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# **ZENTRALE ORTE UND ZENTRALE RÄUME DES FRÜHMITTELALTERS IN SÜDDEUTSCHLAND**

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## FROM CENTRAL PLACES TO POWER DOMAIN

### DEVELOPMENT OF EARLY MEDIEVAL LANDSCAPE ON MIDDLE ELBE AND LOWER CIDLINA

#### FROM CENTRAL PLACES TO POWER DOMAIN

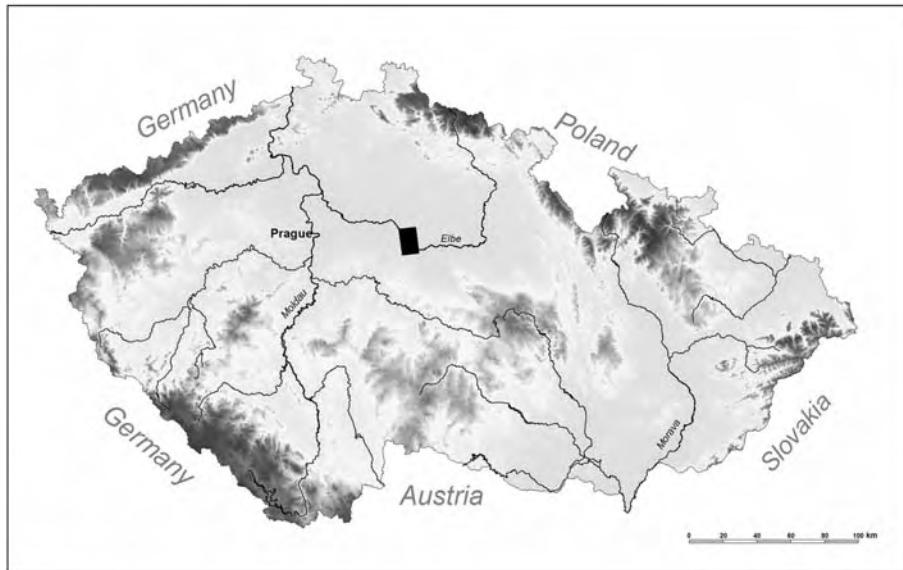
In the last 30 years, the archaeological research focusing on beginnings of the Bohemian Early Mediaeval state has concentrated mainly on a small number of strongholds located in Central Bohemia which, according to the opinion of J. Sláma, formed a basis of the primal domain of the Přemyslid-dynasty<sup>1</sup>. Investigation carried out concentrated on these strongholds and their immediate surroundings. Little attention has been paid on the development of the landscape and settlement structure in connection with processes that accompanied the emergence of centralized mediaeval states. This study focuses on the development of a 135 km<sup>2</sup> micro-region on the middle Elbe and lower Cidlina, on the boundary between Central and Eastern Bohemia. Majority of the area is lowland closed on east by northern tip of the Železné hory Mountains and on south by hills of the Českobrodská tabule Plateau. More than one quarter (26%) of the observed area is covered with floodplain that probably represented one of the deciding factors for development of the Early Mediaeval settlement pattern.

The investigated area is part of an ancient settlement landscape with evidences of permanent inhabitation dating back to the Neolithic. In early medieval age the development of the settlement structure was influenced by two significant urban centres: The stronghold at Libice nad Cidlinou (okr. Nymburk) was the dominant factor in the north, while the early mediaeval agglomeration located at the site of the modern town of Kolín (okr. Kolín) controlled the southern part of the area. The strategic position of the region is furthermore emphasized by two long-distance trade routes running eastwards along the Cidlina to Silesia and southwards past the towns of Kolín and Čáslav (okr. Kutná Hora) to Moravia and then further to the east<sup>2</sup>. In the following we shall focus mainly on archaeological and written sources that can be used for reconstruction of the settlement pattern development. Of particular interest are the results of archaeological field works at Libice nad Cidlinou and Kolín and at the smaller fortified settlements of v Hradišťku u Kolína, Oldříš and Kolín-Hánín (all okr. Kolín) (**fig. 1**).

Special attention will be paid to fortified settlements and the functions they fulfilled. As we shall see there is evidence for specialized handcrafts, long-distance exchange and, last but not least, for manifestations of social stratification. In a next step the central-place theory of Christaller<sup>3</sup> and its applicability to pre-state and early state structures is tested for this particular region.

#### EARLY MEDIAEVAL SETTLEMENT

According to the traditional chronology valid for the region of Bohemia the Early Medieval Age is divided in Early Slavic (6<sup>th</sup> century), Old (7/8<sup>th</sup> century), Middle and Late Hillfort Period<sup>4</sup>. The Early Slavic period is



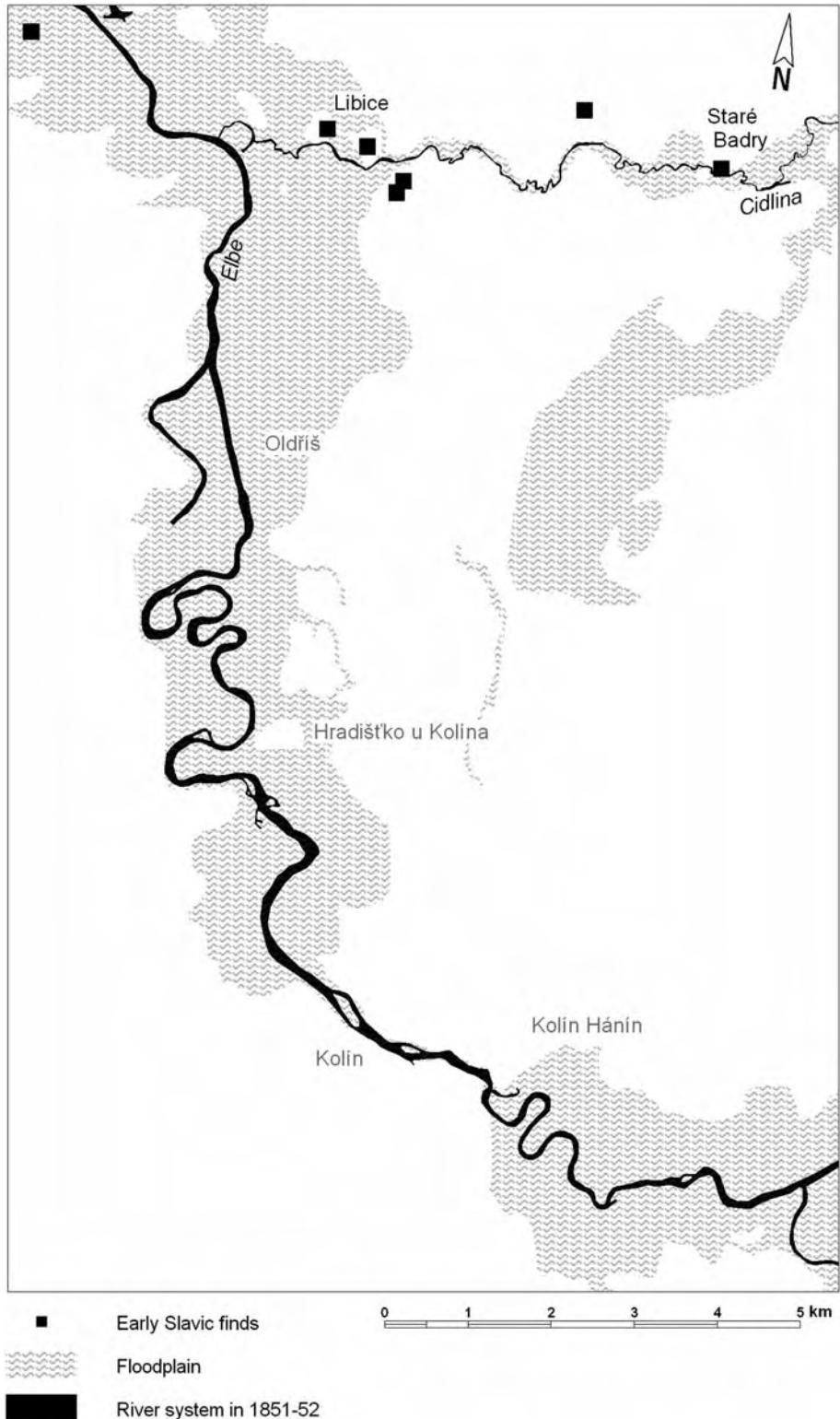
**Fig. 1** Location of the observed area (in black) on the map of the Czech Republic. – (Map J. Mařík).

