

The archaeology of the dawn of Prague

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1. Introduction

General statement that every reconstruction of a settlement development is primarily influenced by the current state of research is in many ways valid for all attempts at the archaeological reconstruction of the origins of Prague. In this case, not only the huge amount of available sources but also the current state of processing these sources and the quality of the methodology employed play the most significant role. On the other hand, the fact that the archaeological deductions presented should not be considered 'definitive solutions' is not altogether accepted, not only by historians but also within the archaeological community itself. Partial statements and general paradigms not based on the solid ground of sources or fully accepted, and non-verifiable earlier hypotheses are still quite often repeated in the scholarly literature. New and very often crucial findings progressively obtained by the archaeological investigation of the historical core of Prague necessarily lead to a general critique of previous research results.

Further progress in our understanding of the beginnings of Prague is restricted mainly by the state of evaluation of archaeological evidence relevant to each of the individual elements of the Early Medieval Prague agglomeration. From the methodological point of view, the greatest difficulty is the absence of a generally accepted chronological system that would include both types of dating, i. e. the relative archaeological and the absolute historical. The current state of research is resistant to any continuous reconstruction of development of the individual parts of Early Medieval Prague, either the metropolis or its hinterland as a whole. The state of preservation of cultural layers in the historical core of Prague presents another and as yet a not widely discussed problem. Stratigraphical sequences over long-term periods are conditioned by and themselves also affected subsequent development including both hiatuses in settlements as well as removal of significant parts of settlements. The ratio of these processes corresponds with more than millennium of intensive urban develop-

ment of Prague. The time it takes to scientifically process individual excavation results reflects not only the complex nature of the genesis of the stratigraphies, but also the complexities involved in interpreting the documented archaeological situations.

This paper focuses on the issue of the spatial definition of the individual elements of Prague's agglomeration, their basic characteristics, and presents a possible solution to the question of their development. In general terms, the paper focuses on the nature of the earliest phases of Prague agglomeration development, i. e. on the settlement on the left bank occupied by the present districts of Hradčany and Malá Strana that was prior to the transformation of the agglomeration into the Romanesque city of Prague.

2. Prague ceramic sequence and the Early Medieval development of Prague

In this paper, the chronological framework of the Early Middle Ages is divided into three main phases covering the Middle and the Late 'Hillfort' periods (RS3-4).¹ As a main criterion, I have used the Central Bohemian ceramic chronological horizons of the Prague sequence determined on the basis of analysis of key stratified archaeological situations at Prague Castle and Stará Boleslav (BOHÁČOVÁ 2001; 2003).² For the prior settlement phases (belonging to the Early Slavonic and the Old 'Hillfort' periods, RS1-2), the generally accepted chronology is applied and given their rather rare occurrence within the inhabited area they are classified as one

1 The above-mentioned abbreviations designate the individual historical periods and represent standards generally accepted in the Czech archaeological literature. RS – Early Medieval, VS – High Medieval.

2 The pottery from Přemyslid Stará Boleslav corresponds in its morphology, technology, and decoration to the pottery known from Prague archaeological sequences. This is particularly true for the earlier development stages of the site that covers the period prior to the foundation of Saint Wenceslas basilica and its chapter by Duke Břetislav in the years 1039-46. The later part of the Early Medieval development is dominated by pottery of local provenience.

development stage and form only a marginal issue in this paper. As milestones of individual development phases I have chosen the periods of time in which the ducal residence underwent crucial transformations associated with significant innovations of the fortification system and at the same time with pronounced changes in the pottery sequence.

Excursus:

The Early Medieval ceramic horizons and the major morphological rim types occurring in the stratigraphy and chronology of Prague Castle and Přemyslid stronghold at Stará Boleslav

Middle 'Hillfort' period (RS3)

Pottery horizon PHA0-1 – mainly simple concave rims – pottery horizon adjoining the situations prior to the foundation of the wood-earthen rampart (as the term *ante quem* serve dendrodates 908-917);

Pottery horizon PHB0 – simple rims with complex termination morphology, emergence of convex shapes – pottery horizon occurring rarely but repeatedly in the wood-earthen rampart body (dendrodates from the period 908-917 given as the term *post quem* for the deposition of the studied contexts);

Pottery horizon PHB1 – collar-shaped rims – building of the wood-earthen rampart represents date *post quem* for this pottery horizon.

Intermediate period RS3/RS4

Pottery horizon PHB2.0 – emergence of the calyx-shaped rims with a clear connection to the Middle 'Hillfort' decoration and morphology of the prior horizon – settlement development at the Prague Castle; emergence of this horizon is dated *ante quem* by the beginning of the filling of ditch at Stará Boleslav;

Late 'Hillfort' period (RS4)

Earlier part of the RS4 phase (phase with pottery MHK – i. e. with calyx-shaped rims)

Pottery horizon PHB2 – the so far undivided pottery horizon with calyx-shaped rims – it covers the period of repeated reconstructions of the stronghold's fortification system and ends with the destruction of the most recent rampart prior to the construction of the Romanesque stone rampart of the Prague Castle (including the fortification reconstruction carried out by Břetislav I before 1055?). At Stará Boleslav, this horizon covers the period prior to the construction of the St. Wenceslas basilica (1039-1046).

Later part of the RS4 phase (phase with pottery MHP – i. e. with trussed rims and other new morphological shapes)

Pottery horizon PHC0 – horizon characterized by the appearance of the archaic trussed rims and other new morphological shapes mostly unambiguously biased to certain pottery fabric – it corresponds with the destruction of the stronghold

fortification prior to construction of the Romanesque stone rampart of Prague Castle;

Pottery horizon PHC1 – pottery horizon of trussed rims with advanced morphology (sharply-profiled, thin-walled ware) that are, however, biased to traditional technology from the previous horizons – it occurs in archaeological contexts both prior to the Romanesque stone rampart construction or connected with it;

Pottery horizon PHC2 – pottery horizon with classic forms of trussed rims on the thin-walled ware that is, however, qualitatively different from the previous production – it appears after the Romanesque stone rampart construction and probably overlaps with the beginning of the High Middle Ages.

The earliest development phase of the Prague Early Medieval agglomeration (phase 1) corresponds with the Middle 'Hillfort' period (PHA-PHB1 horizons, respectively PHB2.0) and covers the earliest settlement phase following the construction of the wood-earthen fortification of the Prague Castle. Phase 2 includes development in the earlier part of the Late 'Hillfort' period (MHK) with corresponding PHB2 pottery horizon, i. e. the classic forms of calyx-rimmed pottery. In this phase, the fortification of the Prague Castle was repeatedly reconstructed and the settlement expanded. The concluding phase 3 represents the peak of the Early Medieval development of Prague and covers the beginnings of later part of the Late 'Hillfort' period (MHP). It was also in this particular period of time that new pottery shapes arose and underwent gradual changes (pottery horizon PHC1 – i. e. the beginning of the construction of Romanesque fortification system of the Prague Castle).

It is worth noting here that the link between the well-defined ceramic horizons and the absolute chronology and therefore also the historical events is considered to be mainly a matter of historical interpretation. The latter approach ought to be clearly separated from the interpretation, evaluation, and synthesis of the given archaeological evidence (see BOHÁČOVÁ in press with references to literature covering the issue of absolute and relative chronology of the Prague ceramic sequence).

3. The Prague agglomeration and its hinterland

3.1 Elements of the Prague agglomeration

In the earliest phases (Tab. 10), the agglomeration of Early Medieval Prague consists of the heavily and dense inhabited core of the Prague valley with a significant settlement concentration on the left-bank of the river. Both its extent and topography were influenced by the

