

M U Z E U M   P O D K A R P A C K I E   W   K R O Ś N I E

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ARCHAEOLOGICAL OPEN-AIR MUSEUMS.  
RECONSTRUCTION AND RE-ENACTMENT  
– REALITY OR FICTION?



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Jolanta Bagińska, Marcin Wołoszyn

## CHERVEN' TOWNS IN THE PUBLIC SPACE: STATE AND PERSPECTIVES

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### INTRODUCTION

The interest in the settlement complex at Czermno, at the confluence of the Huczwa and Sieniocha, goes back to the 19<sup>th</sup> century<sup>1</sup>. Adam Czarnocki (Zorian Dołęga-Chodakowski) who visited the area in 1817 identified this feature as the remains of the stronghold Cherven' mentioned in the early written sources. This concept inspired historians and archaeologists who to this day continue to discuss (and question) this identification of the site at Czermno with the early medieval city of Cherven', and the so-called Cherven' Towns recorded in the *Primary Chronicle*<sup>2</sup>.

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1. This research was made within the 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, part II (NPRH, No. 11H 18 0344 86). Although in this paper we refer to the settlement complex at Gródek (the town Volyn' known from the Primary Chronicle) our main focus is on the archaeology of Czermno. We mention only selected publications concerned with Cherven' Towns; the full list of publications from recent years is available on the website of our project: <https://grodczerwienskie.pl/en/> – accessed on 17<sup>th</sup> June 2022.

2. The term Cherven' Towns appears first in the *Primary Chronicle* in a reference to the conflict between Bolesław the Brave and Yaroslav the Wise. In 1018: “Then Boleslav fled from Kiev, taking with him the property and boyars of Yaroslav, as well as the latter’s two sisters, and made Anastasius steward of the property, for the latter had won his confidence by his flattery. He took with him a large company, and having appropriated to himself the cities of Cherven', he returned to his native land.” (*Primary Chronicle*..., a. 6526 [1018], p. 132). In 1031: “Yaroslav and Mstislav collected a large force and marched into Poland. They captured the cities of Cherven' and ravaged the Polish countryside. They also captured many Poles and distributed them as colonists in various districts.” (*Primary Chronicle* ..., a. 6539 [1031], p. 136). And under the year 981 we find this much quoted sentence “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.” (*Primary Chronicle* ..., a. 6489 [981], p. 95).

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The early medieval stronghold, its suburb settlements, open settlements and cemeteries encompasses an area of over 150 ha. The main part of the complex is the stronghold measuring approx. 190×120 metres, protected by a circular embankment, which was 6 metres high (Fig. 1).

The first excavations at Czermno took place in 1940 and 1952. After this preliminary survey work there followed a campaign organised in 1972-1981 by Jan Gurba from UMCS Lublin, supplemented subsequently by excavations in 1985 and 1997. Unfortunately, the results of these works have not been published.

The beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century brought a boom in amateur prospecting using metal detectors. The scale assumed by these “operations” alarmed archaeologists, museologists and conservation services. In 2010-2011 to tackle this problem a team of archaeologists from UMCS (Andrzej Kokowski, Marcin Piotrowski) and a group of responsible prospectors led by Artur Tronic organised a joint metal detector survey of the site in Czermno. The results of this project exceeded the wildest expectations of the researchers. Several thousand artefacts were found, including silver jewellery, ducal lead seals, and an impressive collection of military objects (cf. Bagińska, Piotrowski, Wołoszyn [eds.] 2012; Piotrowski, Wołoszyn 2012).

Not only the nature of the artefacts, but most of all, their number prompted questions about the nature of the settlement complex on the one hand (could it really be the town Cherven’ mentioned in

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It is important to note that the names Cherven’ and Volyn’ are not mentioned in 10<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup>-century texts written in Latin (in Poland, Czechia and Germany). The only reference to the cities of Cherven’ known to us is in the *Primary Chronicle*. It is quite likely that the term was introduced by a copyist, by mistake. According to Andrzej Poppe: “The term Cherven’ Towns does not have an equivalent in the geographical and political nomenclature, neither of the eastern or of the western Slav lands. It is safe to assume that initially the tone of references relating in earlier annalistic writings to 1018 and 1031 A.D. was analogical to the one from the 981 A.D., namely: ‘Cherven’ and other cities’. The mistake (easily explained paleographically) could have been made, and accepted because it was understood by the early 12<sup>th</sup>-century scribe to denote the Land of Cherven’ of that age. Therefore, the most justifiable view is that Cherven’ Towns were identified with the Cherven’ Land, known from the Galician-Volynian chronicles [...]” (Poppe 1964, p. 168).

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Fig. 1. Early medieval settlement complex in Czerwno (compiled by M. Florek; drawing by J. Ożóg; including local names). A – The hillfort in Czerwno. Aerial view; photo K. Trela; B – plan of the settlement complex: a – area occupied by settlements; b – causeways and bridges; c – ramparts; d – skeletal cemeteries; e – marsh area; f – course of Sieniocha river before land amelioration in the 1960s; I-IV – places where the dendro-dating samples were taken in 1997; V-VI – area of discovery of the hoards within the Czerwno stronghold (2010-2011); VII-VIII – area of discovery of the hoards in the Perespa village near the Czerwno stronghold (2014 [VII] and 2015 [VIII])

Ryc. 1. Wczesnośredniowieczny zespół osadniczy w Czerwnie (opracował M. Florek; rys. J. Ożóg; na planie także lokalne nazwy). A – grodzisko w Czerwnie. Zdjęcie lotnicze; fot. K. Trela; B – plan zespołu osadniczego: a – tereny zajęte przez osadnictwo; b – groble i pomosty; c – wały; d – cmentarzyska szkieletowe; e – obszar bagienny; f – bieg Sieniochy przed melioracjami z lat 60. XX w.; I-IV – miejsca gdzie pobrano próby dla dendro-datowania w 1997; V-VI – miejsce odkrycia skarbów na terenie grodziska w Czerwnie (2010-2011); VII-VIII – miejsce odkrycia skarbów na terenie wsi Perespa nieopodal grodziska w Czerwnie (2014 [VII] oraz 2015 [VIII])

the written sources?), and about the organization of future systematic research in Czerwno on the other hand.

PECUNIA NON OLET  
OR ON THE LOGISTICS OF RESEARCH  
ON THE CHERVEN' TOWNS OF THE LAST DECADE

The breakthrough in research came in 2013 with a project co-financed by the Polish Ministry of Science and Higher Education (currently the Ministry of Science and Education) launched as part of the National Program for the Development of Humanities. Over the last decade, a research team led by Marcin Wołoszyn completed or has continued implementing other research grants, and grants for the dissemination of research results. The list of projects is presented in Table I (the managers of two projects have been Eugeniusz Hanejko and Tomasz Dzieńkowski, see Table I, items 2 and 7).

