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Tismice i Kouřim – transformacija ranosrednjovjekovnih središta u 8. i 9. stoljeću u središnjoj Češkoj (promjena strukture moći vidljiva u lokalnoj mreži gradina?)

U fokusu češke arheologije nalaze se dvije središnje utvrde i njihovo značenje; jedna starija, koja je uništena, i jedna kasnija, izgrađena u 10. stoljeću u blizini starije utvrde kao odraz promjene vlasti koju je pokrenuo vladajući knez. Već je u 9. stoljeću u regiji istočno od Praga uočljiva slična situacija, koju smo dokumentirali, a odnosi se na utvrdu Tismice. Ona je uništena u drugoj trećini 9. stoljeća, a već sredinom istog stoljeća njezinu središnju ulogu preuzela je utvrda Kouřim, koja je bila smještena 17 km jugoistočno i zauzimala površinu od 40 hektara. Ta utvrda također je imala funkciju „grada“. Prema „Kristijanovoj legendi“ s kraja 10. stoljeća, ratujući protiv vladajućeg kneza Vjenceslava I. (kasnije svetog Vjenceslava † 935.), kouřimski knez u konačnici se predao bez borbe, a utvrdu je nešto kasnije (950. – 960.?) uništio najvjerojatnije knez Boleslav I. († 972.) iz dinastije Přemyslovića, koji je nasuprot izvornoj utvrdi osnovao manje središte s crkvom sv. Jurja. Bilo je to jedno od ključnih mjesta unutar fortifikacijske mreže koja je činila temelj administracije „rane države“.

Ključne riječi: Češka, rani srednji vijek, mreža utvrda, struktura vlasti, promjena središta, mreža središnjih mjesta u ranoj državi, uvezeni predmeti karolinške provenijencije, uvezeni predmeti ugarske provenijencije.

Tismice and Kouřim — transformation of Early Medieval centrality (central places) in the 8th and 9th centuries in central Bohemia. (Change in power structure visible/recognizable in the local network of hillforts ?)

Czech Archaeology works with the interpretation of a couple of central strongholds – an older one that cease to exist/perish and a later one, newly built in the vicinity of the earlier one in the 10th century in reflection of deliberate power change initiated by the ruling duke. I documented an analogical situation in a region to the east of Prague already in the 9th century – Tismice stronghold ceased to exist in the second third of the 9th century and its central role was taken up in the half of the same century by the stronghold with “city” function Kouřim (40 ha), 17 km to the SE. Duke of Kouřim had warred with the ruling duke Wenceslaus I (later Saint † 935) and according to the ‘Christian’s legend’ from the end of the 10th century yielded to him. It was destroyed a bit later (950-960?) by violent means, most likely by Duke Boleslaus I († 972) of the Přemyslid dynasty and the duke founded a new smaller centre with the church of St. George opposite to the original stronghold. It was one of the nodal points of the stronghold-net as the base of ‘early state’ administration.

Key words: *Bohemia, Early Middle Ages, stronghold-net, power structure, change of centres, early state centres net, Carolingian imports, Hungarian imports.*

I. Uvod

Znanstvenici su kao važna mjesta prepoznali 168 utvrđenih lokacija u Bohemiji,¹ odnosno zapadnom dijelu Češke Republike, koje datiraju od 8. do 12. stoljeća i obuhvaćaju različite funkcije i razdoblja postojanja. Utvrde, posebice one poznate iz pisanih izvora, pobuđuju zanimanje arheologa još od 19. stoljeća.

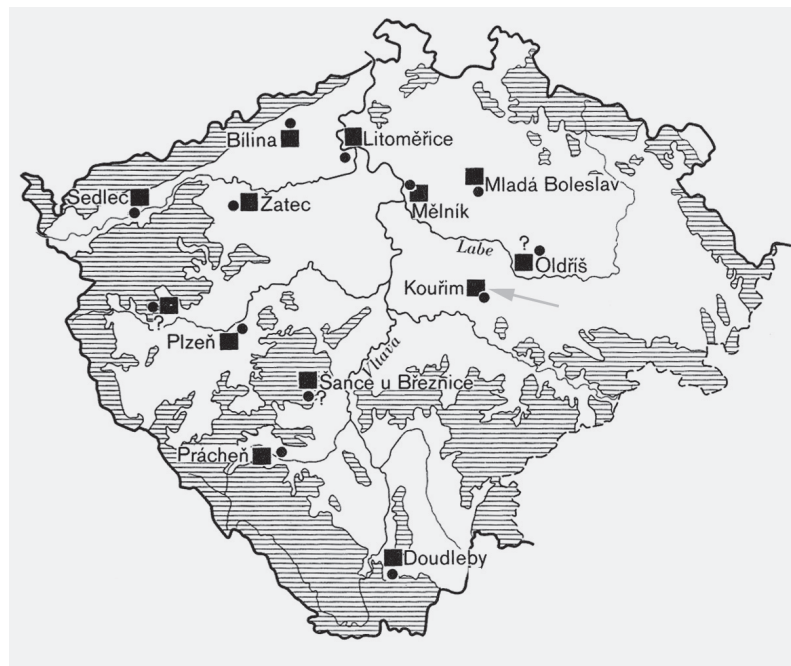
Osamdesetih godina 20. stoljeća J. Sláma postavio je hipotezu o nastanku državne mreže utvrda u drugoj polovici 10. i početkom 11. stoljeća (sl. 1, 14).² Ta mreža obuhvaća uglavnom utvrde poznate iz pisanih izvora i one koje su arheološki dokumentirane, a s manjom sigurnošću pridodano joj je i nekoliko utvrda poznatih samo preko arheoloških nalaza. Radi se o najmanje 20 **ranih „državnih“ središta** i o dvjema utvrđenim rezidencijama u Prahu. Prva od njih je Praški dvorac, koji površinom zauzima više od 30 hektara, a datira se na početak 10. stoljeća³ (spominje se u *Legenda Christiani as urbs metropolis* s kraja 10. st.),⁴ a druga je Vyšehrad (sl. 14), izgrađen u drugoj polovici 10. stoljeća kao rezidencija kneza, koja kasnije, u 11. stoljeću, postaje i rezidencija kralja Vratislava II.⁵ Praška regija ili središnja Bohemija u užem smislu imala je jednu od najgušćih koncentracija velikih utvrda u ranosrednjovjekovnoj Europi.⁶

Od 1980-ih u fokusu češke arheologije nalaze se dvije središnje utvrde i njihovo značenje. Utvrda podignuta ranije je uništena, a ona kasnija sagrađena je u njezinoj blizini u 10. stoljeću, kao odraz promjene vlasti koju je pokrenuo vladajući knez (sl. 1),⁷ ali i kao moguće simbolično odcjepljenje od ranijih, često poganskih tradicija.

Ova teorija utemeljena je na trima najpoznatijim primjerima: objema utvrdama u Kouřim i Staroj Mladosti⁸ (izvorno Mladý Boleslav, u muškom rodu). Što se tiče imena, nisu sve utvrde zadržale svoje nazive. Takva praksa prije je izuzetak nego pravilo, što jasno pokazuje treći primjer. Naime, Prag – Šárka i Levý Hradec zamijenjeni su

I. Introduction

Researchers recognised 168 fortified sites in Bohemia,¹ the western part of the Czech Republic, dating from the 8th to the 12th century with different functions and with varying periods of their existence as important places. Strongholds, especially the ones known from written records - have been arousing the interest of archaeologists since 19th century.



Sl. 1. Ranije i kasnije „ranodržavne“ utvrde: prsten – ranija utvrđena središta; kvadrat – kasnije utvrde s administrativnim funkcijama (preuzeto iz: Sláma 1988, sl. 30)

Fig. 1 Earlier and later 'early state' couple of strongholds, square: later strongholds with administrative functions, ring: earlier fortified centres; (after/taken from J. Sláma 1988, Fig. 30.)

J. Sláma established in 80ies of 20th centuries the hypothesis about the emergence of the state net of strongholds in the 2nd half of the 10th and the beginning of the 11th century (Fig. 1, 14).² This network of strongholds includes mainly strongholds known from the written sources and also documented by archaeology, with less certainty also a few strongholds known only from archaeology, together minimally 20 **early „state“ centres**, and two fortified residences within the Prague: Prague Castle with

¹ Profantová, Tomková 2018.

² Sláma 1988, str. 80–84, sl. 10.

³ Havrda 2021, str. 98, s literaturom.

⁴ Ludvíkovský 1978.

⁵ Moucha, Nechvátal, Varadzin 2015.

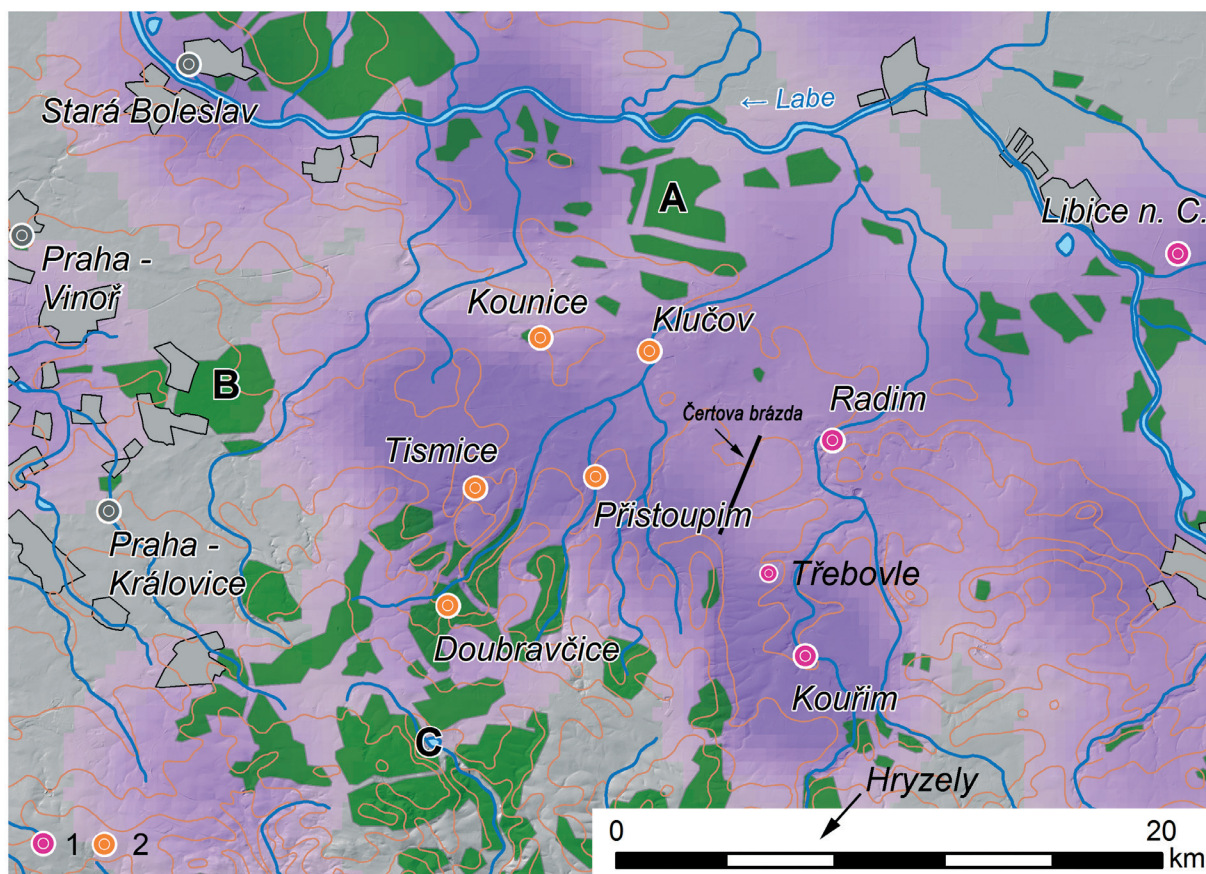
⁶ Christie, Herold 2016.

⁷ Sláma 1988; Lutovský 2006; Lutovský 2009; Profantová, Tomková 2018; Boháčová, Štefan 2018.

⁸ Za Staru Boleslav: Boháčová 2003; Boháčová 2006; za Mladu Boleslav: Čtverák *et al.* 2004.

¹ Profantová, Tomková 2018.

² Sláma 1988, pp. 80–84, Fig. 10.



Sl. 2. Skupina utvrda, Tismice i položaj Kouřim u grupi utvrda: A, B, C – šumski kompleks; 1 – utvrda ranijeg (Třebovle) i kasnijeg horizonta, uglavnom skupina Kouřim; 2 – utvrda ranijeg horizonta (rijeka Šembera); 3 – siva utvrda srednje češke skupine Přemysloviča (preuzeto iz: Profantová *et al.* 2020, sl. 2, izmijenjeno)

Fig. 2 Tismice group of strongholds and position of Kouřim in part of a group of strongholds- A, B, C Forest complex, 1 stronghold of an earlier (Třebovle) and later horizon: mostly Kouřim group, 2 stronghold of earlier horizon (Šembera river Gebiet) 3 gray stronghold of Middle-bohemian Přemyslid group. (Taken from Profantová *et al.* 2020, Fig. 2 modifycate.)

nazivom Praški dvorac početkom 10. stoljeća. No, Levý Hradec imao je i simbolički značaj, kao mjesto s prvom crkvom sv. Klementa i kao gospodarstveno važno središte do druge polovice 12. stoljeća.⁹ Najvažniji primjer takve promjene naziva bio je prijelaz sa Stará Kouřim (9. – pol. 10. st.) na kasniji naziv Kouřim – Sv. Jiří / Utvrda sv. Jurja (970./980. – 1236.).

Već je u 9. stoljeću u regiji istočno od Praga uočljiva slična situacija, koju smo dokumentirali, a odnosi se na utvrdu Tismice. Naime, ta je utvrda prestala postojati u drugoj trećini 9. stoljeća,¹⁰ a njezinu središnju ulogu sredinom istog stoljeća preuzima utvrda s „gradskom“ funkcijom, Stará Kouřim (sl. 2, 9, 12b). Dvije utvrde – Tismice i Stará Kouřim

more than 30 ha in the beginning of the 10th century³ (in *Legenda Christiani* as *urbs metropolis*: end of 10th cent.⁴) and Vyšehrad (Fig. 14) built in the 2nd half of the 10th century and residence of prince, and later also king, Vratislav II in the 11th century.⁵ Prague region or Middle Bohemia in narrow sense was one of the densest concentrations of large strongholds in Early Medieval Europe.⁶

Since the eighties of the 20th century, Czech archaeology has been working with the interpretation of a couple of central strongholds — the earlier one that was ceasing to exist and a later one, newly built in the vicinity of the earlier one in the 10th century reflecting the deliberate power change initiated by

⁹ *Legenda Christiani*: Ludvíkovský 1978; Profantová 1999; Tomková *et al.* 2020.

¹⁰ Profantová *et al.* 2020.

³ Havrda 2021, p. 98, with literature.

⁴ Ludvíkovský 1978.

