# THE CAROLINGIAN AGE IN THE CARPATHIAN BASIN

Béla Miklós Szőke

# THE CAROLINGIAN AGE IN THE CARPATHIAN BASIN

## PERMANENT EXHIBITION OF THE HUNGARIAN NATIONAL MUSEUM

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INSTALLATION   Exhibition Staging Team of the Hungarian
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PRINTED BY   Dürer Nyomda Kft.

PUBLISHED BY   Hungarian National Museum, Budapest,
László Csorba

ISBN 978 615 5209 17 8

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THE EXHIBITION AND THE CATALOGUE WERE SPONSORED BY:

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# THE CAROLINGIAN AGE IN THE CARPATHIAN BASIN

## THE DISINTEGRATION OF THE AVAR KHAGANATE

During the 560s, the eastern half of Europe, the area stretching from the Black Sea to the eastern Alps, was conquered at lightning speed by the Avars, tribes living a nomadic life on the steppes of Inner and Central Asia who were driven westwards before the increasing power of Turkic peoples. Along with auxiliary Slav fighters from their new homeland, they successfully pillaged the Eastern Roman Empire for decades. After an unsuccessful siege of Constantinople (626), however, they suffered significant political defeats and territorial losses. Confined behind the ring formed by the Carpathian Mountains, in the last decades of the 7th century the Avars constructed an in-depth border-defence system, i.e. marches, consisting of uninhabited swathes of land, especially in a westerly direction against the dukedom of Bavaria and the increasingly powerful Carolingian Empire which lay behind it. Around 680, they attacked and destroyed the town of *Lauriacum* (Lorch), extending this protective zone outwards to the River Enns, and, by so doing, probably incorporated the Slav 'state' of Samo. The *Vinedi*–Slavs who earlier on had served as a *befulcus*, i.e. as a type of vanguard, were again forced under Avar authority. In 692 already, this new situation was sanctioned by a peace with the Franks. After this, the Avars cease to feature in the written sources for almost 100 years, disappearing from the southern and western theatres of war.

Charlemagne, the ruler of the Carolingian Empire, first met with emissaries of the Avars at the Imperial Diet convened in the spring of 782 in Paderborn, where the River Lippe rises. In view of later events in Avar history, it was of decisive significance that these negotiations were attended not only by emissaries of the khagan, but also by emissaries of the jugurrus.

The official Frankish annals are silent regarding the reasons for, and consequences of, the Avar embassy. However, Bavarian monastery annals mention the marching of an Avar army along the River Enns. The Avars were probably reacting to Duke Tassilo III of Bavaria's oath of allegiance to Charlemagne, which represented the end of Bavarian independence, using

### THE LEADING DIGNITARIES OF THE AVAR KHAGANATE IN THE LATE AVAR AGE

In the life of the steppe empires, division of power resulting in breakaway territories and the eventual birth of new empires was not a rare occurrence. Increasingly independent, members of the ruling dynasty who performed supervision of military and administrative tasks, and also governors placed in charge of ethnic groups within the empire, may have attempted to share out the power exercised by a single person and to break away. The process may also have been hastened by succession issues and a weakening of the charisma of the ruling dynasty. Generally speaking, one of these factors, or possibly a number of them, characterise the period which follows the victorious establishment of an empire. In such a period, lack of success on the part of the ruling dynasty eventually leads to a division of power on the basis of compromise, with two ruling princes instead of just one, or the formation of an oligarchic leading stratum, as happened among the Avars after the 680s. At the end of the 8th century, a succession of new, hitherto unknown notables emerged. As well as the principal Avar dignitary, the *khagan*, and his wife, the *khatun*, there appear the *jugurrus* – an official and a kind of vizier one degree below the *khagan* who always came from the common people – and the *tudun*. These were dignitaries with authority throughout the land. In addition, there were the *kapkhan*, the *tarkhan*, the *župan*, and the *canizauci*, who may have been leaders of smaller territories enjoying more limited rights.

at one and the same time the indirect weapon of an embassy and the direct one of a threatening military demonstration along the border. By 788, the Bavarian principality had finally collapsed, in which process its alliance with the Avars was of no help. Having broken his oath of allegiance, Tassilo III was captured, brought before a court, and exiled to **a** monastery along with his children. After this, under the leader-
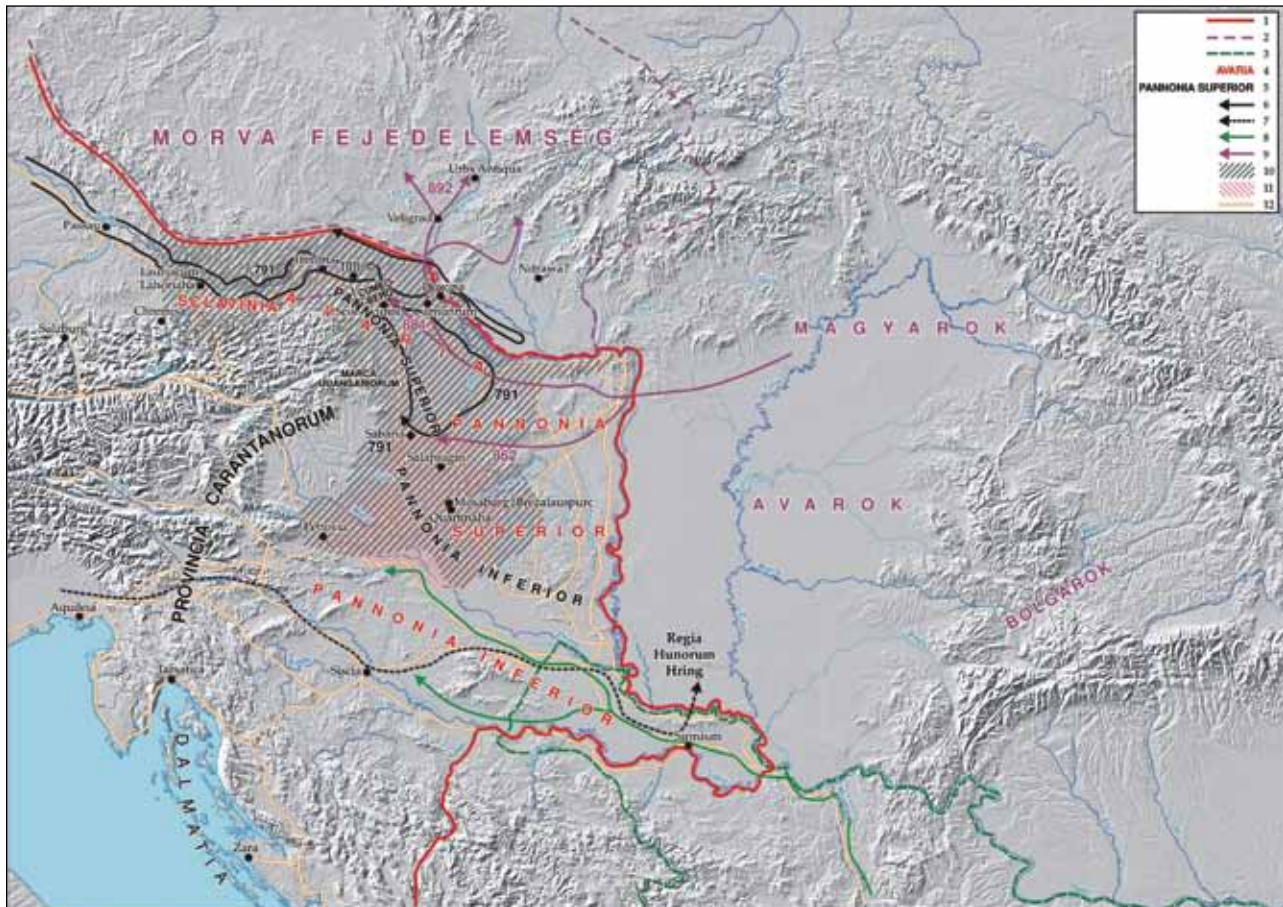
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ship of Grahammanus and Audaccrus, Charlemagne's 'emissaries' (*missi*), the Franks and the Bavarians crossed the Enns border and scored a victory over the Avars on the Field of Ybbs (*in campo Ibose*). Then, when the Avars counter-attacked, they defeated them again, causing a great bloodbath among them. After all this, Charlemagne went to Regensburg and determined the border districts, or marches, 'so that in the defence of the Lord they be inviolable by the Avars' (*Ann. regni Francorum* a. 788).

From this time on, the Avar question became acute, and more and more people urged Charlemagne to place on his agenda the final solution of it. Accordingly, in 790, Charlemagne, in Worms, received the envoys of the 'Huns', and dispatched envoys of his own to their 'chiefs' in order to agree the borders of their respective countries. According to Einhard, 'the dispute and lack of agreement over this issue became the reason and origin of the war which he soon waged against them' (*Ann. qui dicuntur Einhardi* a. 790).

### Charlemagne's campaign (791)

In the summer of the following year, Charlemagne set forth, proceeding with his army to Regensburg. There he awaited warriors from every territory of the empire: Franks, Alemanni, Saxons, Frisians, Thuringians, Bavarians, and even Slavs. He then held a council with the Franks, Saxons, and Frisians, 'on

account of the enormous and intolerable atrocities of the Avars, performed by them against the Holy Church and against Christian people' (*Ann. regni Francorum* a. 791); and because he received no satisfaction by way of his envoys, he decided that with God's help he would march against the Avars.

While the main army was gathering in Regensburg, Pippin, Charlemagne's son and the king of Italy, entered *Avaria* from Friaul on 23 August at the head of a small Frankish–Lombard army. The young king's principal support was the duke of Friaul and/or the duke of Istria, probably the actual commander(s) of the force, and among his staff were another two counts, a bishop, and a number of the king's vassals. In a letter, Charlemagne informed his wife, Fastrada, left behind in Regensburg with their daughters, that his son had clashed with the Avars. He related that in the border areas of *Avaria* Pippin had, with the powerful help of the brave general from Istria, pillaged an earthwork fortification (*uualum*), adding that Pippin had spent a night there and taken 150 prisoners. The fortification was held for three hours the next day and then abandoned.

A number of scholars have interpreted this to mean that the task of Pippin's army was tactical, namely to distract the attention of the Avar forces and to divide them and make them uncertain. But the Avars could scarcely have been misled, because those bringing news of the incursion not only acquired precise information on the size of Pippin's army, but also could have seen that this small force turned back almost as soon as it had crossed the border. Moreover, sentries on the Enns border, which had been fortified a couple of years earlier, were able to send news that was a good deal more worrying, concerning cavalry that was gathering in Regensburg and preparing for war. It is most likely, therefore, that the purpose of the army's incursion was not military but pedagogical. The young king, then just 14 years old, could get his first 'whiff of gunpowder', and could be proud to have already led an army on his own, even if the dangers attendant on this had been the least possible **(Fig. 1).**

Charlemagne set out with the main army at the end of August, and on Monday, 5 September reached *Lauriacum*/Lorch, on the River Enns, where a three-day litany was held, until the Wednesday. Priests celebrated Mass daily while members of the army fasted, trying to abstain from meat and wine. The prohibition on wine could, however, be circumvented: to gain exemption from it, the better-off had to pay one solidus daily and the less well-off a smaller sum, but one denarius at the minimum. Charlemagne, too, found the fasting difficult.

As the defender of the Church (*defensor ecclesiae*) against the pagans, the Frankish ruler spent a long time preparing for 'the most significant of all the wars' of his life (*Einhardi vita Karoli* c. 13). We cannot know whether he did this in order to summon up the necessary fighting spirit and mental strength, or because the organising of logistics was protracted, or, perhaps, because spies brought intelligence that was insufficient or even disconcerting. The frightening renown of the army of the Avars, who in the sources are often called Huns, the timeless stereotype of a 'threat from the 'East' wrapped in apocalyptic and mythical notions, must have had a great impact on those setting off for battle. It was almost symbolic that among the warriors gathering in Lorch a *Nibulunc* appeared, the first *Nibelunge* mentioned in history.

On 20 September, the armies finally began to move off. Charlemagne split his forces into three columns. He, his 13-year-old son Louis (the Pious), the prelates, and the court notables advanced with the main army along the southern bank of the River Danube. On the northern side, the Saxons and Thuringians, along with the Ripuarian Franks and the Frisians, moved forward under the leadership of Count Theoderich and Chamberlain Meginfrid, while on the river itself a third unit consisting mainly of the Bavarians preceded in boats, probably under the command of Gerold (II), Charlemagne's brother-in-law. In the south, the soldiers had to advance to *Cumeoberg*, in the Vienna Woods, and in the north to the place and river known as *Camp*, before encountering a certain resistance at the fortifications the Avars had built in these two places. But when the Avars saw the mass moving against them, 'the Lord filled them with terror, and, fleeing, they abandoned their positions' (*Ann. regni Francorum* a. 791). Charlemagne's forces captured the fortifications without loss; Einhard in his annals thought it

important to note merely that the Avars' strongest fortification was built on *Cumeoberg*, near to the *civitas Comagenos*, and that the Franks put it to fire and sword. (*Civitas Comagenos* is most often identified with the ruins of the town of *Comagenis*/Tulln, one of the Roman fleet's bases on the Danube, while *Cumeoberg* is identified with the Vienna Woods, at the eastern edge of the Alps).

After the capture of the fortifications, the main army, under the command of Charlemagne, advanced further east, without encountering resistance. According to some, Charlemagne moved away from the Danube, soon to divide into three branches. Proceeding from the direction of *Scarbantia*/Sopron, he then skirted the Fertő and Hanság marshes to reach *Mursella*/Mórichida. There 'he came to the River Raab, crossed this river, and advanced along its bank to the place where it empties into the Danube…' (*Ann. qui dicuntur Einhardi* a. 791). In other words, he was able to meet up again with the other parts of the army at the mouth of the Raab, at today's city of Győr. Namely, while the Bavarian flotilla, having left the Vienna Basin and the vicinity of *Carnuntum*/Petronell, probably proceeded down the less wild Moson Danube branch instead of down the Old Danube, the northern branch of the army advanced along the bank of the Little Danube branch in the Csallóköz region at least as far as the River Vah/Vág but perhaps all the way to the Komárom area.

According to others, Charlemagne's army advanced towards Győr along the Roman road next to the Moson Danube, since, on the basis of hydrographical conditions, he could cross the Raab near Győr also. In this case, however, he would have taken a greater risk, because the section of the former Roman road between *Carnuntum*/Petronell and *Arrabona*/Győr was less reliable on account of frequent changes in the course followed by the Moson Danube in the early Middle Ages. In this case, he would have reached the Raab–Rábca without perceiving the emptying of these into the Moson Danube, noticing later on the emptying of the Moson Danube into the Old Danube at Gönyű, in the belief throughout that he was advancing along the bank of the River Raab.

In the area around the mouth of the Raab, Charlemagne ordered a rest 'for a few days'. This probably lasted at least a week or ten days. He then – unexpectedly it seems – decided to turn back. Some say that he was compelled to do so by bad weather and the approach of winter (it was already mid-November). A more likely reason, however, is that by that time a large proportion of the horses in Charlemagne's part of the army had perished on account of an infection of some kind. Charlemagne's column subsequently headed home, in the direction of *Savaria*/Szombathely, while the northern wing did so through the Czech territories (*per Beehaimos*), without once being attacked by the Avars, who failed to exploit the increasing difficulties in the Frankish army. It is almost certain that the returning Charlemagne spent a few days among the ruins of *Savaria*, in order to acquaint himself with the birthplace of St. Martin, the patron saint of the Franks, and possibly to collect relics. Charlemagne arrived back at the River Enns 52 days after setting out from there.

The sources, the Royal Frankish Annals especially, give an objective account of the events. The Avars had sufficient time to move themselves and their possessions to safety in the face of the three columns of troops advancing with dignified slowness. It is, therefore, possible that the Avars achieved their military goals 'bloodlessly' and 'without war', even if later summaries and treatments spoke of an enormous victory and bloody destruction. During the campaign, only a few high ecclesiastical dignitaries were lost, not because of fighting but because of sickness. At the same time, it is clear that even after the campaign the Avars did not attempt to reach a negotiated settlement of some kind. The reason for this may have been the same as the reason for the lack of an effective military response: growing political crisis inside the country, as a result of which the Avars were extremely divided and lacked a real head, leading to chaos and anarchy in the country.

*The Avar 'civil war'*

The sources tell us that in 795 – unexpectedly it would seem – a bloody civil war broke out within the Avar khaganate, that the Avars turned against their leaders, and that the *khagan* and the *jugurrus*

'were killed by their own people' (*Ann. regni Francorum* a. 796). According to some, this war was the natural consequence of the divisions that emerged in late Avar society, and that Charlemagne's campaign and the further attack that was to be expected served as the final cause for its outbreak. Others emphasise the weakening of the khagan's sacral power, since the power position of the khagan depended on the fortunes of war, with military failures exercising a detrimental effect upon it.

The sources say almost nothing about the extent of this 'civil war', the locations at which the clashes took place, how serious these clashes were, and the losses incurred. With regard to the time of the conflict, we know only what we are told, incidentally as it were, in *Annales regni Francorum a. 796*, namely that Erich's pillaging of the Avar *hring* was made easier by the fact that the Avar leaders had worn themselves out in civil war, and that having succumbed in the 'civil war and internal strife', the *khagan* and the *jugurrus* were killed by their own people. The sources speak very clearly of open, armed struggle, but the phrase 'by their own people' may mean that the leaders perished not in battle against one another, but instead fell victim to a rebellion by the military retinue, the 'lifeguards'.

The much-quoted entry 'Bulgars' (*Βούλγαροι*) in the *Suda Encyclopaedia* depicts in rounded way the phenomena which produced and accompanied the 'civil war'. In this, Krum Khan questions Avar prisoners, asking them about the reasons for their country's collapse. They complain that 'mutual accusations increased in number, and the brave and clever men were killed; criminals and thieves entered into alliance with the judges, a contributory factor was drunkenness, because wine became more and more plentiful, and men became drunkards; then came corruption, and also buying and selling, because everyone became a trader and cheated. It was from these things that the fall of our country stemmed.'

The 'civil war' disrupted the internal life of the khaganate so powerfully, weakening its defence capabilities against surprise attacks from outside, that in 795 Erich, duke of Friaul was able to send a 'special unit' under the command of the 'Slav' Wonomyr to pillage the khagan's seat (*hring*). The success of this daring move very much depended on speed, and on the ability of the raiders to pass through the sparsely-inhabited territory between the Drava and Sava rivers in such a way that news of their incursion did not precede them at the *hring*. As well as the deaths of the khagan and the jugurrus, the success of this 'commando' operation may have contributed to the fact that by the year's end the *tudun* – the first among the leading Avar dignitaries to do so – had 'placed himself along with his people and his territories in the hands of the king [Charlemagne]', and had been baptised (*Ann. regni Francorum* a. 796).

Fig. 2 Harness mounts from the end of the Avar period
▪ *Blatnica (Blatnica, Slovakia), MNM 146.1880; 113/1897.1–5; Gilded bronze; Large strap end 3,8 × 2,85 cm; small strap end 3,1 cm × 2,1 cm; mounts 3,7×2,6 cm; phalera buttons D: 1,8 cm*

*Pippin's campaign (796)*

All these developments persuaded Charlemagne that he could now settle the 'Avar question' once and for all. Accordingly, in the summer of 796, he sent his son Pippin, the king of Italy, with an army from Italy to Pannonia, ordering that Bavarian and Alemanni troops in the Avar border areas (*in finibus Avarorum*) join Pippin's force. Pippin kept Charlemagne, who was residing in Saxony, informed of events by way of courier emissaries. The first such emissary arrived with news that the 'khagan with the other notables', i.e. with the khagan's wife, the *khatun*, the *tarkhan*s, and other dignitaries put in the places of those murdered earlier on, were hurrying to Pippin. The second brought intelligence that the khagan was *in hringo* with his army, i.e. that he was in the *hring*.

The *hring* captured and destroyed by Pippin would have been not simply the residence of the khagan, but, similarly to the unfortified *ordu* of no-

madic peoples, a closed area consisting of tents and wooden buildings, a centre for collective rule, and a territory with a special legal status, 'where the kings of the Avars were accustomed to hold court with their princes' (*Ann. Laureshamenses* a. 796). Where it was exactly is not known. From the sources it emerges only that although the *hring* was described as being in Pannonia, Pippin, who reached it via the territory between the Drava and Sava rivers, had to cross the Danube in order to do so. Accordingly, it is to be sought in today's Bačka region. This was home not only to the seat of the Gepid chiefs which preceded it, but also to Attila's palace.

Loaded with treasure presented to him by the khagan, Pippin returned to Aachen with peace restored, arriving there by the later autumn (*Ann. regni Francorum* a. 796; *Rhythmus de Pippini regis victoria Avarica* c. 5). After the submission of the khagan, part of the Avar nobility continued to resist, probably as an aftershock of the 'civil war', and withdrew behind

the Tisza. At least, the words 'Pippin chased the Huns across the River Tisza' permit this conclusion.

In the summer of 796, the bishops accompanying Pippin on his campaign held an episcopal council on the banks of the Danube (*Conventus episcoporum ad ripas Danubii*) at which the minutes were taken by Paulinus II, patriarch of Aquileia. At this gathering, Pippin 'endeavoured with meticulous curiosity and pious words and curiosity as to details to discover numerous rituals to do with matters closely relating to the worship of God and to the Christian religion' (*Dictatus Paulini patriarchae*).

In issues to do with the missionary work among the Avars, the admonitions written to Arno, bishop of Salzburg, by the Anglo-Saxon Alcuin, chief adviser to Charlemagne and tutor to his sons, were definitive. Alcuin recommended: 'Be thou a mediator of God's grace, and not a collector of tithes […]. Why should a yoke be placed on the necks of the ignorant of a kind that neither we nor our brothers could bear?' (*Alcuin Epist.* Nr. 107) According to the minutes recorded by Paulinus II, those participating in the council by the Danube believed that 'Force should not compel them to be baptised against their will, but the mercy of the Holy Spirit should flood over them, and they should seek salvation driven by the inner longings of their soul.' Also, 'the teaching of those evangelising should not be cruel and beset with fear of men, but should be merciful, alluring, and kindly. It should at all events attract because of the reward of eternal life and the fearful torments of hell, not because of the bloody blade of the sword' (*Conventus episcoporum ad ripas Danubii [796 aestate]*).

In April 798, Arno received the pallium from Pope Leo III. Now an archbishop, he was returning to Salzburg when Charlemagne ordered him to 'set out for the land of the Slavs, take the whole region under his care, and perform ecclesiastical tasks in the manner of a bishop'. Arno went there, consecrated churches, ordained priests, and taught the people by preaching the Gospel. But when he returned, he reported to Charlemagne that it would be more fruitful if somebody were to deal with these matters long term. Therefore, with Charlemagne's permission, he appointed the evangelising bishop Theoderich, whom he and Count Gerold took personally to the

land of the Slavs. Arno and Gerold entrusted to Theoderich the land of the Carantans, and also their neighbours on the left bank of the Drava as far as its junction with the Danube (*Conversio* c. 8). There, in the time of Adalram, archbishop of Salzburg, he worked piously and without conflicts, and remained in office up until his death after 821.

*Avar rearguard actions*

With the submission of the khagan, the 'Avar matter' lost its urgency, weakening into a regional problem. The Franks regarded the 'Avar war' as finished, although it would be an exaggeration to state that Pippin had already dealt a 'lethal blow' to the khaganate. Rather, the Franks had won only battles: they had not yet won the war.

In 796, we suddenly read that the Avars were acting in a false way (*Ann. Guelferbytani* a. 796), and that the tudun did not long maintain the loyalty pledged by him. For his breach of faith, however, he was punished not much later *(Ann. qui dicuntur Einhardi* a. *796).* Whether there was a causal connection between the Avars' 'deceit' and the tudun's breaking of his word is not made clear by the sources. In any event, in 797 Charlemagne sent an army into 'Hunnia' against the 'Vandals'; commanded by Erich, this force consisted of Frankish and Lombard warriors. As a result, battles again took place near the southern border strip of the khaganate. The campaign forced 'under Charlemagne's rule the land of those people' (*Ann. Alamannici, Codex Turicensis* a. 797). Here we should think rather of local-type clashes, since battles are not mentioned by the Royal Frankish Annals, only by a few Bavarian monastery annals, which emphasise that only 'some' Frankish, Bavarian, and Alemanni fighters took part in the engagements. In any event, in mid-November that year, Charlemagne, then in Heristelle in Saxony, received emissaries of 'the Avar kinship group who came to him with great gifts' (*Ann. qui dicuntur Einhardi* a. 797).

In 798, 'the Vandals [i.e. the Avars] and some of the Saxons lied' once more, which in the case of the Saxons meant nothing less than the killing of emissaries from Charlemagne (*Ann. regni Francorum* a.

798). Therefore, we cannot exclude the possibility that atrocities of a similar kind were committed by the Avars against Frankish officials and missionaries. Then, in the following year, 799, 'the Avar kinship group [again] broke the loyalty it had pledged' (*Ann. regni Francorum* a. 799).

The sources' use of words – by means of which the Avar kinship group as a whole is reproved and not individual Avar officials who had already submitted, e.g. the khagan or the tudun – indicates that the turmoil was more general and could not be linked to particular areas or persons. At the same time, it shows also that it was not within certain groups among the Avar people that unfavourable changes had occurred, but in relations with the Franks (the Avars were 'deceitful', 'liars', and 'broke their allegiance'). The cause of this was probably that the conversion process and the establishment of an administrative system were more violent, less tolerant, and, perhaps, more protracted than originally planned at the conference by the Danube in 796.

By 799, it seems, the 'custodians' of the eastern frontier – Erich, duke of Friaul, who was based in Cividale, and Gerold (II), prefect of Bavaria, who watched the eastern border from Regensburg – were fed up with the increasingly unfortunate state of affairs. Today already, it is difficult to reconstruct whether they acted jointly or individually. But Erich had not yet set out even when, near Rijeka, the inhabitants of *Tarsatica*/Tersatto (today: Trsat), a small town then still under 'Greek', i.e. Byzantine, control, ensnared and killed him. This happened at *Liburnia*, on the Laurentus Hill located between *Lauriana*/Lovrana and *Tarsatica*. Charlemagne's standard-bearer (*signifer*) warrior Gerold (II), who was accompanying the evangelising bishop Theoderich to Pannonia, had just parted company with the missionaries when, in early September, 'in the lands of Pannonia' he received a lethal wound, a 'cruel blow from a sword' (*Epitaphium Geroldi* 1–4). This occurred 'when, in preparation for a battle against the Huns, he was arranging the battle line, and a person unknown killed him along with two of his men, in whose company he was, on horseback, exhorting his soldiers to fight, one by one' (*Einhardi, Vita Karoli Magni* c. 13).

With the deaths of the Carolingian dukes respon-sible for the eastern marches, the possibility of a Frankish attack against the Avars was averted. Alcuin, too, commemorated his close friends: 'The very brave men who defended and also extended the borders of the Christian empire are suddenly departed' (*Alcuin, Epist.* Nr. 185). Despite their outstanding merits and their close ties of kinship to Charlemagne, no campaign to avenge their deaths ever took place.

While unrest affected the southern region, *Pannonia inferior*, between 796 and 799 and peace seemingly took hold along the Austrian stretch of the Danube and in Transdanubia, in 802 even the monks of the Monastery of St. Emmeram in Regensburg were driven to record that 'Chadaloh and Gotehrammus, and many others, too, were killed *ad castellum Guntionis*' (*Ann. Sancti Emmerami maiores* a. 802). The site of the clash, the castle of *Guntio*(n), which is certainly not identical with the castle of Güns/Kőszeg, has not yet been satisfactorily identified. On the basis of the type of the place name (the castle name with a genitive possessive ending indicates origins in a name of a person; this is characteristic of the Franks), the castle may have stood on the eastern edge of the area inhabited by the Bavarians. Since Goteram had died as head of the inspectorate of the eastern marches (*Conversio* c. 10), and Chadaloh was a count subordinated to him, the deaths can very probably be brought into connection with the Avars and/or the Slavs. That the Avars may have been guilty was indicated by an event in the autumn of the following year when the emperor returned to Aachen only after dealing with 'Pannonian affairs' (*Ann. regni Francorum* a. 803). In Regensburg, he awaited the return of the *scara*, or fast-moving army, sent to Pannonia by him to make order. This was so successful that not only did the *zodan* (i.e. the tudun), a prince of the Pannonians, feel it necessary to go with them and 'give himself into the hands of the emperor', but so, too, did many Slavs and Huns (i.e. Avars) (*Ann. Mettenses priores* a. 803). In this way, the tudun, who had already submitted to Charlemagne in 796, now – it seems – took a new oath of allegiance, although there nowhere any reference to his repeating his earlier oath. Accordingly, here the reference may be to a new tudun, or to a tudun assigned to another (Slavic) ethnic group.

Fig. 3 Double-edged sword
▪ *Blatnica*
*MNM 62.133.1-2; Iron, gilded silver, bronze and silver inlay; L. 69 cm, W. (blade) 6,5 cm*

## THE BLATNICA FINDS

An assemblage (?) which had for some time been kept among other medieval antiquities in a room serving as a weapons store in Baron Ferenc Révay's castle at Szklabinya (today Sklabiňa, Slovakia) was donated to the Hungarian National Museum in two instalments during the last quarter of the 19th century. The first instalment passed to the Museum in 1876 and the second in 1880. A double-edged sword from the first instalment, whose grip, pommel, and cross-piece are covered with geometrical motifs and depictions of half-animal and half-human heads executed in bronze-gilt and silver wire inlay **(Fig. 3)** , appears in the Museum's accessions book for 1876 without mention of a find-site, together with two sheet-iron mountings which probably belonged to the sword-belt. These mountings have two and three arms respectively and were originally covered with rhombus shaped motifs executed in silver and copper wire inlay; they were attached using bronze-gilt nails. **(Fig. 5)** In 1880, Ferenc Pulszky, then director of the Hungarian National Museum, discovered additional artefacts in the weapons store which likewise may have belonged to this burial cache (?). These objects feature in the Museum's inventory book with the designation 'Turócmegye, near Blatnica' as their find-site. Their belonging together with the sword is proved by the fact that the harness mountings among them – a pair of cross-shaped strap decorations, a strap ring with a 'handle' attached, a rectangular mounting, a semi-spherical decoration, and a strap-end – are decorated in the style found on the sword. Bronze-gilt mountings decorated with the 'Dionysus Triumphant' motif and figures with hands held together in prayer amidst geometrical designs were characteristic accessories for horse harness in the Carolingian period. Along with the sword, which may be assigned to the Petersen D group, they may have come from a work-

shop in the Rhineland where a decorated sword found in Vaage, Norway, may also have been made. On the grip of the latter is a scene showing three Israelites being thrown into a fiery furnace (Daniel 3, 25). Their depiction accords in its details with the depictions of men on the Blatnica mountings. **(Fig. 4)**

Along with the Carolingian horse-harness mountings, the Museum acquired seven heavily gilded bronze mountings shaped like an armorial shield and decorated with plant ornamentation on a punched background. They and their pendant parts were made in a single casting. It also acquired a similarly executed small belt-end with trailer decoration and a large belt-end with trailer decoration. The set, which belongs to the last phase of the Avar age, is thought by some – incorrectly – to be a set of belt decorations once owned by an Avar notable. In actual fact, this is a set of mountings for Avar horse harness. **(Fig. 2)**

Although it is not unlikely, many exclude the possibility that a few additional objects acquired by the Museum in 1880, again without more precise designation of where they were discovered, likewise belong to the above assemblage of finds. These artefacts consist of a winged spearhead, a bearded battle-axe, and a spur. They accord with the above-mentioned finds in age and differ markedly from other medieval antiquities which passed from Szklabinya Castle to the Hungarian National Museum. **(Fig. 6)**

The findings may well have come to light from the burial of a more important leader (tribal chief or ruling prince?) in the valley between the Malá Fatra and Vel'ká Fatra (Little and Great Fatra) mountains far from the closed late Avar settlement area. Judging from the burial mounds at Kiscsepcsény (today Malý Čepčín, Slovakia) and Szakolca (today Skalica, Slovakia), he was, perhaps, likewise buried under a mound. Similarly mixed burial assemblages combining stylistic elements and artefacts from the last phase of the Avar age and the Carolingian period are characteristic elsewhere, too, on the western perimeter territories of the Avar khaganate (see Krung, Hohenberg, Mikulčice, etc.). They reflect faithfully the transitional power relations and cultural diversity of the age. Because of their characteristic composition, they contribute one of the two names used for the designation of archaeological finds from the period, namely 'Blatnica' in the term Blatnica–Mikulčice horizon of finds.

Fig. 4 Carolingian harness mounts
■ *Blatnica*
*MNM 146.1880; Gilded bronze; distributors L. 8,6 cm W. 2,4 cm; mounts L. 2,7–3,5 cm and 8,7 cm*

*A victory for Krum Khan?*

The source which has directed generations of historians to the idea that Krum led at least one campaign of annihilation against the Avars in the early 9th century is the '*Βούλγαροι*' entry in the *Suda Encyclopaedia*, compiled in the second half of the 10th century. According to this entry, already quoted in detail above, 'the Bulgars annihilated the Avars completely and to a man'. In the view of Teréz Olajos, however, the correct translation of the expression ἄρδην ἀφανίζω ('annihilate completely') should be 'score a crushing victory', i.e. the Bulgars did not wipe out the Avars, but 'merely' scored a decisive victory over them.

Those who in determining the fate of the Avar khaganate assign significance to this source take as their point of departure the idea that the Avar khaganate could only have collapsed as a result of some strong influence from outside. Since thorough critical examination of the sources does not permit the linking of the Franks to this collapse, there have remained the Proto-Bulgars (= Danube-Bulgars), known in the opaque wording of the *Suda Encyclopaedia*. Such individuals take this view despite the fact that the entry gives no basic information: it does not tell us when and under whose leadership the event took place. Only from the testimony of the person who interrogated prisoners of war have researchers concluded that the Avars were, under Krum's leadership, 'annihilated'.

Some link the Proto-Bulgar attack to the Frankish campaign of 803. They believe that as well as a *scara*, namely a smaller, fast-moving Frankish host, that set out against the slowly regrouping Avars, the Proto-Bulgars, too, joined the fight, and, adding to a 'decisive' defeat inflicted by the Franks, 'annihilated' the Avars 'completely and entirely'. According to others, this occurred in 804–805, independently of

the Franks, and that the Proto-Bulgars attacked and annihilated them without apparent cause. And there is also a view which says that ever-increasing Slav pressure was identical with the Proto-Bulgar attack, the consequence of which was the flight of the kap-khan and his people in 805 and his request for a new settlement territory from Charlemagne (see below).

Eventually there emerged an interpretation which explains the change in the attitude of the Bulgars by reference to developments in diplomatic relations between the Byzantines and the Franks. For as long as the Franks were on good terms with the Eastern Roman emperor (the Proto-Bulgars' most dangerous opponent), with an exchange of envoys and even an offer of marriage by Charlemagne to the Byzantium's Empress Eirene, the Proto-Bulgars were the allies of the Avars. When, however, following a palace revolution, Eirene's successor, Nikephoros I Genikos, was unwilling to recognise Charlemagne's imperial title and Byzantine–Frankish relations turned hostile (soon there was even an armed clash over Venice), the situation changed. Krum no longer regarded support for the rump Avar khaganate as necessary and attacked the hinterland of the Avar uprisings against Frankish conquest, inflicting a crushing defeat on them. Charlemagne did not, then, regard the

Fig. 5 Sword belt mounts
▪ *Blatnica*
*MNM 241.1876.22 b-c; Iron, silver and copper inlay;*
*Distributor H. 7 cm; mount L. 6,4 cm*



Proto-Bulgars as a dangerous threat, and did not move against them when they attacked the Avars.

But this – supposed – annihilating victory of the Proto-Bulgars over the Avars would have served as a warning that the Proto-Bulgars were dangerous as an ally and as an enemy. Krum would have been lacking in judgment if, blindly trusting the new Byzantine emperor, he had turned against the Avars and dealt them an annihilating blow, thus upsetting the hitherto balanced relations between the Franks and the Byzantines. By so doing, he would not only have destroyed his own natural partner, but would have aligned himself with a Byzantine emperor who, in the interests of restoring the Greek ethnic balance and of preventing the coming together of the Slavs as a single people, had already, in 805, resettled significant numbers of people from the themes in Asia Minor to Slav-inhabited parts of Greece. The very same emperor had, in 807, attacked the Bulgars directly and had failed to achieve success against them only because unfavourable news had arrived from his court, prompting him to turn back.

Accordingly, it is not only unnecessary, but also unjustified to seek the cause of the Avar collapse in a military campaign led by Krum Khan. Namely, the khaganate was brought down not by an external enemy, but by power–political erosion beginning with the dualism of the khagan–jugurrus arrangement and developing to the point of 'civil war'. In this connection, the *Suda Encyclopaedia* is an important and utilisable source. The account given by the 'Avar prisoners' questioned by Krum Khan – if they really had been prisoners, Krum would not have employed them a few years later for pay – regarding the causes of the destruction of their lords and their entire people is much more suitable for verifying this internal breakdown than for verifying an Avar campaign by the ruler which never took place.

*The kapkhan and his people 'inter Sabariam et Carnuntum' and the 'old dignity' of the khagan (805)*

According to the Royal Frankish Annals, in early 805, 'not much later (i.e. after Pope Leo III's visit of 6–14 January 805), the kapkhan, a prince of the Huns, ap-

Fig. 6 Winged spearhead, bearded battle axe, stirrup
- *Blatnica*
*MNM 241.1876.22; 52.2; 55.3798; Iron; spearhead L. 42,5 cm, W. 5,3 cm; axe L. 17 cm, W. (head) 4,8 cm; spur L. 16 cm, W. 8,6 cm*

peared before the emperor. On behalf of his hard-pressed people, he asked the emperor to give him a stretch of territory between *Sabaria*/Szombathely and *Carnuntum*/Petronell, since because of harassment by the Slavs they did not want to stay where they were then living. The emperor received him amicably – as the kapkhan was a Christian by the name of Theo-dorus –, granted his request, and sent him home laden with presents. But not long after his return to his people, he died. The khagan then sent one of his great men [to the emperor] to ask [back] his old dignity, which it had been customary for the khagan to have among the Huns. The emperor acceded to his request and ordered that the khagan should, according to their old custom, get back his power over the entire country' (*Ann. regni Francorum* a. 805).

A new element in the story of the kapkhan is that despite his Avar office he did not seek the help of the khagan when he was in trouble, but instead turned to the emperor of the Franks, and behaved as a Christian vassal of the Frankish ruler. And another new element is that while Avar dignitaries were hith-erto always mentioned only by reference to the office they held, now for the first time a name given in Christian baptism also featured, as well as the name of the office held. The kapkhan became a Christian before 805 even, since he is already emphatically mentioned in the *Annales regni Francorum* by the name Theodorus given him in Christian baptism, while the khagan is referred to by his title only and nothing is said about his being a Christian. Only from entries in Bavarian annals do we know that the khagan, too, was baptised, on 21 September 805 at the River Fischa (*super Fizkaha*), and that he received the name Abraham. In order to understand the khagan's sending of emissaries and his baptism, which seemingly took place without any reason; it will be useful to reconstruct the events of the year 805 in strict chronological order.

Not long after Pope Leo III's visit at the begin-ning of the year, the kapkhan arrived in Aachen. This would have been in February, possibly March. Even if the emperor had decided quickly in the mat-ter of the new homeland, the kapkhan's return jour-ney would still have lasted a number of weeks, meaning that in the best case he would have reached his (new?) settlement by the late spring or early sum-mer, before dying there shortly afterwards. After the death of the kapkhan, the khagan sent an emissary to the Carolingian ruler. It is less likely that he was merely exploiting the favourable atmosphere created by the kapkhan. Rather, he hoped that through the strengthening of unity he would be able to consoli-date Slav–Avar relations, because even he, the khagan, was already no match for the 'Slavs' who were hound-ing his people. He therefore asked Charlemagne to help restore his 'old dignity', namely the power which khagans had always enjoyed among the Huns (i.e. the Avars). Since, however, no concrete enemy is men-tioned, it is more probable that the khagan had to contend not only with the 'Slavs', oppressed Avar subjects for several centuries already, but also with a

thousand-headed invisible enemy, namely internal discontent. His only hope was to strengthen central power by reassuming his old dignity, and thus to have force enough to move against the Slavs.

The khagan's emissary would have reached Charlemagne between the middle part of the summer and its end, and, as well as the khagan's request, would have taken news of the kapkhan's death to the Frankish ruler. In July, Charlemagne moved via Diedenhofen and Metz to the Massif des Vosges, in order to spend time hunting there. It is not impossible that, prompted by the disquieting news concerning the kapkhan, he ordered a checking of commerce with the east and the character of that commerce, and restricted the arms trade by means of the so-called *Diedenhofen capitulary* measures. The khagan's emissary, too, received a favourable response to his master's request. It is, however, scarcely credible that Charlemagne made so significant concession as restoring the former power of the khagan, the *honor antiquus* and the *summa totius regni*, unconditionally, as an empty gesture, and without anything in return. The Frankish ruler could have done this only when in possession of the necessary proof, not merely trusting the khagan but also assuring himself that the khagan would not abuse his trust and that his dependence on the Carolingian Empire would deepen even further. An essential stipulation

– also serving as evidence – could have been that the ruler, who was still, a pagan, must adopt Christianity. Accordingly, the baptism on 21 September was – according to correct and logical calculations – the closing event of the visit by the khagan's emissary and not the opening one. The khagan decided to adopt Christianity not because of the office he held or because of sudden enlightenment. Rather, he did so with attention to well-considered political and strategic aims or, to put matters more bluntly, as a last hope for the retention of power and for survival. With the khagan's baptism – the crucial significance of which was sensed and understood only by Bavarian annalists –, a qualitatively new period began in the life of the khaganate, one which affected in an exemplary way not only its relations with the Franks, but also its relations with its own subjects and with the neighbouring principalities.

The sources are silent as to where the kapkhan and his people lived before they settled *inter Sabariam et Carnuntum*. Nevertheless, many believe they know. There are those who say that it was the Moravians who drove the kapkhan's people out of territory to the north of the River Danube, just before the war waged against the Bohemians by Charlemagne's son in 805–806. This was why the kapkhan Theoderich sought, consciously and intentionally, a region on the right bank of the River Danube which was in the closest possible proximity to the Moravians. Others think that the Slavs – i.e. Bulgars (now for the most part slavicised) led by Krum, who had come to power in autumn 804 – attacked the kapkhan (who in this case headed the eastern wing of the khaganate) and his people on a single occasion.

The chronicler in the Royal Frankish Annals calls the attackers Slavs. It seems clear, then, that the kapkhan's people could only have been 'Avars'. But beyond the fact that the kapkhan was a member of the Avar aristocracy, we have no evidence that either he or his people were 'Avar'. That is to say, the Slavs pushed to the edges of the khaganate – those people who first emerged as a power–political factor in the war between the Franks and the Avars, and who played an active, initiating role in it – may have had many reasons for 'harassing' the kapkhan and his people. They may, naturally, have harassed them be-

cause they were Avars, not on the basis of their ethnicity but because they were members of the ruling tribe who had unfairly relegated the Slavs to the background, but also because the kapkhan and his people (possibly) adopted Christianity while the 'harassing' Slavs were still pagans. And it cannot be excluded that the Slavs, now increasingly independent and organising themselves into their own principality, wished to 'subordinate' the kapkhan and his people, a process from which the khagan was already unable – or unwilling – to protect them, with the result that the kapkhan, now a Christian, turned to his new lord, the ruler of the Franks. Any one of these reasons, or a number of them together, may have played a role in the abandonment by the kapkhan and his people of their earlier lands.

We can infer their earlier settlement area solely from the given datum that the kapkhan was a Christian. This indicates if not the kapkhan's place of residence, then his general area. At this time evangelisation was still taking place in the western half of the khaganate merely, on the territory of the former Pannonia. It was here that the Bavarian missionaries achieved their first successes. The first members of the Avar aristocracy to convert to Christianity lived in the western half of the khaganate. Clearly, they were prompted to do so not so much by the power of the missionaries to convince as by pressing political considerations. Since, as stated by the chronicler, the *kapkhan* did not leave the choice of a new settlement area to the emperor, but expressly *wished* that the emperor *give* him and his people the territory between *Sabaria*/Szombathely and *Carnuntum*/Petronell, the *kapkhan* and his people may already have been living on this territory when the kapkhan went to Aachen to request the emperor's confirmatory approval of it.

When the kapkhan was choosing the new territory, he would have wished to get away from direct proximity to the 'harassing' Slavs and their sphere of interest, i.e. to a safe distance, but not to deprive himself and his people of every possibility of returning home. Accordingly, the new settlement area should have been at a safe distance from the old one, but not too far away from it. This casts doubt on speculation which locates the new settlement area to the east of the River Danube, even to the east of the River Tisza.

