


Josef Hložek

University of West Bohemia in Pilsen

 ORCID ID: 0000-0002-8613-1460

Petr Menšík

University of West Bohemia in Pilsen

 ORCID ID: 0000-0001-7858-450X

Olgierd Ławrynowicz

University of Lodz

 ORCID ID: 0000-0003-3663-9183

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PREHISTORIC AND EARLY MEDIEVAL FORTIFIED SETTLEMENTS AND HIGH MEDIEVAL CASTLES ON THE BOHEMIAN- -BAVARIAN BORDERLAND: MEANS OF WAR POWER, OR SYMBOLS OF STRENGTH?

Summary. The paper discusses the phenomenon of the persistence of the military, political, and social function of the present-day Bohemian-Bavarian borderland, shaped by the mountain ranges of the Bohemian Forest and the Šumava. The authors have traced the development of settlement patterns in prehistory, the Middle Ages, and the modern period, extending their studies to cover also to recent times. The discussed area constituted a barrier that limited cultural influences from both sides, which is reflected in the discovered relics of material culture. The paper also discusses, using numerous examples, the symbolic role of strongholds and castles located on mountain peaks, which came down to demonstrating the presence of power over the surrounding territory. The Bohemian-Bavarian frontier can also be seen as a peculiar landscape of conflict, which through its morphological characteristics imposed a timeless borderland form of political, military and social organisation.

Keywords: prehistory, middle ages, Bohemian-Bavarian border, borders, castle, stronghold, fortified settlement, hill-top site, landscape of conflict

Introduction

The Czech-Bavarian border (fig. 1), dominated by the hills of the Upper Palatine Forest (*Český les*) and the mountain range of the Bohemian Forest (*Šumava*), runs through a diverse geomorphological landscape. Since

prehistory, both sides of the current border have been connected by a number of paths which also existed in the Middle Ages and the Modern Period.¹ Despite their mutual influence and cultural exchange, we are, in many aspects, able to observe significantly different development of settlement, economic, and power structures on either side of the border. During prehistory and the Middle Ages, the border areas on both sides were continuously used to extract and process a wide spectre of raw materials, and, moreover, for targeted colonisation.² From the Middle Ages to the Modern Period, the discussed area has been plagued by political conflicts and military campaigns that have left their marks in the landscape. Among the conflicts and campaigns which marked at least certain segments of this cultural landscape and left archaeological evidence are the clashes between Otto II of Bavaria and the Přemyslid kings in the middle of the 13th century which influenced the wider Sušice region,³ the Hussite Wars,⁴ Bohemian-Bavarian dispute in the second half of the 15th century and at the beginning of the 16th century,⁵ some of the Thirty Years' War campaigns,⁶ Bohemian-Bavarian frontier wars in 1809, and, last but not least, the foundation of the impervious Iron Curtain.⁷ The decades-long period of communist repression can be treated as the domain of 'archaeology of

¹ Vide: R. ŠIROKÝ, K. NOVÁČEK, *K počátkům Norimberské cesty na Tachovsku*, "Archaeologia Historica" 1998, vol. 23, no. 1, pp. 59–71; E. MAUR, *Řezenská cesta a zemské stezky na Domažlicku*, "Západočeský historický sborník" 2001, vol. 7, pp. 5–40.

² Vide: J. KUDRNÁČ, *Středověká těžba zlata v horských pásmech Šumavy*, "Výběr – časopis pro historii a vlastivědu jižních Čech" 1991, vol. 28, pp. 301–309; T. DURDÍK, *Královské brady a královská města v Čechách 13. století*, "Archaeologia Historica" 1995, vol. 20, no. 1, pp. 331–337; V. RAZÍM, *K tendencím v ochraně hranic českého státu ve 13. století*, "Archaeologia Historica" 2004, vol. 29, pp. 141–160; J. FRÖHLICH, *Hraniční horský brádek na Ostrém na Šumavě*, "Castellologica Bohemica" 1996, vol. 5, pp. 101–106; V. ŠREIN *et al.*, *Zlatonosná mineralizace v okolí Horské Kvildy na Šumavě, Česká republika*, "Bulletin mineralogicko-petrologického oddělení Národního muzea v Praze" 2008, vol. 16, no. 2, pp. 153–176.

³ For more information on Sušice vide: J. LHOTÁK, *Počátky města Sušice*, "Jihočeský sborník historický. Supplementum" 2016, vol. 7, pp. 149–213.

⁴ J. LENKOVÁ, V. PAVLÍK, *Nejdůležitější bitvy v českých dějinách*, Frýdek-Místek 2007, p. 136.

⁵ J. JÁNSKÝ, *Kronika česko-bavorské hranice*, vol. 4, Domažlice 2004, pp. 168–184.

⁶ V. MATOUŠEK, *Třebel – Obraz krajiny s bitvou*, Praha 2006.

⁷ Vide: P. VAŘEKA *et al.*, *Archeologický výzkum vesnic středověkého původu na Tachovsku zaniklých po roce 1945*, "Archaeologia Historica" 2008, vol. 39, pp. 101–117; M. RAK, L. FUNK, M. VÁŇA, *Vesnice v zajetí železné opony. Možnosti archeologického poznání studené války*, "Antropowebzin" 2012, vol. 3, pp. 241–251.

contemporary armed conflicts,' in the case of which studies on communist-era material relics can be called the 'archaeology of totalitarianism.'⁸ The 'archaeology of conflict,' often unexplored by historical research, is the landscape of conflict – the spatial expression of this Cold War heritage.⁹

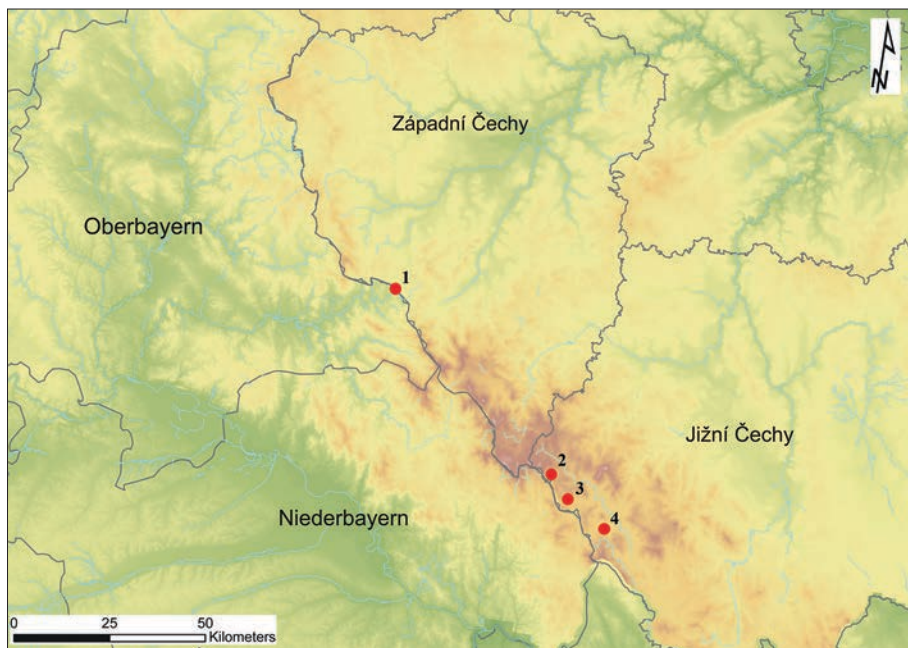


Fig. 1. Definition of the region of interest: 1. The Castle of Velký Ostrý, 2. Kunžvart Castle, 3. The Castle of Stožecká Skála, 4. The Castle of Hausberg (map by P. Menšík and J. Hložek)

⁸ P. VAŘEKA, Z. VAŘEKOVÁ, *Stan i perspektywy badań archeologicznych nad reżimem komunistycznym na terenie Czech*, [in:] *Archeologia totalitaryzmu 1939–1956. Ślady represji*, eds O. ŁAWRYNOWICZ, J. ŻELAZKO, Łódź 2015, pp. 393–395; M. RAK, *Ślady totalitaryzmu w krajobrazie zachodnich Czech*, [in:] *Poszukiwanie i identyfikacja ofiar zbrodni systemów totalitarnych. Doświadczenia polskie w kontekście europejskim*, ed. M. ZWOLSKI, Białystok–Warszawa 2018, pp. 290–305. E.g.: N.J. SAUNDERS, *Killing Time. Archaeology and the First World War*, Sutton 2007; I.A. ZALEWSKA, *Archeologia współczesnych konfliktów zbrojnych jako praktykowanie prospołecznej archeologii. Przykład wartości epistemologicznej i aksjologicznej*, [in:] *Archeologia współczesności. Pierwszy Kongres Archeologii Polskiej*, ed. I.A. ZALEWSKA, Warszawa 2016, pp. 125–140.