⁵ Moucha, Nechvátal, Varadzin 2015.

⁶ Christie, Herold ed. 2016.

– istraživane su na različite načine. Puno opširnija terenska istraživanja provedena su na utvrđi Kouřim, gdje su arheološka istraživanja, krajem 50-ih i 60-ih godina 20. stoljeća,¹¹ uključivala i groblje visokog sloja društva smješteno u središnjem dijelu (sl. 9A) te posebno dugu dvoranu u drugom dijelu prvog predgrađa.

II. Utvrda Tismice

Utvrda Tismice nalazila se istočno od Praga i bila je jedno od pet utvrđenih mjesta koja su tvorila sustav utvrda krajem 8. i u prvoj polovici 9. stoljeća (sl. 2, 3).¹² Tri utvrde, Doubravčice, Klučov i Tismice, arheološki su istražene tijekom 60-ih i 70-ih godina 20. stoljeća, a Tismice su ponovno istraživane 2018. i 2019. godine.¹³ Područje velike utvrde Přistoupim u cijelosti je magnetometrijski izmjereno, pri čemu su otkriveni obrisi fortifikacija kao i tlocrt velike građevine koja nije datirana.¹⁴ Tu skupinu utvrda je od onih u Praškoj kotlini dijelila šuma (sl. 2A, B i djelomično C). Područje s mrežom utvrda bilo je gusto naseljeno sve do 8. stoljeća.¹⁵

Tismice su bile središte te skupine, kao i proizvodno i nadregionalno središte (sl. 3–5, 6: 1), koje je imalo koristi od svog položaja na dugom putu koji vodi u Moravsku i Panonsku nizinu (kasnije nazvanom Trstenická, sl. 15). Utvrda je bila opasana četirima jarcima, pri čemu je vanjski jarak (D) bio dodatno ojačan drveno-ilovastim bedemom, a jarak C s rupama za stupove dijelio je unutrašnji dio (akropolu) od vanjskog podgrađa. Taj jarak bio je dubok 3 m i širok više od 7,4 m, a tijekom istraživanja prepoznali smo dva izvjesna primjera njegova čišćenja (sl. 8, slojevi 45 i 46).

Jarak C stratigrafski je kasniji od drugog i trećeg horizonta ranosrednjovjekovnog naselja (sl. 8: 13, 13A, 38, 39), pa tako i od horizonta prapovijesnog naselja. Pliće korito produženo je do jarka C, a u njemu je pronađen kasnoavarski tip pojase garnitura. Pronađeno je više od 200 primjeraka ukrasa pojasnih dijelova, konjske opreme i ostruga, koji su uglavnom imali karakteristike bizantsko-kasnoavarskog kulturnog kruga (185 primjeraka), a velik

the ruling duke (Fig. 1).⁷ It could also be a symbolic separation from earlier often pagan traditions.

This theory was established based on the three best known examples: Kouřim - both strongholds, Stará/Mladá Boleslav:⁸ Old and Late Boleslav (originally Mladý Boleslav – i. e. masculinum), but not all strongholds have their succession in the name, which is rather the exception, as we can clearly see by the third case: Prague-Šárka and Levý Hradec were replaced by Prague Castle in the beginning of the 10th century, but Levý Hradec had a symbolic significance as the place with first church of St. Clemens and economic significance up to the 2nd half of the 12th century).⁹ The most important was a case of Stará Kouřim (the 9th- half of the 10th cent.) and later Kouřim – Sv. Jiří/ St. George stronghold (970/980 - 1236 AD).

I documented an analogous situation in a region to the east of Prague already in the 9th century — Tismice stronghold ceased to exist in the second third of the 9th century¹⁰ and its central role was taken over in the middle of the same century by the stronghold with “city” function Stará Kouřim (Fig. 2, 9, 12b). The two strongholds - Tismice and Stará Kouřim - were explored in different ways. Kouřim stronghold has undergone much larger field research (excavations in the end of 50ies and 60ies of the 20th century),¹¹ including the elite burial ground in the central part (Fig. 9 A) and special long hall in the other part of this 1st suburb.

II. Tismice stronghold

Tismice was situated to the east of Prague, the stronghold was one of the five contemporary fortified sites that formed a system at the end of the 8th and in the 1st half of 9th century (Fig. 2, 3).¹² Three of them (Doubravčice, Klučov, Tismice) were archaeologically excavated in the 60ies and 70ies of the 20th century and Tismice again in 2018-2019.¹³

⁷ Sláma 1988; Lutovský 2006; Lutovský 2009; Profantová, Tomková 2018; Boháčová, Štefan 2018.

⁸ To Stará Boleslav: Boháčová 2003; Boháčová 2006; To Mladá Boleslav: Čtverák et al. 2004.

⁹ Legenda Christiani: ed. Ludvíkovský 1978; Profantová 1999; Tomková et al. 2020.

¹⁰ Profantová et al. 2020.

¹¹ Šolle 1966.

¹² Profantová 1998; Profantová et al. 2020.

¹³ Kudrnáč 1970; Kudrnáč 1977; Bubeník 1998; Profantová 2020a; Profantová et al. 2020; Profantová, Hasil et al. in print, Chapt. 7.

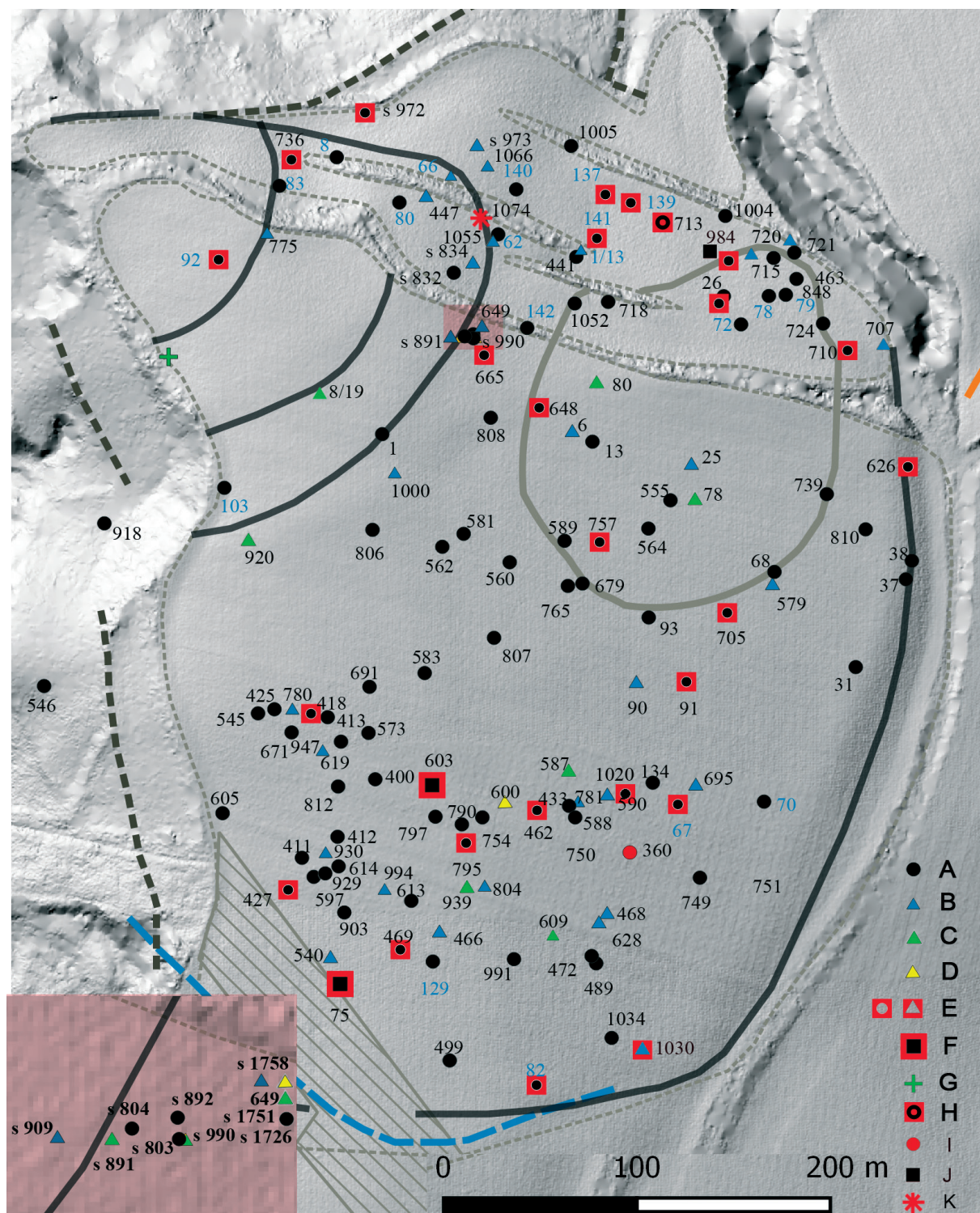
¹¹ Šolle 1966.

¹² Profantová 1998; Profantová et al. 2020.

¹³ Kudrnáč 1970; Kudrnáč 1977; Bubeník 1998; Profantová 2020a; Profantová et al. 2020; Profantová, Hasil et al., u tisku, naslov 7.

¹⁴ Křivánek 2001.

¹⁵ Bubeník 2001, s kartama; Profantová et al. 2020, sl. 54.





Sl. 4. Tismice, okrug Kolín, ukrasi konjske orme (37 kom.): 1, 2, 9, 21, 32, 36 – pozlaćena bakrena legura; 24 – posrebrjeni ukras 1–31 (preuzeto iz: Profantová *et al.* 2020, sl. 28; ostalo neobjavljeno; crtež: L. Raslová)

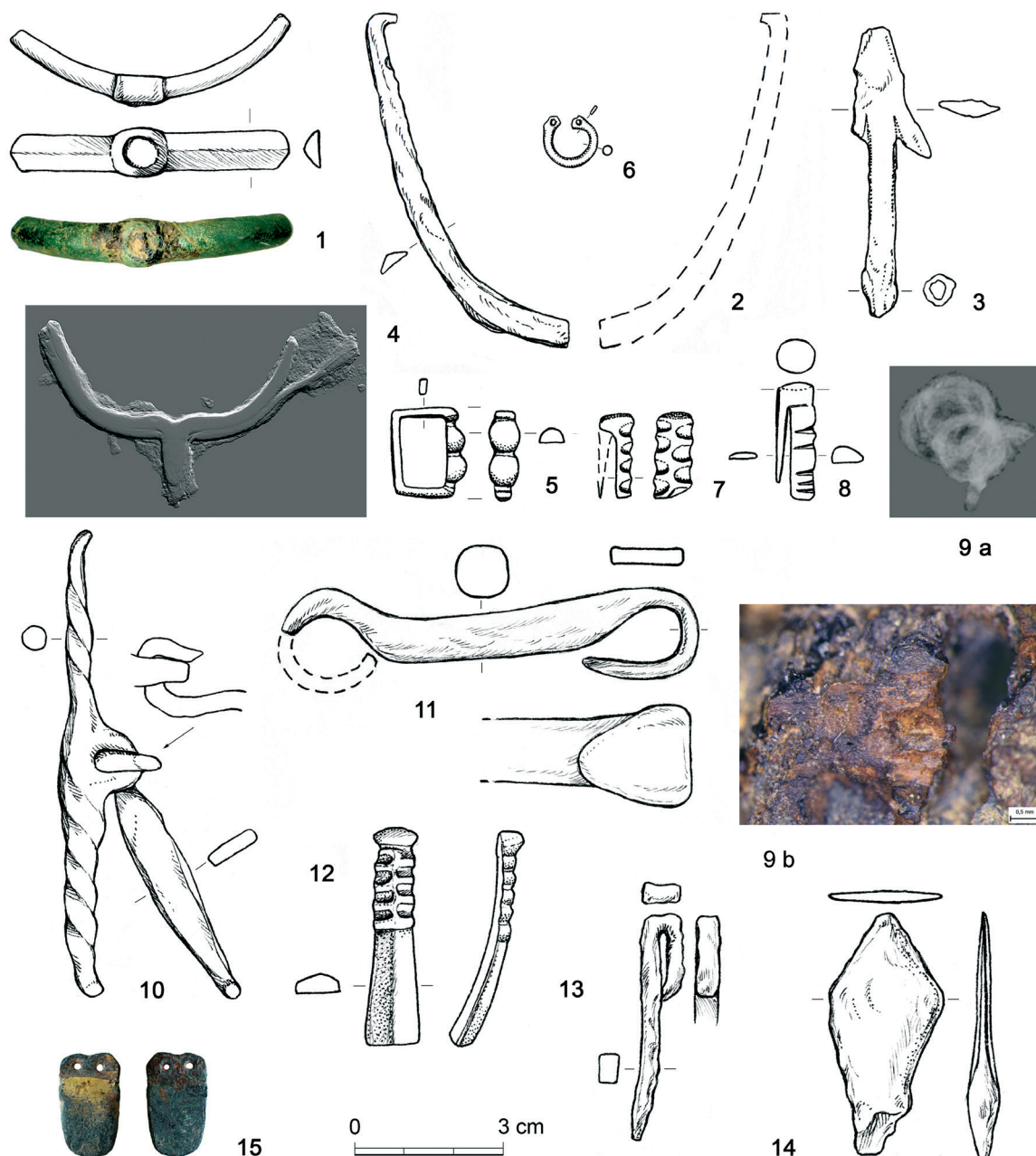
Fig. 4 Tismice, Kolín district. Horse harness decorations (37 pcs), 1, 2, 9, 21, 32, 36 gilded Cu alloy, 24 silver plated decoration; 1–31 After Profantová *et al.* 2020, Fig. 28, rest unpublished, drawing L. Raslová.

dio činili su i lokalno prilagođeni proizvodi (sl. 4, na sl. 4: 6 je kalup za izradu ukrasa za konjske orme).¹⁶

¹⁶ Profantová *et al.* 2020, sl. 16, 19–20, 22–23, 27–28. Godine 2019. zabilježeno je 158 takvih okova.

The area of the large stronghold Přistoupim was completely measured magnetometrically, the lines of fortifications and the ground plan of a large undated building was discovered there.¹⁴ This group

¹⁴ R. Křivánek 2001.