The new settlement territory *inter Sabariam et Carnuntum* included the crossing-point of an international trade route running from west to east along the banks of the River Danube and of another running from north to south along the Amber Road. The territory must have been sufficiently depopulated – as a result of Charlemagne's campaign of 791 and of the operations of the *scara* force active there in 803–804 – to ensure adequate subsistence for the kapkhan's people. However, the question of whether the Amber Road served as the axis of the settlement area – the line to either side of which the kapkhan's persecuted people made their homes – remains unanswered, as does the issue of whether it was some kind of border, in which case an additional question is whether it marked the eastern or western border of the settlement territory.

According to some, between *Sabaria* and *Carnuntum* a characteristic Avar khaganate came into being (it lasted until 822) which was a power formation similar to the semi-autonomous Slav ethnic groups led by a *dux–knez*. From the last third of the century onwards, a territorial unit mentioned under the name *plaga orientalis* (*Conversio* c. 10) would develop from the growing together of two areas with traditions and borders going back to antiquity: the Slav principality of Carantania which took possession of the territory of Noricum and the tribute-paying Avar khaganate created in 805 to the east of the *Sabaria–Carnuntum* line. The second of these would have been positioned on both sides of the Amber Road, in such a way that its eastern and southern borders were the River Raab while its western one was the Vienna Woods, with its centre being a Roman *castellum* or else the find-site of the so-called Cundpald chalice, the Petőháza area near Kapuvár. This is considered to have been the base of not only the missionary bishop Theoderich, but also the khagan Abraham, despite the complete absence of supporting archaeological evidence. No remains of secular or ecclesiastical buildings have been found in the Petőháza area, nor is there archaeological data indicative of a population concentration of the kind characteristic of the Mosaburg/Zalavár centre and its immediate environs. (See below.)

## THE CUNDPALD CHALICE

The full height of the copper-gilt chalice is 11.8–12.0 cm, with a wall thickness of 0.2 cm, a cup (*cuppa*) diameter of 8.8–9.1 cm, and a foot (*pes*) diameter at the bottom of 7.0–7.3 cm. The two parts are joined together at the *nodus* by four nails. These were covered up on the inside with lead and on the outside with a wreath of beads each cast from bronze. Then the entire chalice was coated with fire gilt. Before assembly, the *cuppa* and the *pes* were supplied with woven ribbon decoration drawn on and then engraved, or, to be more exact, traced, by an inexperienced goldsmith, while another, more experienced, goldsmith engraved the inscription +CUND-PALD FECIT. Later, in the time of the artefact's use,

three round holes 0.2 cm in diameter were punched in the rim of the *cuppa*, at intervals at 120° from one another as seen from above. A few millimetres below one of these holes a fourth was punched. To these holes small pendant chains were attached.

The inscription +CUNDPALD FECIT legible on the *nodus* of the chalice may be the name of the Bavarian who made it or who had it made (this is not contradicted by the word *fecit*), in a script that was general in northern France and the Rhineland in the 8th century; in the Bavarian territories, however, it is indicative of an, as yet unknown, Frankish tradition. On the *cuppa* and on the *pes*, woven ribbon decoration featuring a double and a single strand, or two double strands, has been engraved in eight square fields, as have eight such ribbon compositions placed inside triangles. Each of these fields ends in a simple bunch of grapes in a three-lobed nodule.

The chalice which King Tassilo III of Bavaria and Liutperga, his queen, had made for the cloister of Kremsmünster in 777 is, formally and stylistically, closest to the Cundpald chalice. Analogies for woven rib-

Fig. 7 The Cundpald chalice
■ *Petőháza (Győr-Moson-Sopron c.)*
*SM 57.17.1; Gilded copper; H. 11,8 cm*
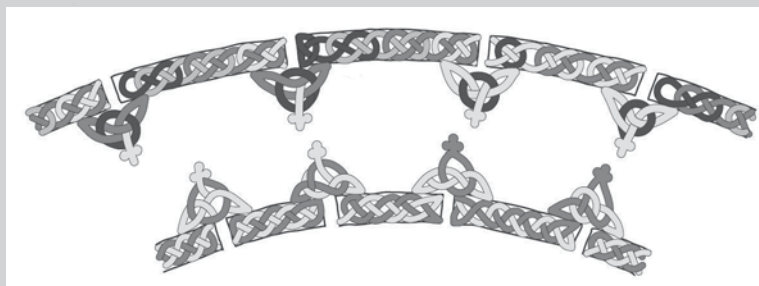
bon embellishments inside a frame came to light in the initials and painted decorations of books made in Bavarian scriptoriums between 770/780 and 820. These highlight the Italian, continental character of the style (e.g. the older Lindau book cover), in which the insular (Irish–Scottish) element plays a significant role but where antique and Italian roots are the main protagonists. The system of decoration on the Cundpald chalice is in striking agreement with that on the Western Frankish Grimfridus chalice dated to the first half of the 9th century, although in its technical execution, decoration, and formal appearance it is distant from it.

The history of the chalice can be reconstructed as follows: with the passage of time, a travelling chalice (*calix quotidianus*) originally made in a Bavarian cloister belonging to the broader territory of Salzburg between the last third of the 8th century and the first third of the 9th was refashioned and used as a hanging chalice (*calix appensorius*) suspended above a church's altar by thin chains. The hypothesis that the chalice was buried together with its original owner, a high-ranking church dignitary (according to some, together with the evangelising bishop Theoderich himself), cannot be proved. Only this much is certain: in circumstances unknown, the chalice found its way (perhaps as a kind of pagan sacrifice to water) to the bed of the Ikva streamlet. It was found in 1879 on the bank of the Ikva near Süttör, during the channel regulation work performed in conjunction with the construction of the Petőháza sugar refinery.

The restructuring of power in the khaganate had begun earlier on. The tudun was behaving as an autocratic leader who was fully independent of the khagan in 795–796 already, when he forsook the khagan and handled the peoples and territory under him as his own, submitted to Charlemagne, and, later, along with many other Avar nobles, adopted Christianity, by which step he created a kind of 'tribute-paying principality'. Moreover, in 803, when the tudun and the Avar and Slav dignitaries subordinate to him journeyed to Regensburg to pay homage to Charlemagne, and to adopt Christianity (again?), they were already vassals of the Frankish monarch.

The Avar khaganate held fast despite the losses. Although the khagan had placed his fate in Pippin's hands in 796, i.e. had become in some form or another a 'tribute-liable' Frankish subject, he remained a separate power factor on the territory to the east of the Danube, one which grew stronger after 805, when, in exchange for the restoration of his 'old rights', he adopted Christianity. Under Frankish supremacy, the Avars were able to preserve and continue their way of life in the same way as the smaller and larger Slav tribes whose chiefs depended on the Frankish ruler as did those of the Avars. The sources are silent with regard to the moving of the khagan's power centre, just as they are on whether the territories given up by the Avar in favour of the lands between *Savaria* and *Carnuntum* came under the authority of any other people.

*Peace in Aachen (811)*

After the eventful year 805, we have no report concerning the eastern marches for a long time. Then, in 811, the chronicler writing in the Royal Frankish Annals tells that when the roads were again passable after an especially hard winter, Charlemagne sent an army into Pannonia, in order to end discord between the Huns (i.e. Avars) and the Slavs (*in Pannonias ad controversias Hunorum et Sclavorum finiendas*). The army performed its task successfully and returned without loss. When Charlemagne reached Aachen in mid-November, already waiting for him there were the 'men who had arrived from Pannonia […]: the canizauci, an Avar prince; the tudun, and other notables and leaders of the Slavs living along the Danube (*canizauci princeps Avarum et tudun et alii primores ac duces Sclavorum circa Danubium habitantium*) whom the generals of the forces ordered to Pannonia had invited to appear before the princes' (*Ann. regni Francorum* a. 811).

It is difficult to decide on the character of the conflict between the Avars and the Slavs. We can interpret the report to signify a conflict between the Franks and the peoples living in the Carpathian Basin, but also to mean that a major military force, larger than the one in 803, an entire army in fact,

Perhaps the only point common to the philological explanations concerning the term *canizauci* is that it is a compound word. One group of explanations connects it with the Huns, the Turkic peoples, and the Uyghurs, while another, larger group links it with the Bulgars of the Lower Danube. A title similar to *canizauci* is that of the Proto-Bulgar khan (κανα συβιγη), which features in a number of manuscripts. However, the Avar *canizauci* occurs earlier than the Bulgar dignitary considered to be equivalent. The term κάνα συβηγη first appears with Omurtag (815–831). The next occurrence is in the title of the ruler Malamir (831–831), his successor. Its use jointly mirrored prestige increased by Krum's siege of Constantinople, political independence, and a desire to express merit equivalent to that of the Byzantine emperor. Accordingly, to seek a Danubian Bulgar origin or even the Bulgar term tsar in the name *canizauci* is anachronistic because of historical circumstances and chronological reasons alike. According to the well-known Orientalist Lajos Ligeti, 'envoy of the khan = khagan', and this title may have denoted a close confidant of the khagan, a member of his family, and his personal envoy in delicate matters; as such, he was entitled to the designation *princeps* and *therefore* preceded the others in rank. The personage who visited Charlemagne in 805 as an envoy of the khagan in the interests of restoring the ancient rights of the khagan – who was baptised that autumn and given the name Abraham –, may have enjoyed the rank of *canizauci*.

was dispatched 'because of discord' that had broken out between the Avars and the Slavs. After its successful campaign of pacification, all the interested parties were ordered to Aachen. In contrast to 803, ahead of the tudun and the Avar and Slav notables there appears a new protagonist higher in rank than all of them: a slightly mysterious Avar prince, the *canizauci*. Following him in the list and therefore in rank, the tudun was already not a prince, merely someone who ranked between the prince and the Slav tribal chiefs and notables.

The *canizauci*'s function, that of 'envoy of the khagan', makes it clear that the khagan was still behaving as a sovereign ruler, despite his difficult, even seemingly hopeless, position. He received the Frankish king's envoys within the territory he ruled, in his centre, the *hring*, or else met them nearby, as when he met Charlemagne's son, the king of Italy, in Pippin's camp next to the Danube; and even in the interests of recovering the 'old rights' he was unwilling to present himself before Charlemagne, sending an envoy instead. Furthermore, when in return for Charlemagne's permission he was baptised, the ceremony took place on territory ruled by him, at the River Fischa. In all this, of course, there many have been a certain cautiousness, which would not have been groundless given the volatile domestic political situation, but much more there was pride in forebears who had in times past threatened Byzantium and the Merovingian kingdom. The khagan only left the territory ruled by him when he could do this as a general at the head of his army; however, to negotiate or make requests he sent his envoys. The head of the Avar embassy which appeared in Aachen was, then, certainly not the khagan and not the khagan and the heir to the throne together, still less the Proto-Bulgar khan Krum, or an Avar prince treacherously bearing Krum's title, as some researchers would like to think. The delegation headed by the *canisauci* proves the normal functioning of a khaganate accepting the new *status quo* formed through the reordering of internal relations in the Carpathian Basin.

In the autumn of 811, every important political player in the Carpathian Basin was present in Aachen. The *canizauci* represented the khagan who had yielded before the son of the Frankish emperor, who had adopted Christianity in return for the restoration of his 'old rights', and who as the ruling

prince of the rump Avar khaganate to the east of the River Danube was still the most important political factor in the Carpathian Basin. Directly after him came the *tudun*, who was paying homage in person to the Frankish emperor and who had then been a Christian for a longer time. As the most significant Avar dignitary of the region lying to the west of the Danube, the *tudun* was attending the emperor's court for the third time already, partly because of direct interest and partly because of his obligations as a vassal (the first and second times were in 796 and 803 respectively). Finally, there were 'the ruling princes and notables of the Slavs above the Danube', namely of the khaganate's border zone.

A decisive majority of the participants were already Christians and vassals of the Frankish monarch, and it may be supposed that a decision was taken which the emperor was able to have all participants keep in their capacity as his subjects. He was able to establish a *modus vivendi* in which both the Avars and the Slavs living to the north of the Danube offered suitable guarantees that if they obediently subjected themselves to the Frankish emperor, and in close connection with this paid the tribute, they could govern their peoples as they pleased. The most important consequence of the negotiations, and the surety for a lasting peace, was that the region between the Danube and Sava rivers was split off from the former Avar khaganate to form a direct Carolingian province by the name of *Pannonia(e)*. *Pannonia inferior*, with its centre *Siscia* between the Danube and the Sava, was a direct subordinate of the *dux* of Friaul and from an ecclesiastical point of view belonged to the Aquileia evangelisation district, while *Pannonia superior*, between the Drava and the Danube, came under the direction of Gerold (III), Bavarian prefect of the east, and would an evangelisation district belonging to Salzburg.

*The cultural face of the khaganate at the end of the Avar age*

The growth of the Carolingian Empire and the transformation of the cultural aspect of the entire eastern border area – the cultural, spiritual, and in- tellectual transformation of the people and the changing and acculturation of their attire, tastes, and value system – was a slow process which lasted several decades and which played out differently – and with different impacts – from territory to territory. Not only did the rate of cultural change differ from the one customary hitherto, but the character of this change, too, was different. Namely, while the appearance of Germanic, Avar, and later the conquering Hungarian tribes understandably brought changes in the area's ethnic composition also, the expansion of the Carolingian Empire was not accompanied by such movements of peoples. At the very most, we may speak of an internal reordering, as with the resettlement of the kapkhan Theodorus and his people, or the repopulation, from east and west simultaneously, of the hitherto only very sparsely populated border area between the River Enns and the Vienna Woods.

The goal and essence of the expansion of the Carolingian Empire was, then, not the seeking of a 'new homeland', but the building up of spiritual and economic dependency through the spread of Christianity and the feudal system, as with the growing of the Roman Empire, the example for the Frankish ruling house which put on its banner the slogan *renovatio imperii*. Sufficient for this was the forcing of a change of orientation in the political elite, or in a worse case the seizing of the power positions of that elite, and, in the cultural field, the forcing of acceptance of the conqueror's culture and acculturation in accordance with it.

The cultural face of the region to the east of the River Danube was the least affected by the western influences. Only on the edges of a few, fully excavated late Avar cemeteries (e.g. Tiszafüred) do we find those new attire elements and cultural phenomena which by this time were already characteristic in a decisive way in burials in Transdanubia and the Upper Danube valley. From the archaeological point of view, changes which appeared owing to the new system of cultural links which developed as a consequence of the opening up to the east can only be perceived so far only in the ceramic material of the settlements.

Fig. 8 Fragments of hand-formed cauldrons with inner side handles and shell-formed handles
▪ *Tiszagyenda (Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok c.); Doboz (Békés c.)*
*MNM 2013.2.7.4; 2013.2.7.3; and 73.38.2.B; Clay, H. 16,5 cm; 11,5 cm and 6 cm*

Fig. 9 Rim fragments of a cauldron and a baking bell with stamped decoration
▪ *Veresegyház-Szentjakab (Pest c.)*
*MNM 95.2.3, 95.5.41; Clay; 5,5 cm 9,3 cm*



## CERAMIC FROM SETTLEMENTS IN THE EASTERN HALF OF THE CARPATHIAN BASIN

In the lands between the rivers Danube and Tisza as well as in the region to the east of the Tisza, a distinctive type of 'settlement' ceramic made its appearance in the late Avar age. It differs in its characteristics from the ceramic of the period found in the western half of the Carpathian Basin. A typical feature is a large proportion of wares made without the use of a potter's wheel, in contrast to the wares of the western part which were almost exclusively made using a hand-turned potter's wheel. Moreover, in the eastern part we encounter some modes of decoration and types of specialist vessel made without the use of a potter's wheel that are either fully unknown in the western territory or occur in much more modest numbers and/or in versions made with the use of a potter's wheel.

The ceramic not produced on a potter's wheel is often made from unwashed clay and/or from clay mixed with broken earthenware. It is thickly covered on its surface with slip put on with the fingers, is unevenly fired, is light or greyish brown in colour, and features patches of black. In the majority of cases, it appears in oviform or barrel-shaped *pots*, the rim of which leans outwards scarcely at all. They have are almost perpendicular walls which often jut out at the



Fig. 10 Baking bell
▪ *Nagykálló-Harangod (Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg c.)*
*MNM 2012.2.4.1; Clay; H. 19 cm*

place where the lower part meets the base. A good deal rarer is the shallow *dish* shaped like a truncated cone or supplied with a rim which turns inwards. Similarly rare is the *cup* shaped like an inverted truncated cone, and the *cover* whose shape recalls that of the bell-shaped baking cover. Also, a small number of *earthenware cauldrons* have been recovered. These could be suspended in two ways: either from hanging holes covered at one end by a piece of sheet clay resembling a sea shell or from holes cut into two semicircular lugs below the rim on the inside. Finally, there is the frequently occurring *embers' cover* and/or *baking bell*. **(Fig. 10)** Made from clay often mixed with broken earthenware, plant material, and seeds, these are poorly fired and are usually found above the hearths of houses dug into the earth or in their immediate vicinity. Vessels worked without the use of a potter's wheel are decorated only exceptionally, by a single straight line, a wavy line, or intertwined wavy lines scratched on them. A characteristic but rare method of decoration is *a stamped-on grid pattern*. Engraved on a wooden stamp, this pattern was applied to the side of the vessel repeatedly, horizontally and in a few parts in superposition, with small gaps between applications. **(Fig. 9, 11)**

The hand-turned pottery often has thick walls; it is made using clay mixed with coarse sand, small pebbles, or broken earthenware; and is fired to a greyish or reddish brown colour. The vessels belonging to this category are more varied in shape and generally smaller than those made on a potter's wheel: *pots* and *mugs* exhibiting broad brims, pronounced shoulders, narrow bases, and spherical or oviform bodies. This type of vessel is, almost without exception, decorated by means of scratched horizontal lines and intertwined wavy lines. A characteristic feature is a mass of horizontal lines covering almost the whole surface of the vessel, which, at the

Fig. 11 Vessels from settlements of the Great Hungarian Plain
Pots ▪ *Tiszagyenda, MNM 2013.2.7.1; Clay; H. 30 cm* ▪ *Nagykálló-Harangod, MNM 2012.2.3.7; Clay; H. 13 cm*
Bowl ▪ *Doboz, MNM 73.38.4.B; Clay, H. 7 cm*

shoulder, is decorated by straight lines and intertwined wavy lines scratched 'on top', in some cases pricked with a comb. This method of decoration is common on contemporary Bulgar and Khazar ceramic artefacts also.

This stock of ceramic occurs across its whole range only to the east of the Danube; to the west of the river, it occurs only at crossing places (e.g. Dunaújváros). There is still lively debate concerning the upper and lower time parameters for these vessels. However, since earthenware cauldrons not turned on a potter's wheel appear east of the Carpathians only around the mid-8th century, and since the hand-turned, broad-brimmed, and broad-shouldered vessels reminiscent of a deep dish are – along with the above-mentioned 'overdrawn' mode of decoration – characteristic only of the turn of the 9th century, the focus for their production and use may be assigned to the time following the disintegration of the unitary khaganate.

In the western part of the Carpathian Basin, the first phase of the changes can be pointed out in cemeteries from the late Avar age unearthed largely in southwest Transdanubia (in Zala county, Vas county, and in the western halves of Somogy and Baranya counties), as well as in the Burgenland. This phase (Zalakomár–Kehida–Vörs phase) lasted from the final third of the 8th century until the end of the first third of the 9th, in some places until around the middle of that century. It is characteristic that pagan burial rites still continued as before: horse burials, offerings of food and drink, bi-rituality (cremation and inhumation burials), cavity burials, and sometimes burial mounds are all to be found in cemeteries. **(Fig. 12)** Narrow shield-shaped mountings and belt-ends decorated with scales, lilies, and palmettes with a punched background belonged to the last type of multi-element belt encountered, **(Fig. 13, 15)** and this was the time when harness mountings consisting of similarly decorated gilded bronze castings **(Fig. 14)** or iron covered with copper-gilt sheeting decorated with copper and silver were used. Women's jewellery was for the most part made from bronze or copper; rarely was
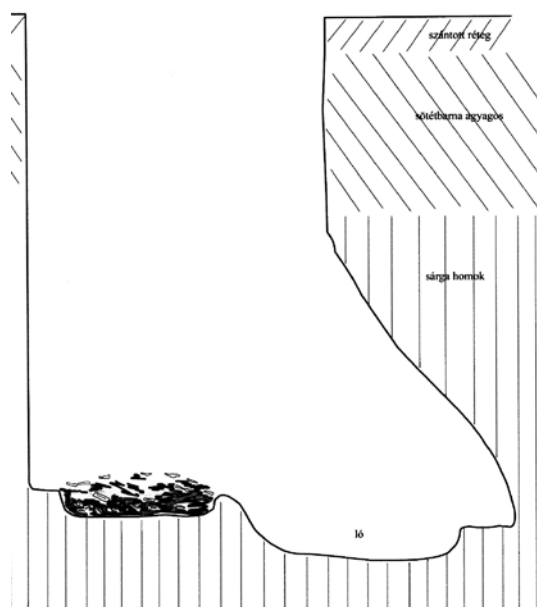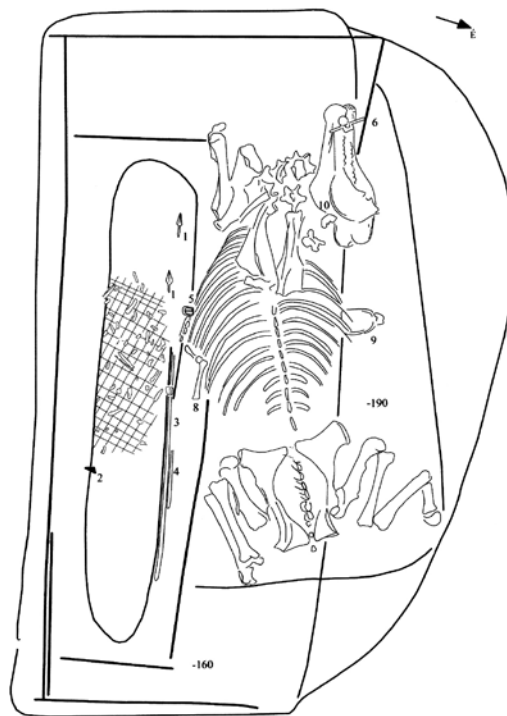


Fig. 12 Cremation grave with horse burial in a sidewall niche
▪ *Kehida-Fövenyes (Zala c.) (Drawing: Béla Miklós Szőke)*

it made from silver, and even more rarely from bronze gilt. It was very various in its execution: various lamella pendants and simpler or more complex two-sided pendants resembling a bunch of grapes embellished it. In addition, it contained different kinds of jewellery made with wire: jewellery with twisted ends,

Fig. 13 Mounted belt
▪ *Szárazd (Tolna c.), MNM 38/1905.38–77; Tinned bronze; buckle L. 3,4 cm, D. (ring) 2,5 cm; propeller mount L. 5,2 cm; mount with ring L. 3,2 cm; belt mounts L. 2,8 cm, W: 1 cm; large strap end L. 5,2×2 cm; small strap end 2,8×1,3 cm; hole framing mounts and small belt mounts 1,5-1,7×1,3 cm*



Fig. 14 Harness ornaments
▪ *Keszthely (Zala c.), MNM 62.133.3, 52/1881.41–45; Gilded bronze, bronze, trapezoid mounts 3,2×3,1 cm, mounts 3,2×2,3 cm, strap ends 2,8×1,8 cm*

Fig. 15 Detail of a mounted belt

▪ *Vörs-Papkert B (Somogy c.) grave 259, RRM 91.4.1-11; Bronze, tinned bronze, large strap end L: 6,1 cm, W: 2,1 cm; small strap end L: 4,1 cm, W: 1,4 cm; belt mounts 3,1×1,2 cm and 3,3×1 cm; hole framing mounts and small belt mounts 1,8×1,7-1,2×1,1 cm*

Fig. 16 Belt set
▪ *Vörs-Papkert B grave 437, RRM 96.55.1-5; Gilded bronze; mounts with pendants L 3,5 cm; astragalos strap holder L. 10,8 cm; hole framing mounts 2,4 ×1,7 cm; strap end L. 3,3 cm; small belt mounts 1,35×1,2 cm*

hook-and-eye catches, and single or multiple S-ended spiral pendants, as well as jewellery featuring chain pendants with bottom rings made from wire that had been twisted or wire bent so as to form loops. On necklaces, on the other hand, bead types of western origin increasing appear increasingly, alongside beads shaped like melon seeds. In male burials, weapons of mainly western origin are relatively common as grave goods (winged spears; single-edged swords; langsaxes; bearded axes; socketed and barbed arrowheads), and spurs, too, appear. The appearance of these artefacts in growing numbers indicates that life, the economic environment, and cultural connections were gradually changing. By the end of the late phase of the so-called Avar age, burials with modest grave goods, or with no grave goods at all, are more and more common, and multi-element belts and rich selections of jewellery disappear once and for all.

VÖRS–PAPKERT

Containing approximately 700 early medieval burials, the cemetery came to light between 1983 and 1996, during excavations preceding reconstruction work to do with the Little Balaton. According to the testimony of the find-assemblages, burials were conducted continuously on the site from the late Avar period until the beginning of the Arpadian age. Burials from the late Avar period and from the end of that period made up the largest group on the site.

In a separate block on the eastern edge of the cemetery, at an average of 5 m from each other, 40 horse burials arranged in 6–7 rows came to light, in which the deceased man or woman usually lay in a west–east direction in the northern half of a large burial pit; next to him or her lay a harnessed horse placed in a contrasting direction. Of these burials, only two had escaped robbers; the other burials were probably robbed in the early Arpadian age, at the very latest during the reign of King Béla III of Hungary (1172–1196), when the inhabitants of an entire village had already settled on the site. Judging from the finds discovered in the burials, it is certain that well-to-do families belonging to the middle stratum of Avar society were interred here. Their archaeological legacy is characterised by generously gilded belt mountings – some with engraved, punched, and openwork fishscale patterning **(Fig. 16)** and some with lion depictions stylistically similar to those found in the Nagyszentmiklós hoard **(Fig. 17)** –, gold earrings with glass beads and pendants resembling bunch of grapes, and box-like breast clasps with animal figures; **(Fig. 18)** other characteristic features are bridle mountings **(Fig. 19)** and bridle rosettes decorated with copper-gilt and silver-gilt sheet and wire inlay. Also, number of vessels – a simple small pot, a so-called yellow mug, and a flask – were often placed beside the deceased with food and drink for the journey to the next world. **(Fig. 20)**

In the western half of the cemetery, the burials contained more modest grave goods, with pots filled with food and drink and yellow flasks whose surfaces had been polished. The men were buried with a weapon (lance, axe), a belt featuring mountings that were pewtered (imitating silvering), and, in one case, footwear with spurs. The characteristic elements of their attire were an iron knife and a razor. On the women, simple earrings; necklaces consisting of pieces of mosaic eye (millefiori) and segmented beads; rings made from strips of metal with punched decoration; and glass buttons with bronze and iron loops were found. Some of these finds are from the period when Priwina and Chezil established the centre for the county of Lower Pannonia in nearby Mosaburg (on the territory of today's Zalavár). Some of the persons buried in the cemetery at Vörs may have come from one of the communities of serving people belonging to the power centre of Mosaburg.

One may conclude from the marked social differences characteristic of the whole time the cemetery was in use that the families interred in the conspicuously rich horse burials did not sink to the level of the serving people even at the end of the Avar age. However, additional investigation is required to ascertain the nature of the dependency that connected members of the late Avar period warrior middle stratum buried on an island of the Little Balaton to the county of Mosaburg. Nevertheless, some of those buried there in the 9th century had remained in place even after the Hungarian Conquest, using the cemetery site together with Hungarians who settled there as part of the Conquest process right up until the turn of the 11th century (i.e. until the consolidation of the Hungarian state). The community's village came to light on a mound surrounded by marshland. This mound was approximately 800 m from the cemetery in a northwest direction, on the find-site Vörs–Papkert A.

*László Költő – József Szentpéteri*

Fig. 17 Belt mounts
▪ *Vörs-Papkert B graves 347, 378, RRM 93.250.2, 96.26.6-7; Bronze, round mounts D. 3-3,1 cm; spherical mounts L. 4,1-2,9 cm*

Changes of a different kind are perceptible in northwest Transdanubia, in the vicinity of Sopron, in the Burgenland adjacent to it, and on the territory of Lower Austria all the way to the find-sites of Mühling-Hart, neighbouring Purgstall an der Erlauf, and Wimm, located on the far side of the Danube. These may be dated somewhat later, to the years between the turn of the 9th century and the period around the middle of that century. The fully-excavated 225-burial cemetery at Purgstall is especially interesting. In this there occurred in the early phase sets of cast bronze belt decorations and women's jewellery. Later on, there were Sopronkőhida-type finds – among them the same types of women's jewellery (of the wire variety) characteristic of this area, and ways of wearing them, that appeared at this time and were characteristic only of this area, along with weapons. In the late phase, artefacts characteristic of the burials containing serving people that occur in the environs of Mosaburg/Zalavár came to light. The horizontal stratigraphy of this cemetery graphi-



Fig. 18 Women's jewellery from the cemetery of Vörs-Papkert B
▪ *Earrings (graves 106, 454), RRM 92.59.1, 96.46.1; Gilded bronze, shell; L. 2,8 and 4,4 cm*
▪ *Pearl necklace (grave 290), RRM 92.149.1; glass*
▪ *Finger ring with shield like bezel (grave301), RRM 93.219.4; Bronze; D. 2,3 cm*

Fig. 19 Belt mounts and harness ornaments
▪ *Vörs-Papkert B grave 371, RRM 96.19.1–16; Bronze, gilded bronze, tinned bronze, buckle L. 4,3 cm, belt mounts L. 2,8 cm W. 1 cm; hole framing mount 2,1×1,8 cm; small belt mounts 1,1×1,1 cm; mounts with head of horse 2,1×1,5 cm; strap end 2,3×2,1 cm and 2,8×1,9 cm*

Fig. 20 Vessels
■ *Vörs-Papkert B grave 348, RRM 96.1.1-3; Clay; H. 14,5 cm; 12,2 cm; 9,7 cm*

Fig. 21 Pots
■ *Sopronkőhida (Győr-Moson-Sopron c.) Grave 13, 64, 132, SM 62.24.7; 62.24.129; 62.24.289; Clay, H. 20 cm; 15,5 cm; 18 cm*



cally attests to the acculturation process which characterised the period lasting from the end of the Avar age and the beginning of the Carolingian one to the time of the full setting up of the Carolingian Empire across the entire eastern border zone. The groups accompanying in a broad arc the Eastern Alps mountain range stretching along the Danube from the Enns before then turning south are loosely linked together by a pagan burial custom, namely the offering of food and drink for the journey to the next world. On the other hand, in the area of the Tulln and Vienna basins, in addition to this a characteristic *pars pro toto* version of an animal sacrifice, the so-called severed cattle skull burial, was still common (Sopronkőhida-type cemeteries). These pagan customs are completely lacking in the Carantanian Slav territory immediately to the south, while in the region to the north of the Danube (Moravians, Bohemians) only at around this time is the change made from cremation burials to inhumation burials.

## SOPRONKŐHIDA

This cemetery with 145 burials was excavated on the western shores of Lake Fertő between 1951 and 1960. Its find-site contributed one of the names in the so-called Sopronkőhida–Pitten–Pottenbrunn group which was determinative in the broader area of the Tulln and Vienna basins at the turn of the 9th century and in the first third of it. The forms of the burials are simpler, their depth less, and their orientation more generally west–east than in the late Avar age prior to them; a few stones were arranged around the coffin and a step was made next to it. As well as the food and drink often placed in burials in line with pagan custom – represented by characteristically deep dish-shaped vessels with a wide brim, a pronounced shoulder, and a narrow bottom part, **(Fig. 21**) as well as by oviform vessels, and also by poultry skeletons and eggs –, burials with a severed cattle skull are characteristic of this group. **(Fig. 22)** The last mentioned has been interpreted as a 'masked burial', as an animal-head covering with the community's totem animal. **(Fig. 23)** However, it is more realistic to regard it as a type of partial animal burial; these were widespread among the Avars. Overlooked in other cemeteries of the group, the custom of cremation also appears, as does barrow burial.

The 'wire jewellery' in the female burials in the Sopronkőhida cemetery belongs to the last phase of the Avar-age find-stock, the 'end-of-the-Avar-age' finds, as do the simple pendants shaped like bunches of grapes, the narrow rings with a shield-like bezel, **(Fig. 24)** the bone needle-cases, and the biconical spindle whorls. The so-called swinging pendant jewellery comes from the territory of Carantania. The shapes of the beads (segmented beads, blown mirrored beads, mosaic eye beads, simple beads) are of western origin, **(Fig. 25)** as are the needle-cases made from sheet bronze and sheet iron. An implement for use in a specialist occupation is the iron knife with a short, narrow blade often found in female burials; its long handle was covered with sheet antler decorated with rings of dots. **(Fig. 26)**

The belts of the men were fastened by means of a simple iron buckle; in the bag on the belt, razors are common. Cast bronze belt mountings (large belt-ends with lilies, small belt-ends with trailer) – some of them reused – occur rarely. **(Fig. 27)** Weapons, e.g. bearded, socketed arrow-heads; winged spears; short and long battle knives (scramasax, langsax) **(Fig. 29)**; and spurs attached with straps  **(Fig. 28)** are relatively many and exclusively of western origin.

Since the anthropological data tell us that the cemetery could not have been functional for longer than 40–45 years – this calculation seems to be confirmed by classic anthropological and biochemical investigations at similar extended family cemeteries in the Mosaburg/Zalavár area –, the Sopronkőhida cemetery may have been in use from the early 9th century until the end of the second third of that century at the very latest. The identical nature of the rites and finds denotes the same time frame as that of the other find-sites of the cultural group represented by the Sopronkőhida cemetery. The *terra Auarorum*, then, was more than a random delineation of a geographical area, because it was populated by a people which could also be well delineated in cultural terms. The integration of this people into the Carolingian Empire was completed with the administrative changes effected after 828, when the institution of the county was introduced and the area was brought under the direct control of the prefect of the east.
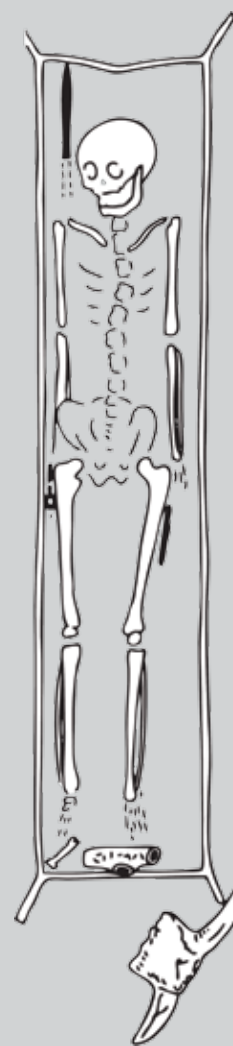


Fig. 22 A burial with horned cranial part of cattle skulls from the Sopronkőhida cemetery *(after Gyula Török)*

Fig. 23 'Saltcellar'
▪ *Sopronkőhida grave 48, SM 62.24.85; Antler; H. 9 cm W. 17,5 cm*

## THE SETTING UP OF CAROLINGIAN ADMINISTRATION IN PANNONIA

### *The first counties in the Danube valley*

A Carolingian county was set up in the border zone between the River Enns and the Vienna Woods in the time of Charlemagne already, on territory where, in 808, the sons of Elis – Wirut, Gisalmat, and Wentilmar – donated an estate they held in the vicinity of the River Leitha to the Monastery of St. Emmeram in Regensburg. In the description of the boundaries of this estate, there feature, as well as several brooks and 'two [burial] mounds' [*ad duos tumulos*], 'settlements of Avars' [*loca Auarorum*]. In the valley of the Traisen, Pielach, Melk, and Erlauf rivers flowing from the River Leitha, i.e. in the county on the territory of the Vienna and Enns forests, there were never Avars in large numbers. Nevertheless, between 811 and 836, official sources of a non-narrative type – property deeds and deeds of gift – mention it as *Avaria*, *terra Auarorum*, or *provintia Auarorum* ('land of the Avars' or 'province of the Avars'). Characteris-

tic of the strength of the Avar link to the region and of the durability of the name is the fact that in 979, when Otto II sold a territory between the rivers Ybbs and Erlauf the western edge of the one-time *terra Auarorum*, it was mentioned as being 'on the land of the one-time Avars' (*in terra quondam Auarorum*).

Less convincing are those arguments according to which another territorial unit by the name of *Sclavinia*, in the valleys of the Traun, Steyr, Enns, and Ybbs rivers, on the banks of the Danube, was split off to the west of it. A deed of gift from the year 837, in which Louis the German gives to Liupramm, archbishop of Salzburg, a landed estate *in Sclauinia* by the River Ybbs seems to make reference to this. So, too, does a document issued by King Arnolf in 893 which confirmed Abbot Snelperon of Kremsmünster in those estates which he held *ad Eporespurh, ad Campe sive ad Persiniccham* and, moreover, 'apart from these, in places and borders located in *Sclavinia*'. Since *Eporespurh* is identical with Mautern, and near it, on the territory identified with *Avaria*, Kamp and Perschling both lay, *Sclavinia* was probably located to the west of this, next to Bavaria.

According to some, the names *Avaria* and *Sclavinia* referred to populations of differing ethnic composition, and, on the other hand, to the different legal statuses of the two territories. While the first was an organic part of the Avar khaganate, the second was merely a Slav territory conquered by them. It is a fact that as a separate (administrative?) territorial unit, *Avaria* was strikingly contemporaneous with the resettling of the Avar kapkhan's people *inter Sabaria et Carnuntum*. Their settlement area began to the *west* of the *Carnuntum et Savaria* line (i.e. the Szombathely and Petronell line), and extended through the Danube valley in Austria to the Ybbs, a territory for which Sopronkőhida-type archaeological finds are characteristic.

In the second half of the century, the more neutral designation *Pannonia* replaced *Avaria* and *Sclavinia*. Accordingly, when in 859 Louis the German gave part of the treasury in Tulln to *comes* Ratbot, it already lay 'on the territory of Pannonia' (*in regione Pannoniae*). And likewise *in Pannonia* was the estate given to the cloister at Nieder-Altaich which stretched across the forested hill district between the Ybbs–Url–Danube line and the River Enns.

## Pannonia inferior in the lands between the Drava and Sava rivers – the rebellion of Liudewit (818–823)

With the disintegration of the Avar khaganate, the strengthening of the Proto-Bulgar state into an increasingly dangerous medium power, the weakening of Byzantium's prestige, and bringing of Istria under Frankish authority around 790, the power–political balance – considered stable hitherto – was upset in the northern half of the Balkans. In addition, a number of smaller territorial units there became a buffer zone for conflicts. This was the time when the Bulgars first looked with covetous eyes on territories to the west of the Iron Gate and when the Franks made their appearance not merely in Italy, but on the eastern shores of the Adriatic also. Antagonisms between the *Romani* and the peoples within the Franks' sphere of interest, the Slav tribes and the Proto-Bulgars living on the banks of the Lower Danube, and the Slavs and living on the north-western edge of the Balkans, grew stronger.

Despite the peace concluded with Byzantium in 812, one place where clashes took place was Istria, where Grado together with the lagoons of Venice for-

Fig. 24 Women's jewellery from the Sopronkőhida cemetery
- *Earrings with grape cluster decoration (grave 88), SM 62.24.174; Silver, H. 1,8 cm*
- *Earrings with plate bead pendants (graves 59 and 111), SM 62.24.104; 62.24.238; Bronze, H. 2,9 cm; 4,8 cm*
- *Finger rings (grave 25, 30 and 142), SM így 62.24.33; 62.24.38; 62.24.298; Bronze, D. 2,3 cm; 2,1 cm; 1,8 cm*

Fig. 25 Pearl necklaces
■ *Sopronkőhida graves 25, 59, 88 and 110, SM 62.24.31-31; 62.24.105; 62.24.176; 62.24.234; Glass, bronze*

mally continued to be Greek while the peninsula itself was under Frankish authority. Together with this, the Slav tribes of the area also came under indirect or direct Frankish authority. With the settling of the disputes of 811 between the Avars and the Slavs, the region between the Drava and Sava rivers became, as *Pannonia inferior*, a province of the Carolingian Empire, and at the same time the lower border stretch of the Drava became the border between the Salzburg Church and the Aquileia Church, i.e. between the Bavarian and Friaul evangelisation districts. The ruling princes of the Slav tribes that neighboured Pannonia in most cases became vassals of the Frankish emperor, while some of the towns on the Dalmatian coast continued to be under Byzantine authority.

The vassal system introduced in a still-unstable environment brought with it the danger of 'rebellion'. The spark came when *dux* Liudewit, the vassal of Cadolah, *dux* of Friaul, entrusted with the governing of *Pannonia inferior* province, raised a grievance 'proposing changes' of a certain kind before the emperor in Aachen on account of Cadolah's 'cruel and conceited' behaviour. Waiting with him in Aachen for an audience was Borna (there since 817, likewise because of a grievance), the ruling prince of the Dalmatia's *Guduscani*. Slavs living along the River Gacka, they were a tribe of the *Gadchani* living on the territory between Kapella and the

coast. Also there was a new protagonist, the envoy of those *Timochani* – a tribe of Slavs along the River Timok – who a short time before had broken with the Bulgars and had 'come to our borders' (*Ann. regni Francorum* a. 818). We cannot know what Liudewit and Louis the Pious agreed from the chronicler's slightly dry wording, but we may infer that Liudewit's ideas did not meet with true understanding. The 'dissatisfaction' soon extended to armed conflict. Supported by backers initially, Liudewit was increasingly worn down in repeated Frankish campaigns and, after being deserted by these allies, was eventually killed.

Liudewit's career shows clearly that the setting up of the imperial administration in the eastern marches of the Carolingian Empire took place using the same methods and organisational model as those employed previously, first on Bavarian and then on Saxon, Frisian, and Thuringian soil. It also points out that the same kind of inglorious fate awaited 'rebels' in these marches as in the other territories of the empire, be they the Bavarian principality (Tassilo III) or the lands of the Saxon tribal alliance (Widukind). It was not Liudewit's rebellion, the desire of the Slav tribes of the lands between the Drava and Sava rivers to break away from the Carolingian Empire, but the dramatic events of the years which followed that finally led to the giving up of a large part of the province.

Fig. 26 Needle cases
and knives with antler haft
▪ *Sopronkőhida graves 129, 103 and 62, SM 62.24.279-280; 62.24.219; 62.24.123; Bronze, iron, antler; needle cases L. 9,1 cm, 9,8 cm; knives L. 17 cm, 15,6 cm*

*Timochani, Abodriti, Praedenecenti, Moravians, Avars (822)*

After summoning the Imperial Assembly in Frankfurt in the autumn of 822, Louis the Pious received the envoys of all of his empire's neighbouring Slav tribes, namely the Abodritae, Sorbs, Wilzes, Bohemians, Moravians, and *Praedenecenti*, and also the delegates of the Avars living in Pannonia who arrived with gifts (*Ann. regni Francorum* a. 822).

It was now that the Moravians first appeared under their own name as vassals of the Carolingian Empire, and now that the enigmatic *Praedenecenti* tribe first came to the attention of the Franks. In 824, at the time of their next mention – when we read that the Bulgars were, unjustifiably, hostile to them, for which reason they, similarly to the *Timochani* a couple of years earlier, hoped to find protection with the Frankish emperor –, it turns out that they were identical with the *Abodriti* living next to the Bulgars in the *Dacia ripensis* district on the right bank of the River Danube (*legatos Abodritorum, qui vulgo Praedenecenti vocantur, Ann. regni Francorum* a. 824). Therefore, the widespread assumption that the *Abodriti* and the *Praedenecenti* were two different Slav tribes and that the *Abodriti* lived on the left bank of the Danube, between the Sava and the point

Fig. 27 Strap ends
▪ *Sopronkőhida graves 16 and 60, SM 62.24.10; 62.24.110; Bronze, 6,8×2,2 and 3,8×1,3 cm*

## BATTLES IN LOWER PANNONIA BETWEEN 819 AND 822

While Louis the Pious was holding an Imperial Assembly in Ingelheim in July 819, he sent an army from Italy to Pannonia, to put down Liudewit's rebellion there. However, it turns out from indirect sources that the emperor mobilised a Bavarian army, too. Liudewit offered peace, but the emperor rejected his conditions. Therefore, Liudewit, through his envoys, incited his neighbours to join the war. Among those supporting the rebel were the Timočani, who thus shared in Liudewit's disloyalty and later in the punishment for it (*Ann. regni Francorum* a. 819). Cadolah, duke of Friaul, the commander of the army from Italy which marched against Liudewit, died of fever in Pannonia, and his army returned home a few weeks later without accomplishing its mission. Baldrich, Cadolah's successor, was able to use the help of the Bavarian force when, in Carinthia, he attacked Liudewit's army as it marched along the River Drava, killing many of its members and driving the remainder from the country. Borna, duke of Dalmatia and likewise a vassal of the Franks, now joined the fray, clashing with Liudewit on the Kulpa, the river separating Dalmatia from Pannonia. The changes in fortune and the differences between commanders which occurred are well shown by the Guduscani's letting down of Borna in the first clash (he could escape thanks only to his lifeguards) and, in a later phase of the struggle, Dragamosus's desertion of his son-in-law Liudewit and his going over to Borna, although he later perished in the battle.

