



# **Rome, Constantinople and Newly-Converted Europe**

Archaeological and Historical Evidence



Volume I

U ŹRÓDEŁ EUROPY ŚRODKOWO-WSCHODNIEJ / FRÜHZEIT OSTMITTELEUROPAS

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Archaeological and Historical Evidence

edited by

Maciej Salamon, Marcin Wołoszyn, Alexander Musin, Perica Špehar

in cooperation with

Matthias Hardt, Mirosław P. Kruk, Aleksandra Sulikowska-Gaska

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## Słowo wstępne do Serii / Geleitwort zu der Reihe

### U ŹRÓDEŁ EUROPY ŚRODKOWO-WSCHODNIEJ / FRÜHZEIT OSTMITTELEUROPAS

Rzym, Konstantynopol i chrystianizowana młodsza Europa – już tytuł pierwszego z dwóch tomów, prezentujących wyniki konferencji zorganizowanej w Krakowie w 2010 roku wskazuje na te czynniki, których obecność i wzajemne oddziaływania kształtowały rozwój Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej w wiekach średnich.

Prezentacji całego spektrum zjawisk historycznych widocznych u zarania dziejów tej części Europy oraz ich manifestacji w źródłach pisanych, archeologicznych i onomastycznych poświęcona jest nowa seria wydawnicza – U ŹRÓDEŁ EUROPY ŚRODKOWO-WSCHODNIEJ. Jej powstanie jest wynikiem współpracy Geisteswissenschaftliches Zentrum Geschichte und Kultur Ostmitteleuropas (Lipsk), Instytutu Archeologii i Etnologii Polskiej Akademii Nauk (Kraków, Warszawa) oraz Instytutu Archeologii Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego (Rzeszów). Nasza współpraca koncentrowała się początkowo wokół problematyki Grodów Czerwieńskich – miejsca styku oddziaływań chrześcijaństwa zachodniego i wschodniego, a jednocześnie miejsca ścierania się ambicji politycznych Piastów i Rurykowiczów. W kręgu naszych zainteresowań leżą jednak studia nad takimi kontaktami także w innych częściach Europy, więcej uwagi chcielibyśmy poświęcić zwłaszcza średniowiecznym Węgrom.

Pragniemy wyraźnie zaznaczyć, że powstająca seria nie ma na celu publikacji opracowań wyłącznie niemieckich i polskich naukowców. Mamy nadzieję, że stanie się ona forum dyskusyjnym dla badaczy także z innych krajów Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej, wspomagając tym samym ich współpracę w studiach nad wczesnymi dziejami tego regionu.

\* \* \*

Rom, Konstantinopel und das zum Christentum bekehrte neue Europa – das Thema dieses ersten von zwei Bänden, in denen die Beiträge einer im Jahr 2010 in Krakau durchgeführten Konferenz enthalten sind, zeigt auch jene historischen Faktoren an, die sich im Mittelalter im östlichen Mitteleuropa begegneten und gegenseitig beeinflussten.

Das Spektrum der in dieser Ausgangssituation sichtbar gewordenen historischen Phänomene und ihrer Widerspiegelung in den archäologischen, schriftlichen und auch sprachlichen Quellen ist der Gegenstand der neuen Publikationsreihe FRÜHZEIT OSTMITTELEUROPAS. Diese Reihe ist durch die Kooperation des Geisteswissenschaftlichen Zentrums Geschichte und Kultur Ostmitteleuropas (Leipzig), des Institutes für Archäologie und Ethnologie der Polnischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Krakau, Warschau) und des Institutes für Archäologie der Universität Rzeszów (Rzeszów) begründet worden, die sich zunächst auf die gemeinsame Erforschung der Region der Červenischen Burgen an der Schnittstelle von West- und Ostkirche, des piastischen Polen und der rjurikidischen Rus', konzentrierte. Ihr Interesse gilt aber dem ganzen Umfeld solcher Begegnungen, die vor allem auch das mittelalterliche Ungarn betrafen und in alle Richtungen ausstrahlten.

Die neue Reihe soll daher nicht nur die einschlägigen Forschungen deutscher und polnischer Wissenschaftler der Öffentlichkeit bekannt machen, sondern auch ihren Kollegen aus benachbarten Ländern zur Verfügung stehen und ihre Kooperation auf dem Feld der Frühzeit Ostmitteleuropas stärken.

*Andrzej Buko, Christian Lübke, Małgorzata Rybicka*  
Kraków – Leipzig – Rzeszów – Warszawa  
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## CONTENTS

Editors' Foreword .....	17
<b>Jonathan Shepard</b> Rome, Constantinople and Newly-Converted Europe: Archaeological and Historical Evidence. Some Introductory Remarks .....	23

### I.1 HISTORY: ROME, CONSTANTINOPLE AND THE NEW BORDERS *THE INTRODUCTORY ESSAYS*

<b>Jerzy Strzelczyk</b> Missionsstrategie und Missionspraxis der westlichen Kirche im frühen Mittelalter .....	33
<b>Maciej Salamon</b> Byzantine Missionary Policy. Did It Exist? .....	43
<b>Matthias Hardt</b> Frühe Grenzen im Blick der europäischen Mediävistik .....	55