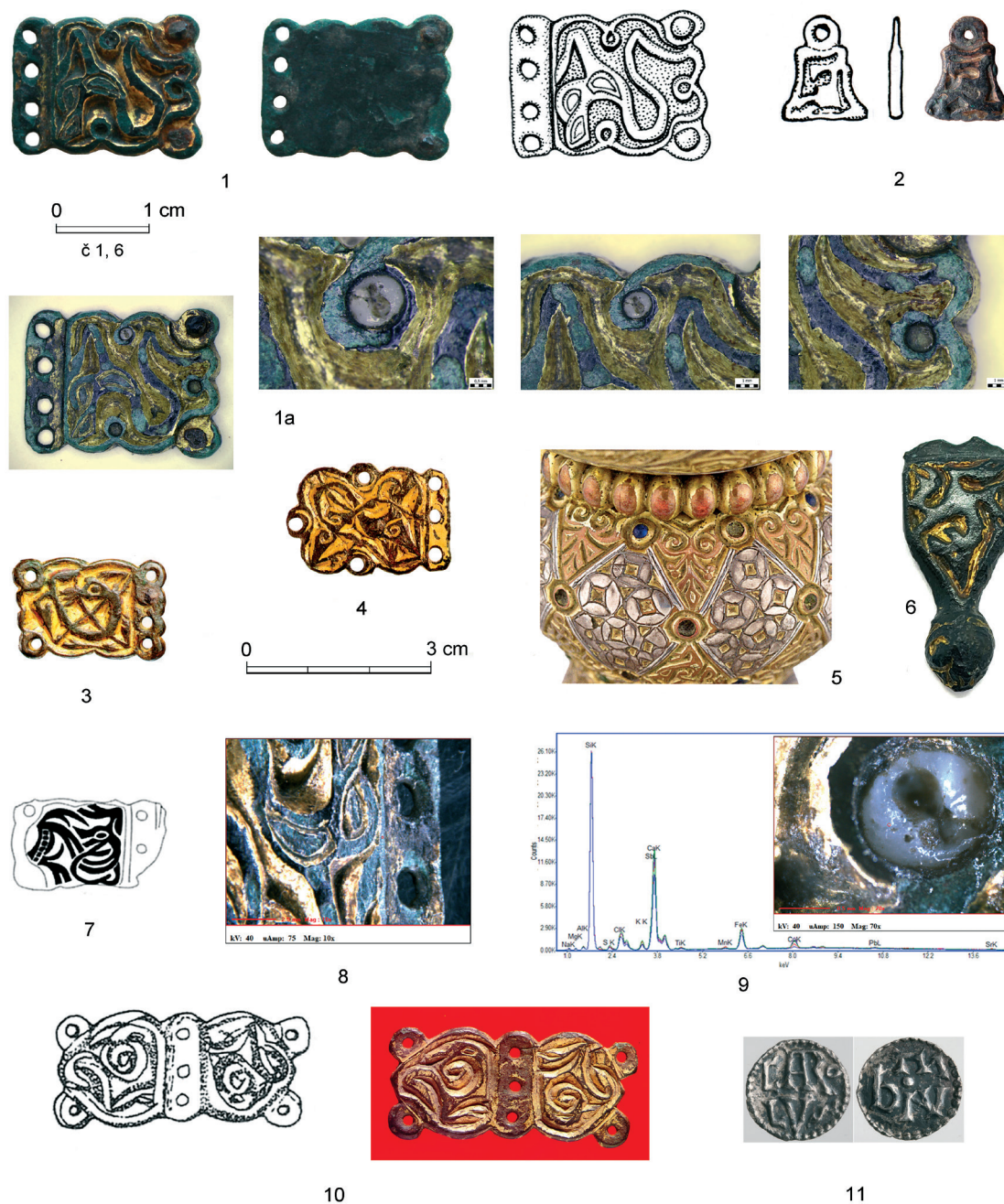
Sl. 5. Tismice, okrug Kolín, dokazi o konjaništvu: 1, 3, 5, 7-8, 10, 12, 14, 15 – pregled; 2 i 6 – sonda 4/18, jarak, obilježje 10; 4 – sonda 4/18, obilježje 13; 9 – sonda 2/18, obilježje 6; 11 – sonda 7, istočni dio, sloj soliflukcije 40 – 60 cm; 13 – sonda 8/19, jarak N. 8 (0 – 6 cm) (1-10 – Profantová *et al.* 2020, sl. 34; 11-15 – neobjavljeno; crtež i fotografija (br. 15): L. Raslová; 9b – mikrofoto: L. Barčáková)

Fig. 5 Tismice, Kolín district. Evidence of horsemanship: 1, 3, 5, 7-8, 10, 12, 14, 15 – survey, 14; 2 and 6 – trench 4/18, ditch (feature 10); 4 – trench 4/18, feature 13, 9 trench 2/18- feature 6, 11 Trench 7 – East part, solifluction layer 40-60 cm, 13 – trench 8/19, ditch N. 8 (0-6 cm). 1- 10 After Profantová *et al.* 2020, Fig. 34, 11-15 unpublished, drawing and photo (N. 15) L. Raslová, 9b microphoto L. Barčáková.

Šest od sedam ostruga također potječe s lokalnog područja (sl. 5), a jedino bi jedan dio brončane ostruge bez šiljka (moguće od željeza) mogao biti karolinškog podrijetla (sl. 5: 1). Također, samo tri do četiri ukrasa i jedan denar Karla Velikog predstavljaju ranokarolinške uvoze. (sl. 5: 5, 15; 6: 1,

of strongholds was separated from the group in the Prague Basin by a forest (Fig. 2A, B and partially C). The area with the fortified network was densely populated until the 8th century.¹⁵

¹⁵ Bubeník 2001 with maps; Profantová *et al.* 2020, Fig. 54.



Sl. 6. Tismice, karolinški denar Karla Velikog (kovan prije 792., težina 1165 g, N. 11) i ranokarolinški okov sa staklenim umetkom s analogijama, okov u stilu Tassilova kaleža br. 884; 11 – Tismice, fotografija okova i XRF analize; 1 – detalji; 2 – Semčice, CZ; 3 – Paderborn – Wewer, DE; 4 – Karlburg, DE; 5 – Tassilov kalež, detalj (nodus) sa staklenim umetkom; 6 – Češov, CZ; 7 – Paderborn – Balhorn, DE, grob br. 10; 10 – Prievidza, SK (1 i 1a – fotografija: L. Barčáková; crtež: L. Raslová; 2 – fotografija i crtež: L. Raslová; 3 i 4 – prema Stiegemann, Wemhoff 1999, str. 464, VII. 24b i VII. 25a; 5 – prema Wamers 2019, slika: JRGZM 12–13; 6 – slika: K. Levá; 4, 7 i 10 – prema Robak 2014, tab. LV: 21, XCVI: 10; 8 i 9 – mikrofoto i analize: T. Kmječ, Institut za fiziku Češke akademije znanosti; također i prema Profantová, Hasil *et al.*, u tisku, izmijenjeno)

Fig. 6 Tismice. Carolingian denier – Charlemagne (minted before 792, weight 1,165 g, N. 11) and Early Carolingian fitting with glass inlay with analogies. Fitting in Tassilo-chalice style No. 884; 1, 8-9, 11 - Tismice, Photo of fitting and XRF analyses; 1a - Details; 2 - Semčice, CZ; 3 - Paderborn-Wewer, DE; 4 - Karlburg, DE; 5 - Tassilo-chalice, Detail (Nodus) with glass inlay; 6 - Češov, CZ; 7 - Paderborn-Balhorn, DE, Grave No. 10; 10 Prievidza, SK. 1 and 1a Photo L. Barčáková, drawing L. Raslová; 2 Photo and drawing L. Raslová; 3 and 4 after Stiegemann, Wemhoff 1999, 464, VII.24b and VII.25a; 5 after Wamers 2019, Photo RGZM 12-3; 6 - Photo K. Levá; 4, 7 and 10 after Robak 2014, Tab. LV:21 and XCVI:10; 8 and 9 Mikrophoto and Analyses T. Kmječ, Institut of Physics of the Czech Academy of Science. Also: after Profantová, Hasil *et al.* in print, modified.

Lab. N. of sample	description of sample	context	Conventional radiocarbon age (BP)	Interval of calibrated age (years AD)	Probability (%)
13_200 to 13_202	chaucoals	T1, house 1/13, above bottom	1192±33, 1187±33, 1213±25	765 – 888	86
21_435	bone	T1, house 1/13 bottom	1212± 18	772 – 884	95,4
18_371	B.N.1641	T4, feat. 38, strat. 13b	1238 ± 18	688- 870	95,4
19_895	B.N. 1500	T4 - feat. posthole 22	1193 ± 22	770 – 891	95
19_901	B.N. 1627	T4 - feat. 32	1209 ± 20	768 – 885	92**
19_887	B.N. 1006	T4 - strat. 3, feat. 10	1303 ± 22	661 – 768	96*
19_888	B.N. 1008	T4 - strat. 6, feat. 10	1192 ± 22	770 – 891	95
19_889	B.N. 1321	T4 - strat. 7, feat. 13	1228 ± 21	693 – 880	96*
19_890	B.N. 1330	T4 - strat. 6, feat. 13	1215 ± 21	720 – 885	96*
19_891	B.N. 1333	T4 - strat. 13, feat. 13 A	1231 ± 22	690 – 880	96*
19_892	B.N. 1347	T4 - strat. 24, feat. 10	1271 ± 24	674 – 773	95
19_893	B.N. 1383	T4 - strat. 14, feat. 13A	1188 ± 21	772 – 891	95
19_894	B.N. 1400	T4 - strat. 2, feat. 13	1264 ± 22	674 – 774	95
19_896	B.N. 1530	T4 - strat. 15, feat. 13A	1228 ± 21	693 – 880	96*
19_897	B.N. 1531	T4 - strat. 15, feat. 13A	1176 ± 20	773 – 895	93**
19_898	B.N. 1533	T4 - strat. 29, feat. 10	1184 ± 20	773 – 891	95
18_372	B.N.1655	T4, strat. 45/ feat. 10 : ditch	1208 ± 18	773- 884	95,4
19_900	B.N. 1586	T4 - strat. 44, feat. 10	1212 ± 20	724 – 885	96*
19_904	B.N. 1352-1	T4 - strat. 28, feat. 10	1206 ± 21	769 – 886	94**
19_905	B.N. 1352-2	T4 - strat. 28, feat. 10	1212 ± 21	723 – 886	96*
19_906	B.N. 1559B	T4 - strat. 5, feat. 13	1224 ± 20	695 – 883	97*
19_907	B.N. 1543	T3 - strat. 4, feat. 13	1270 ± 21	679 – 771	95
19_885	B.N. 1213	T3 - strat. 25, feat. 25	1185 ± 21	772 – 892	95
19_886	B.N. 1257	T3 - strat. 25, feat. 25	1237 ± 22	687 – 875	96*
19_899	B.N. 1551	T3 - strat. 18, feat. 8.2.	1333 ± 20	650 – 764	96*
20_498	Nr. 45 corn	T3 , feat. 8, sec. N, strat. 413	1373 ± 38	600 – 774	97*
20_499	N. 73	T3 , NE, - strat. 23, feat. 8.2.	1315 ± 20	657 – 775	97*
20_546	B.N.1925	T7, oven 38	1209 ± 20	772 – 886	95
20_547	B.N.1894	T7, feat. 12	1191 ± 24	772 – 893	94**

B.N. Bag number; Feat. - feature; strat. - stratum, T - trench, sec. - sector, Nr - number, red the earlier ends of interval

T. 1. Tismice, Kolín, ¹⁴C podatci iz kuće 1/13 i stratigrafija u sondama 3 i 4/18
(kratice: B. N. – broj torbe; feat. – obilježje; strat. – stratum; T – sonda; sec. – sektor; Nr – broj)
(izradio: I. Světlík, Institut za nuklearnu fiziku CAS, Řež u Prahu)

Tab. 1. Tismice, Kolín distr. ¹⁴C data from house 1/13 and stratigraphies in trenches 3 and 4/18. Acronyms: B.N.
Bag number; Feat. - feature; strat. - stratum, T - trench, sec. - sector; Nr - number.

Made by I. Světlík, Nuclear Physics Institute CAS, Řež u Prahy.)

11). Jedan pozlaćeni pojasni jezičac potječe iz kasnijeg razdoblja, odnosno iz 9. stoljeća, dok je datacija drugog, ukrašenog floralnim ornamentom, nepouzdana.¹⁷

Tismice was the centre of the group, it was the production and supra-regional centre (Fig. 3-5, 6:1). Tismice benefited from its location on the long-distance route leading to Moravia and to the Carpathian Basin (called later Trstenická, Fig. 15). The stronghold was fortified by four ditches, the outer

¹⁷ Profantová *et al.* 2020, sl. 16: 17, 19.

Nalazište	predmet	Mjesto mjerenja	Fe	Ni	Cu	Zn	Ag	Sn	Sb	Pb
Dřevíč	križ 2	srednji motiv			83,58	11,9	0,22	0,06	0,01	4,23
Kouřim	križ 2	glava	1,42		63,39	7,38	0,29	7,87	0,47	19,18
Kouřim	križ 2	umetak/niello ?	1,64		60,50	5,59	0,27	9,33	0,52	22,15
Kouřim	križ 2	donji rub crvenkaste boje	6,79		57,06	5,34	0,32	10,19	0,58	19,72
Kouřim	križ 2	Pripadajući privjesak/ viseća alka	2,65		53,12	4,73	0,36	12,64	0,73	25,78
Kouřim	križ 1	Prednja strana iznad glave			69,49			18,84		11,68
Kouřim	križ 1	Revers blizu viseće alke – čisto mjesto			73,20			18,87		7,93

Site	subject	place of measurement	Fe	Ni	Cu	Zn	Ag	Sn	Sb	Pb
Dřevíč	cross 2	Middle motiv			83,58	11,9	0,22	0,06	0,01	4,23
Kouřim	cross 2	Head	1,42		63,39	7,38	0,29	7,87	0,47	19,18
Kouřim	cross 2	inlay/niello ?	1,64		60,50	5,59	0,27	9,33	0,52	22,15
Kouřim	cross 2	Lower edge Ginger colour	6,79		57,06	5,34	0,32	10,19	0,58	19,72
Kouřim	cross 2	Own pendant/ hanging loop	2,65		53,12	4,73	0,36	12,64	0,73	25,78
Kouřim	cross 1	front side above head			69,49			18,84		11,68
Kouřim	cross 1	Revers near hanging loop – clean point			73,20			18,87		7,93

T. 2. XRX analiza triju relikvijarnih križeva iz Bohemije: cink (Zn) se nalazi samo u križevima iz Dřevíča (br. 2) i Kouřim (br. 2, sl. 10: 5), a olovo (Pb) vrlo visoke koncentracije izmjereno je na vanjskom dijelu križa br. 2 iz Kouřim (mjerenja: J. Frána, M. Fikrle – Kouřim br. 1 i D. Perlík, Středočeské muzeum Rožtoky – Kouřim br. 2). Analize podupiru hipoteze o različitom podrijetlu križeva iz Kouřim (Balkan i istočna Europa, regija Kijev?).

T. 2. 2. XRX analyses of three reliquary crosses from Bohemia. The Zn is only in the crosses from Dřevíč (N. 2) and Kouřim (N. 2, Fig. 10:5), Pb (lead) is very high in case of measurement of onlay part of cross N. 2 from Kouřim. Measurement (J. Frána, M. Fikrle - Kouřim Nr. 1) and D. Perlík, Středočeské muzeum Rožtoky (Kouřim Nr. 2). Analyses support the hypotheses about various origin of both crosses from Kouřim (Balkan and East Europe, Kyiiv region?).

