

„CASTELLUM, CIVITAS, URBS“

ZENTREN UND ELITEN IN
FRÜHMITTELALTERLICHEN OSTMITTELEUROPA

CENTRES AND ELITES IN
EARLY MEDIEVAL EAST-CENTRAL EUROPE

Herausgegeben von

Orsolya Heinrich-Tamáska, Hajnalka Herold,

Péter Straub und Tivadar Vida

QVERENS INVENTI PVLANS H[I]C CAVDET AperTO



„CASTELLUM, CIVITAS, URBS“

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Vorwort

Mit dem Titel „Castellum, civitas, urbs“ setzt der vorliegende Band den Themenschwerpunkt der Reihe Castellum Pannonicum Pelsonense fort, in der, von Keszthely-Fenekpuszta ausgehend, Forschungsergebnisse zur römischen Kontinuität, zur Zentralörtlichkeit und zu frühmittelalterlichen Eliten im mittleren Donaauraum und in seinen Grenzregionen präsentiert werden sollen.

„Civitates“ im frühmittelalterlichen Ostmitteleuropa stehen seit langem im Fokus archäologischer und historischer Forschung. Sie gelten als politische, religiöse und wirtschaftliche Zentren, und als solche ermöglichen sie einen wichtigen Einblick in die Gesellschafts- und Machtstrukturen ihrer Zeit. Bei ihrer Untersuchung geht es um die Rekonstruktion und Bestimmung der infrastrukturellen, wirtschaftlichen und topographischen Voraussetzungen und um die Erarbeitung der regionalen und überregionalen Netzwerke der einzelnen Orte. Zugleich versucht man die einstigen Einwohner dieser Siedlungen zu erfassen, wofür häufig Gräber und Gräberfelder herangezogen werden. Die Analyse der Bestattungssitten und der Beigaben soll helfen, einstige soziale Hierarchien zu entschlüsseln.

Bei den Autoren dieses Bandes handelt es sich um ehemalige Alexander-von-Humboldt-Stipendiaten, sowie ihre Gastgeber und Kooperationspartner in Deutschland und in Ostmitteleuropa. Dem Jubilar Dr. Béla Miklós Szóke, dem langjährigen Ausgräber und Erforscher des karolingischen Herrschaftsmittelpunkts Mosaburg/Zalavár und früheren Humboldt-Stipendiaten, zu Ehren wurden in diesem Band Studien zusammengestellt, die eine Auswahl an aktuellen Forschungen über Zentren und Eliten im frühmittelalterlichen Ostmitteleuropa bieten. Die Aufsätze lassen sich in zwei große Themenbereiche unterteilen. Einerseits geht es um siedlungshistorische Aspekte, um Zentren, ihre Formen und Aufgaben und andererseits um sozialgeschichtliche Deutungsmuster anhand von Bestattungssitten und Grabbeigaben.

In beiden Kontexten tritt das frühe Christentum als ein wichtiger Faktor hervor, dessen Entwicklung im Rahmen eines laufenden Forschungsprojektes am Geisteswissenschaftlichen Zentrum Geschichte und Kultur Ostmitteleuropas e. V. untersucht wird. Unter dem Titel „Kontinuität und Diskontinuität des Christentums an der mittleren und unteren Donau zwischen Spätantike und hohem Mittelalter“ werden hier noch bis 2019 die komplexen Prozesse untersucht, die mit der Ausbreitung, Mission und Institutionalisierung des Christentums zwischen dem 4. und 11. Jahrhundert einhergingen.

Die Herausgeber möchten an erster Stelle allen Autoren für ihre Beiträge und Prof. Dr. Róbert Müller sowie Prof. Dr. Michael Schmauder für die wissenschaftliche Begutachtung der Aufsätze danken. Ebenso gilt unser Dank der Alexander-von-Humboldt-Stiftung, die sich anteilig an den Druckkosten dieses Bandes beteiligte und somit die Veröffentlichung neuer Forschungsergebnisse ermöglichte. Wir danken auch dem Geisteswissenschaftlichen Zentrum Geschichte und Kultur Ostmitteleuropas e. V., besonders Prof. Dr.

Christian Lübke und Prof. Dr. Matthias Hardt, dafür, dass sie das Erscheinen der Studien im Rahmen des oben erwähnten Forschungsprojektes unterstützt haben, und dem Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung, das die finanzielle Unterstützung im Rahmen der GWZO-Projektförderung bereit hielt. Nicht zuletzt möchten wir uns bei Adrien Blay, Madeleine Hummeler, Eva-Maria Tepest, Kathleen Zeidler und Krisztián Kolozsvári für die redaktionelle Unterstützung und bei Anita Mezei für die mühevollen Arbeit am Satz bedanken.

Im Namen aller Autoren hoffen wir schließlich, dass wir unserem Kollegen, Béla Miklós Szóke mit dem vorliegenden Band neue Anregungen für seine künftigen Forschungen liefern können.

Leipzig, Exeter, Zalaegerszeg und Budapest,
Januar 2015

Die Herausgeber

Der vorliegende Band ist
The present volume is dedicated to

Prof. Dr. Béla Miklós Szőke

zu seinem 65. Geburtstag gewidmet
on his 65th birthday



Béla Miklós Szőke hat mit seinen langjährigen Ausgrabungen am karolingerzeitlichen Zentralort von Mosaburg/Zalavár derartig neue Erkenntnisse erzielen können, dass sie das bisherige Bild über das Pannonien des 9. Jahrhunderts komplett veränderten. Er hat nicht nur veraltete Ansichten und forschungsgeschichtliche Vorurteile revidiert, sondern vor allem die Bedeutung von Zalavár mit seinen weit gefächerten historischen und kulturellen Beziehungen zwischen dem Karolingerreich und dem frühmittelalterlichen Mediterraneum herausarbeiten können. Damit hat er sowohl der ungarischen als auch der europäischen Archäologie große Dienste erwiesen.

Er hat in Zalavár und in seiner Umgebung mehrere aus den Schriftquellen bekannte Kirchen archäologisch identifiziert und große Teile der karolingerzeitlichen „Pfalz“ sowie mehr als 2000 Bestattungen freigelegt. Béla Miklós Szőkes Veröffentlichungen behandeln ebenso Fragen der sozialen Hierarchien, überregionalen Kontakte und präurbanen Entwicklung des frühmittelalterlichen Zalavár, wie die Bestattungssitten und Typologie im spätaurenenzeitlichen Karpatenbecken.

Die internationale Anerkennung von Béla Miklós Szőkes Forschungen lässt sich an den regelmäßigen Einladungen zu Konferenzen und Workshops sowie an seiner Mitarbeit an mehreren Ausstellungsprojekten ablesen. Als ehemaliger Alexander-von-Humboldt-Stipendiat ist er ein aktives Mitglied der archäologisch-wissenschaftlichen Community. Seit 2002 ist er Chefredakteur des Jahrbuchs des Archäologischen Instituts der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Anteus). Seit 1984 lehrt er am Archäologischen Institut der Loránd-Eötvös-Universität und betreut dort auch Master- und Doktorarbeiten.

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Beyond boundaries ...
of medieval principalities, cultures and scientific disciplines.
Cherven Towns – insights from archaeology, cartography and
paleogeography¹

Marcin Wołoszyn, Andrzej Janeczek, Radosław Dobrowolski, Jan Rodzik,
Przemysław Mroczek, Piotr Zagórski, Krystyna Bałaga,
Irena Agnieszka Pidek and Irka Hajdas

Introduction

In Hungarian medieval studies one of the better investigated historical accounts is the *De Administrando Imperio* by Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, understandably so, since it is an invaluable source for early Magyar history and, not less importantly, because we owe its most popular edition to the hard work of the outstanding Hungarian Byzantine scholar Gyula Moravcsik (1892–1972).

Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus also paid some attention to the early history of Kievan Rus; standing out from his several accounts is the account of how the Rus organised their expeditions against Constantinople. Given the excellent navigability of the Dnieper and the need to sail over the Black Sea these expeditions were by boat, and the most common form of craft were boats made from hollowed-out tree trunks. The emperor-historian relates that “Their Slav tributaries, the so-called Krivichians and the Lenzanenes and the rest of the Slavonic regions, cut the ‘monoxyla’ on their mountains in time of winter, and when they have prepared them,

as spring approaches, and the ice melts, they bring them on to the neighbouring lakes. And since these lakes debouch into the river Dniepr, they enter thence on to this same river, and come down to Kiev, and draw the ships along to be finished, and sell them to the Russians”².

The location of the territory occupied by the Lenzanenes mentioned in this text is ambiguous, but today it is commonly accepted – following Gerard Labuda – that this tribe was established on the upper and middle reaches of the river Bug, in the south-eastern part of modern Poland and western Ukraine (see discussion below). Most probably the name of this tribe (its Slav version being *Lach*, *Lyakh*, and other variants) is the name from which the Rus, Lithuanian and, not least, the Hungarian name for the Poles and Poland (*Lengyel*)³ derive.

Our concern here is the early medieval history of the territory on the Upper and Middle Bug. From a rich spectrum of issues associated with this region, this article examines the question of the so-called Cherven towns, and more specifically reports on the up-to-date investigation into the palaeogeography of this region, with a special focus on the hillfort of Czermno (Fig. 1).

¹ The present contribution was written within the project “Złote jabłko polskiej archeologii. Zespoły grodowe w Czermno i Gródek (Grody Czerwieńskie) – chronologia i funkcja w świetle badań dawnych oraz weryfikacyjnych” (The Golden apple of Polish archaeology. Stronghold complexes at Czermno and Gródek [Cherven towns] – chronology and function in the light of past and current research). Ministry of Science and Higher Education, Warsaw, NPRH, Project no. 12H 12 0064 81.

² Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, IX,56–59.

³ M. PARCZEWSKI, Das Problem der Lenzanen und die Bildung der polnisch-altrussischen ethnischen Grenze. In: M. Dębiec/M. Wołoszyn (eds), *Frühzeit Ostmitteleuropas. Das polnisch-ukrainische Grenzgebiet aus archäologischer Perspektive*. *Collectio Arch. Ressoviensis* 5 (Rzeszów 2007) 161–176.

