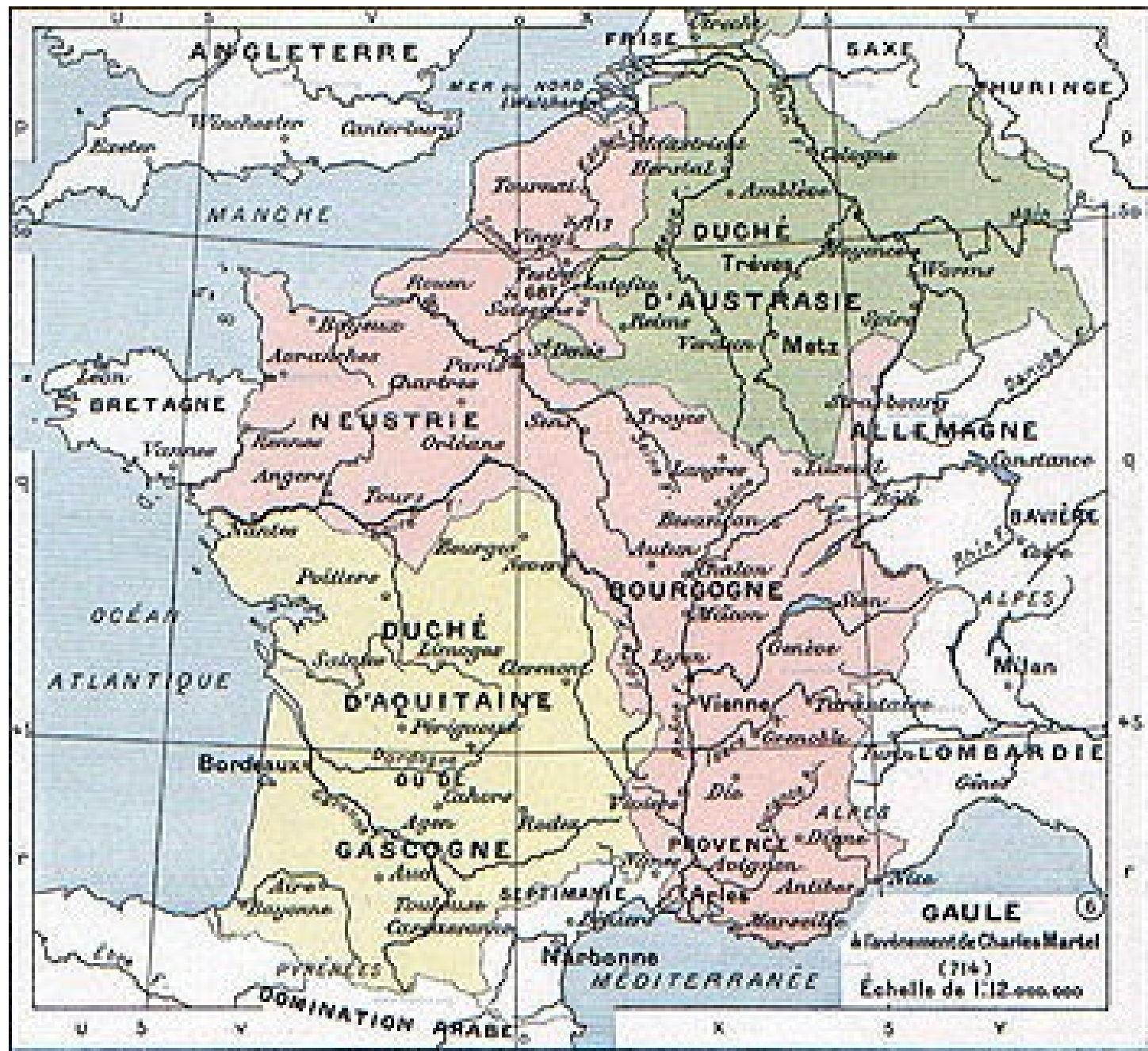









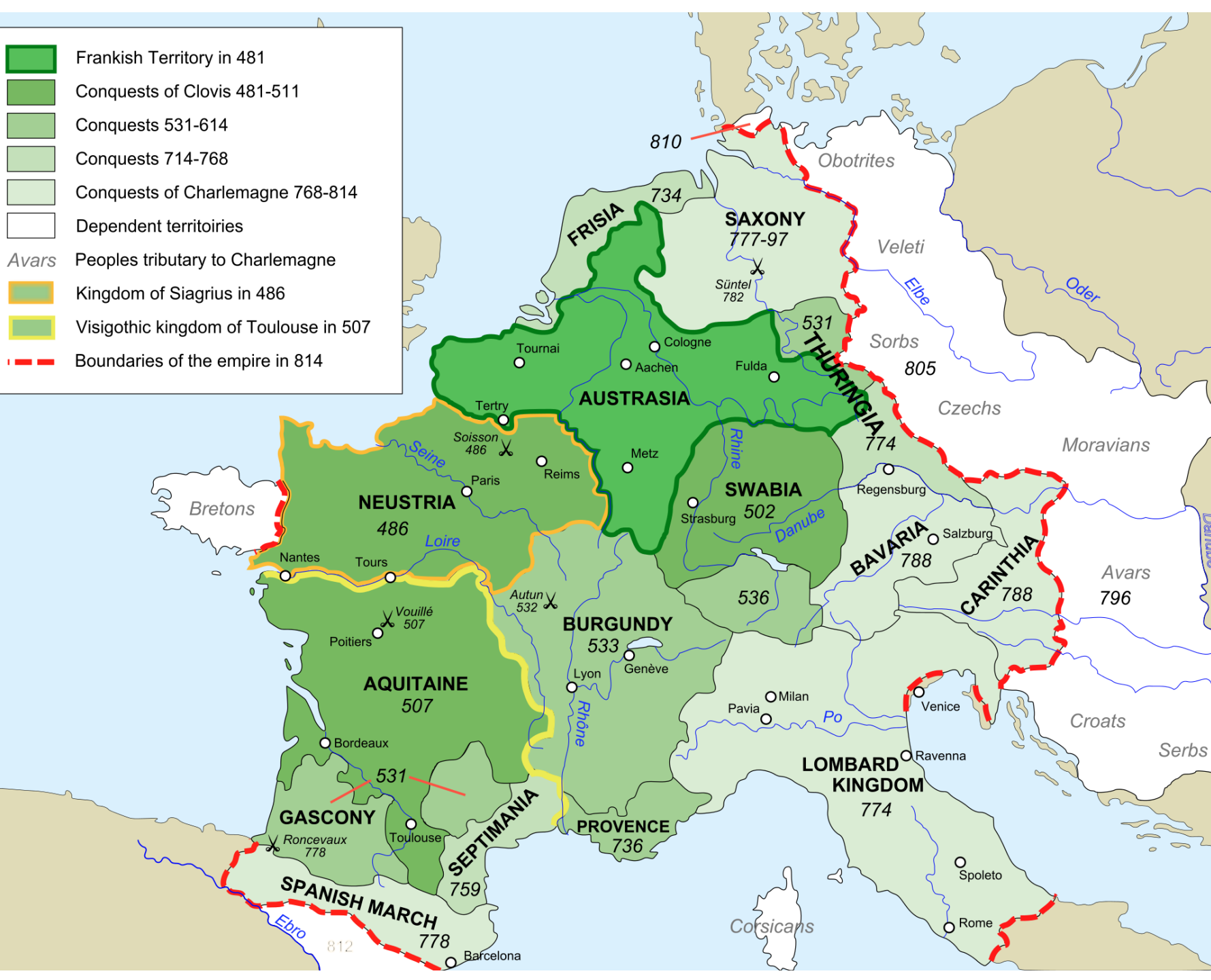


# Great Moravia

Carolingian March, or an independent empire?

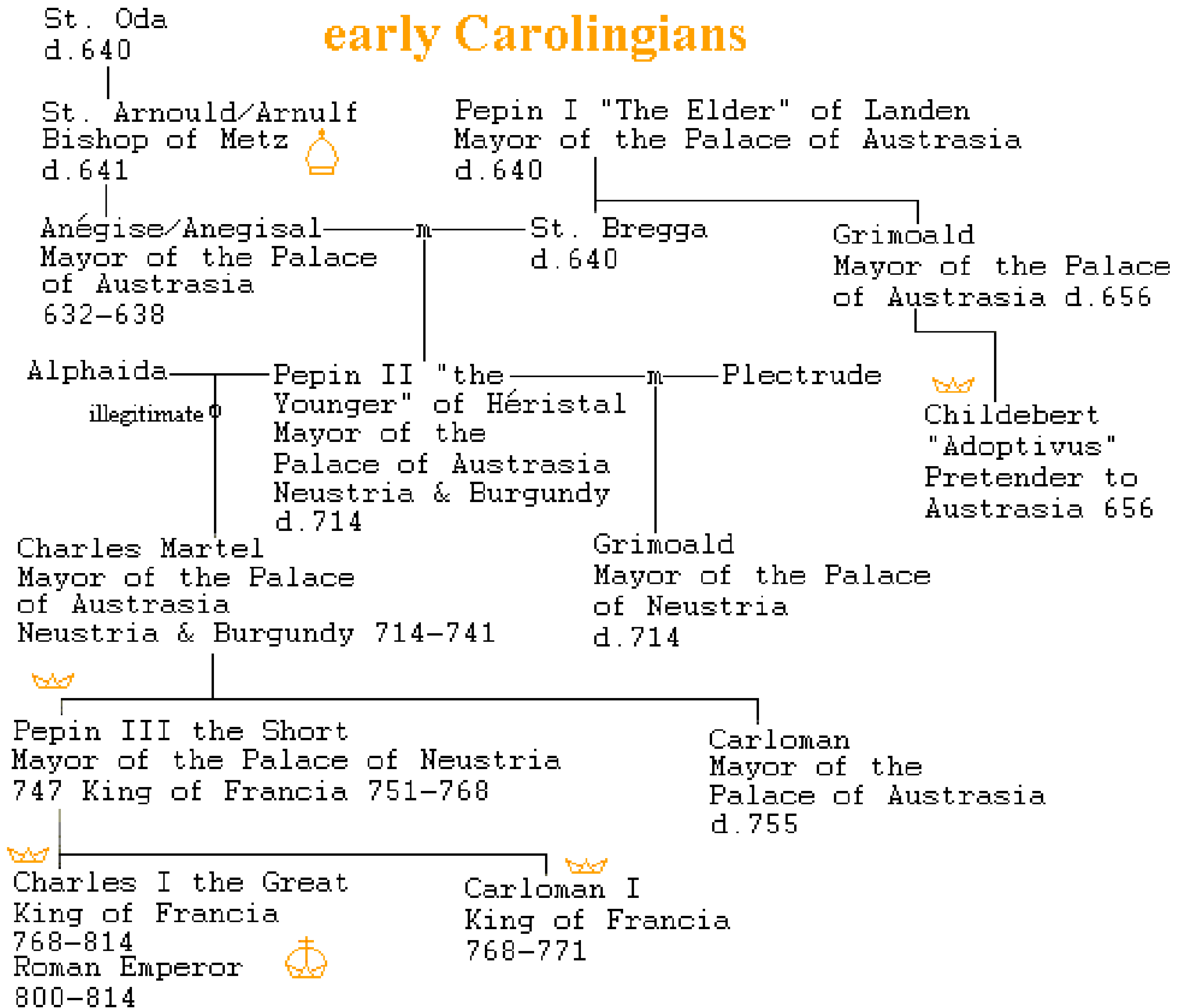


	Frankish Territory in 481
	Conquests of Clovis 481-511
	Conquests 531-614
	Conquests 714-768
	Conquests of Charlemagne 768-814
	Dependent territories
	Avars Peoples tributary to Charlemagne
	Kingdom of Siagrius in 486 Visigothic kingdom of Toulouse in 507
	Boundaries of the empire in 814



# First generations of the Carolingians

## early Carolingians



# 1) Carolingians become the kings: between the contemporary perspective and later narratives

- *Annales Mettenses Priores*

- Preserved in late ms.
- Chelles (Gisela, Charlemagne's sister, abbes + important scriptorium)/St. Denis/Metz
- Its first part written 805/806
  - ← written from the later perspective to
    - **1) demonstrate the rightfulness Carolingian rise to power**
    - 2) the Carolingian superiority over Rome
    - 3) to legitimize the existence of the emperor in the West
    - 4) to legitimize the division of the empire
      - → fuzzy terminology enabled him to ascribe (or rather imply to the reader between the lines) to the Carolingian princes higher status than what they actually had (*praecelestissimus, invictissimus, nobilissimus, princeps*, etc.)
        - ↔ they handle/run royal agenda
      - Carolingian rise to power described as something foreseen and automatic
      - Pippin's II victory = victory of David, the king of Israel
      - Charles Martel 'ascended the throne of his father' /... *solium patris conscenderat* ...
      - Enemies of the Carolingians = *perfidi*
        - x allies = *fideles*
      - Every succession part of the providential plan
        - → Grimoald's story completely omitted!
      - The assemblies mentioned every year

