WA LHINGS CHANGED THINGS



MY THINGS CHANGED THINGS

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Social Development and Cultural Exchange in Prehistory, Antiquity, and the Middle Ages

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THE UNBELIEVABLE 60th BIRTHDAY OF PETR CHARVÁT

Jiří Sláma

One can hardly avoid the impression that the hectic way of life of today's hurried times seems to deny the justness of F. Braudel's reflections about several categories of historical time, of which we are left only with the fastest-running one. How else are we to explain the fact that some of our professional colleagues, whose first steps on the field of historical investigation we had quite recently observed with keen interest, have already reached the age when scholars are given a collected volume at the occasion of their life's jubilee? This holds true also of our dear colleague Petr Charvát (*January 12, 1949 in Prague). The composition of the collected volume dedicated to his sixtieth birthday is quite unusual it terms of its content, one could almost say it is exceptional. The authors of the individual contributions range from scholars of the Ancient Near East over Egyptologists to specialists in Early Medieval Bohemia and Moravia. The scope of interest of our honoree covers all these parts of early history. The range of his interests is indeed admirable and at the same inspiring. In the course of his investigation of various archaeological and historical problems, P. Charvát has always strived to find monuments and phenomena (for example in the area of religious concepts or commercial relationships), which had connected these distant regions and differing thought systems in the past.

The formation of the personality of our honoree was undoubtedly to a large extent influenced by the exceptional intellectual environment of his family. His future professional focus as well as scholarly interests stemmed primarily from his studies at the Charles University in Prague. The greater part of his studies took place already in the complicated period after the year 1968, when the newly created state power, based on the support of alien tanks that invaded our country, denied for nonsensical ideological and power reasons any scholarly contacts with the western world. Only a few university disciplines could stand up to these for scholarly research so devastating tendencies. These included also prehistory and cuneiform studies, where the honoree graduated in the year 1973. He was also lucky to have been able to acquaint himself with university life free from nonsensical political pressure in the course of one academic year of his studies, although in order to attain this experience, he had to travel to the distant Lagos in Nigeria.

After graduation, P. Charvát gradually extended his knowledge in the course of a scholarship at the Czech Institute of Egyptology and, following that, postgraduate internship at the Archaelogical Institute in Prague. He remained loyal to this institution in the course of the ensuing years, although a greater part of his workload has gradually shifted to other workplaces. These included above all the Oriental Institute in Prague and then some university departments, of which the Department of Near Eastern Studies of the University of West Bohemia in Pilsen became his home institution.

When contacts with foreign countries were enabled after the political changes of 1989, our honoree used his opportunities to the full. He undertook several scholarships in France, Berlin, twice he stayed at the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia and he also studied at the University of Cambridge. He also had the opportunity to take part at several foreign archaeological expeditions. These included above all the exploration

of the Buddhist temple in Anuradhapura at Sri Lanka, undertaken in terms of a UNESCO campaign, and the British archaeological expedition at Djemdet Nasr near Baghdad. P. Charvát is also a member of the Spanish archaeological mission in Turkey.

The honoree's deep knowledge and wide overview of specialized literature allowed him to gradually publish a number of scholarly articles and monographs, important both thematically and in terms of their content, on the basis of which he first attained the academic title PhDr. (in 1975), several years later the scholarly title of candidate of sciences CSc. (in 1980) and another fifteen years later (in 1995) also the highest scholarly title awarded in our country, doctor of historical sciences (DrSc.). In the same year, he habilitated at the faculty of arts of Masaryk University in Brno in the discipline of Slavic archaeology, receiving the title of Assistant Professor.

Since the year 1993, Petr Charvát has been lecturing at several Czech universities. He is an acknowledged and erudite university teacher. At first he lectured at the Pedagogical Faculty of the Charles University in Prague, later he moved to the University of West Bohemia in Pilsen. His lectures and the seminars he directs mostly concentrate on the wide aspects of the cultures of the Ancient Near East. As a visiting professor, P. Charvát has also given lectures concerning problems of the archaeology of Early Medieval Europe at the Faculties of Arts in Brno and Prague.

Both in Czech and international scholarly circles, P. Charvát is known above all as the author of a vast number of scholarly articles and several monographs. Many of these have been published by prestigious publishers. Charvát's bibliography includes both works covering the problems of the historical development of a larger area in the course of a longer period of time (for example his books on the most ancient history of Mesopotamia or about the beginnings of the Czech state), but also studies dedicated to partial problems. All his works are characterized by his critical approach, excellent knowledge of material culture, epigraphic sources and corresponding scholarly literature as well as an ability to reach new approaches and interpretations. With their frequently non-traditional approaches to the problems addressed, Charvát's works stimulate thought and discussion. All these aspects of the works of the honoree are, however, well-known and it is unnecessary to reiterate them again.

What to say in conclusion? Under no circumstances should we repeat the cliché of wishing all good for the ensuing years. This would not do for the vital Petr Charvát (whose 60 years of age appear to me rather like a mistake in his birth certificate). And thus we can wish him (and, rather selfishly, also ourselves) that he might publish as much an in such a way as he had done until now. We are already looking forward for his new works.

MY THINGS CHANGED THINGS

Social Development and Cultural Exchange in Prehistory, Antiquity, and the Middle Ages

"But most cultural transfers were the work of anonymous carriers. So many were they, some moving quickly, others so slowly, that it is almost impossible to find one's way through this immense baggage hall in perpetual confusion. For every piece of cultural baggage recognized, a thousand are untraceable: identification labels are missing and sometimes the contents or their wrappings have vanished too."

Braudel, F., *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II.* Volume II. London: University of California Press 1973, 761.

When Peter Roger Stuart Moorey used this quotation to open his chapter on tracing the roots of cultural transfers between Egypt and Mesopotamia (in: Rowlands, M. – Larsen, M. – Kristianses, K. (eds.): *Centre and Periphery in the Ancient World.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1987, 36), he precisely defined one of the thorniest problems not only of archaeology but also of history or any other social science. The dynamics of society and its material culture development, intercultural exchanges, and legacies of ancient cultures represent themes that can be observed diachronically throughout the entire history of mankind. The following, analyzing, and evaluating of these processes and their understanding can enable us to comprehend our own present.

This publication contains papers devoted to various aspects of Prehistory, Antiquity and Middle Ages of not only Bohemia but also Egypt and Near East. This wide range of time and space mirrors the wide-spread professional interests of Petr Charvát whose ideas, papers, books, and imagination overshoot the limits of several branches, including Near Eastern studies, Archaeology, and Egyptology.