It should be emphasised that all the research work on Czerwno and Gródek has been implemented in cooperation with the Research Centre in Leipzig (current name: Leibniz-Institut für Geschichte und Kultur des östlichen Europe [GWZO] = Leibniz Institute of the History and Culture of Eastern Europe [GWZO]). The cooperation with Leipzig involves not only strictly scientific issues but also the co-financing of the research in Czerwno and Gródek. More notably, the hoards discovered in Czerwno (in 2011) and Perespa (in 2015-2016), were analysed and restored by Elżbieta M. Nosek thanks to the funding provided by GWZO, Leipzig. The results of our research have been published mainly within the Polish-German series *U Źródeł Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej / Frühzeit Ostmitteleuropas (At the Source of the East-Central Europe)*<sup>3</sup>.

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3. The list of all publications concerned with Cherven' Towns can be found on the website of our project: <https://grodyczerwienskie.pl/en/publications/>.

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Table I. List of research projects allowing the realisation of research regarding the Cherven' Towns in the years 2012-2022; list compiled by M. Maziarczuk and M. Wołoszyn  
 Tabela I. Wykaz projektów badawczych umożliwiających realizację badań nad Grodami Czerwieńskimi w latach 2012-2022; zestawili M. Maziarczuk i M. Wołoszyn

No.	Financing institution/ project title/ place of realisation/ grant supervisor	Realisation time	Grant amount
1.	Dumbarton Oaks Center <i>Seals at the Border. Seals in the Context. Seals and Dorogichin Seals from Czermno [Cherven' Strongholds]</i> Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology Polish Academy of Sciences Marcin Wołoszyn	2012-2013	5 000,00 \$ (ca. 22,300.00 PLN)
2.	National Institute of Cultural Heritage <i>Preparing the exhibition of the archaeology of Cherven' (Cherven' – the Stronghold between the East and the West);</i> (No. 04644/12; EBOI no. – 14875/11/A1) Dr J. Peter Museum in Tomaszów Lubelski Eugeniusz Hanejko	2012	98,000.00 PLN
3.	Ministry of Science and Higher Education National Programme for the Development of Humanities <i>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</i> (No. 12H 12 0064 81) Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology Polish Academy of Sciences Marcin Wołoszyn	2013-2019	1,000,000.00 PLN
4.	Ministry of Science and Higher Education National Programme for the Development of Humanities <i>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, part II, Finalisation of documentation work</i> (No. 11H 18 0344 86) University of Rzeszów, Institute of Archaeology Marcin Wołoszyn	2018-2022	525,000.00 PLN

5.	National Science Centre <i>The sphinx of Slav sigillography – Dorogichin Seals from Czeremno and their East European Context</i> (No. 2013/11/B/HS3/02052) University of Rzeszów, Institute of Archaeology Marcin Wołoszyn	2014-2019	436,320.00 PLN
6.	National Science Centre <i>The Dawning of Neighbourhoods. Absolute chronology of the settlement complex at Czeremno-Cherven' and the emergence of the Polish-Rus' borderland, 10<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> century</i> (DEC-2021/43/B/HS3/02545) University of Rzeszów, Institute of Archaeology Marcin Wołoszyn	2022-2025	982,000.00 PLN
7.	National Institute of Cultural Heritage <i>Czeremno, site. 2: court – settlement – stronghold? An archaeological and conservational issue. Verification research</i> (No. 03113/22/FPK/NID) Maria Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin, Institute of Archaeology Tomasz Dzieńkowski	2022-2023	150,600.00 PLN
8.	Ministry of Science and Higher Education Programme: <i>Investments (research activities)</i> <i>Purchase of equipment for 3D documentation</i> , (motion no IA/SP/490195/2021)	2021-2022	1,610,000.00 PLN
9.	Ministry of Science and Higher Education Science for society <i>Ex oriente lux – modernisation and internationalisation of research regarding the heritage of eastern Poland.</i> University of Rzeszów, Institute of Archaeology Marcin Wołoszyn	2022-2024	1,075,225.00 PLN (ca. 775,225.00 PLN for the research on the Cherven' Towns)
9.	Subsidy from GWZO		1,000,000.00 PLN
TOTAL			6,599,445.00 PLN

In 2013-2022, a series of reports on the early research in Czermno (1940, 1952, 1972-1981, 1985 and 1997) and Gródek (1952-1955; see Table II) was published, with some follow-up excavations carried out, focused in the case of Czermno on the hillfort (site 1), the settlement and the cemetery (site 3). The fieldwork was carried out also in the area of the remains of timber causeways. The results of this fieldwork would confirm the legitimacy of the identification of the site at Czermno with the early medieval city of Cherven' (cf. Dzieńkowski et al. 2020). We hope that the next project (*The Dawning of Neighbourhoods...*), granted in June 2022 by the National Science Centre – its objective to investigate the rampart in sites 1 and 2 – helps to resolve this issue once and for all. A parallel, non-invasive research project (Czermno, site 2) will be funded from the budget of the National Institute of Cultural Heritage, see Table I, #6 and 7.

Let us note that from the very beginning we were aware that the research on the Cherven' Towns must be carried out taking into account the interest of the local community. This is because without exaggeration the Cherven' Towns may be recognized as Polish (and Ukrainian) sites of memory (*les lieux de mémoire*)<sup>4</sup>. After all, this term (Cherven' Towns) recurs in school textbooks in Poland (primary school: Lolo, Pieńkowska, Towalski 2009, 126; secondary schools: Roszak [ed.] 2009, 205; upper secondary schools: Kulesza, Kowalewski 2013, 322-323) and Ukraine (e.g. Лях, Термінова 2000), and in publications by authors not professionally involved in archaeological and historical research (cf. Isakowicz-Zalewski 2015; Szczerek 2016, 55).

The Cherven' Towns owe their attractiveness mostly to the fact that mentions of them appear among the events associated with the first recorded members of the ruling Piast family – for obvious reasons, the reigns of Mieszko I and his son raise the interest of Poles. It is quite common – although probably wrong – to treat the term Cherven' Towns as an earlier variant of the term Red Ruthenia (cf. Janeczek 2013). As such the Cherven' Towns could be regarded as a synonym (a prefiguration) of the strongly mythologised Kresy.

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4. Regarding Pierre Nory and *lieux de mémoire* see Wóycicka 2017, 107-111.