related to the Prague-type pottery culture. In the region investigated here settlements of this period concentrate on the lower Cidlina River. Characteristic for the Early Slavic period are small settlements, consisting of up to ten rectangular sunken dwellings with small stone ovens. In fact, not only the settlements but also the burial traditions and the entire material culture of the Early Slavic period exhibit a remarkable uniformity and provide only little archaeological evidence for a social stratification (fig. 2). No significant change in the settlement structure can be observed in the Old Hillfort period (fig. 3). As far as the observed region is concerned, only occasional evidence of settlements located along the lower Cidlina River is known, along with some finds concentrating along the Elbe River terrace edges. However, at least some finds such as Avar bronze cast belt fittings seem to prove the existence of social elites at Libice nad Cidlinou and Staré Badry (okr. Nymburk)<sup>5</sup>.

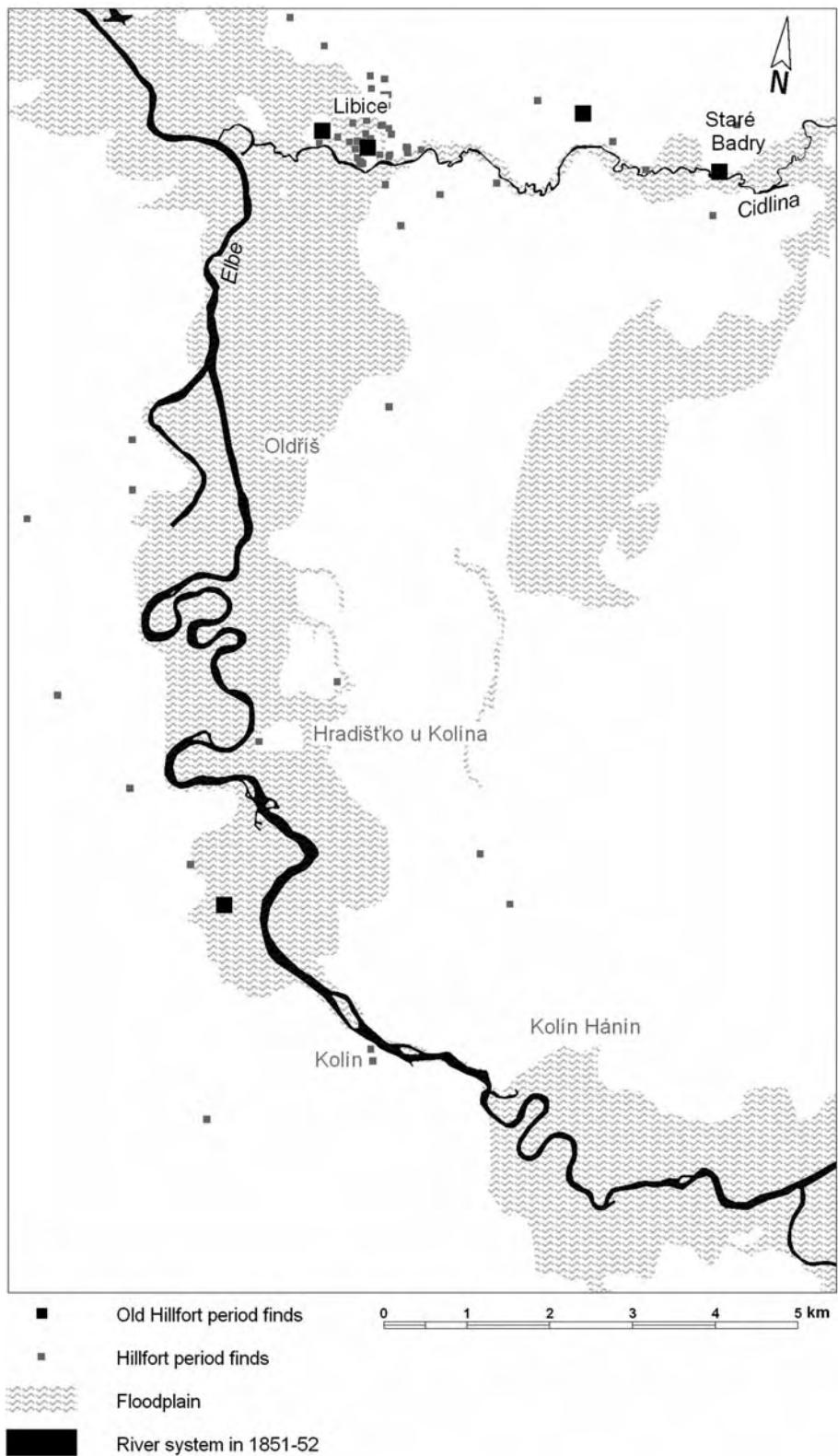
The appearance of settlement agglomerations at Libice nad Cidlinou and Kolín marks a crucial change in settlement structure during the Middle Hillfort Period (fig. 4). The development of these agglomerations is accompanied by the development of other settlements in the surrounding area. Archaeological evidence of a social stratification, however, does not appear before the introduction of inhumation burial practice by the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> century. Luxury grave goods of mainly western provenance in a double burial at Kolín<sup>6</sup> and graves with weapons and jewellery discovered at Libice nad Cidlinou clearly demonstrate the existence of social elites in the region.

The most significant transformation of settlement structure occurs during the Late Hillfort Period<sup>7</sup>, when in addition to the agglomerations at Libice nad Cidlinou and Kolín continue to several smaller fortified sites are established along the Elbe (fig. 5). These minor fortified settlements typically cover an area of 3-5 ha. Contemporary open settlements are found mainly along the edges of river terraces.