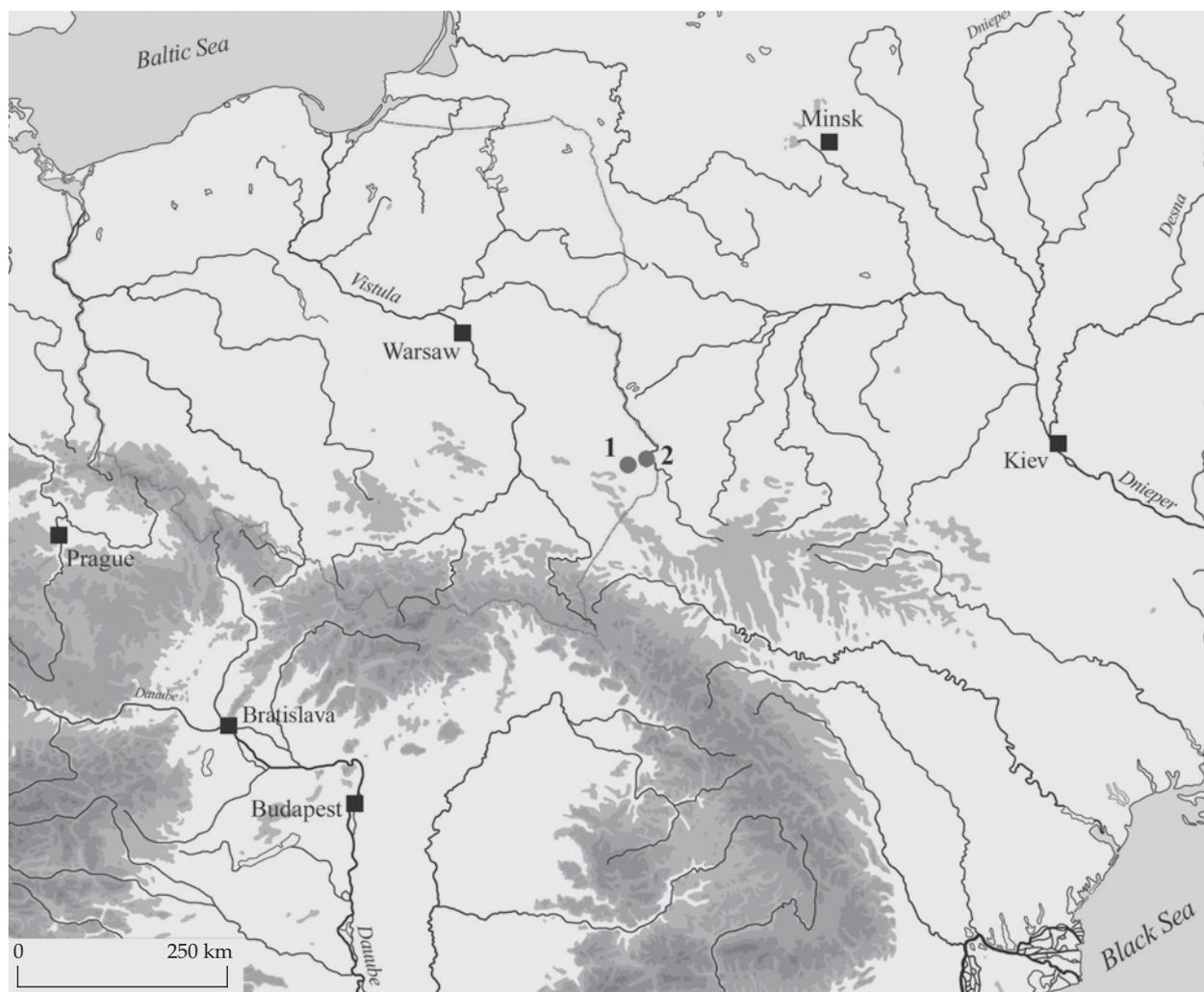


Fig. 1 Location of the research area (Lublin Voivodeship, PL): 1 Czerwno/Cherven, distr. of Tyszowce; 2 Gródek, distr. of Hrubieszów.

The work presented below demonstrates what can be accomplished, and can be achieved in future, by research on the Cherven towns region. For many years Czerwno and Gródek did not benefit from the long-term, regular input that would have ensured their comprehensive investigation. The case of Zalavár/Mosaburg shows that this is possible; it was systematically investigated for many years by Béla Miklós Szóke, to whom we dedicate the present text.

The river Bug, Cherven towns and the eastern boundary of Poland during the Middle Ages in the light of the written sources

We are informed by Jan Długosz (1415–1480), author of the key work of medieval Polish

historiography *Annales seu cronicae incliti regni Poloniae*, that in the summer of 1018 preparations were under way for a new war between Bolesław Chrobry and Yaroslav the Wise: “As it happens, both sides go on the offensive at more or less the same time, though in ignorance of what the others are doing, until, reaching the banks of the river Bug, they pitch camp and discover that their enemy is there too, though on the opposite bank. It is a Saturday when this happens and as Bolesław does not wish to do battle on a Sunday, he keeps his men in camp with orders not to undertake any offensive action. However, at midday on the Sunday, when the sun is at its height and most of the knights are resting, the camp servants, grooms and cooks crowd down to the river either to quench their own thirst, water their horses or just to clean the carcasses of what game they have

killed, and there they begin hurling insults and finally mud and stones at the enemy on the far bank. Gradually tension increases and people begin surreptitiously arming themselves. In the end Bolesław's entire force is under arms; they mount their horses and prepare to the battle. To reach the enemy, however, they have first to cross the river, which involves fording it or swimming. Ignoring the danger, the Poles, in full armour, plunge in. Somehow they get across and fall upon the enemy, who are still unarmed and in no way alive to the situation. There is a panic and the Poles achieve an initial success, seeing which Iaroslav's only thought is of avoiding capture. He decides on flight, and when they see him leaving the battle-field his men take fright, and as a result there is more flight than fight"⁴.

It is obvious that this account was meant as an eulogy to the first Polish king and Polish army⁵. Before going any further it must be noted that for Jan Długosz, during the reign of Bolesław Chrobry, the borders of Poland lay much further east than the line of the river Bug: "[...] the boundaries of his kingdom by erecting iron pillars, three at the place where the River Sula mouths into the Dniepr and three others to the west of the Solava, or Saale, a tributary of the Elbe in Saxon territory"⁶.

The reference to iron pillars driven into the Dnieper and the wars waged on the river Bug leave no doubt as to the significance of rivers as linear features in the landscape delimiting medieval monarchies⁷. The iron pillars driven by Bolesław Chrobry into the Dnieper are obviously a rhetoric device meant to lend legitimacy to Jagiellonian control over tracts of Eastern Europe at the close of the Middle Ages.

But how reliable is the account on Polish-Rus wars waged on the river Bug in 1018? Did this river then act as a boundary, did it separate the

monarchy of the Piast dynasty from that of the Rurikids, just as today it marks the boundary between Poland and Ukraine and currently the eastern boundary of the European Union? The following observations will provide some context:

There is only a very meagre record of the tribes that inhabited the region under study in the 9th–10th centuries.

When describing the domain of Mieszko I (before AD 963–992), Ibrāhīm ibn Ya'kūb merely noted that its eastern neighbour was Rus⁸, and the *Dagome Iudex* is similarly vague in this regard⁹.

Both Ibrāhīm ibn Ya'kūb¹⁰ and Kosmas¹¹ confirm that during the reign of Mieszko I Cracow was held by the Czech Přemyslid dynasty. In this context, the question of the north-eastern periphery of the Prague bishopric is of great interest: according to the so-called Prague Document of 1086 the see extended as far as the rivers Zbruch and Styr, i.e. to the territory of modern Ukraine¹². However, the veracity of this account has long been a subject of controversy¹³.

One name recorded in the Bavarian Geographer text dating to mid-9th century is that of the tribe of the *Uislane/Vuislane*, identified with the Vistulans (known from other records) and placed on the Upper Vistula. Another named

⁸ Relacja Ibrāhīma ibn Ja'kūba, 50.

⁹ B. KŪRBISÓWNA, *Dagome iudex* – studium krytyczne. In: K. Tymieniecki (ed.), *Początki Państwa Polskiego. Księga Tysiąclecia* (Poznań 1962) I, 363–424 here 395.

¹⁰ Relacja Ibrāhīma ibn Ja'kūba, 49.

¹¹ *The Chronicle of the Czechs I*, ed. by L. Wolverson (Washington D.C. 2009) I, 34, 88 f.

¹² *Codex Diplomaticus et Epistolaris Regni Bohemiae*, ed. by G. Friedrich (Prague 1904–1907) I, 94.

¹³ In the discussion of this account, the Life of Saint Methodius (d. AD 885) is also analysed; there, there is a reference to a pagan prince, presumably of the Vistulans, who persecuted the Christians [in his country] until he was Christened by force in a "foreign land", presumably Great Moravia; see *Magnae Moraviae Fontes Historici*, ed. by L. Havlík et al. (Brno 1967) II, 134–163 here 154–156. The discussion of the extent of Bohemian expansion in the 10th century is outlined comprehensively by M. MATLA-KOZŁOWSKA, *Pierwsi Przemyślidzi i ich państwo (od X do połowy XI wieku). Ekspansja terytorialna i jej polityczne uwarunkowania* (Poznań 2008) 170–219. Archaeological evidence is lacking to confirm the argument on the conquest of southern Poland by Great Moravia in the 9th century; see J. POLESKI, *Małopolska w VI–X wieku. Studium arch.* (Kraków 2013) 198–207.

⁴ The Annales of Jan Długosz, A.D. 1018, 20.

⁵ See J. STRZELCZYK, *Bolesław Chrobry* (Poznań 1999) 254–283.

⁶ The Annales of Jan Długosz, A.D. 1008, 17.

⁷ See J. TYSZKIEWICZ, *Średniowieczne granice wytyczone wzdłuż rzek w Europie Środkowej*. In: Idem (ed.), *Z dziejów średniowiecznej Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej. Fasciculi Hist. Novi 6* (Warszawa 2007) II, 145–152. Note that the only natural longitudinal features in eastern-central Europe are rivers.

tribe is that of the *Busani*, understood to reside somewhere on the river Bug¹⁴.

The latter are also known to the author of the Russian Primary Chronicle which however names no fewer than three tribes in the context of the river Bug¹⁵.

The Bavarian Geographer also refers to the *Lendizi/Lendians* who are said to possess no less than 98 *civitates* (strongholds, stronghold districts), but without closer information about their location. If we accept that they could be the same as the *Lenzanenes/Lenzenines* known to Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus¹⁶, then it is possible that the Lendians occupied the area to the east of the territory of the Vistulans, which presumably also included the territory on the river Bug.

The Russian Primary Chronicle relates for the year 981 that "Vladimir marched upon the Lyakhs and took their cities: Peremyshl, Cherven, and other towns, all of which are subject to Rus even to this day"¹⁷. Although admittedly in eastern Slav languages the term Lach (Lyakh, and other variations) refers to ethnic Poles and Poland, it is currently thought that the Lyakhs mentioned in the Russian Primary Chronicle for AD 981 cannot be synonymous with Poles; rather, they refer to the tribe or group of tribes – the Lendians – mentioned by the Bavarian Geographer and by Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus.

The homeland of the Lendians took in the upper reaches of the rivers Bug, Styr and Dniester, the edge of the Carpathian foothills, and the lands on the rivers San and Wisłoka. During the second half of the 10th century the territory of the Lendians lay within the orbit of Czech and Rus influence¹⁸.