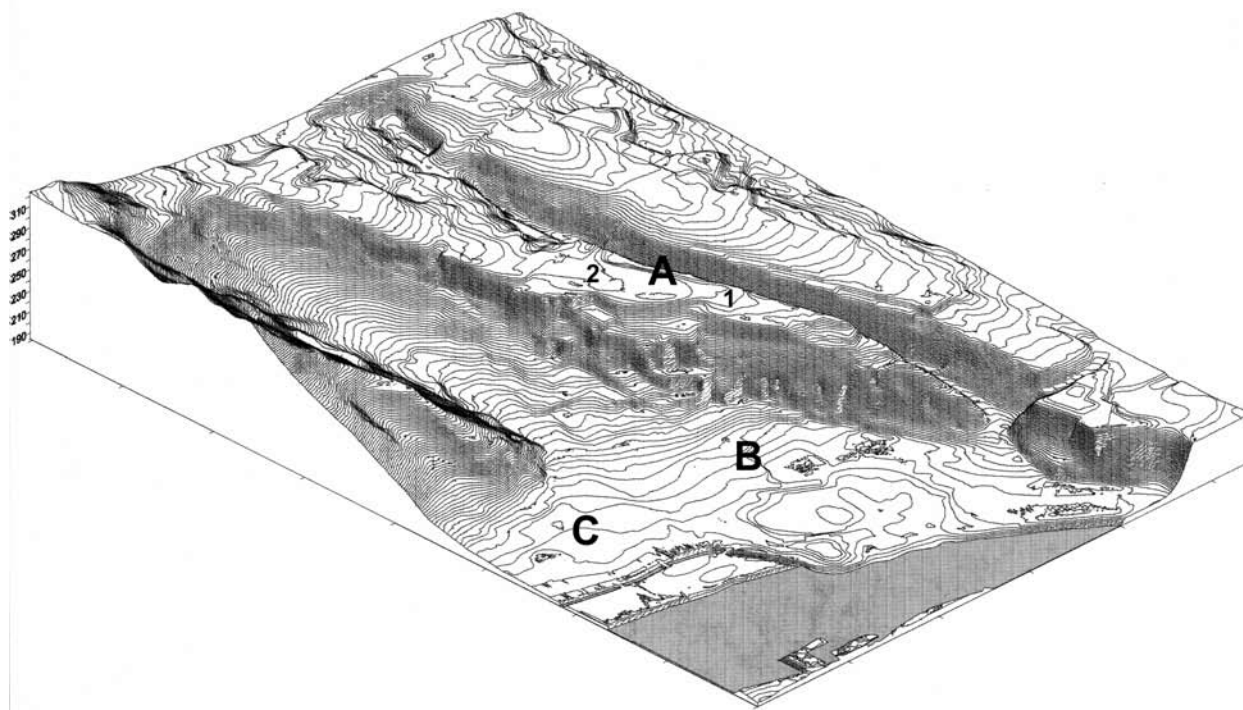


Fig. 1. Morphology of the left-bank of the Prague valley. Elements of left-bank settlement in the Early Medieval agglomeration of Prag on the model of recent surface. A – Hradčany promontory with ducal residence (1 - acropolis) and Hradčany bailey (2); B – Malá Strana suburbium; C – southern suburbium (?).

morphology and natural environment of the valley itself, which evidently was well suited to the purpose of natural and even artificial defense of individual parts of the agglomeration, their communication connection, and thus fulfilled the conditions necessary for the development of the specific functions of the later city.

The Prague agglomeration was formed by a net of settlement ranges which occupied geographically differentiated and clearly morphologically determined sites that especially in the left-bank settlement were very closely interconnected, of course to the degree allowed by the natural conditions. Individual elements of the agglomeration comprise smaller settlement enclaves that gradually grew up in the immediate vicinity of the almost continuously inhabited area.

Since the earliest phase of its existence, the agglomeration consisted of the following elements (see Tab. 10 and Fig. 1):

- *the main range* – the inner range (acropolis) with the ducal (respectively royal) residence – located on the eastern part of the Hradčany promontory.
- *the so-called 'Nebenareale'*:
 - the Hradčany bailey – densely inhabited western part of Hradčany promontory;
 - Malá Strana suburbium – continuously inhabited area in the northern part of Malá Strana district that was enlarged in phase 2 to the south (or appearance of the southern suburbium?);
 - the right-bank settlement:

- phase 1 – a burial-ground (used by the left-bank settlement or more probably by a so far undiscovered settlement);
- phase 2 – production areas, continuously inhabited settlements along the communications;
- phase 3 – settlement advancement.
- adjoining settlement with villages without direct link to the above-mentioned continuously inhabited ranges. Individual villages are attested beyond the fortifications defending the Malá Strana suburbium, Písek, and are also proposed for the right-bank settlement. The settlement scatter is also indicated by the locations of the earliest burial-grounds on the outskirts of the inhabited ranges. They are present within a distance of approx. 1 km, at most 2 km from the residence.
- Vyšehrad and its surrounding settlement.

3.2 The hinterland of the agglomeration of Prague

The hinterland of the Prague agglomeration is formed by settlements located partly within the Prague valley and partly in its immediate vicinity. Although their concentration is not very significant, the continuously inhabited area gradually grew both in time (from the Early Slavonic to the Late 'Hillfort' periods) and in density. With the exception of the northeastern part of the studied area, the settlements mainly follow the water courses. A higher density of archaeological finds belonging to the earliest phases (RS1-2) could

be detected immediately to the north of the historical core of Prague. Unlike the development of the agglomeration itself, the chronological framework of known archaeological sources originating from the hinterland is more uncertain since the evidence obtained and continuous shifts in the dating of individual ceramic horizons make it impossible to identify the latest phase (phase 3) of the Early Middle Ages (NEUSTUPNÝ in press; Tab. 11).

The function of the exposed sites (since Middle 'Hillfort' period in some cases or in some periods possibly second-range centers?) located in the easily accessible vicinity of the capital has not yet been clarified. Moreover, the dating and character of their settlement and even the date of their fortification construction remains uncertain. Their development stages have therefore not been synchronized either with the surrounding settlements or with the Prague agglomeration itself (PROFANTOVÁ 1996; 1999; NEUSTUPNÝ in press).

Generally speaking, it is possible to date some of these centres (i. e. the sites of Bohnice-Zámka, Šárka, and Butovice, see Tab. 11.1/3-5) to the earlier part of the Early Middle Ages (to the Old- and Middle 'Hillfort' periods), while the other sites belong to the Late 'Hillfort' period, such as Vnoř and Královice located to the east of Prague. According to the opinion of Neustupný, these sites located on the periphery of the Central Bohemian settlement district might in fact define the immediate economic hinterland of the Prague agglomeration during the earlier (i. e. the Middle 'Hillfort' period) and also the later settlement stages. In that case, the immediate economic hinterland of the Prague centre would have covered a circle of approx. 6 km in diameter (in the earlier phase – phase 1), or 16 km respectively (in the later phases – phases 2-4). Density of the so-far known settlement lying outside of hereby defined area is lower (NEUSTUPNÝ in press, Abb. 2-3).

The location of the above-mentioned sites would, in this case, correspond with their supposed strategic function (SLÁMA 1988; the strategic significance of Královice was also supposed by RICHTEROVÁ 1997, 533). However, the dating of the construction of fortification systems of these centres and their nature remains a problem as yet unsolved. The results of studies concerning the major Přemyslid strongholds within the Central Bohemian domain – Prague Castle, Budeč, and Levý Hradec, clearly show that the construction of a huge fortification system consisting of ramparts with front stone screen-walls was often carried out in the later development stages of these sites (BARTOŠKOVÁ 2003; BARTOŠKOVÁ 2004; BOHÁČOVÁ 2001, 280-282, 285). At the same time, it is clear that the extensive terrain changes connected with their construction

in most cases completely destroyed all traces of any previous defensive systems. Thus, it is either very difficult or impossible to reconstruct the latter.

4. General framework of Prague archaeology and the state of knowledge of the Early Medieval agglomeration of Prague

Today the extent, frequency and location of archaeological actions on the territory of Prague is strongly influenced by commercial developments and the structure of property ownership. While on one hand, it is obvious that as a result of the construction boom there is a significant increase in rescue archaeological activities; this situation also leads to the atomization of field investigation (Fig. 2). The excavation reports are more or less prepared only in the form of reports for the investors without any evaluation and analysis or they are just included in the annual overview of excavations in the well-established series.³ Even such general information is very often published with a considerable time delay and according to the relevant archaeological databases it is sometimes entirely missing for areas outside the historic core. The accumulation of unanalyzed data causes a growing discrepancy between the amount of information obtained and its evaluation and hence possible use for any further studies. In the present state, any attempt to coordinate activities seems very difficult, and furthermore, partial studies that can be easily handled are preferred to the systematic solution of complex issues.

In nearly all parts of the agglomeration core the sequence of historical cultural layers has been preserved in only a quite fragmentary state. This emerges from several sources published in detail, both in the form of a paper or an excavation report.⁴ At individual sites, extensive hiatuses are quite often present in the development sequences. The earliest parts of these stratigraphies are in most cases absent and very frequently not only the lower but also the later Early Medieval parts of the more recent layers are gone. Thus, it is obvious that not only the consequences of natural processes but also the impact of the construction of huge fortification systems and related terrain transformations have to be taken into account when considering the earliest development phases of

3 Bulletin záchranného oddělení - Výzkumy v Čechách; Pražský sborník historický; Annual reports of NPÚ ú.o.p. at Prague: Výroční zpráva, Státní památkový ústav v hlavním městě Praze (2001-2002), from the year 2003 Výroční zpráva, Národní památkový ústav, ú.o.p. v hlavním městě Praze.

