fact it was typically women's work, owing to the location they were found in. Usually these are clay items and the items found in Mikulčice are usually dated to the Late Hillfort or the pre-Great Moravian to the Middle Hillfort period (comp. Měřínský 2002, 320–321; 2013, 128–129).

Based on archaeological findings documenting woodworking crafts, it is not possible to say more than that wood and wooden products were plentifully used by people in residential housing or even for the oldest pre-Great Moravian fortification architecture, where it was necessary to use experienced carpenters, and also for a range of items of material culture of everyday life, or as part of agricultural and craft tools, etc. Basket making was certainly also related. Clear evidence of woodworking crafts is the tools used for woodworking. These included chisels, universal axes, knives and rasps, but mostly drills, lathe knives, saws, drawknives, etc. which we know from hoards of iron items from the pre-Great Moravian period (comp. Bartošková 1986, 71–72, 74, 76–80; Poláček 2000; Poláček – Marek – Skopal 2000; comp. Měřínský 2002, 321; 2013, 129).

We do not have any positive indications of glass production, although the results of emission spectrum analysis of smelting pot remains from Považany in Slovakia imply the possibility of local production of faience material during the previous development (comp. Fusek 1994, 88–89) and indirectly documents the production of glass and its use in a group of jewellery products, such as earrings type IX and X with glass pearls hanging on the lower arc and connected to the opposite top part. Rose-like decorations accentuated with inlaid glass of various colours were found in agrafes, too. In all cases this belongs to the cultural sphere of inhumation burials with cast decorative items in the Carpathian Basin. Other decorative items are represented by glass beads. Glass manufacturing must have been part of a specialised production industry, the same as iron working and jewellery production, even though it could have been closely linked to jewellery production. Z. Klanica (1974, 56, 58, 61) speculates about the possible production of glass in the Mikulčice jewellery workshop. Known findings from Olomouc – Povel are amber raw materials, which according to J. Bláha (1998, 138) could evidence local processing (comp. Měřínský 2002, 322; 2013, 129).

Similar to the previous Early Slavic period, the production of whetstones and grindstones we know from iron works carried

on, as well as the making of stone millstones. Production of them, undertaken probably directly where there were resources of suitable raw materials, was also a specialised activity, even professionalised to some extent, because it needed extensive experience with selecting stones and processing them (e.g. *Dostál 1982*, 34). Finds of perfect wheel-turned ceramics of the so-called Danube production area style also testify to the professional production and design of these vessels on a slowly rotating wheel. This also implies a massive presence of these perfect pottery products in the pre-Great Moravian fortified centres. Pottery production facilities were most probably located close to sources of suitable raw materials – pottery clay. However, production equipment such as pottery kilns that would prove the existence of ceramic production have not yet been found, even though this does depend on the state of research and on sheer luck (comp. *Měřínský 2002*, 322; *2013*, 129).

Fortification construction and sacral architecture represented a completely separate area of activity that needed experience and technical skills as well as organisational capabilities, because these jobs had to be done by very extensive work teams. All of the cases discovered hitherto include wooden or wood-clay constructions (*Procházka 2009*, 89; 139, 141, 152, 155, 157; 161, 174–175, 183–184, 195, 197–198, 209–212, 240, 246; for structures see p. 255; comp. *Měřínský 2002*, 322–323; *2013*, 129). Proof of preserved wooden structures of pre-Great Moravian vallum fortifications are known from Mikulčice. There are traces of a palisade-protected perimeter in the central part of the hillfort. The fortification in the “Štěpnice” outworks consisted of a front wall and chamber at the rear end, and of a palisade of stakes which have been partially preserved in their bottom parts; it is not impossible that some were used as a quay, preventing the water bed from damaging the banks on which the fortification itself was built. It is not known when both of the Mikulčice bridges leading to the “Štěpnice” outworks and from there to the centre of the fortified settlement were built. Finds of pre-Great Moravian ceramics at a depth of 4 m between the pillars of the bridge connecting the acropolis with the “Štěpnice” outworks imply the construction could be dated to this period. Furthermore, due to the existence of large water beds, it is possible legitimately to assume the oldest bridge had been built during the pre-Great Moravian period, i.e. at the latest during the 8th century; the fortification could have been inhabited till the 9th century. Remains of wooden palisades are also mentioned in relation to the pre-Great Moravian settlement of Ostrov sv. Jiří under today’s historical centre of Uherské Hradiště. Extensive systems with preserved stakes were discovered here and have been interpreted as the remains of a double wickerwork-filled palisade, a structure with deep

stake pits, probably a wooden tower and maybe the front of a wooden-clay fortification wall along the bank of the island, as well as evidence of a lighter wooden fortification consisting of several palisades (at least three dense rows of stakes) in Olomouc – Povel. The existence of an older pre-Great Moravian fortification in the Staré Zámky hillfort in Brno-Líšeň has still not been proven. It is probably in this period that an earthen vallum was built and increased in height by the addition of a wooden wall with wickerwork between the stakes. However, its relation to the vallum surrounding the island is not known with any definiteness. This is also the case of the dating of the wooden palisades discovered in front of the Great Moravian vallum fortification at Zelená Hora near Vyškov (*Klanica 1986*, 180–187; *Procházka 2009*, 152, 155, 157, 159–161, 174–175, 183–184, 195, 197–198, 209–212, 255; *Bláha 1988*, 166; comp. *Měřínský 2002*, 323–324; *2013*, 129).

In the case of Silesian locations, the fortification of the Víno hillfort, in its oldest phase from the Late Hillfort period, consisted only of a soft vallum with an earth-filled core (*Kouřil 1994*, 11–17; *Procházka 2009*, 240) and in Chotěbuz – Podobora, the Slavs used the remains of an older Hallstatt fortification for the acropolis as well as for part of its first outworks. This vallum was increased in height by adding a wooden structure at the acropolis. P. Kouřil considers the palisade wall, which secures the inside heel of the vallum at the first outwork as well as the unfinished second outwork, to be one of the younger structures in regards to the fortification phase. An important piece of information is the radiocarbon dating of the vallum protecting the first outwork: 665±35 and 720±35 years (*Kouřil 1994*, 71–79, 164). It is possible briefly to summarise that in the constructions of the oldest Late Hillfort period and pre-Great Moravian period fortifications we mostly come across simple fortification elements such as earth-filled vallums and palisades. However, more complicated wooden fortifications with foundations begin to appear. The Mikulčice “Štěpnice” outwork, according to Z. Klanica (*1986*, 184, 186–187, 189), has the remains of beams that create right-angled frames implying the possibility of vallums with hollow chambers. The difficulty of clearly identifying the chamber structures is caused by the fragmentary remains that make it impossible clearly to define the inside and outside wall of the vallum fortification. The situation is even more complicated around the central part of the hillfort, where individual lengthways-lying beams were discovered in the northern part of the location in a pre-Great Moravian layer under a fortification wall from the 9th century; however, the discovery conditions do not allow for as sure an interpretation as with wood-clay fortifications. In any case, palisades defining the perimeter of the hillfort fortification can be taken as fact, and, regarding discoveries

from the outwork areas, a simple vallum fortification can also be assumed to have existed. However, for our period of interest, we currently do not have proof of stone elements of vallum fortifications used as dividers or dry-stone walls (*Klanica 1986*, 180–184, 186–187, 189). A common feature of the wooden walls of regionally important pre-Great Moravian centres is the solitary placement of stakes, i.e. with gaps. Not even in one case was a continuous groove discovered that would prove there were palisades made from densely placed stakes. A wickerwork wall on the pillar structure could not have offered the same resistance. In Mikulčice and also in Ostrov sv. Jiří in the historical centre of today's Uherské Hradiště, individually placed stakes were used; Mikulčice had a very dense layout. This kind of placement of vertical elements, according to R. Procházka (2009, 255), cannot avoid having gaps that would have decreased the defensive capacity of the walls (*Kouřil 1994*, 74–78, 164; *Procházka 2009*, 139, 141; comp. *Měřínský 2002*, 324; *2013*, 129–130).

Long distance trading was closely connected with basic communication networks. It is known that the structure of long-distance communications remains stable over a given area for a long period of time and is typified by having significant inertia. These main communication routes in the Bohemian lands and their connections to surrounding areas and countries, which were used as early as during the great migration of peoples or even in preceding prehistoric times and early historical periods until the pre-Great Moravian period, basically stayed unchanged until the beginnings of the High Middle Ages. Besides coin hoards and other items from unfortified settlements and hillforts and burial grounds indicating e.g. relations regarding long-distance trading, the last (but not least) factor in determining their direction was the natural conditions. The main communication network is related to finds showing signs of them having been imported; this applies mostly to luxury items. Exchange of these goods in the Early Middle Ages was done mostly via the long-distance trade of raw materials and items that could not have been acquired from local resources. In particular this meant salt, luxury products, high quality weapons, etc., and on the other hand there were items carrying a favourable price tag such as honey, furs, etc. and also slaves. Due to the interconnectedness and continuity of the entire long-distance communications system, this interpretation should not be limited only to the Moravian and Silesian areas, but must at least briefly include its development in the Bohemian lands, the Austrian Danube regions and areas of today's Poland and Germany. Research into mediaeval communications pervades many research areas of history as well as natural sciences and represents a typical borderline field where a range of specialised social scientists cooperate with natural scientists in search of answers. It is

necessary to understand that only a comprehensive study, including all available evidence and an emphasis on literary and cartographical sources, while comparing them against known natural conditions and detailed terrain explorations that map the tracks of the remains of communications preserved in the terrain, may contribute to an exact recognition of the main long-distance routes and their individual branches (*Měřínský – Zumpfe 1998*, 173–178; *Měřínský 1999*, 125–126; comp. *Měřínský 2002*, 325; *2013*, 130).

This study is also part of the research describing the development of settlements in the mediaeval period, as such progress may have significantly influenced colonisation. It is not necessary to emphasise the importance of long-distance routes for the economy and its development, the spreading of cultural stimuli and technical innovations; on the other hand, however, during times of war, they multiplied the threat to citizens living near them, because armies used these strategic routes to move into the enemy's interior. The spread of various infectious epidemic diseases was quite similar, as this also threatened citizens who came into contact with travellers on these long-distance communications. It should not be necessary to emphasise that long-distance communication routes were typified by their significant stability and inertia, provided by the geographical environment and most suitable terrain for the movement of persons and goods. Sometimes only one suitable route existed for mountain regions such as the Alps. This is why today we can find railways, roads and motorways on these long-distance communication routes (*Měřínský – Zumpfe 1998*, 174; *Měřínský 1999*, 126; comp. *Měřínský 2002*, 325–326; *2002a*, 46).

From the 7th to the 9th century, long-distance communications from the Bohemian lands were mostly orientated to the east and west, with branches leading south and north. Contrariwise Moravia's important route was orientated north-south, with its main routes and branches copying the former amber road or path, from which one of these branches led through the Morava area; its crossings with the west-east long-distance roads and the Morava and the Dyje river crossings definitely determined the genesis of important pre-Great Moravian fortified settlements (and their emerging elites), which went on to develop into the important centres of Great Moravia, e.g. Uherské Hradiště – Staré Město and the Mikulčice settlement agglomeration, also Olomouc, Znojmo – Hradiště sv. Hypolita located at the Dyje river crossings, Břeclav – Pohansko from the 9th century, and probably also the hillforts of Petrova louka by Strachotín and Pohansko by Nejdeč, along the secondary routes. From the 9th century, such agglomerations developed near the Svratecko crossings in the Old Brno area; this led to further development in this region that culminated

in the foundation of the mediaeval city of Brno. In the area south of the Danube, in the former Roman provinces of *Pannonia superior* and *Noricum*, the basic communication routes connected to the old system of Roman Empire roads and also to a large portion of Lower Austrian settlement agglomerations south of the Danube; in the 13th century these grew into fully institutional cities of the High Middle Ages and arose at the locations of former Roman military fortifications on the Danube Limes (castra and castella) or from civilian provincial cities, mostly at Danube river crossings or where there were important communication hubs and where main routes crossed. The River Danube played an important role at the beginning of the 10th century, when the Hungarians settled in the Carpathian Basin and used the Danube as an international arterial route for trade. An old road leading around it and connected to a Roman road on its right bank was paralysed at the beginning of the 10th century due to Old Hungarian nomads causing this west-east Euro-Asian arterial trade road to move further north. The isolated Bohemian lands, surrounded by a ring of frontier mountain ranges and dense border forests, exhibited a generally peripheral importance until the downfall of Great Moravia at the beginning of the 10th century and were connected with the surrounding world by several mostly long-distance routes, most of which ended or were linked to other communications leading into the heart of the Bohemian lands – the Elbe area and the Prague Basin. It is clear that the route then continued into the “heart of the Bohemian lands” – with the top of Říp Mountain as the typical orientation point – and then into the Prague Basin and the Elbe area. There it was joined by the main route connecting Moravia and Bohemia, which led west from the Olomouc region; it was somewhere on the main Elbe-Danube European divide, in the area between Svitavy and Litomyšl, where the road from the Brno area connected, which was later named the Trstenice Path. This communication led further into the Elbe area and towards Prague. The other main road was based on a connecting road between the Danube area and the Elbe area, leading over the Bohemian-Moravian Highlands and anticipating the path of the later Habry route. South Bohemia was linked to a road leading from Kremže to Vitorazsko, lying on the upper part of the River Lužnice. A connecting road from Bohemia and the Central Danube area leading to Pannonia and the Carpathian Basin was surely very important, as documented by a series of finds that definitely bear relations to this area (cast decorative items, etc.). However, they may not be considered dominant: the Bohemian lands, in this period, and practically until the exchange of power in the 10th century – which came about with the arrival of the Hungarians, the downfall of Great Moravia and the establishment of new Central European state structures during the 10th century – were on the periphery of all events (*Měřínský – Zumpfe 1998,*

175–177; *Měřínský 1999,* 126–129; *2000a,* 79–82, fig. 1 on p. 77; fig. 2 on p. 81; *2002a,* 39, 46, 57–58; comp. *Měřínský 2002,* 326–328, 331; *2013,* 130–131).

From the south-west, individual branches of communications led to the Bohemian lands from Regensburg and crossed the mountain ridge of the Upper Palatine Forest and Šumava and carried on through the Pilsen area into the Prague Basin. It is expected that the importance of this route grew during the 10th century, due to the separation of Bohemian leaders from a declining Great Moravia in 895 and the leaders’ orientation to the Empire and Bavaria, but mostly this was the consequence of the redirection of the main west-east European arterial trade route, starting in the Caliphate of Córdoba on the Iberian Peninsula and the local Arabian dependencies, leading through France and the south of Germany through Bavarian Regensburg and then following the traditional trade route along the River Danube towards the east. It was the interruption caused by the arrival and settling of the Old Hungarians in the Carpathian Basin that redirected it further north. The main route led through Saxony and Breslau (today’s Wrocław, Poland) into Cracow, Poland and then into Kiev, where it connected to trade routes north to the Vikings and south into Byzantium, while the main route led to the Khazar market on the Lower Volga and then carried on to China. One of its branches led from Regensburg towards Prague; from this route a road (later called the Polish road) led to Poděbrady and Jaroměř, towards Náchod and into Kladsko and carried on to Cracow. The Slavnikovci family’s town of Libice profited from this in the 10th century. Another branch led along the old route that connected Bohemia and Moravia; from Prague it went east to the Elbe area and then further into the Olomouc area. This most favourable route, connecting the central area of Bohemia through the Elbe area with Central Moravia and later with the Olomouc area, had to have been fulfilling its function much earlier than the 10th century. From here it carried on through the Moravian Gate into Cracow, and from here a new route led south into the Morava area and the Brno area. This branch of international long-distance communication definitely influenced the growing importance of Olomouc and local settlement agglomerations during the 10th century. However, the roads from Bohemia to the Central Danube area related to Pannonia and the Carpathian Basin were more important, but, due to the above-mentioned peripheral position of Bohemia (which it practically remained in until the 9th century) they cannot be considered dominant. Only a change of power during the 10th century with the arrival and settling of the Hungarians in the Carpathian Basin, the downfall of Great Moravia and the establishment of new Central European state structures meant the transfer of importance to Bohemia. We have to



emphasise particularly the above-mentioned road, probably already existing from prehistoric times in the protohistoric period – the La Tene and Roman period – from the Danube and Elbe areas through the Bohemian-Moravian Highlands, that runs along the route of what was later called the Habry route. It began in the old Roman Vindobona (today's Vienna, Austria) and led towards Stockerau (or Klosterneuburg – Tulln, p. B. Wien – Umgebung, NÖ), Tulln (p. B., Tulln) through Hollabrunn (p. B. Hollabrunn, NÖ) towards Znojmo, Moravské Budějovice, crossed the border forests between Bohemia and Moravia (which were about 80 km wide before the beginning of the Great Mediaeval Colonisation in the 14th century) in the direction of today's Polná, then to Jihlava, Německý Brod, near Golčův Jeníkov and went around the Habry customs house (it also got its mediaeval name from this) and led towards Čáslav to end in the Elbe region, and later in the Prague Basin (*Měřínský – Zumpfe 1998*, 176–177; *Měřínský 1999*, 128–130; comp. *Měřínský 2002*, 327, 329–331; *2013*, 131).

In contrast with Bohemia, which is surrounded by mountains and woods, Moravia, which opens onto the Danube area in the south, has always been a territory that connected the more developed southern lands with the areas north of the Sudetenland and the Carpathians. Individuals and smaller groups of people, even entire ethnic groups, travelled through it and this north-south route was also used for trade. These relations brought a plethora of news, cultural stimuli and technical innovations. The axis of movement was without doubt defined by the River Morava. From there there was an ancient route leading up to the River Bečva, whose lower watercourse near the confluence with the River Morava created the entrance to the Moravian Gate. The route probably dates back to the Neolithic or Chalcolithic period, and its protohistoric form was named “the Amber Road” (*Freising 1977*). This path also branched out: one route led from Hranice, leaving the Bečva valley towards Starý Jičín, Frýdek-Místek, Český Těšín and further into Silesia; another branch led towards Suchdol nad Odrou and continued further along the Oder in a north-easterly direction (*Opravil 1974*). It is on these branches that the oldest settlements were founded. The so-called Amber Road began at the northern Roman Gate in Aquileia on the Northern Adriatic coast of today's Italy and one of its routes crossed the Danube in the most important Roman region of the entire Pannonian and Noric sections of the Danube Limes – in Carnuntum (today's Bad Deutsch – Altenburg village, Petronell, Lower Austria), and went through the Morava area towards the Moravian Gate, crossed the European divide and carried on towards the Baltic Sea. Analyses of findings imply that the amber trade ceased to exist with the crisis and downfall of the Western Roman Empire, but was renewed at the end of the 9th century and in the 1st half of the 10th

century. However, this traditional line of communication into the north was still in operation during the pre-Great Moravian period and certainly in the Great Moravian period, and had a number of branches. Based on the importance and position of Pohansko near Břeclav, it is possible to assume that a route in the direction of today's Břeclav already existed in the pre-Great Moravian and Great Moravian periods (*Měřínský 2000a*, 79–83, fig. 1–2 on p. 77 a 81; *2001*, 118). F. Freising (*1977*) mentions two northwards-orientated routes of this path, forking around today's Břeclav. One of them led along the River Morava and the other carried on in a more westerly direction to Hovorany, Brankovice and Kroměříž; these two branches then united by today's Přerov, just in front of the Moravian Gate. The other westerly direction of the original imperial road of the Roman Empire led to today's Wiener Neustadt and Baden bei Wien (both in Lower Austria) and then connected to the route running along the right Danube bank, connecting important individual points on the Limes – castra, castella and civilian cities. The east branch led from Vindobona (today's Vienna, Austria), another possible Amber Road branch, and led north towards Poysdorf (p. B. Mistelbach, NÖ), Mikulov, into the Pohořelice area, through the south Brno area, and turned east around the Cezav hillock, along the Litava and through the Vyškov area towards Central Moravia. One route this branch may have taken could be in the direction of Mistelbach, Laa a.d. Thaya (both p. B. Mistelbach, NÖ), Hevlín and Pohořelice, where the branches met again. Both branches were also linked to Olomouc and from there to the west to Bohemia, more precisely to the Elbe area, and probably later also to the Prague Basin. The above-mentioned long-distance route, later called the Habry route, began from Vindobona (*Měřínský – Zumpfe 1998*, 174–176; *Měřínský 1999*, 126–128; comp. *Měřínský 2001*, 122, 125, fig. 1 on p. 123; *2002*, 327–329; *2002a*, 57–58; *2013*, 131–132).

Similar to the route described before, which connected Italy and the Mediterranean with the regions north of the Alps, the two above-mentioned long-distance routes beginning in the former Roman Vindobona (today's Vienna) had to fulfil the role of branches of the Amber Road throughout the entire Early Middle Ages. The first one was named “the Habry route” in the Middle Ages, and the second one ran along one of the branches of the former Amber Road from Vienna towards Poysdorf (p. B. Mistelbach, NÖ), Mikulov, Pohořelice, and from there through the south Brno area and the Vyškov Gate into Central Moravia. A possible route of this branch was most probably in the direction of Mistelbach, Laa a.d. Thaya (both p. B. Mistelbach, NÖ), Hevlín and Pohořelice, where the two routes met again. The route to Břeclav also probably fulfilled its purpose in this period. These above-mentioned communications are documented in the 6th–8th centuries

by numismatic and archaeological finds, especially burial grounds, isolated graves and randomly discovered items that have a relation to burial grounds with cast decorative items south of the Danube in the Avar settlement. These items are represented by the horse rider grave from Drasenhofen (p. B. Mistelbach, NÖ) and the burial ground in Dolní Dujanovice on the main route to Vindobona, also the necropolis in Mistelbach (p. B. Mistelbach, NÖ), findings of Byzantine solidi of Theodosius III (716–717) and probably burial-related sets of cast belt decorations from Hevlín (Znojmo region) en route through Laa a.d. Thaya (p. B. Mistelbach, NÖ). The uniting of these paths is implied by further findings of a cast bronze scabbard chape from Pohořelice (Břeclav region). Further use of the route, from the former Roman Carnuntum or even from Vindobona, through the Bohemian Field (Marchfeld), north to the confluence of the Danube and Morava and into the area of what was to become Břeclav, is supported by the discovery of an inhumation burial from the 8th century in Schönkirchen – Reyersdorf north-west of Gänserndorf (p. B. Gänserndorf, NÖ), which also belongs to a ring of necropolises with cast decorative items. The route's carrying on through South Moravia in the direction of Hovorany – Brankovice – Kroměříž, and its connection to one of the branches of the ancient Amber Road, is documented by finds from Krumvíř (Břeclav region) and a hoard of iron items from Brankovice (Vyškov region; *Měřínský – Zumpfe 1998*, 176; *Měřínský 1999*, 126–127; *2000*, 79, 82, fig. 1 and 2 on p. 77 and 81; comp. *Měřínský 2002*, 329–330; *2013*, 132).

The course of the communication route via Hollabrunn (p. B. Hollabrunn, NÖ), Znojmo, Moravské Budějovice and further over the Bohemian-Moravian Highlands into the Elbe area can be documented by the find of Byzantine bronze coins of Constantine V, Leo III and Leo IV (751–775) found under the floor of the St Philip and Jacob Church in Zellerndorf (north-northeast from Hollabrunn; p. B. Hollabrunn, NÖ), and also by finds from around Znojmo. We can especially name the three-blade arrow, bronze bracelet and a bronze scabbard chape decorated with fine ornaments from Šatov, which probably also come from a grave. The scabbard chape evidences relations with the Alaman-Bajuwar areas, where similar specimens have been dated to the second half of the 7th century. We further know of several artefacts belonging to a circle of sites related to burial grounds with cast decorative items in the Carpathian Basin from Znojmo – Hradiště sv. Hypolita. The discovery of a depot of East Roman and Byzantine coins, found in 1782 near Zašovice (Třebíč region), is certainly related to this communication route. Its conditions of discovery as well as the total number of coins discovered is not known and only two East Roman mintages have been registered, two coins of Emperor Zeno

(474–491), one coin of Anastasius I (491–518) and 3 coins of the Byzantine Emperor Justinian I (527–565), implying that this long-distance route was used during the beginning of the Early Middle Ages and at the end of the Great Migration of Peoples. Many of these finds are concentrated in locations where there were crossings or fords for important routes over the Danube (Dolní Dunajovice, Hevlín, Znojmo area), and imply that certain advance posts were located here, related with the more southern community, typified by its burial grounds with cast decorative items in the area around Vienna and the eastern limit of the Carpathian Basin reaching to the eastern hillsides of the Vienna Woods (*Měřínský – Zumpfe 1998*, 176–177; *Měřínský 1999*, 128; comp. *Měřínský 2002*, 330–331; *2002a*, 57; *2013*, 132).

We have already mentioned that the connection between Bohemia and Moravia that started from the Prague Basin, went through the Elbe area and Chrudim and led to the east was the most important line of communication between Bohemia and Moravia. Its main route, which most probably already existed in prehistoric times and definitely in the protohistoric period, as already mentioned, led through the Upper Moravian Basin and the Olomouc area, where other paths connected to it from Brno and on to northerly directions. From here it carried on through the Moravian Gate into Cracow; from here a new route led south into the Morava area. The importance of this Olomouc communication hub is documented by traces of Roman marching camps discovered in Olomouc – Neředín and near the south branch leading through the Morava area in Hulín – Pravčice. It is possible that this route originally connected to the Elbe area, to what was later called the Royal Route, leading from the Rhine upstream of the River Main and then further through the Ohře area into the Bohemian interior. J. Zeman and other researches quite legitimately assumed that it was this route along which the oldest Slav settlers travelled during their expansion through Moravia into Bohemia; it is possible that these communications were also used by Samo's merchant caravan which, after reaching the Upper Moravian Basin, turned south and travelled along the River Morava south along one of the routes of the so-called Amber Road, until they reached the contact zone of the Slavs and Avars, somewhere in the lower Morava area. However, they could have reached the same destination if they had travelled in the other traditional west-east communication direction along the right bank of the Danube. The question is whether the trade along these communication routes could have been related with a possible renewal of the Silk Road, leading through the Eurasian continent from the borders of China, through Central Asia and Iran into East Europe, whether its eastern part and trade in luxury oriental goods could have been controlled by the Avar Khaganate, and whether the

merchant caravan with Samo travelled to these transit areas (Lutovský – Profantová 1995, 28–30). According to another hypothesis, what Samos traded in was Bohemian garnets exported west into the Frankish Empire (Charvát 2002; comp. Klápště 2002). After the downfall of the Khaganate at the turn of the 8th century, the role of long-distance trade mediator was taken over by the Bavarian East, and during the reign of Svatopluk I (871–894) and the heyday of his state, also by Great Moravia. The route of this main eastwards line of communication has already been mentioned: it led from the Brno area, and connected somewhere at the Elbe-Danube European divide in the Svitavy and Litomyšl area. As early as in the pre-Great Moravian period the Benátky u Litomyšle hillfort was founded where the route might have branched south towards the Brno area and where it later entered the area of historical Moravia from Bohemia. Later in the High Middle Ages, this connection with South Moravia was named after one of its branches that led through Trstnice: the Trstnice Path (Měřínský – Zumpfe 1998, 178; Měřínský 1999, 129; comp. Měřínský 2002, 331; 2013, 232).

During the last third of the 7th century, due to culminating social development, certain specialised production industries, already linked with existing distribution rings or even orderers, began to become separated. In relation to such division of labour, the significance of trade in local markets increases, as well as of long-distance trade in luxury goods for the rising political and power elite. Internal trade was still undertaken in a natural form or with specific items in the form of pre-coin currency, such as the Great Moravian period iron “axe ingots” and the “cloth currency”, which replaced the general equivalent of exchange, which became later, from the 2nd half of the 10th century, minted coins (compare further). Already in the pre-Great Moravian and definitely in the Great Moravian period, trade exchange must have undergone significant development. Long-distance trade undoubtedly flourished and local trade developed as well to supply local market areas, which depended on centres of local administration. Long-distance trade, having an important impact on the economy, was always regulated by various rules and limitations issued by the ruler, restricting the type and volume of sales as well as places where trade could be conducted (e.g. the *Raffelstetten customs regulation* from 903–906; comp. Měřínský 2002, 304; 2013, 133, 405–406; Havlík, L. ed. 1971b, 114–119, p. 119).

During the existence of the state of the Moravian Mojmir, the trend of the gigantic quantitative and qualitative leap of the entire economy that began in the pre-Great Moravian period carried on. The aforementioned applies. In the Early Slavic period, probably only with the exception of some few industries needing special knowledge and skills – such as iron

making or jewellery production – crafts did not exceed, besides some specialised branches, home-made production. Due to the culminating social development in the last third of the 7th century, certain specialised production industries, sometimes even linked with distribution rings or even orderers, started to separate off. The main job and task of a Slavic farmer, if he did not specialise in extensive cattle breeding in border areas, was the preparation of soil: ploughing, sowing and harvesting. Crop farming in the 8th to 10th centuries was based on ploughing. Proof is offered by finds of farming tools made by specialised iron making and blacksmith workshops. Their production was mostly related to the tools and implements needed by farmers. We are informed about this by the contents of mass finds of iron items from the pre-Great Moravian and Great Moravian period and also, to a lesser extent, from settlements and, in the 8th century, even from inhumation necropolises of the Middle Hillfort period. We have already mentioned the Middle Hillfort finds in the previous part (comp. Měřínský 2002, 63, 65, 84–90, 293–304; 2013, 115–117, 401; Bartošková 1986) and the situation during the Middle Hillfort period did not change significantly. To study the entire system of Great Moravian agricultural production, we need to know the results of the ever more important palaeobotanical and pollen analyses and to study osteological materials that show us the composition of herds and types of farm animals, poultry, the share of hunting and fishing, and farming structures in agricultural settlements; an important part is also played by linguistic research, ethnology, study of the environment including pedology, climate change, etc. Land was cultivated, as in the previous period, using ards and only by ploughing the soil rather than turning it; a new type of plough was, however, introduced that could turn the soil – it is thought to have used a cross-like ploughing method and the rather square shape of the block plough with sides. The range of crops grown is not different to that of the ones grown in the pre-Great Moravian period. Grain pits were becoming larger and deeper, and it is possible to assume the existence of aboveground barns and granaries. Even the composition of livestock is the same, mostly pigs over beef cattle. Sheep were kept less. Bee-keeping and wild bee-keeping belongs to a secondary type of resource. Hunting was only of little importance and we have only little information about fishing, but based on finds from Mikulčice, its extent could have been important, mostly around settlements near larger watercourses and lakes (comp. above and Měřínský 2013, 401).

By the term craft we understand a set of special kinds of experience and skills which are not possessed by everyone and would have to be learned. This was mostly related to processing various natural materials and creating different

types of products from them, and also “pyro-crafts” – working with fire and using high temperatures to transform certain raw materials into totally different materials with specific features. This could be the production of ceramics, metal and glass making and other industries that were operated by a trained person in adequate locations and using special tools and raw materials that sometimes had to be delivered. This mainly concerned various branches of the craft industry which operated in hillforts, their outworks and farther surroundings, royal courts, etc. A number of industries, especially metallurgy – which needed ore, charcoal and limestone – and the mining of raw materials, metal casting and further production of millstones, glass objects, jewellery and other things required production centres concentrated logically at the sources of these raw materials. Regarding the specialisation of various production industries and their professionalisation, this probably depended on the technical difficulty of making the products, the necessary craft skills, sometimes passed on from generation to generation, technical innovations adopted from foreign production centres or even craftsmen coming from abroad and bringing new technologies, production techniques and patterns. It is possible to say that they existed in Eurasia before Slavic ethnogenesis and, in our environment, they were often related to the production experience of the La Tene and mostly classical periods, mediated through Roman provinces, in our case mostly from the Danube area, which carried on working without Roman organisation and, after the downfall of provincial cities, transferred production to hillforts and the courts of rulers, social elites and churches. The demand for various types of production and the interest of the orderers was also important. All this demand depended on differing social environments – on one hand there were the Great Moravian centres with a higher social class surrounding the ruler, the retinue and other dependent persons, clergymen, etc., where a rather large group of craftsmen was already present and supplied these higher social classes and a certain distribution ring around them, and also the wider surroundings of these locations, which were supplied with simpler, less demanding, and thus cheaper and more available products or items, such as tools and implements – and on the other hand, unfortified village settlements with citizens that were more or less self-reliant. Some production activities required more specialisation. In some cases, such as in the standard production of fabrics – not luxury ones – various technologically non-demanding fabrics continued to be produced under home-made conditions. Communities located by sources of certain raw materials – which included iron ore, non-ferrous metal ore and precious metals, stones or other specific types of seasonal raw materials and products related to supplementary agriculture – had quite a specific position. Activities such as the production of raw

iron needed a more complicated labour organisation, the division of labour, technical experience and skills passed on from generation to generation, and last but not least a certain level of infrastructure. This not only applied to iron making or mining and the processing of other ores and raw materials – the acquiring of non-ferrous and precious metals and the related metallurgy – but also to stone quarrying and processing, e.g. as construction material, to the production of lime, millstones, etc., to tar making and specialised pottery production (Měřínský 2013, 401–402).

From the 8th century onwards, as mentioned earlier, we have proof of blacksmiths and iron smelting, the processing of non-ferrous materials, wood, twigs, hides, bones and antlers, as well as the production of fabrics and ceramics, and even glass. We also mentioned the quarrying and processing of stone, or to be more precise the production of millstones and other stone artefacts, the quarrying and transportation of construction stones to the building sites of sacral structures, housing and other structures. The limestone mined was also used in lime-burning – similar to charcoal, it is also needed during iron smelting and slagging – and probably even for hygienic purposes. Pottery also began to become a specialised craft, as evidenced by uniform product models or traditional yellow or yellow-orange Byzantine ceramics. On the other hand, the varieties and colourfulness of the amounts of ceramic vessels discovered, mostly pots, implies that the tradition of home-made pottery or occasionally produced pottery was still alive and was intended for a limited circle of consumers (e.g. Měřínský 1985, 50–61; 1991, 167–172; 2009, 11–12, 40, further lit.; also Poulik 1989–1990; Dostál 1975; 1994; Macháček 1995; 1997; 2000; 2001; 2002; Staňa 1994; 1995; 1995a; 1998; Hrubý 1970; Klanica 1970; Kouřil 1994; Dohnal 2001; 2005; Kavánová 1996; 2000a; Galuška 1993; 1994; 1995; Frolíková Kaliszová 2000; Poláček 1994; 1994a; 1995; 1998; 1999). We do not know of almost any pottery production workshops or pottery kilns from the Great Moravian period found in Moravia, with some exceptions: a pottery kiln for producing traditional Byzantine pottery and classical moulds from Uherské Hradiště – Sady (Hrubý 1965; 1965a; 1970) and pottery production workshops from the Great Moravian / post-Great Moravian periods from Znojmo – Hradiště sv. Hypolita, which have not been published in much detail (Klíma 2008, 461–462). Even in the surrounding lands settled by Slavs, such equipment from the Middle Hillfort period is a rare thing (Měřínský 2013, 402).

In relation to such developing division of labour, the significance of trade at local markets increased, as well as of long-distance trade in luxury goods for the rising political and power elite. Internal trade was still undertaken in a natural

form or with specific items in the form of pre-coin currency that replaced the general trade equivalent which was later, from the 2nd half of the 10th century, replaced by minted coinage (see further). This process that began in the 8th century culminated in the Great Moravian period. As early as in the pre-Great Moravian – and definitely in the Great Moravian – period, trade exchange must have undergone significant development. Long-distance trade having an important impact on the economy, it was always regulated by various regulations and limitations issued by the ruler, limiting the type and volume of sales as well as places where trade could be conducted. The existence of long-distance trade in Great Moravia is more than certain, as is proved by information about the Moravian markets in the *Raffelstetten customs regulation* from 903–906 (Havlík, L. ed. 1971b, 114–119, esp. p. 119), but on the other hand it is quite complicated to document it (comp. *Třeštík 1973*). We are not able to prove if it was already in the hands of foreigners at that time, which was the case later on in Early Mediaeval Bohemia. Written sources, such as the *Capitulare missorum* created at the end of 805 in Thionville/Diedenhofen, contain lists of monitored trade locations regarding Avar and Slavic countries, such as Laureacum (Lorch, OÖ) on the River Danube, near Moravia and Avaria, where Warnarius was assigned as a supervisor. General stipulations said: “Let them not deliver or sell weapons or armour. Should they be caught with these items, all of their goods will be confiscated and one half will pass to the royal court; the second half shall be divided between the aforementioned messengers and the person who caught the merchant.” (Havlík, L. ed. 1971, 23–24; comp. *Měřínský 2006*, 81; *2013*, 403). Charlemagne (742? or 747–814, king from 768, emperor from 800) in the *Capitula de causis diversis* (*Regulations on various topics*), which probably comes from the very beginning of 807, issued various regulations, decreed the payment of customs, ordered counts not to leave their judicial assemblies and besides other things also decreed that armies should not be disbanded, and legalised the use of cash during campaigns into Hispania, Avaria, Bohemia and against the Serbs (Havlík, L. ed. 1971a, 25; comp. *Měřínský 2006*, 77, 81; *2013*, 403).

The already mentioned *Inquisitio de Theolonis* (*Customs inquiries*) is also known as the *Raffelstetten customs regulation*, named after the place of the assembly in 903–906 in Raffelstetten on the Danube (p. B. Linz-Land, Upper Austria), where customs rules were very specifically regulated for merchants in the Frankish-Slavic borderlands; it also contains in articles VIII and IX regulations for traders as well as Jewish merchants (Havlík, L. ed. 1971b, 114–119; comp. *Johanek 1982*). Article VIII states: “Should he then want to travel to Moravian markets, he shall pay, according to the (estimated) value of

the goods at that time, one solidus for a ship and then he may carry on freely; upon their return the law does not request any payment.” The tax of one solidus represented 30 denarii and one Frankish silver solidus had a value of 12 denarii. 8 golden solidi were then equal to one talent with a value of 20 silver solidi. Article IX tells us about the trade in slaves. “Merchants, thus Jews and other traders, regardless of whether they come from this land or from other lands, shall pay legal customs fees on slaves, as well as other things, as was usual during the reigns of other kings.” (Havlík, L. ed. 1971b, 119; conversions of fines, see note No. 37 on p. 119). During the 7–9th centuries, the majority of long-distance trade seems to have been orientated from the east towards the west and south; however, during the 10th century, after the downfall of Great Moravia and the occupation of the Carpathian Basin by the Hungarians and the shift of development of state-forming processes into Premyslid Bohemia, a change in long-distance trade occurred and most contacts were made with the lower Elbe area, along the River Vistula into the east Baltic area, into the central and upper Danube area, Italy and also the lower Danube area in the sphere of Byzantium. The importance of trade and traded goods in Bohemia, specifically in Prague, is described to us especially by the merchant and diplomat Abraham ben Jacob, from the 960s (Hrbek, I. ed. 1969, 410–420, chap. 6 on p. 413); it may to a slight extent imply the situation in older Great Moravian times. The Prague markets sold agricultural products including poultry, wax, honey, horses and some craft production such as saddles and horse harnesses. Well-known – and often discussed – is the sale of slaves in the Prague market, initially unbaptised pagan prisoners and later also Christians, which probably brought the Premyslid rulers vast amounts of money (comp. *Třeštík 2000*, 52–65, comment No. 44–206 on pp. 329–304; *2001*, 103–133). We do not know if this was the case during the previous period in Great Moravia (more on this issue and finds regarding the disputability of these relations *Galuška 2003*, 75–84), although we have the statement of the existence of such trade in the *Raffelstetten customs regulation* and in the Old Slavonic *Žitije Nauma I* (Večerka, ed. 1967a, 153–155) as well as the Greek *Βίος Κλήμεντος* (Bartoňková, ed. 2010, 176–209, esp. chap. XI 34 on p. 202). The first legend tells us that “[...] the others were sold to the Jews for a reward, (mainly) presbyters and deacons. The Jews took them and travelled with them to Venice. And when they sold them, the Emperor’s man came to Venice from Constantinople in the name of the Lord to arrange the Emperor’s interests. And after discovering them, the Emperor’s man immediately bought them out of slavery and took them with him to Constantinople and told Emperor Basileios about them.” (Basileios I, 867–886; Večerka, ed. 1967, 154) and chapter XI 34 of *Βίος Κλήμεντος* states: “These who sold the priests and



deacons, who were younger, to the Jews, are worthy of Judas' fate and the noose [...]” (*Bartoňková, ed. 2010, 202; comp. Měřínský 2006, 834–837; 2013, 403–404*).

We have already described in the previous part (including the possible links between long-distance trade and coin finds) the routes of important communications (used since the Great Migration of Peoples or possibly even earlier in the previous prehistoric times and early historical periods until the pre-Great Moravian period) in the areas of the Bohemian lands and their relations to surrounding areas and countries. It is known that the structure of long-distance communications remains stable over a given area for a long period of time and is typified by having significant inertia. From the 7th till the 9th century, the orientation of long-distance communications from Bohemia mostly pointed east and west, with turnings to the south and north; they had, until the downfall of Great Moravia at the beginning of the 10th century, a generally peripheral importance and were to some extent isolated by a surrounding ring of frontier mountain ranges and dense border forests. Most of them ended or were connected to other local communications leading into the heart of Bohemia

Polabí and the Prague Basin. The most important connection between Bohemia and the west during the 9th century was definitely the “Royal Road” connecting the Rhine and Main areas through the border of the upper Main and Ohře with Bohemia. Contrariwise, Moravia's important route was orientated north-south, with its main routes and branches copying the former Amber Road, from which one of these branches led through the Morava area; its crossings with the west-east long-distance roads and the Morava and Dyje river crossings unquestionably determined the genesis of important pre-Great Moravian fortified settlements. A route leading into Bohemia from the south-west led through the mountain ridge of the Upper Palatine Forest. It is expected that its importance increased during the 10th century, due to the fall of Bohemian leaders and the downfall of Great Moravia in 895 and the leaders' orientation to the Empire and Bavaria, but mostly this was the consequence of the redirection of the main west-east European arterial trade route, starting in the Caliphate of Córdoba on the Iberian Peninsula, leading into Kiev and then farther north to the Vikings and south to the Khazars on the Lower Volga and in Byzantium. An important route for Moravia was its branch leading from Prague to the east into the Elbe area and from there to the Olomouc area and through the Moravian Gate into Cracow. There was a branch from this road leading south into the Morava and Brno areas. This branch of international long-distance communication certainly influenced the rise in importance of Olomouc and local settlement agglomerations during the 10th century. From the secondary paths through the Bohemian-Moravian Highlands that were in

existence according to numismatic finds not later than by the 2nd third of the 6th century, it is necessary to name the so-called Liberec road, beginning in the Brno area, leading through the confluence area of the rivers Oslava, Rokytka and Jihlava, upstream of Oslava towards Žďár nad Sázavou and through Libice nad Doubravou into Čáslav, where it connected to the Habry route (comp. above; *Měřínský – Zumpfe 1998, 173–178; Měřínský 1999, 129; 2002, 195–196, 202–203; 2006, 61–62; 2013, 404–405*).

The development of Old Moravian society and its internal affairs, especially its economy, reached such a phase where bartering (when one product was exchanged for another product or one material was exchanged for another) began to be replaced by the use of special mediums of exchange as a general equivalent, e.g. axe-shaped iron talents and possibly even so-called cloth currency, archaeologically documented in grave No. 76 in the Middle Hillfort period necropolis in Uherské Hradiště – Sady, by finds on the Horní Kotvice route (*Marešová 1976; 1983, 88–90*), and later on, around the mid-10th century, in Prague by a written report by Abraham ben Jacob (*Hrbek, ed. 1969, 410–420, chap. 6 on p. 413–414; comp. Pošvář 1962*). These mediums were called pre-coin currency. The axe-shaped talents are pieces of forged iron in the shape of an axe and we have traces of them in many Great Moravian locations in Moravia, Slovakia, and also Poland and Hungary. The only known evidence in Bohemia is the settlement structure in Miskovice, a local district of Hořany near Kutná Hora. Talents have mostly been found around hillforts, but also in unfortified settlements, individually or in hoards. Only scarcely are they found in inhumation graves, where M. Hanuliak (*2004, 201–202*) assigns them to a group of items of cult meaning, and in a broader group, among gifts.

The so-called axe-shaped talents were, in their first production and functional versions, an iron raw material and semi-finished product, as implied by finds where some specimens have part of their body cut off or chipped off. Doubts regarding the function of these talents as a semi-finished product lead nowhere, if we take into account the quality of metal and its further processing and forging into other usable items. A certain regularity of form of these forged pieces of iron in the shape of non-functional axe-like items as well as their standard weight categories clearly imply that it was not only iron raw material used for further processing into final products; thanks to the standard of the weight categories, be it the Byzantine pound or any other metrological system, this raw-material undoubtedly became one of the important currency equivalents in Great Moravia, maybe not a universal one, but definitely an important one, i.e. a pre-coin currency used not only on the domestic market, but most probably in

long-distance trade. A relation is evident of certain types and forms including dimensions and weight standards in regards to iron making centres, as evidenced by the dominance of certain types in certain areas and locations, e.g. in Povedim, the Nitra area, the Uherské Hradiště – Staré Město agglomeration, etc. The specific weight of these pre-coin artefacts was intentional and was controlled by a certain metrological system and other criteria, e.g. the prices of crafts and maybe even agricultural products, and perhaps even real estate that may well have been bought with talents, i.e. iron raw material. However, they were mostly used as a medium of exchange for the internal market. The value of the talents could have been engraved on them, maybe with notches or hallmarks that cannot be identified today. The mass presence of so-called axe-shaped iron talents evidences their commercial use in Great Moravian society and especially in its economy (*Pošvávř 1966, 43; 1963; comp. Měřínský 2013, 406–408*).

We know the so-called axed-shaped talents in various types and scaled weights as well as standardised dimensions from across the entire Central European territory. We know of considerable amounts of these talents in Scandinavia; some are strikingly similar to some of our specimens. Their use in the system of payment could have been introduced by foreign merchants, either in the direction from Great Moravia to the north, which is a hypothesis R. Pleiner (*1961, 442–444*) arrived at based on evidence from Norway and Sweden, or in turn from Scandinavia to Great Moravia and then into the entire Central European area (*Pošvávř 1963; 1966, 43*). Due to the possible use of axe-shaped iron talents in long-distance trade, J. Pošvávř tried to determine their value in terms of silver and gold. He came to a hypothetical ratio of iron to silver of 500:1. Because the ratio of gold to silver fluctuated between 1:12 – 10, the golden solidus of Byzantine Emperor Michael III (840–867, emperor from 842), from grave No. 480 situated near the southern foundation of the three-nave basilica in Mikulčice (church No. 3), produced in the Constantinople mint during the years 856–866, had a value of approximately 22 kg of iron – i.e. of 220 one-hundred-gramme axe talents for instance. Similarly, the silver denarius weighing 1.5 kg had a value of around 7 one hundred gramme and 1 fifty gramme talents. J. Pošvávř (*1966, 43; comp. 1965*) mentions, however, that these assumptions are only approximate and are based on a series of conditions that have not yet been reliably proven (*comp. Měřínský 2013, 407–408*). At this point, a group of sources of diplomatic character from the famous Benedictine monastery of St Gallen (St Gallen canton, Switzerland) should be mentioned. They are dated to the end of the 8th and 9th centuries and depict transfers of property of various pieces of real estate valued in iron talents. However, we do not know what form these talents took, although these written sources

clearly state that, roughly during the same time frame from which we know of the existence of axe talents in the Great Moravian environment, iron was being used in the Frankish empire as a form of currency in trade (*comp. Pošvávř 1959; Chvojka 1998, 205; Měřínský 2013, 407*).

The so-called cloth currency is also mentioned as a medium of exchange. We have already stated that it has probably been documented archaeologically in grave No. 76 in the inhumation necropolis from the Middle Hillfort period in Uherské Hradiště – Sady (Horní Kotvice) (*Marešová 1976; 1983, 88*). Later, during the 10th century, we again discover this pre-coin currency in Prague, as we are informed by Abraham ben Jacob (*Hrbek, ed. 1969, 410–420, chap. 6 on pp. 413–414; comp. Pošvávř 1962*). The idea that cloth was used as a general medium of exchange in Great Moravia is supported by J. Pošvávř (*1966, 44*); it continued to be used by the Slavs as currency in mediaeval times, as we have documented by the forgery of a charter of Bořivoj II (coll. 1064–1124; 1101–1107, 1109–1110, 1117–1120 Bohemian prince) made for a church in Prague, created at the beginning of the 14th century, where payment using fabrics in Bohemia is mentioned (*Friedrich, ed. 1904–1907, 392–393, No. 389*). The use of cloth as a currency by nearby Slavs – the Ruiani – is reported by Helmold (*Schmeidler, ed. 1937, I, 38*) and a number of reports from the 12th century exist mentioning the Slavs around Fulda using cloth as a currency (Hesse, Germany). We could probably also find other evidence that shows the durable conservatism of using cloth as currency, which seems to carry on into periods where, as a general medium of exchange, minted silver coins are already being used (*Pošvávř 1962, 456–457; 1962a; 1966, 44–45*). We will not analyse the writings of Abraham ben Jacob in detail (*Hrbek, ed. 1969, chap. 6 on p. 413–414; comp. Pošvávř 1962*). The cloths used as currency are supposed to have been a type of thin cloth, in the form of nets, “not used for anything” and with a stable value – ten to one denarius (kirat). It would have been possible to use them to buy anything from food to slaves or to exchange them for gold or silver, using only this currency that everyone had full chests of. It was an element with a general exchange value; however, it was only used in the domestic market, because international trade used silver minted coins or non-minted metal or goods. This text of ben Jacob’s implies that this cloth-based medium of exchange also had a constant value compared to the denarius – which, taking into account the ratio of 10:1 denarius (which weighed around 1.5 g), means a value of about 0.15 g of silver – and a constant value compared to agricultural and other products, but it did not have any other value (*comp. Měřínský 2013, 408*).

In the case of cloth as a medium of exchange, it took the form of fine fabrics from special materials needing certain skills

and effort in order to produce them. Their value could have been based on the difficulty of production and maybe on the value of the materials. Cloth currency was generally favoured in late Slavic pagan times, where it had originated. This cloth currency may be considered a means of payment in Great Moravia, and J. Pošvávř (1966, 46) expected that due to its use in the domestic market, together with axe talents, a certain relation between both pre-coin currencies must certainly have existed. Based on his above-mentioned ratios of iron to silver of approximately 500:1 and the value of the cloth currency as 0.1 denarius, i.e. 0.15 g of silver, one piece of cloth would have had a value of about 76 g of iron. Following this assumption, the researcher also pointed out that it is this weight of axe talents that is very common in Pobedim and Hrádek near Nové Mesto nad Váhom (comp. *Měřinský 2013*, 408–409).

The existence of actual coins in the Early Slavic, Late Hillfort or pre-Great Moravian or even Great Moravian periods is very rare, as we shall describe further on, and rather than being evidence of trade or of coins in use as a medium of exchange, mostly for long-distance international trade, these rare numismatic finds can in many cases be considered a hoarding of the metal the coin was made of – in the case of gold and silver, for use in producing jewellery and religious artefacts where the coins would become part of various amulets and oboli for the deceased (compare later). On the other hand we may assume that Great Moravia, already during the reign of Svatopluk I (871–894) and before its downfall in the 10th century, was such a significantly developed economic system that it would soon start producing its own minted coins, had it not been for the unsettling events at the end of the 9th century and the beginning of the 10th that were caused by the invasion of the Old Hungarians and their settling in the Carpathian Basin, which caused the downfall of Great Moravia (*Pošvávř 1966*, 40; *Radoměřský 1966*, 58; *Kučerovská 1989*; *Měřinský 2013*, 405–406).

This led some researchers, such as J. Pošvávř (1966, 47), to consider the role of coins in international trade in Great Moravia; their consideration was based on the knowledge of long-distance routes running through this area and the crossings of south-north and west-east routes there. It was there where the “market(s) of the Moravians” were supposed to have been, which were mentioned in the so-called *Raffelstetten customs regulation* from around 904 (903–906; *Havlík, ed. 1971b*, Art. VIII on p. 119). J. Pošvávř pinpointed these places in the Pohansko area near Břeclav, where around the Lower Moravian Basin and the Dyje-Svratka Basins the north-south and west-east routes probably met. D. Třeštík (1973) pondered whether Mikulčice could have been the place where the market was; similar meeting areas were also thought to have existed in the

Uherské Hradiště – Staré Město settlement agglomeration. Long-distance communications undoubtedly determined the foundation of new settlement agglomerations and the rise of their importance in the settlement and power structure of the Great Moravian state; however, it is necessary to mention that this applied to individual branches of these routes. It is also necessary to analyse in detail evidence of imported items that could have been related with long-distance international trade, and in this context e.g. we have knowledge of a much smaller number from Pohansko near Břeclav in comparison to Uherské Hradiště – Staré Město and the Mikulčice settlement agglomerations (*Chvojka 1998*, 201; *Měřinský 2013*, 406).

Based on the *Raffelstetten customs regulation*, it is possible to assume which coins were used in international trade relations on the middle Danube and surrounding areas at the beginning of the 10th century and maybe even earlier. Customs tariffs are listed in Byzantine, Frankish and also Bavarian currency units (*Havlík, ed. 1971b*, Art. I, V–VIII on p. 116, 118–119, comment No. 17 on p. 116, 31 and 33 on p. 118, 37 on p. 119). They were of different value, but according to J. Pošvávř (1966, 47; comp. 1965) it is obvious that the Byzantine currency system functioned there together with the Frankish one and although the aforementioned fees applied to merchants from Bohemia and Russia visiting markets in the east Bavarian Danube area, there is no reason why they should not have been collected from Great Moravian merchants as well. According to the above-mentioned researcher, it is hypothetically possible to deduce that Great Moravian merchants knew and used the Byzantine and Frankish coins. This is contradicted by the fact that they have been found only rarely and sporadically across the territory of the Great Moravian state and the shortage of finds rather implies the use of Frankish currency units and the conducting of business relations with the east and north-east using barter, because we do not have any proof in the form of coin hoards. The newly-founded Bohemian state became the successor to the level of economic development of Great Moravia, creatively using its cultural and political legacy, including the tradition of statehood and a plethora of phenomena related to the social structure that had been achieved and what evidence remained of it. The law of value, which took up more and more space in the life of feudal society, caused an urgent need for money and other necessary economic categories (*Měřinský 2013*, 406).

Besides the above-mentioned pre-coin currency represented by so-called axe-shaped talents and probably even by so-called cloth currency as a certain type of a medium of exchange (comp. e.g. *Pošvávř 1965a*) and the quite rarely documented minted coins from Byzantine and West European provinces, Great Moravia used non-minted precious metals in the form of

amorphous pieces of scrap gold, nuggets, scraps of smelted metals and scraps of golden strips, which we know about, rather than as a currency, as being used as oboli for the dead in e.g. Mikulčice, Nechvalín and at the Na valách burial grounds in Staré Město (comp. further). It is not known whether silver or golden jewellery could have been used as payment. We can assume the existence of silver talents of various shapes and weights, which are mentioned in later written sources as ingots; we also know them from earlier sources as so-called hoards of chopped silver containing, besides coins, e.g. Arabian dirhams, scrap silver and jewellery intended for trade and exchange as well as for use as a raw material; these are typical of the area to the north of the Bohemian lands, on the lands of today's Germany and Poland. Of such treasures located on our territory, we should mention at least the Žatec treasure from the beginning of the 11th century, the Chodov treasure or the Moravian treasure from Kelč and Popůvky dated to the end of the 10th century (*Skalský – Schráníl 1930; Katz 1939; Štěpková 1957; Turek 1948, 494; 1962; Kučerovská 1993–1994; Měřínský 2013, 409; 2013a, 53–54; Novák 2008; 2010*; further literature within). It is not impossible that the above-mentioned payment means were used in Great Moravia in the domestic market, besides bartering, together with other iron items, furs or even salt, etc. Written sources and archaeological evidence are, however, missing (*Měřínský 2013, 409*).

We may consider weights as proof of long-distance trade, such as the lead weight from grave No. 114/51 in Staré Město, in the church cemetery Na Valách. It weighed approximately 41 g and eight round hallmarks are visible. However, it is probably not possible metrologically to assess it as proof of the use of the Byzantine pound in the Great Moravian environment, and although it is certainly proof of a small weight unit of approximately 5 g, it definitely does not have anything to do with the Byzantine pound, because 1 Byzantine pound weighed 327 g (*Hrubý 1955, 115, fig. 13; comp. Měřínský 2013, 409*).

This is not the place to go into detail about finds of coins from the 6th to 8th centuries in Moravia and Silesia (comp. *Měřínský 2002, 134–136; 2013, 64–66*). During the entire period from the arrival of the Slavs in our lands at the beginning of the 2nd third of the 6th century (and probably a little earlier in the south-west of Slovakia) until the downfall of the Great Moravian state, finds of coins – be it the very rare western ones, Byzantine or older Roman coins – evidence only the presence of foreign merchants, foreign trade, and the transformation of currency into artefacts related to beliefs. This chiefly means using coins as an obolus for the deceased (*Sejbal 1986, 170–181; Měřínský 1997, 90; Marešová 2008*; comp. further) – even older coins, collected in locations from Roman times,

or coins belonging to a group of various small items worn in pouches around the waist that were supposed to protect the wearer or even have magical powers. Such coins did not necessarily have to be Roman coins, but could be prehistoric artefacts or fragments of them, fragments of glass bracelets from the La Tene and Roman periods, etc. (*Ungerma 2009*). Finds of coins in Bohemia and Moravia, including the import of golden Roman and early Byzantine coins into the Bohemian lands during the Roman and Early Middle Ages, have recently been researched in detail by J. Militký (*2004; 2005*). Golden coins, in the environment of the Teutonic barbarian elite, could have been used for trade purposes, but also as a raw material for producing jewellery or simply been equipped with loops and worn as jewellery. To a limited extent, this could have applied to the end of the Great Migration of Peoples and the era after the arrival of Slavic people onto our lands, even though we are still missing evidence for it (comp. *Měřínský 2013, 409*).

For the sake of completeness we have to mention the above-stated chopped silver hoard from Kelč dated to the end of the 10th century, containing besides other items 786 dirham fragments from the beginning of the 9th to the end of the 10th century (comp. above). The absolute prevalence of Samanid coins – minted during the 1st half of the 10th century – in Slovakia is undoubtedly related to the arrival of the Old Hungarians in the Carpathian Basin and their first settlement phase in this territory, including military campaigns into central, west and south Europe and the Balkans during the years 899–970, when the coins were mostly used as decorative badges on clothes (*Profantová – Novák 2005, 26*). Finds of Islamic coins in the Bohemian and Moravian areas prove the existence of contacts with the Baltic areas and the eastern shore of the North Sea, following along large watercourses such as the Elbe, Oder and Vistula. However, in hoards in our lands, they only make up a complementary part and usually exist only as fragments, together with ingots and scraps of jewellery in so-called hoards of chopped silver. The relatively small number of Islamic minted coins implies that they ended up in the Bohemian lands only as a secondary import – unlike in the north and east of Europe, which dominated long-distance trade. Such finds are then concentrated mostly around the mouths of the Vistula, the Oder and in southern Scandinavia and Gotland; a larger number of finds are known from the Dnieper area (comp. *Měřínský 2013, 409*; further lit.; *2013a, 53–54*).

In general, Islamic coins are present in the Bohemian lands from the 8th to the 11th century, due to the long-distance trade of the Muslim Caliphate especially with north-eastern European territories, where cheap Islamic silver was exchanged for luxury raw materials and slaves and other

goods and brought in huge profit; all the transactions were based on weighed metal. They are documented by finds of coins and coin hoards reaching from Iceland through the British Isles to Germany, Sweden and the Baltic area. These treasures contained European, Islamic and non-Islamic coins, or fragments of them and chopped silver. Persian Sasanian minted coins, similar to the later Islamic coins in terms of weight and silver content, arrived on Russian territory via the Volga area and after the 8th century they spread further north, even after the year 696/7, when Caliph Abd al-Malik (685–705) introduced a new, iconographical and epigraphical and purely Islamic type of coin, the so-called kufic coin type, which was circulated together with the Sasanian coins (*Štěpková 1956; 1968; Novák 1996; Novák – Militký 2000*). During the entire period of the 8th to the 11th century, the composition and the provenance of coins discovered changed; while the purely Islamic part of finds dominated the finds until the beginning of the 11th century, in the 10th century Byzantine coins were an important addition, typical especially of Sweden. Until the beginning of the 9th century, finds mostly contain coinage from mints in the western Caliphate, chiefly African and from Al-Andalus, i.e. the lands of today's Spain. One century later, these coins nearly vanish and are fully replaced by Abbasid coins from Asian mints, as well by coins from Central Asian provinces. Until the 2nd half of the 10th century, finds contain a majority of Central Asian Samanid coinage, replaced at the end of the 10th century by Burji and Zirid coinage (*Novák 1996, 77; Profantová – Novák 2005*). As early as the end of the 10th century, Islamic coins in coin hoards become less and less common and at the beginning of the 11th century are completely replaced by denarius coinage. The reason for this so-called Islamic silver crisis is explained by the loss of deposits in Armenia and Zarafshan, the considerably lower interest in Islamic silver in Europe caused by a prohibition against selling native – now Christian – citizens into slavery, and the opening of new Central European mines of silver ores (comp. *Měřínský 2013a, 53*).

Further imports of golden Byzantine solidi occurred only sporadically in the 9th century during the existence of the Great Moravian state. The first solidus was minted around 309 in Trier (Augusta Treverorum, Rheinland-Pfalz, Germany) as a new golden coin of Emperor Constantine I. From the year 324 the solidus was minted across the entire Roman Empire; throughout the coin's entire time of existence, except during the 2nd half of the 11th century, until its discontinuation in the 13th century, it kept its original weight and purity. For hundreds of years this gold coinage strongly influenced the development of money – and not only in Europe, because, among others, the Islamic dinar took it as an inspiration. Claims that the Byzantine pound was the basic weight unit in the Byzantine Empire

are, however, incorrect. Actually, this role was played by the Roman pound. In the 9th century, minting in the Byzantine Empire underwent serious and substantial changes, because, due to the accession of the Amorian dynasty, the state entered a period of economic growth and this caused a stabilisation of the currency; the 820 currency reform of Michael II (820–829) brought in an increase in the weight of the copper follis to 5.5 g, and later to 7.5 g, as well as newly defined ratios between minted currencies. One golden solidus was equal to twelve silver miliarensia and the reforms applied also influenced the amount of minted coins put into circulation. For example, even during the rule of Michael II (820–829) a significant increase in gold and copper mintage occurred and carried on until the rule of the next emperor Theophilus II (?–842, emperor from 829). During the period of his successor Michael III (840–867, emperor from 842) the production of golden solidi rapidly decreased, which is explained by sufficient saturation of the circulation of gold coins, and, right at the beginning of the reign of this ruler in 843, a change in the solidus' minted image. The obverse side of the coin had smaller depictions of the imperial family, which at that time was not very usual, and the obverse returned to depicting the chest of Christ Pantocrator. It copied older similar depictions on solidi from the reign of Justinian II (around 670–711, emperor from 685, first reign 685–695, second 705–711). Another decrease in minted golden solidi can be registered after the murder of Michael III, during the reign of his successor Basileus I (812?/827–886, emperor from 867) and of Leo VI the Wise (866–912, emperor from 886), which probably cannot be explained in terms of sufficient saturation of gold coins in circulation (comp. *Kavánová – Šmerda 2010, 158–159*).

From Moravia, we have two undoubted finds of golden Byzantine solidi dated to the 9th century. Golden solidi of the Byzantine Emperor Theophilus (?–842, emperor from 829), minted during the years 832–839 in the Constantinople mint, were found in Hradisko sv. Klimenta near Osvětimany. The obverse depicts the bust of the emperor with a two-armed cross in his right hand and the inscription THEOFILOS BASILEOS and the reverse depicting the bust of his father Michael II (820–829) and son Constantine (*Sejbal 1959*; see J. Sejbal in: Hrubý 1959, 63–64). At present, information about the existence of another golden solidus in the collection from this hillfort is not confirmed; likewise, we cannot be confident of the credibility of information about other solidi found in Staré Město near Uherské Hradiště before the Second World War, initially kept by a private collector in Uherské Hradiště. It has also not been possible to track the existence of the golden solidus, again from the Byzantine Emperor Theophilus II, found in the surroundings of Staré Město and also kept in a private collection (*Kavánová – Šmerda 2010, 152*). The most famous



specimen is undoubtedly the solidus of Byzantine Emperor Michael III (840–867, emperor from 842) from grave No. 480 in a group of graves situated south of the negatively delimited foundation of the south side of the three-nave basilica in Mikulčice (church No. 3). The discovery of the coin (in a crevice between the edge of the right half of the lower jaw and the base of the skull) was made on 2 September 1957 and, based on the discovery conditions, it is possible to assume that it was placed into the mouth of the deceased. The mintage of this solidus in the Constantinople mint is assumed to have been around 856–866/867. The obverse depicts the bust of Michael III, upright with a full beard, his head bearing a crown terminating in a cross, his right hand holding a labarum (banner) with a cross; next to it lies a small cross; his left hand is placed on his clothing and bent in front of him. His clothing (chlamys) is decorated with diamond-shaped ornaments. The edge of the coin is lined with the inscription M:Ι – XAHL BASIL (Michael Emperor). The reverse of the coin depicts the bust of Christ Pantocrator, upright, with long hair, a full beard and the arms of the cross behind his head; he is wearing a tunic and cloak, using his right hand for blessings and in his left holding a decorated Gospel with a cross. The upper edge of the coin is lined with the inscription ΙΗΣΥΣΧ – ΡΙΣΤΟΣ\* (Jesus Christ). The inscription combines letters from the Latin alphabet and the Greek alphabet (*Kučerovská 1992; 1998*, 154 fig. 2–3, 155, 160 fig. 4: 1, 161 No. 1; *Kavánová – Šmerda 2010*, 151–152).

Because the solidi of Michael III were not circulated in Byzantium to a greater extent, the presence of these coins in the Great Moravian environment is very rare. At the earliest, the coin described above could have been placed into grave No. 480 after the year 856 and, according to J. Šmerda, it is probable that after the murder of the emperor in 867, the solidus of his successor Basileus I (812?/827–886, emperor from 867) would have rather been used for the burial. It is in the years 856 to 867, when contacts with the Byzantine Empire were at their height, that Moravia was witness to the Cyrillo-Methodian mission, with which it is more than probable to assume the gold solidus is related (*Kavánová – Šmerda 2010*, 159, 161). The coin itself was discovered in the right part of the oral cavity between the lower and upper jaw and is a typical example of an obolus of the deceased, i.e. Charon's coin/obolus, as we know from Greek mythology and which we shall explain further on. It was placed under the tongue of the deceased in order for him to pay Charon and buy safe passage into the underworld (*Kavánová – Šmerda 2010*, 153–158, 160–161; *Měřínský 2013*, 409–413; *2013a*, 64–65).

With the Byzantine coining ended the last stage of the development of ancient coins – the coining substantially influenced the development of mediaeval coining. The foundations

of mediaeval south and west European coinage are mostly related to the forming of new barbarian empires and states after the downfall of the West Roman Empire in 476, which is characterised in the first period by the new denarius currency (*Sejbal 1997*, 61–71). Besides the above-mentioned Byzantine influence, Arabian coinage also contributed to the development of the early mediaeval coining system, particularly after the extensive campaigns and coin and currency reforms of Caliph Abd al-Malik in the years 696–697, during which the foundations for Islamic coinage were created. From the 8th to the 11th centuries, it was the Arabian dirham that became the dominant currency in one centre of trade in Europe at that time (though it is not possible to say it was the only one), created in the north around the Baltic and North Seas. From the 2nd half of the 10th century, European denarius coinage began to prevail, which had started to be minted during the Merovingian dynasty and whose ascendancy was completed when a new type of denarius was introduced during the Carolingian dynasty; then, unlike in the previous period, the denarius became the main currency unit in south and west Europe, starting with the coinage of Pepin III the Younger – also known as Pepin the Short (around 714–768, Mayor of the Palace of Neustria 741, 751 as Pepin the King) – in 752 and then during the reign of Charles the Great (742? or 747–814, king from 768, emperor from 800). This coinage system, founded during 793–734 on the Carolingian pound (408 g), derived probably from the Baghdad pound of Harun al-Rashid (409 g), was broken down into 240 denarii (20 short solidi at 12 denarii each) to 1 pound and had a diameter of 19 mm and a weight of 1.7 g. The influence of the Carolingian pound is visible in many other European areas (Italy, France, England, etc.) and the entire development from the end of the 9th century is related to the beginnings of feudal coining, whose development in England (Anglo-Saxon type in Poland and Bohemia), Saxony and especially Bavaria mediated the influence of Carolingian coinage in Bohemia and Hungary (Bavaria) and in Poland and Russia (Saxony). In the south of Italy and in other areas, the influence of Islamic and Byzantine coinage can be seen (*Sejbal 1997*, 63–64). Finds of Carolingian coins in the Middle Hillfort period are very rare. Among rare finds there are three wide silver North Italian denarii, discovered about 35 m west of the atrium of the three-nave basilica in Mikulčice (church No. 3) in front of the entrance to the fenced area of the Christian cemetery. According to P. Kouřil (*2003*, 112, 114; *2008*, 117) these coins were most probably related to a local group of inhumation graves, systematically located outside the cemetery, probably belonging to individuals of a different religion (pagans); two specimens were assessed as coins of the Italian King and later Holy Roman Emperor Lambert (before 880/876?–898, joint king 891, joint emperor 892, emperor 894) and were found in the same layer not far from each other, while the third one, a wide denarius of the Italian King and

later Holy Roman Emperor Berengar I (possibly 850/853–924, Longobard King 888, Italian King 898, Holy Roman Emperor 915), most probably originated from the grave. The obverse of both of the wide denarii of Lambert of Spoleto carry an isosceles cross with dentils with anchor-shaped ends, beads between the arms and around the inscription +LAMBERTVS IMPE on the first specimen and +LAM. ERTS IMPER on the second. The reverse depicts a wide Carolingian temple with crosses between two colonnades and on the top of the roof the inscription lined with dentils XPIITIANA RELIGIO on the first coin and ITIANA .ELI. IO on the second. Both coins were minted in Milan in the years 894–898, possibly during 894/895, and have two holes. The third wide silver denarius belongs to the Berengar I period. Its obverse again depicts an isosceles cross with dentils with anchor shaped ends, beads between the arms and around the inscription +BERENCARIVS REX lined with further dentils. The reverse again depicts a wide Carolingian temple with crosses between two colonnades and on the top of the roof and contain the inscription XPISTIANA RELIGIO lined with dentils. This coin also originated from the Milan mint and may be dated to the first stage of Berengar's rule as king from 888 to 915 (comp. *Kučerovská 1980*, 216–217; *1998*, 156, 164, fig. 6: 19–21, 165 No. 19–21; comp. *Měřínský 2013*, 411).

South Italian wide denarii are very rare in the Moravian environment and are rather plentiful in Old Hungarian burial grounds in the Carpathian Basin during the entire Hungarian ecumene settlement period from the end of the 9th century to the 1st half of the 10th century. They mostly originated from tributes paid by Berengar I and other rulers to the Hungarian nomads to secure peace, as well as from spoils or even mercenary pay when they were hired to serve foreigners. T. Kučerovská (*1973*, 10–11, 13–14; *1977*, 51) at first assumed that these coins arrived in Moravia during the last years of the 9th century or around the year 900 and that they document the connections between Great Moravia and the North Italian areas, and that besides trade contacts they also imply new political contacts. She also considered the possibility that these coins could have ended up in Moravia by repeated East Frankish military campaigns. Either way, they must have made it here shortly after their minting, i.e. after the year 894/895 or 888, when both denarii of Lambert of Spoleto were minted, and 896–898 when the coin of Berengar I (possibly 850/853–924, Longobard King 888, Italian King 898, Holy Roman Emperor 915) is dated. The characteristic two holes in both Lambert coins undoubtedly evidence another use. Such modified coins, usually Arabian dirhams and other West European and Byzantine coins, in particular North Italian wide silver denarii of Berengar I and other rulers such as Lambert of Spoleto, Lothair II (926/928–950, Italian joint king 931, king 950), Hugo

of Arles and Vienne (Provence, around 880–947/948, Italian king 926–946/947), etc., were used by the Old Hungarians as badges for their clothes, horse harnesses and for other decorative purposes. The dating of these coin finds overlaps with the period in which the Old Hungarians permanently settled in the Carpathian Basin, as well as their first large campaign into Italy in 899–900 (*Měřínský 1986*, 31), which was preceded by actions in 896–898 as presumed by D. Třeštík (*1987*, 32–34) and followed by campaigns in 901, 904–905 etc. (*Třeštík 1987*, 33; *1991*, 11–15). D. Třeštík (*1987*, 34) even assumed that the above-mentioned finds of the three North Italian wide denarii in Mikulčice are proof of the presence of Old Hungarians in the centre of the Great Moravian Empire and even at the headquarters of this centre. He claims that the coins are not proof of a raid at Mikulčice during the downfall period of the Moravian Mojmirid state, but that they are spoils from the Hungarians' campaign into Italy from 899 to 900 and that they were put into the graves shortly after. This interpretation is not necessarily definite, because we know of complaints by Bavarian clergymen from this period that the Moravians, who adopted the customs of the Old Hungarian nomads, raided together the "Bavarian east" (*Havlík, ed. 1969b*, 241–242, No. 109) and in 921 the Hungarians represent themselves as military allies of Berengar I (*Becker, ed. 1915*, chap. II 61, 64–65; *Havlík 1978*, 98; *Kučera 1974*, 47–52; *Měřínský 1986a*, 31; *2013*, 411–412; comp. further) and were probably led by the Slavic noblemen Bugat and Dursak. The wide Mikulčice North Italian denarius could have ended up where it did in connection with the participation of Slavic warriors in Hungarian raids or directly with the Old Hungarians (*Kučerovská 1998*, 156; comp. *Měřínský 2013*, 411–412; comp. further).

Besides the above-mentioned Byzantine solidus of Emperor Michael III in the mouth of the nobleman in grave No. 480 by the three-nave basilica in Mikulčice (church No. 3) with the obvious function of an obolus, we may name other finds of older antique or even Celtic coins from Middle Hillfort inhumation graves. Among the oldest numismatic evidence is the Celtic golden 1/24 stater of Athena-Alkis type from grave No. 18 in the Josefov-Záhumenica burial grounds, where it was found on the right collarbone of a buried child. In the grave of a two- to three-year-old child, No. 69 in Mušov – in the backfill above the skeleton, lay a silver Roman Republic denarius of Aulus Postumius Auli Filius Nepos Albinus probably from the year 82 BC. The silver antoninian of Roman Emperor Philip the Arab (244–249 AD) with a crowned portrait of the Emperor and the inscription IMP M IVL PHILIPPVS AVG on the obverse and a depiction of the goddess of health and the inscription SALVS AVG on the reverse was found in a different position in grave mound No. 3 at Žlutava-Tresný near Otrokovice in the Zlín region. One of the 17 grave mounds near Žlutava,

researched in 1931 by V. Bachmánek, contained in a niche a male skeleton with a flint stone at his left side and iron spurs by his feet. The shaft of the grave pit, to the right of the buried male, was covered with a beam construction creating a grave cavity, and it was here at the height of the skull where 10 iron darts and coins were discovered about 2 cm from the skeleton (*Dostál 1957*, 37, 40–41, 48, fig. 2: 3 on p. 39; *1966*, 29, 194–196, esp. p. 194). Grave No. 20 in Moravičany near Šumperk gave up a silver Roman denarius from 141 AD depicting the wife of Emperor Antoninus Pius, Faustina the Elder (Faustina Annia Galeria, around 100–141, Empress from 138). Another Roman coin of Emperor Gallienus (253/260–268 AD) was discovered in grave No. 139/46 in the burial ground Na pískách near Dolní Věstonice in the Břeclav region (*Paulík 1948–1950*, 161; *Ungerma 2009*, 226) and grave No. 315/48 contained an indeterminate Roman bronze coin with corroded surface (*Ungerma 2009*, 227). A corroded and indeterminate, probably bronze, Roman coin with a hole for hanging as a necklace was contained in grave No. 66/49 in Staré Město – Na Valách. Antique coins appear in graves even later, as documented by the coinage of Emperor Aurelian (270–275 AD) in a grave from the 11th century in Devin near Bratislava (*Eisner 1952*, 293–295; comp. *Měřínský 2013*, 412).

Other evidence documenting the early phases of the custom of giving the deceased an obolus is supplied by the golden strips located in graves No. 170 and 818 in the burial ground with cast decorations in Želovce in Slovakia (graves No. 170, 818; *Čilinská 1973*, 65, 180, Tab. XXX: 2 on p. 203, CXXX: 6 on p. 253) and grave No. 80 in the burial ground of the same cultural circle Deszk – Klárafalva in Hungary (*Csallány 1952*, 236). From the Great Moravian period, we know oboli from the mouths of three Mikulčice burials, namely in No. 589, near the above-mentioned grave No. 480, with Byzantine golden solidi of Michael III. The grave No. 589 was placed in a similar stratigraphical situation in the younger horizon of graves and it was covered with two other graves without finds, but it contained, unlike the other graves around the solidus burial, a small golden earring and an iron axe. Also in the burial groups north of the church, in the mouth of a warrior equipped with sword, axe, hoe tool, knife, iron scabbard chapes of a belt with buckles, bucket, scissors and other items and placed in a grave (grave No. 438) and in a coffin with metalwork, a small golden plate was found. Another evidence of gold is a golden plate, which comes from grave No. 380 located inside the central nave of the three-nave basilica (church No. 3), and an amorphous golden ingot from grave No. 365. Other evidence of gold fragments and ingots from Mikulčice is not so clear, because we are lacking precise information about the find conditions (*Sejbal 1960*; *Kučerovská 1998*, 155; *Kavánová – Šmerda 2010*, 160). The church cemetery Na Valách in Staré

Město near Uherské Hradiště also documents the insertion of pieces of gold or earrings into the mouth or hands of the deceased (*Sejbal 1960*; *Pošvávř 1966*, 47; *Dostál 1966*, 29; *Paulík 1975*, 86; *Kučerovská 1980*, 214–215; *1998*, 155; *Kavánová – Šmerda 2010*, 160). The situation is the same with the buried nobleman in grave No. 124 in Nechvalín, which contained a type X sword, a few iron spurs with scabbard chapes, a Viking-style axe, a spear tip, a closable knife, an entire bucket with metalwork, a fighting knife or dagger with the remains of a wooden sheath, four cramps possibly from the coffin and the bottom of a vessel; in the deceased's mouth he had two golden strips weighing 0.908 g and 1.668 g and with a purity of 670/1000 Au and 620/1000 g Au, i.e. 16 and 15 carats (*Klanica 2006/I*, tab. 16 on p. 165; *2006/II*, 46–47; comp. *Měřínský 2013*, 412; *2013a*, 64).

The widespread custom of inserting coins or other replacement artefacts, such as strips of gold or fragments of them, amorphous pieces of scrap gold, nuggets, or fragments of smelted metals, jewellery, etc., into the hands or mouths of the dead in Moravia and Bohemia too was, according to P. Radoměský (*1955*, 50–57), connected with the Hungarian lands and the Carpathian Basin, possibly already from the Old Hungarian period. In the first phase of the so-called belobrdy burial grounds in Slovakia (950–1000), there is no evidence of oboli (*Rejholcová 1981*, 483). The origin of this custom could be found in the older antique traditions in the Carpathian Basin or from eastern influences and in discoveries of oboli in the form of golden strips, nuggets and rarely even coins in the Morava area as early as during the Great Moravian period; they exist in the Carpathian Basin in burial grounds with cast decorative items including gifts for the deceased which are “antique” items or mementoes of prehistoric or antique periods or torsos of such items, which was surely also a certain type of specification of pagan beliefs. Most of the finds of coins in Old Hungarian graves can be more or less identified as decorations for clothing and not directly as oboli. We see how widespread this custom is in increased occurrences from the beginning of the 11th century, or even at the end of the first quarter of the century. Whether this custom came to Bohemia from Moravia or not has not yet been fully proved (comp. *Sejbal 1986*, 170–181), nor has the opinion about a western origin for the oboli, even the ones in the Great Moravian environment, or the dissemination of this custom from the west after the turn of the millennium (*Kolníková 1967*, 214–216). An important condition for the spreading of coins was the level of economic development and the use of coins as a general medium of exchange. The fact remains that the main source of this custom is visible from the beginning of the 11th century in the Carpathian Basin and sometimes even in the surrounding lands of Moravia (*Sejbal 1986*, 178–181; comp. *Měřínský 2013*, 412–413; *2013a*, 64–65).

# JEWELLERY AND JEWELLERY MAKING IN GREAT MORAVIA

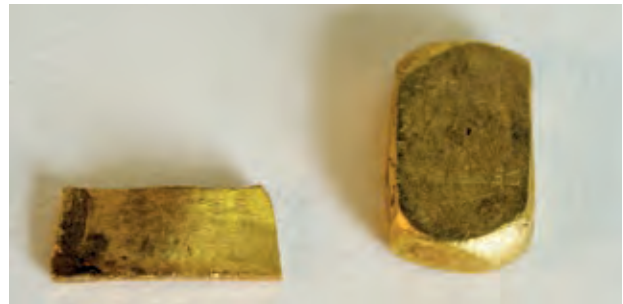
Luděk Galuška

In the 2nd half of the 19th century, hardly anybody could have imagined that the peculiarly shaped precious gold and silver ornaments which were found in graves in the neighbourhood of Količín, Předmostí u Přerova and in Rebešovice near Brno had been manufactured by Great Moravian jewellers. Even such a highly respected researcher as Lubor Niederle (1931, 183–216) believed that “from the 6th to the 10th century, the whole of Central and Eastern Europe was supplied with, among other jewellery, earrings mostly of Byzantine or Syrian-Byzantine origin” and that local imitations of these precious items were not manufactured until the 10th and 11th centuries. Great Moravian dukes and above all their spouses thus would have been embellished with Byzantine imports only. As the historian František Dvorník (1935, 101–161) wrote, this was also evidenced by “the greatest Byzantine archaeological find of the past years beyond the territory of the Empire”, represented in the 1920s and 1930s by the burial ground in Staré Město “Na Valách”, which was particularly rich in gold and silver jewellery. It is therefore in no way surprising that this jewellery soon began to be referred to as “Byzantine-oriental”. The view of luxurious Great Moravian jewellery did not begin to change until after the comprehensive analysis and evaluation of the research into the cemetery “Na Valách” by Vilém Hrubý. This archaeologist admitted that some ornaments from this burial site were already being worn in the last third of the 9th century, and that some of them may even have been manufactured in local workshops, that is, in Staré Město (Hrubý 1955). Moreover, new precious pieces of early mediaeval jewellery were discovered in the strongholds at Valy near Mikulčice and Pohansko near Břeclav (Dostál 1965). Hand in hand with this, however, emphasis was also laid on the specifics of Great Moravian jewellery and on the absence of any similar older “prototypes” in the Byzantine or oriental milieu (Z. Klanica, for example, sought inspiration for this jewellery in the whole of Southeast Europe), generally on the assumption that gold and silver jewellery was fabricated in the domestic Moravian environment. This new view was also reflected in the new name suggested for this jewellery by the recognised archaeologist Bořivoj Dostál, who termed it “Staré Město, or Veligrad jewellery”. This new name referred to the place where most of these ornaments had not only been found, but also manufactured (Dostál 1966, 30–36). Thereafter, research into Great Moravian jewellery underwent a remarkable development, sometimes “only” in the form of a new view of older finds (which, in the main, were already known from the 1940s to the 1970s) and sometimes being supplemented with analysis and evaluation of both recent and the latest archaeological discoveries, which were not yet generally known (comprehensively recently Galuška 2013, 99–263; with further literature).

Under the term “Veligrad jewellery of Byzantine-oriental character” we currently mainly understand earrings and buttons, finger rings, metal beads, pendants and some other, often solitary, objects. They were mostly made of a gold-silver-copper alloy, as well as of gilt copper, silver and gilt silver. The jewellery-making techniques applied were often very intricate. Among them were, for example, granulation and filigree, which involve working with tiny “poppy seed-sized” granules and wires, sporadically combined with inlays of glass, semi-precious stones or glass paste. The first representatives of this precious jewellery appeared relatively early in Moravia. From archaeological excavations there are only sporadic finds of 8th century female ornaments, which are prevalingly made of bronze, only exceptionally of gold; they are often of foreign origin and bear no similarities to Veligrad jewellery. On the other hand, we know of some dozens of 9th century Moravian sites, mainly cemeteries, which yielded finds of precious jewellery. At the same time we must bear in mind that the Moravian social elites of the 2nd half of the 8th century, above all their male representatives, were culturally influenced by the neighbouring Avar Khaganate where, although rarely, some female ornaments recalling those of the “Veligrad” type had already occurred (e.g. Ungerman 2005a, 715). The reasons for the absence of these ornaments in the “pre-Great Moravian” Moravia are not known to us. This condition may have been caused by the unwillingness of local men to provide their women with jewellery of Avar origin. The men themselves, however, normally used Avar bronze casts as components of their belts. It is also possible that Moravian women were not interested in this jewellery at all. Anyway, we do not suppose that the above-mentioned Avar female ornaments were used in Moravia and then burnt, for example together with their female owners, on pyres within the dominant burial practices of that time – cremations. Another region where ornaments similar to some representatives of Veligrad jewellery were already occurring at the turn of the 8th and 9th centuries and then during the 1st half of the 9th century is represented by the territory of what is now Croatia. Jewellery workshops in this area, mainly in the original antique cities on the Dalmatian-Istrian coast of the Adriatic Sea, worked according to old Roman or Byzantine traditions (e.g. Štefanovičová 2004, 389–395). On this territory there also gradually emerged a duchy with Christian centres administered by the Patriarch of Aquileia, whose priests – missionaries played a very important role in the Christianisation of old Moravia in the first decades of the 9th century.

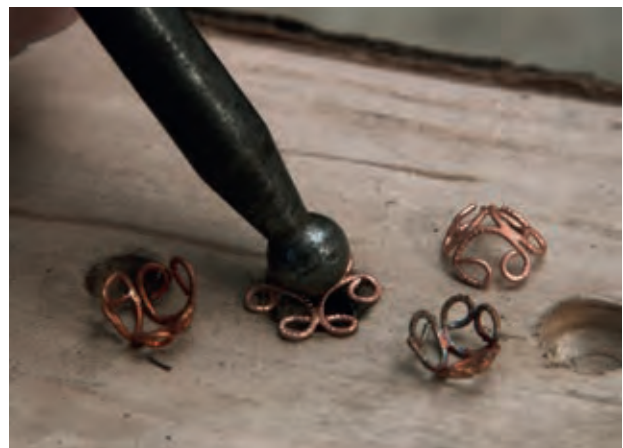
It seems that the emergence of Great Moravian Veligrad jewellery may have been instigated by at least two external agents. One of them was the Pannonian part of the Dalmatian Croatia with old jewellery workshops applying techniques

such as granulation and filigree, and producing for example grape-shaped and beaded earrings, as well as buttons with plain surface decorated with granulation (Štefanovičová 2003, 330–334; 2004, 389–395). It may not only be the jewellery products themselves that thus originated from the Slavic duchies of the above-mentioned region. The producers – craftsmen – also may have come to Moravia, for example when accompanying Christian priests undertaking their missionary activities in the Moravian centres. The other external agent which probably instigated the emergence of Great Moravian jewellery – and this even more than the Adriatic area – was in our opinion the Avar Khaganate, whose almost two-and-a-half-century-long existence was facing its definitive end in the late 8th century and on the threshold of the 9th century. For a few years after the devastating wars with the Frankish Empire, the riches of the Khaganate passed over to the hands of the Frankish ruler Charlemagne, and part of the booty was surely also captured by the Moravian Slavs. The latter probably participated mainly in the terminal phase of the liquidation of the formerly powerful Avars. As a result of these events, the residues of Avar population were relocated to the neighbourhood of Lake Neusiedl, where they spent the rest of their existence. In this way we can at least hypothetically answer the question of the origin of all the gold and silver which suddenly appeared in Moravia at the beginning of the 9th century and from which the most part of the Veligrad jewellery was made. It is also certainly possible that gold was obtained by, for example, placer mining or long-distance trade. However, these alternatives appear hardly likely before the establishment of the Moravian state.



▲ **Fig. 2. “Na Valách” in Staré Město.**

Gold raw material from graves 272/51 and 189/51, 9th century. Photo S. Doleželová.



▲ **Fig. 3. Shaping of filigree hemispheres.**

In the hollows of a replica wooden mould with multiple hollows used for sphere – shaped jewelry production using an iron mallet with a round ending. Based on Čáp – Macháček – Špaček 2011, Fig. 232.

The break-up of the Avar Khaganate can also be associated with another possibility, namely that skilled jewellers and goldsmiths, some of them maybe also of Byzantine origin, may have arrived in, or been brought as booty to, the consolidating Moravia. These craftsmen may have brought with them their own implements and raw material – most probably in the form of gold blanks and bars, as we know them from several graves in Staré Město “Na Valách” (Fig. 1–2), foreign gold and silver coins, or old-fashioned and defective bronze objects of Avar origin – and the most valuable possession they had: their knowledge of production procedures and technologies, inclusive of the most complicated ones. Even though it can be supposed that the trade secret was kept and the knowledge was passed on to the next generations within a family, we can rightly assume that these technologies,

◀ **Fig. 1. “Na Valách” in Staré Město.**

An omega-shaped sheet metal strip from grave 23/48, 1st half of the 9th century. Photo S. Doleželová.



mainly filigree and granulation, gradually also became known to several Moravian masters, who then significantly participated in the production of jewellery of the later Great Moravian horizon from the 2nd half of the 9th century (Fig. 3).



▲ Fig. 4. “Dvorek” in Staré Město.

Jeweler’s metal-working mould with multiple hollows used for sphere – shaped jewelry production made from an antler, goldsmith’s workshop building XIII/98-09, 1st half of the 9th century. Photo S. Doleželová.



▲ Fig. 5. “Na Valách” and “U Víta” in Staré Město.

Pliers with a crucible and half of a casting cauldron, jewelry-making area, 9th century. Photo S. Doleželová.



▲ Fig. 6. “Dvorek” and “Na Valách” in Staré Město.

Part of a jeweler’s mould with multiple hollows used for sphere – shaped jewelry production, from a goldsmith’s workshop at building XIII/98-09 with jewels from graves which could have been made with its aid, 1st half of the 9th century. Photo S. Doleželová.

The fact that Veligrad jewellery was indeed manufactured in Moravia during the 1st third of the 9th century is evidenced by the recent find of a jewellery-making compound in Staré Město “Na Dvorku” (Galuška 2013, 108–195). The nine more or less explored features of the compound were situated immediately in front of the defensive wall of the old stronghold, which in the 1st half of the 9th century was situated on the eastern part of the elevated northern spur of Staré Město and whose centre was located on the “Na Valách” site. The most conclusive among these features, Feature XIII/98-09 – a workshop, yielded for example fragments of crucibles and ceramic vessels with residues of molten non-ferrous and precious metals inclusive of gold and silver, pieces of bronze and brass sheet and strips with cutting and hammering marks, fragments of damaged ornaments made from a gold alloy, and last but not least tools and gear, among them a unique hammering pad of elk antler (Fig. 4–5). The smooth working surface of this anvil bears many visible marks from tools, and four unequally sized semi-circular hollows, whose walls bear

evidence of the lengthy processing of gold, silver, copper and bronze. These hollows were used for the shaping of blanks, mainly the hemispheres of sheet-metal buttons, beads from necklaces and earrings, and probably also baskets woven from filigree wires, which were mainly applied to earrings again. This assumption is corroborated not only by the identical dimensions of the hollows and relevant parts of buttons and earrings, but also by the same, or at least very similar, element composition of samples which were taken from the walls of the hollows and from the finished ornaments found in graves of the nearby cemetery in Staré Město "Na Valách" (Fig. 6). The origins of Feature XIII/98-09, and with it also of the entire production compound, most probably date from the time before the establishment of Great Moravia, which is indicated by several chronologically sensitive finds and by the stratigraphic situation of settlement in the suburbium of the stronghold, where the production compound was also placed. Among the above finds is a bronze quatrefoil fitting – a bridle ornament from the group of Avar bronze casts – which was found in a workshop in the neighbourhood of a ruined forge or oven, and probably prepared as raw material for further use. The same fittings as well as other objects from the group of so-called Avar bronze casts, often in the form of incomplete



▲ Fig. 8. "Na Valách" in Staré Město.

Massive gilded silver drum-shaped earrings from grave 151/50, 1st half of the 9th century. Photo S. Doleželová.



▲ Fig. 9. "Na Valách" in Staré Město.

Gold earrings with a narrow half moon shape from grave 167/51, 1st half of the 9th century. Photo S. Doleželová.

or defective pieces, are also known from layers and features of the early Slavic settlement and Great Moravian stronghold at Valy u Mikulčic. Sometimes they are accompanied by fragments and sporadically even entire pieces of casting crucibles or tools, such as, for example, tongs and hammers, which give evidence of jewellery making as early as the early settlement phase (Klanica 1974, 55–83).

The variants of personal ornaments which were worn and manufactured in Moravian centres during the early Great Moravian

◀ Fig. 7. Uherské Hradiště – Sady "Špitálky".

Gold earrings shaped like bunches of grapes from grave 87/60, 1st half of the 9th century. Photo S. Doleželová.





▲ **Fig. 10. "Na Valách" in Staré Město.**

Silver button with glass from grave 25/48, 1st half of the 9th century. Photo S. Doleželová.

phase, that is, in about the 1st half of the 9th century, were until recently only estimated rather than reliably determined based on the study of finds. Later, however, some attempts were made at a more detailed determination of them based on analyses of several interesting funerary assemblages from the cemeteries in Staré Město, Uherské Hradiště – Sady, Mikulčice and Pohansko u Břeclavi (*Chorvátová 2004, 199–236; 2007, 83–101; Ungerman 2005a, 707–749*), and on analysis and evaluation of the above-mentioned goldsmithing workshop XIII/98–09 in Staré Město "Na Dvorku", inclusive of the classification of ornaments which may have been manufactured there (*Galuška 2013, 99–253*).

It has already been known for a long time that the most frequent and thereby also most popular ornaments with Moravian women were earrings, mainly those in which the lower part of the hoop was decorated with a grape-shaped cluster of small granules, sometimes even bilateral (**Fig. 7**). Many variants exist of these so-called grape earrings, from simple pieces up to true works of art consisting of hundreds of small granules combined with strips of filigree wire. Besides several variants of grape earrings, however, in "old" graves there also occurred solitary and unique examples of earrings, which were never found again or only led to some slightly similar later imitations. Examples of this are the massive silver gilt 4-bead earrings decorated with granulation from Grave 151/50 (**Fig. 8**), earrings from Grave 167/51 with the lower parts of the hoops and pendants made of gold sheet with applied pyramids of granules (**Fig. 9**), or heavy 8-bead earrings from



▲ **Fig. 11. "Valy" in Mikulčice.**

A gold drum-shaped earring from grave No. 505 near church No. 3, 9th century. Photo S. Doleželová.



▲ **Fig. 12. "Na Valách" in Staré Město.**

Large gold basket-shaped earrings from grave 282/49, 1st half of the 9th century. Photo S. Doleželová.



▲ **Fig. 13. Uherské Hradiště – Sady “Špitálky”.**  
Large gilded buttons from grave 22/59 in the church nave, 1st half of the 9th century. Photo S. Doleželová.



▲ **Fig. 14. “Na Valách” in Staré Město.**  
A gold earring found accidentally by farmer P. Bureš, submitted in 1924 to A. Zelnitius, currently in the collections of the Moravian Museum, 9th century. Photo S. Doleželová.

grave 193/51 – all of them found in the cemetery “Na Valách” in Staré Město. Among these ornaments we could also class several unique buttons from the same cemetery, for example the very massive and heavy golden buttons from Grave 282/49 with granulation on the whole surface, smaller golden buttons from Grave 193/51 decorated with strips of filigree wire dividing their surface into 8 equal fields, or silver buttons from Grave 25/48 with triangular granulation patterns on the surface in the form of Maltese crosses (Fig. 10). Similar

unique pieces can also be found in other localities, mainly in Mikulčice, as is, for example, indicated by a golden 10-bead earring from Grave No. 505 at Church No. 3 (Fig. 11), or in Pohansko u Břeclavi, where Grave 158 yielded 4 silver earrings with pendants in the form of rectangular plates decorated with pyramids of granules, from which seven long chains are suspended (Kalousek 1971, 103–104). It seems as if, during the 1st third of the 9th to the mid-9th century, the producers were only searching for their style, using the method of trial and error, as if they worked by instruction and at the request of their new lords or customers, that is, Moravians, who at that time maybe did not yet really know what they wanted. So it may have happened that some ornaments manufactured simply did not catch on, and remained unique pieces. It is worth pointing out that these early Veligrad ornaments were often quite large and that most of them were made of gold; besides the above-mentioned pieces there are, for example, four large 9-basket earrings from Grave 282/49 in Staré Město (Fig. 12). It is as if the goldsmiths were not really forced to economise on material, that is, mainly gold – as if they had been oversupplied with it. This condition was probably



▲ **Fig. 15. “Na Valách” in Staré Město.**  
A silver drum-shaped earring from grave 251/49, 2nd half of the 9th century. Photo S. Doleželová.



caused by the fact that all the gold and silver which was suddenly brought to Moravia by the members of the social elite as booty from the Avar wars began to circulate. After

all, the great part of jewellery and ornaments were made for these elites. But then a change occurred. As is indicated by the composition of the funerary equipment of the later Great



▲ **Fig. 16. "Na Valách" in Staré Město.**  
Gold and silver drum-shaped earrings from graves 78/48 and 5/48, 9th century. Photo S. Doleželová.



▲ **Fig. 17. "Na Valách" in Staré Město.**  
Gold rings from grave 24/48, 2nd half of the 9th century. Photo S. Doleželová.



▲ **Fig. 18. "Valy" in Mikulčice.**  
A large silver button, 9th century. Photo S. Doleželová.



▲ **Fig. 19. "Na Valách" in Staré Město.**  
A silver gilded button featuring a bird of prey motif from grave 251/49, 2nd half of the 9th century. Photo S. Doleželová.





▲ Fig. 20. “Špitálky” in Staré Město.

A silver button with a bird found in a disturbed grave near the church, 9th century. Photo S. Doleželová.



▲ Fig. 21. “Na Valách” in Staré Město.

Gilded silver columnar earrings with drums from grave 299/49, 9th century. Photo S. Doleželová.

Moravian horizon, that is, of about the 2nd half of the 9th and beginning of the 10th century, silver jewellery began distinctly to predominate over golden jewellery. It was maybe

a consequence of the exhaustion of the captured Avar gold, which then remained only at the disposal of the ruling dukes and nobles. Solitary and unique pieces were only exceptional in this period. Grape earrings in many variants, on the other hand, were still very popular among female members of the elites. This was also the case with some older types of buttons, mainly those with plain surface decorated with granulation, or those with pressed and hammered vegetal patterns on the surface (Fig. 13). However, new pieces of jewellery also occurred. Among them were mainly 4- and 7-bead earrings with granulation on the surface (Fig. 14–16), 6-, 7- and 11-basket earrings woven from filigree wires, and other ornaments such as, for example, finger rings (Fig. 17), gilded sheet-metal buttons with animal motifs, above all birds (Fig. 18–20), or glass beads of later types. The above earrings occur in “younger” richly equipped Great Moravian graves, often in several pairs – as if the spouses and daughters of noblemen did not really mind wearing almost identical pieces of jewellery. From the above-mentioned we can infer that the group of Moravian elite females in all central localities of Great Moravia gradually cultivated their taste to something resembling a “fashion of grandeur”. This assumption can be evidenced by, for example, the jewellery sets from Graves 99 and 135 in Pohansko u Břeclavi, Graves 251/49 (Fig. 15, 19) and 323/49 from the cemetery “Na Valách” in Staré Město, or from Grave 332 in Rajhradice and Grave 461 in Rajhrad in the neighbourhood of Brno (Kalousek 1971, 89–90; Hrubý 1955, 462; Staňa 2006, 184, 125). On the other hand, it would be a mistake to suppose that in the sphere of Great Moravian jewellery making there were no regional differences, or specifics. How else to explain, for example, the relatively frequent occurrence of earrings with a vertical openwork column with decorative hollow beads on both ends (Fig. 21), or crescent-shaped earrings richly decorated with granulation in the cemeteries of Staré Město and Uherské Hradiště – Sady, that is, in Veligrad (Fig. 22). Examples of this jewellery have not yet been identified in Mikulčice, in contrast to the more distant Pohansko u Břeclavi. And how is it possible that gilded book-shaped fittings are absent in localities of the Staré Město – Uherské Hradiště agglomeration, whereas graves in Mikulčice have yielded four of them. It is likely that the reason for this can be sought in the existence of only a few central workshops, which in the period of Great Moravia’s greatest flourishing produced both “fashionable” jewellery and “regional” ornaments, made to order by local nobles. It is remarkable to see the striking resemblance between the Veligrad jewellery from Staré Město and Pohansko u Břeclavi, in contrast to pieces from less distant Mikulčice and Pohansko. A Mikulčice origin has been attributed to jewellery from localities in the neighbourhood of Brno, for example Rajhrad or Staré Zámky u Lišně (Staňa 1997, 81).



▲ **Fig. 22. "Na Valách" in Staré Město.**

Gold half moon earrings with chains from grave 106/AZ, around the middle of the 9th century. Photo S. Doleželová.

An extensive production compound, completely explored by archaeologists, which was part of a large area with evidence of craft production from the 2nd half of the 9th century was situated on the territory of Staré Město "U Víta", only a few dozens of metres from the power centre with a church and a palace-like residential building (*Galuška 1989, 405–454*). The area was composed of ten manufacturing facilities and a central workshop equipped with forges, small ovens and large furnaces, containing finds of metalworking gear, raw material, entire pieces and fragments of casting crucibles, fragments of ceramic vessels with traces of molten non-ferrous and precious metals on their walls, and jewellery in the form of a grape earring (**Fig. 5**). Clear evidence of goldsmithing skills in the form of specialised tools, fragments of crucibles (one of them with gold flakes) and production waste, which were mostly found in occupation layers but also in the backfill of several settlement features, are also known from the area of the Mikulčice stronghold; goldsmithing tools and a crucible with traces of a copper-silver alloy were found in the area of the ducal manor at Pohansko u Břeclavi (*Klanica 1974, 55–83, Dostál 1993, 31–53, Macháček – Gregorová – Hložek – Hošek 2007, 177–178*). With regard to the dominant raw material, particularly bronze, it is very likely that the

production compounds manufactured not only Veligrad jewellery, but also ornaments for females from lower social classes. These ornaments sometimes imitated the precious jewellery, but more often they only had the form of simple hair rings, buttons with a plain surface and applied wire rings. From Moravian burial grounds, however, we know not only jewellery which was evidently manufactured in local workshops, but also ornaments which are supposed to be of foreign origin. Among them is, for example, a pendant with oval golden frame (**Fig. 23**), genuine pearls and lily-shaped prongs, in which a two-part piece of glass has been set in – an insert with a cavity containing residues of a substance which is considered the "Blood of Christ" from Mikulčice. The pendant is supposed to be of Byzantine origin (*Profantová – Frána 2003, 55*). Among ornaments of foreign origin, there are also some of the wire earrings and brooches from the cemeteries "Na Pískách" near Dolní Věstonice and "Na Valách" in Staré Město (**Fig. 24**), whose origin has been sought in the Upper and Middle Danube region (*Ungerma 2006, 354–358, 363*). It seems that these imports were not many in number. On the other hand, we do not know many findspots of Veligrad jewellery beyond the area of the Great Moravian power centres. In the eastern part of Great Moravia, that is, the part that is in present-day Slovakia, we can essentially observe a dual situation in this regard. Graves in regions which were part of old Moravia, that is, Záhorie, the river Váh valley and localities in the neighbourhood of Bratislava, contain Veligrad jewellery very similar to that from centres on the



▲ **Fig. 23. "Valy" in Mikulčice.**

Gold aglets (?) decorated with pearls and glass found near church No. 3, 9th century. Photo J. Foltýn.



▲ Fig. 24. "Na Valách" in Staré Město. Silver basket-shaped earring with a chaton from grave 317/49, around the middle of the 9th century. Photo S. Doleželová.

River Morava, which indirectly indicates their origin. On the other hand, the area of the Duchy of Nitra, and chiefly Nitra itself, is clearly dominated by bronze jewellery, both cast and wire-woven, whereas golden and silver Veligrad ornaments of Byzantine-oriental character, almost certainly imports, are in a distinct minority (cf. *Hanuliak 2004*). Evidence of local jewellery making in the eastern part of Great Moravia, represented for example by a casting crucible from Nitra Castle, or by a metalsmithing die made from a pitch-based substance from Bratislava Castle, is also indistinct (*Bednár 2007*, Fig. 6, *Štefanovičová 1975*, 110–112, Fig. 58). Precious Veligrad jewellery, it seems, is quite frequent in the region of Zalavár south of Lake Balaton, that is, in the places where after the 840s Mosaburg and Blatnohrad existed, initially the seat of Pribina who was expelled from Nitra, then of his son Kocel, and afterwards of Margraves Aribio and the pro-Moravian Isanric. In several burial grounds in this area, Hungarian archaeologists unearthed dozens, or allegedly even hundreds, of graves containing Veligrad jewellery (personal communication by B. M. Szöke). Some of these ornaments were indistinguishable from those from Staré Město, Uherské Hradiště – Sady, Mikulčice, or Pohansko u Břeclavi. This was maybe the reason why it was thought that Veligrad jewellery was manufactured in that area and imported from there to Moravian centres (*Szöke 2010*, 37–40). However, the discovery of specialised jewellery-making compounds in Staré Město "Na Dvorku" and "U Víta", as well as the evidence of production in other Moravian centres, mainly in Mikulčice, and, of course, the reliably verified earliest occurrence of Veligrad jewellery in funerary assemblages in local cemeteries, clearly show that the place of their origin was Moravia (*Galuška 2013*, 251–253). From there – but maybe not earlier than under Kocel, soon after the mid-9th century – the first pieces of Veligrad jewellery were imported to Blatnohrad. At the time of fruitful contacts between the Moravian rulers and the dukes and counts of Blatnohrad, local production of the above ornaments can also be supposed, which may have been associated with, for example, the arrival of Moravian jewellers (cf. *Staňa 1995*, 41). The situation in Bohemia is similar, to a certain extent. As is indicated by a collection of Veligrad jewellery from chronologically old funerary assemblages from a cemetery near the small lake "U Libuše" in Stará Kouřim, from the grave of a "duchess" in Želénky near Duchcov, and from a twin grave in Kolín, the majority of these ornaments were worn during the 2nd half of the 9th to the beginning of the 10th century. They were almost certainly manufactured in Moravian workshops, most probably those in Staré Město and Mikulčice, from where they somehow got into the hands of several members of the local social elites. It means that they were imported from Moravia to Bohemia, which is also



evidenced by comparative material analyses of Bohemian and Moravian finds of "Veligrad jewellery" (*Profantová – Frána 2003*, 47–56, cf. *Smetánka 2003*, 140–141). A change of some kind occurred at the end of the 10th century, when in Central Bohemia, particularly in Prague Castle and Stará Kouřim, the "originals" began to be accompanied by jewellery which was evidently inspired by Great Moravia, but included new decorative and stylistic elements. This phenomenon is particularly evident in jewellery from the cemetery in Lumbe's Garden (the Pheasantry) at Prague Castle, whose material composition was also different from Moravian finds. This has led to an assumption about the existence of its own, Bohemian, or rather "Prague jewellery workshop which at the end of the 9th century and in the first decades of the 10th century was supplied with elements mediated through Great Moravia" (e.g. *Smetánka – Staňa 1996*, 141). But this hypothetical workshop, which has not yet been verified by archaeological excavation, almost certainly emerged when a master jeweller from one of the Moravian centres arrived here and established himself in the new centre of the Bohemian Přemyslids. And so we come to the question of the end of production, both of the precious Veligrad jewellery, and Great Moravian ornaments as a part of material culture. It seems that the "Prague" jeweller left Moravia before the end of the 9th century, and subsequently, at the time of the decline of the Moravian state during the 2nd half of the 1st decade of the 10th century, he was also followed by other jewellers. This anticipated the early and irretrievable end of Great Moravian jewellery making. However, as is indicated by several grave finds, the last silver pieces of Veligrad jewellery were still being sporadically deposited in graves for some time. But almost certainly no longer in the 2nd third of the 10th century.



