

ANALECTA ARCHAEOLOGICA RESSOVIENSIA

RZESZÓW 2018

VOLUME 13

GONE WITH THE WIND?
EARLY MEDIEVAL CENTRAL
PLACES IN TODAY'S RURAL AREAS

Between research, preservation
and re-enactment



Institute of Archaeology
Rzeszów University



RZESZÓWSKIEGO OŚRODKA
ARCHAEOLOGICZNEGO

FUNDACJA

Leibniz-Institut für
Geschichte und Kultur
des östlichen Europa

ÓWZO

A N A L E C T A
ARCHAEOLOGICA
RESSOVIENSIA

GONE WITH THE WIND?
EARLY MEDIEVAL CENTRAL PLACES IN TODAY'S RURAL AREAS

Between research, preservation and re-enactment

FUNDACJA RZESZOWSKIEGO OŚRODKA ARCHEOLOGICZNEGO
INSTITUTE OF ARCHAEOLOGY RZESZÓW UNIVERSITY
LEIBNIZ INSTITUTE FOR THE HISTORY AND CULTURE
OF EASTERN EUROPE (GWZO)

A N A L E C T A
ARCHAEOLOGICA
RESSOVIENSIA

VOLUME 13

GONE WITH THE WIND?
EARLY MEDIEVAL CENTRAL PLACES
IN TODAY'S RURAL AREAS

Between research, preservation
and re-enactment

Edited by
Iwona Florkiewicz
Marcin Wołoszyn

Rzeszów 2018

Editor

Andrzej Rozwałka

arozwalka@archeologia.rzeszow.pl

Editorial Secretary

Magdalena Rzucek

magda@archeologia.rzeszow.pl

Volume editors

Iwona Florkiewicz

Marcin Wołoszyn

Editorial Council

**Sylwester Czopek, Eduard Droberjar, Michał Parczewski,
Aleksandr Sytnyk, Alexandra Krenn-Leeb**

Translation / Proofreading

Authors and Anna Sosenko (English), Juliane Sellenk (German)
translation of the paper of Anna Peskova and Kirill Mikhaylov:
Dmitry Shulga, Katharine Judelson

Illustration on the cover

Magdalena Bujak

Cover Design

Piotr Wislocki (Oficyna Wydawnicza Zimowit)

© Copyright by Oficyna Wydawnicza „Zimowit”

ISSN 2084-4409 DOI: 10.15584/anarres



Typesetting and Printing
Oficyna Wydawnicza ZIMOWIT



GEFÖRDERT VOM



Bundesministerium
für Bildung
und Forschung

Abstracts of articles from *Analecta Archaeologica Ressoiviensia* are published
in the Central European Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities

Editor's Address

Institute of Archaeology Rzeszów University
Moniuszki 10 Street, 35-015 Rzeszów, Poland
e-mail: iarch@univ.rzeszow.pl
Home page: www.archeologia.rzeszow.pl

A N A L E C T A

A R C H A E O L O G I C A

R E S S O V I E N S I A

Volume reviewers

- Fedir Androshchuk – Swedish History Museum, Stockholm, Sweden
Anna Bitner-Wróblewska – State Archaeological Museum, Warsaw, Poland
Jarosław Bodzek – Institute of Archaeology, Jagiellonian University, Cracow, Poland
Mateusz Bogucki – Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology, Polish Academy of Sciences,
Warsaw, Poland
Chiara Bonacchi – Division of History and Politics, University of Stirling, United Kingdom
Luc Bourgeois – Center of Michel de Buard – Center of studies in ancient and medieval archaeology
and history, University of Caen, Normandy, France
Andrzej Buko – Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw, Poland
Aleksander Bursche – Institute of Archaeology, University of Warsaw, Poland
Roksana Chowanec – Institute of Archaeology, University of Warsaw, Poland
Wojciech Chudziak – Institute of Archaeology, Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń, Poland
Florin Curta – Department of History, University of Florida, Gainesville, USA
Dariusz Dąbrowski – Institute of History and International Relations, Kazimierz Wielki University
in Bydgoszcz, Poland
Stefan Eichert – Institute of Archaeology, Czech Academy of Sciences, Prague, Czech Republic
Jacek Górski – Archaeological Museum of Cracow, Poland
Hajnalka Herold – Department of Archaeology, University of Exeter, United Kingdom
Jürgen Heyde – Leibniz Institute for the History and Culture of Eastern Europe (GWZO),
Leipzig, Germany
Michal Holeščák – Institute of Archaeology, Slovak Academy of Sciences, Nitra, Slovakia
Andrzej Janowski – Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology, Polish Academy of Sciences,
Szczecin, Poland
Krzysztof Jaworski – Institute of Archaeology, University of Wrocław, Poland
Michał Kara – Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology, Polish Academy of Sciences, Poznań, Poland
Michel Kazanski – French National Center for Scientific Research, Paris, France
Oleksiy Komar – Institute of Archaeology, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Kiyv, Ukraine
Vadim Koshman – Institute of History, National Academy of Sciences of Belarus, Minsk, Belarus
Hanna Kóčka-Krenz – Institute of Archaeology, Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, Poland
Miroslaw P. Kruk – Institute of Art History, University of Gdańsk, Poland; National Museum
in Krakow, Poland
Marija Ljustina – Department of Archaeology, University of Belgrade, Serbia
Jan Mařík – Institute of Archaeology, Czech Academy of Sciences, Prague, Czech Republic
Włodzimierz Mędrzecki – Institute of History, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw, Poland
Sławomir Moździoch – Institute of Archaeology, Polish Academy of Sciences, Wrocław, Poland
Aleksandr Musin – Institute for the history of material culture, Russian Academy of Sciences,
St. Petersburg, Russia; Polish Institute of Advanced Studies, Warsaw, Poland
Vincent Múcska – Department of General History, Comenius University in Bratislava, Slovakia
Uwe Müller – Leibniz Institute for the History and Culture of Eastern Europe (GWZO),
Leipzig, Germany
Anne Pedersen – National Museum of Denmark, Copenhagen, Denmark
Jerzy Piekalski – Institute of Archaeology, University of Wrocław, Poland
Lumír Poláček – Institute of Archaeology, Czech Academy of Sciences, Brno, Czech Republic
Jacek Poleski – Institute of Archaeology, Jagiellonian University, Cracow, Poland
Mihailo Popović – Institute for Medieval Research, Division of Byzantine Research,
Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna, Austria
Nada Profantová – Institute of Archaeology, Czech Academy of Sciences, Prague, Czech Republic
Marian Rębkowski – Institute of Archaeology, Polish Academy of Sciences, Szczecin, Poland
Judyta Rodzińska-Nowak – Institute of Archaeology, Jagiellonian University, Cracow, Poland
Aleksandra Sulikowska-Belczowska – Institute of Art History, University of Warsaw, Poland
Tivadar Vida – Institute of Archaeological Sciences, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, Hungary
Donat Wehner – Institute of Pre- and Protohistoric Archaeology, Kiel University, Kiel, Germany

Contents

Iwona Florkiewicz, Marcin Wołoszyn

- Gone with the Wind? Early Medieval Central Places in Today's Rural Areas. Between Research, Preservation and Re-Enactment: An Introduction 11

Paweł Grata

- Poland A and Poland B – Developmental Disproportions on Polish Lands in the 19th and 20th Century (Prior to 1939) 33

Michał Pawleta

- The Ludication of the Archaeological Past – Opportunities and Threats 49

Laiïla Ayache, Katarzyna Skowron

- Une ville gauloise cachée dans la forêt – l'exploration et la mise en valeur de l'oppidum de Bibracte (France) 69

Kirił Marinow

- North Latins on the Bosphorus? A Few Words on the East Mediterranean, Byzantine and Orthodox Studies in the Ceraneum Centre, University of Łódź (Poland) 89

Błażej Stanisławski, Şengül Aydingün

- Cultural Heritage and Archaeological Investigations in East Thrace ... 109

Perica Špehar, Nevena Debljović Ristić, Olga Špehar

- Stari (Old) Ras and Sopoćani: Challenges and Possibilities in Managing the UNESCO Cultural Heritage 135

Ágnes Ritoók

- Blowing in the wind, sinking in the swamp: Mosaburg – Zalavár. 155

Matej Ruttkay, Karol Pieta, Zbigniew Robak

- Reconstruction and Making Archaeological Sites Available to the Public – Example of the Early Medieval Sites in Nitra and Bojná ... 171

Michael Strobel, Thomas Westphalen	
Ist Gana noch zu retten? Über den Zustand frühmittelalterlicher Burgen im ländlichen Sachsen	187
David F. Hölscher	
From Prosperity to Oblivion: The Slavic Settlement at Gaarz in Ost-Holstein.....	215
Charlotta Lindblom	
UNESCO and World Heritage Management in Jelling – Opportunities and Challenges.....	243
Agnieszka Stempin	
The Early Piast Settlement on Ostrów Tumski (Cathedral Island) in Poznań – the Popularisation of Heritage from the Standpoint of the Genius Loci Archaeological Reserve	257
Arkadiusz Tabaka	
Historical Cultural Spaces – Adaptation and Functioning. The Case of the Museum of the First Piasts at Lednica	287
Maciej Trzeciecki	
Stronghold on St. Peters’ Hill in Radom (Poland). Archaeology, Biography of Place, and Practices of Memory.....	309
Bartłomiej Bartecki	
The Goths’ return to the Hrubieszów Basin. The social use of archaeological heritage for building a local identity	333
Marek Florek	
Some Issues Related to the Problem of Heritage Conservation of Archaeological Complexes in Czeremno (Tomaszów Lubelski County) and Gródek (Hrubieszów County).....	357
Jan Gancarski, Paweł Madej	
The Carpathian Troy – Archaeological Open-Air Museum in Trzcinica ...	377
Vira Hupalo	
The Princely City Zvenyhorod: The Condition of Conservation, the Concept of Protective Measures and the Prospect of Scientific Research.....	401
Anna Peskova, Kirill Mikhaylov	
The Large Fortified Settlement Near Shepetivka: History of the Medieval Settlement – History of the Archaeological Site.....	417

Tatjana Nekljudova, Alexander Baškov

Das archäologische Museum „Berestje“. Die Geschichte der Musealisierung der archäologischen Stätte und die aktuelle Museumsentwicklung. 441

Justina Poškienė

Lithuanian Troy: Preservation and Interpretation of Kernavė, UNESCO World Heritage Archaeological Site 463

DOI: 10.15584/anarres.2018.13.1

Iwona Florkiewicz*, Marcin Wołoszyn**

Gone with the Wind? Early Medieval Central Places in Today's Rural Areas. Between Research, Preservation and Re-Enactment: An Introduction

ABSTRACT

Florkiewicz I., Wołoszyn M. 2018. Gone with the Wind? Early Medieval Central Places in Today's Rural Areas. Between Research, Preservation and Re-Enactment: An Introduction. *Analecta Archaeologica Ressoiviensia* 13, 11–32

The article presents remarks on the social context of archaeology. Its high cost and permanent presence in public space mean that the functioning of archaeology (much more than other disciplines, such as historical studies) depends on the current political situation. Our discipline was a source of entertainment for the elites (the Middle Ages), a form of legitimising monarchy (the Early Modern Era), and a building block of national pride (the 19th–20th c.). Contrary to what we initially hoped for, the Internet, which has been gaining in popularity since the end of the last century, has brought more control than freedom and enables – for the first time on this scale – creating closed-off communities that hold radical views, which are sometimes absurd in the eyes of science. This is also the case of notions about the past, an excellent Polish example of which is the theory of Great Lechia. The popularity of this myth and the fact that *fake archaeology* was constructed around it is proof that the past is very far from being *gone with the wind*, and the need to reconstruct it is also present in our – so very post-modern – world. All this warrants an attempt to reflect on the way in which notions about the past are created by archaeologists, including those who work away from great centres of civilisation.

Keywords: public archaeology, re-Enactment, nationalism, information cocoons, filter bubbles

Received: 18.12.2018; **Revised:** 28.12.2018; **Revised:** 28.12.2018; **Accepted:** 30.12.2018

It is impossible to gloss over the fact that Archaeology is an expensive discipline of science. Naturally, compared to the cost of technical or biological disciplines, the expenses allocated to archaeological studies are insignificant. However, an archaeologist is indeed much more “expensive” than other researchers of the past: classical philologists or historians.

* Institute of Archaeology Rzeszów University, St. Moniuszki 10, 35-015 Rzeszów, Poland; iwonaflorkiewicz@gmail.com

** Institute of Archaeology Rzeszów University, St. Moniuszki 10, 35-015 Rzeszów, Poland; marcinwolozyn@gmail.com; Leibniz Institute for the History and Culture of Eastern Europe (GWZO), Reichsstr. 4–6, 04109 Leipzig, Germany; marcin.wolozyn@leibniz-gwzo.de

This low costliness of history had and still has its advantages: in the 6th c. AD Procopius of Caesarea was able to write a panegyric on Justinian the Great (*De aedificiis*), while also writing (for the drawer) a lampoon defaming the emperor, his wife and closest officials (*Historia arcana*)¹.

Archaeologists, unlike historians, are much more dependent on the social context in which they happen to operate. They must obtain funds for conducting excavations and for processing their findings. Money is not the only important factor; historians usually work alone. Both excavations and the exhibitions which later present their findings take place in the public space.

For these reasons, “our” discipline – although its goal is to reconstruct the past – was, is and will be so very dependent on the present.

In the Middle Ages and early modern times, archaeology was entertainment for the elites, as exemplified by the excavations started in 1416 in the village of Nochów in the region of Greater Poland. King Władysław Jagiełło, who organised the works, wanted to convince the Prince of Styria, Carinthia and Carniola, Ernest the Iron, that it was true in Poland “[...] pots are born in the earth, by themselves, solely through the art of nature, without any human help [...]” (Ioannis Długossii I, 116 [Latin]; Jan Długosz I, 178 [Polish]; Abramowicz 1983, 29–31; Bahn 2014, 5).

However, it was very quickly realised that the discovered objects could be a source of pride for the “ruling house”. Some of the things we owe to this interest include the magnificent drawings of finds from Childeric’s tomb, discovered in 1653 in Tournai (in this case, the “sponsor” of the discovery was, of course, the great-great-great-great-grandson of Childeric, i.e. Louis XIV; for this discovery see Quast [ed.] 2015).

During *l’Âge des Lumières*, the grandeur of the discovered artefacts continued to benefit rulers, who now erected magnificent museums to house their expositions, e.g. in Vienna (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Naturhistorisches Museum) and Saint Petersburg (the State Hermitage Museum). However, when in January 1793 in Paris Louis XVI – now merely Citizen Louis Capet – was guillotined, a new ruler (and sponsor of museums and archaeology) ascended the throne: the Nation.

Romanticism brought about extensive exploration of the past, especially the Middle Ages (see Evans and Marchal [eds.] 2011; Geary

¹ To this day, historians puzzle their heads over which of the images of the 6th – century history is true; see e.g.: Brodka 2004; Kaldellis 2004.

and Klaniczay [eds.] 2013; Wood 2013). This discovered, and largely (re) constructed past became one of the elements integrating the emerging national states in the 19th c. An enormous role in this process was played by historians and their works. As Stefan Berger and Christoph Conrad rightly point out, “The need to write history as an identitarian project can be traced all the way from Iceland in the West to Russia in the east and from Norway in the north to the Iberian peninsula, Italy and the Balkans in the south” (Berger and Conrad 2015, 81).

The written word very quickly became accompanied by images: paintings, sculptures (statues), and museums. The second half of the 19th c. in particular was the time of “Mass-Producing Traditions” (Hobsbawm 2000). Archaeology, monuments and the museums which present them serve, of course, to create notions about the world outside of Europe², as well as national histories. For East Central Europe, the Habsburg (see Raffler 2007) and Hohenzollern (see Gramsch 2007; Hartung 2010) empires are of key importance. Although nationalism and racism are also visible in the culture of the United Kingdom and Scandinavia at the time, there were many contributing factors why it was German archaeology that became “eine hervorragend nationale Wissenschaft”, symbolised by Gustaf Kossina (see Steuer [eds.] 2001).

Paradoxically, a student – and later bitter enemy – of Kossina, Polish archaeologist Józef Kostrzewski (bibliographical data: see Wołoszyn 2017) understood archaeology and its tasks in a similar manner, the difference being that instead of Germanic peoples it was supposed to exalt the history of the Slavs. The very distant past was supposed to be an argument for the contemporary times, most importantly for delineating state boundaries, but also for building national pride. Studying the past was supposed to be an activity involving the entire nation. The best example were the excavations in Biskupin – the capital of proto-Slavic Poland – organised by Kostrzewski himself; they were carried out thanks to public donations and visited by the highest state dignitaries (see Piotrowska 2004).

In the case of Poland, but also other East Central European states (see Hadler 2002; Kurnatowska and Kurnatowski 2002; Brather 2008), such an understanding of archaeology, as science in the service of a nation, a discipline guarding its ancient territories, became the

² We can hardly fail to mention here – following in the footsteps of Edward Said – Napoleon’s Egyptian campaign (Said 1978, 79–88).

dominant one after WWII. We could cite e.g. studies on the history of the Slavs and the Dacians in Romania (Curta 2009) or Great Moravia in former Czechoslovakia (Hadler 1999). The emphasis placed on the importance of Slavic heritage in the studies on the history of East Germany carried out in German Democratic Republic was, of course, not a coincidence (see Lübke 2017, esp. 176–178). However, these tendencies were the strongest in Poland: “Generally speaking, post-war archaeology in Poland concentrated on two main, overlapping issues: Slavic Ethnogenesis and the origins of the Polish state” (Bursche and Taylor 1991, 588). This followed partly from the fact that Józef Kostrzewski, mentioned above, was the founder of modern Polish archaeology, but also from profound changes of the borders of the Polish state between 1939 and 1945.

Moscow taking over power in East Central Europe in 1939–1945 meant, among others, a civilisation catastrophe for Budapest, Prague and Warsaw (see Judt 2005, 196). In 1989, museums in this region were simply very poor and served to build – traditionally defined – national pride, as was noted with melancholy by Aleksander Bursche and Timothy Taylor in the already quoted article from 1991: “Museum displays in Poland are, on the whole, poor, and present a mixture of 19th-century evolutionism and a romantic Slavdom” (Bursche and Taylor 1991, 590).

The collapse of totalitarianism in East Central and Eastern Europe in 1989–1991, combined with the fact that the modernisation of this part of Europe was carried out in the spirit of neoliberalism (see e.g. Ther 2014; Vetter 2019) had many consequences. We would like to draw attention to two phenomena which were crucial from the point of view of studying history:

- 1) the state largely abandoned its role of patron of culture – to a great extent, it was replaced in this role by the free market;
- 2) although the states belonging to the so-called Visegrád Group, when applying for accession to the European Union, prepared an exhibition devoted to the Middle Ages, whose title clearly indicated the European aspirations of the inhabitants of this region (*Europas Mitte um 1000 = Střed Evropy okolo roku 1000 = Európa közepe 1000 körül = Europa środkowa około roku 1000 = Stred Európy okolo roku 1000*; see Wieczorek and Hinz [eds.] 2000; see Kurnatowska 2007, 46), generally speaking the distant past had stopped being important for the states in this region.

What became of the highest importance was 20th-century history and large sums were invested in studying this period (Lau 2017; for more on the subject see Wołoszyn 2019).

Gradual economic growth made it possible to modernise museum displays, while technological advances meant that museums in East Central Europe started to resemble those in the wealthier parts of the Old Continent and to undergo similar changes. They were succinctly described by Freda Matassa, a world-famous expert on museum management (see Matassa 2011): “Museums were collections-based and focused on the past. They had static displays which only changed when a new curator came along. [...] They were essentially passive and quiet. Museums today feel very different. They are interactive, inclusive, flexible, digitised, ethical, collaborative, sustainable and global” (Matassa 2015, 272).

There are many examples showing that the past of “our” part of Europe is no longer a part of science, a part of “patriotic duty”, and has become an element of the entertainment industry – a “fun factory”. Perhaps the best illustration of this is the case of Biskupin, mentioned above, which has transformed from a national monument with a great past into a place of a very commercialised “show”³. This tendency is also visible when we observe the evolution of archaeological displays, where monuments are replaced by gadgets attractive to children (see e.g. Pawleta 2016)⁴.

As we have stated, the very distant past, prehistory and early history are no longer as important as they were even a few decades ago.

However, it should be clearly said that we have also observed a different “trend” in recent times, which caters to the local and the regional.

³ See: <http://www.biskupin.pl/wydarzenie/xxv-jubileuszowy-festyn-archeologiczny/> (accessed on 10.06.2019).

⁴ This topic has recently been analysed during a conference in Warsaw (May 2019) on “Our Mythical History. Children’s and Young Adults’ Culture in Response to the Heritage of Ancient Greece and Rome; see <https://www.mommsengesellschaft.de/veranstaltungen/tagungen-workshops-sommerschulen-und-ausstellungen> (accessed on 10.06.2019) // https://www.academia.edu/39178791/Gods_Heroes_and_Monuments_Greek_and_Roman_Antiquity_in_Games_V_Dasen_U_Sch%C3%A4dler_ERC_conference_Our_Mythical_History_Childrens_and_Young_Adults_Culture_in_Response_to_the_Heritage_of_Ancient_Greece_and_Rome_Warsaw_22-26.5.2019_http_www.omc.obta.al.uw.edu.pl_our-mythical-history?email_work_card=title (accessed on 10.06. 2019).

This tendency is easy to criticise, of course, but it is more difficult to find other options which would make “the past” attractive and draw in young people.

In part, this is a justified response to the globalisation and commercialisation of the world. We are not all descended from the Vikings, even though huge media corporations would like it to be so!

At the same time, however, nationalist and populist movements, which use the past to act out their patriotism (or rather, nationalism, dressed up as concern for the fate of the homeland; see e.g. Havlík and Pinková [eds.] 2012; Götz, Roth and Spiritova [eds.] 2017; Stojarová 2018; see also papers in *Osteuropa* 68:3–5 [2018]), are more and more visible in East Central Europe.

These demons of European past are visible for instance when we look closely at some trends in the re-enactment movement (although this phenomenon is, of course, accompanied by positive aspects which far outnumber the negative – we are fully aware of this)⁵.

The internet is a separate problem. Until quite recently, we used to have mostly hopes for the online world. The ease of self-expression seemed to be leading towards the internet becoming another pillar of democracy and an open society. We believed that this was a medium which would be impossible to control by oppressive governments. What is left of those hopes is perhaps best summarised by Timothy Ash. In his last book *Free Speech*, he wrote: “In 2000, president Bill Clinton scoffed that curbing the internet in China would be like trying to ‘nail Jell-O to the wall.’ China’s leaders replied, in effect, ‘just watch us’” (Ash 2016, 38)

Today, it is obvious that the Chinese censorship operation is “[...] unprecedented in recorded world history” (Ash 2016, 40).

Of course, China is not an exception. The Russian invasion of Ukraine is happening not only in the real but in the virtual world as well (see e.g. Khaldarova and Pantti 2016; Makhortykh and Sydorova 2017; see also Snyder 2018, 131–175).

From our perspective, it is essential that the internet has caused complete decentralisation of information sources. The “career” of Wikipedia, which has largely replaced reputable publications like the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, is an excellent example. Wikipedia has

⁵ An interesting conference on this topic was organised in Leipzig in 2018 by Karin Reichenbach and Ralf Hoppadietz (Neo-völkische Geschichtsbilder in populären Vergangenheitsaneignungen im östlichen Europa. Neuheidentum – Reenactment – Musikszene, 27–28 September 2018 Leipzig, see H-Soz-Kult, 22 August 2018, <www.hsozkult.de/event/id/termine-37945> [accessed on 10.06.2019]); see also Hoppadietz, Reichenbach 2019.

become the basic source of information not only for many students (see Ash 2016, 59), but for professional scientists as well. It was, for instance, cited by the British historian Chris Wickham when he wrote about the oldest copy of the Quran (the so-called Birmingham Quran manuscript), in his study of medieval Europe published by Yale University Press (see Wickham 2016, 263, Footnote No. 16, 291). We have nothing against using Wikipedia (and we use it ourselves). The truth is, however, that it should not be replacing traditional sources of information.

One victim of the contemporary informational chaos (and pace of life) was Ewa Kopacz – the Polish Prime Minister in 2014–2015, who in an interview on 31 January 2019 very animatedly spoke about the uneven fight that primitive humans used to put up against... dinosaurs⁶. The former PM's statement about early humans hurling stones at dinosaurs became a very popular meme⁷ (see Fig. 1), although it was merely a mistake on her part⁸.

The truth is, however, that one of the consequences of the decentralisation of methods of gathering information and its distribution is the emergence of alternative, parallel worlds, including ones in which humans lived alongside dinosaurs. Obviously, newspapers and television stations with a very defined political or moral profile have existed for a long time. However, it was only the internet that made it possible to create a completely isolated world, entirely suited to one's needs, tastes and notions. The phenomenon is – jokingly – referred to by twisting the name of a newspaper to *The Daily Me*, or as *information cocoons*, i.e. “communications universes in which we hear only what we choose and only what comforts and pleases us” (see Sunstein 2006, 265, Footnote 29). Wikipedia (and we are citing it deliberately here) uses the term *filter bubble*⁹ proposed by Eli Pariser (2011; also see Sunstein 2017, 9; Ash 2016, 51–52; in the context of archaeology: Żuchowicz 2018, 18–20).

⁶ See: <https://www.tvp.info/41100222/kopacz-kiedy-byly-dinozaury-ludzie-nie-mieli-strzelb-ale-rzucali-w-nie-kamieniami> (accessed on 17.06.2019).

⁷ See: <https://www.wprost.pl/polityka/10187676/to-musialo-sie-tak-skonczyt-internauci-wysmiewaja-dinozaury-ewy-kopacz.html> (accessed on 17.06.2019).

⁸ See: https://twitter.com/EwaKopacz/status/1090956865578680322?ref_src=twsrc%5Etfw%7Ctwcamp%5Etweetembed%7Ctwterm%5E1090956865578680322&ref_url=https%3A%2F%2Fdziennikzachodni.pl%2Fewa-kopacz-o-dinozaurach-memy-hitem-internetu-ludzie-rzucali-kamieniami-w-tego-dinozaura%2Far%2F13851646 (accessed on 17.06.2019).

⁹ See: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Filter_bubble (accessed on 10.06.2019).



Fig. 1. A drawing inspired by Ewa Kopacz's comment on the fight which early humans fought against dinosaurs; the captions reads: *Don't hurl at us, give us a hug!* (Drawn by M. Tomaszek, see: <https://www.facebook.com/tedokwadratu/photos/a.453918971661614/723352801384895/?type=3&theater> [accessed on 17.06.2019])

The fact that *information cocoons / filter bubbles* influence our lives can be easily verified by following the political debate which is ongoing in many European countries – the convinced convince the convinced who look down on those who have been convinced to believe something else. This phenomenon also has an impact on other aspects of our lives: anti-vaxxers communicate only with fellow anti-vaxxers etc.

The phenomenon is also of enormous importance for our notions of the future (and it will only increase!). For a long time now, they have not been created (only) by scientists, or e.g. by journalists who cooperate with them. This always used to be the case. Let us, for instance, recall

Erich von Däniken¹⁰. However, the internet has brought about another change. It is relatively inexpensive to build *information cocoons / filter bubbles* specifically suited to the supporter of proto-Slavic, proto-Germanic, or proto-Illyric Biskupin. An excellent example of this is the theory of Great Lechia (see Bieszek 2017) or the activity of Tomasz Kosiński¹¹. The Slavs and their magnificent rulers supposedly inhabited Europe hundreds of years before Christ. Very significantly, Kosiński's latest "work" is dedicated to Józef Kostrzewski. This political scientist, who lives in the Philippines¹², is excellent at styling himself as an objective enthusiast of the Slavic past (see Kosiński 2017, 5; for Great Lechia see Żuchowicz 2018).

It should be emphasised that Marek Sawicki, the Polish Minister of Agriculture in 2007–2012 and 2014–2015, is among those who have expressed a positive opinion about the theory of Great Lechia (see Żuchowicz 2018, 262)¹³.

The renaissance of nationalisms which we observe in contemporary Europe, as well as the Russian war against Ukraine, show us very clearly how far we are from the "end of history" predicted by Fukuyama (Fukuyama 1989). The technological advances of the last decades, as well as profound civilisation changes in East Central Europe after 1989, have not wiped out interest in the past.

Therefore, although the agents on whom archaeology is dependent change over centuries, there is only one answer to the question posed in the title of this volume: *Gone with the wind?* – No! Neither the past itself nor the need for memory of the past and the people and places which used to be significant will disappear. However, in order to make good use of this memory of the past, we need not only scientists and professional popularisers, but the financial support of the state as well. If these three elements are missing, the past will not disappear – but its image will be shaped by online charlatans (creators of *fake archaeology*) like the experts on Great Lechia!

We hope that the articles presented in this volume will encourage and perhaps also facilitate creating new centres devoted to disseminating knowledge about the past to the general public.

¹⁰ See: <http://www.daniken.com/> (accessed on 10.06.2019).

¹¹ See: <http://slavia-lechia.pl/> (accessed on 10.06.2019).

¹² See: https://go2arkadia.com/pl_PL/ (accessed on 10.06.2019).

¹³ See: <https://twitter.com/SawickiMarek/status/962698600680771586> (accessed on 17.06.2019).

The volume *Gone with the Wind? Early Medieval Central Places in Today's Rural Areas. Between Research, Preservation and Re-enactment*, which we present to the Readers, is based on papers presented at a conference of the same title, which took place in Zamość in September 2017 (cf. Fig. 2). This was the fifth meeting in the series of *Cherven' Towns – golden apple of Polish archaeology*. Cherven' Towns, a region which was the bone of contention for the Piast, Rurik and Arpad dynasties, is located on the middle Bug River, on the present-day border between Poland (European Union) and Ukraine. The hillfort of Cherven' can be identified with the fortifications in the village of Czermno, and some of the main strongholds in the region also include the hillfort in Gródek on the Bug River, which was probably medieval Volyn'. Although the two sites (Cherven' and Volyn') appear on the history pages during the reigns of the first historical rulers of Poland (Mieszko I and Bolesław the Brave), until recently these sites were not examined as thoroughly as possible. The plundering of these sites by treasure hunters equipped with increasingly effective metal detectors has been (and unfortunately continues to be) a massive problem.

The breakthrough did not come until Polish-German research started there. Over the past few years, we managed to publish the findings of past research carried out on these sites (see mainly Florek and Wołoszyn [eds.] 2016; Wołoszyn [ed.] 2018). An exhibition presenting finds from Czermno (mainly the ones collected in 2010–2011, see Bagińska, Piotrowski and Wołoszyn [eds.] 2012) visited over a dozen Polish cities. Remembering the upsides and downsides of the internet (see above), we take great care to ensure that the studies on Czermno and Gródek have a very strong online presence. We have a website for the *Golden apple...* project¹⁴, a Facebook¹⁵ profile, an academia.edu account¹⁶, as well as a YouTube channel¹⁷.

At the same time, both Czermno and Gródek remain small villages located on the peripheries of Poland. This “provinciality” has its

¹⁴ <https://grodoczermwskie.pl> (accessed on 10.06.2019).

¹⁵ <https://www.facebook.com/GrodyCzermwskie> (accessed on 10.06.2019).

¹⁶ <https://independent.academia.edu/GrodyCzermwskie> (accessed on 10.06.2019).

¹⁷ https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCS0Xhl_9iW5J2cSgO3C2Vsg (accessed on 10.06.2019).



Seminarium Nr. 5
Seminar Nr. 5
Семинар № 5

PRZEMINEŁO Z WIATRÉM?

Wczesnośredniowieczne ośrodki centralne na dzisiejszych obszarach peryferyjnych.
Między nauką, ochroną a rewitalizacją

Vom Winde verweht?
Frühmittelalterliche Zentralorte in heute ländlichen Regionen.
Zwischen Forschung, Bewahrung und Reenactment

Розвіяні вітром?
Ранньосередньовічні центри на сучасній периферії.
Між наукою, охороною та ревіталізацією

Grody Czerwieńskie –
złote jabłko polskiej archeologii

Die Červenischen Burgen –
der goldene Apfel
der polnischen Archäologie

Червенські Гради –
золоте яблуко
польської археології

20. – 22.09.2017 |
Zamość / Zamość / Замостя
MIEJSCE OBRAD / TAGUNGORT / МІСЦЕ ЗАСІДАНЬ
20.09.2017 |
Ratusz w Zamościu / Rathaus in Zamość / Ратуша в Замості
21. – 22.09.2017 |
Muzeum Zamojskie w Zamościu / Zamość Museum in Zamość / Замойський музей у Замості
Program / Programm / Програма <https://www.facebook.com/Grody.Czerwieńskie>

Fig. 2. The poster for the conference *Gone with the Wind?...* Zamość, 20th–22th 09.2017 (Designed by M. Bujak)

advantages, for instance a lack of heavy industry means that both sites are a dream subject of natural studies which are aimed at recreating the relation between man and nature. We have magnificent finds from both sites. Suffice it to say that no fewer than five hoards of silver jewellery were found in Czeremno and Gródek!

On the other hand, the “provinciality” of Cherven’ Towns means that the more they are talked about in the media and the more finds from there are displayed e.g. at exhibitions, the larger the threat of Czeremno and Gródek being robbed by treasure hunters.

We do realise that solving this problem is not simple and will not be possible by means of a single action.

In January 2017, the presidents of Maria Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin (Stanisław Michałowski) and the University of Rzeszów (Sylwester Czopek) decided to establish the FILIOQUE Research Centre, whose activities will focus on studying the Polish-Ruthenian borderland, in particular the region of Cherven’ Towns. The Centre was co-created by the two universities (Lublin: Tomasz Dzieńkowski, Marek Florek, Katarzyna Kuźniarska [until the end of 2018], Piotr Łuczkiwicz // Rzeszów: Iwona Florkiewicz, Andrzej Rozwałka, Marcin Wołoszyn), the museums in Hrubieszów (Bartłomiej Bartecki), Tomaszów Lubelski (Eugeniusz Hanejko) and Zamość (Andrzej Urbański), the monuments protection office in Lublin (Dariusz Kopciowski), as well as the Leibniz Institute for the History and Culture of Eastern Europe (GWZO), the main partner outside of Poland.

The Scientific Board of the Centre includes scientists from many countries:

- Alexander Baškov, A.S. Pushkin Brest State University (Brest, Belarus’);
- Claus von Carnap-Bornheim, Centre for Baltic and Scandinavian Archaeology (Schloss Gottorf, Germany);
- Márta Font, University of Pécs (Pécs, Hungary);
- Vira Hupalo, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine (Lviv, Ukraine);
- Andrzej Kokowski, Maria Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin (Lublin, Poland);
- Christian Lübke, Leibniz Institute for the History and Culture of Eastern Europe (GWZO; Leipzig, Germany);
- Vincent Múcska, Comenius University in Bratislava (Bratislava, Slovakia);
- Aleksandr Musin, Russian Academy of Sciences (St. Petersburg, Russia);
- Michał Parczewski, University of Rzeszów (Rzeszów, Poland);

- Lumír Poláček, Czech Academy of Sciences (Brno, Czech Republic);
- Maciej Salamon, Jagiellonian University (Cracow, Poland);
- Perica Špehar, University of Belgrade (Belgrade, Serbia).

The Chairman of the Scientific Board is Professor Andrzej Buko (Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw). The work at the Centre is supervised by Marcin Wołoszyn (Leipzig/Rzeszów), and Tomasz Dzieńkowski (Lublin) is his deputy.

One of the most important tasks we are facing is developing a formula for protecting and studying the region of Cherven' Towns.

This was the purpose of the conference organised in Zamość in 2017. Its main objective was to present various sites, especially ones located far away from larger urban centres, similarly to Czermno and Gródek. We also wanted to present sites and research centres from East Central and Eastern Europe, as well as the Balkans, i.e. the lesser known part of our continent (for the locations of the sites discussed in this volume see Fig. 3).

The volume opens with a text by Paweł Grata¹⁸ – a historian of economy – about the structural differences in the development of Poland. The term “Poland A and Poland B” was created in the Interwar Period. Today, the majority of the territories which constituted the “worse” part of the Second Republic of Poland is located in the western peripheries of Ukraine, Belarus' and Lithuania. However, even today, eastern Poland, including the territory of former Cherven' Towns, is still often referred to as “Poland B” (for the differences in the development of contemporary Poland see e.g. Sagan 2012).

Paweł Grata's text should make the Reader aware of the structural character of the peripherality of this region; although the European Union deliberately allocates its funds to this kind of regions, overcoming the “backwardness” will not be easy, especially since Poland's shift westwards, which took place in 1945, meant that Poland lost very strong scientific centres: Vilnius and (more important from our perspective) Lviv. From our current vantage point we can say that a lack of strong scientific centres in the east of Poland leads to the fact that e.g. funds allocated to scientific research on this region are strikingly smaller than in the case of Silesia or Greater Poland¹⁹.

¹⁸ The Authors' names have been spaced out.

¹⁹ The Authors' calculations indicate that the research centres in eastern Poland (i.e. located east of the Vistula River) obtain only a few per cent (!) of the funds allocated to scientific research (see Wołoszyn 2019).

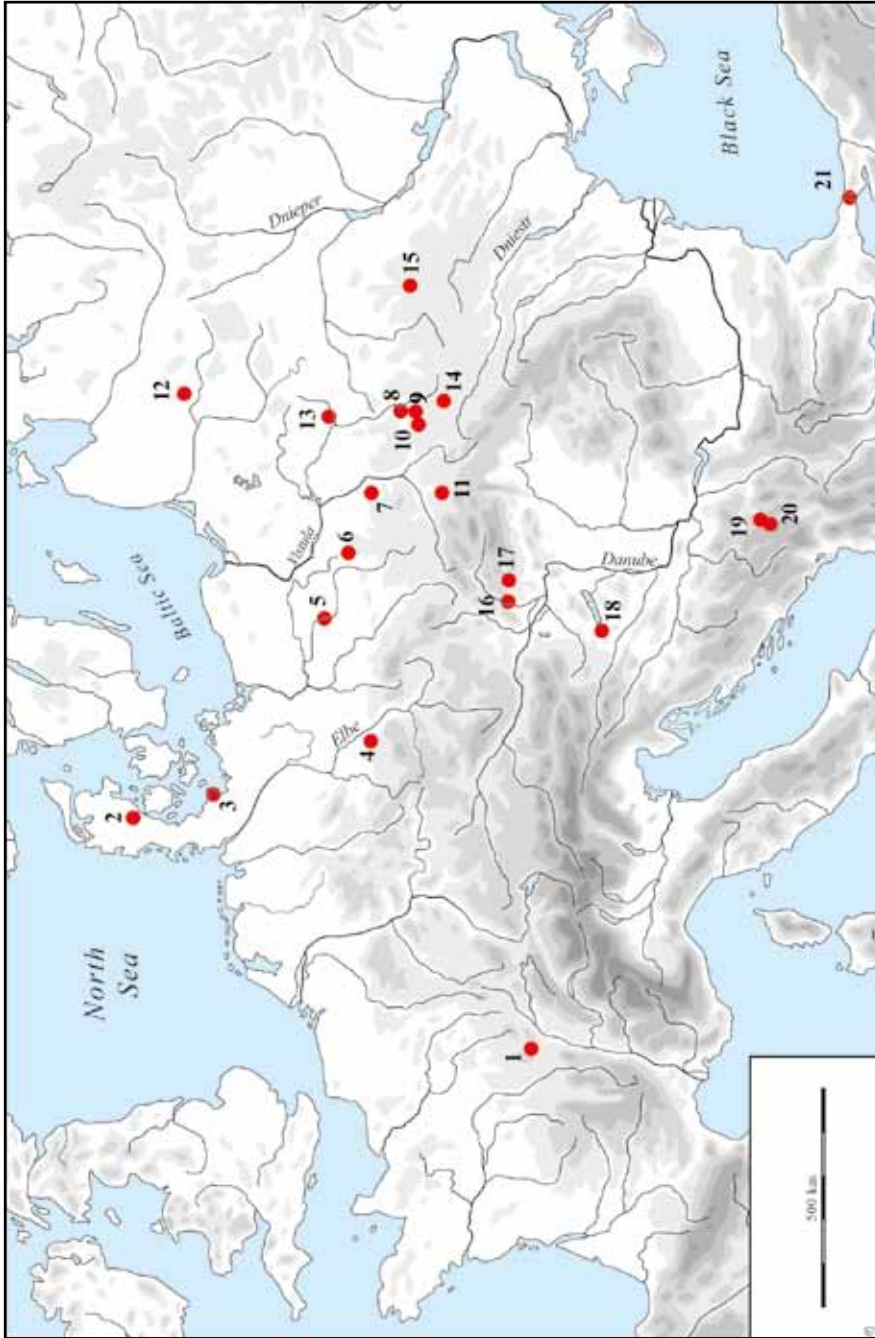


Fig. 3. Map of locations of research centres and archaeological sites presented in this volume (Drawn by I. Florkiewicz and I. Jordan)
1 – Bibracte, France; 2 – Jelling, Denmark; 3 – Gaarz, Germany; 4 – Gana (Hof/Stauchitz), Germany; 5 – Ostrów Tumski, Poland; 6 – Łódź, Poland; 7 – Radom, Poland; 8 – Gródek, Poland; 9 – Masłomęcz, Poland; 10 – Czernno, Poland; 11 – Trzcínica, Poland; 12 – Kernavė, Lithuania; 13 – Berestje, Belarus; 14 – Zvenyhorod, Ukraine; 15 – Shepetivka, Ukraine; 16 – Bojna, Slovakia; 17 – Nitra, Slovakia; 18 – Zalavar, Hungary; 19 – Stari Ras, Serbia; 20 – Sopoćani, Serbia; 21 – Istanbul, Turkey.

Michał Pawleta, a renowned researcher of the meanders of how archaeology functions in the contemporary world (see Pawleta 2016) presents, in the second of the published articles, his remarks on contemporary man's approach to the past.

In the following twenty one articles, a group of thirty one Authors presents selected archaeological sites / research centres in Europe. Although this volume focuses on the Middle Ages, we decided to include the centre of research on the Celts in Bibracte, France (Laïla Ayache, Katarzyna Skowron) as a model example of how a research centre situated in the provinces should function. There is no denying that creating a similar centre on the middle Bug River would be a dream come true for the editors of this volume.

Two articles are devoted to studies on Byzantium. Unfortunately – at least for Byzantinists – the emperors from the Bosphorus never conquered Poland. As a result, we do not have a significant number of Byzantine artefacts or archives. How to effectively pursue Byzantine studies in Poland despite this fact is described by Kirił Marinow. Błażej Stanisławski and Şengül Aydingün present their research on the Byzantine heritage in the suburbs of one of the largest metropolises in the contemporary world, Istanbul. For obvious reasons Turkey does not treat Byzantium as its own cultural heritage; at the same time the ongoing rapid economic development of this country is a threat to traces of the past. Fascinating discoveries made in former Constantinople (Yenikapi) show how important for European cultural heritage it is (or rather it would be) to intensify research on the materiality of the *Basileia thon Rhomaion* (for byzantine heritage in Turkey see e.g. Ricci 2014; Erbey 2018; Ladstätter 2018).

We owe the information about the contemporary circumstances of two places which are of enormous importance for Serbian culture (Stari [Old] Ras and Sopoćani) to three Authors: Perica Špehar, Nevena Debljović Ristić and Olga Špehar.

Ágnes Ritoók as well as Matej Ruttkay, Karol Pieta and Zbigniew Robak present their remarks on the management of selected archaeological sites in the Carpathian Basin (Mosaburg – Zalavár; Nitra and Bojná).

Michael Strobel, Thomas Westphalen and David F. Hölscher present selected sites in eastern (Gana: Stauchitz) and northern (Gaarz) Germany. Thanks to Charlotta Lindblom, we visit famous (but out-of-the-way) Jelling.

A number of articles describe Poland as well. Agnieszka Stempin and Arkadiusz Tabaka present the operation of archaeological sites in Greater Poland (definitely in “Poland A”), i.e. in Poznań and Ostrów Lednicki.

Thanks to Maciej Trzeciecki we go to “poorer” Poland, specifically the city of Radom, where the collaboration between the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology of the Polish Academy of Sciences and the city authorities has led to a positive outcome as well.

The fact that where there is a will, there is a way and it does not matter whether one lives in Poland A, B or C, is illustrated by the following two cases: the Carpathian Troy open-air museum described by Jan Gancarski and Paweł Madej, and the Goths’ Village in Masłomęcz presented by Bartłomiej Bartecki.

Reading about Carpathian Troy (i.e. the hillfort in Trzcinica), it is easy to see how much depends on seemingly trivial matters, such as buying out land or working together with the local authorities. In this context, Marek Florek’s text about the protection of Czermno and Gródek shows how much we still have to work on here.

Thanks to the Authors of the following articles (Vira Hupalo, Anna Peskova, Kirill Mikhaylov, Tatjana Nekljudowa, Alexander Baschkow) we visit some medieval sites in Ukraine (Zvenyhorod, Shepetivka) and Belarus’ (Berestje). The volume closes with the article by Justina Poškiene, who describes Lithuanian Troy, i.e. the settlement complex in Kernavė.

Unfortunately, not all Authors who participated in the conference were able to send in their papers; this volume is also not the first one devoted to studies on archaeological sites and scientific and museology-related problems (see e.g. Carnap-Bornheim [ed.] 2014; Czopek, Górski [eds.] 2016). Management of archaeological heritage is not a new subject. However, we hope that our publication will introduce previously lesser-known examples into the discussion about this problem.

To conclude this introduction, we would like to thank several persons without whom neither the meeting in Zamość nor the publication of this volume would have been possible.

We could hardly start with anyone other than the Authors and Reviewers of the published articles!

The conference was organised as a part of the co-operation between the Leibniz Institute for the History and Culture of Eastern Europe [GWZO], the Institute of Archaeology of the University of Rzeszów, the Institute of Archaeology of Maria Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin, the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology of the Polish Academy of Sciences, the Zamość Museum, and the Polish Academy of Sciences. The main conference organiser was Marcin Wołoszyn in cooperation with Iwona Florkiewicz, Tomasz Dzieńkowski, Katarzyna Kuźniarska, and Andrzej Urbański.

The meeting was part of the research on Cherven' Towns under the project *Golden apple of Polish archaeology. Stronghold complexes at Czeremno and Gródek (Cherven' Towns) – chronology and function in the light of past and current research* (National Programme for the Development of Humanities; Project No. 12H 12 0064 81). The project is international and it is implemented in collaboration mainly with the Leibniz Institute for the History and Culture of Eastern Europe (GWZO), under the project *Die Červenischen Burgen als Grenzbefestigungen am Fernweg von Krakau nach Kiev = Cherven' Towns as border strongholds en route from Cracow to Kiev* (Project No. FKZ 01UG1410; co-ordinators: Christian Lübke, Matthias Hardt, Arnold Bartetzky), financed by the Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung (Bonn).

The first day of our conference took place in the City Hall in Zamość. This would have been impossible without the kindness of the President of this beautiful city, Mr Andrzej Wnuk. We spent the second day on the welcoming premises of the Zamość Museum, which has been excellently managed by its Director, Mr Andrzej Urbański, for many years. On the third day, we combined business with pleasure, i.e. a field trip with a session which took place in the 19th-century palace in Czumów.

The conference was co-financed by the co-organisers. At this point we would be amiss not to mention Zbigniew Kubiawski from the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology of the Polish Academy of Sciences. It was thanks to his help that we obtained – again – the financial support of the Academy.

Publishing post-conference materials was possible as a result of the co-operation between the Institute of Archaeology of the University of Rzeszów with the Foundation of the Archaeological Centre in Rzeszów and with the Leibniz Institute for the History and Culture of Eastern Europe.

The volume was prepared in collaboration with Magdalena Rzuceek (Scientific Secretary of the Editorial Board), Anna Sosenko (translation and proofreading of texts in English [apart from the article by Anna Peskova and Kirill Mikhaylov: translation Dmitry Shulga, Katharine Judelson]), Juliane Sellenk (translation and proofreading of texts in German), and Marek Bobowski from the Zimowit Publishing House (typesetting and page layout). We would like to thank Michał Tomaszek, who made the drawing presented in Fig. 1, and Magdalena Bujak, the author of the conference poster (Fig. 2).

We owe bibliographical instructions to Karin Reichenbach, Hana Rydza and Aleksandr Osipian.

References

Written sources

- Ioannis Dlugossii *Ioannis Dlugossii Annales seu Cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae*. J. Dąbrowski [et al.] (eds.). Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1964. Liber primus. Liber secundus.
- Jan Długosz *Jana Długosza Roczniki czyli Kroniki sławnego Królestwa Polskiego*. J. Dąbrowski [et al.] (eds.). Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1961, księgi I–II.

Literature

- Abramowicz A. 1983. *Dzieje zainteresowań starożytnych w Polsce: Od średniowiecza po czasy saskie i świt oświecenia*. Wrocław: Ossolineum.
- Ash T. 2016. *Free Speech: Ten Principles for a Connected World*. Yale: University Press.
- Bagińska J., Piotrowski M. and Wołoszyn M. (eds.) 2012. *Czerwień – gród między Wschodem a Zachodem. Katalog wystawy*. Tomaszów Lubelski–Leipzig–Lublin–Rzeszów: Muzeum Regionalne im. dr. Janusza Petera w Tomaszowie Lubelskim. Instytut Archeologii, Uniwersytet Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, Lublin. Instytut Archeologii, Uniwersytet Rzeszowski, Rzeszów. Geisteswissenschaftliches Zentrum Geschichte und Kultur Ostmitteleuropas (GWZO) an der Universität Leipzig, Leipzig. Miasto Tyszowce.
- Bahn P. 2014. The archaeology of archaeology: pre-modern views of the past. In P. Bahn (ed.) *The history of archaeology an introduction*. London: Routledge, 1–15.
- Berger S., Conrad Ch. 2015. *The Past as History. National Identity and Historical Consciousness in Modern Europe*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Bieszk J. 2017. *Królowie Lechii i Lechici w dziejach*. Warszawa: Bellona.
- Brather S. 2008. Slawenbilder. 'Slawische Altertumskunde' im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert. In S. Brather, V. Spinei and G. Bilavski (eds.), *Archaeology and Identity*.

- Central and East Europe in the Early Middle Ages* (= *Florilegium magistrorum historiae archaeologiaeque Antiquitatis et Medii Aevi* 2). București: Editura Academiei, 87–128.
- Brodka D. 2004. *Die Geschichtsphilosophie in der spätantiken Historiographie. Studien zu Prokopios von Kaisareia, Agathias von Myrina und Theophylaktos Simokattes* (= *Studien und Texte zur Byzantinistik* 5). Frankfurt am Main–Berlin–Bern–Bruxelles–New York–Oxford–Wien: Peter Lang International Academic Publishers.
- Bursche A. and Taylor T. 1991. A panorama of Polish archaeology. *Antiquity* 65, 583–591.
- Carnap-Bornheim C. (ed.) 2014. *Quo vadis?: Status and future perspectives of long-term excavations in Europe. Papers presented at a workshop organized by the Archaeological State Museum (ALM) and the Centre for Baltic and Scandinavian Archaeology (ZBSA) on occasion of the 175th anniversary of the Archaeological State Museum, Schleswig, October 26th to 28th, 2011* (= *Schriften des Archäologischen Landesmuseums. Ergänzungsreihe* 10). Neumünster: Wachholtz.
- Curta F. 2009. The changing image of the Early Slavs in the Rumanian historiography and archaeological literature. A critical survey. In F. Curta and V. Spinei (eds.), *Text, context, history, and archaeology: studies in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (= *Florilegium magistrorum historiae archaeologiaeque Antiquitatis et Medii Aevi* 6). București: Editura Academiei, 131–216.
- Czopek S. and Górski J. (eds.) 2016. *Między nauką a popularyzacją. Muzea i parki archeologiczne*. Kraków: Universitas.
- Erbey D. 2018. Planning Approaches for Urban Archaeological Areas: The Case of Yenikapı. In K. Piesker, B. Akan, D. Göçmen and S. Tezer Altay (eds.), *Heritage in Context*, vol. II. *Archaeology and Tourism* (= *Miras* 4). Istanbul: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Istanbul, 329–348.
- Evans R. J. W. and Marchal G. P. (eds.) 2011. *The uses of the middle Ages in modern European states. History, Nationhood and the Search for Origins*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Fukuyama. F. 1989. The End of History? *The National Interest* (16), 3–18.
- Florek M. and Wołoszyn M. (eds.) 2016. *The early medieval settlement complex at Czermno in the light of results from past research (up to 2010). Material evidence = Wczesnośredniowieczny zespół osadniczy w Czermnie w świetle wyników badań dawnych (do 2010). Podstawy źródłowe*, vol. I (= *U Źródł Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej / Frühzeit Ostmitteleuropas* 2/1). Kraków–Leipzig–Rzeszów–Warszawa: Geisteswissenschaftliches Zentrum Geschichte und Kultur Ostmitteleuropas, Leipzig. Instytut Archeologii i Etnologii Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Warszawa. Instytut Archeologii Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego, Rzeszów.
- Geary P.J. and Klaniczay G. (eds.) 2013. *Manufacturing Middle Ages Entangled History of Medievalism in Nineteenth-Century Europe*. Leiden–Boston: Brill.
- Götz I., Roth K. and Spiritova M. (eds.) 2017. *Neuer Nationalismus im östlichen Europa Kulturwissenschaftliche Perspektiven* (= *Ethnografische Perspektiven auf das östliche Europa* 3). Wetzlar: transcript.

- Gramsch. A. 2007. Ein Abriss der Geschichte der Prähistorischen Archäologie in Deutschland: Genese, Entwicklung und Institutionalisierung. *Das Altertum* 52 (2007), 275–304.
- Hadler F. 1999. Der Magna-Moravia-Mythos zwischen Geschichtsschreibung und Politik im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert. In E. Behring, L. Richter and W. Schwarz (eds.), *Geschichtliche Mythen in den Literaturen und Kulturen Ostmittel- und Südosteuropas* (= *Forschungen zur Geschichte und Kultur des östlichen Mitteleuropa* 6). Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 275–289.
- Hadler F. 2002. Drachen und Drachentöter. Das Problem der nationalgeschichtlichen Fixierung in den Historiographien Ostmitteleuropas nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg. In Ch. Conrad and S. Conrad (eds.), *Die Nation schreiben. Geschichtswissenschaft im internationalen Vergleich*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 137–164.
- Havlík V. and Pinková A. (eds.) 2012. *Populistic parties in East-Central Europe*. Brno: Masaryk University.
- Hartung O. 2010. *Kleine deutsche Museums Geschichte. Von der Aufklärung bis zum frühen 20. Jahrhundert*. Köln: Böhlau.
- Hobsbawm E. 2000. Mass-Producing Traditions: Europe, 1870–1914. In E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 263–307.
- Hoppadietz R. and Reichenbach K. 2019. Nationalist Appropriations of Open-air Museums and Prehistory Re-enactment in Germany and Poland: Past and Current Trends of the Politicisation of Archaeological Heritage. In R. Kusek [et al.] (eds.), *Heritage and Society*. Kraków (in print).
- Judt T. 2005. *Postwar. A History of Europe since 1945*. New York: The Penguin Press.
- Kaldellis A. 2004. *Procopius of Caesarea. Tyranny, History, and Philosophy at the End of Antiquity*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Khaldarova I. and Pantti M. 2016. Fake news. The narrative battle over the Ukrainian conflict. *Journalism Practice* 10:7, 891–901.
- Kurnatowska Z. and Kurnatowski S. 2002. Der Einfluss nationalistischer Ideen auf die mitteleuropäische Urgeschichtsforschung. In J.M. Piskorski, J. Hackmann and R. Jaworski (eds.), *Deutsche Ostforschung und polnische Westforschung im Spannungsfeld von Wissenschaft und Politik. Disziplinen im Vergleich*. Osnabrück/Poznań: Fibre, 93–103.
- Kurnatowska Z. 2007. Archeolodzy wobec politycznej wymowy swoich źródeł. In J. Olko (ed.), *Dawne kultury w ideologiach XIX i XX wieku*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DiG, 37–47.
- Ladstätter S. 2018. Ephesos: Archäologie und Massentourismus. In K. Piesker, B. Akan, D. Göçmen and S. Tezer Altay (eds.), *Heritage in Context*, vol. II. *Archaeology and Tourism* (= *Miras* 4). Istanbul: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Istanbul, 253–287.
- Lau C. 2017. *Erinnerungsverwaltung. Vergangenheitspolitik und Erinnerungskultur nach 1989: Institute für nationales Gedenken im östlichen Europa im Vergleich, Cultural and Social History of Eastern Europe*, vol. VI. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

- Lübke Christian. 2017. Germany's Growth to the East: from the Polabian Marches to Germania Slavica. In G.A. Loud and M. Staub (eds.), *The making of medieval history*. Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 167–184.
- Makhortykh M. and Sydorova M. 2017. Social media and visual framing of the conflict in Eastern Ukraine. *Media, War & Conflict* 10:3, 359–381.
- Matassa F. 2011. *Museum Collections Management: A Handbook*. London: Facet Publishing.
- Matassa F. 2015. The Role of the museum in the 21st Century. In M. Wysocki (ed.), *I Kongres Muzealników Polskich*. Warszawa: Narodowe Centrum Kultury, 269–274.
- Meyer A. and Savoy B. 2014. Towards a Transnational History of Museums. An Introduction. In A. Meyer and B. Savoy (eds.), *The Museum Is Open: Towards a Transnational History of Museums 1750–1940*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1–16.
- Pariser R. 2011. *The Filter Bubble: What the Internet Is Hiding from You*. New York: Penguin Press.
- Pawleta M. 2016. *Przeszość we współczesności. Studium metodologiczne archeologicznie kreowanej przeszłości w przestrzeni społecznej* (= *Seria Archeologiczna* 55). Poznań: Uniwersytet im. A. Mickiewicza w Poznaniu.
- Piotrowska D. 2004. Biskupin – ideologie – kultura. In B. Gediga and W. Piotrowski (eds.), *Archeologia, kultura, ideologie* (= *Polska Akademia Nauk – Oddział we Wrocławiu. Prace Komisji Archeologicznej* 15, *Biskupińskie Prace Archeologiczne* 3). Biskupin-Wrocław: Polska Akademia Nauk – Oddział we Wrocławiu. Muzeum Archeologiczne w Biskupinie, 91–155.
- Pomian K. 1987. *Collectionneurs, amateurs et curieux. Paris-Venise, XVIe–XVIIIe siècle*. Paris Gallimard.
- Raffler M. 2007. *Museum – Spiegel der Nation? Zugänge zur Historischen Museologie am Beispiel der Genese von Landes- und Nationalmuseen in der Habsburgermonarchie*. Vienna [et al.]: Böhlau.
- Ricci A. 2014. Interpreting Heritage: Byzantine-Period Archaeological Areas and Parks in Istanbul. In M. Bachmann, Ç. Maner, S. Tezer and D. Göçmen (eds.), *Heritage in Context. Conservation and Site Management within Natural, Urban and Social Frameworks* (= *Miras* 2). Istanbul: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Istanbul, 333–381.
- Quast D. (eds.) 2015. *Das Grab des fränkischen Königs Childerich in Tournai und die Anastasis Childerici von Jean-Jacques Chifflet aus dem Jahre 1655* (= *Mono-graphien des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums* 129). Mainz: Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums.
- Sagan I. 2012. Polnische Regional- und Metropolenpolitik. Kohärenz oder Konkurrenz? *Polen-Analysen* 103 (21.2.2012) 2–6 (<http://www.laender-analysen.de/polen/pdf/PolenAnalysen103.pdf> [accessed on 10.06. 2019]).
- Said E. 1978. *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon.
- Snyder T. 2018. *The Road to Unfreedom. Russia, Europe, America*. New York: Tim Duggan Books.
- Steuer H. (ed.) 2001. *Eine hervorragend nationale Wissenschaft. Deutsche Prähistoriker zwischen 1900 und 1995* (= *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde - Ergänzungsbände* 29). Berlin-New York: De Gruyter.

- Stojarová V. 2018. Populist, Radical and Extremist Political Parties in Visegrad countries vis à vis the migration crisis. In the name of the people and the nation in Central Europe. *Open Political Science* 2018 (1), 32–45.
- Sunstein C.R. 2006. *Infotopia. How many minds produce knowledge*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Sunstein C.R. 2017. *Republic. Divided Democracy in the Age of social media*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Ther Ph. 2014. *Die neue Ordnung auf dem alten Kontinent. Eine Geschichte des neo-liberalen Europa*. Berlin: Suhrkamp.
- Vetter R. 2019. *Der Preis des Wandels. Geschichte des europäischen Ostens seit 1989*. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder GmbH.
- Wickham Ch. 2016. *Medieval Europe*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Wieczorek A. and Hinz H.M. 2000. *Europas Mitte um 1000. Beiträge zur Geschichte, Kunst und Archäologie*, vol. I–III. Stuttgart: Theiss.
- Wołoszyn M. 2017. *Kostrzewski, Jozef*. In Germanische Altertumskunde online (Berlin/Boston) 10.1515/gao_82.
- Wołoszyn M. 2019. Wie betreibt man Archäologie in einem Land, in dem es nur um „warmes Wasser aus dem Wasserhahn“ geht? Zur frühgeschichtlichen Archäologie in Polen nach der Wende. In J. Drauschke and R. Prien (eds.), *Quo Vadis Frühgeschichtliche Archäologie? (= Studien zu Spätantike und Frühmittelalter 9)*. Hamburg (in print).
- Wołoszyn M. (ed.) 2018. *The early medieval settlement complex at Gródek upon the Bug River in the light of results from past research (1952–1955). Material evidence = Wczesnośredniowieczny zespół osadniczy w Gródku nad Bugiem w świetle wyników badań dawnych (1952–1955). Podstawy źródłowe (= U Źródeł Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej / Frühzeit Ostmitteleuropas 4)*. Kraków–Leipzig–Rzeszów–Warszawa: Leibniz-Institut für Geschichte und Kultur des östlichen Europa (GWZO), Leipzig. Instytut Archeologii i Etnologii Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Warszawa. Instytut Archeologii Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego, Rzeszów.
- Wood I. 2013. *The Modern Origins of the Early Middle Ages*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Żuchowicz R. 2018. *Wielka Lechia. Źródła i przyczyny popularności teorii pseudonaukowej okiem historyka*. Warszawa: Sub Lupa.

DOI: 10.15584/anarres.2018.13.2

Paweł Grata*

Poland A and Poland B – Developmental Disproportions on Polish Lands in the 19th and 20th c. (Prior to 1939)

ABSTRACT

Grata P. 2018. Poland A and Poland B – Developmental Disproportions on Polish Lands in the 19th and 20th c. (Prior to 1939). *Analecta Archaeologica Ressoiviensia* 13, 33–48

The problem of developmental disproportions occurring within a state is not an uncommon phenomenon, and the case of Polish lands is one example of it. As a result of numerous disadvantageous conditions, Polish lands experienced dramatic developmental differences, which fully came to light in the interwar period, when the territories which had belonged to the three partitioners of Poland were incorporated into the Second Polish Republic. The disproportions were so deep that a much better developed Poland A and a much more backward Poland B (situated east of the Vistula River) were distinguished in the state. The scale of the differences was reflected in many economic and social indices, ranging from population density, to the degree of urbanisation processes and sources of population income, to the state of transportation infrastructure, to the involvement of workforce, to the production of basic goods. An attempt to reduce the disproportions was the establishment of the Central Industrial District in the mid-1930s and the Fifteen Year Plan for the state's development prepared by Deputy Prime Minister Eugeniusz Kwiatkowski (1888–1974). These plans were thwarted by the outbreak of WWII, and the developmental disproportions on Polish lands, despite the post-war change of state borders, remain visible even today, especially in territories that were part of Poland B before 1939 (today Podkarpacie, Lubelskie, Podlasie Voivodships).

Keywords: developmental disproportions, Second Republic of Poland, Poland A and Poland B, Eugeniusz Kwiatkowski, Central Industrial District

Received: 18.12.2018; **Revised:** 28.12.2018; **Revised:** 28.12.2018; **Accepted:** 30.12.2018

Introduction

The problem of developmental disproportions occurring within a state is not an uncommon phenomenon; in fact, it could be considered a norm stemming from many important factors which result in a situation where some regions develop well or even superbly, whereas other regions, even ones which used to be important centres of political and economic

* Institute of History, University of Rzeszów, Rejtana 16C, 35-959 Rzeszów, Poland; pgrata@wp.pl

life, lag significantly behind. Natural conditions and resources, financial and human resources, as well as policies of central and local authorities and negative historical factors are the basic determinants which generate developmental differences.

They occur virtually everywhere, but their scale can be really varied. In countries which have developed harmoniously for centuries and which have a set of beneficial determinants, the disproportions are relatively small and comparatively easy to reduce. Great Britain is a good example of such a situation; the economic processes leading up to the Industrial Revolution were natural, and the resultant socio-economic development occurred in a balanced way and covered the entire territory gradually. In other countries, where the developmental determinants were not as beneficial, and the industrialisation as such was insular, the disproportions occurred naturally, and their scale was possible to minimise only with time, and often with difficulty.

The situation of Polish lands was very complicated in this regard. At the root of the detrimental tendencies and the occurrence of severe disproportions were many phenomena which had a deep impact on developmental processes. It is worth looking at them more closely and attempt to answer the fundamental questions related to the division into Poland A and Poland B, which became fully apparent after Poland regained independence after WWI. The geographical scope of the analysis covers the area of the Polish state, rebuilt after over a hundred years of subordination, and the temporal boundary is the year 1939, when the Polish Republic essentially stopped existing within the borders agreed on after WWI.

Factors behind the spread of developmental processes on Polish lands

In the last two centuries, developmental processes were mainly determined by industrialisation, which was the necessary condition for taking the path to economic and social modernisation. As a result, factors which had previously been significant continued to lose their importance. Consequently, places which had been even the most vital trade, manufacturing, political and cultural centres in the Middle Ages or even in the early modern times, could be marginalised if they were not included in the “new” modernisation, related to industrialisation.

In order for industrialisation to occur it was necessary to meet several preliminary requirements. The fundamental ones included suitable raw material resources, manufacturing traditions outside agriculture, well-disposed institutions, labour resources and ready markets (Kaczyńska and Piesowicz 1977, 196–200).

Great Britain met all of these requirements, which is why the process of industrialisation started there. In other countries, industrialisation, defined as a widespread use of modern production techniques (with all their consequences), was initiated much later and was much less prevalent. Belgium, France and German lands took the path to fast development in the first half of the 19th c. Other countries, not equipped with adequate resources by nature, did so slightly later, when – taking advantage of favourable conditions – they managed to find their place in the international division of labour, determined by the countries which had been industrialised earlier (Cameron 1993, 223–257).

The situation of Polish lands was very different and extremely disadvantageous, and their backwardness started already in the times of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Internal weakness, resulting from an inert political system, anarchy and underdeveloped economy, is considered to have been the main cause of the Commonwealth's collapse. The latter factor was largely a result of the state's policy. Consequently, in the face of the increasing dualism of Europe's economic development, which was a result of deep institutional differences, as well as the division of labour among Europe's various parts, which was shaped in the 16th–18th c., the economy on Polish lands, which had flourished in the High Middle Ages, with time was left lagging far behind the continent's developing nations (Rutkowski 1947, 358–361).

Accordingly, Polish lands entered the period of partitions as an already economically backward territory, and the state's collapse as a rule meant an increased influence of detrimental developmental determinants. With the exception of the short-lived, only sixteen-year-long, period of autonomy of the Kingdom of Poland and Galicia's autonomy after 1867, the directions of development on the territories of the former Commonwealth were decided by the partitioning powers, who were not interested in developing the areas – which were peripheral from their point of view. Their modernisation was mainly determined by the direction of institutional solutions adopted in each of the three monarchies. Opportunities for the development

of Polish lands depended on them, and they also determined the scale of disproportions in this regard.

The necessary condition for starting modernisation were institutional changes oriented towards abolishing feudalism. In the West of the continent, such changes were brought about by the French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars; in the East, they were much more difficult to effect. Only one of the partitioning powers, Prussia, started on its way to change in agriculture in the early 19th c., and the so-called Prussian regulation, initiated in 1807, brought about the liquidation of feudal relations, restructured the agricultural sector, and created a strong structure of modern, market-driven farms. Although they meant the liquidation of a large proportion of small farms, these processes undoubtedly facilitated progress, which also occurred on Polish lands under the Prussian rule. As a consequence, they led to the quick development of agriculture on these territories, coupled with an improvement of the entire farming infrastructure working to support its needs. The positive tendencies in agriculture in the Prussian partition were in no way mirrored in the other partitions. In Austrian Galicia, land was not granted to peasants until 1848; in the Kingdom of Poland it only happened in 1864; and the method of introducing reforms, unlike in the Prussian regulation, petrified the disadvantageous structure of farms and determined the future deep backwardness of agriculture on the majority of Polish lands (Duda and Orłowski 1999, 133–134, 141).

The second determinant which had an impact on the emergence of glaring developmental disproportions on partitioned Polish lands were the conditions of industrialisation. Since they lacked their own state, they were directly dependent on the partitioning powers' broadly defined potential and policy with regard to Polish lands. The first determinant was the most advantageous in the Prussian state, which was able to take the path towards industrialisation relatively early, thanks to the emerging common market of German lands and raw material resources. As a result, the fast development of modern industry began in Upper Silesia already in the 1840s and this region remained the most industrialised part of the lands which made up the Polish state after WWI. However, we should remember that this development was mainly based on German capital and German ready markets (Łukasiewicz 1988, 14–15).

It was much later that industrialisation covered the territories of the other two partitions, which resulted from the mentioned

lateness of institutional changes, as well as from lower economic and cultural potential of the partitioning powers. In the Russian partition, industrialisation, which was insular in nature, cannot be spoken about until the 1870s, when the Łódź industrial district, built on the textile industry, went through a period of unprecedented development (Dzionek-Kozłowska, Kowalski and Matera 2017, 236–238). Slightly later, a modern industry sector emerged in the Dąbrowa Basin, Warsaw became an important centre, and the Białystok district thrived. The rest of the territories remained a virtual industrial desert (Jeziński and Leszczyńska 1999, 180–186; Kula 1947, 30–56).

In Galicia, enclaves of modernity were even fewer and farther between. The crude oil industry, which developed fast especially since the 1880s, became the symbol of industrialisation and a hope for the modernisation of the state. Other than that, we could list the Cracow Basin, individual machinery plants, and numerous, usually small, food production plants. In the face of a lack of capital, a non-absorptive internal market, scattered agriculture and a detrimental state policy, there was not much that Galicia's autonomous authorities, oriented towards developing the economic potential of the partition, could do (Kula 1947, 71–86).

The latter issue is also related to a set of other determinants which had an impact on the developmental opportunities of Polish lands. Deprived of their own state, these lands did not necessarily find support for such processes from the partitioning powers. While in the Prussian partition the economy on Polish lands, despite Germanisation efforts, could count on the protection of the state, in the other two partitions the situation was markedly worse. Austria-Hungary treated Galicia as a peripheral country, a ready market for industrial products and a source of raw materials. Meanwhile, in the competition for the internal market, the Russian government openly supported Russian companies at the expense of those operating on Polish lands (Rusiński 1969, 312–319).

Without going into detailed reflections on the directions of the influence and impact of the other developmental determinants on the modernisation of Polish lands prior to Poland regaining independence, it must be concluded that the processes occurring on these lands obviously must have brought deep developmental disproportions not only between the individual partitions, but also between specific regions within them. Therefore, the Polish Republic, rebuilt after over 100 years, would consist not only of territories which differed in terms of the legal,

administrative, monetary, and tax systems, but also – or perhaps most importantly – really varied in terms of the degree of developmental processes, dividing the state in advance into two not very matching components, which would come to be called Poland A and Poland B¹.

The Second Polish Republic – one state, two Polands

The terms Poland A and Poland B appeared in Polish political commentary journalism in the second half of the 1930s, and the Deputy Prime Minister at the time, Eugeniusz Kwiatkowski (1888–1974), put the spotlight on them in the public debate. Poland A included territories west of the conventional boundary marked by the Vistula River. These lands were considerably better developed than the ones located in the east, and the differences were visible not just in the purely economic aspect, but in virtually all spheres of life. Things could not have been any different in view of the fact that the territories of the former Prussian partition, better developed in many ways, were situated in the west, as were the Dąbrowa and Cracow Basins, and the Łódź and Warsaw Industrial Districts. East of the Vistula, the only larger industrial area was the Drohobycz Oil Field, and relatively small enclaves of well-developed industry were still connected to urban centres which held important administrative functions (Lublin, Lwów, Stanisławów, Białystok, Wilno; cf. Fig. 1).

The boundary marked by the Vistula River was, of course, only a conventional one, but it did mean that Poland A included the Voivodeships of Poznań, Pomerania, Silesia, Kielce, Warsaw (including the capital) and Cracow, whereas Poland B comprised the Białystok, Lublin, Wilno, Nowogródek, Polesie, Volyn', Lwów, Tarnopol and Stanisławów Voivodeships². It should be stressed that a closer analysis of the level of development of individual voivodeships would also require putting considerable stretches of the Warsaw, Kielce and Cracow, Voivodeships in Poland B, but in order to make the analysis clearer it is worth keeping the division proposed above³.

¹ For the first findings of a study on the differences in the GDP level *per capita* in individual administrative entities on Polish lands in the early 20th c. see Bukowski, Koryś, Leszczyńska and Tymiński 2017, 163–193.

² For the history of the east territories of the Second Polish Republic in the years 1918–1939 see Mędrzecki 2018, *passim*.

³ Some pre-war authors also distinguished Poland C, which covered the territories of voivodeships situated in the Eastern Borderland, formerly in the Russian partition; see Tomaszewski 1981, 105–106.

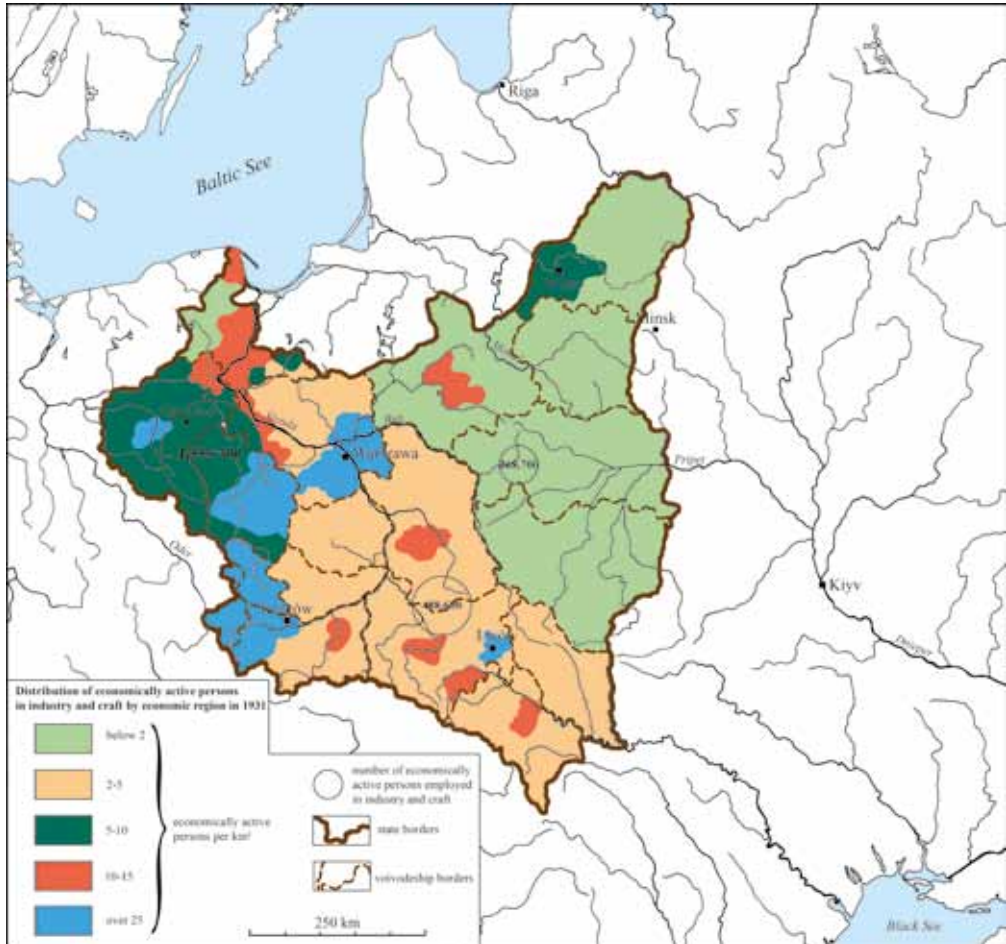


Fig. 1. Distribution of economically active persons in industry and craft in the Second Polish Republic – 1931 (Source: Z. Landau and J. Tomaszewski 1991, 58; redrawn by J. Oźóg)

The developmental disproportions between the two parts of the state can be illustrated with many indices, which are difficult to list in their entirety in such a short sketch is this. The occupational structure of the population, employment outside agriculture, the density of the transportation network, the efficiency and yield of marketable agricultural output, the volume of industrial production, and the accessibility of the communal infrastructure are just some of the differences related to economic issues. They should be coupled with

elements, just as significant from the point of view of developmental disproportions, which might be called social or cultural ones. They included e.g. the level of industrial workers' wages, employment relationships in industry and agriculture, access to the social insurance system, development of health care, the population's health care awareness, and household equipment and appliances. Importantly, the more indices of modernity we consider, the more conspicuous it becomes that the territorial range of the area referred to as Poland A becomes smaller. One example is social insurance, which was available in the full objective scope only on the territories of the former Prussian partition (Grata 2016, 398–403).

However, if we keep the division which is based on the conventional line of the Vistula River, it is worth emphasising the basic differences between the two parts of the country. The comparison of population density indicates fundamental disproportions. According to the census of 1931, the western part of the country was inhabited by 16,100,000 citizens, i.e. 50.1 per cent of the entire population, while the area of so-called Poland A was 138,800 square kilometres, i.e. only 35.7 per cent of the total area. This meant that the development index showing population density, which had been a basic one since the Middle Ages, left no illusions about the depth of changes in this regard. An average of 116 persons per square kilometre lived in the west, while only 64 persons lived in the east, and the scale of this phenomenon was indicated by comparisons of the most industrialised Silesian Voivodeship (308 persons per square kilometre) and the four eastern voivodeships (Wilno, Nowogródek, Polesie, Volyn'), where the population density was 45 persons per square kilometre⁴ (Mały Rocznik Statystyczny 1936, 8–10).

These most rudimentary data were confirmed by the indices which directly showed the economic and social potential, as well as the economic processes occurring in individual parts of the country. We should note here the considerable differences visible in the context of the place of residence and sources of income. With a low level of urbanisation of the country, which was reflected in just 27.4 per cent of city dwellers in 1931, it is worth noting the fundamental disparities in this regard. In the western part, called Poland A, the percentage of urban population was 36.3 per cent (nearly 6 million people), i.e. it

⁴ Author's own calculations.

was 9 percentage point higher than the national average and almost twice as high as in Poland B (almost 18.6 per cent of urban population, i.e. less than 3 million people)⁵ (Leszczyńska 2018, 73; *Mały Rocznik Statystyczny* 1936, 8).

The indices presenting the population structure by source of income, divided into agriculture, industry, and mining, were closely correlated with this. In 1931 agriculture was the source of income for 60 per cent of the population, while industrial occupations, which determine the extent of developmental processes, were 19 per cent. The Silesian Voivodeship was considerably different from these averages; the share of industry and mining was 55 per cent there, while agriculture provided a source of income to only 12 per cent of the inhabitants (in the Łódź Voivodeship the percentage of people who earned their living in industry was 31 per cent, while in the Kielce Voivodeship – 27 per cent). On the other end of the spectrum were the eastern voivodeships, where only 10 per cent of the population earned their living in industry and mining, while the share of agriculture increased to as much as 80 per cent (Leszczyńska 2018, 106–107; Landau and Tomaszewski 1980, 36–40).

The geographical differences visible with regard to selected indices showing the population's potential were visible equally well in the area of strictly economic indices. Moreover, an analysis of at least some of them clearly shows that the voivodeships in the heart of the country, which used to be in the Russian partition, did not really meet the standards of Poland A. This was especially true for the railroad network. In the late 1930s, when 5.2 km of railroads per 100 square kilometres was the average, only the Warsaw Voivodeship, including Warsaw, reached this average in the centre of the country. In the former Prussian partition, which was the most developed in this regard, the average ranged from 10 km in the Poznań Voivodeship to 18.5 km in the Silesian Voivodeship. In the eastern lands, the number was around 3 km, i.e. it was six times lower than in Silesia (*Mały Rocznik Statystyczny* 1939, 188).

The proposed division into Poland A and B is similarly reflected in the network of roads, although it is worth noting that in central Poland this index was clearly connected to industrialisation. With the average of 16.2 km of roads per 100 square kilometres, in the Warsaw Voivodeship the number was 24.1 km, in the Łódź Voivodeship it

⁵ Author's own calculations.



Fig. 2. Road network in in the Second Polish Republic (Source: Z. Landau and J. Tomaszewski 1991, 56; redrawn by J. Ożóg)

was 24.6 km, and in the Kielce Voivodeship – 18.6 km, while in the Lublin and Białystok Voivodeships it was only 11–12 km. On the other hand, in the eastern voivodeships it never exceeded 10 km, and in the Polesie Voivodeship it was only 2.9 km per 100 square kilometres, i.e. over eighteen times smaller than in Silesia (Mały Rocznik Statystyczny 1939, 188; cf. Fig. 2).

Another confirmation of the existence of fundamental dualism in the level of the state's development was the involvement of hired workers in the economy of individual regions. The voivodeships included in Poland A decisively dominated in the country – in 1931 out of 2.8 million workers outside agriculture almost 2.1 million, i.e. as many as 75 per cent, worked in this part of Poland. The disproportions became even more visible in the geographical structure of employment in industry and mining, where a total of almost 1.7 million workers were employed in Poland. Over 1.3 million of them were employed in companies operating on the territory of so-called Poland A (with the majority in the Łódź, Silesian and Warsaw Voivodeships), which meant that it employed as many as 80 per cent of all industrial workers. The scale of the differences is reflected in the comparison of 290,000 industrial workers in the Łódź Voivodeship with only a few hundred thousand of such workers in the Polesie and Volyn' Voivodeships⁶ (*Mały Rocznik Statystyczny 1939*, 134, 258).

Due to a lack of appropriate data, which would allow us to make a precise comparison of the national income or the value of the global production by voivodeship, it is difficult to pinpoint the share of the two analysed parts of the country in the production of goods and services, but we can get an idea of the actual state of affairs on the basis of the disproportions quoted above, which showed the employment of workers, as well as the below map of the division of the Polish Republic into two extremely different parts in terms of economy. To get a better idea, it is worth quoting data related to the production of electrical energy, which in principle was not dependent on the occurrence of natural raw materials, but reflected the extent of developmental processes. In 1938, the production of energy in Poland A was 3,688,000,000 kWh, i.e. almost 93.5 per cent of the total energy produced in Poland and constituted the conclusive proof that two almost completely different (in terms of development) parts of the same country existed side by side⁷ (*Mały Rocznik Statystyczny 1939*, 127; cf. Fig. 3).

Instead of recapitulation

Both the facts presented above, showing the chasm between Poland A and Poland B, as well as a number of other facts, unmentioned in this

⁶ Author's own calculations.

⁷ Author's own calculations.



Fig. 3. Division of the country into Poland A and Poland B on the basis of selected indices of industrial production in the in the Second Polish Republic (Source: Z. Landau and J. Tomaszewski 1991, 64; redrawn by J. Ożóg)

sketch, prove the thesis, formulated already in the interwar period, about the virtually clinical and very detrimental developmental dichotomy of the Second Polish Republic. Although it was noticed by many, for the first dozen or so years of independence it was treated as a necessary evil and a phenomenon which could not be overcome. It was not until the experience of the Great Depression and Eugeniusz Kwiatkowski taking the position of Deputy Prime Minister in 1935 that things changed⁸.

⁸ For the economic crisis in Poland in 1929–1935 see Landau and Tomaszewski 1982, *passim*.

Diagnosing the state's economic situation, Kwiatkowski was not only aware of the deep divide into Poland A and Poland B, but he also formulated a programme to alleviate the problem. The first step in this direction was to be the implementation of the Four Year Investment Plan, which, when modified in 1937, was the starting point for building the Central Industrial District. This zone of industrial and infrastructure investments, situated on the border of Poland A and Poland B (parts of the Cracow, Kielce, Lwów, and Lublin Voivodeships), was meant to be a prelude to resolving developmental differences between the two parts of the state. The next step was supposed to be another industrial district, which Kwiatkowski planned to build east of the CID (around Lwów). Moreover, towards the end of 1938 the Deputy Prime Minister presented a Fifteen Year Plan for the Development of Poland, whose final result was to be complete equalisation of the developmental level of the two parts of the country, which differed so much (Grata 2015, 84–86).

The outbreak of WWII thwarted Kwiatkowski's plan, and the occupation brought about a few years of devastation of Polish economy. As a result of the war, Poland also lost the eastern half of its territory, incorporated into the USSR. Importantly, this was a territory which was all included in the boundaries of pre-war Poland B, which had only 13 per cent of persons employed in industrial plants, and only 5 per cent of electrical energy production (*Mały Rocznik Statystyczny Polski* 1941, 54–61).

In the context of the fact that, as some sort of compensation, in 1945 Poland took over much better developed German territories in the west and north of the country, it might seem that the divide into Poland A and Poland B, so glaring in the Second Polish Republic, would end when the war finished. However, this was not the case and contemporary Eastern Poland, whose territories were included in Poland B already before WWII, still sometimes continues to be referred to in this way. What is more, its regions are still the worst developed regions in the European Union, which only goes to confirm the difficulties with overcoming the developmental disproportions resulting from ages of late development, mentioned at the beginning of the paper.

References

- Bukowski M., Koryś P., Leszczyńska C. and Tymiński M. 2017. Rozwój regionalny ziem polskich pod zaborami. Porównanie poziomu produktu brutto per capita na dzisiejszych terenach Polski na przełomie XIX i XX w. (wyniki pierwszych estymacji). *Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych* 78, 163–193.
- Cameron R. 1993. *A Concise Economic History of the World: From Paleolithic Times to the Present*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Duda J. and Orłowski R. 1999. *Gospodarka polska w dziejowym rozwoju Europy (do 1939 roku)*. Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 133–134, 141.
- Dzionek-Kozłowska J., Kowalski K. and Matera R. 2017. Geography matters. Environmental factors that affected the „take-of” of Łódź. *Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych* 78, 223–246.
- Grata P. 2015. Centralny Okręg Przemysłowy. In Ł. Dwilewicz and W. Morawski (eds.), *Historia polskich okręgów i regionów przemysłowych*, vol. I. Warszawa: Polskie Towarzystwo Historii Gospodarczej, 84–86.
- Grata P. 2016. System emerytalny Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej. In A. Janiak-Jasińska, K. Sierakowska and A. Szwarz (eds.), *Ludzie starzy i starość na ziemiach polskich od XVIII do XXI wieku (na tle porównawczym)*, vol. I. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DiG, 398–403.
- Jezierski A. and Leszczyńska C. 1997. *Historia gospodarcza Polski*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Key Text.
- Kaczyńska E. and Piesowicz K. 1977. *Wykłady z powszechnej historii gospodarczej (od schyłku średniowiecza do I wojny światowej)*. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe.
- Kula W. 1947. *Historia gospodarcza Polski w dobie powojennej 1864–1918*. Warszawa: Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza „Wiedza”.
- Landau Z. and Tomaszewski J. 1980. *Polska w Europie i świecie 1918–1939*. Warszawa: Wiedza Powszechna.
- Landau Z. and Tomaszewski J. 1982. *Gospodarka Polski międzywojennej*, vol. III. *Wielki kryzys 1930–1935*. Warszawa: Książka i Wiedza.
- Landau Z. and Tomaszewski J. 1991. *Gospodarka Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej*. Warszawa: Krajowa Agencja Wydawnicza.
- Leszczyńska C. 2018. *Polska 1918–2018*. Warszawa: Główny Urząd Statystyczny.
- Łukasiewicz J. 1988. *Początki cywilizacji przemysłowej na ziemiach polskich*. Warszawa: Krajowa Agencja Wydawnicza.
- Mały Rocznik Statystyczny 1939. Warszawa: Główny Urząd Statystyczny.
- Mały Rocznik Statystyczny Polski wrzesień 1939 – czerwiec 1941. Londyn: Ministerstwo Informacji i Dokumentacji.
- Mędrzecki W. 2018. *Kresowy kalejdoskop. Wędrówki przez ziemie wschodnie Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej 1918–1939*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Literackie.
- Rusiński W. 1969. *Rozwój gospodarczy ziem polskich w zarysie*. Warszawa: Książka i Wiedza.

Rutkowski J. 1947. *Historia gospodarcza Polski*, vol. I. *Czasy przedrozbiorowe*. Poznań: Księgarnia Akademicka.

Tomaszewski J. 1981. *Polska A, B i C*. In *Encyklopedia historii gospodarczej Polski do 1945 roku*, vol. II. Warszawa: Wiedza Powszechna.

Michał Pawleta*

The Ludification of the Archaeological Past – Opportunities and Threats

ABSTRACT

Pawleta M. 2018. The Ludification of the Archaeological Past – Opportunities and Threats. *Analecta Archaeologica Ressoiviensia* 13, 49–68

The subject of this paper is the archaeologically created past, seen as a reservoir of pleasure. The topic is discussed in comparison with changes of the contemporary man's approach to the past. The organising motif of my reflections is the category of pleasure and different ways of pursuing it by people, mainly by means of broadly understood play. I propose here two theses, namely: (1) in the contemporary world the past, being a point of reference for archaeological investigation, may constitute a source of pleasure or inspiration to search for pleasure; (2) the ways of presenting the past to a certain degree have been subjugated by the rules that have been reserved for the domains of entertainment and consumption. This paper will relate to: (1) the pleasure of exploring of the past; (2) the pleasure of re-enacting and performing the past, and (3) the pleasure of playing with the past during archaeological fêtes.

Keywords: ludification of the past, pleasure, exploring the past, historical re-enactment, archaeological fêtes, commercialisation of the past

Received: 21.12.2018; **Revised:** 28.12.2018; **Revised:** 28.12.2018; **Accepted:** 30.12.2018

Nowadays, the archaeologically created past can be seen as a reservoir of pleasure¹. I will try to prove this statement by proposing two theses. First, that in the contemporary world the past, being a point of reference for archaeological (and historical) investigation, may constitute a source of pleasure or inspiration to search for pleasure. Second, the ways of presenting the past and consequently the forms of its presence to a certain degree have been subjugated by the rules that traditionally have been reserved to the domains of entertainment and consumption.

* Institute of Archaeology – Adam Mickiewicz University, Uniwersytetu Poznańskiego 7, 61-614 Poznań, Poland; mpawleta@amu.edu.pl

¹ The issue of the ludification of the past has already been the subject of my previous studies and publications and some ideas presented here have appeared elsewhere – see Pawleta 2010; 2011a; 2011b; 2012a; 2012b; 2014; 2016a; 2016b; 2017.

As a consequence, the observable use of remains of past times these days is “a process activated by the logic of entertainment, leisure, and consumerism” (Gil García 2011, 269). The past, presented and received in that way, can thus provide some specific pleasures prepared for the needs of mass tourism and arranged for active participation or entertainment.

The issues forming the keystone of my paper are a reflection of broader changes in the attitude of contemporary people towards the past. They are connected with the so-called historical sensitivity or with the historical culture of contemporary people. According to Andrzej Szpociński (2010, 9) it ought to be understood as

a collection of ideas, norms, behavioural models, socially respected values, which regulate the way we relate to everything that is recognised as the past (passed, historical) in any given culture, independent of the current state of affairs.

The period after 1989 in Poland was marked by a re-evaluation of the relationship people have with the past and attitudes towards it. This is evident in the diverse forms of the presence and functioning of the past – as relics, reconstructions and narratives – and also in how the past is referred to. One of the main arguments I would like to propose here is that postmodern times are marked by a change in attitudes to the past and a fundamental re-evaluation of the forms in which the past is perceived, made present and/or experienced.

Postmodernity, or rather the nature of the dynamic cultural, social, political, economic and civilisation changes that shape it, is quite a different context for the presence and functioning of the past, including the prehistoric past, in comparison to that of the preceding eras. Sociologists’ findings clearly show that the present day has instigated a totally new quality in the ways history and the past are perceived, which I suggest be termed the postmodern attitude towards the past. Four inter-related aspects which constitute the change in modern attitudes towards the past can be listed here, namely: (1) the increasing importance of memory in public life; (2) the privatisation of the past, based on creating personalised visions of the past; (3) the conviction that direct contact with the past is possible through personal and sensuous experience; and (4) the commercialisation of cultural heritage, connected with the transformation of the essence of the past into a marketable product in the form of goods, services or experiences (Szpociński 2007; 2010;

2012; Kwiatkowski 2008, 39–40; 2009, 131–134; Szacka 2009; 2014; Pawleta 2016a, 42).

These aspects constitute the broader context for the tendencies in which the archaeological past is made present today. Thus, I argue that the forms in which the past is here today (including the prehistoric past), how knowledge about it is presented to people, and consequently the methods by which they learn about and/or experience the past are currently influenced by the following: (1) just how sensational an archaeological discovery is, causing other discoveries important in archaeology to be overlooked; (2) reconstructionism, based on recreating the past through physical/virtual reconstructions; (3) how suited the past is to theatricalisation in regard to certain activities from the past being recreated in front of a live audience; and (4) “festivalisation”, referring to the organisation of mass events with the past as a theme. The above-mentioned strategies are further connected with some related phenomena, namely: (5) the aesthetisation of the past; (6) the idea of “time travel”, and (7) the past as a ludic phenomenon (see Pawleta 2016a, 161–181).

Even though these terms have an external character and I employ them as a strategy for interpreting certain phenomena and trends, they also concern practical aspects. They remain closely related to the attempts to “enliven” the past, by moving away from static forms of presentation (e.g. exhibitions in museums) and making the past more accessible and interactive.

The definition of pleasure

For the purposes of this paper, the definition of pleasure proposed by Marek Krajewski (2003, 35–36) has been adopted:

pleasure is the state of feelings which is opposite to the sense of unfulfillment, lack, deprivation and pain, and which is also situated between the two different feelings: satisfaction and delight.

Pursuing pleasure is one of the driving forces behind human behaviour, and the available ways of experiencing pleasure are part of broadly understood culture (Grad and Mamzer 2005). In addition, experiencing pleasure is one of the inherent elements of play, which has been stressed in its various definitions (e.g. Caillois 1973; Huizinga 1985).

Referencing the past is a significant part of the present world. The past in its diverse facets is reconstructed, experienced and consumed

in different manners by various audiences. Thus, my next argument is that in a consumer society the past has become just another commodity to be bought and sold (see: Hewison 1987; Bagnall 1996; Rowan and Baram 2004; de Grott 2009; Baillie, Chatzoglou and Shadia 2010; Pawleta 2011a; Kowalczyk and Kiec 2015; Wojdon 2018). It is a commercially driven kind of goods – in its material and social aspects that can be obtained, used and consumed as-wished-for.

I also agree with those scholars who have argued that the culture of our times is distinctly marked by ludic tendencies (e.g. Grad and Mamzer 2004a; 2004b; Kantor 2013). They seem to be closely connected not only with the orientation towards consumerism, but also with the attitudes directed towards searching for pleasure, for fulfilment in the shortest possible time, for the need for entertainment. We can refer here to the idea of “experience economy” (Pine and Gilmore 1999), which stresses that today’s businesses must orchestrate memorable events for their customers, and that memory itself becomes the product – the experience. Thus, they have to provide professionally (consciously and purposefully) prepared products, strongly marked with emotions.

From the perspective of the issues raised in my paper, the distinction, proposed by Ryszard Kantor (2010), between “playing with the past” and “playing the past”, is rather crucial in determining the different kinds of entertainment based on the past. It is irrelevant whether the past is only imaginary or reconstructed on the basis of scientific knowledge. According to Kantor (2010, 136), “playing with the past” means “the use of props, characters and events from the past with the aim of amusement”. Old costumes and clothes used today for fun, historical reconstructions and archaeological fêtes belong to this category. They are purely entertaining performances, a form of passive entertainment, devoid of any educational potential. And “playing the past” has been defined by Kantor (2010, 136) as “a clearly distinct kind of human activity (participatory, active fun), more permanent and deeper”. Participation in historical re-enactment movement and other group activities connected with the past is included in this category. Attention to historical accuracy is one of their important features.

I have argued elsewhere that the past, as well as forms of reference to it, is one source of ludic behaviour in modern society (see Pawleta 2011b). Reflections on the function of the past in contemporary popular culture seem to be in accordance with that observation (e.g. Holtorf

2005; 2007). For modern popular culture, the past becomes an element of entertainment and consumption (e.g. Krajewski 2003, 205–245; de Grott 2009; Robinson and Silverman 2015). Often, it refers to mythic archetypes still present in our culture that can be evidenced for example in modern speculative fiction, such as fantasy and alternate histories (e.g. Trocha, Rzyman and Ratajczak 2013) or in the different media such as movies or video games (e.g. Clack and Brittain 2007; Mol *et al.* 2017). From the point of view of the issues analysed here, it is important that the past created archaeologically has also now become the inspiration to pursue pleasure. Thus, pleasure is one of the most popular ways of learning, feeling and understanding the past (Jasiewicz and Olędzki 2005, 183). In this sense, the culture of pleasure can be expressed as a form of attitude towards the fascinating and joyful past, for example in the process of discovering it and learning through fun.

I will now analyse different kinds of pleasure, for which the past can be the source or the inspiration. I will argue that the archaeological past can serve as a point of reference for archaeology, both in the process of the “ludification” of archaeology, which means using archaeological knowledge for ludic purposes, as well as in games and entertainment based on the prehistoric past. Particular aspects will relate to: (1) the pleasure of exploring the past; (2) the pleasure of re-enacting and performing the past, and (3) the pleasure of playing with the past during archaeological fêtes. Due to separate elements mutually overlapping or inter-penetrating, the proposed division is quite arbitrary and my intention is only to signal specific phenomena, not to analyse them in a broad manner.

Pleasure of exploring the past

The first aspect is pleasure derives from the process of exploring and discovering the past, mainly in the course of archaeological excavations, with emphasis on the role of emotions and senses accompanying discoveries. This concerns both professional archaeologists and activities of so-called “detectorists”. This is the kind of pleasure which is included in the gradual process of discovering in the course of archaeological excavations. In this regard, I subscribe to the opinion of Łukasz Dominiak (2005), who argues that pleasure, which refers to feelings and intuition, is an extra-epistemological but important

element of archaeological research, taking place especially in the direct experience of the materiality of archaeological sources. Dominiak also lists a number of pleasures, conditioned (among others) by an archaeologist's re-enactment of what had passed or by direct contact with relics of the past.

The pleasures can also result from the methodology of excavations itself. In this respect, one can refer to the original ideas of Michael Shanks (1992), who compared archaeological excavations to striptease. He writes:

Excavation is striptease. The layers are peeled off slowly; eyes of intent scrutiny. The pleasure is in seeing more, but it lies also in the edges: the edge of stocking-top and thigh. There is the allure of transgression – the margin of decorum and lewdness, modesty and display. The hidden past brought into the stage-light of the present. Audience keeps its distance; the stage is for performer only. The split heightens the enticement. Just as the gap between past and present draws us to wonder in fascination (Shanks 1992, 54).

The pleasure Shanks describes is embedded in the process of discovering, uncovering and revealing past remains. It is the pleasure of gaining knowledge of what is being uncovered in a slow and patient way. Moreover, experience of the past does not really have the nature of a thought process as it amounts mainly to the emotional and bodily spheres. Also, the very act of discovering past remains is important as “it is the performance, the medium of discovery, how we come to see and know” (Shanks 1992, 55). Shanks also points out that archaeological practice contains a form of melancholy, caused by the awareness that so much of the past has been irretrievably lost. Therefore, he proposes developing an approach based on a dialogue with the past, whose constitutive element is the fascination with discovering the otherness of the past (Shanks 1992, 50, 145). According to him, emotions and feelings associated with this very act disappear in the process of interspersing them into scientific procedures.

Both Ł. Dominiak's and M. Shanks' proposals can be interpreted as an expression of a “romantic” view, embedded in the archaeological cognition of the past. I agree with the apt remark of Danuta Minta-Tworzowska (2009, 17), who points out that to some extent they are reductionist: they reduce experience to the sphere of emotions and feelings, at the same time identifying them with pleasure, namely the pleasure of a dialogue with the past, included in its discovery and

cognition. However, emotions and feelings are by no means the only elements of experience, as it consists of a number of other components, such as intellectual ones. What is more, these proposals tend to completely omit negative experiences, resulting from contact with traumatic aspects of the past and material remnants of acts of violence, destruction or the sphere of human mortality (e.g. Zalewska, Scott and Kierszys 2017). In addition, they reduce experience to the individual feelings of a given researcher, at the same time assuming its ahistoricism and universalism by not taking into account that forms of experience are culturally and historically variable. However, as pointed out by D. Minta-Tworzowska, they have a certain advantage that can be seen in the sensitisation of an archaeologist to the otherness of the past and demanding respect for the past instead of appropriating and colonising it in the name of science. They also allow us to see the role of an important emotional component accompanying all archaeological research, thus restoring to some extent the “romanticism” lost by archaeology.

Pleasure of re-enacting and performing the past

The second aspect discussed in this paper concerns pleasures associated mainly with the phenomenon of historical re-enactment, which are derived both in the course of participating in re-enacting scenes from the past and from watching performances of this type. I understand historical re-enactment as defined by Michał Bogacki (2008, 222), as a collection of

activities based on the visual presentation of various areas of life in the past by people in costumes using objects relating to the past (replicas or occasionally reconstructions) from a given period, or even original artefacts.

It involves the staging of past events, the aim of which is to present the past based on historical or archaeological facts; it is not a truthful recreation of the past. Two types of historical re-enactment can be named – battle re-enactment, which reconstructs battle scenes; and living history, which recreates aspects of everyday life, presenting either a full picture or only part of it (Goodcare and Baldwin 2002; Radtchenko 2006; Bogacki 2008; 2010a; 2010b; Kwiatkowski 2008, 110–185; 2009, 134–143; McCalman and Pickering 2010; Szlendak *et al.* 2012; Baraniecka-Olszewska 2018). This “recalled past” oscillates

between emotions and the visitor's interaction; the viewer is frequently asked to participate in the events, giving rise to emotions through "sensuous intensification", providing an extraordinary experience. The fact that it is possible to take a look "behind the scenes" at such events is important, as it minimises the distance between the player and the spectator, creating the illusion viewers have of "being in direct contact with the past" (Nieroba, Czerner and Szczepański 2009, 30–33).

Historical re-enactment can provide pleasure in many ways. A distinction should be made between the pleasures of performance participants and of those who observe their actions. In the first case, it is mainly the pleasure of implementing an exciting hobby, a way of spending leisure time, having good fun. So, this is appreciation of all the aspects which constitute the definition of pleasure adopted in the paper. For a large number of re-enactors, re-enactment activities are primarily a form of play or entertainment from which one should derive pleasure. It comes from spending free time and pursuing an enjoyable hobby and it is "therefore a secondary disinterested activity, taken and continued only for pleasure" (Tomaszewska 2017, 214). Some re-enactors are fairly superficially involved in the movement; what is primarily important for them is the participation in tournaments, fun and entertainment (Radtchenko 2006, 139; Kwiatkowski 2008, 126). Ewa Tomaszewska (2017, 217) points out that in the case of many re-enactors, the primary interest in recreating people's lives is related to fun, combined with an earlier fascination, for example with fantasy literature or role-playing games (also Bogacki 2008, 240). The basic idea around which this kind of play is organised consists in imitating the lives of people from past periods – *mimicry*, whereby play is based on the past, which determines its character, guarantees its historical accuracy (through e.g. props, set design, façade) and also provides it with credibility and consistency. What is important in re-enactment is "a certain inclination towards a playful adoption of a new identity, acting, pretending, "moving into" an imaginary world" (Tomaszewska 2017, 217); the opportunity to impersonate alternative characters, dress up, take a different name, etc. Aspects of a direct experience of the past through more modest initiatives, connected with the so-called "journeys into the past", are also significant in this regard (Pettersson and Holtorf 2017). Their participants, playing the roles of their ancestors, want to experience personally what life might have looked like centuries ago.

Historical re-enactments can also be the source of unforgettable experiences and a variety of pleasures for their spectators, who find pleasure in participating in re-enactment spectacles, in observing and taking part in such events. Thus, pleasure is part of the formula of historical performances itself, which directly results from the character of re-enactments as spectacles, performances or events, presented and watched mainly for entertainment. They often contain some ways of getting the audience to participate in the presented events, usually in the form of fun, e.g. tournaments, competitions, etc. In this regard, it is important to offer to spectators the possibility of experiencing something personally, and of sensual contact with the recreated past. Entertainment is therefore aimed at satisfying people's needs.

Thus, activities that are part of historical re-enactment meet most of the formal criteria of ludic phenomena, as distinguished by Roger Caillois (1973). For example, they are events set at a specific time and in a particular space and they are accompanied by a sense of a specific “out of ordinary” reality, etc. They also fulfil the criteria for basic categories of games and plays proposed by Caillois. In addition, it is their spectacularity, an inherent feature of play, that largely determines the attractiveness and popularity of recreations of historical events. What one can see during those staged events is the domination of *ludus festivus* – fun, festivals, entertainment, being with other people. Entertainment, play and related pleasures are therefore an indispensable element of such events and at the same time a theme around which they are organised. It is not about approving shallow entertainment and commercialism, but rather about emphasising the role of play as an important cultural element, which can also have an important role in re-enactment activities.

Pleasure of playing with the past during archaeological fêtes

The last discussed aspect concerns archaeological fêtes, recognised from the perspective of pleasures connected with the ways of learning/educating about the past, as well as ludic aspects, which are their crucial element. Archaeological fêtes, also called festivals, markets or family fun days are outdoor events intended to raise awareness and educate people about the past. They usually take place where some connection to the past already exists (e.g. in archaeological open-air museums) or nearby and they present a range of aspects from the material, social

or spiritual world of the past (Chowaniec 2010, 208–210). There are demonstrations of different crafts such as pottery, flint tool making or weaving; it is possible to see a blacksmith, a carpenter, or a bone and horn craftsman at work; old recipes are used to cook traditional dishes; there are scenes from everyday life, warriors in battle, traditional folk music concerts, etc. The demonstrations are given not only by archaeologists or museum workers wearing costumes from the era, but also by living history presenters (see Grossman 2006; Nowaczyk 2007; Brzostowicz 2009; Piotrowski and Zajączkowski 2010). Fêtes attract many visitors, mainly children; their success is measured in visitor numbers, which supposedly prove the past can be presented in a way which contemporary audiences find attractive and engaging.

Despite the fact that organisers of festivals continually highlight their educational and popularisation values (e.g. Grossman 2006, 141; Brzostowicz 2009, 296; Bursche and Chowaniec 2009, 72), festivals do contain elements of entertainment which involves playing the past, a mass open-air pageant, where ludic tendencies dominate, aimed at the attractiveness, spectacularity and memorability of the shows. Often, though, their educational value is minimal and festivals instead become more like family picnics or local markets. Their popularity and the high number of visitors are very desirable from the point of view of the achievement of commercial aims, but this should not be the sole criterion of evaluation of such enterprises.

Archaeological fêtes, creating the illusion of time travel and containing the promise of an extraordinary experience, offer the spectator a number of other pleasant and memorable experiences. First of all, it is possible to find enjoyment not only in the passive observation of the happenings and demonstrations, but also in actively participating in them. Knowledge is transmitted in an interactive way, because fêtes offer contact with the past according to the motto “take a relic in hand, make a copy and feel the history” (Bursche and Chowaniec 2009, 75). Everything can be touched, spectators can often participate in the subsequent stages of an experiment, make some objects by themselves or personally test how they work. It should be noted that the past presented at festivals is usually more aesthetically pleasing; it is a cleaned-up version where only those aspects which can draw in the crowds are shown. It is a specific image, sterilised for the mass audience and served through the lens of entertainment, encouraging participation in the “experience”. What is

also characteristic of such events is that they are totally accessible and open: it is not necessary to know anything about history, nor learn anything about it, in order to play it; there are no prerequisites for visitors (Kantor 2010).

Secondly, the way of learning about the past is a pleasant experience in itself. In archaeology, this depends on the skilful combination of entertainment and education, during which abstract content is simplified and undergoes objectification, which is necessary in order for the message to reach the average member of the mass audience. Archaeological fêtes, which are a form of popularising archaeology and knowledge about the past in an accessible and attractive way, pursue the idea mainly through entertainment. We can refer here to the neologism “edutainment” which – according to Tim Edensor (2002, 85) – means:

a less didactic form of instruction, where affecting, sensual and mediatised stagings combine with a culture of instruction to produce a synthetic form.

Thus, edutainment as a form of entertainment that is designed to educate as well as amuse, is specific to contemporary society and describes a model of gaining knowledge in an attractive way. In a similar vein, many archaeologists have argued that a proper mix of education and entertainment, “hands-on” experience and direct engagement with the past through its reconstructions, re-enacted activities, performances and presentations have a greater impact on people’s understanding of prehistory than knowledge gleaned from books (Nowaczyk 2007; Wrzeński 2008).

Next, pleasure is part of the definition of archaeological fêtes. Fêtes and the games they offer attempt, in a certain way, to relate to elements of the past and in the intention of their organisers contain educational potential, although this is often rather doubtful. Fête organisers provide a whole range of attractions, both in the form of presented entertainment and events in which the public is invited to participate. The first group includes, above all, a whole range of battle re-enactments and warrior and knight tournaments, which are amongst the more spectacular activities and are obligatory at every event of this type. The perfect illustration of the second group of entertainment are plebeian games and individual or team competitions: stamping your own coin, trying your hand at archery, a ribbon-weaving race, or field games based on going around the festival, quizzes, guessing games, charades, art

competitions, games of physical skill based on games once popular in the past. Included here are all the stalls serving beer, chips, sausages, grilled black-pudding and sweet desserts, often under the guise of “ye olde traditional fayre and beverages”. This sort of attractions also includes prize draws, temporary “old style” tattoos, bathing in wooden tubs, tug-of-war games, firework displays or being locked into stocks. Folk dance groups and bands playing traditional music of the epoch, souvenir stalls or those selling toys for children, such as plastic swords, bows and arrows or helmets, and stands with handicrafts and organic food complete the whole.

Last, but not least, the achievement of commercial aims, increasing the attractiveness of the shows and avoiding repetition, requires a formula such as the one used in the annual Biskupin fêtes, where each year has a different culture as its theme (e.g. Indian, ancient Egyptian, Japanese) for the festival which takes place within the reserve. In this case, however, there are context issues in regard to the chronology and location of the shows, which some archaeologists and also third-party observers criticise quite strongly. For instance, Sylwia Czubkowska (2006, 11) equates the festivals in Biskupin with a “prehistoric Disneyland” or a “cross between a family fun-day, barbecue in the park and a market”.

Let me say it again, festivals are proof of the fact that the product archaeology offers can indeed be packaged in an attractive way. They are also a good example of how to adapt to the needs of contemporary consumers, the demands of free market economy, or how to receive sponsorship for undertaking archaeological ventures. The fact that archaeological fêtes and shows, workshops, demonstrations, etc. which disseminate knowledge about archaeology and the past in an accessible and attractive way are addressed mainly to children does not mean that adults do not find them equally enjoyable.

Wojciech Piotrowski (2008, 322), however, indicates that entertainment, as part of the convention of fêtes, and thereby connected to commercialism, is a threat since

uncontrolled, it introduces a holiday atmosphere and becomes grist to the mill of supporters of so-called “pure” archaeology and enemies of mass events, which outdo science in popularising knowledge of the past.

I agree with the above statement and, in my opinion, the obvious element of entertainment frequently leads to commercialisation and

increasingly banal displays. It also leads to fêtes being excessively focused on market needs, where practically anything can be shown and sold, if it can only be made interesting enough for the visitors, which in consequence inevitably results in a reformulation and loss of meaning of the past (Jasiewicz and Olędzki 2005, 203). Such a form of education and dissemination of knowledge of the past responds in part to the challenge of the contemporary world and consumer culture in which one immediately receives whatever one desires, even knowledge (for a critique on this topic see Postman 2006, 202–218). The message must therefore be readable and clear, featuring experiences and emotions transmitted in attractive, media-friendly and spectacular ways (Kowalski 2007, 34–37). However, the accepted formula for presenting knowledge of the past, as realised by archaeological fêtes, often leads to the domination of form over content, spectacularity and attractiveness over scientific reliability. In consequence, educational ideas are lost in favour of fast development and shallow information, accompanied by teaching which demands no effort of the participants. Therein lies the real danger, especially for unprepared spectators, who may well end up creating a false image of the past based on the information received. It can also pose a threat to archaeology itself, as the results of scientific archaeological reconstructions of the past can become in general public perception either trivialised or redefined by a perpetual round of entertainment (e.g. Brzeziński 2000, 153; Dominiak 2004; Nowaczyk 2007, 507; Brzostowicz 2009, 295–297; Pawleta 2010, 65–74). Although commerce is unavoidable at such events, it is necessary to achieve a good balance and to pay attention to the scientific accuracy and credibility of the transmission (Piotrowski 2005, 26).

Concluding remarks

Broadly understood ludic phenomena denote not only the ways in which people relate to the past, but also the change in the context of the functioning of the past, history and archaeology and the knowledge they generate, as well as possible ways of employing, making use of and “consuming” historical/archaeological heritage. They illustrate a shift in emphasis: from the past that is important to the one that belongs to the “Rhetorical Man”; looking into the past in order to get to the truth about it is now replaced by a wish to understand it, think about

it or experience it, which is manifested e.g. in re-enactment spectacles, archaeological fêtes or historical theme parks (Minta-Tworzowska 2012, 1095). It is important to emphasise again that the ludic aspect of the discussed phenomena in no way discredits them; it only demonstrates play as their inalienable element.

I am quite aware of the fact that reducing multiple forms of its presence, ways of presenting, receiving or experiencing the past in the contemporary world only to the aspects of entertainment, fun, recreation, ludic elements and perception of the past as a source of pleasure, is a rather one-sided approach to the subject. However, it seems rather obvious to me that an educational paradigm alone

is not able to do justice to the full range of phenomena in which the past receives meaning in the present. Playing games and having fun about the past cannot be reduced to whether or not you learn any history in the process (Holtorf 2012, 198).

In my opinion, entertainment is a meaningful, sometimes dominant, aspect with important social implications. Through it, many people nowadays have contact with the prehistoric past and archaeology. Usually, it is not about specific events from the past, but only about using archaeological and/or historical knowledge in a general way. “Reliving” the past using theatrical designs (costumes, props, etc.) is beneficial to explaining the past reality in a more precise and vivid way. These vibrant, dynamic, lively reconstructions show a completely different – although to some extent fictional – image of the past in comparison with the image created by archaeology as a field of science. Most credible to people are those visions of the past that resemble what we already knew beforehand (Holtorf 2012, 200). However, there is justified concern about increasing commercialisation of these visions and taking interest mainly in making profits, about a certain latitude and bending of recreated images to pander to popular tastes, about the degree of their accuracy, reliability or compliance with scientific knowledge, and about the loss of educational or popularising functions in favour of their attractiveness and being a source of entertainment.

The dissemination of knowledge of the past is inseparable from the commercialisation of science and the transformation of research results into a commercial product. Commercialisation, in my opinion, is an unavoidable process, which demands not so much a diagnosis

but the inclusion of its elements into the strategy of how archaeology functions in today's world, though I am quite aware of the difficulties of reconciling cultural activity with gaining funds or business. As an upside of commercialisation, it is necessary to mention the presentation of archaeology and its achievements in a more accessible and interesting way for the audience, a deciding factor in the commercial attractiveness of archaeology. Ways of guaranteeing access to a larger number of people are most certainly affecting the growing interest in archaeology and social awareness regarding, for example, the necessity to protect archaeological heritage (Deskur 2009, 288–290). Commercialisation also has its negative points, such as bending scientific truth only in order to interest the viewer/tourist, manipulation and simplification, a lack of scientific rigour or being dependant solely on the imagination of the creators of commercial initiatives. In this way, the commercialisation of archaeological knowledge can lead to confusion, to the “Disneyfication” of the past, by academia and amateurs alike (Kobyliński 2009, 121). It is necessary for both sides to cooperate and consult in order to guarantee a high standard of presentation and historical accuracy and to avoid mistakes. This postulate has already been put into practice, which can for example be observed in the joint initiatives of archaeologists and historical re-enactors (e.g. Górewicz 2009). At the same time, this challenge could serve to accomplish archaeology's mission in the contemporary world – the creation of the true image of archaeology, in which archaeology and heritage are important elements of culture and the modern world (Deskur 2009, 290–291). Thus, it is necessary to ensure that the form of transmission does not overshadow the content or that profits do not eclipse other aspects when the product relating to the past becomes one of many available on the market, banal and multiplied, as offered by the contemporary culture industry.

References

- Bagnall G. 1996. Consuming the past. In S. Edgell, K. Hetherington and A. Warde (eds.), *Consumption matters: the production and experience of consumption*. Oxford: Willey-Blackwell, 227–247.
- Baillie B., Chatzoglou A. and Shadia T. 2010. Packaging the past. The commodification of heritage. *Heritage Management* 3 (1), 51–71.