4 See e. g. BOHÁČOVÁ/HERICHOVÁ in press; ČIHÁKOVÁ 1994; ČIHÁKOVÁ 2001; ČIHÁKOVÁ 2003; ČIHÁKOVÁ/HAVRDA 2002a; ČIHÁKOVÁ/HAVRDA 2002b; FROLÍK 1988; FROLÍK 1997, 87; see also Tab. 12, 13)

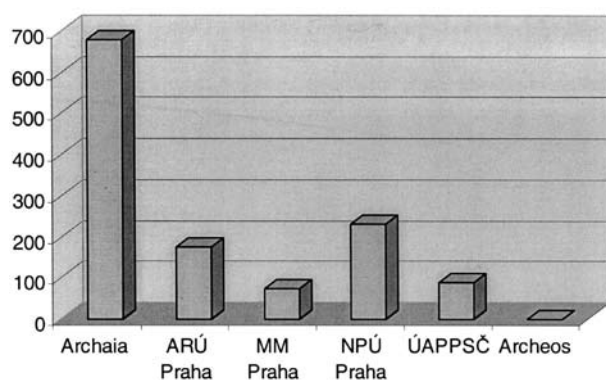


Fig. 2. Rescue excavations in Prague, years 2000-2005 – number of excavations carried out by particular institutions acting in Prague, based on reports for the ADČ (Archaeological Database of Bohemia). Source: ADČ, archive of Archaeological Institute CAS, Prague, v.v.i., May 2007.

all elements of Prague agglomeration on the left-bank. It is noteworthy that extensive terrain transformations may also cause inverted stratigraphies. As far as modern terrain modifications are concerned, both erosion and/or destruction of stratigraphies in connection with building activities and removal of significant parts of series of cultural layers in the communication areas must also be regarded as crucial.

Thus, a detailed knowledge of the topography of Prague left-bank settlement is one of the crucial starting points for any study of the beginnings of this historic core.⁵ So far, the existing network of documentation points has allowed only partial reconstruction of the original topography at some sites on the eastern part of the Hradčany bailey. However, crucial sites that represent determining factors for the general topography of the Hradčany remain unrecognized (BOHÁČOVÁ/HERICHOVÁ in press); these are principally the natural southern gorge encroaching deeply on the territory of the Castle acropolis and the supposed natural lateral gorge that, according to I. Borkovský, formed a natural border between the western bailey of the Prague Castle and the inhabited outer Hradčany area. Data obtained from the western part of the promontory indicate that the modern terrain approximately copies and sometimes levels the course of the natural subsoil with a ridge that passes more or less below the modern communication running east to west. The natural borders of settlement in the Malá Strana valley located between the Petřín hill and the Hradčany promontory are represented by an oxbow of Moldau (Vltava) and Malá Strana stream (ZAVŘEL 2001). At the foot of

the above-mentioned hills, traces of landslides were discovered, but the detailed morphology of the natural surface remains unknown.

5. Elements of the left-bank agglomeration of Prague, their general characteristics and development

5.1 Inner range – the acropolis

The centre of the whole agglomeration is considered to have been the royal (ducal) residence. Any detailed account of this area would go beyond the limits of this paper, and so attention will be paid only to issues that influenced the ranges situated in the immediate vicinity of the acropolis. The issue of dating the earliest traces of settlement will be dealt in a separate chapter in this study. As far as the hypothesis formulated by J. Čiháková of the possible chronological priority of the Malá Strana settlement is concerned (e. g. ČIHÁKOVÁ/DRAGOUN/PODLISKA 2000, 129), the only statement that can be given so far is that it has not yet been corroborated by any substantial evidence. Excluding the few traces of prehistoric settlement it is possible to say that finds dated prior to the Middle 'Hillfort' period on the basis of their morphology or technology of processing are represented only by isolated pottery fragments discovered in much later contexts. There is so far no indication of the presence of pottery that would correspond to the Prague type pottery.

Theories on the division of the earliest development phase (phase 1) of this range into individual subphases and on the stability of its inner disposition are not widely accepted (see BOHÁČOVÁ 2001, 247-250, 280-282; for an opposite view FROLÍK 2006). The crucial criterion for the solution of these issues is the spatial determination of the border line between the inner range and Hradčany bailey in the times when Duke Bořivoj founded the earliest Prague church (after 885). Although J. Frolík repeatedly cast doubts on the hypothesis, archaeological situation discovered by the northwestern curve of fortification of the Prague Castle probably indicates that the fortification line between the ducal residence and the bailey was more or less stable during all development stages (Tab. 10.A I) (for more details see BOHÁČOVÁ 1996; BOHÁČOVÁ 2001; BOHÁČOVÁ in press; Fig. 3). According to this hypothesis, only a simple fortification was built in the earliest phase comprised a moat (Fig. 3A.A) and probably a wooden construction of unspecified nature. Afterwards (after or in the time interval between the years 908 and 917, see above), a wood-earthen rampart (Fig. 3A.B1) with wooden filling, stone screen-wall, and a moat (Fig. 3A.C; archaeological context of this situation, see Figs. 3B

⁵ It was L. HRDLIČKA (2000; 2001), who repeatedly evaluated the dependence of settlement on the geomorphology of the Prague right-bank. The significance of studies of watercourses and their relation to the Early Medieval settlement on the right-bank was lately noticed by ZAVŘEL (2007).

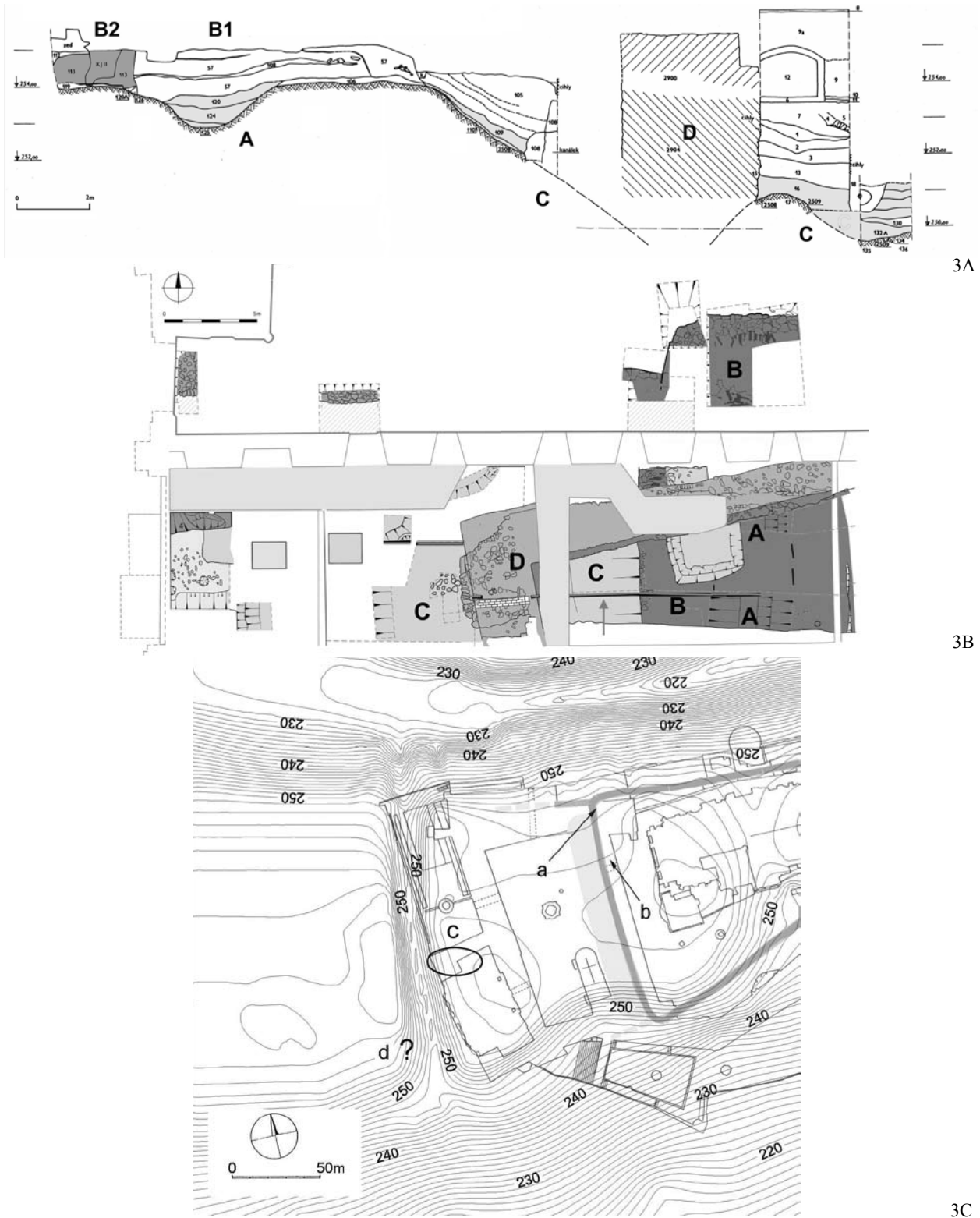


Fig. 3. Prague Castle. Fortification in the 'Hillfort' period.