# BOHEMIA AND GREAT MORAVIA – ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

Ivana Boháčová – Naďa Profantová

According to literary sources, in some contexts the territory of Bohemia was regarded by its inhabitants as a whole. However, based on archaeological evidence of the Great Moravian Period it seems that it was rather a nonhomogeneous conglomerate of regions, which differed from each other for example by the repeated presence or absence of evidence of Great Moravian influence, the first displays of Christianisation, different funerary customs and an asynchronous development of settlement structure.

Knowledge of Bohemia during the Great Moravian Period and of settlement structure in individual regions is still quite incomplete. Among the best known settlements are castles, which the older generation of researchers terms “hillforts”. All of them are impressive and noticeable fortresses in strategic locations, in Bohemia always on hilltops. They long have attracted the attention of both experts and non-professionals, and recently also undisciplined modern treasure hunters, who destroys these often incompletely professionally explored localities, be it through ignorance or for acquisitiveness.

In immovable and movable archaeological finds, archaeological evidence reveals significant changes which occurred in the power centres – castles – on the territory of the Bohemian Basin at the end of the Great Moravian Period, especially in castles concentrated in the core where the Přemyslid state was later to crystallise. These changes particularly concerned fortifications or building development, and in the category of small material culture mainly funerary equipment but also for example pottery. In these castles we also have an exceptional opportunity to use a quantity of information from literary sources and thus verify independently the interpretation of archaeological finds.

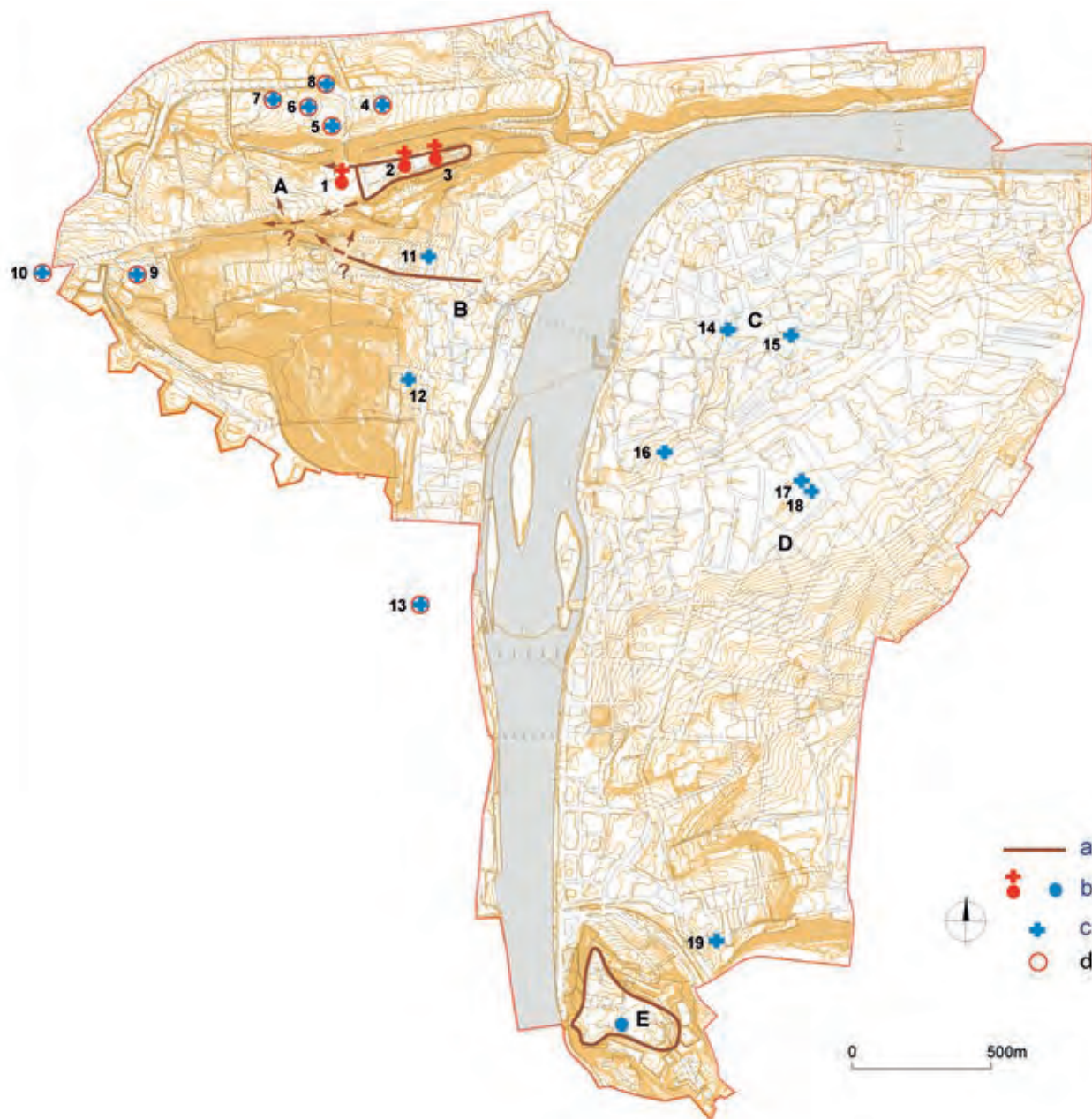
## Central Bohemia

Central Bohemia is an area with an exceptional research tradition that had developed even as early as the period of the First Czechoslovak Republic. Some of the power centres, which are mentioned in early mediaeval legends and chronicles as residences of the Přemyslid Dynasty, had already been systematically explored in the 1920s and 1930s. Excavations at some of these castles then continued during the post-war research boom when attention was naturally paid to localities associated with the origins of Bohemian or Czechoslovak statehood. At the castles in Prague and Stará Boleslav, intensive research was mainly conducted from the 2nd half of the 1980s in connection with extensive reconstruction of their infrastructure and several important residential or ecclesiastical buildings.

The results of this research have recently instigated a comprehensive analysis and evaluation of available materials, which showed that the development of the most important localities in Central Bohemia was synchronous in the latest phase of the Great Moravian Period. We can only document their settlement in the 2nd half of the 9th century, whereas the existence and character of their fortifications often remains unknown. However, approximately at the turn of the 9th and 10th centuries – that is, basically synchronously in terms of archaeological chronology – these centres were equipped with new mighty ramparts built of wood and earth. The impressiveness of the fortification was accentuated by the front stone revetment, in which the oak beams of a transversal grid were anchored. In these castles we can follow up the archaeological reflection of noticeable changes in material culture at the end of the Great Moravian Period. As far as Prague is concerned, these changes can be observed not only within the historical centre of the Prague settlement agglomeration but also in its hinterland. Among them there is evidence of Great Moravian influence, mainly in the form of Great Moravian jewellery, and the first indications of the increasing economic prosperity of the land. In this area we also can identify the first signs of the start of the process of Christianisation in the form of the earliest sacred buildings or several phenomena within burial rites. Food inclusions vanish from burial grounds; in Bohemia they are mostly evidenced by ceramic vessels (rarely with identified content – e.g. wheat or oat porridge with honey), buckets, eggs and sporadically also poultry (e.g. some graves from Klecany, Žalov and Kanín near Libice nad Cidlinou). Change is also evident in the arrangement of graves, which form regular rows. Row churchyards less frequently show a mutual superposition of graves as well as multiple and successive burials.

Further growth of Central Bohemian centres of the Great Moravian Period during the 10th century gives evidence of the continuous development of the country, which through a violent capture of power at the beginning of the 2nd third of the 10th century led to the stability, prosperity and subsequent rapid upswing of the early Bohemian state.

Prague (**Fig. 1**) at the turn of the 9th and 10th centuries, that is, during the latest phase of the Great Moravian Period, was an extensive and densely inhabited agglomeration, which extended in the major part of what are now the Hradčany and Lesser Quarter districts. At that time, the eastern projection of the Hradčany spur with a ducal residence was still separated from its surroundings by a system of ditches, accompanied most probably only by a palisade. In a westerly direction, outside the main fortification line but *in ipsa civitate Pragensi*, as we are informed by the *Legend*

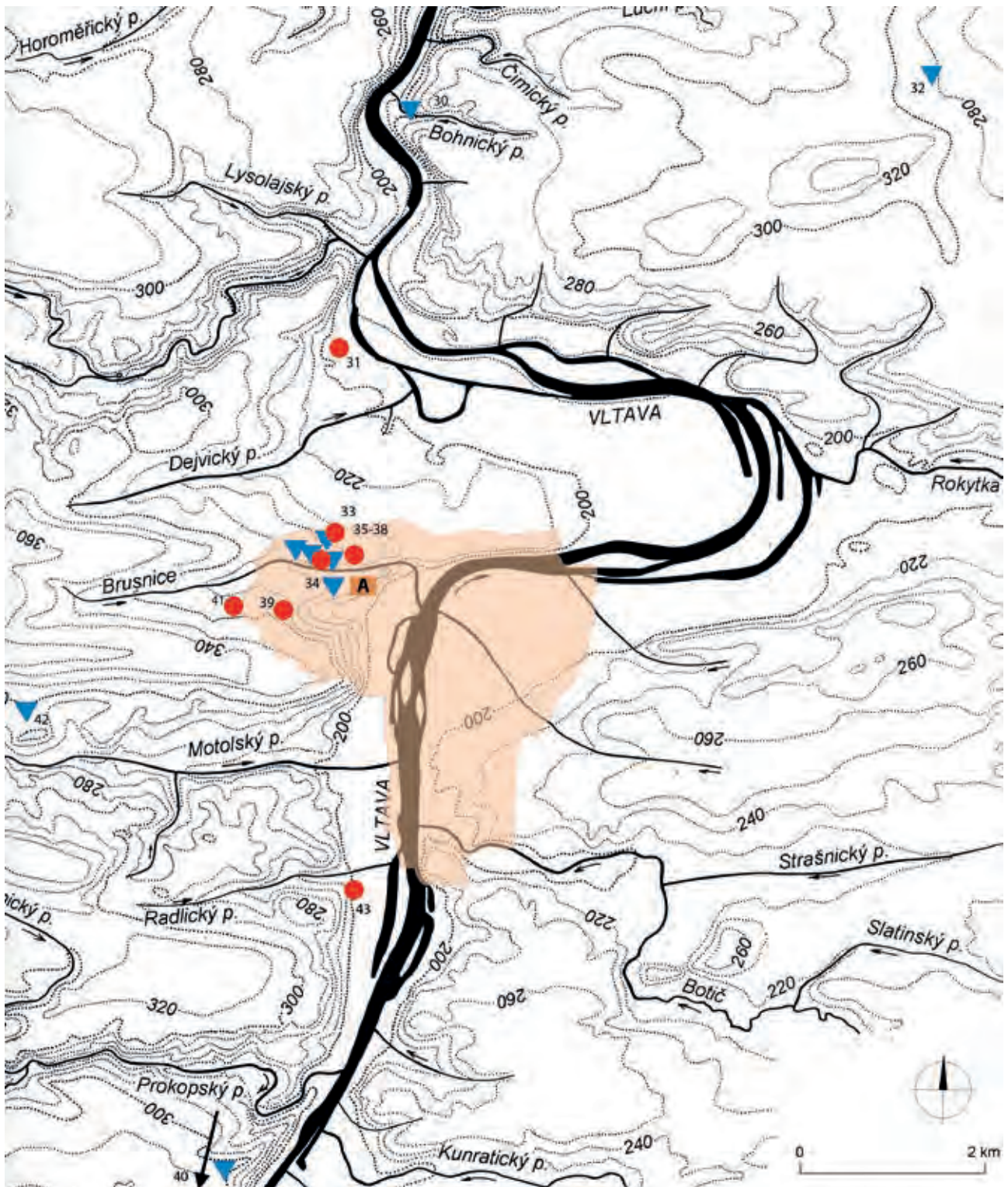


▲ Fig. 1. Prague – the earliest sacred buildings and the 9th century burial ground in the core of the early mediaeval agglomeration: a – known and supposed (dashed) line of the 9th century fortification; b – the oldest known sacred buildings. Red: verified churches with dynastic burials – Church of the Virgin Mary (1), Rotunda of St Vitus (2), Basilica of St George (3). Blue: remains of a building of unspecified date below the Basilica of St Lawrence in Vyšehrad (mid-10th – mid-11th century); c – 9th century burial grounds: A – Hradčany – Royal Garden (4), Riding Hall (5), Lumbe’s Garden – pheasantry (6), Jelení St. (7), M. Horákové St. (8), Strahov (9), Malovanka (10); B – Lesser Quarter – Sněmovní St. (11), Újezd (12); Smíchov – Nádražní St. (13), C – Old Town – U radnice (14), Celetná St. (15); D – New Town – Bartolomějská St. (16), Wenceslas Sq. – Adria and U Lhotků hotels (17, 18), Na Slupi (19); E – Vyšehrad; d – burial grounds with verifiable Great Moravian influence.

of Christian, Duke Bořivoj built the Church of the Virgin Mary, the oldest in Prague. The adjacent *suburbium* in the Lesser Quarter was also fortified; here only a ditch is known from the earliest fortification. A new fortification standard in Bohemia

during this period was a rampart with front stone revetment and a unidirectional grid construction, whose width varied between 5 and 8 m. The height of the rampart is estimated to have been at least three metres, and the front part may





▲ Fig. 2. Burial grounds with Great Moravian jewellery in the Prague Basin.

The extent of the conservation area of Prague's historical town is marked (legend see in Fig. 4). A – location of Prague Castle. For identification of marked sites see Tab. 1.

have been much higher. Prague Castle was most probably fortified by such a rampart in the second decade of the 10th century. The available sources indicate that approximately in this period a rampart of the same type was probably built to protect both the bailey at Hradčany and the *suburbium* in the Lesser Quarter. Ordinary houses were built of wood. The higher social classes probably lived in multi-room log houses, but relics of such buildings are documented only exceptionally. The constructional form of the ducal palace is not known. The overall area of the Prague agglomeration in the 1st half of the 10th century was more than 30 ha (the ducal residence c. 4 ha; Hradčany bailey can be estimated as c. 11 ha; the Lesser Quarter *suburbium* as at least 17 ha, but its extent in some of its developmental phases was at least half as large). The social elites were buried in the immediate neighbourhood of the residence, in the uninhabited area beyond the valley of the Brusnice stream, and then by the 10th century right in the castle area and in the newly built sacred buildings.

The economic upswing of the society is reflected in archaeological finds on the territory of Central Bohemia, not only in the form of newly built fortification systems but for example also in the development of pottery and jewellery making, which evidently proceeded from the Great Moravian tradition and developed it further.

### Displays of Great Moravian influence in Bohemia

#### Prague and surroundings

In Prague, direct Great Moravian influence is strongly reflected in funerary equipment, mainly in personal ornaments – metal buttons, earrings, mostly grape-shaped and beaded, and maybe sporadically also metal beads. Besides a female burial with grape earrings in a tomb inside the Church of the Virgin Mary, jewellery of Great Moravian type is also found in a wreath of cemeteries surrounding Prague Castle (**Fig. 2**) – Lumbe's Garden, the Royal Garden, the Riding Hall of Prague Castle and its neighbourhood, Malovanka on the boundary between Hradčany and Břevnov, Strahov or the more distant Bubeneč. This type of personal ornament, however, is also found far beyond the borders of the continuously inhabited area – Prague-Smíchov and Lahovice in the south, Bohnice in the north (here a beaded earring was found), or in the Levý Hradec – Klecany/Pravý Hradec agglomeration. For each of these castles we know of two burial grounds; from Žalov, unlike Klecany, we also know of graves with spurs. From Žalov I comes a golden grape earring, as from Želénky. From Žalov II there is, among other finds, a silver ornament with repoussé decoration and filigree, which already maybe falls within independent Bohemian production. Žalov I is for now

the only locality in Bohemia from where a column earring is known, even though damaged.

The Great Moravian tradition was then further developed into new types of luxurious and perfectly wrought jewellery in animal style (above all amulet containers with teams of horses and earrings with animal heads, probably horse heads as well; **Fig. 3**). This visual style is known, besides from Prague (Hradčany – Lumbe's Garden, New Town – the Hotel Adria – for locations see **Fig. 1**), also from Kouřim and Libice, which are situated on the south-eastern border of Central Bohemia. The workshop itself has not been discovered, but it is usually located in Prague. An indication in this regard could be for example the find of raw material – a folded band of sheet gold founded between the upper arm bone and the collarbone of a female who was buried in the area of the Riding Hall of Prague Castle together with a knife, small s-shaped hair rings and a necklace of amber and glass beads with an amulet container. The first artefact found can be considered analogous to a find from Staré Město (Na Valách site, Grave 23/48), where a workshop was discovered in the neighbourhood. Jewellery in animal style was probably being worn throughout the whole of the 10th century (see the zoomorphic earrings from a hoard at Čistěves in the Hradec Králové region, which was deposited around AD 1000).

Evidence of Great Moravian influence (**Tab. 1; Fig. 4**) is most frequent in Central Bohemian burial grounds. In the heart of Central Bohemia, besides the Prague localities, they also comprise Žalov I and Žalov II, Klecany I and Klecany II, the Budeč – acropolis, Koleč – Zákolany, Tetín and Mělník – Rousovice. Individual graves are located in Úholičky, Libčice, Kačice and Jevněves (amongst others).

#### Kolín and surroundings

The Kolín region is undoubtedly one of the most important regions in the Bohemia of the 9th and the 1st half of the 10th century. The most significant 9th century burial was discovered right in Kolín (Součka's Brickworks) – the twin grave of a duke and his wife. Whereas the male is equipped with weapons of western origin (a sword together with a set of fittings with niello decoration, spurs decorated with granulation, a drinking service including a silver gilt goblet made in Aachen, imported glass vessels and a bronze vessel), the female is adorned with personal ornaments manufactured in Moravia (beaded earrings, metal beads decorated with granulation and a silver amulet container with a filigree decoration). The grave has been dated to the 850s–870s. A 9th century twin grave of warriors with spurs was discovered in the vicinity of the above grave, and some



No.	Site	District	Earrings in grave	Buttons in grave	Bearded axe	Other finds	More than 5 graves	Settlement finds
1	Církvice	Ústí n. L.		X				
2	Dolánky, Rubín	Louny						X
3	Dřevčice	Praha-východ	X					
4	Hostivice	Praha-západ	X					
5	Jeviněves	Mělník		X				
6	Kačice	Kladno		X				
7	Kanín II, III	Nymburk	X	X	X		X	
8	Klecany I	Praha-západ	X	X			X	
9	Klecany II	Praha-západ	X	X				
10	Kolaje	Nvmburk			X			
11	Kolešovice	Rakovník		X				
12	Kolín, dvojhrob	Kolín	X	X				
13	Kolín, obchvat	Kolín	X					
14	Kolín, u Lihovaru	Kolín		X				
15	Kouřim hradiště, U Libuše	Kolín	X	X	X		X	X
16	Kováry-Budeč, Týnice	Kladno	X					
17	Kováry-Budeč, u rotundy	Kladno	X	X				
18	Libčice	Praha-západ		X				
19	Libice, akropole	Nymburk	X	X	X		X	
20	Libice, předhradí	Nymburk						X
21	Libochovičky	Kladno		X				
22	Litoměřice, hillock Božka	Litoměřice	X					
23	Litoměřice-předměstí (vila A. Deutsche)	Litoměřice		X				
24	Litoměřice-Voldána	Litoměřice		X				
25	Mělník	Mělník				X		
26	Mělník- Rousovice	Mělník		X				
27	Mlčechvosty	Mělník		X				
28	Mlékojedy	Litoměřice	X					
29	Nymburk-Zálabí	Nymburk			X			
30	Praha-Bohnice	Praha 8	X					
31	Praha-Bubeneč	Praha 6		X				
32	Praha-Ďáblice	Praha 8	X					
33	Praha-Hradčany, M. Horákové	Praha 7	X	X				
34	Praha-Hradčany, Hrad, kostel P. Marie	Praha 1	X					
35	Praha-Hradčany, Hrad, Královská zahrada	Praha 1		X				
36	Praha-Hradčany, Jelení	Praha 1	X					
37	Praha-Hradčany, Jízdárna	Praha 1	X					
38	Praha-Hradčany, Lumbeho zahr.-Bažantnice	Praha 1	X	X	X?		X	
39	Praha-Hradčany, Strahov	Praha 1		X				
40	Praha-Lahovice	Praha 5	X					
41	Praha-Malovanka	Praha 1, 6		X				
42	Praha-Motol	Praha 5	X					
43	Praha-Smíchov, Nádražní	Praha 5		X				
44	Prachov-Záměstí, mohyly	Jičín	X					
45	Přerov-Hůra	Kolín						X
46	Radětice	Příbram	X					
47	Radím	Kolín			X			
48	Roztoky-Žalov II	Praha-západ	X				X	
49	Roztoky-Žalov I	Praha-západ	X	X	X		X	
50	Řesanice	Plzeň-jih		X				
51	Slaný-Kvíček	Kladno	X					
52	Stehelčevy	Kladno			X			
53	Tetín	Beroun	X					
54	Tušovice	Příbram	X	X				
55	Úholičky	Praha-západ	X					
56	Všehrady	Chomutov	X					
57	Zabrušany	Teplice						X
58	Zabrušany, U tří lip	Teplice	X					
59	Zákolany-Koleč	Kladno	X					
60	Žatec, hradiště	Žatec						X
61	Žatec, Bratří Čapků	Žatec			X			
62	Želénky	Teplice	X	X				
63	Želkovice	Beroun		X				
64	Žižice	Kladno	X	X				

▲ Tab. 1. Moravian influence in Bohemia.

Overview of funeral inventory and findings in settlement situations. X – the presence of the phenomenon.

other graves with grape earrings and olive-shaped beads and a warrior grave with axe were found recently during construction of the Kolín bypass road. A grave with sword

from Kobylnice is one of the pre-war finds. It is, unfortunately, not clear where the duke buried in Kolín lived; the nearby marshland fort Hánín is probably later.



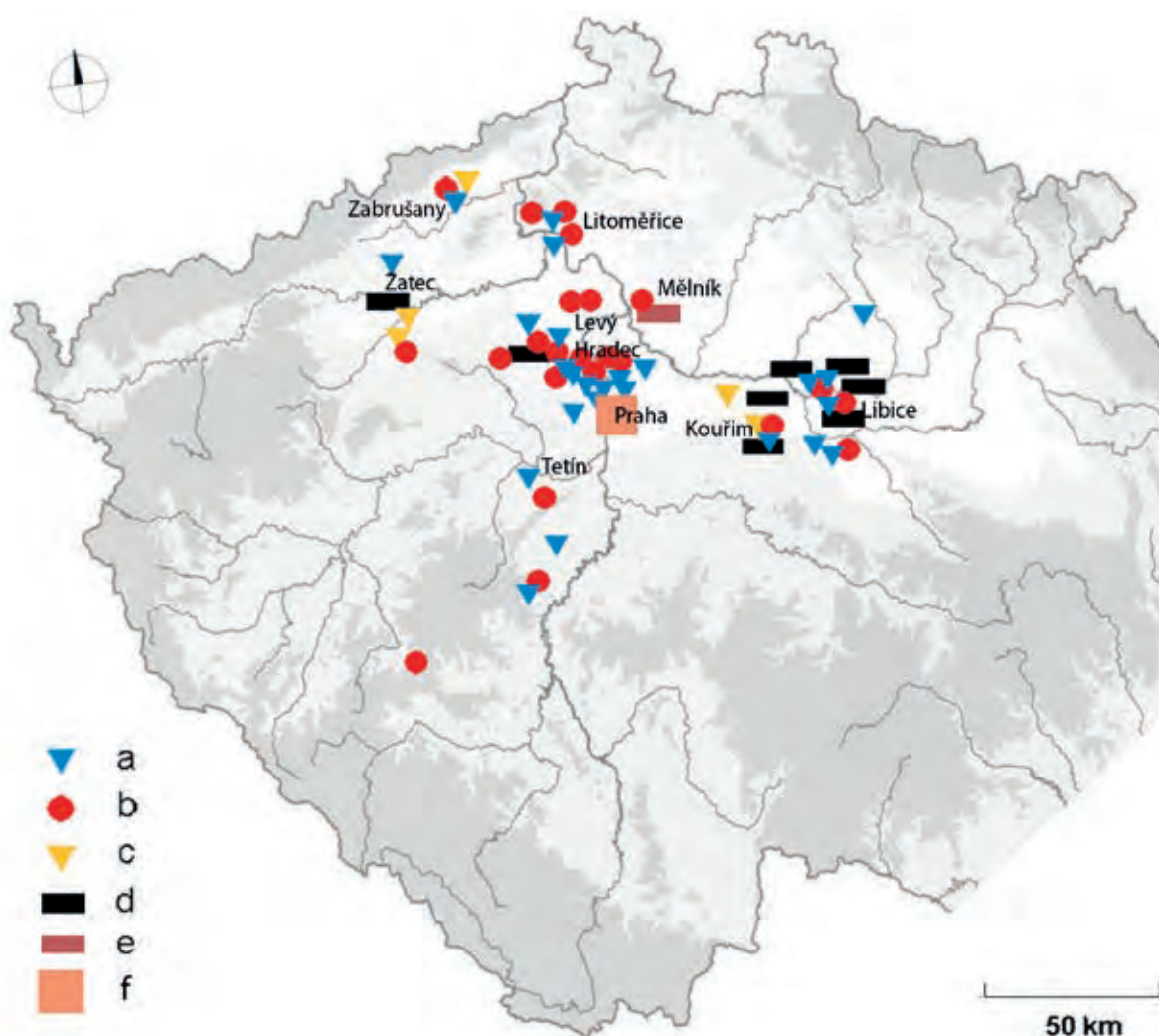
▲ Fig. 3. Bohemia – post-Great Moravian jewellery with animal motifs.

Selection of motifs typical of the so-called Prague workshop. 1, 2, 5, 7 – earrings; 4, 6, 9 – beads; 3, 8 – amulet containers with animal motifs. Prague – Lumbe’s Garden (1, 7); Stará Kouřim (2–4); Výrava, uncertain classification (5); Čistěves, hoard (6); Libice nad Cidlinou (8); Prague – Wenceslas Sq., the Adria (9). Gold (3, 5) and silver. After Z. Smetánka (1), M. Šolle (2–4), N. Profantová (5), J. L. Píř (6), Z. Smetánka – L. Hrdlička – M. Blajerová (7), R. Turek (8), V. Huml – P. Starec (9).

In the same region there are also graves with Great Moravian funerary equipment – grape and basket earrings, earrings with chain pendants, buttons, axes and spurs – from the acropolis of the Libice stronghold, and graves with swords from the 1st half of the 10th century. Grape earrings, however, were also found in settlement contexts in the bailey of the castle.

On the boundary between Central and East Bohemia extends the most significant Bohemian locality of the Great Moravian Period – Kouřim, which was one of the five largest strongholds in Bohemia (40 ha). Almost 160 graves in a burial ground in the inner ward included a dense concentration of exclusive burials of at least 3–4 generations of elite members inhabiting the

hillfort. The concentration of graves with funerary equipment of Moravian type is one of the largest ones (besides Prague – Lumbe’s Garden). There are golden beads, but most of the personal ornaments found are made of pure or gilt silver. Their typological range is very variegated – grape, beaded and basket earrings, earrings with chain pendants, buttons decorated with granulation, herbal and geometrical motifs, chain necklaces and various types of metal beads. The combination of various ornaments in a single assemblage is also most varied here – for example five pairs of earrings (Grave 96b), four different types of metal beads and two types of amulet containers (Grave 106b; **Fig. 3: 2–4**). Similar to Klecany or Žalov II, here we can also observe a disproportion



▲ **Fig. 4. Burial grounds and settlement finds with evidence of Great Moravian influence in Bohemia:** a – burial with earrings; b – burial with buttons; c – settlement finds of Great Moravian jewellery; d – occurrence of Moravian-type axe (bearded axe) beyond the localities with verified Great Moravian influence; e – occurrence of another typical feature (Mělník – spurs); f – Prague settlement agglomeration with clusters of phenomena a, b. Marked sites are listed in Tab. 1.

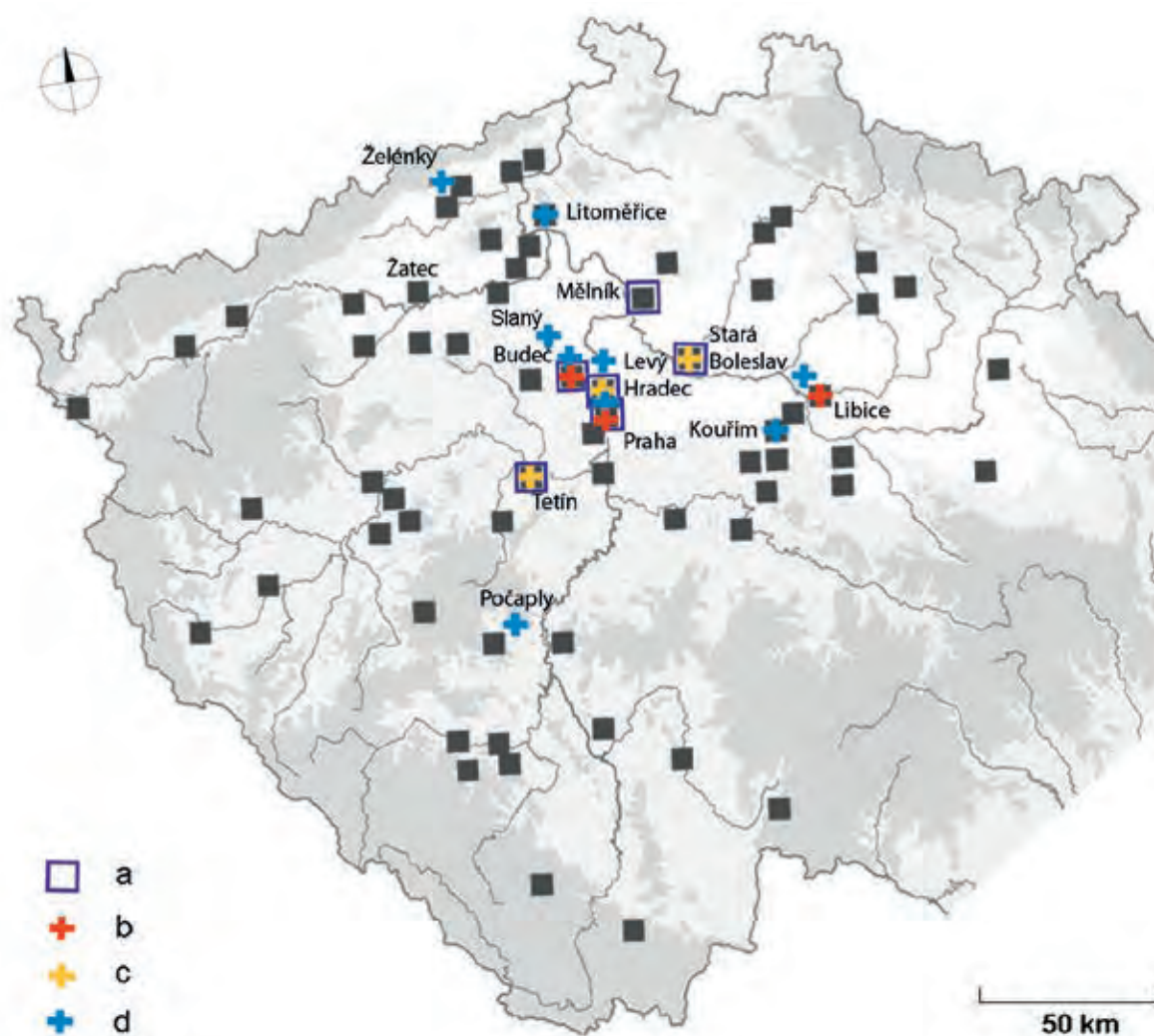


in male and female graves in favour of females, which can, for example, be explained by the fact that some of the males may have died in a distant place and been buried elsewhere. The castle and the burial ground declined in the mid-10th century. Modern detailed revision analyses and comprehensive evaluation of above all the settlement contexts of the stronghold still remain an important task for Czech archaeology.

#### Northwest Bohemia and other finds

Rubín, Zabušany and Litoměřice are among the important centres in Northwest Bohemia. Several burial grounds are situated in the hinterland of Zabušany, where grape earrings

were found both in a grave and in a settlement context. The most distant and at the same time most significant cemetery is Želénky with a fully unique barrow burial. A female was buried here, most probably a woman from Moravia who had married abroad. This is indicated by her funerary equipment – golden grape earrings and double-shell buttons come from Moravia, the buttons probably directly from Mikulčice. A medallion with gem, on the other hand, was most probably made in Northern France and then supplemented with a local chain. The grave goods also comprise a partly gilded bilateral plaque portraying a deer and a bird of prey. The plaque may have been of either oriental or Moravian origin; in the latter case it would have only adopted an oriental or Byzantine-like motif of falconry.



▲ Fig. 5. Localities with the earliest (9th–10th century) evidence of the Christianisation of Bohemia: a – castles of the Přemyslid domain; b – remains of sacred buildings; c – historically evidenced sacred buildings; d – Christian motifs on objects of small material culture. The base map shows the network of castles on the territory of Bohemia around AD 900. After J. Sláma and J. Bubeník – modified.



The non-preserved golden cross on the forehead of the buried female may indicate that she was freshly baptised, but the fact that this burial was placed under a barrow and equipped with a bucket could have been in contradiction to the new faith (but in a concordance with Moravian habit).

The Great Moravian horizon at Rubín is represented by two earrings (one of them golden, grape-shaped) and two buttons – all this, however, was found in settlement contexts. The luxurious local milieu is also evidenced by a fragment of hollow glass and a fitting of western origin in the hinterland of Rubín. From Litoměřice and its immediate neighbourhood we also have finds of buttons and grape earrings from at least three locations; other pieces of jewellery were also found, but today they are unfortunately lost.

Even though, according to present knowledge, it seems that Great Moravian jewellery is not evidenced in West and South Bohemia, buttons from Počaply and the burial ground at Radětice indicate that this condition may only be caused by an insufficient state of knowledge. Luxurious fittings as attributes of a male warrior have already been found on the territory of South Bohemia (Němětice and an entirely new, still unpublished, find from the neighbourhood of Netolice).

#### **An overview of burial grounds with Great Moravian influence in Bohemia**

In the whole of Bohemia we can find at least 51 localities with evidence of jewellery in Great Moravian style. The Great Moravian influence can also be identified with some warrior graves, whose occurrence (at least according to present knowledge) is rather sporadic in comparison with Moravia. Objects of Great Moravian type from burial grounds in Bohemia were discovered at 56 sites including male graves with axes; from settlement contexts – mostly hillforts – at least six other artefacts (earrings, buttons) were obtained. In total we can currently take into consideration as many as 64 localities with documented Great Moravian influence (**Fig. 2, 4; Tab. 1**; recently Klecany I, II, Žalov II, Hostivice, Slaný – Kvíček, and the Kolín – bypass).

A locality which definitely exhibits the most intensive Great Moravian influence – at least according to evidence of finds from the burial ground – is Stará Kouřim (158 graves in the first bailey near the Libuše lake). At least 14 graves of women and girls and at least 6 graves of men and boys in the above-mentioned burial ground can be considered richly equipped. This finding is partly comparable only to the situation in Žalov II, where four female and two male graves from a total of 41 unearthed graves can be designated as sumptuous. However,

they are not as rich as the funerary assemblages from Kouřim or Prague – Lumbe's Garden. Graves containing at least three pairs of Moravian earrings made of precious metals are known from Kouřim (Graves 48, 89, 96, 106B, 110, 129), Prague – Lumbe's Garden (e.g. Grave 16, 53, 81, 84), Žalov I (Grave 31/1912), Klecany (Grave 53) and Libice nad Cidlinou (Grave 268).

The origins of most burial grounds with Great Moravian influence, be it in Central Bohemia or elsewhere, have been dated to the end of the Great Moravian Period and burial activities were performed here continuously until the end of the 10th century, or even longer, until the mid-11th century (e.g. Žalov I – brickyard, Klecany I, Prague – Lumbe's Garden, the Libice – acropolis). Only the burial activities in Stará Kouřim declined around the mid-10th century, and so too did the burial grounds in Žalov II and Budeč at the Rotunda of St Peter. The decline or continuity of burial activities in cemeteries with strong Great Moravian influence represent a topic which should be treated further in the future.

#### **The origins of Christianisation in Bohemia**

By interlinking the information of literary and archaeological sources we can follow up the gradual consolidation of Christianity in Central Bohemia (**Fig. 5**). Its most striking displays are the earliest church buildings, which gradually became burial places for members of the dynastic family. However, as a demonstrably authentic remnant of these buildings we only have the nave of the Rotunda of St Peter at Budeč, founded by Duke Spytihněv in 895–905 and surrounded with an elite churchyard. The complex was part of a ducal manor. Of the earliest Prague church consecrated to the Virgin Mary, founded by Duke Bořivoj after his baptism at the court of Svatopluk (882–883), only a small parts of the apsis and the nave are preserved, together with a tomb in its centre and a second, later tomb with the remains of a male and a female with the above-mentioned earrings of Moravian type. In the churches built subsequently, namely the Basilica of St George and the Rotunda of St Vitus, whose remains are integral parts of later re-buildings, dynastic burials are even more frequent. The earliest church built in Levý Hradec has not yet been found. The rotunda, earlier considered to be the earliest church, was built later. This is attested by the detailed description of its foundations, where the foundation stone – *lapis primarius* – was identified. In Europe, the custom of placing a foundation stone with engraved cross into the foundations did not become widespread until the 12th century; only exceptionally is it identified with 11th century architecture. However, it can be supposed that a part of the earliest sacred buildings were built of wood, which means that they cannot usually be



▲ Fig. 6. Christian symbolism in archaeological finds from Bohemia.

1–2 buttons; 3–7 – crosses; 8 – encolpion; 9 – bone lining. Prague-Hradčany, Royal Garden (1); Prague-Hradčany, Lumbe’s Garden – pheasantry (3). Reconstruction of the motif on a partly destroyed find by K. Vytejčková.<sup>10</sup> Litoměřice, grave (3); Počaply – Bozeň 4); Libice, grave 159 (5); Želénky, not preserved (6); Budeč, grave 71 (7); Kouřim (8); Budeč – suburbium (9). Non-ferrous metals, amber (5), gilded copper (7), bone (9). After J. Sláma, M. Zápotocký, M. Lutovský – D. Stolz, R. Turek, M. Šolle, A. Bartošková. Rusted lead cross from Slaný – Kvíček is not depicted.

identified within intensively occupied areas or places intended for burials in later periods. The possible existence of a wooden chapel at Kouřim in the 1st half of the 10th century is still being discussed. Slaný – Kvíček has recently been able to be taken into account too, where a post-built building was associated with funeral rituals. It is, however, not clear whether or not it is a Christian funeral chapel.

The establishment of the first ecclesiastical institutions can be regarded as the culmination of the Christianisation process – the Prague Bishopric in 973 and the Benedictine monasteries in Břevnov (in 999) and St George's in Prague Castle (in 973–976). With these foundations, however, ends the overview of the earliest horizon of Bohemian sacred buildings. An exception is only represented by the newly verified church building at the acropolis of Libice, whose indisputable existence was attested recently by on-site revision research. The excavation yielded up to 70 cm high foundation masonry found *in situ*, belonging to the northern arm of the transept. The assumption that the rotunda at Starý Plzenec was built in the 10th century, on the other hand, has not been attested; the building is for the most part a modern reconstruction. The Church of Sts Cosmas and Damian has not yet been discovered by archaeologists either. The only indications of a building built or adjusted with the help of mortar – for example by plastering the walls or building a mortar floor – are so far the sparse remnants of this binding material in the horizon of the 1st half of the 10th century. According to the legends of St Wenceslaus, a church or a chapel also existed at Tetín before AD 921. To the buildings of the horizon under review we could hypothetically add one of the central buildings in Prague. Its incomplete layout, ending atypically with an apse in the south, was reconstructed on the basis of remnants of clay-bound foundation masonry preceding the construction of the Basilica of St Lawrence in Vyšehrad, which was founded in the last third of the 11th century. The questions of dating, typology and of whether this large-scale and locally unusual building was fully carried out at all are supposed to be clarified by ongoing post excavations research.

A change in burial rites is generally characterised mainly by a decrease in the amount of funerary equipment and reduced typological variety of grave goods inclusive of food, that is, also animal inclusions (Klecany I in comparison to Klecany II). Besides this, among grave finds and rarely elsewhere too we can also meet with Christian symbols or motifs possibly related to Christianity. Indisputable evidence in this regard is the motif of a cross, which mainly occurs in the form of pendants (Fig. 5). Recently a 10th century lead cross was found in the burial ground at Slaný – Kvíček. Whole new solitary finds are then carolingian bronze cross from Levý Hradec (or its

hinterland) and fragment of the lead cross from Libice above Cidlina with the parallels in Great Moravian milieu. Other motifs were not necessarily only used in connection with Christian symbolism, but the beginning of their occurrence on the threshold of the 10th century is conspicuous (Fig. 6). Among them there are buttons with crosses, the depiction of a hand (God's right?) or a peacock, and a lamb-shaped aquamanile from Libice to name a few. Along with these displays, not only during the 10th century but also later and in the same environment, phenomena also survive which are possibly associated with pre-Christian practices (burials with human teeth as magical objects, amulet containers including hairs, thread, bones), which are sometimes hard to interpret. A zoomorphic vessel and a chicken skeleton, deposited together in a pit in the *suburbium* in the centre of Stará Boleslav, are among the less well-known evidence of symbolic behaviour.

#### Bohemia and Great Moravia – archaeological evidence

The relatively complex and probably qualitative change in the organisation of society at the turn of the 9th and 10th centuries is archaeologically evidenced in partial phenomena, such as a synchronous rebuilding of fortifications in central settlements, the onset of a new ideology and an accelerated development of several crafts. These changes are documented in areas with evident Great Moravian influence, that is, mainly in Central Bohemia. In smaller concentrations they can also be recorded in other regions, above all in Northwest Bohemia (Litoměřice Region, Rubín, and a part of the Ohře Valley).

A connection between the Christianisation process, centralisation of power and genesis of state formations has been generally accepted. In this regard we can thus surely speak about the intensive impact of Great Moravia on the formation of the Bohemian state. However, after 895 at the latest we must also take into account the strengthening – this time definitely – influence of Regensburg, in both political and ecclesiastical matters. This influence, as with that of Great Moravia, found reflection in the life of the social elite (weapons, personal ornaments, symbolic attributes of power – sword, butt of a banner/gonfalon, spurs etc.).

A significant difference between Great Moravia and the contemporaneous Bohemia could be the absence of any substantial amount of evidence for the presence of a military component, mainly in burial grounds but also around the power centres. We do not know whether this fact reflects any different status and significance warriors had in Bohemian society. However, it is evident that the period of depositing spurs and weapons in graves was shorter in Bohemia than in

Moravia. The state of research in Bohemia is different from Moravia; newly excavated cemeteries are not many in number and they are distinctly smaller. Warrior graves are also quite rare in the hinterland of Prague Castle (no more than two pairs of spurs per burial ground). A larger concentration of equestrian burials can only be observed at Kouřim (9 graves), Libice and Kanín (12 assemblages in total), or at Žalov near Levý Hradec. A grave with spurs can be associated with a churchyard only in two cases – at St Peter's in Budeč and in the case of the latest grave with spurs from the 2nd half of the 10th century in Libice. This is a striking difference in comparison to numerous graves with equestrian equipment in Moravia, which often occur inside churches as well (Mikulčice churches 2, 3, 6 and 7, Staré Město – the cemetery Na Valách, or Uherské Hradiště – Sady, Břeclav – Pohansko churches 1 and 2). 9th century military events, however, show that the army of the Bohemi was quite ready for action (mainly in the years 846–849; as early as 898 Svyatopluk was taking action against the Moravians). So we suppose that it is rather a different understanding of attributes and their social and symbolic meaning. In a well-established society, grave goods were probably less important due to the influence of Christianity. This is indicated, among other things, by numerous accidentally lost weapons, spurs (Křinec, Benátky u Litomyšle, Otmíčská Hora etc.), and sporadically sword scabbard fittings as well. Based on a voluminous collection of weapons from the conquered Němětice in South Bohemia (1st half of the 10th century) it is evident that large and luxurious weapons were taken away as booty and only arrowheads remained on site (only one axe was found in comparison to almost 100 arrowheads).

The model for how the organisation of state power was built up in Bohemia seems to be relatively unified, at least in the historical centre of Bohemia. In this fact we can see some difference compared to the situation in Moravia. It is mainly the political situation in the Carpathian Basin after the arrival of the Magyars, which induced a change of long-distance trade roads, that has usually been regarded as one of the most significant factors in the development of power in Central Europe. Archaeology, however, points to the fact that it is not the only factor by far, because the foundations of such development had already been laid earlier. The essence of the rapid upswing of the Bohemian state after the fall of Great Moravia, and the share of the Great Moravian legacy in this expansion, should thus remain a topical interdisciplinary issue. Anyway, the archaeologically verifiable and evident change of many indicators in material culture at the beginning of the 10th century and mainly in the historical core of Bohemia gives evidence of a high degree of organisation in Bohemian society.

As far as the further development of the early Přemyslid state and the development of relations between Bohemia and Moravia are concerned, we should not forget that the godfather-godson relationship between Svatopluk and Bořivoj provided the Přemyslids with the right to claim a "share" in the Moravian inheritance after the decline of the Great Moravian Empire in AD 905/6. We know with certainty that somewhat later Boleslav I gained control over a part of Moravia. He could have based his claims on the old kinship and supported them with his real military power.



# THE MORAVIAN REALM AND THE BAVARIAN (EASTERN) MARCH

Herwig Wolfram

## Origins and Organisation

The origins of the Moravian Realm like those of the Bavarian (eastern) March, the *plaga orientalis* (the term “eastern march” is not contemporary), were based on the Carolingian victories over the Avars (Wolfram, ed. 2013, chap. 6, 66nn. and 155nn – commentary). Both *regna* became successors to the Avar khaganate.<sup>11</sup> The Central European *Regnum Avarorum* was constituted both by a treaty concluded between the khagan and the Byzantine emperor and by the treaty between the Avars and Lombards, who had once been assigned Pannonia by the Emperor Justinian I (Pohl 2012, 52nn.; Wolfram 2003, 66, 68–69). Of course, such complex processes have been identified by modern historians rather than by 9th century contemporaries. However, there might have been a slight inkling of them in Constantinople in 862/863 when the emperor’s consistory had a discussion about Prince Rostislav’s letter requesting “teachers” and a bishop. Some of the participants held the view that this request should be rejected because Moravia lay beyond the borders of the Roman Empire. Most of the participants, however, were of the opposite view, with the result that Constantine and his brother Methodius could set off for Moravia (Wolfram, ed. 2013, 24, note 47). As illustrated by reliable evidence (see the source compilation at Wolfram 1995a, 70, note 13), the Carolingians accepted the conquered Pannonian Avaria (despite its steppe-nomad origin) as a *regnum* – a political entity based upon Roman tradition. According to this tradition, in 791 the *Regnum Avarorum* was separated from the Frankish-Bavarian Regnum by a watery *certus limes* – a “visible” border along the River Enns (Pohl 2002, 308nn., *Annales regni Francorum* [Einhard] ad a. 791, *Kurze*, ed. 1895, 89). Thus the Frankish armies conquered an Avar kingdom, on the basis of which Charlemagne transformed the eastern Bavarian territories into a freestanding *praefectura*, into a march. After Tassilo III’s downfall in 788 and the total elimination of the Agilofing family as Bavarian dukes, Charlemagne’s brother-in-law Gerold I obtained Bavaria and Carantania as a *missaticum*, i. e. this *comes et missus* became a supercount or prefect with viceregal power. After the Avar War of 796 Gerold also became responsible for Pannonia north of the river Drava. Carolingian Pannonia considerably exceeded its Roman predecessor because (thanks to its identification with Avaria) the area extended from the Enns to the Danube near what is now Budapest and from present-day Moravia and Slovakia to the Drava or even Sava. In 796, the khagan and his tarkhans surrendered to the Frankish armies. However, Avar opposition continued until 811, and Gerold fell victim to it at the end of summer 799. Between 799 and 802 Gerold’s *missaticum* was divided into two different units – Bavaria itself and the Bavarian March. When Louis the German took over as king of the Bavarians in 826, the Bavarian

*missaticum* was replaced by the Bavarian kingdom, whereas the March, to which parts of the former Avar Realm south of the Drava were added in 828, remained as a *missaticum*. This considerably extended territory, whose external borders were as far from Aachen as from Constantinople, was also ruled by a prefect or supercount. The title *marchio* (margrave) did not appear in the March before 900. The principalities of the Carantanians and *Carniolenses* were transformed into two counties in 828. The tributary Avar khaganate was replaced by another county east of the Neusiedlersee. Finally, the tribal princes, *duces*, of Sisak, the Pannonian *Mosapurc/Zalavár* and the Kamptal *Rugii*, as well as four associated counts, *comites socii*, were subordinated to the supercount of the March, by 840 at the latest. In addition, this supercount was in charge of supervising the Moravian principality (Wolfram, ed. 2013, 166–174; Wolfram 2003, 218–224). In the years 856/857 the march was taken over by the king’s sons, first Carloman and then Arnulf of Carinthia. From this base Arnulf became master of Bavaria and also over the whole east Frankish Kingdom in 887/888 (Wolfram 2003, 251nn.). Moreover, his relative Luitpold, one of the first to bear the title of *marchio* in the March, around 900, established the foundations for the establishment of the Bavarian Duchy of his son Arnulf the Bad (Arnulf „der Böse”; Brunner 1973, 243; Wolfram 1995a, 386nn.).

## The Moravians

In the year 822 the Frankish sources mention the Moravians for the first time, and the Avars for the last (*Annales regni Francorum* ad a. 822, *Kurze*, ed. 1895, 159). In the 9th century the Moravians were the only Slavs of the former Avar Realm who achieved a fully-fledged ethnogenesis, developing an ethnic name of their own and creating their own body politic. Nevertheless, the Carolingians based their claims to the Moravian territory on their victory over the Avars. They considered the Moravian Realm part of east Francia, and thus they attempted to treat Moravia as a tributary principality for which they had the right to appoint the rulers. The Bavarians and Moravians waged war against each other; they supported their enemy’s enemy and accepted fugitives from their adversary’s side. If around 850 a noble Frank’s wife ran off with her lover, the couple found protection and safety in Moravia, “in the furthest corner of the (Frankish) empire”. And when the Wilhelminer Engelschalk II captured Arnulf of Carinthia’s daughter and married her, he sought refuge in Moravia, hoping that the affair would be forgotten after a time. The functionaries of the March – both the supercounts and the royal princes – tried to get on well with the Moravians, thereby acting in opposition to the reigning kings (Wolfram 2003, 315–316). Yet the Frankish kings recognised the significance

of their eastern neighbours. This vast and remarkably strong body politic was regarded as *regnum Maravorum*, the Realm of the Moravians.

As to the question of where the *regnum Maravorum* was “really” located (*Wolfram 1995a*, 87–100), the main point I would like to make is that an original diploma, issued by the east Frankish King Arnulf in 888 and kept at the Viennese Haus-Hof- und Staatsarchiv, refers to an estate whose noble owner was charged to mete out justice to and for all who came from the *regnum Maravorum*, with the exception of cases outside his control which should be yielded to the prefect. This estate was located in the centre of Lower Austria, between Krems and St Pölten. It is hard to believe that Moravians searching for justice would come here from what is now Romania or Serbia. Rather, they would have come from a Moravia extending into north-eastern Lower Austria. Evidently there was trade between the Bavarians and Moravians across the Danube, as can be deduced from the *mercatus Marahorum* mentioned in the Raffelstetten customs regulations. Considering both the written evidence and the well-known archeological sites, one would assume that the Moravian Realm had its centres both near the river Morava, probably in Mikulčice and Staré Město, and in Slovak Nitra/Neutra (which is explicitly confirmed; *Wolfram, ed. 2013*, 240–253).

## **Moravian dukes and the Bavarian March**

### ***Mojmír I (around 830–846) and Rostislav (846–870)***

The first attempt to contact the emerging Moravian Realm was made by Adalram, Archbishop of Salzburg (821–836), who consecrated a church for Duke Pribina, as far from his see as Nitra/Neutra around 822. Adalram was the only high clergyman we know of who was able to preach in Slavonic. However, Pribina was still a pagan at that time. But his son – bearing the Germanic name Cadolah/Chozil – inherited property in today’s central Upper Austria, ruled by the Bavarian counts of the Wilhelminer family. Chozil’s mother could have been a member of this family. Chozil was obviously baptised before his father’s conversion. There is enough evidence to prove that both Frankish-Bavarian and Frankish-Lombard noblemen considered members of the Slavonic elite their equals and cooperated closely with them. Therefore Pribina’s connection with the Wilhelminer family already during his reign in Nitra does not seem implausible. Anyway, it would have been the earliest contact between the Moravians and the March (*Wolfram, ed. 2013*, 185nn.).

The consolidation of tribal entities included both the removal of competitors and the elimination of peripheral centres of

power. No later than 830 Mojmir I made himself the representative of a still-pagan family that was to reign over the Moravians from their conversion to Christianity (no later than 850) to the decline of the realm. The Bavarians noted Mojmir’s existence in the early 830s when he expelled Pribina of Neutra from his native country. The ruined hillfort of Pobedim might be evidence of this war (*Wolfram 2003*, 315).

In 846 Louis the German, King of East Francia, personally intervened in Moravia. He enthroned Rostislav, Mojmir’s relative, as prince. It is not certain whether Mojmir I was already dead or had been deposed because he planned a war. It was difficult for the east Frankish troops to get back home. While returning across Bohemia the royal army suffered heavy losses. After deposing the prefect of the March Ratbod (who in 854 obviously made a deal with Rostislav), the king again tried to attack the Moravians at the head of his army in 855. His invasion did not meet with any success at all; Louis the German himself just escaped by the skin of his teeth. Carloman was nominated ruler of the March in 856/857. Being the eldest son, he was charged with establishing Frankish sovereignty over the Moravians. In 858 his father Louis the German ordered him to wage war against Rostislav. Instead, the two of them became allies, so that Rostislav had a free hand for the better part of the next decade. Louis the German attacked Rostislav no later than 864, and besieged him in the castle of Dovina (Puella). Wherever we place this “Girl Castle” – in Slovak Devín, near the mouth of the Morava, on the Leiserberg in Lower Austria, or in Děvičky/Maidenburg, in the South Moravian Pavlov Hills – Louis the German was satisfied with taking some hostages and with a renewed oath of loyalty. Rostislav’s increased bid for independence led to conflict with Carloman in 869. While the youngest brother, later known as Charles III, marched in the name of his ailing father against the Moravian strongholds, Carloman attacked Slovakia from eastern Lower Austria. The king’s son started his campaign at Baden south of Vienna with “a not-insignificant crowd” (*Wolfram 2003*, 315–317).

### ***Zwentibald I (871–894)***

East Frankish and Bavarian armies probably achieved some success in 869, after which Zwentibald I became Carloman’s vassal and stayed in Bavaria for some time. There, in 870, he served as godfather to Carloman’s grandson and Arnulf’s son Zwentibold. It is the first known occasion in the Western Church when a godson was named after his godfather (*Wolfram, ed. 2013*, 294, note 133). In the same year Zwentibald betrayed his uncle Rostislav, captured him and handed him over to Carloman, who transported Rostislav to Regensburg. There, after the assembled Franks, Bavarians and Slavs had

condemned Rostislav to death, Louis the German sentenced him to be blinded. It seems that Rostislav's downfall opened his country to Carloman in 870. Never before (or after) did Frankish-Bavarian troops conquer so many fortresses in Moravia. The king's son even captured the prince's treasure. However, when Carloman and his Wilhelminer allies tried to eliminate Zwentibald himself, and to transform the Moravian Realm into Frankish counties they went too far. Zwentibald had to be released from captivity and, famously, he restored his reign over the whole of Moravia. The Moravian prince, originally a priest who had been enthroned during Zwentibald's captivity, was deposed apparently without carnage. In the meantime the Bavarian and east Frankish armies suffered defeat after defeat. When Louis the German sent the Thuringians and Saxons against the Moravians in 872, the army was so demoralised by the king's absence, that they completely scattered in panic. It was even said that the fleeing counts were knocked off their horses by old women with wooden clubs. The Bavarians operating from the Danube fared equally badly – "and nobody escaped from here but Bishop Embricho of Regensburg and a few others". At the beginning of 874 Louis the German and Carloman held a meeting at Forchheim. Zwentibald's envoy, the priest John of Venice, arrived to propose peace terms, virtually identical to those that had been vainly proposed by an Aleman named Bertram of Bürstadt a year before. The envoy succeeded and so the situation of before 870 was restored: in accordance with the oath of loyalty sworn by John acting on behalf of Zwentibald, Moravia theoretically became a dependent principality, but in practice its freedom of action was not limited. Now Zwentibald had enough time to successfully consolidate his dominion. The prince allied himself with Margrave Arbo, defeated the sons of Wilhelm and Engelschalk in 882–884, and ransacked wide areas of Carolingian Pannonia south of the Danube as far as the River Rába. In 885, before Methodius' death, the Vistula principality, the center of which was apparently the Wawel (Cracow), seems to have recognised Moravian sovereignty. After the successful year 884 a peace treaty was concluded between Charles III and Zwentibald I near Tulln. "According to tradition" the Moravian prince became the emperor's vassal. The ceremony legalised his territorial gains and displayed his special position to the whole world. In 890 King Arnulf surrendered his claims to Bohemia in favour of the Moravian duke (Wolfram 2003, 317–318).

Original records from Salzburg, Reichenau and Friuli present his name as Zuentibulch; Latin sources from the west use its modified form Zwentibald. We even know the name of his wife Zuentizizna (Wolfram, ed. 2013, 293–294), who was mentioned in the *Libri Vitae* of Salzburg as well as of Friuli. The Bavarians hated the Moravian duke because he could not be

captured and was able to fight back. Moreover, he would use every defeat and failure for his own benefit, and he guided the Moravian Realm to the height of its power. Certainly, the term "Great Moravian Realm" does not appear in contemporary sources. It was only in the 10th that the Byzantine Emperor Constantine Porphyrogennetos mentioned Great Moravia (Moravia megale) in his *"De administrando imperio"* (administration of the empire). The author followed ancient geographical terminology where "great" attributed to the name of a people, place or country meant either "old" or "foreign", whereas "lesser" or "minor" stood for "belonging to us, especially to the Roman empire". See, for example, Roman Asia Minor in contrast to the continent of Asia, or the Roman provinces of Germaniae as opposed to Germania Magna east of the Rhine. In any case, the term "Great Moravian Realm" has become a household word to such an extent that it can be freely used as long as we do not forget its original meaning (Wolfram, ed. 2013, 307–308).

Zwentibald I was the first Moravian whose character and personality is known in some detail, although the information is mainly provided by his enemies. Since a barbarian did not owe to foreigners any kind of truth and loyalty, Zwentibald was naturally insidious and deceitful, as required by traditional moralising ethnography. He betrayed his own uncle as well as the Frankish rulers to whom he had seemingly subordinated himself and his realm. Even Methodius' disciples despised him. According to them, Zwentibald's religion was corrupted Christianity and heresy. They said that a barbarian like him did not have the intellectual capacity to understand Christological problems, let alone to solve them. When Methodius' disciples introduced a problem of theirs to Zwentibald, "the duke could understand hardly any of what he was told, since he was totally unable to understand any divine issue; he had been brought up – according to the barbarian custom – like an insensate animal, and, as said before, he had lost all his intellectual abilities due to impure lust". Zwentibald admitted his ignorance and wanted to solve the dispute in a "sportsmanlike" way: he promised victory to the side that would be the first to step forward and swear to tell the truth. In fact, according to the criteria of his time, this Moravian was a very successful prince. Starting from the centres of power located in the forests along the River Morava, he extended his rule over what is now Moravia, Bohemia, Slovakia, southern Poland, northern Hungary and north-eastern Lower Austria. However, his realm consisted of a chain of tributary principalities which could be depicted as a continuous area only by a modern cartographer. Zwentibald as well as his predecessor owned a royal treasure, *gaza regia*. The prince's executive staff included many foreigners and deserters from the Frankish Kingdoms, even a Venetian presbyter. In response

to justified criticism of the east Frankish King Arnulf, who had summoned Hungarian horsemen against the Moravians in 892, in 900 Archbishop Thietmar of Salzburg claimed that the Moravians had long included Hungarians. On one occasion Moravian archers were described as “raiders and arsonists” [TN: “Renner und Brenner”]; those archers were probably Hungarians. Historical sources mention many Moravian castles that stayed impregnable as long as their defenders knew for what and for whom they fought. Rostislav’s sole tactic was to withdraw into those fortifications, in order to last out the Frankish attacks and to assault the enemies on their way home. Zwentibald, by contrast, went on the offensive (*Wolfram 2003*, 318–320).

Prominent Moravians used to have good horses and first-rate weapons, as illustrated by a tragicomic story which, following Smetana’s “The Bartered Bride”, could be called “The Bartered Bride’s wedding party”. When Moravian warriors accompanied a noble Moravian bridegroom who was to marry a South Bohemian princess, they ended up in an ambush that their future Bohemian brothers-in-law had prepared against the Bavarians. The Moravians were attacked by the Bavarians and in the stampede they left their equipment behind. The Bavarians captured no fewer than 644 horses with halters and saddles and the same number of shields (which were probably attached to the saddles). Needless to say that the complete equipment also included a spear and a sword – the sword was either of Moravian or (in spite of the Carolingian embargo) Frankish origin (*Wolfram 2003*, 320).

Zwentibald I died in the year 894. In his last years he was still able to successfully resist a Frankish-Bulgar coalition. He was the first, but also the last Moravian prince to be succeeded by his own sons. Zwentibald evidently foresaw the looming danger of a fratricidal war. Even his contemporaries knew about his urge for concord, which, however, was of no avail. The downfall of Rostislav’s and Zwentibald’s creation could not be halted (*Wolfram 2003*, 318).

### **The End of the Moravian Realm (894–906)**

Mojmír II and Zwentibald II ascended the throne together as their father’s successors. The elder brother had been named after the founder of the Moravian principality, the younger after his father. Terrible Hungarian devastation led to the conclusion of a peace treaty between Bavaria and Moravia probably in the autumn of 894. As early as summer 895, “all the Bohemian dukes came from the country of the Slavs”. They participated in the east Frankish regnal assembly and declared that Moravian supremacy was over and they accepted both the king’s and Bavarian suzerainty.

The Moravians did not immediately react to the Bohemian renegades. The appointment of Brazlavo of Siscia as *dux* of the Pannonian *Mosapurg* in 896 was in no way aimed against the Moravians, but against the Hungarians. However, in 897 the Bohemians notified Regensburg that they were suffering a hard time under Moravian pressure and asked for help. Four years after Zwentibald I’s death, war broke out between Mojmir II and Zwentibald II. Emperor Arnulf sent his margraves Luitpold and Arbo to support the younger prince. In fact it was Arbo’s son Isanrich who had provoked the fratricidal war and urged his father to support Zwentibald’s elder son Mojmir II. In 884 the margrave had given his son as hostage so that Isanrich spent an unspecified time with Zwentibald I. It was probably at that time that the noble Bavarian prisoner made contact with Mojmir II. The events of 898 and 899 showed that Zwentibald II had requested the emperor’s help because his elder brother was ousting him from his position. Now since there was clear-cut evidence that Arbo and Isanrich were the cause of the Moravian mess and they had acted against the emperor’s orders, Arnulf’s anger descended on them. However, the measures taken by the mortally ill emperor were not very successful. It was not possible to depose Arbo; Isanrich, who was taken prisoner at Mautern on the Danube, escaped and fled to Mojmir II. The only success of the Bavarian campaign against the Moravians in 899 was the liberation of Zwentibald II and his followers, which the Bavarian troops managed after conquering one of the Moravian fortresses. The Moravian war between the two brothers must have looked like an invitation for the Hungarians to unleash an attack. Moreover, the Bavarians and Moravians were too absorbed in their old animosities and to-and-fro fighting to recognise this *mene tekel* in time. The Bavarian episcopate opposed the Pope’s right to organise the Moravian Church in accord with Mojmir II’s will; they also brought forward serious charges against their neighbours in 900. It was said that the Moravians were not only willing to accept the Hungarian hairstyle, so as to become Hungarians, but that they were also provoking their Hungarian allies against the Bavarians. However, in 901 the east Frankish King Louis the Child and Mojmir II finally concluded a peace treaty. Richar, Bishop of Passau, who only in the previous year had protested so vehemently against the Pope’s Moravian policy, was one of the negotiators of the peace that also applied to Isanrich. Now the Bavarians were willing to change their policy towards Moravia. When the Hungarians attacked in 902, they were fought off by a joint effort of the Moravians and Bavarians. But this victory did not last long. When Regino of Prüm wrote his chronicle in 907 or 908, the fate of the Moravians and their unfortunate rulers Mojmir II and Zwentibald II was already sealed (*Wolfram 2003*, 320).



The same thing also happened to the Bavarians, even though the consequences were not so devastating. Margrave Luitpold and a great part of the Bavarian elite were killed in the battle of Pressburg/Bratislava on 4 June 907. Then the Hungarians occupied the whole area of the former Avaria to the River Enns and the Styrian Fischbach Alps. This was the end of the long ninth century and it was also the end of the history of the Moravian Realm as well as of the Bavarian March (*Wolfram 2003, 272–273*).

### Conclusion

Zwentibald's realm was the first fully-fledged Slavonic body politic. But the Moravian Realm could never have played the same role for central-eastern Europe as the Roman Empire had done for the Germanic peoples. First, the Moravians developed no permanent ecclesiastical organisation headed by the Moravian prince. Rome's attempt to establish an independent Moravian archbishopric with an archbishop and three suffragan bishops in 900, fifteen years after Methodius' death, had an effect similar to the sound of a frozen posthorn; its only echo was the vigorous protest of the Archbishop of Salzburg and the Bavarian episcopate in Rome. Secondly, the intermarriage between the elite of the central-eastern European realms and their western neighbours only came to equal the Roman-barbarian *conubium* that gave birth to "the family of late antique and early medieval kings" in the 10th and 11th centuries. This deficit could not be made up for by the fact that Zwentibald became the godfather to Arnulf's son Zwentibold, which neither the father nor the godfather could have deliberately intended in 870. Third, in spite of, or rather thanks to the translation activity of Constantine and Methodius, the Moravian Realm did not have enough time to produce its own learned clergymen, "speakers" (František Graus), who were necessary to guarantee the constitution of a medieval nation. Fourth, and above all, the Moravian Realm never had anything like the political-military significance that was present even in late antique Rome. Only in the 10th century were the east Frankish and Byzantine armies able to play the role the Roman legions had played. The Roman army was an instrument which served as an example for barbarian warlords and military kings and their polyethnic retinue and permitted their integration, while the Roman state, as the political-bureaucratic *res publica*, remained the "eternal" authority with the privilege to recognise new statehood and integrate it permanently. By contrast, right up until its end, the *regnum Maravorum* lacked full Roman recognition and integration. Such recognition and integration could have been expressed in the 9th century West only by the rulers of the Frankish Empire as the heirs of Rome. After Charles Martel's victory at the battle of Tours and Poitiers the Roman

tradition became also the European one. The conquest of the Avar khaganate and the virtually simultaneous restoration of the western empire by Charlemagne reinforced the Frankish claim to continue the Roman policy. This included the rule – theoretical rather than real – over the Carolingian empire's eastern neighbours, where the high king wanted to be another Charlemagne and started calling himself *kral'*, *koral'* (in Hungarian *király*). The pope wasted his chance to play an active role in Moravia already in 863. But from 869 on the popes tried hard to make up for what they had missed and participated in the transmission of the Roman heritage. Little wonder that the only time that the Moravian Prince Zwentibald I was named *rex* in contemporary sources is in a single papal letter. However, in the second half of the 9th century all papal attempts – based on the traditions of Sirmium and Pannonian – to create an independent Moravian Church failed because they were aimed against the Carolingian rulers as well as the church of the east Frankish Kingdom. Moravian attempts to found their own national church with the help of Rome and/or Constantinople failed as well. The problem was solved only after the establishment of the bishoprics of Prague, Gniezno and Gran-Esztergom when permanent national churches with their own national saints began to appear (*Wolfram, ed. 2013, 325–327*). But then the Moravian Realm was already gone for ever.

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# CONTACTS BETWEEN THE TRIBES IN THE BASINS OF THE VISTULA AND ODER AND GREAT MORAVIA

Jacek Poleski

For Polish mediaevalists, one of the most intriguing research topics is the relationship between Great Moravia and Polish tribes. When the author of *The Life of St Methodius* described in several sentences “a mighty pagan prince” and his conflict with “Christians” (most likely Moravians), he could not have predicted the long-lasting and fierce controversy his succinctness would cause among historians. An anonymous ruler of the Vistulans reigning in the 2nd half of the 9th century became, for a fleeting moment, an object of the hagiographer’s interest. In the past, some historians, and later some archaeologists too, constructed a masterful picture around these few dozen words, of a powerful Vistulan “state”, its conflict with the Christian ruler Svatopluk of Moravia, the conquest of the southern territories of Poland by the latter, and finally, the Christianisation of the population under the “Slavic Rite” (*Widajewicz 1947*). Currently, a careful scepticism is prevalent about this issue, based on Gerard Labuda’s point that the reference in question only contains information about the baptism of the Prince of the Vistulans by force “on foreign soil”. There is no mention of the conquest of southern Polish territories by Svatopluk’s armies or their annexation to the state of Great Moravia, let alone the Christianisation of the local population (*Labuda 1988b*, 125; *1994*, 73–76; including references to older literature in the latter).

Since the potential of analysing the available historical sources has largely been exhausted, progress may be brought by further research into the constantly growing collection of archaeological sources. In the early 1980s, K. Wachowski summarised the then current state of research into contacts between Great Moravia and the population of south Poland (*1981; 1982*), concluding that such contacts were almost non-existent. Certain objections raised as to the selection of his research methods in the quoted publications (*Poleski, 1991, 194–196; 1993–1994*), as well as further finds in south Poland relating to the culture of Great Moravia (*Poleski 1988; 1989; 1997; 2003; Jaworski 1997; 2001; 2005, 271–280*), inclined K. Wachowski to significantly revise his earlier views (*Wachowski 1991; 1994; 1997b*). M. Parczewski (*1982, 107–109, 112–113, 126–127*) was the first to point out the key importance of the discovery of inhumation barrows in Stěbořice near Opava, located to the north of the Sudetes (*Dostál 1966, 171–175, tab. XLVI–XLVIII; Kouřil – Tymonová 2013*), for the reconstruction of the direction of Great Moravian expansion under Svatopluk I. The burial ground is dated to the 2nd half of the 9th to the early 10th centuries, and represents an element of “foreign” culture on this territory, attesting to the political (and most likely military) expansion of Great Moravia. Parczewski’s theory about the expansion of Great Moravia to the Opava Upland in the course of the 2nd half of the 9th century is confirmed by recent excavations of other

inhumation burial grounds situated on the northern forefield of the Moravian Gate, still on the Czech side of the border (*Kouřil 2004; Parczewski 2005, 30–31*).

At present, there can be no doubt that Polish tribes in the south did have some contact with Great Moravia; however, questions remain about their dating, character and frequency. Problems with correct identification of archaeological evidence that would confirm contacts between the population of Great Moravia and tribes living in the southern part of Poland, stemmed from the fact that similarities between these two cultures has been relatively frequently omitted from the analyses (more on this topic: *Poleski 1991, 194–196*). It must be emphasised that the culture of the peoples of Great Moravia was greatly similar in many aspects to the culture of the – in fact closely related – tribes inhabiting the south of Poland. Differences become apparent especially where Great Moravian culture was exposed to stronger, outside influences. In short, it may be concluded that in the area of material culture, and therefore in archaeological sources too, these differences are particularly manifested in certain aspects of the system of belief newly adopted by the Moravians. The burial rite underwent a radical change – cremation was replaced by inhumation burial (burial sites were mostly flat). In many hillforts in Great Moravia, a type of a building up till then unknown to the Slavs appears – a church, i.e. a brick or a stone building – and dry stone walling becomes a technique frequently used in the construction of ramparts built of timber, earth and stone (*Staňa 1985; Procházka 1990; 2009, 255–267*). The strong influence of Carolingian culture was manifested in the culture of Great Moravia – for example, in the manufacture of weapons and riding gear (*Kavanová 1976; 2012; Bialeková 1977*).

Defining the elements that distinguish the culture of Great Moravia from other Slavic cultures of the 9th century enables us to determine which of the archaeological sources from this period found in Poland might originate from Great Moravia. It must be said that, in the majority of cases, we cannot determine with certainty whether these finds were imports from Great Moravia or imitations made in situ. This brief overview must begin by stating that, although previously the influence of Great Moravia on fortification architecture in Poland was seen mostly in those tribal hillforts where stones were also used for rampart construction, at present there is much scepticism and doubt concerning this issue. It has been pointed out that the dating of the majority of sites that are of interest to us is not accurate enough (*Poleski 1992, 76–85*). Moreover, it turns out that there are only three cases in Poland where the technique of dry stone walling was used for the outer face of the rampart. These are the oldest phase

of the hillfort "Grodzisko" in Wislica (linked to Czech rule in Lesser Poland in the 2nd half of the 10th century; *Gliński – Koj 1996*), the hillfort in Niemcza (*Jaworski 2000*, 152–155) and Dobromierz in Lower Silesia (*Kaźmierczyk 1983*). A Great Moravian origin for the stone elements of ramparts (the outer face) has lately been suggested in the case of more than a dozen other tribal settlements in the area of Lower Silesia, e.g. sites in Gilów and Graniczna near Strzegom (*Jaworski 1997; 2000; 2005a*, 193–197). Here, the theory favoured by some historians and archaeologists must be considered, about a military expedition (or expeditions) of Svatopluk's Great Moravian armies to the territories of south Poland (*Szydlowski 1998*). Evidence for these military expeditions is seen in traces of fires found in many hillfort dating from the 9th century. However, we must bear in mind that although sometimes we might be able to determine very precisely when a hillfort was built, we do not yet possess any method that would enable us accurately to date when these structures were burnt. Under these conditions, we have no certainty about whether the destruction of these ramparts occurred at the time of Svatopluk's reign. Even if the dating of the fire at some of these settlements in south Poland coincided with the time of Svatopluk's reign, we still have to consider the option that the settlements in question might have been burnt due to local intertribal conflict or merely due to natural causes.

At present, the most numerous group of objects found in Poland that can be linked to the culture of Great Moravia are pieces of riding gear found mostly in hillforts. These are for the most part plate spurs and the iron parts of their clamping mechanism (the set consisted of a buckle, heel band and a strap end). In total, eight plate spurs have been discovered in Lesser Poland (entire or extant as fragments; *Poleski 2013; Fig. 1*), five in Silesia (*Wachowski 1997*, Fig. 31: d, 32: a; *Jaworski 2005*, 272, Fig. 145: f–h), and one specimen in the south of Greater Poland (*Brzostowicz 2002*, 58–59, Fig. 25: 8). In Lesser Poland, 10 iron parts of the spur clamping system were found in five hillforts and one settlement (mostly heel bands; *Poleski 2013*); in Silesia, there were 13 objects (all originating from the hillfort in Gilów; *Jaworski 2005*, 272, Fig. 144; *2012*, 219, Fig. 9). In Greater Poland, only one item was found (*Brzostowicz 2002*, Fig. 26: 4). The eight 9th-century items in late Carolingian style found at the hillfort in Gilów (*Jaworski 2005*, 272, Fig. 145; *2012*, 219, Fig. 9) and the one item found in the Cracow – Dębniki settlement (*Poleski 2013; Fig. 1*) are most likely fittings of straps that attached the spur clamping mechanism or footwraps. The cross-shaped iron fittings excavated in three hillforts across Poland – in Lesser Poland (the hillfort in Tuligłowy; *Poleski 2013; Fig. 1*), Silesia (the hillfort in Gostyń) and in Greater Poland (the hillfort in

Bruszczewo; *Wachowski 1997*, Fig. 26: e; *Brzostowicz 2002*, 76, Fig. 28: 8) are believed to be parts of a horse harness.

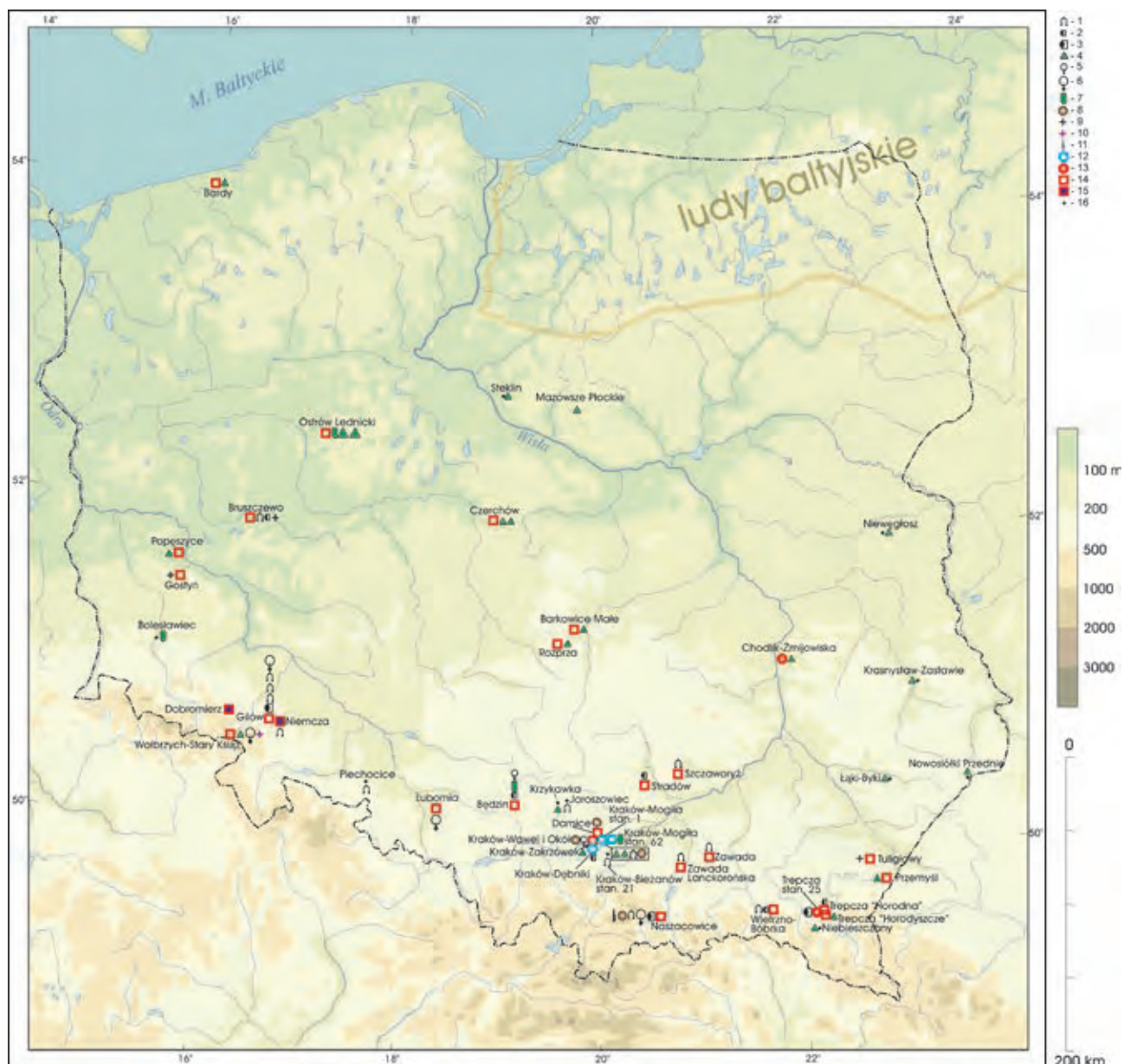
In the majority of cases, axes excavated in Poland are believed to be imports from Great Moravia, or possibly local imitations. They are analogous to type Id according to A. Nadolski (1954). In the literature, this type of bearded axe is most commonly known under the Czech name "bradatice" (*Hrubý 1955*, Fig. 28; *Dostál 1966*, Fig. 15; *Ruttkay 1976*, Fig. 42; *Bartošková 1986*, Fig. 1). There are 23 specimens of this type of axe found in Poland, out of which 11 were found in Lesser Poland (**Fig. 1**; *Poleski 2013; Ginalski – Glinianowicz – Kotowicz 2013*, 195–197, Fig. 4), 2 in Silesia and 10 in other parts of Poland (*Kotowicz 2009*). The majority of axes of this type found in Poland were dated by the authors of the publications to the 9th century, possibly to the 1st half of the 10th century. It must be emphasised that these axes make up a rather miscellaneous group of findings (among other reasons, with respect to the shape of the head). Therefore, we cannot consider all the specimens excavated in the basins of the Oder and Vistula to be imports or imitations of Great Moravian originals.

Since so far we have had no conclusive archaeological evidence confirming a possible expedition (or expeditions) of Great Moravian armies to the regions of the upper Vistula that were inhabited by Vistulans and Lenzans, and certainly not of their annexation to the Great Moravian Empire, it will be best to adopt another hypothesis. At the present stage of research, it seems most likely that in the course of the 2nd half of the 9th century (and that is the dating of the majority of the above-mentioned findings), some components of armament and riding gear used by the armed forces of the Great Moravian Empire were adopted on the territory of south Poland (and partially central Poland as well). In this way, via Moravian influence, elements of late Carolingian culture spread in Poland. The hypothesis positing the adoption of new models of riding armament and equipment from the south is confirmed by the discovery of plate spurs in a hoard of iron items in the settlement in Cracow – Mogiła, site I (*Hachulska-Ledwos 1971*, 106, tab. LX: 12) and the discovery of a bearded axe of "bradatice" type in the hoard of iron items found in the Horodyszczce settlement in Trepcza (*Ginalski 1997*).

There is also a much more modest collection of ornaments and items of clothing of Great Moravian provenance that has been uncovered in Poland. In Lesser Poland, two lunulas (silver and lead) were found in the hillfort in Naszacowice, a silver ear-ring in Cracow castle village, Okół, and another silver earring in the hillfort in Będzin (*Poleski 2013; Fig. 1*). The hoard of silver ornaments and glass beads from the hillfort

in Zawada Lanckorońska on Dunajec, which has so far been linked to Great Moravian culture, must be associated with other influences arriving in Lesser Poland in the mid-10th

century, although, for some types of temple rings found in this treasure, the nearest analogy is still items that are often found in Great Moravian female inhumation graves dating



▲ Fig. 1. Artefacts of Great Moravian origin and imitations of objects from Great Moravia found in Poland.

1 – plate spur (9th to early 10th century); 2 – portion of spur clamping mechanism (heel bands, buckles, strap ends; 9th – early 10th century); 3 – two or more parts of spur clamping mechanism (heel bands, buckles, spur ends; 9th – early 10th century); 4 – bearded axe (9th to 1st half of the 10th century); 5 – metal ornament or a part of clothing (temple ring, button, lunula; 9th century, possibly 10th century); 6 – two or more metal ornaments or parts of clothing (temple ring, button, lunula; 9th, possibly 10th century); 7 – belt or girdle fitting, also part of a sword fitting, section described as made in the “Blatnica-Mikulčice” style (9th century); 8 – clay or stone spindle whorl decorated with undulating or zig-zag line (8th or 9th centuries); 9 – cross-shaped iron fitting from a horse harness (9th to early 10th century); 10 – gilded bronze fittings in the shape of a cross (fitting from a wooden box?, 9th century); 11 – iron knife, without a haft, with an embellished handle (9th century); 12 – settlement; 13 – hamlet adjoined to hillfort; 14 – hillfort; 15 – hillfort with stone faced ramparts (dry stone walling, 9th century); 16 – findings without any context.



from the final stage of Great Moravian culture (*Poleski 1992*, 31, note 13; *1996*, 116–117; *2004b*, 368–370; *Zol-Adamikowa – Dekówna – Nosek 1999*; *Suchodolski 2003*). In Silesia, the following artefacts have been excavated so far: 4 silver temple rings and a glass “gombik” (a spherical decorative button) in the hillfort in Lubomia (*Abłamowicz 1997*) and a lead lunula and 2 bronze and 1 glass gombiks in the hillfort in Gilów (*Jaworski 2005*, 273–276, Fig. 147: b, d, e; *2012*, 225, Fig. 8: e). The cross-shaped gilded bronze fitting (possibly a wooden box fitting), excavated in the hillfort in Książ Wielki near Wałbrzych (*Jaworski 2005*, 278–279, Fig. 147: a), is a close analogy to items from one of the Great Moravian burial grounds in Staré Město. In the light of recent findings about the nature and chronology of the Blatnica-Mikulčice-style sites in Bohemia, Moravia and Slovakia (*Ungermann 2011*), similar specimens of bronze fittings (usually gilded) found in Poland may also be considered late Carolingian imports or their Great Moravian imitations, which later found their way to the basins of the Vistula and Oder. So far, such fittings have been excavated in Bolesławec in Silesia (*Szymański 1962*, 300–303, Fig. 10), in the hillfort in Będzin (*Rogaczewska 2000*, 17–18, photo D, E; *Poleski 2004*, 385–386) and in the hillfort in Ostrów Lednicki in Greater Poland (*Szymański 1962*, 306–307, Fig. 16).

The atypically decorated knife discovered in the hillfort in Naszacowice (Lesser Poland; *Poleski 2011*, 65, tab. 205: 19) is probably an import from Great Moravia or a local imitation. This item finds its only analogy in a child grave from the 2nd half of the 9th century excavated by church no. 6 in Mikulčice (*Poulik 1963*, 143, Fig. 33: 2–2a; *Profantová 2003*, 21, Fig. 34). It is not clear whether the 4 clay spindle whorls decorated with undulating lines that have so far been discovered (excavated in Lesser Poland in the tribal phase hillforts in Naszacowice, Damice and Cracow – Wawel and the settlement in Cracow-Mogila I) are imports or imitations of similar objects that frequently appear in the culture of the Avar Khaganate in the 8th century, or the culture of Great Moravia in the 9th century. Moravian influences on pottery production have recently been suggested in relation to the pottery of some regions of Silesia (*Pankiewicz 2012*, 261–262).

The presence of finds of Great Moravian origin on the territory of (mostly southern) Poland implies the notion of possible previous contacts that might have occurred between the population of the Bohemian Basin, Moravia and Slovakia and the regions of southern Poland, Lesser Poland in particular. In the early Slavic period, until the mid-7th century, these regions were part of Prague culture. In the following period, the 2nd half of the 7th century to the early 10th century, a variety of cultural phenomena can be observed (including cultural imports from the Avar

Khaganate) that clearly interconnect the southern territory of the West Slavs, geographically divided by the ranges of the Western Carpathians and the Sudetes.

In terms of their size, analysis of the locations of hillforts in regions occupied by the West Slavs in the 8th to early 10th centuries has allowed two areas to be distinguished – southern and northern. In the southern region, which includes the Bohemian Basin, Moravia, Silesia and Lesser Poland, less than half the number of hillforts were built in the period under analysis than in the northern region, which includes the rest of the territory inhabited by West Slavs (Silesia, Greater Poland, Pomerelia and the Polabian territories – the area corresponding approximately with the basins of the lower and upper Oder and Elbe). It must be said that as far as tribal settlement density goes, the regions of Mazovska, Podlachia and so-called central Poland are similar to the southern territory. In addition to small-size settlements (up to 5 ha), large hillforts covering an area in excess of 5 ha (sometimes even over 20 ha) are quite typical in the southern region. These large fortified settlements make up almost 1/3 of the 170 hillforts dating from the 8th to early 10th centuries that have been identified within the southern region. We must not forget that in the 9th century a fundamental change took place in the southern region – during the 820s and 830s the foundations of the state of Great Moravia were being laid. Analysis of the shape, area, architectural type and function of large Great Moravian hillforts in comparison with fortified settlements of similar size in the Bohemian Basin and Lesser Poland show that these differ in a fundamental way. Despite the above functional differences, in Great Moravia and in the remaining parts of the southern region too, hillforts covering a large or a very large area were built (*Poleski 2004*, 94–108, 162–166; *2011*, 200–204; *2013*; 58–71, 198–201). In addition to the dissimilar development of settlement architecture, we can observe several further features that differentiate the southern regions of West Slavic territory from its northern part in the period from the 8th to the early 10th centuries. From the 7th century onwards (after the Early Slavic period), the West Slavic tribes inhabiting the southern regions (Bohemia, Moravia, Slovakia, Silesia, Lesser Poland and to certain extent also the south-eastern part of the Polabian Slavs’ territories) are linked by a common type of burial rite: cremation burial under a mound, or, across part of these territories, on a mound (*Zol-Adamikowa 1979*, 205–234; *1988*; *1997*; *2000*). In Silesia and Lesser Poland, graves of the Alt Käbelich type were found, either as single burials or within larger cemeteries. Of course, the common burial rite ends with the Christianisation of the Moravians in the 830s and the Czechs in late 9th century. After that, inhumation burial was used.

Recently, it has been found (*Poleski 2009; 2011, 198–207*, includes older literature) that, in the period between the early 8th century and the mid-10th century, a significant part of the southern belt of early mediaeval West Slavic territory formed an area characterised by the frequent occurrence and use of an iron currency (mostly axe-shaped iron grzywnas; to a lesser extent also iron bowls of Silesian type and so-called spear-shaped grzywnas), although this currency exhibits no uniform, standardised measure and weight throughout the territory in question. This applies particularly to the axe-shaped grzywna, which can be divided into two basic types – Great Moravian and Lesser Polish (*Zaitz 1990, 164–166*; see also *Bialeková 1990; 2000*). Over the majority of the area under analysis, we encounter depositions of treasures containing various kinds of iron objects (e.g. parts of armament, riding gear, farming, carpentry and blacksmithing tools, and other everyday objects) and among these the above-mentioned currency as well. Therefore, we may claim that the division of the territory of the West Slavs before the 10th century into two cultural “provinces” – southern and northern – is strongly outlined in many aspects of culture. With regard to the southern region, it has been pointed out that in addition to making and using the previously-mentioned medium of exchange (a form of pre-coinage currency) and the habit of depositing hoards of iron in the ground, similarities also occur in the burial rite, domestic architecture (long-term use of sunken structures – the characteristic square pithouses and similar model of rampart construction. It is clear that this part of West Slavic territory was not culturally uniform. It becomes particularly evident after the foundation of the state of Great Moravia in the 9th century.

The above summary of items related to the Moravian culture found in Poland is seemingly modest and of little importance. However, this is only an illusion. The discoveries of weapons and riding gear originating from Great Moravia and their local imitations make up a large percentage of all artefacts in this category that can be dated to the 9th century. It is a similar case with the jewellery (ornaments) dating from the 9th century. The majority of these pieces are considered to be genuine artefacts of Great Moravian origin. Such items arrived in the land north of the Carpathian Arc either through the Moravian Gate or possibly also through the Carpathian passes and paths along the rivers Váh, Poprad and Dunajec or from the basin of the upper Tisza through the Dukla Pass. To sum up, we can say that analysis of the archaeological sources confirms the existence of rather strong contacts between Great Moravia and the tribes inhabiting the south of Poland in the 9th century (particularly in its 2nd half). At present, it is difficult to answer the question of the character of these contacts. So far, there has been no conclusive evidence of

military penetration into this area by Great Moravian armies, the annexation of these territories to the Great Moravian Empire and even less of the Christianisation of the local population. On the other hand, it is important to bear in mind that the uncovering of typical Great Moravian inhumation burial grounds and burials dating from the 2nd half of the 9th century (e.g. in Stěbořice) in several locations in the southern forefield of the Moravian Gate (yet still on the Czech side of the current Czech-Polish border) allows for the possibility of Great Moravian political and military penetration into territory in the south of Poland (*Parczewski 1982, 107–109, 112–113, 126–127; Kouřil – Tymonová 2013, 152–159*). Current efforts to date some of the inhumation burial grounds in Silesia to the 9th century (*Niemcza; Jaworski 2013, 162–164*) have not yet been sufficiently substantiated. In this context, the theory of K. Jaworski (*2011, 35*) must be mentioned, about a Great Moravian origin for the hillfort in Gilów, within the area of which 30 artefacts were found relating to the culture of the Great Moravian state. In my opinion, dendrochronological dating of the the Gilów hillfort to 896 at the earliest suggests that, rather than being the result of territorial expansion under Svatopluk I, it was a consequence of the “flight” of some of the Moravian elite north, from the Hungarian threat. However, the theory of the foundation of the settlement in Gilów by the Moravians requires supporting evidence. There is also a theory by P. Urbańczyk (*2012, 129–166*), according to whom the Piast dynasty were the descendants of Moravian refugees – members of the House of Mojmir who fled to Great Poland after the defeat of 906/907. However, this theory lacks any supporting evidence in written or archaeological sources (see critical analyses *Sikorski 2013*).

# GREAT MORAVIA AND THE EMPIRE

Christian Lübke

“Great Moravia” is the term most commonly used in research today to describe the socio-political entity associated with the Moravians, whose rich material legacy was passed on to posterity at the middle of the 20th century in the form of highly impressive archaeological findings. It shows that for this first trans-regional power linked with the Slavonic language, led by the dukes of the Mojmirid dynasty, the 9th century was a historical period of emergence, development and cultural blossoming, but also of failure. The name of Great Moravia in its Greek form (*megalē Morabia*) originates from a historical source from the 10th century, a piece of writing by the Byzantine Emperor *Constantine* Porphyrogenetos (913–959) entitled *On the Governance of the Empire* (*De administrando imperio*). Here, the emperor meant the kingdom in the Carpathian Basin, which the Hungarians, in the course of their “land-seizure”, had occupied since c. 895, driving its original inhabitants away.

Thus, the situation in Eastern Europe had a crucial influence at the end of the history of Great Moravia. Not only were the interests of the great power of Byzantium and military actions on the part of the Hungarians involved in this process, but also the Bulgarians. At the outset, however, the situation in the west, in Central Europe, was unquestionably the decisive factor. Both of these neighbouring zones of Great Moravia, Eastern and Western Europe, were certainly not independent from one another. In fact, they were just as much bound together by their common historical roots as they were in competition against one another – through the heritage of the Roman Empire and through Christianity. The patriarch in Constantinople as the successor of the Apostle Andrew, at the head of orthodox (Greek) Christendom, and the Pope in Rome, in the tradition of the Apostle Peter, as the leader of Roman (Latin) Christians – these were the protagonists in church spheres, protected in the political area by two successors of the ancient Roman Emperors. One of these reigned in direct and uninterrupted succession in the Eastern Roman city of Constantinople, and the other in Rome itself, albeit following an interruption of over three hundred years; imperial rule was reintroduced with the coronation of Charlemagne on Christmas Day of the year 800. The duty as the “patron of the Romans” (*patricius Romanorum*), previously assumed by Charlemagne, entailed functioning as the “defender and protector of the Holy Roman Church” (*defensor et protector sanctae romanae ecclesiae*), and this responsibility gained even more importance after his imperial coronation.

The formula may have served its original intention of protecting Rome and the Popes, but in association with the title of Emperor, it became a kind of obligation to enforce the undisputed acceptance of Christianity. This held especially

true in view of the fact that Charlemagne had already fought long wars against nations who were pagans (*gentes*) in the view of the Christians. Since the year 772 he had been fighting against the Saxons, who were still devoted to their old deities, resorting to missionary-political methods such as the foundation of bishoprics. In the year 785 he had Widukind, the leader of the Saxons, baptised, himself acting as godfather. Earlier, in the year 778, he had used the protection of Spanish Christians as a pretext for a campaign against Muslim al-Andalus. Finally, Charlemagne waged wars against his neighbours to the east: from the year 789 against the Slav Wilzes and Abodrites to the northeast of the Elbe, and from 791 against the remains of the once powerful kingdom of the Avars. The Avar khans had ruled over extensive parts of East Central Europe at the beginning of the 7th century, even posing a threat to the Eastern Roman Empire. Charlemagne now came into possession of the legendary Avar Treasure, a share of which was given to Pope Leo III, by whom he was then crowned Emperor.

In this way, at the east end of the Frankish Empire, whose rulers since Charlemagne had held the title of emperor, and beyond the actual border of the empire, a borderland developed under the control of the Carolingians and the administrators they appointed in border regions, described as prefects or dukes (*praefectus limitis, dux limitis*). The populations in this area (*gentes*) were externally controlled using military measures as well as diplomatic means. The latter included the appointment of dukes who were approved by the Franks, or whose rule was accepted. In such cases, the wishes of the tribal elites were also taken into consideration. Envoys from their assemblies (*populi*) and the dukes themselves were compelled to make regular visits to the imperial diets, in order to make a visible statement of their bonds with the empire and their loyalty towards the emperor.

Frankish control mechanisms from the early 9th century are best documented in some textual passages of the semi-official Royal Frankish Annals (*Annales regni Francorum*) referring to the northern areas of the Polabian and Baltic Slavs, where the Wilzes and Abodrites were the most important factors. On the occasion of imperial diets, Charlemagne and his son and successor, Louis the Pious, made several personnel decisions with regard to the dukes of both of these tribal alliances. In the year 822, amongst the representatives of the Slav *gentes* “bearing gifts” to Louis the Pious in Frankfurt am Main, the Moravians made their first appearance on the stage of history. It is probably a matter of significance that on this occasion, at a changing of political conditions under Frankish control at the south-eastern border of the Frankish Empire, representatives from the “Avars living in Pannonia”

appeared for the last time. Their former great power had been critically diminished following their defeats at the hands of Frankish armies, leaving only a few remaining parts situated in Pannonia. In any case, this delegation embodied the final appearance of the political unity of the Avars in the written records, at precisely the same moment as the Moravians appeared on the stage of European events for the first time. Although there is no real proof of Avar-Moravian continuity, it is highly probable that there is a link between the ending of one power and the beginning of the other.

In the Royal Frankish Annals themselves, which discontinue their reporting in the year 829, the news reports relating to 822 make only one single mention of the Moravians. From the viewpoint of the Frankish sovereign's court, they were only one quite normal element within the spectrum of the *gentes* who were dependent on the Emperor, the extent and variety of which was a demonstration of his power. Seen from the opposite perspective, Charlemagne must have been perceived by his neighbours to the east as such a powerful personality that they adapted his proper name as the title of the highest sovereign power. For the population of the entire Slav world, and through its mediation also the Hungarians and the Balts, used a term derived from the name Charles/Carolus to describe the concept of king (*korol, król, kral* etc.).

The picture of Moravians as having no great significance in the 1st third of the 9th century is confirmed in the way they are mentioned in another 9th century source which probably originated from the East Frankish sovereign court in Regensburg, a list of ethnonyms attributed by research to the anonymous *Bavarian Geographer*. This list gives an abbreviated report of the existing number of *civitates*, referring to settlement fields, or in more modern terminology micro-regions, whose appearance features fortifications, generally a fortress wall. For the above-mentioned Abodrites and Wilzes, the list names 53 or 95 such *civitates*, and for the Moravians 40 (*Marharii habent civitates XL*). An impression of the structure of these units is provided in the information given on the Moravians' Czech (Bohemian) neighbours in association with a piece of news in the Frankish annals for the year 845: the *Bavarian Geographer* knows of 15 *civitates* (*Beheimare in qua sunt civitates XV*), and the *Fulda Annals* give an account of 14 *duces* baptised at the court of the East Frankish King Louis the German in Regensburg. If, as one might expect, both numbers signalise a certain congruence, then the Bohemian *duces* were the commanders of strongholds and, with an appanage-dukely competence, the heads of settlement fields. As the events surrounding the Abodrites and Wilzes show, the Carolingians promoted the existence of overall rulers, whose "power over their kingdom" (*regia potestas, totius regni*

*summa*) acknowledged them and who represented the whole federation of sub-tribes.

With their knowledge of people with such a prominent role, the Frankish sources then communicate a first hint of the relationships between the Frankish Empire and the corresponding *gentes* and their political structure. With regard to the Moravians, following the chronological order of the sources, after the appearance of their envoys before Emperor Louis in Frankfurt (822) the next report was in the *Fulda Annals* of the year 846. Here it was said that the East Frankish King Louis the German led a campaign against them (*ad Sclavos Margenses*), to ensure that Rostislav, a nephew of Mojmir, take over their dukely throne (*ducem eis constituit Rastizen nepotem Moimari*). The rather sparse account in the *Annals of Fulda* describes a course of events that is reminiscent of Charlemagne's campaign against the *civitas Dragawiti* in the year 789, and later the decrees of Charlemagne and Louis the Pious concerning dukely control amongst the Abodrites and Wilzes. However, events from the time between 822 and 846 are also recounted in a source written somewhat later (870) in the *Conversion of the Bavarians and Carantanians* (*Conversio Bagoariorum et Caratanorum*). According to this, Mojmir, who died or was removed shortly before Rostislav was installed as duke, had in his turn driven away another duke by the name of Pribina, a resident of Nitra/Neutra (*Priwina exulatus a Moimaro duce Maravorum*) around 833. The latter fled over the Danube to the Frankish Prefect of the Bavarian Eastland Ratbod, and later resided in Lower Pannonia as a duke, independently of the Franks. Before this final mutual agreement, Pribina had temporarily abandoned the Franks to go over to the side of the Bulgarians, probably because the Franks did not give him as much help as he had hoped for in his quest to regain his principality. In fact Mojmir – as was likely known and tolerated by King Louis – ruled as Duke of the Moravians, including Nitra, until 846.

The appointment of Rostislav as Mojmir's successor, which was supported by military measures, then ensued along the traditional lines of Frankish power politics at the eastern borderlands. King Louis would have been hoping for the long-term subordination of Moravia under his sovereignty, linked with a beneficial growth of Christianity. A formulation in the 11th chapter of the Council of Mainz (852) deals with the case of the nobleman Albgis, who had kidnapped the wife of a certain Patrichus and taken her to Moravia, and indicates that there already existed "at the utmost edge of the kingdom" a still "raw Christianity of the *gens* of the Moravians" (*rudem adhuc christianitatem gentis Maraensium*). From the perspective of sacrilegious Albgis, Moravia was particularly suited as a place of refuge because it lay at the outer edges of the empire



(*ad extremos fines regni*), thus offering him safety from the persecutions of the authorities in the Frankish empire. This increasingly applied to the opponents of King Louis, as they formed alliances with Rostislav, who strove more and more for independence: first Ratbod, who had been the Eastland prefect for many years and had his position taken away from him in 854, the same year as the Moravian duke commenced an uprising. For this reason, Louis led a campaign to Moravia in the following year, 855, which ended in defeat. Evidently, the social basis and military power of the Moravian duke had become great enough to offer sufficient resistance to the East Frankish king.

Following this, Louis entrusted his son Carloman with the administration of Eastland, and there were also battles with the Moravians, until a campaign against Moravia led by King Louis in the year 858 was arbitrarily broken off by Carloman, who preferred to come to an understanding with Rostislav. From 861 at the latest, the king's son, who also strove towards independent sovereignty in Bavarian Eastland and in Bavaria to the east of the Inn, even closed a formal alliance with Rostislav, thereby openly rebelling against his father. In return, Louis entered into an alliance with the Bulgarians and waged wars against Carloman (863) and Rostislav (864), without lasting effect. Only the *Fulda Annals*, in the August of 864, give an account of the king defeating Rostislav at the stronghold (*civitas*) of Dowina, and of elements of public representation witnessing his sovereignty over the Moravian duke. Rostislav was obliged to provide hostages, and further representatives of the Moravian elite (*universi optimi sui*) were integrated in the peace settlement, just as the wishes of the *populus* amongst the Abodrites or Wilzes had been taken into consideration in the preceding decades.

In comparison with the northern Slavs, the political position of Rostislav had however reached another dimension, in which Christianity played a significant role. First of all, the Moravian duke was said to have already been a Christian when he was appointed in the year 846, showing that Christianity had a certain tradition in Moravia, going back to the time of Pribina. In the development and stabilisation of the inner structure of his country, Christianity was to play an important part, independently of the Bavarian Church. Rostislav's aim was to establish his own national church, a diocese independent of the Frankish Empire, which was why he expelled Bavarian missionaries from the country. Secondly, he used the geo-political position of his country, which promised him a certain amount of room for manoeuvre not only because of the tensions between the two Roman Empires, but also due to the demands of the Papal Curia in Rome. Probably in the year 861, Rostislav sent a delegation to Pope Nicholas I,

requesting he send a bishop. Out of consideration for the interests of King Louis and the Bavarian Church, Pope Nicholas refused this request. So, with the help of his nephew Svatopluk, the Moravian duke sent a delegation to Emperor Michael II in Constantinople, requesting he send missionaries. In the *Vita of Holy Constantine*, there is mention of a request for a "bishop and teacher". In answer to this the emperor, together with Photios, the Patriarch of Constantinople, sent him Constantine and Methodius. The two brothers later became well known as the Slav apostles, the former of the two being known under his monastic name of Cyril. However, their missionary mandate did not include the founding of a bishopric; they arrived in Moravia in the autumn of the year 863, accompanied by several pupils, as "philosophers", i.e. as teachers. The aim of their work may have been in line with Rostislav's idea, i.e. to create the necessary conditions for the establishment of a Moravian church organisation.