Table II. List of books on the topic of Cherven' Towns edited and published in 2013-2022; list compiled by M. Wołoszyn

Tabela II. Wykaz książek prezentujących problematykę Grodów Czerwieńskich jakie zredagowano i wydano w latach 2013-2022; zestawil M. Wołoszyn

No.	Author/editor/title	Number in series	Number of pages
U Źródeł Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej (Frühzeit Ostmitteleuropas Series)			
1	Florek M., Wołoszyn M. (eds.) <i>The early medieval settlement complex at Czeremno in the light of results from past research (up to 2010). Material evidence (Wczesnośredniowieczny zespół osadniczy w Czeremnie w świetle wyników badań dawnych (do 2010). Podstawy źródłowe)</i> , vol. I Kraków – Leipzig – Rzeszów – Warszawa 2016.	2,1	582 pp.
2	Florek M., Wołoszyn M. (eds.) <i>The early medieval settlement complex at Czeremno in the light of results from past research (up to 2010). Material evidence (Wczesnośredniowieczny zespół osadniczy w Czeremnie w świetle wyników badań dawnych (do 2010). Podstawy źródłowe)</i> , vol. II Kraków – Leipzig – Rzeszów – Warszawa 2016.	2,2	743 pp.
3	Auch M. <i>Early medieval settlement complex at Czeremno in the light of results from past research (up to 2010). Pottery finds (Wczesnośredniowieczny zespół osadniczy w Czeremnie w świetle wyników badań dawnych (do 2010). Ceramika naczyniowa)</i> , Kraków – Leipzig – Rzeszów – Warszawa 2017.	2,3	571 pp.
4	Wołoszyn M. (ed.) <i>From Cherven' Towns to Curzon Line. The lands on the Middle Bug during the Middle Ages and the historiographic perspective on the formation of Poland's eastern border, 18<sup>th</sup>-21<sup>st</sup> centuries (Od Grodów Czerwieńskich do linii Curzona. Dzieje środkowego Pobuża w wiekach średnich oraz postrzeżenie formowania się wschodniej granicy Polski w historiografii XVIII-XXI w.)</i> , vol. I Kraków – Leipzig – Rzeszów – Warszawa 2017.	3,1	600 pp.
5	Wołoszyn M. (ed.) <i>From Cherven' Towns to Curzon Line. The lands on the Middle Bug during the Middle Ages and the historiographic perspective on the formation of Poland's eastern border, 18<sup>th</sup>-21<sup>st</sup> centuries (Od Grodów Czerwieńskich do linii Curzona. Dzieje środkowego Pobuża w wiekach średnich oraz postrzeżenie formowania się wschodniej granicy Polski w historiografii XVIII-XXI w.)</i> , vol. II Kraków – Leipzig – Rzeszów – Warszawa 2017.	3,2	716 pp.
6.	Wołoszyn M. (ed.) <i>The early medieval settlement complex at Gródek upon the Bug River in the light of results from past research (1952-1955). Material evidence (Wczesnośredniowieczny zespół osadniczy w Gródku nad Bugiem w świetle wyników badań dawnych (1952-1955). Podstawy źródłowe)</i> Kraków – Leipzig – Rzeszów – Warszawa 2018.	4	1048 pp.

7.	Wołoszyn M. (ed.) <i>The early medieval settlement complex at Gródek upon the Bug River in the light of stray finds collected by Father Stanisław Staszic Museum in Hrubieszów. Catalogue, typological and chronological analysis (Wczesnośredniowieczny zespół osadniczy w Gródku nad Bugiem w świetle znalezisk luźnych w zbiorach Muzeum im. księdza Stanisława Staszica w Hrubieszowie. Katalog, analiza typologiczno-chronologiczna),</i> Kraków – Leipzig – Rzeszów – Warszawa 2018.	5	450 pp.
8.	Musin A., Wołoszyn M. (eds.) <i>The Sphinx of Slavic Sigillography. Drogichin Seals in their East European Context (Sfinks słowiańskiej sfragistyki. Plomby typu drohiczynskiego z Czermna na wschodnioeuropejskim tle porównawczym),</i> Kraków – Leipzig – Rzeszów – Saint Petersburg – Warszawa 2019.	6,1	1128 pp.
9.	Florkiewicz I., Jusupović A., Musin A. et al. <i>The Sphinx of Slavic Sigillography – small lead seals of “Drohiczyn type” from Czermno. Material evidence (Sfinks słowiańskiej sfragistyki – plomby “typu drohiczynskiego” z Czermna. Podstawy źródłowe),</i> Kraków – Leipzig – Rzeszów – Saint Petersburg – Warszawa 2019.	6,2	626 pp.
10.	Auch M., Trzeciński M. <i>The early medieval settlement complex at Gródek upon the Bug River in the light of results from past research (1952-1955). Pottery finds (Wczesnośredniowieczny zespół osadniczy w Gródku nad Bugiem w świetle wyników badań dawnych (1952-1955). Ceramika naczyniowa),</i> Kraków – Leipzig – Lublin – Rzeszów – Warszawa 2019.	8	512 pp.
Other			
11.	Bagińska J., Piotrowski M., Wołoszyn M. (eds.) <i>Czerwień – gród między Wschodem a Zachodem. Katalog wystawy (Červen' – eine Burg zwischen Ost und West. Ausstellungskatalog = Cerven – un castrum tra Oriente e Occidente. Catalogo della mostra = Червень – град між Сходом і Заходом. Каталог виставки),</i> Tomaszów Lubelski 2012		518 pp.
12.	Florkiewicz I., Wołoszyn M. (eds.), <i>Gone with the wind? Early medieval central places in today rural areas. Between research, preservation and re-enactment,</i> <i>Analecta Archaeologica Ressoviensia</i> 13 (2018).		486 pp.
13.	Bagińska J., Dzieńkowski I., Florkiewicz T., Wołoszyn M. (eds.) <i>The Cross makes the best ornament on the imperial crown. Medieval religious artefacts from Czermno (Królowie i cesarze, nie tak koroną zdobią swe czoła, jak krzyżem. Średniowieczne dewocjonaalia z Czermna),</i> Tomaszów Lubelski 2021		82 pp.
TOTAL			8062 pp.

This makes the Cherven' Towns region the bulwark of Polish culture defending our country against the "barbaric" East<sup>5</sup>.

From the beginning we took care to make the results of our research on the Cherven' Towns available to a wider audience, not only in Poland (not the least, its eastern region) but also to researchers from Belarus', Ukraine, Russia, Germany and other countries in Europe (in the first place Eastern Christian).