# 1) Carolingians become the kings: between the contemporary perspective and later narratives

- *Liber historiae Francorum*

- Written before Carolingians became kings in Neustria ↔ reflects the struggle among the strong noble fractions, and also between Neustrians (Seine–Oise valley)? Burgundians, and Austrasians (e. g. Leudegar x Ebroin; Hector, ruler of Marseilles and Prejectus with Leudegar involved)
  - ↔ major political, social and religious transformation
    - x kings and their courts still hearth of the kingdom – limited access to the king might have become source of the struggles (overthrown of Theuderic, because Ebroin hadn't enable the access to him and hadn't summoned the assemblies for a too long time)

- *Continuatio Fredegarii*

- Part of the third book of the fourth class of Fredegar's chronicle (according to Roger Collins of a new text based on Fredegar)
- 3 parts (until 734, until 751 and until 768)
- Substantially reworked based on commission by count Childebrand and his son Nibelung, who both were members of Carolingian clan

# 1) Carolingians become the kings: between the contemporary perspective and later narratives

- Passio Leudegarii
- Vita Audoini, above, pp. 152–65.
- Passio Praejecti, below, pp. 271–300.
- Vita Lantberti, ed. W. Levison, MGH, SSRM, V, pp. 608–12.
- Vita Filiberti, ed. W. Levison, MGH, SSRM V, pp. 583–604.
- Miracula Martialis, ed. G. Holder-Egger, MGH, SS, XV, pt. 1, pp. 280–3.
- Vita Eremberti, ed. W. Levison, MGH, SSRM, V, pp. 653–6.
- Historia Wambae, ed. W. Levison, MGH, SSRM, V, pp. 501–35 .
- Vita Germani Abbatis Grandivallensis, ed. B. Krusch, MGH, SSRM, V, pp. 33–40.

# 1) Carolingians become the kings: between the contemporary perspective and later narratives

- Paper: Prehistory of the Carolingians (7th c.)
- Charles Martell (718-741)
  - Mayor of the palace and son (?) of Pippin II, born from his marriage (?) with Chalpais, endowed in Liège area
    - Brother Childebrand, ruling Burgundy; with his son Nibelung author of *Continuatio Fredegarii*
    - X Plectrudis, daughter of the count of the palace Hugobert and Irmina of Oeren, his stepmother
      - Drogo (+708), duke of Champagne and duke of Burgundy, husband of Anstrudis from powerful Neustrian family (former wife of Berchar and daughter of Warato + Ansflod – Ansflod organised Berchar's murder after his defeat near Tertra)
        - → 4 sons x Arnulf, duke (+after 723) and Hugo (+730, bishop of Paris, Rouen and Bayeux, abbot in Jumièges), Pippin and Gottfried
    - Grimoald (+714 murdered in St. Lambert in Liège; mayor of the palace in Neustria, married with Theudesinda, d. of Radbod
      - → Theudoald (+741) made heir of his grandfather by his grandmother
        - → Charles Martell imprisoned in Cologne
          - 26/9/715 Neustrian uprising against Theudoald, who was defeated by them near Compiègne
            - → Raganfred elected new mayor of the palace with new king Chilperich II (former monk Daniel)
            - → Neustrians near Cologne
            - Charles Martell escaped from his prison
              - → Plektruda's allies switched for him → Charles defeated Neustrians in spring 716 near Amblève, Ardennes and 21/3/717 near Vinchy in Cambrai,
              - In the same time, he besieged Cologne where he captured the treasure of his father
              - x 24/4/717 Chilperich with Raganfred issued charter in Paris for St. Arnulf in Metz! And had been seeking for duke of Aquitaine Eudo's help
              - X Charles made his king Chlotar IV.
              - Chilperic, Raganfred and Eudo defeated near Soissons in spring, 718 → as Chlotar IV. died soon, Ch. made a peace with Chilperic in Exchange for being acknowledged new mayor of the palace

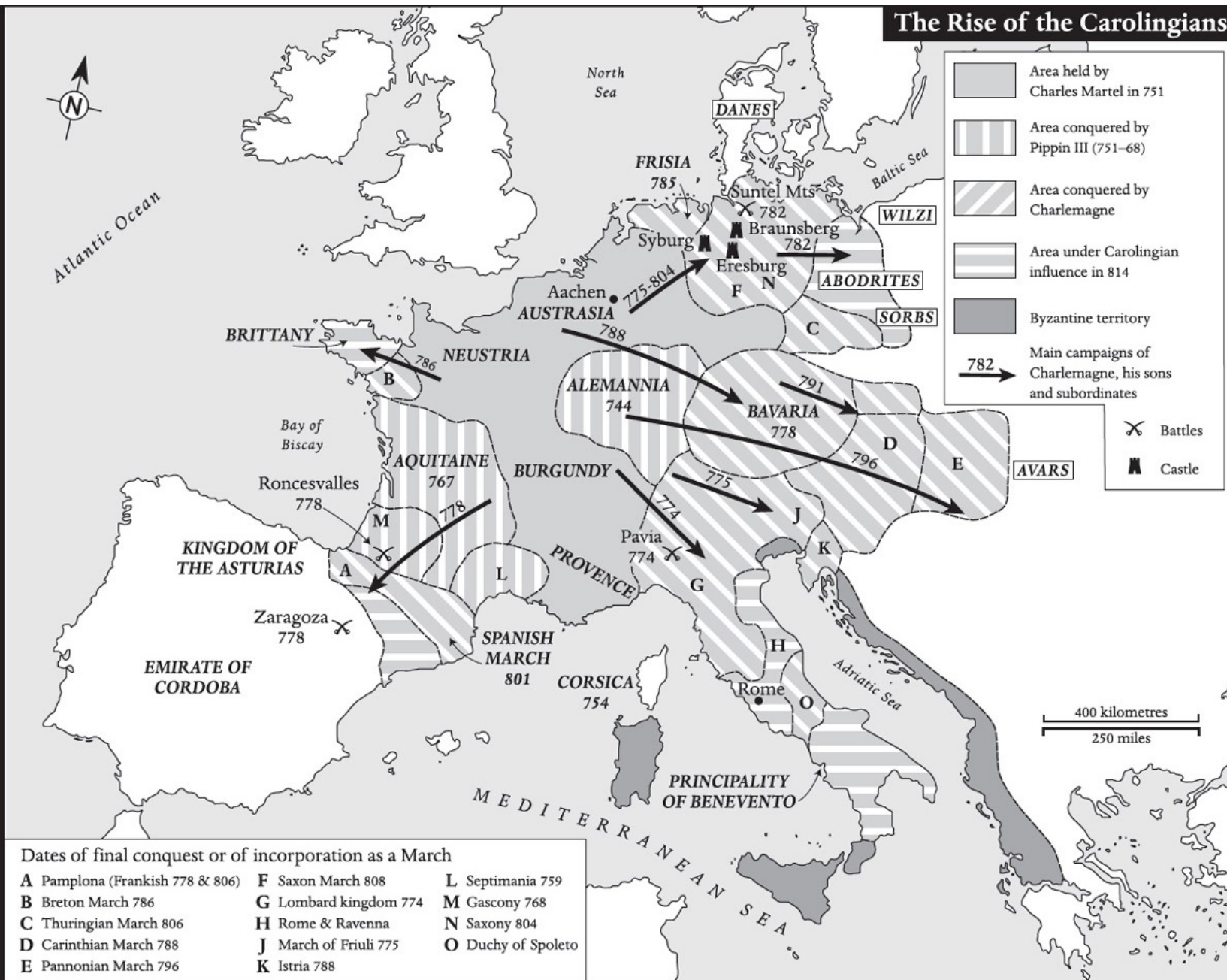


# 1) Carolingians become the kings: between the contemporary perspective and later narratives

- Expedition against Frisians, who supported Charles's enemies
  - → their king Radbod (+719)
  - → Wilibrord's mission
  - → after Bubo's defeat near Boorne 734 his lands incorporated to the kingdom
- Expedition against Alemans and their duke Godefried
  - According to Erchambert, they refused to obey Pippin II (and the mayors of the palace in general) and were only prepared to acknowledge a Merovingian king
    - X 709 conflict between Godefried's sons
    - 724 Pirmin supported by Charles Martel and Lantfried founded monastery Reichenau
      - X the will of Lantfried's brother Theudebald (late source from 11th c.)
      - X 730 struggle between Charles and Lantfried → after Lantfried's death Alemania should have been subjugated (blood bath near Cannstatt)
- 725 with Langobards intervening in Bavaria in support of Hugobert
  - After his death 736 elected Odilo, related to Charles' wife Svanahild
- Strengthening influence in Thuringia
  - ↔ powerful family of Hedens submitted to Charles on its own will → Hedens also supported Willibrord
    - ↔ St. Wienfrieth-Boniface and his mission

# The Rise of the Carolingians

## The Rise of the Carolingians



# 1) Carolingians become the kings: between the contemporary perspective and later narratives

- Eudo, duke of Aquitania, reppeled Arabs in 721 near Toulouse
  - x 724 Arabs besieged and captured Carcassone and Nimes
  - X 725 Arabs plundered Autun
  - X 732 Arabs defeated Eudo near Garonne
  - x October, 732 Arabs defeated by Charles near Poitiers
- Brides (also) from distant locations
- Church Reform
  - Bishoprics and liturgy
  - Monasteries
    - St. Columbanus (7th c.) (Bobbio)
    - St. Gallus (612) (St. Gallen)
    - St. Pirimin (724) (Reichenau)
      - New network of monasteries in the village, instead of cities ↔ new groups of nobility (memory; family property)
        - Immunities (since 2nd ½ of the 7th c.)
        - Late antique cities still important focal point in that time (
- Transformation of the military power

# 1) Carolingians become the kings: between the contemporary perspective and later narratives

- Constructing identity

- Ethnicity? What is ethnicity? In what situation it is activated?
- Social status?
- Familial affiliation?

## 2) Charlemagne and his empire: government, structures, sources

- Paper/handout: rule of the Charlemagne – politics and military campaigns
- Counties and marches
- Church and *Correctio*

# 2) Charlemagne and his empire: government, structures, sources

- Conquer of the Langobard kingdom 773/774
  - That kingdom remained political unit
    - ↔ part of the *intitulatio*
- Spanish march
  - 778 Hruodolt/Roland
  - 792/793 raids of Arabs in Aquitaine
  - 797 Frankish raids → 810 besieged Huesca, 811 besieged Pamplona
- Bavaria
  - 788
    - → Arno of Salzburg (798-) as *missus* and Gerold (+799) as *praefectus*
- Avars
  - 791, 795/796, 799 (+ Gerold, Erich) campaigns
    - Hring conquered and
    - Conflicts between Slavs and Avars
      - → campaigns against Bohemians 805
- Saxony
  - 770-
    - 7... Capitulary
    - 776 new palace in Paderborn
      - 805/806 new bishopric (Hathumar)
    - 787 Willehad in Bremen x Willerich since 804
    - 803 Wiho of Osnabrück
    - 845/848 Verden
    - Hildesheim
    - Minden
    - Münster

## 2) Charlemagne and his empire: government, structures, sources

- Obligation to participate on military campaigns under the fine/penalty of 60 shillings/30 cows
  - Equipment (fodder, military equipment, etc.)
    - Decisive was discipline and skills in laying siege/building fortresses, and not heavy armored cavalry
  - Depending on the level of threat proportion of freemen mustered
    - → in Saxony against Avars every sixth, against Bohemians every third and against neighboring Slavs everyone