In any case, their activities increased the latent tensions with the Frankish Empire. King Louis, in his campaigns against Carloman and Rostislav, was presented with new opportunities for political alliances in that the Bulgarians, the power more or less behind the Moravians, manifested themselves as natural allies. Louis even harboured the hope that the circumstances within the church in Bulgaria would develop parallel to Moravia, but under the mantle of the Roman Church. A letter from Pope Nicholas II from May 864 reveals that the Bulgarian Khan Boris, whom Louis met soon afterwards in Tulln on the Danube (Lower Austria), was expected to accept baptism. Leading on from this was the campaign that forced Rostislav to pay homage and accept Frankish peace terms. At the same time, the Byzantines reacted to the threat of a Frankish-Bulgarian alliance, forcing Boris to accept orthodox baptism and to subject himself and his country to Patriarch Photios of Constantinople. But the situation in the East Frankish Empire stabilised itself when King Louis achieved a balance of interests with his son Carloman, to whom he conferred the Bavarian marches, which incorporated nominal control over the neighbouring Slav *gentes*. Under these circumstances, the Bavarian priests returned to Moravia, resulting in a division of the country with regard to the Church, whereby the use of the Slavonic language in the liturgy was the most distinctive feature in the area of Byzantine missionary work.

During these events, the Moravian Duke Rostislav did not lose sight of his ecclesiastical-political aim of founding a Moravian diocese, headed by its own bishop, even when Constantine and Methodius, perhaps because of the hostilities with the Latin clerics, went to Pannonia in the year 866. They found refuge at the court of Duke Kocel, Pribina's son who, influenced by the work of the two missionaries, also decided to introduce

the Slavonic liturgy. In order to obtain authorisation, the two Slav apostles travelled to Rome, reaching the city in the year 867 and staying for a longer period of time. Here Constantine died in the year 969 as a monk, under the name of Cyril. Finally, Pope Hadrian II actually had Methodius ordained as archbishop, placing him at the head of an independent diocese linked with the bishopric of Sirmium from late antiquity. Furthermore he authorised the use of Slavonic as the liturgical language, for, as mentioned in a letter to Rostislav, Svatopluk and Kocel, which was handed down in the Methodius-Vita, he had decided "to send Methodius [...] to your countries, so that he may teach you, as you requested, and translate the books into your language."

However, this did not mean that the future of Moravia had been settled with regards to the organisation of the church. In the year 870 a dynastic dispute broke out, with a similar result to the situation in the year 846 – with the nephew taking on the position of his uncle. In contrast to the earlier event Svatopluk, who had already subjected himself to Carloman with his dominion (*cum regno, quod tenebat*), captured his uncle Rostislav. The latter, still in office, stood accused of an earlier attempt to kill his nephew, who now delivered him up to the Franks. This seemed to be indicative of a continuation of the traditional Frankish policy towards the *gentes* in the east, although it showed completely new facets. On the one hand, there was a remarkable link between Svatopluk and Carloman's son, Arnulf. The Moravian duke even became godfather to Arnulf's son Zwentibold, establishing a *compaternitas* between a scion of the Carolingian imperial house and a Slav duke. On the other hand, however, when Svatopluk was arrested and accused of treason, Carloman took a completely new step: he placed Moravia under the governance of two foreigners, his confidantes Engelschalk and Wilhelm. This measure in fact proved to be a mistake, as they fell victim to an uprising on the part of the Moravians, caused by the rumour that Svatopluk had been murdered during his imprisonment. In fact, he was able to free himself from the accusation of treason, and after an intermezzo involving the sovereignty of Slavomir, with whom he was related, he was again able to seize power in Moravia himself.

These political vicissitudes also had an effect on the sphere of the Church, allowing the Bavarian bishops to gain the upper hand over Archbishop Methodius, who had been returned to his earlier field of activity by the Pope. They took him prisoner, brought legal action against him before the Pope, and kept him in captivity for over two years in Bavaria, until Hadrian II finally ordered him to be set free and returned to Moravia. Meanwhile, Svatopluk readopted the foreign policy

orientation of his predecessor Rostislav, expelled the Bavarian priests and resisted all Frankish attempts to subject him to military subjugation. Finally, King Louis and Svatopluk came to an agreement in the peace treaty concluded at Forchheim (874), which obliged the Moravian duke to swear an oath of allegiance to Franconia, but at the same time safeguarded his internal and external security, which he used to expand his territory significantly. In the following decade, Svatopluk extended his sphere of influence over the Slavs on the upper Vistula and in Silesia. He also acquired supremacy over the Sorbs to the north of the Ore Mountains, the Bohemians, the region around Lake Balaton in Pannonia and the area around the upper part of the River Tisza. Letters from Pope John VIII to Duke Svatopluk and Archbishop Methodius also confirmed the legality of Methodius' administration and the use of the Slavonic language in the liturgy.

In order to further safeguard his political and religious independence from the East Frankish rulers, Svatopluk exchanged correspondence with the Pope, who for his part was seeking to make his mark as the highest authority in Christianity. The famous letter *Industriae tuae*, written by Pope John VIII to Svatopluk in June 880, reveals that the Moravian duke with his followers and his whole people "irrespective of other dukes of this world, had chosen Saint Peter, the duke of the apostles and the representative of the same, as his patron, helper and defender". For this reason, the Pope guaranteed that he would take him to his "fatherly bosom". Thus, Svatopluk had won the protection of the highest spiritual authority, who could not endanger his ambitions with regard to political concerns. However, papal influence did gradually push the Slavonic liturgy back, and in the year 880 in Neutra a representative of the Bavarian church, Wicing from Alemannia, was appointed as bishop, who was returned to Rome for his ordination by Svatopluk. The homage paid by Svatopluk to Emperor Charles III (The Fat) also served the purpose of smoothing relations with the west on the occasion of a meeting at Monte Comiano in the year 884. A few years later, following the death of Methodius and the early dismissal of his successor Gorazd to Rome, Wicing assumed control of the Moravian archbishopric. Pope Stephen V reintroduced restrictions regarding the use of the Slavonic language in the liturgy and also approved of the expulsion of Methodius' pupils from Moravia, who went to Bulgaria. The position Svatopluk had meanwhile assumed on a high political level is witnessed by the fact that in the year 890, on the occasion of a meeting with his *compater* Arnulf, now the King of East Franconia, it was he who presented to the latter a request from Pope Stephen to travel to Rome to support him. It is believed that Arnulf had earlier issued a formal confirmation of Svatopluk's rule over Bohemia, which was merely a *de jure* recognition of *de facto* rule.

In the last years of Svatopluk's rule turmoil within the structures of Great Moravia became more and more frequent, first resulting from new conflicts with King Arnulf, the causes of which remain unclear. It is certain however that, in the summer of 892, Moravia was the victim of a sweeping attack by King Arnulf, involving several army columns, in which the Hungarians also took part. A Frankish delegation was also sent to the Bulgarian Khan Vladimir, with the purpose of organising a trade boycott against Svatopluk, requiring Vladimir to stop salt exports from Bulgaria to Moravia. This was intended to hit Moravia's where it hurts.

Svatopluk died in the year 894, and following his death there was a rapid decay in the Great Moravian Empire. Bohemia and the land of the Sorbs (north of the Ore Mountains) withdrew from Moravian sovereignty, and King Arnulf intervened in the disputes regarding succession to the throne; here, Mojmir II (894–906) asserted himself against his brother Svatopluk II. The final factor that culminated in the fall of the Moravian Empire was the advance of the Hungarians from the south Russian steppes. As early as 894, Hungarian military forces appeared in Pannonia, and in 896 they settled on the Tisza, from where they carried out several attacks on the Moravians, which they managed to repel in the initial stages. However, the Hungarians' advance into the Carpathian Basin must have had a detrimental effect on trade between east and west, which considerably diminished the income of the Moravians and their dukes. This meant that the necessary resources for the maintenance of a constant supply of mounted military retinue dried up. Finally, a severe military attack in the year 906 led to the complete destruction of Great Moravia. Only one year later, a Bavarian army under the command of the Bavarian Duke Luitpold suffered a heavy defeat at the hands of the Hungarians, who now emerged as a new protagonist in the history of East and Central Europe.

# CONTACTS BETWEEN EASTERN EUROPE AND GREAT MORAVIA

Svetlana S. Rjabceva

The problem of the relationship of Great Moravia to Eastern Europe is closely connected with a wide range of interactions between Old Russia and the Danube region. Interest in the Danube region has a long history. In the perception of an ancient chronicler, Danube is the ancestral home of the Slavs, the place where they converted to Christianity (*Litavrin 1982, 92*). The historical centre of the Slavic community for a chronicler was the Danube, where Cyril and Methodius taught in Moravia. The chronicler speaks about the unity of the Slavic language „There was one Slavic language: Slavs that sat near Danube [...] and Moravians and Bohemians and Lechs and Poljans, who are called Russians nowadays“ (*Lichačov, ed. 1950, 23; Petruchin 1995, 80*). There is a sufficiently large time lag between the heyday of Great Moravia and establishment of Russian statehood and as well the adoption of Christianity in Moravia and the conversion of the Old Russian state to Christianity. However, in the historical destiny of Great Moravia and Eastern Europe it is possible to trace a number of parallels and cultural interactions, due both to the resettlement of groups of people from West to East Europe, as well as to cultural and economic contacts between these regions (*Dostál 1978, 83; Sedov 2000, 95–97; 2000a, 18–23; 2001, 339–349; Duczko 2003, 127–131*). Similar parallels may be explained by the coincidence of dates of the “beginnings of Rus” (862), and the Cyrillo-Methodian mission. As well as the organisation of the mission of the Thessalonian brothers, one of the first legendary details of the baptism of Rus refers to the time of the Patriarchate of Photius – the 860s (*Medynceva 1983, 86–94*).

The activities of Sts Cyril and Methodius influenced the development of Old Rus’ spiritual, religious, literary and legal culture. *Povest’ vremeni let (The Story of the Passing Years)* before the year 898 placed the story of the activities of Cyril and Methodius in Great Moravia (*Rogov 1988, 270*).

St Cyril contributed to acquiring the relics of St Clement. In the time of Duke of Kiev St Vladimir (980–1015) the head of St Clement was moved from Cherson to Kiev (which strengthened the act of baptism; *Medynceva 1993, 135*). In this period Nestas Korsunianin and other priests from Cherson were active in the Church of the Dime in Kiev. Through the activities of the clergy of the Church of the Dime between the end of the 10th and the beginning of the 11th centuries, the religious and cultural tradition of Cyril and Methodius was represented. As for Rus’ literary tradition, referring to the life stories of those saints was very important: there were numerous lists of the lives of Cyril and Methodius in Russia (39 out of the list of 48 texts containing Cyril’s life are in Russian; *Rogov 1985, 277*). Thus, some fragments from West Slavic sources about

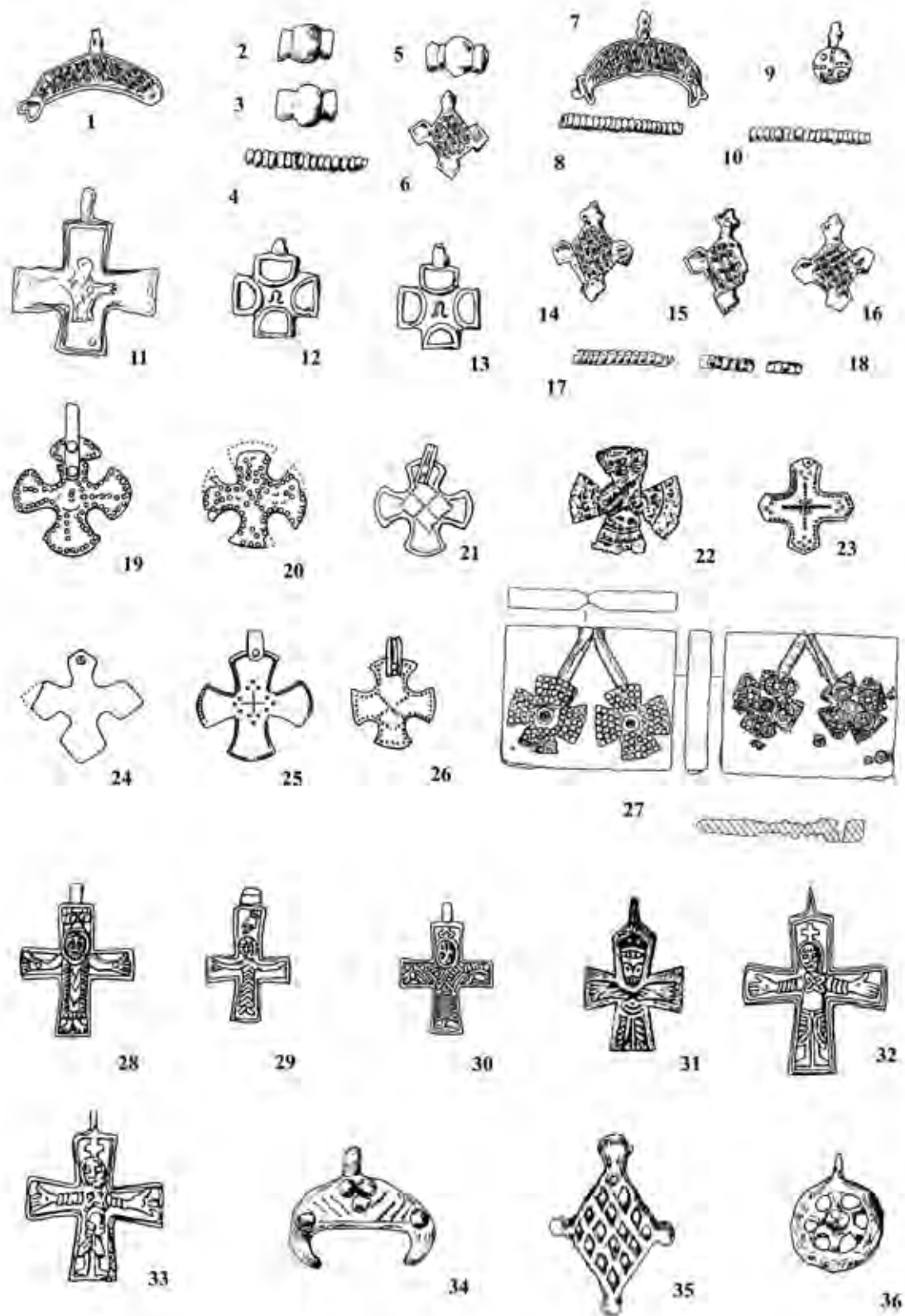
the creation of the Slavic alphabet by Cyril and Methodius and the first written records of the Slavic language were added to Russian chronicles. The *Skazanie o perelozhenii knig (Legend of the transcription of the books)* which was known in Kiev thanks to the chronicler Nester – and was recorded in *Povest’ vremeni let* in the 12th century – probably originated in the Sázava Monastery where the Cyrillo-Methodian and Great Moravian traditions had continued (*Litavrin 1982, 116–139*). At the same time, a number of researchers believe that people in Russia were familiar with the tradition of Czech literature before the foundation in 1033 of Sázava Monastery, and, according to A. P. Kuzmin, the tradition of Cyril and Methodius was known in the early stages of the Christianisation of Rus’ (*Rogov 1985, 270–273; Kuz’min 1988, 119*).

In the 10th century, the appearance of inhumation graves with cross-shaped pendants, carved from a sheet of silver, or coins, may serve as evidence of the Christianisation of part of the population of Rus’, in some cases before the date of the official baptism (Kiev, Gnezdovo, Shestovitsy, Timerevo, etc.; *Musin 1999, 134–140; 2003, 387; Fig. 1: 19–26*). Early crosses are met in funeral inventories, together with weapons, horse harnesses, wooden bowls and buckets, Scandinavian brooches, Arabic coins and weighing equipment. In the women’s graves, some had jewellery, including earrings of the Volyn type, with Danubian origins – for example burial 124 in the Kiev necropolis (*Karger 1958, tab. III*). Typically, grave goods containing crosses indicate a high social level of those buried. The combination of weapons and a cross in the graves is very typical of the early stages of the Christianisation of many nations in Europe, as evidenced, for example, by the cemeteries of Great Moravia (*Musin 1999, 145; 1999a, 48–63; Širinskij 1978, 203–206*).

Almost simultaneously with the official adoption of Christianity (at the end of the 10th century) the original type of cross was replaced in Russia with the so-called “cross with a crucifixion” (**Fig. 1: 28, 31–33**). In the 9th–11th centuries these crosses were known over a large territory from the Danube to Scandinavia. In East Europe more than 50 examples have been found, dating back to the end of the 10th – 11th centuries; some of them were produced there (*Sedov 1988, 63–67; Nedošivina 1990, 120–125; Musin 2002, 152–170*).

As a rule, some researchers agree with the opinion of the Byzantine origin of the prototypes of those crosses as well as the opinion that this tradition came from Great Moravia, where such crosses were known from the 9th century, to Russia and Northern Europe (*Musin 2000, 176–188; Fig. 1: 29–30*). The oldest finds in Russia come from Novgorod and have been placed in the end of the third quarter of the 10th





▲ Fig. 1. Finds of 9th – 11th centuries.

1–18 – Dolní Věstonice (Czech Republic); 19–21, 27 – Kiev (Ukraine); 22, 33 – Timerevo (Russia); 23–25 – Gnezdovo (Russia); 26 – Iskorosten' (Ukraine); 28 – Mikulčice (Czech Republic); 29 – Uherské Hradiště (Czech Republic); 30,32 – Novgorod (Russia); 31 – Kolodeznaja (Russia); 34–36 – Stupenki (Russia). After: Měřínský 1988, 128, Fig. 4 (1–18); Musin 2003, 388, Fig. 2 (19–26); Chamajko, 2010, 421, Fig. 1 (27); Musin 2001, 23, Fig. 6 (28–33); Zajceva – Saračeva 2011, 97, Fig. 45 (34–36). The scale is different.

century (Sedova 1981, 49–50; Medynceva 1993, 142–143). Unlike crosses carved out of coins or silver leaves, findings of which are specific to military necropoleis and open trade and craft settlements, cast crosses with a crucifix are known from towns and rural necropoleis; this fact reflects the process of the establishing of ecclesiastical organisation in Russia (Musin 1999, 144). Russian finds are close to, but not directly typologically derived from, Moravian ones; moreover, they are about 100 years younger. In recent times, it has been suggested that the tradition of the mass production of these crosses was established in the workshops of the first Bulgarian Empire at the end of the 9th and in the 10th century and from that region it went to Rus' (Peskova 2007, 268–279).

The spread of the Christian faith was very important, not only for Great Moravian culture but also for the culture of the Eastern European region, and also for introducing literacy among the population. The agreements between Rus' and Byzantium (911 and 944; indicating the presence of literate people among the Russians) and the oldest Slavic inscription on an amphora from Gnezdovo have been dated to the 1st half of the 10th century (Avdusin – Tichomirov 1950, 71–79). Apparently, in Russia Cyrillic, Glagolitic or Greek letters could initially be used as a temporary alphabet (Lichačov 1952, 23). Compared with the south-western and western Slavs, the spread of written language significantly lagged behind on the territory of the East Slavs (Medynceva 1983, 86–94). For the period following the adoption of Christianity, the fact there was now one single religion and the literacy that accompanied it begins to play a significant role in the development of the state and self-awareness of the population. There was the concept of “the whole Russian land” in the 11th and early 12th centuries. A reflection of these processes is the patriotic work of Metropolitan Hilarion (1037–1050), *Slowo o zakone i blagodati* (A Treatise [Sermon] on the Law and Grace). Perhaps under the influence of some works of the Cyril and Methodius cycle, the *Slowo* reflected the idea of humanity as a combination of certain ethnic groups with different languages. Similar to Moravian and Bulgarian writers, Hilarion emphasises the universal significance of Orthodoxy (Litavrin 1982, 109–111).

Moravian tradition can be traced in the formation of the foundations of Church Law procedure in Old Russia. The role of Methodius was very important as a Slavic-language translator of the collection of ecclesiastical legal texts *Nomokanon* (Νομοκανών) and as a compiler of the legal code *Law for Judging the People* (*Zakon sudnyj ljudem*). *Nomokanon* was preserved in two Russian variants of the 13th and 16th

centuries (Ščapov 1985, 238). As for the *Zakon sudnyj ljudem*, the short version of it is Moravian, whereas the more complete version of the text was probably made in Russia (Budanova – Gorskij – Ermolova 2011, 167).

Archaeological discoveries of Eastern Europe of the late 9th–10th centuries indicate the formation of a multi-ethnic culture in the Old Rus'. Along with Eastern Slavic artifacts, West Slavic, Scandinavian and nomadic (Khazar, Hungarian or Pecheneg) components are often represented here.

From the settlement Novotroitskoe some ornaments are known, connected with Moravian antiquities: silver temple rings with hollow beads, a cast earring pendant with multi-part hollow, an embossed pendant from a similar earring, a hollow-stamped three-part bead (Ljapuškin 1958; Grigor'ev 2000, 125; **Fig. 1: 2–3, 5**). Bead-triads were found at Stará Kouřim (bur. 49; Šolle 1959, 427, Fig. 64) and on graveyard Lukovit 1 in Bulgaria (bur. 60; V'žarova 1976, fig. 128). A diverse collection of earrings with multi-part moulded or stamped pendants (some are similar to artifacts found at Novotroitskoe) comes from Nitra (**Fig. 3: 30–35**), Staré Město, Blučina, Brno-Židenice and Královský Chlmec. Similar ornaments appear in sites in Bulgaria and Romania (Razdel'na, Volčedrom, Bukovik, Galiče, Gradešnica, Dol'ni Lukovit, Novi Lazar, Novi Pazar, Sultana, Cimbrud, Izvorul, Obârșia; Chropovský 1962, 175–240; Kurnatowska 1980, 155–163; V'žarova 1976; Teodor 1981, 109, fig. 17). Some of these ornaments were direct prototypes for the so-called “Volyn type earrings”, typical for Eastern European finds from the middle of the 10th and the beginning of the 11th centuries (**Fig. 2: 15–16**).

A five-ray earring with false granulation from the Novotroitskoe settlement on the one hand has analogies in the Great Moravian antiquities (Blučina), and on the other is the basis of the Rus' type of five-ray rings (Ljapuškin 1958; Levašova 1967, 25–28; Šinakov 1980, 110–127; Sedov 2002, 538; **Fig. 2: 5, 10; Fig. 3: 1, 9–13**).

In the north-west of Old Russia at the fortified settlement of Rurik (the predecessor of Old Novgorod), West Slavic influence can be revealed in other categories of the inventory. West Slavic socketed arrowheads and pottery produced using West Slavic ceramic traditions have been found there (Nosov – Chvoščinskaja – Medveděva 2012, 44, 64).

Three of the silver earrings of Great Moravian type with “spicate” pendants were found in the Kiev necropolis, at the settlement – casting mould for temple-rings, typologically close to prototypes from the Danube region (Karger 1958, tab. XX; Kiličević – Orlov 1985, 62–65). Decorative items close



▲ Fig. 2. Jewellery of 2nd part of 9th – 11th centuries.

1–5 –Novotroitskoe (Ukraine); 6–21 – Gnezdovo (Russia). Drawings after author (1–5); after Eniosova, 1998a, 67b Fig. 1 (6–7); Puškina 1996, 175, Fig. I (15–16); Puškina 1996, 176, Fig. II (17); Puškina 1996, 180, Fig. V (18, 20); Puškina 1996, 177, Fig. III (19, 21). The scale is different.

to Moravian finds were discovered in Iskorosten, home of the tribe of the Derevljans (*Zvizdec'kij – Petrauskas – Polij 2004*, 79, Fig. 20; **Fig. 3: 14**).

A significant archaeological site is the connecting link between the Dnieper and the Volchov region on the trade route from the Varangians to the Greeks (*Put iz varyag v grekij*). It is located not far from the village of Gnezdovo near Smolensk. The complex has been dated to between the turn of the 9th and 10th centuries and the first half of the 11th. It consists of several settlements and burial groups. The multi-ethnicity of the population of those settlements, as well as their trade relations, have been characterised by artefacts of East and West Slavic, Scandinavian and nomadic origin, and eastern and Byzantine imports (*Puškina – Muraševa – Eniosova 2012*, 254–258). There is a group of jewellery of Moravian origin among various adornments that have been found at these settlements (*Puškina 1987*, 50–57). It includes a crescent pendant and eight temple rings – of Nitra and “bunch” types. “Bunch” temple rings are brazed, decorated with granulation and filigree, as well as their cast imitations. Some decorations of the Nitra type were probably made in Gnezdovo, the industrial production complex for jewellery of the middle or the 3rd quarter of the 10th century, and a mould for the manufacturing of such a decoration was found there (**Fig. 2: 7–9**). A similar mould is known from Kiev (*Eniosova 1998*, 258–267). “Nitra” earrings were also found at the fortified settlements of Monastyrk and Mytkiv, as well as at the settlement of Grigorievka in the Ukraine (*Maksimov – Petrašenko 1988*; *Petrašenko – Cindrovs'ka 1999*, 163, Fig. 3, 6; *Timoščuk 1982*; **Fig. 3: 4–6**).

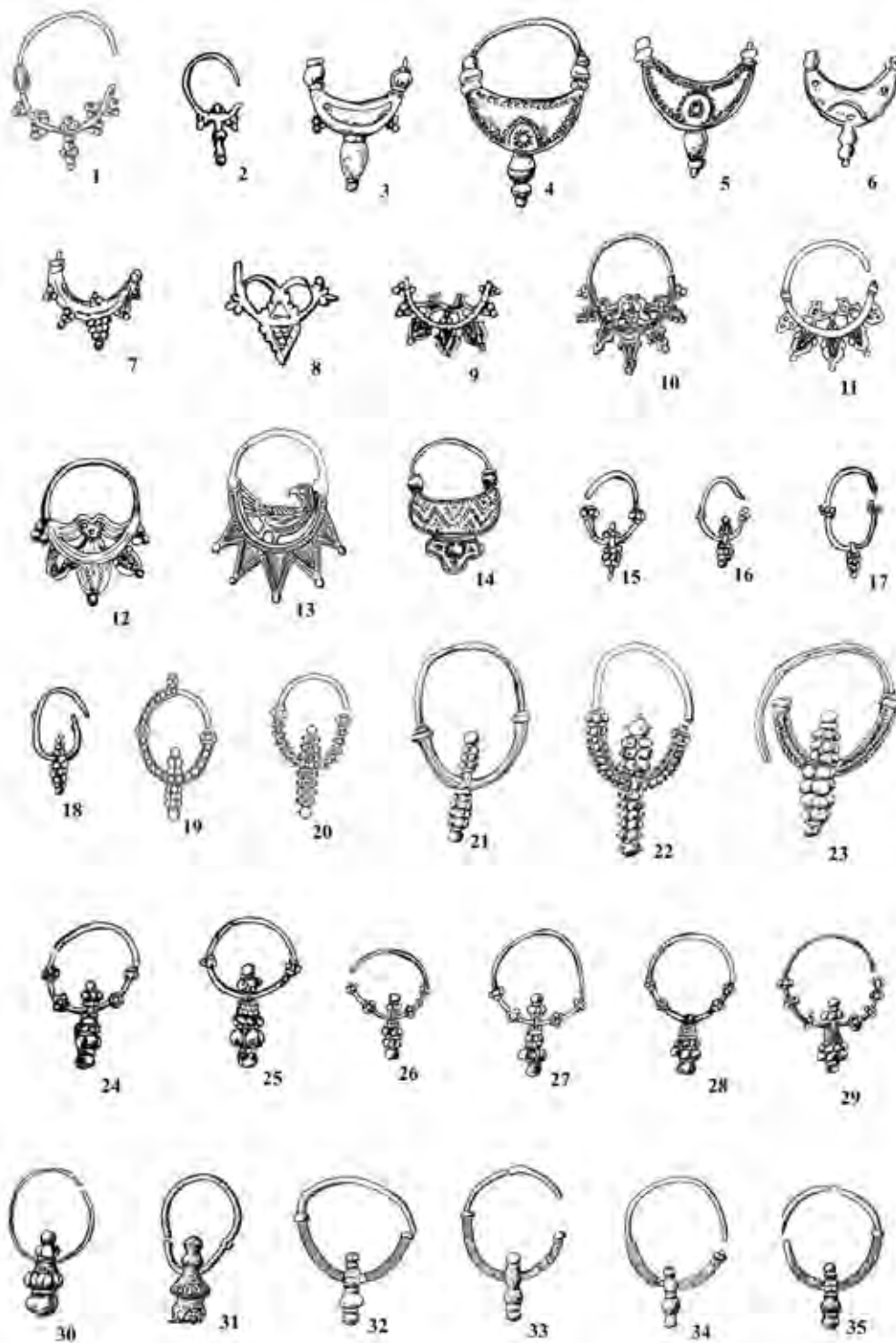
“Bunch” ornaments from Gnezdovo are quite diverse (**Fig. 2: 11, 13**). In the layers of the 9th – 10th centuries, two rings with “rays” pendants were found (*Puškina 1996*, 171–186; *Eniosova 1998*, 258–267; **Fig. 2: 11**). Two bronze gold-plated rings with beads were found, assigned by T. A. Puškina to one of the variants of the “Carantanian style” (*Puškina 1987*, 50–57). Bronze rings were made using the same techniques as the silver Moravian ones (drawing, stamping and soldering) (*Eniosova 1998*, 261). The so-called kaptorga was found in the Gnezdovo treasure of 1867; many similar products are known from the finds of Great Moravia, and some specimens were found in Poland.

In general, finds in the Dnieper region were characterised by a combination of western (Moravian) and Scandinavian ornaments. In this sense, the proximity of jewellery finds from Gnezdovo and early Kiev is very important (*Petruchin 2001*, 116–119; *Zocenko 2001*, 121–125).

Specific features of the fortifications inherent in round fortified settlements of the Carpathian-Dniester region (end of the 9th – 11th centuries) are explained by researchers with reference to the theory of west Slavonic influence (*Rappoport 1967*, 195–197). In the material culture of those settlements elements can be traced coming from the West Slavic world: the presence of ceramics made on the potter’s wheel enriched with mica, including “bottle-shaped” forms, the abundance of fine jewellery with beading, as well as the presence of the earliest forms of cast “branch” earrings and early crescent pendants (*Rjabceva – Rabinovič 2012*, 71; **Fig. 3: 24–25**; **Fig. 4: 17**). A bronze cast crescent pendant with “horns” in the form of derivatives of vegetable sprouts from Echimauăți has direct analogies in the Moravian finds of the 9th–10th centuries (Nitra, Čakajovce, Prušanky; *Rejholcová 1995*, 226; *Dekan 1979*, 30, No. 156; *Klanica 2006*, 108, Fig. 43). A pendant practically identical to the Echimauăți one was found in the Răducăneni treasure, Romania (*Teodor 1980*, 403–423; **Fig. 4: 12–17**). The mapping of such adornments points the way they were moving from the territory of Great Moravia to Eastern Europe (*Pleterski 2010*, 152).

Cast crescent pendants with a bunch of balls on the ends of the “horns” are characteristic of Great Moravian artifacts (Dolní Věstonice, Nitra, Staré Město, Čakajovce, Cífer-Pác, Levý Hradec; *Dekan 1979*, Fig. 153–155; *Hrubý 1955*, Tab. 75; *Dostál 1966*, Fig. 11: 5; *Rejholcová 1995*, Fig. 3: 1; *Profantová 2010b*, 194–202, Fig. 1–3, 6; **Fig. 4: 1–5, 9**). Casting moulds for such crescent pendants occur from the south-western regions of Old Russia – Dobrivnitse (in Bukovina), and from the north-west – from layer E2 (840–860s) of Staraya Ladoga (*Timoščuk 1982*; *Mačinskaja – Mačinskij 1988*, 52). Cast bronze crescent pendants with ball ornaments on “horns” have been found at the Kuznetsovsky settlement; silver earrings decorated with granulation that come from the same region are also undoubtedly linked with the Danube region (*Efimenko – Tret'jakov 1948*, 103, Tab. VIII). A crescent pendant, cast from white metal from Knyazhaya Gora (near Kiev), is decorated with reticulated patterns characteristic of some miniature crosses and crescent pendants represented in the finds of Great Moravia (*Chanenko 1902*, 387, Tab. XIII; *Měřínský 1988*, 122; *Profantová 2010b*, 194–202; **Fig. 1: 1, 7, 14, 16**; **Fig. 4: 2–3, 5, 9, 11**). Crescents were used a little longer than crosses; they are present in the materials of Bijelo Brdo culture. Such a pendant was found, for example, in the cemetery of Cimbrud, Romania (*Dankanits – Ferenczi 1959*, 608, Fig. 3). In Eastern Europe we do not know of any miniature crosses synchronous with the Moravian samples, but the cross-shaped pendants from Stupenki (12th century) can be offered as long-term analogues – in this case, the





▲ Fig. 3. Jewellery ornaments of 9th – 11th centuries.

1, 15–16 – Blučina (Czech Republic); 2, 8 – Kostrova (Russia); 3 – Sredische (Bulgaria); 4, 30–35 – Nitra (Slovakia); 5 – Monastyrek (Ukraine); 6 – Grigoriev (Ukraine); 7 – Vădeni Vaslui (Romania); 9–10 – Supruti (Russia); 11 – Mramornitsy (Ukraine); 12–14 – Iskorosten' (Ukraine); 17–20 – Staré Město (Czech Republic); 21–23 – Stará Kouřim (Czech Republic); 24–25 – Echimauți (Republic of Moldova); 26–28 – Kopievka (Ukraine); 29 – Denis (Ukraine). After Pouлік 1948, Fig. 1 (1); Špilev 2010, 225, Fig. 2 (2–3); Chropovskij 1962, 177–240 (4); Maksimov, Petrašenko 1988, 17, Fig. 11 (5); Petrašenko, Cyndrovs'ka 1999, 163, Fig. 3 (6); Teodor 1995, 202, Fig. 5 (7); Špilev 2010, 225, Fig. 2 (8); Špilev 2010, 228, Fig. 3 9–13); Zvizdec'kyj, Petrauskas, Polij 2004, 79, Fig. 20 (14); Rjabceva 2010, 274, Fig. 1 (30–31); Rjabceva 2010, 279, Fig. 5 (32–35); Rjabceva 2010, 277, Fig. 4 (15–23); Rjabceva 2010, 276, Fig. 3 (24–29). The scale is different.

ornaments are larger; the decoration is accentuated with openwork ornamentation (*Zajceva – Saračeva 2011, 97, Fig. 45; Fig. 1: 35*). The mould from Kiev (11th century) is designed for the casting of small crosses, similar in form to another type of Great Moravian finds – crosses and crescents decorated with reticulated patterns found in Dolní Věstonice (*Chamajko 2010, Fig. 1, 2; Fig. 1: 1–18, 27*).

Some individual glass beads, manufactured in the workshops of Great Moravia, entered the Eastern European area as imports – for example, large cylindrical beads with drops of yellow glass (*L'vova 1968, 77*). Such beads appeared in Moravia in the second half of the 9th and the beginning of the 10th century. In Eastern Europe, similar beads were found in Staraya Ladoga and Gnezdovo. In Ladoga this bead comes from a layer of fire from the mid-10th century. According to J. V. Frenkel, 950 can be considered the upper date of existence of such beads in Eastern Europe (*Frenkel' 2007, 95*).

Thus, at the end of the 9th–10th centuries some types of jewellery similar to the finds of Great Moravia became common in Eastern Europe. Many types of decorations relative to the main area of their existence often spread in Eastern Europe with some delay. In the 10th century there were some masters that produced jewellery based on Danube prototypes and used techniques brought in from that region. The burial of one of these jewellers was excavated in the Peresopnytsia necropolis in Volyn (*Korzuchina 1946, 45–52*). The activities of such masters are possibly connected with the workshops of Iskorosten and Gnezdovo. From the middle of the 10th to the beginning of the 11th century jewellery pieces with beading, formed on the basis of Byzantine-Moravian samples, were very popular on the territory of Old Rus' – “Volyn earrings”, crescent pendants, rings and pendants with a hemispherical shield (*Rjabceva 2005, 77–130; Žilina 2005, 21–170; Fig. 2: 15–21; Fig. 3: 24–29*).

Population movements and the location of trade routes played a significant role in the spread of West Slavic types of jewellery through the territory of Eastern Europe. If the specifics of the formation of jewellery in the Dnieper region was largely determined by the route from the “*Varangians to the Greeks*”, for the territory of the area of the River Bug it was the impact of the land route Kiev – Przemyśl – Cracow – Prague and the Pripjat' and Western Bug rivers that provide a connection between Russia, Poland and the Czech lands (*Perchavko 1983, 4–27*). The trade route marked in the *Inquisitio de theloneis Raffelstettensis* (beginning of 10th century) connected Kiev through Cracow and Prague with the southern regions of Germany in the Danube Basin (*Eniosova – Mitojan – Saračeva 2004, 28*).

Referring to this document A. Nazarenko reconstructs the way merchants took in the 9th and the beginning of the 10th centuries from “Russ” to Bavaria. Researchers suggest several possible ways, through Great Moravia (the “Moravian market”), and some time later through the Czech lands, which likely became more of a priority towards the end of the 9th century because of the Hungarian danger (*Nazarenko 2012, 25–29, Fig. 3*).

The territory between the rivers Prut and Dniester can be described as a special zone where influence from the Danube region is manifested very clearly. The similarity between materials from the fortress Echimauți (Republic of Moldova) and the treasure of Răducăneni (Romania) with Great Moravia outlines the direction people were moving in. This process is also reflected by archaeological finds from the Blandiana, Sultana, Izvorul and Cimbrud cemeteries (Romania; *Teodor 1981, 109; Fig. 17; Rjabceva 2005, 41*). The fact that there really was a movement of the population is evidenced by the fact that, along with the expensive silver jewellery of Danube-Moravian types, bronze cast specimens, including crescent pendants (unique for Eastern Europe), were present in the Carpathian-Dniester region.

Thus, the contacts between Great Moravia and Eastern Europe are reflected in “the chronicle memory”, the cultural, literary and legal traditions of Old Russia, as well as in the archaeological material (imports as well as items manufactured on Eastern European territory under the direct influence of Great-Moravian traditions).



▲ Fig. 4. Crescent pendants of 2nd part of 9th – beginning of 11th centuries.

1 – Dolní Věstonice (Czech Republic); 2, 12, 15 – Čakajovce (Slovakia); 3 – Staré Město (Czech Republic); 4, 14 – Nitra (Slovakia); 5 – Cífer-Pác (Slovakia); 6 – Staraja Ladoga (Russia); 7 – Preslav (Bulgaria); 8 – Novgorod (Russia); 9 – Levý Hradec (Czech Republic); 10 – Cimbrud (Romania); 11 – Knyazhaya Gora (Ukraine); 13 – Prušánky (Czech Republic); 16 – Răducăneni (Romania); 17 – Echimăuți (Republic of Moldova). After Rjabceva 2009, 379, Fig. 6 (1-4, 6-8, 10-17); Rejholcová 1995, 179, tab. LXXXIX (2, 15); Rejholcová 1995, 132, tab. XLII (12); Duczko 2003, 156, Fig. 1 (5); Profantová 2010b, 194-202 (9). The scale is different.



# THE FINAL YEARS AND DOWNFALL OF GREAT MORAVIA

Pavel Kouřil

When the feared Moravian ruler and sovereign Svatopluk (871–894) ended his life's journey, he left to his descendants (his successor being Mojmir II (894–906?) and, probably second-born, Svatopluk II) a seemingly well consolidated empire, so it seemed there was a realistic chance of it surviving the imminent stormy times without any substantial damage or losses. This was not to be. The reasons why this happened, internal, external and interconnected, were many. Let us try to identify them briefly. A primary one, and at that time probably the deciding one, was the crisis of succession (disputes within the dynasty) caused among other things by the social stratification of Moravian society, chiefly the situation in its upper echelons. If the father of both brothers, Duke Svatopluk, undoubtedly with the force of his strong character and other (repressive?) tools, was still able to keep the old family (tribal) aristocracy alive, he was however probably not able entirely to marginalise this aristocracy at a suitable distance, and the situation must have changed after his death. It was specifically these princes from the old aristocracy – *principes*, but also other *primates* or *optimates*, who could have exploited the situation and demanded a larger share of power (comp. *Wihoda 2010*, 91–92); the ambitions of both brothers offered them a good opportunity and we know that each of them had their own household troops and their own "people"; Svatopluk II probably even had his own sovereign lands, possibly the Nitra area. The assumption that the removal of rival families was not carried out by the Mojmir dynasty (this is supposed to have happened later, in the Czech and Polish environment (*Třeštík 1997*, 286–296) is quite possible – even though we know about the expulsion of Pribina and his companions from Nitra – but for the Moravian situation this is very hard to prove and archaeologically essentially unprovable. However, if this premise is correct, it probably led to the beginnings of power – and maybe even organisational – dualism as well as competition among the elite and the increasing power of individual noblemen and their armies; a certain role could certainly have been played by high ecclesiastical officials. Of course, hand-in-hand with this, even the large state military retinue fell apart. This retinue was the only standing guarantee of expansion into neighbouring territory, as well as the guarantee of regular tribute, which primarily, especially in the beginning stages, ensured the functioning and development of every early mediaeval state, including Mojmir's; its development could not have been completed without it (*Třeštík 1987*, 40).

Fatricidal fighting culminated at the end of the century (898–899) with Mojmir II emerging victorious. However, during this time, due to permanent military-political pressure from the East Frankish Empire (ending with a peace treaty in 900), domestic discord and internal exhaustion caused by previous



▲ Fig. 1. Mikulčice – Valy. So-called "wide" perforated North Italian coins (denarius): 1–2 of Emperor Lambert (894–898); 3 – of King Berengar (888–915), related to the group of skeleton graves located to the west from atrium of the three-nave basilica; 4 – iron cross-piece of an Old Hungarian sabre. After P. Kouřil 2003.



raids, significant losses were caused to the once extensive but disparate lands of Svatopluk's "Empire" when he lost Bohemia, Serbia and the Balaton region in Pannonia and when the (upper) Tisza region – which had probably been under the reign of the Moravian ruler – was "handed over" to the Hungarians (896?). The loss of extensive territories and the ensuing decrease in the supplies of essential commodities undoubtedly led to the gradual impoverishment of key agglomerations and their immediate neighbourhood; it maybe even led to a certain "over-pressure" of human potential, because it is not impossible that groups (mainly warriors) fell back here after leaving their lost territories (Kouřil – Tymonová 2013, 158). The overall restless situation must surely have caused the decreasing level of economic development as well, and partially had an effect on the crisis of immensely important long-distance trade, the blockading of which, or significant restrictions to which (caused by decreased supply and lower demand) could have had serious consequences for the local elite.

All of these events are, in their own way, partially mirrored in the archaeological sources. For example we see a tendency towards poorer grave site contents, in terms of quality and especially of quantity; items of precious metal are replaced with less noble materials, and a simpler technological design

of them is also visible; we register the untraditional placement of gifts; very often graves are shallow; we are lacking the placing of the deceased in coffins or within wooden panelling, etc. Rather than of the increasing influence of a more firmly formed Christian ideology, all this is evidence of a pauperised society burying their dead in a time of instability and of limited functioning of power structures (Kouřil 2008, 75). Some sacral structures too (Mikulčice, Pohansko), that may have been founded in this period (?), have simple or even primitive rustic designs with untraditional or inexpertly executed layouts and furnishing (Kouřil 2010, 57–69; Čáp et al. 2010, 190–202).

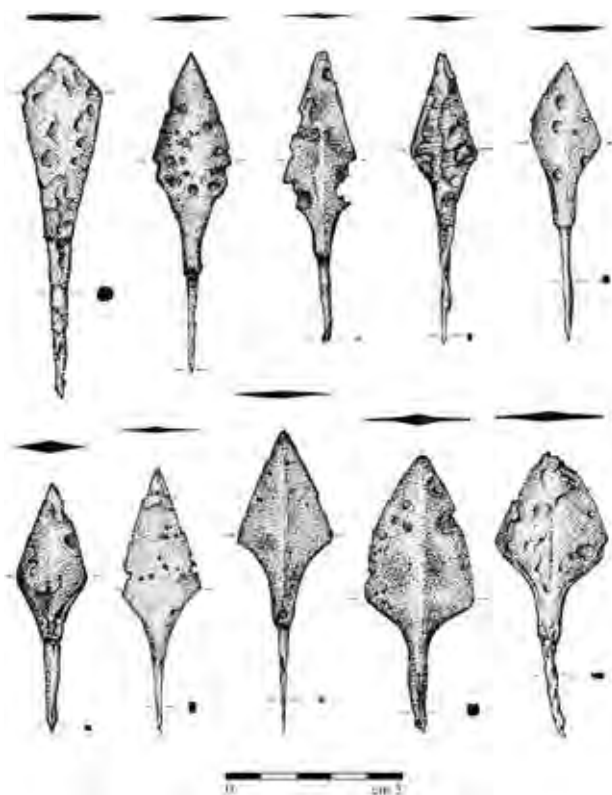
It could have seemed that after peace was made between Mojmir II and the successor of Arnulf – King Louis the Child – the situation in Moravia would become more stable. This was also suggested by Mojmir's successful attempt to re-establish the Moravian ecclesiastic province which, in accordance with the intention and grace of the papal throne, resulted in the incident-free foundation of an archbishopric and four bishoprics in the same year; papal emissaries of Pope John IX, despite the protestations of the Bavarian clergymen, installed an archbishop and three bishops (comp. Jan 2011, 113–114; Měřínský 2013, 339–340; Vavřínek 2013, 312–314). This was undoubtedly a diplomatically well-thought-through and financially secured act (hardly imaginable without a functional administrative and coercive body), which manifested a certain stabilisation of Moravian conditions, probably not just the ecclesiastical ones. Among other things, this is also proven by the so-called *Raffelstetten customs regulation* (904–905) notifying that Moravia is considered a reliable trade partner (Havlík, ed. 1971b, 114–119); during this time the Moravian ruler still actively influenced conditions in the East Bavarian March (Měřínský 2013, 597). Moravia, however, did not enjoy this favourable turn of events for long; they were out of time. Before conditions could become permanently stabilised and a new functional model have been found ensuring the state's survival, the European scene was definitively changed by the forceful and uncompromising Old Hungarians. They had raided these lands before, but this time were in their full strength; this was another fundamental and possibly deciding destabilising element in this situation, leading to the final downfall of Great Moravia.

If cooperation with these nomads was possible at the beginning (Fig. 1), based on mutual respect and tolerance, it soon became apparent that the nomadic force was going to shake the foundations of the Moravian state. The ruler and the elite



◀ Fig. 2. Mikulčice – Valy.

Spatial distribution of the Old Hungarian rhombic and deltoid arrowheads from reflex bow within the area of the hillfort. After P. Kouřil 2003.

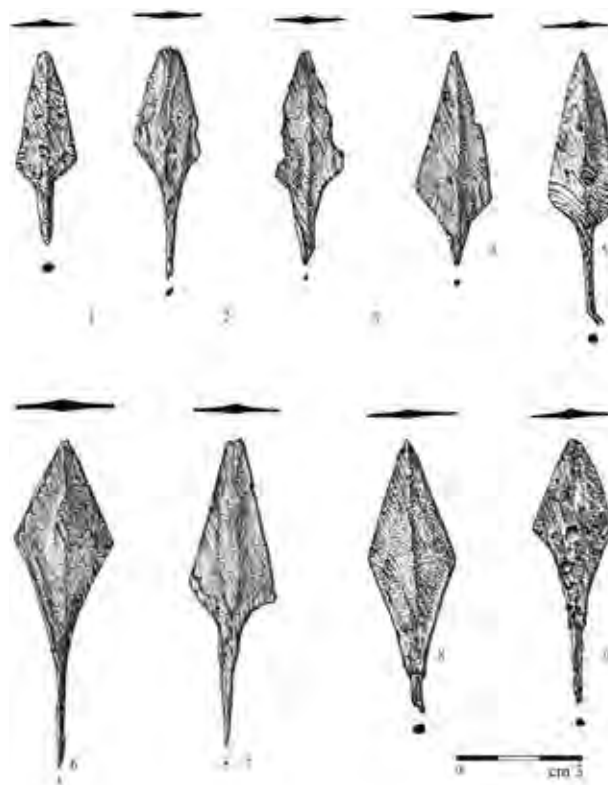


▲ Fig. 3. Mikulčice – Valy.

Selection of more than 80 Old Hungarian iron arrowheads from reflex bow. After P. Kouřil 2003.

probably knew about this new situation, as can be seen in the construction of new fortifications or the strengthening of old hillfort fortifications (e.g. Pohansko near Břeclav, Strachotín, Znojmo, Staré Zámky near Líšeň) in the very core of Moravia, and also in the building of lines of defence in Pohroní (Šalkovský 2002, 123–133), but it was too late. In 902 the Moravians were able to fend off a Hungarian attack, but that was essentially their last successful battle. We do not know exactly how Mojmir's Moravia was wiped out: it could have been one deciding battle with the Old Hungarians during the years 905–906, possibly around Nitra, as is assumed by historical research (Třeštík 1987, 36–37; 1991, 20); however, we cannot ignore the possibility that the Moravian state, having lost its cohesion and being in a state of disintegration, was conquered gradually without any substantial confrontation. Archaeological observations and findings prove that battles definitely occurred in the central parts of the state, in the River Morava region (e.g. Mikulčice – Fig. 2–3, Pohansko near Břeclav, Staré Zámky – Fig. 4), although with visibly different intensities at every location (Staré Město – Uherské Hradiště agglomeration), whereas the east part of Great Moravia is at present lacking such proof (Kouřil 2003, 110–146; 2008,

113–135; Galuška 2008, 260–261; Mazuch 2012, 137–159). The condition in the Mikulčice region, which is the best researched one, is pregnant with meaning: we are witness to non-standard situations that evidence violent clashes and subsequent ruin. A relatively large amount of skeletons without grave pits or burial content, belonging to individuals left lying on the field or hastily buried, are obvious proof. Should we take into account e.g. the currently discovered number of defenders “buried” in this way in the outworks, then the external foot of the main vallum or its sides and the entire length of the fortification could theoretically offer dozens or even hundreds of such carelessly thrown skeletons (Kouřil 2008, 131; Mazuch 2012, 143–145). In this context we may only speculate why the east part of the land, with Nitra as its centre – where the Hungarians had established themselves and settled – refused to obey Mojmir II during this fateful period and stayed loyal to their direct neighbours and future leaders, and whether it was because of their own weakness, fear of the newcomers or older animosity towards the Moravian centre. The fact remains that in the massacre (*bellum pessimum*) below Bratislava in 907 inflicted by the Hungarians and the Bavarians, the Moravians are not



▲ Fig. 4. Staré Zámky – Brno-Líšeň.

Selection of more than 20 iron arrowheads from reflex bow (the arrowheads no. 1, 5 and 9 come from collections of the Moravian Museum in Brno).

explicitly mentioned, although their remains (probably even the household troops of Svatopluk II?) could theoretically have been integrated into the Bavarian contingent; it is also not impossible to assume that the Hungarian units could have been reinforced with Slavic warriors (?). However, the result of this tragic Moravian-Hungarian conflict was the decimation of decisive military elements – primarily the prince's elite army, the aristocratic elite, and possibly even the death of the ruler himself (also meaning the downfall of the entire Mojmir dynasty?) - the basic preconditions of any type of statehood (*Třeštík 1987, 27–76; 1991, 9–27*). As this disaster unfolded, the most important centres and agglomerations of the Mojmir state collapsed.

Great Moravia as a state and important Central European power ceased to exist, although most probably its key territory – Morava itself – was not permanently occupied. It seems the Hungarians did not have a sufficiently large population, or possibly they had no interest either – we are lacking more conclusive evidence, written or archaeological; however, we know of a different situation east of the River Morava, chiefly in south-west Slovakia, where we have relatively conclusive archaeological proof of the settling of the so-called first generation of newcomers (*Štefanovičová 2008, 139–140; Vavruš 2008, 183–193*). The devastated and partially depopulated land, stripped of its elite and key castles, was probably obliged to pay some kind of tribute and condemned to supply assistance, probably of a military nature, although we do not know for sure. From the point of view of the aggressor, it was rather important to control the region: we would expect the presence of garrisons at points situated by important routes, facilitating the smooth transfer of military units during their plundering raids into the west and north-west. Recent archaeological research has unearthed more and more proof that North Moravia, mainly the pre-Great Moravian and Great Moravian period Olomouc agglomeration, survived the bloody events from the beginning of the 10th century without serious harm or evident tragedy and that a certain development continuity is quite obvious; we also discover here relatively larger amounts of evidence of the more permanent presence of nomads, most probably their Turkic part (*Bláha 2001, 41–68; Kouřil 2008, 123–127*), even though we do not know a single Old Hungarian grave from the entire Moravian area. This situation leads to assumptions about whether the local political-power-administrative and maybe even ecclesiastical structures could have remained intact (*Jan 2005, 20–21; Šlězár 2013a, 105–109*), which after the downfall of the state were forced, in their own interest, to cooperate with the deciding military power of Central Europe at that time – the Hungarian tribal union, although they were able to maintain a certain degree of independence. In a way, this could also

be suggested by a report from an Arab source relating to the year 942, according to which the Hungarians captured during a raid on the Iberian Peninsula claimed that situated to the north of their land there was territory (a town, stronghold) called Morávia or Morábija (most recently summary *Měřínský 2012, 161–168*). In contrast, in the southern part of Moravia, i.e. the direct contact zone, we witness a gradual downfall during the 1st half of the 10th century, when once powerful centres continue to exist in a significantly rustic form and only due to some kind of inertia. The interruption and closure of the vitally important north-south trade routes definitively paralysed the economic possibilities of these extensive centres, which were not capable of revitalisation anymore; the change of orientation of the main routes to west-east only underlined the increasing importance of the Olomouc centre (*Michna 1982, 741*). It is evident that the key power elements, generally speaking, disappeared or were paralysed and caused extensive areas to enter a political and cultural vacuum. Recently, another possibility has been emphasised more and more, that a large share of the reasons for the relatively rapid collapse of Great Moravian structures could have been unfavourable climatic conditions and related changes in the environment (*Macháček et al. 2007; Štefan 2011a, 347*).





**SIGNIFICANT  
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES**



# MIKULČICE

## MORAVIA

Lumír Poláček

In the 9th century, the early mediaeval hillfort Valy near Mikulčice was one of the most important Great Moravian centres. Unfortunately, written sources cannot enlighten us as to what the castle's name was or what role it played in the administration of the empire, economically or ecclesiastically. These questions can probably only be answered by archaeology, although even this cannot give a reliable answer. It is certain that Mikulčice is a place with evidence of relatively long-term early mediaeval settlement, with the presence of all basic central functions; it is possible to talk about a comprehensive centre. These archaeologically proven qualities – settlement intensity, number of churches, concentration of power and riches – are not to be found in any other Moravian centre from the 9th century. The importance of Mikulčice at that time is most often compared with the early mediaeval settlement agglomeration in the area of Staré Město and Uherské Hradiště. Both locations – Mikulčice and Staré Město – have traditionally been searched to find the residence of Moravian rulers from the 9th century, as well as for Methodius' Panonian-Moravian archbishopric, without any unequivocal results for one or the other.

The archaeological advantage of Mikulčice is its good level of preservation and the existence of rare stratigraphic situations for our environment, enabling us to solve questions which would be impossible in other Great Moravian locations. Several opportunities appear to answer concrete questions regarding theoretical research into Mikulčice, Great Moravia and the Central European Middle Ages. If the limited informational value of old research does not allow us to resolve these questions satisfactorily, more light can be brought into them in the future by field work. Areas that have already been dug out, representing around a fourth of the fortified area of the agglomeration, are in this sense lost to us and future generations, but can help to formulate new questions as well as to select specific situations for new detailed field work. The Mikulčice castle can be understood as part of a Mikulčice-Kopčany settlement agglomeration, from the 9th century, located on both banks of the River Morava. According to the latest research, the Chapel of St Saint Margaret of Antioch in Kopčany is the only still-standing Great Moravian sacral structure.

The settlement agglomerations of the power centre were originally located on several islands between the branched channels of the River Morava. The most important settlement area was located on elevated sand dunes that can still today be seen protruding from the relatively level surface of the alluvial plain. The original river bed eventually silted up after the downfall of the hillfort; the final levelling of the terrain was caused by floods of mud during modern times (Fig. 1).

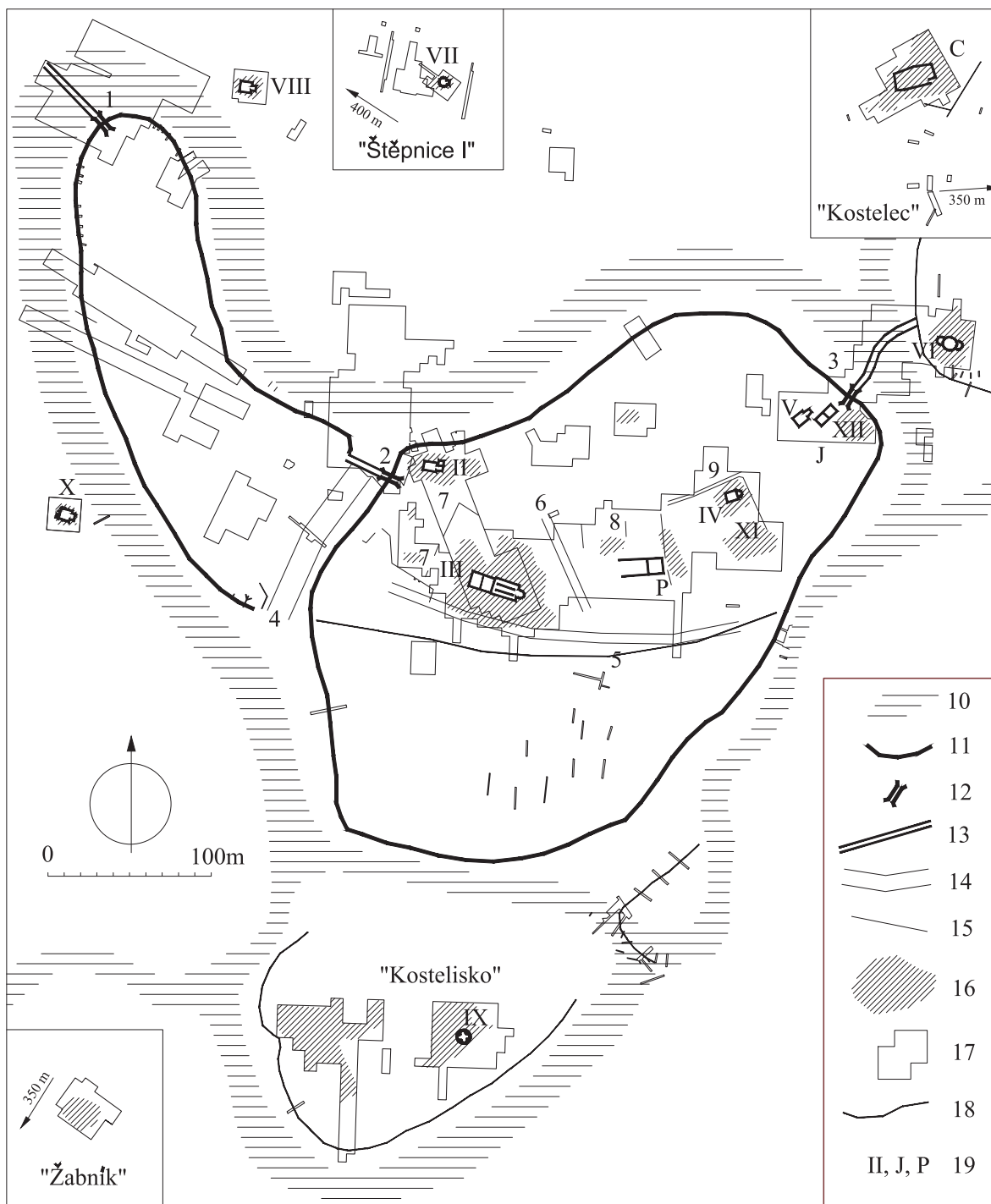
The total populated area of the Mikulčice agglomeration in the second part of the 9th century is estimated to be 30–50 ha. The core of this settlement and burial ground complex are two central structures with a total area of around 10 hectares – an acropolis and outer bailey. During the 9th century both structures were fortified with a wooden-clay fortification with a front stone wall; also a ring of river meanders offered added protection. The bank of the river bed in front of the fortification was supplemented with a multiple palisade of wooden posts; the acropolis was also strengthened with a stone wall. The purpose of these bank structures was primarily to protect the fortification and other settlement parts against erosion caused by the river. The acropolis fortification and outer bailey had several gates and were connected with wooden bridges (Fig. 2, 5). These structures made it possible to connect both central structures together, and with their extramural settlements. The extramural settlements with burial grounds and churches too were located on islands further around a fortified centre.

The acropolis contained the most important structures – churches, a palace and other residential structures (Fig. 2–3). This was primarily a place of residence for the elite of that time – the prince and noble families, the clergy and probably even craftsmen working for the prince's "court", and of course servants. The most important members of the establishment were buried – often with extensive decorations – in church tombs and in honourable places in churches (Fig. 4). Other



▲ Fig. 1. Mikulčice hillfort – Valy.

Meadow enclave with typical solitaire trees defining today's character of the Mikulčice extramural areas. The west part of the meadow boasts the acropolis fortification and the White Carpathian range is visible in the background. Photo Geo.cz.



▲ Fig. 2. Mikulčice hillfort – Valy.

Layout of the fortified agglomeration core with important archaeological structures highlighted: 1 – NW outer bailey gate; 2 – W acropolis gate; 3 – NE acropolis gate; 4 – ditch between outer bailey and acropolis; 5 – ditch south of the basilica; 6 – ditch between basilica and “palace”; 7 – palisade fencing of area around the basilica (church No. 3); 8 – marks of palisade walls or fences N of the “palace”; 9 – path and palisade around the church No. 4 area. Legend: 10 – expected location of dry river channels; 11 – fortification; 12 – gate; 13 – bridge; 14 – ditch; 15 – palisade, fence; 16 – burial ground, group of graves; 17 – terrain edge; 18 – existing church number. “Palace” (P); jewellery workshop (J); hypothetical cultic structures (C). Graphics Otto Marek – Petr Čáp.



▲ **Fig. 3. Mikulčice hillfort – Valy.**

Elevated northern part of the acropolis with palace and church floor plans and renovated historical path going through the entire agglomeration and so creating an urban axis. Photo Geo-cz.

deceased persons were buried in church graveyards or in simple burial grounds. Workshops of metal smelters, jewellers, blacksmiths and probably even glass makers and other craftsmen were located in the acropolis. The internal area of the acropolis was divided by ditches, palisades or fences into smaller parts, the purpose of which we still do not understand (**Fig. 2: 5–9**). The basic residence type was a wooden structure – a log cabin, built of artificially prepared ground layers; this type of aboveground residence completely distinguishes the power centre from the “country” where the basic residential type of structure was a one-room cottage sunk into the terrain and containing a stone oven in the corner – a so-called “zemnice”.



Mikulčice was an important centre of Christianity and ecclesiastical administration. This is proven by the concentration of churches and finds with Christian symbolism (crosses – pectoral and processional, forged crosses, Christian motifs on decorations and items of daily use) as well as by evidence of education, which was cultivated mostly in ecclesiastical circles (finds of styli – tools for writing into wax boards). The cultural level of the court environment in Great Moravian Mikulčice is proven by finds of remarkable belt decorations in the form of miniature books, besides other things (**Fig. 6**). A rare structure among the ten conclusively identified churches in Mikulčice was the three-nave basilica (**Fig. 4**). It is assumed that it could have been an episcopal church; a large convent and even church school could have been part of it. Inside the nave and narthex of the basilica, in tombs covered with masonry and full of valuable items, several persons from the Mikulčice and Great Moravian ruling class were buried. Interpreting the remarkable concentration of religious structures in Mikulčice has been a subject of interest for many experts – several different theories exist; despite this, there is an obvious con-

◀ **Fig. 4. Mikulčice hillfort – Valy.**

Field research into the three-nave basilica in 1957 with the never-to-be-repeated atmosphere of the fascinating discovery of the extinct world of Great Moravian Mikulčice. Photo Source Archive of IAASB.





▲ **Fig. 5. Mikulčice hillfort – Valy.**

Field research into the dried-up river bed in the location of the first bridge was one of the most attractive terrain events of the 1967 season. Photo Source Archive of IAASB.

nection between the concentration of political power and ecclesiastical administration in this location.

The outer bailey were a residential area with a densely built-up area and high intensity of settlements. We have not found any churches or burial grounds here; proof of intensive craft production is also missing. The question is who lived in this area, as we do not have any early mediaeval hillforts in Moravia or the surrounding lands that could be considered similar. The residents are assumed to have been a military unit of the prince. However, archaeological finds are not the same over the entire outer bailey area – it is possible that districts existed for various groups of inhabitants of the power centre and with different purposes. It will be a task for further research to find the answer to such an important historical question.

Houses of craftsmen, cattle breeders and other denizen needed to run the castle could be searched for in the extramural settlements. Churches in the extramural settlements are usually considered evidence of courts founded by noblemen in the vicinity of the princely castle, although no such structure has been archaeologically researched in its completeness. Extramural settlements – mainly on elevated sand dunes – were used intensively for burials. Church and burial sites existed with very “poor” graves or luxurious ones. A necessary part of life in the hillfort was regular markets, where raw materials and craftsmen’s products were traded and where goods supplied from afar were sold. The exact location of

► **Fig. 6. Mikulčice hillfort – Valy.**

Grave 1735 in extramural settlement (“Kostelisko”). Belt decorations forged into a miniature codex were used to fasten the ends of textile belts tied into a knot. Photo J. Foltýn.

these markets within the extramural settlement or castle has yet to be discovered.

Life in the hillfort was dependent on a broad farming base. Distribution of food and other basic items for 1,000 to 2,000 people, which is a rough estimate of the number of denizens in the Mikulčice agglomeration during the end of the 9th century, must have been arranged by people from the surrounding areas. How these “services” were organised we may only assume today. Part of the farming base of the centre was primarily agricultural settlements lying in elevated locations at the edge of the alluvial plain, e.g. in the location of today’s Mikulčice. Recently one such settlement with zemnice (a buried house), wheat pits and other agricultural structures was researched in the Mikulčice-“Podbřežníky” area, about 3.5 km from the castle, in “Valy”. We even know a burial ground belonging to this settlement – it was located about 300 m further on in the direction of Mikulčice - “Panské”. Despite the fact that the graves contained far less jewellery typical of the social elite when compared to the “Valy” hillfort, the burial ground is noticeably full of graves with warrior contents. It will be the task of future research to understand if the graves discovered with axes and spurs belonged to members of mounted “backup” troops of the Great Moravian military and whether the settlement of those taking part in supplying the castle with agricultural products and other services took part in this military service.

Great Moravian Mikulčice was a centre of the political power of the ruling Mojmir dynasty as well as an important centre of ecclesiastical administration. Valuable archaeological finds document the developed court environment (**Fig. 6**). This environment is characterised by its opulent arts and crafts



products, finds of weapons and riding gear or luxury and imported items, and also evidence of rich diets including fruit, vegetables and spices.

The continuity of the central location in Mikulčice, originating as early as the pre-Great Moravian 8th century, was interrupted by the downfall of Great Moravia. The Mojmir state, weakened by internal conflicts, fell prey to the Hungarians in the 10th century. The members of the ruling class were most probably physically eliminated. Some of the surviving inhabitants of the castle and the extramural settlement left for the surrounding areas, where they migrated to existing settlements or where they founded new agricultural settlements. Some of the noblemen could keep certain privileged positions in the local power structure; some warriors took part in other Hungarian war campaigns. Capable craftsmen moved to more distant centres such as the castles in Premyslid Bohemia; here they carried on with their traditional production. The power centre of Mikulčice ceased to exist, and only a small group of residents stayed in the area and survived gradually to settle in several districts in the area of the former centre and made a living by farming. Their settlement, however, did not survive beyond the 13th century, as the formerly alluvial plain began to transform into an uninhabitable area due to periodic flooding.

# STARÉ MĚSTO – UHERSKÉ HRADIŠTĚ

MORAVIA

Luděk Galuška

Staré Město and Uherské Hradiště are two independent towns lying in the northern part of the central Morava river basin some 70 km east of Brno and are separated from each other by the course of the River Morava. Relics from the time of Great Moravia were excavated on their territories, especially on the territory of the first of them very early, already by the 2nd half of the 19th century. The considerable interest of both the professional and non-professional public, which had been intensified by the number of relics found, was further and immediately aroused by the presence of the Velehrad monastery, which has been firmly tied with the Constantine and Methodius tradition since the Middle Ages. This interest became even stronger when, in the 1920s and 1930s, Antonín Zelnitius uncovered the first 300 burials of an extensive burial ground at the “Na Valách” site in Staré Město and presented the findings that had come from them, namely jewellery. This was followed by forty years of research connected mainly with the name of Vilém Hrubý (and also Robert Snážil), during which a major part of the most significant relics of the Great Moravian period was discovered in the area of Uherské Hradiště. The last period of almost 30 years has almost exclusively comprised rescue excavations; however, some extraordinary findings have also come to light over this period and these have often corrected or at least refined the view of “Great Moravian Staré Město and Uherské Hradiště” (Hrubý 1965a, Havlík 1990).

The “fortified settlement agglomeration in Staré Město – Uherské Hradiště” (Fig. 1) with the epithet “Great Moravian”, which is the term for a formation of several settlement positions, production facilities and burial grounds with churches (as well as without them) existing in the 9th century in the place of today’s Staré Město and Uherské Hradiště, represents the most extensive and most populated suburban formation from the territory of the former Great Moravia (Galuška 2001, 123–137; 2011, 245–257).

It originated at a strategically very advantageous place on both banks of the River Morava in the close vicinity of its confluence with the River Olšava. On the right bank of Staré Město, a settlement was concentrated on two distinctive promontories (northern and southern) separated by the Salaška stream and on several elevated dunes in the water meadow of the River Morava. On the left bank of Uherské Hradiště, the highest positioned places on the so-called Island of St George were used, approximately in the place where later the historic centre of the mediaeval town originated, and also on the western slopes of the Vizovice Highlands, namely in the quarter called Sady. The agglomeration took up an area of approximately 250 ha; it stretched across the whole water meadow of the River Morava, which was 2.4 to 2.6 m

wide here. It was situated at the crossroads of significant commercial routes among which the so-called Amber Route dominated, which connected the banks of the Baltic Sea in the north with the banks of the Adriatic Sea in the south. The economic and commercial or rather strategic base of the agglomeration stretched over an area of approximately 330 km<sup>2</sup>; it had the shape of a triangle and so far some 67 settlements and 40 funeral grounds dated to the 9th century have been discovered on its territory (Galuška 2005, 153–181).

The beginnings of settlement in the places of the later Staré Město – Uherské Hradiště agglomeration go back to the early Slavic period of the 6th to the 1st half of the 7th century when the first Slavs settled on the northern promontory at the “Na Valách” site of Staré Město. However, finds proving



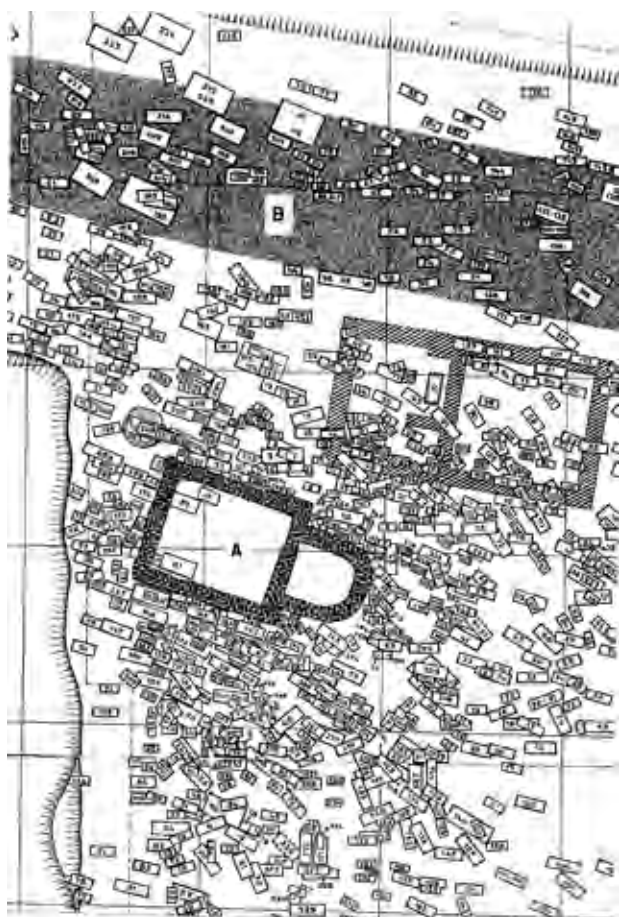
▲ Fig. 1. Staré Město and Uherské Hradiště today.

Showing populated areas in Great Moravia (red points), fortifications (black points) and early mediaeval architectural sites.

1 – Staré Město “Na Valách”; 2 – Staré Město “Špitálky”; 3 – Staré Město “Na Dědině”; 4 – Staré Město “Na Kostelíku”; 5 – Uherské Hradiště – Sady “Špitálky”; 6 – Uherské Hradiště – Rybárny “St Clement” (?); 7 – Uherské Hradiště – Masaryk Sq. “St George’s Chapel”. According to L. Galuška and Geodis compiled by M. Vlach.

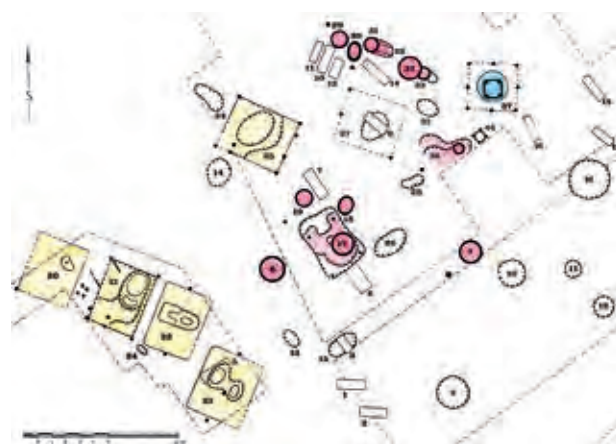


their presence in this place are modest, since both settlement objects and local cremation graves were almost completely destroyed by later burials of non-cremated bodies in the time of Great Moravia. In fact, only one grave has survived with remnants of a cremation deposited in a Prague type vessel No. 221/51; traces of others are only suggested by fragments of pottery and burnt bones discovered in a secondary burial, most frequently in the filling of skeletal grave pits from the 9th century (Hrubý 1955). Further development of the Staré Město settlement in the 2nd half of the 7th and earlier phase of the 8th centuries is not quite clear, since no correctly dated archaeological finds for this period are available. Here we have only found fragments of pottery of the so-called Danube tradition or the "old" Morava basin type, including cremation grave 293/51 with an ancient vessel that suggests a possible continuation of the local settlement reaching to the turn of the 8th and



▲ **Fig. 2. Staré Město "Na Valách" – central part of the cemetery.** A – foundations of the church and graves from the 9th century; B – wooden-clay wall from the period after the decline of Great Moravia overlying older graves from the 9th century. Plan by V. Hrubý 1955.

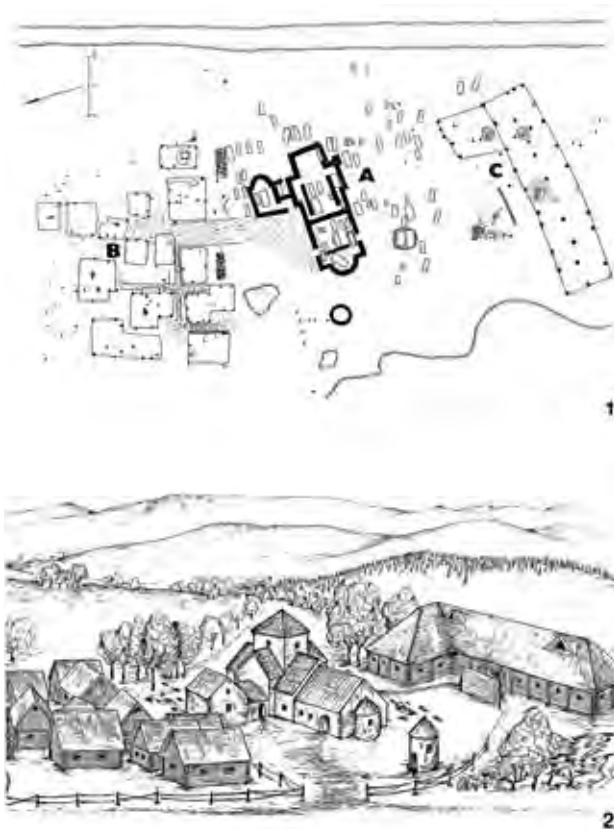
9th centuries. Exactly to this period, we also date the origination of a hillfort with an area of approximately 2 ha, which existed until the middle of the 9th century in the south-eastern part of the northern promontory and which had its centre in the "Na Valách" site. The fortification of this hillfort was light, formed alternately of a palisade, wooden wall and embankment, in front of which stretched a moat. Members of the highest Moravian elites, including the first Christians, lived in the hillfort and were buried here (Fig. 2). Let us remember at least three of the male "elite" graves from the hillfort period, equipped with ancient H-type



▲ **Fig. 3. Staré Město "Nad Haltýří".** Plan of excavations of the metal-casting area with manufacturing facilities – workshops (red), craftsmen's dwellings (yellow) and well (blue). According to V. Hrubý 1965a, supplemented by L. Galuška.

swords decorated with tausia and with damascene blades, accompanied with belt mounts and other weapons (119/AZ, 116/51, 223/51), two with ostentatious spurs of Biskupija-Crkvina type (266/49, 224/51) with strap-mountings and decorative belt mounts, and also two burials with belt mounts of Late Avar and Carolingian character (209/AZ, 291/AZ) and finally a grave with an ironbound coffin with a set of a knife and a sheath decorated with gold and enamel (23/48). To these graves of men – noblemen – we may also assign the graves of "elite" women equipped mostly with gold Veligrad jewellery such as e.g. 193/51, 282/49, 33/48, which at the same time represent the earliest occurrence of such jewellery in grave assemblages in Moravia (Hrubý 1955; Galuška 2013, 223–241). Certainly, it is worth mentioning that the jewellery, mainly earrings and Great Moravian buttons, was manufactured only several dozens of metres from the funeral ground in the suburbium of the "Na Valách" hillfort, at the "Na Dvorku" site (Fig. 3). That is where a jewellery facility, comprising five to seven workshops, was active as early as in the 9th century; archaeological





▲ **Fig. 4. Uherské Hradiště – Sady “Špitálky”.** Christian centre at the time of its greatest expansion in the 2nd half of the 9th century. Find situation (top) and an attempt at reconstruction (below). A – a set of walled church buildings and cemetery; B – settlement area; C – long wooden hall structure with annex. Concept and drawing by L. Galuška.



▲ **Fig. 5. Uherské Hradiště – Sady “Špitálky”.** Cross-shaped church with a massive square tower. Created by M’Plan.

excavation provided clear evidence of local production of not only bronze but also silver and, for the very first time, gold (*Galuška 2013*, 108–174).

At the time when the hillfort in Staré Město “Na Valách” was settled, other places on the right “Staré Město” bank of the River Morava and the highest places on St George Island started to be used too (**Fig. 1**). Several settlement features evidence this; their filling contained, apart from pottery, three



▲ **Fig. 6. Modrá by Velehrad.** The church “Na Dílech u Božího syna”. Created by M’Plan.

non-functional fragments of bronze hooked spurs and two pieces of cast belt mounts of Avar character. The existence of any fortification for this island settlement has not been proven so far; however, it is sometimes called a “Pre-Great Moravian hillfort” or even a “castle” (*Snášil 1987*, 149–156; comp. *Galuška 2013*, 16–41). At the turn of the 8th and 9th centuries, the Sady (at present Methodius) elevation rising above the curve of the River Olšava (which is at present situated at the southeastern edge of Uherské Hradiště) started to be used (*Galuška 1996*). A church was constructed there, possibly with the assistance of missionaries coming from the Bavarian church province and northern Italy (Aquileia). Its ground plan was in the shape of a cross with a huge quadratic tower, around which and also in the interior of which graves of eminent Christianised Moravians (**Fig. 4–5**) were soon sunk, e.g. grave 119 with weapons of western origin. Probably in the same period of early Moravian Christianity, the church “Na Dílech u Božího syna” was built near Modrá u Velehradu (**Fig. 6**), some 4 km west-north-west of Staré Město. Its builders were priests of western origin, who constructed the church at the highest point on a slope that had already been settled by Slavs for some time. The early dating of this church, possibly dedicated to St John, is proved by grave No. 22, in which the buried man was equipped with two belts, one with a cast belt end of Avarian character, the other with

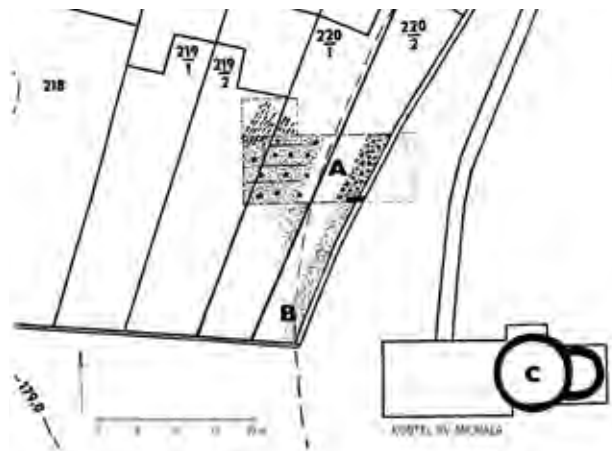


▲ **Fig. 7. Staré Město "Na Valách".**

Drawing showing a reconstruction of the church and its surroundings in the period just after the middle of the 9th century. Concept and drawing by L. Galuška.

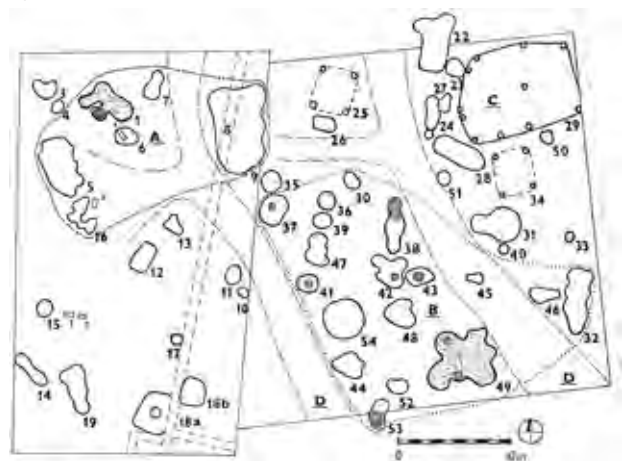
a Carolingian gold-plated belt end and three iron bird-shaped pin clips (most recently *Galuška 2011a, 97–127; 2013, 61–64*).

The dynamic development on the territory of the Staré Město and Uherské Hradiště agglomeration also continued in the 2nd half of the 9th century. A settlement grew up on the major part of the territory on the right bank of the River Morava, in the places of Staré Město; a settlement spread out slightly on the Island of St George; a significant sacral area was fully completed on the elevation in Sady. A new external fortification started to be built as a consequence of these processes. It consisted of a strip of five interlinked types of fortification units, which protected the Staré Město part of the agglomeration from the north, west and south. Sometime later it was completed with another type of fortification, a massive, 10 m wide wooden-clay wall with its frontal stone wall built in the "Rybárny" quarter that protected the entries from the east. The total length of the archaeologically established fortification of the agglomeration exceeds 2.5 km (*Hrubý 1965a, 213–229; Galuška 2006, 486–510*). However, the construction of this fortification meant that the older fortifications, like many other features of the old Pre-Great Moravian hillfort with its centre in the "Na Valách" site, gradually ceased to fulfil their function and disappeared. But in contrast, the hillfort burial ground that had already been in existence for fifty years continued to be used, since a church was built on it sometime around the middle of the 9th century, which resulted in an intensifying and spreading of burials, so that it became the main necropolis of the Christian population of the whole Veligrad agglomeration (**Fig. 7**). So far, almost 2,000 burials have been uncovered. The total number of them, though, could be twofold. A similar process of the functionality of a certain place changing over the course of time has also been recorded in the southeast



▲ **Fig. 8. Staré Město "Na Dědině".**

Power complex in Veligrad in the 2nd half of the 9th century. Find situation (top) and an attempt at reconstruction (below). A – position of the secular palace-type building with annex; B – remains of the gravel pavement; C – St Michael's Rotunda under the chancel of the present church. Concept and drawing by L. Galuška.



▲ **Fig. 9. Staré Město "U Víta" – craftsmen's area.**

A – blacksmiths' area; B – jewellery district with highlighted central workshop, facility 49; C – market and assembly area; D – probable route of communications. 2nd half of the 9th century. According to L. Galuška 1992.

part of Staré Město at the "Na Dědině" site. The local elevated dune in the water meadow of the River Morava at first had the concentrated dwellings of the earlier settlement with traces of fishing; it was later replaced with a prestige brick building in the form of a palace-type feature 20 m long and 10 m wide and a church – a rotunda dedicated possibly to St Michael the Archangel (**Fig. 8**). According to the current state of archaeological explorations, we consider both these buildings the most significant features of the power area. Possibly, they fulfilled the function of the centre of the settlement agglomeration of Staré Město – Uherské Hradiště (that is, Veligrad) and in certain periods in the 2nd half of the 9th and turn of the 10th centuries, possibly even of the whole of Great Moravia (most recently *Galuška 2011a*, 105–109). Another important place on the right bank part of the agglomeration was situated on the southwest edge of today's Staré Město, on a high bank over the River Morava at the "Špitálky" site. It was formed of a church – in its type possibly similar to buildings of the Byzantine cultural-religious sphere, a narthex that was added to the church, a well with a wood-panelled shaft, and a surrounding burial ground (that was, however, unfortunately destroyed) and a peripheral palisade. This indisputably important sacral area, in which baptising was possibly performed, was the last place of rest for several prominent individuals from the top social strata of the Moravians. This is evidenced not only by gold and silver jewellery in female burials but especially by the discovery of a silver disc – a round plaque with the wrought motif of a mounted warrior with a falcon (*Poulik 1955*, 307–351; most recently *Galuška 2014*, 102–105).

In the 2nd half of the 9th century, at least two extensive craftsman facilities existed on the territory of Staré Město, namely at the "UVíta" (**Fig. 9**), "Za Radnicí" and possibly also "Na Špitálkách" sites that were internally divided into specialised production districts (*Galuška 1989*, 405–454; *1992*, 123–161). Districts of jewellers, founders, blacksmiths, pottery makers and antler carvers (that were formed of inhabitable workshops and auxiliary production features or raw material warehouses) have been clearly identified. Together with their families, craftsmen lived in the settlements or in the dwellings close to the production facilities, which at first suggests very good organisation of the craft activities – but also purposeful, pre-planned urbanism within the whole agglomeration. Hypothetically, we may consider the holding of markets on the territory of the right bank of "Staré Město". Conditions favourable to this could have been found at the western edge of Staré Město, at the elevated southern promontory immediately behind the external fortification formed by the so-called rampart of Christin. This was an undeveloped, quite extensive area with good access to running water as well as

to the gate (possibly two gates) perforated in the body of the fortification masse, which are the factors that had to be respected e.g. during long-term animal trading. For the sake of completeness, let us add that in the specified places, a bronze coin of Byzantine Emperor Leo VI from between the years 886 to 911 was discovered, which, unfortunately, has been lost (*Hrubý 1965a*).

So far, we do not know much about the settlement structure on St George's Island, in the places where today's historic centre of Uherské Hradiště lies, and indeed also where the "Rybárny" quarter now is. It was certainly influenced by the waters of the River Morava, which suggest changes between wooden and stone structures along the river banks at several places; however, it was not fortified, or so it seems at present (*Frolíková Kaliszová 2001*, 115–121). We know settlement features coming from this settlement structure, and layers with evidence of antlers and bones, and possibly nonferrous metal processing as well as building relics in the form of plaster fragments and fragments of stone foundations that suggest the presence of possibly as many as four buildings built on mortar, the ground plan of which, though, we do not know (*Snášil 1984*, 152–160; *Frolíková Kaliszová 2004*, 75–80). However, according to the wording of a written record from the 2nd half of the 13th century, an ancient, originally possibly Great Moravian chapel of St George was situated on the island at the place of today's Masaryk Square, the remnants of which, though, were overlapped by the foundations of a later, more extensive mediaeval church with the same dedication (most recently *Menoušková 2013*, 141–154; *Dresler – Vágner 2013*, 155–164). Apart from the massive fortification already mentioned, a settlement is also remembered in "Rybárnách", the quarter of Uherské Hradiště situated on the right bank, which is, however, only known very fragmentarily; the remnants of a stone, possibly sacral building were found in the shape of a fragment of masonry accompanied with several skeletal graves from the time of Great Moravia. This building is sometimes identified with the sanctuary of St Clement from the 9th century, or alternatively connected to the hospital "Chapel of the Moravians" mentioned in written sources from the period of the High Middle Ages (*Snášil – Krutá – Stloukal 1993*, 115–147; *Snášil 2001*, 180–186).

In the 2nd half of the 9th century the Sady elevation of Uherské Hradiště also went through significant changes, since first a new narthex was added to the old church and later an additional burial chamber and a chapel with an independent entry were also built (*Galuška 1996; 2007*, 41–58). South of the church complex, constructed in the above mentioned way, there stood an inhabitable wooden hall structure more than

35 m long (**Fig. 4**). A log cabin settlement with a well, bakery and possibly a blacksmith's workshop was situated in the north and a smaller construction of the rotunda type, possibly with the function of a baptistery (that is, a baptismal font), was situated in the west. Over 80 burials from the course of the 9th century have been excavated in the interiors and exteriors of the buildings. Burials with planked ironbound coffins (in total 12) are well represented among them, out of which ten were sunk into the ground of the church complex with only two lying aside. Six male and female burials contained gold Veligrad-type jewellery. The burial of the "Sady Princess" (209/59) with 15 specimens of gold, gold-plated or silver jewellery accompanied with a long necklace with smoky topaz and Mediterranean sea shells and a tomb with three burials (82/60, 86/60 and 87/60) in which two buried women had in total 8 pieces of gold earrings stand out among them. The finds from the settlement and the long hall structure are dominated by a famous leaden cross with the engraved Greek inscription ZOE-IESUS-CHRISTOS-FOS-NIKA, iron and bone writing tools – styli – used for teaching writing and newly analysed fragments of glass which prove that lamps and other precious vessels, coming from both the Frankish empire and principally from the Byzantine cultural sphere of the eastern Mediterranean, were used in the milieu of the Sady sacral centre. (*Galuška et al. 2012*, 61–92). All the above mentioned facts bring us to the conclusion that in the 2nd half of the 9th century, on the Sady elevation, there was an outstanding centre of Christianisation with a church dedicated to the Mother of God the Virgin Mary, most probably the centre of the "Holy Moravian Church" at the time of the activity of Archbishop Methodius in Great Moravia. The place of burial of this saint has sometimes been associated with the remnants of a cavity cut into the foundations of the church's presbytery (which has a cross-shaped ground plan); this is exactly in the place which corresponds to the location of the grave of Methodius mentioned in the written sources of that time (*Hrubý 1970a*, 87–96; *Galuška 1996*, 118–122; *Staňa 1996a*, 5–23). In relation to another significant male burial (12/59) situated in a tomb in the centre of the chapel at the northern side of the church, it was suggested that this is exactly how we can imagine the place of rest of a significant early mediaeval Christian ruler. With regard to the chronological categorisation of the burial, this ruler would most likely have been Prince Svatopluk (I) who died in 894 (*Galuška 1997*, 53–64; *Lutovský 2005*, 60–62).

The decline of Great Moravia in the 1st decade of the 10th century did not become significantly evident in the archaeological contexts in the Staré Město sites of the Staré Město – Uherské Hradiště agglomeration. We cannot find any traces of violent attacks on human skeletons, skeletons thrown ca-

relessly outside burial grounds or traces of fighting – e.g. in the form of layers of decline, burnt settlement features and fortifications, discarded axes or arrow points with tips bent due to the collision with stone walls. We have nothing we can demonstrably relate to fighting between Mojmir II and Svatopluk II over their inheritance in the last five years of the 9th century, or to the fighting between the Moravians and Old Hungarians which resulted in Great Moravia ceasing to exist as a power. From this we draw the conclusion that, sometime at the beginning of the 10th century, there was possibly no fighting related to the Staré Město-Uherské Hradiště agglomeration, since after the anticipated defeats of the Moravian armies in the south of the country (namely at the "Valy" hillfort near Mikulčice) no real power existed any more that would have defended the long fortification of Veligrad against the Old Hungarians and their allies (*Galuška 2008*, 253–263).

In the aftermath of the decline of Great Moravia, possibly only the church with the cross-like ground plan and the sepulchral chapel were used at the religious centre in Uherské Hradiště-Sady. We assume so because before the end of the 12th century around 900 inhabitants of the nearby villages and settlements were buried in the vicinity of these buildings, in the area of the former narthex, the no longer existing long wooden hall construction, and the features of the cabin log settlement. This number firstly makes the Sady church burial ground the most extensive late hillfort area necropolis in Moravia, and secondly it proves convincingly that Sady did not lose its importance as a significant Christian centre even after the decline of the Great Moravian state. However, we do not know with certainty why the interest of the inhabitants of the surrounding areas in being buried right by the Sady church suddenly arose in the 10th century and lasted until the end of the 12th century. With respect to the presence of an educated priest (for a short period in the 10th century, there was possibly also an archbishop) or priests, some enduring knowledge of the former "fame" of the church (and, in fact, of the whole Sady elevation) could have played a role here. Further, we may not exclude the existence of a material element either e.g. a relic or an important burial (*Galuška 2007a*, 50–62).

The period of the 10th to the 12th centuries is very little, or not at all, represented on the sites of the current Staré Město and Uherské Hradiště town (*Galuška 2008a*, 95–116). A part of the inhabitants surely moved to the neighbouring villages, possibly to those situated near today's Ostrožská Nová Ves, after the decline of Great Moravia. Craftsmen such as e.g. jewellers left for Přemyslid Bohemia, which was becoming wealthier and where they found new openings.



Some churches disappeared too, such as the church in Staré Město "Na Valách", where the burials that had once been so intensive disappeared quite fast; the settlement disappeared on the Island of St George. Despite this, many people (from higher social strata too) remained here. However, they moved their dwellings closer to the Church of St Michael, where the former Great Moravian palace still existed at that time, and to the nearby, elevated dune "Na Zahrádkách" site. In 1141, the Olomouc Archbishop Jindřich Zdík called this settlement – incomparably smaller than the Great Moravian one – "Veligrad". Without doubt, this was an adopted name which had already originated at the time of Great Moravia, when a castle great both in its importance and area, the "veliký hrad" (great castle), really was situated on the ground of Staré Město and Uherské Hradiště. At the same time it is the name which, as "Velehrad", belongs to a nearby, originally Cistercian monastery, which at present is the most significant centre of the Constantine and Methodius tradition, not only in this country but in the whole of Europe, and has been such since as early as the beginning of the 13th century.

# POHANSKO NEAR BŘECLAV

## MORAVIA

Jiří Macháček

Pohansko was already first mentioned as an archaeological locality in 1892, when the historian, benefactor and Mayor of Brno Christian Friedrich Chevalier d'Elvert mentioned the site in his study *Zur Alterthumskunde Mährens und Oesterr.-Schlesiens* (d'Elvert 1892, 34). In this treatise he referred to a newspaper article from the *Brünner Zeitung*, which in 1882 reported on some early mediaeval millstones found at Pohansko ("Fund von Mühlsteinen, vielleicht aus der Zeit der Avaren in der Pohanka /sic!/ bei Lundenburg").

The locality then appeared in a synthetic work, *The Slavs in Moravia and the Great Moravian Empire* by I. L. Červinka (1928), who visited Pohansko and classed it, on the basis of its dimensions, among extensive Great Moravian strongholds. Červinka reported that "Pohansko near Břeclav is a beautiful flatland stronghold in marshy forests" but "archaeological finds are absent so far; only on the eastern defensive wall did I find sherds of wheel-thrown vessels".

Archaeologists returned to Pohansko thirty years later and stayed permanently. Systematic archaeological excavations, which were preceded by small-scale trial trenching in the autumn of 1958, began here in 1959 under the direction of František Kalousek from the Department of Prehistory (today the Department of Archaeology and Museology) of Masaryk University in Brno, and his deputy Bořivoj Dostál.

The most significant discovery of the first decade was a Christian church (Kalousek 1961; Dostál 1992; Dostál – Kalousek – Macháček 2008, 63–77). At that time it was the best-preserved remains of Great Moravian architecture. Even though it was only preserved in the form of foundations 60 cm wide and 70 cm deep, the great part of them was original wall. The building, originally purely stone-built, had an elongated choir and semi-circular apse, rectangular nave and an almost square narthex. The church was situated within a complex whose remnants were discovered in the north-western part of Pohansko and which is referred to as the Ducal Manor (Dostál 1975). Its area, measuring c. 1 ha, was delimited by a massive quadratic palisade enclosure built in at least two phases, which was undoubtedly intended for fortification purposes. More than 50 settlement features were examined inside the enclosure. A rich churchyard, laid out in the 9th century, served the inhabitants of the manor. A total of 407 inhumation graves were unearthed (Kalousek 1971). The fortification of the stronghold was examined by several transverse trenches. A more extensive piece of ground was uncovered in the southern part of the fortified area of the stronghold, where besides Great Moravian settlement features an older, 6th–8th century, cremation graveyard with 55 graves was also found (Dostál 1985; Fig. 1–2).



▲ Fig. 1. Pohansko by Břeclav.

Aerial view from 1965. Archaeological excavation in Ducal Manor and Cremation graveyard. Military Geography and Hydro-meteorology Office, Dobruška.



▲ Fig. 2. Pohansko by Břeclav.

Archaeological excavation of the church No. 1 in Ducal Manor. Archive of the Institute of the Archaeology and Museology MU, Brno.

The beginning of the next phase of systematic archaeological excavations at Pohansko was foreshadowed by the fact that Bořivoj Dostál became the new head of the scientific and research station. The core of the team was still supplemented



▲ **Fig. 3. Pohansko by Břeclav.**

Discussion of the scientists about the results of archeological excavations. From the left Josef Pouлік, Bořivoj Dostál, Pavel Čáp, Zdeněk Klanica. Archive of the Institute of the Archaeology and Museology MU, Brno.

by archaeologist Jana Vignatiová and later also by laboratory and excavation technician Pavel Čáp (**Fig. 3**). Finds from Pohansko were also analysed and evaluated in cooperation with other specialists, e.g. geologist and petrographer Jindřich Štelcl, anthropologist Anna Lorencová, zoologist Zdeněk Kratochvíl and botanists Emanuel Opravil and František Kühn (*Dostál 1978a, 129; 1988*).

Archaeological excavations in the 1970s and 1980s were focused above all on the area of the Forest Nursery and the Southern Suburb, where one of the first extensive archaeological rescue excavations in the then Czechoslovakia was performed under the direction of Jana Vignatiová in 1975–1979 (*Vignatiová 1992, 10*). Within an extensive water management undertaking titled “The confluence of the Morava and Dyje”, an area of 9 ha was excavated in the Southern Suburb, in places where the future surface weir, floodway and earthen dam would be. In the 1970s excavations in the eastern part of the Northeast Suburb were finished too. An important contribution to knowledge of the fortification was the research into the eastern gate of the stronghold.

About 285 Great Moravian sunken-featured buildings and 81 inhumation graves were discovered in the area of the so-called Forest Nursery, which is sometimes also referred to as a precinct of craftsmen. The presence of craftsmen is documented here by specific settlement features as well as by finds of tools, semi-finished products, raw material and production waste. In the Forest Nursery part of an early Slavic settlement was also excavated, which preceded the stronghold (*Dostál 1993a; Macháček 2007*).

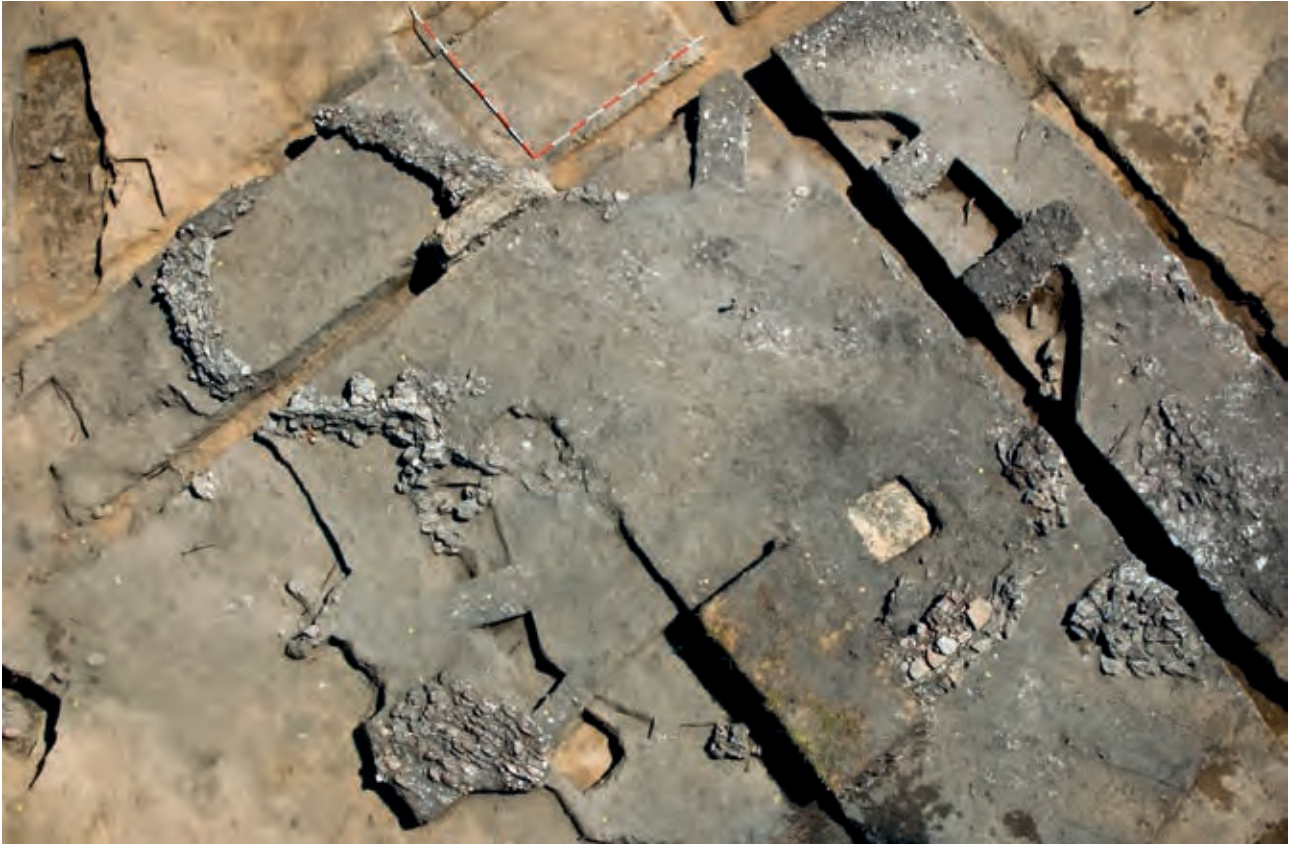
Habitation in the Southern Suburb is divided into three distinct settlement clusters. Most characteristic among the settlement features are pit houses, which represent almost one quarter of all features. Since the finds typical of the Southern Suburb fall into the category of weaponry and equestrian equipment, it is supposed that the inhabitants of the Southern Suburb were members of the grand “state” retinue who were housed here in a special settlement with their families and servants (*Vignatiová 1992*).

A simple front gate 2.5 m wide was discovered in the eastern part of the fortification. It probably had a tower-like superstructure equipped with a double door in the ground floor (*Dostál 1984*).

The last phase of archaeological excavations at Pohansko also began with a generation exchange. The new head of the research station after Bořivoj Dostál and Jana Vignatiová was Jiří Macháček (in which post he has been since 1998). The research team currently comprises Jiří Macháček, Pavel Čáp and lecturers from the Department of Archaeology and Museology, Petr Dresler (since 2003) and Renáta Přichystalová (since 2008). The first decade of the new century was characterised by broad international cooperation and intensive research activity. Students from Brno attended practical training here together with their colleagues from many foreign universities (Slovakia, Slovenia, Germany, the USA, the United Kingdom, Sweden, Italy and Poland). The department at Pohansko became involved in many Czech and international research and educational projects. Interdisciplinary cooperation has also been intensively developed.

An area referred to as Lesní hrúd has also been examined at Pohansko. Further transverse trenches through the fortification, namely the eighteenth and the nineteenth one, were laid out. In 2008 new systematic research, which is still in progress, began in the Northeast Suburb. Further excavations at localities in the hinterland of Pohansko uncovered parts of early mediaeval settlements in Břeclav – Libivá and Kostice – Zadní hrúd. These excavations were accompanied by systematic archaeological surveys over an extensive area delimited by the lower reaches of the River Dyje and the Morava.

Extensive research was carried out at the Lesní hrúd site in 1999–2004 (*Macháček 2005, 122–128*). A total of 105 settlement features, 34 inhumation graves and one horse burial were discovered. Archaeological excavations have proved the existence of homesteads at Pohansko, which were mainly inhabited by craftsmen who had settled down inside the fortification. Using an advanced method of field research, in the area of Lesní hrúd it was possible to identify the remains of



▲ **Fig. 4. Pohansko by Břeclav.**

Orthogonal picture of the church No. 2 (rotunda) in Northeast Suburb. Archive of the Institute of the Archaeology and Museology MU, Brno.

aboveground log-built houses which had been more or less unknown until now, even though they represented the major part of building development at Pohansko (Zavadilová 2011).