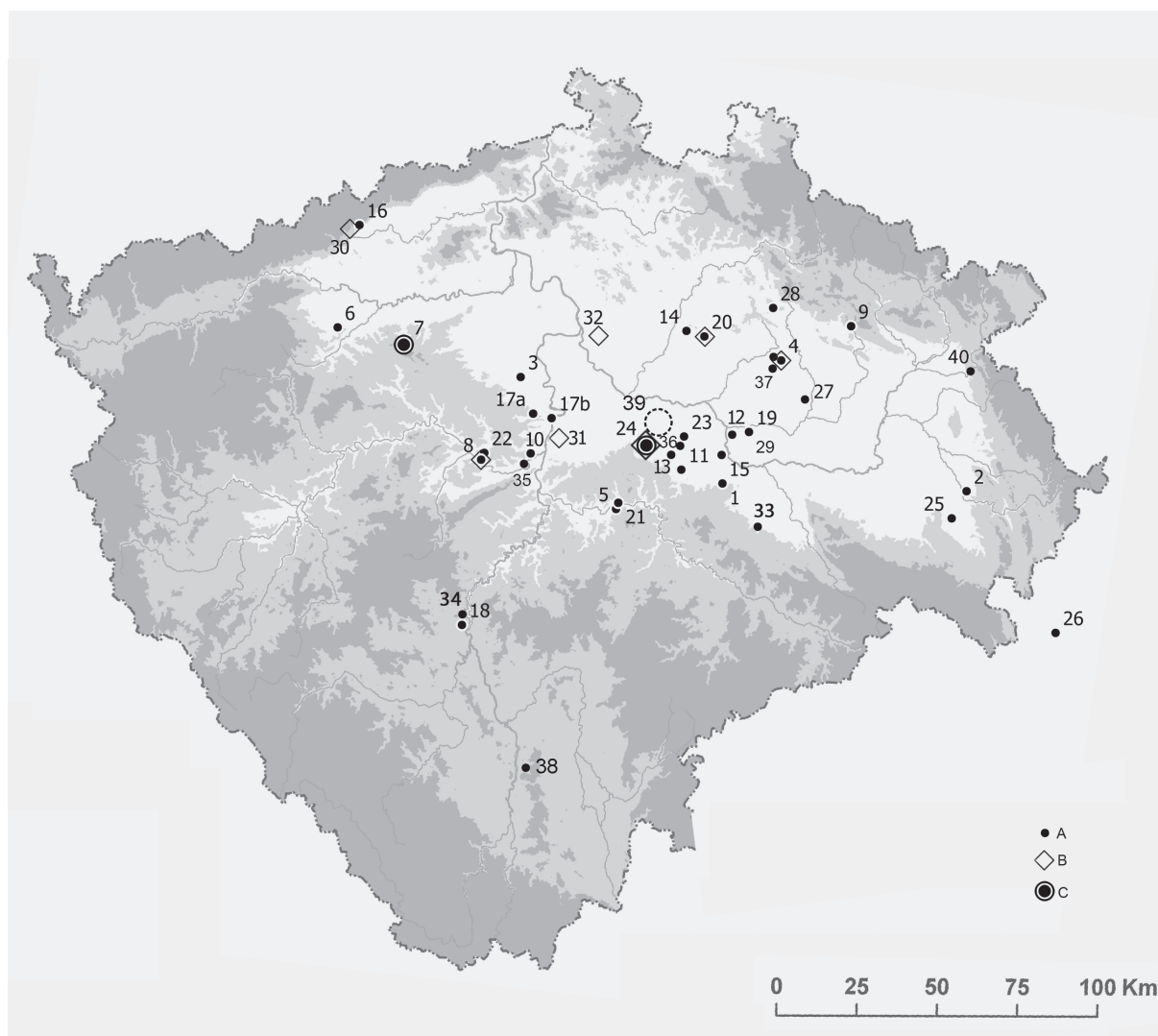
Dobre analogije najluksuznijem primjerku, u stilu Tassilova kaleža sa životinjskim ukrasom i umetcima od bijelog stakla (N. 984, sl. 6: 1, 9), pronalaze se u Paderborn – Weweru i Paderborn – Balhornu (grob), koji su tipični primjeri karolinških središta (sl. 6: 3, 4), te u Bohemiji na gradini Čěšov (6: 6), a sličnom tipu garniture pripada i nalaz iz Hradca u Slovačkoj (sl. 6: 10).¹⁸ Krajem 8. stoljeća stakleni umetci bili su tipični samo za crkvene predmete, poput onih plavih na poznatom Tassilovu kaležu (sl. 6: 5).¹⁹ Naš okov vjerojatno je pripadao garnituri mača.

ditch (D) was supplemented by a wooden-clay rampart, the ditch C with **postholes** from the palisade was dividing the inner part/Acropolis and the outer suburb. This ditch was 3 m deep and more than 7, 4 m wide and we recognised two certain instances of its cleaning (Fig. 8, layers 45, 46).

The ditch C was stratigraphically later than the second and third horizons of the early medieval settlement (features 13, 13A, 38, 39 on Fig. 8) and also a horizon of prehistoric settlement. The shallower trough was advanced in front of the line of ditch C with the Late Avar type of belt fitting in its fill. More than 200 belt and horse harness decorations and spurs were mostly oriented towards the Byzantine – Late Avar cultural circle (185 ones), a large part consisted of locally adapted products (fig. 4,

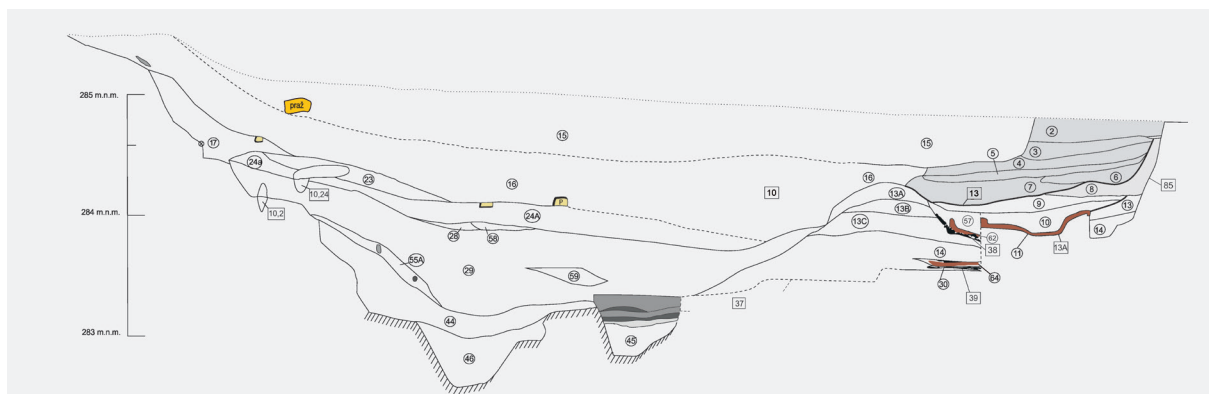
¹⁸ Stiegmann, Wemhoff 1999, str. 464, VII. 24b i VII. 25a; Profantová 2012; Robak 2014; Robak 2015.

¹⁹ Wamers 2019.



Sl. 7. Kasnoavarski i ranokarolinški pozlaćeni okovi: A – kasnoavarski primjerci (1–15); B – ranokarolinški primjerci (1–3); C – više od 15 primjeraka. 1 – Bořetice; 2 – Bošín; 3 – Budeč (utvrda); 4 – Česov (utvrda i okolica); 5 – Lštění; 6 – Dolánky – Rubín (utvrda); 7 – Domoušice (ostava); 8 – Hostim (utvrda); 9 – Kal (utvrda); 10 – Kosoř / Prag – Radotín (utvrda?); 11 – Kouřim – Sv. Jiří (gradina); 12 – Libice nad Cidlinou (kasnije utvrda); 13 – Lipany; 14 – Nepřevážka; 15 – Nová Ves I; 16 – Podhůří – Vysoká Pec (gradina); 17a – Praški dvorac; 17b – Prag – Šárka (utvrda); 18 – Probulov; 19 – Sány; 20 – Semčice; 21 – Senohraby (gradina, rezidencija elite); 22 – Svatý Jan pod Skalou (utvrda?); 23 – Tatce; 24 – Tismice (utvrda); 25 – Vysoké Mýto; 26 – Zadní Arnoštov (Moravska); 27 – Nový Bydžov; 28 – Záměstí – Prachov (utvrda); 29 – Jestřabí Hora; 30 – Černovice (utvrda); 31 – Prag – Kunratický les; 32 – Skorkov; 33 – Hraběšín; 34 – Kožlí; 35 – Černošice; 36 – Plaňany; 37 – Vršce; 38 – Vlkov – Daňková (ČB); 39 – regija Český Brod; 40 – Pulice (prema Profantová 2020c, sl. 3)

Fig. 7 Late Avar and Early Carolingian gilded fittings. A Late Avar ones (1-15), B Early Carolingian ones (1-3), C more than 15 ones. 1 - Bořetice; 2 - Bošín; 3 - Budeč (Stronghold); 4 - Česov (Stronghold and its vicinity); 5 - Lštění; 6 - Dolánky- Rubín (stronghold); 7 - Domoušice (hoard); 8 - Hostim (stronghold); 9 - Kal (stronghold); 10 - Kosoř/Prague-Radotín (Stronghold?); 11 - Kouřim-U Svatého Jiří (hilltop-settlement); 12 - Libice nad Cidlinou (later stronghold); 13 - Lipany; 14 - Nepřevážka; 15 - Nová Ves I; 16 - Podhůří-Vysoká Pec (hilltop - settlement); 17a - Prague Castle; 17b - Prague-Šárka (stronghold); 18 - Probulov; 19 - Sány; 20 - Semčice; 21 - Senohraby (hilltop-settlement, residence of Elite); 22 - Svatý Jan pod Skalou (stronghold (?); 23 - Tatce; 24 - Tismice (stronghold); 25 - Vysoké Mýto; 26 - Zadní Arnoštov (Moravia); 27 - Nový Bydžov; 28 - Záměstí-Prachov (stronghold), 29 - Jestřabí Hora; 30 - Černovice (Stronghold), 31 - Prague-Kunratický les; 32 - Skorkov, 33 - Hraběšín, 34 - Kožlí, 35 - Černošice; 36 - Plaňany; 37 - Vršce, 38 Vlkov-Daňková (ČB), 39 - Český Brod region, 40 Pulice. After Profantová 2020b.



Sl. 8. Tismice, okrug Kolín, sonda 4/18, dio jarka C, stratigrafija dviju faza čišćenja jarka (slojevi 45 i 46) i raniji niz od triju peći (13A, 38 i 39) te obilježje 13 (sivo) (grafika: K. Levá, I. Hrušková)

Fig. 8 Tismice, Kolín distr. Trench 4/18. Section of the ditch C. Stratigraphy of 2 phases of the cleaning of the ditch (layers 45 and 46) and an earlier sequence of three ovens/furnaces 13A, 38 and 39 and the feature 13 (grey), Graphic K. Levá and I. Hrušková.

Iz sonda 4/18 i 3/18 dobiven je niz od oko 16 stratificiranih radiokarbonskih datuma (^{14}C), no oni nažalost potječu s platoa iz 9. stoljeća i stoga su vremenski preširoki, od 700. do 892. godine, a većina ih je iz razdoblja od 773. do 886. (tab. 1). Datume možemo podijeliti u dvije skupine: raniju, u kojoj je kraj razdoblja još u 8. stoljeću (8 slučajeva), i brojniju skupinu, u kojoj se gornja granica proteže na razdoblje od 875. do 895. godine (tab. 1).

Nažalost, nisu nam poznata mjesta pokapanja koja bi se mogla povezati sa stanovnicima utvrde, čak ni za kasnije razdoblje, kada već očekujemo pronalazak kosturnih grobova pripadnika elite (nakon 840. godine). Ni potpuni magnetometrijski pregled nije nam pomogao u pronalasku takvih lokaliteta.²⁰ Ova situacija, zajedno s pronalaskom metalnih predmeta i denara (sl. 4, 5: 1–2, 5–8, 12–15, 6: 1, 11; bez tipičnog moravskog nakita, uz jednu moguću iznimku), ukazuje na propast utvrde Tismice između 850. i 880. godine.

Uspoređujući predmete sa statusnom simbolikom moći, uočava se značajna razlika u njihovu oblikovanju. U Tismicama prevladava izrazito jugoistočni stil, a u Kouřimu zapadni (karolinški, sl. 10) s tipičnim moravskim i češkim ženskim nakitom (sl. 11: 1, 3).²¹ Ta razlika dovodi do hipoteze o borbi za moć. Jiří Sláma izravno sugerira da je kouřimski knez mogao biti taj koji je inicirao propast utvrda u regiji Český Brod, posebice Tismica, Doubravčica i Klučova,²² jer je on imao koristi od

in Fig. 4: 6 is a die for production of horse harness decoration).¹⁶

Six of the seven spurs are also of local origin (Fig. 5), only one part of the bronze spur without a neck (could be from iron) could be of Carolingian origin (Fig. 5:1). Early Carolingian imports are only three to four decorations and one denier of Charlemagne (Fig. 5:5, 5:15, 6:1 and 6: 11). One gilded strap-end is later, from the 9th century, the dating of another one, decorated with floral ornament is uncertain.¹⁷

Good analogies of the most luxurious in Tassilo chalice style with animal decoration and white glass inlays one (N. 984, Fig. 6:1, 9) are in Paderborn- Wewer, Paderborn- Balhorn (grave), in the Carolingian centre par excelans (Fig. 6: 3, 7), in Bohemia in Česov stronghold (Fig. 6:6), from similar type of set is find from Hradec in Slovakia (Fig. 6: 10).¹⁸ At the end of the 8th century, glass inlays were typical only for ecclesiastical objects; we know the blue ones from the well-known Tassilo chalice (Fig. 6:5).¹⁹ Our fitting was probably from the sword set.

From trenches 4/18 and 3/18 we have a series of about 25 stratified radiocarbon dates (^{14}C), unfortunately these record the plateau of the 9th century and are therefore too broad: from 700 AD - 892 AD, most of them are in interval 773 - 886 AD (Tab. 1). We can divide the dates into two groups: the earlier

¹⁶ Profantová et al. 2020, Fig.16, 19-20, 22-23, 27, 28, in y. 2019 was number of these fittings 158.

¹⁷ Profantová et al. 2020, Fig. 16:17 and 19.

¹⁸ Stiegmann, Wemhoff 1999, p. 464, VII.24b and VII.25a; Profantová 2012; Robak 2014; Robak 2015.

¹⁹ Wamers 2019.

²⁰ Profantová et al. 2020, sl. 3.

²¹ Profantová 2014; Profantová 2016b; Šolle 1966.