While Borna was busy after the battle subordinating the Guduscani again, Liudewit exploited this opportunity and, as early as December 819, struck at Dalmatia 'with a heavy hand', devastating it with fire and sword. With a selected force of warriors, Borna harassed Liudewit continuously, attacking him sometimes from behind and sometimes on the flank. In the end, Liudewit was forced to withdraw, having lost 3000 fighters and more than 300 horses. Moreover, all the weapons and other equipment of these warriors fell into Borna's hands.

In January 820, the emperor convened an Imperial Assembly at Aachen. It was decided there, after having heard Borna's personal advice, too, to discipline Liudewit for his presumption: his country would be laid waste from end to end by three armies attacking simultaneously from three directions (*Ann. regni Francorum* a. 820). At the end of the winter, the first of these armies advanced from Italy, crossing the Alps at Noricum. The second attacked through Carantania and the third through Bavaria and Upper Pannonia. Liudewit and his men took refuge behind the walls of a castle built on a steep hill. Combining, the three armies devastated almost the entire country and returned home with no loss worth mentioning. Nevertheless, members of the army that returned home by way of Upper Pannonia fell ill with diarrhoea (dysentery?) when crossing the River Drava, since the area and the drinking water there were unwholesome. No small number of them died as a result of this illness. The inhabitants of the Carniola (the *Carniolenses*), who lived on the River Sava bordering on Friaul, submitted to Baldrich, and the Carantanians who had gone over to Liudewit did likewise.

In 822, Louis the Pious again sent an army from Italy to Pannonia, in order finally to complete the war with Liudewit. On receiving news of this, Liudewit, now increasingly isolated, left his power centre, the town of Siscia, and fled to the Serbs (*ad Sorabos*), who occupied a large part of Dalmatia (*Ann. regni Francorum* a. 822). There, he treacherously did away with the Serb prince who gave him refuge, installed himself in his town (*civitas*), and then sent envoys to the emperor's army, promising that he would appear before the emperor. In autumn 823, however, intelligence reached the emperor that Liudewit had died a violent death. Namely, having left the Serbs and having fled further in Dalmatia to Liudemuhsl, Duke Borna's uncle, Liudewit was accorded the very treatment that he had earlier given to the Serb prince who had taken him in, i.e. he was treacherously killed.

at which the Tisza flows into the Danube, while the *Praedenecenti* (who were the same as the *Branichevi-ti*) lived on the right bank of the Danube in the River Mlava district is mistaken.

In any event, the Carolingian sources do not much mention these small tribes. The *Timochani* disappear from the sources together with Liudewit, and later on we hear nothing about the *Abodriti/Praedenecenti* tribe either: some of its members may have stayed in their homeland and some may have moved north of the Danube or to the area between the Drava and Sava rivers, where they later became part of the Bulgar *societas*. Those for whom neither alternative was suitable may have fled further, and settled among the Avars of the Great Plain or on the territory of *Pannonia superior*.

The last report of the Avars of Pannonia dates from 822, when the chronicler places special emphasis on the fact that unlike the other peoples, 'the Avars living in Pannonia (*in Pannonia residentium Abarum*) had sent envoys to Frankfurt. The monks who wrote the chronicles may, in the time since the first Avar–Frankish conflict, a period of approximately a quarter of a century, have acquired the necessary knowledge on where the Avars lived, their

Fig. 28 Pair of spurs
▪ *Sopronkőhida grave 100, SM 62.24.205-206; Iron; L. 16 cm W. 8,5 cm*





Fig. 29 Weapons from the Sopronkőhida cemetery
▪ *Langsax: Grave 37, SM 62.24.58; Iron; L. 60 cm, W (blade): 5,3 cm*
▪ *Spearheads: Graves 30 and 84, SM 62.24.43; 62.24.169. Iron; L. 45 and 30,5 cm W. 5,2 cm and 3,2 cm*
▪ *Axe: Grave 52, SM 62.24.97; Iron; L. 15 cm W (head) 4,7 cm*

smaller territorial units, and identified all these – insofar as this was possible – using the names on maps and routes from antiquity. For this reason, it is highly likely that when they spoke of the 'Avars of Pannonia', they were talking only about the Avars of the *Pannonia provincia* established in the western half of the Carpathian Basin. By the end of 822, these Avars must have been sure that Liudewit had lost not only the war, but also his last chance for reconciliation with the emperor. And although the Avars living in *Pannonia superior* who had helped Louis the Pious by making roads leading across their territory safe and by providing military supplies for his army probably did not need to prove their loyalty by way of an envoy, those living in *Pannonia inferior* who were 'destroyed with fire and sword' during the campaigns against Liudewit would have needed to. The report in the Royal Frankish Annals is, then, in this respect too laconic. However, the composition of the participants at the Frankfurt assembly and its theme – 'measures connected with the situation in the eastern part of the empire' – permit us to suspect that for 'the Avars' it was in any case advisable to humour the chief liege lord with presents.

The notion that the envoy's visit in 822 was the 'swan song' of the Avars, and that with the moving in of Slavs the Avar tribal alliance came to an end, is supported by neither historical data nor archaeological evidence. We know well that from the outset the Avars in Transdanubia and on the Little Plain lived alongside a Slav population of significant size, often establishing common settlements and even cemeteries. From the very beginning, ethnic variety was present in the life of the Avar khaganate as a natural concomitant. It is therefore neither logical, nor justified to seek an ethnic motivation behind the causes of the cessation of the Avar khaganate. Nor was the 'dissention' between 805 and 811 with the Slavs ethnic in character in the modern sense of the word. It was a consequence of the organisational development of the Slav tribes living in the khaganate's border districts who had mostly been settled there by the Avars themselves. The appearance of the Franks certainly served to accelerate this process. It was in order to settle these uncoordinated movements that in 811 the Franks summoned the Slav notables and

tribal chiefs (*primores ac duces Sclavorum*) for negotiations, in which, however, the delegation was still led by the khagan's personal envoy (*canisauci*) and the *tudun*. The khaganate, then, was still, despite every trial and tribulation, the decisive political factor in the region.

The disappearance of the Avars from the sources can much rather be brought into connection with changes in political arrangements and the social structure. The ruling princes of those peoples who lived outside the empire in its narrower sense and who were obliged to pay tribute, i.e. the vassal princes, had the right and duty to represent themselves by means of an embassy at meetings of the Imperial Assembly, insofar as they were still directly capable of exercising rule over their people by means of the tribe's institutional system, and insofar as no alien administration and organisation were introduced in their country.

*The Bulgar conquest (827–829)*

In early 824, Omurtag Khan wrote a letter, and sent an envoy, to the Carolingian ruler, to make peace in the matter of the *Abodriti/Praedenecenti* tribe, through whom the Franks would now come into a proximity to the Bulgars that was already sensitive strategically. After the emperor had received the envoy and read the letter, 'urged on, too, by the novelty of the business, and in order to get to know more precisely the reason for the sending of this unusual delegation never seen before in the Frankish Empire, he sent to the Bulgar king a certain Bavarian named Machelm with the returning Bulgar envoys' (*Ann. regni Francorum* a. 824).

The appearance of the Bulgars was not an unexpected development, and for some time already the emperor could have calculated that they would soon appear on the scene. After they had concluded a lasting peace with the Byzantine emperor, with their full strength they turned northwards and westwards, subjugating the tribes living there one by one and putting Bulgar officials in authority over them. Bulgar expansion was unstoppable. At more or less the same time as their conquest of the Lower Danube

Fig. 30 Pair of earrings and finger rings
▪ *Zalavár-Castle Island (Zala c.) cemetery of St Mary's church, grave 71, MNM 53.18.7; Gilded silver; 4,2×2,1cm (pair of earrings), MNM 53.18.5–6; Gilded silver; D. 2,1 and 1,4 cm (finger rings)*

Slav tribes living to the west of the River Timok, they brought Transylvania's salt and gold mines under their control. Later, having reached the Bačka–Banat region, they became direct neighbours not just with Liudewit, the governor of Pannonia inferior, and through him with the Carolingian Empire, but also with the Avars of the Great Plain.

Machelm and the Bulgar envoys made the journey to the Bulgar khan and back by the end of the year, returning by Christmas. Louis the Pious ordered the Bulgar envoys – waiting for almost six months in Bavaria – to come to Aachen by mid-May 825 to discuss the issue of the border between the Bulgars and the Franks. Then, at the end of May, he sent a letter of reply to their king. On receiving this unfavourable reply, the Bulgar ruler immediately sent the envoys back with another letter, in which he already expressed himself more forcefully: they should either settle the borders without delay or all these territories would be added to his own without a peace agreement. The letter was handed to the emperor in Aachen in early 826. Since in the meantime news was abroad that the Bulgar ruler had been deposed and killed by his boyars, the emperor dispatched the Palatine Bertricht to Carantania province, to meet with the 'custodians of the Avar march' (*comites et Avarici limitis custodes*), counts Baldrich and Gerold (III), and to ascertain the truth of these reports. He made the Bulgar envoys wait until the palatine's return. But when he did not manage to ascertain it, the emperor sent the envoys home without a letter of reply (*Ann. regni Francorum* a. 826).

He did not have to wait long for the Bulgar response. With Liudewit still incapable of organising his defence in the area on account of his rebellion, in 827 the Bulgars sailed up the Drava river and with fire and sword killed the Slavs living in Pannonia and drove out their princes (*ducibus*), putting their own governors (*rectores*) in their place. The chronicler probably does not unintentionally use the plural when speaking of the leaders of the Slavs. Nor was it by chance that the Bulgars sailed up the Drava, the river between the two Frankish provinces of *Pannonia inferior* and *Pannonia superior*, and not the Sava, the border river of the Carolingian Empire's southeastern province, a fact to which little attention has been paid hitherto. It seems that the Bulgars laid waste not only the province of *Pannonia inferior*, which had once belonged under Liudewit and which was by now bled dry, but also an area a good deal larger than this. It was then at the latest that they captured the Tisza and Drava outflow areas, the region between the Drava and the Sava, and Syrmia also; otherwise, they could they have sailed up the Drava in safety. They destroyed the southern half of *Pannonia superior*, hitherto largely spared the war, the Avar–Slav population living on the territory of today's Baranya and Zala counties, and it is very

likely that they penetrated deep into the interior of Carantania also.

The emperor drew the consequences. In February 828, he held an Imperial Assembly at Aachen, where the *dux* of Friaul, Baldrich, was relieved of his office and made solely responsible for the failure to punish the Bulgar army when it laid waste the border zone of Upper Pannonia. In the summer of 828, the emperor sent an army commanded by Louis the German, his son, against the Bulgars. The young Bavarian king failed to deliver and in one phase of the campaign even his life in danger (we know of this from a half-sentence in the *Annales Fuldenses*). The Bulgars again sailed up the Drava in 829, and burnt some additional villages.

### Reorganisation of the administration (828)

In early 828, at the same time as Baldrich's dismissal, Louis the Pious – but in actual fact his son, the energetic Louis the German, who had probably been in the region since 817 – implemented administrative reform in the south-eastern border zone, replacing the dualism of *missi* and *duces* with the institution of the county. The Friaul march, which hitherto had been directed solely by Baldrich under the authority of Lothar I, king of Italy and the emperor's elder son, was divided into four counties and the unreliable local tribal ruling princes were replaced by Frankish counts. There is, however, no direct reference as to which territories the four counties contained. There are other issues, too. What happened to *Pannonia inferior* (whose centre was Siscia), which carried out the reorganisation, when it was removed from the authority of Friaul, and how did its legal status change? Was it still *Pannonia inferior* province or now one of the four counties formed from the *ducatus* of Friaul?

On the basis of the data contained in the Frankish annals and in the *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum* (hereinafter: *Conversio*) compiled in 870 – in all likelihood by Adalwin, archbishop of Salzburg (859–873) –, it is certain that the territory between the Drava and the Sava rivers continued to be an Eastern Frankish province and that it came under the direct supervision of the king of Bavaria. However, the

geopolitical equilibrium established in 811 needed to be upset, and it had to be acknowledged that the Bulgars had taken up residence in the territory between the Drava and Sava for the long term. Between the Bulgars' Syrmia settlement area (with its centre in Sirmium) and the Siscia *ducatus* of Ratimar inherited from Liudewit, a broad zone came into being that was left uninhabited, at the western end of the Fruška Gora ('Frankish Mountains'), in the area of the Papuk and Dilj mountains. Following the arrangements of 830–832, the Bulgars did not come into conflict with the Franks until the end of the century. Indeed, they were even able to co-operate with them against the Moravians. Nevertheless, in the challenge to, and temporary dethronement of, Louis the Pious in 833, no small part must have been played by the fact that Charlemagne's son had over many years made a series of political mistakes, beginning with his poor handling of Liudewit's rebellion right up to his creating of the opportunity for Bulgar settlement.

The time of the introduction of the new administrative system in Pannonia is rather uncertain. Generally speaking, it is believed to have been contemporaneous with the creation of the four counties formed from the duchy of Friaul, starting out from the premise that reform of the administration of the south-eastern border zone must necessarily have extended to Pannonia also. The last datum which tells that the Drava was the border between the two Pannonias is the one relating that the Bulgars sailed up the Drava in 828 and were able to lay waste Upper Pannonia without being punished for doing so.

There are those who say that Pannonia, which included Transdanubia, was divided into an upper and a lower part in the years following the Friauli arrangements, before 837 or possibly 844. Evidence of this would be a letter of gift from 844 which draws the border between the counties of Rihheri and Ratpod at the *Sevira*/Zöbern~Gyöngyös river, which would correspond to the border later mentioned by in the *Conversio*, too, on the basis of which the administration for Pannonia after 828 is customarily reconstructed.

In one of the most often quoted passages – when in 796, at the episcopal conference by the Danube, Pippin decided on the evangelisation districts –, the *Conversio* gives exactly the geographical boundaries of Lower Pannonia: 'Having returned from there [i.e. from the *hring*, where the khagan repeatedly submitted to Pippin], by virtue of his authority he [Pippin] granted to Bishop Arn of Salzburg a part of Pannonia around the Balaton, namely the lower part [of Pannonia] beyond the river called the Raab and then to the River Drava and up to the point where the Drava empties into the Danube' (*Conversio* c. 6). Later on, it even confirms this description and supplements it also when it identifies the location of an estate given to Priwina as a fief: 'the king [i.e. Louis the German] gave a part of Lower Pannonia to Priwina as a fief at the river which is called the Sala' (*Conversio* c. 11). The goal of the *Conversio* was, however, the legitimation of Salzburg's demands with regard to Pannonia. This is why the 'history of evangelisation' chapter for Pannonia appears as a history of Lower Pannonia, which, moreover, is deliberately blended together with the history of the evangelisation of Carantania, as though the evangelisation of the two territories to all intents and purposes took place at the same time.

After all this, of course, it was no coincidence that when the author of the *Conversio* got to the meeting with Ratimar in the life story of Priwina, he failed to name the area ruled by him. Only from the designation of Siscia as his centre may we suspect that this area was *Pannonia inferior*. That the name and legal status of the territory between the Drava and the Sava remained essentially unchanged is suggested by the title of Braslaw, a confidant of Emperor Arnolf, who even in the late 9th century was *dux* of Lower Pannonia (*dux Pannoniae ulterioris*). The area he ruled was identical with the separate territorial unit lying 'between the Drava and Sava rivers' known by the name of *Pannonia provincia*, earlier called *Pannonia inferior*. However, the writer of the *Conversio* ostensibly knew nothing about this. Namely, the territory to the south of the River Drava – in vain did it belong to the Carolingian Empire, since it was under Italian supervision – was already a conversion district of Aquileia. It fell outside the authority of Salzburg, with Salzburg's missionaries being unable to cross the line of the Drava. For Salzburg, then, Pannonia ended at the Drava from the ecclesiastical point of view. It may have done so ever since the

Endre Tóth, an eminent researcher of the history of Szombathely, considers *Sabaria civitas* to have been not just the fortified administrative centre of the Rihheri–Udalrich–Ernst county, but also an episcopal seat. On the basis of Ratpod's centre at Tulln and the boundary relations given in the deed of gift, it really seems most probable that Rihheri developed his centre among the remains of what had once been one of the most significant towns in the Roman province. Though in the centuries after the Roman period destruction may have been great, according to Endre Tóth it was nowhere near the level imagined by many earlier historians. The basalt stone paving of the roads was still recognisable at the beginning of the Carolingian age and the walls of buildings were mostly still standing, even if they were overgrown with vegetation and even if the roofs had fallen in. Also, the layout of the town would have been recognisable; the one-time town walls and town gates, too, would have been standing, since until the end of the Middle Ages the town did not outgrow them.

Even more precisely, Endre Tóth delimits the centre of the Carolingian counts inside the Roman town. This centre would have been an almost circular stone castle approximately 40 m in diameter which was discovered in the downtown of today's Szombathely, on the area of the Járdányi-Paulovics ruins garden, within the largely pentagonal Roman-era castle, near to its north-western edge, above a 4th-century section of road and the ruins of the Roman imperial palace complex. The palace of the count would have been fashioned from the tower-like bath-house building of the one-time imperial palace; for the proprietary church – which by prescription would have belonged to a Carolingian nobleman's residence – there is, however, no suggestion.

Archaeological finds are of no help in dating the castle wall and the castle ditch that belongs to it. Endre Tóth therefore argues in an indirect way that the castle was standing even before the Middle Ages in Hungary. His arguments are that firstly, the Hungarian kings did not build stone castles until after the Mongol invasion; secondly, that Szombathely was neither a secular nor an ec-



Fig. 31 Roman road system of Sabaria (Szombathely, Vas m.), with the Carolingian (?) round castle *(after E. Tóth 1978)*

clesiastical centre in the Arpadian age, and thirdly, that oval-shaped or round-shaped castles were not built in Arpadian-era Hungary before the late 13th century.

Stone walls had in fact been a part of more significant fortifications in Western Europe from the Merovingian period onwards, although the fortification systems of late Merovingian – early Carolingian times were still basically characterised by variety: dry stone or mortar-bound stone walls, earth-and-timber walls or earth ramparts, and earth ramparts erected behind stone walls. In most cases, however, fortifications consisted of some kind of combination of these. The walls of Soest Castle, which in the Merovingian time encompassed the royal manor house and later on, in the 9th century, one of the residences of the archbishop of Cologne, were formed by a fortification with a double curtain wall girded round by a ditch and mound. Along the top of this mound ran a curtain wall 60 cm thick which was made of clay and broken rocks bound to-

gether with mortar. Likewise bound together with mortar was the front wall of the double curtain wall built against the rubble wall at Würzburg Cathedral. The binder in the carefully-built limestone wall is relatively soft, it is lime mortar made with yellow sand, which elsewhere, too, is a special characteristic of buildings from the Carolingian era.

As well as the material and the quality of the wall, it is worth looking at the location and size of the castle, too. When choosing the locations for castles in the Carolingian age, plateaux on hill tops were favoured, mainly those parts that jutted out like spurs. In front of the mortar-bound walls, deep ditches were dug, and next to their complex and decorated gates were covered towers that were rectangular, round, or built onto the edge of the walls. These castles differed significantly from the castle at Szombathely in terms of size. Large castles were above 3 hectares in area, sometimes even more (Altenburg bei Rottweil, 35 ha; Büraburg bei Fritzlar, 8 ha; Bamberg, 7 ha; etc.), and even medium-sized ones were at least 1–2 ha in extent. To all intents and purposes, castles smaller than this were not being built at this time. It may even turn out that the wall remains protected the episcopal church inside Savaria and its immunity, since we know of numerous examples of this from the Carolingian Empire. For this, however, we would need to know not only about remains of a basilica fitting for a bishop within the wall, but also about a town wall outside it, namely a wall surrounding the town and ensuring the protection of the civic population. Also, numerous additional signs of life and death would be required: settlement facilities, houses, wells, refuse pits, and burials.

It is worth comparing the castle at Szombathely with other characteristics of fortified settlements in the area more broadly. When we do so, it immediately emerges that around them – in contrast to *Sabaria*, which may have been not only the centre for a count, but also the seat of an evangelising bishop – settlements of a seat nature were invariably accompanied by catchment zones. This was true not only within the Carolingian Empire, but from the Moravian rampart castles through *Mosaburg/Zalavár* all the way to the towns along the Dalmatian coast. In such a catchment zone, there were several dozen villages for serving people and a whole succession of manor houses for lower-ranking noble families. In the case of Sabaria, though, no trace of such a zone has as yet been found.

It is a task for future archaeological research to clarify where exactly the seat of Count Rihheri and his successors was located. It is possible that the *civitas* rank of *Savaria-Sabaria* in the Carolingian period already was more about the place's Roman past and its famous son, St. Martin, who became the patron saint of the empire, than about the seat of an evangelising bishop. Bearing in mind other administrative centres of the *Oriens*, it is improbable that there would not have been at least one private church in the fortified manor house of Rihheri and his successors, and that the evangelising bishop would not have had an additional church that was large, imposing, and capable of accommodating many believers. To this large church must have belonged a palace complex similar in appearance to the one belonging to the count. It is more than uncertain that based on the scanty finds from two burials among Arpadian-era burials in the Church of St. Martin in Szombathely there was on the site of the enormous crypt fashioned in the baroque age a (wooden) church in the Carolingian period.

Despite archaeological finds that are so far negative, the seat of the Carolingian count, *Sabaria civitas*, should in all likelihood be sought on the territory of today's Szombathely, possibly in its broader environs, since the written sources unequivocally localise it there. Moreover, it was near to Sabaria that the first evangelising bishop, Theoderich, and subsequently the evangelising bishops Anno and Alberichus from Passau who were active north of the River Raab, had estates. It is, then, conceivable that Rihheri and his successors judged the territory of the one-time town to be excessively ruinous and thus unsuitable for settlement and lasting habitation; and for this reason established a county seat somewhere along the Amber Road in such a way that it could be called *Sabaria civitas*.

episcopal conference held next to the Danube, but definitely had done since 811 at the very latest.

The secular administration of Pannonia, again regarded as a single administrative unit and under Bavarian authority exclusively, changed significantly from the second third of the century. Just as the four counties of Friaul, Carantania, Carniola, and Siscia were established from the *ducatus* of Friaul which had been divided into four parts, there now appeared inside Pannonia, too, smaller, territorial (and not ethnic) counties. These counties were, besides Traungau, which already existed, those now formed from the *provincia Auarorum*, along the Danube as far as the Raab, around Savaria to the south of this, and around Mosaburg even further to the south.**(See Fig. 1)**

*The counties of Ratpod and Rihheri*

In 833, Gerold III was succeeded as prefect of the empire's eastern border province (*Oriens*) by Ratpod (~*Ratpot, Ratbod*). The last mentioned was subordinated to Ernst, Bavaria's very first count and the lord of Nordgau. However, as an official near to him in rank, he exerted a powerful influence on Louis the German's eastern policy in the 830s and 840s. Traungau, the Danube district from the Enns to the mouth of the Drava, the Carantanian territory, the Carniola territory, and the territory between the Danube and the Raab all came under his authority as prefect. These areas he directed with the help of counts placed under his control. His own county was, according to some, the area between the Enns, the Danube, and the Raab, even from the Traun to the Raab. On the basis of the written sources, however, it was more modest in extent, containing only those territories mentioned the previous year under the name *provintia Auarorum*. The centre of its administration and of its estates was Tulln, where there were (and still are) significant Roman remains. In a deed of gift he wrote *ad Tullinam* in 837 (*traditio Ratpodi comitis*), this still relatively young man donated his entire estates to the monks of St. Emmeram in Regensburg should be die without an heir.

With regard to one stretch of the border of Ratpod's county we do have a sure datum: according to a document from 844, in the east it bordered on the county of Rihheri at or near to the *Sevira* (Gyöngyös) brook. Moreover, from a document of 869 it turns out that Ratpod had an estate of significance in Pitten (*Puttinu*) also.

Concerning the county of *Rihheri* (~*Rihhari*) we likewise have little information. Related to the Wilhelm and Graman families alike and directly subordinate to the prefect of the east in the administration, the count very probably first appears in 811 in a Freising document. He is mentioned later on, in 822. In 839, along with his wife *Hiltisnot*, he made a gift in villages in which Count Graman was already the owner. By this time, he was probably a count of Pannonia (?), since in an 837 deed of gift of Ratpod he features after Willihelm in the list of witnesses. Finally, in a document issued in 844 (?), when Louis the German gave to the priest Dominicus the estate at *Brunnaron* by the *Sevira* (Gyöngyös) brook (Lebenbrunn am Zöbernbach) which had been unlawfully usurped by the cleric Ratpero, this property lay 'in that march where the counties of Ratpod and Rihhari border on each other'. No further data are available on the extent of Rihheri's county or of the estates within it. Only this much is sure, that from around 840, the fiefs (later counties) of Priwina and Chezil stretched to the south and southeast respectively, and the county of Carantania to the west.

After Rihheri, Udalrich (~Odolrich) headed the county of Savaria. He was a member of the Udalrich family, which played a decisive role in the history of the *Alemanni* and which was in continuous rivalry with the Welf family in the Lake Boden region. The family's star began to rise in 860, when it recovered estates it had earlier lost and augmented them with new ones. At the same time as Udalrich III appears at Lake Boden, we can read that he was going to be the owner of the county of Savaria hitherto directed by Rihheri.

On 8 May 860, at the request of Bishop Erchanfrid of Regensburg, Louis the German donated 20 *mansio*s to the Monastery of St. Michael at Mattsee *in comitatu Odolrici* – with its borders defined in detail – in *Sauaria*. Moreover, on 20 November that very same year, at the request of Archbishop Adalwin, he gave to the archbishopric of Salzburg *Sabaria civitas* and *Peinihhaa,* and another 24 *curtis*es

Fig. 32 Pearl necklaces
▪ *Zalavár-Castle Island cemetery of St Mary's church, graves 248, 85/96 and 86/96, MNM 54.26.80; 2002.1.132.Z; 2002.1.133.Z; Glass*

in Pannonia and Carantania that he had earlier possessed as benefices. In this deed of gift, the king called Udalrich *comes noster et missus*. Udalrich survived the difficult years of enmity between Louis the German and his son Carloman, presumably lying low in his county of Sabaria. He was therefore able to be, as late as 869, the first witness, and the sole count, in a deed of gift in which the king gave the Pitten (*Puttinu*) estate of the nun Peretcund and her brother Count Managolt to the bishop of Freising and to Bishop Anno (854–875).

Udalrich was probably succeeded by Count Ernst, who was a descendant of another Ernst, who in his time had been perhaps the most powerful man in Bavaria, its first count, and a friend of Louis the German. His name appears just once in connection with the county of Sabaria, in 877, in a deed of gift when Carloman confirmed the estates of Krems-

münster next to the Spraza river, and between the two Sprazas, which 'the counts Arathot and Ernst had already ridden round on horseback'. This, however, seems a rather weak argument for proving the presence of an actual owner.

## THE MOSABURG COUNTY OF PRIWINA AND CHEZIL (KOCEL)

### PRIWINA

#### Priwina and Nitrava

The sources speak most volubly about the Pannonia county whose founder was 'a certain Priwina, who was driven out by Moimar, the ruling prince of the Moravians, and [who] came across the Danube to Ratpod' (…*quidam Priwina exulatus a Moimaro*

*duce Maravorum supra Danubium venit ad Ratbodum… Conversio* c. 10). According to a notion widespread among historians, the fleeing Priwina was a Slav ruling prince, a *gentilis dux*, whose seat was in Nitra (~Nyitra). A rare exception is József Deér, who claims that Priwina was 'not a vassal prince, but an official in the Eastern Frankish border area'. Namely, although it evaluates the fugitive's deeds, descent, and rank, the *Conversio* says nothing whatsoever regarding the area above the Danube that was ruled by him. Instead it appends a rather equivocal adjective, *quidam*, to his name, i.e. it speaks of 'a certain' Priwina, while with regard to Moimar, who drove him out, it at least says that he was the ruling prince of the Moravians, *dux Maravorum*. Nor is there anything saying that Priwina was Slav by descent, or that he was the leader of a Slav tribe. Only from one sentence – inserted subsequently moreover – does it turn out that 'once Archbishop Adalram consecrated a church on an estate of his [Priwina's] beyond the Danube (*ultra Danubium*), in a place called *Nitrava*' (*Conversio* c. 11).

There are, however, a number of problems with this interpolation. Namely, Ratpod took in the fugitive Priwina and 'immediately introduced him to our lord, King Louis [the German]. And on his [the king's] command he was baptised, after being instructed in the true faith at the Church of St. Martin in a place called Treisma [i.e. Traismauer], that is, in a manor house [*curte*] belonging to the seat of Salzburg' (*Conversio* c. 10). Accordingly, if it is true that Archbishop Adalram (821–836) consecrated the Nitra church on an estate belonging to Priwina when the last mentioned was still living north of the Danube, then he would already have been a Christian at the time of his flight. He could hardly have remained a pagan while a church was being built on his estate, a church which, moreover, the archbishop of Salzburg consecrated in person, even if, as some hypothesise, the church was in fact built not by Priwina, but by his Bavarian wife, who was from the very powerful Wilhelmin family. If, on the other hand, it is true that Priwina was not 'instructed in the true faith' and therefore had to be baptised in Treisma, then the church could have been built and/or consecrated only after his departure, but still in Adalram's life-time. Even if there was not too much time for this, there was surely enough – bearing in mind the average size of the churches known from the region – for one to have been constructed after Priwina's departure (early 833) but before Adalram's death (836).

Historians hypothesise – 'with good reason', to use the words of the Austrian historian Herwig Wolfram – that the church at Nitrava was consecrated by Adalram in 828. The basis for this 'good reason' is Josef Cibulka's notion that in 828 the archbishop of Salzburg, in accordance with the custom at that time, accompanied Louis the German on his campaign against the Bulgars and was with that wing of the army which advanced along the left bank of the Danube against the Bulgar territories, which extended as far as the Upper Tisza. Reaching Pannonia, he then turned off to Nitrava (which Cibulka identified with Nitra) and consecrated the church.

The route of Louis the German's campaign is, however, unknown, and it is much more likely that in order to counter Bulgars sailing up the Drava he would have advanced not along the Danube, but through Carinthia. Moreover, it is uncertain that he reached the Bulgars at all. Moreover, there are no data to the effect that the army which advanced against the Bulgars was divided into parts. Finally, neither historical, nor archaeological data support the hypothesis that Bulgar rule extended as far as the Upper Tisza.

In the *Conversio*, there is no mention of the saint in whose honour the church was consecrated. Nevertheless, Nitrava is identified with today's Nitra and it is stated as a fact that St. Emmeram's *patrocinium* of Nitra's Castle Hill – and of its church, which is documented only from Arpadian times – stretches back to the 9th century, that St. Emmeram was the patron saint not only of Priwina's *Nitrava* church, but also, at the end of the century, of Bishop Wiching's *episcopium Nitrensis*, too, and that the evangelisation work was performed by monks from Passau, or rather by those arriving directly from Regensburg. It is stated so, despite the fact that 9th-century sources mentioning the Nitra/Nitrava church fail to name its patron saint either in the time of Priwina, or in that of Wiching.

Since in spite of intensive research archaeologists have not managed to show that the foundations of

the church on Castle Hill were laid in the 9th century, they instead seek the church in the greatly built-up downtown area of the city, on the level area at the foot of Castle Hill. In the light of the above, these efforts, too, will be in vain. On the basis of the archaeological data so far, the presence of a church on or near Castle Hill is doubtful. That Castle Hill was fortified with a palisade in the 9th century is, for the time being, also doubtful. What is sure is that the Carolingian era there is indicated by just a few modest burials containing vessels and conducted with pagan rites.

*Flight and settlement*

Ratpod probably presented Priwina to the king in Regensburg in the first half of 833. One argument for the dating is that Ratpod was prefect of the eastern march from this year on; the event can in no way be dated earlier than this. A second is the date of Ratpod's campaign against Ratimar, which was certainly 838. Since, as we shall see below, there were a number of other events in Priwina's life between these two dates, his presentation to the king – taking in account Ratpod's documented appearances in Regensburg – cannot be put at later than 833, when Ratpod's presence in Regensburg is attested to. Although at the time Priwina was baptised the diocese of Passau was already evangelising in the Lower Austria region, the diocese of Salzburg continued to maintain rights it had acquired earlier in the ecclesiastical centre for the Danubian region, with the result that the Church of St. Martin at Traismauer was located 'in a manor house belonging to the seat of Salzburg'. The location was a church standing on the site of the Roman-era *Augustiana castellum* where Arno had held a council in 799 already, a place which for this reason counted as the church centre of the prefect for the east.

The author of the *Conversio* then continues the story of Priwina in this way: 'He [Priwina] was later entrusted to Ratpod and for a while remained with him. In the meantime, a dispute arose between them. This filled Priwina with fear, and prompted him to run with his entourage to the land of the

Bulgars; with him was his son, Chezil, too. And not much later he went from the Bulgars to the land of Prince Ratimar' (*Conversio* c. 10). Accordingly, after he was baptised on the orders of Louis the German, he became the vassal of the Carolingian ruler's local representative, the prefect of the eastern march, Ratpod. The 'dispute' that broke out between Priwina and Ratpod was, knowing the period, some kind of power quarrel or wrangle over spheres of authority – the one between Priwina and Moimar may have been similar –, with the result that Priwina and 'his entourage' had to flee.

However, it was not easy for Priwina, who was by then unequivocally *persona non grata* on the territory north of the River Danube, to find someone who would take him in, since *Pannonia superior* (Transdanubia) and that part of *Pannonia inferior* (the western half of the territory between the Drava and Sava rivers) that was still in Carolingian hands both came under the authority of Ratpod. The Avars living to the east of the Danube had a vital interest in maintaining peaceful relations with the Carolingian Empire, of which the khagan was a vassal. (The khagan had been baptised in 805 and had expressed his loyalty to the empire a few years earlier by sending gifts.) There remained, however, the khaganate's southern border district, the area around *Sirmium*, where Priwina and his warriors could still hope to join the Bulgars then establishing themselves in the newly conquered territory.

Some hypothesise that Malamir, the Bulgar's tsar (831–836), disapproved of Priwina's upsetting of the good relations established with the Franks and therefore called upon him to leave. Namely, shortly after sailing up the River Drava for the second time, in 829, the Bulgars had, perhaps still in the time of Omurtag, already made peace with the Franks. We learn of this only indirectly, a few years later: in 832, a Bulgar envoy richly laden with presents visited the Frankish ruler, presumably to confirm the peace in the name of the new Bulgar tsar, after Malamir had succeeded Omurtag on the throne.

Priwina, then, went to Ratimar, but 'at that very time [i.e. when Priwina arrived in *Siscia*], the king of the Bavarians, Louis [the German], sent Ratpod with a large army to drive out *dux* Ratimar' (*Conver-*

*sio* c. 10). The causation now seems to be different, with Priwina leaving *Sirmium* not because of the disapproval of the Bulgar ruler but because of an invitation from Ratimar, who was based in neighbouring *Siscia*. He reached the trouble-beset Ratimar shortly before the outbreak of open armed conflict.

Let us now turn to *dux* Ratimar (~ Ratimir), with regard to whose descent and function opinions are divided. Some say that the Pannonian–Slav Ratimar on the River Sava was the indirect or direct successor of Liudewit. Others aver that he was a Bulgar governor who came to *Siscia* as a Bulgar official. Still others surmise that around 838, when he arrived at Ratimar's court, Priwina sided with the Bulgars, as a result of which the ruler of the Eastern Franks sent an army against him. According to another interpretation, the Bulgar ruler stood idly by as his vassal Ratimar was subjugated by the Eastern Franks, partly because his hands were tied by his peace agreement with the Franks (then why not the hands of the Franks also?) and partly because of his relations with Byzantium become complex again, with the result that he had to turn his full attention once more in a south-westerly direction.

The writer of the *Conversio*, however, knew nothing of Ratimar's 'Bulgarness'. Had he been a Bulgar, he would surely have mentioned it. Namely, when Louis the German sent Ratpod against Ratimar, it was not to conduct a punitive campaign against a disloyal subject, but because Bulgar–Frankish relations, which had eventually become peaceful, were again characterised by conflict and war. Since this is not mentioned either, the most likely explanation is that Ratimar was an official appointed by the Frankish ruler and belonging to the Frankish sphere of interest, someone whose main task was, as Liudewit's successor, to represent the Franks in *Siscia*. It is another question whether similarly to his predecessor he tried to pursue an independent policy, and turned against his liege lords trusting in his neighbours, partly in the Bulgars, maybe partly in certain South Slav tribes, and last but by no means least in the armed strength of Priwina, who arrived at the best possible time for him. Priwina would perhaps have strengthened Ratimar's army in an effective way had not the *Siscian* lost heart in the meantime. But 'he [i.e. Ratimar] did not

believe that he could defend himself, and fled with those of his retinue who had avoided the bloody clash'. For lack of a better option, Priwina fled ahead of him, and 'crossed the River Sava with his men; there Count Salacho took him in, and reconciled him with Ratpod' (*Conversio* c. 10).

The price of the agreement was probably not less than the one over which Priwina and Ratpod had differed years earlier, namely complete and unconditional acceptance of vassalage on the part of Priwina. After all that had happened, it was not surprising that 'when the opportunity arose, at the request of the named vassal of the king, the king bestowed on Priwina as a fief a part of Lower Pannonia on the river called the Sala. He [Priwina] settled there, built a fortification in a marshy forest area along the River Sala, gathered peoples around him from all parts, and acquired great significance on this land' (*Conversio* c. 11) **(See Fig.. 1)**

Priwina's legal status is, nevertheless, a subject of debate. Some believe that on his feudal estate in Zala he continued to operate as a Slav ruling prince and that in his person the Carolingians in essence installed a (*gentilis*) Slav ruling prince who succeeded to the Slav *duces* still active in the part of Pannonia bordering the Drava a decade earlier in 827 who had been replaced by the Bulgar *rectores*. As such, he acted as a kind of counter-weight to the principality between the Drava and Sava rivers. Others honour him as someone who became a prominent member of the Carolingian Empire's aristocracy, margrave of Lower Pannonia.

The renowned Austrian historian Herwig Wolfram thinks that Priwina's power formation next to Lake Balaton was a typical *colluvies gentium*, a formation made up of different ethnic groups, e.g. Slavs who had come from territories to the north of the Danube and from Carantania, Dudleb-Slavs from along the River Mura, and also Bavarians and Alemanni. It consisted primarily of military units outstanding on account of their mobility, and its core was made up of the ruling prince's bodyguards. Liudewit and Priwina were both *gentiles duces* under Frankish authority, even if their fates were different. Whereas Liudewit rebelled, Priwina fitted into the Frankish feudal system, despite the fact that he never

## PRIWINA'S FORTIFIED MANOR HOUSE ON ZALAVÁR–CASTLE ISLAND

Priwina began construction of a fortification (*munimen, castrum*) in the early 840s on Zalavár–Vársziget, **(Fig. 33)** one of the dry areas in the marshy pastures of the Lower Zala valley linked directly to Lake Balaton, which formed 18,000–20,000 years ago during the second half of the Würm III ice age. In the course of the work, the L-shaped sandbank island was cut through from side to side by a fortification ditch that was U-shaped in cross section. The ditch was 10–12 m wide, 2.5–3 m deep, and ran in a west–east direction. Priwina's manor house was built south of the ditch; it was protected by a palisade wall on one side and by marshes on the other three. Around the mid-850s, the island was divided further, and the middle third was marked off by a machiolated palisade wall running in a north–south direction for the *pfalz* of the archbishop of Salzburg who had the Hadrian church constructed. **(Fig. 34)** The fortification ditch running from west to east was filled in during the 870s at the latest, and the site on which the manor house stood was extended to the north. The trenches for the foundations of King Arnolf's palace at Mosaburg were dug partly in the filling of the last-mentioned fortification ditch, around 880.

Priwina's seat is first called Mosaburg in the work *Conversio* – which was compiled in 870 – when the archbishop of Salzburg spent the end of the year 865 'in Chezil's castle recently named Mosaburg' (*in castro Chezilonis noviter Mosapurc vocato*; *Conversio* c. 13). Later, in 880, Abbot Regino of Prüm mentions 'the very strong Mosaburh' (*castrum munitissimum, quod Mosaburh nuncupatur*), which is 'surrounded by impenetrable marshes which make access very difficult for those who want to go there' (*Reginonis chronica* a. 880). At this time, the stone-and-timber ramparts were not yet standing. Serving to fortify it, these ramparts extended all the way around the island. In some sections they consisted of a grid-like structure erected from beams, which was filled in with earth, and faced with dry-stone walling made from flat pieces of sand-



Fig. 33 Zalavár-Castle Island and its surroundings *(satellite photo: Google)*

stone; in other sections, the ramparts were built on a network of beams laid crosswise and diagonally that rested on three rows of posts. The ramparted castle may have been built at the very end of the 9th century or at the beginning of the 10th century, in the wave of fortification work which produced other ramparted castles in the eastern border region of the Carolingian Empire.

Fig. 34 Zalavár-Castle Island. Excavated remains of the 9th-century enclosures



achieved the position of Frankish officials of *comes* rank. Priwina's area of rule was not organised as a Frankish county; neither was Liudewit's in Siscia one generation earlier.

By contrast, the Slovene historian Peter Štih thinks that only initially did Frankish rule base the defence of the eastern border on a chain of (mostly Slavic) tribute-paying ruling princes who were under Frankish supervision but who enjoyed relative internal autonomy. Government by tribes was, however, replaced by the institution of the county in the 820s already, with a Frankish *comes* taking the place of the tribal *dux*. In this way, the last ruling prince of Carantania, Etgar, was replaced by Count Helmwin, and in the Carniola likewise there appeared a Frankish count (Salacho), while in Pannonia – in place of the *Avaria* formation (incorrectly) called by him the tribute-paying Avar khaganate – the counties of Ri-hheri and Ratpod appeared.

*Dux and comes in the Carolingian East*

Differences in rank and function among the leading personalities of the eastern perimeter area were noticed by contemporary scribes, too. Leaders in the region were emphatically distinguished from one another in the usage of name and title. In one group of leaders, after the *dux*, *princeps*, or *rex* title the name of the people they led, e.g. in the case of the Bulgar, Moravian, Bohemian, and Abodrite ruling princes. In the other, the name of a people is completely lacking. They are mentioned by their Christian name merely, which is in complete synchrony with the naming practice for Carolingian high officials or king's vassals performing administrative tasks within the empire. In the Carolingian Empire, too, only during the 9th century did a lasting adjectival construction develop in which a personal name was linked together with a function and/or a territory in which the function was performed. In rare cases when the office name of *dux*, *rector* was linked together with these, it was never linked with the name of a people but instead with the territory directed and/or with its seat, as in the case of Liudewit (*Pannonia inferioris, Siscia*), Priwina (*urbs paludarum*), and Borna (*Dalmatia et Liburnia*).

But the difference between the members of the two groups is also marked by the manner in which they related to the empire and by the type of source in which they tend to feature. When the *foederati* ruling princes of the first group participated at meetings of the Imperial Assembly either in person or by way of their envoys, they are mentioned in the annals, since these were diplomatic events. Members of the second group present at these meetings, however, are only mentioned only when if were entrusted with special tasks. They tend to figure only in private letters and deeds of gift characteristic of their work.

Differences in name usage are well delineated in relation to territories also. The territories of ruling princes belonging to the first group, i.e. those who are mentioned together with the name of a people, were outside the former Avar khaganate, while the territories of the leaders in the second group were located within this former khaganate. Among the last mentioned, the leader of *Pannonia inferior*, Liudewit, is

either denoted by means of the adjective *sclavus*, as Wonomyr was before him, or (even more frequently) by his given name merely, without a title or rank. When, in rare cases, the rank *dux* is linked with the name of Liudewit (which it is exceptionally), this is done not in the 'tribal leader' sense, since the name of a tribe was not joined to the title of *dux*, only the name of the province entrusted to him, namely *Pannonia inferior*. Exactly the same was done in the case of his liege lord Erich, duke of Friaul, a scion of an aristocratic Alemanni family, with whom, likewise, the name of his province, *Forum Iulii*, follows the name of his office, namely *dux*. Liudewit's Carolingian office-holding function is also emphasised by the language usage of Louis the Pious's biographer when he speaks of him as the *rector inferioris Pannoniae* commissioned by the Carolingian ruler. Ratimar, who succeeded Liudewit, is mentioned in the contemporary sources by his personal name or by this name along with the title *dux*. To this title *dux*, however, neither the name of a people, nor even the name of a province was appended; only from textual connections does it turn out that he, Ratimar, was the person responsible for *Pannonia inferior*, which had been entrusted to the one-time Liudewit. A borderline case in the use of titles is Borna, who operated outside the former khaganate. At the time of his first mention, he was the ruling prince of the Guduscani; later, however, he is mentioned by his personal name alone, without the name of his people already; or as the leader of Dalmatia and Liburnia.