### I.2 HISTORY: SEARCHING FOR ROME AND CONSTANTINOPLE *FROM THE SOUTH TO THE NORTH*

<b>Jenny Albani</b> Painted decoration of the church of St. Onoufrius near Genna, Crete .....	69
<b>Georgios Th. Kardaras</b> Christian symbols among the nomads, 5 <sup>th</sup> -8 <sup>th</sup> century A.D. ....	79
<b>Georgi N. Nikolov</b> Die Christianisierung der Bulgaren und das Mönchtum in der Familie des Khans Boris I. Michail im 9.-10. Jahrhundert .....	91
<b>Angel Nikolov</b> Making a new basileus: the case of Symeon of Bulgaria (893-927) reconsidered .....	101
<b>Lumír Poláček</b> Mikulčice und das Christentum in Mähren im 9. Jahrhundert .....	109
<b>Béla Miklós Szőke</b> Kulturelle Beziehungen zwischen Mosaburg/Zalavár und dem Mittelmeerraum .....	125
<b>Márta Font</b> Lateiner und Orthodoxe: Völker und ihre Gewohnheiten. Das Beispiel des mittelalterlichen Königreichs Ungarn .....	143
<b>Vincent Múcska</b> Zur Frage der großmährisch-byzantinischen Tradition im früharpadischen Ungarn – Möglichkeiten der Interpretation .....	153
<b>Petr Sommer</b> Der Heilige Prokop, das Kloster Sázava und die sogenannte altkirchenslawische Liturgie in Böhmen .....	161
<b>Jitka Komendová</b> Rus'-Czech Relations during the Middle Ages as a Historiographical Problem .....	169
<b>Christian Lübke</b> Ottonen, Slaven und Byzanz .....	175



<b>Sabine Altmann</b>	
Grenzüberschreitungen am westlichen Rand Ostmitteleuropas – Die Saale als Grenz- und Kontaktzone zwischen Frankenreich und slawischer Fürstentum im 9. Jahrhundert .....	183
<b>Stanisław Rosik</b>	
Greeks and Romans in pagan Wolin. Integrating the Barbarians into the collective memory of the Latin West at the time of the conversion of the Slavs .....	195
<b>Marian Dygo</b>	
A Letter from Matthew, a Bishop of Cracow, to Bernard of Clairvaux “on the Conversion of Russians” (1145?) .....	203
<b>Darius von Güttner-Sporzyński</b>	
The archetypal crusader. Henry of Sandomierz, the second youngest son of Bolesław III .....	215
<b>Andrzej Buko</b>	
Byzantine cultural enclave in Central Europe? An example of the mortared tower complex at Stołpie (south-eastern Poland) .....	233
<b>Alexey Chernetsov</b>	
Paradoxical hierarchy of civilizations (Medieval Russian concept) .....	251
<b>Maja Gąsowska</b>	
Der Heilige Olaf und Holmgård – Novgorod als Grenzraum zwischen Ost und West im 11.-12. Jahrhundert .....	263
<b>Jukka Korpela</b>	
Die Christianisierung der finno-ugrischen Peripherie Europas: Zwei Theorien und unangenehme Tatsachen .....	275
<b>Jörn Staecker</b>	
Drei Magier auf einem gotländischen Bildstein. Die Perzeption des Epiphaniethemas in der Wikingerzeit .....	287
<b>Anna Waśko</b>	
Pagans in Erik’s Chronicle and in the Revelations of Saint Birgitta .....	305
<b>Volodymyr Bak</b>	
Die Weihe Kyrillos II. (1242-1281) zum Metropoliten der Rus’ in den 40er-Jahren des 13. Jahrhunderts: ein Ereignis aus den kirchenpolitischen Beziehungen zwischen Halič-Volyn’ und dem Byzantinischen Reich .....	311
<b>Sebastian Kolditz</b>	
Christliche Missionsbestrebungen und Konversionsansätze gegenüber den Steppenvölkern, insbesondere Pečenegen und Kumanen .....	319

**II.1 ARCHAEOLOGY:  
ROME, CONSTANTINOPLE AND THE GRAVES  
THE INTRODUCTORY ESSAYS**

<b>Sebastian Brather</b>	
Pagan or Christian? Early medieval grave furnishings in Central Europe .....	333
<b>Aleksandra Sulikowska-Gąska</b>	
Funeral rites in Ruthenian iconography .....	351
<b>Justyna Straczuk</b>	
Death beliefs and practices among peasant inhabitants of the Catholic-Orthodox borderland in Belarus: an anthropological perspective .....	363

**II.2 ARCHAEOLOGY:  
SEARCHING FOR ROME AND CONSTANTINOPLE  
FROM THE SOUTH TO THE NORTH**

<b>Natalia Poulou-Papadimitriou, Elli Tzavella, Jeremy Ott</b>	
Burial practices in Byzantine Greece: archaeological evidence and methodological problems for its interpretation .....	377
<b>Perica Špehar, Orhideja Zorova</b>	
Christianity on the territory of the Archbishopric of Ohrid, 11 <sup>th</sup> to the 13 <sup>th</sup> century: archaeological evidence from burial sites .....	429