⁹ P.A. SHACKEL, *Archaeology, Memory, and Landscapes of Conflict*, "Historical Archaeology" 2003, vol. 37, no. 3, pp. 3–13; *Matériel Culture. The Archaeology of Twentieth-Century Conflict (One World Archaeology)*, eds C.M. BECK, W.G. JOHNSON, J. SCHOFIELD, New York 2012; O. ŁAWRYNOWICZ, *Archaeology of Us and the Local Identity. An Interdisciplinary Context*, "Acta Universitatis Lodziensis. Folia Archaeologica" 2019, no. 34, p. 47.

Despite this troubled history, the area has also had a rich joint history in both cultural and economic spheres from prehistory through the Middle Ages to the Modern Period. However, archaeological and historical sources are sparse considering the vast time span. With regards to the geographical extent of the monitored area and its transformation in the past, we will focus on three topics: first, prehistoric hill-top settlements on the Bohemian-Bavarian border in the Eneolithic and the Bronze Age; second, the use and purpose of hill-top settlements in the Early Medieval Period; and third, the network foundation of guard castles on the peaks of the Bohemian Forest in the second half of the 13th century.

Prehistoric Hill-top Settlements on the Bohemian-Bavarian Border in the Eneolithic and the Bronze Age (3350–750 BC)

The first scarce evidence of a hill-top settlement on the border of Bavaria and southwestern Bohemia can be traced back to the Neolithic. A more distinctive representation of these yet unfortified sites is, however, to be seen in the early and middle phases of the Eneolithic (3350–2900 BC), known for the Cham culture settlement. This culture is notable for its settlement of predominantly strategic, but not very extensive, hill-top sites; we do not know of any flatland settlements or burial sites from this culture in the discussed region, although there are some exceptions in Bavaria where such sites can be found.¹⁰ In western Bohemia, the hill-top settlements are scattered around the whole area (with the exception of elevations higher than 600 MASL) and reach as far as the foothills of the Bohemian Forest.¹¹ The size of settlements ranges from several

¹⁰ M. NADLER *et al.*, *Der lange Weg in eine neue Gesellschaft, Die Kupferzeit*, [in:] *Archäologie Fenster zur Vergangenheit in Bayern*, ed. S. SOMMER, Regensburg 2006, pp. 76–99; J. JOHN, *Výšinné lokality středního eneolitu v západních Čechách*, Plzeň 2010, pp. 9–11, including literature and sites' depiction.

¹¹ J. PROSTŘEDNÍK, *Chamská kultura v západních Čechách*, "Praehistorica" 2001, vol. 25–26, pp. 7–177; J. JOHN, *op. cit.*; M. METLIČKA *et al.*, *Pravěk a raný středověk jihozápadních Čech. Katalog expozice. Pohled do minulosti Plzeňského kraje. Archeologie od počátku do 10. století*, Plzeň 2015, pp. 50–55, fig. 4; M. DOBEŠ, *Hradiště v eneolitu – Burgwälle des Äneolithikums; Jistá a nejistá eneolitická hradiště – Sichere und Unsichere Äneolithische Burgwälle*, [in:] *Atlas pravěkých a raně středověkých hradišť v Čechách – Atlas de Vor- und Frühgeschichtlichen Bürgwalle in Böhmen*, ed. M. SALAČ, Praha–Schleswig 2019, pp. 35–39, fig. 9, 10.

dozen metres to half a hectare in diameter. According to some modern theories, this settlement pattern had ritual significance; in older literature, defense and refuge purposes have been proposed as explanation for the layout. However, we do not possess enough evidence to support either of these theories. Although there are several fortified settlements in western Bohemia,¹² it is impossible to date them back to the Middle Eneolithic due to the lack of knowledge. Despite the lack of hard evidence of contacts between Bavaria and western Bohemia, certain distribution of Bohemian chipped-stone industry can be observed in Bavaria.

In the Bronze Age (2300–750 BC), fortified and unfortified hill-top sites appeared on both sides of the border, although with a short hiatus. The beginning of hillforts and hill-top sites in the area is typical for the end of the Middle Bronze Age (2300–1600 BC). In the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age, the settlement pattern of hill-top sites fades away, only to emerge in the end of the Middle Bronze Age with a significant increase in the Urnfield Period, and the Late and Final Bronze Age.¹³ In the above-mentioned periods, a network of irregularly distributed hill-top fortified settlements appears, some at least being multi-functional in scale. Our knowledge has been, unfortunately, rather limited so far.¹⁴ In Late Bronze Age Bavaria, the Straubing culture gradually dispersed into local groups under the influence of the Madarovce-Veterov Culture from the East until the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age. Hill-top sites and fortified settlements appear from phase Bz A2, with a hiatus during the transition period in phase Bz A2/B1. Out of 60 hill-top sites in Bavaria and Baden-Württemberg, only five can be confirmed

¹² M. DOBEŠ, *op. cit.*, fig. 9, 10.

¹³ P. ETTTEL, *Die frühbronzezeitlichen Höhensiedlungen in Mitteldeutschland und Mitteleuropa – Stand der Forschung*, [in:] *Der Griff nach den Sternen. Wie Europas Elites zu Macht und Reichtum kamen, Talungen des Landesmuseums für Vorgeschichte*, eds H. MELLER, H. BERTEMES, Halle (Saale) 2010, pp. 351–380; R. GEBHARD, R. KRAUSE, *Bernstorf. Archäologisch-naturwissenschaftliche Analysen der Gold- und Bernsteinfunde von Bernstorfer Berg bei Kranzberg, Oberbayern, Bernstorf-Forschungen 1. Abhandlungen und Bestandskataloge der Archäologischen Staatssammlung*, vol. 3, München 2016.

¹⁴ M.M. RIND *et al.*, *Von Händlern und Handwerkern – Die Bronzezeit*, [in:] *Archäologie Fenster...*, pp. 100–123; M. METLIČKA *et al.*, *op. cit.*, fig. 5; P. MENŠÍK *et al.*, *Die Höhensiedlung und der Burgwall Katovice „Kněží hora“. Ein Überregionales Zentrum im Urzeitlichen und Frühmittelalterlichen Südböhmen*, “Archaeologische Korrespondenzblatt” 2019, vol. 49, no. 4, p. 40, fig. 11 – see individual maps with site distribution in literature list.

as Early Bronze Age fortified settlements. The sites are not located near the Bohemian border but are placed around the fertile Danube basin and its surrounding trade routes, running eastwards along the river. On the other side of the border, despite the Únětice culture spreading across Bohemia, the western part of the land was left mostly unsettled until the late phases of the Early Bronze Age, when it was settled by the early Tumuli culture (the so-called *staromohylový horizont*). In the wider Bohemian Forest region, ten fortified or unfortified hill-top sites have been identified so far,¹⁵ including the sites at Weltenburger Frauenberg, Freisinger-Dom, Bogenberg by Straubingu in Bavaria,¹⁶ and Plzeň-Hradiště¹⁷ in western Bohemia. In most cases, the settlement is located at a prominent and well-protected place of variable area ranging from several to several dozen hectares. Fortification was made of timber-laced ramparts and ditches (stone was mostly used later in the Middle Bronze Age period). In this period, the hill-top sites can be considered real centres of the world of that time from the large amount of evidence of trade and cultural influence from the southeast (pottery, loaf-of-bread idols, bronze, amber), metallurgy and bronze industry deposition. The importance of such a site can be further confirmed by the presence of bronze hoards in its surrounding area, which may be seen as indirect evidence of bronze metallurgy and production at the site. Moreover, the sites can also be linked to long-range trade routes related to the flow of raw material. Even though the fortified settlements were located on both sides of the border, there is no evidence of mutual contact. However, this might be caused by the state of current knowledge on both sides of the border. Despite this fact, the fortified settlements themselves must have been the seats of local elites and been in communication with the surrounding settlement structures. The presence of

¹⁵ M. METLIČKA *et al.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 59–60; P. MENŠÍK *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 44, fig. 12.