The language usage of the author of the *Conversio* is even more telling with regard to the connection between Priwina and his 'people': not only does this people have no name, but also no reference occurs to a *gens* or *natio* which he could rightly and appropriately use if Priwina was bound to his people by blood ties, even if this people had come together by means of a *colluvies gentium*. Instead, the author uses the designation *populus* when relating that Priwina, at the time of his settlement, 'gathered around him peoples from all parts' (*et circumquaque populos congregare – Conversio* c. 11). He does this, obviously, because the term *populus* expressed more faithfully the character of his people – a character rooted in antiquity's notion of a political society (*civilis societas*) – than the term *gens*, which denotes a commu-
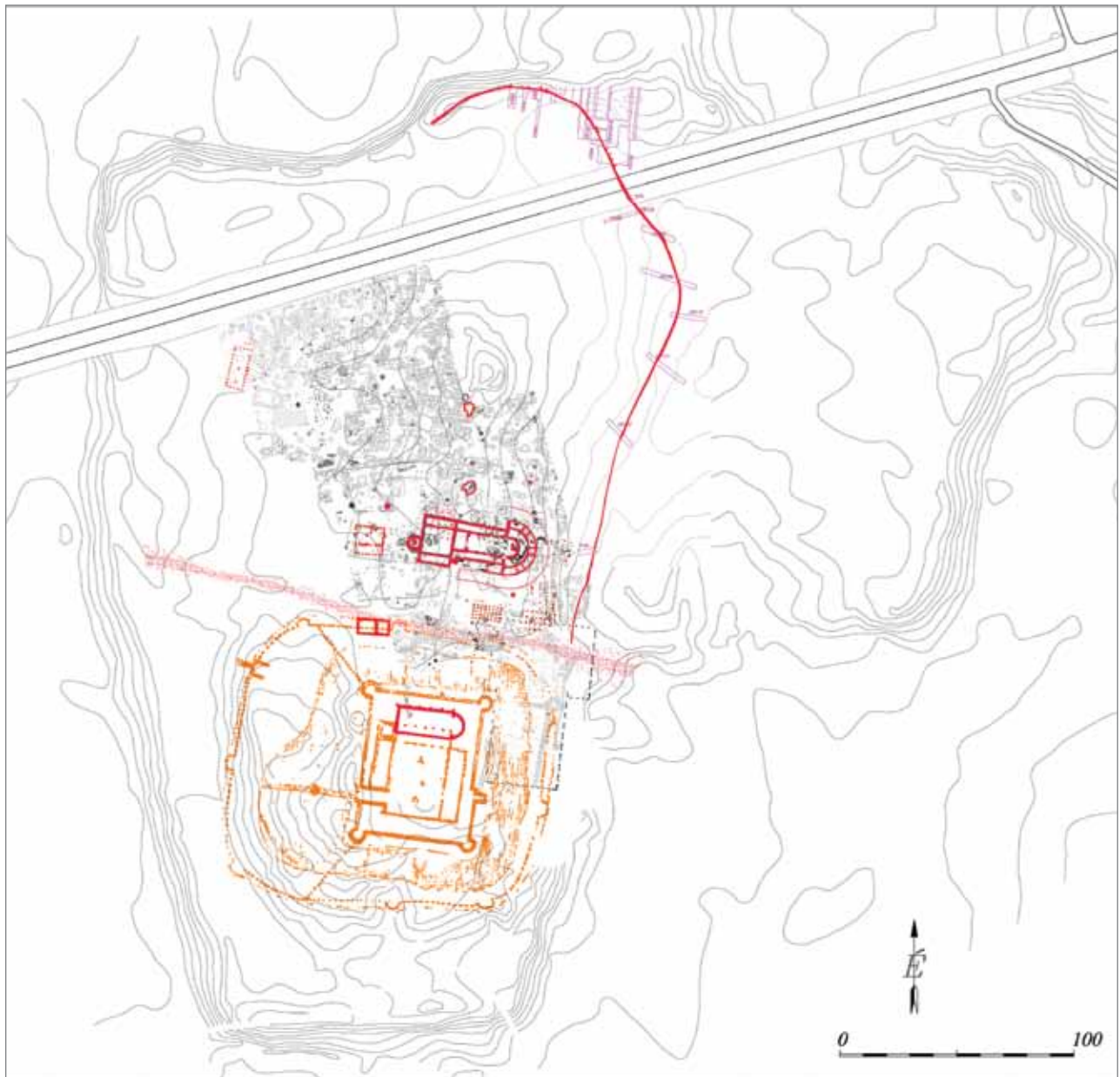
Fig. 35 Zalavár-Castle Island. Build-ups of the Carolingian period (red) and the buildingcomplex of the 1569 survey (orange)

nity of 'natural' origin or kinship and descent, or the term *natio*, which signifies a narrower regional group. Clearly, it was not a people in the narrow sense of the term that Priwina gathered around him, nor was it a *colluvies gentium* either, because he did not set up a kind of tribal alliance. As evidenced by the cemeteries from the end of the Avar age that have been excavated in the area, compared with the settlement and population density of the period he

found in those parts a sufficient population; indeed, the population was more than sufficient (this may have influenced Priwina's choice of location). Therefore, the term 'collecting of population' should be interpreted much more as the recruiting of the specialists needed to operate the early feudal administrative centre of *Mosaburg/Zalavár*.

Priwina's name is linked with a title in one instance only: when Louis the German, at the request

of Abbot Otgar of Nieder-Altaich, confirmed a gift by Priwina made at a certain *Salapiugin*, which 'my loyal duke' (*Briuuinus fidelis dux noster*) gave them 'from his property on his duchy' (*de sua proprietate in suo ducato*). For this, however, there was a special reason. That the Carolingian ruler, in an official document issued by him, called Priwina *dux*, and the territory belonging to him a *ducatus*, expressed on the highest level what Priwina enjoyed in terms of social prestige and legal status. But that this was certainly not the equivalent of *dux gentis* is evidenced by the very same deed of gift, since in order to give even his own property to the monastery at Nieder-Altaich Priwina would have needed the permission and agreement of the king! From the point of view of the change in the meaning of the title in the course of the century, it is instructive that in a document dealing with the changing of an estate dated between 876 and 880, after Priwina's death, Chezil *comes* is likewise mentioned as *dux*.

## PRIWINA AND THE CAROLINGIAN ADMINISTRATION

### From vassal to proprietor with full rights

In 846–847, Priwina's life changed significantly. As a reward for his services hitherto, in 846, Louis the German had first presented to Priwina a very significant 100-*mansio*-sized estate near to the River Valchau 'with full rights' (*in pleno iure*). Then, according to the document or documents summarised in the *Conversio* c. 12, '…it came to the knowledge of Louis [the German], so pious a king, that Priwina was with good intentions willing to serve God and him. At that time, accordingly, some of his [the king's] supporters repeatedly advised him to give into his complete ownership everything that he had hitherto held as a vassal, with the exception of those estates which by public knowledge belonged to the bishopric of Salzburg…'. The author of the *Conversio* men-
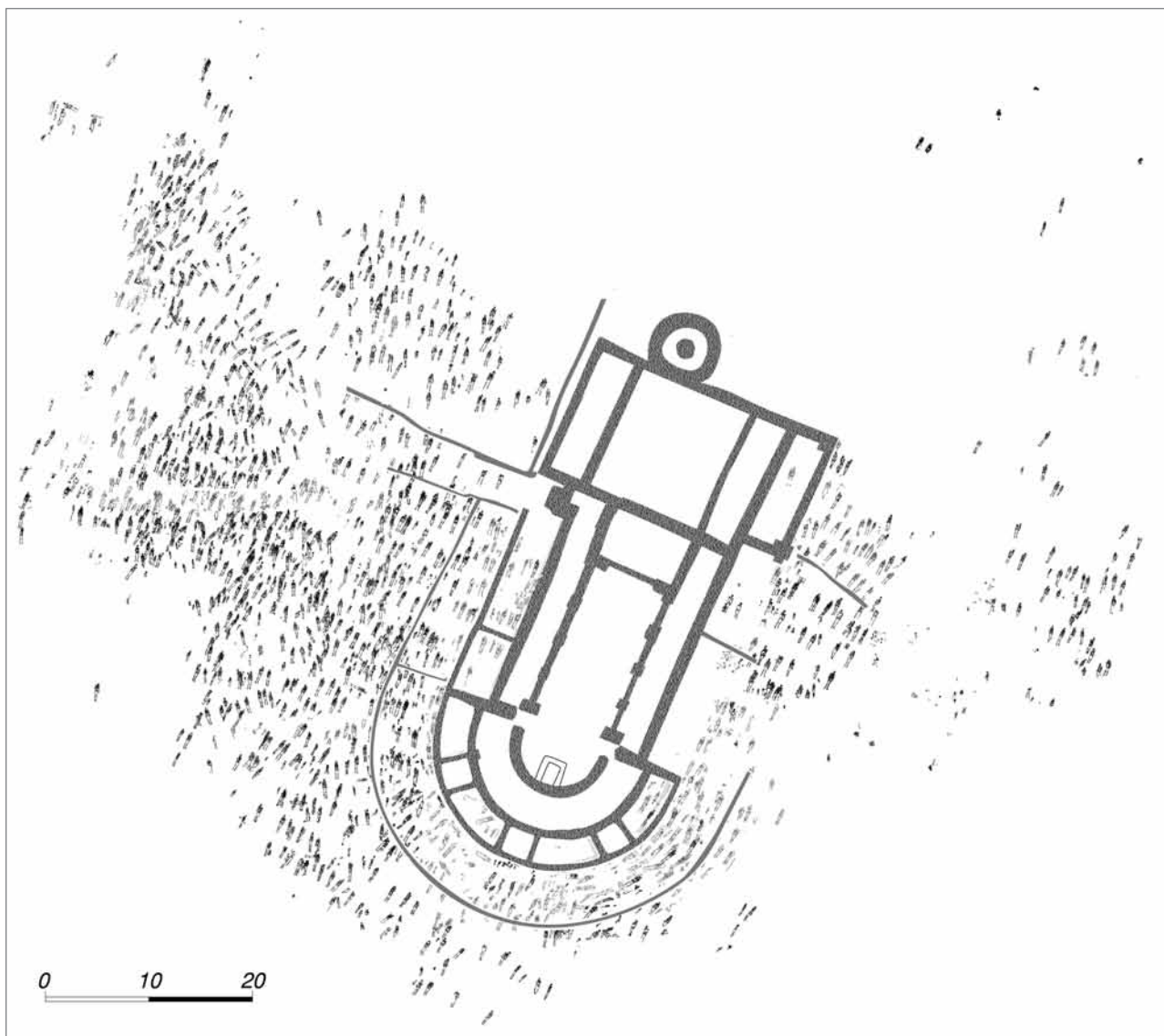
Fig. 36 Zalavár-Castle Island. Plan of the Hadrian church and its churchyard

tions Priwina merely by his Christian name, still without any title, although it is very likely that in the original document Louis the German not only had the vassal's estate changed into an allod, but in 847 elevated his vassal, who was so far without a rank, to the dignity of count of Lower Pannonia.

The special thing about this generous gift, which changed Priwina's property rights and thus his social status, was not merely its great size, since possession of so extensive an estate elsewhere, too, within the empire would have signified the rank of count or duke. It was also special because of the origins of the person so honoured. Namely, on this occasion – almost uniquely – someone who born in the former Avar khaganate, outside the Empire, and perhaps not even socialised there later managed later on to serve his probation period successfully as a vassal of the Eastern Franks.

Neither the *Conversio* nor any other source indicates that as a *gentilis* ruling prince Priwina asked and received permission to set up a *ducatus*; he received in feudal tenure – *in beneficium* – 'a part of Lower Pannonia at the river called the Sala' (*Conversio*, c. 11). Things could scarcely have happened oth-

erwise two years after the ending of Ratimar's rebellion, and in view of Priwina's stormy past and shaky loyalties. Priwina, learning from the examples of Liudewit and Ratimar, accepted unconditionally the obligations and rights that accompanied vassalage to the ruler of the Eastern Franks. He undertook that in Lower Pannonia – where representatives of the empire's ecclesiastical authorities and administration had hitherto achieved little if any progress for lack of familiarity with local circumstances, the language, and customs – he would, as the representative of Carolingian power, build up and consolidate the secular and ecclesiastical administration, and make workable the feudal system of land holding.

The decision to change the estate held in fief to an allod was made on 12 October 848 in Regensburg on an open legislative day (*placitum*) by the king, in the presence of all the significant aristocrats and high officials of the Eastern Frankish Empire responsible for affairs in the east. First among the signatories was the head of the Church in Bavaria, *Liupramm*, archbishop of Salzburg (836–859). He was followed by other notables in the Bavarian Church: *Erchanbert*, bishop of Freising (835–854), *Erchanfrid*, bishop of Regensburg (848–863), and *Hartwig*, bishop of Passau (840–866). After them came secular figures, first of all Louis the German's two sons, *Carloman*, heir to the throne of Bavaria and the Carolingian East, and *Louis* II ('the Younger'), heir to the part of the empire that lay north of there: Saxony, Thuringia, etc. Then came three high nobles of Eastern Frankish descent: Ernst, Ratpod, and Werner. Of these, the first not only in the list, but also in rank was *Ernst*, the emperor's powerful confidant, later the father-in-law of Carloman, and Bavaria's first count. Next was *Ratpod* of Fulda, a notable with Frisian roots who since 833 had been prefect of the eastern march, the Oriens (*plaga orientalis*, *Ostmark*), Louis the German's 'adviser' on the east, the most decisive person for Priwina's career, and probably the originator and principal supporter of the idea of giving him an estate. Ratpod was followed by the two counts subordinated to him: *Werinheri* (i.e. Werner II) and *Pabo*. Of Louis the German's four known palatines, Fritilo, who also signed Priwina's deed of gift, is the one who appears in other documents most often. *Tacholf*-Tachulf, *dux Sorabici limites* played a decisive role in Ernst's campaign against the Bohemians in 849. After members of the imperial aristocracy came fifteen Bavarian–Frankish grandees with estates in the south-eastern area who were much closer to Priwina in rank and significance, although we have more detailed information about only a few of them.

## Priwina and the Church of Salzburg

### Evangelisation and evangelisers in the first decade

Up to the beginning of the 870s, three churches were built in Priwina's seat. With regard to these, a few years after the consecration in 850 of the Church of Mary which Priwina had built, construction began *infra civitatem Priwinae*, i.e. in Priwina's town, of a church to which the archbishop of Salzburg sent trained men, and in which 'having been buried there, the martyr Hadrianus rested'. The Conversio is, however, silent in the matter of who had the third church built and when. This stood *in eadem civitate*, i.e. 'in the same town', was dedicated to St. John the Baptist, and, on the basis of its *patrocinium*, fulfilling the function of a baptism church (*baptisterium*). All we know is that in early 870, when the *Conversio* was written, it was already standing in Priwina's town (*Conversio* c. 11). **(Fig. 35)**

Fading memory on the part of the author is most likely explained by the fact that the baptism church had been built at the beginning or in the first half of the 840s, contemporaneously with the building of Priwina's fortified manor house (*munimen*), since one of Priwina's tasks was to facilitate by all means possible the baptising of the pagan population in the territory entrusted to his care. Because of the public function of this church, it would certainly have been built outside Priwina's fortified manor house, but near to it nevertheless, on that part of the Castle Island mentioned in 870 as a *civitas*. There – until the construction of the Church of Mary – it could have been available provisionally to Priwina and those members of his immediate circle who were already baptised for the practising of their religion.

There is the notion that the author of the *Conversio* did not speak at greater length about the Church of St.

John the Baptist because it was built not by Salzburg but by Aquileia. However, this supposition would at best have a certain chance before Priwina's settlement in the Lower Zala valley, but in the debate about the evangelisation districts it is clear that in the first third of the 9th century the River Drava marked the dividing line between Aquileia's and Salzburg's authority. The brevity of information concerning the Church of St. John the Baptist may be explained not only by fading memory, but also, perhaps, by the circumstances of the evangelisation that took place in the 840s.

We may read about the successors of Theoderich, the first evangelising bishop of Pannonia, namely about the missionaries who performed the great and difficult task of baptism, in the *Conversio* c. 9. According to this, 'in the 821st year of the birth of Jesus, Adalram, the pious teacher, took over the leadership of the seat of Salzburg. In addition to his other good deeds, he installed, after the life of Bishop Theoderich reached its end, Bishop Otto [after 821–after 836] in the way that before him Archbishop Arn had entrusted the Slavs to Bishop Theoderich'. After Otto's death, moreover, 'in the time of archbishops Liupramm and Adalwin, Oswald [after 836–c. 863] directed the Slav people as the abovementioned bishops had done in earlier times, as subordinates of the Salzburg bishops'.

Theoderich's evangelisation district is delineated clearly by the *Conversio*: 'the territory of Carantania and the territories west [correctly: north] of the Drava which border it, to the place where it joins the Danube' (*regionem Carantanorum et confines eorum occidentali parte Dravi fluminis, usque dum Dravus fluit in amnem Danubii – Conversio* c. 8). It is a general view among historians that up until the early 860s the work begun by Theoderich was continued east of the Raab by Otto and Osbald, both of Salzburg, and north of the Raab first by Anno and then by Alberichus, both of Passau. In 833, Anno received an estate of Theoderich's *in provintia Auarorum* next to the River Leitha which was located at a spring named Schönbrunn; Alberichus, on the other hand, appears in the sources in 852. At the request of the bishop of Passau, Louis the German gave him estates at Nuzpach and Sopron, *inter Raba et Chuomberch* in 859.

In reality, however, we do not see many signs of evangelisation 'east of the borders of Carantania'. From the territory of Transdanubia, no churches or – with the exception of the Cundpald chalice found at Petőháza – other finds indicative of Christian belief and dateable to the first half of the 9th century have come to light. We have no archaeological evidence to suggest that evangelisation took place successfully in the first half of the century on the Pannonian territory of the former Avar khaganate or in the vicinity of Priwina's seat constructed in valley of the Lower Zala. Ágnes Cs. Sós's notion that prior to the stone basilica on Zalavár–Récéskút there were two earlier churches, one constructed from timber and the other from timber and stone, does not withstand art historical and archaeological criticism. Pagan cemeteries opened in the Avar era, or at the end of it, remained in continuous use in the first decades of the 9th century, and evangelisation did not break up or transform the earlier communities. At this time, then, we have no information regarding the success of evangelisation other than that known from the Frankish annals, namely that the Avar aristocracy and its retinues were – formally – baptised in Pannonia. We have neither written, nor architectural evidence for more serious practice of the religion and the building of early churches; moreover, for the deepening and preservation of the achievements of the mission, continuous pastoral care would have been needed. Therefore, if churches had been constructed on the territory of the Salzburg mission before Priwina's settling there, the *Conversio* would surely have mentioned them, as it did when under Priwina and Chezil from 838/840 to around 870 – in parallel with mass baptisms – approximately thirty churches were built in Lower Pannonia from 838/840 to around 870.

With regard to Otto, Theoderich's successor, no data survives apart from his name. Concerning Otto's successor, Osbald, of Anglo-Saxon descent perhaps, the *Conversio* tells us little more than that after his death the seat of the evangelising bishop was no longer filled. Instead, 'right up to the present [i.e. around 870], Archbishop Adalwin has himself striven in the name of the Lord to direct this people, as is already apparent in many places in this district' (*Conversio*, c. 9).

It has emerged that in the background of this change there was a conflict about which the writer of

the *Conversio* is silent. This broke out between Adalwin and Osbald. The cause of the dispute – or possibly its consequence – was that Osbald twice turned directly to Pope Nicholas I (858–867) to ask his advice. The Pope's replies to these requests are known, and they shed a certain light on the difficult circumstances of evangelisation at this time. To one of Osbald's questions, namely whether a cleric who had killed a pagan in self-defence and had therefore been stripped of his office as priest could be cleansed through penance, the Pope replied that the cleric must remain excluded from the priesthood, since no priest could spill human blood. The second case concerned a fight in which a priest had struck a deacon, at which the last mentioned had fallen from his horse and broken his neck. Concerning this, Osbald proposed the settling up of a committee of investigation, with the participation of the archbishop of Salzburg and six bishops. If the blow had caused the deacon's death, the priest would need to be stripped of his office, but if the cause of death had been the deacon's fall from his horse, the priest could, with contrition, do penance.

In early 848, when Osbald was still responsible for the conversion of the population of the region to Christianity, the Saxon priest Gottschalk appeared in Pannonia and, clearly, at the court of Priwina, too. The year before, Gottschalk had, briefly, proclaimed his predestination teachings (which were suspected of being heretical) at the Cividale and/or Treviso court of Eberhard, duke of Friaul. Gottschalk arrived in Pannonia by way of Dalmatia, everywhere converting and teaching the pagan populace. He then soon went on to Mainz, because in October 848 the Council of Mainz led by Archbishop Hrabanus Maurus condemned his teachings. By means of his precepts, the *monachus gyrovagus* (wandering priest) Gottschalk produced much commotion in the empire. How much impact he was able to exert on the still-shallow Christian thinking of those living on its eastern edges is, however, unclear, since in the Lower Pannonia region the only people who could have been baptised and initiated into the faith at this time were those living in Priwina's fortified seat and some of the serving people living in the valley of the Lower Zala.

The *Conversio* demonstrates ignorance regarding Osbald's missionary work in Pannonia, although it does allude to Osbald a good deal earlier, independently of the events surrounding Priwina. Nevertheless, it is rather unlikely that precisely in the most important first decade, when the inhabitants of Lower Pannonia were being baptised *en masse* with Priwina's powerful support, Osbald *chorepiscopus*, the ecclesiastical dignitary most responsible for the christianising of the region, would not have participated actively. The *Conversio* is also silent on whether or not Osbald, the evangelising bishop deputising with full powers for the archbishops of Salzburg, had anything to do with the consecration of the first church built at Priwina's seat. However, it is certain that the Church of St. John the Baptist, concerning which the *Conversio* says in 870 merely that it was standing *in eadem civitate*, i.e. in the same town, namely in Priwina's seat, was likewise built with Osbald's knowledge and, very probably, his personal co-operation.

The continuous presence in Mosaburg of Osbald (and of evangelising monks who accompanied him) is also attested by the fact that up until 850 there was no court priest authorised by Salzburg. Also, up until Osbald was relieved of his post in late 863, Mosaburg's 'senior priest' was merely a dean (*presbyter*). Osbald's work in Pannonia was ended not by the death of the evangelising bishop, but by order of Adalwin. Osbald withdrew to the Monastery of St. Gallen. His name appears in the list of Carantanian deans inscribed in the 'confraternity book' (*liber confraternitatum*): '*Osbaldus eps.*'.

## Dominicus

On 24 January 850, when Liupramm, archbishop of Salzburg consecrated the church built *infra munimen Priwinae* and dedicated it to 'St. Mary the Virgin Mother', 'Archbishop Liupram gave Priwina's priest, Dominicus by name, into his [Priwina's] hands and power, and Liupram gave permission to this priest to say Mass in his diocese' (*Conversio*, c. 11). This is the first document quoted by the *Conversio* which puts in writing the outcome of the agreement concerning Dominicus between Salzburg and Priwina. Contemporaneously, the archbishop of Salzburg issued a letter of dismissal by which he
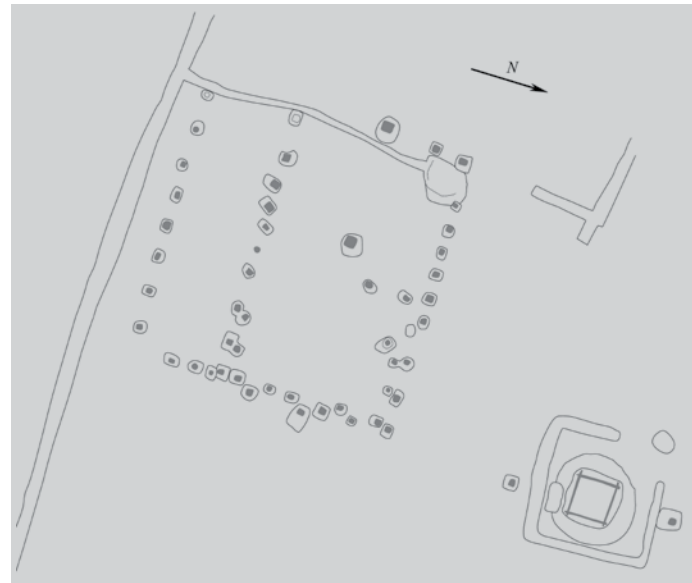
Fig. 37 Zalavár-Castle Island. Church of St John the Baptist

## ZALAVÁR–CASTLE ISLAND, THE CHURCH OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST AND THE WELL STRUCTURE

For a while, attempts were made to identify *Mosaburg*'s first church, the Church of St. John the Baptist, which was built around 840, with the basilica at Récéskút. However, with the progress of the excavations on Castle Island and the localisation of the *civitas* to it, archaeologists were convinced that the Church of St. John the Baptist must have stood on the island. Remains of the church came to light between 2007 and 2009, to the west of the Hadrian pilgrimage church. **(Fig. 37)**

The church, which was built on a frame of timber beams, was a rectangular hall church supplied with a chancel whose east end was at right angles to its north and south walls. A narrower atrium was built onto the south side of the church along almost its entire length, with the result that the ground area of the complex of buildings was 12.5 by 11.50 m, almost a square. The line of the walls of the building complex was marked out by the pits dug for the timber posts. In these pits, filling an average of 30–35 cm long at the sides indicated timber posts flat at the bottom that were rectangular in cross section. In the earth tamped down next to and under the timber posts, no kitchen waste, animal bones, or ceramic fragments were found. Accordingly, the church may have been built in the period when Priwina and his retinue had only just settled on the hitherto uninhabited island.

The square-cornered chancel end was marked out by a double row of posts, which ran from end to end on the east side and to the first three columns of the south and north sides which were connected to it. The construction work began with the inner row of posts in the chancel; first of all, the pits for these posts were dug. Then, the chancel itself was built, and afterwards the outer row of posts was put up at the same time as the construction of the church s nave. If the pits belonged to a single construction phase, then the east end of the chancel may have been similar in design to that of the rectangular Basilica of St. Benedict at Mals, where the depth of the three small apses is identical with the width of the wall, and even the north door is by and large in the same place as it is in Zalavár. It is not impossible, however, that the pits for the posts denote two construction phases, and that the outer ones are later relics of renovation or rebuilding work. The level of the church s floor at that time could not be established. A longer hiatus on the north side and another on the south side on the line where the nave meets the chancel may denote door ap-

ertures. Through the north door, it would have been possible to reach a large, deep well housed inside an edifice 5 by 5 m in ground area with palisade walls. Pentagonal in cross section, the well had a lining of stones dressed so as to be spherical. The south door would have given onto the atrium. A third door may have existed on the west side, to the north of the horizontal (west–east) axis of the church.

During the first decades, the Church of St. John the Baptist at Zalavár no doubt also fulfilled the role of mission centre and principal church of the *chorepiscopus*. As such, it may have been identical in function with the missionary churches built in the Saxon lands a couple of decades earlier. From these functions it may be inferred that no Christian deceased were buried around it in the first decades. They were buried instead at the Church of Mary, the construction of which may likewise have commenced at the time of the island's settlement.

Of the timber churches built using posts, the timber church on Castle Island is closest to German and Swiss ones in time, space, and by way of historical links also. Its two really close parallels are the Church of St. Peter at Palenberg, which has a similar ground plan, and a single-nave church with square-ended apse at Todstedt. Similarly to the Zalavár church, both were missionary and baptismal churches, moreover; both were built using the Roman foot (0.3 m) unit of measurement.

When the Hadrian pilgrimage church took over the role of mission centre, the significance of the baptismal work was already decreasing year by year. Since this was now limited to new arrivals and newborns, the approach, too, changed, and a smaller baptismal pool was sufficient. The Church of St. John the Baptist was still in existence at the time the *Conversio* was written in 870. It was demolished not long afterwards, at some point during the final third of the 9th century. A foundation trench for a palisade wall was dug in the place of its west facade, and an antler-processing workshop and a (goldsmith's?) workshop were established next to it. By the Arpadian age, even memory of the church had disappeared. However, the well, protected by its well house, was continuously used and kept clean by the local population in the 10th century, with the result that the inhabitants of the place, which had new life breathed into it by the Benedictines who settled there at the beginning of the Arpadian era, renovated it and supplied it with a new lining made of planks.

With the discovery in the 1990s of the deep fortification ditch (width: 10–12 m, depth: 2.5–3 m) cutting through and dividing the southern arm of Castle Island in a west–east direction, researchers ascertained the location not just of Priwina's fortified manor house (*munimen*), but also of the Church of the Virgin Mary built within it and consecrated on 24 January 850. Some of the burials located to the east and (in smaller part) to the north of the supposed site of the church building were excavated by Géza Fehér between 1951 and 1954. In his opinion, burials in the multi-layer cemetery began in the mid-9th century, with the so-called 'large coffin' burials, and continuous use of the cemetery ended sometime in the Arpadian era. But Fehér separated the burials schematically, by apportioning the finds merely on the basis of the depth at which they were discovered. Accordingly, he dated some of the head jewellery and the beads to the 10th century. In the light of our present knowledge, however, they are not later than the last third or the end of the 9th century. **(See Fig 30, 32)** Consequently, continuity between the Carolingian and Arpadian ages, long considered proven, still awaits evidence.

The Church of Mary has been known the longest and is the most illustrious historically. Nevertheless, it is the church about which we know least. The data tells us that it was restored by the Benedictines at the beginning of the Arpadian era. According to deeds of foundation dated 1019 and 1024 (both are forgeries made before 1347), the church was consecrated and dedicated to St. Hadrian the Martyr at the command of King Stephen in 1019. Modified to an unknown degree in later centuries, this Arpadian-era church was surveyed by the military engineer Giulio Turco in 1569. **(Fig. 38)** According to him, it had three naves (?) and a semi-circular apse whose arch was scarcely narrower than the nave it served; additionally, the north and south naves were joined to the apse (approx. 26 × 12 m) by a straight wall at the end. In its southern third, the church featured a row of pillars (?). The church's north wall was supplied with buttresses and the building had a thick-walled, rectangular tower joined onto its southwest corner which

may or may not have belonged to it. The church's entrance was located in the eastern part of the south side. Beyond this ground plan, no section of the building that would lend itself to archaeological evaluation of any kind is known. The fortress was renovated in 1685–86, but had become uninhabited by 1700. Two years later, in 1702, it suffered the fate of the other Hungarian border fortresses: it was blown up on orders from Leopold I. The abbey's goods passed to the Benedictines at Göttweig (Upper Austria). However, rather than rebuilding the ruins, they asked and received permission to build a new church and cloister at Zalaapáti. Many of the ruins at Zalavár were used as a source of stone for the construction of these edifices, and although from the mid-19th century the scientific world followed the fate of the ruins with attention, it was unable to prevent their utter destruction.

Fig. 38 Giulio Turco's survey on the fortified monastery of Zalavár, 1569
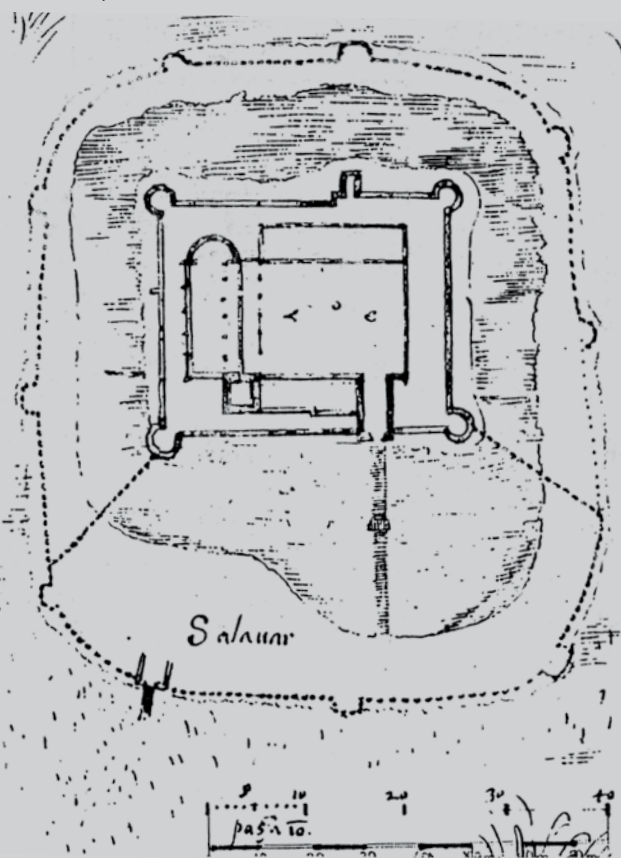
Fig. 39 Set of spurs
▪ *Zalavár-Castle Island Cemetery of St Mary's church, grave 269, MNM 54.26.107.a–c; Iron, copper and silver inlay; L. 19,1 cm W. 10,3 cm*

made it possible for Dominicus to leave the see of Regensburg and, as Priwina's *presbyter*, to celebrate Mass henceforth under the authority of Salzburg.

We know nothing about Dominicus's origins or family connections. Nevertheless, he surely belonged to Louis the German's immediate circle, because when, after the death of Louis the Pious on 20 June 840, Louis the German could finally place the court chancellery in the hands of his own followers, he entrusted the leadership of it to Ratleic of Seligenstadt and chose Dominicus as his new notary. As such, Dominicus issued four documents all at once for the Monastery of Corvey, on 10 December 840. Dominicus could surely look forward to a promising future. Even so, he performed his notarial tasks for a short time only, scarcely for a year. On 15 September 844 (?), he was the beneficiary of a deed of gift: at the request of Baturich, bishop of Regensburg (817–847), and also of counts Werinharius (Werner II) and Pabo, Louis the German, at Roding, north of Regensburg, granted him an estate at Zöbernbach bei Lebenbrunn, at a place where the counties of Ratpod and Rihhari respectively bordered one another. The high-ranking sponsors belonging to the circle of Louis the German's inner circle of advisers and the location of Dominicus's estate – not too distant from those of his sponsors – suggest that Dominicus continued to be an important person at the court.

The *Conversio* contains no reference of any kind as to whether Dominicus fulfilled the function of *presbyter* in another church prior to the construction of the Church of Mary. However, he could scarcely have been court priest to Priwina from the mid-840s, since according to the practice known from the *Conversio*, the archbishop of Salzburg gave a priest to a church and 'entrusted to him the church and the spiritual care of its [the church's] people, as required by the regulations for priests' (*Conversio* c. 11). Therefore, the archbishop sought – and in the person of Dominicus found – a priest for the church only after its construction, and would have done so in the case of the Church of Mary also. Furthermore, in the case of Dominicus, who was linked not to Salzburg but to Regensburg, special 'permission had to be given to a priest to say Mass in a diocese', i.e. so that he could operate lawfully, and '… no priest of any kind who came from outside dared to practise his office for a period longer than three months without showing his discharge paper from the bishop' (*Conversio* c. 11).

### Sandrat and Ermperht

Besides Dominicus, other priests may have been active around Priwina in the first decade already. Two of these priests had made their own churches ready for consecration by the time the Church of Mary was festively consecrated.

According to the *Conversio* c. 11, when Archbishop Liupram, after his consecration of the Church of Mary, was 'returning from there' along with Chezil, he consecrated the church of the priest Sandrat (*ecclesia Sandrati presbyteri*), to whom 'Chezil gave land and forests and meadows in the presence of the above-mentioned persons, and himself designated their boundaries [those of the lands given]. At the same time, Chezil made a gift [of land] to the church of the priest Ermperht also (*ecclesia Ermperhti presbyteri*), which the above-mentioned archbishop consecrated, and which Engildeo and his two sons, and also Ermperhtus possessed there, and he walked around the boundaries [of it] with the above-mentioned men. The three events took place on a single day: 24 January 850. However, the fact that the churches of Sandrat and Ermperht were 'outside the town' (*foris civitatem*) indicates that they could not have been situated too far from it, otherwise there would have been no sense in relating them to the town.

Since the Church of Mary standing *infra munimen* can be localised to the southern 'arm' of the L-shaped Castle Island, and the Martyr Hadrianus Pilgrimage Church and the Church of St. John the Baptist standing *infra civitatem Priwinae* to the middle third of the Castle Island – the *civitas*, then, was identical with the third part delimited by a palisade wall which covered the area at the meeting of the arms of the L-shape –, the churches of Sandrat and Ermperht may rationally be sought only in the third, eastern, third. Even today, this is completely unresearched archaeologically. These hopes have been shattered utterly by geophysical measurements. It has become clear that a densely inhabited Outer Castle stood on the third situated on the eastern arm of the island, with no signs, however, of one or two churches with cemeteries around them containing many hundreds of burials.

There remains the possibility that Sandrat's and Ermperht's churches stood on larger island-like eminences suitable for settlement that lay near to Castle Island. In this case, it is very probable that these churches were built on Récéskút and Borjúállás islands, the two islands situated closest to Castle Island. On these, remains have come to light not only of churches of significant size, but also of buildings indicative of manor houses belonging to nobles.

It has been suggested that either the Borjúállás or the Récéskút church could be identical with the church consecrated in honour of St. Stephen the Protomartyr on an estate of Wittimar on the second day of Christmas 864 by Adalwin, archbishop of Salzburg. But while the *Conversio* precisely localised the church consecrations of 850 by saying that Sandrat's and Ermpehrt's churches were outside the *civitas*, i.e. in direct proximity to it, concerning Wittimar's church we know only that its consecration took place on the day after Christmas, i.e. the church to be consecrated could have been situated as far as 10–15 km away, approximately half a day's walk. This church, then, could only be identical with a church on Borjúállás or Récéskút island if another new noble manor house and church come to light in direct proximity to the *civitas*.

The author of the *Conversio* makes a delicate distinction between the church of Sandrat and that of Ermperht. Namely, in the case of Sandrat's church not only was the church new, but also the estate given to its priest: this Chezil gave to Sandrat when the church was completed and consecrated, and later the two of them walked round its boundaries. In the case of the priest Ermperht, however, Chezil gave a gift to a church which already belonged to an existing, operational estate – 'which Engildeo and his two sons, and also the priest Ermperht possessed there'. Accordingly, a house belonging to Engildeo and his two sons may have been standing there a little earlier than the house belonging to Sandrat, who may have arrived with Dominicus. The priest Sandrat's name features twice in the Salzburg *liber confraternitatum*, near to the name of Dominicus, Priwina's first priest. It is, however, possible that Ermperht had arrived before Dominicus. Namely, in 844, when Paldachar, Cundpato's *vir nobilis* and *advocatus*, gave an estate to Freising, Engildeo was the second witness. However, among the witnesses Ermperht, too, was present, besides many other nobles known from Priwina's intimate circle. He was likewise a witness sometime before 859 (?), when Chezil *humillimus comes* made a gift from his inheritance to the Monastery of St. Emmeram in Regensburg, to which act Ratpod *comes* was the first witness. Engildeo's career – or more probably that of his similarly named son – began in 870, when he became count of Nordgau and the Upper Danube, continuing in this office until 895.

## ZALAVÁR–RÉCÉSKÚT, 'BASILICA'

Built near to the southern edge of the small, L-shaped island, this church was first excavated in 1946–47, and subsequently in 1953, by Aladár Radnóti. Rectangular in ground plan (20.2–20.5 × 12.1 m), the 'basilica' was a three-nave hall church. On its south-western side was a stair turret (width: 4.6 m). In the straight east wall, three apses had been 'written in' (width of main chancel: 4.6 m, width of side chancels: 2.1 m, depth of all three chancels: 2.75 m). Four construction phases could be determined. Phase I could be dated to the 9th century, Phase II to the 11th century, and Phase III to the first half of the 14th century, before the reign of Louis I ('the Great') of Hungary (1342–1382), while Phase IV could be dated to the Ottoman period, namely to the 16th–17th century. Since little material suitable for dating has come to light, Phase I was dated to the 9th century in the light of stylistic evidence at the church, e.g. grey earthenware tiles with wavy lines and a small yellowish white vessel, 'a Byzantine ceramic artefact with notch decoration', which was found at the north-eastern corner of the narthex.

After she had surveyed the documentation, Ágnes Cs. Sós directed her attention first and foremost to two rows of posts discovered by Radnóti. These stretched in a line parallel to the 'basilica', and seemed to be earlier than that structure. In order to clarify the character and age of the building belonging to the pits for the posts, between 1961 and 1963 she largely re-

excavated the area around the 'basilica'. The results of her excavations were two new 'timber churches' dated to a period before the stone 'basilica'.

Ágnes Cs. Sós dated the 'timber church', no. 1 to the early 9th century, and considered it to be a relic of the missionary work conducted after Charlemagne's campaigns. This would have been a timber church that left no traces architecturally, a structure determinable in the light of the ground area it occupied and the cemetery around it. A common characteristic of the burials



Fig. 40 Zalavár-Récéskút
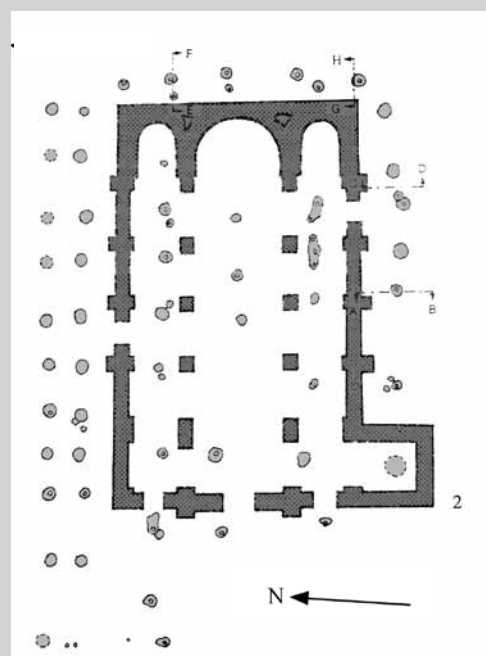
here was the lack of rubble from the so-called 'R' layer. The 'stone-and-timber church', no. 2 would have been built in the second half of the 9th century, and was, as Bogyay avers, identical with the Church of St. John the Baptist mentioned in the *Conversio*. This church (30 × 19.5 m) was indicated by a stone-and-brick layer ('R' layer) which was pierced through by large pits for posts at 2 m from each other on average. The east wall of the chancel of this 'basilica', which on the basis of the timber posts was a three-nave hall church that was oblong in shape, was slightly curved. Only after the destruction of this church could the stone 'basilica' have been built, in the early 11th century. According to Ágnes Cs. Sós, next to the 'basilica' a 'pavement' of flat stones was laid out in this phase in a makeshift way on the levelled surface of the 'R' layer, and that this pavement belonged to a phase identical with the first level of the floor inside the church. Moreover, of the burials around the church, she assigned to this phase those that were above the 'R' level and those that were in it, possibly piercing it through from top to bottom.

The uniquely large size of the 'stone-and-timber church' was itself suspicious, but the existence of the 'timber churches' was not proved by the relationship of the 'R' layer to the stone walls or by the finds in the burials. Namely, the post pits are later in time than the

foundations for the stone 'basilica', and no earlier sacral building or buildings were standing or had stood on the site where the stone 'basilica' was built. And the dateable finds from the multilayer cemetery could all be dated to the years from the second third or middle of the 9th century to the early 10th century, namely to its first few decades. Because of the conspicuously identical distances between the wooden posts and the wall of the stone 'basilica', it was suggested that these may have belonged to scaffolding put up for the construction (reconstruction?) of the stone church in the early Arpadian era. But worries came to light in connection with the scaffolding idea, too. For the time being, the most likely explanation is that the posts were the remains of a structure or structures which joined onto the partly renovated, ruinous stone building, which possibly did not even serve a sacral purpose in the 10th and/or 11th century. **(Fig. 40)**

The stone 'basilica' belongs to a church type which enjoyed a long life. This type appeared in the Holy Land and in neighbouring territories in the first half of the 6th century and spread fairly widely in the Mediterranean area. The use of a closed rectangular ground plan goes back to an attraction towards the cubic spaces that developed in late antiquity, and this may have influenced the rectilinear design of apses. This type of ground plan soon spread on the Adriatic coastline. Then, at the beginning of the Carolingian age, it spread in Italy (e.g. S. Maria in Cosmedin, Rome), all the way to southern Tyrol, where it was a favoured type in the 11th century, and later in Istria, where it was similarly popular in the 15th century. Therefore, researchers have been able to place the 'basilica' at Récéskút in the Carolingian era or in the early Arpadian time, using convincing arguments in both cases.

When deciding the time of the construction of the 'basilica' at Récéskút, the final word belongs to the archaeological material. In the light of this, it is certain that the stone church was built in the Carolingian age, and possibly rebuilt in that age. It is also probable that owing to secular reconstruction in the 10th century and its simple, rectangular exterior, the original sacral character of the building, which had become ruinous by the Arpadian age, was no longer recognised and that the edifice lost its function as a church once and for all.