<b>Lyudmila Doncheva-Petkova, Maria Christova</b>	
La transition du paganisme au christianisme, reflétée dans les nécropoles du IX <sup>ème</sup> -X <sup>ème</sup> siècle en Bulgarie .....	447
<b>Maja Petrinec</b>	
Croatia between the East and the West – evidence from early medieval graves .....	461
<b>Tina Milavec</b>	
Sacred places? Eighth century graves near sixth century churches at Tonovcov grad (Slovenia) .....	475
<b>Stefan Eichert</b>	
Zu Christentum und Heidentum im slawischen Karantanien .....	489
<b>Elisabeth Nowotny</b>	
On the confessional situation between the Frankish Empire and Moravia in Carolingian times. Focus on archaeological sources from Lower Austria .....	503
<b>Petr Hejhal, Michal Lutovský</b>	
In agris sive in silvis... Secondary medieval burials in ancient barrows in Bohemia .....	517
<b>Anna Mazur, Krzysztof Mazur</b>	
Des tombes à inhumation du Haut Moyen Age en Petite-Pologne: le cas de la nécropole de Wawrzeńczyce .....	525
<b>Jacek Wrzesiński</b>	
The Dziekanowice cemetery – Christians cultivating venerable traditions .....	535
<b>Przemysław Urbańczyk</b>	
A ‘Roman’ connection to the oldest burial in the Poznań Cathedral? .....	553
<b>Joanna Kalaga</b>	
The early medieval hillfort at Sasiadka in the light of 1930s-1950s research. Current status of post-excavation analysis of the archival record in the University of Warsaw .....	567
<b>Jerzy Kuśnierz</b>	
Das mittelalterliche Körpergräberfeld auf dem Burgwall von Gródek (altrussischer Volyn’) in Anbetracht der erhaltenen Grabungsdokumentation des Vorstandes zur Erforschung der Červenischen Burgen (1952-1955) .....	579
<b>Michal Dzik</b>	
Bi-ritual burials in the central Bug river basin during the Middle Ages .....	603
<b>Łukasz Miechowicz</b>	
Coins in the Western and Eastern Slavs burial practices in the Middle Ages – relicts of pagan beliefs or a sign of Christian traditions? .....	613
<b>Vsevolod Ivakin</b>	
Burial grounds and graves in medieval Kiev (10 <sup>th</sup> to 13 <sup>th</sup> century) .....	625
<b>Przemysław Sikora</b>	
Die ostslawischen Bestattungssitten zu Beginn der Christianisierung am Rande der christlich-orthodoxen Welt am Beispiel Weißrusslands aus archäologischer Perspektive .....	639
<b>Anna Barvenova, Kristina Lavysh</b>	
Burials in churches from the 11 <sup>th</sup> -14 <sup>th</sup> centuries on the territory of Belarus: influence of Christianization on the costume of the elite in the Western Rus’ principalities .....	661
<b>Eugenijus Svetikas</b>	
Latin Christianisation in the Orthodox Christian Grand Duchy of Lithuania in late 14 <sup>th</sup> and 15 <sup>th</sup> centuries: a puzzle of historical facts and archaeological data .....	677
<b>Roberts Spirģis</b>	
Archaeological evidence on the spread of Christianity to the Lower Daugava area (10 <sup>th</sup> -13 <sup>th</sup> century) .....	689
<b>Vitolds Muižnieks</b>	
Archaeological evidence of 14 <sup>th</sup> -18 <sup>th</sup> century burial practices on the territory of Latvia .....	713
<b>Heiki Valk</b>	
The Zhalnik Graves: Evidence of the Christianization of the Novgorod and Pskov Lands? .....	737
<b>Vladislav Sobolev</b>	
On the process of formation of Early Rus’ burial culture in the Novgorod Land .....	751
<b>Stanislav Bel’skiy, Ville Laakso</b>	
New archaeological evidence on the Christianization in Karelia in the 13 <sup>th</sup> -15 <sup>th</sup> centuries (Northern Lake Ladoga region, Russian Federation) .....	767



## СОДЕРЖАНИЕ

Предисловие составителей .....	17
<b>Джонатан Шепард</b> Рим, Константинополь и новая Европа: археологические и исторические свидетельства. Некоторые предварительные размышления .....	23

### I.1 ИСТОРИЯ: РИМ, КОНСТАНТИНОПОЛЬ, НОВЫЕ ГРАНИЦЫ *ВВЕДЕНИЕ В ПРОБЛЕМУ*

<b>Ежи Стржельчик</b> Миссионерские стратегии и практики Латинской Церкви в раннем средневековье .....	33
<b>Мачей Саламон</b> Существовала ли миссионерская политика в Византии? .....	43
<b>Матиас Хардт</b> Границы в исследованиях средневековой Европы .....	55

### I.2 ИСТОРИЯ: В ПОИСКАХ РИМА И КОНСТАНТИНОПОЛЯ *С ЮГА НА СЕВЕР*

<b>Ени Албани</b> Настенные росписи XIV в. в церкви св.Онуфрия (Генна, остров Крит) .....	69
<b>Георгиос Ф. Кардарас</b> Предметы с христианской символикой у кочевников в V-VIII вв. ....	79
<b>Георги Н. Николов</b> Христианизация болгар и монашество в семье хана Бориса I – Михаила (IX-X вв.) .....	91
<b>Ангел Николов</b> Становление нового василевса: новый взгляд на правление Симеона Болгарского (893-927) .....	101
<b>Люмир Польчак</b> Микульчицы и христианство в Моравии в IX в. ....	109
<b>Бела Миклош Сыке</b> Культурные контакты между Блатенградом/Мозабругом/Залаваром и Средиземноморьем .....	125
<b>Марта Фонт</b> Латиняне и православные: люди и обычаи средневековой Венгрии .....	143
<b>Винсен Мучка</b> К вопросу о моравской традиции в Венгрии эпохи первых Арпадовичей – возможности интерпретации .....	153
<b>Петр Соммер</b> Святой Прокопий, Сазавский монастырь и «старославянское богослужение» в средневековой Чехии .....	161
<b>Йитка Комендова</b> Русско-чешские отношения эпохи Средневековья как историографическая проблема .....	169
<b>Христиан Любке</b> Оттоныды, славяне и Византия .....	175