▲ **Fig. 5. Pohansko by Břeclav.**

A pair of bronze gilded buttons from the graveyard by church No. 2 in Northeast Suburb. Archive of the Institute of the Archaeology and Museology MU, Brno.

Important conclusions were drawn from the new transverse trenches laid out through the defensive wall, which supplemented the knowledge of fortification at Pohansko. The crucial finding resulted from the discovery of an older fortification, which was preserved as a large palisade trench below the wood-and-earth defensive wall with stone facing. The discovery of an occupation layer and a settlement pit with old-fashioned Great Moravian pottery below the defensive wall induced a re-dating of the whole fortification at Pohansko, which was also supported by dendrochronological dating of charred wood from earlier excavations. The older as well as the newer transverse trenches through the fortification began to be analysed and evaluated by Petr Dresler in 2011.

An extraordinary finding at Pohansko was made by Pavel Čáp, who in 2007 identified the ruins of an unknown early mediaeval stone building in the area of the Northeast Suburb (Čáp – Dresler – Macháček – Přichystalová 2011). The subsequent geophysical survey and extensive archaeological excavations evidenced here the existence of a second church – a smaller rotunda with horseshoe-shaped apse (Fig. 4). A churchyard



with 152 buried individuals was situated in the neighbourhood of the ruined building. The funerary equipment comprised silver and gilded bronze earrings of the Veligrad type, a pair of heavily gilded copper buttons, spurs, axes and ceramic vessels (**Fig. 5**). The Christian character of the churchyard is underpinned by a lead cross hanging from the neck of one of the buried females. These artefacts help to date the graves to the Great Moravian Period. Some of the finds (lead pendants, eyelet earrings and above all an Old Magyar axe – a fokosh), however, indicate that burial activity continued here in the early 10th century as well. The chronological range of the cemetery at the same time defines the period of existence of the ecclesiastical building standing in its centre, which is fully respected by the graves.

The second Great Moravian church, unlike that in the Ducal Manor, was situated in the peripheral part of Pohansko. It is characterised by a simpler construction based on wooden elements (columns, wattlework) supplemented with masonry parts. The funerary equipment also appears to be relatively plain compared to the churchyard in the Ducal Manor. The main difference, however, consists of five graves discovered in the nave of the rotunda because this situation did not occur with the church in the Ducal Manor. Inside the rotunda its patron, with his closest relatives, was probably buried. It may have been one of the prominent noblemen or state officials, maybe a governor of the castle, who had his residence and church in the suburb, unlike the duke whose “palatium” was situated inside the fortification.

Archaeological research in the past years has not only been focused on Pohansko itself. Since 2005, an analytical surface collecting survey has been carried out in the wide surroundings of Pohansko, with the aim of reconstructing the early mediaeval cultural landscape. On the territory between the Great Moravian centres at Pohansko, Mikulčice and Nejdek, which covers about 530 km<sup>2</sup>, at least 122 sites with evidence of early mediaeval settlement have been identified. These settlement areas form distinct clusters in the immediate neighbourhood of the Great Moravian floodplain strongholds, with which they melt into a single functional unit. Rural settlements are mostly situated outside the floodplain but in close proximity. So they were able to extract full advantage from both ecosystems – the floodplain with its riparian forest and river arms, and the surrounding terraces with fields (*Dresler – Macháček 2008a; 2008b*). In these settlements, however, it was not only the common rural population that lived there, but also elite warriors, who were buried with their weapons (axe, sword) and equestrian equipment (spurs) in the vicinity of their houses.

One of the main tasks of archaeological research into the early mediaeval centre at Pohansko near Břeclav that remains is the absolute dating of the settlement structures that have been discovered. It has been a long time that this problem has been waiting for a satisfactory solution. Significant progress has occurred over the past years thanks to dendrochronology, with the help of which we can date remnants of wood from archaeological excavations. The first early mediaeval pieces of wood to be examined were obtained during the inspection of a well in the area of the so-called Forest Nursery. Carbonised pieces of wood were also analysed, from the construction of the wood-and-earth fortification with stone facing, and one larger charcoal piece from a settlement feature in so-called Lesní hrúd. The well yielded high-quality so-called wet wood, whereas from the defensive wall and the settlement feature only charred wood was obtained. Each of the samples analysed was taken from a different find context. Now we have dates from three different places within the stronghold and from three types of features – a well, fortification and the backfill of a settlement pit. Even though on the basis of these dates we cannot jump to conclusions on the dating of the entire agglomeration, it is obvious that all the pieces of wood come from the 2nd half of the 9th century; the well was dug out in the early 880s and the fortification was not built earlier than the well, with some probability in the 880s as well. Dendrochronological dating of the samples from Pohansko was carried out by Jitka Vrbová Dvorská and Michal Rybníček (*Dresler et al. 2010*).

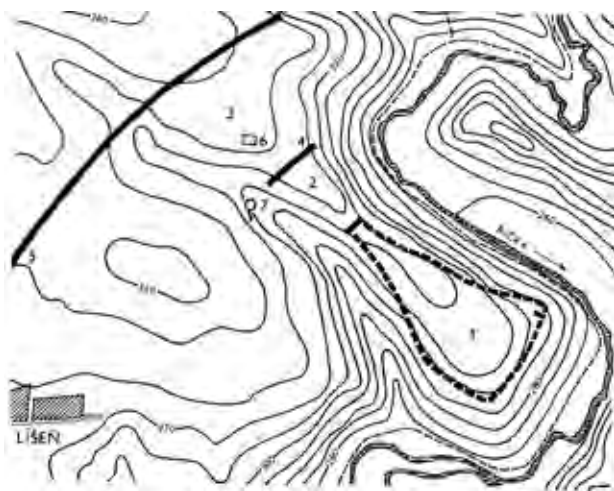
Archaeological excavations at Pohansko and in its neighbourhood are always uncovering new finds, which in a fundamental way help to understand how Great Moravian society, among whose prime centres Pohansko takes its place, functioned.

# THE STARÉ ZÁMKY NEAR BRNO-LÍŠEŇ

MORAVIA

Zdeněk Měřínský

The hillfort is situated about 1.5 km northeast of the centre of Líšeň, in the southern part of the Drahaný Upland near the Moravian Karst. In the 9th and 10th centuries it was undoubtedly a centre of the Brno region, or of the Blučina area, some authors say (*Procházka – Wihoda – Zapletalová 2011*, 465–466, 468). The site is located on a spur, and the extensive north-western second outer ward is situated at a height of about 326 to 350 m ASL on a wide rounded ridge projecting to the southeast. There follows a small first outer ward, densely inhabited in the Slavic Period, which ends in a narrow neck about 30 to 40 m in width. Behind the neck is the inner ward on top of an elongated triangular spur with sides 230, 425 and 450 m long and an area measuring just under 4 ha (according to other sources as much as 4.5 ha). The slopes of the spur with isolated rock outcrops, overtopping the surrounding landscape by about 60 m, fall very steeply into the valley of the Říčka stream and its nameless tributary (**Fig. 1**). The longer axis of the hillfort, about 900 m long, is orientated NW–SE. It is one of the best explored Moravian hillforts with an excavated area of just under 6,000 m<sup>2</sup>. The triangular central part (the so-called acropolis) was enclosed by a massive fortification built on a man-made horizontal platform deep in the slope. The defensive wall consisted of an earthen rampart reinforced with timber latticework forming sorts of chambers measuring 3 × 3 m, placed 0.8 m from each other and filled with earth, or with a so-called grid structure, in our case logs laid both parallel and perpendicular to the defensive wall. The rampart was fronted by a stone revetment wall about 1 m thick. Auxiliary reinforcement was represented by vertical corner posts and transversal wall ties in the bottom part of the rampart. The partitions of the



▲ **Fig. 1. Staré Zámky near Brno-Líšeň.**  
1 – inner ward of the hillfort; 2 – first outer ward; 3 – second outer ward; 4 – inner rampart; 5 – outer rampart; 6 – cemetery; 7 – spring. After Č. Staňa 1972 and Z. Měřínský 1986.

timber chambers seem to be lined with stones. At least in one section there was an earthen bank adjacent to the rear of this construction, and it is not clear whether or not the fortification ended with a vertical wall. The defensive wall was interrupted by a gate in the north-eastern corner. The narrow neck was intersected by a fortification separating the inner ward of the hillfort from the first outer bailey. This fortification cannot be reconstructed, but the collapsed stones resting mostly on massive postholes indicate a construction similar to the 9th century perimeter fortification. A timber-framed tower may have been situated on the southern side. The defensive wall can be dated to the 9th century, when the spur was fortified at the perimeter by a shell construction together with timber latticework and grid reinforcements. At least in the rear it was armed with a low embankment and it is not clear whether these wooden chambers were three-sided and their partitions connected with the front stone revetment, as is indicated by small stone walls related to the front wall, or four-sided such as, for example, in Pobedim. The width of the defensive wall without the internal fortification was about 4 m and the height cannot be exactly estimated, but it was certainly at least 3 m without the breastwork. The builders did not use a separate wooden wall immediately behind the armature, but replaced it with the above-mentioned embankment. Material for the wooden parts of the fortification mostly consisted of oak, which was used in particular for posts in the timber latticework, but there was also ash, elm, beech and hornbeam. Besides the defensive wall, a burnt-down residential log building was also unearthed, as we know, for example, from the neighbourhood of the defensive wall with inside timber latticework in Znojmo-Hradiště, or at the fortification with front stone revetment and timber reinforcement in Gars-Thunau (Horn District, Lower Austria). Č. Staňa (1972, 137)



▲ **Fig. 2. Staré Zámky near Brno-Líšeň.**  
An attempted reconstruction of the hillfort. Archive of the Institute of Archaeology, Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic Brno. After R. Procházka – M. Wihoda – A. Zapletalová 2011.

rather supposed a tower here (*Čižmář 2004, 92; Lutovský 2001, 35; Měřínský 2002, 272–273; 2013, 107–108, 426–429; Procházka 2009, 152, 155, 157; Fig. 93–98 on pp. 153–156; Procházka – Wihoda – Zapletalová 2011, 457, 468–470; Staňa 1967, 102; 1972, 110–111, 113, 115, 134; 1985, 168–169, 190; 1988, 171–172*).

A second rampart about 100 m long, running down the slope from the inhabited area, protected the first outer ward about 150 m to the northeast (**Fig. 2**). Both the above fortifications are no longer visible in the terrain due to reclamation, but the fortification of the second outer ward, maybe uninhabited, south of the “Haleglétňa” forest, is preserved at a length of about 320 m. The fortification consists of an earthen rampart whose base is approximately 15 m wide, and the current height is 2–2.5 m above the surrounding landscape and 2.5–3 m above the ditch. The width at the bottom of the ditch varied between 2 and 4 m and the depth was about 2 m (sometimes even 3.5 m is reported). The further course of the fortification of the second outer ward in the southwest is indicated only by an indistinct terrain wave. The overall length of this defensive wall is estimated to be about 800 m. The total area enclosed by the fortification is reported to have been around 13 ha, according to other sources more than 11 ha (*Čižmář 2004, 92–93; Lutovský 2001, 35; Procházka 2009, 152; Staňa 1967, 100–102; 1972, 136; 1988, 171–172; 1996, 269; Měřínský 2013, 107; Procházka – Wihoda – Zapletalová 2011, 470; with many inaccuracies Štěpánek 1965, 116–117*).

Staré Zámky in Brno-Líšeň is a multi-cultural site with evidenced settlement of the Neolithic Moravian Painted Ware Culture, the Eneolithic Jevišovice Culture, the Podolí phase of the Middle Danube Urnfield Culture from the Late Bronze Age, as well as with evidence of the Late La Tène Period, Migration Period and particularly settlement from the 8th–10th centuries. This site was already beginning to attract interest in the 2nd half of the 19th century, when the first finds were published by E. Belcredi (1875), and after him J. Knies (1891) and I. L. Červinka (1896, 50–52; 1902, 334). Relatively extensive trial trenching was conducted here by M. Kříž (*Kříž – Koudelka 1900, 176–188*) in 1890–1891. Modern archaeological area excavations were carried out here by J. Poulík (1948–1950, 99–106; 1949; 1949a) in the years 1948–1949 and 1953–1955, and afterwards by Č. Staňa (1960; 1972) in 1956, 1959, 1962, 1963 and 1965. In the first phase, these excavations were concentrated in the area of the neck between the hillfort proper and the first outer ward, and in both of the outer wards. Excavations in the inner ward followed after 1953, and the perimeter fortification was explored in 1963. The ditch in the inner part of the locality had already been dug in the Eneolithic; the fortification at the perimeter of the spur

was built in the Bronze Age (*Lutovský 2001, 35; Benešová – Staňa 1959; Čižmář 2004, 93; Medunová-Benešová 1964; Poulík 1948–1950, 99–106; 1949a; Staňa 1960; 1972; 1996, 269–275; Měřínský 2002, 272; 2013, 108; Procházka 2009, 152; Procházka – Wihoda – Zapletalová 2011, 457–458*).

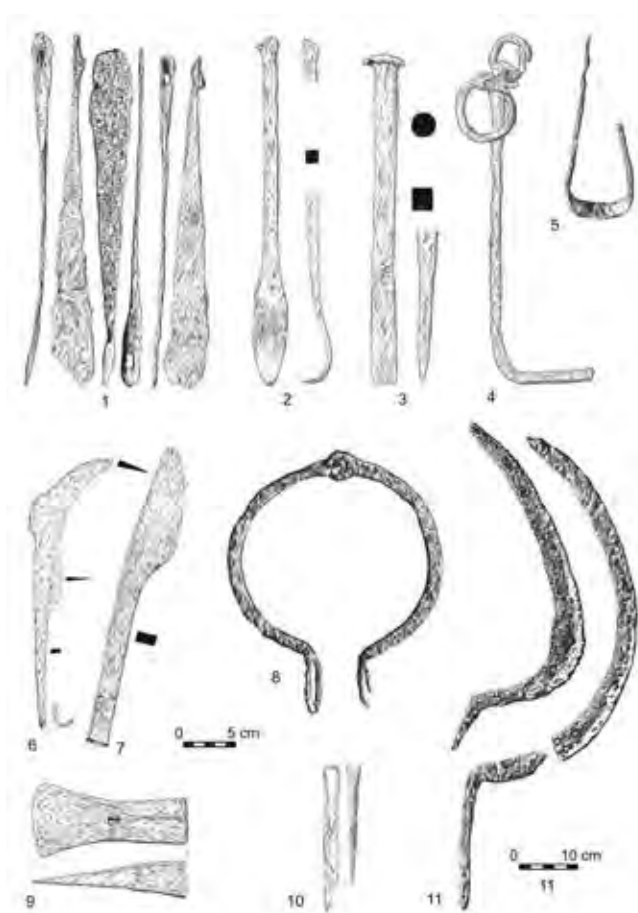
During the Slavic Period, the spur was fortified along the whole perimeter. The oldest early mediaeval settlement dates from the 8th century or even from as early as the late 7th century. The original unfortified settlement in the place of the later acropolis was enclosed by an earthen rampart with wooden palisade. After removal of the occupation layer below an evidently pre-Great Moravian defensive wall in square C-0, postholes at distances of 90–100 cm from each other were identified about 2 m from the rear side of the wooden chambers, and finds of hazel and privet charcoal may indicate wattlework. The above two constructional elements were either parts of the 7th–8th century fortification, or the rampart represents intentional alterations in the rear of a timber latticework reinforcement. Interpretation of the pre-Great Moravian fortification remains quite complicated. Provided that the palisade in Section 1 was associated with the rampart, then it is surprising that it was not built on its crown. Stratigraphy and finds inside the inhabited area enabled Č. Staňa to distinguish two pre-Great Moravian horizons from the 7th–8th centuries detected only within the spur proper, which was initially probably unfortified and habitation reached as far as the edges of the plateau. The palisade was probably built later. A sunken-featured building with heating device in the corner, and other settlement features, may date from the 8th century. The importance of the pre-Great Moravian hillfort is emphasised by the finds of cast and hammered bronze belt fittings and hooked spurs, which will be discussed below (*Staňa 1967, 102; 1972, 111–114; 1988, 171; Procházka 2009, 152, 155, 157; Procházka – Wihoda – Zapletalová 2011, 458–460, 466; Měřínský 2002, 272–273; 2013, 98, 107–108, 424*).

An extensive fortification system was built at the beginning of the 9th century or during its 1st half. The perimeter of the spur with an area of about 4 ha was protected not only by steep slopes, but also by a wood-and-earth defensive wall with front stone revetment. An intricate fortification also intersected the most vulnerable part of the stronghold on a narrow neck leading to the inner bailey. A system of postholes up to 1 m in diameter and 80–100 cm in depth was detected in the subsoil. Three palisade lines were laid out across the spur, probably with side entrances, and one row delimited the southern edge of the neck. Besides a distinct cluster of collapsed stones there were also the large postholes of a log building measuring 5.4 × 5.4 m detected in the front.

The building has been interpreted as part of a gate tower. These finds probably represent the remains of several phases of fortification, where the most recent one may have been similar to the perimeter fortification (Poulik 1948–1950, 99, 101; 1949; Procházka 2009, 157; Staňa 1967, 102–103; 1972, 115–117, 134–137; 1988, 171–172; Procházka – Wihoda – Zapletalová 2011, 468; Měřínský 2013, 426–430).

In about the mid-9th century what is probably a rectangular area measuring 100–120 × 35–60 m, that is approximately 0.5 ha, was delimited in the acropolis. The area was placed in an eccentric position on the highest part of the acropolis about 100 m northwest of the neck. Among the unearthened sections of the palisade enclosure there is, for example, a band of yellow clay about 50–90 cm wide with postholes in the south, and a trench more than 100 cm deep with pieces of charcoal in the west, accompanied on the inner side by a system of other similarly orientated trenches. On the southern side of the enclosure there was a system of 36 postholes in five rows arranged in a square with sides 7.5 m long, embedded in a single pit 1.15–2 m deep. Posts in the southernmost two rows were mostly arranged in groups of two or three, next to each other. The posts were anchored in clay and stones. The building is interpreted as a tower, probably at least 10 m high, which is supposed to have related to the gate of the manor. Archaeological excavations in the western part of the manor revealed traces of large log buildings. Here in the middle, in the highest place opposite the gate, a mortar block was identified. Secondary use of its fragments in the post-Great Moravian Period indicates, as in Pohansko u Břeclavi, the existence of exclusive buildings intended for local elites. The question of the supposed existence of a stone-built church remains open, because no cemetery was found in this location (Staňa 1967, 102). Along the outer wall of the manor, on the longitudinal axis of the spur, maybe as early as the 7th century there ran a road paved with river gravel with bones, and in some places it had wagon ruts spanning 110 cm. The road was approximately 5 m wide and led from the gate on the neck to the gate to the valley in the north-eastern corner of the spur. The latter gate survived until as late as the 10th century. This settlement structure, representing the narrower acropolis of the stronghold, has been dated to the 9th century, most probably to its second half. Many settlement features were unearthened in the acropolis beyond the area of the fortified manor – log huts, sunken-featured buildings and various pits as well as free-standing heating devices. Also conspicuous is the small number of storage pits, which are mostly bag-shaped. Pyriform pits typical of granaries are absent (Lutovský 2001, 35–36; Čížmář 2004, 93; Procházka 2009, 157; Procházka – Wihoda – Zapletalová 2011, 468, 470; Staňa 1967, 102; 1972, 137–139; 1985, 137–139, 168; 1988, 172, 175).

Further in the northwest there were two outer wards which were also fortified with a transverse rampart. No fortification was detected at the perimeter of the outer wards. The middle rampart also exhibited traces of stone constructions, but there is not enough evidence to interpret them. An excavation trench laid out in 1963 across the outer rampart, maybe from the mid-9th century, did not yield any evidence of reinforcement. Originally it was a relatively massive, even though simple, fortification with an outer ditch 2.5 m deep; sometimes even 3.5 m is reported (Lutovský 2001, 35–36; Čížmář 2004, 93; Procházka 2009, 157; Staňa 1967, 102–103; 1972, 136; 1988, 171–172, 175; Procházka – Wihoda – Zapletalová 2011, 457).



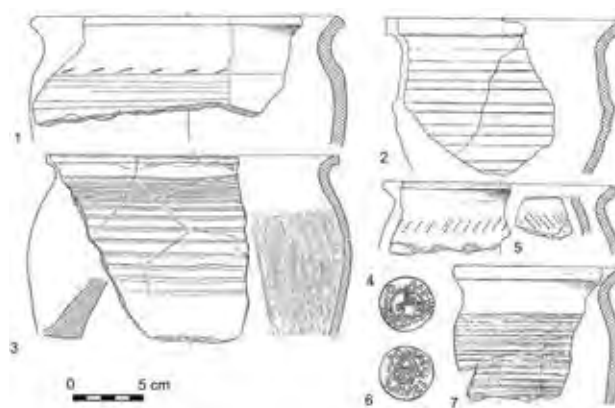
▲ Fig. 3. Staré Zámky near Brno-Líšeň.

Selection of Great Moravian iron objects. 1 – axe-shaped ingots; 2 – turning tool or woodcarving knife; 3 – chopper or chisel; 4 – plug-in key; 5 – drawknife; 6 – grape knife; 7 – coulter; 8 – shackles; 9 – adze; 10 – blade shears; 11 – sickles. Hoard I (4–5, 8, 11), hoard II (1) and a pit house with vestibule (2–3). Archive of the Institute of Archaeology, Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic Brno (1–5, 9–11). After Č. Staňa 2010 (6, 8), R. Procházka – M. Wihoda – A. Zapletalová 2011.



Sometime at the turn of the 9th and 10th centuries, a wide-reaching catastrophe associated with destruction and fire took place in the hillfort. As a result of this devastating attack, the massive perimeter fortification was partly burnt down to the ground, and the gate tower on the neck at the entrance to the acropolis was destroyed. The gate tower of the manor was also burnt down and in its immediate neighbourhood the finds of twelve iron-tanged rhombic arrowheads were concentrated, mostly bevelled in their lower third, and socketed winged arrowheads which are considered to be the weapons of the defenders (Kouřil 2003, 126; 2008, 122, Fig. 13 on p. 123; Staňa 1963, 235; 1967, 103; 1972, 154–155; 1988, 172; cf. Měřínský 1986, 38, 66; Lutovský 2001, 36). These stormy times have been associated with three iron hoards indicating the insecurity of the local inhabitants, their feeling of threat and fear for the future (Lutovský 2001, 36; Kouřil 2003, 126; 2008, 122). Hoard No. I, which was found in a pit 105 cm in diameter and 90 cm in depth on the southern edge of the road running along the axis of the spur, is most interesting. The pit contained two granite and two schist quernstones, a bone skate and pottery fragments, and in the south-eastern quarter of the pit, at a depth of 20 to 40 cm below the upper edge, rested an iron hoard composed of three sickles, a drawknife, a hole punch, a knife blade, a hook-shaped key, bucket fittings, three band-shaped artefacts, a rectangular plate and iron shackles (Bartošková 1986, 54–55, Fig. 17B: 1–32; cf. Staňa 1961; 1972, 154; Kouřil 2003, 126; Lutovský 2001, 36). Hoard No. II, discovered 10 m east of the transverse neck rampart, contained twelve axe-shaped ingots deposited maybe in a wooden case (Bartošková 1986, 55, 57). And hoard No. III, found in 1953, contained bucket fittings and a sickle fragment (Bartošková 1986, 57; Fig. 3).

Early on (Měřínský 1986, 66–67) it had been found out that it is difficult clearly to interpret the archaeological contexts and finds unearthed, mainly the rhombic iron arrowheads, and identify them with the Old Magyars. These finds may have been connected with internal conflicts at the time of the break-up of Great Moravia, Magyar raids into central parts of Great Moravia, or Bavarian interventions which are documented in writing. From literary sources we also know that the Slavs participated in Magyar raids and may have adopted their effective military tactics inclusive of armament and equipment, as has always been usual in warfare. This might concern the reflex bow and arrowheads. Therefore it is very difficult clearly to interpret the archaeological contexts and finds which were unearthed at the site under review (cf. Měřínský 1986, 21–23, 66–67; 2013, 618–621; generally on the crisis e.g. Kouřil 2008, 114, 117). New comprehensive analyses and evaluations indicate a connection with Old Ma-



▲ Fig. 4. Staré Zámky near Brno-Líšeň.

A late 10th century assemblage of pottery with a coin from a settlement pit. Archive of the Institute of Archaeology, Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic Brno. After R. Procházka – M. Wihoda – A. Zapletalová 2011.

gyar raids, mainly on the basis of assemblages of rhombic and deltoid iron arrowheads in the area of the Great Moravian centres, such as Mikulčice, the Staré Město – Uherské Hradiště agglomeration, Břeclav – Pohansko, Strachotín – Petrova louka, Znojmo – Hradisko sv. Hypolita, maybe Biskupice – hradisko nad Nectavou, and Staré Zámky in Brno-Líšeň (Kouřil 2003, 112–127; 2008, 117–123, 128–130; Profantová 2008, 152–153).

After the violent destruction of the stronghold at the turn of the 9th and 10th centuries, a small fortified area was delimited in the north-western part of the acropolis. In the north at the edge of the spur it comprised a stone wall embedded in the ruined Great Moravian defensive wall and shifted a little inwards in Section 1. In square A-0 on the eastern side, the perimeter fortification turned transversally inwards and in the



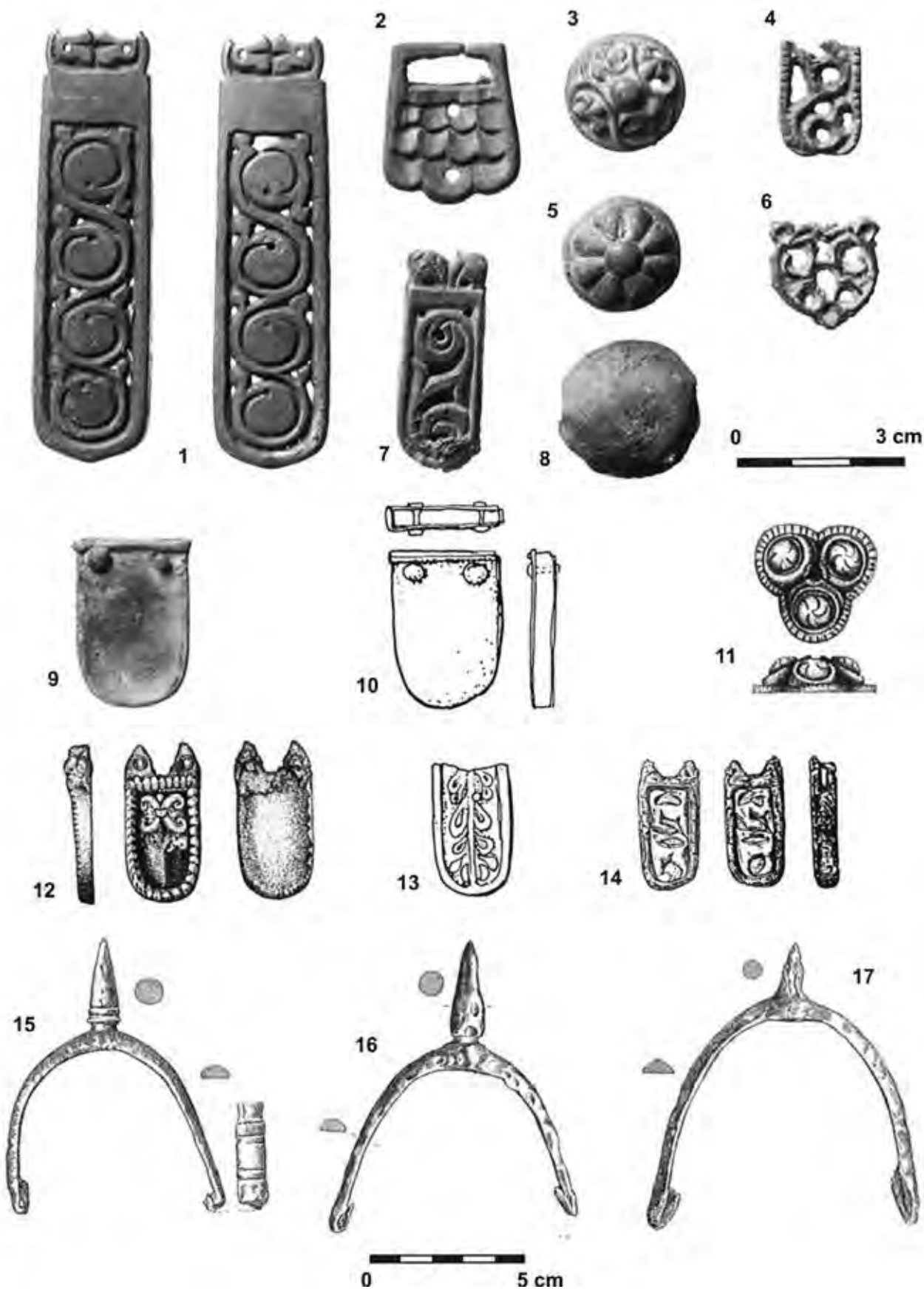
▲ Fig. 5. Staré Zámky near Brno-Líšeň.

Reconstruction of an early mediaeval sunken-featured building in square E–IX, F–IX. After Č. Staňa 1960, R. Procházka – M. Wihoda – A. Zapletalová 2011.

south-western direction it was fronted by a ditch up to 1.5 m deep and about 60 m long. The further course of the fortification is not yet known. Stone debris mixed with fragments of charred beams in the infill of the defensive wall represent in some places the only evidence of a destroyed aboveground fortification. Its builders utilised the material from stone buildings in the manorial compound. It was maybe a dry stone wall reinforced by wall ties or framework armature. Its height was estimated by Č. Staňa (1972, 154–156) at 2.5–3 m; the width was not yet determined. The internal area was partly paved with gravel. This fortified area is estimated at 0.8 ha at the most. In the eastern part of the spur an unfortified outer ward arose. The settlement continued here even after the decline of the fortification, maybe still in the last third of the 10th century. Č. Staňa (1994, 277–278, 282, 285–286, Fig. 12–14 on pp. 278–280; 1998, 88–105, Fig. 2–8 on pp. 91, 93, 95, 97, 99, 101, 103) distinguished two phases within the post-Great Moravian development (horizons 5 and 6). The older one is characterised by ochre-grey-coloured ceramic ware and by the onset of graphite-tempered pottery, and is dated to the third quarter of the 10th century (Fig. 4). A row of five log-built pit houses with stone ovens, which ran parallel to the transversal defensive wall at a distance of about 5 m, can be classed within this first post-Great Moravian phase (Fig. 5). Somewhat younger was a log-built pit house 2.7 m deep. After its decline, another house was built about 1.5 m above its bottom, together with an aboveground feature with oven and other similar features in the outer ward (Procházka – Wihoda – Zapletalová 2011, 496). The next phase is represented by assemblages in the backfill of the ditch which fronted the transversal fortification, and by the last pit with an oven sunk into the ruins of the transversal fortification inside the ditch. The backfill of the pit contained a coin which J. Hásková identifies as a denarius of Boleslav II from the time shortly before 995. This find instigated considerations about a Přemyslid occupation of the Brno region and south Moravia at that time. The relationship of this regional centre to the Přemyslid power at the end of the 10th century is very problematic (Procházka – Wihoda – Zapletalová 2011, 497). Z. Petrůň regards the above coin as an imitation of unknown origin recalling Slavnik coins, which cannot be dated so exactly. It is therefore more than daring to draw any definitive historical conclusions based on this single disputable find (Hásková – Staňa 1993; Staňa 2000; Lutovský – Petrůň 2005, 114, 157, 158, note 295; cf. Kouřil 2003, 126, esp. note 60 on p. 141; Měřínský 2013, 430, 618; Procházka 2009, 159; Procházka – Wihoda – Zapletalová 2011, 496–497). The associated pottery finds, however, can be dated to the end of the 10th century or the beginning of the 11th century at the latest. An excavation conducted at the site by M. Kříž in 1983 yielded a coin, today lost, which was probably erroneously

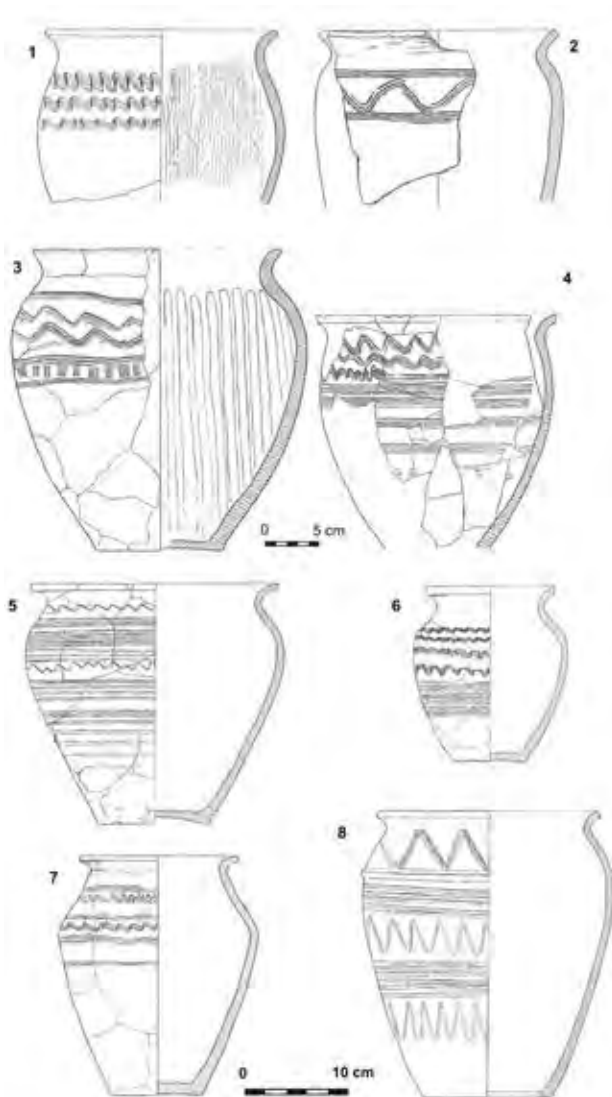
identified as a denarius of Boleslav II; this find may also be a coin from the end of the 10th century with a corrupt legend. Another unidentifiable obol with unknown finding context maybe comes from amateur collecting (Procházka – Wihoda – Zapletalová 2011, 497). Characteristic pottery with cylindrical neck can be classed within the decline of the entire settlement at the beginning of the 11th century. After the destruction of the transversal defensive wall, probably only unfortified settlements survived, which may be indicated by features sunk into the ruins of the latest fortification (Staňa 1967, 103; 1972, 155–158; 1988, 172, 175; 1998a, 274–280; 2000, 203–206; Kouřil 2003, 126; 2008, 122; Měřínský 1986, 38–39; Lutovský 2001, 36; Čížmář 2004, 93; Procházka 2009, 157–159; Procházka – Wihoda – Zapletalová 2011, 497).

From the locality comes an extensive collection of objects of 7th–9th century material culture, but also very important material dated to the 10th or early 11th centuries, inclusive of two coins. This material mainly comprises pottery and the above-mentioned three iron hoards (Bartošková 1986, 54–55, 57, Fig. 17B: 1–32 on p. 56). Many belt fittings typical of the Carpathian Basin fall within the pre-Great Moravian horizon (Fig. 6: 1–14). The assemblage of these artefacts from the collection by M. Kříž does not necessarily come only from Staré Zámky, but recent finds support this assumption. Among them we find chiefly three plain undecorated bronze sheet strap-ends with two rivets, a two-part openwork strap-end with round lobed tendril and a lug in the form of opposed animal heads (peacock dragon motif), and four tongue-shaped strap-ends from the side straps of a belt. The last-mentioned fittings include a fragment from an openwork strap-end with beaded edge and an s-shaped tendril in the inner field, another entirely preserved specimen with the same decorative pattern and a lug equipped with two rivets, and a ledged fragment with a complicated twig ornament inside. A side-strap fitting from a pre-Great Moravian feature excavated in the 1950s is decorated with two animals standing above each other in opposed position with their heads turned towards the raised tail. Further there is a cast openwork belt-hole guard decorated with four- or two-part spiral tendrils. The assemblage also contains a trapezoidal horse harness fitting with loop decorated with scale-like pattern, another two boss-like fittings with vegetal ornaments and an undecorated piece. A trilobate side-strap fitting decorated with the motif of a whirling rosette and a strap-end with lily-shaped ornament were discovered on the north-eastern slope below the edge of the plateau in 2006. Sunken layers and features yielded six iron hooked spurs of type III; the heel band on one of them is wrapped around with a wire of a different metal (Fig. 6: 15–17). An eyelet spur, a supposed stirrup fragment, and a part of a horse bit are dated to the end of the 8th or



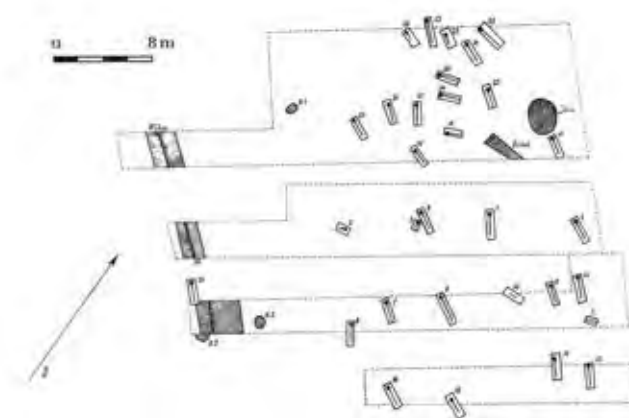
▲ Fig. 6. Staré Zámky near Brno-Líšeň.

Finds of bronze fittings, prevailingly from 7th–8th century belts associated with the Carpathian Basin area, and hooked spurs. Archive of the Institute of Archaeology, Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic Brno (1–8, 11–12, 15–17). After N. Profantová 1992 (10, 13), Č. Staňa 2010 (14), R. Procházka – M. Wihoda – A. Zapletalová 2011.



▲ **Fig. 7. Staré Zámky near Brno-Líšeň.** Pottery from the pre-Great Moravian (1–4) and Great Moravian (5–8) periods. Archive of the Institute of Archaeology, Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic Brno. After R. Procházka – M. Wihoda – A. Zapletalová 2011.

to the threshold of the 9th century (Procházka – Wihoda – Zapletalová 2011, Fig. 196: 8 on p. 478). The collection also comprises a trefoil arrowhead and a trapezoidal buckle. These finds mostly date from the advanced 8th or early 9th centuries. Undecorated sheet-metal fittings, however, are dated to as early as the end of the 7th century and to the 1st half of the 8th century. Undecorated bosses also occur as early as at the end of the 7th century (Staňa 1967, 701; Kavánová 1976, 12, Fig. I: 9, 11, II: 6; Profantová 1992, 668–669, No. 24, Tab. 9: 10, 10: 1–15 on pp. 723–724; Měřínský 2002, 273–275; 2013, 108, 158–160, 168–169, Fig. 35 on p. 109; Procházka – Wihoda –



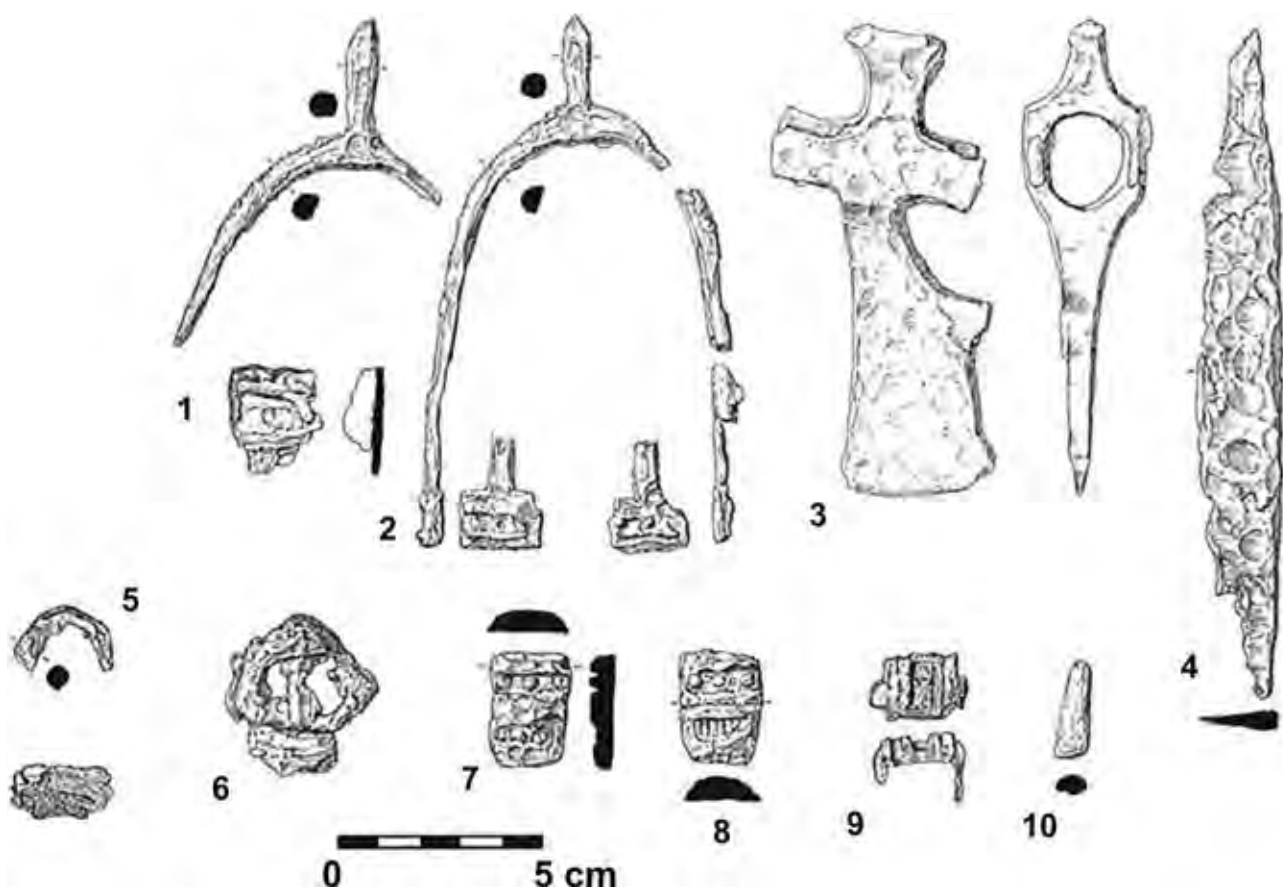
▲ **Fig. 8. Staré Zámky near Brno-Líšeň.** Plan of the excavated part of a Great Moravian burial ground in the second outer ward. Archive of the Institute of Archaeology, Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic Brno. After R. Procházka – M. Wihoda – A. Zapletalová 2011.

Zapletalová 2011, 459–460, Fig. 180 and 181 on pp. 459 and 461).

Č. Staňa (1972, 112–114; 1994, 267–273, Fig. 2, 3, 5 on pp. 267–268, 270, cf. 1995, 92–93; Procházka – Wihoda – Zapletalová 2011, Fig. 182 on p. 461) distinguished two pre-Great Moravian horizons, which are mainly characterised by decorative patterns in the form of comb waves and grooves as well as oblique or twig-like stroked ornaments. The third horizon falls within the Great Moravian Period and the fourth one within the time immediately after the destruction of the hillfort (Fig. 7). In the 2nd half of the 9th century we find the frequent occurrence of the typical Blučina-type jar, but in Staré Zámky it is a different variant than, for example, in the cemeteries at Rajhradice and Rajhrad and in local settlements or possible strongholds. But on this site we mostly find less specific ceramic production and sporadically also the Dolní Věstonice type with wavy rim (Staňa 1994, 273–276, Fig. 6, 9 on pp. 271, 275; Procházka – Wihoda – Zapletalová 2011, 466, Fig. 195 on p. 477).

A cemetery with 47 inhumation graves in the second outer ward, excavated in the years 1948–1949, also falls within the period of the greatest flourishing of the hillfort (Fig. 8). Three graves yielded evidence of warrior equipment and armament in the form of two bearded iron axes, an arrowhead and a pair of iron spurs (Fig. 9). Other grave goods comprised ceramic vessels, bucket fittings, bronze buttons, an iron jingle bell, fire steels, buckles, a bronze needle case decorated with twig-like ornament etc. The most frequent component of funerary equipment was an iron knife. Besides bronze and silver Ve-





▲ Fig. 9. Staré Zámky near Brno-Líšeň.

Material from warrior graves (2–3, Grave No. 25) with spurs, an axe, a knife and belt fittings. Archive of the Institute of Archaeology, Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic Brno. After Č. Staňa 2010, R. Procházka – M. Wihoda – A. Zapletalová 2011.

ligrad or Byzantine-oriental earrings there also occurred three grape earrings of Danubian type. An accidentally-found gold earring with a crescent decorated with granulation and a quintuple grape of granules on the lower part of the hoop also probably comes from the cemetery. Even though the burial ground was situated in the area of the stronghold, the funerary equipment was, on average, relatively poor. The material from graves, particularly bearded axes as well as beaded, crescent-shaped and grape earrings, is generally dated to the 9th century, mainly to its last third. However, the question remains whether the s- and loop-shaped ends on several earrings and old-style decoration on an advanced Blučina-type vessel indeed testify that burials were still being conducted here in the 1st half of the 10th century. We must take into consideration that the cemetery has not been explored in its full complexity and that it was not necessarily the only burial ground belonging to the stronghold (Pouлік 1949, 8–9, 12; 1948–1950, 103–104, Fig. 116–118; Hrubý 1962, 95; Dostál 1966, 117; Lutovský 2001, 36; Procházka –

Wihoda – Zapletalová 2011, 470–471, Fig. 191, 193, 194, 196, 197: 5 on pp. 475–479, colour pl. No. 114; Měřínský 2013, 463).

Grave goods from the cemetery and non-ceramic finds from the inner ward of the hillfort give evidence, even though only in several cases, of social structure and the occupations of the local inhabitants. The presence of elites is evidenced by the manorial residence and above all by iron spurs, belt fittings and pieces of militaria which, however, are relatively few in number. Among them there is a spearhead, axe fragments and iron arrowheads. Tools documenting craft production are known from above-mentioned hoards No. I and III, which included among other things a draw-knife, a hole punch and from among agricultural tools three entire sickles and other sickle fragments in hoard III (Fig. 3). Woodworking is evidenced in the central part of the hillfort by a turning tool or woodcarving knife and an adze. Metalsmithing is also evidenced, and the domestic textile production we would assume there is characterised

by collections of spindle whorls and by shears. Agricultural production is indicated by a coulter and a grape knife with securis. The other artefacts found comprise bucket fittings, mainly those from hoards I and III, axe-shaped ingots from hoard II, quernstones, and a bone skate from hoard I. Bone and antler artefacts are represented by various points and a socket (*Procházka – Wihoda – Zapletalová 2011, 471, Fig. 194, 196–198 on pp. 477–480*).

The significance of this local pre-Great Moravian and Great Moravian centre of the wider Brno region consisted above all in its location on a connecting line between the central south Moravian part of Mojmirid Moravia and the iron mills in the central part of the Moravian Karst, inclusive of the distribution of iron. The importance was also based on the distinctly non-agrarian character of the hillfort with much evidence of craft production, mainly metalsmithing. This is emphasised by the establishment of a manorial residence in the 2nd half of the 9th century and probably also by a supposed sacred building. The site retained its significance on a limited scale in the 10th century too, when it existed parallel to a new centre emerging in Old Brno (*Lutovský 2001, 36; Čížmář 2004, 89; Měřínský 2013, 422; Procházka 2009, 111–115, 159; Procházka – Wihoda – Zapletalová 2011, 479; Staňa 1988, 175*).

# ZNOJMO – ST HIPPOLYTUS' STRONGHOLD

MORAVIA

Zdeněk Měřínský

One of the currently known significant early mediaeval localities in southwest Moravia with evidence of pre-Great Moravian settlement, even though it is dated to just before the year 800, is St Hippolytus' Stronghold in Znojmo. In the pre-Great Moravian period it had already become a Slavic settlement centre and in the Great Moravian Period it undoubtedly represented a stronghold within the meaning of a *civitas*, which meant it had a leading status within a political and economic area and was tightly linked with its structure (cf. Měřínský 2011, 24–32, esp. p. 24). Based on the study of pre-Great Moravian and Great Moravian settlement in southwest Moravia, it is a territory delimited in the northeast by the area near Moravský Krumlov at the confluence of the rivers Jihlava and Rokytná near Ivančice, with a possible centre in the Rokytná Stronghold, extending in the south-western direction to the middle reaches of the Jevišovka and upper reaches of the Dyje in the neighbourhood of Znojmo. In the southeast it was separated from the Lower Jihlava region by the uninhabited area of Krumlovský les and the zone along the lower reaches of the Jevišovka. The western and north-western border of the Znojmo region was represented by the forested area opposite to Bítov (cf. Měřínský 1989, Fig. 79 on p. 223; 2013, 108–109).

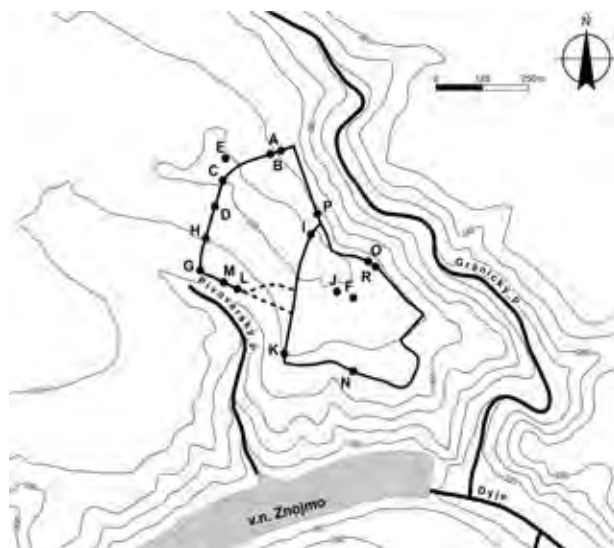


▲ Fig. 1. Znojmo, Hradiště sv. Hipolyta.

General plan of the stronghold and later Přemyslid Znojmo Castle. A – outer ward, B – inner ward with a cemetery in the provostry garden, excavated by F. Kalousek, and the present Church of St Hippolytus (1), C – Přemyslid castle with suburbium (D); solid line – detected fortification, dashed line – supposed course of the fortification with assumed extent of the Great Moravian cemetery in the western forefield of the outer ward (excavation site is marked with a rectangle). The original plan by F. Kalousek 1955 was modified by Z. Měřínský 1986 who also added the location of the cemetery in the western forefield of the outer ward according to B. Klíma – L. Kratochvíl 2009.

The fortification is situated on a mighty rocky spur between the valley of the Dyje and its tributaries the Gránice (which separates it from Znojmo Castle and the later town) and the

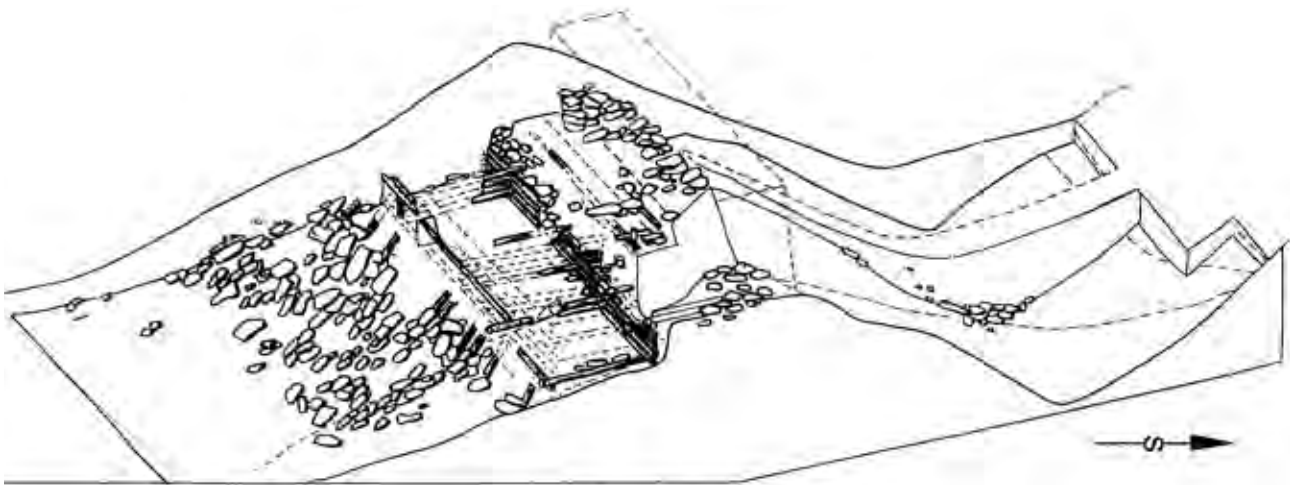
Pivovarský stream (Fig. 1). The two-part fortification is composed of an inner ward, which is irregularly quadrangular in plan and has an area of 8.5 ha, and a pentagonal outer ward measuring 9.5 ha on the north-western side. The total area of this fortified site, which is situated as much as 115 m above the Dyje Valley, is about 22 ha (sometimes only 18 ha is reported; see above). Even though the stronghold is protected on three sides by steep slopes, it was originally enclosed by a continuous rampart fortification, today levelled for the most part. The rampart protected the entrance area in the outer ward, and in the place of excavation trench B near the northern



▲ Fig. 2. Znojmo, Hradiště sv. Hipolyta.

General plan of the hillfort with reconstructed course of the fortification (solid line) and marking of examined sections. After Dresler 2003–2004.

corner of the fortification in the outer ward it had a width of 18 m at the base, and a height of 3.5 m (Fig. 2–3). The rampart was fronted by a V-shaped ditch up to 8 m wide and 3 m (elsewhere 2 m) deep. The massive rampart fortification included a wooden construction made of transversal and longitudinal logs, which may have formed sorts of chambers measuring 3 × 3 m, and from the inner side it was connected with log-built huts. The defensive wall may have originally reached a height of 4–5 m and had a total width of 6.5 m. According to recently obtained dendrodates from the log constructions, the outer transversal rampart fortification may have been built after the year 881 (Dresler 2003–2004, 223). The fortification was destroyed by fire. A similar character



▲ Fig. 3. Znojmo, Hradiště sv. Hipolyta.

Axonometric projection of the defensive wall in excavation trench B. After F. Kalousek 1955, modified by P. Dresler 2003–2004.

was also detected in the fortification of the inner ward, mainly in the place of the western front separating the outer ward from the acropolis, where new excavations were carried out in 1986 and above all in 1990 and 1993. The rampart was 8 m wide and its preserved height is 2.3 m. It had a similar construction to the fortification in the outer ward, inclusive of the adjacent log huts. The width of the defensive wall, however, was probably not more than 4.5 m. This rampart was also fronted by a rock-hewn ditch 4 m wide and 1.7 m deep (cf. *Lutovský 2001*, 375–376; *Měřínský 2002*, 276–277; *Dresler 2003–2004*, esp. p. 222; *Čížmář 2004*, 268–269; *Procházka 2009*, 246–254). The local name of St Hippolytus' Stronghold emerged on the basis of the patrocium of the local church, which is evidenced in literary sources from the beginning of the 13th century and was connected with the early mediaeval fortification. The patrocium as well as the supposed church may have originated as early as the 9th century (cf. below; e.g. *Měřínský 2013*, 372–373). The first archaeological excavations were already being conducted here by J. Palliardi at the end of the 19th century. Later extensive excavations, which were mainly focused on the course and character of the outer fortification and on the 10th–12th century and modern cemeteries in the provostry garden, were carried out under the direction of F. Kalousek in the years 1949–1951 and 1954–1957 (cf. *Podborský 2011*, 13, 16–17; *Sýkora 2001*, 57–66; *Klíma 2001c*, 37–40; *Lutovský 2001*, 376). Since 1986 they have been directed by B. Klíma Jr.

From older excavations by F. Kalousek in the 1st half of the 1950s (1949–1957) there had already come a decorative fitting with tendril ornament and a trefoil arrowhead. Recent research by B. Klíma Jr., which has been conducted here

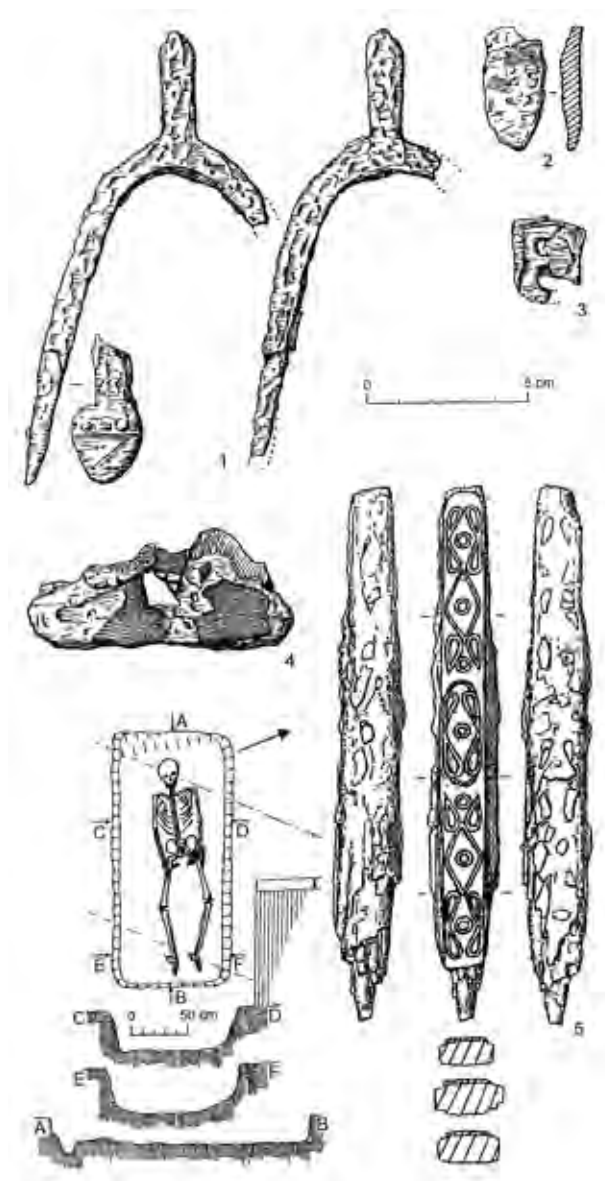
since the 2nd half of the 1980s (1986), has yielded further evidence – a typical bronze propeller-shaped cotter pin and a cast gilt tongue-shaped strap-end. Its edge is wavy and bent to the rear side, forming a sort of frame, and the front side is decorated with relief and incised vegetal ornaments. That the strap-end may have been used secondarily, or that it may have been younger than supposed, is indicated by three mounting holes placed along the longitudinal axis, atypical because these artefacts were usually riveted horizontally, at the upper wide edge. A late dating of this artefact to the turn of the 8th and 9th centuries, or even later to the 9th century, is also indicated by the type of decoration and by several analogies in south Slovak cemeteries with cast belt fittings (*Profantová 1992*, 692 Nr. 44, Tab. 34: 6–7 on p. 748; *Lutovský 2001*, 375–376; *Čížmář 2004*, 268–269; *Procházka 2009*, 246; cf. *Měřínský 2002*, 276–277).

The original name of Znojmo-Hradiště – St Hippolytus' Stronghold, Germ. Pöltenberg – allows us to take into consideration missionary activities based in the Lower Austrian Benedictine monastery in St Pölten, which is called Treisima S. Ypoliti (*Wolfram 1987*, 163, 191, 254, 265; *Měřínský 2002a*, 61; a consecration date around the year 760 is maybe too early). This monastery then became the parent church for sacred buildings of the same patrocium in St Hippolytus' Stronghold and at the foot of Zobor Hill above Nitra in Slovakia (e.g. *Oslanský 2002*, 212–213). It is more than likely that a Great Moravian church with this patrocium was situated at this site, maybe below the present-day Baroque-style Church of St Hippolytus belonging to the local provostry of the Knights of the Cross with the Red Star (*Foltýn a kol 2005*, 791–793). But it definitely cannot be identified without further research with the layout



of a more or less fabricated rotunda (Church No. 2), which is said to be situated below the Late Romanesque choir of the older phase of the church from the time before the Baroque rebuilding. The Great Moravian dating, supposed only on the basis of an indistinct arch of foundation masonry projecting from the southern wall of the choir of the older mediaeval church, and traces of mortar on the bedrock which allegedly indicate the round nave of the fabricated rotunda, is supposed to be confirmed by 11 Great Moravian and some other graves without funerary equipment, which were explored more than 5 m to the south of the “virtual” rotunda (e.g. Klíma 1999, 31, Fig. 14; 2001, 232, 235, Fig. 3 on p. 233; 2001c, 41, 43, Fig. 4 on p. 44; 2004, 181–190, esp. pp. 188–190, Fig. 1, 4–7 on pp. 180, 184–187; cf. Foltýn a kol. 2005, 794; on the critique of the whole interpretation and its genesis e.g. Měřínský 1999a, 457–458, esp. note 16–18 on p. 457; Dresler 2001). These graves, however, might in general give evidence of a Great Moravian building in the area of the provostry church. It may have been a rotunda, but also an elongated single-nave building with quadractic choir, as was earlier supposed in a publication about the Znojmo monuments (Líbal – Havlík a kol. 1961, 2–3). D. Líbal based his considerations in this regard on the constructional development of the Church of St Hippolytus (Měřínský 2006, 600; 2013, 372–373).

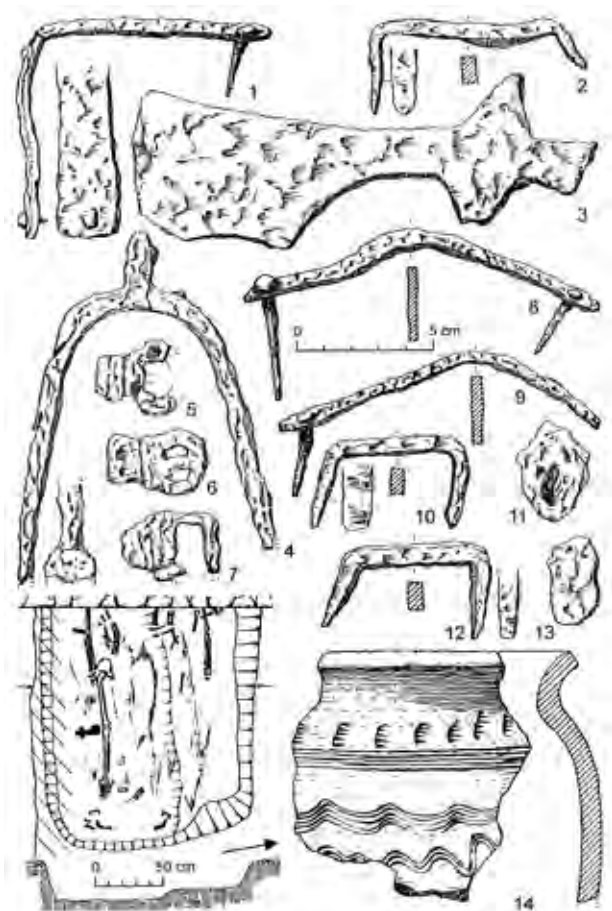
The same is also the case with the other supposedly detected church, No. 1, which is said to have been situated at the highest place of the inner ward of the hillfort, about 150 m from what is now the Church of St Hippolytus. According to L. E. Havlík (1988, 21), who emphasises that the azimuth of this church corresponds to sunrise on St Hippolytus’ Day, it should be the original Church of St Hippolytus and at the same time the oldest ecclesiastical building in the stronghold. The supposed stone-built south-eastern corner of the nave and fragments of undated and unstratified building remains are the only parts preserved, which are, moreover, overlaid with the masonry of a standing barn in the northern part. However, two Great Moravian children’s graves orientated W – E and N – S near the supposed outer south-western corner of the nave facilitated not only the dating of these indistinct and virtually uninterpretable wall remnants to the Great Moravian Period, but also the reconstruction of two phases of this ecclesiastical building. The first phase was an elongated single nave with quadractic choir which was probably still connected with Hiberno-Scottish influences mediated by the missionaries from St Pölten. In the second phase, the building was extended with a western vestibule with gallery, where the above two children’s graves were found. It is surprising that no other burials of adult individuals were detected here (e.g. Klíma 2001, 235–238, Fig. 4 on p. 234; 2001b; 2001c, 45–49; Foltýn a kol. 2005, 793–794). Even though neither of



▲ Fig. 4. Znojmo, Hradiště sv. Hipolyta.

Inventory from the warrior grave No. 207 south of the Late Romanesque choir of the Church of St Hippolytus. After B. Klíma 2004.

the two Great Moravian sacred buildings allegedly detected in St Hippolytus’ Stronghold at Znojmo can be verified on the basis of the find contexts unearthed (critically e.g. Dresler 2001; cf. Měřínský 2008b, 8, note 7 on pp. 23–24, with summary of lit.), they were published in scientific literature and popularised among the general public (e.g. Klíma 2001a). Even earlier J. Zástěra (e.g. 1986; 1990; in detail with bibliography and critique of this theory by various researchers Měřínský 1999a, 453, esp. note 2 on pp. 453–454) had presented a pseudo-theory of a Great Moravian origin for the



▲ Fig. 5. Znojmo, Hradiště sv. Hipolyta.

Remains of the twin grave No. 358 south of the Late Romanesque choir of the Church of St Hippolytus with an axe (3), spurs with spur strap fittings (4–7) and coffin fittings (1–2, 8–10, 12). After B. Klíma 2004.

well-known Rotunda of St Catherine, originally of the Virgin Mary, in Znojmo Castle, inclusive of the frescoes in its interior portraying the so-called Přemyslid cycle. This theory was definitively disproved by experts (comprehensively e.g. Krzemieńska 1985; 1987; Merhautová-Livorová 1983; Třeštk 1987; comprehensively again Krzemieńska – Merhautová – Třeštk 2000; cf. Měřínský 2006, 600–601; 2013, 373–374).

As was already mentioned above, in the area of the St Hippolytus' Stronghold many 9th century graves were unearthed. Their connection with the two hypothetically supposed sacred buildings is not reliably evidenced. In any case, Great Moravian burials are documented within the fortified area. Above all there is a group situated south of the choir of the present-day Baroque-style Church of St Hippolytus, according to B. Klíma a Great Moravian rotunda with a different patronage. It is very likely that the present church had an older precursor, but it

is not yet reliably verified whether it was a rotunda or whether it was associated with a group of eleven graves examined in 1997–1998 (Klíma 2001, 232, 235). Among them was a male warrior grave with iron spurs and spur strap fittings, a fire steel with strike-a-light, and a dagger or combat knife with bone sheath (Fig. 4). Spurs were also found in three other graves and two of them contained bearded axes (Fig. 5). To the north of these graves there was a burial of a small boy with spurs and in his neighbourhood a girl was buried in a stone-faced pit and equipped with a pair of hammered gilded buttons and silver grape earrings (Klíma 2001, 235, Fig. 3 on p. 233; 2004, 189, Fig. 3: 6 on p. 182, 4: 4 on p. 184, 7: 1–7 on p. 187). Even earlier, during excavations by F. Kalousek in the provostry garden, child's grave No. 22 with a pair of silver grape earrings was detected in the neighbourhood of 10th–12th century graves (Dostál 1966, 193; 1968, p. 46, Tab. 2 on pp. 18–19, note 22 on p. 33, Tab. IX: 5–6). Individual children's graves were also found in other places within the locality between settlement features. Two graves equipped with a spindle whorl, an earring, a necklace of glass beads and a ceramic vessel should give evidence of an entirely hypothetical building – the above-mentioned church consecrated to St Hippolytus (Klíma 2001, 232, 235, 237–238, Fig. 4 on p. 234; Lutovský 2001, 376; cf. Měřínský 2013, 464–465). In 2006 a rescue excavation was carried out in the area of the western fortified outer ward. A total of 55 Great Moravian features and five rock-hewn children's graves were unearthed. Two of these graves were equipped with a vessel, a bucket, earrings, glass beads from a necklace, a finger ring and a knife. Among the explored features were pit houses as well as various utilitarian and workshop facilities. The collection of finds included five iron fittings from horse harnesses (Klíma 2007, 528–529). In 2007, a rescue excavation was carried out in the south-eastern part of the inner ward and here identified three Great Moravian features and a female grave without funerary equipment, probably of Great Moravian origin. Other features were situated in the central and southern parts of the fortified outer ward, where rescue research had already been carried out in 1998. Here the excavations unearthed three Great Moravian houses with stone ovens, and a production facility north of the largest house, maybe with a pottery kiln and an adjacent open hearth, which are dated by ceramic finds to the Great Moravian and post-Great Moravian periods. In 2007, the ongoing rescue excavations in this area identified further settlement features and examined the major part of two overlapping Great Moravian houses – the older one with a hearth and the other with an oven (Klíma 2008, 461–462). Other features were detected, for example, during rescue excavations in 2010 at the eastern edge of the stronghold. Among them were the corner of a Slavic residential building, some shallow features and a Great Moravian layer in the area

of the provost's farm; another pit house with oven remnants was examined in the outer ward, and a trial trench was laid out across the rampart in the area of a stable on the boundary between the inner ward and the fortified outer ward of the stronghold (*Klíma 2010*, 182–183; *2010a*, 485–486).

An extensive 9th and 10th century burial ground was situated in the western forefield of the fortification. The cemetery was discovered during construction of a family house in 2007. At a depth of 35–45 cm, a total of 8 pre-Great Moravian cremation graves were found. The ashes and ceramic fragments were placed in pits mostly disturbed by ploughing. Further excavations detected another two cremation burials as well as the inhumation graves of 9 adults and 11 children. These graves probably represented the eastern part of a burial ground situated on an elevation slightly inclined to the southeast (*Klíma 2008*, 462). Field research at this locality continued in the following years after 2007 (cf. *Klíma 2009*; *2010*, 184; *2010a*, 486–488; *2011*; *Klíma – Kratochvíl 2009*). At the end of the 2010 excavation campaign, the site director reported that the overall excavated area was 1,620 m<sup>2</sup> with 341 graves and 355 buried individuals. 60 % of them were children aged 13 or less; the average age of females was about 32 and of adult males 42 years. The oldest female was about 75 years old and her burial was richly equipped with grave goods. The ratio of graves with funerary equipment was about 70 % (cf. *Klíma 2011*, 213). The material from the graves, as listed in a 2009 overview, comprised iron knives, spurs and spur strap fittings, strap-ends, a bronze gilt fitting with incised and relief decoration (*Klíma 2008*, 462), axes, arrowheads, a sickle, a fishhook, folding knives, fire steels, chert flakes, buckets, a spindle whorl, bronze, silver and gilded earrings, bronze finger rings, beads, necklaces and pendants, metal and glass buttons, jingle bells, iron rings and unidentifiable iron objects, shells, a glass fragment and other antiquities, vessels, remains of meat food and egg shells, one of them complete (*Klíma 2010*, 177; *2010a*, 487), textile fragments, objects from organic material, grain and seeds from grapes and other plants (cf. *Klíma 2009*, 12; *2010a*, 487). Since the 2013 excavation campaign, the number of unearthened graves has reached around 550 (personal communication by B. F. Klíma). In general, the site director classifies the burial ground in the forefield of St Hippolytus' Stronghold as the main cemetery of the local Great Moravian centre and supposes that it included 1,500 graves in total. Its arrangement reminds us strikingly of the burial grounds at Rebešovice and Rajhrad, which probably belonged to the Rajhrad Stronghold (*Klíma 2010a*, 484; cf. *Měřínský 2013*, 422–423, 433, 436, 438–440).

As was already mentioned above, this hillfort emerged at the end of the pre-Great Moravian Period at the latest, and became the local power centre in the Great Moravian Period, as is

indicated by several grave finds and by the supposed existence of a sacred building. Judging from the recently obtained dendrodates from log constructions, the outer transversal defensive wall may have been built after the year 888 (cf. above; *Dresler 2003–2004*, 223). The outer fortification was destroyed by fire, which is relatively exactly dated to the 1st half of the 10th century, based on the find of a female skeleton buried under beams from the collapsed defensive wall in trench C of the excavation by F. Kalousek. The skeleton was found in the ditch near the northern corner of the outer transversal fortification in the outer ward, which deviates here from the line leading from the northwest to the southeast, where it was overlaid by a modern cemetery (*Kalousek 1955*, 15–16; *Dresler 2003–2004*, 218–219; *Procházka 2009*, 247, 249–250, 252; *Lutovský 2001*, 376). The female died during this fire and her earrings and glass beads can be relatively exactly dated (*Kalousek 1955*, 22; *Dostál 1961*, 115, Fig. 8: 7–10 on p. 113; *1966*, 193; cf. *Měřínský 1986*, 37; *Dresler 2003–2004*, 223; *Procházka 2009*, 254; *Lutovský 2001*, 376). Thus, it is certainly possible that Znojem, as the locality was called in literary sources, was devastated by the Old Magyars in about 949–957 (*Pessina 1677*, 231, 238; *Havlík 1956*, 6; *Dostál 1961*, 115; *Měřínský 1986*, 37). We have some indications that the settlement at St Hippolytus' Stronghold survived until as late as the 11th century (cf. e.g. *Procházka 2009*, 247, 254) and may have been something like a local centre, even though in the 2nd half of the 10th century we already also know evidence of settlement on the opposite spur above where the Gránice runs into the river Dyje, where 0.4 km to the east there arose a castle of the Znojmo appanage dukes with a well-known Romanesque rotunda. It could only become the residence of the Přemyslid Znojmo secundogeniture of the Conradines until after the original compact Brno appanage was divided among the sons of Conrad I of Brno (after 1033–1092), Oldřich of Brno (1092–1097, ?–1099, 1101–1113/15) and Litold of Znojmo (1092–1099, 1101–1112), after Conrad ascended the Prague ducal throne after the death of Vratislav I († January 14th, 1092), or after Conrad's death († November 6th, 1092). It was not until then that the local centre was definitely relocated to the place where the castle now stands, as is indicated by relatively numerous finds of post-Great Moravian pottery giving evidence of continuous settlement from the turn of the 9th and 10th centuries to the 1st half of the 11th century (cf. above; *Procházka 2009*, 247, 254). The rotunda was also probably built at that time. L. J. Konečný (2005, 61, 397–405, esp. p. 397) supposes that the church was built in about 1080 and the paintings within were made in the years 1091–1092 or shortly after this date (cf. *Měřínský 1981*, 153–154; *1986*, 37, Fig. 12: 1 on p. 41, Fig. 13 on p. 42, Fig. 17: 2 on p. 46; *1999*, 455–458; *2009*, 225–226; *2013*, 422–423; *Jan 1997*, 45–49; *Lutovský 2001*, 376; *Čížmář 2004*, 267–269; *Procházka 2009*, 243–254).



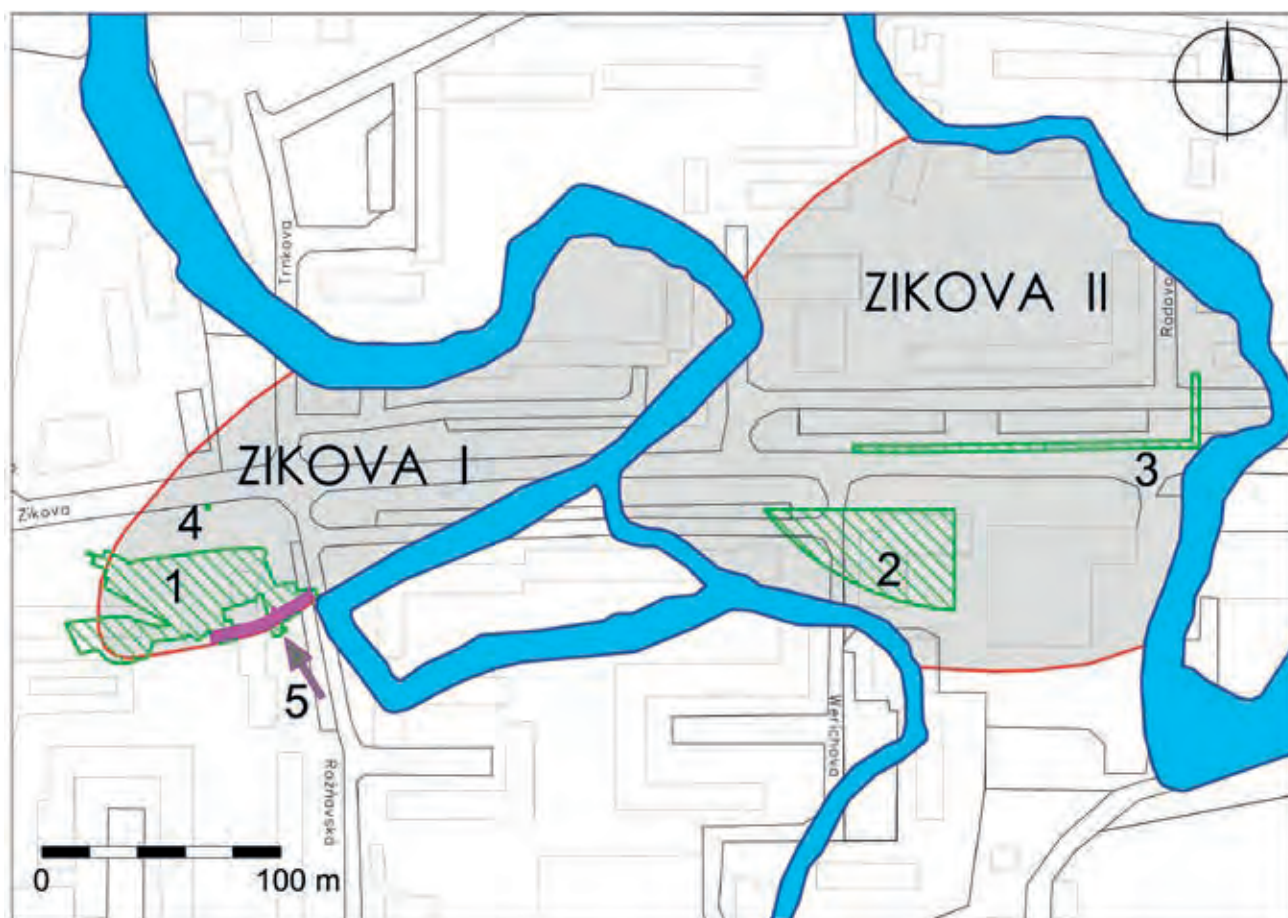
# OLOMOUC

## MORAVIA

Pavel Šlězár

Olomouc began to be known as a centre of power as early as in the pre-Great Moravian period. In 1986, on the inundation terrain around the Olomouc suburb of Povel an unexpected discovery was made of a lightly fortified central settlement, lying about 1.5 km south of the south-east edge of today's historical city centre at an altitude of 210 m. The location is currently within terrain that has a nearly perfectly level owing to later flood deposits. The original geomorphology was much more uneven in this area. The flow of the River Morava and Povelka stream created altimetrically diverse terrains with small elevations and terraced slopes, used for settlements since prehistoric times. The core of the settlement, described by head researcher Josef Bláha as Zikova I, stretched from the right bank of the Povelka to a slight oval-shaped elevation about 1.8 m above the meander terrain of this stream (Fig. 1). Preliminary research preceding the construction of a block of flats called "Nové Sady – Jih" in 1984–1988, covering an area of 2,633 m<sup>2</sup>, unearthed more than fifty sunken settlement structures, mostly for farming purposes

(storage pits, pits from which soil was excavated to build houses, ovens, workshops, pens for domestic animals). Some of these structures had a regular rectangular or square shape with implied entrances. However, aboveground structures made of logs were used for living, leaving remains of extensive shallow depressions and fragments of daub with marks of round timbers. Research at the south-east border of the area uncovered the remains of a wickerwork fence and spaced oak poles. In some places they created a chaotic cluster and in some they made three rows. The remains of a gate were also found here. The poles did not continue in a south-westerly direction and this area was protected by an elevated slope. After finishing a topographical reconstruction of the entire Zikova I location, it was discovered to have an area of 1.8 ha. To the east, between the meander of the Povelka and River Morava, another unfortified outwork was located with an expected area of up to 4 ha. An area of 2,255 m<sup>2</sup> was uncovered and showed a structure for farming-production purposes (blacksmith, smelting workshop).



▲ Fig. 1. Olomouc, pre-Great Moravian centre in Olomouc – Povel.

Topographical reconstruction with research areas highlighted; arrow shows location of entry gate and the bold line shows the palisade fortification. According to P. Šlězár.





▲ **Fig. 2. Olomouc, pre-Great Moravian centre in Olomouc – Povel.**  
Set of glass pearls. Photo M. Bém.

For dating purposes and the functional interpretation of the locations, very rich finds are important and in our lands are represented by an extremely rare set of artefacts from the pre-Great Moravian period: two bronze and two complete iron specimens of spurs with hooks (besides two other iron fragments), nine cast bronze parts of belt garnitures related to the environment of the Carpathian Basin from the 8th century; exceptional is the small scabbard chapes with half-round ends from the end of the 8th century affected by Carolingian influences. A silver omega-shaped clip is probably a Merovingian import from the Upper Danube area from the 7th century or the beginning of the 8th century; a golden twisted earring with a loop was discovered in this same location and could have originated from the 6th–7th centuries. A second golden item found in this location is a piece of square pressed ironwork from a golden plate with a hammered geometrical decoration. This was probably part of a belt garniture popular in the 7th century and then again in the 2nd half of the 8th century. Among imported items there is a set of glass pearls, mostly round in shape and made out of blue-white glass and segmented crosswise with embedded golden foil originating from the Egyptian-Syrian environment (**Fig. 2**). Contacts with northern areas are evidenced by amber raw materials of Baltic origin. The most numerous items which have been found are ceramics; besides advanced goods from the Lower Danube region and ceramics of local origin, it is possible to see a certain influence

from northern areas (the Baltic?) and also the west (copies of Carolingian ceramics?, **Fig. 3**).

The exceptional social status of the citizens of the Povel centre is documented by the absence of farming tools and granaries in the settlement. Preparation of meals is documented by fragments of cooking slabs and millstones. Osteological analyses have shown that the citizens of the Povel settlement had a specific meat diet half of which was made up from pork from young pigs slaughtered between their first and second year. In three cases, analysis of animal bones found remains of African wild asses.

Also important are the findings regarding local blacksmith and metal casting production and the evidence of everyday life in this centre: a number of iron and bone tools, whetstones, remains of textiles and evidence of the preparation and preservation of foodstuffs.

The entire settlement, originating probably at the dawn of the 7th century and culminating in the 8th century, may be considered a centre of the higher social elite in this part of the Upper Moravian Basin. The presence of a ruler is probable – a tribal prince, along with mounted warriors and specialised craftsmen. The settlement also occupied a favourable location near a place where the River Morava could be forded in the area of the confluence of the Morava's channels – today's

Velkomoravská Street. The downfall of the Povel settlement is connected with the process of the unification and expansion of Mojmirid Moravia around the turn of the 8th century, probably influenced by the control of trade routes in the Olomouc region and the capture of iron smelting centres in the Uničov and Litovel regions. However, besides two arrows and a local burn site, we have not registered any violent events in the Povel centre. Settlements in the Zikova II unfortified outworks steadily continued deep into the 9th century.

Under the reign of the Mojmirids the centre of power was transferred to the Olomouc Hill area, in today's historical centre of Olomouc. This geomorphological carboniferous formation, rising from the flood meadow of the Morava and surrounded by one of its channels, dominated the entire region. Its morphologically most significant peaks are the Michalské návrší (226 m above sea level) and Václavské návrší hillocks (226 m above sea level); a less rugged terrain is the Petrské návrší hillock plateau (228 m above sea level) – also called Předhradí. Even though a settlement of the Prague-type culture was discovered at the foot of Olomouc kopec hill, on Pekařská Street where settlement history continues into later periods, Olomouc kopec hill was not inhabited by Slavs until the 9th century. Its dominant location, several sources of fissure water mainly from the Michalské návrší hillock and last but not least several remains of fortifications from the Bronze

Age, as documented by the Věteřov ditch discovered in 2004 on the Václavské návrší hillock, probably predetermined this hillock as fit for use for other purposes. A good amount of evidence suggests this area was an archaic centre of pre-Christian cult assemblies and judicial activities.

Discovering the Great Moravian stage of the populating of the Olomouc kopec hill is, however, extremely difficult, the main reason being the overlapping of the Middle Hillfort stratigraphy with the continuously and densely built-up areas of this part of the historical city centre in the following centuries. After episodic searching for the Great Moravian centre in Olomouc on the elevated Klášterní Hradisko hillfort, supported mainly by Václav Richter, Boris Novotný continued searching in the 1960s and located the Great Moravian centre on the Olomouc kopec hill. Undoubtedly stratified finds of Great Moravian ceramics were uncovered in 1977 by Josef Bláha while undertaking research at No. 842 Biskupské Square. Other valuable sets of ceramics and even iron items were found from culture layers and structures from research at 502 Křížkovského Street during the years 1979–1980, and from Tereziánská zbrojnice (Theresian armoury) on Biskupské Square during the years 1995–1997, where it was possible to uncover part of a Middle Hillfort period burial ground. Other Middle Hillfort period graves with many valuable items were uncovered in 1999 at 3 Wurmova Street. Despite undoubted

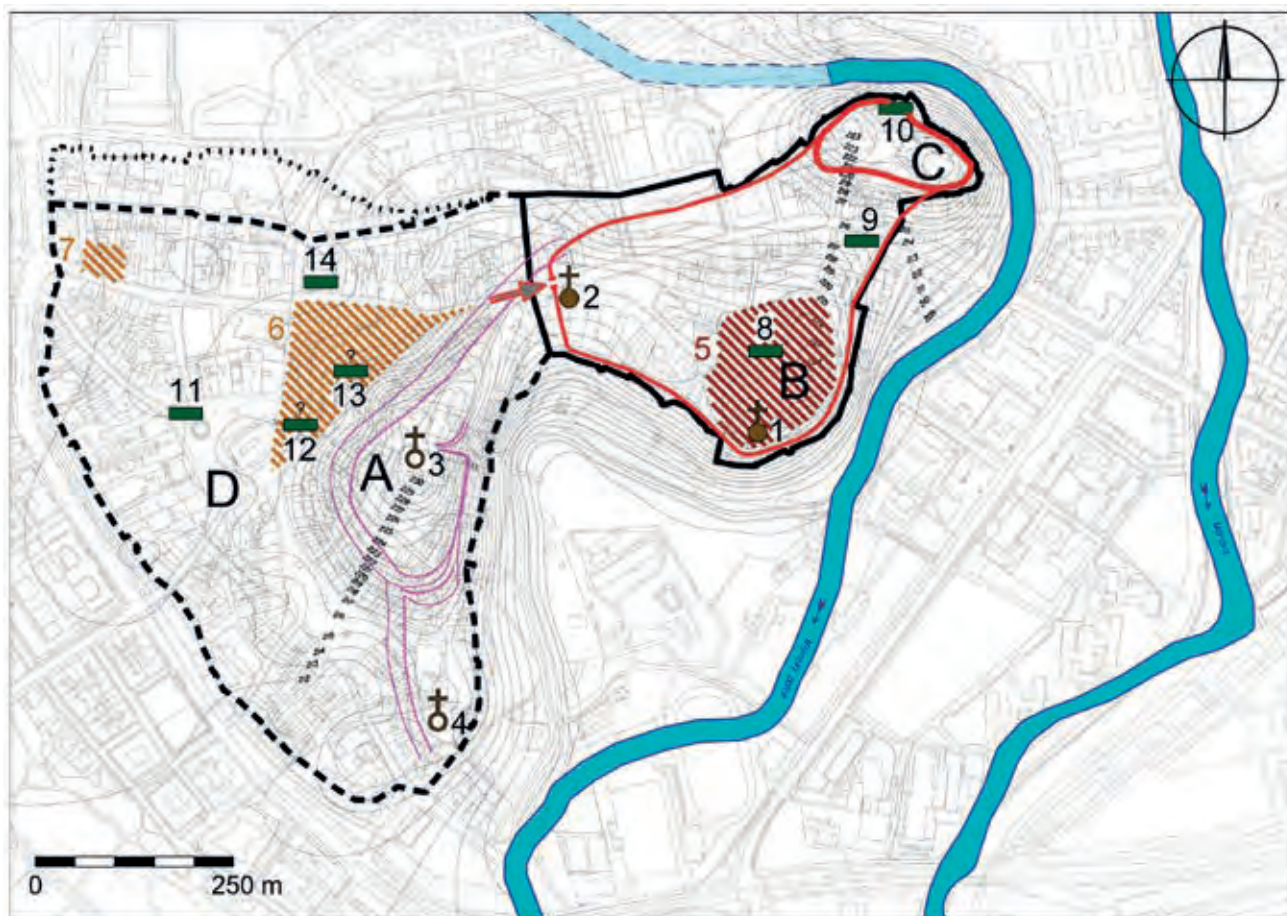


▲ Fig. 3. Olomouc, pre-Great Moravian centre in Olomouc – Povel. Set of ceramic vessels. Photo M. Bém.

finds of Great Moravian artefacts from the Václavské návrší hillock (ceramics, gombiks – Great Moravian jewels, axe-shaped talents, Silesian-type bowls, etc.) the long-term head of research at Olomouc castle – Vít Dohnal – categorically refused to accept the existence of a Middle Hillfort period settlement in this location. Undoubted settlement and funerary activities were proven thanks to the construction of an archdiocesan museum, preceded by archaeological research undertaken during the years 1999–2006, managed by Pavel Šlězár and chiefly Richard Zatloukal.

Despite the unequivocal identification of the Olomouc kopec hill area with the Great Moravian centre, the form, character and development of the settlement in this location still

pose a complicated question. Rare and unstratified finds of parts of a bronze stirrup and fragments of an iron bit from the pre-Great Moravian period from the Václavské návrší hillock may support the assumption of (military?, guarding?) activities taking place as early as the 8th century. A bronze cast pendant with the motif of a human face – a pagan amulet from the 8th century, possibly from the beginning of the 9th century, from the Václavské návrší hillock possibly documents the assumed cultic purpose of the Olomouc kopec hill during the pre-Great Moravian era. Results of extensive areal uncovering and several smaller projects carried out in Předhradí and on the Václavské návrší hillock show intensive use of the entire surface of this area until the late 9th century.



▲ Fig. 4. Olomouc in the Middle Hillfort period.

A – Michalské návrší hillock; B – Petrské návrší hillock (Předhradí); C – Václavské návrší hillock; D – city location; red marks the reconstructed part of the hillfort; arrow points to gate; 1 – Church of St Peter; 2 – Church of the Virgin Mary; 3 – Church of St Michael; 4 – Church of St Blaise and Blažejské Square; 5 – hatched area marks the primary core of the settlement (court) in Předhradí; 6 – the beginnings of later craft and trade suburb of the 2nd half of the 10th century; 7 – Sokolská Street; 8 – burial ground in the Theresian armoury; 9 – burial ground in Wurmova Street; 10 – burial ground in so-called carriage area; 11 – burial ground in Horní Square (surrounding the Holy Trinity Column); 12 – burial ground in Horní Square (surrounding Caesar's Fountain); 13 – burial ground (?) in Ostružnická Street; 14 – burial ground in Pekařská Street. According to P. Šlězár.



The first core settlement from the beginning of the 1st half of the 9th century is, however, distinctly concentrated at the highest point of the Předhradí area, today's Biskupské Square and Křížkovského Street (**Fig. 4**). This strategic location also made it possible to control the still-functioning Povel crossing of the River Morava. Finds of cross ironworks, buckles, axes and arrow heads document the presence of a Great Moravian military elite. A rare occurrence is the concentration of high-capacity granaries, storage pits and an aboveground granary, which are not known from other parts of Olomouc. It is possible to assume that this was a place used to gather and then distribute goods and in-kind rations from the more distant agricultural areas. Fragments of stained glass windows with red soldered decorations, fragments of lime mortar with added crushed bricks and fragments of baked roof tiles from the 9th and 10th centuries obtained during research into the Theresian armoury relatively reliably prove the existence of sacral structures. An uncovered iron stylus, most likely from the 1st half of the 10th century, is related to the secular administrative body, traders or the ecclesiastical environment. The eastern part of the extensive courtyard of the Theresian armoury contained finds from the edge of probably the largest necropolis, constituted of 13 child burials, and judging from the jewellery and ceramics, originating from the end of the 9th century up to the 1st half of the 10th century. All the above-mentioned facts, i.e. the concentration of the elite, gathering of goods and the existence of sacral structures with burial grounds in a limited area and a well-definable location allow us to interpret the situation in



▲ **Fig. 5. Olomouc.**

Location of the Church of Our Lady of the Snows in the narrow neck of the Petřské návrší hillock separating Olomouc Castle from the lower castle, which later developed into the Royal City. Photo M. Kalábek.

such a way that in the first phase of Middle Hillfort period settlements on the Olomouc Hill there was a courtyard in the Předhradí area with an economic-administrative function for the adjacent part of the Upper Moravian Basin, even though we still have not uncovered the typical right-angled palisade enclosure. This interpretation may be supported by the existence of a Roman courtyard belonging to the first Olomouc archbishops from the period before the translation of the cathedral to St Wenceslas in 1141 in this area. In the immediate vicinity of the Theresian armoury, in a southerly direction, an as yet undiscovered original church of St Peter should have stood, the Gothic phase of which was researched in 1948 by Květa Reichertová. It was near the church of St Peter, where the Moravian bishopric was re-established in 1063; the church was then called "the mother of all churches in the province".

Taking Olomouc as a certain counterpart to the so-called Ducal Manor in Pohansko near Břeclav allows for the most acceptable explanation of the peculiar occurrence of a group of yellow-shaded oxidation-burnt ceramic with goblet-style edges, which is linked – in the Olomouc region – exclusively with the Olomouc Hill locality. The ceramics is a characteristic element of the Early Great Moravian Mikulčice group, best known from Mikulčice and Pohansko near Břeclav, locations with the closest ties with the reigning Mojmir dynasty.

At the end of the 9th century, a dynamic and intensive increase of settlements occurs on the Petřské and Václavské návrší (hillocks). This is documented by many settlement structures and cultural layers as well as by five graves from the necropolis in Wurmova Street uncovered in 1999. Based on the many items from two female graves (silver basket-style and grape-style earrings, gombiks and a small decorated chest) we are able to date the graves to around the year 900, or to the 1st half of the 10th century.

It is at the end of the 9th century when we may find the beginnings of the Olomouc hillfort, located on the Václavské hillock, as well as in Předhradí. When researching at the so-called "new heating room" in 2000, the clay-rock foundation of a fortification containing Great Moravian ceramics was uncovered in the west part of the area being researched. Carrying on to the west, under the fortification in a sunken structure, iron forged crosses, buckles, spur fragments, bone gaming piece and a millstone were uncovered. The filling of the structure contained many clay weaving weights, possibly originating from a textile workshop (a gynaeceum?). The structure probably had the votive character of a structural offering; this is also evidenced by other intentionally deposited finds in the outline of the fortification: a ceramic pot



from the so-called carriage houses and a hoard of talents from the Malý dvorek (Small courtyard). However, we are not able to characterise these fortifications in greater detail, because they lay on the line of the later shell fortification with a front and back stone wall and wooden elements laid perpendicularly to the longitudinal axis of this fortification wall from the 2nd half of the 10th century. In front of the Great Moravian fortification, in the area of the so-called carriage house, a burial ground was uncovered with the remains of at least eleven children and seven adults, dated to the 1st half of the 10th century. The better-equipped children's graves contained glass beads and silver earrings with eyelets. The adult graves contained ceramic containers and iron items; one of the buried persons had a triangular arrow head shot into his body. During research work into the sewer system surrounding the Cathedral of St Wenceslas in 2004, an extensive basement was discovered chiselled into rock with approximate dimensions of 10.5 × 8 m and a depth of approx. 2.5 m with a beam ring, floorboards and a filling containing Middle Hillfort period ceramics. This may well have been the basement of a more important building (palace?).

Important findings for uncovering the form of the fortification and the character of the Předhradí settlement in the 9th and 10th centuries were provided by the reconstruction of the first front facade of the Church of Our Lady of the Snows in Denisova Street in 2012 (Fig. 5). It was in this most narrow neck of Předhradí that a ditch carved into rock was discovered, approximately 6 m wide and 1.8 m deep. The skeleton of a woman was thrown into this ditch in the 10th century and was found during reconstruction work in Denisova Street in 2007. A similar ditch chiselled into rock with a width of 9.5 m and an unknown depth was discovered in Pekárni Street. A group of layers from the 9th to 10th centuries were located just by the edge of the ditch at the Church of Our Lady of the Snows, and thus eliminates the possibility of any higher quality fortification existing. Only the isolated parts of a small furrow have been found, the remains of a light wooden, possibly horizontal fortification.

The above-mentioned findings allow us to characterise the Olomouc Late Great Moravian Period hillfort as consisting of two parts, having a fortified acropolis on the Václavské hillock with an area of 1.4 ha and lighter fortified Předhradí with an area of 10.3 ha. This situation lasted into the 10th century. It must be said that the rock massif of Olomouc Hill significantly increased the total defensive capacity.

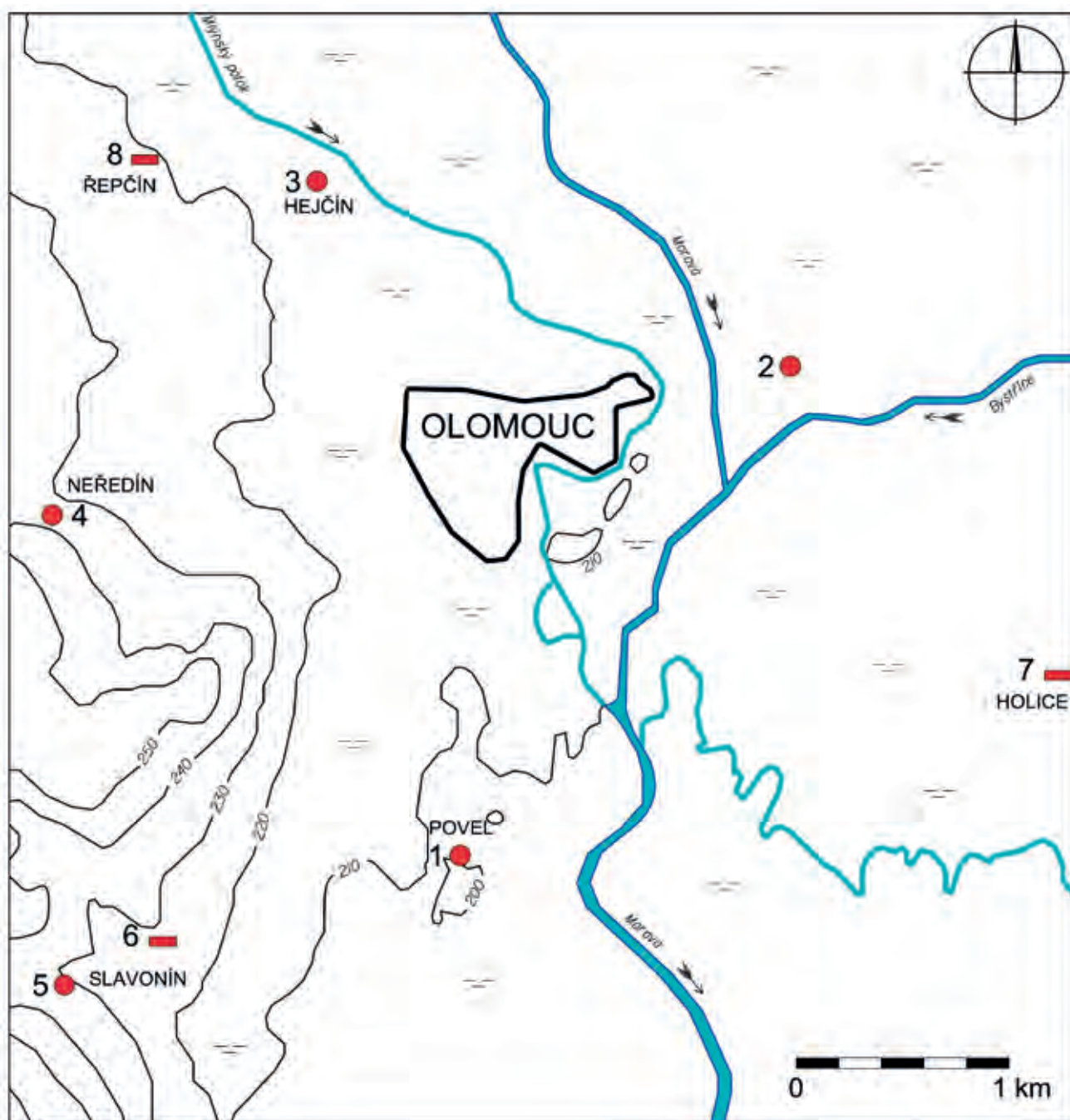
Layers from the 9th and 10th centuries by the front facade of the Church of Our Lady of the Snows revealed fragments

of lime mortar, plaster and mostly fragments of baked roof tiles, mainly trough-like pantiles with step-shaped offsets. These finds also indicate the existence of a brick sacral structure from the Great Moravian and post-Great Moravian periods in the close vicinity. This early mediaeval church was intentionally located in an honourable place near the main gate leading into the Olomouc hillfort. Finds of mortar from the Early Hillfort periods and Roman architectonic segments evidence the long-term tradition of the existence of the sacral structure on this location, according to archival sources from the 13th century dedicated to the Virgin Mary. What seems problematic is the use of crushed bricks as additives in the mortar and especially the use of backed roof tiles for the roofing of brick Great Moravian structures in Olomouc, discovered during the uncovering of the Theresian armoury, as well as the Church of Our Lady of the Snows. It is possible to consider the secondary utilisation of ceramic roof tiles and bricks from older abandoned structures from Roman times, or the use of imitations from the Great Moravian period, known from the Staré Město – Uherské Hradiště agglomeration.

In any case, the use of such "lavish" construction ceramics could have been connected with Great Moravian church traditions. The importance of Olomouc as an ecclesiastical-administrative organisation increased during the renewal of the ecclesiastical organisation in Great Moravia during the years 899–900, when papal emissaries – Archbishop John and Bishops Benedict and Daniel – appointed and ordained one of the archbishops and three of his subordinate bishops. The seat of the archbishop was located in one of the South Moravian centres, most probably in the church complex in Uherské Hradiště – Sady; it seems fair to localise the suffragan bishopric in Nitra, which was a bishopric from 880. Another bishopric may possibly be localised in the remains of Pannonia governed by Mojmir II (possible Veszprém or Sopron). The last suffragan bishopric can be located in Olomouc, probably in relation to the need for the Christianisation during the years 874–880 of the newly-acquired dependent tributary lands of the Vistulans in the Cracow region and especially the Great Moravian warriors from the directly-controlled Holarice area. The foundation of a bishopric, according to ecclesiastical regulations, required a certain degree of Christianisation and this is why the bishopric could not have been established in Cracow, where missionary activities were just underway. After the fall of Great Moravia and the South Moravian centres of Mikulčice, the Staré Město – Uherské Hradiště agglomeration and Pohansko near Břeclav, it was Olomouc which became successor to the political-economic-administrative structures in Great Moravia. As practically the most important Moravian *civitas* of the 10th century, it was logical that continuity of

the ecclesiastical-administrative structures took place here, documented by, besides other things, the presence of the Moravian bishop at the Mainz synod in 976. This tradition was resumed by the re-establishment of the Moravian bishopric in Olomouc in 1063.

Archaeological records of Great Moravian settlements and burials can be found in the immediate vicinity of the centre on the Václavské návrší hillock and in Předhradí. Fragments of Middle Hillfort period ceramics originate from Michalský kopec hill and Blažejské Square. The remains of settlement



▲ Fig. 6. Olomouc, a place in a close vicinity of the centre of the Olomoucký kopec hill.

1 - pre-Great Moravian centre in Olomouc-Povel; 2 - Olomouc - Kaštanová Street; 3 - Hejčín - Mrštíkovo Square; 4 - Neředín; 5 - Slavonín - Pod Vlachovým; 6 - Slavonín - Horní lán; 7 - Holice; 8 - Řepčín. Circle - settlement; square - burial ground.

structures, probably from the end of the Middle Hillfort period, were discovered in Pekařská Street and Great Moravian finds were discovered in Sokolská Street. In Pekařská Street, part of a Middle Hillfort period inhumation burial ground with 13 graves was discovered in the 1980s. Most of the graves had been looted in the Early Middle Ages. Only vessels, fragments of golden wire and bronze earrings were preserved from the burial items. In the place of today's Horní Square, we find graves in the north-western part around the Holy Trinity Column, and also in the north-eastern part around Caesar's Fountain. Rare but stratified human bones come from nearby Ostružnická Street. A relatively dense network of agricultural and to a lesser extent production settlements found in Hejčín, Nemilany, Neředín and Slavonín formed the farming base of the Olomouc centre (**Fig. 6**). The first researched necropolis from the Olomouc agglomeration (in the 1970s) was the burial ground in Olomouc-Holice with 21 graves. In the 1990s, 100 graves were gradually uncovered in Slavonín

Horní lán and 53 graves in Nemilany – Na Kopci. Besides a number of weapons and equipment in the male graves (a sword with the mark +ULFBERHT+, a spear, axes, arrow heads, spurs), the Olomouc necropolises in Nemilany and Slavonín are exceptional thanks to their finds of artefacts and burial customs showing Nomadic influences (sabres, special ceramic shapes, horse burials), which we can find in burial grounds in the wider surroundings of Olomouc – Náměšť na Hané, Krčmaň.