- Baraniecka-Olszewska K. 2018. *Reko-rekonesans: praktyka autentyczności. Antropologiczne studium odtwórstwa historycznego II wojny światowej w Polsce*. Kęty: Wydawnictwo Marek Derewiecki.
- Bogacki M. 2008. Wybrane problemy odtwórstwa wczesnośredniowiecznego w Polsce. In M. Bogacki, M. Franz and Z. Pilarczyk (eds.), *Kultura ludów Morza Bałtyckiego*, vol. II. *Nowożytność i współczesność*. Toruń: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, 219–269.
- Bogacki M. 2010a. 'Wżywianie' się w przeszłość – odtwórstwo historyczne a nauka. In K. Obremski and J. Wenta (eds.), *Recepcja kultury średniowiecznej w humanistyce*. Toruń: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, 153–196.
- Bogacki M. 2010b. O współczesnym „ożywianiu” przeszłości – charakterystyka odtwórstwa historycznego. *Turystyka Kulturowa* 2/2010, 39–62.
- Brzeziński W. 2000. Muzea jako instytucje ochrony i prezentacji dziedzictwa archeologicznego. In K. Gutowska (ed.), *Problemy zarządzania dziedzictwem kulturowym*. Warszawa: Res Publica Multiethnica, 147–156.
- Brzostowicz M. 2009. Imprezy historyczne – edukacja czy rozrywka? Kilka refleksji z doświadczeń Festiwalu Kultury Słowiańskiej i Cysterskiej w Łądzie nad Wartą. *Fontes Archaeologici Posnanienses* 45, 293–300.
- Bursche A. and Chowaniec R. 2009. Festyn archeologiczny w Biskupinie: komercyjny odpust czy promocja dziedzictwa archeologicznego. In B. Kaim (ed.), *Blisko i daleko. Księga Jubileuszowa Instytutu Archeologii Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego*. Warszawa: Instytut Archeologii Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 69–77.
- Caillois R. 1973. *Żywiół i ład*. Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy.
- Chowaniec R. 2010. *Dziedzictwo archeologiczne w Polsce. Formy edukacji i popularyzacji*. Warszawa: Instytut Archeologii Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego.
- Clack T. and Brittain T. (eds.) 2007. *Archaeology and the media*. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press.
- Czubkowska S. 2006. Nasz narodowy kicz. *Przekrój* 32, 6–11.
- Deskur K. 2009. Idea *public archaeology* – edukacja archeologiczna i popularyzacja archeologii. *Fontes Archaeologici Posnanienses* 45, 283–292.
- Dominiak Ł. 2004. Zabawa w przeszłość. Festyn archeologiczny jako forma karnawału. In J. Grad and H. Mamzer (eds.), *Karnawalizacja. Tendencje ludyczne w kulturze współczesnej*. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM, 81–86.
- Dominiak Ł. 2005. Opis archeologiczny jako problem reprezentacji rzeczy na przykładzie zabytków kultury pomorskiej. In M. Fudziński and H. Paner (eds.), *Aktualne problemy kultury pomorskiej*. Gdańsk: Muzeum Archeologiczne, 297–301.
- Edensor T. 2002. *Tożsamość narodowa, kultura popularna i życie codzienne*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego.
- Gil García F.M. 2011. Archaeological ruins: spaces of the past, expectations of the future. Tourism and heritage in Nor Lipez (dpt. of Potosí, Bolivia). In C. Gnecco and P. Ayala (eds.), *Indigenous peoples and archaeology in Latin America*. London, New York: Routledge, 269–288.
- Goodcare E.J. and Baldwin G. 2002. *Living the past. Reconstruction, recreation, re-enactment and education at museums and historical sites*. London: Middlesex University Press.

- Górewicz I. 2009. Profesjonalizacja odtwórstwa historycznego. In M. Bogacki, M. Franz and Z. Pilarczyk (eds.), *Gospodarka ludów Morza Bałtyckiego*, vol. I. *Starożytność i średniowiecze*. Toruń: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, 341–365.
- Grad J. and Mamzer H. (eds.) 2004a. *Ludyczny wymiar kultury*. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM.
- Grad J. and Mamzer H. (eds.) 2004b. *Karnawalizacja. Tendencje ludyczne w kulturze współczesnej*. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM.
- Grad J. and Mamzer H. (eds.) 2005. *Kultura przyjemności. Rozważania kulturoznawcze*. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM.
- Grossman A. 2006. Biskupińskie festyny w kraju i za granicą. *Z Otchłani Wieków* 61/3–4, 130–142.
- de Groot J. 2009. *Consuming history: historians and heritage in contemporary popular culture*. London, New York: Routledge.
- Hewison R. 1987. *The heritage industry: Britain in a climate of decline*. London: Methuen Ltd.
- Holtorf C. 2005. *From Stonehenge to Las Vegas: archaeology as popular culture*. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.
- Holtorf C. 2007. *Archaeology is a brand! The meaning of archaeology in contemporary popular culture*. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Holtorf C. 2012. The past as carnival. *Time and Mind: The Journal of Archaeology, Consciousness and Culture* 5(2), 195–202.
- Huizinga J. 1985. *Homo ludens. Zabawa jako źródło kultury*. Warszawa: Czytelnik.
- Jasiewicz K. and Ołędzki Ł. 2005. Od nostalgii do fascynacji – doświadczanie przeszłości. In J. Grad and H. Mamzer (eds.), *Kultura przyjemności. Rozważania kulturoznawcze*. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM, 183–208.
- Kantor R. 2010. Zabawa przeszłością – zabawa w przeszłość. Historia uludyczniona. *Annales Universitatis Paedagogicae Cracoviensis. Studia Sociologica* III, 134–149.
- Kantor R. 2013. *Zabawa w dobie społeczeństwa konsumpcyjnego. Szkice o ludzmi, ludyczności i powadze, a w istocie o jej braku*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego.
- Kobyliński Z. 2009. Archeologia wobec wyzwań współczesności. In M. Brzostowicz (ed.), *Archeologia polska i jej czasy*. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk, 103–131.
- Kowalczyk I. and Kiec I. (eds.) 2015. *Historia w wersji popularnej*. Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Katedra.
- Kowalski P. 2007. *O jednorozcu, Wieczerniku i innych motywach mniej lub bardziej ważnych*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego.
- Krajewski M. 2003. *Kultury kultury popularnej*. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM.
- Kwiatkowski P.T. 2008. *Pamięć zbiorowa społeczeństwa polskiego w okresie transformacji*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar.
- Kwiatkowski P.T. 2009. Czy lata III Rzeczypospolitej były „czasem pamięci”? In A. Szpociński (ed.), *Pamięć zbiorowa jako czynnik integracji i źródło konfliktów*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar, 125–166.
- McCalman L. and Pickering P.A. (eds.) 2010. *Historical re-enactment. From realism to the affective turn*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

- Minta-Tworzowska D. 2009. Do kogo 'należy' przeszłość Biskupina? *Przegląd Archeologiczny* 57, 7–22.
- Minta-Tworzowska D. 2012. Przeszłość w relacji do współczesności. In S. Tabaczyński, A. Marciniak, D. Cyngot and A. Zalewska (eds.), *Przeszłość społeczna. Próba konceptualizacji*. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 1087–1096.
- Mol A.A., Ariese-Vandemeulebroucke C. E., Boom K.H.J. and Politopoulos A. (eds.) 2017. *The interactive past. Archaeology, heritage and video games*. Leiden: Sidestone Press.
- Nieroba E., Czerner A. and Szczepański M.S. 2009. Między nostalgią a nadzieją. Dziedzictwo kulturowe jako dyskursywny obszar rzeczywistości społecznej. In E. Nieroba, A. Czerner and M.S. Szczepański (eds.), *Między nostalgią a nadzieją. Dziedzictwo kulturowe w ujęciu interdyscyplinarnym*. Opole: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Opolskiego, 17–36.
- Nowaczyk S. 2007. Archeologia festynowa – pomiędzy eksperymentem naukowym a przedstawieniem parateatralnym. In M. Bogacki, M. Franz and Z. Pilarczyk (eds.), *Wojskowość ludów Morza Bałtyckiego*. Toruń: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, 501–508.
- Pawleta M. 2010. Encounters with the past: the significance of archaeological festivals in contemporary Poland. In A. Arnberg and T. Stjärna (eds.), *Communicate the past – ways to present archaeology to the public*. Västerås: Stiftelsen Kulturmiljövård Mälardalen, 57–76.
- Pawleta M. 2011a. 'The past industry': selected aspects of the commercialisation of the past and products of archaeological knowledge in contemporary Poland. *Sprawozdania Archeologiczne* 63, 9–54.
- Pawleta M. 2011b. Przeszłość jako źródło przyjemności. *Przegląd Archeologiczny* 59, 27–54.
- Pawleta M. 2012a. Rekonstrukcje i inscenizacje przeszłości w perspektywie turystyki archeologicznej w Polsce. In J. Gancarski (ed.), *Skanseny archeologiczne i archeologia eksperymentalna szansą na rozwój turystyki*. Krosno: Muzeum Podkarpackie w Krośnie, 364–387.
- Pawleta M. 2012b. The archaeological fete in ludic space. In R. Chowaniec and W. Więckowski (eds.), *Archaeological heritage: methods of education and popularization*. Oxford: Archaeopress, 133–140.
- Pawleta M. 2014. Rola zabawy jako czynnika kształtującego świadomość konieczności ochrony dziedzictwa archeologicznego we współczesnej Polsce. In B. Szmygin (ed.), *Nauczanie i popularyzacja ochrony dziedzictwa*. Warszawa: Polski Komitet Narodowy ICOMOS, Politechnika Lubelska, 215–227.
- Pawleta M. 2016a. *Przeszłość we współczesności. Studium metodologiczne archeologicznie kreowanej przeszłości w przestrzeni społecznej*. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM.
- Pawleta M. 2016b. Festyny archeologiczne: pomiędzy edukacją, popularyzacją a komercjalizacją. *Raport* 11, 257–275.
- Pawleta M. 2017. Theatrum archaeologicum: staging the past via archaeological fetes and historical reenactment. *Sprawozdania Archeologiczne* 69, 33–53.
- Petersson B. and Holtorf C. (eds.) 2017. *The archaeology of time travel. Experiencing the past in the 21st century*. Oxford: Archaeopress Publishing Ltd.

- Pine J. and Gilmore J. 1999. *The experience economy. Work is theater & every business a stage*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Business School.
- Piotrowski W. 2005. Doświadczenia z rezerwatem archeologicznym w Biskupinie – między nauką a komercją. In E. Urbańczyk (ed.), *Poszerzenie Unii – szansą dla miast Europy: samorząd, rozwój, integracja europejska*. Kalisz: Wydawnictwo Uczelniane Państwowej Wyższej Szkoły Zawodowej, 21–32.
- Piotrowski W. 2008. Biskupin – nagroda Europa Nostra i festyny. *Wielkopolskie Sprawozdania Archeologiczne* 9, 315–323.
- Piotrowski W. and Zajączkowski W. 2010. Archaeological festivals at Biskupin. In G. Schöbel (ed.), *Living history in archaeological open-air museums*. Unteruhldingen: LiveArch, 25–33.
- Postman N. 2006. *Zabawić się na śmierć. Dyskurs publiczny w epoce show-businessu*. Warszawa: Warszawskie Wydawnictwo Literackie Muza.
- Radtchenko D. 2006. Simulating the past: reenactment and the quest for truth in Russia. *Rethinking History* 10 (1), 127–148.
- Robinson M. and Silverman H. (eds.) 2015. *Encounters with popular pasts. Cultural heritage and popular culture*. New York: Springer.
- Rowan Y. and Baram U. (eds.) 2004. *Marketing heritage: archaeology and the consumption of the past*. Walnut Creek: Altamira Press.
- Shanks M. 1992. *Experiencing the past. On the character of archaeology*. London, New York: Routledge.
- Szacka B. 2009. Zmiany stosunku do przeszłości po przeobrażeniach ustrojowych 1989 roku w Polsce. *Przegląd Filozoficzno-Literacki* 4 (25), 415–427.
- Szacka B. 2014. Stosunek do przeszłości i jej przeżywanie w ponowoczesnym świecie popkultury. In E. Domańska, R. Stobiecki and T. Wiślicz (eds.), *Historia – dziś. Teoretyczne problemy wiedzy o przeszłości*. Kraków: Universitas, 173–185.
- Szlendak T., Nowiński J., Olechnicki K., Karwacki A. and Burszta W.J. 2012. *Dziełactwo w akcji. Rekonstrukcja historyczna jako sposób uczestnictwa w kulturze*. Warszawa: Narodowe Centrum Kultury.
- Szpociński A. 2007. O współczesnej kulturze historycznej Polaków. In B. Korzeniewski (ed.), *Przemiany pamięci społecznej a teoria kultury*. Poznań: Instytut Zachodni, 25–43.
- Szpociński A. 2010. Współczesna kultura historyczna. *Kultura Współczesna* 1 (63), 9–17.
- Szpociński A. 2012. Widowiska przeszłości. Pamięć jako wydarzenie. In E. Hałas (ed.), *Kultura jako pamięć. Posttradycyjalne znaczenie przeszłości*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Nomos, 63–75.
- Tomaszewska E. 2017. Rekonstrukcja historyczna w przestrzeni muzeum na wolnym powietrzu. *Kielecka Teka Skansenowska* III, 212–225.
- Trocha B., Rzyman A. and Ratajczak T. (eds.) 2013. *In the mirror of the past: of fantasy and history*. New Castle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Wrzesiński J. 2008. Archeologia: poznanie – popularyzacja – turystyka. In H. Machajewski (ed.), *Wielkopolska w dziejach: archeologia o regionie*. Poznań: Stowarzyszenie Naukowe Archeologów Polskich, 173–184.
- Wojdon J. (ed.) 2018. *Historia w przestrzeni publicznej*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN.

Zalewska A.I., Scott J.M. and Kiarszys G. (eds.) 2017. *Materiality of troubled pasts. Archaeologies of conflicts and wars*. Warszawa, Szczecin: Department of Archaeology, Szczecin University, Roadside History Lessons Foundation.

DOI: 10.15584/anarres.2018.13.4

Laïla Ayache*, Katarzyna Skowron**

Une ville gauloise cachée dans la forêt – l’exploration et la mise en valeur de l’oppidum de Bibracte (France)

ABSTRACT

Ayache L., Skowron K. 2018. A Gallic village hidden in the forest – the exploration and popularisation of the oppidum in Bibracte (France). *Analecta Archaeologica Ressoviensia* 13, 69–88

Bibracte-Centre archéologique Européen is a complex comprising an archaeological site and a Research Centre and Museum, located in the Morvan Regional Park (France). The location of the complex is determined by the fortified Celtic settlement, identified with the oppidum of Bibracte, located on Mont Beuvray. The inauguration of the Bibracte-Centre archéologique Européen took place in 1995. The Research Centre is responsible for excavations on the oppidum, the storage of artefacts, and creating space for archaeological research. The excavations carried out in Bibracte offer a convenient opportunity to organise field practice for students of archaeology. Open internships organised in the course of the entire year are a complement to summer excavations. Bibracte is a place of scientific meetings and cooperation for European researchers. The educational packet dedicated to visitors is also noteworthy.

Keywords: museum, research centre, popularisation, education, archaeology, excavation

Received: 20.12.2018; **Revised:** 28.12.2018; **Revised:** 28.12.2018; **Accepted:** 30.12.2018

A 821 m d’altitude et 25 km de la ville la plus proche, le site archéologique de Bibracte est niché au cœur de la forêt du Morvan (Bourgogne, France), au sommet du mont Beuvray (ill. 1). Sur près de 200 ha, les vestiges de l’ancienne capitale des Eduens témoignent de la vague d’urbanisation sans précédent qui caractérise l’Europe tempérée à la fin de l’âge du Fer, de l’Atlantique jusqu’aux Carpates. Les explorations archéologiques menées depuis la seconde moitié du XIXe siècle d’abord par Jacques-Gabriel Bulliot puis son neveu Joseph Déchelette mettent en évidence le caractère exemplaire de l’oppidum de Bibracte et en font un site incontournable de la Protohistoire européenne. La reprise des investigations en 1984 inscrit Bibracte au cœur d’un important programme de recherche international mené en partenariat avec une quin-

* Musée de Bibracte Mont Beuvray, 71990 Saint-Léger-sous-Beuvray, France; l.ayache@bibracte.fr

** Cracow Historical Museum, Rynek Główny 35, 31-011 Cracovie, Pologne; katarzyna.joanna.skowron@gmail.com



ill. 1. Vue aérienne du Mont Beuvray et de Bibracte. © Bibracte/Antoine Maillier

zaine d'universités européennes; les résultats de ces recherches ont été régulièrement publiés, y compris dans des articles en polonais (Guillaumet *et al.* 2006; 2007; 2008; Bochnak et Kulikowska 2015; Kulikowska 2015; Skowron et Bochnak 2017).

Dès les années 1980, l'Etat français (Ministère de la culture) et les collectivités territoriales (région, départements, parc naturel régional) se mobilisent pour soutenir les fouilles, assurer la protection du site tout en permettant sa mise en valeur et l'accueil des visiteurs. Il en résulte aujourd'hui un lieu unique en France, voire en Europe, qui se distingue par la maîtrise d'une chaîne patrimoniale complète, depuis la définition du programme de recherche jusqu'à la médiation et la mise en tourisme.

L'histoire du site

Bibracte était le lieu où Jules César a passé l'hiver 52/51 av.n.è. en achevant la rédaction de *La guerre des Gaules*. Il y mentionne Bibracte comme un *oppido Haeduorum longe maximo et copiosissimo*,

ainsi qu’un *oppidum* (...) *maximae auctoritatis* (Jules César, *Commentaires sur la Guerre des Gaules*, I, 23; VII, 55). Jusqu’au XIXe siècle, les savants identifiaient Bibracte avec Autun, en Bourgogne. Cette ville, nommée à l’époque gallo-romaine Augustodunum, était le site principal des Eduens à partir du règne d’Auguste (Bulliot 1899b, 205–228). C’est Jacques-Gabriel Bulliot, commerçant passionné par le passé du Morvan et archéologue-amateur, qui a prouvé que cette hypothèse était erronée. Il a remarqué que le nom ancien de la colline – *Bevrect* – est proche de *Bibracte* mentionné par César (Bulliot 1899a, xxix, xxxviii, xxxix, xl, xli). Il a réussi à convaincre Napoléon III, qui, fasciné par le personnage de César, lui a accordé, en 1867, 4000 francs pour conduire des fouilles sur le mont Beuvray. A cette époque, des spécialistes militaires effectuent aussi des travaux géodésiques avec le soutien de l’Empereur. J.-G. Bulliot a dirigé les travaux archéologiques sur le mont Beuvray jusqu’ en 1895. Pendant ce temps, il a découvert entre autres les vestiges d’un «quartier d’artisans» avec plusieurs traces d’activités métallurgiques et d’émaillage. J.-G. Bulliot publiait régulièrement les rapports de ses travaux, qui ont été ensuite rassemblés dans deux volumes, complétés par un album des photographies exceptionnelles (Bulliot 1899a; 1899b; Thiollier 1899). Dans les années 1897–1907, Joseph Déchelette, neveu de J.-G. Bulliot, prend la suite et dirige plusieurs sondages archéologiques sur le mont Beuvray. Conservateur du musée de Roanne, il était l’un des pionniers de l’archéologie moderne et un grand spécialiste de la culture celtique (Déchelette 1904). S’appuyant sur le mobilier de Bibracte mais aussi sur le mobilier découvert sur les sites de Stradonice, de Velem-St Vid (à l’époque dans l’empire austro-hongrois), et de Manching en Bavière, J. Déchelette a proposé une définition de la culture des oppida (période fleurissante de l’essor de la culture de La Tène, caractérisée entre autres par le développement d’échanges à longues distances, un artisanat spécialisé et une économie monétaire).

Le déclenchement de la Grande Guerre a interrompu les fouilles archéologiques sur le mont Beuvray. On ne les a reprises qu’en 1984 (Guillaumet et Bertin 1987; Buchsenschutz 1989), et quelques années plus tard on a démarré les travaux de construction du Centre de Recherche et du musée de la civilisation celtique (aujourd’hui Musée de Bibracte). Ce projet était inscrit dans la politique des «Grands Travaux de l’État», définie par le président François Mitterrand. L’inauguration du Centre



ill. 2. Bibracte EPCC – Centre archéologique européen. © Bibracte/Antoine Maillier

archéologique européen (ill. 2) et du musée de Bibracte (ill. 3) a lieu en 1995, la dernière année de son deuxième septennat.

Protéger et explorer Bibracte

Les terrains de la calotte sommitale du mont Beuvray qui abritent l'essentiel des vestiges de la ville antique de Bibracte sont acquis en 1978 par le Parc naturel régional du Morvan (env. 135 ha) pour en préserver les arbres remarquables et les points du vue. En 1985, le site est classé au titre des *Monuments historiques* par le Ministère de la culture afin d'assurer la protection des vestiges archéologiques enfouis sous la forêt et dont l'exploration scientifique vient de redémarrer. Les fouilles elles-mêmes sont régies par l'article 531-9 du code du patrimoine, qui est le recueil des textes de lois qui définissent en France les modalités de gestion et de protection des diverses composantes du patrimoine national. Pour être plus précis, jusqu'en 2016, la loi française relative à l'archéologie distinguait plusieurs types d'interventions archéologiques en fonction des circonstances dans lesquelles elles sont réalisées. La fouille de Bibracte est alors l'une des rares fouilles programmées strictement décidée



ill. 3. Musée de Bibracte. © Bibracte/Antoine Maillier

par l'État et exécutée pour son compte, d'abord par une équipe scientifique issue d'un laboratoire du CNRS puis, dès 1991, par une structure de gestion créée à cet effet (voir infra). À ce titre, tout le mobilier archéologique issu de ces fouilles est soumis à partage, la moitié relevant de la propriété du Parc naturel régional du Morvan en tant que propriétaire des terrains, l'autre moitié relevant de la propriété de l'État. La gestion en est confiée à la structure de gestion: contrairement au produit des fouilles du XIXe siècle qui avait été réparti entre le musée de la Ville d'Autun et le musée d'archéologie nationale créé par Napoléon III à Saint-Germain-en-Laye, les mobiliers et la documentation issus des fouilles récentes de Bibracte sont désormais étudiés, conservés et valorisés sur place. En 2016, l'obtention de l'appellation «musée de France» s'accompagne d'un transfert de propriété des collections découvertes depuis 1984 de la part de l'Etat et du Parc naturel régional du Morvan au profit de la structure de gestion de Bibracte (Bibracte EPCC). Les collections qui détiennent cette appellation bénéficient d'un niveau de protection maximal, notamment parce qu'elles sont, du fait de la loi relative aux musées de France, non seulement reconnues d'intérêt général, mais aussi inaliénables et imprescriptibles.

Il est important de noter que le mont Beuvray est aussi protégé pour la qualité de son environnement, de sa biodiversité et de ses paysages: le Ministère de l'Environnement le classe au titre de la loi sur les Sites et Paysages en 1990; la protection du patrimoine naturel du mont Beuvray sera ensuite complétée par la définition de zones de vigilance accrue (Zones Natura 2000 par exemple) et, en 2005, par l'élaboration d'un plan de gestion paysagère à réaliser sur cent ans. Cette prise en compte de la double qualité du mont Beuvray, qualité environnementale et qualité archéologique, irrigue chaque aspect de la vie du site et de la politique développée par la structure de gestion. Cette gestion dite «intégrée» vaut à l'établissement de recevoir, de la part du Ministère de l'Environnement, le label «Grand Site de France» en 2008. Ce label est aujourd'hui attribué à 18 grands sites du patrimoine français, partageant une grande notoriété, une problématique de préservation du patrimoine naturel et/ou culturel dans un contexte de forte fréquentation, problématique à laquelle chacun des Grands sites répond en déployant une gestion „intégrée”. Ils sont rassemblés au sein du Réseau des Grands sites de France, qui favorise le partage d'expérience et permet une réflexion commune sur les enjeux rencontrés par les Grands Sites ou les collectivités qui souhaitent s'inscrire dans la démarche.

Une structure de gestion et une équipe pour gérer le site, les fouilles et les collections

Pour assurer l'exécution des fouilles programmées pour le compte de l'État, pour conduire les chantiers de construction des infrastructures financés par l'État dans le cadre de sa politique de *Grands Travaux* et pour mener à bien l'exercice des missions de service public relatives à la préservation et à la mise en valeur des vestiges mobiliers et immobiliers du site archéologique et naturel du mont Beuvray, une structure juridique *ad hoc* est créée: elle prend, en 1991, la forme d'une Société anonyme d'économie mixte nationale, la SAEMN du Mont Beuvray, titulaire en 1992 d'un traité de concession par lequel l'État lui confie la réalisation de ces tâches.

En 2007, au terme de la concession, la SAEMN est remplacée par une nouvelle structure juridique, créée par une loi promulguée en 2001: il s'agit cette fois d'un établissement public de coopération culturelle (EPCC), de régime industriel et commercial, dénommé BIBRACTE

et dont les statuts détaillent la reprise des missions de service public de la SAEMN:

- rassembler les partenaires du projet au sein de son conseil d’administration: État (ministère de la Culture), Parc naturel régional du Morvan, collectivités locales (Région, Départements de la Nièvre et de la Saône-et-Loire) et établissements publics nationaux (CNRS et CMN, à qui s’ajoutèrent la Caisse des dépôts et consignations et le Comité régional du tourisme pour la SAEMN);
- élaborer et conduire le programme de recherche en s’appuyant sur un conseil scientifique;
- réaliser, en mobilisant les compétences d’une équipe permanente pluridisciplinaire et des partenariats nombreux aux diverses échelles d’action pertinentes, les différents maillons d’une chaîne opératoire et patrimoniale complète, depuis l’élaboration du programme de recherche jusqu’à la mise en valeur des résultats de ces recherches en passant par la préservation des vestiges mobiliers et immobiliers et l’entretien du site archéologique et naturel et de ses bâtiments;
- animer (depuis 2008 et en concertation avec le Parc naturel régional du Morvan) la démarche *Grand Site de France*, qui se traduit par un engagement contractuel, renouvelé tous les six ans, vis-à-vis du ministère de l’Environnement.

Régie par un conseil d’administration qui en rassemble les membres, cette structure de gestion est animée par une équipe permanente composée de 3 pôles fonctionnels : pôle scientifique, pôle culturel (musée) et pôle ressources. Ils mobilisent pour cela les compétences de 32 salariés permanents (34 emplois équivalents temps plein en comptant le personnel saisonnier), qui exercent presque autant de métiers différents et complémentaires. La plupart travaillent sous contrat de droit privé. Seuls le conservateur du musée et le secrétaire général sont des titulaires de la fonction publique, le directeur général étant contractuel de l’Etat nommé par le conseil d’administration de l’établissement. Schématiquement, la coordination du programme de recherche et la gestion de ses résultats incombent au pôle scientifique, la mise en valeur et la transmission pour le public relèvent du pôle culturel tandis que le pôle ressources organise et mobilise les moyens techniques, humains et financiers pour permettre aux deux autres pôles d’agir.

Comme évoqué ci-dessus, la mobilisation conjointe des pouvoirs publics et de la communauté scientifique autour du projet «Bibracte»

a permis de définir de façon optimale, dès le démarrage du projet, aussi bien les principes de son fonctionnement que les méthodes indispensables à sa mise en oeuvre.

Bien que les fouilles soient menées pendant la saison estivale et que le musée de Bibracte soit fermé pendant l'hiver, le Centre de recherche fonctionne quasiment toute l'année, sans interruption. Les deux bâtiments, centre de recherche et musée, sont construits au même moment par le même architecte: Pierre-Louis Faloci. Des installations d'hébergement, ainsi que des installations techniques ont également été aménagées: quelques bâtiments anciens du village de Glux-en-Glenne ont été adaptés pour héberger les équipes de fouille, les chercheurs de passage et les scolaires (90 lits) et une cantine a été créée dans le prolongement d'un bâtiment ancien.

L'atelier technique situé à mi-chemin entre le Centre de recherche et le site archéologique abrite, entre autres, tout l'équipement utile aux chantiers de fouilles et à l'entretien du site: aussi bien les abris de chantiers que les petits outils, tels que seaux, truelles, pelles, bèches, etc., mais aussi des groupes électrogènes intégrés avec des aspirateurs destinés au nettoyage des fouilles. L'équipe technique dispose également d'un chariot télescopique multifonctionnel Manitou MT 1340SL qui permet d'effectuer les opérations de manutention lourde. A proximité de l'atelier se trouve une cuvette souterraine contenant une réserve du carburant pour assurer l'approvisionnement des véhicules de Bibracte (Skowron et Bochnak 2017).

Bibracte accueille des équipes universitaires qui fouillent sur la colline en suivant un protocole précis et unique. Bibracte EPCC leur fournit l'hébergement, les salles de travail et la plupart des équipements de travail. Les véhicules facilitant le déplacement vers le site qui est éloigné du Centre de recherche de 5 km env. sont aussi mis à la disposition de fouilleurs.

Au centre de recherche, une vaste salle de lavage permet de laver une quantité remarquable de céramique qui sèche ensuite dans des étuves adaptées. Dans les salles de travail, les fouilleurs effectuent l'inventaire et la documentation du mobilier pour préparer le rapport préliminaire. L'étude du mobilier profite d'un schéma précis en utilisant des fiches spécialement conçues. Les travaux des équipes qui fouillent dans les différents secteurs du site sont complétés par les études transversales au cours desquelles des spécialistes étudient chacun plus spécifique-

ment les diverses catégories de mobilier – la céramique, les amphores, le mobilier métallique, les monnaies, l'outillage lithique, etc. Les études transversales permettent d'assembler les données provenant des équipes et par ex. affiner la chronologie du site (*ibidem*).

Le Centre de recherche dispose d'une riche bibliothèque qui est accessible pour les chercheurs 24h sur 24, ce qui leur facilite le travail. Il comporte aussi une salle équipée pour un premier traitement rapide du mobilier métallique (base cuivre), qui permet d'assurer leur stabilisation, limiter les dégâts des reprises de corrosion et faciliter l'identification de ces objets par les chercheurs. Quand elles s'avèrent nécessaires pour des raisons d'étude ou de conservation (c'est notamment le cas chaque année pour les objets en fer), des restaurations plus poussées sont confiées par Bibracte EPCC à des laboratoires spécialisés et agréés.

Les projets scientifiques coordonnés par Bibracte EPCC se déroulent selon un rythme quadriennal: pendant ces quatre ans, les équipes universitaires mobilisées dans le programme en cours réalisent les fouilles et études préalablement établies et validées par le conseil scientifique de Bibracte et les services de l'Etat. Chaque automne, le conseil scientifique de Bibracte EPCC se réunit pour prendre connaissance des résultats de la campagne de fouille de l'été, présentés par les responsables de chaque équipe. Les équipes sont aussi tenues d'enregistrer toutes les données stratigraphiques de leur chantier et toutes les données relatives au mobilier dans la base de données unique de Bibracte (BdB), et ce avant la fin de la campagne de post-fouille qui suit les travaux sur le site. L'analyse de la céramique et du mobilier métallique doit être rendue avant la fin de l'année qui suit la campagne de fouilles.

La base de données de Bibracte contient plusieurs types d'informations se rapportant aux recherches menées sur l'oppidum. Elle recense ainsi la totalité de la documentation de fouilles produite depuis 1984; elle contient aussi un outil permettant de générer un diagramme stratigraphique pour visualiser les relations entre les unités de fouille et en contrôler la cohérence. Grâce à cette base de données «BdB», il est possible d'obtenir immédiatement les données relatives à toutes les unités de fouilles (30105 UF enregistrées au début de l'année 2019) avec les informations concernant leur chronologie relative et absolue. La base contient aussi près de 118 000 photos enregistrées (photos des fouilles, d'objets et photos couvrant toute l'activité de l'établissement. Les reportages photos réalisés sur les collections d'autres structures viennent aussi enrichir

le fonds documentaire de Bibracte. Il est possible de trier et d'analyser les données selon la chronologie, mais aussi selon la date et le lieu de découverte, la matière première ou la catégorie fonctionnelle... La base, développée sur FileMaker, évolue régulièrement tout en assurant développée l'accessibilité des données enregistrées il y a 20 ans. Pour garantir la pérennité des données, des copies de sauvegarde sont effectuées régulièrement (*ibidem*).

Les résultats des recherches sont diffusés dans les volumes de la Collection Bibracte – une série publiée par le Centre archéologique européen. La Collection Bibracte contient non seulement les tomes consacrés aux fouilles anciennes et sur le mont Beuvray, mais aussi les actes de colloques ou les études spécialisées sur plusieurs catégories de mobiliers archéologiques. Au début de 2019, la collection compte 29 tomes. Cette série est préparée par la cellule éditoriale du Centre archéologique européen qui s'occupe de toutes les publications de Bibracte, y compris les panneaux d'information disposés sur le site, les dépliants multilingues, les posters, les guides destinés au grand public et les rapports annuels et quadriennaux d'activité (Bonenfant 1996; Gruel et Vitali [éds.] 1998; Dhennequin, Guillaumet et Szabó 2008; Bessière et Guichard 2010; Guichard et Paris 2013). Ces rapports présentent la totalité de l'activité scientifique, culturelle, médiatique du Centre archéologique européen et du Musée de Bibracte. Les rapports sont évalués par les spécialistes et présentés ensuite à la Commission interrégionale de la Recherche archéologique (CIRA). Dans le cadre de chaque programme quadriennal, les équipes rendent trois rapports annuels (après chaque saison de fouilles) et un rapport final, plus complexe, qui résume les découvertes de quatre campagnes de fouilles.

Le Centre archéologique européen de Bibracte coopère avec des universités de toute l'Europe pour réaliser l'étude du site du mont Beuvray tout en assurant la formation des étudiants en archéologie. Les fouilles sur le mont Beuvray donnent l'opportunité d'organiser des stages pratiques pour les étudiants en archéologie de plusieurs pays (ill. 4). Les chantiers estivaux sont complétés par les stages thématiques organisés pendant le reste de l'année. Dans le cadre de rencontres durant le plus souvent une semaine, les étudiants y apprennent à traiter le mobilier provenant de l'oppidum – la céramique, les amphores, les objets métalliques (y compris les monnaies, qui sont étudiés pendant les stages numismatiques) et lithiques, mais ils y a aussi les stages consacrés



ill. 4. Bibracte – les fouilles sur le secteur PC 15. © Bibracte/Antoine Maillier

à l'étude des bases de données ou à l'application des méthodes mathématiques à l'archéologie. Grâce à ces stages, le plus souvent gratuits, les étudiants peuvent valoriser et approfondir leurs connaissances, ce qui facilite ensuite les fouilles. Les étudiants de l'Union Européenne

peuvent aussi profiter des séjours consacrés à la recherche, en profitant de la bibliothèque du centre archéologique.

Les lieux d'une chaîne patrimoniale complète

La réalisation de ces missions de service public s'appuie sur trois lieux indissociables: le site archéologique et naturel lui-même et deux vastes édifices bâtis tous les deux au milieu des années 1990, dans le cadre d'un programme architectural unique.

Le Centre archéologique européen d'abord: il est la base opérationnelle pour les équipes de fouille, le lieu de conservation et d'étude des archives scientifiques et des mobiliers archéologiques et un lieu de documentation et de formation pour la communauté archéologique internationale (professionnels et étudiants).

Comme le soulignait Anne-Marie Adam, présidente du Conseil Scientifique, *Bibracte apporte la logistique (supports techniques, logement, restauration etc.), le partenaire la matière grise et la force de travail* (Lemarchand 2017, 21). En 2005, l'École Européenne de Protohistoire de Bibracte (EPPB) naît de la coopération entre Bibracte EPCC, l'École Pratique de Hautes Études (EPHE), l'Université de Bourgogne et l'Université Eötvös Lóránd de Budapest. L'EPPB a pour but de développer la mise en réseau des enseignements spécialisés en Protohistoire en Europe. Cette école organise notamment des sessions de séminaires doctoraux thématiques intensifs et des rencontres des jeunes chercheurs qui donnent l'occasion de confronter les approches méthodologiques et conceptuelles. Grâce à la coopération scientifique, une partie de ces rencontres a eu lieu dans les institutions partenaires – à Mayence (Allemagne), à Hauterive (Suisse) et à Budapest (Hongrie).

Le musée quant à lui est chargé de la transmission des savoirs relatifs à Bibracte et plus largement à l'Europe de la fin de l'âge du Fer au public le plus large. Aux dimensions pédagogiques et muséographiques originelles se sont ajoutés, au fil des ans, des domaines d'action qui participent à donner corps à l'intégration de l'établissement dans son territoire et à soutenir son rayonnement à de multiples échelles : programmation culturelle, ouverture à la création artistique, développement touristique, communication, services pour les visiteurs. Les deux bâtiments sont signés par l'architecte Pierre-Louis Faloci qui a également conçu la scénographie de l'exposition permanente: le mu-

sée, dont l’architecture joue l’intégration dans le paysage et la sobriété tout en multipliant les références à l’archéologie, a valu à l’architecte le prix national de « l’Equerre d’argent » en 1996.

Le musée est la porte d’entrée du site archéologique de Bibracte: il cultive le contraste entre la naturalité du milieu environnant et la modernité de ses choix architecturaux. La rénovation complète de son exposition permanente achevée en 2013 confirme le double parti pris de l’exigence scientifique et de l’excellence des dispositifs de médiation pour transmettre à un large public les résultats des recherches les plus récentes sur l’Europe de la fin de l’âge du Fer dont l’*oppidum* de Bibracte est un exemple exceptionnellement conservé. La transmission des résultats passe par une multitude de supports et de vecteurs d’information variés et complémentaires, dont le fil conducteur est la démarche archéologique elle-même.

Des outils pour donner à voir l’invisible

Le retour des archéologues sur le mont Beuvray à partir de 1984 s’accompagne immédiatement de mesures en faveur de l’accueil du public. C’est évidemment d’abord le site qui est au cœur de ces préoccupations : les visites guidées y sont organisées dès la reprise des fouilles en 1984 et, en 1987, Bibracte reçoit ses premières *classes Patrimoine* (classes d’élèves en séjour de plusieurs jours sur place pour explorer le site et s’initier à la pratique de l’archéologie).

A partir de 1996, la médiation peut s’appuyer sur les espaces d’exposition du musée, leurs vitrines d’objets authentiques ou de fac simulé, leurs documents (plans, dessins, cartes), leurs outils multimédia, leurs reconstitutions, maquettes etc. Quinze ans après son ouverture, entre 2010 et 2013, le musée de Bibracte a bénéficié d’une profonde refonte muséographique. L’objectif est alors d’actualiser le parcours pour intégrer l’apport des fouilles menées depuis vingt ans à Bibracte et sur d’autres sites européens de la même époque, mais aussi de mettre davantage en lumière les questionnements et la démarche scientifique de l’archéologie et d’accorder une place plus importante aux collections issues des fouilles du mont Beuvray. De fait, près de 2000 objets issus des fouilles de Bibracte intègrent alors les vitrines du musée.

L’exposition est conçue afin que les objets singuliers ne dominent pas l’espace. Les objets du passé conservés dans un musée moderne de-

mandent à être replacés dans un contexte historique larg. Selon la conception du «Retour vers les objets» (Olsen 2013) l'objet même a une valeur, mais ce n'est que le contexte historique qui permet de comprendre son passé et présent. L'apparence et la structure d'un objet sont accessibles à l'œil du visiteur, mais il lui faut un savoir, parfois spécialisé, sur son utilisation, pour les comprendre. Sans la compréhension, les objets seront dépourvues d'importance et faciles à oublier. Cette situation n'est pas étrangère aux visiteurs des musées archéologiques, ils y trouvent des objets souvent énigmatiques, fragmentés, dont la destination nous échappe parfois... Exposer et valoriser les objets archéologiques est un véritable enjeu. Au musée de Bibracte tente d'y répondre de façon variée, par exemple en exposant les objets incomplets sur un fond présentant le dessin de reconstitution, en rappelant son contexte fonctionnel, l'agriculture pour les outils agricoles, le commerce pour les pièces de monnaie etc. (ill. 5) (Skowron et Bochnak 2017).

La muséographie de Bibracte bénéficie aussi de l'avancée des nouvelles technologies (ill. 6) pour offrir de nouveaux types d'outils de médiation, alliant interactivité, animation et enrichissement des images et évolutivité (Ayache et Guichard 2014).

En plus, le Musée organise des conférences et des rencontres («objet du mois», «apéro-muséo») qui donne au public l'occasion d'approfondir la visite et de connaître les coulisses du protocole archéologique.

On peut aussi considérer l'*oppidum* lui-même comme un «espace d'exposition» accessible aux visiteurs. Cette conception est proche de l'idée de protection et de médiation dans le cadre de *public archaeology*¹ (Wróblewski 2014, 57). Sur le terrain, la médiation est confrontée à un double défi: d'une part, la fouille étant un geste destructeur, la nécessité de donner à voir les vestiges de l'antique Bibracte commande une conduite raisonnée des investigations, afin de permettre la préservation et la mise en valeur de vestiges lisibles; d'autre part, le message principal à transmettre aux visiteurs est bien celui de la présence d'un site urbain de première importance, il y a deux mille ans, au sommet du mont Beuvray, aujourd'hui recouvert de forêt.

Le plan de gestion paysagère à l'œuvre, depuis les années 2000, fournit une des réponses à cet enjeu, tout en posant le cadre de la ges-

¹ Archéologie publique – notion utilisée surtout aux Etats-Unis et en Grande Bretagne par rapport à la théorie et pratique de la gestion du patrimoine archéologique et de sa vulgarisation dans la société.



iii. 5. Musée de Bibracte – diorama © Bibracte/Antoine Maillier

tion spatiale des fouilles et de l’exploitation de la forêt. Le fil conducteur de ce plan consiste à sculpter peu à peu la forêt, afin de donner à voir les lignes de force de l’occupation de l’âge du Fer et de créer des perspectives pour guider le regard. Les opérations de conservation et de mise en valeur des vestiges sont un autre pilier fondamental de la médiation à Bibracte: si les vestiges de l’architecture de tradition gauloise de terre et de bois (repérables concrètement sur le terrain par des structures en creux, comme les trous de poteaux) sont extrêmement difficiles à conserver et à rendre lisibles pour l’œil non averti, les phases d’occupation les plus récentes du site, qui correspondent à la tentative de romaniser l’*oppidum*, offrent des vestiges en pierre maçonnée, conservés sur quelques assises, pour lesquels les protocoles de conservation sont connus et maîtrisés. Il en résulte une conservation privilégiée des vestiges de cette époque, moyennant l’installation de couvertines pour assurer la stabilité des maçonneries pendant les fouilles, suivie d’une véritable restauration pour une mise en valeur durable, une fois les fouilles achevées. Dans quelques cas, des chantiers



ill. 6. Musée de Bibracte – le plan interactif. © Bibracte/Antoine Maillier

de reconstruction expérimentale ont permis de restituer sur le terrain lui-même quelques ensembles architecturaux remarquables (segments du *murus gallicus* à l'emplacement de la porte principale de l'oppidum, évocation d'une fontaine monumentale, remontage d'un bassin ou reconstruction d'une cave, d'éléments d'un hypocauste...).

Les publics de Bibracte

Chaque année, 42 000 visiteurs sont comptabilisés au musée, et probablement le double fréquente le site archéologique en accès libre. Ils disposent de trois boucles de visite balisées reportées sur un plan de visite disponible gratuitement au musée et reproduit en plusieurs endroits du site. Chaque boucle est équipée de panneaux d'interprétation qui mobilisent textes, plans, photos interprétées...

Surtout, sous la supervision d'une archéologue agissant au sein de l'équipe du pôle culturel/musée, une équipe de guides et médiateurs est spécifiquement chargée de déployer une série de propositions

destinées à faciliter la compréhension du site en s'adaptant au public concerné, jeunes ou âgés, en groupe ou en famille, touristes de passage ou habitants, amateurs d'archéologie ou amoureux de la nature, personnes handicapées. Aux traditionnelles visites guidées du site archéologique et naturel et du musée s'ajoutent, pour les enfants qui viennent pendant les vacances, des ateliers d'initiation à la fouille ou des parcours-jeux. Les enfants qui viennent en groupe dans le cadre de sortie scolaire ou d'activités de centre de loisirs bénéficient d'une attention soutenue: les programmes d'activités qui leur sont destinés et qui sont toujours construits en concertation avec les enseignants combinent une série d'ateliers thématiques, toujours nourris de la démarche archéologique et de temps d'explorations du musée avec des visites du site et, quand le séjour est sur plusieurs jours, des temps d'immersion dans la pratique de l'archéologie grâce au simulateur de fouille installé sur le terrain. Des interventions d'artistes permettent de varier les regards et les pratiques, et de favoriser les échanges. La programmation d'expositions temporaires annuelles et d'événements culturels variés bénéficie d'un réseau de partenaires étoffé, à échelle locale, nationale et européenne: elle vise à compléter l'expérience de visite en apportant des éléments d'actualité, mais aussi en favorisant le déplacement du regard porté par le visiteur sur Bibracte et en ouvrant des terrains d'expérimentation scénographique ou pédagogique. Chaque année, plus de 42 000 visiteurs arpentent les espaces du musée, près de la moitié profite d'un accompagnement par un guide, aussi bien sur le site que dans le musée.

Au fil des années, les enquêtes de satisfaction montrent une réelle adhésion des visiteurs à l'expérience originale proposée à Bibracte. Une expérience qui combine patrimoine historique et naturel, recherche scientifique et pédagogie, respect de la nature et animation. A Bibracte, les visiteurs ont l'occasion rare de voir des chantiers archéologiques en train de se faire, de voir les structures archéologiques ou les éléments de mobilier en cours de dégagement, d'échanger avec les archéologues.

Lieu de convergence de la protection de la nature et de la vulgarisation scientifique, lieu de coopération entre archéologues et spécialistes d'horizons géographiques et scientifiques variés, Bibracte est aussi un lieu de formation devenu incontournable pour les étudiants en Protohistoire de toute l'Europe.

Plus largement, la formule proposée par Bibracte, fondée sur la coopération scientifique, la gestion intégrée d'un site naturel et archéologique d'exception et l'attention portée à tous les publics, semble porter ses fruits et montrer ainsi sa justesse.

Bibliographie

Source

Jules César *Commentaires sur la Guerre des Gaules*, texte latin publié avec une notice sur la vie et les ouvrages de César, des notes, des remarques sur l'armée romaine et sur l'armée gauloise, un index des noms propres géographiques et historiques, etc., des cartes, des plans et des illustrations d'après les monuments par M.E. Benoist, Ancien professeur à la Faculté des lettres à Paris et M.S. Dosson, Ancien professeur à la Faculté des lettres de Clermond-Ferrand. Paris: Librairie Hachette. 1906.

Littérature

- Ayache L. et Guichard V. 2014. Les collection archéologiques dans les musées de sites et de territoires: l'exemple de Bibracte. *Musées et collections publiques de France* 270/1, 9–12.
- Bessière F. et Guichard V. 2010. Chronique des recherches sur le Mont Beuvray 2006–2008. *Revue Archéologique de l'Est* 59, 211–239.
- Bochnak T. et Kulikowska K. 2015. 2005–2014 – dziesięć lat polsko-czeskich badań archeologicznych na Mont Beuvray – Bibracte. Dans D. Waszak (éd.), *Celtica. Studia z dziejów Celtów III*. Kalisz–Warszawa: Tetrakon, 58–78.
- Bonenfant P.P. 1996. Bibracte, site archéologique européen: déjà dix ans de fouilles de l'U.L.B. *Anthropologie et préhistoire* 107 (= *Actes de la journée „Recherches préhistoriques belges à l'étranger”*, Liège, 16 mars 1996), 171–191.
- Buchsenschutz O. 1989. Neue Ausgrabungen im Oppidum Bibracte. *Germania* 67, 541–550.
- Bulliot J.G. 1899a. *Fouilles du Mont Beuvray (ancienne Bibracte) de 1867 à 1895, Tome second*. Autun: Imprimerie et librairie Dejussieu.
- Bulliot J.G. 1899b. *Fouilles du Mont Beuvray (ancienne Bibracte) de 1867 à 1895, Tome premier*. Autun: Imprimerie et librairie Dejussieu.
- Déchelette J. 1904. Les fouilles du Mont Beuvray de 1897 à 1901. *Mémoires de la Société Eduenne* 32, 1–83.
- Dhennequin L., Guillaumet J.-P. et Szabó M. (éds.) 2008. L'oppidum de Bibracte (Mont Beuvray, France). Bilan de 10 années de recherches (1996–2005). *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 59, fasc. 1, 1–152.
- Guillaumet J.P., Dhennequin L., Bochnak T., Goláňová P. et Mölders D. 2006. Wyniki badań wykopaliskowych na celtyckim oppidum Mont Beuvray/Bibracte (dep. Saône-et-Loire i Nièvre), w sektorach Côme Chaudron i Champlain, w roku 2005. *Materiały i Sprawozdania Rzeszowskiego Ośrodka Archeologicznego* 27, 267–280.

- Guillaumet J.P., Dhennequin L., Bochnak T., Egloff F. et Goláňová P. 2007. Wyniki badań wykopaliskowych na oppidum Mont Beuvray/Bibracte (sektory Côme Chaudron i Champlain) w roku 2006. *Materiały i Sprawozdania Rzeszowskiego Ośrodka Archeologicznego* 28, 141–158.
- Guillaumet J.P., Dhennequin L., Bochnak T. et Goláňová P. 2008. Wyniki badań wykopaliskowych zespołu pracowni rzemieślniczych Côme Chaudron na terenie oppidum Bibracte (Mont Beuvray, departamenty Nièvre i Saône-et-Loire), w roku 2007. *Materiały i Sprawozdania Rzeszowskiego Ośrodka Archeologicznego* 29, 215–228.
- Guillaumet J.P. et Bertin D. 1987. *Bibracte (Saône et Loire), une ville gauloise sur le Mont Beuvray*. Paris: Ministère de la culture et de la communication, Sous-direction de l'archéologie: Imprimerie nationale.
- Guichard V. et Paris P. 2013. Chronique des recherches sur le Mont Beuvray. *Revue Archéologique de l'Est* 62, 113–155.
- Gruel K. et Vitali D. (éds.) 1998. L'oppidum de Bibracte: un bilan de onze années de recherche (1984–1995). *Gallia* 55, 1–140.
- Kulikowska K. 2015. Bibracte jako wzorcowy przykład struktury oppidalnej. Dans D. Waszak (éds), *Celtica. Studia z dziejów Celtów* III. Kalisz–Warszawa: Teatron, 28–50.
- Lemarchand F. 2017. *Bibracte. Une ville entre deux mondes*. Glux-en-Glenne: Centre rhéologique Européen.
- Olsen B. 2013. *W obronie rzeczy. Archeologia i ontologia przedmiotów*. Warszawa: Instytut Badań Literackich Polskiej Akademii Nauk.
- Skowron K. et Bochnak T. 2017. Bibracte – współczesna historia celtyckiego oppidum. *UR Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences* 2 (3), 5–33.
- Thiollier F. et N. 1899. *Fouilles du Mont Beuvray (ancienne Bibracte) par J. G. Bulliot: album*. Saint Étienne: Société de l'imprimerie Théolier – J. Thomas & Cie.
- Wróblewski P. 2014. Krajobrazowe obiekty archeologiczne między Nidą a Nidzią. *Archaeologica Hereditas* 3. *Konserwacja zapobiegawcza środowiska 2: krajobraz kulturowy*. Warszawa–Zielona Góra: Wydawnictwo Fundacji Archeologicznej, 53–68.

DOI: 10.15584/anarres.2018.13.5

Kirił Marinow*

The Northern Latins on the Bosphorus? A Few Words on East Mediterranean, Byzantine and Orthodox Studies in the *Ceraneum* Centre, University of Łódź (Poland)

ABSTRACT

Marinow K. 2018. The Northern Latins on the Bosphorus? A Few Words on East Mediterranean, Byzantine and Orthodox Studies in the *Ceraneum* Centre, University of Łódź (Poland). *Analecta Archaeologica Ressoiviensia* 13, 89–108

The article is devoted to the presentation and characteristics of the *Ceraneum* – the Waldemar Ceran Research Centre for the History and Culture of the Mediterranean Area and South-East Europe, which has been operating at the University of Łódź since 2011. The author focuses on the importance of this Centre for the development of Byzantine-Slavic studies in Poland and in the world in general, as well as its organisational structure, financing methods and, above all, scientific and publishing efforts. He also does not neglect the public and didactic activity the *Ceraneum* undertakes. The aim is to indicate the importance of establishing similar research centres and their methods of organisation, with particular emphasis on their role in internationalising the achievements of Polish science and building strong and effective cooperation among scholars from different countries.

Keywords: *Ceraneum* Centre, Byzantine studies, Paleo-Slavic studies, University of Łódź (Poland), Mediterranean studies in Poland

Received: 19.12.2018; **Revised:** 28.12.2018; **Revised:** 28.12.2018; **Accepted:** 30.12.2018

I. A brief introduction or who today needs Byzantium?

It would be something of a truism to say that for contemporary Greeks Byzantium forms a significant part of their historical identity – national, linguistic, cultural and religious. Byzantine culture, along with its South Slavic variations, also forms part of the historical identity of contemporary Balkan nations, including the Bulgarians, the Serbs and the Macedonians (there were also influences on the Croats and

* Chair of Byzantine History, Institute of History, Faculty of Philosophy and History, University of Łódź, Narutowicza 68, 90-136 Łódź and the Waldemar Ceran Research Centre for the History and Culture of the Mediterranean Area and South-East Europe, *Ceraneum*, Poland; kiril.marinow@uni.lodz.pl

the Albanians, of course). Another obvious historical region is that of medieval Rus'. This is true especially in the field of religion. However, it should be kept in mind that both the Greeks and the Balkan Slavs enjoyed their longest period of sovereign existence in the Middle Ages. The Ottoman rule, to which they were subjected for so long, naturally draws the attention of the Peninsula's contemporary inhabitants, including its scholars, to the history of their ancestors. In turn, the non-Orthodox Christian countries need to know the history of Byzantium in order to fully understand the cultural heritage of today's Europe – the partly united continent contains countries that had once been part of the Byzantine ecumene. It is also impossible to engage in any serious dialogue with the Orthodox Church without having some knowledge, so essential to its doctrine, of its Byzantine heritage.

Academic interest in the history of Eastern Rome goes beyond the historical Byzantine ecumene, and was in fact born in Western Europe in the Renaissance. It is also a fact that until this day the largest centres of Byzantine studies operate in Munich, Oxford, Paris, Washington and Vienna (Jeffreys *et al.* 2008, 3–20). It is therefore somewhat paradoxical that it is these centres that train students from countries which, more or less justifiably, claim the right to the heritage of the former empire, including representatives of contemporary Balkan nations. Without going into a detailed discussion of the reasons for this state of affairs, which are, undoubtedly, many, it should be emphasised that Byzantine studies are common and pursued in various research institutions all over the world. This fact should not be surprising if we keep in mind that this is still the case of studies on the broadly defined history of imperial Rome, this time, essentially, medieval. The significance and magnitude of studies on Roman history, and contact with the living culture of the Byzantine sphere in its Ruthenian version also explain the development of interest in Byzantine studies in countries from East-Central Europe, which belong to the Latin sphere of culture (cf. Sophoulis 2016, 407–436). This interest did not bypass the Polish Republic, either, starting from the Renaissance interest in the history of the Fathers of the Church, to philological works and studies on Byzantine art and history during the Enlightenment and the 19th c. In the interwar period, the Cracow, and Lviv universities led the way in these studies, and in 1935 University of Warsaw opened the first Polish Chair of the History of Byzantium, which was not reopened after WWII ended. Today, Byzantine studies

in Poland are pursued in various academic centres by specialists in different disciplines, and essentially include the entirety of Byzantine history, both in chronological and thematic terms (Ceran 2001; Ceran 2006; Kruk 2017). The following reflections spotlight only the Łódź centre, specifically the international academic centre established a few years ago, which focuses exclusively on studies on the broadly defined Byzantine world.

II. Why Łódź?

There is no doubt Łódź has one of the longest traditions of Byzantine studies in Poland and at the moment the largest scholarly department that focuses on the history of Late Antiquity and the Byzantine Empire. The city in question can also pride itself on the longest tradition of teaching pure Byzantine history in Poland. This refers both to basic university courses in ancient and medieval history and to specialised seminars dealing with different aspects of the Eastern Roman Empire. The first Polish Unit of the History of Byzantium (with a break in existence between 1971 and 1992; nowadays, from 2002, a Chair) after WWII was established in Łódź (Ceran 2001, 34; 2006, 13; Sophoulis 2016, 432–433; Jaworska-Wołoszyn 2017, 15).

The founders of the *Ceraneum* were employees of two academic units of the University of Łódź: the Chair of Byzantine History and the Unit of Paleo-Slavic Studies and Folk Culture (nowadays Chair of Slavic Philology). The cooperation started in 2008 and was originally connected with organising a series of open lectures on Byzantine and Paleo-Slavic studies and similar disciplines (Brzozowska 2009; 2010a; 2010b, 49). The noticeable interest they aroused (not only among the teaching staff, but also students and doctoral students), as well as the integration of the Łódź communities of specialists in history and Paleo-Slavic studies that they brought about, finally led to the decision to form an extra-departmental research unit (Czarnek 2011, 26–27; Brzozowska 2010b, 49). Accordingly, the application to found the extra-departmental Centre was filed with the Senate of the University of Łódź by the deans of as many as four faculties: the Faculty of Philosophy and History, the Faculty of Philology, the Faculty of International and Political Studies and the Faculty of Law and Administration (Kacprzyk 2011, 42; Wolski 2012, 14).

So, the *Ceraneum* is a non-departmental Centre established by the decision of the University of Łódź Senate on 7 February 2011 (*Ordinance no. 30 2011a*, § 1–3, 1–2; *Resolution no. 285 2011*, 1; Czarnek 2011, 26–27; *Sprawozdanie 2012*, 1).

The official inauguration of the *Ceraneum* Centre took place on 18 May 2011 at the Central University Library with the participation of University authorities and many guests from Poland and abroad (Czarnek 2011, 26; *Sprawozdanie 2012*, 1).

The scholarly level and the objectives of the research conducted is supervised by the Advisory Board of the *Ceraneum*, created by the Rector of the University of Łódź. The board is comprised of 40 distinguished scholars from various Polish and European research centres, who work in different fields of Humanities and Social Sciences – history, philology, archaeology, ethnology, philosophy, history of arts, political science, law and sociology (*Rules of Operation 2011*, § 9–10, 3–4; Frąk 2011, 15; *Sprawozdanie 2012*, 3, 4; 2013, 1).

II.1. The structure

It includes the Director of the *Ceraneum* Centre and their Deputy, as well as the President of the International Advisory Board of the Centre, along with their own Deputy (*Rules of Operation 2011*, § 5–7.1, § 10, 1–3, 4; *Sprawozdanie 2013*, 1, 2).

There are also two academic secretaries: the first is responsible for the development of the *Ceraneum* Centre and publishing, and the second is in charge of library activities and teaching programmes (*Rules of Operation 2011*, § 7, 3; *Sprawozdanie 2013*, 1). None of the above mentioned are paid for their involvement in the Centre's development.

The Centre also has an Erasmus+ Programme Coordinator and the Grants Acquisition and Management Coordinator (*Sprawozdanie 2012*, 4; 2018, 3). At the moment there are five full-time employees at the Centre (they are paid for their work) – two of them in administrative positions (since 2018 as specialists) and the rest working as research fellows (*Sprawozdanie 2012*, 1; 2017, 4; 2019, 4). The *Ceraneum* has its own *Rules of Operation* available on its website (*Ordinance no. 30 2011b*, § 1–2, 1; *Rules of Operation 2011*, § 1–11, 1–4). The main decision-making body of the Centre is its Directorship, whereas the Advisory Board, consisting of a group of widely recognised specialists in the

different research fields which are represented in the *Ceraneum*, watches over the high-quality scientific level of the research that is implemented there. Some of the Directorship's activities have to be formally consulted with members of the Advisory Board and the annual report on these activities needs to be endorsed by the wider Assembly of Members, which gathers at least once a semester (*Rules of Operation* 2011, § 4.2–4, 5.1, § 8, 1–2, 3). At the moment (January 2019) the *Ceraneum* consists of 125 researchers (plus two honorary members) from 12 countries and 33 research centres (Bąkiewicz 2017b; *Sprawozdanie* 2018, 1; 2019, 1–2; *Membership* 2019).

II.2. What does Byzantium need the *Ceraneum* for?

Let us begin with a view, recently expressed by Florin Curta, that Central and Eastern European countries form something of a gate into Byzantium (Curta 2015). The *Ceraneum* has recently been readying itself to embark on a joint Polish-Bulgarian-Latvian project exploring the cultural exchange between the north of Europe and the Balkans. Designed to investigate interaction between the areas mentioned above, the project may change our view of what northern Europe knew about Byzantium and how Byzantium influenced the north. Our notion of this issue has already been significantly modified by a number of scholars covering this problem in some of the works that have recently been published (see e.g. Shepard 2010; 2017).

Another advantage is that the *Ceraneum* can be considered to guarantee the perspective of an outsider, one unencumbered by various nationalistic and political issues of today which the Balkan region is known to be struggling with (Boia 2013; Daskalov 2018, 108–240, 368–490).

It is also a perspective different from the one existing in the West. It involves, for example, good and widely represented knowledge of Slavic languages. For obvious reasons scholars from Central Europe have a better command of these languages than their colleagues from the West (except for the linguists, of course). These linguistic skills, in turn, imply a better knowledge of Slavic scholarly literature and, consequently, a better understanding of the cultural specificity of Slavic areas (being a part of it, ultimately).

The Centre can also be given credit for popularising knowledge about the Byzantine world and especially about Byzantium's territories

in South-East Europe and Asia Minor, i.e. the core Byzantine territories in the Middle Ages (cf. Koder 2005, 19, 22, 30–32). The *Ceraneum* clearly helps the Latins to become better acquainted with the world that is rather foreign to them.

II.3. What does Poland need the *Ceraneum* for?

The *Ceraneum* continues the tradition of Byzantine studies in Poland. Not only does Polish Byzantinology have certain achievements to its credit, both in Poland and abroad, but it also has a lot of potential for future development.

The *Ceraneum* is the first and the biggest centre of this kind in Poland and scholars affiliated with it are viewed by other Polish experts on the history of Byzantium as forming the so-called “Łódź school of Byzantinology” (Frąk 2011), a well-functioning research team.

The Centre brings together scholars from different academic fields such as Paleo-Slavic studies, classical philology and Byzantine history, creating a unique intellectual milieu. Łódź Paleo-Slavists are involved in examining and editing a variety of Old Slavic sources to be found in Polish and foreign archives.

The Centre has also assembled a substantial collection of scholarly literature on Byzantium, the Balkans and the Mediterranean world in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages (this includes academic journals, monographs, dictionaries, encyclopaedias and editions of primary sources). The *Ceraneum* has already hosted a number of foreign scholars and PhD students, most of whom spent several weeks in Łódź exploring the library collection and exchanging views with Polish scholars (cf. e.g. *Sprawozdanie* 2018, 5). There is also an increasing number of students and academics from around Poland who borrow books from our collection via the inter-library loan system or request scans of the articles and book chapters they are interested in.

Worthy of a mention here is also the fact that scholars employed in the Centre are not required to teach classes, nor handle all the paperwork that goes with it, focusing exclusively on research. This is very uncommon in Poland (at universities), where the vast majority of all scholars dealing with the issues in question, myself included, are required to share their time between their research work and their teaching obligations.

It is important to emphasise that Byzantine studies, due to their inherently international character, offer the possibility of internationalising

the achievements of Polish Humanities and of enhancing their prestige in the world. This goal is more difficult to achieve by scholars dealing with local or national history.

Another point is that such institutions as ours, by providing scholars with an opportunity to exchange views and by building bridges between cultures, seem to foster friendly international relations. One of the *Ceraneum's* members has recently been decorated by the Minister of Science and Education of the Republic of Bulgaria for his contribution to the promotion of Bulgarian culture (*Sprawozdanie* 2018, 3). The core members and employees of the Centre often receive various prizes, scholarships and awards, both from university and state authorities (see e.g. *Sprawozdanie* 2017, 3–4; 2018, 3–4; 2019, 4–5).

Our publications, especially those in Polish and intended for the Polish readership, are designed to help Polish scholars interested in European history, including the history of Poland, gain a better understanding of the historical significance of Byzantine Empire. Our mission is to make these scholars realise that it is no longer possible to consider Polish history, or the history of the broadly understood Latin world, in isolation from the Byzantine Empire, which, through its interactions with the western world, played a very important role in laying the foundations of today's Europe.

The position held by Łódź among other Polish scholarly institutions called upon to study the history of Byzantium is also affected by the following:

- The *Ceraneum's* current Director serves as President of the Byzantine Commission of the Polish Historical Society in Warsaw, which is a part of the Association International des Études Byzantines (AIEB) (*Sprawozdanie* 2016, 1);
- Scholars from Łódź are responsible for preparing Polish records for Byzantine bibliography. The bibliography is published on the pages of the leading historical journal devoted to the history of Byzantium, that is “Byzantinische Zeitschrift”, published in Munich, Germany; in a sense, the scholars from Łódź can be considered to represent Polish Byzantinology in this area.

Łódź is clearly the main centre of Byzantine studies in Poland. It has a well-stocked library (open Monday to Saturday, from 8:00 a.m. to 8:00 p.m.; room no. 319 on the 3rd floor of the Central Library of Łódź University), which possesses circa 7,400 volumes concerning its

research field and still increases through new acquisitions, scholarly donations, replacement of the volumes concerning Mediterranean topics from the Central University Library to the *Ceraneum* and international cooperation, i.e. library exchange with 8 countries at the moment (Frańk 2011, 15; *Sprawozdanie* 2012, 2; 2018, 2; 2019, 2–3). As such, the Centre stands a real chance of bringing together Polish scholars dealing with Byzantium and the Slavic Orthodox world.

The Centre conducts a regular exchange of publications with the following institutions (*Sprawozdanie* 2017, 2):

- Bibliothèque de Lettres, École normale supérieure – Paris (France);
- Centar za Crkvene Studije – Niš (Serbia);
- Jaffet Library, American University of Beirut (Lebanon);
- Fondazione per le scienze religiose Giovanni XXIII – Bologna (Italy);
- Prof. Ivan Dujčev Centre for Slavo-Byzantine Studies – Sofia (Bulgaria);
- Medieval Academy of America – Cambridge (USA);
- National Institute of Archaeology with Museum, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences – Sofia (Bulgaria);
- National Institute of Archaeology with Museum, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences – Shumen branch (Bulgaria);
- Pontifical Oriental Institute – Rome (Italy);
- Slovanský ústav Akademie věd ČR, v. v. i. and Euroslavica – Prague (Czech Republic);
- St. Cyril and St. Methodius University of Veliko Tărnovo, Faculty of History (Bulgaria);
- Universidade de Lisboa: Centro de Estudos Clássicos (Portugal).

II.4. The *Ceraneum's* research areas

The *Ceraneum* is involved in doing research into the following issues (I confine myself here to those researchers who are either employed in the Centre or who actually shape the Centre's activity):

- Dietetics, pharmacology, cuisine and medicine, both ancient and Byzantine, in the period from the 1st to the 7th c. AD;
- Pseudo-canonical Old Slavic literature from the 9th to the 18th c.;
- Dualistic heresies in Byzantium and in the *Slavia Orthodoxa* community;
- Liturgical issues in Byzantium and in the Balkans;
- Adaptation and reception of Byzantine literature by the Orthodox Slavs in the period from the 9th to the 18th c.;

- Old Slavic grammar and lexis in the period from the 9th to the 18th c.;
- Old Slavic literature in the period from the 9th to the 18th c.;
- Folk culture of the Balkan Slavs in the above-mentioned period;
- Byzantine-Rus' relations from the 9th to the 15th c.;
- State-Church relations in Early Byzantium, 4th–6th c.;
- Byzantine-Arab relations, 6th–9th c.;
- The history of Byzantine administration and Byzantine cities in the period from the 4th to the 7th c.;
- Byzantine empresses in the period from the 4th to the 10th c.;
- Byzantine-Latin relations in the period from the 6th to the 11th c.;
- Byzantine-Slavic, especially Bulgarian, relations;
- A history of medieval Bulgaria;
- Byzantine literature (focusing on historiography and rhetoric);
- Power ideology, education and social structure in the 4th–10th c.;
- A history of Constantinople and usurpations during the Early Byzantine period, 4th–7th c.;
- Bulgarian monasticism, 12th–14th c.;
- Byzantine geopolitics and historical geography;
- Byzantine warfare during the period from the 6th to the 11th c.

As can be seen from the above, scholars from the *Ceraneum* explore various research fields relating to different aspects of Byzantine civilisation and the Slavic world. In this regard, the *Ceraneum* is not different from similar centres functioning outside of Poland. In addition to particular topics studied independently by various scholars, there are four research teams at the Centre. The teams cover the following research areas: Paleo-Slavic studies, Byzantine medicine and Byzantine cuisine, Byzantine-Arab relations and the history of medieval Bulgaria. These research teams seem to set the Centre apart from other scholarly institutions of this kind. They did not emerge as a result of some pre-conceived plan. Their formation stemmed naturally from scholarly interests shared by different academics who teamed up to study particular issues together and to collectively apply for research grants. Actually, the Centre remains open to different research paths to be followed in studying different aspects of the Mediterranean world and its cultural influence across other areas. We are interested in establishing collaboration with scholars representing different research fields and dealing with the above-mentioned geographical areas, including particularly the Roman and Byzantine Empires in

the period from the first to the fifteenth centuries and the Orthodox Slavic world in the period from the ninth to the eighteenth centuries. We wish to bring together both Polish and foreign scholars who, while representing different scholarly disciplines and using different research methods, will work together on various topics, significantly deepening our knowledge of the world of Byzantium. Our goal is to establish permanent cooperation with the best experts on the history of Byzantium and Slavic issues in the world. We aim to create a dynamic institution housing a well-stocked library and based on reliable long-term funding.

In December 2015 the *Ceraneum* was invited to become one of the founding members of the “*Pax Byzantino-Slava*” International Research Network, which currently brings together 22 research centres and universities from Bulgaria, Greece, Georgia, Poland, Russia, Serbia, Switzerland and Italy. The main goal of the Network is to initiate, coordinate, undertake and support joint research activities in the domain of Byzantine-Slavic relations, and also in the broader domain of Medieval studies. Earlier, in 2013, the Centre had also signed a bilateral cooperation agreement with the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, and a similar agreement with the Centre for Medieval Studies at St. Cyril and St. Methodius University of Veliko Tŕrnovo is being prepared at the moment (*Convention* 2015. Art. 1–17, 1–8; *Sprawozdanie* 2014, 2; 2016, 5).

In 2017 and 2018, based on the decision of the National Research Centre (Poland) and the Max Planck Society (Germany), the *Ceraneum* found itself in an elite group of Polish scientific units, in which the so-called Dioscuri Centres of Scientific Excellence can be created, to promote outstanding researchers who want to conduct their research in the region of Central and Eastern Europe (*Sprawozdanie* 2018, 4; 2019, 4; Dawczyk 2018).

II.5. The financing of the *Ceraneum*

For the publication of the journal, a monograph series or organising conferences (the Centre has already organised or co-organised 13 national and international conferences, 10 sections during various scientific meetings, and took patronage over 2 scientific meetings – *Sprawozdanie* 2013, 6; 2014, 6–7; 2015, 5; 2016, 5; 2017, 5; 2018, 5; 2019, 6, 7; Hołasek 2015; Dawczyk 2018), as well as for its operations, the Centre relies on the funds granted by the Rector of the Łódź University, the Dean of the Faculty of Philology, the Dean of the Faculty

of Philosophy and History, the Head of the Chair of Slavic Philology, and the Head of the Chair of Byzantine History. Sometimes it is also co-financed by the Library of the University of Łódź, the Łódź Municipal Office or the Ministry of Science and Higher Education (*Rules of Operation* 2011, § 11, 4; *Sprawozdanie* 2012, 3; 2013, 5; 2014, 3–4; 2016, 3; 2017, 3; 2018, 3; 2019, 2, 4; Wolski 2013, 45; Dawczyk 2018).

The purchase of scholarly books requested by the Centre is financed by the Library of the University of Łódź and, in part, by the Library of the Institute of History of the University of Łódź. It is also, and in fact, predominantly financed from funds allocated specifically for the implementation of specific scholarly projects (*Sprawozdanie* 2015, 2; 2016, 1–2; 2017, 3; 2019, 2).

A variety of national research grants (some of them in cooperation with foreign researchers) were in the past or are being now implemented at the *Ceraneum* (below is a selection of them; for more details see *Projects* 2019):

- Reception of the Literary Output and Folk Culture of the Slavia Orthodoxa Circle in Poland – History and Bibliography of the Translatory Production (2013–2018, Sonata Bis 1, HS – National Research Centre);
- The Bulgarian state between 927 and 969. The epoch of Tsar Peter I (2015–2018; Harmonia – National Research Centre);
- Financial support from the Polish Ministry of Science and Higher Education for editing an English language version of the “*Studia Ceranea. Journal of the Waldemar Ceran Research Centre for the History and Culture of the Mediterranean Area and South-East Europe*” (2017–2018);
- Ancient and Byzantine cosmetology. Myrrh and frankincense in beauty products (1st–7th c. AD) (2018; Miniatura 1, HS – National Research Centre);
- The Novgorod First Chronicle – Polish Translation and Scientific Account of the Oldest Chronicle of Novgorod the Great (2017–2019; National Programme for the Development of Humanities, “Universalia”2.2);
- Mohammad and the rise of Islam – stereotypes, knowledge and imagination in the Byzantine-Rus’ cultural circle (2017–2020; Opus – National Research Centre);
- Dualist heresies in the history of South-East Europe during the period of 9th–15th c. (2017–2020; Harmonia – National Research Centre).

So far, the *Ceraneum* has received PLN 2,996,360, which equals *circa* EUR 697,250, through these research and editorial projects (*Sprawozdanie* 2012, 2–3; 2013, 3; 2014, 3; 2015, 2–3; 2016, 2–3; 2017, 2–3; 2018, 2–3; 2019, 3, 4).

The salaries that the *Ceraneum*'s employees are paid come from the University's central budget and partly from the research grants.

We are open to different forms of financing, both foreign and domestic.

II.6. Public and didactic activity

II.6.1. Our public activity includes:

- Open lectures devoted to Byzantine cuisine combined with period meals tasting sessions (Brzozowska 2013, 36; *Sprawozdanie* 2013, 6; 2014, 6);
- Open lectures delivered by distinguished Polish experts on the history of Byzantium and organised as part of the celebrations of events important to the Centre, such as the opening of the Centre or the First Convention of the Centre's International Advisory Board (2011 and 2012) (Czarnek 2011, 27; Wolski 2012, 13–14);
- Exhibitions organised in the hall of the Library of the University of Łódź: an exhibition of the publications and personal stationary of Prof. Waldemar Ceran (Brzozowska 2012, 42; *Sprawozdanie* 2012, 4); an exhibition of scholarly publications by Byzantine and Paleo-Slavic specialists from Łódź, organised in connection with the first convention of the Centre's International Advisory Board (Brzozowska 2012, 41, 42); an exhibition organised to celebrate the completion of a research grant and entitled "The old Byzantine capital in photography"; Bulgarian culture as seen through Viktoria Marinov's camera lenses (Jagusiak 2016); an exhibition organised in Warsaw (in the building of the Bulgarian Institute of Culture of the Bulgarian Embassy in Warsaw – BIK) – "The Church in Tsar Samuel's Bulgaria: Roots and Heritage" (Exhibition 2019);
- Presentations of books (Brzozowska 2012, 41–42), for example: *The Bulgarian Tsardom. Politics-Society-Economy-Culture, 866–971* (in Polish – Leszka and Marinow 2015), a book presented at BIK (*Sprawozdanie* 2016, 6);
- Articles and interviews devoted to the Centre, regularly published on the pages of the official University journal, the "Chronicle" (Czarnek

- 2011; 2014; Brzozowska 2010a; 2010b; 2012; 2013; Kacprzyk 2011; Wolski 2012; 2013; Hołasek 2015; Jagusiak 2016; Bąkowicz 2017a; 2017b; Dawczyk 2018);
- Open meetings devoted to the Centre’s official opening and to the Centre’s fifth anniversary, organised in the Library of the University of Łódź and covered by the local or national press, local Radio and TV stations (Frąk 2011, 15; *Sprawozdanie* 2012, 1; *Uniwersytet Łódzki* 2016; *Sprawozdanie* 2017, 1; 2018, 1; 2019, 2; Puculek 2017);
 - Open lectures organised for both Polish and foreign scholars (55 so far) (*Sprawozdanie* 2012, 4; 2013, 7; 2014, 8; 2015, 5–6; 2016, 5–6; 2017, 6–7; 2018, 6; 2019, 8; *Open lectures* 2019);
 - A Facebook page that we run to inform the public of the Centre’s achievements and of all the events we organise, including scholarly conferences and open lectures (Facebook 2019);
 - Unfortunately, for the time being, except for open lectures we are not involved in any large-scale popularisation projects. However, we consider this kind of activity, which is specified in the Centre’s status, to be most desirable.

II.6.2. Didactic activity:

- Between 2012 and 2014 some of the *Ceraneum*’s members and the Centre itself (as an institution) took part in two international didactic projects (Wolski 2013; *Sprawozdanie* 2013, 4; 2014, 5; 2015, 3–4):
- “Standards of Everyday Life in the Middle Ages and in Modern Times” – implemented in cooperation with St. Cyril and St. Methodius University of Veliko Tărnovo (in charge of the programme), St. Kliment Ohridski Sofia University (both from Bulgaria), Ovidius University, Constanța (Romania), Uludağ University, Bursa, University of Ankara (both from Turkey), Université Paris 13 (France), sponsored by the LLP-Erasmus Intensive Programme (IP) of the European Union;
 - “Syncretic Societies: Bridging Traditions and Modernity? The Balkan Summer School of Religion and Public Life” – project implemented by a consortium consisting of “Paisii Hilendarski” Plovdiv University (Bulgaria), University of Eastern Finland (Finland), Istanbul Bilgi University (Turkey), University of Bucharest (Romania), University of Milan (Italy), Aristotle University of Thessaloniki (Greece).

The Centre implements an intensive exchange of academic staff (STA) within the Erasmus+ programme, and currently has 11 agreements

with different scientific and teaching institutions from various European countries (*Sprawozdanie* 2013, 6; 2014, 7; 2015, 5; 2016, 5; 2017, 6; 2018, 5; 2019, 7–8):

- Charles University (Cz PRAHA07) – Czech Republic;
- Bulgarian Academy of Sciences (BG SOFIA30) – Bulgaria;
- St. Cyril and St. Methodius University of Veliko Tărnovo (BG VELIKO01) – Bulgaria;
- “Paisii Hilendarski” University of Plovdiv (BG PLOVDIV04) – Bulgaria;
- Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg (D FREIBUR01) – Germany;
- University of Primorska (SI KOPER0) – Slovenia;
- University of Ljubljana (SI LJUBLJA01) – Slovenia;
- Suleyman Demirel University (TR ISPARTA01) – Turkey;
- Università Degli Studi di Firenze (I FIRENZE01) – Italy;
- Università Degli Studi di Napoli ‘l’Orientale’ (I NAPOLI02) – Italy;
- Università Della Calabria (I COSENZA01) – Italy.

Between 2013 and 2016 a Student Research Section operated in the *Ceraneum*, which brought together students from different university courses interested in broadly understood Mediterranean issues (*Sprawozdanie* 2014, 1; 2015, 1; 2016, 6; 2017, 7).

II.7. The *Ceraneum* and archaeology

Some of the *Ceraneum*’s members are active archaeologists but none of them are actively involved in the Centre’s development (see the members list in *Membership* 2019). However, we remain open to cooperation with specialists in this field.

The *Ceraneum* works closely with archaeological museums in Bulgaria. Associated with the museums are archaeologists from Varna, Sofia and Shumen. For the time being, however, our cooperation consists only in exchange of scholarly literature.

We have students visiting us under the Erasmus+ programme. These students, who are mainly from Bulgaria, also include representatives of archaeology.

As I mentioned above, at the moment we are planning to sign a cooperation agreement with the Centre for Medieval Studies of the St. Cyril and St. Methodius University of Veliko Tărnovo. There are archaeologists co-operating with this unit.

In 2015 an idea emerged of a joint project on everyday life to be carried out by the *Ceraneum* and the Historical Museum in Varna (which

is, in fact, archaeological). For the time being, the project is still waiting to be put into action, but it shows the Centre's openness to cooperation with archaeologists.

The Centre's members maintain collaborative relationships with the Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology of the University of Warsaw and the Institute of Mediterranean and Oriental Cultures of the Polish Academy of Sciences.

II.8. The Ceraneum and academic cooperation – research assistance and publishing activity

Everyone who wants to cooperate with the Centre is welcome. We offer: joint research projects, contacts within academia, access to library and handling of research grants. First of all, we invite authors to publish papers on archaeology in the “*Studia Ceranea. Journal of the Waldemar Ceran Research Centre for the History and Culture of the Mediterranean Area and South-East Europe*” (Journal's Website 2019; Wolski 2012, 13; Petrov 2016; Jagusiak 2016; Sophoulis 2016, 435, fn. 117), the official periodical of the Centre, following a peer-review process, which is indexed in the following national and international reference bases (*Sprawozdanie* 2019, 6; *Databases* 2019):

- Web of Science™ Core Collection (Emerging Sources Citation Index) – USA;
- EBSCOhost research databases – USA;
- Slavic Humanities Index – Canada;
- European Reference Index for the Humanities and the Social Sciences (ERIH PLUS) – Norway;
- Central and Eastern European Online Library (CEEOL) – Germany;
- Bibliographic Database of Polish Academic Journals from Humanities and Humanistic Social Studies (BazHum) – Poland;
- Central European Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities (CEJSH) – Poland;
- Index Copernicus Journals Master List (IC) – Poland;
- Polish Scholarly Bibliography and POL-Index (PBN) – Poland;
- University of Łódź Repository – Poland;
- Google Scholar Bibliographic Database – USA;
- Scientific Communication Portal (INFONA) – Poland;
- Polish Scientific and Professional Electronic Journals (ARIANTA) – Poland;

- Bielefeld Academic Search Engine (BASE) – Germany;
- Information Matrix for the Analysis of Journals (MIAR) – Spain;
- Publishers International Linking Association Inc. (Crossref) – USA;
- Network of Library Content and Services (WorldCat) – USA;
- Biblioteka Nauki – Centrum Otwartej Nauki (CeON) – Poland;
- Directory of Open Access scholarly Resources (ROAD) – ISSN International Centre and Unesco;
- Public Knowledge Project (PKP Index) – Canada;
- UlrichsWeb – USA.

So far (since 2011), the Centre has published 8 volumes of the journal. In 2015 we started the *Ceraneum*'s own monographic series, predominantly devoted to the edition and translation of the sources – the “Series Ceranea” (*Series' Website* 2019a; *Sprawozdanie* 2016, 4; Jagusiak 2016). On the other hand, the whole group of Łódź University's Byzantinists and Paleo-Slavists have so far published several dozen monographs and collected studies in various Polish and foreign publishing houses, among others in the “Byzantina Lodziensia”, the series of the Chair of the Byzantine History at Łódź University (cf. *Series' Website* 2019b; Sophoulis 2016, 432–435). They concern different research topics in the field of broadly understood Byzantine world, including the so-called community of the *Slavia Orthodoxa*.

III. Perspectives and aims

As we can see from the above, the *Ceraneum* Centre integrates the activities of different academic units conducting research on a wide scope of issues related to history, culture and traditions of the countries of the Mediterranean basin and South-East Europe.

Its activities include in particular conducting multidisciplinary research in the fields concerning the Mediterranean between the 1st and the 18th c. and seek to extend the multidisciplinary cooperation at the University, as well as on national and international level, by organising scholarly meetings, integrating the particular units of the University of Łódź involved in the implementation of the tasks included in the *Ceraneum* Centre's goals, as well as disseminating and popularising the research results of the Centre's staff and members in the form of publications (*Rules of Operation* 2011, § 3, 1; Kacprzyk 2011, 43; Frąk 2011, 15). In connection with these activities, our future objectives include

getting and implementing new research and educational projects, both national and international (grants from the European Union, for example); increasing the number of the *Ceraneum* staff; finding reliable financing for the “*Studia Ceranea*” and “*Series Ceranea*”; and further expansion in the area of international cooperation with specialists in different areas and branches of research. We would like to organise more international conferences (in fact, in 2019, we are going to launch a new annual project in this area, called “*Colloquia Ceranea*”, gathering scholars from various countries), run specialised academic courses for PhD students, in this way expanding the range of courses offered by the University of Łódź and, of course, increase the book collection and access to electronic libraries and bases, necessary for sensible and fruitful research work.

References

- Bąkowicz S. 2017a. Latopis Nowogrodzki pod lupą uniwersyteckich badaczy. *Kronika Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego* 4 (<http://kronika.uni.lodz.pl/numery/kronika-ul-05-17/artykuly/1011/honorowy-czlonek-ceraneum>).
- Bąkowicz S. 2017b. Honorowy członek Ceraneum. *Kronika Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego* 5 (<http://kronika.uni.lodz.pl/numery/kronika-ul-05-17/artykuly/1011/honorowy-czlonek-ceraneum>).
- Boia L. 2013. *History and Myth in Romanian Consciousness*. Budapest: Central European University Press.
- Brzozowska Z. 2009. Na skrzyżowaniu tradycji. *Kronika. Pismo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego* 116 (4/5), 28–29.
- Brzozowska Z. 2010a. Cywilizacja bizantyńsko-prawosławna. *Kronika. Pismo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego* 121 (4), 29–30.
- Brzozowska Z. 2010b. Spotkania z nauką. *Kronika. Pismo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego* 127 (5), 49–50.
- Brzozowska Z. 2012. Siedmiu świętych mężów. *Kronika Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego* 128 (1), 41–42.
- Brzozowska Z. 2013. Cywilizacja bizantyńsko-prawosławna. *Kronika Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego* 133 (1), 35–36.
- Ceran W. 2001. Historia i bibliografia rozumowana bizantynologii polskiej (1800–1998), vol. I–II (= *Byzantina Lodziensia* 6). Łódź: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego.
- Ceran W. 2006. *Początki i etapy rozwoju bizantynologii polskiej* (= *Labarum* 1). Poznań: Instytut Historii UAM.
- Convention. 2015. *Convention on the Foundation of the International research Network Pax Byzantino-Slava*, Art. 1–17, 1–8.
- Curta F. 2015. East Central Europe: the gate to Byzantium. *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 108 (2), 1–42.

- Czarnek P. 2011. Ceraneum – w hołdzie uczonemu. *Kronika. Pismo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego* 125/126 (3/4), 26–27.
- Czarnek P. 2014. Sposób na grant. *Kronika Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego* 4 (<http://kronika.uni.lodz.pl/numery/humanistyka-to-fundament/artykuly/280/sposob-na-grant>).
- Daskalov P. 2018. *Golemite razkazi za Balgarskoto srednevekovie*. Sofia: Izdatelstvo 'Riva'.
- Databases 2019. <http://ceraneum.uni.lodz.pl/en/s-ceranea-2/contact>, 31.01.2019.
- Dawczyk M. 2018. Badawcze i wydawnicze przedsięwzięcia Ceraneum. *Kronika Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego* 2 (<http://kronika.uni.lodz.pl/numery/kronika-2-18/artykuly/1124/badawcze-i-wydawnicze-przedsiwziecia-ceraneum>).
- Frańk M. 2011. Uniwersytet bada Bizancjum. Najlepiej na świecie. *Gazeta Wyborcza. Łódź Kreatywna* 122 (27.05), 15.
- Hołasek A. 2015. Granty dla Ceraneum. *Kronika Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego* 2 (<http://kronika.uni.lodz.pl/numery/maluch-na-uczelni/artykuly/361/granty-dla-ceraneum>).
- Jagusiak K. 2016. Pięć lat Ceraneum. *Kronika Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego* 6 (<http://kronika.uni.lodz.pl/numery/razem-dla-pokoju/artykuly/791/piec-lat-ceraneum>).
- Jaworska-Wołoszyn M. 2017. Przegląd badań nad myślą bizantyjską w Polsce. *Konstantinove listy* 10 (1), 12–24.
- Jeffreys E., Haldon J. and Cormack R. 2008. Byzantine Studies as an Academic Discipline. In R. Cormack, J. Haldon, and E. Jeffreys (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 3–20.
- Kacprzyk E. 2011. Nie chcemy tworzyć pomnika. Rozmowa z dr. Pawłem Filipczakiem i dr. Ivanem N. Petrovem, pełnomocnikami rektora UŁ ds. utworzenia i organizacji centrum Ceraneum. *Kronika. Pismo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego* 127 (5), 42–43.
- Koder J. 2005. *To Byzantio os horos. Eisagoge sten Istorike Geografia tes Anatolikes Mesogeiou ste Byzantine Epohe*, metafrase D.H. Stathakopoulos. Thessalonike: Banias.
- Kruk M.P. 2017. The contribution of Polish art historians to studies on Byzantium, Kievan Rus' and the Polish-Ruthenian borderland = Wkład polskich historyków sztuki w badania nad Bizancjum Rusią Kijowską i pograniczem polsko-ruskim. In M. Wołoszyn (ed.), *From Cherven' Towns to Curzon Line. The lands on the Middle Bug during the Middle Ages and the historiographic perspective on the formation of Poland's eastern border, 18th–21st centuries = Od Grodów Czerwieńskich do linii Curzona. Dzieje środkowego Pobuża w wiekach średnich oraz postrzeganie formowania się wschodniej granicy Polski w historiografii XVIII–XXI w.*, vol. 1 (= *U Źródeł Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej / Frühzeit Ostmitteleuropas* 3/1). Kraków–Leipzig–Rzeszów–Warszawa: Leibniz-Institut für Geschichte und Kultur des östlichen Europa, Instytut Archeologii i Etnologii Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Instytut Archeologii Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego, 285–404.
- Leszka M.J. and Marinow K. 2015. *Carstwo bułgarskie. Polityka-społeczeństwo-gospodarka-kultura, 866–971*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN.
- Ordinance no. 30. 2011a. Ordinance no. 30 of the Rector of the UŁ from 26.01.2011 for creation and organising of the Waldemar Ceran research Centre for the

- History and Culture of the Mediterranean Area and South-East Europe, Ceraneum, § 1–3, 1–2.
- Ordinance no. 30.* 2011b. Rector's ordinance no. 30 from 27.12.2011 concerning: introduction of Rules of operation of the Waldemar Ceran research Centre for the History and Culture of the Mediterranean Area and South-East Europe, Ceraneum, § 1–2, 1.
- Petrov I. 2016. Otwarty dostęp, umiędzynarodowienie i indeksowanie w bazach referencyjnych – z doświadczeń łódzkiego czasopisma naukowego „Studia Ceranea”, 7. *Seminarium Open Access. Biblioteka Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego* 25.10.2016 (http://repozytorium.uni.lodz.pl:8080/xmlui/bitstream/handle/11089/20022/Petrov_Studia_Ceranea.pdf?sequence=6&isAllowed=y).
- Puculek A. 2017. Centrum Ceraneum Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego. Łączą energię i pokolenia. *Gazeta Wyborcza Łódź*, 31.07 (<http://lodz.wyborcza.pl/lodz/7,154682,22165424,centrum-ceraneum-universytetu-lodzkiego-lacza-energie-i-pokolenia.html>).
- Resolution no. 285.* 2011. Resolution no. 285 of the Senate of UŁ adopted on 24th working meeting of the term 2008–2012 on 7th February 2011 regarding: creation of the Waldemar Ceran research Centre for the History and Culture of the Mediterranean Area and South-East Europe, Ceraneum, 1.
- Rules of operation.* 2011. Rules of operation of the Waldemar Ceran research Centre for the History and Culture of the Mediterranean Area and South-East Europe, Ceraneum (Annex to ordinance no. 30 of the Rector of UŁ from 27.12.2011), § 1–11, 14.
- Shepard J. 2010. From the Bosphorus to the British Isles: the way from the Greeks to the Varangians. *Drevneysie gosudarstva vostochnoy Evropy* 2009, 15–42.
- Shepard J. 2017. Anglo-Danish 'empire-building', Rus and Byzantium: a background for Bolesław Chrobry? In L.P. Słupecki, P. Sierżęga, A. Rozwałka and M. Dzik (eds.), *Recepcja i odrzucenie. Kontakty międzykulturowe w średniowieczu. Materiały V Kongresu Mediewistów Polskich* 1. Rzeszów: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego, 107–134.
- Sophoulis P. 2016. E exelixa ton Byzantinon Spoudon sten Anatolike Kentrike Europe. In P. Sophoulis et al. (eds.), *Apo Kardias. Mneme D.H. Pantou*. Athena: Ellenikes Epitropes Spoudon NA Europes, 407–436.
- Sprawozdanie* 2012. Sprawozdanie z działalności Centrum Badań nad Historią i Kulturą Basenu Morza Śródziemnego i Europy Południowo-Wschodniej im. prof. Waldemara Cerana, Ceraneum w roku 2011, 1–5.
- Sprawozdanie* 2013. Sprawozdanie z działalności Centrum Badań nad Historią i Kulturą Basenu Morza Śródziemnego i Europy Południowo-Wschodniej im. prof. Waldemara Cerana, Ceraneum w roku 2012, 1–8.
- Sprawozdanie* 2014. Sprawozdanie z działalności Centrum Badań nad Historią i Kulturą Basenu Morza Śródziemnego i Europy Południowo-Wschodniej im. prof. Waldemara Cerana, Ceraneum w roku 2013, 1–8.
- Sprawozdanie* 2015. Sprawozdanie z działalności Centrum Badań nad Historią i Kulturą Basenu Morza Śródziemnego i Europy Południowo-Wschodniej im. prof. Waldemara Cerana, Ceraneum w roku 2014, 1–6.

- Sprawozdanie* 2016. Sprawozdanie z działalności Centrum Badań nad Historią i Kulturą Basenu Morza Śródziemnego i Europy Południowo-Wschodniej im. prof. Waldemara Cerana, Ceraneum w roku 2015, 1–6.
- Sprawozdanie* 2017. Sprawozdanie z działalności Centrum Badań nad Historią i Kulturą Basenu Morza Śródziemnego i Europy Południowo-Wschodniej im. prof. Waldemara Cerana, Ceraneum w roku 2016, 1–7.
- Sprawozdanie* 2018. Sprawozdanie z działalności Centrum Badań nad Historią i Kulturą Basenu Morza Śródziemnego i Europy Południowo-Wschodniej im. prof. Waldemara Cerana, Ceraneum w roku 2017, 1–6.
- Sprawozdanie* 2019. Sprawozdanie z działalności Centrum Badań nad Historią i Kulturą Basenu Morza Śródziemnego i Europy Południowo-Wschodniej im. prof. Waldemara Cerana, Ceraneum w roku 2018, 1–8.
- Uniwersytet Łódzki*. 2016. Uniwersytet Łódzki. Jedno z najlepszych centrów badawczych – Ceraneum. *Gazeta Wyborcza Łódź*, 08.12.2016 (<http://lodz.wyborcza.pl/lodz/1,35136,21087209,jedno-z-najlepszych-centrow-badawczych-na-ul-ceraneum.html>).
- Wolski J. 2012. Zacieśnienie zagranicznej współpracy. *Kronika Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego* 129 (2), 13–14.
- Wolski J. 2013. Wizja wspólnej historii. *Kronika Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego* 136 (4), 44–45.

Web sites

- Exhibition* 2019. <http://bikpolska.pl/2015/11/17/badacze-bizancjum-i-srednio-wiecznej-historii-balkan-zaprezentowali-ksiazke-o-pierwszym-carstwie-bulgarskim>, 31.01.2019.
- Facebook 2019. <https://www.facebook.com/ceraneum>, 31.01.2019.
- Journal's Website 2019. <https://wydawnictwo.uni.lodz.pl/redakcje-czasopism/studia-ceranea-journal-of-the-waldemar-ceran-research-centre-for-the-history-and-culture-of-the-mediterranean-area-and-south-east-europe/>, 31.01.2019.
- Membership 2019. <http://ceraneum.uni.lodz.pl/en/about-ceraneum-2/members>, 31.01.2019.
- Open lectures 2019. <http://ceraneum.uni.lodz.pl/en/activities-2/open-lectures>, 31.01.2019.
- Projects 2019. <http://ceraneum.uni.lodz.pl/en/activities-2/projects>, 31.01.2019.
- Series' Website 2019a. <https://wydawnictwo.uni.lodz.pl/serie/seria/ceraneum/>, 31.01.2019.
- Series' Website 2019b. <https://wydawnictwo.uni.lodz.pl/serie/seria/byzantina-lodziensia/>, 31.01.2019.

DOI: 10.15584/anarres.2018.13.6

Błażej Stanisławski*, Şengül Aydingün**

Cultural Heritage and Archaeological Investigations in East Thrace

ABSTRACT

Stanisławski B., Aydingün S. 2018. Cultural Heritage and Archaeological Investigations in East Thrace. *Analecta Archaeologica Ressoviensia* 13, 109–134

The eastern end of Thrace, situated between the Black Sea and the Sea of Marmara, the Bosphorus and the Anastasian Wall, was in recent years the subject of Polish-Turkish archaeological investigations. The settlements on this territory formed Constantinople's immediate hinterland in the Byzantine period. Our studies focused on the beginning of the Via Egnatia. They included the famous suburb of Hebdomon and the city of Rhegion. A number of new sources were recorded as a result of our excavations, surface surveys, sonar prospections of water bodies, and queries of archive collections. They enabled us to examine the spatial and settlement structure of this area in the Byzantine period. The structure also included the settlement complex on the Firuzköy Peninsula on Lake Küçükçekmece, as well as settlements in Athyras, Selymbria, Melantias, Episkopia, Angurina, Schiza and Daphnusion. They were elements of Constantinople's communications and transportation system. The ceremony of *adventus*, i.e. welcoming the emperor, eminent guests or holy relics arriving in the capital, was also performed in this area. At present, these territories are undergoing a great deal of construction and infrastructure development, being part of the megapolis of Istanbul. This puts the archaeological heritage located there in danger.

Keywords: Byzantium, East Thrace, Via Egnatia, Firuzköy, Küçükçekmece, Athyras, Episkopeia, Angurina

Received: 22.12.2018; **Revised:** 28.12.2018; **Revised:** 28.12.2018; **Accepted:** 30.12.2018

The eastern end of Thrace, situated between the Black Sea and the Sea of Marmara, the Bosphorus and the Anastasian Wall (the European part of Turkey; *cf.* Fig. 1), was in recent years the subject of Polish-Turkish archaeological investigations. The settlements on this territory formed Constantinople's immediate hinterland in the Byzantine period. Our studies mainly focused on the southern part of this area, along the

* Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology, Polish Academy of Sciences, Więzienna 6, 50-118 Wrocław, Poland; st-wski@wp.pl

** Department of Archaeology, University of Kocaeli, Antpark Yerleşkesi 41300 Izmit, Turkey; sengulaydingun@koceli.edu.tr

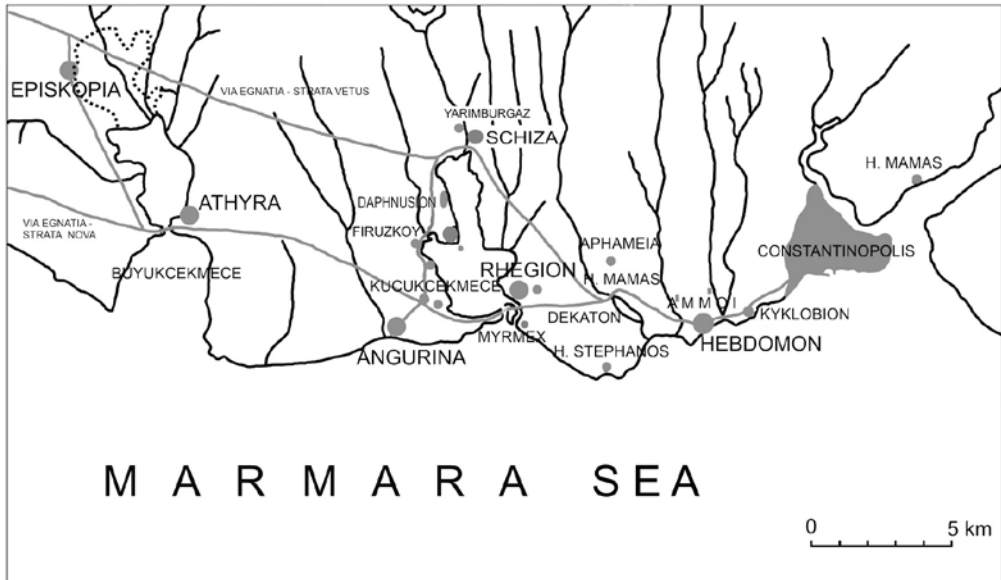


Fig. 1. A reconstruction of the Byzantine settlement complex located in the suburbs of Constantinople, on the East Thracian coast of the Propontis along the Via Egnatia, prepared on the basis of the latest findings (Prepared by B. Stanisławski, Z. Yıldırım)

Sea of Marmara – the Propontis and the Via Egnatia¹ – the main road to the capital of the empire, which ran through there.

The cities, settlements and sacred places located in this territory, as well as some events which took place there, drew the attention of chroniclers. Written sources recorded e.g. the suburban districts of Hebdomon (present-day Bakirköy – a district of Istanbul) and Rhesion (present-day Zeytinburnu in Istanbul), where the fortress called *Kyklobion* or *Strongylon* was built; the cities of Rhegion (present-day Küçükçekmece), Athyras (the city of Büyükçekmece), Chirowakchi (Turkish Çatalca), and Selymbria (Silivri); the settlements of Melantias, Episkopeia (present-day Ahmediye), Angurina (Beylikdüzü), Schiza (Yarımburgaz), and Daphnusion; and fortresses (Apamea, Ennakosia²), hamlets, villages, hagiomas (sacred springs), cisterns and ports established there.

¹ The Via Egnatia, which ran through the area in question, had two routes. The older, more northerly one, called the *strata vetus*, ran more closely to the centre of the territory, and the younger, the *strata nova*, built under Emperor Constantine, followed the route along the coastline of the Sea of Marmara (Mango 2000, 174–175).

² For the fortresses of Apamea and Ennakosia see von Hammer 1822, 8; Külzer 2008, 186, 252–253, with further literature.

We owe our knowledge about them to Procopius of Caesarea, the author of the *On buildings*, who wrote in the times of Justinian the Great (527–565; see below), and to the porphyrogene Anna Komnene, the author of the *Alexiad*, who lived several centuries later, in the times of the medieval empire (1083–1153; e.g. Athyras – *Alexias* II.6.10, 89 and X.9.2., 347). The information recorded in these works is supplemented by other authors from the Byzantine, Latin, Arab and Slavic civilisations.

Written sources were also clearly the main basis for studies on settlement on this territory during the Byzantine period. The knowledge about the material culture of the people living there is, on the other hand, negligible. Only a handful of excavations have been carried out in this area. Additionally, the architectural artefacts discovered as a result, even as significant ones as the ruins of the famous Church of John the Baptist in Hebdomon (Fig. 2) or the relics of the city of Rhegion (Fig. 3), no longer exist. They were destroyed as a consequence of the massive urban development of Istanbul, one of the largest metropolises of the contemporary world with a population of about 20 million. This state of affairs is also becoming more serious, which results in the last

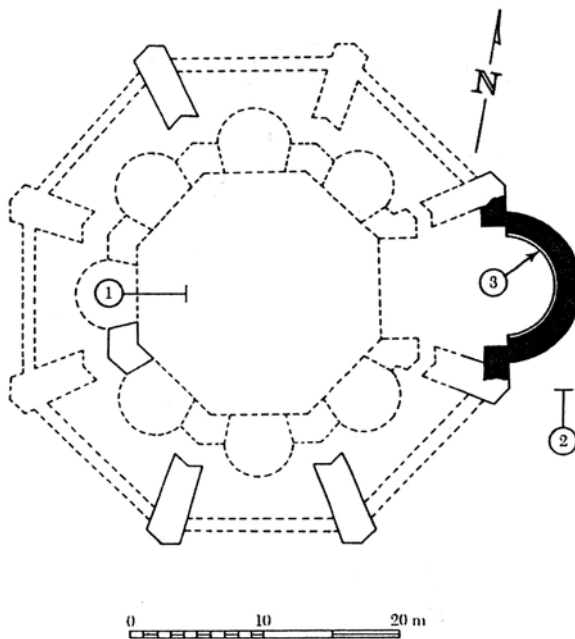


Fig. 2. The plan of St. John the Baptist's Church in Hebdomon (Source: Demangel 1945)

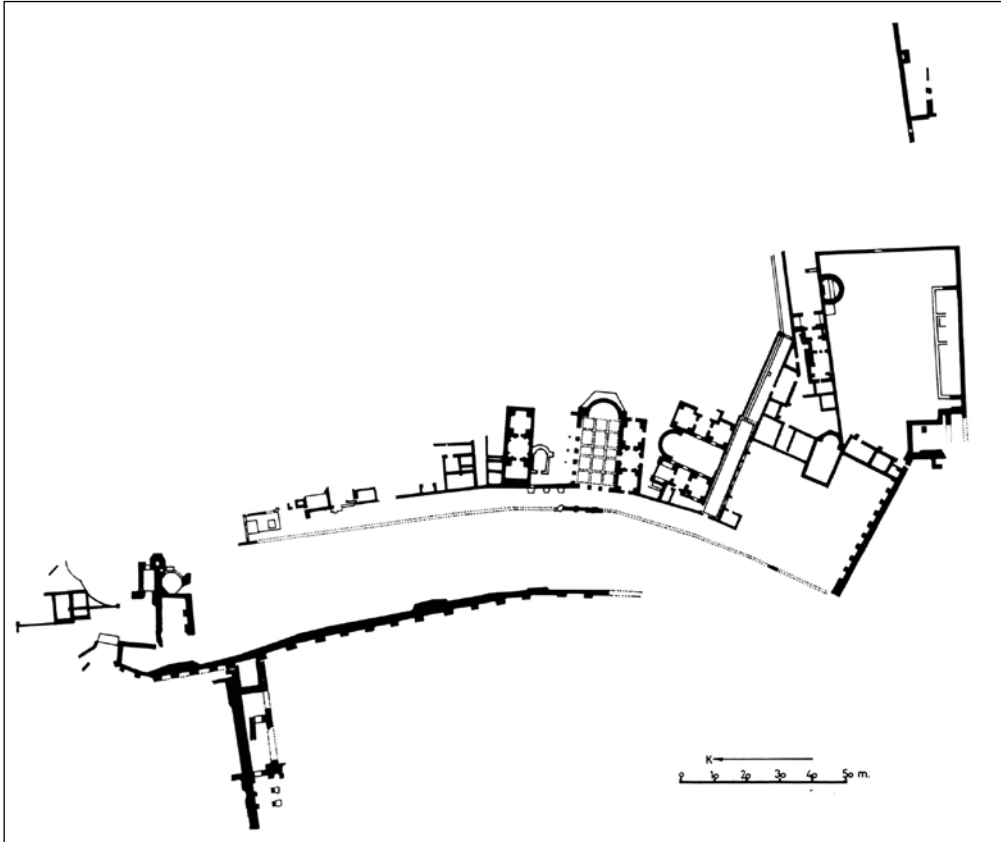


Fig. 3. Küçükçekmece-Rhegion: a map of architectural objects discovered in the acropolis as a result of excavations carried out in 1938–1942 (Source: Ogan and Mufid Mansel 1942)

still undeveloped places that hide relics of the Byzantine civilisation underground losing out to contemporary civilisation.

Moreover, so far East Thrace has not attracted a lot of attention of archaeologists, who have mainly focused on the nearby capital city. The most important works on settlement on these lands³ are fragments of monographs by historians R. Janin (1950; 1964) and A. Külzer (2008).

³ Important contributions to learning the history of this area and its settlement were also made by C. Chastelain (1709), A.G. Paspates (1879), C.J. Jireček (1877), M. Gedeon (1935; 1938), A. Ogan (1939), J.B. Thibaut (1922), T. Makrides (1938; 1939), E. Stamulë-Sarnatë (1943), S. Eyice (1978), C. Mango (2000), T. Tuna and S. Şeker (2009), A. Külzer (2004; 2010; 2011), A. Taddei (2013), G. Simeonov (2016) and O. Węglarz (2017a; 2017b).

With the exception of the last few years, archaeological excavations were carried out only on the territory of two settlements: Hebdomon, examined by R. Demangel in 1920–1923 (Demangel 1945), and Rhegion, located in the contemporary city of Küçükçekmece, investigated by A. Müfid Mansel and A. Ogan in 1938–1942 and in 1948 (Ogan 1939; Ogan and Mansel 1942). Rescue works, carried out in connection with construction investment projects, also only on the territories of Hebdomon and Rhegion (2015–2016), complete the picture. The findings of the latter works have not been published yet.

In the context of the above, the archaeological investigations carried out since 2007 by Ş. Aydingün from the University of Kocaeli in the settlement complex on Firuzköy Peninsula on the western shore of Lake Küçükçekmece (Fig. 1) are one of a kind. The Byzantine settlement from this area has been examined since 2015, e.g. as part of a joint Turkish-Polish research project called “Constantinople/Istanbul – Küçükçekmece – the terminal port on the route from the Varangians to the Greeks, the centre of the Byzantinisation of the Rus’ people” (Stanisławski, Aydingün and Öviz 2016; Stanisławski 2017). The project was financed by the National Science Centre under the SONATA BIS Project No. 2014/14/E/HS3/00679. The project was undertaken as a result of discovering on the peninsula: 1) an enormous sea port (Fig. 4), which could have been intended for foreign ships; and 2) individual Eastern European imports (e.g. a cross-shaped amber pendant), which indicate that the Rus’ people – newcomers from Eastern Europe⁴ – may have been one of the groups of foreign newcomers who docked their ships in this port⁵. The presence of the Rus’ people in this area of the Propontis is also attested in written sources (in the context of their involvement in an internal military conflict which took place near the city of Athyras, located on Lake Büyükçekmece, in 1077; cf. Böhm 2012, 101; Fig. 1).

When we began our project, we assumed that the appearance of Eastern European imports on the Firuzköy Peninsula and the presence of the Rus’ people in Athyras, mentioned in written sources, may have been related to the existence of a Rus’ colony, recorded in the *Primary*

⁴ The problem of Rus’-Byzantine contacts was discussed e.g. by J. Shepard (1995; 2008), K.N. Ciggaar (1996), Yu.A. Petrosyan (1998), G.G. Litavrin (1993; 1999), J. Meyendorff (1989 with further literature).

⁵ The assumptions which formed the basis of this project were presented in separate publications (Stanisławski, Aydingün and Öviz 2016; Stanisławski 2017, with further literature).



Fig. 4. Port wharfs discovered on the Firuzköy Peninsula (Photo by H. Aydingün)

Chronicle. It was supposedly situated in or near a place dedicated to Saint Mammes. The author of the text recorded that it was somewhere outside Constantinople's walls, near the city.

The settlement on the Avcılar-Firuzköy Peninsula

The settlement complex located on the Firuzköy Peninsula (Fig. 1) was the basis and starting point of our studies. Administratively, at present this area belongs to the town of Avcılar, which is part of the agglomeration of Istanbul. Traces of human activity in the Stone Age, Bronze Age, Early Iron Age, as well as the Hellenistic, Roman and Ottoman times, have been recorded on this territory⁶. However, relics of Byzantine settlement are particularly numerous and dominant. At present, this is the most thoroughly archaeologically examined Byzantine settlement complex situated in the immediate hinterland of Constantinople.

⁶ The following basic publications were devoted to the results of archaeological studies on the Firuzköy Peninsula: Aydingün 2007a; 2007b; 2008; 2010; 2013a; 2013b; 2017a; 2017b; 2017c; Aydingün and Öniz 2008; 2009; Aydingün, Güldağan, Heyd, Öniz and Planken 2009; Aydingün, Aslan and Kaya 2013; Öniz 2017; Sayar 2013; Tekin 2011; 2013a; 2013b; 2017. The results of the most recent studies were presented in the collective work entitled *Istanbul Kucukcekmece Gol Havzası Kaziliari, Lake's Basin's Excavations*, ed. by Şengül Aydingün (Istanbul 2017).

Research has shown that this used to be a massive port (Fig. 4). Its size (the sum of the lengths of its wharfs) exceeded the total of all the other ports in the capital of the empire. Both the size of this port and its location outside the city, but a relatively short distance away, were the basis of the preliminary assumption which we formulated. The port might have been intended for foreign ships, which did not have the permission, for various reasons, to dock at wharfs inside Constantinople. The foreigners might have included the Rus' people from Eastern Europe and the Scandinavians.

The archaeological investigations which we carried out on the peninsula included excavations as well as studies of all the architectural relics unearthed so far and the majority of mobile finds. As a result, the following findings were presented.

The stratigraphic method of archaeological excavation (previously not used on this territory), an analysis of settlement sequences in the site's profile, analyses of architectural relics, qualitative-quantitative analyses of collections of ceramic pots recorded within individual settlement sequences, 14C analyses, studies of coin finds as well as stamped bricks, decorated marble architectural elements and small finds, enabled us to examine the dynamics and character of the settlement on the territory of this complex. The following seven settlement periods were distinguished: I – Roman (3rd c.), II – late antique (4th–5th c.), III – early Byzantine (6th–7th c.), IV (end of the 7th, 8th and 9th c.), V – middle Byzantine (from the 9th/10th to ca. mid-11th c.), VI (2nd half of the 11th and 12th c.), VII (the 13th–early 14th c.). The buildings constructed on this territory were also synchronised, to the extent that it was possible, with the established chronological system.

As a result, it was concluded that the examined settlement complex was not only an enormous port, but also an exceptional ecclesiastical centre. It included, among others, a martyrium with the tomb of a saint, a hagiasma, a ceremonial bath, a nosokomeion (Fig. 5), a type 2 central building, as well as a small church. A baptisterium might also have been situated near the latter. Additionally, a number of mobile finds had a religious character related to the Christian cult.

The first exceptional building was the martyrium. It was impossible to determine whose remains or relics were kept there. However, there are indications that the building might have been connected with the cult of Saint Theodore.

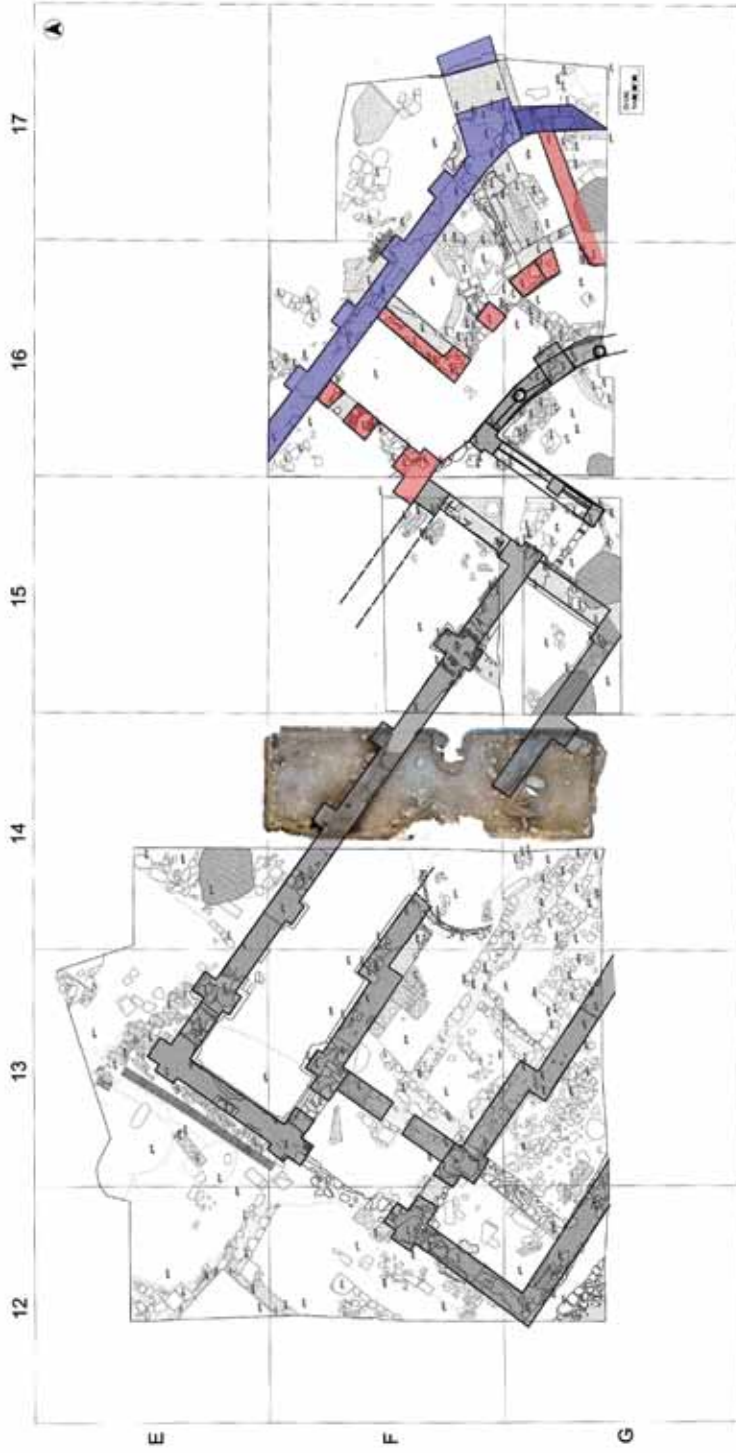


Fig. 5. The plan of a building interpreted as a nosokomeion and adjacent architectural objects discovered on the Firuzköy Peninsula (Drawn by A. Kubicka)

The nosokomeion was also an extraordinary structure. Its presence indicated that medical treatments were administered on the peninsula. Healing, in this case through incubation, although rooted in the tradition of ancient medicine and soothsaying, was incorporated in Christian rituals. The medical function of this building was also closely related to its location in the immediate vicinity of the martyrrium, to the presence of a sacred spring – hagiaσμα, and to the ceremonial bath which was fed water from it.

We interpreted a large paved forum located directly next to the port, connected to it by a stone paved road, as a possible marketplace. Trade might have defined another function of the examined settlement complex. That trade exchange with other communities and territories was performed there was mainly indicated by mobile finds. They included amphoras of foreign origin, glazed vessels, a weight, coins, shell money, writing scratched on an ostrakon, a lead seal, an amber cross, stone material, and bitumen.

Settlement in the basin of Lake Küçükçekmece

The reconstruction of the settlement structure which formed the immediate context of the settlement on the Firuzköy Peninsula was the next stage of our project. We conducted our studies around and within the basin of Lake Küçükçekmece (Fig. 6).

A special place in this region was a settlement situated on the northern shore of the lake, which can probably be identified with Schiza⁷ (Figs. 1 and 6). This centre was located by the more northerly route of the Via Egnatia. Architectural and archaeological relics of Byzantine settlement were discovered there. They included, among others, the remains of a wall built using the *opus mixtum* technique. It runs for 500 metres along the N-S axis. Its length and construction may indicate that these are the remains of a line of fortifications surrounding a settlement – a city or a fortress – situated in this area. Ancient tombs were also discovered in this region. The layout of the relics of settlement recorded in this area was presented by S. Eyice (1978, 96). The remains of other walls located within the lake's basin close to the shores were recorded as a result of underwater sonar surveys which were carried out on this spot by H. Öniz. They are most likely the remains of a port wharf.