To find one's way through the immense hall of knowledge of human history is one of the hardest lots of any carrier – researcher. And we believe that Petr Charvát belongs to the most gifted of carriers.

Petra Maříková Vlčková – Jana Mynářová – Martin Tomášek

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SEZNAM ZKRATEK / LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS / ABKÜZUNGENVERZEICHNISS

A Museum siglum of the Oriental Institute, Chicago

ÄA Ägyptologische Abhandlungen

AASOR The Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research
Abb Altbabylonische Briefe in Umschrift und Übersetzung

ABoT Balkan, K., Ankara Arkeologji Müzesinde bulunan Bogazköy Tabletleri / Bogazköy Tablets

in the Archaeological Museum in Ankara. Istanbul: Millî Eğitim Basımevi, 1948

ACER The Australian Centre for Egyptology: Reports

ÄF Ägyptologische Forschungen

AO Museum siglum of the Louvre, Paris (Antiquités orientales)

AoF Altorientalische Forschungen ARES Archivi Reali di Ebla – Studi ARET Archivi Reali di Ebla – Testi

ArOr Archiv Orientální

ASAE Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte Ash. Museum siglum, Ashmolean Museum

AV, DAI Archäologische Veröffentlichungen, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut

BÄ Beiträge zur Ägyptologie BdÉ Bibliothèque d'Étude

BIFAO Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale

BME/BM Museum siglum of the British Museum BSFE Bulletin de la société française d'égyptologie

CAD Chicago Assyrian Dictionary

CG Museum siglum of the Egyptian museum, Cairo (Catalogue géneral)

CHANE Culture and History of the Ancient Near East

CRRAI Comptes Rendues, Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale

DAI Deutsches Archäologisches Institut

E. Museum siglum of the Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels

EA siglum of the Amarna tablets (Knudtzon, J. A., Die El-Amarna-Tafeln mit Einleitung und Erläuterungen. Anmerkungen und Register bearbeitet von Otto Weber und Erich Ebeling

Entante ingen. Thine manger and negative between von Otto weber and

[= VAB 2]. 2 Bände. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1907–1915.)

EEF Egypt Exploration Fund

EI Eretz-Israel

ERC Études recherches sur la civilisation FAT Forschungen zum Alten Testament

FHL Durand, J.-M. – Laroche, E., Fragments hittites du Louvre. In: Mémorial Atatürk. Études

d'archéologie et de philologie anatoliennes. Paris: ERC, 1982, 73-107.

GM Göttinger Miszellen

HdO Handbuch der Orientalistik IOS Israel Oriental Studies

JAC Journal of Ancient Civilizations

JAOS Journal of the American Oriental Society

JARCE Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt

JCS Journal of Cuneiform Studies JEA Journal of Egyptian Archaeology

JESHO Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient

JNES Journal of Near Eastern Studies

KBo Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi

KTU Dietrich, M. – Loretz, O. – Sanmartín, J., Cuneiform Alphabetic Texts from Ugarit, Ras ibn

Hani and Other Places. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1995.

KUB Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi

LingAeg Lingua Aegyptia: Journal of Egyptian Language Studies

MÄS Münchner Ägyptologische Studien

MDAIK Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo

MIO Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung

MRS Mission de Ras Shamra

N.A.B.U. Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires

OA Oriens Antiquus

OBO Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
OIP Oriental Institute Publications
OLA Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
PAM Polish Archaeology in Mediterranean

PAT Palmyrene Aramaic Texts (Hillers – Cussini 1996)

P. Dura Parchments and Papyri discovered in Dura Europos (Welles – Fink – Gilliam 1959)

P. Yadin Papyri from the Cave of Letters (*Lewis et al. 1989*; *Yadin et al. (ed.) 2002*)

PRU Le Palais royal d'Ugarit QS Quaderni di semitistica RdE Revue d'Égyptologie

RIA Reallexikon der Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archäologie

RSO Ras Shamra – Ougarit SAA State Archives of Assyria SAAS State Archives of Assyria Studies

SAGA Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens

SAK Studien zur Altägyptische Kultur

SBLWAW Society for Biblical Literature (Writings of the Ancient World)

SMEA Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici

SR Museum siglum of the Egyptian museum, Cairo (Special register)

TAD Textbook of Aramaic Inscriptions from Ancient Egypt (A: Porten – Yardeni 1986; B: Porten

- Yardeni 1989; C: Porten Yardeni 1993; D: Porten - Yardeni 1999)

TbT Totenbuchtexte. Synoptische Textausgabe nach Quellen des Neuen Reiches

UBL Ugaritisch-biblische Literatur

UF Ugarit-Forschungen

VAB Vorderasiatische Bibliothek

VAT Museum siglum of the Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin (Vorderasiatische Abteilung.

Tontafeln)

VBoT Goetze, A., Verstreute Boghazköi-Texte. Marburg: a.d. Lahn, 1930.

VE Vocabolario di Ebla WA World Archaeology

WDSP Wadi Daliyeh Samaria Papyrus (*Gropp 2001*; *Dušek 2007*)

XHev/Se Manuscripts from the Seivâl collection (*Cotton – Yardeni 1997*)

YNER Yale Near Eastern Researches ZA Zeitschrift für Assyriologie

ZÄS Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde

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EGYPT

Chapter 1

Personifications of the Day- and Night-Hours in the Tomb of Menekhibnekau at Abusir – a Preliminary Notice (Ladislav Bareš)

In the burial chamber of the shaft tomb of Menekhibnekau at Abusir, a rich relief decoration consisting of texts and representations has been discovered recently. Some of these scenes and texts remain unattested among all the hitherto explored Late Period shaft tombs. In this paper, the personifications of twelve day- and twelve night-hours from the tomb of Menekhibnekau are briefly described. The personifications are accompanied by a complete series of their names, that seems to be unattested in other contemporary sources.