In 2013-2022, we organised nine seminars dedicated to the Cherven' Towns research; with time they developed into conferences addressed on problems important for the research on the Polish-Rus' borderlands (see Table III)<sup>6</sup>. These encounters brought together researchers from many countries, their number increasing over time (2013 – 4 countries; 2014 – 4 countries; 2015 – 7 countries; 2016 – 9 countries; 2017 – 13 countries; 2018 – 11 countries). For obvious reasons, the group of three panels at the Leeds Medieval Congress (2019) proved to be fully international. The culmination of our activities in the field of the dissemination of the knowledge about the Cherven' Towns was a summer school organised in 2021 entitled GERMANIA SLAVICA versus POLONIA RUTHENICA in the context of medieval Europeanisation<sup>7</sup>. Its purpose was presenting the medieval Polish-Rus' and German-Slav

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5. This probably was expressed best by Adam Szczerbowski (1894-1956), a Polish language teacher active in Hrubieszów who in 1925 published an essay *Grody Czerwieńskie w ziemi nadbużańskiej. (W dziewięćsetną rocznicę śmierci Bolesława Chrobrego (Cherven' Towns by the Bug river. (On the 900<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the death of Bolesław the Brave)* who commented on the events of 981: "We do not know [...] the names of Mieszko's warriors who fought here, following the Polish war tradition, going into one hundred out of ten hundreds of enemies, so that with their blood for the first time in historical times to nourish the ever-living breast of this earth; and we will never learn more precisely the details of the battles of these fair-haired giants whose bones sleep today under a thick layer of black earth in the great silence of a thousand-year-long rest" (cf. Szczerbowski 1925, 4).

6. These encounters would not be possible without the funding obtained from the Ministry of Science and Education thanks to the unfaltering assistance of Zbigniew Kubiowski (Warsaw).

7. Assisted by a grant from the Polish-German Foundation for Science and Cooperation (PNFN) and the cooperation of the University of Rzeszów, and the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology of the Polish Academy of Sciences (Warsaw), the Institute of History of the National Academy of Sciences of Belarus' (Minsk), the Institute of Ukrainian Studies of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine (Lviv) and the Leibniz-Institut of the History and Culture of Eastern Europe in Leipzig (GWZO).

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Table III. Conferences regarding the Cherven' Towns, organised in 2013-2022 (including the meeting during the Byzantine Studies Congress, planned for August of 2022); list compiled by M. Wołoszyn. Note: the meeting in Cracow (No. 6 in the table) did not happen within the Golden Apple of Polish archaeology... grant (see Table I), therefore this meeting is not included in the series of seminars regarding the Cherven' Towns. This resulted from the necessity to distinguish between the two grants: Golden Apple... and The Sphinx of Slav Sigillography...

Tabela III. Konferencje na temat Grodów Czerwieńskich zorganizowane w latach 2013-2022 (wraz z planowanym na sierpień spotkaniem w ramach Kongresu Bizantynistycznego); zestawiał M. Wołoszyn. Uwaga: spotkanie w Krakowie (w tabeli nr 6) nie odbyło się w ramach grantu Złote jabłko polskiej archeologii... (por. Tabela I) stąd nie numerowano tego spotkania jako jednego z serii seminariów o Grodach Czerwieńskich. Wynikało to z konieczności rozróżnienia grantów *Złote jabłko...* i *Sfinsk słowiańskiej sfragistyki...*

No.	Place	Date	Title
1.	Hrubieszów	19 <sup>th</sup> -20 <sup>th</sup> September 2013	<i>Cherven' Towns – Golden Apple of Polish archaeology.</i> Seminar 1
2.	Rzeszów	6 <sup>th</sup> -7 <sup>th</sup> November 2014	<i>Cherven' Towns – Golden Apple of Polish archaeology.</i> Seminar 2
3.	Lublin	25 <sup>th</sup> -27 <sup>th</sup> November 2015	<i>Cherven' Towns – Golden Apple of Polish archaeology.</i> Seminar 3
4.	Kraków	7 <sup>th</sup> -9 <sup>th</sup> December 2016	<i>Cherven' Towns – Golden Apple of Polish archaeology.</i> Seminar 4
5.	Zamość	20 <sup>th</sup> -22 <sup>nd</sup> September 2017	<i>Gone with the wind? Early medieval central complexes in today's peripheral areas.</i> <i>Cherven' Towns – Golden Apple of Polish archaeology.</i> Seminar 5
6.	Kraków	7 <sup>th</sup> -9 <sup>th</sup> May 2018	<i>The Sphinx of Slav Sigillography – Drogichin seals in the light of interdisciplinary research.</i>
7.	Hrubieszów	27 <sup>th</sup> -29 <sup>th</sup> June 2018	<i>Rivers which connect, rivers which divide. Central-eastern and Eastern European network in the Middle Ages</i> <i>Cherven' Towns – Golden Apple of Polish archaeology.</i> Seminar 6
8.	Leeds (UK)	4 <sup>th</sup> July 2019	International Medieval Congress, 3 sessions: <i>Materialities of the Border: I – Areas, II – Sites, III – Finds</i> <i>Cherven' Towns – Golden Apple of Polish archaeology.</i> Seminar 7
9.	Leipzig –Rzeszów	18 <sup>th</sup> -20 <sup>th</sup> November 2020	<i>Beauty, power, mystery. Silk in the area of the Byzantine Commonwealth and beyond. Material evidence.</i> <i>Cherven' Towns – Golden Apple of Polish archaeology.</i> Seminar 8
10.	Leipzig – Rzeszów	22 <sup>nd</sup> -25 <sup>th</sup> November 2021	<i>GERMANIA SLAVICA versus POLONIA RUTHENICA in the context of medieval europeanisation</i> <i>Cherven' Towns – Golden Apple of Polish archaeology.</i> Seminar 9
11.	Venice- Padua (Italy)	25 <sup>th</sup> August 2022	<i>24<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Byzantine Studies. Session (Round table) entitled. Guarding the frontier or tra- ding on the border: The borders of the Byzantine Commonwealth and their function</i> <i>Cherven' Towns – Golden Apple of Polish archaeology.</i> Seminar 10

borderlands (*Polonia Ruthenica* and *Germania Slavica* respectively) in the context of medieval transformation (Europeanisation).<sup>8</sup>

Because of the COVID-19 pandemic, the summer school was held online, and thanks to the work of translators (and the ZOOM platform), the sessions were available in three languages (German / Polish / Russian). Facebook statistics for the online *Germania Slavica* versus *Polonia Ruthenica* seminar prove that the information about this encounter reached 22,580 viewers. The number of users who actively responded to the event (expressed willingness to participate, etc.): 373 people. University students from Poland (Rzeszów, Lublin, Kraków, Warsaw, Poznań) as well as Belarus', Russia and Ukraine participated in the event. Around 100 people in total. Based on the "registration report" from Zoom, participation in the "GSvPR" seminar was as follows (together with the speakers): 1<sup>st</sup> day – 133 people // 2<sup>nd</sup> day – 150 people // 3<sup>rd</sup> day – 117 people // 4<sup>th</sup> day – 109 people.