⁷ On Schiza see Külzer 2008, 632–633.

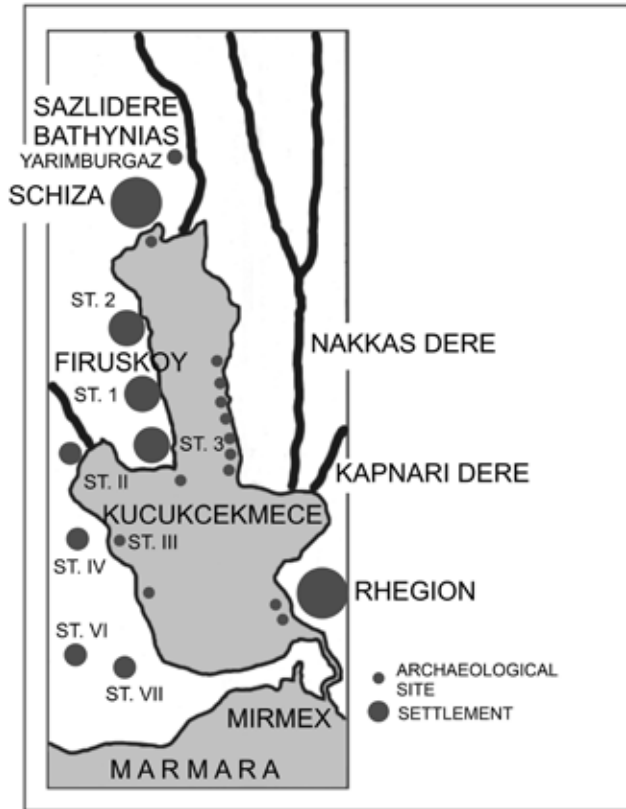


Fig. 6. A reconstruction of the mesoregional context of the settlement complex located on the Firuzköy Peninsula, including areas in its immediate vicinity, spread around Lake Küçükçekmece (Drawn by B. Stanisławski)

Yarımburgaz Cave is also located near Schiza, approximately 3.5 km north of the Firuzköy Peninsula (Fig. 7). Inside, a cave monastery, carved and in use in the Byzantine period, was found. Inside one of the chambers niches, modelled after the shapes of church apses, were carved into the walls. It is highly likely that this was a centre of a monastic community, which gathered there to pray. Reportedly, towards the end of the 20th c. architectural details of the interior and traces of wall paintings were still visible. Members of the monastic community lived in the small caves peppered around the main one.

On the western shore of Lake Küçükçekmece, we recorded seven settlement points (in one of which we identified, on the basis of



Fig. 7. Niches in the shape of church apses carved out inside Yarımburgaz Cave (Photo by H. Aydingün)

archival aerial photographs, an early Byzantine basilica – Fig. 8). The layout of the settlement points indicated that they may have been connected by a local road, running west of the lake, more or less perpendicularly to it, along the N-S axis. The existence of a local tract connecting Schiza and Rhegion had been suggested by A. Külzer (2011, 246). This road would have connected the complex on the Firuzköy Peninsula and the settlement points, joining the older branch of the Via Egnatia in the north in the vicinity of Schiza, and the younger branch of the Via Egnatia, running along the coastline of the Sea of Marmara, in the south.

Underwater sonar surveys showed the presence of sunken relics of port wharfs, located in various parts of the lake. They were found both near some of the above-mentioned settlement points and along the eastern shore of the lake, as well as at its south-eastern end near the city of Rhegion. Additionally, six ship anchors were discovered in that area. We concluded on the basis of the above surveys that the lake's basin was an enormous port, whose wharfs were located in its



Fig. 8. An early Christian basilica located on the western shore of Lake Küçükçekmece, shown in an archival aerial photograph

various areas. It cannot be ruled out that harbours and quays located deep within the lake's basin may have been elements of one massive port together with the port in Rhegion.

The communications and transportation structure along the Via Egnatia

The route of the road connecting the two branches of the Via Egnatia described above, as well as our findings concerning the port in the lake's basin, indicated the existence of a relation which functionally connected the complex on the Firuzköy Peninsula with the spatial and settlement structure located along the Via Egnatia, which performed an important role in handling Constantinople's transport and communications.

The connection of the Firuzköy settlement with handling communications and foreigners coming to the capital is additionally indicated by a building discovered there, which we interpreted as a nosokomeion (Fig. 5). Buildings of this type performed medical

functions and were usually an element of a larger place called *xenodochial xenodochium* (the term comes from the Greek word *xenos* – foreigner). *Xenodochia* were connected with providing services to foreign travellers.

One more fact indicated the possible connection between the settlement on the Firuzköy Peninsula and the spatial and settlement structure located along the Via Egnatia. The Ayamama Deresi – Saint Mammes – River flows along the stretch of the Via Egnatia between Rhegion and Hebdomon (Fig. 1). Its name is confirmed by several old maps of Constantinople which use old Greek place names, whose tradition may possibly go back to the Byzantine times⁸. This is the only toponym connected with the cult of Saint Mammes in the area around Constantinople whose location we can pinpoint. The locations of other places connected with the cult of Saint Mammes outside the city walls, about which we have information only from written sources, have been impossible to confirm by means of material finds so far⁹. On the nearby Firuzköy Peninsula, we discovered bricks with a stamped inscription of +MAMA+, i.e. Saint Mammes' name. These are the only archaeological sources discovered outside the walls of the Byzantine capital which are related to the cult of this martyr. The bricks with Saint Mammes' name and the toponym mentioned above may indicate that the saint's cult functioned on the territory in question, and his name was blended with the tradition of newcomers from Eastern Europe staying outside Constantinople's walls!

The studies aimed at reconstructing the spatial and settlement structure along the beginning/end section of the Via Egnatia were carried out in several places, using various methods and sources. Firstly, they included surface surveys on the sites of Beylikdüzü-Angurina, located directly on the coast of the Sea of Marmara, and in Athyras-Büyükçekmece and Ahmediye/Episkopeia, as well as a settlement of

⁸ The basis for the documentation of the above source are the “Carte Générale des Environs de Constantinople” (Kubilay 2010, 230–231) and the “Karte der Umgegend von Constantinopel, unter Benutzung der älteren Aufnahmen (1888–1893)” (Goltz 1897).

⁹ For the cult of Saint Mammes in Constantinople see contributions of C. Chastelain (1709, 863), A.G. Paspates (1879, 41), F.I. Uspenskiy (1892), A. van Millingen (1899, 89–90; 1912, 106–107), M. Gedeon (1935, 14), J. Pargoire (1904; 1908), T. Macridy (1938; 1939), R. Janin (1950, 432), J. Shepard (1995, 253), Yu.A. Petrosyan (1998, 54), G.G. Litavrin (1999, 427, 454), A. Külzer (2008, 185, 209, 228, 512), F. Androshchuk (2012), A. Musin (2017), B. Stanisławski (2017), K. Szymański (2017), with further literature).

an unidentified name, situated in northwest Büyükçekmece (Fig. 1). The last three sites were located on Lake Büyükçekmece. H. Öniz carried out underwater sonar surveys along selected fragments of the coast of the Sea of Marmara and in the basin of Lake Büyükçekmece. Additionally, we completed queries of: finds discovered on the territories of Hebdomon and Athyras, which are kept in the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul; archival documentation of rescue studies and reconnaissance which took place in the 20th c. on the Ayamama Deresi River, as well as in Hebdomon, Yeşilköy-Hagios Stephanos and in Rhegion; archival aerial photographs; and publications of the findings of the excavations carried out in Hebdomon and Rhegion. At the same time, K. Szymański, O. Węglarz-Pełech and T. Pełech completed queries as well as translations and analyses of Byzantine and Latin written sources containing information about the area in question.

As a result, the area of our studies included the coastline of the Sea of Marmara stretching from the Golden Gate to Lake Büyükçekmece (Fig. 1). The Golden Gate was the main entrance to the capital. The region of Lake Büyükçekmece, located west of Lake Küçükçekmece, was important to us for several reasons. At its base on the southwestern shore the city of Athyras was situated (Fig. 1), which appears in written sources in the context of the presence of ships from Rus' there. Additionally, large areas around the lake are undeveloped and therefore archaeological sites located there are still available for investigation, unlike in the case of centres located on the territories absorbed by contemporary Istanbul's suburban districts.

Hebdomon¹⁰ is one of Constantinople's suburbs (*proasteion*), located seven Roman miles away from *Milion*, approximately 4km outside the Theodosian Walls (11 km from the centre of Constantinople), right on the coast of the Sea of Marmara. There were a number of buildings in Hebdomon, which included: the *Campus Tribunalis* – a drill ground, a port, a giant column of Theodosius II, churches of St. John the Baptist, St. John the Evangelist, Saints Menas and Menaios, St. Theodotus, and St. Samuel (Janin 1950, 408). A. Külzer noted that a church of St. Agatha the Martyr could still be found on the territory east of Hebdomon in the early 20th c. (Külzer 2008, 394). The suburb was also the location

¹⁰ On Hebdomon see: van Millingen 1899, 326–237; Glück 1920; Thibaut 1922; Demangel 1945; Janin 1950, 405, 408–411; Mango 1991; Tuna and Şeker 2009; Taddei 2013; Simeonov 2016, 121–138.

of imperial summer palaces – the *Jucundianae* and the *Magnaure* (although it cannot be ruled out that this was one palace complex). There were also five cisterns there. It is likely that another column, dedicated to Emperor Justinian, stood on the local forum.

Most of these buildings are only attested in written sources, since no material relics have been recorded so far. This is the case, for instance, of the churches of St. John the Evangelist, Saints Menas and Menaïos, St. Theodotus, and St. Samuel.

The scope of the excavations in Hebdomon was very modest in comparison to the significance of this area in the Byzantine period. Systematic excavations were carried out in 1920–1923 under the supervision of R. Demangel (1945).

The most famous and largest church in Hebdomon was a church built by Justinian, dedicated to St. John the Baptist. It was in this church that coronation ceremonies were held for the emperors proclaimed on the *Campos*. Traces of the temple were discovered as a result of the excavations carried out by H. Glück (1920, 20). However, the archaeologist misinterpreted them as the remains of a church from the 6th c. The remains of the building from Justinian's times were discovered during French excavations conducted in 1921–1923 under the supervision of R. Demangel. On their basis it was possible to examine the layout of the church. It was concluded that the building had an octagonal shape (Fig. 2). During the excavations, the following finds were discovered in the immediate vicinity of the church: a mosaic floor, made using the *opus sectile* technique, from the 6th c.; capitals; the remains of a pulpit (Demangel 1945), a fragment of a meticulously decorated marble frieze, and a fragment of a figurative mosaic. All the relics of the temple discovered at the time were, however, destroyed in 1965, during the construction of the Sosyal Sigortalar Kurumu hospital, which is located on this spot at present.

During the investigations, a number of photographs were also taken, which are now the only sources of information about the ruins of the buildings which were still there in the early 20th c. and which were destroyed later as a result of contemporary construction projects on this territory.

Some information also resulted from the discoveries made during the construction work connected with contemporary investments in recent years. As a result, a large area was revealed in which an extensive

complex of ruins was recorded. It cannot be ruled out that these are the remains of a palace.

At the mouth of the St. Mammes River (Fig. 1), St. Mammes' hagiaσμα and probably a church or a monastery were located. There was also a stone bridge over the river, which marked the route of the Via Egnatia there. By the bridge, on the western side, the two routes of this road, the northern and southern ones, most probably converged, and from this point on the eastern side of the crossing only one tract led towards Hebdomon and the Golden Gate. Our knowledge of the material relics of Byzantine heritage is limited to the results of the reconnaissance carried out in this area in the 1960s and the 1970s, when the riverbed was engineered. As a result of this investment, the majority of the architectural objects there were flooded. At present, this area is inaccessible, as it is located on the territory of the Istanbul airport.

The city of Rhegion (Figs. 1, 3, and 6) was a large urban centre the closest to the settlement complex on the Firuzköy Peninsula. The site identified with Rhegion is situated on the south-eastern end of Lake Küçükçekmece, in the present-day suburb of Küçükçekmece. Its history probably goes back to the time when Constantinople was established. It was located by E. Mamboury on the basis of written sources and excavations carried out in the first half of the 20th c. (Eyice 1978, 63). Rhegion first appeared in the text of the *Itinerarium Burdigalense*, which was written after Constantinople was established (324; Bechtel 1913). The author of the *Tabula Peutingeriana* – a map from the 4th c. – recorded Rhegion as located ca. 18 km west of Byzantion (*Tabula...*). Rhegion appeared e.g. in Procopius of Caesarea, in Book IV of his *On Buildings* (Procopius, IV.8., 284–285). Procopius included a description of repairs of a road leading to Rhegion and a bridge over a narrowing of Lake Küçükçekmece, carried out by Justinian the Great in the 6th c. There was a port, palace, baths and imperial villas, fortifications, a bridge and churches dedicated to Saints Strattonikos, Kallinikos and Theodore (the latter inside the city or in its vicinity) and a number of other buildings. Excavations in the city showed that it consisted of two parts. The first, the acropolis, was located on a high hill. The other part was situated at the foot of the hill on the side of the lake and the sea. Rhegion was surrounded by two rows of walls. The first one was recorded in the part on the hill, the other one in the area at the foot of the hill.

Archaeological excavations were first carried out on this site in 1938, 1940–41 and 1948, under the supervision of A. Müfid Mansel and A. Ogan (Ogan 1939; Ogan and Mansel 1942). They were focused on one part of the site, located on top of the acropolis. Numerous relics of buildings were found as a result. The entire complex excavated at the time, including the recorded architectural relics, was destroyed in the late 20th c. At present, a parking lot is situated in this area. Excavations were carried out again in recent years (2015–2017). The archaeological works were rescue excavations and were related to the construction of a new railway on the territory situated at the foot of the hill on the lake's side. The excavations covered a very large area. They resulted in a discovery of a building complex. However, the results of these works have not been published yet. They are known to us only from direct observation. In 2015–2017 underwater sonar surveys were also completed in Lake Küçükçekmece, in the area adjacent to the discussed settlement complex. The work was carried out by H. Öviz. It resulted in recording architectural relics under the surface of the water.

Another site is located directly on the coast of the Sea of Marmara, in Beylikdüzü, between Lake Küçükçekmece and Lake Büyükçekmece (Fig. 1). It is identified with a place (*chorion*) called Anguria, mentioned in written sources (Küzler 2008, 251). The preliminary reconnaissance was carried out in 2011–2012 (Öviz, Kaya and Aydınğün 2014), and then in 2016–2017. The site has not been excavated yet. The surface surveys resulted in the discovery of a port. Marble architectural elements decorated with reliefs and fragments of marble floor tiles also occur on the surface. Additionally, sherds of ceramic vessels, olive lamps, glass objects and bones were also recorded. On the basis of the amphoras found it was estimated that the site was in use from the 4th to the 10th c. The port was most probably an element of a larger settlement, whose relics should be present inland. The area is largely undeveloped at present.

Athyras¹¹ is located on the territory of the contemporary municipality of Büyükçekmece, on the eastern shore of Lake Büyükçekmece (Fig. 1). This was another centre situated on the Via Egnatia, on its younger southern route, running from Silivri in the west to Rhegion in the east. Athyras was mentioned in written sources, for instance by Procopius in the context of Justinian the Great's construction activities (Procopius IV.8., 288–289). Athyras was also mentioned by Michael Attaleiates

¹¹ On Athyras see Jireček 1877, 54, 58, 81, 102.

(ca. 1030/1035–ca. 1085) in his work *The History*. The information was related to a rebellion which took place during the reign of Michael VII in 1077, which was started by Nikephoros Bryennios the Elder. The chronicler recorded that Rus' ships (*rosia de ploia*) were sent against the rebels, which contributed to the capture of Athyras, taken by Nikephoros' followers, and consequently to suppressing the usurpation (Attaleiates 31. 12, 462–465; Böhm 2012, 101).

The place is relatively poorly examined archaeologically because a large part of this area is flooded by the dam lake at present. Some breakthrough in this regard occurred in 2014, when – after a prolonged drought – the water level markedly lowered. As a consequence, several dozen metres of the lake's shore were revealed. Ş. Aydingün carried out archaeological rescue works at the time (Aydingün, Aydingün and Özdemir 2015). As a result of the works, remains of port wharfs stretching over several dozen metres were recorded. There were also architectural relics and mobile finds found on the bottom of the lake. The majority of the recorded artefacts were of Hellenistic and Roman origin. A less numerous group of finds was dated to the Byzantine period (Aydingün, Aydingün and Özdemir 2015). The territory also has two stone bridges, still operational, which were built in the Ottoman times. Their structures include elements of older, medieval bridge constructions, however.

Another site is located on the western shore of Lake Büyükçekmece, in Ahmediye (Fig. 9). However, its location does not reflect the topographical situation in Antiquity and in the Middle Ages, when the settlement complex in question was not situated immediately on the lake. The present state is a consequence of damming the lake in the late 20th c, which led to the flooding of vast areas of land and doubled the lake's surface. As a result of building the dam, large portions of the site in question were also flooded. The settlement is identified with Episkopeia, known from written sources (Küzler 2008, 239–240, 352). Episkopeia was mentioned by Procopius of Caesarea because it was also a stage for Justinian the Great's building activities. As the chronicler wrote, the emperor erected a rather unusual fortress there (Procopius, IV.8.18–25, 288–291).

The territory of the entire settlement complex in question is undeveloped at present and makes one enormous archaeological site (Fig. 9). So far, no archaeological excavations have been carried out



Fig. 9. The settlement complex in Ahmediye (Photo by B. Stanislawski)

there, although there are remains of a number of architectural objects in ruins and a wealth of mobile artefacts on its surface.

The site was surveyed three times during our project, between 2016 and 2018. At that time, we completed surface surveys and photographic recording of relics of the surviving architectural objects, we took aerial photographs and carried out sonar surveys of the bottom of the lake in the area the closest to the discussed settlement complex.

As a result of the investigations, we recorded the presence of four large buildings of unspecified purpose, remains of a massive gate and a wide road paved with stones, running from the gate to the north for over a dozen metres. The buildings were, for the most part, preserved only in the form of the cores of their walls, which were made of unprocessed mortar-bound stones. They all probably used to have exteriors and interiors clad with cut blocks of stone, traces of which have survived in a few individual fragments of the walls. The finds on the site's surface indicated that white marble, characteristic of the Sea of Marmara region, was also used in construction locally. Several

column fragments and decorated elements made of this material were discovered. Bricks were recorded only sporadically. All the above-mentioned architectural objects were probably of Byzantine origin. Traces of a cemetery were discovered in the western part of the site.

As a result of underwater sonar surveys, it was concluded that some flooded relics of buildings were present in the areas of the lake adjacent to the site. Large parts of the discussed settlement complex were, therefore, flooded as a result of building the dam.

At this stage of the investigations it can be said that this was a large Byzantine centre with an older Roman tradition, surrounded by defensive walls, located near the northern route of the Via Egnatia, which still functioned in the 12th and 13th c.

A conflict of civilisations

The Byzantine settlement complex located on the Firuzköy Peninsula, its immediate settlement context comprising settlements situated along the shores of Lake Küçükçekmece, as well as the spatial and settlement structure located along the beginning/end stretch of the Via Egnatia, have been partially examined and reconstructed as a result of the conducted studies. These sites present a great challenge in terms of interpretation, since cities, settlements and cult centres located along the discussed stretch of the Via Egnatia performed important functions – not only transportation and communications related, but also social and religious ones. This was reflected in the ceremony of *adventus*¹², i.e. welcoming (Izzi 2010, 132, 135–136, 138–139), which accompanied the ceremonial entrance to the city of the emperor returning to the capital (the ruler was welcomed in Rhegion), of prominent guests (there is information about welcoming the pope in Hebdomon and papal legates in Selymbria), of sacred relics, and of representatives of foreign peoples. The ceremony also played an important social role – by integrating various groups, including the foreigners visiting the city (Dudek 2013, 29, 32; Tycner-Wolicka 2009, 165; Izzi 2010, 103). The function of the objects discovered on the Firuzköy Peninsula suggested that the examined settlement complex could have been an element of this structure.

¹² For the ceremony of *adventus* see MacCormack 1972; McCormick 1986; Mango 2000; Tycner-Wolicka 2009, 153–165; Dudek 2013.



Fig. 10. The megapolis of Istanbul (Photo by H. Aydingün)

The settlement in this area also constitutes unusual and, so far, poorly examined cultural heritage. It is, however, endangered at present due to the fact that these territories are located in the immediate vicinity of Istanbul, one of the largest agglomerations in the contemporary world. The area is characterised by extremely rapid construction development. The ongoing construction of hundreds of skyscrapers, motorways, massive bridges, transport hubs, underwater tunnels, a gigantic airport, a dam, and the recently initiated “new Bosphorus” – i.e. a shipping canal linking the Black Sea and the Sea of Marmara (Fig. 10) – means that relics of the Byzantine civilisation have no chance of competing with the contemporary one. The next few years will therefore be the very last moment when these monuments can still be documented and examined before they cease to exist forever!

References

Written sources

- Alexias Anna Komnene, *Alexias*, D.R. Reinsch (ed.). Berlin-New York: W. de Gruyter. 2001.
- Attaleiates Michael Attaleiates, *The History*, A. Kaldellis, D. Krallis (ed.). Cambridge/Mass.: Harvard University Press. 2012.

- Procopius Procopius, *On Buildings*, H.B. Dewing (ed.), Loeb Classical Library 343. Cambridge Mass. (Harvard University Press) 1940.
- Tabula Peutingeriana *Tabula Peutingeriana, Manuscriptum originale, ca. 1200*, In *Biblioteca Augustiana*: web site: http://www.hsaugsburg.de/~harsch/Chronologia/Lspost03/Tabula/tab_pe10.html (accessed 04.04.2016).

Literature

- Androshchuk F. 2012. Konstantinopolskie monastyri sv. Mamanta i mesto rezidentsii russkikh kuptsov v X veke. *Ruthenica* 11, 7–28.
- Aydingün Ş. 2007a. A New Prehistoric Settlement Near Küçükçekmece Lake in Istanbul: Avcılar-Firuzkoy. *Boletín de la Asociación Española de Orientalistas* 43, 11–23.
- Aydingün Ş. 2007b. Istanbul ili 2007 Yılı Tarih Öncesi Çağlar Yüzey Araştırması Sonuçları. *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* 26, 411–426.
- Aydingün Ş. 2008. Some Remarkable Prehistoric Finds at Istanbul-Kucukcekmece. In H. Önez (ed.), *SOMA 2008. Proceedings of the XII Symposium on Mediterranean Archaeology. Eastern Mediterranean University, Famagusta, North Cyprus, 5–8 March 2008*. Oxford: Archaeopress Publishing LTD, 154–157.
- Aydingün Ş. 2010. Istanbul Prehistoric Survey in 2007 Season. In P. Matthiae, F. Pinnock, L. Nigro and N. Marchetti (eds.), *Proceedings of the 6th International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East*, vol. II. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 75–84.
- Aydingün Ş. 2013a. Küçükçekmece Gölü Havzası (Bathonea ?) Kazıları (2009–2012). *Istanbul Araştırmaları Yıllığı* 2, 41–53.
- Aydingün Ş. 2013b. Istanbul-Küçükçekmece Göl Havzası (Bathonea) Kazılarında M.Ö.2. Bine Ait Eserler. *Arkeoloji ve Sanat* 144, 1–14.
- Aydingün Ş. 2017a. An Excavation Site at the Junction of River-Lake and Sea. In Ş. Aydingün (ed.), *Istanbul Küçükçekmece Göl Havzası Kazıları Lake's Basin's Excavations*. Istanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları, 13–84.
- Aydingün Ş. 2017b. Bathonea Ismi Üzerine Veriler ve Yorumlar. In Ş. Aydingün (ed.), *Istanbul Küçükçekmece Göl Havzası Kazıları Lake's Basin's Excavations*. Istanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları, 85–91.
- Aydingün Ş. 2017c. Scientific Data and Comments about the Name of Bathonea. In Ş. Aydingün (ed.), *Istanbul Küçükçekmece Göl Havzası Kazıları Lake's Basin's Excavations*. Istanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları, 93–16.
- Aydingün Ş., Aydingün H. and Özdemir O. 2015. Athyra'ya Dair Arkeolojik Bulgular. Büyükçekmece Araştırmaları. *Journal of Archaeology and Art* 150, 1–12.
- Aydingün Ş. and Önez H. 2008. Istanbul-Küçükçekmece Kiyıları Arkeolojik Yüzey Araştırması. In B. Gül, C. Koç and E. Sönmez (eds.), *SBT '08.12. Sualtı Bilim ve Teknolojileri Toplantısı*. Izmir: Bildiri Kitabı, 38–47.
- Aydingün Ş. and Önez H. 2009. Istanbul-Küçükçekmece Lake and River Basin Archaeological Ruins. In B.A. Cicek and H. Oniz (eds.), *Proceedings of the International Symposium on Underwater Research*. Famagusta: Eastern Mediterranean University, 8–21.
- Aydingün Ş., Guldogan E., Heyd V., Önez H. and Planken Ü.Y. 2009. Küçükçekmece Göl Havzası ilk Dönem Kazi Çalışmaları (2009 Yılı). *Kazi Sanuçları Toplantısı* 32, 46–57.

- Aydingün Ş., Aslan A. and Kaya D. 2013. Küçükçekmece Göl Havzasi (Bathonea ?) Kazılarında Ele Geçen Unguentariumlar. *Araştırmaları Yıllığı* 2, 1–14.
- Böhm M. 2012. *Flota i polityka morska Aleksego I Komnena*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Avalon.
- Bechtel E. 1913. s.v. *Inineraria*. In Ch.G. Herbermann (ed.), *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. New York: The Encyclopedia Press, INC., 254–255.
- Chastelain C. 1709. *Martyrologe universel: contenant le texte du martyrologe romain traduit en françois; et deux additions à chaque jour des saints qui ne s'y trouvent point...* Paris: F. Léonard.
- Ciggaar K.N. 1996. *Western Travellers to Constantinople. The West and Byzantium, 962–1204: Cultural and Political Relations*. Leiden–New York–Köln: Brill.
- Dudek J. 2013. Hebdomon w ideologii cesarskiej Nowego Rzymu według tekstu kroniki Jana Skylitzesa. *Balcanica Posnaniensia* 20, 25–39.
- Demangel R. 1945. Contribution à la topographie de l'Hebdomon. *Recherches françaises en Turquie* 3. Paris: E. de Boccard.
- Eyice S. 1977/78. Tarihde Küçükçekmece. *Güney-Doğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi* 6, 57–122.
- Gedeon M. 1935. Palaias evorias Thrakoa kentra. *Thrakika* 7, 5–34.
- Gedeon M. 1938. Konstantinopoleos hagiasmata Thrakika. *Thrakika* 9, 101–121.
- Glück H. 1920. Das Hebdomon von Konstantinopel. *Beiträge zur vergleichenden Kunstforschung* 1. Wien: Staatsdruckerei.
- Goltz V.D. 1897. *Karte der Umgebung vob Constantinopel, unter Benutzung der älteren Aufnahmen erweitert, bearbeitet und gezeichnet*. Berlin: Schall & Grund.
- von Hammer J. 1822. *Constantinopolis und der Bosporos, Zweyter Band*. Pesth: Hartleben's Verlag.
- Izzi L. 2010. *Representing Rome. The influence of Rome on aspects of the public arts of early Anglo-Saxon England (c. 600–800)*. PhD thesis, University of York.
- Janin R. 1950. *Constantinople byzantine: développement urbain et répertoire topographique*, first edition. Paris: Institut Français d'Études Byzantines.
- Janin R. 1964. *Constantinople byzantine: développement urbain et répertoire topographique*, second edition. Paris: Institut Français d'Études Byzantines.
- Jireček C.J. 1877. *Die Heerstrasse von Belgrad nach Constantinopel und Balkanpässe*. Prag: Verlag von F. Tempsky.
- Kubilay A.Y. 2010. *Maps of Istanbul. Haritaları 1422–1922*. Istanbul: Denizler Kitabevi.
- Külzer A. 2004. Neue Forschungen in Ostthrakien. In W. Hörandner, J. Koder and M.A. Stassianopoulou (eds.), *Wiener Byzantinistik und Neogräzistik: Beiträge zum Symposium Vierzig Jahre Institut Byzantinistik und Neogräzistik der Universität Wien im Gedenken an Herbert Hunger, (Wien, 4.–7. Dezember 2002)* (= *Byzantina et Neograeca Vindobonensia* 24). Wien: Universität Wien, 264–271.
- Külzer A. 2008. Ostthrakien (Euröpē). In J. Koder (ed.), *Tabula Imperii Byzantini* 12. Wien: Verlag der Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Külzer A. 2010. Die Thrakische Propontisküste beobachtungem zum Siedlungsbild in Byzantinischer Zeit. *Kölner Jahrbuch* 43, 429–441.
- Külzer A. 2011. The Byzantine Road System in Eastern Thrace: Some Remarks. *Byzantinische Forschungen* 30, 179–201.

- Litavrin G.G. 1993. Usloviya prebyvaniya drevnikh rusov v Konstantinopole. *Vizantiyskiy vremennik* 54, 81–92.
- Litavrin G.G. 1999. *Vizantiya i slavyane*. Sankt-Peterburg: Izdatelstvo “ALETEYA”.
- Macridy T. 1938. To Byzantinon Hebdomon kai ai par’ auto Monai Hagiou Panteleimonos kai Mamantos. *Thrakika* 10, 137–198.
- Macridy T. 1939. To byzantionon Hebdomon. Hai en Byzantio monai tou hagiou Mamantos. *Thrakika* 12, 73–80.
- MacCormack S. 1972. Change and continuity in the late antiquity: the ceremony of adventus. *Historia* 21/4, 721–775.
- McCormick M. 1986. *Eternal victory – triumphal rulership in the late antiquity, Byzantium and the early medieval West*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Makrides T. 1938. To Byzantinon Hebdomon kai ai par’ auto Monai Hagiou Panteleimonos kai Mamantos. *Thrakika* 10, 137–198.
- Makrides T. 1939. To Byzantinon Hebdomon. Hai en Byzantio monai tou hagiou Mamantos. *Thrakika* 12, 73–80.
- Mango C. 1991. s.v. Hebdomon. In P. Kazhdan (ed.), *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, vol. II. New York-Oxford: Oxford University Press, 907.
- Mango C. 2000. The Triumphal Way of Constantinople and the Golden Gate. *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 54, 173–188.
- Meyendorff J. 1989. *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia. A Study of Byzantino-Russian Relations in the Fourteenth Century*. Crestwood, NY: St Vladimir’s Seminary Press.
- van Millingen A. 1899. *Byzantine Constantinople: The Walls of the City and Adjoining Historical Sites*. London: John Murray.
- van Millingen A. 1912. *In Byzantine Churches in Constantinople*. London: MacMillan and CO.
- Musin A.E. 2017. “Da vitayut u svyatogo Mamy”: svyatoy muchenik Mamant i drevne-russkoe khristianstvo. In A. Musin and O. Shcheglova (eds.), *In Stone and Bronze. Essays presented in honor of Anna Peskova*. Saint-Petersburg: Institut Istorii Materialnoy Kultury RAN, 335–344.
- Ogan A. 1939. Regium Hafriyati. *Bellethen* 3, 437–445.
- Ogan A. and Mansel A.M. 1942. Rhegion-Küçük Çekmece Hafriyatı. 1940–1941 çalışmalarına dair ilk rapor. *Bellethen* 6/21–22, 1–36.
- Öniz H. 2017. Küçükçekmece Gölü Sonar Tarama Çalışmaları. In Ş. Aydingün (ed.), *Istanbul Küçükçekmece Göl Havzası Kazıları Lake’s Basin’s*. Istanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları, 203–216.
- Öniz H., Kaya H. and Aydingün Ş. 2014. A Harbour Structure at Beylikdüzü, Istanbul. *The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 43/1, 179–184.
- Pargoire J. 1904. Le Saint-Mamas de Constantinople. *Izvestiya Russkogo Arkheologicheskogo Instituta v Konstantinopole* 9, 261–316.
- Pargoire J. 1908. Saint-Mamas, le quartier des Russes à Constantinople. *Échos d’Orient* 11, 203–210.
- Paspates A. G. 1879. Ta Thrakika proasteia tou Byzantiou. *Hellenikos Filologikos Syllogos. Konstantinoupole* 12, 33–42.
- Petrosyan Yu.A. 1998. *Russkie na beregakh Bosfora (Istoricheskie ocherki)*. Sankt-Peterburg: Izdatelstvo “Peterburgskoe Vostokovedenie”.

- Sayar M.H. 2013. Küçükçekmece Gölü Kuzeybatı Kıyısında Ortaya Çıkarılan Yapılarda Bulunan Tuğlalar Üzerindeki Damgalar Hakkında Ön Rapor. *Istanbul Araştırmaları Yıllığı* 2, 1–3.
- Shepard J. 1995. Constantinople – gateways to the north: the Russians. In C. Mango and G. Dagron (eds.), *Constantinople and its Hinterland. Papers from the Twenty-Seventh Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Oxford, April 1993*. Cambridge: Ashgate Publishing, 243–260.
- Shepard J. 2008. The Viking Rus and Byzantium. In S. Brink and N. Price (eds.), *The Viking World*. New York: Routledge, 496–516.
- Simeonov G. 2016. Der Hafen und die Anlegestellen des Hebdomon. In F. Daim (ed.), *Die byzantinischen Häfen Konstantinopels*. Mainz: Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseum Mainz, 121–138.
- Stamulë-Sarnatë E. 1943. Apo ta hagiasmata tes Trakes. *Thrakika* 18, 219–290.
- Stanisławski B. 2017. Project: „Constantinople/Istanbul – Küçükçekmece the Destination Port of the Way from the Varangians to the Greeks, a centre of Byzantinization of the Rus' Community” – Aims, Sources and Objectives. In Ş. Aydingün (ed.), *Istanbul Küçükçekmece Göl Havzası Kazıları, Lake's Basin's Excavations*. Istanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları, 499–517.
- Stanisławski B., Aydingün Ş. and Öniz H. 2016. Project: „Constantinople/Istanbul – Küçükçekmece – The Port of Destination of the Varangian Way: Byzantinization” of a Rus Community Centre. In B. Stanisławski and H. Öniz (eds.), *SOMA 2014 – Proceedings of the 18th Symposium on Mediterranean Archaeology Wrocław-Poland, 24–26 April 2014*. Oxford: Archaeopress Publishing LTD, 47–55.
- Szymański K. 2017. Cult Centers of St. Mamas in Constantine Porphyrogenetius' Works. In Ş. Aydingün (ed.), *Istanbul Küçükçekmece Göl Havzası Kazıları, Lake's Basin's Excavations*. Istanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları, 483–497.
- Taddei A. 2013. Some Topographical Remarks on Pope Constantine's Journey to Constantinople (AD 710–711). *Eurasian Studies* 11, 53–78.
- Tekin O. 2011. Byzantion'un Etnik Yapılanması ve Bir Örnek: Bathonea. *Journal of Archaeology and Art* 132, 139–141.
- Tekin O. 2013a. Excavation Coins and Byzantine Weight from Kucukcekmece Lake Basin. *Istanbul Araştırmaları Yıllığı* 2, 57–67.
- Tekin O. 2013b. The Solid of Foundation Deposit from the Excavations at Kucukcekmece Lake Basin. *Istanbul Araştırmaları Yıllığı* 2, 69–71.
- Tekin O. 2017. Küçükçekmece Göl Havzası Kazılarında Bulunan Sikkeler ve Yerleşim Tarihine Katkıları. In Ş. Aydingün (ed.), *Istanbul Küçükçekmece Göl Havzası Kazıları, Lake's Basin's Excavations*. Istanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları, 409–415.
- Thibaut J.B. 1922. L'Hebdomon de Constantinople: Nouvel examen topographique. *Échos d'Orient* 21 (125), 31–44.
- Tuna T. and Şeker S. 2009. *Makri Hori'den Bakirkoöy'e Ayastefanos'tan Yeşilköy'e*. Istanbul: Mimarlar Odası.
- Tycner-Wolicka M. 2009. *Opowieść o wizerunku z Edessy. Cesarz Konstantyn Porfirogeneta i nieuczyniony ręką wizerunek Chrystusa*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Avalon.

- Uspenskiy F.I. 1892. *Tipik monastyrya sv. Mamanta v Konstantinopole. Letopis' Istorikofilologicheskogo obshchestva pri Imperatorskom Novorossiyskom universitete*, vol. II. *Vizantiyskoe otделение*, p. 1. Odessa: Universitet w Odesse, 26–84.
- Węglarz O. 2017a. Bathynias – about Identification and Localisation of the Ancient River. In Ş. Aydingün (ed.), *Istanbul Küçükçekmece Göl Havzası Kazıları, Lake's Basin's Excavations*. Istanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayinlari, 457–466.
- Węglarz O. 2017b. Concerning the Identification of the Site Excavated on the Küçükçekmece Lake (Turkey) – a Study of Greek and Latin Written Sources about the Ancient Settlement of Melantias. In Ş. Aydingün (ed.), *Istanbul Küçükçekmece Göl Havzası Kazıları, Lake's Basin's Excavations*. Istanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayinlari, 469–475.

DOI: 10.15584/anarres.2018.13.7

Perica Špehar*, Nevena Debljović Ristić**,
Olga Špehar***

Stari (Old) Ras and Sopoćani: Challenges and Opportunities in Managing UNESCO Cultural Heritage

ABSTRACT

Špehar P., Debljović Ristić N., Špehar O. 2018. Stari (Old) Ras and Sopoćani: Challenges and Opportunities in Managing UNESCO Cultural Heritage. *Analecta Archaeologica Ressoviensia* 13, 135–154

For its numerous medieval monuments, the Raška region in and around modern Novi Pazar in southwestern Serbia was put on UNESCO's list of World Cultural and Natural Heritage sites in 1979 under the name of Stari Ras and Sopoćani. It consists of several components: the Medieval Town of Ras, St. Peter's church in Novi Pazar, the Monastery of Đurđevi Stupovi and the Monastery of Sopoćani. As a living organism, situated in an intensely multi-ethnic area that was and still is on the crossroads of diverse peoples and influences, the Stari Ras and Sopoćani area is very challenging to manage, because the needs of cultural heritage workers and the needs of functioning monastic communities and the expanding city of Novi Pazar have to be reconciled. This paper aims at presenting the monuments that are incorporated into the Stari Ras and Sopoćani heritage site, as well as showing the character of the region and the challenges and opportunities of managing a cultural heritage site in regard to the diverse actual conditions.

Keywords: Stari Ras and Sopoćani, Novi Pazar, UNESCO, multi-ethnic, cultural heritage

Received: 28.11.2018; **Revised:** 28.12.2018; **Revised:** 28.12.2018; **Accepted:** 30.12.2018

In the Raška region in southwestern Serbia a group of monuments was recognised in 1979 by UNESCO for their exceptional value as Stari (Old) Ras and Sopoćani¹. Geographically speaking, it encompasses

* Faculty of Philosophy – Department of Archaeology, University of Belgrade, Čika Ljubina 18-20, 11000 Belgrade, Serbia; perica.spehar@gmail.com

** Republic Institute for the Protection of Monuments of Cultural Heritage, Radoslava Grujić, 11000 Belgrade, Serbia; nevena.ristich@gmail.com

*** Faculty of Philosophy – Department of Art History, University of Belgrade, Čika Ljubina 18-20, 11000 Belgrade, Serbia; ospehar@gmail.com

¹ This text is the result of work on the projects *Processes of Urbanisation and the Development of Medieval Societies* (no. 177021) and *Serbian Medieval Art and its West-European Context* (no. 177036), financed by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia.

a wide area with several fortifications, some of the most prominent Serbian medieval churches and monasteries, necropolises, as well as the Ottoman Old Town of Novi Pazar. Although more than 80 sites belong to this region, the main reason for including Stari Ras and Sopoćani on the list of World Cultural and Natural Heritage is the number and importance of those dated to the medieval times, primarily those tied to the foundation of the first Serbian state (Dobričić *et al.* 2016, 79)². Those are the fortress of Ras with its suburbia, the church of St. Peter in Novi Pazar (named also the Church of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul), the monastery of Đurđevi Stupovi in the vicinity of the same city, and the monastery of Sopoćani near the instead of source it should be spring of the Raška river³. This text is aimed at presenting the outstanding cultural and historical value, treatment and problems, considering that this UNESCO heritage site is located in an intensely multicultural environment which is constantly subject to demographic movements and extension of existing settlements, as well as showing the opportunities that this protected area may have in future managing.

When the Raška region is in question, although it was inhabited in prehistory, its inclusion into an organised state begun with the Romans, which mostly means that smaller or larger fortifications were primarily smaller or larger fortifications that were primarily erected in order to control an important road that was used for the transportation of ore, since from the Roman times until this very day this area is known for its mines. The Christianisation of the Empire brought new faith to the region, which is testified by numerous churches dated mostly to the 6th century. The period of Justinian's restoration of imperial domination was marked by restored and newly erected fortifications (Popović 1999, 291–296 with literature). Due to its central position in many respects, the area was dominated by various peoples through the turmoil of the Early Middle Ages, marked by constant wars between the Byzantines, Bulgarians and Serbs, primarily because it was the border zone between the Serbs and Bulgarians. The Byzantine attempts to regain power over the Balkans resulted in the fact that this area went literally from

² For other sites that are situated within the area in question see a very detailed list in Premović-Aleksić 2014.

³ Except for Stari Ras and Sopoćani, several more very important sites in former Yugoslavia were listed as UNESCO heritage sites, such as Diocletian's Palace in Split, Old Town in Dubrovnik, Natural and Historical Regions of Kotor and Ohrid as well as National Park of Plitvice Lakes. Cf. Kesić Ristić 2015, 94.

one hand to another as a consequence of shifting power. The conflicts that marked the entire 9th and 10th centuries finally ended in the first quarter of the 11th century, namely after Basil II (976–1025) crushed the army of the Bulgarian ruler Samuel (976–1014). In the aftermath, the Byzantine territories on the Balkans were administratively reorganised, and the Ohrid Archbishopric was founded, which appeared to be one of the most important consequences of this victory. The area now listed as Stari Ras and Sopoćani came under the jurisdiction of the Archbishopric as the bishopric of Ras and the influence of the church seat spread primarily through the activity of presbyters of Saint Peter's church (Krsmanović 2012, 23, 29 with sources and literature; Špehar 2017, 34 with literature). The Archbishopric also played an important political role and had a strong impact on the creation of the Nemanjić state, since Adrian (John), the Archbishop of Ohrid and a close relative of Byzantine emperor Manuel I (1143–1180), personally suggested Stefan Nemanja (1168–1199), the youngest son of Zavida, as the most suitable person to be chosen as Great Prince, if the Byzantines wanted to maintain its strong influence over the rising Serbian state (Ferjančić 2000, 32; Kalić 2007, 201–202). Leaving aside all the hypotheses about the precise position of Nemanja's residence, we must emphasise that it undoubtedly was situated somewhere in this area. It is testified by historical written data that Nemanja was baptised according to the Orthodox ritual in the church of St. Peter in Novi Pazar as well as that his first foundation after the ascension to the throne was the monastic church of Đurđevi Stupovi (Stefan Prvovenčani, II, IV; Sveti Sava, I). This information was used by some researchers to positively identify the first seat of his state with the fortress of Ras, situated above the confluence of the river Sebečevska into the Raška (Popović 1999, 303–306).

Stari Ras with Sopoćani is an area of 199 ha in size and almost 10,000 ha of buffer zone, and it includes several very important monuments, fortifications and churches (Fig. 1). Although there are several forts in the area, the largest one, the Fortress of Ras, has a very long history. Inhabited since prehistoric times, it gained its prominence first as a Roman speculum and then as an early Byzantine fortification with a cistern, erected on top of a steep hill. Its strategically important position was recognised in the Early Middle Ages, so it was used again. In the 9th/10th century new palisade walls were built, while in the 11th century it was once more renewed with the same type of fortifications.

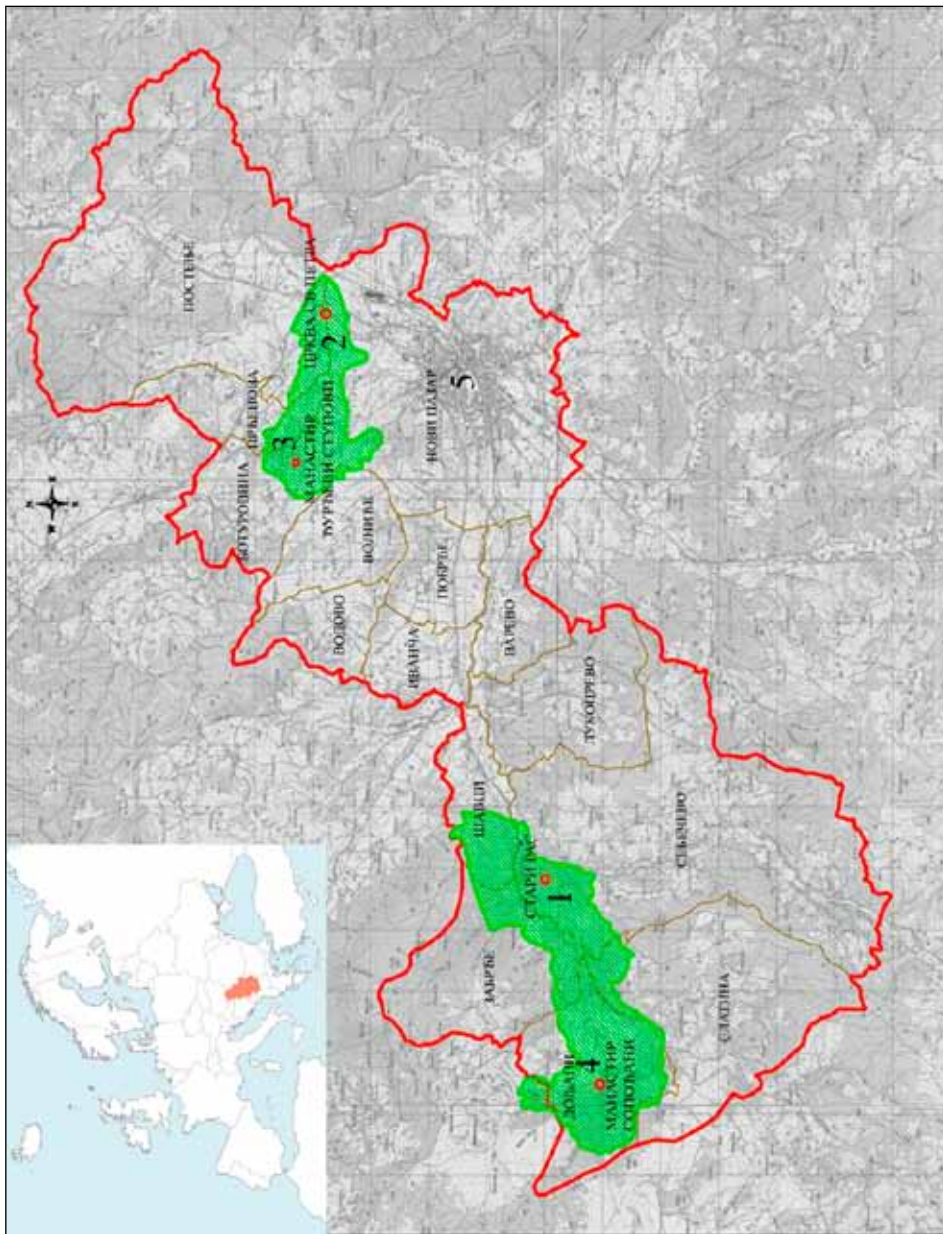


Fig. 1. Stari Ras and Sopoćani, protected areas and buffer zones. 1 – Fortress of Ras; 2 – St. Peter's church; 3 – Monastery of Đurđevi Stupovi; 4 – Monastery of Sopoćani; 5 – Old Town, Novi Pazar (Drawn by P. Špehar)

Archaeological investigations showed that it was restored as a stone fort and was in use in the 12th/13th centuries, which, along with its position and data from historical sources, was why it was interpreted as the seat of Nemanja's state (Fig. 2) (Popović 1999; Čanak-Medić and Todić 2013, 14–19). In the vicinity of the fortress, a cave monastery of St. Michael is situated (Popović and Popović 1998), as well as the multi-layered site of Trgovište (named also Pazarište), likewise used and inhabited for a long time, from the late antique period marked by sacred buildings and a necropolis, to a medieval settlement founded in the 14th century. The importance of Trgovište lied primarily in the fact that it was a mercantile centre situated on a route that connected the Adriatic shore to the Balkan



Fig. 2. Fortress of Ras – reconstruction by M. Popović (Source: Čirković 1997, Fig. 14)



Fig 3. St. Peter's church with recently added bell tower, 9th/10th century, Novi Pazar (Photo by P. Špehar)

hinterland, which is testified, among others, by the information from the Archives of Dubrovnik that merchants from Dubrovnik had their colony in Trgovište (Kalić 1994, 10; Čanak-Medić and Todić 2013, 20). When the medieval period is in question, archaeological excavations resulted in the discovery of a settlement and several single-nave churches. Although written sources mention the Catholic church of St. Triphon, protector saint of Kotor, who was likewise venerated in nearby Dubrovnik, it seems that it has not yet been discovered since all the excavated churches are of the Eastern type and arranged for East-Christian liturgy (Čanak-Medić and Todić 2013, 22). After Trgovište went into the Ottoman hands, the settlement diminished in importance primarily because Novi Pazar, founded in its close vicinity, took primacy as a new mercantile centre (Premović-Aleksić 2014, 226).

Another prominent early medieval monument in this area is actually the oldest preserved medieval church in modern Serbia, the church of St. Petar on the outskirts of Novi Pazar (Fig. 3). It was erected above a prehistoric tumulus, not far from the confluence of the Deževska and the Raška rivers and dated by the newest research to the late 9th and the beginning of the 10th century. Thanks to the written sources,



Fig. 4. Church of St. George, Monastery of Đurđevi Stupovi, 12th century, view from the west (Photo by O. Špehar)

it was recognised as the place of Nemanja's second baptism (Stefan Prvovenčani, II). Centrally planned as a rotunda with three trapezoidal conchs in the north, west and south and a deep semi-circular apse in the east, as well as a low gallery in the upper zone above the ambulatory, St. Peter's Church still attracts attention of researchers as a multi-layered site continuously in use until this day (Nešković and Nikolić 1987, 13; Popović 2000; Ćurčić 2010, 342–343; Čanak-Medić and Todić 2013, 26–49; Marković 2016a, 147).

Several more churches were protected within the same area. One of them is the church dedicated to St. George of Đurđevi Stupovi, erected immediately after Stefan Nemanja defeated his three older brothers around 1168 and ascended the Serbian throne. The church is built on the high platform between the Deževa and the Raška rivers and dated to 1170/1171 by the fragmentarily preserved inscription above the western entrance (Fig. 4) (Čanak-Medić and Bošković 1986, 55). It is a single-nave church with a tripartite presbytery and two lateral vestibules. Above the central part of the naos is a dome with the inner



Fig. 5. Chapel of king Dragutin, donor portraits, 13th century, Monastery of Đurđevi Stupovi (Photo by O. Špehar)

side of drum enlivened with colonettes. The western part of the church played the role of the narthex, and was flanked with two tall towers of square ground plan. Unlike the older St. Peter's Church, the one dedicated to St. George was built under the strong influence of western architecture, even supposedly by western builders (Ćurčić 2010, 495; Marković 2016b, 171). Wall paintings are only fragmentarily preserved, some of them removed from their original place to the National Museum in Belgrade, because the church stood roofless for a long time. Within the complex there is another sacral building, the funerary chapel of the founder's great-grandson, king Dragutin (1276–1282). It was created in 1282/83 by transforming the entry tower of the fortification into a chapel adorned with monumental frescoes of exquisite quality that are an important source for researchers, not only for their artistic but also for their historical value (Fig. 5). At the same time, a new refectory



Fig. 6. Church of the Holy Trinity, 13th century, Sopoćani monastery, view from the north (Photo by O. Špehar)

and dormitory were erected and the church narthex was covered with frescoes (Nešković 1984, 3–10; Čanak-Medić and Bošković 1986, 54–76; Čanak-Medić and Todić 2013, 56–80).

The most prominent place in the UNESCO protected area of Stari Ras and Sopoćani belongs to the church of the Holy Trinity in the Sopoćani monastery (Fig. 6). Founded by Uroš I (1243–1276), Nemanja's grandson and the youngest son of the first crowned Serbian king Stefan (1217–1228), it also became the founder's resting place. Although resembling a three-aisled basilica on the exterior, this single-nave church with a tripartite presbytery, lateral choirs and chapels, as well as the exonarthex (added later) surmounted by a centrally positioned high tower, was primarily accentuated as an important monument of World Cultural and Natural Heritage because of its well-preserved wall paintings, which undoubtedly belong among masterpieces of European painting of the 13th century. One of the most valuable is the historical scene of the Death of Anna Dandolo, the granddaughter of the Venetian doge Enrico (1192–1205), and the mother of the church



Fig. 7. Death of Anna Dandolo, fresco on the north wall of the narthex in the church of the Holy Trinity, 13th century, Sopoćani monastery (Photo by P. Špehar)

founder (Fig. 7) (Đurić 1963; Čanak-Medić and Todić 2013, 118–179; Komatina 2014 with sources and older literature; Todić 2016, 223–227). Archaeological research unearthed several medieval monastic buildings within the monastery complex, such as the refectory west of the church (Kandić 1984, 7–16).

Except for the above-mentioned medieval monuments, which are accentuated as the most prominent in the zone nominated for the World Cultural and Natural Heritage list, the area in question is likewise important because of the preserved monuments dated to the period of Ottoman domination (15th–19th centuries). The most valuable ones are concentrated in and around the Old Bazaar in Novi Pazar: the Ottoman fortress, the mosques of Altun alem and Kurt-Čelebi, the inn (han) of Amir-aga, the bath (hammam), the Jewish house, the old school, the Old Archdiocese seat etc. Those are all architectural monuments representative of the multi-ethnic community that inhabits this part of modern Serbia (Nešković *et al.* 1988, 7–12; Ćurčić 2010, 781; Premović-Aleksić 2013). Novi Pazar was founded by Isa-beg Isaković and it was first mentioned in 1461, in one document from Dubrovnik (Premović-Aleksić 2014, 269). Because of its strategically important position it quickly grew into one of the largest towns in this part of the Balkans, taking over, as we already said, the function of a mercantile

centre from the medieval settlement in Trgovište. As a typical oriental town, it had a bazaar in the centre, surrounded by inhabited quarters (mahalas) with numerous shops, mosques, inns, hammams etc. One of the oldest buildings in the Old Town is Isa-beg's hammam (bath), named after its founder and mentioned in the sources as early as in 1489 (Fig. 8) (Premović-Aleksić 2013, 23). Throughout its history, Novi Pazar was a place of intensive migrations, often destroyed and rebuilt, but until this day it has kept its position of an important trade-centre situated on a crossroads of peoples and influences.

Recognised as an area with a continuous life, culture and art, the spatial cultural and historic complex of Stari Ras and Sopoćani, that merges together all that was created by human hands as well as the natural surroundings (Kesić Ristić 2015, 94), came under the scrutiny of researchers and conservators immediately after WWII, and was proclaimed a national heritage site from the moment when the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Heritage of People's Republic of Serbia was established in 1947⁴. The efforts of experts during the 1960s and 1970s were primarily aimed at establishing the original appearance of all the monuments, mainly those erected during the Middle Ages. Since in 1972 UNESCO adopted the Convention concerning the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage, ratified in 1974 by former Yugoslavia⁵, it opened the possibility for monuments in this part of the world to be placed on UNESCO's list (Kesić Ristić 2015, 93–95). In 1976 UNESCO adopted another very important document, *Recommendation on historical landscapes*, which declared that each space and its surroundings should be investigated in totality, as a coherent unit that embraces human activities as well as buildings, spatial organisation and surroundings. In other words, that recommendation legislated the term *cultural landscape* and made it possible to protect it. A year later, in 1977, the whole area of Stari Ras and Sopoćani was recognised by the Institute for Heritage Protection of Yugoslavia as the spatial cultural and historical site, one of the four types of immovable heritage sites.

⁴ The ruins of the old town of Ras with its surroundings were put under the protection of the State by decree of the Institute for Protection and Scientific Research of Cultural Heritage of People's Republic of Serbia, no. 140, August 27th 1947. The Sopoćani Monastery was put under protection by decree no. 153, of August 26th 1947. The ruins of Đurđevi Stupovi near Novi Pazar were put under protection by decree no. 152 of the same date, and St. Peter's church by decree no. 2253 of December 18th 1948.

⁵ Službeni list SFRJ, 56/1974.



Fig. 8. Isa-beg's hammam, 15th century, Novi Pazar (Source: Premović-Aleksić 2013, 21)

Finally, as we already said, in 1979 this complex entered the list of World Cultural and Natural Heritage sites, primarily as the core of the first Serbian medieval state. Since that moment on, the most visible consequence has been the change in the methodological approach to research of those monuments (Sekulić 1985, 251–271). A national programme was adopted for the years 1984–1990 that purported the research, protection, spatial regulation, revitalisation and management of this area. It was the first long term programme in the history of the protection of cultural heritage in Serbia. The programme also purported a special fund for all the necessary activities, and the participation of all relevant scientific and cultural institutions as well as the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Serbia during the entire period. Such an approach enabled strict control over the spending of funds, a continuity of the financing and works, as well as the promotion of those immovable heritage sites and monuments, through valuable popular and scientific publications. The idea was also to adopt various categories for the monuments in this spatial cultural and historical area, as well as adequate regimes for the protection and usage of each category (Nešković 2011, 145–150; Kesić Ristić 2015, 97). This was very important for the living monasteries and the growing city of Novi Pazar. One must bear in



Fig. 9. Living monastic community, Sopoćani monastery, view through the exonarthex (Photo by O. Špehar)

mind that the Sopoćani monastery was and still is a living community (Fig. 9), and that the monastic life in Đurđevi Stupovi has lately been renewed (Debljović Ristić 2011, 165–169). Unfortunately, adequate legal regulations were not adopted because the 1990s were marked by the disintegration of Yugoslavia, civil wars and economic collapse, followed by the termination of funding for research projects and conservation. As a consequence, organised heritage protection gradually ceased to exist. Out of all these institutions, only the Republic Institute for the Protection of Monuments of Cultural Heritage, as the leader of the project, continued to perform adequate actions as much as possible.

In the last decade of the 20th century new centres of power were established, based primarily on wealth or political interests, which resulted in the fact that the local community, instead of being the bearer of protection of its own heritage, became overwhelmed by this burden, seeing cultural heritage as a constraining factor in its development. The

reason for this was the fact that it was expected of the local community to finance all the necessary works on historical monuments of lesser importance. On the other hand, the local community was more interested in achieving positive economic results through diverse projects implemented in the area under its jurisdiction, which were opposed to the opinion of experts and often to the expected treatment of an area listed as a World Cultural and Natural Heritage site (Kesić Ristić 2015, 99). Therefore, in 2003 the local government of Novi Pazar decided to put aside the decision that proclaimed the area of Stari Ras and Sopoćani a cultural heritage site (Nešković 2011, 150, footnote 36). Numerous new buildings were illegally erected, at odds with the adopted urbanistic plans and without any necessary documents, although they were built in the protected area. This also means that no licence was asked nor gained from the Republic Institute for the Protection of Monuments of Cultural Heritage or any other cultural institution as the legal bearer of the protection process. Such activities and said local decisions go in the direction of annulling the existence of the buffer zones that merged all said monuments into one coherent spatial unit, which would result in extracting individual monuments as cultural sites without taking into account the fact that this entire area is historically and logically one entity (Dobričić *et al.* 2016, 80). Another quite absurd problem is that in the early 2000s it was actually concluded by the UNESCO mission sent in order to make an overview of what had been done in the previous decade of war and sanctions, that the city of Novi Pazar itself is not included on the World Cultural and Natural Heritage list. The solution to the problem could be to recognise the material as well as immaterial values of Novi Pazar, primarily for the cultural diversity of its inhabitants and its monuments, but this idea has not reached its legal conclusion yet (Kesić Ristić 2015, 101–106).

Besides these legal problems, there is also the problem of building within the monastic enclosures and in the vicinity of St. Peter's church. It mostly concerns the crucial issue of revitalisation of medieval sites, because monastic buildings should be restored according to the principles of protection of cultural heritage, but they are still used by the existing and ever-growing monastic communities (Debljović Ristić 2011, 166; 2016, 110). The most explicit example is the one of the monastic community of Đurđevi Stupovi, which was restored at the end of the 1990s on the initiative of the Serbian Orthodox Church. The restoration

as well as the revival of this monastery built by Stefan Nemanja, the founder of the Serbian medieval dynasty, was understood as the revival of the entire nation after the civil wars (Nešković 2011, 154). Therefore, the original idea to present the complex as a devastated monument was replaced by the implementation of authentic materials and architectural forms as much as possible, in order to enable the performance of liturgy and other necessary rites, as well as the life of community members (Debljović Ristić 2011, 168). During the process of monastery restoration, an advisory mission of the ICOMOS was included in 2004, as purported by the obligations towards UNESCO. Unfortunately, the advice of the ICOMOS was not the decisive factor during the process of resolving the issue of restoration, so another mission was sent on the initiative of the Republic Institute for the Protection of Monuments of Cultural Heritage in 2009. In their report, special attention was paid to the problem of the scope of interventions that can be made in this cultural heritage site because it is on UNESCO's list. The question was whether after all the interventions the monument could keep those values that made it become part of the protected heritage site in the first place (Nešković 2011, 156). The opposite situation is illustrated by St. Peter's church in Novi Pazar. Namely, in the 1990s the Church prelates expressed the necessity to build a bell tower as well as a parochial dwelling-place, in order to intensify the religious life in the parish. Since all the plans were prepared in cooperation with the experts from the Republic Institute for the Protection of Monuments of Cultural Heritage, it is a positive example of the treatment of a still functioning protected monument (Nešković 2016, 97–98, 105).

Because some parts of the area of Stari Ras and Sopoćani are densely populated, and bearing in mind the needs of the community as well as the status of the protected site, in 2012 *The Spatial Plan for the Special Purpose Area of the Spatial Cultural and Historical Unit of Stari Ras and Sopoćani* was drawn up in order to determine the spatial relationships between building activities on the one hand and the cultural and historical heritage status on the other hand, as well as to establish the long-term basis for the protection and sustainable development of the area. That plan defined the protection zones in three regimes according to the degree of protection: degree I of protection is a zone of cultural heritage in which the protected monument is situated, degree II are the immediate surroundings of the monument, and degree III is the

surrounding landscape where low-rise buildings can be built, but it also implies the existence of large green and open spaces (Dobričić *et al.* 2016, 80). One must again have in mind that almost all historical monuments within this area are living organisms until this day. The church buildings within the monastic enclosures and the monastic way of life in general, simply have to be observed through the concept of the inseparability of material and immaterial heritage. The attitude of the Orthodox Church towards the values of medieval buildings, although also aimed at their revival, often differs from the attitude of the experts in charge of protection, preservation and revitalisation of sacral buildings and heritage in general. Still, the reintegration of the monastery complexes by re-establishing life and rites within them has clearly showed the positive effects regarding maintenance, use and sustainability of said complexes. This can primarily be seen in the Đurđevi Stupovi monastery that was abandoned in the late 17th century and stood unprotected for three centuries. As a consequence, new needs of monastic communities are expressed, the fulfilling of which is not always in accordance with the principle of preserving the integrity and authenticity of medieval monuments. Demands for better comfort, more accommodation capacity, accepting tourists etc. bring forward the necessity for compromises, most of them in discordance with the demands of UNESCO. Continuity of the traditional way of functioning for those monuments has its good and potentially bad consequences. The latter could be overcome by incorporating all the parameters within the very process of their protection, because the fact that a monument gained its place on UNESCO's list does not mean the end of the process of its protection. On the contrary, it means that it is recognised as a place of a physical embodiment of cultural value and marks only the beginning of a continuous process that, besides historical and cultural values, has to include tourist and commercial necessities (Chhabra 2010, 1–2). In managing cultural heritage like Stari Ras and Sopoćani, a real balance must be established between the past, the present and the future, in accordance with their values as protectors of historical material heritage and the values of the living communities that actively protect the immaterial heritage of Serbia (Debljović Ristić 2011, 161–176). One of the possibilities is the establishment of scientific centres that would connect experts from various disciplines considering research, protection and management. Such centres would enable those

monuments to continue their life not only as monastic but as scholarly centres as well, which was one of their main functions during the Middle Ages. Likewise, different workshops could be organised more often, accompanied by more intensive media coverage and promotion. Nowadays they are mostly restricted to workshops for artists, but it is very important to present cultural heritage to young people whose education is primarily tied to those disciplines that could enable them to further protect and manage that same heritage. Such actions should lean on the idea that more and more people wish, or should be drawn to wish, to “peek into the past”, which is a potential springboard for further development of heritage tourism. The economic prospect of this tourist field is enormous and yet its full potential remains untapped. By including members of the local community as well as members of the monastic community, who have a better insight into all the problems with which a living organism of cultural monument deals every day, it would be a beneficial opportunity for all sides involved (Chhabra 2010, 14–16). All said opportunities are still very hypothetical, but should be seriously considered, along with better legal actions, as the paths along which the future process of protection and management of Stari Ras and Sopoćani should be moving.

References

Written sources

- Stefan Prvovenčani Stefan Prvovenčani, *Sabrani spisi*. Beograd: Prosveta, Srpska književna zadruga. 1988.
 Sveti Sava Sveti Sava, *Sabrani spisi*. Beograd: Prosveta, Srpska književna zadruga. 1986.

Literature

- Chhabra D. 2010. *Sustainable marketing of Cultural and Heritage Tourism*. London–New York: Routledge.
 Ćirković S. 1997. *Srbi u srednjem veku*. Beograd: Idea.
 Ćurčić S. 2010. *Architecture in the Balkans. From Diocletian to Süleyman the Magnificent*. New Haven–London: Yale University Press.
 Čanak-Medić M. and Bošković Đ. 1986. *Arhitektura Nemanjinog doba*, vol. I. *Crkve u Toplici i dolinama Ibra i Morave*. Beograd: Republički zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture, Arheološki institut.
 Čanak-Medić M. and Todić B. 2013. *Stari Ras sa Sopoćanima*. Novi Sad: Platoneum, Prizren: Eparhija raško-prizrenska.

- Debljović Ristić N. 2011. Proces reafirmacije značenja prostornih odlika srpskih srednjovekovnih manastira XII i XIII veka. *Saopštenja* 43, 161–176.
- Debljović Ristić N. 2016. Manastir Sopoćani – u sprezi kulturnog, duhovnog i prirodno nasleđa. *Glasnik Društva konzervatora Srbije* 40, 106–112.
- Dobričić M., Kesić Ristić S. and Josimović B. 2016. The Spatial Planning, Protection and Management of World Heritage in Serbia. *Spatium* 36, 75–83.
- Đurić V. 1963. *Sopoćani*. Beograd: Srpska književna zadruga, Izdavačko preduzeće „Prosveta“.
- Ferjančić B. 2000. Stefan Nemanja u vizantijskoj politici druge polovine XII veka. In J. Kalić (ed.), *Međunarodni naučni skup Stefan Nemanja – Sveti Simeon Mirotočivi. Istorija i predanje. Septembar 1996*. Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, 31–44.
- Kalić J. 1994. Trgovište i Ras. *Sopštenja* 26, 7–11.
- Kalić J. 2007. Srpska država i ohridska arhiepiskopija u XII veku. *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta* 44, 197–207.
- Kandić O. M. 1984. Istraživanje arhitekture i konzervatorski radovi u manastiru Sopoćani. *Saopštenja* 16, 7–16.
- Kesić Ristić S. 2015. Svetska baština u Srbiji – Stari Ras sa Sopoćanima. *Moderna konzervacija* 3, 93–108.
- Komatina I. 2014. Ana Dandolo – prva srpska kraljica? *Zbornik Matice Srpske za Istoriju* 89, 7–22.
- Krsmanović B. 2012. O odnosu upravne i crkvene organizacije na području Ohridske arhiepiskopije. In B. Krsmanović, Lj. Maksimović and R. Radić (eds.), *Vizantijski svet na Balkanu I*. Beograd: Vizantološki institut Srpske akademije nauka i umetnosti, 17–39.
- Marković M. 2016a. Beginnings of Artistic Activity in the Serbian Lands (9th–11th century). In D. Vojvodić and D. Popović (eds.), *Byzantine Heritage and Serbian Art*, vol. II. *Sacral Art of the Serbian Lands in the Middle Ages*. Belgrade: Serbian National Committee of Byzantine Studies, 147–163.
- Marković M. 2016b. On the trail of Unique Solutions – Serbian Art in the 12th Century. In D. Vojvodić and D. Popović (eds.), *Byzantine Heritage and Serbian Art*, vol. II. *Sacral Art of the Serbian Lands in the Middle Ages*. Belgrade: Serbian National Committee of Byzantine Studies, 165–181.
- Nešković J. 1984. *Đurđevi Stupovi u Starom Rasu. Postanak arhitekture crkve sv. Đorđa i stvaranje raškog tipa spomenika u arhitekturi srednjovekovne Srbije*. Kraljevo: Zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture.
- Nešković J. and Nikolić R. 1987. *Petrova crkva kod Novog Pazara*. Beograd: Republički zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture.
- Nešković J., Đorđević S., Kurtović Folić N. and Radović R. 1988. *Stara čaršija u Novom Pazaru – zaštita i revitalizacija*. Kraljevo: Zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture.
- Nešković M. 2011. Stari Ras sa Sopoćanima. *Saopštenja* 43, 145–152.
- Nešković M. 2016. Petrova crkva u Novom Pazaru – zaštita, prezentacija i uređenje. *Glasnik Društva konzervatora Srbije* 40, 96–105.
- Popović D. and Popović M. 1998. Pećinska lavra sv. Mihaila u Rasu. *Novopazarski zbornik* 22, 15–61.

- Popović M. 1999. *Tvrđava Ras*. Beograd: Arheološki institut.
- Popović S. 2000. Preispitivanja crkve svetog Petra u Rasu. In J. Kalić (ed.), *Međunarodni naučni skup Stefan Nemanja – Sveti Simeon. Istorija i predanje*. Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, 209–229.
- Premović-Aleksić D. 2013. *Islamski spomenici Novog Pazara*. Novi Pazar: Muzej Ras.
- Premović-Aleksić D. 2014. *Arheološka karta Tutina, Novog Pazara i Sjenice*. Novi Pazar: Muzej Ras.
- Sekulić J. 1985. Putevi savremene zaštite Starog Rasa sa Sopoćanima. *Saopštenja* 17, 251–271.
- Špehar P. 2017. *Centralni Balkan od 7. do 11. veka. Arheološka svedočanstva*. Beograd: IP BOOKA.
- Todić B. 2016. Serbian Monumental Art of the 13th century. In D. Vojvodić and D. Popović (eds.), *Byzantine Heritage and Serbian Art*, vol. II. *Sacral Art of the Serbian Lands in the Middle Ages*. Belgrade: Serbian National Committee of Byzantine Studies, 213–231.

Ágnes Ritoók*

Blowing in the Wind, Sinking in the Swamp: Mosaburg – Zalavár

ABSTRACT

Ritoók A. 2018. Blowing in the Wind, Sinking in the Swamp: Mosaburg – Zalavár. *Analecta Archaeologica Ressoviensia* 13, 155–170

Zalavár and its surroundings are considered one of the most important 9th-century localities in the Carpathian Basin. The centre at Zalavár-Castle Island retained its role even after the Hungarian conquest and kept it until the 13th c. By the middle of the 20th c. the remnants over the surface were completely destroyed, and in some places even the foundations were removed. Although archaeological research revealed many remains, only a few were reconstructed. Considering the 19th and 20th-century political/national ideas about the site, its interpretation Archaeological excavations resulted in new information about the region, which led to an increased interest in the site and to both tourism and pilgrimage evolving significantly. The site became a place of political commemoration. Due to social changes among the villagers from Zalavár, the community gradually lost interest in the site, even though it lies only 1.5 km from the village. Experience suggests that without involving the local community, conservation work will be unviable.

Keywords: Mosaburg, Zalavár, Blatnohrad, politics in archaeology, memorials

Received: 03.12.2018; **Revised:** 28.12.2018; **Revised:** 28.12.2018; **Accepted:** 30.12.2018

Introduction

The site is located to the south-west of Lake Balaton, in the marshy lower valley of the Zala River, in the confines of the village of Zalavár, on Castle Island, an area of 15 hectares. It lies not far (but at a safe distance) from the north-south motorway which has been used as a route since the Neolithic onwards. The archaeological research on Castle Island began in 1948, and it has been going on until today with longer or shorter interruptions.

Possible fundamentals for reconstructions and conservation

The settlement, situated on an L-shaped island (that turned into an elevation surrounded by low lying meadows which often become

* Hungarian National Museum, 1088 Budapest Múzeum krt. 14-16, Budapest, Hungary; ritook.agnes@hnm.hu

flooded after a dam was constructed in the 19th c.), was established at the beginning of the 840s. It was called *civitas Privinae, castrum Chezilonis* and also *Mosaburg* in a 9th-century document; it consisted of three main parts in the Carolingian Period: the founder Pribina's (Szőke 2017) fortified manor house in the south, the territory of the Archbishop of Salzburg in the north, and – probably – a suburb in the eastern area. It is the most important archaeological site from the 9th c. in the Carpathian Basin. The excavated remains of the buildings, the ongoing changes in settlement patterns, together with the quantity and quality of the finds reflect the intensity of the settlement and its central function. This importance is also reflected in documentary evidence: the *Conversio bagoariorum et carantanorum* compiled in 870/871. At that time there was some confusion in Mosaburg's life caused by Methodius' activity. But in the 880s the sun rose again above the settlement – it became a temporary royal residence of Arnolf of Carinthia (Szőke 2014, 51–110). Finally, at the end of the 9th c., the whole island was surrounded by earthen and timber ramparts (Gergely 2015; Grynaeus 2015) due to the appearance of a new, strange population – the Hungarians – in the region. First, they were allies of the Emperor, but later (after Arnolf's death) they became conquerors of the land and thus enemies of the Empire. At the beginning of the 10th c., as a consequence of the Hungarian conquest, the notable inhabitants of Mosaburg and their escorts fled. The main marker of this process is the vanishing of polished pottery. There is no evidence of any kind of violent occupation, but the prosperity of the settlement was interrupted. Some signs of continuous life (houses, wells) have been excavated on the peripheries of the former centre; at the same time pottery and animal bones appear again in the graves situated on the edges of the churchyards. However, the excavations did not provide any evidence of the newcomers' spontaneously settling in. The once respectable settlement seemed to fade into oblivion and began to sink into the surrounding swamp.

On the Easter of 973 twelve envoys of the Hungarian prince arrived at the court of Otto I in Quedlinburg to make peace with the Empire. As one of the consequences of the peace treaty, the official Christianisation of the Hungarians began. At the very start of this activity there was a competition between the bishoprics of Salzburg and Passau for the influence on the nascent Hungarian Church. Fake charters were produced,

presumably using information from the *Conversio*. Consequently, Mosaburg and its three churches came out of the shadow of century-long oblivion, showcasing Salzburg's role in the Christianisation of the region. The representatives of the Archbishopric were present at the princely court of Géza and his son, Stephen, so it is probable that due to their proposal the decision to revive the former Carolingian centre might have been born there. But this revival did not mean the rebirth of the settlement with its 9th-century structure and institutions at all. However, the tripartite division of the area of the island was preserved, though the Church and the secular part changed places: in the middle part of the central area of the island a secular (county) seat settled partly above the former Church of St. Hadrian, while a Benedictine monastery occupied the site of Pribina's manor house-complex to the south of it. The manor's 9th-century Holy Virgin Church was rededicated to St. Hadrian in 1019; the suburb probably – according to finds from field walking surveys – remained uninhabited. Although it was a revival, it cannot be regarded as a case of preservation of the past at all, for the 9th-century “honourable Church of St. Hadrian” and Arnolf's palace were demolished and were utilised as quarries (Ritoók 2010).

By the end of the 13th c. the county seat had been given up. The process of abandonment of many ancient centres of the early Árpáadian monarchy in the 13th c. is explained either by the reorganisation of the administration and/or by the consequences of the Mongol invasion (1241–1242) (Szende 2011, 394–405). The latter could have had less impact in the case of Zalavár. Here, further factors, such as the geographic environment and climatic changes, should be taken into account: these two factors, supplemented also by the decline of the Benedictine Order in the late medieval period, led to the site's gradual loss of the central role.

From the geographical point of view, southern Transdanubia had a dense road network in the High and Late Middle Ages. It is characterised by a multitude of parallel, periodically usable paths and a lack of royal or public highways. This led to the curious “townless” status of the county in the Middle Ages and also partly explains the regression of the Zalavár-Castle Island settlement (Kubinyi 1989; Ritoók 2015, 84–85).

In addition to environmental analyses of evidence of climatic changes (Sümegei *et al.* 2007), archaeological contexts, surprisingly enough,

reveal rising groundwater level in the region in the 11–13th c., for it was a warm and dry period. The rising water level made it difficult to approach the county seat. According to a charter dated to 1359, the monastery could only be approached by boat from the west coast of the river. In 1413 the communication between the monastery and the east coast (the village of Zalavár) was provided by a timber-twig bridge. The situation turned even worse in the wet period which started in the 15th c. In the 16th–17th c., when the fortified monastery functioned as a border fortress, it was the surrounding swamp that provided powerful protection against the Ottomans.

After Hungary was liberated from the Ottoman rule (1699), the ruined building became useless, and was partly blown up in 1702. No wonder that the Göttweig Abbey, the new owner of Zalavár from 1715 onwards, chose a new location for the new monastery in Zalaapáti. The remains were used as a quarry (Ritoók 2014, 286).

The first site conservation plan

The text of the *Conversio bagoariorum et carantanorum* was first published in 1780 by a church historian, Stephanus Salagius (Salagius 1780). In the following decades many scholars tackled the localisation of Mosaburg and its possible identification with Zalavár. The critical edition of the *Conversio* as an appendix to the *Glagolita Clozianus* prepared by Jernej (Bartholomeus) Kopitar appeared in 1836 (Kopitar 1836). Thanks to these publications and discussions the interest in Mosaburg/Zalavár increased, but at the same time this interest was often associated with emerging Slavic nationalism. However, it was in that very year, 1836, that a large-scale demolition of the remains started and the building material was reused for road construction and for the regulation of the Zala River. In 1841, two travellers seeking Slavic relics visited Castle Island: Jan Kollar, a Lutheran priest from Pest, and Anton Doležalek, the director of the Institute of the Blind in the same town. They saw there a lot of people “swarming like ants” and busily taking away the stones and bricks from the ruins. The visitors told the owner’s representative that the walls they were destroying belonged to the remains of the first Christian church in Hungary. At last they managed to stop the demolition. Doležalek appealed to some prominent people, first of all to the patron of Doležalek’s Institute, the Palatine of Hungary, to save

the remains, and to erect a memorial chapel in the Byzantine style on the site where the stones and bricks that had been mined from the old walls were piled on. The dedication of the chapel was planned for 1850, the millennial anniversary of the dedication of the first St. Mary's Church of Mosapurc/Zalavár. As a result of Doležalek's intervention, further destruction was forbidden and fundraising for the planned chapel began. The chapel was designed by a young architect, Josef Pan, who was born in Prague, studied in Vienna, arrived in Pest in 1834, and lived and worked there until his death in 1890. Doležalek also informed the Hungarian Academy of Sciences about his experiences and plans. The Archaeological Committee of the Academy, was established in 1844, called on the owner, the convent in Zalaapáti, to assess the ruins and to find proper documents in its archives (Doležalek 1847; Prokop 1964, 232; Ritoók 2014, 286).

However, there was no happy ending. The revolution of 1848/49 and its cruel defeat overshadowed the ambitious plans. The former protectors of monuments were imprisoned, forced into emigration or passive resistance (Szentesi 2012, 8–9). The convent continued their stone quarrying on Castle Island in accord with the county administration. According to a report written in 1864

with his vigorous action, Kollár had for a short time removed the danger from these extremely interesting ruins; but later on, the noble Zala County, preferring utilitarianism to archaeological interest, continued the wrecking so that finally Rómer [the archaeologist who made a survey of the remains in 1861] found even the place of the “castrum” had disappeared and the stone foundation no longer existed (Henszlmann 1964, 121).

However, in 1881 still interpretable remains were documented. At the beginning of the 20th c. a substantial volume was published on the history of the Zalavár monastery, its antecedents, charters and remains (Füßy 1902). Then the image darkened. Some of the high-quality stone carvings formerly transferred to Zalaapáti and recorded in the 19th c. disappeared. Castle Island was covered by pastures and after 1929 a herb processing plant was built on the site, near the quarry.

In 1938 north of the former monastery a memorial stone was erected to commemorate the 1000th anniversary of the death of the first Hungarian king, Stephen I (1000–1038), the founder of the monastery and the Zala County. This memorial can be considered an early forerunner of six other memorials (see below).

Systematic archaeological research – with political backwind

The excavations started in 1948 primarily focused on issues of the continuity and survival of Roman culture in the Zalavár region in the medieval period. The political changes of 1949 also changed the aims of archaeological research. In 1949, the Hungarian Academy of Sciences declared the material culture and settlement of the Pannonian Slavs one of the most important fields of Hungarian archaeology. Zalavár as a research site was designated as the only known “Slavic site” in Hungary. Although the new aspects of research were not devoid of political entanglements, both Hungarian archaeology and the site itself benefited from the decisions. The legal demolition of the site was stopped, and excavations have been going on since that time (Fig. 1).

In the 1960s, as a sign of the ongoing political thaw, the focus of the research changed: in addition to the 9th-century finds, the legacy of the Árpáadian period (i.e. 11–13th c.) also became important.

Despite the high priority of the place, in the 1950s the possibility of presenting the excavated remains was not raised, for no stone walls



Fig. 1. Zalavár-Castle island. Excavations in 1953 (Photo by G. Fehér)

were found (except for an 11th-century church); the dates of timber buildings, their structures and contexts were not entirely clear and undisputed.

Later, in the 1970s and 1980s, under less supportive circumstances, only the devotion of Ágnes Cs. Sós led to the pursuit of the excavations.

... and without it

Due to the findings of the large-scale excavations conducted over the last two decades, new contexts were considered and the cultural and political connections of the site were successfully clarified (as it is thought today). The above mentioned 9th-century remains and the settlement structure evoke the characteristic image of Carolingian centres. In accordance with the written sources, the 9th-century settlement of Zalavár-Castle Island today is defined as the seat of the easternmost earldom of the Carolingian empire and the Pannonian centre of Christianisation. This image is enriched by the activity of Saints Cyril and Methodius in Zalavár/Mosaburg.

This new definition means a rejection of the former theory of the exclusively Slavic connection strongly advocated by politics, and the return of the non-political evaluation of the remains proposed at the end of the 19th c., based strictly on finds and sources (Récey 1892). However, public opinion is reluctant to accept the new results.

Nevertheless, there is a great international interest in the excavations in Zalavár. Scholars from the neighbouring countries often visit the site. The new results are difficult to accept even for them. Their attachment to the previous Slavic interpretation is understandable, since Zalavár (often referred to as Blatnohrad in Slavic languages) became part of the Slavic national past, as one of its decisive chapters. This is why it is asked many times with disbelief: is this research really supported by the National Cultural Fund of Hungary? This astonishment is probably understandable considering the 20th-century history of Central and Eastern-Europe.

Few reconstructions and many memorials

The review of the above-mentioned data and processes was necessary to understand the failure of the site's current use.

The first remains suitable for presentation were found in 1953 – the foundations of a church – and in the 1960s – details of the foundation-trench of the enceinte wall of the monastery; both are dated to the last decades of the 11th c. The latter, despite plans for conservation, were covered back, but in 1996 the church was reconstructed (in fact a new church was built), celebrating the 1000th anniversary of the Hungarian conquest. With this reconstruction started the development of an archaeological park on Castle Island. The next element of this park was the presentation of the outlines of St. Hadrian's pilgrim church in 2000, together with a well and a (probable) brewery. The ploughing of the excavated area ceased, and a small museum was erected by the Transdanubian Water Management Directorate, where “small” archaeological, ethnographic, biological and water management exhibitions are shown; a “water playground” and a twig labyrinth were later added in the vicinity of the building (Fig. 2). Tourist traffic has increased, but a plan of proper arrangement is still badly needed for the whole Castle Island, as is the presentation of many more excavated



Fig. 2. Zalavár-Castle Island. The reconstructed church and the twig labyrinth (Photo by Á. Ritoók)

remains, of which perhaps the most significant element would be the wooden church of St. John the Baptist with its baptismal font and Arnolf's palace (Fig. 3).

Interestingly enough, the more the park developed, the more the interest of the local community decreased. Up until the 1990s, local patriotic history teachers taught the children of the village the importance of the place, visited the excavations and brought their pupils regularly to the site. Their successors are no longer local residents who live in the village, to teach their lessons there. They are not interested in the excavations, nor in listening to archaeologists' reports on new research results, nor do they guide their pupils to the site. In the past, village festivals were always held on Castle Island; nowadays they are organised in the village, in the community centre. A dumpling cooking competition opened here in 2017. "We want the dumpling cooking to become a gastronomic festival with international participation next year *because due to our historical past* we have Russian, Bulgarian, and Slovak relations" – said the Mayor (ZAOL 2017).

Nevertheless, Zalavár-Castle Island does have a real success story: the memorial park with six closely spaced-out memorials, where political

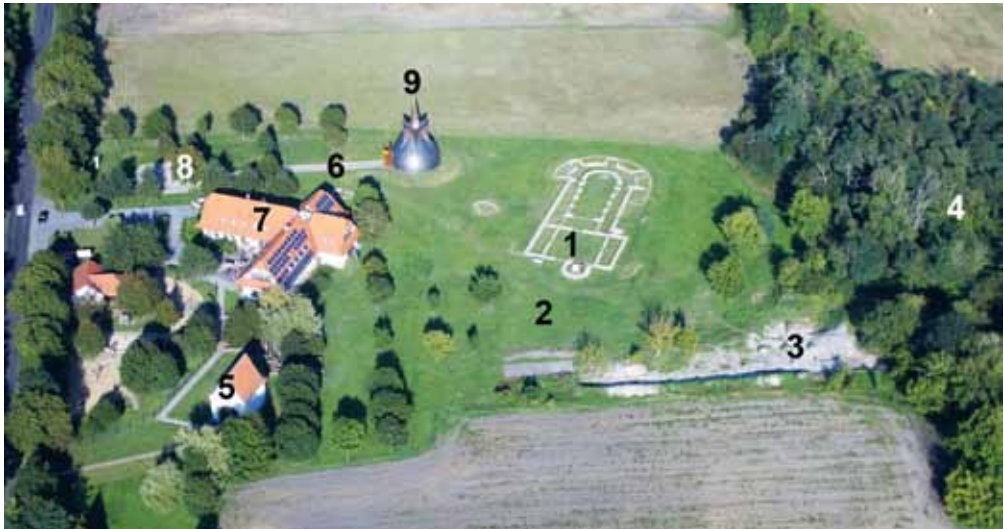


Fig. 3. Zalavár-Castle Island. 1 – Church of St. Hadrian, 2 – timber Church of St. John the Baptist (reburied), 3 – Arnolf's palace (reburied), 4 – Pribina's manor / Benedictine monastery (research in progress), 5 – reconstructed church in the county seat, 6 – tower from the Arpadian period (reburied), 7 – museum, 8 – memorial park, 9 – millennium monument of the county of Zala (Photo by T. Bóka)



Fig. 4. Zalavár-Castle Island. The 1938 monument in 1985 (Photo: <https://mapio.net/pic/p-25709737/>)

celebrations are held. The first one was a black marble plate with a simple inscription dedicated to the work of St. Stephen (1938; set up by the Zala County). Between 1985 and 2010 this marble plate built into an aedicule became the nucleus of the memorial park being erected, together with the bronze statues of Saints Cyril and Methodius (1985; set up by People's Republic of Bulgaria, Eötvös Loránd University and the Zala County) (Figs. 4–5). A column reminds visitors of the activity of the Salzburg Archbishopric on the site (2000; set up by the Salzburg Archbishopric). The statue of a book and a sword recalls the memory of Chezil, Pribina's son (2005, set up by Slovenia) (Fig. 6). On the opposite side of the path only the foundation stone of Pribina's memorial was laid by Slovakia, since at that time (2007) relations between Slovakia and Hungary became fraught (Fig. 7). In 2010 the 1000th anniversary of the Zala County was celebrated. In honour of it, a strange building was



Fig. 5. Zalavár-Castle Island. The 1985 monument of Cyril and Methodius (Photo by Á. Ritoók)



Fig. 6. Zalavár-Castle Island. Monuments of Salzburg Archbishopric (1) and Slovenia (2) (Photo by Á. Ritoók)



Fig. 7. Zalavár-Castle Island. Foundation stone of Slovakia's monument (Photo by Á. Ritoók)



Fig. 8. Zalavár-Castle Island. Millennium monument of county Zala (Photo outside: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Zalav%C3%A1r,_Millennium_Monument,_2014-08.jpg and photo inside by Á. Ritoók)



Fig. 9. Zalavár-Castle Island. The 2014 monument of Saints Cyril and Methodius (Photo by A. Ritoók)

erected in the centre of Castle Island, based on an old design of Imre Makovecz, the famous organic architect and a native of the county. In the middle of the building there is a huge tree of life, its trunk surrounded by plastic leaves. On its plastic leaves the names of the settlements of the county are written (Fig. 8). Its purpose was questioned for a long time. Recently, wedding ceremonies have been held there. In 2010 the marble plate from 1938 and the aedicule from 1985 were broken and thrown into construction debris. Their pieces were placed, at the request and suggestion of archaeologists working in the field, on the southern facade of the church built in 1996. The most recent memorial is a scaled



Fig. 10. Zalavár-Castle Island. The memorial park (Photo by Á. Ritoók)

down copy of the Saints Cyril and Methodius statue from Nitra (2014, set up by the Slovak minority's self-government in Budapest) (Fig. 9). The last two of the series, which were erected regardless of their visual intrusion or poor quality, indicate the disintegration of the Hungarian Monument Protection System from 2010 onwards (Fig. 10).

Yet, there is at least one point which can develop into a positive: historical or spiritual pilgrimage. Some people want to visit the place where Saints Cyril and Method preached and taught, or to commemorate Pribina, the founder of the settlement. Others come here to remember St. King Stephen. And there are those who look for an interesting historical site, where, far from the famous Carolingian centres, the settlement structure and the architecture of the Carolingian era can be studied. The growing number of pilgrims is proof that the site – for different reasons – is equally important for Slavic countries, Hungarians and Europe.

References

Written sources

- Conversio *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum: das Weißbuch der Salzburger Kirche über die erfolgreiche Mission in Karantanien und Pannonien*, H. Wolfram (ed.). Wien-Köln-Graz: Böhlau. 1979.
- Gesta Hungarorum Anonymi Bele regis notarii Gesta Hungarorum = Anonymus, Notary of King Béla, The Deeds of the Hungarians, M. Rady and L. Veszprémy (eds.). In *Anonymi Bele regis notarii Gesta Hungarorum = Anonymus, Notary of King Béla, The Deeds of the Hungarians, Magistri Rogerii Epistula in miserabile carmen super destructione Regni Hungariae per tartaros facta = Master Roger's Epistle to the Sorrowful Lament upon the Destruction of the Kingdom of Hungary by the Tatars*, J.M. Bak and M. Rady (eds.). Budapest-New York: Central European University Press. 2010, 2–130.
- Kopitar J. (B.) Anonymi Salisburgensis A. 873 scriptoris, Historia Conversionis Carantanorum et de S. Methodio testimonium querulum quidem sed luculentum. (Editio nova ope quinque codd. plenior et emendatior.). In *Glagolita Closianus*. Appendix quinta. Vindobonae. 1836, LXXII–LXXXVI.
- Salagius S. Anonymi de Conversione Bajoariorum et Carantanorum libellus. In *De statu ecclesiae pannonicae*. Libri VII. Liber quartus. De antiquis metropolitans per Pannoniam. Appendix. Quinque-Ecclesiis. 1780.

Literature

- Dolezsalek A. 1847. Az első keresztény egyház' romai Szalavárott. *Honderű* 5(1), 153.
- Füssy T. 1902. *A zalavári apátság története a legrégebb időktől fogva napjainkig* (= *A pannonhalmi Szent Benedek-rend története* 7). Budapest: Pannonhalmi Szent Benedek-rend.
- Gergely K. 2015. Erődítések Zalavár-Várszigeten. Régi ásások – új eredmények (Befestigung von Mosaburg/Zalavár. Alte Ausgrabungen – neue Ergebnisse). *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 140, 115–142, 144–148.
- Grynaeus A. 2015. A Zalavárott 1979-ben feltárt cölöpmaradványok dendrokronológiai elemzése. *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 140, 142–144.
- Henszlmann I. 1864. *A székes-fehérvári ásások eredménye*. Pest: Heckenast.
- Kubinyi A. 1989. Mezővárosok egy városmentes tájon. Délnyugat-Dunántúl (Marktflecken in einer Region ohne Städte. Südwest-Ungarn). *A tapolcai Városi Múzeum közleményei* 1, 319–330 (331–335).
- Prokop Gy. 1964. Kehr Vilmos 1841. évi rajza és tudósítása a zalavári várromról. *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 13, 230–232.
- Récsey V. 1892. Zalavári emlékek [Findings from Zalavár]. *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 12, 58–68.
- Ritoók Á. 2010. Abstract of the doctoral theses. <http://doktori.btk.elte.hu/hist/ritookagnes/thesis.pdf>
- Ritoók Á. 2014. The Benedictine Monastery of Zala/Zalavár (Zala County). In O. Heinrich-Tamácska and P. Straub (eds.), *Mensch, Siedlung und Landschaft im*

- Wechsel der Jahrtausende am Balaton (= Castrum Pannonicum Pelsonense 4)*. Budapest, Leipzig, Keszthely, Rahden (Westf.): Verlag Marie Leidorf GmbH, 281–304.
- Ritoók Á. 2015. The Decline of a Central Place: Zalavár. In O. Heinrich-Tamáska, H. Herold, P. Straub and T. Vida (eds.), *Castellum, civitas, urbs. zentren und Eliten im frühmittelalterlichen Ostmitteleuropa (= Castrum Pannonicum Pelsonense 6)*. Budapest, Leipzig, Keszthely, Rahden (Westf.): Verlag Marie Leidorf GmbH, 102–111.
- Sümeği P., Zatykó Cs. and Juhász I. 2007. *Environmental Archaeology in Transdanubia (= Varia Archaeologica Hungarica 20)*. Budapest: Archaeological Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.
- Szende K. 2011. Von der Gespanschaftsburg zur Stadt: Warum, wie – oder warum nicht? In F. Opll (ed.), *Stadtgründung und Stadtwerdung. Beiträge von Archäologie und Stadtgeschichtsforschung (= Beiträge zur Stadtgeschichte Mitteleuropas 22)*. Linz: Österreichischen Arbeitskreis für Stadtgeschichtsforschung, 375–405.
- Szentesi E. 2012. Az intézményes műemlékvédelem kezdetei Magyarországon. *Műemlékvédelem* 56 (1–2), 2–29.
- Szőke B. M. 2014. The Carolingian Age in the Carpathian Basin. *Permanent Exhibition of the Hungarian National Museum*. Budapest: Hungarian National Museum.
- Szőke B. M. 2017. Priwina in Nitra und Zalavár. In G. Fusek (ed.) *Archäologische Studien zum frühen Mittelalter (= Archaeologia Slovaca Monographiae Communicationes 19)*. Nitra: Archeologický ústav Slovenskej Akadémie Vied, 175–191.
- ZAOL 2017. <https://www.zalamedia.hu/vezeto-hirek/interju/az-ertekorzo-zalavar> [the value-guard Zalavár]

DOI: 10.15584/anarres.2018.13.9

Matej Ruttkay*, Karol Pieta**, Zbigniew Robak***

Reconstruction and Making Archaeological Sites Available to the Public – the Case of the Early Medieval Sites in Nitra and Bojná

ABSTRACT

Ruttkay M., Pieta K., Robak Z. 2018. Reconstruction and Making Archaeological Sites Available to the Public – Example of the Early Medieval Sites in Nitra and Bojná. *Analecta Archaeologica Ressoiviensia* 13, 171–186

Great Moravian monuments have attracted special attention of both professionals and laypeople for a long time. In this paper we focus on only two of the Great Moravian sites studied at the Institute of Archaeology, Slovak Academy of Sciences (IA SAS). One of the locations is Nitra, the former seat of Great Moravian dukes and Hungarian kings founded in 828. In the 9th century, the town was a large political and cultural centre. Relics from this period (such as remains of fortifications and sacral buildings) can be found on the castle hill and in the area of old military barracks situated in the foothills of Zobor. Unfortunately, some of the relics have been irreversibly lost due to the intense growth of the city and related construction activities. The second site is Bojná, with an agglomeration of five earth fortifications. The most significant of these is a twelve-hectare hillfort of Valy, where we have reconstructed or marked the most interesting historical constructions *in situ*. Here, visitors can see reconstructions of one of the gates, fragments of the impressive fortifications, and dwellings located inside the hillfort. In the village centre, they can also visit an archaeological museum. Each year, thanks to successful cooperation with local communities and representatives of municipalities, the sites and their history are revived during Nitra Days or the St. Cyril and Methodius Day.

Keywords: early medieval hillforts, revitalisation, open-air museum, virtual reconstruction, popularisation

Received: 03.12.2018; **Revised:** 28.12.2018; **Revised:** 28.12.2018; **Accepted:** 30.12.2018

Introduction

The beginnings of the Middle Ages, or at least the part of history associated with Great Moravia, belong to the most important and still

* Institute of Archaeology, Slovak Academy of Sciences, Akademická 2, 94921 Nitra, Slovakia; matej.ruttkay@savba.sk

** Institute of Archaeology, Slovak Academy of Sciences, Akademická 2, 94921 Nitra, Slovakia; karol.pieta@savba.sk

*** Institute of Archaeology, Slovak Academy of Sciences, Akademická 2, 94921 Nitra, Slovakia; zbigniew.robak@savba.sk

studied periods of the history of both the Slovaks and the Czechs¹. The significance of this period for our national history is also confirmed by a reference included in the text of the preamble to the Constitution of the Slovak Republic and by the popularity of the St. Cyril and Methodius Day (July 5). Therefore, here, research combines the interests of both scientists and laypeople and provides opportunities for making research work more visible, for popularising knowledge about history, and for protecting historical monuments. This process can be inspired by studies on Christianisation and the vision of the Great Moravian State as the foundation for the former common state uniting both of the nations – Czechoslovakia. In particular, waves of curiosity were sent by discoveries of prominent power centres in Slovakia and especially in Moravia in the 1950s.

Naturally, these sites attracted the attention of archaeologists, who still today perform long-term, systematic excavations there. The interwar period witnessed the first attempts to protect and preserve the oldest medieval monuments and to make them available to the public. Compared with well-preserved monumental Moravian sites abounding in relics of the oldest sacral architecture, archaeological studies in Slovakia have been hampered by the continuous character of settlement in most of the main historical centres. This, in turn, has resulted in severe damage of the older architecture and often in irreversible destruction of Great Moravian settlements. Nevertheless, modern archaeology has significantly changed the picture of this period. In the 1960s and 1970s, archaeologists discovered further significant Great Moravian finds. Fragments of stone architectures found at Bratislava Castle, together with foundations of a basilica, have been the first to be presented directly “on site”. Furthermore, a new type of an early medieval settlement – a court with a church – has been discovered in Nitrianska Blatnica. The preserved relics of the settlement can also be admired today.

Although the long-term study on the Nitra agglomeration has focused mainly on its peripheral parts, it has also brought interesting discoveries on the St. Martin’s Hill (Martinský vrch), including relics of a pre-Romanesque sacral facility. Thirty years ago, in 1988, after a long break, research on Nitra Castle was resumed and has continued to this day. In the 1980s, a re-examination in Devin allowed researchers to identify

¹ This study was conducted with the support of the APVV 14-0842 and VEGA 2/0175/16 projects (ratio: 1:1).

a Great Moravian sacral facility and provided sufficient information for preparing its presentation in the historical area of the castle.

In the 1990s and at the beginning of the new millennium studies on the most significant sites accelerated. At the same time, new research methods allowed scientists to focus their attention also on other, previously unexplored or unknown sites. Remarkable results were achieved during studies on the oldest phases of the church of St. Margaret of Antioch in Kopčany, which belonged to the Great Moravian agglomeration of Mikulčice (Baxa *et al.* 2004). Further important findings have emerged after re-examinations in Majcichov, Bíňa, Svätý Jur, Nitrianska Blatnica and Bratislava. However, in the case of Bíňa and Nitra the precise dating of the oldest early medieval fortifications remains uncertain (Henning and Ruttikay 2011; Bednár and Ruttikay 2018). These studies relied on the results of new excavations and on the application of modern dating methods and often refined and redefined older beliefs about the beginnings of these settlements (Ruttikay 2012; 2017; Henning *et al.* 2017). Similar aims have guided more recent studies – for example those in Zemplín (Ruttikay 2017, 171–172), Majcichov (Henning *et al.* 2017, 337–340), Zvolen-Môťová (Beljak *et al.* 2018), Svätý Jur (unpublished), and Divinka (Fusek 2017). Refining the information about specific locations also fundamentally changes the possibilities of an objective interpretation of these sites in a wider context. Furthermore, this opens new perspectives on the historical, political and economic processes in the eastern part of Great Moravia at the time of its existence or after its gradual fall. The strongholds already dated using natural methods inform us that a relatively high intensity of construction works concentrated at the end of the 9th century or at the beginning of the 10th century. The second peak of these activities took place later, in the first half of the 11th century. The recent intense archaeological research revealed that the collapse of Great Moravia in the Nitra Valley was not a clear-cut or abrupt event that corresponded to a total destruction of the entire region and its economic foreland. We should also keep in mind that the “traditional” and persistently repeated dating of numerous sites back to the turn of the 8th and 9th centuries failed to be confirmed. As a consequence, we are forced to communicate these findings in a form “acceptable” to a wider public.

Nitra

Thanks to its history, Nitra is an ideal place to present unique monuments dated to the Early Middle Ages and to the beginning of the High Middle Ages. It possesses a relatively good cultural and historical (87 historical relics, including 6 archaeological sites, 72 buildings, historical urban zone, city monument reserve “Hrad”, and a historical festival “Pribinova Nitrawa”) as well as scientific potential (seat of IA SAS).

One of the available options is a museum. Unfortunately, after one of the most beautiful archaeological exhibitions in Slovakia had to be closed at the beginning of the 1990s, the Ponitrianske Museum was forced to move to inappropriate premises and is still waiting for the construction of a new facility and new exhibitions. The lesser known, though biggest, archaeological exhibition in Slovakia presented at the Slovak Agricultural Museum in Nitra is in a slightly better situation. However, traces of early medieval history can be seen nearly everywhere in the city. At the end of the previous century archaeological motifs were used to decorate drain covers and other details in the Nitra Old Town. An enlarged replica of the so called Blatnica sword, stuck in the pavement in front of the museum, also serves as a tourist attraction.

Compared to other contemporary early medieval centres, such as Mikulčice or Bojná, Nitra has one big disadvantage – it is still inhabited. Many of the original features were damaged by later constructions or during land levelling. As a consequence, all attempts to reconstruct the oldest phases of the castle hill remain hypothetical. Many other ones are hidden deep under thick layers of soil. For example, we placed great hopes in the study on the so-called lower nave of the cathedral church on the castle hill. Unfortunately, the interior space had been secondarily dug into the rock and thus traces of the medieval development of the site were irreversibly lost. All this reduces the effectiveness of archaeological research. Nevertheless, Nitra is a site with probably the densest 9th–12th-century settlement in entire Slovakia, unique also in the entire Central European region.

In the mid-1990s, there was a big discussion about making the Great Moravian, early medieval, fortification on the western slope of the castle hill available to the public. Unfortunately, the idea has never been realised. The results of excavations at the construction site of the Nitra Gallery, where a Romanesque castle gate was discovered, gained



Fig. 1. Nitra, castle, eastern casemate – exhibition presenting the development of the castle fortifications (Photo by M. Ruttkay; archives of IA SAS)

great publicity. Again, also here great expectations of laypeople and professionals were not fulfilled and massive architectural structures were gradually being lost due to inertia and building activities. The situation changed in 2005 when the IA SAS, the Diocese of Nitra, and the City of Nitra started making the archaeological heritage available to the public. The first step included an exhibition “From Great Moravian rampart to Baroque bastion” (Od veľkomoravského valu k barokovému bastiónu). Here, visitors can literally touch the original Great Moravian ramparts and see the late Gothic, Renaissance, and Baroque fortifications (Fig. 1).

Gradually, a whole series of research projects was carried out in the palace and in St. Emmeram’s Cathedral (Bednár and Ruttkay 2018). The results of the excavations are now available to the public. These, in particular, include a system of newly discovered niche seats in the northern wall of the lower church and the discovery of one of the oldest pieces of masonry in the southern wall of the lower church, next to the sacristy. Great attention was also attracted by the opening



Fig. 2. Nitra, Martinský vrch – presentation of foundations of the oldest phase of the church marked with stones placed on the surface (Photo by M. Ruttkay; archives of IA SAS)

of the examined underground cellars below the western part of the main gate with preserved fragments of a Romanesque palace (Ruttkay 2015, Fig. 18). The most recently presented attractions include the main parts of the Romanesque fortifications in the eastern part of the castle area discovered during the construction of the Castellum cafe (Ruttkay 2015, Tab. X: 1). The internal side of the fortifications still has retaining walls, most likely supporting a walkway. The upper part of the fortifications – the battlement – is clearly visible in the north wall of the northern bastion.

In 2005 the IA SAS resumed research in the area of the former military barracks at St. Martin's Hill. After the army had left the facility in 2008, some of the buildings were acquired by the Institute of Archaeology SAS and others were taken over by the City of Nitra, while most of the plots still belong to the Diocese of Nitra. Gradually, the idea of making the area available to the wider public was born. The idea was to create an open-air museum, which, apart from performing museum and educational functions, could also serve as a workshop



Fig. 3. Nitra, Martinský vrch – view of the part of the archeological park presenting the Great Moravian period (Photo by M. Ruttkay; archives of IA SAS)

for experimental archaeology. The urban plan approved in 2013–2014 assumed that the archaeological park would cover nearly 6 hectares. A year earlier, the IA SAS had prepared an on-site presentation of the foundations of the oldest phase of St. Martin's Church (Fig. 2) and then initiated the construction of other parts of the open-air museum – a Great Moravian settlement (Fig. 3). Relying on the original findings from the 1960s, we have built three sunken houses and a bread furnace, although in slightly modified locations. As a model for the functioning replica of a pottery furnace we used a find from the Nitra-Lupka site. Later, we plan to allocate fields for the cultivation of historical crops. Unfortunately, so far, the site is not opened on a regular basis, but we believe that the situation will change once the historical buildings on the premises are finally reconstructed. Certainly, the situation will change once the Centre for Science Popularisation is built, devoted also to archaeology and its relations with natural and technical sciences (DNA, analysis of trace elements, mining archaeology, geophysics, environmental studies, conservation and restoration).



Fig. 4. Nitra, Martinský vrch – reconstruction of the oldest, pre-Romanesque phase of the church (Designed by A. Arpaš, M. Ruttkay; archives of IA SAS)

In recent years, we have been focusing on the development of various digital reconstructions and visualisations. Some of this work was performed within the framework of the CEVNAD project which, however, had specifically scientific objectives. Currently, the work is performed within the scope of the Virtualarch project (Interreg programme) aimed directly at the promotion of “invisible” – decaying or hidden under the ground – sites. We have prepared a series of visualisations, many of which are available on our website (<http://archeol.sav.sk/index.php/sk/virtualna-archeologia/>). Further attractions, such as extended reality experiences, will be available directly on site through a mobile application.

One of the first examples of such activities is a digital documentation of St. Martin’s Church in Nitra, St. Martin’s Hill (Fig. 4; Ruttkay 2015, Tab. VIII). A new visualisation shows the redrawn and corrected foundations of the church – an older drawing published by B. Chropovský mistakenly merged a western baroque extension with the early medieval foundations. Reconstructing the above-ground elements, we let ourselves be inspired by the reconstruction of the church in the village of Modrá near Velehrad, Czech Republic.

Unfortunately, due to the lack of sufficient original foundations, reconstruction of the palace or the sacral facility dated to the Great

Moravian times on the castle hill would be premature. On the other hand, however, we have sufficient data for performing reconstructions related to the Romanesque period. In the future, we would like to present this visualisation in the form of extended reality (ER).

Bojná

The archaeological finds in the village of Bojná, Topolčany District, in Western Slovakia, or more precisely their dominant part, the national cultural heritage site – Hradisko Valy (Valy hillfort), have aroused widespread curiosity as a site where relics of the oldest national history have been found. The unique significance of these finds in the entire European context is reflected in the fact that in 2013 they were presented in the Vatican Museums in Rome during an exceptional exhibition dedicated to the 1150th anniversary of the evangelisation of Great Moravia by Saints Cyril and Methodius. Soon, the Bojná-Valy hillfort became the main tourist attraction in the region. A great advantage of the Bojná fortifications is the fact that they are well preserved in a remote forest area. Their relics can be seen and visited still today – in the form of clearly visible ramparts and gates. Since 2007 a working team of the Institute of Archaeology SAS has worked there and performed successful, systematic studies. The results of these studies were presented in books (Pieta and Robak 2017a; 2017b) and at various domestic and international exhibitions organised in cooperation with the village of Bojná. Finally, information about the site and its history is provided to the visitors by the Great Moravia Archaeological Museum in Bojná (Fig. 5).

We can obtain a lot of information about the time of the construction and the appearance of the structures through studying wood burnt during a fire that took place sometime at the turn of the 9th and 10th centuries. These relics of wooden constructions allowed archaeologists to identify the building techniques and processes used by the builders and then to relatively faithfully reconstruct the original appearance of the fortifications. Inside the gate we have found well preserved bottom parts of burnt vertical and horizontal wooden constructions. The front part of the southern wing, including partially damaged elements of the internal corridor of the gate, has eroded. Water flowing down the road from the hillfort interior washed out and lowered the ground. However, the modern entrance to the hillfort was modified. The original, still



Fig. 5. Bojná, The Great Moravian Archaeological Museum (Photo by K. Pieta; archives of IA SAS)

visible route approached the gate indirectly, below the northern wing of the gate and then turned south again. The northern wing of the gate has been preserved up to 420 cm. Its soil embankment was strengthened with eight wooden beams. The embankments of both wings of the gate were framed with braid (basketwork) wrapped around a dense row of posts. A pair of stone-walled postholes located in the southern, front part of the gate provides an impression about the construction of the gate doors. Unfortunately, the opposite, northern part of the gate has been damaged by erosion. We assume that the width of the narrowed front part of the entrance was approximately 400 cm.

In our opinion, the significance, location, widespread interest as well as results of the systematic research on the suddenly destroyed construction provide good foundations for a more extensive reconstruction of the Valy hillfort (Pieta and Robak in print). After a substantial discussion, this view was shared by employees of the Monuments Board of the Slovak



Fig. 6. Bojná I – Valy. Experimental reconstruction of dwellings (Photo by K. Pieta; archives of IA SAS)

Republic, landowners, and representatives of the village. The overall idea of making the results available to the public assumes that the hillfort will be preserved in its natural environment. Visitors will walk along an educational walkway linking the most important parts of the fortification, buildings, and reconstructions of selected structures. A detailed lecture, animated 3D reconstruction and numerous appealing finds can be seen in the already mentioned museum located in the centre of village.

Since 2012, the historical premises of the hillfort have gained three Slavic residential log houses – sunken houses with stone furnaces – reconstructed on site (Fig. 6). The construction of structures for which we lack archaeological evidence (such as rafters or internal furnishings) had an experimental character and relied on results obtained in other contemporary European sites. As a result, we have proceeded with reconstructing (or at least marking on site) further residential and other constructions, and a stand-alone bread furnace.



Fig. 7. Bojná I – Valy. Current state of the reconstructed eastern gate of the hillfort (Photo by K. Pieta; archives of IA SAS)

The massive, nearly 2,000 m long, wood-and-soil fortifications of the Valy hillfort have been studied in several places. The research provided information about the internal construction and allowed obtaining reliable dendrochronological data about the origins of the fortifications (Pieta and Robak 2017a). A cross-section of the fortifications, close to the western gate, has been used to reconstruct one wooden chamber of the rampart together with a stone shell and a wooden palisade. Finally, the fortifications also contained a ditch with a fence protecting it from the front.

Of the hillfort's three entrances, the eastern gate has been studied the most thoroughly. We have found there well-preserved remains of burnt wooden constructions of the gate and both inward opening doors. The results became an inspiration for reconstructing the extensive and complex gate architecture mentioned above. In addition to technical and constructional solutions, the reconstruction project also relied on historical analogies and took into account the military and defensive function of the gate. Immediately, the monumental object with a two-



Fig. 8. Bojná I – Valy. Bojná I – The annual Saints Cyril and Methodius' Day (Photo by K. Pieta; archives of IA SAS)

storied tower not only became a new and appealing symbol attracting visitors to this site, but also initiated debates about possibilities and limits of archaeological reconstructions (Fig. 7).

Apart from the Valy hillfort, Bojná also has other attractions important from the point of view of popularising archaeological monuments that could be open to cultural tourism. So far, research activities have been focused mainly on the oldest part of this large settlement agglomeration – Bojná III – Žihlavník, a hillfort with an elevated Slavic settlement dated to the 7th–8th century and a cemetery with burial mounds from the 9th century. Lidar documentation and excavations helped us reconstruct an exceptionally complex system of fortifications consisting of a double perimeter wall, a ditch, and external defensive structures that – so far – have no analogies in our milieu. Inside the hillfort we have excavated two burial mounds dated to the Great Moravian period. Since the site is

intended to become an open monumental tourism precinct, the explored plots as well as the caps of both mounds were restored to the original state.

The research performed in Bojná is becoming a model for combining systematic exploration of an archaeological monument with an effective transfer of results into social practice. This, in turn, helps to awake awareness, at both national and broader level, of the importance of archaeological studies and the protection of such valuable monuments. In addition to the current activities, the ambition of the working team and the village representatives is to create an educational walkway connecting all five archaeological sites located in the Bojná agglomeration. Each year, the village organises the St. Cyril and Methodius Day at the Valy hillfort, which serves as a perfect opportunity for popularising the results of our joint work (Fig. 8). Future plans include opening an archaeological open-air museum located in the vicinity of the historical sites.

Conclusion

The Great Moravian period belongs to the scientific priorities set by the Institute of Archaeology of the Slovak Academy of Sciences in Nitra. Apart from the sites described above, we focus on other significant monuments dated to that period, including the main hillfort in North-Western Slovakia – Divinka near Žilina – and a newly discovered agglomeration of fortifications near Dolné Vestenice in the Upper Nitra valley. The Institute supports attempts to disseminate reliable information about history and our early medieval monuments, including presentations of architectural details in their original environment, and believes that popularisation is not only a valuable and effective method of communicating with the community but that it duly complements our scientific work as well.

References

Abbreviations

AÚ AV ČR, Brno, v.v.i. = Archeologický ústav Akademie věd České republiky, Brno
 AÚ SAV Nitra = Archeologický ústav Slovenskej Akadémie Vied, Nitra
 SNM Bratislava = Slovenské národné muzeum, Bratislava

Literature

- Baxa P., Ferus V., Glaser-Opitzová R. and Katkinová J. 2004. Veľkomoravský kostol v Kopčanoch. *Pamiatky a múzeá* 4, 65.
- Bednár P. and Ruttkay M. 2018. Nitra and the Principality of Nitra after the Fall of Great Moravia. In P. Kouřil and R. Procházka *et al.* (eds.), *Moravian and Silesian Strongholds of the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries in the Context of Central Europe* (= *Spisy Archeologického ústavu AV ČR Brno* 57). Brno: AÚ AV ČR, Brno, v.v.i., 229–244.
- Beljak J., Mácelová M. and Ruttkay M. 2018. Hradisko vo Zvolene – Môtovej vo svetle najnovších výskumov. In N. Beljak-Pažinová and Z. Borzová (eds.), *Stredné Slovensko v stredoveku. Vývoj osídlenia regiónu pred udelením mestských privilégií mestu Zvolen*. Zvolen: Mesto Zvolen, 124–157.
- Fusek G. 2017. Kleiner Hortfund von Divinka. In G. Fusek (ed.), *Archäologische Studien zum frühen Mittelalter* (= *Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae Communicationes* 19). Nitra: AÚ SAV Nitra, 33–43.
- Henning J. and Ruttkay M. 2011. Frühmittelalterliche Burgwälle an der mittleren Donau im ostmitteleuropäischen Kontext: Ein deutsch-slowakisches Forschungsprojekt. In J. Macháček and Š. Ungermann (eds.), *Frühgeschichtliche Zentralorte in Mitteleuropa* (= *Studien zur Archäologie Europas* 14). Bonn: Habelt, 259–288.
- Henning J., Ruttkay M., Pieta K. and Heussner K.-U. 2017. Bojná a datovanie hradísk Nitrianskeho kniežatstva. Prínos prírodovedných metód k archeologickému výskumu. In K. Pieta and Z. Robak (eds.), *Bojná 2. Nové výsledky výskumov časnostredovekých hradísk* (= *Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae Fontes* 22). Nitra: AÚ SAV Nitra, 335–345.
- Pieta K. and Robak Z. 2017a. The Early Medieval Hillfort Bojná-Valy, Slovakia, and its Defence System. *Acta Archaeologica Carpathica* 52, 329–351.
- Pieta K. and Robak Z. (eds.) 2017b. *Bojná 2. Nové výsledky výskumov časnostredovekých hradísk* (= *Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae Fontes* 22). Nitra: AÚ SAV Nitra.
- Pieta K. and Robak Z. [in print] Výskum časnostredovekej aglomerácie Bojná v roku 2014. *Archeologické výskumy a nálezy na Slovensku v roku 2014*.
- Ruttkay M. 2012. Mocenské centrá Nitrianskeho kniežatstva. In B. Panis, M. Ruttkay, and V. Turčan (eds.), *Bratia, ktorí menili svet – Konštantín a Metod*. Bratislava: SNM Bratislava/AÚ SAV Nitra, 115–144.
- Ruttkay M. 2015. Moderná dokumentácia archeologických situácií a nálezov v Archeologickom ústave SAV. *Študijné Zvesti Archeologického Ústavu SAV* 58, 5–58.
- Ruttkay M. 2017. Strongholds – Routes – Frontiers – LIDAR. In G. Fusek (ed.), *Archäologische Studien zum frühen Mittelalter* (= *Archaeologica Slovaca Monographiae Communicationes* 19). Nitra: AÚ SAV Nitra, 161–174.