In view of the above, it therefore seems that in the second half of the 10th century the border of Poland (Piast state) was to the west of the river Bug.

Only with the improved international position of Poland during the reign of Bolesław Chrobry and the weakened position of Kievan Rus after the death of Vladimir the Great in 1015 did the Kievan expedition of 1018 become possible. There are reasons to believe that the Polish-Rus armed conflict of 1018 took place on that same Bug.

Gallus Anonymus reports several successes of the Polish army on that river. Given the obviously panegyric intent of his text¹⁹ it is safer to cite a Rus source describing the defeat of their own armies: "Boleslav attacked Yaroslav with Svyatopolk and his Lyakhs. After collecting Russes, Varangians, and Slavs, Yaroslav marched forth against Boleslav and Svyatopolk, and upon arriving at Volyn, they camped on both sides of the river Bug. Now Yaroslav had with him his guardian and general, Budy by name. He scoffed at Boleslav, remarking, 'We shall pierce your fat belly with a pike'. For Boleslav was big and heavy, so that he could scarcely sit on a horse, but he was crafty. So Boleslav said to his retainers, 'If you do not avenge this insult, I will perish alone', and leaping upon his horse, he rode into the river and his retainers after him, while Yaroslav had no time to align his troops, so that Boleslav vanquished him"²⁰.

¹⁴ Geographus Bavarus, *Descriptio civitatum ad septentrionalem plagam Danubii*, ed. by E. Herrmann, *Slawisch-Germanische Beziehungen im südost-deutschen Raum von der Spätantike bis zum Ungarnsturm. Quellenbuch mit Erläuterungen. Coll. Carolinum* (München 1965) 212–221 here 221.

¹⁵ The Russian Primary Chronicle, 23 f.

¹⁶ Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, IX,57; XXXVII,169.

¹⁷ The Russian Primary Chronicle, 182.

¹⁸ G. LABUDA, Der Zug des russischen Großfürsten Vladimir gegen die Ljachen im Jahre 981. Ein Beitrag zur Ausbildung der polnisch-russischen Grenze im 10. Jahrhundert. In: U. Haustein/G. W. Strobel/G. Wagner (eds), *Ostmitteleuropa. Ber. und Forsch.* (Stuttgart 1981) 11–19; IDEM, Polish Diplomacy during the

rule of the Piast Dynasty (tenth century – 1370). In: Idem/W. Michowicz (eds), *The history of Polish diplomacy X-XX century* (Warsaw 2005) 17–69 esp. 20.

¹⁹ *Gesta principum Polonorum*. The Deeds of the princes of the Poles, ed. by P. W. Knoll/F. Schaer/Th. N. Bisson (Budapest, New York 2003) I.7. (45). – See G. ALTHOFF, Spielregeln und Ironie im Gallus Anonymus, *Frühmitt. Stud.* 43 (2009) 407–415 esp. 410; J. BANASZKIEWICZ, Bolesławi Peredslawa. Uwagi o uroczystości stanowienia władcy w związku z wejściem Chrobrego do Kijowa. *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, 97,3–4, 1990, 3–35; M. CETWIŃSKI, 'Rex insulsus' i 'parasitis exercitus' czyli pycha Rusina ukarana (Gall, I,10; Kadłubek, II, 12). In: J. Dudek/D. Janiszewska/U. Świdarska-Włodarczyk (eds), *Europa Środkowo-Wschodnia. Ideologia, historia a społeczeństwo. Księga poświęcona pamięci Profesora Wojciecha Peltza* (Zielona Góra 2005) 323–334; P. ŻMUDZKI, Władca i wojownicy. O wodzach, drużynie i wojnach w najdawniejszej historiografii Polski i Rusi (Wrocław 2009).

²⁰ The Russian Primary Chronicle, 220 f.

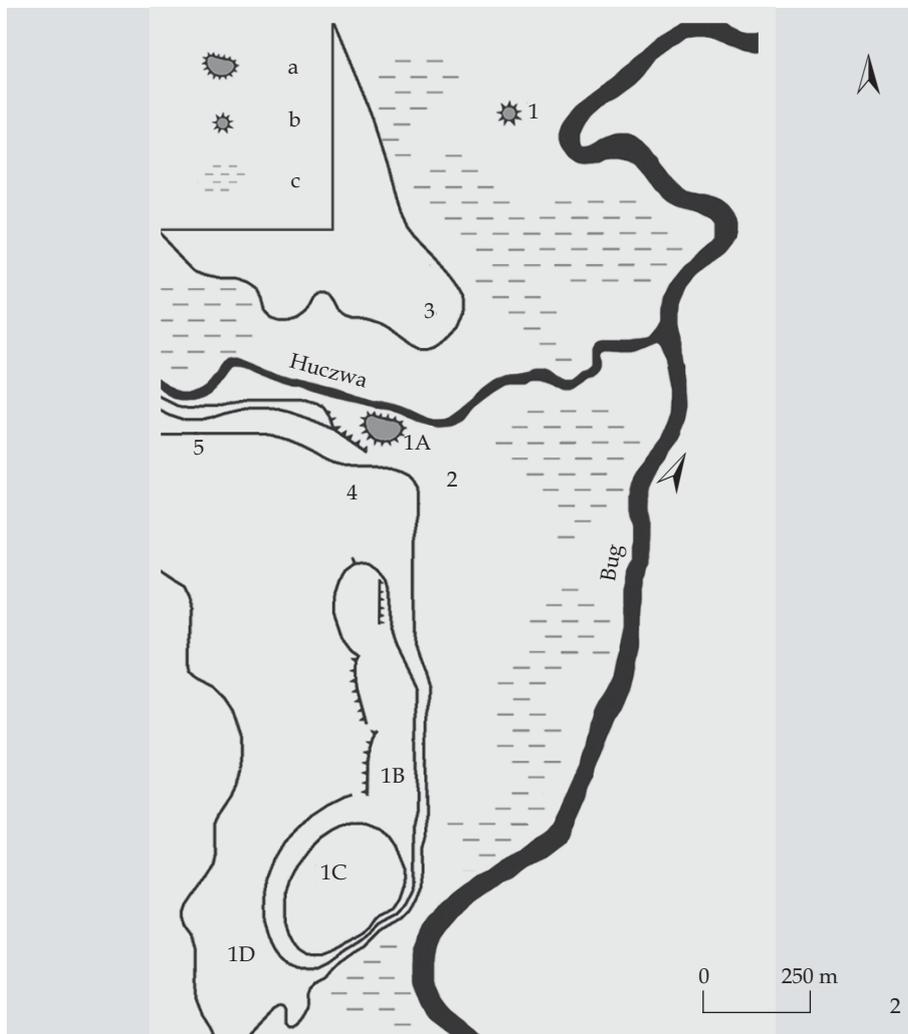


Fig. 2 Gródek/Wolhyn, distr. of Hrubieszów (Lublin Voivodeship, PL), the settlement complex. **1** – Photo of site from the north-west; **2** – Plan of the site: a the earthwork (with the cemetery within the compound); b *Książycowa Mogiła* barrow; c Marshy area; 1-5 Archaeological site numbers (1 *Książycowa Mogiła* barrow; 1A earthwork; 1C *Bocian* site; 1B, 1D, 2-5 Other archaeological sites [the dating of the sites around the hillfort at Gródek requires confirmation, e.g., site 1C, next to medieval features, a burial warrior from the 13th century, yielded evidence on the presence of a large Funnel Beaker Culture settlement]).

There is no doubt that the expedition of 1018 was a major success for Bolesław Chrobry. According to the Russian Primary Chronicle this is when he increased his domain by adding to it the Cherven towns²¹.

The same source relates that the crisis of the Piast monarchy after the death of Bolesław Chrobry precipitated the loss of the Cherven towns by Poland in 1031²².

The name Cherven towns appears only in the Russian Primary Chronicle, on two occasions, under the years dated 1018 and 1031.

Here it is proposed to locate the region of the Cherven towns in the area where the site of Czermno is found today, on the middle reaches of the river Bug, mostly on its left bank. The stronghold at Gródek, identified with the early medieval hillfort of *Volhyn*, may also have played an important role²³.

²¹ The Russian Primary Chronicle, 220 f., 225. Both the chronicle of Gallus Anonymus and the Russian Primary Chronicle originated in the early 12th century. It is worth noting that Thietmar's chronicle, a source contemporary to the events described (Thietmar died in 1018) and based on input from Saxon participants of Chrobry's expedition, unfortunately does not record the name of the river where the fighting took place in 1018 ("On 22 July, the duke came to a certain river, where he ordered his army to set up camp and prepare the necessary bridges. Also camped near the river, along with his army, was the King of the Russians (Yaroslav [† 1054] - M.W.). He was anxiously awaiting the outcome of the upcoming battle, for which both rulers had called. Meanwhile, the Poles provoked the enemy into fighting and, with unexpected success, drove them from the river bank which they were supposed to defend. Elated by this news, Boleslav hastily notified his companions and quickly crossed the river although not without effort. In contrast, the hostile army, drawn up in battle formation, vainly attempted to defend its homeland. It collapsed at the first attack, however, and failed to mount any effective resistance. Among those who fled, many were killed, but only a few of the victors were lost. On our (German, Saxon - M.W.) side, the dead included Erich, an illustrious *miles* whom our emperor had long held in chains. From that day on, with every success, Boleslav drove his scattered enemies before him; and the whole populace received and honoured him with many gifts"; see Thietmar, *Chronicon of Thietmar of Merseburg*, ed. by D. A. Warner (Manchester, New York 2001) VIII.31, 382 f.

²² The Russian Primary Chronicle, 225; G. LABUDA, *Mieszko II. Król polski w czasach przełomu, 1025-1034* (Poznań 1994) 94 f.

²³ For an alternate location of the Cherven towns pro-

posed in Polish medieval studies, see E. KOWALCZYK, *Momenty geograficzne państwa Bolesława Chrobrego. Na styku historii i archeologii*. *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 57, 41-76; J. TYSZKIEWICZ, *The Oldest Eastern Border of the Piast State - an attempted summary*. *Quaestiones Mediaevali Aevi Novae* 9, 183-204.

Jan Długosz was possibly the first to identify the stronghold of *Volhyn* with the hillfort at Gródek, at the confluence of the Huczwa with the Bug²⁷. A penetrating study by Ardzej Poppe has largely validated this interpretation²⁸, making it likely that the Polish-Rus conflict of 1018 took place on the river Bug.

The Kievan expeditions of the Polish King Bolesław the Generous (1058-1079), undertaken in 1069 and 1077 may have resulted in the region of the Cherven towns

posed in Polish medieval studies, see E. KOWALCZYK, *Momenty geograficzne państwa Bolesława Chrobrego. Na styku historii i archeologii*. *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 57, 41-76; J. TYSZKIEWICZ, *The Oldest Eastern Border of the Piast State - an attempted summary*. *Quaestiones Mediaevali Aevi Novae* 9, 183-204.

