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## SAINT ADALBERT – APOSTLE OF PRUSSIA HIS FAMILY ENVIRONMENT AND RESIDENCE IN LIBICE

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**Słowa kluczowe:** Święty Wojciech, ród Sławnikowiców, Libice nad Cidlinou, Prusy, Czechy we wczesnym średniowieczu

**Schlüsselwörter:** Hl. Adalbert von Prag, Familie der Slavníkiden, Libitz an der Cidlina, Preußenland, Herzogtum Böhmen im Frühen Mittelalter

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### 1. Introduction

The stronghold of Libice entered history in the Chronicle written by Cosmas as the birthplace of St Adalbert and the seat of Slavník, his father<sup>1</sup>. The reign of Slavník, who was followed by his son Soběslav, ended abruptly on 28<sup>th</sup> September 995 after an attack by Přemyslid soldiers when most of the members of the ruling family were slaughtered. The next written attestation of Libice appears only in 1107 in connection with the death of Božej, the castellan of Libice and his son Bořut of the Vršovci family<sup>2</sup>. In the course of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, Libice became part of the system of the Přemyslid castle administration. The last written attestation of Libice as a centre (*oppidum*) stems from 1130<sup>3</sup>. In 1227, in an inventory of the property of the Convent of St. George at the Prague Castle, Libice was listed as a village only<sup>4</sup>.

The stronghold of Libice was introduced into the broader historical discourse mainly by the work of Rudolf Turek, who had created on the basis of historical, numismatic and archaeological sources an especially powerful story

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<sup>1</sup> *Cosmae Pragensis Chronica Bohemorum*. Die Chronik der Böhmen des Cosmas von Prag, Ed. B. Bret-holz, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum, Nova Series, II, Berolini 1923, p. 49.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 192.

<sup>3</sup> *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris regni Bohemiae I (805-1197)*, G. Friedrich (ed.), Pragae 1904-1907, p. 133.

<sup>4</sup> *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris regni Bohemiae II (1198-1230)*, G. Friedrich (ed.), Pragae 1912, p. 422.

about a tribal stronghold that became the seat of the Slavníck noble family in the second half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century. The gradually increasing rivalry between the families of the Slavnícks and reigning Přemyslides resulted in the tragic events of September 28<sup>th</sup> 995, when the Slavnícks' stronghold at Libice was destroyed. At the time of their greatest power, the Slavnícks would control an area covering more than half of Bohemia. The end of this powerful house was considered the last step in the efforts of the Přemyslides to unify their dominion over Bohemia.

A debate was initiated in the second half of the 1990s<sup>5</sup>, which gradually disproved the cornerstones of the dramatic story of the Slavnícks and Přemyslides. Critical evaluation of numismatic finds brought about a new perspective on the chronological development of the Slavnícks' coinage, and refuted the hypothesis regarding the progressively increasing tension that the Slavnícks had demonstrated on their coins. Even the idea of a large domain ruled by the Slavnícks was rejected, and some of the excavations conducted by Rudolf Turek on the acropolis were critically reviewed. Paleobotanical research has provided new information on the natural environment surrounding the stronghold of Libice at the time of its foundation and its impact on the environment. And, last but not least, the non-destructive research on the acropolis has provided a new concept of the spatial organisation of this part of the settlement.

Although some cases have clearly proved that the attempt to directly connect archaeological finds with historical events can be highly misleading, the site of Libice remains due to years of systematic archaeological fieldwork one of the best-known strongholds in Bohemia. Even though we probably can no longer recount such an exciting and dramatic story, the broad range of available sources provides us with greater freedom for their interpretation and the search for new alternatives.

## 2. Archaeological research

The first archaeological excavations at the Libice stronghold and, above all, in its surroundings, are connected with the activities of the pharmacist Jan Hellich from Poděbrady at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. He focused on Early Medieval burial grounds in the vicinity of the stronghold, which were being endangered by intensified building development in the then village<sup>6</sup>. The work

<sup>5</sup> J. Sláma, *Slavníkovci – významná či okrajová záležitost českých dějin 10. století?*, Archeologické rozhledy 1995, 47, pp. 182–224; M. Lutovský, Z. Petrán, *Slavníkovci. Mýtus českého dějepisectví*, Praha 2004.

<sup>6</sup> J. Hellich, *Archeologický výzkum ve středních Čechách. Novější výzkum z v okolí Libice u Poděbrad*, Památky archeologické, 1897, 17, pp. 671–694; J. Hellich, *Pravěk. Otisk z díla „Poděbradsko“, Obrazu minulosti i přítomnosti*, Poděbrady 1906; R. Turek, *Slavníková Libice*, Praha 1946.

of J. Hellich should be appreciated, amongst other things, for his respect towards archaeological relics, which is well illustrated by his one and only attempt to excavate on the acropolis of the stronghold. After having opened a single excavation trench he came to the conclusion that the complicated field situation at the site was beyond his power and knowledge, and so he left this part of the stronghold unexcavated for future generations.

In 1949, new excavations were opened by Rudolf Turek who mainly focused on the western part of the acropolis where a church, a cemetery and the so-called palace building were examined in 1949–1953<sup>7</sup> and 1967–1973<sup>8</sup>. Whereas the acropolis of the stronghold has been excavated systematically, the other part of the fortified area – the outer bailey – was mainly examined by archaeological rescue excavations. Construction and excavation works in the core of the present-day village have already been monitored since 1974. Due to long-term systematic work, mainly connected with the name of Jarmila Princová Justová, the entire area of the outer bailey is more or less evenly covered by a complex mosaic of excavation trenches<sup>9</sup>.

Similar to the outer bailey of the stronghold, construction works in the remaining part of the cadastral territory of present-day Libice have also been monitored by archaeological rescue excavations. The network of excavation trenches that spread over an area of more than 1.5 ha, along with the archaeological fieldwork of J. Hellich, have enabled us to reconstruct the extent of the entire Early Mediaeval agglomeration (Fig. 1)<sup>10</sup>.

In the past few years, archaeological research at the acropolis has been conducted in the form of non-destructive surveys such as aerial imaging, geophysical survey, surface collection and metal detection reconnaissance. Results of this research have considerably changed previous opinions on the appearance and form of spatial distribution of the acropolis. It seems that a large part of the acropolis was intensively used during the entire existence of the stronghold from the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> until at least the 11<sup>th</sup> century<sup>11</sup>. Many small metal finds from North, West and East Europe testify that Libice retained its status as a significant centre on a long-distance trade route even after the demise of the residence of

<sup>7</sup> R. Turek, *Libice knížecí hradisko X. věku*, Praha 1966–1968.

<sup>8</sup> R. Turek, *Libice. Pohřebiště na vnitřním hradisku*, Sborník Národního muzea, 1976, A -Historie 30, pp.249–316; R. Turek, *Libice. Hroby na vnitřním hradisku*, Sborník Národního muzea, 1978, A -Historie 32, pp. 1–150; R. Turek, *Libice nad Cidlinou. Monumentální stavby vnitřního hradiska*, Sborník Národního muzea, 1981, A – Historie 35, pp. 1–72.

<sup>9</sup> J. Princová, J. Mařík, J., *Libice nad Cidlinou – stav a perspektivy výzkumu*, Archeologické rozhledy, 2006, 58, pp. 643–664.

<sup>10</sup> J. Mařík, *Libická sídelní aglomerace...*, pp. 11–18.

<sup>11</sup> R. Křivánek, J. Mařík, *Nedestruktivní výzkum akropole libického hradiště*, Sborník Národního Muzea v Praze. Řada A, Historie, 2012, 66, 1–2, pp. 67–70.

the Slavník family, over the whole of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. The overall picture of the extent and population density on the acropolis, which was mainly obtained by geophysical survey and surface collection, is comparable to settlement evidence in the adjacent outer bailey.

### 3. Agglomeration – settlement structure

Archaeological excavations have been conducted on the territory of Libice nad Cidlinou municipality for more than a century. Systematic archaeological research of this site has provided us with a relatively dense and regular network of archaeological trenches that enables monitoring of the extent and nature of Early Medieval settlement and burials. Since the mid-1970s, all construction works and earthworks in the village have been consistently monitored. Evidence of archaeological trenches with negative finds was extremely important when creating maps of the Early Medieval agglomeration<sup>12</sup>.

The entire area of the Early Medieval agglomeration can be divided into several basic units consisting of a fortified range and settlements or estates outside the fortified area, burial grounds as well as evidence regarding sporadic settlement in the alluvial plain. Individual parts of the agglomeration have to be understood as an interconnected complex in terms of social structure and economy.