DOI: 10.15584/anarres.2018.13.10

Michael Strobel*, Thomas Westphalen**

Ist Gana noch zu retten? Über den Zustand frühmittelalterlicher Burgen im ländlichen Sachsen

ABSTRACT

Strobel M., Westphalen T. 2018. Can Gana still be saved? About the condition of early medieval strongholds in rural Saxony. *Analecta Archaeologica Ressoiviensia* 13, 187–214

Saxony's most impressive medieval monuments include about 200 strongholds, preserved in quite different conditions. They bear witness to a story that can be enlightened only fragmentarily from written sources. The assumption was that they were built in response to western aggression. In the meantime, however, they are considered to have served military, administrative and representative purposes as local centres of control. Many of them have taken damage by fire, which can be seen as evidence of very troubled times during the 10th and 11th centuries. These wars might have caused a decline in population, exposing the fertile lowlands to a desertification process no later than the second half of the 11th century. Some of the strongholds have fallen prey to soil improvement; some were built over or served as quarries for roads, bank fortifications and buildings. Civic engagement contributed to seeing the castles as landscape elements worth protecting. Strategic land acquisitions and high-profile campaigns were initiated at a time when state preservation was still in its infancy. Nevertheless, the destruction continues, reaching terrain cuts up to 3 cm, especially in high-yield agricultural landscapes. Achieving a change for the better will be a social task for years. A shift in the EU agricultural subsidies, considering ecological preservation as well as monument protection aspects, could be a linchpin.

Keywords: early medieval hillforts, Slavic heritage, Polabian Slavs

Received: 19.12.2018; **Revised:** 28.12.2018; **Revised:** 28.12.2018; **Accepted:** 30.12.2018

Den Zustand sächsischer Burgen des früheren Mittelalters, also des Zeitraums zwischen dem 10. und 12. Jahrhundert zu hinterfragen, liegen mehrere Stränge zugrunde. Zunächst ist zu fragen, welchem Stellenwert den Burgen Sachsens in der sächsischen Landesgeschichte zugebilligt wird, sollte dieser doch ausschlaggebend für den Umgang mit den Denkmälern und damit auch verantwortlich sein für den Zustand der Burgen. Die Bedeutung, die einige Burgen im heutigen

* Landesamt für Archäologie, Zur Wetterwarte 7, 01109 Dresden, Deutschland; michael.strobel@lfa.sachsen.de

** Landesamt für Archäologie, Zur Wetterwarte 7, 01109 Dresden, Deutschland; thomas.westphalen@lfa.sachsen.de

Sachsen spätestens seit dem frühen 10. Jahrhundert aus sächsischer Sicht eingenommen haben sollen, wird deutlich in der Schilderung des Winterfeldzuges im Jahr 928 durch Widukind von Corvey. In einem Atemzug erwähnt er die Eroberungen aus seiner Sicht wichtiger Burgen, nämlich der Brennaburg (Brandenburg), Gana (Hof/Stauchitz?) und Prag durch König Heinrich (Widukind I.35, 68–69). Widukind war zwar weder Zeitzeuge noch Ortskundiger, dennoch muss die Kenntnis von Daleminzien als Machtfaktor weit nach Westen transportiert worden sein, wo sie dann in Chroniken ihren Niederschlag fand. In der Tat erscheinen die Lößgebiete Sachsens mit Ausnahme der Großenhainer Pflege bereits im 10. Jahrhundert flächig erschlossen (Strobel und Westphalen 2017, 292–310). Darauf deuten die zahlreichen Burgen hin, die in großer Dichte über das Leipziger Land, das mittelsächsische Lößhügelland, die Tallandschaft der Elbe und die heutigen Oberlausitz verteilt sind (Abb. 1; Atlas 2008). Letztere zählt zu den mitteleuropäischen Landschaften mit der höchsten Dichte von Burgen des 9.–11. Jahrhunderts. Auf einer Fläche von ca. 900 km² verteilen sich ca. 60 Burgwälle unterschiedlicher Größe, derjenige von Niethen westlich von Löbau ist mit einer erhaltenen Wallhöhe von ca. 16 m und einer umwallten Innenfläche von ca. 1 ha auch heute noch ein monumentales Bauwerk.

Unterschiedlicher können die heutigen Darstellungen zu den Ursprüngen der sächsischen Burgenlandschaft nicht sein. Der Fundus schriftlicher Quellen ist wohl bekannt, dennoch sind deren Interpretationen ausgesprochen widersprüchlich. Auf der einen Seite sieht der Gießener Historiker Herbert Ludat die Geschichte der Landschaften zwischen Elbe und Oder im frühen und hohen Mittelalter nicht als abseitiges Reservat einer lokal begrenzten deutsch-slawischen Auseinandersetzung bzw. kein „Vorspiel und Auftakt der Ausbreitung der Deutschen“. Vielmehr handele es sich bei diesem Raum um eine Entscheidungszone ersten Ranges in der Politik der mitteleuropäischen Staaten, in dem modern-nationale Aspekte in den Motiven und Entscheidungen der politisch Handelnden dieser Zeit keine Rolle gespielt hätten (Ludat 1971, 65). Auf der anderen Seite steht die sächsische Sicht auf eben diesen Zeitraum: Wie ein roter Faden zieht sich die – von Herbert Ludat verneinte – nationale Sicht durch die Betrachtungen der frühen mittelalterlichen Geschichte des heutigen Sachsens. Da ist von einer asymmetrischen, räumlich zudem unscharfen Grenzi-

tuation mit Kultur- und Wohlstandsgefälle bis hin zum als entwickelt angesehen Altreich die Rede, aus dem die üblichen Konflikte resultierten. Die Markenverfassung mit ihrer Burgwardorganisation hätte das tiefere Eindringen von deutscher Herrschaft und kirchlicher Mission bis hinab auf die Ebene der sorbischen Siedlungen und Dorfgemeinschaften erst ermöglicht. Frühstädtische Verhältnisse könnten östlich der Saale höchstens für Leipzig, ansatzweise vielleicht für Altenburg und Meißen angenommen werden. Jenseits der zwei oder drei großen Herren und der einigen Dutzend kleiner Herren („grobe“ Krieger), hätte es keine „Elite“ gegeben. Eine zivilisatorische Aufholjagd sei in den ersten beiden Jahrhunderten deutscher Herrschaft in Gang gewesen, die schließlich im 12. Jahrhundert in einen gesellschaftlichen und wirtschaftlichen Differenzierung und in dem bekannten Bild mit den Stichworten „große Kolonisation“, „Stadtgründungen“ und „wirtschaftlicher Aufschwung“ in Folge des Silberbergbaus mündete (Thieme 2017, 72ff.). Natürlich ist es verlockend, die wenigen schriftlichen Quellen als Basis zu werten. Da dies im Fall der Chronik des Thietmar von Merseburg in aller Ausführlichkeit getan wurde, wollen wir mit seinem Werk beginnen¹. Es ist ein großer Glücksfall, dass Thietmar als wacher Zeitgenosse bis zum Herbst 1018, seinem Todesjahr, nicht nur Fernes, sondern vor allem die Geschehnisse seines nahen Umfeldes, und damit natürlich auch die Akteure und die Örtlichkeiten der Handlungen, betrachtete und verständlich überlieferte. Zahlreiche Ersterwähnungen gehen auf ihn zurück, Orte, die Thietmar u. a. als *burgwardium*, *civitas*, *urbs*, *locus*, *castrum* oder *villa* bezeichnet. Für die Suche nach Zentren seiner Zeit sind die ersten drei genannten Kategorien von Interesse. Unstrittig scheint in der landesgeschichtlichen Betrachtung die Feststellung zu sein, dass der Autor mit den drei Bezeichnungen *burgwardium*, *civitas* und *urbs* ein und dasselbe meint, nämlich Burgen mit mehr oder weniger ausgeprägter Mittelpunktfunktion (Billig 1989, 13). Es ist allerdings völlig unklar, welche Argumentation dieser nivellierenden Bedeutungszuweisung zugrunde liegt. Vermutlich ist die Ursache darin zu suchen, dass der Entwicklungsgrad von Wirtschaft und gesellschaft im 10./11. Jahrhundert im heutigen Sachsen für so unterentwickelt angesehen wurde und wird, dass hochkomplexe Gemeinwesen, wie es z.B. Städte sind, nicht denkbar scheinen. Es

¹ Im Weiteren wurde auf eine genaue Zitierung aus der Chronik des Thietmar von Merseburg verzichtet.

gibt eine zweite Quelle, die wegen ihrer räumlichen Ferne bei der Betrachtung der Verhältnisse im heutigen Sachsen keine oder nur eine allenfalls geringe Rolle spielte. Der „Teppich von Bayeux“ gilt völlig zu Recht als exzeptionelles Kunstwerk, dessen Szenen, die Eroberung Englands durch Herzog Wilhelm – vor allem die Schlacht von Hastings am 14. Oktober 1066 (dem Jahr der Weihe des Meißner Bischofs Benno) – erzählen, als ausgesprochen lebensnah gelten (Wilson 1985), angefertigt im dritten Viertel des 11. Jahrhunderts wahrscheinlich im Auftrag Bischof Odo I. von Bayeux, der als Halbbruder des Eroberers diesen auf seinem entscheidenden Kriegszug nicht nur begleitete, sondern auch entscheidend in das Kampfgeschehen eingriff. Er taucht sowohl im Bischofsornat als auch im Kettenhemd zu Pferd auf, während der Schlacht trug er allerdings anstelle des Schwertes (dies war ihm auf Grund seines Bischofsamtes nicht möglich) eine Keule. Die Szenen sind zeittypisch – es erscheint ein kompliziertes Beziehungsgeflecht, das durch konubiale Eheverbindungen, Eidesleistungen, Stellung von Geiseln und Übergabe von symbolischen, aber wertvollen Geschenken so lange friedliche Verhältnisse garantierte, wie es den Akteuren nützlich schien. Wenn friedensstiftende Maßnahmen nicht weiter führten, griff man zu den Waffen, und aus Vertretern des Hochadels wurden die eingangs für Meißßen genannten „groben“ Krieger, die ihren ehemaligen Verbündeten, häufig ihre Verwandten, mit List und Tücke, aber auch mit Waffengewalt nach dem Leben trachteten. Die Erzählungen des Bischofs Thietmar von Merseburg sind ebenso eindrücklich und drastisch wie die bildlichen Darstellungen des Teppichs von Bayeux, dessen Zielgruppe sicherlich zu großen Teilen des Lesens nicht mächtig war. Interessant sind in diesen bildlichen Darstellungen die Handlungsorte – es erscheinen Holz- und Steinburgen in unterschiedlicher Größe und Befestigung, Königs-, Herzogs- und Bischofsschlösser und ummauerte Städte (Wilson 1985, 213ff.). Trotz der räumlichen Ferne – Bischof Odo wird nichts von seinem Amtsbruder Benno erfahren haben, umgekehrt ebenso wenig – und der zeitlichen Distanz, die die beiden Erzähler voneinander trennt, fallen die Übereinstimmungen auf. Beide Quellen spiegeln die Gemeinsamkeiten der gesellschaftlichen, kulturellen und sozialen Verhältnisse im 11. Jahrhundert in weiten Teilen Europas wieder. Verständigung war ebenso möglich wie die Überwindung großer Entfernungen für geistliche und weltliche Würdenträger, Krieger, Kaufleute und zumindest bis in das beginnende 11. Jahrhun-

dert auch für Sklaven selbstverständlich. Es ist schwer vorstellbar, dass das heutige Sachsen von diesen Kommunikationssträngen ausgeschlossen war, denn die von Thietmar für den Anfang des 11. Jahrhunderts und von Cosmas von Prag für das Ende des Jahrhunderts geschilderten Verbindungen untereinander waren dicht, die Nähe zu den Machtzentren im östlichen Mitteleuropa sehr groß.

Die zunehmende Beschäftigung mit den Denkmälern war auch dem Umstand geschuldet, dass zunehmend ihre Zerstörung in das Bewusstsein der Öffentlichkeit gelangte. Gefahren für die Denkmäler ergaben sich aus der landwirtschaftlichen Nutzung, aus der Zerstörung durch Rohstoffgewinnung entweder – wie in Magdeborn – durch den Abbau direkt (Mechelk 1997, 13ff.) oder aus dessen indirekten Auswirkungen wie dem Röthaer Fuchsberg durch Flutung (Hoffmann 1940, 36ff.) und durch Überbauung (Leipzig). Erste Nachrichten zum Umgang mit den sächsischen Wällen sind dem Altvater der sächsischen Archäologie, dem Großenhainer Rentamtman Karl-Benjamin Preusker (1786–1871) im Jahr 1844 mit seinen „Blicken in die vaterländische Vorzeit“ zu verdanken (Preusker 1844, 202–204). Preusker war zu einer Zeit vornehmlich in Löbau und Großenhain tätig, als infolge der Gebietsabtretungen an Preußen nach den Beschlüssen des Wiener Kongresses in Sachsen der Landdruck groß wurde und zudem mit dem Gesetz über die Ablösungen der Bauern von Feudallasten die landwirtschaftlichen Nutzflächen durch Rodungen der letzten Waldflächen in den Altsiedellandschaften und Grünlandumbruch vergrößert wurden. Preusker sieht die vorher landschaftsprägenden Grabhügel ebenso schwinden, wie er bemerkt, dass durch „Urbarmachung“ etliche Wälle namentlich in der Oberlausitz ackerbaulich genutzt wurden. Er berichtet von verkohltem Getreide und verbrannten Hölzern, gelegentlich auch von Kleinfunden bzw. bedauert, dass er von der Einbeziehung der Gröditzter Schanze in den Schlosspark und deren damit einhergehender Zerstörung keine Kenntnis erhielt (Preusker 1844, 202–204). Nur wenige Jahrzehnte nach Preusker treten die sächsischen Burgwälle in den Blick interessierter Wissenschaftler, allen voran Rudolph Virchow (1821–1902), der sich in den 1870 – er Jahren vor allem für die durch Feuer zerstörten sog. Schlackenwälle interessierte und u.a. kleine Grabungen auf der Görlitzer Landeskrone und dem Rothstein bei Sohland durchführte. Im beginnenden 20. Jahrhundert gingen die

Impulse zur Erforschung der sächsischen Burgwälle von Görlitz, Löbau, Bautzen, Dresden und Leipzig aus.

Da Strukturen einer staatlichen Denkmalpflege noch nicht existierten, waren die Versuche der Bewahrung bedrohter Anlagen zunächst Anliegen engagierter Personen und vor allem von Vereinen wie dem 1908 gegründeten „Sächsischen Heimatschutz – Landesverein zur Pflege heimatlicher Natur, Kunst und Bauweise“. Bis zum Inkrafttreten des ersten Denkmalschutzgesetzes 1934 (Heimatschutzgesetz) war der Landesverein eine jener Institutionen, die sich besonders um den nachhaltigen Schutz auch archäologischer Denkmäler kümmerte. Akute Gefährdungen durch Steinbrüche und geplante Parzellierungen mit folgender Überbauung veranlassten den Landesverein wiederholt zu Sicherungskäufen und Interventionen, die, wie bei dem Gewinneberg bei Taucha, mit einem Durchmesser von über 100 m und durch den Fund eines Bruchstückes einer kufischen Kupfermünze des 9. Jh. als eine überregional wichtige Burg ausgezeichnet, 1935 durchaus erfolgreich waren (Kaufmann 1988, 397–399; Ortsakte Döbitz).

Rohstoffgewinnung versus Denkmalpflege – der Strohmberg bei Weißenberg und die Burg von Köllmichen, Kr. Leipziger Land

Trotz Verabschiedung des Heimatschutzgesetzes 1934 blieb die Situation der staatlichen archäologischen Denkmalpflege so prekär, dass der Landespfleger für Bodenaltertümer Dr. Georg Bierbaum sich bald nach der „Verreichung“ der sächsischen Bodendenkmalpflege sehnte. Der langwierige „Papierkrieg“, der auch heute noch die Ortsakten des Landesamtes für Archäologie füllt, gibt Zeugnis von den zwar intensiven, häufig jedoch erfolglosen Bemühungen Bierbaums, durch Steinbruchbetriebe bedrohte Burgwälle zu retten. Dabei fand er im Landesverein Sächsischer Heimatschutz, mit über 40.000 Mitgliedern auch nach der Machtübergabe an die Nationalsozialisten 1933 eine gesellschaftliche Größe, einen starken Verbündeten, der ihn nicht nur durch flankierende Stellungnahmen, strategische Grundstückskäufe, sondern auch durch die gelegentliche Übernahme von Personalkosten unterstützte. Der ehemals große slawische Burgwall auf dem Strohmberg bei Weißenberg, heute Kreis Görlitz, macht hinreichend sichtbar, in welchem Spannungsfeld die archäologische Denkmalpflege in den Jahren der

nationalsozialistischen Diktatur versuchte zu reagieren (Strobel und Westphalen 2018, 27 ff.). Der Särkaer Rittergutsbesitzer Freiherr von Horst spekulierte auf den durch den Autobahnbau stark anwachsenden Bedarf an Baustoffen und versuchte daher, seinen Basaltsteinbruch am Strohberg auch auf die frühmittelalterliche Höhenburg auszudehnen (Abb. 2). Nachdem Bierbaum im Januar 1935 die Eintragung des frühmittelalterlichen Schlackenwalls, der 1929/30 während der Burgwallaufnahme von dem Steinbruch bereits teilweise zerstört war, in die Denkmalliste beantragt hatte, reagierte der Rittergutsbesitzer auf die Ablehnung eines regulären Steinbruchbetriebes durch die Amtshauptmannschaft prompt mit Schadensersatzansprüchen. Die Sorgen des bei der Kreishauptmannschaft zuständigen Oberregierungsrates Reich, dass dadurch „größere Kosten“ entstehen könnten, dürfte Bierbaums Einwand, man solle „keine Gesetze erlassen“, „wenn man nicht Folgerung ziehen wolle, dass Denkmalpflege Geld koste“, kaum zerstreut haben. Bei einem Ortstermin Anfang Mai 1935 erhob Freiherr von Horst zwar keinen Widerspruch gegen die Eintragung, weil ihm der weitere Abbau bis an die senkrechten Basaltwände bewilligt und zu verstehen gegeben wurde, dass ein Widerspruch vorerst keine Erfolgsaussichten habe, behielt es sich aber vor, als Ausgleich für eine Versagung der Erweiterung bzw. eine Stilllegung ein verzinsbares Darlehen und später einen Ankauf des Geländes durch den Staat zu fordern. Kurz darauf machte der Rittergutsbesitzer seine Ansprüche schriftlich geltend, verwies auf die wirtschaftliche Unzumutbarkeit, den Abbau für kurze Zeit nur „in die Tiefe“ durchführen zu dürfen und präzisierte seine Entschädigungsvorstellungen: Entweder könne ein sofort auszuzahlendes, mit 2% verzinsliches Darlehen in Höhe von 25000 RM nach 10 Jahren, wenn der Staat von seinem Vorkaufsrecht nach §19 des Sächsischen Heimatschutzgesetzes Gebrauch machen wolle, auf den Kaufpreis angerechnet werden oder der Staat möge sich „schon jetzt zum Ankauf des Geländes“ entschließen. Weder der Verein zum Schutz der Sächsischen Schweiz noch der Landesverein Sächsischer Heimatschutz, der noch die Rettung der Gröditzter Skala finanziell zu verkraften hatte, waren bereit oder in der Lage, die Entschädigungssummen aufzubringen. Ein vom Landesverein bestellter Gutachter hielt in seinem Gutachten überdies unmissverständlich fest, dass der Staat nicht „seine Entschädigungsverpflichtungen nach §18 auf den Landesverein abwälzen“ dürfe. Dem Staat biete sich jetzt „eine ausgezeichnete Gele-



© Bundesamt für Kartographie und Geodäsie 2017, Datenquellen: http://sg.geodatenzentrum.de/web_public/Datenquellen_TopPlus_Open.

Abb. 2. Im digitalen Höhenmodell ist der Steinbruch am Strohmberg deutlich zu erkennen (Staatsbetrieb Geobasisinformation und Vermessung Sachsen [GeoSN])

genheit“, endlich zu beweisen, dass er für archäologische Denkmale, die für „Volk und Scholle“ so wichtig seien, „auch finanzielle Opfer zu bringen bereit“ sei. Die Kreishauptmannschaft entschloss sich daraufhin, den brisanten Vorgang der obersten Denkmalschutzbehörde, dem Staatsministerium des Inneren, zur Entschließung vorzulegen, ob in der Entschädigungsfrage „grundsätzlich ein Entgegenkommen am Platze bzw. möglich erscheine“. Vorerst habe der Freiherr seinen Entschädigungsanspruch stillschweigend fallengelassen, ein entschädigungspflichtiger Schaden sei aus der Eintragung noch nicht entstanden und werde wahrscheinlich auch nicht wirksam, bevor nicht die geplante Reichsautobahn nördlich am Strohmberg vorbeigeführt werde. Noch sei zudem eine Anordnung des Reichswirtschaftsministeriums vom 26. Juni 1934 in Kraft, die die Erweiterung der Kapazitäten bestehender Unternehmungen der Steinindustrie untersagte. Das Ministerium schloss sich dieser Auffassung an und beschied dem Freiherrn, dass dem Entschädigungswunsch nicht entsprochen und ein Schaden so lange nicht geltend gemacht werden könne, so lange die Aufsichtsbehörde die Genehmigung für einen begrenzten Weiterbetrieb erteilt habe. Woraufhin der Freiherr umgehend einen Dresdner Anwalt einschaltete, der für seinen Mandanten die vorbehaltlose Zustimmung zur Eintragung relativierte, den wirtschaftlichen Wert der Teilgenehmigung in Zweifel zog, historische Lieferverpflichtungen an die Gemeinde und andere Güter seit dem Jahre 1838 ins Feld führte, eine Betriebserweiterung im Sinne der Reichswirtschaftsverordnung in Abrede stellte und schließlich überhaupt die Gefahren für eine wirtschaftliche Nutzung des Areals, z. B. für Schafzucht und Waldnutzung beschwor, kurzum einen erheblichen entschädigungspflichtigen Schaden geltend machte. Die Kreishauptmannschaft, an die das Innenministerium den Vorgang zur Stellungnahme zurücküberwiesen hatte, beharrte hingegen auf dem Standpunkt, dass dem Eigentümer kein Schaden entstünde, solange der Basalt bis an die senkrechten Wände gebrochen werden könne, er seinen Widerstand gegen eine Eintragung deshalb aufgegeben und es außerdem versäumt habe, rechtzeitig Rechtsmittel einzulegen. Sollte er dennoch einen Schaden nachweisen, könne dem mit §24 des Reichsnaturschutzgesetz begegnet werden, das einen Anspruch auf Entschädigung für „rechtmäßige Maßnahmen, die aufgrund dieses Gesetzes und dazu erlassener Überleitungs-, Durchführungs- und Ergänzungsvorschriften getroffen werden“, ausschloss. Weder gegen eine

Schafhutung noch Baumfällungen hatte wiederum der Landespfleger für Bodenaltertümer Einwände mit der Einschränkung, dass der Wall bei Wurzelrodungen und einer Wiederaufforstung ausgespart werden müsse. Weitere Absprengungen der Basaltwände gefährdeten jedoch nicht nur den Wall, sondern auch einen trigonometrischen Punkt der Landesvermessung. Die Innenfläche der Befestigung scheint Bierbaum weniger am Herzen gelegen zu haben.

Bei einem zweiten Ortstermin mit dem Vertreter der Kreishauptmannschaft im Januar 1936 gingen der Rechtsbeistand und sein Mandant, der aus den Steinbrucheinkünften „auf seinem Gut in weitestgehendem Masse Meliorationen“, also die Sanierung seines Landwirtschaftsbetriebes zu finanzieren gedachte, schließlich aufs Ganze und verlangten eine „Freigabe des südlichen und westlichen Teils der ganzen Wallanlage, um den südlichen Steinbruch in Verbindung mit dem älteren westlichen weiter betreiben“ und damit eine „landschaftlich dekorative, weithin sichtbare Basaltsteilwand zur Verschönerung des Bergbildes“ schaffen zu können. Weil damit der Wallrest zur Hälfte und der südliche Strohmberg bis zu einem Drittel abgetragen worden wären, konnte sich keine Genehmigungsbehörde auf diese weitgehenden Forderungen einlassen, zumal der Rittergutsbesitzer anscheinend bereits in der Vergangenheit gegen behördliche Anordnungen wie den Verzicht auf Sprengungen oder die Einhaltung eines Böschungswinkels verstoßen hatte. Wie so oft gingen die Kontrahenten mit einem Kompromiss auseinander, der es dem Rittergutsbesitzer erlaubte, ohne Sprengerlaubnis und industrielle Steinbrucharanlage lockeres Material sowie eine überstehende Felsecke abzutragen, aber vorläufig sowohl die Wallanlage als auch den trigonometrischen Punkt verschonte. An einer Rodung von Baum- und Strauchwerk auf dem Wallgelände war Freiherr von Horst nicht interessiert. Für alle Fälle hatte sich Bierbaums Vertrauensmann, der Löbauer Studienrat Buschmann erboten, mit Kräften des im benachbarten Lauske stationierten Reichsarbeitsdienstes die bedrohten Befestigungsteile auszugraben. Trotz behördlicher Anordnungen scheint sich der Rittersgutbesitzer sich bis 1945 über alle Absprachen hinweggesetzt und vollendete Tatsachen geschaffen zu haben, indem er an den Genehmigungsbehörden vorbei auch den unberührten Hang zwischen den beiden Brüchen abtragen und damit den westlichen Wallabschnitt beseitigen ließ. Im aktuellen Höhenmodell ist jedenfalls nur noch das nördliche, gebogene Teilstück

der Befestigung zu erkennen. Nach Aktenlage ist der Freiherr für seinen Verstoß gegen das Reichsnatur- und Heimatschutzgesetz damals offensichtlich nie zur Rechenschaft gezogen worden.

Ähnliche Schicksale erlitten Burgwälle im Mittelsächsischen Lößhügelland (Westphalen 2016, 42 ff.). Nahezu vollständig verschwunden ist der Festenberg bei Baderitz, bei dem es sich um die „Mogilina urbs“ gehandelt haben dürfte, die der Merseburger Bischof Thietmar in Zusammenhang mit den Auseinandersetzungen zwischen Heinrich II. und Bolesław Chrobry für das Jahr 1003 erwähnte (Abb. 3; Thiet-

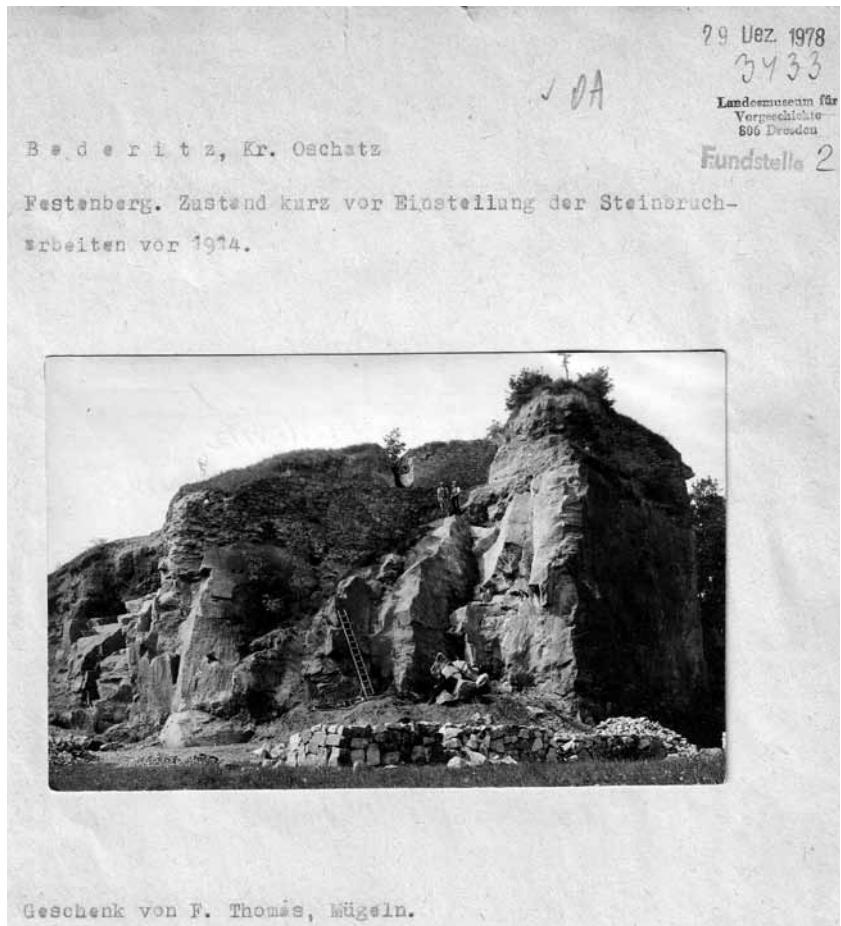


Abb. 3. Bereits in den ersten Jahrzehnten ist der Festenberg bei Baderitz bis auf einen kleinen Rest vollständig abgetragen (Ortsakte „Baderitz“; © Landesamt für Archäologie Sachsen)



Abb. 4. Luftbildarchäologie 1927 – Die Grabungsflächen in Köllmichen zeichnen sich deutlich ab (Ortsakte „Köllmichen“; © Landesamt für Archäologie Sachsen)

mar V.37., 232–233). Größe und auffällige Funde sprechen dafür, im Festenberg einen der zentralen Orte in dem im 11. Jahrhundert dicht besiedelten Lösshügelland zu sehen (Neumann 1912, 129ff.). Zu den großen Anlagen gehörte auch diejenige von Köllmichen bei Mutzschen, in Luftlinie ca. 10 km vom Festenberg weiter westlich gelegen (Abb. 4; Westphalen 2013, 215ff.). Auch hier führte der Steinbruchbetrieb zur Zerstörung von ca. 60 % der umwallten Fläche. Georg Bierbaum war es möglich, dank großzügiger Förderungen u.a. durch die Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft zwischen 1927 und 1929 umfangreiche Ausgrabungen durchzuführen, die den Burgwall von Köllmichen zu den bis heute am besten bekannten slawischen Burgwällen Sachsens machen. Leider war es weder Georg Bierbaum und Gotthard Neumann, der nach 1930 in Thüringen wirkte, noch Bierbaums Nachfolger Werner Coblenz möglich, die Ergebnisse der damals mustergültigen Grabungen vorzulegen. Erschwerend kommt hinzu, dass ein Großteil der Funde im Februar 1945 in Dresden ver-

loren ging. Der Burgwall liegt am östlichen Dorfrand auf einem von drei Seiten vom Mutzschener Wasser umflossenen Sporn. In seinem Bericht an die Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft, der Vorgängerin der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft, schreibt Bierbaum im März 1928: „Der Wall von Köllmichen ist der letzte Rest einer großen Anlage und insofern das Musterbeispiel einer durch wirtschaftliche Notwendigkeit bedingten Zerstörung eines vorgeschichtlichen Denkmals. Der Beginn der Steinbrucharbeiten liegt Jahrzehnte zurück; nach einer ersten literarischen Erwähnung sicherlich vor dem Jahre 1841. Das Fehlen jeglicher gesetzlicher Bestimmung über den Schutz der vorgeschichtlichen Denkmäler in Sachsen – auch heute noch trotz des Artikels 150 der Verfassung des Deutschen Reiches vom August 1919 – ist für den Wall verhängnisvoll geworden.“ Die Auswertung der erhaltenen Dokumentationen und Funde ist ein Desiderat der slawischen Archäologie in Sachsen. Sie würde es ermöglichen, zusammen mit einer kritischen Vorlage der Befunde und Funde weiterer Altgrabungen an die Vorlage der Ergebnisse der Meißner Burgberggrabung anzuknüpfen und die Geschichte einer im mitteleuropäischen Maßstab bedeutenden Landschaft des 11. Jahrhunderts nachzuzeichnen (Westphalen 2013, 224).

Burgwälle unterm Acker – Gefährdung und Schutzperspektiven

Die meisten der ca. 200 bekannten slawischen Burgwälle Sachsens befinden sich im ländlichen Raum. Als markante Landmarken tauchen sie bereits in den ältesten Kartenwerken auf und spielen für die regionale Identitätsbildung eine große Rolle, in der sorbischen Oberlausitz mehr als in den anderen Landesteilen des sächsischen Tieflandes. Auffällig ist ihre Einbeziehung in die Parkanlagen einzelner Rittergüter und Schlösser, wo sie in der Regel keinen weiteren Eingriffen unterzogen wurden und heute zusammen mit denjenigen unter Wald gelegenen Wällen zu den großartigsten Monumenten mittelalterlicher sächsischer Geschichte gehören. Problematisch ist der Zustand der im Ackerland gelegenen Anlagen. Wann mit deren Schleifung begonnen wurde, ist zumeist unklar. Auf den Zusammenhang zwischen Intensivierung der Landwirtschaft in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts wurde bereits hingewiesen. Noch 1976 wurde der ansehnliche



Abb. 5. Der Tanzberg bei Paltzschen vor 1976 (Ortsakte „Paltzschen“; © Landesamt für Archäologie Sachsen)

Rest des „Tanzbergs“ von Paltzschen bei Lommatzsch zur Gewinnung von Ackerland mit Hilfe von Planiermaschinen eingeebnet (Abb. 5). Die Zerstörung wurde erst 1981 aktenkundig und von Werner Coblenz, dem Direktor des Landesmuseums für Vorgeschichte in Dresden als so gravierend angesehen, dass er den Tatbestand unverzüglich zur Anzeige brachte. Die verantwortliche Staatsanwaltschaft teilte diese Sicht nicht und stellte das Verfahren nur wenige Monate später ein, da davon auszugehen sei, dass die Verantwortlichen nicht vorsätzlich gehandelt hätten (Ortsakte Paltzschen). Heute unterliegen die Reste der sich in Ackerland befindlichen Burgwälle der schleichenden Zerstörung durch Bodenerosion und Bodenverschleppung in Folge von ackerbaulicher Nutzung.

Lange vor der Wende sind die Erscheinungsformen und Auswirkungen der Bodenerosion im mittelsächsischen Lößhügelland beschrieben worden. Heute geht ein hohes, von der intensiven Gesprächs- und Beratungstätigkeit der Landwirtschafts- und Umweltbehörden gestärktes Problembewusstsein der Landwirte mit strukturellen Veränderungen

einher, von denen insbesondere der Systemwechsel zu einer pfluglosen Feldbestellung positive Effekte für das Archiv im Boden verspricht. Der Schutz archäologischer Denkmäler im ländlichen Raum hat nur dann Erfolgchancen, wenn diese Strukturveränderungen aufgenommen und zu einer vertieften Partnerschaft zwischen Landwirtschaft und archäologischer Denkmalpflege fortentwickelt werden. Im Rahmen eines von der Deutschen Bundesstiftung Umwelt (DBU) geförderten Modellprojektes, das konsequenter Freiwilligkeit verpflichtet war, konnten vor wenigen Jahren erste Konzepte und Maßnahmen erarbeitet werden, wie Fundstellen auf landwirtschaftlich genutzten Flächen dauerhaft geschützt werden können. Ziel dieses partizipativen Ansatzes ist es, Landwirte für den Schutz archäologischer Kulturdenkmäler zu gewinnen, diesen mit betriebsspezifischen Strukturen und Interessen in Einklang zu bringen und eine Zusammenarbeit von Behörden, Betrieben und Eigentümern zu entfalten. Vielleicht bestehen in keiner Agrarregion Deutschlands so günstige Voraussetzungen, diese Partner über den Denkmälerbestand, seine historische und kulturgeschichtliche Bedeutung sowie Schutzziele zu informieren und mit aufgeschlossenen Betrieben in einen intensiven Informations- und Erfahrungsaustausch einzutreten, wie in der Lommatzcher Pflege.

Inzwischen sind neue vielversprechende Kommunikationsebenen entstanden, auf denen auch die Probleme und Anliegen des Schutzes archäologischer Kulturdenkmäler vermittelt werden können.

Eine Maßnahmenkonzeption und – umsetzung erfolgt flächen- bzw. standortbezogen auf der Grundlage einer genauen Erfassung der archäologischen Kulturdenkmäler, deren Ausdehnung und Erhaltungszustand exakt definiert werden muss. Vor allem Reliefunterschiede bedingen wechselnde Erosionsdispositionen und heterogene Gefährdungs- und Erhaltungsabstufungen sogar innerhalb einer einzigen Fundstelle. Kann auf großen Fläche eine konsequente Umsetzung konservierender Feldbestellungsverfahren bereits weiterführen, lässt sich diesen kleinräumigen Unterschieden am besten durch begrenzte Flächenstillegungen, flächenscharfe landschaftsgestalterische Maßnahmen und eine teilflächenspezifische Bewirtschaftung Rechnung tragen, mit der Betriebe neuerdings auf Standortdifferenzen reagieren können. Georeferenzierte Denkmalflächen bei der Feldbestellung anders zu behandeln als den großen Rest eines Schläges, muss bei einer GPS-gesteuerten Bewirtschaftung keine Utopie bleiben. Ebenso wenig

visionär ist die Vorstellung, das „Ökoflächenmanagement“ verstärkt so zu nutzen, dass Ausgleichsflächen für größere Baumaßnahmen auch dem Schutz archäologische Denkmäler zugutekommen.

Damit konnten in den vergangenen Jahren erste beispielhafte Schritte zu einem partnerschaftlichen Schutz archäologischer Kulturdenkmäler auf landwirtschaftlichen Nutzflächen eingeleitet werden, die auf eine Fortsetzung in größerer Zahl und Breite hoffen lassen.

Landwirtschaft und archäologische Denkmalpflege auf neuen Pfaden am Beispiel der Burganlagen von Hof/Stauchitz und Zschaitz – Schutzkonzepte für ein archäologisches Kulturdenkmal von herausragender landesgeschichtlicher Bedeutung

Welche Folgen eine zu tiefe Bodenbearbeitung für unser archäologisches Erbe haben kann, ist längst bekannt. Immer wieder lassen sich bei Ausgrabungen die Spuren von Bodenmeißel, Pflug oder Tiefengrubber beobachten. Deshalb sucht das Landesamt für Archäologie Sachsen nach neuen Lösungen, um Schutz und Bewirtschaftung in Einklang zu bringen. Dabei bieten vor allem „Precision-“ oder „Smart Farming“ auch der Denkmalpflege große Chancen.

Die frühmittelalterliche Burganlage von Hof-Stauchitz liegt auf einer fluviglazialen Kieszunge, die spornartig nach Norden in die Jahnaue hineinragt und bis ins 19. Jh. auf drei Seiten von sumpfigen Feuchtwiesen umgeben war (Abb. 6). Die Besiedlung des hochwasserfreien Rückens lässt sich bis in die frühe Jungsteinzeit um 5000 v. Chr. (Bandkeramik) zurückverfolgen. In der zweiten Hälfte des 4. Jahrtausends v. Chr., während der mittleren Jungsteinzeit, wurde der Platz als Friedhof genutzt. Über einer 2003 entdeckten Hockerbestattung der Kugelamphoren Kultur (um 3000 v. Chr.) war möglicherweise sogar ein Grabhügel aufgeschüttet. Ferner liegen Siedlungsnachweise aus der späten Bronze- bzw. frühen Eisenzeit (12.–6. Jh. v. Chr.) sowie aus der späten römischen Kaiserzeit bzw. Völkerwanderungszeit vor (4.–6. Jh. n. Chr.) vor.

Die natürliche Schutzlage dürfte im Laufe des 9. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. den Ausschlag gegeben haben, auf dem nur von Süden her zugänglichen Sporn eine Befestigung zu errichten. Der Wall muss am Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts noch bis zu einer so beeindruckenden Höhe er-



Abb. 6. Hof/Stauchitz. Aus der Luft sind die Abfolge von Gräben, die Kastenkonstruktion des äußeren Walls sowie zahlreiche Gruben deutlich erkennbar (R. Heynowski; © Landesamt für Archäologie Sachsen)

halten gewesen sein, dass die Geodäten im sächsischen Meilenblatt an dieser Stelle einen „Burgberg“ kartierten. Die volle Ausdehnung und die vielen Strukturdetails der Anlage offenbarten sich jedoch erst durch Luftbilder, geomagnetische Messungen und Ausgrabungen nach 1992. Die Burg besteht aus drei Grabeneinfriedungen im Zentrum und aus einer massiven, mehrfach verstärkten

Wehrmauer, die als verebnetter Wall bis heute im Gelände ablesbar ist und eine Fläche von ca. 2,6 ha umgibt. Durch archäologische Grabungen wissen wir, dass das Befestigungswerk mindestens fünfmal erneuert und ausgebaut wurde: Über einem ersten ca. 2,5 m tiefen und 6 m breiten Graben (1. Phase), der wahrscheinlich lediglich mit einer Innenpalisade kombiniert war und dann verfüllt wurde, errichtete man eine dreiteilige Holzkastenmauer (2. Phase), die sich sowohl auf Luftbildern als auch im geomagnetischen Messbild zu erkennen gibt. Nachdem Teile der verbrannten Außenfront und Brustwehr in den vorgelagerten neuen Graben gestürzt waren, entschied

man sich, diesen vorläufig zu beräumen und die Kastenmauer zu erneuern (3. Phase). Seine maximale Größe und Wehrhaftigkeit erreichte das Bauwerk in einer vierten Phase, als man den Holzkasten durch Sand- und Kiesschüttungen zusätzlich verbreiterte bzw. erhöhte und davor einen neuen, jetzt 5 m tiefen und 15 m breiten Graben aushob (4. Phase), der im letzten Stadium noch einmal von nachgerutschten Ablagerungen befreit werden musste und möglicherweise mit Wasser aus der benachbarten Aue geflutet werden konnte (5. Phase). Lage und Monumentalität der Befestigung von Hof/Stauchitz haben viele Archäologen und Historiker dazu veranlasst, hier den Schauplatz jener Ereignisse zu lokalisieren, die sich nach Widukind von Corvey im Winter 928/929 n. Chr. zugetragen haben sollen (Widukind I.35, 68–69; Oexl und Strobel 2006, 253 ff.; Rummer *et al.* 2014, 23 ff.).

Das Burggelände wurde spätestens im 19. Jh. ackerbaulich genutzt. Im Gegensatz zur benachbarten Aue weist schon das Meilenblatt auf dem Kiesrücken weder Grünland noch Wald aus. Wie sehr das Denkmal unter der intensiven, jahrzehntelangen Bewirtschaftung gelitten hat, zeigt ein Höhenvergleich: Im Messtischblatt von 1907 ist der höchste Punkt auf dem Wall mit 129,7 m NN angegeben. Heute beträgt die Wallhöhe an dieser Stelle nur noch 128,5 m. Mit jedem Zentimeter, den der Wall an Höhe verliert, gehen Teile der Mauerkonstruktion verloren, die unmittelbar unter der aktuellen Bearbeitungsuntergrenze liegt. Das verlagerte Bodenmaterial wiederum sammelt sich in Senken und Mulden. Die größte Gefahr geht in diesem Fall also nicht von der Wassererosion, sondern von der Verschleppung durch Bodenbearbeitungsgeräte aus, die bei einer pfluglosen Bewirtschaftung durch immer breitere Grubberausleger zusätzlich verstärkt wird. Setzen sich diese Prozesse ungebremst fort, werden auch die letzten noch vorhandenen Wallreste in den nächsten Jahren unwiederbringlich verschwinden. „Eigentümer und Besitzer von Kulturdenkmalen haben diese pfleglich zu behandeln, im Rahmen des Zumutbaren denkmalgerecht zu erhalten und vor Gefährdung zu schützen“ (§8 Abs. 1 SächsDschG). „Werden Kulturdenkmale nicht mehr entsprechend ihrer ursprünglichen Zweckbestimmung genutzt, sollen Eigentümer und Besitzer eine Nutzung anstreben, die eine möglichst weitgehende Erhaltung der Substanz auf die Dauer gewährleistet“ (§9 Abs. 1 SächsDschG). Diese Bestimmungen des Sächsischen Denkmalschutzgesetzes gelten selbstverständlich auch für die Burg

von Hof/Stauchitz. Das Landesamt für Archäologie präferiert freiwillige und einvernehmliche Schutzlösungen, die im Gespräch und Dialog mit allen Akteuren entwickelt werden sollen. Den idealen Schutz für das Kulturdenkmal bietet Dauergrünland; die Umwandlung von Acker- in Grünland geht mit Wertverlusten einher, die durch einen Flächenerwerb ausgeglichen werden müssen. Der Ankauf könnte im Rahmen einer Ökopunktemaßnahme oder als Kompensationsfläche erfolgen. Da das Burgareal an das FFH-Gebiet „Jahnianiederung“ grenzt und als Ackerland erhebliches Aufwertungspotential besitzt, wäre eine Umwandlung auch naturschutzfachlich ohne weiteres zu begründen. Um die zahlreichen archäologischen Strukturen sichtbar zu machen und das Denkmal damit touristisch aufzuwerten, empfehlen sich landschaftsgestalterische Elemente wie unterschiedliche Saatmischungen oder Hecken- und Baumpflanzungen.

Im Gegensatz zur Umwandlung in Dauergrünland haben produktionsintegrierte Maßnahmen keine nachhaltige Schutzwirkung; sie kommen aber als Übergangsvarianten in Frage, bis alle Akteure eine dauerhafte Lösung gefunden haben werden. Dem Grünlandstatus sehr nahekommen Direkt- und Streifensaatverfahren, zu denen sich der Bewirtschafter mindestens für die Dauer einer EU – Förderperiode, also wenigstens 7 Jahre, verpflichten müsste. Es ist zu hoffen, dass auch zukünftig der ökonomische Mehraufwand in den kommenden Jahren durch die Agrarumweltförderung der Europäischen Union ausgeglichen wird. Die Fläche kann weiterhin ackerbaulich genutzt werden. Allerdings muss der Betrieb die notwendigen Voraussetzungen (Maschinen, pflanzenbauliches Management) erfüllen.

Sollte eine denkmalverträgliche Nutzungsänderung nicht möglich sein, ruhen große Hoffnungen auf der automatisierten Reduzierung von Bearbeitungstiefen über Schutzflächen. Dazu werden archäologische Denkmalflächen in die betriebliche Datenverwaltung integriert und dem Schlepperterminal Arbeitsaufträge zur Tiefenreduzierung erteilt. Die Ergebnisse des Projektes „Entwicklung und praxisnahe Anwendung eines Precision Farming-Systems zur Sicherung flächenhafter Schutzgüter (z. B. archäologische Bodendenkmale) auf ackerbaulich genutzten Flächen“ konnten kürzlich erfolgreich vorgestellt werden².

² S. dazu: <http://www.archaeologie.sachsen.de/6621.htm> (abgerufen am 23.04.2019) und <http://www.archaeologie.sachsen.de/6805.htm> (abgerufen am 23.04.2019).

Als positives, vorbildliches Beispiel für die nachhaltige Sicherung eines Burgwalles darf der „Burgberg Zschaitz“ (Gde. Zschaitz-Ottewig, Kr. Mittelsachsen) gelten. Die Anlage liegt auf einem markanten Bergsporn über dem Tal der Jahna (Abb. 7). Das Plateau war bis ins 19. Jh. von Wald bedeckt. Deshalb sind zwei Abschnittswälle erhalten, die die Hochfläche an den Engstellen abriegeln. Auf allen anderen Seiten boten die Steilhänge einen natürlichen Schutz. Schon in der Jungsteinzeit, um 4200 v. Chr., wurde der Sporn besiedelt und während der späten Bronze- bzw. frühen Eisenzeit (1000–600 v. Chr.) zum ersten Mal befestigt. Auf der Ruine dieser Konstruktion aus Holz und Erde errichtete man im frühen Mittelalter (9.–10. Jh. n. Chr.) eine zweischalige Mauer, deren Außenfront wahrscheinlich aus Dolomitplatten aufgeschichtet war.

Durch eine äußere Befestigung konnte die geschützte Fläche von 1,4 auf ca. 6 ha vergrößert werden. Die frühmittelalterliche Burg muss zerstört worden sein, denn Hölzer, Lehm und Steine weisen Brandspu-



Abb. 7. Der Zschaitzer Burgberg ist heute extensiv genutztes Grünland. Blühstreifen und Steinrücken kennzeichnen Gräben und den Hauptwall (R. Heynowski; © Landesamt für Archäologie Sachsen)

ren auf. Insbesondere der Hauptwall hatte unter der intensiven landwirtschaftlichen Nutzung in den letzten 100 Jahren sehr gelitten und innerhalb von 50 Jahren 0,5 m an Höhe verloren. Durch die Sächsische Landsiedlung GmbH in Meißen konnte die Innenfläche in eine Öko-kontofläche umgewandelt werden. Auf dem trockenen und mageren Standort mit hohem Biotopotenzial ist durch die Aussaat einer heimischen Saatgutmischung eine Grünfläche entstanden, die durch Baum- und Heckenpflanzungen naturschutzfachlich angereichert wird. Dabei geben eingesäte Blühstreifen die Lage der ehemaligen Gräben wider und eine zweischalige Trockenmauer aus Ostrauer Plattendolomit nimmt den Verlauf der Außen- und Innenfront im Hauptwall auf und vermittelt so eine Vorstellung von der monumentalen Abschnittsbefestigung. Der Flächenerwerb und -tausch erfolgten im Rahmen eines Regelflurbereinigerungsverfahrens. Weil alle Akteure – Sächsische Landsiedlung GmbH, Bewirtschafter Ostrau, Eigentümer, Landkreis, Landesverein Sächsischer Heimatschutz e.V. und Landesamt für Archäologie – an einem Strang gezogen und sich Ortschronisten für die Umnutzung hartnäckig eingesetzt haben, konnte das archäologische Denkmal in so kurzer Zeit gesichert werden (Bromme *et al.* 2010; Bens *et al.* 2012, 100ff.).

Archäologische Denkmäler als Ort sächsischer Landesgeschichte am Beispiel von Eisdorf

Meißen, das legendäre Gana und die anderen, vor allem von Thietmar von Merseburg genannten Ort spiegeln, soweit sie identifizierbar sind, sächsische Landesgeschichte in weitgehend vorschrittlicher Zeit wider. Zu diesen Orten ist seit einigen Jahren auch Eisdorf zu zählen, denn im äußersten Westen des Landes gelegen, weist das kleine Dorf Eisdorf einige Besonderheiten auf, die einer näheren Betrachtung wert sind (Westphalen 2012, 106ff.). Der Name des Dorfes ist zweifelsohne deutschen Ursprungs – verschiedene mittelalterliche Nennungen belegen einen Agi oder Egi in Verbindung mit der Siedlungsform – Eichesdorf, oder Eigsdorf werden schließlich zum heutigen Eisdorf. Ortsname, Dorf- und Flurform, eine Gewinnflur, lassen Eisdorf siedlungsgenetisch als Dorf des beginnenden Landesausbaus der Zeit um 1100 erscheinen, wenn es nicht den Chronisten Thietmar gegeben hätte, der Eisdorf knapp 100 Jahre vorher bereits erwähnte. Thietmar von

Merseburg reiste im Frühjahr 1009 von der Donau nach Merseburg, um dort den Bischofssitz einzunehmen. Seine Route führte ihn über Eisdorf, das er als seinen von den Slawen Malacin, von den Deutschen Egisvillam – Eisdorf – genannten Hof bezeichnet. Über Eythra, wo er nahe der Burg zu den Dienstleuten seiner Kirche sprach, erreichte er Merseburg. Die Reiseroute nahm, wenn sie denn so führte wie geschildert, einen Verlauf, der Eisdorf nicht als einfache Station erscheinen lässt, sondern dem Ort eine gewisse Bedeutung zukommen ließ, denn Thietmar wählte nicht den direkten Weg zu seinem Bischofssitz, sondern wandte sich von Eisdorf aus in die entgegengesetzte Richtung, eben nach Eythra. Damit erscheint dieser Teil der Reise als Umritt, mit dem Thietmar unmittelbar vor seiner Inthronisation die Zugehörigkeit dieses fruchtbaren Landstriches zum Bistum Merseburg und seinen Anspruch auf die Bischofswürde deutlich macht. Thietmar erwähnt Malacin neun Jahre später noch einmal in Zusammenhang mit dem Erscheinen eines Wunderzeichens. Die Namenskundler führen die Ortsbezeichnung auf den Männernamen Małota zurück, für die Historiker ist das gleichzeitige Führen eines slawischen und eines deutschen Namens der Beleg für die räumliche Nachbarschaft beider Bevölkerungsgruppen und vor allem deren friedlicher Koexistenz im Raum zwischen Saale und Weißer Elster, wo sich häufiger Doppelnamen finden. Diese Ansicht ist insofern bemerkenswert, als dass Eisdorf innerhalb jenes Saumes liegt, der von einigen Forschern als der aus wenigen fränkischen Quellen des 9. Jahrhunderts bekannte „Limes Sorabicus“ angesehen wird und der gemeinhin als militärischer Grenzraum zwischen dem fränkischen Reich und des östlich anschließenden slawischen Siedlungsgefüdes gilt. Funde dieser Zeit fehlen aus Eisdorfer Flur, wie überhaupt das nähere Umland von Eisdorf frei von Funden des 9./10. Jahrhunderts zu sein scheint; die nächsten Wallanlagen liegen bzw. befanden sich in ca. 10 km Entfernung bei Schkölen und vermutlich in Eythra.

Damit stellt sich die Frage nach der Lokalisierung des Thietmarschen Hofes. Luftbildbefunde gaben 1992 erste Hinweise darauf, dass hier mit archäologischen Befunden zu rechnen sein könnte. Schmale, halbkreisförmig geführte Gräben und Gruben zeichnen sich deutlich im Getreidefeld ab, die allerdings keine Hinweise auf deren Zeitstellung oder auf die Struktur einer Bebauung geben (Abb. 8). Eine 2018 durchgeführte geophysikalische Messung erbrachte leider auch keine



Abb. 8. Der Hof des Thietmar von Merseburg unmittelbar westlich des heutigen Eisdorf ist auch im trockenen Sommer 2018 im reifenden Weizen sichtbar (R. Heynowski; © Landesamt für Archäologie Sachsen)



Abb. 9. Die Kreuzemailscheibenfibeln von Eisdorf sind frühe Zeugnisse der Christianisierung in Sachsen (J. Rottig; © Landesamt für Archäologie Sachsen)

Klarheit über die Bebauung dieses heute als Acker genutzten Areals. Allerdings sind hier seit ca. 15 Jahren Oberflächenfunde getätigt worden, die möglicherweise die Frage nach der Lage des Merseburger Hofes beantworten. In diesem Zusammenhang sind vor allem die Emailscheibenfibeln (Abb. 9) und Messerscheidenbeschläge von Interesse, gestatten sie doch zusammen mit einer Münze eine nähere zeitliche Einordnung und geben Hinweise auf das kulturelle Umfeld. Bei der Münze handelt es sich um einen jüngeren Randpfennig des späten 11. Jahrhunderts, für den die Münzstätten von Halle-Giebichenstein, Merseburg oder aber auch eine nicht näher lokalisierbare in Polen in Frage kommen (Hollstein 2011).

Lassen sich für die meisten Kleinfunde Beispiele aus Sachsen anführen, so sind die bis heute insgesamt ca. 30 Scheibenfibeln von Eisdorf einzigartig. Auffällig ist nicht nur die Häufigkeit, sondern auch die Formenvielfalt. Sämtliche Fibeln sind aus Bronze gefertigt und waren emailverziert, wobei die verschiedenfarbigen Glaspasten entweder in Gruben- oder Zellschmelz eingebracht wurden. Von wenigen Stücken abgesehen, tragen die Fibeln Kreuze als zentrales Motiv. Die

in der Regel kleinen und mit einfachen Kreuzen versehenen runden Scheibenfibeln sind überall in Mitteleuropa zu finden, während die Rechteckfibel einen deutlichen Verbreitungsschwerpunkt in Südsandinavien, Friesland und dem Rhein-Main-Gebiet aufweist. Pelta- und Lunulafibeln gehören demgegenüber zu den seltenen Emailscheibenfibeln mit einigen Vergleichsfunden aus Süddeutschland. Die Datierungsspanne der Fibeln reicht vom 8. Jahrhundert bis in das 11. Jahrhundert. Vor allem die einfachen Kreuzscheibenfibeln sind zeitlich nicht enger zu fassen, wohingegen die Lunulafibel und die beiden etwas größeren buckelförmigen Fibeln mit Perlrand in die jüngere Hälfte der genannten Zeitspanne zu stellen sind. Grabfunde und zeitgenössische Abbildungen zeigen, dass die Bronzefibeln zum festen Bestandteil der Frauen wie Männertracht gehörten, indem mit ihrer Hilfe Kleider, Umhänge und Mäntel zusammengehalten werden konnten. Bis in das hohe Mittelalter hinein waren sie die einzigen Kleidungsverschlüsse. Ihr Verbreitungsgebiet umfasst das ostfränkische Reich, in den östlich anschließenden slawischen Siedlungsgebieten kommen sie lediglich im unteren Saalegebiet und jetzt im Südraum Leipzigs vor. Damit nähern wir uns wieder dem Ausgangspunkt unserer Betrachtung. Thietmar war sein Eisdorfer Hof so wichtig, dass er ihn in einem für ihn entscheidenden Moment seines Wirkens aufsuchte. Im Jahr 1009 war der christliche Glaube auch innerhalb der Grenzen des Merseburger Bistums keineswegs gesichert und allgemein anerkannt. Nur wenige Monate vor der Übernahme des Bistums ließ Wigbert von Merseburg, Thietmars Vorgänger, den nahegelegenen heiligen Hain Zutibure/Schkeitbar abholzen und an dessen Stelle eine Kirche errichten. Vor diesem Hintergrund erscheint Malacin/Eisdorf vielleicht zusammen mit Eythra, wo allerdings vor der Überbaggerung durch den Braunkohletagebau keine entsprechenden topographischen Befunde oder Funde getätigt werden konnten, als ein Ort, dessen Bewohner sich wenigstens zum Teil in ihrer Tracht, sehr wahrscheinlich in ihrem Glauben und in ihrer Sprache von den alteingesessenen Slawen unterschieden.

Ist „Gana“ noch zu retten? Die Frage zu beantworten, fällt gegenwärtig schwer. Zwar gibt es einige zukunftsweisende Tendenzen und ist die vorsätzliche Zerstörung der obertägig erhaltenen Denkmäler vorerst eingedämmt, dennoch setzt sich der schleichende Abtrag immer noch großartiger Anlagen im agrarisch genutzten Offenland Sachsens in Folge von Bodenbearbeitung in erschreckendem Maß fort. Hier eine

Änderung zum Positiven hin zu erreichen, wird eine gesellschaftliche Aufgabe der nächsten Jahre werden. Eine wichtige Stütze dabei könnte eine neue Ausrichtung der EU – Agrarförderung werden, in der neben naturschutzfachlichen auch denkmalschutzfachliche Aspekte eine Rolle spielen müssten.

Bibliographie

Schriftquellen

- Thietmar Thietmar von Merseburg, *Chronik*, W. Trillmich (ed.), *Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters*, Bd. IX. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft. 1957.
- Widukind *Widukinds Sachsenheschichte*, A. Bauer und R. Rau (ed.), *Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters*, Bd. VIII. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft. 1971, 1–183.

Studien

- Atlas zur Geschichte und Landeskunde von Sachsen. Ur- und Frühgeschichte Sachsens, Sachsen 800–1100 n. Chr.* Herausgegeben von der Philologisch-historischen Klasse der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig in Verbindung mit dem Staatsbetrieb Geoinformation und Vermessung Sachsen (GeoSN). Dresden 2008. Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig // Landesvermessungsamt Sachsen.
- Bens S., Kinne A., Olkuszniak A., Schulze H., Strobel M., Ullrich B., Vogt R., Voss J., Weißenberg P. und Westphalen Th. 2012. Zukunft für ein bedeutendes archäologisches Kulturdenkmal – der Burgberg Zschaitz. *Ausgrabungen in Sachsen* 3, 100–108.
- Billig G. 1989. *Die Burgwardorganisation im obersächsisch – meißnischen Raum. Archäologisch-archivalisch vergleichende Untersuchungen (= Veröffentlichungen des Landesmuseum für Vorgeschichte Dresden 20)*. Berlin: VEB Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaft.
- Bromme V., Ende F., Hardtke H., Kinne A., Slobboda S., Strobel M., Ullrich B., Vogt R., Westphalen T. und Winkler C. 2010. Der Burgberg Zschaitz in der Lommatzcher Pflege – Landschaft, Natur und Archäologie. *Archaeonaut* 9. Dresden: Landesamt für Archäologie Sachsen.
- Hoffmann J. 1940. Die Grabung auf dem „Fuchsberg“ bei Rötha vom Jahre 1938. *Sachsens Vorzeit* 4, 36–44.
- Hollstein W. 2011. Bestimmung der Münze am 16.02.2011 (Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden – Münzkabinett, unveröffentlicht).
- Kaufmann H. 1988. Der Gewinneberg bei Döbitz, Kr. Leipzig. In H.-J. Vogt (Hrsg.), *Archäologische Feldforschungen in Sachsen. Fünfzig Jahre Landesmuseum für Vorgeschichte*. Berlin: VEB Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, 397–399.

- Ludat H. 1971. *An Elbe und Oder um das Jahr 1000. Skizzen zur Politik des Ottonenreichs und der slavischen Mächte in Mitteleuropa*. Köln-Wien: Böhlau Verlag.
- Mechelk H.-W. 1997. Magdeborn – Medeburu. Ein zusammenfassender Grabungsbericht. *Arbeits- und Forschungsberichte zur sächsischen Bodendenkmalpflege* 39, 13–66.
- Neumann G. 1912. Ein bemerkenswerter Reitersporn vom Festenberg bei Baderitz. *Mitteilungen des Landesvereins Sächsischer Heimatschutz* 21, 129–139.
- Oexle J. und Strobel M. 2006. Auf den Spuren der „urbs, quae dicitur Gana“, der Hauptburg der Daleminzier. Erste archäologische Untersuchungen in der slawischen Befestigung von Hof/Stauchitz. *Arbeits- und Forschungsberichte zur sächsischen Bodendenkmalpflege* 46, 253–263.
- Ortsakte Döbitz (Landesamt für Archäologie, unveröffentlicht).
- Ortsakte Paltzchen (Landesamt für Archäologie Sachsen, unveröffentlicht).
- Preusker K.B. 1844. *Blicke in die Vaterländische Vorzeit*, Bd. 3. Leipzig: Verlag der J.C. Hinrichsschen Buchhandlung.
- Rummer M., Schubert C., Strobel M. und Westphalen T. 2014. Ist „Gana“ noch zu retten? Neue Untersuchungen zum Zustand der frühmittelalterlichen Burganlage von Hof/Stauchitz (Kr. Nordsachsen/Meißen). *Mitteilungen des Landesvereins Sächsischer Heimatschutz* 3/2014, 23–28.
- Strobel M. und Westphalen T. 2017. 7500 Jahre bäuerliche Besiedlung in der Lommatzcher Pflege – Von den Anfängen im 5. Jahrtausend v. Chr. bis in 11. Jahrhundert. *Sächsische Heimatblätter* 4/2017, 292–310.
- Strobel M. und Westphalen T. 2018. Steingewinnung und archäologische Denkmalpflege in Sachsen zwischen den Gründerzeitjahren und 1945 – Rückblick und Bilanz. *Mitteilungen des Landesvereins Sächsischer Heimatschutz e.V.* 2 und 3/2018, 27–38.
- Thieme A. 2017. *Benno's Land – Strukturen der Mark Meißen im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert*. In C. Kunde und A. Thieme (Hrsg.), *Ein Schatz nicht von Gold. Benno von Meißen – Sachsens erster Heiliger*. Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 72–79.
- Westphalen T. 2012. ...Sclavonice Malacin, Teutonice autem Egisvillam... *Ausgrabungen in Sachsen* 3, 106–110.
- Westphalen T. 2016. Oschatz im 11. Jahrhundert – Zentrum oder Peripherie. *Mitteilungen des Landesvereins Sächsischer Heimatschutz e.V.* 2/2016, 42–49.
- Westphalen P. 2013. Der Burgwall von Köllmichen im Dornröschenschlaf. In S. Kleingärtner, U. Müller und J. Scheschkewitz (Hrsg.), *Kulturwandel im Spannungsfeld von Tradition und Innovation. Festschrift für Michael Müller-Wille*. Neumünster: Wachholtz, 215–221.
- Wilson D. 1985. *Der Teppich von Bayeux*. Frankfurt-Berlin: Verlag Ullstein.

DOI: 10.15584/anarres.2018.13.11

David F. Hölscher*

From Prosperity to Oblivion: The Slavic Settlement at Gaarz in Ostholstein

ABSTRACT

Hölscher D.F. 2018. From Prosperity to Oblivion: The Slavic Settlement at Gaarz in Ostholstein. *Analecta Archaeologica Ressoiviensia* 13, 215–242

On several occasions during the 20th c. archaeological finds were brought to light at Gaarz. A great part of the finds from this site in Ostholstein (Germany) hints at a Slavic settlement there. During surveys with the metal detector from the year 2012 onwards, a steadily growing mass of metal finds was uncovered. Some of these are of high quality and attest to wealth which exceeds the scope of merely rural settlements. In this paper some of the archaeological material is presented and the function of this “new” site in the vicinity of the central place of Starigard/Oldenburg is discussed.

Keywords: West Slavs, Oldenburger Graben, metal detecting, central place, Scandinavia, Early Middle Ages

Received: 30.11.2018; **Revised:** 28.12.2018; **Revised:** 28.12.2018; **Accepted:** 30.12.2018

I. Introduction

The site Gaarz is situated in the Ostholstein district in Schleswig-Holstein (Germany) and forms a part of the Göhl municipality (Fig. 1). From this place it is only about eight kilometres to Oldenburg in Holstein, a medieval town and renowned major Slavic site also known by its Slavic name “Starigard”. During the Early and High Middle Ages Starigard/Oldenburg formed the political, economic and religious centre of the region and it is believed that several Slavic princes resided there (Gabriel 1988; Gabriel 1991, 76, 80–83).

At Gaarz an aristocratic estate is known to have existed from late medieval times onwards (Oldekop 1908, 51). The manor is situated on a peninsula in the wetlands of the Oldenburger Graben (Fig. 2), a 0.2 to 3.8 km wide and 23 km long (glacial) valley separating the northern

* Institute of Pre- and Protohistoric Archaeology – Kiel University, Johanna-Mestorf 2-6, 24118 Kiel, Germany; hoelscher@ipn.uni-kiel.de

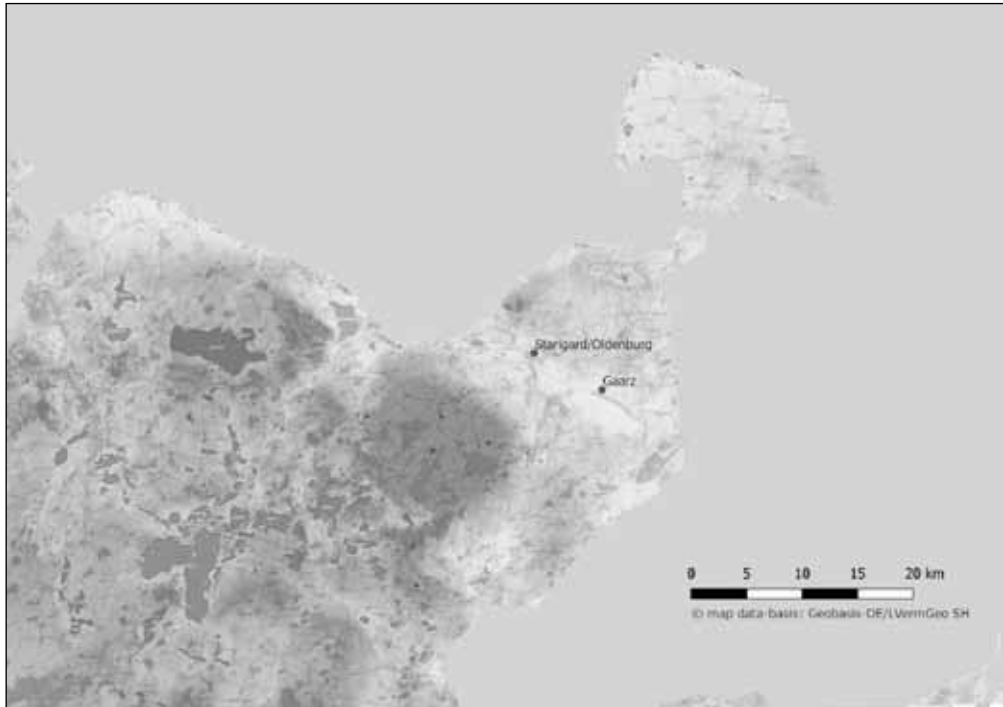


Fig. 1. Location of Gaarz within Ostholstein (Graphic processing by D.F. Hölscher)

part of the Wagrian peninsula from the south (Hoffmann 2004, 9–12; Jakobsen 2004, 5). Until the early 20th c. the property lay directly on the shores of Lake Gaarz. However, together with other surface waters of the eastern Oldenburger Graben, the lake was drained in the 1930s (Venus 2004, 33). Today the former manor has been transformed into a holiday farm and riding centre (cf. Website Gut Gaarz). Yet, the place's name is of Slavic origin and hints at the existence of a fortification (Struve 1959, 75). This supposed Slavic fortress might be hidden underneath the recent buildings, which are placed in a circular pattern around the courtyard (cf. Huckle 1964, 17; Meinhardt 2013, 84f.).

Archaeological material from Gaarz was reported already during the early 19th c. (Ortsakten 1835). As these finds are lost and descriptions in the sources are rather vague, their classification is no longer possible. Surveys during the 1950s and 1960s produced Slavic potsherds southwest and northwest of the former manor houses (ALSH FM 1992/180; Huckle 1964, 12–16) and during the 1990s a great abundance of finds

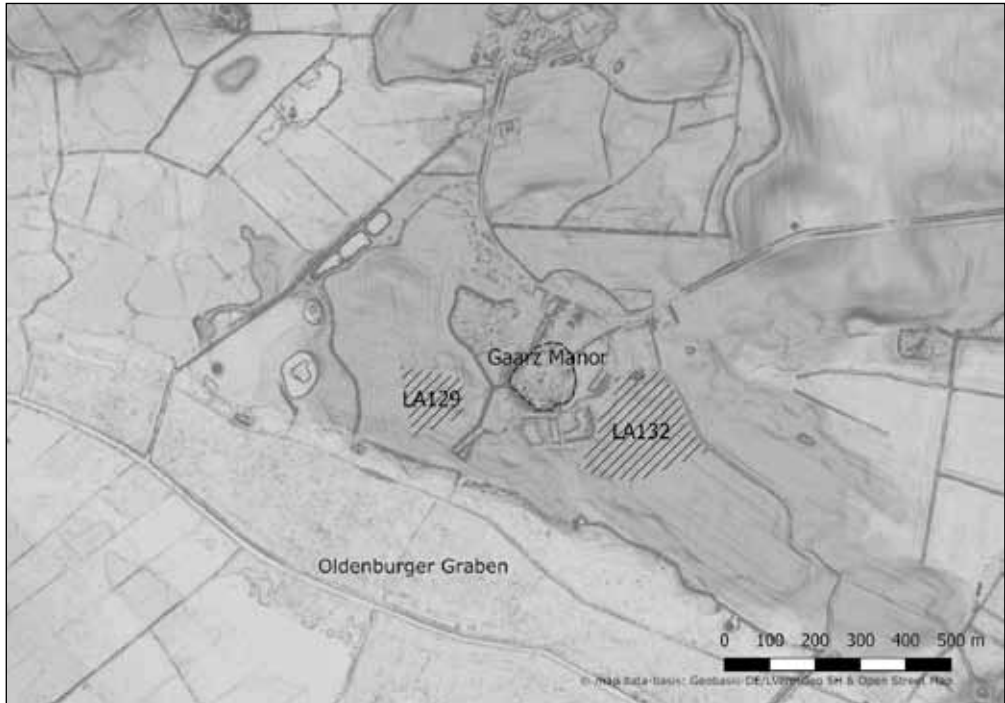


Fig. 2. Location of archaeological sites at Gaarz (Graphic processing by D.F. Hölscher)

was added after the demolition of an apple plantation. In this context archaeological material was also recovered from an area to the south-east (ALSH FM 1992/180; ALSH FM 2002/15). Besides Slavic pottery this material included animal bones, antlers, some metal finds and burnt clay. The areas relevant to archaeology are listed by the state's archaeological heritage authorities, the Archäologisches Landesamt Schleswig-Holstein (ALSH), as archaeological sites LA 129 and LA 132 of the Göhl municipality (Fig. 2).

The first survey with a metal detector was conducted with the consent of the ALSH by the volunteer Michael Nieling in 2012. Amongst the yield were fragments of Islamic coins and of a knife sheath fitting, as well as one fragment of collapsible scales and suitable weights (ALSH SH2012–349). This gave cause for another, more extensive survey administered by the ALSH, carried out during the same year. No metal finds were made to the west and south of the manor (including LA 129), but LA 132 revealed more finds, amongst which were also early

medieval artefacts of Scandinavian origin (ALSH SH2012–356; ALSH SH2012–381). All the following investigations focused on this part of the estate. The rich yield of finds is probably due to the fact that the site was ploughed on a regular basis after the removal of the apple trees and thus artefacts were carried to the surface. It remains unknown to what extent the pasture north of LA 132 holds archaeological information as it was not included in the systematic surveys due to heavy interferences by discarded pieces of recent metal¹.

In 2014 trial excavations led by Stephan Meinhardt (previously ALSH, now Oldenburger Wallmuseum) at LA 132 confirmed the existence of a settlement. The one by two metres small trenches revealed settlement layers, pits and postholes. Yet, almost no datable finds could be associated with these features (ALSH SH2014.72; Stephan Meinhardt, personal communication). However, Slavic pottery from the dug-out material and the filling of one of the pits makes it highly probable that these features belong to the Slavic period.

Until 2014 in total about 248 metal objects were recovered from an area of three hectares. In combination with the older material from the site these finds formed the basis for a master thesis written at Kiel University, handed in in September 2016, from which this paper is derived².

This article presents the “new” site and selected material to an international audience for the first time. At its core stands the question of the Slavic settlement’s function within the region. It is worthwhile mentioning that surveys with the metal detector are being continued and thus new evidence is still being generated.

1.1. What do metal finds from the surface tell us?

For quite some time metal artefacts recovered by means of metal detectors were not commonly accepted as a serious source in archaeology. At least in parts of Northern and Middle Europe this has changed: activities of metal detectorists are being supervised by and integrated into the work of heritage authorities and their finds are now seen as an important means to gain insight into the past (cf. Martens and Ravn

¹ Stephan Meinhardt (Oldenburger Wallmuseum, Oldenburg i. H.; previously ALSH), personal communication.

² The thesis was supervised by Prof. Dr. Ulrich Müller (Kiel) and Prof. Dr. Claus von Carnap-Bornheim (Schleswig), both from the Institute of Pre- and Protohistoric Archaeology at Kiel University; note that neither younger finds, nor more recent literature could be taken into account for this publication.

2016). Only this change of paradigm made the fruitful cooperation between hobby detectorists and heritage authorities possible, which led to the intensified investigations at Gaarz.

While the lack of context constitutes a major issue with finds from the surface, especially from metal detecting, the material does provide important insight into human activity at a site (cf. Klammt 2015, 50; Martens and Ravn 2016; Vogel 1972, 42). Moreover, experiments and observations in the field have shown that connections between finds from the plough horizon and underlying features can be reconstructed (Dobat 2010, 147; Henriksen 2000, 14; Jørgensen 2000, 63–65; Michaelsen 2000, 9).

In respect of chronology, the probability of artefacts from a certain epoch being lost during their use and thus representing a genuine phase of occupation rises with their numbers (Dobat 2010, 179). Moreover, the possibility for chronologically uncertain finds to stem from the same period as the majority of datable artefacts becomes the more probable the more material can be dated to the period in question. As Slavic material dominates the datable finds in Gaarz, it is thus quite probable that most of the chronologically ambiguous or uncertain archaeological material can also be associated with the phase(s) of Slavic occupation. Yet uncertainty in individual cases remains and only well dated features or datable material associated with them could confirm the hypothesis presented here.

1.2. About the chronology of the Slavic Era in Ostholstein

The chronological framework used in this paper follows Carl Schuchhardt's separation of the Slavic Era into three periods representing early, middle and late Slavic times (Kempke 1984, 12–14). For the dating of these periods or phases Kempke's model is used (Gabriel and Kempke 1991, 128–142; Kempke 1984, 59–66, 74–79). It was developed on the basis of material from Ostholstein and thus is perfectly suited for use on the material from Gaarz. The start of the Early Slavic Period is set to the time of Slavic immigration into Ostholstein around 700 AD. The Early Slavic Period lasts well into the 9th c., followed by the Middle Slavic Period covering the late 9th and the 10th c. AD, while the 11th and 12th c. form the Late Slavic Period (Gabriel and Kempke 1991, 128–142; Kempke 1984, 59–66, 74–79; cf. Brather 2008, 40, Tab. 3). Even though overlaps and transition phases occur, parts of the material

culture and settlement patterns differ considerably between these three periods (Brather 2008, 40; Kempke 1984, 12–15).

II. The archaeological material

II.1. The finds

Bone

Early surveys at Gaarz mostly produced bones and pottery. Most of the bones are fragmented or chopped; they seem to be kitchen waste. More specific information on e.g. the composition of the diet cannot be given here, as no further examinations have been carried out on this material yet. A few worked bone objects fit well into the scope of medieval and especially Slavic artefacts. There are at least two bone awls, which were found on the surface, and one bone skate (Biermann 2008, 240–243; Brather 2008, 207; Paddenberg 2012, 50, 94; Schmidt 1989, 41, 44). The latter was found in a settlement-pit during the excavations, but cannot be associated directly with any datable finds.

Pottery

As usual in medieval archaeology, pottery makes up the biggest part of the material found. In the case of Gaarz almost 8 kg of shards could be investigated. The typological classification follows Kempke's work for Ostholstein (Kempke 1984). As the main focus of the author's work was on metal finds, classification could not be carried out in great detail. Yet it is clear that the pottery covers all Slavic periods, with late Slavic material, so called "Gurtfurchenware" (Kempke group G; Kempke 1984, 48–52, 74–79), forming a great part of it. The latter includes shards ornamented with ring and dot decoration, which forms the latest type of Slavic pottery to be found in the region (Kempke 1984, 78; Meier 1993, 1–19). There are a number of shards with ornaments as well, which equal Kempke's group K (Kempke 1984, 40–45, 61–66) and can be dated to the period between about the late 9th and early 11th c. Many shards from Gaarz lack ornamentation though and can thus not be assigned to a specific part of the Slavic Era with certainty (cf. Kempke 1984, 60–65).

Only very few shards of pottery from the site stem from periods before or after Slavic times.



Fig. 3. Residues of metal production from Gaarz (Photo by I. Sommerfeld, Museum für Archäologie Schloss Gottorf, Landesmuseen Schleswig-Holstein)

Residues of metal production

Probably the most important material in connection with the question of the settlement's function are the metal finds. They form a very heterogeneous group of artefacts, but the greatest group within this class of material is made up of 91 fragments of sheet metal and molten pieces (Fig. 3). There are metal bars from the site as well, which might represent ingots. Even though no casting moulds or crucibles were found at the site, these objects are considered to be remnants of the processing of metal at Gaarz, including smelting (cf. Theune 2008, 16–21; Pedersen 2010, 220–257). Most pieces are made from

a copper alloy, though sporadically tin or lead can be found amongst the ingots, and amongst the fragments two remnants of silver are known. Whereas the latter could have been part of a currency in the silver weight economy (cf. Brather 2008, 223–236; Steuer 1987, 460, 459–494; Steuer 1997, 11–13), a drop of molten silver and one copper alloy fragment with remains of molten silver on it may represent the first evidence of silver processing at the site. Concerning the copper alloy, it remains unclear to what extent bronze or brass are represented in the material, as no metallurgical analysis has taken place. Yet, an analysis of material from other early medieval sites in northern Europe has shown a dominance of brass (Pedersen 2010, 233–236, 253–256).

Collapsible scales and weights

As mentioned before, fragments of collapsible scales were amongst the first metal finds brought to light at Gaarz. In total four fragments of such scales, all of them (balance-)arms, were found (Fig. 4). Two of them represent Steuer's type 5 and can be dated to a period from the 10th to the 11th c. (Steuer 1997, 27–29). Of the other two, the first is so worn down that it cannot be further identified, while the second bears resemblance to Steuer's types 6 and 8.1 (Steuer 1997, 29–33, 223–229). However, it cannot be assigned to either of these types. It has an elongated ornamental cube near the folding mechanism and on the basis of this ornament can be dated to the latter half of the 11th c. and the beginning of the 12th c. (cf. Steuer 1997, 29–33, 223–229). Curiously enough, it has no hole where on most similar utensils usually the loop for an attachment of the scales is situated. This last feature might reveal an unfinished product, although balance-arms without loops are known from medieval Schleswig (Steuer 1997, 247–248, Figs. 33, 147) – however, these were made from bone.

With collapsible scales, weights were commonly used and there are eleven artefacts from Gaarz which can be securely identified as weights. Most of these are of an oblate spheroid shape and made of an iron core with a copper alloy coating (for examples see Fig. 4).

Following Steuer's typology (Steuer 1997, 44–51, 290–322, Figs. 15, 232) they can be classified as follows:

- Steuer type B (no further classification possible): 2
- Steuer type B1 (early): 2



Fig. 4. Balances and weights from Gaarz (Photo by I. Sommerfeld, Museum für Archäologie Schloss Gottorf, Landesmuseen Schleswig-Holstein)

- Steuer type B1 (middle): 1
- Steuer type B2: 4

One further oblate spheroid weight shows an ornament of connected dots, which are characteristic of Steuer's type B1 (early). However, these are engraved on a rather small pole, which is a feature common in type B2 (cf. Steuer 1997, 47–48, 320, Figs. 15, 16, 232). This “hybrid” might well be a late representative of type B1 (early), for Steuer assumes a development towards small poles over time (Steuer 1997, 48, 320). This piece might constitute evidence for his assumption that this development started on the southern Baltic coast (*ibid.*).

Other weights from Gaarz show different decorations on their poles as well and these can be connected to classes of weight; a phenomenon that has already been described for various other sites (Paddenberg 2012, 98; Pedersen 2007, 148–155; Steuer 1987, 460; Steuer 1997, 44–51). One

of the type B2 weights even shows four instead of two poles, which is a rather outstanding feature.

Apart from the weights of oblate spheroid shape there is only one item that can safely be classified as a weight for use with collapsible scales. It is a small weight that has the well-known cubo-octahedral shape (Steuer type A; Steuer 1997, 44; cf. Steuer 1987, 460), but in contrast to most other finds of this type it is made of lead. Parallels for this are known e.g. from Kaupang in Norway, where a greater number of lead weights were found (Pedersen 2007, Figs. 6.4, 6.16). Some cylindrical and cubic lead artefacts from Gaarz could be weights as well, but this classification is uncertain.

Indicators of trade and wealth

Both scales and weights occur commonly in central places and especially in Viking age ports of trade or emporia, such as Hedeby, Kaupang, Truso or Birka (cf. Steuer 1997, 11–12; Pedersen 2007). Yet, some finds from open settlements question their use as a marker for central places (cf. Schneeweiß 2011, 82). In the case of Gaarz, however, a lack of archaeological indicators for trade and indeed wealth can be seen in the surroundings. This picture might partly be due to the state of research, but the Oldenburger Graben has long since been the subject of repeated surveys, especially by archaeological volunteers (e.g. Klaus Evers, Oldenburg i.H.). The research during the project “Starigard/Oldenburger Graben – Wolin – Novgorod” (1997–2006; Müller-Wille 1998) did not change the picture of a rather simple lifestyle in the surroundings of Starigard/Oldenburger Graben and thus around Gaarz³. This lack of wealth is manifest not only in the distribution of scales and weights, but also other material. This concerns e.g. beads made from (semi-)precious stones, basalt-millstones from the Eifel-Region and whetstones from Norway (Gabriel 1988, 158–161, 195, Fig. 57; Schön 1989, 186–189; Schön 1995, 101, Fig. 37).

Fragments of both latter materials found at Gaarz show trading contacts with Western and Central Europe and Scandinavia, while two beads (Fig. 5.1–2), one made from rock crystal, the other from carnelian,

³ Based on the information provided by Dr. Dietrich Meier (Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur Mainz, Busdorf), formerly member of the mentioned research project, and Dorothea Feiner (Seminar of Pre- and Protohistory, Göttingen University), who studies material from the excavations conducted by Dr. Meier during that project.



Fig. 5. Beads made from semi-precious stones and objects of Scandinavian origin from Gaarz (Photo by I. Sommerfeld, Museum für Archäologie Schloss Gottorf, Landesmuseen Schleswig-Holstein)

show eastern connections. During the period of the 9th to 11th c. such beads were highly valued goods amongst people on the coasts of the Baltic Sea (Gabriel 1988, 195; Hepp 2007, 16, 83, 87–89, Fig. 30). At least the carnelian example had come a long way from the Caucasus region or even northern India (Gabriel 1988, 195–197; Hepp 2007, 22, 78f.). This could apply to the rock crystal bead as well, but this is uncertain, for it is still a matter of debate whether rock crystal from Scandinavia or Poland was already used during this period (Gabriel 1988, 195–197; Hepp 2007, 22, 78f.).

This evidence of far reaching connections supplemented by the finds of scales and weights indicates trade and exchange at Gaarz and distinguishes this place from most surrounding settlements. In combination with the already discussed residues of the processing of metal, these findings hint at Gaarz being more than a mere rural settlement characterised by agriculture. This notion is strengthened by some valuable metal artefacts, which shall be discussed now and which show the presence of wealthy persons of possibly high social status.

Precious goods – A: Scandinavian connections

The fragment of a Borre-style scabbard chape (Fig. 5.3) is made of a copper alloy and belongs to Sikora group II, type IIa1, which can be dated to the 10th c. (cf. Paulsen 1953, Fig. 53–54; Sikora 2003, 16f., Figs. 3, 10.1–2). The fragment of a second chape from Gaarz (Fig. 5.4), also made from a copper alloy, is difficult to classify due to its state of fragmentation. It might belong to Sikora group I, type Ib with a stylised bird motif (cf. Paulsen 1953, Figs. 26, 30). Sikora 2003, 13–15, Fig. 2). Yet it could also be a fragment of a chape decorated with a simple cross in open-work style, like the one from Vejen in Denmark (Paulsen 1953, 132–136, Fig. 203). Paulsen dates the latter type to the late 11th and the 12th c. (Paulsen 1953, 132–136), while Sikora's type Ib belongs to the second half of the 10th c. and the beginning of the 11th c. (Sikora 2003, 14f.).

In general, scabbard chapes from early and high medieval Europe are rare finds (Brather 2008, 297; Sikora 2003, 11f.). Neither for Starigard/Oldenburg, nor for Old Lübeck or other places in Ostholstein have any finds of this kind been published (cf. Gabriel 1988; Meier 1993, 19–22; Sikora 2003, Figs. 2, 3). At the same time, their rare appearance and high value make it unlikely that such finds would have gone unmentioned. This highlights the exceptional character of the finds from Gaarz. Even though only individual fragments are known so far, the existence of scabbard chapes is a strong indicator of the presence of or connections to the high strata of society during the early and high medieval period. It can, however, not be ruled out that the fragmented state could be a sign of the planned use as raw material in metal processing.

Similar in age and origin to the Borre-style scabbard chape is a Scandinavian style key found at Gaarz (Fig. 5.5). This too is made of a copper alloy. Westphalen classifies keys of similar shape from Hedeby as type 13 (Westphalen 2002, 176, Fig. 80, Plate 67.8). Keys like these were found in some trading places and fortifications in Scandinavia and on the western shores of the Baltic Sea, especially in richly furnished graves of Scandinavian women from the 9th and 10th c. (Cinthio 1998, 230f.; Herrmann 2005, 74f.; Holmqvist and Arrhenius 1961, 159; Roesdahl 1977, 98, 148–151; Schoknecht 1977, 42f.; Westphalen 2002, 176, 182). In Ralswiek (Germany) and Lund (Sweden) they can be traced to the 11th c. (Blomqvist and Martensson 1963, 109, 111–113, 139, Fig. 125; Herrmann 2005, 74f.; for chronology: Herrmann 1996,



Fig. 6. Fragments of a pendant with basket-shaped top from Gaarz (Photo by I. Sommerfeld, Museum für Archäologie Schloss Gottorf, Landesmuseen Schleswig-Holstein and L. Herrmannsen, Archäologisches Landesamt Schleswig-Holstein)

36, Plate 1; cf. Cinthio 1998, 231). Again, this type of artefact is little known in Ostholstein, with only one parallel, which was found at the princely seat of Starigard/Oldenburger (Struve 1985, Fig. 70).

Yet another find of Scandinavian origin occurs in the form of a pendant of the Arnestad-type (Fig. 5.6; Callmer 1989, 21, 37). As it is cast from a copper alloy with a gilded surface, it is one of the most valuable finds from Gaarz. Parallels can be found in Norway, Sweden and Denmark (Callmer 1989, 27, 37; Jørgensen and Pedersen 1996, Fig. 8; Svensson 2001, 244, Fig. 2. U 4523 and U 5604)⁴. The Arnestad-type is not well dated yet, but by the chronology of the sites and parallels in the shape it can be dated to the 10th c., maybe also to the early 11th c. (cf. Callmer 1989, 28–29; Jørgensen and Pedersen 1996, 32–33; Jørgensen 2006, 191; Kleingärtner 2004, 258f.; Svensson 2001, 248f.). To the author's knowledge no other examples but the one from Gaarz are known from the north-west Slavic area. There are indeed only a few artefacts of any similarity in that region.

One further artefact from Gaarz can be associated with the Scandinavian culture of the Early Middle Ages, and it constitutes the most peculiar find from Gaarz. So far, no direct parallels could be found. It is a copper alloy object reconstructed from three fragments: it has the shape of a staff with a basket on top, terminated in a loop (Fig. 6). The basket is formed by four slim, curved bars of the same metal. In total the object is 13.5 cm long. There is only one single pendant published that bears some, albeit faint, similarity. This comes from Janów Pomorski/Truso near the Baltic coast in Poland (Gardeła 2014, 112, Fig. 3.53; Jagodziński 2010, 157). The overall shape of the 5.3 cm object can be described as a staff with a basket and a loop on top as

⁴ Christensen most probably wrongly identified one Danish example from Mysselhøjgård in Lejre as a disc-brooch (Christensen 2016, 515 - Catalogue No. Fig. 137).

well. However, it is rather crude in comparison with the Gaarz example and it lacks resemblance in detail. Gardęła supposes it functioned as an amulet or charm and connects it with Viking age sorcery, classifying it as a miniature *seiðr*-staff (Gardęła 2014, 112f.). Following Price, a *seiðr*-staff was a wand-like utensil for a special kind of Scandinavian magic of the pre-Christian era (Price 2002, 174–203). Price’s interpretation is problematic, as he puts great trust in Old Norse literature as a source for facts concerning a pre-Christian cult, though several hundred years and the Christianisation lie between the composition of these texts and the past they deal with (cf. Meulengracht Sørensen 2001b, 53–56, 59–66, 73; Meulengracht Sørensen 2001a; Mundal 2012, esp. 167–180). Moreover, his interpretation of certain finds as *seiðr*-staffs seems too narrow viewed against the fact that there are other possible interpretations, such as distaffs (for examples see Innsbruck University). Nevertheless, the objects for which Price developed his interpretation do show resemblance with the finds from Gaarz and Janów Pomorski/Truso. These much bigger staffs are made from iron and about one meter in length. A large number of them possess a basket-shaped top. They were found in rather richly furnished Scandinavian graves from the 8th to the 10th c., some of which contained more unusual objects (Price 2002, 174–203). In spite of the critical position taken here against Price’s classification of these objects, a high symbolic content seems quite possible. Their meaning seems a matter of researchers’ beliefs, though.

The similarity between the copper alloy find from Gaarz and some of these iron staffs is striking and thus it might well represent a second, albeit more elaborate, miniature example besides the one from Janów Pomorski/Truso. Its shape, size and the loop at its top make it probable that it was used as a pendant. At the same time the clear separation of the upper and lower part of the staff seems intentional and is puzzling. The clear “cut” might indicate intentional destruction.

Precious goods – B: Slavic jewellery

Signs of wealth at Gaarz do not only come from Scandinavia. Adding to the collection of valuable objects, albeit representing a younger period, are typical Late Slavic jewellery and ornament fittings, most of which are made of a copper alloy. Among these are finger rings (cf. Bach and Dušek 1971; Herrmann 1972; Łęga 1930; Malinowska-Łazarczyk 1982), belt buckles (cf. Heindel 1990; Hartvig 2016; Krabath 2001) and belt



Fig. 7. Slavic jewellery from Gaarz (Photo by I. Sommerfeld, Museum für Archäologie Schloss Gottorf, Landesmuseen Schleswig-Holstein)

hooks (cf. Gabriel 1988; Heindel 1990; Knorr 1970), as well as knife sheath fittings (cf. Biermann 2009; Knorr 1938; Krabath 2001, 69–71) (Fig. 7). They can be dated to the 11th and 12th c. and presumably all of them could have been produced in local workshops. Amongst these objects is also the most precious find from Gaarz: a silver ring (Fig. 7, top far right). Today it is a flat band ornamented with three fields that show punch-marked crosses, each inside a circle. But it was once a ring to be worn on the finger of a high-status person. Presumably during the time in the soil it broke and its current shape came into being. Similar rings, yet with somewhat different decorations or motifs, are known from other Slavic sites (Łęga 1930, 137–138, Plate 31.41–42; Schmidt 1992, 34, 96f., Plate 43.b and 44.c) and the fortification Eketorp III on the Swedish island of Öland (Borg 1998, 278, Y 26:33 LH, V 13:37 LH). The Gaarz exemplar is an extraordinary find in the region; it could hint at the presence of representatives of the highest stratum of Slavic society.

Coins

The most direct evidence of trade and monetary assets found in Gaarz are coins. They form by far the biggest part of the site's silver artefacts and were struck in different mints between the 10th and 12th c. Only two late medieval pennies, so called “Hohlpfennige”, come from another period, but will not be dealt with here. All in all, there are 11 more or less identifiable coins or fragments thereof from the Slavic



Fig. 8. Coins from Gaarz (Photo by I. Sommerfeld, Museum für Archäologie Schloss Gottorf, Landesmuseen Schleswig-Holstein)

era (Fig. 8). Two pieces of Islamic coinage (sg. Dirham, pl. Darāhim; cf. Brather 1995, 73) from the 10th c. (Fig. 8.1–2; classification by: Dr. Lutz Ilisch, Tübingen University) show the typical fragmentation connected with the use of weight-money (Brather 1995, 79–81; Brather 2008, 223, 229; Steuer 1987, 406; Steuer *et al.* 2002, 137–139). Together with the scales and weights they bear witness to this form of paying system at Gaarz – although the processing of metal would have needed weighing as well and silver coins could have been stored as raw material. The origin of the Darāhim lies far to the east in the former Samanid Empire in the central Asian city of Tashkent, today’s capital of Uzbekistan. Islamic coinage is quite commonly found in the Circum-Baltic areas, especially in hoards, central places and ports of trade, and Samanid silver dominates amongst this material from the beginning of the 10th c. onwards until the influx ceased during the early 11th c. (Brather 1995, 73–77, 99–100; Wiechmann 1996, 77–78). The Darāhim from Gaarz therefore form (further) evidence for the involvement of at least some of the people in Gaarz in Baltic trade and its eastern connections, although it cannot be counted as evidence for direct connections to central Asia.

The other coins from Gaarz are of western origin and most of them are preserved whole (Fig. 8). Two halves of the same coin form

the exception and might have been separated during the years in the soil (Fig. 8.5–6). These coins were struck during the 11th and the first half of the 12th c. and show no deviation from the expected range of coinages in this region (cf. Kilger 2000; Kilger 2004). Most of them were produced in the eastern *Regnum Francorum* (Fig. 8.3–8). There are examples struck by regional lords in Lüneburg or Stade (cf. Kilger 2000, 193, 184), the Oberlausitz region (classification by: Stephan Meinhardt) and early and late examples of so called Niederelbische Agrippiner, possibly struck in Bardowick (cf. Kilger 2004, 226; Kilger 2000, 191f.; Wiechmann 1996, 363, 507–509). Three of the 12th-century coins from Gaarz were found together in a manner that indicates that these pieces were held together by some sort of roll or tube-shaped container (Fig. 8.9–11), similar to a coin wrapper (German: “Münzrolle”; Stephan Meinhardt, personal communication)⁵. Amongst these coins is one Danish example (Fig. 8.9), struck in Ribe between 1104 and 1134 (King Niels Svensson [1104–1134], classification by: Stephan Meinhardt). The two other coins were probably struck between 1100 and 1130 in Starigard/Oldenburg or Old Lübeck (Fig. 8.10–11). This type forms the first coinage struck in the region, most probably by the order of Prince Henry of Old Lübeck (Müller-Wille 2011b, 224–226; Müller-Wille 2011a, 255; cf. Kilger 2000, 89–91). Examples have been found at the two mentioned central places of Ostholstein and at similar places outside this region, but so far no finds are known from rural contexts.

II.2. The character of the settlement as mirrored by the finds

The archaeological material described so far attests to the presence of a Slavic settlement at Gaarz during approximately the 10th to the 12th c. Even though agriculture and husbandry might have played an important role in the life of its inhabitants, this settlement is not to be seen as merely a rural place. Residues of metal production characterise it as a place of crafts, in terms of metal mostly connected with the processing of copper alloys. For the whole period evidence can be given that at least some of the inhabitants accumulated wealth and gained high status or close contact to high-ranking persons in Slavic society – at least on a regional level. Amongst others, fragments of collapsible scales, suitable weights and fragments of millstones as well

⁵ Unfortunately, no traces of this could be secured for further investigation.

as whetstones, both made of foreign materials, indicate trade at Gaarz. There is evidence for intensive connections to Scandinavia and far-reaching contacts to the East. Whether the latter were mediated via some of the great ports of trade on the coast of the Baltic Sea or were of a more direct character cannot be answered here. The coins attest to connections shifting during the 11th and 12th c. towards neighbouring powers in the West, which is in accordance with the general trend in Scandinavian and Western Slavic societies (cf. Brather 1995, 103–107; Brather 2008, 232–235). But the coins do not only show a shift in geographical orientation. While collapsible scales and fragmented coins hint at the use of weight-money during the early phase of the settlement, unfragmented coins and especially the “coin wrapper” tell of a change in the payment system. By the beginning of the 12th c. (at the latest) the people at Gaarz had joined the monetary economy of Western and Central Europe (cf. Kilger 2004, 225–229).

III. The function of the Slavic settlement at Gaarz

In addition to the preceding material-based analysis, the function of the settlement can be further illuminated by taking its location into account. Gaarz lies approximately midway between Starigard/Oldenburg and the Baltic coast to the east near Dahme (Fig. 1). As stated before, it is situated on a peninsula in the Oldenburger Graben (Fig. 2). Prior to draining, water surfaces, wetlands, flood plains and reed-covered riparian zones dominated the low-lying surrounding areas (Oldekop 1908, 51–52). Only in the western part of the Oldenburger Graben a part of this landscape survived, namely Lake Wessek. In the landscape and settlement archaeology of the Oldenburger Graben the extent of water surfaces before draining is a crucial question. For Slavic times the answer determines the probability of a waterway between Starigard/Oldenburg and the Baltic Sea. So far, no consensus could be reached by researchers about this question (cf. Hoffmann 2004; Jakobsen 2004; Kleingärtner 2014, 260–264; Struve 1985, 97–101). However, there are indicators suggesting that the Oldenburger Graben could have been used for traffic by ships during the Slavic Era – at least in its eastern parts.

Slavic place names in the area often contain references to water and the course of cliffs in the northern parts of Ostholstein would

have restricted access points on the coast (Kleingärtner 2014, 260–264, Fig. 39). Transition between inland and the Baltic Sea would have been easiest near the mouth of the Oldenburger Graben and possibly near Heiligenhafen (*ibid.*). Nevertheless, it is disputed whether or to what extent a direct connection between the Oldenburger Graben and the Baltic Sea existed during Slavic times and how the water level is to be estimated. Although rivets from clinker-built ships have been found at Gaarz, they do not constitute conclusive evidence for Slavic sailing there. As the rivets come from the surface, they could stem from another period, especially later times (cf. Szymanski 1929, 13, 56, 59f.)⁶.

The results of geographical research are ambiguous. According to Dietrich Hoffmann, there was no natural direct connection of the Oldenburger Graben to the Baltic Sea during the Slavic period (Hoffmann 2004, 9, 13). Olaf Jakobsen, on the other hand, considers a connection with the Bay of Lübeck in the Early Middle Ages to be very likely (Jakobsen 2004, 95). According to Jakobsen's model (Jakobsen 2004, 95–109) – yet contradicted by Hoffmann (Hoffmann 2004, 13) – water levels in the Oldenburger Graben would have been similar to those shown on the Early Modern maps (e.g. Johannes Mejer 1649, see *Kartensammlung Moll*). Should Jakobsen's assumption hold true, then it would have been possible to navigate at least the eastern part of the Oldenburger Graben⁷. Even if ship traffic had not reached Starigard/Oldenburg itself (cf. Struve 1985, 97–99), the waterway would nevertheless have facilitated journeys and transport between this central place and the Baltic Sea. The exhausting land-bound route through the moraine landscape of northern Ostholstein could thus have been avoided.

Considering Gaarz's location in the middle of the Oldenburger Graben and the supposed waterway, the Slavic settlement could have been a harbour and acted as a station on this trading route. The lack of metal finds and other luxury artefacts around Starigard/Oldenburg and Gaarz suggests that the more precious goods traded and produced in Gaarz were not meant for a broader local market. While more mundane objects – not (yet) reflected in the archaeological record –

⁶ The Oldenburger Graben was navigated well into modern times and fishing took place near Gaarz up to the early 20th c. (Abraham 1977, 52; Hücke 1964, 12, 14).

⁷ This hypothesis is supported by calculations of the mean sea level rise during the Early Middle Ages based on Jakobsen's data on sea level rise of the Baltic Sea (Jakobsen 2004, 109, Fig. 39).

such as agricultural products and textiles, might have played a role in the local trade, the site did not constitute a market place for metal or luxurious artefacts. Instead, Gaarz provided these goods for the region's leading persons. Some of them might have stayed there or stationed a representative. Given its excellent strategic position, Gaarz could well have acted as a base for executing power over the surrounding area and the waterway – or over the people and goods thereon respectively. As mentioned before, the name and topographic conditions even support the idea of a Slavic fortification at Gaarz (cf. Hucke 1964, 17; Meinhardt 2013, 84f.), but proof of this hypothesis could not be provided yet.

As the settlement – and supposedly minor central place – at Gaarz was in existence parallel to Starigard/Oldenburg during approximately 200 years, close ties must have existed between them. Without the consent and protection of the ruler at Starigard/Oldenburg, Gaarz could hardly have prospered.

Both places declined during the 12th c., a troubled period for Ostholstein, which saw the destruction of the fortresses and their settlements in Starigard/Oldenburg and Old-Lübeck (Gabriel 1991, 81–83; Struve 1985, 85–107). Whereas Oldenburg was founded anew as a medieval “German” town, Old-Lübeck gave little but its name to the new and proud city of Lübeck (Gabriel 1991, 81–83; Struve 1985, 95–107; cf. Brather 2008, 85–87). In Gaarz, the wealthy settlement vanished, whether by force or decay remains unclear. Settlement activity most probably shifted or was reduced to the area of the later manor, for late medieval finds indicate an end of settlement and change in activity on LA 132. With the results presented here a new chapter has been opened for the site and for Slavic archaeology in the region. It will be most exciting to learn what the site holds in store in the future.

Acknowledgements

The author wants to thank the Museum für Archäologie Schloss Gottorf in der Stiftung Schleswig-Holsteinischer Landesmuseen (ALM) and the Archäologisches Landesamt Schleswig-Holstein (ALSH) for the permission to examine the archaeological material from Gaarz, for insight into their data-base and archives and for the permission to use their pictures. Cordial thanks go to the supervisors of his master's thesis, Prof. Dr. Ulrich Müller and Prof. Dr. Claus von Carnap-Bornheim and also to Dr. Ralf Bleile (ALM), Eicke Sieglhoff (ALSH) and Inga

Sommerfeld (ALM), who were of great support during the work on the material from Gaarz. A special mention must be made of Klaus Evers (Oldenburg in Holstein), who gave insight into his knowledge of the region and his collection. Further thanks go to Stephan Meinhardt, Michaela Schimmer, Dr. Dietrich Meier and Dorothea Feiner, who provided the author with important hints and information.

References

- Abraham K. 1977. Der Streit zwischen Gaarz und Koselau um den sogenannten Rethwarder 1690–1751. *Jahrbuch für Heimatkunde Oldenburg/Holstein* 21, 51–53.
- Bach H. and Dušek S. 1971. *Slawen in Thüringen. Geschichte, Kultur und Anthropologie im 10. bis 12. Jahrhundert. Nach den Ausgrabungen bei Espenfeld* (= Veröffentlichungen des Museums für Ur- und Frühgeschichte Thüringens 2). Weimar: Böhlau.
- Biermann F. 2008. Die Knochen- und Geweihbearbeitung im nordwestslawischen Siedlungsgebiet vom 7./8. bis 12. Jahrhundert n. Chr. In W. Melzer (ed.), *Archäologie und mittelalterliches Handwerk. Eine Standortbestimmung* (= Soester Beiträge zur Archäologie 9). Soest: Westfälische Verl.-Buchh. Mocker & Jahn, 239–266.
- Biermann F. 2009. *Bootsgrab – Brandgrab – Kammergrab. Die slawischen Gräberfelder von Usedom im Kontext der früh- und hochmittelalterlichen Bestattungssitten in Mecklenburg und Pommern* (= Archäologie und Geschichte im Ostseeraum 7). Rahden/Westf.: Leidorf.
- Blomqvist R. and Martensson A. W. 1963. *Thulegrävningen 1961. En berättelse om vad grävningarna för Thulehuset i Lund avslöjade* (= *Archaeologica Lundensia: investigationes de antiquitatibus urbis Lundae* 2). Lund: Skånska Centraltryckeriet.
- Borg K. 1998. Fingerringar. In K. Borg (ed.), *Eketorp-III. Den medeltida befästningen på Öland. Artefakterna* (= *Eketorp* 4). Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 277–279.
- Brather S. 1995. Frühmittelalterliche Dirham-Schatzfunde in Europa. Probleme ihrer wirtschaftsgeschichtlichen Interpretation aus archäologischer Perspektive. *Zeitschrift für Archäologie des Mittelalters* 23/24, 73–153.
- Brather S. 2008. *Archäologie der westlichen Slawen: Siedlung, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft im früh- und hochmittelalterlichen Ostmitteleuropa* (= RGA Ergänzungsband 61). Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Callmer J. 1989. Gegossene Schmuckanhänger mit nordischer Ornamentik. In G. Arwidsson (ed.), *Birka II:3. Systematische Analysen der Gräberfunde*. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 19–42.
- Christensen T. 2016. *Lejre Bag Myten. De arkæologiske udgravninger* (= *Jysk Arkæologisk Selskab Skrifter* 87). Aarhus/Moesgaard: Aarhus Universitetsforlag.
- Cinthio H. 1998. Lås och nycklar. In K. Borg (ed.), *Eketorp-III. Den medeltida befästningen på Öland. Artefakterna* (= *Eketorp* 4). Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 229–244.
- Dobat A. S. 2010. Füsing. Ein frühmittelalterlicher Zentralplatz im Umfeld von Hai-thabu/Schleswig. Bericht über die Ergebnisse der Prospektionen 2003–2005.

- In C. von Carnap-Bornheim (ed.), *Studien zu Haithabu und Füsing* (= *Die Ausgrabungen in Haithabu* 16). Neumünster: Wachholtz, 129–256.
- Gabriel I. 1988. Hof- und Sakralkultur sowie Gebrauchs- und Handelsgut im Spiegel der Kleinfunde von Starigard/Oldenburg. In *Oldenburg – Wolin – Staraja Ladoga – Novgorod – Kiev. Handel und Handelsverbindungen im südlichen und östlichen Ostseeraum während des frühen Mittelalters. Internationale Fachkonferenz der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft vom 5.-9. Oktober 1987 in Kiel* (= *Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen-Kommission* 69). Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 103–263.
- Gabriel I. 1991. Starigard/Oldenburg und seine historische Topographie. In M. Müller-Wille (ed.), *Starigard-Oldenburg. Ein slawischer Herrschersitz des frühen Mittelalters in Ostholstein*. Neumünster: Wachholtz, 73–83.
- Gabriel I. and Kempke T. 1991. Ausgrabungsmethode und Chronologie. In M. Müller-Wille (ed.) *Starigard-Oldenburg. Ein slawischer Herrschersitz des frühen Mittelalters in Ostholstein*. Neumünster: Wachholtz, 123–148.
- Gardela L. 2014. *Scandinavian amulets in Viking Age Poland* (= *Collectio Archaeologica Ressoiviensis* 33). Rzeszów: Instytut Archeologii Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego, Fundacja Rzeszowskiego Ośrodka Archeologicznego.
- Hartvig A. 2016. Utgravninger ved Sdr. Starup Kirke. In T.R. Kristensen (ed.), *Haderslev – en købstad bliver til. Udgravninger ved Starup og Møllestrømmen* (= *Skrifter fra Museum Sønderjylland* 11). Haderslev: Museum Sønderjylland – Arkæologi Haderslev, 17–48.
- Heindel I. 1990. *Riemen- und Gürtelteile im westslawischen Siedlungsgebiet* (= *Beiträge zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte der Bezirke Rostock, Schwerin und Neubrandenburg* 23). Berlin: Dt. Verl. der Wiss.
- Henriksen M.B. 2000. Hvad skal vi med detektorfund? In M.B. Henriksen (ed.), *Detektorfund – hvad skal vi med dem? Dokumentation og registrering af bopladser med detektorfund fra jernalder og middelalder. Rapport fra en bebyggelseshistorisk seminar på Hollufgård den 26. oktober 1998* (= *Skrifter fra Odense Bys Museer* 5). Odense: Odense Kommune, Kopicentralen, 11–16.
- Hepp D.A. 2007. Die Bergkristall- und Karneolperlen von Haithabu und Schleswig. Ein Beitrag zu Handel und Handwerk im südlichen Ostseeraum. *Das archäologische Fundmaterial* 8 (= *Berichte über die Ausgrabungen in Haithabu* 36). Neumünster: Wachholtz, 13–181.
- Herrmann J. 1972. *Die Slawen in Deutschland: Geschichte und Kultur der slawischen Stämme westlich von Oder und Neisse vom 6. bis 12. Jahrhundert. Ein Handbuch*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- Herrmann J. 1996. *Ralswiek und Rügen. Die slawisch-wikingischen Siedlungen und deren Hinterland. Teil 1: Die Hauptsiedlung* (= *Beiträge zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte Mecklenburg-Vorpommerns* 32). Lübsdorf: Archäologisches Landesmuseum Mecklenburg-Vorpommern.
- Herrmann J. 2005. *Ralswiek auf Rügen. Die slawisch-wikingische Siedlungen und deren Hinterland. Teil III: Die Funde aus der Hauptsiedlung* (= *Beiträge zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte Mecklenburg-Vorpommerns* 37). Schwerin: Archäologisches Landesmuseum Mecklenburg-Vorpommern.

- Hoffmann D. 2004. Der Oldenburger Graben. Ein morphologisch-geologischer Überblick. In M. Müller-Wille (ed.), *Starigard/Oldenburg. Hauptburg der Slawen in Wagrien V. Naturwissenschaftliche Beiträge* (= *Offa-Bücher* 82). Neumünster: Wachholtz, 9–14.
- Holmqvist W. and Arrhenius B. (eds.) 1961. *Excavations at Helgö I: Report for 1954–1956*. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell.
- Hucke K. 1964. Zur Frage der slawischen Wehranlage von Gaarz, Kreis Oldenburg. *Jahrbuch für Heimatkunde Oldenburg/Holstein* 64, 12–17.
- Jagodziński M. F. 2010. *Truso: między Weonodlandem a Witlandem*. Elbląg: Muzeum Archeologiczno-Historyczne.
- Jakobsen O. 2004. *Die Grube-Wesseker Niederung (Oldenburger Graben, Ostholstein). Quartärgeologische und geoarchäologische Untersuchungen zur Landschaftsgeschichte vor dem Hintergrund des anhaltenden postglazialen Meeresspiegelanstiegs* [Dissertation]. Kiel. https://macau.uni-kiel.de/receive/diss_diss_00001366 [last access 27.11.2018].
- Jørgensen L. 2000. Storgården ved Tissø. Tolkning af aktivitetsområder og anlæg på grundlag af detektorfundene fra pløjelaget. In M.B. Henriksen (ed.), *Detektorfund - hvad skal vi med dem? Dokumentation og registrering af bopladser med detektorfund fra jernalder og middelalder. Rapport fra en bebyggelsehistorisk seminar på Hollufgård den 26. oktober 1998* (= *Skrifter fra Odense Bys Museer* 5). Odense: Odense Kommune, Kopicentralen, 61–67.
- Jørgensen L. 2006. Tracking down the aristocracy – Distribution patterns and coin use at the Viking manor and market at Lake Tissø, Denmark. In H.W. Horsnæs and J.C. Moesgaard (eds.), *6th Nordic Numismatic Symposium. Single Finds: the Nordic Perspective* (= *Denmark. Norddisk Numismatisk Årsskrift / Nordic Numismatic Journal 2000–2002*) 190–204.
- Jørgensen L. and Pedersen L. 1996. Vikinger ved Tissø. Gamle og nye fund fra et handels- og håndværkscenter. *Nationalmuseets Arbejdsmark* 1996, 22–36.
- Kempke T. 1984. *Starigard/Oldenburg. Hauptburg der Slawen in Wagrien II. Die Keramik des 8.-12. Jahrhunderts* (= *Offa-Bücher* 53). Neumünster: Wachholtz.
- Kilger C. 2000. *Pfennigmärkte und Währungslandschaften. Monetarisierungen im sächsisch-slawischen Grenzland ca. 965 – 1120* (= *Commentationes de nummis saeculorum IX-XI in Suecia repertis N.S.* 15). Stockholm: Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities.
- Kilger C. 2004. Monetarität und Monetarisierung, verschiedene Stellungnahmen zur Einführung und Ausübung einer Münzgeldwirtschaft im Deutschen Reich und im elbslawischen Raum während des 11. Jahrhunderts. In J. Staecker (ed.), *The European frontier. Clashes and compromises in the middle ages* (= *Lund studies in medieval archaeology* 33). Lund: Almqvist & Wiksell, 221–232.
- Klammt A. 2015. *Die Standorte unbefestigter Siedlungen der nördlichen Elbslawen: zwischen Klimaveränderungen und politischem Wandel* (= *Universitätsforschungen zur prähistorischen Archäologie* 277). Bonn: Verlag Dr. Rudolf Habelt GmbH.
- Kleingärtner S. 2004. Fibeln und Anhänger vom Typ Terslev und ihre gegossenen Imitationen. In M. Müller-Wille (ed.), *Zwischen Tier und Kreuz. Untersuchungen zur wikingerzeitlichen Ornamentik im Ostseeraum* (= *Studien zur*

- Siedlungsgeschichte und Archäologie der Ostseegebiete* 4). Neumünster: Wachholtz, 205–377.
- Kleingärtner S. 2014. *Die frühe Phase der Urbanisierung an der südlichen Ostseeküste im ersten nachchristlichen Jahrtausend* (= *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte und Archäologie der Ostseegebiete* 13). Neumünster: Wachholtz.
- Knorr H. A. 1938. Die slawischen Messerscheidenbeschläge. *Mannus* 30, 479–545.
- Knorr H. A. 1970. Westslawische Gürtelhaken und Kettenschließgarnituren. Ein Beitrag zur Deutung Alt-Lübecker Funde. *Offa* 27, 92–104.
- Krabath S. 2001. *Die hoch- und spätmittelalterlichen Buntmetallfunde nördlich der Alpen. Eine archäologisch-kunsthistorische Untersuchung zu ihrer Herstellungstechnik, funktionalen und zeitlichen Bestimmung*, vol. I. Text (= *Internationale Archäologie* 63). Rahden/Westf.: Leidorf.
- Łęga W. 1930. *Kultura Pomorza we wczesnym średniowieczu na podstawie wykopalisk*. Toruń: Towarzystwo Naukowe.
- Malinowska-Łazarczyk H. 1982. *Cmentarzysko średniowieczne w Cedyni*, vol. I. Szczecin: Muzeum Narodowe.
- Martens J. and Ravn M. (eds.) 2016. *Pløvejord som kontekst. Kulturhistorisk museum Universitet i Oslo*. Oslo: Portal forlag og Kulturhistorisk museum.
- Meier D. 1993. Alt Lübeck. Die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen 1947–1950 und 1956–1972 im nördlichen Burgbereich sowie der erreichte Forschungsstand. *Beiträge zur Archäologie von Slawen und Deutschen* (= *Lübecker Schriften zur Archäologie und Kulturgeschichte* 23). Bonn: Habelt, 7–46.
- Meinhardt S. 2013. Neue Prospektionen auf slawenzeitlichen Fundstellen im Oldenburger Graben. *Archäologische Nachrichten aus Schleswig-Holstein* 19, 82–85.
- Meulengracht Sørensen P. 2001a. Den norrøne litteratur og virkeligheden. In P. Meulengracht Sørensen (ed.), *At fortælle historien. Studier i den gamle nordiske litteratur* (= *Hesperides: litterature e culture occidentali* 16). Trieste: Ed. Par-naso, 113–122.
- Meulengracht Sørensen P. 2001b. *Kort oversigt over Nordens litteratur i oldtid og middelalder*. København: Dansk lærerforening.
- Michaelsen K. K. 2000. Detektorfund – hvad skal vi med dem? In M. B. Henriksen (ed.), *Detektorfund – hvad skal vi med dem? Dokumentation og registrering af bopladser med detektorfund fra jernalder og middelalder. Rapport fra en bebyggelsehistorisk seminar på Hollufgård den 26. oktober 1998* (= *Skrifter fra Odense Bys Museer* 5). Odense: Odense Kommune, Kopicentralen, 7–10.
- Müller-Wille M. 1998. Starigard/Oldenburg – Wolin – Novgorod: Besiedlung und Siedlungen im Umland slawischer Herrschaftszentren. Ein fachübergreifendes Forschungsprojekt. In C. Lübke (ed.), *Struktur und Wandel im Früh- und Hochmittelalter. Eine Bestandsaufnahme aktueller Forschungen zur Germania Slavica* (= *Forschungen zur Geschichte und Kultur des östlichen Mitteleuropa* 5). Stuttgart: Steiner, 187–198.
- Müller-Wille M. 2011a. Bardowick und der Nordern. In M. Müller-Wille (ed.), *Zwischen Starigard/Oldenburg und Novgorod. Archäologie der west- und ostslawischen Gebiete im Frühmittelalter* (= *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte und Archäologie der Ostseegebiete* 10). Neumünster: Wachholtz, 247–256.