Even though a large number of finds of a luxury nature (including fragments of amber) from Olomouc evidences long-distance trade, long-distance routes did not pass directly through Olomouc kopec hill and the later outworks of the Great Moravian period. However, the strategically located centre of the entire agglomeration on Olomouc kopec hill controlled a dense network of long-distance arterial roads in its immediate surroundings. The pre-Great Moravian conditions were basically preserved where the main crossing over the River Morava in a west-east direction from Bohemia to Cracow (later called the Trstenice Road) was situated at the Povel fording place. In a north-south direction on the right bank of the Morava, the connection leading from South Moravia towards Polish Klodzko and Wrocław followed the Hradská Road; the connection between South Moravia and Silesia was ensured on the left bank in a similar manner. Another traffic corridor in the direction of Silesia led from the Brno region. The presence of a warrior unit at burial sites situated by the important communication routes shows the intentional placement of units to control these corridors. Nomadic elements, when they are connected with Old Hungarian ethnic groups in Olomouc burial grounds, may be explained similarly. In the case of the settlement in Kařtanová

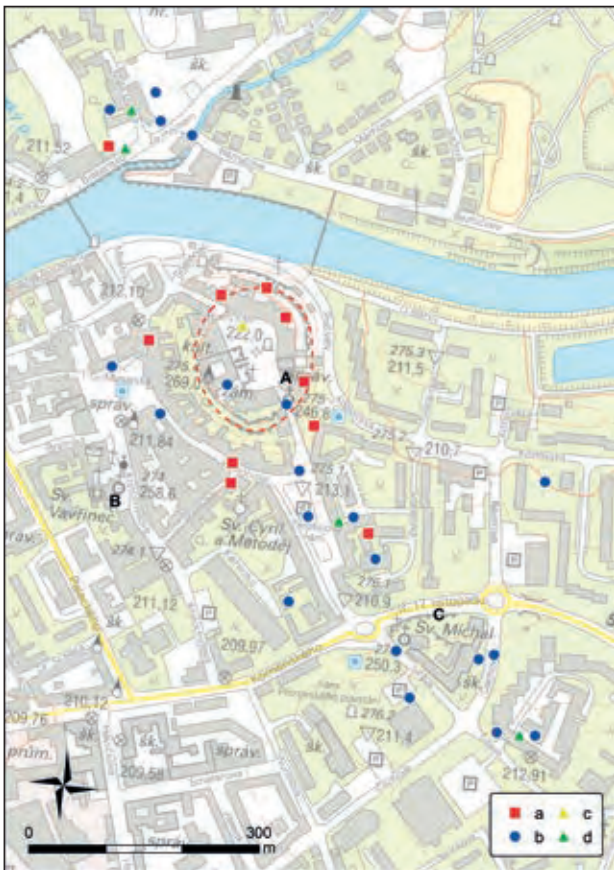
Street in Olomouc, it is also possible to consider a control function in relation to the communication route leading across the Morava to the hard-to-access left bank. During the 10th century, this control and maybe even customs function was taken over by the Klářterní Hradisko hillfort on the rocky elevation.

The continuity of settlements in the surroundings of the Olomouc agglomeration kept developing even after the downfall of Great Moravia, and it was here where it was possible to preserve the economic-administrative and even ecclesiastical structures of the empire. This was probably possible thanks to the local elite's co-operation with or tributary dependence on the Hungarians. Olomouc underwent significant changes after its annexation to the Bohemian state of the Premyslids during the reign of Boleslav. The Olomouc castle acropolis was fortified with a shell fortification and the newly-created suburbium was connected with long-distance trade routes.

# PŘEROV

## MORAVIA

The early mediaeval agglomeration of Přeřov developed on both shores of the River Bečva, near the south-western mouth of the natural corridor named the Moravian Gate, more precisely its geomorphological sub-unit the Bečva Gate, into the Upper Morava Valley. The settlement area was dominated by two hills rising above the river floodplain. The first one was "Hradisko" in Předmostí, a massive loess hill around two limestone rocks (240m ASL), which has been almost completely destroyed by mining today. The morphological counterpart of Hradisko on the opposite left bank of the River Bečva was represented by a less distinct Quaternary travertine mound (220 m ASL) in Přeřov, today altered by Gothic and Renaissance buildings surrounding Horní náměstí (Upper Square). An indistinct ridge runs out of this mound in a south-easterly direction through what is now Žerotínovo Square towards the suburb of Šířava. The bedrock of the hill is covered with loess and above all with anthropogenic deposits.



▲ **Fig. 1. Přeřov. Settlement from the 9th – 1st half of the 11th century:**  
a – 9th (10th) – 11th century settlement; b – 11th century settlement; c – 9th century graves; d – 11th century graveyard of unspecified time range. Dashed line the approximate range of the acropolis from the beginning of the 11th century. Author R. Procházka, compiled by M. Vlach.

## Rudolf Procházka



▲ **Fig. 2. Přeřov – 8 Horní Square.**  
An assemblage of iron objects from the beginning of the 10th century; 10 – wooden handle, 9th century.

The River Bečva thus divides the early mediaeval agglomeration into two parts, namely that in Předmostí with distinct burial sites, and the other in Přeřov, where a power centre probably developed. On the elevated terraces above the Bečva we can find many other settlements (Fig. 1). It seems that the Kopec hill in Přeřov, which had already played an important role in the Early Bronze Age, has not been permanently occupied since the time of Christ.

According to present knowledge, early mediaeval activities on both shores began in the 6th–8th centuries. This period is represented by a settlement pit from No. 201 Jiráskova Street, situated at the bottom of a complicated stratigraphic sequence. It contained typical ceramic jars decorated with combed waves. Isolated sherds datable to before the 9th century occur secondarily in younger layers and elsewhere. A distinct increase can be observed in the 9th century when settlement finds concentrate at the south-eastern edge of the hill plateau of Horní Square (No. 8) and the adjacent indistinct ridge of the Bečva terrace. The first phase in the excavated area of house No. 8 is represented by sunken features embedded in the prehistoric layer. A hearth was discovered on the surface of the demise backfill, including a shattered vessel and fragments of iron objects such as lock parts (faceplate, bolt), bucket hoops, an ingot and a relatively rare iron shaft for hammering and smoothing metal; maybe it is the suddenly abandoned workplace of a blacksmith (Fig. 2). In the excavation trench in the courtyard of house No. 21, isolated fragments of 9th century pottery were found



immediately above the level of a sequence of Věteřov layers, but mostly together with fragments datable to the advanced 10th century. The construction of the defensive wall here was preceded by several layers including 9th–10th century ceramic finds, most of them representing terrain adjustments without any clearly distinguishable activities. In similar positions, at the boundary between the prehistoric horizon and distinct 10th century accumulations, or directly within the 10th–11th century activities, fragments of 9th century pottery occurred in excavated houses No. 19, 20, 21 and 26. A remarkable find in house No. 20 is represented by a drystone wall orientated in a west-east direction, which is embedded deep in the bedrock and overlaid with an 11th century level. This construction maybe continues in No. 21 where it rests upon a sequence of Věteřov layers (*Čížmář – Kohoutek 1999*, 154–156, 158). Interpretation of this construction still remains open but it

undoubtedly attests to the presence of social circles higher than in ordinary settlements. The hope for a 9th century cemetery was nurtured by two inhumation graves discovered in the archway of house No. 21. One of them contained four golden grape earrings, one bronze earring and an iron knife (**Fig. 3**); the other contained two silver basket earrings. As far as we can judge now, it seems that these graves are indeed isolated and do not represent part of a larger burial ground. A grave without any funerary equipment was discovered at the place of house No. 20. The 9th century settlement on the hill evidently does not form a discreet unit but relates to contemporaneous finds lower in the area of Žerotínovo Square and the adjacent streets. Relevant finds can be named from house No. 168, to a lesser extent from a trench for an electric cable at the western edge of Kozlovská Street in the immediate neighbourhood of the above-mentioned square.



▲ **Fig. 3. Přerov – 21 Horní Square.**  
Golden earrings from a 9th century female grave.

9th century settlement has also been proved in Jiráskova Street further westward, where beside layers and pits a sunken domed oven was also unearthed. Advanced 9th century ceramics were also detected in the bottom layer of a sequence in Mostní Street near the north-western foot of the hill, indicating a continuous settlement ring at the foot of the central hill, which undoubtedly continues in Na Marku Square near a passage, probably a ford, through the River Bečva. A 9th century layer was also proved on the opposite bank of the river, in Malá Dlážka Street.

The elevated Horní Square proper does not show evidence of an 8th–10th century fortification. On the other hand, at the south-eastern edge of Žerotínovo Square (No. 168/21) a ditch was partly explored; it had been filled in with gravel and was orientated perpendicular to the longitudinal axis of this area, that is, roughly towards the northeast–southwest. 9th century settlement was also detected inside the ditch, but not, at least not yet, in the south-eastern part of the area of the 9th century suburb, in Šířava, Čechova and Trávník Streets (comprehensively *Procházka – Drechsler – Schenk 2006; 2008*).

The question remains open whether the settlement over a wider area of the Přerov “hill” can be associated with any of the two Great Moravian cemeteries in Předmostí, some 1.5–2 km away. In particular, we must keep in mind the existence of the nearby 9th century settlements on the right bank of the Bečva, in the Předmostí – Díly and Dluhonice locations, as well as the Popovice – “K trati” site northeast of Předmostí (*Procházka – Drechsler – Schenk 2006*, 680). It is evident that a Great Moravian stronghold cannot yet be taken into consideration in the area of Horní Square; the same is also the case with Hradisko in Předmostí. The question of a 9th century power centre in the Přerov region thus remains open. In this regard we can recall an early mediaeval hillfort near the village of Ústí in the immediate neighbourhood of the town of Hranice, which is situated some 23 km as the crow flies to the northeast. The relatively strongly fortified hilltop site is shifted to the very edge of the then settlement territory, similar to some other localities, for example Mařín near Křenov or Biskupice near Jevíčko (*Doležel 2007; Čížmář 2004*, 82, 156–158, 252–254).

A wall, golden earrings from graves and a 9th century spur, however, indicate the presence of local elites on the Přerov hill too. From there, there also comes a fragment of a bearded axe, a weapon typical of Moravia at that time. The most common pottery is represented by ovoid jars with incised decoration showing analogies to other Central Moravian localities (*Pokorná 2007*).

Social stratification of the inhabitants of the Přerov region at the time of Great Moravia is best documented by the above-mentioned two cemeteries in Předmostí which have, however, only been partially explored. Judging from two cremation graves with charred remains in vessels, the northern cemetery at the “Nivky” site had maybe already begun to be used in the 8th century. A further 52 unearthed graves can be dated to as early as the 9th century, above all to its second half. A relatively voluminous assemblage of battle axes in seven graves, in one case together with a lance and a sickle, and two arrowheads, indicate that here we are dealing with a burial ground showing a high representation of “free” Moravians who were only subject to the duke and participated in military campaigns. The absence of spurs indicates that they were mainly foot soldiers, though the cemetery has not been completely excavated. Local females wore necklaces and earrings of various types, among them 18 bronze gilt beaded earrings, and other silver earrings from two graves. The assemblage of earrings comprised beaded earrings, crescent-shaped earrings as well as earrings in the form of a plain hoop. The funerary equipment of females also contained necklaces of glass beads, two buttons and part of a bronze finger ring. The cemetery also encompassed graves dating from the 11th century. The other cemetery below “Skalka”, the larger one according to the number of graves detected, survived into the 10th century as well, but the preserved artefacts from there cannot be divided into individual grave units. From the Great Moravian period come three spurs, a pair of golden buttons and several gilt and silver buttons, a bronze gilt ring, two hollow silver beads maybe not older than the 1st half of the 10th century, and above all a large assemblage of silver and bronze earrings of almost all known types. Even though this cemetery (which is known only very fragmentarily) did not yield any weapons typical of social elites, the presence of a voluminous assemblage of golden and silver jewellery allows us to conclude that the family members of regional leaders may also have been buried here (*Staňa 1962; 1970*).

The relatively high density of Great Moravian settlements in the region is indicated by localities above the right banks well as by further settlements on the opposite bank within 4 km of Přerov, namely Bochoř – Markrabina and Kozlovice “Nad lukami” (*Procházka – Drechsler – Schenk 2006*, 680).

Identification of the upper time limit for the 9th century horizon remains open because we lack any exact dating supports. Regarding the character of some ceramic vessels bearing deep engraved decoration with a high ratio of dense horizontal grooves, an overlap into the 10th century can be supposed. The question remains open how the settlement



▲ **Fig. 4. Přerov – 8 Horní Square.**

A view of the base of the wood-and-earth defensive wall from the beginning of the 11th century.

continued in the next decades of the 10th century. After the demise of 9th century settlement in the area of houses Nos. 8 and 9 in Horní Square, only some alterations saturated with plant remains were identified under wooden constructions from the turn of the 10th and 11th centuries. The same is also the case with house No. 21. Layers probably originating from the advanced 10th century have so far been best documented in house No. 26. However, activities of the interim period encompassing most of the 10th century, which would help clearly to define and characterise this phase, have not yet been proved (*Procházka – Drechsler – Schenk 2006*, 680, 682).

A special example is represented by some of the settlement finds obtained in the 1960s and 1990s (until 2001) from the “Za kapličkou” site, which have been preliminarily dated to the first half of the 10th century but are quite different from the Přerov pottery production of that time and is most probably younger. The material comprises oxidation-fired ochre-coloured jars, either wholly undecorated or bearing a very modest incised decoration. The question of dating and reasons for the special character of these elements of material culture still remains open (*Procházka – Drechsler – Schenk 2008*, 238).

Not only the advantageous location on an important road at the entry gate from the northeast into the central parts of Moravia, as well as the short distance to Olomouc (the main power centre), but also a sufficient settlement density were among the reasons which probably influenced the intention of Polish ruler Bolesław the Brave himself to make Přerov a fulcrum of his hegemony over Moravia at that time. It seems

that the Přerov hill was fortified again at the beginning of the 11th century, roughly parallel to the deposition of the famous Kelč Hoard including coins and hack-silver (*Kučerovská 1993–1994; Novák – Bravermanová 2010*). Another still unpublished find from Kojetín – Popůvky near Přerov, which despite its very fragmentary state of preservation has a very similar character but is somewhat older, indicates that at least some customs of the elites from the Polish lands may already have penetrated into the area of the Moravian Gate before the actual intervention of power.

From present knowledge, even though spatially limited, it follows that around the central castle in the area of the later Upper Town a densely inhabited, topographically variegated agglomeration, that is, a cluster of settlements, developed. Within this formation an extensive suburb stands out in the area of Žerotínovo Square and its closest neighbourhood. It was tightly adjacent to the acropolis on the Přerov hill. Gradually, also, an outer wreath of agrarian settlements took shape, about which only little is known at this time.

The castle was fortified by a wood-and-earth grid-structured defensive wall 7–8 m wide (**Fig. 4–5**); the internal and maybe also external base was reinforced by chamber-like compartments open to the inside, whose longitudinal beams were fixed in hooks formed by stubs of branches cut off the transversally laid logs (*Procházka 2009*, 186–195; *Staňa 1998a*). Links to contemporaneous Polish fortification technique are beyond doubt, even though the defensive walls of Wrocław, Gniezno and Poznań of that time were much more massive. Dendrochronological research allowed us to date the start of construction of the fortification to the beginning of the 11th century (1003), even though some timbers had already been felled at the end of the 10th century (994–996). This dating is not contradicted by five incomplete coins found inside one of the log houses on the house plot at No. 20 Horní Square. Three specimens were definitely identified as cross-denarii of the Dannenberg 1329 type, probably minted in the last decade of the 10th century under the Holy Roman Emperor Otto III (983–1002; *Procházka – Kučerovská et al. 2007*).

The extent of the fortified area has not yet been exactly determined; the fortification has so far only been attested in two segments (No. 8, 9 and 21). In contrast to the original assumptions, further research did not prove the existence of a defensive wall at the north-western edge of the hill in the area of house No. 26, even though intensive contemporaneous settlement was detected (*Kohoutek 2001*, 156–159). A wreath of log buildings has so far been proved in two places on the inside of the fortification. On house plot



No. 8 it was a single row of features tightly adjacent to the defensive wall, and other constructions deeper in the plot can also be taken into account. Palaeobotanical analysis of the infill of these features, above all the bottom parts tamped on the floors, however, offered a somewhat surprising interpretation of their function, namely as a place for stabling livestock (Kočár – Kočárová 2006, 23).

In the area of plot No. 19 we can suppose at least three rows of log buildings orientated NW – SE, that is, parallel to the course of the supposed fortification. One log building was also detected in the area of a former Gothic castle on the opposite side of the hilltop (Kohoutek 1995, 189–191; 2001, 159).

In the area of Mostní and Jiráskova Streets, Žerotínovo Square and the western edge of Kozlovská Street, a continuity can be observed between the 10th–11th century finds and the 9th century settlement. According to the latest findings, the same is also, at least partly, the case with the area of the right-bank suburb in Brabansko, Malá Dlážka and Za mlýnem Streets. The results of a still isolated excavation along the northern house front in T. G. Masaryk Square also indicate the spread of settlement over the western slope of the Přeřov hill (Kohoutek 2001, 158, 159; Procházka – Drechsler – Schenk 2008).

Compared to the 9th century, the settlement area on the left bank extends further to the east, to the area of the former historical suburb Šířava and its most immediate neighbourhood. This is attested by finds from Šířava, Čechova, Šrobárova, Trávník and Bayerova Streets. From this chronolo-



▲ Fig. 5. Přeřov – 21 Horní Square.

A view of a cross section through the wood-and-earth grid-structured defensive wall from the beginning of the 11th century.

gical phase also come finds discovered at localities which are situated more to the southeast and represent the outer ring of settlements of the agglomeration, passing uninterruptedly into the agrarian hinterland. This is the settlement evidence from Budovatelů and Dvořákova Streets and the adjacent locations on the river terrace at the “Za kapličkou” site, whereas south of the suburb proper in Žerotínovo Square so far only isolated finds are known from Na loučkách Street (comprehensively Procházka – Drechsler – Schenk 2006, 684, 685; 2008). Settlement structures of the advanced 10th and early 11th centuries were identified only very insufficiently outside the acropolis; small-scale excavations prevalingly captured settlement layers, less frequently also sunken features. However, it is evident that the foundation of a castle on the Přeřov hill also stimulated the development of the suburb, in its extent unsurpassed until as late as the 12th century (about 15 ha in total), and probably an increased densification of settlement in the immediate hinterland. It is entirely beyond doubt that one of the main and determining factors of the emergence of an early mediaeval settlement agglomeration in Přeřov was the existence of an evidently very old trade route passing through this area in the north–south direction, which here crossed the River Bečva. It is probably the so-called Amber Road, which was already important in prehistory and retained its significance over the whole of the Early Middle Ages. It is certainly possible that after having crossed the River Bečva from the south, this route bifurcated in what is now Přeřov and continued through the Upper Morava Valley to Olomouc and through the Moravian Gate further to the north.

It can be supposed that on the Přeřov hill at the beginning of the 11th century several dozens of warriors lived permanently, together with their family members and dependants, even though we do not yet know the relevant amount and structure of militaria or equestrian equipment found in this area. Among less common finds is above all a fragment of a (copper?) spur with zigzag decoration from No. 19 Horní Square, or a large knife from No. 8 Horní Square which, however, might also originate from the 9th century (Procházka – Wihoda 2006, 638; Procházka – Ustohal – Doležal 2003). The assemblage of precious non-metal objects includes a collection of six carnelian beads, which probably come from Kievan Rus, where they had been imported on trade routes from as far as India (Mrázek 2000, 69). They also occur in contemporaneous layers in nearby Olomouc and undoubtedly attest to contacts with the Baltic-Oriental trade. Crystal beads are also known; other semi-precious stones have not yet been identified (Fig. 6). Within the category of personal ornaments there are also glass products – beads and mainly rings which were used as finger decoration and elements of necklaces, or hair



ornaments. In the period under review they frequently occur chiefly in Polish Piast castles.

Among the most remarkable finds are the above-mentioned cross denarii, which were minted in one of the East Saxon mints, maybe in Halle – Giebichenstein, at the end of the 10th century under Emperor Otto III. They were buried or lost as a part of “personal liquid assets” probably shortly after AD 1000. These coins, which were produced above all for the eastern, Slavic and Scandinavian markets, and are therefore widespread on Polish territories as well, testify that coins were being used in both long-distance and domestic trade. The finds from Přerov can be classed among a still small collection of similar pieces of evidence of Baltic-Oriental trade, which comprises above all the famous hoard of coins and so-called hack-silver from Kelč probably from AD 1002 and the mostly plundered finds from Komárov near Opava and Kojetín near Fulnek. It can rightly be supposed that the coins from Přerov were associated with a Polish garrison. With regard to good conditions for the preservation of organic matter, above all in plot No. 8 and its immediate neighbourhood, the relevant rescue excavation also yielded a collection of interesting wooden objects and the quite unique find of an entire leather upper, probably of a girl’s shoe (*Staňa 1999*).

The most abundant component of the archaeological material, pottery, exhibits many attributes typical of mid-10th century pottery over vast areas of Slavic Central Europe. Some vessel shapes, however, indicate cultural influences mainly from the territory of Greater Poland, for instance the occurrence of



▲ Fig. 6. Přerov – 19, 20 Horní Square.

An assemblage of necklace beads (glass, carnelian, rock crystal and other semi-precious stones) from the 1st half of the 11th century.

vessels with a cylindrical neck and so-called buckets, which were cylindrical vessels (*Procházka 2009a; Staňa 1998b*).

Analyses so far of osteological material, showing a predominance of pig and a conspicuously high share of horse (just under 7 %), do not contradict in any way the idea about the character of settlement either. Regarding stature, the horses were typical Central European “ponies” with an average withers height of 137 cm. The consumerist character of the settlement is also indicated by relatively numerous skeletal remains of game (10.5 %), mainly red deer, hare, wild boar, and sporadically roe deer, beaver and even bear (*Sůvová – Procházka – Weiter 2006*). The fundamental part of nutrition, however, was represented by plant foods; the dominant use of millet and wheat has been documented, and legumes are also present – vetch, pea and lentil. Only little is known of fruit and vegetables (*Kočár – Kočárová 2006; Opravil 1990*).

The “Polish” horizon is relatively distinct and well delimited. It seems that it ended relatively suddenly, probably in connection with the annexation of Moravia to the Bohemian Kingdom by Duke Oldřich and his son Bretislav (however, it is possible this did not happen before c. AD 1019, as was supposed by some researchers (*Krzemieňská 1980*), but rather as late as around AD 1029 (*Matla-Kozłowska 2008, 400–451; Wihoda 2010, 109, 119, 120*). Even though the Přemyslid dukes did not abolish the central functions of Přerov, the “Polish” defensive wall was levelled and nothing is yet known about the fortification of the subsequent administrative castle.

Přerov is an example of a settlement with a long development of central functions, which was completed in mediaeval times by the emergence of a royal town in the mid-13th century.

# CHOTĚBUZ – PODOBORA

## MORAVIA

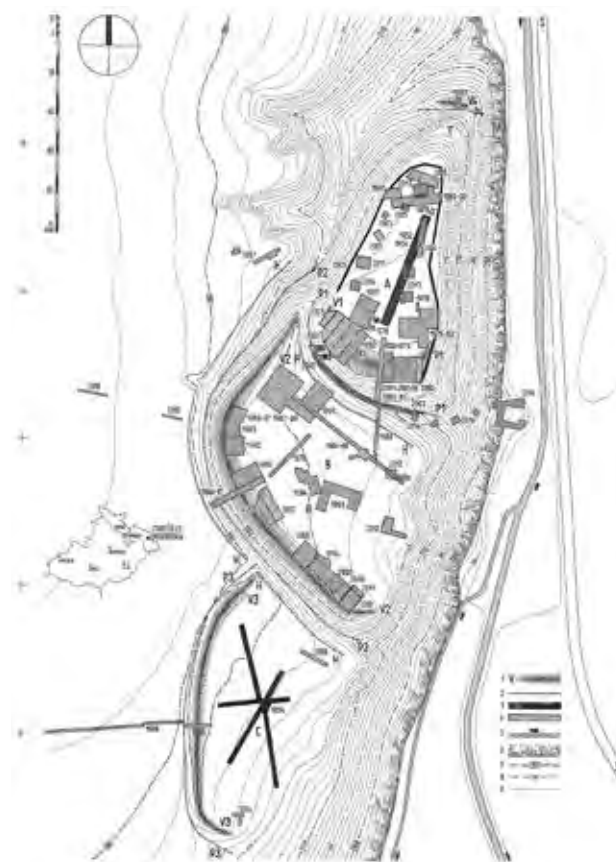
Pavel Kouřil – Jana Gryc

One of the best researched Early Middle Age upland fortified locations in the Czech lands is undoubtedly the hillfort in Chotěbuz-Podobora near Český Těšín, located in the immediate vicinity of the current Czech-Polish state border, where systematic archaeological research has been underway for more than thirty years. It lies in the narrower north fields of the Moravian Gate, an important connecting point between the European south and north. Built in a suitable strategic location near a fording place over the River Olza (above the left elevated bank) it obviously guarded the exit corridor from its east side, just as it did the beginning of a path leading from here along the Vistula and Nida to the Cracow area and further east. It is part of a group of Upper Silesian hillforts delimiting the Holasic tribal Ecumene (Lubomia, Skoczów, Kamieniec, Będzin, Komorno, Víno, Hradec nad Moravicí, Landek), situated in, besides other places, today's Těšín and Opava areas.

The political, economic and probably also cultural centre of this tribal community was most likely the extensive and very well fortified hillfort in Lubomia (Poland), its area exceeding that of other locations several times; the presence of an elite is proven by the rare character of the architecture, as well as a rich collection of spurs with hooks and other top-class finds. It was surrounded by virtual rings of other hillforts located in exposed, visually suitable locations and in key access locations to this central castle; these were small in area and mostly were not segmented. They were lacking more extensive rear security and were forced to organise logistics and their operations by themselves; they did not represent the backbone of a settlement in the true sense of the word, to which open settlements could be connected. The dominant guarding, control, monitoring and sometimes even refugial function of these hillforts is quite evident: they represented feelers sent out in any direction that danger could have been expected from. Nearly all of them offered finds signalling the presence of socially privileged groups, mostly mounted warriors, and many of them showed massive fire layers evidencing a violent and definitive end.

Chotěbuz itself consists of three mutual geographical locations of descending, stepped parts – the highest located acropolises and two outworks with unusually well preserved vallums and ditches (**Fig. 1**); its inside area amounts to 1.8 ha, and the segments undergoing current research represent just under 20 % of the total area. Let us mention that the Slavic settlements were preceded in the Late Bronze Age and the Hallstatt period by possibly unfortified or only lightly enclosed settlements which gradually – probably due to the pressure of nomads from the east – transformed into fortified settlements. Only a smaller part of it (that was protected by nature) was singled out – today what remains as

the acropolis, which was separated from the other areas by earthfilled vallums without internal constructions and with a width of approx. 8.5 m, protected on both sides by river boulders and a ditch; both fortification elements were then also used by the Slavs. During the initial phase of the Slavic presence (the 2nd half of the 8th century), this could possibly have been only the increased height of the vallums and enforcement with a simple ring of palisades (preserved post holes with a diameter of 40–50 cm and with regular spacing). Later a regular wooden fortification was built with a chamber construction with a length of 60 m and a gravel-soil filling, and an entrance with a slightly protruding arch-shaped gate. The size of individual chambers on both sides of the entrance probably doubled to approx. 2 × 2 m; the total width of the fortification was around 4 m. Oak or sometimes even fir wood was used for its construction and the only dendrochronological date offers the uncertain implication that the wooden construction could probably have originated after the year 871 (?). Its existence is documented by a considerable amount of large (but also smaller) pieces of daub with imprints of round timber and split boards – planks; we

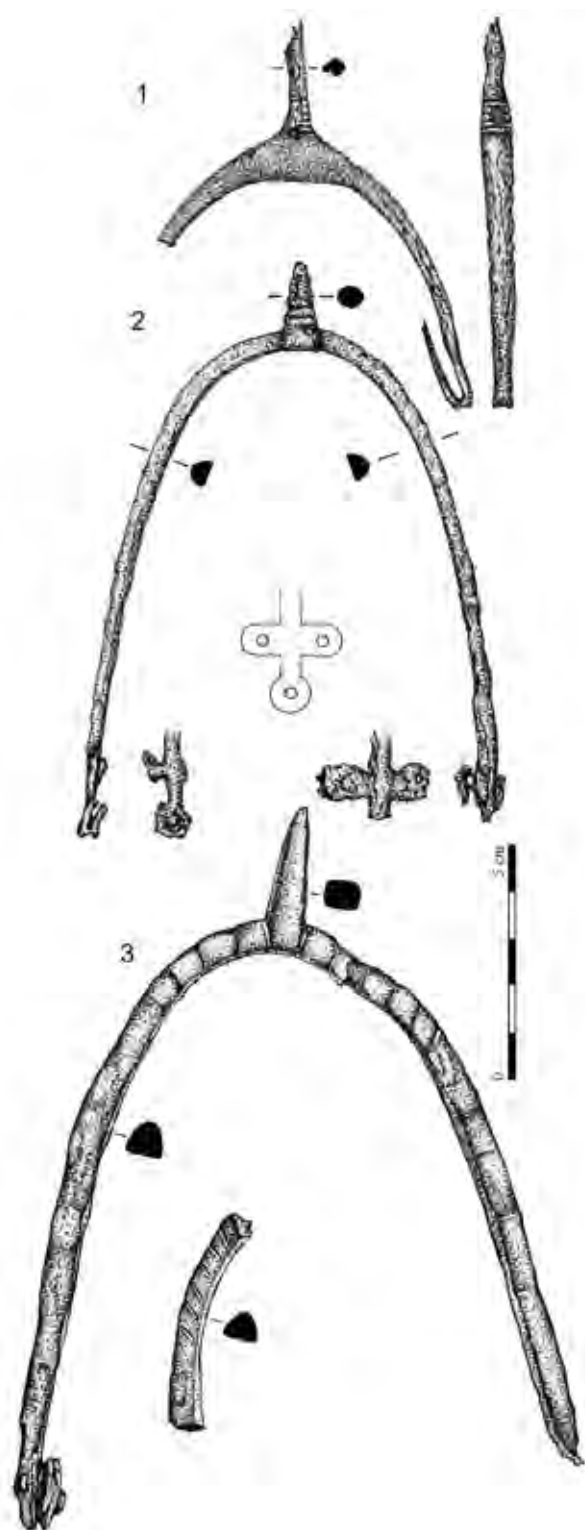


▲ Fig. 1. Chotěbuz – Podobora. View and contour plan.

would emphasise that any type of stone element (besides simple and non-continuous berms filled with river stones) is missing. The wide ditch with a tub-shaped bottom, separating the acropolis from the first outwork, was chiselled into the gravel terrace of the River Olza and its depth in relation to the outworks area was nearly 5 m.

The numerous Slavic community was not satisfied with the small fortified Hallstatt district and this is why, during the 2nd half of the 8th and particularly in the 9th century, they artificially separated two other areas (two outworks) and made annexes of them; one of them did not have any type of finished defence structure. An undoubted impulse for their construction was strategic reasons resulting from the general configuration of the local terrain. The first outwork was encircled from the west and south side with a 197 m long and 5 m wide soil- and gravel-filled vallum without an internal construction, strengthened from both (?) sides with a palisade made of massive round fir timbers with a diameter of 20–40 cm assembled closely together. At a height of about two meters, this palisade wall was – from the inside side of the vallum (at least in some sections) – finished with and also anchored by 3–4 cm thick planks or half-round timber, directed towards its centre and creating a 80–90 cm wide stand usable as a walkway; it is possible that in some parts even river boulders were used for strengthening purposes. What the situation was in the higher positions – on the crest of the vallum – we are not able currently to explain unequivocally, although many finds of large pieces of clay with imprints of round timber and planks, even with a slag-like character, prove that these had to be part of a protection system made of relatively massive wooden constructions. Let us also mention that approx. 60–80 cm in front of the palisade, round timber holes have relatively often been uncovered, spaced apart at regular distances, copying the shape of the palisade. Columns placed into these holes could have been part of a support structure protecting the inside wall of the vallum; they could also have supported simple shelters directed and opened (?) towards the outwork area, under which farming and production activities could have been undertaken. The ditch had a sharp pointed shape; remains of burnt wood have not yet been uncovered in its filling. The east side, with a river flowing near its heel, was fortified with only a small and insignificant earthfilled vallum, again without any supports and with a relatively shallow inside ditch; this manner of order of defence elements can often be found in some Upper Silesian hillforts.

An unfinished 150 m long vallum separating the second outwork did not have any internal supports either. It was very low in height. Whether it was fixed to a palisade wall or walls or other supportive system has not been discovered; its original width may only be estimated to be 4–5 m. The



▲ Fig. 2. Chotěbuz – Podobora. Iron spurs found at the acropolis (2), first (3) and second (1) outworks. By P. Kouřil – J. Gryc 2011.

outside ditch had a tub-shaped bottom at a depth of around 3 m under the current vallum crest.

Regarding the communication network, it can be assumed that the main route led from the south along the edge of the river terrace into the area of the second outwork and over a bridge crossing the ditch and entering the first outwork through a gate. The route carried on in its previous north-south direction and probably over a bridge over the ditch between the first outwork and the acropolis, through a gate house, this time slightly extended to the front of the fortification, and into the compound; whether its probable branches lead to individual castle sections cannot be proven.

We have a certain idea of the internal organisation and of built-up areas; however, any discussion of an urban concept would be extremely uncertain. It is probable that in the most heavily protected area – in the northern part of the acropolis – the local elite could have been concentrated: this is also evidenced by the character of the finds themselves (e.g. spurs – **Fig. 2**) and remains of burnt wooden structures, possibly of round timber, aboveground log cabins and wooden-soil fortifications. We are able to recognise in the acropolis itself all types of buildings – residential ones, those for production, farming, maintenance, separate fire places, etc.; however, they do not indicate any system or rules in their layout and are randomly located throughout the area.

A different situation arises with the first outwork, which displays an obvious concentration of structures along the inside wall of the vallum. Structures were mostly used for production and farming, specialised in blacksmithing (slag, ceramic airflow jets, axe-shaped ingots, etc.), textiles (spindle whorls,



▲ **Fig. 3. Chotěbuz – Podobora.** First outwork, structure with burnt skeletons of domestic animals, buried under the collapsed rampart. Photo J. Gryc.



▲ **Fig. 4. Chotěbuz – Podobora.** First outwork, "roaster" located in situ with crushed and over-burnt pottery. Photo J. Gryc.

scissors), the drying, roasting and milling of corn (burnt grains, cooking slab, millstones), keeping cattle (primitive barns – **Fig. 3**), etc.; one of the structures extending into the outwork is understood as a probable cultic structure. It seems that the entire central area of this largest castle area was, with some small exceptions, free of any buildings and could have been used as some kind of gathering place for the denizens of the hillfort and its surrounding areas and for their most valuable property – cattle.

Material culture in the Chotěbuz hillfort is rather uniform and only slightly diverse. Ceramic production was certainly domestic, with pot shapes prevailing, only a small percent of bowls, an increased number of cooking slabs, in some cases found in situ (**Fig. 4**); these items are hand-made, with simple profiles and wound tops and often bear the marks of a slowly rotating pottery wheel. This basic composition is often supplemented with whorls (often made of stone), fishing net weights, airflow jets, pottery blades and daubs.

Regarding metal items usually found on the site, it can realistically be assumed that most of them were produced at the location. Dozens of kilograms of unearthed iron slag, which accompanies smelting and blacksmith processes, are obvious proof. Furthermore, the outcrops of low quality ores (clay ironstone) which are still visible today in the immediate proximity of the hillfort and some uncovered structures in the acropolis as well as in the outworks may be connected with iron processing.

The south (Great Moravian) surroundings are undoubtedly connected with some militaria (axes, so-called Viking axes),



rider and horse equipment (spurs with discs, stirrups, bridles, buckles) and also a collection of bronze and partially silver plated earrings and bronze rings including beads of blown glass, found in a specific find situation only in the first outwork; it was in this area that a millstone of southern origin was found together with large ceramic storage forms with relief moulding; a southern origin is also indicated by bottle-shaped items sometimes with markings on the bottom or graphitic ceramics.

We are completely lacking items of horn or bone; however, a frequent find is stone millstones or fragments of them.

There is also a striking increase in the number of whetstones produced from raw materials originating in the Ash Mountains area (grey-black carboniferous siltstone).

Millstones, together with finds of carbonised wheat (they used a system of winter/spring crops: wheat, club wheat, common wheat, common barley, foxtail millet, European millet, oats?), peas and common flax, as well as a small share, sickle, shackles, shepherd scissors and cooking slabs evidence the produce and self-sufficiency of the population settled in the hillfort. Because, besides Lubomia, we do not know of any satellite settlements with which we could



▲ Fig. 5. Chotěbuz – Podobora. First outwork, ceramic fishing net weights. Photo J. Foltýn.

connect logistical processes, these activities must have been carried out either directly at the hillforts (which is not very probable) or in the areas adjacent to the fortification system. Such activities have actually been discovered in Chotěbuz, at several locations behind the fortification, including structures with burnt wheat or sometimes with iron slag. Also, based on osteological analysis of the material, we now know that the diet of the castle inhabitants was mostly based on the keeping of domestic animals, and chiefly consumed was beef cattle, followed by pigs and goats/sheep; hunting probably played a secondary role, which is surprising for this environment. As a rarity, we may mention the first local find of the skeletal remains of a greyhound in the Czech lands; based on an analysis of mitochondrial DNA it was found to be related to the English greyhound. Fishing was also undoubtedly practised (ceramic weights for fishing nets – **Fig. 5**) as well as the collection of forest crops (hazelnuts).

We have also mentioned that the Chotěbuz hillfort was witness to an unusual concentration of artefacts of southern origin, considering Great Moravian cultural circles and the abundant local production; this is something very rare in areas north of the Moravian Gate. Very typical combat axes (Viking axes), spurs with discs, stirrups, bits and also bronze and silver jewellery of exclusive quality, for which we cannot find suitable parallels of such quantity or quality in any of the other hillforts: their existence cannot be explained by mere trade, booty or gradual peaceful acculturation. It is more likely that the chamber structure fortification built in the last quarter of the 9th century and unknown in any other locations of the region, as well as dendrochronological data showing the fortification surviving into the beginning of the 10th century, support the idea of the direct involvement of Moravians in this specific location, and also across the entire Upper Oder region.

With a certain caution, we may consider the above-stated indications as a display of targeted Moravian pressure on the north during the reign of Svatopluk (871–894) who, after concluding peace with Louis the German in Forcheim in 874, had a free hand for extensive raids. It is not impossible that this zone could have been paralysed and pacified in connection with what have been proposed as raids of Moravian units against Vistulan tribal unions even before the death of Archbishop Methodius in 885, as indirectly implied by one of the most important written sources regarding this area of interest from that time – *The Life of St Methodius*; whether this act happened or not is unknown, and it has both its supporters and opponents. However, it could have been a single action or time-limited intervention that did not leave any significant marks in archaeological sources.

It remains unanswered how far possible Moravian expansion could have reached and whether they settled only for control of critical strategic territories – the wider fields of the Moravian Gate; this is supported by the already-mentioned uniform downfall of local fortifications as well as some unfinished sections in the vallum systems (Lubomia, Skoczów, Podobora). In any case, this assumed act of violence radically disturbed the local tribal structure to such an extent that it was not capable of consolidation. Chotěbuz was probably an exception, guarding the exit from the corridor, and having the most strategic importance for the needs and goals of the conquerors compared to other local fortifications, and its multi-part disposition allowed for flexible defence. This is why it did not have to be knocked down and destroyed, but rather had its leaders replaced and was used as an important support point securing the Moravian presence and Moravian interests. Its definitive downfall probably came with the collapse of the central area of Great Moravia in the first years of the 10th century, when it began to be impossible efficiently to monitor the distant periphery and when local separatist tendencies could not have been stopped.

A massive fire destruction layer that left red traces in the soil with a thickness of dozens of centimetres at the acropolis and chiefly at the first outworks undoubtedly prove the violent downfall of the hillfort. Based on today's knowledge (mainly of ceramics) the archaeological material found here may be assigned to the 9th century, probably carrying on into the next century. Many of the ceramic artefacts are undoubtedly older, probably even from the 2nd half of the 8th century, as is supported by some radiocarbon-calibrated data from the acropolis, mostly from the first outwork. The probability that the location could have survived into the 1st decades of the 10th century is very real and is, in a manner of speaking, proven by two dendrodates from local palisades, which state with a certain margin of error (missing the terminal ring and sapwood) that the lumber used was cut down after 907 or 906. Life in the hillfort halted for several decades and it was only in the final third of the 10th century that it slowly returned; however, the place never reached its previous dynamism and glory and was completely abandoned during the 1st half of the 11th century. It was the nearby location just above the right bank of the River Olza on the mountain Zámecká Hora, in today's Cieszyn in Poland, that proved to be more viable in the given political situation. It is here that during the 1st half of the 10th century a new fortification was built on Late Prehistoric and early mediaeval foundations, which later became an important centre of the rising Piast dynasty in Silesia.

# GARS-THUNAU

## AUSTRIA

Hajnalka Herold

The fortified settlement of Gars-Thunau is situated in north-eastern Austria (**Fig. 1**), c. 25 km north of the River Danube, on the right bank of the River Kamp. It lies on a hilltop also known as the “Schanzberg”, elongated in an east-west direction (**Fig. 2–3**), and is naturally protected on the eastern side by a nearly vertical slope of c. 100 m high. The site has been known since the late 19th century. Collecting of surface finds and small-scale excavations took place from this period onwards. The Department of Prehistoric and Mediaeval Archaeology of the University of Vienna carried out large-scale excavations in the fortified settlement between 1965 and 2003. The size of the excavated area amounts to c. 15,000 m<sup>2</sup> (**Fig. 4**; Herold 2011; 2012; *in preparation*).



▲ **Fig. 1. Location map of the site of Gars-Thunau.**  
Drawn by Hajnalka Herold.

The site of Gars-Thunau had been repeatedly occupied since prehistoric times. Ramparts made of timber and earth provided the first artificial protection in the late Bronze Age. Particularly intensive settlement activity took place at the site in the 9th–10th centuries AD. According to the currently known archaeological record, the site was not inhabited after this period. This last phase of occupation at the fortified settlement and the information available on the site’s surroundings in the 9th and 10th centuries AD are of interest for the present article. In the final part of the article possible interpretation frameworks are discussed for the connection of the region to the political, social and economic history of the period.

### **The spatial structure of the site of Gars-Thunau and its changes through time**

The site of Gars-Thunau comprises five main parts (**Fig. 2–4**).

1. The western part of the site, also called “Schanze”, was first fortified in the 9th–10th centuries AD. The fortification ramparts incorporate two gates, which represented the main points of access to the site in the early Middle Ages. Remains of prehistoric settlement activity have not been discovered in this area.

2. Early mediaeval tumulus graves are situated 100 m north-west of the “Schanze”; some of them have been excavated. As the tumuli contained very few grave goods, it is rather difficult to establish a connection between them and the fortified site (*Friesinger – Friesinger 1991; Breibert 2012*).

3. Intensive settlement activity took place in the central part of the site, called “Obere Holzwiese”, in the early Middle Ages, superimposing settlement remains and fortification ramparts of the Bronze Age, as well as scattered finds and features from the late Neolithic, the Iron Age and the 4th–5th centuries AD. The manor farm (*Herrenhof*) of the 9th–10th centuries AD, discussed below, is situated in this area.

4. The eastern part of the site, the “Untere Holzwiese”, yielded early mediaeval settlement features and fortification ramparts as well as the remains of an intensive Bronze Age occupation and scattered finds and features from the Iron Age. It is probable that an early mediaeval gate existed in this area; however, its exact location has not been identified.

5. The “Nordhang” is situated north of the “Untere Holzwiese”. It was apparently not fortified in the early Middle Ages. In addition to early mediaeval settlement features, remains of a Bronze Age occupation were uncovered in this area. (Some parts of the prehistoric finds and features of Gars-Thunau have been published; late Neolithic *Ruttkey 1992*; Urnfield Culture *Kern 2001; Wewerka 2001; Lochner 1998–1999; Lochner 2004*; La Tène Period *Karwowski 2006*; ceramic finds of the 4th–5th centuries AD from the area of the fortification were recorded in *Stuppner 1997*).

The following types of features containing early mediaeval finds have been identified at the site of Gars-Thunau: pits, sunken-featured buildings (*Grubenhäuser*), concentrations of finds, postholes, ovens, foundation trenches of palisades, remains of fortification ramparts and graves. The concentrations of finds, usually occupying an area of c. 6–7 × 8–10 m, were interpreted as the remains of buildings, which might have been placed at ground level, or possibly had a slightly sunken floor. Six early mediaeval settlement phases have been identified, based on analysis of the excavated features and finds. These settlement phases are described in the following sections (see also **Fig. 4**).



The early mediaeval fortified settlement of Gars-Thunau was founded, as mentioned above, on the site of a late Bronze Age fortification. The first settlement phase is represented by a sunken-featured building on the eastern edge of the area (later) surrounded by palisades, and by an oven. The fill of two graves superimposing each other can also be dated to this first settlement phase. In addition to small finds and iron slag, a rich assemblage of ceramic vessels has been found in the fill of the sunken-featured building. Fragments of the so-called “polished yellow ceramics” (also known as “ceramics of antique tradition”) were also among the finds. This assemblage is different from other ceramic vessels in Gars-Thunau and is similar to Phase 2 at the site of Břeclav – Pohansko, “Lesní školka” (Macháček 2001, 210–213, Fig. 177–179). The polished yellow ceramics and the parallels in Břeclav – Pohansko suggest a date for this settlement phase at some point in the 9th century, possibly around the mid-9th century. Small finds from the sunken-featured building, a strap end made of iron

and a strap holder made of copper alloy are also compatible with this date.

The known features of the second early mediaeval occupation phase were situated in the vicinity of the late Bronze Age fortification ramparts. Two adjacent ground-level buildings of this phase appear to have stood partly at the place where later the early mediaeval fortification rampart was constructed. A large rectangular pit that might have served as the foundation of a building, possibly a tower, also belongs to this settlement phase, based on the archaeological finds from its fill.

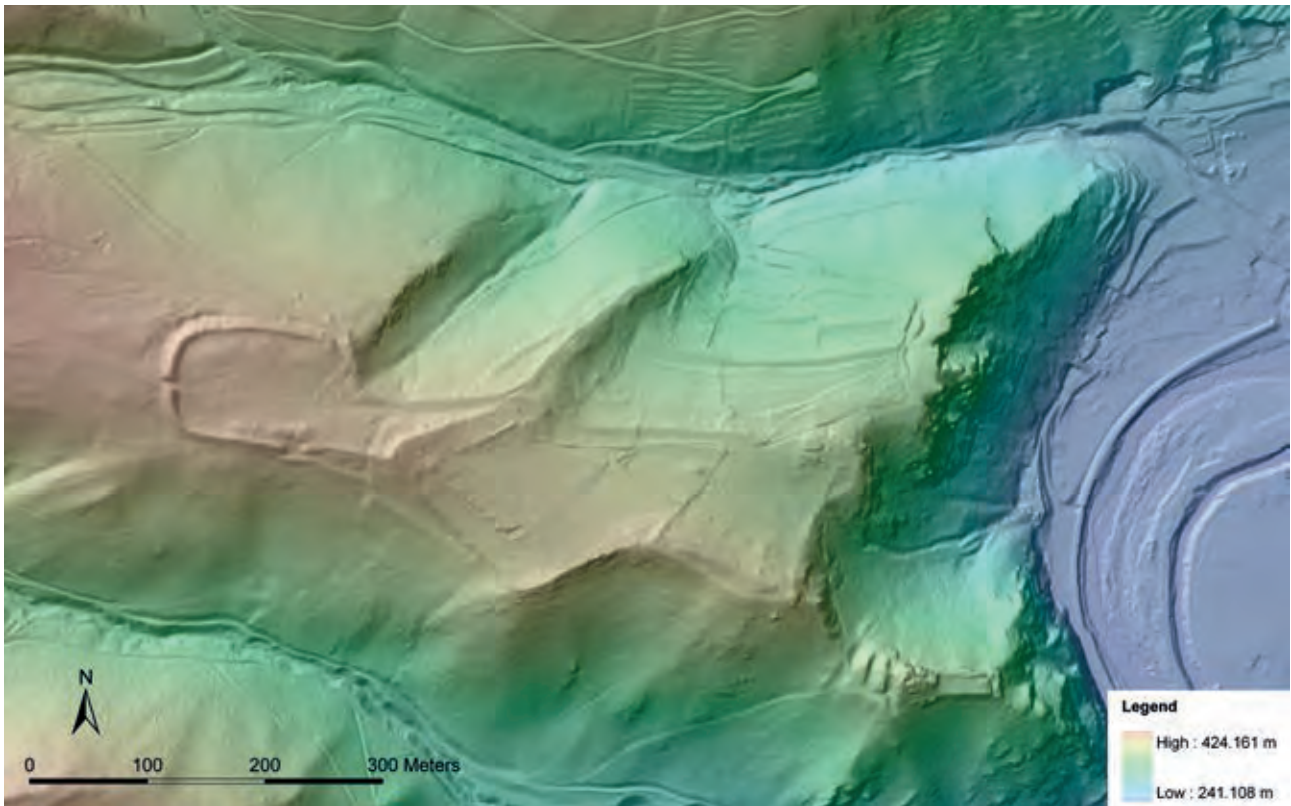
In the third phase of occupation, a manor farm was built in Gars-Thunau on the “Obere Holzwiese”. This unit included buildings and palisades as well as a cemetery of about 200 graves (for the cemetery see Nowotny 2011). The manor farm was completely rebuilt at least twice in the course of the



▲ **Fig. 2. Aerial photograph of the fortified settlement of Gars-Thunau.**

From the south-west. In the front the fortification ramparts of the western part of the site, on the right the place of the manor farm and in the background the River Kamp and today's village of Thunau. Aerial Photography Archive of the Department of Prehistoric and Medieval Archaeology, University of Vienna.





▲ **Fig. 3. LiDAR scan of the fortified settlement of Gars-Thunau.**

On the left the fortification ramparts of the western part of the site (the entrance to the fortification in the west visible on the LiDAR scan is of modern origin), in the centre the place of the manor farm, on the right the River Kamp and, in its valley, today's village of Thunau; the structures in the lower right corner, left of the legend, are remains of the 12th–13th century castle "Schimmelsprung". LiDAR scan data from the Federal State of Lower Austria (Land Niederösterreich) 2009. Map by Christian Ansorge, Anja Masur and Hajnalka Herold.

following 80–100 years. Rebuilding was apparently always preceded by the destruction of former structures. The first phase of the manor farm (Phase 3 of occupation in Gars-Thunau) was best preserved in its northern part, since later large-scale building activity did not take place in this area. In addition to the palisade, two ground-level buildings belong to this phase. These two ground level buildings were later partly superimposed by the early mediaeval fortification rampart.

The best preserved phase of the manor farm is phase 2 (Phase 4 of occupation in Gars-Thunau). Its spatial structure is very similar to that of the manor farms at Břeclav – Pohansko (*Macháček 2007*) and at Zalasabár-Borjúállás sziget (*Müller 1995*). The second phase of the manor farm at Gars-Thunau occupied an area of c. 80 × 100 m and was surrounded by a palisade. A building measuring c. 10 × 7.5 m, placed at ground level, or having a slightly sunken floor, is likely to have stood in the northern part of the fenced-in area. In addition to a rich ceramic assemblage, some high quality small finds can be connected to this building. The cemetery mentioned above

is situated on both sides of the path leading into the manor farm. A grave-free area in the cemetery was possibly the site of a small wooden church.<sup>12</sup>

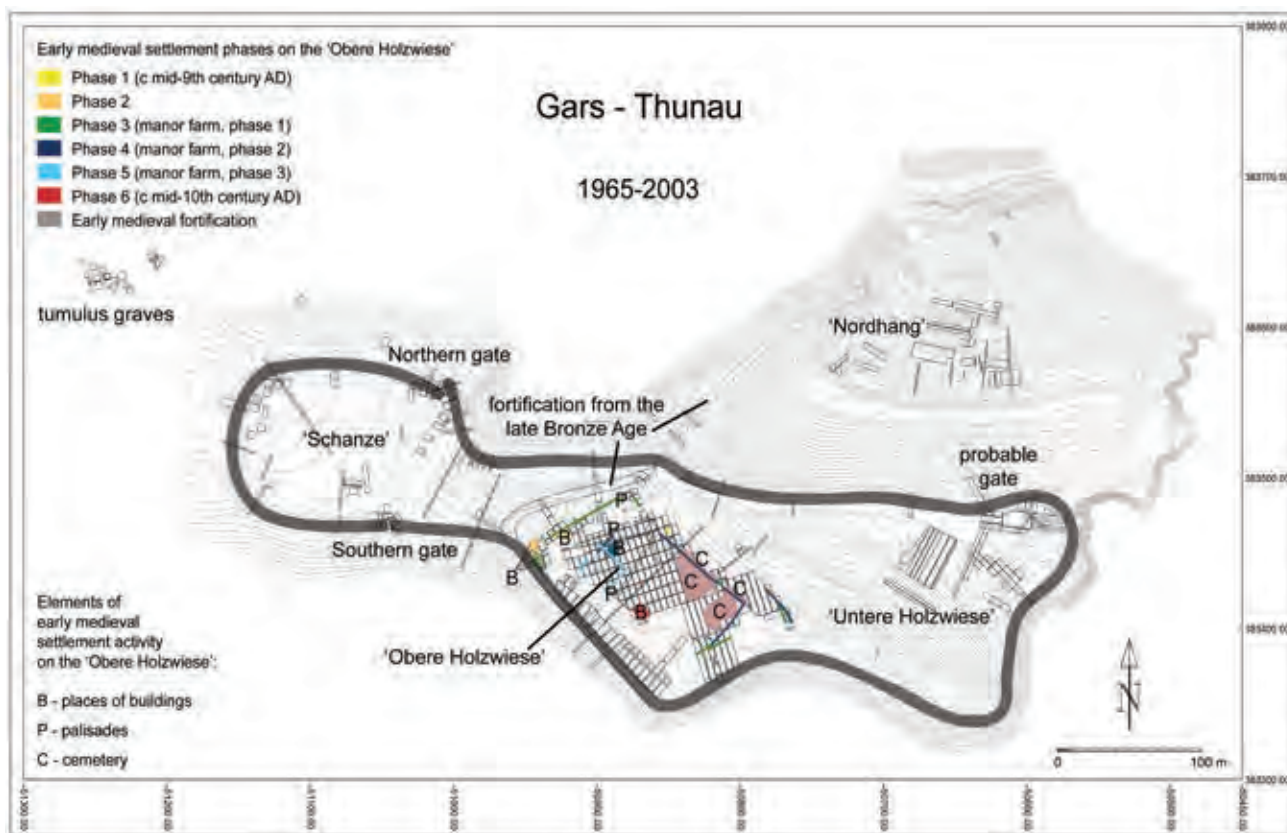
The area of the third phase of the manor farm is much smaller than that of the previous two phases; it only occupies c. 21 × 26 m, surrounded by a palisade (Phase 5 of occupation in Gars-Thunau). A larger pit in this zone can possibly be interpreted as the remains of a building with a sunken floor. The entrance to the fenced-in area was situated on its southern side; it is probable that the path leading into the manor farm in Phase 2 continued to be used in Phase 3. At least parts of the early mediaeval fortification ramparts were erected after or parallel to the "destruction" of the first phase of the manor farm, since they superimpose buildings of previous settlement phases. Dendrochronological and 14C dates indicate that the fortification ramparts at Gars-Thunau were constructed at some point after AD 830 and that after AD 894 there was still building activity going on at the ramparts (*Cichocki 1998–1999; Grabner 2009*). The early mediaeval

fortifications of Gars-Thunau surrounded, in addition to the "Obere Holzwiese" in the centre, also the western and the eastern part of the site. At present it cannot be reconstructed whether early mediaeval settlement activity had already taken place in these latter areas before the construction of the ramparts.

After its third phase, the manor farm on the "Obere Holzwiese" seems to have lost its importance. Elements of a new settlement phase were built here, which display a different spatial structure than that of the former manor farm. Among them is a concentration of finds that can be reconstructed as the remains of a wooden building c. 10 × 7 m in size, placed at ground level or having a slightly sunken floor. Two pits also belong to this settlement phase. Since one of them is situated in the middle of the path that previously served as the entrance to the manor farm, it can be assumed that this path was not in use any more. The small finds in the features of this last occupation phase on the "Obere Holzwiese" only indicate a general late-Carolingian/early-Ottonian date. The ceramic finds of this settlement phase are difficult to connect to finds

of other sites. (Distant) parallels were only found for one large ceramic vessel. The cross section of the rim of this vessel does not display the shape of the usual unbroken arc that most vessels from the site have, but breaks at an (obtuse) angle on the inner side of the vessel. Similar breaks, usually at sharper angles, are known from ceramic vessels of the late 10th – early 11th centuries in Lower Austria (e.g. at Alland-Buchberg; *Kühtreiber 2006*, 99–100, Fig. 3, with further references). This could well suggest that the last phase on the "Obere Holzwiese" is to be dated to some point in the 10th century. As in the settlement features of this last phase no granulate fragments (which would most probably originate from the facing walls of the fortification ramparts) were found, it is likely that reconstruction or repair of the fortification ramparts did not take place in this period. Future research can shed more light on the question of whether settlement activity also continued in this phase in other parts of the site, such as the "Schanze", the "Untere Holzwiese" or the "Nordhang".

Concerning the function of these latter areas within the settlement, it can be concluded, based on the work of Bri-



▲ Fig. 4. The fortified settlement of Gars-Thunau. Parts of the settlement, excavation trenches, gates, fortification ramparts and settlement phases. Drawing by María Antonia Negrete Martínez (Department of Prehistoric and Medieval Archaeology, University of Vienna) and Hajnalka Herold.

gitte Cech (2011), that the eastern part of the site, the “Untere Holzwiese”, was important for the storage of food. 28 of the 45 cylindrical or pear-shaped storage pits with 9th–10th-century finds identified by Brigitte Cech can be found in this area. The number and the density of such storage pits is considerably lower in other areas of the site and they are completely absent along the south-western rampart at the “Obere Holzwiese”. The “Schanze” was apparently to a great extent free of settlement features (Friesinger – Friesinger 1991, 20) and might have served as a place for horses and carriages and possibly at times also as an assembly place.

Archaeological finds and features, some of which can be dated to the early Middle Ages, have also been uncovered on the right bank of the River Kamp, directly north-east of the fortified settlement of Gars-Thunau (Obenaus 2011). It can be assumed that the population of this settlement had direct contacts with the inhabitants of the fortified settlement. It is, however, at present not easily possible to establish which chronological phases saw the parallel existence of the two settlements and in which periods only one of the sites was used. A future publication of the finds from the unfortified settlement can aid a more detailed comparison. The other early mediaeval sites near Gars-Thunau that yield a larger amount of archaeological evidence are the settlement of Rosenberg, 5 km north of Gars-Thunau (distances given as the crow flies; Wawruschka 1998–1999) and the cemetery of Maissau, 14 km east of Gars-Thunau (RuB – Kultus 2009).<sup>13</sup> Based on the finds depicted in the publication (Wawruschka 1998–1999), some phases of the settlement at Rosenberg are possibly contemporary with Gars-Thunau; the absence of graphite-containing ceramics, with the exception of one small fragment, at this site might not be solely due to chronological factors: this ceramic group might have been better available in centres than at unfortified rural settlements. The graves in Maissau contained finds that also occur at Gars-Thunau and at other contemporary settlements and cemeteries of central Europe (RuB – Kultus 2009).

### **The natural environment, plant cultivation, animal husbandry and craft production in and around Gars-Thunau**

The analysis of mollusca at Gars-Thunau points towards a dry and warm climate and a half-open landscape with partial forest cover in the 9th and 10th centuries (Frank 2004, 110–117, 127–128). The archaeozoological remains of game animals from the site, on the other hand, indicate closed forest areas; the distance of these areas from the site is, however, difficult to estimate. Domesticated pigs are likely

to have been held in woods (directly) surrounding the site (Kanelutti 1990, 68, 105). This practice of wood pasture and other forms of using the woods for collecting food and raw materials most probably modified the appearance of these areas (Popovtschak – Zwiauer 2003, 242).

Based on the analysis of archaeobotanical remains, the settlement area itself was free of trees and anthropogenically disturbed, with ruderal communities of tall-growing perennial herbs and plants characteristic of trampled ground as well as bushes and shrubs (Popovtschak – Zwiauer 2003). Fields are likely to have been situated near to the site; their size can, however, not be estimated. They might have lain both on the high plateau west of the site and the lower-lying area to the east; different types of weeds are characteristic for these two areas, and types from both groups are present in the archaeobotanical material. The archaeobotanical finds also include species that can form a part of the vegetation of woodland clearings and thus show that deforestation is likely to have been carried out by the inhabitants of the fortified settlement. Collection of palynological samples, which could give further information on the vegetation at and in the vicinity of the site and its changes through time, was attempted at Gars-Thunau, but no suitable deposits were found.<sup>14</sup> Based on the archaeobotanical finds, it has been assumed that today’s vegetation in the vicinity of the site and around current agriculturally used fields in the area is likely to be similar to the earlier vegetation in this territory (Popovtschak – Zwiauer 2003, 240–243).

Various types of cultivated crops and other plants have been identified at Gars-Thunau, including grapes, plums and a type of cucumber (Popovtschak – Zwiauer 2003; Popovtschak 2012). This implies the existence of some form of “gardens” in early mediaeval Gars-Thunau, in addition to cultivated fields. The location of these garden-like areas can, however, not be specified. Seeds for the next year were possibly stored in the cylindrical pits found in different parts of the site, but no sealed remains of such seed storage pits have been found. Imprints of plant remains in daub fragments suggest that processing of harvested crops took place at the settlement. An iron hoard from Gars-Thunau included tools for plant cultivation (Popovtschak – Zwiauer 2003, 231, Fig. 204). This might mean that at least some of the inhabitants of the site were directly engaged in plant cultivation.

Of the animal bones analysed from Gars-Thunau, 88 % were from domesticated animals, mainly cattle, pigs and sheep (Kanelutti 1990). Based on their age-distribution and the types and amounts of anatomical parts present, these animals were kept in or around the fortified settlement and served the needs of its population; large-scale imports or exports cannot be

detected. Game animals accounted for 12 % of the analysed animal bones. Of these, mainly “prestigious” species (e.g. red deer, elk, wisent) are present; less “prestigious” species (e.g. roe deer, hare) were only occasionally identified. This might be a sign of an early form of hunting privileges in 9th–10th-century Gars-Thunau. In addition, brown bears were apparently kept at the site.

A large number of different craft activities are present at Gars-Thunau, including iron and non-ferrous metallurgy, bone and antler working, pottery production (within the fortification or in its close vicinity), spinning and (on a smaller scale) weaving, carpentry, stone working (quernstones) and possibly glass and leather working. Remains of the processing of precious metals cannot at present be identified at the site. The craft production at Gars-Thunau seems mainly to have served the needs of the population of the fortified settlement; remains of large-scale production cannot be detected.

### **Possible connections of the region of Gars-Thunau to the political, social and economic history of the 9th and 10th centuries AD in central Europe**

Gars-Thunau is undoubtedly one of the archaeologically best-known settlements of the 9th and 10th centuries in Lower Austria. In order to better understand its role in the contemporary settlement network, it is necessary to examine the available archaeological evidence of other sites in the region (see also *Herald 2011; 2012; in preparation*). The three main categories of settlements known from this area are fortifications, unfortified rural settlements and former Roman sites (re)occupied in the early Middle Ages. They are complemented by cemeteries, most of which are cemeteries with inhumation graves having no known above ground structures, although some tumulus cemeteries have also been recorded.

These archaeological sites and their finds show that the Carolingian Empire and its successor states were far from being the only player in this region in terms of cultural influences. Byzantium also had a significant influence on 9th–10th-century central Europe that can be seen both on items of material culture (e.g. compare *Hrubý 1955* – jewellery from central Europe; and *Bosselmann-Ruickbie 2011* – “Byzantine” jewellery) and in building remains, primarily churches (*Poláček 2008a; 2009; Galuška 2005a*), of this period. It is, however, much more complicated to draw a picture of the economic structures of the 9th and 10th centuries in central Europe. If, and if yes, to what extent the manorial system of western European agriculture, based on bi-partite estates (e.g. *Verhulst 2002, 33–37; Wickham 2009, 529–551; Theuvs 2008*), was established in this region

cannot currently be decided with great certainty. Finding possible connections to any “Byzantine type” of agriculture and agricultural organisation (e.g. *Arthur et al. 2012; Laiou 2005; Whittow 2007, 487–489*) is made difficult, in addition to a rather unclear picture from the Byzantine areas themselves, by obvious climatic differences between most parts of the Byzantine Empire and central Europe. Concerning trade networks, central Europe appears to be connected to both “western” – Carolingian and “eastern” – Byzantine networks for luxury goods (e.g. *Galuška et al. 2012; Profantová 2001; Poláček 2007*), but large amounts of bulk products (e.g. lava quernstones from Mayen or large amounts of ceramics from the Rhineland; *Steuer 1999, 411–412*) have not been identified in this area. Many strap ends and belt mounts from 9th–10th-century central Europe are frequently termed “Frankish”, but as the Frankish royal court(s) are known to have used and imitated elements of Byzantine lifestyle and costume (e.g. *McCormick 1986, 364–365; Wickham 2009, 410*), this can rather quickly become a circular argument. Further research can shed more light on these issues.

In terms of political history the question is often asked if Gars-Thunau and its surroundings belonged to the Frankish Empire or to “Great Moravia”. The answer might simply be, possibly both, but in different chronological periods. Gars-Thunau is likely to have served as the seat, or one of the seats, of a distinguished family in both of these contexts. Based on written sources it is very likely that the region of the site was a border region in the 9th and 10th centuries AD (*Wolfram 1995, 211–273; Brunner 1994, 30–32, 57–58, 80–83*). One thing that can relatively securely be established about “Great Moravia” is that its borders were changing very dynamically (*Třeštík 2000b; Wolfram 1995, 315–321*). The six building phases in Gars-Thunau, reconstructed by the recent analysis of archaeological finds and features, cover a period of c. 150–200 years. This means that one layout might have been used for about 30 years, which is the interval often identified with one human generation, in this case possibly associated with generations of one or more “leading families” connected to the site. The archaeological analysis thus gives a picture of Gars-Thunau being a rapidly changing and possibly also contested fortified site in the 9th and 10th centuries AD that has not only seen different versions of spatial layout, but most likely also various changes of political authority.



# BOJNÁ

## SLOVAKIA

Karol Pieta

Situated in the Považský Inovec mountain range, which separates the two most important settlement areas of western Slovakia – the middle reaches of the rivers Nitra and Váh (the Ponitrie and Považie, respectively) there is a system of early mediaeval fortifications within the estates of the Bojná village, Topoľčany District. The low mountain range has played a significant role from time immemorial as a communication link between the two fertile and densely populated areas, as a strategic space, and as a source of valuable raw materials. Iron ore and gold were mined in several sites on the Ponitrie side.

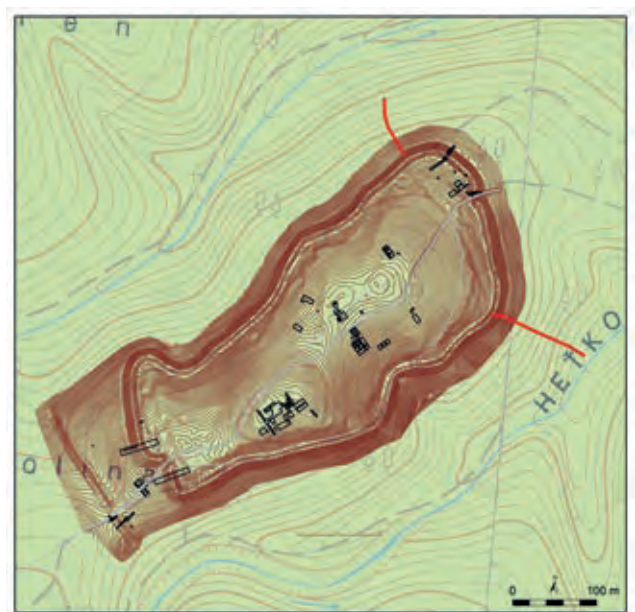
The fortifications in the mountains have also formed important segments of local settlement structure since the Bronze Age. The earliest horizon of this settlement is related to the Bojná I hillfort as determined by the radiocarbon method (1863±67 cal BC: *Henning – Ruttkay 2011*, Tab. 8). Hillforts were also built here in the early and late Iron Age. Their inhabitants may have been the first people to utilise the local iron ore deposits, and left numerous remarkable relics. In the 1st half of the 1st millennium AD, a new people settled down on both sides of the mountains – the Germanic Quadi tribe. Finds from the 1st and 2nd centuries AD from higher-situated locations indicate that these were in regular use in times of danger (Moravany nad Váhom – Marhát, Bojná II – Hradisko: *Jakubčinová 2008*, *Vangľová 2008*). In the 5th century, during the migration of nations, a more important settlement probably existed on the Bojná II – Hradisko promontory (*Pieta 2007*, 173–179). Valuable relics from that period have also been found in other places in the region (Marhát hillfort).

The Bojná area was paid increased attention in the early Middle Ages, particularly in the 9th century. Ground fortifications hidden in the woods of the Bojná cadastral territory have been known for a long time and the biggest of them – the Valy hillfort (Bojná I) – was recorded in archaeological literature and declared an important Slavonic centre as early as the beginning of the 20th century (*Pieta – Ruttkay 2006*, 25, 26). The oldest early mediaeval settlement was discovered in the location Obora on Žihľavník Hill. According to the hand-made, mainly undecorated pottery and metal objects (Byzantine-type bronze buckle, spur with hooks) that was unearthed there, the settlement dates from the late 7th and early 8th centuries. Regarding the location of the settlement on a hillock away from land in agricultural use, close to places with so-far undated iron mining, it may be assumed that the new colonists were searching for ores in the area (*Pieta – Robak, in print*).

In the following period, settlement expansion occurred in this part of the mountain range as evidenced by finds from several higher-situated locations (Radošina, Moravany nad Váhom –

Marhát, Podhradie – Úhrad). In the 9th century, the farmstead and rotunda in Nitrianska Blatnica were established, located only 4 km from the central hillfort Bojná I – Valy (*Ruttkay 2012a*, 91–93).

The Bojná I – Valy hillfort, together with a fortified outwork, occupies an area of 12 hectares. The settlement was built on an old route leading from Ponitrie to Považie. Further fortifications were founded on the nearby hilltops Hradisko (Bojná II) and Žihľavník (Bojná III). The space between them was protected with a fortification line almost two kilometres long, making use of natural gorges, with a vallum and ditch on the ridges, situated northeast towards the Považie. The system of locations within the village of Bojná was brought to both expert and public notice after 2002 when amateur searchers found an exceptional quantity of valuable objects. In 2007, systematic research started, and it has been bringing to light new finds and surprises every year. The field work focuses particularly on the largest and once most populated hillfort Bojná I, fortified with a perimeter vallum up to 8 metres high. The access to the hillfort was protected from the eastern side with two ditches, running perpendicularly down the hill, with vallums (**Fig. 1**). From the more accessible western side, the hillfort and its outwork were protected with a forward neck vallum and a ditch. The large peripheral vallum consisted of chambers filled with soil, stones and wooden grates. The vallum body was reinforced on both sides with wattle on stakes and with a stone wall



▲ Fig. 1. Bojná I – Valy, hillfort map.

Supporting fortifications on the hillside are marked in red. Map by E. Blažová – M. Bartík.

on the front side above the ditch. Numerous collective finds and valuable artefacts, including a bronze bell, have been discovered in the chambers on the inner side of the vallum. Based on the results of a stratigraphical analysis of the main vallum layers made for its three sections, it is assumed that the present structure was built on an older fortification. Analyses of charred beams located in a section of the vallum destroyed by fire showed that the youngest wood used for the fortification construction was cut down



▲ **Fig. 2. Bojná I.**  
Sword strap end. Iron, silver plating and metal inlay. Maximum width 44 mm. Source Archive of IASAS. Photo by J. Foltýn.



▲ **Fig. 3. Bojná I.**  
Plaque 1. Gold-plated copper, 150 mm in diameter. Ponitrianske múzeum Nitra. Photo by K. Pieta.

in 893 at the earliest, i.e. at the end of Svatopluk's reign. This evidences that the large fortification was (re-)constructed in the late 9th century. The same applies to other hillforts from that period situated in western and southern Slovakia (Majcichov, Bíňa, Pobedim), where fortifications destroyed by fire also date to the late 9th century (*Henning – Ruttkay 2011, 268–270, 280*).

Workshops have been discovered within the hillfort and the fortified outwork premises, mainly blacksmith's forges, farmsteads with dugouts containing stone ovens, farm structures and foundations of large aboveground structures. Numerous finds include the metal parts of wooden receptacles, household objects, craftsmen's and farming tools and weapons. The presence of the social elite is evidenced by elaborate ornaments and parts of straps and clothing decorated with silver and gold. Some of those products bear decoration typical of this territory. Foreign products, influenced by the Carolingian and late-Avarian environments, have also been found (*Jakubčinová 2012; Robak 2013*). The most remarkable artefacts include fragments of glass cups (*Galuška et al. 2012*). Parts of riding equipment are among the most frequent finds. A unique strap end of a sword, with the motif of a cross and flying birds, is decorated with silver plating and metal inlay (**Fig. 2**). As many as sixty spurs have been discovered and they include almost all types, from spurs with hooks to a unique, gold-plated specimen (*Pieta – Ruttkay 2006, Fig. 10; Janošik – Pieta 2007, Fig. 15, 7–11*;





◀ **Fig. 4. Bojná I.**

Bell, bronze, iron clapper. Height 215 mm. Source Archive of IA SAS. Photo by J. Foltýn.

*Jakubčinová, in print*), evidencing the presence of a higher warrior class in the hillfort.

Probably the most significant finds from Bojná are those that prove the existence of a Christian cult (*Hanuliak – Pieta, 2014*). From them, a set of six gold-coated relief plaques depicting angels and Jesus (**Fig. 3**) stands out; they originally adorned a wooden receptacle – either a portable altar or a reliquary. Two of the plaques bear short Latin texts, being the first direct evidence of writing north of the middle reaches of the Danube. The plaques are assumed to have come from northern Italy, from where a mission to spread the new belief arrived in Western Slovakia (*Pieta – Ruttkay 2006; Pieta 2013*). Crosses as Christian symbols may also be found on numerous secular objects, chiefly on strap ironwork and horse harnesses. Christian liturgy, and perhaps also opposition to the new belief, is related to the fragments of three broken bronze bells, and one rare, fully preserved piece of the Canino type, discovered hidden in the vallum (**Fig. 4**). Bells of this type, or fragments of them, have so far been found at five sites throughout Europe (*Janošík – Pieta 2007; Illáš 2012*).



▲ **Fig. 5. Bojná I.**

Model reconstruction of a dwelling. Photo by K. Pieta.

Neither a sacral structure nor a burial site has been discovered so far within the Bojná agglomeration. Only two barrow structures found in the oldest settlement Bojná III – Žihlavník, Obora location, piled up of layers from the surrounding settlement from the 7th and 8th centuries, were investigated. The larger of the two barrows, 15 metres in diameter, contained no graves. The smaller barrow contained the coffin grave of a young woman. According to accompanying finds (a wheel-made receptacle, small bucket, bronze plated ring, glass beads on a string, small knife) the burial dates from the 2nd half of the 9th century.

A rich find collection from the Bojná I settlement indicates the relatively long existence of the early mediaeval settlement, which is also evidenced by natural scientific analyses, superposition of objects, and the vallum reconstruction. Some of the finds, including late-Avarian ironwork and spurs with hooks, came from an older horizon dating back to the late 8th and the 1st half of the 9th centuries. However, the majority of finds come from the late 9th or early 10th centuries.

Attention should also be paid to the high number of collective finds. Twenty-six depots have been registered so far from the excavation works. A further four finds of this type were obtained before the commencement of the excavation and acquired by the Slovak National Museum (*Turčan 2012*). The depots were located inside the vallum chambers or hidden in various places within the hillfort. They chiefly included axe-shaped talents, farming tools, craftsmen's tools, the metal mounting of wooden receptacles and parts of harnesses, as well as damaged objects intended for re-forging. A unique find was a set of gold-plated plaques placed vertically in the ground next to each other (*Pieta – Ruttkay 2006*, 60).

Hundreds of arrowheads, fragments of other weapons, as well as fire-destroyed structures and the fortification of the Valy hillfort are evidence of the violent downfall of this centre, which undoubtedly occurred in the late 9th or early 10th centuries. Numerous weapons, particularly arrowheads with a spike and throwing axes with a prolonged helve discovered in Bojná belonged to the equipment of nomadic warriors (*Kouřil 2008*, 118, Fig. 3: 7; *Ruttkay 2012b*, 504). When looked at in terms of historical events, the destruction of the Valy hillfort and probably also of the whole defensive system in Bojná in raids by the Old Hungarians is one possible interpretation.

The agglomeration of settlements and fortifications in Bojná formed in the early 9th century; later it became a strategic point as well as an administrative centre. The question re-

mains whether Bojná was also the centre of a cult during its existence, as indicated by the unique finds from the Valy hillfort, or whether this place, originally a common regional settlement, took over the role of other centres for a certain time due to events of war, as indicated by missing church structures. After its destruction the place in the mountains lost its previous military and economic importance and was not inhabited any more.

The fortifications and other Great Moravian monuments in Bojná are part of an information path; the large hillfort contains several structures open to the public (**Fig. 5**). The much-frequented Museum of Great Moravia is located in the village.



# NITRA

## SLOVAKIA

Nitra – a town located on a sharp bend of the River Nitra, at the boundary of the Danube Lowland and western edges of the Trábeč mountain range – is one of the most archaeologically investigated regions in Slovakia. A unique coincidence of geographical and climatic circumstances, as well as fertile soil, rivers rich in fish and woods full of game formed ideal conditions for human settlement.

Human presence has been evidenced here by numerous archaeological finds as well as rare historical sources. One of the periods with the highest concentration of population was the Middle Ages, from the 9th to the 13th centuries. The area has been continuously populated ever since.

Nitra (Nitrava) is one of a few locations in the northern Danube region populated by the Slavs which are present in contemporaneous written sources. It was first mentioned in *The Conversion of the Bavarians and the Carantanians* (Havlík, ed. 1969, 11; Wolfram, ed. 1979, 52, comment 128–136) in relation to the consecration of a church owned by Pribina by Adalram, Bishop of Salzburg (821–836) in 828 (Steinhübel 2004, 72). By consecrating the church, Adalram was risking a potential conflict regarding competences with the Passau diocese. If he ran such a risk, he must have had good reasons to do so. Although the document, written at the seat of Bishop Adalwin in Salzburg in 871–873, has many tendentious features, it is a unique source that proves the importance of Nitra. It indirectly indicates that Nitra was the seat of a prince, probably with a power-administrative function. It was this formulation, which lay behind researchers introducing the term Principality of Nitra, or Pribina's Principality.

The unique position of Nitra was confirmed by a document issued by Pope John VIII in July 880, addressed to Svato-pluk I, Duke of Great Moravia. In the document, the Pope (872–882) confirmed Methodius as Archbishop of Moravia, established the Bishopric of Nitra with Wiching as Bishop, and approved the use of Slavonic liturgy. This document is proof of the first Bishopric of Nitra and the oldest diocese in the eastern part of Central Europe (Marsina, ed. 1971, no. 30, p. 24). It is highly probable that Nitra was the seat of a bishop, or an archpresbyter, even before 880 (Judák 2007, 22).

This undoubtedly manifested the important position of both the town and the Principality of Nitra which must have played a significant political role within the Central Danube region. References to Nitra from the 9th century, and moreover in relation to a Christian structure, also emphasise the important position of the town in the organi-

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sational-administrative structure of the Principality of Nitra. However, written sources say nothing on the issue of whether there were more such centres, or what they looked like, what their economic base was like, etc.

Due to constructional and other activities occurring for over a millennium, evidence of the ancient settlement within the present-day cadastral territory of Nitra is very fragmentary, unlike in certain other archaeological sites that perished in the past. This fact shall be taken into account when comparisons with other locations are made.

An extensive settlement agglomeration had existed in the Nitra area long before the Middle Ages – in the early Bronze Age (Březinová 1998, 55–67; Hečková 1993, 64–74), in the Roman period, as well as during the migration of nations (Pieta 1993; Kolník 1993; Hečková 1998). An interesting fact is that both during the Roman period and the migration of nations, the present-day town centre, i.e. on the right bank of the River Nitra, remained unsettled. All locations were concentrated on the left-bank terrace of the river.

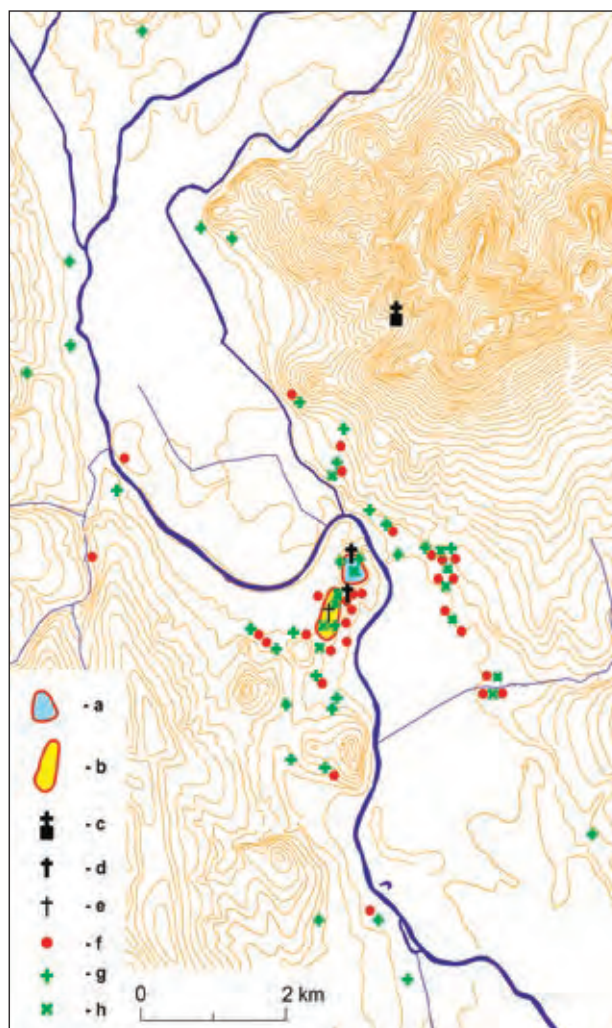
In the 6th and 7th centuries, the situation changed only slightly. The network of settlements is much denser on the left bank of the river, although the first Slavonic settlements were also founded on the right bank. Today, there are seven locations from that period known within the town (Fusek 1998; Ruttkay 2013; 2013a). The first settled locations were those situated slightly above the alluvial plain, with unenclosed settlements with widely scattered structures and a low concentration of dugouts fitted with a fireplace in the corner (Fusek 1998, 81).

A more coherent early Slavonic settlement close to the present-day town centre, on the right bank of the river, is known from Koceľova Street in the Párovce district (Chropovský 1971, 147nn.; Fusek 1994, 231, tab. XX: 1–81). Several sherds of early Slavonic pottery were discovered at the top of the castle hill, in the eastern courtyard (Chropovský – Fusek 1990, 66–67; Fusek 1994, 230, tab. XLV: 1–5). However, it is not certain whether the sherds were brought together with soil in a later period, or whether they are evidence of short-term use of the location (Bednár 1998, 86). The Šindolka, Kasárne pod Zoborom, and Športový areál locations are denser settlements on the right bank of the River Nitra (Chropovský 1971, 147nn.; Fusek 1994, 230nn.). A new burial site was discovered during the construction of the R1 limited-access highway in the Mikov dvor location in Janíkovce district (Ruttkay 2013a). It may have been connected to the largest settlement investigated so far, located within the Agrokomplex premises, where eighteen structures from the 6th to the early 8th centuries

(dwellings, farm buildings, storage pits, etc.) were excavated (Fusek 1998, 84; 1991). A cremation burial site with approx. sixty graves was discovered in Dolné Krškany in the southern part of the town during the construction of a railroad and the Mevak plant (Fusek 1994, 220–221). Another important burial site (with eighty-nine cremation graves) was found and investigated within the Čekajovce village cadastral territory northwest of the town (Rejholcová 1990).

Settlement density appears to have decreased in the 8th century. This was a general phenomenon in southwest Slovakia, related rather to insufficient recognition of the material culture of settlements from the 8th century than to a real situation. At that time, Nitra was situated within a border zone of Slavonic settlement to the north and the Avar khaganate to the south (Fusek 1998a). It is interesting that only sporadic finds come from the town centre and the castle hill, i.e. the two sites that later became the dominant parts of early mediaeval Nitra. During construction works in the town centre at the courthouse (probably the present-day public prosecution building on the corner of Štúrova and Damborského Street), several graves were discovered, dating from the pre-Great Moravian period (Kaspárek 1956; Fusek 1998a, Fig. on p. 88). Unfortunately, today it cannot be determined whether this burial site was related to the graves discovered east of this site, in the present-day market hall courtyard (Bednár – Fottová – Zábajník 2001; Bednár – Fottová 2003) and within the shopping centre premises in the place of the former mill houses (unpublished; we would like to thank T. König for the information). In 2009, part of a burial site from the late 8th and early 9th centuries was investigated in the Mikov dvor location (Rutkay et al. 2013b). The burial sites from Dolné Krškany and Ivanka pri Nitre, as well as part of the assemblage from Mikov dvor in Janikovce and a stirrup from Chrenová III are some of the most northerly evidence of objects of Avarian character to come from the 8th century. Objects of Iranian origin are of no less importance. Those especially include the already-mentioned finds from the burial site discovered on the former Námestie 1. mája (1 May Square) – a sword, winged iron arrowhead and spearhead, clay receptacles, bronze tongue-shaped strap end, shield boss and glass beads (Kaspárek 1956).

A radical change in the structure of the Nitra settlement occurred during the 9th century. The settlement density on both river banks increased and an extensive agglomeration of settlements was gradually formed. The extent of this agglomeration more or less corresponded to the extent of the present-day town of Nitra and its quarters (Fig. 1). Interestingly, the alluvial plain (e.g. the present-day industrial park) was also settled, which indicates a lower level of water courses compared to the High Middle Ages and modern times. The agglomeration consisted mainly of unenclosed settlements and burial sites, as well as hillforts and



▲ **Fig. 1. Settlement of Nitra in the Great Moravian period:** a – castle; b – outwork; c – St Hyppolitus monastery; d – probable location of the church; e – assumed church; f – unenclosed settlement; g – burial site; h – graves in the settlement. After Fusek 2008a.

other structures. Such a dense settlement has a parallel neither in prehistory nor in ancient times. An issue not yet resolved is to what extent the population density and significance of the Nitra region were influenced by the exploitation of ore deposits in the nearby Považský Inovec (Pieta 2013) and Trábeč (Bakoš – Chovan a kol. 2004, 60–67) mountain ranges. In the case of the former, intensive exploitation starting in the Early Middle Ages must be taken into account.

#### Early mediaeval castles and fortifications

A re-established element in the settlement structure is early mediaeval castles and fortifications. Although their existence

is described in abundant literature, only a few published, high-quality research results are available. Thus, the dating and identification of the function of many of those structures remain hypothetical.

Except the definitely evidenced compounds in the Hradný vrch and Na vřšku locations, fortifications at Lupka and Martinský vrch were also very likely used by the Slavs. The fortification on Zobor Mountain is assumed to have been used, too. The existence of a fortification on Borina Hill in the Early Middle Ages has not yet been reliably proved.

The individual fortified compounds probably had different functions. The castle hill settlement served as an organisational-administrative centre, while the Na vřšku compound was rather a fortified outwork or a craftsmen's centre. Other compounds may have served as strongholds in times of danger. The fortifications of these compounds were constructed using various building methods.

### Nitra – the castle

The dominant settlement within Nitra from the 9th century was the castle on the castle hill. During the 9th century a fortified "outwork" was added, or perhaps a separate hillfort on the opposite hillock and its slopes in the present-day town centre – Na vřšku. The castle hill was protected with steep slopes on its eastern, northern and western sides; the River Nitra and its arms flowed around it on all sides.

If only the investigated structures are taken into account, the settlement may seem not to differ from the surrounding ones located on the river terraces. Only two dugouts from that period, discovered under the oldest vallum, have been investigated so far (Bednár 2006; 2011). Unfortunately, the original situations were largely destroyed by intensive constructional activities and terrain changes in the following millennium.



▲ Fig. 2. Nitra – castle. Strap end and buckle from grave 1/94 by the Plague Column. Source Archive of IASAS.

The location differs from neighbouring contemporary settlements in both direct and indirect evidence of the existence of stone architecture. Clumps of mortar found under the oldest vallum indicate its presence on the hilltop as early as the 1st half of the 9th century. Its existence is also evidenced by construction debris reused for the construction of vallum I, as well as by the similarity to mortar in the fragment of a wall excavated in the northeast section of the palace.

Several graves found in the northeast part of the hill, mainly with the remains of young persons, date from the initial period of the castle. Those were isolated graves, or small groups of graves placed between the settlement structures, not part of an extensive burial site.

The relative chronology of a group of graves investigated in the vicinity of the Plague Column is not clear yet. The group included three damaged adult graves located inside the castle. Two iron knives were found in one of them; fragments of a silver-inlaid iron spur with an iron buckle, cast-bronze strap ends and bronze strap buckle in another (Fig. 2).



▲ Fig. 3. Nitra – castle. Ground plan of the castle hill with fortifications from the 9th to 11th centuries marked: a – investigated sections of Great Moravian vallum I; b – assumed course of vallum I; c – assumed course of the wide, chambered vallum III; d – fortification section under research.



The stratigraphic situation (subposition of the grave with the spur and strap under the settlement layer from the mid-9th to the 1st half of the 10th centuries) indicates that the graves could date back to the earlier stage of the early mediaeval settlement, as do some of the graves located in the eastern car park site, investigated in 2014.

### Vallum I and older structures

Extensive rebuilding took place on the castle hill in the 2nd half of the 9th century, especially affecting the castle. To protect it, an earthwork fortification was erected along the perimeter of the castle hill, marked vallum I (Fig. 3–4; *Bednár 1998a; Bednár – Šimkovic 2011*). The vallum consisted of two dry-stone walls with a soil infill in-between. The walls as well as the infill were reinforced with wooden grates. The stone walls were approx. 1 m wide; the outer wall is assumed to have been 3–4 m high (*Mattuš – Procházka 2009, 285*) and may have included a breastwork with battlements. The inner wall was lower. The soil infill was approx. 3 m wide and may have been used as a communication space during defence of the fortification. Present knowledge indicates that Great



▲ Fig. 4a. Reconstruction of the Great Moravian vallum. Castle hill – view of the front wall. 3D model by A. Arpáš, IASAS.



▲ Fig. 4b. Reconstruction of the Great Moravian vallum. Castle hill – view of the inner side of the vallum. 3D model by A. Arpáš, IASAS.

Moravian vallum I ran along the whole perimeter of the castle hill up to its southern edge (Horný palánok), thus protecting a compound covering 8.5 ha. The vallum was destroyed by an extensive fire. When it happened and what caused it remains unclear. However, there are several indications that the castle was not abandoned and its development continued.

At the same time as vallum I was erected, a structure, the debris from which was used in the fortification walls, was reconstructed. A new, extensive constructional compound is assumed to have been formed on the castle hill. It was built of blocks of white lithothamnion limestone brought from quarries in the Leitha Mountains in Burgenland or in the eastern part of Lower Austria (*Pivko 2007*). It was undoubtedly a representative structure built in the prince's castle. Decorated architectonic segments, reused in later building structures such as the infill of chambered vallum III erected in the mid-11th century and the Renaissance tower (*Bednár 1998a, Fig. 6: 1; Fusek – Bednár 2008, 40–41, Fig. 21; Puškárová 1985, 470–472; 1993, 151–152, Fig. 8 and 10*), indicate that a building lodge from Carolingian territory participated in its construction. Another explanation could be that the segments came from a disassembled ancient structure (*Vančo 2000*) and were brought together with the limestone blocks. The assumption of J. Steinhübel (*Steinhübel 2004, 13–14*) that this late ancient structure may have stood directly on the castle hill, or in its vicinity, is very unlikely.

The torso of this early mediaeval structure was identified inside the southern wall of the so-called lower church, in a section between the late-Romanesque chapel and the Renaissance church tower. It is undoubtedly the southern wall of a church built before the mid-11th century. As dendrochronology showed, the wood used in the construction was cut down after the 1st third of the 10th century (information provided by J. Henning, J. W. Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main). It means that the structure was erected, or rebuilt, in the 2nd or 3rd thirds of the 10th century, or in the early 11th century.

However, the large quantity of blocks reused in later structures (infill of the chambered vallum from the mid-11th century and walls of the late Romanesque church from the turn of the 13th century) indicates that the compound was relatively extensive. A part of it is assumed to have had a secular function and stood under the present-day palace.

### Vallum II and III

Another stage of the Nitra castle fortification is marked vallum II (*Bednár 1998a; Bednár – Šimkovic 2011*). It was built with a similar structure to vallum I – a faced stone wall reinforced



with wooden grates and a soil core. Its stone wall was thinner than that of vallum I, its width being 50–70 cm. Vallum II was founded on the uneven rubble cone of an earlier fortification. It is best preserved on the eastern slope of the castle hill. Its remains, preserved in one of the sections investigated, were incorporated into the chambered structure of vallum III. It was built in the 1st half of the 11th century.

In the mid-11th century, between 1046 and 1061, the castle was provided with a new fortification – chambered vallum III.

### Other hillforts

A little less known are the conditions in the fortified “outwork” on the hillock in the present-day town centre, south of the castle, in the Na vřšku location. The parts of this extensive compound (with numerous structures and groups of graves, or parts of burial sites from the 9th to 11th centuries) that have been researched so far have not yet been elaborated; thus they do not allow the settlement structure in this district of Nitra to be reliably reconstructed. Complex evaluation of the find context is still unavailable. Although the exact dating of the fortification is not yet clear, it is generally considered to have been erected in the 9th century. However, the question arises of whether it may come from a later period, which is indicated by the name of the hillock *Castrum Iudeorum* in a document from 1247, while in an older document, *Zoborská listina* from 1113, the location is called *Mons Iudeorum* (*Marsina, ed. 1971, no. 69, p. 67*).

Other hillforts were situated in the Martinský vrch and Na Lupke locations. In both cases revision archaeological research seems to be necessary. Only then will it be possible to determine whether the fortification can be related to the presence of early mediaeval structures. The prehistoric fortified settlement on Zobor Mountain is still problematic; however, the fortified area may have served as a short-time refuge in times of danger.

### Unenclosed settlements and burial sites

Hillforts are not the only evidence indicating the important position of Nitra in the 9th century. A single, extensive network of settlements stretched across a territory significantly larger than the present-day old town, i.e. from the castle to Krškany. Another network of settlements was situated on a left-bank terrace of the River Nitra – from Dražovce to Janíkovce. At that time this was certainly one of the largest settlement agglomerations in Central Europe; with slight exaggeration the character of a town may be attributed to it. Its remains are being excavated almost on

a daily basis in various places – Šindolka, the foot of Zobor Mountain, Svatoplukovo Square, Tržnica, Dolné Krškany, etc.

This area is also interesting thanks to the unusually high number of graves in the settlements and numerous burial sites. The best-known burial sites are from the Great Moravian period, some of which were used continuously until the 10th or even 11th centuries. Other burial sites were founded in the 2nd half of the 10th century and were used until the 11th or 12th centuries. These were the so-called Belobrdský-type burial sites (Amfiteáter, Dražovce, Mikov dvor, two sites at Šindolka, Školská Street) (*Fusek 2008b, 300–301*). There are also numerous church cemeteries founded in the 11th century (Nitra – castle, Martinský vrch, Selenec, Piaristická Street, Párovce). A unique group is formed by the typical old-Hungarian burial sites with an equestrian feature, excavated on the edge of the Nitra settlement zone only (Mlynárce – Lužianky; *Eisner 1933, 282; Ruttkay 2005, 58*).

### Churches

The oldest church in Nitra documented in written sources was consecrated by Adalram, Bishop of Salzburg, in 828. The original connection between so-called Pribina’s church and either St Emeram Chapel at the Nitra castle or the church discovered on Martinský vrch has not been confirmed. The dating of the church in Kasárňa pod Zoborom (Martinský vrch) has not been satisfactorily confirmed, either; so far it is only certain that a pre-Romanesque sacral structure with a rectangular shrine stood there. Recent archaeological research indicates that it was very likely situated at the Nitra castle in the place of the palace, or the lower church. The strongest supporting argument is the occurrence of fragments of constructional elements and large amounts of mortar in vallum I, probably coming from collapsed or reconstructed sacral and profane buildings. Locating the church built by Pribina on the castle hill is also supported by the tradition of the patrocinium of St Emeram.

### Bishopric in Nitra

The *Gloria in Excelsis* letter written by Pope Adrian II in 869 indicates that Methodius’ diocese was supposed to include the principalities of Rostislav, Svatopluk and Kocel (*Marsina, ed. 1971, no. 16, p. 12*). Upon Svatopluk’s request, Pope John VIII established the Bishopric of Nitra through the *Industriae tuae* document in 880 and ordained Wiching, originally a Benedictine monk, first Bishop of Nitra (*Marsina, ed. 1971, no. 30, p. 24*). In 899, when Mojmir II, Duke of Great Moravia (894–906) was at the height of his power, the Great Moravian Church obtained a new archbishop and three subordinate bishops (*Marsina,*

ed. 1971, no. 38A, p. 32). The bishopric ceased to exist very likely in the 10th century, but was re-established probably during the reign of Coloman the Learned, King of Hungary (1095–1116). It obviously reflected the domestic political conditions in Hungary, with Nitra maintaining an important political, economic and cultural position. At the time of the re-establishment of the bishopric, two archdiaconates were established within the diocese of Nitra (Nitra and Trenčín).

The fate of the region and town of Nitra after the fall of Great Moravia in the 10th century has not yet been reliably clarified. The biggest problem is the absence of historical sources. It should be pointed out that several burial sites were in use in Nitra and its immediate environs continuously from the Great Moravian period and none of the settlements has been connected with a horizon of violent perishing. Because of this it may be assumed that the arrival of the Hungarians in this area was not violent and destructive, but gradual. The fall of Great Moravia did not automatically mean the complete destruction of the Principality of Nitra. Nitra did not lose its position but played an important role even after the Kingdom of Hungary was established in the 11th and 12th centuries. In 1048 Nitra became an appanage principality, one of the three seats of the kingdom *tertia pars regni*, whose rulers were serious candidates for the Hungarian throne. In its heyday, the voivodeship of Nitra lasted almost 120 years and included up to 15 districts.

### **Centre of the Principality, or provincial capital?**

Maps of settlements in Nitra and its immediate environs (**Fig. 1**; Fusek 2008a, Fig. 14), as well as numerous burial sites founded in the 9th century and used continuously until the 10th century, prove decisively that the settlements were not stricken by any disaster in the early 10th century. An analysis performed by G. Fusek clearly showed that changes in material and spiritual culture occurred in Nitra after the fall of Great Moravia, but that the economic situation remained stable, with the inclusion of the old-Hungarian population “into agrarian communities of the original Slavonic population” (Fusek 2008b, 302). Furthermore, it should be kept in mind that the direct linking of the occurrence of individual objects with the ethnicity of their bearers (e.g. rhomboid bolts or clay ovens inside dwellings) is a thing of the past. At the same time, it should be taken into account that the presence of the Old Hungarians did not need to be connected only with the conquering of Great Moravia, but that Hungarian forces may have been in the service of Great Moravian rulers.

The extensive collection of finds from settlements and graves excavated within an area larger than the present-day

town evidences that the Nitra of the 9th and 10th centuries (and subsequently of the 11th and 12th centuries) with its sacral architecture has no parallel in the region in question – the Principality of Nitra. So far it is not clear whether it was a dense network of settlements placed next to each other, or a single settlement. It could have been a combination of both, i.e. a settlement formation of an urban character (houses, hillforts, burial sites, sacral structures, workshops) in the central part, stretching from the present-day municipal market hall across the castle hill, Martinský vrch to the Šindolka and Lupka districts. In its immediate vicinity satellite settlements, probably of an agricultural character, were located – Chrenová, Krškany, Párovské Háje, Mikov dvor. Similar agglomerations are rare within the Central Danube region, e.g. Mikulčice (Poláček 1996), Staré Město – Uherské Hradiště (Galuška 2001; 2008), Zalavár (Sós 1973). The overall situation clearly speaks in favour of undisrupted continuity of settlement development. It clearly follows that the Nitra of the 9th century was an important power centre and the seat of the bishop and the duke, and maintained its role even after the fall of Great Moravia.

# DUCOVÉ – KOSTOLEC

SLOVAKIA

Alexander T. Ruttkay



Between the villages of Ducové and Hubina and immediately above the road from Piešťany to Beckov, the limestone-dolomitic spur Kostolec, which is well visible from far away and overtops the floodplain of the River Váh by 70–80 m, has only relatively recently caught the attention of experts (**Fig. 1**). Under the name Kostolitz it was entered on a map of Nitra country by Samuel Mikovíny from before 1742, which maybe reflects some historical information on the site, today no longer available. But even though Š. Janšák surveyed the locality before 1930, mentioning a prehistoric hillfort here, and W. Zotz reported on a presumed Germanic fortification in 1941, Kostolec was, for a long time, a site only little noticed by archaeologists.

The excavation at Kostolec was initially a forced but inevitable rescue action. After 1965, the whole spur was in danger of being utterly and rapidly destroyed due to the extraction of local high-quality raw material for plaster manufacturing. A bronze hoard discovered during fieldwork confirmed earlier assumptions about a Late Bronze Age hillfort but skeletal remains and mediaeval coins from disturbed parts of the locality, and above all the name Kostolec (“kostol” meaning “church”), indicated the existence of an old cemetery and unknown church. At Kostolec in 1968 a rescue excavation and in 1969–1975 extensive systematic research were conducted by the Institute of Archaeology SAS under the direction of A. Ruttkay. Surprisingly, already at the outset of excavations – on 5 July 1968, on the Day of Sts Cyril and Methodius – the stone remnants of a defunct church (rotunda) were uncovered. The interpretation of the rotunda as a Great Moravian religious building was, along with other surprising discoveries, the main argument for an extensive excavation of the entire locality

◀ **Fig. 1. Ducové – Kostolec.**

Aerial view from northwest. Photo Archive IASAS.

in 1969–1972 and 1975, the removal of mining activities to another place after 1973, and for the partial modification and “mending” of damaged parts of the site. In 1976, within a joint project of the Institute of Archaeology SAS and the Balneological Museum in Piešťany, an archaeological open-air museum with a sketchy reconstruction of the most important features that had been examined began to be established here. Kostolec was declared a national cultural monument in 1990 and became an attractive destination for tourists visiting the Piešťany region. Religious and cultural events take place here every year on 5 July, on the Day of Sts Cyril and Methodius.

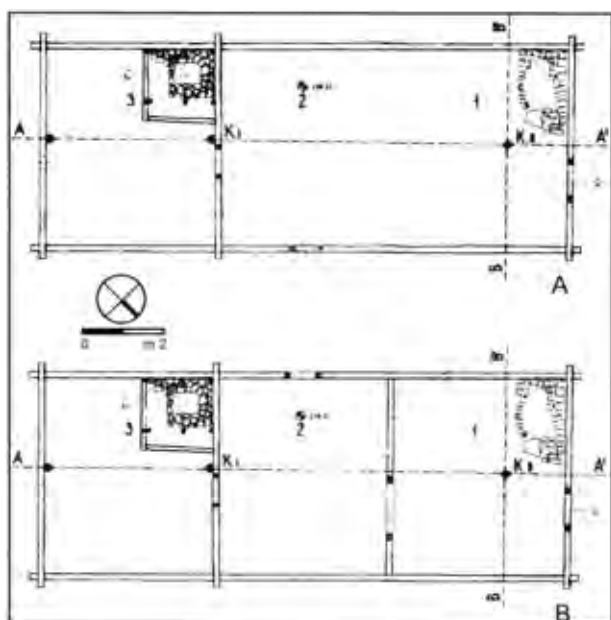
On the top of Kostolec there is a plateau measuring about  $\frac{3}{4}$  ha enclosed on the north side by a massive earthen bank dating from the Late Bronze Age. The bank was fronted with a wide ditch. The favourable landscape configuration and location of the site immediately above the river floodplain were used by representatives of the 9th century Slavic elite who built a manorial residence of trapezoidal layout with an area of about 0.5 ha here. The fortification consisted of a mighty palisade of oak posts 22–24 cm in diameter (**Fig. 2**). The palisade on one side ran on top of the prehistoric embankment and was doubled there. The external ditch had a defensive function again. From an arm of the River Váh and a road leading along this arm, a second road led to the manorial residence; it is indicated by a furrow in the slope with a gradient of 8–22 %. The road ended at the main gate of the residence, which was situated in the southern wing of the palisade fortification and was 160 cm wide.



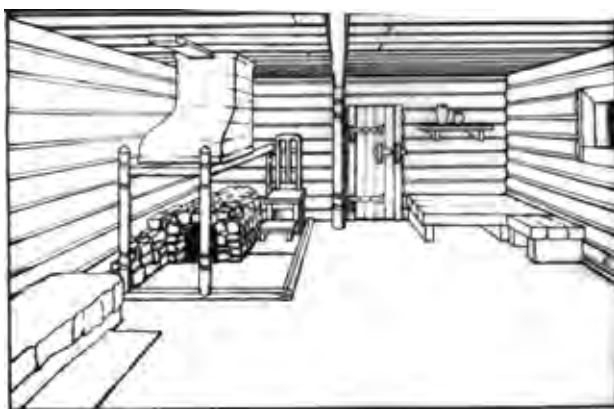
▲ **Fig. 2. Ducové – Kostolec.**

Palisade trough with mortar reinforcement and palisade stakes imprints. Photo by A. T. Ruttkay.

Several types of features were found in the inner area of the manorial residence, which was divided by palisades into four parts. These features were aboveground log-built dwellings (single-storey “palace” type with an area of 15 × 5 m (**Fig. 3a, b**) and 2–3-storey “tower” type with an area of 4 × 4 m) with floors of hard mortar; from the third log-built building, heavily damaged by later intrusions, only indistinct remains are preserved, and appear similar to accessory farming facilities. In the southern part of the enclosed area near the entrance a Christian sacred building was found, probably consecrated to St Michael the Archangel. It was built of local limestone but also of flat pebbles from the River Váh (**Fig. 4**). From the



▲ **Fig. 3a. Building 1 (Palace) with mortar floor.**  
Phase 1 (above), phase 2 (below). Photo archive IASAS.



▲ **Fig. 3b. Ducové – Kostolec.**  
Reconstruction of a part of the interior of Building 1 with hearth. Made by H. Albrecht and A. T. Ruttkay.



▲ **Fig. 4. Ducové – Kostolec.**  
Masonry of the rotunda in 1970. Photo by A. T. Ruttkay.