¹⁶ *Vide:* M.M. RIND, *Der Frauenberg oberhalb Kloster Weltenburg I. Regensburger Beiträge zur Prähistorischen Archäologie*, vol. 6, Regensburg 1999; M. BANKUS, *Der Freisinger Domberg und sein Umland. Untersuchungen zur prähistorischen Besiedlung*, Freising 2004; J. BAŠTA, D. BAŠTOVÁ, *Pravěké osídlení Sedmiboří*, “Archeologické rozhledy” 1988, vol. 40, pp. 477–479; *idem*, *Nová staromohylová sídliště v západních Čechách*, “Archeologické rozhledy” 1989, vol. 41, pp. 273–275.

¹⁷ L. ŠMEJDA, *Hradiště u Plzně. A Preliminary Report on an Interdisciplinary Research of a Hillfort in Pilsen, West Bohemia*, “Fines Transire” 2014, vol. 23, pp. 239–251; L. ŠMEJDA *et al.*, *Archeologický výzkum opevnění lokality Hradiště u Plzně v letech 2012–2013*, “Archeologie západních Čech” 2015, vol. 9, pp. 25–43.

the elite can be evidenced through imported wares, architecture, and artefacts representing power symbols, but direct evidence of this is inconclusive, as the assemblages from hill-top sites are similar to those from flatland sites.

The Bohemian-Palatinate Tumulus culture shows characteristics of the Middle Bronze Age, when the building of both fortified and unfortified hill-top sites declined throughout Central Europe. However, in the Bohemian part of the borderland, five hill-top sites can be identified while there are none on the Bavarian side.¹⁸ Only one of the remote exceptions in Bavaria is maybe located outside the monitored area in Bernsdorf, where a complicated system of ditch and box rampart fortifications has been found, together with hoards of golden and amber artefacts; however, the authenticity of these finds is in question.¹⁹

During the Urnfield Period, the Milavče culture (1300–1000 BC) developed in western Bohemia, followed by the Nynice culture (1000–700 BC). Together with the Křovíz culture and the bordering eastern Bavarian area, they create a unified Bohemian-eastern Bavarian cultural area, the so-called ‘Upper Danube Urnfield group,’ though certain local differences may be observed.

Evidence of both fortified and unfortified hill-top sites in Central Europe grew during the Urnfield Period, with certain sites reaching the status of a local centre. Ranging from 1 to 90 hectares in size, hill-top sites are usually structured into a central part (acropolis) and a bailey. At some sites, a farmstead can be identified and is sometimes considered a predecessor of Hallstatt ‘Herrenhoff’ farmsteads.²⁰ The trend described is mostly visible in the late Bronze Age.

¹⁸ *Bronzezeit*, [in:] *Beiträge zur Geschichte und Kultur der mitteleuropäischen Bronzezeit*, eds M. CHROPOVSKÝ, J. HERMANN, Berlin–Nitra 1990, pp. 495–514; M. METLIČKA *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 65, fig. 6; P. MENŠÍK, *Hradiště doby bronzové – Burgwälle der Bronzezeit; Hradiště starší a střední doby bronzové – Burgwälle der Älteren und Mittleren Bronzezeit; Hradiště starší a střední doby bronzové (Chronologický vývoj); Burgwälle der Älteren und Mittleren Bronzezeit (Chronologische Entwicklung); Hradiště mladší a pozdní doby bronzové – Burgwälle der Jüngeren und Späten Bronzezeit; Hradiště mladší a pozdní doby bronzové (Chronologický vývoj) – Burgwälle der Jüngeren und Späten Bronzezeit (Chronologische Entwicklung)*, [in:] *Atlas pravěkých...*, fig. 13.

¹⁹ M. MOOSAUER, T. BACHMAIER, *Bernstorf. Das Geheimnis der Bronzezeit*, Stuttgart 2005; R. GEBHARD, R. KRAUSE, *op. cit.*; K. VERKOOIJEN, *Report and Catalogue of the Amber Found at Bernstorf near Kranzberg, Freising District, Bavaria, Germany*, “Jahresschrift für Mitteldeutsche Vorgeschichte” 2017, vol. 96, pp. 139–230.

²⁰ S. GERLACH, *Urnfelderzeitliche Höbenedlungen Nordbayerns in ihrem siedlungsgeschichtlichen Zusammenhang*, [in:] *Vorträge des 16. Niederbayrischen Archäologentages*, ed. K. SCHMOTZ, Degendorf 1998, pp. 125–156; A. BJÖRN-UWE, *Eliten auf mächtigen Burgen – Die Urnfelderzeit*, [in:]

The settlement structure had changed, as evidenced by both large sites built at dominant locations with a wide view of the landscape and smaller promontory fortifications.²¹ The ramparts were made of clay and stone, sometimes interlaced by timber beams, and the front wall was lined with dry-laid stones. A stockade was put on top of the wall coping. The rampart was also surrounded by a forward ditch. Several types of gates were built in the entrance places: a simple gateway, a 'street' gate, or a pincer gate – Zangentor. However, some minor strategic locations were settled with no evidence of fortification. In western Bohemia along the Bavarian border there are approximately 15 fortified and unfortified hill-top sites, with a certain concentration in the southern part of the region.²² The most prominent of these sites, Okrouhlé Hradiště, is located on a flat-topped mountain, with the approximate size of the site of 51 hectares with an encircling rampart 3.5 kilometres long. During the rescue excavation at the site 30 sunken huts were found carved into the bedrock, in addition to other features. There was a significant concentration of settlements on the Bavarian side of the border (including hill-top sites), especially in the Danube Basin area, without any visible links to the Bohemian settlements as the closest sites are located 30–40 km from the current border. In Bavaria, many hill-top fortified sites can be found ranging in size from 1.5 to 90 hectares. A few categories of such sites can be identified: the first category is represented by the Bogenberg hillfort, a significant proto-urban site occupied throughout the Urnfield Period. The second category is constituted by sites of central importance such as Weltenburger Frauenberg and Kallmünz – large fortified settlements ranging around 50 hectares, structured into several separate areas (acropolises and baileys). Moreover, these settlements include traces of farmsteads, sometimes also considered predecessors of 'Herrenhof' farmsteads. Heunischenburg represents the third category, as it

Archäologie Fenster..., pp. 124–149; M. METLIČKA *et al.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 94–97, fig. 8; P. MENŠÍK, *op. cit.*, pp. 46, 48, fig. 14, 15.

²¹ V. ŠALDOVÁ, *Sociálně-ekonomické podmínky vzniku a funkce hradišť pozdní doby bronzové v západních Čechách*, "Památky archeologické" 1977, vol. 68, pp. 117–163.

²² Okrouhlé Hradiště: EADEM, *Westböhmen in der späten Bronzezeit. Befestigte Höhensiedlungen – Okrouhlé Hradiště*, Praha 1981, fig. 2; Podražnice: EADEM, *Pozdně bronzové a pozdně halštatské nálezy z opevněného výšinného sídliště u Podražnice, okr. Domažlice*, "Památky archeologické" 1998, vol. 89, pp. 216–226; Svržno – Černý vrch: M. CHYTRÁČEK, *Übersicht zur bronzzeitlichen Besiedlung im Flußgebiet der oberen Radbuza, Kr. Domažlice*, [in:] *Archäologische Arbeitsgemeinschaft Ostbayern/West- und Südböhmen. 5. Treffen*, eds J. MICHÁLEK, K. SCHMOTZ, Espelkamp 1996, pp. 68–81.

is an enclosed settlement of small area (1.5 ha), fortified by dry-laid walls with a massive gate which is considered a Mediterranean influence, and is one of the best examples of Central European fortification of that time. The main purpose of the site was probably strategic as it overlooked paths leading to areas of copper extraction²³ (fig. 3).