Chapter 2

A Case for Veneration from Abusir South (Miroslav Bárta)

In 1995, the Czech archaeological team discovered the tomb complex of vizier Qar whose burial chapel was fully decorated. In 2002, the tomb of one of Qar's sons Inti was found, also with a decorated chapel. Among the most relevant scenes in their chapels are the ones showing Egyptian priests carrying out an offering ritual for the soul of the deceased. The purpose of such scenes was twofold: to secure the transmission of the funerary offerings and to assist the deceased in attaining the spiritual stage of being "well-provided". The following stages may be identified, in this order: fumigation of the cultic place, ritual purification of the altar with clean water, declamation of the ritual utterances, wiping off footprints in the chapel and presentation of offerings. The importance of the newly discovered Abusir scenes relating to the funerary cults of the ancient Egyptians lies in the fact that they considerably expand the corpus of similar scenes from other Saqqara tombs. At the same time, they comprise some valuable details that shed more light at the individual stages of this unique ritual, traces of which have been preserved in the archaeological record.

Chapter 3

Missing Puzzle Pieces Found. Two By-Products in Work on BD 105 (Jiří Janák)

Collecting evidence for the Chapter 105 in the New Kingdom Book of the Dead papyri has brought two interesting by-products. The first – identification of a missing chapter in the Book of the Dead of Ramose (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge) – presents an outcome of a study on sequence of spells occurring around BD 105. The latter stems from systematization of the chapter's illustrations – the presence or absence of a vignette was considered in the case of three incomplete New Kingdom BD papyri (pLund KM 21933, pLeiden 15 and pAmherst 16).

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Chapter 4

Taboos of the Golden Goddess. Sexual Taboos in the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom Egypt

(Renata Landgráfová – Hana Navrátilová)

34

The Instructions of Ptahhotep is a well-known and thoroughly studied text. The 32nd Maxim of the Instruction has inspired much controversy, the translations making it a denunciation of homosexuality, or of sleeping with a 'woman who is only a child'. The latest proposal of Kammerzell & Toro Rueda (2003, 63–78), that the text is an admonishment to refrain from forcing anybody whatsoever to sexual activities, is very convincing. Taking this text as its starting point, the present study aims to seek out texts that identify abhorred sexual practices, "sexual taboos" of Middle Kingdom Egyptians. A detailed analyses of these texts reveals that, in the Middle Kingdom at least, the Egyptians were mostly worried about forced sexual acts and abusing one's position in order to demand sexual favours, thus corroborating the new interpretation of Ptahhotep Maxim 32 and illustrating its general validity for the Egyptian elite society.

Chapter 5

New Evidence of an "Old" Iconographic Feature from the Teti Pyramid Cemetery (Petra Maříková Vlčková)

47

It has been often stated that during the 6^{th} Dynasty certain iconographic features were distributed according to the geographical position of the tomb and/or special social position of the tomb owner within the stratified Egyptian society. In the course of the archaeological excavations conducted by the Czech Institute of Egyptology at Abusir South (the mastaba tomb of judge Inti) a distinct group of decorated limestone blocks (with reliefs and engaged statues) were found in the filling of one of the burial shafts. The analysis and evaluation of one of the iconographic details preserved on them could shed some new light on the proposed interrelation between the social status of the tomb owner and certain iconographic features of the tomb decoration.

Chapter 6

The Embalmer's Cache as an Heir of the South Tomb (Květa Smoláriková)

58

The pyramid complex of King Djoser at Saqqara and the Saite shaft tombs of high-ranking dignitaries are seemingly two completely different types of Egyptian funerary architecture. The recent results of archaeological excavations in the small Saite-Persian cemetery at Abusir, supported by previous building-historical research on the vast pyramid complex and the nearby lying shaft tombs, clearly show that they have many common features than cannot be ignored. One could hardly find another example – in respect of the so-called Saite *archaism* – which in such a perfect manner reflects the transposition of the ancient and admired Old Kingdom structure into later times, both concerning its design and the religious significance of its particular parts. The panelled enclosure wall, the massive and deep main shaft with the burial chamber in its centre, the lateral shafts and corridors, the embalming structure in the SW corner, and the vast and intricate cult area in the eastern part all have their parallels in the Step Pyramid of Djoser.

Chapter 7

The Clothing Rite in the Royal Temples of Abusir

(Hana Vymazalová – Filip Coppens)

64

The article focuses on the clothing ritual in relation to the cultic statues in ancient Egyptian temples, and its development over time. The comparison between the evidence from the New Kingdom and Ptolemaic and Roman period on the one hand, and the Old Kingdom material on the other is particularly valuable. The younger periods provide us with descriptive religious inscriptions and reliefs in royal and divine temples, while from the Old Kingdom some indications survived in records from the administrative archives discovered in the 5th Dynasty pyramid temples of Neferirkare and Raneferef in Abusir. This study enables us to trace developments in the language and religious and cultic traditions in Egyptian history.

THE NEAR EAST

Chapter 8

The Phenomenon of the Oriental Renaissance in the Context of French Romanticism: Interpretation by Edgar Quinet (*Ivo Budil*)

74

The article entitled "De la Renaissance Orientale" by Edgar Quinet which was published in La Revue des Deux Mondes in October 1841 marked an important change in the reception of the oriental civilization and culture in the French intellectual life. The military expedition to Egypt led by Napoleon in 1798 presented a new impulse for the development of the French oriental studies and excited the interest of the general public in an idealized past of the oriental countries. For Edgar Quinet the potential spiritual alliance between occidental and oriental civilizations enabled by the cultural movement called oriental renaissance would present one of the greatest achievements in the history of humankind. Quined concluded that Germany was more deeply influenced and shaped by the oriental renaissance than any other European nation despite the absence of communication among its inhabitants and India. This surprising phenomenon and the special sensitivity toward Eastern influences could be quite easily explained by the fact that the German population had been only superficially assimilated by the Western civilization and Christianity.

Chapter 9

Ebla Before History: Toward a Structural Analysis of the Ancient Semitic King Lists (Pavel Čech)

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The 3rd millennium B.C.E. Ebla tablets TM.74.G.120 and ARET 7 150 offer two different yet compatible recensions of the Eblaite list of royal ancestors. The history of their interpretation is reviewed and their distinct *Sitz im Leben* (scribal exercise, sacrificial prescription) elucidated. Particular attention is given to the legendary origins of the Eblaite dynasty. Finally, taking into account other ancient Near Eastern documents of the same genre, shared features of ancient Semitic king lists are pinpointed and their usefulness for structural analysis is tested on both documents.