The fortified settlement area is divided into two parts: the acropolis (Fig 1: A) (also known as the inner bailey) and the bailey (Fig 1:B). Their current form and different modes of use have been significantly reflected in the strategy of archaeological research and interpretation of their results. The acropolis lying to the west (10 ha) is currently arable land. Since the destruction of the Early Medieval settlement in the first half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, there has not been any significant construction or other interventions. The settlement development of the bailey (14 ha) has continued even after the destruction of the stronghold and currently is located in the centre of the village of Libice nad Cidlinou. Over the course of the 9<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> centuries, both parts of the fortified area were intensely populated.

The predominant type of immovable finds represents round or oval sunken features that are mostly dug in the sandy subsoil. The original shape or function of the sunken features remains relatively uncertain due to this rather loose

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<sup>12</sup> R. Turek, *Libická sídelní aglomerace 9. a 10. století*, Časopis Národního muzea, 1971, 140, pp. 162–189; J. Mařík, *Libická sídelní aglomerace...*, pp. 11–14.

subsoil. Altogether, approximately 1800 of sunken features have been identified in the bailey where archaeological trenches covered approximately 7% of its total area<sup>13</sup>. Within the acropolis, systematic archaeological research has focused mainly in the area of the church and its immediate vicinity. The overall structure of the population can be better understood due to the results of non-destructive archaeological research that has been conducted at the site since the year 2010. In the course of the geophysical survey, altogether 3400 anomalies were identified that indicate sunken features larger than one square meter. Based on the results of this survey, we can reconstruct the main roads and communications, which are lined by regular lines of sunken features<sup>14</sup>.

There is almost no archaeological evidence of residential above-ground constructions, with a few exceptions, on the acropolis and the bailey. We may assume that there were log dwellings with a frame construction built at the level of the former ground, which, however, left no significant traces. Among the rare finds of the above-ground structures belong the so-called priest's house<sup>15</sup> (in the bailey) and palaces to the south of the church on the acropolis. These constructions represented wooden buildings built on stone foundation walls built of dry-laid stones. The uniqueness of these buildings was emphasised, amongst other things, by finds of writing instruments (so-called styli)<sup>16</sup>.

Traces of specialised production, in particular processing of metals, that represents one of the characteristics of Early Medieval centres were detected in both parts of the fortified area. Ingots of non-ferrous metals (copper, lead, tin, silver and gold) together with other production waste have been found to the south of the church on the acropolis and in the north-eastern part of the bailey. Numerous finds of iron slag and elements of production facilities occurred in the western part of the bailey<sup>17</sup>.

Outside the fortified area of the stronghold, there were further Early Medieval settlements on the right bank of the Cidlina River (Fig 1:C). Unlike the intensively inhabited areas of the bailey and the acropolis, the settlement was detected there (covering an area of 8.5 hectares) in only one-third of archaeological trenches. There is also a disproportionately smaller number of sunken

<sup>13</sup> J. Princová, J. Mařík, *Libice nad Cidlinou – stav a perspektivy výzkumu*, Archeologické rozhledy, 2006, 58, pp. 643–664.

<sup>14</sup> R. Křivánek, J. Mařík, *Nedestruktivní výzkum...*

<sup>15</sup> J. Justová, *Archeologický výzkum na libickém předhradí v letech 1974–1979*, Archeologické rozhledy, 1980, 32, pp. 241–264.

<sup>16</sup> J. Košta, J. Mařík, *Archeologické výzkumy Rudolfa Turka na akropoli libického hradiště. Evidence fondu, digitalizace terénní dokumentace a databázové zpracování*, Sborník Národního muzea v Praze Řada A, Historie. Roč. 66, 1-2, pp. 35–42.

<sup>17</sup> J. Mařík, J. Zavřel, *Nové doklady zpracování drahých kovů v raném středověku (předběžné sdělení)*, *Acta rerum naturalium*, 2012, Roč. 12, pp. 101–107.

features (55), of which only three can be interpreted as sunken dwellings. We may assume, based on the detected spatial distribution, that in the course of the 9<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries, 3 to 4 smaller settlements existed there and their position gradually changed.

Sporadic traces of Early Medieval settlement in the form of a thin cultural layer or a few sunken features were found on small elevations in the alluvial plain located to south and east of the fortified area (Fig 1:D). However, the function of these settlements cannot be clearly determined given the small number of finds. They may represent short-time populated settlements focusing on fishing, livestock, forest exploitation or extraction of minerals<sup>18</sup>.

#### 4. Cemeteries

There were a total of nine Early Medieval burial sites within the territory of the Libice agglomeration. Individual burial sites and their use can be divided into several time horizons<sup>19</sup>. The first horizon can be linked to the beginnings of skeletal burials in Bohemia at the turn of the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> centuries and lasts until mid-10<sup>th</sup> century. The second horizon ranges from the late 10<sup>th</sup> to the first half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. This period is characterised by a gradual decline in grave goods and by the fact that graves are arranged in regular rows. With only one exception (cemetery around the church at the acropolis, Fig. 1: 1) burial grounds in the first two development phases were located outside populated areas. Since the mid-11<sup>th</sup> century, new burial sites emerged in the bailey (Fig. 1: 3–5). However, due to a minimum number of objects placed in graves, it is not possible to clearly determine how long the cemeteries were used. We may assume given the size and location of the burial grounds that their use ended prior to the High Medieval parcelling of the village in the 13<sup>th</sup> century.

The transfer of cemeteries to the bailey can be explained in two ways. In the course of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, the importance of the Libice stronghold declined and, thus, the demands on the use of space in the fortified range probably also decreased. The shift of burials in the immediate vicinity of human settlements and religious buildings can be explained as proof of the gradual spread of Christianity throughout all layers of society.

Although the majority of cemeteries have not been fully archaeologically explored we can, due to a sufficiently dense network of archaeological trenches

<sup>18</sup> J. Mařík, *Libická sídelní aglomerace...*, pp. 68–71.

<sup>19</sup> J. Mařík, *Topografie pohřebišť v aglomeraci hradiště v Libici nad Cidlinou*, Archeologické rozhledy, 2005, 57, pp. 331–350.



in combination with the results of the geophysical survey, reconstruct their full extent. Based on these data, it was possible to estimate the size of the population living on the territory of the entire agglomeration<sup>20</sup>. The results, especially for the latest third phase have, however, only approximate value as the predictive value of the archaeological evidence is rather limited. The decreasing quantity of grave goods highly reduces the possibilities of dating the graves and, at the same time, the shift of the burial sites into built-up areas of the present-day village caused significant damages due to later interventions. Based on current knowledge, the population of the entire agglomeration reached during the first and second phases 600–950 inhabitants while there was a significant decrease to 300–370 people during the third phase.

As far as the churchyard is concerned, approximately 400 graves were examined there (Fig 1: 1). Many graves of the earliest phase of the cemetery, which is dated to the turn of the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> centuries, contained weapons and personal ornaments manufactured using technologies typical of Great Moravian jewellery making. Around the mid-10<sup>th</sup> century, the terrain in the western part of the acropolis was distinctly modified. An earlier phase of the cemetery was overlaid with a levelling layer that can be probably associated with preparatory works for the construction of the church and the so-called palace building south of it. It seems that the churchyard was still in use in the first half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. Just as in the previous period, this area was used by a small group of people comprising some dozens of individuals. Even though luxurious goods were no longer placed in graves to the same extent as earlier, we can suppose that these people occupied a high rank in society. The absence of personal ornaments and weapons in graves can be attributed not only to the spread of Christianity but also to the possibility that the elite of that time may have demonstrated their privileged status in some other way. A burial near the church itself may represent a sufficient display of privileged status because most of the inhabitants of the stronghold buried their dead in the nearby cemetery at Kanín<sup>21</sup> (Fig. 1: 2).

The largest burial ground (about 10 ha) within the Libice agglomeration, however, extends on the left bank of the Cidlina River near the village of Kanín. The inhabitants of the fortified stronghold had already been burying their dead there since the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, over at least a hundred years. Just as on the acropolis, the graves contained funerary equipment consisting of personal ornaments, weapons and ceramic vessels. The cemetery also included graves with

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<sup>20</sup> J. Mařík, *Early Medieval castle of Libice nad Cidlinou, large or small hinterland*, in: L. Poláček (ed.) *Das wirtschaftliche Hinterland der frühmittelalterlichen Zentren*, Brno 2008, pp. 195–206.