As in the previous stages of the Bronze Age, there is, besides cultural affinity, no known evidence of contact between the two monitored regions. We are not able to observe any traces of communication over the mountain range of Bohemian Forest. Much like those of the late Bronze Age, the Urnfield Period bronze hoards, presumed metallographic centres, and hill-top sites are not all consistent.

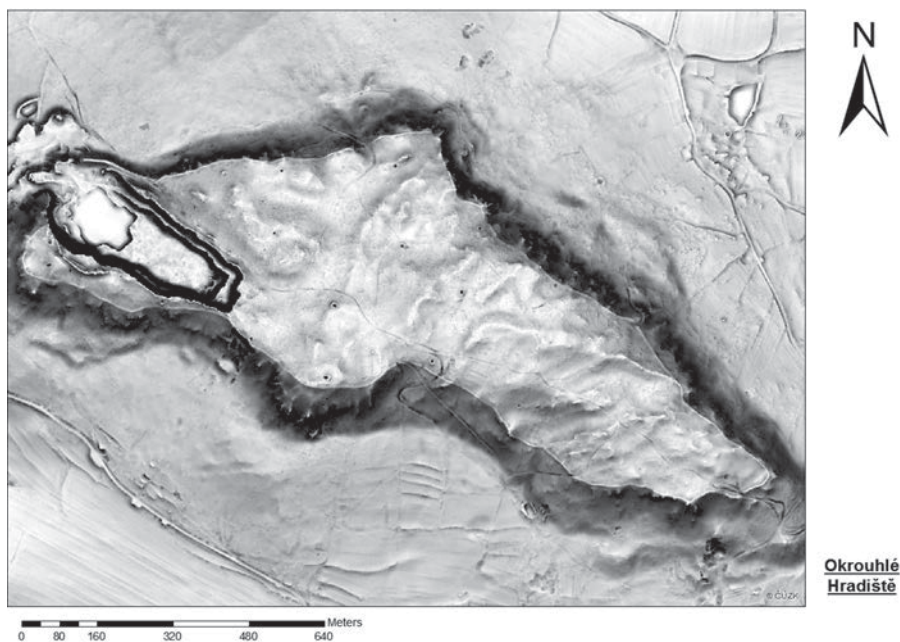


Fig. 2. Okrouhlé Hradiště, Tachov district. Terrain model created on the basis of aerial laser scanning (Created by L. Starková)

²³ R. ECKES, *Die Urnenfelderkultur in Ostbayern. Arbeiten zur Archäologie Süddeutschlands*, vol. 3, Büchenbach 1996; S. GERLACH, *op. cit.*; U. PFAUTH, *Beiträge zur Urnenfelderzeit in Niederbayern. Materialien zur Bronzezeit in Bayern*, vol. 2, Regensburg 1998; A. BJÖRN-UWE, *The Heunischenburg bei Kronach. Eine späturnenfelderzeitliche Befestigung*, Regensburg 2002.



Fig. 3. Heunischenburg, Kronach district. Fortification of the stronghold
(Source: <http://www.hasslacherberg.de/Heunischenburg>, access: 8 VIII 2021)

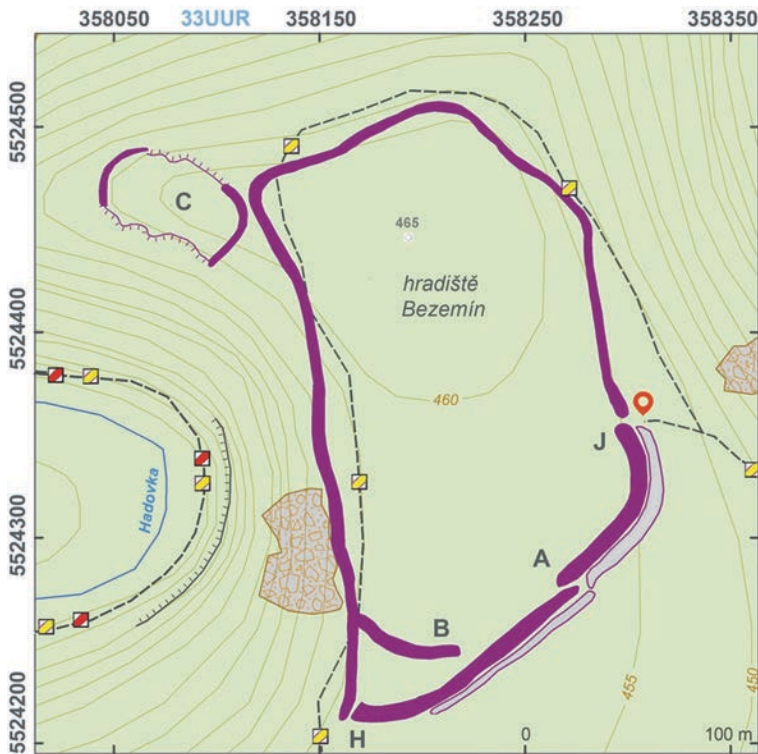


Fig. 4. Bezemín, Tachov district. Fortification of the stronghold
(Source: M. KUNA et al., *Archeologický atlas Čech. Vybrané památky od pravěku do 20. století*, Praha 2015, pp. 50–52)

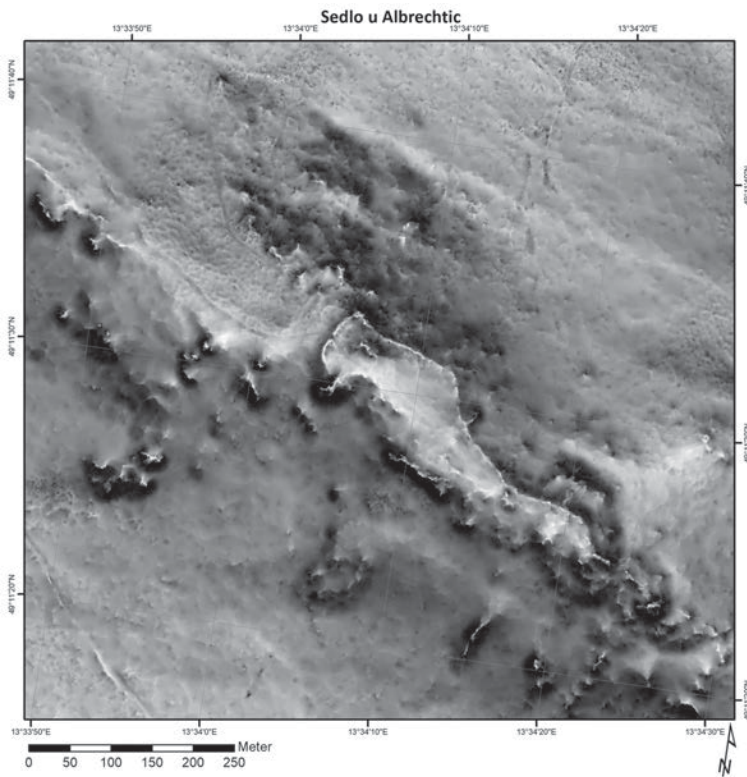


Fig. 5. Albrechtice-Sedlo, okr. Prachatice. Terrain model created on the basis of aerial laser scanning (Source: O. CHVOJKA, P. MENŠÍK, L. STARKOVÁ, *Vorgeschichtliche Burgwälle und Höhenfundstellen im südböhmischen Bereich des Böhmerwaldes*, "Fines Transire" 2019, vol. 28, pp. 95–120, fig. 2, 3)

Use and Function of Fortified Hill-top Sites in the Early Medieval Period – the Middle Hillfort Period (800–950 AD)

Although there is a network of evenly distributed [hill-top] fortified settlements within the observed region located in southwestern Bohemia, there are no such sites near the border in Bavaria, possibly due to the high elevation of the bordering mountain ranges of the Bohemian Forest and Upper Palatine Forest. In Bavaria, most hillforts are densely located in fertile areas around the Danube basin. Moreover, a whole range of eastern Danube (e.g., Avar ironwork) and western (Carolingian coins) imports have been found at these sites. It is therefore possible to identify mutual contact and possible communication paths across the passes of the

Bohemian Forest. However, the question remains about the cause of the demise of the above-mentioned [hill-top] fortified settlements – whether it was due to invader activities (Avars), who had probably been headed to Germany, or due to Přemyslid power extending into southwestern Bohemia. One prominent but remote centre that includes four hillforts is located in the west of South Bohemia;²⁴ we have evidence of the violent demise of one of these hillforts,²⁵ which may have been connected with nomad raids from the southeast.²⁶

The first evidence of strategic site settlement is evidenced from the 8th century CE. The locations of that time were probably not fortified, or used the remains of prehistoric fortifications.²⁷ Eventually, an orderly network of [hill-top] fortified settlements was established (mostly in the 9th and 10th centuries)²⁸ of both small and large fortified areas, ranging from up to one hectare to between 5 and 15 hectares,²⁹ The older and smaller hillforts were usually unstructured, while the larger ones were structured into an acropolis and one to three baileys. The ramparts were usually timber-laced with dry-laid stones on the outer side. There was usually a large ditch in front of the rampart.³⁰ Fortified settlements in the Early Medieval Period combined military, social, economic, and spiritual functions.³¹ From the 9th century onwards, craftsmanship such as blacksmithing,

²⁴ P. MENŠÍK *et al.*, *op. cit.*, fig. 1.