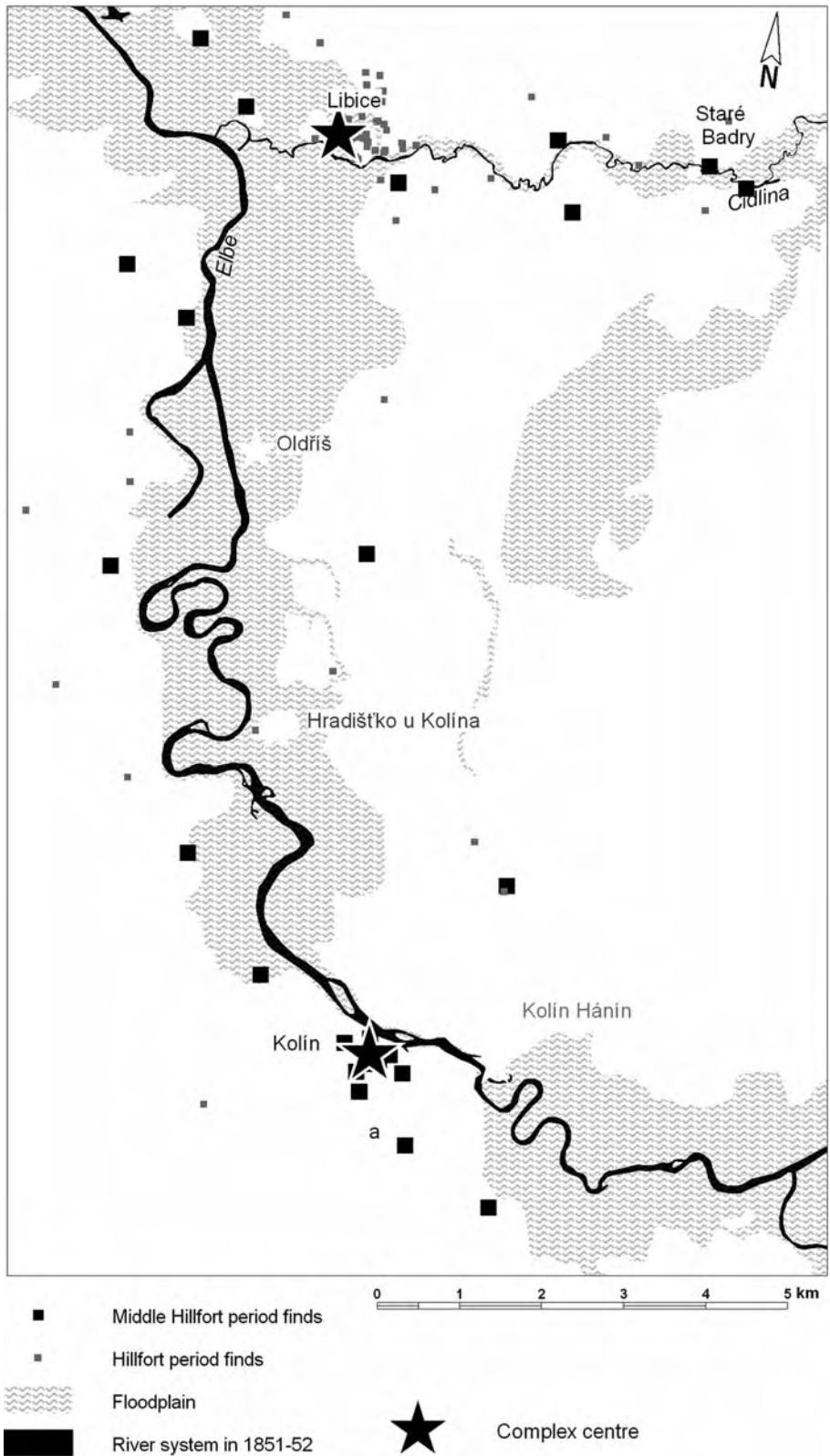
Unfortunately, Late Hillfort pottery is not suitable for a precise dating of this major transformation. In fact, in more than 200 years only minor changes in technology, decoration and rim morphology can be observed in local pottery production<sup>8</sup>. Vessels with simple, outward-pulled rims which were exposed to oxygen during the firing process dominate the pottery spectrum. However, at least to our current knowledge even later forms, that are characteristic for 13<sup>th</sup>-century pottery, might already appear in early 12<sup>th</sup> century<sup>9</sup>.



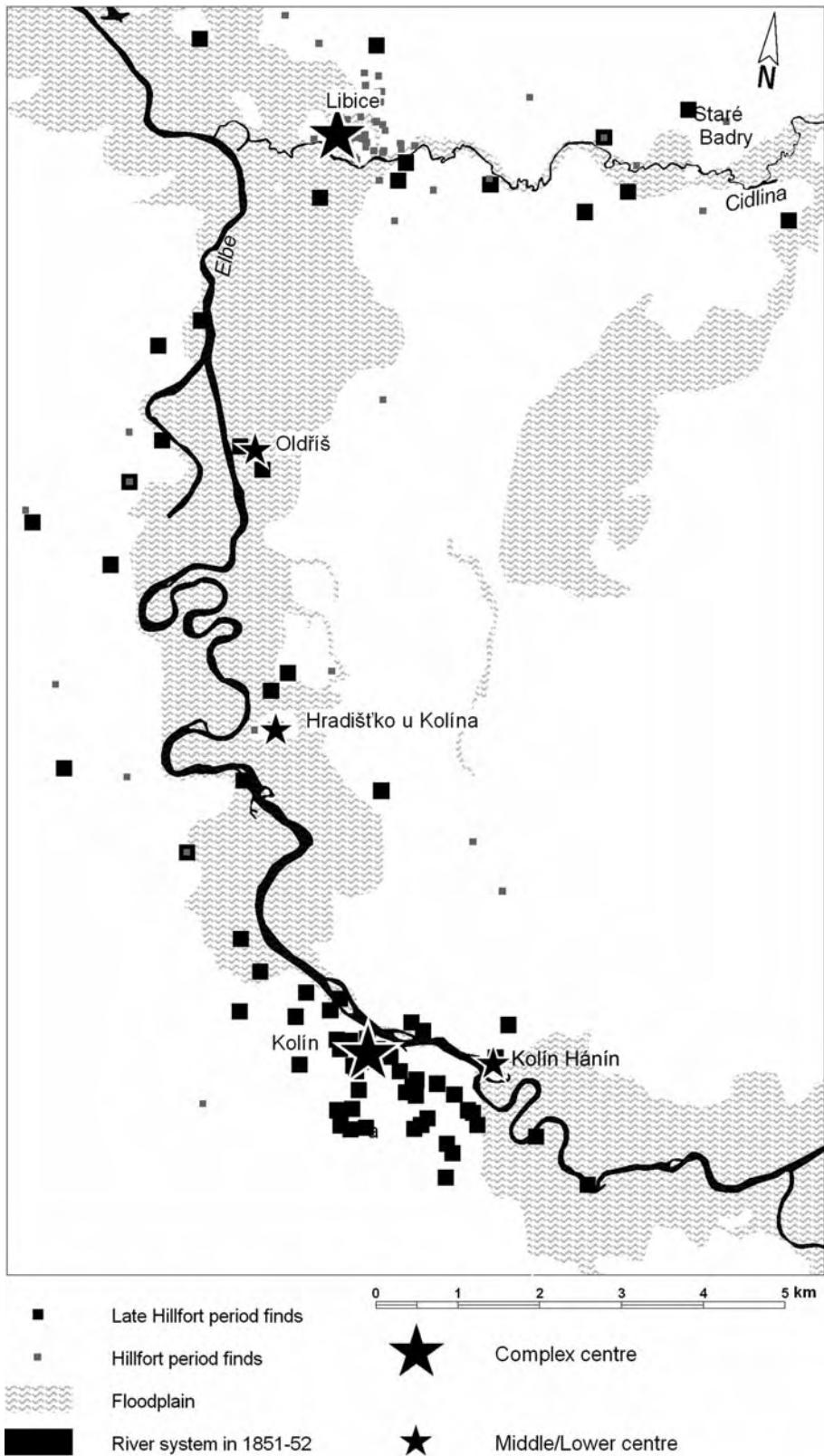
**Fig. 2** Distribution of the Early Slavic finds in the observed area. – (Map J. Mařík).