<sup>21</sup> J. Mařík, *Libická sídelní aglomerace...*, pp. 73–99.

unusual or sometimes even careless deposition of the dead<sup>22</sup>. Interpretations of these differences in burial customs are not unequivocal. Variances between both cemeteries (at Kanín and on the acropolis) could possibly reflect social stratification where the position of the burial itself may have been more of a deciding factor than the value of grave goods; the influence of the ascendant Christianity is also quite significant for it gradually drove out some components of funerary equipment such as, for example, food inclusions in ceramic vessels.

Another significant difference between the two burial grounds represents not only the equipment or modifications of individual graves, but also their actual location and the size of communities that used those cemeteries. While the churchyard on the acropolis was used by a community of about a hundred of people, the cemetery on the left bank of the Cidlina River was used by a community up to six times larger. These one hundred inhabitants of the acropolis probably included not only the family of the ruler of the stronghold but also members of his retinue and even clerics who operated the church. On the other hand, the cemetery at Kanín was reserved for the remaining population of the stronghold. Although the wealth of some graves at the Kanín burial ground seems to compete with the graves of the highest members of the Early Medieval elites, these graves lack the most important thing – the correct location.

A special group of cemeteries represents three sites outside the fortified stronghold area on the right bank of the Cidlina River (Fig. 1:6-9). These burial grounds add more details to the overall picture of the social structure of the population inhabiting the stronghold's agglomeration. These cemeteries have the character of ordinary rural burial grounds according to the arrangement and equipment of the graves. The evidence corresponds to the above-mentioned three to four smaller settlements, which were located at a distance of several dozen meters<sup>23</sup>.

## 5. The stronghold as a seat of the elites

When searching for beginnings of the Libice stronghold as an important regional centre, we can primarily rely on archaeological sources that, however, do not provide a completely unambiguous answer. The site that benefited from the strategic position at the confluence of the Elbe and Cidlina rivers and the crossroad of long-distance trade roads was an attractive place already at the

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<sup>22</sup> Ibidem, pp. 121–122.

<sup>23</sup> Ibidem, pp. 38–60.



dawn of the Early Medieval Period. Cadastre of the present-day village contained quite an unusual concentration of 3-4 settlements of the Prague-type pottery culture (6<sup>th</sup>–7<sup>th</sup> century) and Old Hillfort Period (7<sup>th</sup> till mid-9<sup>th</sup> century)<sup>24</sup>. A collection of more than 30 belt and harness fittings dating to the Old Hillfort Period that originates in the material culture of the Avar Khaganate was found on the acropolis (Fig. 2). The majority of these finds can be dated to the late Avar period (second half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century). Even though such finds are considered as attributes of the elite environment, massive expansion of the metal detecting that has occurred in the past few years resulted in the loss of exclusivity for the Avar belt fittings. The number of such finds has increased by several orders, and they are commonly found even beyond the strongholds<sup>25</sup>. The rather high number of fittings found on the Libice stronghold that was obtained in the course of a metal detector survey should be evaluated by the application of this critical approach.

Fortifications belong to among the typical characteristics of Early Medieval centres. In the case of Libice, the fortification can be detected around the entire circumference of the acropolis and its bailey over a length of less than three kilometres. The organisation of work necessary for such extensive construction and providing necessary material<sup>26</sup> was undoubtedly rather complex, which is hard to imagine without a ruling authority and stratified society.

The fortification of the acropolis and bailey has been cut by archaeological trenches in 12 places<sup>27</sup>. However, no remains of wooden constructions were preserved in such a condition as to be dated dendrochronologically. Our dating depends mainly on pottery but its dating possibilities are considerably limited. The destruction of the fortification primarily contains pottery sherds characteristic for the Late Hillfort Period covering the period from the second half of the 10<sup>th</sup> to the 11<sup>th</sup> century. At several places, layers detected below the destruction of the Late Hillfort fortification reflect previous adjustments of the terrain. These layers exclusively contained pottery sherds dated to the Middle Hillfort Period (9<sup>th</sup> to the first half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century). It cannot be excluded that the stronghold

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<sup>24</sup> J. Mařík, *Libická sídelní aglomerace...*, p. 33; J. Princová, *Časné slovanské osídlení v Libici nad Cidlinou*, *Památky archeologické*, 2003, 94, pp. 161–182.

<sup>25</sup> N. Profantová, *The horse harness, spurs and stirrups in Bohemia in 8th and 9th century*, in: *Warriors, weapons, and harness from the 5th–10th centuries in the Carpathian Basin*, Ed. C. Cosma, Cluj-Napoca 2015, pp. 281–297.

<sup>26</sup> To build such fortification, it was necessary to cut down more than 6,500 cubic metres of timber and approximately 12,000 cubic meters of marlstone that was transported to the stronghold from the hill of Oškobrh, approximately 3 km from the site. J. Mařík, *Libická sídelní aglomerace...*, pp. 143–144.

<sup>27</sup> J. Mařík, *Výzkum raně středověkého opevnění v Libici nad Cidlinou – sonda 236*, *Archeologické rozhledy*, 2006, 58, pp. 511–519.

could be protected by fortifications already in this period, however, all reliable evidence indicates its existence only from the mid-10<sup>th</sup> century<sup>28</sup>.

Graves with rich equipment containing expensive weapons (swords) or silver jewellery decorated with granulation and filigree provide further evidence of the presence of ruling elites and stratified society within the stronghold. Graves of this type were discovered at two of the largest cemeteries on the acropolis and the cemetery at Kánín. The main occurrence of these richly equipped graves can be dated to the turn of the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> century when they appear on cemeteries in the immediate vicinity of other major centres such as Kouřim, Prague Castle or Budeč<sup>29</sup>.

The confluence of the Elbe and Cidlina rivers was likely heavily and continuously populated since the 6<sup>th</sup> century; however, the site became a centre not before the turn of the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> century. We cannot clearly corroborate whether the acropolis and the bailey were fortified at the same time. However, potential absence of fortification in the first half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century does not represent a major problem. A similar situation can be observed on some Great Moravian centres where fortifications were built only during the last two decades of their existence<sup>30</sup>.

## 6. The church

Foundations of a single-aisled, longitudinal church, with a lateral aisle and an apse probably represent the most important archaeological discovery on the acropolis. Systematic archaeological research at the acropolis had begun in the year 1949. Most of the attention was focused on the eastern part, where concentration of marlstones had already been visible prior the commencement of the excavations. This concentration was also documented on the earliest depiction of Libice nad Cidlinou (Fig. 3) dated to the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century (after the year 1668). After the removal of the marlstone rubble, the ground-plan of the entire church was revealed (Fig. 4). However, nearly none of the original

<sup>28</sup> J. Mařík, *Libická sídelní aglomerace...*, pp. 23, 28–33.

<sup>29</sup> J. Mařík, *Topografie pohřebišť...*; *Europas Mitte um 1000*, Hrsg. Alfried Wiczorek und Hans-Martin Hinz, Katalog, Stuttgart 2000, pp. 295–304.

<sup>30</sup> P. Dresler, B. Humlová, J. Macháček, M. Rybniček, J. Škojec, J. Vrbová-Dvorská, *Dendrochronologické datování raně středověké aglomerace na Pohansku u Břeclavi*, in: Š. Ungerman, R. Přichystalová, *Zaměřeno na středověk. Zdeňkovi Měřinskému k 60. narozeninám*, Praha 2010, pp. 112–138, 750–752, 39; J. Henning, M. Ruttkey, *Frühmittelalterliche Burgwälle an der mittleren Donau im ostmitteleuropäischen Kontext*, In: J. Macháček, Š. Ungerman (eds.), *Frühgeschichtliche Zentralorte in Mitteleuropa*, Studien zur Archäologie Europas 14, Bonn 2011, pp. 259–288.

walls remained and the ground-plan was possible to trace only in the form of the wall's negatives. Except for its presbytery, the plaster floor was documented in the entire interior of the church. And precisely at this level, the original archaeological excavations conducted by R. Turek were put to an end<sup>31</sup>.

Analogies for such a structure that represents a unique architectural solution in Early Medieval Bohemia have been sought in the so-called Saxon Ottonian architecture<sup>32</sup>. While the Saxon influence on the architecture of the church and its Early Medieval dating is generally accepted in Czech historical research, there have been certain reservations concerning the dating and functional interpretation of its particular parts<sup>33</sup>.