²⁵ Hradec u Nemětic: J. MICHÁLEK, M. LUTOVSKÝ, *Hradec u Nemětic. Sídlo halštatské a raně středověké nobility v českobavorském kontaktním prostoru*, Strakonice–Praha 2000.

²⁶ E.g., M. LUTOVSKÝ, J. MICHÁLEK, *Archeologie násilného zániku: pád Hradce u Nemětic*, [in:] *Konference Pohansko 1999: 40 let od zahájení výzkumu slovanského hradiska Břeclav–Pohansko*; 3.–4. VI. 1999. *Archaeologia Mediaevalis Moravica et Silesina 1*, ed. Z. MĚŘÍNSKÝ, Brno 2001, pp. 133–142.

²⁷ Svržno – Černý vrch; *vide*: M. CHYTRÁČEK, M. METLIČKA, *Höhensiedlungen der Hallstätt- und Laténezeit in Westböhmen*, “Památky archeologické – Supplementum” 2004, vol. 16, pp. 256–257.

²⁸ *Vide*: M. LUTOVSKÝ, *Raně středověká hradiště střední doby hradištní (RS 3) – Frühmittelalterliche Burgwälle der mittleren Burgwallzeit (FM 3)*, [in:] *Atlas pravěkých...*, p. 70, map 28.

²⁹ E.g., Tasnovice – Šitavy: D. BAŠTOVÁ, J. BAŠTA, *Slovanské osídlení v povodí dolní Radbuzy*, “Sborník Západočeského muzea v Plzni – Historie” 1990, vol. 5, p. 47.

³⁰ For additional information *vide*: M. LUTOVSKÝ, *Doba hradištní bez hradišť? Úvaha nad strukturou, chronologií a terminologií raně středověkých fortifikací v Čechách*, [in:] *Archeologie doby hradištní v České a Slovenské republice*, eds P. DRESLER, Z. MĚŘÍNSKÝ, Brno 2009; L. KOS, *Raně středověké fortifikace s čelní kamennou plentou ve střední Evropě*, “Studia Mediaevalia Pragensia” 2012, vol. 11, pp. 117–175.

³¹ E.g., Bezemín (fig. 4) and Šipín in Tachov district, *vide*: J. KUDRNÁČ, *Slované v západních Čechách*, “Archeologické rozhledy” 1951, vol. 3, pp. 185–190; M. KUNA *et al.*, *Archeologický atlas Čech. Vybrané památky od pravěku do 20. století*, Praha 2015, pp. 50–52.

armouring, weaponsmithing, or jewellery making was concentrated at fortified sites, and from the end of the 9th century, churches – first wooden, later stone – were built on the acropolises of the most prominent hillforts. Smaller hill-top sites were probably chosen for their strategic defense value, and had no visible fortification. In southwestern Bohemia, an evenly distributed network of [hill-top] fortified settlements appeared within the observed area³² with a slight concentration within the Domažlice region.³³ Some finds from Domažlice indicate a link to Bavarian Slavs, especially to the so-called ‘Naab Slavs.’ There are six [hill-top] fortified settlements located close to the border³⁴ (fig. 5), but no sites are located in the bordering areas with higher elevation associated with the Bohemian and Upper Palatine Forests. Again, most of the [hill-top] fortified settlements are densely distributed in the fertile area of the Danube Basin³⁵ (fig. 6), with the exception of the sites at Cham, Haderstadl, and Nabburg, located in the Domažlice region on the other side of the border³⁶. Therefore, mutual communication between Bohemian and Bavarian areas may be assumed at least via the so-called ‘Golden Path’ which was clearly used from at least the 10th century, and, as evidenced by similarities between cultures on both sides of the border, likely since prehistory.³⁷

The cause of the demise of certain sites remains unknown. In the meantime, we can work with the abovementioned hypotheses of Avar raids, or the influence of the Přemyslid dynasty encroaching into southwestern Bohemia.

³² M. METLIČKA *et al.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 154, 159–160, fig. 13.

³³ P. BŘICHÁČEK, M. METLIČKA, *Domažlická sídelní aglomerace v raném středověku*, “Archeologie ve středních Čechách” 1999, vol. 3, pp. 259–282.

³⁴ E.g., Darmyšl: D. BAŠTOVÁ, J. BAŠTA, *op. cit.*, pp. 13–15; Albrechtice-Sedlo, lately: O. CHVOJKA, P. MENŠÍK, L. STARKOVÁ, *Vorgeschichtliche Burgwälle und Höhenfundstellen im südböhmischen Bereich des Böhmerwaldes*, “Fines Transire” 2019, vol. 28, pp. 99–100, fig. 2, 3.

³⁵ P. ETTTEL, *Frühmittelalterlichen Burgenbau in Nordbayer und Südthüringen 7. bis zum 11. Jahrhunderts*, [in:] *Burgen in Thüringen: Geschichte, Archäologie und Burgenforschung*, Jahrb. *Stiftung Thüringer Schlösser u. Gärten 10*, ed. H.E. PAULUS, Regensburg 2007, pp. 88–110; A. BOOS, K. SCHMOTZ, *Befestigungen des frühen und älteren Mittelalters im ostbayerischen Donaauraum*, [in:] *Vorträge des Niederbayerischen Archäologentages*, eds L. HUSTY, K. SCHMOTZ, Rahden/Westf. 2012, pp. 147–225.

³⁶ P. MENŠÍK *et al.*, *op. cit.*, fig. 1.

³⁷ P. ZAVŘEL, O. CHVOJKA, J. JOHN, *Otázka existence pravěkých stezek v jihočeské části Šumavy*, “Praehistorica” 2016, vol. 33, no. 1–2, pp. 479–485; F. KUBŮ, P. ZAVŘEL, *Böhmische-bayerische Kontakte über den mittleren Böhmerwald von den Vorgeschichte bis zum Hochmittelalter*, “Fines Transire” 2019, vol. 28, pp. 293–310.