²² Sláma 2004. Donosim više varijanti mogućih razloga

Nr XRS	place of XRF	Site	type of subject	Fe	Cu	Zn	Pb	Ag	Sn	Sb
14779 05-I-14	averse	Kouřim sv. Jiří	bag strap-end		88,39		1,29	10,32		
14780 06-I-14	obverse	Kouřim sv. Jiří	bag strap-end	2, 11	95,59		1,81	0,17	<0,1	0,12
14781 07-I-14 ornament	decoration averse	Kouřim sv. Jiří	bag strap-end	1,26	74,41		0,85	23,34	<0,1	
N. 8	averse	Kouřim sv. Jiří	heart-shaped fitt.	0,74	46,8	0,46	38,5	0,18	13,8	0,17
N.8	thorn, obverse	Kouřim sv. Jiří	heart-shaped fitt.	0,9	50,03	0,79	34,64	0,17	13	0,16

XRF J. Frána, Řež u Prahy.

T. 3. XRX analiza jezička istočnog podrijetla iz Kouřim – Sv. Jiří (XRF: J. Frána, Institut za nuklearnu fiziku CAS, Řež u Prahu; prema Profantová 2008, tab. 4)

T. 3 XRX analyses of the strap-end of eastern origin of Kouřim - sv. Jiří. XRF J. Frána, Nuclear Physics Institute CAS, Řež u Prahy. After Profantová 2008, Tab. 4.

te promjene. Na promjenu moći ukazuje i vremen-ski slijed uspona utvrda, pri čemu je Stará Kouřim sredinom 9. stoljeća postala najvažnije središte u mezoregiji (sl. 9, 10a, 10b, 12b). Drugo moguće objašnjenje za propast Tismice, ako se već dogodio u prvoj polovici 9. stoljeća, jest da je on posljedica borbi s Franačkim Carstvom (Karlo Veliki i njegovi sinovi, npr. sukobi između 847. i 849. te 856. godine), a takav je slučaj dokumentiran za razdoblje 805. – 806. godine (nelocirano uporište Canburg na području rijeke Labe, u čijem se širem području nalazi lokalitet Tismice).²³ Međutim, datumi koji ukazuju na nestanak utvrde prije 830. godine čine se preranima.

III. Stará Kouřim i Kouřim – Sv. Juraj

Stará Kouřim također je bila središte mreže koju je činilo četiri ili pet utvrda, od kojih su najvažnije bile Radim na sjeveru i Hryzely na jugu, kao izravna ali umanjena kopija (26,5 ha) trodijelnog prostornog rasporeda Kouřim. Toj skupini pripadaju i Třebovle te, moguće, manje poznata utvrda Ždánice na jugoistoku (sl. 2, 12a). Regija Kouřim na istoku je bila odvojena od regije Český Brod umjetnom sedam kilometara dugom linearnom građevinom zvanom Čertova brázda (Vražja brazda, sl. 2), koja se sastojala od dvaju jaraka i središnjeg bedema visine 1,4 m. Čertova brázda slična je **Danevirkeovu** ili Offijevu nasipu i mogla je **kontrolirati** kretanje ljudi, uključujući trgovce, duž važnog i dugog komunikacijskog koridora prema i iz Moravske (staze

group, where the end of the interval still lies in the 8th century (8 cases), and the more numerous group, where the upper limit of the interval extends to the period 875- 895 AD (Tab. 1).

Unfortunately, we do not know of any burial sites that can be linked to the inhabitants of the stronghold, even for the latest phase, when we already expect to find inhumation graves of members of the elite (after 840 AD). Even a complete magnetometer survey did not help us to find them.²⁰ This situation, together with the record of metal objects and the denier (Fig. 4, 5:1-2, 5-8, 12-15, 6:1, 11; without typical Moravian jewellery, with one possible exception), indicates the demise of the Tismice stronghold between 850 - 880.

When comparing objects with power-status symbolism, the difference in orientation is striking: in Tismice, the predominant orientation is strongly south-eastern, in Kouřim, western (Carolingian, Fig. 10) and with typical Moravian and Czech female jewellery (Fig. 11:1, 3).²¹ This leads to the hypothesis of a power struggle; Jiří Sláma directly speculates that it was the prince of Kouřim who initiated the decline of the fortifications in the Český Brod region, especially Tismice, Doubravčice and Klučov.²² The prince of Kouřim then benefited from this change. This change in power is also indicated by the temporal sequence of their rise, with Stará Kouřim becoming the most important centre in the mesoregion in the middle of the 9th century (Fig. 9, 10a, 10b and 12b).

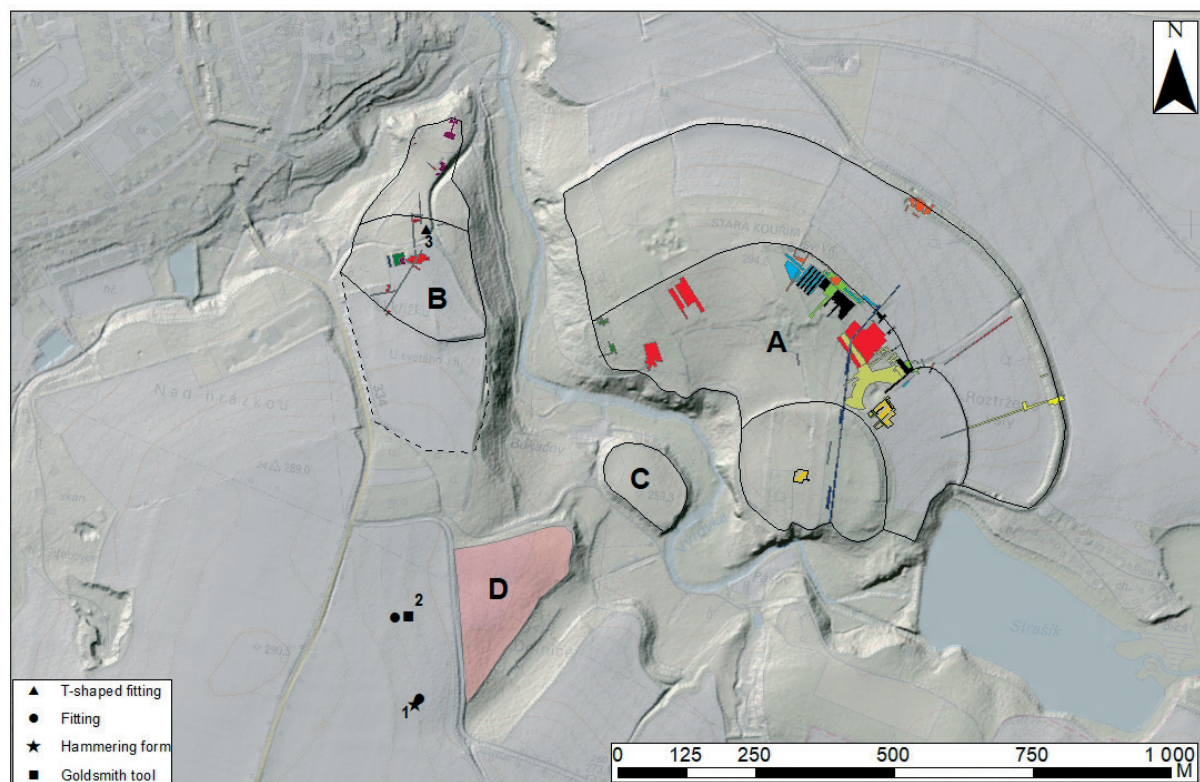
²⁰ Profantová et al. 2020, Fig. 3.

²¹ Profantová 2014 and 2016b, Šolle 1966.

²² Sláma 2004. I show more variants of reasons why the strongholds disappeared: Profantová 2016a. It is probable Tismice was demised later than Doubravčice.

zašto su utvrde nestale: Profantová 2016a. Vjerojatno su Tismice stradale kasnije nego Doubravčice.

²³ *Annales Fuldenses* 1826, str. 805–806, 847–849, 756.



Sl. 9. Kouřim, topografska situacija obiju glavnih gradina: Stará Kouřim i Sv. Jiří (kraj 10. – poč. 13. st.); C – Sv. Vojtěch (najnovija); D – proizvodno naselje Nad Dolnicí (10. – prva pol. 13. st.) i ključni nalazi (prema Profantová, Dvořáček, Kmječ 2023, sl. 1)

Fig. 9 Kouřim, The topographic situation with both main hillforts (A – Stará Kouřim; B – U Sv. Jiří the late 10th - beginning of the 13th century) and C – Sv. Vojtěch (latest one), D production settlement Nad Dolnicí (the 10th -1st half of 13th century) and key finds. After Profantová, Dvořáček, Kmječ 2023, Fig. 1.

Trstenická i Haberská, sl. 15),²⁴ uz jedan prekid kod lokaliteta Lipany.²⁵ Osim praktične funkcije, imala je i simboličku ulogu u izražavanju moći kouřimskih knezova, vjerojatno u razdoblju 9. – 10. stoljeću.

Kouřim – Stará Kouřim

Obje utvrde Kouřim istražio je krajem 50-ih i 60-ih godina 20. stoljeća M. Šolle.²⁶ Stará Kouřim (I) je veća, s površinom od preko 40 hektara i perimetrom vanjskog zida dužine 1,3 km, te se sastoji od triju utvrđenih dijelova (sl. 9, 11: 4, 12b).

S tako velikom površinom i duljinom zidova, prema anglosaksonskom *Burghal Hidageu* (u kojem je za obranu Crickladea bilo potrebno 1500 ratnika, odnosno 1,3 m zida po ratniku u idealnim uvjetima), tj. prema podacima s prijelaza iz 9. u

Another explanation for the demise of Tismice, if it had already occurred in the first half of the 9th century, is as a result of the fights with the Frankish Empire (Charlemagne and his sons, e.g. conflicts between 847-849, 856 AD) -- such a case is at least documented for the years 805-806 (unlocated stronghold Canburg in the Elbe region, in its boarder area is situated the site of Tismice).²³ However, the dates of extinction before 830th seem too early in the moment.

III. Stará Kouřim and Kouřim St. George

Stará Kouřim was also the centre of a network of 4-5 strongholds, the most important of which were Radim in the north and Hryzely - as a direct reduced copy of the three-part (26,5 ha) spatial layout of Kouřim - in the south. The group also includes Třebovle and uncertainly not a well-known Ždánice stronghold in the south-east (Fig. 2, 12a). The Kouřim region was separated from the Český

²⁴ Bolina, Klimek, Čilek 2018.

²⁵ To je dokumentirano na starim kartama, zračnim snimkama kao i geomagnetskim mjerenjima pomoću georadara (radiogrami). Nový, Ščuka 2021.

²⁶ Šolle 1966; Šolle 1969; Šolle 1981.

²³ *Anales Fuldenses* AD. 805, 806, 847-49, 756.

10. stoljeća u Engleskoj, zidine bi moralo braniti 2000 ratnika.²⁷ To bi također značilo da je barem u vremenima opasnosti Stará Kouřim imala više od 3000 stanovnika, jer bi tada dio branitelja vjerojatno dolazio iz okolnih naselja.²⁸ Međutim, nalazi s groblja ne idu u prilog tako visokoj gustoći naseljenosti iako su, osim onih elitnih sa 161 ukopom, mjesta pokapanja fragmentarna.²⁹ Osim toga, pokolj 59 branitelja utvrde Budeč (srednja Bohemija), koji su uglavnom pogubljeni, ukazuje na puno manji broj ratnika, čak i ako su oni predstavljali samo dio zarobljenih branitelja.³⁰ Ipak, moramo uzeti u obzir prilično visok broj stanovnika utvrde, koji je na prijelazu iz 9. u 10. stoljeće mogao doseći ili čak premašiti 1000 stanovnika.

Uspjeli smo rekonstruirati središnji dio utvrde koji je uključivao pogansko kultno mjesto s malim idolom od pješčenjaka. Idol ima četiri lica, od kojih su dva prikazana s muškom bradom simbolizirajući lica polikefalnog boga. Osim toga, izvorno je imao šest manjih ljudskih lica s kosom i trakama za glavu, što se tumači kao simbol svijeta vladara ili neke druge posebne moćne društvene uloge u ljudskom svijetu, poput poganskih svećenika koji su prikazani na donjem frizu.³¹ Pronašli smo i utvrđeno umjetno jezero Libuše, tragove požarišta i elitno inhumacijsko groblje sa 161 ukopom iz perioda od 9. do prve polovice 10. stoljeća te poseban, vjerojatno također kulturni, 90 metara dugi drveni uski objekt/dvoranu (sl. 11: 4),³² koji je služio za okupljanje muškaraca i proslave/gozbe. Na akropoli je djelomično istraženo malo groblje kasnijeg datuma (10. – prva polovica 11. stoljeća), na kojem grobovi nisu sadržavali priloge.³³ Ne može se jasno utvrditi je li drvena kapela na rubu groblja Libuše ondje bila krajem 9. ili u prvoj polovici 10. stoljeća, a kad se uzme u obzir da je bila široka samo 2 m, ovo se tumačenje čini pomalo smiono.

Stará Kouřim je **kompleksno središte**: elitna rezidencija, aglomeracija slična gradu i središte

Brod region in the east by an artificial 7 km long linear structure/ feature consisting of two ditches and a central rampart 1, 4m height called Čertova brázda (Devil's Furrow, Fig. 2). It is similar to the **Danevirke** or Offa's Dyke work and it could **control** the movement of people including merchants along an important long distance communication corridor to/ from Moravia (Trstenická and Haberská trails, Fig. 15)²⁴ near the Lipany site with one break.²⁵ It could also symbolically express power, probably in 9th - 10th century the power of the Kouřim princes.

Kouřim – Stará Kouřim

Both Kouřim strongholds were excavated at the end of 50ies and 60ies of the 20th century by M. Šolle.²⁶ Stará Kouřim (I) is larger (more than 40 ha, 1, 3 km long is the perimeter of the outer wall) and consists of 3 fortified parts (Fig. 9, 11:4, 12b).

With such large area and the length of the walls, according to the Anglo-Saxon the *Burghal Hidage* (in the case of Cricklade 1 500 warriors, 1, 3 m for a warrior in ideal case) – i.e. according to the data from the turn of the 9th/10th century in England -- the walls would have had to be defended by 2000 warriors.²⁷ This would also mean that Stará Kouřim had more than 3000 inhabitants at least in the times of peril as some of the men would probably come to the centre from its vicinity in such times.²⁸ However, our findings from burial grounds do not support such high population density even if, apart from the elite one with 161 burials, the burial grounds are fragmentary.²⁹ Also the 59 massacred (mostly executed) defenders of stronghold Budeč (middle Bohemia) – even if they were only the captured core of the defenders – imply a much smaller numbers of warriors.³⁰ Nevertheless, we have to take into account a rather high number of inhabitants of the stronghold, that could at the turn of the 9th/10th century reach or even exceed 1000 inhabitants.

²⁷ Broj ratnika je, prema britanskim povjesničarima, previsok i za područje Wessex.

²⁸ Šalkovský 2015, str. 68; Baker, Brooks 2013, str. 33; za Budeč: Štefan, Stránská, Vondrová 2016.

²⁹ Šolle 1966, str. 255–276, sl. 6, 66.

³⁰ Štefan, Stránská, Vondrová 2016, sl. 4, maksimalan broj.

³¹ Profantová 2018, sl. 2–3.

³² Šolle 1966, tab. XVII. Građevina ne postoji u vrijeme razaranja utvrde.