## ZALASZABAR–BORJÚÁLLÁS, TIMBER CHURCH AND MANOR HOUSE

This is located scarcely 600 m northwest of Zalavár–Castle Island. The two are connected by a timber road, which also links Zalaszabar–Borjúállás Island with Zalaapát Ridge via Dezső Island to the west. During excavations conducted in 1968–69 and 1980–84, hardly any signs of settlement were found in the western half of the island. In the eastern half, however, five plank-lined wells were found running in a north–south direction at a distance of 20–30 m from one another. In the light of these, we can hypothesise that around 840, at the same time as Priwina's settling on Castle Island, a single-street settlement came into being here. On the basis of the surfaces left free, the dwelling houses in this settlement may have been 'footed' timber houses built on the surface of the ground. A relatively short time afterwards, a well, along with pits for various purposes, was dug at the highest point of the island (107.1 m above sea level) and the dwelling house or houses there may have been demolished. Then, a rectangular area approximately 25 × 32 m was girded round with a palisade wall at least 3 m high (the lower parts of the posts were placed very close together in a deep ditch). The west side of this enclosure featured a gate barely 2 m wide. **(Fig. 41)**

In the middle of the area enclosed, a 'footed' timber church was erected using a 'log-cabin' technique. Its ground plan is outlined by the burials around it. Some of the stones placed under the bottom beams survived; they would have protected them from moisture. In the nave of the one-nave hall church (17 × 7 m) featuring a chancel with a straight (or polygonal?) end, there were still patches of the original floor laid from Roman-age wall bricks. In the chancel (approx. 4.5 × 4 m), however, the floor had not survived; this was either of beaten clay or was slightly raised, and was therefore missing. At approximately 2.5 m from the chancel, a partition wall was built on foundations of stone set in poor-quality mortar, with a 1-m-wide way through in the middle. This may have been made later, when a narthex approximately 4 m long was joined to its western end. In the narthex, only the burials were covered with Roman bricks. Part of an iron hinge perhaps belonging to the church door came to light there. The

best parallel of the church is the church of the manor house at Břeclav–Pohansko in which even the rood-screen was in by and large the same place as on Zalaszabar–Borjúállás Island.

Inside the enclosure, directly on the inner side of the gate, burials were missing over an area approximately 5 × 10 m. The manor house of the lord of the



Fig. 41 Zalaszabar–Borjúállás-sziget *(Zala c.)*

Fig. 42 Pair of spurs
▪ *Zalaszabar–Borjúállás-sziget BM  Iron; L .15–17 cm W. 6–7 cm*





Fig. 43 Earring
▪ *Zalaszabar–Borjúállás-sziget BM Gy.N. 2013.23.9; Silver; L. 2,9 cm*



Fig. 44 Pair of earrings
▪ *Zalaszabar–Borjúállás-sziget BM Gy.N. 82.4.1; Gold; L 3,75–3,9 cm*



Fig. 45 Earring
*Zalaszabar–Borjúállás-sziget BM Gy.N. 82.2.1; Gold; L. 3,9 cm*

■ *Zalaszabar–Borjúállás-sziget*
*BM Gy.N. 82.3.1; Silver; L. 3,1 cm*

Fig. 47 Pair of earrings
■ *Zalaszabar–Borjúállás-sziget*
*BM Gy.N. 2013.23.5; Silver; L. 5,5 cm*

Fig. 48 Fragment of an earring
■ *Zalaszabar–Borjúállás-sziget*
*BM Gy.N. 2013.23.10; Silver; L. 2,3 cm*

settlement may have stood here, a structure likewise built using a log-cabin technique and possibly with an upper storey. On the other side of the gate, between the church and the palisade wall, an empty space amounting to 21 m² (5.5 × 3.8 m) may indicate an out-building belonging to the manor house. On the southern side of the church, the burials were arranged especially close together; here burials on top of each other were common. Near to the southeast corner, abutting the palisade wall, there are, however, two free areas of almost 4 m² each. On each of these there was perhaps some kind of smaller timber building.

Identification of the owner of the manor house and the *patrocinium* of the church can be attempted with the help of the *Conversio*. One possibility is given by the circumstance that when Archbishop Liupram consecrated the Church of Mary in Mosaburg on 24 January 850, he sought out and consecrated, on that same day and in the company of Chezil~Kocel, the churches of the priests Sandrat and Ermpehrt; these must have been in direct proximity to Mosaburg. The second possibility stems from the report that Archbishop Adalwin consecrated the church built in honour of St. Stephen the Protomartyr – on an estate belonging to Witemir~Wittimar, who had been present as a witness at the consecration of the Church of Mary – on 26 December 864, having just celebrated Christmas in Chezil~Kocel's castle. The Church of St. Stephen the Protomartyr likewise could not have been far from Castle Island. Consequently, any of these three churches could have been the structure on Borjúállás Island. The issue cannot be decided on the basis of the archaeological data. Although burials began around the church immediately, of the finds from the 805 burials excavated, those deriving from the second half of the 9th century and possibly the first third of the 10th century cannot be dated to particular decades.

In three quarters of the burials, there were no grave goods of any kind. Animal bones indicative of food for the journey to the next life occurred in none of the burials, and ceramic vessels for drink were found in just five, in the earliest and the latest burials. The number of burials which could be regarded as rich was fewer

than fifty. The majority of the burials used coffins, but notables were placed in coffins strengthened with large iron nails and in some cases iron bands, rather than in simple carpentered examples, and were interred in direct proximity to the church.

The male burials yielded in most cases an iron knife, an iron buckle, and, possibly, a fire striker and flint in a leather bag hung on the belt. Parallels for a gilded bronze belt decoration are known from northeast Bavaria and from Polish territories. **(See Fig. 53)** A single weapon, a battle axe, presumably with the role of warding off trouble, was found in one of the earliest child burials. Spurs were found in the burials of two men and one older boy; these artefacts can be regarded as symbols of dignity indicating high-born descent**.(Fig. 42)**

From the burials of women and girls, gold, silver, silver gilt, and bronze gilt jewellery came to light. Some of the pieces are masterpieces of goldsmith's art in the so-called Veligrád style and required a high level of craftsmanship. **(Fig. 43)** Such are the four-sphere gold pendants decorated with beading and filigree, **(Fig. 44, 45)** the basket-like pendants decorated with openwork spheres, **(Fig. 46)** and the crescent-shaped silver pendants supplied with little chains. **(Fig. 47)** Many variants of the two-sided bunch-of-grapes pendant came to light, ranging from those made from silver with real beading to examples cast from bronze and then gilded, on which the beading was mere imitation. **(Fig. 48)** The silver gilt, silver, and bronze gilt hollow buttons, assembled from two pressed sheet-metal semi-spheres and supplied with loops, came to light in pairs; they were decorated with beading or engraving, **(Fig. 49)** just like the silver finger rings with a pressed sheet-silver matrix. **(See Fig. 30)** In one particular case, a ring and a pendant cast from lead and featuring two insets of blue glass imitated a silver original – their parallels apperaed among the finds from Vársziget. **(Fig. 51)**

Members of the common people wore simple wire jewellery made from bronze: as well as plain oval hoops, jewellery decorated with a metal band and/or a pendant at two points on the lower part of the hoop, with other spiral pendants underneath which broadened towards the bottom or with ends finishing in a multiple S-shapes. In addition, there are the pendants with dangling hollow or glass spheres, an eye-and-hook catch, and pendants with multiple hoops on the lower hoop. Glass buttons with bronze or iron loops substituted for precious-metal ones. As well as simple strap rings, so-called shield rings decorated with protuberances and dots were found. Bead necklaces came to light from twenty-two burials. **(Fig. 50)** Of these, beads from the late Avar age shaped like melon seeds, mosaic-eye beads imported from Western Europe, and three-section beads made from pressed sheet silver (originally pendants of earrings) were present in small number only. **(Fig. 52)**

After Transdanubia came under Hungarian control, only the landholding families fled: the common people stayed where they were. The destroyed palisade wall was not renovated, but the rotten posts were knocked down and those in better condition were dug out. Since there was now no spatial impediment to the expansion of the cemetery, burials there continued undisturbed in the first third or first half of the 10th century. Linear arrangement of burials now occurred scarcely at all; the same applied for burials on top of one another. We do not know when use of the cemetery ceased, but the most characteristic artefact of attire in the culture of the common people which developed around the mid-10th century, namely the simple S-ended hair-ring, has not come to light on Borjúállás Island.

The area has not been ploughed since the 10th century, and archaeological phenomena appear directly beneath the grass-covered surface. The skeletal remains of newborn infants buried at a modest depth could be discovered, too. Seven hundred and seventy-seven skeletons from a total of 805 burials proved suitable for anthropological investigations. In light of these, mortality in the Borjúállás Island community was very high. Life expectancy at birth was less than 22 years. Close to 60 per cent of the 460 skeletons examined were of individuals who died aged 0–14 years. Within this group, the number of newborns was 96 and the number of those who died aged 1–4 years was 207. The cemetery was in use for at least 40 years, but more likely for 80 years. In the case of its use over a 40-year period, the size of the settlement could have been 467 inhabitants; in the case of its use over an 80-year period this number could have been 233. Both figures indicate a settlement qualifying as significant in 9th-century terms.

*Róbert Müller*

Fig. 49 Pairs of spherical plate buttons
▪ *Zalaszabar–Borjúállás-sziget*
*BM Gy.N. 81.3.1, 83.1.1; Gilded silver; L. 2,5 cm and 1,8 cm*

Fig. 50 Pearl necklaces
▪ *Zalaszabar–Borjúállás-sziget*
*BM Gy.N. 81.4.1, 82.5.1, 2013.23.3; Glass*

Fig. 51 Lead pendants and finger ring
▪ *Zalaszabar–Borjúállás-sziget, BM Gy.N. 81.3.2, 82.7.1;*
*Lead; Pendant L. 4,3 cm W. 2,2 cm; Ring D. 2,5 cm*
▪ *Zalavár-Vársziget, MNM 53.52.23; Lead L. 2,8 cm, W. 2,2 cm*







Fig. 52 Pendants of earrings as part of a necklace
▪ *Zalaszabar–Borjúállás-sziget, BM Gy.N. 82.4.2;*
*Gilded bronze, L: 2,4 cm*

Fig. 53 Mount
▪ *Zalaszabar–Borjúállás-sziget, BM Gy.N. 82.6.1;*
*Gilded bronze; L. 5,2 cm W. 3,6 cm*

*Salapiugin*

Scarcely two or three years after the consecration of the Church of Mary (852–853), had Adalwin consecrated 'a church at Salapiugin in honour of St. Rupert. Priwina gifted this to God, St. Peter, and St. Rupert together with all its appurtenances on condition that the men of God from Salzburg would have the usufruct of it indefinitely' (*Conversio* c. 12).

.*Salapiugin* (i.e. Sala-beug), is a place name formed from a natural name indicating a settlement situated 'at the bend of the Zala', with the result that it can be localised only approximately. Rising in the Alps, this river, which transports a relatively small amount of water, for a long while flows from west to east in a straight line for the most part. In this river's valley, the first major bend to occur is the one in the Zalaszentiván–Petőhenye–Alibánfa section, because the emptying into the Zala of the Szévíz from the south and the Sárvíz from the north divert the river from its straight course. The first truly significant and spectacular bend, however, can be observed in the Zalabér–Batyk–Zalaszentgrót region, where the River Zala, then flowing in a north-easterly direction, suddenly turns south. It then flows south to the Kehida district, in a bed which is for the most part straight. After this, the Zala widens increasingly, and disappears into the open waters of the marshland of the Lower Zala valley. It is, then, worth seeking the Salapiugin settlement in either the Zalaszentiván or the Zalabér region.

At the time of the church's consecration, around 823–853, a part of Salapiugin was taken away from the territories granted to Priwina and was given to Salzburg. That the whole estate was not thus transferred is proved by a document of Louis the German dated 20 February 860 in which, at the request of Abbot Otgar, the king confirmed Priwina's gift to the Monastery of Nieder-Altaich. At that time, the boundaries of the estate were walked round and the names of the settlements neighbouring the gifted territory recorded. According to the data, Salapiugin's boundaries in the east extended beyond the Sala stream to *Slougenzinmarcha* and *Stresmaren*, then across the Zala upwards in a straight line to *Uualtungesbah*, and from there straight on to *Chirihstetin* and *Hrabagiskeit*. Since according to its narrative the

document merely confirmed – in line with Priwina's directions – for the abbot of Nieder-Altaich everything that he, Priwina, had gifted to the monastery earlier on, Priwina was probably not present when this document was drawn up in Regensburg.

*Building up a network of private churches*

We can form a picture of the extent of the territory in Lower Pannonia ruled by Priwina and his son Chezil from the data in the *Conversio* regarding places with churches. This is in small measure supplemented and confirmed by data contained in deeds drawn up by some other donors. Although many have attempted to do so, it is for the time being not possible to identify the places with churches given in the *Conversio* with today's settlements and place names, or possible to do so only very approximately.

As well as the three churches built in Mosaburg, the churches of Sandrat and Ermperht consecrated *foris civitatem* at the same time as the Church of Mary, and the Church of St. Rupert built in Salapiugin, the *Conversio* mentions another thirty churches built outside Mosaburg up to 870. In Priwina's time, churches were constructed outside the town '*in Dudleipin, in Ussitin, ad Businiza, ad Bettobiam, ad Stepiliperc, ad Lindolveschirichun, ad Keisi, ad Wiedhereschirichun, ad Isangrimeschirichun, ad Beatuseschirichun, ad Quinque Basilicas*, which were consecrated in the time of Liupram [i.e. before 859]; and, apart from these *ad Otareschirichun* [and] *ad Paldmunteschirichun*, as well as in other places where Priwina and his [ecclesiastical] people wished it' (*Conversio*. c. 11).

Nor did the zeal for church-building diminish after Priwina's death. Bishop Adalwin spent the Christmas of 864 in Chezil's castle, and then, on 26 December, 'consecrated a church on the estate of *Wittimar* in honour of St. Stephen the Protomartyr. Then, on 1 January, he consecrated a church in honour of St Michael the Archangel at *Ortaha*, on Chezilo's estate at that place. On 13 January that the same year, he consecrated a church at *Weride* in honour of St. Paul the Apostle. Likewise in that year, on 19 February (correctly: 14 January), he consecrated a church at *Spizzun* in honour of St. Margaret the

## PLACE-NAMES IN CAROLINGIAN PANNONIA

One group of settlement names consists of a compound name in which the second part refers to a geographical characteristic, such as water (*-aha*), e.g. *Litaha*, *Bielaha*, *Ortaha*, *Quartinaha*, *Smidaha*; a brook (*-bach*), e.g. *Kirich-bach*, *Nuzpach*, *Uualtungesbah*; a hill (*-perch*) e.g. *Uuitine-sperch*; a well-spring (*-brunn*) e.g. *Brunnaron*, *Sconibrunno*; or a bend (*-piugin*) e.g. *Salapiugin*. Sometimes the name itself indicates that the settlement is in a marsh (*Mos-aburg*, *Mosapurc*), on an island (*Weride* – Insel), or on a raised piece of land (*Spizzun* – Landspitze).

In one small group of the place-names, the prefix seems to denote an owner, as in the names *Stepiliperc*, *Uuitanesperc*, and *Quartinaha*. In the latter, it was, perhaps, a certain Quartinus, of Breones and Bavarian descent (*nationis Noricorum et Pregnariorum*), mentioned in a document dated 827–828 and included in the Freising book of donations, whose name emerges. This place-name occurs in a number of documents; of these, the most important, dated 876–880, tells that there was a church consecrated to St. John the Evangelist in the settlement, which stood beside Lake Balaton (*iuxta Bilisasseo*).

In another group of place-names, the second constituent of the compound, –church (*-chirichun*), was added to the name of the estate holder, e.g. *Lindolves-*, *Wiedheres-*, *Isangrimes-*, *Beatuses-*, *Otares- Paldmuntes-*, and *Muzziliheschirichun*. Two characteristics common to the place-names ending in *-chirichun* are that they are known only from the *Conversio* and that the saints to which these churches were consecrated are never given. In one case only, that of the place-name *Quinque Basilicae ~ V aecclias*, a numeral is found in front of the second constituent *-basilica*, rather than the name of the estate holder. Finally, the *ecclesia* designation discussed above can also be assigned to this type of place-name. The name of the owner was always supplied with a genitive ending; see *ecclesia Sandrati presbyteri,*

*Ermperhti presbyteri*. An *ecclesia* may have belonged to a higher-ranking, significant person and/or may have been a more prestigious edifice, since each lay near the central island and the archbishop of Salzburg began the consecrations with them.

A smaller group consists of those place-names in which the owner's name is joined with the term village (*-dorf*, e.g. *Kundpoldesdorf*), manor (*villa Wampaldi*), or estate (*proprium*). In the latter case, broader information concerning the owner is available. On 26 December 864, Archbishop Adalwin consecrated a church *in proprietate Wittimaris*, dedicating it to St. Stephen the Protomartyr. The importance of the person of Witti-mar ~ Witemir may be indicated by the circumstance that following the Christmas festivities the archbishop consecrated a church on his estate before consecrating any other. Indeed, as early as 850 Wittimar ~ Witemir was present as a witness at the consecration of the Church of Mary; one of Priwina's relatives or principal vassals, he features in seventh place, after Chezil. In another case, around 867–868, the archbishop consecrated a church *in locum, qui dicitur Cella, proprium Unzatonis*, dedicating it to St. Peter the Chief Apostle. Since Unzat's name appears in second place, behind Chezil's, in the list of witnesses for the 850 consecration, it is assumed that he may have been Chezil's brother.

Finally, as exceptions that are modest in number, we can list those geographical and place-names from late antiquity that can be localised with certainty: *Bettobia* (*Poetovio* – Ptuj, Pettau), *Sabaria* (Savaria – Szombathely), *Sala* (*Sala~Salla* – River Zala), and *Bilisasseo* (*Pelso* – Lake Balaton). A relic of an earlier time may be *Dudleipa~Tudleipin*, mentioned in other sources besides the *Conversio*; it perhaps preserves the name of the Slav Dudleb tribe who settled there in the early 7th century.

Virgin. At *Termperch*, he consecrated a church in honour of St. Lawrence. At *Fizkere*, too, he consecrated a church, likewise in that year. And to each and every church he gave a priest (*presbyterum*) of its own. In the period which followed (i.e. up to 870 at the latest), he [Adalwin] again came out to this territory in order to confirm and to preach, and in this way reached the place called *Cella* and the estate of *Unzato*, where there was a church ready for consecration. This he consecrated in honour of St. Peter the Chief Apostle, and inaugurated its own priest in office there. The church of *Ztradach* he consecrated in honour of St. Stephen. [In *Weride*, there also stood a sizable church consecrated in honour of St. Peter the Chief Apostle.] After this, he consecrated another three churches, the first at *Quartinaha* in honour of St. John the Evangelist, the second at *Muzziliheschirichun*, and the third at *Ablanza*, and for each he placed in office a priest' (*Conversio* c. 13).

The place names mentioned in the *Conversio*, in the document of Louis the German dated 20 November 860 confirming the Pannonian estates of the Salzburg parties, and in the *Arnulfinium*, a document dated to 20 November 885/890 (it was falsified in 977 in the name of Arnolf) are for the time being unidentifiable. The localisation endeavours and amateur linguistic attempts cannot be verified authoritatively; in most places there are still no find-sites datable to the period, nor are there architectural remains indicative of a Carolingian church or manor house.

The idea that on the banks of the Danube and in Pannonia royal estates and noble manor houses were established along the old Roman roads seems logical and archaeologically verifiable. It is very probable, however, that although the network of old Roman roads continued to be used (it had remained essentially intact, especially in the territory of the Alps), the intensity and directions of use changed with the changing of travel destinations, with routes hitherto regarded as secondary now becoming primary ones.

One of the most important new routes was the road between *Iuvavum* (Salzburg) and *Mosaburg*, which over its Alpine stretch was the route for the delivery of 'white gold', i.e. salt. This road proceeded from the archbishop's seat either next to the great lakes of the Salzkammergut along the Bad Ischl–Bad Mit-

terndorf–*Stiriate* (Liezen) line, or turning south along the Salzach crossed through into the valley of the Enns at Bischofshofen and went on to Liezen. Then, proceeding from there in the valley of the Selz and the Liesing it reached the Mura at St. Michael, coming along the valley of the Mura to *Flavia Solva* (Graz). Here again one could choose between two possibilities. One could have reached Mosaburg either along the valleys of the Raab and Zala or, turning south, with a small diversion, along the banks of the Mura.

A great proportion of the settlements listed in the *Conversio*, in documents from the 860s, and in those from 885 through to the 890s, can be found by the side of the last stretch or stretches of this route, the stretch or stretches beginning after Graz, while the other settlements can be linked to the route leading to the Adriatic Sea (Istria, Aquileia, Venice). On the basis of the archaeological material recovered, the principal routes of long-distance trade reaching the Carpathian Basin, namely the Amber Road and the Adriatic–Aquincum–Kiev route, seem to have been little used, although for traders arriving from the south and west, Mosaburg was certainly a reliable stopping place and transit station.

## Swarnagal and Altfrid

Dominicus was not able to work long at the court of Priwina; soon after receiving his license from the archbishop, he died. Liupram then 'ordered Swarnagal, a teacher and priest esteemed above all others [*praeclarus doctor*], to go there along with deacons and other clerics' (*Conversio* c. 11). We know almost nothing about Swarnagal. However, because his name appears in the 'confraternity book' (*liber confraternitum*) of the St. Peter's cloister in Salzburg, it seems that unlike Dominicus he arrived from the convent of the Salzburg cloister. According to some, he took over the role of evangelising bishop also, yet after Adalwin replaced Liupram as archbishop of Salzburg (836–859), a conflict arose with Osbald. After 858, when Swarnagal was presumably no longer at Priwina's court, Osbald contacted the papal court. Archbishop Adalwin, therefore, decided to take Osbald's tasks upon himself, and 'right up until the present [i.e. 870] has striv-

Fig. 54 Fragment of
a chancel screen fishscale-
pattern decoration
▪ *Zalavár-Castle Island,
St Hadrian's pilgrim church,
MNM 2012.1.785.1.Z;
Hard limestone; 36×26×6 cm*
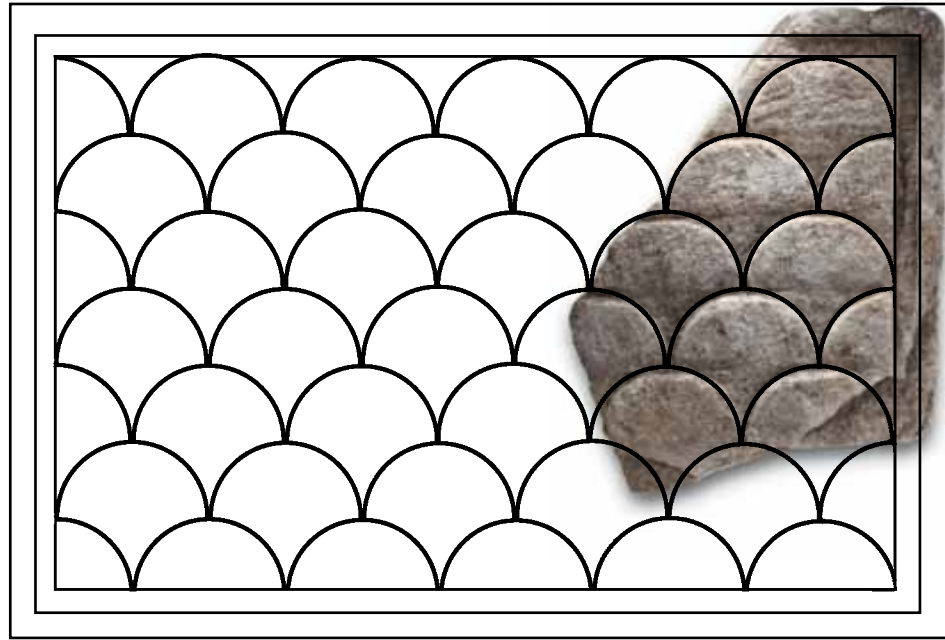
en to direct this people himself in the name of the Lord' (*Conversio* c. 9); however, the actual work, 'the spiritual care of the entire people', he entrusted to Altfrid, 'as his deputy' (*Conversio* c. 12).

When he was still archbishop, Liupram 'sent out' to Priwina 'the priest Altfrid, a master of all the sciences [*magistrum artis*]'. The choice of Altfrid is illuminated by the adjectival construction appended to his name. In the early Middle Ages, the word *ars* denoted science first and foremost. Bernward, bishop of Hildesheim is praised by his biographer Thangmar for being eminent in not only the liberal arts, but also the mechanical ones, i.e. in crafts. In the 11th century, the priest Theophilus, a monk from Helmarshausen, listed, under the entry *artes*, all those crafts by means of which an artist-monk could contribute to the embellishment of the material house of God. Altfrid, then, must have been the kind of scholar-monk who possessed the knowledge which made him capable of designing a significant complex of buildings and of executing the construction of it. Indeed, there was a need for such knowledge, since according to the *Conversio*, 'then [i.e. following the consecration of the Church of Mary in 850], approximately two or three years had passed when he [Archbishop Liupram] consecrated a church at Salapiugin in honour of St. Rupert. […] For this, at Priwina's request, he sent mas-

ters from Salzburg, namely masons and painters, smiths, and carpenters. These men built in Priwina's town (*infra civitatem Priwina*) a respectable church, the building of which Liupram himself ordered, and in this way made possible the further holding of divine services. Having been buried here, the martyr Hadrian rests in this church' (*Conversio* c. 11).

Construction of this 'respectable church' – the pilgrimage church consecrated in honour of the martyr Hadrian – must have started after the consecration of the Salapiugin church in 852–853, maybe around 853–854 already, but at all events before Liupramm's death on 14 October 859. Apart from the proper craftsmen, one condition for it was that a suitably trained person should design the edifice, which would perform complex liturgical tasks, and also be capable of managing the building work in an expert way. It was, therefore, no accident that the reconstructed time of the commencement of the building work largely coincides with the time of Altfrid's arrival in Mosaburg. If we take into account that Dominicus had been sent out earlier, after 850, and then, after his death, Swarganal, Altfrid could have set out for Priwina's court in 853–854 at the earliest. The Pilgrimage Church of the Martyr Hadrian and the archbishop of Salzburg's palace complex designed together with it and standing on its south-

Fig. 55 Right-hand upright for a door with interlace decoration
- *Zalavár-Castle Island, probably St Hadrian's pilgrim church, BM 2011.4.2.6; Marmoreal hard limestone; L. 191 cm*

ern side were built in a few years, although from the *Conversio* we know only that in 870 the pilgrimage church was already functioning. After Liupramm's death in 859, one of the first deeds of the new archbishop, Adalwin, was to inaugurate Altfrid as *archipresbyter*, 'entrusting to him the keys of the church, and, as his [Adalwin's] deputy, the spiritual care of the entire people' (*Conversio* c. 12).

It is certain that when Archbishop Liupram had the Pilgrimage Church of the Martyr Hadrian built in Priwina's town, he did not simply create a 'respectable church' (*honorabile ecclesia*), but intended to include the two churches already standing – the private church of Priwina consecrated in honour of Mary and the baptisterium Church of St. John the Baptist – in a broad architectural and liturgical frame, utilising also their immanent possibilities, in which the different buildings would complement each other in terms of their functions. The tasks performed by the individual churches in this family of churches were broadened. In addition to being a memorial church, where a relic was kept, the Pilgrimage Church of the Martyr Hadrian was on occasion an episcopal church, a '*Thron- und Erscheinungskirche*', where the bishop, as one of Christ's governors on earth, appeared and had a throne, meted out justice, performed confirmations, ordained priests, issued ecclesiastical orders, and announced judgments, while the Church of Mary was a church for the community and the saying of Mass, a church where divine services were held. The three churches at Mosaburg, then, was a family of memorials which met the criteria of an episcopal family of churches, too. By means of this group of three churches, a family of churches in the purest sense of the term, Liupram raised Mosaburg to the level of the imperial centres in the intellectual sense also.

Altfrid's promotion can be connected only in part with the churches constructed around Priwina's seat, on account of which Adalwin may have judged the conditions in Pannonia to be similar already to those established among the Carantanian Slavs, where after the death of Modestus *chorepiscopus*, Virgilius assigned only priests to the *duces* of Carantania (*Conversio* cc. 5, 7), and therefore decided to set up a separate deanery in Mosaburg. It was not by chance that the *Conversio*

Fig. 56 Fragment of an openwork stone slab and another with interlace decoration
▪ *Zalavár-Castle Island, St Hadrian's pilgrim church, MNM 53.68.22, 2012.1.781.1.Z; Marmoreal hard limestone; 15,5×10×4,5 cm, 5,2×4,2×2,6 cm*

gave a detailed account of one of the preconditions for this, the churches built under Priwina, and of the circumstance that the archbishop of Salzburg had even sent them their own priests, i.e. he had ensured regular divine services and continuous operation also.

Another, more significant, reason for the promotion was that Osbald's office was abolished, since after the conflict with Adalwin the archbishop refrained from appointing a new *chorepiscopus* and instead took personal charge of the ecclesiastical direction of the region. On the other hand, he entrusted the performance of increased local tasks in Mosaburg to an *archipresbyter* enjoying extended powers.

A third circumstance, too, may have had a role in the transformation of ecclesiastical organisation in Pannonia: the reordering of power in the eastern region. When in 854 Louis the German accused Ratpod of disloyalty and co-operation with the Moravians, the prefect of the east was replaced and, in 856, Carloman, the heir apparent to the eastern part of the empire, was put in his place. Through him, Louis the German could exercise supervision of the area more directly. Carloman, however, entered into a close alliance with Rastislav, and up to 861 replaced Louis the German's supporters in the entire eastern area, putting in their places his own adherents.

Priwina, too, fell victim to the shift in power. The archbishop of Salzburg referred only to this fact, but not to the reasons and the circumstances, when he wrote that he celebrated the year 865 'in Chezil's castle (*in castro Chezilonis*), which is now called *Mosapurc*, in that castle which 'passed [to Chezil] after the death of his father, who had been killed by the Moravians' (*Conversio* c. 13). The terseness of the author of the *Conversio* seems to indicate that he was dealing with something in the not-too-distant past which was very well known to the king, something he considered undeserving of detailed explanation. Priwina made his last gift to the monastery at Nieder-Altaich; this was confirmed by Louis the German in Regensburg on 20 February 860. The ruler of the Eastern Franks then – for the first and last time – named Priwina *fidelis dux noster*, not without reason as we can now see. On 21 March 861, Priwina's son, *comes de Sclavis nomine Chezul*, gifted part of an estate in the Wampald manor (*in villa qui dicitur Wampaldi*) at Lake Balaton (*propre Pilozsvve*) to the Church of the Virgin Mary at Freising.

The church was excavated by Ágnes Cs. Sós in 1983–1991 and by Béla Miklós Szőke in 1997–2000. Its reconstructed remains were re-consecrated on 20 August 2000 in festive circumstances.

Ágnes Cs. Sós discerned four building periods, reconstructing for the period between 840 and the early 10th century a timber church, two stone churches, and a building of uncertain composition. After the second excavation, and consideration of the precise documentation along with opinions and critical comments that have appeared in the meantime, the architectural history of the Hadrian church can be summarised as follows. **(Fig. 57)**

The Hadrian church and the adjoining cloister (full length: 50 m) were constructed in the middle and second half of the 850s. They took into consideration, and were in architectural harmony with, the Church of St. John the Baptist and the Church of Mary, both of which were built earlier. They stood near to the geometrical middle point of Castle Island, on one of the highest points of the island. Their designer was a monastic of broad knowledge and well acquainted with the achievements of church architecture in the Carolingian age.
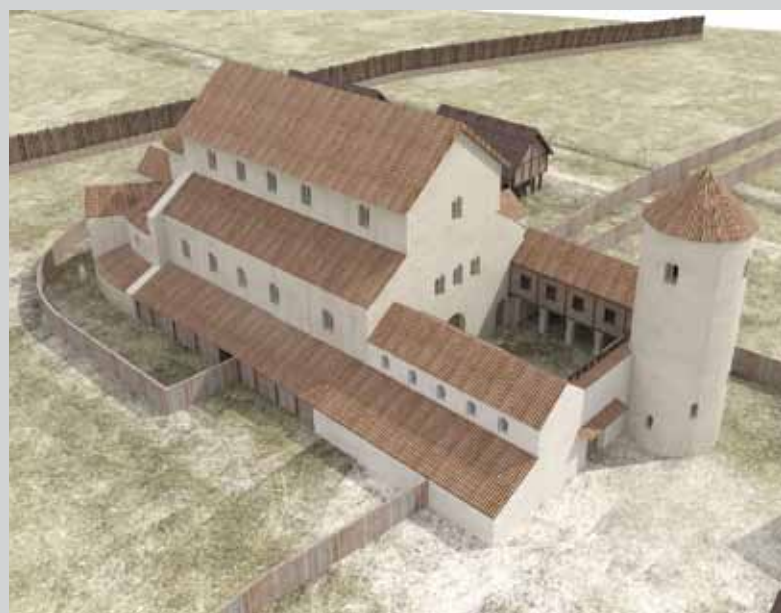


Fig. 57 Zalavár-Castle Island. St Hadrian's pilgrimchurch
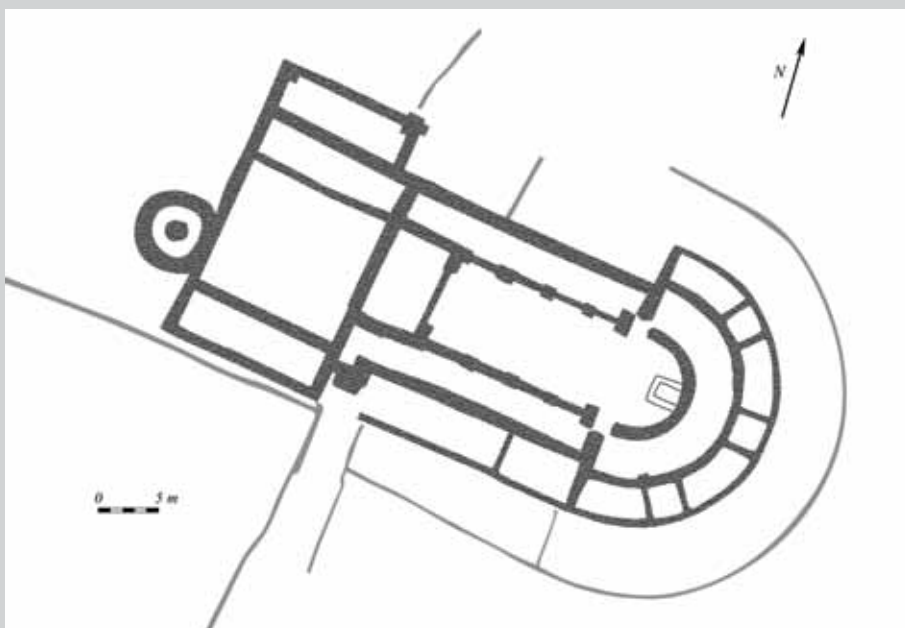
Fig. 58 Zalavár-Castle Island. St Hadrian's pilgrimchurch *(photo: Tibor Bóka, 2009)*

The core of the pilgrimage church was a three-nave basilica (length: 29.3 m; width: 16.7–16.0 m) which was divided into three naves by five pairs of pillars. A semicircular chancel with barrel vaulting directly joined to the east end of the main nave, while the side naves ended in a straight wall. In the western end of the church, the last pair of pillars indicates a choir to which a small stair tower with a rectangular ground plan led up at the south-western corner. **(Fig. 58)** The church was, in all probability, a half-scale copy of the Church of St. Peter in Salzburg; it reveals use of the same unit of measurement (the Carolingian foot: 33 cm). Inside the church, the shallow foundation trenches between the column (?) foundations are, in the light of the binding material used, certainly later. They were presumably made for screens of some kind running the entire length of the nave. Outside Rome, parallels for such spatial division between the main nave and the side naves are found only in the eastern Mediterranean

area. The two long foundation trenches inside the single-nave space of Church III (the so-called basilica) at Mikulčice may have had a similar function.

The sunken ambulatory (width: 3.3–3.5 m) around the chancel, the three uniform chapels (approx. 2.5 ´ 2.5 m) opening outwards from it, and, between them, the family burial places marked out by stone walls constitute the most unusual parts of the church. Of the analogies from the time on the basis of their construction and consecration data, only the likewise radially arranged church at Vreden (839) and the church at Koblenz (839), a sole example with a central circular rotunda, are earlier than the Hadrian church. In other churches, the corridor crypts whose chapels run in the same direction as the lengthways axis of the church are either contemporaneous with the one at Zalavár (Halberstadt, 859; Freckenhorst, after 860) or were completed even later (Hildesheim, 852–872; Corvey 870). This seems to indicate a parallel development of a type of pilgrimage church

Fig. 59 Zalavár-Castle Island. Wooden palaces to the south of the St Hadrian's pilgrim church

designed on an identical basic principle which spread at more or less the same time in the newly evangelised territories of the empire. As regards the issue as to whether this feature was a so-called corridor crypt or Europe's earliest ambulatory, the depth of the floor and the walling foundations that have survived certainly point to the former – even if parallels of the corridor crypt are known in relatively distant territories, in the Saxon and Frisian lands, and even if these are more parallels of theoretical than of formal operation.

Finally, an open, rectangular square flanked on either side by a wing whose ground plan was a narrow oblong (20.7 × 12.2 m) was joined to the western facade of the church. Onto the west wall of the church, on the outside, an asymmetrically positioned circular tower (4.0 × 4.5 m) was built. This tower may have risen higher than the crest of the roof of the nave and probably served as a bell tower, in a manner unparalleled among churches of the time in the Mediterranean area. It was placed to the right of the entrance in the church's west facade in such a way that it should by and large be on the centre west–east axis of the baptismal church still standing at that time, and so that it should create a harmony radiating the belonging together of the two churches.

As known also from the so-called Arnolfinum, a group of monks was ordered to the Hadrian pilgrimage church to perform its tasks – to cultivate links with pilgrims, to strengthen their faith, and to ensure and also to boost by all means possible the good name of the pil-

grimage church. The cloister of these monks was found neither to the north of the pilgrimage church nor to the south of it. The two large, storeyed buildings (12 × 6.0 m and 14 × 7.5 m respectively) on the south side and a number of smaller ground-level timber buildings there may have been constructed for the church-builder – the archbishop of Salzburg – and for the notables of his court. **(Fig. 59)** There remained, then, the western side, where the space between the baptismal church and the Hadrian church ensured a most ideal site for the building of a cloister directly joined onto the pilgrimage church. Access to the wings on two sides of the open courtyard, contact between the two wings, and at the same time enclosure also were ensured by an upstairs walkway on the inner side of the west facade which could also be reached through the round bell tower. A similar solution is probably found in Lorsch. This reconstruction excludes the possibility that this part was a *Westwerk* or some kind of (storeyed) edifice which was an organic part of the church conveying liturgical meaning.
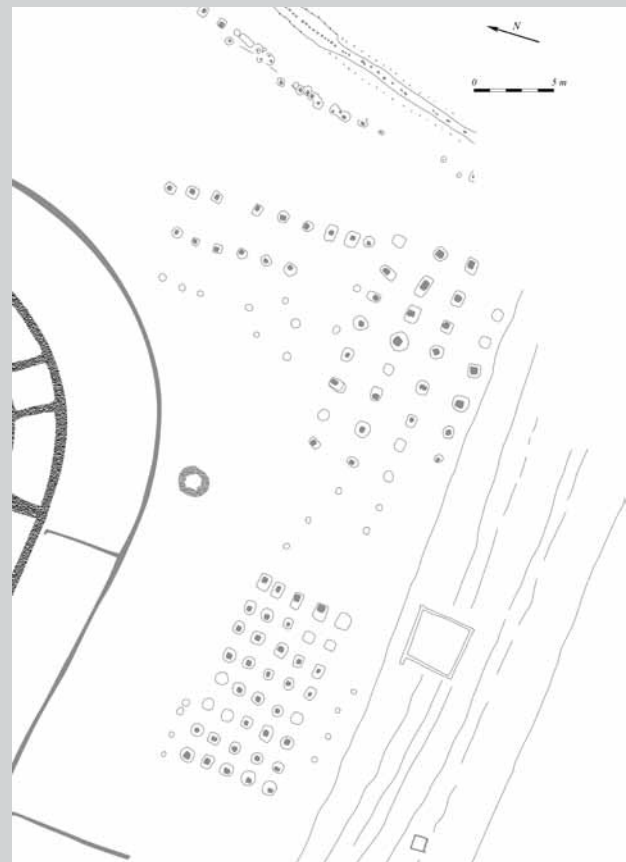
## STONE CARVINGS

Carved from hard, marble-like limestone, the decorative elements in the interior of the Hadrian pilgrimage church hark back to northern Italy and the Eastern Alps area. The piece of *sheet stone* within the profiled frame of which simple fishscale-pattern decoration is visible may be a fragment of the chancel screen. **(Fig. 54)** The slab of stone filed smooth on three sides, on the top surface of which there is a circular drilled hole to hold the axle-tree of a door, may be the *threshold stone* of one of the doors in the Zalavár chancel screen. The *drooping end of a leaf*, articulated with an angular central vein on its reverse side, may derive from a Corinthian-type capital of a pillar depicting acanthus leaves and palm leaves that is based on the natural vegetation shown in the Carolingian Renaissance.

The decorative system of pairs of concentric rings engraved on the front surface of a *marble beam originally made as the right-hand upright for a door* that was found in the mid-19th century on the northern edge of the ruins site on Castle Island only appears to be complicated. **(Fig. 55)** The large circles are linked together with each other and with the frame, while the inner, smaller circles are formed – and are therefore open on both sides – from the loops of strands threaded through diagonally across each other in the centre of the next circle. This frieze of threads, linked together by pairs of circles with pretzel-shaped knots, or quatrefoil loops, was a much favoured motif in Northern Italy and in the Alpine region in the Carolingian age. Two fragments survive from a carefully carved, openwork *stone slab with interwoven ribbon decoration* that is double stranded on both sides. This slab was presumably an upright for an aperture. The two pieces are decorated with the same kind of pretzel-shaped knot as the one which knotted together the circle of yarn on the door upright. **(Fig. 56)**

Made perhaps for a smaller aperture, the irregularly-formed, *trapezium-shaped capital* hewn out of yellowish grey sandstone by forceful chiselling belongs to the category of capitals starting out from an abstract solid geometrical body that made its appearances as an

innovation of the late Carolingian era and the age of Otto.

It is still unclear which part of the church was decorated by the almost *square bricks* on which, before firing, the complicated woven ribbon motif found on the marble door upright had been scratched. The execution on all of the pieces indicates a clumsy, unpractised hand; only on one of the bricks can a degree of awareness be recognised in the work, shown by the use of a pair of compasses. **(Fig. 60)**

Fig. 60 Floor tile (?) with interlace decoration
▪ *Zalavár-Castle Island, St Hadrian's pilgrim church, MNM 2012.1.792.1.Z; Clay; 21×21×7 cm*





## FRAGMENTS OF COLOURED AND PAINTED WINDOWPANES

The windows in the area of the chancel and corridor crypt of the Hadrian pilgrimage church were glazed with sea blue, bluish green, blue, emerald green, olive green, brownish purple, and yellow glass, **(Fig. 61)** and with green glass panes with silver-stained images and lettering. **(Fig. 62)** A more significant group of fragments of painted glass situated in a burnt layer beneath the floor of the crypt was found by Ágnes Cs. Sós.

The glass-making master melted glass paste which he had brought with him in a workshop established next to the crypt; he then coloured or painted it. The workshop may have been a building at ground level with a yellow clay floor and occupying a ground area of approximately 6.0 × 5.8 m. In its north-western corner, there was a square 'cooling or stretching furnace' built from Roman- and Carolingian-era bricks on stone slabs. The glass paste, in amounts that were spherical in shape and the size of a child's fist, was melted in a special gutter-shaped crucible like a bottom half of a cylinder and closed at one end; it was then dyed to the required colour, flattened, and painted. **(Fig. 63)**

Judging from their composition, the raw materials for the coloured and painted glass window fragments came from the heartland of the Carolingian Empire, from one of the glass manufactories of the Rhineland. They accord with glass finds at Paderborn, Lorsch, Corvey, and San Vincenzo al Volturno, and parallels of the painted figures can also be linked to these places. A characteristic way of holding the hands visible on one of the fragments can be linked to a wall painting in the Church of St. Proculus in Naturns in the Tyrol. The technologies for the copper and the silver stain paints were developed and employed in the eastern Mediterranean area in the 8th century.