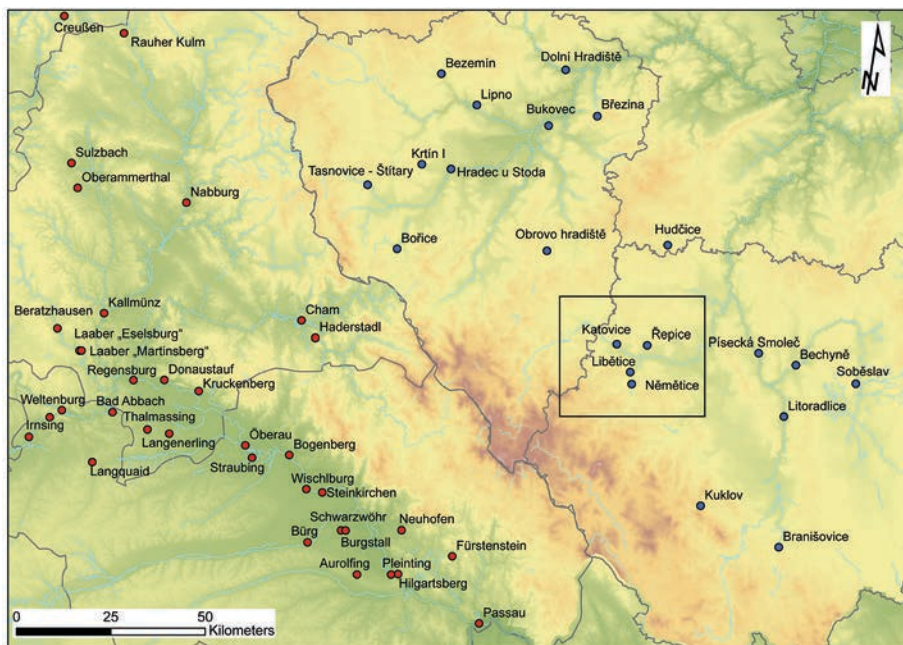


Fig. 6. Map of fortifications of the early Middle Ages in the area of interest (Source: P. MENŠÍK et al., *Die Höhensiedlung und der Burgwall Katovice „Kněží hora“. Ein Überregionales Zentrum im Urzeitlichen und Frühmittelalterlichen Südböhmen*, "Archaeologische Korrespondenzblatt" 2019, vol. 49, no. 4, p. 40, fig. 1)



Fig. 7. A. The Castle of Velký Ostrý. Historical image of a block of rock with a moat at the head of the castle (Source: T. DURDIK, *Ilustrovaná encyklopedie českých hradů*, Praha 1999, p. 413)



Fig. 7. B. The Castle of Velký Ostrý. View of the castle area. Photo by A. Pojarová (A. POJAROVÁ, *Problematika tzv. horských hrádků na Šumavě*, nepublikovaná bakalářská práce obhájená na Katedře archeologie Západočeské univerzity v Plzni, Plzeň 2016, p. 49)

The Origin of Guard Castles in the Bohemian Forest in the Second Half of the 13th Century. The So-Called ‘Mountain Castles’ and Their Importance in Context of Bohemian-Bavarian Border

The most significant evidence of changes at Bohemian-Bavarian border in the High Middle Ages is represented by so-called ‘mountain castles’ built atop the ridges of the Bohemian Forest at the end of the 13th century and the beginning of the 14th century.³⁸ A significant part of the bordering mountains between Nýrsko and Vimperk were controlled by the Counts of Bogen and as a result, some colonisation activity was led by the Bogens together with the Bogen-affiliated Premonstratensian monastery in Windberg. Subsequently, the ownership of Sušice probably passed to the house of Bogen upon to the marriage of Count Albert III to Ludmila of the Přemyslid dynasty. A remainder of the medieval border in the Sušice region is evidenced by a pair of castles located at Petrovice u Sušice and on the nearby Hrnčíř hill. However, the border soon changed.

³⁸ T. DURDÍK, *K otázce demonstrační architektury na českých hradech*, “Zprávy památkové péče” 2004, vol. 64, pp. 118–123.

With the death of Count Albert IV in 1242, the Bogen family died out, and its inheritance fell to Otto II, Duke of Bavaria. As a relative of the house of Bogen, Ottokar II of Bohemia laid claim to their entire holdings, causing a long-standing dispute that began with Ottokar II storming Bavaria in 1251 and plundering the surroundings of Cham. His efforts were fruitless, however, since according to a treaty signed in Cham in 1257, the duke of Bavaria kept not only the county of Bogen in Bavaria, but also the Sušice region in Bohemia. However, the House of Wittelsbach was not able to hold the land for long, as the Bohemian king gradually gained more territory. The duke of Bavaria was therefore able to keep Sušice only until 1271, when he relinquished his claims to the Sušice region and all former Bogen land in Bohemian territory and in return, Ottokar II of Bohemia denounced his claims to the counties of Bogen and Deggendorf.³⁹ To support the newly-acquired territory, a castle was built by Otokar II of Bohemia atop Velký Ostrý mountain, in the most elevated part of the Bohemian Forest.⁴⁰ Additional castles were founded in its surroundings at the turn of the 13th and 14th century, at equally elevated locations. Primarily, they were built as Bohemian royal border strongholds guarding key communication routes over the mountains. Surprisingly though, these castles lacked presence of military personnel. Considering their small size and location in hard-to-reach but visible positions, they can be interpreted as pompous architecture, declaring Přemyslid power on their side of border rather than actually protecting it. The real source of military and economic power can be seen in large royal cities and castles built in wider Bohemian-Bavarian borderlands from the 13th century.

The Castle of Velký Ostrý

The prominent peaks of Velký Ostrý and Malý Ostrý are among the highest in the Bohemian Forest, visible from as far as the city of Pilsen in the centre of Western Bohemia. The castle on Velký Ostrý (elevation of 1293 MASL) is the highest-built castle in modern Czechia. The origins of this castle (fig. 7) can be

³⁹ E.g., J. ANDERLE, *Petrovické hrad – Die Petrovitzer Burgen*, “Castellologica Bohemica” 1993, vol. 3, pp. 111–116; V. HOLÝ, *Královský hvozď na Šumavě*, Domažlice 2007; J. LHOŤÁK, *op. cit.*

⁴⁰ J. FRÖHLICH, *op. cit.*

dated to the end of the 13th century.⁴¹ The first written records about this area come from 1273 when Ottokar II gained control of the land between Nýrsko and Vimperk, which had previously been part of the Bogen domain. The current Bohemian-Bavarian border divides the castle ruin. A rather small castle, it had a simple, unstructured square disposition of approximately 30 x 30 metres. From the southwestern side, the castle layout is delimited by a boulder which could also serve as a windbreak. From the front the castle is separated from the surrounding area by a rock-carved ditch 1.6–2 metres wide, the only remnant of medieval construction. On the other two sides the castle is protected by steep rock slopes. The castle itself (likely including the residential area) was built on a plateau about 30 x 30 metres, where later a chalet was built at the end of the 19th century. Judging by the 19th century description of the masonry remains, those may have originally come from a residential tower;⁴² unfortunately, the current terrain is a result of massive earthworks conducted during the building of the chalet in 1897.⁴³ During the 1862 excavation, a ‘dump or rampart’ was described in the southern part of the layout, consisting of burnt clay and charcoal. Moreover, animal bones and pottery fragments were also discovered not too deep underground.⁴⁴ The first regular archaeological research was able to be conducted after the fall of the Iron Curtain in 1992, and revealed a small assemblage of pottery fragments and a flint fire striker, that can be dated to the end of the 13th century to the 14th century.⁴⁵

Kunžvart Castle

The castle of Kunžvart, the name of which is a distortion of the original ‘Königswarte,’ was founded in the first half of the 14th not only as a stronghold guarding the border, but also to overlook the Vimperk branch of the Golden Path. The castle is first mentioned by written sources in 1369, when it was, together with the

⁴¹ J. STEINER, *Šumava – Královský Hvozd, území svobodných Královských rycht I*, Klatovy 2001, p. 5.

⁴² J. FRÖHLICH, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

⁴³ T. DURDÍK, *K problematice pohraničních tzv. horských hrádků*, “Archaeologia Historica” 2004, vol. 29, p. 345, fig. 6, 7.