In 2022, another encounter dedicated to the Cherven' Towns will take place as part of the 24<sup>th</sup> Byzantine Congress, Venice-Padua 2022.

Nevertheless, the presentation of the research results was mainly taken care of by the exhibition *Cherven' – a city between the East and the West* organized by the Dr. J. Peter Museum in Tomaszów Lubelski. Presented first in Tomaszów, the exhibition was shown at several venues in Poland (see Table IV). Thanks to the feedback from these museums we know that in 2012-2020 the artefacts from Czermno were viewed by more than 60,000 people in Poland!

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8. The Middle Ages were a time of a transformation which – for the first time in the history of our continent – encompassed all of Europe. At that time the differences between the civilised Roman Empire and the barbarian North began to blur. Monotheistic religions (primarily Christianity), but also the art of writing and coinage spread from Sicily to Novgorod. It is this phenomenon that Robert Bartlett called the Europeanization of Europe (cf. Bartlett 1993). Medieval transformation, including colonization, led to the creation of "mixed areas", where the new overlapped with the older (e.g. ethnic) substrate. Klaus Zernack (referring to earlier conclusions) identified a number of such regions, e.g., *Germania Slavica* (the lands of the Elbe Slavs within the medieval German Reich) and *Polonia Ruthenica*, i.e. the lands of Rus' principalities incorporated in the 14<sup>th</sup> century into Poland – the Corona Regni Poloniae (cf. Zernack 1994; Lübke 2007).

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In 2018, the results of our research were presented in the film *The Road to the Kingdom* (directed by Zdzisław Cozac)<sup>9</sup>. Katarzyna Radziwiłko organised a workshop for the youngest inhabitants of Czermno (50 participants). The promotion of knowledge about Cherven' Towns was supported by the historical re-enactment at Gródek of the Battle on the Bug River organised on the millennial anniversary of this event (1018-2018) by the Father Stanisław Staszic Museum in Hrubieszów.<sup>10</sup>

The Internet is another tool used to publicize the Cherven' Towns studies. Our activities in this area are organised and coordinated by Iwona Florkiewicz. The website dedicated to Cherven' Towns was made available in four languages (English/German/Polish/Ukrainian)<sup>11</sup>. The most commonly used medium was Facebook, where we have a profile.<sup>12</sup> We created a special account on the portal academia.edu where publications related to the research on the Cherven' Towns are made available<sup>13</sup>. Last but not least, we also run our own YouTube channel.<sup>14</sup>

The data presented here prove not only that the Cherven' Towns research team is aware of the need to make their scientific research accessible outside the academic community but also that it has been actively and successfully working on communicating it to the general public.

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9. Estimated viewer count was 2,000,000 (!); see the report of 31<sup>st</sup> December 2021 from Z. Cozac (IA UR archive).

10. An estimated 8000 people took part in this event; see the statement of 28<sup>th</sup> December 2021 by the Museum in Hrubieszów (IA UR archive).

11. Cf. [www.grodyczerwienskie.pl](http://www.grodyczerwienskie.pl), accessed 18<sup>th</sup> May 2018.

12. Cf. [www.facebook.com/GrodyCzerwienskie](https://www.facebook.com/GrodyCzerwienskie) Number of "Likes": 3703. For comparison, the profile of the Archaeological Museum in Kraków has 5662 likes, the profile of the Archaeological Museum in Gdańsk 6979 likes, and the profile of the National Museum in Przemyśl – 2528 likes (all data as of 23<sup>rd</sup> June 2022).

13. Cf. [www.independent.academia.edu/GrodyCzerwienskie](http://www.independent.academia.edu/GrodyCzerwienskie), accessed 18<sup>th</sup> May 2018.

14. Cf. [www.youtube.com/channel/UCS0Xhl\\_9iW5J2cSgO3C2Vsg](https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCS0Xhl_9iW5J2cSgO3C2Vsg), accessed 18<sup>th</sup> May 2018. Another notable contribution was a lecture *Ex oriente lux or archeology of the Cherven' Towns* given by M. Wołoszyn on 8<sup>th</sup> January 2014 within a series of open access lectures organized by the Polish Academy of Sciences (Wsztechnica PAN) (see [www.youtube.com/watch?v=v-VYZB9HWcr8&t=69s](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=v-VYZB9HWcr8&t=69s), accessed 18<sup>th</sup> May 2018). So far, it has been viewed by 8,701 people (as of 23<sup>rd</sup> June 2022). Videos presenting the treasures of Czermno are very popular, e.g. the one available at [www.youtube.com/watch?v=IqLpxvs8gNU](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IqLpxvs8gNU), accessed 18<sup>th</sup> May 2018, has already been viewed by over 98000 people!

Table IV. Exhibitions presenting the Cherven' Towns artefacts organised in the years 2013-2022; list compiled by M. Wołoszyn.

Tabela IV. Wystawy prezentujące zabytki z Grodów Czerwieńskich zorganizowane w latach 2013-2022; zestawiał M. Wołoszyn.