²⁴ Its 10th-century date is confirmed not only by written sources but also by the presence of an Early Hungarian cemetery; on the subject of Przemyśl, see recently E. SOSNOWSKA (ed.), *Przemyśl wczesnodziejowy*. *Origines Polonorum* 3 (Warszawa 2010).

²⁵ Z. DOŁĘGA-CHODAKOWSKI, *O Słowiańszczyźnie przed chrześcijaństwem oraz inne pisma i listy*, ed. by J. Maślanka (Warszawa 1967) 208 f.

²⁶ *The Galician-Volynian Chronicle*, 85; H. ŁOWMIAŃSKI, *Problematyka historyczna Grodów Czerwieńskich w związku z planem zespołowych badań polsko-radzieckich*. *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, 60, 1953, 58-85 esp. 61 f. and note 17; G. RHODE, *Die Ostgrenze Polens. Politische Entwicklung, kulturelle Bedeutung und geistige Auswirkung* (Köln, Graz 1955) I, 49; S. M. KUCZYŃSKI, *Studia z dziejów Europy Wschodniej X-XVII w.* (Warszawa 1965) 86 f.; E. KOWALCZYK, *Systemy obronne wałów podłużnych we wczesnym średniowieczu na ziemiach polskich* (Wrocław 1987) 201, note 33.

²⁷ *Annales seu Cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae*, ed. by I. Dąbrowski et al. (Warszawa 1964) liber I, 84.

²⁸ A. POPPE, *Gród Wołyń. Z zagadnień osadnictwa wczesnośredniowiecznego na pograniczu polsko-ruskim*. *Stud. Wczesnośredniowieczne* 4, 1958, 227-300.

being attached to Poland but there are no records to confirm this²⁹.

It is obvious that in the period between the 12th and the 14th century the lands on the river Bug (and to the east of it) were an object of interest (expansion) to the Piast dynasty – especially its Małopolska (and Mazowsze) branches³⁰; from the late 12th century the members of the Hungarian Arpad dynasty also became increasingly active in the region³¹.

At the same time, it seems that the eastern boundary of the Piast domain ran to the west of the line of the river Bug from the second half of 11th century to the 14th century; thus the region of the Cherven towns lay outside Poland.

The Tatar (Mongol) invasion of the 13th century caused a major shift in the balance of power in eastern-central Europe: in the 13th century Lithuania took advantage of the weakening of Rus, and in the mid-14th century it brought benefits to Poland too. The modernisation of Poland during the reign of Kazimierz the Great, and subsequently the Polish-Lithuanian union, made the Jagiellonian monarchy the leading political player in this part of Europe. Since the mid-14th century the Cherven towns (and lands further east) were made part of the *Corona Regni Poloniae*³².

²⁹ On the expeditions themselves, see esp. T. GRUZIŃSKI, Bolesław Śmiały – Szczodry i biskup Stanisław. Dzieje konfliktu (Warszawa 1986) 51–58.

³⁰ See S. M. KUCZYŃSKI, Stosunki polsko-ruskie do schyłku wieku XII. *Slavia Orientalis* 7,2, 1958, 223–255; B. WŁODARSKI, Polska i Ruś 1194–1340 (Warszawa 1966).

³¹ See M. FONT, Politische Beziehungen zwischen Ungarn und der Kiever Rus' im 12. Jahrhundert. *Ungarn-Jahrb.* 18, 1990 (1991) 1–18; EADEM, Ungarn und Osteuropa zur Zeit des Königs Andreas II. (1205–1235). In: K. Gündisch (ed.), *Generalprobe Burzenland. Neue Forschungen zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens in Siebenbürgen und im Banat* (Köln, Weimar, Wien 2013) 40–57.

³² Lands added to Poland at this time were often referred to as Red Ruthenia (Polish Ruś Czerwona). The word Cherven, used in the name of the Cherven towns may be understood as an adjective describing the colour red. Thus, Grody Czerwieńskie could be translated as “Red Towns”. Because of this, occasionally these two terms were linked. However, nowadays it is generally held that the term Red Ruthenia does not derive from Grody Czerwieńskie, see A. JANECZEK, Red Ruthenia - On name's incidents. In: V. Nagirnyy (ed.), *Rus' during the epoch of Mongol invasions (1223–1480)*. Publication after the 3rd International Conference, Warsaw, 15–17th November 2012. *Coll. Russica* 1,3 (Kraków 2013) 224–226.

It needs stressing that during this period the river Bug did not act as a state boundary. It would take on this role only in the late 18th century when it divided the territory seized after the partitioning of Poland by the Habsburg and the Romanov monarchies. After the Congress of Vienna of 1815 the river Bug divided the territory directly incorporated by the Russian Empire from the territory that still enjoyed a degree of autonomy. Poland's victory in the war with the Bolsheviks of 1920 made it possible to extend the eastern border of the Second Polish Republic more than 200 km to the east of the line of the river Bug. Ultimately, in the aftermath of World War II, it followed once again the line of the river Bug, as it did in the 19th century.

To summarise the discussion so far, the middle course of the river Bug marked the eastern boundary of the Piast monarchy for a relatively short period, certainly between 1018 and 1031. One of the leading centres in the region was Cherven; Volhyn was another. These centres are identified with the hillforts in the present-day villages of Czerwno and Gródek.

For much of the medieval period (10th–13th century) the river Bug and the Cherven towns were on the western fringe of (Kievan) Rus.

It is likely that the conflict of 1018 was not the only armed confrontation in this region. What is also notable is that the river Bug and its tributaries (e.g. the Huczwa, see below) played a role in trade and transport networks. The so-called Dorogichin seals (see below), known from Czerwno, are an excellent archaeological indication of this role. Written accounts are another: under the year 6787 (1279) The Galician-Volynian Chronicle reports: “[Then] there was a famine in all the lands – among the Rus'ians, the Poles, the Lithuanians, and the Jatvingians. Then the Jatvingians sent their envoys to [Prince] Volodimer who addressed [him] thus: ‘Our Lord, Prince Volodimer! [...] Send us your grain for sale and we will gladly buy it. [...]’. And Volodimer sent grain to them from Berestja by boat along the river Bug with good men whom he trusted”³³.

³³ The Galician-Volynian Chronicle: 91. Unfortunately, the good men whom Volodimer had trusted were later ambushed, robbed and murdered in Mazovia; on the subject of The Galician-Volynian Chronicle as an

The Cherven towns in the light of the archaeological evidence

As the focus of the present article is on two archaeological sites, Gródek and Czermno, they are briefly presented here. The early medieval settlement complex at Gródek, some 15 ha in area, consists of the remains of a fortified settlement (a stronghold) and a number of open settlements (Fig. 2.2). The ramparts of the medieval stronghold were lost in some places to ditches and artillery trenches dug during the two great wars of the 20th century. An inhumation cemetery comprising a total of 466 graves was identified inside the hillfort. Forty-two graves contained furnishings: bronze buttons, fragments of textiles, earrings, finger-rings, sheet metal appliques, crosses and beads. These ornaments have parallels mostly among the finds recorded on the territory of Kievan Rus. The cemetery at Gródek was in use in the 12th (?), 13th and 14th century and may even have continued into the 15th century³⁴. The inhumation graves cut features from an earlier phase of occupation of the stronghold which consisted of the remains of dwellings, pits, ovens and a smithy.

In 2008 the regional museum at Hrubieszów added to its collections some 550 archaeological objects from Gródek recovered from clandestine archaeologists. All have now been recorded. They include ornaments and dress accessories, weapons, lead seals including the type known as Dorogichin seals, and devotional objects (encolpia, cross-pendants, small metal icons). This material dates from the 11th to the 14th century, possibly even the early 15th century.

The complex at Czermno consists of the remains of a stronghold, established on a well-drained holm at the confluence of the river Huczwa and a small tributary, the Siniucha, and of a group of open settlements lying on the marshy bank of the Huczwa. There are more such open settlements to the north of the Huczwa. The area of the entire complex is estimated to comprise between approximately 75 and 150 ha; part of this area is marshy and waterlogged (Fig. 3.1–2).

To the west of the hillfort, separated by a tract of lower-lying ground, lies a fortified suburb settlement, the closest to the stronghold (Czermno site 2). So far no reliable traces of a cemetery datable to the period 6th to 10th century have been identified, but to the west of the hillfort there is a cemetery with inhumation burials – as yet not investigated. Remains of timber causeways were discovered in 1985 to the north-west of the hillfort; presumably they linked open settlements established on the holms rising from the marshy valley of the Huczwa. These causeways were dated by dendrochronology to the 12th–13th century.

Timber samples obtained by Jan Gurba and Andrzej Urbański from the causeways and from the rampart at Czermno in 1997 were analysed by Marek Krąpiec (Fig. 3.2: A–D). Dates obtained for the causeways suggest that these were installed not later than in the mid-13th century. But the case of the rampart is different: the earliest dates obtained for this structure lead to the conclusion “[...] that the analysed samples come from trees felled at the end of the first half of the 11th century, possibly later”³⁵. But Andrzej Urbański stresses that the stratigraphy of the area where the samples were taken was not recorded and therefore it is not certain that the fragments of the defensive structures dated to the first half of the 11th century come from the earliest phase of the stronghold’s fortification system³⁶. In this situation it seems that the published dendrochronological dates are not conclusive in the discussion of the chronology of the complex at Czermno³⁷.

essential source for the history of material culture of the 13th century, see D. DĄBROWSKI, *Kronika halicko-wołyńska jako źródło do studiów nad kulturą materialną średniowiecznej Rusi. Charakterystyka ogólna i postulaty badawcze*. *Kwartalnik Hist. Kultury Mat.* 61, 2013, 63–74 esp. 67 for the episode relating to the transport of grain down the river Bug.

³⁴ See J. KUŚNIERZ, *Das mittelalterliche Körpergräberfeld auf dem Burgwall von Gródek (altrussischer Volyn’)* in *Anbetracht der erhaltenen Grabungsdokumentation des Vorstandes zur Erforschung der Červenischen Burgen (1952–1955)*. In: SALAMON et al. 2012, vol. I, 579–601.

³⁵ A. URBAŃSKI, *Nowe datowanie grodziska w Czermnie nad Huczwą*. In: A. Buko/Z. Świechowski (eds), *Osadnictwo i architektura ziem polskich w dobie Zjazdu Gnieźnieńskiego (Warszawa 2000)* 239–243 esp. 242.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ See also J. POLESKI, *Wczesnośredniowieczne grody w dorzeczu Dunajca (Kraków 2004)* 386 f.