³³ Šolle 1966, sl. 66.

²⁴ Bolina, Klimek, Čilek 2018.

²⁵ It was documented in old maps, aerial photos as well as with geomagnetic measurement by georadar (radiograms). Nový, Ščuka 2021.

²⁶ Šolle 1966; Šolle 1969; Šolle 1981.

²⁷ The numbers of warriors are too high also for Wessex area after British historians.

²⁸ Šalkovský 2015, p. 68; Baker & Brooks 2013, p. 33, Štefan et al. 2016 for Budeč.

²⁹ Šolle 1966, pp. 255–276, Fig. 6, 66.

³⁰ Štefan et al. 2016. Fig. 4, maximal Number.



Sl. 10a. Stará Kouřim – groblje u Libušama, statusni simboli iz posljednjih dviju trećina 9. st. (1 – statusni simbol ukrašen tehnikom niello; 2 i 3 – pozlaćeni statusni simboli sa srebrnim ukrasom) i drugi dio garniture ostruga i mačeva te grob 120 (1 i 6 – gr. 55; 2–5 – gr. 120), Nacionalnu muzej u Pragu, odjel Povijesnog muzeja (1 – fotografija: O. Palán; 4 – fotografija prema Kouřil 2014, br. 126; 2, 3 i 6 – prema Profantová 2014, sl. 5)

Fig. 10a Stará Kouřim - burial ground u Libuše. Status symbols from last two thirds of the 9th century. (1- decorated with niello technic, 2, 3, with silver decoration, rest gilded) and the other part of spur and sword sets. Grave 120 (1, 6: Gr. 55, 2-5: Gr.120), NM Prague, Photo 1 Photo Oto Palán; photo 4 after Kouřil 2014, Nr. 126, 2, 3, 6 after Profantová 2014, Fig. 5. Finds are deposited in National Museum Prague (department of Historical museum).

proizvodnje.³⁴ Radionice su se vjerojatno nalazile u okolici, a za 10. stoljeće možemo ih locirati u mjesto Nad Dolnicí (sl. 9).³⁵ Također, ovo središte imalo je kontakte i odnose s udaljenim mjestima: prema zapadu (što potvrđuju nalazi muške opreme, sl. 10a, 10b), jugoistoku (Moravska i vjerojatno Panonija) te prema istoku i sjeveroistoku (moguće

We could have reconstructed the middle areal of stronghold with pagan cult place and small sandstone idol with four faces, two of them male bearded: faces of polycephalous God, and originally six smaller human faces with hair and headbands as a symbol of the world of rulers or other specific social positions of power in human world - pagan priests in the lower frieze;³¹ fortified artificial lake Libuše and traces of fires and with the elite inhumation burial ground (161 burials) from the 9th – 1st half of the 10th century and special probably also cult 90 m long wooden narrow building/hall (Fig. 11:4),³² which also was used for gathering men and for celebrations/ feasts. The small later burial ground was partly excavated in the acropolis and the graves there had no grave equipment (the 10th- the first half of the 11th century).³³ Whether a wooden chapel stood at the edge of the burial site U Libuše at the end of the 9th or in the first half of the 10th century cannot be clearly decided (esp. as the feature in question is only 2 m wide, this interpretation seems a bit bold).

Stará Kouřim is a **complex centre**: an elite residence, a town-like agglomeration, a centre of production³⁴ (workshops could be located mainly in the vicinity, we can locate them for the 10th century to Nad Dolnicí place, Fig. 9)³⁵ and a site with long-distance contacts (especially to the west after the male equipment (Fig. 10a, 10b to SE - Moravia and probably Panonia, to the east or NE- possible provenance of hammer-axe covered with silver sheet, which has cut-outs creating an inlay-like decoration, Fig. 10a: 2). The presence of members of retinue is evidenced not only through graves of warriors (with swords, axes/hammer-axe, lance and spurs), but also according to spur finds in a settlement contexts (3 pcs).³⁶ The new radiocarbon dates of the graves have not been published yet, they could also be from the 2nd half of the 8th century in some graves. The latest female graves are dated to the first and the second thirds of the 10th century according to the conventional dating of the temple rings of small diameter.³⁷

³¹ Profantová 2018, Fig. 2, 3.

³² Šolle 1966, Tab. XVII. The building does not exist in the time of the destruction of stronghold.

³³ Šolle 1966, Fig. 66.

³⁴ Only burnt bottom of the pit- probably reheating hearth Nr. 32 with pieces of an iron slag (Šolle 1966, p. 189, Fig. 55)

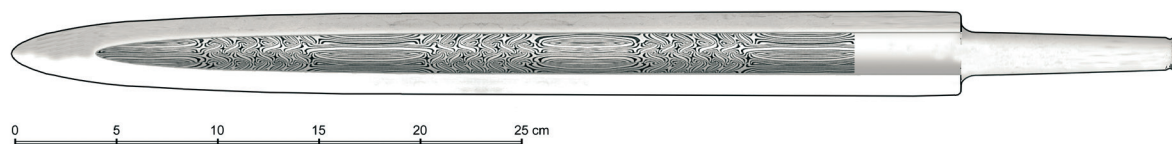
³⁵ Profantová et al. 2023, Fig. 1.

³⁶ Šolle 1966, Fig. 11a.

³⁷ Šolle 1966; Profantová 2001, Fig. 4-6; Profantová

³⁴ Samo spaljeno dno jame, vjerojatno ognjište br. 32 s komadićima željezne zgure. Šolle 1966, str. 189, sl. 55.

³⁵ Profantová et al. 2023, sl. 1.



Sl. 10b. Stará Kouřim – groblje u Libušama, grob 120, mač ukrašen zavarenim uzorkom (prema Hošek, Košta, Žákovský 2021, sl. 37)

Fig. 10b Stará Kouřim - burial ground u Libuše. Grave 120: pattern welded decorated sword. After Hošek et al 2021, Fig. 37.

podrijetlo ratne sjekire presvučene srebrnim limom s izrezima koji stvaraju ukras nalik intarziji, sl. 10a: 2). Prisutnost članova prasnje dokazana je ne samo grobovima ratnika (s mačevima, sjekirama, ratnim sjekirama, kopljem i ostrugama) nego i nalazima ostruga u naseobinskom kontekstu (tri primjerka).³⁶ Nova radiokarbonska datiranja grobova još nisu objavljena, no neki bi grobovi mogli potjecati i iz druge polovice 8. stoljeća. Prema konvencionalnoj dataciji sljepoočničarki malog promjera, najmlađi ženski grobovi datiraju u prvu i drugu trećinu 10. stoljeća.³⁷

Neke od kuća iz predgrađa imale su kamene temelje i drvene dijelove brvnara. Iako nije dokazano apsolutnom geokronologijom, datirane su u prvu polovicu 10. stoljeća. Prema podacima iz kasnije Dalimilove kronike (prva polovica 14. stoljeća), ime „Curimova“ kneza iz 30-ih godina 10. stoljeća bilo je Radoslav.

Pripadnici elite u Staroj Kouřim imali su nošnje u karolinškom stilu, koje su uključivale garniture okova i kopči od teleće kože te karolinške mačeve i setove mačeva (sl. 10a, 10b). Taj se stil razlikovao u usporedbi sa stilom muškaraca iz Tismice. Ostruge su također bile drukčije, imale su kratki šiljak i pločice sa zakovicama. Žene su se ukrašavale luksuznim nakitom moravskog tipa, a kasnije, početkom 10. stoljeća, lokalnim/bohemijemskim novim tipom skulpturalnog nakita životinjskog stila (sl. 11: 1, posebno naušnice i kaptorge).³⁸

Kasni uvozi

Relikvijarni križ s prikazom Djevice Marije u stavu oranta i s naknadno upisanim grčkim slovima (ortografija riječi *fos* (φως), u značenju 'svjetlo')

Some of the houses from the suburb have stone foundations and wooden log cabin parts. They are dated to the 1st half of the 10th century, but without natural absolute dating. After later chronicle of Dalimil information (the 1st half of the 14th cent.) was the name of “Curim’s” duke/prince Radoslav in the 30ies of the 10th century.

The members of elite in Stará Kouřim had costumes in Carolingian style (with the calf sets of fittings and buckles and Carolingian swords and sword sets, Fig. 10a, b), the style was changed in comparison with the men from Tismice, spurs are also of different types - with the short necks and plates with rivets. Women were adorned with the Moravian type of luxurious jewellery and later at the beginning of the 10th century with a local/Bohemian new type of sculptural animal type of jewellery (Fig. 11:1, especially earrings and kaptorgas).³⁸

Late imports

The reliquary cross with the depiction of the Virgin Mary as an orant and secondary written Greek letters – spelling a word *fos* (φως): in the sense of “the Light” from the second half of the 10th- 11th century) is probably an import from the Balkan peninsula (Fig. 11: 2). Probably also from Stará Kouřim have come another half of a bit latter encolpion with depiction of Crucifixion of Christ with an email, or black glass inlay at the ends of cross after XRF Analyses in Středočeské muzeum Roztoky (Fig. 11:5, Tab. 2). It is of Kyiivan type, shape analogy is known from Knyazha Gora from Kyiivan Rus.³⁹ Among the Czech finds (14 sites), the encolpion from Václavice has a similar shape with protrusions, which has sure evidence of an use of

³⁶ Šolle 1966, sl. 11a.

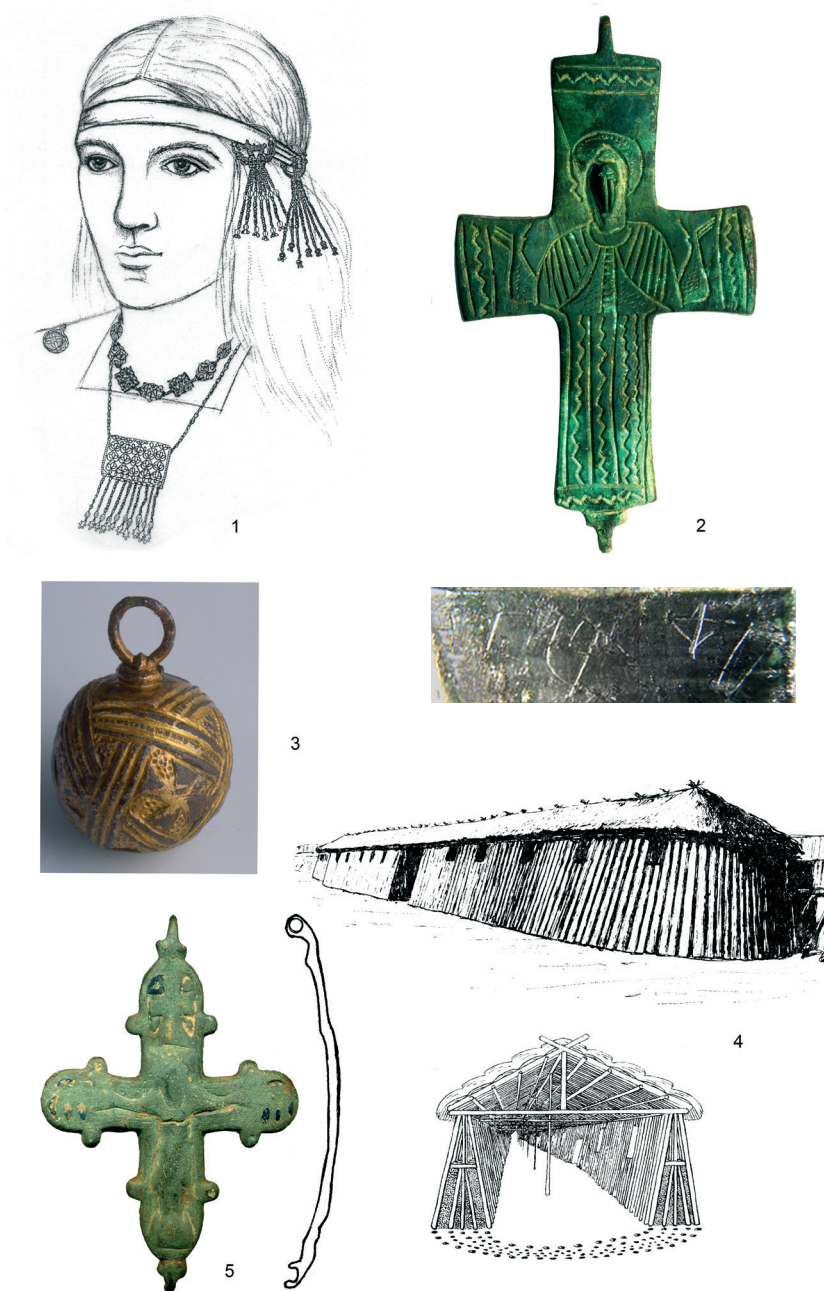
³⁷ Šolle 1966; Profantová 2001, sl. 4–6; Profantová 2006; Profantová 2016b, str. 643–647, sl. 7–8; Tomková *et al.* 2020.

³⁸ Boháčová, Profantová 2014, sl. 3; Profantová 2022, sl. 6.

2006; Profantová 2016b, p. 643–647, Fig. 7, 8; Tomková *et al.* 2020.

³⁸ Boháčová, Profantová 2014, Fig. 3; Profantová 2022, Fig. 6.

³⁹ Княжа Гора near Kyiv, Kovalenko, Pucko 1993, Fig. 2: 2–8.



Sl. 11. Stará Kouřim, nekoliko važnih nalaza: 1 – Stará Kouřim, gr. 106b, rekonstrukcija nosivog dijela srebrnog nakita; 2 – jedini relikvijarni križ s prikazom Djevice Marije kao oranta i s naknadno upisanom grčkom riječi *fos* (φως), u značenju 'svjetlo', 10. – 11. st., vjerojatno uvoz s Balkana; 3 – pozlaćeni gumb s motivom križa iz dječjeg groba 113a; 4 – rekonstrukcija velike građevine; 5 – neobjavljeni encolpion s prikazom Kristova raspeća s emajlom ili staklenim umetkom na krajevima (1 – prema Profantová 2006, str. 241; 2 – prema Profantová, Stolz 2007, str. 126, sl. 3; 3 i 4 – prema Šolle 1966, str. 110, sl. 26, tab. XXXVIII, 3; Kouřil 2014, sl. 402: 2; 5 – XRF analiza: SM Roztoky, Prag, neobjavljeno, Kouřim: vjerojatno akropola ili središnji dio; fotografija: L. Raslová)

Fig. 11 Stará Kouřim, some important finds: 1 Stará Kouřim, Gr. 106b. Reconstruction of wearing part of the silver jewellery. 2 The only reliquary cross with a depiction of a Virgin Mary/Holy Virgin as orans and secondary written greek word, φως/ fos: in sens the Lihgt (10th- 11th cent), probably import from the Balkans. 3 gilded buttons with cross motif from child's Gr. 113a, 4 reconstruction of the large building, 5 unpublished encolpion with depiction of Crucifixion of Christ with email, or glass inlay on the ends (XRF Analyse in SM Roztoky u Prahy). 1 After Profantová 2006, p. 241, 2 after Profantová, Stolz 2007, p. 126 and Fig. 3, 3, 4 after Šolle 1966, p. 110, Fig. 26 and Tab. XXXVIII, 3 Kouřil 2014 (ed), Fig. 402:2, 5 unpublished (Kouřim probably acropolis or middle part), photo L. Raslová.