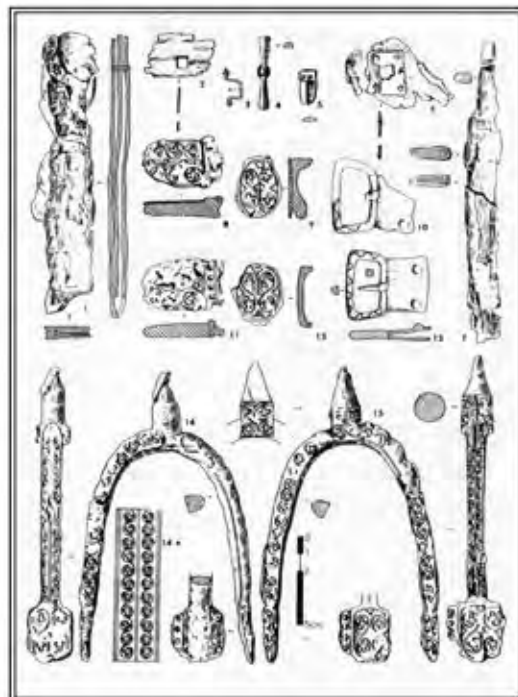
rotunda not only the foundation masonry remained preserved in situ but in some places even aboveground masonry 73 cm wide, with remnants of plaster on both sides. In a layer of ruins inside the building fragments of painted plaster were also found. The rotunda, over 12 m long, consisted of a round nave (inner diameter 7.30 m) and a horseshoe-shaped apse. It is characterised by a very accurately measured layout including a length module of 36.5 cm. This, however, cannot be derived from the supposed Lombard foot because according to reports from the time of King Liutprand from before the mid-8th century, this unit measured less than 30 cm.

For the construction of buildings within the manorial area 40–50,000 litres of mortar were used, which was made of lime and other raw material quarried directly at Kostolec. An especially hard mortar was used in the construction of the rotunda, the floors in the rotunda and in secular aboveground buildings, and even for the reinforcement of palisades in places of hardest impact (corners). Limestone was maybe quarried at the nearby location Čertolie about 400 m south of Kostolec. In 1975 a lime kiln was uncovered there; analysis of the feature has proved that its dating corresponds to the construction time of the Great Moravian manorial residence.

In the neighbourhood of the rotunda 28 graves from the mid-9th to the 1st half of the 10th century were found. Male graves are dominant (22), often equipped with spurs (**Fig. 5**). The population is asymmetrical: there are only three female graves (sumptuous gold, gilded or silver jewellery of the so-called Veligrad type; **Fig. 6**), to which the number of children’s graves also corresponds (3).

The residence at Kostolec reminds us, in its form, of Frankish *curtis* of the 8th-9th centuries, above all of their supposed hilltop forms with a “shield-like” layout. However, it reflects the specific traits of social development of the Slavs north of the Danube in the 9th century. It is an “external” residence





▲ Fig. 5. Ducové – Kostolec.

Grave 1205 near the rotunda (photo A. T. Ruttkay) and assemblage of finds from the grave (photo Archive IASAS).



outside the area of the Great Moravian power centres, the seat of a local nobleman who together with his armed retinue probably originally represented the ruler's power (Fig. 7). After the decline of an older stronghold at Pobedim, the administrative and residentially-representative function of the locality within the micro-region was strengthened by its favourable military-strategic location above a river ford (the mediaeval name of the settlement was Ducibrod, Duczrew; the toponyms Horný brod / Upper ford and Dolný brod / Lower ford have been preserved until today) and by



▲ Fig. 7. Ducové – Kostolec.

Masonry model, central part of the inner space. Archive IASAS.

◀ Fig. 6. Ducové – Kostolec.

Golden and silver jewelry from 9th century graves. Photo Archive IASAS.

a road connecting the Váh and Nitra valleys. The church, showing connections above all to the Aquileian sphere in northern Italy, is evidence of Christianisation streams prior to the arrival of the Thessalonian brothers.

The fortification and log-built features in the manorial area were burnt down in a downfall that was violent, and which took place in about 940–970. Around the damaged rotunda – which was not renovated again, gradually fell into ruin and was no longer visible on the surface in the 14th–15th centuries – there was a mediaeval cemetery (in which more than 1,500 graves have been examined) from the end of the 10th to the 2nd half of the 15th century.

# NITRIANSKA BLATNICA

SLOVAKIA

Alexander T. Ruttkay

On the forested eastern slopes of Marhát hill (749 m), on a rocky spur at the height of 465 m ASL, 5 km from Nitrianska Blatnica, there is a Church of St George (**Fig. 1**) which is also known as “Jurko” (the diminutive of the Slovak name Juraj = George). Below the elevation with the church on, there stretches an extensive and relatively level meadow called “Púšť”.



▲ **Fig. 1. Nitrianska Blatnica.**  
Rotunda of St George. Photo by B. Tesařová, Archive IAASB.

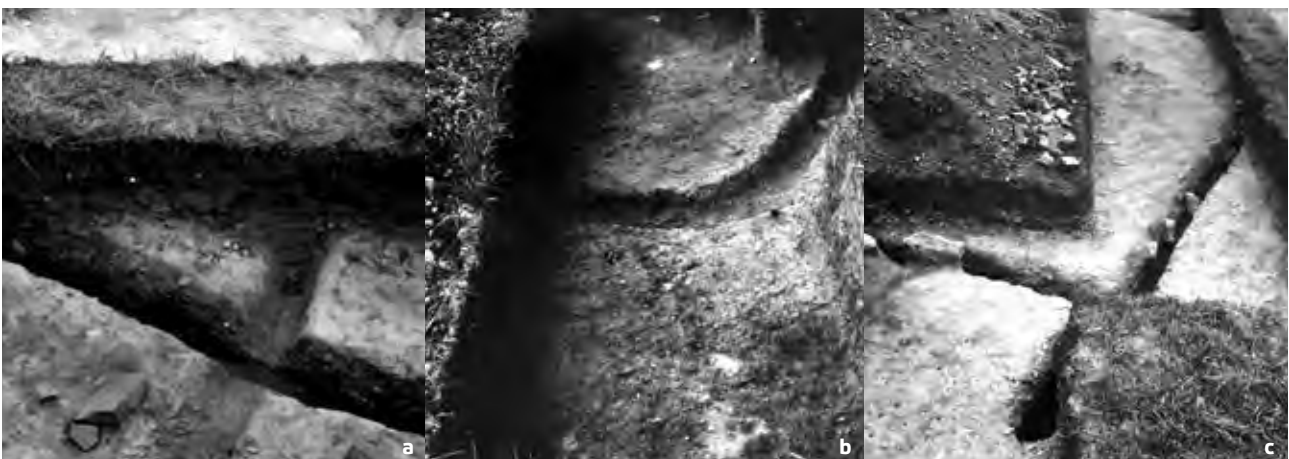
The church – a destination of pilgrimages to St George – and a second building in its neighbourhood were recorded by the first military survey in 1782–1785. The Church of St George also appears on a 19th century map of Hungary by Lipský.

Jurko has traditionally been referred to as a 1530 Renaissance church with Baroque rebuilding. Sparse information from the 17th to early 19th centuries refers to local hermits and schools

for children from aristocratic families in the surrounding region. The original school building served as a gamekeeper’s lodge from the 2nd half of the 19th century and was demolished in 1962.

A grave with s-shaped temple rings was disturbed near Jurko after 1970. In connection with excavations at Ducové, the Institute of Archaeology SAS in Nitra conducted a rescue excavation here in 1974, which was transformed into systematic field research in 1976–1980. Jurko and its neighbourhood were extensively excavated; trial trenching revealed characteristic traits of the development of settlement in the location of “Púšť”, and the hinterland of the locality was surveyed using geophysical, geological and botanical-ecological analyses. In the interior of the rotunda a preliminary architectonic survey was ongoing, but was not finished.

The 9th–13th century settlement can be divided into two phases. Within the older phase (9th–10th century) there are two systems of palisade fortifications in the location of “Púšť”. Each of them enclosed a quadrangular area. They are preserved in the form of trenches sunk into the bedrock (**Fig. 2**). Palisade stakes of 16–20 cm in thickness were originally embedded in these trenches. Based on analogous findings from Břeclav – Pohansko and Ducové, these structures can be classified as manorial residences of the elite, belonging to two chronological horizons. The older one covered an area of about 9,000 m<sup>2</sup> and its entrance on the southern side was protected by an advanced enclosure. The possible interpretation of it as a temporary palisade was disproved by the discovery of a second courtyard with an



▲ **Fig. 2. Nitrianska Blatnica.**  
Trenches of palisade enclosures from two phases of manorial residences in the location of Púšť: a – palisade trench of the later courtyard cutting through the course of the palisade of the older courtyard; b – corner of the older courtyard; c – corner of the later courtyard. Photo by E. Rejholec.



▲ **Fig. 3. Nitrianska Blatnica.**

Excavation in the interior of the Rotunda of St George; the northern part of the nave. Photo by A. T. Ruttkay.

area of about 3,500 m<sup>2</sup>, which emerged after the decline of, and was superimposed onto, the older structure. It was smaller than the older fortified area but its palisade was more thoroughly built. Both residences existed during the 9th–10th centuries but their inner development is only little known. The uppermost overlying layers on the meadow along with dwellings were destroyed by erosion, the impact of forest vegetation, and later by agricultural cultivation of the soil connected with the nearby gamekeeper's lodge. Remnants of ruined stone ovens indicate the existence of aboveground log-built dwellings. Sporadically, fragments of manufacturing and refuse pits, a timbered well and other features have also been found.

It was maybe already during the existence of the older manor that a rotunda was erected at the Jurko site. It consisted of a round nave (inner diameter 7.3 m) and a horseshoe-shaped apse. The aboveground masonry is more than 70 cm thick. It was built of flat quarry stones bound with compact mortar. Irregular rowing is evident and thorough masonry facing with plaster on both sides. The two oldest construction phases included floor 1a of lime coat, and floor 1b of unstable mortar. They were maybe chronologically parallel to plasters 1 and 2 associated with the levels of the two oldest floors. The level of floor 1b is connected with a pit which is sunk into the bedrock in the nave and lined continuously with quarry stones. Its backfill contained fragments of early mediaeval pottery and two iron mounts for spades. The pit may have

related to a support column during repair of the feature or it may be a remnant of internal equipment of the nave in front of the altar mensa. The entrance to the rotunda had already been put in place on the western side during the first phase. Near the entrance a large key was found, maybe from the original portal. The relationship between floor 1b and plaster 2, along with manorial residences 1 and 2, indicates that there was already a possible turnaround in the development of the site before the 11th century. Having compared the results of continuous archaeological exposure of the interior (**Fig. 3**) with the architectonic survey in 1973–1976, we found out that the spatial layout of the rotunda and maybe also a part of its aboveground masonry remained preserved.

Evidence of 9th–10th century settlement was also discovered north of the rotunda. This part of the spur was heavily disturbed by later constructions – a school, and then a gamekeeper's lodge. However, a square dwelling with hearth was also uncovered here, partly sunk into the rock.

During the Great Moravian period and in the 10th century, the rotunda was probably the proprietary church of a member of the ruling class. This assumption is in accordance with knowledge of manorial residences, which are among the phenomena that reflect the rise and development of early feudal relations, private land ownership, Christianisation “from above” and later also the decentralisation of power in the final phases of Great Moravia.

The earliest constructional phase of the church encompassed the remnants of some graves southwest of the rotunda in pits hewn into the bedrock. No more distinctive finds were discovered but these grave pits were situated below 11th–13th century graves and overlaid with building ruins which probably come from damaged upper parts of the rotunda's masonry. According to ceramic finds and a bronze crescent-shaped fitting, some graves may already have been disturbed in the 10th–11th centuries after the decline of manorial residence II.

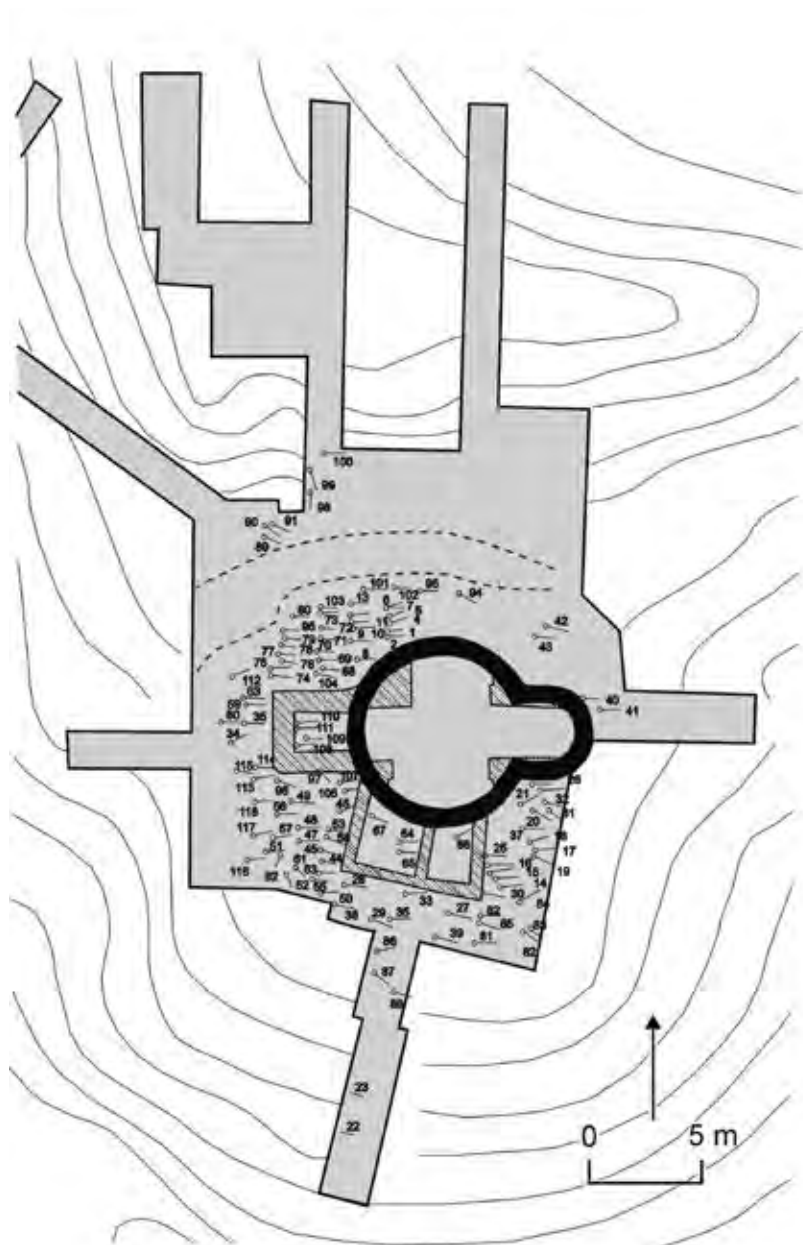
The second phase of early mediaeval settlement in the location of “Púšť” is represented by an 11th–13th century village with dispersed development. A square log-built house had an annex where both parts of a rotary quern, which may have been used for crushing ore, were deposited in situ. Iron production is also indicated by lumps of limonite. Remnants of tar pits were found as well.

Building modifications to the rotunda in the 11th–12th centuries were of small extent and were only recognised by a conservational survey. Around the rotunda 126 graves



were uncovered, representing as good as an entire church cemetery (Fig. 4). Some graves included personal ornaments which, along with coins, delimit the period of burials from the mid-11th to the 13th century. The graves were sporadically overlaid with cairns. During the 12th–13th centuries a ditch was dug out west of the rotunda, conducting water away from the nearby slope.

The village declined in the 13th century and people ceased to be buried near the rotunda. The situation testifies that the settlement was abandoned as a result of this decline. The defunct rotunda deteriorated and gradually fell into oblivion. The demarcation of the nearby village Nemeckhe in 1359 only mentions *locus (!) St Georgius*, and in 1494 only *locus* with the mangled name “*B(D?)urco*” appears. The rotunda was rebuilt after



▲ Fig. 4. Nitrianska Blatnica.

Plan of archaeological excavations in the interior and in the surroundings of the Rotunda of St George with numbered graves (Archive IASAS). Selection of 11th–12th century silver jewellery from graves near the rotunda. Photo Archive IASAS.

1526 thanks to the lord of the Tematín demesne Alexej Thurzo and his wife Magdalena Székely-Ormosdi. In the 17th century, in connection with Re-Catholisation, the so-called Pustovňa (Hermitage) was built. Baroque alterations included a new tower which was erected in the 2nd half of the 18th century.

The Great Moravian manorial residence and the nearby rotunda can be compared to a similar complex at Ducové, one that is even more favourably situated from a strategic point of view. The localities of "Jurko" and "Púšť" were placed near a road



▲ **Fig. 5. Nitrianska Blatnica.** Interior of the rotunda with a 9th century window and a consecration cross from the second phase of the church. Survey by J. Dorica.

leading from Ducové and Moravany through the Striebornica valley below Hradište hill (a small castle from the 12th–13th century) over the Gajda col south of Marhát.

Besides the primary economic and organisational purpose of manorial residences I and II there is also the question of the latter village settlement with an older sacred building. In the neighbourhood of Jurko there was an independent village which may have represented a part of the property of Stojslav, who probably resided in Nitrianska Blatnica. For the time being I am inclined to identify this settlement with Hosthe village which, according to available demarcation from 1249, neighboured on Banka.

Geologists had earlier called attention to old mining activities on the eastern slopes of Marhát. This information was recently attested by the geologist M. Kohút. He claims, according to new knowledge, that there is a "small gossan – limonite cap" and that the primary Fe came from "Devonian metaquartzites". The largest deposits were situated in the surroundings of Jurko.

In the forest terrain in the cadastres of Nitrianska Blatnica and neighbouring Vozokany we discovered many depressions and elevations which can be regarded as mining pits and sinkholes. The largest one, with a diameter of up to 20 m and depth of about 8 m, is situated in the location of "Krstiteľnica".

Exploitation of small surface limonite deposits may have played an important role in the life of the village near Jurko, and the exhaustion of natural resources was probably the reason for its decline.

Attention in recent years has been called to building-historical discoveries during the examination of aboveground parts of the rotunda under the direction of J. Dorica. The aboveground masonry of the building probably dates completely from the 9th century. Constructional elements are dominated by an entirely preserved 9th century window and by consecration crosses which maybe testify that the church was repaired for the first time (re-consecrated?) before the 11th century (**Fig. 5**).

New knowledge of the rotunda, of its function, development, and the surrounding settlement and economic hinterland is based on the results of archaeological excavations and conservational surveys. Both parts of research are separated from each other by a gap of more than thirty years, but their goals are the same: to support the historical presentation of the building as the oldest standing rotunda within the Middle Danube area, and create – as it was with the manorial residence in nearby Ducové – a non-invasive form of presentation of the early mediaeval church, cemetery and uncovered settlement features using modern audio-visual means.

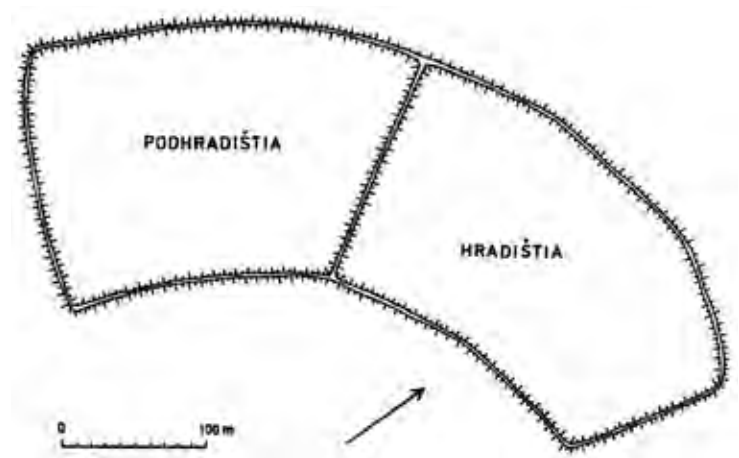


# POBEDIM

## SLOVAKIA

Alexander T. Ruttkay

In an area of the Danubian Hills, in the neighbourhood of Piešťany which is interwoven with multiple tributaries of the River Váh – the main watercourse of the region – several settlements are known that provide evidence of the origins of Slavic habitation after the turn of the 5th and 6th centuries at the latest. A dense network of agrarian and craft-orientated villages gradually developed in the cadastre and in the surroundings of what is now the village of Pobedim on the road leading from Moravia to the Váh valley, near a ford through the river Váh and over the mountain passes of Považský Inovec to the Nitra valley. A power-economic centre of the micro-region emerged around the year 800 near the Dubová rivulet on a terrain wave surrounded for the most part by marshes (Fig. 1a). The stronghold consisted of two parts called Hradištia (4.1 ha) and Podhradištia (3.9 ha). Systematic excavations conducted by the Institute of Archaeology SAS in 1959–1962, 1966–1969, 1972 and 1975 were led by D. Bialeková. Further



▲ Fig. 1a. Pobedim – Hradištia and Podhradištia  
Plan of the stronghold. Archive IASAS.



▲ Fig. 1b. Pobedim – Hradištie.  
The excavation of the box rampart construction. Photo D. Bialeková.



▲ **Fig. 2. Pobedim – the stronghold area.**  
A set of iron decorated fittings. After D. Bialeková, 1981.

expert analyses using modern geophysical and other scientific methods have been performed over recent years (M. Ruttkay, J. Henning, E. Fottová).

The stronghold was fortified by an embankment with timber latticework within, faced with a stone wall and fronted by a ditch in some places (**Fig. 1b**). The inner area was entered through a main and a side entrance.

The excavations were mainly focused on the remains of fortifications in the location of Hradištia and its immediate neighbourhood. Here the concentration of most settlement features was found (single-room rectangular dwellings with stone ovens), iron objects, pottery and other finds. Advanced craft production

was detected, above all the processing of iron ore (iron slag), production of various articles (a smithy, spurs, knives and other items) and trade (about 2,000 pieces of axe-shaped bars). Iron ore was probably obtained from ore resources in shallow deposits on the eastern slopes of Marhát in the Považský Inovec hills.

The complicated destiny of the stronghold in the 9th century is evidenced by 15 hoards of iron objects and another 5 hoards in the surrounding villages (**Fig. 2**). The situation is also illustrated by the multiple superposition of settlement features and graves. At least two phases of funerary activities and two settlement phases have been recognised. They let us suppose that the stronghold had the power-economic function of a regional centre, above all in the 1st half of the 9th century (**Fig. 3**). In the 2nd half of the 9th century, when Great Moravia achieved its maximum expansion, a decrease in importance can be supposed and the area of the stronghold was used for burials of the inhabitants of the surrounding villages. After 890, during the well-known military pressure caused by a short-term Frankish-Magyar alliance, the fortifications of the stronghold were renovated and the protected area within was used – maybe temporarily – for defensive purposes and as a refuge.

In the Great Moravian period it was the nearby manorial residence at Ducové which took over the function of regional power centre. It was built in a strategic place above a ford through the river Váh. Life in the villages around the Pobedim stronghold, however, was in no way interrupted; the demographic line and local iron production probably continued throughout the whole of the 9th century.



▲ **Fig. 3. Bašovce.**  
Spur – a great product of artistic metalwork. After D. Bialeková, 1981.



# BRATISLAVA AND DEVÍN

## SLOVAKIA

Tatiana Štefanovičová

Bratislava and Devín – two significant Great Moravian castles. One of them is situated at the western end and the other at the eastern end of the Bratislava Gate, which is also referred to as the Devín Gate (Ger. Thebener Tor). It is a gorge on the left bank of the River Danube, which is formed by the last projections of the Carpathians in the north and of the Alps (Leitha Mountains) in the south. The territory to the south and southeast of the Danube was regularly flooded by the river and therefore hard to pass. The Danube fords were thus of great importance. One of them was situated below the southern slope of the Bratislava Castle hill, in the place of a former access road leading to a pre-urban settlement of the La Tène Period – an oppidum. In early mediaeval times, access to the later town area was guarded by a stone-built watchtower which is documented in 1254 as the Water Tower. A precursor, however, can be supposed to have existed before, in the Slavic Period. The case with Devín is also similar.

Both of the elevated castle locations were more or less intensively inhabited from as early as prehistoric times. Most significant was the settlement from the 1st century BC and 1st century AD when Celtic (La Tène) fortified sites arose on both of these hills. In Bratislava there was a princely residence which also dominated the pre-urban settlement – Celtic oppidum at the foot of the eastern slope of the castle hill, where the early mediaeval town later stood.

After the Migration Period, which markedly affected the area of the Bratislava Gate, Slavic peoples began to settle down permanently on this territory. The last great wave of migrations, which essentially put an end to the period, was the inflow of Avar tribes. However, these equestrian nomadic tribes, which rather preferred flatland areas, did not occupy the elevated locations of castle hills. The territory of what was to become Bratislava remained as good as neglected by them, but they settled down in its immediate neighbourhood, which is attested by an extensive burial ground in Devínska Nová Ves (more than 900 graves), and smaller graveyards in Záhorská Bystrica, Bernolákovo and Čučňovo in the south. Castles did not become important until the break-up of the Avar Empire in the last decade of the 8th century, which was induced by the military campaigns of Charlemagne.

Both Bratislava and Devín were known from literary sources, so they were given attention in the past. A third such significant 9th century locality was Nitra, which was the residence of Duke Pribina and later for some time also Svatopluk from the Mojmirid dynasty. Devín, with its impressive location on a rocky spur above the confluence of the Rivers Morava and Danube, attracted the most attention. An AD 864 entry in the Frankish Annals reports on Devín in connection with Duke Rostislav; that is why it was often considered

the centre of the Moravian Empire. However, it turns out that the central role in the Bratislava Gate at the time of the Great Moravian Empire was rather played by Bratislava Castle and by Nitra, which is one of the oldest and most significant castles in the eastern part of Great Moravia. This situation was also caused partly by the fact that any written mention of Bratislava Castle was found last, to be precise in the 1920s – in the Salzburg Annals it is referred to as *Pressalauspurch*. The toponym is probably derived from the name Preslav or Predslav, which was not as well-known as Rostislav. The constructional development of Bratislava Castle after the turn of the 14th and 15th centuries, with numerous re-buildings and alterations, caused scepticism about the chance of finding artefacts and the original Great Moravian building features.

Moreover, an AD 907 written report mentions Bratislava in connection with a great battle which took place in its neighbourhood, between Magyar invaders and the allied armies of the East Frankish Empire. The latter forces were defeated in this battle, so Bratislava was later characterised as a place where “the glory of the Slavs came to an end”. Research, however, has shown that from as early as the 9th century the castle hill was fortified with a mighty wood-and-earth defensive wall, which was discovered as deep as three metres below the present ground surface and whose construction was varied. There was a wooden latticework made of roughly hewn logs forming sorts of chambers, as well as a wooden grid structure. The defensive wall was probably repaired or even completely rebuilt in the upper part (below the later so-called Leopold Gate). The foundation remnants of a spacious three-nave church divided in the interior by three pairs of stone pillars was also a surprising find (**Fig. 1**). These building relics were unearthed in the eastern part of the acropolis of the castle area. The church was mostly built of ashlar bound with clay; the walls were plastered and decorated with paintings, of which only some fragments are preserved. The use of dressed stones may be associated with remnants of Roman architecture, which were unearthed during excavations in the acropolis of the castle almost fifty years later. The dressed stones of a smaller secular building, interpreted as a palace in the southern part of the acropolis of the castle, might also be of similar origin. No direct relation was found between the building activity at the turn of the millennium and in the 9th century, and we also observe a general hiatus in settlement at the locality. We do not know how long the Roman buildings survived in the castle area. It is certainly possible that remains of them were discovered by the Slavs, who colonised the whole territory after the 6th century, and were re-used by them later, as is also observed in many other early mediaeval sites.

The Great Moravian three-nave church declined during the 10th century after the break-up of Great Moravia. However, after the Kingdom of Hungary came into being at the turn of the 10th and 11th centuries, a new church of similar dimensions and layout, even though shifted a little to the west, was built here partly on the foundations of the older building. It was consecrated to St Salvator and this patronage also survived when the church was relocated from the castle to the emergent town in the early 13th century. It was then placed in the eastern suburbium and consecrated to Sts Salvator and Martin. The castle retained its prominent position as well within the Kingdom of Hungary, namely as the centre of a district (comitatus). "Trials by ordeal" took place here in the 11th century, and somewhat later a provostry was established. At that time a funeral chapel – chancel house – was built here, and the foundations of a part of the provostry building are preserved on the southern side of the area. A burial ground existed around the church almost continuously from the 9th to as late as the beginning of the 13th century, when it was relocated to the town at the request of the Church and the castle lords.

Intensive settlement activity in the castle is also indicated by a suburbium on the southern slope of the castle hill at an important Danube ford, where a road led to the eastern suburbium and later to the emergent town, to the Church of Sts Salvator and Martin.

According to written reports, the castle also played an important role in further development, during fighting for the Hungarian throne and in military conflicts with neighbouring



▲ Fig. 1. Castle hill in Bratislava.

The present form of the foundations of the Great Moravian church. Photo by B. Tesařová, archive IAAS Brno.

countries. In the years 1073–1074 there was a residence of King Solomon. The prominent position of the castle is also corroborated by the fact that Frederick Barbarossa chose it for his residence in 1189, during his third crusade.

The important role of a frontier castle on the other side of the Bratislava Gate was played by Devín, which was situated in an advantageous strategic location on a high rocky spur above the confluence of the Danube and the Morava. The watercourses, above all the Danube, which is one of the largest European rivers, also played a considerable part in determining the political frontiers. The Slavic peoples who settled down in this region crossed the river Morava in a westerly direction and colonised the Lower Austrian lowland and the forested uplands of the Vienna Woods as far as the River Kamp. A Slavic population is also archaeologically evidenced in the south, in the immediate neighbourhood of the Danube, on cadastral territory of what is now Hainburg. This enclave, however, did not form a homogeneous area with the Slavic



▲ Fig. 2. Devín.

The present form of the foundations of the Great Moravian church. Photo by B. Tesařová, archive IAAS Brno.

population in West Slovakia and South Moravia. In time of war, frontiers were represented by the Rivers Morava, Dyje in the north, and Danube in the south. That is why Devín remained a significant strongpoint of the Moravian Empire. This fact was also noticed by the chroniclers of the Frankish Empire who mentioned Devín in 864 when it hosted the Moravian ruler Rostislav. Considering the eccentric location of the castle, however, it was probably not his permanent residence or centre of the empire. But it was indisputably one of the castles which served as temporary residences of the ruler and his retinue during their circular tours around the country, as was also usual in the Frankish Empire of that time.

The significance of Devín as a residence of the social elite is mainly indicated by the foundations of a church in the area of the so-called middle ward (**Fig. 2**). The originally unearthened foundations of a masonry building were re-classified by later research to a single-nave church with trefoil sanctuary on the eastern side and with maybe a room for the nobles on the western side, separated from the sacred part by a corridor. The church and the annex were built of ashlar and Roman bricks, similar to those in Bratislava Castle. The masonry was bound with mortar, plastered and decorated with paintings, which are only preserved in some small fragments. Graves containing 9th century jewellery and equestrian equipment were unearthed during archaeological excavations on the southern side of the church. Burials still continued here long after the decline of the sacred building, as is indicated by the excavated cemetery where the youngest graves come from as late as the 13th century. In the vicinity of the original church a round building – rotunda – was later built in the place of a later cemetery. It is interesting that a pointed iron stick was found in the area of the castle; this was used for writing on wax tablets and its name is derived from the Greek word *stilos* (Lat. *stylus*). It indicates that there may have been a Great Moravian religious educational establishment in Devín Castle, similar to those which are said to have been founded by the disciples of Constantine and Methodius.

The 9th century castle area took advantage of an older fortification from the time of Roman expansion onto the territory north of the Danube. It consisted of an earthen bank, whose original function was maintained until mediaeval times. Inside the fortified area there arose an 11th–12th century settlement with ten single-room stone houses forming a street network. This period maybe already saw the beginnings of German colonisation, which was highly probable in this frontier zone.

The overall character of finds as well as the geographical location clearly show that both the above-mentioned castles can be regarded as significant localities within the Moravian

Duchy, which together with the Duchy of Nitra created Great Moravia at the end of the 9th century and beginning of the 10th century. This state formation was mentioned in the work *On the Governance of the Empire* by the Byzantine Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenetos.

# MOSABURG/ZALAVÁR

## HUNGARY

Béla Miklós Szőke

In the autumn of 791, a monastic chronicler of the *Reichsannalen* recorded that Charlemagne was awaiting the arrival of Aleman, Saxon, Frisian, Thuringian, Bavarian, and even Slav warriors in his camp at Regensburg “on account of the enormous and intolerable atrocities of the Avars, performed by them against the Holy Church and against Christian people”. Having set out eastwards with two columns advancing along the Danube riverbank and with an additional force on the river itself, he was, however, obliged to turn back at the confluence of the rivers Danube and Raab without achieving significant military successes, on account of the perishing of nine tenths of the army’s horses. The disintegration of the Avar khaganate was caused by the diarchy exercised by the principal Avar dignitaries, the *khagan* and the *jugurrus*. This had developed from the 780s and excited internal tensions; Charlemagne’s campaign merely strengthened the antagonisms. The diarchy and with it the entire khaganate collapsed in a bloody “civil war” which broke out in 795. In 796, it fell to Pippin, King of Italy and a son of Charlemagne, to make the khagan, who appeared before him voluntarily, submit to him and swear a vassal’s oath. The disintegration of the khaganate became an irreversible process, the denouement of which was the Peace of Aachen (811), which confirmed the status quo. Pannonia – the lands between the rivers Drava and Sava and Transdanubia – became the easternmost province of the Carolingian Empire and an integral part of it. The Principality of Moravia, on territory to the north of the Danube, was officially recognised, and the khagan pulled (or was pushed) back to the region to the east of the River Danube.

The expansion of the Carolingian Empire and the cultural transformation of its entire eastern frontier zone – changes in the values, tastes, and dress of its inhabitants, i.e. their acculturation – constituted a slow process lasting many decades. It ran its course differently from territory to territory, and had different impacts. It differed from those hitherto not only in its rate, but also in its character. No notable change ensued in the make-up of the peoples of the region: the extension of the Carolingian Empire was not accompanied by significant population movements. The aim and essence of extending the Carolingian Empire was the development of spiritual and economic dependency through the spreading of Christianity and the feudal system. In this it was similar to the growth of the Roman Empire, the example for the Frankish ruling house which put the slogan *renovatio imperii* (“revival of the empire”) on its banner. To achieve this end, it was sufficient to force a change of orientation in the political elite, or in a worse case to seize its power positions, and, in the cultural field, to compel acceptance of the conqueror’s culture and acculturation in accordance with it.

In 828, Louis the Pious reorganised the administration of the entire eastern area, breaking larger units into smaller ones and creating a network of counties. The southern half of Transdanubia, an evangelisation district of the Archbishopric of Salzburg, passed to a territorially-diminished Lower Pannonia on the area between the rivers Drava and Sava, while Upper Pannonia consisted of the territory between the Raab and the Danube together with the Vienna Basin and the Tulln Basin. Upper Pannonia, with Tulln as its centre, became Ratbod’s county, and, to the east of it, Rihheri’s county (first mentioned in documents in 841) had its centre in Savaria. On the other hand, no archaeological material has so far come to light on the territory of Savaria/Szombathely to prove convincingly that the county’s centre was identical with this earlier Roman city.

In one part of Lower Pannonia, along the lower stretch of the River Zala, “a certain” Priwina received an extensive fief (838–840); he had been driven out from the territory “above the Danube” by Mojmir, ruling prince of Moravia, around 830. Contrary to public belief, contemporary historical sources never mention Priwina as the ruling prince of Nitra; the work *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum (On the Conversion of the Bavarians and Carantanians; Wolfram, ed. 2013)* merely places the adjective *quidam* (“a certain”) in front of his name. In all likelihood, Priwina was nothing more or less than a high-ranking official close to Mojmir who may have gone over from the khaganate and who, after coming into conflict with his lord, had been forced to flee. However, Priwina’s particular knowledge and his network of contacts were useful to his new master, who was suffering from “a shortage of cadres” in the eastern area. For these reasons, Louis the German (lived 806–876) gladly took him in, had him baptised, and placed him under the authority of Ratbod, prefect of the east (which would hardly have happened had he been a member of an actual ruling prince’s family), and years later accepted his oath of loyalty again.

Priwina co-operated very actively in the evangelisation of the territory entrusted to him, and in addition to the three churches built in his own centre, had, along with his son Chezil (Kocel), at least another thirty erected in the space of a lifetime, which was quite an exceptional achievement in this period. Clearly, this zeal, too, was rewarded when scarcely a decade later, in 847, Louis the German granted him outright ownership of a large part of the territory assigned to him earlier as a fief. “Lately called Mosaburg” (“Castle in the Marshes”) from about 865, Priwina’s centre was built at Zalavár – Castle Island (**Fig. 1**) in the valley of the Lower Zala; it was probably the centre for Osbald, too, the evangelising bishop directly subordinated to the archbishop of Salzburg, who was in charge of the evangelisation of the entire area.





▲ Fig. 1. Zalavár – Vársziget (Castle Island) and its immediate surroundings.

Source Googlemaps. Photo Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum collection, Budapest.

Mosaburg's uncommonly different situation, and its rapid rise, is indicated by the circumstance that the priests who had been sent there by the archbishop of Salzburg were all highly trained, cultivated persons. The first priest, Dominicus, who for a short time worked as a notary in the royal chancellery, still belonged to Regensburg, and the archbishop granted



▲ Fig. 2. Aerial view of Zalavár – Vársziget with Hadrianus church.

Photo Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum collection, Budapest.

him a special licence to work on the territory of the mission; the other priests the archbishop himself gave. To begin with, he ordered the "respected teacher" Swarnagal to go to Mosaburg along with deacons and other clerics, to be followed by Altfred, a "master of every branch of knowledge". The last mentioned may be identical with the designer and builder of the "estimable" church which Archbishop Liupram of Salzburg (in office 836–859) commissioned and to which he, too, contributed master craftsmen. The first act of Archbishop Adalwin (in office 859–873), Liupram's successor at Salzburg, was to elevate Altfred to archpresbyter; after Altfred's death, he inaugurated Rihpald in the very same rank in Mosaburg. This is a clear indication that, by means of a deliberate building scheme, Salzburg was preparing to found a new bishopric in Lower Pannonia with Mosaburg as its centre, wishing to create this as the concluding act of its successful mission (Fig. 2).

An especially important result of archaeological research so far is that three churches built in Mosaburg and mentioned by name in the *Conversio* have been found and/or identified. Of these, the Church of St John the Baptist was built the earliest, at the beginning of the 840s. Rectangular in shape and standing on wooden columns, the 12 × 8 m hall church was consecrated with a nave of identical width. An atrium was joined to the south side of the church; this may have been constructed when some of the timber columns of the church were changed. In view of its ground plan and size, the church corresponds to the timber churches favoured primarily in the Carolingian Empire's Eastern Frankish territory in the 8th–9th centuries. Carefully built and lined with large blocks of basalt,



▲ Fig. 3. Zalavár – Vársziget, Hadrianus church.

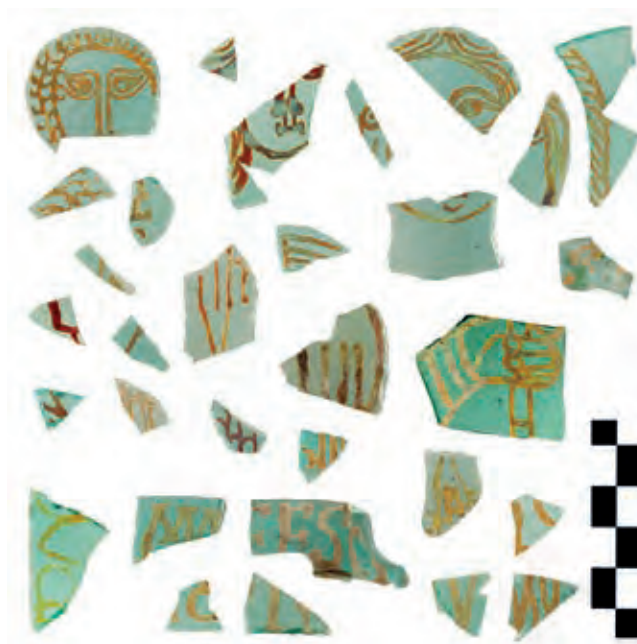
Jewelry from the grave 120/89. Photo Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum collection, Budapest.

a deep well protected by a well-house with palisade walls was located to the north of the church; it may have provided the water used for baptisms. To the east of the church, beneath the western tract of the Hadrianus church, the large palace of the church's priest (or possibly the evangelising bishop) came to light; it was likewise made of timber.

The construction of Priwina's private church within his fortified manor house was completed only ten years after the establishment of the settlement. It was dedicated to the Virgin Mary on 24 January 850. This church is identical with the Benedictine church (re-)dedicated to St Hadrianus in 1019 at the command of King Stephen of Hungary. A survey drawing made by a certain G. Turco in 1569 of a version of the church, altered to an unknown extent in later centuries, has come down to us. The church was blown up in 1702 and its remains later completely removed. Burials in the multi-layer cemetery around the church (so-called large coffin burials) began in the mid-9th century, and came to an end in the Arpadian era (Fig. 3).

The largest church in the eastern borderlands of the Carolingian Empire, the "estimable" pilgrimage church in which "Hadrianus the Martyr was laid to rest" was built around 855 on the instructions of Archbishop Liupram of Salzburg in the geometrical centre of Castle Island, to the east of the Church of St John the Baptist and to the north of the Church of the Virgin Mary. The three-nave basilica was built with a semi-circular chancel with ribbed vaulting and with side-naves ending in walls at right angles to the church's north and south walls respectively. Its most characteristic part was a corridor crypt with a chapel opening in three directions, which was deepened outside the chancel in such a way that believers hoping for a change for the better in their lives or for a miraculous cure could establish direct contact with Hadrianus the Martyr, who "with body uncorrupted" lay buried beneath the altar. This type of church spread in the newly evangelised territories simultaneously for the most part, serving as the model for the former Saxon, Frisian, and Thuringian corridor-crypt churches. The western tract of the Hadrianus church was an open court with a wing on either side. The ground floor of each wing may have served as accommodation for pilgrims and the upper floor as living quarters for the monks. Inside the church, the "barrier foundations" between the pillars were certainly constructed later; on these may have rested chest-high stone slabs, "chancel screens" after the Byzantine model, by means of which the main nave was closed off from the pilgrims, who could only use the side-naves.

Carved from hard limestone resembling marble, the church's door-frames and window-frames display several versions



▲ Fig. 4. Zalavár – Vársziget, Hadrianus church. Fragments of window glass with painted figural decoration. Photo Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum collection, Budapest.

of the "braided frieze" decoration (pairs of circles linked by pretzel-shaped knots or quatrefoil-shaped loops) favoured in northern Italy and in the Alps. The windows in the vicinity of the chancel and the corridor crypt were glazed with glass panels consisting of pieces of glass held together by lead came that depicted holy figures and inscriptions painted in silver-yellow on a ground that was sea blue, bluish green, blue, emerald green, olive green, brownish purple, yellow, and also green (Fig. 4). These panels were made in a workshop near the chancel by a Byzantine-trained master using materials from Western Europe. The church's bell – hitherto the largest Carolingian-era bell known – was cast in a casting-pit discovered to the south of the church (the diameter of its mould was 80–85 cm).

The heyday of the Hadrianus church, which functioned as a pilgrimage church and as an episcopal seat, was approximately the period 860–875. In Arnolf's time, the bishop's *pfalz* ("residence site") was abolished; also, the timber palaces built on the southern side at the same time as the church were knocked down and their sites were made available for burials. The church next to King Arnolf's *pfalz* presumably became a parish church serving the community.

As well as the three to be found on Castle Island, another two Carolingian-era churches are known in its environs. Each was built as part of a manor house. On Récéskút Island, to the northeast of Castle Island, there stood a rectangular



▲ **Fig. 5. Zalavár – Vársziget.**  
Fragments of pottery vessels with scratched Glagolitsa letters.  
Photo Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum collection, Budapest.

three-nave, stone-built basilica measuring 20.5 × 12 m whose three chancels each ended in a semi-circular apse. To the southwest, on Borjúállás Island, there was a rectangular timber-built hall church measuring 17 × 7 m that was built on broad, strong horizontal beams and featured a square chancel. Since according to the *Conversio* the churches of Sandrat and Ermpert “outside the town” were consecrated at the same time as the Church of Mary, it is very likely that these edifices are identical with the above-mentioned two churches, since localisation by reference to the “town” only makes sense if they were in its immediate vicinity, namely within sight of it.

Mosaburg’s uniformly tranquil development was disturbed by unexpected events. In 863, at the invitation of Rostislav, the ruling prince, evangelising priests in the persons of Constantinus (Cyril) and Methodius arrived in the Principality of Moravia. Together with their students, these evangelisers, who spread the Word in the Slavic language and who consequently translated parts of the Bible into Slavic, thus developing a new alphabet (Glagolitsa), soon appeared at the court of Chezil (Kocel) also. Here, too, they attracted pupils, and Chezil

likewise learnt the Slavic script. With regard to this, one of the most sensational archaeological finds of recent years has been the discovery of rounded (obla) Glagolitsa letters scratched on the sides of flasks with polished surfaces brought to light at Zalavár – Castle Island (**Fig. 5**). More or less recognisable on the fragments are the letters g (glagolъ), v (vědi), i (iže), o (onъ), f (fertъ), ja (jat’), and the cross as a character connecting words or as the a (as) letter.

The appearance of the evangelising brothers even before the planned bishopric of Pannonia opened up new perspectives. Chezil induced Pope Hadrian II to make Methodius Archbishop of Pannonia. From this time on, he belonged not under the Archbishop of Salzburg, but directly under the Pope. For reasons of ecclesiastical politics, Methodius would be Archbishop of Sirmium, a post unfilled for centuries, but in actual fact he would return to Mosaburg. He occupied the episcopal seat to all intents and purposes already built up by Salzburg, making the Hadrianus church its cathedral (869). It was natural that the Bavarian Church should, as soon as possible, seize Methodius (870), pass judgment on him, and hold him captive for years. When he was finally released (873), as a result of pressure by a new Pope, John VIII, it was as Archbishop of Pannonia and of the Moravians that the Pope officially addressed him in letters, but after 880 only as Archbishop of the Moravians. It was at this time that a letter from the Bulgarian Archbishop Georgios (in office from 878) may have come to Zalavár: the lead seal of a letter from him was discovered during ploughing on the Castle Island site.

Thanks to the improvements made by Salzburg, Mosaburg rapidly developed into a flourishing urban-like settlement. The archbishops Liupram and Adalwin wintered there many times, each with his respective retinue. The timber palaces built next to the Hadrianus church formed the core of the bishop’s residence site; Methodius, too, may have used this as a residence later on. Mosaburg reached the apogee of its development towards the end of the 870s, when Arnolf (lived 850–899), grandson of Louis the German, who had reigned a long time, became King of Eastern Francia. Arnolf began to develop his residence site (*pfalz*) in Pannonia, namely his palace at Mosaburg, during the short reign of his father Carloman (lived 830–880). In the following years, 888, 889, and in the 890s, Arnolf issued documents there many times; in the last such document he already expressly calls Mosaburg a “royal town” (*regia civitas*).

In the light of remains of fortifications on Castle Island (ditches with ramparts, palisade walls, and the ditch running around it), we can say the L-shaped island was divided up into three parts of almost equal size. At the time of settlement, around 840, a ditch was cut through the arm stretching southwards; behind



this ditch, the fortified manor house belonging to Priwina and Chezil was created. Later, the arm of the island stretching east was marked off by a machiolated palisade wall; by this means, the final third was formed on the territory where the two arms met, that is, in the middle of the island. This contained the episcopal palace area (*pfalz*) along with the Pilgrimage Church of Hadrianus the Martyr. No archaeological research of any kind has yet been conducted on the eastern arm of the island; thus the function it performed is, for the time being, unclear. Finally, many sections of the palisade wall in the middle part of the island have come to light which cut through the earlier fortification systems, and also through a ditch which had in the meantime been largely filled in. These are already remains from the final third of the century, and are connected with the building of King Arnolf's palace and residence zone.

A major research finding of recent years, the 70–80 cm thick and 60–70 cm deep foundation walls of a stone building with a rectangular (17 × 8 m) ground plan, came to light northwest of the west front of the Church of Mary; these very probably belonged to King Arnolf's palace. The building was divided by a partition wall into a larger and a smaller space, and on the south side a vestibule with a palisade wall may have been

joined to the building. The palace's courtyard was encircled by a wooden fence.

Sensing ever-increasing pressure from the Hungarians, in 896 Arnolf entrusted his confidant *dux* Brazlav with the defence of Mosaburg. Arnolf soon died, but the lord of his seat in Pannonia continued to be Brazlav, who surrounded Zalavár – Castle Island with strong stone-and-timber ramparts. In 907, the main Bavarian army led by Prince Liutpold suffered a disastrous defeat at the hands of the Hungarians at *Brezalauspurc*. The loss of the battle spelled the end of Carolingian Pannonia, and at the same time the Christian West lost its last protective bastion in the Carpathian Basin. With the death of Louis the Child in 911, the eastern branch of the Carolingian dynasty died out and the Eastern Frankish Empire came to an end.

The good number of burials of the inhabitants of Mosaburg county that have come to light around the churches of the Lower Zala valley and in more distant parts, in proximity to the villages of the lower classes, enable us to form a colourful and exciting picture not only of the structure of Mosaburg society, but also of the cultural adaptability of its inhabitants, along with the extent and depth of their acculturation. This



▲ Fig. 6. Zalavár – Vársziget, Church of the Virgin Mary. Spurs fittings from grave 269. Photo Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum collection, Budapest.



picture is made even more nuanced by the uncovering of several cemeteries in the Zalavár area that were opened in the late Avar period or that were still being used at this time.

When the late-Avar-age nobles who had been recruited into the retinues of Priwina and Chezil accepted baptism and were buried around a church, Christian prescriptions were observed more strictly than in the case of the elites of the tribal (*gentile*) principalities. Only a certain group of the young men and women were buried with jewellery and other artefacts worn by them in life. Men's attire was defined by the kinds of artefact known in the Carolingian Empire, hence sets of spurs of three or four basic types (**Fig. 6**), a razor kept in a sheet-iron case, and a "cutlery set" consisting of two finely-worked knives each with a thin, short blade, sometimes decorated with inlay. These two knives were kept in a wooden case with a decoratively-worked protective plate on its top. At the time of burial, the earlier elements of attire were omitted almost entirely in the majority of cases: belts with mountings were removed and weapons, too, were eschewed. In most instances, only the position of a burial within a cemetery and the presence of a large coffin, carefully carpentered and featuring ironwork, indicate the high rank of the deceased.

The overwhelming majority of noblewomen were likewise buried without jewellery. In the case of girls, however, we encounter finely-crafted goldsmith's works, headgear, sheet-metal buttons, and rings made of gold or silver gilt. The stock of forms, production and design principles, and the goldsmith's techniques featured hark back to late Avar and end of the Avar age women's jewellery rooted in the goldsmith's work of late antiquity and Byzantium: the women continued to be enthralled by the jewellery of the former Avar khaganate's elite. In terms of numbers, pendants constitute the largest group of women's jewellery discovered in Mosaburg; they also form the most varied group. This is true for the women's jewellery of the common people and the elite alike. Not infrequently, several pairs of pendants were attached to strips of textile or leather suspended from either side of a headband. Pendants resembling a bunch of grapes were the most characteristic, but hollow spheres, small openwork baskets, and disks pierced through near the rim with a crescent-shaped element were also favoured types. These may have been combined with each other in various ways. Necklaces were threaded from small green, blue, and yellow beads, from blue, yellow, white, and silvered multi-part rods, or from pearls. These elements were also used as decoration for outer garments. The simple wire ring whose ends were joined by a nail and the glass-inlaid, sheet-metal ring with a protuberance-decorated head were rare elements of attire. A new feature was the hollow sphere, generally found in pairs, which was executed in ways at least as various

as on the territory of the Moravian principality. Undecorated hollow spheres made of gold have come to light, as have hollow spheres made of silver or silver gilt. The last-mentioned include examples with small rings and tiny granulated beads soldered on as decoration, double-walled examples decorated with protruberances and beading, examples decorated with beaded wire, and examples decorated with geometrical motifs, palmettes, and birds on a punched background.

Tableware sets used by notables during meals were made on a hand-turned wheel, from carefully washed and glazed clay fired to a golden brown colour. The overwhelming majority of the pieces we have are from slender flasks. Others are from jugs with one or two handles, table amphoras, dishes, flat and deep small bowls, cups, beakers, covers, and a few unusually-shaped vessels, e.g. those with a pouring spout or a bird-head-shaped handle and chafing dishes. Almost all of the ceramic pieces were undecorated. On a few pieces, however, primarily on the sides of the flasks, impressed, scratched, and engraved decoration can be seen, as well as smoothed-on net patterns, appliqué ribbing, and decoration in relief pressed out from within. A characteristic "Mosaburg" feature was an impressed motif consisting of a cross made of four triangles each with its apex pointing inwards that was flanked on each side of the crosspiece by two triangles whose apices pointed towards each other.

Archaeological finds relating to the lower layers of society follow, in a sensitive way, the changes that took place in the political and cultural environment, making possible the establishment of a detailed chronology. By way of this "reclotting", namely the adoption of the new jewellery, beads, items of attire, and weapons, and the abandonment of the old ones, the attire of the common people as a whole became simpler and "poorer". In women's burials, head jewels numbered more than a pair only exceptionally. Pendants resembling a bunch of grapes and various kinds of wire jewellery were more often made of bronze or copper, seldom of silver. Pendant bracelets from the Alpine area featuring glass beads or hollow beads made from sheet metal are rarely found. Bead necklaces were made from West European beads exclusively; outer garments were fastened at the shoulder by means of small undecorated buttons of cast bronze or hollow bronze, or glass buttons with bronze or iron loops. Rings with broad, shield-like bezels were placed in burials in increasing numbers along with artefacts for use or even artefacts used in work. Burials were shallower and uniformly west-east in orientation. Some conspicuous customs (burial of animals, cremation, cavity burials, barrow burials) were abandoned. However, the interring of food and drink with the deceased continued up to the end of the 9th century in some of the families that carried on with burials in pagan "sacred groves".

# PRAGUE CASTLE

## BOHEMIA

Jan Frolík

At the turn of the 9th and 10th centuries, Prague Castle became an indisputable centre of the emergent Bohemian state. This situation was preceded by long development and influence from the Great Moravian milieu, which can be divided into several periods. Definition of them is based on data drawn from sparse written reports. The first unequivocal date appears with the construction of the Church of the Virgin Mary, the second earliest church in Bohemia and the earliest in Prague Castle. It was built at the end of a series of events which began with the baptism of Duke Bořivoj I (before 972 – c. 889) in Moravia. Based on a wider context, the construction of the church has been dated to 882–884. From this date Bohemia is also considered to have been an integral part of Great Moravia. The end date is indisputable. It was in 895 that Duke Spytihněv I (895–915) took the side of the East Frankish King Arnulf in Regensburg (*Třeštík 1997*). Before and after this period, Bohemia and Prague Castle mainly absorbed influence from Great Moravia, which was particularly apparent in the material culture.

Prague Castle is situated on a spur at the north-western border of the Prague Basin. This narrow and elongated spur, whose original shape has been considerably altered by human activity, runs out from a plateau formed by what is now Pohořelec and the Hradčany city district. The elevation had two tops, the higher one located in the neighbourhood of St Vitus Cathedral and the other situated in the place of the St George Basilica. These two hilltops were separated from each other by a ravine. On the southern slope there was a spring, which probably played an important role in the selection of the place for the construction of the castle. The hillsides of the spur offered conditions favourable for defence. The spur was most easily accessible from the west, from the area of the later Hradčanské Square. Originally there was a natural gorge (the so-called Hradčany Gorge), which was later modified and extended into a moat (*Frolík – Smetánka 1997; Klazarová ed. 2003*).

The earliest sparse evidence of settlement, or at least of use of the spur, comes from the 8th century or the early 9th century. It is represented by ceramic fragments found at the opposite end of the castle area. More reliable evidence of the earliest settlement is a moat which surrounded the inner ward of the present-day castle compound (i.e. what is now the 3rd yard, Jiřské Square and Opyš) prior to the mid-9th century. The moat was approximately 4 m wide and 1.4 to 2 m deep (**Fig. 1**). The question of whether it was supplemented with another structure has not yet been clarified. At one place a row of postholes was detected, which most probably indicate a fence (*Frolík 2002; 2006*). The question of how the earth dug out from the ditch was utilised remains unsolved. The ditch has been

► **Fig. 1. Prague Castle, Northern Wing.**  
The earliest moat (before 850–860). Photo by J. Frolík.

examined in six places so far. Four of these places are situated in the Central Wing, which now separates the 2nd yard from the 3rd one. At the eastern end of the castle the ditch was identified in Lobkowicz Palace and further on where the gate on Opyš now stands. In these places it was interrupted and this gap was identified as a former gate. Information is still missing on how the area surrounded by the ditch was used.

The moat was in use for some decades at most. Thereafter it was filled back in with shovelled subsoil or settlement garbage. Taking into account possible inaccuracy, this event has been dated on the basis of ceramic fragments to 850–860. The reason for the extension of the original area may have been a lack of space for settlement or a change of how the enclosed area was used. The settlement expanded towards the west. The new western border was probably formed by the above-mentioned Hradčany Gorge, so that the castle compound occupied the same area as Prague Castle does today. For the time being, it is not clear how the extended area was fortified or delimited. However, it seems that it formed a single large undivided space. Evidence of intensive settlement activities is given by occupation layers (e.g. in the so-called Foundry Yard on the northern side of the castle) abundant in settlement garbage and finds of luxurious objects (a silver earring with multiple loops, bead, Avar-Slavic belt fitting). A cemetery also falls within the same period, whose preserved remnant was examined in the 3rd yard, south of the highest point. A total of 13 graves were excavated, the most significant among them being a so-called warrior's grave. The dead individual was buried in a timbered chamber and equipped with, among other things, a sword (*Borkovský 1969*). Belt-shaped coffin mounts were discovered in a second grave. The cemetery has been interpreted as a burial place of the elite and is dated to the time before the Church of the Virgin Mary was built, because the graves are not found close to or within this ecclesiastical building. The extensive area, occurrence of luxurious objects and elite graves indicate that the castle compound was already playing a prominent role then (*Klazarová ed. 2003*). It included the "Žiži" mound, associated



with pagan cults, as well as the ducal throne where the Bohemian dukes were installed. In connection with events related to the baptism of Duke Bořivoj we know that an assembly ground was situated in front of the castle area. Indirect evidence of the existence of a main seat or power centre is also given by the settlement emerging in the immediate neighbourhood.

The next period of existence began with construction of the Church of the Virgin Mary in the western part of the area (**Fig. 3**). Its location at the edge of the castle compound cannot yet be clearly explained. It was a small single-nave church with apse. In its interior there was a spacious stone-built tomb which, however, was not used for this purpose. A small stone-faced grave pit was sunk secondarily into the bottom of the tomb. This grave included the burials of Duke Spytihněv I († 915) and his unidentified wife († ca. 918; *Borkovský 1953; Frolík et al. 2000*). Based on dendrochronological dates, the castle under Spytihněv I was fortified with a wood-and-earth defensive wall with internal timber grid and with stone facing (**Fig. 2, 5**). The fortified compound was divided into an acropolis (representing the original area with the earliest moat) and an outer bailey in



▲ **Fig. 2. Prague Castle, Central Wing.**

Engraving of unclear meaning (ecclesiastical building?) on a piece of stone facing from the wood-and-earth defensive wall. Photo by M. Frouz.

the west (*Frolíková – Matiašek 2012; Frolík 2013*). The earliest dendrochronological date (in the variant of the utmost degree as late as 917) was discussed with regard to the maximum number of annual rings of the missing sapwood. After the defensive wall was built, the Church of the Virgin Mary found itself outside the castle centre, but the ecclesiastical building at the acropolis was not built until the time of Spytihněv's successor, Duke Vratislaus I (915–921). It was founded in 920 and situated at the second highest point of the castle spur.

Important evidence of the influence of Great Moravia and contacts with its centres is given by cemeteries, which surrounded



▲ **Fig. 3. Prague Castle, Northwest Wing.**

Church of the Virgin Mary, and the disturbed tomb of Duke Spytihněv I and his wife in the interior. Documentary materials from excavations by I. Borkovský, Prague Castle Research Archive of the Institute of Archaeology AS CR, Prague.

the castle from the north and west. It is best documented by the cemetery behind Prague Castle Riding Hall (also referred to as the cemetery in Lumbe's Garden), which is the only one that has been examined in its entirety. Most of the 148 graves found included burials of children and females richly equipped with silver and golden jewellery. Some of these personal ornaments have direct analogies at Moravian localities (Rajhrad, Mikulčice). Others were made using the same techniques but their decorative motifs are unknown to Moravian centres. Among them we chiefly find the motif of horse heads on earrings and amulet



▲ **Fig. 4. Prague Castle, cemetery behind the Riding Hall (also Lumbe's Garden).**

Grave 82. Silver necklace with amulet containers, 10th century. Photo by J. Gloc.





▲ **Fig. 5. Prague Castle, Foundry Yard.**

Remnant of a wooden structure below the wood-and-earth defensive wall, which yielded dendrochronological dates identifying Spytihněv I (895–915) as the builder of this fortification. Photo by J. Frolík.

containers (**Fig. 4, 6**). It is believed that they were fabricated in Prague (Prague Castle?) by jewellery makers who took refuge here after the fall of Great Moravia. Relatives of members of the ducal retinue were probably buried in the cemetery (*Frolík –*



▲ **Fig. 6. Prague Castle, cemetery behind the Riding Hall (also Lumbe's Garden).**

Grave 16, golden earring with hollow beads in the form of horse heads, 10th century. Photo by J. Gloc.

*Smetánka 1997*). Some part of the jewellery may already have reached Prague Castle in the time of Duke Bořivoj I or under Duke Svatopluk (ca. 889–894). This assumption, however, cannot be proved by archaeological evidence. Several pieces of jewellery were evidently not deposited in graves until the 10th century. Jewellery of Great Moravian origin or character is also known from other cemeteries (Royal Garden, Jelení Street). These sites, however, represent only some remnants of grave groups which cannot yield any further knowledge (*Tomková – Frolík 2005*). New information may be provided by recently examined cemeteries with a similar inventory (Powder Bridge crossing, Střešovická Street).

The archaeologically identified development shows that Prague Castle played a sort of central role after the mid-9th century. Its status as a centre of the Bohemian state is associated with the period after the baptism of Duke Bořivoj I in Moravia. This position was probably then strengthened by his son, Duke Spytihněv I. At the same time Prague Castle also attained the layout the main features of which have been preserved until today.



# STARÁ KOUŘIM

## BOHEMIA

Petr Sommer

About 0.5 km SE of the town of Kouřim, above the right bank of the River Kouřimka, there extends a mighty spur with the remains of the fortifications of one of the largest early mediaeval Bohemian castles. It is a three-part locality with a total area of 44 ha, including an inner ward (acropolis) with an area of 5 ha and two baileys. Archaeological excavations have revealed that the castle arose at the place of an older Eneolithic settlement, Bronze Age settlement, and an unfortified early Slavic settlement. Information about the development of the castle proper emerged from lengthy research conducted by Miloš Šolle in the 1940s – 1970s (*Šolle 1966; 1981; 2000*, general summarising works cf. *Bartošková 2000; Čtverák – Lutovský – Slabina – Smejtek 2003*). In the first phase of its development, the castle occupied the area of the inner ward and was fortified with an earthen rampart. A shallow ditch surrounding a precinct with a small lake, which was probably already called Libuše in mediaeval times, was identified in the NE neighbourhood of the above-mentioned fortification. The lake acted as a water source but originally maybe also as a cultic place, whose neighbourhood was used for burials. The earliest identified funerary feature here is a deep grave, No. 55, including a male burial equipped with sumptuous grave goods, which indicate the ducal or princely status of the person buried. The funerary equipment encompasses a long sword in a wooden scabbard with strap fitting, a large flat knife, spurs with strap buckles, a precious silver-inlaid lance butt, early Carolingian and Great Moravian metal fittings, Great Moravian belt buckles and a wooden bucket with decorative metal casing. The assemblage is dated to the 1st half of the 9th century, which also dates the emergence of the fort (the buried duke was identified as the possible founder of the castle). The burial ground gives evidence of all generations of the castle elite and their relationship to the surrounding world. The first generation from the 3rd quarter of the 9th century was buried with personal ornaments of Carolingian and Great Moravian type, whereas the graves from the end of the 9th century were only equipped with jewellery in Great Moravian style. This fact indicates that the elite at the Kouřim castle had close connections to the Great Moravian milieu as well as to the neighbouring imperial environment. This complicated network of cultural influences is evidenced by, for example, Grave No. 120 which includes the burial of a prominent male equipped with a collection of objects in Great Moravian and Carolingian style (precious spurs). An extraordinary part of his grave goods was represented by an iron silver-clad mattock, evidently a token of power descending from the Orient.

During the next phase of its existence, the castle was extended with a fortified central area (probably acropolis) and afterwards with a fortified outer ward. The acropolis was protected by a wood-and-earth defensive wall, whose

front was revetted by large timber roundwoods supported by wooden buttresses. A more complicated construction was identified too – the defensive wall in the outer ward, including an earthen rampart with wooden latticework inside, whose front side was reinforced with a clay bank; the rear side was revetted by large timber roundwoods supported by wooden buttresses. The castle was entered through a large gate protected by in-turned wings of the defensive wall and equipped with a central partition dividing the entrance into two easily defendable corridors. From the outer gate ran a hardcore road to the middle gate and further as far as the Libuše Lake. The lake was extended; its western part – probably an area intended for cultic practices – was enclosed, and the western residential part of the castle was separated from the burial site near the lake. A stray find of maybe a cultic pre-Christian polycephalous figurine from the central part of the hillfort (*Profantová 2012*) probably also corresponds with local cultic practices. At the end of the 9th century, a wooden post-built building measuring 2 × 6 m arose at the NW edge of the princely burial ground, and some uneven stone paving was discovered in the neighbourhood of this building. Analogies to this building structure can be found in the Merovingian burial grounds of Marktoberdorf or Munich – Aubing in Bavaria, where they are usually interpreted as cultic buildings associated with early Christianity. The question, of course, is whether the above-mentioned feature at Kouřim is also related to early Christian rites (*Sommer 2001a*). The most important feature in this residential part was an elongated wooden hall building measuring almost 90 m × 4–6 m, which most probably served as a festive gathering place for the castle inhabitants or the ducal retinue.

The last phase of existence of the Kouřim castle was associated with the fortification of the central area of the castle after a devastating fire at the beginning of the 10th century. In place of the existing fortification there arose a stepped wood-and-earth defensive wall with front stone revetment. This fortification overlaid the place where the hall building had once been. Moreover, the space was filled in with new features, maybe the buildings of a ducal manor. The area of the burial ground near Libuše was also newly fortified with a wood-and-earth defensive wall with front stone revetment. The graveyard at Libuše continued to exist and was evidently based on the principle of a row burial ground with shallow graves orientated in a SW – NE direction, and later in a WE direction. The change in grave design was also reflected in the funerary equipment, which in the latest phase consisted only of head ornaments. The last phase of the burial ground is characterised by the grave of the so-called Duchess of Kouřim (No. 106b) with grave goods inspired by Great Moravian

jewellery but documenting a local tendency towards authentic ornaments. The funerary equipment of the buried female contained buttons, pins, beads, cases decorated with teams of horses, an amulet container with pendant chains, earrings with pendant chains and a knife in a scabbard. This spectrum of jewellery at Kouřim gives an example of the local application of Great Moravian impulses in the sphere of domestic production. The last generation of buried individuals is equipped with small hair ornaments documenting that life at Kouřim ended in about the mid-10th century.

Immediately before the demise of the castle an episode took place which is characteristic of the organisation in Bohemia under Duke Wenceslas. This event is mentioned by Kristian and by many other authors. It was a conflict which flared up between Wenceslas and a duke of Kouřim (Dalimil mentions him under the name Radislav), who submitted to Wenceslas after a miraculous sign. Dalimil associates the whole episode with the Zličsko region (which corresponds to the Kouřim region).

The demise of Kouřim is connected with the emergence of the early Bohemian state under Boleslaus I, when a new Přemyslid castle arose in the neighbouring locality at St George (with settlement tradition reaching to the 1st half of the 10th century). The castle was built on a spur SE of the present-day town, above the confluence of Ždánický Brook and the River Kouřimka. It is a two-part hillfort approximately triangular in plan, with an area of more than 6 ha. Its fortification consists of a perimeter rampart and a transverse rampart. In the southern part was the acropolis including an elongated single-nave church with apse consecrated to St George, a burial ground and many residential and manufacturing features (among them a manor too). The significance of the church is underlined by a well-known Romanesque sculpture of two lions, which is associated with the 13th century phase of the church (*Sršeň 1989*). The southern part of the locality acted as an outer ward – maybe with a Church of St Clement. The castle existed until the 13th century and fulfilled important administrative functions, which is evidenced for example also by the fact that coins were minted here in the early 11th century. *The Procopian Legends* relate that it was also the seat of a judge; other sources still in the 12th century document the presence of castellans and an archdeacon. In a confusing relation, Dalimil mentions that the Zličsko region belonged for some time to Oldřich as a sort of appanage. Here in the 13th century we can find the House of Děpoltici, a side branch of the Přemyslids, who fell out with the ruling monarch. The castle was captured in 1223 during fighting against Přemysl I, and Děpolt III was defeated. His family escaped and took refuge at the court of Henry I the Bearded. Maybe as a part of the hinterland of St George, there was a fortified locality

at the Church of St Adalbert in the 11th and 12th centuries. Shortly after the spur with St George was captured, the present-day town of Kouřim was founded as the last element of a complicated settlement-historical development of the micro-region. In 1261, the local Magdeburg rights served as an example to Přebouč (*Šimák 1938*).

# BUDEČ

## BOHEMIA

Andrea Bartošková

Among the most important early mediaeval localities associated with the beginning of Christianisation and the formation of the early Bohemian state is undoubtedly the Budeč Stronghold (about 15 km northwest of Prague). Its historical significance was also noted in the sparse 10th–11th century literature. Budeč had already begun to be a place of interest for researchers in the 19th century. Therefore, it is logical that archaeological excavations carried out at this site until today have yielded an extraordinary volume of valuable archaeological materials and information. The most important knowledge was mainly obtained during systematic archaeological research conducted by the Institute of Archaeology CSAS Prague in 1972–1990. A re-analysis of the already published results of archaeological excavations at the acropolis of Budeč was also important, after which report a well-founded elimination of archaeologically inconclusive or erroneous conclusions provided a new interpretation of the residential and historical development of the Budeč Stronghold.

The early mediaeval history of Budeč (cadastral district of Kováry, Kladno District) began to flow continuously from the 1st half of the 9th century, when Slavic settlers put down roots in the wooded landscape of the Central Bohemia of that time, in the highest place on a large spur formed by

the deep valleys of the present-day Zákolanský and Týnecký stream (**Fig. 1**). Here Slavic people could still find the stone remains of a prehistoric (Knovíz) fortification, which on the highest place of the spur (c. 289 m ASL) enclosed an area of 3.5 ha. This area later became the acropolis of an early mediaeval stronghold. The large area extending towards the west, north and east, where later there would be an outer bailey, remained uninhabited at that time. The presence of Slavs at Budeč from as early as the 1st half of the 9th century is evidenced by numerous fragments of old-fashioned pottery (2nd half of 7th–8th century) as well as by hooked spurs and Avar-Slavic bronze belt- and halter fittings (*Bartošková 2014*, Fig. 8), which indicate the existence of a higher social class (elite). The oldest early mediaeval settlement at Budeč, dated to the 1st half of the 9th century and existing until the 2nd half of the same century, was concentrated only in the inner ward, which had not yet been enclosed by the early mediaeval defensive wall. A sort of enclosure, however, may have been represented by stone remains of the previous prehistoric fortification. Its large unworked boulders were later used for construction of the oldest early mediaeval fortification, which overlaid the ruins of the Knovíz wall (Br D – Ha A) and followed its course as well (more *Bartošková 2014*, 47–49).



▲ **Fig. 1. Aerial view of the Budeč stronghold from the south.**

The lines of trees and shrubs run parallel to the fortification of the outer bailey and the inner ward (acropolis) of the stronghold – in the south-western part of the acropolis there is the Sts Peter and Paul Rotunda and a modern cemetery. Photo M. Gojda.

A fortified residence was built here in the last decades of the 9th century or at its end at the latest, when the highest inhabited place on the Budeč spur was enclosed by an early mediaeval defensive wall. This fortification delimited the acropolis and began the era of the early mediaeval stronghold. The oldest early mediaeval fortification is represented by a simple structure built of wood and earth, whose front side was faced with large roughly-worked stones of local origin (slate, lydite and sandstone); the rear side was reinforced with a timber wall (Váňa 1989, 133–134; Bartošková 2004, 764; **Fig. 2**). The wall, with a maximum width of 4.5 m, was still fronted by a small ditch (width 3.1 m; depth 1.1 m; Bartošková 2004, 774–775, 782, Fig. 4, 11). Habitation within the earliest



▲ **Fig. 2. Budeč stronghold and its immediate neighbourhood:** a – cemetery; b – settlement. 1 – Sts Peter and Paul Rotunda; 2 – foundations of the Church of the Virgin Mary; 3 – cemetery in Zákolany (sugar factory); 4 – Na Týnici site; 5 – Na kašně site.

fortified area (3.4 ha) is represented by sunken rectangular features (pit houses) measuring about 4 × 4 m with a hearth in the SW or NW corner, and by aboveground buildings with a sandy or clayey floor and wattle-and-daub walls. These features, intended prevalingly for dwelling purposes, are chronologically linked with numerous functionally indifferent pits, among which a small group of granaries is distinguished (more Bartošková 2014, 53–54). Within the period in which

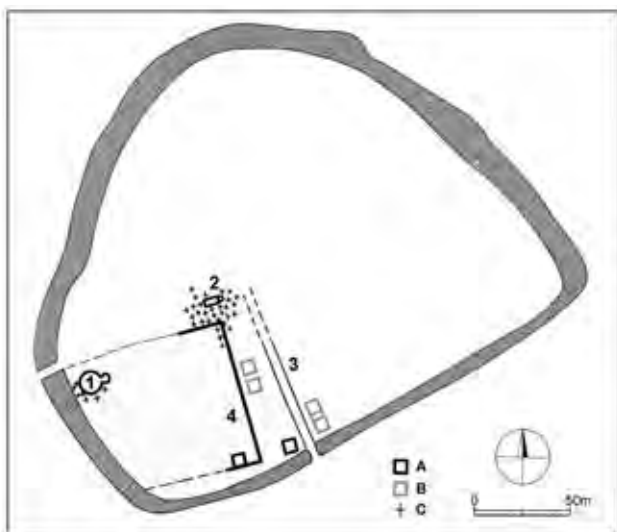
the acropolis of the stronghold was delimited by the oldest early mediaeval defensive wall, we also find the construction of the earliest preserved building relic on Czech territory, namely the St Peter Rotunda (Šolle 1990, 170–180; Bartošková 2014, 57–66; Fig. 3), whose foundation by Přemyslid Duke Spytihněv I (894/5–915) was repeatedly mentioned in 10th–11th century



▲ **Fig. 3. Budeč, Sts Peter and Paul Rotunda (from SW).** The round nave of the church represents the earliest preserved building (from the foundations up to the vault) on our territory, the St Peter Rotunda, founded by Duke Spytihněv I (894/5–915) of the House of Přemysl.

literary sources (Emler, ed. 1873, 183; 1873a, 148; Ludvíkovský, ed. 1958, 58; 1978, 28–29; Vašica, ed. 1929, 89). This is also evidenced by the stratigraphic situation near the rotunda where the graves of a cemetery, which was laid out immediately after construction of the church and was in use, according to grave goods, during the 1st half of the 10th century (Šolle 1990, 140–169), recognised the oldest early mediaeval defensive wall (Bartošková 2003, 213; 2004, 774–775; **Fig. 4**). We do not know exactly who built the fortification. According to ceramic finds from the wood-and-earth wall, the construction of the fortification falls within the last quarter of the 9th century (Bartošková 2003, 191, 194, Fig. 16: 1–2), i.e. within the time of the emergence of the first Přemyslids on the historical scene. An impulse to





▲ Fig. 4. Plan of the acropolis at Budeč in the 10th–11th centuries

Highlighting the locations of significant sacred and secular buildings. 1 – St Peter Rotunda; 2 – Church of the Virgin Mary; 3 – a road paved with pebbles; 4 – palisade enclosure around the ducal manor. A – buildings with stone substructures; B – log buildings; C – graves.

fortify Budeč may have been given by Duke Bořivoj, the first historically documented Přemyslid ruler (in 872), or by his son Spytihněv who, however, would still have had to fortify the top of the spur before the St Peter Rotunda began to be built.

During the 20-year-long rule of Spytihněv, according to the idea of J. Sláma, a well-organised dominion of the Přemyslids arose in the central part of Central Bohemia, delimited by the Stará Boleslav, Mělník, Libušín, Tetín and Lštění strongholds (Sláma 1988, 71–84). The system of administrative castles also comprised Budeč, which was situated in the north-western part of the Central Bohemian Přemyslid domain on a long-distance road connecting the Prague Basin with northwest Bohemia and leading on to Saxony. After Levý Hradec and Prague, Budeč is the third place where *Christian's Legend* noted a new-built church (Ludvíkovský, ed. 1978, 20–21, 24–25, 28–29). Along with that it gives evidence of a further Christianisation centre established in Bohemia. Spytihněv's foundation of St Peter's Church is linked with a period in which the political and ecclesiastical orientation changed. This change occurred in 895 when the Bohemian dukes took advantage of internal destabilisation in the Great Moravian Empire and turned their political and cultural focus towards the west or, more precisely, to the East Frankish Empire (see Bartošková 2014, 15–16, 147). Nevertheless, the persistent close connection between Bohemia and Moravia is reflected archaeologically in the occurrence of Great Moravian jewellery

in early mediaeval cemeteries in Bohemia. The so-called Great Moravian horizon in Central Bohemia has been dated to a time span from the end of the 9th to the 1st half of the 10th century. Two burial sites at Budeč fall within this interval; one of them is linked with the acropolis (the churchyard at the St Peter Rotunda) and the other is situated in the immediate north-western neighbourhood of the stronghold (the cemetery in Zákolany; Fig. 2). The rich funerary equipment, consisting of personal ornaments, which was found in some of the graves in the churchyard at the St Peter Rotunda clearly proves that in the 1st half of the 10th century this area was used as a burial place for the social elite that lived in the ducal residence, which was excavated in the south-western part of the acropolis (Váňa 1995, 69–71; Bartošková 2014, 66–69). The impulse to build the manor was most probably given by the founder of the St Peter Rotunda, Duke Spytihněv, because the rotunda is situated inside the manorial precinct enclosed with a palisade. At the same time, literary sources indirectly suggest that the manor was already in existence under Spytihněv's successor, Duke Vratislaus (915–921). From the legends of St Wenceslas (*Crescente fide*, Gumpold, *Christian's Legend* and *The Second Old Slavonic Legend of St Wenceslas*) we are informed that the duke's son Wenceslas was sent to Budeč by his father Vratislaus in order to learn the basics of Latin Christian Doctrine there from a priest called "Uceno" (The Learned One). The selection of the place for Wenceslas' Latin education was undoubtedly influenced by the fact that the St Peter Church at Budeč hosted a priest who was well-known for his learning (Emler, ed. 1873, 183; 1873a, 149; Ludvíkovský, ed. 1958, 59; 1978, 28–29; Serebranskij, ed. 1929, 15; 1929a, 21; Vajs, ed. 1929, 37; Vašica, ed. 1929, 90). However, there must also have been a residence (ducal manor) here which was able to accommodate the first-born son of the duke. The building development at Budeč mainly flourished at the beginning of the 10th century under Duke Spytihněv, who built the St Peter Church here and the ducal manor, and enclosed the outer bailey of the Budeč area with a defensive wall, which changed the original one-part stronghold into a two-part fortified residence (15.2 ha) composed of an acropolis (3.5 ha) and an outer bailey (11.7 ha; Bartošková 2010a, 257–263; 2012, 72–74; 2014, 70–77). During Wenceslas' stay, Budeč became the temporary residence of a non-ruling Přemyslid. In the *Prologue Legend of St Wenceslas*, which was written in Russia in the 2nd half of the 12th or in the 1st half of the 13th century, Budeč was also mentioned as a temporary dwelling place of Wenceslas' mother, Duchess Consort Drahomíra (Serebranskij, ed. 1929b, 66), who was expelled from Prague by her son Wenceslas when he succeeded to the throne after her regency (921–924/925). After the period of Wenceslas' rule, which ended with his assassination at Stará Boleslav in 935, Budeč was not mentioned in literary sources for more

than three centuries. The absence of historical reports must therefore be compensated for by archaeological evidence set into a wider historical context.

According to archaeological findings, Budeč was violently attacked and occupied during the 2nd third of the 10th century (*Bartošková 2014*, 85–113). A violent incursion into the stronghold is evidenced by the oldest (early mediaeval) fortification, which was destroyed by fire in a place situated some dozens of metres from the St Peter Rotunda. The same fortification, on the other hand, remained untouched near the rotunda, maybe for fear of disturbing a sacred place (*Bartošková 2014*, 86–87). Evidence of the violent capture of Budeč is also given by a mass grave of 33–60 slaughtered individuals in the southern forefield of the stronghold, at the Na Týnici site. Except for three female skulls, these skeletal remains with stab and slash wounds belonged to males in the age range of 20–40 years. The mass grave, whose emergence has been associated with a bloody event, is dated, mainly on the basis of eight small S-shaped hair rings (diameter 12–16 mm; wire thickness 1.5 mm) found on one of the female skulls, to the period between the end of the 1st third and the middle of the 10th century (*Štefan – Krutina 2009*, 151–158, 191; *Bartošková 2014*, 87–93). The burnt-down fortification at the acropolis and some dozens of massacred men buried unceremoniously in a mass grave are chronologically related with the sudden demise of the ducal manor and of the oldest cemetery at the St Peter Rotunda. This churchyard was intended for high-ranking inhabitants of the residence, in whose precinct the rotunda and the nearby churchyard were situated (more *Bartošková 2011; 2014*, 93–97). The decline of the cemetery during the 2nd third of the 10th century (according to the stratigraphically latest graves containing S-shaped hair rings of 13 mm in diameter, made of 2.5 mm thick wire) was accelerated by the construction of a new defensive wall representing the second phase of internal fortification. An entirely new fortification of a two-part wood-and-earth construction with stone facing of arenaceous marl arose where the previous defensive wall had burnt down. In the neighbourhood of the rotunda, on the other hand, the original one-part fortification of wood and earth was preserved and even extended towards the church by a further section, which already overlaid the graves of the then defunct, oldest churchyard at Budeč (*Bartošková 2004*, 775, 782–783, Fig. 7; *2014*, 97–100). Within the 2nd third of the 10th century at Budeč we can see the renewal of not only the internal but also the external fortification. The second phase of the external fortification consisted of a two-part stepped wood-and-earth construction with stone facing, similar to the same phase of the internal defensive wall (more *Bartošková 2010a*, 270, 272–273; *2012*, 75–77; *2014*, 100–104). The last

important event, related with the demise of the ducal manor at Budeč and with the end of the St Peter Rotunda churchyard for its inhabitants, and also with a newly-built defensive wall around both the acropolis and the outer bailey (second phase of the internal and external fortification), is the foundation of a second church at Budeč (Church of the Virgin Mary), which is situated outside the defunct manorial precinct (**Fig. 4**). This rectangular single-nave church with horseshoe-shaped apse, around which immediately arose a churchyard, was not mentioned in any contemporary written sources – the first mention did not occur until the 16th century. The dating of the origin of the Church of the Virgin Mary, due to the absence of early mediaeval literary sources, is based only on the results of archaeological excavations (*Guth 1934*, 762–766; *Šalle 1991*). The chronological position of the surrounding graves is crucial in this regard. One of them, unearthed near the apse, yielded a silver denarius of Henry I of Bavaria (948–955) lying next to a skull, and the earliest graves, arranged radially immediately behind the apse, contained small S-shaped hair rings 1.6 cm in diameter. It can therefore be concluded that the Church of the Virgin Mary must already have existed in the 2nd half of the 10th century at the latest, and along with it the earliest graves of the nearby churchyard too. The remarkable hiatus in burials at the St Peter Rotunda – between about the mid-10th and the late 11th century, when the stronghold was already in ruins – indirectly indicates that the burial site at the acropolis shifted from the St Peter Rotunda to the newly-built Marian church, which became the main church within the stronghold (more *Bartošková 2010*, 122–126; *2014*, 104–110).

All the above events, giving evidence of a radical turn in the development of the Budeč Stronghold and dated archaeologically to the 2nd third of the 10th century, fall historically within the period of the rule of Boleslaus I (935–972). It is highly probable that they also relate to the power politics of Boleslaus. The violent capture of Budeč Castle can, that is, be associated with Boleslaus' liquidation of adherents of the assassinated Duke Wenceslas (+ September 28, 935 during his visit to the castle of Boleslaus), which is mentioned in all the legends of St Wenceslas, most extensively in *Christian's Legend* (*Emler, ed. 1873*, 187; *1873a*, 161; *Ludvíkovský, ed. 1958*, 61; *1978*, 76–77; *Serebranskij, ed. 1929*, 18; *1929a*, 26; *Vajs, ed. 1929*, 41; *Vašica, ed. 1929*, 113). Budeč was a temporary residence of the future Duke Wenceslas and afterwards undoubtedly also home to his adherents, because according to literary sources the young Wenceslas spent some time here to obtain a basic Latin education; it was from here that he was called to Prague and elevated to ducal rank after the death of his father, Duke Vratislaus. Boleslaus, who became the successor of his assassinated brother, had to secure a solid position of power in his own Přemyslid domain in Central Bohemia from

the very beginning of his illegitimate rule. Only after doing so was he able to begin to put into practice his ambitious plan, consisting of the incorporation of non-Přemyslid duchies into the structure of a regularly established state with its centre in Prague. If we associate the violent capture of Budeč Castle with Boleslaus I, then it must have taken place immediately after the assassination at Stará Boleslav at the end of 935, or shortly thereafter, because Boleslaus had already expanded beyond the frontiers of the original Přemyslid domain in July 936, as the Saxon chronicler Widukind reported, by seizing the castle of the neighbouring "viceroy". Within the scope of the above historical interpretation, the general archaeological dating of the violent capture of Budeč Castle to the 2nd third of the 10th century would become much more accurate (see *Bartošková 2014*, 111–113).

It can be supposed that a new representative of power at Budeč in the 2nd half of the 10th century was the governor of the castle (castellan), authorised by the duke. His residence may have been situated in the southern part of the acropolis, where the relics of a stone substructure of the best preserved and most spectacular dwelling feature within the stronghold were uncovered. Aboveground structures built on stone substructures already testify to a stable building layout, which indicates that Budeč occupied a special position among the other power centres in early mediaeval Bohemia. Evidence of how the stronghold area was spatially organised is also given by a road paved with pebbles, which connected the southern entrance to the fortified area and the Church of the Virgin Mary. The road was bordered with trenches on both sides. These trenches are residues of a fence, which hindered the people living in the suburbium from free access to the residential area at the acropolis. It seems that the remains of aboveground buildings that have been identified (log-built, post-built and built on stone foundations) recognised the course of the road (more to 11th century settlement *Bartošková 2014*, 117–125). At the turn of the 10th and 11th centuries, when these buildings existed, the acropolis was fortified by a new defensive wall (already the third). It was a three-part stepped wood-and-earth construction with stone revetment on both the front and the rear side (max. width of the wall 13 m). The latest defensive wall at the acropolis was fronted by a large outer ditch (width 8.2 m; depth 2.5 m; *Váňa 1989*, 123–131; *Bartošková 2004*, 775–783; *2014*, 131–134). The fortification around the outer bailey was only reinforced (more *Bartošková 2010a*, 271, 273; *2012*, 79–81; *2014*, 134–136). Whereas the demise of settlement and fortification in the outer bailey of Budeč falls within the 1st half of the 11th century at the latest, the settlement and fortification at the acropolis declined a little later – during the 2nd half of the 11th century. From the beginning of the 12th century, more or less

only burial activities were performed at Budeč. An important support for dating the demise of the stronghold is provided by a grave containing a denarius of Bořivoj II (coinage from 1100–1107, 1109–1110) which, together with other graves from a row cemetery in the southern part of the acropolis, was sunk into the stone ruins of residential buildings and of the fortification (*Bartošková 2014*, 137–141). The once important Přemyslid stronghold at Budeč declined without any further settlement continuity. Its fate was sealed in 1262 by Queen Consort Kunigunda of Halych, wife of Ottokar II of Bohemia, who surrendered her patronage of the church at Budeč in favour of the Vyšehrad Chapter. By this act, the ruler had demonstrated the ultimate loss of interest in Budeč.

# LIBICE ABOVE CIDLINA

BOHEMIA

Jan Mařík

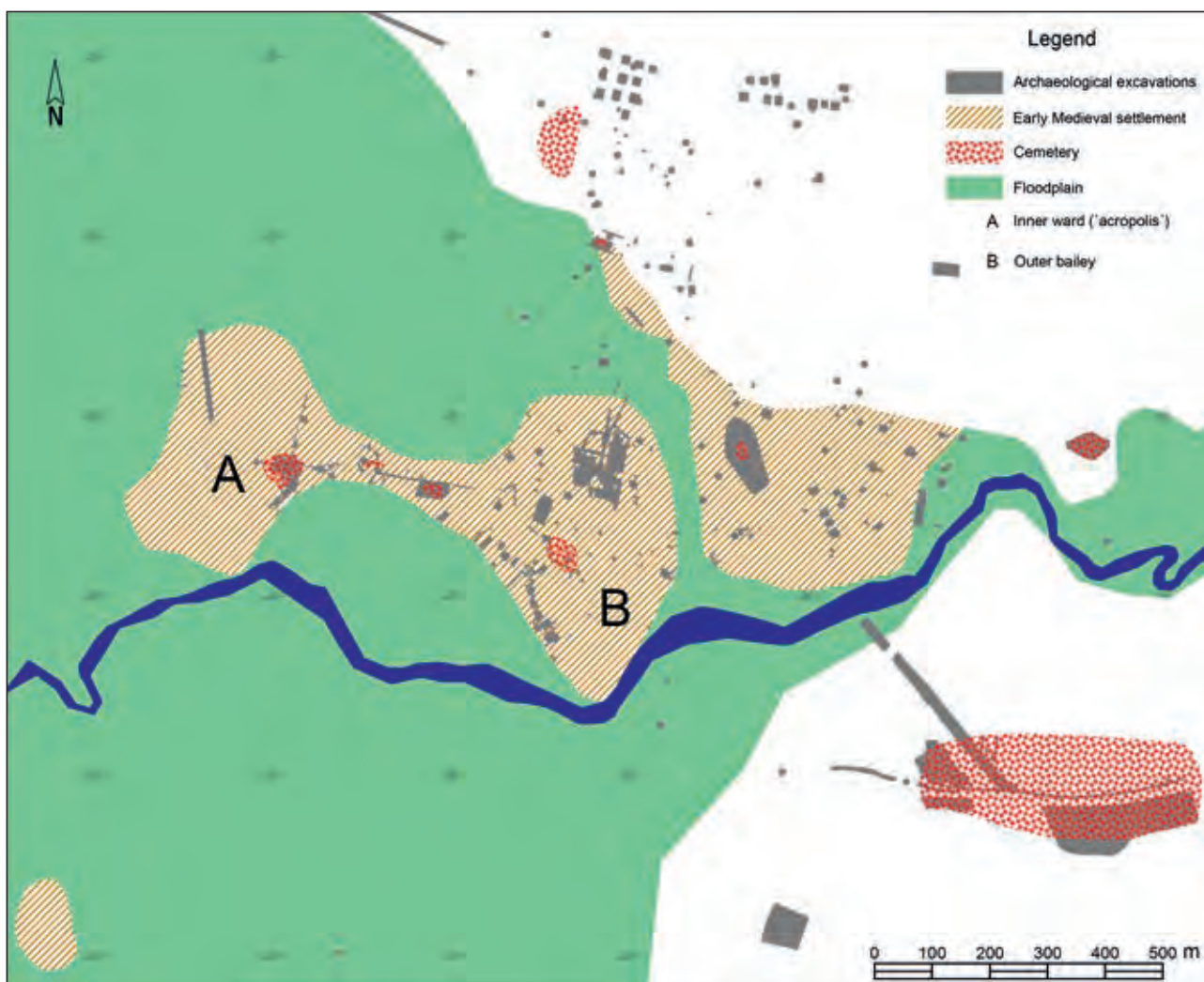
## History

The toponym of Libice in the form *Luibuz* first appeared on coins which were probably minted at the Libice stronghold in the 980s and 990s. However, Libice has mainly gone down in history in connection with a narrative of the life of St Adalbert from the Slavník family. The two oldest legends from the pen of Bruno of Querfurt and the monk Canaparius do not explicitly mention Libice; it was not until the *Chronicle of Cosmas* that the residence of Adalbert's father Slavník was placed in the neighbourhood of the confluence of the rivers Elbe and Cidlina. It is also highly probable that the stronghold, located at the junction of important long-distance roads running towards the north to Poland and in an easterly direction to Moravia and further to Kievan Rus, was visited by the missionary Bishop Adalbert, who confirmed

the future second bishop of Prague here (*Nový – Sláma – Zachová 1987*). Cosmas also very vividly described the demise of the residence of the Slavník family on September 28, 995 and the subsequent assassination of the later castellan Božej and his son Bořut from the Vršovci family in 1108. Even though written sources between these two events keep silent about the Libice stronghold for more than a hundred years, we can assume that even after the demise of the residence of the Slavník family, Libice retained its position of an administrative centre until at least 1130, when it was mentioned for the last time in this regard.

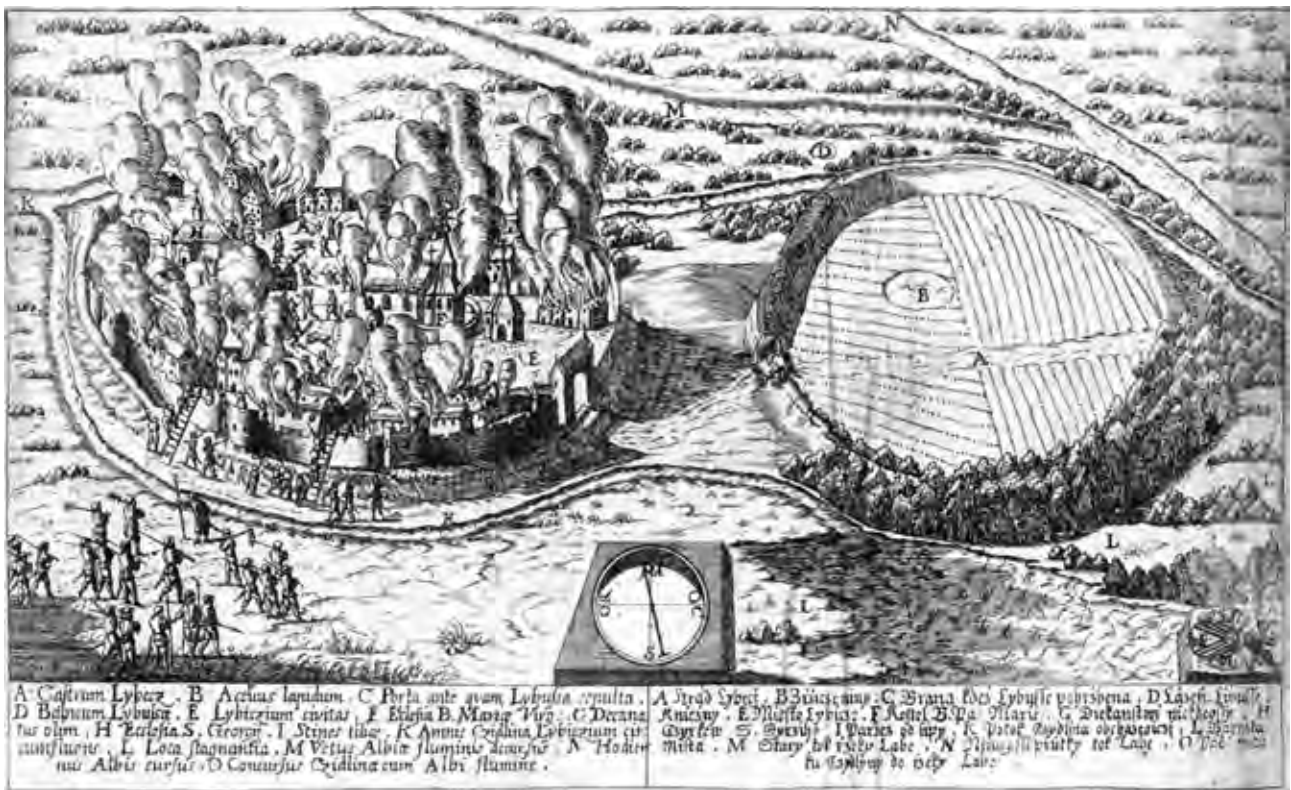
## Location and description of the stronghold

The fortified core of the settlement agglomeration in the Libice nad Cidlinou hillfort arose on two remnants of a river



▲ Fig. 1. The early mediaeval settlement agglomeration at Libice.





▲ Fig. 2. Libice nad Cidlinou in the 17th century.  
M. B. Bolelucký of Hradiště: *Rosa boëmica sive vita sancti Woytiechi*.

terrace surrounded by the floodplain of the rivers Elbe and Cidlina (Fig. 1). The figure-of-eight-shaped total area of these formations is 24 ha. The core of the present-day village of Libice nad Cidlinou is situated on the larger terrace remnant (14 ha) which, in terms of archaeology, is referred to as the outer bailey. The other part of the stronghold, situated to the west of the outer bailey, has been called the 'acropolis' or inner ward. The fortified area was surrounded by a relatively densely inhabited hinterland with further open settlements and adjacent burial grounds. Small settlements are also hidden in what is now a riparian forest on the remnants of eroded river terraces.

In older literature, Libice was considered a so-called marshland castle. The idea of a castle surrounded by marshes is based on the conditions of the landscape which, however, have changed considerably since the early mediaeval period. The level of the river floodplain at that time was situated approximately about two metres below the present terrain and both of the rivers formed meanders and numerous arms in the sandy gravel surface. The loamy and clayey sediments were not deposited by the rivers until the High Middle Ages and modern times, after the demise of the stronghold.

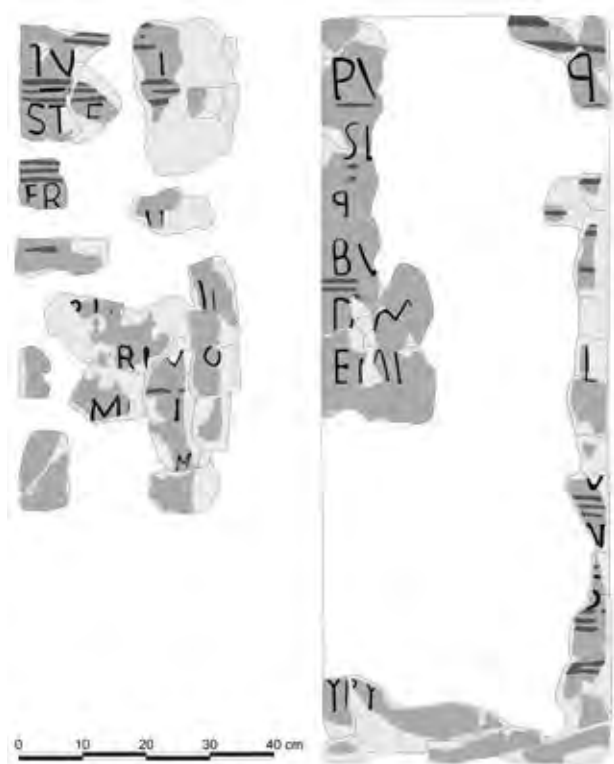
### Archaeological research into Libice

The earliest evidence of interest in Libice and its history can be followed up from as early as the 17th century. At that time it was classed among significant pilgrimage sites in the work *Rosa boëmica sive vita sancti Woytiechi* by the parish priest Matěj Benedikt Bolelucký of Hradiště. This work also contained an engraving, the authorship of which has been attributed to Karel Škréta (Fig. 2). Even though the engraving depicts another historical event, namely the plundering of Libice by Saxon troops in 1634, an attentive look reveals a good deal of evidence of the former early mediaeval stronghold: very well-preserved fortifications and stone heaps in the western part of the acropolis where later the foundations of a church were unearthed. Further description of relics of the early mediaeval stronghold is given by the reeve of Milčice, František Jan Vavák, who in his memoirs at the end of the 18th century complains about the lack of interest in evidence of our earliest history.

The first archaeological excavations at the Libice stronghold and above all in its surroundings are connected with the activities of pharmacist Jan Hellich from Poděbrady at the

end of the 19th century. He focused on early mediaeval burial grounds in the neighbourhood of the stronghold, which were being endangered by intensified building development in the then village. The work of J. Hellich should be appreciated, among other things, for his respect towards archaeological relics, which is well illustrated by his only attempt at excavation at the acropolis of the stronghold. After having opened only a single excavation trench he came to the conclusion that the complicated terrain situation at the site was beyond his power and knowledge, and so he left this part of the stronghold unexcavated for future generations.

In 1949 new excavations were opened by Rudolf Turek, who mainly focused on the western part of the acropolis where a church, a cemetery and the so-called palace building were examined in 1949–1953 and 1967–1973. The first excavation campaign already brought the discovery of church foundations and an extensive cemetery in its immediate neighbourhood. The church was mostly preserved only in the form of negatives and small fragments of masonry. Since the discovery of the church, parallels to its ground plan, consisting of a nave with semi-circular apse and a transept, have been sought in the sphere of Saxon-Ottonian architec-



▲ **Fig. 3. Libice nad Cidlinou acropolis.** Stelae with inscriptions found on the south side of the church. Deposited in National Museum.



▲ **Fig. 4. Acropolis of Libice stronghold in 2000.** Photo M. Gojda.

ture. The closest analogy to the church at Libice is probably represented by the chapter church in Walbeck, Germany (Saxony-Anhalt), whose earliest phase can be dated to the 940s (Mařík 2010).

Approximately 400 graves were examined in the churchyard. Many graves of the earliest phase of the cemetery, which is dated to the turn of the 9th and 10th centuries, contained weapons and personal ornaments manufactured using technologies typical of Great Moravian jewellery making. In about the mid-10th century, the terrain in the western part of the acropolis was distinctly modified. The soil cover which overlaid the early phase of the cemetery was probably associated with preparatory works for the construction of the church and the so-called palace building south of it. The later phase of the churchyard saw it in use until at least the 1st half of the 11th century. Just as in the previous period, this area was used by a small group of people comprising some dozens of individuals. Even though luxurious goods were no longer laid into graves to such a great extent as earlier, we can suppose that these people occupied a high rank in society. The absence of personal ornaments and weapons in graves can be attributed not only to the spread of Christianity, but also to the possibility that the elite of that time may have demonstrated their privileged status in some other way. A sufficient display of privileged status could also be a burial near the church itself, because most of the inhabitants of the stronghold buried their dead in the nearby cemetery in Kanín (Mařík 2009).

Among the most interesting finds from the later phase of the cemetery at the acropolis are fragments of sandstone slabs with inscriptions, which were found on the southern side of the church (Fig. 3). Based on the unclear conditions at discovery it is not possible to identify exactly whether they





▲ **Fig. 5. Libice nad Cidlinou acropolis.**  
 Interpretation of the results of the geophysical survey.

originally overlaid some of the graves or whether they were set in the church wall. From the inscriptions only a few letters are preserved, which help to date their origin to the 2nd half of the 10th century. The original texts, however, cannot be reconstructed.

In the past few years, archaeological research at the acropolis has been conducted in the form of non-destructive surveys such as aerial imaging (**Fig. 4**), geophysical measuring (**Fig. 5**), surface collecting and metal detector reconnaissance. The results of this research have changed previous opinions on the appearance and form of spatial use of the acropolis considerably. It turns out that the great part of the area of the acropolis was intensively used during the whole existence of the stronghold from the end of the 9th until at least the 11th century (*Křivánek – Mařík 2012*). Many small metal finds from North, West and East Europe testify that Libice retained its status as a significant centre on a long-distance trade route even after the demise of the residence of the Slavník family, over the whole of the 11th century. The overall picture of the extent and intensity of use of the acropolis, which was mainly obtained by geophysical surveys and surface collecting, is comparable to settlement evidence in the adjacent outer bailey.

Whereas the acropolis of the stronghold has been excavated systematically, the other part of the fortified area – the outer bailey – was mainly examined by archaeological rescue excavations. Construction and excavation works in the core of the present-day village have already been being monitored since 1974. Thanks to long-term systematic work, mainly connected with the name of Jarmila Princová Justová, there is a mosaic of excavation trenches covering more or less evenly the entire area of the outer bailey (*Princová – Mařík 2006*). We can thus follow up the settlement development in this part of the stronghold from the Late Bronze Age to early modern times. The oldest early mediaeval finds come from a settlement with Prague-type pottery (6th–7th cent.) but most abundant are the 9th–11th century relics. Settlement finds are mostly represented by large sunken features, irregular in plan. However, they have lost their original shape in the incoherent sandy ground, which makes their original purpose hard to identify. In the backfill of these pits we can only exceptionally identify evidence of craft production, such as working with iron or non-ferrous metals – gold and silver (*Mařík – Zavřel 2012*). Remains of houses, which were probably built at the then ground surface level, have so far been found only in a single case. It is a so-called “canonical house” built on a stone substructure in the south-eastern part of the outer bailey. Finds of iron styli, documenting the literacy of at least some of the inhabitants of this house,

give clear evidence of higher social circles. Nevertheless, it is not possible to identify who in fact lived in this house – whether clergymen or, for example, merchants, whom we can also suppose had this skill.

Similar to the outer bailey of the stronghold, construction works in the remaining part of the cadastral territory of present-day Libice have also been monitored by archaeological rescue excavations. The network of excavation trenches that spread over an area of more than 1.5 ha, along with archaeological digs by J. Hellich, have enabled us to reconstruct the extent of the entire early mediaeval agglomeration. Three or four other open settlements and adjacent cemeteries were situated outside the fortified area of the stronghold on the right bank of the River Cidlina.