- Müller-Wille M. 2011b. Münzfunde aus Starigard/Oldenburg und Alt Lübeck. In M. Müller-Wille (ed.), *Zwischen Starigard/Oldenburg und Novgorod. Archäologie der west- und ostslawischen Gebiete im Frühmittelalter* (= *Studien zur Siedlungsgeschichte und Archäologie der Ostseegebiete* 10). Neumünster: Wachholtz, 224–231.
- Mundal E. 2012. The Growth of Consciousness of Fiction in Old Norse Culture. In P. Agapētos (ed.), *Medieval narratives between history and fiction. From the centre to the periphery of Europe, c. 1100–1400*. København: Museum Tusulanum Press, 167–198.
- Oldekop H. 1908. *Topographie des Herzogtums Holstein. Einschließlich Kreis Herzogtum Lauenburg, Fürstentum Lübeck, Enklaven (8) der freien und Hansestadt Lübeck, Enklaven (4) der freien und Hansestadt Hamburg*, vol. I. Kiel: Mühlau.
- Paddenberg D. 2012. *Die Funde der jungslawischen Feuchtbodensiedlung von Parchim-Löddigsee, Kr. Parchim, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern* (= *Frühmittelalterliche Archäologie zwischen Ostsee und Mittelmeer* 3). Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag.
- Paulsen P. 1953. *Die Schwertortbänder der Wikingerzeit. Ein Beitrag zur Frühgeschichte Osteuropas*. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer.
- Pedersen U. 2007. Weights and Balances. In D. Skre (ed.), *Means of exchange. Dealing with Silver in the Viking Age* (= *Kaupang Excavation Project Publication Series* 2). Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 119–195.
- Pedersen U. 2010. *I smeltedigelen. Finsmedene i vikingtidsbyen Kaupang*. Oslo: Universitetet i Oslo.
- Price N. S. 2002. *The Viking way. Religion and war in late iron age Scandinavia* (= *Aun* 31). Uppsala: Dept. of Archaeology and Ancient History, Univ. Uppsala.
- Roesdahl E. 1977. *Fyrkat. En jysk vikingeborg. 2: Oldsagerne og gravpladsen* (= *Nordiske fortidsminder* 4). København: I Kommission Hos Herm. H.J. Lyng og Son.
- Schmidt V. 1989. *Drense. Eine Hauptburg der Ukrane* (= *Beiträge zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte der Bezirke Rostock, Schwerin und Neubrandenburg* 22). Berlin: Dt. Verl. der Wiss.
- Schmidt V. 1992. *Lieps. Die slawischen Gräberfelder und Kultbauten am Südende des Tollensesees* (= *Beiträge zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte Mecklenburg-Vorpommerns* 26). Lübstorf: Archäologisches Landesmuseum für Mecklenburg-Vorpommern.
- Schneeweiß J. 2011. Sachsen, Franken, Slawen - zur Geschichte einer Grenzregion an der Elbe. Ein Vorbericht zu den Ausgrabungen des Göttinger Seminars für Ur- und Frühgeschichte am Höhbeck. In K.-H. Willroth and J. Schneeweiß (eds.), *Slawen an der Elbe* (= *Göttinger Forschungen zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte* 1). Neumünster: Wachholtz, 57–102.
- Schoknecht U. 1977. *Menzlin. Ein frühgeschichtlicher Handelsplatz an der Peene* (= *Beiträge zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte der Bezirke Rostock, Schwerin und Neubrandenburg* 10). Berlin: Dt. Verl. der Wiss.
- Schön V. 1989. Betrachtungen zum Handel des Mittelalters am Beispiel von Mühlsteinfinden aus Schleswig-Holstein. In H. Lüdtko, F. Lüth and F. Laux (eds.), *Archäologischer Befund und historische Deutung. Festschrift für Wolfgang Hübnener zu seinem 65. Geburtstag am 15. Juni 1989* (= *Hammaburg N.F.* 9). Neumünster: Wachholtz, 185–190.

- Schön V. 1995. *Die Mühlsteine von Haithabu und Schleswig. Ein Beitrag zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des mittelalterlichen Mühlenwesens in Nordwesteuropa* (= *Berichte über die Ausgrabungen in Haithabu* 31). Neumünster: Wachholtz.
- Sikora P. 2003. Frühmittelalterliche Ortbänder bei West- und Ostslawen. Versuch einer typologisch-chronologischen Einordnung. *Zeitschrift für Archäologie des Mittelalters* 31, 11–38.
- Steuer H. 1987. Gewichtsgeldwirtschaften im frühgeschichtlichen Europa. In K. Düwel, H. Siems and D. Tiempe (eds.), *Untersuchungen zu Handel und Verkehr der vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Zeit 4: Der Handel der Karolinger- und Wikingerzeit* (= *Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Philologisch-Historische Klasse* 156). Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 405–527.
- Steuer H. 1997. *Waagen und Gewichte aus dem mittelalterlichen Schleswig. Funde des 11. bis 13. Jahrhunderts aus Europa als Quellen zur Handels- und Währungsgeschichte* (= *Zeitschrift für Archäologie des Mittelalters Beiheft* 10). Bonn: Habelt.
- Steuer H., Stern W.B. and Goldenberg G. 2002. Der Wechsel von der Münzgeld- zur Gewichtsgeldwirtschaft in Haithabu um 900 und die Herkunft des Münzsilbers im 9. und 10. Jahrhundert. In K. Brandt, M. Müller-Wille and C. Radtke (eds.), *Haithabu und die frühe Stadtentwicklung im nördlichen Europa* (= *Schriften des Archäologischen Landesmuseums* 8). Neumünster: Wachholtz, 133–167.
- Struve K. W. 1959. Die slawischen Burgen in Wagrien. *Offa* 17/18, 57–108.
- Struve K. W. 1985. Starigard/Oldenburg. Geschichte und archäologische Erforschung der Slawischen Fürstenburg in Wagrien. In K. Ehlers (ed.), *750 Jahre Stadtrecht Oldenburg in Holstein*. Oldenburg in Holstein: Stadt Oldenburg, 73–206.
- Svensson M. 2001. Gyllene bronser. En komparativ analys av Uppåkras vikingatida förgyllda bronsmycken. In B. Hårdh (ed.), *Uppåkra. Centrum och sammanhang* (= *Acta archaeologica Lundensia. Series in 8°* 34/ *Uppåkrastudier* 3). Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell Internat., 239–258.
- Szymanski H. 1929. *Die Segelschiffe der deutschen Kleinschiffahrt* (= *Pfingstblätter des Hansischen Geschichtsvereins* 20). Lübeck: Vorkamp.
- Theune C. 2008. Zentrum und Peripherie - Aussagemöglichkeiten zum mittelalterlichen Handwerk aufgrund archäologischer Quellen. In W. Melzer (ed.), *Archäologie und mittelalterliches Handwerk. Eine Standortbestimmung* (= *Soester Beiträge zur Archäologie* 9). Soest: Westfälische Verl.-Buchh. Mocker & Jahn, 13–26.
- Venus J. 2004. Pollenanalytische Untersuchungen zur Vegetations- und Siedlungsgeschichte Ostwagriens und der Insel Fehmarn. In M. Müller-Wille (ed.), *Starigard/Oldenburg. Hauptburg der Slawen in Wagrien V. Naturwissenschaftliche Beiträge* (= *Offa-Bücher* 82). Neumünster: Wachholtz, 31–94.
- Vogel V. 1972. *Slawische Funde in Wagrien* (= *Offa-Bücher* 29). Neumünster: Wachholtz.
- Westphalen P. 2002. *Die Eisenfunde von Haithabu* (= *Die Ausgrabungen in Haithabu* 10). Neumünster: Wachholtz.
- Wiechmann R. 1996. *Edelmetalldepots der Wikingerzeit in Schleswig-Holstein. Vom „Ringbrecher“ zur Münzwirtschaft* (= *Offa-Bücher* 77). Neumünster: Wachholtz.

Sources from archives

ALSH = Archäologisches Landesamt Schleswig-Holstein

ALSH FM 1992/180:ALSH Datei 55-014-00-00129.pdf = FM 1992/180

ALSH FM 2002/15:ALSH Datei 55-014-000-00132.pdf = FM 2002/15

ALSH SH2012–349: ALSH Datei 2012-349_KF.pdf

ALSH SH2012–356:ALSH Datei 2012-356_KF.pdf

ALSH SH2012–381:ALSH Maßnahme SH2012-381

ALSH SH2014.72:ALSH Maßnahme SH2014.72

ALM = Museum für Archäologie Schloss Gottorf in der Stiftung Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesmuseen

Ortsakten 1835:ALM Ortsakten Gem. Göhl, Altkreis Oldenburg, 1835 (Fund 1800/1801)

Online sources

Website Gut Gaarz: <http://www.ostsee-bauernhof-reiten.de/> [last access 30.11.2018]

Kartensammlung Moll: <https://mapy.mzk.cz/de/mzk03/001/060/414/2619268324> [last access 30.11.2018]

Innsbruck University:

Spain: https://www.uibk.ac.at/urgeschichte/projekte_forschung/abt/spindeltypologie/spanien.html.en [last access 30.11.2018]

France: https://www.uibk.ac.at/urgeschichte/projekte_forschung/abt/spindeltypologie/frankreich.html.de [last access 30.11.2018]

DOI: 10.15584/anarres.2018.13.12

Charlotta Lindblom*

UNESCO and World Heritage Management in Jelling – Opportunities and Challenges

ABSTRACT

Lindblom Ch. 2018. UNESCO and World Heritage Management in Jelling – Opportunities and Challenges. *Analecta Archaeologica Ressovensia* 13, 243–256

Jelling has been on UNESCO's list of World Heritage Sites since 1994. Jelling was the first site in Denmark on the prestigious list, which includes the most valuable parts of Nature and Cultural Heritage in the world. The Jelling Monuments are among the most stately and noble monuments in Denmark's history. In 1994 they consisted of two huge burial mounds, two rune stones and a church situated between the burial mounds. Research excavations carried out between 2006 and 2013 revealed a huge palisade, which encircled the area – three houses of Trelleborg-type and the largest ship setting seen in the Nordic countries in the Viking Age. These new discoveries did not only revolutionise the interpretation of the site, but also led to a minor boundary modification of the original inscription in 2018. The Jelling Monuments are one of the most visited historical/archaeological sites in Denmark. Following the conference held in 2017 in Zamość, Poland, which concerned management of cultural heritage outside of major cultural centres, I would like to contribute to this topic with some examples, thoughts and challenges related to our work with the cultural heritage management in Jelling.

Keywords: Jelling Monuments; Viking Age; UNESCO; cultural heritage management; opportunities and challenges

Received: 06.12.2018; **Revised:** 28.12.2018; **Revised:** 28.12.2018; **Accepted:** 30.12.2018

Introduction and background

The Jelling Monuments – a huge stone setting, two impressive mounds and two rune stones – created in the 10th c. by King Gorm, his wife Queen Thyra and their son King Harald Bluetooth, have been the focus of both public and academic interest for centuries. The inscriptions on the rune stones were published for the first time in the late 16th c. Since then, the monument complex has been the subject of numerous articles, monographs and presentations, and the site has gained an iconic status as a physical manifestation of the religious, social and

* The Vejle Museums – The Museum of Cultural History, Spinderigade 11, 7100 Vejle, Denmark; CHLIN@vejle.dk

political transformations that marked the Viking Age (Jessen *et al.* 2014, 1–2; Pedersen 2017, 5ff.); a status confirmed by the nomination and inscription of the site to the UNESCO World Heritage list in 1994.

The nomination was a reflection of the monument's central importance – as one of the most significant memorials from the Viking Age. A transition from the old pagan religion to Christianity – linked with the formation of the Danish Kingdom as a nation – is shown here in an outstanding and authentic way (Hvass 2011, 75).

Rooted in a long-established pagan tradition and beliefs, the monument complex was extended and modified over time to include both a Christian rune stone, raised by King Harald Bluetooth in honour of his parents, and a Christian church, which was succeeded by the present Romanesque church around AD 1100. Surprisingly, Jelling never evolved into a major town or centre in the church administration. Nevertheless, Jelling continued to play a significant role as a royal memorial and a place of focus on Danish identity until modern times (Holst *et al.* 2012, 475).

Before moving on to the topic of cultural heritage management, I will guide you through a short version of the history and excavations of the Jelling Monuments – both the previous ones and the most recent excavations and research.

The rune stones in Jelling

The archaeological excavations in Jelling date back to 1586, when the big rune stone in Jelling was raised to an upright position after having been lying on its side. This was done in order to give the big rune stone a more dignified impression and to regain its honour. The rune stone was raised on King Frederik II's orders. The big rune stone is by far the most famous one in Denmark, with the following inscription:

King Harald commanded this monument to be made in memory of Gorm, his father, and in memory of Thyra, his mother – that Harald who won the whole of Denmark for himself, and Norway and made the Danes Christian (This rune stone can be dated to approximately AD 965).

Today one can find a small rune stone with the following inscription:

King Gorm made this monument in memory of Thyra, his wife, Denmark's adornment,

standing beside the big rune stone. It has not always been the case. In a manuscript from around 1600, it is mentioned that the smaller rune stone was placed close to the church door and was used as a bench and at an engraving from 1591, the small rune stone is placed on the top of the southern mound. From the archaeological excavations conducted in 2011 by these rune stones, we know today that the big rune stone in fact stands in its original place (Hvass 2011, 76ff.) In 2011 both rune stones were protected by a new covering of glass and bronze (Fig. 1).



Fig. 1. The rune stones in Jelling (Photo by R. Fortuna, The National Museum, Copenhagen)

Summary of previous archaeological excavations

The first small excavations on the northern mound were carried out in 1704 by King Frederik IV, but they did not bring any significant results. The truly remarkable results came in 1820–21, when local peasants found a huge grave chamber in the northern mound. King Frederik VI was engaged in the excavations, during which the huge burial chamber in the northern mound was unearthed. The chamber grave was constructed of oak timber and it was clear from the start that the grave had been plundered. The few finds: a small silver beaker, gilded bronze ornaments, fragments of furniture items and pictorial carvings, pointed clearly towards a royal burial. The grave belonged to the 10th c. and a later dendrochronological analysis showed that the construction of the chamber must have started in the winter of AD 958–959, but the analysis also showed some activity in the chamber in AD 964/965 (Christensen and Krogh 1987, 223ff.)

The southern mound was excavated by King Frederic VII in 1861 and by Ejnar Dyggve in 1941. Despite high expectations, the mound only revealed two rows of stones (monoliths) beneath the mound, belonging to an older construction (Dyggve 1955, 144ff.)

Dyggve also carried out archaeological excavations underneath the present-day church in Jelling, where he found traces of three older wooden buildings (Dyggve 1955, 165ff.). Later excavations in the church yielded a chamber grave from the 10th c., containing gilded bronze ornaments, matching those previously found in the northern chamber in 1820–21. An analysis showed that the deceased was male and also that the bones were not found in an anatomically correct position. This soon led to a theory about a translation of the deceased – moving King Gorm from the pagan northern mound and into the Christian church (Krogh 1983, 208ff.; 1993, 246f.) This interpretation has been widely discussed and debated among scholars (Andersen 1995; Harck 2006; Ottosen 2006; Ottosen and Gelting 2007; Staecker 2001)¹.

¹ The history of the research, excavations and different interpretations is vast and beyond the scope of this paper. For those interested in the history of the monumental area in Jelling, I can recommend the following literature: Jessen *et al.* 2014; Holst *et al.* 2012. Further reading will soon be available in the upcoming comprehensive volumes from the Jelling project, to be published in 2019: *Jelling – Monuments and Landscape*. In: Publications from the National Museum, Studies in Archaeology & History, 20.4, 1–2; see also: Pedersen 2014b; Moesgaard 2015; Christensen, Lemm and Pedersen (eds.) 2016.

Recent excavations and research

When looking at the vast archaeological material from Jelling, it is obvious that the focus was previously on the monuments themselves and thereby also on the excavations relating to the research. Later it became evident that one must take a much larger area around the monuments into consideration. Around 2003–2005 detectorists began to take an interest in the area around the monuments. It was by no means a huge number of artefacts that were detected, but some of them were remarkable. Among them was a golden tremissis (triens), found east of the northern mound (Fig. 2). This is an imitation of a golden Madelinus-type triens produced in Dorestad. The coin can be dated to AD 650–675 and is indeed a very rare artefact to find in Denmark and especially in the eastern part of Jutland, as it is usually connected to Frisian trade and therefore to be found in the western part of Denmark (Moesgaard 2018, 122). This find clearly inspired the excavations to come. Between 2006 and 2013, several archaeological excavations were carried out by the Vejle Museum and under the Jelling project – a huge research project in collaboration with the Vejle Museum, the National Museum of Denmark, and Aarhus University (Andersen and Christensen 2008, 3ff.; Holst *et al.* 2012, 474ff.)

These excavations altered the interpretation of the monumental area in Jelling by revealing the first structural elements of a complex on



Fig. 2. The golden triens from Jelling (Photo by Vejle Museum)

a scale not seen before – a massive wooden palisade, a huge ship setting, and buildings of the late 10th century type. Continued excavations showed that the palisade had been an immense four-sided enclosure, covering an area of 12.5 ha, at least five times the size of any known Viking Age “manor” in Scandinavia. Timber houses, similar to the buildings known from King Harald Bluetooth’s circular fortresses (Aggersborg, Fyrkat and Trelleborg), but which also drew inspiration from contemporary rural architecture, were placed along the inner boundary of the north-eastern corner of the palisade, and it is likely that a central building or hall stood on the site of the present Romanesque church (Fig. 3).

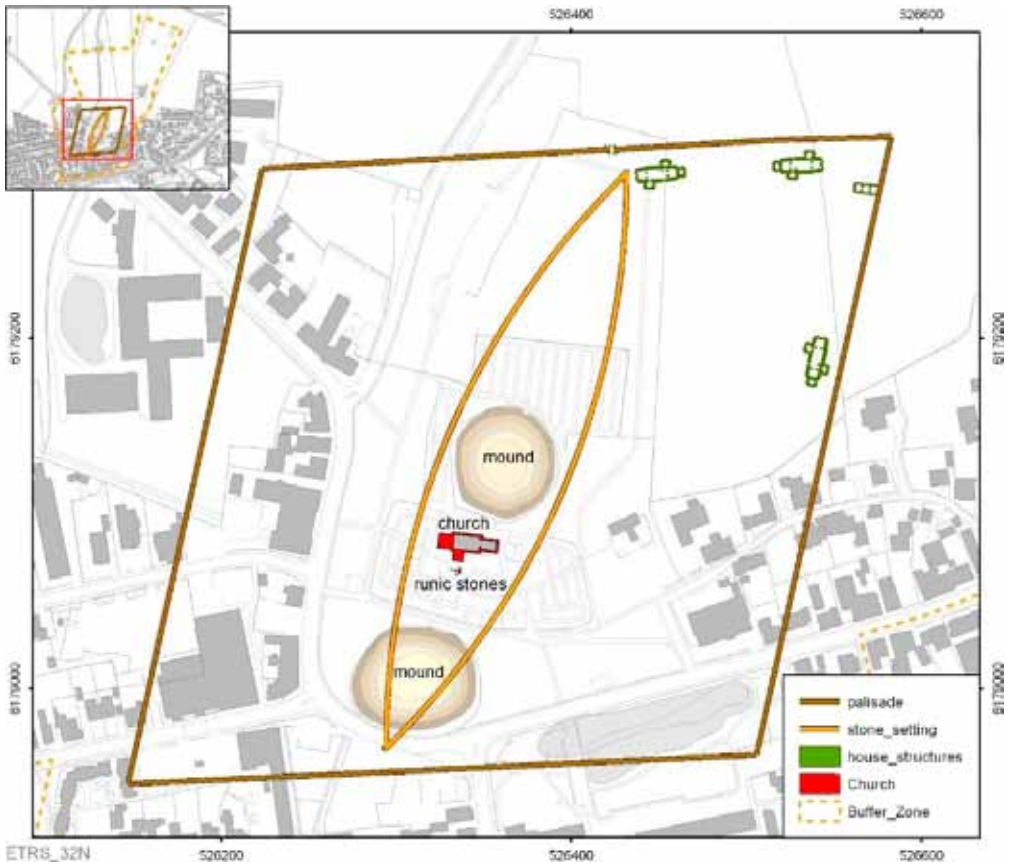


Fig. 3. Plan showing the monument complex in Jelling (Graphics by the municipality of Vejle)

The palisade

Fortunately, the excavations in 2013 revealed preserved oak timber in a wetland area (today a pond) in the south-eastern part of the palisade. The construction of the palisade was verified as a wall-type architecture consisting of a line of rectangular, cut planks with round posts on each side of the wall (Fig. 4). The dimensions of the planks in the wall were approximately 0.15×0.35 m and the round posts on each side of the wall were approx. 0.25 m in diameter. The function of these posts, positioned regularly and quite close to each other (approx. 1.2 m between the posts), is not quite clear but they surely had a strengthening or scaffolding purpose, maybe forming the scaffolding of an upper construction. We estimate the height to have been approx. 4 m above ground. The palisade runs for 1,440 m (4×360 m) and that would require more than 4,110 planks. Additionally, the number of supporting posts is estimated to have been approx. 2,300 posts (Jessen *et al.* 2014, 12ff.).

In the northern part of the palisade, a gate was found. The gate was 2.4 m wide, which was enough for two horsemen or two wagons to pass at the same time. It is also possible that the northern gate served as a secondary gate. The western side of the palisade could be regarded as the most plausible location of the main entrance. A couple of kilometres to the west we also found the historical Oxen road, which led towards Hedeby in the south. The most important gift to the archaeologists was, however, the preserved part of the palisade, which created an opportunity for a dendrochronological dating of the complex. 11 samples of oak were dated, but only one with preserved sapwood. The felling



Fig. 4. The preserved timber from the palisade during excavation (Photo by Vejle Museum)

of the tree has been dated to between AD 958 and 985 and most likely close to the year AD 968 (Bonde 2013).

New interpretations

It is obvious that the new investigation altered our understanding of Jelling in the Viking Age – both regarding its structure, complexity and also interpretation. Further, it established closer and more diverse parallels to other royal and aristocratic sites in Scandinavia. With the reservation that the dates are uncertain and varied in nature, all the large constructions – the gravemounds, the huge stone setting, the enclosure, the rune stones and the constructions within the enclosure appear to fall within the historically assumed reign of King Gorm the Old and King Harald Bluetooth from somewhere in the first half of the 10th c. to AD 987. On the more general level, both the short duration and the considerable transformation of the site may be seen as epitomising the dynamic and fluctuating configuration of the early royal Danish power, both with regards to architectural and political means, as well as the geographical organisation (Holst *et al.* 2012, 68). However, the status of the site might, according to Anne Pedersen, cause a certain risk of isolation and research inertia.

While aware of the long historical tradition of Jelling, both researchers and presenters are faced with the challenge of approaching the site from new angles and remaining open towards new ideas, even if it means that the known and accepted narratives will have to be modified or even abandoned (Pedersen 2011, 26; more relevant literature for further reading: Pedersen 2014a; 2017).

So, what impact and consequences did these new results have for Jelling's status as a UNESCO site?

The most essential result was that the findings showed a different form – a previously unknown structure within the monuments. These structures were unknown in 1994, when Jelling was nominated as a UNESCO-site. As the recent excavations altered that, it was obvious that the original description of criterion and authenticity should be changed. The status of Jelling was changed and accepted by ICOMOS in July 2018 as a *Minor Boundary Modification*.

Working within a Management Plan for the Jelling Monuments

The property is owned by the Municipality of Vejle and the church in Jelling. Additionally, there are more stakeholders, who work and operate within these frames. In order to make the management more operational, a Cooperation Council was established in 2013, with members from the Danish Agency for Culture and Palaces, the Vejle Museum, the National Museum of Denmark, the Church, the Deanery and the Municipality of Vejle. Later, local groups from Jelling were added to the Council. In 2017 an extra level was added – in the form of a Steering Group (executive level). The purpose of the Cooperation Council is to revise the Management Plan with respect to the Jelling area and to implement it. The Management Plan describes topics like legislation; economic, educational, informational and social values, together with values concerning research; threats to these values; administrative measures; economic resources; implementation; and finally monitoring and protecting the site (*Management Plan for the Monuments in Jelling, 2017–2020: The Municipality of Vejle*).

The overall tool is the Management Plan – updated and administrated by the Municipality of Vejle which, together with the Museums and the Danish Agency for Culture and Palaces, holds the statutory and legal responsibilities. In Jelling the monuments are protected by the Nature Protection Act §18 and the Museum Act §29e.

The role of local authorities

According to *The Planning Act in Denmark*, local authorities in Denmark must designate and protect valuable cultural environments. In collaboration with the Danish Ministry of the Environment, the Danish Agency for Culture and Palaces lays down the overall guidelines for securing valuable cultural environments.

Under the Museum Act, the local authorities must consult the local cultural heritage museum when they draft plans for new housing, infrastructure etc. A local plan (by the municipality) is required to contain guidelines to safeguard cultural heritage assets in both urban and rural areas. Those assets comprise ancient monuments, buildings and cultural environments, including churches and their surroundings. Municipalities are required to protect both preservation-

worthy individual elements and composite assets, i.e. valuable cultural environments. Municipal efforts are to be directed at showing human endeavours in all periods, i.e. from prehistoric times to the present day (<https://english.slks.dk/work-areas/cultural-heritage/municipality-and-planning/municipal-planning/>; accessed on 29.12.2018).

Protecting cultural heritage

It is a very difficult task to discuss and compare topics like heritage protection between different countries, due to different national legislations. It is also of importance to distinguish between *cultural heritage by legislation* and areas we museums refer to, and *cultural heritage of interest* – but without legal protection. This naturally also concerns the use of metal detectors. Here we see a wide range of different national legislations. In Denmark it is forbidden to search with a metal detector on sites protected by the Danish Museum Act. It is, however, allowed to use your metal detector in all other places – with the landowners' permission, of course. This means that we usually never see the plundering of sites in Denmark. Metal detecting can be a huge problem without the proper legislation and without cooperation between museums and detectorists. An interesting discussion about different national models regarding the use of metal detectors can be read in Martens and Ravn 2016. The problems are also due to the level of intensity of agricultural activity. Intensive agricultural activity is seldom a good thing for the preservation of cultural heritage. Together with protection, the most valuable factor is, however, the educational perspective. It is of utmost importance to educate people and especially the local communities to be cultural heritage ambassadors. You do not want to work against people – but with people. We should all take ownership of our cultural heritage.

Opportunities and challenges

After having been working closely on various aspects concerning the cultural heritage in Jelling – research, excavations, mediation and cooperative administration – it becomes very clear that there are both opportunities and challenges to handle. There is a wide range of stakeholders to take into consideration when taking decisions. There are both primary and secondary stakeholders and these groups

do not necessarily have the same interests or concerns. The primary stakeholders are usually the owner of the property, museums, the government or the municipality and the legislative authorities; the secondary stakeholders are researchers, scholars, tourist organisations and various local stakeholders. To illustrate the problem, it could be that a local group of re-enactors want to arrange an event including horse-riding within a cultural heritage area. Many of these kinds of events are often chosen to be held in authentic cultural heritage areas, which is understandable and positive. The negative part might, however, be the horse riding in the area, as it could pose a threat to the site. A museum with antiquarian responsibilities would therefore have a restrictive approach. A compromise could be changing the type of event – maybe a Viking market could be held next to the cultural heritage area and its presence would still give the event the right aura of history.

In order to solve these kinds of upcoming situations, it is a good idea to have an operational system to handle such requests. Within the frame of the Management Plan in Jelling, we have organised a small group of members from the Cooperation Council who meet around four times a year to discuss the events applied for (in a booking system), to be held in the cultural heritage area. On this forum we evaluate the event and whether it poses any threats to the area, but also if there is a relevance to arrange the event in this area. Based on the principle of *best practice*, we feel that this is a good way of screening the events and protecting the area.

Having a cultural heritage area gives a range of opportunities. As described in our Management Plan, our objective is to strive to uphold different values – such as educational, research, social and economic values. The educational values can be fostered on many levels: educational programmes and mediation for children and schools, “all-around” mediation and other educational programmes. The local museum can, for example, start a collaboration with a university on educating students in Cultural Heritage Management. This is the collaboration the Vejle Museum and Aarhus University have had for several years. The research can both engage scholars nationally and internationally, which will bring real benefits beyond borders.

Social values are less tangible and appear on different levels. By engaging the local communities, one can add the social value to the cultural heritage area. Using the area and educating visitors will also



Fig. 5. Jelling today with the monument complex as an educational and recreational area (Photo by L.H. Olesen)

add to the social value. This will naturally bring topics like economic values and sustainable tourism into the picture (Fig. 5).

Economic values and sustainable tourism

Tourism related to cultural heritage has growing potential. Tourists and visitors are generally engaged in sites with an interesting history to tell and there is vast potential in this field, which we naturally all wish to benefit from. There is a fascinating story to tell and there is an interested audience. In the case of Jelling, it is obvious that the recent excavation and research results have generated interest in the monuments and brought in economic means from both public and private sources. Jelling is incorporated as a core component in the branding of the new, enlarged municipality of Vejle (Pedersen 2011, 260).

Many cultural heritage sites are very good at using the economic potential offered by the site, for example by boosting businesses such as hotels, restaurants, museums etc. in the local area.

Given the rapidly growing tourism, we therefore need to consider the concept of sustainable tourism and more importantly – how to implement it. The growing number of visitors causes wear and tear on the site and this needs to be monitored, so that we can take action if needed.

The overall idea is to use our common cultural heritage and to use it wisely – with respect and care – and to educate and inform visitors to do likewise!

References

- Andersen H. 1995. The Graves of the Jelling Dynasty. *Acta Archaeologica* 66, 281–300.
- Andersen S.W. and Christensen P.M. 2008. Kongeligt? *Skalk* 1, 3–10.
- Bonde N. 2013. *Dendrokronologisk undersøgelse af prøver fra Smededammen i Jelling*. NNU Rapport 38. København: The National Museum of Denmark.
- Christensen K. and Krogh K.J. 1987. Jelling-højene dateret. Kristendommens indførelse og Gorm den Gamles død. *Nationalmuseets Arbejdsmark* 1987, 223–231.
- Christensen L.E., Lemm T. and Pedersen A. (eds.) 2016. *Husebyer – status quo, open questions and perspectives* (= *PNM Publications from the National Museum Studies in Archaeology & History*, vol. 20.3, *Jelling Series*). Copenhagen: Museum University Press of Southern Denmark and the National Museum of Denmark.
- Dyggve E. 1955. Jellingkongernes mindesmærker. Jelling. Det gamle kongesæde. *Vejle Amts historiske Samfunds Festskrift*. København: Vejle Amts Historiske Samfund, 127–197.
- Harck O. 2006. Mittelalterliche Punktgräber in Dänemark und Norddeutschland. In C. von Carnap-Bornheim and D. Crause (eds.), *Herrschaft – Tod – Bestattung. Zu den vor- und frügeschichtlichen Prunkgräbern als archäologisch-historischen Quelle*. *Internationale Fachkonferenz Kiel 16–19. Oktober 2003* (= *Universitätsforschungen zur Prähistorischen Archäologie* 139). Bonn: Institut für Ur und Frühgeschichte der Universität Kiel, 207–217.
- Holst M.K., Jessen M.D., Andersen S.W. and Pedersen A. 2012. The Late Viking-Age Royal Constructions at Jelling, central Jutland, Denmark. Recent investigations and a suggestion for an interpretative revision. *Præhistorische Zeitschrift* 87 (2), 474–504.
- Hvass S. 2011. *JELLING-MONUMENTERNE – deres historie og bevaring*. København: Kulturarvsstyrelsen, 1–91.
- Jessen M.D., Holst M.K., Lindblom C., Bonde N. and Pedersen A. 2014. A Palisade fit for a King – ideal architecture in King Harald Bluetooth's Jelling. *Norwegian Archaeological Review* 2014, 42–64.
- Krogh K.J. 1983. The Royal Viking-Age Monument at Jelling in the Light of Recent Archaeological Excavations. A Preliminary Report. *Acta Archaeologica* 53 (1982), 183–216.

- Krogh K.J. 1993. *Gåden om Kong Gorms Grav. Historien om Nordhøjen i Jelling. Vikingekongernes Monumenter i Jelling*, vol. I. København: Carlsbergfondet og Nationalmuseet.
- Marten J. and Ravn M. (eds.) 2016. *Pløvejord som kontekst. Nye utfordringer for forskning, forvaltning og formidling. Artikkelsamling*. Kulturhistorisk museum. Oslo: Portal forlag og Kulturhistorisk museum, Arkeologisk seksjon, 13–133.
- Moesgaard J.C. 2015. *The cross coinage – Christian coins for the merchants of Haithabu and the soldiers of Harold Bluetooth (= PNM Publications from the National Museum Studies in Archaeology & History, vol. 20.2, Jelling Series)*. Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark and the National Museum of Denmark.
- Moesgaard J.C. 2018. De første skridt mod møntøkonomi – ca. 600–1060. In M. Andersen and T.B. Christensen (eds.), *Denar til daler. Danmarks mønthistorie indtil 1550*. København: Danmarks Nationalbank, 112–195.
- Ottosen K. 2006. Kong Gorms umulige begravelse. *Svundne Tider* 9, 44–51.
- Ottosen K. and Gelting M.H. 2007. Kong Gorms mulige begravelse. *Svundne Tider* 10, 42–48.
- Pedersen A. 2014a. *Dead warriors in living memory. A study of weapon and equestrian burials in Viking-Age Denmark, AD 800–1000 (= PNM Publications from the National Museum Studies in Archaeology & History, vol. 20:1 1–2, Jelling Series)*. Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark and the National Museum of Denmark.
- Pedersen A. 2014b. The Jelling Monuments – a National Icon between Legend and Fact. Quo Vadis? In C. von Carnap-Bornheim (ed.), *Status and Future Perspectives of Long-Term Excavations in Europe (= Schriften des archäologischen Landesmuseums Ergänzungsreihe 10)*, 249–263.
- Pedersen A. 2017. Monumenterne i Jelling. Fornyet tradition på tærsklen til en ny tid. In M. Manoe Bjerregaard and M. Runge (eds.), *At være i centrum. Magt og minde – højstatusbegravelser i udvalgte centre 950–1450*. Odense: Udgivet af Forskningscenter Centrum – Odense Bys Museer – Syddansk Universitetsforlag, 44–61.
- Staecker J. 2001. Monumenten i Jelling – myter og realitet. In A. Andrén, L. Ersgård and J. Wienberg (eds.), *Från stad till land. En medeltidsarkeologisk resa tillägnad Hans Andersson (= Lund Studies in Medieval Archaeology 29)*. Stockholm: Lund University, 73–88.

Agnieszka Stempin*

The Early Piast Settlement on Ostrów Tumski (Cathedral Island) in Poznań – the Popularisation of Heritage from the Standpoint of the *Genius Loci* Archaeological Reserve

ABSTRACT

Stempin A. 2018. The Early Piast Settlement on Ostrów Tumski (Cathedral Island) in Poznań – the Popularisation of Heritage from the Standpoint of the *Genius Loci* Archaeological Reserve. *Analecta Archaeologica Ressoiviensia* 13, 257–286

In 2012, a new department of the Archaeological Museum in Poznań – the *Genius Loci* Archaeological Reserve – was established on Ostrów Tumski (Cathedral Island) in Poznań. The island is a unique historical space, where archaeological excavations have been underway since 1938. It is thanks to them that the scope of knowledge about the beginnings of both the Polish state and the city of Poznań has improved significantly, and the results of these works have altered historians' knowledge. The reserve has been designed so that visitors can learn about the earliest history from the point of view of science, and accompany archaeologists and representatives of other modern disciplines in discovering the secrets of long forgotten areas of history. The structures of the perfectly preserved rampart of the Poznań stronghold and the soil profiles have been made accessible to visitors in the form of an archaeological excavation site. With the use of multimedia, discreetly placed throughout the exhibition, the entire spectrum of information about the Piast settlement from the 10th/11th century is presented, as is the rich collection of archaeological relics collected during many years of excavations. The article outlines the reserve's activities to date and discusses the problem of reaching out to adults who seek a deeper and organised contact with culture.

Keywords: archaeological heritage, early medieval stronghold, defensive constructions, museum exhibition – forms of presentation.

Received: 12.12.2018; **Revised:** 28.12.2018; **Revised:** 28.12.2018; **Accepted:** 30.12.2018

Introduction

Popularising science, especially disciplines related to history, is a significant aspect of museums' activity, and museologists are, to a large extent, mediators who build public awareness of new discoveries and the current state of knowledge. Therefore, the role of the quality,

* Archaeological Museum in Poznań, *Genius Loci* Archaeological Reserve, Ks. Ignacego Posadzego 3, 61-108 Poznań, Poland; agnieszka.stempin@muzarp.poznan.pl

clarity and level of the message which is constructed, although often underestimated, seems to be an incredibly important matter. In the case of creating a new museum, all aspects, from the thematic concept and architectural form, to the choice of instruments of transmitting information, will determine its overall public reception and the success of its mission to develop people's understanding of cultural heritage. Many aspects had to be considered when we started to arrange the exhibitions of the Archaeological Reserve on Ostrów Tumski in Poznań; those elements were related both to the specific nature of the topic and to many years of efforts made by archaeologists to make the oldest relics from Cathedral Island available to visitors. The stronghold's location started to attract interest in 1936, when the Historical Commission of the Poznań Society of Friends of Science decided to start looking for the old city, since the memory about its oldest history had become blurred. The first investigations were conducted in 1938, on the initiative of Professor Józef Kostrzewski, who managed to convince the city's mayor at the time, Tadeusz Ruge, to organise and finance works on the Cathedral Square (Kóčka-Krenz 2013, 119–134). The spot to be excavated was selected intuitively; there was a conviction that the Cathedral must have been the most important dominant feature of the city and its vicinity and it was there that the oldest embankments should be looked for. The results of the excavations exceeded all expectations; the archaeologists revealed structures of early medieval fortifications in excellent condition (Fig. 1.) Witold Hensel, who was in charge of the works at that time, wrote in his report summarising the first season of excavations:

The Poznań rampart is at the moment unquestionably the best example of fortifications from the times of Mieszko and Bolesław the Bold. [...] Poznań must have been an outstanding centre of Poland at that time, [...] if it was fortified in this most assiduous manner. The superior role of Poznań in relation to other strongholds seems completely obvious to us in the light of our observations. [...] Based on facts learned from the excavations, Poznań's role as the capital city of Mieszko's Poland seems to be obvious (Hensel 1938b, 507).

The enthusiasm which accompanied the discovery was enormous, to the extent that a spontaneous initiative to build a special archaeological reserve on the site was launched¹, in the hope that donors would provide

¹ This was the first attempt of this kind in Poland.

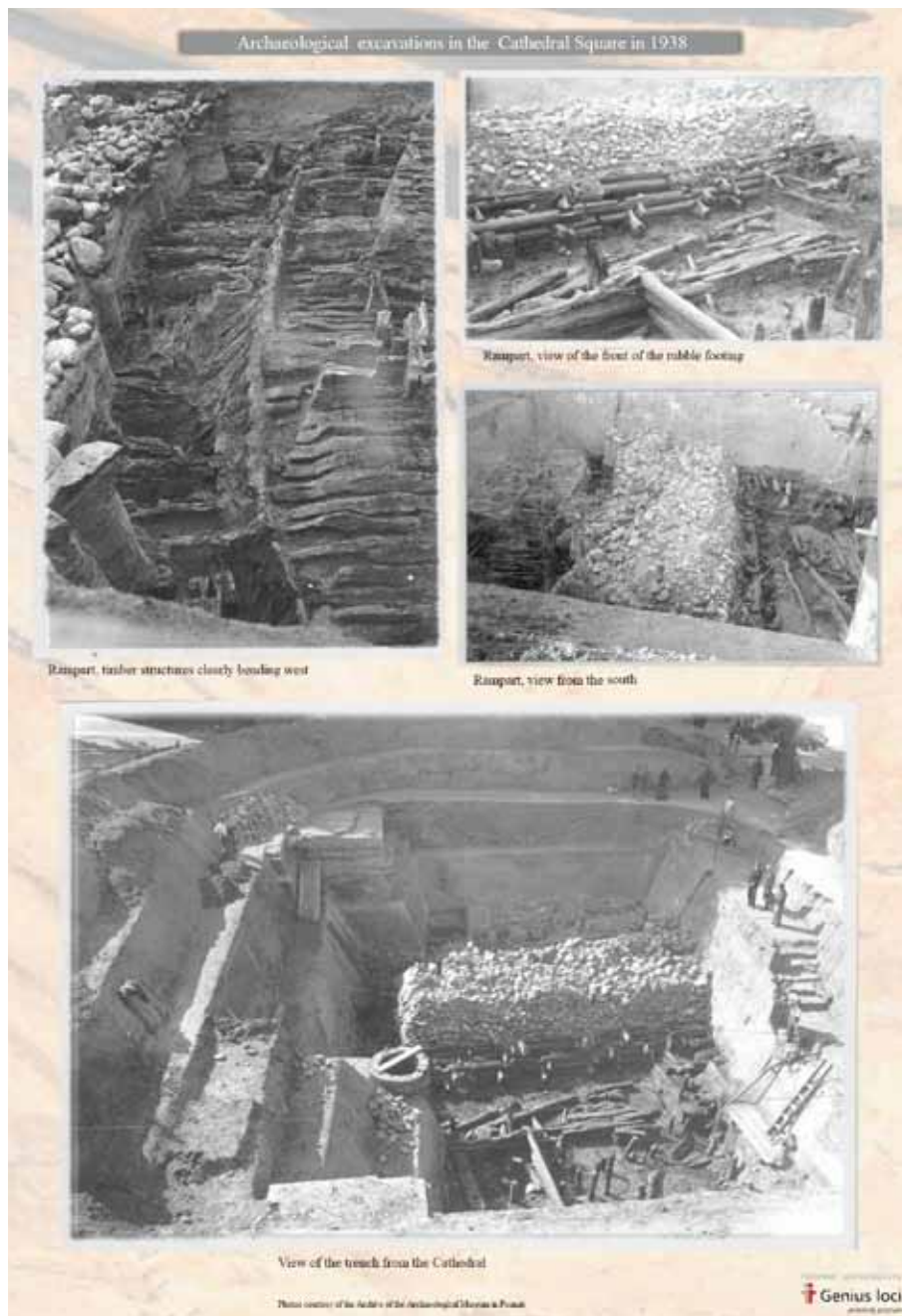


Fig. 1. Structures discovered in the Cathedral Square in Poznań in 1938. Chart from the exhibition 'Archaeological Excavations on Ostrów Tumski in Poznań', presented in the open air on Ostrów Tumski by the *Genius Loci* Archaeological Reserve (Curated by Mateusz Sikora)

the funds for its construction. As Professor Józef Kostrzewski wrote in September 1938 in ‘Kurier Poznański’ (‘The Poznań Courier’),

(...) we believe that funds can be collected to preserve such a valuable relic left by the first builders of our state, whose strongest fulcrum at the dawn of its existence were strongholds such as the one in the capital city of Poznań (Kostrzewski 1938, 16).

Witold Hensel argued in his article ‘Zachowajmy na zawsze pozostałości po kolebce Poznania’ [‘Let us preserve forever the relics of Poznań’s cradle’], published in ‘Dziennik Poznański’ (‘The Poznań Daily’):

(...) unfortunately, the Prehistoric Institute of the University of Poznań, which does not have the sum of more than 20,000 zloty needed to erect an underground reinforced concrete construction, must appeal to the public’s generosity. By joining our forces, we can undoubtedly complete the undertaking, which will offer the best glimpse into the culture of the people who lived in the capital city of Poznań (Hensel 1938, 7).

Despite this collective initiative, it was impossible either to raise the necessary funds or to complete the building project. After World War II, works on Ostrów Tumski started in 1946 and continued in various parts of the island; especially at the beginning, they focused on the vicinity and interiors of the most important buildings: the Cathedral and St. Mary’s Church. The implementation of the largest projects (such as the so-called millennium research project) was prioritised, but it should be noted that all efforts of several generations of archaeologists gradually contributed to increasing our knowledge about the stronghold and to restoring the memory about its leading role during the early stages of the Piast state (Fig. 2; Kóčka-Krenz 2013, 119–134). The idea of creating an archaeological reserve was revisited in 2009. Collaboration between the Archaeological Museum in Poznań and the Institute of Archaeology, Adam Mickiewicz University; the Metropolitan Curia’s decision to donate some of its land to educational purposes; the Marshal Office of Greater Poland obtaining funds from the European Union; and the Poznań City Hall providing its financial contribution² all combined to complete the project, which had originally been conceived 75 years earlier by the first discoverers of the Poznań stronghold (Szmyt *et al.* 2013, 7).

² The project was mainly funded from the Wielkopolska Regional Operational Programme for 2007–2012, which was under the jurisdiction of the Marshall Office of the Wielkopolska Region in Poznań. The remaining costs were covered by the city of Poznań, and the entire investment was carried out by the Archaeological Museum in Poznań.

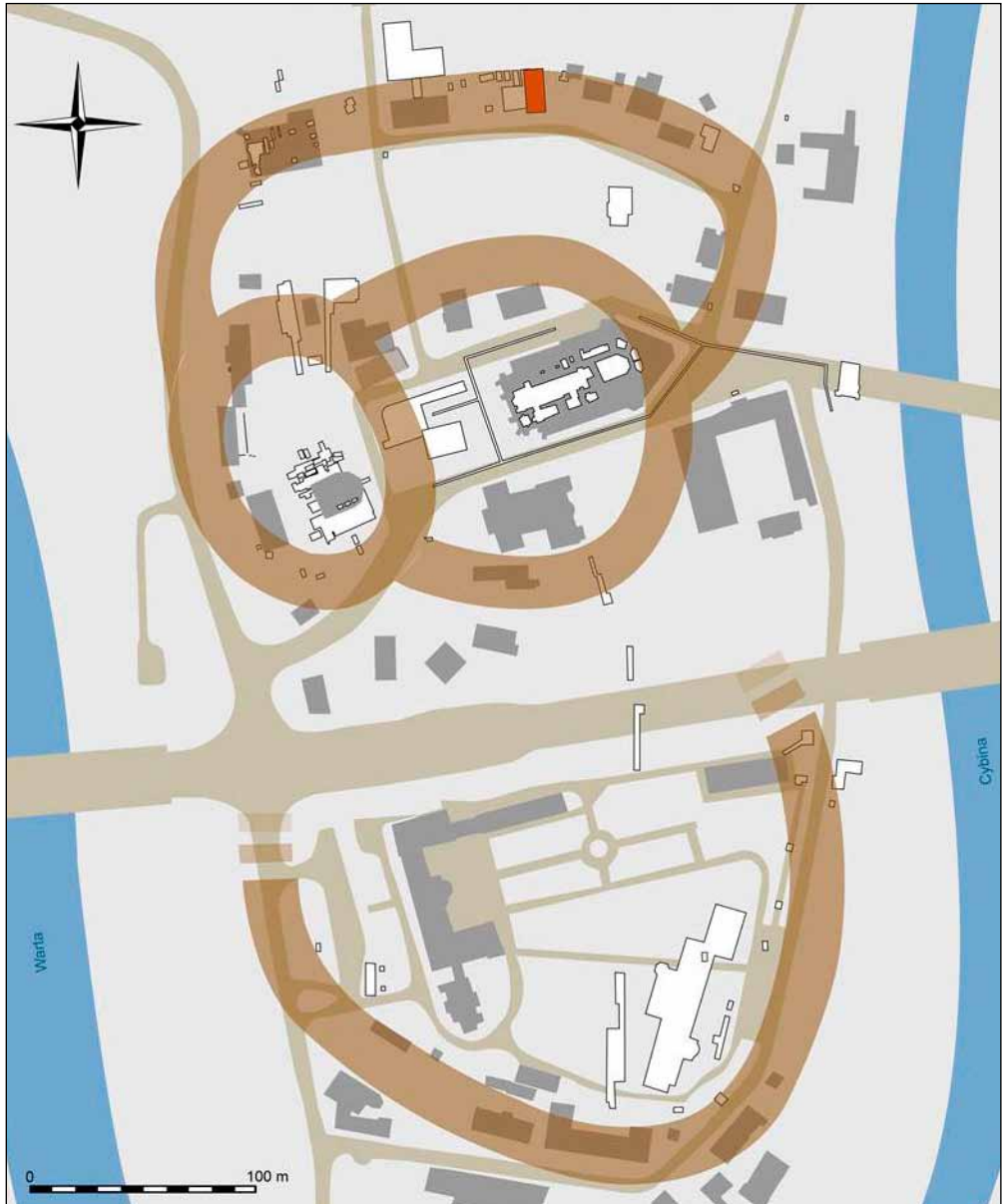


Fig. 2. Fortifications of the Poznań stronghold against the background of contemporary streets, with marked spots where archaeological excavations took place and the dig for building the reserve (Drawn by O. Antowska-Gorączniak, based on Sikora 2014, 90)



Fig. 3. Archaeological excavations before the reserve was built (Photo by B. Walkiewicz)

However, the *Genius Loci* Archaeological Reserve was not constructed on the spot where the original excavations took place before World War II, but at the location where the outer side of the stronghold's ramparts (the youngest ring of fortifications of the Poznań stronghold, dated to the 970s) was discovered (Wawrzyniak 2005, 91–110) during the excavations conducted in 5 Posadzego street³ from 2001 to 2004 by Piotr Wawrzyniak (Laboratory for Conservation of Cultural Property in Poznań) and later by Professor Hanna Kóčka-Krenz (Institute of Prehistory, Adam Mickiewicz University). The presence of structures similar to the mighty ramparts in the Cathedral Square had been indicated by the investigations conducted by Professor Wojciech Kóčka just before the outbreak of World War II in 1939 (Kóčka-Krenz 2013, 122)⁴. The following seasons of excavations in 5 Posadzego street, carried out in 2009 and 2010, were completed in preparation for the construction of the archaeological reserve and included both the previous and new, adjacent trenches (Fig. 3). During these works,

³ This was the numbering at the time, at present this is number 5 Posadzego street.

⁴ The documentation of these excavations was lost during World War II.



Fig. 4. The building which houses the *Genius Loci* Archaeological Reserve (Photo by K. Zisopulu-Bleja)

the embankment was cut perpendicularly to the direction of its line. The trench was 7 by 16 metres and was oriented along the N-S line. The works were conducted by Olga Antowska-Gorączniak, with Professor Hanna Kóčka-Krenz providing scientific supervision. This research space was a consequence of both the architectural design of the future museum and the concept of the spatial arrangement and message of the future exhibition, created by the Archaeological Museum in Poznań. The idea was that the reserve would present the history of the beginnings of the Polish state and the city of Poznań from the archaeological standpoint, and that shedding light on the methods employed by archaeology and various related disciplines would make it possible to offer a reliable answer to the question frequently asked of archaeologists: 'How do you know this?' By documenting the excavations and the process of building the exhibition, and by later faithfully recreating the entire investigated area, including soil profiles, we created an actual excavation space where the work had been carried out. As a result, visitors can accompany the

archaeologists; they can unravel the mysteries of the underground world on their own; they can collect information and see with their own eyes on what basis the current knowledge about the oldest stages of Polish statehood is built. The museum building is a modern design (Fig. 4), which combines concrete, glass and brick, creating the impression of cross-sections and a medley of layers. This corresponds with the main idea of the exhibition: to show a cross-section of Poznań, both with regard to knowledge about the city's ancient history and its very name. The exhibition displayed in the reserve consists of three main parts, which together make one uniform whole, toured according to archaeological logic, i.e. moving from the most recent to the oldest times. The fourth part of the exhibition is devoted to the inhabitants of the settlement – the people who created these structures.

Elements of the permanent exhibition – stages of touring

City walls

Following the chronological levels, we begin our tour of the reserve from the youngest relics, i.e. the remains of the city walls which surrounded the bishop's town from the 16th century onwards⁵. Already in 1838, Ignacy Łukasiewicz noted that there was a need to protect the clergy's property, writing:

Until the 16th century, access to these lodgings, mostly made of timber, was open on all sides. In the early 16th century, however, the chapter, wanting to protect the church's and its own property from attacks, in 1505 decided to surround all lodgings of the cathedral's clergymen with a wall; and indeed, in the same year the wall started to be built, and a few years later it was completed (Borwiński 2015, 183).

The construction of the walls, akin to Poznań's fortifications, was started on the initiative of Bishop Jan Lubrański. As Father Józef Nowacki wrote, the walls were raised

to protect the cathedral and its vicinity from attacks of bands of highwaymen, which were prowling the area at the time (...) in 1504 the

⁵ In 1253, as a result of exchanging land, the settlement on Cathedral Island, which had originally been a ducal seat, came into the ownership of the Bishopric of Poznań, and the city was located on the left bank of the Warta River (on land which had previously belonged to the Church).

construction of a defensive wall made of stone and brick [was started] around Ostrów Tumski, with towers and crenels, and with defensive gates and towers by both bridges (Nowacki 1956, 117; Borwiński 2015, 184).

A mighty brick wall, seated on a stone foundation, was connected by two towers situated by the bridges on the Old Warta and Cybina Rivers⁶. The gates built into the towers marked out the main road across the island, which ran from the east to the west. In the present-day landscape on Ostrów, there are no traces of this great project, whose construction was protracted until 1549, and which solidified the clear separation of the urban space surrounded by the wall on the left bank of the Warta and the bishop's space similarly fortified on Cathedral Island (Budzan and Karłowska-Kamzowa 1999, 93; Borwiński 2015, 184). The walls, which lost their function in the 18th and 19th c., were disassembled. A relic of these structures can be found in the first exhibition room of the reserve and can be viewed



Fig. 5. The first exhibition room – relics of the walls surrounding Ostrów Tumski from the early 16th c., so-called Lubrański's wall (Photo by M. Zakrzewski)

from above, by walking on a glass floor (Fig. 5). This is a fragment of the stone substructure and a brick arch, which belonged to the foundation part of the wall, built in the form of an arcade.

⁶ In recent years, scholars have raised the problem of the earlier existence of the walls surrounding Ostrów Tumski in Poznań already in the 1470s (Borwiński 2015, 183–194).

Soil profiles – a section of Poznań

In order to build an authentic space of an archaeological trench and its real view, it was necessary to create soil profiles, whose considerable dimensions (16×7 m – east profile and 6×7 m – south profile) posed an enormous challenge to the conservators. The motivation behind these efforts was the wish to explain to future reserve visitors how to read stratigraphy and, on this basis, how to build knowledge about the successive stages of how the island was used. This meant that a special method had to be developed⁷, which involved removing individual fragments of the cross-section. They were created by gradually infusing small parts of the original soil layers with a consolidating bind already during fieldwork, so that 24–48 hours later they could be moved to the conservation laboratory in blocks ca. 70 cm high and 10 cm thick. There, larger surfaces of the removed profiles were formed by adding two layers of reinforcing mesh to them, supporting them with an additional base, filling them in and concealing the points of contact between individual profiles using soil collected from the trench, and finally strengthening them on the reverse side with binding resin (Sikora 2014, 92–94). Profiles prepared in this way were deposited in the exhibition area, as a result of which the process of the earth ‘piling up’ is perfectly visible, which resulted in the ground level rising by 5 to 6 metres in comparison to the 10th c. (Fig. 6). Analysing the stratigraphy of the east and south profile of the trench, it can be assumed that the height of the entire construction reached ca. 11 metres, together with the now lost crown of the rampart, which was probably formed by a palisade and a platform, which functioned as a walkway (Fig. 7). In the first decade of the 11th c., the bank of the rampart was widened by adding new layers of grillage. In this way, the width of the discussed fragment of the fortifications of the Poznań stronghold reached an impressive 27 to 28 metres (Brzostowicz and Stempin 2015, 27–45).

Relics of early Piast ramparts

The layout of the reserve’s interior guides visitors through successive chronological levels six metres under the ground, until they reach the

⁷ The method was developed by Robert Rogala from the Institute for the Study, Conservation and Restoration of Cultural Heritage, Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń, and based on techniques similar to preserving wall decorations. In the field, the conservation works were conducted by Andrzej Lewandowski (Sikora 2014, 91).



Fig. 6. Inside the *Genius Loci* Archaeological Reserve – soil profiles (Photo by K. Zisopulu-Bleja)

oldest fortifications, which are a thousand years old. On the lower terrace, visitors can see up close the precision, the builders' craftsmanship, and the monumental size of the timber constructions protecting the elites of the young Polish state, which were part of the ramparts from the late 10th c. (Fig. 7). As Professor Józef Kostrzewski wrote:

The very size of the rampart and the enormous amount of work which went into building it, and even more so the method of its construction, fill us with great admiration for the first historical rulers of Poland, the creators of this impressive structure, and shed an entirely new light on the art of fortification at that time (Kostrzewski 1938, 16).

This is the main and most important part of the exhibition. The ramparts shown in the *Genius Loci* Archaeological Reserve are the most thoroughly studied part of the Poznań fortifications, where we can find all the most important elements characteristic of early Piast defensive



Fig. 7. Exhibition of rampart relics with dendrochronological dates of individual oak laths (Photo by K. Zisopulu-Bleja)

architecture (Antowska-Gorączniak 2013, 7–19). The approximate line of the fourth, youngest section of the stronghold currently runs along present-day Dziekańska and Posadzego streets, all the way to the present building of the Archdiocesan Museum (former Bishop Lubrański Academy). It can be estimated that the line makes up ca. $\frac{1}{4}$ of the entire circumference of the stronghold's ramparts on Ostrów Tumski. Based on the numerous dendrochronological datings carried out in this section, it must be concluded that the decision to build this part of the youngest section of the rampart was made at the turn of the 970s and 980s (Krapiec 2013, 285–293). The exhibition was arranged as a faithful reconstruction of all the structures found *in situ*, which enables visitors to view all the phases of the fortifications' construction, from preparatory work before the building started, which involved adapting the ground and erecting the foundations, to forming the bank of the rampart (Antowska-Gorączniak 2013, 52–53; Brzostowicz and Stempin 2015, 27–45). Traces of the original building efforts are visible in the form of stones, branches of various deciduous trees, and fragments of oak beams (Stępnik 2013, 269–285), while 'carpets' composed of lattices, meant to stabilise the surface of the boggy, wet ground, were used on a considerable portion of the excavated surface (Kaniecki 2004, 125).

The main construction of the rampart was based on modular crates⁸, duplicated many times along and across the rampart, and elevating the entire structure. The foundation was made of five rows of oaken crates with lap joints, reinforced by beams with hooks, which were made using appropriately cut branches. They were assembled in such a way that they had one shared side, interlocking successive elements and preventing them from separating, which could happen under the pressure of the top layers⁹ (Fig. 8). Since the construction of the fortification started from the middle crate, it was the only one whose sides were completely closed around its entire perimeter. The next modules were coupled onto it, both in the direction of the ward and the outer part of the rampart,

⁸ Other variants of construction are also suggested in the opposite part of the stronghold, where the grillage form of construction was used on the rampart (Kara 1998, 27).

⁹ It has been calculated that the structure's pressure on the ground was 124 tons in the case of a one-metre long fragment of the structure. The weight of one metre length of just the rubble footing reached up to seventeen tons (Niesiołowska *et al.* 1960, 91, 95).

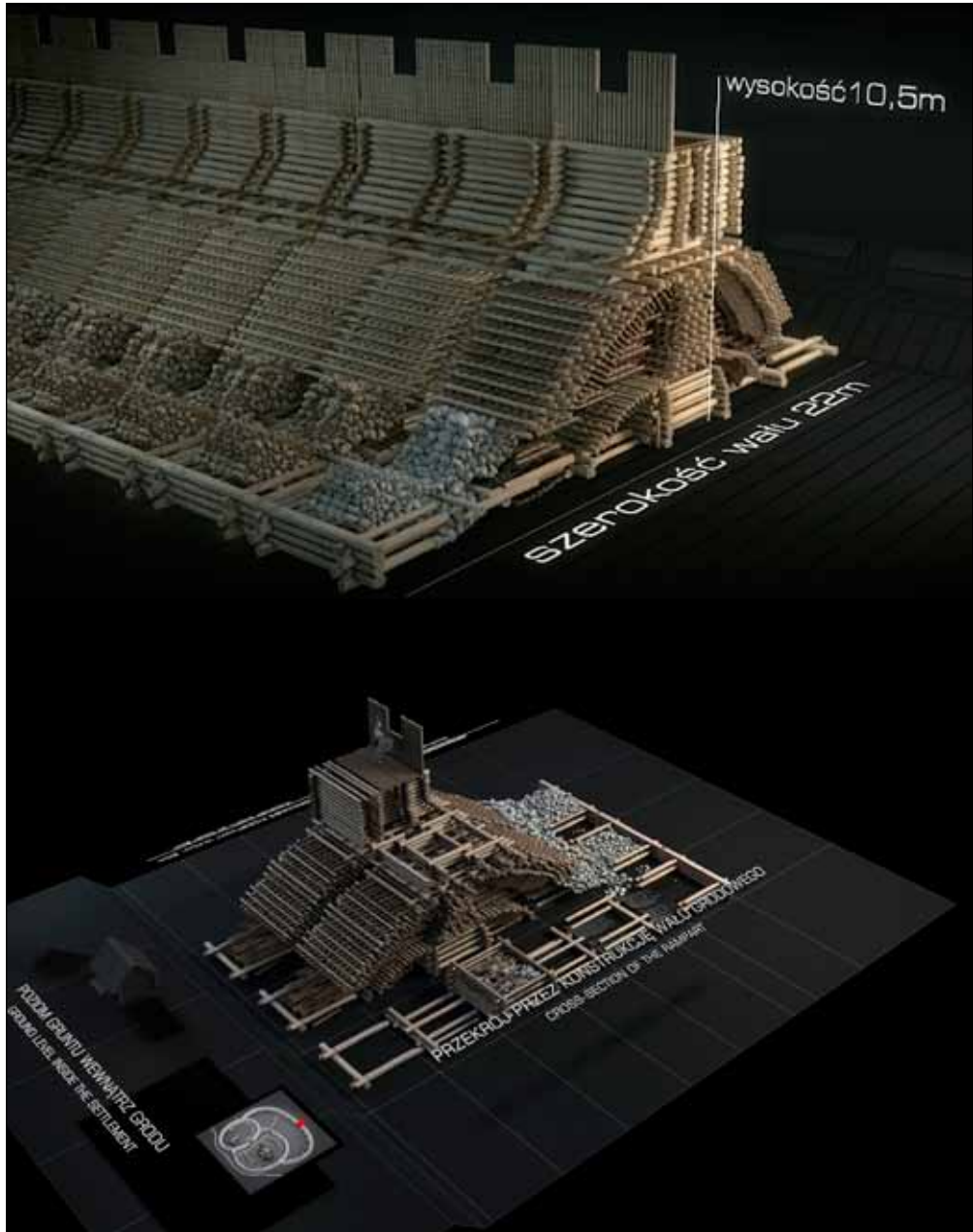


Fig. 8. Cross-section of the early medieval fortifications on Ostrów Tumski in Poznań (on the Fig. in Polish: szerokość wału 22 m = rampart width 22 m; wysokość 10.5 m = height 10.5 m)

which meant that the successive crates always had a shared side (north or south one). In one row of crates, various technical solutions were found. Most frequently, however, two beams with hooks were placed on the fascine; they were meant to hold an oak sleeper, perpendicular to them, in place. Analogous jobs were repeated upwards, and the hooks were alternately placed upwards and downwards, on each level, moving towards the centre of the crate. The crates were filled with wooden laths, usually placed in layers and sandwiched with sand and clay, which made the rampart's core heavier and more stable. The embankment was constructed in segments, probably because it was possible to easily add on more rows during the long process of building a ring of fortifications. This also offered an opportunity to organise the work simultaneously in various places, as well as dismantling individual modules if such a need arose. It has already been mentioned that during the 10th century the settlement on Cathedral Island was constantly modernised and rebuilt; the ramparts were moved, expanded and repaired many times, and the ease with which the decisions to move them were made creates the impression that it must have been done with deliberation (Antowska-Gorączniak 2013, 19–60).

After the structure was formed in this manner, the rampart's bank needed to be moulded. This was done by building grillages which inclined evenly towards the core of the structure. On the inner part of the stronghold, the rampart 'braced itself' against the ground, which was situated slightly higher. The situation was different on the outer curve, which required a solid reinforcement and stabilisation, preventing it from coming apart. This function was performed by two rubble footings, which are well visible in the exhibition (Fig. 7). The structure, finished in terms of engineering, was then plastered using sand and clay on its banks. This measure completed the set of procedures which insulated the rampart against fire and weather conditions, and protected the timber grillages and crates against pests. All the described elements are visible in the reconstructed part of the rampart, which enables visitors to follow the entire building process and, by analysing profiles, also the gradual destruction of these fortifications.

The inhabitants of the settlement

Early Piast ramparts are a feat of very specialist engineering. They command respect and compel admiration for their builders.

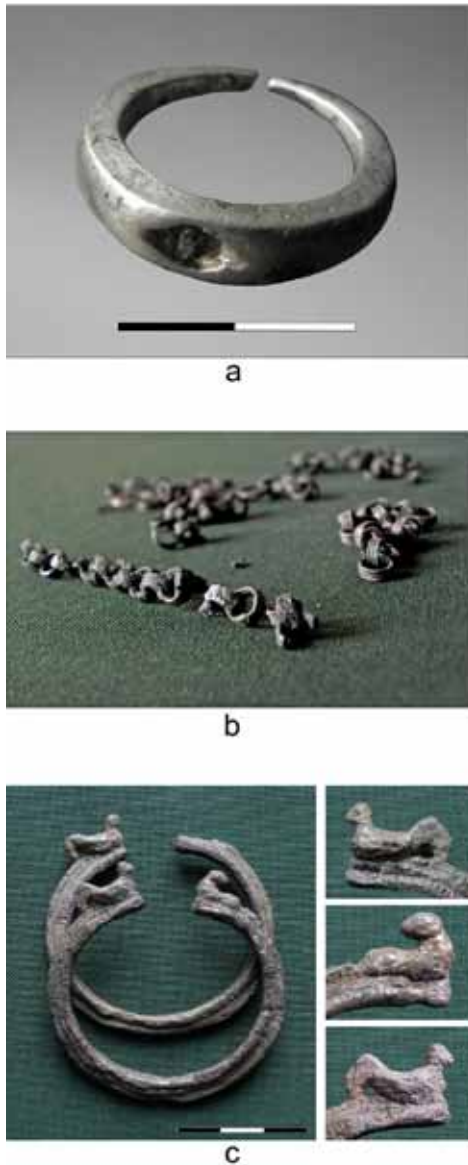


Fig. 9. Archaeological finds from excavations in the necropolis in Śródka: a – Poznań-Śródka. Grave 170, Silver ring (inventory no. 51/2012/WG); b – Poznań-Śródka. Grave 170, Fragments of silver chain (inventory no. 48/2012/WG); c – Poznań-Śródka. Grave 170, Temple rings (inventory no. 47/2012/WG and 54/2012/WG), made from an unidentified alloy of non-ferrous metals. On the right – close-ups of birds and a lamb (Photo and descriptions by P. Pawlak)

Therefore, one of the important elements of this exhibition is to show aspects of the settlement's community; not only their everyday life, but also important details about the physical condition of the entire population. The cemetery discovered near the settlement offers such an opportunity; it has been excavated since 1994 by Paweł Pawlak from Henryk Klunder's Laboratory for Conservation of Cultural Property. According to the most recent findings, the graveyard was one of the first Christian necropoleis in Mieszko I's young state (Pawlak and Pawlak 2015). The cemetery had been predated by a settlement, whose population was moved to the *suburbium*, and the terrain was levelled and covered with a layer of sand. On this surface, first burials were located, which can be dated to the end of the 10th and beginning of the 11th c. The cemetery was used until the turn of the 12th century. The relics discovered by archaeologists, which had furnished the graves, give an account of the daily life, extensive contacts with various regions, as well as a high quality of local craftsmanship (Fig. 9). Nearby, on the island, the mighty structures of the Poznań settlement were raised. Certainly, the inhabitants of the excavated huts, and later those who were buried in the local cemetery at the end of the century, participated in the building of the town and numerous extensions which continued throughout the 10th and 11th centuries. Thanks to well-preserved bone remains, scientists obtained information about the people who lived in the Poznań

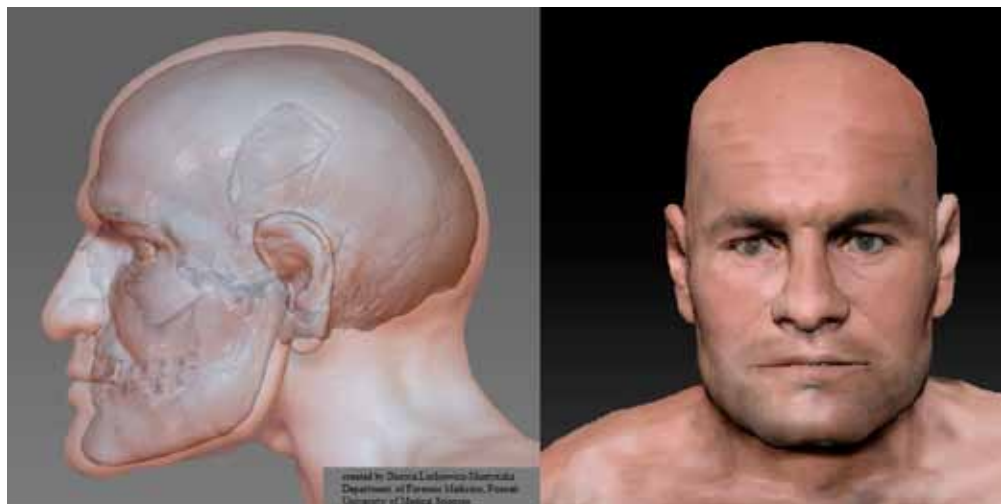


Fig. 10. Reconstruction of the appearance of the man from grave 195 in the Śródka cemetery (Approximation by D. Lorkiewicz-Muszyńska)

settlement (Fig. 11). 2D and 3D computer methods, which are more and more frequently used for identification purposes to prepare facial approximations, enabled scientists to recreate the appearance of five people (graves nos. 170, 195, 273, 295, 275) and also made it possible to incorporate both anthropological and genetic studies into the tour of the reserve (Fig. 10). The presentation uses 3D models obtained as a result of processing biomedical imaging data recorded in the DICOM format and created in cooperation with the Department of Forensic Medicine, Poznań University of Medical Sciences, represented by Dorota Lorkiewicz-Muszyńska, who was in charge of the work, and with the Poznań University of Technology, where Michał Rychlik conducted a digital analysis. The models are shown using holograms, created by the Spatial Imaging Studio, University of the Arts in Poznań, headed by Jarosław Bogucki and Szymon Zwoliński.

Methods of presenting information in the exhibition

The concept behind a historical exhibition must not only determine a consistent way of presenting its topic and of understanding the individual aspects of its subject matter, but also consider the consequences of the choices we make in terms of forms of communication with visitors.



Fig. 11. Drawn reconstructions of burials 195 and 170 from the Śródka cemetery (Drawn by M. Kuźma)

In the last few decades, there have been changes with regard to museum exhibitions which, through the rapid growth of multimedia, have opened up entirely new spaces for presenting exhibits and the information that accompanies them. It is impossible to ignore these changes and not take advantage of them in the present-day world. It would be irrational

and detrimental to the idea of popularising cultural heritage. However, a museologists must also realise what dangers lie in the increasingly frequent reversal of exhibition priorities and set clear limits of a mindless 'multimedia armament race'. This limit is set by approaching 'a relic as a commodity which needs to be sold in an attractive form, suited to the taste of the average consumer' (Tomaszewski 2012, 117). This inevitably leads to getting rid of actual exhibits and replacing them with someone's vision or interpretation, with creating a *simulacrum* – a copy which lacks the original (Pasek-Gawlikowska 2013, 57–66). As Professor Andrzej Tomaszewski rightly noted,

(...) a question arises whether these images and information which are put in front of our eyes by clicking the mouse are in line with our views on the need to shape members of our society from a very young age in the spirit of respecting the authenticity of heritage (Tomaszewski 2012, 117).

Therefore, the matter of preparing the message we want to include in an exhibition is not a simple one and requires a great deal of attention.

In the Archaeological Reserve on Ostrów Tumski in Poznań, we have made an effort to find a balance between giving priority to the most important 'characters' of this place – the archaeological relics – and innovativeness. Without doubt, the monumental remains of the ramparts were helpful in this case, as it is impossible to go past them indifferently; they call for an explanation and provoke visitors to look for answers to their emerging questions. The method of presentation was based on the following guidelines: after a tour of the reserve, visitors should be able to assess by themselves the scale of the project of constructing Piast fortifications and to find the fragments of the former defences in the landscape of Cathedral Island. Archaeology's role in increasing our knowledge of the earliest stage in the history of the city and state is another matter. This discipline, with the entire scientific apparatus at its disposal, has become the main element of explaining and depicting knowledge about the past in our exhibition. We have not shied away from showing many hypotheses put forward about various topics; we want the visitors touring our exhibition to understand the dynamics of new discoveries leading to the evolution of earlier assumptions. Another element which we want to present is the wealth of interdisciplinary studies which come together to create a coherent historical picture.

An important guideline established at the beginning of our work was for the tour to include elements of modern art, which focuses on the presented relics using modern aesthetics and sensitivity. The Piasts' settlement is viewed in this exhibition as a feat of medieval engineering, as an important strategic place of the emerging state, as the location of the first monumental constructions, where its builders lived and died, and where today we can study its most ancient history thanks to the excellent condition in which the thousand-year-old structures have survived. The presentation of the subject matter shown in the reserve rests on informing the visitors about the chronological direction of touring and the authenticity of the structures they are viewing. The visitors' introduction to the topic takes place by means of showing them a short popular science film projected in the dedicated multimedia room. The introduction was filmed by two scholars, Professor Hanna Kóčka-Krenz and the late Professor Zofia Kurnatowska. It was important to us that the discoverers and scientists to whom Ostrów Tumski owes the process of rebuilding the memory of its early medieval golden age would become recognisable figures and that they would guide visitors through various parts of the exhibition, drawing their attention to specific problems. This is the function of the information kiosks (infokiosks) located on the middle level of the exhibition, which are meant for visitors individually watching videos about the archaeological excavations on Cathedral Island. In line with Jan Długosz's words about¹⁰ *Poznań, the old castle of Polish kings, the seat, capital and burial place (...)*, the exhibition could not lack a presentation of the discovery of the structure housing a palace and a chapel, which was made as a result of the excavations conducted by Professor Hanna Kóčka-Krenz from the Adam Mickiewicz University since 1999. The works revealed the entire outline of the *palatium* and the accompanying St. Mary's chapel, which was founded by Duchess Dobrawa, according to tradition (Kóčka-Krenz 2010, 23; 2012). Including this topic in the tour of the reserve enables us to better explain the role and rank of the fortifications, which protected the most important persons in the young state and the buildings constructed there. The third presentation shows the results and progress of the works in the settlement's cemetery in nearby Śródka; it is presented by Ewa and Paweł Pawlak, who studied this site for many years, and by the anthropologists who processes the

¹⁰ Długosz I, 42.

bone material. Here, we can also see archaeological relics from various works on Ostrów Tumski and Śródka, including mosaic cubes from so-called Dobrawa's Chapel and the furnishings from the grave of the 'princess' (grave 275), discovered in the stronghold's necropolis (Fig. 9). Above the remnants of the ramparts, in the upper part of the permanent exhibition, a visualisation of the anticipated height of the fortification is projected, and from time to time there is a video-mapping performance, in which the leading role is played by the people whose remains were discovered in the cemetery in Śródka and the relics found with them.

On the lowest, third level of the exhibition, visitors are invited inside an archaeological trench. This place gives an idea of the comprehensive approach to the plan of building a mighty stronghold. Visitors can see a scale model of the ramparts' structure shown in a cross section¹¹ and compare the proportions, as well as see which fragment of the fortifications is presented. In this space, an unusual 'gallery of ancestors' is shown, in the form of holographic images based on the facial approximations of the five persons buried in the already mentioned stronghold cemetery.

On the lower terrace of the exhibition, there are discreetly placed infokiosks with touch screens, where the visitor can find numerous multimedia presentations which offer a closer look at the current state of research about the medieval times and Poznań's Ostrów Tumski, as well as disciplines such as dendrochronology and anthropology, whose findings have made this exhibition much richer. The division into presentations addressed to children and adults makes it possible for visitors to acquire more information on a preferred level. Additionally, in each of such points, there is a map of the exposition with described fragments and dendrochronological dates superimposed onto individual oak beams. It is also possible to watch an animation of the model of the construction and the stages of building the ramparts. In this part of the exhibition, there are also two holograms showing views of Poznań at the turn of the 10th century and the complexity of the construction of the discovered fortifications.

One of the methods of presenting historical information developed since the reserve started its operation was to introduce artistic interpretations of the displayed structures. Collaborations with many

¹¹ The model was made by students of the Bolesław I the Brave Vocational Secondary School during school workshops.

art schools enabled us to create a specific language of communication, in which, through using one-thousand-year-old fragments of wood from the stronghold's ramparts, the archaeological material has taken on a new meaning. Although it is still a museum exhibit, everybody can touch a contemporary sculpture. In the words of one of the authors of a wooden boat, entitled 'A walk with an afterimage', which welcomes visitors in the reserve's foyer:

Suddenly, it turns out that the ability to touch can be a strong point of access in the age of touchscreens. Just as fingerprints on the touchscreens in the museum bring us joy, because they are testimony to activity, to the will to obtain information, 'creative recycling' (of archaeological wood) can mean that the same number of fingerprints will be left on a piece of art, at the same time bringing the visitors to the Genius Loci Archaeological Reserve closer to the historical times (Gruszczyński 2015, 111).

Activities

The reserve's activities have been discussed many times in various publications (Stempin 2014; 2015; 2016), so I will only mention the main directions of our activity and plans for the future here.

We endeavour to present new archaeological topics in many temporary exhibitions. So far, twenty-five such exhibitions have been organised by the reserve, most of which, as travelling exhibitions, also served as an element of promoting our institution in various regions of Poland, as well as schools. We should mention here the archaeological series 'When Poznań was a stronghold...', which included the exhibitions 'The land of strongholds' (curated by Anna Połuboczek), 'Family and child in the Middle Ages' (curated by Klaudyna Bronowska), and 'Archaeological investigations on Ostrów Tumski in Poznań' (curated by Mateusz Sikora, Fig. 1). On the 1050th anniversary of the Baptism of Poland, we organised the exhibition 'Generation 966' (curated by Agnieszka Stempin), and accompanying open-air and mobile exhibitions called '*Tempora Christiana*' (curated by Magdalena Sprenger and Anna Połuboczek) and 'The world around 966' (curated by Małgorzata Żukowska). Since the reserve was opened, another exhibition-related aspect of our activity has also been developed, which involves creating an educational programme in Poznań's art schools, inspired by the archaeology and medieval history of Ostrów Tumski.

The implementation of the project 'Contemporary beauty of ancient wood' was based on the idea of combining a raw material which was the building material of the fortifications from a thousand years ago with the creativity of the youngest generation of artists (Stempin 2015, 60–67). The project brought together artists, lecturers from Poznań's educational institutions (Faculty of Architecture, Poznań University of Technology; University of Fine Arts in Poznań; P. Potworowski Secondary School; and Bolesław I the Brave Vocational Secondary School), who led the work on projects which involved contemporary reflection on the city's oldest past and the beginnings of the Polish state. As part of the project, the exhibition '1,000 years of necklaces' was also organised in collaboration with designer Anna Orska¹².

The Archaeological Reserve also participates in interdisciplinary scientific programmes which provide conservation supervision over the exhibited constructions and offer a discussion panel about the proper monitoring of the condition of ancient timber¹³ (Stempin 2014; Sikora 2014; Olek *et al.* 2015).

Some of our educational tasks include standard activities, which have been offered by museums for many years, such as thematic lessons (Fig. 12) and weekend workshops (Fig. 13). Teachers and caretakers can choose from a multitude of topics, closely connected to the archaeology and history of Ostrów Tumski. Classes about engineering from a thousand years ago are the most popular, and they include building a model of a rampart. The reserve's staff have also developed their own educational project in the form of year-round meetings with selected groups of schoolchildren and teenagers. In this project, a literature and art class called *WRITE, PAINT* was very successful. The project involved young children imagining and describing the adventures of children their age who lived on Ostrów Tumski in Poznań when it served as Mieszko I's stronghold. The project concluded with the publication of a children's book entitled *Historia Poznana (The Story of a Boy Named Poznan)* (Sprenger 2015). Older schoolchildren were involved in vocational workshops, during which they built two wooden scale models (Stempin 2015, 60–67).

¹² All the works created during the programme belong to the Archaeological Museum in Poznań and are non-commercial.

¹³ The project was part of a programme of the Polish Ministry of Culture and National Heritage and its continuation under the National Programme for the Development of Humanities.



Fig. 12. Class for schoolchildren using archaeological relics during the *WRITE, PAINT* project (Photo by M. Sprenger)



Fig. 13. Workshops and weekends in the open air at the *Genius Loci* Archaeological Reserve (Photo by K. Zisopulu-Bleja)

In recent years, we have also offered programmes for adults who are prepared for intellectual activities, open to personal development, and looking for their cultural identity. These projects have been implemented in response to requests made by visitors to the *Genius Loci* Archaeological Reserve, who have brought up the problem of the devaluation of European values and difficult access to interesting forms of acquiring knowledge. In scientific research, the enormous potential of individual research is noted, and we have activated this potential in two projects implemented so far, 'Walks with Aristotle' (Stempin 2017) and 'The glow of *Christianitatis*' (Stempin 2018a; 2018b).

An important area of our activity is releasing scientific and popular science publications, which we try to do regularly, concluding each project with a publication (publishing series of the *Genius Loci* Archaeological Reserve: 'Archaeology of Thought' and 'The Genius Loci Academy').

The future

At the moment, the reserve is working on a new project, which will considerably increase the previous space in which we have been active so far. This is an investment financed from EU funds, entitled 'Tu się wszystko zaczęło – ekspozycja świadectw początków państwowości polskiej na Ostrowie Tumskim w Poznaniu' ('This is where everything started – an exhibition of testimonies to the beginnings of Polish statehood on Ostrów Tumski in Poznań'). The programme is aimed at showing relics of Poznań's oldest golden age to the general public: the majestic stone buildings of Mieszko I's Palatium and the first Cathedral (Kurnatowska 1993). The main architectural element of the exhibition in progress is, at the moment, St. Mary's Church *in Summo* from the 15th century. Around and inside it there are relics of Mieszko I's Palatium, which is not visible in the present space of Ostrów Tumski (Kóčka-Krenz 2016, 21–47). Rescuing this building from oblivion and emphasising the rank of the early medieval palace and chapel is the project's main objective. However, it cannot be separated from the functional context set by the outlines and structures of the Piast stronghold, craft and trade centres, and the necropolis.

The stratigraphic complexity of these structures will be the chronological axis on which the programme of the exhibition (scattered across the island's landscape) will be based. The exhibition is anticipated

to include three areas, on which the information and educational base of the project will rest. These spheres are a natural consequence of dividing Ostrów's space, which – through implementing the project's results – will become universally accessible for an unlimited time. The project plans for marking the outline of the Palatium's walls outside and inside the church, and for installing educational presentations there. It will be possible to show them to all visitors, but the screens will be put in places discreet enough not to be visible when celebrating the sacraments. The expanded exhibition of the *Genius Loci* Archaeological Reserve will systematise and put into order the entire subject matter. In Posadzego street, right next to our building, a three-dimensional artistic installation is being constructed, which will serve to show the size of the ramparts in the form of a full-scale cross-section¹⁴, and in many spots of the island time-travelling stations will be created, where it will be possible to follow the changes in the archaeological landscape of Ostrów from the 11th to the 16th c.

Recapitulation

The *Genius Loci* Archaeological Reserve is located on the northern side of the early Piast settlement, which means that visitors walking towards this building go past lines of old fortifications, invisible in the present-day landscape of the island.

They are unaware that they are moving in a space marked by a thousand years of history, which is recorded under the ground. The reserve's exhibition requires visitors to be mindful and involved, to experience an intellectual adventure. It lets the visitor appreciate the engineering genius of the stronghold's builders and the grand scale of the investment of building a medieval state (Fig. 14). To archaeologists, the underground world is a reservoir of unimaginable treasures. Frequently, however, it is difficult to show their real value. Constructing a building dedicated to telling this story was meant to make the contemporary visitor more sensitive to the need to protect the archaeological heritage and to reveal its incredible scientific wealth.

Finally, it is worth explaining the genesis of the reserve's name. The idea of 'the spirit of the place' has been known since Antiquity, and its

¹⁴ Designed by the artist Łukasz Gruszczyński from the University of Fine Arts in Poznań.



Fig. 14. Graphic showing the Poznań settlement in the 11th c. (view from the south). Exhibition of the *Genius Loci* Archaeological Reserve

meaning has evolved from the original sense of a special area which was favoured by some supernatural force – the *genius loci*, which ensured prosperity to the people who were in its range. In Christendom, such places were tombs of well-known saints, special relics, and temples built to house them. In the field of cultural heritage, Alois Riegl's 1903 essay became the manifesto of how to look at a relic:

a monument is <the place of a spirit>, a place which contains the history of the creation and life of the monument as a witness to historical events (...). It is because of this value – non-material, higher than the other (artistic, utilitarian) ones (...) that we read it as a cultural good and that we feel obligated to protect it (Tomaszewski 2012, 76–77).

Ostrów Tumski in Poznań certainly has its spirit of the place, and the *Genius Loci* Archaeological Reserve has been established to foster it.

References

Written sources

Długosz Ioannis Dlugossii. *Annales seu cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae*. J. Dąbrowski [et al.] (eds.). Varsaviae: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe. 1964.

Literature

- Antowska-Gorączniak O. 2013. Badania na stanowisku przy ul. Posadzego 5 w 2009/2010 – charakterystyka nawarstwień. In H. Kóčka-Krenz (ed.), *Poznań we wczesnym średniowieczu*, vol. VIII. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 19–60.
- Borwiński J. 2015. Kanonia i mury obronne przy ul. Ostrów Tumski 11 w Poznaniu. Nowe ustalenia naukowe. *Ochrona Zabytków* 1, 183–194.
- Brzostowicz M. and Stempin A. 2015. Sztuka inżynierii średniowiecznej. Relikty wałów grodowych w Poznaniu na tle innych konstrukcji drewnianych z X wieku. In A. Stempin (ed.), *966 – pamięć w dębie zachowana*. Poznań: Muzeum Archeologiczne w Poznaniu, 27–45.
- Budzan P. and Karłowska-Kamzowa A. 1992. Działalność fundacyjna biskupa poznańskiego Jana Lubrańskiego. In *Kronika Miasta Poznania 1999/2*. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Miejskie Poznania, 93.
- Gruszczyński Ł. 2015. Przeszłość jest tu, przyszłość jest teraz. In A. Stempin (ed.), *966 – pamięć w dębie zachowana*. Poznań: Muzeum Archeologiczne w Poznaniu, 109–115.
- Hensel W. 1938a. Zachowajmy na zawsze pozostałości po kolebce Poznania. *Dziennik Poznański* no. 204 of 07 September 1938, 7.
- Hensel W. 1938b. Zagadnienie początków Poznania i kwestia jego stołecznego charakteru w świetle wyników prac wykopaliskowych na Ostrowie Tumskim. *Kronika Miasta Poznania*, vol. XVI, no. 4. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Miejskie Poznania, 484–507.
- Kaniecki A. 2004. *Poznań. Dzieje miasta wodą pisane*. Poznań: Wydawnictwo PTPN.
- Kara M. 1998. Początki i rozwój wczesnośredniowiecznego ośrodka grodowego na Ostrowie Tumskim w Poznaniu. In T. Janiak and D. Stryniak (eds.), *Civitates principales. Wybrane ośrodki władzy w Polsce wczesnośredniowiecznej*. Gniezno: Wydawnictwo DiG, 26–29.
- Kóčka-Krenz H. 2010. Pozycja Poznania w X wieku w źródłach archeologicznych. In A. Wójtowicz (ed.), *Tu się wszystko zaczęło. Rola Poznania w państwie pierwszych Piastów*. Poznań: Instytut Chemii Bioorganicznej PAN, Ośrodek Wydawnictw Naukowych, 33–60.
- Kóčka-Krenz H. 2012. *Na wyspie Ostrów, przy której dziś jest Poznań...* Poznań: Muzeum Archeologiczne w Poznaniu.
- Kóčka-Krenz H. 2013. Archeolodzy uniwersyteccy na Ostrowie Tumskim. *Folia Praehistorica Posnaniensia* 18, 119–134.
- Kóčka-Krenz H. 2016. Palatium poznańskie na tle wczesnośredniowiecznych zespołów rezydencjonalnych. In M. Przybył (ed.), *Archeologiczne tajemnice*

- palatium i katedry poznańskiego Ostrowa*. Poznań: Muzeum Archeologiczne w Poznaniu, 21–47.
- Kostrzewski J. 1938. Zachowajmy na wieki gród Mieszka i Bolesława. *Kurier Poznański* no. 420 of 4 September 1938, 16.
- Krapiec M. 2013. Dendrochronologiczne datowanie wału grodu na Ostrowie Tumskim w Poznaniu, przy ul. k. I. Posadzego 5, w 2009 r. In H. Kóčka-Krenz (ed.), *Poznań we wczesnym średniowieczu* 8. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 285–293.
- Kurnatowska Z. 1993. Poznań w czasach Mieszka I. In J.M. Piskorski (ed.), *Polska Mieszka I. W tysiąclecie śmierci twórcy państwa i Kościoła polskiego* 25 V 992 – 25 V 1992. Poznań: Ośrodek Wydawnictw Naukowych, 73–90.
- Niesiołowska A., Perzyńska M. and Żak J. 1960. Badania na posesji Ostrów Tumski 13 w latach 1950–1953. In W. Hensel (ed.), *Poznań we wczesnym średniowieczu*, vol. II. Wrocław–Warszawa: Ossolineum, 67–219.
- Nowacki J. 1956. *Dzieje Archidiecezji Poznańskiej*, vol. 1. Poznań: Księgarnia Św. Wojciecha.
- Olek W., Majka J., Stempin A., Sikora M. and Zborowska M. 2015. Hygroscopic properties of PEG treated archaeological wood from the rampart of the 10th century stronghold as exposed in the Archaeological Reserved Genius loci in Poznań (Poland). *Journal of Cultural Heritage* 18, 299–305.
- Pawlak E. and Pawlak P. 2015. *Serce miasta jest po prawej stronie*. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Kontekst.
- Pasek-Gawlikowska A. 2013. Kultura masowa i co dalej...? *Rozprawy społeczne* 2 (7), 57–66.
- Sikora M. 2014. Rezerwat Archeologiczny Genius loci na Ostrowie Tumskim w Poznaniu. Ustalenia i opis dotychczasowych działań archeologiczno-konserwatorskich, jakim poddawano drewniane konstrukcje wałów grodowych. In A. Stempin and W. Olek (eds.), *Dąb wczesnośredniowieczny – zapis poznania. Badania nad zabezpieczeniem i ochroną konstrukcji wałów grodowych eksponowanych w Rezerwacie Archeologicznym Genius loci na Ostrowie Tumskim w Poznaniu*. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Przyrodniczego w Poznaniu, 87–101.
- Sprenger M. 2015. *Historia Poznana*. Poznań: wyd. Zysk i spółka i Muzeum Archeologiczne w Poznaniu.
- Stępnik T. 2013. Wał wczesnośredniowiecznego grodu na Ostrowie Tumskim w Poznaniu przy ul. k. I. Posadzego 5, w świetle analizy surowcowej. In H. Kóčka-Krenz (ed.), *Poznań we wczesnym średniowieczu* 8. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 269–285.
- Stempin A. (ed.) 2017. *Spacery z Arystotelesem*. Poznań: Muzeum Archeologiczne w Poznaniu.
- Stempin A. 2014. Wstęp. In A. Stempin and W. Olek (eds.), *Dąb wczesnośredniowieczny – zapis poznania. Badania nad zabezpieczeniem i ochroną konstrukcji wałów grodowych eksponowanych w Rezerwacie Archeologicznym Genius loci na Ostrowie Tumskim w Poznaniu*. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Przyrodniczego w Poznaniu, 9–48.
- Stempin A. 2015. Tworzywo edukacji historycznej. In A. Stempin (ed.), *966 – pamięć w dębie zachowana*. Poznań: Muzeum Archeologiczne w Poznaniu, 60–67.

- Stempin A. 2016. Rezerwat Archeologiczny Genius loci. In S. Czopek and J. Górski (eds.), *Między nauką a popularyzacją. Muzea i parki archeologiczne*. Kraków: Universitas, 177–203.
- Stempin A. (ed.) 2018a. *Blask Christianitatis, Akademia Genius loci*. Poznań: Muzeum Archeologiczne w Poznaniu.
- Stempin A. 2018b. Nie takie zwykle muzeum. Czyli jakie? In *Muzeum formy i środki prezentacji* (in press).
- Szmyt M., Stempin A. and Śniady P. 2013. Przekrój Poznania. Rezerwat archeologiczny *Genius loci* na Ostrowie Tumskim: idea, realizacja, działalność. In H. Kóčka-Krenz (ed.), *Poznań we wczesnym średniowieczu* 8. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 7–19.
- Tomaszewski A. 2012. *Ku nowej filozofii dziedzictwa*. Kraków: Międzynarodowe Centrum Kultury.
- Wawrzyniak P. 2005. Badania wykopaliskowe wczesnośredniowiecznych umocnień wałowych przy ulicy ks. Ignacego Posadzego 5, na Ostrowie Tumskim w Poznaniu, w latach 2001–2004. In H. Kóčka-Krenz (ed.), *Poznań we wczesnym średniowieczu* 5. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 7–19.

DOI: 10.15584/anarres.2018.13.14

Arkadiusz Tabaka*

Historical Cultural Spaces – Adaptation and Functioning. The Case of the Museum of the First Piasts at Lednica

ABSTRACT

Tabaka A. 2018. Historical Cultural Spaces – Adaptation and Functioning. The Case of the Museum of the First Piasts at Lednica. *Analecta Archaeologica Ressoiviensia* 13, 287–308

Interest in Ostrów Lednicki started in the mid-19th century. In 1858–1874, information was gathered about its stone buildings, burials, rampart construction, bridges, and numerous other finds. On 12th March 1930, Ostrów Lednicki was entered into the Register of Historical Monuments. Today, a team of archaeologists working on the island discovers new data and processes the materials found (numerous monographs have been written about the discoveries). In 1982, a team for interdisciplinary studies on Ostrów Lednicki and its settlement complex was appointed. In 1989, the journal 'Studia Lednickie' ('Lednica Studies') was created, followed in 1991 by the publishing series entitled Biblioteka Studiów Lednickich (Library of Lednica Studies). In 1988, the Lednica Landscape Park was created with the view to protecting the monuments on the island and the landscape in the areas around Lake Lednica. New branches and specialist laboratories were established: the Greater Poland Ethnographic Park, the Giecz Early Piast Stronghold Archaeological Reserve, the Grzybowo Stronghold Archaeological Reserve, and the Archaeological Laboratory on Ostrów Radziński. The Museum organises exhibitions in Poland and abroad. It is also a scientific research institution, which popularises knowledge by publishing prospectuses, guides and brochures, producing films, offering museum lessons, and organising mass events.

Keywords: Early Middle Ages, strongholds of the early Piast dynasty, stone architecture, baptism of Mieszko I, ethnographic park

Received: 18.12.2018; **Revised:** 28.12.2018; **Revised:** 28.12.2018; **Accepted:** 30.12.2018

The year 2019 will mark the 50th anniversary of the Museum of the First Piasts at Lednica, situated in the heart of Greater Poland (Wielkopolska; Fig. 1). Although there are other museums in Poland which have a much longer history, the Lednica Museum should be considered especially important for acquiring knowledge about the origins of the Polish state. It was not established until 1969, but due to the high rank of the

* The Early Piast Residence on Ostrów Lednicki – Branch of the Museum of the First Piasts at Lednica, Dziekanowice 32, 62-261 Lednogóra, Poland; ol.at@lednica.pl



Fig. 1. The location of Ostrów Lednicki on the map of Poland (Drawn by A. Tabaka)

immobile and mobile finds from the island of Ostrów Lednicki (such as the stone ducal palace from the times of Mieszko I and Bolesław the Brave, connected to a baptismal chapel on the east side – Fig. 2, as well as remnants of other buildings – Fig. 3), scientists representing various disciplines have been interested in this place since the mid-19th c. (Wyrwa 2009a; Kurnatowska and Wyrwa 2016). Already in the ‘pre-scientific’ period, the medieval historian Jan Długosz wrote the following note in his Chronicle:

Lednica, a lake of considerable size in Greater Poland, located near the town of Pobiedziska, which has quite a big island, on which, as old men say, rather than put in writing, the Gniezno metropolitan cathedral used to stand (as ruins and remains of walls confirm), which with time, due to difficult access, was moved to Gniezno (Długosz I, 93).

In Poland under partitions, when an interest in antiquity developed, Polish aristocracy delighted in amassing all sorts of ancient relics and created private collections. Count Edward Raczyński (in 1843) took note of the ruins of the monumental stone buildings on Ostrów Lednicki, thinking they were a castle from the times of Bolesław the Brave. In his *Wspomnienia Wielkopolski* (*Memories of Greater Poland*; Raczyński 1843, 375–376), he included a description of the ruins, illustrated with a drawing of the arcade decorating the structure¹. The first field works around and inside the structure were carried out in 1845 by Grevenitz, landrat of Gniezno, and Gadov, a construction inspector (Fogel 1991; Górecki 2016, 30). At that time, the structures were partially destroyed, which was confirmed a few years later (in 1851) by Franciszek Staszic, a lover of antiquities. It was not until the island was bought by

¹ The arcade’s location within the Lednica Palatium continues to be an unsolved puzzle. It probably connected the columns in the Palace’s hall and supported the ceiling of its upper floor (Siewczyński 2004).



Fig. 2. Ostrów Lednicki, site 1. Palace chapel (Photo by M. Jóźwikowska)

Count Albin Węsierski (a great lover of history, patron of the arts, and a devoted ‘protector’ of monuments) that intensive interdisciplinary studies began (Węsierski 1875). In 1858–1874, valuable information was collected about the stone buildings, burials, rampart construction, bridges, and numerous other finds. Samples of the gypsum plaster binding the stones of the palatium on Lednica were sent for a specialist analysis to Berlin and Janowiec near Żnin. During the works, specialists such as Joachim Lelewel and Marian Sokołowski were consulted. As a result of the studies, it was concluded that the ruins on Lednica were the remains of Bolesław the Brave’s residence. This was followed by the first instances of popularising knowledge about the monuments on Ostrów Lednicki in popular science format (information in the Warsaw and Poznań press) and in scholarship (papers were presented at international congresses – in Copenhagen (1869) and Brussels (1872)). It is worth noting that Count Albin Węsierski’s lecture in Brussels was the only paper by a representative of Slavic nations published in the French post-conference reports.

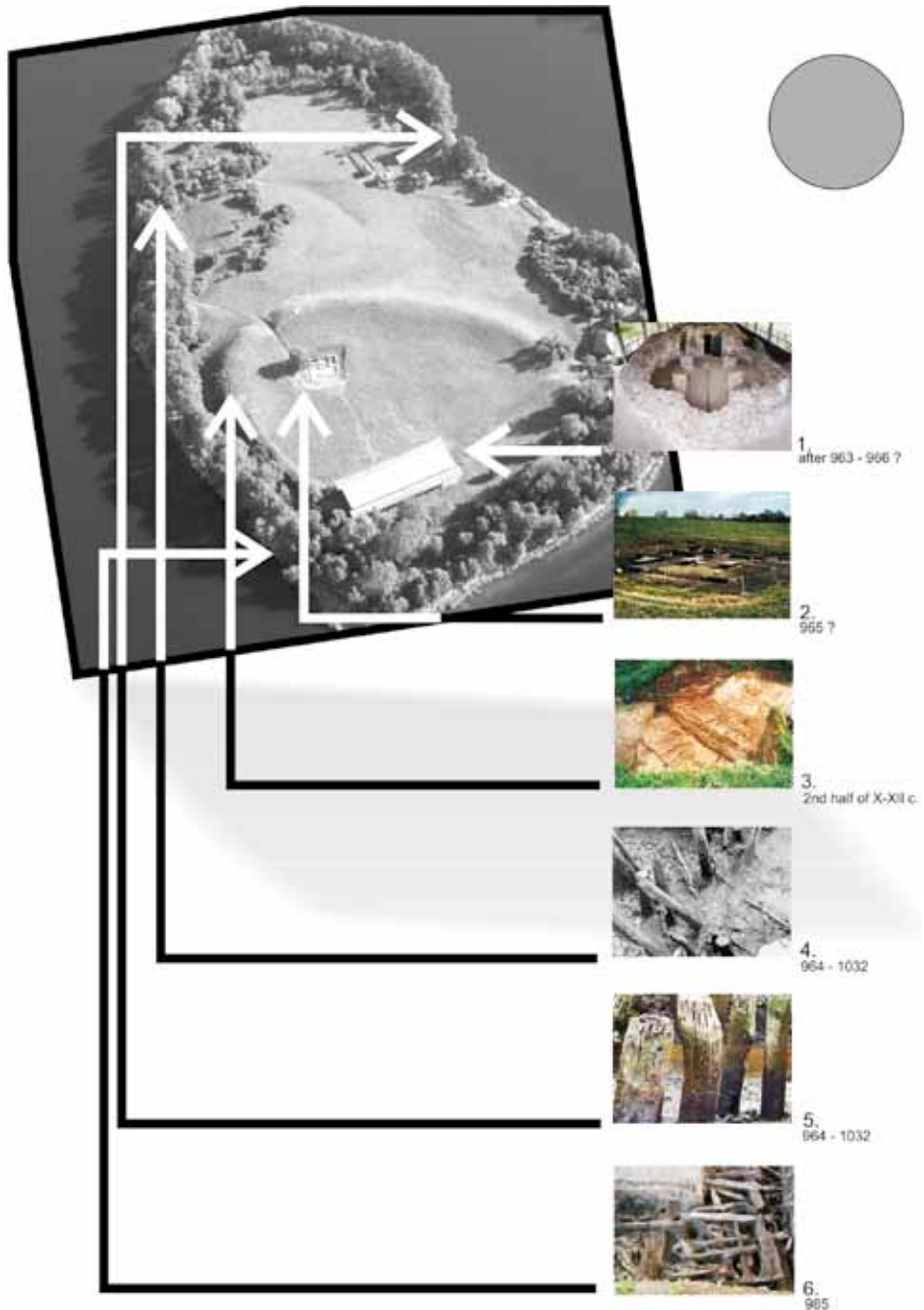


Fig. 3. Ostrów Lednicki. The topography of the island: 1 – palatium; 2 – stronghold’s church; 3 – cross-section of the rampart; 4 – bridgehead of the Poznań bridge on the island; 5 – bridgehead of the Gniezno bridge on the island; 6 – fortifications on the western shore of the island (According to J. Górecki; computer graphics by W. Kujawa)

In 1874, architectural studies of the palace and church were conducted by Professor Marian Sokołowski from Cracow, together with Władysław Łuszczkiewicz, a documentalist and draughtsman. The result of their work was an architectural study with excellent drawings (plans, floor projection, architectural details; Sokołowski 1876). In the late 19th c., articles were also published in 'Poznańskie Zapiski Architektoniczne' ('Poznań Archaeological Notes') and their German counterpart (where the scale of the works and drawings of Lednica monuments were presented). The work concluded with displaying publications about Lednica monuments during a world exhibition in Chicago.

In the interwar period (the 1930s), scientists focused on studying the vicinity of the palace chapel (Zygmunt Zakrzewski) and the cemetery discovered in the stronghold (anthropologists Adam Wrzosek and Michał Ćwirko-Godycki). The finds included 2,100 graves and numerous artefacts, which, together with their documentation, were mostly lost during World War II (Zakrzewski 1933; Wrzosek 1934).

On the basis of the results of these works, which confirmed the site's high rank, Ostrów Lednicki was entered into the Polish Register of Historical Monuments on 12th March 1930.

An important discovery was made in 1944 by Gustav Masanetz (representing the Landesamt für Vorgeschichte in Poznań). During the exploration of layers in the trench cutting across the stronghold on the N-S line, remains of a previously unknown stone structure were revealed in the northern part of the stronghold². However, the archaeologist did not attempt to interpret his discovery.

After war operations finished, excavation works were restarted on Ostrów Lednicki already in 1948. Kazimierz Żurowski, who was in charge of very extensive excavations in many strategic points of the island (near the palace, on the ramparts, in the ward and suburbium), was one of the very many scientists working there. One of the monuments excavated at that time was the oldest Lednica stronghold (dated to 885–921, cf. Górecki 2016, 34), as well as fortifications on the western shore of the island, which were interpreted as remains of a pier at that time.

Underwater investigations were also started at that time, carried out by the Polish Tourist and Sightseeing Society (Klub PTTK) from Poznań

² Later, it turned out that they were relics of the stronghold's single-nave church with two stone tombs.



Fig. 4. The stronghold's church (Photo by M. Józwickowska)

(the discoveries included relics of bridges leading to Ostrów Lednicki, a nasal helmet, and a large dugout boat). Underwater studies have been continued, with intervals, until the present day by archaeologists from the Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń (cf. e.g. Kurnatowska 2000; Kola and Wilke 2000; 2014).

In 1960–1965, excavations were carried out both in the suburbium (Gabriela Mikołajczyk) and in the ward (Jerzy Łomnicki, Andrzej Nowak); at the same time, architectural studies were also continued. Archaeologists revealed and documented e.g. successive levels of floors in the palace chapel, traces of a wooden floor in the hall, remains of pentices by the palace (in one of them, a large amount of various cereals was inventoried – perhaps a granary; in another the ferrule of a liturgical book was found), relics of the stronghold's church, excavated previously (cf. fn. 2; Fig. 4), as well as bridgeheads.

Apart from field works, laboratory studies on pottery from Ostrów Lednicki (Łucja Nowak) and on settlement changes on the island (Andrzej Nowak) were also started on a large scale.



Fig. 5. A set of militaria from Ostrów Lednicki (Photo by M. Jóźwikowska)

The fact that there was no permanent museum building and the investigations were conducted by scientists from various institutions led to the incredibly valuable finds and documentation being divided³. Ostrów Lednicki's rich collections with time inspired conservation services and local authorities to establish a dedicated institution which would serve museum and scientific research purposes. As a result of the efforts of Jerzy Łomnicki, the Voivodeship Conservator of Monuments, in 1969 the Museum of the Origins of the Polish State was established on Lednica, later (1974) renamed the Museum of the First Piasts at Lednica. Fieldwork and laboratory studies related to Ostrów Lednicki have continued until today. The team of Lednica archaeologists keep discovering new facts, interpreting and processing both materials from their own studies and archival data from decades ago. All this work has resulted in monographs about the sites (Górecki 2001a – stronghold) and individual complexes of monuments (e.g. Tabaka and Wyrwa 2013 – coin and treasure finds, Górecki 2001b – militaria, Fig. 5, 6; Wyrwa *et al.*

³ The staff of the Museum of the First Piasts at Lednica still deal with the consequences of this, as some of the documentation and relics belong to the collections and archives of the Archaeological Museum in Poznań, the Museum of the Origins of the Polish State in Gniezno, the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Poznań, the Voivodeship Conservator of Monuments in Poznań, and probably many more institutions.



Fig. 6. Incrustated spearheads from Lake Lednica (Photo by M. Józwickowska)

2011 – swords; Sankiewicz and Wyrwa 2013 – axes; Tabaka 2005 – weights; Banaszak and Tabaka 2008 – artefacts related to business activity and individual places and things ‘in a class of their own’, e.g.: Górecki 1996 – baptismal pools, Fig. 7; Górecki 2000 – liturgical comb; Wrześniński and Wyrwa 2011 – necklace with *kaptorga*; Wyrwa 2009b – staurotheke, Fig. 8). In 1982, on the initiative of the team of Lednica archaeologists and Professor Zofia Kurnatowska, a team for interdisciplinary studies on Ostrów Lednicki and its settlement was appointed and still operates (Dzięciołowski and Górecki 1989; Tobolski 1991; Kurnatowska 1993; 2009; Żurowska 1993; Kurnatowski 1993; Makowiecki 2001; Polcyn 2006; Křivanek and Tabaka 2014). The group includes scientists from various universities, as well as the Polish Academy of Sciences. With time (in 1989), the Museum also started to publish a journal – ‘*Studia Lednickie*’ (‘Lednica Studies’) and later (in 1991) the

publishing series entitled *Biblioteka Studiów Lednickich* (Library of Lednica Studies) (various series)⁴.

In the meantime (in 1988), the Lednica Landscape Park was created in order to protect the stone monuments on the island, the Museum which was being extended, and the landscape surrounding Lake Lednica. In 1994, the island of Ostrów Lednicki was entered onto the list of ten Monuments of History, which was created at that time.

Since its inception until today, the Museum of the First Piasts at Lednica has grown considerably. Over the five decades of its operation, new branches and laboratories were established (Fig. 9): the Greater Poland Ethnographic Park (1975), the Giecz Piast Stronghold Archaeological

⁴ The Library of Lednica Studies, in successive volumes of monographs, publishes both written sources (from medieval to early modern) and sources of material culture, obtained during many years of interdisciplinary (archaeological, architectural, natural, ethnographic and conservation) studies.

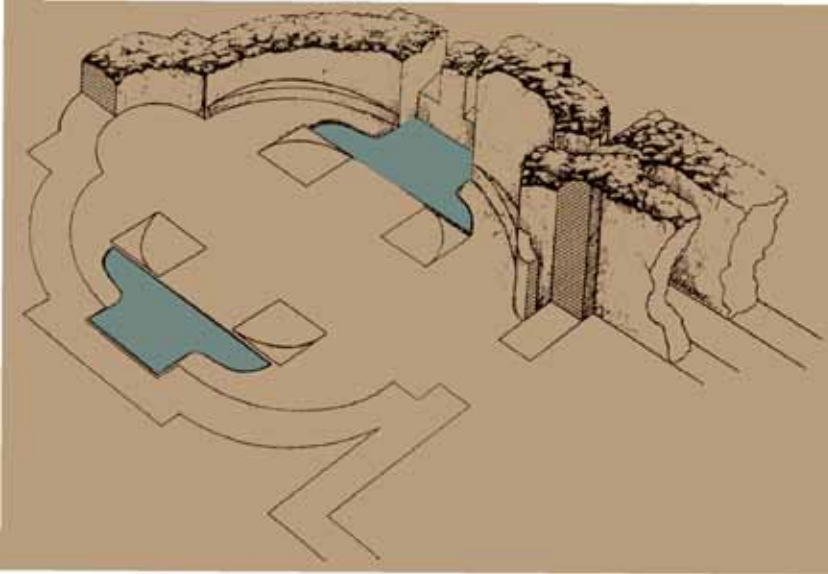


Fig. 7. Ostrów Lednicki, site 1. Baptismal pools in the palace chapel (Computer graphics by W. Kujawa)



Fig. 8. Ostrów Lednicki, site 1. A staurotheke – a container for relics of the Holy Cross (Photo by M. Józwickowska)

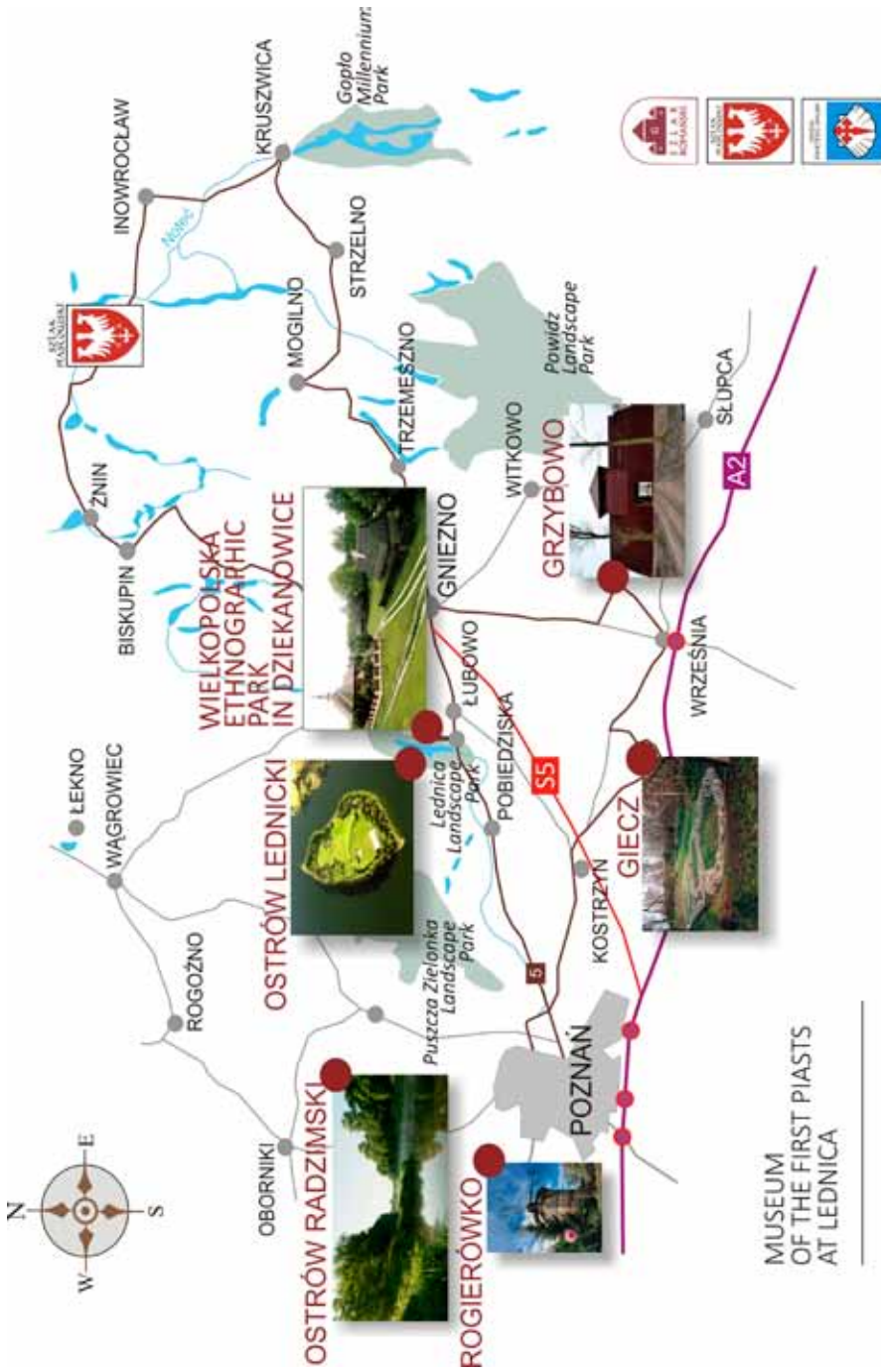


Fig. 9. A map showing the branches of the Museum of the First Piasts at Lednica (Computer graphics by W. Kujała). On the map in Polish: Park Krajobrazowy Puszcza Zielonka = Puszcza Zielonka Landscape Park; Lednicki Park Krajobrazowy = Lednica Landscape Park; Powidzki Park Krajobrazowy = Powidz Landscape Park; Nadgoplański Park Tysiąclecia = Gopło Millennium Park; Muzeum Pierwszych Piastów na Lednicy = Museum of the First Piasts at Lednica

Reserve (1985), the Grzybowo Stronghold Archaeological Reserve (1997), and the Archaeological Laboratory on Ostrów Radziński (2002).

The Greater Poland Ethnographic Park (Fig. 10) is one of the largest open-air museums in Poland (Pelczyk 2009; Fryza 2011). It was built near the south-eastern shore of Lake Lednica. It includes a reconstruction of a court complex (court, annexe, chapel, storeroom), a grange yard (stock buildings, granary, dovecote, barns), as well as a village (including several fully furnished farmsteads with their infrastructure – wells, a water mill, windmills, a hop drying room, a church, a roadside cross, cultivated fields, livestock). The Park also includes two ‘museum points’ – a fully furnished Dutch style windmill in Rogierówko near Kiekrz and an exhibition of three post mills, a barn, and a historic house in Lednogóra.

The Park’s main purpose is to protect, display and make accessible the heritage of the Greater Poland village culture from the turn of the 19th century (although the museum’s oldest building has construction elements dated to 1602). The reconstructed farmsteads (including translocated – dismantled and reassembled – original farm buildings) come from various areas of Greater Poland. As a result, it is possible



Fig. 10. The Greater Poland Ethnographic Park. A branch of the Museum of the First Piasts at Lednica (Photo by A. Ziółkowski)



Fig. 11. Relics of the palatium in Giecz (Photo by T. Kryzstofiak)

to present both the history of rural construction from various parts of the Voivodeship (in comparison to the construction of buildings in the Prussian and Russian partitions) and the social position of people who lived in the countryside (from the richest, who functioned as the local 'official', e.g. *sołtys*, to wealthy peasants who went in search of seasonal labour, to the poorest).