No	Place of the exhibition	Exhibition duration
<i>Cherven' – the Stronghold between the East and the West</i>		
I.1.	Dr J. Peter Regional Museum in Tomaszów Lubelski	28 <sup>th</sup> November 2012 – 31 <sup>st</sup> March 2013
I.2.	National Museum in Kraków, The Erazm Ciołek Palace	6 <sup>th</sup> April – 1 <sup>st</sup> September 2013
I.3.	Regional Museum in Sieradz	14 <sup>th</sup> February – 13 <sup>th</sup> April 2014
I.4.	Regional Museum in Krasnystaw	15 <sup>th</sup> April – 15 <sup>th</sup> September 2014
I.5.	Jacek Malczewski Museum in Radom	23 <sup>rd</sup> October – 31 <sup>st</sup> December 2014
I.6.	Regional Museum in Rzeszów	3 <sup>rd</sup> February – 15 <sup>th</sup> April 2015
I.7.	Muzeum Kresów in Lubaczów	1 <sup>st</sup> May – 31 <sup>st</sup> August 2015
I.8.	Wiktor Ambroziewicz Museum of the Chełm Land in Chełm	30 <sup>th</sup> September – 31 <sup>st</sup> December 2015
I.9.	St. Staszic Regional Museum in Hrubieszów	28 <sup>th</sup> January – 3 <sup>rd</sup> April 2016
I.10.	Museum of Southern Podlasie in Biała Podlaska	22 <sup>nd</sup> April – 20 <sup>th</sup> July 2016
I.11.	National Museum of the Przemyśl Land in Przemyśl	22 <sup>nd</sup> July – 16 <sup>th</sup> October 2016
I.12.	Regional Museum in Tarnów	3 <sup>rd</sup> July – 30 <sup>th</sup> August 2017
I.13.	Muzeum of Zamość	20 <sup>th</sup> September – 31 <sup>st</sup> December 2017
I.14.	Museum of the Biłgoraj Land in Biłgoraj	16 <sup>th</sup> February – 15 <sup>th</sup> June 2018
I.15.	Gniezno – Muzeum Początków Państwa Polskiego	25 <sup>th</sup> June – 16 <sup>th</sup> November 2018
I.16.	Zagłębie Museum in Będzin	15 <sup>th</sup> January – 30 <sup>th</sup> April 2019
I.17.	Dr J. Peter Regional Museum in Tomaszów Lubelski – as a permanent exhibition	since 22 <sup>nd</sup> April 2022

Other exhibitions		
I.18.	National Museum in Poznań <i>Imagines Medii Aevi. Wystawa z okazji 1050. Rocznicy chrztu Polski</i>	9 <sup>th</sup> April – 17 <sup>th</sup> July 2016
I.19.	National Museum in Kraków, The Bishop Erazm Ciołek Palace <i>Skarby Grodów Czerwieńskich</i>	7 <sup>th</sup> December 2016 – 28 <sup>th</sup> May 2017
I.20.	Archaeological Muzeum in Gdańsk <i>Nie tylko waśnie i spory. Arcydziela średniowiecznej sztuki jubilerskiej z Czerwna jako świadectwa tworzenia się pogranicza polsko-ruskiego</i>	22 <sup>nd</sup> June 2017 – 30 <sup>th</sup> August 2017
I.21.	E. Hutten-Czapski Museum (branch of the National Museum in Kraków) <i>Significant inconspicuous – lead seal marks (Istotne niepozorne – ołowiane znaki pieczętne)</i>	9 <sup>th</sup> May – 9 <sup>th</sup> September 2018
I.22.	St. Staszic Regional Museum in Hrubieszów exhibition <i>Bitwa nad Bugiem (Battle of the river Bug) 1018-2018</i>	27 <sup>th</sup> June – 31 <sup>st</sup> October 2018
I.23.	Museum of the First Piasts at Lednica exhibition <i>Średniowieczne źródła naszego wspólnego dziedzictwa. Sofia Kijowska – Ostrów Lednicki (Medieval sources of our common heritage. Saint Sophia Cathedral – Lednica Holm)</i> – one of the charts devoted to the Cherven' Towns	6 <sup>th</sup> May – 31 <sup>st</sup> October 2022

WHAT PAST DOES THE FUTURE NEED  
OR THE CHERVEN' TOWNS RESEARCH CENTRE  
IN THE MAKING

The process of transformation begun in Poland by the events of 1989 brought enormous changes also to the field of popularising the results of scientific research<sup>15</sup>. The museums themselves have changed, and from old-fashioned (and static) repositories of national (and regional) heritage objects have become places of an interactive communication with the past, which is increasingly perceived simply as a source of enjoyment (cf. e.g. Matassa 2015, 272; see also Czopek, Górski [ed.] 2016). Another element of “[...] contemporary historical culture is the emergence of various types of historical re-enactments, performances [...] described with the umbrella term of a spectacle of the past [...]” (Pawleta 2016, 216), in the case of archaeology most often called a festival.

15. The title of this chapter was borrowed from the book by Tomasz Stryjek (Stryjek 2007).

Obviously, these phenomena did have not bypassed Eastern Poland. Therefore it is natural and legitimate to modernize also the presentation of the archaeology of Czeremno and Gródek. An important incentive in this respect is provided by the success of projects like Karpacka Troja – Carpathian Troy (Gancarski, Madej 2018) and Wioska Gotów – Gothic Village (Bartecki 2018).

In addition, let us recall that the excavations carried out since 2010 brought in a huge quantity of archaeological objects, and further projects are planned for the coming years. This rapid accumulation, an avalanche even, presented the Museum in Tomaszów Lubelski with a challenge of how to create appropriate conditions for storing the artefacts added to its collections. At the same time, the museum needs to meet the growing requirements of the scientific community in terms of making this material available for research, and the pressure to develop an attractive form of its display for the general public and educational activities. Last but definitely not least, the museum needs to provide for the conservation treatment of archaeological artefacts.

To meet these challenges, and ensure an appropriate rank to one of the most important collections of early medieval museum objects in Poland, the community of museum specialists and archaeologists advanced the idea of building an archaeological open-air museum connected with a research facility to conduct long-term excavation research. Two versions for the implementation of this concept were created at the same time, but it should be emphasised that they are not entirely mutually exclusive. The first was to create in our region (Tomaszów Lubelski, to be exact), a modern display, and a space for research and educational activities (conference and workshop rooms), and facilities to store the objects not presented to the public. This first version does not exclude the implementation of research important in a broader, supra-regional perspective.

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Fig. 2. Project of the Archaeological-Historical Centre “Cherven’ Towns” – ground floor plan (A – exhibition halls; B – courtyard with the reconstruction of the fragment of the ward; C – storehouses; D – parking)

Ryc. 2. Projekt Centrum Archeologiczno-Historycznego „Grody Czerwieńskie” – rzut parteru (A – sale ekspozycyjne; B – dziedziniec z rekonstrukcją fragmentu ogrodzenia; C – magazyny; D – parking)

### The Cherven’ Towns Archaeology and History Centre in Tomaszów Lubelski

*Version number 1*, provisionally named “The Cherven’ Towns – Archaeological and Historical Centre” provides for constructing an exhibition facility attached to the main building of the Dr. Janusz Peter Museum in Tomaszów Lubelski (Figs. 2-7). A conceptual design for