2) Charlemagne and his empire:  
government,  
structures, sources



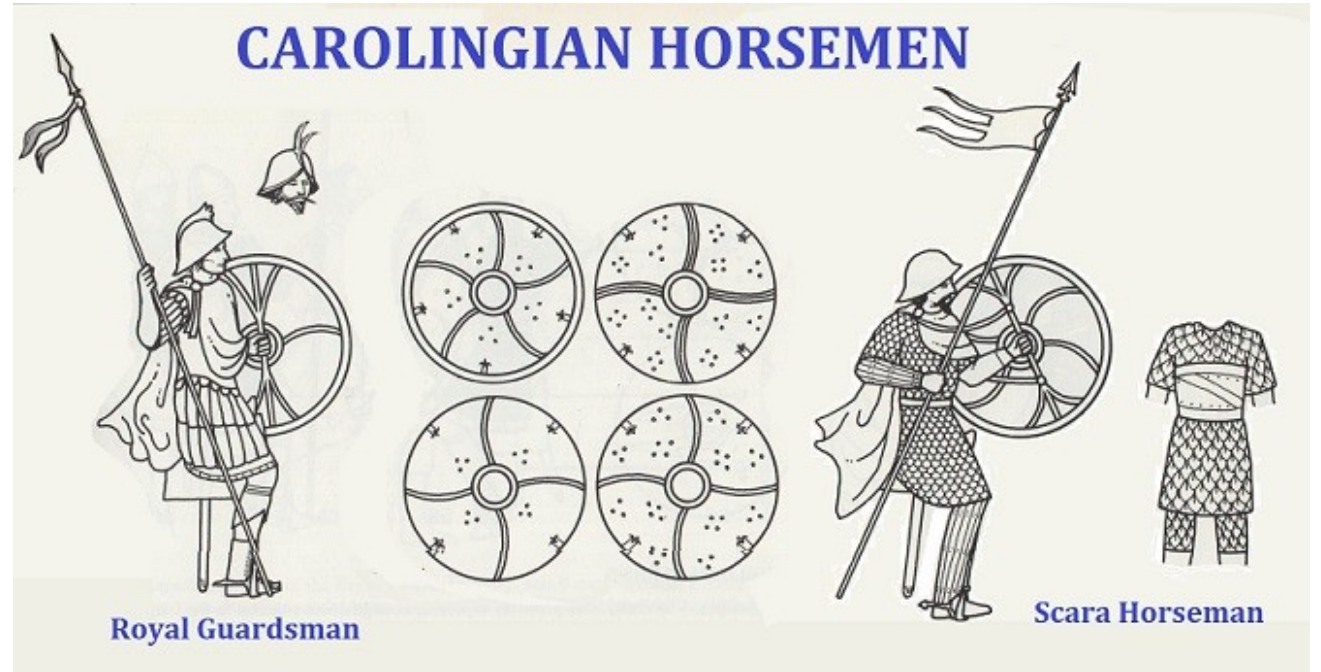


2) Charlemagne and his empire:  
government,  
structures, sources

**CAROLINGIAN FOOT**



## 2) Charlemagne and his empire: government, structures, sources



## 2) Charlemagne and his empire: government, structures, sources

- Network of the royal palaces and estates
  - *Capitulare de villis*
  - Polyptycs
  - Travelling king?
    - Court as a focal point for nobility
  - Royal palaces – Merovingian tradition
    - Ingelheim, Frankfurt, etc.
    - Aachen
  - Royal assemblies
    - Capitularies
    - Consent of elites
      - Imperial elites akin to the Carolingian family
        - Properties all over the empire
        - Libraries
        - Literacy
      - Local assemblies and placita
        - → counts

# 2) Charlemagne and his empire: government, structures, sources

- Carolingian correctio

- Unification/standardization (law, alphabet, liturgy)
- Moral/religious principles
  - ↔ guarantee of political stability and internal peace
    - → Episcopal capitularies
      - Organisation of rural churches
    - → „Fürstenspiegel“ and kings of the Old Testament as his models
    - → „Capitularies; law codes”
      - Numerous ninth-century mss.
      - Admonitio generalis (789)
        - 28 mss. (3/8th c.; 14/9th c.)
  - Benedictine regula

## 2) Charlemagne and his empire: government, structures, sources

- Watermills
- Agriculture sensitive on weather (famines)
- Capitulare de vilis
- Artisans

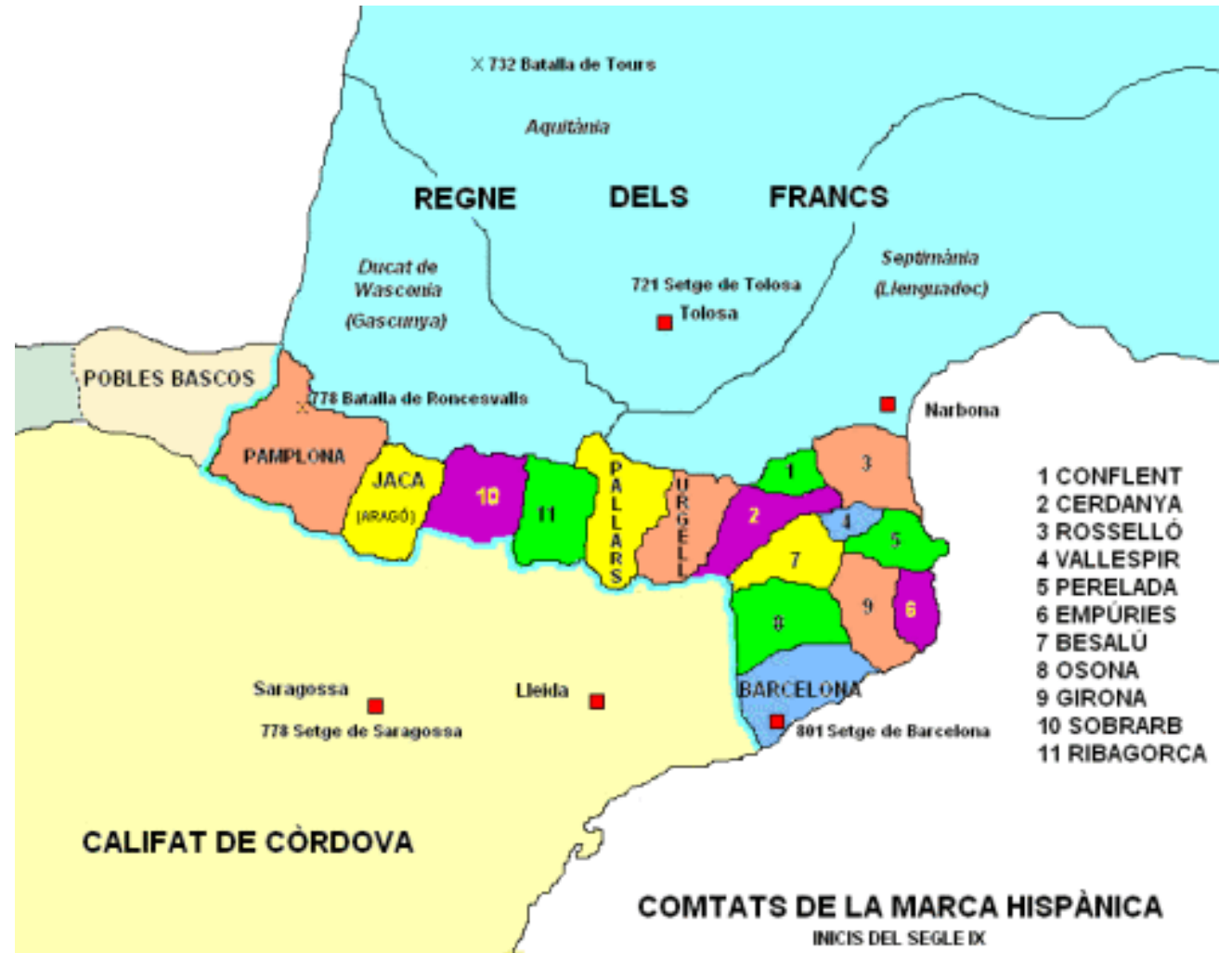
# Arabic incursions

711 Visigoths defeated near Gibraltar

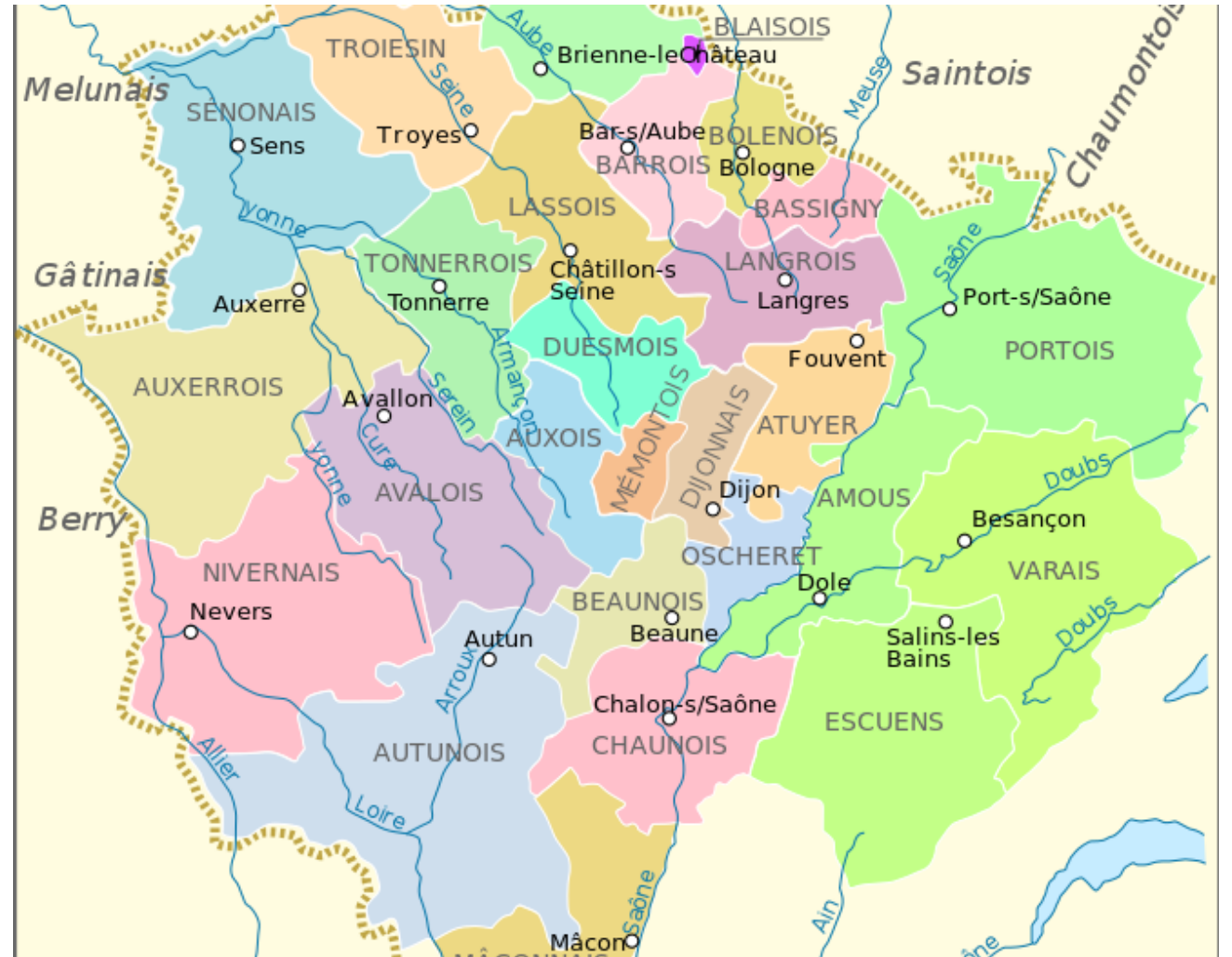
- → Visigothic kingdom fell apart completely!
- x Christian majority with its church structure survived (Mosarabs)
- New monarchy in the North of the Peninsula that perceived itself as a continuation of the previous christian Kingdom of Visigoths