Among the most often cited analogies belong: the churches of St Cyriacus in Canburg and Gernrode, the chapel in the Königspfalz (royal palace) at Werla and the Church of the Virgin Mary in Walbeck<sup>34</sup>. A number of features identical to the church at Libice<sup>35</sup> was found in the course of the latest building-historical analysis of the aforementioned churches. The church in Walbeck, devoted to the Virgin Mary, SS Pancratius, and Anna, about 60 km west of Magdeburg, was built as a part of the collegiate chapter established by Graf Lothar II of Walbeck<sup>36</sup>. The earliest church at Walbeck had one nave and a transept and its ground-plan is very similar to that of the Libice church (Fig. 4). The earliest building phase can be dated to the years 941–964. Rudolf Turek based his dating of the church and the adjacent palace mainly on written accounts. He thought the church was consecrated by Adalbert of Trier, the later archbishop of Magdeburg, on his mission journey to Kievan Rus' in 961 or 962. Therefore, R. Turek was convinced that the construction must have been finished before this date. However, there is no direct historical or archaeological proof of Adalbert of Trier's visit to Libice.

However, if we base the dating of the church entirely on available archaeological sources, we get a much wider time span. The preserved field documenta-

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<sup>31</sup> R. Turek, *Libice nad Cidlinou. Monumentální stavby vnitřního hradiska*, Sborník Národního Muzea, 1981, A – Historie 35, pp. 1–72.

<sup>32</sup> P. Sommer, V. Vaněk, *Existe-t-il une architecture Slavníkienne?*, Antiqua Cuthna, 2006, 2, Slavníkovci v českých dějinách, pp. 20–34.

<sup>33</sup> A. Merhautová, *Kostel na Libici*, Archeologické rozhledy, 1995, 47, pp. 249–251; A. Merhautová, D. Třeštík, *Románské umění v Čechách a na Moravě*, Praha 1984, p. 43.

<sup>34</sup> R. Turek, *Počátky české vzdělanosti od příchodu Slovanů do doby románské*, Praha 1988, pp. 122–134

<sup>35</sup> J. Mařík 2010: *Die Sakralbauten in der frühmittelalterlichen Burg Libice nad Cidlinou*, in: L. Poláček, J. Maříková-Kubková (Eds.), *Frühmittelalterliche Kirchen als archäologische und historische Quelle*, Brno 2010, pp. 263–273.

<sup>36</sup> J. Cramer, S. Breitling, *Die Stiftskirche in Walbeck*, in: K. G. Beuckers, J. Cramer, M. Imhoff (Eds.), *Die Ottonen. Kunst – Architektur – Geschichte*, Petersberg 2006, pp. 273–278; M. Imhoff, *Architektur im Zeitalter der Ottonen. Katalog der erhaltenen Bauten in Deutschland, Österreich und der Schweiz*, in: K. G. Beuckers, J. Cramer, M. Imhoff (Eds.), *Die Ottonen. Kunst – Architektur – Geschichte*, Petersberg 2006, pp. 303–350; U. Knapp, *Ottونية Architektur. Überlegungen zu einer Geschichte der Architektur während der Herrschaft der Ottonen*, in: K. G. Beuckers, J. Cramer, M. Imhoff (Eds.), *Die Ottonen. Kunst – Architektur – Geschichte*, Petersberg 2006, pp. 205–258.

tion from the early 1950s lacks any cross-sections and, thus, verbal descriptions of archaeological circumstances in the course of the fieldwork conducted in the church<sup>37</sup> and the adjacent cemetery<sup>38</sup> remain the main source of information. According to these descriptions, substantial adjustments of the site preceded construction of the church consisting of the so-called levelling layer into which foundation trenches for the church walls were dug. This observation was confirmed in the course of revision fieldwork conducted in years 2011 and 2012 when we managed to identify this levelling layer as well as a set of pottery sherds enabling its dating<sup>39</sup>. The discovered pottery sherds can be dated to a relatively broad period ranging from the mid-10<sup>th</sup> century until the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century.

Archaeological possibilities of dating the church do not allow identifying any particular member of the family as the initiator of the construction. It may have been the first historical ruler Slavník as well as one of his sons – Adalbert or Soběslav. Adalbert, later the Bishop of Prague, who had been educated in Magdeburg for nine years (972–981) and surely had the opportunity to meet various members of the Saxon nobility and to establish a number of useful contacts. No less important is the question of whether the Slavníks were merely inspired by the architecture of the Saxon churches or whether they took over the whole ideological concept that was present in a number of family seats in Saxony in the second half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century. They would have followed the imperial model of founding monasteries and collegiate chapters, part of which were churches, serving as burial places for the most important members of their families<sup>40</sup>. The current state of the evidence does not allow us to decide whether or not the preserved construction represents just a remnant of some more sophisticated church institution on the acropolis of the stronghold.

## 7. Inscription stelae

Among the most remarkable finds discovered on the acropolis of the Libice stronghold are the so-called *Inscription Stelae* (Fig 5). Fragments of sandstone slabs with engraved letters were unearthed in the southern vicinity of the church

<sup>37</sup> R. Turek, *Libice nad Cidlinou. Monumentální stavby vnitřního hradiska*, Sborník Národního Muzea, 1981, A – Historie 35, pp. 6–23.

<sup>38</sup> R. Turek, *Libice. Hroby na vnitřním hradisku*, Sborník Národního Muzea, 1978, A – Historie 32, pp. 1–150.

<sup>39</sup> J. Mařík, P. Maříková Vlčková, J. Maříková Kubková, 2013: *Revizní výzkum raně středověkého kostela v Libici nad Cidlinou*, Zprávy České společnosti archeologické, Archeologické výzkumy v Čechách 2012, 2013, p. 23.

<sup>40</sup> U. Knapp, *Ottotonische Architektur. Überlegungen zu einer Geschichte der Architektur während der Herrschaft der Ottonen*, in: K. G. Beuckers, J. Cramer, M. Imhoff (Eds.), *Die Ottonen. Kunst – Architektur – Geschichte*, Petersberg 2006, pp. 205–258.

in 1953<sup>41</sup>. Unclear archaeological circumstances and a very straightforward explanation of hypothetical inscriptions based only on several survived letters led to a rather reserved acceptance of this unique find. Rudolf Turek supposed that the *Inscription Stelae* originated from graves that he believed formed part of the Slavnícks family burial place<sup>42</sup> and interpreted the backward P letter as referring to *clarissima puella* and *STF* as *stolata femina*<sup>43</sup>. Recent palaeographic and epigraphic analyses confirmed the stelae's dating between the mid-10<sup>th</sup> and mid-11<sup>th</sup> century. However, a throughout reconstruction of the text from a few fragments seems to be impossible. Evaluation of the excavation documentation clearly proved that the fragments of stelae were not discovered in their primary position. Moreover, it seems that they were probably recognised as archaeological finds only later after they had been removed from their original place of discovery in the archaeological trench. It seems to be highly unlikely that the stelae can be attributed to any particular grave as R. Turek suggested. According to an alternative interpretation, the stelae could be used as memorial inscriptions that were embedded directly in the church's southern wall and, thus, facing towards people arriving on the acropolis along the long-distance route from south<sup>44</sup>. Despite to all the above-mentioned corrections, the stelae still represent the earliest and, for a long time, the only epigraphic monument in Bohemia.

## 8. Slavnícks and their domain

Slavnícks' domain and its extent was described for the first time by the Chronicler Cosmas<sup>45</sup>. He assumed that the family controlled nearly half of Bohemia, mainly its southern and eastern parts. This view was also advocated by previous historians such as R. Turek<sup>46</sup>. The concept of two rivalling families matched with the description of the vast tenure of the Slavníks in Cosmas' Chronicle of the Bohemians was, rather uncritically, accepted mainly on the grounds of their toponymy. Only in the mid-1990s, Professor Jiří Sláma<sup>47</sup> ex-

<sup>41</sup> R. Turek, *Výzkum v Libici nad Cidlinou v r. 1953*, Archeologické rozhledy, 1954, 4, pp. 797–804.

<sup>42</sup> R. Turek, *Libice. Pohřebiště na vnitřním hradisku*, Sborník Národního muzea, 1976, A -Historie 30, pp. 254–255.

<sup>43</sup> R. Turek, *Libice knížecí hradisko X. věku*, Praha 1966–68, p. 63.

<sup>44</sup> J. Mařík, J. Roháček, *Ještě jednou a jistě ne naposledy k tzv. libickým stélám*, Epigraphica & sepulcralia, 2013, 4, pp. 315–330; P. Charvát, *Poznámky k některým nápisům ze Slavníkovské Libice*, in: *Vita archaeologica. Sborník Víta Vokolka*, Hradec Králové – Pardubice 2006, pp. 107–112.

<sup>45</sup> *Cosmae Pragensis Chronica Bohemorum*. Die Chronik der Böhmen des Cosmas von Prag, Ed. B. Bretholz, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum, Nova Series, II, Berolini 1923, pp. 49–50.