<b>Сабинэ Альтман</b>	
Пограничье на периферии Центральной и Восточной Европы: река Зале как граница и контактная зона между Франкской империей и славянскими княжествами .....	183
<b>Станислав Рошик</b>	
Греки и Римляне языческого Волина: варвары в коллективной памяти латинского Запада в эпоху христианизации славян .....	195
<b>Мариан Дыго</b>	
Послание Матфея, епископа Краковского, к Бернарду Клервоскому «об обращении русских» (1145?) .....	203
<b>Дариус фон Гютнер-Спожински</b>	
Образцовый крестоносец? Генрих Сандомирский, младший сын Болеслава III .....	215
<b>Анджей Буко</b>	
Каменная башня в Столпье (Юго-Восточная Польша): византийский культурный анклав в Центральной Европе? .....	233
<b>Алексей Чернецов</b>	
Парадоксальная иерархия цивилизаций (древнерусский взгляд) .....	251
<b>Майя Гонссовска</b>	
Святой Олав и Хольмгард-Новгород как культурное пограничье между Востоком и Западом в XI-XII вв. ....	263
<b>Юкка Корпела</b>	
Христианизация Северо-Восточной Европы: две теории и неудобные факты .....	275
<b>Йорн Штекер</b>	
Изображение трех волхвов на поминальном камне с Готланда: восприятие христианских сюжетов в языческом мире .....	287
<b>Анна Вацко</b>	
Язычники в Хронике Эрика и Откровениях св. Бригитты .....	305
<b>Владимир Бак</b>	
Поставление Кирилла II (1242-1281) митрополитом всея Руси в 1240-х гг. в контексте религиозно-политических связей Галицко-Волынской Руси и Византии .....	311
<b>Себастьян Колдиц</b>	
Христианская миссия и христианизация степных народов в истории печенегов и половцев .....	319

**II.1 АРХЕОЛОГИЯ:  
РИМ, КОНСТАНТИНОПОЛЬ, ПОГРЕБАЛЬНЫЙ ОБРЯД  
ВВЕДЕНИЕ В ПРОБЛЕМУ**

<b>Себастьян Братер</b>	
Язычники или христиане? Раннесредневековые погребения с инвентарем в Центральной Европе .....	333
<b>Александра Суликовска-Гонска</b>	
Тема погребения в древнерусской иконографии .....	351
<b>Юстына Страчук</b>	
Заупокойные верования и обряды сельского населения православно-католического пограничья Белоруссии в антропологической перспективе .....	363

**II.2 АРХЕОЛОГИЯ:  
В ПОИСКАХ РИМА И КОНСТАНТИНОПОЛЯ  
С ЮГА НА СЕВЕР**

<b>Наталья Пулу-Пападимитриу, Елли Тсавелла, Джереми Отт</b>	
Погребальный обряд византийской Греции: данные археологии и методологические проблемы их интерпретации .....	377
<b>Перица Шпехар, Орхидея Зорова</b>	
Христианство на территории Охридской архиепископии в XI-XIII вв.: свидетельство археологии погребального обряда .....	429
<b>Людмила Дончева-Петкова, Мария Христова</b>	
Процесс перехода от язычества к христианству в Болгарии по материалам раскопок некрополей IX-X вв. ....	447