Chapter 10

The Satisfaction and the Payment-Receipt Clauses in the Aramaic Legal Tradition: Between Egypt and Levant (Jan Dušek)

In 1992, Eleonora Cussini distinguished three types of payment-receipt formulae used in the Aramaic deeds of sale in Antiquity. Since that time several publications of Aramaic legal texts have enlarged the field of the Aramaic studies and these publications shed a new light on the payment-receipt formulae. The Author reconsiders the hypothesis of E. Cussini in the light of these publications. After the analysis of the formulae mentioned by E. Cussini and by related clauses the Author concludes that the problem of the payment-receipt clauses in the Aramaic legal texts from Egypt and Levant is more complex and distinguishes three main types: the satisfaction formulae, the payment-receipt formulae and the formulae expressing the payment of full price. Some elements of these three types of formulae reflect the cuneiform legal tradition.

Chapter 11

The Road to Baghdad: Vlasta Kálalová Di-Lotti – a Woman and a Physician in Baghdad in 1925–1932 and Her Journey from Istanbul to Baghdad in 1925 (Adéla Jůnová Macková)

100

Vlasta Kálalová specialized as a surgeon and had well-formed plans concerning her future profession. Due to her specialisation and her extensive knowledge of languages, she had a very good opportunity to realise her decision to establish an institute for the research of tropical diseases. She decided to leave for the Middle East and to establish a hospital in Baghdad. She set off for the journey in September1924, stayed in Istanbul for a few months and in March 1925 she left for Baghdad. She ran a famous hospital till 1932, when she came back to Czechoslovakia because of her illness.

Chapter 12

From Amarna to Ḥattušaš: Epistolary Traditions in the Amarna and Ramesside Correspondence (Jana Mynářová)

111

The language adopted for a "diplomatic" written communication between Egypt and Hatti in the $14^{\rm th}$ and $13^{\rm th}$ centuries B.C.E. was Akkadian, or more accurately so-called Peripheral Akkadian. The main aim of this paper is to set the two systems, i.e. the "Amarna" and the "Ramesside" correspondence into a broader context of development of the diplomatic language used over the period of Late Bronze Age in the area of Ancient Near East. Special attention is given to structural elements and their sequence in the standardized parts of the letters, especially to the relevant opening passages.

Chapter 13

Moulded Pottery from Istakhr (Karel Nováček)

118

Unglazed pottery made partly in moulds represents a peculiar kind of ceramics widespread all over the medieval Islamic world. A collection of finds of moulded ware from the deserted town at Istakhr, Iran, is presented along with a proposed assessment of its complex decoration based on a formalized description and use of multivariate statistical methods.

Chapter 14

The Fragmentation of Bipartite Ground Stones on a Chalcolithic Site (Ivan Pavlů)

127

Among other objects, bipartite ground stones have been documented on the Chalcolithic settlement of Güvercinkayası (5220–4680 B.C.E.). The ratio of occurrence of lower and upper stones clearly shows that number of the discovered upper stones is more than twice as high as that of the lower ones. This fact corresponds to the general structure of finds forming specific functional assemblages in houses with always two upper stones and one lower stone per house. The ratio of completely preserved upper stones is more or less the same as their fragments. On the other hand, fragments of the lower stones are twice as numerous as completely preserved pieces.

Chapter 15

Police Functions of the Old Babylonian Army (Lukáš Pecha)

133

The available evidence from the Old Babylonian period (2003–1595 B.C.E.) suggests that members of the army frequently fulfilled police functions as there were no specialized police troops in Babylonia. Above all the soldier designated with the Akkadian word $r\bar{e}d\hat{u}m$ or its Sumerian equivalent AGA.UŠ appears frequently in this connection. The Old Babylonian letters show that soldiers assisted the judicial, investigative or administrative authorities by escorting to them the persons who broke the law or whose presence was necessary for deciding a case. They were also involved in solving conflicts related to the agricultural land and its yield. Soldiers confiscated various kinds of property according to judicial decisions and they forced the debtors to pay off their debts. Besides, members of the Old Babylonian army had to arrest and escort runaway slaves. All the evidence suggests that police functions of the Old Babylonian army were very frequent and belonged to the common activities of its members.

Chapter 16

Fragmentation and Secondary Use of the Manos and Metates from the Tepecik-Çiftlik Site in Central Turkey (Jaroslav Řídký)

140

The paper deals with completely preserved types of bipartite stone hand mills (manos and metates) and their fragments from Tepecik-Çiftlik site, Central Turkey (Cappadocia). Following the summary of various types of hand mills, the ratio of their fragmentation will be observed – not only the state of preservation of individual types but also the mode of their secondary use.

A remarkably high percentage of secondary usage of both lower and upper types of hand mills has been observed in the stone architecture of Chalcolithic layers 1–3 on the site. What would be primarily interpreted as ritual foundation or construction deposits in buildings dated from the turn of the 6th and 5th millennium B.C.E. appears on the basis of the high quantity of finds and various morphological types more likely to be a simple practical use of suitable building material obtained from earlier structures. The results of archaeological investigation of this site warn of any premature typochronological conclusions based on artefacts originating from long-inhabited settlement ranges in Central Turkey.

Chapter 17

Dūr-Šarrukēn – The Fortress of Sargon, king of Assyria (Kateřina Šašková)

150

Although Sargon II was neither the only nor the first Assyrian king who, despite the traditionalism of ancient Mesopotamian society, took decision to move the Assyrian capital into a new location, his building of Dūr-Šarrukēn is in many respects a remarkable work. Sargon came to the resolution to construct his new city on virgin soil, which he had exchanged or bought from its previous owners. Unlike most of the other Assyrian cities, the city of Dūr-Šarrukēn had an almost rectangular shape, and the straight line of its walls was broken only in the in the district of the citadel. The construction of the city is described not only by Sargon's building inscriptions, but also by some documents and letters of royal correspondence, from which we can attain some important information concerning the organisation of the work. Nevertheless, after all Sargon's effort, which he applied to the erection of his new residence, a few years after its completion, Dūr-Šarrukēn became only a provincial capital.

PREHISTORY AND THE MIDDLE AGES

Chapter 18

Shells as Symbols and Witnesses of Far-reaching Contacts in Prehistory and Late Antiquity (Jan Bouzek)

160

Shells (*Spondylus, Cowrie*, and *Cardium* shells) have been symbols of fertility, birth and creation for many ancient cultures. They were connected mainly with the female world and served as talismanic objects protecting and safeguarding the particularly female qualities. Furthermore, their distribution may indicate the presence of routes of long-distance trade connecting Central Europe with neighbouring regions.