<sup>46</sup> R. Turek, *Slavníkovci a jejich panství*, Hradec Králové 1982.

<sup>47</sup> J. Sláma, *Slavníkovci...*



pressed the first doubts regarding such a linear interpretation of Early Medieval historical accounts. For Cosmas it may have been the growing popularity of St. Adalbert's. On the other hand, current researchers are convinced that the Slavnícks' domain was restricted only to the central Elbe lowlands and the region along the lower Cidlina River. However, the presence of Slavnícks can be reliably corroborated only for two strongholds – Libice nad Cidlinou and Malín, where Slavnícks' coins – denarii (sg. denarius), were minted (Fig. 6).

Recent analyses of the Early Medieval settlement structure in the now-days presumed Slavnícks' domain pointed out two significant turning-points in the development of this region<sup>48</sup>. The first occurred at the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> century when settlement agglomerations at the site of Libice and Cidlinou and the present-day city of Kolín appeared. Significant concentrations of settlement activities and richly equipped graves indicate that these sites fulfilled the function of significant places of central importance. The second change in settlement structure demonstrates the emergence of smaller fortified sites (covering approximately 6 ha) with small-scale traces of production activities (processing of gold, silver and antler) or trade activities (find of a balance etc.). The emergence of settlements that can be described as central places of middle and lower significance seems to corroborate the Slavnícks' attempt to create a system that would head from isolated power centres towards a more intensive exploitation of the entire environment's potential and can be considered as one of the manifestations of the emerging state system<sup>49</sup>.

Nevertheless, absence of archaeological evidence prevents the establishment of more precise dating<sup>50</sup> of the two possible historical interpretations of the settlement structure transformation. If the entire hierarchically ordered system of centres emerged already in the second half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century, we may suppose that this region represented the core of the systematically built power domain of the Slavnícks noble family. In this case, it is extremely surprising that

<sup>48</sup> J. Mařík, *From Central Places to Power Domain. Development of Early Medieval Landscape on Middle Elbe and Lower Cidlina*, in: P. Ettel; L. Werther (Eds.), *Zentrale Orte und Zentrale Räume des Frühmittelalters in Süd-deutschland*, Mainz 2013, pp. 217–233.

<sup>49</sup> Ch. Wickham, *Framing Early Medieval Ages. Europe and the Mediterranean, 400-800*, Oxford 2005, pp. 303–304.

<sup>50</sup> Dating of the transformation of the settlement structure is mainly based on pottery that was characteristic for this region in the second half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century to the 11<sup>th</sup> century, cf. Mařík 2013.

<sup>51</sup> A. Bartošková, *Budeč – ein bedeutendes Machtzentrum des frühen böhmischen Staates*, *Zeitschrift für Archäologie des Mittelalters* 2010, 38, pp. 85–159; I. Boháčová, *Prague, Budeč and Boleslav: The reflection of State Formation in Early Medieval Archaeological Sources*, in: J. Macháček, Š. Ungerman (Eds.), *Frühgeschichtliche Zentralorte in Mitteleuropa*, Bonn, pp. 371–396; L. Varadzin, *The Development of Přemyslid Domain Strongholds in the Heart of Bohemia (A Contribution to the Discussion)*, in: J. Macháček, Š. Ungerman (Eds.), *Frühgeschichtliche Zentralorte in Mitteleuropa*, Bonn, pp. 405–410.



similar structural changes have not been so far attested in central Bohemia that is traditionally considered the core of the emerging Early Medieval Czech state. However, the current state of research can also be caused by previous archaeological studies that have predominantly concentrated on intensively investigated strongholds and revisions and re-interpretations of previous research results<sup>51</sup>. On the other hand, a slightly later dating, to the 11<sup>th</sup> century, of the newly founded strongholds cannot be completely excluded. In this case, the change of the settlement structure can be linked with the emergence of the so-called castle organisation that represented the foundations of the Medieval Bohemian state administrative system<sup>52</sup>.

## 9. The natural environment

The stronghold of Libice is located in eastern part of the Central Bohemian lowland, which was significantly influenced by the Elbe River. Its broad valley is filled with Quaternary sands and gravels with several levels of river terraces and river floodplain with numerous secondary and abandoned oxbows<sup>53</sup>. The fortified part of the stronghold (the acropolis and the bailey) (Fig 7) was founded on two islands surrounded by river floodplain that were separated from the original river terrace by erosive activity of Elbe and Cidlina rivers. Libice is sometimes considered the so-called moorland stronghold<sup>54</sup>. However, the idea of a stronghold surrounded by moors is based on the current state of the landscape, which has significantly changed since the Early Middle Ages. The level of the floodplain at that time was located approximately two meters lower in comparison to the current terrain. Rivers meandered in the gravels and created numerous oxbows. Earthy and clayey sediments began to deposit in the floodplain only after the termination of the stronghold in High Middle Ages and Modern times.

Paleobotanical research revealed a filled-up oxbow just a few meters from the northern edge of the acropolis. On this sediment profile, we can monitor the development and transformations of the landscape near the stronghold from

<sup>52</sup> J. Klápště, *The Czech Lands in Medieval Transformation*, Leiden 2012, pp 36–58.

<sup>53</sup> D. Dreslerová, *The prehistory of the Middle Labe (Elbe) Floodplain in the Light of Archaeological Finds*, *Památky archeologické* 1995, 86, 105–145, J. Havrda, *Ke geologickým poměrům okolí Libice nad Cidlinou*, *Archeologické rozhledy*, 2006, 58, pp. 520–527.

<sup>54</sup> The term „moorland stronghold“ introduced R. Turek, *Die Frühmittelalterlichen Stämmgebiete in Böhmen*, Praha 1957, pp. 16–17, 39; M. Lutovský, Z. Petráň, *Slavníkovci. Mýtus českého dějepisectví*, Praha 2004, p. 66.

the early 8<sup>th</sup> to the first half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century<sup>55</sup>. We can identify strong traces of human activities already in the 8<sup>th</sup> century when more than half of the landscape was deforested, and pollen of grain and other cultivated plants are apparent in the pollen spectrum. The foundation of the stronghold at the turn of the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> centuries led to even more significant deforestation: especially the number of oaks became significantly fewer, and the oaks represented the main construction material. A similar situation can also be observed in the alluvial plain where forests of alder and willow trees slowly disappeared, and meadows and pasturelands appeared in deforested areas<sup>56</sup>.

Further information on the exploitation of Early Medieval floodplain can be indirectly provided by palynological analyses of contents of a vessel, which formed part of the equipment of one of the graves in the necropolis of Kanín. The analysed sample was dominated mainly by pollen from plants that are characteristic of dry as well as moist meadows and pasturelands<sup>57</sup>. The fact that the pollen derived primarily from insect-pollinated plants that are present in honey let us assume that the hives in which the bees were kept were located in the alluvial plain.

A high portion of dump plants and weeds found in vegetable macroremains from the fortified area of the stronghold represents clear evidence of a very intensive settlement. As far as agricultural production is concerned, root-crop weeds testify to the presence of small-scale garden production<sup>58</sup>. Sufficient areas suitable for growing crops can be identified in the immediate vicinity of the stronghold, which could also be located on the river terraces north of the stronghold in places where no Early Medieval finds were registered despite strict control of all construction and excavation works.

As some reconstruction models have clearly shown, the demands of the stronghold and the production opportunities of the immediate hinterland were more-or-less balanced. A sufficient amount of the majority of necessary food and other raw materials (especially wood) could be ensured within a distance of at least 4 km from the fortified area<sup>59</sup>.

<sup>55</sup> R. Kozáková, P. Pokorný, J. Mařík, V. Čulíková, I. Boháčová, A. Pokorná, *Early to high medieval colonization and alluvial landscape transformation of the Labe valley (Czech Republic): evaluation of archaeological, pollen and macrofossil evidence*, Vegetation History and Archaeobotany, November 2014, Volume 23, Issue 6, pp. 701–718.

<sup>56</sup> J. Mařík. 2009: *Libická sídelní aglomerace...*, pp 25–27.

<sup>57</sup> P. Pokorný, J. Mařík, *Nález zbytku medem slazené potraviny ve výbavě raně středověkého hrobu v Libici nad Cidlinou – Kaníně. Zhodnocení nálezů z hlediska rekonstrukce krajiny a vegetace*, Archeologické rozhledy, 2006, 58, pp. 559–569.