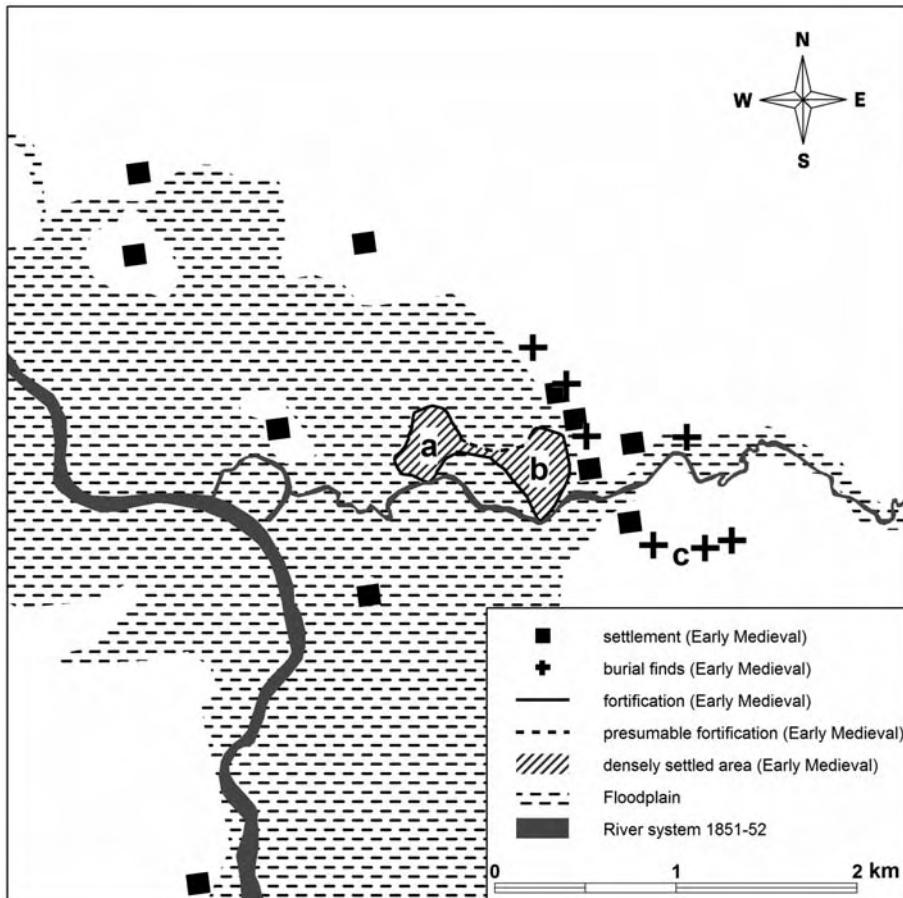
**Fig. 3** Distribution of the Old Hillfort finds in the observed area. – (Map J. Mařík).



**Fig. 4** Distribution of the Middle Hillfort finds in the observed area. Location (a) of a richly equipped double-grave in Kolín. – (Map J. Mařík).



**Fig. 5** Distribution of the Late Hillfort finds in the observed area. – (Map J. Mařík).



**Fig. 6** The agglomeration of Libice nad Cidlinou (okr. Nymburk): **a** inner bailey. – **b** outer bailey. – **c** burial ground of Kanín. – (Map J. Mařík).

## LIBICE NAD CIDLINOU

This stronghold with a total area of 24 ha was founded on two isolated remains of a river terrace eroded by the Elbe and the Cidlina. Traditionally they are designated as outer and inner bailey (fig. 6a-b). The earliest settlement traces on these »islands« can be dated to Middle Bronze Age. First evidences of Early Mediaeval settlements are related to the Prague-type pottery culture. Find distribution indicates the existence of a smaller, open settlement in the 6<sup>th</sup> century on the outer bailey. Some isolated finds are also known from the inner bailey.

Isolated finds of belt-fittings from the inner bailey represent the only evidence for settlement continuity of the site in the 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> centuries. They might indicate a social stratification of the settlement's inhabitants.

Settlement activities on both, the outer and the inner bailey, significantly increase by the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> century. At the same time, other settlements appear at the right banks of the Cidlina. On the inner bailey as well as outside the fortified area rather extensive inhumation burial grounds are established<sup>10</sup>, including a large burial ground covering approximately 5 ha at the left river bank (fig. 6c)<sup>11</sup>. These necropoles provide important information about the social structure of the early mediaeval settlement. High-ranking persons would be provided with both, weapons (swords, spurs and axes) and jewellery. Derivations

from the common burial rite and/or a lack of grave goods might indicate, that the deceased belonged to the bottom of the social ladder. The location of the burial grounds might be another indicator for social stratification. Members of the highest social stratum were buried within the fortified stronghold area, i. e. on the inner bailey. Resounding transformations of structure and settlement intensity at the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> century can be also understood as the moment of an Early Mediaeval centre's appearance with significant population density, specialized craftsman's manufacture, and, last but not least, power seat that is traditionally designated as a stronghold.

The second half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century sees a radical change of settlement structure in the western part of the inner bailey. The central cemetery from the first half of the century was levelled<sup>12</sup>. A church made of stone, whose design was inspired by Ottonian architecture was embedded in the levelling layer<sup>13</sup>. Other, probably wooden buildings on stone foundation walls were archaeologically attested south of the church. The settlement was protected by a wood-earthen construction, which was approximately 10 m wide. It was reinforced on both sides by stone facing walls, approximately 1 m thick, built of dry-laid marl stones. The total length of this fortification system, that encircled the outer and inner bailey, was about 2900 m. It might be that the earliest fortification dates back to the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, but archaeological evidence for such an early construction is, at least up to now, quite unreliable.

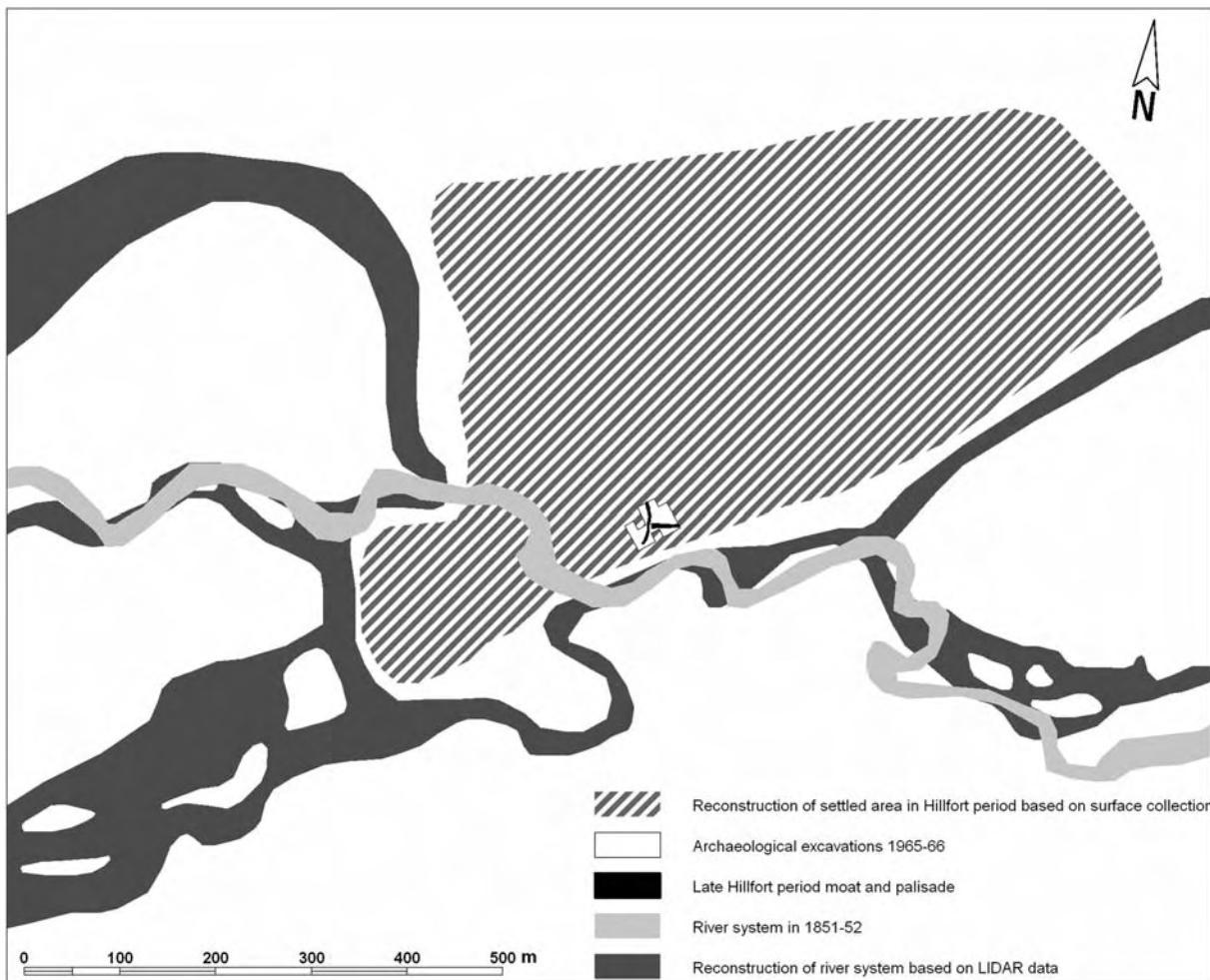
Apart from the western area, the settlement structure remained basically unchanged in the second half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century. A major transformation, however, occurred at the beginning of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, when the burial grounds outside the fortification and the settlements on the right bank of the river were abandoned.