⁴⁴ J. FRÖHLICH, *op. cit.*, pp. 102–103.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, pp. 103–104.

castles of Vimperk, Hus, and 36 additional villages, granted in fief to the House of Janovice. The castle retained its function until the first half of the 16th century.⁴⁶

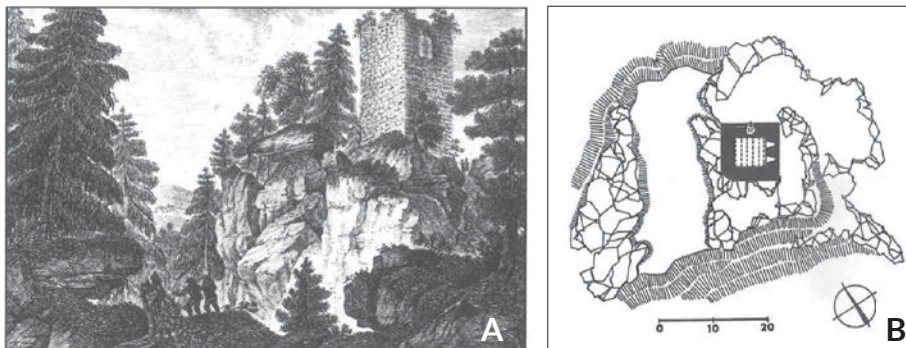


Fig. 8. Kunžvart Castle. A. Historical illustration of the castle; B. Floor plan of the castle
(Source: T. DURDÍK, *Ilustrovaná encyklopedie českých hradů*, Praha 1999, p. 311)

The small castle of Kunžvart (fig. 8) near the Bohemian-Bavarian border was built on the highest peak of the Strážný mountain above the village of the same name, at an elevation of 1032 MASL.⁴⁷ Constructed on a distinctive rock formation which forms an irregular square block defined by rock faces on three directions⁴⁸ from the front side, the castle is delimited by a wider crevasse, enlarged to a ditch.⁴⁹ No evidence of circumferential fortification remains. Considering the nature of the construction site, the encirclement, if it once existed, might have been constructed of timber.⁵⁰ The only stone-built feature was a square residential tower situated in the middle of the northwestern side. The rest of the layout shows no remains of clearly interpretable features, earthworks, or fortification. The residential tower, with an area of 10.5 x 10.7 m, was built of quarry stone.⁵¹ The most exposed corner of the tower was rounded above the entrance. The fragmented tower is preserved up to the second floor. The ground floor, illuminated by a pair of small windows opening to the inner part of the castle, is accessible through a small

⁴⁶ T. DURDÍK, V. SUŠICKÝ, *Zříceniny hradů, tvrzí a zámků. Jižní Čechy*, Praha 2002, p. 57.

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁸ T. DURDÍK, F. KUBŮ, P. ZAVŘEL, *Hrad na Stožecké skále*, "Castellologica Bohemica" 1998, vol. 6, no. 2, p. 272, fig. 15.

⁴⁹ T. DURDÍK, V. SUŠICKÝ, *op. cit.*, p. 58; T. DURDÍK, F. KUBŮ, P. ZAVŘEL, *Hrad Kunžvart*, "Castellologica Bohemica" 2002, vol. 8, p. 162.

⁵⁰ T. DURDÍK, *K problematice...*, p. 349.

⁵¹ T. DURDÍK, F. KUBŮ, P. ZAVŘEL, *Hrad Kunžvart*, p. 163, fig. 14.

corridor,⁵² which contradicts contemporary architectural solutions. Based on this fact, we have to consider the possible existence of circumferential fortification, the most important part of which could have been the rock formation encircling the castle layout.⁵³ The ground floor was flat-ceilinged. A wooden staircase connecting the individual levels of the tower is presumed to have existed, though no traces of it or any other stair remains. The first floor was illuminated by two small windows situated in the middle of southeastern and northeastern sides respectively. This floor, much like the ground floor, held operational functions;⁵⁴ the second floor was residential. Its interior did not have rounded corners and was illuminated by a pair of large windows placed in rectangular, segmentally arched niches. There was another opening in the southwestern wall near the southern corner of the room; although it was destroyed at the beginning of the 19th century, it is depicted in A. Langweil's illustration from 1810 in the form of segmentally arched opening, comparable to the surviving windows of the southwestern side.⁵⁵ The castle's exposed frontal wall is not pierced by any openings, as they are mostly situated in the protected wall facing the castle interior. Moreover, castle window layout was also determined by natural conditions, especially strong winter winds blowing in such exposed locations. In the case of the castle of Velký Ostrý, the windbreak was present in the form of a rock formation, protecting the castle from the southwestern side. Although we do not know the layout of Kunžvart castle, we can assume there was a residential tower based on similar sites.

The Castle of Stožecká Skála

The castle of Stožecká Skála (fig. 9) was founded on a distinctive rock ridge at an elevation of 937 MASL, overlooking the Prachatice branch of the Golden Path.⁵⁶ The castle layout was unstructured, and had an irregular oval floor plan. The dimension of the layout adjoining the massive ridge is approximately 33 x 14 m, similar in size to the castle of Velký Ostrý. There was a round, mortar-built circumferential wall adjacent to the ridge, the remains of which can

⁵² T. DURDÍK, V. SUŠICKÝ, *op. cit.*; T. Durdík, *K problematice...*, p. 349.

⁵³ T. DURDÍK, V. SUŠICKÝ, *op. cit.*

⁵⁴ *Ibidem.*

⁵⁵ T. DURDÍK, F. KUBŮ, P. ZAVŘEL, *Hrad Kunžvart*, p. 167.

⁵⁶ IDEM, *Hrad na Stožecké skále*, p. 257; T. DURDÍK, *Hrady na Šumavě*, [in:] *Šumava*, ed. M. AN-
DĚRA, Praha 2003, p. 438.

be seen today in form of a rampart-like relict most prominent on the northern and eastern sides of the layout.⁵⁷ The only stone-built building, probably a residential tower, was located on the opposite side of the layout behind a small courtyard;⁵⁸ however, only a pile of rubble remains of this building. It can be assumed that timber was also used in the tower's construction. An assemblage comprised of stove vessel-tiles with rectangular openings was found which can be dated to between the end of the 13th century to the middle of the 15th century, with the majority of the material dating to the 14th and the beginning of the 15th century. The castle is not mentioned in written records. It is possible that the Vyšehrad Chapter may have instigated the castle's foundation as it had gained land in the sparsely inhabited Prachatice region, and the uninhabited border forest along the Golden Path fell under its jurisdiction up until the Hussite Wars. However, the interest in visual control of the border land and part of the Golden Path seems a more plausible reason for the castle construction.⁵⁹

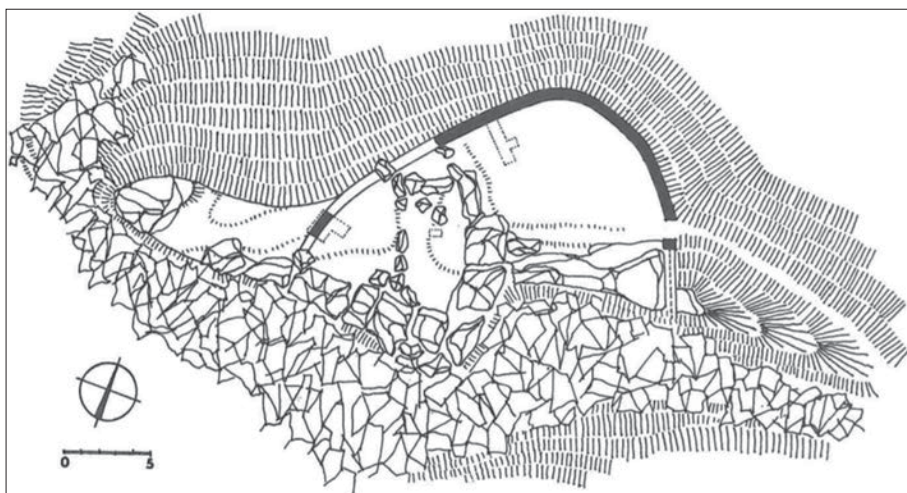


Fig. 9. The Castle of Stožecká Skála. Floor plan of the castle (Source: T. Durdík, *Ilustrovaná encyklopedie českých hradů*, Praha 1999, p. 173)

⁵⁷ T. Durdík, F. Kubů, P. Završel, *Hrad na Stožecké skále*, p. 266.

⁵⁸ T. Durdík, *Hrady na Šumavě*, p. 439.

⁵⁹ T. Durdík, F. Kubů, P. Završel, *Hrad na Stožecké skále*, pp. 266, 257–259.