<b>Майя Петринец</b>	
Хорватия между Востоком и Западом по данным средневековых некрополей .....	461
<b>Тина Милавец</b>	
Священные места? Погребения VIII в. близь позднеантичной церкви Тоновцева града (Словения, VI в.) .....	475
<b>Стефан Айхерт</b>	
Христианство и язычество в Карантании .....	489
<b>Елизабет Новотны</b>	
Конфессиональная ситуация на границе Франкской империи и Моравии в эпоху Каролингов по археологическим памятникам Нижней Австрии .....	503
<b>Петр Хейхаль, Михал Лютовски</b>	
In agris sive in silvis... Средневековые впускные погребения в древних курганах Чехии .....	517
<b>Анна Мазур, Кшиштоф Мазур</b>	
Раннесредневековые погребения в Малопольше – некрополь Вавженчице .....	525
<b>Яцек Вжешиньски</b>	
Некрополь в Декановичах – христианское развитие древних традиций .....	535
<b>Пшемислав Урбанчик</b>	
«Римские» элементы древнейшего погребения кафедрального собора в Познани? .....	553
<b>Иоланта Кальяга</b>	
Средневековое городище в селе Сансядка: обзор археологических исследований 1930-1950-х гг. по материалам архивного собрания Варшавского университета .....	567
<b>Ежи Кушнеж</b>	
Средневековые погребения городища Грудек (древнерусский Вольтин) в свете архивных документов Научной Комиссии Польской Академии наук по изучению Червенских городов (1952-1955) .....	579
<b>Михал Дзик</b>	
Неполные трупосожжения в погребальном обряде центрального Побужья эпохи средневековья .....	603
<b>Лукаш Мехович</b>	
Монеты в средневековом погребальном обряде западных и восточных славян: пережитки язычества или влияние христианства? .....	613
<b>Всеволод Ивакин</b>	
Погребальные памятники древнерусского Киева X-XIII вв. ....	625
<b>Пшемислав Сикора</b>	
Славянский погребальный обряд ранних этапов христианизации на окраинах восточно-христианского мира на примере Белоруссии – археологический подход .....	639
<b>Анна Барвенова, Кристина Лавыш</b>	
Погребения в храмах на территории Белоруссии XI-XIV вв.: роль христианизации в формировании костюма элиты княжеств Западной Руси .....	661
<b>Евгениус Светикас</b>	
Латинская христианизация православных земель Великого княжества Литовского в конце XIV-XV вв.: исторические факты и данные археологии .....	677
<b>Робертс Спиргис</b>	
Археологические свидетельства о распространении христианства в низовьях Западной Двины в X-XIII вв. ....	689
<b>Витольдс Музнекс</b>	
Археология погребального обряда XIV-XVIII вв. на территории Латвии .....	713
<b>Хейки Валк</b>	
Жальники: свидетельство христианизации Новгородской и Псковской земли? .....	737
<b>Владислав Соболев</b>	
Проблемы формирования древнерусской погребальной культуры Новгородской земли .....	751
<b>Станислав Бельский, Вилле Лааксо</b>	
Новые археологические свидетельства о христианизации Приладожской Карелии в XIII-XV вв. ....	767

## EDITORS' FOREWORD

The present book in two volumes *Rome, Constantinople and Newly-Converted Europe: Archaeological and Historical Evidence* represents the material output from the study by historians, archaeologists, historians of art, and culture anthropologists of the impact of the heritage of Rome and Constantinople on the processes of formation of the Christian medieval civilisation in Central, Eastern, Northern and South-Eastern Europe.

An important inspiration, especially in editing the archaeological part of the present publication, came from earlier projects, e.g., the International Conference *Rome and Byzantium in the North: Mission and Shift in Faith in Baltic region in 8<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> century* (Kiel, Germany, September 18-25, 1994)<sup>1</sup> and the 14<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Christian Archaeology *Early Christianity between Rome and Constantinople* (Vienna, Austria, September 20-27, 1999)<sup>2</sup>.

Authors of papers collected in the two present volumes focused in their analyses mainly on phenomena observed in the region of Europe which during Late Antiquity was not a part of the Roman Empire, in other words, had no continuity with Antiquity. The medieval change in this part of our continent, referred to on occasion as *Younger Europe* or *Europe of New Christianity (la Nouvelle Chrétienté)*<sup>3</sup>, may not be described as direct transformation of the Roman heritage. It was not so significant here as for instance in Gaul, since next to Rome an appreciable role was played by influence from Constantinople, and the local substrate was stronger than in the west of our continent. However, in the long run, as a result of synthesis of *Romanitas*, *Christianitas* and *Barbaritas*, also this newly converted zone became a part of medieval Europe accepting the heritage of Antiquity i.e. that of Rome and Constantinople in another way.

We have placed strong emphasis on the question of the significance of the Byzantine civilization on the formation of the newly converted Europe – not the least because Latin Christianisation of Europe is much better known and understood by the scholars. The rapid development of Byzantine archaeology over the last 10-20 years has helped us improve our understanding of changes in the burial rite within the Byzantine Empire, and added much to what we know at present about the reliquaries on its territory and outside its borders.

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<sup>1</sup> M. Müller-Wille (ed.), *Rom und Byzanz im Norden. Mission und Glaubenswechsel im Ostseeraum während des 8.-14. Jahrhunderts. Internationale Fachkonferenz der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft in Verbindung mit der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur Mainz, Kiel, 18.-25. September 1994*, Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, 1997/3, Mainz-Stuttgart 1997-1998, vol. I-II.

<sup>2</sup> R. Harreither, Ph. Pergola, R. Pillinger, A. Pülz (eds.), *Frühes Christentum zwischen Rom und Konstantinopel: Acta Congressus Internationalis XIV Archeologiae Christianae, Vindobonae 19.-26. 9. 1999*, Studi di antichità cristiana, 62, Archäologische Forschungen, 14, Città del Vaticano-Wien 2006, vol. I-II.

<sup>3</sup> J. Kłoczowski, *La nouvelle chrétienté du monde occidental. La christianisation des Slaves, des Scandinaves et des Hongrois entre le IX<sup>e</sup> et XI<sup>e</sup> siècles*, [in:] G. Dagron et al. (eds.), *Historie du christianisme des origines à nos jours*, vol. IV, *Évêques, moines et empereurs*, Paris 1993, p. 869-908; J. Kłoczowski, *Młodsza Europa. Europa Środkowo-Wschodnia w kregu cywilizacji chrześcijańskiej średniowiecza*, Warszawa 1998.

In this situation, our intention was to create a book which would assist the Reader in making a relatively easy comparison of archaeological evidence on Christianisation to be had from the Byzantine territory with evidence recovered from the periphery of the Byzantine Civilisation (for instance, Early Rus')<sup>4</sup>, and from the part of Europe which received Christianity from Rome.