In written sources Libice nad Cidlinou is first mentioned in the second half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century in connection with the Slavnícks noble family (Kosmas, 49-50). It is also described as the birth place of St. Adalbert (around 955). The invasion of an Přemyslid-dynasty army on September 28<sup>th</sup>, 995 marks the end of the Slavnícks control at Libice. Another written record dated to the year 1107 describes the death of the stronghold's warden Božej and of his son Bořut, members of the Vršovci family (Kosmas, 192-193).

In the 11<sup>th</sup> century, the stronghold of Libice was incorporated into the system of fortifications dominated by the Přemyslid dynasty. The last record of Libice nad Cidlinou as an independent centre (*oppidum*) dates to the year 1130 (CDB I, 133). In 1227, Libice nad Cidlinou is owned by the Prague St. George's Monastery (CDB II, 422).

Evidence of specialized craftsmanship comes exclusively from inside the fortification. Archaeological findings clearly prove that iron ore processing took place at the stronghold. Jewellery workshops processing gold and silver have been found<sup>14</sup>. Several hundred lead pigs discovered during a metal detector based survey on the inner bailey are probably also related to silver processing at the site. It is also presumed that a mint workshop existed at the site at the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> century. Long-distance contacts and trade activities are mainly illustrated by metal artefacts obtained during intensive surface collections and metal detector surveys conducted by the author on the inner bailey<sup>15</sup>. Some of these objects, e. g. seven spherical weights, belt-fittings, and a circular buckle (the so-called *Scheibenfibel*), are of western provenance, while other artefacts originate from Hungary.

Systematic archaeological excavations have been conducted at the site of the stronghold and its agglomeration since 1949<sup>16</sup>. About 5% of the fortified area were excavated; in addition about 15 000 m<sup>2</sup> have been observed within the cadastre of the modern village. Archaeological research in the modern village was always related to rescue excavations. On the other hand, the inner bailey was archaeologically surveyed in 1949-1974 when the church and the adjacent burial ground were excavated<sup>17</sup>. In 2010 and 2011 a complete survey of the inner bailey was carried out using non-destructive archaeological methods such as geophysical survey, surface collections, metal detectors survey and aerial photographs<sup>18</sup>.



**Fig. 7** Settlement at the site of Staré Badry (okr. Nymburk). Reconstruction of Hillfort settled area based on surface collections. – (Illustration J. Mařík / J. Princová).

### STARÉ BADRY (OKR. NYMBURK)

The site of Staré Badry is situated on right bank of the Cidliná, about 4.5 km away from Libice nad Cidlinou. Stretching along the river terrace, it differs from other, open settlements in the region mainly by its extent, and by its long existence. This site was first surveyed at the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century. Systematic archaeological field work was carried out in 1965-1966 and 1969-1973. On an area of approximately 0.15 ha objects dating to the Neolithic, Early Iron Age and Roman Iron Age have been found, but many artefacts are from the Early and High Mediaeval Age. The discovery that the site was permanently inhabited from Early Slavic to Late Hillfort Period was one of the most significant results of this field work. In our region of interest only the stronghold at Libice nad Cidlinou exhibits a similar longevity. Notably, griffin-shaped Avar-Slavic belt fittings have been found at Staré Badry as well as at Libice nad Cidlinou<sup>19</sup>. Remarkably, in the Late Hillfort Period Staré Badry was fortified by a wooden palisade and a moat. Only part of the fortification survived, but the fortified area must have covered several hectares. In fact, surface collections indicate that Early Mediaeval settlement structures spread over an area of about 27 ha (fig. 7). Most likely there have

been several settlement phases and not all areas were occupied at the same time. Unfortunately the fragmentation of the pottery prevented thus far the identification of settlement areas and features belonging to different phases.

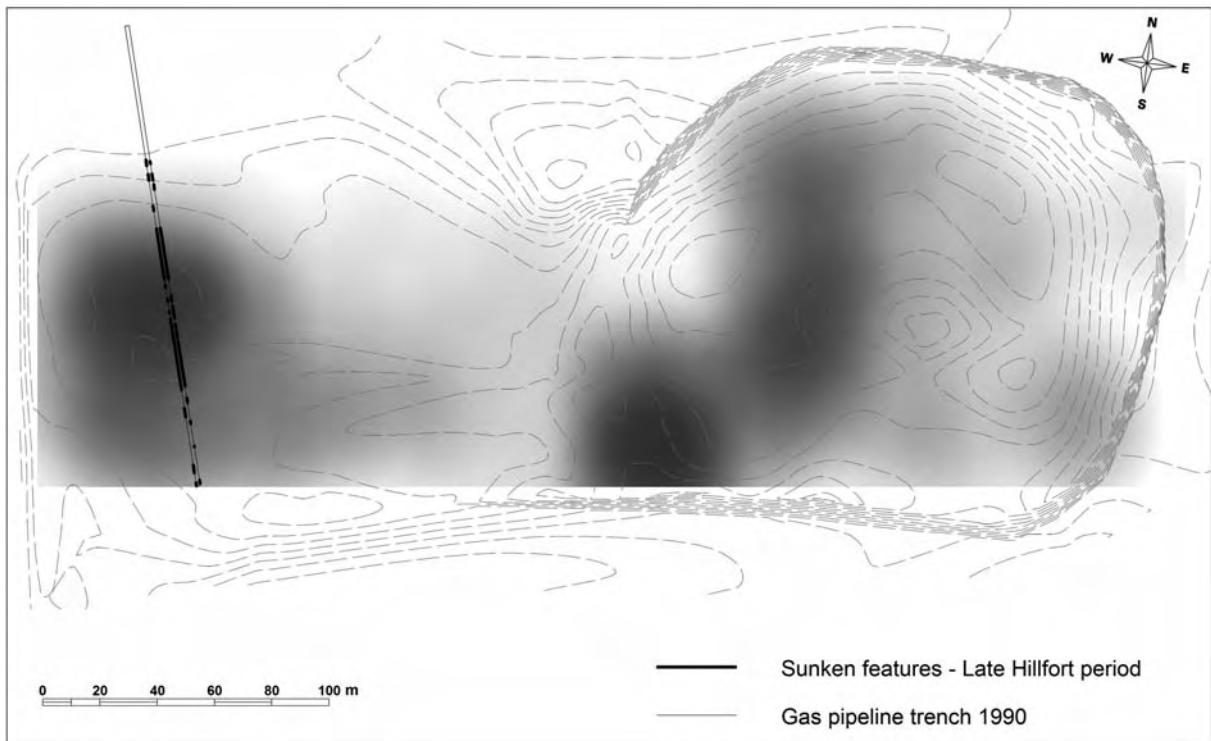
The main difference to normal Medieval open settlements is the fortification of Staré Badry during the Late Hillfort Period. Since the current archaeological research has not yielded any evidence of specialized craftsmanship we may presume that this settlement formed part of the economic hinterland of Libice nad Cidlinou.

## KOLÍN

The modern city of Kolín is situated at southern edge of our region of interest. The location of the located at the border of the River Elbe's meadows in the north and the highly jagged terrain of crystallinum of Kutná Hora on the south is rather unique. At this site the River Elbe cuts into bedrock, creating an ideal ford. Most of the area is covered by the modern city or has been thoroughly disturbed by the construction of industrial units at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Thus, the reconstruction of the Early Mediaeval settlement is mainly based on rather rare settlement and grave finds dating to Middle- and Late-Hillfort periods. The majority of finds concentrates on the left banks of the River Elbe, close to the church hill with the Gothic church of St. Bartholomew (min. 3.7 ha; **fig. 5**) and in its immediate surroundings reaching up to 1.5 km. This significant concentration of finds is comparable to the situation at Libice nad Cidlinou and other Early Mediaeval centres<sup>20</sup>. Thus, although, probably due to later surface alterations, no traces of Early Mediaeval fortification have been detected in the historic core of modern city of Kolín, the existence of a place with central functions may be justly presumed at this site. The existence of a rather highly socially stratified Early Mediaeval society at Kolín is furthermore corroborated by the discovery of an Early Mediaeval double burial with abundant and luxurious grave goods approximately 1 km south of the church hill (**fig. 5**)<sup>21</sup>.