<sup>58</sup> V. Čulíková, *Rostlinné makrozbytky z objektu 126 na předhradí slovanského hradiska v Libici nad Cidlinou*, Památky archeologické, 1999, 90, pp. 166 – 185; V. Čulíková, *Rostlinné makrozbytky z prostoru raně středověkého opevnění v sondě 236 na jz. okraji předhradí v Libici nad Cidlinou*, Archeologické rozhledy 2006, 58, pp. 527–539.

<sup>59</sup> J. Mařík, *Early Medieval castle of Libice nad Cidlinou, large or small hinterland?*, in: L. Poláček (ed.) *Das wirtschaftliche Hinterland der frühmittelalterlichen Zentren*, Brno 2008, pp. 195–206.

## 10. Libice as a place of memory

As the birthplace of St. Adalbert, Libice became part of a broader public awareness in the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century<sup>60</sup>. For the first time, this pilgrimage site was described in detail by František Jan Vavák in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century<sup>61</sup>. He included the description of Libice with a group of similar sites connected with the cult of St. Adalbert. He described the preserved remains visible on the surface as relics of an Early Medieval castle and uttered the need for research of the relics from the lifetime of the saint, which he considered strongly endangered. After the emergence of scholarly oriented archaeological excavations at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century<sup>62</sup>, however, scientific interest in St. Adalbert ceased. More attention was paid to the history of the Slavníků's family and on their political conflict with the Přemyslid dynasty. This change of priorities may be explained on the grounds of the nationally oriented research, developing mainly in the time between the two world wars. In that time, archaeologists preferred sites connected with the Přemyslid dynasty (Budeč, Stará Boleslav, Prague Castle, Levý Hradec), which were at the same time understood and interpreted as pertaining to the beginnings of Bohemian statehood<sup>63</sup>. In the public awareness, the final defeat of the Slavníks in 995 became the date of the accomplishment of the unification process of the Přemyslid dominion and, simultaneously, the cornerstone of the 'Bohemian state'.

After the political changes of 1948, saints and patron saints became undesirable. Thus, not surprisingly, Adalbert's name was not even mentioned on the occasion of the foundation of the Archaeological Monument Reservation 'Libice of the Slavníks' in 1961, nor in 1989, when the acropolis of Libice was declared a National Cultural Monument. At the behest of the state authorities, a scale model of the famous copper doors from Gniezno illustrating the life of St. Adalbert had to be removed from the Libice Memorial Hall in 1981. And finally, St Adalbert returned to Libice in 1997 when on the occasion of his thousandth anniversary, a statue depicting him as child was unveiled near the former Church of the Virgin Mary – the traditional place of his miraculous healing. In 2000, a sculptural group of SS Adalbert and Gaudentius was installed at the acropolis.

<sup>60</sup> M. Bolelucky z Hradiště, *Rosa Bohemica seu Vita Sancti Wojtjietchi agnomine Adalberti Pragensis Episcopi, Ungariae, Poloniae, Prusiae, Apostoli. Nunc primum edita XLV. Sculptis imaginibus adornata labore et sumptibus*, Praeae 1668.

<sup>61</sup> F. Vavák, *Paměti Františka J. Vaváka souseda a rychtáře Milčického z let 1770–1816*, Kniha druhá (rok 1784–1790), část I (1784–1786), Praha 1910, pp. 62–72.

<sup>62</sup> J. L. Pič, *Na starém Hradišti Libickém*, Památky archeologické, 1889, 14, 472–473; J. Hellich, *Archeologický výzkum ve středních Čechách. Novější výzkum z okolí Libice u Poděbrad*, Památky archeologické, 1987, 17, pp. 671–694.

<sup>63</sup> M. Štěpánek, *Opevněná sídliště 8.–12. století ve střední Evropě*, Praha 1965, pp. 38–39.

**Jan Mařík, *Święty Wojciech – Apostoł Prus. Środowisko rodzinne i rodowa siedziba w Libicach*****Streszczenie**

Gród Sławnikowiców w Libicach pojawia się w Kronice Kosmasa jako siedziba rodowa i miejsce narodzin św. Wojciecha. W 995 r. gród został zaatakowany przez wojska Przemyślidów, a większość rodziny Wojciecha poniosła wówczas śmierć. Następne źródła dotyczące Libic pojawiają się dopiero w 1107 r. w związku ze śmiercią Bożeja, kasztelana w Libicach, i jego syna Boruta. Ostatnim pisemnym świadectwem dotyczącym Libic jako grodu (*oppidum*) jest wzmianka z 1130 r. W 1227 r. w inwentarzu majątku klasztoru na Zamku Praskim Libice wymienione są już tylko jako wieś. Na miejscu dawnego grodu przez wiele lat prowadzono wykopaliska archeologiczne, które rozpoczął w końcu XIX stulecia Jan Hellich z Podiebrad. Początkowo za sprawą Rudolfa Turka, który od 1949 r. prowadził wykopaliska w Libicach, wysuwano koncepcję jakoby gród stanowił centrum potężnego rodu Sławnikowiców, którzy w drugiej połowie X w. kontrolować mieli prawie połowę terytorium czeskiego, a tragiczne wydarzenia z 995 r. stanowiły efekt długiej rywalizacji z rządzącymi księstwem czeskim Przemyślidami i ostateczne zakończenie ich zabiegów o ujednolicenie panowania nad Czechami. Niniejszy artykuł pokazuje proces falsyfikacji wcześniejszych poglądów, który rozpoczął się już w drugiej połowie lat 90-tych. Podjęte na nowo badania archeologiczne i numizmatyczne z pozyskanych w trakcie wykopalisk monet pozwoliły obalić hipotezę o stopniowo rosnącym napięciu między władcami Czech a rodem Sławnikowiców – pretendującym rzekomo do zajęcia ich miejsca. Zweryfikowano także poglądy na temat wielkości dominium Sławnika. Dużo nowych danych dostarczyły również badania nad środowiskiem naturalnym oraz zagospodarowaniem przestrzennym grodu i sąsiadującej z nim osady oraz cmentarzyska. Ostatecznie okres funkcjonowania grodu jako siedziby elit związanych z rodem Sławnikowiców obejmował koniec IX do co najmniej XI w. Wykopaliska pokazują, że także po upadku rodu Sławnikowiców gród w Libicach, jako znajdujący się na skrzyżowaniu ważnych szlaków, pełnił nadal swoją rolę. Podobny horyzont chronologiczny wykazuje także cmentarzysko. Pochówki tu odkryte datować można na okres od przełomu IX i X do połowy X w. Drugi okres to pochówki datowane od końca X do pierwszej połowy XI w. Na drugą połowę X w. datować można również ruiny libickiego kościoła.

Tłumaczenie (z j. angielskiego) Seweryn Szczepański

**Jan Mařík, *Heiliger Adalbert – Apostel Preußens. Familienmilieu und Familiensitz in Libitz*****Zusammenfassung**

Die Burg Slavnikiden in Libitz erscheint in der Chronik von Cosmas von Prag als Familiensitz und Geburtsort des heiligen Adalberts. 995 wurde die Burg durch das Heer der Premysliden angegriffen, infolge dessen kam damals der größte Teil der Familie von Adalbert ums Leben. Später wurde Libitz erst in den Quellen aus dem Jahr 1107 erwähnt, in Bezug auf den Tod des Kastellans von Libitz und seines Sohnes. Das letzte schriftliche Zeugnis über Libitz als Oppidium ist die Erwähnung aus dem Jahr 1130. 1227 wurde Libitz im Inventar des Klosters auf der Prager Burg lediglich als Dorf erwähnt. Auf der Stelle der damaligen Burg wurden viele Jahre hindurch die archäologischen Ausgrabungen durchgeführt, die Ende des 19. Jh. von Jan Hellich aus Podiebrad begonnen wurden. Am Anfang wurde das Konzept vertreten, vor allem von Rudolf Turk, der seit 1949 die Ausgrabungen in Libitz durchführte, dass die Burg das Zentrum eines mächtigen Geschlechts von Slavnikiden gewesen wäre, das in der zweiten Hälfte des 10. Jh. fast eine Hälfte der böhmischen Gebiete kontrolliert hätte. Die tragischen Ereignisse des Jahres 995 wären ein Ergebnis eines langjährigen Kampfes gegen die im Fürstentum Böhmen regierenden Premysliden gewesen. Der vorliegende Beitrag zeigt den Prozess der Verfälschung der früheren Ansichten, der in der zweiten Hälfte der 90er Jahre begann. Die wieder aufgenommenen Forschungen auf dem Gebiet der Archäologie und Numismatik ließen die Hypothese über die allmählich wachsende Spannung zwischen den Herrschern Böhmens und den Slavnikiden, die sie angeblich ersetzen wollten, widerlegen. Es wurden auch die Ansichten über die Größe des Dominiums von Slavnikiden verifiziert. Viel Neues brachten die Forschungen zur Umwelt und Raumordnung der Burg, zu der in der Nähe liegenden Siedlung sowie zum Gräberfeld. Letztendlich kann man die Chronologie der Burg als Sitzes der Eliten aus dem Geschlecht von Slavnikiden für die Zeit ab dem Ende des 9. bis zum 11. Jh. bestimmen. Die Ausgrabungen zeigen, dass die Burg von Libitz, die auf der Kreuzung wichtiger Wege lag, auch nach dem Niedergang der Slavnikiden ihre Rolle spielte. Einen ähnlichen chronologischen Horizont

hat auch das Gräberfeld. Die hier entdeckten Bestattungen kann man auf die Zeit der Wende vom 9. zum 10. Jahrhundert bis zur ersten Hälfte des 10. Jh. datieren. Die zweite Periode umfasst die Bestattungen vom Ende des 10. bis zur ersten Hälfte des 11. Jh. Auf die zweite Hälfte des 10. Jh. kann man die Ruinen der Libitzer Kirche datieren.