Chapter 19

Ideas to the Question of the Bird-Motif on Great Moravian Buttons Based on a Find from Staré Město, the "Špitálky" Site (*Luděk Galuška*)

The depiction of a bird represents one of the most frequently used animal motifs on Early Medieval jewellery from Great Moravia (9th century). It also appears on an (old) newly discovered silver button that was rescued by the teacher and archaeologist Antonín Zelnitius during the 1949 dredging in Staré Město, the "Špitálky" site. He placed the button in the museum in Staré Město. In this paper the button is described and analyzed for the first time. The analysis serves as the basis for new comprehension attempt of the decoration motif of a bird in an upside-down position.

Chapter 20

Ohrringe des Nitraer Typs in Mähren (Pavel Kouřil)

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Der Beitrag wertet Funde einer spezifischen Form von Bronzeohrringen des sog. Nitraer Typs aus, die in den großmährischen Skelettbestattungen auf dem Gebiet Mährens geborgen werden konnten. Es handelt sich hierbei lediglich um wenige Exemplare, die ausschließlich in der Olmützer Siedlungsagglomeration konzentriert sind und in die letzten Jahrzehnte des 9. Jh. bzw.

den Beginn des 10. Jh. datiert werden. Sie sind ein Beleg für die Beziehung Mittelmährens zum Nitraer Raum, wo sie relativ häufig vertreten sind, vor allem gegen Ende des großmährischen Staates. Die wahre Herkunft dieses Schmucks ist offenbar zu Recht in den südlich der Donau gelegenen Räumen auf dem Nordbalkan zu suchen.

Chapter 21

The Slavníks and their Remote Neighbours (Jan Mařík)

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This paper contributes to the issue of the dating and architectural appearance of the Early Medieval church discovered during archaeological excavations in the year 1949 in the stronghold of Libice nad Cidlinou. While the Saxon Otonian influence on the church's architecture as well as its Early Medieval dating is generally accepted in the Czech historical research, there have been certain objections concerning the dating and functional interpretation of its particular architectural parts. The recently published structural surveys of the Early Medieval collegiate chapter at Walbeck (Germany, Sachsen-Anhalt) have clearly shown that its earliest phase represents a direct model of the church at Libice. The foundation of a collegiate chapter by the Count Liuthar II of Walbeck was inspired by activities of the imperial family as was the case of other aristocratic foundations in Saxony during the second half of the 10th century. However, the question whether the Slavníks adopted only a certain architectural model or the whole ideological scheme remains for the moment unsolved.

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The paper concentrates on intensive and extensive textile production in the Early Middle Ages. Analyses of the evidence of the urbarial of the Fulda abbey (from the 9th century) shed light on the extensive production system, in which several thousands of people were employed. The organization of this system divided the producers on the basis of their social position and ethnic origin. The Slavs settled in the modern Hessen and Thüringen played an indispensable part in this system. The recorded efficiency of this production highly surpasses the regular needs of the community.

Chapter 23

Die anfänge der Keramik mit Rädchenverzierung im Mähren und ihre Herkunft (Zdeněk Měřínský)

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Kontakte mit dem Karpatenbecken im Laufe des 10. Jahrhunderts belegt auch Keramik mit Rädchenverzierung, deren äu,erst sporadisches Vorkommen in Fundkomplexen, die in die Periode vom Ende des 9. bis in die Mitte des 10. Jahrhunderts datiert werden, jedoch auf eine geringe Intensität dieser Kontakte hindeutet.

Der Autor dieses Artikels beleuchtet die Beziehungen zwischen Mähren und der nördlichen Balkanhalbinsel in den einzelnen Elementen der Keramikproduktion aus dem 9.–13. Jh. aufgrund des Dekors, das sich vom Wolgagebiet durch Rumänien, Nordbulgarien und Nordserbien, Ungarn bis zur Slowakei, Mähren und Niederösterreich sowie bis zum Burgenland hinzieht.

Chapter 24

Nový relikviářový křížek z hradiště Dřevíč (ob. Kozojedy) / New Reliquiary Cross from the Stronghold of Dřevíč (Kozojedy Cadaster) (Naďa Profantová – Daniel Stolz)

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Hradiště Dřevíč se v písemných pramenech poprvé objevuje již na samotném počátku 11. století a svůj význam si tato lokalita udržela až do závěru století následujícího. K našemu poznání vývoje Dřevíče rovněž výrazně přispěly archeologické objevy, dokreslující život na hradišti. Mezi nálezy, které poukazují, že Dřevíč mohla představovat významnou zastávku na obchodní cestě propojující Čechy s východní Evropou, patří kromě mincí též bronzové relikviářové křížky a křížky upevňované na řemen.

Chapter 25

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In 1997, a wooden cradle was found in the city of Čáslav during archaeological excavations conducted by the Institute of Archaeology of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, Prague, v.v.i. Around this single find we spin an imaginary story of Konrád, a Čáslav burgher, his wife Kunhuta, and their son Elblin in order to illustrate the details of an everyday life in a medieval city at the beginning of the $14^{\rm th}$ century.

Chapter 26

Archaika in den frühmittelalterlichen Gräbern in Mähren (Šimon Ungerman)

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Aus den Körpergräbern des 9.-11. Jahrhunderts in Mähren kennt man eine ganze Reihe von Funden vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Alters. Prähistorische Artefakte – abgesehen von der Spaltindustrie – sind darunter minimal vertreten, es überwiegen völlig die latènezeitlichen und römisch-provinzialen Gegenstände. Unter den latènezeitlichen dominieren Fragmente von Glasarmringen, Glasperlen und bronzene Gürtelbeschläge. Die Skala der römisch-provinzialen Artefakte ist etwas breiter, sie umfasst Fragmente von Glasgefäßen, Glasperlen, Gemmen, Bronzeund Silbermünzen, andere Typen von Metallgegenständen erscheinen nur vereinzelt (das gilt auch für die latènezeitlichen Objekte). Das erhaltene Ensemble von Archaika ist daher das Ergebnis einer zielbewussten Selektion. Für die meisten der zahlreicher vertretenen Artefakte existierten eine oder mehrere "typisierte" Verwendungsweisen, die in hohem Maße von dem Alter und Geschlecht des Verstorbenen abhängig waren - z. B. die Frauen und Kinder trugen die Fragmente von Glasgefäßen als Anhänger in Halsketten, die Männer aber in einer Gürteltasche. Die größte Aufmerksamkeit ist der Interpretation der Archaika gewidmet; ausführlich diskutiert werden alle Möglichkeiten, die von A. Mehling (1998) angeführt wurden. Die sekundäre Verwendung der Archaika konnte einerseits "utilitarisch" sein (zum ursprünglichen oder völlig abweichenden Zweck bzw. als Sekundärrohstoff bestimmt zum Umschmelzen) und andererseits "nichtutilitarisch", wo das auffällige oder ungewöhnliche Aussehen der Archaika und die Vorstellungen der frühmittelalterlichen Menschen von ihrer übernatürlichen Herkunft eine Rolle spielten; solchen Gegenständen wurde magische Kraft beigemessen, so dass sie zum Heilen oder als glückbringende und übelabwehrende Amulette dienen konnten.