## OLDŘÍŠ (OKR. KOLÍN)

The stronghold at Oldříš is first mentioned in 1110 (Kosmas, 206). According to this source, the site was situated near the confluence of the Elbe and the Cidlina; however, no surface features that would enable an unambiguous localization have been preserved. Thus, over the years several hypotheses concerning the localization of the stronghold at Oldříš on the left or right banks of the River, approximately 4 km south off the stronghold at Libice nad Cidlinou, have been issued<sup>22</sup>. Presently, the stronghold mentioned in the chronic is most probably identical with a site known as »Na Oldříši« (**fig. 5**). This site was archaeologically explored at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century by J. Hellich<sup>23</sup>. He uncovered the foundations of a single-aisled church with rectangular apsis dedicated to St. John that had been pulled down in the 1880s, and several settlement features containing Late Hillfort pottery. Among the finds were several pottery sherds with partially melted or foamed surfaces that showed small metal spherules with high contents of gold and silver. Judging from chemical analyses of similar finds from the Libice nad Cidlinou stronghold<sup>24</sup>, these pottery sherds might indicate technological procedures related to gold content verifying or even to gold production for further metallurgical or goldsmith work.



**Fig. 8** Settlement at the site of Hradištko u Kolína (okr. Kolín). Density of the Hillfort period pottery based on surface collections. – (Illustration J. Mařík / M. Forst, GEO-CZ).

More reliable evidence regarding the localization of Oldříš might be provided by a revision of Hellich's documentation and findings. In particular, it would be interesting to verify the dating of St. John's church and its relation to the Late-Hillfort settlement.

### HRADIŠŤKO U KOLÍNA (OKR. KOLÍN)

The site of Hradištko u Kolína is situated on the right bank of the River Elbe, approximately 7.5 km south of Libice nad Cidlinou. It is located on a fluvial sand and sandy gravel dune covering an area of 5.2 ha that is encompassed by meadows. Remains of a circular fortification fencing off an area of 2.4 ha are still visible in its eastern part (fig. 8). Unlike the strongholds of Libice nad Cidlinou and Oldříš this site is not mentioned in written records – yet more than a century of archaeological research clearly proves the existence of an Early Mediaeval fortification<sup>25</sup>. In 1990 settlement features dating to the 10<sup>th</sup>/11<sup>th</sup> century were discovered when a gas pipeline trench was cut through the eastern part of the sand dune. Consecutive archaeological rescue excavations uncovered 24 sunken settlement features and at least 13 Early Mediaeval graves. Special attention should be paid to a group of semi-finished artefacts made of antler that can be considered as craftsman's waste<sup>26</sup>. In 2009 surface collections were carried out in order to determine the total extent of this settlement. The dating of the fortified area and the western settlement area mainly relies on Late Hillfort pottery collected during these surveys. The discovery of a denarius of the Bohemian duke

Boleslaus II and of an otherwise unspecified Bavarian coin from the last decades of the 10<sup>th</sup> century might provide some indications concerning the beginnings of the settlement<sup>27</sup>.

## KOLÍN-HÁNÍN (OKR. KOLÍN)

Little is known about the fortified site at Hánín. Probably at the beginning of the 11<sup>th</sup> century it was established east of the Kolín agglomeration centre on a rocky promontory encompassed by the meadows of the Elbe (fig. 5). Part of the site has been destroyed by a modern stone quarry, but its total extent might have been some 2.5 to 4.7 ha. First isolated archaeological finds were discovered already at the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century when, among other artefacts, a metal balance and a fragment of denarius of Boleslaus II were found in one of the attested sunken features<sup>28</sup>. Archaeological excavations conducted in the 1960s and 1970s provided further evidence for the existence of an Early Mediaeval settlement, mainly in the form of cultural layers<sup>29</sup>. Based on pottery, the settlement at Hradištko may be dated to the Late-Hillfort Period. Moreover, the denarius of Boleslaus II could indicate a beginning of the settlement already in last decades of the 10<sup>th</sup> century.

## DISCUSSION

Two significant turning-points can be observed in the development of the settlement structure. The first occurred at the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> century when settlement agglomerations at the site of Libice nad Cidlinou and the modern city of Kolín appeared. Significant concentrations of settlement activities and abundant grave goods indicate that both sites have been central places in certain aspects. Evidence for other elements of central places such as fortifications, specialized craftsman production and cult (church) can be unequivocally attested only for the Late Hillfort Period, and is mainly restricted to Libice nad Cidlinou.

For the Middle Hillfort Period, no clear evidence of fortified settlements has been found. Nevertheless, central settlement structures can be identified. Concentrations of open agricultural settlements in their vicinity indicate relations between these centres and their hinterlands.

Middle and lower ranking central places (so-called *Mittelzentren* and *Unterzentren*) have not been identified throughout this investigation. Such settlements would represent a comprehensive structure corresponding to the principles of the Central Place Theory<sup>30</sup>.

Undoubtedly, Libice nad Cidlinou fulfilled the function of a higher or more complex centre during the Late Hillfort Period. Evidence of iron ore and noble metal processing have been detected within the fortified area of this stronghold<sup>31</sup>. Trade connections and activities are reflected by the finds of spherical weights of Northern or Western European provenance (fig. 9) and by the existence of a mint workshop that existed at the stronghold in the last decades of the 10<sup>th</sup> century<sup>32</sup>. The discovery of an extensive sacral building on the inner bailey<sup>33</sup> establishes this site as an important Christian centre. According to the chronicler (Kosmas, 49-50) Libice was a stronghold of the Slavnícks and fulfilled functions of an administrative centre. Any interpretation concerning the importance of the settlement agglomeration at the site of the modern city of Kolín remains rather dubious. Although the settlement's extent and intensity is more or less stable throughout the Middle and Late Hillfort Period archaeological excavations have not provided yet any reliable evidence of further activities (that may support the interpretation of Kolín as a higher and more

complex centre. Absence of this evidence can be probably caused by the current state of archaeological research.

Middle and lower ranking central places such as Oldříš, Hradištěko and Kolín-Hánín are observed only in the Late Hillfort Period. Small-scale traces of production activities at the site of Oldříš corroborate the processing of gold and silver; processing of antler has been attested at the site of Hradištěko, and the discovery of a balance at the site of Kolín-Hánín confirms trade activities.

The attempt to create a system that would head from isolated power centres towards more intensive usage of the entire environment's potential can be considered as one of manifestations of the emerging state system<sup>34</sup>. The question at which time during the Late Hillfort period this crucial transformation occurred is one of the most important questions in the Bohemian Early Mediaeval studies. The appearance of middle and lower centres is significant mainly for the interpretation of this transformation within the historic context of Early Mediaeval development of Bohemia. Due to the absence of material that would enable a refining of the Late Hillfort period's chronology only hypotheses based on less reliable indications may be raised. From the viewpoint of historic development of the observed region, the Late Hillfort period can be divided into two unequally long parts. The earlier part included the time when Libice was ruled by the Slavnícks and lasted approximately from the mid-10<sup>th</sup> century until 995. In the later part, lasting at least until 1130, the stronghold of Libice was one of the administrative centres of the Přemyslid-dynasty state.