Approximately 25 kilometres south of Ostrów Lednicki, there is another branch of the Museum – the Giecz Early Piast Stronghold Archaeological Reserve (Kryzstofiak 2005; 2009; 2011; Fig. 11). Bogdan Kostrzewski started archaeological excavations in and around the stronghold in 1949, and they have continued until the present day. The excavations confirmed this centre's important role in the monarchy of the first Piasts. Initially, in the 860s, a stronghold was erected there, with the inner diameter of ca. 45 metres. Later, in the first half of the

next century, after it had been extended, it became one of the central strongholds of the Gniezno state. Probably in the 980s, the construction of a ducal palace and chapel was started in the southern part of the settlement.⁵ In the early 11th c. the large St. John the Baptist's Church was built of stone in the northern part of the stronghold. Inside it, under the choir, remnants of a relic crypt have been discovered. On the western side, the stronghold was enclosed by two drum towers connected by a square building. The rich history of the stronghold is attested by various artefacts (discovered e.g. inside the settlement and in the nearby cemetery). They can be linked with the elites who used to reside there in the past (such as gold and silver jewellery), warriors (a 'Greek' helmet, a sword, axes, arrowheads), as well as a place of trade (coins and weights). Gallus Anonymous described Giecz in Bolesław's times in his *Chronicle* as a strongly militarised stronghold with *300 mailed knights and 2,000 shield-bearers*, all of whom were *brave and fully trained for war* (Gallus, I.8., 47, 49). Today, the branch in Giecz is an active research unit of the Museum on Lednica, and owns a modern building serving museum, exhibition, and educational purposes, as well as a reconstructed early medieval settlement.

The Grzybowo Stronghold Archaeological Reserve (Kurnatowska and Tuszyński 2009; Wrzeński 2013; Fig. 12) includes one of the largest early medieval strongholds in Greater Poland (the surface of the ward is ca. 2.2 ha, and the entire settlement occupies an area approximately twice as big). In this case as well, excavations began in the 19th c. and have continued, with intervals, until the present day. In the course of the excavations it was established that the stronghold was built in the late 920s, its golden age lasted until approximately the mid-11th c., and its interior was still in use in the 12th c. During the excavations, relics of a paved road, pit houses and ground-level houses were discovered (some of them were probably also used for manufacturing or farming). A large number of so-called small finds were also found, including: everyday objects (antler combs, iron knives, needles, awls, spindle whorls), fragments of clay melting pots, militaria (chain mail rings, arrowheads), fragments of ornamental bone linings, game pawns, and jewellery (temple rings; glass, carnelian, amber and rock crystal

⁵ The construction of the palatium was never completed. During the excavations, only foundations (without any remnants or traces of usable parts of the building) were unearthed.



Fig. 12. The building which houses the exhibition, storeroom and offices in Grzybowo (Photo by J. Wrzesiński)

beads). Some of the most valuable finds from Grzybowo include an early medieval hacksilver hoard consisting of many fragments of coins and ornaments. In January 2011, a two-storey pavilion was opened in the stronghold; it houses an exhibition, storeroom and offices and presents exhibitions showing the excavations in Grzybowo, as well as numerous temporary exhibitions. Popular museum lessons are conducted in the reconstructed early medieval settlement. One of the flagship projects implemented by the staff of this branch is the annual International Rally of Slavic Warriors (organised since 2001; in 2014 renamed the Grzybowo Knight Tournament), during which various open-air shows and events are held.

The small so-called motte-and-bailey stronghold in Radzim near Murowana Goślina is also under the supervision of the Museum of the First Piasts at Lednica⁶ (Kowalczyk 2009; Kowalczyk and Paprocki

⁶ The island of Ostrów Radzimski was inhabited already in the Bronze Age. The oldest traces of this place being used in the Middle Ages date to the 8th c. In the

2009). This castellan seat was established in the 13th c. on a small, picturesque island surrounded by the Warta River on one side and by a boggy oxbow on the other. Interest in Ostrów Radzimski and the relics of its stronghold goes back to the end of the 19th c., and some of the scholars who visited this place include the outstanding archaeologists Józef Kostrzewski, Zygmunt Zakrzewski and Zdzisław Rajewski. The staff of the Museum of the Early Piast Dynasty conducted investigations there in 2002–2008. They examined fragments of the rampart construction, relics of a timber building of an unknown purpose, and rubble, interpreted as remnants of two buildings where castellans resided. During the excavations, approximately 200 small finds were discovered, including: silver coins from the end of the 11th c. and later, a sickle, a striker, a padlock key, whetstones, a quern-stone, spindle whorls, crossbow and bow arrowheads, a Silesian-type iron basin, fishhooks, etc.

Apart from protecting cultural heritage and looking after the strongholds mentioned above, their monuments and material remnants of their folk culture, another aim of the Museum of the First Piasts at Lednica is to promote knowledge about the valuable collections housed in the Museum. Consequently, the Museum organises various exhibitions, presented both in its branches and in other museums in Poland and abroad. Some of them have won accolades and awards in museum event of the year competitions held both by the Minister of Culture and National Heritage and by the Marshal of the Greater Poland Voivodeship. It is also worth noting that the fine craftsmanship and rank of some of the artefacts collected during the archaeological excavations is widely known, and they are therefore often loaned out to other museums and sometimes displayed in European exhibitions, e.g. in London, Berlin, Copenhagen, Prague, Budapest, Paderborn, Magdeburg, and many others.

The Museum of the First Piasts at Lednica is also a research institution. This is reflected in numerous publications which present the findings of the excavations mentioned above, as well as conferences organised (and co-organised) by the institution. It is worth mentioning at least two flagship international and cyclical conferences – the Lednica

second half of the 10th c., the first stronghold was established here, which was in use until ca. mid-11th c. Settlement on the island dwindled in the first half of the 14th c. (Kowalczyk 2017, 206).

Funeralia⁷ and the conferences related to the 1050th anniversary of Mieszko I's baptism⁸.

Another crucial element of the Museum's activity is popularising knowledge about the past by publishing prospectuses, guides and brochures⁹, producing popular science films¹⁰ and organising numerous museum lessons¹¹, as well as very popular open-air mass events (Fig. 13; 14)¹². The Museum's rank, in particular the relics of the palatium and baptismal pools, attracts visitors linked to both the Catholic Church and politics – e.g. the Primate of Poland, Presidents, Prime Ministers, politicians and members of the diplomatic corps from all over the world (Fig. 15). On state and church anniversaries, Masses are celebrated by the Primate or bishops here. One of the largest events of this kind was the organisation of the national state and church celebrations commemorating the 1050th anniversary of Mieszko I's baptism, which took place on Ostrów Lednicki on 14 April 2016, with the participation of the Episcopate of Poland and state authorities (Fig. 16)¹³.

⁷ Twenty international conferences devoted to diverse funerary topics have been organised. Post-conference materials have been published.

⁸ Three international conferences have been organised, which concluded with the publication of conference papers: 'The Battle of the Milvian Bridge: consequences', 'The theology and liturgy of baptism, from Christian antiquity to modern times', and 'Places of baptism, baptismal furniture and the ceremony of baptism from Christian antiquity to the Council of Trent'.

⁹ Prospectuses about all of the Museum's branches have been published in many languages (award at the Tour Salon fair in Poznań).

¹⁰ In recent years, various television companies have produced films about Ostrów Lednicki and the Museum of the First Piasts at Lednica (e.g. the 'Fall in Love with Poland' and 'Monuments of History' series); the production of 'The Island of Rulers: Ostrów Lednicki', directed by Zdzisław Cozac, is particularly noteworthy. The film received many prestigious awards in historical film competitions in Poland and Europe. It presents the history of Ostrów Lednicki – the magical 'island of rulers' – and shows the many aspects of the studies conducted there in an interesting way.

¹¹ The catalogue of museum lessons includes several dozen lesson topics for various age groups, as well as the disabled (including the blind).

¹² The flagship mass events include: 'Midsummer Night' – 49 editions (the Small Open-Air Museum by the ferry to Ostrów Lednicki); 'Live Open-Air Museum' – 32 editions (Greater Poland Ethnographic Park); 'Rally of Slavic Warriors' – 19 editions, since 2014 renamed 'Grzybowo Knight Tournament' – 5 editions (Stronghold in Grzybowo); 'Forefathers' Eve' – 8 editions (Stronghold in Giecz).

¹³ This was the third time that Ostrów Lednicki was connected to the Small Open-Air Museum by a pontoon bridge built by the military (the two previous instances were in 1992 and 2000).



Fig. 13. The Greater Poland Ethnographic Park. Bidding winter farewell (Photo by M. Jóźwickowska)



Fig. 14. Ostrów Lednicki. Floral crowns floating on the water on Midsummer Night (Photo by M. Jóźwickowska)



Fig. 15. Ostrów Lednicki. A play performed during the visit of a diplomatic corps (Photo by M. Józwickowska)



Fig. 16. Ostrów Lednicki. Solemn Mass celebrated on the 1050th anniversary of Mieszko I's baptism (Photo by M. Józwickowska)

One of the Museum's very important initiatives was the establishment of the Lednica Piast Eagle award, which is given to outstanding scholars specialising in the history and archaeology of the origins of the Polish state¹⁴.

The functioning of this multi-branch museum (which occupies almost 100 ha and nearly 100 buildings, as well as branches located from a few to as far as 40 km apart from one another) requires considerable logistical skills, an experienced staff of scholars and researchers, conservators and technicians (e.g. joiners and builders, who can efficiently dismantle and reassemble ethnographic buildings located on the Museum's territory), as well as personnel in charge of landscaping and gardening. This amounts to approximately 100 museum employees.

One of the primary tasks of all museologists is to skilfully protect monuments and artefacts, as well as to store them and make them available to the public. In the case of the Museum of the First Piasts at Lednica, these include both archaeological features and ethnographic monuments: large architectural constructions of stone, brick and timber, as well as small bone, wooden, and iron objects. The majority of the collection requires proper storing conditions and an exhibition space. To meet the expectations of modern museology, the institution has applied for and received European Union funds for the expansion of the exhibition and storing infrastructure, which will cover the cost of repairs and purchasing modern equipment for the main exhibition, educational, and storage spaces, as well as the cost of repairs and refurnishing of offices and specialist laboratories.

References

Written sources

- Długosz Ioannis Długossi. *Annales seu cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae*. J. Dąbrowski [et al.] (eds.). Varsaviae: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe. 1964.
- Gallus Gallus Anonymus. *Gesta principum Polonorum. The Deeds of the princes of the Poles*. P. W. Knoll, F. Schaer and T. N. Bisson (eds.). Budapest and New York: Central European University Press. 2003.

¹⁴ So far, the award was presented to the following professors: Gerarda Labuda, Zofia Kurnatowska, Jerzy Strzelczyk, Zygmunt Świechowski, Klementyna Żurowska, Henryk Samsonowicz, Jerzy Lesław Wyrozumski, Antoni Gąsiorowski, Stanisław Suchodolski and Tomasz Jasiński.

Literature

- Banaszak D., Tabaka A. 2008. Relikte der Handwerkstätigkeit im Hinterland der frühpiastischen Burg auf der Insel Ostrów Lednicki. In L. Polaček (ed.), *Das wirtschaftliche Hinterland der frühmittelalterlichen Zentren* (= *Internationale Tagungen in Mikulčice* 6). Brno: Archeologický ústav AV ČR, 109–125.
- Dzięciołowski E., Górecki J. 1989. Interdyscyplinarne badania Ostrowa Lednickiego i jego osadniczego zaplecza. *Studia Lednickie* 1, 185–199.
- Fogel J. 1991. *Pompeja polska. Z dziejów archeologii wielkopolskiej XIX wieku: działalność Albina hr. Węsierskiego i Zbigniewa hr. Węsierskiego-Kwileckiego*. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM.
- Fryza M. 2011. *Wielkopolski park etnograficzny w Dziekanowicach. Informator*. Dziekanowice: Muzeum Pierwszych Piastów na Lednicy.
- Górecki J. 1996. Na marginesie lednickich odkryć – kilka uwag w kwestii urządzeń chrzcielnych z Ostrowa Lednickiego. *Studia Lednickie* 4, 103–136.
- Górecki J. 2000. Rzeźbiony grzebień z Ostrowa Lednickiego – próba interpretacji. *Studia Lednickie* 6, 13–44.
- Górecki J. 2001a. *Gród na Ostrowie Lednickim na tle wybranych ośrodków grodowych pierwszej monarchii piastowskiej* (= *Biblioteka Studiów Lednickich* 7). Poznań: Muzeum Pierwszych Piastów na Lednicy.
- Górecki J. 2001b. Waffen und Reitterausrüstungen von Ostrów Lednicki – zur Geschichte des frühen polnischen Staates und seines Heeres Staates. *Zeitschrift für Archäologie des Mittelalters* 29, 41–86.
- Górecki J. and Wyrwa A.M. (eds.) 2012. *Liturgiczny grzebień z Ostrowa Lednickiego*. (= *Biblioteka Studiów Lednickich* 25). Dziekanowice – Lednica: Muzeum Pierwszych Piastów na Lednicy.
- Górecki J. 2016. Dzieje badań Ostrowa Lednickiego. In Z. Kurnatowska, A.M. Wyrwa (eds.), *Ostrów Lednicki. Rezydencjonalno-stołeczny ośrodek pierwszych Piastów*. Warszawa: Instytut Archeologii i Etnologii Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 29–44.
- Kola A. and Wilke G. 2000. *Mosty sprzed tysiąca lat. Archeologiczne badania podwodne przy rezydencji pierwszych Piastów na Ostrowie Lednickim*. Toruń: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika w Toruniu.
- Kola A. and Wilke G. (eds.) 2014. *Wczesnośredniowieczne mosty przy Ostrowie Lednickim 2. Mosty traktu poznańskiego*. Kraków: Towarzystwo Autorów i Wydawców Prac Naukowych UNIVERSITAS.
- Kowalczyk A. 2009. *Ostrów Radzimski. Zapomniany gród na Warcie. Informator*. Dziekanowice: Muzeum Pierwszych Piastów na Lednicy.
- Kowalczyk A. 2017. *Podsumowanie*. In A. Kowalczyk, M. Skoczyński and A. M. Wyrwa (eds.), *Radzim. Gród i wieś nad Wartą, Wartą* (= *Biblioteka Studiów Lednickich* 36:A/8). Dziekanowice: Muzeum Pierwszych Piastów na Lednicy, 206–209.
- Kowalczyk A. and Paprocki D. 2009. Historia badań oraz upowszechniania wiedzy o Radzimi koło Obornik. In A.M. Wyrwa (ed.), *Custodia Memoriae. Muzeum Pierwszych Piastów na Lednicy. XL lat istnienia (1969–2009)*. Lednica: Muzeum Pierwszych Piastów na Lednicy, 141–157.

- Křivánek R. and Tabaka A. 2014. Badania nieinwazyjne Ostrowa Lednickiego. *Fontes Archaeologici Posnanienses* 50, 99–111.
- Kryzstofiak T. 2005. Palatium w Gieczu – archeologiczne podstawy datowanie reliktyw. In J. Gadomski, A. Małkiewicz, T. Rodzińska-Chorąży and A. Włodarek (eds.), *Lapidesvivalentes. Zaginiony Kraków wieków średnich. Księga dedykowana profesor Klementynie Żurowskiej*. Kraków: Instytut Historii Sztuki Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 293–310.
- Kryzstofiak T. 2009. Giecz. Gródek przedpaństwowy – wczesnopiastowski gród centralny – ośrodek kasztelański. In A.M. Wyrwa (ed.), *Custodia Memoriae. Muzeum Pierwszych Piastów na Lednicy. XL lat istnienia (1969–2009)*. Lednica: Muzeum Pierwszych Piastów na Lednicy, 93–111.
- Kryzstofiak T. 2011. *Rezerwat archeologiczny Gród wczesnopiastowski Giecz. Informator*. Dziekanowice: Muzeum Pierwszych Piastów na Lednicy.
- Kurnatowska Z. (ed.) 1993. *Przeszłość regionu Ostrowa Lednickiego i jego perspektywy*. Poznań: Poznańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk.
- Kurnatowska Z. (ed.) 2000. *Wczesnośredniowieczne mosty przy Ostrowie Lednickim 1. Mosty traktu gnieźnieńskiego (= Biblioteka Studiów Lednickich 5)*. Lednica–Toruń: Muzeum Pierwszych Piastów na Lednicy, Instytut Archeologii i Etnologii Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika.
- Kurnatowska Z. 2009. Badania interdyscyplinarne Muzeum Pierwszych Piastów na Lednicy. In A.M. Wyrwa (ed.), *Custodia Memoriae. Muzeum Pierwszych Piastów na Lednicy. XL lat istnienia (1969–2009) (= Biblioteka Studiów Lednickich 14)*. Lednica: Muzeum Pierwszych Piastów na Lednicy, 189–210.
- Kurnatowska Z. and Tuszyński M. 2009. *Grzybowo pod Wrześnią. Wczesnopiastowski gród na szlaku z Gieczu do Gniezna*. In A.M. Wyrwa (ed.), *Custodia Memoriae. Muzeum Pierwszych Piastów na Lednicy. XL lat istnienia (1969–2009) (= Biblioteka Studiów Lednickich 14)*. Lednica: Muzeum Pierwszych Piastów na Lednicy, 111–141.
- Kurnatowska Z. and Wyrwa A.M. (eds.) 2016. *Ostrów Lednicki. Rezydencjonalno-stołeczny ośrodek pierwszych Piastów*. Warszawa: Instytut Archeologii i Etnologii Polskiej Akademii Nauk.
- Kurnatowski S. 1993. Miejsce interdyscyplinarnych badań lednickich w badaniach regionalnych Wielkopolski. Uwagi metodyczne. In Z. Kurnatowska (ed.), *Przeszłość regionu Ostrowa Lednickiego i jego perspektywy*. Poznań: Poznańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk, 5–12.
- Makowiecki D. 2001. *Hodowla oraz użytkowanie zwierząt na Ostrowie Lednickim w średniowieczu. Studium archeozoologiczne (= Biblioteka Studiów Lednickich 6)*. Poznań: Muzeum Pierwszych Piastów na Lednicy.
- Pelczyk A. 2009. *Historia badań etnograficznych w Muzeum Pierwszych Piastów na Lednicy*. In A.M. Wyrwa (ed.), *Custodia Memoriae. Muzeum Pierwszych Piastów na Lednicy. XL lat istnienia (1969–2009) (= Biblioteka Studiów Lednickich 14)*. Lednica: Muzeum Pierwszych Piastów na Lednicy, 157–171.
- Polcyn M. 2003. *Archeobotaniczna interpretacja wczesnośredniowiecznych podwodnych warstw kulturowych z Ostrowa Lednickiego i Gieczu (= Biblioteka Studiów Lednickich 9)*. Lednica–Poznań: Muzeum Pierwszych Piastów na Lednicy.

- Raczyński E. 1843. *Wspomnienia Wielkopolski to jest województw poznańskiego, kaliskiego i gnieźnieńskiego*, vol. II. Poznań: W drukarni Orędownika na Garbarach.
- Sankiewicz P. and Wyrwa A.M. (eds.) 2013. *Topory średniowieczne z Ostrowa Lednickiego i Giecza* (= *Biblioteka Studiów Lednickich* 27). Lednica: Muzeum Pierwszych Piastów na Lednicy.
- Siewczyński B. 2004. *Zabytki architektoniczne Ostrowa Lednickiego w rekonstrukcji komputerowej* (= *Biblioteka Studiów Lednickich* 10). Lednica–Poznań: Muzeum Pierwszych Piastów na Lednicy.
- Sokołowski M. 1876. Ruiny na Ostrowie Jeziora Lednicy. Studyjum nad budownictwem w przedchrześcijańskich i pierwszych chrześcijańskich wiekach w Polsce. Na podstawie badań wspólnie na miejscu odbytych z Prof. Władysławem Łuszczkiewiczem. *Pamiętnik Akademii Umiejętności w Krakowie. Wydział: Filologiczny i Historyczno-Filozoficzny* 3. Kraków.
- Tabaka A. 2005. Domniemane miejsce targowe na Ostrowie Lednickim. *Studia Lednickie* 8, 131–144.
- Tabaka A. and Wyrwa A.M. (eds.) 2013. *Monety i biżuteria z Ostrowa Lednickiego i okolicy* (= *Biblioteka Studiów Lednickich* 28). Lednica: Muzeum Pierwszych Piastów na Lednicy.
- Tobolski K. (ed.) 1991. *Wstęp do paleoekologii Lednickiego Parku Krajobrazowego* (= *Biblioteka Studiów Lednickich* 1). Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM.
- Węsierski [A] Hrabia Belina. 1875. Czem był Ostrów Lednicki. *Warta. Tygodnik poświęcony nauce, rozrywce i wychowaniu* 43, from 25.04.1875, 427–428.
- Wrześniński J. 2013. *Gród Grzybowo. Rezerwat archeologiczny. Informator*. Dziekanowice: Muzeum Pierwszych Piastów na Lednicy.
- Wrześniński J. and Wyrwa A.M. (eds.) 2011. *Srebrny naszyjnik z kaptorgami i krzyżowatą zawieszką z Dziekanowic* (= *Biblioteka Studiów Lednickich* 24). Dziekanowice–Lednica: Muzeum Pierwszych Piastów na Lednicy.
- Wrzosek A. 1934. Prace wykopaliskowe na Ostrowie Lednickim w r. 1934. *Przegląd Antropologiczny* 8, 170–173.
- Wyrwa A.M. (ed.) 2009a. *Custodia Memoriae. Muzeum Pierwszych Piastów na Lednicy. XL lat istnienia (1969–2009)* (= *Biblioteka Studiów Lednickich* 14). Lednica: Muzeum Pierwszych Piastów na Lednicy.
- Wyrwa A.M. (ed.) 2009b. *Stauroteka lednicka. Materiały, studia i analizy* (= *Biblioteka Studiów Lednickich* 16). Poznań: Muzeum Pierwszych Piastów na Lednicy.
- Wyrwa A.M., Sankiewicz P. and Pudło P. (eds.) 2011. *Miecze średniowieczne z Ostrowa Lednickiego i Giecza* (= *Biblioteka Studiów Lednickich* 22). Dziekanowice–Lednica: Muzeum Pierwszych Piastów na Lednicy.
- Zakrzewski Z. 1933. Cmentarzysko wczesnohistoryczne i średniowieczne na Ostrowie Lednickim. *Sprawozdania Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności w Krakowie* 38, 36–39.
- Żurowska K. (ed.) 1993. *Ostrów Lednicki. U progu chrześcijaństwa w Polsce* (= *Biblioteka Studiów Lednickich* 2). Kraków: Ośrodek Dokumentacji Zabytków, Muzeum Pierwszych Piastów na Lednicy, Instytut Historii Sztuki Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego.

DOI: 10.15584/anarres.2018.13.15

Maciej Trzeciecki*

The Stronghold on St. Peter's Hill in Radom (Poland). Archaeology, Biography of the Place, and Practices of Memory

ABSTRACT

Trzeciecki M. 2018. The Stronghold on St. Peter's Hill in Radom (Poland). *Archaeology, Biography of the Place, and Practices of Memory. *Analecta Archaeologica Ressoiviensia* 13, 309–332*

The stronghold called St. Peter's hill in Radom is located in the centre of the city, in an area severely degraded by the side effects of 19th- and 20th-century industrialisation. The archaeological excavations and paleoecological research carried out in 2009–2013 created a background for studying its complex past and designing the future. The biography of St. Peter's hill encompasses the early medieval power centre, late medieval urbanisation, nineteenth-century industrialisation, subsequent degradation of material and human resources, and present revitalisation projects. This place is far more than an archaeological site or even a part of archaeological heritage. It is a unique cultural landscape, which emerged as a result of long-lasting mutual relations between man and nature. Its materiality constitutes an inalienable cultural capital, indispensable for the reconstruction of local identities and communities of memory.

Keywords: Radom, stronghold, archaeology, memory, revitalisation

Received: 03.12.2018; **Revised:** 28.12.2018; **Revised:** 28.12.2018; **Accepted:** 30.12.2018

Introduction

The stronghold, which has been known as “St. Peter's hill” since the 16th c., is situated on the right side of the wide and shallow valley of the Mleczna river. Its outline approaches a regular circle with a diameter of ca 150 metres. Ramparts, partially destroyed by levelling, partially by a line of military trenches from World War II, raise over 4 metres above the surrounding meadows, encompassing an area of about 1.5 hectares. The interior of the stronghold, with a slight elevation in the centre, bears traces of sand harvesting, carried out in the first half of the 20th century. East of the stronghold, the half-rural, half-industrial city district called “Old Radom” extends, with the medieval church of

* Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology, Polish Academy of Sciences, Solidarności 105, 00-140 Warsaw, Poland; misiek042003@gmail.com

St. Wenceslas located in the centre. Wet meadows and swamps that surround the stronghold form the north, west, and south cover the remains of early medieval open settlements (Fig. 1).

The stronghold in Radom was investigated already in the 1960s. Regrettably, the results have not been published yet (Fuglewicz 2013, 11–30, with further literature). The site's entry in the National Heritage list, accomplished in 1972, appears to be the most permanent legacy of the excavations. Concurrently with the excavations, a project of an archaeological open-air museum was created, revisited by the city authorities after 40 years, owing to the fact that the stronghold had become a part of a multi-hectare wasteland as a result of long-term negligence and degradation of the urban tissue. A new research project, carried out in 2009–2013, was to precede the revitalisation project of this highly deteriorated area. Its main goal was the acquisition of archaeological data, which was indispensable for designing a strategy for the conservation and exhibition of the early medieval settlement complex (Trzeciecki 2013a; 2018a, 10–15).



Fig. 1. Aerial view of the Mleczna river valley in Radom: 1 – stronghold, 10th–14th c.; 2 – open settlements, 10th–12th c.; 3 – settlement with St. Wenceslas' church, 13th–14th c.; 4 – industrial buildings, 19th c. (Photo by D. Krasnodębski, edited by M. Trzeciecki)

This opportunity to conduct extensive research, not restricted by the time limits imposed by an investment project, put the research participants under the obligation to develop an appropriate research strategy. A close collaboration between archaeologists, palaeogeographers, palaeobiologists and historians, implemented already at the stage of fieldwork, became the focal point of the entire project. At the start, it was driven by the essentially positivistic conviction that the larger scope of the data we obtained, the more complete and accurate the reconstruction of the past would be. However, the confrontation of the methodologies and research approaches of all the disciplines involved revised the majority of the original assumptions. Already the first results of archaeological and paleoenvironmental investigations enabled us to look at the material heritage of St. Peter's hill as an interminable stream of interactions between man and nature in which our excavations are but one of the episodes. Furthermore, activities aimed at opening communication channels between the researchers and the local community, at the start driven by the notion of "heritage popularisation", led to an encounter of "our" and "local" memory discourses, indicating the need to ask questions such as: what constitutes the heritage of the past, does it belong to the domain of history or memory, and who is the depositary (Auch *et al.* 2012, 9–15; Trzeciecki 2018b)?

The following text poses questions of this nature. The notion of the "biography of a place", embracing the entirety of the phenomena that shaped the contemporary landscape of the Mleczna river valley, serves here as a "conceptual roadmap". Among the advantages of such an approach, of key importance is the switch from the perception of an archaeological site as a complete and infrangible deposit of the past into a more dynamic vision of the site as a permanent process of becoming, driven both by long-term natural phenomena and more or less incidental human activities. Archaeological excavations, the everyday lives of the local inhabitants, and revitalisation projects are, from this vantage point, but part of the process.

The biography of St. Peter's hill invites researchers of the past to look into the future, which in the times of dynamic changes in the post-modern world is as much of a challenge as it is a necessity. Biographical approach shows that objects such as the Radom stronghold cannot be regarded as a closed chapter of history. Their materiality still impacts our here-and-now. It constitutes a particular reference to the

past, inscribed both in the landforms and their natural and cultural content, that “endows the present time with multidimensionality” (Augé 2010, 46). The biography of a place recognises the investigated object as an assemblage consisting of landforms, ecosystem, material relics of past human activities, and contemporary entanglements in social politics, economies, or memory practices, both on the local and global level. Hence, archaeology, regarded so far as focused on the past, turns into a discipline open to the future, involved in the study, care, and management of the material remains of the past along with their local depositaries, forasmuch as their identification with the place builds its real social value (Solli *et al.* 2011, 52–54; Olivier 2013; Edgeworth *et al.* 2014, 99–102; Stobiecka 2018, 137–139, with further literature).

The biographical approach to the archaeological site is present in the agenda of landscape archaeology, particularly in the theoretical orientations driven by the work of Tim Ingold (1993), regarding landscape as a process of permanent mutual interactions between its human and non-human “dwellers” (cf.: Holtorf and Williams 2006; Branton 2009; Edgeworth 2016; Hicks 2016; Rajala and Mills 2017, with further literature). The biographic narrative based on archaeological and paleoenvironmental data collated with documents, oral history and collective memories of contemporary inhabitants of the place in question, corresponds with an anthropological approach to the temporality of the landscape, as posed by T. Ingold (1993, 171–171; 2005). It also adheres to the notion of “thick description” that focuses on human entanglements in the specified locality and time, and puts emphasis on the fieldwork experience (Geertz 2005, 19ff). It should not be ignored that Geertz’s methodological approach corresponds in a way with archaeology’s routine field documentation practices.

With its tendency to obliterate the boundaries between what is “historical” and “contemporary”, the biography of a place adheres to reflection on the materiality of the past and its agency in the contemporary world, as well as to discourses on individual and collective memories embodied in monuments, artefacts and heritage sites. The issue of the place of memory studies in the contemporary humanities is a topic for a separate text. The growing interest in the material “carriers of memory”, referring us to the notion of *lieux de mémoire* (Nora 1984; 2009), is, however, worth emphasising. Putting aside the complex issue of the definition, it should be stressed here that *lieux de mémoire* studies

focus on the mechanisms of cultural memory formation, changes to which collective ideas about the past are subject, and on the place that the memory occupies in identity discourses. The strategies of recognising and inventing both places of memory and commemorative practices settled around them are a separate issue (Szpociński 2008; 2014; Kończal 2012; Zalewska 2014, with further literature).

According to Pierre Nora (2009, 8), the fundamental difference between memory and history is that memory is a dialogue, binding experience of the past with “eternal here-and-now”, while history (in terms of scientific discourse) is but a representation of the past, an incomplete reconstruction of what no longer exists. Hence, archaeology, with its routine practices requiring permanent (at least in the course of fieldwork) contact with material remains of the past; with its particular sensibility to traces, remains, and waste; with its procedures of classification, is definitely akin to memory, though seduced by the positivistic paradigm of “objective knowledge”, tends – often disadvantaging itself – to become history (Zalewska 2012; Olivier 2013, 122–124). Archaeology, considered as a memory practice opens itself up to a dialogue with individual and collective local memories.

The reassessment of the place which the past occupies in our present stands among the key issues of the discourse on the human condition in the postmodern world. The growing distrust of the fragmented and flexible reality stimulates an increasing need to establish direct relations with the past, endowed with the value of authenticity and firmness. It is explicitly associated with the phenomena described as the democratisation and privatisation of the past, promoting direct and sensual contact with times past, without the mediation of academic or heritage institutions (Krajewski 2003, 206–209; Szpociński 2007, 28–34; Pawleta 2016, 51–59). Thus, references to the past, particularly to the more or less mythologised time of the origins, assume the form of a signpost in the quarry of local identifications.

Justifications of the reconstructed identities, self-consciousnesses fostered by referencing the mythological “long ago”, (micro)histories written for the sake of local requirements – all of them strive for a specific “certificate of authenticity” (Csáky 2002, 34–38; Szpociński 2009, 230–232). The demand can be met by rediscovering or inventing material signs of memory, such as heritage sites inscribed in the local landscape. It must be, however, stressed that the recognition of local

memory sites described above is a “bottom-up” process, at odds with the persuasive, focused on national identity and mainly “top-down” constructed *lieux de mémoires*, dominating both national and Pan-European memory discourses (Pfister and Prager 2011). Such a phenomenon conjoins with both fatigue of “monumental memory” that dominates national grand narratives and striving to replace it with local memory, embodied in tangible objects, monumentalised for the needs of the local here-and-now (Szpociński 2004, 164–167; Nora 2010, 137–138; Pawleta 2016, 73–74).

What does all this have to do with a biographical approach to the archaeological site? Facing the erosion of large state-funded research programmes aimed at creating great, overwhelming syntheses, archaeologists, partially perforce, turn to local studies, carried out with the support of local communities. Hence, researchers engage themselves or are engaged in the discourses of local identities, policies, and economies held by various stakeholders, oftentimes competing or conflicting with each other. Archaeology is thus acknowledged as a discipline equipped with expert competencies to grant the aforementioned “certificate of authenticity” to material relics of the past, indispensable both in the domain of identity, image-building and commercial activities (Byszewska 2011; Pawleta 2016, 119–132, 138–148, with further literature). It imposes on researchers the obligation to develop strategies that equally consider our scientific interests, the needs and capabilities of local communities, and, above all, the future of the sites we investigate. Given that, the biography of the Radom stronghold appears to be a valuable case study.

St. Peter’s hill – towards a biography of the place

Excavation works on St. Peter’s hill and in its vicinity, carried out in 1959–1971 and in 2009–2013, encompassing the area of approximately 25.000 square meters, revealed a stratigraphic sequence documenting occupational changes from the Early Iron Age to the present time. The excavations yielded tens of thousands of finds, including numerous sets of pottery, animal and human bones, weapons, tools, items of personal use, and coins (Fuglewicz 2013; Trzeciecki 2015; 2018, 10–15; with further literature). In the course of paleoenvironmental investigations, approximately 500 drills were made, in order to collect a series of samples

for sedimentological and geochemical analyses. The results make it possible to reconstruct changes in the geomorphology and hydrology of the valley over the last 10,000 years, particularly changes of the river course (Szwarczewski *et al.* 2010; Szwarczewski 2013; Kupryjanowicz *et al.* 2013). Palinological and palaeobotanical studies document changes in vegetation (Skrzyński 2013). Still ongoing archaeozoological analyses inform us about animal husbandry (Gręzak 2018). The anthropological research project, focused on the changes of the biological condition of the population inhabiting the vicinity of the stronghold between the 11th and the 19th century, based on collections of human remains from the excavated burial grounds, is also worth mentioning (Tomczyk 2018).

The contemporary landscape of the stronghold's vicinity is far distant from the one formed here long before the first settlers appeared. On the eve of the Early Middle Ages, the Mleczna river valley was deeper and much more developed, with terraces above the floodplain. The river was navigable and freely meandering along the valley (Szwarczewski 2013, 140–141). Despite incidental traces of prehistoric settlement, the beginning of the permanent occupation of the Mleczna river valley was at the end of the 9th century. The area was not densely populated – research results point to isolated spots on fluvial terraces (Fig. 2: 1). The erection of the stronghold, at the turn of the 10th and 11th centuries, indicates the first significant turning point for the natural and cultural landscape of the valley (Trzeciński 2015, 184–185; 2018a, 15–16).

The stronghold occupied a small, sandy embankment on the fluvial terrace (Fig. 2: 2). The rampart surrounding the stronghold included wooden boxes filled with sand and stones, bolstered with an embankment made of layers of beams sandwiched with earth. Its western part was protected by the river, the other ones – by a moat. Sand harvesting, indispensable for fortification works, totally altered the original topography of the inner part of the stronghold. In the proximity of the fortification line, the ground level was lowered significantly, in some cases even below the foundations of the rampart. In the central part, the top of the hill remained untouched, slightly exceeding the reconstructed height of the rampart. Traces of buildings inside the fortification are scarce, at least in the initial phase, when the stronghold appears to have been settled by a relatively small group, utilising the space in a somewhat disorganised manner. The erection of the stronghold was accompanied by the emergence of an open settlement located 0.5 km

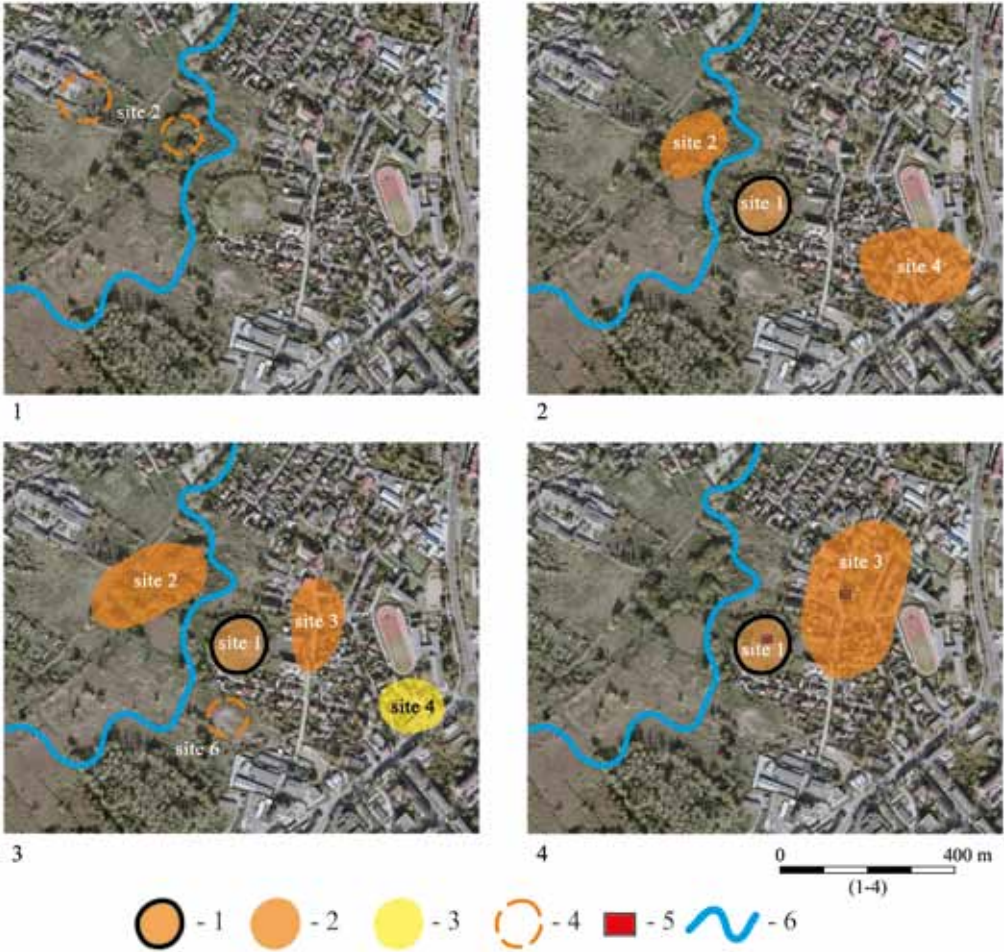


Fig. 2. Changes of settlement network in the Mleczna river valley: 10th c. (1), 11th c. (2), 12th c. (3), 13th c. (4). Legend: 1 – stronghold; 2, 4 – open settlements; 3 – burial ground; 5 – church; 6 – reconstruction of the river bed course (Graphic design by M. Trzeciecki)

eastwards, built-up with orderly lines of standardised buildings – square sunken houses with ovens in one of the corners (Auch *et al.*, in print). Both the chronology, the layout of the stronghold, and the details of the rampart construction point to the first rulers of the early Piast state as the founders of the settlement complex (Trzeciecki 2015, 192).

In the second half of the 11th century, the settlement east of the stronghold was abandoned, though in an organised way, and the place was turned into a cemetery (Kurasiński and Skóra 2016). The

settlement concentrated and flourished in the floodplain of the Mleczna river valley (Fig. 2: 3). Due to subsequent changes in the water regime in the valley, relics of wooden dwelling structures of the settlement, tools and personal items made of wood or leather, and primarily plant remains survived until today in excellent condition. In the course of the 12th century another open settlement arose outside the valley, in the immediate vicinity of the stronghold (Fuglewicz 2013, 70–98; Trzeciecki 2015, 189–191).

A look at the stronghold and its hinterland from a slightly wider perspective, possible thanks to palynology and paleobotanical research, indicates a small impact of anthropo-pressure in the entire region between the 11th and 13th centuries. The vegetation kept its natural character to a large extent; pine and mixed pine forests dominated the landscape. Significant deforestation took place only in the Mleczna valley, in the proximity of the settlement complex, where meadow and crop plants prevailed since the mid-11th century (Kupryjanowicz *et al.* 2013, 129–130; Skrzyński 2013).

Another essential change took place at the turn of the 12th and 13th centuries (Fig. 2: 4). It included the total rebuilding of the stronghold rampart and an increased density of the buildings inside. The most significant investment, however, was the construction of St. Peter's church in the middle of the stronghold. Its remnants were destroyed by further levelling and sand mining carried out from the 19th c. onwards. The only evidence of the church are single skeletal burials dated to the 13th century and construction elements of limestone, found in the secondary layers. The dedication of the church survived and gave the popular name to the hill, which is still in use today (Trzeciecki 2018a, 22–24). Along with the rearrangement of the stronghold, the open settlement on the bottom of the river valley was relocated east, to the higher ground, apparently in order to avoid the rapidly growing instability of the river, as indicated by paleoenvironmental studies (Szwarczewski 2013, 141). The new multifunctional centre with its own parish church dedicated to St. Wenceslas was also better suited to the profound economic and social changes related to the ongoing process of urbanisation (Gawlas 2005; Piekalski 2007, with further literature). Consequently, at the turn of the 13th and 14th centuries, the new settlement was granted a town charter (Kalinowski 1979, 45–51; Kupisz 2009, 9).

Numerous finds dated to the early 14th century demonstrate the transformation of the early medieval stronghold into a royal castle. A deposit of silver deniers of Władysław the Short, the majority of which are extremely rare or previously unknown to numismatics, should be mentioned here first. The other finds, including fragments of a plate armour and chain mail, daggers, battle axes, a battle knife, numerous arrowheads, and spurs, imported pottery (stoneware and glazed redware), along with new forms of buildings (large houses with cellars built using frame construction) and changes in food consumption (a rapid increase of wild mammals – from 6% in the 12th c. up to 20%) indicate significant changes in the lifestyle of the stronghold's inhabitants (Bogucki and Trzeciecki 2018). Regrettably, this process was interrupted in the middle of the 14th century.

Between 1350 and 1360, king Kazimierz the Great founded a new town, which was granted Magdeburg rights, about 1 km east of the stronghold (Fig. 3). The town, called “New Radom” (*Nova Radom, Nova Civitas*), was laid out in the Western European manner – with a chessboard network of streets, a rectangular market square, a new parish church, and masonry defensive walls with a new castle, as well (Szczygieł 2001, 24–28). The former town, chartered at the eve of the 14th century, was divested of its privileges and turned into a village called “Old Radom” (*Antiqua Radom*). The stronghold, since it was no longer needed, was burned down. In the second half of the 15th century, when Radom for a short time was one of the kings' favourite residences and place of parliament sessions, almost the entire hill was densely built up. The remains of residential buildings, barns, and baking ovens, probably belonging to the castle grange, testify to a “golden age” in the history of Radom (Trzeciecki 2018c, 68–73).

In the 16th century, when royal visits came to an end, the hill was abandoned – this time for good. Between 1529 and 1779, St. Peter's hill and the surrounding meadows were subject to long-standing judicial proceedings over property rights between the Benedictines of Sieciechów and the Old Radom parish. Yet the wooden chapel erected by the monks, probably a descendant of the 13th-century church, along with the name of the hill recorded in the documents (*mons St. Petri, mons quondam arcis, mons domus regalis*) stored the memory of its former function (Gacki 1855, 248–253). The uninhabited hill remained unaffected by the intense economic activity that took place in the river valley



Fig. 3. The city of Radom on the map of Meyer von Hendsfeldt (1804): 1 – stronghold with St. Peter's church; 2 – Old Radom; 3 – New Radom (Source: <http://mapire.eu>, edited by M. Trzeciecki)

during the entire 16th century. A deforested section of the valley was a reservoir of forage, mainly for cattle but also sheep, whose breeding was of considerable importance for drapery manufacture. The second important element was the construction of water-powered grain mills (Sowina 2011, 193–194). In the following centuries activity in the Mleczna valley gradually ceased. Due to the total felling of forests, the riverbed became shallow and the river started to spill over the valley, which quickly turned into a swamp (Szwarczewski 2013, 141–142).

At the end of the 18th century the hill became Radom's first municipal cemetery. This was related to the legal closure of all parish cemeteries functioning in the most densely populated parts of the town, mainly for reasons of hygiene. The new cemetery was situated outside the town (in the legal sense), but relatively close to Radom's two main parish churches. The form of the hill symbolically separated it from the surrounding space, and the chapel situated there relieved the aversion

against burials outside the town, previously designated for those who suffered “impure” or “dishonest” death. Given the number of burials discovered during excavations, the surface of the stronghold, and records in the books of the dead from Radom parishes, we can estimate the number of people buried here at around 2,300. By 1812 the hill was completely filled, with no possibility of extending the cemetery to the surrounding wet meadows (Kupisz 2016, 54–55; Trzeciecki 2018a, 24–34). In the same year a new municipal cemetery was opened, which is still in use today. The relocation of the cemetery involved a complete demolition of the wooden chapel (Kupisz 2016, 55).

The beginning of the 19th century started the next chapter of the biography, a chapter on the gradual degradation of the former central place. The industrial revolution, which started in Radom in the 1820s, transformed the landscape of St. Peter’s hill on an enormous scale. Palynological investigations document the rapid deforestation of the whole region. The increased amount of charcoal in the sediments demonstrates the extensive use of fire. Pollen data also document an increase of crops and pastures (Kupryjanowicz *et al.* 2013, 130–131). From the mid-19th century onwards, natural hydrological and geomorphological processes in the Mleczna valley were completely inhibited by human economic activity. The entire area received tremendous amounts of industrial waste, often toxic, derived mostly from numerous tanneries located on both sides of the river (Witkowski 1970, 24–36; 1985, 119–121). Paleogeographic research revealed the ecological costs of such practices. Storage of tanner waste, as well as brick rubble and waste from construction sites of the emerging factories, led to the elevation of the valley bottom by up to 2 meters. Deposits of tanner waste, covering also the relics of the early medieval open settlements, are highly toxic – samples contain a concentration of heavy metals elements, mainly chromium and arsenic, significantly exceeding the current norms (Szwarczewski 2013, 143).

In the interwar period, the process of deterioration continued. The river was engineered and started to serve as a sewer channel for the city. The marshy meadows surrounding St. Peter’s hill were drained, in part with the use of sand and earth acquired from the stronghold. Consequently, the swampy area was altered to a place suitable for development. The land was divided into small plots, sold by the city council to residents of neighbouring villages, who migrated to Radom

in large numbers in search of work. It was at that time that a half-rural type of housing became characteristic of the vicinity of the stronghold (Witkowski 1985, 139–140; Szwarczewski *et al.* 2010, 164–167).

Little is known about St. Peter's hill during World War II. In April 1941 the stronghold and its vicinity became a part of the closed Jewish district of Radom. The accounts of what was happening there until the ghetto liquidation in August 1942 are very scanty – there were almost no survivors. Due to resettlement and post-war exchange of the population, only a few pre-war residents of Old Radom, displaced after the creation of the ghetto, returned to their homes (Piątkowski 2006, 177n). After the war ended, the hill acted as a public sand mine for construction works. Already in the 1950s, the first appeals to cease the destruction of the stronghold, as well as the first attempts at its legal protection, appeared (Kalinowski 1953; Sznuro 1966, 21). Such activities involved an invitation for the Institute of History of the Material Culture, Polish Academy of Sciences to excavate the stronghold. In this way, Radom entered the Millennium scientific programme (Fuglewicz 2013, 17–18; Trzeciecki 2017, 232–234).

The excavations carried out in the 1960s were of profound importance, not only due to the scope of the information they yielded but also and primarily for the future of the stronghold and the river valley. Both the stronghold and all of the archaeological sites in its vicinity found themselves in the National Inventory of Historical Monuments. Moreover, the entire area was to become an archaeological open-air museum, based on the model of Biskupin – with reconstructions of early medieval buildings, wooden relics exhibited *in situ*, and a museum pavilion in the former church of St. Wenceslas. The local spatial development plan included the demolition of most of the buildings (some of them historical) surrounding the stronghold, partly to “clear the area of the early medieval Slavonic proto-town”, partly to introduce large-scale administrative and service buildings for museum employees and visitors (Kalinowski 1971; Kalinowski and Kierzkowska-Kalinowska 1972; Cieślak-Kopyt 2010, 180–184). Before the execution phase started, the entire project was abandoned, partly as a side effect of the workers' revolt in Radom in 1976, partly due to a growing crisis of the socialist state economy. However, the open-air museum project, though not even begun, brought about unexpectedly significant changes in the landscape.



Fig. 4. Marshlands in the vicinity of the stronghold in 2012 (Photo by M. Trzeciecki)

Both the oppressive regulations of the heritage board and the spatial development plans completely stopped any investment activity in Old Radom, particularly the conservation of the drainage system. Already at the end of the 1970s, the Mleczna river valley changed back into a swamp, systematically fed not only by river outflows but also by municipal sewage (Fig. 4). What area remained accessible became a place of illegal storing of rubbish from around the city (Szwarczewski 2013, 143). A lack of decisions concerning the future of this place and a lack of perspectives contributed to the social marginalisation of Old Radom and its inhabitants. Consequently, St. Peter's hill quickly gained the reputation of one of the most dangerous places in Radom (Trzeciecki 2018b, 136–137). Among the side effects of administrative decisions, a spontaneous and uncontrolled re-naturalisation of the valley is of particular importance. Within a dozen or so years after human activity was halted, plants of the forest habitat came back, and the area became a shelter for many species of wildlife. Moreover, some elements of the newly created ecosystem are now under strict protection as rare or endangered species (Kocik *et al.* 2012).



Fig. 5. “Signs of memory” at the foot of stronghold ramparts, 2013 (Photo by M. Trzeciecki)

Restoring the memory of St. Peter's hill as a historical place began in the early 21st century. Local activists attempted to regain the historical “cradle” of Radom – seemingly lost forever. It is worth taking a closer look at these activities, which are a record of bottom-up, spontaneous creation of the “place of memory”. They started from a systematic cleaning of the area, as well as a struggle with the illegal dumping of garbage. Then, a somewhat “postmodern” conglomerate of memorials emerged – three wooden piles exemplifying the fence of the stronghold, a stone with the image of Mieszko I, and a cross in the middle of the stronghold, along with an information board conveying a mythologised version of the stronghold's history (Fig. 5). Such activities were accompanied by attempts to arrange social events, such as archaeological picnics, together with the Museum of Radom and local re-enactment groups (Morgan 2013, 284–288; Trzeciecki 2018b, 137–138).

These modest activities yielded unexpected results in 2007, when the municipal government tried to sell the area north of the stronghold to a real estate developer. The investment was halted, and

the local community forced the local authorities to sign a declaration of a revitalisation project for St. Peter's hill. The first design submitted by the municipality directly echoed the 1970s open-air museum project. It included levelling the surface of the stronghold in order to obtain space for "cyclical mass events", the erection of a lookout tower in the middle of the stronghold, along with an "educational pavilion", replicas of randomly selected archaeological objects, a partial reconstruction of the ramparts and moat. Approximately 40 hectares of the river valley were to be converted into a leisure park, including, in accordance with the spirit of the times, a skate park, a "valley of dinosaurs", a cable car along the Mleczna river and the like (Cieślak-Kopyt 2010, 193–200; Bugaj 2012; Trzeciecki 2018b, 138–139).

It was the intention of the municipality for the "new" St. Peter's hill to become a "multifunctional place of memory" – providing relaxation, "learning through entertainment", and participation in mass events with an elegant, though not necessarily reliable, reconstruction of the stronghold in the background, aimed both at fostering the common identity of Radom inhabitants, and at building the image of city authorities as depositors and heirs of its medieval origins. The project, however, did not include two important factors – values of the contemporary ecosystem of the Mleczna river valley, subject to independent regulations outside the legal competences of the municipality, and the local inhabitants' emotional relationships with the place, their real needs and concerns about its future condition. Meanwhile, the people connected with St. Peter's hill, either by the proximity of residence or due to their interest in Radom's cultural heritage, had a definitely negative response to the aforementioned "attractions", including the reconstructions of archaeological objects. They emphasised the necessity to take care of the stronghold, put its surroundings in order, make it accessible both to local inhabitants and tourists, as well as preserve the natural values of the valley, along with making indispensable investments in the urban infrastructure in order to improve the living conditions. The notion of heritage of the past was evoked as an argument against the planned interventions into the stronghold's form, although the main emphasis was placed on the former cemetery, still present in the collective memory of the city inhabitants. Although the stronghold itself was recognised as a valuable testimony of the past, its entire form, buildings or finds evoked but

little interest, at least at the beginning of the excavation campaign (Trzeciński 2018b, 137).

The research project revealed the multiplicity and complexity of mutual relations between the past and the present day of St. Peter's hill. It also became an excuse to give the voice to the most interested, oftentimes overlooked both by the municipality and heritage institutions. A permanent and direct relationships with Radom's inhabitants proved to be indispensable to understand the value of the stronghold for the emerging local communities of memory (Morgan 2013; Trzeciński 2013b; 2018b, 139–141). Eventually, the city council adopted a resolution establishing the “Old Radom Cultural Park” as a legal form of protection and management of the cultural landscape in the Mleczna river valley. Both the early medieval settlement complex, the relics of the 19th-century factories, the wooden houses in Old Radom, and the environmental resources are regarded as integral parts of cultural and natural heritage, deserving preservation for future generations. Regrettably, as a result of changes in the municipality after the self-government elections in 2014, the revitalisation plans were put aside. Today St. Peter's hill and its surroundings remain abandoned, the place is once again disappearing from the collective consciousness of the city inhabitants, and wild nature is gradually returning there.

Final remarks

By way of conclusion, it is worth listing the most important issues resulting from the biographical approach to the Radom stronghold:

1. The stronghold is a relic of an early medieval power centre. Although this was but one among the episodes in the biography of the place, the construction and function of the stronghold generated a particular landform that structures the physical and mental space even today.
2. The destruction of the stronghold in the mid-14th century did not end its biography. On the contrary, the majority of radical changes of its form or function correspond with the profound social and political changes in the town history. We can point here to the convergence of the stronghold's abandonment with the modernisation of the urban network undertaken by king Kazimierz the Great; the establishment of the cemetery with the attempts to modernise the declining 18th-century Polish towns; the progressive environmental deterioration

with successive waves of industrialisation in the course of the 19th and early 20th centuries. Contemporary research and discussions on the revitalisation of St. Peter's hill are also in line with top-down implemented modernisation, related to Poland's accession to the European Union, as well as with bottom-up attempts to reconstruct local identities, devastated by decades of communism and the first years of political transformation.

3. The subsequent stages of the biography of the place are shaped by human and environmental agencies, working coequally. Of particular importance here are the data assessing the scale of anthropo-pressure, both in the local and regional context. Prior to the 18th century, human impact on the environment was negligible on the macro scale, despite profound changes taking place in the Mleczna valley. Environmental changes propelled by the industrial revolution were comprehensive and highly destructive. Their record in the geomorphology of the valley argues for the acknowledgment of the Anthropocene as a separate era in the geological history of the Earth. Furthermore, the heritage of the industrial era has become an inherent, irremovable and deserving protection part of the cultural landscape of the valley.
4. Knowledge about ecological transformations in the area in question appears indispensable to studying the long-term effects of human impact on the environment, as well as to designing responsible strategies of cultural and natural heritage management.
5. Reflections on the recent episodes of St. Peter's hill biography, namely the unintentionally destructive effects of the entry on the Historical Monuments list, the following projects of open-air museums or archaeological parks, and competition between the municipality and local activists, striving to take over the cultural capital and symbolic meaning of the re-discovered *lieux de mémoire*, argue for caution in designing new revitalisation strategies, and for giving preference to those which do not seek to dichotomise "natural" and "cultural" heritage, or those which are more attuned to work with, rather than against, local communities.

The early medieval stronghold on St. Peter's hill in Radom viewed through the lens of the biographical approach appears to be far more than an archaeological site or even an element of archaeological heritage. Its materiality, inextricably bound with the natural environment and human activities, constitutes an inalienable cultural capital, indispensable

for the reconstruction of local identities and communities of memory. Recognition of its multifaceted biography becomes not only a cognitive task, but also an antidote to the increasing inability to experience space symbolically, so distinctive for the fragmented post-modern reality. Therefore, the postulate to complete the agenda of early medieval stronghold studies with reflections on the biography and memory of the place, encouraging us to pose questions to the past on behalf of our present, should not be ignored.

References

- Auch M., Bugaj U. and Trzeciecki M. 2012. Archeologia w Radomiu – archeologia dla Radomia. Próba podsumowania pierwszych lat projektu „Park Kulturowy Stary Radom”. In A. Buko, D. Główka and M. Trzeciecki (eds.), *Archeologia w obliczu wyzwań współczesności* (= *Radom. Korzenie miasta i regionu 4*). Warszawa: Instytut Archeologii i Etnologii PAN, 9–40.
- Auch M., Skorupska P. and Trzeciecki M. [in print]. *Osada na stanowisku 4* (= *Przestrzeń osadnicza wczesnośredniowiecznego Radomia 2*). Warszawa: Instytut Archeologii i Etnologii PAN.
- Augé M. 2010. *Nie-miejsce. Wprowadzenie do antropologii hipernowoczesności*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN.
- Bogucki M. and Trzeciecki M. 2018. Denarius Sandomiri z radomskiego grodu. In T. Nowakiewicz, M. Trzeciecki and D. Błaszczuk (eds.), *Animos labor nutrit. Studia ofiarowane Profesorowi Andrzejowi Buko w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*. Warszawa: Instytut Archeologii i Etnologii PAN, Instytut Archeologii Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 273–286.
- Branton N. 2009. Landscape Approaches in Historical Archaeology: The Archaeology of Places. In T. Majewski and D. Gaimster (eds.), *International Handbook of Historical Archaeology*. New York: Springer-Verlag, 51–66.
- Bugaj M. 2012. Wczesnośredniowieczny zespół osadniczy w Radomiu – uwagi na temat ochrony i prezentacji dziedzictwa archeologicznego. In A. Buko, D. Główka and M. Trzeciecki (eds.), *Archeologia w obliczu wyzwań współczesności* (= *Radom. Korzenie miasta i regionu 4*). Warszawa: Instytut Archeologii i Etnologii PAN, 51–65.
- Byszewska A. 2011. Podróż w czasie. Rekonstrukcja – destrukcja. *Kurier Konserwatorski* 10, 28–32.
- Cieślak-Kopyt M. 2010. Koncepcja zagospodarowania doliny rzeki Mlecznej. Skansen archeologiczny „Piotrówka”. In A. Buko and D. Główka (eds.), *Radom: korzenie miasta i regionu*, vol. I. *Badania 2009* (= *Radom. Korzenie miasta i regionu 1*). Warszawa: Instytut Archeologii i Etnologii PAN, 177–202.
- Csáky M. 2002. Gedächtnis, Erinnerung und die Konstruktion von Identität. In C. Bosshart-Pfluger, J. Jung and F. Metzger (eds.), *Nation und Nationalismus*

- in Europa. Kulturelle Konstruktion von Identität. Festschrift für Urs Altermatt.* Frauenfeld-Stuttgart-Wien: Huber, 25–50.
- Edgeworth M. 2016. Phenomenology of Landscapes and Taskscapes in Excavation Archives. *Norwegian Archaeological Review* 49 (1), 26–29.
- Edgeworth M., Benjamin J., Clarke B., Crossland Z., Domańska E., Gorman A.C., Graves-Brown P., Harris E.C., Hudson M.J., Kelly J.M., Paz V.J., Salerno M.A., Witmore Ch. and Zarankin A. 2014. Archaeology of the Anthropocene. *Journal of Contemporary Archaeology* 1 (1), 73–132.
- Fuglewicz B. 2013. *Początki Radomia. Wczesnośredniowieczny zespół osadniczy nad Mleczną*. Radom: Zespół Naukowy do Badań Dziejów Radomia.
- Gacki J. 1855. Stary Radom i jego kościoły. *Pamiętnik Religijno-Moralny* 29, 241–262.
- Gawlas S. 2005. Przełom lokacyjny w dziejach miast środkowoeuropejskich. In Z. Kurnatowska and T. Jurek (eds.), *Civitas posnaniensis. Studia z dziejów średniowiecznego Poznania*. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk, 133–162.
- Geertz C. 2005. *Interpretacja kultur. Wybrane eseje*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego.
- Gręzak A. 2018. Uwagi na temat diety mięsnej mieszkańców radomskiego zespołu osadniczego. In J. Tomczyk (ed.), *Bioarcheologiczne badania populacji ludzkiej z Radomia od XI do XIX wieku*. Warszawa: Uniwersytet im. Kardynała Stefana Wyszyńskiego, 143–167.
- Hicks D. 2016. The Temporality of Landscape Revisited. *Norwegian Archaeological Review* 49 (1), 5–22.
- Holtorf C. and Williams H. 2006. Landscapes and Memories. In D. Hicks and M. Beaudley (eds.), *Cambridge Companion to Historical Archaeology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 235–254.
- Ingold T. 1993. The temporality of the landscape. *World Archaeology* 25, 152–174.
- Ingold T. 2005. Landscape lives but archaeology turns to stone. *Norwegian Archaeological Review* 38 (2), 122–126.
- Kalinowski W. 1953. *Studium historyczno-urbanistyczne do planu ogólnego zagospodarowania przestrzennego miasta Radomia*. Radom (typescript at the archive of the Municipal Department of Urban Studies).
- Kalinowski W. 1971. *Dokumentacja zabytkoznawcza do planu szczegółowego zagospodarowania przestrzennego starego Miasta w Radomiu*. Radom (typescript at the archive of the Municipal Department of Urban Studies).
- Kalinowski W. 1979. *Urbanistyka i architektura Radomia*. Lublin: Wydawnictwo Lubelskie.
- Kalinowski W. and Kierzkowska-Kalinowska E. 1972. *Dokumentacja urbanistyczno-archeologiczna Starego Miasta w Radomiu*. Radom (typescript at the archive of the Jacek Malczewski Museum).
- Kocik M., Mydłowski M., Mydłowska A., Goraj S. and Gubała W.J. 2012. *Inwentaryzacja i waloryzacja przyrodnicza doliny rzeki Mlecznej na odcinku od ul. Maratońskiej do ul. Mieszka I oraz pomiędzy ulicami Starokrakowską i Wierzbicką*. Radom (typescript at the archive of the Municipal Department of Urban Studies).

- Kończal K. 2012. Lieux de mémoire, Erinnerungsorte, miejsca pamięci. O pewnym koncepcie i jego europejskim sukcesie. *Dialog. Magazyn polsko-niemiecki* 101, 17–27.
- Krajewski M. 2003. *Kultury kultury popularnej*. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM.
- Kupisz D. 2009. *Radom w czasach Jagiellonów (1386–1572)*. Radom: Radomskie Towarzystwo Naukowe.
- Kupisz D. 2016. Nekropolie Radomia w drugiej połowie XVIII wieku. *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej* 64 (1), 35–58.
- Kupryjanowicz M., Filoc M., Dmitruk J. and Wanczewska E. 2013. *Przyczynek do poznania historii roślinności z rejonu Radomia. Wyniki analizy pyłkowej torfów z doliny Pacynki*. In A. Buko, D. Główka and M. Trzeciecki (eds.), *Ziemia niczyja – ziemia nieznaną. Schyłek starożytności i średniowiecze na ziemiach między Wisłą a Pilicą (= Radom. Korzenie miasta i regionu 4)*. Warszawa: Instytut Archeologii i Etnologii PAN, 117–138.
- Kurasiński T. and Skóra K. 2016. *Cmentarzysko w Radomiu, stanowisko 4 (= Przestrzeń osadnicza wczesnośredniowiecznego Radomia 1)*. Warszawa: Instytut Archeologii i Etnologii PAN.
- Morgan A. 2013. Przestrzeń, nie-miejsce, miejsce. Badania archeologiczne a zarządzanie przestrzenią publiczną i dziedzictwem kulturowym. *Radomskie Studia Humanistyczne* 1, 273–288.
- Nora P. 1984. Entre memoire et histoire: La problematique des lieux. In P. Nora (ed.), *Les lieux de memoire* 1. Paris: Gallimard, xv–xvii.
- Nora P. 2009. Między pamięcią a historią: les Lieux de Mémoire. *Tytuł roboczy: Archiwum* 2, 4–12.
- Nora P. 2010. Czas pamięci. *Respublica Nowa* 10 (200), 142–151.
- Olivier L. 2013. The Business of Archaeology is the Present. In A. Gonzalez-Ruibal (ed.), *Reclaiming Archaeology. Beyond the tropes of Modernity*. London-New York: Routledge, 117–129.
- Pawleta M. 2016. *Przeszłość we współczesności. Studium metodologiczne archeologicznie kreowanej przeszłości w przestrzeni społecznej*. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM.
- Pfister E. and Prager K. 2011. How We Learned to Stop Worrying and Utilize European “Lieux de Memoire” as a Historical Instrument. *Der Donauraum* 51 (1), 21–33.
- Piątkowski S. 2006. *Dni życia, dni śmierci. Ludność żydowska w Radomiu w latach 1918–1950*. Warszawa: Naczelna Dyrekcja Archiwów Państwowych.
- Piekalski J. 2007. Średniowieczny przełom kulturowy. *Archaeologia Historica Polona* 16, 9–18.
- Rajala U. and Mills P. 2017. *Forms of Dwelling: 20 Years of Taskscapes in Archaeology*. Oxford: Oxbow Books.
- Skrzyński G. 2013. Aspekty wczesnośredniowiecznej gospodarki Radomia w świetle znalezisk makroskopowych szczątków roślinnych. In A. Buko, D. Główka and M. Trzeciecki (eds.), *Ziemia niczyja – ziemia nieznaną. Schyłek starożytności i średniowiecze na ziemiach między Wisłą a Pilicą (= Radom. Korzenie miasta i regionu 4)*. Warszawa: Instytut Archeologii i Etnologii PAN, 107–116.
- Solli B., Burström M., Domańska E., Edgeworth M., González-Ruibal A., Holtorf C., Lucas G., Oestigaard T., Smith L. and Witmore Ch. 2011. Some Reflections

- on Heritage and Archaeology in the Anthropocene. *Norwegian Archaeological Review* 44 (1), 40–88.
- Sowina U. 2011. Zaopatrzenie Radomia w wodę w późnym średniowieczu i we wczesnej nowożytności. Problemy i możliwości badawcze – głos historyka. In A. Buko, D. Główka and M. Trzeciecki (eds.), *Radomski zespół osadniczy w dolinie rzeki Mlecznej. Wyniki badań interdyscyplinarnych (= Radom. Korzenie miasta i regionu 2)*. Warszawa: Instytut Archeologii i Etnologii PAN, 189–202.
- Stobiecka M. 2018. Nomadyczne dziedzictwo. O migracjach rzeczy w przyszłość. *Stan Rzeczy* 1 (14), 135–154.
- Szczygieł R. 2001. Powstanie nowego miasta w Radomiu. In S. Piątkowski (ed.), *Radom. Lokacja miasta, odkrywanie zamku*. Radom: Społeczny Komitet Ratowania Zabytków Radomia, 24–32.
- Sznurowo H. 1966. Grodziska w Radomskim. *Biuletyn Kwartalny Radomskiego Towarzystwa Naukowego* 3 (1), 1–24.
- Szporcowski A. 2004. Tworzenie przestrzeni historycznej jako odpowiedź na nostalgię. *Kultura Współczesna* 1 (39), 58–67.
- Szporcowski A. 2007. O współczesnej kulturze historycznej Polaków. In B. Korzeniowski (ed.), *Przemiany pamięci społecznej a teoria kultury*. Poznań: Instytut Zachodni, 25–43.
- Szporcowski A. 2008. Miejsca pamięci (lieux de mémoire). *Teksty Drugie* 4, 11–20.
- Szporcowski A. 2009. Wizualizacja pamięci społecznej. In A. Szporcowski (ed.), *Pamięć zbiorowa jako czynnik integracji i źródło konfliktów*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Instytutu Studiów Politycznych PAN, 227–237.
- Szporcowski A. 2014. Nośniki pamięci, miejsca pamięci. *Sensus Historiae* 17, 17–26.
- Szwarczewski P. 2013. Holocenijskie zmiany w dolinie rzeki Mlecznej. In A. Buko, D. Główka and M. Trzeciecki (eds.), *Ziemia niczyja – ziemia nieznaną. Schyłek starożytności i średniowiecze na ziemiach między Wisłą a Pilicą (= Radom. Korzenie miasta i regionu 4)*. Warszawa: Instytut Archeologii i Etnologii PAN, 139–144.
- Szwarczewski P., Bujak Ł., Korabiewski B., Kupryjanowicz M. and Wierzbicki G. 2010. Badania paleośrodowiskowe w dolinie rzeki Mlecznej w sąsiedztwie wczesnośredniowiecznego grodziska Piotrówka w Radomiu (wyniki badań w sezonie 2009). In A. Buko and D. Główka (eds.), *Radom: korzenie miasta i regionu*, vol. I. *Badania 2009 (= Radom. Korzenie miasta i regionu 1)*. Warszawa: Instytut Archeologii i Etnologii PAN, 157–176.
- Tomczyk J. (ed.) 2018. *Bioarcheologiczne badania populacji ludzkiej z Radomia od XI do XIX wieku*. Warszawa: Uniwersytet im. Kardynała Stefana Wyszyńskiego.
- Trzeciecki M. 2013a. Projekt „Park Kulturowy Stary Radom” – badania Instytutu Archeologii i Etnologii PAN w latach 2009–2012. In M. Cieślak-Kopyt (ed.), *Piotrówka. Pamięć rodowodu. Katalog wystawy, Muzeum im. Jacka Malczewskiego w Radomiu, styczeń-grudzień 2013*. Radom: Muzeum im. Jacka Malczewskiego, 23–39.
- Trzeciecki M. 2013b. Cienie zapomnianych przodków, czyli radomska Piotrówka, archeodolży i kości umarłych raz jeszcze. *Miesięcznik Prowincjonalny* 136 (1), 26–29.
- Trzeciecki M. 2015. Gród radomski na pograniczu Małopolski i Mazowsza – za-rzy problematyki badawczej. In M. Żurek and M. Krasna-Korycińska (eds.),

- Grody średniowiecznego Mazowsza. Księga poświęcona pamięci Marka Dulnicza.* Warszawa: Uniwersytet im. Kardynała Stefana Wyszyńskiego, 181–201.
- Trzeciecki M. 2017. Płock, Czersk i Radom – badania „millenijne” i prace weryfikacyjne. *Przegląd Archeologiczny* 65, 225–239.
- Trzeciecki M. 2018a. Radomski zespół osadniczy między X a XIX wiekiem – stan badań. In J. Tomczyk (ed.), *Bioarcheologiczne badania populacji ludzkiej z Radomia od XI do XIX wieku.* Warszawa: Uniwersytet im. Kardynała Stefana Wyszyńskiego, 10–53
- Trzeciecki M. 2018b. Osuszanie bagna. Archeologia, przyroda, pamięć i polityka na grodzisku Piotrówka w Radomiu. In M. Marciniak, M. Pawleta and K. Kajda (eds.), *Dziedzictwo we współczesnym świecie.* Kraków: Universitas, 125–148.
- Trzeciecki M. 2018c. Późnośredniowieczne piece produkcyjne z grodziska Piotrówka w Radomiu – możliwości interpretacji. *Archaeologia Historica Polona* 25, 57–99.
- Witkowski S. 1970. *Przemysł Radomia.* Radom: Radomskie Towarzystwo Naukowe.
- Witkowski S. 1985. *Radom. Dzieje miasta w XIX i XX w.* Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe.
- Zalewska A. 2012. Archeologia jako forma kreowania, pielęgnowania i odzyskiwania pamięci. In S. Tabaczyński, A. Marciniak, D. Cyngot and A. Zalewska (eds.), *Przeszłość społeczna. Próba konceptualizacji.* Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 1178–1190.
- Zalewska A. 2014. Miejsca w pamięci. Stanowiska archeologiczne jako pola artykulacji pamięci w kontekście studiów i kategorii pamięcioznawczych. In B. Gediga, A. Grossman and W. Piotrowski (eds.), *Miejsca pamięci. Pradzieje, średniowiecze i współczesność.* Biskupin-Wrocław: Instytut Archeologii i Etnologii PAN, 61–78.

Bartłomiej Bartecki*

The Goths' Return to the Hrubieszów Basin. The Social Use of Archaeological Heritage for Building a Local Identity

ABSTRACT

Bartecki B. 2018. The Goths' Return to the Hrubieszów Basin. The Social Use of Archaeological Heritage for Building a Local Identity. *Analecta Archaeologica Ressoiviensia* 13, 333–356

Archaeological investigations of the Gothic culture in the Hrubieszów Basin started in 1977. From the very beginning, they attracted great interest of the local community. In 2002, after the excavations were declared officially over, the residents of Masłomęcz, together with the archaeologists, local self-authorities, NGOs and the Hrubieszów Museum, decided to take advantage of the archaeological heritage to build a local identity. As a result of many activities and bottom-up initiatives of the residents of Masłomęcz, a historical reconstruction group was established, followed by the Goths' Village open-air museum, which combines educational, tourism, and scientific functions.

Keywords: Goths, Goths' Village, Masłomęcz, Hrubieszów Museum, popularisation

Received: 17.12.2018; **Revised:** 28.12.2018; **Revised:** 28.12.2018; **Accepted:** 30.12.2018

The role of archaeology

Archaeology has special significance for the Hrubieszów region. The archaeological wealth of the interfluvium of the Huczwa and Bug rivers, which is a territory regarded as very promising from the vantage point of new sensational discoveries, has attracted researchers of Antiquity for many decades. Regardless of whether they were focused on the Stone Age, Bronze Age or Iron Age, they could all count on interesting findings, which were significant in terms of their discipline's development. It should therefore be unsurprising that in the over fifty years of operation of the Stanisław Staszic Museum in Hrubieszów archaeology has played one of the most important roles almost from the very beginning (cf. Bartecki and Hyrczała 2015, 50–72; Kokowski 2015, 8–19).

* Stanisław Staszic Museum in Hrubieszów, 3-go Maja 11, 22-500 Hrubieszów, Poland; bartlomiej.bartecki@gmail.com

The popularisation of the archaeological heritage of the region, which is more and more frequently the subject of separate studies (e.g. Chowaniec 2010), took on a special form in the case of the Hrubieszów Museum. This was due to the extraordinary archaeological discoveries made in Masłomęcz, Gródek, Moroczyn, Strzyżów, Rogalin, as well as Hrubieszów. However, it is not the results of the excavations that are the most important in this case, but the communities' response to these results and the friendly atmosphere which helped the archaeologists in their work almost from the very beginning of the Museum. The popularisation efforts peaked in the last ten years, when it was decided to use the results of the completed excavations in the Masłomęcz cemetery, widely known in the scientific world, to build a local identity.

Despite its popularity in the media, archaeology, like other disciplines, is a very hermetic science and, in its strictly scientific form, a very inaccessible and unattractive one. Scientific publications written by archaeologists are only read and understood by other archaeologists. The romantic vision of uncovering mysteries disappears in the face of the necessity to produce hundreds of tables, statistical analyses, and spending an entire season near construction machines building the next section of the long-awaited ring road. In the eyes of the public, an archaeologist is also a person who has the right, often for completely obscure reasons, to stop the construction of someone's dream house for several hours or days, because a few potsherds were found in the foundations. Proper popularisation efforts can help with conflicts between the investor/field owner and the archaeologist; even more importantly, they may encourage people to voluntarily notify the appropriate authorities about accidental archaeological discoveries.

Popularisation of archaeology among hard-working farmers from small towns and villages should seem doomed to fail. It should be equally difficult to convince the oldest generation (the retirees who remember the Nazi German attack on Poland in 1939) that they could be proud of their Germanic (but ancient) past and, most importantly, that the Germanic ancient past could become the foundation for building a local identity in a community with "Slavic blood". It was doubtful that the local community, without specialist education, would be able to take care of its heritage thanks to bottom-up initiatives – and that it would do so precisely on the basis of hermetic, inaccessible archaeological knowledge.

Challenges

The Hrubieszów Museum, together with NGOs and the local authorities, decided to disprove such theories. Some problems and proposals of how to solve them are illustrated by the case of the community of the Hrubieszów region, the eastern-most corner of Poland. Here, popularisation of archaeological heritage took on a form which is unique in Poland and may be a model for other regions in many ways. This field has become an opportunity to mobilise the elderly and the unemployed. It became an alternative way of spending free time for children, young adults and adults. Most importantly, the field has also been acknowledged by the local authorities as a genuine opportunity to develop thematic tourism, and as the starting point for improving the entire region's economic situation. Implementing projects whose slogans refer to the old period of prosperity in the 2nd–4th c. AD not only made it possible to build a supralocal brand, but also to create new jobs, to organise popular science open-air events, and to build a tourism infrastructure. The place where the process of building a local identity on the basis of archaeology started in 1977 was Masłomęcz – a small village near the town of Hrubieszów. The key role at the first stage of this process was played by archaeologists, and after they left the site, the popularisation of archaeological heritage became the work of the local community and the staff of the Hrubieszów Museum (Fig. 1).

Masłomęcz – the beginnings

In the autumn of 1977, a group of Archaeology students from the Institute of Archaeology of the Maria Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin, supervised by Andrzej Kokowski (today a Professor, an MA at that time), came across artefacts from the Roman period during archaeological surface surveys near the villages of Czerniczyn and Masłomęcz in the Hrubieszów region. Among the finds collected from the surface of freshly ploughed fields were fragments of clay pots, a bone comb dated to the 3rd c. AD, and other small artefacts. At the same time, the archaeologists started to cooperate with the residents of the village, who provided valuable information about earlier accidental finds. The next year, excavations started, which – as it turned out – were to last for twenty-five years and became the most important



Fig. 1. Masłomęcz's archaeological career started in the field of the Mazur family (Photo by B. Bartecki)

chapter in the modern history of Masłomęcz (Kokowski 2004, 13). To the archaeologists working in Masłomęcz, equally as important as collecting extraordinary finds was creating a bond with the villagers. The sceptically-minded community, which initially took the “alien” group of scientists with a grain of salt, showed their interest more and more boldly in each successive season. Over the twenty-five years of excavations, 536 graves were discovered in the Gothic cemetery from the 2nd–4th/5th c. (Kokowski 2007, 14). A characteristic feature, which decisively contributed to the career of these investigations in the media and in science, were the extraordinary funeral customs of the Germanic people of Goths, who had migrated from their Scandinavian birthplace. The custom of fragmenting the bodies of the dead, simultaneously using traditional burials (inhumation) and cremation, and ritualistic opening of graves became the basis for distinguishing the “Masłomęcz group” in archaeology (Kokowski 2008, 99). Visually attractive artefacts from these excavations also became an important element of many Polish and European museum exhibitions. Gothic graves commonly



Fig. 2. The excavations in the region provided a lot of interesting information and valuable exhibits for the Museum (Photo by A. Kokowski)

contained dishes, ornaments and garment parts made of gold, silver and bronze, combs, as well as glassware, which was very valuable in Antiquity (Fig. 2).

First popularisation efforts

The unique nature of the discoveries made in the Gothic cemetery in Masłomęcz was very quickly noted and used by the media. Archaeological press, radio and television reports are always positively received, as they offer an opportunity to take a momentary break from the present. Mysterious macabre practices and rituals of the Goths quickly made the headlines. They were widely commented on and one of the farms where the archaeological works took place, more and more frequently hosted representatives of radio and television. However, if it had not been for the constant feeding of the media's interest, and the accessible, and even attractive to laypeople, manner of presenting the findings, the excavations in Masłomęcz would quickly have been

forgotten. Therefore, it was of utmost importance to cooperate with the local media in the first place, as was the case in the Hrubieszów region. One of the main local newspapers, “Tygodnik Zamojski” (“The Zamość Weekly”), had a regular column which published information about the newest discoveries during excavation seasons, as well as interviews with the archaeologists (Kokowski 2004, 119). In this way, awareness of the rank of the discoveries and pride in the opportunity to participate in these events were created. Equally as important were national campaigns organised by Polish Radio 3 (Kokowski 2014, 123–124). During the “Summer with archaeology” series of broadcasts, news about the phenomenon of Masłomęcz Goths reached listeners in the entire country, and the village of Masłomęcz even became a reference point for locating the invaluable Renaissance city of Zamość on the map. The constant presence in the media and participation in television programmes thus became something very natural, even expected, to the villagers from Masłomęcz. The distance and initial scepticism towards the work of the archaeologists from Lublin were replaced by the common mission of informing others about the specialness of the place they came from. The invaluable, prestigious role in the promotion of Masłomęcz’s archaeology was played by participating in the archaeological exhibitions in Italy and Germany, during which the Gothic antiquities from Hrubieszów occupied the spotlight. The impressively large, richly illustrated exhibition catalogues became the benchmark for telling history in a visually attractive and accessible way (Kokowski 2014, 26–29). We should also mention two other issues concerning the popularisation of archaeological investigations in the Hrubieszów region. Firstly, it was the small district and village schools that noted the virtually elementary need to introduce lessons about the archaeology of the Hrubieszów Basin into the school programme. The most gifted elementary and middle school students have been competing in archaeological contests, regularly organised by the Hrubieszów Museum and the District Community Centre in Hrubieszów for many years (Kokowski 2014, 130–133). Students from Hrubieszów’s secondary schools regularly participate in Professor Andrzej Kokowski’s museum lessons. The other issue concerns prestige. In 2002, the head of the municipality of Hrubieszów and Professor Andrzej Kokowski (the director of the Institute of Archaeology, Maria Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin), decided to create an honorary



Fig. 3. The education of the youngest generation became one of the Hrubieszów Museum's projects (Photo by J. Fuchs)

award called “Laur Masłomęczki” (“The Masłomęcz Laurel”). This was done to honour people who made particularly special contributions to building the cultural and economic image of the Land of Zamość. “The Masłomęcz Laurel” is a small statuette of a bird-shaped fibula, which is regarded as the symbol of archaeology in Hrubieszów and of the Gothic “Masłomęcz group” (Kokowski 2014, 32–35). The award winners include archaeologists, museologists, and politicians (Fig. 3).

Conclusion of excavations

In 2002, after twenty-five years of continuous excavation works in the Gothic cemetery in Masłomęcz, they were officially completed. The international career of this place was reflected in scientific and popular science publications, in hundreds of press reports and radio

broadcasts, and at least a few dozen television programmes (Kokowski 2004, 122–123). Artefacts from Masłomęcz were viewed by thousands of visitors in numerous museums, and the exhibition catalogues continue to be an invaluable source of knowledge about the Goths, not only those from the Hrubieszów Basin. A quarter of a century was a chapter which was supposed to end in 2002, during a splendid celebration with friends of Hrubieszów's archaeology from near and far. However, as it turned out, the many years of building archaeological awareness among the inhabitants of the region resulted in a completely new chapter of Masłomęcz's history. Although the archaeologists left Masłomęcz and covered up the last trenches, in the next few years the village was to become the centre of other popularisation efforts, initiated by the villagers themselves, and supported by the NGO sector and local authorities.

Bottom-up initiatives

Already in 2003, it was indicated that there was a need to organise a meeting between the residents of Masłomęcz and the archaeologists with whom they had cooperated so well for so many years. Although the excavation campaign had finished, in the summer of 2003, as a sort of commemorative ceremony, an Archaeological Fête was held, during which the previous twenty-five years of the village's history were remembered. Similar meetings, during which – alongside archaeological themes – performances of the local singing groups and presentations of folk artists were an important part of the programme, started to be held regularly. Over the next few years, during summer holidays, Masłomęcz remembered the archaeological excavations in the Gothic cemetery, cherishing the memory of the region's oldest past. Each meeting for the next four years strengthened the conviction of the villagers, archaeologists and representatives of the local authorities that they should tap into the archaeological potential of the Hrubieszów region. The decisive role in the process of forming the idea of creating a new showcase for Masłomęcz was played by the local community. The regular summer meetings which centred around archaeological themes proved insufficient. One afternoon in a year when Masłomęcz's archaeology was reborn left the people feeling thirsty throughout the rest of the year, when Masłomęcz's recognisability was noted only in

scientific publications or archival newspaper issues (Gurba 2003). According to the local community, there was a need to build a tangible, material memorial of the Gothic past, which would remind both the locals and random visitors about the archaeological heritage of the region all year round.

Projects

The first, most important, innovative project aimed at promoting Masłomęcz's archaeology and the archaeological heritage of the region was called "Remnants of the Goths – prehistory of the land of Hrubieszów as an element of the European cultural heritage". It was implemented from March to September 2007 by the "Better Tomorrow" Hrubieszów-Mircze Society Local Action Group, under the Pilot Project Leader + Scheme II in the municipalities (*gminas*) of Hrubieszów and Mircze. The project's main objectives were to promote cultural heritage and to increase the tourism attractiveness of the municipalities



Fig. 4. First steps towards creating a Gothic group (Photo by A. Hyrczała)

of Hrubieszów and Mircze. Taking direct advantage of the scientific achievements of the archaeologists from Lublin, a number of actions relating to archaeology were prepared.

The project involved, among others, building a museum exhibit of a hut of the Goths in Masłomęcz, which was a symbolic reconstruction of a housing structure discovered in Hrubieszów-Podgórze; marking out the “Trail of the Goths” tourist path, leading through the places connected with the main archaeological discoveries, as well as interesting landscapes and cultural and historical places; and publishing a book entitled *30 powodów do dumy z mieszkania w krainie Gotów (30 Reasons to Be Proud of Living in the Land of the Goths)* by Professor Andrzej Kokowski, about the most interesting events, discoveries and issues related to the investigations in the Hrubieszów region. The book’s promotion took place during the Archaeological Fête which wrapped up the realisation of the project objectives.

During the several months when the project was being implemented, the expectations of the local community with regard to promoting the archaeological heritage of their village and region were met. The Gothic hut, accompanied by an information panel and figures representing old residents of Masłomęcz became a visible and recognisable element of public space. It also became a springboard for further promotional efforts, which is unquestionably associated with the archaeological episode in the village’s most recent history. The long bibliographical list of scientific publications about the Masłomęcz Goths was expanded to include the popular science book which was the most important one to the villagers (Kokowski 2007). Thirty years after the excavations started in Masłomęcz, a book was written for and about the villagers of Masłomęcz, and dedicated to them. Its title, *30 Reasons to Be Proud of Living in the Land of the Goths*, was a deliberate attempt to draw attention to the specialness of the place from which they come. The book became an invaluable material promoting the Hrubieszów region, because it listed both tourist attractions and places important from the point of view of archaeology. The 2007 project in fact started a series of other large-scale ventures, in which the Hrubieszów Museum played an important role.

In 2008 another project was implemented, together with the Hrubieszów Museum, which was aimed at promoting and reconstructing the cultural heritage of the municipality of Hrubieszów, in particular

the archaeological achievements related to studies on the Gothic civilisation in Masłomęcz. The project "Life in the Land of the Goths – promotion and reconstruction of the cultural heritage of the village of Masłomęcz" was financed by the Civil Initiatives Fund for 2008. The tasks implemented under the project were, however, completely different from the ones started in 2007. This time, the villagers from Masłomęcz and its vicinity were the direct beneficiaries; a series of training sessions showcasing the old crafts and customs of the Goths from the Hrubieszów Basin was organised for them (Figs. 5a, 5b).

The first stage of training for the residents of Masłomęcz involved pottery classes, which would enable them to make earthenware on their own. During the two weeks of regular theoretical and practical classes, following the models of authentic finds from the excavations in Masłomęcz and Gródek, several dozens of clay pots were made under the supervision of an expert ceramicist. The workshop participants had previously acquainted themselves with the entire database of panels, illustrations and photographs. To expand their knowledge before reconstructing the process of making "Gothic" wares, the participants were also acquainted with the exhibits from the Hrubieszów Museum (Figs. 6a, 6b).

The project also included workshops on making ornaments used by the Goths in Antiquity, as well as a series of classes on old weaving techniques. A group of three generations of people wearing Gothic garments made on their own became a recognisable image of the Hrubieszów region. The greatest success was convincing the villagers, who in their day-to-day lives are not at all connected to reconstruction groups, to perform in front of their neighbours and family members in the attire of the old Germanic inhabitants of the Hrubieszów Basin. The official presentation by the group (which has over twenty members) took place in front of the Gothic Hut in August 2008. The event was given a lot of media publicity, comparable to the one which accompanied the most important discoveries in Masłomęcz at the time when the excavations were being carried out there. After several years of absence from the media, thanks to bottom-up initiatives, Masłomęcz took care of the popularisation of its archaeological heritage on its own. All these tasks, carried out by instructors experienced in historical reconstructions, led to integrating the village community, to mobilising a few generations, and to showing ideas for alternative ways



Fig. 5a and **Fig. 5b**. Experimental archaeology illustrated by firing ceramics (Photo by A. Hyrchata)



Fig. 6a and **Fig. 6b.** Popularisation through the recreation of old wool dyeing techniques (Photo by B. Bartecki)

of spending free time. The bottom-up initiative to create a memorial of the archaeological excavations transformed into a social and educational project. It quickly turned out that the skills learned by the “new” Gothic community are desirable to the pupils and teachers from local schools. Living history lessons became an important element of the daily life in the village, which initially brought only satisfaction, but later also became a source of income.

From January until July 2009, another project (under the patronage of the archaeological department of the Hrubieszów Museum) was implemented, aimed at creating an intergenerational team cultivating the cultural and historical heritage of the municipality of Hrubieszów. Its formula was very similar to the 2008 project. Again, the residents of Masłomęcz, under the supervision of experienced instructors (craftspeople, historians, and archaeologists) learned skills related to old

crafts. Over the seven months, the project team organised workshops in Masłomęcz on processing skins, bones, and wood, weaving on vertical looms, as well as ancient cuisine. As part of these activities, experimental archaeology classes were also offered. This training consisted in preparing a large number of ceramic pots modelled on archaeological finds and firing them in an open kiln, using the historical method. The last, most eagerly awaited project, was to assemble, train and equip a group of Gothic warriors. Already at the stage of implementing these tasks in the small village of Masłomęcz in 2008–2009, the bottom-up initiative of the local community was noted and appreciated on a larger, even national scale. The newly created Gothic community was invited to participate in many campaigns promoting local democracy and all sorts of open-air events, during which they presented their skills, attire, and knowledge of ancient Masłomęcz. The reach of Hrubieszów's archaeology again far exceeded the Lublin region. The crowning event of the two projects leading to the creation of a historical reconstruction group was their participation in the Festival of Ancient Culture in the Bulgarian town of Svishtov in September 2009. This event had two aspects to it. On the one hand, this was one of many (as it later turned out) foreign trips during which Hrubieszów's archaeology was promoted; on the other hand, for many members of the Gothic community, this meant overcoming another barrier. The bottom-up initiative of commemorating the excavations carried out in their home village transformed into an opportunity to open up horizons, have new experiences and get to know new people in circles which undertake similar activities. The projects, implemented together by three sectors: the private sector, NGOs, and the local authorities, were the topic of many conference presentations and numerous publications about ways to use EU funds and so-called good practices (e.g. Bartecki 2010; 2012; Kokowski 2011).

Welcome to Gothania

The idea of promoting Masłomęcz's archaeology emerged in a small group of people. From the very beginning, the bottom-up initiatives were consistently supported, in terms of organisation and administration, by the municipality of Hrubieszów, which appreciated the value and significance of its cultural heritage. The Institute of Archaeology of

the Maria Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin and the Hrubieszów Museum were in charge of aspects related to science. The activities undertaken by the residents of Masłomęcz were quickly noted, and their effects far exceeded the borders of the municipality. Accordingly, it was decided to cooperate with many municipalities (*gminas*) from the three neighbouring districts (*powiats*). The experience and achievements of the Gothic community of Masłomęcz in turn became the starting point for much bigger projects. According to the original idea, developed in 2009, the project "Welcome to Gothania" involves generating socio-economic capital through building a supralocal brand, which will be associated by possible investors and tourists with the region of Hrubieszów, Tomaszów and Zamość. Seven municipalities of the Hrubieszów district, two municipalities of the Tomaszów district, and one municipality of the Zamość district participated in the project. According to the partnership agreement, all of them were partners in the project. The territory on which the project was implemented is a homogeneous and uniform area in geographical, socio-economic, historical and cultural terms. Taking advantage of these qualities e.g. for the purpose of developing tourism, and the implementation of common activities related to introducing and promoting a supralocal brand can bring tangible effects of socio-economic development. It is not by coincidence that the project title includes the word "Gothania". Based on the findings of historical studies and archaeological excavations, in the old times the Goths inhabited the region involved in the project and the intention is for the brand to include the Goths, with their wealth of achievements, which the local authorities intend to recreate and use to facilitate economic and cultural success. The partners' initiative to create a brand strategy (using a cohesive system of visual identification, and creating compatible promotional and investment plans intended to develop an infrastructure to introduce the brand) was aimed at increasing the attractiveness and competitiveness of the region and was meant to translate into the municipalities' more rational and effective economy.

The projects started in 2008 by the partnership of municipalities were continued in later years. Masłomęcz's archaeology and the activities of the Gothic group were presented as an example of taking advantage of cultural heritage to create an interesting tourism initiative. The commission which allocates the funds of the Swiss Fund was invited

to Masłomęcz (as a representative locality of the region of Gothania) were it was welcomed very warmly by the villagers wearing Gothic garments. The project “From a vision to modern management of the Gothania subregion”, submitted in partnership, was selected for funding by the Swiss-Polish Cooperation Programme. In this case as well, the objectives, chosen top-down, offered hope that the archaeological heritage would be skilfully and responsibly used. The project is a consequence of a partnership initiative undertaken by the local authorities and is the next, largest step in the direction of creating key product and promotional initiatives specified in the brand strategy, which would attract and keep tourists, which in the intentions of the Brand Strategy of GOTHANIA, completed as part of the first partnership programme “Welcome to Gothania – a project of building and promoting the supralocal brand of the region of Hrubieszów, Tomaszów and Zamość”, will translate into increased income for the municipalities and households of the territory of Gothania. The project tasks, apart from funding new jobs, training, career counselling and study visits to Switzerland, also included the organisation of international promotional events – Festivals of Ancient Culture – Gothania.

Publications

When the “Goths’ Village” Society was established on the initiative of Masłomęcz’s residents, an opportunity arose to obtain funds for the Society’s statutory activities. The earlier projects had been implemented with the help of the municipality of Hrubieszów and the “Better Tomorrow” Local Action Group. After it was registered, the Masłomęcz Society could independently apply for EU funds for activities proposed by its members. New bottom-up initiatives were closely related to the Society’s statute. The first of the independently prepared, implemented and settled projects consisted in publishing a bilingual popular science book entitled *Gocka дума Masłomęcza/ Gothic Pride of Masłomęcz*. The book was meant to be an updated, expanded and translated into English version of the first publication, *30 Reasons to Be Proud of Living in the Land of the Goths*. Since that book had been published, so much changed in Masłomęcz that it was decided together that there was a need for a publication of this kind. The growing interest (also abroad) in the phenomenon of

contemporary Goths from Masłomęcz meant that it was necessary to prepare the book in two languages. In 2012, another project (co-financed by the EU under the Rural Development Programme for 2007–2013) was implemented which resulted in publishing 2,000 copies of a visually attractive, easy to read popular science book (Kokowski [ed.] 2012). Copies of the book were sent to several dozen academic centres in Poland and abroad, but most of them reached those residents of the Hrubieszów region to whom the archaeological topic of the Goths had been almost completely unknown. As a result of sending the book to all libraries in the Hrubieszów district, tourist information centres, and persons who work in tourism, the awareness of the archaeological heritage visibly increased, and Masłomęcz became one of the frequently visited places on the map of the Lublin Voivodeship (Figs. 7a, 7b).

It was also decided, by a group of local community members, to prepare a mobile exhibition, equally visually attractive as the previously published book, consisting of over a dozen thematic panels. In this case, three parallel columns in Polish, English and German, with illustrations and photographs of the original monuments, presented the most important and most interesting issues related to the Gothic migration across Europe, old crafts, and funeral customs. The exhibition, easy to transport, was meant to be lent out free of charge to schools, libraries, community centres and museums. It was also used as an element of exhibitions during conferences and tourism fairs. Apart from the dominant Roman period, the mobile exhibition also included panels about other periods of prehistory, ranging from the Stone Age to the Early Middle Ages (the time when so-called Cherven' Towns existed). This was meant to present other, equally as rich and interesting, archaeological discoveries in the Hrubieszów region.

The Goths' Village open-air museum

The Gothic hut built in 2007 was originally supposed to recall the archaeological discoveries in Hrubieszów. The 1:2 scale model was in fact only a symbolic memorial of the excavations, which could not aspire to the name of an archaeological reconstruction. This was because, at the time when it was decided to construct the building, nobody could have predicted the direction in which this initiative would go.



Fig. 7a and **Fig. 7b**. Publications and exhibitions – joint initiatives of the “Goths’ Village” Society in Masłomęcz and the Hrubieszów Museum



After a Gothic community representing a few generations was created and the historical correctness of the presented aspects of everyday life 1,700 years ago became important, there was a need to build the infrastructure for future popularisation efforts and educational and tourism activities. It turned out that this economically poor region had a chance to build an attractive tourist destination for a specific type of client. The popularity achieved as a result of the efforts of the municipality of Hrubieszów, the Museum, and the Society, as well as the idea of building the local brand of Gothania, meant that it was also noted on the voivodeship level that there was an opportunity to increase visitors' interest in the Lublin Voivodeship. Together with the Society and under the patronage of Hrubieszów, the project "The Goths' Village in Masłomęcz" was conceived, which is being implemented by the municipality of Hrubieszów. The project involves the construction of a large archaeological open-air museum, consisting of over a dozen reconstructed buildings. So far, eight buildings have been completed. The most important one is the so-called longhouse, which is an attempt to reconstruct an 11x21m housing building discovered in Hrubieszów-Podgórze. At the moment the complex consists of several thematic huts related to pottery making, weaving, dyeing, smithery and ancient trade. The buildings are connected by a network of wooden tracks and surrounded by a wattle fence. The main objective of this initiative is to preserve, as much as possible at the moment, the historical correctness of the techniques and materials used in construction. More buildings are planned in the next few years (Figs. 8–10).

The Goths' Village in Masłomęcz is a valuable place in terms of education and entertainment. It is the stage for living history lessons, old crafts workshops and archaeological open-air events. The space is also used for performing archaeological experiments, such as firing pots, preparing food, making and dyeing fabric from the flax which grows in the village, or from sheep wool (sheep, along with goats and geese, are kept in the village).

The open-air museum was opened in May 2014. In the same year, an expanded version of the book about the Gothic pride of Masłomęcz was published (Kokowski [ed.] 2014). The open-air museum has been under the supervision of the Hrubieszów Museum from the very beginning. The Goths' Village has been visited by thousands of visitors from Poland and abroad (Fig. 11).



Fig. 8. Archaeological fêtes in Masłomęcz attract thousands of tourists to the Goths' Village (Photo by Ł. Mazurek)

As a result of the involvement of many people (enthusiasts, scientists, and members of the local authorities), it has been possible to interest the public in the local archaeological heritage without the need to emulate foreign models. Cherven' Towns and Bolesław the Brave's campaign against Kiev in 1018 are talked about here with equal passion as the Gothic funeral customs. Good cooperation, and the local teachers' approach, plays the key role here. As a result of the initiative of a few teachers from the local schools, it was possible to organise classes about the Goths and prepare students to test their knowledge in archaeological contests. A skilful and attractive way of conveying information about the discoveries and participation in events organised by scientists from around the world also made it possible to stir people's imagination with regard to small finds found on regularly ploughed fields. This imagination, shaped – to an extent probably unknowingly – by the archaeologists from Lublin, brought results directly after the excavations had finished. The bottom-up initiative of the local community, the motivation to act in the local environment, and openness to innovative



Fig. 9 and **Fig. 10**. Reconstructed cabins in the Goths' Village (Photo by B. Bartecki)





Fig. 11. Living history lessons in the Goths' Village have become a tourist attraction for all age groups (Photo by B. Bartecki)

ideas started a completely new chapter in the history of Masłomęcz, where the Goths returned to the Hrubieszów Basin.

The community's increased awareness means that cases of accidental discoveries of finds on the surface of freshly ploughed fields are reported more and more frequently. As a result of such reports, it was e.g. possible to examine and publish the results of findings from the Early Bronze Age site in Rogalin (Hyrchała and Bartecki [eds.] 2015), and the early medieval cemetery in Gródek on the Bug. Police officers from the entire Hrubieszów district also show archaeological awareness; knowing to expect new archaeological sites in the region, when informed about an accidental discovery of human bones, they first telephone the Hrubieszów Museum and summon an archaeologist, rather than the district attorney.

References

- Bartecki B. 2010. Powrót Gotów do Kotliny Hrubieszowskiej. *Zamojski Kwartalnik Kulturalny* 3 (104), 94–96.
- Bartecki B. 2012. Wioska Gotów w Masłomęczu / The Goths' Village in Masłomęcz. In A. Kokowski (ed.), *Gocka дума Masłomęczu*. Masłomęcz–Hrubieszów–Lublin: Muzeum im. ks. Stanisława Staszica w Hrubieszowie.
- Bartecki B. and Hyrchała A. 2015. Popularyzacja archeologicznego dziedzictwa regionu w działalności Muzeum im. ks. St. Staszica w Hrubieszowie. In B. Bartecki (ed.), *Biuletyn Towarzystwa Regionalnego Hrubieszowskiego* 51. Hrubieszów: Muzeum im. ks. Stanisława Staszica w Hrubieszowie, 57–72.
- Chowaniec R. 2010. *Dziedzictwo archeologiczne w Polsce. Formy edukacji i popularyzacji*. Warszawa: Instytut Archeologii, Uniwersytet Warszawski.
- Gurba J. (ed.) 2003. *Dwadzieścia pięć lat archeologii w Masłomęczu 1977–2002. Materiały do bibliografii prasowej archeologii w Masłomęczu*. Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej.
- Hyrchała A. and Bartecki B. (eds.) 2015. *Wojownik i księżniczka. Archeologia – medycyna sądowa – sztuka*. Hrubieszów: Muzeum im. ks. Stanisława Staszica w Hrubieszowie.
- Kokowski A. 2004. *Rzecz o przyjaźni czyli ćwierć wieku z archeologią w Masłomęczu (tylko dla dorosłych)*. Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej.
- Kokowski A. 2007. *Trzydzieści powodów do dumy z mieszkania w krainie Gotów*. Hrubieszów-Lublin: Stowarzyszenie Hrubieszowsko-Mireckie „Lepsze Jutro”, Lokalna Grupa Działania. Instytut Archeologii, Uniwersytet Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, Lublin.
- Kokowski A. 2008. *Goci. Od Skandzy do Campi Gothorum (Od Skandynawii do Półwyspu Iberyjskiego)*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo TRIO.
- Kokowski A. 2011. *Archeologia naprawdę żywa*. In M. Ausz, G. Miliszkiewicz, H. Stachyra and D. Szweczek (eds.), *Muzea skansenowskie we współczesnej edukacji historycznej*. Lublin: Polskie Towarzystwo Historyczne. Oddział, 13–24.
- Kokowski A. (ed.) 2012. *Gocka дума Masłomęczu/Gothic pride of Masłomęcz*. Masłomęcz-Hrubieszów-Lublin: Masłomęckie Stowarzyszenie „Wioska Gotów”. Muzeum im. ks. Stanisława Staszica w Hrubieszowie. Instytut Archeologii, Uniwersytet Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, Lublin.
- Kokowski A. (ed.) 2014. *Gocka дума Masłomęczu. Archeologiczne dziedzictwo regionu hrubieszowskiego / Gothic pride of Masłomęcz. Archaeological heritage of Hrubieszów district*. Masłomęcz-Hrubieszów-Lublin: Muzeum im. ks. Stanisława Staszica w Hrubieszowie.
- Kokowski A. 2015. *Pół wieku muzealnictwa w Hrubieszowie w świetle badań archeologicznych na Ziemi Hrubieszowskiej, z kulturą strzyżowską w tle*. In A. Hyrchała and B. Bartecki (eds.), *Wojownik i księżniczka. Archeologia – medycyna sądowa – sztuka*. Hrubieszów: Muzeum im. ks. Stanisława Staszica w Hrubieszowie, 8–19.

Marek Florek*

Some Issues Related to the Problem of Heritage Conservation of Archaeological Complexes in Czermno (Tomaszów Lubelski County) and Gródek (Hrubieszów County)

ABSTRACT

Florek M. 2018. Some Issues Related to the Problem of Heritage Conservation of Archaeological Complexes in Czermno (Tomaszów Lubelski County) and Gródek (Hrubieszów County). *Analecta Archaeologica Ressoiviensia* 13, 357–376

This paper discusses some problems related to the conservation of two archaeological complexes in Czermno and Gródek in the Lublin Voivodeship. Their characteristics and research history are described in detail, along with their preservation state, ownership status, risks, and current heritage conservation activities. The conclusions presented in the paper are related to the need for further scientific, interdisciplinary research, conservation efforts, and changing their protection status as defined by law. Finally, a proposal is made to found a Czermno-Gródek open-air museum, which would make these tasks easier.

Keywords: Czermno, Gródek, heritage conservation, Cherven' Towns

Received: 16.12.2018; **Revised:** 28.12.2018; **Revised:** 28.12.2018; **Accepted:** 30.12.2018

Introduction

The archaeological sites in Czermno (Tomaszów county) and Gródek (Hrubieszów county), in the Lublin Voivodeship are one of the most precious heritage sites on the border between Central and Eastern Europe, bearing witness to the thousands-year-long history of the region.

The Czermno complex consists of a hillfort (the so-called *Zamczysko* [close to the German term Burgstall]), two closed settlements (at least one of which was fortified), open settlements and graveyards from the 10–13th century, and prehistoric sites (Florek 2012; Dzieńkowski and Sadowski 2016; cf. Figs. 1–2). The Gródek / Gródek Nadbużny /

* Institute of Archaeology, Maria Curie-Skłodowska University, Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej 4, 20-031 Lublin, Poland; gflorek@wp.pl

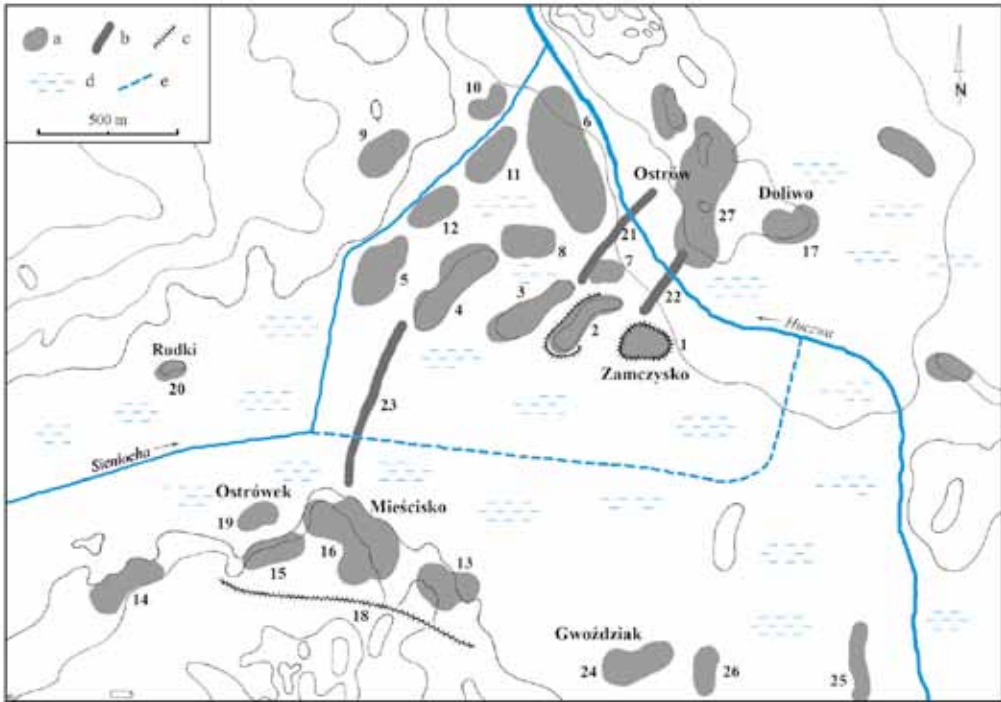


Fig. 1. Czerarno archaeological complex. Legend: a – the most important archaeological sites; b – dikes and footbridges; c – segmented rampart; d – wetlands (peat lands); e – the old bed of the Sieniocha River (Prepared by M. Florek)

Gródek nad Bugiem¹ complex contains both prehistoric and mediaeval archaeological sites, among them: Site 1A – a hillfort; Site 1B – a multi-cultural site; Site 1C covering a wide temporal range, including a large Funnelbeaker Culture settlement and an early mediaeval village and cemetery; Site 1D with a Chernyakhov culture settlement (Kuśnierz 2003; Poppe 1977). The archaeological sites located north of the confluence of the Huczwa and Bug rivers, including early mediaeval settlements and a mound called “The Moon Grave” can also be linked to the Gródek complex (cf. Figs. 3–4). The heritage sites at Czerarno and Gródek have been studied by historians and archaeologists for

¹ The proper administrative name of the village where the settlement complex is situated is Gródek. The name originates from a Slavic word for earthen fortifications or hillforts, and it is a quite commonplace name. Therefore, to distinguish the site in question from other “Gródek” locations, the name of the nearby river is commonly added to that of the village. As a result, in the archaeological literature it is referred to by names such as Gródek Nadbużny and Gródek nad Bugiem (both meaning Gródek upon the Bug River).

over 100 years (Bender *et al.* 1957; Dąbrowska 1974; Florek 2008; Florek 2016; Florkiewicz and Sikora 2016; Florkiewicz and Urbański 2016; Gądzikiewicz 1956; Gumiński 1989; Gurba 2004; Gurba and Urbański 1998; Jastrzębski and Maciejczuk 1988; Jażdżewski 1959; Kokowski 1993; Kokowski and Zakościelna 1988; Kowalczyk 1956; Kuśnierz 2006; Kutylowska 1998; Poklewski 1958; Rajewski 1956; Rauhut 1956a; 1956b; Wołoszyn 2016a; 2016b; Żurowski and Mikołajczyk 1955; for Gródek see now: Wołoszyn [ed.] 2018).

The current state of the Czermino and Gródek complexes

Administrative status

The archaeological sites belonging to the Czermino complex are located within the borders of the Czermino *sołectwo*², in the *gmina* of Tyszowce, and in Tyszowce itself (Tomaszów Lubelski county). Some sites, on the right bank of the Huczwa river, are located within the Wronowice and Turkowice *sołectwa*, in the *gmina* of Werbkowice (Hrubieszów county). The Gródek complex, on the other hand, lies within the boundaries of Gródek and Teptiuków *sołectwa*, and the town of Hrubieszów is in the Hrubieszów county.

Size

The hillfort in Czermino has an area of 1.6 ha, and 12.5 ha when both closed settlements are included. The total area of all the sites in the area of the Sieniocha and Huczwa rivers, including the dikes and bridges which connect them, is about 74 ha; if we include all the settlements and cemeteries within the 2 km radius, then the area of the Czermino complex can be estimated to be within the 150–200 ha range.

The Gródek hillfort (site 1A) has an area of approximately 75 ares. The size of the hillfort and the other sites south of the mouth of the Huczwa river exceeds 53 ha, and when we include the sites north of the Huczwa river, like “The Moon Grave (Księżycowa Mogiła)”, the area of the whole archaeological complex is well over 150 ha.

Ownership and current land use

In the case of the Czermino complex, both the hillfort (plot 49) and the part of land with an observation tower near the Huczwa river

² *Sołectwo* (plural: *sołectwa*) an auxiliary administrative unit of a rural *gmina* (commune, municipality) in Poland.



Fig. 2. Czermno – hillfort (Czermno site 1 – Burgstall). View from the side of the Huczwa (Photo by M. Florek)

(plot 47/2) belong to the *gmina* (Fig. 5). Other land belongs to private persons; most of the land in the Gródek complex is also private property, with the following exceptions: plot 55 with the hillfort (site 1A), plot 197 (partially site 1C), plot 210 (partially site 1D), which belong to the Hrubieszów *gmina*; and also plots 224, 225 and 226 (site 1D), owned by the Polish National Railways. Plot 372 in Teptiuków with “The Moon Grave” also belongs to a *gmina* (Fig. 6).

Most of the land in the Czermno complex is used for agricultural purposes, as meadows, grazing land, and ploughed fields. Some sites also contain houses and farm buildings, surrounded by gardens and orchards. The southern part of the complex is covered by a forest.

The area of the hillfort and plots 244, 245 and 246 of the Gródek 1D site, as well as “The Moon Grave” in Teptiuków are currently wastelands. The remaining archaeological sites of the Gródek complex are used almost exclusively as ploughed fields, accompanied by village buildings.

State of research

Most of the archaeological sites belonging to the Czermno and Gródek complexes have been studied through surface surveys; there have also been some accidental discoveries in the area. It was not until only a couple of years ago that some research was done using non-invasive methods, such as geophysical surveys, electronic prospection, aerial photography, LIDAR measurements, and numeric terrain modelling. Only small parts of both complexes have been excavated.

In Czermno, archaeological digs were conducted primarily in the hillfort area, and also on some other sites (Wołoszyn 2016a; Florkiewicz and Sikora 2016; Florek 2016). Only 5 ares of the hillfort area (Czermno site 1) have been excavated; 6 ares in the area containing both closed settlements; excavations on the other sites, including the Wronowice-Doliwo cemetery, covered 2 ares. In total, an area of 0.12–0.13 ha has been excavated in Czermno.

The situation is only slightly better in Gródek, where 11 ares of the hillfort area (Gródek site 1A) have been excavated – roughly 1/3 of its total area. Archaeological digs were also conducted on sites 1C (0.3 ha) and 1D, “The Moon Grave” in Teptiuków and some other places (e.g. Gródek sites 2 and 3).

Risks to the conservation efforts

There are two kinds of risks that could potentially affect archaeological sites: those caused by natural factors (sometimes influenced by human activities), and those directly anthropogenic. In the case of Gródek, the natural risks are caused mostly by erosion, including abrasion by the flowing water of the Bug and Huczwa rivers. Czermno is affected by the groundwater level changes, which is a result of 50 years of irrigation efforts in the Huczwa and Sieniocha valleys. Plant cover and animal activities are less of a concern.

Much more important risks are related to human activity, including:

- agricultural land use;
- forestry;
- housing development;
- irrigation activities and changes in the water level;
- uncontrolled peat and sand harvesting;
- burning of meadows;

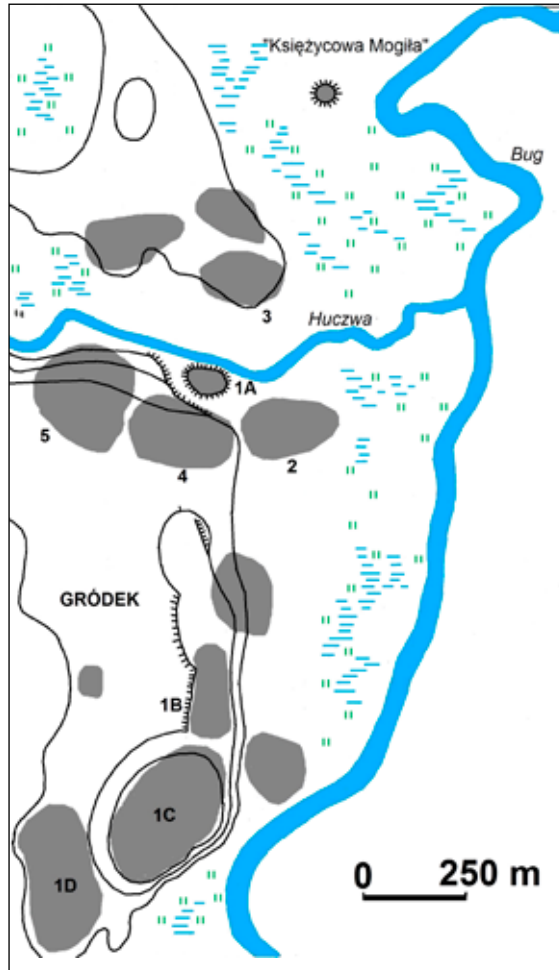


Fig. 3. Gródek archaeological complex. The most important archaeological sites (Prepared by M. Florek)

- illegal garbage dumps;
- illegal excavations by treasure hunters and amateur archaeologists;
- organisation of mass events at archaeological sites or in their direct neighbourhood (e.g. the “Mediaeval Midsummer Festival” in Czerwno).

The current conservation efforts in the Czerwno and Gródek complexes

The fundamental law regulating heritage conservation is the Protection and Heritage Conservation Bill of 23rd July 2003 (*Dziennik Ustaw* 2018, 2067). It describes the following ways of heritage protection:



Fig. 4. Gródek hillfort (Gródek site 1A – Burgstall). View from the south-east, as photographed in 1977 (Photo by K. Garbacz)

- adding an entry to the heritage register;
- adding an entry to the List of Heritage Treasures (movable heritage only);
- designating a site as a monument of history;
- creating a cultural park;
- modifying local area development plans, or – if no such plans exist – individual decisions made by the local government of a *gmina*, council or voivodeship, based on the local (*gmina's*) heritage register.

The conservation efforts in Czeremno

The first efforts to protect the archaeological sites in the Czeremno area were made in the 1920s. Ploughing and animal grazing in the hillfort area was forbidden, only mowing hay was allowed. The other archaeological sites in the complex were not protected in any way. The hillfort was entered in the heritage register on 20th October 1967, by a decision of the voivodeship conservation office in Lublin, although in the text of the entry the boundaries of the conserved area were



Fig. 5. Czermino archaeological complex. Areas owned by the commune (Prepared by M. Florek)

not defined, and the ownership was not stated correctly. In 1988, the voivodeship conservation office in Zamość made another decision about the hillfort entry in the heritage register, because of the administrative changes (after 1975 Czermino belonged to the Zamość voivodeship), and the need to correct the erroneous ownership data. This time, the decision was accompanied by a map defining the protected area. Another update to the heritage register was introduced in 2008, as a consequence of another administrative reform in Poland.

Currently, only the hillfort (Czermino site 1) on plot 49 and the closed settlements (Czermino site 2) on plots 42/2, 48/3, 48/4, 48/5 are entered in the heritage register (Fig. 7). The other sites are not, although they are on the voivodeship archaeological heritage list.

The *gmina* of Tyszowce (which contains most of the complex's archaeological sites) does not have a local heritage register, nor a heritage conservation programme. There is also no local development plan for the whole *gmina*, apart from the urbanised area of Tyszowce.