Although there are many contributions to the book from historians, it is dominated by studies on the material culture of medieval Europe. They encompass two main topics: *Archaeology of burial customs* and *Archaeology of reliquaries and private devotional objects*.

Both in the case of grave finds and devotionals, the studies on finds from the area of *Younger Europe* are supplemented with analyses concerned with Western Europe – we are convinced that these analyses enrich significantly the publication presented here.

While most papers focus on phenomena taking place between AD 700 and 1200 the chronological range of the publication is the period from Late Antiquity/Early Byzantine Period until the Early Modern Era.

Volume I of the book *Rome, Constantinople and Newly-Converted Europe* includes contributions from historians, art historians and archaeologists, who examined different aspects of the transformation of the newly converted Europe, and some contributions from archaeologists who propose to trace the process of Christianisation in the evidence on the changing burial customs.

Volume II contains contributions devoted to the subject of relics, reliquaries and private devotional objects.

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Every book has its story.

The main substance of the book presented here are research papers presented at the conference *Rome, Constantinople and Newly Converted Europe: Archaeological and Historical Evidence*, held in Cracow, Poland, on 21-25 September 2010<sup>5</sup>.

The conference was organised by Maciej Salamon, Matthias Hardt, Mirosław P. Kruk, Alexander Musin, Perica Špehar, Aleksandra Sulikowska-Gąska, Marcin Wołoszyn.

A number of studies published here were presented during an earlier session, organised by Mirosław P. Kruk, Aleksandra Sulikowska-Gąska and Marcin Wołoszyn, *Sacralia Ruthenica – Archaeology about Christianization of Eastern Europe (10.-13. cent.)* at the 12<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting of the European Association of Archaeologists, held in Cracow, Poland on 19-24 September 2006<sup>6</sup>. This session was accompanied by the exhibition *Sacralia Ruthenica. Early Ruthenian and Related Metal and Stone Items in the National Museum in Cracow and National Museum in Warsaw* presented in the Main Building of the National Museum in Cracow (8 September-31 October 2006)<sup>7</sup>.

Within the framework of the 22<sup>nd</sup> International Congress of Byzantine Studies, *Byzantium without borders*, held in Sofia, Bulgaria, on 22-27 August 2011, Marcin Wołoszyn and Alexander Musin organized the round table *Fragile Ambassadors - Byzantine Relics and Reliquaries inside the Empire and beyond*<sup>8</sup>. Papers presented in Sofia which were not read in Cracow are presented in Volume II of the present publication.

The encounters in Cracow (2006; 2010) and Sofia (2011) were elements of a long-term cooperation.

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<sup>4</sup> Sometimes this periphery preserved the historical elements of the Byzantine civilization better than the culture centers of this civilization, cf. А.Е. Мусин, Д.Е. Афиногенов, Е.В. Торопова (eds.), *В поисках утраченной Византии. Культура средневекового Новгорода и древней Руси как источник для синхронно-стадиальной реконструкции византийской цивилизации IX-XV вв. Материалы конференции, Великий Новгород, 26-28.07.2007* = *In search of a lost Byzantium. The cultural heritage of old Russia as a source for the synchronous-stadial reconstruction of the Byzantine civilization, Proceedings of the conference, Velikiy Novgorod, 26-28. 07. 2007*, Санкт-Петербург- Великий Новгород 2007.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. [http://www.uni-leipzig.de/~gwzo/images/GWZO\\_images/Konferenzen/10\\_Cracow\\_Programm.pdf](http://www.uni-leipzig.de/~gwzo/images/GWZO_images/Konferenzen/10_Cracow_Programm.pdf); see also <http://classica-mediaevalia.pl/2010/08/konferencja-rome-constantinople-and-newly-converted-europe/>; cf. M. Salamon, M. Hardt, M.P. Kruk, A. Musin, P. Špehar, A. Sulikowska-Gąska, M. Wołoszyn (eds.) *Rome, Constantinople and Newly-Converted Europe: Archaeological and Historical Evidence. Cracow, Poland 21-25 IX 2010. Book of abstracts and addresses*, Kraków-Rzeszów 2010.

<sup>6</sup> See: <http://cracow2006.e-a-a.org/programme.htm>; see also H. Dobrzańska, B.Sz. Szmoniewski, K. Ryba (eds.), *European Association of Archaeologists. 12<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting. Cracow, Poland, 19-24 September 2006. Abstracts Book*, Kraków 2006, p. 249-263.

<sup>7</sup> M.P. Kruk, A. Sulikowska-Gąska, M. Wołoszyn, *Sacralia Ruthenica. Early Ruthenian and Related Metal and Stone Items in the National Museum in Cracow and National Museum in Warsaw. Dzieła staroruskie bądź z Rusią związane z metali i kamienia w Muzeum Narodowym w Krakowie i w Muzeum Narodowym w Warszawie*, Warszawa 2006; see also А.Е. Мусин, *Sacralia Ruthenica: 12-я Ежегодная встреча Европейской Ассоциации археологов (Польша, Краков, 19-24 сентября 2006 г.)*, Археологические вести, 15 (2008), p. 265-268.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. [http://22byzantinecongress.org/program\\_08-08-2011.pdf](http://22byzantinecongress.org/program_08-08-2011.pdf) (p. 60-61), see also *Proceedings of the 22<sup>nd</sup> International Congress of Byzantine Studies. Sofia, 22-27 August 2011*, Sofia 2011, vol. II, *Abstracts of round table communications*, p. 166-184.