## 2) Charlemagne and his empire: government, structures, sources



## 2) Charlemagne and his empire: government, structures, sources





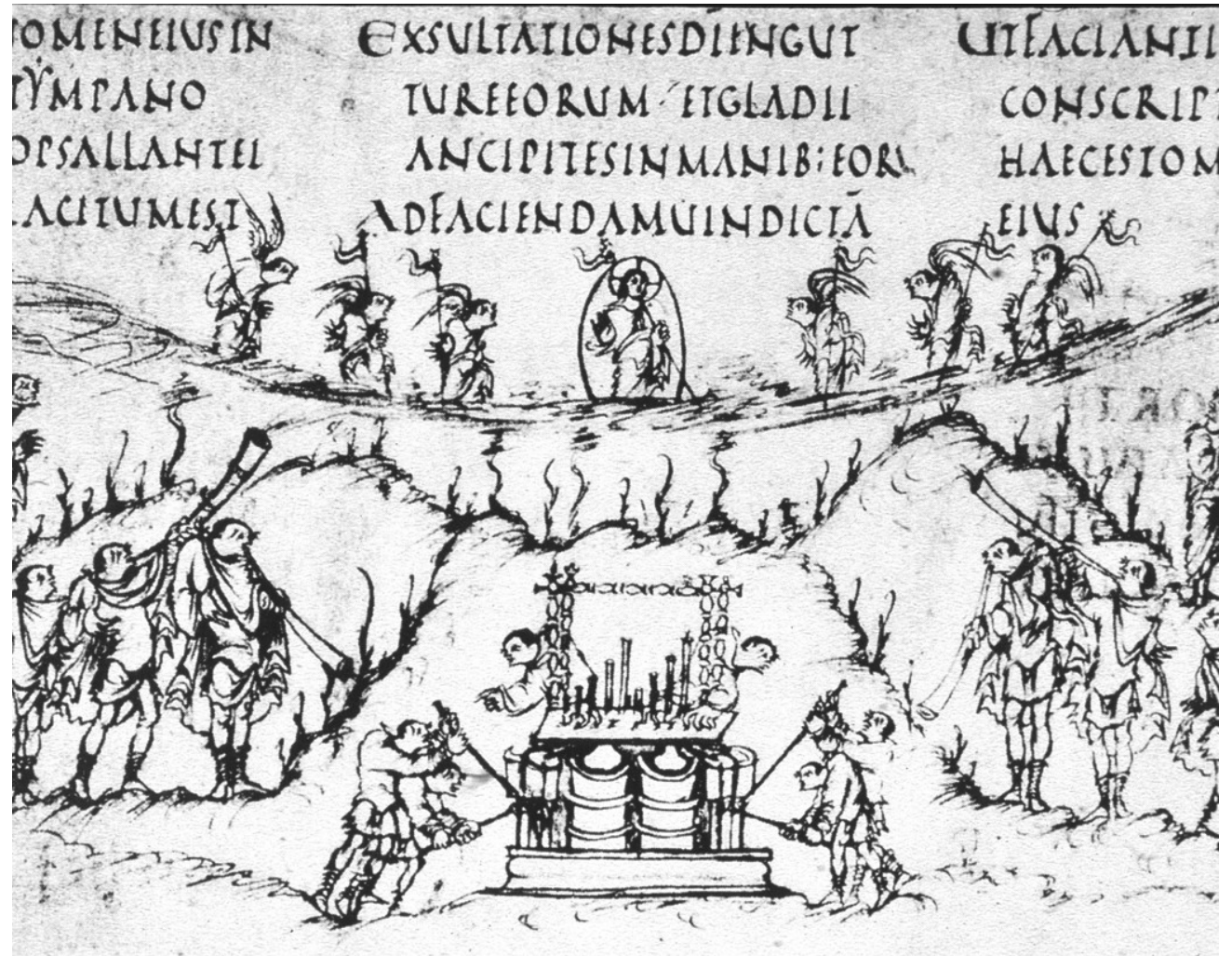
## 2) Charlemagne and his empire: government, structures, sources

So called Utrecht Psalter

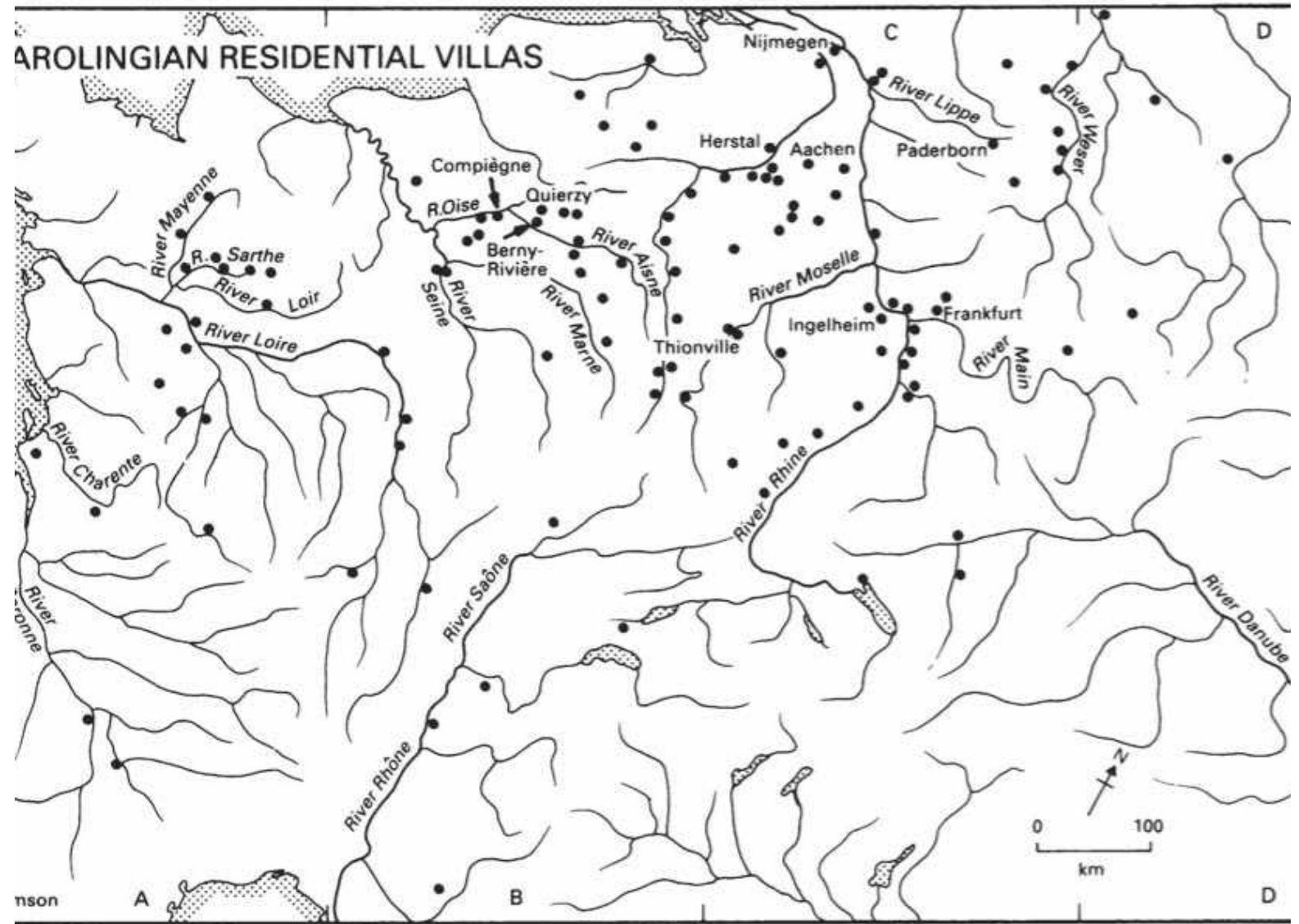
Utrecht was located in a Carolingian territory. This, however, is not a Gospel book. It is a Psalm Book from the Old Testament.



## 2) Charlemagne and his empire: government, structures, sources



## 2) Charlemagne and his empire: government, structures, sources



## 2) Charlemagne and his empire: government, structures, sources

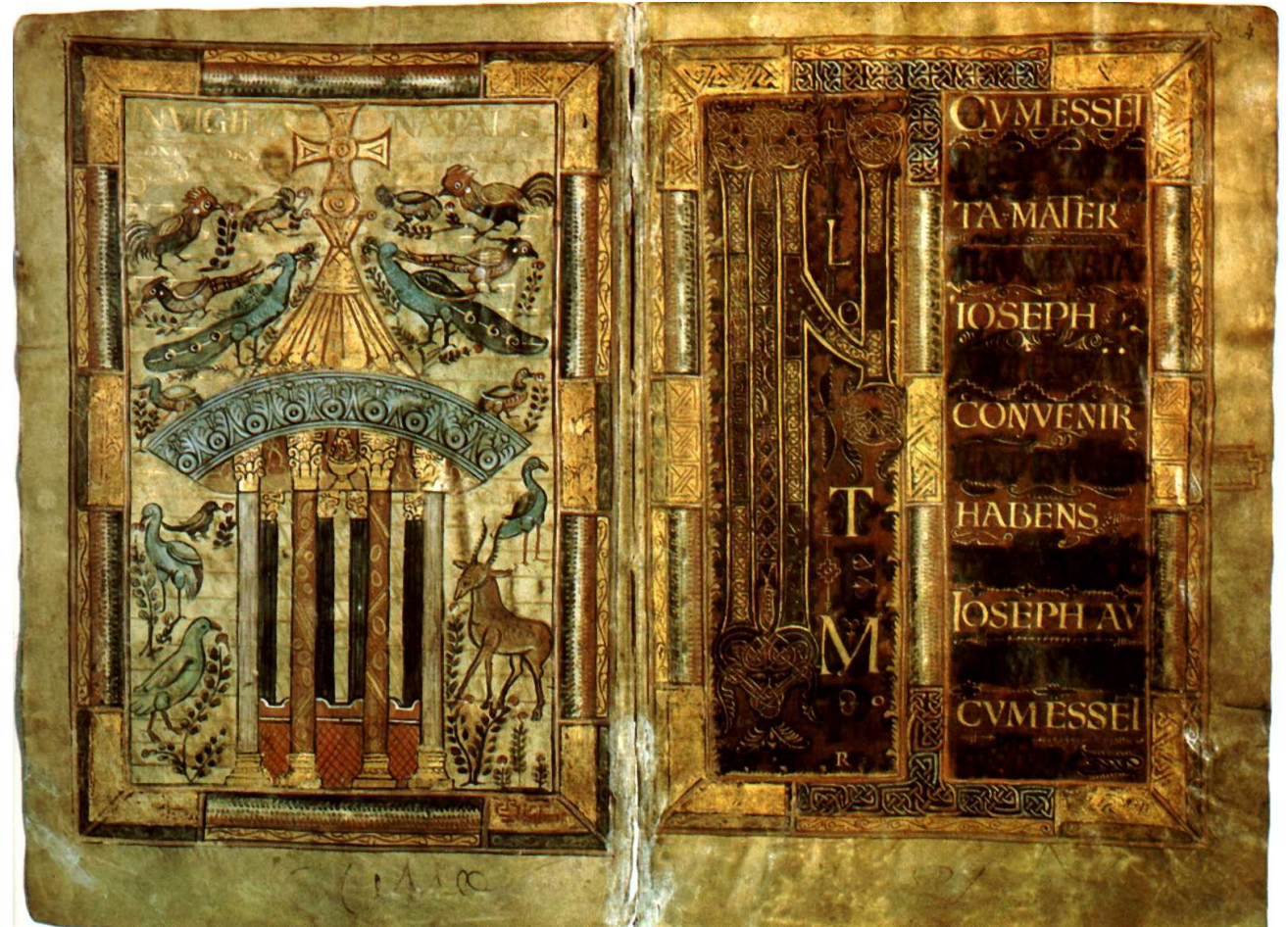
Sacramentarium Gelasianum - early carolingian



## 2) Charlemagne and his empire: government, structures, sources

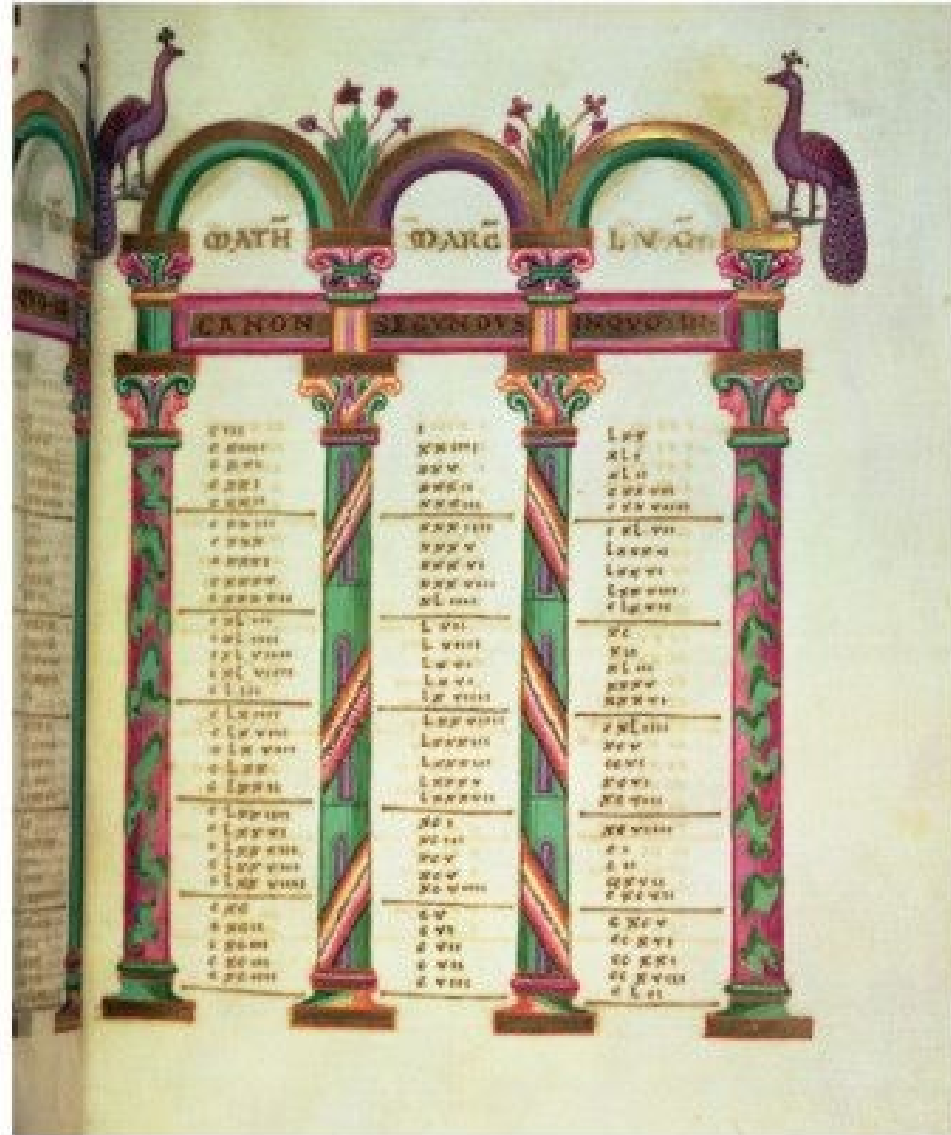
Godescalc Gospels

the fountain commemorating the baptism of Pepin



## 2) Charlemagne and his empire: government, structures, sources

Carolingian manuscript of the gospels uses architectonic features to divide the script