3A – Prague Castle, Northern Tract. Cross-section of transverse fortification between inner and outer area. A – The oldest transverse moat and its filling (phase A); B1 – rampart of earlier wood-earthen fortification covering moat A (phase B1); B2 – later enlargement of fortification (phase B2); C – moat (phase B1-Bx); D – stone Romanesque fortification. For the cross-section position see Fig. 3B.

3B – Plan of excavation in the Northern Tract. A – The earliest transverse moat and its filling (phase A); B – rampart of an earlier wood-earthen fortification covering moat A (phase B1) with later enlargement of fortification (phase B2); C – moat (phase B1-Bx); D – stone Romanesque fortification. A dark line with arrow marks the cross-section position.

3C – Western fortification of the ducal residence and situation "ante Pragense castrum". Reconstruction of the course of wood-earthen rampart. Excavated sites: a – in the Northern tract; b – Middle Tract (FROLÍK 2006); c – excavation (FROLÍK 1997) that did not confirm the assumed course of fortification by Borkovský; d – assumed location of an unconfirmed transverse gorge.

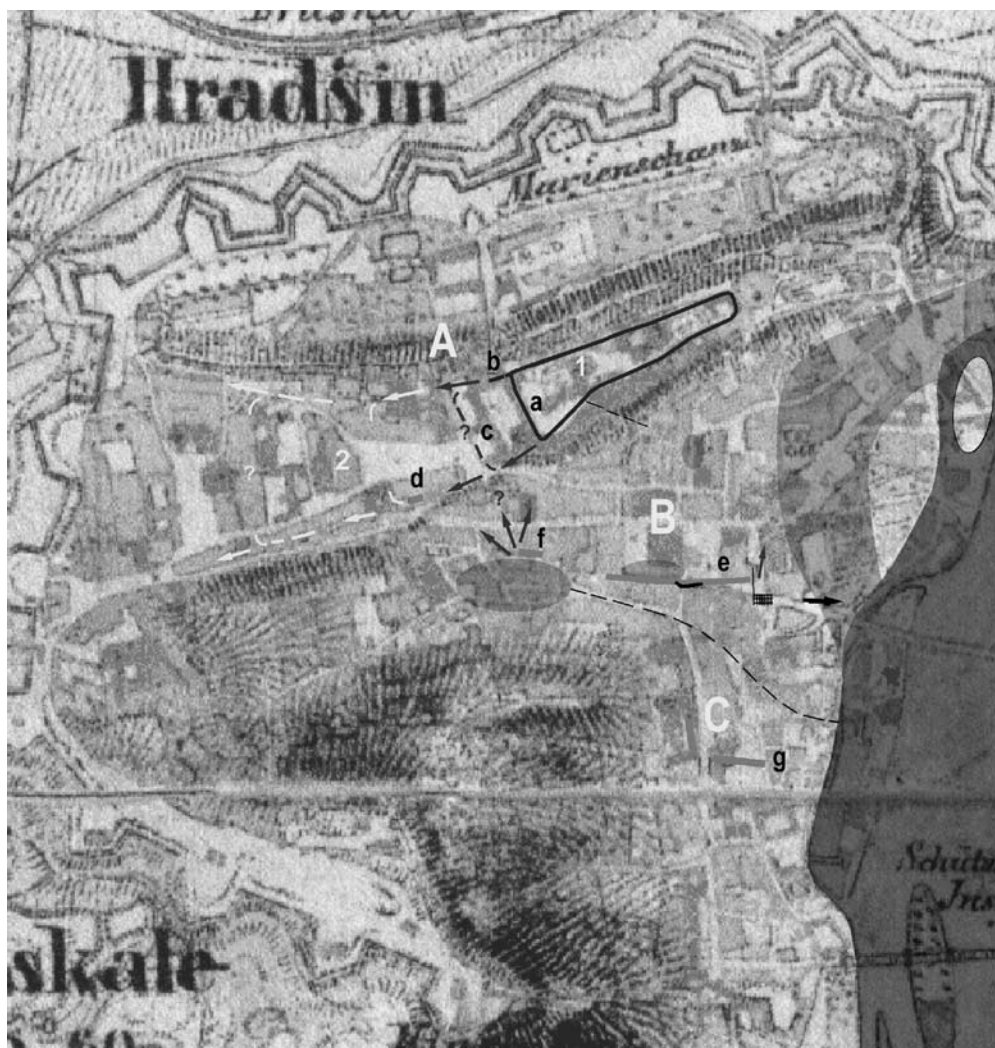


Fig. 4. Schema of Early Medieval fortifications on the Prague left-bank. A – Hradčany promontory with Prague Castle (1) and Hradčany bailey (2); B – Malá Strana suburbium, C – southern suburbium (?). a-g – documented and assumed lines of ramparts or moats: a – documented western rampart of acropolis (covering moat A); b – documented part of northern wing of bailey rampart; c – hypothetical course of fortification dividing in the area “*ante Pragense castrum*” the western bailey posited by Borkovský; d – posited part of southern wing of Hradčany bailey fortification; e, f – documented parts of southern wing of Malá Strana suburbium fortification (e – short and thinner lines – moat 1; stronger and longer line – moat 2 with wood-earthen rampart in the eastern part and other relicts of timber constructions; f – rampart 3); g – documented parts of the southern part of suburbium fortification (the moat - western and southern lines, rampart - southern line, in 2006). Dashed lines and arrows: possible alternative courses of fortification. Grey: variants based on documented parts of fortification system on the Hradčany promontory, white – another considered variant of fortification. Course of water streams and swamps (by ZAVŘEL, see ČIHÁKOVÁ 2001, fig. 1 and BOHÁČOVÁ in press), wooden construction of road, its direction and bridging of Vltava.

and 3C) was constructed that follows the course of the border line mentioned above.

The rampart body of this fortification would seem to have subsided on to the filling of ditch A since along the northern edge a layer that can be interpreted as a part of this body has sunk into the ditch's filling. Layers of the filling have a texture characteristic of secondary relocated layers of natural origin (subsoil, soil type?) and definitely not of layers that grew up as a consequence of settlement activities; and further, those layers do not overlap the edge of the ditch. The earthy layer 120 (relocated soil type?) is strictly geographically limited and is not visible on other cross-sections of this feature.

The ditch was very probably destroyed immediately prior to the subsequent construction of the rampart (with wooden filling and stone screen-wall) and its filling could be connected with the preparatory terrain changes since the filling of the rampart has the same character as the filling of the ditch. In addition, the ceramic assemblages found show congruent characteristics and in both cases represent settlement intervals with open bottom time limits (BOHÁČOVÁ 2001, Fig. 49A, 50C). The archaeological situation does not show any coalescence of the inner and outer settlement ranges.

If the proposed interpretation of the archaeological situation is correct, then during phase 1 the inner

range covered an area of approx. 3.6 ha. In this phase the fortification defended the entire area of eastern part of the promontory and was afterwards approximately respected by every following reconstruction. The Church of Our Lady built by the Duke Bořivoj would, in this case, be located outside this range (for further bibliography on this issue – see below in chapter 5.2). The oldest churches founded on the acropolis, i. e. within the defended area, were the Basilica of Saint George and the Rotunda of Saint Vitus, where the earliest members of the Přemyslid dynasty were buried (the only exception from this rule is the earliest church dedicated to Our Lady situated outside this area).