Also worth mentioning are conferences, mainly of historians but also historians of art, devoted to the significance of Byzantium for the East-Central Europe, organized by Maciej Salamon (Cracow 1996, 2000, 2006; Copenhagen 1996)<sup>9</sup>.

Over the past six years a group of archaeologists and historians of art from Belarus (Kristina Lavysh), Croatia (Maja Petrinc, Nikolina Uroda), Poland (Mirosław P. Kruk, Marcin Wołoszyn), Russia (Anna Peskova, Alexander Musin) and Serbia (Vujadin Ivanišević, Perica Špehar, Ivan Bugarski) have been studying and discussing a range of specific problems, related to the rise of different aspects of Slav Christian culture, with special focus placed on archaeological material. This was done as part of a project of cooperation between the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, the National Academy of Sciences of Belarus, Polish Academy of Sciences, Russian Academy of Sciences, and Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts<sup>10</sup>.

The main goals and objectives of this cooperation were linked to parallel comparative studies of processes of the formation, development and changes of Christian material cultures made in different areas of Central and Eastern Europe with the priority attention paid to the different sources of Christianization. With time several individual projects emerged and were eventually brought together into a major research initiative.

An equally essential element was the involvement of Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology, Polish Academy of Sciences, and of Institute of Archaeology, University of Rzeszów, in the project *Vergleichende Untersuchungen zum sozialen, wirtschaftlichen und kulturellen Wandel in den Grenz- und Kontaktzonen Ostmitteleuropas im Mittelalter*, as part of the activities of Leipzig Centre for the History and Culture of East Central Europe (GWZO)<sup>11</sup>. An important contribution to streamlining the cooperation of these Institutions was made by Sławomir Kadrow. In the same way the Russian participants of the project wish to express their gratitude to the Russian Foundation for Basic Researches, Moscow, for giving support to the initial collective research project<sup>12</sup>.

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The creation of this book has quite a long history. Also long is the list of individuals and institutions we wish to thank for their contribution, assistance and support.

The meeting in Cracow (September 2010) was born of a cooperation of the following institutions: Polish Academy of Sciences, Committee for the Research in Antique Culture – Byzantine Commission = National Committee of the AIEB / Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw / Institute of History, Jagiellonian University, Cracow / Institute of Archaeology, University of Rzeszów, Rzeszów / Leipzig Centre for the History and Culture of East Central Europe (GWZO) / Institute for the History of Material Culture, Russian Academy of Sciences, Saint Petersburg / Institute of Archaeology, Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Belgrade.

<sup>9</sup> G. Prinzing, M. Salamon (eds.), *Byzanz und Ostmitteleuropa 950-1453. Beiträge zu einer table-ronde des XIX International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Copenhagen 1996*, Mainzer Veröffentlichungen zur Byzantinistik, 3, Wiesbaden 1999; G. Prinzing, M. Salamon (eds.) with the assistance of P. Stephenson, *Byzantium and East Central Europe*, Byzantina et Slavica Cracoviensia 3, Cracow 2001; M. Kaimakamova, M. Salamon, M. Smorąg-Różycka (eds.), *Byzantium, New Peoples, New Powers: The Byzantino-Slav Contact Zone, from the nine to the fifteenth century*, Byzantina et Slavica Cracoviensia 5, Cracow 2007.

<sup>10</sup> Polish – Belarusian projects: *Slavs at the Border of Byzantine Commonwealth [2006-2010]*, *On the periphery of Latin and Orthodox Europe. Civilisation change on territory of Poland and Belarus during 10<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> centuries [2011-2013]*; Polish – Croatian projects *Slavs at the Border of Byzantine Commonwealth [2006-2010]*, *Between Romanisation and Rhomaisation. Poland and Croatia in the process of Europaisation [2011-2013]*; Polish-Russian projects: *West and East in Christianization of Northern Rus' and Lesser Poland in 10<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> century [2006-2010]*, *Between Romanisation and Rhomaisation. Poland of Piasts and Rus' of Rurikids in the process of Europaisation [2011-2013]*; Polish – Serbian project: *Slavs at the Border of Byzantine Commonwealth [2006-2013]*, Russian-Serbian project: *Byzantine material culture on the western and eastern borders of the Slavs world on the basis of the archeological finds from Medieval Serbia and Russia [2009-2010]*.

<sup>11</sup> Project Leader Christian Lübke, Matthias Hardt. Participants: Sabine Altmann, Volodymyr Bak, Roman Grabolle, Martina Kotková, Vincent Múcska, Przemysław Sikora, Marcin Wołoszyn, Christian Zschieschang. The project is financially supported by the Federal Ministry of Education and Research, Bonn (FKZ: 01UG0710).