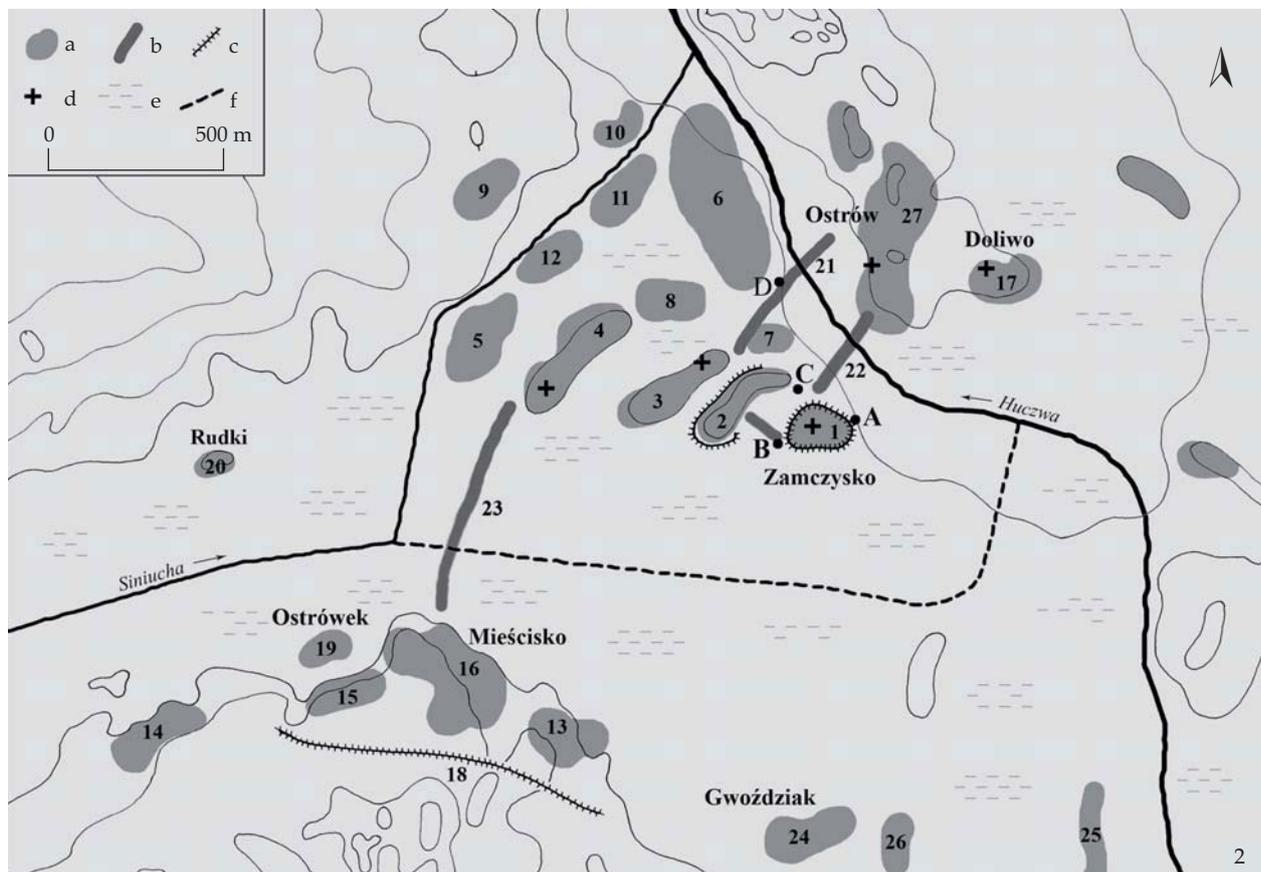


Fig. 3 Czerwno/Cherven, the settlement complex, distr. of Tomaszów Lubelski (Lublin Voivodeship, PL):
 1 – Photo of the site from the west; 2 – Plan of the site: a Early medieval settlements; b Medieval causeways; c The rampart enclosing the settlement complex from the south; d Inhumation cemeteries; e Marshy area; f Reconstructed river channel of the Siniucha prior to the 1960s drainage works; A–D Areas selected for dendrochronological sampling.

The horizontal stratigraphy at Czerwno was analysed in 2010 and 2011, resulting in the recording of close to 2500 archaeological objects. Probably the most outstanding category in this

group is represented by the seals of Dorogichin type, with 404 specimens so far. There are reasons to believe that they were used in trade. Moreover, there were also 20 lead seals, 20 en-

colpia, 21 metal cross-pendants, 23 axe-heads, 104 arrowheads, and several hundred ornaments and dress accessories. Non-metal small finds included six glass bracelet fragments.

While the most spectacular finds from Czeremno are two extraordinary hoards of jewellery (dated to the 13th/14th century) discovered in April 2011 about 20 m apart from each other inside the stronghold, less impressive objects, namely the so-called Dorogichin seals, are more significant. The fieldwork seasons of 2010 and 2011 recovered 404 of these seals. The function of these small objects (c. 1 cm in diameter), fashioned from two pieces of lead pressed together and presumably with a string in between, remains unresolved. Both the obverse and the reverse feature ducal insignia, schematic depictions of saints or animals, similar to the seals of *bull* type. The most likely interpretation is that they were commercial seals.

The study of this class of object is hindered by the fact that until recently up to 80% of these finds came from Drohiczyn, where 12,000 were recovered from the waters of the river Bug between 1850 and the early 20th century. Further details about the site and the circumstances of discovery of the majority of these seals are missing, although the analysis of 19th/20th-century documentation preserved in St Petersburg has produced some crucial results: it turns out that, rather than at the foot of the Castle Mount (site of the medieval stronghold) the seals were discovered at some distance downstream³⁸.

Valerija B. Perchavko's analysis of the finds of Dorogichin seals some fifteen years ago listed 40 localities where such a type was recorded: next to single find sites in the Volga region, Bulgaria and Lithuania, the remainder lie in the territory of Kievan Rus and, almost invariably, in its northern part³⁹. The spread of metal detec-

tors has been contributing to an increase in the number of finds of Dorogichin type seals and the number of finds in areas where they have not been recorded so far is löschen expected to increase.

In this context the numerous and well-documented finds from Czeremno take on a special meaning. The vast majority of the seals were recovered not within the hillfort but in the suburb settlements, in the marshy valley of the river Huczwa, clustering outside the stronghold – as in Drohiczyn and Beloozero which were major trade centres of the western and north-eastern periphery of Rus respectively.

In view of Czeremno's position on the bank of the Huczwa, a tributary of the river Bug, on the route running from Kiev to Cracow, Prague and Regensburg, the finds of Dorogichin type seals could be the most crucial results of the research season 2010–2011. Today Czeremno is a small village but in the medieval period this site was more than a military stronghold: the number of devotional objects, lead seals and Dorogichin type seals suggests that Czeremno and Gródek were local centres of the Polish-Rus border zone, vast settlement complexes of major commercial importance. To substantiate this claim it was imperative to make a study of the palaeogeography of Czeremno and its surrounding area (see below).

Both Czeremno and Gródek were investigated on several occasions⁴⁰, but the findings from this work are still largely unknown. The archaeological records from the two sites were published only recently, and this requires a few words of explanation. To be sure, the failure to publish the results of past research is not unknown in European archaeology, eastern-central European archaeology included. As Sebastian Brather so aptly states: "In etwas mehr als vier Jahrzehnten wurde eine Vielzahl großangelegter Grabungen mit teilweise – auch in personeller Hinsicht – immensem Aufwand unternommen. [...] Zahlreiche Publikationen wurden vorgelegt, doch eine unüberschaubare Menge an Fundmaterial gerade aus den Großgrabungen wie Mikulčice liegt bis heute in großen Teilen unbearbeitet in den Magazinen"⁴¹.

³⁸ A. MUSIN, Auf der Suche nach der Vergangenheit: Dorohičiner Plomben als Indikatoren mittelalterlicher Grenzen. In: BAGIŃSKA/PIOTROWSKI/WOŁOSZYN 2012, 257–279. The same may be said of Beloozero: S. D. ЗАХАРОВ, Свинцовые plombы Белоозера. In: Н. А. Макаров/А. В. Чернецов (eds), Русь в IX–XIV веках. Взаимодействие Севера и Юга (Москва 2005) 20–60.

³⁹ V. В. ПЕРЧАВКО, Распространение plomb дрогичинского типа. In: А. П. Новосельцев (ed.), Древнейшие государства Восточной Европы. 1994 год. Новое в нумизматике (Москва 1996) 211–241.

⁴⁰ Czeremno in 1940, 1952, 1976–79, 1997; Gródek in 1952–1955, 1983. – See FLOREK 2012.

⁴¹ „In a little over four decades many large-scale exca-

The poor level of recognition of the archaeology of the Cherven towns may, however, be blamed on more than just 'Slav', i.e. short-lived, enthusiasm. One reason is the preponderance of the involvement of Polish archaeology in the study of territories 'restored' to Poland after 1945. Evidence of a Slav, possibly even a proto-Slav, past for Silesia and Pomerania was needed to legitimise the western border of the Polish People's Republic. In this situation the resources earmarked for archaeological research were mostly used to investigate the territory to the west of the Vistula⁴². Soviet domination over Poland after World War II was another factor detrimental to archaeological research in the Polish-Rus borderland and in Polish-Rus relations. The concern of the Polish public that Poland's eastern border would be corrected (to the advantage of the USSR) and the need to highlight the connection of Poland's first Piast dynasty and its culture to the western (and not the eastern) cultural sphere were also not without importance.

The key problem of the communist authorities of the Polish People's Republic was their awareness of being perceived by the Polish public as a foreign power, one that owed its existence only to the writ of Moscow. The remedy for the officially internationalist communists was nationalism. For obvious reasons this nationalism was levelled against the Germans and their cultural heritage in the territories incorporated by Poland after 1945. To encourage acceptance of the loss of the eastern half of the country to the Soviet Union in 1939 the communists promoted

the alleged advantages accruing from Poland's liberation from eastern Slav, Christian Orthodox ethnic minorities. In the new monoethnic Poland there was no room for either German or Orthodox heritage.

As a result – somewhat paradoxically – the domination of Moscow contributed to an occidentalisation of Polish culture and science, archaeology included⁴³. Until 1939 Lwów was one of the leading centres of humanities in Poland. For this very reason, in the aftermath of the Soviet aggression of 1939, it came to occupy a marginal position among the university centres of the Soviet Union. Ukrainian citizens of the USSR born in Galicia, and those born in the territory of the Second Polish Republic (1918–1939), could not be fully trusted by Moscow and this sealed the new provincial fate of Lwów (Lviv) and its research community⁴⁴. Finally centralisation, so characteristic of the USSR, significantly limited the potential for the development of research centres other than Moscow and Leningrad⁴⁵.