In the voivodeship development plan of 2015 there was a suggestion to create a Tyszowce Cultural Park, which would include Czermino. The

same document also contained a proposal to create a Tyszowce Protected Landscape Area, or a Sieniocha Valley Protected Landscape Area, which would cover the peat bogs in the Huczwa and Sieniocha valley, as well as the area containing the Czermno archaeological sites. No steps have been taken so far to implement these plans.

The conservation efforts in Gródek

In 1988 the Gródek hillfort (site 1A, plot 55) was entered in the heritage register, as were the multi-cultural settlement and the cemetery (site 1C, plots 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 203, 204, 206, 207, 613). In 1995, also the Chernyakhov culture settlement and the cemetery (site 1D, plots 208, 209, 210, 224, 225, 226) were added to the register. “The Moon Grave” mound in Teptiuków was entered in the heritage register in 1991, with the plot number 372 where it is located (Figs. 8–9).

The other archaeological sites in the complex are inventoried only in the local voivodeship’s and *gmina*’s heritage listings. Additionally, the *gmina* of Hrubieszów has a local development plan of 2004, which contains the known archaeological sites, including the Gródek complex.

In 1997 the Bug Protected Area was created, to help conserve non-forest ecosystems of the Bug valley, which contained parts of Horodło, Hrubieszów and Mircze *gminas*, including the archaeological sites of Gródek. Also, in the development plan for the Lublin Voivodeship of 2015 there was a suggestion to create a Hrubieszów Cultural Park, which would contain the Gródek archaeological sites.

Using archaeological complexes in Czermno and Gródek for the popularisation and promotion of archaeological heritage

Until very recently, the archaeological sites in Czermno and Gródek were virtually unknown among the general public. It was not until the discovery of two silver adornments in Czermno, which received the National Geographic “Travelers” award for the scientific discovery of the year in 2011, and a follow-up exhibition (see Bagińska *et al.* 2012), that more interest was sparked. The most tangible outcomes included the construction of a viewing tower near the hillfort, and the organisation of a cyclical archaeological festival, “Mediaeval Midsummer Eve”. The archaeological complex in Gródek remains unknown to the general public, although a few kilometres away there is a small open-



Fig. 6. Gródek archaeological complex. 1 – areas owned by the commune; 2 – areas owned by the state (Prepared by M. Florek)

air museum – the “Goths’ Village” in Masłomęcz, run by the local Masłomęcz Goth’s Village Society.

Conclusions and recommendations

Heritage protection of the archaeological complexes in Czerwno and Gródek

In the case of Czerwno it is recommended to exclude the most important parts of the archaeological complex (i.e. both closed settlements, sites 2 and 3, and those located between the Huczwa and Sieniocha rivers) from agricultural land use and other land modification projects. It is also necessary to make a new decision to enter these sites in the heritage register, rather than just update the old entries, in order

to protect the whole area between the Huczwa river, the Tyszowce-Czermno road, and the current and former Sieniocha riverbed. The segmented rampart needs a separate entry in the register.

Due to its size and ownership structure, it is unlikely that the whole complex of Czermno could be entered into the heritage register. To remedy that, it is recommended to create a local heritage inventory for the Tyszowce *gmina*, which would include all immovable heritage. The next step should be creating the Tyszowce Protected Landscape Area, as described in the development plan for the Lublin Voivodeship. These actions would serve to protect not only particular archaeological sites, but the whole cultural landscape of the Huczwa valley.

The actions described above cannot reduce the risks related to land use, and it is usually not possible to change land use practices without changing the ownership structure (see Florek 2015, 244–246). The next stage should therefore include changing the ownership – by means of buyouts or takeovers – of the most important archaeological sites, and making them a property of the *gmina* or the State Treasury. Both closed settlements should be prioritised, along with the meadow terrain between them, the hillfort and the Huczwa river.

In the case of the Gródek complex, its entry in the heritage register also needs to be updated, and the land use of the archaeological sites changed (although the latter might be difficult without changing the ownership). It is also recommended to create the Hrubieszów Cultural Park mentioned in the development plan of the Lublin Voivodeship.

Finally, the location of the “Mediaeval Midsummer Eve” festival ought to be moved away from the archaeological sites and the area should be monitored to protect the sites from treasure hunters.

Future research

The complexes in Czermno and Gródek are still largely unexplored, and because of the existing risks and their current degradation level, continuing archaeological research should be the top priority. In the first stage, rescue excavations should be conducted on the most endangered, and at the same time, most interesting sites, like the Czermno cemeteries (Czermno site 3, Wronowice site 1), and “The Moon Grave” in the Gródek complex. It is recommended that the scientific investigations should be completed by one institution, which would ensure consistent research and dissemination methods, lower costs, and would prevent the



Fig. 7. Czerwno archaeological complex. Areas entered in the heritage register (Prepared by M. Florek)

dispersion of archaeological materials. At the same time, the research conducted in the past should be published.

Popularisation of archaeological heritage

In view of the great cultural value of archaeological heritage such as the Czerwno and Gródek complexes, and considering the fact that Cherven' Towns are common heritage of both Poland and Ukraine, they deserve to be better recognised and popularised among the general public. Their accessibility and attractiveness could be increased by:

- including both complexes in the tourist route network;
- plotting walking paths within the archaeological sites;
- presenting results of archaeological research;
- reconstructing fragments of hillfort walls and buildings;
- including the sites in Czerwno and Gródek in archaeological festivals and other similar events;
- reconstructing elements of destroyed constructions (e.g. “The Moon Grave” mound in Teptiuków, the segmented rampart in Czerwno);

- creating a regional tourist route “Historical tour: Zamość–Komarów–Czermno–Gródek–Horodlo–Dubienka–Chełm–Stołpie–Busówno–Cyców–Lublin”, mentioned in the development plan for the Lublin Voivodeship.

Of course, the proposals listed above should not endanger the conservation efforts or disturb scientific research.

The Czermno–Gródek open-air museum project

The implementation of some of the above-mentioned recommendations belongs directly to the local government, both on the *gmina* and voivodeship level, and to the state administration, mainly the voivodeship conservation office (e.g. maintaining the heritage register, area development planning, creation of protected areas). However, they will not solve all issues related to heritage conservation, including problems related to the change of land use and land ownership.

Taking into consideration the potential and characteristics of the Czermno and Gródek complexes, it appears that the best solution could be to create a special administrative unit, which could cooperate with the local government and national administration, and participate in conservation activities, scientific research, and their publication and popularisation. The creation of such a unit – the Czermno–Gródek open-air museum – is consistent with the recommendations included in the 2015 local area development plan of the Lublin Voivodeship.

The goals of the proposed open-air museum would include:

- countering the existing risks by changing the land use of the Czermno and Gródek archaeological sites;
- administration of the land belonging to the *gmina* or the State Treasury, ensuring its conservation and proper development for scientific, popularisation, and commercial (promotional and tourist) purposes;
- organisation of buyouts of the private land which belongs to both archaeological complexes;
- the coordination of multidisciplinary research on Cherven’ Towns, and the other sites in the area; conducting its own research; storing, preserving, and disseminating movable heritage, osteological materials, as well as documentation from current and past research activities;
- popularisation of the subject of Cherven’ Towns and archaeological heritage conservation.

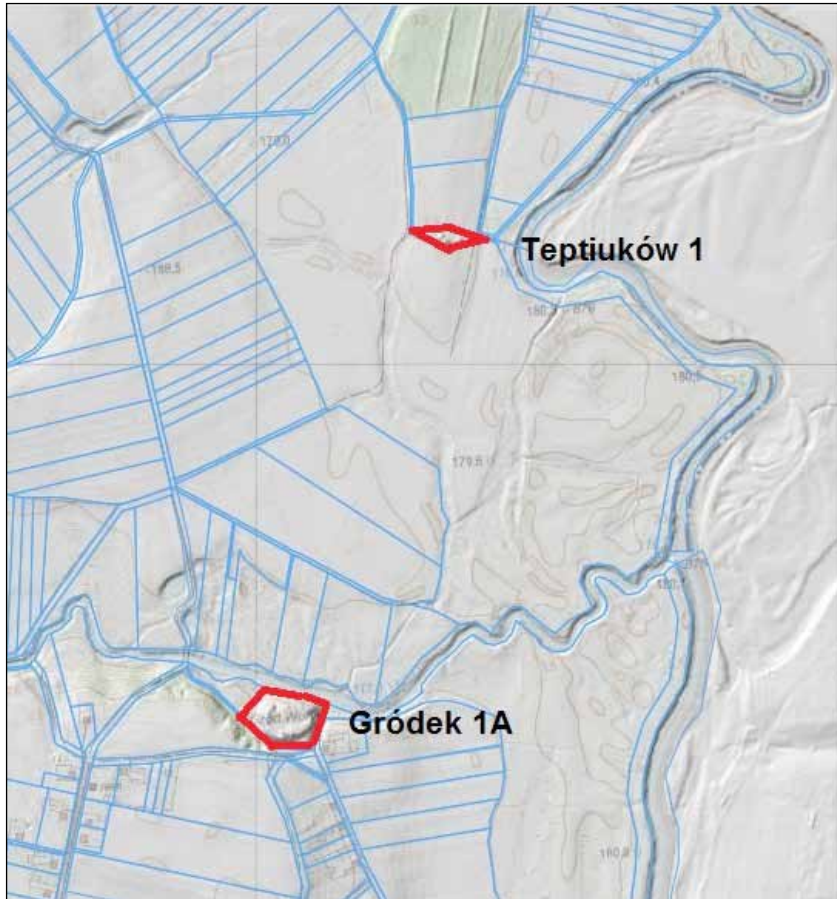


Fig. 8. Gródek archaeological complex. Areas of sites: Gródek 1A (“Burgstall”) and Teptiuków 1 (“Moon Grave”) listed in the heritage register (Prepared by M. Florek)

It is recommended that the open-air museum should include at least the hillfort in Gródek (plot 55), Czermno with both closed settlements (sites 1–3) and the neighbouring terrain (plots 5/5, 15/7, 16/8, 16/11, 16/12, 22/1, 22/2, 23/1, 23/2, 23/3, 24/1, 24/2, 25/1, 25/2, 25/3, 26/1, 26/2, 26/3, 26/4, 48/1, 48/2, 48/3, 48/4, 48/5, 49). The other sites could form a protective boundary area, e.g. as part of a cultural park, managed by the museum.

The open-air museum should consist of:

- exhibition pavilion(s), storage and administrative buildings, including a conference hall;

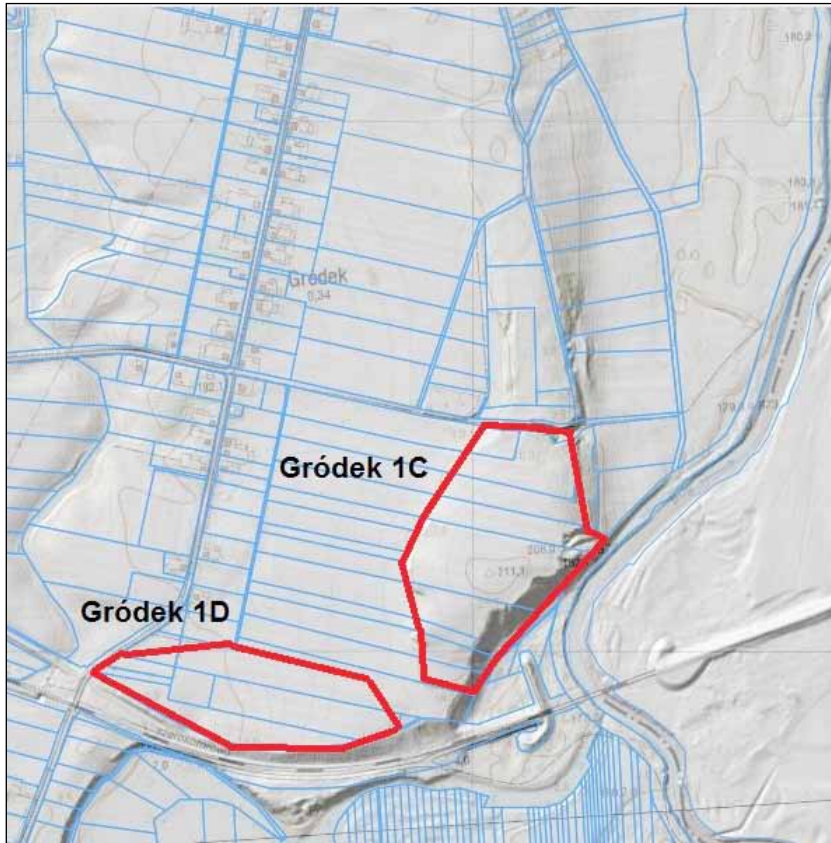


Fig. 9. Gródek archaeological complex. Areas of the sites Gródek 1C ("Castle", "Horodyszczce") and Gródek 1D (6) listed in the heritage register (Prepared by M. Florek)

- infrastructure enabling visitors to access archaeological sites, and the organisation of open-air events (car parks, walking paths, viewing sites, sanitary infrastructure);
- reconstructions of hillfort walls and buildings;
- restored elements discovered during archaeological excavations (bridges and other wooden constructions, a cross-section of the segmented rampart).

The most optimal arrangement would see the above-mentioned attractions in Czeremo, and restricting the infrastructure in Gródek only to improving the site's accessibility. It is also possible, although less desirable, to have administrative and exhibition buildings away from both Czeremo and Gródek.

The open-air museum could be created as a completely new museum institution (on the voivodeship level), which may appear to be the most costly and difficult way. Alternatively, it could be formed as a branch of one of the existing museums: the Regional Museum in Tomaszów, the Regional Museum in Hrubieszów, the Zamojski Museum in Zamość or the Museum of Lublin. Finally, it is also possible to create a consortium of the museums in Zamość, Hrubieszów and Tomaszów just to run the open-air museum.

The foundation and the running costs should be funded from the voivodeship budget, as managed by the voivodeship marshal, from operational programmes, and co-funded by the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage. Regardless of the chosen variant, scientific supervision over the museum should be provided by the FILIOQUE National Research Centre³.

While founding the open-air museum would not be an easy task, it would certainly improve the heritage protection of the archaeological complexes in Czeremno and Gródek, make scientific investigations of these sites easier, popularise them among the general public, and help develop the whole region.

References

- Bender W., Kierzkowska E., Kierzkowski K., and Bronicka-Rauhutowa J. 1957. Badania w Gródku Nadbużnym w pow. Hrubieszowskim w 1955. *Sprawozdania Archeologiczne* 3, 169–189.
- Bagińska J., Piotrowski M. and Wołoszyn M. (eds.) 2012. *Czerwień – gród między Wschodem a Zachodem. Katalog wystawy*. Tomaszów Lubelski–Leipzig–Lublin–Rzeszów: Muzeum Regionalne im. dr. Janusza Petera w Tomaszowie Lubelskim. Instytut Archeologii, Uniwersytet Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, Lublin. Instytut Archeologii, Uniwersytet Rzeszowski, Rzeszów. Geisteswissenschaftliches Zentrum Geschichte und Kultur Ostmitteleuropas (GWZO) an der Universität Leipzig, Leipzig. Miasto Tyszowce.
- Dąbrowska T. 1974. Cmentarzysko kultury czerniachowskiej w Gródku Nadbużnym, pow. Hrubieszów. *Wiadomości Archeologiczne* 39, 229–236.
- Dziennik Ustaw 2018, 2067. *Ustawa z dnia 23 lipca 2003 r. o ochronie zabytków i opiece nad zabytkami. Tekst jednolity*.
- Dzieńkowski T. and Sadowski S. 2016. Surface surveys within the area of the settlement complex in Czeremno. In M. Florek and M. Wołoszyn (eds.), *The early medieval settlement complex at Czeremno in the light of results from past research (up to 2010)*. *Material evidence = Wczesnośredniowieczny zespół*

³ For FILIOQUE see introduction to this volume: Florkiewicz and Wołoszyn 2018.

- osadniczy w Czermnie w świetle wyników badań dawnych (do 2010). *Podstawy źródłowe*, vol. I (= *U Źródeł Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej / Frühzeit Ostmitteleuropas 2/1*). Kraków–Leipzig–Rzeszów–Warszawa: Geisteswissenschaftliches Zentrum Geschichte und Kultur Ostmitteleuropas, Leipzig. Instytut Archeologii i Etnologii Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Warszawa. Instytut Archeologii Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego, 85–93.
- Florek M. 2008. Issues concerning the existence and functions of the so-called great kurgans in Małopolska in early phases of the Early Middle Ages. *Analecta Archaeologica Ressoviensia* 3, 273–296.
- Florek M. 2012. Badania archeologiczne wczesnośredniowiecznego zespołu osadniczego w Czermnie nad Huczwą (do roku 2008). In J. Bagińska, M. Piotrowski and M. Wołoszyn (eds.), *Czerwień – gród między Wschodem a Zachodem. Katalog wystawy*. Tomaszów Lubelski–Leipzig–Lublin–Rzeszów: Geisteswissenschaftliches Zentrum Geschichte und Kultur Ostmitteleuropas, Leipzig. Instytut Archeologii i Etnologii Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Warszawa. Instytut Archeologii Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego, 117–122.
- Florek M. 2015. Między teorią a praktyką. Ochrona dziedzictwa archeologicznego z perspektywy praktyki konserwatorskiej (na przykładach Delegatury w Sandomierzu Wojewódzkiego Urzędu Ochrony Zabytków w Kielcach). *Raport* 10, 233–262.
- Florek M. 2016. *The history of the archaeological research on the hillfort complex at Czermnio (1972–1997)*. In M. Florek and M. Wołoszyn (eds.), *The early medieval settlement complex at Czermnio in the light of results from past research (up to 2010). Material evidence / Wczesnośredniowieczny zespół osadniczy w Czermnie w świetle wyników badań dawnych (do 2010). Podstawy źródłowe*, vol. I (= *U Źródeł Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej / Frühzeit Ostmitteleuropas 2/1*). Kraków–Leipzig–Rzeszów–Warszawa: Geisteswissenschaftliches Zentrum Geschichte und Kultur Ostmitteleuropas, Leipzig. Instytut Archeologii i Etnologii Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Warszawa. Instytut Archeologii Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego, Rzeszów, 241–273.
- Florek M. and Wołoszyn M. (eds.) 2016. *The early medieval settlement complex at Czermnio in the light of results from past research (up to 2010). Material evidence/Wczesnośredniowieczny zespół osadniczy w Czermnie w świetle wyników badań dawnych (do 2010). Podstawy źródłowe*, vol. I (= *U Źródeł Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej / Frühzeit Ostmitteleuropas 2/1*). Kraków–Leipzig–Rzeszów–Warszawa: Geisteswissenschaftliches Zentrum Geschichte und Kultur Ostmitteleuropas, Leipzig. Instytut Archeologii i Etnologii Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Warszawa. Instytut Archeologii Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego, Rzeszów.
- Florkiewicz I. and Sikora P. 2016. Remarks on the excavation conducted in Czermnio 1952. In M. Florek and M. Wołoszyn (eds.), *The early medieval settlement complex at Czermnio in the light of results from past research (up to 2010). Material evidence / Wczesnośredniowieczny zespół osadniczy w Czermnie w świetle wyników badań dawnych (do 2010). Podstawy źródłowe*, vol. I (= *U Źródeł Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej / Frühzeit Ostmitteleuropas 2/1*). Kraków–Leipzig–Rzeszów–Warszawa: Geisteswissenschaftliches Zentrum Geschichte und Kultur Ostmitteleuropas, Leipzig. Instytut Archeologii

- i Etnologii Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Warszawa. Instytut Archeologii Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego, Rzeszów, 219–223.
- Florkeiwicz I. and Urbański A. 2016. Czermno, site IIG. Wooden structures discovered in 1985. In M. Florek and M. Wołoszyn (eds.), *The early medieval settlement complex at Czermno in the light of results from past research (up to 2010). Material evidence / Wczesnośredniowieczny zespół osadniczy w Czermnie w świetle wyników badań dawnych (do 2010). Podstawy źródłowe*, vol. I (= *U Źródła Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej / Frühzeit Ostmitteleuropas 2/1*). Kraków–Leipzig–Rzeszów–Warszawa: Geisteswissenschaftliches Zentrum Geschichte und Kultur Ostmitteleuropas, Leipzig. Instytut Archeologii i Etnologii Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Warszawa. Instytut Archeologii Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego, Rzeszów, 385–391.
- Florkeiwicz I. and Wołoszyn M. 2018. Early medieval central places in today rural areas. Between research, preservation and re-enactment. An Introduction. *Analecta Archaeologica Ressoiviensia* 13, 11–32.
- Gądzikiewicz M. 1956. Sprawozdanie tymczasowe z badań prowadzonych w 1954 r. na stanowisku 2 (Podgródzie) w Gródku Nadbużnym, pow. Hrubieszów. *Sprawozdania Archeologiczne* 2, 69–74.
- Gumiński W. 1989. *Gródek Nadbużny. Osada kultury pucharów lejkowatych*. Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk–Łódź: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich.
- Gurba J. 2004. Wczesnośredniowieczny Czerwień i Grody Czerwieńskie na pograniczu polsko-ruskim. In H. Maruszczak and Z. Michalczyk (eds.), *Geograficzne problemy pogranicza Europy Zachodniej i Wschodniej*. Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 53–60.
- Gurba J. and Urbański A. 1998. Nowe materiały do datowania drewnianych konstrukcji zespołu grodowego „Czerwień” w Czermnie. *Archeologia Polski Środkowowschodniej* 3, 159–165.
- Jastrzębski S. and Maciejczuk J. 1988. Grób wczesnośredniowieczny z Gródka nad Bugiem, stan. 1 C, woj. zamojskie. In G. Labuda and S. Tabaczyński (eds.), *Studia nad etnogenезą Słowian i kulturą Europy wczesnośredniowiecznej*, vol. II. Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk–Łódź. Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wrocław, 56–61.
- Jażdżewski K. 1958. Ogólne wiadomości o Czermnie-Czerwieniu. *Archeologia Polski* 4, 67–86.
- Kokowski A. 1993. *Gródek nad Bugiem. Cmentarzysko grupy masłomęckiej*. Lublin. Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii-Curie Skłodowskiej.
- Kokowski A. and Zakościelna A. 1988. Grób kultury wołyńsko-lubelskiej ceramiki malowanej z Gródka nad Bugiem, stan, 1C, gm. Hrubieszów, woj. zamojskie. *Sprawozdania Archeologiczne* 39, 59–67.
- Kowalczyk J. 1956. Osada kultury pucharów lejkowatych w miejscowości Gródek Nadbużny, pow. Hrubieszów w świetle badań 1954 r. *Wiadomości Archeologiczne* 23, 23–48.
- Kuśnierz J. 2003. Historia i stan badań latopisowych grodów Czerwień i Wołyń oraz ich okolic. *Zamojsko-Wołyńskie Zeszyty Muzealne* 1, 9–26.
- Kuśnierz J. 2006. Z badań nad militarnym znaczeniem Gródka nad Bugiem (Wołyń) we wczesnym średniowieczu. *Acta Militaria Mediaevalia* 2, 79–101.

- Kutyłowska I. 1998. Osada rzemieślnicza w Czermnie Kolonii, stan. 3, woj. zamojskie. *Archeologia Polski Środkowowschodniej* 3, 167–170.
- Poklewski T. 1958. Osada kultury pucharów lejkowatych w Gródku Nadbużnym, pow. Hrubieszów (stanowisko 1C). *Archeologia Polski* 2, 287–328.
- Poppe A. 1977. Wołyń. In G. Labuda and Z. Stieber (eds.), *Słownik Starożytności Słowiańskich*, vol. VI. Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 587–589.
- Rajewski Z. 1956. Sprawozdanie z badań na Grodach Czerwieńskich w 1954 roku. *Sprawozdania Archeologiczne* 2, 49–53.
- Rauhut L. 1956a. Sprawozdanie z badań w 1954 r. nad konstrukcją wału grodowego w Gródku Nadbużnym. *Sprawozdania Archeologiczne* 2, 65–68.
- Rauhut L. 1956b. Średniowieczne cmentarzysko szkieletowe na stanowisku 1A w Gródku Nadbużnym. *Sprawozdania Archeologiczne* 2, 78–81.
- Wołoszyn M. 2016a. Cherven' Town that is the golden apple of Polish archaeology – assumptions and implementation of an international research project. In M. Florek and M. Wołoszyn (eds.), *The early medieval settlement complex at Czermnno in the light of results from past research (up to 2010). Material evidence = Wczesnośredniowieczny zespół osadniczy w Czermnie w świetle wyników badań dawnych (do 2010). Podstawy źródłowe*, vol. I (= *U źródeł Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej / Frühzeit Ostmitteleuropas 2/1*). Kraków–Leipzig–Rzeszów–Warszawa: Geisteswissenschaftliches Zentrum Geschichte und Kultur Ostmitteleuropas, Leipzig. Instytut Archeologii i Etnologii Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Warszawa. Instytut Archeologii Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego, Rzeszów, 13–22.
- Wołoszyn M. 2016b. The archaeological fieldwork in Czermnno in 1940. In M. Florek and M. Wołoszyn (eds.), *The early medieval settlement complex at Czermnno in the light of results from past research (up to 2010). Material evidence = Wczesnośredniowieczny zespół osadniczy w Czermnie w świetle wyników badań dawnych (do 2010). Podstawy źródłowe*, vol. I (= *U źródeł Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej / Frühzeit Ostmitteleuropas 2/1*). Kraków–Leipzig–Rzeszów–Warszawa: Geisteswissenschaftliches Zentrum Geschichte und Kultur Ostmitteleuropas, Leipzig. Instytut Archeologii i Etnologii Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Warszawa. Instytut Archeologii Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego, Rzeszów, 197–200.
- Wołoszyn M. (ed.) 2018. The early medieval settlement complex at Gródek upon the Bug River in the light of results from past research (1952–1955). Material evidence = Wczesnośredniowieczny zespół osadniczy w Gródku nad Bugiem w świetle wyników badań dawnych (1952–1955). *Podstawy źródłowe* (= *U źródeł Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej / Frühzeit Ostmitteleuropas 4*). Kraków–Leipzig–Rzeszów–Warszawa: Leibniz-Institut für Geschichte und Kultur des östlichen Europa (GWZO), Leipzig. Instytut Archeologii i Etnologii Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Warszawa. Instytut Archeologii Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego.
- Żurowski K. and Mikołajczyk G. 1955. Sprawozdanie z badań kurhanu we wsi Husynne w pow. hrubieszowskim w 1954 r. *Sprawozdania Archeologiczne* 1, 251–256.

DOI: DOI: 10.15584/anarres.2018.13.18

Jan Gancarski*, Paweł Madej**

The Carpathian Troy Archaeological Open-Air Museum in Trzcinica as a Proposal of Using an Archaeological Site for Tourism and Protection of Cultural Heritage

ABSTRACT

Gancarski J., Madej P. 2018. The Carpathian Troy Archaeological Open-Air Museum in Trzcinica as a Proposal of Using an Archaeological Site for Tourism and Protection of Cultural Heritage. *Analecta Archaeologica Ressoiviensia* 13, 377–400

The Royal Earthworks hillfort in Trzcinica is one of the most important archaeological sites in Poland, where strongly fortified settlements of the Pleszów group of the Mierzanowice culture and the Otomani-Füzesabony culture, as well as an early medieval stronghold, were discovered. Interdisciplinary research has brought excellent results and numerous prehistoric artefacts have been discovered there. The fortification, chronology and stratigraphy were well recognised. The idea to build an Archaeological Open-Air Museum named the Carpathian Troy appeared in 1998, owing to amazing research results, mass tourism and further, the desire to provide archaeological discoveries to the public. Therefore, a scientific concept was prepared and after numerous consultations, the area for the construction of the archaeological open-air museum was bought and an architectural design was planned, which was to include the area of the hillfort and the terrain located at its foot. The Carpathian Troy Archaeological Open-Air Museum in Trzcinica is a branch of the Subcarpathian Museum in Krosno. The funds from the Norwegian EEA Financial Mechanism and from the local governments were obtained for the building, which was carried out in 2008–2011, and the opening took place in June 2011. The archaeological open-air museum occupies an area of over 8 ha. On the hillfort, nine sections of defensive ramparts, a fragment of the road and the gate, as well as two Otomani-Füzesabony culture cottages, an early medieval gate and four early medieval cottages were reconstructed. Paths for visitors were also built. At the foot of the hillfort, an Archaeological Park and exhibition pavilion were created. In the Archaeological Park, Otomani-Füzesabony culture and early medieval settlements were reconstructed. The Exhibition Pavilion contains an archaeological exhibition, rooms for an educational shelter, an office, a warehouse and a room for technical purposes. As part of subsequent undertakings implemented with EU funds and as a part of cross-border Polish-Slovakian projects, a viewing tower, an educational shelter, a livestock sector, and experimental plots were created and a section of an early medieval rampart was reconstructed. The Carpathian Troy Archaeological Open-air Museum in Trzcinica is a centre of tourism, education and experimental archaeology as well as a research centre.

Keywords: The Carpathian Troy Archaeological Open-Air Museum, Trzcinica, Bronze Age, Otomani-Füzesabony Culture, Early Medieval Period, Hillfort

Received: 22.12.2018; **Revised:** 28.12.2018; **Revised:** 28.12.2018; **Accepted:** 30.12.2018

* Subcarpathian Museum in Krosno, Piłsudskiego 16, 38-400 Krosno, Poland; dyrekcja@muzeum.krosno.pl

** The Carpathian Troy Open Air Museum, 38-207 Przysieki Trzcinica 646, Poland; pawel.madej@karpackatroja.pl.

Trzcinica is a village in south-eastern Poland, a few kilometres northwest of Jasło. There is a settlement which has been referred to as the “Royal Earthworks” for centuries. It claimed the attention of archaeologists already in the 19th c. and in the 20th c. numerous archaeological excavations were conducted there. It was investigated by archaeologists in the 1950s and 1960s as well as in 1991–1998 and 2005–2009. The interdisciplinary scientific research carried out by Jan Gancarski since 1991, covering an area of more than 20 ares (Gancarski 2003; 2006), has brought excellent results. The defensive settlements from the Early Bronze Age found and examined in the area are one of the oldest found hitherto in Poland with the earliest signs of the influence of the Anatolian-Balkan Civilisation. Numerous artefacts have been discovered there, including many unique ones, such as prehistoric artwork and ceramic, bronze, bone, amber, silver, and even gold artefacts. Diverse cultural influences merged and overlapped there. This place belongs to the most important archaeological sites in Poland (Gancarski 2006).

In 2100–1650 BC Trzcinica was inhabited by a community belonging to the Pleszów Group of the Mierzanowice Culture (Gancarski 1999). This group was formed under the influence of the South on the outlived Corded Ware Culture and ceased to exist following the arrival of highly populated groups of the Otomani-Füzesabony Culture in the Polish Carpathians from the south and the cultural penetration of the Trzciniec Culture from the north (Gancarski 1994).

Then, in 1650–1350 BC Trzcinica was occupied by a community belonging to the Transcarpathian Otomani-Füzesabony Culture. Driven away from the south, they crossed the Carpathians and settled in the basin of the rivers of Dunajec, Wisłoka, Wisłok and San (Gancarski 1994; 2002) and probably took over the settlement of the Pleszów Group in Trzcinica in a peaceful manner. At its apogee, the settlement occupied an area of about 2 ha. Already in 1993, during the conference “The State of Archaeological Research in the Polish Carpathians” held in Trzcinica, Profesor Jan Machnik referred to the site as “Carpathian Troy”. Trzcinica also boasts the oldest and one of the best-preserved Slavonic settlements in Poland (780–1030 AD), occupying an area of almost 3 ha (Gancarski and Poleski 2006).

The early medieval Trzcinica stronghold was built partially in place of and on top of the defensive structures from the Early Bronze Age.



Fig. 1. Bird's-eye view of the Royal Earthworks (Photo by J. Gancarski)

Its dimensions are 115 by 275 m. The present layout of the earthworks reflects the early medieval system of fortifications. The hillfort consisted of four distinct components: the main, one called the court and three wards (Fig. 1). On the west side, where the access to the hillfort was the easiest, three wards were built in the Early Middle Ages, surrounded by rings of ramparts at intervals of 60 to 70 m from one another. The earthwork around the first ward goes up to 5 m in height; the one around the second ward is the tallest and is over 9 m high and 22–24 m thick at its base. The earthwork around the third ward is the lowest and reaches 2 m. The walls around the first and second ward also protected a part of the hillfort's ward on the south side, and the wall around the third ward protected the second ward on the north. At present, the wall surrounding the third ward from the west and the walls surrounding the second ward from the south and north are the lowest. The remains of moats are clearly visible, which were not too deep and their bottom would frequently reach the strongly weathered bedrock. All the earthworks were built of earth and wood using the alternating-layer, palisade, latticework, and perhaps crate construction techniques. The wood usually used for the construction was the *Quercus*

oak (see Lityńska-Zajac and Gancarski 2003; 2006; Gancarski and Poleski 2006). The construction of this stronghold called for a great amount of labour, and a high level of engineering skills. The hillfort was surrounded by a few open settlements.

Thanks to its inaccessibility, the area of the hillfort has never been cultivated. However, landslide processes and human activity made considerable damage to the area any way. The earthwork of the first ward slid into the creek below already in the 19th c. Due to a strong landslide resulting from long-lasting rain in the first decade of the 21st c., there was a danger that the promontory might be cut off and the site destroyed. The earthwork on the southern side was being damaged in a few places by a dirt road. There are areas with traces of pits and furrows resulting from forest exploitation, as well as traces of WWI trenches in the earthworks on the side of the Ropa River Valley. Felling trees and especially transporting them have resulted in damaging, exposing and erosion of the slopes. In several places, on the northern and eastern side of the hillfort, there were small landslides in the past due to the construction of a railway and the activity of foxes and other animals. The southern slopes of the promontory were also considerably transformed as a result of farming, forming field terraces and the construction of a detached house in the 1970s. The Royal Earthworks, situated near the city, have always attracted crowds of locals and tourists interested in the unique lie of the land. The hill was covered with a mixed forest dominated by hornbeam and oak. A very large number of exceptional monuments was obtained as a result of recent excavations which contributed to broadening the knowledge about the stratigraphy and the defensive structures of the site. There was great interest in the findings from the media, the local population and tourists, who started to visit the place in growing numbers, causing a systematic, slow degradation of the earthworks. This area became very attractive for quad enthusiasts as it was the perfect place to practise extreme quad driving; it was also the destination of horse-riding trips organised by local stables. Such activities began to pose a rapidly growing threat to the unique cultural heritage of the area. The only action to prevent further destruction was to buy the land, fence it off and keep it under constant surveillance. This place, widely promoted, became the pride of the local community and local authorities. It also seemed important to make it available to researchers and the general public. The only way

to achieve this goal was to create an archaeological open-air museum within the structures of a registered museum with appropriate factual knowledge combined with organisational and financial capabilities. The idea to open an archaeological open-air museum within the hillfort and the area at its foot, not yet under preservation, arose in 1998, with a plan to create an archaeological park and facilities necessary for the functioning of the archaeological open-air museum. The preparation of the scientific concept of the facility involved an in-depth study of the existing archaeological open-air museums in Europe and of the discoveries made to date involving the Mierzanowice Culture, the Otomani-Füzesabony Culture and the culture of the Slavs from the Early Middle Ages. The studies were supplemented by consultations with a team of scientific experts, such as Jan Machnik, Paweł Valde-Nowak, Jacek Poleski, Václav Furmánek, Ladislav Olexa, and Dárius Gašaj. The created project was not a typical open-air museum, archaeological park, reserve, or a museum, but a combination of a traditional archaeological museum presenting monuments and an open-air museum (Gancarski 2004; 2005; 2006). The project was accepted by the heritage conservation officer. In connection with the discovery of a huge amount of unique monuments and cultural links with the Mediterranean basin and a build-up of individual settlement phases, we followed the idea of Profesor Jan Machnik, and gave the archaeological open-air museum the marketable name of “The Carpathian Troy”. The creation of the museum was primarily intended to protect the archaeological heritage, popularise knowledge in the field of archaeology and build the identity of the community on the legacy of the Slavic ancestors from the tribal and early-state period. The conducted study allowed, as seldom before, for the recreation of the defensive structures, stratigraphy and the dynamics of the development of settlements. Studies on the Otomani-Füzesabony Culture and early medieval settlement allowed us to recreate the residential buildings and population structure of the Otomani-Füzesabony Culture and the Slavic settlement as faithfully as possible, based on the results of scientific research. We also learned about the movable objects discovered within the Otomani-Füzesabony and Slavic settlements, which allowed us to design the furnishings of the residential buildings as much as possible. It should be emphasised that all copies of the artefacts in the exhibition and in the reconstructed buildings are accurate representations of the ones discovered during

the excavations at the culturally and chronologically parallel sites. In Trzcinica we managed to acquire a lot of information necessary to reconstruct the investigated monuments. When designing the archaeological open-air museum, we also had to adapt to the existing law, which imposes specific requirements on investors, especially in public places, which are unfortunately often unknown to theorists and unfavourable to reconstructors. The completed project is the result of scientific assumptions, the requirements of the law, heritage protection and conservation, as well as museum theory.

It was planned that the archaeological open-air museum would consist of three parts: the hillfort, the archaeological park and a museum and administrative building. It will be fenced in and guarded 24 hours a day. The first necessary step was to buy out the land, which required financial resources. The next step was to prepare a scientific concept. Further steps included architectural design and a building permit, which was the most common condition when applying for external funding. The next task was to raise funds for the implementation of the plans, which required the support of influential communities. All our activities must involve great energy, long working hours, organisational efficiency, as well as good luck. Without such qualities, base, and appropriate determination one should not undertake the task of constructing an archaeological open-air museum.

In 1998 Jan Gancarski became the director of the Regional Museum in Krosno, which was organised by the Krosno Voivodeship. This allowed for more organisational opportunities and external fundraising, especially after the Polish accession to the European Union. The idea to build the Carpathian Troy Archaeological Open-Air Museum appeared in July 1998. The first steps to achieving this goal were taken, but almost nobody believed in the success of the endeavour. The idea was consulted with Jan Machnik, Paweł Valde-Nowak, and Jacek Poleski. The formal efforts to create an archaeological open-air museum as a branch of the Subcarpathian Museum in Krosno started in 1999. In order to achieve this goal, we came to an agreement with the local government of the town of Jasło, the municipality of Jasło and the district of Jasło. It was established that the best solution would be to create the archaeological open-air museum as a branch of the Subcarpathian Museum in Krosno and as a unit of the Local Government of the Subcarpathian Voivodeship. The first schedule

of work and the concept of land development were prepared. The buying out of the land for the archaeological open-air museum from private owners started in 2000, lasted a long time due to numerous administrative and human issues, and did not finish until 2008–2009. With the considerable assistance of the Jasło municipality, the local zoning plan¹ was passed. An attempt was made to raise funds for the construction from the European Regional Development Fund and the Integrated Regional Operational Programme, which failed due to the lack of ownership of plots of land necessary to obtain a building permit. Despite the help of many individuals, it was impossible to overcome the resistance of several landowners. In 2004 after a comprehensive study of the subject matter and extensive consultations with many experts, including Paweł Valde-Nowak, Jacek Poleski, Ladislav Olexa, and Dárius Gašaj, and after visiting facilities of similar nature in Hungary, a detailed scientific concept of the museum was prepared (Gancarski 2004; 2005). In 2004–2005, we prepared the technical documentation and finally obtained all the necessary permits and certificates.

The project involved the creation of an archaeological open-air museum and a tourist complex in Trzcinica, municipality Jasło, with the area of over 8 ha. It encompassed the “Royal Earthworks” hillfort with the area of 4.84 ha, registered as a landmark, and the area of 3.20 ha at its foot, called the “Archaeological Park”. Later the total area of the museum was expanded to 10 ha. The originator and creator of the museum project was Jan Gancarski, who had studied the settlement. The plan involved the reconstruction, partly in the form of models, of: nine segments of earthworks with the total length of 152 m, a portion of the path, the gate and two houses of Otomani-Füzesabony Culture (Fig. 2), an early medieval gate (Fig. 3), four Slavonic cottages (Fig. 4) and an active freshwater source used in the Early Middle Ages, as well as a hiding place of a treasure. Other facilities included footpaths (1,527 m) and a road for visitors (530 m) and a ticket office. There was also a designated place for educational classes (Fig. 5).

In addition, the project included building an exhibition pavilion with an area of approx. 1,800 m², comprising an exhibition hall, conference rooms for museum lessons and educational activities, administrative

¹ Resolution No. VIII / 49/03 of the Municipal Council in Jasło of 27th May 2003 on the approval of the local spatial development plan of the archaeological museum “Trzcinica-IV”.



Fig. 2. Otomani-Füzesabony Culture cottages (Photo by J. Gancarski)



Fig. 3. Palisade earthwork and gatehouse of the Slavic hillfort (Photo by J. Gaşior)



Fig. 4. Slavic semi-sunken pit-house and part of the wattle-and-daub earthwork (9th c.) (Photo by J. Gancarski)

facilities, technical and visitor support, workshops, labs, a reception desk, rooms for scientific work, workshops, guest rooms and a garage. The first floor comprised a restaurant and a Young Explorer's Room for children, a multipurpose conference room and toilets. The building was equipped with all the required utilities, installations and equipment. The settlements reconstructed in the Archaeological Park were an Otomani-Füzesabony settlement from 3,500 years ago, consisting of 6 houses, and a Slavic village from the 9th c., composed of 6 cottages. All the buildings were created using prehistoric and early medieval technology. The basic materials used for the construction of the houses of the Otomani-Füzesabony Culture were wood, reed, straw and clay. These are post-and-beam houses with pitched roofs and plaited wattle walls of thin branches or reed daubed with an outer layer of clay, thatched with reed, as well as log houses. The early medieval houses are semi-sunken pit-houses and log houses. The reconstructed buildings also house recreated everyday objects. There is also a festival precinct and a 2,000 m² car park, as well as paths, paved roads and waterholes. The Archaeological



Fig. 5. The layout of the Archaeological Open-Air Museum: 1 – exhibition pavilion; 2 – car park; 3 – Slavic village; 4 – bread oven; 5 – Slavic blacksmith’s shop; 6 – Otomani-Fuzesabony village; 7 – early medieval shed; 8 – festival grounds; 9 – ticket office; 10 – early medieval alternating layer embankment; 11 – Bronze Age embankment and gatehouse; 12 – Bronze Age cottages; 13 – educational grounds; 14 – early medieval palisade embankment and gatehouse; 15 – Slavic cottage; 16 – reconstruction of the alternating-layer embankment; 17 – Slavic cottages; 18 – Slavic semi-sunken pit-house; 19 – early medieval wattle-and-daub embankment; 20 – viewing platform; 21 – toilet facilities for reconstructors; 22 – stable; 23 – cowshed; 24 – hay shed; 25 – barn; 26 – experimental patches; 27 – outbuilding (Designed by A. Wojcicka)



Fig. 6. Bird's eye view of Carpathian Troy (Photo by J. Gašior)

Park boasts a reconstructed early medieval blacksmith's shop situated near the Slavic village (Figs. 6–8).

All reconstructions were based on the results of scientific research and they are the most faithful copies of the monuments discovered on the site and resemble the prehistoric reality examined by the archaeologists. It was decided that the hillfort would be subject to a special conservation regime i.e. all the reconstructed buildings would be built, if possible, in places investigated by archaeologists, with minimal interference in the occupation layers. The structure of the reconstructed earthwork and a staircase was designed so as to interfere as little as possible in the cultural layers. It was based on pillars, 30-centimetre in diameter, dug in a few meters from one another, which do not rise above the ground level. These structures are easy to dismantle without compromising the substance of the hillfort. The earthwork sections are in fact models which show the outside appearance of the earthwork as well as its construction. Similarly, the paths for visitors are not dug into the ground. The dirt road posing a risk to the base of the earthwork and the moat



Fig. 7. Bird's eye view of Carpathian Troy (Photo by J. Gaşior)



Fig. 8. Archaeological park with Otomani-Füzesabony Culture settlement, Slavic village, blacksmith's shop and educational shed (Photo by J. Gaşior)

is meant to be filled in, as are the gaps in the earthwork caused by previous excavations and the hollows left behind by felled trees. The plan included securing the landslide area and reconstruction of the damaged earthwork of the first ward, which was completed in 2017–2018. It was agreed that the sightseeing of the hillfort would take place only along the designated paths, which fully protects it from erosion and damage caused by people (Gancarski 2012).

The choice of technologies used to implement the project was determined by the specific features of this historic hillfort and its environs, as well as our concern to keep the interference in the historic substance of the fortified settlement down to an absolute minimum.

Until 2004 all our activities were financed from the funds of local governments and own funds. In 2005 the project was included in the long-term investment plan within the field of culture and protection of the national heritage of the Podkarpackie Voivodeship, which enabled us to secure an own contribution and consequently to apply for external funds at the first opportunity. In 2005 we obtained a building permit and the project entitled “The Carpathian Troy Open-Air Museum, Trzcinica: a Regional Tourist Attraction” was submitted to the Norwegian EEA Financial Mechanism. The general aim of the project was to increase the cultural attractiveness and tourist value of the Podkarpackie Voivodeship through the protection of a European cultural heritage site. The direct objective was to create a new cultural and tourist attraction. It was also important to make all the archaeological finds available to the public. The preparation of the application along with the necessary attachments required a lot of effort and was only possible with the help and kindness of many people and offices. Difficulties also arose due to a lack of funds for an own contribution to the project. Finally, on 29th November 2005, the proposal was submitted for evaluation to the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage. On the 10th November 2006, The Norwegian Financial Mechanism Committee in Brussels issued a positive decision on the funding of our project. Out of 600 applications from Poland regarding the conservation and restoration of Europe’s cultural heritage, the National Contact Point in Poland recommended 14 projects, and ours was among them. The amount granted was 1,747,086 euros and on 13th March 2007, the agreement for the co-financing of the project was signed in the Ministry of Culture. The tenders revealing the main contractor and the contract engineer

were carried from April to June 2007. During the construction of the archaeological open-air museum, many changes were made to the project, e.g. the railroad tracks crossing the site were dismantled and its acreage was increased. The building works commenced in October 2007 and finished in October 2009. The total cost of the project amounted to PLN 14,155,297. A substantial financial contribution was made by the Subcarpathian Voivodeship (37.71%), local governments (2.68%), sponsors (1.52%) and the museum itself (8.85%). The funds from the Norwegian EEA Financial Mechanism accounted for 49.24% of the total sum required. The project would not have been completed without the commitment and selfless support of many individuals and institutions. We could count on the considerable support of the Management and Assembly of the Podkarpackie Voivodeship, the local government of the district of Jasło, the town of Jasło and the municipality of Jasło. The opening of the Archaeological Open-Air Museum in Trzcínica was planned for June 2010, but on 4th June 2010 disaster struck. As a result of a flood, after water was released from the dam in Klimkówka, the archaeological open-air museum was destroyed. The water in the facilities located in the Archaeological Park reached two meters, up to the reconstructed thatched roofs (Fig. 9). The entire infrastructure, grid, flooring and furnishings were destroyed. The losses were estimated at PLN 5,000,000. Thanks to the exemplary attitude of the staff, we managed to save computers, small appliances, machines and elements of the exhibition. There had not been a flood of this magnitude in Jasło for over a hundred years. The area around the museum, in the broadly defined Ropa river valley, changed into a massive lake. The water level dropped quickly and we immediately began to remove the damage caused by the flood. The compensation paid out by the insurer was insubstantial. Therefore, a request for funds was submitted to the Ministry of Administration and it was accepted. The tender carried out quickly in September revealed only one tenderer, which started work in October 2010. The task had to be completed in the same year. The repairs concluded on 28th December 2010. The remaining tasks included recreating the exhibition, repurchasing the damaged equipment and preparing for opening the archaeological open-air museum. This was another big task. Again we managed to conduct tenders, acceptances, to apply the necessary procedures. The disaster revealed people's attitudes, helpful and kind for the most part, and only rarely unfavourable.



Fig. 9. Flooding in the Archaeological Open-Air Museum (Photo by J. Gancarski)

The exhibition started with a detailed scenario which was created with the great help of Krzysztof Gierlach – an employee of the museum. What followed next was ordering mannequins, clothes, copies of historical artefacts and furnishings, for the exhibition as well as for the reconstructed cottages (Fig. 10). It was a tremendous effort. The opening was scheduled for June 2011. Even before the flooding, the film “Trzcinica: Carpathian Troy”, directed by Zdzislaw Cozac and starring the museum’s employees, was recorded at the Archaeological Open-Air Museum in Trzcinica. The film gained great recognition, won many awards, was broadcast on Polish TVP Historia and National Geographic channels and was shown at film festivals. Today it is shown to all the visitors of the Carpathian Troy. The official opening of the archaeological open-air museum took place on 24th June 2011 and was accompanied by the first edition of the “Two Images” Carpathian Archaeological Festival and a big outdoor show.

In Europe and the world, archaeological objects with their own forms of landscape are used for tourism purposes, exactly like in Trzcinica.



Fig. 10. Exhibition pavilion – permanent exhibition (Photo by J. Gancarski)

Open-air archaeological exhibitions have become enormously popular, though they do not always show the historical truth. Archaeological open-air museums are becoming an increasingly popular form of presenting achievements of archaeologists around the world. They enjoy the respect of visitors and are becoming an important factor in the development of regions, as well as exploring the most distant past by European societies. However, some forms of reconstruction or reenactment are often based on figments of imagination rather than on the results of archaeological excavations.

The Carpathian Troy Archaeological Open-Air Museum in Trzcinica is constantly developing and receiving very good reviews of researchers and experts, as well as visitors from Poland and Europe. The rarely appearing criticism is not based on facts but purely on human weaknesses. Ultimately, our plan was to recreate all possible areas of life in the defensive settlement in Trzcinica and this goal is being slowly attained. In 2013 we reconstructed an early medieval blacksmith's shop in the Archaeological Park, near the Slavic village.



Fig. 11. Viewing platform (Photo by J. Gancarski)

Later, in 2013–2014, a viewing platform was built in the highest part of the hillfort, as part of a cross-border Polish-Slovakian project (Fig. 11). The 44-metre-high tower allows tourists to look over the whole the Carpathian Troy Archaeological Open-Air Museum and admire the monumentality of the hillfort and the panorama of the Carpathian Foothills and the Low Beskids. A swivel webcam allows everybody to see Carpathian Troy on the internet. As part of subsequent cross-border Polish-Slovakian projects, an educational shelter was built in the Archaeological Park, resembling the post-and-beam houses of the Otomani-Füzesabony Culture.

The Trans-Carpathian Archaeological and Cultural Route was prepared in 2017–2018, connecting Carpathian Troy with the Archeopark



Fig. 12. Carpathian Troy – livestock sector (Photo by J. Gancarski)

in Hanuszowce on the Topla river in Slovakia, and a mobile app was developed to facilitate the sightseeing tour. The yard next to the road leading to the Carpathian Troy Archaeological Open-Air Museum in Trzcínica was paved and additional buildings, such as the second educational shelter and toilets for reconstructors, were built. A livestock sector was created (Fig. 12), comprising two cowsheds and a barn. This was followed by the reconstruction of a 45-metre section of an early medieval alternating-layer rampart in place of a previously secured landslide within the walls destroyed in the 19th c (Fig. 13). Patches with plants cultivated by the inhabitants of the Trzcínica hillforts at the beginning of the Bronze Age and in the Early Middle Ages were created in the vicinity.

An animal shed was built in the livestock sector, which allowed us to buy animals such as cattle, horses, sheep and goats, all of the breeds similar to those bred in Trzcínica at the beginning of the Bronze Age and in the Early Middle Ages. Accessories needed to conduct educational classes and workshops on breeding and cultivation were also purchased.

The Archaeological Open-Air Museum in Trzcínica carries out various forms of activities aimed at attracting tourists and educating the youth, as well as familiarising visitors with the history and cultures of the people living here thousands of years ago, and in the Early Middle



Fig. 13. Reconstruction of the early medieval alternating-layer earthwork (Photo by J. Gašior)

Ages. The reconstructed hillfort is an astonishing exhibition itself. The pavilion boasts a modern exhibition of artefacts found in Trzcinica, showing the visitors the culture of the community inhabiting this area in the Early Bronze Age and in the Early Middle Ages, which includes a reconstruction of scenes of daily life and models of the discovered defensive settlements (Figs. 14–15).

The Carpathian Troy organises several annual outdoor events such as the “Two Images” Carpathian Archaeological Festival or the “From Troy to the Baltic” event. They reenact the old ways of manufacturing and the daily life of the inhabitants (Fig. 16). Archaeological demonstrations and experiments include stone, bone and horn processing, weaving, plaiting, woodworking, bronze-casting, coinage, pottery making, food preparation, reenactment of the funeral rituals of the Otomani-Füzesabony Culture and the early medieval inhabitants (Figs. 17–18) etc. The facility conducts educational activities for children and teenagers on a large scale, such as lessons, workshops and demonstrations. There are workshops on pottery making and archery lessons, as well as the cultivation of plants and breeding in prehistory. Carpathian Troy attracts all age groups. It is becoming a base for experimental archaeology, and a conference and seminar centre. Visitors can touch the past themselves



Fig. 14. Exhibition pavilion with the hillfort in the background (Photo by J. Gancarski)



Fig. 15. Permanent exhibition – shepherds from the Late Stone Age (Photo by J. Gancarski)



Fig. 16. Having a meal (Photo by J. Gancarski)



Fig. 17. "Two Images" Carpathian Archaeological Festival in 2012 (Photo by J. Gancarski)



Fig. 18. Reenactment of a Slavic cremation funeral (Photo by J. Gancarski)

here. Guests have the opportunity to tangibly experience the hardships of their ancestors' life thousands of years ago by living in the prehistoric cottage under the conditions of the era in which the dwelling was built. You can visit the Archaeological Open-Air Museum in Trzcínica using our mobile app as well. The construction of Carpathian Troy created new sources of income for the local community and new cultural and tourist products. The property has generated 26 new jobs and created the conditions for the development of the tourism infrastructure, including food outlets and production and sale of souvenirs. The place attracts about 50,000 visitors per year. The Archaeological Open-Air Museum guarantees a comprehensive offer addressed to people from different age groups who show various levels of interest in archaeology. It is a great opportunity for the development of tourism in the whole region, especially since there are many interesting sights and attractive natural areas here. The road and tourism infrastructure are also developing.

The dream became a reality. The Archaeological Open-Air Museum in Trzcínica was built and performs its role very well. Consistently

executed promotion is an important element of its success. It includes online promotional activities, as well as in the national and regional press, radio and television, and a variety of carefully prepared endeavours such as book publishing, movies, cartoons, brochures, leaflets, posters, bookmarks, and souvenirs closely related to Carpathian Troy. A reenactment group is being formed to promote Carpathian Troy. We organise temporary exhibitions and conferences that are associated with archaeological themes as well. There are plans to install a permanent exhibition about the prehistory of the region. The archaeological open-air museum has had its website and social media accounts since the beginning of the project. Thanks to the professional promotion of Carpathian Troy, it has become a new well-recognised brand in the travel industry. The film, other multimedia presentations and publications are available in different language versions.

The Carpathian Troy Archaeological Open-Air Museum in Trzcinica, a branch of the Subcarpathian Museum in Krosno, is one of the major cultural and tourist attractions of Subcarpathia and the only institution of this type in this part of Europe. It is visited not only by visitors from Poland but from abroad as well. The Carpathian Troy is a project whose idea, preparation of the project application and implementation were carried out from start to finish by the employees of the Subcarpathian Museum, without the help of large, specialised teams. We demonstrated how to use resources from European funds in a rational, creative, innovative and efficient way. The Carpathian Troy, which required great determination of many people, has achieved the goals they set. Should you want to be convinced, we would like to invite you to the Carpathian Troy.

References

- Gancarski J. 1994. Pogranicze kultury trzcynieckiej i Otomani-Füzesabony – grupa jasielska. In P. Mitura (ed.), *Problemy kultury trzcynieckiej*. Rzeszów: Muzeum Okręgowe w Rzeszowie, 75–104.
- Gancarski J. 1999. Chronologia grupy pleszowskiej kultury mierzanowickiej i kultury Otomani-Füzesabony w Polsce na podstawie wyników badań wykopaliskowych osad w Trzcinicy i Jaśle. In J. Gancarski (ed.), *Kultura Otomani-Füzesabony – rozwój, chronologia, gospodarka*. Krosno: Muzeum Podkarpackie w Krośnie, 145–180.
- Gancarski J. (ed.) 2002. *Między Mykenami a Bałtykiem. Kultura Otomani-Füzesabony*. Krosno: Muzeum Podkarpackie w Krośnie.

- Gancarski J. 2003. The Early Mediaeval Stronghold at Trzcinica in the District of Jasło: Preliminary Research Results. In Z. Woźniak and J. Gancarski (eds.), *Polonia minor medii aevi. Studia Ofiarowane Panu Profesorowi Andrzejowi Żakiemu w osiemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*. Kraków–Krosno: Polska Akademia Umiejętności w Krakowie, Muzeum Podkarpackie w Krośnie, 263–276.
- Gancarski J. 2004. *Trzcinica – skansen archeologiczny. Projekt naukowy*. Krosno: Muzeum Podkarpackie w Krośnie.
- Gancarski J. 2005. Skansen archeologiczny w Trzciniczy, gm. Jasło. Koncepcja budowy i funkcjonowania. In M. Kotorová-Jenčová (ed.), *Experimentálna archeológia a popularizácia archeologického badania v muzejnej a školskej praxi*. Hanušovice nad Topľou: Vlastivedné múzeum v Hanušovciach nad Topľou, 185–208.
- Gancarski J. 2006. *Trzcinica – Karpacka Troja*. Krosno: Muzeum Podkarpackie w Krośnie.
- Gancarski J. 2012. *The Carpathian Troy Open-Air Archeological Museum*. Krosno: Muzeum Podkarpackie w Krośnie.
- Gancarski J. and Poleski J. 2006. Trzcinica, pow. Jasło – najstarsze wczesnośredniowieczne grodzisko w Karpatach polskich. In J. Gancarski (ed.), *Wczesne średniowiecze w Karpatach polskich*. Krosno: Muzeum Podkarpackie w Krośnie, 235–252.
- Lityńska-Zajac M. and Gancarski J. 2003. Szczątki roślinne ze starszej epoki brązu ze stanowiska 1 w Trzciniczy, gm. Jasło. In J. Gancarski (ed.), *Epoka brązu i wczesna epoka żelaza w Karpatach polskich*. Krosno: Muzeum Podkarpackie w Krośnie, 165–171.
- Lityńska-Zajac M. and Gancarski J. 2006. Wczesnośredniowieczne pozostałości roślinne ze stanowiska 1 w Trzciniczy, powiat Jasło. In J. Gancarski (ed.), *Wczesne średniowiecze w Karpatach polskich*. Krosno: Muzeum Podkarpackie w Krośnie, 771–777.

DOI: 10.15584/anarres.2018.13.19

Vira Hupalo*

The Princely City of Zvenyhorod: The State of Conservation, the Concept of Protective Measures and the Prospect of Scientific Research

ABSTRACT

Hupalo V. 2018. The Princely City of Zvenyhorod: The State of Conservation, the Concept of Protective Measures and the Prospect of Scientific Research. *Analecta Archaeologica Ressoiviensia* 13, 401–416

The article explains the motivation for creating a historical and cultural reserve and park within the remaining relics of the ancient Ruthenian city of Zvenyhorod. The author presents a brief history of the city, the main results of archaeological research, the need to continue to study the site, and the prospects for its popularisation. The article focuses on the role and significance of Zvenyhorod as the capital of the principality of the same name for the genesis of urban processes and state-building in Southwest Rus'. It is emphasised that the results obtained in the course of archaeological research conducted from 1953 to 1994 are a strong basis for preserving, further studying and transforming into a tourist attraction this place that belongs to the cultural heritage of Ukraine.

Keywords: Rus', Zvenyhorod, capital city, historical and cultural reserve

Received: 16.12.2018; **Revised:** 28.12.2018; **Revised:** 28.12.2018; **Accepted:** 30.12.2018

Zvenyhorod, as the capital city of the principality of the same name, was mentioned on the pages of ancient chronicles, where it was first brought up in 1086 (*Ipatievskaya letopis*, col. 197)¹. The emergence of three principalities (Peremyshyl', Terebovl' and Zvenyhorod) was associated with Yaroslav the Wise's great-grandchildren, Rostyslav's sons – brothers Riuryk (?–1092), Volodar (?–1124) and Vasylo (1066–1124), and their struggle for the right of succession and participation in the rule of the state (Kotlar 1985, 46; for genealogy of the Rurikid dynasty see Voytovich 2000; 2009). The dominions of Rostyslav's sons, which occupied the large territory of Ukrainian Sub-Carpathian Rus', laid the

* I. Kripyaykevich Institute of Ukrainian Studies, NAS of Ukraine, Vinnichenko 24, 79008 Lviv 24, 79008, Ukraine; gupaloarcho@ukr.net

¹ Translated by I. Lutsyk.

administrative and territorial foundations for the future formation of the Galician-Volyn' Principality. Due to the objective historical circumstances, Zvenyhorod, while remaining the main city of the Zvenyhorod land, periodically lost and regained the status of the principality's capital. Thus, in 1084–1092 Zvenyhorod was the capital during the reign of Volodar Rostyslavych, in 1124–1144 during the reign of Volodymyr Volodarovych, in 1144–1145 during the reign of Ivan Rostyslavych, in 1184–1187 during the rule of Volodymyr Yaroslavych, and in 1205–1207 and 1208–1210 – the years of Roman Ihorovych's rule.

The city was mentioned in the ancient Ruthenian chronicles many times, usually in the context of political events, such as armed conflicts which ended, as a rule, at its walls. The existing records testify that the final stage of conflicts between the Princes resolved by diplomatic agreements, which were concluded outside the city, since it had never been captured by force (*Ipatievskaya letopis* col. 197, 315–316, 319–320, 719–720, 723–726, 738, 740, 749, 776). However, the chronicles do not contain the slightest hints about the features of the system of fortifications, the planigraphy of the city or even where it was located, because, according to researchers, it was burned down by the Mongol-Tatar army in 1241 during Batu Khan's campaign against Rus'. Unlike the other princely capitals known from the chronicles, Zvenyhorod found itself in circumstances that caused it to fall into complete oblivion. As a result, the remains of the city's earthen fortifications stayed unidentified for six centuries.

At the time when the ideas of the Enlightenment were spreading, which gave rise to a pan-European movement for the preservation of monuments from Antiquity, at the beginning of the 19th c. on the territories of Galicia the interest in the material remains of past civilisations flared up (Bulyk 2006). In the context of shedding light on the history of the Galician-Volyn' Principality (Zubrytsky 1852; Sharanevich 1863), an objective necessity appeared to find out the location of the capital city of Zvenyhorod, which played an important role as one of the pillars of state-building processes on the southwestern outskirts of Rus'. The heated debate about the location of the city which erupted among historians, ethnographers, and amateurs and went on for several decades (Ilnitskiy 1861; Bielowski 1862; Savchinskiy 1870; Schnejder 1872; Ploshansky 1880; Lam 1887) was ended by M. Grushevsky. Relying on contemporary achievements in the fields

of topography and archaeology, the researcher convincingly proved the location of Zvenyhorod near L'viv (Grushevsky 1899).

At that time, i.e. at the end of the 19th c., in the central part of Zvenyhorod (now Zvenyhorod village, Pustomyty district, L'viv region) it was possible to visually explore the heavy earthen fortifications that had survived until that day. They are located on a narrow headland, which cuts into the floodplain of the Bilka River (Fig. 1). All this dry land (262.3 m a.s.l.) stretches for about 3 km from the west to the east and 500 m from the north to the south. Around the rise (from the north, west, and south) there is a spreading plain (246 m a.s.l.), which stretches for almost 9 km from the northwest (Sholomyia) to the southeast (Kotsuriv-Romaniv), and about 4.5 km from the southwest (Vodnyky) to the northeast (Zvenyhorod). On the lowlands, there were many small streams that fed the Bilka River and, at the same time, transformed the plain into an impassable peat bog. Fortifications were located on the western part of the headland, where the hill rose (278–280 m a.s.l.). They were planned on two levels: on the top of the hill and around it on a flat rise, whose silhouette stands out against the background of the boggy lowland.

However, these relics, in their shape, were significantly different from the original fortifications of the hillforts characteristic of ancient Ruthenian cities². This is explained by the fact that the system of fortifications of princely Zvenyhorod was used as a basis during the general redevelopment of the hillfort at the beginning of the 18th c. By the order of the Polish field hetman Adam Sieniawski (the owner of the city at that time) within the hillfort (*detinets* and *okolny gorod*) a defensive castle had to be built (Nestorow 2008), which consisted of two parts – upper and lower (Fig. 2). Using the achievements in the field of military engineering, a bastion was built on the site of the fortifications from the princes' times (hill four pentagonal bastions on

² As a city, Zvenyhorod consisted of the central part, *prigorod* and suburbs. The central part (*okolny gorod*), where along the perimeter the residential and craft buildings were located, was protected by a system of powerful fortifications. Within the defenses, one more fortified area (*detinets*) was located, where the princely administration and military garrison were situated. The central part of the city (*okolny gorod*) was surrounded by the *pryhorods*, within which were a trading area and estates. *Prigorods* were also fortified, but with a lighter type of fortifications (a type of *ostrog*). The suburbs were joined to the *prigorod*. They were unfortified and occupied both dry land and island surfaces within the floodplain valley.

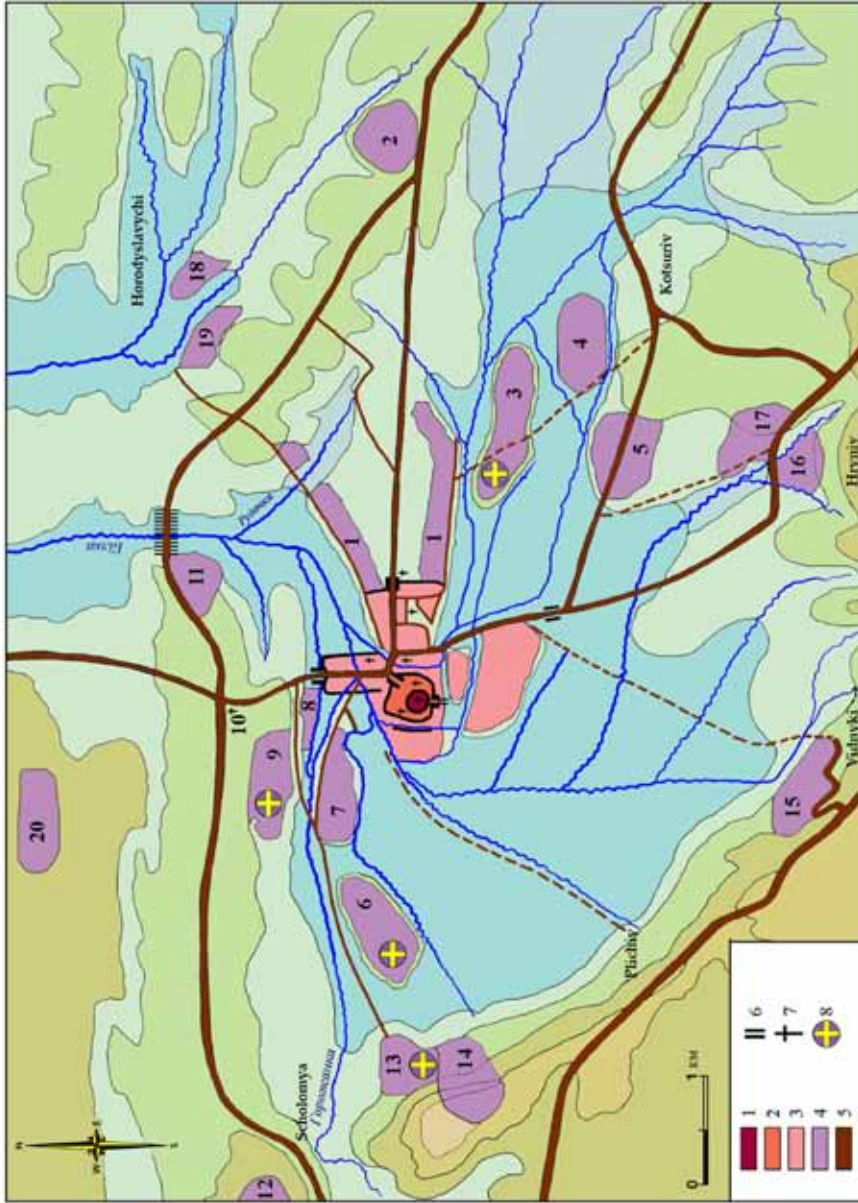


Fig. 1. Spatial organisation of Zvenyhorod (after L. Chachkovskiy 1932; R. Mohytych 1995; verified by the author).
 Legend: 1 – *detinets*; 2 – *okolny gorod*; 3 – *prigorod*; 4 – suburb; 5 – roads; streets, paths; 6 – Ostroly's gate; 7 – cemeteries; 8 – monasteries. The suburbs: 1 – Zahuminky; 2 – Cherniv; 3 – Ostriv; 4 – Bolotni; 5 – Vidshyroki; 6 – Velyki; 7 – Korytkova; 8 – Zahorody; 9 – Tserkovna Storonka; 10 – Bilia Toku; 11 – Zhukiv; 12 – Sholomyia, Zaruby; 13 – Sholomyia, Zamonasty; 14 – Sholomyia, Pidzavallia; 15 – Vidnyky, Horbky; 16 – Hryniv, Kryve; 17 – Kotsuriv, Pidbabie; 18 – Horodyslavychi, Vyhin; 19 – Horodyslavychi, Hlynky; 20 – Zvenyhorod – Batyivystia



Fig. 3. General view of the hillfort with bastions of the upper castle in the centre (Source: www.zamki-kreposti.com.ua; accessed on 20.12.2018)

the town with escarpment curtain walls (Fig. 3) and on *okolny gorod* – a system of earthen bastions). The microtoponyms “Horodyshche” and “Valy”³ have survived from the ancient hillfort.

The embankment structures have greatly changed since WWII. Gradually, over the next 50 years, the northern, southern and western lines of the earthen bastions of the lower castle were destroyed. Therefore, it is impossible to see the remains of the defensive system of the Ruthenian city, because they were transformed by redevelopment and distorted by the destruction of the relics of the earthen fortifications. The only evidence of the existence of the archaeological sites from the princely era in that place were numerous finds, which had accumulated on the territory surrounded by the fortifications. In these difficult

³ This means hillfort and embankments, respectively.

circumstances it was only with the help of archaeological research that it was possible to determine the character of the rebuilding, and what is most important, to establish the boundaries and features of the fortifications of the ancient Ruthenian city.

Systematic large-scale excavations in Zvenyhorod started in 1953 and continued intermittently until 1994. During this period 10,709.6 square metres were investigated, which accounted for only 3.3% of the total area within the city fortifications. At the same time, important results were obtained, which became the source of knowledge about the layout of the city. The upper castle, wherein the late 19th c. ruins of the palace complex from the 17th–18th c. could still be seen, was not investigated. The reason for this was the confidence that the hill, on top of which was a construction from the early modern period, had an artificial character. The researchers focused their main attention on studying the area around the foot of the hill.

The first conclusions about the urban areas of princely Zvenyhorod were made in the 1960s and the 1970s. They were based on the discoveries which were made in the lower castle. At that time, in its eastern part, archaeologists discovered the remains of the foundation ditches of monumental structures, a white stone complex which consisted of the princely palace, a church with a baptismal font, and a tomb chapel (Ratich 1974). Meanwhile, in the western part of the lower castle, a complex of 44 manufacturing furnaces was discovered. They were located along a double line of an earthen embankment which was separated by a ditch (Tersky-Shelomentsev 1978a). It was determined that both the furnaces and fortifications, of which 93 metres were preserved, functioned from the end of the 11th c. until 1241. These materials allowed scientists to assert that, firstly, the defensive fortifications from the early 18th c. corresponded to the lines of the fortifications from the princely era (which was dictated by the features of the elevation), and secondly, the presence of the princely palace gave researchers a reason to identify the whole territory of the lower castle with a *detinets*.

A number of outstanding discoveries were made during the 1980s and the 1990s. The first excavations were conducted on the hilltop within the upper castle. There, on the line of curtain wall from the beginning of the 18th c., archaeologists found traces of levelled and destroyed wooden walls from the princely era with their internal constructions burnt. In relation to these fortifications, the pentagonal bastions from

the early 18th c. were made into a real embankment. In addition, the remains of the foundation ditch of a wooden church were recorded in the southern part of the hill. From the second half of the 13th c. to the beginning of the 14th c., the northern part of the temple was occupied by a cemetery. Two tanks were revealed within this cemetery, one of which had a limestone inside. Both tanks are synchronous with the wooden church (Mohytych 1995, 20–21; Svieshnikov and Hupalo 1996). Finding these objects allowed the archaeologists firstly, to assert that the hill had a natural origin, and secondly, to review the plan of the princely city within the fortifications. Since then, the top of the hill has been considered a fortified *detinets*, around which the *okolny gorod* was developed and protected by powerful fortifications.

The results of the excavations conducted outside the fortifications which were considered the nearest to the *prigorods* were extremely important. The remains of a trading area and a wooden church were found in the north-eastern corner of the eastern *prigorod* (*urochishche* P'iatnytske; Ioannisyanyan *et al.* 1983). The temple was built in the first half of the 12th c. Production complexes used for smithery, shoemaking and tanning were investigated on the western *prigorod* (Tersky-Shelomentsev 1978b; Svieshnikov and Braychevskaya 1990). Within the north-eastern *prigorod*, relics of a wooden building were discovered. It consisted of a log road, on either side of which estates were located, surrounded by a fence. In each yard, there were housing, farmstead and production complexes. The estates were separated by streets, alleys and a track paved with wooden planks (Hupalo 2014, 301–410).

Surveys and excavations were carried out on the two islands situated in the marshy floodplain: 2 km northwest (*urochishche* Velyky – 262.4 m a.s.l.) and 1.5 km southeast (*urochishche* Ostrovy – 257 m a.s.l.) of the hillfort. The remains of a necropolis and a cultural layer from the princely era were discovered there (Hupalo 2014, 412–415). The material goods characteristic of the ancient Rus' period also appeared on the surfaces of the smaller islands which are located around the aforementioned larger islands (Fig. 1). This gave rise to the assertion, firstly, about the settlement of all dry land sites suitable for life, and secondly, about the possibility that defensive and monastic complexes might have functioned there.

A feature of the territory in the area of Zvenyhorod is the fact that the boggy valley, almost in the centre of which the hillfort sits, is

surrounded around its perimeter by a hilly terrain. The princely city was very well visible from the hills lying within the radius of 3–4 km. On the terraces (272.7–277.7 m a.s.l.), in the areas best for settlement, there are still villages today (Sholomyn, Vidnyky, Hryniv, Kotsuriv, Horodyslavychi), within each of which a cultural layer, contemporary with the princely city, was revealed (Fig. 1).

Summing up the state of research on Zvenyhorod, we need to emphasise that the results of the excavations of large areas of the hillfort, in conjunction with surveys of the near and far suburbs, allow us already at this stage of studying the site to draw important conclusions about the functional and spatial organisation of the ancient city. Namely, the urban plan of Zvenyhorod consisted of *detinets* (1 ha) and *okolny gorod* (12 ha), which were protected by a powerful fortification system. Externally, the *prigorods* (126.5 ha) were directly adjacent to these fortifications, surrounded by defensive structures of a lighter type in the form of *ostroy* (*urochishcha* Zahorodyshche, Na Hrebli, Piatnytske, Zamostyshche). The town was surrounded by suburbs, which formed part of its space and were functionally integral. In their layout, there are three lines: 1 – located on the main land beyond the *ostrog* fortifications (*urochishche* Zahuminky), 2 – on the island (*urochishcha* Velyky, Korytkova, Zahorody, Ostrovy, Vidshyroki, Pidbabie), 3 – located around the boundary of the Zvenyhorod lowland (Fig. 1).

The described structure of Zvenyhorod outlines both perspectives and directions for further investigations of the site. The large collection of artefacts, which totals several tens of thousands of items, plays a decisive role in solving a number of problems (such as the periodisation of objects, their functional purpose, etc.). Particular attention is paid to the material things found in the waterlogged areas of the *prigorod* – these are objects made of organic raw materials (leather, wood, birch bark), which represent artefacts unique to the territory of the Sub-Carpathian region. The primary task of future research will be to clarify the peculiarities of the layout of the individual urban areas and the communication links between them. Various aspects of the development of material and spiritual culture and, within the latter, funeral rites, require an in-depth study. Given the fact that Zvenyhorod is one of the three most ancient cities of Galician Rus', the materials that are still buried in the ground on the site are regarded as a source for studying the origins of town planning in the princely times. Furthermore,

preserving the historical landscape on the entire Zvenyhorod lowland in an almost unchanged condition for the first time outlines a broad perspective of studying the complex of suburban territories, their role and significance in the functioning of the urban organism as a whole.

To accomplish such tasks, it is imperative to protect this archaeological site from negative factors, primarily of an anthropogenic character. Considering this, it is important to establish restrictions on the use of the territory of the hillfort, which will allow us to preserve its authentic area. A further ban on all construction and earthworks is intended to protect and preserve the remnants of the cultural layer.

The characteristic feature of the modern village of Zvenyhorod is that its residential development is completely superimposed on the planigraphy of the princely city. At the same time, due to certain circumstances, today the central part of the hillfort is not exploited. The ruins of the collective farm complex from the 1960s and the 1970s, which does not operate today, are preserved here. Taking into account the present-day realities, all efforts are directed at turning the former *detinets* and *okolny gorod*⁴ into a reserve and to creating, on this basis, the “Ancient Zvenyhorod” National Historical and Cultural Reserve. Taking into account first-rate relics of wooden buildings in the north-eastern *prigorod* (*urochishche* Na Hrebli) and the network of craft complexes in the western *prigorod* (*urochishche* Zahorodyshe), these areas are also to be included within the boundaries of the future reserve.

At the same time, along with the preparation of a set of documents necessary for the creation of the reserve, the priority task related to the preservation of the site is to arrange its territory. This has led to the development of a project which involves turning the entire territory of the future reserve into a historical and cultural park. In order to achieve this objective, it is necessary to carry out a number of measures within the boundaries of the hillfort as an archaeological site of national importance: the revitalisation of the historical and landscape environment and the improvement of the site territory; the conservation of the sites from the princely era with the purpose of preserving them for future scientific research; marking, with the help of modern artistic and technical means, the most important buildings

⁴ This territory, in accordance with the Decree of Ukraine’s Cabinet of Ministers of 3rd September 2009 No. 928, was registered as a site of national significance, “The hillfort of the city of Zvenyhorod”, registration number 130021-N.



Fig. 4. Fragment of the exhibition “The capital city of Zvenyhorod – return from nonexistence” (Photo by M. Ivanyk)

from the princely era, in particular: the wooden church and the tanks on the detinets, from the second half of the 11th c., the stone church of the princely palace and the tomb on the *okolny gorod*; adjusting the Bilka river bed (as an element of the city’s fortification system) to restore its shores to their natural appearance; and the revitalisation of the landscape of the river valley.

Even focusing on the princely period of Zvenyhorod as the capital city, it is impossible to ignore its history in the late medieval period and the early modern age. This is even more obvious given the fact that remnants of the princely fortifications are completely obscured by the fortifications from the early 18th c., which suffered and continue to suffer constant destruction. Therefore, one of the top priorities is the conservation and restoration of the bastion system of the upper and lower castles, along the whole line of fortifications.

The implementation of the measures outlined above is a prerequisite for transforming this area of national significance (“The hillfort of Zvenyhorod”) into a tourist attraction. On the territory of the future



Fig. 5. White-stone princely palace and church, connected by a gallery passage (Reconstruction by A. Kharkhalis)



Fig. 6. North-eastern *prigorod* (Reconstruction by A. Kharkhalis)

reserve, a special role will be given to the already existing local history museum. Its exposition includes the original exhibits from the excavations carried out between the 1970s and the 1990s. All this, taken together, will allow to open the princely city of Zvenyhorod to the public, as one of the most important consolidating centres of cultural and historical processes both in South-West Rus' and in Eastern Europe in general.

In order to test the idea of creating a historical and cultural reserve and park in the community, some measures to inform the general public about the history of the city and its role in the political processes in Rus' and about the level of development of the city's culture were initiated. These and many other aspects are reflected in the exhibition "The capital city of Zvenyhorod – return from nonexistence", which is housed in the local history museum in Zvenyhorod (Fig. 4)⁵. Little-known archaeological materials stored in various museums in Lviv were used to arrange it. Another important trend leading to the popularisation of Zvenyhorod is the reconstruction of the external appearance of the capital city, its transformation in time and space. With this end in mind, on the basis of archaeological sources, work has begun on creating a graphic 3D model of the development of its individual urban areas. The results can be seen in the first documentary "Zvenyhorod – unknown princely capital" (Figs. 5–6)⁶.

Consequently, the creation of a historical and cultural reserve and a historical and cultural park based on "The hillfort of Zvenyhorod" site of national significance will promote the implementation of interconnected basic tasks – conducting scientific research, its interpretation, and popularisation. The obtained results will serve to reveal and familiarise the European and world public with the history of the formation of the Ukrainian statehood, the genesis of urban processes, and the political history of the region as an integral part of the shared European civilisation transformations.

⁵ The exhibition was prepared by V. Hupalo, N. Voitseshchuk, A. Kharkhalis, O. Lozynskyi.

⁶ A documentary created by a team of authors (idea - N. Voitseshchuk, script – V. Hupalo, M. Ivanyk, operators – N. Parkhomyk, S. Kozak, M. Pokhodzhai, editing – I. Martyniv, computer reconstruction – A. Kharkhalis, graphic reconstruction – V. Petryk): https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pnBp_6Re5J0 (accessed on 20.12.2018).

References

Written sources

Ipatiev Chronicle *Ipat'evskaya letopis*, Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisey 2. Sankt-Petersburg: Tipografiya M.A. Aleksandrova. 1908.

Literature

- Bielowski A. 1862. Królestwo Galicji (o starem Księstwie Halickim). *Biblioteka Ossolińskich* (= *Czasopism naukowy księgozbioru publicznego imienia Ossolińskich*) 1, 1–43.
- Bulyk N. 2006. Z istoriyi arkeolohichnykh doslidzhen u Skhidniy Halychyni v XIX–na pochatku XX st. *Materialy i doslidzhennya z arkeolohiyi Prykarpattya i Volyni* 10, 298–317.
- Grushevsky M. 1899. Zvenyhorod Halytskyi. *Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva im. Shevchenka* 31, 1–28.
- Hupalo V. 2014. *Zvenyhorod i Zvenyhorodska zemlya v XI–XIII stolittyah (sotsioistorychna rekonstruktsiya)*. Lviv: Instytut ukrayinoznavstva im. I. Kryp'yakevycha NAN Ukrayiny.
- Ilnitskiy V. 1861. *Starodavnyy halytskyiy horody. Starodavnyy Zvenyhorod*. Lvov: Stavropigiyskiy Institut.
- Ioannisyanyan O.M., Mogitich I.R. and Sveshnikov I.K. 1983. Tserkov Paraskevyy-Pyatnitsy v Zvenigorode na Belke – pamyatnik derevyannogo zodchestva domongolskoy Rusi. *Pamyatniki kultury. Novyye otkrytiya: pismennost, iskusstvo, arkeologiya: yezhegodnik* 1981, Nauka, 495–507.
- Kotlar N. F. 1985. *Formirovaniye territorii i vozniknoveniye gorodov Galitsko- Volynskoy Rusi IX–XIII vv.* Kyiv: Naukova Dumka
- Lam J. 1887. *Starozytny Dźwinogród i Roźne Pole*. Lwów: nakładem autora.
- Mohytych I. 1995. Tserkvy Zvenyhoroda. *Visnyk instytutu "Ukrzakhidproektrestavratsiya"* 3, 18–21.
- Nestorow R. 2008. Jan Kampenhauzen. Inżynier na usługach hetmana Adama Mikołaja Sieniawskiego. In A. Betlej and J. Skrabski (eds.), *Fides ars scientia. Studia dedykowane pamięci Księdza Kanonika Augusta Mednisa*. Tarnów: Muzeum Okręgowe w Tarnowie, 317–328.
- Ploshansky V. 1880. *Nekotorye sela Galickoj Rusi. Literaturnyy sbornik Galicko-russkoj maticy*. Lvov: Stavropigiyskiy institut, 39–45.
- Ratich A.A. 1974. K voprosu o knazeskikh dvortsakh v stolnykh gorodakh Galickoy Rusi XI–XIV vv. In A.N. Kirpichnikov and P.A. Rappoport (eds.), *Kultura srednevekovoy Rusi. Posvyashchaetsya 70-letiyu M.K. Kargera*. Moskva: Nauka, 188–191.
- Savchinskiy G. 1870. *Starodavnyi Zvenigorod. Literaturnyi sbornik Galitsko-Russkoj Matitsy*. Lvov: Stavropigiyskiy institut, 37–40.
- Sveshnikov I.K. and Braychevska O.A. 1990. Shkiriyane vzuttya iz Zvenihoroda Galitskogo. *Arheologiya* 3, 122–129.

- Terskiy-Shelomentsev V.S. 1978a. Issledovaniya detintsa Zvenigoroda Galitskogo. *Sovetskaya arkheologiya* 1, 206–215.
- Terskiy-Shelomentsev V.S. 1978b. Doslidzhennya posadu litopysnogo Zvenihoroda. *Arheologiya* 27, 91–93.
- Sharanevich I. 1863. *Istoriya Galitsko-Vladimirskey Rusi ot naydavneysikh vremen do roku 1453*. L'vov: Stavropigiyiskiy institut.
- Schnejder A. 1872. Dźwinogród pod Lwowem i jego dawne historyczne znaczenie. *Dodatek miesięczny do Gazety Lwowskiej* 3, 151–166, 225–237.
- Swieszniak I. and Hupalo W. 1996. Uwagi na temat chronologii obiektów na grodzie właściwym w Dźwinogrodzie (Zvenygorod) koło Lwowa. *Sprawozdania Archeologiczne* 48, 177–197.
- Voytovich L. 2000. *Knyazivski dynastii Skhidnoyi Yevropy (kinets IX – pochatok XVI st.)*. *Sklad, suspilna i politychna rol'*. L'viv: Instytut ukrajinoznavstva im. I. Kryp'yakevycha NAN Ukrainy.
- Vojtovych L. 2009. Persha galyc'ka dynastija. *Genealogichni zapysky* 7, 1–25.
- Zubrytsky D. 1852. *Istoriya Drevnyago Galichsko-Russkogo knyazhestva: v 3 ch.* L'vov: Stavropigiyiskiy Institut – C.2.

DOI: 10.15584/anarres.2018.13.20

Anna Peskova*, Kirill Mikhaylov**

The Large Fortified Settlement Near Shepetivka: History of the Medieval Settlement – History of the Archaeological Site

ABSTRACT

Peskova A., Mikhaylov K. 2018. The Large Fortified Settlement Near Shepetivka: History of the Medieval Settlement – History of the Archaeological Site. *Analecta Archaeologica Ressoviensia* 13, 417–440

The dramatic history of the medieval fortified settlement, located between the Sluch' and Goryn' Rivers (near the village of Horodyshche, Shepetivka District, Khmelnytskyi Region, Ukraine), destroyed and burned as a result of Tatar-Mongol raids in the middle of the 13th c., gave rise to the appearance of a cultural layer which is unique as regards its abundant finds. During the excavations led by Mikhail Karger in 1957–1964, almost all the territory of the site was investigated (3.6 ha) and many thousands of archaeological and anthropological finds were collected. M. Karger planned to publish a monograph based on the research into these collections undertaken by the members of his expedition team, but his plan did not reach fruition. Over the last sixty years, the materials have often been referred to by specialists. Today the bibliography relating to the analysis and interpretation of the materials discovered during the excavations includes dozens of articles. The rather disjointed nature of the materials published so far, and the random and incomplete selection of finds for detailed investigation have meant that the presentation of the site as a whole has not been a well-integrated one and interpretations have often been inconsistent. Recently a project has been drawn up, enabling a team from the Institute for the History of Material Culture, to prepare the excavated materials for publication, supported by a grant from the Russian Foundation for Basic Research.

Keywords: Early Rus' fortified settlement, excavations, research, interpretation

Received: 20.12.2018; **Revised:** 28.12.2018; **Revised:** 28.12.2018; **Accepted:** 30.12.2018

The remains of the fortified settlement near Horodyshche village (Shepetivka District, Khmelnytsky Region, Ukraine), situated at the place Valy on the River Guska (basin of the River Goryn') have featured on the archaeological map of Volhynia since the end of the 19th c. (Samokvasov

* Institute for the History of Material Culture, Russian Academy of Sciences, Saint Petersburg, Dvortsovaya naberezhnaya 18, 191186 St. Petersburg, Russia; peskovaaa@rambler.ru

** Institute for the History of Material Culture, Russian Academy of Sciences, Saint Petersburg, Dvortsovaya naberezhnaya 18, 191186 St. Petersburg, Russia; mikhailov_kirill@mail.ru



Fig. 1. Mikhail Karger (1903–1976), photo of 1960s (Department of photographs, Scientific Archive of the Institute of the History of Material Culture, Russian Academy of Sciences, negative No. I 76721, print No. 2511.47)

1888, 51; Antonovich 1901, 104)¹. In the middle of the 20th c., the site was examined by archaeologists Petr Tretyakov (1949) and Mikhail Karger (1954) from Leningrad, when they were carrying out reconnaissance work in the field². Both researchers appreciated the scientific importance of the site. One of them dated it to the 11th–13th c. and the other to the end of the 12th c. or the 13th c. (Karger 1957, 2–3). For P. Tretyakov, specialist in Slavic studies, the Early Rus’ fortified settlement was of no special interest. M. Karger, on the other hand, who devoted his life and research to the culture of the Early Rus’ town and first and foremost to Early Rus’ architecture, after assessing the significance of the site and the prospects for field research there, decided to begin excavations (Fig. 1). This led to a change in the plans for his architectural-archaeological research. It was not until 1957

that a joint Galician-Volhynian architectural-archaeological expedition was set up by the Leningrad department of the Institute for the History of Material Culture (affiliated to the USSR Academy of Sciences) and Leningrad State University and M. Karger could at last embark upon wide-scale excavations of the site (Figs. 2–3). From that time onwards and until the end of the excavation project, each of M. Karger’s field seasons was based on two approaches: archaeological and architectural-archaeological. The main focus of the excavations at that time was naturally the Early-Rus’ fortified settlement near Shepetivka (Fig. 4).

¹ This article was written within the framework of a project supported by the Russian Foundation for Basic Research (RFBR), project No. 18-09-00753, entitled “The Large fortified settlement near Shepetivka: materials and research (results of excavations by Mikhail Karger, 1957–1964)”.

² For a short survey of the prospection in the area undertaken by Mikhailo Savitskyi in 1929 see: Yanenko 2016, 70–71, 359. His unpublished archaeological reports are today in the archives of the Institute of Archaeology, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Kyiv, Ukraine.



Fig. 2. The Large Fortified Settlement near Shepetivka. The beginning of the excavations (Archive of M. Karger)



Fig. 3. The Large Fortified Settlement near Shepetivka. Shooting a topographical plan of the site (Archive of M. Karger)



Fig. 4. The Large Fortified Settlement near Shepetivka. View of the settlement from the north (Archive of M. Karger)

About the excavations

The site, with a total area of about 3.6 ha, consists of two parts, designated by the researcher *a priori* as Detinets (fortified settlement) and Posad (unfortified suburban settlement). It was surrounded by an impressive system of banks and ditches in multiple rows, which is typical of the fortified settlements in the Bolokhov Land located in its immediate vicinity (Rappoport 1955, 52–59). Over the course of eight field seasons (1957–1964), the site was almost completely investigated within the limits of the inner rampart (Fig. 5). Under the inner slope of the rampart, around the entire perimeter, remains of burnt and empty log constructions were excavated (Fig. 6; *cf.* Peskova 2009). The occupation layer of the fortified settlement turned out to be unique regarding its saturation with artefacts and remains of human skeletons, its piles of scattered human and animal bones. The archaeologists were confronted by a monstrous picture of the devastation of a fortified settlement, routed and burned as a result of a sudden military attack, but hardly looted at all. Among the human bones, there were not only

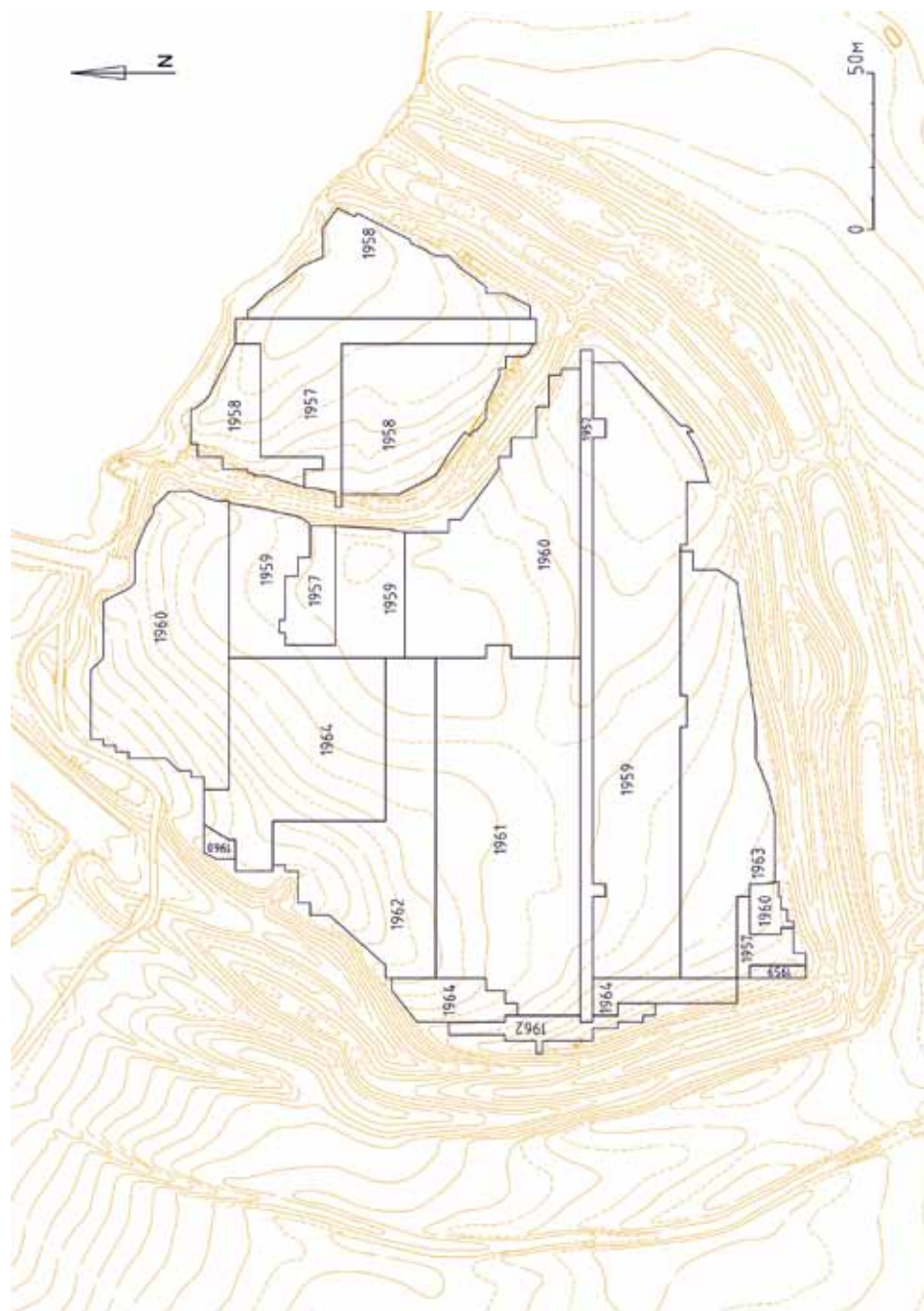


Fig. 5. The Large Fortified Settlement near Shepetivka. Plan showing the excavations by year (Drawn by A. Peskova and K. Mikhaylov; computer design by E. Nikitina)

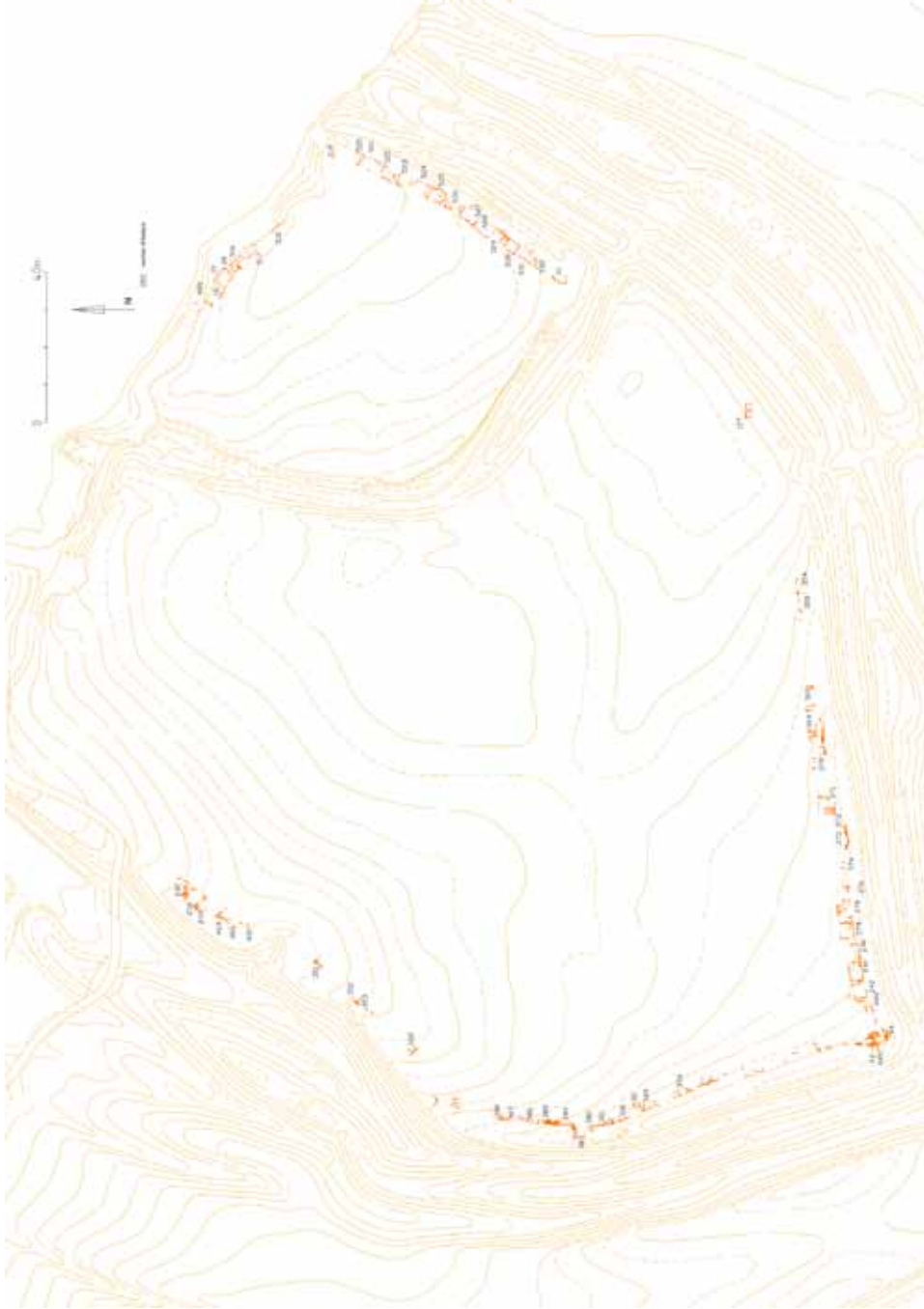


Fig. 6. The Large Fortified Settlement near Shepetivka. The layout of the wooden hollow log constructions on the hillfort (Drawn by A. Peskova and K. Mikhaylov; computer design by E. Nikitina)

household items (whole and crushed ceramic vessels, locks, keys, knives, scissors, etc.), numerous agricultural tools and tools used by blacksmiths and jewellers, but also fragments of bells, expensive weapons and hastily hidden silver jewellery (hoards). This could be compared with the destruction of Pompeii and Herculaneum and it was not by chance that one of the articles by M. Karger in the university newspaper at that time was entitled “Russian Pompeii” (Karger 1962b). Writing about dwellings and outbuildings at the site, the researcher noted repeatedly in his field reports that the only well-recorded indication of dwellings was provided by remnants of clay stoves with collapsed covers: “Despite the most careful research investigations of all, even the most insignificant traces of structures, it is not possible to trace the precise plan of dwellings or outbuildings... the plan of dwellings can only be restored to a certain extent based on the distribution of objects found near the remains of stoves, and sometimes on the arrangement of human skeletons along the walls” (Karger 1962, 3). On the basis of these observations, M. Karger believed that all the dwellings in this settlement had been standing buildings “of a wattle-and-daub type without vertical support posts dug into the ground” (*ibid.*). Indeed in some cases a large number of household items (ceramic vessels, sometimes whole ones, mill-stones, knives, fire-steels, locks, keys, etc.) was recorded in the field drawings near the stoves, thus confirming the presence of dwellings. In such cases the arrangement of the finds provided an idea of a dwelling’s size. Yet more often in the field drawings only the stoves (or their foundations) are recorded. The mapping of all the individual finds in the plan of the settlement, announced by M. Karger in his field reports, was not in fact implemented. As a result, the plan of the settlement remained unclear.

M. Karger considered the Early Rus’ fortified settlement “basically a single-layer site” and, based on analysis of the archaeological materials, he dated it to the end of the 12th c. or first half of the 13th (in his final summing-up he attributed the emergence of the town to the second half of the 12th c.; Karger 1965, 40). Initially he had assumed that certain finds of the Late Roman period had been accidentally brought to the site from a nearby settlement or burial-ground. Only in the last years of his excavations did M. Kargerr admit that an older settlement had existed at this place long before the appearance of an Early Rus’ population, but the earlier cultural layer had, in his opinion, been destroyed by Early

Rus' buildings. In his 1962 report, Karger had already observed that "in the part of the Detinets and Posad near the river bank a layer had survived containing the remains of a much more ancient settlement which, judging from the ceramics, bronze brooches and Roman coins, dated from the first centuries AD" (Karger 1963, 2–3). Then in 1963, on the cape outside the fortifications, remains of an industrial complex of the same period were discovered by means of magnetometry. They were held to be a two-tier kiln for firing grey-burnished Chernyakhov pottery (Karger 1963, 6; Shilik 1965, 265–269).

Karger spoke enthusiastically and vividly at the university about the results of the excavations and lectured on the results of the field studies at the plenary sessions of the IHMC (Karger 1959, 17–20; 1960, 100–101; 1962a, 59–61). Yet he expounded his final idea about the site as a whole only once, in a short summary at the First International Congress of Slavic Archaeology in Warsaw (Karger 1965, 39–41). On the basis of these data the site was included in almost all archaeological works relating to Early Rus' fortified urban sites in general, and in particular to those in the southern part of Rus'. The discovery of the Late Roman settlement, which predated the Early Rus' fortified settlement, went almost unnoticed.

During the excavations of the fortified settlement, when its name was often heard in archaeological circles, it was included in the catalogue of Chernyakhov sites found within the territory of the Ukraine (Makhno 1960, 54, Cat. No. 37). At the same time, one of the Roman coins found during the excavations of the fortified settlement was included in the summary of the hoards of Roman coins on the territory of USSR (Kropotkin 1961, 84, Cat. No. 1124). This is all that is currently known to the archaeological community about the settlement from the Late Roman period in the basin of the River Goryn'.

The Early Rus' settlement initially appeared in the academic literature with the attractive name Izyaslavl'. In the first year of successful field research M. Karger identified the site under investigation with the city of Izyaslavl' mentioned in chronicles, which had happened to be on the path of the Batu Khan's troops, when they were moving west in the winter of 1240/1241, after the capture of Kiev (*Ipatiev Chronicle*, col. 786; Karger 1958, 16–17). Under this name the fortified settlement continues to figure in the literature to the present day, despite the fact that M. Karger's hypothesis has long been challenged. He himself

noted that its legitimacy would depend on the presence or absence of a cultural layer, of a similar date to that of Horodyshche, in the district centre Izyaslav, located on the Goryn' River not far away (about 20 km): "In order for the hypothesis expressed here to become a scientifically substantiated position, additional archaeological research is needed on the territory of modern Izyaslav" (Karger 1958, 17). The excavations carried out by Ukrainian archaeologists in Izyaslav in the 1980s and 1990s made it possible to establish the presence of an urban level dating from the 12th c. or first half of the 13th within its territory. This confirmed the possibility of direct historical continuity between the Izyaslav' mentioned in the chronicles and the modern town of Izyaslav (Nikitenko, Osadchy and Polegaylov 1985, 270–274; Nikitenko 1999, 547–552; Pryshchepa 2016, 130; Demidko 2017, 144–149). The fortified settlement excavated by M. Karger thus became an unnamed fortified settlement, but the search for its name in the chronicles continues. It is difficult to say what enabled Karger's hypothesis to survive so long: either the scale of the destruction of the ancient town discovered by archaeologists, or the forceful personality of the researcher himself – most likely both. All the more so since the likelihood of the annihilation of this town resulting from Tatar-Mongol attack is very high regardless of its name, given that it was located in the path of the Batu Khan's troops.

About the collection

A great assemblage of archaeological and anthropological materials, animal bones and charred grain collected during field research was distributed among several academic institutions for the purpose of specialist study and storage. The bulk of archaeological finds made between 1971 and 1976 was transferred to the State Hermitage Museum, where in 1983 a temporary exhibition was organized and a catalogue entitled "The Town of Izyaslav' in Early Rus'" was published (Mirolyubov 1983). Currently, striking finds from the excavations of the fortified settlement make up a significant part of the permanent exhibition in the Hermitage dedicated to the culture of Early Rus.

A small part of the finds was sent to the Artillery Museum in Leningrad and to the Khmelnytskyi Museum of Regional History (Ukraine). The graphic and photo documentation are held in the IHMC. Field reports, identical in their content, are to be found in

academic archives in Moscow, Kyiv and St. Petersburg but there are no site journals available.

Anthropological materials, collected at the site in enormous quantities, were transferred for research purposes partly to the First Leningrad Medical Institute, partly to the Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (Kunstkamera; hereinafter the MAE). In the early years of the excavations (1957–1958), human bones were sent to the Department of Radiology of the First Leningrad Medical Institute, where they were immediately examined by a group of staff under the guidance of the head of the Department, Dmitrii Rokhlin. While determining the age and gender of the specimens, the researchers also focused on identifying palaeo-pathological changes and traumatic injuries of bones, which showed no signs of having healed. Some of this joint work was briefly published by the group leader in his book, *Diseases of Ancient People* (Rokhlin 1965, 208–211, Fig. 100). From it we learn that the skeletons and scattered human bones obtained from archaeologists had been sorted and that among them researchers had been able to isolate the remains of 242 individuals (55 men, 64 women and 59 children, while in 64 cases the gender had not been determined; cf. Rokhlin 1965, 209). Some of the bones displayed traumatic injuries, testifying to the violent death of the individuals concerned.

Anthropological materials from the excavations of the next six years were sent to the MAE, but for 60 years traces of them had been lost in the depths of the museum's repositories. Only recently, thanks to the efforts of MAE researcher, Ivan Shirobokov, we succeeded in finding boxes with materials from the excavations of 1959–1964 in the museum's storerooms. The significance of this find for a full and comprehensive study of the site excavated by M. Karger cannot be overestimated. The prospects for investigating these new-found materials largely depend, however, on whether the young researcher is able to obtain financial support for his project.

The bones of animals and plant residues (mainly charred grain) were sent to the Moscow laboratory of the IHMC (at that time known as the Institute of Archaeology of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Moscow) to Veniamin Tsalkin (palaeozoology) and Aleksei Kiryanov (palaeobotany). The question of the extent and method of sampling for the study remains unclear. Among the materials of Karger's archive at the IHMC, the conclusion of V. Tsalkin regarding the results of the

study can be found, together with parts of his correspondence with A. Kiryanov, briefly cited in the dissertation of A. Peskova (1988a).

The complete results of these studies have not been published, although the conclusions of A. Kiryanov were partially cited for comparison with materials discussed in the works of Natalia Kiryanova (1979, 75 [Note 20], 81), and also in those of Svitlana Belyaeva and Galyna Pashkevych (1990, 42). A number of samples of charred grain from the excavations of the fortified settlement were independently analysed and published by Zoya Yanushevich, so as to compare them with materials from excavations of the ancient settlements of Yekimautsi and Petrukha in Moldova (Yanushevich 1976, 86–89, tables 15, 16, Fig. 42).

Research history

One of the regular members of the expedition and closest assistants of Mikhail Karger, Oleg Ovsyannikov, in his unpublished manuscript wrote: “predetermining the future of the accumulated material, M.K. Karger has repeatedly and in various forums announced the preparation of a large joint monograph, the authors of which will work with materials of the main, most important, categories of finds from the fortified settlement, its dwelling complexes and fortification structures. The aforementioned group of authors, according to M. Karger, should have included: Mikhail Karger (general management, dwelling complexes, fortifications, jewellery), Anatolii Kirpichnikov (weaponry-related items), Mark Mirolyubov (agricultural tools), Oleg Ovsyannikov (pottery)” (Ovsyannikov 1968). It should also be noted that the potential authors of the future monograph were regular members of the expedition.

The study of the finds by a large group of authors during the lifetime of M. Karger turned out in practice to be an impossible project; certain categories of finds, however, were studied and introduced into the academic literature. Items connected with weaponry were studied by A. Kirpichnikov, as planned, and most of them were published both in surveys of archaeological sources and also in individual articles (Kirpichnikov 1966–1973; 1971; 1973; 1975; 1976; 1978), but much of this work still remains unpublished. A study of the pottery written by O. Ovsyannikov in 1968 also remains unpublished. These contributions, despite having been written decades ago, are of great interest to modern

researchers investigating the towns of Early Rus' in general and this site and region in particular, first of all due to their exhaustive detail and also to the integrated approach to these painstakingly investigated materials.

Neither was a small, but very important in our opinion, article by Galina Romanova (1980s) published: it was devoted to the most striking finds of the Late Roman period. M. Karger, as already mentioned, linked these to a badly destroyed layer pertaining to the Chernyakhov culture, noting that “the contemporary hand-moulded pottery is of particular interest” (Karger 1965, 41). It was the presence of the characteristic hand-moulded pottery (in combination with other features) that allowed G. Romanova to attribute this settlement to a group of Velbar Culture sites, which at a later stage evolved into Chernyakhov settlements (Romanova, manuscript, 5).

M. Mirolyubov, the first curator of the collection from Horodyshe, who had organized the Hermitage exhibition of 1983 devoted to these materials, published much later a very brief survey of the agricultural tools collection, as well as craft tools and items manufactured by blacksmiths for various purposes (Mirolyubov 1983; 1984; 1988a; 1988b; 1995). While working through the Mirolyubov archive, we had hoped to find a study of the agricultural tools from ‘Izyaslavl’, but the search was in vain.

Over the past 60 years, experts have frequently referred to materials from the excavations at the fortified settlement. Certain categories of objects, such as stone icons, silver jewellery with niello decoration (headdress pendants [*kolt(s)*] and finger rings), fragments of bells, bronze hand-censers, reliquary-crosses and a bronze icon-pendant continued to be studied and published separately and in works of a survey type (Nikolaeva 1983; Makarova 1986; Shashkina and Galibin 1986; Bank and Zalesskaya 1995; Korzukhina and Peskova 2003; Churakova 2017). Seventeen hoards of silver jewellery (Peskova 1988a), a range of pilgrimage relics unique in the towns of Early Rus' (Peskova 1994, 64–66; 1997, 48–50; 2001, 113–126), fragments of a copper alloy cross of medium size with the representation of the Crucifix and saints used as an object of private devotion (Peskova 1998, 238–252) and lead seals (Peskova and Beletsky 1997, 129–138) were also published.

Two articles were devoted to the fortifications of the Large Fortified Settlement at Valy (M. Karger’s Izyaslavl’) and of the Small Fortified

Settlement, possibly designed as a look-out post and located on the northern outskirts of Horodyshche village (Peskova 2008; 2009).

The specialists from Kyiv studied the production technology used for certain groups of ferrous-metal products (knives, scissors, scythes, sickles), some of which turned out to have damascened blades (Voznesenska 1989; 1992; Voznesenskaya 1990). Based on analysis of the special processes required for the manufacture of silver headdress pendants with niello decoration, two technological traditions were identified, indicating the possibility that there had been two workshops producing jewellery in the settlement (Kornienko 2017, 229–240).

Recently, new studies of a unique find known as the Early Rus' garment from Izyaslavl' have been conducted at a more advanced level (Saburova 1997, 102, Pl. 68: 6). It was established that, judging by the cut of the garment, it is most likely to have been a man's caftan, the closest parallels for which are to be found in Polovtsian costume (Orfinskaya and Mikhaylov 2013).

Today the list of works relating in varying degrees to the interpretation of the materials obtained during the excavations of the fortified settlement includes dozens of articles. We have only mentioned some of them. They testify to researchers' continued interest. At the same time, the scattered and fragmentary nature of the published materials, the random selection of the samples and the incomplete coverage of the materials cannot provide a picture of the site as a whole. This gives rise to very contradictory interpretations regarding not only its name in the chronicles, but also its social composition and the historical and geographical affiliations, which defined its place and role in the history of the south-western regions of Early Rus'.

Issues requiring attention in the study of the site

The historical fate of the region, in which the town is situated, was largely determined, first of all by its position at the point where the Kievan, Volhynian, Galician and Bolokhov Lands meet and by its dangerous proximity to the Steppes. A second crucial factor was that at least two of the traditional routes of communication, leading from Kiev to the West (via Volodymyr and Galych) and mentioned in the chronicles, passed through this territory. More often than not, these routes can be traced through chronicle reports on the movement of

military detachments supporting warring princes, although there is no doubt that they were at the same time trade and pilgrim routes. The construction of fortified centers in the region resulted from, among other things, the need to ensure the security of these major communication routes.

These same routes were used in the winter of 1240/1241 by the army of Batu on its way from Kiev through Kolodyazhin, Kamenets, Izyaslav', Kremenets and Danilov (*Ipatiev Chronicle*, col. 786). Of these cities, only Kolodyazhin has definitely been identified with a fortified settlement, excavated on the River Sluch' near the village of Kolodyazhne in the Zhytomyr region of the Ukraine (Yura 1962, 57–130). Medieval Izyaslav', as was noted above, can with a high degree of probability be seen as the predecessor of the modern town of Izyaslav, located on the River Goryn'. Medieval Kamenets ought therefore to be situated between the Sluch' and Goryn' rivers and can be linked to one of the sites located on this section of the route. The question as to the location of Kamenets has a very long history and several answers have been suggested. One of them is that it was located near Kamyanka village on the Tsvetokha river, the eastern tributary of the Goryn' River (Grushevsky 1891, 43–44, note 5). The village of Kamyanka is located at the point where the Guska river flows into the Tsvetokha, but there is not a single fortified settlement near it. The nearest one to Kamyanka is the fortified settlement excavated by M. Karger in the upper reaches of the Guska river, which makes it possible to regard it as one of the 'contenders' for the Kamenets of the chronicles. Archaeological materials from the excavations of the fortified settlement correspond in general to the Kamenets' of the chronicles, which was an important fortified centre, located on the border between the Volhynian and Kievan Lands and in the immediate vicinity of the Bolokhov Land (Peskova and Beletsky 1997, 132–137). This hypothesis, however, also needs to be tested by further more detailed studies of the materials from the site itself and its surroundings.

Comparative studies of the micro-regions of modern Izyaslav on the Goryn' River and the fortified settlement on the River Guska, systematically carried out by Serhii Demydko, are of great importance and hold out interesting prospects in this respect (Demydko 2008; Demidko 2017). Perhaps further research in this direction will help evaluate the consistency of a hypothesis put forward by Evgen Osadchyi,

who located Kamenets on the site of modern Izyaslav. The author of the hypothesis believes that Kamenets and Izyaslavl' are names of one and the same town, namely Kamenets', whose ruler or founder was prince Izyaslav. No town called Izyaslavl', according to this researcher, ever existed (Osadchyi 2011).

After the brief report delivered by M. Karger in 1965, the next attempt to summarize the studies of the site, which had accumulated by the end of the 1980s, was a PhD thesis by A. Peskova «The Early Rus' Town of Izyaslavl' in the 12th and 13th c. (based on materials from the fortified settlement at the village of Horodyshche near Shepetivka)» (Peskova 1988a). The site excavated by M. Karger was interpreted as a military-aristocratic fortified centre with a pronounced urban culture, built according to a single plan as an outpost of the Volhynian prince, Roman Mstislavovich, at the eastern edges of Volhynia in the 1190s, and remaining in existence until the middle of the 13th c. (Peskova 1981; 1988a; 1988b). Over time a few items were identified, which had been used by the Early Rus' population around the middle of the 13th c. and had been widespread mainly in the second half of the 13th c. and the 14th, and also isolated finds from the 14th–16th c. In this connection it was suggested that the destruction of the settlement could be associated not only with the attack by Batu's troops in 1241, but perhaps also with the assault by the Mongolian warlord Burundai, in 1259 (Medvedev and Peskova 2008, 311–315). This is still an open question, as is the closely related issue of the location of the cities mentioned in the chronicles as routed in 1241 by the Mongolian Khan, Batu.

Currently, a number of researchers, and especially those who are excavating in this region, are coming more and more often to include M. Karger's 'Izyaslavl'' in the group of cities of the Bolokhov Land and even to consider it the main administrative centre of the region (Yakubovskiy 1997; Vynokur *et al.* 2004). This is not surprising, since the common features of the material culture in the Sluch'-Goryn' interfluvium and in the upper reaches of the Southern Bug are indeed striking. What was the reason behind these shared features and how far-reaching was it? Today there are not yet any ready answers to these questions.

If we reconstruct the territory of the Bolokhov Land on the basis of the few references in the chronicle, it is easy to see that this fortified settlement is located very near, but nevertheless still outside it (*Ipatiev*

Chronicle, a. 6658, 6739, 6743, 6749, 6765). Yet, starting out from the archaeological data, the researchers have significantly expanded the hypothetical boundaries of the elusive Bolokhov Land in the first half of the 13th c.