Isolated coins dating to the second half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century seem to indicate the foundation of the sites of Oldříš, Hradištěko and Kolín-Hánín already in the 10<sup>th</sup> century. In this context, the stronghold of Malín (okr. Kutná Hora), the place of the other Slavnícks mint workshop, played an important role. Malín is situated approximately 10 km south-east of Kolín and thus outside the region that was investigated here. The fortified area of approximately 6 ha is more or less comparable with the area of Hradištěko and Kolín-Hánín. Its location on the provincial long-distance trade route (the so-called Trstenice route) is also quite significant. If the entire hierarchically ordered system of centers emerged already in the second half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century we may suppose that this region represented the core of the domain ruled by the Slavnícks. However, the total extent of this domain is still discussed by the historians<sup>35</sup>.

Surprisingly, structural changes similar to those described above have not been observed in central Bohemia, which is traditionally considered as a core of emerging Early Mediaeval Czech state, until now. However, this might be just due to the fact that archaeological studies thus far mainly focused on intensively examined strongholds and revisions and re-interpretations of earlier research results<sup>36</sup>.

If, instead, the transformation of settlement structure dates to the 11<sup>th</sup> century, the newly established strongholds should be seen in the context of the establishment of a castle organization that represented foundations of the Mediaeval Bohemian state administrative system<sup>37</sup>. In this view, the strongholds would thus represent primary seats of lower nobility whose traces can be otherwise observed only in the High Mediaeval Age. This hypothesis seems to be corroborated by the picture of property distribution in the observed region in the course of the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries<sup>38</sup>. In this particular period of time, the area



**Fig. 9** Libice nad Cidlinou, inner bailey. Spherical weight, diameter 21 mm, height 17 mm. – (Photo J. Mařík).

between Libice nad Cidlinou and Kolín was mainly owned by lower nobility families. Libice and other villages along the lower Cidline belonged to the property of St. George's Monastery at the Prague Castle, and the city of Kolín was owned by the King.

On the basis of the current state of research it is impossible to unequivocally decide, which of the above-mentioned hypotheses is more reliable. An answer to this question could only be given if more precise dating (ideally based on dendrochronology) would be available for the sites of Oldříš, Hradištěko and Kolín-Hánín. However, any further research is equally dependent on studies of settlement pattern developments and tracing of transformations of its structures both in time and space delimited by already well known Early Mediaeval fortified centres.

## CONCLUSIONS

This paper presents some results of a long-term archaeological research focusing on the development of Early Mediaeval settlement structures in a micro-region located in the eastern part of Central Bohemia. In this region, the dominating settlements were the stronghold of Libice nad Cidlinou and the extensive agglomeration at the site of the modern city of Kolín. Since the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> century these significant centres situated on a well-established long-distance trade route connecting Bohemia and Poland represented the dominating power bases influencing further settlement development of the observed region.

In the beginning, i. e. at the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> or in the early 10<sup>th</sup> century, both sites were relatively isolated places, accompanied by several open settlements. A major change in the settlement structure occurred in the Late Hillfort period, when in addition to the existing strongholds ad Libice nad Cidlinou and modern Kolín three other fortified sites (Oldříš, Hradištěko, and Kolín-Hánín) were constructed in the area in-between. These sites probably were centres of some lower importance. The discovery of a hierachic settlement structure has opened our view on a rather wide range of issues which predominantly focus on the questions of why and when this transformation occurred. The existence of least two equivalent hypotheses regarding the historic background of this transformation is due to the lacking precision in the dating of this transformation, which occurred between the second half of the 10<sup>th</sup> and the 12<sup>th</sup> centuries. According to the first hypothesis the transformation is related to the establishment of a domain of power by the Slavníčks family at Libice nad Cidlinou in the second half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century. The second hypothesis presumes that the new sites were established during the 11<sup>th</sup> century in connection with formation of the fortification organization dominated by the Přemyslid-dynasty and appearance of early nobility seats.

To summarize, our understanding of the development of settlement structures in the prescribed region represents a unique case-study that may serve as a starting point for discussions concerning various manifestations of emerging state structures of the Early Mediaeval states and their reflections in archaeological sources. However, any further discussions are inevitably dependent on continuing archaeological research aimed to order to fathom larger settlement structures mainly in the regions that are regarded as key areas for establishment of the Early Mediaeval Czech state, i. e. in Central Bohemia.

## Acknowledgments

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## Notes

- 1) Sláma 1988.
- 2) Vávra 1971; 1972.
- 3) *Das System der zentralen Orte*, cf. Christaller 1933.
- 4) Brather 2001, 41.
- 5) Princová-Justová 2004.
- 6) Profantová 2000.
- 7) Second half of the 10<sup>th</sup> to the 12<sup>th</sup> century.
- 8) Šolle 1972.
- 9) Mařík 2009, 30. – Bartošková 1999.
- 10) Turek 1976; 1978.
- 11) Mařík 2009, 72-115.
- 12) Tomanová 2012.
- 13) Mařík 2010.
- 14) Komárek 1954. – Mařík / Zavřel 2012.
- 15) The publication of the metal detector survey on the inner bailey of the Libice stronghold is in preparation by the author.
- 16) Princová / Mařík 2006. – Košta / Mařík 2012.
- 17) Košta / Mařík 2012.
- 18) Křivánek / Mařík 2012.
- 19) Princová-Justová 2004.
- 20) Mařík 2009, fig. 1.
- 21) Profantová 2000.
- 22) For an overview, cf. Mařík 2009, 152.
- 23) Hellich 1903.
- 24) Zavřel / Mařík 2012.
- 25) Research carried out at the site by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century provided evidence of an Early Medieval settlement (Hellich 1915).
- 26) Forst 2010.
- 27) Ibidem. – The second coin was found most recently only and has not been published yet. The author is indebted to Mr. M. Forst from the Regional Museum in Kolín for sharing this piece of information.
- 28) Dvořák 1936, 104.
- 29) Hrala 1985. – Valentová / Tvrdík 2004.
- 30) This terminology is based on works written by Prof. Dr. E. Gringmuth-Dalmer (1999; 2011).
- 31) Mařík / Zavřel 2012.
- 32) Lutovský / Petrář 2004, 100-118.
- 33) Mařík 2010.
- 34) Wickham 2005, 303-304.
- 35) For the first time, the Slavnícks domain was discussed by the Chronicler Kosmas (Kosmas 49-50). According to him, the Slavnícks controlled more than half of Bohemia, mainly its southern and eastern parts. This point of view was also advocated by earlier historians such as R. Turek 1957. – However, currently historians assume that the Slavnícks domain was restricted to the central Elbe lowlands and the region along the lower Cidlina (cf. Sláma 1995; Lutovský / Petrář 2004, 82-84).
- 36) Cf. Bartošková 2010. – Boháčová 2011. – Varadzin 2011.
- 37) Cf. Klápník 2012, 36-58.
- 38) Kalhous 2011.

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## Zusammenfassung / Abstract / Résumé

### Von Zentralorten zu Herrschaftsdomänen.

### Die Entwicklung der frühmittelalterlichen Landschaft an mittlerer Elbe und unterer Cidline

Thema des Beitrages ist die Siedlungsentwicklung einer Mikroregion von 135 km<sup>2</sup> an der mittleren Elbe und unteren Cidline. Die Region wurde von zwei bedeutenden urbanen Zentren beeinflusst, die sich im Bereich von Libice nad Cidlinou sowie der modernen Stadt Kolín befinden. Ein besonderes Augenmerk der Studie liegt auf kleineren befestigten Siedlungen (Hradiško u Kolína, Oldříš und Kolín-Hánín) und ihren Funktionen. Im Verlauf der Siedlungsentwicklung lassen sich zwei deutliche Wendepunkte beobachten. Der erste liegt im späten 9. Jahrhundert und ist mit

dem Erscheinen von Siedlungsagglomerationen an den Fundplätzen Libice nad Cidlinou und in der modernen Stadt von Kolín zu verbinden. In der späten Burgwall-Periode (950-1200 v. Chr.) entwickelten sich dann Zentralorte mittlerer und unterer Hierarchieebene, die durch Handwerks- und Handelsaktivitäten gekennzeichnet sind. Diese Plätze waren möglicherweise Zentren geringerer Bedeutung. Die Entdeckung einer hierarchisch gegliederten Siedlungsstruktur hat zahlreiche neue Perspektiven für die historischen Rahmenbedingungen eröffnet, in denen sich dieser Transformationsprozess abspielt, insbesondere in Bezug auf frühstaatliche Strukturen und ihren Niederschlag im archäologischen Quellenmaterial.