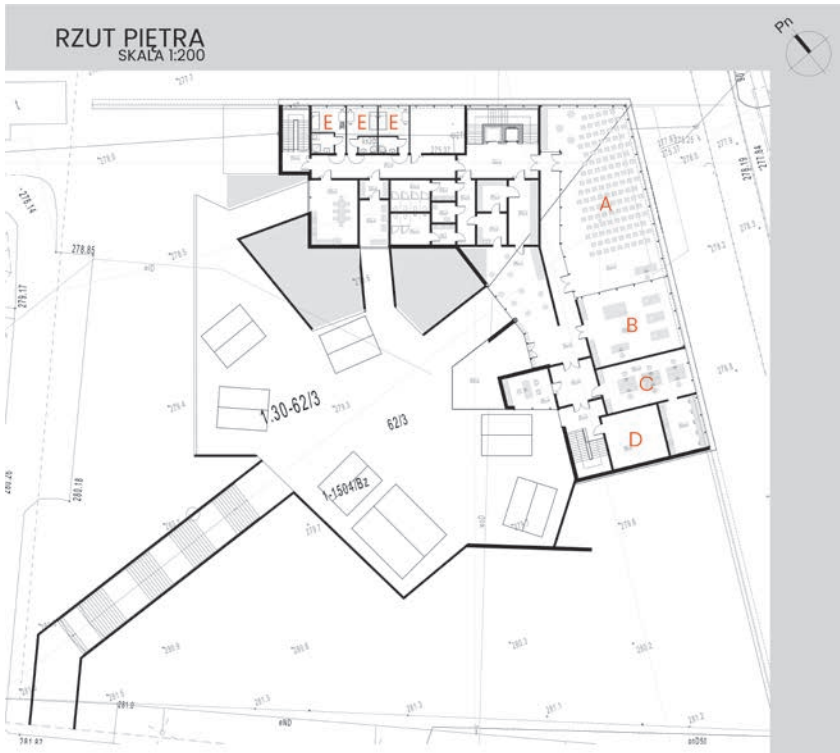


Fig. 3. Project of the Archaeological-Historical Centre “Cherven’ Towns” – floor plan (A – conference hall; B – conservation lab; C – research lab; D – storage room; E – guest rooms)

Ryc. 3. Projekt Centrum Archeologiczno-Historycznego „Grody Czerwieńskie” – rzut piętra (A – sala konferencyjna; B – pracownia konserwatorska; C – pracownia badawcza; D – magazyn; E – pokoje gościnne)

this complex has been prepared, which consists of a two-storey facility provided with a parking lot and an open space, i.e. an internal courtyard. According to the design, the complex is to occupy an area of over 3900 m<sup>2</sup>. The display facility will have a total area of 2193 m<sup>2</sup>, with two exhibition rooms having a combined area of more than 400 m<sup>2</sup>, with rest and refreshment rooms, a conference room (195 m<sup>2</sup>), research facilities (50 m<sup>2</sup>), a conservation lab (almost 80 m<sup>2</sup>), guest rooms, and storage space with a total area of over 230 m<sup>2</sup> and a parking. The project





Fig. 4. Visualisation of the Archaeological-Historical Centre "Cherven' Towns" (general view)

Ryc. 4. Wizualizacja Centrum Archeologiczno-Historycznego „Grody Czerwieńskie” (widok ogólny)



Fig. 5. Visualisation of the hologram room

Ryc. 5. Wizualizacja sali hologramów



Fig. 6. Visualisation of the courtyard with the reconstruction of the fragment of the ward

Ryc. 6. Wizualizacja dziedzińca z rekonstrukcją fragmentu podgrodzia



Fig. 7. Visualisation of the exposition hall

Ryc. 7. Wizualizacja sali ekspozycyjnej

also provides for a space to be used by the historical re-enactment group (a team of warriors). The so-called open space of over 1000 m<sup>2</sup> in the inner courtyard will house a fragment of the early medieval suburb settlement in Czermno with six reconstructed log cabins and a well. A larger hut planned nearby will house the warriors of the armed retinue. In the log cabins, scenes from the everyday life of Czermno's inhabitants will be presented, with mannequins shown engaged in making food, sewing clothes etc. The courtyard will also be used as a venue for open-air events, e.g., archaeological picnics with the participation of historical re-enactment groups.

The developed concept of the centre assumes the creation of a permanent exhibition showing the history of the settlement complex in Czermno against the history of the Polish-Rus' borderland. The organisation of a permanent exhibition in an area of more than 400 m will allow for a wide presentation of the results of interdisciplinary research on the hillfort, enabling the reconstruction of the early medieval history of these lands and the full presentation of fascinating artefacts. The display is designed to combine state of the art forms of presentation (multimedia) with traditional display, enhanced by attractive reconstructions of costumes, tools and weapons, some of which are to be available to viewers not only for viewing but also for a hands-on experience.

The first of the two exhibition rooms will be designed as a virtual tour around the stronghold and its suburb settlement and end in a dramatic scene of the Mongol invasion. In line with this concept the viewers having completed the virtual tour will be directed to the courtyard to view the "real-life" reconstruction of a fragment of the suburb settlement. At the end of the visit to the Centre, they will be invited to the second room to view the original artefacts excavated in Czermno displayed in an attractive, innovative form. The viewers will also be able to see multimedia presentations informing about the history of the stronghold, crafts, food preparation methods and the secrets of the everyday life of its inhabitants.

## **FILIOQUE. An International Centre for the Study of the Latin-Eastern Christian Borderlands and Countries of the Byzantine Commonwealth.**

*Version number 2* draws on the results of Cherven' Town studies. The sites at Czermno and Gródek have yielded an impressive and invaluable archaeological record consisting of portable and non-portable finds. The reasons for this are manifold:

1) The extensive use of metal detectors has increased the number of metal finds on a global scale (see Horsnaes 2017) but the situation in Czermno and Gródek is exceptional. These sites yielded a huge assemblage of belt fittings, buckles, finger-rings, weapons, and devotional items, a situation typical for early medieval Rus' urban settlements. Their material culture is simply richer than that of early Piast towns (Parczewski 1991).<sup>16</sup>

2) Presumably the rich archaeological record found at Czermno and Gródek has to do with the later history of these sites i.e. that after the early medieval phase neither of these settlements developed into a full-fledged urban centre, like e.g., Kraków and Sandomierz. Their decline preserved the stratigraphy from the 10<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> centuries, safe from the effects of levelling projects common in late medieval and early modern period towns.

3) Especially the site at Czermno situated in the marshy valley of the Sieniocha and Huczwa rivers represents a finely preserved palaeogeographic archive: an excellent location to study human-environment relations (cf. Dobrowolski et al. 2018).