Sl. 12. Utvrda Hryzely, umanjena kopija rasporeda Stare Kouřim (desno)
(fotografije: M. Gojda, Arhiv ARUP-a, Prag, v. v. i.)

Fig. 12 Hryzely stronghold, the smaller copy of disposition of Stará Kouřim (right).

Photos M. Gojda. Archiv ARUP Prag, v.v.i..

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datira iz druge polovice 10. i 11. stoljeća, a vjerojatno se radi o uvozu s Balkanskog poluotoka (sl. 11: 2). Nakon XRF analize provedene u Stredočeské muzeju u Roztokyju, vjerojatno je da drugi dio nešto kasnijeg enkolpiona s prikazom Kristova raspeća i emajlom ili umetkom od crnog stakla na krajevima križa (sl. 11: 5, tab. 2) također potječe iz Stare Kouřim. Enkolpiona je kijevskog tipa, a analogija njegova oblika prepoznata je na lokalitetu Knyazhe Gora u Kijevskoj Rusi.³⁹ Među češkim nalazima (14 nalazišta), ističe se enkolpion iz Václavica sa sličnim oblikom i izbočinama te on predstavlja siguran dokaz korištenja tehnike niello, a uz to ima i čitljiv natpis.⁴⁰ Ovaj križ datira iz druge polovice 11. do 12. stoljeća i mogao bi se povezati s kasnijom Utvrdom sv. Jurja (Sv. Jiří), jer ranija utvrda (Stará Kouřim) tada više nije postojala. U vrijeme križarskih ratova vitezovi koji su sudjelovali u pohodima ili bogatiji hodočasnici (uključujući žene) nosili su takav križ kao zaštitni amulet.

Važno središte Kouřim bilo je uništeno tijekom rata. Dokazi nasilja sredinom 10. stoljeća uključuju tijela dvojice ubijenih muškaraca koja su pronađena nepokopana u vanjskom jarku, dok su ostali pronađeni u plitkim grobovima, također u dijelu jarka nedaleko od gradskih vrata.⁴¹ Nestanak Stare Kouřim uvriježno se smješta u sredinu 10. stoljeća iako točan vremenski okvir nije potvrđen radiokarbonskim datiranjem.

Nakon razaranja gradine Stare Kouřim vladaju-

the niello technique, and also has a legible inscription.⁴⁰ This cross is from the 2nd half of the 11th- 12th century and it could be linked to a later stronghold St. George, because the earlier stronghold (Stará Kouřim) did not exist at that time. At the time of the Crusades it was worn as a protective amulet by the knights who took part in the campaigns, or by wealthier pilgrims (i.e. also by women).

The important Kouřim centre was destroyed in the war, the evidence of the violence in the middle of the 10th century are two killed males found unburied in the outer ditch, and others only in shallow graves also in the part of the ditch not far from the gate.⁴¹ The disappearance of Stará Kouřim is traditionally dated to the half of the 10th century, but without radiocarbon dates.

The ruling Přemyslids have built new fortified centre on the hill called Sv. Jiří /St George after the destruction of the hillfort Stará Kouřim. The prince Boleslav I († 972) began to centralise power in Bohemia, expand into other regions and he also wanted to demonstrate his power more strongly than his murdered brother Prince Václav I († 935),⁴² the same demonstration did on the 70th of 10th century also the Boleslav II († 999), son of Boleslav I.

The **Kouřim–Sv. Jiří** had a small stone rectangular church with an apsis as a dominant. The drawing of the church is visible on J. Willenberg's veduta⁴³ from the beginning of the 17th century (Fig. 13:1), the exact location of second church of

³⁹ „Княжа Гора“ blizu Kijeva. Kovalenko, Pucko 1993, sl. 2: 2–8.

⁴⁰ Nechvátal 1979, sl. 1: 2.

⁴¹ Šolle 1966, tab. XV: 3–4.

⁴⁰ Nechvátal 1979, Fig. 1:2.

⁴¹ Šolle 1966, Tab. XV:3,4.

⁴² F.e. Sláma 1988; Charvát 2010.

⁴³ J. Willenberg (1571 - 1613); Podlaha, Zahradník 1901, tab. 16.

ća dinastija Přemyslovića izgradila je novo utvrđeno središte na brdu zvanom Sv. Jiří / Sv. Juraj. Knez Boleslav I. († 972.) počeo je centralizirati vlast u Bohemiji te se širiti i u druge krajeve nastojeći svoju moć prikazati jasnije nego što je to učinio njegov ubijeni brat, knez Václav I. († 935.).⁴² Sličan pristup imao je i Boleslav II. († 999.), sin Boleslava I., u sedamdesetim godinama 10. stoljeća.

U **Kouřim – Sv. Jiříju** bila je smještena mala kamena pravokutna crkva s dominantnom apsidom. Crtež crkve prikazan je na veduti J. Willenberga s početka 17. stoljeća (sl. 13: 1).⁴³ Točan položaj druge crkve, Sv. Klementa, smještene na kraju obronka zasad nije poznat. Površina tvrđave iznosila je oko 10 do 18 hektara, a bez novih istraživanja ne može se utvrditi je li imala jedno ili dva podgrađa (sl. 9). Vanjsko podgrađe ostaje na razini hipoteze, koja se temelji samo na konfiguraciji terena i geofizičiji.⁴⁴

Arheološki je dokazana starija drvena crkva iz zadnje trećine 10. stoljeća koja je imala groblje, a bila je u funkciji do kraja 12. stoljeća.⁴⁵ Sveti Prokopije Sázavski († 1053. u Sázavi, kanoniziran 1204.) bio je suosnivač i prvi opat benediktinskog samostana u Sázavi. Prema neizravnim spomenima u legendama (Vita minor, oko polovice 12. stoljeća,⁴⁶ kasnije Vita maior) i njihovu tumačenju, on je vjerojatno bio plebanus (svećenik) u crkvi sv. Jurja u Kouřim (ili Kouřim – Sv. Klement) između 1000. i 1009. godine,⁴⁷ a također je bio i prvi stalni stanovnik tvrđave. Ova utvrda je prema arheološkim podacima imala dvojna ulazna vrata s kulom.

Na temelju pronađenog novca zna se da je početkom 11. stoljeća postojala lokalna kovnica. Novac s legendom *Otesa Kurim / CVRIM* (nalaz ostave iz Chrást'anyja)⁴⁸ ili nečitljivom riječi i *CVRIM* na reversu poznat je, primjerice, iz velike ostave iz Hradca Královéa, kovane 1003. – 1015.,⁴⁹ vjerojatno za vrijeme vladavine kneza Jaromíra (prije 1012., sl. 13: 8). Taj novac predstavlja najraniji podatak o nazivu tvrđave uz spomenuti podatak iz *Legenda*

St Clement on the end of terrain spur is not known. The area of the stronghold was only about 10-18 ha; without new excavations we are not sure whether it had one or two baileys/suburbs (Fig. 9). The outer one is a hypothetical one - only according to the configuration of the terrain and geophysics.⁴⁴

Archaeologically, the earlier wooden church from the last third of the 10th century with the cemetery was found, the church was in function till the end of 12th century.⁴⁵ St Procopius of Sázava († 1053 in Sázava; canonized 1204), was the co-founder and the first abbot of a Benedictine monastery in Sázava, according to indirect references in the legends (Vita minor- about half of 12th cent.,⁴⁶ later Vita maior) and their interpretation, he was a plebanus (priest) probably in Kouřim - St George (or Kouřim-St Clement) church between the years 1000-1009.⁴⁷ He was a first concrete inhabitant of the stronghold. This stronghold had based on archaeology two gates with a tower.

The existence of a local mint at the beginning of the 11th century is also known from the coins found. The coins with the legend with the words *Otesa Kurim/CVRIM* (hoard-find from Chrást'any)⁴⁸ or an illegible word and *CVRIM* on the reverse are known, for example, from the large hoard from Hradec Králové minted in 1003 - 1015,⁴⁹ probably during the reign of Prince Jaromír (before 1012, Fig. 13:8); it is the earliest information about the name of the fortress together with the above-mentioned information from the *Legenda Christiani* (end of 10th cent.).⁵⁰ On the Fig. 13:2 is one of the earliest 'initiative' Bohemian deniers minted before /ante y. 966/7, which copied the Bavarian and Czech prototypes, and lacks the name of the ruler/prince and mint.⁵¹ The mint as an archaeological feature has not been located yet. Recently denier of prince Udalric (1012-1034)⁵² and later coins have also been found there.

To the west of the church there is the residence of the high officer, a special enclosed (?) courtyard. Two castellans and an administrator are known

⁴² Sláma 1988; Charvát 2010.

⁴³ J. Willenberg (1571. – 1613.); Podlaha, Zahradník 1901, tab. 16.

⁴⁴ Křivánek 2011; Křivánek 2019, sl. 4.

⁴⁵ Šolle 1969; Šolle 1981, str. 106–107, sl. 14.

⁴⁶ Mrežni izvor: springer.com/referenceworkentry/10.1007/978-3-476-05728-0_10773-1, na njemačkom.

⁴⁷ Sommer 2007, str. 92–93.

⁴⁸ Smejtek, Lutovský, Militký 2013.

⁴⁹ Smejtek, Lutovský, Militký 2013.

⁴⁴ Křivánek 2011; 2019, Fig. 4.

⁴⁵ Šolle 1969, Šolle 1981, pp. 106-7, Fig. 14.

⁴⁶ Online: springer.com/referenceworkentry/10.1007/978-3-476-05728-0_10773-1 in German l.

⁴⁷ Sommer 2007, pp. 92-93.

⁴⁸ Smejtek, Lutovský, Militký 2013.

⁴⁹ Smejtek, Lutovský, Militký 2013.

⁵⁰ Ludvíkovský 1978.

⁵¹ Videman 2017. 1978, p. 100-103.

⁵² Lukas 2010.



Sl. 13. Kouřim – Sv. Jiří: A – veduta Kouřim J. Willenbega, izrez s crkvom sv. Jurja/Jiříja, oko 1600. (izvor: Podlaha, Zahradník 1901, tab. 16); B – sitni nalazi (1–7): bakrena legura (1, 2, 4), pozlaćena bronca/bakar (3, 5), bakrena legura sa srebrom (7), rog (6); 8 – Hradec Králové, novac s najstarijim nazivom utvrde *CVRIM* na aversu; 9 – sjeveroistočna Bugarska; 10 – Bezdéd, grob 8. B2 – novac „inicijativa“, B3 – kraj 9. – 10. st.; B1 1, 4, 6, 7 – 10. st., 2 – oko 965. – 967.; 8 – vremenski raspon 1003. – 1015. (B1, 4 i 7 – prema Profantová 2008, sl. 8: 1, 2; 10: 2 – prema Videman 2017; 8 – Muzej Hradec Králové, inv. br. 15.798; 9 – prema Türk *et al.* 2021, str. 426: 2; 10 – prema Révész 2003, sl. 11; ostalo neobjavljeno; crtež i fotografija: L. Raslová)

Fig. 13 Kouřim - sv. Jiří: J. Willenbeg's *Veduta of Kouřim*, cutout with the church of St George/Jiří (about 1600 AD) source: Podlaha, Zahradník 1901, tab. 16., B: Small finds 1-7: 1, 2, 4 Cu alloy, 3, 5 gilded bronze/copper, 7 Cu alloy with silver, 6 antler. 8 Hradec Králové, coin with the oldest name of the stronghold *CVRIM* on obverse 9- NE Bulgaria, 10 Bezdéd, grave 8. B2 'initiative' coin, B3 end of the 9th- 10th century, B1, 1, 4, 6, 7: 10th century, 2, about 965- 967. 8 interval 1003-1015. B1, 4, 7 After Profantová 2008, Fig. 8:1,2; 10: 2 after Videman 2017. 8 Muzeum Hradec Králové, Inv. N. 15.798. 9 After Türk *et al.* 2021, p. 426:2, 10 after Révész 2003, Fig. 11. Rest unpublished, drawing and photo L. Raslová.



Sl. 14. Mreža utvrda „rane države“ rekonstruirana prema pisanim izvorima (posebno prema Kuzmi iz Praga, 940. – 1000.) i popunjena arheološkim nalazima: 1 – centralni teritorij dinastije Přemyslovića; 2 – bohemski teritorij nakon 930.; 3 – Moravska (koju je osvojio Boleslav I. nakon 950.); 4 – gradina; 5 – biskupija; 6 – važni samostani (sličnu funkciju vjerojatno su imali i Šipín i Lochovice) (prema Sommer, Třeštík, Žemlička 2000, str. 246)

Fig. 14 The 'early state' stronghold-net, reconstructed after written sources (esp. Cosmas of Prague, situation between 940-1000) and filled by archaeology, 1- Přemyslid's nuclear territory, 2 Bohemian territory after 930, 3 Moravia (gained by Boleslav the I after 950), 4 hillfort, 5 bishopric, 6 important monasteries, The similar function probably also had Šipín and Lochovice. After Sommer et al. 2000, Fig. P. 246.

Christiani (kraj 10. st.).⁵⁰ Slika 13: 2 prikazuje jedan od najranijih bohemskih denara, iskovan prije 966./967. godine, koji je kopirao bavarske i češke prototipove, ali bez imena vladara/kneza i kovnice.⁵¹ Kovnica novca kao arheološko obilježje još uvijek nije locirana. Nedavno je pronađen i denar kneza Ulrika (1012. – 1034.)⁵² i kasniji novčići s istog lokaliteta.

Zapadno od crkve nalazi se rezidencija visokog časnika s posebno ograđenim (?) dvorištem. Iz 12. stoljeća poznata su dva kaštelana i jedan upravitelj (Zdeslav Divišovic i Rudolf, 1167. i 1177.),⁵³ a jurisdikcija je poznata iz Legende svetog Prokopa (druga pol. 11. st.) i pisanih izvora iz 12. stoljeća (Vlastislav).⁵⁴ Obrtnici su bili smješteni u sjever-

from the 12th century (Zdeslav Divišovic and Rudolf: 1167, 1177),⁵³ the jurisdiction is known from St Prokop's legenda (the 2nd half of the 11th cent.) as well as from written sources from the 12th century (Vlastislav).⁵⁴ The area of the craftsmen is situated to the northern part of the hillfort, as well as in the outer bailey (after records of prospection: concentration of slug, and after magnetometry).⁵⁵ Curim was the centre of the 'provincia curimensis', the germ of the ancestral property and the seat of Lord Děpold's family. This stronghold had a higher level of standardisation during its existence, because most of the 'Přemyslid' strongholds were built in a relatively short interval of the 2nd half of the 10th - beginning of the 11th century and made an important regular structure of nodal points of social life of the country (Fig. 14, 15).