The Castle of Hausberg

The castle of Hausberg (fig. 10) was founded on a distinctive hill called Hradiště (940 MASL). The castle overlooked the upper course of the Vltava river and the southeastern side of border forest.⁶⁰ This castle also does not appear in written records. A sizeable pottery assemblage gathered through surface collection can be dated back to the turn of the 13th and 14th centuries. The highest part of the fortified area is formed by a ridge from the southern side, adjacent to a pair of rocky platforms, 30 x 10 m and 10 x 15 m respectively. The layout was protected by steep slopes and rock walls from three sides. The main communication route to the castle led along the ridge-top, strategically preventing wide assaults – a similar layout to that of other Bohemian Forest mountain castles. At the front of the castle, the communication was crossed by a shallow ditch, the width of which did not exceed 4 m, carved into the ridge itself. The castle front is formed by a rampart-like feature adjacent to the northeastern part of the ridge. Based on the accumulation of boulders on the western slope encircling the castle layout, it is safe to assume that the circumferential fortification was made of a stone wall, possibly dry-laid, as evidenced by the absence of mortar. Although the appearance of the gate remains unknown, it is possible to assume the gate was simple, judging by the overall simplicity of the layout. In the western part of the layout, a tower-like stone structure not exceeding 15 x 15 m (although it likely was smaller) may have been built. From its northern side, the proposed tower would have been adjacent to the ridge. The building is indirectly evidenced by a massive accumulation of worked stone on the southeastern slope under the castle. On the eastern and northeastern sides, the castle layout turns into a steep cliff, which, especially on the northeastern side, was created after carving a second ditch separating the castle layout from the northeastern course of the ridge. Thus, a slope of approximately 6–8 metres was created, which is barely visible at present due to the collapse of the rock wall. The eastern edge of the layout is formed by a stepped rocky surface, slowly passing into a steep slope. The slightly sloping southeastern side of the castle consists of two distinct platforms, which could be

⁶⁰ T. DURDÍK, *Hrady na Šumavě*, p. 439; IDEM, *K problematice...*, p. 344.

the remnants of an outer bailey. Although the castle was situated in a rather dominant location, considerable attention was paid to its fortification as it was protected by two lines of ditches on the most exposed sites, together with a dry-laid wall and possibly an outer bailey.

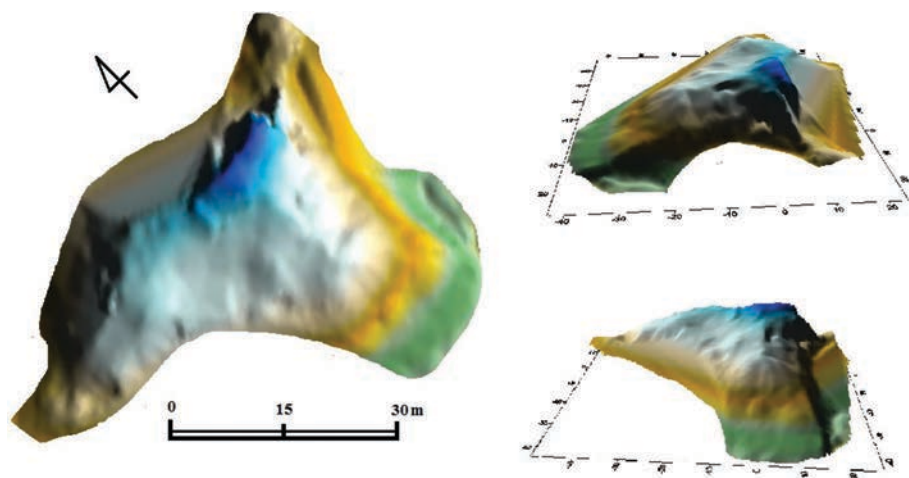


Fig. 10. The Castle of Hausberg. 3D model of terrain relief. Visualisation by J. Hložek and A. Pojarová (Source: A. POJAROVÁ, *Problematika tzv. horských hrádků na Šumavě*, nepublikovaná bakalářská práce obhájená na Katedře archeologie Západočeské univerzity v Plzni, Plzeň 2016, p. 70)

Conclusion

The natural boundary of the mountain range that determines the current Bohemian-Bavarian border has influenced settlement patterns from prehistory to the Modern Period.⁶¹ Despite limited accessibility and long-lasting shifts in property ownership, the border has been culturally penetrable, as reflected in material culture on both sides of the mountains. The foundation of strongholds atop the border mountains and ridges can be thus seen as an example

⁶¹ G. LUKÁČ, *Zamki graniczne w północno-wschodniej Słowacji i ich znaczenie na polsko-węgierskim obszarze pogranicznym w średniowieczu*, "Archaeologia Historica Polona" 1996, vol. 3, pp. 247–258; S. BRZEZIŃSKI, *Ciągłość i zmiana w historii granicy polsko-węgierskiej/polsko-siedmiogrodzkiej w XVI–XVII wieku. Wybrane problemy*, [in:] „Granice” i „pogranicza” w badaniach historycznych i antropologicznych. *Materiały z III Międzynarodowej Sesji Humanistycznej*, Warszawa, 27–29 maja 2011 r., eds P. FIGURSKI, M. SAS, Warszawa 2012, p. 38.

of ostentatious architecture meant to declare the presence of power, and the ability to overlook the border forests and paths crossing the mountain range.⁶² The foundation of the castle of Velký Ostrý can be associated with the shift of Bohemian-Bavarian border after the incorporation of the vast holdings of the Bogen family into the lands of the Czech Crown.

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⁶² E.g., T. DURDÍK, *K otázce demonstrační architektury...*; A. ZEUNE, *Burgen – Symbolen der Macht*, Regensburg 1996.

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Josef Hložek, Petr Menšík, Olgierd Ławrynowicz

PREHISTORYCZNE I WCZESNOŚREDNIOWIECZNE GRODY ORAZ ŚREDNIOWIECZNE ZAMKI NA POGRANICZU CZESKO-BAWARSKIM: OBIEKTY WOJSKOWE, MANIFESTACJA WŁADZY CZY SYMBOLE SIŁY?

Streszczenie. W artykule omówiono fenomen trwałości funkcji militarnej, politycznej i społecznej obecnego pogranicza czesko-bawarskiego ukształtowanego przez pasma górskie Lasu Czeskiego i Szumawy. Autorzy prześledzili rozwój układów osadnictwa w prehistorii, średniowieczu i okresie nowożytnym aż do czasów współczesnych. Omawiany obszar stanowił barierę ograniczającą przenikanie się wpływów kulturowych pomiędzy obiema stronami pogranicza, co znajduje odzwierciedlenie w odkrytych reliktach kultury materialnej. W artykule na licznych przykładach omówiono również symboliczną rolę fortyfikacji i zamków zlokalizowanych na szczytach górskich, sprowadzającą się przede wszystkim do demonstrowania władzy nad otaczającymi je terytoriami. Pogranicze czesko-bawarskie może być też postrzegane jako swoisty krajobraz konfliktu, który przez swoje cechy morfologiczne narzucił ponadczasową przygraniczną formę organizacji politycznej, wojskowej i społecznej.

Słowa kluczowe: prehistoria, średniowiecze, pogranicze czesko-bawarskie, granice, zamek, twierdza, gród, grodzisko, krajobraz konfliktu

Иосиф Гложек, Петр Меншик, Ольгерд Лавринович

ДОИСТОРИЧЕСКИЕ И РАННЕСРЕДНЕВЕКОВЫЕ ГОРОДИЩА И СРЕДНЕВЕКОВЫЕ ЗАМКИ НА ЧЕШСКО-БАВАРСКОЙ ГРАНИЦЕ: ВОЕННЫЕ ОБЪЕКТЫ, ДЕМОНСТРАЦИЯ ВЛАСТИ ИЛИ СИМВОЛЫ СИЛЫ?

Аннотация. В статье обсуждается феномен долговечности военной, политической и социальной функции современного чешско-баварского пограничья, сформированного горными хребтами Чешского леса и Шумава. Авторы проследили развитие систем расселения от доисторических времен, в Средневековье, новое и новейшее время аж до наших дней. Обсуждаемая территория являлась барьером, ограничивающим проникновение культурных влияний между обеими сторонами пограничья, что нашло отражение в обнаруженных предметах материальной культуры. В статье на многочисленных примерах также рассматривается символическая роль укреплений и замков, расположенных на горных вершинах, сводящаяся прежде всего к демонстрации власти над окружающими территориями. Чешско-баварское пограничье можно также воспринимать как специфический ландшафт конфликта, который своими морфологическими особенностями установил вневременную пограничную форму политической, военной и социальной организации.

Ключевые слова: доисторическое время, Средневековье, чешско-баварское пограничье, границы, замок, крепость, град, городище, ландшафт конфликта