Fig. 61 Fragments of coloured window panes
▪ *Zalavár-Castle Island, St Hadrian's pilgrim church, MNM 88.40.27.Z; Glass; 0,9×0,9-3,4×2,5 cm*

Fig. 62 Fragments of silver-stained window panes
▪ *Zalavár-Castle Island, St Hadrian's pilgrim church, MNM 88.40.28.Z, 88.40.29.Z, 88.42.1.Z; Glass; 1×1 cm-3,8×2,8 cm*
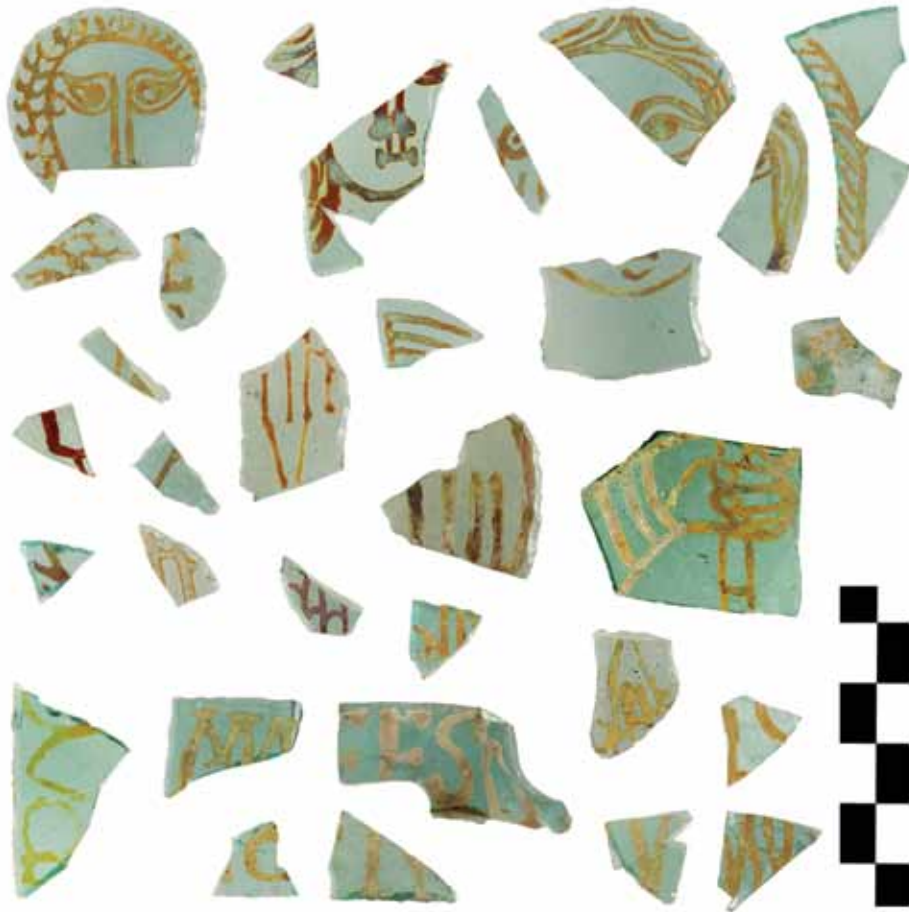


Fig. 63 Excavated remains of the glass-smelting brick furnace and crucibles found there
▪ *Zalavár-Castle Island, St Hadrian's pilgrim church, MNM 2002.1.25.1.Z; Clay; H. 23,5 cm*

## BELL MOULD

The round bell tower joined slightly asymmetrically onto the western tract of the Hadrian pilgrimage church – which, adjusted to the axis of the Church of St. John the Baptist still standing at this time, may have formed a virtual part of this building, too – may also have been built only on the model of the Church of St. Peter in Salzburg. One of the largest bells of the age may have rung in the tower. This bell was made in a casting pit found on the southern side of the Hadrian church; remains of the lower part of the mould were found in it. The diameter of the mould was 80–85 cm; in the light of this, the diameter of the cast bell at the base may have been approximately 65–70 cm. **(Fig. 64)**





Fig. 64 The excavation of the bell casting pit and the restored remains of the clay mantle
▪ *Zalavár-Castle Island, St Hadrian's pilgrim church, MNM 2013.1.829.1.Z; Clay; 110×70×45 cm*
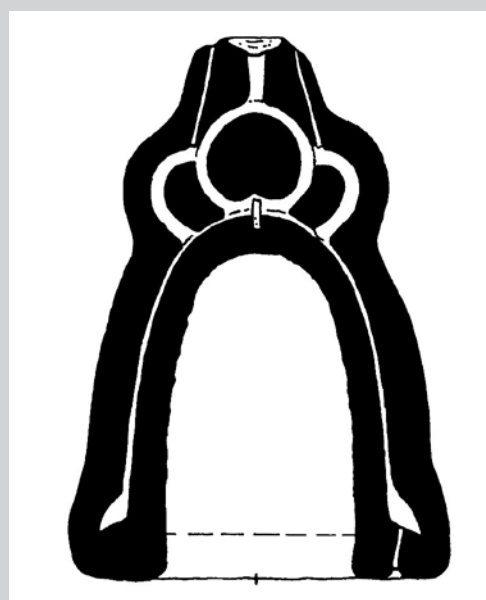
Fig. 65 Casket or book ornaments
▪ *Zalavár-Castle Island, church of St John the Baptist,
MNM 2012.1.760.1.Z, 2012.1.761.1.Z, 2012.1.762.1.Z,
2012.1.763.1-6.Z; Antler; 2,6×1,3 cm – 4,1×1,9 cm*

Fig. 66 Ignot mould and crucibles
▪ *Zalavár-Castle Island, church of St John the Baptist, MNM
2012.1.794.1.Z, 2012.1.805.1.Z, 2012.1.806.1.Z; Clay; Ignot
moulds 18×17×7,3 cm Crucibles H. 7 cm and 5 cm*

## WORKSHOPS AROUND THE HADRIAN PILGRIMAGE CHURCH

In the workshop area stretching to the north of the Hadrian pilgrimage church, there were workshops for masonry, antler-processing, weaving-and-spinning, blacksmithing, and the casting of non-ferrous metals. In these, workshop waste survived, along with various raw materials and fragments of products which were spoiled or which were awaiting reworking. The carving locally of marble-like hard white limestone decorations for the church or churches is indicated by *stone shards and chippings* that have survived in great quantity. Signs of the local production of the so-called '*salt cellars*' *and jars* artistically fashioned from antler and decorated with various motifs are the semi-finished and spoiled examples found in a whole row of workshops. **(See Fig. 68)** In a workshop operating at the end of the century on the site of the

Church of St. John the Baptist, remains of a workshop specialising in the making of *coverings for small boxes and books* were excavated. **(Fig. 65)** An especially complex *fired-clay mould suitable for casting several kinds of metal artefact* also came to light there. **(Fig. 66)** More than a dozen small *casting crucibles* are from the area; on the basis of the metal dross remaining in them, they cast mainly silver, for the making of jewellery for prominent girls and women. Large-sized *blocks of pig iron* found in iron smelters indicate blacksmith's work, while large *clay loom weights and whorls* next to specially made workshop pits denote weaving workshops. On nearby Borjúállás Island, a *shaft* made of antler was found. **(Fig. 67)**



Fig. 67 Shaft
▪ *Zalaszabar-Borjúállás-sziget, BM Antler; 19,6×3,9×2-3,6 cm (photo: Gyula Zóka)*

Fig. 68 Salt cellars with scratched decoration an d a one-sided antler comb
▪ *Zalavár-Castle Island, MNM 2002.1.136-137.Z, 2012.1.755.1Z, 92.4.1.Z; Antler, Salt cellars 10,8×7,3 cm, 9,3×8,5 cm, 8,5×6 cm, Comb L. 19,7 cm W. 3,8 cm*

## Rihpaldus

Similarly to Swarnagal, Altfrid's successor, Rihpaldus, arrived from the convent of the St. Peter's cloister in Salzburg. Archbishop Adalwin inaugurated him as archipresbyter straightaway. Increasingly consolidated and separate, the archipresbyterate shows better than anything that Pannonia had ceased to be a barbarian land and was just as much a part of the empire's church as were the other territories of the empire. Pannonians rightly hoped that in the future their archipresbyterate would be replaced by a bishopric. With the building of the Pilgrimage Church of the Martyr Hadrian and the palace complex serving display purposes, with the making permanent of the archipresbyter's position, and with the visits by Archbishop Adalwin, the intellectual and material foundations for a Pannonian bishopric belonging directly to Salzburg in all likelihood began to be laid.

Adalwin actively enjoyed the advantages of the new palace complex built next to the Pilgrimage Church of the Martyr Hadrian, spending the Christmas of 864 there, and the following weeks also. The *Conversio* gives a detailed account of this. But in vain did Adalwin remove Osbald from office and participate with unaccustomed activity in ecclesiastical organisation work in Lower Pannonia, since the realisation of his plans unexpectedly encountered a new and much more dangerous obstacle, one which threatened all the evangelisation achievements hitherto. Altfrid's successor Rihpaldus had 'lived a long time there [i.e. in Mosaburg] and had fulfilled his obligations to the best of his powers as allowed by his archbishop'. Even so, all this seemed suddenly lost with the arrival in Mosaburg of 'a certain Greek, Methodius by name, who with the newly-invented Slavic script, squeezed out, in the manner of a philosopher, the Latin language, the teachings of Rome, and the long-esteemed Latin script; and achieved in part that the celebration of Mass and proclamation of the Gospel were of less value to the entire people, but mainly that divine services were of less value to those conducting them in Latin'. This Rihpaldus 'was unable to tolerate, and he returned to the seat of Salzburg' (*Conversio* c. 12).

## CHEZIL (KOCEL) AND METHODIUS

### Constantine and Methodius in Moravia and in Mosaburg

From 861, the Carolingian East was ruled by a solid alliance of Carloman and Rastislav, prince of Moravia, along with newly-appointed officials dependent on Carloman. Trusting in the strength of the alliance, the Moravian prince took cautious steps to loosen the grip of the Church, which was inseparably linked with the state. When Pope Nicholas I responded negatively to his exploratory questions, in 862 he sent an embassy (*Vita Methodii* c. 5) to Constantinople to request for his people 'a bishop or teacher expounding the whole truth', because although his people had abandoned paganism and with living according to Christian goals, they had 'not one teacher even who would explain the true Christian faith in our own language' (*Vita Konstantini* c. 14).

The young Byzantine emperor Michael III, and his uncle, Bardas *caesar*, who wielded the real power, entrusted the delicate mission to the 'philosopher' Constantine, who had already been successful among the Khazars, because, according to the emperor, 'apart from you there is no-one who could do it successfully. Behold the many gifts there, and take your brother Methodius, and set forth! For you are from Thessaloniki, and everyone from Thessaloniki speaks the pure Slav language' (*Vita Methodii* c. 5). Constantine prepared for the mission seriously. He created the Glagolitic script [<*glagol* ('the word')] adapted to the phonetics of the Slav language, and set about translating parts of the Bible important from the point of view of evangelisation. In 863, the two brothers arrived in Moravia, where Rastislav received them with great respect and assigned them pupils. When within the space of forty months they had taught 'the deaf to understand the words of Scripture, and the dumb to loosen their tongues' (*Vita Konstantini* c. 15), in late 866 – early 867 they judged the time ripe to ordain their pupils. But since they were not entitled to ordain priests, as Methodius was merely a monk and Constantine had taken only minor orders, they set forth with their pupils.

The first main stop on their journey was Mos-

Fig. 69 Styli
▪ *Zalavár-Castle Island, MNM 53.73.2, 92.5.1.Z, 2013.1.376.1.Z; Lead, bronze; L. 13,4 cm, 10,1 cm, 8,5 cm*

aburg. As we can read in the biography of Constantine, 'in the course of his journey, Kocel, the ruling prince of Pannonia, received him and expressed his great joy in the Slav script; he himself learnt it, and gave him fifty pupils. In this way, they, too, learnt it, and he [Kocel] treated him with great respect and assigned him a retinue. But neither from Rastislav, nor from Kocel did he accept gold or silver … but asked captives from both, nine hundred in number, and let them [go free]' (*Vita Konstantini* c. 15). **(Fig. 69)**

Constantine and Methodius arrived in Mosaburg in the autumn–winter of 866 at the earliest, and remained there for at least half a year. According to certain suppositions, their sojourn in Mosaburg saw the birth of the *Kiev Sheets*, so named on account of

where they are kept. These contained the ritual of the Latin Church translated into a transitional dialect, mixing southern and western Slav elements, and also bearing traces of the earlier tradition of Bavarian missionary activity. Slav translations of an act of contrition (*confiteor*) formula and a sermon (*adhortatio*), which are known under the name of *Freising Fragments*, may also be relics of their time there. These translations are the first written relics of the Roman rite made in Old Church Slavonic.

Constantine and Methodius's undisturbed work at Mosaburg is surprising especially in the light of the fact that in the winter of 864/865 Archbishop Adalwin spent many weeks in Mosaburg, about which a detailed account is given in the *Conversio*. With regard to the time following this, however, the *Conversio* mentions only that 'in the years following he again came to this district', and consecrated new churches, i.e. there may have been a year or years when he did not visit. Late 866 must in any case have been one such; otherwise Adalwin would have met the evangelisers from Byzantium and their pupils.

Many believe that Chezil was happy to receive Constantine and Methodius because in the wake of Rastislav he thought that one way to achieve independence from the Franks was to break away ecclesiastically from the archbishopric of Salzburg and to manage matters in such a way that his territory would come under direct papal authority as an independent bishopric. Therefore, in Mosaburg he persuaded the brothers that, before going to Constantinople, they should convince the pope of the necessity to organise a church in Pannonia that was under direct papal direction but which used Slavonic as the language of the liturgy. Others, however, consider Chezil a passive protagonist swept along by events, and believe that it was the pope who convinced him of the need for a papal Pannonian Church that was independent of the Bavarian Church, and that Methodius – with the pope's approval – won him over to church services in Slavonic.

In the spring of 867, the brothers from Thessaloniki travelled with their pupils, or with the best of them, from Mosaburg to Venice, where the Latin bishops, priests, and monks of the diocese had gathered – 'like crows against the falcon' – to debate with Constantine the issue of the triglossia, according to which the three

languages used in Pilate's inscription on the cross of Christ, namely Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, had become the canon for the sacred languages (*Vita Konstantini* c. 16). According to the Legend of Constantine, the pope's call reached them there, saying that they should go to Rome (*Vita Konstantini* c. 17), where they arrived by late 867. In Rome, they were received not by Pope Nicholas I, who had died on 13 November 867, but by his successor Pope Hadrian II, elected on 14 December. Hadrian approved the Slavic-language liturgy, blessed the Slavic liturgical books, which were placed in today's Santa Maria Maggiore church, and ordained their pupils priests (*presbyter*) or

Fig. 70 Sherds of polished clay bottles with obla glagolitic letters
▪ *Zalavár-Castle Island, St Hadrian's pilgrim church, MNM 2002.1.1209.1.Z, 2011.1.261.24.Z, 2002.1.1159.1.Z; Clay; 12,3×10,5 cm; 4,8×4,5 cm; 5,5×4,8 cm*



clergy of lesser rank (*diaconus* and *subdiaconus*). Having reached the high point in his successes with papal acknowledgement of the Slavonic-language liturgy and scriptures, Constantine was, however, unexpectedly attacked by a fatal illness. For his last months, he withdrew to a cloister and, at Christmas 868, took major orders and the name Cyril. He died on 14 February 869, at the age of forty-two.

### Methodius, archbishop of Pannonia and Moravia

Methodius was stunned by the death of his brother, and he was quite close to putting an end to the missionary work started by the two of them. It is Chezil's undying merit historically that he turned to the pope and asked him to 'entrust' Methodius to him (*Vita Methodii* c. 8). By way of a reply, the pope, in the autumn of 869 at the latest, sent Methodius back 'as the teacher of all the Slavs', accompanied by a letter which began *Gloria in excelsis Deo* which was addressed to Rastislav, Zwentibald (Svatopluk), and Chezil. In this letter, he permitted the use of the Slavonic liturgy with the proviso that the Gospel was read out in Latin first and in Slavonic only afterwards. With this decision, the Roman Church effectively placed under its protection missionary work originally launched from Byzantium.

One of the most loyal subjects of the Eastern Frankish Empire and one whom a short time before Louis the German called his *humilissimus comes*, Chezil became one of Methodius's most resolute adherents and supporters. In actual fact, however, the main protagonists of these years, the Bulgar Bo(go)ris-Michael, Pannonia's Chezil, and Moravia's Rastislav and Zwentibald (Svatopluk), never asked a Slavonic liturgy from Constantinople and Rome, but instead a separate church. In their struggle for a separate ecclesiastical structure desired as an end-goal, the Mass in Old Church Slavonic was only of secondary importance; it mattered first and foremost to Constantine, and to Methodius who wanted to complete his brother's work.

According to the biography of Methodius, the pope sent Methodius to Rastislav, Zwentibald, and Chezil, but in actual fact learnt only about his reaching Mosaburg. This was presumably because, having

Fig. 71 Pair of earrings
▪ *Zalavár-Castle Island grave 202/01, MNM 2013.1.219.1-2.Z; Bronze; L. 4,4 cm*



Fig. 72 Earrings with pearl pendants of Carinthian type
▪ *Zalavár-Rezes grave 65, MNM 84.36.23.Z; Bronze, glass; L. 5 cm*

returning to Pannonia, Methodius was unable or unwilling to go on to Moravia with the pope's letter of commission since serious fights were then taking place there. In early 869, Carloman emerged the victor in two battles fought with Rastislav, and returned home with great booty. In August, moreover, Louis the German attacked with three armies, and devastated the whole of Moravia. Nevertheless, he did not enjoy many successes. Indeed, he suffered great losses, and was therefore obliged to sue for peace. The fighting continued in the following year, 870. In March, the Bavarian–Frankish armies of Willihelm and Engilschalk occupied the principality of Moravia and captured Rastislav with the help of his nephew, Zwentibald. Rastislav was condemned to death in Regensburg, but, through the mercy of the king, was later blinded and shut up in a cloister. At this time, Zwentibald, the new ruling prince of Moravia, entered into a kinship relation with Carloman's son Arnolf, becoming godfather to Arnolf's son.

The office of papal legate given to Methodius out of cautiousness or tactical considerations after his return to Mosaburg was, however, insufficient for him to act successfully against the archbishop of Salzburg. In Pannonia the task was not organising the ecclesiastical management of a newly evangelised area, but providing for the future of a territory evangelised for

many decades under the direction of Salzburg. In Pannonia, the Bavarian Provincial Church had almost completely finished building up a system of institutions, and was very close to integrating Lower Pannonia into the archbishopric of Salzburg as the latest diocese of the Bavarian Provincial Church.

Only a separate Pannonian archbishopric belonging under the Curia could have been successfully set against the alternative offered by Salzburg. In this endeavour of his, Chezil presumably secured the support of Rastislav, the ruling prince of Moravia, too. It is a fact that in the autumn of 869 – presumably around the beginning of the Eighth Council of Constantinople (5 October) – Chezil sent Methodius back to Rome in the company of twenty nobles with the request that the pope consecrate him bishop of Pannonia. It may be asked whether the pope's plans for a Pannonian bishopric/archbishopric influenced Bo(go)ris-Michael to approach the Council of Constantinople in the matter of the Bulgarian Church, or was the consecration of Methodius as archbishop a response to a move by Ignatios, patriach of Constantinople? Also, did the establishment of a Bulgarian archbishopric spur Chezil on to follow the Bulgar ruler and make an approach of his own – in his case to Rome instead of to Constantinople?

The timing of Methodius's falling into Bavarian

captivity helps to settle this question. Since in all likelihood Methodius may have fallen into this captivity in the spring or early summer of 870, the pope must have consecrated him archbishop in the first quarter of 870 at the very latest, at a time when he did not yet know of the Council of Constantinople's decision relating to Bulgaria. And the events in Bulgaria would have had even less of an effect on Chezil's request, i.e. the consecration of Methodius was unconnected with the move by Bo(go)ris~Michael. Ignatios's action, then, was not a warning that if Rome continued to dither, it would lose Pannonia, and it was not because of this that the pope granted Chezil's request.

Methodius, 'in the seat of St. Andronicus, one of the seventy apostles' became the ecclesiastical head not only of Chezil's Mosaburg county, but – in line with Rastislav's original request – of the Moravians also, in such a way that Rastislav, Zwentibald, and Chezil jointly exercised authority over him. Although presumably it was Chezil who played the decisive role in the establishment of the bishopric of Pannonia, it would scarcely have entered his mind to propose *Sirmium* as its seat. Situated on the land of Bulgars and an episcopal seat vacant since 582, this settlement had once been the centre of *Illyricum*, *Pannonia Inferior*, and *Pannonia Secunda*, but now stood ruinous and neglected. By contrast, Mosaburg could boast a church and palace complex which was completely ready and excellently suited to this purpose.

In the designation of the seat, however, the Curia's ecclesiastical policy considerations were decisive. We do not know precisely what was in the background of the pope's decision, yet by linking the idea of the renewing of the Church in Pannonia with the renewing of Sirmium, the former *caput totius Illyrici*, as an ecclesiastical metropolis, it is clear that he wished not only to give Pannonia an ecclesiastical centre, but also wanted to renew the one-time papal authority over the whole of Illyricum. He wished to establish a 'supranational' ecclesiastical province in which the Moravians would find room in the same way as the Bulgars and the Serbs, or indeed those parts of the two Pannonias that were under Frankish rule. Moreover, he appointed as its head, namely as bishop of Sirmium, a Greek priest who scarcely a decade before had gone among the Moravian Slavs as Constantinople's emis-

sary and to whom, therefore, Byzantium could not formally take exception. This idea was realised when Pope John VIII, Hadrian II's successor, called upon the Serb Montemer, in 873, to submit to the *jurisdictio* of Methodius. In this spirit, he endeavoured to offer an alternative to the Bulgars led astray at the Council of Constantinople, namely that this lost flock converted by missionaries from Rome and Bavaria under the direct control of the Holy See in the autumn of 869 already should likewise return to Rome. For this reason, the pope did not acknowledge the lawfulness of the episcopal work performed by the bishops sent by the patriach of Constantinople, and considered the Bulgars' Byzantine bishops to be *usurpator*s. In this sense, his efforts were not aimed directly at the Bavarian Church, even if the archbishoprics of Aquileia and Salzburg now shared a part of the territory of the former diocese of *Sirmium*.

Methodius set out to visit the northern part of his archbishopric, Moravia only in the following year, in early 870. Then, according to the Legend of Methodius, 'envy of goodness and opposition to truth' (*Vita Methodii* c. 9) filled the 'Moravian king', with the result that he received him with hostility. But since the legend calls only the Frankish and German rulers *korolъ* ('king'), calling Slavic rulers *knęzъ* ('ruling prince'), the hostile king may, despite the adjective 'Moravian', have been not Zwentibald, but the ruler of Eastern Francia, Louis the German. It was in his name that the unsuspecting Methodius was captured by Ermanrich, bishop of Passau, or rather by Carloman.

Six months afterwards, in the late autumn, Methodius was tried by an ecclesiastical court at the same Imperial Diet held in Regensburg that dealt Rastislav. The council (*episcoporum concilium*) convened in the presence of Louis the German. Its main charge against Methodius was that 'you taught in a territory that was ours'. In line with decisions taken at the Council of Mainz in 813 and the Council of Worms in 868, Methodius, as someone from another diocese, could only have exercised his priestly rights with permission from the archbishop of Salzburg, as Dominicus had done earlier. However, according to Methodius this did not apply to him, since he 'belonged to St. Peter'. Indeed, Salzburg had infringed lawful rights by omission, in that

while it had tolerated the repeated confirmation from the popes in Rome in relation to the evangelisation of Carantania, in the case of Pannonia it had not once asked confirmation from Pope Leo III, even when, at the initiation of Charlemagne, it had entrusted the missionary work in Pannonia to Arno personally. Accordingly, in the canon law sense, it was from the outset active without permission in matters in Pannonia, which had as a part of Illyricum, according to conciliar decisions and historical notes, for a long time belonged under the legal authority of the Holy See. However, while the Holy See had given its blessing unconditionally to Charlemagne's measures, half a century later Pope Nicholas I felt himself strong enough to bring the entire Church under his direct control, by so doing strongly setting against each other law which had arisen formally and law which had developed naturally.

In the end, the ecclesiastical court stripped Methodius of his office and exiled him to Swabia, where he spent two and a half years in different (?) cloisters. His most loyal disciples remained with him; we can learn of them, by name also, from the entries, in Latin and Greek script, in the Reichenau 'confraternity book' (*liber confraternitas*).

For a long time, the court proceedings against Methodius could be kept secret. Only after the death of Hadrian II, and the election of Pope John VIII on 14 December 872, did the matter of the bishopric of Sirmium again come up. In two letters, the pope informed Louis the German that the rights acquired by the Holy See over the diocese of Pannonia, which formed part of Illyricum, had not lapsed and would not do so for at least a hundred years. Therefore, Methodius should be restored to his diocese of Pannonia. Also, he ordered Methodius's captors to Rome and threatened that they would not be able to exercise their rights as bishops until the archbishop of Pannonia installed by the Apostolic See was released. Finally, in a short letter written to Adalwin, the pope instructed the last mentioned to take Methodius back to Pannonia, since he, Adalwin, had been the reason for Methodius's loss of his archbishop's office.

By doing this, the pope made it clear that Pannonia continued to belong under Rome, under the authority of the archbishop appointed by Rome. In their impotent rage, the Bavarian bishops turned against Chezil and threatened him that 'if you keep him [i.e. Methodius] with you, you will have a lot of trouble with us' (*Vita Methodii* c. 10).

The question is, of course, whether Methodius left Mosaburg because the pope's diplomatic manoeuvres had been successful in theory only (in reality, Methodius no longer had the opportunity to exercise his archbishop's rights in Pannonia), or because Pope John VIII already planned to transfer the seat of the archbishopric of Pannonia to the land of the Moravians. The latter seems to be suggested by the circumstance that in the summer of 879 the pope immediately named him as archbishop of Pannonia (*Reverentissimo Methodio archiepiscopo Pannoniensis ecclesię*), and in another letter dated the same day sent to Zwentibald, ruling prince of the Moravians, called him 'your archbishop', whom 'my predecessor, Hadrian II, appointed'.

Indicative of Chezil's delicate situation is the fact that while, at the time of Methodius's release, in the spring of 873, he was repeatedly asking the pope's opinion on issues to do with adultery, he was also maintaining good relations with Theotmar, the new archbishop of Salzburg. One of the archbishop's very first tasks was to consecrate a church in 874 for Gozwin (=Chozil–Chezil?) *comes* in Ptuj (*ad Bettowe Gozwini comitis*), towering above an important crossing-point on the River Drava on an estate two-thirds owned by the archbishopric of Salzburg. However, in a document dated 876–880 relating to the exchange of an estate, Chezil is mentioned as not being alive already; the new lord of Mosaburg was Carloman's son, Arnolf.

The cessation of the archbishop's seat in Mosaburg and the town's elevation to royal palatinate centre was marked by changes to the structure of the settlement perceptible archaeologically also. Rebuilding work was performed on the Pilgrimage Church of the Martyr Hadrian, and in the palace district to the south of the church the timber palaces were demolished. The places may have been given over to cemeteries. The centre of the settlement was again the area on which the manor house of Priwina and Chezil stood; this area was now on the southern part of the island. In the north-eastern part of this, on the square in front

Fig. 73 Glass buttons
■ *Zalavár-Castle Island grave 10/99, MNM 2013.1.79.1-3.Z; Glass with iron loops; D. 1,3 cm*



Fig. 74 Finger rings with shield-like bezel
■ *Zalavár-Castle Island grave 85/95 and 205/99, MNM 2013.1.23.10.Z, 2013.1.132.1-2.Z; Bronze, silver; D. 1,7 cm and 1,95 cm*

of the Church of Mary's western facade, Arnolf's palace was built in such a way that the site of the manor house – with the abolition of the ramparts and fortification ditch hitherto bordering from the north – grew in a northwards direction, annexing the parts to the west of the Pilgrimage Church of the Martyr Hadrian and north of the rampart-and-ditch. The whole was then girded round by a palisade wall.

It is certain that after his release Methodius attached greater weight to the conversion of the Moravians. Beginning from the day when 'the Moravians drove out their German priests, who incited rebellion, and asked the pope to send him [i.e. Methodius] as their archbishop and teacher', Zwentibald handed over to him every church in his country and every cleric in his castles. Thus, 'divine teaching spread remarkably, numerous new clerics arose, and the pagans believed in the true God and renounced their erroneous ways' (*Vita Methodii* c. 10). In the country of Zwentibald, who became again a feudal vassal of the Carolingians with the Peace of Forchheim of 874, Methodius tried to put a brake on the work of the Bavarian Church, principally that of Passau, and to build up the authority of the Holy See. For this reason, the hostile attitude of the ecclesiastical players in the region did not cease, and now they tried to thwart Methodius using more delicate means already. Thus, for example, the priest Johannes de Venetiis, earlier a familiar of Pope John VIII and, after 874, an almost continuous resident at the court of Zwentibald, accused Methodius of heresy, because he said the Credo without the *filioque*, with the result that the pope ordered him (Methodius) to Rome in 879 for an interview. (Methodius had acted in the spirit of the decisions of the First Council of Nicaea of 325 and the First Council of Constantinople of 381, which professed faith in the three persons of the Holy Trinity and forbade that anything at all be added to the text established there.) Although the pope exonerated Methodius from the charges, and sent him back to Moravia confirmed in his rights, in place of 'singing Mass in the barbarian, Slav language', he authorised the Latin and Greek languages exclusively, and the Slavic language could be used only for preaching.

In his letter *Industriae tuae* of June 880, Pope John VIII made decisions on important organisational issues also: he created a separate archbishopric of Moravia with two bishoprics. Alongside Methodius *archiepiscopus sanctae ecclesiae Marabensis*, however, for the time being just one bishopric seat was filled: Zwentibald's court priest Wiching, a Passau monk who had travelled to Rome together with Methodius, was raised to the rank of *episcopus sanctae ecclesiae Nitrensis*, while the other seat remained empty, waiting for a person suitable to be consecrated in the future.

When Patriarch Ignatios died on 23 October 877 and Photios was once more head of the Byzantine Church, Pope John VIII began a widespread diplomatic campaign again, withdrawing his predecessor's excommunication decision and then bombarding the Bulgar ruler Bo(go)ris-Michael, his advisers,

## BULLA OF GEORGIOS, ZALAVÁR–CASTLE ISLAND

The inscription on the obverse of the bulla (lead seal) is *ΓΕΩΡΓΙΩ ΑΡΧΗΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΩ ΒΟΥΛΓΑΡΙΑC*; on the reverse it is *(ΘΚΕ ΒΩΗΘΕΙ) ΤΩ ΣΩ ΔΟΥΛΩ*. Bearing the title archbishop of Bulgaria, Georgios probably followed Joseph in the archbishop's chair; the latter had been inaugurated by Patriach Ignatios. Georgios's appointment as archbishop may have occurred after early 878, since in the pope's above-mentioned letter he is still referred to as a bishop. In the opinion of Ivan Jordanov, the Zalavár seal belongs to the group of Georgios bullas represented hitherto by a total of two examples (Pliska, Ovčarovo) and dated to between 886 and 889. The explanation attached to it, however, reflects a complete absence of knowledge of the historical facts. Namely, according to Jordanov, when pupils of Constantine and Methodius arrived in Pliska, they informed the ruler, who received them warmly, that their fellow fighters were shut up in the monastery at Zalavár or exiled there. As a result, the Bulgarian ruler, Bo(go)ris–Michaél (856–889), asked the archbishop of Bulgaria, Georgios, to write a letter to the abbot of the Zalavár monastery and offer a ransom, exchange, or something similar for them. According to Jordanov, the seal may have reached the lands of Zalavár–Castle Island in this way. **(Fig. 75)**



Fig. 75 Bulle of George archbishop
▪ *Zalavár-Castle Island, BM 2000.24.1; Lead; D. 2,5 cm*

and other leading political players in the Balkans with a succession of letters to the effect that the Bulgars should return to Rome. In a letter sent to Tsar Bo(go)ris-Michael dated 16 April 878 – in which he wanted him to break away from the Greek communion and to return to the holder of the Throne of St. Peter chosen by him earlier –, the pope complained to the Bulgar ruler that a certain Georgios, who was a 'bogus usurper of the title of bishop' (*qui falso sibi episcopi nomen usurpator*) had appointed the eunuch Sergius to the bishopric of *Singidunum/*Belgrade (*ad episcopatum Belogradensem*), despite the fact that his bishop had censured him for his sins.

This 'Bishop' Georgios is perhaps identical with the *Georgios archiepiscopos*, a lead bulla of whose was unearthed by a plough at Zalavár – Castle Island a few years ago. Then question is, to whom did Georgios address the letter of his that arrived in Mosaburg? We know that Methodius could not have resided long in Mosaburg, that from 880 he was archbishop of Moravia only, and that he was squeezed out from Pannonia once and for all. Georgios's letter either did not reach him in Mosaburg or was not addressed. After Chezil's death, Mosaburg became the royal palatinate of Arnolf of Carinthia, thus there is a chance that the Bulgar archbishop had written the letter to the ruler of Eastern Francia.

### *Mosaburc regia civitas – royal palatinate*

After Chezil's death in the middle or second half of the 870s, the one-time county of Priwina's and Chezil's next to Lake Balaton became vacant, at the very time when Louis III ('the Younger') officially confirmed Carloman's son and natural heir Arnolf 'of Carinthia' 'in his paternal inheritance'. It is very likely that Arnolf was already ruling *Mosaburh* just as he was ruling Carantania and that Louis III ('the Younger') merely sanctioned the *status quo*. However, when giving an account of this event, Regino deceived historians of later times by putting an equality sign between Carantania and *Mosaburh*. Since he writes that 'the king [Louis III] gave Arnolf Carantania, which his father had left him long before', the second part of the inheritance, *Mosaburh*, the name

Fig. 76 Spherical plate buttons, brooch, a pair of earrings and hair pins
■ *Zalavár-Castle Island, St Hadrian's pilgrim church, grave 120/89, MNM Buttons 89.24.3.Z.a-b; Gilded silver; 2,5×2 cm; Brooch 89.24.4.Z; Gilded silver, almandine, coral, shell D. 3,6 cm; Earrings 89.24.2.Z.a-b; Gold; L. 4,2 cm; Hairpins: 89.24.5.Z; Gilded bronze; L. 3,5-4 cm*

of a county that was a part of the realm but which seemed to be the name of a settlement merely, he imagined to be a part of Carantania, with the result that he linked them together with the half-sentence *in quo situm est…*

If, however, we overlook Regino's interpretation, his ample account written under the entry for the year 884 in the so-called Regensburg continuation of the Fulda Annals can be understood without the need for any separate explanation. This speaks of 'once fortunate' Pannonia, which Zwentibald's warriors were now laying waste. It also becomes clear why the sons of Willihelm supported King Carloman's son Arnolf, 'who then possessed Pannonia'. It is not probable that Arnolf was only meeting the request of Louis III ('the Younger') when he joined the ending of the disturbances that had broken out and/

or decided to seize the territory bordering on Carantania. If Arnolf was by then lord of *Mosaburh*, no further explanation is needed to understand why the events in Pannonia affected him personally.

Arnolf issued deeds of gift in Mosaburg on a number of occasions between 888 and 890. On 13 March 888, the place of issue was *urbs Mosaburc* (MGH Dipl. Arnolfi 30, Nr. 19), on 19 March 888, *Mosapurhc* (MGH Dipl. Arnolfi 31, Nr. 20), and on 20 January 889 *Mosapurg* (MGH Dipl. Arnolfi 62, Nr. 43). In the case of the document issued *ad Mosaburc regia civitate* on 21 March 890 (MGH Dipl. Arnolfi 112–114, Nr. 75), however, some have suspected a clerical error, and that *Reganespurc* and/or *regina-regino civitas* should have been written instead. It is a fact, at the same time, that according to the Fulda Annals, Arnolf came to Pannonia in the

## KING ARNOLF'S PALACE, ZALAVÁR–CASTLE ISLAND

In 2011–2013, an oblong-shaped stone building measuring 17 × 8 m was excavated within the territory of the *munimen*, with foundations dug partly in the filling of the large fortification ditch bordering the manor house from the north, to the northwest of the western facade of the Church of Mary. The stones of the foundation walls, which were 70–80 cm wide and 60–70 cm deep on average, were partly extracted from the ditch for the foundations. The building was divided into a smaller and a large room by a wall. On the south side, a vestibule with palisade walls may have been joined to the building. Finally, a closed courtyard whose size is still unknown stretched southwards from the palace. This courtyard was surrounded by a palisade beginning in the middle of the palace's west wall and ending in the middle of its east wall. This palisade was interrupted by a gate leading to the Church of Mary. **(Fig. 77)**

The age of the palace's walls was decided by reference on the one hand to soil layers (underneath, we could document the southern edge of the fortification ditch, filled in around 870, which bordered Priwina's fortified manor house, and, on top, an Arpadian-era settlement layer) and on the other to the composition of mortar containing little lime, fragments of brick, and

dark yellow sand that had fallen into the filling of the fortification ditch. This type of mortar was already known from the foundation trenches of the Hadrian church. It also characterised, for instance, the buildings of *curtis Atarnhova* (Attersee). Since all three of Mosaburg's Carolingian-era churches have already been localised, and since there were no Carolingian-era burials near the foundation wall now discovered, the building in question must have been secular, rather than ecclesiastical, and it could only have been constructed at a time when the original function of the fortification ditch bordering Priwina's manor house had ceased. This ditch may have been largely filled in during the time of Chezil; the building work, however, could only have taken place after his death, when Arnolf was *de facto* lord of Mosaburg. Building of the palace (palace complex?) meeting the requirements of the new owner may have begun in the second half of the 870s or at the end of the 870s, since from 880 Arnolf, appeared in Mosaburg on a number of occasions, issued documents there between 880 and 890, and in 896, because of the growing Hungarian threat, entrusted its defence to Braslaw.

middle of Lent 890 in order to hold a provincial assembly (*generale conventum*), and to meet Zwentibald at *Omuntesperch*. Before the issuing of the Mosaburg document, two deeds of gift were drawn up, one on 10 January in *Regino civitate* and the other – dated, without certainty, to 16 March 890 (?) – likewise in *Reganespurc*. Then, after the Omuntesperch meeting and the issuing of the Mosaburg document, deeds of gift were issued in the name of the king on 14 April 890 *ad Radesbonam urbem* and on 15 April the same year, in *Reganesburc.* These documents, then, also support the idea that Arnolf must have been residing in Pannonia on 21 March, at the time of the date on the document issued *ad Mosaburc regia civitate*. He may well have visited his

court of Pannonia, Mosaburg, before the provincial assembly, proceeding from there to Omuntesperch in the Vienna Basin, a walk of a few days. The first – and also the last – mention of Mosaburg as a 'royal town' can be direct evidence that a significant qualitative change took place in the legal status of Pannonia's seat. Mosaburg's favoured status is confirmed by information from 896, when, in the face of the increasing threat from the Hungarians, Arnolf entrusted the defence of Pannonia to Braslaw, making extra provision for Mosaburg.

Mosaburg reached the high point in its development as a settlement when, in connection with a gift of Arnolf in 890, the chancellor issued the document *ad Mosaburc regia civitate*, namely he used the

Fig. 77 Zalavár-Castle Island. Excavating the remains of the palace of Arnulf of Carinthia, King of East Francia

same term for it as was used for Regensburg, the seat of Bavaria. This *civitas*, however, may have been more than the *civitas* mentioned in the *Conversio*, and different from it. Namely, while in the *Conversio* the term *civitas* may have referred only to that third part of the island which was marked off by the palisade around the Hadrian church (emphasising first and foremost its legal/canonical content necessary for the functioning of a bishopric), after the abolition of Methodius's bishopric and its 'incorporation into an estate' held by Arnolf, the structure of the Castle Island settlement altered significantly. Even if the palisade fortifications with machicolation around the Hadrian pilgrimage church were not demolished completely (?), they ceased to function as a

guarantee of the pilgrimage church's and the cloister's legal separateness and immunity. The entire island became Arnolf's seat, his *regia civitas*, inside which, in parallel with a re-arrangement that can be well documented archaeologically, the one-time fortified court of Priwina and Chezil in the southern part of Castle Island was extended and altered in accordance with the royal requirements.

With regard to legal status, then, in Arnolf's time Mosaburg counted as a *pfalz*, i.e. as a royal residence. It belonged to the series of new *pfalz*es (e.g. Paderborn, Trebur, Salz, Forchheim, and Heilbronn on the Neckar) which, in addition to the historic seats frequently mentioned in the written sources (Frankfurt/Main, Worms, Ingelheim and Regensburg), de-

veloped in the 9th century. In the case even of these, we must not rely on the written sources only, since the terms *villa, curtis, castrum, oppidum, civitas,* and *urbs* were used equally with the term *palatium*. The origin of the term *pfalz* was the imperial palace (*palatium*) built on the Palatinus in Rome. It was adopted by the Merovingian rulers and later on, from the Carolingian age, the palaces of bishops, abbots, and secular nobles were also called *palatium*s. That *phalanze* means *palatium* can be read for the first time in the *Vocabularius Sancti Galli*, a word list compiled by an Anglo-Saxon missionary around 790 probably in Murbach.

The historical sources do not clearly describe what a *pfalz* is. However, it emerges from the biographies by Einhardus, Notker, and, in the 10th century, Wipo that essential distinguishing features of *pfalz*es were impressive buildings, chapels, frequent visits by the king; and the holding of Imperial Assemblies, councils, and ecclesiastical and secular celebrations. Historians generally use the term *pfalz* in the narrow sense, identifying it with the royal *pfalz* (*Königspfalz*), and, as such, defining it in the late antiquity sense, i.e. as a power centre or place of residence of a ruler, or a place where he administered justice. In architectural appearance, a royal *pfalz* included the building where the king resided, a palace chapel, a hall for receptions and meetings (*aula*), and a complex of outbuildings, i.e. a residential unit, a juridical unit, a sacral unit, and an economic unit.

The well-known German art historian Werner Jacobsen sees the decisive difference between a *pfalz* (*palatium*) and a castle (*castrum*) in the circumstance that while the latter was necessarily fortified, in the case of the former, fortification was an important but not a necessary criterion. In the case of a *pfalz*, the main things were rather readiness and capability to offer buildings of a standard suitable for administration and judicature as well as impressive residential and ecclesiastical buildings finished in an artistic way to satisfy monarchical needs. For this reason, defence structures of a certain standard were, of course, created around it, but because of its need for a large amount of space in order to impress, it could

not be defended really well, with the result that it could operate smoothly only in times of peace.

There is at present a lively debate in the specialist literature concerning the kinds of criteria defining not just the royal **pfalz**es, but also those established by lower-ranking ecclesiastical and secular dignitaries and appearing from the beginnings of the Carolingian period onwards: episcopal pfalzes (**Bischofspfalzen**), cloister pfalzes (**Klosterpfalzen**), and (royal) **pfalz**es built near to cloisters (**Pfalzen beim Kloster**). In these, a residential building for the monarch has been proved in the case of some cloisters (e.g. St. Denis). In other cases, the existence of such a structure is not clear and can only be inferred from a building in the monarch's ownership. In large, old cloister complexes, the **domus** of the king was still in the cloister; in the later ones, it was outside the **claustrum**, as, for example, the ideally designed guesthouse of St. Gallen. Even more clear is the location of the ruler's residential building from the late 9th century/10th century, when cloisters were fortified, and a **turris** or **castrum** was built which divided the cloister into two parts: an area for the laity and an area for the monks. A problem of interpretation stems from the circumstance that the king's building is more often called a **domus** than a **palatium**; furthermore, in cases when it was called a **palatium**, neither in the legal, nor the institutional sense was it a **pfalz**. Namely, a king could have issued a document in a cloister without its being a **pfalz**, since he could have been staying in the cloister's guesthouse or even with the abbot.

In the written sources, as well as *Mosaburg*/Zalavár, *Savaria*/Szombathely also features as a *civitas*. However, the Carolingian-era settlement layer of the latter is so much destroyed that no data of any sort are available regarding the extent, character, fortification, and internal structure of the *civitas*. In the absence of suitable dateable finds and other settlement structures (church, palace, farm buildings, etc.), the dating of the castle walls at Szombathely to the Carolingian age can be accepted only with very strong reservations (see above for more details).