The largest burial ground (about 10 ha) within the Libice agglomeration, however, extends on the left bank of the River Cidlina near the village of Kanín. The inhabitants of the fortified stronghold had already been burying their dead here since the end of the 9th century, over at least a hundred years. Just as at the acropolis, here we also find funerary equipment containing personal ornaments and weapons and, moreover, ceramic vessels occur as well as graves with unusual or sometimes even careless deposition of the dead. The interpretation of these differences in burial customs is not unequivocal. The variance between both cemeteries (in Kanín and at the acropolis) could possibly reflect social stratification where the position of the burial itself may have been more deciding than the value of grave goods; the influence of ascendant Christianity is also quite significant, which gradually drove out some components of funerary equipment such as, for example, food inclusions in ceramic vessels.

Just as it was with many other strongholds, archaeological research into Libice nad Cidlinou was also stimulated from the very beginning by an effort to discover find contexts which could give direct evidence of historical events known from literary sources. In the case of Libice it is above all the story of the Slavník family and St Adalbert which considerably affected the interpretation of the results of archaeological excavations. Situations when the testimony of historical and archaeological sources intersect are, unfortunately, rare, and in Libice this convergence has not yet occurred even once. It is much more interesting, however, how archaeological excavations lasting more than a hundred years have yielded an exceptionally comprehensive picture of an early mediaeval centre, providing an insight into the life of the then people, their material culture, social relations, economics and, last but not least, long-distance contacts as well.



# LEVÝ HRADEC

## BOHEMIA

Kateřina Tomková

Levý Hradec is an important Přemyslid stronghold, which has gone down in national history as the place where the earliest Christian church in Bohemia was built. This site on the left bank of the Vltava River lies barely 9 km as the crow flies from Prague Castle. The acropolis and the first bailey were built on two hills separated by a gorge which was formed in geological periods above all by the agency of flowing water. A narrow neck lies between the area of the first bailey and a less rugged landscape where the second bailey and south of it the cemeteries at Žalov – Na panenské and Žalov – cihelna were situated. Holocene soils, developed on bedrock, sandy terraces or loess banks, have determined settlement at the castle and in the surrounding landscape from prehistoric times until today (**Fig. 1–2**).

Among relics from the times when Levý Hradec was still a hillfort there are the remains of fortifications, which are partly hidden below the ground and partly visible, mainly on the western side of the acropolis. The more simply constructed prehistoric fortifications of the Eneolithic period (3rd millennium BC), and later of the Knovíz culture (end of 2nd millennium BC), only defended the eastern terrain block where the Church of St Clement is. The early mediaeval defensive walls, on the other hand, surrounded the acropolis as well as both of the outer baileys. The early phase of the early medieval fortification of the first bailey, which was built during

the first two thirds of the 9th century along with the early and later phase of the fortification of the acropolis (9th–11th centuries), has defensive walls with a timber grid construction and with stone facing. Chamber construction was not used until the later phase of fortification on the neck separating the outer bailey from what is now Žalov (last third of the 9th century and 10th century). This later defensive wall overlaid the earlier structure in its eastern part; in the western portion it was built upon a construction composed of a timber grid in the lower part and timber latticework in the upper part. This construction filled in and strengthened the space that had been opened by the destruction of the early phase in the area of the older gate, which was caused by extensive fire probably even before AD 900. The new gate was shifted more to the west due to rebuilding. The appearance of the aboveground defensive wall accompanying the ditch around the second bailey is not known, because it was removed during the subsequent centuries. As is evidenced by the backfill of the ditch discovered in 2010, at least some parts of it were built of stone. Whereas the acropolis was fortified by a wood-and-earth wall with stone facing around the whole perimeter, in the first bailey this type of fortification can only be proved in several segments. The course of the fortification of the second bailey as well as specification of preliminary dating to the 2nd half of the 9th–10th century will be the subject of further study.



▲ **Fig. 1. Žalov – Levý Hradec.**

Aerial view (© Institute of Archaeology AS CR, Prague, photo M. Gojda).



▲ Fig. 2. Levý Hradec.

A – acropolis; B – 1st bailey; C – 2nd bailey; P – ditch; 1 – Žalov – cihelna cemetery; 2 – Žalov – Na panenské cemetery; 3 – isolated grave in Přemyslovská St.; 4 – churchyard at St. Clement's.



From the 880s, the central point of the castle was represented by the Church of St Clement – the one which, according to the *Legend of Christian*, was founded by Duke Bořivoj after his baptism at the court of Svatopluk. Liturgical services in the early period of existence were carried out by a priest named Kaich (*Ludvíkovský, ed. 1978*). The earliest preserved phase is represented by a rotunda, whose foundations were unearthed during a 1940 excavation by Ivan Borkovský (**Fig. 3**). According to the current state of research based on a detailed study of preserved foundation masonry including a stone with engraved cross, which has been interpreted as the *lapis primarius*, it is not the building founded by Duke Bořivoj. Its appearance thus remains unknown to us. The earliest preserved phase of the church dates from a later period (10th–11th centuries). Even though indications exist that graves were already being laid out at the acropolis in the 10th century, the existence of a churchyard can reliably be proved by the coins of Vratislav II and Vladislav I, i.e. not until the last third of the 11th to the 1st third of the 12th century.

Settlement at the site is mostly represented by pits of various dimensions and forms, isolated hearths or ovens. Besides this, Borkovský unearthed several early medieval timber buildings or their parts. Log buildings are evidenced inside a zone adjacent to the western fortification of the acropolis from the 10th century at the latest. The identification and dating of features at the acropolis has been complicated by long-term occupation from prehistory until modern times, which caused an intermingling of feature backfills and contamination by older as well as later intrusions. That is why it is not possible either to reconstruct the structure of settlement in this area or gain a detailed idea of its dynamics and inner chronology at the time of the existence of the stronghold in the 9th – at least the 1st half of the 11th century, and in the 12th–13th centuries. An important finding is that evidence of manufacturing features in this area has not yet been discovered.

In the first bailey, Ivan Borkovský unearthed some post-built houses – a single-room, double-room with hearth, and L-shaped multi-room with hearth. The last-mentioned house, with a total area of 90 m<sup>2</sup> and floor space of up to 57 m<sup>2</sup>, is one of the largest secular buildings discovered at Bohemian and Moravian strongholds. Only little is known of the sunken features excavated by Čeněk Rýzner and the Society of the Friends of Czech Antiquities north of the above-mentioned houses at the end of the 1880s. The discovery of a feature with 37 denarii of Břetislav I is also important; this, along with a 9th century fire, indicates a further critical period in the development of Levý Hradec. Excavations by both of the aforesaid researchers proved that settlement in the bailey continued until as late as the 12th century. Workshops were



▲ **Fig. 3. The earliest preserved early medieval phase of the Church of St Clement.**

Excavation by Ivan Borkovský in 1940.

not discovered, but isolated finds of tools and blacksmith's waste indirectly testify to their existence. The question is whether the high number of spindle whorls is evidence of textile production three to four centuries long, or indication of the existence of a gynaeceum focused on textile production.

The purpose of the second bailey still remains unknown. Hitherto rescue excavations have mainly proved prehistoric settlement, whereas early medieval settlement activities are only represented by isolated finds.

Beyond the border of the second bailey there were the burial grounds of the inhabitants of Levý Hradec – the older and smaller one with scattered graves or grave groups at Žalov – Na panenské (2nd half of 9th – 1st third of 10th century) and the somewhat later and larger one at Žalov – cihelna (end of 9th–10th century). Both these cemeteries also included burials of individuals, whose funerary equipment or grave design indicate high rank within the social hierarchy of that time (**Fig. 4–5**).

When we look at Levý Hradec from a broader regional point of view, it is necessary to pay attention to its close spatial and cultural relations with the nearby stronghold at Klecany,



▲ Fig. 4. Žalov – cihelna, Grave 52.  
Button, gilded copper. Photo by J. Vrabec.

which may have formed a joint agglomeration with Levý Hradec. It also is necessary to remark that a mere 600 m southwest of Levý Hradec there is another hilltop location Řivnáč, which is mostly associated with prehistoric times but isolated evidence of early medieval activities are also present. Most significant among them is a hoard of coins of Jaromír and Oldřich, deposited after 1012.

A comparison archaeological and numismatic findings with the evidence from literary sources reveals Levý Hradec as an important family residence of the Přemyslids, the origins of which reach back to the 2nd half of the 9th century at the latest. The boom of the castle occurred at the turn of the 9th and 10th centuries as a consequence of an overall acceleration of political development in Bohemia, which was caused by both the geopolitical situation of that time and the adoption of Christianity. Through the cemeteries we get an insight not only into the life of the elite but also into the cultural world of that time. While the grave goods of the 2nd half of the 9th and the 1st third of the 10th century give evidence of a cultural connection with the Great Moravian centres and the beginning of local jewellery production based on Great Moravian patterns, later they reflect a dominant reorientation to local jewellery supplemented with imports of different origin (Baltic amber, glass beads). Pottery, despite partial differences, connected Levý Hradec with the other settlement in the central part of Central Bohemia. In the 2nd half of the 10th century, that is, at the time when the main Přemyslid residence had already long been Prague Castle, Levý Hradec served as an occasional ducal residence, which is illustrated by the fact that St Adalbert was elected bishop here in 982. Even though we do not know the exact date of the decline of Levý Hradec as a castle, we can deduce from available sources that its role began to diminish under Břetislav I. While the glory of Levý Hradec had gone and its function had changed, settlement at this locality continued and further developed, along with the church. The tradition of Levý Hradec as a place "*ubi christianitas incepta est*" (Friedrich, ed. 1904–1907, N. 124, p. 130) and where St Adalbert was elected bishop, is one of the permanent connecting lines between the origins of the Bohemian state and the present.



▲ Fig. 5. Žalov – Na panenské, Grave 22.  
A knife with decorated all-metal grip. Photo by E. Ottenwelter, drawing by J. Hošek.



# STARÁ BOLESLAV

## BOHEMIA

Ivana Boháčová

Stará Boleslav is known from the *legends of St Wenceslas* and from the *Chronicle of Cosmas* as one of the residential castles of the Přemyslids. Since this castle became the scene of a crucial event in early Czech history, namely the assassination of Duke Wenceslas (+935), it was mentioned most often by early mediaeval literary sources. Thanks to them we know of the existence of a ducal manor, a Church of Sts Cosmas and Damian and its bell or bells, and of an entirely unique defensive wall which had already been built in the 10th century in the Roman style – *opere Romano*, which means that it was bound with mortar. The castle was founded as a strongpoint at the eastern border of the Přemyslid dominion during the early

developmental phase of the Bohemian state. It was situated on the right bank of the River Elbe, just 30 km from Prague. Close contact with the Prague milieu is also documented by archaeological finds, namely by the clear predominance of standard Prague pottery among the material from the castle area. The emergence of Boleslav can be dated by an interconnection of historical and archaeological sources to about 900.

Since the end of the last century, archaeology has been involved in the reconstruction of the earliest history of Stará Boleslav. A good deal of new and unexpected knowledge was provided, which specifies and partly changes the picture reconstructed



▲ Fig. 1. Stará Boleslav.

Historical centre of Stará Boleslav with highlighted location of transverse arms of the early mediaeval defensive wall: a – fortification between the acropolis and the outer bailey; b – assumed position of fortification of the outer bailey. Photo Archive of the Institute of Archaeological Heritage of Central Bohemia.

only on the basis of historical sources. Archaeology also proved that the testimony by Chronicler Cosmas cannot be considered completely reliable in all regards. This conclusion is based on the discovery of a fortification which was common at that time and preceded the wall bound with mortar. The problem was that Cosmas associated the stonewall unequivocally not only with Boleslaus I but also with the foundation of this centre. Cosmas' report on a construction which was entirely unique in the Central Europe of that time was verified by archaeological finds. However, the discovery of an older fortification disproved his assumption that the stonewall had something to do with the origin of the locality. The results of archaeological excavations at Stará Boleslav thus underline the importance of interdisciplinary cooperation and continuous cross-checking of historical and archaeological knowledge in the reconstruction of past events.

The castle was built on an elongated spur formed by defunct river meanders, projecting deep into the floodplain of the Elbe near the confluence of the Elbe and the River Jizera (**Fig. 1**). The top of the spur is parallel to the lower floodplain level and overtops the surrounding landscape by at least two metres.

Regarding the geographical context, the locality is situated in a region which had already been intensively occupied from prehistoric times. The site itself and its immediate neighbourhood, inclusive of the floodplain, had been inhabited, or at least temporarily used for settlement purposes, since the Eneolithic. Settlement on the floodplain could only occupy elevated locations on sand dunes which, along with the castle proper, were safe from annual floods. Knowledge of this settlement, however, has so far been sporadic. The existence of any settlement in the wider surroundings of Boleslav can only be inferred from funerary areas. An important element which positively influenced the intensity and density of settlement was the River Elbe, and particularly a communication corridor which was part of the historical European road network, leading from Prague in Central Bohemia through Boleslav further towards the north or northeast. Water transport and a river crossing, as well as the significance of the locality, have also been proved to exist from prehistoric times. A 10th century Elbe crossing is documented by both literary sources and the largest hoard of Přemyslid and Slavnik coins on our territory. The place where the road crossed the Elbe was also an important communication junction on the right bank of the river.

Archaeologically, Boleslav is one of the few well-examined prime central places. It has been intensively examined by archaeological rescue excavations. During the reconstruction of an underground utilities network and other construction work, a selected sample of areas was extensively unearthed

in the historical centre of the locality (on the excavations and their results, mainly from 1988–2001 *Boháčová 2003; 2006; 2008; 2011*). The research yielded a good deal of valuable information on the stratification of the locality, types of buildings, settlement activities and their changes, and on funerary areas which in the early 10th century probably shifted from the rural area into the central part of the castle. The excavations also detected a transverse fortification between the so-called acropolis and the supposed densely inhabited outer bailey. Detailed knowledge was obtained on the remains of the perimeter fortification at the acropolis. A separate chapter, particularly important for later mediaeval times, was represented by a rescue excavation in the neighbourhood of the still-standing early mediaeval sacred buildings, whose origins fall within the 11th century. An entirely unknown church from the same period was discovered, perhaps dedicated to the Virgin Mary.

Historical sequences of early mediaeval layers preserved in the historical centre of the locality exhibit an unusually high quality and a thickness of some dozens of centimetres. Analysis of stratigraphy and numerous related assemblages of small finds enabled the identification of basic developmental horizons and a turning point in the development of Boleslav at the beginning of High Middle Ages when the growth of occupation layers stopped. The archaeologically documented development of early mediaeval Boleslav can be dated in the form of an interval, based on the occurrence of Prague-sequence pottery.<sup>15</sup> Considering the exceptional role which Boleslav played in the earliest phases of its existence, the chronology based on archaeological sources can be confronted with data provided by the absolute chronology of the 10th and 11th century. Mediaeval authors provided – if



▲ **Fig. 2. Stará Boleslav.** Remnants of the 10th century defensive wall built of sandstone blocks bound with mortar (*opere Romano*). Photo I. Boháčová.

not exact then at least general – dates for Stará Boleslav, which can be linked with some of the events identified during the archaeological research.<sup>16</sup>

Taking into account Cosmas' report on the foundation of the castle by Boleslaus, Boleslav has been considered by historians the latest element of the Přemyslid castle system. Archaeology proved the older roots of this foundation by discovering a rampart with stone facing and a unidirectional timber grid reinforcing the sandy bank. A massive stonewall, which replaced the older fortification, was built of large and sometimes also evenly hewn sandstone blocks (**Fig. 2**) bound with mortar, which were obtained from the opposite, that is, left bank of the Elbe. The closest constructional analogy is represented by the Roman defensive wall of Regensburg, Bavaria. Other possible parallels have not yet been found.

Archaeological finds do not enable us to identify the time of the foundation of Boleslav in any form other than within a range. Even though the interval between the emergence of both fortifications was not necessarily a long one, the founder of Boleslav seems to have been Duke Vratislaus, father of Wenceslas and Boleslaus, rather than Boleslaus himself. It is because the unique defensive stonewall was built before the mid-10th century when a special type of early mediaeval pottery began to occur. At the same time, fortifications at Prague Castle and at Přemyslid Budeč were also rebuilt for the first time. Archaeological interpretation thus rather corresponds to a late report by the *Chronicle of Neplach*. The chronicler, unlike Cosmas, supposes that Boleslav already existed

under Duke Vratislaus, to whom he ascribes the foundation of the Church of Sts Cyril and Methodius, which has been called into question today (*Emler, ed. 1882, 466*).

Archaeological finds corroborate the evidence of literary sources on the significance as well as residential function of the locality. Even though one of the earliest churches on Czech territory has not yet been archaeologically proved, mortar residues (at the base of the settlement stratigraphy in the very centre of the castle in the immediate neighbourhood of the capitular basilica and a somewhat younger Church of St Clement) indicate the existence of a spectacular building, which was built with the help of mortar in the 1st third of the 10th century. It can be assumed that the capitular Basilica of St Wenceslas, probably the earliest in Bohemia, was built near or directly in the place of the church mentioned in literary sources, at the door of which the Duke is supposed to have died (**Fig. 3**).

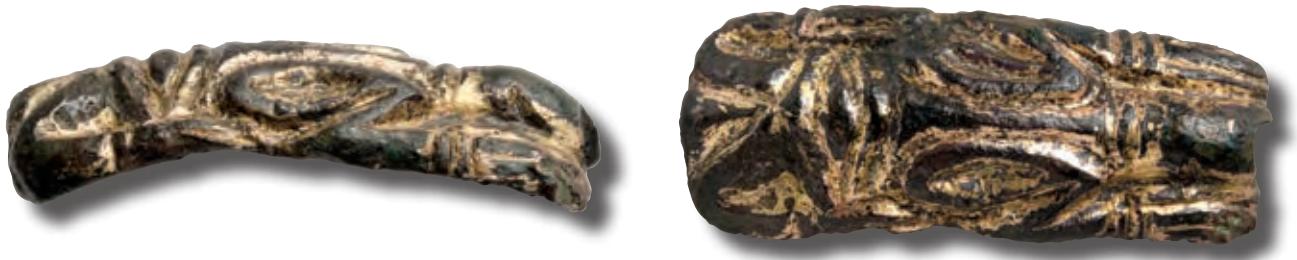
The castle compound was divided into smaller areas separated from each other by fences. In the centre of the former castle some spacious multi-room timber buildings have also been documented, either log-built or with foundation trenches. We only know that these buildings of above-standard dimensions were equipped with a hearth placed on the surface of the ground<sup>17</sup> and a container for small items (comb, spindle whorls) sunk into the ground. Since the largest building (min. length of one of the walls is 5 m) was situated directly in the centre of the castle compound, it may have been a residence for the highest-ranking people. A possible connection with the ducal manor is, however, only hypothetical because the great part of



▲ **Fig. 3. Stará Boleslav.**

Historical centre with churches. The ground plan of the Basilica of St Wenceslas includes masonry of the original church founded by Břetislav around 1040. It can be supposed that this later church was built at the place of the original Church of Sts Cosmas and Damian. Photo Zuzana Kačerová, July 2013.





▲ **Fig. 4. Stará Boleslav.**

Segment of an object (bracelet, brooch?) with zoomorphic decoration from the base of a sequence of occupation layers in the historical centre of the locality – side view (left) and top view (right). Origin Scandinavia? Bronze, gilded. Photo Zuzana Kačerová. City Museum of Čelákovice (Acc. No. 3549).



▲ **Fig. 5. Stará Boleslav.**

Cruciform iron mount with reduced arms and a circular base (left), and a two-part brooch (right) from the base of a sequence of occupation layers in the historical centre of the locality. Photo Zuzana Kačerová. City Museum of Čelákovice (Acc. No. 3934).

the castle area has not yet been examined. Judging from the quickly growing sequence of layers, the intensity of settlement development in the area of the acropolis must have been extraordinary; a partial change only occurred around the mid-11th century when some of the public spaces were paved.

The sparse but conclusive archaeological evidence of the earlier phase of life at the site at the end of the 9th and in the 10th century testifies to the exceptional social status of those who inhabited the castle compound. The assemblage of finds from this area comprises gold sheet fragments indicating some rare but unpreserved luxurious objects, an imported zoomorphic brooch, whose origin may be sought in Swedish Birka around AD 800 (**Fig. 4**), a small minutely-made cruciform iron mount, a two-part iron brooch without any clear analogies (**Fig. 5**) or highly decorative knives of maybe

domestic origin. Several solitary and less common finds, such as a bronze strap end of Avar origin, then occur in later find contexts and their meaning is difficult to decipher.

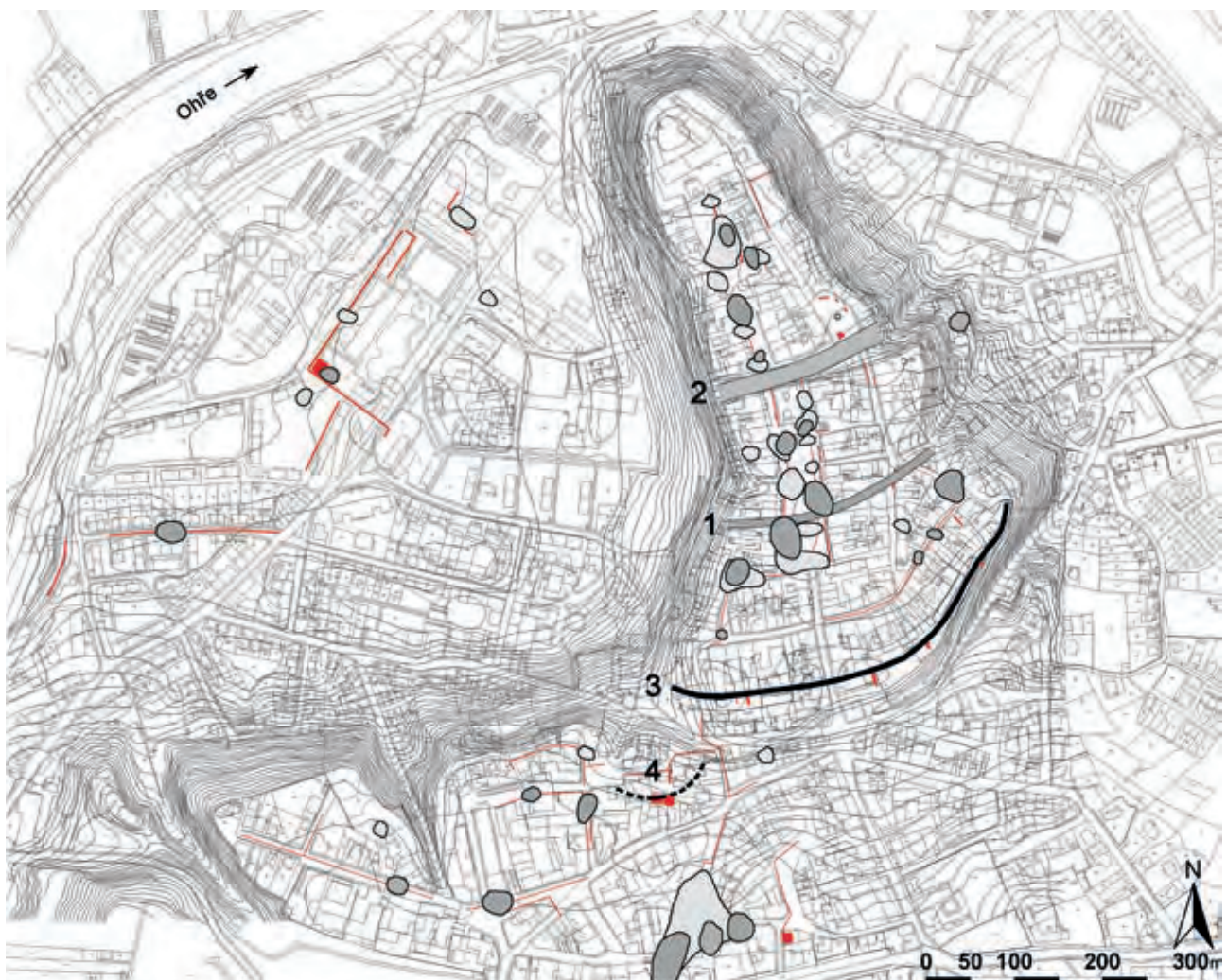
The upswing of Boleslav continued over the whole 10th and 11th centuries. Before the mid-11th century, Boleslav had become the prime ecclesiastical centre of the Bohemian state. The establishment of a significant church institution signified a fundamental change in life at the site, which is reflected in archaeological evidence as a clear developmental boundary. The foundation of a chapter started an entirely different period in the development of the locality, whose function changed considerably, and the significance of what had been a prominent centre gradually vanished. At that time, however, the frontiers of the Bohemian state were already far beyond the Bohemian Basin.



A distinct shift in knowledge of the early mediaeval history of this town has been evident since 1992, as a result of numerous archaeological rescue excavations. Research has shown that the origins and development of the early mediaeval agglomeration of Žatec from the 9th to the 10th centuries was a complicated process. We learn about it from construction trenches for buildings and utility networks, which often reduces the interpretational possibilities of the archaeological situations recorded.

The agglomeration was founded on an elongated pear-shaped spur with an area of 15 ha, projecting from the southern terraces of the River Ohře, which flows around in a wide arc to the north (Fig. 1). The southern edge was formed by

a deep erosion groove in Tertiary sandy gravels and clays of the river terrace. The area is covered with soil with small local loess banks scattered below. The spur attracted the earliest farmers of the Linear Pottery culture for settlement, and Eneolithic finds of Funnel Beaker culture and Řivnáč culture have also been recorded. Únětice culture pottery dates from the Early Bronze Age, and the spur was first fortified in the Late Bronze Age, in the period of the Knovíz culture. Later prehistory is represented by Early Iron Age finds, and after the turn of the Common Era by the Germanic settlement of the Late Roman Period. Stray finds of Prague-type and 7th–8th century pottery prove that the favourable location did not remain unnoticed by the earliest Slavic population, either.



▲ Fig. 1. The early mediaeval agglomeration of Žatec.

1 – ditch from the 9th century fortification; 2 – 1st third of the 10th century ditch around the acropolis; 3 – fortification of the outer bailey from the early 930s; 4 – a small 9th century estate/manor enclosed by a ditch. Red – excavation areas and examined linear structures; light grey – 9th century settlement; medium grey – 10th century settlement.





▲ **Fig. 3. Research into the fortification of the outer bailey.**

The lower part is undated, the upper part originates from the early 930s.

According to the earliest known written mention (1004 in the Chronicle of Thietmar of Merseburg; *Holtzmann, ed. 1935*, VI, 11, 288), Žatec was the most significant centre of northwest Bohemia; there was a church inside the castle, and the inhabitants were able to overpower the Polish garrison and open the gates to King Henry II. Žatec is also mentioned twice in the tenth chapter of the first book of the Chronicle of Cosmas (*Bretholz, ed. 1923*, I, 10, 22–23), “[...] on a battle fought long before at the time of Duke Neklan on a field called Tursko, between the Czechs and the Lučané, who are now called Žatčané after Žatec Castle”, and further, “And because this land was initially, long before the foundation of Žatec Castle, inhabited by people, the inhabitants called themselves rightly enough Lučané, after their land.” From the aforesaid it follows that Cosmas did not identify Žatec with Lucko (the territory inhabited by the Lučané tribe) but knew it only as a Přemyslid foundation.

In accordance with Cosmas and archaeological knowledge, Žatec had earlier been considered the centre of the Middle Ohře region after being seized by Boleslaus I after 936. 9th century pottery occurred sporadically among other material and the contemporary settlement was classified as

a rural hilltop settlement. More recent excavations at Žatec “suffered” from insufficient analyses and evaluation of finds, which has been rectified in the past few years.

An impulse to the assessment of find contexts, including 9th century pottery, was given by the excavation of a V-shaped ditch at the fortification in 2005 (**Fig. 2**). The original backfill of the ditch was overlaid with a layer of sandstone boulders which have been considered the collapsed stone facing of the defensive wall. The ditch was 8.8 m wide and 2.5 m deep and divided the Žatec spur into an inner ward or acropolis with an area of 8 ha and an outer bailey measuring 6.5 ha. Any evidence of internal division of the acropolis is not yet known.

The 1999 excavation at the acropolis of the castle unearthed a group of small features sunk into the ground and arranged to form a rectangle. Evidence of a log-built structure was also found. The find context has been interpreted as a large aboveground log building with a storage pit/cellar in the interior. A post-built building was identified above another large sunken feature. Three small objects which are usually known from graves were found in a layer resting upon the soil between the two buildings. A silver earring with wire knot on the hoop



▲ **Fig. 2. Ditch from the 9th century fortification.**  
Width 8.8 m; depth 2.5 m.

originates from the Great Moravian milieu. One end of the hoop is broken off, maybe also with a decorative bunch of grapes (**Fig. 5: 1**). A small gilded bronze tangled stud may have been part of a strap or belt, and a blue chopped glass bead fragment probably comes from a necklace (**Fig. 5: 2–3**). Pottery from the fill of features falls within the Žatec B horizon, which is dated to the 2nd half of the 9th century. The contemporary settlement was spread out in the area of the acropolis, the fortified outer bailey, the southern unfortified bailey and on an elevation in the forefield of the castle. Excavations at the south-western edge of the spur helped to identify a homestead including a log building, of which the stamped loess floor with numerous small hollows was preserved. Some smaller sunken features and occupation layers were unearthed in the neighbourhood of the building. Excavations outside the spur identified a small residential feature on an indistinct projection of a river terrace, which was fortified by a ditch 6 m wide and 1.4 m deep. Internal development in the area of the supposed manor remains so far unknown.

The 9th century settlement has the form of rather small sunken features of various shapes, whose backfills yielded sparse assemblages of pottery which is mostly decorated with comb waves. Among these features were two so-called pit houses and two deeper pits/granaries. It has been proved that this settlement represents the earliest phase of the early mediaeval agglomeration of Žatec. According to the current state of knowledge there was a hiatus between the first and the second phase of the agglomeration, because the 9th century settlement does not overlap with the settlement of the second phase of the agglomeration from the 2nd third of the 10th century. The backfills of the castle moat and the ditch of the small fortified manor are distinctly separate from layers that include the 10th century pottery.

The origins of the second phase of the agglomeration are associated with the construction of a mighty fortification of the outer bailey. Indications of its destruction by fire as the Early became the High Middle Ages were identified at three places. The scorched surface of wooden parts of the construction conserved their cores, which were dated by dendrochronology. The lower and older phase of the defensive wall was built using inappropriate technology. The stone facing was composed of unequally sized stones, which did not enable regular coursing of the masonry; the facing was only a single row of stones wide, and was not bound in any way with the oak-beam grid. The core of the rampart was piled up of pure sand. The defensive wall was therefore statically unstable and maybe remained unfinished. The protruding stone facing had to be supported by an earthen bank, which was adjusted, along with the core of the defensive wall, to a 35° slope. At the edge of the platform of this landing

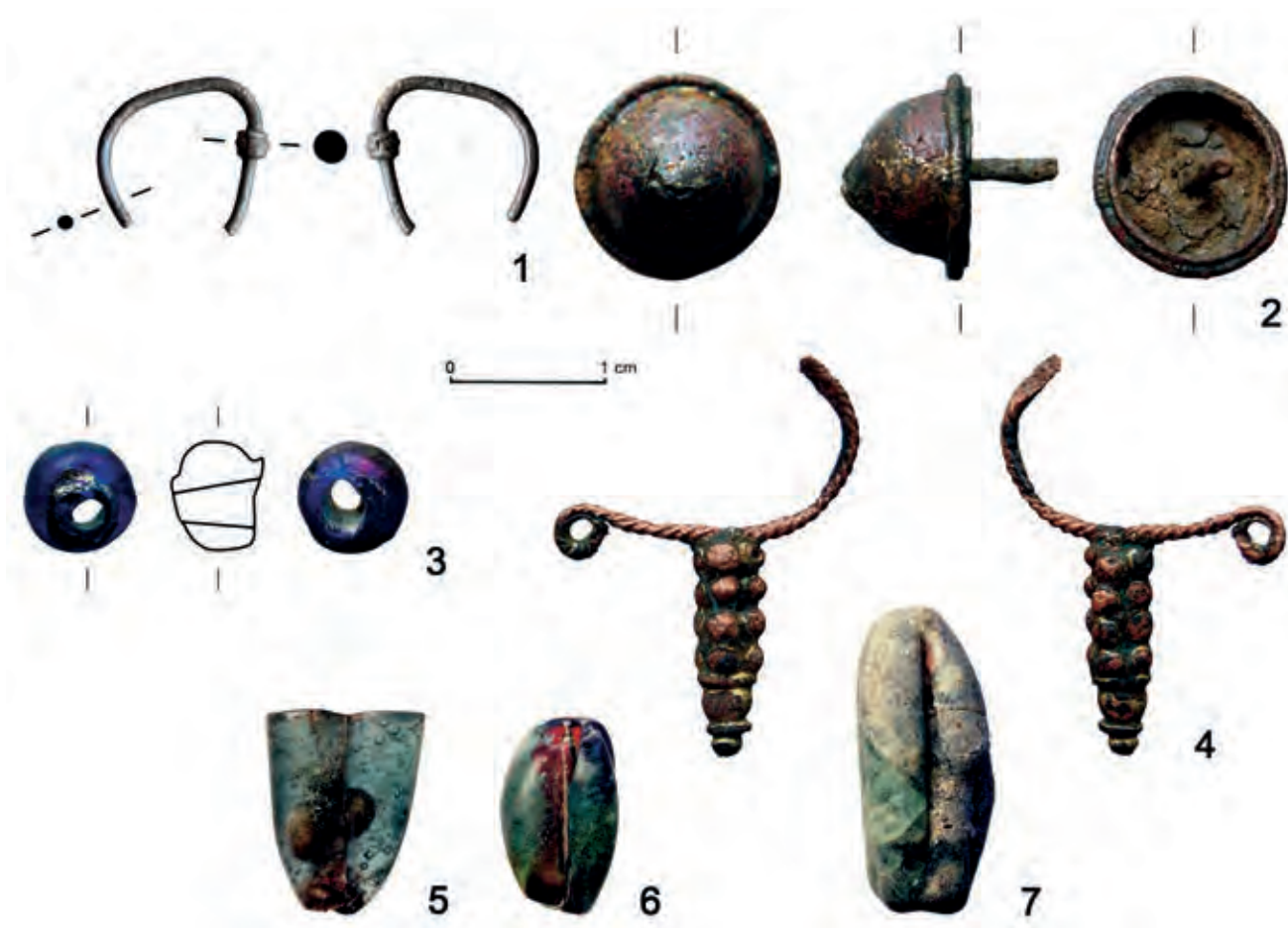


▲ **Fig. 4. A hooked construction.**

Formed the base for the stone facing of the later defensive wall. According to dendrochronology, the longitudinal oak beam was felled within the period 925–937, the hook in 929–935. The gap between the beam and the hook is filled in with a stone wedge.

a hooked construction of oak beams rested, and then upon this construction a second revetment of flat sandstone slabs (**Fig. 4**). Two dendrochronological analyses from various parts of a hook beam yielded felling dates of 925–937 and 930–937, and from a longitudinal beam an interval of 929–935. No dates were obtained from the lower part of the defensive wall due to badly preserved wood. Even though it was supposed that the second phase of the defensive wall as well as of the Žatec agglomeration was founded by Duke Wenceslas, considering the width of the interval and its calculation Boleslaus I may also be taken into account. There is also a third possibility, namely that the builder of the fortification may have been a local duke, and that the Přemyslids took control of Žatec later. It must be remembered that the dates were obtained at only one place of the defensive wall and it has not yet been able to verify them.

The spur was divided by a ditch and a rampart into an inner ward measuring 4.5 ha and an outer bailey with an area of 10 ha. Settlement contexts at the acropolis are low in number and the residence of the duke or prince has not yet been identified. Extensive excavation in the south-eastern fortified bailey yielded remnants of an older ducal manor surrounded by a palisade trench 1.5 m deep. Inside the manorial area there were log buildings, sunken features, and the area in between was paved with small quartz pebbles. Further pebble paving with evidence of aboveground buildings was detected inside the outer bailey but the enclosure has not been proved to have extended here, so the component has been referred to as a ducal homestead.



▲ **Fig. 5.** Silver earring (1), gilded bronze stud (2) and a blue bead fragment (3) from the 9th century ducal estate at the acropolis. A grape earring made of hard-soldered, fire-gilded copper (4) from the manor in the fortified bailey. Secondarily adjusted olive-shaped bead (5) from the acropolis and two entire olive-shaped beads from the ducal manor in the fortified bailey (6–7).

A grape earring made of hard-soldered, fire-gilded copper was found inside the manor enclosed by a palisade (**Fig. 5: 4**). Coming from the backfill of a pit placed only a few metres from the floor of the unfortified homestead, there is an olive-shaped bead; a second one was found in a burnt loess layer overlaying the floor (**Fig. 5: 6–7**). Earrings and olive-shaped glass beads, which are typical of sumptuous graves, indicate that the inhabitants of both the manor and the homestead occupied a higher social status.

Settlement contexts including pottery of the 2nd and 3rd thirds of the 10th century were recorded in the unfortified bailey as well as in the forefield of the castle. Pyrotechnical devices for iron production and processing, yielding finds of iron slag, were examined in all settlement components of the agglomeration except the acropolis. Recent excavations did not yield any evidence of burials but extensive burial activity is supposed, based on finds of entire vessels supposedly of

funerary origin and isolated graves on the terraces beyond the south-western border of the agglomeration. A male burial is outstanding among the few graves identified: it contains an X-type sword, rivet spurs and two axes, which document the presence of warrior elites inside the agglomeration.

Comparing the 9th and 10th century Žatec agglomeration with Great Moravian centres reveals that they can be considered equal as far as the extent and internal structure are concerned. Marked differences, however, occur in burial customs which are not known from Žatec. A sort of convergence began to appear in the 10th century, and sacred architecture did not occur until the beginning of the 11th century. Finds of small 9th century artefacts in settlement contexts give evidence of the presence of a higher social class influenced by Great Moravian culture.





The catalogue section of this publication presents a selection of artefacts which are currently on show. They were carefully chosen so as to feature in particular unpublished finds; we aimed to cover the widest possible scope regarding provenance and territory. We have, of course, also included artefacts (chiefly jewellery and stirrups) which have been mentioned in earlier literature, but which could not have been omitted because of their quality and representativeness, though it should also be added that it is hard to find them depicted elsewhere in such high quality as in this publication.

The item descriptions also state the place of discovery, including the region, so that the reader may better orientate

him or herself. There follows a shorter but comprehensive description with the dating, find context (grave, object, layer etc.) and a the number under which the artefact can be found; in exceptional cases there is no such designation, usually because of the recent acquisition of such an item – be it from an archaeological excavation or other field activities. The identification of items also includes the name of the institution in whose collection a given artefact is included along with its dimensions (usually the maximum ones). Finally, there is the relevant literature, literature, which offers a selection of works that provide basic information on the given exhibit.

PK

# CATALOGUE



► **1 Holubice (Vyškov district)**

Silver radiate-headed brooch with zoomorphic foot and chip-carving decoration, 1st third of 6th century  
Grave No. 28  
Registration No. 174858A; MM  
Dimensions: 5.1 × 2.6 cm  
Literature: Čizmář 2011



► **2 Bratislava – Rusovce (Bratislava district, SK)**

Silver-plated bronze tablet decorated with niello and interlace, part of sword suspension fitting, 1st third of 6th century  
Grave No. 122  
Registration No. AR 2003/1/280; BACM  
Dimensions: 5.5 × 2.1 cm  
Literature: Schmidtová – Ruttikay 2007; 2008



▲ **3 Bratislava – Rusovce (Bratislava district, SK)**

Pair of silver radiate-headed brooches with zoomorphic foot, chip-carving and almandine inlays, 1st third of 6th century  
Grave No. 26  
Registration No. AR 2003/1/107, AR 2003/1/108; BACM  
Dimensions: 9.0 × 4.3 cm; 9.1 × 4.2 cm  
Literature: Schmidtová – Ruttikay 2007; 2008

▼ **4 Mušov – Roviny (Brno-Country district)**

Gilded bronze S-shaped brooch with bird-head ornaments, decorated with almandines, 1st third of 6th century  
Grave No. 3  
No registration No.; IAASB  
Dimensions: 2.5 × 2.2 cm  
Literature: Loskotová 2013







◀ **5 Mušov – Roviny  
(Brno-Country district)**

Ceramic vessel, 1st third of 6th century  
Grave No. 5  
No registration No.; IAASB  
Dimensions: height 9.1 cm  
Literature: Loskotová 2013

▼ **6 Kyjov (Hodonín district)**

Ceramic vessel – bowl with polished decoration,  
1st third of 6th century  
Grave No. 1024  
Registration No. 40229; MMH  
Dimensions: height 13.5 cm  
Literature: Šmerda 2013





◀ **7 Kyjov (Hodonín district)**

Gilded silver brooch – bird triquetra,  
1st third of 6th century  
Grave No. 1034  
Registration No. 40173; MMH  
Dimensions: 2.6 × 2.0 cm  
Literature: Šmerda 2012



▶ **8 Kyjov (Hodonín district)**

Silver S-shaped brooch decorated with bird heads  
and almandine inlays, 1st third of 6th century  
Grave No. 803  
Registration No. 40169; MMH  
Dimensions: 3.5 × 2.5 cm  
Literature: Šmerda 2012



◀ **9 Kyjov (Hodonín district)**

Gilded silver S-shaped brooch decorated with bird  
heads and almandine inlays, 1st third  
of 6th century  
Grave No. 992  
Registration No. 40170; MMH  
Dimensions: 3.0 × 2.0 cm  
Literature: Šmerda 2012

▼ **10 Kyjov (Hodonín district)**

Single-sided bone comb, 1st third  
of 6th century  
Grave No. 933  
Registration No. 40211; MMH  
Dimensions: 14.0 × 4.0 cm  
Literature: Šmerda 2012







▲ 11 Kyjov (Hodonín district)

Bronze fittings of wooden bucket with relief figure motif, 1st third of 6th century  
Grave No. 928  
Registration No. 40188; MMH  
Dimensions: height 30.0 cm; ø 20.0 cm  
Literature: Šmerda 2012



◀ **12 Roztoky (Prague-West district)**

Engraved antler knife handle (?), 6th–7th century  
Object No. 449  
Registration No. 1503; IAASP  
Dimensions: 17.5 × 2.5 cm  
Literature: Kuna – Profantová a kol. 2005



▲ **13 Roztoky (Prague-West district)**

Bronze earring with broken-off pendant,  
6th–7th century  
Object No. 918  
Registration No. 5212; IAASP  
Dimensions: ø 1.9 cm  
Literature: Kuna – Profantová a kol. 2005



▶ **14 Roztoky (Prague-West district)**

Decorated antler whistle, 6th–7th century  
Object No. 1089  
Registration No. 6167; IAASP  
Dimensions: 5.2 × 1.6 cm  
Literature: Kuna – Profantová a kol. 2005

▶ **15 Roztoky (Prague-West district)**

Brass belt loop with plastically decorated plate,  
6th–7th century  
Object No. 1039  
Registration No. RO5776; IAASP  
Dimensions: 1.6 × 1.9 × 1.8 cm  
Literature: Kuna – Profantová a kol. 2005







### ▲ 16 Roztoky (Prague-West district)

Yellow glass wheel beads,  
2nd half of 6th–7th century  
Object No. 1644  
Registration No. 12367; IAASP  
Dimensions: ø 1.0 cm; ø 0.7 cm  
Literature: Kuna – Profantová a kol. 2005

### ▼ 17 Roztoky (Prague-West district)

Green glass wheel beads,  
2nd half of 6th–7th century  
Object No. 1700  
Registration No. 12566; IAASP  
Dimensions: ø 1.1 cm; ø 0.5 cm  
Literature: Kuna – Profantová a kol. 2005



### ▲ 18 Roztoky (Prague-West district)

Brown glass wheel bead,  
2nd half of 6th – 7th century  
Object No. 1425  
Registration No. 18056; IAASP  
Dimensions: ø 0.5 cm  
Literature: Kuna – Profantová a kol. 2005

### ▼ 19 Roztoky (Prague-West district)

Part of red glass bead, 2nd half of 6th–7th century  
Object No. 1412  
Registration No. 18057; IAASP  
Dimensions: 1.0 × 0.6 cm  
Literature: Kuna – Profantová a kol. 2005



### ◀ 20 Roztoky (Prague-West district)

Bronze necklace ornament with spirals,  
6th–7th century  
Object No. 1717  
Registration No. 13255; IAASP  
Dimensions: 3.4 × 2.0 cm  
Literature: Profantová 2013b

► **21 Rostoky (Prague-West district)**

Decorated double-sided bone comb,  
2nd half of 6th – beginning of 7th century  
Object No. 842  
Registration No. 4886; IAASP  
Dimensions: 6.2 × 3.9 cm  
Literature: Kuna – Profantová a kol. 2005



▲ **22 Rostoky (Prague-West district)**

Single-sided bone comb with triangular shaft,  
2nd half of 6th – beginning of 7th century  
Object No. 1113, 1117  
Registration No. 7109; IAASP  
Dimensions: 13.3 × 3.3 cm  
Literature: Kuna – Profantová a kol. 2005



◀ **23 Rostoky (Prague-West district)**

Part of ceramic magic item, so-called "chlebec"  
(bread-like), 6th–7th century  
Object No. 425  
Registration No. 43/81 – 1165/24; IAASP  
Dimensions: 5.3 × 2.4 cm  
Literature: Kuna – Profantová a kol. 2005



◀ **24 Roztoky (Prague-West district)**

Fragments of crucible for metal casting,  
6th–7th century  
Object No. 1087  
Registration No. 6139; IAASP  
Dimensions: 2.5 × 3.8 cm; 3.9 × 3.0 cm  
Literature: Kuna – Profantová a kol. 2005

▶ **25 Roztoky (Prague-West district)**

Fragment of ceramic casting ladle, 6th–7th century  
Object No. 1075  
Registration No. 5972; IAASP  
Dimensions: 7.2 × 4.5 cm  
Literature: Kuna – Profantová a kol. 2005



◀ **26 Přibice (Břeclav district)**

Fragment of ceramic casting ladle with socket,  
6th–7th century  
Object No. 51  
Registration No. A 1856; RMM  
Dimensions: 9.2 × 6.7 × 3.5 cm  
Literature: Jelínková – Šrein – Štátný 2012





◀▲ 27 Příkladky (Břeclav district)

Short iron backsword – seax,  
end of 6th – beginning of 7th century  
Grave No. 114  
No registration No.; IAASB  
Dimensions: 39.5 × 4.5 cm  
Literature: Jelínková 2012





◀ **28 Olomouc – Pekařská street  
(Olomouc district)**

Ceramic vessel of Prague type,  
around mid 6th century  
Object No. 67/83  
Registration No. 5712; NHI-ROOL  
Dimensions: height 11.1 cm  
Literature: Bláha 2001a

▼ **29 Pavlov – Horní pole (Břeclav district)**

Ceramic vessels of Prague type, 6th century  
Object No. 428 (1)  
Registration No. 3895/85 (1), 5844a/86 (2),  
5844b/85 (3); IAASB  
Dimensions: height 21.3 cm (1); 14.8 cm (2); 22.8 cm (3)  
Literature: Jelínková 1990a; Jelínková 1991





### ▲► 30 Prušánky (Hodonín district)

Glass-decorated gilded copper target brooch with animal motif, gold earrings with hollow beads and necklace made from blue glass beads, mid 7th to mid 9th century  
 Grave No. 2/75  
 Registration No. 856-7/75 – 10/75; IAASB  
 Dimensions: brooch  $\varnothing$  3.8 cm  
                   earrings 1.1 cm; 1.2 cm  
                   diameter of necklace 54.0 cm  
 Literature: Klanica 2006



### ▼ 31 Zemiarsky Vrbovok (Martin district, SK)

Hoard of silver items – so-called “treasure of Byzantine merchant”, 2nd half of 7th century  
 Stray find  
 Registration No. A-08250 – A-08288; SNM-EM  
 Literature: Svoboda 1953; Turčan 2007





◀ **32 Hluk – Hluboček**  
**(Uherské Hradiště district)**

Gilded bronze pendant featuring human face,  
possibly representing god Veles, 8th century  
Area among burial mounds  
Registration No. Sa 13/2015; MM  
Dimensions: 6.0 × 3.8 cm  
Literature: Galuška 2013a

▼ **33 Mikulčice – Valy**  
**(Hodonín district)**

Selection from more than 200 clay animal cult  
figures, 8th–9th century  
Object No. 400a  
Registration No. 594-232/60, 594-253/65,  
594-843/76, 594-5922/59, 594-5930/59,  
594-5944/59, 594-5991/59, 594-6029b/89; IAASB  
Literature: Novotný 1966; 1970







▲ 34 Dolné Orešany (Trnava district, SK)

Hoard of 87 so-called late Avarian cast bronze and silver artefacts, mainly strap fittings and horse harnesses. Bronze pendant cross with alpha and omega motifs is part of collection, end of 8th century

Stray find

Registration No. 001-087/2005; IASAS

Literature: Pieta 2002



► **35 Želovce (Velký Krtíš district, SK)**

Pair of gold earrings made of tangled gold wires decorated with three glass pearls, 7th–8th century  
Grave No. 177

Registration No. 69, 69a; IASAS

Dimensions: 3.5 × 2.2 cm

Literature: Čilinská 1973



◀ **36 Želovce (Velký Krtíš district, SK)**

Pair of gold earrings, originally with three round glass pearls, 7th–8th century  
Grave No. 43

Registration No. 83, 83a; IASAS

Dimensions: 4.0 × 2.8 cm

Literature: Čilinská 1973



◀ **37 Želovce (Velký Krtíš district, SK)**

Two gold oval brooches with central stone inlay surrounded by granulation, 7th–8th century  
Grave No. 72  
Registration No. 86, 86a; IASAS  
Dimensions: 2.3 × 2.5 cm  
Literature: Čilinská 1973

▶ **38 Želovce (Velký Krtíš district, SK)**

Two gold square plates – brooches, decorated with indentated rings, 7th–8th century  
Grave No. 158  
Registration No. 85, 85a; IASAS  
Dimensions: 2.6 × 2.6 cm  
Literature: Čilinská 1973



▶ **39 Želovce (Velký Krtíš district, SK)**

Silver chalice, 7th–8th century  
Grave No. 257  
Registration No. 93; IASAS  
Dimensions: height 5.5 cm, mouth ø 8.8 cm,  
ø chalice base 3.8 cm  
Literature: Čilinská 1973



**▲ 40 Želovce (Veľký Krtíš district, SK)**

Two silver bracelets with seal-shaped ends,  
7th–8th century  
Grave No. 295  
Registration No. 98, 98a; IASAS  
Dimensions: ø 6.6 cm  
Literature: Čilinská 1973



**▲ 41 Holiare (Komárno district, SK)**

Gilded silver earring with large spherical pendant  
decorated with granulation around protrusions,  
7th century  
Grave No. 232  
Registration No. 110; IASAS  
Dimensions: 5.7 × 2.8 cm  
Literature: Točík 1968



**▲ 42 Holiare (Komárno district, SK)**

Gilded silver earring with big spherically formed  
pendant decorated with granulation  
and protrusions, 7th century  
Grave No. 246  
Registration No. 112; IASAS  
Dimensions: 6.4 × 2.3 cm  
Literature: Točík 1968





◀ **43 Holiare (Komárno district, SK)**

Pair of gilded earrings with three glass pearls,  
8th century  
Grave No. 89  
Registration No. 105, 105a; IASAS  
Dimensions: 4.4 × 2.4 cm  
Literature: Točík 1968

▶ **44 Holiare (Komárno district, SK)**

Partly gilded silver earring with big hollow  
spherically formed pendant decorated with  
granulation around protrusions, 7th century  
Grave No. 86  
Registration No. 111; IASAS  
Dimensions: 6.4 × 2.5 cm  
Literature: Točík 1968



▲ **45 Holiare (Komárno district, SK)**

Silver crescent earring with star-shaped pendant,  
7th century  
Grave No. 33  
Registration No. 109; IASAS  
Dimensions: 7.2 × 4.5 cm  
Literature: Točík 1968



◀ **46 Nové Zámky (Nové Zámky district, SK)**

Bronze earring with glass pearls on lower  
and upper bow, 7th–8th century  
Grave No. 522/62  
Registration No. x009; IASAS  
Dimensions: 5.0 × 2.3 cm  
Literature: Chropovský 1985





▲ **47 Trnava (Zlín district)**

Hoard of cast bronze parts of probably complete belt of Avarian character, turn of 9th century – 1st quarter of 9th century  
 Stray find  
 No registration No.; MSEM  
 Literature: Galuška 2013



► **48 Dolní Dunajovice (Břeclav district)**

Late Avarian cast two-part bronze tongue-shaped strap end decorated with figural motifs in three squares, 8th century  
 Grave No. 7/48  
 Registration No. Pa 3/2014; MM  
 Dimensions: 12.5 × 3.5 cm  
 Literature: Klanica 1972



◀ **49 Praha – Dolní Liboc, Šárka  
(Prague district)**

Late Avarian cast tongue-shaped strap end featuring probably enthroned sovereign or deity, end of 8th – beginning of 9th century  
Stray find  
Registration No. H1-552145; NM-HM  
Dimensions: 4.5 × 2.3 cm  
Literature: Profantová 1992; 1999



▲ **50 Praha – Dolní Liboc, Šárka  
(Prague district)**

Late Avarian cast tongue-shaped strap end decorated with openwork, featuring two superimposed horsemen holding spears in their right hands, end of 8th – beginning of 9th century  
Stray find  
Registration No. H1-552146; NM-HM  
Dimensions: 7.0 × 2.3 cm  
Literature: Profantová 1992; 1999



◀ **51 Křenov – Mokřinky  
(Svitavy district)**

Late Avarian cast bronze tongue-shaped strap end decorated with openwork and motifs of flourishing tendrils, 8th–9th century  
Registration No. Pa 1/2015; MM  
Dimensions: 13.0 × 2.8 cm  
Literature: Kouřil 2010a





**▲ 52 Brno – Staré Zámky  
(Brno-City district)**

Late Avarian cast tongue-shaped strap end with floral decoration, 8th century  
Stray find  
No Registration No.; IAASB  
Dimensions: 3.0 × 1.4 cm  
Literature: unpublished



**▲ 53 Víceměřice (Prostějov district)**

Late Avarian cast gilded tricuspid fitting from horse harness halter, 8th century  
Stray find  
No Registration No.; IAASB  
Dimensions: 2.1 × 2.2 cm  
Literature: unpublished



1



2

**▲► 54 Olomouc – Povel, Zikova street (Olomouc district)**

Two cast bronze spurs with hooks and profiled spikes, 2nd half of 8th century  
Object No. 95/87 (1), area +20/+05 (2)  
Registration No. 2849 (1), 2850 (2); NHI-ROOL  
Dimensions: 8.6 × 8.2 cm (1); 10.9 × 7.8 cm (2)  
Literature: Bláha 2001a



◀ **55 Hradištko – Kersko  
(Nymburk district)**

Cast bronze spur with hooks and solid conical and angular spike with fine geometric decoration, 7th–8th century  
Stray find  
Registration No. H1-52967; NM-HM  
Dimensions: 7.0 × 6.8 cm  
Literature: Profantová 1994



2



1

◀▲ **56 Mikulčice – Valy  
(Hodonín district)**

Two cast bronze spurs with hooks, one with plastically structured arms, 8th – beginning of 9th century  
Settlement layer  
Registration No. 594-571/83 (1), 594-390/72 (2);  
IAASB  
Dimensions: 8.0 × 7.0 cm (1); 8.9 × 5.9 cm (2)  
Literature: Klanica 1986





**▲► 57 Brno – Staré Zámky  
(Brno-City district)**

Iron spurs with hooks, 8th – beginning  
of 9th century

Area B: L-VIII o.e. (1), A: S/T-VIII (2), M-o-III (3)

Registration No. 622/55 (1), 379/54 (2),  
900/54 (3); IAASB

Dimensions: 9.5 × 7.5 cm (1); 9.5 × 9.6 cm (2);

8.4 × 4.6 cm (3)

Literature: unpublished



▲ axe 15.3 × 11.5 cm

1

▼ sword 53.3 × 4.7 cm



2

▼ sword suspension fittings – buckle 5.8 × 3.7 cm (3); longer oval fitting 7.6 × 3.6 cm (4); shorter oval fitting 6.2 × 3.5 cm (5); trefoil fitting max. 10.0 × 3.7 cm (6)



3



4



5



6

### ▲► 58 Kolín (Kolín district)

This grave, accidentally discovered in 1864 is probably the most significant early medieval finding of a burial in the Czech Republic. On the bottom of the pit two burials heading west were found. Considering the offerings, they were a man and a woman. The man was equipped with an axe (1), a sword with fittings with a belt with a set of cast silver, partially gilded fittings decorated in Carolingian floral style (2–6), gilded copper spurs decorated with filigree and granulation and silver plating with suspension fittings (7–10) and ivory amulet in golden frame (11). The woman was decorated with glass beads (12–13) and metal jewelry: gilded silver globe earrings, metal pearls (14) and probably also gilded shrine, a kaptorga (15). The original placement of the other objects – buttons (16–20), glass vessels (21–22), fine-belt fittings (23–25), a bronze bowl and a bucket with metal fittings – cannot be ascertained precisely. The chalice laid between the skeletons (26). The goods from the Kolín double grave contains both the objects of West-European provenience and items connected with Great-Moravian cultural circle, most of which probably come from Czech environment, end of 8th – 1st half of 9th century

Registration No. H1-55103 (1), H1-55091 (2), H1-55087 – H1-55090 (3-6), H1-55093 (7), H1-55099 (8), H1-55097 (9), H1-55095 (10), H1-55104 (11), H1-55130 – H1-55131 (12-13), H1-55129 (14), H1-55133 (15), H1-55107 – H1-55108 (16-17), H1-55109 – H1-55110 (18-19), H1-55111 – H1-55112 (20), H1-55105 (21), H1-55106 (22), H1-55100 – H1-55102 (23-25), H1K-1738a (26); NM-HM  
Literature: Lutovský 1996; Košta – Lutovský 2014



▼ spur 15.3 × 8.1 cm

7



8



9



10

▲ spur suspension fittings – buckle 4.2 × 2.3 cm (8); loop 2.5 × 2.2 cm (9); strap end 4.1 × 2.0 cm (10)



11

▲ ivory amulet length 4.0 cm



12



13

▲ glass beads 2.5 × 1.6 cm (12); 2.3 × 1.5 cm (13)



14

▲ silver metal pearl decorated with granulation 2.5 × 1.7 cm





15

▲ gilded brass kaptorga decorated with filigree 5.1 × 4.7 cm



16



17

▲ pair of big gilded copper buttons with filigree decorations ø 3.3–3.5 cm



18



19

▲ pair of small gilded bronze buttons ø 1.9 cm



20

▲ gilded copper embossed button ø 2.6 cm



21

▲ glass bowl ø 16.3 cm; height 2.6 cm





22

◀ glass goblet decorated with fiberglass;  
height 7.0 cm, ø 7.5 cm



25



23

24

▲ strap fittings – loops 2.0 × 1.9 cm (23–24);  
strap end 3.8 × 1.5 cm (25)



26

▲ reconstruction of the original appearance of gilded  
silver chalice, reconstructed approximate height 16.0 cm



**▲ 59 Mikulčice – Valy  
(Hodonín district)**

Bucket with ironwork, lid and handle with  
bird-shaped decoration, 9th century  
Grave No. 380 in the nave of church No. 3  
Registration No. 594-2230/57; IAASB  
Dimensions: 30.8 × 17.6 cm  
Literature: Pouлік 1975



**▲ 60 Mikulčice – Klášteřísko  
(Hodonín district)**

Solid iron spear head with wings and angular  
socket, 1st half of 9th century  
Grave No. 1241  
Registration No. 594-1022/71; IAASB  
Dimensions: 49.1 × 3.8 cm  
Literature: Kouřil 2005





4



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▲► **61 Mikulčice – Valy  
(Hodonín district)**

Gold earrings – grape-shaped earring, basket earring  
and grape-shaped earring with pyramids; small bucket  
fitted with cross, 9th century

Grave No. 680

Registration No. 594-749/58 (1), 594-750/58 (2),  
594-751/58 (3), VM 725 (4); IAASB

Dimensions: earrings 1.2 × 2.2 cm (1); 1.6 × 2.3 cm (2);  
1.3 × 2.1 cm (3)

bucket 27.0 × 16.4 cm (4)

Literature: Poulík 1975; Kavánová 2011



▲ grape-shaped earrings 1.9 × 3.2 cm (3);  
1.8 × 3.2 cm (4)



▲ globe earrings 3.1 × 4.7 cm (1);  
3.0 × 4.9 cm (2)



▲ crescent-shaped earrings  
2.1 × 3.6 cm (5); 2.2 × 3.3 cm (6)



▲ buttons 2.2 × 2.1 cm (7); 2.1 × 1.6 cm (8)



► rings 3.0 × 2.3 cm (9);  
3.5 × 2.7 cm (10)



### ▲► 62 Staré Město – Na Valách (Uherské Hradiště district)

Pairs of gold earrings: 8-globe earrings (1–2),  
grape-shaped earrings (3–4), crescent-shaped  
earrings (5–6), buttons (7–8) and rings with  
buttons (9–10), 9th century  
Grave No. 193/51  
Registration No. 105681-105682 (1–2),  
105677-105678 (3–4), 105683-105684 (5–6),  
105679-105680 (7–8), 105685 (9–10); MM  
Literature: Hrubý 1955; Galuška 2013



▼► **63 Staré Město – Na Valách**  
**(Uherské Hradiště district)**

Spurs of Biskupia-Crkvina type with corresponding fittings, decorated with silver, copper and brass mosaic tausia, turn of 8th and 9th century  
 Grave No. 224/51

Registration No. SM-NV-224/51 A-K,  
 Pa 1263/72; MM

Dimensions: spur 20.1 × 12.5 cm (1)  
 buckle 5.3 × 5.6 cm (2)  
 buckle 5.5 × 4.7 cm (3)  
 buckle 5.6 × 5.2 cm (4)  
 strap end 3.7 × 5.7 cm (5)  
 belt loop 4.9 × 3.7 cm (6)  
 strap end 3.5 × 5.3 cm (7)  
 buckle 3.3 × 2.6 cm (8)

Literature: Galuška 1999





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▼► **64 Čakajovce (Nitra district, SK)**

Pairs of iron spurs with eyelets and suspension fittings, 9th century  
 Grave No. 788  
 Registration No. 788/1-2, 788/3, 5-8; IASAS  
 Dimensions: spurs 16.1 × 7.5 (1); 16.6 × 10.0 cm (2)  
 spur fittings 2.8 × 2.0 cm (3);  
 2.1 × 1.5 cm (4); 2.9 × 1.6 cm (5);  
 3.1 × 2.1 cm (6); 3.0 × 1.7 cm (7)  
 Literature: Rejholcová 1995



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2

▼ **65 Olomouc – Povel, Zikova street  
(Olomouc district)**

Silver omega-shaped brooch,  
turn of 7th and 8th century  
Object No. 4/86  
Registration No. 860; NHI-ROOL  
Dimensions: 3.6 × 3.8 cm  
Literature: Bláha 2001a



▲ **66 Olomouc – Povel, Zikova street  
(Olomouc district)**

Gold twisted earring with eyelet,  
turn of 7th and 8th century  
Layer 7  
Registration No. 2335; NHI-ROOL  
Dimensions: ø 1.5 cm; ø of wire 1.0 mm  
Literature: Bláha 2001a



► **67 Litenčice (Kroměříž district)**

Ironwork of small bucket with lid and bird-shaped  
handle, 9th century  
Grave No. 35/89  
Registration No. A 4074; KM  
Dimensions: 14.0 × 12.3 cm  
Literature: Chybová 1998





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**▲► 68 Olomouc – Povel, Zikova street (Olomouc district)**

Collection of so-called late Avarian cast bronze, 8th to beginning of 9th century  
Object No. 8/86 (1), 6/86 (2), 7/86 (3), 19/86 (4), 15/86 (5), 54/88 (6), 92/87 (7), 31/87 (8), 93/87 (9), 40/87 (10)

Registration No. 549 (1), 550 (2), 861 (3), 851 (4), 853 (5), 1045 (6), 2802 (7), 2828 (8), 2830 (9), 2832 (10); NHI-ROOL

Dimensions: fitting 3.2 × 3.0 cm (1)  
strap end 6.2 × 2.0 cm (2)  
strap end 2.9 × 1.4 cm (3)  
strap end 2.2 × 1.2 cm (4)  
fitting 3.1 × 1.8 cm (5)  
fitting 1.9 × 1.5 cm (6)  
fitting 2.2 × 2.5 cm (7)  
strap end 3.1 × 1.1 cm (8)  
strap end 1.7 × 1.0 cm (9)  
strap end 4.2 × 1.5 cm (10)

Literature: Bláha 2001a



9



10





▲ **69 Modrá u Velehradu  
(Uherské Hradiště district)**

Gilded bronze strap end decorated with chip-carved floral ornament, 9th century  
Grave No. 22/54  
Registration No. 106517; MM  
Dimensions: 4.1 × 2.5 cm  
Literature: Hrubý – Hochmanová – Pavelčík 1955;  
Galuška 2013



▲ **70 Hradec (Prievidza district, SK)**

Gilded bronze belt fitting decorated with chip-carved animal motifs, turn of 8th and 9th century  
Probe II  
Registration No. 0191k; IASAS  
Dimensions: 1.8 × 4.0 cm  
Literature: Bialeková – Pieta 1964



▲ **71 Pohansko – Lesní školka  
(Břeclav district)**

Bronze belt loop with elongated neck, decorated with floral ornament, 9th century  
Object No. 210  
Registration No. P 190302; IAM FA MU  
Dimensions: 8.6 × 3.1 cm  
Literature: Dostál 1993



▲ **72 Brno – Staré Zámky  
(Brno-City district)**

Gilded copper strap end decorated in so-called insular animal style, turn of 8th and 9th century  
Object No. 12  
Registration No. 01240-152/89; BCM  
Dimensions: 2.7 × 2.4 cm  
Literature: Himmelová 1993



◀ **73 Mikulčice – Valy  
(Hodonín district)**

Decorated turned bone needle case, 9th century  
From settlement layer  
Registration No. 594-120/67; IAASB  
Dimensions: 6.7 cm; ø 1.3 cm  
Literature: Kavánová 1995



▶ **74 Mikulčice – Valy  
(Hodonín district)**

Decorated turned bone needle case, 9th century  
Object No. XX/60  
Registration No. 594-1211/60; IAASB  
Dimensions: 8.4 cm; ø 1.0 cm  
Literature: Kavánová 1995



▲ **75 Mikulčice – Valy  
(Hodonín district)**

Decorated antler socket, 9th century  
From settlement layer  
Registration No. 594-271/80; IAASB  
Dimensions: 2.7 cm; ø 2.0–2.4 cm  
Literature: Kavánová 1995



▲ **76 Mikulčice – Valy (Hodonín district)**

Decorated antler socket, 9th century  
Object No. 65  
Registration No. 594-703/56; IAASB  
Dimensions: 5.1–5.2 cm; ø 2.4–2.6 cm  
Literature: Kavánová 1995



**▲ 77 Brno – Staré Zámky  
(Brno-City district)**

Decorated antler socket, 9th century  
Square F-VIII-b  
Registration No. 132/54; IAASB  
Dimensions: 2.5 cm; ø 2.0–2.5 cm  
Literature: unpublished



**▲ 78 Mikulčice – Valy  
(Hodonín district)**

Decorated hemispherical button or dice (?)  
made from antler, 9th century  
Grave No. 15 by church No. 6  
Registration No. 594-555/60; IAASB  
Dimensions: base ø 2.1 cm; height 0.7 cm  
Literature: Kavánová 1995



**▲ 79 Mikulčice – Valy  
(Hodonín district)**

Decorated antler object with perforation for hanging,  
probably of ritual purpose, 9th century  
Grave No. 314B by church No. 3  
Registration No. 594-3026/58; IAASB  
Dimensions: 11.4 cm; ø 0.1–1.3 cm  
Literature: Kavánová 1995



**► 80 Mikulčice – Valy  
(Hodonín district)**

Decorated hollow object made from antler,  
originally with bronze sleeves, 9th century  
Grave No. 314B by church No. 3  
Registration No. 594-3027/58; IAASB  
Dimensions: 9.5 cm; ø 2.1–2.7 cm  
Literature: Kavánová 1995





▲ **81 Mikulčice – Valy  
(Hodonín district)**

Decorated tricuspid case made from antler,  
9th century  
Square 12/+9  
Registration No. 594-324/89; IAASB  
Dimensions: 20.0 × 13.6 cm  
Literature: Kavánová 1995



▲ **82 Pohansko – Southern Suburb  
(Břeclav district)**

Decorated bicuspid case made from antler, 9th century  
Object No. 210  
Registration No. P 157130; IAM FA MU  
Dimensions: 9.5 cm; ø 3.0 cm  
Literature: Vignatiová 1979; 1992



▲ **83 Pohansko – Lesní školka  
(Břeclav district)**

Decorated bicuspid case made from antler, 9th century  
Object No. 38  
Registration No. P 112134; IAM FA MU  
Dimensions: 11.1 cm; ø 4.8 cm  
Literature: Dostál 1986





**▲ 84 Pohansko – Lesní školka  
(Břeclav district)**

Decorated bicuspid case made from antler,  
9th century  
Grave No. 25  
Registration No. P 168161; IAM FA MU  
Dimensions: 15.4 × 7.4 cm  
Literature: Dostál 1981



**▲ 85 Pohansko – Lesní školka  
(Břeclav district)**

Bone game pieces, so-called astragals, one piece  
contains lead inset, 9th century  
Object No. 263  
Registration No. P 203290/1-5; IAM FA MU  
Dimensions: approx. 3.0 × 1.5 × 1.3 cm  
Literature: Přichystalová 2000



**▲ 86 Drásov (Brno-Country district)**

Decorated two-side three-part comb decorated  
with rings, 9th century  
By graveyard wall  
Registration No. 5/708; MM  
Dimensions: 6.3 × 3.6 cm  
Literature: Hrubý 1957



**▲▶ 87 Staré Město – Rudý dům  
(Uherské Hradiště district)**

Weaving plates made from antler, 9th century  
Object No. Rd-65/52  
Registration No. Sa 9/2015; MM  
Dimensions: 3.0 × 3.0 cm; 3.2 × 3.2 cm  
Literature: Hrubý 1957

**▼ 88 Mikulčice – Valy  
(Hodonín district)**

Bone objects – so called “skates”, 9th century  
Object No. 516, square 6/+10  
Registration No. 594-4474/59, 594-5589/58  
Dimensions: length 25.0 cm, 25.3 cm  
Literature: Kavánová 1995



▼ **89 Mikulčice – Valy  
(Hodonín district)**

Iron fishing harpoon with three barbed prongs,  
9th century  
Probe LVI  
Registration No. 594-3214/78; IAASB  
Dimensions: length 29.3 cm  
Literature: Mazuch 2003



▲ **90 Mikulčice – Valy (Hodonín district)**

Iron fishing harpoon with two barbed prongs,  
9th century  
Object No. 745  
Registration No. 594-1162/69; IAASB  
Dimensions: length 14.4 cm  
Literature: Mazuch 2003

▼ **91 Bojná (Topolčany district, SK)**

Lead fishing-net weights, 9th century  
Unstratified  
Registration No. 430/2007, 1102/2007; IASAS  
Dimensions: 2.5 × 2.0 cm; 2.2 × 2.2 cm  
Literature: Harušíak 2010





► **92 Brno – Staré Zámky  
(Brno-City district)**

Two-part iron shackles from hoard of iron objects,  
9th century  
Square JJ-XI  
No registration No.; IAASB  
Dimensions: 19.0 × 14.5 cm  
Literature: Staňa 1961



◀ **93 Chotěbuz – Podobora  
(Karviná district)**

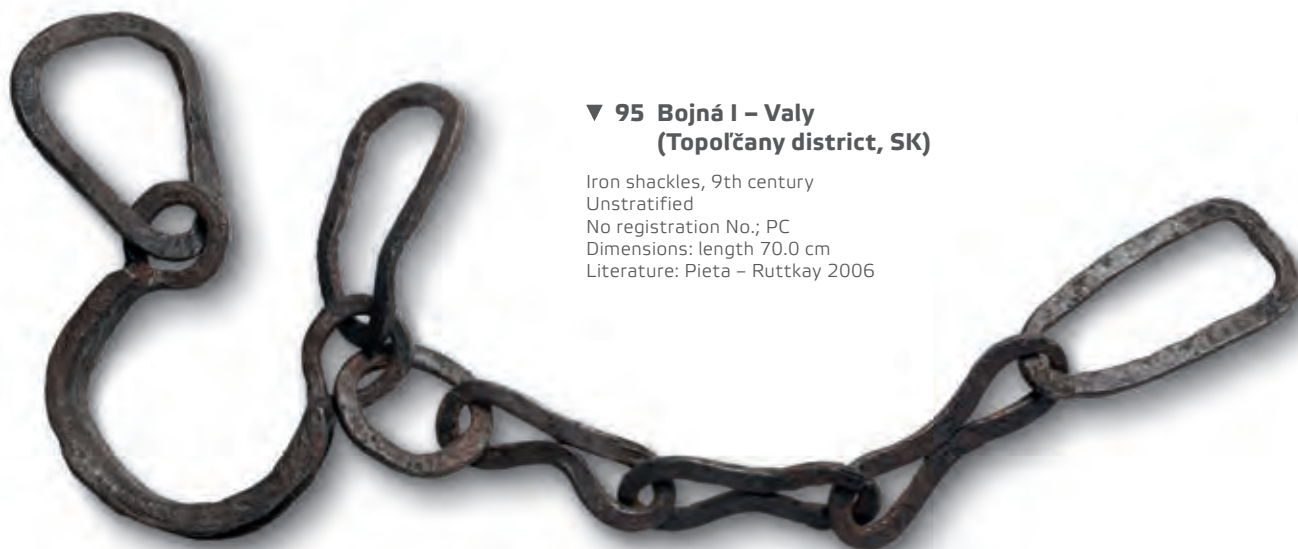
One-part iron shackles, 9th century  
Object No. 96  
Registration No. 2576/93; MT  
Dimensions: ø 9.5 cm; band width 3.5 cm  
Literature: Kouřil 1994

► **94 Bojná I – Valy  
(Topolčany district, SK)**

One-part iron shackles, 9th century  
Unstratified  
Registration No. 1101/2007; IASAS  
Dimensions: inner ø 14.9 cm; height 2.4 cm  
Literature: Henning – Ruttkay 2011







▼ **95 Bojná I – Valy**  
(Topoľčany district, SK)

Iron shackles, 9th century  
Unstratified  
No registration No.; PC  
Dimensions: length 70.0 cm  
Literature: Pieta – Ruttkay 2006

▼ **96 Pružina – Mesciská**  
(Považská Bystrica district, SK)

Hoard of iron objects, 9th century  
Unstratified  
Registration No. 1–96/2002; IASAS  
Literature: Ruttkay – Ruttkay – Šalkovský 2002





▲ 97 Klášťov (Zlín district)

Hoard of iron objects found in stronghold,  
9th century  
Access saddle into hillfort  
No registration No.; IAASB, MSEM  
Literature: unpublished

◀▼ 98 Mikulčice – Valy  
(Hodonín district)

Ceramic crucible for metal casting, 9th century  
Square 11/13  
Registration No. 594-278/63; IAASB  
Dimensions: height 4.7 cm; orifice 3.1 cm  
Literature: Klanica 1974







▲ **99 Vršatecké Podhradie  
(Ilava district, SK)**

Selection of smith's tools from hoard of iron objects, 9th century  
Unstratified  
Registration No. 609A-613A; MPŽ  
Dimensions: anvils 17.5 × 12.3 cm; 18.5 × 17.3 cm  
pliers length 42.0 cm  
hammer 10.6 × 4.2 cm  
wedge 20.1 × 4.8 cm  
Literature: Hollá – Furmánek 1970

► **100 Staré Město – Nad Haltýři  
(Uherské Hradiště district)**

Ceramic tuyere brick with opening for windbag tube, 9th century  
Object No. 39  
Registration No. Pa 42/74; MM  
Dimensions: 11.5 × 12.0 cm  
Literature: Galuška 1989



◀ **101 Mikulčice – Valy  
(Hodonín district)**

Iron axe, 9th century  
Object No. 633 bottom of ditch  
Registration No. 594-477/66; IAASB  
Dimensions: length 13.4 cm  
Literature: unpublished





▲ **102 Mikulčice – Jižní předhradí**  
(Hodonín district)

Iron axe, 9th century  
From surface layer  
Registration No. 594-445/72; IAASB  
Dimensions: length 21.9 cm  
Literature: unpublished



▲ **103 Bojná I – Valy**  
(Topolčany district, SK)

Iron axe, 9th century  
Unstratified  
Registration No. 203/2005; IASAS  
Dimensions: length 12.0 cm  
Literature: Pieta – Ruttkay 2006

▼ **104 Hradec nad Moravicí**  
(Opava district)

Iron axe, 9th century  
Grave No. 1  
Registration No. 10/99-3509; NHI-ROOS  
Dimensions: length 19.2 cm  
Literature: Kouřil 2004



► **105 Staré Město – Na Valách**  
(Uherské Hradiště district)

Iron axe, 9th century  
Grave No. 223/51  
Registration No. Pa 1262/72; MM  
Dimensions: length 18.8 cm  
Literature: Hrubý 1955







◀ **106 Olomouc – Slavonín  
(Olomouc district)**

Iron spear, 9th century  
Grave No. 14  
Registration No. 101728; RMO  
Dimensions: length 48.0 cm  
Literature: Kouřil 2001c



◀ **107 Olomouc – Slavonín  
(Olomouc district)**

Iron spade, 9th century  
Grave No. 83  
Registration No. 101779; RMO  
Dimensions: length 14.0 cm  
Literature: Kouřil 2005



▶ **108 Dolný Peter  
(Komárno district, SK)**

Iron spade, 9th century  
Grave No. 64  
Registration No. 28; IASAS  
Dimensions: length 36.8 cm  
Literature: Husár 2014



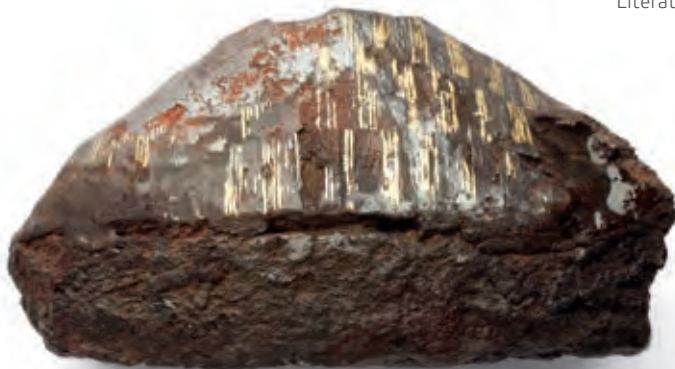
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**▲▼► 109 Mikulčice – Valy,  
Mikulčice – Kostelisko  
(Hodonín district)**

N-type sword and fragments of iron swords  
decorated with tausia, 9th century  
Grave No. 723 (1), Valy – to the north-west from  
so-called palace  
Grave No. 265 (4), Valy – from interior of church  
No. 2  
Grave No. 1750 (2-3), Kostelisko  
No registration No.; IAASB  
Dimensions: sword – length 101.1 cm  
Literature: Košta 2005



◀ **110 Vranovice**  
(Brno-Country district)

Y-type iron sword, 9th century  
Disturbed graveyard  
Registration No. Pa 2/2015; MM  
Dimensions: length 86.0 cm  
Literature: Galuška 2000b



▶ **111 Staré Město – Na Valách**  
(Uherské Hradiště district)

H-type iron sword richly decorated with tausia,  
9th century  
Grave No. 223/51  
Registration No. Pa 1262/72; MM  
Dimensions: length 88.5 cm  
Literature: Hrubý 1955





▲ 112 Bojná I – Valy  
(Topolčany district, SK)

Fragments of iron and brass helmet chain-mail,  
9th century  
Unstratified  
No registration No.; IASAS  
Dimensions: ø of ring 0.9 cm  
Literature: unpublished



▲ 113 Bojná I – Valy  
(Topolčany district, SK)

Silver fitting for end-part of sword scabbard  
decorated with silver tausia and niello, 9th century  
Unstratified  
Registration No. 197/2010; IASAS  
Dimensions: 8.8 × 4.5 cm  
Literature: unpublished

▼ 114 Bojná I – Valy  
(Topolčany district, SK)

Part of trefoil fitting decorated with tausia,  
9th century  
Unstratified  
Registration No. 194/2004; IASAS  
Dimensions: 7.2 × 2.5 cm  
Literature: Pieta – Ruttkay 2006







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◀▲ 115 Brno – Staré Zámky  
(Brno-City district)

Iron spurs with plates, 9th century  
Square A (EF) IX  
Registration No. 1095/54 (1), 1226/54 (2); IAASB  
Dimensions: length 12.4 cm (1); length 11.8 cm (2)  
Literature: unpublished



▲ **116 Pohansko – Southern Suburb  
(Břeclav district)**

Iron stirrup, 9th century  
Object No. 412  
Registration No. P 172326; IAM FA MU  
Dimensions: 18.0 × 9.6 cm  
Literature: Vignatiová 1992

▼ **117 Pohansko – Southern Suburb  
(Břeclav district)**

Iron stirrups, 9th century  
Object No. 77  
Registration No. P 133875a-b; IAM FA MU  
Dimensions: 16.6 × 10.5 cm  
Literature: Vignatiová 1992



▲ **118 Chotěbuz – Podobora  
(Karviná district)**

Iron two-part bit, 9th century  
Probe S 23  
Registration No. 05296-2917/94; MT  
Dimensions: 28.5 × 10.0 cm  
Literature: Kouřil 1997



◀ **119 Klášťov (Zlín district)**

Iron two-part bit with sidepieces,  
9th century  
Hoard of iron objects  
No registration No.; IAASB  
Dimensions: 16.0 × 14.0 cm  
Literature: unpublished

▶ **120 Staré Město – Na Valách  
(Uherské Hradiště district)**

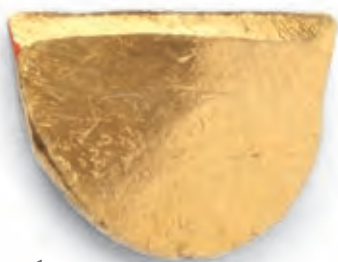
Fragment of ring-casting mould, which originally  
had two parts, 9th century  
Ditch II, layer III  
Registration No. Sa 8/2015; MM  
Dimensions: 10.3 × 6.5 cm  
Literature: Galuška 2013



◀ **121 Staré Město – Na Dvorku  
(Uherské Hradiště district)**

Antler jeweller's embossing plate with round holes  
and grooves, 9th century  
Object No. XIII/97-09  
Registration No. Sa 7/2015; MM  
Dimensions: 21.6 × 14.2 cm  
Literature: Galuška 2013





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▲► **122 Mikulčice – Valy**  
(Hodonín district)

Gold semi-finished products, 9th century  
Graves No. 380 (1) – church nave, 438 (2), 683 (3),  
589 (4), 727 (5) from church No. 3  
Registration No. 594-607/57 (1), 594-861/57 (2),  
594-1212/58 (3), 594-3015/57 (4), 594-3016/58 (5);  
IAASB  
Dimensions: 1.1 × 0.8 cm (1); 1.5 × 0.6 cm (2);  
ø 0.5 cm (3); 1.0 × 0.2 cm (4); 0.2 × 0.2 cm (5)  
Literature: Kouřil – Poláček 2013



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► **123 Staré Město – Na Valách**  
(Uherské Hradiště district)

Gold semi-finished products, 9th century  
Graves No. 23/48 (1), 189/51 (2), 277/51 (3)  
Registration No. 105613 (1), 105673 (2),  
105691 (3); MM  
Dimensions: 1.6 × 0.7 cm (1), 0.9 × 0.6 × 0.3 cm (2),  
1.8 × 1.7 cm (3)  
Literature: Galuška 2013



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◀ grape-shaped earrings 1.9 × 1.2 cm



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▼ buttons 2.8 × 2.1 cm

**▲▼▶ 124 Staré Město – Na Valách  
(Uherské Hradiště district)**

Four large gold 9-basket earrings (1–4), six small gold grape-shaped earrings (5–10) and two massive gold buttons decorated with granulation (11–12), 9th century  
Grave No. 282/49  
Registration No. 105633–105644; MM  
Literature: Hrubý 1955; Galuška 2013



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▼ basket earrings 5.0 × 2.1 cm



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▲▼ ribbed buttons 2.1 × 2.1 cm

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▲▼ granulated buttons 2.3 × 1.7 cm

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▼ ring height 3.0 cm; button ø 1.9 cm



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▲▼ necklace length 84.6 cm

▲▶ 125 Uherské Hradiště – Sady (Uherské Hradiště district)

Glass bead necklace with *Bolinus brandaris* shell, topaz and amber (1), massive gold ring with flat button decorated with granulation (2), pair of gilded vertically ribbed buttons (3), pair of silver buttons decorated with granulation (4), two pairs of gold and bronze crescent-shaped earrings (7–8), pair of big gold 10-globe earrings decorated with granulation (6) and pair of gold grape-shaped earrings with pearls (5), 9th century Grave No. 209/59

Registration No. 106566 (1), 106538 (2), 106533-106534 (3), 106535-106536 (4), 105707-105708 (5), 106529-106530 (6), 106527-106528 (7), 105705-105706 (8); MM Literature: Galuška 1996; 2013





5



◀ grape-shaped earrings 1.4 × 3.0 cm;  
1.4 × 3.2 cm



6

▲ globe earrings 2.6 × 6.5 cm; 3.0 × 6.9 cm



7



▲ bronze crescent-shaped earrings 2.4 × 3.1 cm;  
2.2 × 2.9 cm



▶ gold crescent-shaped earrings  
2.6 × 3.8 cm; 2.3 × 3.4 cm



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### ▲► 126 Stará Kouřim (Kolín district)

Silver gilded belt fittings with geometric floral decoration – strap end (1), iron spurs plated with gilded silver plates with wrought decoration (5), spur fittings (3–4) and iron silver-plated axe (6), 9th century Grave No. 120

Registration No. H1-96691 (1), H1-96688 (2), H1-96686 (3), H1-96684 (4), H1-96692 (5), H1-96694 (6); NM-HM

Dimensions: silver gilded belt fittings  
 3.8 × 1.8 cm (1); 5.3 × 2.9 cm (2)  
 spur fittings 4.1 × 2.9 cm (3);  
 4.6 × 4.3 cm (4)  
 spur length 17.0 cm (5)  
 axe 12.0 × 6.0 cm (6)

Literature: Solle 1966





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### ▲► 127 Stará Kouřim (Kolín district)

Two arch-like pendants made from animal teeth decorated with gilded copper plates (1-2), two gold beads decorated with granulation and filigree (3-4), gilded bead with filigree (5), two grape-shaped earrings with knots (6-7) and four silver trefoil beads (8-11), 9th century Grave No. 49b

Registration No. H1-118564 - H1-118565 (1-2), H1-118566 - H1-118567 (3-4), H1-118568 (5), H1-118576 - H1-118577 (6-7), H1-118571 - H1-118574 (8-11); NM-HM

Dimensions: pendants length 5.5 cm; ø 1.2 and 1.5 × 1.0 cm (1-2) gold beads 1.9 × 1.1 cm (3-4) gilded bead 2.7 × 1.9 cm (5) grape-shaped earrings 3.1-3.2 × 1.5 cm (6-7) silver beads 1.1-1.3 × 1.3-1.5 cm (8-11)

Literature: Solle 1966



▲ **128 Staré Město – Špitálky  
(Uherské Hradiště district)**

Silver round plaque with pressed and wrought decoration depicting horserider – so-called “falconer”, 9th century  
Grave No. 15 church narthex  
Registration No. Sa 1/2015; MM  
Dimensions: ø 4.4 cm  
Literature: Poulík 1955; Benda 1963

▼ **129 Mikulčice – Klášteřísko  
(Hodonín district)**

Gilded bronze plaque featuring face of man – “nobleman”, 9th century  
Grave No. 974  
Registration No. 594-711/68; IAASB  
Dimensions: ø 4.2 cm  
Literature: Klanica 1985a



▼ **130 Mikulčice – Valy  
(Hodonín district)**

Gold solidus of Emperor Michael III (840–867),  
9th century  
Grave No. 480 by church No. 3  
Registration No. 594-1000/57; IAASB  
Dimensions: ø 2.1 cm  
Literature: Kučerovská 1998; Kavánová – Šmerda 2010







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▲► 131 Mikulčice – Valy (Hodonín district)

Antler game pieces with engraved decoration, 9th century

Grave No. 251 by church No. 3 (1), sq. P7 (2), sq. 23/3 (3), sq. -Q3 (4), sq. -Q3 (5), church No. 5 – sq. 40/19 (6), sq. 28/6 (7)

Registration No. 594-1656/56 (1), 594-350/83 (2), 594-365/71 (3), 594-305/63 (4), 594-2041/64 (5), 594-10045/60 (6), 594-1205/58 (7); IAASB

Dimensions: ø 4.2 cm (1); 2.5 cm (2), 2.7 cm (3); 3.3 cm (4); 2.9 cm (5); 3.5 cm (6); 4.0 cm (7)

Literature: Kaván 1975; Kavánová 1995



◀ **132 Brno – Staré Zámky  
(Brno-City district)**

Game piece made of antler, 9th century  
Square F-IX-b  
Registration No. 328/54; IAASB  
Dimensions: ø 3.3 cm  
Literature: Hrubý 1957; Kaván 1975

▶ **133 Olomouc – Václavské square  
(Olomouc district)**

Game piece made of antler, 9th century  
Registration No. 01/00-D1-2181/4; NHI-ROOL  
Dimensions: ø 3.0 cm  
Literature: unpublished



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◀ **134 Staré Město – Na Valách  
(Uherské Hradiště district)**

Gold rings with buttons decorated with granulation, 9th century  
Grave No. 24/48  
Registration No. 105622–105623; MM  
Dimensions: height 2.2 cm; button ø 1.7 cm (1)  
height 2.5 cm; button ø 2.0 cm (2)  
Literature: Hrubý 1955; Galuška 2013

▶ **135 Rajhrad (Brno-Country district)**

Gold ring with button decorated with granulation,  
9th century  
Grave No. 70  
Registration No. 901-37/72; IAASB  
Dimensions: height 2.9 cm; button ø 2.2 cm  
Literature: Staňa 2006







◀ **136 Mikulčice – Valy**  
(Hodonín district)

Silver ring with button decorated with granulation,  
9th century  
Grave No. 1451  
Registration No. 594-3267/78; IAASB  
Dimensions: height 2.0 cm; button ø 1.7 cm  
Literature: Kavánová 2003



▼ **138 Předmostí – Chromečkova zahrada**  
(Přerov district)

Gilded silver ring with button decorated with granulation, 9th century  
Destroyed cemetery  
Registration No. 45524; RMO  
Dimensions: height 3.0 cm; button ø 1.5 cm  
Literature: Dostál 1966



▲ **137 Mikulčice – Valy**  
(Hodonín district)

Silver ring with button decorated with granulation,  
9th century  
Grave No. 454  
Registration No. 594-864a/57; IAASB  
Dimensions: height 2.6 cm; ø 2.1 cm  
Literature: unpublished

► **139 Staré Město – Na Valách**  
(Uherské Hradiště district)

Two silver rings with buttons decorated with filigree wires and blue glass, 9th century  
Grave No. 251/49  
Registration No. 106245–106246; MM  
Dimensions: height 2.4 cm; button ø 1.8 cm (1);  
button ø 1.5 cm (2)  
Literature: Hrubý 1955; Galuška 2013



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▼ **141 Pohansko – Ducal Manor  
(Břeclav district)**

Silver ring with button decorated with glass inlays and granulation, 9th century  
Grave No. 242  
Registration No. P 12563; IAM FA MU  
Dimensions: height 2.7 cm; button ø 1.7 cm  
Literature: Kalousek 1971

▲ **140 Mikulčice – Valy  
(Hodonín district)**

Silver ring with button decorated with glass and granulation, 9th century  
Grave No. 322 by church No. 3  
Registration No. 594-99/57; IAASB  
Dimensions: height 3.1 cm; button ø 2.2 cm  
Literature: Pouлік 1975



◀ **142 Mikulčice – Valy  
(Hodonín district)**

Gilded silver ring with button decorated with filigree, granulation and glass inlays, 9th century  
Grave No. 470 by church No. 3  
Registration No. 594-873/57; IAASB  
Dimensions: height 2.8 cm; button ø 2.3 cm  
Literature: Pouлік 1975

▶ **143 Pohansko – Ducal Manor  
(Břeclav district)**

Silver ring with button and almandine inlay decorated with granulation and filigree, 9th century  
Grave No. 43  
Registration No. P 508; IAM FA MU  
Dimensions: height 2.3 cm; button ø 1.8 cm  
Literature: Kalousek 1971





◀ **144 Pohansko – Ducal Manor  
(Břeclav district)**

Massive gilded bronze ring with floral motif and blue glass inlay, 9th century  
Grave No. 158  
Registration No. P 1729; IAM FA MU  
Dimensions: height 2.7 cm; ø 2.0 cm  
Literature: Kalousek 1971

▶ **145 Rajhrad (Brno-Country district)**

Gold ring with plate decorated with engraved cross, 9th century  
Grave No. 70  
Registration No. 901-38/72; IAASB  
Dimensions: height 2.2 cm; plate 1.6 × 0.7 cm  
Literature: Staňa 2006



◀ **146 Mikulčice – Kostelisko  
(Hodonín district)**

Copper ring with simple plate, 9th century  
Grave No. 1740  
Registration No. 594-2923/86; IAASB  
Dimensions: height 2.4 cm; plate 1.5 × 1.0 cm  
Literature: unpublished







▲ 147 Mikulčice – Valy (Hodonín district)

Fragments of conical cup made from greenish glass, 9th century  
 Grave No. 398 by church No. 3  
 Registration No. 594-1362/57; IAASB  
 Dimensions: reconstructed height approx. 15.4 cm; reconstructed mouth ø approx. 8.5 cm  
 Literature: Himmelová 1995



▲ 148 Mikulčice – Valy (Hodonín district)

Fragment of lamp stand made from greenish glass, 9th century  
 Square 46/15  
 Registration No. 594-159/79; IAASB  
 Dimensions: height 4.3 cm; ø 1.3 cm  
 Literature: Himmelová 1995



▲ 149 Bojná I – Valy (Topolčany district, SK)

Part of so-called smoother made from amber-coloured glass, 9th century  
 Object No. 7  
 Registration No. 476/2009; IASASB  
 Dimensions: 8.6 × 3.0 cm  
 Literature: Galuška et al. 2012





◀ **150 Litenčice (Kroměříž district)**

Necklace from Tertiary shells (Pirenella),  
9th century  
Grave No. 7/91  
Registration No. A 4775; KM  
Dimensions: length 12.2 cm  
Literature: Chybová 1992; 1992a

▼ **151 Litenčice (Kroměříž district)**

Necklace with small glass beads, large amber bead  
and bronze pendants, 9th century  
Grave No. 10/89  
Registration No. A 4070; KM  
Dimensions: length 10.9 cm; pendant 4.0 × 3.3 cm  
Literature: Chybová 1992; 1992a



▲ **152 Čakajovce (Nitra district, SK)**

Necklace with glass beads and bronze crescent,  
9th-10th century  
Grave No. 226  
Registration No. AU 0058; IASAS  
Dimensions: length 42.6 cm; pendant 2.3 × 3.5 cm  
Literature: Rejholcová 1995

◀ **153 Nitra – Lupka  
(Nitra district, SK)**

Necklace with glass beads and bronze crescent,  
9th century  
Grave No. 43  
Registration No. 0000\_057; IASAS  
Dimensions: length 73.3 cm; pendant 4.2 × 2.7 cm  
Literature: Chropovský 1962



▶ **154 Dolní Věstonice – Písky  
(Břeclav district)**

Necklace with glass beads and bronze crescent,  
9th century  
Grave No. 45/46  
Registration No. 28/47; IAASB  
Dimensions: length 31.0 cm; pendant 3.0 × 4.3 cm  
Literature: Poulík 1948–1950





► **155 Mikulčice – Valy**  
(Hodonín district)

Necklace with glass beads and bronze crescent,  
9th century  
Grave No. 1 by church No. 2  
Registration No. 594-4427/57; IAASB  
Dimensions: length 43.0 cm; pendant 3.8 × 2.7 cm  
Literature: Poulik 1957



◀ **156 Staré Město**  
(Uherské Hradiště district)

Necklace with 14 large gilded bronze-sheet beads  
decorated with granulation, 9th century  
Grave No. 25/48  
Registration No. 106177–106190; MM  
Dimensions: length 28.9 cm; beads 2.0 × 1.2 cm  
Literature: Hrubý 1955; Galuška 2013



► **157 Ducové (Piešťany district, SK)**

Necklace with glass, amethyst and silver filigree beads, 9th century  
Grave No. 533  
Registration No. 151k; IASAS  
Dimensions: length 28.3 cm; ø silver beads 1.5 cm  
Literature: Ruttkay 1979



◀ **158 Staré Město – Na Valách (Uherské Hradiště district)**

Silver two-part kaptorga with eyelet decorated with filigree, 9th century  
Grave No. 167/51  
Registration No. 106055; MM  
Dimensions: 4.2 × 1.1 cm (0.8 cm)  
Literature: Hrubý 1955



◀ **159 Staré Město – Na Valách (Uherské Hradiště district)**

Silver crescent with eyelet decorated with bossing and granulation, 9th century  
Grave No. 196/51  
Registration No. 106083; MM  
Dimensions: 6.6 × 3.5 cm  
Literature: Hrubý 1955; Galuška 2013



► **160 Dolní Věstonice – Písky  
(Břeclav district)**

Silver crescent with loop, decorated with bossing  
and false granulation, 9th century  
Grave No. 321/48  
Registration No. 65/48; IAASB  
Dimensions: 8.9 × 5.6 cm  
Literature: Pouлік 1948–1950



▼ **162 Mikulčice – Valy (Hodonín district)**

Small gold crescent with eyelet decorated  
with granulation, 9th century  
Grave No. 550 by church No. 3  
Registration No. 594-1424/57; IAASB  
Dimensions: 2.6 × 2.0 cm  
Literature: Pouлік 1967; 1985



▲ **161 Mikulčice – Valy  
(Hodonín district)**

Large silver bead with bosses and strips  
of granulation, 9th century  
Grave No. 550 by church No. 3  
Registration No. 594-1425/57; IAASB  
Dimensions: 2.2 × 1.8 cm  
Literature: unpublished

► **163 Mikulčice – Valy  
(Hodonín district)**

Gold pendant with pearls and glass imitation  
of almandine, 9th century  
Grave No.: 554 by church No. 3  
Registration No. 594-2/57; IAASB  
Dimensions: 3.3 × 1.9 cm  
Literature: Mrázek 2000



▼► 164 Mikulčice – Valy  
(Hodonín district)

Gilded copper spurs with fittings, decorated  
with mask-like motifs, 9th century

Grave No. 44 by church No. 2

Registration No. 594-4438/57, 594-4439/57 (1),  
594-4437/57 (2), 594-4432/57 (3), 594-4436/57 (4),  
594-4433/57 (5); IAASB

Dimensions: spur length 12.3 cm (1)  
buckle with loop 4.1 × 2.3 cm (2)  
strap end 2.7 × 2.1 cm (3)  
buckle with loop 4.7 × 2.7 cm (4)  
strap end 2.8 × 2.2 cm (5)

Literature: Poulik 1957; Kavánová 1976







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▲► **165 Mikulčice – Těšické  
(Hodonín district)**

Iron spurs with fittings decorated with silver  
tausia, 9th century  
Grave No. 100 by church No. 6  
Registration No. 594-645/60 (1), 594-647/60 (2),  
594-649/60 (3), 594-648/60 (4-5); IAASB  
Dimensions: spur length 11.5 cm (1)  
buckle with loop 3.5 × 2.7 cm (2)  
strap end 2.9 × 1.6 cm (3)  
loop 2.5 × 1.6 cm (4)  
buckle 2.1 × 2.5 cm (5)

Literature: Poulík 1963; Profantová 2003



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◀▼ **166 Mikulčice – Valy**  
(Hodonín district)

Iron spurs with fitting decorated with silver tausia,  
9th century

Grave No. 437 by church No. 3  
Registration No. 594-1127a-b/57 (1),  
594-1128a-b/57 (2-3); IAASB

Dimensions: spur length 9.5 cm (1)  
buckle 2.7 × 2.1 cm (2)  
loop 1.9 × 1.2 cm (3)

Literature: Poulík 1975







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◀▲▼ 167 Mikulčice – Valy  
(Hodonín district)

Bronze spurs decorated with raised decoration,  
9th century  
Grave No. 433 by church No. 3  
Registration No. 594-792a-b/57 (1),  
594-793a-b/57 (2-3), 594-793d-f/57 (4); IAASB  
Dimensions: spur length 12.9 cm (1)  
buckle with loop 3.7 × 3.5 cm (2);  
2.0 × 2.7 cm (3)  
bird-shaped fitting 2.2 × 0.9 cm (4)  
Literature: unpublished



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◀▲▼ **168 Mikulčice – Těšické**  
(Hodonín district)

Gilded bronze spurs with fittings, decorated with raised floral decoration, 9th century  
Grave No. 50 by church No. 6  
Registration No. 594-579/60–594-580/60 (1), 594-581/60 (2), 594-582/60 (3); IAASB  
Dimensions: spur length 11.9 cm (1)  
buckle with loop 3.6 × 2.6 cm (2)  
bird-shaped fitting 2.5 × 1.8 cm (3)  
Literature: Poulík 1963; Profantová 2003



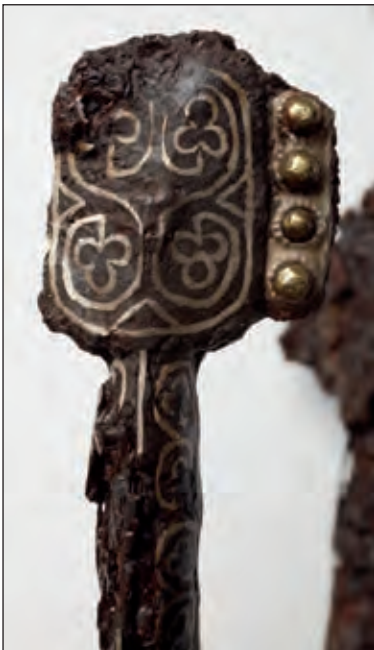


◀ **169 Bojná (Topolčany district, SK)**

Iron spur decorated with gold tausia, 9th century  
Unstratified  
Registration No. 213/2005; IASAS  
Dimensions: length 10.8 cm  
Literature: Janošík – Pieta 2007

▼▶ **170 Ducové (Piešťany district, SK)**

Iron spur decorated with silver tausia, 9th century  
Grave No. 1205  
Registration No. 0000\_053; IASAS  
Dimensions: length 16.5 cm  
Literature: Ruttkay 1998







▲► **171 Prostějov – Bělecký mlýn?  
(Prostějov district)**

Pair of iron stirrups decorated with openwork,  
9th/10th century  
Stray find  
Registration No. 150490 – 150491; MGP  
Dimensions: 18.5 × 13.3 cm  
Literature: Šlězár 2013b





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**▲▼▶ 172 Pohansko – Ducal Manor  
(Břeclav district)**

Gilded bronze buckle, strap end with engraved  
mask-like motif and bird-shaped fitting, 9th century  
Grave No. 13

Registration No. P 147 (1), P 149 (2), P 148 (3);  
IAM FA MU

Dimensions: buckle 4.3 × 4.3 cm (1)  
strap end 3.8 × 2.6 cm (2)  
bird-shaped fitting 2.2 × 1.6 cm (3)

Literature: Kalousek 1971



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**▲ 173 Mikulčice – Valy  
(Hodonín district)**

Iron strap end with loop, decorated with silver  
tausia, 9th century  
Grave No. 553 by church No. 3  
Registration No. 594-3009/57 (1),  
594-3010/57 (2); IAASB  
Dimensions: strap end 5.7 × 3.7 cm (1)  
loop 5.7 × 4.2 cm (2)  
Literature: unpublished



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**▲► 174 Mikulčice – Těšické  
(Hodonín district)**

Bronze buckle and bronze strap end, 9th century  
Grave No. 70 by church No. 6  
Registration No. 594-609/60 (1), 594-608/60 (2);  
IAASB  
Dimensions: buckle 3.5 × 3.0 cm (1)  
strap end 3.3 × 2.1 cm (2)  
Literature: Poulik 1963; Profantová 2003



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◀▼ **175 Mikulčice – Valy  
(Hodonín district)**

Belt buckle and strap end decorated  
with chip-carving and engraved figure on reverse  
of strap end, 9th century  
Grave No. 248 by church No. 3  
Registration No. 594-1311/56 (1), 594-1344/56 (2);  
IAASB  
Dimensions: buckle 5.6 × 5.7 cm (1)  
strap end 5.3 × 3.4 cm (2)  
Literature: Poulik 1975



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◀▲▼ 176 Mikulčice – Valy  
(Hodonín district)

Silver buckle trim, silver strap end and bronze bird-shaped belt fittings (3 pieces); reverse of strap end featuring orant, glass inlays and classical engraved cameo featuring Mercury on front, 9th century

Grave No. 390 by church No. 3

Registration No. 594-776/57 (1), 594-777/57 (2), 594-780a-c/57 (3); IAASB

Dimensions: buckle 6.3 × 3.5 cm (1)

strap end 7.2 × 4.2 cm (2)

bird-shaped fitting 2.1 × 2.7 cm (3)

Literature: Poulík 1975; Ungerman 2001;

Kavánová – Gagetti 2011



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◀▲▼ 177 Mikulčice – Valy  
(Hodonín district)

Gilded bronze buckle trim, gilded bronze strap end decorated with chip-carving and two bird-shaped fittings, 9th century

Grave No. 360 by church No. 3

Registration No. 594-343a-c/57 (1-3); IAASB

Dimensions: buckle 3.7 × 3.2 cm (1)

strap end 3.4 × 2.3 cm (2)

bird-shaped fitting 1.8 × 0.6 cm (3)

Literature: Poulík 1985



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▲► 178 Mikulčice – Těšické  
(Hodonín district)

Gilded bronze buckle trim, bronze strap end decorated with chip-carving and two bird-shaped bronze fittings, 9th century  
Grave No. 50 by church No. 6  
Registration No. 594-583/60–594-586/60; IAASB  
Dimensions: buckle 3.6 × 2.6 cm (1)  
strap end 3.0 × 2.1 cm (2)  
bird-shaped fitting 2.3 × 2.7 cm (3);  
2.2 × 2.5 cm (4)