In the southwestern part of the range a burial-ground belonging to phase 1 has been discovered (BOHÁČOVÁ 2001, 283, fn. 11; PROFANTOVÁ 2005, 307-310). Another settlement components of this part of the range were still unidentified elements of the ducal palace and a number of attested wooden structures dated to the end of this phase that were attested in the area of southern depression and on the edge of northern slope. Evidence of any production activities for the period of time in question is so far lacking. The issue of the communication system during the earliest stages and the number of entrances into the acropolis is as yet unresolved. Another contentious issue is the link between the so-called '*Nebenareale*' and the ducal residence. The existence of a posited southern entrance that would have provided the closest connection between these two parts of the agglomeration and would have exploited the convenient morphology of the southern depression has yet to be proved. Nonetheless, it is certain that there must have been access to the inhabited area adjoining from the outside the southern fortification of the Castle and also to the burial-ground that existed on the same spot later since it seems improbable that this site would be accessible only from the suburbium. Recent studies have speculated that there may have been an alternative passage to the road mentioned above that turned off from the main Castle communication behind the western gate, i. e. on the area of the modern Second Courtyard (FROLÍK 2006). Another unsolved issue is the position of a gate in the western lateral body of the earliest fortification. The supposed functional connection between the wooden construction discovered in the southwestern of the Third Courtyard and the communication leading from the inner area of the Castle to the west has been rejected (BOHÁČOVÁ 1999).

The wooden construction discovered during the pre-war excavations of the Third Courtyard which was originally identified with the earliest communication leads directly into the excavated part of the rampart (excavation seasons 1985/6) and thus would have collide

with the fortification. Furthermore, among pottery fragments originating from the stratigraphically earlier location there are pieces corresponding with periods that are later than the previously supposed construction date. Last but not least, given the documented width of the road the remaining space would have been insufficient even if the connection had been set at an angle. Debate that seemingly should lead to the solution of this issue is in fact irrelevant since the arguments (FROLÍK 2000, 106-107) relate to the question of a later, also pre-Romanesque communication that was also taken into consideration as one of the possible variants (BOHÁČOVÁ 1999, 707). The notes taken by I. Borkovský regarding the roads documented in his so far unpublished investigations in the area of both the Second and the Third Courtyard have not yet been verified.

The subsequent development of the inner range during phase 2 can be characterized mainly as repeated reconstruction of the ramparts. During the earliest reconstruction, the wall was only widened, and the latest 'Hillfort' fortification prior to the construction of the mortar-built Romanesque wall is represented on the northern slope by an all-stone rampart (6 m wide) that consists of untreated marlstones bound with clay. Every reconstruction of the rampart located on the southern slope provided an opportunity for enlargement of the inhabited area since the front screen-wall was continuously shifting to the south. Since the Early Medieval cultural layers have been almost completely removed, with the exception of boundary parts of the range, little is known about the spatial organization of the inhabited area and the construction types with the exception of the sacred architecture and the bishop's residence.

The peak of the Early Medieval development of Prague Castle was its transformation into the Romanesque castle. This was prefigured by the appearance of a new ceramic horizon that includes elements accompanying the downfall of the all-stone rampart of the previous fortification. Their appearance indicates the beginning of the third significant development phase of the agglomeration of Prague. The construction of the Romanesque stone wall and the monumental two-floor palace that was incorporated into the Castle's fortification system is the real symbol of this transformation.

5.2 The so-called *Nebenareale*

5.2.1 *Hradčany bailey*

The Hradčany bailey was the densely inhabited area on the western part of Hradčany promontory (Taf. 10.A, to the west of the line I). The spatial distribution of both sites that can be dated to the earliest phase and the surviving remains of a series of cultural layers (BOHÁČOVÁ/HERICHOVÁ in press), indicates

that settlement was more or less compact in nature and covered almost the entire area of promontory. Furthermore, its extent probably did not change significantly during the Early Middle Ages. This statement is valid at least for the area of modern Loretánské Square; the inhabited area in the Černínská Street remains debatable. The thickness of the Early Medieval horizon ranges between several tens of centimeters to more than one meter at the promontory edges. The number of hiatuses is attested by the fact that the immediate overlaying layer above that of Early Medieval Age is formed in 60 % of the reviewed excavations sample by the Modern Age and recent layers (BOHÁČOVÁ/HERIČOVÁ in press, Tab. 1). Solitary pottery fragments of the Early Slavonic and possibly also the Old 'Hillfort' periods are known from several sites and the most secure evidence of more permanent human presence during the earliest phase of the Slavonic settlement is represented mainly by a fire-burial discovered on the Loretánské Square. The question of possible settlement continuity cannot be plausibly answered only on the basis of these finds.

The main line of the western fortification of the Prague Castle also formed the eastern demarcation of the Hradčany bailey. The course and nature of the bailey's western border remains uncertain, as well, as the issue of its inner structure. Both natural morphological formations and fortification suggest the dividing boundaries. Thus the inhabited area might have ranged between 10 and 15 ha.

The extent of the Hradčany bailey fortification is unknown (Fig. 4). A fortification leading to the west was attached to the main rampart of the inner range in its curve (Fig. 3.C, detail visible on Fig. 3.B). The time interval between the buildings of both constructions also remains unknown and it is even possible that the interstice may have had a technological purpose. The same situation is repeated in the later all-stone fortification (built in the phase 2) that represents the only so far attested part of the Hradčany bailey defensive system (BOHÁČOVÁ 2001; BOHÁČOVÁ in press). This fortification may have passed either through today's Hradčanské Square or the area where the High Medieval fortification was, i. e. on the exposed site to the east of the Loretánské Square or even along the promontory mouth itself (Fig. 4. white line). So far, this line has been identified with the boundary between the modern grounds of the Prague Castle and the Hradčanské Square which, according to I. BORKOVSKÝ (1969, 51-52), closed off the supposed western bailey.

The term *western bailey* was described by Ivan Borkovský as the eastern part of settlement range defined above and covering approximately 1 ha and immediately adjoining the fortification of the inner

range. He identified its western edge with the so far unidentified transversal gorge (Fig. 3C.d). According to his view, a lateral fortification line should follow along this gorge (Fig. 3C.d). However, its existence has not been proved yet by archaeological excavations (FROLÍK 1997; Fig. 3C.c). The natural terrain depression posited by Borkovský that would have cut through the Hradčany promontory was not assumed by earlier scholars and recent excavations that have attested other sunken features in the southern edge of the promontory located to the west of the gorge's supposed course have not documented its existence (BOHÁČOVÁ/HERIČOVÁ in press with further literature). Nor has detailed geological investigation proved the existence of the gorge. Furthermore, since the site of the supposed gorge was cut through by an outer ditch of the Gothic fortification built in the year 1276 it is clear that evidence confirming or rejecting the hypothesis of natural division of this part of promontory is unobtainable.

It ought to be this area where *in ipsa civitate Pragensi* (LUDVÍKOVSKÝ ed. 1978, 24) Duke Bořivoj founded the Church of Our Lady. Unlike Ivan Borkovský, who presumed that the promontory was not fortified at the time and so was unworried by the rather remote location of this earliest metropolitan church from the centre, Jan Frolík puts forward the idea of a temporary integration of the so-called western bailey and the inner range. Such temporary integration of both parts has not, however, been archaeologically proved; the field situation on the Northern Tract does not count as convincing proof. And there is no other evidence that would confirm this hypothesis.⁶ Nonetheless, the above-mentioned hypothesis and related division of the Castle development into partial chronological phases used to be accepted uncritically.

In my opinion it is hypothetically possible to associate the fortification situated outside the western bailey posited by Borkovský with the construction built of the marlstones discovered in the lower part of the stratigraphy from the southern slope of the promontory (Fig. 4.d; unpublished excavation 2003⁷, DUBSKÁ 2004, 31). On the basis of published documentation, it seems probable that this construction might have been an all-stone fortification similar to the one attested on the northern slope of the promontory. If the hypothesis is verified in the future, the lateral fortification line ought to be sought further to the west. However, it is clear that the all-stone rampart located on the acropolis'

6 Author J. Frolík himself accepted the settlement traces that were discovered during the excavations in the Middle tract on the outside of the main fortification can not be taken as a proof since their stratigraphic position in relation to the ditch cannot be established with certainty.

7 <http://geocz.com/spalac/7htm> [2003-12-14].

northern slope belongs to a later phase of fortification construction.

With the exception of the dynastic burials in Church of Our Lady people buried their dead outside the central range during phase 1. The archaeological data from the earliest phase do not give us any significant picture of the settlement structure and consist mainly of remains of settlement layers and some small sunken features. In one case (Kanovnická Street Nr. 73) a wooden sunken construction was identified in the layers from the Middle 'Hillfort' settlement phase.

Nor do the settlement traces from phase 2 allow us any distinct picture of the settlement. Some finds and types of individual structures from the later parts of the Early Middle Ages (details see in BOHÁČOVÁ/HERIČHOVÁ in press) indicate the existence of an environment grander than might be expected in a place outside the significant centre. At some locations with contexts originating from phase 2, pieces of mortar suggesting the presence of an elite construction and its equipment were discovered. Traces indicating iron-working were found at other sites. The burial-grounds that are located during phase 2 in the immediate vicinity of human settlements illustrate a significant shift in people's behaviour towards their dead. Besides the burial-ground at the Church Our Lady another extensive multiple-stage burial-ground has been established in the area of the Loretánské Square. Although this funerary area fulfilled its function until modern times it was repeatedly interrupted by settlement activities. The existence of the much discussed sacred building sometimes identified with the St. Adalbert church mentioned in Gothic sources has yet to be archaeologically proved.