Fig. 78 Pendant with an embedded prehistoric stone blade and finger ring
▪ *Zalavár-Castle Island, St Hadrian's pilgrim church, grave 19/2000, MNM Pendant 2013.1.149.1.Z; Gold, stone; H: 5 cm; Finger ring 2013.1.149.2.Z; Gilded silver*



Fig. 79 Pairs of earrings
▪ *Zalavár-Castle Island, St Hadrian's piglrim church, grave 157/99, MNM 2013.117.1-2. Z; Gilded silver; H. 3,2 cm; 2013.117.3-4.Z; Gilded silver; H. 3 cm; 2013.117.5-6.Z; Silver; H. 3,6-3,8 cm*

## Society in the Carpathian Basin in the Carolingian age as revealed by burials

The first results of peaceful evangelisation began to be felt by the 830s and 840s, in parallel with the strengthening of the Carolingian administration, with the building of the first county seats (*civitas*) (*Mosaburg*/Zalavár, *Savaria*/Szombathely), noble manor houses (*curtis*), and the first churches. The cemeteries of the villages for the serving people (Esztergályhorváti–Alsóbárándpuszta, Zalaszabar–Dezső sziget, Garabonc–Ófalu I–II, Zalavár–Kövecses, Zalavár–Rezes, Keszthely–Fenékpuszta, Sárvár–Végh malom, etc.) continued to be in so-called sacred groves far from the church (in the Esztergályhorvát–Alsóbárándpuszta cemetery the arrangement of the burials very precisely determined the positioning of the trees). However, they already diverged in a number of respects from those found at the end of the Avar age. In contrast to the earlier variable direction, the orientation of the burials is consistently west–east. The lay-out of the burials became simpler, and burial pits with recesses in the walls disappeared; at

the very most, burial pits with a step at the bottom are found, and even these are not too frequent. The depth of burials decreased, sepulchral structures and heavy, makeshift wooden coffins in the pits became fewer. A new phenomenon was that in some cemeteries partial or, in exceptional cases, complete stone coverings were employed. By the end of the second third of the century, offerings of food (poultry, eggs) and drink (clay and wooden vessels) were increasingly rare, remaining instead the custom of certain non-extended families.

In Zalavár/Mosaburg and its vicinity, around the churches built from about the mid-9th century onwards, relatives who lived with the church's noble founder and his family were presumably also buried (e.g. Church of Mary, Récéskút Basilica). In certain cases (e.g. the Pilgrimage Church of the Martyr Hadrian and the private church at Borjúállás), cemeteries with several hundred burials provide proof that serving people who had converted to Christianity were also interred in them.

In the endeavour to be as near to the church as possible in the hope of salvation, the burials, next to

the walls even and often on top of each other in a number of layers, contain no kind of grave goods linkable to pagan customs (animal bones, vessels). The burials of the Mosaburg nobles appear to differ all in all from those of the empire's aristocracy in that the Christian principle of care for the dead, according to which instead of grave goods an offering was made to the Church and to the poor with the aim of saving the soul, was less kept to; after all, the rules could have been less observed on the eastern periphery of the empire. Indeed, they were broken with considerable consistency in the case of members of certain families who died in their teens. Instead of (or in addition to?) an offering to the Church, the young female deceased of these families were buried with a headscarf embellished with precious-metal jewellery, a pearl necklace, a wrought ring, and in outer garments decorated with sheet-gold and sheet-silver buttons. For their part, the young male deceased of these families were buried with belt, bag, iron knife, and a set of spurs on the ankles.

Of the five churches in Mosaburg and its immediate area presently known to archaeologists, the *Church of St. John the Baptist*, which was the first to be built, had not a single burial around it. This church preserved its original missionary and baptismal functions throughout.

In the cemetery around the *Church of Mary*, Carolingian-era burials form loose groups. Of the approximately fifty burials dated to the 9th century by archaeologists, only a small number were of notables. Characteristic of such burials are good-quality jewellery and items of attire, as well as careful interment. These persons lay in coffins made from planks held together with nails and/or strips of iron, bent at right angles, at the corners, which were placed in large burial chambers made from thick beams in a makeshift way at the bottom of the burial pit.

The churchyard around the *Pilgrimage Church of the Martyr Hadrian* was divided into smaller 'family' units by stonewalls and a timber palisading. **(See Fig. 36)** This series of family burial sites each surrounded by a stone wall is unique among churches in Pannonia, and indeed in the entire area of the Carolingian Empire. These burial sites occupied areas between three small chapels opening from the

corridor vault behind the chancel, and also ran round the northern and southern sides of the church. That the most notable persons rested there is indicated not just by the gold jewellery, **(Fig. 76, 78)** but also by the burial pits that came to light within them. They were carefully built from stone and brick (but in many cases much ruined by robbers later on) and, in a few cases, had mortar floors and plastered (painted?) walls. For notables, who were buried with rich grave goods only seldom, coffins were carpentered from thick planks and held together by iron nails and iron cramps. At the two ends of the burial pit, narrow trenches often used in the Avar period were dug crosswise.

For the most part, burials a good deal more modest in construction and contents characterise the cemeteries of the churches that stand *foris civitatem*. Plank coffins held together by iron nails, precious-metal jewellery and sets of spurs are rarer (Zalaszabar–Borjúállás), or completely absent (Zalavár–Récéskút). One thing, however, is common to all the churches on Castle Island and to those lying beyond: no one was buried in the interior of the building. The burials of the founder/commissioner and his family were located outside the church; they were prominent only in that they lay separated in a conspicuous way, as, for example, between the chapels of the Hadrian pilgrimage church surrounded by a stone wall, or, as in Zalaszabar–Borjúállás, in a narthex in front of the west entrance to the nave.

*The attire of the elite and common people in Mosaburg*

Generally speaking, in cemeteries opened around the mid-9th century the character of women's attire was little changed compared with that at the end of the Avar era. Head jewellery was still favoured. It was not rare for several pairs of jewellery items to be threaded onto strips of textile or leather hanging on both sides of the head from a sweatband. **(Fig. 79)** In the core territory of the Carolingian Empire this occurred only seldom from the end of the Merovingian age, with a pair of ear-rings at the most being worn there. It is, therefore, no coincidence that in

Mosaburg pendants constitute the most numerous and the most various group in the jewellery not only of women of the common people, but also of women of the elite. The jewellery of the last-mentioned group is made almost exclusively from silver or silver gilt. The most characteristic items are pendants shaped like bunches of grapes, but the four hollow spheres and a small openwork basket types were also favoured, as was the crescent with openwork at the outer edge type. **(Fig. 80)** The different types of pendant may occur mixed together with one another. Necklaces threaded from small, singular green, blue and yellow, or larger blue, yellow, white, and silvery segmented beads without metal foil, blown mirrored beads, eye beads, and mosaic eye beads that were used either for necklaces or as decoration for outer garments are conspicuously rare and characteristically form part of the attire of girl children only. **(See Fig. 32)** Likewise a rare element of attire is the simple ring bent from wire that is mostly triangular in cross section and that is held together at its two ends by a small nail. Distinctive pieces are rings decorated with protuberances in the figure of a cross and rings with glass inlay. **(See Fig. 30)** A recent discovery is that sheet hollow-buttons hitherto thought to be characteristic only of Moravian attire form an organic part of the attire found in Mosaburg. They occur there in at least as many different forms as on the territory of the Moravian principality. Beside the undecorated, polygonal, hollow buttons, they include, those to which small rings have been soldered, in the centre of each of which is a granule; those decorated with rhombuses and triangles drawn in beading; those with double walls; those decorated with protuberances and granula-



Fig. 80 Earrings
▪ *Zalavár-Castle Island, St Hadrian's pilgrim church, grave 159/99, MNM 2013.1.118.1-9.Z; Silver; H. 2,5-4,5 cm*





Fig. 81 A pair of spherical plate buttons with palmette decoration
▪ *Zalavár-Castle Island, St Hadrian's pilgrim church, grave 65/2000, MNM 2013.1.162.1-2.Z; Silver; H. 2,7 cm*

Fig. 82 Spherical plate buttons
▪ *Zalavár-Castle Island, St Hadrian's pilgrim church, grave 1/2000, MNM 2013.1.144.1-3.Z; Silver, gold; H. 2,4 and 2,1 cm*

Fig. 84 Knives with golden inlay and with bronze scabbard mouth, a piece of a toiletry set (?)
▪ *Zalavár-Castle Island, St Hadrian's pilgrim church graves 39/85, 81/99 and 125/2000, MNM 92.6.1.Z; Iron, bronze; knife L. 9 cm; scabbard chape 6×3,8 cm; knives 2013.1.96.1-2.Z; Iron, gold L. 10,4-8,6 cm; toiletry object  2013. 1.171.1.Z; Bronze; L. 5,2 cm*

Fig. 85 Strap ends, strap retainer and mount
▪ *Zalavár-Castle Island, in the environs of St Hadrian's pilgrim church, MNM Strap ends 2012.1.824.1.Z, 2013.1.92.1.Z; Gilded bronze; 4,2×2,8 cm, 3,4×2,8 cm; retainer 2012.1.823.1.Z; Gilded silver; 2,9×1,8 cm; mount 2013.1.183.2.Z; Silver; 2,25×1,6 cm*



Fig. 86 Sword belt mounts: a strap end and a distributor
▪ *Zalavár-Castle Island, St Hadrian's pilgrim church grave 215/90 and stray find, MNM 2013.1.97.3.Z, 54.48.176; Iron, silver and copper inlay; Strap end L: 4 cm Distributor: 6×4,5 cm*

tion; those decorated with pearl wire; and those decorated, against a punched background, with geometrical motifs, **(Fig. 81)** palmettes, and birds. **(Fig. 82)**

By contrast, in the female burials in the cemeteries for the serving people only jewellery of bronze, copper, or, rarely, silver in the shape of bunches of grapes and various kinds of jewellery made from wire come to light. **(See Fig. 71)** Among these are hoops made of glass- or of sheet-beads and with a swinging pendant that belong to the Carantanian-type so-called Vor-Köttlach phase **(See Fig. 72)**; and

the number of pieces of jewellery worn on the head is only exceptionally more than a pair. The bead necklaces consisted almost exclusively of western-origin beads. Outer garments that did up at the shoulders were fastened by small, unembellished cast-bronze or sheet-bronze buttons, and by glass buttons with bronze or iron loops. **(See Fig. 73)** In the early phase, rings with a narrow shield-like bezel are common, while in the later phase rings with a broad shield-like bezel are frequent, as are strap-like rings fastened at the two ends with nails. **(See Fig.**

Fig. 87 Set of spurs
▪ *Zalavár-Castle Island, St Hadrian's pilgrim church grave 1/2000, MNM 2013.1.144.1–4.Z; Iron; Spur L. 11,2-10,7 W. 5,5–6 cm; buckle D. 2,3–2,2 cm; retainers1,7×1,6×0,9–1 cm; Strap end L. 2,8-2,6 cm W. 1,3 cm*

Fig. 89 Pair of spurs
▪ *Zalavár-Rezes grave 1, MNM 65.361.1-4; Iron; Spurs L. 13,5-13,8 cm*





Fig. 88 Spur
▪ *Zalavár-Castle Island, St Hadrians pilgrim church grave 84/01, MNM 2013.1.195.Z; Iron; L. 12-13 cm*

**74)** Also, it is not rare for articles of use to find their way into burials – iron knives with antler handles **(Fig. 83)**, spindle buttons, needle-cases made from bird bones or sheet iron or bronze, scythes, etc. – some of which are frequent also in female burials from the end of the Avar age.

The burials of men making up Priwina's and Chezil's noble retinue that have been excavated next to the Mosaburg churches contained finds that were radically different to those of armed retinue members from the end of the Avar period. The attire of the leading men follows the fashion within the Carolingian Empire much more than does the attire of the women. Attributes that accompanied pagan burials are lacking, and there are no weapons or decorated, articulated belts; on the other hand, sets of spurs, not worn hitherto, are popular. Belts are rarely fastened with a buckle, and belt-ends made from bronze gilt, silver **(Fig. 85)**, or sheet iron inlaid with non-ferrous metal are even rarer. **(Fig. 86)** No weapon has been found next to a male deceased buried around any of the Mosaburg churches. On the other hand, a characteristic find in the case of men of the Zalavár elite is a bag attached to the belt containing a bodkin, means of making fire, and a razor in a sheet-iron case; another is a 'cutlery' set usually

Fig. 90 Set of spurs
▪ *Zalavár-Castle Island, St Hadrian's pilgrim church grave 165/01, MNM 2013.1.210.1-4.Z; Iron; Spur L .13,5 cm; strap end 3×1,6 cm; retainer 2,25×1,25 cm*



Fig. 91 Set of spurs
▪ *Zalavár-Castle Island, St Hadrian's pilgrim church grave 33/02, MNM 2013.1.240.8-13.Z; Iron; Spur L. 12 cm; strap end 2×1,3 cm*

consisting of two finely-worked, narrow knives with short blades, the case for which is in most cases covered with decoratively-worked protective sheeting. **(Fig. 84)** Not too frequent elements in men's burials are spurs, which belong to three to four basic types; all are distinctive in their decoration. **(Fig. 39, 87, 88, 90, 91)** Parallels for them occur not only on Moravian territory and on the Little Plain north of the River Danube, but in Slovenia and even on the Croatian coastline.

The picture that emerges of the Mosaburg elite in light of the Carolingian-era burials excavated around the Church of Mary and the Hadrian pilgrimage church, indicates on the one side that the finds recovered have no kind of 'national' character. No Proto-Moravian, Proto-Croatian, or even Mosaburg attire can be distinguished. The elite in the entire eastern border region of the Carolingian Empire wore the same jewellery, belt decorations, spurs, and other articles of attire. Moreover, similarities between pieces are sometimes so pronounced that a particular master or workshop (?) must have made them. On the other hand, it becomes clear that however much the eastern border region was linked, directly or indirectly, to the Carolingian Empire, and however strongly its inhabitants were affected by cultural influences arriving from the empire's interior, cultural ties evolved over the centuries, and the eastern Mediterranean, Byzantine-Oriental taste deeply rooted in the Avar khaganate remained determinative and continued to exert

influence in many areas of life, i.e. attire, jewellery, and decorated ceramic.

In contrast with elite male burials, initially weapons are found in the male burials of serving people in the Mosaburg/Zalavár area, of types known already in the end phase of the Avar era: single-edged swords, langsaxes, simple socketed and winged spears, bearded axes, socketed arrow-heads, and even, in one case, a Byzantine-type two-edged sword mediated by the Bulgars (?).**(See Fig. 102.)** However, no spurs ever have come to light from the burials of the men with weapons. They are found only in the case of older men buried without a weapon who at the same time played an important role in the community. **(Fig. 89)** Spurs and weapons, then, clearly had a rank-denoting function, and indicated the diverse status of the deceased within the elite of a community of serving people.

The conquering Hungarians brought hardly any changes to the lives of these people. By the late 9th century, their attire had become so simple that it is unsatisfactory as a means for precise dating. Women's burials now contained only simple wire jewellery and beads, while men's featured an iron buckle and an iron knife. The same simplicity is valid for burial rites, from the fashioning and orienting of the burials to the giving of food for the journey to the next life. The common people of the first half of the 10th century are, therefore, difficult to describe and to identity by archaeological means.

Of the approximately half-million ceramic fragments re-covered hitherto from the Zalavár–Castle Island settle-ment, more than 4000 are ceramic tableware with a pol-ished surface; the rest are table vessels of the lower strata of the people and pieces of kitchen and storage vessels.

The tableware used by notables consisted of ceramic vessels made on a hand-turned potter's wheel from well-washed clay, carefully polished, and fired to a golden brown colour. Approximately 90 per cent of the pieces are from slender *flasks* with profiled rims and circular disks as feet. **(Fig. 92)**The rest consist of pieces from one-handled and two-handled *jugs, table amphoras,* **(Fig. 93)** *tureen-like bowls, flat and deep bowls, cups, beakers,* **(Fig. 94)** *covers* **(Fig. 95)**, and a few vessels of non-standard shape, e.g. *vessels with tubular spouts* and *bird-shaped handles* **(Fig. 96)** or *chafing dishes*. The ceramic is overwhelmingly undecorated, although on a few piec-es, first and foremost on the sides of flasks, there is pressed, scratched, and engraved decoration. Further-more, net-pattern decoration, appliqué ribbing, and pro-tuberances pressed out from inside can be seen.

A 'Mosaburg' characteristic is a stamped motif which consists of a cross made from four triangles all touching at the apex, and, on either side of the bottom arm of the cross, a triangle with its apex pointing horizontally. Rarely, a circular-shaped stamp was used. This was ap-plied so as to make a band of such motifs around the neck of a vessel. The cross likewise appears among the scratched motifs, and larger, more complex, and hither-to unreconstructed, figures (birds, angels?) were also scratched onto the sides of flasks. In terms of propor-tion, the number of fragments with inscriptions scratched on is small, but the inscriptions themselves are very varied. Among these are the Greek blessing in Ro-man letters *pie zeses* (*cum tuis* or *in deo*) ('Drink and live [with those close to you or in God]'), **(Fig. 98)** the monogram (IYI) of the Proto-Bulgar chief deity *Tangra* (~*Tengri*), **(Fig. 99)** and fragments inscribed in *obla glagolita* script. Causing a real sensation on their discov-ery a couple of years ago, these are relics of the work of Constantine and Methodius in Mosaburg. **(See Fig. 70)** Of the letters engraved on the sides of the polished flasks, more or less recognisable is the cross, as a symbol

between words. Others in this category are a (as), g (glagolь), d (dobro), v (vědi), i (iže), ó (onъ), f (fertь), and ja (jat'); some symbols are still unidentified.

The large mass of kitchen ceramic was mostly made on a hand-turned potter's wheel from unwashed clay thinned often with coarse sand, small pebbles, limestone waste, broken shells, and plant seeds. It was then, in al-most every case, decorated and fired to a greyish, red-dish, or yellowish brown. By far the greatest amount consists of *pots* used for cooking and storage. These were large and small, broad at the mouth, with a pro-nounced shoulder, and with oval-shaped, spherical, or almost cylindrical bodies. The pots were decorated with straight, horizontal lines ('snail lines'), wavy lines, and multiple horizontal and wavy lines scratched on with a comb-like implement, as well as with jab marks made at an oblique angle. A special and rare mode of decoration is when three short, perpendicular groupings of lines are scratched in a place on the shoulder among groupings of wavy lines in such a way that they give the monogram (IYI) of the deity Tangra (~Tengri). The potters who made these vessels for cooking and storage made other types besides, e.g. deep and flat *dishes*, *mugs* with elon-gated handles, *beakers,* **(Fig. 100)** *chafing dishes,* **(Fig. 97)** and large *embers' covers/'baking bells'*. **(Fig. 101)** These were tableware vessels used by the lower strata of the population.

The production method, decoration, and stock of forms of the simpler storage and kitchen vessels can largely be traced back to the ceramic of the late Avar age. By contrast, the ceramic tableware is linked by many more strands to the Mediterranean world (Byzantium, Italy), in which the forms and vessel-production practices of late antiquity were preserved unbroken up to the Carolingian age. This is especially valid for the ceramic tableware exhibiting polished surfaces. It displays not only the formal marks of the so-called yellow ceramic of the late Avar age, but also the vessel types of the Medi-terranean area, the forms found in contemporary pre-cious-metal and glass vessels. This luxury ceramic table-ware from Mosaburg differs appreciably from the luxury ceramic vessels of Carolingian Western Europe just as much in production technology as in stock of forms.

Fig. 92 Polished clay bottles with stamped decoration
▪ *Zalavár-Castle Island, MNM 54.26.118, 2002.1.1089.1.Z, 2002.1.1088.1.Z; Clay; H 25 cm, 27 cm, 33,5 cm*

## THE DISINTEGRATION OF THE CAROLINGIAN EAST

*Hungarians on the Danube – Great Plain in the second half of the 9th century*

According to the Legend of Methodius, 'when the Ugor [i.e. Hungarian] king was in the territories by the Danube, he wanted to see' Methodius. 'The king received him ceremoniously, with great respect, and spoke with him in such a way as is owing to such men, finally embracing him, kissing him, and sent him away with great gifts, asking him always to think of him in his prayers' (*Vita Methodii* c. 16).

In the biography of Methodius, however, the word *korolъ*, 'king' – as in the case of 'Moravian king' earlier on – was an expression used exclusively for Eastern Frankish and German rulers. For the Hungarian ruling prince, as for the Slav ruling

princes also, the term *knęzъ* would have been correct; moreover, according to many, the adjective 'Hungarian' was put into the text later on, as an addition. Therefore, Methodius's meeting may instead have been with the emperor, Charles III ('the Fat'), who was indeed by the Danube in 884, at Tulln, where he held discussions with Zwentibald. The Moravian ruling prince arrived for the meeting along with his leading men (*Ann. Fuldenses* a. 884), and it is very likely that the archbishop was one of them. Some details of the meeting described in the Legend of Methodius call to mind the behaviour at this time of a Christian rather than a pagan ruler. In spite of this, some Hungarian researchers are not happy to take leave of this datum, and in place of 'Hungarian' call into question the word 'king', hypothesising that originally the word *vladyka*, meaning lord stood in its place.

However, the fact that the Legend of Methodius

tells of a meeting with a personage other than the 'Hungarian king' does not preclude an encounter between Methodius and a Hungarian 'king' by the Danube. Irrespective of the meeting, Hungarians were certainly living within the ring of the Carpathians in these years, on the territories to the east of the Danube, and had already entered the history of the Carpathian Basin.

The first (probably) certain mention of the presence of the Hungarians in the Carpathian Basin is from 862. The highly cultured Archbishop Hinkmar of Rheims informs us, in very classical-type Latin, that 'the Danes destroyed a large part of his [Louis the German's] empire with fire and sword. But other hitherto unknown peoples, who were called Hungarians, also destroyed his kingdom' (*Ann. Bertiniani* a. 862). Despite the terseness of its wording, Hinkmar's report contains a number of noteworthy elements. With greater knowledge of world politics greater than that enjoyed by the compilers of the Royal Frankish Annals, he is the only one to have accurately called the new people *Ungri*, while the Swabian annalists either misheard the name of the attackers or identified the name of the attackers on the basis of their mode of fighting and/or archaisised it. Another important element is that while he – and, with a slight delay, the Swabian annalists – thought it important to report the destruction occasioned by the Hungarians, the Bavarians are silent on this. The question is whether the latter failed to recognise the magnitude of the danger appearing with the new enemy, or turned their attention elsewhere, focussing instead on the power struggle between Louis the German and Carloman and the replacement of officials that was taking place among the aristocracy in charge of the eastern area. In any event, it was precisely in 861 that Carloman completed the changing of the leaders of the Pannonian and Carantanian marches, replacing the princes loyal to his father with his own men. And this was certainly accompanied by the spilling of blood. Alongside the Moravians, who took part in the armed clashes – of which, in characteristic manner, we learn only from a half-sentence in the *Conversio* (c. 13) referring to the circumstances of Priwina's death –, Hungarians, too, joined the fights, on whom

Fig. 94 Beakers with polished
surface
▪ *Zalavár-Castle Island,
MNM 2002.1.1084.1.Z,
2002.1.655.2.Z,
2011.1.364.1.Z; Clay;
H. 6,5 cm, 7,7 cm, 11,8 cm*
▪ *Zalaszabar–Borjúállás-
sziget grave 152, BM
86.12.1; Clay; H. 10,6 cm*

Fig. 94 Beakers with polished surface caption is above.

Fig. 95 Lids with polished
surface
▪ *Zalavár-Castle Island,
MNM 2010.1.38.1.Z,
2002.1.698.1.Z,
2012.1.474.1.Z; Clay; D.
7,5 cm, 10,5 cm 12,6 cm*

Archbishop Hinkmar reports. A terse sentence in *Ann. Xantenses* a. 892 mentioning the quarrel between the kings and an incursion of the pagans as unpleasant and insulting events may also refer to the Hungarians. The alliance between Carloman and Rastislav had grew firmer from 861 onwards and newly appointed officials dependent on Carloman already ruled the Carolingian East. It is, therefore, highly likely that the Hungarians attacked estates belonging to Louis the German on instructions from Carloman and/or Rastislav.

It is customary to regard this early datum on the appearance of the Hungarians as some kind of early raid by Hungarians living to the east of the Carpathi-ans. The reasons for the presence of the Hungarians, however, cannot be judged nearly as clearly as those for the presence of the Danes. Until the last years of the 9th century, the Hungarians conspicuously took part only in local conflicts in the Danube valley, sometimes as allies of the Bavarians and sometimes as allies of the Moravians. If this campaign was a prelude to adventures, why did they not launch new attacks soon afterwards, as is usual with pillaging campaigns; and why did they wait two decades before attacking the Danube valley again? On the other hand, if Carlo-man and/or Rastislav turned to them for help only on occasion, why did these individuals not find assistance nearer at hand – e.g. the ever-willing Bulgars –, and

Fig. 96 Bird-head shaped handles of vessels
■ *Zalavár-Castle Island, MNM 96.62.1.1.Z, 2010.1.39.1.Z, 2002.1.696.1.Z; Clay; L. 7,7 cm, 10 cm, 7,2 cm, 8 cm*

why did they turn to the Hungarians living in the distant region between the Carpathians and the Dnieper who were unknown and unpredictable? And why would it be worthwhile for the Hungarians to undertake the long journey to the foothills of the Alps, taking the chance that when they got there, the reason for their recruitment might no longer exist?

Logical answers to these questions can only be obtained by hypothesising that these Hungarians were already living within the ring of the Carpathian Mountains in 862. Otherwise, because of the frequently changing power relations and fortunes of war, they would not have been able to join the battles in an effective way and in time. It is also to be assumed that they were already familiar with the local power–political relations to the extent that they did not recoil from undertaking military tasks on occasion. That is to say, it is likely that although the principal mass of their tribes still lived to the east of the Carpathians, the Hungarians were turning their attention increasingly westwards as the Khazar khaganate grew in strength after the 830s. More than that, by the middle of the century they were following, in gradually increasing numbers, albeit to an uncertain degree, the events in the west from inside the ring formed by the Carpathian Mountains,

seeping in mostly along the banks of the River Tisza. In this for the most part sparsely populated area of north-eastern Hungary, they were able to settle without hindrance, without encountering serious resistance from the Avars and the Slavs.

Mention of the Hungarians in 862 on the eastern border of the Carolingian Empire was only seemingly unexpected. Hungarians had been present in the Carpathian Basin since around the mid-9th century at the latest, and represented a military force that could be, and was, reckoned with. By the early 880s, moreover, their numbers had increased so much that they were capable of actively intervening in events taking place in the empire's eastern border territories. By means of these interventions, they became familiar, thoroughly and unobtrusively, with the geographical features of the region and with its defence systems, as well as with methods of fighting hitherto unknown to them. As Liudprand of Cremona wrote, 'they noted the road leading here, took a good look at the country, and evil designs took shape in their hearts' (*Liudprandi antapodosis* I. 13).

An excellent occasion for these designs presented itself in 881, when, presumably tasked by Arbo, the margrave of the Danube marches, and/or Zwentibald, ruling prince of Moravia, they fought on the

Fig. 97 Chafing-dish
▪ *Zalavár-Castle Island, MNM 96.52.1.Z; Clay; M: 14 cm*

Fig. 98 Fragment of a bottle with the inscription 'pie zezes'
▪ *Zalavár-Castle Island, MNM 95.42.42.Z; Clay; 15×8,5 cm*



territory of the Willhelmins, who possessed extensive estates in the Danube valley in Lower Austria. The writer in the 'Greater Salzburg Annals' which gave an account of this, supplied exact place names, and was also able to make a distinction between the Hungarian and the Kabar tribes which took part in the battles. According to the Bavarian chronicler, the battles first took place *ad Weniam* (at Vienna) with the Hungarians (*ungari*) and later to the west *ad Culmite*, by the River Danube in Lower Austria, with the Kabars (*cowari*) (*Ann. Iuvavenses Maximi* a. 881). The Salzburg chronicler would scarcely have attached importance to this distinction – indeed he probably would not even have been able to make it – if this were a matter of warriors arriving from between the Carpathians and the Dnieper for a single campaign on one particular assignment. Yet he names the participants in the battles with a naturalness of which only an informed man well acquainted with the Hungarian tribes would have been capable – and among the Salzburg monks successfully evangelising in Pannonia for decades there would have been several such individuals. These Hungarian and Kabar tribes, then, had been known to the chronicler for some time already, i.e. they may have been living together peacefully with neighbouring peoples somewhere in the region east of the Danube within the ring formed by the Carpathians.

Finally, it is worth quoting al-Gayhani's description of the land of the Hungarians from around 870–880. This land stretched between two rivers emptying into the Black Sea, the Atil (i.e. Don) and the Danube. Al-Gayhani regarded the Danube, 'located on the side of the Slavs', as the border along a much longer stretch than was traditionally regarded as such, namely the Lower Danube section in Bulgaria. Along this longer stretch, the Christian Moravian people, too, were living, whose mention would make sense only if they were neighbours of the Hungarians. This would have been possible only within the ring formed by the Carpathians.

It is, then, timely to rethink the traditional historical picture we have of the Hungarian Conquest, and to reckon seriously with the reality that the Hungarians, from around the mid-9th century onwards at the latest, represented a military power that

Fig. 99 Fragment of a vessel with scratched IYI sign
▪ *Zalavár-Castle Island, MNM 2002.1.650.1.Z; Clay; 5,3×3,3 cm*

could be, and needed to be, taken into consideration. In other words, the Hungarian Conquest was not the single act mobilising masses that was romantically related by the historiographers of the 19th century. It was a lengthy series of events taking place continuously over many decades – and therefore almost imperceptibly even to contemporary chroniclers – for which the year 895–896 marked not the beginning but the end!

Historical considerations require the reassessment of the archaeological material, too. It is a mistake, from the methodological point of view also, to try to extend the time frame of the late Avar age stock of finds, which is homogeneous in appearance in the entire Carpathian Basin up, to the end of the first third of the 9th century in Transdanubia (and in some cases to the middle of it) and to the end of the 9th century on the Great Plain, in the interests of a solution for the direct meeting of the Avar and the Hungarian stocks of finds respectively. That is to say, the reason why a stock of finds of the type we call 'Carolingian-era' to the west of the Danube did not develop on the Great Plain, i.e. between the archaeological material of the Avars and that of the conquering Hungarians, is not that the attire of the late Avar age remained in fashion there for approximately fifty years longer, but that the Hungarians were present to the east of the Danube decades earlier

than they were to the west of it. And, of course, those constructions which, interpreting historical data in a singular way, claim that the area to the east of the Danube was under Proto-Bulgar rule or was part of the 'Great Moravian Empire' cannot even be considered, because, in the absence of suitable archaeological finds, they are unprovable.

The difficulty of showing the Hungarian presence archaeologically in the second half, and the last third, of the 9th century may be ascribed not only to archaeologists treating the 895–896 date for the Conquest as an axiom, but also to the so-called 'first generation of conquerors' phenomenon, namely that the first generation of peoples newly appearing from the east is undemonstrable archaeologically. Thus it is with the unknown archaeological finds of the 'first generation' of Sarmatian or Avar conquerors. In the case of these peoples, a generational hiatus between their first appearance according to the historical sources and the archaeology finds often dated by means of coins can be pointed out. Accordingly, then, the first reliably dateable finds for the Avars, who moved into the Carpathian Basin in 568, are only from the late 6th century, and between the first mention of the Sarmatians and the earliest archaeological finds for them the hiatus is also a lifetime. If this phenomenon is universal, it must also be valid for the archaeological finds relating to the conquering Hungarians. But there is no such hiatus in the dating of the archaeological finds for them. Indeed, there are grave goods which can be dated as early as around 895. Consequently, either this dating is incorrect or the conquering Hungarians must have been present on the lands to the east of the River Tisza earlier on, from the beginning of the second third of the 9th century already, according to the first written source data.

### The end-game of the Carolingian Empire in Pannonia

Perhaps the bloodiest and cruellest period in the Carolingian-era history of the Carpathian Basin began in the 880s, when the Willhelmins, the most powerful family in the Danube valley in Lower Austria, attempted to acquire total control. By the end of it,

Fig 100 Cooking Vessels, Zalavár-Castle Island MNM Clay
- Zalavár-Castle Island ▪ *Bowls, 2012.1.493.1.Z; H. 2,2 cm, 2012.1.489.1.Z; H. 6 cm, 2002.1.222.1.Z; H. 9,2 cm*
- *Bowl with handles, 96.55.1.Z; H. 12,5 cm*
- *Baking plate, 2011.1.298.1.Z; H. 3 cm*
- *Pots, 2012.1.486.1.Z; H. 10,5 cm, 2012.1.622.1.Z; H. 15 cm, 2012.1.508.1.Z; H. 19 cm, 2012.1.507.1.Z; H. 25 cm*

however, they were completely wiped out, while the Hungarians, for the first time during their history in the Carpathian Basin, would be not only a people passively observing, and sometimes exploiting, events, but also participants actively shaping them, and, in the end, the main protagonists in them.

At the end of the bloody warfare, which lasted a number of years, some of the Willhelmins lay dead on the battlefield, while their 'more fortunate' family members were in captivity waiting for their lives to take a turn for the better. In 884, Emperor Charles III ('the Fat') met Zwentibald and the latter's nobles on the *mons Comianus* at Tulln. The ruling prince of the Moravians swore loyalty to the emperor, and 'would be, by his hand, the emperor's man'. After this meeting, the emperor received the *dux* Braslaw, lord of the territory between the Drava and Sava rivers, who, as his vassal, had played a prominent role in ending the

conflict. Later, he travelled across Carantania to Padua, in order to spend Christmas there.

When Carloman was paralysed by a stroke in 878, it was already not he but Arnolf who headed the prefecture of the east. Thus, it goes without saying that when Carloman died in 880, as the Chronicle of Regino writes, Louis III 'left [him] the territory which his father had long intended for him', a territory on which 'the very strong Mosaburh' was located (*Reginonis chronica* a. 880). Arnolf renewed the peace concluded between Charles III ('the Fat') and the Moravians a number of times. He confirmed it with Zwentibald in front of the Bavarian nobles for the first time in 885. Later, in 890, in the middle of Lent he held a meeting (*generale conventum*) in *Omuntesperch* in Pannonia, and gave Zwentibald the principality of Bohemia also. Nevertheless, in 892 Zwentibald broke all his earlier promises and pledg-

es. Angered at this, the king held a council at *Hengisfeldon*, where at the suggestion of *dux* Braslaw he decided to attack Zwentibald with three armies. For seven weeks, he laid waste the land of the Moravians and – while the Hungarians, too joined him – put the whole country to the torch.

Some interpret this Hungarian participation in such a way that the military campaign launched with the help of the Hungarians was already the opening move of the Conquest, and that Braslaw now created a Carolingian bridgehead and fort on what was later Castle Hill in Pozsony, which as *Brezalauspurc*, *Brezesburg*, and later on *Pressburg* may have been named after him (for more details on this, see below). However, the achievements of this campaign were so modest – and therefore call into question the idea of the creation of a bridgehead at Pozsony – that Arnolf was obliged, in the interests of increasing the pressure, to send envoys in September to the Bulgar king, Laodomir, to renew the old peace with him and to ask him not to let the Moravians purchase salt (*Ann. Fuldenses* a. 892). Because Zwentibald's men were lying in wait, these envoys were unable to use the land route. They therefore crossed Brazlaw's country by way of the Odra and Kulpa rivers, afterwards reaching the Bulgars by sailing down the Sava. They would scarcely have been compelled to do this if it was true that Braslaw had already established a bridgehead and fort on the Castle Hill in Pozsony, i.e. if he was already capable of checking the movements of military forces on enemy territory.

The tragic story of Willihelm II's and Engilschalk's sons was fulfilled in the fate of the grandchildren. Arnolf's earlier area of rule, the Pannonian–Carantanian area, came under the direction of the two cousins, but the Bavarian nobles turned against them. Engilschalk II was, 'because of his selfish behaviour', put on trial, presumably without Arnolf's knowledge, and was blinded. Another cousin on his father's side, Willihelm III, was condemned for treason and was beheaded, while Ruodpert, who took refuge with the Moravians, was killed along with his retinue by order of *dux* Zwentibald personally when he was no longer useful. Nor was Arbo, one of those behind the warfare, the real winner in the tragedy of the Willihelmin family. This was Liutpold, a royal relative, presumably

through Liutwinda, the mother of King Arnolf. He replaced Willihelmin Ruodpert in Carantania as early as 893. Moreover, in 895, after the condemning of Engildeo for conspiracy, he became lord of the Bavarian march; from this point on his career was on an unstoppable upward trajectory.

On receiving news of Zwentibald's cruel act, King Arnolf invaded Moravian territory and devastated it completely. However, a trap laid for him very nearly caused his demise. He could escape only with great difficulty, reaching the manor house of the queen in Ötting, Bavaria. It was there that his son Louis was born. Named after Arnolf's grandfather, Louis IV ('the Child') was the last ruler of Eastern Francia to hail from the House of Charlemagne. In 894, Zwentibald died. Judgments of him by contemporaries are very contradictory. The writer in the Fulda Annals called him 'the hotbed of all perfidy' who created disturbance everwhere with tricks and cunning (*Ann. Fuldenses* a. 893). Regino, abbot of Prüm considered him 'a man who among his own people was wise and who with regard to his character was very clever' (*Reginonis Chronica* 894).

At the news of Zwentibald's death, the Bohemian tribes, too, grew restive. When in mid-July 895 Arnolf held an Imperial Assembly in Regensburg, Bohemian notables, too appeared, headed by the princes Spitignewo and Witizla. The purpose of their visit was to renew their links with the Bavarians that had been arbitrarily hindered for so long by Zwentibald, the ruling prince, and to submit.

The eastern neighbours, the 'Avars who are called Hungarians' (*Avari, qui dicuntur Ungari*), also exploited the shock and the power vacuum caused by the news of Zwentibald's death, crossed the Danube, and perpetrated many terrible things there. 'They killed all the men and the elderly women, and took the young people, like animals, with them, to do with them what they would, and they devastated the whole of Pannonia down to the last blade of grass.' (*Ann. Fuldenses* a. 894). The destruction extended not only to Pannonia, but to the land of the Moravians also; there, too, they razed everything to the ground (*Reginonis Chronica* 894). By the autumn, the Bavarians and the Moravians had renounced enmity; Arnolf and Zwentibald's two sons, Moimyr II

Fig. 101 Embers' cover
▪ *Zalavár-Castle Island, MNM 2012.1.512.1.Z; Clay; H. 16 cm*

and Zwentobolch, made peace. Although there is a view that the Hungarians entered Moravia after Zwentibald had asked their assistance against Arnolf, ostensibly no such connection was known to the Fulda chronicler who listed the events of the year in chronological order. He began the year with an account of Zwentibald's death and only afterwards did he speak of the incursion and depredations of the Hungarians, which eventually came to an end with the news of the autumn peace agreement.

In 895–896, the 'Avars called Hungarians' were involved in a series of battles rich in changes of fortune with the Bulgars. Eventually they, too, followed the other Hungarians moving westwards under pressure from the Pechenegs, and set out towards the Carpathian Basin (*Ann. Fuldenses* a. 895–896). As a result, the eastern border zone of the Carolingian Empire grew ever noisier from the clash of weapons. Because of this, in 896 Emperor Arnolf 'entrusted the defence of Pannonia along with Mossburg (*cum urbe Paludarum*) to Prince Braslaw' (*Ann. Fuldenses* a. 896). But there was no longer tranquillity north of the Danube either. By 898, disputes and dissension between Moimyr and Zwentobolch, sons of Zwentibald, were so bitter that had one been able to capture the other, he would surely have put him to death. Emperor Arnolf therefore sent counts Liut-

pold and Arbo, along with his Bavarian nobles, to 'assist the party which hoped for protection with him' (*Ann. Fuldenses* a. 898).

Arnolf died on 29 November 899, and was buried next to his father, Carloman, in Ötting. The throne then passed to his son Louis, who was still a child. In that year, the Bavarians, moving through Bohemia and collecting the Bohemians on the way, again attacked the Moravians, and laid waste their country for three weeks. Utterly weakened, the Moravians eventually sued for peace at the Imperial Assembly held in Regensburg in 901. To supervise the keeping of the oath taken and the peace, Richarius, bishop of Passau and Count Udalrich were sent to Moravia, and by the end of the year Prince Moymar and Count Isanric had both reached agreement with Louis IV ('the Child').

In 899/900, the Hungarians attacked territory outside the ring of the Carpathians, wealthy Italy, for the first time. According to some, Arnolf 'opened' the way to them, with the result that their army ravaged the Po valley without hindrance, and later, on 24 September 899, dealt an annihilating defeat to King Berengar I at the Battle of Brenta. In the summer of 900, after making peace with Berengar, the Hungarians returned to Pannonia along the road by which they had come, and then likewise destroyed

the 'largest part' of this territory (*Ann. Fuldenses* a. 900). In the meantime, by way of envoys offering peace, they 'perfidiously' spied out the land of the Bavarians, too. Then, in the autumn of 900, they crossed the River Enns with an enormous army, devastating and pillaging Bavarian territories along the Danube valley before returning to Pannonia with rich booty. Liutpold and Bishop Richarius of Passau successfully managed to attack and destroy, on 20 November at Linz, only one of their units, a force which was raiding north of the Danube. The Hungarians who unsettled the eastern border territories of the Carolingian Empire were increasingly demonised by the chroniclers. Likened to the Huns and the Avars, they were described using the stereotype for a cruel people: wild of countenance, eaters of raw flesh and drinkers of blood, and handling their bows with terrifying effect.

## The Battle of Brezalauspurc

Although from 900 onwards Pannonia was repeatedly swept by the depredations of the Moravians and the Hungarians alike, it was in the July of 907 that the fate of the Carolingian province was sealed. Contemporary chronicles relate only very briefly, in one sentence each, the serious defeat suffered by the Bavarians. The significance of the battle, however, was sensed accurately not only in Bavarian or Swabian cloisters, but also in a cloister at Lobb in Belgium and in another in Corvey in Saxony. The chroniclers felt the necessity to record it as the most important event of the year 907. The annals, however, give no further details of the battle, reporting only the deaths of Prince Liutpold and the bishops and counts fighting alongside him and, occasionally, stating 'superstitious pride' (*supersticiosa superbia*) as the cause of the defeat.

The disastrous defeat brought with it a significant loss of territory – the River Enns again became the border and the lands to the east of it were lost to the west for approximately fifty years. Also, it had very serious political consequences at home. After the deaths of Prince Liutpold, Bishop Theotmar of Salzburg, Bishop Udo of Freising, and Bishop Zacharias of

Säben-Brixen on the battlefield, the Konradins now replaced the Liupoldins in the day-to-day government of the empire. Of these two great aristocratic families around Louis the Child who were jockeying for power, the Liupoldins had been in the lead hitherto.

Only the Bavarian annals tell where and how the battle took place. Some uncertainty exists in the giving of the date: 4 July (and/or 5 July) 907. It is possible that the battle was fought on consecutive days. The place of the battle, *ad Brezalauspurc,* is given only by a contemporary Salzburg source, the *Annales Iuvavenses maximi,* which became known in 1921. In notes made in 1517 on the basis of Salzburg annals kept at the Nieder-Altaich cloister and partly lost since then (*Excerpta Aventini ex Annalibus Iuvavensibus antiquis derivati* a. 907), Johannes Turmair (1477–1534), called Aventinus after the Latin name for his birthplace, recorded it in the form *Braslavespurch*, while in his historical work *Annales Boiorum* (1517–1521), which also discussed the details of the battle, he gave it in Latinised form (*Vratislaburgium*, *Vratislavia*) and Germanised form (*Presburg*).

Since this humanist scholar and author often made use of written sources – some of which may still be checked today and some of which are lost –, historians and military historians treat his work as a credible source. But Aventinus sometimes capitalises on his knowledge of the sources by linking together the names of historical protagonists and the names of places, and supplements events on the basis of analogy, or else constructs an entirely new story. The last mentioned happens now, too, when he identifies the place name *Brezalauspurc*, formed from the name of Braslaw, one of the main protagonists in the history of Pannonia in the late Carolingian period, with *Brezesburg* (1042), *Brezisburg castrum* (1052) > *Prezesburg* > *Pressburg~Pozsony*. Since contemporary sources know nothing about it, he reconstructs the progress of the entire battle on the basis of information taken from descriptions of campaigns launched by Charlemagne in 791 and by Henry III in 1051. Yet the localisation of the place *Brezalauspurc~Braslavespurch* is not at all clear on the basis of the frequency of the personal name Breclav~Breslav~Brazlav occurring in its first part. It is enough to think of Preslav in Bulgaria, Břeclav in Moravia, the name Pressburg~Pozsony

Fig. 102 Byzantine sword with complementary fitment with secondary fittings
- *Garabonc-Ófalu (Zala c.) I. grave 55, TGYM 94.470.5; Iron; L. 84 cm*

(=Bratislava) for the Slovak capital, or Breslau–Wrocław in Poland.

Braslaw first appears in the sources in 884. He features in the annals in 892 and later on in 896, when Arnolf entrusted Pannonia, together with the *urbs Paludarum,* to him. Many believe that Braslaw established a Carolingian bridgehead and fortification on Castle Hill in today's Bratislava which the Germans may have called *Brezalauspurc*, *Brezesburg*, and later *Pressburg* in the light of his name. However, a defence theory imagined on the analogy of the Roman *limes* ignores the sober reality. No evidence of the building of fortifications is found in Pannonia, still less of counter-fortifications or indeed of the organising of military defences of any kind. It was not by chance that from the mid-880s onwards the Moravians were, 'like wolves' and in wave after wave, able to wreak havoc in the Carolingian province unopposed. And the Fulda chronicler would more happily have given news in 892 that Braslaw had begun the construction of a bridgehead at a strategically important point against the Moravians (see the news of Ennsburg, reinforced at a rapid rate against the Hungarians in 990 – *Ann. Fuldenses* a. 900) than he would that the envoys sent to the Bulgars had to make an enormous detour because of Zwentibald's men lying in wait for them in Pannonia and that they had to pass through Brazlaw's territory along the River Sava (*Ann. Fuldenses* a. 892).