## 2) Charlemagne and his empire: government, structures, sources

Charlemagne (left) and his eldest son, Pepin the Hunchback. Tenth-century copy of a lost original from about 830

Silver denier



## 2) Charlemagne and his empire: government, structures, sources

Carolingian family tree, from the Chronicon Universale of Ekkehard of Aura, 12th century





## 2) Charlemagne and his empire: government, structures, sources



## 2) Charlemagne and his empire: government, structures, sources



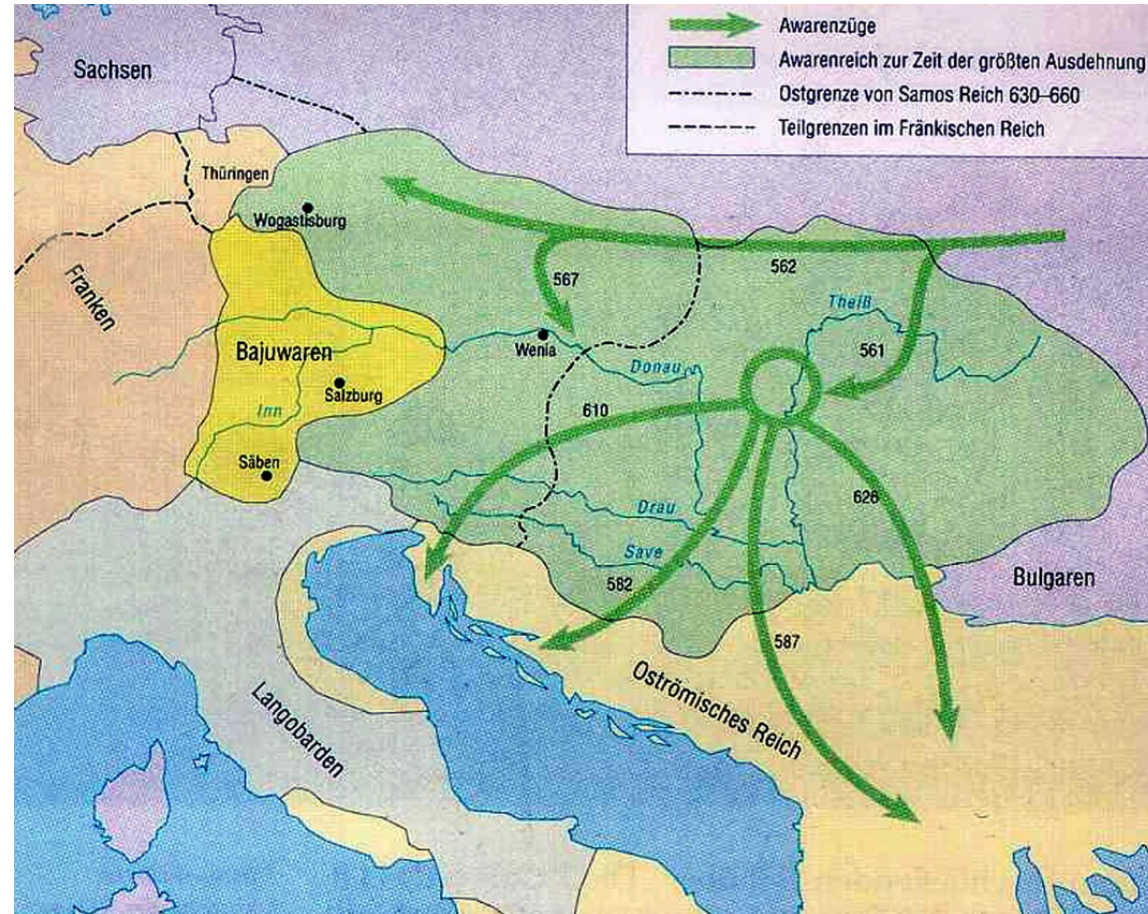
2) Charlemagne and his empire:  
government,  
structures, sources



# 3) Franks, Langobards, Bavarians and Avars: expansion of the empire

- Paper: Basic data about the Avars
- 472 Avars mentioned by Priscus the Rhetor
- 565/568 Avars helped Langobards to defeat Gepids x L. preferred to leave too and left Balkan for Italy
- 570' and 580' battles with Austrasians and Sigibert, their king
- Collecting tribute from Byzantine empire (120 000 sol. 598)
- Of mixed origin, consisted of different groups of people, attractiveness of their ethnic identity connected with their political situation
  - Limited importance of the ethnic identification in EMA
  - Centre in Pannonia (nowadays Hungary) – cemeteries
  - Combined culture (after unsuccessful siege of Constantinople 626 and after the decline of Samo's principality 658)
    - Sedentarisation – agriculture x pastures – larger villages
- 781-788 Bavaria (Tassilo III (736-796; son of Hiltrud, d. of Charles Martell, nephew of Peppin III; married with Litberga, d. of Desiderius since 760) accused from treason and sent to the monastery Jumièges; 794 made once more, at the synod of Frankfurt, to renounce his and his family's claims to Bavaria)
  - before, long term cohabitation with Avars and Langobards
  - Dynasty of Agilolfings was ruling both, Bavaria and Italy, because the queen Theudelinde (+615), d. of Garilbald I. herself had right to select her new husband as a future king and gave birth future king Audoald
- 791 Charlemagne's first campaign against Avars (important role played by Erich of Friaul); 795/796 hring → tudun asked Ch. to be baptized
- 803 As. mentioned as enemies (fränkischen Grafen Cadaloc und Goteram I. (Präfekt des bairischen Ostlandes) beim Kastell Guntio (möglicherweise im nördlichen Burgenland))[26] getötet)
- 804-828 paid tribute
  - Regular campaigns in Bohemia
- Heavy cavalry

# 3) Franks, Langobards, Bavarians and Avars: expansion of the empire



EUROPE  
at the death of  
Charlemagne  
814



3) Franks, Langobards, Bavarians and Avars: expansion of the empire



# Gold Avar bowl, found in modern Albania

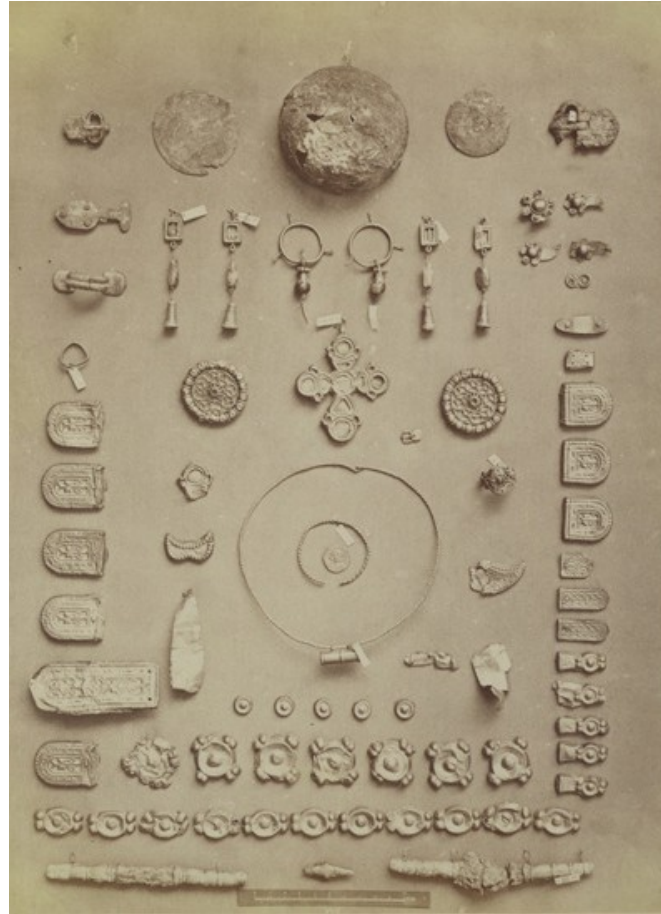




# Gold earrings Met, 550-650



# Avar findings from Ozora-Tótipusztá, Hungary





Belts,  
ca. 650

# Buckle and Tab, 600s AD, Avaric, gold



# Sword, ca. 600





# Avars

# 4) Franks meet Slavs: the beginnings of Moravia

- Paper: 2 people: Great Moravia in Serbia/Great Moravia in Central Europe?
- 805 + Lecho x who are Bohemi? Moravians? (people from Bohemia/living near Moravia)
- 822 Moravians in Frankfurt first time mentioned
- 830 Mojmir I (-846)
  - the *History of the Bishops of Passau* recorded a mass baptism of the Moravians in 831 by Bishop Reginhar of Passau
  - *Conversion of the Bavarians and the Carantanians*, a historical work written in 870, relates that around 833 a local Slavic ruler, Pribina was "driven across the Danube by Mojmir, duke of the Moravians"
    - Pribina (+861) ruled most probably the Nitra principality, but his status is disputed (independent leader of Nitrians, or Mojmir's steward in the area?)
      - He seems to be pagan, once he arrived in East Francia 833, but was married with noble woman of Bavarian origin, probably from family of Willhelimner, for her, he arranged a church to be built and later consecrated by archbishop of Salzburg
  - deposed in 846 by Louis the German, king of East Francia