Chapter 21

THE SLAVNICKS AND THEIR REMOTE NEIGHBOURS*

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Introduction

A ground-plan of a single-aisled, longitudinal church with a lateral aisle and an apsis was unearthed in the year 1950 during the archaeological excavations of the Early Medieval stronghold at Libice nad Cidlinou. Analogies for such structure that represents a unique architectural solution in Early Medieval Bohemia have been sought in the so-called Saxon Otonian architecture (*Turek 1966*).

While the Saxon influence on the architecture of the church as well as its Early Medieval dating is generally accepted in Czech historical research, there have been certain reservations concerning the dating and functional interpretation of its particular parts (*Merhautová* 1995; *Merhautová* – *Třeštík* 1984, 43f). Recently published summaries of the structural survey (*Imhoff* 2006; *Knapp* 2006; *Cramer* – *Brietling* 2006) have provided new data that enable us not only to more closely identify the model for the Libice church but also to precise its dating.

The stronghold at Libice and the so-called Slavnik's church

The stronghold at Libice nad Cidlinou was founded on the confluence of Elbe and Cidlina rivers, approximately 60 km to the east of Prague. It is situated on two terrace islands (with the total area of 24 ha) surrounded by river floodplain. While the eastern part, the so-called outer bailey¹ is nowadays occupied by the centre of the Libice nad Cidlinou community, the western part of the stronghold, the inner bailey, is agriculturally used (fig. 1).²

Libice has awakened the interest of historians and archaeologists already in the end of the 19th century. The stronghold is considered to be the seat of the Slavniks noble family among whose members was also the second Prague bishop Saint Adalbert. This family ruled over Libice from the second half of the 10th century until September 28th 995, when the majority of its members was slaughtered by the soldiers of the Přemyslid Duke Boleslav II. The long-time discussions of historians, archaeologists, and numismatists have focused mainly on the interrelations between both noble families (*Sláma 2001*). The importance of the Slavnik family position is, among other things, attested by a reference written by Adalbert's biographer Bruno of Querfurt concerning the kinship of Saint Adalbert's Father Slavnik to the German Emperor Henry II.³

^{*} This article was prepared and written as part of a project supported by the Foundation of Academy of the Czech Republic No. KJB 800020803.

¹ For the topographical situation of the Early Medieval agglomeration of Libice nad Cidlinou, cf. *Mařík* 2008.

 $^{^2}$ The earliest depiction of Libice (fig. 1) exemplifies that the inner bailey has been used as a rable land at least since the second half of the 17^{th} century.

³ '...qui rege tangit linea sanguinis, quem longa lateque iura dantem hodie tremunt, Henrici regi accessit proximus nepos.' Bruno, 596.

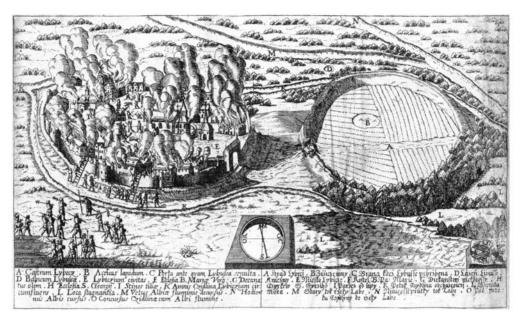


Fig 1. Libice nad Cidlinou around the year 1668. After: M. B. Bolelucký, Rosa Boemica sivr Vita sancti Woytiechi agnomine Adalberti Pragensis episcopi
Vngariae Poloniae Prussiae apostoli, Praha 1668.

Systematic archaeological investigations have begun in the year 1949 when Rudolf Turek excavated the inner bailey (also called the acropolis). He paid his attention mainly to the bailey's eastern part, where concentration of cretaceous marl stones had already been visible before start of the excavations. This feature was also documented on the earliest depiction of Libice nad Cidlinou (fig. 1: B) dating to the second half of the 17th century (after the year 1668). This place has been very probably used as a source of building stones at least since the end of the 18th century, when it was recorded by Jan Vavák, a local chronicler (*Turek 1981*, 1).

After the removal of the cretaceous marl stones rubble, the ground-plan of the entire church was revealed (fig. 2). However, nearly none the original walls remained and the ground-plan was possible to trace mainly on the wall's negatives. In the entire interior of the church except its presbytery a plaster floor was documented. And precisely at this level, the archaeological excavations were put to an end. The plaster floor within the church was disturbed only on three spots. Two square features measuring $1.54 \times 1.63 \text{ m}$, and $1.47 \times 1.66 \text{ m}$ respectively (fig. 2: A, B) were placed along the lateral aisle axis. Turek held them for pier foundations of the emporae that he imagined in the southern as well as northern wings of the transept ($Turek\ 1981$, 12). Furthermore, a circular pit (fig. 2: C) of 1.9 m in diameter that Turek interpreted as $church\ cache\ (1981,\ 12)$ was dug into the plaster floor in the middle of the transept. Post holes documented in the presbytery should, according to his opinion, have served as bases for setting of the ciborium altar ($Turek\ 1981$, 9). In addition to an extensive cemetery ($Turek\ 1976$), it was also possible to trace other remains of plaster floors in the close vicinity of the church. The best preser-

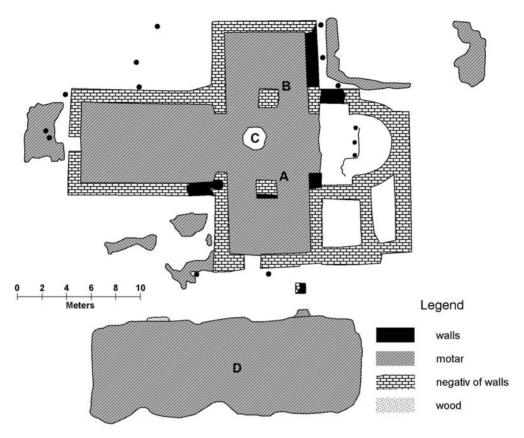


Fig 2. Libice nad Cidlinou: the church on the inner bailey. After: *Turek – Hásková – Princová 1981*.

ved rectangular area measuring 21.8 x 8 m (fig. 2: D) that is situated to the south of the church was interpreted as foundations of a wooden palace.