In view of the sheer number of archaeological finds recovered at Czeremno and Gródek a full investigation of these stronghold complexes could only be achieved with the involvement of

vations, sometimes requiring an enormous amount of investment – including personal engagement – have been undertaken. [...] Numerous publications have been produced but a vast mass of material from these very same excavations, for example Mikulčice, remains unexploited, languishing in stores." (S. BRATHER, *Slawenbilder. 'Slawische Altertumskunde' im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*. In: Idem [ed.], *Archaeology and Identity. Central and East Europe in the Earlier Middle Ages*, *Florilegium magistrorum hist. arch. Antiquitatis et Medii Aevi 2* [București 2008] 87–128 esp. 113).

⁴² Between 1945 and 1989 there was just one centre of university archaeology to the east of the Vistula (in Lublin) and no branch unit of the Institute of History of Material Culture of the Polish Academy of Sciences (now Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology of the Polish Academy of Sciences).

⁴³ See, at greater length on this subject: M. WOŁOŻYŃ, *Die frühmittelalterlichen orthodoxen Devotionalien in Polen und die Entstehung der ältesten Ostgrenze Polens. Forschungsgeschichte und Forschungsperspektiven*. In: SALAMON et al. 2012, vol. II, 225–289. It would be useful to compare the significance of the domination of Moscow for the development of early medieval archaeology in Poland and Hungary; on the latter, see P. LANGÓ, *Archaeological research on the conquering Hungarians: A review*. In: B. G. Mende (ed.), *Research on the prehistory of the Hungarians: A review*. Papers presented at the meetings of the Inst. of Arch. of the HAS. 2003–2004. *Varia Arch. Hungarica 18* (Budapest 2005) 175–340.

⁴⁴ On the history of archaeology in Lwów/Lviv, see O. SYTNYK, *Katedra archeologii Uniwersytetu Lwowskiego w latach 1905–2005*. *Przegląd Arch.* 54, 2006, 125–159.

⁴⁵ "Foreign colleagues visiting Leningrad/St Petersburg might have gained the impression that, in spite of the self-evident material and technological backwardness, they landed in the archaeological capital of the world [...]. In Moscow the picture was the same [...] It was enough, however, to go to the provinces, and in any large town, if it was not the capital of a Soviet republic, you would find either a pitiful handful of archaeologists or none at all" (L. S. KLEJN, *Soviet Archaeology. Trends, Schools, and History* [Oxford 2012] 4).



Fig. 4 Czermno on the map of Galicia, 1st Military Mapping survey of Austria-Hungary, 1779–1783. Original scale 1:28 800. The map is aligned on the magnetic north.

a large research team. In the late 1990s awareness of the urgent need to analyse the archaeological records languishing in the storerooms of museums in Hrubieszów, Tomaszów Lubelski and Zamość was mounting, its most vocal proponents being Jerzy Kuśnierz and Marcin Wołoszyn. This led, from 2008 onwards, to the study of the Cherven towns as part of a collaborative study between academic institutions in Poland and Germany⁴⁶, and by fellow specialists from Lublin⁴⁷.

⁴⁶ Inst. of Arch. and Ethnology of the Polish Acad. of Sciences (Cracow, Warsaw), Inst. of Arch. of the Univ. of Rzeszów, and Centre for the History and Culture of East Central Europe (GWZO, Leipzig). The 2008–2013 project is entitled “Vergleichende Untersuchungen zum sozialen, wirtschaftlichen und kulturellen Wandel in den Grenz- und Kontaktzonen Ostmitteleuropas im Mittelalter” (Project leaders: Prof. Dr. Ch. Lübke and Prof. Dr. M. Hardt). A current project addressed by GWZO is “Elbmarken, Polen und Böhmen vom 10. bis ins 12. Jahrhundert – Fernbeziehungen durch Handel und dynastische Heiraten” (Project leaders: Ibid.). M. Wołoszyn has been a participant in one of these projects. See https://www.uni-leipzig.de/~gwzo/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=865&Itemid=1218 (2.12.2014).

⁴⁷ Analysis of new evidence by specialists from Lublin in the period 2010–2011 is in progress.

In December 2011 the Polish Ministry of Culture and National Heritage agreed to finance an exhibition dedicated to the archaeological heritage of Czermno⁴⁸ and this subsidy covered the cost of conservation of some 1500 archaeological objects from Czermno. A grant awarded in February 2012 by the Dumbarton Oaks Center at Harvard University⁴⁹ was used to conserve and analyse a series of medieval Rus seals from Czermno, notably Drogichin type seals. In autumn 2012 the Polish Ministry of Science and Higher Education awarded a grant for research on Cherven towns⁵⁰. This project is being implemented in an international cooperation, with the participation, next to researchers from Poland (50 specialists), of archaeologists and historians from Russia⁵¹,

⁴⁸ Czerwień – gród między wschodem a zachodem/ Cherven – the town between the East and the West; see BAGIŃSKA/PIOTROWSKI/WOŁOSZYN 2012.

⁴⁹ Project entitled “Seals at the Border, Seals in Context, Seals and Drogichin Seals from Czermno”.

⁵⁰ See note 1.

⁵¹ Inst. for the Hist. of Mat. Culture of the Russian Acad. of Sciences, Sankt Petersburg.

Serbia⁵², Ukraine⁵³ and Germany⁵⁴. The latter has been co-financing the study of Cherven towns⁵⁵.

One of the project's tasks is to analyse and publish the full archaeological records made at Czermno and Gródek since 2008. There are plans to publish four volumes⁵⁶. Meanwhile the archaeological excavations started in Czermno in 2013 will continue in 2014 and 2015⁵⁷. In parallel to the work of archaeologists, studies are also being undertaken by geographers and historians with a view to reconstructing the natural environment in the catchment areas of Czermno and Gródek. Some of the findings pertaining to the site of Czermno are presented below.

The hillfort at Czermno (Cherven) on the map of Galicia of 1779–1783 (Mieg Map)

As a result of the First Partition of Poland (1772) Czermno and its region passed to Austria, to the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria. Without delay the new authorities set about mapping the newly occupied territory. The earliest cartographic record of the hillfort at Czermno is owed to this decision.

The cartography project was carried out by the Austrian-Hungarian army as part of a major operation to map all the countries ruled by the Habsburgs (the *Josephinische Aufnahme* or Josephine Survey, alternately, the First Army Survey of the Monarchie). Its result was – for the area of

the Commonwealth occupied by Habsburgian Monarchie – a complete map of the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria completed in 1779–1783. This map is commonly known to researchers in Poland as the *Mapa Miega* (the Mieg Map), after its author, Friedrich von Mieg, who was a major in the Austria-Hungarian army. The original is kept in the Austrian War Archive (Kriegsarchiv) in Vienna and comprises 413 large sheets drawn to a scale of 1:28 800 and six volumes of topographic descriptions. The detail and accuracy of the cartographic material included in the Josephine mapping project for Galicia is truly impressive⁵⁸.

The situation of the villages of Czermno, Wakijów, Turkowice, and the hamlet of Monaster, is recorded clearly in the section presented here (Fig. 4), put together from fragments of two map sheets. The map shows villages with buildings, individual farms, manors (marked E. H.), orthodox churches, inns (W. H.), industrial features, water mills, even roadside crosses and graveyard shrines. Also visible is the network of roads, complete with village roads, smaller bridges and causeways. Woodland and lone trees are also marked. The network of streams and rivers (different from today's configuration) is recorded clearly; the areas in green are meadows. To the east of the village of Czermno three tracts of higher ground are also indicated, rising from the surrounding marshland. The hillfort is marked on the last of them. It is quadrangular in outline, which does not agree with the present-day outline. The map is aligned on the magnetic north, i.e. there is a difference of around a dozen degrees with the geographic north.

The settlement complex at Czermno on the river Huczwa – preliminary results of environmental studies

The main goals of the large-scale environmental studies were threefold: to identify the modern environmental conditions, to reconstruct the Holocene environmental conditions in the sur-

⁵² Instit. of Arch., Belgrade.

⁵³ Ivan Franko National Univ. of Lviv/Lwów.

⁵⁴ Centre for the History and Culture of East Central Europe (GWZO), Leipzig.

⁵⁵ Financed by the Federal Ministry of Education and Research in Bonn.

⁵⁶ The planned volumes are: 1 – From Cherven Towns to the 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 century; 2 – Gródek in the light of past research (1952–55) with special focus on the cemetery inside the earthwork. Archaeological, anthropological and physical chemistry analyses; 3 – Gródek in the light of stray finds held by the regional museum in Hrubieszów. Catalogue, typological and chronological analysis; 4 – Czermno in the light of past research (1940; 1952; 1976–79). They are to appear within a series launched in 2010: *U źródeł Europy Środkowo-wschodniej/Frühzeit Ostmitteleuropa* (to the editors see note 46).

⁵⁷ Its progress can be followed on facebook: facebook.com/Grody.Czerwienskie (2.12.2014).

⁵⁸ Currently work to publish the materials on Galicia is underway; see <http://www.iaepan.edu.pl/galicja/index.html> (2.12.2014).