It is easy to see that when Arnolf left the defence of Pannonia to Braslaw in 896, he was already thinking of saving its western strip, rather than the entire province. He hoped that under his direction Braslaw would be able to halt the Hungarians, who were then flooding across the entire Carpathian Basin, at the *urbs Paludarum*, which was 'fortified the best'. He therefore entrusted the organisation of the defence to a suitable soldier tried and tested many times by him. Braslaw performed the task assigned to him in Mosaburg, the royal seat in Pannonia, not just by fortifying the Castle Island; after Arnolf's death soon afterwards (in 899), he continued to perform it.

Because of the 'superstitious pride' of the Bavarian military leadership, the battle ended in disastrous defeat. Pannonia's last protective bastion fell, and the Carolingian province was lost. In view of Hun-

garian arrowheads lodged in vertebrae, some of those buried in the cemeteries around the churches on Castle Island fell in the battle. However, stripped of their weapons and costly attire, most corpses may have been thrown into the marshes of the River Zala and the Little Balaton. After the defeat, not just Mosaburg/Zalavár became depopulated, but also its surrounding area, as the masters of the noble manor houses which had grown up there fled along with the serving people linked to them. In the 10th century, the archbishop of Salzburg and noble families with links to Pannonia attempted to uphold the validity of their ownership rights regarding their Pannonian estates. In Mosaburg and its vicinity, only those families remained which had nothing to lose and which were needed by the new lords, namely ordinary families which produced food and were proficient in simple handicrafts work.

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ABBREVIATION

BM        Balatoni Múzeum, Keszthely
MNM    Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum
RRM    Rippl-Rónai Múzeum, Kaposvár
SM        Soproni Múzeum
TGYM  Thúry György Múzeum, Nagykanizsa

Annamária Bárány – István Vörös

# ANIMAL FINDS FROM MOSABURG-ZALAVÁR

In the 9th century, the most thriving period of the history of Zalavár-Vársziget, the bay system of the Kis-Balaton was integrally connected to the Lake Balaton. The separation of the bay had been completed by the beginning of the 19th century with human intervention. The settlement is/was surrounded by a swampy region with significantly vacillating water-level. Directly under the surface some tens of thousands years old loessy sediment, turf and marshy clay lay. The elevation, as the southernmost process of the Zalavári-hát, scarcely exceeds the 120 m height, and reduces towards the Kis-Balaton. Water had an important role in the population of the Vársziget, what was nourished in the one hand and protected in the other hand by the water. In Zalavár-Vársziget in the 840' a spiritual/profane centre of the easternmost province of the Carolingian Empire was built up, where the food supply of the large amount of local population and the crowds of the pilgrims had to be proven. The remains of the huge "consumed" animal stock, what were collected during the excavation, could not live in the territory of the Vársziget, there was not animal keeping in the island itself. The centre was provided with the appropriate victuals by the population of the servile settlements, which were installed in the ridges surrounding Zala and the islands nearby. The animal finds bear witness to the feeding and the animal keeping habits of the population.

The *Capitulare de villis vel curtis imperii*, property-husbandry manual, compiled in the beginning of the 9th century for the officers of the royal properties, details the animal-keeping connected tasks as well. From this book we can learn about the obligation of the building of the kitchens, baking-houses, stables and pens, from this we know about the foods like baked and cooked foods, skewered meats, bacon, sausages, salted meat, fish pate and the extraction of the fat from the pig, the large sheep and the fatted ox. We can learn about the ox-pairs for travelling purposes, the keeping of the draught-horses and saddlers, or the circumstances of the sheep- and goat herd, and accounts of the hides and the horns. The wolves always had to be reported, they were exterminated, their hides had to be presented. Probably these could be the normative in Zalavár-Vársziget as well.

Most of the animal bone-material excavated in Zalavár is from the Carolingian Period (89%), in less percentage is from the Árpád Period. A part of the bone material from the Carolinigan Period was placed secondary into the filling of the features during the landscaping of the Vársziget.

The archaeozoological finds of the site is unique, in the one hand because the Carolingian period of Zalavár was short, only 2-3 lifetimes long, in the other hand because Zalavár was the eastern peripheral region of a western culture, where representatives from different descent populations turned up and settled down. This variability reflects in the composition of the animal bone-material as well.

Bones of total 21 domestic and hunted animal species were found in the range of Zalavár/Mosaburg. Comparing the 2 groups, the hunted animals in the composition of the species, the domestic animals quantitatively proved to be redundant. 93% of the animals bones from the site belonged to domestic animals, what derived from 8 species: cattle, sheep, goat, pig, horse, ass, dog and cat. 7% of the animal bones belonged to the 13 species of hunted
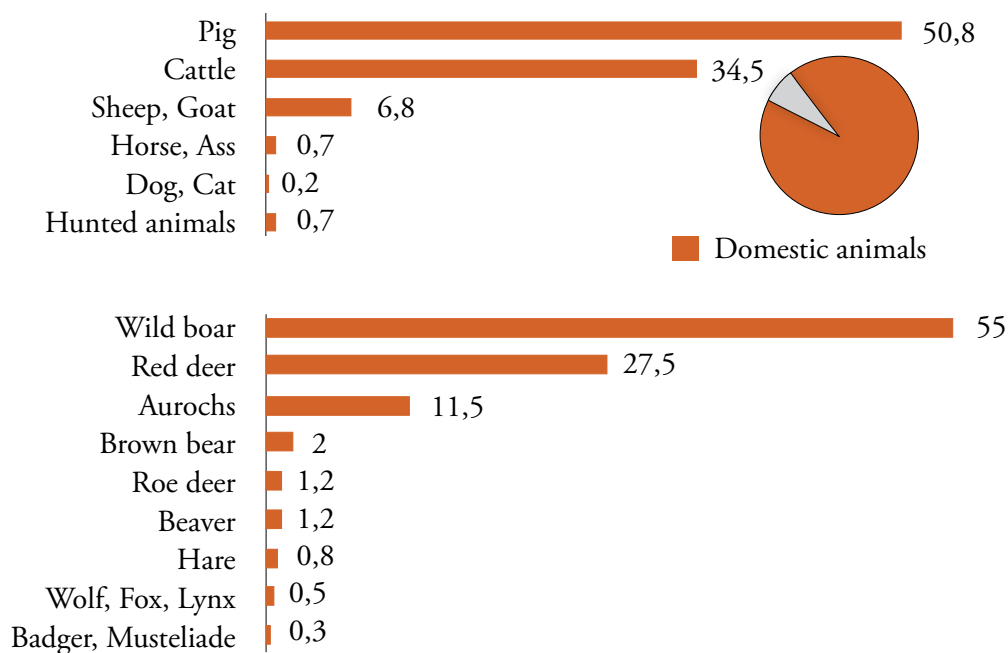
Fig 1. Mosaburg/Zalavár. Distribution of the animal-bone material by the quantity and the species (%). 1. Total animal-bone find. 2. Hunted animals.

animals: aurochs, red deer, roe deer, wild boar, fox, wolf, wild cat, lynx, Martes sp., badger, brown bear, beaver and hare. The abundance of the species is shown in Fig. 1.

ANIMAL KEEPING

Pig was the most frequent animal among the animal finds from Zalavár and among the domestic animals also. The second most frequent was the cattle, it was followed with a significantly less frequency by the sheep and the goat, after them the ass and the horse, and at last in the least amount the dog and the cat. This order, especially the dominancy of the pig is unique in the point of the site, beside this it reflects and rarely changes in the composition of the find-material of each features.

*Pig*
In the area of Mosaburg/Zalavár the pork consumption took place in high levels. The amount of pig bones is the half (50.8%) of all the found animal bones. 98% of the revealed features

Table 1. Withers height values of the animal species from Mosaburg/Zalavár (cm)

| SPECIES | GENDER | WITHERS HEIGHT (CM) | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Average | Minimum | Maximum |
| Pig | female | 74 | 63 | 80 |
| | male | 85 | 81 | 90 |
| Cattle | female | 109 | 98 | 122 |
| | male+ox | 124 | 120 | 130 |
| Sheep | female | 57 | 52 | 60 |
| | male | 64 | 60 | 68 |
| Goat | female+male | 65.5 | 62 | 68 |
| Horse | female+male | 138.2 | 124 | 152 |
| Dog | | | 54 | 65 |
| Wild boar | female+male | 101.9 | 80 | 111.4 |
| Red deer | female+male | | 132 | 158 |
| Aurochs | female+male | | 138 | 140 |

Fig 2. Mosaburg/Zalavár. Skull fragments of pig (1) and wild boar (2)

lands until autumn, from autumn, often through the winter, the acorn forest maintained them".

The pigs were characteristically slaughtered before the age of 2-3 years. According to the ossification phases of the long bones, most of the bones are originated from young individuals. In the case of these animals the upper and lower extremities of the bones are not ossified to the diaphysis, because of this they are absent. The calculation of the withers height is not possible from only the diaphysis of the long bones. In most of the cases we know about the sizes of the pigs from Zalavár from the withers heights calculated from the length of the metacarpals, metatarsals and tarsals (astragalus, calcaneus). According to the bone-measurements, the withers heights of the pigs from Zalavár in the case of the sows was between 63 and 80 cm (average 74 cm) and between 81 and 90 cm (average 85 cm) was in the case of the boars (Table 1). These are significantly high values, approximate the body height of the wild boars, although lag behind the measures of the recent pigs.

Fig 3. Mosaburg/Zalavár. Pig mandible with pathological disorder



contained pig bones. 93% of these bones came from the high meat rated part of the animal's body, like the remains of the head, the "scapula" (scapula - arm - fore-arm), the "femur" (hip bone - femur - tibia) and the trunk (vertebrae – ribs). The low meat rated body parts, like the bones of the distal ends of the limbs (carpal and metacarpal, tarsal and metatarsal bones and the phalanges) were only the 7% of the bones. Pork was transported from the servile settlements to the centre, where it was prepared and eaten. The grounds surrounding Mosaburg/Zalavár were ideal for pig keeping. Pigs can utilize fine the swampy meadows, where they can cover their needs of minerals and animal proteins with grubbing earthworms and worms and picking up snails. They also can find wallowing places in summers to get rid of excess heat. Pig keeping of the Kis-Balaton remained in its natural state in 18-19th century, can be described by: "the herd prowled the swamps and is-

The characters of the pig skull fragments show similarity with the skulls of the wild boars, although the pig skulls have lower measurements and shorter facial part (Fig. 2). The measurements of the teeth in the cases of the domestic and wild species could be separated sharply. Some lower canines of the domestic pigs are considered an exception, the measurements of these are similar to the wild boar's and cause pathological abnormality on the mandibles. On the outer wall of these short mandibles with high corpus, under the $M_2$ and the $M_{2/3}$, a nut-size protrusion (protuberantia) is observable. This caused by the over-growing of the root of lower canine (tusk). The end of the caninus turned on the side, elongated semicircle, pushed out the outer side of the mandible. In extreme cases the end of the root of canine, deformed with transverse rings, broke through the top of the protrusion, what caused a large fistula opening. Possibly, in the living animal, it perforated the inner mucosal of the buccal cavity and caused observable mutation on the outer side of the skin covered muzzle. Earlier these boars were considered as an independent breed, now it has determined as a pathological disorder (Fig. 3).

There is an observable difference among the glenoid cavity shapes of the pigs from Zalavár. This phenomenon is not unique in the point of the site, but it can be studied fine because of the amount of the pig population. In the either case the transverse section of the glenoid cavity is a regular circular, in the other case it is elliptic. According to prior assumptions the latter shows close relationship to the wild form. The individuals of the pig population from Mosaburg/Zalavár had the characteristics of wedge-shaped (straight profile), relatively big head, small-size (microdont) teeth and long, elongated limbs.

*Cattle*

The second most frequent domestic animal of the settlement was the cattle (34,5%). Similar to the pig, almost every features contained cattle remains. The higher, well water-supplied, fertile meadows with the composition of various gramas near to the Vársziget were suitable for the cattle keeping. The cattle population was formed by individuals with extremely diverse body shapes and horn-core types (Fig. 4). The withers heights of the cows varied between 98 and 122 cm (average 112 cm) and between 120 and 130 cm (average 124 cm) in the case of the bulls and oxen (Table 1). Individuals belonging to all four size-categories were found in the settlement: the small, the low, the middle and the middle-large. The utilization of these individuals with varied physique and body-shape was diverse as well. Unlike the pig, cattle bones were found in high proportion from the lower meat-rated body-parts. The living cattle were utilized for milk and yoke-pulling, the meat and the hide was used of the slaughtered ones. The milk-utilization is supported by the fact, that most of the found cattle bones were originated from cows.



Fig 4. Mosaburg/Zalavár. Horn-cores of cattle (1-2), sheep (3) and goat (4).

Fig 5. Mosaburg/Zalavár.
Ass metacarpal

Table 2. Measurements and classification of the horn cores of the sheep and goats in Mosaburg/Zalavár (mm

|  | LENGTH (MM) | GREATEST DIAMETER | SMALLEST DIAMETER | BASAL CIRCUIT |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | Sheep horn-cores |  |  |  |  |
| I. | 35–60 | 22–30 | 16–23 | 60 - 85 | vestigial |
| II. | 85–120 | 28–45 | 21–30 | 87 - 120 |  |
| III. | 150–350 | 44–70 | 32–45 | 122 - 170 | curly |
|  | Goat horn-cores |  |  |  |  |
| I. | 100–150 | 30–37 | 17–25 | 80 - 100 | females |
| II. | 180 | 43–50 | 26–31 | 108 - 120 |  |
| III. | 190–250 | 50–65 | 30–40 | 126 - 165 | males |

*Sheep*

The frequency of the sheep and goat bones is significantly less, only (6.8%), than the previous two species. Among both of the sheep and goat bones the complete long bones are rare. The withers height of the sheep in the case of the ewes varied between 52 and 60 cm (average 57.7 cm) and it was between 60 and 68 cm (average 64 cm) in the case of the rams. The withers height of the goats varied between 62 and 68 cm (average 65.5 cm) (Table 1). The physique and body-size of the small ruminants are considered uniformly middle. Difference among the herds is observable in the case of the horn-cores, especially in the sheep. There are vestigial, "goat-like" and huge curly horn cores (Fig. 4). The horn-cores of the goats were large, strong, so called aegagrus type (Fig. 4). The size range of the horn-cores of the small ruminants can be separated into 3 groups, their measurements are shown in Table 2.

*Horse*

The amount of the horse bones from the site is only 0.6% of the animal bone-material. Their occurrence is more frequent in the features from the Árpád Period than in the features from the Carolingian period. The withers height of the horses varied between 124 and 152 cm (Table 1) the slenderness of the metacarpals was middle-slender. The 28 cm difference between the extremes of the withers heights is conspicuous. According to their withers height the horses from Zalavár belonged to 5 Vitt's size categories: small, low, middle, tall and large. The small one with 124 cm and the large one with 152 cm - according to our current knowledge -considered to originate from the west.

*Ass*

The ass finds are very rare among the bones revealed. According to the withers height calculated from the length of a metacarpus from the Árpád Period, an individual with the height of 121.7 cm was identified (Fig. 5).

*Dog and Cat*

The amount of the finds from dog and cat is also very small, only 0.2% of the bone-material. Complete skeletons are rare, mostly skull fragments, ribs and limb-bones yielded. The dogs from Zalavár belonged to middle size and large breeds, their withers height varied between 51 and 65 cm (Table 1). The greyhound, among others, can be classified to the group of large dogs. A skull from this dog type was found in the Árpád Period material in 1951.

The occurrence of the cat finds, similar to the ass is sporadic. A fragmentary skull, found in the site, belonged to a small size individual.

*Hunting*

According to their habitats, the meat- and fur-games from Zalavár can be classified into 3 groups. The games of the deciduous and mixed forests are the red deer, the wild boar, the bear, the badger and the wild cat. The edge of this forest type is preferred by the roe deer and the hare. Inhabitant of groves, dotted with brushwood and sparse forest, was the aurochs. The beaver lived in the bank of the rivers and the ponds lined with softwoods. The fox and the stone marten are cosmopolitan top predators, practically they can be found in everywhere.

The amount of the wild boar was the most dominant among the hunted animals, more than the half of found bone-material. It was followed by the red deer and the roe deer, after them the aurochs, the bear and the beaver with significantly less frequency, then in almost equal proportions the hare, a Martes sp., the fox, the wolf, the badger and with only one bone the lynx. 95% of the games was meat-game, and only 5% of them was hunted for fur.

*Wild boar*

The frequency of the wild boar bones is 55%. The wild boars form Zalavár were huge animals, their withers height was between 80 and 114 cm (average 101.9 cm) (Table 1). They were hunted for their meat preferably, in some cases bone-tools were made from their bones.

*Red deer*

Red deer was the second most frequent (27.5%) in Zalavár. Beside the meat-utilization of the animal, the red deer antler as bone-tool raw material had a big importance. The withers height of the red deer from Zalavár varied between 132 and 158 cm, they were large animals (Table 1). Their body size reached, in some cases exceeded, the body size of the red deer from Western-Europe.

*Aurochs*

Aurochs was the third most frequent (11.5%) game at the site. According to our current knowledge the latest occurrence of the aurochs in Hungary is connected to Zalavár. These animals with the withers height of 138-140 cm, were hunted preferably for their meat. Beside this, worked aurochs-bones, more often complete aurochs horn-cores dropped into pits were found (Fig. 6).

*Brown bear*

The most significant habitat of the brown bear is the zone of the deciduous and conifer forests. Most of the brown bear finds from Hungary from the early medieval are originated from these regions. Although bear populations, living in swampy areas are known as well from the modern era, the geographical environment of Mosaburg/Zalavár was not preferential

Fig 6. Mosaburg/Zalavár. Horn-cores of aurochs

Fig 7. Mosaburg/Zalavár. Brown bear finds (metacarpals and metatarsals (1-3), fore-arm (4), calcaneus (5), claw (6), hip-bone (7)).

for the settlement of the brown bear. In spite of this, there are quite a few brown bear finds in the site (Fig. 7). The 2% of the hunted animals was brown bear. Most of the bones were the metacarpals and metatarsals, which remained in the hide after the skinning. This proved that preferably the hide was transported to the settlement. The emerge of the limb-bones shows that the meat of the animal was consumed as well.

### Roe deer
The quantity of the roe deer remains from Mosaburg/Zalavár is significantly lower than the red deer's, it is only 1.2% of the hunted animals. Similar to the red deer, it was hunted for the meat, the bones were utilized as bone tool material. Mostly the antlers and the low meat-rated limb-bones appeared in the bone-material. Withers heights values, calculated from the latter are 76.3 cm and 72.9 cm.

### Beaver
The beaver is a characteristic furred game of the site, 1.2% of the hunted animals. The beaver was hunted for fur and musk.

### Hare
0.8% of the hunted animals from Zalavár was hare. It was hunted for fur and meat as well.

### Wolf, fox, wild cat, lynx
The wolf, the fox, the wild cat and the lynx are top predators, so called furred game. Their occurrence was rare, only 0.5% of the hunted animals. According to the warrants, wolfs always had to be reported and they were exterminated in the order of the protection of the domestic animal herds.

Only 4 bones of an adult wild cat individual were found.

Currently there is only a right mandible fragment

Fig 8. Mosaburg/Zalavár. Lynx mandible-fragment

from the lynx (Fig. 8). Lynx finds are extremely rare in the Hungarian archaeological, within that in the medieval find-materials. Since the habitat of the lynx is the broad, dense forests of the mountains, this mandible-fragment was probably transported with the skinned hide of the animal to Zalavár.

*Badger, Martes sp.*
The proportion of the badger and the Martes sp. (stone marten or pine marten) is 0.3%. The animals were hunted for the fur. The separation of the bones of the stone marten and the pine marten is difficult, but their habitat and their relation to the human is very different.

*Fishes, birds*
The frequency of the fish and bird bones is ca. 1-2%. The identification of the bones is in progress. The most frequent of the often capital size fishes were the catfish, the carp and the zander. According to previous examinations, bones of chicken and goose could be identified in the bird bone-material.

BONE TOOLS

There were 825 pieces of bone tools in the currently ca. 60 000 pieces of identified animal bones in Zalavár. Both of game and domestic animals bones were utilized as the raw-materials of the tools (Fig. 9). The tools in the largest quantity (552 pc) were made of red deer bones and antlers (Fig. 10). Semi-finished or complete bone tools are known from the find material of the workshops: antler plates, salt-holders, combs, book-covers, casket mounts, knife-handles, tubes, disentangling hooks. Beside the antler tools,



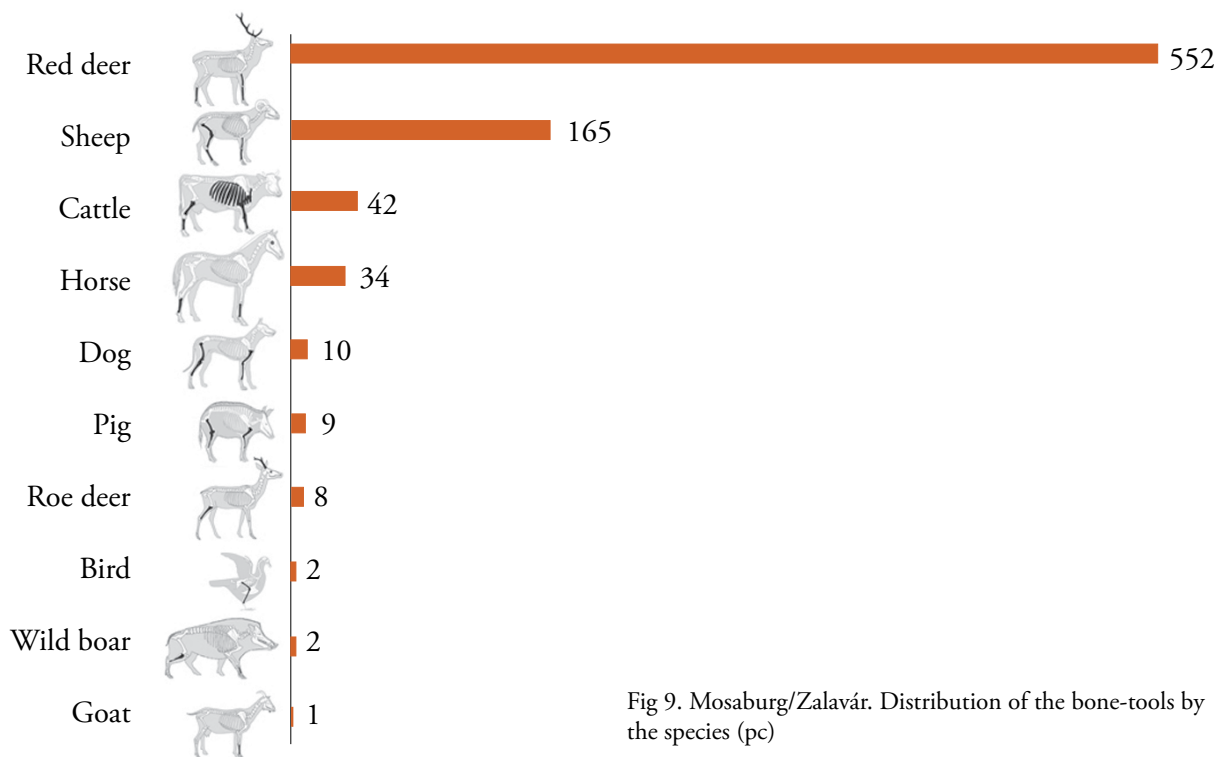| Species | pc |
|---|---|
| Red deer | 552 |
| Sheep | 165 |
| Cattle | 42 |
| Horse | 34 |
| Dog | 10 |
| Pig | 9 |
| Roe deer | 8 |
| Bird | 2 |
| Wild boar | 2 |
| Goat | 1 |

Fig 9. Mosaburg/Zalavár. Distribution of the bone-tools by the species (pc)

the quantity of bone-awls made of sheep tibia was remarkable. Total 201 pieces of awls were found so far, 129 pieces of them are made of sheep tibia. The work of the awls was made with the same technique: the distal part of the bone was whittled down in different quantities, one side of the middle part of the bone was skived and sharpened. The lengths of the awls are extremely variable: 5.7-15 cm (average 8.6 cm, mode: 8.2 cm). This could be connected to the trait of the usage and the rate of the abrasion (Fig. 11).

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Fig 10. Mosaburg/Zalavár. Worked red deer antler fragment

Fig 11. Mosaburg/Zalavár. Bone tools

András Grynaeus

# WOODEN REMAINS FROM THE 9TH AND 10TH CENTURIES

For archaeologists and archaeology, determining the age of artefacts recovered from the ground is a key issue. This task is easiest when the find is one that bears a date (e.g. inscriptions, coins). With most artefacts, however, this is not the case, and at such times traditional methods of archaeology are helpful, such as analysis of layer relations (stratigraphy) and analysis of artefact types (typology). But often even these are unable to yield sufficient information. For this reason, researchers nowadays increasing ask the help of natural scientists, e.g. by way of radiocarbon dating or archaeomagnetic dating. One of the dating procedures developed by natural science is dendrochronology, performed with the help of the growth rings (annual rings) found in wood remains.

Dendrochronology builds on a characteristic of trees, namely that their functioning in temperate climatic zones is periodic (they 'sleep' in winter). As a result, their growth, too, is periodic, and this is easily discernible in the form of annual rings in their trunks and limbs. Since growth in individual years and thus the thickness of the annual rings is strongly influenced by environmental factors (temperature, quantity of precipitation and its distribution over time, amount of sunlight, etc.), for each individual year there is a unique 'growth amount', i.e. the thickness of the annual ring. Using this procedure, rings can be dated. If we are lucky and the bark which generally falls off as the tree dries out has not been removed, then the last annual ring is identical with the year of the tree's use, meaning that the given archaeological artefact becomes dateable to a particu-

lar year. This can be a substantial help for archaeologists and historians researching the history of the 9th–10th century, since there were crucial changes in this period whose exact dating is impossible using traditional archaeological procedures which in many cases may have taken place over decades or over periods that were shorter.

Of course, this procedure, too, has its limits, despite seeming to be 'the philosopher's stone of archaeology'. The most important thing is that it requires wooden remains. An exciting question is whether wood from archaeological periods could have survived in the Hungarian climate, since everybody knows that wood is inclined to decay. The decay process can be delayed or prevented using modern chemicals, but these substances were not available to our forebears. Nevertheless, the beams, posts, and planks used by human beings of earlier times can survive for hundreds or even thousands of years in two extreme instances: if they are in completely dry conditions or if they are in completely wet ones. In the case of completely dry conditions, we should think not only of desert (which does not exist in Hungary anyway), but also of the walls of buildings. We encounter such dryness inside or within well-made stone walls. Unfortunately, the peoples who appeared in the Carpathian Basin in the 9th–10th-century period have bequeathed to us little in the way of stone wall remains. At first glance, things are not much better in the case of the second extreme, since Hungary has no sea. But Hungary's lakes, marshy areas (e.g. the Little Balaton district), and its

rivers have preserved many wooden remains from different periods. Ground water, too, prevents the decay of wood, with the result that everything deep enough to be underwater continuously over the centuries was preserved and is continues to be so. It is because of this that material from sections of palisades, various posts driven deep into the ground, and material from the wooden structures used to line wells in the absence of stone all feature in the dendrochronology samples from our period. As rare finds, a few beams from a harrow and even the remains of a timber road could be analysed in recent years.

Characteristic relics from the end of our period are earth-fort ramparts containing carbonised beams. In the 1960s and 1970s, numerous such discoveries were made. However, the carbonised wooden remains observed and documented at that time have by now all perished. For this reason, the rescue excavation conducted in one-time Hont county on the site of the *ispán*'s fortress there has been very fortunate: in the course of these, remains of this kind came to light. (An *ispán* was the royal official who headed a county's administration in the medieval period.)

The second limit which plagues the researcher's life is the size of the individual samples. Namely, dendrochronology can be used when, and only when, a sample contains a sufficient number of annual rings. This magic number is thirty. Are thirty rings a lot? This depends on the conditions in which the tree lived. If the conditions were unfavourable for the tree, or if some of them were, then the tree would have been unable to develop properly and well. In other words, it would have produced narrow annual rings. Hence, on a sample a hand's width in size from such a tree we may encounter as many as 100 annual rings. If, on the other hand, the tree grew in a favourable place (if and this 'good-looking' tree caught the eye of a woodcutter in search of building material), then a sample from it of the same size might contain substantially fewer rings, fewer than thirty even.

The work of researchers today is vitiated by the issue of what the one-time woodcutter or user did with the tree. Did he cut down the trunk, sharpen it at one end, and use it as a pile? Or did he do this after cutting it in two lengthways? Or did he, for



Fig. 1 Remains of a 9th-century palisade, Zalavár-Vársziget *(Photo: B. M. Szőke)*

aesthetic reasons perhaps, fashion it into a beam that was square in cross section? In the first case, the complete cross section and all the data regarding the thickness of the rings is available for researchers. In the second case, only half of the cross section is at their disposal. In the third one, some of the data is lost, in form of the wood cut away at the sides.

But it also happened that not just beams were made from the trunks and limbs of felled trees, but boards and planks also. How were these cut from a tree trunk or limb? Were they made by cutting the wood in a lengthways direction, from end to end, as is done today? Or were they produced by cutting it from side to side, across the grain, in a procedure accompanied by much waste? That is to say, the manufacture of planks cut in a lengthways direction was economical, because in this way the most board or plank could be made from the timber. On the other hand, boards and planks of this kind were subject to warping and deformation in the course of seasoning, unlike their fellows cut across the grain at the cost of much lost material.

The third limit on the use of this procedure is that the reactions of different tree types to the environ-

Fig. 2 Wooden structure of a 9ᵗʰ-century well, Zalavár-Vársziget *(Photo: B. M. Szőke)*

We performed a tissue-based identification of tree type on each of the samples taken from the remains. The picture which took shape was fairly 'unequivocal': the remains were oak almost without exception. In the light of the research so far, we may state that the use of different types of oak may, in accordance with the flora in the Carpathian Basin, be said to be typical on the territory of Hungary in the time before the modern age, independently of period and ethnic group. **(Fig. 3)**

When we look at the differences among the oaks on a subspecies level, then we can say that these were influenced by the immediate surroundings of the find-sites, and that the moisture-loving pedunculated oak Quercus robur L and the unpedunculated oak Quercus petraea (Mattuschka) Lieblein, a dryness-resistant type of oak found in the drier areas or areas near to hills, were the types most often used. In

ment vary, with the result that their growth, too, varies. For this reason, only remains from the same type of tree can be compared with one another. Accordingly, investigation of wooden remains begins with identification of the type of tree based on the tree's tissue, namely with xylotomy analysis. In this way, researchers can form a picture of the vegetation in a given period, or more precisely that segment of it which human beings at that time utilised and made part of their lives.

Systematic and continuous dendrochronological research in Hungary looks back on a past of approximately two decades. The overwhelming majority of the 9th–10th-century remains that have been examined are from planks or from wooden logs split in two lengthways and come from the wooden lining of wells. An exception is a well identified as being from the Avar age in the vicinity of Kaposvár. This was a *bodon* well, i.e. the lining of the well consisted of a tree trunk that had been hollowed out inside. Posts and sections of palisade have come to light in large quantity at Zalavár. **(Fig. 1)** This find-site and the marshy area around it preserved the remains of a timber road also.

Fig. 3 Macrophoto of the oak 'Quercus petraea (Mattuschka) Lieblein' *(Photo: A. Grynaeus)*

Fig. 4 Detail of a timber road in the confines of Zalavár *(Photo: A. Grynaeus)*

the case of some find-sites, divergence from the timber type that might appear logical is important information. Thus, for example, in the case of certain Zalavár wells, we need to explain why, in the middle of the swampy area, timber from further away was used. **(Fig. 2)**

Investigation of material from a find-site (Pálmonostora – Dong-ér D. MOL P2) in the Kiskunság ('Little Cumania') area yielded a very distinctive finding. Namely, a dozen and a half pinewood planks were recovered from the lining of a well. From the timber used, it may be assumed that they were local, meaning that one must reckon with there having been appreciable amounts of pine on the territory of the Kiskunság in the Avar age. Such a view is greatly at odds with the traditional notion regarding the flora in that area, but may be brought into connection with the isolated knowledge we have concerning climatic conditions in the Roman era.

Investigation of the section of timber road discovered at Zalavár led to a very surprising finding. **(Fig. 4)** Since there were opportunities to observe
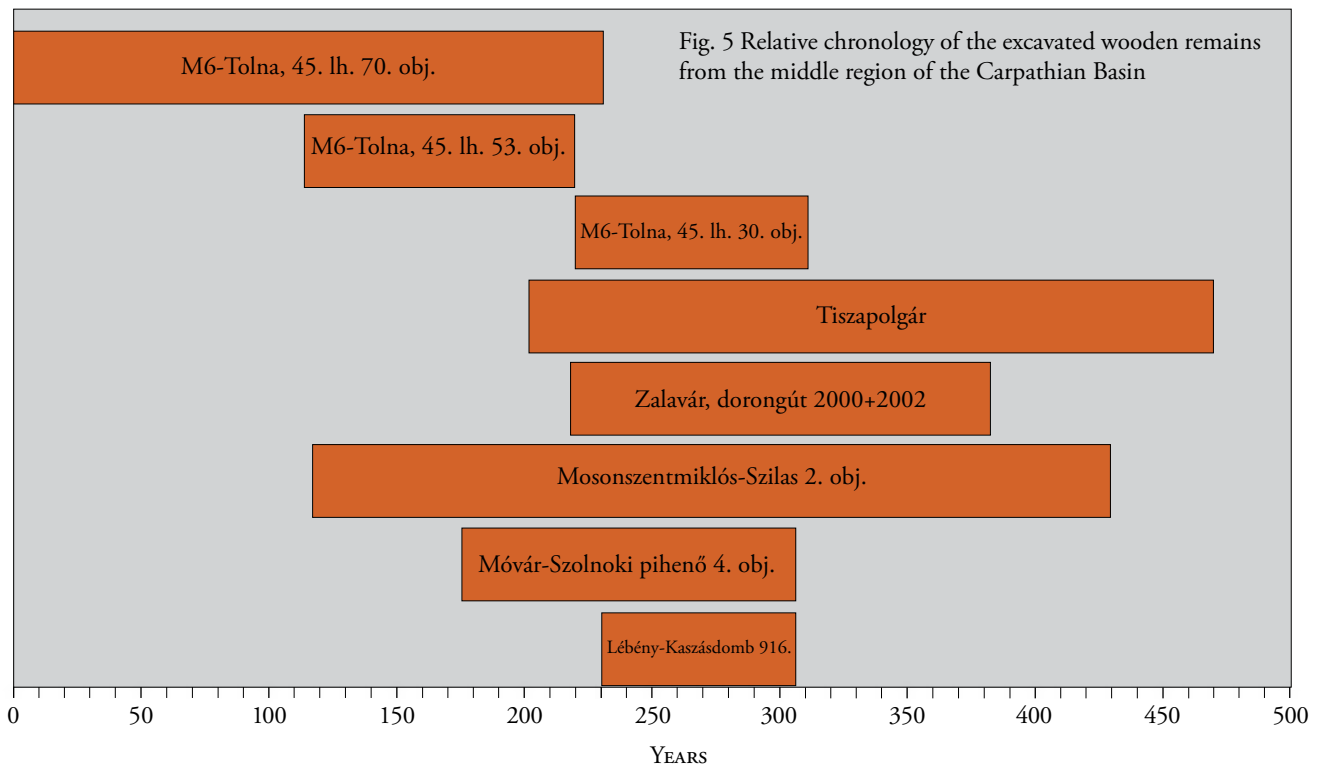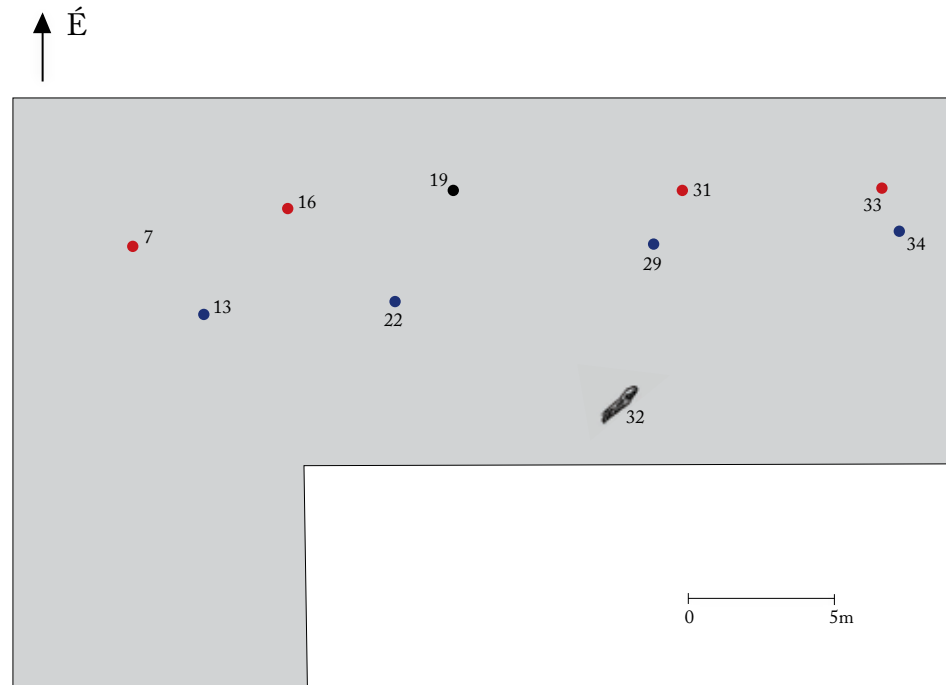


Fig. 5 Relative chronology of the excavated wooden remains from the middle region of the Carpathian Basin

Fig. 6 The two period of the timber road in the confines of Zalavár (blue: earlier period, red: 21 years later period, black: uncertain) *(Plan: A. Grynaeus)*



and record the placing of the piles, we managed, in the course of the dating work, to clarify the inner chronology of the piles, too. **(Fig. 6)**

The first crucial observation was that there were no horizontal elements in the structure, although these could have been expected in the case of a classic timber road. Instead, the structure consisted of piles – some more roughly finished than others – that had been driven into the ground vertically. During the analysis, it turned out that the piles, which seemed to be parts of a structure made at one particular time, were in fact made from trees which had not all been cut down in the same period, and that the structure consisted of parallel rows of piles driven in at different times. Thus, the excavations uncovered the remains not of a timber road in the traditional sense, but of a causeway not for large weights or easily taken up that was repeatedly repaired. This may also provide an explanation for the random pinewood remains brought to light during the excavations of 2002: this poorer-quality wood was used in the construction of the causeway.

We also made important observations regarding the technique used to make the timber road. The trees used for the piles were felled at the beginning of the growth period: on the samples on which there was bark we found the outermost large vascular bundles formed in April–May, but not the parts of the annual ring that form later on. In other words, the trunks were cut down not long after the restarting of the vital functions of the trees. This is at variance with the practice of felling trees in the winter which is usual, 'traditional', and justifiable with worthwhile arguments (the water content of the wood is less, the flora and fauna roundabout is less disturbed, moving the tree is easier on the frozen ground, etc.) The reasons for this departure from the customary are yet to be explained.

When exactly were the piles, which in many cases were carefully trimmed, driven into the swampy ground? This is a big question. According to the observations of those who conducted the excavations, the area today is under water, or so wet that it is not possible to walk on it, only periodically, in one part of the year. However, by early summer it dries out, which makes it likely that the timber causeway was made in
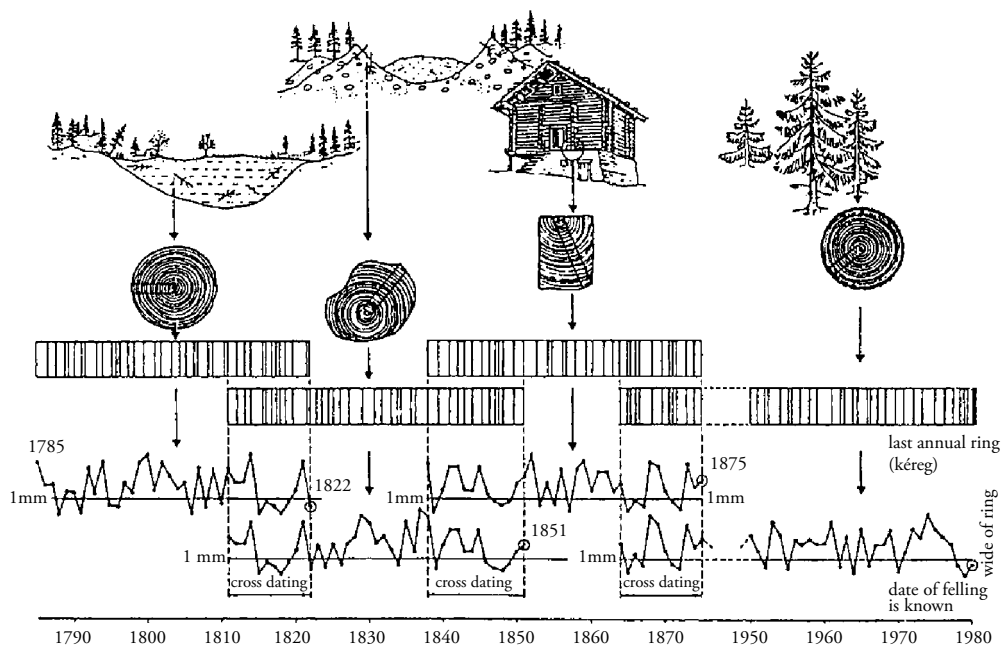
the summer or in the late autumn–early winter period. Bearing in mind the spring/early summer felling time observed on the piles, we can hypothesise that the road was built in the early summer.

One characteristic of the piles of the timber causeway is that their growth rings – which span a long period of time (164 years) – contained in many instances very thin growth rings also. Today, the growth rings of oaks are on average 1.5–2 mm thick. In the Roman era, when the climate was probably warmer than it is now, the average thickness of the growth rings of oaks was 0.5–1.0 mm. In the case of the Zalavár 'timber road', we often encounter growth rings that are 0.2 mm thick. This indicates that the causeway was built in a period when the weather in the area was unfavourable for oak trees, or for some of them.

By means of dendrochronological research, the internal, so-called relative, chronology of those find-sites from the latter part of the Great Migrations period that have been investigated has, in recent years, slowly begun to take shape. Individual find-sites and artefacts can already be placed within a period of approximately 500 years. (**Fig. 5**)

The oldest trees were found in two wells dated to the Avar era which were discovered at Find-site 45

during construction of the Tolna-country stretch of the M6 motorway. These were felled at approximately the time when our other trees began to grow: those used in a third Avar-era well discovered in the very same place, those used for one particular stretch of the Zalavár 'timber road', and those employed in the Arpadian-era well found outside the village of Tiszpolgár (these trees had the youngest growth rings). The period in between is represented by three wells likewise dated to the Avar age discovered by researchers in the Mosonmagyarovár area.

Unfortunately, the most exciting question, namely when exactly in this 470-year period particular trees were felled and used to make given wells or other artefacts, cannot yet be answered, but because the data-basis available to us is not large enough. To answer this question, the average growth-ring thickness for every single year would need to be established. As can be seen in the diagram below, for this a tree (in practice, a number of trees) living today would need to be felled in which growth-ring thicknesses could be linked precisely to particular years. Then, a beam (in practice, a number of beams) would need to be found (e.g. in an old building) which had a time overlap with this tree or trees, i.e.

the older tree had not yet been felled when the tree felled at a time identified by us was, as a young sapling, already growing nearby. Using this so-called 'overlapping' technique, we have been able to compile a list of growth-ring thickness readings (a 'tree without end'), a list of chronological data, and a curve which are valid for a given tree type and area and which stretch back far into the past. (**Fig. 7**)

The research of the last twenty years has been sufficient 'merely' for compiling this data list back to 1370, namely to the time of King Louis the Great of Hungary. Data lists for the period preceding this time – these contain data for several centuries in some cases – are simply 'hanging': they cannot be connected 'firmly', i.e. unequivocally, to this data chain. Unfortunately, the data for 'foreign', i.e. 'neighbouring', territories (Southern Germany, the Czech Basin, Moravia) seem for the time being to be unusable, i.e. the lives of the trees there along with the thickness of the growth rings of these trees were influenced by factors other than those that influenced the trees in the Carpathian Basin. The only solution is, therefore, to wait, and in the meantime to measure the thickness of more and more growth rings.

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