Rudolf Turek based his dating of the church and the adjacent palace purely on available historical accounts. He supposed that it was Adalbert from Trier, the later bishop of Magdeburg, who had consecrated the church on the occasion of his missionary journey to Kiev Russia in the years 961–962 (*Turek – Hásková – Princová 1981*, 15). Turek was convinced that the structure had to be completed before this date. However, since no written evidence refers explicitly to Adalbert's visit at Libice, this dating remains purely speculative. Thus, any further analyses and evaluations ought to be based on stratigraphic observations obtained during archaeological excavations. This dating method is complicated not only by the way how the church was published in the 1980's but also by the state of preservation of the field documentation. Although R. Turek left within the interior of the church two check blocks running through the transept and the presbytery (fig. 2), archaeologists lack cross-section drawings. Thus, any further evaluation must rely mainly on verbal descriptions of finding circumstances observed during archaeological excavations of the church (*Turek 1981*, 6–23), and the adjacent cemetery (*Turek 1978*).

The foundations of the church were embedded in the so-called leveling layer⁴ that represents, from the stratigraphic point of view, a crucial milestone in the development of this particular site. This layer that covered both sunken settlement features and graves dating to the earliest development phase of the stronghold is absolutely dated from the end of the 9^{th} to the half of the 10^{th} centuries. The origin of this leveling layer is dated on the basis of pottery finds into the second development phase of the stronghold that covers the time period from between the mid 10^{th} century and the turn of the 10^{th} and 11^{th} centuries (Mařík 2008).

A number of objects that document the exceptionality of this area has been discovered both within the interior of the church and in its close vicinity (*Wieczorek– Hinz 2000*, 294–297). These finds include the discovery of a writing stylus, a fragment of a reliquary fitting, as well as fragments of two stone epigraph stelae (*Charvát 2007*), just to mention a few of them. However, such objects should be evaluated only under great precautions for they might have been, and probably were, repeatedly relocated, and mixed up with much later finds due to the long-time quarrying of stone that was used as building material. Fragment of a bell (*Wieczorek– Hinz 2000*, 295) that according to Turek's view proves the existence of a wooden bell tower standing next to northern wall of the transept may be used as an example of such misinterpretation. As recent chemical analyzes clearly show the discovered bell fragment was in fact made of cast-iron in the 19th century.⁵

The church at Walbeck

As was already stated above, the model for the Libice church was sought in realm of the Saxon Otonian architecture (*Turek 1958*). Among the most cited analogies belong the churches of St. Cyriac in Canburg and Gernrode, the chapel in the imperial pfalz at Werla, and the Our Lady church at Walbeck (*Turek 1988*, 122–133). On the basis of recent structural survey it seems clear that above all the last mentioned building has several features in common with the church at Libice; and the next part of this paper will focus on this structure.

Walbeck am Aller is situated approx. 60 km to the west of Magdeburg on the borders between the federal lands Sachsen Anhalt and Niedersachsen (fig. 3). The church consecrated to Our Lady, St. Pancratius and St. Anna was built by the Count of Walbeck Liuthar II as a part of his collegiate chapter foundation (*Heinecke 2007*). In fact, this foundation represents only a part of an act of contrition for the Count's participation in an attempt on the Emperor Oto I's life conducted in the year 941. This unfortunate incident was mentioned in the chronicle of Thietmar of Merseburg (*Thietmar II*, 21, 62), who was Liuthar's grandson.

As in the case of Libice nad Cidlinou, the beginnings of archaeological interests in the church of Walbeck can be traced back to the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries (*Heinecke 2007*). In those days, all that remained standing from the original triple-aisled basilica were the peripheral walls. It was Hans Feldkeller, who made the most significant discovery during the archaeological excavations conducted in the year 1932, when he found a plaster tomb (fig. 3: A) – the resting place of the church's founder Liuthar II (*Rüber-Schütte 2007*). The tomb was situated precisely in the intersection of the main nave's and the transept's axes and

 $^{^4}$ For detailed information on stratigraphic development of the Libice inner bailey, cf. Princov'a - Ma'r'ik 2006.

Oral communication for which I would like to thank Mr. Jiří Košta, National Museum in Prague, History museum, Department of Prehistory and Protohistory, curator of the archaeological collections.

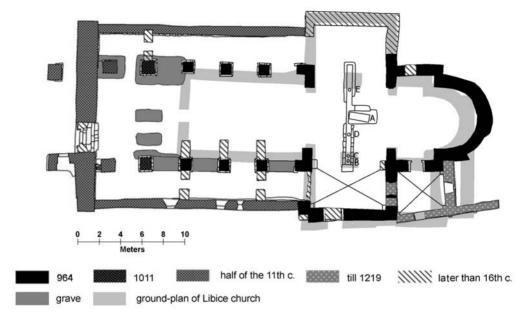


Fig 3. Walbeck am Aller: Chapter church of Our Lady, St. Pancratius, and St. Anne. Comparison of ground plans of the earliest building phase of the church at Walbeck and that on the bailey of Libice.

disturbed a narrow sunken feature measuring 9.3 x 0.5 m. The feature was covered with stone slabs with circular holes and pottery jars beneath (fig. 3: B–E). Since no other relevant analogies are known, the precise function of this facility remains an unanswered question. Various hypotheses have been expressed, varying from a fumigation facility or a reliquary chest to some facility for acoustic improvement of this particular part of church (*Rüber-Schütte 2007*). However, jars embedded in churches' floors may also be identified with certain liturgical facilities known as *piscina sacra* that served as cistern for liquids (water and oil) used during the ordinances (*Maříková-Kubková 2003*).