Another important research project was a grant from the of Ministry of Science and Higher Education (NN 109 216335) *At the sources of younger Europe – Christianisation of south-western fringe of Kievan Rus' in the light of finds of objects of devotion* realized at the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology, Polish Academy of Sciences, Cracow Branch, and the project *The Reception of Byzantine Culture in Medieval Rus' through the archaeological sources* recently implemented at the Institute for the History of Material Culture, Saint Petersburg, Russia with the support of the Historical-Philological Department of Russian Academy of Sciences (2007-2008). We have to mention here the contribution to the project made by The Queen Jadwiga Fund, Jagiellonian University (Cracow), Józef Mianowski Fund – A Foundation for the Promotion of Science (Warsaw), Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations, Koç University (Istanbul), Swedish Institute (Stockholm) and valuable assistance in making a search of literature and facilitating personal contacts.

<sup>12</sup> № 10-06-00164, *Paganism and Christianity in medieval Russian town through the historical and archeological evidences: the complex study* (2010-2012).

During the conference a hundred or so authors from close to twenty countries presented the results of their research on the impact of Rome and Constantinople on different regions of Europe. It is obvious that this conference could not have taken place if not for the interest and kindness of sponsors: the Federal Ministry of Education and Research, Bonn/the Cracow Motorway Construction Archaeology Team, Cracow/Foundation of Rzeszów Centre for Archaeology, Rzeszów. We remember with gratitude the assistance given by Anna Bieńko, Anna Faska, Iwona Florkiewicz, and also, by Jana and Przemysław Gryc, Paweł Jarosz, Maciej Karwowski, Krzysztof Tunia and Piotr Włodarczak.

Our special thanks go to the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences and the Institute of History, Jagiellonian University for making their premises available for the duration of the conference.

For support shown us during preparation of the session *Sacralia Ruthenica* (Cracow 2006) we wish to thank Halina Dobrzańska, Kinga Ryba and Bartłomiej Szymon Szmoniewski. In organising the *Fragile Ambassadors* round table (Sofia 2011), we received great assistance from Georgi Nikolov and, especially, from Angel Nikolov.

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We worked to prepare the present book for print in Belgrade, Cracow, Leipzig, Rzeszów, Saint Petersburg and Warsaw. But we owe its relatively rapid completion to the stay in Leipzig of Alexander Musin, Perica Špehar and Marcin Wołoszyn. The latter is at present a Fellow of the Alexander von Humboldt - Foundation in that city<sup>13</sup>. We are indebted to the kindness of GWZO for making possible a longer stay in Saxonia also of Alexander Musin and Perica Špehar. These weeks of our intensive work (March-April 2011) set the right rhythm for the future action taken by the Editorial Board, continued later via email. We wish to acknowledge here Doris Wollenberg, Martin Pätzold, and also Roman Grabolle, on whose support we could always count. Marcin Wołoszyn's visit in Saint Petersburg (September 2011) and Alexander Musin's visit in Cracow (October 2011; August 2012) made it possible to complete the main part of the editing work.

We cordially thank Eduard Mühle and Günther Prinzing for undertaking the challenging job of reviewing the present work.

For the decided majority of authors who contributed to this book the language in which they present their findings is not their mother tongue. The proofreading of the German language texts was taken care of by Doris Wollenberg. The largest group of English language papers was tackled by Anna Kinecka. Articles written in French were verified by Marcin Bednarz. The Russian summaries were developed by Alexander Musin.

In discussing archaeology and history of art we need words, but even more so, we need images. The job of editing and processing several score photographic images, drawings and maps (and in some cases, the redrawing of graphic documentation submitted by the authors) was entrusted to Rafał Janicki, Jolanta Ożóg, and especially, to Irena Jordan.

We are indebted to Irena Jordan's experience, involvement and most of all, patience, for the final graphic form of this book. Special thanks go to Iwona Florkiewicz, Michał Kara and Doris Wollenberg.

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The two volumes of *Rome, Constantinople and Newly-Converted Europe: Archaeological and Historical Evidence* contain papers by authors from twenty or so countries. Next to extensive synthetic contributions of their particular region presented by some authors many contributions, especially from the field of archaeology, report on the results of investigation of individual sites. Our intention was to give this collection a possibly uniform, reader-friendly form. Where possible we provided the archaeological contributions with good quality maps. The lists of archaeological finds include administrative data as detailed as possible. We did our best to have the local names in their present day form. We wish to note at the same time, that in our efforts at unification we were always ready to accommodate the Authors' wishes.

Each contribution is accompanied by an abstract in English and in Russian (please note that some of the texts in Russian may depart slightly from the English language version) – we hope that the Reader finds them useful.

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<sup>13</sup> Project: *Treuer Freund oder unüberwindlicher Gegner? Die Westslawen im 10.-12. Jahrhundert und ihre Beziehungen zur byzantinisch-altrussischen Welt*; hosted by Christian Lübke – GWZO.

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*All roads lead to Rome.* This is not always true. Many factors, which in general have little to do with the medieval history of our continent, are responsible for the greater legibility of the traces of impact of the heritage of *Imperium Romanum* as compared to that of *Basileia ton Rhomaion*.

We know there is still much to be done on the road to recognising the significance of Rome and Constantinople for the Newly Converted Europe. We hope that the two volumes presented here prove that it is better to embark on this journey in company than alone.

Maciej Salamon – Marcin Wołoszyn – Alexander Musin – Perica Špehar  
Matthias Hardt – Mirosław P. Kruk – Aleksandra Sulikowska-Gąska

Belgrade, Cracow, Leipzig, Rzeszów, Saint Petersburg, Warsaw  
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