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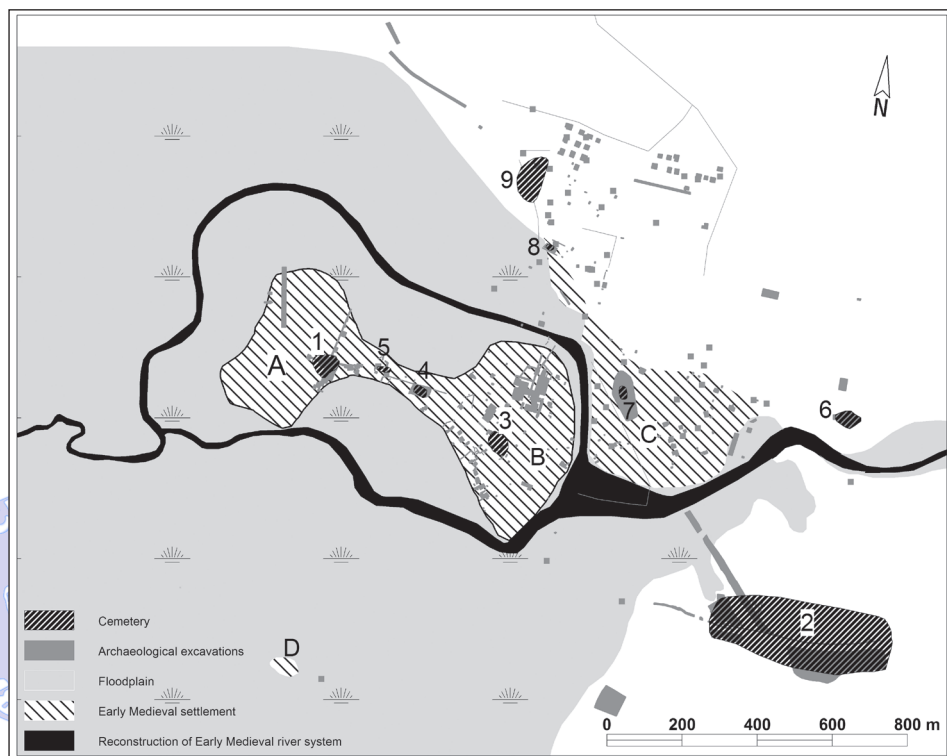


Fig. 1. Libice nad Cidlinou, Early Mediaeval agglomeration: A – Acropolis, B – Bailey, C – Early Mediaeval settlements outside the fortified stronghold area, D – Early Mediaeval settlement in the alluvial plain; 1 – Cemetery at the acropolis, 2 Cemetery at Kanín, 3–5 – cemeteries on the bailey, 6–9 – cemeteries outside the fortified stronghold area

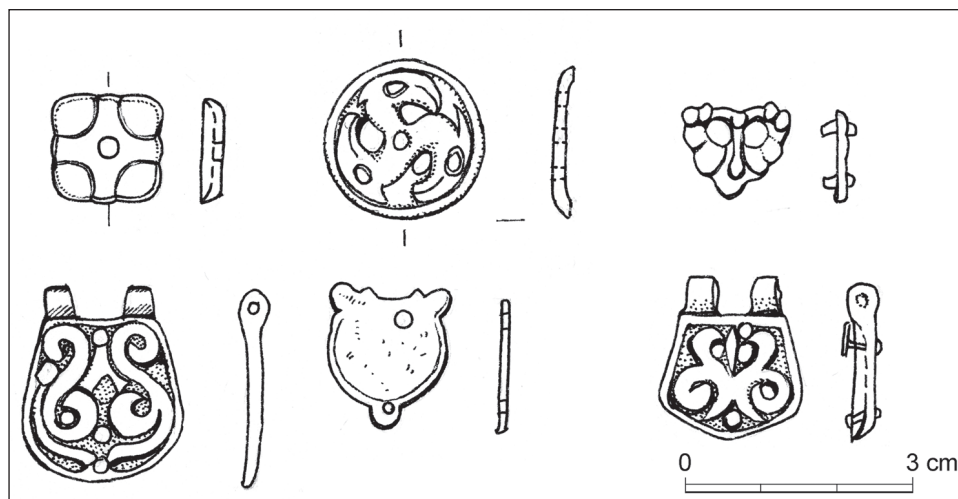


Fig. 2. Libice nad Cidlinou, Acropolis: Belt and harness fittings dated to the late Avar period

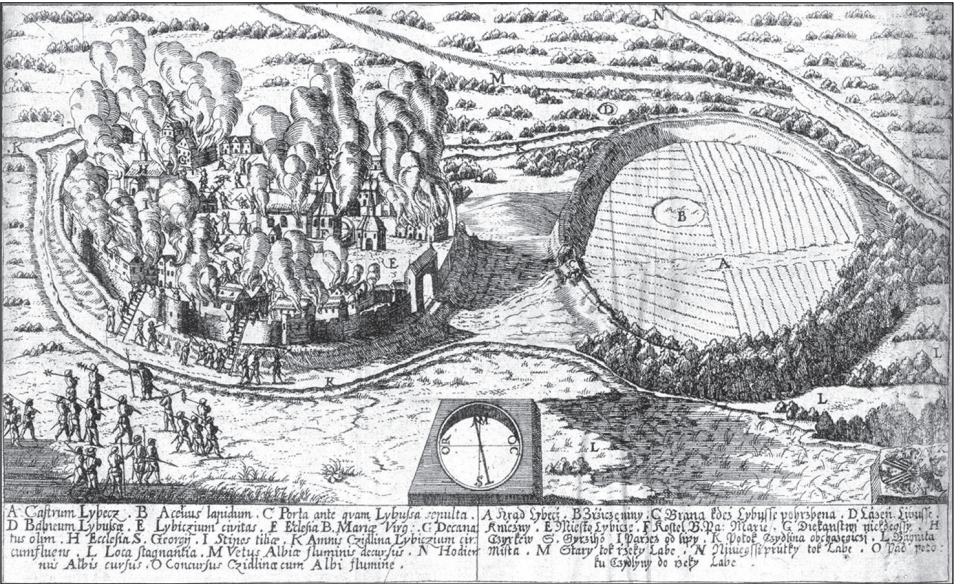


Fig. 3. Libice nad Cidlinou in 17<sup>th</sup> century. *Rosa Bohemica seu Vita Sancti Wojtjehi*



Fig. 4. Libice nad Cidlinou, Ground-plan of the church at acropolis: 1 – Original walls, 2 – Wall's negatives, 3 – Graves, 4 – Excavated area, 5 – Ground-plan of the earliest church at Walbeck (till 964)