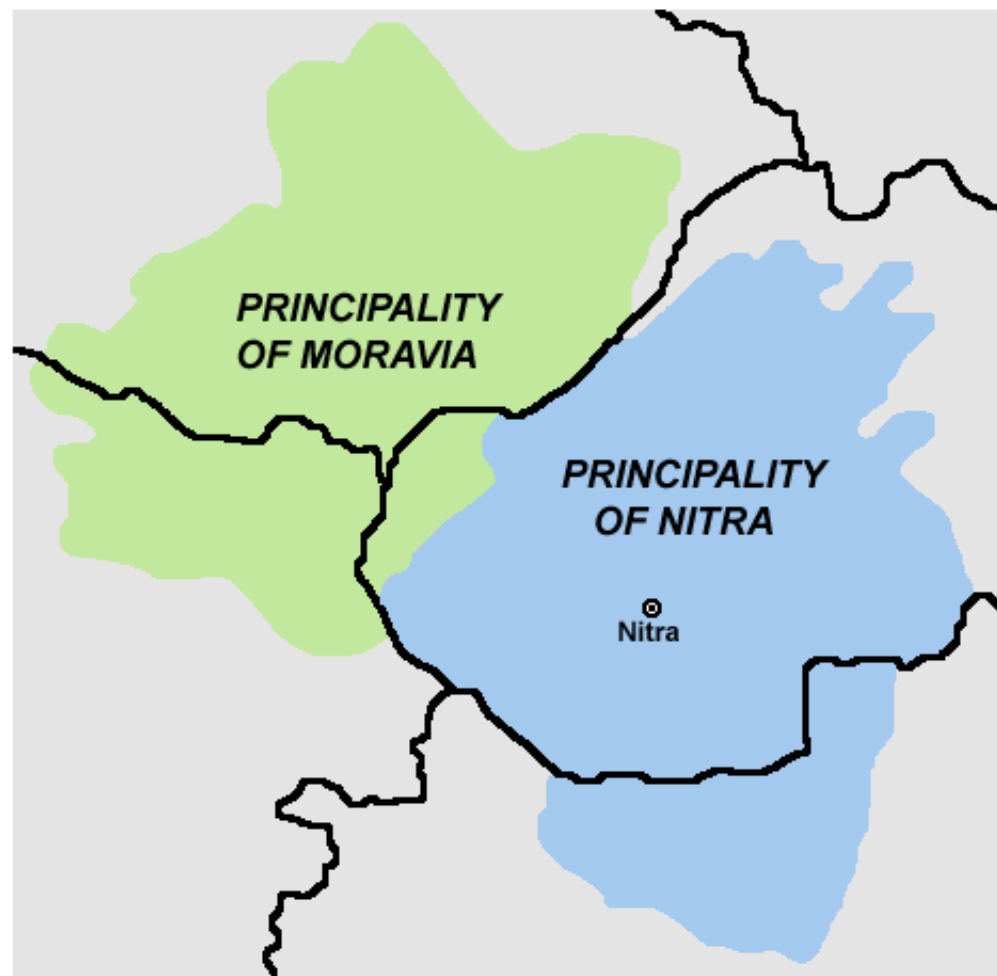
# Conversio

- Having these events taken place, Ratpot took command of the borderlands' defense. In his day one Pribina driven across the Danube by Mojmir, duke of the Moravians came to Ratpot. Ratpot soon presented him to our lord and king, Louis. By order of the king Pribina was introduced to the faith and baptized in Saint Martin Church in a place called Traismauer, that is to say at a grange belonging to the Archbishopric of Salzburg. In time he was commended to Ratpot with whom he stayed for a time. Meanwhile, however, dissensions began to spring up between them. Feeling anxious about it, Pribina and his men, together with his son Kocil, fled for the land of the Bulgarians. Some time later he left the Bulgarians for dux Ratimar's territory. At that time king Louis sent Ratpot with a large force to expel prince Ratimar. Having no confidence in being able to defend himself, he took to flight together with his men who had escaped from the massacre. The above mentioned Pribina stopped, and crossed the river Sava, together with his men, where Count Salacho gave shelter to him and brought about his reconciliation with Ratbot. In time, as soon as the occasion arose, the king, at the request of his faithful men, gave Pribina as benefice the region of Lower Pannonia around the Zala River. He then began to live there, to build a fortress in a certain forest and swamp on the Zala River, gathered the surrounding peoples, and greatly thrived in that land. <For him, Archbishop Adalram had long ago consecrated a church on his estate at a place over the Danube called Nitrava.>



# Conversio

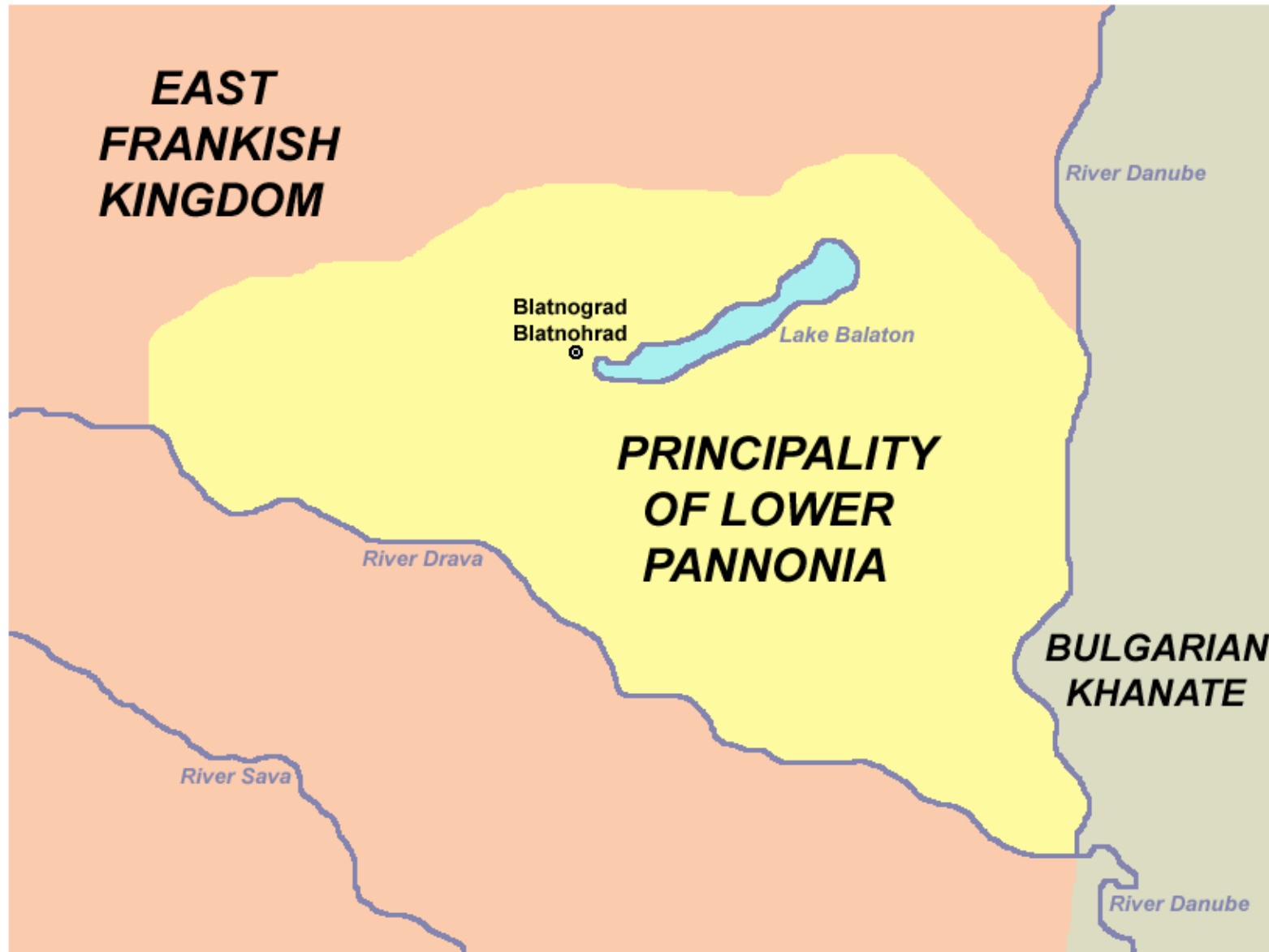
- The *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum* ("The Conversion of the Bavarians and the Carantanians") is a Latin history written in Salzburg in the 870s. It describes the life and career of Salzburg's founding saint Rupert (d. 710), notably his missionary work in Bavaria, and the activities of the bishops and abbots in the Archdiocese of Salzburg. It concludes with a brief history of Carantania.
- The work may have been written by Adalwin himself, the then resident Archbishop of Salzburg. It was intended to give Louis the German a particular historical perspective on a recent collision between the missionary work conducted from Salzburg and that pursued by the brothers Cyril and Methodius, who preached the new religion among the Slavic people of Great Moravia and Pannonia. The 3 manuscripts refer to a church consecrated for Pribina in his domain called Nitrava.
- Die *Conversio* beginnt mit einer Darstellung des Lebens und Wirkens des heiligen Erzbischofs Rupert von Salzburg seit dem späten 7. Jahrhundert in Lorch an der Grenze des Fränkischen Reiches zum Reich der Awaren, danach in Salzburg. Danach werden die Bischöfe und Äbte des Salzburger Bischofssitzes aufgezählt. Abschließend wird die Geschichte der Karantanen seit dem 7. Jahrhundert dargestellt.



Political situation in the early 9th century (until 833 AD):

- Principality of Nitra during prince Pribina's reign
- Principality of Moravia during prince Mojmir I's reign
- Borders of modern countries

# Pribina's principality



Principality of Lower Pannonia during prince Pribina's reign (around 846 AD)

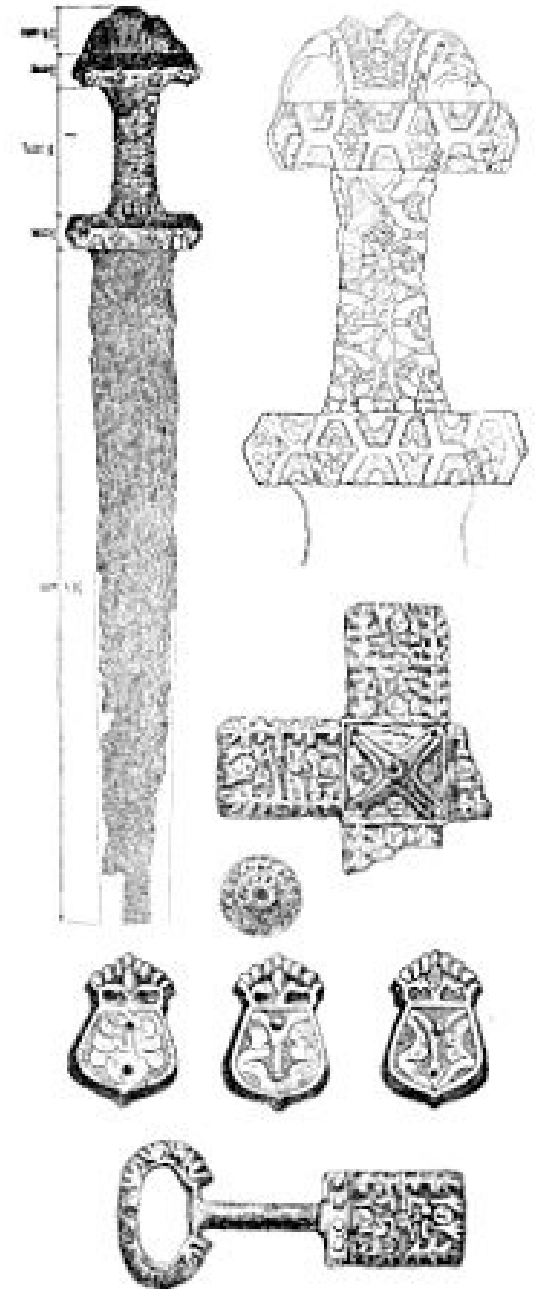
# 5) Between Pasau, Aquileia, Rome and Byzantium: Moravians baptised

- Paper: Church in Bavaria in 8th-9th c. (basic structures)
- Passau and baptism of Moravia
- Salzburg, Passau and Aquileia divided eastern Slavic areas
- Church in Nitra
- Albigris' flight / escape from the Est Francia to the Moravians (rudis christianitas)/rough/vulgar
- ŽK
  - Text sa zachoval v asi 60 kompletných rukopisoch z 15.-17. storočia v cirkevnej slovančine, v ďalších desiatkach rukopisov sa zachovali niektoré vybrané časti textu
  - Soon after 869
  - Commemoration and legitimation of Constantins intellectual efforts
- ŽM
  - Text sa zachoval v 18 rukopisoch z 12.-17. storočia v cirkevnej slovančine tzv. ruskej redakcie
  - Soon after 885
  - Both texts focused on the legitimacy of CM mission in GM
    - Cooperation with papacy
- Sirmium? Antiquity and later
- Translations in the Old Church Slavonic? Bible, basic liturgical texts, Paternoster (from German)
- 900 Theotmar's letter, Conversio

# 6) Elites: new definition, or new self-perception?

- Paper: Material Culture of the elites in Great Moravia
- Grave in Blatnice – in 1930', Carolingian sword, late Avar bronze metalwork and a metalwork (parts of the harness) of the local fabric acknowledged as a one set of artifacts
  - Byla do něj řazena mj. pozdně avarská kování, karolinský meč i lokálně zhotovená souprava kování koňského postroje (křížová kování, průvlečky s prodlouženým krčkem a nákončí) proclaimed for part of one grave and for chronologically paralel
  - 1957 Josef Poulík assumed there were similarities between that horizon and early Mikulčice (bronze stirrups/grave 50 near the church nr. 6 in Mikulčice
  - 1965 Darina Bialeková analyzed the pieces of iron metalwork and found some paralels between her artefacts and the artefacts foudn in Blatnice and Mikulčice
    - She also recognized 2 stages of that archeological culture and dated her iron metalwork in the second quarter of the 9th c.
    - Compilative monograph of Justová finally put together all similar artefacts, however, 1979 Bialeková partially changed her mind and started to speak about regional variants of one south Slavic and Moravian culture (graves from Nin with dated byzantine solidi Biskupija-Crkvina)
  - X not clearly defined set of characteristics that were hardly typical for one milieu
    - Concept became very popular and the number of the artefacts that were connected with it grew substantially – Dostal, eg, used the dating of the metalware to chronologically specify the ceramics, or strongholds
      - among these artefacts were only those connected with the men, therefore, there sprang up a problem – whereas the first half of the ninth century was flooded with masculin artifacts, artifacts connected with women (typically jewelry) were absent, and only appeared since 850
  - X some of these artefacts were also found in the core areas of the Carolingian empire + not chronologically sensitive
    - → archeological culture defined in a very specific period of time, when it was foudn necessary to define specific culture for Slavic societies that emancipated themselves from Avars

# Blatnica sword



- Veligrad jewelry

- When it was manufactured? X how long was it popular? How long has it been used?