During phase 3 or the following period with a so far unspecified overlap into the High Medieval Age, several changes took place that testified trends characterizing the previous periods. Qualitatively more advanced constructions appeared; among the most important belong a house (construction built on foundations?) discovered within reach of the royal residence at the Hradčanské Square built of treated marlstones and partly built with mortar and partly with clay, and also the construction built on stone foundations that formed the terminal point of the built-up area in Kanovnická Street. In the immediate vicinity of these buildings workshops were located dealing in this period not only with the iron-work but also with the non-ferrous metal metallurgy and possibly even glass.

At several sites there is evidence for close and even long-term (in two cases) contacts between unusual (elite) structures and common usual production (hand-craft) activities. The elite structures were identified on the basis of the presence of less common types of

objects such as glass or slip-ring armour. This situation might suggest that the densely inhabited area in fact consisted of smaller settlement ranges with specific functions that were spatially well-defined. It is possible that this area could have been occupied by settlements of a farmstead nature. Apart from archaeology, this was a theory put forward for the later part of the Early Middle Ages by architectural historical investigation of the area to the west of Hradčanské Square (VILÍMKOVÁ/KAŠIČKA 1973, 79-81). The presented hypothesis must be verified by future studies. It is clear, however, that there exists a link between the ducal and later royal residence and the settlement immediately adjoining it. Written evidence clearly documents such a link for the High Middle Ages and it is obvious that its roots may go even further back to the past. The hypothesis is that the bailey functioned as a residential area for the population that served at the ducal residence.

5.2.2 *Malá Strana suburbium*

The Malá Strana suburbium of the earliest settlement phase (phase 1) consists of the densely inhabited and fortified area on the northern part of the present Malá Strana district (Tab. 10.B). Knowledge of the earliest part of the local stratigraphy is the crucial issue for our understanding of the interpretation of the Malá Strana development. According to the results of studies done by J. Čiháková, and also J. Zavřel and J. Havrda (see chapter 4), the earliest sequences are characterized by the presence of hiatuses; debris and landslides are also present. The soil type is present only exceptionally and there is evidence of huge transfers of earth. Considering the stratigraphically earliest sequences, it is possible to state in general that up to the PHB1 horizon, according to the published material only several pottery fragments have so far been discovered. The earliest parts of the Early Medieval stratigraphy *in situ* were found in the Nos. 2, 7, 35, and 264/III (Tab. 13), also the archaeological situation (Nr. 259/III) already published (ČIHÁKOVÁ 2001) is important since it is related to a structure of strategic significance and the second identified phase of the fortification. The extent of the oldest fortified area is not known; only the southern fortification line from the earliest phases has been documented in the southern part of the inhabited range, i. e. in the immediate vicinity of Malostranské Square – Tab. 10.II, Fig. 4.e. An eastern line defending the continuously inhabited part of the suburbium from the side of the river is so far only a hypothesis. In the earliest settlement phase J. Čiháková recognizes two main stages of fortification construction: a moat probably with some sort of a wooden structure (1), and a moat (2) possibly with the so-called Přemyslid-type rampart that was supplemented by the strategic building mentioned

above – a tower? discovered in a similar archaeological context. The second phase of the suburbium's fortification can probably be related to the development of the settlement and possible more ambitious town planning that included paving wide areas and building new communications (ČIHÁKOVÁ/DRAGOUN/PODLISKA 2000, 131-132). J. Čiháková derives absolute chronology data related to the archaeological situations in question from the dendrochronological dating of timbers used in the wooden construction of the newly built communication consolidating area in front of the Moldau river bridge. According to her interpretation, the second phase of fortification should be dated to the end of the 9th century.

Isolated evidence of settlement including traces of iron metallurgy were also discovered beyond the fortified range (Tab. 10.B/2 and 5), and a burial-ground related to this development stage was detected to the south of the suburbium, beyond the compactly inhabited range. Any connection between the earlier burial finds discovered to the south of the southern fortification and this development stage remains inconclusive. (Tab. 10.B/3). In the subsequent phase, continuous settlement flourished mainly towards the south. Also belonging to the phase 2 is another element of the fortification of Malá Strana suburbium that was discovered just recently and has only been subject to preliminary evaluation (PODLISKA/HAVRDA/KOVÁŘ 2003). This is section of a fortification (3) attested to the west of the previous archaeological excavations. It consists of a rampart with filling-type of construction (width 6-8 m) with posts along the rear side and front stone screen-wall bordered by a moat. A dividing line was detected in its rear part that could indicate local use of a chamber-type of construction (HAVRDA/PODLISKA 2003). It seems reasonable to imagine that course of the ramparts follows the second phase of the suburbium's central fortification (3). A dendrochronological dating 940 was obtained from the rampart's rear part. According to the preliminary dating conducted by the excavators, this rampart (Fig. 4.f) was constructed during the earlier phase of the Late 'Hillfort' period. Thus, it cannot be chronologically connected with the second phase of the fortification (2) excavated by J. Čiháková. The rampart (3) defines the southern border of the northern part of the inhabited area. In a stratigraphically older position only rare traces of earlier Early Medieval settlement were discovered: in one of the excavated sectors the layer thickness was 1-5 cm, an oval pit; and elsewhere the rampart was constructed directly on subsoil. The dating of these finds remains uncertain – 8th-10th century. Some minor density of settlement intensity is also attested by the occasional presence of pottery sherds in the rampart body.

An independent southern suburbium?

The growth of settlement corresponds with construction of a new fortification wall (Tab. 10.III, Fig. 4.g) probably intended to defend the newly inhabited area from the south. It was constructed approximately 350 m to the south of the fortification identified by J. Čiháková as the second phase of the suburbium's defensive system. According to the recent excavators (excavations Havrda/Tryml 2003-2006; HAVRDA/TRYML 2006a; HAVRDA/TRYML 2006b) the rampart with filling-type of construction, frontal stone screen-wall, and a moat (depth 6.3 m, width 15-17 m, and length in the western line 9 m) was constructed during the period of use of calyx-rimmed pottery. No traces of an earlier settlement were detected. This fortification function very probably ended during the Early Medieval Age since burials belonging to the burial-ground of the nearby Romanesque Church of St. Laurence were embedded in the filling of the moat. Pottery sherds dated to the 12th century together with denars of Vladislav II and Přemysl I were excavated in the upper part of the lateral moat filling. The present state of evidence does not allow us to judge whether this fortification functioned simultaneously with some phases of the suburbium's central fortification and together created a bipartite fortified area, or whether it replaced them.

Burial-grounds were located outside or along the margins of both parts of the Malá Strana suburbium (Tab. 10.C/3). In some cases (the burial-ground predating the St. Laurence Church construction or the burial-ground in the gardens of the Vratislavský palace) we cannot rule out the possibility that they were non-church burial-grounds. Another burial-ground situated on the southern slope of the Hradčany promontory on the outside of the acropolis southern fortification seems to be of the same date. Its function ceased with the construction of the Romanesque stone rampart.

A feature situated in the western part of the Malá Strana suburbium represents the earliest fortification element that still falls within the observed period, since J. Čiháková does not exclude the possibility that it was constructed in the 10th century. Again, it respected the older line of the Malá Strana core fortification with its outer edge shifted more to the south counter to the second phase. This ambiguous feature was reconstructed as huge moat probably accompanied by a rampart of unknown construction. At the very latest, its destruction was caused by building of an early Gothic rampart. In its eastern course this feature did not go beyond the line of what is now Karmelitská Street. It is inevitable that previously presented hypotheses will be modified in line with the present state of knowledge

about the whole complex of the Early Medieval fortifications. In recent years, our view on this issue has been changing constantly as a result of the permanent rescue archaeological excavations prompted by the construction boom in the Malá Strana district.

Traces of metal-working were detected both along the edges of the inhabited range, beyond them, but also within the fortified area, e.g. along its inner side (Nerudova Street). Construction of the sacred buildings most probably occurred during the following phase. Evidently one of the earliest buildings was the Rotunda of St. Wenceslas that was only recently corroborated by archaeological excavations. It was constructed very probably around the year 1100 (ČIHÁKOVÁ/MÜLLER 2006, 109). As far as this dating is concerned, the chronology of the Vyšehrad-type of tiles can provide even more accurate dates since a variant of this type was discovered partly *in situ* inside the church and it seems that their production had already started a little earlier.