The archaeological excavations conducted by Hans Feldkeller had not been followed up for a long period of time, since after the World War II the area around Walbeck was left stranded in an inaccessible frontier zone between the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic. Thus, the recent structural survey as well as the repairs of this considerably neglected ecclesiastical building may have been accomplished only in the years 1998–2001 (Cramer - Breitling 2006). Four building phases covering the Early and the High Medieval Ages could be distinguished on the basis of this survey (fig. 3). The earliest Walbeck church was a single-aisled building with a transept; and, comparing it to that of Libice, strong affinities in ground-plans of both structures can be observed (fig. 3). This earliest phase is placed by the authors of the survey in the time around the years 941–964; and their observations are based in addition to historical sources also on a 14C date obtained from the preserved wooden frame of one of the windows. After a fire in the year 1011 (Thietmar VI, 40, 349) the church's main nave was lengthened. However, the crucial rebuilding took place around the mid 11th century, when Walbeck church was transformed into a triple-aisled basilica. The main nave was enlarged and arcades were struck through its original stone masonry (Cramer - Breitling 2006).

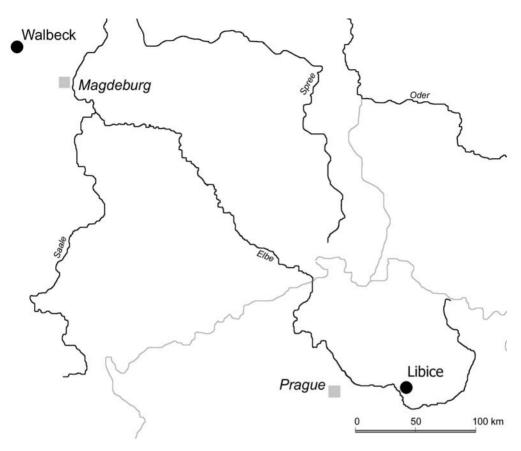


Fig 4. Walbeck am Aller - Libice nad Cidlinou.

Discussion

Besides their almost identical ground-plans, Walbeck and Libice churches also share several other features. Among the most prominent ones belongs the issue of funerals disposal within the church. The only person who had been buried inside the earliest phase of the Walbeck church in such a prominent place was its founder, Liuthar II. Other burials (fig. 4) are located in the western lengthening of the main nave built after the fire in 1011⁶; and the three burials in-between the arcades' pillars must have been entombed there only after rebuilding conducted around the half of the 11th century. Although no burials have been found in the church at Libice, the sunken feature placed in the central part of the transept may raise certain doubts (fig. 2: C). If relics were kept in this place as was Turek (1981, 12) supposed, wouldn't it be more convenient to place them in the presbytery, next to the altar?

⁶ On the basis of an allusion in the chronicle of Thietmar of Merseburg, those graves are hypothetically connected to members of the house of the Counts from Walbeck that were buried in this place during the first two decades of the 11th century, cf. *Schuffels 2007*.

Perhaps an alternative hypothesis may be raised – that a tomb for the church's founder was built on this place, just like in Walbeck or Gernrode (*Knapp 2006*). And, during the stone quarrying in Modern Ages this tomb was destroyed.

The other part of Libice church whose interpretation causes serious problems represents the two opposite emporae on the southern and northern ends of the transept that R. Turek supposed on the basis of the masonry negatives (fig. 2: A, B). As a direct analogy for this architectural solution he cited the St. Cyriac church at Gernrode (*Turek 1988*, 126). However, recent structural survey clearly shows that these emporae were built only in the 12th century (*Imhof 2006*, 317). In this connection, one must also put into consideration other objections expressed by Anežka Merhautová, who cast doubts on existence of these emporae.⁷

If we accept the hypothesis that the Libice church was inspired by the foundation of Walbeck, a complete set of questions concerning the personality of the builder, and also the nature or purpose of this building arises. Given the historically well documented links between the Slavnicks and Saxony, it is possible to consider them the founders of the church built on the inner bailey at Libice. However, due to the limited possibilities of archaeological dating methods we can not state exactly which member of this family was responsible for the construction of the church. Due to the above mentioned close filiations, the first historically known ruler at Libice, Slavnick can be taken into consideration. However, neither his son Adalbert nor his son Soběslav can be excluded. The later second Prague bishop Adalbert, having been educated in Magdeburg for nine years (972–981) had for sure opportunity to meet members of the local (Saxon) nobility, and, thus, gain many useful contacts. If Adalbert or his brother Soběslav can be identified as the initiators of the church construction on the inner bailey then the absence of burials in the church interior can be explained by its short life time (till the year 995), and, furthermore, the privileged place in the central part of the church would not be utilized for the same reason.

Equally important is the question whether the Slavnicks let themselves be inspired only by the structural form of the Walbeck church or if they adopted the whole ideological concept, as several aristocratic families in Saxony had done in the second half of the 10th century. In these times, new cloisters or chapters were founded by these families, who, after the fashion of the Imperial family, later used them as their final resting places (*Knapp 2006*). However, on the basis of present state of exploration, it is nearly impossible to judge whether the nucleus of some ecclesiastic institution was built on the inner bailey of the Libice stronghold. This presumption can be supported by the finds of writing-kits or the discovery of two unique inscribed tomb stones (*Charvát 2007*). The presence of priestly charge on Libice stronghold can also be documented by one reference in St. Adalbert legend written by Bruno of Querfurt who mentioned that small Adalbert had twice run back to his parents from priests who should have educated him (*Bruno*, 596). Although it is highly unlikely that he would run from for example Prague that is several tens of kilometers far-away from Libice, clear evidence of existence of such a school directly at Libice is missing.

Conclusions

On the basis of structural form comparison of the earliest phase of the Early Medieval church belonging to the collegiate chapter at Walbeck, it is possible to state that precisely this building is the direct model for the church built on the inner bailey of the Libice strong-

⁷ Those pillars do not stand in alignment with the peripheral walls of the chorus and the aisle, and, thus, they can hardly support the dome arches (*Merhautová 1995*).

hold. The reliable dating of Walbeck church enables us to imply that the Libice church and its architectural form, as was documented by archaeological excavations, surely relates to the Slavnik family power activities in the second part of the 10^{th} century. The chapter of Walbeck represents a private foundation of the Count of Walbeck, and the chapter church was also used as this family's cemetery. Yet, the question whether the Libice church is, in fact, only a copy of certain religious building or real manifestation of the so-called *imitatio imperii* including its spiritual dimensions as was the case of private foundations in the Early Medieval Saxony still remains unsolved.

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Petra Maříková Vlčková – Jana Mynářová – Martin Tomášek (eds.)

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