From the archaeological finds four fittings are important, one bronze strap-end from a rider's bag with a silver inlay of south-east (Hungarian: Tisza-bezdéd, grave 8; Bulgarian) or eastern provenance from the 1st half of the 10th century (Fig. 13:7, 9, 10; Tab. 3),⁵⁶ the heart-shaped cast bronze fittings and belt buckle with a floral ornament of Byzantine-type from the 10th century (Fig. 13: 1, 4) and the small gilded tubular like strap-end (Fig. 13:3). The last one has parallels, but none in Bohemia, at the end of the 9th and mainly the 10th century (Staré Město, Břeclav-Pohansko).⁵⁷ The antler double-sided comb with a braid engraved with the help of a pair of compasses (plait of double circles) on the middle part is a typical local product with analogies in hillforts: Levý Hradec (probably the 10th century),⁵⁸ Stará Boleslav (the 2nd half of the 10th – 11th century),⁵⁹ Libice nad Cidlinou and Čáslav – Hrádek (end of the 10th - 11th century),⁶⁰ or from an antler? plate from Prague Castle; not so exact also in Budeč.⁶¹ The Libice example is dated also to the 10th- beg.

⁵³ Šolle 1984, p. 105.

⁵⁴ The residence of the archdeacons was at Kouřim from the 12th century (see: Šolle 1981.).

⁵⁵ See Tomanová 2012; Křivánek 2019, Fig. 4.

⁵⁶ Profantová 2008, Fig. 8:1,2; Révész 2003, p. 166, Fig. 11. Türk et al. 2021, p. 426:2. The Kouřim piece has 2 secondary made holes in axes.

⁵⁷ Hrubý 1955, p. 201, Fig. 35:18; Macháček et al. 2021, tab. 20:13; 33:3; 16:4.

⁵⁸ Píč 1909, Tab. XXXI:3.

⁵⁹ This piece could have also decorated the reliquary box. Bartošková 2003, p. 255, and Fig. 13:10.

⁶⁰ Píč 1909, Tab. XXXVII:2,3.

⁶¹ Kavan 1972, Fig. 36 and 27 Budeč; Bartošková 2010, Fig. 18.

⁵⁰ Ludvíkovský 1978.

⁵¹ Videman 2017., p.100-103.

⁵² Lukas 2010.

⁵³ Šolle 1984, str. 105.

⁵⁴ Rezidencija arhidakona bila je u Kouřim od 12. stolje-

nom dijelu gradine kao i u vanjskom podgrađu, što je potvrđeno arheološkom prospekcijom (koncentracija šljake) i magnetometrijskim istraživanjima.⁵⁵ Curim je bio središte „provincie curimensis“, centar posjeda predaka i sjedište obitelji kneza Děpolda. Ova utvrda imala je višu razinu standardizacije tijekom svog postojanja, jer je većina Přemyslovićevih utvrda izgrađena u relativno kratkom periodu, od druge polovice 10. do početka 11. stoljeća. Također, bila je dio važnih čvorišta i mjesto društvenog života zemlje (sl. 14, 15).

Od arheoloških nalaza važna su četiri okova: jedan brončani pojasni jezičac iz torbe konjanika sa srebrnim umetkom jugoistočne (mađ. Tiszabездéd, grob 8, bugarski) ili istočne provenijencije iz prve polovice 10. stoljeća (sl. 13: 7, 9, 10; tab. 3),⁵⁶ srcoliki lijevani brončani okov i pojasna kopča s floralnim ornamentom bizantskog tipa iz 10. stoljeća (sl. 13: 1, 4) te mali pozlaćeni cjevasti jezičac (sl. 13: 3). Posljednji ima paralele s predmetima s kraja 9. i uglavnom iz 10. stoljeća (Staré Město, Břeclav – Pohansko), ali ne i u Bohemiji.⁵⁷ Dvostrani češalj od rogovlja s pletenicom dvostrukih krugova urezanom pomoću šestara na središnjem dijelu tipičan je lokalni proizvod. Njegove analogije pronalaze se na gradinama Levý Hradec (vjerojatno 10. st.),⁵⁸ Stará Boleslav (druga pol. 10. do 11. st.),⁵⁹ Libice nad Cidlinou i Čáslav – Hrádek (kraj 10. – 11. st.)⁶⁰ kao i na pločama od rogovlja iz Praškog dvorca i Budeča, iako taj primjerak nije identičan.⁶¹ Primjerak iz Libice također je datiran u 10. i na početak 11. stoljeća. Sličan primjerak kvalitetnije izrade iz prve polovice 11. stoljeća pronađen je tijekom istraživanja utvrde Přerov u Moravskoj.⁶² Za razliku od sjeverne Europe, u Češkoj dominiraju dvostrani češljevi, a prema A. Bartošková i F. Biermannu,⁶³ ovi su češljevi proizvodi specijaliziranih radionica.

ća, vidi Šolle 1981.

⁵⁵ Vidi Tomanová 2012; Krivánek 2019, sl. 4.

⁵⁶ Profantová 2008, sl. 8: 1–2; Révész 2003, str. 166, sl. 11; Türk *et al.* 2021, str. 426: 2. Primjerak iz Kouřim ima dvije naknadno dodane rupe u sjekirama.

⁵⁷ Hrubý 1955, str. 201, sl. 35: 18; Macháček *et al.* 2021, tab. 20: 13; 33: 3; 16: 4.

⁵⁸ Pič 1909, tab. XXXI: 3.

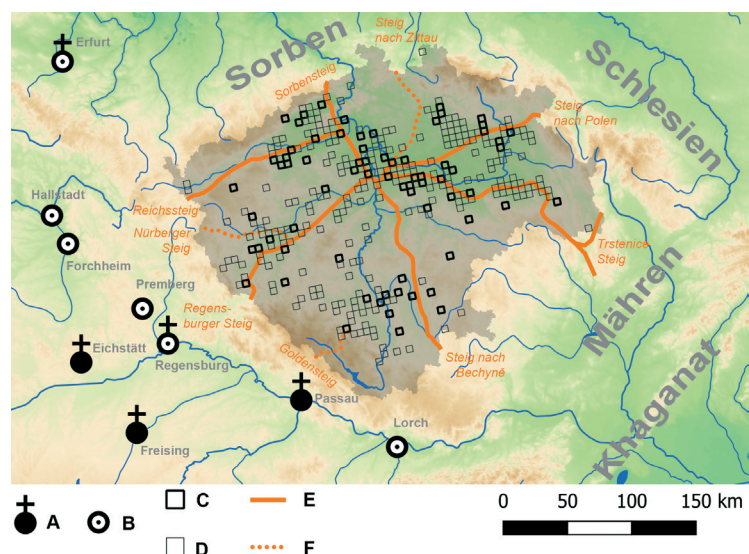
⁵⁹ Taj je komad mogao krasiti i relikvijarnu škrinju. Bartošková 2003, str. 255, sl. 13: 10.

⁶⁰ Pič 1909, tab. XXXVII: 2–3.

⁶¹ Kaván 1972, sl. 36–37; za Budeč: Bartošková 2010, sl. 18.

⁶² Procházka 2018, str. 153, sl. 15: 19.

⁶³ Bartošková 2003, posebno str. 254; Biermann 2008.



Sl. 15. Položaj Kouřim, glavne duge staze u kontekstu mreže naselja 8. i poč. 9. st. (podebljani kvadrati) i 9 – 10. st. (normalna mreža, kvadrati 5 × 5 km) (grafika: J. Hasil)

Fig. 15 Main long-distance trails in context of a settlement net of the 8th and begin. of 9th cent (bold quadrats) and 9–10th century (normal grid/quadrats 5x 5 km). Position of Kouřim. Graphic J. Hasil.

of the 11th century. The similar one from the 1st half of the 11th century is also known from stronghold Přerov in Moravia,⁶² from the excavation of better quality. In contrast to northern Europe, the Czech lands are dominated by double-sided combs. These combs are products of specialised workshops after A. Bartošková and F. Biermann.⁶³

IV. Conclusions: The Rapid change of the Centres

All strongholds – Tismice, Stará Kouřim and Kouřim St Georg/Jiří **were centres of production** (in the last case the goldsmith's workshop was situated outside the fortification – to Nad Dolnicí place: Fig. 9)⁶⁴ and distribution and the seats of the elite. We have archaeologically documented the change of the **orientation of symbolic self-representation** of local elite from the Byzantine-Avar type of symbols to Western type of symbols (Carolingian; Fig. 10a, b) and during the 1st half of the 9th century also the change of the burial rite to the inhumation. In

⁶² Procházka 2018, 153, Fig. 15:19.

⁶³ Bartošková 2003, esp. p. 254; Biermann 2008.

⁶⁴ Profantová *et al.* 2023, finds of bronze die for kaptorga production, unfinished Es-shaped temple-ring and a punch (tool), imported amber.

	Središte 1	Središte 2	Središte 3
Kronologija I. faza	8.st. do prve polovice 9.st.	druga polovica 9. – prva polovica 10. st.	970/980- 1236
	struktura moći 1	struktura moći 2	(široka) bohemijaska mreža
mjesto	Tismice	Stará Kouřim	Kouřim – Sv. Jiří
područje	21 ha	40 ha	10 -18 ha
Informacije iz pisanih izvora		Knez, vjerojatno rođak vladara iz dinastije Přemyslovići	Upravitelji i rodbina vladara
Središte kulta	Vjerojatno, poganski bez konkretnog mjesta	Da, pogansko štovanje jezera i poganskog idola, kasnije kapela?	Crkva Sv. Jiří/Jurja Crkva Sv. Klementa
Ukopi elite	?	da	Nije moguće prepoznati

	Central place 1	Central place 2	Central place 3
Chronological phase	8th- 1st half of 9th c.	2nd half of 9th- 1st half of 10th c.	970/980- 1236
	Power-structure 1	Power-structure 2	Bohemian network (wide)
Sites	Tismice	Stará Kouřim	Kouřim – Sv. Jiří
Area	21 ha	40 ha	10 -18 ha
Inform. F. written sources		Dux/ prince, probably a relative of Přemyslid ruler	Administrators and the relatives of ruler
Centre of cult	Probably, pagan Without concrete place	Yes, pagan worshipped lake and pagan idol, later Chapel ?	Church of Sv. Jiří/George Church of St Clement
Elite Burials	?	Yes	unrecognisable

T. 4. Transformacije ranosrednjovjekovnih središnjih struktura / struktura moći u kouřimskoj mezoregiji od 8. do poč. 13. st. (izradila autorica)

T. 4 Transformations of Early Medieval Centrality/Power-structures in Kouřim's Mesoregion in 8th - begin. of 13th century. C. – century. Made by author.

IV. Zaključak: brza promjena središta

Sve utvrde – Tismice, Stará Kouřim i Kouřim – Sv. Jiří – bile su **središta proizvodnje** (u slučaju posljednje, zlatarska radionica bila je smještena izvan utvrde, pokraj mjesta Nad Dolnicí, sl. 9)⁶⁴ i distribucije te sjedišta elite. Arheološki smo dokumentirali promjenu **orijentacije simboličke samo-reprezentacije** lokalne elite, koja je prešla s bizant-sko-avarskog tipa simbola na zapadnjački tip (karolinški, sl. 10a, 10b). Također, tijekom prve polovice 9. stoljeća došlo je i do promjene u obredima ukopa, prelaskom na inhumaciju. U 10. stoljeću pojavljuju se i istočnjački tipovi ukrasa (sl. 13: 1, 4, 7), no nije poznato jesu li oni bili uvozi ili lokalne prerade.

the 10th century also appear the eastern types of decorations (Fig. 13:1,4,7) but we do not know whether these were imports or local adaptations.

According to **our interpretation**, the Duke of Kouřim **played** a role in the destruction of an earlier network of five hillforts with the centre in Tismice and he built a new network N. 2 on a larger territory. His network N. 2 was replaced shortly after the half of the 10th century by an “**early state**” **fortress structure** with administrative functions, which used a smaller stronghold Kouřim - St George/ Jiří, with safely proved single nave church and a mint in its vicinity (Fig. 14). The relatively rapid change of power centres shows a higher level of involvement of local elites in political life, probably also higher ambitions of individuals (cf. Tab. 4).

⁶⁴ Profantová *et al.* 2023, nalazi brončane matrice za izradu kaptorgi, nedovršena sljepoočničarka u obliku slova S i alat za punciranje te uvozni jantar.

Prema **našem tumačenju**, kouřimski knez **imao je važnu** ulogu u rušenju ranije mreže od pet gradina sa središtem u Tismicama te je izgradio novu mrežu (N. 2) na većem teritoriju. Njegova mreža N. 2 zamijenjena je nedugo nakon polovice 10. stoljeća „ranodržavnom“ fortifikacijskom strukturom s administrativnim funkcijama, koja je uključivala manju utvrdu Kouřim – Sv. Juraj / Jiří s dokazanom jednobrodnom crkvom i kovnicom novca u njezinoj blizini (sl. 14). Relativno brza promjena centara moći ukazuje na veću uključenost lokalnih elita u politički život, a vjerojatno i na veće ambicije pojedinaca (usp. tab. 4).

Radna hipoteza dopušta razmatranje druge ili treće ranosrednjovjekovne crkve na temelju otkrića trupa crkvenog dvorišta izvan dobro dokumentirane utvrde (Z. Mazač, istraživanje 2022.) i neobjavljenih rezultata geofizičkog mjerenja. Gradina je bila središte provincije Kouřim, a kasnije rezidencija plemićke obitelji kneza Děpolda (Theobalda), pobočne grane vladajuće dinastije Přemyslovića u 12. stoljeću. Děpold I. († 1167.) bio je sin kneza Vladislava I. († 1125.), koji je, između ostalog, uspješno obranio Praški dvorac.

Sve ove dokumentirane promjene u mreži utvrda posljedica su promjene **strukture moći**. Ove arheološki najbolje dokumentirane promjene u Bohemiji zahtijevaju, kako bi bile prihvaćene kao dokazane, opsežniju seriju znanstvenih podataka (posebice Stará Kouřim) kao i **nove činjenice** i podatke o nekim od manje istraženih utvrda dviju zamijenjenih mreža (Přistoupim, Radim).

The working hypothesis allows for the consideration of the 2nd third Early Medieval church on the basis of the discovery of the torso of a churchyard outside the well-documented fortification (Z. Mazač, excavation in 2022) and the unpublished results of a geophysical measurement. The hillfort was the centre of Kurim province, later a residence of lord's family of Lord Děpold (Theobald): subsidiary branch of the **ruling Přemyslid** dynasty in the 12th century. Děpold I (†1167) was a son of Prince Vladislaus I († 1125), Děpold among other pursuits also successfully defended Prague Castle.

All these documented changes in the network of strongholds are the result of a change in the **power structure**. These in Bohemia archaeologically best-documented changes need — if they should be taken as proven in the future — more extensive series of natural science data (Stará Kouřim) and **new facts** and data about some of the less researched strongholds of the two replaced networks (Přistoupim, Radim).

Kratice / Abbreviations

JRGZM Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseum
kom./psc. komadi/pieces

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