Literature: Pouлік 1963; Profantová 2003



▼► 179 Mikulčice – Valy  
(Hodonín district)

Two silver strap ends, smaller with inlaid cameo featuring Feidias, larger with plastic ornament decorated with filigree on front and carved floral ornament on reverse, 9th century  
Grave No. 433 by church No. 3  
Registration No. 594-791/57 (1), 594-790/57 (2);  
IAASB  
Dimensions: strap end with cameo 2.3 × 1.5 cm (1)  
                  large strap end 6.6 × 3.9 cm (2)  
Literature: Poulik 1975



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◀▼ **180 Mikulčice – Valy (Hodonín district)**

Silver buckle trim, gilded silver strap end with engraving of orant on reverse, three bird-shaped fittings and three round fittings, 9th century Grave No. 100 by church No. 2  
 Registration No. 594-4462/57 (1), 594-4463/57 (2), 594-4527/57 – 594-4529/57 (3), 594-4458/57 – 594-4459/57 (4); IAASB  
 Dimensions: buckle 4.7 × 4.4 cm (1)  
                   strap end 5.1 × 3.2 cm (2)  
                   boss fitting 2.0 × 1.5 cm (3)  
                   bird-shaped fitting 1.8 × 1.6 cm (4)  
 Literature: Poulík 1957; Profantová 2003



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▲► **181 Mikulčice – Valy (Hodonín district)**

Silver strap end with carving of lily cross, silver buckle decorated with chip carving, silver loop with carved gilded cross and iron seax with gilded pommel, 9th century

Grave No. 580 in nave of church No. 3  
 Registration No. 594-3002a/57 (1), 594-1617/57 (2),  
 594-3002b/57 (3), 594-2980/57 (4); IAASB

Dimensions: buckle 2.6 × 1.8 cm (1)  
 loop 2.1 × 1.7 cm (2)  
 strap end 2.4 × 1.7 cm (3)  
 seax 42.2 × 4.7 cm (4)

Literature: Klanica 2002

▼► **182 Staré Město – Na Valách**  
(Uherské Hradiště district)

Gilded silver strap end decorated with filigree, granulation and 12 symmetrically placed stones, 9th century  
Grave No. 96/AZ  
Registration No. SM 262; MMSUH  
Dimensions: 8.2 × 5.4 cm  
Literature: Hrubý 1955





► **183 Staré Město – Na Valách**  
(Uherské Hradiště district)

Gilded bronze belt loop decorated with chip-carving,  
9th century  
Grave No. 114-115/51  
Registration No. 106021; MM  
Dimensions: 2.6 × 2.1 cm  
Literature: Hrubý 1955



▲ **184 Staré Město – Na Valách**  
(Uherské Hradiště district)

Silver strap end with copper cruciform tasia,  
9th century  
Grave No. 126/49  
Registration No. 105844; MM  
Dimensions: 3.8 × 2.8 cm  
Literature: Hrubý 1955

► **185 Staré Město – Na Valách**  
(Uherské Hradiště district)

Gilded bronze strap end decorated with floral  
ornament, 9th century  
Grave No. 190/50  
Registration No. 105974; MM  
Dimensions: 4.0 × 2.4 cm  
Literature: Hrubý 1955





▲► 186 Bojná (Topoľčany district, SK)

Gilded iron and bronze belt fittings and loops (strap end No. 5 made from lead), 9th century  
Unstratified

Registration No. 29/2005 (1), 216/2005 (2),  
809/2007 (3), 133/2007 (4), 208/2007 (5),  
621a,c/2010 (6), 157/2010 (7) ; IASAS,  
no registration No. (8); PC

Dimensions: strap end 4.4 × 2.6 cm (1)  
strap end 4.0 × 2.5 cm (2)  
strap end 3.7 × 2.6 cm (3)  
strap end 2.9 × 2.0 cm (4)  
strap end 3.1 × 2.2 cm (5)  
buckle with loop 3.4 × 3.7 cm (6)  
loop 1.9 × 1.4 cm (7)  
loop 3.1 × 2.1 cm (8)

Literature: Pieta – Ruttkay 2006; Robak 2013a



► **187 Staré Město**  
(Uherské Hradiště district)

Hollow bronze fitting featuring young bird,  
9th century  
Grave No. 190/50  
Registration No. 105974; MM  
Dimensions: 3.1 × 2.3 cm  
Literature: Hrubý 1955

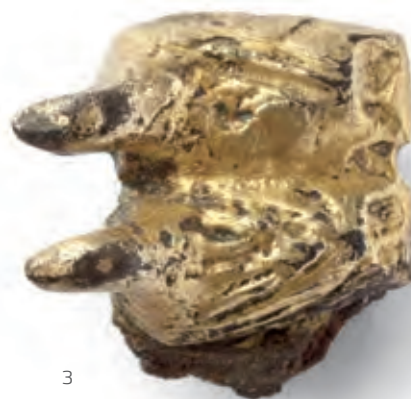


▼ **188 Mikulčice – Valy (Hodonín district)**

Three gilded bronze fasteners shaped as pairs  
of birds and gilded bronze strap end decorated  
with chip-carving, 9th century  
Grave No. 295 by church No. 3  
Registration No. 594-7a/57 (1), 594-7c-e/57 (2-4);  
IAASB  
Dimensions: strap end 3.5 × 2.3 cm (1)  
bird-shaped fittings 1.9 × 1.6 cm;  
1.9 × 1.0 cm; 1.9 × 1.0 cm (2-4)  
Literature: Pouлік 1975; Kavánová – Gagetti 2011



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**▲▼► 189 Mikulčice – Kostelisko  
(Hodonín district)**

Two gilded and silver-plated buckles and strap  
end decorated with chip-carving, 9th century  
Grave No. 1665  
Registration No. 594-419/85 (1), 594-526/85 (2),  
594-527/85 (3); IAASB  
Dimensions: buckle with loop 4.6 × 4.5 cm (1-2)  
strap end 4.4 × 2.7 cm (3)  
Literature: Klanica 1987



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◀▲ 190 Mikulčice – Valy  
(Hodonín district)

Two gilded and silver-plated bronze buckles  
and two strap ends decorated with chip-carving,  
9th century

Grave No. 380 in nave of church No. 3  
Registration No. 594-608a-b/57 (1-2),  
594-3003a-b/57 (3-4); IAASB

Dimensions: buckle with loop 4.2 × 2.4 cm (1-2)  
strap end 4.3 × 2.6 cm (3-4)

Literature: Poulík 1975





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► **191 Mikulčice – Valy (Hodonín district)**

Buckle with loop and strap end decorated with chip-carving, 9th century  
 Grave No. 100 by church No. 6  
 Registration No. 594-652/60 (1), 594-653/60 (2); IAASB  
 Dimensions: buckle with loop 3.5 × 2.6 cm (1)  
                   strap end 2.4 × 1.7 cm (2)  
 Literature: Poulik 1963; Profantová 2003



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◀ **192 Staré Město (Uherské Hradiště district)**

Gilded bronze buckle and strap end decorated with chip-carving, 9th century  
 Grave No. 223/51  
 Registration No. 106109 (1), 106108 (2); MM  
 Dimensions: buckle 3.0 × 3.5 cm (1)  
                   strap end 3.7 × 2.2 cm (2)  
 Literature: Hrubý 1955

► **193 Staré Město (Uherské Hradiště district)**

Buckle with loop and strap end decorated with chip-carving, 9th century  
 Grave No. 223/51  
 Registration No. 106110 (1), 106112 (2); MM  
 Dimensions: buckle with loop 3.1 × 2.2 cm (1)  
                   strap end 2.5 × 1.4 cm (2)  
 Literature: Hrubý 1955



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**▲▼ 194 Brno – Staré Zámky  
(Brno-City district)**

Sword suspension fittings – roof-like fitting and loop with elongated neck, 9th century  
Square C II, hoard No. 3  
Registration No. 6034/53 (1), 6035/53 (2); IAASB  
Dimensions: 8.9 × 3.0 cm (1); 10.2 × 3.1 cm (2)  
Literature: Kouřil 2013



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**► 195 Mikulčice – Valy  
(Hodonín district)**

Iron bridle or sword loop with elongated neck,  
9th century  
Unstratified  
Registration No. 594-583/70; IAASB  
Dimensions: 7.5 × 3.4 cm  
Literature: Klanica 1984







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▲▼► 196 Olomouc – Václavské  
square and Křížkovského  
street (Olomouc district)

Cruciform iron fittings and loop with elongated  
neck from bridle or sword suspension fitting (?),  
9th century

Object No.: 15/79 (3)

Registration No. 01/00-D1-2181/1 (1), 5120 (2),  
01/00-D1-2181/2 (3); NHI-ROOL

Dimensions: cruciform fitting 5.0 × 5.0 cm (1)  
cruciform fitting 5.5 × 5.5 cm (2)  
loop 7.0 × 3.9 cm (3)

Literature: Bláha 2001a



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◀▲▼ 197 Bojná I – Valy  
(Topolčany district, SK)

Cruciform iron fittings with elongated neck from  
bridle or sword suspension fitting (?), 9th century  
Unstratified

Registration No. 22/2004 (1), 37/2009 (2),  
214/2005 (3), 237/2011 (4); IASAS,  
no registration No. (5–6); PC

Dimensions: cruciform fitting 6.6 × 6.6 cm (1)  
cruciform fitting 5.2 × 5.2 cm (2)  
cruciform fitting 6.9 × 6.9 cm (3)  
cruciform fitting 5.5 × 5.3 cm (4)  
cruciform fitting 7.5 × 7.6 cm (5)  
cruciform fitting 7.4 × 7.8 cm (6)

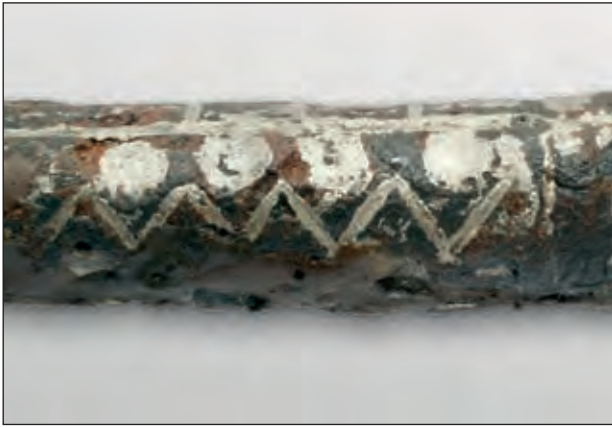
Literature: Janošík – Pieta 2007



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◀▼ **198 Mikulčice – Těšické**  
(Hodonín district)

Iron knife-scalpel, decorated with silver tausia  
in iron silver-plated sheath, 2nd half of 9th century  
Grave No. 73 by church No. 6  
Registration No. 594-622/60; IAASB  
Dimensions: 13.2 × 0.9 cm  
Literature: Poulík 1963; Profantová 2003;  
Kavánová 2013a



▼ **199 Mikulčice – Valy**  
(Hodonín district)

Gilded and silver-plated bronze fitting of knife  
sheath, 9th century  
Grave No. 432 by church No. 3  
Registration No. 594-789/57; IAASB  
Dimensions: fitting 4.6 × 2.1 cm (1)  
socket 1.7 × 1.6 cm (2)  
Literature: Poulík 1967; 1975







**▲► 200 Staré Město – Na Valách  
(Uherské Hradiště district)**

Set of fittings for iron knife in sumptuous sheath,

9th century

Grave No. 23/48

Registration No. 105609–105612; MM

Dimensions: knife length 19.4 cm (1)

loop 1.6 × 1.2 cm (2)

strap end 1.7 × 1.2 cm (3)

frame fitting 3.9 × 1.4 cm (4)

Literature: Hrubý 1955





◀ **201 Staré Město – Na Valách**  
(Uherské Hradiště district)

Gold grape-shaped earring, 9th century  
Grave No. 200/51  
Registration No. 105687; MM  
Dimensions: 2.5 × 1.5 cm  
Literature: Hrubý 1955



▶ **202 Mikulčice – Těšické**  
(Hodonín district)

Gold grape-shaped earrings, 9th century  
Grave No. 160 by church No. 6  
Registration No. 594-715/60, 594-716/60; IAASB  
Dimensions: 1.8 × 1.1 cm  
Literature: Pouлік 1963; Kouřil – Poláček 2013



◀ **203 Uherské Hradiště – Sady**  
(Uherské Hradiště district)

Gold grape-shaped earrings, 9th century  
Grave No. 86/60  
Registration No. 105709–105710; MM  
Dimensions: 2.9 × 1.5 cm; 2.9 × 1.8 cm  
Literature: Galuška 1996; 2013



▼ **205 Uherské Hradiště – Sady  
(Uherské Hradiště district)**

Gold grape-shaped earrings, 9th century  
Grave No. 87/60  
Registration No. 105715, 105716; MM  
Dimensions: 2.3 × 1.5 cm  
Literature: Galuška 1996; 2013

▲ **204 Mikulčice – Valy  
(Hodonín district)**

Gold grape-shaped earrings, 9th century  
Grave No. 318 north nave of church No. 3  
Registration No. 594-100f-g/57; IAASB  
Dimensions: 2.7 × 1.7 cm  
Literature: Pouлік 1975; Kavánová 2011;  
Kouřil – Poláček 2013



▼ **206 Staré Město – Na Valách  
(Uherské Hradiště district)**

Gold grape-shaped earrings, 9th century  
Grave No. 24/48  
Registration No. 105615–105621; MM  
Dimensions: 2.1 × 1.3 cm  
Literature: Hrubý 1955; Galuška 2013





◀ **207 Mikulčice – Valy  
(Hodonín district)**

Gold grape-shaped earring, 9th century  
Grave No. 469 by church No. 3  
Registration No. 594-860a/57; IAASB  
Dimensions: 2.6 × 1.6 cm  
Literature: unpublished

▼ **208 Mikulčice – Valy  
(Hodonín district)**

Gold grape-shaped earrings, 9th century  
Grave No. 470 by church No. 3  
Registration No. 594-871a-h/57; IAASB  
Dimensions: 2.0–2.2 × 1.2–1.3 cm  
Literature: unpublished







► **209 Mikulčice – Valy  
(Hodonín district)**

Gold grape-shaped earrings, 9th century  
Grave No. 567 by church No. 3  
Registration No. 594-1451a-b/57; IAASB  
Dimensions: 2.5 × 1.5 cm  
Literature: Poulík 1975



◀ **210 Mikulčice – Valy  
(Hodonín district)**

Gold grape-shaped earring, 9th century  
Grave No. 567 by church No. 3  
Registration No. 594-1452/57; IAASB  
Dimensions: 2.7 × 1.5 cm  
Literature: unpublished



► **211 Mikulčice – Kostelisko  
(Hodonín district)**

Gold grape-shaped earring, 9th century  
Grave No. 1686  
Registration No. 594-610/85; IAASB  
Dimensions: 2.7 × 1.7 cm  
Literature: unpublished



◀ **212 Mikulčice – Štěpnice  
(Hodonín district)**

Gold grape-shaped earrings, 9th century  
Grave No. 794  
Registration No. 594-3/64, 594-4/64; IAASB  
Dimensions: 2.9 × 1.7 cm; 3.2 × 1.8 cm  
Literature: Poulík 1975; Kouřil – Poláček 2013



▲ **213 Uherské Hradiště – Sady  
(Uherské Hradiště district)**

Gold grape-shaped earrings, 9th century  
Grave No. 86/60  
Registration No. 105711-105712; MM  
Dimensions: 3.0 × 1.9 cm  
Literature: Galuška 1996; 2013

▶ **214 Staré Město – Na Valách  
(Uherské Hradiště district)**

Gold grape-shaped earring, 9th century  
Grave No. 103/50  
Registration No. 105655; MM  
Dimensions: 3.4 × 1.9 cm  
Literature: Hrubý 1955



► **215 Uherské Hradiště – Sady  
(Uherské Hradiště district)**

Gold grape-shaped earrings with crescent made from filigree wire, 9th century  
Grave No. 87/60  
Registration No. 105713–105714; MM  
Dimensions: 2.8 × 1.1 cm  
Literature: Galuška 1996; 2013



◀ **216 Mikulčice – Valy (Hodonín district)**

Gold grape-shaped earring with crescent made from filigree wire, 9th century  
Grave No. 714, square 14/+1  
Registration No. 594-3010/58; IAASB  
Dimensions: 2.6 × 1.7 cm  
Literature: unpublished



► **217 Staré Město – Na Valách  
(Uherské Hradiště district)**

Gold grape-shaped earring with crescent made from filigree wire, 9th century  
Grave No. 40/51  
Registration No. 105656; MM  
Dimensions: 2.6 × 1.5 cm  
Literature: Hrubý 1955





◀ **218 Brno – Staré Zámky**  
(Brno-City district)

Gold grape-shaped earring with crescent,  
9th century  
Destroyed cemetery  
Registration No. 86345; MM  
Dimensions: 3.8 × 1.9 cm  
Literature: Dostál 1966



▲ **219 Staré Město – Na Valách**  
(Uherské Hradiště district)

Gold grape-shaped earring with crescent  
with granulated pyramids, 9th century  
Grave No. 167/51  
Registration No. 105665; MM  
Dimensions: 3.4 × 2.0 cm  
Literature: Hrubý 1955; Galuška 2013



◀ **220 Mikulčice – Valy**  
(Hodonín district)

Silver grape-shaped earring, 9th century  
Grave No. 420E by church No. 2  
Registration No. 594-3006/58; IAASB  
Dimensions: 2.1 × 1.8 cm  
Literature: unpublished



◀ **221 Mikulčice – Kostelisko  
(Hodonín district)**

Silver grape-shaped earrings, 9th century  
Grave No. 1959  
Registration No. 594-5914/89, 594- 5915/89;  
IAASB  
Dimensions: 2.6 × 1.3 cm  
Literature: unpublished



▲ **222 Dolní Věstonice – Písky  
(Břeclav district)**

Silver grape-shaped earring, 9th century  
Grave No. 742/57  
Registration No. 1354/2; IAASB  
Dimensions: 3.3 × 1.6 cm  
Literature: Tichý 1958

▲ **223 Dolní Věstonice – Písky  
(Břeclav district)**

Silver grape-shaped earring with crescent, 9th century  
Grave No. 742/57  
Registration No. 1354/1; IAASB  
Dimensions: 3.2 × 1.7 cm  
Literature: Tichý 1958



◀ **224 Pohansko – Ducal Manor (Břeclav district)**

Silver grape-shaped earrings with crescent,  
9th century  
Grave No. 99  
Registration No. P 1060, P 1061; IAM FA MU  
Dimensions: 3.0 × 1.7 cm  
Literature: Kalousek 1971



◀ **225 Borovce (Piešťany district, SK)**

Silver grape-shaped earring with crescent,  
9th–10th century  
Grave No. 35/86  
Registration No. 0842; IASAS  
Dimensions: 3.2 × 2.2 cm  
Literature: Staššíková–Štukovská 2001



▶ **226 Ducové (Piešťany district, SK)**

Silver grape-shaped earrings with crescent,  
9th–10th century  
Grave No. 1460  
Registration No. 161k, 162k; IASAS  
Dimensions: 4.7 × 2.6 cm  
Literature: Ruttkay 1998





► **227 Mikulčice – Valy  
(Hodonín district)**

Gold 4-basket earrings, 9th century  
Grave No. 512 by church No. 3  
Registration No. 594-1430a-b/57; IAASB  
Dimensions: 3.7 × 2.2 cm  
Literature: Poulik 1975



◀ **228 Mikulčice – Valy  
(Hodonín district)**

Gold 4-basket earrings, 9th century  
Grave No. 328 by church No. 3  
Registration No. 594-141d-e/57; IAASB  
Dimensions: 2.5 × 1.5 cm  
Literature: Ungerman – Kavánová 2010;  
Kavánová 2011

► **229 Mikulčice – Těšické  
(Hodonín district)**

Gold 7-basket earring, 9th century  
Grave No. 6 by church No. 6  
Registration No. 594-552/60; IAASB  
Dimensions: 2.2 × 1.4 cm  
Literature: Poulik 1963; Profantová 2003





▲ 230 Mikulčice – Valy (Hodonín district)

Gold 6-basket earring, 9th century  
Grave No. 505 by church No. 3  
Registration No. 594-1621/57; IAASB  
Dimensions: 3.2 × 1.8 cm  
Literature: Pouлік 1975; Ungerman – Kavánová 2010

▼ 231 Staré Město – Na Valách (Uherské Hradiště district)

Gold 6-basket earring, 9th century  
Grave No. 290/49  
Registration No. 105645; MM  
Dimensions: 2.2 × 1.5 cm  
Literature: Hrubý 1955; Galuška 2013



◀ 232 Mikulčice – Valy (Hodonín district)

Gold 9-basket earrings with two baskets finishing the lower arch, 9th century  
Grave No. 250 by church No. 3  
Registration No. 594-1400/56, 594-1421/56; IAASB  
Dimensions: 3.6 × 1.4 cm  
Literature: Pouлік 1975; Kavánová 2011





◀ **233 Staré Město – Na Valách**  
(Uherské Hradiště district)

Silver 9-basket earring with blue-green chaton  
in centre, 9th century  
Grave No. 317/49  
Registration No. 106270; MM  
Dimensions: 5.2 × 2.2 cm  
Literature: Hrubý 1955; Galuška 2013



▲ **234 Mikulčice – Valy**  
(Hodonín district)

Silver 6-basket earring, 9th century  
Grave No. 76 by church No. 2  
Registration No. 594-4452/57;  
IAASB  
Dimensions: 2.2 × 1.6 cm  
Literature: unpublished



◀ **235 Mikulčice – Valy**  
(Hodonín district)

Silver 7-basket earring, 9th century  
Grave No. 275 by church No. 2  
Registration No. 594-4475/57;  
IAASB  
Dimensions: 3.4 × 1.9 cm  
Literature: Poulík 1957





► **237 Staré Město – Na Valách  
(Uherské Hradiště district)**

Gold earring with four globes decorated with granulation, 9th century  
Grave No. 76/48  
Registration No. 105626; MM  
Dimensions: 3.2 × 2.0 cm  
Literature: Hrubý 1955



▲ **236 Staré Město – Na Valách  
(Uherské Hradiště district)**

Gilded bronze 4-globe earring, 9th century  
Grave No. 33/48  
Registration No. 106196; MM  
Dimensions: 3.0 × 2.0 cm  
Literature: Hrubý 1955



◀ **238 Staré Město – Na Valách  
(Uherské Hradiště district)**

Gold earring with four globes decorated with granulation, 9th century  
Grave No. ?/AZ  
Registration No. 86343; MM  
Dimensions: 3.4 × 3.3 cm  
Literature: Hrubý 1955



◀ **239 Staré Město – Na Valách  
(Uherské Hradiště district)**

Gold earring with four globes decorated with granulation, 9th century  
Grave No. 22/48  
Registration No. 105603; MM  
Dimensions: 3.7 × 2.5 cm  
Literature: Hrubý 1955



▲ **240 Mikulčice – Valy**  
(Hodonín district)

Gold 4-globe earring decorated with granulation,  
9th century  
Grave No. 505 by church No. 3  
Registration No. 594-1622/57; IAASB  
Dimensions: 3.7 × 2.3 cm  
Literature: Pouлік 1975; Kouřil – Poláček 2013

▼ **241 Staré Město – Na Valách**  
(Uherské Hradiště district)

Gilded silver earring with four globes decorated  
with granulation, 9th century  
Grave No. 151/50  
Registration No. 105952; MM  
Dimensions: 5.5 × 3.4 cm  
Literature: Hrubý 1955



◀ **242 Olomouc – Slavonín**  
(Olomouc district)

Silver earrings with four globes decorated  
with granulation, 9th century  
Grave No. 70  
Registration No. 101803, 101805; RMO  
Dimensions: 3.0 × 1.8 cm  
Literature: Kouřil 2013a







◀ **243 Mikulčice – Valy  
(Hodonín district)**

Silver 4-globe earrings, 9th century  
Grave No. 420 by church No. 2  
Registration No. 594-4488/57,  
594-4489/57; IAASB  
Dimensions: 2.8 × 1.8 cm  
Literature: unpublished



▲ **244 Staré Město – Na Valách  
(Uherské Hradiště district)**

Silver earring with four globes decorated  
with granulation, 9th century  
Grave No. 5/48  
Registration No. 106162; MM  
Dimensions: 3.7 × 2.2 cm  
Literature: Hrubý 1955



▲ **245 Staré Město – Na Valách  
(Uherské Hradiště district)**

Silver earring with four globes decorated  
with granulation, 9th century  
Grave No. 251/49  
Registration No. 106233; MM  
Dimensions: 2.8 × 2.0 cm  
Literature: Hrubý 1955





▲ **246 Brno – Staré Zámky**  
**(Brno-City district)**

Silver 7-globe earrings, 9th century  
Grave No. 37  
Registration No. 131/49; IAASB  
Dimensions: 2.6 × 1.7 cm  
Literature: unpublished



▲ **247 Mikulčice – Valy**  
**(Hodonín district)**

Gold 7-globe earrings, 9th century  
Grave No. 328 by church No. 3  
Registration No. 594-141a-b/57; IAASB  
Dimensions: 2.7 × 1.6 cm  
Literature: Kavánová 2011



▲ **248 Mikulčice – Štěpnice  
(Hodonín district)**

Gold earrings with ten globes decorated  
with granulation, 9th century  
Grave No. 794  
Registration No. 594-1/64, 594-2/64; IAASB  
Dimensions: 5.0 × 2.5 cm  
Literature: Pouлік 1975; Kouřil – Poláček 2013



► **249 Mikulčice – Štěpnice  
(Hodonín district)**

Gold earring with ten globes decorated  
with granulation, 9th century  
Grave No. 505  
Registration No. 594-1620/57; IAASB  
Dimensions: 5.2 × 2.6 cm  
Literature: Pouлік 1975; Kouřil – Poláček 2013

► **250 Staré Město – Na Valách  
(Uherské Hradiště district)**

Gold column-shaped earrings with openwork column and granulation, 9th century  
Grave No. 106/AZ  
Registration No. SM 287, SM 288; MMSUH  
Dimensions: 3.3 × 1.6 cm  
Literature: Hrubý 1955; Galuška 2013



◀ **251 Staré Město – Na Valách  
(Uherské Hradiště district)**

Gilded silver column-shaped earring with openwork column and granulation, 9th century  
Grave No. 299/49  
Registration No. 105892; MM  
Dimensions: 4.5 × 1.9 cm  
Literature: Hrubý 1955; Galuška 2013



► **252 Staré Město – Na Valách  
(Uherské Hradiště district)**

Gilded silver column-shaped earring with openwork column and granulation, 9th century  
Grave No. 317/49  
Registration No. 106274; MM  
Dimensions: 4.0 × 1.6 cm  
Literature: Hrubý 1955; Galuška 2013







◀ **253 Staré Město – Na Valách  
(Uherské Hradiště district)**

Gilded silver column-shaped earring with openwork column and granulation, 9th century  
Grave No. 317/49  
Registration No. 106272; MM  
Dimensions: 3.8 × 1.5 cm  
Literature: Hrubý 1955; Galuška 2013



▲ **254 Staré Město – Na Valách  
(Uherské Hradiště district)**

Silver openwork column-shaped earring decorated with granulation, 9th century  
Grave No. 317/49  
Registration No. 106275a; MM  
Dimensions: 3.3 × 1.5 cm  
Literature: Hrubý 1955; Galuška 2013



▲ **255 Mikulčice – Na Valách  
(Hodonín district)**

Silver openwork column-shaped earring, 9th century  
Grave No. 569 by church No. 3  
Registration No. 594-1627/57; IAASB  
Dimensions: 4.6 × 1.6 cm  
Literature: unpublished

▶ **256 Pohansko – Ducal Manor  
(Břeclav district)**

Silver openwork column-shaped earrings, 9th century  
Grave No. 63  
Registration No. P 635, P 636; IAM FA MU  
Dimensions: 3.7 × 1.9 cm  
Literature: Kalousek 1971





◀ **257 Pohansko – Ducal Manor (Břeclav district)**

Silver openwork column-shaped earrings decorated with granulation, 9th century  
 Grave No. 67  
 Registration No. P 675, P 676; IAM FA MU  
 Dimensions: 4.9 × 1.8 cm  
 Literature: Kalousek 1971



▶ **258 Pohansko – Ducal Manor (Břeclav district)**

Silver column-shaped earrings decorated with granulation, 9th century  
 Grave No. 256  
 Registration No. P 12693/3-4; IAM FA MU  
 Dimensions: 3.2 × 2.1 cm  
 Literature: Kalousek 1971



◀ **259 Olomouc – Slavonín  
(Olomouc district)**

Silver column-shaped earrings decorated  
with granulation, 9th century  
Grave No. 70  
Registration No. 101802, 101804; RMO  
Dimensions: 4.0 × 1.6 cm  
Literature: Kouřil 2013a



▶ **260 Ducové  
(Piešťany district, SK)**

Silver column-shaped earrings decorated  
with granulation, 9th century  
Grave No. 1070  
Registration No. 148k, 327k; IASAS  
Dimensions: 3.3 × 1.3 cm  
Literature: Ruttkay 1998





▲ **261 Pohansko – Ducal Manor  
(Břeclav district)**

Silver earrings with chainlets decorated with granulation, 9th century  
Grave No. 158  
Registration No. P 1736, P 1737; IAM FA MU  
Dimensions: 11.2 × 1.7 cm  
Literature: Kalousek 1971

▼ **262 Mikulčice – Valy  
(Hodonín district)**

Silver earring with chainlets,  
9th century  
Square E/23  
Registration No. 594-1155/56; IAASB  
Dimensions: 8.4 × 3.2 cm  
Literature: unpublished





▲ **263 Staré Město – Na Valách  
(Uherské Hradiště district)**

Gold crescent-shaped earrings with chainlets  
decorated with granulation, 9th century  
Grave No. 106/AZ  
Registration No. 289, 290; MMSUH  
Dimensions: 10.0 × 2.9 cm; 9.7 × 3.0 cm  
Literature: Hrubý 1955; Galuška 2013



► **264 Mikulčice – Valy  
(Hodonín district)**

Gold earring made of twisted wire  
with asymmetrical cluster applications on both  
sides, 9th century  
Grave No. 283A sacristy of church No. 2  
Registration No. 594-2000/57; IAASB  
Dimensions: 2.0 × 1.5 cm  
Literature: Kouřil – Poláček 2013



◀ **265 Staré Město – Na Valách  
(Uherské Hradiště  
district)**

Gilded silver earring with tricuspid,  
star-shaped pendant, 9th century  
Grave No. 33/48  
Registration No. 106195; MM  
Dimensions: 3.6 × 2.2 cm  
Literature: Hrubý 1955; Galuška 2013

► **266 Staré Město  
(Uherské Hradiště  
district)**

Gold earring with star-shaped pendant,  
9th century  
Grave No. 12/59  
Registration No. 105693; MM  
Dimensions: 3.3 × 1.2 cm  
Literature: Hrubý 1955; Galuška 2013







▲ **267 Mikulčice – Valy (Hodonín district)**

Gold plain button, 9th century  
Grave No. 71 by church No. 2  
Registration No. 594-4450/57; IAASB  
Dimensions: 1.5 × 1.1 cm  
Literature: Kavánová 2009

▶ **268 Staré Město – Na Valách (Uherské Hradiště district)**

Plain gold button, 9th century  
Grave No. 145/51  
Registration No. 105660; MM  
Dimensions: 1.8 × 1.5 cm  
Literature: Hrubý 1955; Galuška 2013



▶ **269 Staré Město – Na Valách (Uherské Hradiště district)**

Plain, vertically ribbed gold button, 9th century  
Grave No. 50/50  
Registration No. 105651; MM  
Dimensions: 1.9 × 2.2 cm  
Literature: Hrubý 1955



▲ **270 Mikulčice – Valy (Hodonín district)**

Plain, vertically ribbed gold button, 9th century  
Grave No. 580 nave of church No. 3  
Registration No. 594-1616/57; IAASB  
Dimensions: 2.0 × 1.7 cm  
Literature: Klanica 2002; Kavánová 2009



▶ **272 Uherské Hradiště – Sady (Uherské Hradiště district)**

Vertically ribbed gold button with twig-shaped ornament, 9th century  
Grave No. 19/59  
Registration No. 105697; MM  
Dimensions: 1.9 × 1.9 cm  
Literature: Galuška 1996



▲ **271 Mikulčice – Valy (Hodonín district)**

Plain, vertically ribbed gold button, 9th century  
Grave No. 425 by church No. 3  
Registration No. 594-781/57; IAASB  
Dimensions: 1.8 × 1.5 cm  
Literature: Kavánová 2009



▲ **273 Mikulčice – Valy  
(Hodonín district)**

Ribbed gilded silver button, 9th century  
Square 44/16  
Registration No. 594-3082/78; IAASB  
Dimensions: 2.5 × 1.9 cm  
Literature: Kavánová 2003



▲ **274 Staré Město – Na Valách  
(Uherské Hradiště district)**

Plain gold button with vertical ribs, 9th century  
Grave No. 78/48  
Registration No. 105628; MM  
Dimensions: 1.8 × 1.4 cm  
Literature: Hrubý 1955



► **276 Mikulčice – Kostelisko  
(Hodonín district)**

Gilded bronze polyhedral button,  
9th century  
Unstratified  
Registration No. 594-4496/57; IAASB  
Dimensions: 2.3 × 1.8 cm  
Literature: unpublished



▲ **275 Mikulčice – Těšické  
(Hodonín district)**

Plain ribbed biconical silver button,  
9th century  
Grave No. 161 by church No. 6  
Registration No. 594-723/60; IAASB  
Dimensions: 2.5 × 1.9 cm  
Literature: Poulík 1963; Profantová 2003

▼ **278 Mikulčice – Valy  
(Hodonín district)**

Gilded bronze plain button with small pyramids,  
9th century  
Grave No. 364 by church No. 3  
Registration No. 594-604b/57;  
IAASB  
Dimensions: 2.5 × 1.5 cm  
Literature: unpublished

► **277 Předmostí – Chromečková  
zahrada (Přerov district)**

Plain gold pear-shaped button, 9th century  
Destroyed cemetery  
Registration No. 56122; MM  
Dimensions: 3.4 × 2.1 cm  
Literature: Dostál 1966





**▲ 279 Pohansko – Ducal Manor  
(Břeclav district)**

Gilded bronze buttons with embossed decoration  
in shape of stylized birds, 9th century  
Grave No. 38  
Registration No. P 336, P 337; IAM FA MU  
Dimensions: 2.8 × 2.6 cm  
Literature: Kalousek 1971



**▲ 280 Pohansko – Ducal Manor  
(Břeclav district)**

Gilded bronze buttons with embossed decoration  
in shape of stylized birds, 9th century  
Grave No. 136  
Registration No. P 1398, P 1399; IAM FA MU  
Dimensions: 2.2 × 2.0 cm  
Literature: Kalousek 1971





◀ **281 Staré Město – Na Valách  
(Uherské Hradiště district)**

Gilded silver button with embossed decoration  
in shape of stylized birds, 9th century  
Grave No. 251/49  
Registration No. 106244; MM  
Dimensions: 2.8 × 3.5 cm  
Literature: Hrubý 1955

▶ **282 Mikulčice – Valy  
(Hodonín district)**

Silver button with embossed decoration in shape  
of stylized birds, 9th century  
Square 43/15  
Registration No. 594-3083/78; IAASB  
Dimensions: 5.2 × 4.2 cm  
Literature: Kavánová 2003



◀ **283 Mikulčice – Těšické  
(Hodonín district)**

Silver button with embossed decoration in shape  
of stylized birds, 9th century  
Grave No. 1314  
Registration No. 594-3179/75; IAASB  
Dimensions: 3.7 × 3.6 cm  
Literature: Klanica 1985a

▶ **284 Mikulčice – Kostelisko  
(Hodonín district)**

Gilded bronze button with embossed (animal?)  
decoration, 9th century  
Grave No. 1729  
Registration No. 594-2848/86; IAASB  
Dimensions: 2.5 × 1.7 cm  
Literature: unpublished



► **285 Pohansko – Ducal Manor  
(Břeclav district)**

Gilded bronze buttons with girdle decoration,  
9th century  
Grave No. 141  
Registration No. P 1468, P 1469; IAM FA MU  
Dimensions: 2.3 × 2.0 cm  
Literature: Kalousek 1971



▼ **286 Olomouc – Slavonín  
(Olomouc district)**

Gilded bronze buttons with girdle decoration,  
9th century  
Grave No. 70  
Registration No. 101800, 101801; RMO  
Dimensions: 2.6 × 2.3 cm  
Literature: Kouřil 2013a



▼ **288 Staré Město – Na Valách  
(Uherské Hradiště district)**

Gilded bronze button with palmetto  
decoration, 9th century  
Grave No. 5/48  
Registration No. 106159; MM  
Dimensions: 3.6 × 2.5 cm  
Literature: Hrubý 1955



► **287 Mikulčice – Valy  
(Hodonín district)**

Gilded bronze button with  
palmetto decoration, 9th century  
Grave No. 54 by church No. 2  
Registration No. 594-4443/57;  
IAASB  
Dimensions: 1.9 × 1.4 cm  
Literature: unpublished

► **289 Mikulčice – Valy  
(Hodonín district)**

Gilded bronze button with palmetto  
decoration, 9th century  
Grave No. 44 by church No. 2  
Registration No. 594-4430/57;  
IAASB  
Dimensions: 2.9 × 2.3 cm  
Literature: Poulik 1957





► **290 Mikulčice – Kostelisko  
(Hodonín district)**

Silver button with palmetto decoration,  
9th century  
Grave No. 1871  
Registration No. 594-2717/88;  
IAASB  
Dimensions: 2.8 × 2.7 cm  
Literature: unpublished



▲ **291 Mikulčice – Valy  
(Hodonín district)**

Gilded bronze button with palmetto decoration,  
9th century  
Grave No. 290 by church No. 3  
Registration No. 594-4a/57; IAASB  
Dimensions: 3.2 × 2.7 cm  
Literature: unpublished



◀ **293 Mikulčice – Valy  
(Hodonín district)**

Gilded bronze button with  
palmetto decoration, 9th century  
Grave No. 427 by church No. 3  
Registration No. 594-994b/57;  
IAASB  
Dimensions: 2.8 × 2.4 cm  
Literature: unpublished

▲ **292 Mikulčice – Valy  
(Hodonín district)**

Gilded bronze button with palmetto  
decoration, 9th century  
Grave No. 550 by church No. 3  
Registration No. 594-1426/57; IAASB  
Dimensions: 3.3 × 2.8 cm  
Literature: unpublished

► **294 Mikulčice – Valy  
(Hodonín district)**

Silver button with palmetto  
decoration, 9th century  
Grave No. 104 by church No. 2  
Registration No. 594-4465/57;  
IAASB  
Dimensions: 2.2 × 1.7 cm  
Literature: unpublished



▲ **295 Mikulčice – Valy (Hodonín district)**

Silver button with palmetto decoration, 9th century  
Grave No. 780, square 21/-2  
Registration No. 594-415a/59; IAASB  
Dimensions: 3.6 × 3.1 cm  
Literature: unpublished





◀ **296 Mikulčice – Valy (Hodonín district)**

Silver button with palmetto decoration, 9th century  
Grave No. 343 by church No. 3  
Registration No. 594-299/57; IAASB  
Dimensions: 4.0 × 3.3 cm  
Literature: unpublished



▶ **297 Mikulčice – Valy (Hodonín district)**

Gold button with palmetto decoration, 9th century  
Grave No. 380 in nave of church No. 3  
Registration No. 594-606/57; IAASB  
Dimensions: 2.5 × 2.3 cm  
Literature: Pouлік 1985; Kavánová 2009



▲ **298 Mikulčice – Valy (Hodonín district)**

Gold button with palmetto decoration, 9th century  
Surface survey by church No. 3  
Registration No. 594-1897/57; IAASB  
Dimensions: 1.7 × 1.7 cm  
Literature: Pouлік 1985; Kavánová 2009



▲ **299 Pohansko – Ducal Manor (Břeclav district)**

Silver buttons with palmetto decoration, 9th century  
Grave No. 336  
Registration No. P 16422, P 16423; IAM FA MU  
Dimensions: 3.7 × 3.5 cm  
Literature: Kalousek 1971



▲ **300 Mikulčice – Valy (Hodonín district)**

Silver button with palmetto decoration and blue-glass inlays, 9th century  
Grave No. 216 by church No. 3  
Registration No. 594-1300a/56; IAASB  
Dimensions: 4.7 × 4.1 cm  
Literature: Pouлік 1975

▶ **301 Mikulčice – Valy (Hodonín district)**

Silver button with palmetto decoration, 9th century  
Grave No. 427 by church No. 3  
Registration No. 594-993a/57; IAASB  
Dimensions: 3.5 × 3.2 cm  
Literature: unpublished





**▲ 302 Nitra – Mikov dvor  
(Nitra district, SK)**

Gilded bronze button with palmetto  
decoration, 9th – 10th century  
Grave No. 14  
Registration No. 346; IASAS  
Dimensions: 2.7 × 2.5 cm  
Literature: Chropovský 2002

**▼ 303 Dučové (Piešťany district, SK)**

Silver buttons with palmetto decoration,  
9th century  
Grave No. 1210  
Registration No. 152k, 152ak; IASAS  
Dimensions: 3.2 × 2.6 cm; 2.8 × 2.3 cm  
Literature: Ruttkay 1979



**◀ 304 Pohansko – Ducal Manor  
(Břeclav district)**

Gold buttons with palmetto decoration,  
9th century  
Grave No. 127  
Registration No. P 1319, P 1320; IAM FA MU  
Dimensions: 3.3 × 2.6 cm  
Literature: Kalousek 1971

**▶ 305 Mikulčice – Valy  
(Hodonín district)**

Silver button with palmetto decoration,  
9th century  
Grave No. 349 by church No. 3  
Registration No. 594-298b/57; IAASB  
Dimensions: 3.4 × 3.6 cm  
Literature: unpublished







**▲ 306 Mikulčice – Valy  
(Hodonín district)**

Silver button with palmetto decoration,  
9th century  
Grave No. 471 by church No. 3  
Registration No. 594-1026b/57; IAASB  
Dimensions: 3.3 × 3.5 cm  
Literature: Ungerman – Kavánová 2010



**▶ 307 Uherské Hradiště – Sady  
(Uherské Hradiště district)**

Gilded bronze button with palmetto decoration,  
9th century  
Grave No. 22/59  
Registration No. 106520; MM  
Dimensions: 4.7 × 4.4 cm  
Literature: Galuška 1996



**▶ 308 Pohansko – Ducal Manor  
(Břeclav district)**

Gilded bronze buttons with palmetto  
decoration, 9th century  
Grave No. 256  
Registration No. P 12695/1-2; IAM FA MU  
Dimensions: 4.4 × 3.5 cm  
Literature: Kalousek 1971



**◀ 309 Mikulčice – Valy  
(Hodonín district)**

Gilded bronze button with palmetto  
decoration, 9th century  
Grave No. 396A by church No. 3  
Registration No. 594-1034b/57; IAASB  
Dimensions: 2.2 × 1.7 cm  
Literature: Ungerman – Kavánová 2010



**▲ 310 Mikulčice – Valy (Hodonín district)**

Gilded bronze button with palmetto decoration,  
9th century  
Grave No. 508 by church No. 3  
Registration No. 594-1037a/57; IAASB  
Dimensions: 2.4 × 1.7 cm  
Literature: Poulík 1975; Ungerman – Kavánová 2010



► **311 Mikulčice – Valy  
(Hodonín district)**

Gold button decorated with granulation in six vertical fields, 9th century  
Grave No. 300 by church No. 3  
Registration No. 594-294/57; IAASB  
Dimensions: 1.9 × 1.4 cm  
Literature: Pouлік 1985;  
Kavánová 2009;  
Ungerma – Kavánová 2010



▲ **313 Staré Město – Na Valách  
(Uherské Hradiště district)**

Silver button decorated with granulated cross-shaped motifs and five inlays with glass paste, 9th century  
Grave No. 25/48  
Registration No. 106191; MM  
Dimensions: 1.7 × 1.6 cm  
Literature: Hrubý 1955; Galuška 2013



◀ **314 Mikulčice – Valy  
(Hodonín district)**

Gilded silver button decorated with granulation in shape of broken lines, 9th century  
Grave No. 470 by church No. 3  
Registration No. 594-872b/57; IAASB  
Dimensions: 1.9 × 1.6 cm  
Literature: Ungerma – Kavánová 2010



▲ **312 Mikulčice – Valy (Hodonín district)**

Silver button decorated with fine-granulation triangles, 9th century  
Grave No. 212 by church No. 2  
Registration No. 594-1200a/56; IAASB  
Dimensions: 1.6 × 1.2 cm  
Literature: unpublished

▼ **315 Mikulčice – Valy (Hodonín district)**

Gilded silver button decorated with fine-granulation triangles, 9th century  
Grave No. 216 by church No. 3  
Registration No. 594-1301/56; IAASB  
Dimensions: 2.5 × 2.0 cm  
Literature: unpublished



▲ **316 Mikulčice – Valy (Hodonín district)**

Silver button decorated with granulation, 9th century  
Grave No. 97 by church No. 2  
Registration No. 594-4454/57; IAASB  
Dimensions: 1.8 × 1.3 cm  
Literature: Poulík 1957



▲ **317 Mikulčice – Těšické (Hodonín district)**

Gilded silver button decorated with granulation, 9th century  
Grave No. 118 by church No. 6  
Registration No. 594-667/60; IAASB  
Dimensions: 1.5 × 1.2 cm  
Literature: Poulík 1963; Profantová 2003



◀ **318 Mikulčice – Valy (Hodonín district)**

Silver button decorated with granulation, 9th century  
Grave No. 567 by church No. 3  
Registration No. 594-1453a/57; IAASB  
Dimensions: 1.3 × 0.9 cm  
Literature: Ungerman – Kavánová 2010



▶ **320 Mikulčice – Valy (Hodonín district)**

Silver button decorated with granulation, 9th century  
Grave No. 505 by church No. 3  
Registration No. 594-1124a/57; IAASB  
Dimensions: 3.2 × 2.5 cm  
Literature:  
Ungerman – Kavánová 2010



▲ **319 Mikulčice – Valy (Hodonín district)**

Gilded silver button decorated with granulation, 9th century  
Grave No. 123 by church No. 2  
Registration No. 594-4466/57; IAASB  
Dimensions: 1.8 × 1.4 cm  
Literature: Poulík 1957



► **321 Předmostí – Chromečková zahrada (Přerov district)**

Small gold button decorated with granulation, 9th century  
Destroyed cemetery  
Registration No. 56119; MM  
Dimensions: 1.1 × 0.6 cm  
Literature: Dostál 1966



► **322 Pohansko – Ducal Manor (Břeclav district)**

Gold miniature buttons decorated with granulation, 9th century  
Grave No. 242  
Registration No. P 12562/1-2; IAM FA MU  
Dimensions: 0.9 × 0.6 cm  
Literature: Kalousek 1971



◀ **323 Pohansko – Ducal Manor (Břeclav district)**

Silver button decorated with granulation, 9th century  
Grave No. 394  
Registration No. P 16934, P 16935;  
IAM FA MU  
Dimensions: 3.1 × 2.4 cm  
Literature: Kalousek 1971





◀ **324 Staré Město – Na Valách**  
(Uherské Hradiště district)

Silver button decorated with umbonal applications  
with granulation, 9th century  
Grave No. 284/49  
Registration No. 105890; MM  
Dimensions: 1.9 × 1.3 cm  
Literature: Hrubý 1955

▼ **325 Mikulčice – Valy**  
(Hodonín district)

Silver button with umbonal applications  
and granulation, 9th century  
Grave No. 128 by church No. 2  
Registration No. 594-4468/57;  
IAASB  
Dimensions: 2.5 × 2.0 cm  
Literature: Poulík 1957



◀ **326 Mikulčice – Valy**  
(Hodonín district)

Silver button with relief decoration  
and granulation, 9th century  
Grave No. 134 by church No. 2  
Registration No. 594-4473/57;  
IAASB  
Dimensions: 2.7 × 2.1 cm  
Literature: Poulík 1957



▶ **327 Mikulčice – Valy**  
(Hodonín district)

Silver button with relief decoration  
and granulation, 9th century  
Grave No. 51 by church No. 2  
Registration No. 594-4440/57; IAASB  
Dimensions: 1.8 × 1.4 cm  
Literature: Poulík 1957





◀ **328 Mikulčice – Těšické  
(Hodonín district)**

Gilded bronze button with horizontal rib, four bands of bulges and granulation, 9th century  
Grave No. 118 by church No. 6  
Registration No. 594-664/60; IAASB  
Dimensions: 3.2 × 2.6 cm  
Literature: Poulík 1963; 1975; Profantová 2003



▲ **329 Pohansko – Ducal Manor  
(Břeclav district)**

Silver buttons with relief decoration and granulation, 9th century  
Grave No. 158  
Registration No. P 1730, P 1731; IAM FA MU  
Dimensions: 3.5 × 3.0 cm  
Literature: Kalousek 1971

▶ **330 Nitra – Mikov dvor  
(Nitra district, SK)**

Silver button with relief decoration and granulation, 9th – 10th century  
Grave No. 14  
Registration No. 344; IASAS  
Dimensions: 2.3 × 2.5 cm  
Literature: Chropovský 2002







◀ **331 Mikulčice – Valy (Hodonín district)**

Gilded bronze button with embossed decoration, 9th century  
From the rampart  
Registration No. 594-988/57; IAASB  
Dimensions: 2.9 × 2.3 cm  
Literature: Poulík 1957



▲ **332 Mikulčice – Valy (Hodonín district)**

Gold button with relief decoration, granulation and blue glass inlay, 9th century  
Grave No. 553 by church No. 3  
Registration No. 594-1422b/57; IAASB  
Dimensions: 2.6 × 1.8 cm  
Literature: Kavánová 2009; Ungerman – Kavánová 2010



◀ **333 Mikulčice – Kostelisko (Hodonín district)**

Gilded bronze button with relief decoration, 9th century  
Grave No. 1766  
Registration No. 594-3049/86; IAASB  
Dimensions: 3.3 × 2.6 cm  
Literature: unpublished

► **334 Nitra – Zobor, Amfiteáter (Nitra district, SK)**

Gilded bronze buttons with relief decoration, 9th century  
Grave No. 38  
Registration No. AU 0194, AU 0194a; IASAS  
Dimensions: 4.9 × 3.9 cm; 4.9 × 4.2 cm  
Literature: Čaplovič 1954







► **336 Mikulčice – Valy (Hodonín district)**

Gilded bronze polyhedral button with engraved decoration, 9th century  
Grave No. 170 by church No. 3  
Registration No. 594-999a/56; IAASB  
Dimensions: 2.5 × 1.6 cm  
Literature: unpublished



▲ **335 Mikulčice – Valy (Hodonín district)**

Gilded bronze button with relief decoration, 9th century  
Grave No. 662 by church No. 3  
Registration No. 594-976b/58; IAASB  
Dimensions: 3.4 × 2.9 cm  
Literature: unpublished



▼ **338 Mikulčice – Valy (Hodonín district)**

Gilded bronze lantern-shaped button decorated with coarse granulation and blue glass inlay, 9th century  
Grave No. 271  
Registration No. 594-1767/56; IAASB  
Dimensions: 2.2 × 1.4 cm  
Literature: Poulik 1957

▲► **337 Mikulčice – Valy (Hodonín district)**

Gold lantern-shaped buttons decorated with coarse granulation and blue glass inlay, 9th century  
Grave No. 318 in north nave of church No. 3  
Registration No. 594-100c-d/57, 594-4481/57; IAASB  
Dimensions: 2.3 × 1.7 cm  
Literature: Poulik 1975; Kavánová 2009; Ungerman – Kavánová 2010





▲▶ **339 Mikulčice – Valy (Hodonín district)**

Gold buttons with double shell decorated with filigree and granulation, 9th century  
Grave No. 505 by church No. 3  
Registration No. 594-1122a-b/57; IAASB  
Dimensions: 2.6 × 2.2 cm  
Literature: Poulík 1975;  
Kavánová 2009;  
Ungerma – Kavánová 2010



▼ **340 Mikulčice – Valy (Hodonín district)**

Silver button with double shell decorated with granulation, 9th century  
Grave No. 98 by church No. 2  
Registration No. 594-4456/57; IAASB  
Dimensions: 2.7 × 2.0 cm  
Literature: Poulík 1957



▲ **341 Mikulčice – Valy (Hodonín district)**

Gold button decorated with filigree rings, 9th century  
Grave No. 440 by church No. 3  
Registration No. 594-862b/57; IAASB  
Dimensions: 2.6 × 2.0 cm  
Literature: Poulík 1985; Kavánová 2009;  
Ungerma – Kavánová 2010

▶ **342 Uherské Hradiště – Sady (Uherské Hradiště district)**

Gilded silver button decorated with filigree, 9th century  
Grave No. 12/59  
Registration No. 106518; MM  
Dimensions: 2.6 × 1.8 cm  
Literature: Galuška 1996





► **343 Pohansko – Ducal Manor  
(Břeclav district)**

Glass button with copper band, 9th century  
Grave No. 230  
Registration No. P 12352; IAM FA MU  
Dimensions: 3.0 × 2.2 cm  
Literature: Kalousek 1971



► **344 Staré Město – Na Valách  
(Uherské Hradiště district)**

Glass button with gold bands, 9th century  
Object No. 51  
Registration No. Sa 2/2015; MM  
Dimensions: 3.8 × 2.8 cm  
Literature: Hrubý 1965



▲► **345 Pohansko – Ducal Manor  
(Břeclav district)**

Glass buttons with metal pendant, 9th century  
Grave No. 69  
Registration No. P 716, P 717; IAM FA MU  
Dimensions: 1.6 × 1.2 cm  
Literature: Kalousek 1971







◀ plaque ø 13.6 cm

▶ plaque ø 12.5 cm



▲▶ **346 Bojná (Topolčany district, SK)**

Gilded bronze plaques, probably from portable altar or reliquary, 9th century  
Hoard 1  
Registration No. A 1242 – A 1249; MNN  
Literature: Pieta – Ruttkay 2006



◀ plaque ø 14.9 cm



▶ plaque 13.4 × 13.7 cm





▶ plaque 13.7 × 10.6 cm



▶ plaque ø ca 15.0 cm





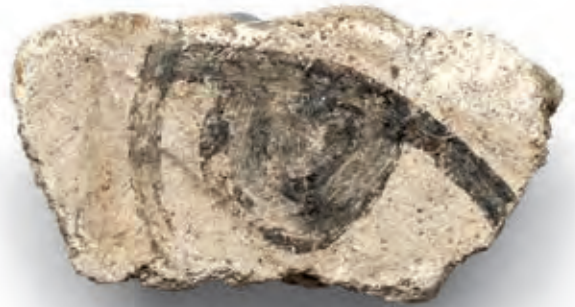
◀ circular frame ø 19.3 cm



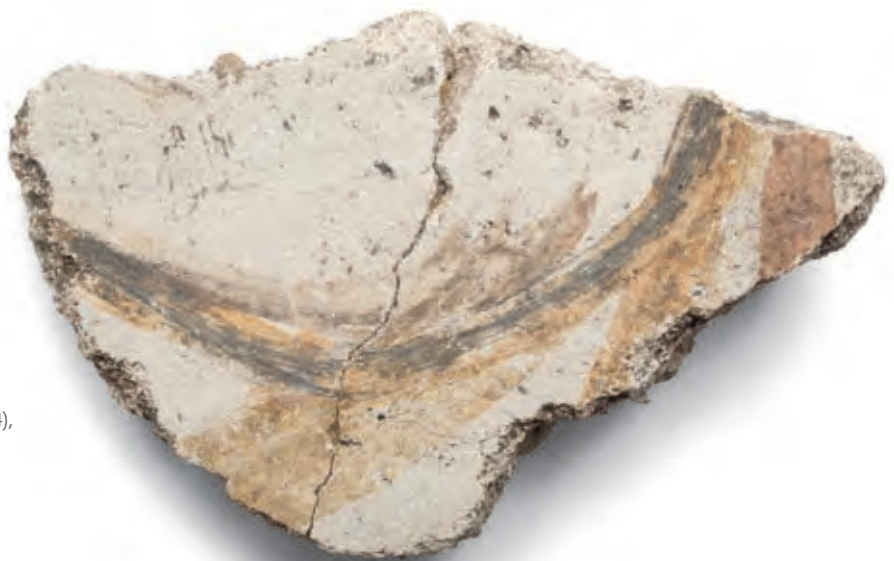
▶ circular frame ø 19.3 cm



1



2



3

▲► **347 Mikulčice**  
**(Hodonín district)**

Fragments of painted interior plasters from churches No. 3 (3–4) and 6 (1–2), 9th century  
Registration No. no registration number (1),  
VM P198 (2), 594-1243/58 (3), 594-1244/58 (4),  
VM P202 (5), VM 1228 (6); IAASB

Dimensions: plaster 10.0 × 7.8 cm (1)  
plaster 9.5 × 6.2 cm (2)  
plaster 5.5 × 2.9 cm (3)  
plaster 8.5 × 7.6 cm (4)  
plaster 10.0 × 6.8 cm (5)  
plaster 10.0 × 7.0 cm (6)

Literature: Pouлік 1963; Misar 1998





4



5



6





1



2



3

**▲▼► 348 Pohansko – Ducal Manor  
(Břeclav district)**

Fragments of painted interior plasters from church  
No. 1, 9th century  
Registration No. A9-58/2 (1), P 9257/18 (2),  
P 9257/10 (3), P 9876/3 (4), P 9257/33 (5),  
VM P 206 (6); IAM FA MU

Dimensions: plaster 6.5 × 5.5 cm (1)  
plaster 4.8 × 3.1 cm (2)  
plaster 5.0 × 4.5 cm (3)  
plaster 9.3 × 5.5 cm (4)  
plaster 5.5 × 2.8 cm (5)  
plaster 5.1 × 4.3 cm (6)

Literature: Dostál – Kalousek – Macháček 2008



4



5



6



► **349 Uherské Hradiště – Sady  
(Uherské Hradiště district)**

Fragment of painted interior plaster with part  
of human face, 9th century  
Chapel, probably grave shelter 12/59  
Registration No. Sa 5/2015; MM  
Dimensions: 17.5 × 12.6 cm  
Literature: Galuška 1996





**▲ 350 Olomouc – Denisova street,  
Republic square  
(Olomouc district)**

Fragment of ceramic roofing, 9th century  
Church of Our Lady of the Snows,  
object No. 28/12-391  
Registration No. 28/12-192/1; NHI-ROOL  
Dimensions: 10.0 × 8.7 cm  
Literature: Šlězár 2013a

**▼ 351 Uherské Hradiště – Sady  
(Uherské Hradiště district)**

Burnt clay component of roof crest of classical  
character, top decorated with line of semicircles,  
9th century  
Sacral areal, church with cross-disposition  
Registration No. Sa 4/2015; MM  
Dimensions: 60.0 × 40.0 × 25.0 cm  
Literature: Hrubý 1970; Galuška 1996





3



4



▲► **352 Bojná I – Valy**  
(Topoľčany district, SK)

Bronze bell with central opening, two circular arms

and three iron clappers, 9th century

From the rampart (1–2), unstratified (3–4)

Registration No. 275/2008 (3), no registration

number (1–2, 4); IASAS

Dimensions: bell total height 21.5 cm (1)

clapper length 13.2 cm (2)

clapper length 10.0 cm (3)

clapper length 6.5 cm (4)

Literature: Janošík – Pieta 2006

1



2





◀ **353 Mikulčice – Valy**  
(Hodonín district)

Iron stylus, 9th century  
From layer by church No. 3  
Registration No. 594-1162/69;  
IAASB  
Dimensions: length 7.4 cm  
Literature: Klanica 2007

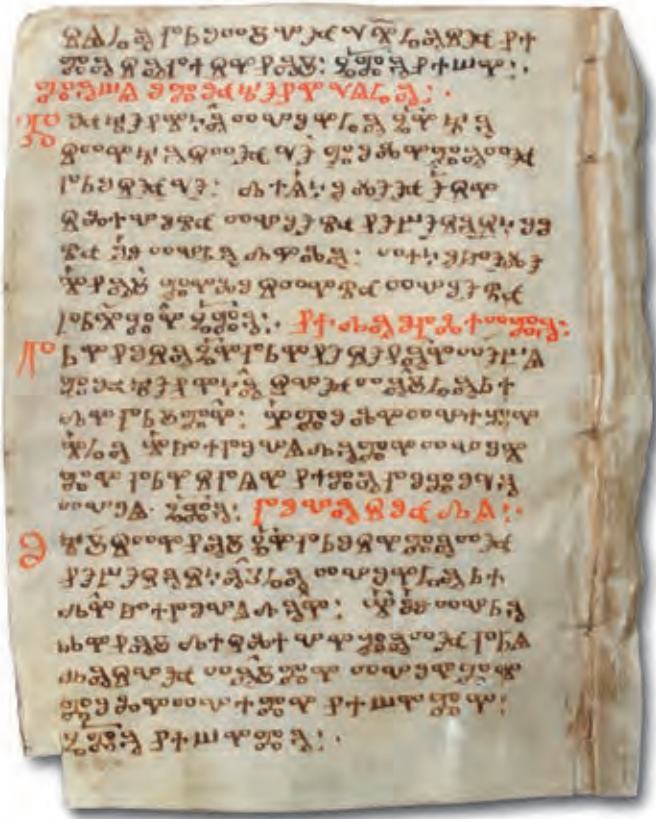
▼ **354 Staré Město – Na Dvorku**  
(Uherské Hradiště district)

Bone and iron styluses, 9th century  
Object X  
Registration No. Sa 3/2015; MM  
Dimensions: length 11.1 cm (1); 10.3 cm (2)  
Literature: Galuška 2013b



◀ **355 Uherské hradiště – Sady**  
(Uherské Hradiště district)

Iron stylus with twisted stem, bone stylus,  
9th century  
Sacred areal, hut No. 2/61  
Registration No. Sa 14/2015; MM  
Dimensions: length 8.2 cm (1); 6.9 cm (2)  
Literature: Galuška 1996

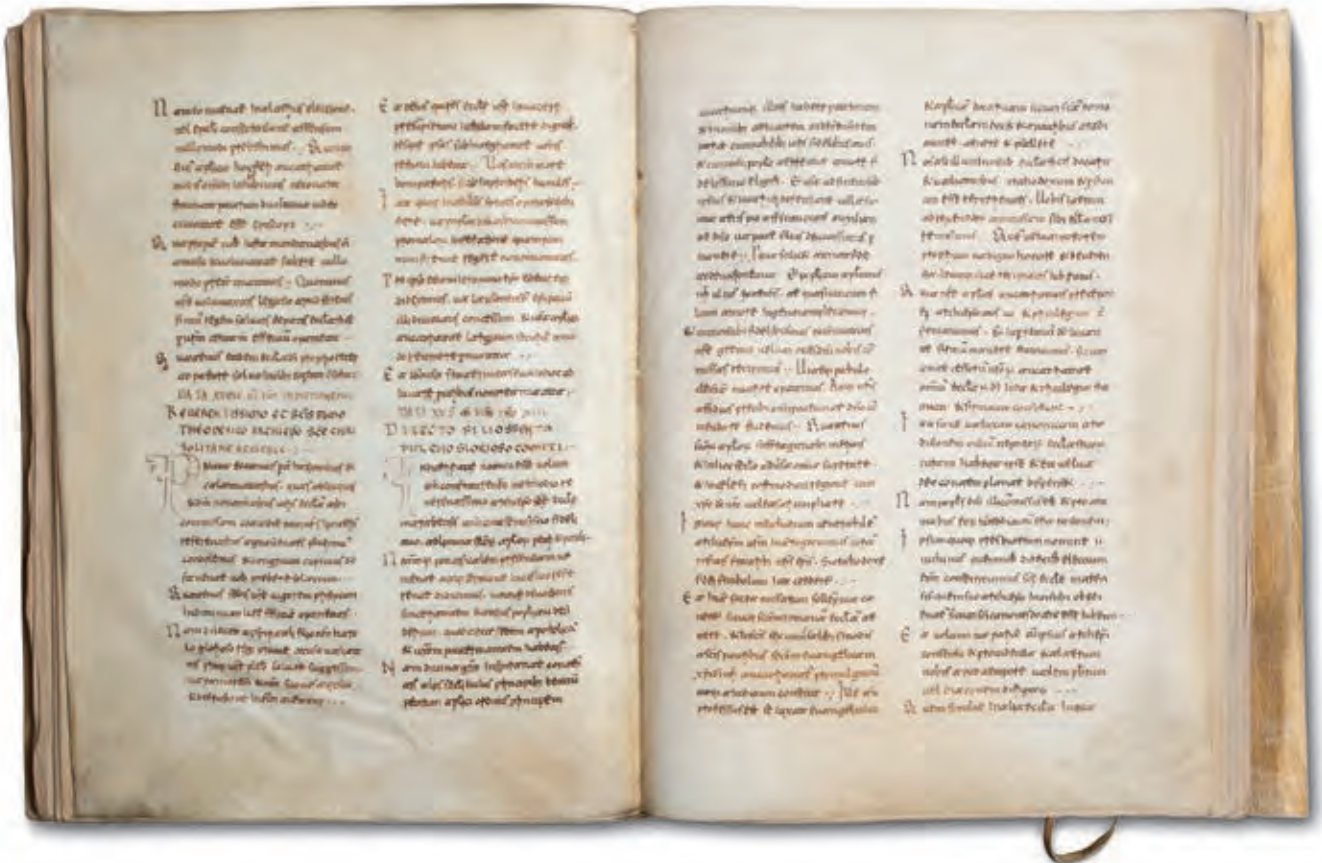


◀ 356 Kiev folia (facsimile)

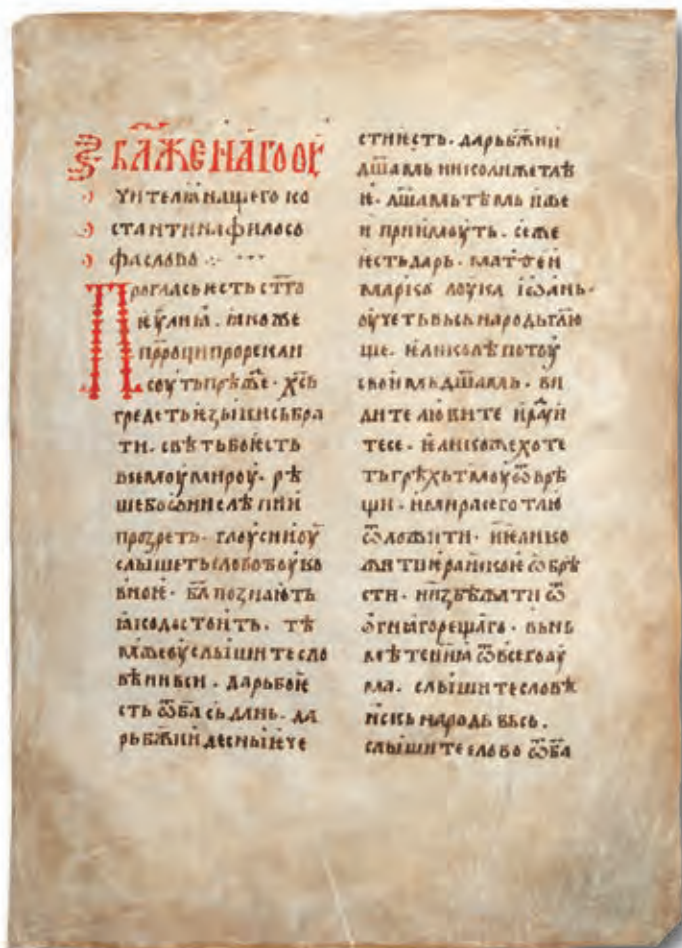
SNM-HM, 10th century  
Dimensions: 15.0 × 11.5 cm  
Literature: Vašica 1966; 2014 (3rd issue)

▼ 357 Industriæ Tuæ (facsimile)

SNM-HM, June in 880  
Dimensions: 24.3 × 33.5 cm  
Literature: Vašica 1966; 2014 (3rd issue)







◀ 358 Proglas (facsimile)

SNM-HM, 9th century  
 Dimensions: 18.0 × 14.0 cm  
 Literature: Havlík 1983

▶ 359 Mikulčice – Valy (Hodonín district)

Wooden pyxis from male grave fitted with gilded bronze decorations, 9th century Grave No. 300, north of church No. 3  
 Registration No. 594-4478/57, 594-4479/57; IAASB  
 Dimensions: 7.0–10.0 × 9.0 cm  
 Literature: Poulik 1975; Kavánová 2013



▼► **360 Žuráň (Brno-Country district)**

Ivory pyxis, probably of Syrian origin, beginning of 6th century  
Grave No. 2  
Registration No. 812/3-1, 81/3-15/54; MM  
Dimensions: height 7.3 cm  
Literature: Poulík 1995



► **361 Čierne Kláčany (Zlaté Moravce district, SK)**

Ivory pyxis found in context of disturbed Great Moravian grave, 1st third of 4th century or mid 6th century (brought to Great Moravia through Cyril and Methodius mission in 9th century)  
Disturbed grave  
Registration No. 0000k; IASAS  
Dimensions: 13.8 × 8.5 cm  
Literature: Kolník – Veličik 1983







◀ **362 Mikulčice – Valy  
(Hodonín district)**

Lead procession cross with relief bulges on arms and in center, 2nd half of 9th century (?)  
Surface layer near church No. 3  
Registration No. 594-928/74; IAASB  
Dimensions: 8.0 × 5.4 cm  
Literature: Klanica 1993a



▶ **363 Mikulčice – Valy  
(Hodonín district)**

Silver cross with representation of crucified Christ dressed in so-called colobium, 2nd half of 9th century  
Surface layer south of atrium of church No. 3  
Registration No. 594-1022/56; IAASB  
Dimensions: 4.0 × 3.3 cm  
Literature: Poulík 1975; Klanica 1993a



◀ **364 Uherské Hradiště – Sady  
(Uherské Hradiště district)**

Lead pendant cross with engraving of crucified Christ and Greek writing ZOE-I(ESU)S-CH(RISTO)S-FOS-NIKA on reverse; Great Moravia's oldest paleographic evidence, last third of 9th century  
Sacral areal – settlement, hut No. 2  
Registration No. Sa 15/2015; MM  
Dimensions: 3.7 × 2.5 cm  
Literature: Galuška 1996







◀ **365 Uherské Hradiště – Otakarova street (Uherské Hradiště district)**

Lead cross with schematic depiction of the Crucified, end of 9th century  
Cultural layer  
Registration No. A 175 786; MMSUH  
Dimensions: 3.0 × 2.2 cm  
Literature: Frolíková Kaliszová 2003



▶ **366 Uherské Hradiště – Hradební street (Uherské Hradiště district)**

Bronze cross with hardly distinguishable representation of Crucified, 9th–10/11th century  
Unstratified  
Registration No. A 234 602; MMSUH  
Dimensions: 3.4 × 2.2 cm  
Literature: Frolíková Kaliszová 2009



◀ **367 Staré Město – Na Dvorku (Uherské Hradiště district)**

Lead cross decorated with figural motifs on both sides; with Redeemer on front and Mother of God on reverse, 2nd half of 9th century  
Ditch No. II  
Registration No. Sa 6/2015; MM  
Dimensions: 3.7 × 2.5 cm  
Literature: Galuška 2000a

▼ **368 Mikulčice – Valy (Hodonín district)**

Lead cross with unshapely representation of Saviour, 2nd half of 9th century  
Grave No. 339 (?) by church No. 3  
Registration No. 594-295/57; IAASB  
Dimensions: 3.4 × 2.7 cm  
Literature: Pouлік 1975; Klanica 1993a



▼ **369 Dolní Věstonice – Písky (Břeclav district)**

Bronze cross without decoration, last third of 9th – beginning of 10th century  
Grave No. 494/49  
Registration No. 60/49; IAASB  
Dimensions: 3.5 × 5.1 cm  
Literature: unpublished





1



2

◀ **370 Mikulčice – Valy (Hodonín district)**

Fragments of lead crosses with simplified schematic figure of the Crucified in standard adoration gesture, last third of 9th – beginning of 10th century Cultural layer  
 Registration No. 594-315/74 (1), 594-618/81 (2); IAASB  
 Dimensions: cross 4.2 × 2.0 cm (1)  
                   cross 2.3 × 2.3 cm (2)  
 Literature: Měřinský 1988; Klanica 1993a

▶ **371 Dolní Věstonice – Písky (Břeclav district)**

Lead cross with simplified schematic figure of the Crucified in standard adoration gesture, last third of 9th – beginning of 10th century  
 Grave No. 481/49  
 Registration No. 52/49; IAASB  
 Dimensions: 3.5 × 4.5 cm  
 Literature: Měřinský 1988



◀ **372 Dojč (Senica district, SK)**

Lead cross with simplified schematic figure of the Crucified in standard adoration gesture, last third of 9th – beginning of 10th century  
 Registration No. 2841; IASAS  
 Dimensions: 3.5 × 4.3 cm  
 Literature: Bača – Kolník 2010



◀ **373 Dolní Věstonice – Písky**  
(Břeclav district)

Necklace consisting of glass beads, lead crosses and pearls, 2nd half of 9th century  
Grave No. 467/49  
Registration No. 43/49; IAASB  
Dimensions: length ca 28.0 cm, crosses 2.4 × 2.1 cm (1); 2.6 × 2.1 cm (2); 2.8 × 2.1 cm (3)  
Literature: Měřínský 1988

▼ **374 Dolní Věstonice – Písky**  
(Břeclav district)

Necklace consisting of lead crosses and pearls, 2nd half of 9th century  
Grave No. 651/56  
No registration No.; IAASB  
Dimensions: length ca 20.0 cm; crosses 2.3 × 1.3 cm (1); 2.3 × 1.9 cm (2); 2.2 × 1.8 cm (3)  
Literature: Měřínský 1988



◀ **375 Prušánky (Hodonín district)**

Necklace consisting of lead crosses and pearls, 2nd half of 9th century  
Grave No. 103  
Registration No. 856-191 to 197/78; IAASB  
Dimensions: length ca 15.0 cm, crosses 2.2 × 1.8 cm (1), 1.8 × 1.9 cm (2), 2.2 × 1.8 cm (3)  
Literature: Klanica 2006





◀ **376 Staré Město – Na Valách  
(Uherské Hradiště district)**

Lead cross with flat back side and semicircular bulges on front, 2nd half of 9th century  
Grave No. 243/AZ  
Registration No. SM 625; MMSUH  
Dimensions: 2.3 × 1.8 cm  
Literature: Hrubý 1955

▶ **377 Pohansko – Northeast Suburb  
(Břeclav district)**

Roughly cast lead cross, last third of 9th century  
Grave No. 134 by church No. 2  
Registration No. P 245554; IAM FA MU  
Dimensions: 2.8 × 2.5 cm  
Literature: Přichystalová 2013



◀ **378 Pohansko – Ducal Manor  
(Břeclav district)**

Lead cross, 2nd half of 9th century  
Object No. 42  
Registration No. P 11543a; IAM FA MU  
Dimensions: 2.9 × 2.3 cm  
Literature: Dostál 1975



► **379 Mikulčice – Valy  
(Hodonín district)**

Gilded cast bronze fitting with motifs of human oval-shaped masks, probably from sword mounting set (?), 1st half of 9th century  
Square 33/-17, area of church No. 5  
Registration No. 594-438/59; IAASB  
Dimensions: 5.4 × 5.2 cm  
Literature: Poulík 1975; 1985; Kavánová 2013



◀ **380 Mikulčice – Valy  
(Hodonín district)**

Bronze cross – probably from reliquary – with unshapely representation of Christ, 9th century  
Square 43/-17, from destruction of church No. 12  
Registration No. 594-400/80; IAASB  
Dimensions: 4.0 × 3.2 cm  
Literature: Kaván 1993; Kavánová 2003



► **381 Mikulčice – Valy  
(Hodonín district)**

Embossed gilded copper fitting in shape of isosceles cross, probably with representation of Christ, 9th century  
Grave No. 400 by church No. 3  
Registration No. 594-1121a/57; IAASB  
Dimensions: 7.1 × 7.9 cm  
Literature: Klanica 2002; Kavánová 2013





▼ **383 Bošáca – Zemianske Podhradie**  
(Nové Mesto n. Váhom district, SK)

Lead isosceles cross with stylized relief figure of the Redeemer, 9th century?  
So called Martákova skala (?)  
No registration No.; PC  
Dimensions: 2.4 × 2.4 cm  
Literature: unpublished



▲ **382 Veľká Mača**  
(Galanta district, SK)

Bronze, originally gilded, two-part kaptorga – reliquary with representation of three figures and letters HCXC, 10th century  
Unstratified  
Registration No. x001; IASAS  
Dimensions: 7.2 × 4.4 cm  
Literature: Kolník 1994



▼ **385 Hurbanovo (Komárno district)**

Bronze breast cross of Latin shape with figure of the Crucified, 10th–11th century  
Grave No. 22  
Registration No. 2002; IASAS  
Dimensions: 3.2 × 2.6 cm  
Literature: Roganský 2009



▲ **384 Trnovec n. Váhom (Šaľa district, SK)**

Bronze two-part kaptorga – reliquary with representation of the Crucified on the front side and probably the Mother of God on the opposite, 9th–11th century  
Grave No. 382  
Registration No. 2001; IASAS  
Dimensions: 9.3 × 3.5 cm  
Literature: Kolník 1994





◀ **386 Mikulčice – Valy  
(Hodonín district)**

Gilded bronze codex-shaped fitting decorated with filigree and granulation, 9th century  
Grave No. 505 by church No. 3  
Registration No. 594-1125/57; IAASB  
Dimensions: 3.9 × 2.9 cm  
Literature: Poulík 1975; Klanica 2010

▼ **387 Mikulčice – Kostelisko  
(Hodonín district)**

Three gilded bronze strap fittings in shape of liturgical book decorated with filigree and color glass inlays, 9th century  
Grave No. 1735  
Registration No. 594-2884/86 (1), 594-2885/86 (2), 594-2887/86 (3); IAASB  
Dimensions: 3.9 × 3.5 cm (1-2); 3.8 × 3.4 cm (3)  
Literature: Klanica 2010



1



2



3



◀ **388 Pohansko – Ducal Manor  
(Břeclav district)**

Gilded bronze strap end decorated  
with polychromatic enamel, 2nd half of 9th century  
Grave No. 253  
Registration No. P 12662; IAM FA MU  
Dimensions: 4.0 × 2.4 cm  
Literature: Kalousek 1971



◀▲ **389 Bojná I – Valy  
(Topolčany district, SK)**

Gilded bronze book fitting for fastening leather  
straps, 9th century  
Unstratified  
Registration No. 179/2007; IASAS  
Dimensions: 2.8 × 1.8 × 1.3 cm  
Literature: unpublished



▲▶ **390 Nitra – Šindolka (Nitra district, SK)**

Bird-shaped bronze book fitting for fastening leather  
straps, 10th–11th century  
Grave No. E299  
Registration No. 7000; IASAS  
Dimensions: 2.6 × 1.7 cm  
Literature: Fusek 2007







2



3



4



1

▲► **391 Zawada Lanckorońska**  
(Tarnowski district, PL)

Hoard of silver and glass jewellery deposited in ceramic vessel, 1st half of 10th century

Early medieval hillfort

Registration No. MAK/10157/1, MAK/10157/65, MAK/10157/72, MAK/10157/75; AMK

Dimensions: vessel height 15.6 cm (1)  
earring 3.6 × 2.2 cm (2)  
earring 5.0 × 3.0 cm (3)  
earring 5.2 × 3.2 cm (4)

Literature: Zoll-Adamikowa – Dekówna – Nosek 1999





**▲ 392 Pohansko – Ducal Manor  
(Břeclav district)**

Gilded bronze needle, last third of 9th – beginning  
of 10th century  
Grave No. 131  
Registration No. P 1349; IAM FA MU  
Dimensions: length 4.3 cm  
Literature: Kalousek 1971



1



2



3



4

**▲► 393 Dolní Věstonice – Písky  
(Břeclav district)**

Lead button, lead beads and lead crescent-shaped  
pendant, last third of 9th – beginning of 10th century  
Grave No. 535/55  
No registration No.; IAASB  
Dimensions: beads 3.2 × 0.3 cm (1–2)  
button 1.5 × 1.0 cm (3)  
crescent 2.4 × 3.3 cm (4)  
Literature: Měřínský 1988



◀ **394 Olomouc – Václavské square  
(Olomouc district)**

Fragment of bone plate with engraving of figure  
with nomadic features?, 10th century?  
Cultural layer  
Registration No. 01/00-D4-272/1; NHI-ROOL  
Dimensions: 6.1 × 1.5 cm  
Literature: Kouřil – Gryc 2014



▶ **395 Olomouc – Slavonín  
(Olomouc district)**

Ceramic vessel with two opposite handles,  
last third of 9th – beginning of 10th century  
Grave No. 48  
Registration No. A101678; RMO  
Dimensions: height 23.0 cm  
Literature: Kouřil 2008



1



2



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4



5



6



7



8



9



10

**▲► 396 Brno – Staré Zámky  
(Brno-City district)**

Rhombic Old Hungarian arrowheads for reflex bow,  
last third of 9th – beginning of 10th century  
Registration No. 114/54 (1), 115/54 (2), 121/54 (3),  
208/54 (4), 220/54 (5), 503/58 (6), 572/54 (7),  
591/53 (8), 1195/56 (9), 1238/54 (10); IAASB  
Dimensions: 5.0–7.9 × 1.3–2.0 cm  
Literature: Kouřil 2008



► **397 Mikulčice – Valy  
(Hodonín district)**

Iron cross-guard from Old Hungarian saber,  
last third of 9th – beginning of 10th century  
Settlement layer  
Registration No. 594-2132/65; IAASB  
Dimensions: 8.2 × 1.7 cm  
Literature: Kouřil 2008



◀ **398 Víno near Slezské Rudoltice  
(Bruntál district)**

Iron bit, beginning of 10th century  
Early medieval hillfort  
Registration No. 277; IAASB  
Dimensions: 11.3 × 4.5 cm  
Literature: unpublished

▼ **399 Bánov (Nové Zámky  
district, SK)**

Goods from equestrian male grave of nomadic  
character – iron stirrups, bit, buckle and bone  
bow lining, beginning of 10th century  
Grave No. 20  
Registration No. 43-46; IASAS  
Dimensions: stirrups 15.0 × 12.5 cm (1)  
bit length 20.5 cm (2)  
buckle 5.5 × 4.5 cm (3)  
bow lining max. length of fragment  
6.5 cm; width 3.5 cm (4)  
Literature: Točík 1968a





◀▼▶ head decorations 12.8–17.6 × 3.1–5.0 cm



▲▶ 400 Stará Kouřim (Kolín district)

Grave of "Princess" – a pair of crescent-shaped decorations with gilded copper column with gilded silver chains (1–2), two pairs of silver head decorations (3–6), two pairs of embossed silver buttons (7–10), silver pin (11), larger silver kaptorga decorated with filigree (12), two big silver beads decorated with umbonal applications and filigree (13–14), two small silver beads decorated with granulation (15–16) and two smaller silver kaptorgas decorated with relief of horse triga (17–18), 1st third of 10th century Grave No. 106b  
 Registration No. H1 96696 – H1 96697, H1 96699 – H1 96713, H1 96717 – H1 96718; NM-HM  
 Literature: Šolle 1959; 1966









7



8



9



10

▲ buttons 3.9–5.6 × 3.7–5.0 cm



11

▲ pin length 4.9 cm



12

▲ large silver kaptorga 7.6 × 5.3 cm



13



14



15



16

▲ silver beads length 1.9-3.6 × width 1.3-2.4 cm



17



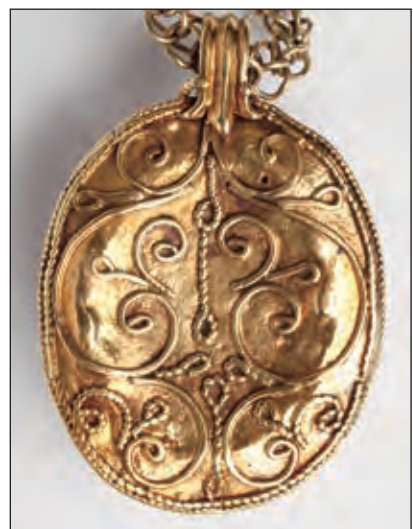
18

▲ smaller silver kaptorgas 3.0 × 2.5 cm; 3.1 × 2.6 cm





◀▼ chain 32.0 cm; medallion: 4.0 × 2.7 cm



▲► **401 Želénky (Teplice district)**

Grave of "Princess" – gold chain with medallion with late Antique onyx cameo from the 4th century (1), gilded silver kaptorga made of two plaques with the motive of bird of pray hunting deer (2), two gold double-shelled buttons (3–4), and three gold grape-shaped earrings (5–7), 9th century  
Mound grave  
Registration No. H1-118743 (1), H1-118744 (2), H1-118748 – 118749 (3–4), H1-118745–118747 (5–7); NM-HM  
Literature: Schráníl 1925





2



▲ kaptorga 6.7 × 4.9 cm

▶ buttons 2.6 × 2.1 cm



3



4

▼ earrings 2.4–2.8 × 1.5–1.7 cm



5



6



7



▲ **402 Stará Kouřim (Kolín district)**

Gilded bronze buttons with embossed decoration,  
9th century  
Grave No. 79 (1), 113 (2)  
Registration No. H1-118649 (1), H1-118697 (2);  
NM-HM  
Dimensions: 2.7 × 2.1 cm (1); 2.6 × 1.9 cm (2)  
Literature: Šolle 1959; 1966

▼ **403 Libochovičky (Kladno district)**

Gilded copper buttons with floral decoration,  
2nd half of 9th – 1st third of 10th century  
Disrupted grave  
Registration No. H1-42636 (1), H1-42637 (2); NM-HM  
Dimensions: 6.0 × 3.8 cm (1); 5.0 × 4.2 cm (2)  
Literature: Sláma – Sklenář 1974





◀ 404 Budeč (Kladno district)

Fragment of gilded bronze cross-shaped fitting,  
9th century  
Grave No. 71  
Registration No. Bu 76-305; IAASP  
Dimensions: 3.1 × 3.1 cm  
Literature: Šolle 1980



◀▼ 405 Praha – Castle, graveyard U jízdrny (The City of Prague district)

Gold grape-shaped earrings, 9th century  
Grave No. 1/1947  
Registration No. 12694; IAASP  
Dimensions: 3.3 × 2.0 cm  
Literature: Borkovský 1951; Frólik – Tomková – Žegklitz 1988







▲ **406 Cult object**

Chotěbuz – Podobora, scale 1:25, turn of the 8th and 9th century



▲ **407 Cult object with horse burial and pithouse in the vicinity**

Břeclav – Pohansko, scale 1:25, 1st half of the 10th century

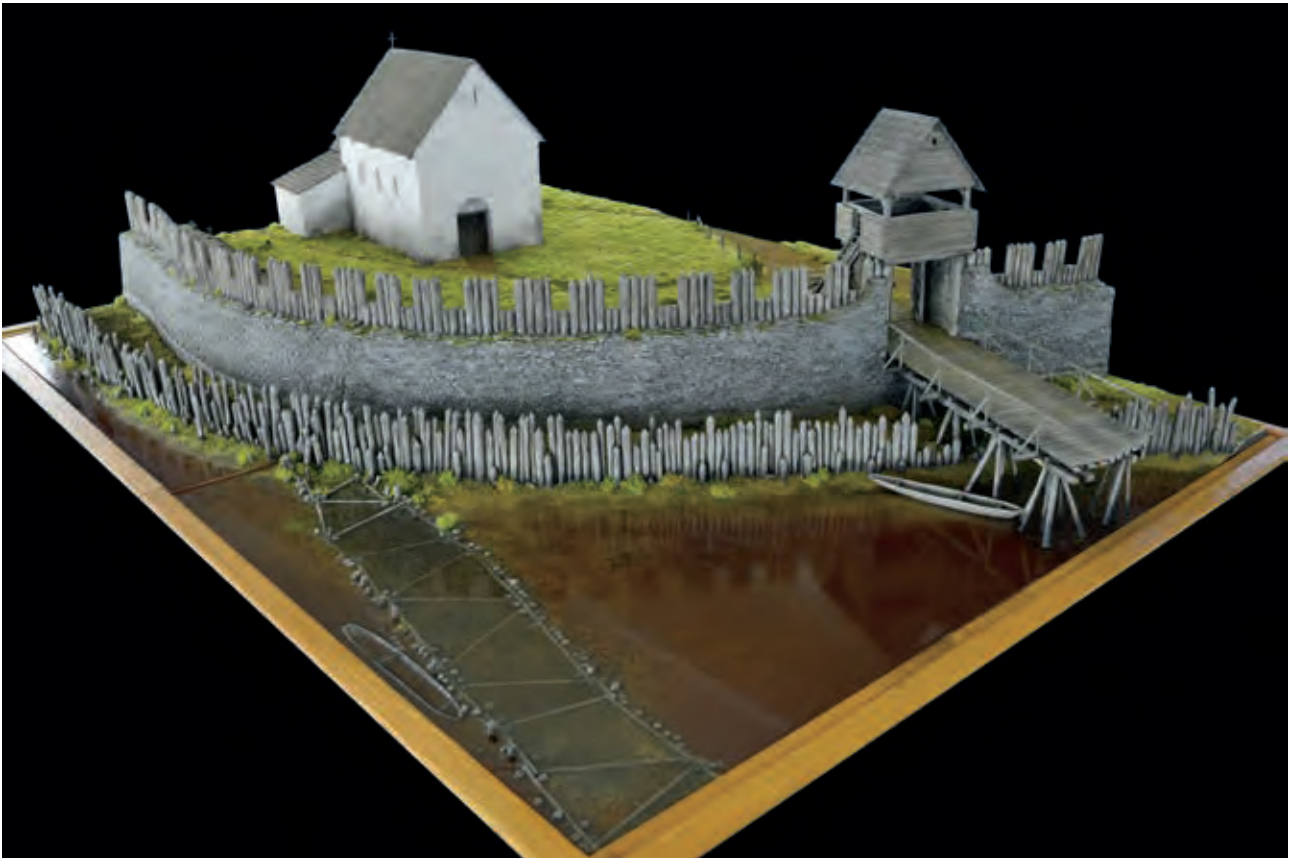


▲ **408 The church No. 3 – so called three nave basilica**  
Mikulčice – Valy, scale 1:25, 2nd half of the 9th century



▲ **409 The church No. 6 – so called double-apse rotunda**  
Mikulčice – Valy, scale 1:25, 2nd half of the 9th century





▲ 410 The church No. 2 with section of fortification, gate and bridge

Mikulčice – Valy, scale 1:25, 9th century



▲ 411 The church No. 10 with outer supporting pillars

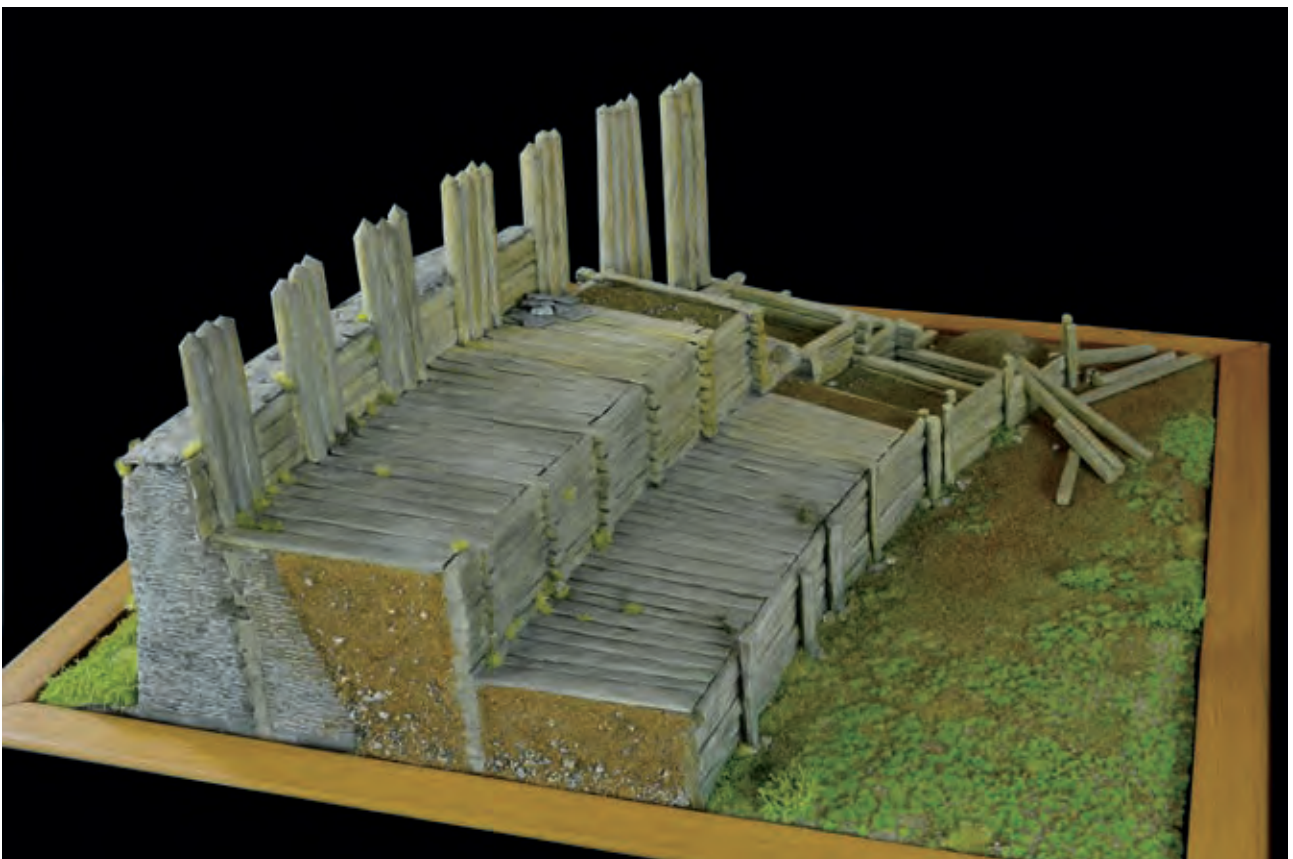
Mikulčice – Valy, scale 1:25, 2nd half of the 9th century





▲ **412 The Early Christian center of monastic character**

Uherské Hradiště – Sady, scale 1:25, 2nd half of the 9th century



▲ **413 Cross-section of the Great Moravian fortification with construction phases**

Uherské Hradiště – Rybárny, scale 1:25, 2nd half of the 9th century



▲ **414 The Byzantine type church**

Staré Město "Špitálky", scale 1:25, 3rd third of the 9th century



▲ **415 One nave church**

Modrá at Velehrad, scale 1:25, 9th century





▲ 416 The church No. 1 with section of burial ground

Břeclav – Pohansko, scale 1:25, 2nd half of the 9th century



▲ 417 The church No. 2 – rotunda with revealed building construction

Břeclav – Pohansko, scale 1:25, end of the 9th – beginning of the 10th century (?)





▲ 418 Part of a princely residential farmstead with proprietary church – a rotunda  
Ducové – Kostolec, scale 1:25, turn of the 9th and 10th century



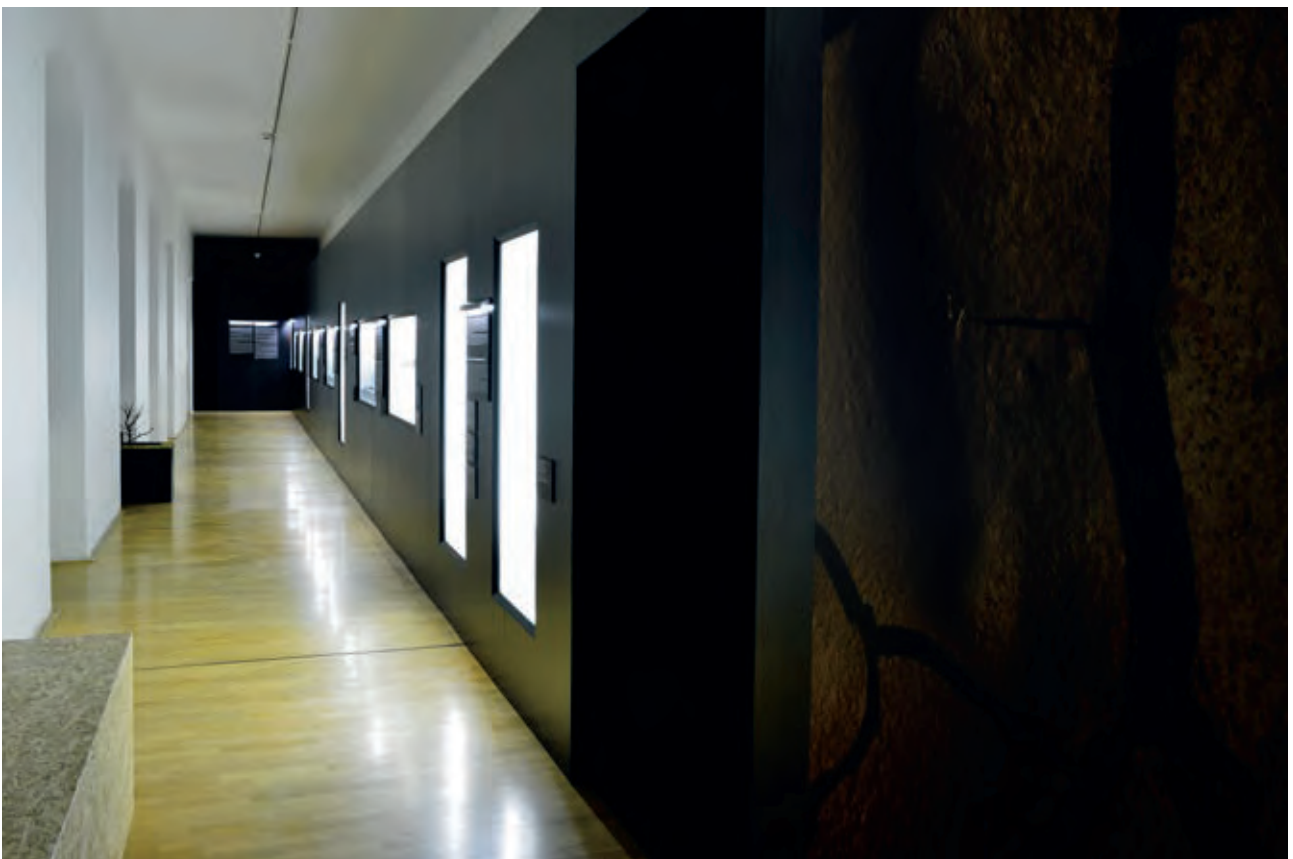
▲ 419 Idealized reconstruction of Mikulčice – Valy stronghold (author L. Balák)







▲▼ Slavs and their neighbours







▲▼ The formation of Slavic elite and the development of an independent state





▲▼ Great Moravia – consolidation and general expansion





▲▼ Great Moravian elites







▲▼ Christianity and the Byzantine mission





▲▼ Influence of Great Moravia on Central Europe space, its downfall and heritage







▲▼ Interactive room







▲▼ Interactive room



# NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Lappenberg, I. M. – Schmeidler, B. (ed.) 1909: Helmoldi Bozoviensis Cronica Slavorum: accedunt versus de vita Vicelini et Sidonis epistola. In: MGH Scriptores rerum Germanicarum 32, Hannoverae – Lipsiae, 160: “[...] Inter multiformia vero deorum numina, quibus arva, silvas, tristicias atque voluptates attribuunt, non diffitentur unum deum in celis ceteris imperitantem, illum prepotentem celestia tantum curare, hos vero distributis officiis obsequentes de sanguine eius processisse et unumquemque et prestantiorem, que proximiorum illi deo deorum [...]”

<sup>2</sup> Meyer, C. H. (ed.) 1931: Herbordi Dialogus de vita Ottonis episcopi Babenbergensis, I. II./cap. 32. Fontes historiae religionis Slavicae (Fontes historiae religionum 4), Berolini, 28: “Ego sum deus tuus; ego sum qui vestio et graminiibus campos et frantibus nemora; fructus agrorum et lignorum, fetus pecorum, et omnia quaecumque usibus hominum serviunt, in mea sunt potestate. Haec dare sole cultoribus meis, et his qui me contempnunt auferre.”

<sup>3</sup> The oldest Russian chronicle, for instance, mentions human sacrifices before Perun’s idol in Kiev; the sacrifices are mostly described as children. This is true for the episode that was supposed to have happened in 983, when the son of a Christian Varyag merchant was chosen. The man refused to give up his child, upon which he as well and his son were killed by the mob. Povest’ vremennykh let – Ipat’jevskaja letopis’ 2001, Polnoje sobranije russkich letopisej 2, Moskva, 82–83: “[...] bĕ že Varjagъ to prišelъ izъ Greкъ, deržaše vĕrju chrestijanъsku [...] Rĕša prišedše poslanii kъ nemu: jako pade žrebii na synъ tvoi, izvoliša bo i bozi sobĕ, da sъtvorimъ potrebu bogomъ. I reče Varjagъ: ne sutъ to bozi, no drĕvo[...].ne damъ syna svojego bĕsomъ... v dai syna svojego, da vdamy i bogomъ... Onъ že reče: ašte sutъ bozi, to jedinogo sobe posljutъ boga, da imutъ synъ moi, a vy čemu pretrebujete imъ? I bliknuša, i posĕkaša sĕni pod nima, i tako pobiša ja [...]”

<sup>4</sup> The material culture of the elites in Pribina’s new seat in Zalavar is similar to that of the Moravians – there are identical types of axes and, most significantly, of luxury jewellery in the graves (Szöke 2010, Fig. 15–16). This is a model example of an archaeological situation where the written sources remain silent.

<sup>5</sup> Svatopluk was also the godfather of Zwentibald (\*870/1), the illegitimate son of Arnulf, the East-Frankish king and future emperor.

<sup>6</sup> The convent in Regensburg later became the home of Boleslav’s brother, who probably authored the *Legend of Christian* (see Třeštík 1999, 602 n.).

<sup>7</sup> Collectively in Profantová 2010; 2013 (Rubín), and Profantová 1999; 2012; Profantová – Stolz 2006; Profantová – Špaček 2003.

<sup>8</sup> E.g. in Budeč there are some made of stone, bone (?) and clay: Váňa 1995, 63, Fig. 43: 6, 11. In other places they have the form of clay circles; such wheels were found e.g. in Doubravčice (Profantová 1998, Fig. 27: 4, 5).

<sup>9</sup> No court or burial ground in the Czech Republic has been researched in full – we are working with torsos. Among the nine largest hillforts originating in the Middle Hillfort Period only Kouřim and Prague were researched somewhat more fully.

<sup>10</sup> Grave 115/9 – one of two gilded wrought copper buttons featuring the motif of a hand, deposited in the grave of an adolescent. We are grateful to doc. Z. Smetánka who kindly provided us with basic information about the find together with unpublished documentation. He also mentioned the outcome of a discussion with Z. Krumphanzlová

according to which the symbol of the hand does not necessarily need to be linked with Christianity.

<sup>11</sup> According to the *Annales regni Francorum* ad a. 822, Kurze, F. ed. 1895, p. 159, in 822 two Avarian emissaries appeared before the Frankish assembly for the last time while the Moravian emissaries were there for the first time, which demonstrates very well the changing importance of the two empires. Late Avarian patterns of behaviour can also be observed in the story of Pribina of Nitra – see Wolfram, H. ed. 2013, p. 176, note 52. The conquered areas of the Carolingian East were at first called the empire of the Huns or Avars – see Wolfram, H. 1995, 70, note 13 and 183–139; Wolfram, H. 1995, 2003 (2nd issue), 220, note 53.

<sup>12</sup> There were no graves found near the church in the Zalaszábar – Borjúállás sziget locality either (Müller 1995, 2). Herwig Friesinger (Friesinger – Friesinger 1991, 11) had expected a church to have existed in the nobleman’s court of Gars-Thunau, although he did not specify its exact location or elements that he might have discovered that possibly belonged to this building. Detailed analysis of the elements and finds uncovered during the excavations in this part of the locality can provide more information about the place without graves and the process of construction of this church.

<sup>13</sup> I would like to thank David Ruß for making possible the examination of finds from the Maissau burial site.

<sup>14</sup> Disclosed personally by Joop A. Kalis (December 2009), Herwig Friesinger (May 2011) and Michaela Popovtschak (June 2012).

<sup>15</sup> The turning-point period in the dating of pottery from Prague – the 10th century – was made more precise at the end of the 20th century thanks to rare dendrochronological data obtained from a construction uncovered on the base of a cultural group of beds of Prague Castle (Boháčová 2001, 179–301).

<sup>16</sup> Apart from the dating of the *opere Romano* rampart constructed by Boleslav I. – i.e. to the 930s at the earliest – the key piece of data is the dating of the founding of the basilica by Prince Břetislav to between 1039–1046.

<sup>17</sup> This makes it different from the reconstruction of the log building of corresponding age in the Third Court of Prague Castle, where the heating mechanism was probably located on the wooden floor, laid on the beams of the foundation ring of the construction, above the terrain level.

# ACRONYMS

AMK – Archaeological Museum of Kraków

BACM – Bratislava City Museum

BCM – Brno City Museum

CDB – Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris regni Bohemiae

IAASB – The Institute of Archaeology of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, Brno

IAASP – The Institute of Archaeology of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, Prague

IAM FA MU – The Institute of Archaeology and Museology, Faculty of Arts, Masaryk University in Brno

IASAS – The Institute of Archaeology of Slovak Academy of Sciences, Nitra

KM – Kroměříž Museum

MGH – Monumenta Germaniae historica

MGP – Museum and Gallery of Prostějov

MM – Moravian Museum

MMFH – Magnae Moraviae fontes historici

MMH – Masaryk Museum in Hodonín

MMSUH – Museum of Moravian Slovakia in Uherské Hradiště

MNN – Museum of Nitra region in Nitra

MPŽ – Museum of Povážie in Žilina

MSEM – Museum of southeast Moravia in Zlín

MT – Museum of Těšín District

NHI-ROOL – National Heritage Institute – regional office in Olomouc

NHI-ROOS – National Heritage Institute – regional office in Ostrava

NM-HM – National Museum in Prague – Historical museum

PC – privat collection

PL – Poland

MRMM – Regional Museum in Mikulov

RMO – Regional Museum in Olomouc

SNM-EM – Slovak National Museum – Ethnographical Museum in Martin

SNM-HM – Slovak National Museum – Historical Museum in Bratislava

SK – Slovakia



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