- Before-Kotlaś horizon (ends before 800)
  - Skeleton graveyards, instead of cremation – ca. 800
    - Christianity?
      - X low interest on these practices
        - → part of the culture of the elites (?)



Obr. 1 Průvlečky s prodlouženým krčkem (3), nákončí (4, 5) a polovina šarnýřového kování (6), které jsou řazeny k tzv. blatnick mikulčickému horizontu. 1 – Hradec u Němčic (překresba výzdoby na základě rentgenového snímku; podle Profantová 1991),

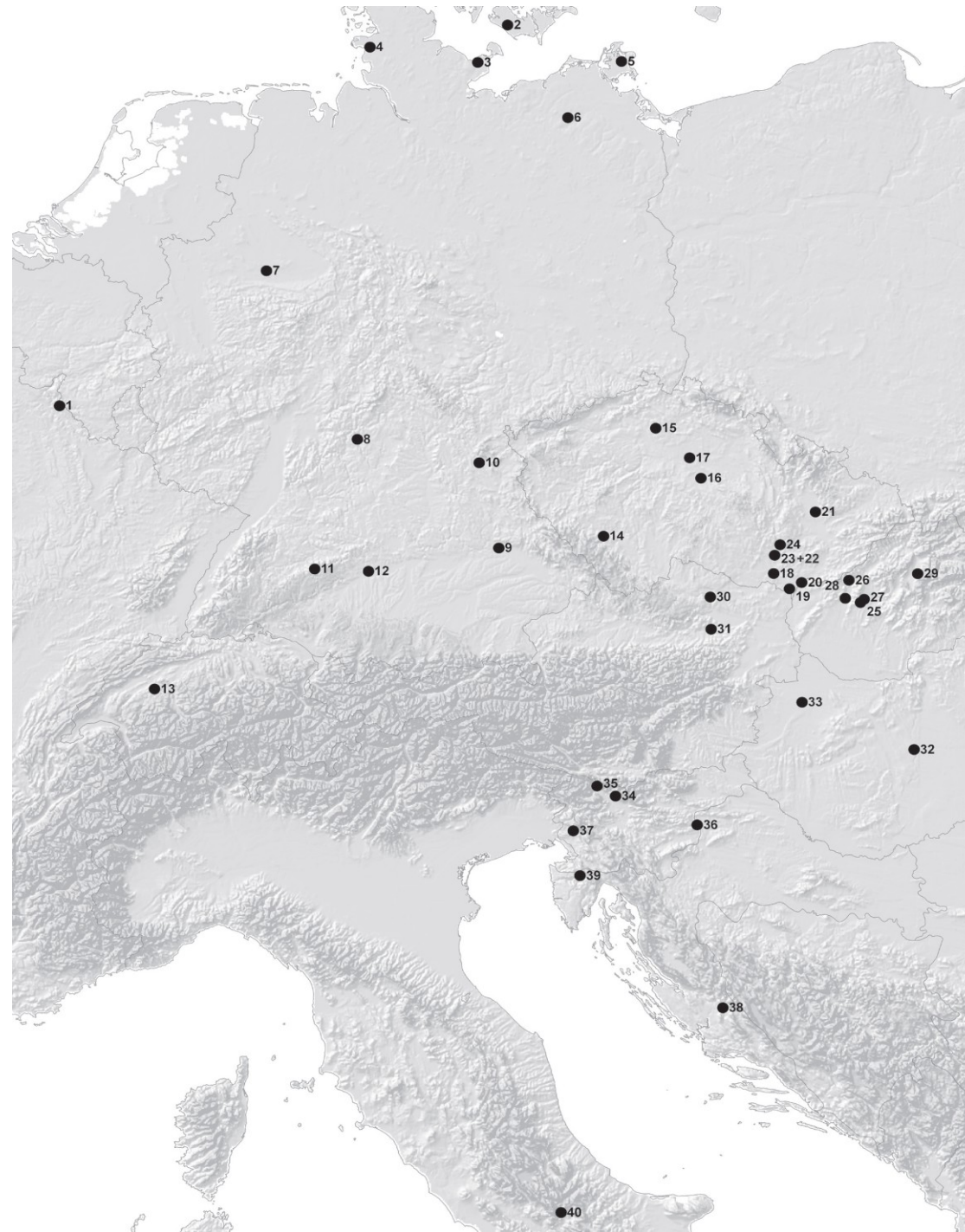
2 – Čáslav-Hrádek (podle Profantová 1991 3, 5 – Břeclav-Pohansko, Lesní školka (pod Dostál 1993),

4 – Pražský hrad (podle Profantová 1989), Kanín II (podle Profantová 1996).

X it is difficult to estimate, when exactly became these artefacts part of the grave - probably happened quite late (ca. 900)



Obr. 3 Mapa lokalit s průvlečkami s  
prodlouženým krčkem

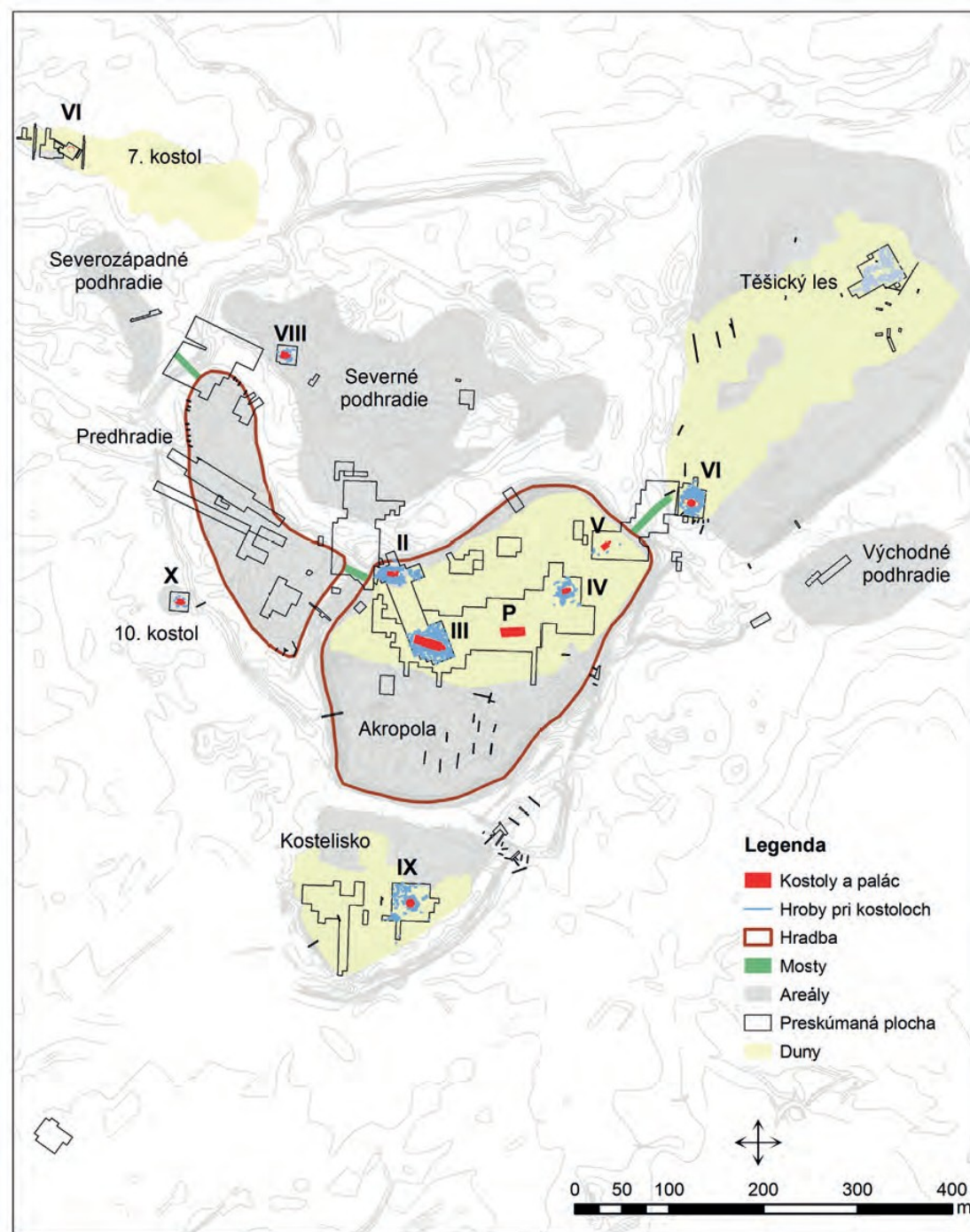


# 7) Great Moravia: hillforts and villages, trade, craftsmanship, and agriculture

- Paper: Pohansko by Břeclav
- Paper: Mikulčice
- Walls – dendrochronology
  - Written sources started to mention Moravian fortifications quite late