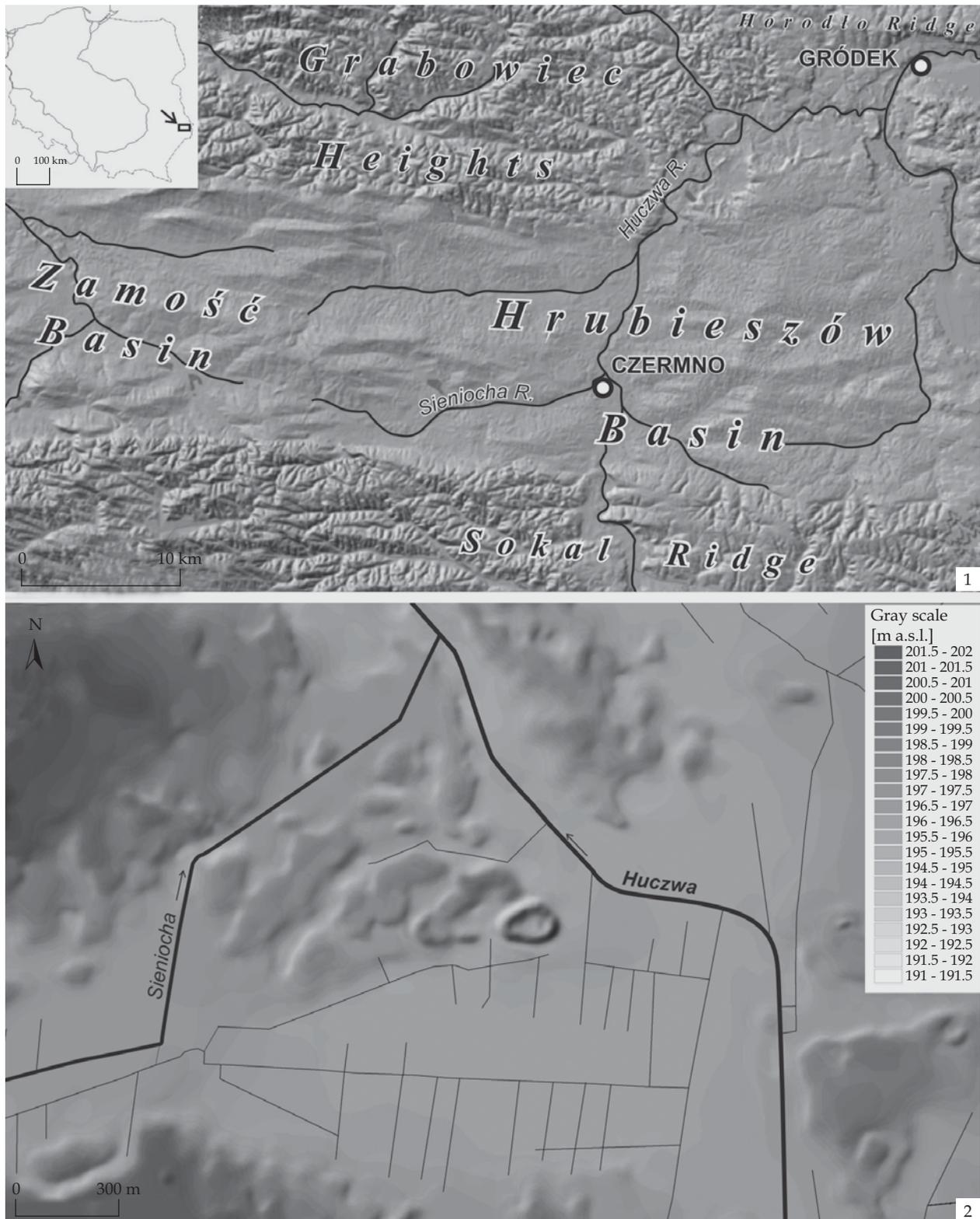


Fig. 5 Location of the Czermno stronghold complex in relation to: 1 – Feographical meso-regions according to KONDRACKI 2002 (see note 59); 2 – Main relief elements in the surroundings of the site.

roundings of the Czermno archaeological site, and to estimate the scale of its anthropogenic transformations. Special attention was paid to reconstructing the morphological and hydrological

conditions in the valley floors of the rivers Huczwa and Sieniocha during the Middle Ages, and to identifying changes in the vegetation cover in order to detect different phases of human impact.



Fig. 6 Czermino: area of detailed studies superimposed on the orthophoto.

The environment of the Hrubieszów basin

The Hrubieszów basin is a meso-region in the western, marginal part of the Volhynia upland macro-region, situated in a borderland between two main European mega-regions, non-Alpine central Europe and the eastern European lowland (see. Fig. 5.1)⁵⁹. The whole basin is formed of Upper Cretaceous soft carbonate rocks (marl and chalk). It is a depression resulting from denudation, probably with a primarily tectonic origin. In the north and south it borders onto the loess plateaux with high (up to 100 m high) escarpments of complex tectonic denudation-accumulation origin. This depression, together with the neighbouring Zamość basin in the west, was a sub-latitudinal route of water outflow from the Pleistocene (Saalian and Saalian) ice sheets. Hypsometric diversity of the area is relatively small (relative height c. 30 m), and the Pleistocene deposits are thin and occur mainly on the floors of river valleys.

Hydrologically the whole area belongs to the river Bug catchment (a third-order river) and is

drained by its left-bank tributaries, the Bukowa and Huczwa. A shallow groundwater table is a characteristic feature, as is the small number of inefficient springs. Total annual discharge from this area is relatively low (about 100 mm).

The material and methods

The large-scale studies demanded the use of complex analytical procedures, including: (1) detailed geological-geomorphological survey of the surroundings of the site of Czermino; (2) sedimentological analysis of soil sequences in the profiles of soil catenas and drilling of cores to determine the origin of the deposits, deposition environments, and the direction and rate of natural and anthropogenic transformations; (3) geospatial analysis of the site with the use of GPS and GIS techniques; (4) palaeobotanical analyses of biogenic deposits (pollen and plant macrofossil analyses); (5) micromorphological analyses of mineral deposits; (6) grain-size analyses of mineral deposits; (7) basic geochemical analyses of mineral and organic deposits; (8) AMS radiocarbon dating of valley biogenic deposits (peat and gyttja); (9) thermoluminescence dating of valley mineral deposits; (10) detailed tacheometric survey of the site.

⁵⁹ J. KONDRACKI, *Geografia regionalna Polski* (Warszawa 2002).

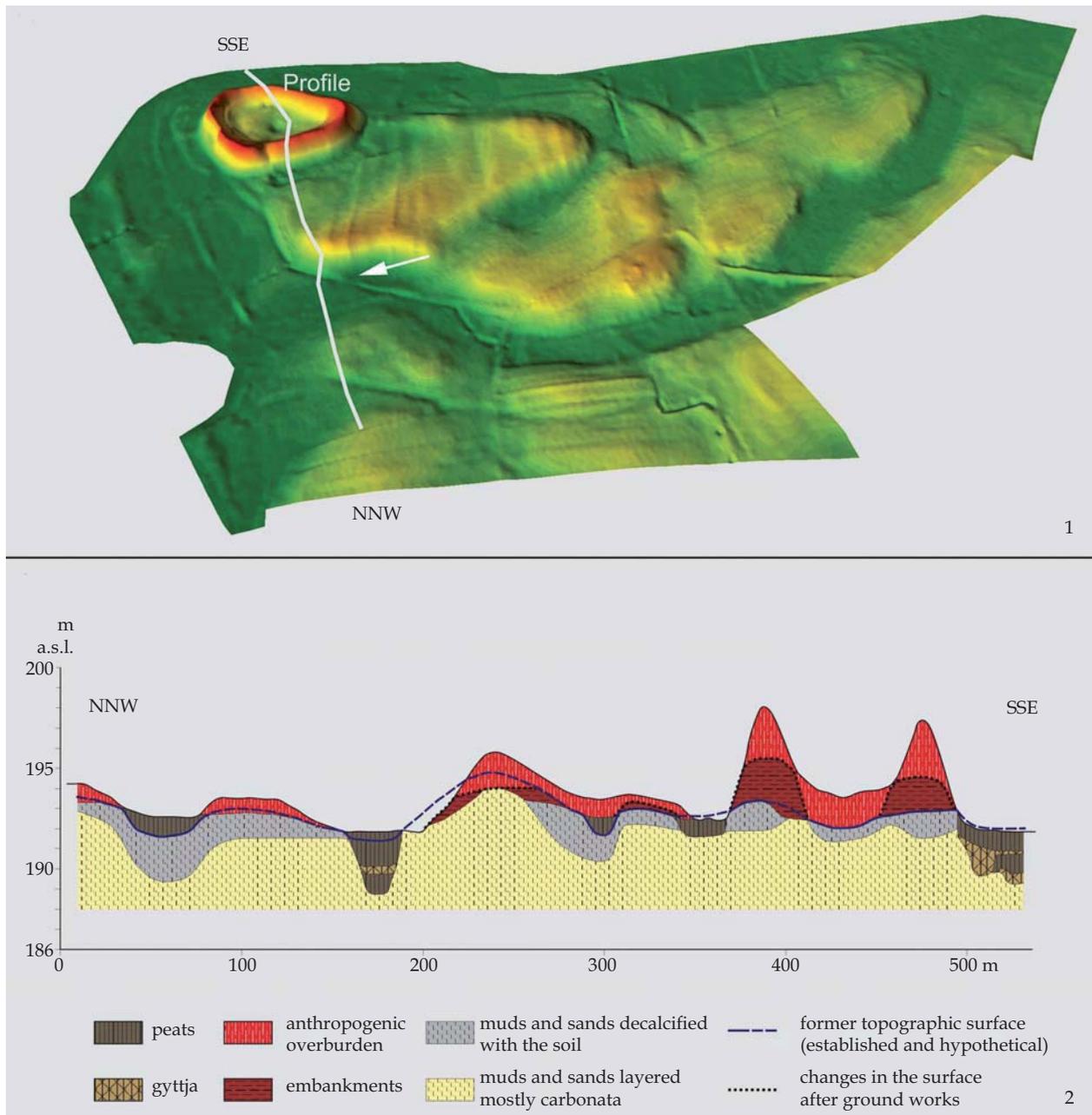


Fig. 7 Czermino: 1 – View from north to the stronghold. The white line is the cross section shown in Fig. 7.2; 2 – Geological cross-section (for location, see Fig. 7.1).

Palaeomorphological reconstructions

Based on a series of 43 geological drilled cores taken on the site at Czermino, with undisturbed core sampling, three goals were achieved. They were to characterise the mineral and biogenic deposit succession in the valley floors of the rivers Huczwa and Sieniocha in the immediate vicinity of the stronghold; secondly, to distinguish natural and anthropogenic (embankment) lithological units; and thirdly, to re-

construct the palaeomorphology of the area and the palaeoevolution of the river channel pattern (see Fig. 6).

During the last glaciation a large, shallow lake had formed in a basin-like widening of the Huczwa river valley. It was the result of a progressive aggradation in the higher-order valleys. The location of Czermino, about 5 km from where the river Huczwa leaves the high Sokal plateau ridge (Fig. 5.1), favoured the accumulation of material transported from the

loess plateau. In conditions of varying flow or most often stagnating water, alternating layers of subaqueous silt, silty sand and sand, mainly strongly carbonate, were deposited. At the end of the Pleistocene and the beginning of the Holocene these deposits were incised by rivers to a depth of several metres. Today they are exposed on the surface of the higher (Pleistocene) terrace. In Czeremno, near the confluence of the rivers Sieniocha and Huczwa (Fig. 5.2), this terrace is in the shape of a fan, which was formed because the tributary river was drift-dammed by the recipient. Several basin-shaped, curving small valleys, generally with a WSW-ENE elongation, are the abandoned channels of the river Sieniocha. In the Holocene the terrace was overgrown by a forest under which the top part of the deposits became decalcified and lessivé soils developed. These soils survive in several locations and occur on the ground surface or under anthropogenic deposits. Hydromorphic soils developed in waterlogged depressions. Gytja and peat formed in the oxbows of the Holocene floodplain.