6. Development synchronisation of the main elements of Prague's Early Medieval left-bank agglomeration

Any comprehensive evaluation of the initial development of the left-bank settlement is hampered by the fact that copious and often unique evidence for the earliest phases of the Prague agglomeration has been so far published individually in professional articles (BOHÁČOVÁ/HERICHOVÁ in press; BOHÁČOVÁ 2001; ČIHÁKOVÁ 1997; 2001) or in popular studies orientated to the general public and, thus, lacking professional argumentation or hard evidence for the proposed conclusions (ČIHÁKOVÁ 1999; ČIHÁKOVÁ/DRAGOUN/PODLISKA 2000; FROLÍK 2006; TOMKOVÁ 2000). Recent attempt to connect the development of individual elements of the Prague's left-bank settlement on the basis of pottery assemblages from the earliest parts of stratigraphies (BOHÁČOVÁ in press, Fig. 9; Tab. 14)⁸ clearly shows that the developments were most probably contemporaneous and that the shifting of the origins of the Malá Strana suburbium deeper into the past is only the result of differences in 'the individual absolute chronologies' of particular researchers (see next page). This analysis was based on the comparative evaluation of published material from the field situations relating to the individual phases of the fortifications of the ducal residence and the suburbium. The conclusion is now being verified (Tab. 15)

⁸ This paper was presented on the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology of the Polish Academy of Sciences conference held in 2004 at Bytom Odrzansky. Since it has not published yet, part of the already analyzed documentation has been used again during the preparation of this article.

by study of other processed and available evidence that relates to the earliest phases of the settlement stratigraphies (ČIHÁKOVÁ 1994; ČIHÁKOVÁ 2001; ČIHÁKOVÁ/HAVRDA 2002a; 2002b; BOHÁČOVÁ 2001 with further literature; BOHÁČOVÁ 2003; BOHÁČOVÁ/HERICHOVÁ in press).⁹

The following conclusions can be drawn from the evidence (see Tab. 14-15):

- Pottery assemblages from the earliest parts of the settlement sequence of suburbium and Hradčany bailey are extremely few in number (the number of rims is counted in units, the total number of fragments in tens, and very often does not exceed 10 fragments – for example see Tab. 15.1). Moreover, on the basis of the settlement stratigraphies, the pottery occurs only exceptionally.
- In none of the left-bank sequences is it possible to define a settlement horizon that would be unambiguously related to the period prior to the reign of Duke Bořivoj. Archaic ceramic elements occur simultaneously with the more advanced Middle 'Hillfort' pottery or are discovered in secondary positions, e.g. in the sunken features filling: the filling of the moat in the Nr. 266/III (Tab. 14.a1), feature filling in the Nr. 2/III (Tab. 15.1), and the majority of the finds obtained in Hradčany (Tab. 15.4-9).

The field situations of pottery sequences confirm the presented hypotheses of the synchronous development of all parts of the agglomeration. With the exception of relatively numerous ceramic assemblages related to the foundation of the ducal residence (see Tab. 14, compare finds from Prague Castle with finds from Malá Strana for horizon A0-A1: Tab. 14 and 15), no traces of intensive settlement activities datable deeper into the past were detected for any of the individual elements of the agglomeration. Furthermore, in none of the archaeological situations was evidence clearly demonstrating the chronological priority of the Malá Strana settlement to the settlement in the other parts of the left-bank range discovered. Rare finds of pottery sherds corresponding to the periods earlier than the Middle 'Hillfort' period shed no new light on either the intensity or the higher date of the settlement. With the exception of two moats discovered in the lowest stratigraphic positions, the beginnings of the earliest

⁹ The pottery assemblage analyses were based on comparison of their documentation in drawings. The compared pottery rims morphology is so distinct that it may quite adequately serve as the background for the following conclusions. Nonetheless, it would be very useful in future to amend this topic by analyses of ceramic matter and production technologies which might make a major contribution to both verification of the proposed conclusions and to studies of a variety of other topics closely related to organization of production and distribution of products.

	Historical periods (Ječný 1984)	Pottery sequence (state 1984, JČ)	Pottery sequence (state 2001, JČ)	Hillfort periods (IB 2001)	Pottery sequence (state 2001, IB)	Pottery horizons of Prague-Castle (state 2001 IB)
1200 - 1250	1200 - 1240	O: KZ	O: KZ classical technology	VS1 - earlier f.	O:KZ classical technology, FAD of new morfologies and technologies (PHC2.2)*	PHC2, VS1
1150 - 1200	1143-1200	O: AZ	O: AZ? KZ	MH - later f. and MH/VS1	O: KZ, KZ technology evolution (PHC2.1)*	PHC1, emergence to PHC2
1100 - 1150	1000 - 1143	O: K	O: AZ	MH - later f.	O: KZ traditional technology - invasion	PHC1
O: FAD AZ and new morfologies and technology					PHC0	
O: K - various forms of morfology and technology (PHB2.2)*					PHB2	
1050 - 1100	O: K	O: K and derivats	MH - earlier f.	O: K classic form invasion, V: MH (PHB2.1)*		
1000 - 1050	O: K	O: K		SH - later f. and SH/MH	O:FAD L and FAD K archaic form V: SH	PHB1
950 - 1000	930 - 1000	O: K	O: K	SH - later f.	O: J modified and convex form invasion	PHA0-PHA1, FAD PHB0
900 - 950	ca 885 - 930	O: L, K invasion	O: L, K invasion			
850 - 900			O: older than L	SH - earlier f.	O: J mainly simple concave	PHA0?
800 - 850						

Historical and archaeological chronology and pottery horizons in the study of early mediaeval Prague. By J. ČIHÁKOVÁ and J. HAVRDA (in press) and I. BOHÁČOVÁ (2001). Abbreviation: 0 – rim, V – decoration, J – simple rim, L – collar-shaped rim, K – calyx-shaped rims, AZ – trussed rim - archaic form, KZ – trussed rim - classic form. FAD – First appearance datum, PHC1 – pottery horizon of Romanesque stone rampart constructions.

* new symbols. For another symbols see excursus of cap. 2.

settlement phase have been not yet identified. We are also lacking exact basic data necessary for the absolute chronological dating of the earliest parts of the settlement sequences.

The difference, mentioned above, of two to three decades in the absolute chronology of individual ceramic assemblages used in different 'personal chronologies' (see Tab. 14) has no real significance as far as the possibilities of interpretation of the archaeological material is concerned. On the other hand, the situation changes considerably when archaeological situations are related to historical events since such links are already

presented as so well established, and this has a tendency to create a nonsynchronic and thus ahistorical view of the entire site development. The issue of the different dating of identical pottery horizons of the earliest Prague ceramic sequence has not yet been satisfactorily explained although chronologies of both the Malá Strana suburbium and the Prague Castle have been independently verified by dendrochronological dating. Even though we can cast doubt on the credibility of the dendrochronological measurements results, the discrepancy in dating may also be caused by the incorrect interpretation of complex archaeological situations and the

informative value of the original ceramic inventory. As far as the beginnings of Prague agglomeration and its historical significance are concerned, the repeatedly documented fact that the settlement development and the fortification construction in the eastern part of the Hradčany promontory and the Malá Strana suburbium took place during the earliest settlement phase nearly simultaneously (Tab. 14, horizons B0-B1) is of crucial importance. It is reinforced by the earliest parts of their stratigraphies and the sporadic ceramic inventory.

7. Conclusions

The present state of our understanding of the beginnings of the Prague agglomeration is very fragmentary since many objective reasons hamper any attempt at systematic and comprehensive study of this topic. However, with the benefit of systematic and intensive archaeological research it is possible to postulate some conclusions that are all the more significant when compared with earlier conceptions of Prague archaeology put forward in the 60s and 70s.

The settlement core on the left-bank was already established in the Early Slavonic period. Nonetheless, pottery fragments predating the Middle 'Hillfort' period are still extremely rare and cannot provide proof of any significant settlement activities in this area. During the earliest phase (phase 1), the core of the Early Medieval settlement on the left-bank consisted of densely inhabited areas on almost the entire Hradčany promontory and in the northern part of Malá Strana suburbium.

At the latest at the end of the phase 1, the ducal residence and its suburbium were encircled by a huge fortification system consisting of ramparts and a moat. This fortification very probably replaced some older defences of which only the moat has been discovered. According to studies of the archaeological situations known at Prague Castle, the end of the phase 1 should be dated shortly after the period defined by the dendrodates interval 908-917 that also serves as the term *post quem* for the construction of the above-mentioned rampart. The situations discovered in the Malá Strana suburbium have also been dated using dendrochronological measurements, but the results are placed in the absolute chronology approx. two or three decades deeper into the past. Nonetheless, on the basis of the comparison of ceramic assemblages discovered in various locations, it is clear that the early development of the agglomeration was most probably synchronic. The present state of research does not show that one settlement area predates the other; and in no stratigraphic sequences is it impossible to detect a settlement horizon that would clearly predate the reign of Duke Bořivoj.