### **From Central Places to Power Domain.**

#### **Development of Early Medieval Landscape on Middle Elbe and Lower Cidlina**

This paper focuses on settlement development of a 135 km<sup>2</sup> micro-region on the middle Elbe and lower Cidlina. This region was influenced by two significant urban centres at Libice nad Cidlinou and at the site of the modern town of Kolín. Particular attention is paid to smaller fortified settlements (Hradišťko u Kolína, Oldřiš and Kolín-Hánín) and their functions. Two significant turning-points can be observed in the development of the settlement structure. The first occurred at the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> century when settlement agglomerations at the site of Libice nad Cidlinou and the modern city of Kolín appeared. Middle and lower ranking central places with handcraft and trade activities in Oldřiš, Hradišťko and Kolín-Hánín emerged in the Late Hillfort Period (950-1200 AD). These sites probably were centres of some lower importance. The discovery of a hierachic settlement structure has opened several issues which focused on historical background when this transformation occurred, manifestations of emerging structures of the Early Mediaeval states and their reflections in archaeological sources.

### **Des places centrales aux domaines du pouvoir.**

**Le développement de l'occupation du haut Moyen Âge autour de l'Elbe moyen et de la Cidlina inférieure**  
Cette contribution porte sur le développement de l'habitat dans une micro-région de 135 km<sup>2</sup> située autour de l'Elbe moyen et de la Cidlina inférieure. Cette région était influencée par deux centres urbains importants, à Libice nad Cidlinou et à l'emplacement de la ville actuelle de Kolín. Un intérêt particulier est porté à des fortifications plus petites (Hradišťko u Kolína, Oldřiš et Kolín-Hánín) et à leurs fonctions. Deux tournants significatifs peuvent être observés dans le développement de la structure de l'habitat. Le premier se place à la fin du 9<sup>e</sup> siècle, lorsque les agglomérations situées à Libice nad Cidlinou et à Kolín apparaissent. Des places centrales de rang moyen et inférieur dotées d'activités artisanales et commerciales émergent lors de la période finale des Burgwall (950-1200 AD) à Oldřiš, Hradišťko et Kolín-Hánín. Ces sites étaient probablement des centres d'une importance moindre. La découverte d'une structure hiérarchisée de l'habitat soulève plusieurs questions portant sur le contexte historique lors duquel cette transformation s'est opérée, mais aussi sur les manifestations des premières structures étatiques au haut Moyen Âge et sur leur reflet dans les sources archéologiques.

Traduction: G. Pierrevelcin

# INHALT

*Falko Daim · Peter Ettel · Lukas Werther*

Vorwort . . . . .	VII
-------------------	-----

*Peter Ettel*

Zentralorte und Zentralräume des Frühmittelalters in Süddeutschland. Ein Forschungsüberblick . . . . .	1
--	---

*Andreas Dix*

Zentrale Orte, Zentralität und Ergänzungsgebiete – historisch-geographische Perspektiven eines geographischen Modells . . . . .	47
---	----

*Petra Wolters*

Der Veitsberg – Mittelpunkt eines Zentralraumes? Neue Forschungen im karolingisch-ottonischen Pfalzkomplex Salz . . . . .	59
--	----

*Casper Ehlers · Bernd Päffgen*

Pfalzenforschung in Bayern. Die Erfassung und wissenschaftliche Bearbeitung der Pfalzorte und Königshöfe im heutigen Bayern . . . . .	75
---	----

*Lukas Werther*

Der Königsgutkomplex Salz und das Neustädter Becken – ein frühmittelalterlicher Zentralraum im Wandel der Zeit . . . . .	89
--	----

*Christoph Zielhofer · Eva Leitholdt*

Zeitliche Rekonstruktion der mittelalterlichen Weiherphasen im zentralen Grabenbereich der Fossa Carolina . . . . .	113
---	-----

*Markus C. Blaich*

Pfalz Werla – ein Zentralort des 10./11. Jahrhunderts im Nordharzvorland . . . . .	125
--	-----

*Thomas Liebert*

Siedlungskomplex Großhöbing: Mühlen und Bootsländen als Einrichtungen ländlicher Zentralorte . .	141
--	-----

*Thomas Kohl*

Villae publicae und Taufkirchen – ländliche Zentren im süddeutschen Raum der Karolingerzeit . . . .	161
---	-----

*Heidi Pantermehl*

Haltestelle Zentralort – Anwendung von Modellen der Zentralortforschung auf Mittelgebirgszonen am Beispiel des Pfälzerwaldes . . . . .	175
--	-----

*Helga Sedlmayer*

Transformationen von Zentrum und Peripherie: vom römischen <i>Favianis</i> zur frühmittelalterlichen <i>civitas Mutarensis</i> (Mautern an der Donau/Österreich) . . . . .	193
--	-----

<i>Jan Mařík</i>	
From Central Places to Power Domain. Development of Early Medieval Landscape on Middle Elbe and Lower Cidlina . . . . .	217
<i>Jiří Macháček</i>	
Great Moravian Central Places and Their Practical Function, Social Significance and Symbolic Meaning . . . . .	235
<i>Diethard Walter · Niklot Krohn · Sybille Jahn</i>	
Der Frauenberg bei Sondershausen (Kyffhäuserkreis) – ein frühmittelalterlicher Zentralort im nördlichen Thüringen. Vorbericht . . . . .	249
<i>Heinrich Wagner</i>	
Das Tal der Fränkischen Saale als Zentralraum im Frühmittelalter . . . . .	259
<i>Mathias Hensch</i>	
Zur Struktur herrschaftlicher Kernräume zwischen Regensburg und Forchheim in karolingischer, ottonischer und frühsalischer Zeit . . . . .	267
<i>Christian Later</i>	
Reaktionen eines lokalen Zentrums auf den Wandel von Wirtschaftsfaktoren am Beispiel der <i>curtis</i> , <i>cella</i> und Propstei Solnhofen im Altmühltaal . . . . .	309
<i>Thorsten Sonnemann</i>	
Die frühmittelalterliche Büraburg und das Fritzlar-Waberner Becken im Lichte aktueller Untersuchungen zur Zentralort-Umfeld-Problematik . . . . .	333
<i>Eike H. Michl</i>	
<i>Castrum, curia, palatium?!</i> Die neue Entdeckung eines alten Machtzentrums in Unterfranken . . . . .	353
<i>Ralf Obst</i>	
Der Zentralort Karlburg am Main im früh- und hochmittelalterlichen Siedlungsraum . . . . .	375
<i>Michael Herdick</i>	
Überlegungen zur Interpretation wirtschaftsarchäologischer Quellen von mittelalterlichen Herrschaftssitzen . . . . .	389
Verzeichnis der Autorinnen und Autoren . . . . .	405

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Forschungsstand – Hypothesen – offene Fragen

In der Zeit vom 8. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert gibt es die im österreichischen Donauraum und Alpenvorland charakteristische, so genannte Grafitkeramik. Ihre Besonderheit liegt darin, dass die für ihre Herstellung benötigten Rohstoffe regional begrenzt vorkommen, das Endprodukt aber weit über die Lagerstättengebiete hinaus anzutreffen ist. Grafitkeramik bildet daher eine wichtige archäologische Quelle für wirtschaftshistorische Fragen. Das vorliegende Buch behandelt die Herstellung von Grafitkeramik und ihre Entwicklung. Der Schwerpunkt liegt bei Fragen zur Organisation und Strukturierung ihres Herstellungsprozesses und ihrer Bedeutung im wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Kontext.



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