The Czeremno stronghold complex was located on the old, Pleistocene fan of the river Sieniocha near its confluence with the river Huczwa. The stronghold and adjacent settlements were built on the higher-lying surface of the fan, while old river channels were deepened and functioned as moats (Figs. 7.1-2). The material dug up from the moats was used for building a 1.5-3 m-high embankment (consisting of different horizons of lessivé soil, as well as carbonate silt and sand from the substratum) on the uneven surface of the fan. This embankment formed the base of the earth-and-timber rampart around the stronghold. The carbonate organic-mineral deposit represents the remnants of this rampart, evidently the product of decomposition of the earth-and-timber structures (peat was also used as infill, especially in the southern stretch of the rampart). This deposit is up to 4 m thick. Similar earthworks were found on the outer edge of settlement 1, where an earth-and-timber rampart was built over an embankment. However, much of this rampart was lost to modern agriculture. By contrast, the ramparts of the stronghold are well preserved. Their height reaches 5-7 m and slopes are steep, 10-15° on the inner side, and

20-30° on the outer side. The moats became shallower by several decimetres due to peat sedimentation (Fig. 7.2).

During the Middle Ages, the building area was levelled in places within the settlements adjacent to the stronghold. This is indicated by packets of substratum material which overlie the soil. In the whole settlement complex the uppermost layer is a carbonate, organic-mineral deposit containing charcoal, broken pieces of pottery, bone fragments and detritus of gaize. This deposit is a chernozem layer, up to several decimetres thick, observed in the interior of the stronghold and on adjacent settlements, where it is cultivated. Fragments of quartzite shell conglomerate, up to 20-30 cm in diameter, have been ploughed up in places although such rock does not occur in the substratum and in the vicinity of the site.

Palaeohydrological reconstructions

In the light of the results obtained it is likely that during the Middle Ages the hydrological conditions at Czeremno were similar to those of today. However, at the time when the stronghold was being built, the groundwater table in the river valleys was at a greater depth than at present. Thus the construction of the stronghold ramparts was undertaken in drier conditions, and the water level was probably raised intentionally. The relief of the valley floors of the river Huczwa and its left-bank tributary (the Sieniocha) indicates that at that time the river pattern of the area was different from the present configuration (Fig. 5.2). The Sieniocha in its lowermost reaches flowed to the south of the stronghold and joined the Huczwa near the site. The Huczwa flowed closer to the stronghold than it does today. As forests covered much of this area the river discharges were more uniform. At present the discharge of the river Bug near the mouth of the river Huczwa (near the early medieval stronghold of Gródek/Volhyn; see Fig. 5.1) is about 50 m³/s, meaning that the river Bug is quite a large river both upstream and downstream from the site under study. Therefore, we may suppose that in the Middle Ages it was a navigable river. The mean discharge of the Huczwa River near its confluence with the river Bug is 4.2 m/s, and near Czeremno 2-3 m/s. The

stream gradient of the river Huczwa in its lower reaches is $<0.5^\circ$, a value typical for lowland rivers. At present the Huczwa river channel is regulated (straightened) along a considerable section but in the past the channel was conceivably longer, deeper, and with a lower gradient. The flow in the Huczwa was sufficient to transport tree trunks and quite large flat-bottomed boats with goods because the river had a relatively low gradient, a width of at least several metres, and a depth of 1–2 m.

Palaeobotanical reconstructions

Organogenic deposits from two profiles taken at the sites of Czermno and Gródek were sampled for pollen and spore analysis. The frequency of sporomorphs and their level of preservation were relatively good in both profiles, making palaeobotanical reconstruction possible. The beginning of biogenic deposition in the Czermno profile was radiocarbon-dated (by AMS method) to the 6th century AD⁶⁰. Pollen spectra indicate that local plant cover had been developing under considerable human influence since then. During the first phase the surroundings of the stronghold were undoubtedly wet and the proportion of nitrophilous species was high. This is indicated by quite high pollen values of trees typical of wet habitats (e.g. alder and willow) and the presence of nettle (*Urtica dioica* L.). Open water surfaces with rush vegetation were also present. A phase of more intensive human economic activity took place in the period from the 11th to 13th century. This is reflected by increased pollen values of anthropogenic indicators such as *Cerealia*, *Cannabaceae* and *Melampyrum*. This section of the Czermno profile is also characterised by lower pollen values of taxa typical of wet habitats suggesting a rather dry environment. This phase is also observed in the pollen spectra from the Gródek profile. At the end of this phase (at the close of the 13th century) the habitats became wetter again, as indicated by increased pollen values of Cyperaceae and other aquatic and wetland species.

⁶⁰ See R. DOBROWOLSKI et al., Environmental conditions of Medieval settlement in the Hrubieszów Basin (Cherven Towns, Eastern Poland). *Quaternary International* (in press).

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Summary

Today the middle course of the river Bug defines Poland's eastern border. In the early medieval period this area was a frontier region too, separating the territory controlled by the Piast (Poland) from that of the Rurikids (Rus). The Cherven towns, mentioned in the Russian Primary Chronicle (AD 981, 1018 and 1031) were located in the centre of this borderland. This region, on the middle reaches of the river Bug and mostly on its left bank is where Cherven towns, including the early medieval earthwork site of Czermno/Cherven are found. The stronghold at Gródek, identified with the early medieval hillfort of Volhyn, may also have played an important role.

The study of Cherven towns, renewed since 2008, is the subject of a special research project which started in 2013. This project "The golden apple of Polish archaeology: stronghold complexes at Czermno and Gródek (Cherven towns) – chronology and function in the light of past and current research" was conceived as a multidisciplinary and international venture and is being implemented by an international team of researchers from Poland, Germany, Russia, Serbia and Ukraine.

From a rich spectrum of issues associated with this region, this article examines the question of the palaeogeography of the area, with a special focus on the hillfort of Czermno. The palaeogeographical investigation of the sites constitutes an important element of the project. Its aims are threefold: to describe the recent geographical environment and estimate the scale of its man-made transformations; to reconstruct the ancient natural environment (morphology and hydrology); and to reconstruct the main stages of the Holocene environmental evolution with special emphasis on human impact (especially during the Middle Ages).

Zusammenfassung

Jenseits der Grenzen ... von mittelalterlichen Fürstentümern, Kulturen und Wissenschaftsdisziplinen. Archäologische, kartographische und paläogeographische Einblicke zu den Červenischen Burgen

Der Mittellauf des Bug definiert heute die östliche Grenze Polens. Im Frühmittelalter war diese Region zugleich eine Grenzregion, die das Herrschaftsgebiet der Piasten (Polen) von jenem der Rurikiden (Rus) trennte. Die in der Nestorchronik 981, 1018 und 1031 erwähnten Červenischen Burgen befinden sich im Zentrum dieses Grenzgebietes. Hier wurden sie am Mittellauf des Bug und vor allem entlang des westlichen Ufers errichtet, darunter auch der frühmittelalterliche Burgwall von Czermno/Červen. Der Befestigungsanlage von Gródek, bei der es sich um den in den frühmittelalterlichen Quellen genannten Burgwall von Volhyn handelt, kam vermutlich ebenfalls eine bedeutende Rolle zu.

Die Forschungen zu den Červenischen Burgen wurden im Jahre 2008 wieder aufgenommen und sind Gegenstand eines 2013 begonnenen Forschungsprojektes. Dieses multidisziplinäre Projekt mit dem Titel „Der goldene Apfel der polnischen Archäologie: Die Befestigungsanlagen von Czermno und Gródek (Červenische Burgen) – Chronologie und Funktion im Lichte vergangener und aktueller Forschungen“ wird von einem internationalen Forscherteam aus Polen, Deutschland, Russland, Serbien und der Ukraine durchgeführt. Ausgehend von einer Vielzahl von Forschungsfragen werden in diesem Artikel vor allem Fragen der Paläogeographie der Region, unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Burgwalles von Czermno, behandelt. Die paläogeographischen Untersuchungen dieser Fundstellen bilden in dreierlei Hinsicht einen wichtigen Bestandteil des Projektes: Sie untersuchen die heutige Umwelt unter dem Aspekt der anthropogenen Eingriffe; sie versuchen die Veränderungen der einstigen Umwelt (Morphologie und Hydrologie) zu rekonstruieren und sie versuchen die Entwicklungsstadien der Umwelt-Mensch-Beziehung während des Holozäns, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des frühen Mittelalters, zu erfassen.

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Städte und befestigte Siedlungen sind während des frühen Mittelalters aus vielen Regionen Ostmitteleuropas bekannt. In den einstigen römischen Provinzen lässt sich die Weiter- bzw. Neunutzung römischer *civitates* bzw. *castra* und *castella* ebenso beobachten, wie die Entstehung neuer Zentren. Die Verlagerung oder Ortskontinuität einzelner Siedlungsagglomerationen kann jedoch auch in den nichtrömischen Territorien nördlich der Donaulinie studiert werden.

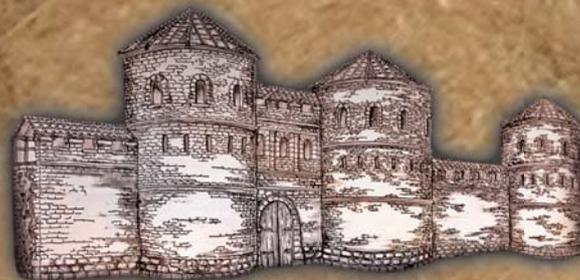
Die Beiträge des vorliegenden Sammelbandes versuchen, dieses Phänomen aus zwei Blickwinkeln zu beleuchten. Sie untersuchen einerseits siedlungs- und andererseits sozialgeschichtliche Aspekte, um Strukturen und Akteure dieser Prozesse gleichermaßen erfassen zu können. Kontinuität und Wandel von Zentren, Eliten und religiösen sowie gesellschaftlichen Werten werden anhand einzelner Beispiele von der Spätantike bis zum hohen Mittelalter beleuchtet.

Der Band ist dem 65. Geburtstag von Béla Miklós Szőke gewidmet, der seit Jahren den wichtigsten karolingerzeitlichen Fundort, Zalavár/Mosaburg, erforscht. Dem Jubilar zu Ehren wurde diese Auswahl an Studien über Zentren und Eliten im frühmittelalterlichen Ostmitteleuropa zusammengestellt.

Towns and fortifications are known from many regions of East-Central Europe in the Early Middle Ages. In the former Roman provinces there is evidence for both the continued or renewed use of Roman *civitates*, *castra* or *castella* and the emergence of new central places. Settlement shift and continuity of occupation at specific sites can, however, also be studied in the non-Roman territories located north of the Danube.

The contributions in this volume attempt to throw light on two aspects of this phenomenon – settlements and social aspects – in order to understand in equal measure the structures and actors operating within this process. Continuity and transformations of central places, elites and religious as well as social values are examined on the basis of case studies ranging from the Late Roman period to the High Middle Ages.

This volume is dedicated to Béla Miklós Szőke who has devoted years of research to Zalavár/Mosaburg, one of the most important sites of the Carolingian period, on the occasion of his 65th birthday. The selection of studies on central places and elites in Early Medieval East-Central Europe is offered here to honour him.



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