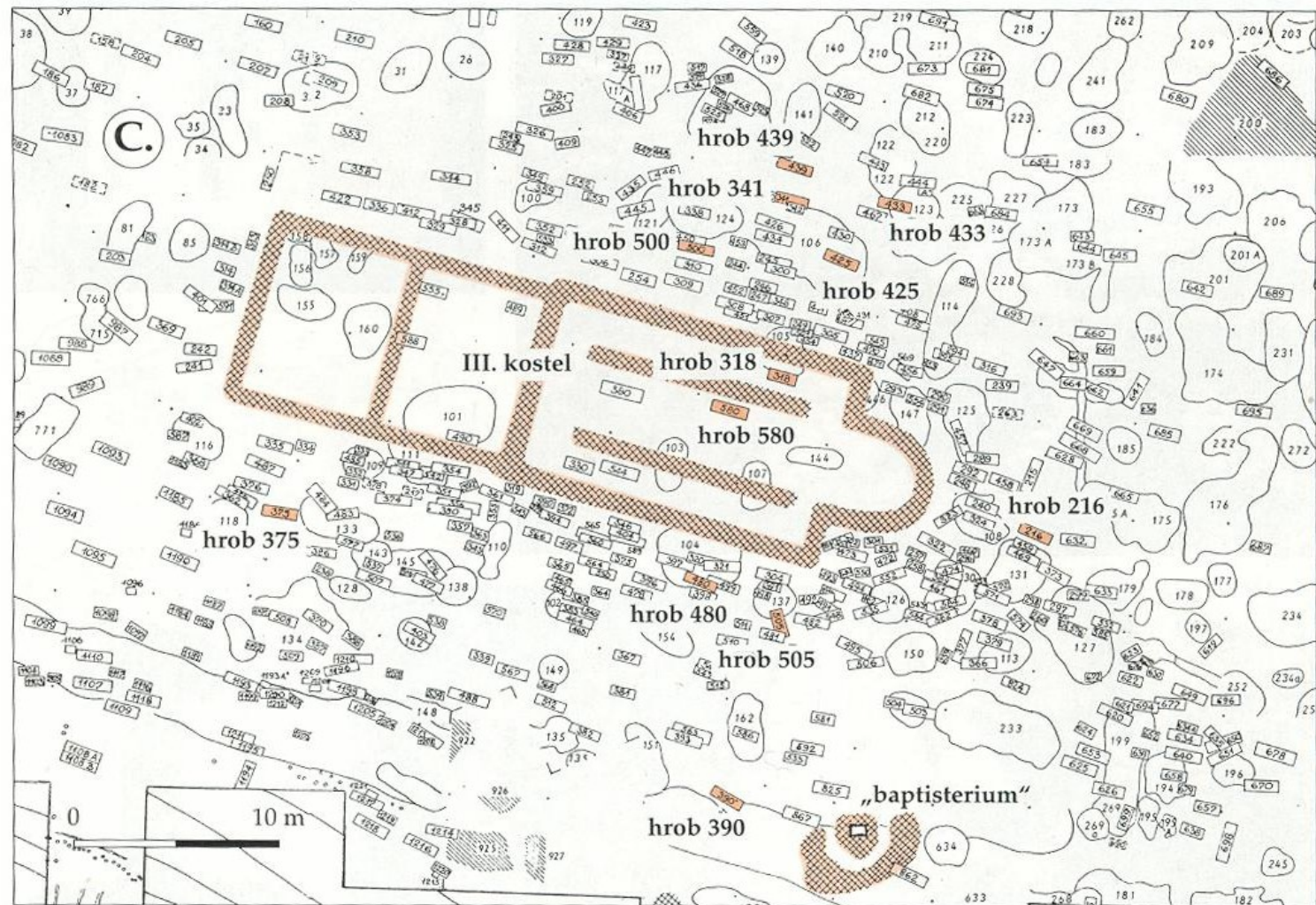
# Mikulčice

(Dis)Continuity

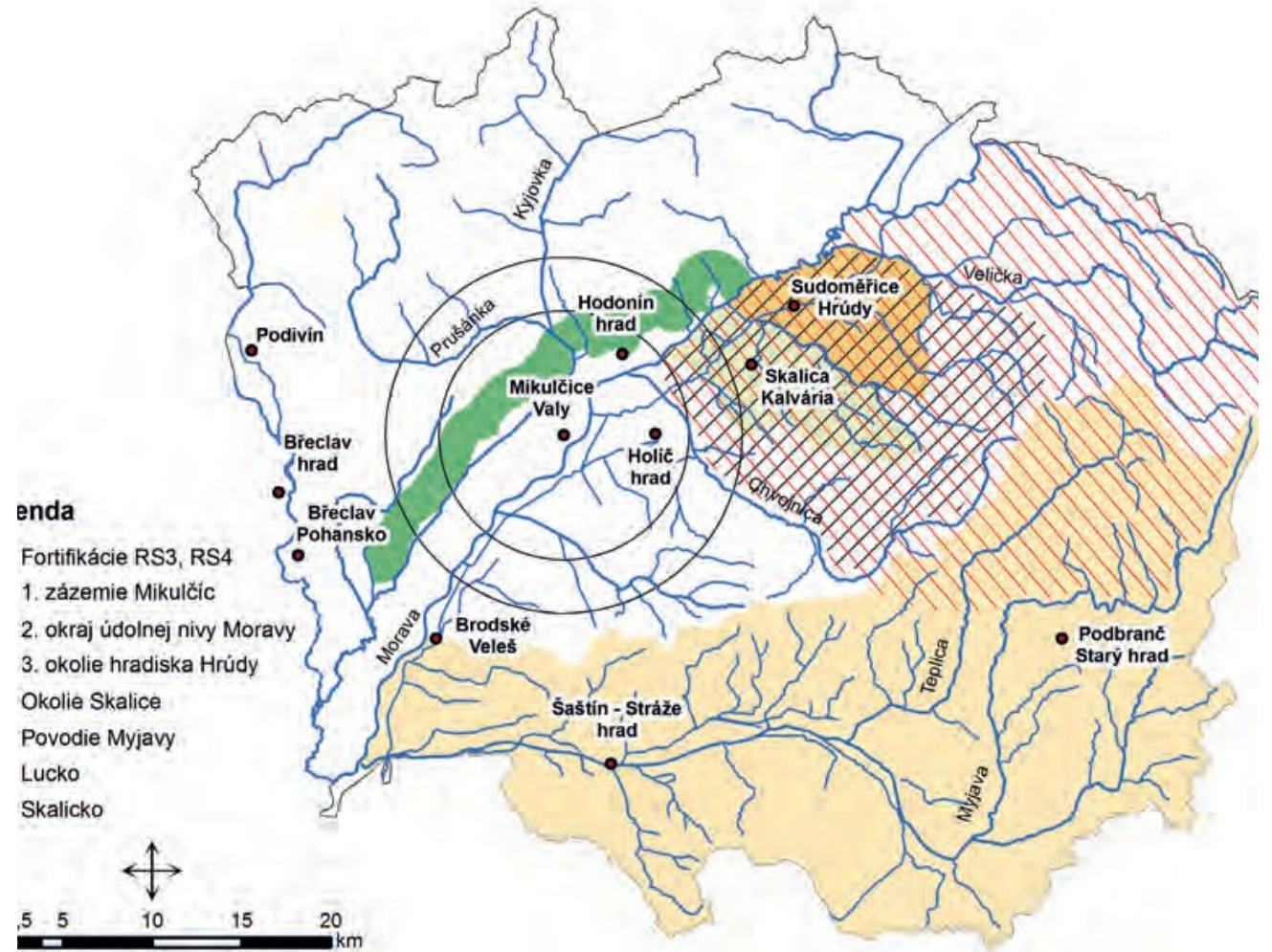


# Třetí kostel - bazilika

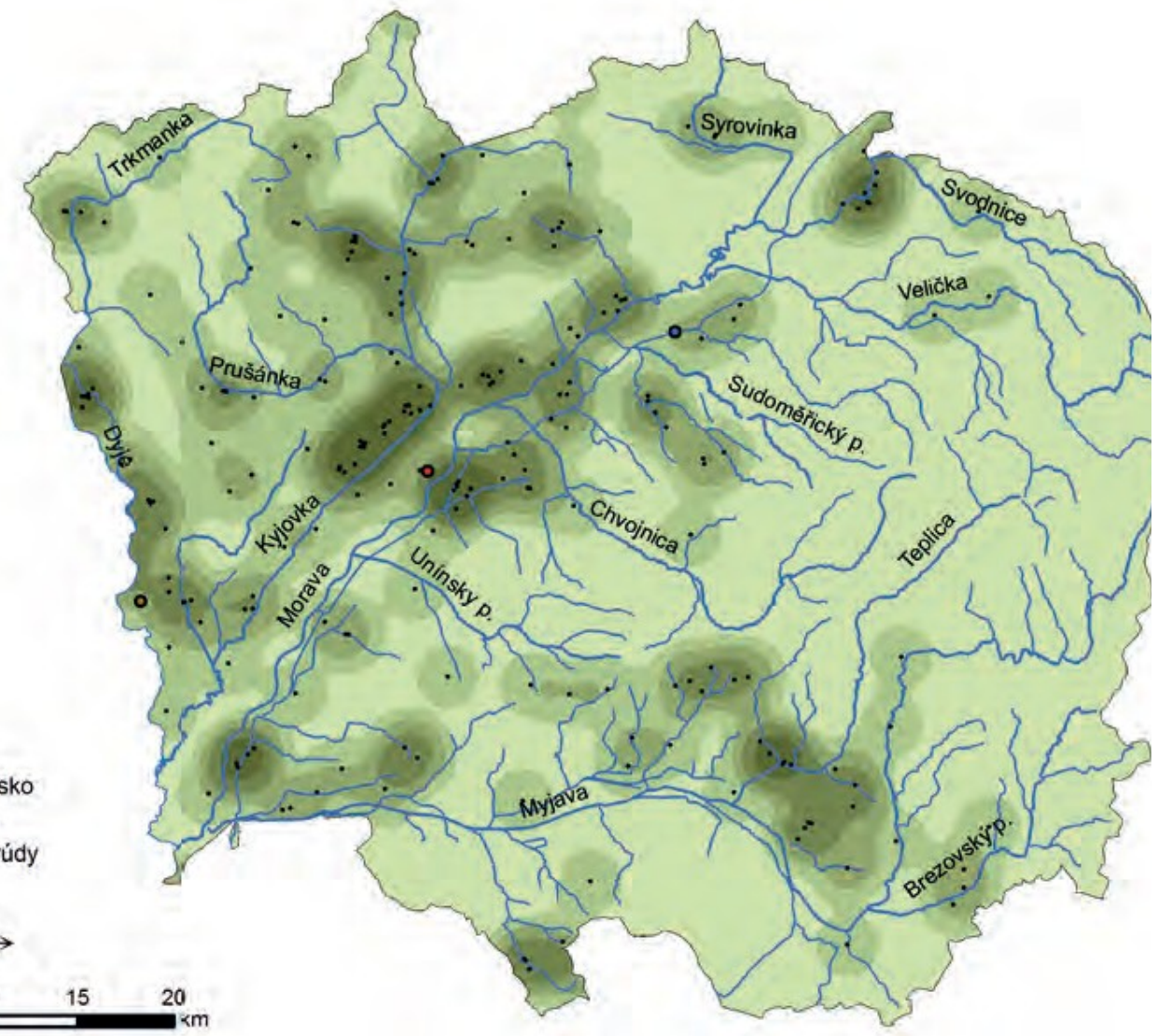
(stanoviště C)



# Mikulčice and its hinterland



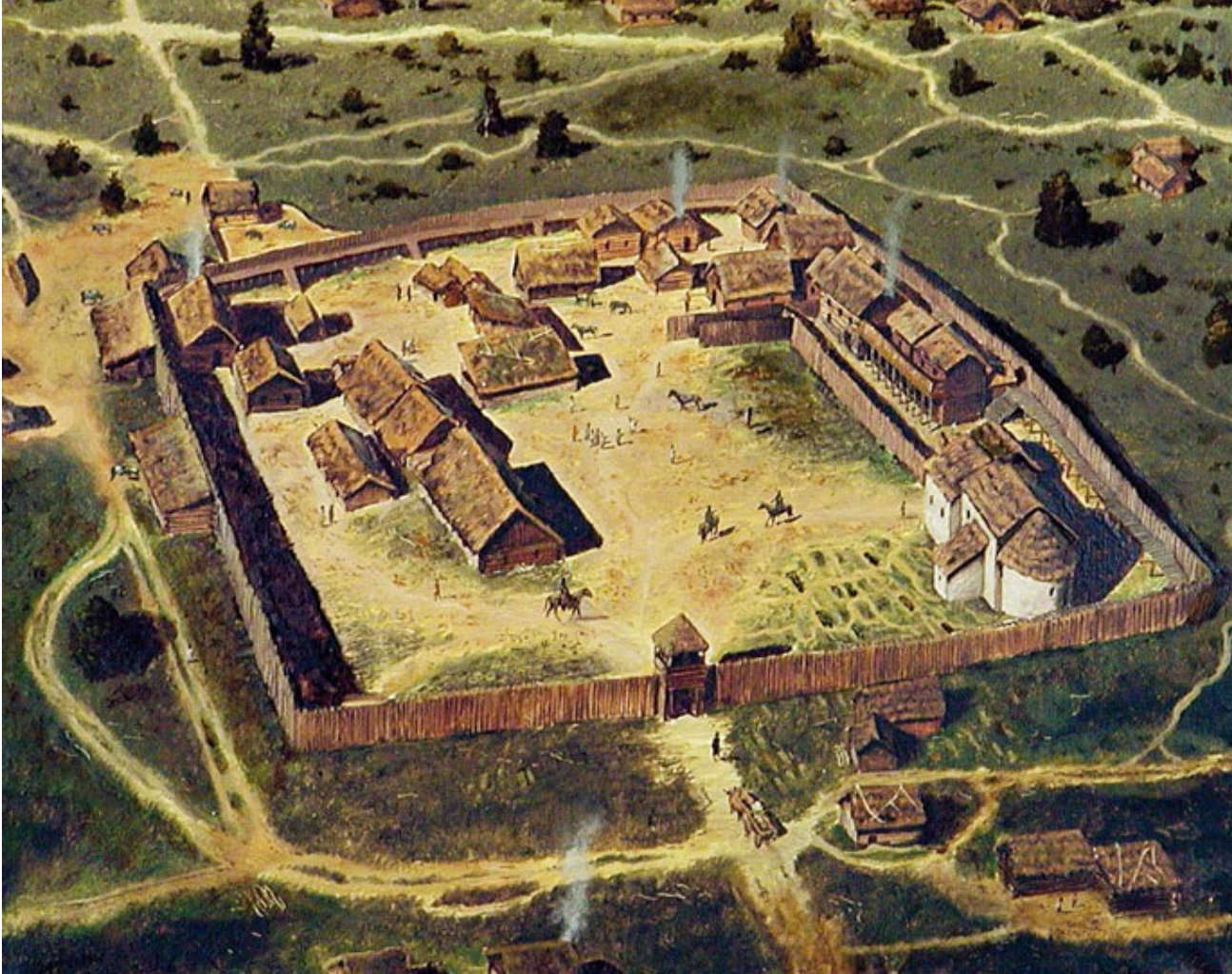
la  
clav - Pohansko  
ulčice - Valy  
doměřice - Hrúdy











# 8) Who were the Mojmirids: comparative perspective

- Paper: Louis II/the German

9) Svatopluk I (871-894), king of Moravians? Between the "reality" and legend

# 10) Great Moravia and its second life in the Middle Ages

- Paper: Vitae of St. Cyril and Methodius

# 11) Great Moravia in modern historiography and archeology