Despite the crucial discoveries of recent years, the topography of the complicated fortification system is known only partially. Concerning the suburbium's fortification, its connection to the defense system of the ducal residence remains uncertain; and it is possible that it underwent several changes in time. Also still unclear is the function of the exposed sites on the southern edge of the Hradčany promontory. Although traces of settlement activities, burials and also production are documented in different development phases, the presence of the landslides clearly shows that these sites were of limited use. Nonetheless, detailed knowledge of the agglomeration structure is crucial for exploration of any major issues concerning its functioning.

The distribution of burial-grounds dating from the Middle 'Hillfort' period clearly shows that they loosely flank the continuously inhabited range. The situation on the Hradčany promontory is extremely pronounced. In the case of several burials related to the southern suburbium it is less clear-cut. During phase 2, the burial-grounds gradually shifted into the inhabited areas. Even the production activities – only metal production is documented – were concentrated along the borders of the inhabited areas during the earliest phases. This still applies to the situation attested in the suburbium during phase 2; at the Hradčany (excluding the situation at the Prague Castle) evidence of metal production is scattered over the entire promontory. The special character of this excavation environment is suggested by other factors. Thus, this particular part of Hradčany may be considered a settlement area immediately linked to the existence of the ducal residence. This hypothesis is supported both by the minimal extent of inhabitable space within the acropolis area and with by the assumption that the Malá Strana suburbium was an important trading centre. The special significance of this suburbium located at the river crossing as a market place documented in the historical sources is also underlined by the unusual adaptation of the site, archaeologically attested. Nonetheless, the present state of our evidence runs counter to any hypothesis concerning the role of the supposed southern suburbium. We also so far lack any clear archaeological evidence of diverse functions filled by the 'Nebenareale'.

Among the so far unsolved issues crucial for an understanding of the topographical situation is the extent of the Hradčany fortified area and its possible inner divisions, the development and chronology of the individual phases of the suburbium's fortifications and its connection to the rampart of the ducal residence. Attention also needs to be paid to the potential evidence for the different functions of the individual ranges and also to the verification of the

hypotheses here presented. The current discrepancy in the absolute dating of equivalent ceramic assemblages discovered either at Prague Castle or at Malá Strana suburbium (dated two or three decades earlier) in archaeological situations with timbers that yielded dendrochronological data point up both the methodo-

logical problem of dendrochronology and the ambiguity of archaeological interpretation.

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Souhrn

Práce je věnována problematice nejstarších fází vývoje pražské aglomerace. Zabývá se především raně středověkým levobřežním osídlením v prostoru dnešních Hradčan a Malé Strany před proměnou jádra aglomerace v Prahu románskou. Poznání počátků Prahy komplikuje řada okolností. Podstatná část existujícího pramenného fondu není zpracována, chybí jednotně vnímaný chronologický systém propojující data relativní archeologické a absolutní historické chronologie. Interpretaci nálezových situací ztěžuje složitá geneze stratigrafií v historickém jádru Prahy a vesměs značně torzální stav jejich dochování. Chronologický rámec raného středověku je v příspěvku členěn na tři základní fáze, vymezené pro středohradištní a mladohradištní období pomocí keramických horizontů středočeské keramiky pražské sekvence. Ty byly již dříve definovány na základě studia nosných stratigrafických situací Pražského hradu a Staré Boleslavi (fáze 1 – středohradištní, počátky intenzivního osídlení - sídelní etapa včetně fáze následující po vybudování dřevohlinitého opevnění Pražského hradu, závěr fáze 1 před nástupem kalichovité profilace okrajů; fáze 2 – starší mladohradištní – stabilní intenzivní sídelní, etapa provázená keramikou s kalichovitou profilací okrajů; fáze 3 – mladší mladohradištní – závěr fáze 3 odpovídá období výstavby románské hradby Pražského hradu, tj. období do nástupu technologicky nejvyspělejšího stupně keramiky se zduřelými okraji). Zahrnuty nejsou samý závěr raného středověku a následné přechodové období. V rámci charakteristiky základních komponent aglomerace (vnitřní areál: akropole - knížecí rezidence v rámci Pražského hradu, vnější areály: hradčanské předhradí, malostranské suburbium) je věnována pozornost především prostorovému vymezení dílčích komponent, jejich opevnění, intenzitě osídlení, případně i organizaci prostoru a funkcím jednotlivých areálů. Sledována je také otázka možného prostorového vymezení bezprostředního ekonomického zázemí Prahy. Vyhodnocení dostupných pramenů vede k následujícím závěrům:

– Prostor levobřežního jádra pražské kotliny byl osídlen od časně slovanského období. Nálezy keramiky starší než středohradištní jsou však zatím jen ojedinělé a nelze je považovat za doklad významnějších sídelních aktivit. Kontinuita osídlení je však pravděpodobná.

– Levobřežní jádro pražské raně středověké aglomerace tvořily v nejstarší fázi (fáze 1) jejího vývoje hustě až kompaktně osídlené areály zaujímající téměř celý prostor hradčanského ostrohu a severní část malostranského suburbia.

– Vývoj těchto areálů byl podle zpřístupněných pramenů synchronní. V žádné ze stratigrafických sekvencí nelze zatím vyčlenit sídelní horizont, který by bylo možné za současného stavu poznání vývoje keramiky jednoznačně vztáhnout k období, předcházejícímu vládu knížete Bořivoje.

– Nejpozději v závěru 1. sídelní fáze byly knížecí rezidence a její suburbium chráněny mohutnou fortifikační soustavou, tvořenou hradbou a příkopem, která nahradila prvotní, zřejmě jen lehčí opevnění, z něhož známe u obou areálů jen příkop.

– Podle výsledků studia nálezových situací z Pražského hradu završení fáze 1 spadalo do intervalu 908-917, vymezeném sérií dendrodat, nebo do období brzy po tomto intervalu následujícím. Data tohoto intervalu jsou termínem *post quem* pro výstavbu nejstaršího známého dřevohlinitého opevnění knížecí rezidence.

– V průběhu vývoje jednotlivých komponent aglomerace dochází v jejich rámci k proměnám funkcí některých poloh – prokázáno je např. střídání pohřbívání a sídlení. Zatímco během středohradištní periody byla pro pohřbívání vyhrazena (s výjimkou dynastických a možná i některých dalších nepočetných pohřbů) především periferie aglomerace, pro mladší fázi (fáze 2) je charakteristický přesun pohřebišť (patrně i nekostelních) do jádra sídelního prostoru. Při okrajích osídlených ploch se v nejstarším období soustředily rovněž některé výrobní aktivity (doloženo pro zpracování železa). Pro suburbium toto konstatování platí i pro fázi 2, na Hradčanech (mimo knížecí rezidenci) jsou doklady práce s kovy rozptýlené po celé ploše ostrohu.

Řada otázek týkajících se funkcí i jednoznačného prostorového vymezení jednotlivých areálů a jejich případných proměn zůstává otevřená:

Poznání počáteční fáze vývoje osídlení kotliny brání téměř totální likvidace nejstarších částí kulturního souvrství mladšími aktivitami. Znalost starších fází vývoje keramiky středohradištního období je nedostatečná.

Známá není geneze opevnění vnějších areálů, nejasný zůstává přesný průběh linií fortifikací či způsobů jejich propojení, který mohl mít i více variant, prokázáno není ani případné členění vnějších areálů do menších segmentů. Některé faktory indikují odlišný charakter osídlení v západní části hradčanského ostrohu a vyslovena byla hypotéza o této části Hradčan jako o sídelním areálu spjatém bezprostředně s provozem knížecí rezidence. To odpovídá předpokladu, odvozenému zejména z historických pramenů, dle něhož malostranské suburbium hrálo v rámci aglomerace roli důležitého obchodního centra. V jeho prostoru

je předpokládáno historickými prameny uváděné tržiště; jeho strategicky významné poloze při přechodu řeky odpovídá archeologicky zjištěná úprava daného prostoru. O roli uvažovaného jižního suburbia zatím získané prameny nevypovídají.

V souhrnu lze konstatovat, že z vyhodnocení dostupných pramenů vyplývá, že vývoj jednotlivých částí pražské aglomerace probíhal nejspíše synchronně, způsob organizace života metropole je ale zatím poznán minimálně.

English by P. Maříková

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