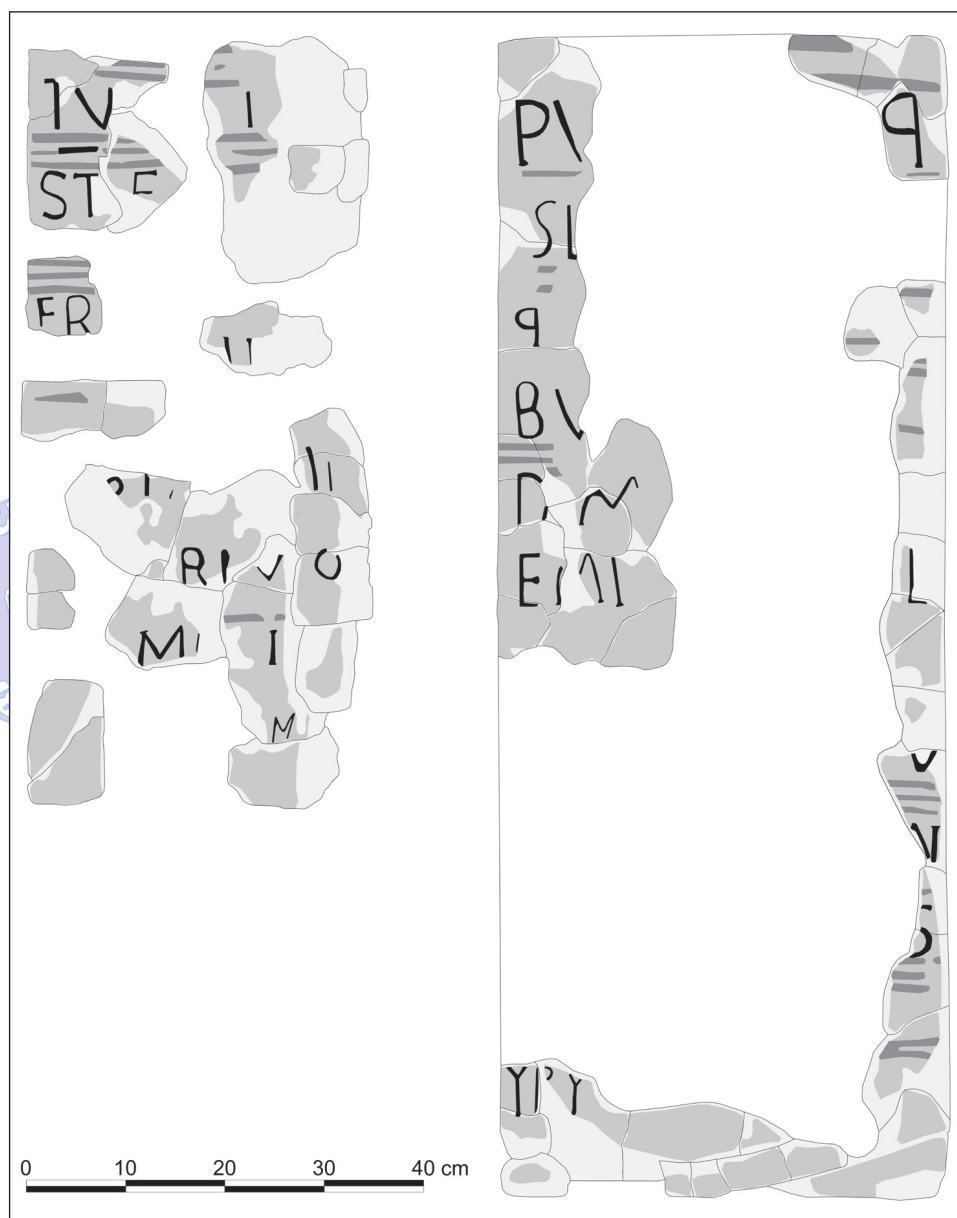


Fig. 5. Libice nad Cidlinou, Acropolis: Stelae with inscriptions found on the south side of the church



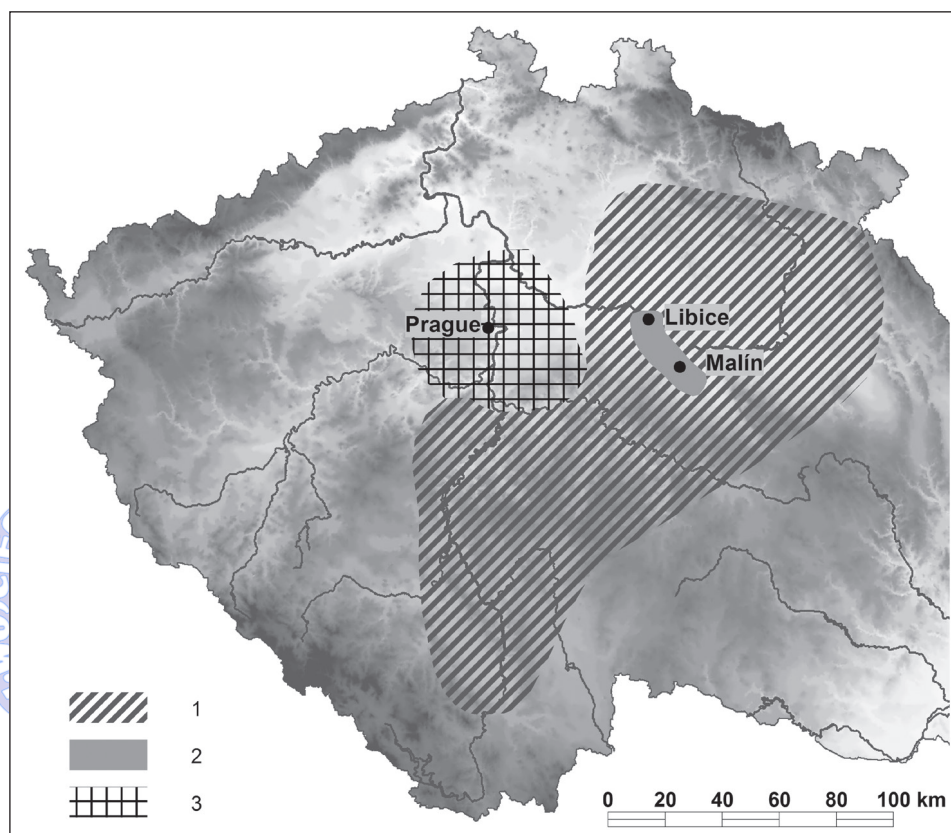


Fig. 6. Slavniks' domain and its extent: 1 – According to the description of the Chronicler Cosmas, 2 – Based on settlement structure analyses, 3 – The primal domain of the Přemyslid dynasty after J. Sláma (1988)



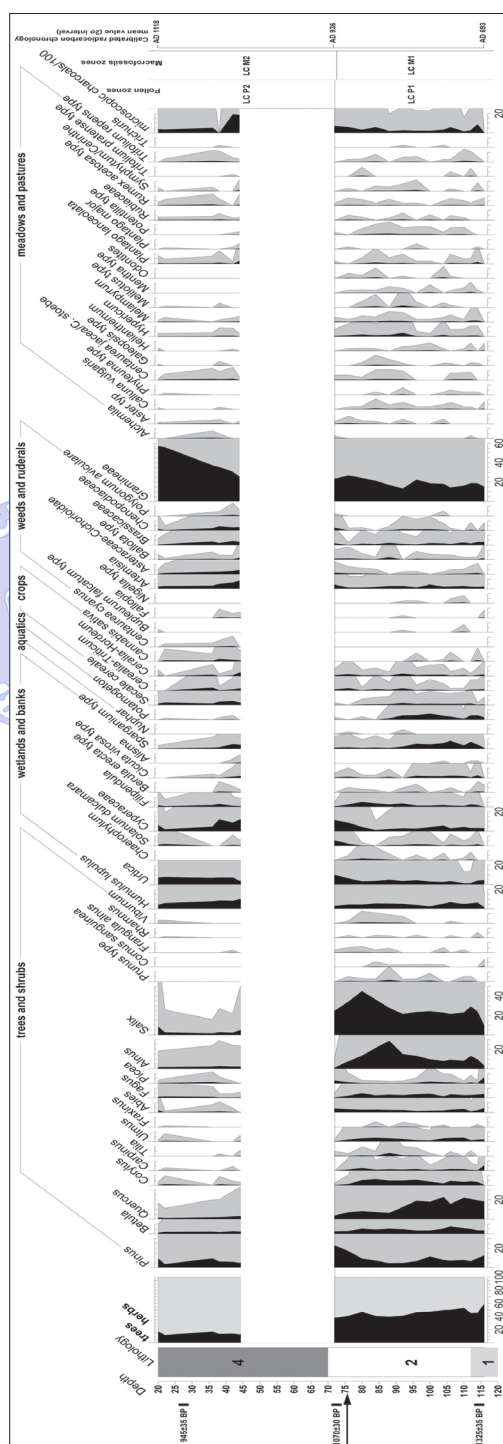


Fig. 7: Libice nad Cidlinou, Percentage pollen diagram of selected taxa analyzed by R. Kozáková. Grey silhouettes represent 910 exaggeration of the scale. Expected date of foundation of the stronghold is indicated by the arrow. Empty space between 44 and 72 cm represents section with no or badly preserved pollen. Lithology: 1 sand, 2 organic sediment with numerous plant macrofossils and a very small amount of fine silt; 3 flood loam, grey, finegrained, plastic and homogenous