On archaeological maps, these boundaries stretch from Dorogobuzh and Vozvyagl' in the North (in the Sluch'-Goryn' interfluve) to Mezhybozhe and Buzhsk in the South (in the upper reaches of the Southern Bug), to Kotelnich and the Raiky fortified settlements in the East (in the upper reaches of the River Teterev). The site of the Large Fortified Settlement near Shepetivka appears on this map on the western border of the area (Morgunov 2009, Fig. 89). Yuri Morgunov notes the contemporaneous existence of fortified settlement with an atypical layout of fortifications (of the Bolokhov type) and ordinary Early Rus' fortifications within the outlined territory (Morgunov 2009, 196). The appearance of atypical settlements in this region Y. Morgunov explains with reference to the involvement in the building of the fortifications of immigrants from the steppes, specifically the group of 'wild' Polovtsy who moved there from the upper reaches of the Southern Bug (Pletneva 1975, 280, 282; Morgunov 2009, 196–197). The cohabitation of different ethnic groups was bound to have been reflected not only in the nature of the fortifications being erected, but also in other elements of the local material culture. Certain "steppe" elements are to be observed in the materials from the Large fortified settlement, but their full scale and the extent to which the former steppe people were represented in the population remain to be seen. Naturally anthropological research will play the decisive role in the resolution of this issue.

The range of questions relating to the study of the fortified settlement excavated by M. Karger is very wide. Here we have merely noted the main ones. A full investigation of such a site is possible only as a group undertaking.

About the project

The joint project planned by M. Karger did not, as we know, materialize. Yet now, 60 years after the beginning of the excavations, at the end of 2017, a grant was approved by the RFBR to prepare research papers and materials from the excavations of the fortified settlement near Shepetivka for publication. The grant was for a period of three

years for a group of five researchers — members of the IHMC and the State Hermitage Museum (led by A. Peskova). The aim of the project is to introduce, as fully as possible, these materials into the academic literature.

One of the key tasks is to identify and reconstruct all the dwelling and craft complexes and to reconstitute the fortified settlement plan on this basis. M. Karger had been unable in the field to establish the boundaries of dwellings and outbuildings, so he had not kept track of these (or numbered them). Sometimes, however, the label “dwelling” is to be found in the lists of finds next to certain groups of objects. He did, however, photograph every object or cluster of objects found at the site and the expedition’s illustrator duly drew them. Each such drawing was labelled “Detail No.” and given a number (Fig. 7a-b). This word was used by M. Karger for drawings depicting not just individual skeletons, clusters of bones, ground-level frames for houses and other buildings, stoves and clusters of objects, but also certain clearly discernible groups of dwellings and outbuildings. Sometimes individual finds were also mapped in these drawings but this, unfortunately, was not the rule. The numbering of the “Details” was, of course, not continuous, but applicable only within the limits of each trench. Therefore, after digitizing all the materials, we were forced to use our own designations and numbering system for the structures and their parts, burials, mass graves, etc., which had been discovered. As a result, an all-encompassing catalogue of the objects that have been investigated was finally obtained.

At the end of each field season, M. Karger usually sent field drawings to the laboratories for post-excavation processing at the IHMC (then known as the Leningrad Department of the Institute of Archaeology), where they were reworked on high-quality drawing paper and photographed. Negatives and photographic prints were sent to the Institute’s academic archive. Comparison of photographs with the enhanced field drawings showed that about a quarter of the field drawings had not been reworked on high-quality drawing paper and required copying.

The academic archive was also sent a significant proportion of the field photographs recording the excavation process. They had only been annotated very briefly and, as it turned out, often incorrectly. Many more field photographs, usually without annotations but grouped by years, are preserved in the personal archive of M. Karger, held in the

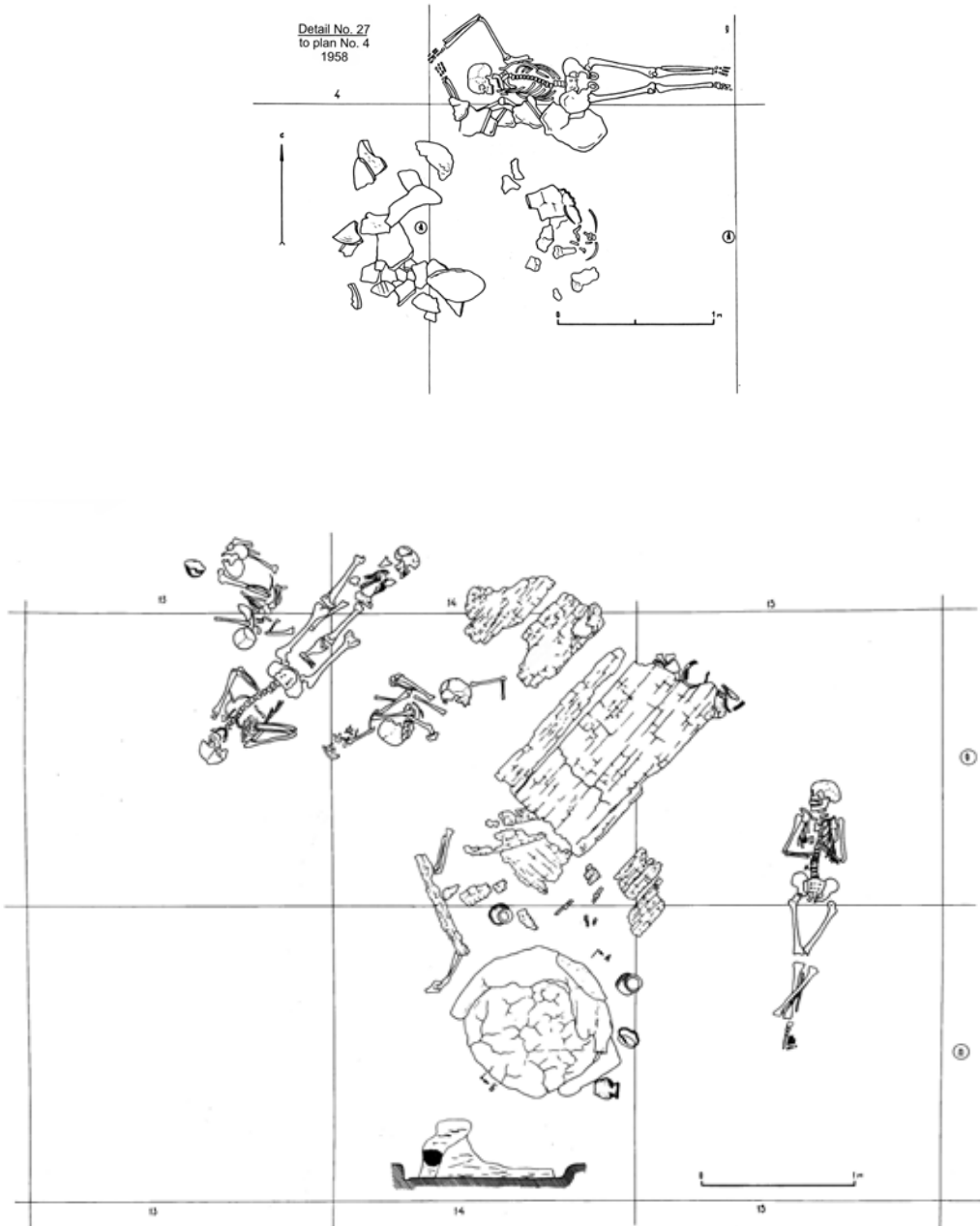


Fig. 7a; b. The Large Fortified Settlement near Shepetivka. Composite elements of reworked drawings (Department of photographs, Scientific Archive of the Institute of the History of Material Culture, Russian Academy of Sciences, negative no I 54449, print No 2574.75; negative No. I 78868, print No 2574.2)

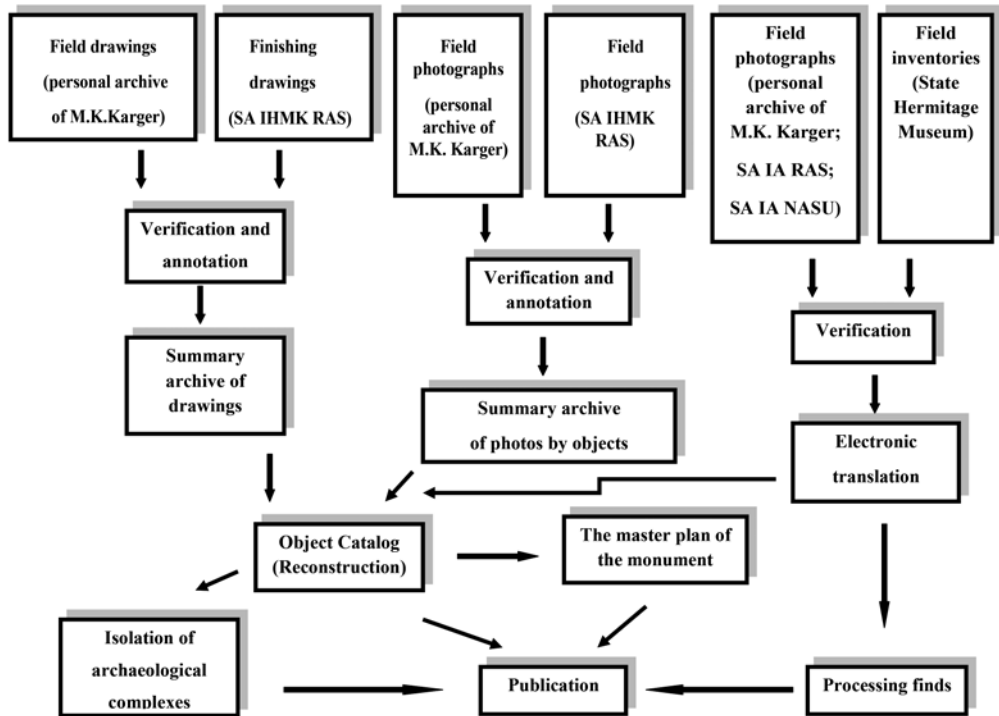


Fig. 8. The Large Fortified Settlement near Shepetivka. The schematic graph of the working on the documentation (Prepared by A. Peskova, K. Mikhaylov)

Department of Slavic-Finnish Archaeology of the IHMC (about one thousand prints). The log-books listing the photographs taken have, unfortunately, not survived.

To create a complete plan of the settlement in the future it will be essential to transfer all these types of documentation into a single database, check them, correlate field photographs with drawings and digitize all the materials (Fig. 8).

As a result of the work we have already carried out, 555 features have been identified and mapped within the plan of the fortified settlement. So far this provides only the basis on which later – after comparison with data from the lists of finds – it will be possible to reconstruct dwellings and outbuildings and to reconstitute the settlement plan.

The main conclusions obtained at the first stage of the study of the scientific documentation compiled by the team are as follows: the

documentation of the expedition has been preserved on a large scale. It is adequate by the standards of the time in question and, for the most part, clearly reflects the complicated structure of the site, making it possible to reconstruct groups of dwellings and outbuildings and, as a result, the overall plan of the settlement.

In the coming years the team will continue its research work with archive materials and the collection of archaeological finds held in the Hermitage. The team also plans to bring out unpublished manuscripts by A. Kirpichnikov, O. Ovsyannikov and G. Romanova.

References

Written sources

Ipatiev Chronicle *Ipatëvskaya letopis*, Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisey 2. Sankt-Petersburg: Tipografiya M.A. Aleksandrova. 1908.

Unpublished archive data

- Karger M.K. 1958. Otchet o raskopkakh Galitsko-Volynskoy arkheologicheskoy ekspeditsii LOIIMK AN SSSR i LGU v 1957 g., Lichnyy arkhiv M.K. Kargera, Institut istorii materialnoy kultury Rossiyskoy akademii nauk. Sankt-Petersburg.
- Karger M.K. 1962. Otchet o raskopkakh Galitsko-Volynskoy arkheologicheskoy ekspeditsii LOIIMK AN SSSR i LGU v 1961 g., Lichnyy arkhiv M.K. Kargera, Institut istorii materialnoy kultury Rossiyskoy akademii nauk. Sankt-Petersburg.
- Karger M.K. 1963. Otchet o raskopkakh Galitsko-Volynskoy arkheologicheskoy ekspeditsii LOIIMK AN SSSR i LGU v 1962 g. Lichnyy arkhiv M.K. Kargera, Institut istorii materialnoy kultury Rossiyskoy akademii nauk. Sankt-Petersburg.
- Ovsyannikov O.V. 1968. Keramika drevnego "Izyaslavya" (Opus klassifikatsii glinyannoy posudy srednevekovogo russkogo goroda), manuscript, Lichnyy arkhiv O.V. Ovsyannikova, Institut istorii materialnoy kultury Rossiyskoy akademii nauk. Sankt-Petersburg.

Literature

- Antonovich V.B. 1901. Arkheologicheskaya karta Volynskoy gubernii. In P.S. Uvarova (ed.), *Trudy XI Arkheologicheskogo syezda v Kiyevе, 1899*, vol. I. Moskva: Tipografiya G. Lessnera i A. Geshelya, 1–133.
- Bank A.V. and Zalesskaya V.N. 1995. Katseyа XII veka iz Izyaslavya. In B.V. Sapunov (ed.), *U istokov russkoy kultury XII–XVII veka*. Sankt-Petersburg: AO Slaviya, 80–87.
- Belyaeva S.O. and Pashkevych G.O. 1990. Zernove gospodarstvo Srednëgo Podnirov'ya X–XIV st. *Arkheologiya* 3, 37–47.
- Churakova A.Yu. 2017. Podveska-ikonka «Chudo sv. Georgiya o zmie» s gorodishcha bliz Shepetovki. In A.E. Musin and O.A. Shcheglova (eds.), *V kamne i v bronze, Sbornik statey v chest Anny Peskovoy (= Trudy IIMK RAN,*

- vol. XLVIII). Sankt-Petersburg: IIMK RAN. OOO «Nevskaya Knizhnaya tipografiya», 611–614.
- Grushevsky M.S. 1891. *Ocherk istorii Kievskoy zemli ot smerti Yaroslava do kontsa XIV stoletiya*. Kiev: Tipografiya Imperatorskogo Universiteta Sv. Vladimira.
- Demydko S. 2008. Davnoruskiy «izyaslavskiy» microregion. In H.Yu. Ivakin (ed.), *Starodavnyi Iskorosten i slov'yanski hrady. Zbirka naukovikh prats*, vol. I. Korosten: MPP «Triada S», 105–112.
- Demidko S. 2017. Mikroregiony «Izyaslavya»-Izyaslava i «Izyaslavya»-Gorodishcha: popytka sravneniya. In A.E. Musin and O.A. Shcheglova (eds.), *V kamne i v bronze, Sbornik statey v chest Anny Peskovoy (= Trudy IIMK RAN, vol. XLVIII)*. Sankt-Peterburg: IIMK RAN. OOO «Nevskaya Knizhnaya tipografiya», 141–150.
- Karger M.K. 1959. Drevnerussky gorod Izyaslavl v svete arkheologicheskikh issledovaniy 1957–1958 gg. In *XV Nauchnaya sessiya Leningradskogo universiteta 1958–1959 gg. Sektsiya istoricheskikh nauk. Tezisy dokladov*. Leningrad: s.n., 17–20.
- Karger M.K. 1960. Galitsko-Volynskaya ekspeditsiya. *Kratkiye soobshcheniya Instituta istorii materialnoy kultury* 79, 100–101.
- Karger M.K. 1962a. Drevnerussky gorod Izyaslavl v svete arkheologicheskikh issledovaniy 1957–1961 gg. In *Tezisy dokladov na zasedaniyakh, posvyashchennykh itogam polevykh issledovaniy 1961 g.* Moskva: AN SSSR, 59–61.
- Karger M.K. 1962b. Russkaya Pompeya. *Leningradskiy universitet* 36 (5 iyunya 1962 g.).
- Karger M.K. 1965. Drevnerusskiy gorod Izyaslavl v svete arkheologicheskikh issledovaniy 1957–1964 gg. In *Tezisy dokladov sovetskoy delegatsii na I mezhdunarodnom kongresse slavyanskoy arkheologii v Varshave*. Moskva: Nauka, 39–41.
- Kirpichnikov A.N. 1966–1973. Drevnerusskoye oruzhie, Vyp. 1–4. *Svod arkheologicheskikh istochnikov*, Vyp. E1–36. Moskva-Leningrad: Nauka.
- Kirpichnikov A.N. 1971. Kryuk dlya natyagivaniya samostrela (1200–1240 gg.). *Kratkiye soobshcheniya Instituta arkheologii* 125, 100–102.
- Kirpichnikov A.N. 1973. O vremeni poyavleniya shpory so zvezdochkoy na territorii Drevney Rusi. *Kvartalnik istorii kultury materialnej* 21 (2), 299–304.
- Kirpichnikov A.N. 1975. Mechi iz raskopok drevnego Izyaslavya. *Kratkiye soobshcheniya Instituta arkheologii* 144, 30–54.
- Kirpichnikov A.N. 1976. *Voennoe delo na Rusi v XIII–XV vv.* Leningrad: Nauka.
- Kirpichnikov A.N. 1978. Massovoye oruzhiye blizhnego boya iz raskopok Izyaslavya. *Kratkiye soobshcheniya Instituta arkheologii* 155, 30–37.
- Kiryanova N.A. 1979. O sostave zemledelcheskikh kultur Drevney Rusi X–XV vv. (po arkheologicheskim materialam). *Sovetskaya arkheologiya* 4, 72–85.
- Korzukhina G.F. and Peskova A.A. 2003. Drevnerusskiye enkolpiony: Nagrudnyye kresty-relikvarii X–XIII vv. *Trudy IIMK RAN*, vol. VII. Sankt-Petersburg: Peterburgskoye Vostokovedeniye.
- Kornienko A.I. 2017. K voprosu o yuvelirnykh masterskikh drevnego Izyaslavya (po materialam kolleksii serebryanykh koltov s chernyu iz sobraniya Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha). In A.E. Musin and O.A. Shcheglova (eds.), *V kamne i v bronze, Sbornik statey v chest Anny Peskovoy (= Trudy IIMK RAN, vol. XLVIII)*. Sankt-Petersburg: IIMK RAN. OOO «Nevskaya Knizhnaya tipografiya», 229–240.

- Kropotkin V.V. 1961. Klady rimskikh monet na territorii SSSR. *Svod arkheologicheskikh istochnikov*, Vyp. G4–4. Moskva: Izdatelstvo Akademii nauk SSSR.
- Makarova T.I. 1986. *Chernevoye delo drevney Rusi*. Moskva: Nauka.
- Makhno E.V. 1960. Pamyatniki chernyakhovskoy kultury na territorii USSR (Materialy k sostavleniyu arkheologicheskoy karty). In B.A. Rybakov (ed.), *Chernyakhovskaya kultura (= Materialy i issledovaniya po arkheologii SSSR 82)*. Moskva: Nauka, 9–83.
- Medvedev M.Yu. and Peskova A.A. 2008. Geraldicheskaya nakladka iz raskopok M.K. Kargera na gorodishche u s. Gorodishche bliz Shepetovki (k voprosu o vremeni gibeli poseleniya). *Naukovi zapiski z ukrainskoi istorii. Zbirnik naukovikh statey* 20, 305–318.
- Miroyubov M.A. 1983. *Drevnerusskiy gorod Izyaslavl, Katalog vystavki*. Leningrad: Gosudarstvennyy Ermitazh.
- Miroyubov M.A. 1984. Selskokhozyaystvennyye orudiya drevnego Izyaslavya (XI–XIII vv.). In P.P. Tolochko (ed.), *Drevnerusskiy gorod*. Kiev: Naukova dumka, 82–84.
- Miroyubov M.A. 1988a. Orudiya obrabotki pochvy srednego Podneprovya XII–XIII vv. (po materialam drevnego Izyaslavya). In *Istoriko-arkheologicheskii seminar «Chernigov i ego okruga v IX–XIII vv.»*. *Tezisy dokladov*. Chernigov: Desna, 95–97.
- Miroyubov M.A. 1988b. Remeslennyy instrumentariy drevnerusskogo Izyaslavya. In P.P. Tolochko (ed.), *Trudy V Mezhdunarodnogo kongressa arkheologov-slavistov v Kieve*, vol. II, seksii III–IV. Kiev: Naukova dumka, 107–110.
- Miroyubov M.A. 1995. Kuznechnyye izdeliya drevnego Izyaslavya iz sobraniya Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha. In B.V. Sapunov (ed.), *U istokov russkoy kultury XII–XVII veka*. Sankt-Petersburg: AO Slaviya, 33–40.
- Morgunov Yu.Yu. 2009. *Drevo-zemlyanyye ukrepleniya Yuzhnoy Rusi X–XIII vekov*. Moskva: Nauka.
- Nikitenko M.M., Osadchy E.I. and Polegaylov A.G. 1985. Drevnerusskoye zhilishche v g. Izyaslav Khmel'nitskoy oblasti. *Sovetskaya arkheologiya* 1, 270–274.
- Nikitenko M.M. 1999. Letopisny Izyaslavl na reke Goryni. *Pamyatniki kultury. Novyye otkrytiya* 1998. Moskva: Nauka, 547–552.
- Nikolayeva T.V. 1983. *Drevnerusskaya melkaya plastika iz kamnya XI–XV vv. Svod arkheologicheskikh istochnikov*, Vyp. E1–60. Moskva: Nauka.
- Orfinskaya O.V. and Mikhaylov K.A. 2013. Drevnerusskoye «platye» iz Izyaslavya: novaya atributsiya. *Rossiyskaya arkheologiya* 4, 75–85.
- Osadchy E. 2011. Shche raz pro problemu istoricheskikh nazv volynskikh mist, zgdanykh u statti 1240 r. Ipatievskogo litopisu. *Ruthenica* 10, 78–90.
- Peskova A.A. 1981. Drevniy Izyaslavl. *Kratkiye soobshcheniya Instituta arkheologii* 164, 66–73.
- Peskova A.A. 1988a. *Drevnerusskiy gorod Izyaslavl XII–XIII vv. (po materialam gorodishcha u s. Gorodishche bliz Shepetovki)*. Avtoreferat dissertatsii na soiskaniye uchenoy stepeni kandidata istoricheskikh nauk. Leningrad: s.n.
- Peskova A.A. 1988b. Drevnerusskiy Izyaslavl v istorii yugo-zapadnoy Rusi (po materialam gorodishcha u s. Gorodishche bliz Shepetovki). In *Istoriko-arkhe-*

- ologicheskii seminar «Chernigov i ego okruga v IX–XIII vv.». Tezisy dokladov.* Chernigov: Desna, 32–34.
- Peskova A.A. 1994. Arkheologicheskiye svдетельstva svyazey Yuzhnoy Rusi s katolicheskim mirom (na primere odnogo pamyatnika). In A.P. Novoseltsev (ed.), *Vostochnaya Evropa v drevnosti i srednevekovye. Drevnyaya Rus v sisteme etno-politicheskikh i kulturnykh svyazey. Chteniya pamyati V.T. Pashuto. Tezisy dokladov.* Moskva: IRI RAN, 64–66.
- Peskova A.A. 1997. Palomnicheskiye drevnosti v drevnerusskom gorode. In D.A. Machinskiy (ed.), *Ladoga i religioznoye soznaniye. 3 chteniya pamyati Anny Machinskoy.* Sankt-Petersburg: s.n., 48–50.
- Peskova A.A. 1998. Khersonesskiy kiotnyy krest i ego mesto sredi sinkhronnykh pamyatnikov drevnerusskoy kultovoy plastiki. In A.E. Musin (ed.), *Materialy vtoroy vserossiyskoy tserkovno-arkheologicheskoy konferentsii, posvyashchennoy 150-letiyu so dnya rozhdeniya N.V. Pokrovskogo (= Tserkovnaya arkheologiya 4).* Sankt-Petersburg: s.n., 238–252.
- Peskova A.A. 2001. Palomnicheskiye relikvii Svyatoy zemli v drevnerusskom gorode. In V.N. Zaleskaya (ed.), *Piligrimy. Istoriko-kulturnaya rol palomnichestva.* Sankt-Petersburg: Izdatelstvo Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha, 113–126.
- Peskova A.A. 2008. Bolshoye i maloye drevnerusskie gorodishcha u sela Gorodishche bliz Shepetovki. In H.Yu. Ivakin (ed.), *Starodavnyi Iskorosten i slov'yanski hrady*, vol. II. Korosten: MPP «Triada S», 74–79.
- Peskova A.A. 2009. Oboronitelnyye sooruzheniya drevnego «Izyaslavya». In A.M. Gordin (ed.), *Arkhitectura i arkheologiya Drevney Rusi: materialy nauchnoy konferentsii, posvyashchennoy 100-letiyu so dnya rozhdeniya M.K. Kargera (1903–1976) (= Trudy Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha 46).* Sankt-Petersburg: Izdatelstvo Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha, 150–172.
- Peskova A.A. and Beletskiy S.V. 1997. Drevnerusskiye pechati Shepetovskogo gorodishcha i poiski ego letopisnogo imeni. In A.N. Kirpichnikov (ed.), *Pamyatniki stariny. Kontseptsii. Otkrytiya. Versii. Pamyati V.D. Beletskogo (1919–1997)*, vol. II. Sankt-Petersburg, Pskov: IIMK RAN, 129–138.
- Piskova H.O. 1988. Skarby starodavnogo Izyaslavya. *Arkheologiya* 61, 16–35.
- Pletneva S.A. 1975. Polovetskaya zemlya. In L.G. Beskrovnyy (ed.), *Drevnerusskiye knyazhestva X–XIII vv.* Moskva: Nauka, 260–300.
- Polegaylov A.G. and Osadchy E.I. 1988. Svintsovaya girka iz Izyaslava na r. Goryni. *Sovetskaya arkheologiya* 3, 253–254.
- Pryshchepa B. 2016. *Pogorinski mista v X–XIII st.* Rivne: PP Dyatlik M.
- Rappoport P.A. 1955. Goroda Bolokhovskoy zemli. *Kratkiye soobshcheniya Instituta istorii materialnoy kultury* 57, 52–59.
- Rokhlin D.G. 1965. Kosti lyudey iz razrushennogo drevnerusskogo gorodishcha bliz Shepetovki. In D.G. *Bolezni drevnikh lyudey: Kosti lyudey razlichnykh epokh – normalnyye i patologicheski izmenennyye.* Moskva, Leningrad: Nauka, 208–211.
- Saburova M.A. 1997. Drevnerusskiy kostyum. In B.A. Kolchin and T.I. Makarova (eds.), *Drevnyaya Rus. Byt i kultura.* Moskva: Nauka, 93–109.

- Samokvasov D.Ya. 1888. *Sbornik topograficheskikh svedeniy o kurganakh i gorodishchakh v Rossii. Volynskaya guberniya*. Sankt-Petersburg: Izdatelstvo Imperatorskoy Arkheologicheskoy komissii.
- Shashkina T.B and Galibin V.A. 1986. Pamyatniki drevnerusskogo kolokolnogo li-tya (rezultaty khimiko-analiticheskogo issledovaniya). *Sovetskaya arkheologiya* 4, 236–242.
- Shilik K.K. 1965. Opyt primeneniya magnitorazvedki na drevnerusskom gorodishche. In B.A. Kolchin (ed.), *Arkheologiya i estestvennyye nauki* (= *Materialy i issledovaniya po arkheologii SSSR* 129). Moskva: Nauka, 252–256.
- Voznesenska G.O. 1989. Tekhnologiya vyrobnytstva zhnyvarskikh znaryad pratsy iz starodavnogo Izyaslavya. *Arkheologiya* 3, 95–105.
- Voznesenskaya G.O. 1990. Tekhnologiya proizvodstva drevnerusskikh nozhey v pervoy polovine XIII v. In P.P. Tolochko (ed.), *Problemy arkheologii Yuzhnoy Rusi*. Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 83–91.
- Voznesenska G.O. 1992. Tekhnologiya vyrobnytstva nozhnyts u davnoruskomu Izyaslavli. In S.V. Pankov (ed.), *Starodavneye virobnytstvo na teritorii Ukraini*. Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 88–94.
- Vynokur I.S., Zhurko O.I., Megey V.P. and Yakubovskiy V.I. 2004. *Litopisnyi Gubin XII–XIII st., Bolokhivska zemlya, Vip. I. Za materialami arkheologichnikh doslidzhen 1997–2003 rokiv. Do 800-richchya Gubina*. Kyiv, Kam'yanets-Podilskiy, Khmel'nitskiy, Starokostyantyniv: PP Melnik A.A.
- Yura R.O. 1962. Drevnyi Kolodyazhyn. *Arkheologichni pamyatki URSS* XII, 57–130.
- Yakubovskiy V.I. 1997. Osnovni tsentry Bolokhivskoi zemli, Naukovi pratsi Kam'yanets-Podil'skogo derzhavnogo pedagogichnogo universitetu. *Istorični nauki* I (3), 14–32.
- Yanenko A. 2016. *Istoriya muzeynoi arkheologii USSR (1919–1934)*. Kyiv: The National Kyiv-Pechersk Historical and Cultural Preserve.
- Yanushevich Z.V. 1976. *Kulturnyye rasteniya Yugo-zapada SSSR po paleobotanicheskim issledovaniyam*. Kishinev: Shtiintsa.

DOI: 10.15584/anarres.2018.13.21

Tatjana Nekljudova*, Alexander Baškov**

Das archäologische Museum „Berestje“. Die Geschichte der Musealisierung der archäologischen Stätte und die aktuelle Museumsentwicklung

ABSTRACT

Nekljudova T., Baškov A. 2018. The archaeological museum “Berestyje”. The history of the museumisation of the archaeological site and present-day museum development. *Analecta Archaeologica Ressoviensia* 13, 441–462

The Berestyje Archaeological Museum, a branch of the Brest Museum of Regional Studies (Brest, Republic of Belarus), is the only museum in Europe where an archaeological site with perfectly preserved 13th-century wooden buildings of an East Slavic town are exhibited. The discovery of the medieval town of Berestyje was the result of large-scale excavations carried out in 1969–1981 and in 1988 under the guidance of Professor Piotr Lysenko. The characteristics of the wet cultural layer made it possible to preserve more than 220 wooden buildings and more than 43,000 objects of organic and inorganic origin. The long-term process of preserving wooden constructions was the first experience in the conservation and museumisation of such objects in the field.

Keywords: medieval Brest, archaeological site, archaeological museum, preservation, museumisation

Received: 19.12.2018; **Revised:** 28.12.2018; **Revised:** 28.12.2018; **Accepted:** 30.12.2018

1982 wurde das archäologische Museum „Berestje“ (Abb. 1), eine Außenstelle des Heimatkundemuseums der Brester Oblast’ (Brest, Republik Belarus), eröffnet. Es ist das einzige Museum dieser mittelalterlichen ostslawischen Stadt in Europa. Dieses einzigartige Museum befindet sich an der Stelle der archäologischen Ausgrabungen der alten Stadt Berestje (so wurde die Stadt Brest im Mittelalter genannt). Das Hauptexponat des Museums ist die Ausgrabungsstätte an sich mit ausgezeichnet erhaltenen Holzgebäuden des 13. Jahrhunderts (Abb. 2).

Die Stadt Brest (Berestje) wird erstmals 1019 in den Annalen erwähnt. Der genaue Standort der alten Stadt blieb jedoch lange Zeit unbekannt.

* Heimatkundemuseum der Brester Oblast’, Karl Marks Str. 60, Brest, Republik Belarus; brest.museum@gmail.com.

** Abteilung für die Geschichte der Slawischen Völker, Brester Staatliche Puškin-Universität, Kosmonavtov Boulevard 21, Brest, Republik Belarus; bashkow@mail.ru.



Abb. 1. Archäologisches Museum „Berestje“ (Foto: S. Sosonnaja)

Dank jahrelanger archäologischer Untersuchungen von Piotr Fiodorovič Lysenko wurde der genaue Standort des befestigten Teils der Stadt bestimmt, ein Teil des Handwerkerviertels der alten Stadt wurde freigelegt und zahlreiche Objekte der materiellen Kultur des 11.–14. Jh. wurden entdeckt. Die Musealisierung der alten Stadt Berestje in den 1970er–1980er war einzigartig und bis dato die einzige mit Erfahrung von Konservierung einer so großen archäologischen Stätte.

Die Geschichte der archäologischen Forschungen

Die Geschichte der archäologischen Forschungen der alten Stadt Berestje beginnt mit den Versuchen, ihren Standort zu bestimmen. Der Bau der Brester Festung auf dem Gelände der alten Stadt führte zu einer kompletten Veränderung der Landschaft und der Zerstörung der Überreste alter Verteidigungsanlagen. Dies war der Hauptgrund für die Schwierigkeit, den Burgwall auf dem Gelände zu finden. Die ersten Annahmen über die Lokalisierung der Stadt wurden 1954 vom Architekten J.A. Egorov gemacht. Er vermutete, dass die alte Stadt auf



Abb. 2. Die Ausgrabungsstätte mit Holzgebäuden des 13. Jh. ist das Hauptexponat des Museums (Foto: S. Sosonnaja)

einer der Inseln am Zusammenfluss von Muchavec und Bug liegt. 1961 konkretisierte der Archäologe J.V. Kucharenko die Suche nach dem Standort der alten Stadt Berestje. Er nahm ebenfalls an, dass sich der Burgwall auf dieser Insel befand und letztendlich während des Baus der Festung zerstört wurde. Bereits im selben Jahr untersuchten V.V. Sedov (Institut für Archäologie der Akademie der Wissenschaften der UdSSR) und P.F. Lysenko (Institut für Geschichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften der BSSR) einen Kap am Zusammenfluss des linken Flussarms vom Muchavec und dem Bug, aber es wurde nur spätmittelalterliche Keramik entdeckt (Lysenko 2012, 6).

Nach dem Studium zahlreicher schriftlicher Quellen, Archiv- und Museumsmaterialien, darunter Materialien des Heimatkundemuseums der Brester Oblast (u.a. Forschungen eines wissenschaftlichen Mitarbeiters des Heimatkundemuseums der Brester Oblast und Lokalis-

torikers M.I. Aleksejuk), der Topographie der Gegend vor dem Bau der Festung und der modernen Topographie, kam P.F. Lysenko 1964 zu dem Schluss, dass sich der Burgwall Berestje auf der Festigung Volyn' befand, auf dem Kap, das vom linken Ufer des linken Flussarms vom Muchavec und dem rechten Ufer vom Bug gebildet wurde. Das 1968 bei der Untersuchung einer Grube an der Westseite der Bastion auf dem Kap entdeckte archäologische Material bestätigte diese Annahme. Die ersten Probegrabungen enthüllten eine mächtige Kulturschicht mit Keramik aus dem 11. Jh. in den unteren Schichten.

Ausgrabungen im großen Maßstab begannen 1969. Die Untersuchungen wurden von der Turov-Abteilung der Archäologischen Abteilung des Instituts für Geschichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften der BSSR durchgeführt. An dieser Arbeit der Turov-Abteilung haben P.F. Lysenko (1968–1981, 1988), T.N. Korobuškina (1969–1980), L.V. Koledinskij (1975–1977), M.N. Fedoseev (1969–1972), S.I. Bektineev (1973–1976) und eine große Gruppe von Mitarbeitern der Abteilung für Archäologie teilgenommen. Während der gesamten Zeit (1969–1981 und 1988) wurden die Ausgrabungen von P.F. Lysenko geleitet (Abb. 3).

Das Heimatkundemuseum der Brester Oblast' war aktiv an der Organisation der Arbeiten beteiligt und finanzierte die Ausgrabungen. Die Mitarbeiter des Museums nahmen zudem direkt an Ausgrabungsarbeiten teil.

1970 wurde zum ersten Mal auf der Oberfläche der Bastion eine Grabungsfläche angelegt. In der mächtigen Kulturschicht (bis zu 7 Meter) wurden wunderschön erhaltene Holzgebäude entdeckt, von denen einige mit 9–12 Baumstämmen erhalten geblieben sind. Die Forscher standen vor der Frage, wie mit diesen einzigartigen Funden umzugehen ist. Nach allen vorhandenen Methoden mussten diese Gebäude demontiert werden, um Zugang zu den früheren Kulturschichten zu erhalten. Die außergewöhnliche Erhaltung der Holzgebäude der alten Stadt bot jedoch die seltene Gelegenheit, ein Museum zu gründen, und zog so öffentliche Aufmerksamkeit auf sich (Lysenko 1985, 28).

Am 29. September 1970 erließ der Ministerrat der BSSR das Dekret Nr. 948p. Das Dokument sah die Aufnahme des Burgwalls Berestje in die Liste der archäologischen Stätten, den Bau eines Schilddaches über den archäologischen Ausgrabungen, die dringende Konservierung der entdeckten Holzkonstruktionen und die Fortsetzung weiterer Forschungen vor (Archivakte 47, 4–5). Die Idee, ein Museum zu grün-



Abb. 3. Ausgrabungen von 1969. Von links nach rechts: T.N. Korobuškina, M.I. Aleksejuk, P.F. Lysenko. Die Fotosammlung des Heimatkundemuseums der Brester Oblast (Foto: Heimatkundemuseum der Brester Oblast)

den, wurde von regionalen und republikanischen Behörden und führenden Wissenschaftlern (u.a. vom Akademie-Mitglied B.A. Rybakov) unterstützt (Lysenko 2007, 41–42).

Das Hauptziel der weiteren Ausgrabungen in den Jahren 1971–1973 war es, den Ausstellungsort des zukünftigen Museums vorzubereiten. 1973 wurde die Gestaltung des Ausstellungsgeländes abgeschlossen. Die Arbeiten an diesem Standort wurden in der Tiefe der unteren Baustufe in der dritten und vierten Bauebenen beendet, die als Grundlage für die Vorbereitung des Ausstellungsgeländes verwendet wurden, da Wohn- und Wirtschaftsgebäude so bestmöglich erhalten bleiben. Das zentrale Straßenpflaster wurde wegen der schlechten Erhaltung der vierten und fünften Baustufen in der dritten und das südliche Straßenpflaster in der sechsten Baustufe ausgegraben (Lysenko 1985, 29).

Am 18. August 1972 erließ der Ministerrat der BSSR das Dekret Nr. 658p. Dieses Dokument sah die Gründung einer Außenstelle des Heimatkundemuseums der Brester Oblast' am Ort der archäolo-

gischen Ausgrabungen der alten Stadt Berestje und die Ausarbeitung eines Projekts für den Bau eines ständigen Pavillons über den konservierten Gebäuden vor (Archivakte 47, 9).

1974–1977 wurden die Ausgrabungen im nördlichen Teil durchgeführt, wo gemäß dem geplanten Projekt des Museumspavillons der Bau von Hinterzimmern geplant wurde. Hier wurde die Kulturschicht bis zum anstehenden Boden erkundet. 1975 wurde das beachtlich gut erhalten gebliebene Gebäude mit 12 Baumstämmen und mit einer vollständig erhaltenen Türöffnung entdeckt. Dieses Gebäude Nr. 59A ist das einzige, das an den Ort eines schlecht erhaltenen Gebäudes in dem Ausstellungsgelände bewegt wurde. 1981 wurden die Ausgrabungen im Südteil abgeschlossen.

Im Laufe der Jahre 1969–1981 und 1988 wurde somit eine Fläche von rund 1.800 Quadratmetern ausgegraben, davon rund 500 Quadratmeter bis zum anstehenden Boden. Insgesamt war die Fläche von Detinec (befestigter Teil der alten Stadt) laut P.F. Lysenko rund 1 Hektar groß (Lysenko 1985, 36). In die mächtige Kulturschicht (7 m) gliederte man 6 Straten (Lysenko 1985, 38), die unterste davon stammt aus dem frühen 11. Jh. und die oberste enthält Materialien des 16.–20. Jh. (Lysenko 1985, 54). Die konservierenden Eigenschaften der nassen Kulturschichten ermöglichten es, die Objekte organischen und anorganischen Ursprungs perfekt zu erhalten.

Während der Ausgrabungen der alten Stadt Berestje wurden mehr als 220 Wohn- und Wirtschaftsgebäude gefunden, die zu 13 nacheinander einsetzenden Bauzeiten gehörten. Die Holzgebäude der 3.–4. Baustufe waren besser erhalten (mit 5–9 und sogar 12 Baumstämmen) und wurden zur Grundlage der Museumausstellung.

Die Ausgrabungen zeigten den originalen Grundriss der alten Stadt, drei parallele Straßen wurden freigelegt. Die Gebäude grenzen mit leeren Wänden an die Straßen. Die Behausungen wurden in 3–4 Reihen zwischen den Straßen in einer Entfernung von 0,4–0,6 m voneinander errichtet. Die Blockhäuser waren einräumig, quadratisch im Grundriss und aus runden Nadelholzstämmen. Es konnten sich in den Gebäuden insgesamt 38 Eingänge, 57 Lehmbacköfen und die Überreste eines Daches erhalten. Es gab kein Gutshaus in der alten Stadt, und nur ein Gebäude mit einem Wirtschaftshof wurde freigelegt.

Vor dem anstehenden Boden entdeckte man bis dahin in der städtebaulichen Praxis unbekannt Konstruktionen – Rjašy (die Lattenge-

rüste). Hierbei handelt es sich um mehr als 6 m lange und 20–24 cm dicke Eichenstämme, die übereinander gelegt werden (normalerweise sind es nur zwei Stämme), aber keine geschlossenen Strukturen bilden. Diese Konstruktionen sollten bei Hochwasser Sandablagerungen verzögern und die Wohngebäude schützen (Lysenko 1985, 61–62).

2010 erhielt der Burgwall Berestje den Status „historischer und kultureller Wert Kategorie 1“ (Dekret des Ministerrates der Republik Belarus vom 21. September 2010 Nr. 1551).

Aufbau des Museumspavillons und der Ausstellung

Die Ausarbeitung eines Projekts für den Bau eines ständigen Pavillons über den konservierten Gebäuden begann nach der Annahme des Dekrets Nr. 658p des Ministerrats der BSSR vom 18. August 1972. Das Bauprojekt des Museums wurde von den Architekten des Institut „Belgosprojekt“ (Minsk) M.K. Vinogradov, B.B. Kramarenko und W.I. Ščerbina ausgearbeitet (Chefprojektingenieur war A.M. Kim). Die Baukonzeption wurde während des Baus mehrfach geändert, was zu Schwierigkeiten beim späteren Pavillonbetrieb führte. Der Bau des Pavillons wurde von 1977 bis 1980 durchgeführt. Er hat eine Fläche von 40 x 60 m und eine Höhe von 12,4 m. Der Pavillon wurde aus Beton, Glas und Aluminium errichtet und besteht aus einem Satteldach mit einem Oberlicht in der Mitte, außerdem sind seine Umrisse an die alttümlichen Behausungen angelehnt.

Am 2. März 1982 wurde das archäologische Museum „Berestje“ für Besucher eröffnet. Im zentralen Platz des Museumspavillons befindet sich die Ausgrabungsstätte mit einer Fläche von 1.118 m². In einer Tiefe von 4 m befindet sich der Teil des handwerklichen Quartiers – 28 hölzerne Wohn- und Wirtschaftsgebäude des 13. Jh., zwei Straßenpflaster, ein Pfahlzaun und Reste eines Lehmbackofens. Auf beiden Seiten der Ausgrabungsstätte sind 14 Ausstellungshallen mit einer Fläche von 252 m² gelegen. Es werden rund 1.200 Museumsobjekte gezeigt. Die Dauerausstellung ist nach dem Sammlungsprinzip aufgebaut. Jede Halle ist einem eigenem Thema gewidmet, das durch authentisches archäologisches Material repräsentiert und durch Karten und Zeichnungen ergänzt wird. Folgende Themen werden präsentiert: die Entstehung und Geschichte der alten Stadt Berestje, die Anlage und Bebauung der Stadt, die Eisenverarbeitung, die Bearbeitung

der Nichteisenmetalle, die Knochenverarbeitung, die Lederverarbeitung, das Spinnen und Weben, das Töpferhandwerk und die Holzverarbeitung, die Landwirtschaft, die Viehzucht, die Jagd und der Fischfang, der Handel, die Kultur, sowie die Geschichte der Untersuchung der alten Stadt Berestje.

Die Arbeiten nach dem Aufbau der ersten und der nachfolgenden Sonder- und Dauerausstellungen des archäologischen Museums „Berestje“ führten die wissenschaftlichen Mitarbeiter des Heimatkundemuseums der Brester Oblast' durch. Die Dekoration der ersten Dauerausstellung führten Brester Kunst- und Produktionswerkstätten und die Mitarbeiter des Museums durch. 1987 wurde diese durch die Rekonstruktion eines Wohnhauses der alten Stadt Berestje ergänzt. 1993–1996 wurde die Dauerausstellung wieder aufgebaut und durch eine Reihe von neuen Museumsgegenständen ergänzt.

2016 entwickelte das Museum ein neues Konzept für eine Dauerausstellung. Das architektonisch-künstlerische Projekt der neuen Ausstellung arbeitete das Künstlerische Kombinat (Minsk) aus. Die Wiederaufbauarbeiten begannen 2018 und werden 2019 weitergeführt. Bei dem Wiederaufbau der Dauerausstellung werden, neben dem Sammlungsprinzip, verschiedene neue Methoden angewandt, um die Anschaulichkeit der Objekte zu erhöhen und die Präsentation des Materials effektiver zu gestalten. Modelle, Demonstrationen rekonstruierter Beschäftigungen der Bewohner der alten Stadt Berestje, sowie Rekonstruktionen von Aussehen und Kleidung werden das statische Bild des Museumsraumes ändern.

Außerdem wird der Museumspavillon grundlegend renoviert. 2017 wurden bereits alle Glasfenster ersetzt, ein Sicherheitszaun aus Glas wurde um den Umfang der Ausgrabungsstätte installiert usw. Diese Arbeiten werden 2019 fortgeführt.

Konservierung von archäologischem Holz

Sofort nach der Freilegung der Gebäude wurden Maßnahmen ergriffen, das Holzkontakt mit Feuchtigkeit zu beseitigen. Unter die Gebäude wurden Unterlagen gelegt, zwischenzeitlich wurden Dächer über der Ausgrabungsstätte errichtet und das Abwasser abgepumpt.

Zur Entwicklung einer Methode zur Konservierung von nassen archäologischen Holzfunden kontaktierte man das Forschungslabor

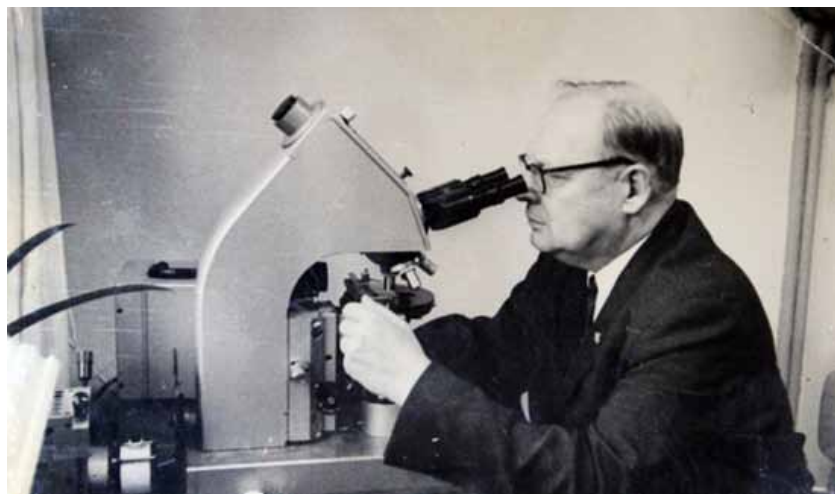


Abb. 4. V.E. Vichrov während der Arbeit (Minsk, 1970er). Die Fotosammlung des Heimatkundemuseums der Brester Oblast' (Foto: J. Vichrov)

der Holzmodifikation des Belarussischen S.M. Kirov-Instituts für Technologie unter Anleitung von V.E. Vichrov (Abb. 4). Die vorhandenen Methoden zur Konservierung von archäologischen Holzfunden waren unwirksam, teuer und ermöglichten, nur kleine Gegenstände zu konservieren. Außerdem waren die zu dieser Zeit bekannten Konservierungsmittel, die auf Kunstharz basierten, entweder vollständig im Wasser unlöslich oder schlecht löslich, hatten eine hohe Viskosität und konnten daher nur verwendet werden, um trockenes Holz zu stabilisieren. Die Imprägnierung von wassergesättigten Holzobjekten war damit fast unmöglich.

Nach umfangreichen Recherchen wurde eine Reihe von Zusammensetzungen und Verfahren entwickelt, um die physikalisch-mechanischen Eigenschaften von Holz zu verbessern. Das Hauptanliegen war, eine neue Methode zu entwickeln, die speziell für nasse archäologische Holzfunde verwendet werden konnte. Diese Methoden wurden durch eine Reihe von Copyright-Zertifikaten genehmigt.

Das Wesen der Methode war die Sättigung des nassen Holzes mit speziellen synthetischen Substanzen auf Basis von Phenolalkoholen (Vichrov *et al.* 1969, 4–5) mit ihrer abschließenden Härtung in der Holzstruktur mittels Wärmebehandlung. Das Ergebnis ist eine Verschmelzung von Holz mit synthetischen Material. Dies führt zu ei-

ner erhöhten Holzfestigkeit, einer Beständigkeit des Holzes gegenüber den Auswirkungen von Temperatur- und Feuchtigkeitsfaktoren und holzerstörenden Mikroben und Pilzen. Dabei bewahrte das Holz seine Textur, Form, Größe und Farbe.

In der alten Stadt Berestje begannen 1970 die Holzschutzarbeiten (Vichrov *et al.* 1973, 279). Das Konservierungsprojekt umfasste hydrotechnische Arbeiten, konstruktive Stärkung der Gebäude und chemische Holzverstärkung. Der Bedarf an hydrotechnischen Arbeiten war auf das Vorhandensein von hohem Grundwasser in der Ausgrabungsstätte zurückzuführen. Zu den hydrotechnischen Arbeiten gehörte der Bau eines Netzes von Wasseraufnahmeschächten. Von dort floss Wasser durch Schwerkraft in drei elektrische Pumpen durch eine im Boden verlegte Pipeline und wurde mit ihrer Hilfe von der Ausgrabungsstätte entfernt. Konstruktive Stärkung der Gebäude beinhaltete die Befestigung der Wände mit Paaren von vertikalen Haltestangen oder Brettern, die mit Draht zusammengebunden waren. Unter den meisten Gebäuden befinden sich Bodenleisten mit Metallbügeln zur besseren Isolierung gegen den nassen Boden, die an den Eichenbalken befestigt sind.

1981 entwickelte man ein Projekt für spezielle wissenschaftliche Restaurierungswerkstätten des Ministeriums für Kultur des BSSR geführt von Direktor S.E. Dementjev (Projektautor – leitender Architekt A.A. Mosaley), um die Gebäude der alten Stadt zu erhalten (Archivakte 46, 46 und 105). Das Projekt beinhaltete die Entfernung der Gebäude vom Boden, indem Betonfundamente (25–30 cm hoch und 30 cm breit) unter ihnen mit einer Verlegung zwischen ihnen und den unteren Holzstämmen zum Feuchtigkeitsschutz gebaut und mit Aluminiumkanälen versehen werden sollten. Zwischen den Kanälen und den Stämmen des Gebäudes sollte mit Sägemehl gefülltes Polyesterharz gegossen werden. Für die Errichtung des Fundaments sollte über dem Gebäude ein Pfostenträgerrahmen gespannt werden, auf dem mit Hilfe von Seilen das Gebäude aufgehängt werden sollte. Das Projekt wurde im Februar 1982 vom Ministerium für Kultur des BSSR genehmigt. Jedoch wurde dieses Projekt von Archäologen des Instituts für Geschichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften des BSSR scharf kritisiert. Kritik gab es vor allem, weil Arbeiten dieser Art zu schweren Schäden an den Gebäuden führen können. Außerdem gab es unter den ausgegrabenen Gebäuden eine mächtige Kulturschicht (3,5–4 m), die mit den Resten der Holz-

konstruktionen gesättigt war (7–9 Baustufen; Archivakte 46, 36). Infolgedessen wurde das Projekt abgelehnt.

Der Prozess der Konservierung der Gebäude nach der Methode von V.E. Vichrov war zeitaufwendig und detailreich (Vichrov *et al.* 1972, 8–11). Die Gebäude wurden vom Boden gereinigt und gespült. Wenn die Konservierung kurz nach der Ausgrabung nicht möglich war, wurden die Gebäude mit Polyethylen bedeckt, um das Austrocknen und die Zerstörung von Holz zu verhindern. Die Gebäude wurden mit der vorbereiteten Lösung besprüht und benetzt. Eine weitere Holzimprägnierung wurde mit speziellen Nadeln durchgeführt. Die Nadeln wurden bis zu einer Tiefe von 10 cm in einem Abstand von 20–30 cm voneinander und in einem Abstand von 5–10 cm vom Umfang in die Stämme eingeführt. Die Nadelposition wurde nach 1–5 Minuten geändert. Die Imprägnierung des Holzes wurde 2–4 mal wiederholt. Dann wurde eine Wärmebehandlung durchgeführt. Dafür wurde das Gebäude mit einem Fallschirmstoff bedeckt und die Temperatur unter ihm stieg mit einer Abstufung von 10 Grad in 2,5 Stunden von 50 auf 100 Grad. Dieser Vorgang dauerte 3–5 Tage. Die abschließende Wärmebehandlung des eingespritzten Harzes wurde mit Dampfpaneelen durchgeführt. Abhängig von der Dicke der Stämme betrug die Erwärmungszeit bei 100 Grad 2–4 Stunden. Nach der Wärmebehandlung wurden Reinigungsarbeiten durchgeführt. Die auf der Oberfläche der Stämme entstandene Harzschicht wurde mit Schleifpapier oder Metallbürsten entfernt.

Die Konservierung der Gebäude wurde von den Mitarbeitern des Belarussischen S.M. Kirov-Instituts für Technologie J.V. Vichrov, V.A. Borisov und S.J. Kazanskaja durchgeführt. In regelmäßigen Kontrollen der konservierten Gebäude prüften und dokumentierten sie den Holzstatus. Seit 1973 engagieren sich spezielle Minsker in den wissenschaftlichen Restaurierungswerkstätten für die Konservierung unter direkter Aufsicht des Instituts für Technologie (Archivakte 49, 1–2).

Die Konservierung nach der Vichrov-Methode wurde während der gesamten archäologischen Forschung auf dem Burgwall von Berestje angewandt. Für eine bessere Arbeit zur Erhaltung der alten Stadt Berestje unterzeichnete das Heimatkundemuseum der Brester Oblast eine Vereinbarung über die Zusammenarbeit für die Jahre 1981–1985 mit der Leningrader forsttechnischen S.M. Kirov-Akademie. Die Akademie veranlasste eine Untersuchung der Holzgebäude, um holzerstö-

rende Pilze zu identifizieren, und entwickelte ein Projekt, um diese zu bekämpfen. Das Projekt enthielt eine Liste von Aktivitäten und praktischen Empfehlungen für die Erhaltung des archäologischen Komplexes. Die Akademie führte auch direkte Holzschutzarbeiten durch und überwachte den Holzzustand.

In der nächsten Konservierungsphase (1985–1987) wurden einige Gebäude mit dem Klebstoff „Styk 3–8k“ behandelt. Die Zusammensetzung bestand aus Klebstoff (20%), Toluol (40%) und Azeton (40%). Diese wurde in die Löcher und Risse der Stämme injiziert. Dann wurde das Holz damit zweimal aus dem Zerstäuber bespritzt und die Oberfläche der Stämme damit mittels Pinsel benetzt. Zur Verbesserung der Qualität der Imprägnierung und der Reduzierung der Verdampfung des Lösungsmittels wurde eine Komresse aus Schaumgummi und Polyäthylenfolie auf die zu behandelnde Oberfläche gelegt.

1988–1989 wurden einige Gebäude mit einer Zusammensetzung auf Harnstoff-Formaldehydharzbasis („MFPS-1“) präpariert.

1999 lud das Museum zur Konsultation einen der Verfasser dieser Zusammensetzung und der Methoden der ersten Konservierung J.V. Vichrov ein. Er gab eine positive Einschätzung des Holzzustands ab und empfahl gleichzeitig eine gründlichere Untersuchung zur weiteren Erhaltung einzelner Stämme, der Bretter des Südpflasters, des Pfahlzaunes und einiger Gebäude (Archivakte 48, 19).

Seit 2000 sind die unteren Stämme der Gebäude und das Holzpflaster jährlich auf Empfehlung von J.V. Vichrov mit einer 3%-Lösung Eisenvitriol behandelt worden, um die Ausbreitung von holzzerstörenden Mikroorganismen zu verhindern.

2003 wandte sich das Museum an das Labor für Flammenschutz von Baustoffen und Strukturen der Belarussischen Staatlichen Technologischen Universität. Bei der Auswahl einer Zusammensetzung für die Holzbehandlung gingen die Spezialisten unter der Leitung von N.A. Tytčino von der Notwendigkeit aus, die zerstörten Strukturelemente des Holzes zu härten, sowie die Notwendigkeit der bio- und feuerhemmenden Behandlung. Die Imprägnierungszusammensetzung musste notwendigerweise folienbildenden Stoff enthalten. Im Ergebnis wurde das Mittel SPAD-0 – synthetisiertes folienbildendes Flammenschutzmittel für Holz – ausgewählt. Nach der Durchführung der Laboruntersuchungen (Tytčino 2004, 31) wurden alle Gebäude und Straßenpflaster nacheinander in den Jahren 2004–2006 mit dieser

Zusammensetzung imprägniert. SPAD-0 wurde mit breiten Bürsten auf die zu schützende Oberfläche aufgetragen (Archivakte 68, 3–4).

2007 wurde die Rekonstruktion der ausgegrabenen Gebäude durchgeführt. Sie wurden aufgerichtet und mit vertikalen Stützbalken befestigt. Unter den untersten Stämmen der Gebäude wurden Eichenbalken verlegt. Zur besseren Abdichtung wurden die Gebäude auf Steinfundamente verlegt (Archivakte 68, 5). Diese Arbeit wurde 2011 wiederholt.

2008 führten Spezialisten des Labors für Bio- und Flammenschutz von Baustoffen und Strukturen der Belarussischen Staatlichen Technologischen Universität die Überwachung und Erforschung von archäologischen Holzfunden weiter. Die Untersuchungen wurden ausgeübt, um Methoden zur Beurteilung des Zustands der physikalisch-mechanischen und strukturellen Eigenschaften des inneren Teils von archäologischen Holz zu entwickeln, das Ausmaß der Schädigung am Holz durch holzerstörende und andere Arten von Pilzen abzuschätzen und die Festigkeitseigenschaften und die biologischen Schäden zu bestimmen. Es wurde empfohlen, den Holzzustand durch den Grad der Degradation zu charakterisieren und ein gewisser Koeffizient des Verlusts der Festigkeit entspricht jedem der vier Degradationsgrade. Die Untersuchungen an archäologischen Holzproben zeigten, dass in einzelnen Holzstämmen die Festigkeit von Holz abnimmt. Aber der Großteil des mit Phenolalkoholen imprägnierten Holzes ist nicht von Holzwürmern befallen und weist stabile physikalisch-mechanische Eigenschaften auf (Archivakte 78, 4–5).

2009–2010 wurden eine Methodik zur Beurteilung der biologischen Schäden von archäologischem Holz entwickelt und Empfehlungen und Methoden zur Aufrechterhaltung des Grades des Holzschutzes gemacht. Es wurde eine molekulargenetische Analyse von beschädigten archäologischen Holzfunden durchgeführt und das genetische Material von holzerstörenden Pilzen und Insekten abgesondert. Daraufhin wurde empfohlen, das Biozidmittel „Antishuk“ für die Holzschutzbehandlung zu verwenden (Archivakte 68, 5–6).

2011 wurden Studien zur Holzwasserabsorption durchgeführt. Nach den Ergebnissen der Quellungsanalyse wurde festgestellt, dass das nicht mit Schutzmitteln imprägnierte Holz in der Mitte der Stämme einen größeren Quellungsgrad (um 30–40%) aufweist als das äußere Holz, das mit Phenolalkoholen und verschiedenen Schutzzusam-

mensetzungen modifiziert wurde. Dieser Unterschied in der Quellung verursacht teilweise Risse im archäologischen Holz (Archivakte 68, 7).

Außerdem wurden 2011 neue Wasseraufnahmeschächte in der Ausgrabungsstätte angelegt. Zuvor wurden neue automatische Pumpen installiert.

2015–2017 wurden im Zusammenhang mit der Erkennung von Spuren von Holzwürmern einige Gebäude mit einer Kerosin-Terpentinöl-Zusammensetzung behandelt. Die Behandlung wurde auf Empfehlung von J.V. Vichrov durchgeführt.

Somit verwendete man auf einer archäologischen Stätte konsequent verschiedene Methoden zur Konservierung von archäologischen Holzfunden, von denen viele innovativ und experimental waren. Derzeit ist die Belarussische Staatliche Technologische Universität die einzige Institution in der Republik Belarus, die über die notwendige Basis verfügt und sich auf wissenschaftlicher Grundlage für die Holzkonservierung einsetzen kann. Aber auch im Wissenschaftlerteam dieser Universität gibt es keine einhellige Meinung über die Auswahl der Mittel zur Holzkonservierung. Die Wissenschaftler sind sich einig, dass die Optimierung und Normalisierung der Temperatur- und Feuchtigkeitsbedingungen die Hauptbedingung für die Holzerhaltung sind. Die Restaurierungen sind darauf gerichtet, dieses Problem zu lösen.

Die archäologische Sammlung der alten Stadt Berestje

Die ersten Gegenstände der Sammlung waren 55 Keramikfragmente des 11.–13. Jh., die während Schürfarbeiten 1968 gefunden wurden. In den folgenden Jahren wurden die bei den Ausgrabungen entdeckten Gegenstände dem Museum übergeben. Zum Beispiel erhielt das Museum 1980 mehr als 40.000 Gegenstände aus den Ausgrabungen von 1971–1977.

Von Anfang an beschäftigten sich die Mitarbeiter des Heimatkundemuseums der Brester Oblast' mit der wissenschaftlichen Bearbeitung der Sammlung, fotografierten, kategorisierten, restaurierten und konservierten zahlreicher Funde und lösten die Probleme der Aufbewahrung. Die Kategorisierung der Sammlung, die 1984 durchgeführt wurde, enthüllte einzigartige Gegenstände. Dazu gehören die Knochenfigur des Schachkönigs des 13. Jh. (Abb. 5), der Buchsbaumkamm mit geschnitzten Buchstaben des kyrillischen Alphabets aus dem Ende des 13. Jh. / Anfang 14. Jh. (Abb. 6), der Eichenpflug des 13. Jh. und andere.



Abb. 5. Knochenfigur des Schachkönigs. 13. Jh. Die Ausgrabungen von P.F. Lysenko (1973). Die archäologische Sammlung des Heimatkundemuseums der Brester Oblast' (Foto: T. Mučorovskaja)



Abb. 6. Buchsbaumkamm mit geschnitzten Buchstaben des kyrillischen Alphabets. Ende des 13. Jh. – Anfang des 14. Jh. Die Ausgrabungen von P.F. Lysenko (1970). Die archäologische Sammlung des Heimatkundemuseums der Brester Oblast (Foto: T. Mučorovskaja)

Die archäologischen Funde organischen Ursprungs erforderten entsprechende Maßnahmen zu ihrer Erhaltung. Ledergegenstände wurden in einer Perchlorethylen-Lösung von Schmutz gereinigt, dann begradigt und getrocknet. Dies wurde vom Restaurator des Museums S.L. Andrušenko 1983 durchgeführt. Die Gewebereste wurden in eine Lösung aus Glycerin und Perchlorethylen getaucht und anschließend mit einem speziellen Klebstoff auf Leinengewebe dupliziert. Gleichzeitig wurden die Kettfäden und Schussfäden begradigt. Die Restaurierung der 69 Fragmente wurde von A.K. Jelkina durchgeführt (Geweberestaurator des Wissenschaftlichen Forschungsinstituts für Restaurierung in Moskau).

Die kleinen Holzobjekte wurden nach der Vichrov-Methode konserviert. Später bot S.J. Kazanskaja andere verschiedene Konservierungsoptionen für kleine Funde an, wobei Zuckersirup verschiedener Konsistenzen mit Phenolalkoholen verwendet wurde. 130 Funde bearbeitete S.J. Kazanskaja und 30 weitere wurden von Mitarbeitern des Museums bearbeitet. Die großen Holzobjekte erforderten eine andere Methode. V.A. Borisov schlug vor, die Konservierungsmethode von Holzobjekten anzuwenden, die vom Institut für Makromolekulare Chemie (Kiew) entwickelt wurde. Er imprägnierte einige große Funde aus den Ausgrabungen von 1981. Die Imprägnierung stabilisierte das archäologische Holz, sodass es sich nicht verformen konnte. Der Restaurator des Museums A.V. Ratnikov bearbeitete 118 große Holzobjekte mit dieser Methode.

1986 wandte sich das Heimatkundemuseum der Brester Oblast' an das Institut für Atomenergie der Akademie der Wissenschaften der BSSR mit der Anfrage, Holzfunde zu konservieren. Die Spezialisten führten eine Imprägnierung mit dem Monomer Methylmethacrylat durch, gefolgt von einer Bestrahlung der Funde im Gamma-Reaktor. Mit dieser Methode wurden 381 Holzobjekte konserviert.

Die Reinigung und Konservierung von Gegenständen aus Eisen- und Nichteisenmetallen (jeweils rund 750 und 20 Einheiten) führte der Restaurator V.J. Uleslo (Minsk) durch. Diese Methode wurde später vom Restaurator des Museums S.A. Andrušenko angewandt (28 Objekte wurden konserviert).

Im Zusammenhang mit der Identifizierung von Holzwürmern auf Holzfunden und Speckkäfern auf Lederfunden wurde die Sammlung mehrfach mit dem Gas Methylbromid behandelt.

Derzeit gehen die Konservierungs- und Restaurierungsarbeiten weiter. 2017–2018 haben Mitarbeitern des Nationalen Kunstmuseums

(Minsk) die Konservierung und Restaurierung von 26 archäologischen Eisengegenständen durchgeführt. Diese Gegenstände werden in der aktualisierten Dauerausstellung zu sehen sein.

Am 1. Januar 2018 umfasst die archäologische Sammlung der alten Stadt Berestje, die in das Heimatkundemuseum der Brester Oblast' aufbewahrt ist, insgesamt 43.752 Gegenstände. Die zahlreichsten Gegenstände in der Sammlung sind Objekte aus Ton (29.252). Dies sind Fragmente von Geschirr, Amphoren und Kacheln, Spinnwirteln, Senkgewichten und Ziegeln. Besondere Einzelfunde sind zum Beispiel eine Klapper und eine Pfanne.

Die nächstgrößere ist die osteologische Sammlung (10.247 Stück). Dies sind Knochen, Schädel und Hornkerne von Wild- und Haustieren sowie Knochen mit Verarbeitungsspuren und Knochengegenstände (Bohrer, Griffe, Nadeln, Knöpfe, Kämmen, Pfeilspitzen, Flegel, Amulette, Spielwürfel, Schlittschuhe). Einzigartige Funde sind, neben der Schachkönigfigur, ein Malspachtel, eine Platte mit der Darstellung eines Hirsches und ein Knauf eines Griiffs einer Peitsche in Form eines Pferdekopfes.

Die Lederwaren (1.173 Fragmente) werden durch zahlreiche Schuhfragmente (Abb. 7) sowie Alltagsgegenstände (Scheide, Geldbeutel, Tabaksbeutel, Knöpfe) repräsentiert. Während der Ausgrabung wurden auch Spielbälle entdeckt.

Die Holzgegenstände (1.022 Fragmente) werden durch einzigartig erhalten gebliebene Konstruktionen und Gebäudeteile präsentiert.



Abb. 7. Porßen (Schuhe). 13. Jh. – Anfang des 14. Jh. Fund von 1982. Die archäologische Sammlung des Heimatkundemuseums der Brester Oblast' (Foto: S. Sosonnaja)

Dies sind Baumstämme mit Kerben, Türen, Schwellen und Treppen. Während der Ausgrabung wurden Gebrauchsgegenstände zur Verarbeitung von Rohstoffen (Quetsche für Butterherstellung, Mörser und Stößel, Spindeln, Flachsverarbeitungswerkzeuge, Fragmente von Handmühlen, Fragmente von Webstühlen), landwirtschaftliche Geräte (Eichenpflug, Schaufeln, Heugabeln, Harken), Angelausrüstung (Schwimmkörper, Ruder), Haushaltswaren (Schöpfkellen, Löffel, Gerichte) und Kämmen entdeckt. Zu betonen sind Einzelfunde wie zum Beispiel ein Fragment einer Wachstafel (einer Schreibtischplatte aus Holz), eine Wasserflasche, ein Zuber und Kinderspielzeug (Boote, Holzschwert, Kiever Eier).

Die Sammlung beinhaltet zudem 747 Eisengegenstände. Zu den Waffen gehören Nahkampfwaffen (Schwerte, Streitkolben, Streitäxte), Fernwaffen (Pfeilspitzen, Speerspitzen) und Schutzausrüstung (Fragmente von Kettenrüstungen). Es gibt auch Ausrüstungsgegenstände von Pferden und Reitern (Sporen, Steigbügel, Trensen, Hufeisen, Striegel). Zahlreich sind Haushaltsgegenstände (Messer, Schlösser, Schlüssel, Feueranzünder, Scheren, Nägel). Unter ihnen sind Rasiermesser am bedeutendsten. Auf dem Territorium von Belarus wurden Rasiermesser nur während der Ausgrabung der alten Stadt Berestje entdeckt. Die Rasiermesser wurden in den Kulturschichten gefunden, die in die Wende vom 11. zum 12. Jh. und in die erste Hälfte des 13. Jh. datieren. Es wurden außerdem landwirtschaftliche Geräte wie Sicheln, Sensen und vereinzelt auch Pflug- und Schmalscharen entdeckt. Die Sammlung umfasst des Weiteren Handwerkzeuge, zum Beispiel ein Schmiedehammer und Schmiedezangen und Angelausrüstung (Kunstköder, Harpunen, Fischspeere, Haken).

Zu den Nichteisenmetallen zählen 157 Gegenstände. Dies sind Schmuckstücke (Schläfenringe, Halsketten, Armbänder, Ringe, Fibeln, Stecknadeln und andere). Besonders zu betonen ist ein Kolt aus Billon mit einer symbolischen Zeichnung eines sprießenden Kornes (Abb. 8). Der Kolt gehört zu den wertvollsten und kostspieligen Schmuckgegenständen der weiblichen Kopfbedeckung. Innen ist der Kolt hohl und mit Stoff ausgelegt, der von duftenden Ölen angefeuchtet ist (Lysenko 2007, 107–108). Zu dieser Sammlung zählen auch Kultgegenstände (Kreuzchen, Enkolpion, Ikonen, Fragmente von Glocken und eines Weihrauchfasses) und Fragmente von Geschirr aus Kupfer.

Es wurden 708 Glasgegenstände darunter Halsketten, Armbänder, Fragmente von Geschirr und andere Objekte gefunden.



Abb. 8. Kolt. Anfang des 13. Jh. Die Ausgrabungen von P.F. Lysenko (1969). Die archäologische Sammlung des Heimatkundemuseums der Brester Oblast' (Foto: S. Sosonnaja)

Die 74 entdeckten Gewebefragmente konnten die Struktur der Fäden und Farben natürlicher Farbstoffe bewahren.

Die archäologische Sammlung der alten Stadt Berestje umfasst auch Steingegenstände (270 Stück). Dies sind Mühlsteine, Abziehsteine, Spinnwirteln und andere. Steinkreuzchen wurden ebenfalls gefunden. Darüber hinaus gibt es 102 Objekte, die mit Fischfang und Wildpflücken verbunden sind (Haselnüsse, Kirschkerne, Eicheln, Zapfen, Getreide, Schuppen und Gräten, Muscheln der Mollusken).

Die Untersuchung der gesamten Sammlung ist noch nicht abgeschlossen. Es werden einzelne Sammlungen (zum Beispiel Lederwaren, Fischfangobjekte usw.) analysiert und systematisiert.

Die aktuelle Museumsentwicklung

Das archäologische Museum „Berestje“ ist ein Anziehungspunkt für Touristen aus der ganzen Welt. Seit der Eröffnung des Muse-

ums wurde es von mehr als 3,35 Millionen Menschen aus mehr als 40 Ländern besucht. Derzeit besuchen jährlich rund 60.000 Menschen das Museum.

Die Hauptaufgabe des Heimatkundemuseums der Brester Oblast' besteht darin, eine einzigartige archäologische Stätte mit archäologischer Sammlung zu präsentieren. Die Hauptaufgaben für das Jahr 2019 sind die Renovierung des Museumspavillons und die Aktualisierung der Dauerausstellung.

Es ist außerdem notwendig, den Zustand der Holzfunde erneut zu analysieren und Maßnahmen zu Erhaltung zu entwickeln, auch unter Einbeziehung internationaler Fachleute. Dies könnte durch eine unterzeichnete Vereinbarung über die wissenschaftliche Zusammenarbeit mit einem der führenden Zentren für die Untersuchung und die Musealisierung von archäologischen Holzfunden realisiert werden. 2018 unterzeichnete das Heimatkundemuseums der Brester Oblast' eine solche Vereinbarung mit dem Halikov-Institut für Archäologie der Akademie der Wissenschaften der Republik Tatarstan. Dies kann ein Meilenstein in der Erhaltung des archäologischen Erbes der alten Stadt Berestje sein.

Bibliographie

Archiv

- Archiv des Heimatkundemuseums der Brester Oblast'. Akte 46.
- Archiv des Heimatkundemuseums der Brester Oblast'. Akte 47.
- Archiv des Heimatkundemuseums der Brester Oblast'. Akte 48.
- Archiv des Heimatkundemuseums der Brester Oblast'. Akte 49.
- Archiv des Heimatkundemuseums der Brester Oblast'. Akte 68.
- Archiv des Heimatkundemuseums der Brester Oblast'. Akte 78.

Literatur

- Lysenko P.F. 1985. *Berest'e*. Minsk: Nauka i tehnika.
- Lysenko P.F. 2007. *Otkrytie Berest'a*. Minsk: Nauka i tehnika.
- Lysenko P.F. 2012. Naučnoe, kul'turnoe i gosudarstvennoe značenie archeologičeskich issledovanij drevnego Berest'ja. In *Brestčina: istorija i sovremennost'*. *Sbornik materialov Respublikanskoj naučno-praktičeskoj konferenciji (Brest, 29–30 ijunja 2012)*. Brest': BrGTU, 6–11.
- Tyčino I.A. 2004. *Ognezaščita i biozaščita stroitel'noj drevesiny posredstvom kapilljarnoj propitki*. Moskva: Požnauka.

- Vichrov V.E., Chol'kin Ju.I., Reznikov V.M., Paul' E.E., Majko I.P., Vichrov Ju.V., Karpovič S.I., Šutov G.M., Kazanskaja S.Ju., Bogomasov V.V. und Erdman M.E. 1969. *Drevesina, modificirovannaja sintetičeskimi polimerami (metodičeskoe posobie)*. Minsk: Ministerstvo vyššego i srednego special'nogo obrazovanija BSSR // Belorusskij tehnologičeskij institute im. S.M. Kirova // Problemnaja naučno-issledovatel'skaja laboratorija modifikacii drevesiny.
- Vichrov V.E., Vichrov Ju.V., Borisov B.A., Kazanskaja S.Ju., Sočranenie drevesiny iz raskopok Berest'ja. *Sovetskaja archeologija* No. 3, 277–279.

DOI: 10.15584/anarres.2018.13.22

Justina Poškienė*

Lithuanian Troy: Preservation and Interpretation of Kernavė, a UNESCO World Heritage Archaeological Site

ABSTRACT

Poškienė J. 2018. Lithuanian Troy: Preservation and Interpretation of Kernavė, a UNESCO World Heritage Archaeological Site. *Analecta Archaeologica Ressoventia* 13, 463–486

Contemporary Kernavė is a small town, located 35 km north-west of Vilnius, on the right bank of the Neris River. However, the names often used to describe the Archaeological Site of Kernavė are the “Troy of Lithuania” or the “Mecca of archaeologists” (Bitner-Wróblewska *et al.* 2002). The cultural landscape and numerous archaeological objects situated in the area testify to the cultures which have existed there since the Final Palaeolithic to this day. The Kernavė Archaeological Site, an area of unique archaeological and historical value, was inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List in 2004. The interpretation of archaeological heritage is important for the understanding of the origins and development of modern society; it is also important for promoting the understanding of the need for its preservation (see Carman 2015). The paper seeks to present the Archaeological Site of Kernavė in regard to its preservation, management and interpretation.

Keywords: Kernavė Archaeological Site, hillfort, archaeological heritage preservation, archaeological heritage interpretation

Received: 20.12.2018; **Revised:** 28.12.2018; **Revised:** 28.12.2018; **Accepted:** 30.12.2018

Introduction

The Kernavė Archaeological Site can be seen as a microcosm of Lithuanian archaeology – it is the only complex of archaeological sites in Lithuania which comprises five hillforts, several open settlements and burial grounds, the medieval Lower and Upper Towns, as well as other archaeological monuments representing the period from the Final Palaeolithic to the Middle Ages. Moreover, it is one of the most picturesque places in Lithuania (Figs. 1–2).

The continuity of human habitation in Kernavė provides evidence that since ancient times, it had been developing into a regional centre,

* Department of Archaeology – Vilnius University, Universiteto 7, LT-01513 Vilnius, Lithuania; justina.poskiene@if.vu.lt



Fig. 1. A bird's eye view of the hillforts, the Pajauta Valley and the contemporary town of Kernavė (Photo by Z. Baubonis)

which evolved into one of the major centres of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. In the historical sources, the name of Kernavė was mentioned in the *Livonian Rhymed Chronicle* (*Reimchronik*, 191) and the *Livonian Chronicle* of Hermann von Wartberge (*Chronicon*, 40), describing the 1279 march of the Teutonic Order to Lithuanian lands as far as Kernavė, the domain of Traidenis, the Grand Duke. Kernavė became a distinctive political, administrative and commercial centre at that time; it is also the first definitively known residence of the ruler (Dubonis 2009, 161; Baronas *et al.* 2011, 323–324). Thus, the period from the second half of the 13th c. to the end of the 14th c. appears as the most prominent phase in the life of Kernavė. In 1365, the Teutonic Order burned down Kernavė on its way to Vilnius. In 1390, once again, the castles of Kernavė were set on fire by their defenders, who did not manage to protect the place and had to retreat. The medieval town and castles were never reconstructed and sank into oblivion for long centuries. In the 15th c., people settled down on the spot where the contemporary town of Kernavė is. Nevertheless, as one of the most ancient settlements and the first



Fig. 2. A view of the hillforts from the upper terrace (Photo by D. Vaičiūnienė. Collections of the Administration of the State Cultural Reserve of Kernavė)

capital of Lithuania, Kernavė was mentioned in the legendary part of the 16th-century *Lithuanian Chronicles* (*Lietuvos metraštis*, 61–62, 71; Vėlius 2017b).

With the aim of preserving the archaeological heritage of Kernavė, the State Kernavė Archaeology and History Museum-Reserve was founded in 1989. On 20 June 2002, the Kernavė Museum-Reserve was granted the status of the State Cultural Reserve of Kernavė. In 2004, as a testimony to its exceptional importance, the Kernavė Archaeological Site (the State Cultural Reserve of Kernavė) was inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List (see <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1137>). The site is treated as an example of an integral cultural landscape, remaining almost intact up until the present day. The importance of the site is based on the following two criteria:

Criterion (iii): The archaeological site of Kernavė presents an exceptional testimony to the evolution of human settlements in the Baltic region over the period of some 10 millennia. The property has exceptional evidence of the contact of pantheistic and Christian funeral traditions.

Criterion (iv): The settlement patterns and the impressive hillforts represent outstanding examples of the development of such types of structures and the history of their use in the pre-Christian era.

History of the Archaeological Site

The vision of the glorious past of Kernavė, facilitated by the ideas of Romanticism and promoted by the researchers and writers of the 19th c., was a powerful stimulus to acquire knowledge about it. In the middle of the 19th c., Kernavė attracted the pioneers of Lithuanian archaeology. The hillforts of Kernavė were first excavated in 1857, when Ludwik Władysław Kondratowicz-Syrokomla spent two days excavating on the Altar and the Castle Hill hillforts. He wrote that on the first day of the excavations on the Altar hillfort, “we spent half an hour excavating the rampart and discovered, as some brick debris showed, traces of the foundation of that Lithuanian *Sanctum sanctorum*”. On the second day of the excavations, “after a whole day of hard work digging and with nothing except some small bones (we are not certain, though, if those were human bones) unearthed, we had to postpone our search for the gods and heroes of Kernavė until happier times” (Syrokomla 1860, 109). Both Konstanty and Eustachy Tyszkiewicz carried out some excavations on the surrounding burial mounds (Kulikauskas and Zabiela 1999, 55; Vėlius 2017a, 27–28).

During the interwar period, more attention was given to the archaeological heritage of Kernavė. The headmaster of the Kernavė Primary School, Juozas Šiaučiūnas, initiated the collection of archaeological finds in order to accumulate exhibits for the local school’s museum. With no archaeological excavations, just relying on the scanty historical sources, romantic legends and the finds collected by his pupils, Šiaučiūnas described the exceptional significance of that archaeological locality: “the sands have already started conversing in the language of those tiny archaeological finds collected by pupils of the primary school of Kernavė. On their little knees, they have crawled all over the ground, deftly searching through every small tuft. Whatever found – will never perish [...]. There are numerous collections reflecting the Stone, Bronze, and Iron Ages. We are looking forward to a word from an archaeologist” (Šiaučiūnas 1933, 10). During the interwar period, the prominent Lithuanian archaeologists Petras Tarasienka and



Fig. 3. Archaeological excavations on the Mindaugas Throne hillfort in 1979 (Photo by A. Luchtanas; Collections of the Administration of the State Cultural Reserve of Kernavė)

Jonas Puzinas visited Kernavė, but no archaeological excavations were carried out there at that time (Vėlius 2017a, 28–29).

Systematic archaeological investigations of Kernavė were started by Vilnius University only in 1979 (in 1980–1983, in cooperation with the Lithuanian Institute of History) because of a landslide on the eastern slope of the Mindaugas Throne hillfort, caused by the spring thaw (Fig. 3). At that time, the four hillforts, reminiscent of the legendary medieval capital, and poor historical data were the only, as it was then thought, information sources on this site, representing a narrow chronological period of the 13th to 14th centuries. Systematic archaeological research facilitated the discovery of new archaeological objects and substantially expanded the territory of the site under protection. The research revealed the Archaeological Site of Kernavė to be a multi-layered reflection of the entire prehistory of Lithuania. Moreover, new archaeological discoveries are being unearthed every year (Vengalis and Vėlius, 2017; Vengalis 2017; Vėlius 2017a; 2017b).

The past four decades of archaeological excavations in Kernavė identified important sites of settlements and burial grounds from the Stone, Iron and Middle Ages, as well as sites from later historical periods. The earliest traces of habitation, which are dated to the Final Palaeolithic (10th–9th millennia B.C.), were found in the valley of the Neris. The majority of the finds from the Stone Age, including one sunken featured building, belong to the Mesolithic Period (Luchtanas 1998). Archaeological research identified traces of habitation during the Neolithic Period and revealed evidence of a homestead from the Bronze Age (Vengalis 2014a). Kernavė is well-known for the Brushed Pottery Culture burial grounds – as many as two burial sites, dating back to the 1st millennium BC, have been discovered in the Neris valley (Luchtanas 1992; 1996a; Baltramiejūnaitė and Vengalis 2010). These sites are extremely important sources for researching the burial rites of this culture. As early as the final centuries B.C., the first settlement on a hill – the Altar hillfort – was erected. Homesteads on the other hills were established only in the 5th c. The available data suggest that the Iron Age settlement in Kernavė might have been the largest in this region, and it serves as an illustration of the general development of the settlement system in entire Eastern Lithuania (Vengalis 2012; 2014b; 2015; Vėlius 2012). There is a notable abundance of barrows from the 1st millennium situated in Kernavė and its surroundings; barrows representing various chronological periods were excavated (Vėlius 2000; 2018; Luchtanas 2006; Baltramiejūnaitė and Vengalis 2010). However, not enough precise information on the beginnings of the medieval town has been revealed yet (Vengalis 2012).

The archaeological findings essentially supplement the scarce written sources from the 13th–14th centuries. By the 13th c., the Iron Age settlement in the Pajauta Valley had acquired features of a town. The Lower Town of Kernavė was discovered in 1986 and a comprehensive archaeological investigation was carried out there from 1986 to 1995 (Luchtanas 1988; 1990a; 1996b; Karnatka 1994). During the 13th–14th centuries, the defensive complex of four hillforts, which Kernavė is so famous for, was formed. The residential castle of the duke, protected by the defensive system of three hillforts, was situated in the central one, the Altar hillfort (Luchtanas 1994). The Mindaugas Throne hillfort (Kulikauskas and Luchtanas, 1980; Volkaitė-Kulikauskienė 1982; 1984a) and the Lizdeika hillfort served defensive purposes. The Castle Hill hillfort must have been inhabited

by craftspeople; it was well-fortified and also performed a defensive function (Volkaitė-Kulikauskienė 1984b; Luchtanas 1986). It turned out that the Castle Hill hillfort comprised a part of the Upper Town, which was discovered in 1998 and excavated in 1998–2001 and afterwards (Vaičiūnienė 2000; 2001; 2002; Vėlius 2006; Vengalis 2007). The fifth hillfort – the Kriveikiškis – was discovered in 1989, at a distance of about half a kilometre to the east (Luchtanas 1990b; Vėlius 2015). It might have been used as a place for performing rituals (Vėlius 2005). According to the currently available data, two burial grounds dating back to the 13th–14th centuries, which illustrate different burial rites, were situated in Kernavė. Individuals – most apparently, ordinary townspeople – were buried inhumated in the Kriveikiškis burial ground. This burial ground was comprehensively researched (Vėlius 2005). In the other 14th-century burial ground excavated on the former Kernavėlė riverbed in the Pajauta Valley, Kernavė dwellers were cremated and buried in the water, i.e. supposedly followed an “old pagan” custom (Vengalis 2011). Presumably, the different burial rites illustrate the religious and ethnic complexity of the community of medieval Kernavė.

Archaeological investigations were also conducted at archaeological sites dating from later historical times. The first church of Kernavė was built before 1430 (Baliulis 2005, 169). Studies of the territory of the old Kernavė churches revealed the foundations of a church, which was built in 1739 (dismantled in 1933), and a bell tower, as well as graves from the 15th to 18th centuries (Jankauskas and Luchtanas 1990; Jankauskas 1992; Baltramiejūnaitė *et al.* 2013). In 1992, the site of the Kernavė manor, which was mentioned in historical sources since 1398, was excavated (Vėlius 2017a, 38).

Preservation and management of the Archaeological Site

Before the systematic research on the hillforts started in 1979, the four hillforts were the only objects under protection. The surrounding fields and the Pajauta Valley were utilised for various economic purposes involving activities that caused damage to archaeological heritage objects (Vėlius 2017a, 30). In order to ensure their preservation, a protected territory (cultural reserve) was established in 1989 (Vadišis 2017).

Today the Cultural Reserve of Kernavė includes the territory of the Reserve (194.4 ha) with its cultural heritage objects, an open-air

exhibition, and the specialised Museum of Kernavė Archaeological Site. The Museum's collection includes over 23,000 finds collected during the years of archaeological investigations. The Reserve encompasses nineteen cultural objects from various periods that are inscribed on the Lithuanian Register of Cultural Property and benefits from the strictest regulation regime in Lithuania. Moreover, the buffer zone of the Cultural Reserve comprises of 2455.2 ha and is divided into the physical impact protection sub-zone (118.3 ha) and visual protection area (2336.9 ha) (see <http://www.kernave.org/en>).

The management of the site falls under the responsibility of the Administration of the State Cultural Reserve of Kernavė. The Administration is responsible for maintaining the territorial complex of cultural properties in Kernavė and upholding the complex's authenticity; for carrying out scientific research of archaeological and historical properties in the territory of cultural reserve and within its buffer zone; for implementing museum activities (collecting, recording, preserving, conserving, restoring and exhibiting the Museum's collections); for controlling development activities in the territory of the Reserve and the buffer zone; as well as for promoting cultural heritage education and tourism.

The currently effective protection system of the Archaeological Site of Kernavė ensures favourable conditions for the preservation, management and interpretation of archaeological heritage.

Interpretation of the Archaeological Site: a historical perspective

The legends and the hillforts crowning the impressive Pajauta Valley facilitated interest in Kernavė as a place of exceptional importance already in the 19th c. Teeming with legends, the 19th-century Kernavė emerges as one of the major symbols of the old Lithuanian State and the last bastion of pagan religion. Ideas of Romanticism urged people to look for the grandeur of the distant past and Kernavė featured in many works of history of that period, including *Dzieje Litwy opowiedziane w zarysie* [An Outline History of Lithuania] by Konstancja Skirmuntt (1886), Simonas Daukantas' *Lietuvos istorija nuo seniausių gadynių iki Gediminui d.L.k.* [The History of Lithuania from the Ancient Times until Gediminas, Grand Duke of Lithuania] (1893–1897) and *Darbai senujų*

lietuvių ir žemaičių [The Deeds of Ancient Lithuanians and Samogitians] (1822), and *Dzieje starożytne narodu litewskiego [The Ancient History of the Lithuanian Nation]* by Teodor Narbutt (1835–1841). The pagan Kernavė was extolled in the historical novel *Pojata córka Lezdejki albo Litwini w XIV wieku [Pajauta, Lizdeika's Daughter, or Lithuanians in the 14th Century]* by Feliks Aleksander Bernatowicz (1826), who described Kernavė and its chief pagan priest Lizdeika. Following the publication of the novel, the hillforts and the Neris valley were given the romantic names by which they are known today.

During the interwar period, the primary place for creating the identity of Kernavė became the museum. It was opened in the Kernavė Primary School in 1930, on the 500th anniversary of the death of Vytautas the Great, which was celebrated with much pomp all over the country.

The founder of the museum (one of the first regional museums in Lithuania) was Šiaučiūnas, the headmaster of the Kernavė Primary School, who first came to Kernavė in 1928 as a teacher. Assisted by his pupils, he started to collect random archaeological finds and accumulate ethnographic objects; using his own money, he would buy various relics from the locals, and within two years, he managed to amass enough exhibits to form the basis of his future museum (Vitkūnas 2005b, 718–721).

Šiaučiūnas was guided by his vision to create the museum as a space for fostering the national spirit and the idea of statehood. “We want to take advantage of the moment and link the awakening of their [residents’ of Kernavė] national awareness with the spirit of Vytautas the Great and to build a medallion of Vytautas the Great into the wall of the school building on the day of the opening of the museum,” wrote Šiaučiūnas to the Inspector of Primary Schools of the Ukmergė district in 1930 (Šiaučiūnas 1930). An important role in developing the idea and mission of the museum was played by the hillforts – the “eye witnesses” of the glorious past. It is worth mentioning that during the interwar period, the hillforts enjoyed special attention: they were preserved by granting their guardianship to municipalities, the Lithuanian Riflemen’s Union and various public organisations (Bakonis 1994, 29). The location of the town of Kernavė itself also facilitated the narrative of the national state. Kernavė appeared to be situated right next to the demarcation line which was established because of the Polish-Lithuanian armed conflict. The conflict concerned the territorial control of the Vilnius



Fig. 4. The first local museum opened in the Primary School of Kernavė (Collections of the Administration of the State Cultural Reserve of Kernavė)

Region, including the city of Vilnius, which, as the historical capital of the nation, was indispensable to the modern Lithuanian identity. The idea of regaining the historical capital of the nation was actively promoted by the Union for the Liberation of Vilnius (see Buchowski 2006). The Union adopted Petras Vaičiūnas' poem "Hey, world, we will not rest without Vilnius!" as its anthem. These words became a slogan reflecting the national spirit. A model of Vilnius' Castle Hill hillfort (Gediminas' Tower), which was set up next to the Primary School in Kernavė, also reflected the atmosphere of the time (Fig. 4).

However paradoxically, at the time when the museum was established, the archaeological sites attracted far less attention of professional archaeologists as compared to the mid-19th c. Most probably, the "failures" of the first excavators of Kernavė initially dampened the interest of professionals (Tautavičius 1972, 29). Being fully aware of the importance of scientific research, Šiaučius wrote in the daily "Lietuvos Aidas" in 1930 that "the abundant collections describing the Stone, Bronze and Iron Ages" held in the museum were awaiting "an archaeologist's word" (Šiaučius 1933, 10). It is worth



Fig. 5. Celebration of the 900th Anniversary of Kernavė on the Mindaugas Throne hillfort in 1940 (Collections of the Administration of the State Cultural Reserve of Kernavė)

mentioning that in 1935 Šiaučiūnas' activity was acknowledged by the State Archaeological Commission of the Ministry of Education of the Republic of Lithuania (Kvieskienė 1972, 70).

By the fatal year of 1940, the museum had collected 630 exhibits, including archaeological finds from the Stone and Bronze Ages, ancient money, weaponry, and different relics of everyday life. Despite the occupation of Lithuania by the Soviet Union, Šiaučiūnas tried to continue his activity (Fig. 5), until he met the fate of thousands of interwar Lithuanian intelligentsia. Accused of betrayal, on 17th June 1941 he was arrested by the People's Commissariat for State Security of the Lithuanian SSR (NKGB) and exiled to a corrective labour camp in Krasnoyarsk, Siberia. In 1942 he was sentenced to ten years of imprisonment in correctional labour camps and in 1943 he died a tragic death in the taiga (Poškienė 2017, 15–17).

Though some of the museum exhibits were lost during the years of Nazi occupation, a number of artefacts were rescued and the museum, separated from the school, was reopened in 1945. In 1948, the museum was moved to the nationalised building of the rectory of the Blessed



Fig. 6. Celebration of the Rasos Feast in 2017 (Photo by J. Vitkūnas; Collections of the Administration of the State Cultural Reserve of Kernavė)

Virgin Mary of the Scapular Church in Kernavė. The idea of the museum was inevitably subject to changes: though the exposition had to be supplemented with themes representing the Soviet life, an effort was still made to also include objects that introduced the prehistory of Kernavė and its natural and cultural heritage. From 1963, the museum began operating on a “voluntary basis” and in 1965 it became a branch of the Trakai History Museum and was renamed the Kernavė History Museum. After the repair works to the museum building were completed, a new, professionally displayed exposition was opened in 1968, where the heritage of Kernavė was presented following the principle: exhibits of archaeology, ethnography and the manor culture, then objects presenting the Soviet life (Kvieskienė 1972; Vitkūnas 2005b).

Several important hillfort maintenance projects were already started in the 1970s; nevertheless, some of the hillforts were used for ideological purposes during the Soviet occupation (Zabiela 2005; Poškienė 2014, 78). However, the idea of Kernavė as the ancient centre of pre-Christian



Fig. 7. Current exhibition of the Kernavė Archaeological Site Museum (Photo by D. Vaičiūnienė; Collections of the Administration of the State Cultural Reserve of Kernavė)

religion was maintained. As early as in 1967–1969, the first Rasos Feast (the summer solstice) was celebrated in Kernavė (Fig. 6). Soon the festival was accused of being a “gathering of nationalists” and officially banned. Nevertheless, it became an annual ritual that continues to this day (Trinkūnas 2005). Paradoxically, due to its rather apolitical content, the narrative of paganism was more or less tolerated during the Soviet occupation (Putinaitė 2004, 21–67). It became established as one of the pillars of national identity and is still actively promoted (see Grigas 2018).

Soon after the restoration of Lithuania’s independence in 1993, one of the largest state programmes for archaeological heritage preservation – the “Hillforts’ Preservation Programme” – was launched (Vaitkuvienė and Baubonis 2004; Zabiela 2005). Moreover, the Parliament of the Republic of Lithuania declared the year 2017 “A Year of Hillforts”, thus facilitating a new phase of interest in these objects of archaeological heritage.



Fig. 8. The town in the Pajauta Valley, the 13th–14th centuries. Excavations in 1995 (Photo by A. Luchtanas; Collections of the Administration of the State Cultural Reserve of Kernavė)

The State Cultural Reserve of Kernavė

Vytautas Ušinskas, who became the first director of the Reserve in 1989, envisaged it as based on two principal components: the Reserve territory with elements of the historical landscape and objects of archaeological heritage and the Museum of Archaeology and History itself. Back then, it was already being deliberated whether the findings of archaeological research would make it possible to reconstruct a part of the medieval Kernavė – not where that town had originally been situated, in the Valley of Pajauta, but rather in an archaeologically neutral location (Andrašienė 1987). As a display of authentic remains *in situ* would not have been possible due to conservation related difficulties, it was also planned to mark the location of archaeological objects on the surface of the ground (Andrašienė 1987; Tiškutė 1989). It was understood that the preservation and interpretation of archaeological heritage was a complex and multidimensional process, which, however, did not have to be confined to a “traditional” museum exposition.



Fig. 9. The *ex situ* reconstruction of the medieval town of Kernavė: an open-air museum (Photo by D. Vaičiūnienė; Collections of the Administration of the State Cultural Reserve of Kernavė)

With the restoration of Lithuania's independence and the return of the rectory to its legitimate owners, the Kernavė Archaeological and History Museum had to be relocated. In late 1992, the building of the Kernavė House of Culture (cultural centre) was transferred to the museum, and in 1993 one of its exhibition halls already housed exhibits from the prehistory of Kernavė.

A new exposition, upgraded with interactive technologies and visualisations of the Kernavė Archaeological Site, opened its doors in 2012. The archaeological finds are exhibited in the context of the life of prehistoric communities: their everyday routines, trades and crafts, and burial traditions. Re-enactors have reproduced artefacts in a manner which simulates how they might have been made and used; such visualisations considerably enhance the interpretation of authentic archaeological finds. Moreover, school children of various ages and visitors with sight disabilities are invited to join in educational activities which provide a better insight into different



Fig. 10. The *in situ* visualisation of a burial ground from the Brushed Pottery Culture (1st millennium B.C.) in the Pajauta Valley (Photo by D. Vaičiūnienė; Collections of the Administration of the State Cultural Reserve of Kernavė)

aspects of everyday life during the prehistoric and medieval times (Fig. 7). In 2018, ca. 13,000 visitors came to the museum and ca. 3,500 participated in the museum's educational programmes.

The visitor infrastructure (including walking paths, information panels to introduce the cultural heritage objects, etc.) has also been installed in the Reserve. Ca. 120,000 visitors come to the site every year.

As the specifics of archaeological heritage (with the majority of archaeological heritage objects being hidden under a layer of soil, people are not able to recognise or understand them without properly presented interpretation) causes a gap between the “place” and the “text”, archaeological reconstruction remains one of the most popular tools of archaeological interpretation. An initiative to construct a medieval castle in the most excavated Šeimyniškeliai hillfort in Anykščiai, as well as the reconstruction of the Grand Dukes' Palace in Vilnius are examples of attempts to convey to the public the most “visible” information about the past. Such information allows visitors to view a “realistic” picture, crossing a language barrier,



Fig. 11. The *in situ* visualisation of a road paved with wood (5th c. A.D.) in the Pajauta Valley (Photo by D. Vaičiūnienė; Collections of the Administration of the State Cultural Reserve of Kernavė)

and thus gives them an opportunity to imagine the past. However, reconstruction is highly limited in contemporary heritage conservation practice and each case can be a target for academic criticism (see Bumblauskas 2006).

Nevertheless, archaeological reconstructions are undoubtedly appreciated by the wider public (Blockley 2000). The attempt to “visualise” the past also facilitated the creation of an open-air museum of the reconstructed 13–14th-century craftsmen’s yards in Kernavė. This project differs from the above-mentioned examples: the reconstruction was carried out *ex situ* and is based on archaeological data. A total of 1,753 m² of the Lower Town area (situated in the Pajauta Valley) was researched and an approximately one-metre thick cultural layer was discovered there (Fig. 8). Due to the high level of groundwater, the remains of wooden structures as well as organic artefacts (wood, leather, antler and bone) were very well preserved. Research was carried out in three homesteads: of a craftsman who worked with antler and bone, of a jeweller, and, most probably, of a blacksmith (Vėlius 2017a, 33). Thus, the reconstruction of the yards is an attempt to present an *ex situ* visualisation and interpretation



Fig. 12. Foundations of the church in Kernavė (1739): *in situ* visualisation (Photo by D. Vaičiūnienė; Collections of the Administration of the State Cultural Reserve of Kernavė)

of the medieval town of Kernavė based on the findings of archaeological research in the Pajauta Valley. The space of this open-air museum is used for education and tourism purposes (Fig. 9).

Attempts were made to visualise *in situ* the other exceptional finds – a burial ground from the Brushed Pottery Culture (1st millennium B.C.) (Fig. 10) and a *medgrinda* (a road across swampy areas paved with wood, 5th c. A.D.) (Fig. 11). The foundation of the church (1739) was also marked on the surface of the ground (Fig. 12).

The idea of “archaeological reconstruction” encompasses not only structures, but also “experimental archaeology”, which is closely related to “living history” activities in Lithuania. It means that activities are linked to experiences and demonstrations (educational and presentational tools) and re-enactment (a recreational pursuit), rather than to experimental archaeology as a research tool (Outram 2008, 2). Living archaeology is probably the most widely used form of education about archaeological heritage and its interpretation that strives to promote ideas of heritage preservation and integration, in addition to pursuing the aims of education through entertainment and emotions. Living history festivals are the most popular form of archaeological interpretation in Lithuania. The Administration of the State Cultural Reserve of Kernavė was one of the first to start pursuing



Fig. 13. Making Neolithic pottery during the festival of Experimental Archaeology “Days of Live Archaeology in Kernavė” (Photo by J. Vitkūnas; Collections of the Administration of the State Cultural Reserve of Kernavė)

this activity: the International Festival of Experimental Archaeology “Days of Live Archaeology in Kernavė” has been annually held at the Kernavė Archaeological Site since 1999 (Vitkūnas, 2005a) and attracts ca. 20,000 visitors every year (Fig. 13).

Summing up, a variety of methods is used for the presentation and interpretation of the archaeological heritage of the Kernavė Archaeological Site. The ICOMOS (International Council on Monuments and Sites) Charter on the Interpretation and Presentation of Cultural Heritage Sites (ICOMOS Enane Charter, 2008) emphasises that it is necessary to use a full range of measures intended to heighten public awareness and enhance understanding of a cultural heritage site including informational panels, museum-type displays, formalised guided tours, lectures and multimedia applications. Heritage interpretation is placed in the heart of the preservation process.

It can be stated that the interpretation of the Archaeological Site of Kernavė follows the principles of the Charter. Nevertheless, different

kinds of heritage objects within the Reserve do not enjoy the same level of public interest.

Hillforts are the most representative and definitely the best-perceived objects of archaeological heritage in Lithuania. Being indispensable components of the landscape (there are almost 1,000 hillforts in Lithuania), hillforts have been an essential element of national identity and cultural memory since the 19th c.

The following ideas for hillforts' interpretations are prevailing: hillforts are seen as symbols of statehood, as symbols of fight and as outposts of the pre-Christian Baltic religion. However, being an important component of the Lithuanian landscape, the interpretation of hillforts is also linked to the aesthetic perception of nature. The latter approach is widely used in the tourism sector.

The Archaeological Site of Kernavė could be described as a “meeting point” of these diverse visions, thus witnessing the importance of this place for Lithuania and the world¹.

References

Written sources

- Chronicon Hermanii de Wartberge *Chronicon Livoniae*, T. Hirsh, M. Töpen and E. Strehlke (eds.), *Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum*, vol. II. Leipzig: Verlag von S. Hirzel. 1863.
- Lietuvos metraštinis *Lietuvos metraštinis: Bychovco kronika*. R. Jasas (ed.). Vilnius: Vaga. 1971.
- Reimchronik *Livländische Reimchronik*. L. Meyer (ed.). Paderborn: Druck und Verlag von Ferdinand Schöningh. 1876.

Literature

- Andrašienė A. 1987. Kernavės archeologijos paminklo rytdiena. *Tiesa*, 1987-12-17.
- Bakonis E. 1994. Istorijos ir kultūros paminklų apsauga Lietuvoje 1918–1940 m. *Istorija* 33, 18–33.
- Baliulis A. 2005. Iš Kernavės praeities. In S. Buchaveckas, J. Barbaravičienė and P. Krikščiūnas (eds.), *Musninkai. Kernavė. Čiobiškis*, 13-oji serijos „Lietuvos valsčiai“ monografija. Vilnius: Versmė, 153–172.
- Baltramiejūnaitė D. and Vengalis R. 2010. Tyrinėjimai Semeniškėse. *Archeologiniai tyrinėjimai Lietuvoje 2009 metais*, 98–105.
- Baltramiejūnaitė D., Vengalis R. and Vėlius G. 2013. Kernavės senosios bažnyčios vieta. *Archeologiniai tyrinėjimai Lietuvoje 2012 metais*, 308–313.

¹ Acknowledgements: the Administration of the State Cultural Reserve of Kernavė; Translated by Violeta Stankūnienė, Justina Poškienė.

- Baronas D., Dubonis A. and Petrauskas R. 2011. *Lietuvos istorija XIII a.–1385 m. Valstybės iškilimas tarp Rytų ir Vakarų*. Vilnius: Baltos lankos.
- Bitner-Wróblewska A., Luchtanas A., Brzeziński W., Engel M. and Iwanowska G. (eds.) 2002. *Kernavė – litewska Troja. Katalog wystawy ze zbiorów Państwowego Muzeum-Rezerwatu Archeologii i Historii Kernavė, Litwa*. Warszawa: Państwowe Muzeum Archeologiczne.
- Blockley M. 2000. The social context for archaeological reconstructions in England, Germany and Scandinavia. *Archaeologia Polona. Special theme: Archaeological heritage management* 38, 43–65.
- Buchowski K. 2006. Związek wyzwolenia Wilna i mit wileński w międzywojennej Litwie. *Studia z Dziejów Rosji i Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej* 41, 47–74.
- Bumblauskas A. 2006. „Nelengvas paveldas“: Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės Valdovų rūmų atkūrimo problemiškas. In A. Bumblauskas (ed.), *Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės Valdovų rūmų atkūrimo byla. Vieno požiūrio likimas*. Vilnius: Vilniaus universiteto leidykla, 13–32.
- Carman J. 2015. *Archaeological Resource Management. An International Perspective*. Cambridge: University Press.
- Dubonis A. 2009. *Traidenis. Monarcho valdžios atkūrimas Lietuvoje (1268–1282)*. Vilnius: Lietuvos istorijos instituto leidykla.
- Grigas R. 2018. *Lietuvos piliakalnių paslaptys*. Vilnius: Diemedžio leidykla.
- ICOMOS Ename Charter 2008. The ICOMOS Charter for the Interpretation and Presentation of Cultural Heritage Sites. In https://www.icomos.org/charters/interpretation_e.pdf (last accessed 2018–12–10)
- Jankauskas A. 1992. Senųjų Kernavės bažnyčių vietos tyrinėjimai. *Archeologiniai tyrinėjimai Lietuvoje 1990 ir 1991 metais*, 24–28.
- Jankauskas A. and Luchtanas A. 1990. Senųjų Kernavės bažnyčių tyrinėjimai. *Archeologiniai tyrinėjimai Lietuvoje 1988 ir 1989 metais*, 138–140.
- Karnatka G. 1994. Miesto Pajautos slėnyje Kernavėje tyrinėjimai. *Archeologiniai tyrinėjimai Lietuvoje 1992 ir 1993 metais*, 236–238.
- Kulikauskas P. and Luchtanas A. 1980. In *Archeologiniai tyrinėjimai Kernavėje 1979 metais. Archeologiniai tyrinėjimai Lietuvoje 1978 ir 1979 metais*. Vilnius: Lietuvos TSR mokslų akademijos Istorijos institutas, 35–38.
- Kulikauskas P. and Zabiela G. 1999. *Lietuvos archeologijos istorija (iki 1945 m.)*. Vilnius: Diemedžio leidykla.
- Kvieskienė D. 1972. Kernavės istorijos muziejus. In V. Milius, A. Stravinskas, A. Tyla, N. Vėlius, A. Vidugiris and V. Vitkauskas (eds.), *Kernavė*. Vilnius: Lietuvos TSR Paminklų apsaugos ir kraštotyros draugija, 67–80.
- Luchtanas A. 1986. Kernavės Pilies kalno tyrinėjimai. *Archeologiniai tyrinėjimai Lietuvoje 1984 ir 1985 metais*, 32–35.
- Luchtanas A. 1988. Tyrimai Kernavėje. *Archeologiniai tyrinėjimai Lietuvoje 1986 ir 1987 metais*, 137–142.
- Luchtanas A. 1990a. Tyrinėjimai Pajautos slėnyje Kernavėje. *Archeologiniai tyrinėjimai Lietuvoje 1988 ir 1989 metais*, 148–152.
- Luchtanas A. 1990b. Žvalgomieji tyrinėjimai Kernavėje ir jos apylinkėse. *Archeologiniai tyrinėjimai Lietuvoje 1988 ir 1989 metais*, 193–196.

- Luchtanas A. 1992. Kapinyno ir gyvenviečių tyrinėjimai Kernavėje Pajautos slėnyje. *Archeologiniai tyrinėjimai Lietuvoje 1990 ir 1991 metais*, 103–107.
- Luchtanas A. 1994. „Aukuro kalno“ piliakalnio Kernavėje tyrinėjimai. *Archeologiniai tyrinėjimai Lietuvoje 1992 ir 1993 metais*, 50–53.
- Luchtanas A. 1996a. Kapinyno ir gyvenviečių tyrinėjimai Kernavėje, Pajautos slėnyje 1994 metais. *Archeologiniai tyrinėjimai Lietuvoje 1994 ir 1995 metais*, 115–117.
- Luchtanas A. 1996b. Miesto Pajautos slėnyje Kernavėje tyrinėjimai. *Archeologiniai tyrinėjimai Lietuvoje 1994 ir 1995 metais*, 254–255.
- Luchtanas A. 1998. Gyvenviečių ir kapinyno tyrinėjimai Kernavėje, Pajautos slėnyje, 1996 ir 1997 metais. *Archeologiniai tyrinėjimai Lietuvoje 1996 ir 1997 metais*, 82–86.
- Luchtanas A. 2006. Grabijolų (Žemaitiškių) pilkapynas II. *Archeologiniai tyrinėjimai Lietuvoje 2004 metais*, 83–84.
- Outram A. 2008. Introduction to experimental archaeology. *World Archaeology* 40/1, 1–6.
- Poškienė J. 2014. Beieškant genius loci: archeologijos paveldas. In R. Čepaitienė (ed.), *Vietos dvasios beieškant*. Vilnius: Lietuvos istorijos instituto leidykla.
- Poškienė J. 2017. Kernavės archeologinės vietovės muziejus. In D. Baltramiejūnaitė, J. Poškienė, R. Vengalis and G. Vėlius (eds.), *Atrastoji Kernavė. Kernavės archeologinės vietovės muziejaus katalogas*. Kernavė: Valstybinio Kernavės kultūrinio rezervato direkcija, 15–25.
- Putinaitė N. 2004. *Šiaurės Atėnų tremtiniai. Lietuviškos tapatybės paieškos ir Europos vizijos XX a.* Vilnius: Aidai.
- Syrokomla Wł. 1860. *Wycieczki po Litwie w promieniach od Wilna*, vol. II. Wilno.
- Šiaučiūnas J. 1930. *Letter sent to the Inspector of Primary Schools of the 2nd district of Ukmergė on October 28, 1930*. Collections of the Administration of the State Cultural Reserve of Kernavė.
- Šiaučiūnas J. 1933. Kernavė – Lietuvos lopšys. *Lietuvos aidas*, 1933-05-23.
- Tautavičius A. 1972. Archeologiniai radiniai ir paminklai. In V. Milius, A. Stravinskis, A. Tyla, N. Vėlius, A. Vidugiris and V. Vitkauskas (eds.), *Kernavė*. Vilnius: Lietuvos TSR Paminklų apsaugos ir kraštotyros draugija, 26–44.
- Tiškutė I. 1989. Kernavė paskendusį abejingumo rukuose. *Vakarinės naujienos*, 1989-09-05.
- Trinkūnas J. 2005. Romuvių judėjimo pradžia – Kernavėje. In S. Buchaveckas, J. Barbaravičienė and P. Krikščiūnas (eds.), *Musninkai. Kernavė. Čiobiškis*, 13-oji serijos „Lietuvos valsčiai“ monografija. Vilnius: Versmė, 463–469.
- Vadišis S. 2017. Kernavės archeologinė vietovė – Lietuvos ir pasaulio. In D. Baltramiejūnaitė, J. Poškienė, R. Vengalis and G. Vėlius (eds.), *Atrastoji Kernavė. Kernavės archeologinės vietovės muziejaus katalogas*. Kernavė: Valstybinio Kernavės kultūrinio rezervato direkcija, 9–13.
- Vaičiūnienė D. 2000. Kernavės Viršutinio miesto tyrinėjimai. *Archeologiniai tyrinėjimai Lietuvoje 1998 ir 1999 metais*, 131–134.
- Vaičiūnienė D. 2001. Kernavės Viršutinis miestas. *Archeologiniai tyrinėjimai Lietuvoje 2000 metais*, 40–41.
- Vaičiūnienė D. 2002. Kernavės Viršutinis miestas. *Archeologiniai tyrinėjimai Lietuvoje 2001 metais*, 59–60.

- Vaitkuvienė A. and Baubonis Z. 2004. Lietuvos piliakalnių išsaugojimo programa. *Kultūros paminklai* 11, 52–60.
- Vengalis R. 2007. Kernavės Viršutinis miestas. *Archeologiniai tyrinėjimai Lietuvoje 2006 metais*. Vilnius: Lietuvos archeologijos draugija, 93–100.
- Vengalis R. 2011. Semeniškių kapinynas. *Archeologiniai tyrinėjimai Lietuvoje 2010 metais*, 124–127.
- Vengalis R. 2012. Geležies amžiaus gyvenvietė Kernavėje: ilgalaikio apgyvendinimo atspindžiai archeologinėje medžiagoje. *Lietuvos archeologija*, 38, 175–220.
- Vengalis R. 2014a. Tyrimai Kernavės senovės gyvenvietėje. *Archeologiniai tyrinėjimai Lietuvoje 2013 metais*, 98–104.
- Vengalis R. 2014b. Žvalgomieji tyrimai Neries slėnyje, tarp Dūkštų ir Čiobiškio. *Archeologiniai tyrinėjimai Lietuvoje 2013 metais*, 105–120.
- Vengalis R. 2015. Žvalgomieji tyrimai Kernavės apylinkėse. *Archeologiniai tyrinėjimai Lietuvoje 2014 metais*, 105–117.
- Vengalis R. 2017. Kernavė Lietuvos priešistorėje. In D. Baltramiejūnaitė, J. Poškienė and R. Vengalis and G. Vėlius (eds.), *Atrastoji Kernavė. Kernavės archeologinės vietovės muziejaus katalogas*. Kernavė: Valstybinio Kernavės kultūrinio rezervato direkcija, 53–61.
- Vengalis R. and Vėlius G. 2017. Žvalgymai Kernavės archeologinėje vietovėje. *Archeologiniai tyrinėjimai Lietuvoje 2016 metais*, 465–470.
- Vėlius G. 2000. Popų–Vingelių pilkapynas. *Archeologiniai tyrinėjimai Lietuvoje 1998 ir 1999 metais*, 235–241.
- Vėlius G. 2005. *Kernavės miesto bendruomenė XIII–XIV a.* Vilnius: Vilniaus universiteto leidykla.
- Vėlius G. 2006. Kernavės menamos senosios kalvės vietos tyrinėjimai. *Archeologiniai tyrinėjimai Lietuvoje 2005 metais*, 43–47.
- Vėlius G. 2012. Neries pakrantės tarp Karmazinių ir Kernavės (geležies amžiaus gyvenvietės). *Lietuvos archeologija* 38, 221–252.
- Vėlius G. 2015. Kernavės (Kriveikiškio) piliakalnis. *Archeologiniai tyrinėjimai Lietuvoje 2014 metais*, 117–122.
- Vėlius G. 2017a. Kernavės archeologinių tyrimų istorija. In D. Baltramiejūnaitė, J. Poškienė, R. Vengalis and G. Vėlius (eds.), *Atrastoji Kernavė. Kernavės archeologinės vietovės muziejaus katalogas*. Kernavė: Valstybinio Kernavės kultūrinio rezervato direkcija, 27–49.
- Vėlius G. 2017b. Kernavė viduramžių epochoje. In D. Baltramiejūnaitė, J. Poškienė, R. Vengalis and G. Vėlius (eds.), *Atrastoji Kernavė. Kernavės archeologinės vietovės muziejaus katalogas*. Kernavė: Valstybinio Kernavės kultūrinio rezervato direkcija, 120–129.
- Vėlius G. 2018. Semeniškių senovės gyvenvietė ir pilkapynas. *Archeologiniai tyrinėjimai Lietuvoje 2017 metais*, 142–149.
- Vitkūnas J. 2005a. „Gyvoji archeologija“ Valstybiniame Kernavės kultūriniame rezervate. In S. Buchaveckas, J. Barbaravičienė and P. Krikščiūnas (eds.), *Mušninkai. Kernavė. Čiobiškis*, 13-oji serijos „Lietuvos valsčiai“ monografija. Vilnius: Versmė, 52–63.

- Vitkūnas J. 2005b. Nuo J. Šiaučiūno muziejaus iki Valstybinio Kernavės kultūrinio rezervato. In S. Buchaveckas, J. Barbaravičienė and P. Krikščiūnas (eds.), *Musninkai. Kernavė. Čiobiškis*, 13-oji serijos „Lietuvos valsčiai“ monografija. Vilnius: Versmė, 717–726.
- Volkaitė-Kulikauskienė R. 1982. „Mindaugo sostu“ vadinamo Kernavės piliakalnio tyrinėjimai. *Archeologiniai tyrinėjimai Lietuvoje 1980 ir 1981 metais*, 28–31.
- Volkaitė-Kulikauskienė R. 1984a. Kernavės piliakalnio „Mindaugo sostas“ tyrinėjimai. *Archeologiniai tyrinėjimai Lietuvoje 1982 ir 1983 metais*, 35–38.
- Volkaitė-Kulikauskienė R. 1984b. Kernavės „Pilies kalno“ tyrinėjimai 1983 m. *Archeologiniai tyrinėjimai Lietuvoje 1982 ir 1983 metais* 38–40.
- Zabiela G. 2005. Apie piliakalnius. In http://www.piliakalniai.lt/apie_piliakalnius.php (last accessed 2018-12-10).