The sheer volume of finds, their diversity, and difference as compared to the finds from early Piast Poland mean that researching this archaeological record is a task that not just a single researcher but even just one research centre cannot hope to accomplish to satisfaction. This is best demonstrated by the foundering of the results from the 1970s investigations of Czermno which until recently remained unknown.

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16. Many years of observations of Marcin Wołoszyn were utilised here as well.

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The research centre in Lublin – at that time “[...] the smallest institution of university in Poland” (Kokowski, Łuczkiwicz 2016, 318) – was unable to cope with this challenge (especially during the economic crisis of the 1980s).

It is important to note that with the annexation of L'viv and Vilnius by the Soviet Union in 1939/1945 Eastern Poland was left for decades without a major centre of academic research and culture.

After World War II the State authorities were fairly generous in financing historical and archaeological research to celebrate the millennium of the Polish State in the 1960s (the first reference to Mieszko I dating to 963, his baptism, to 966). When analysing the distribution of this financing one cannot fail noting that the overwhelming majority had been allocated to the research in the Greater Poland, Silesia and Pomerania. This was justified partly by the central role of the first of these regions (the two earliest capitals of Piast Poland – Gniezno and Poznań – are located in Greater Poland) but also motivated in equal measure by the need to legitimize Poland's claims to Silesia and Pomerania, incorporated in 1945 in compensation for territories lost to Soviet republics of Lithuania, Belarus' and Ukraine. In the part of Poland east of the Vistula River, the Polish Academy of Sciences did not have a single branch unit of its Institute of the History of Material Culture. Research in Eastern Poland, e.g. in Cherven' Towns – was undertaken sporadically. Even today, only a fraction of the funds for scientific research in Poland is allocated to its eastern region (cf. Wołoszyn 2020, 224-230).

In this situation we wish to stress that we owe the successes of the last decade in the study of the archaeological materials from Czermno and Gródek to the cooperation rather than the competition of several research institutions of Eastern Poland. Only by following this principle we can hope for the success of projects undertaken in future. In 2017 this cooperation of research institutions interested in Cherven' Towns studies was formalized to some extent with the founding of the FILIOQUE centre of research in the Latin-Orthodox Borderzone

and Byzantine Commonwealth)<sup>17</sup>. The Centre brings together researchers from the Institute of Archaeology of the University of Rzeszów, the Institute of Archaeology of the Maria Curie-Skłodowska University, Leibniz Institute of the History and Culture of Eastern Europe (GWZO), and also, from the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology of the Polish Academy of Sciences, the Father Stanisław Staszic Museum in Hrubieszów, Dr J. Peter Museum in Tomaszów Lubelski, Museum of Zamość, National Museum in Lublin, the Monument Conservation Office in Lublin. The group of advisors included researchers from Poland, but also from Belarus' (Brest), Germany (Dresden, Leipzig), the Czech Republic (Prague, Brno), Russia (St. Petersburg), Slovakia (Bratislava), Ukraine (L'viv), Hungary (Pecs)<sup>18</sup>.

The Research Centre has been implementing its works from two geographical perspectives:

a) regional perspective: the starting point are studies on the Cherven' Towns, i.e., the settlement complexes at Czermno and Gródek. A gradual expansion of the research area is expected, especially towards the south (Przemyśl). Ultimately, the joint research should cover the entire region of the Polish-Ukrainian/Belarusian border (on both sides of the state frontier).

b) European perspective: the key to the functioning of the Centre is to analyse the Polish-Rus' border from the broader perspective of contacts between the Eastern and Latin Christian inhabitants of Europe (ranging from Sicily to Finland). Of fundamental importance in this respect has been the concept of the Byzantine Commonwealth proposed in 1971 by the Russian-British Byzantinist Dmitri Obolensky.<sup>19</sup>

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17. *Filioque*, the Latin term ("and from the Son") – an ongoing source of difference between Eastern Christianity and Western Christianity, formally divided since the East-West Schism of 1054 (cf. Chadwick 2003).

18. Obviously, with the Russian aggression against Ukraine the composition of the group cannot remain the same.

19. D. Obolensky identified five elements which are distinctive for countries, members of this Commonwealth: 1) Their inhabitants were followers of the Eastern Orthodox Christianity; 2) The local church accepted the primacy of the Patriarch in Constantinople; 3) The rulers accepted (at least, traditionally, in name) the primacy of the Byzantine emperor; 4) The people of these states accepted the norms of Roman-Byzantine law; 5) They perceived Byzantium

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The formula of the Byzantine Commonwealth helps combine the study of the territory of modern Greece and Turkey with studies of the heritage of Southern and Eastern Slavs.

So far FILIOQUE has been a *coalition of willing parties* rather than an institution<sup>20</sup> but it could provide a foundation for creating a supra-regional institution which will combine the goals of 1) research; 2) education and 3) museum display. Not less importantly, an institution open to the cooperation with “the general public” and committed to supporting regional development.

The need to continue the study of the archaeological record from the Cherven' Towns region is indisputable. On the other hand, the date of February 24, 2022 marks a milestone in many respects, including the development of medieval studies. With the general suspension of contacts with Russia (and Belarus') and the brutal war in Ukraine the part of the historic Polish-Rus' borderland found within the borders of Poland represents a small corner of early medieval Rus' that is available for archaeological research by citizens of the European Union. Paradoxically, the tragic events in Ukraine have created a rare opportunity for the archaeology of Eastern Poland.

The educational benefits offered by Cherven' Towns studies have improved recently thanks to the acquisition of new highly specialised devices for field and desk research, such as drones and 3D scanners. Internships for archaeology students (e.g. as part of summer schools financed by CEEPUS [Central European Exchange Program for University Studies]) should also enable students from less prosperous countries in our region (e.g. Ukraine, and Serbia) to gain a hands-on experience in using this type of equipment.

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as a cultural standard, Byzantine culture was the foremost, the only one worth emulating. The Commonwealth took in the area of the Balkans, its border running along the Danube as far as Serbia, included the south-eastern part of Italy and Rus', complete with the Eastern Christian reaches of the Caucasus. Obolensky recognizes the period around 1000 as a turning point in the formation of the Commonwealth (cf. Obolensky 1971, 272-361).

20. Although it currently employs three specialists: Iwona Florkiewicz (UR), Monika Maźniarczyk, Katarzyna Radziwiłko (UMCS) (from the first of July, UR will employ two more people thanks to the *Ex oriente lux* project...).

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The summer school *Germania Slavica versus Polonia Ruthenica* summer school was mentioned earlier. Thanks to the new project selected within the *Ex Oriente lux* competition an international online seminar will be held, addressed on the material culture of Eastern Christianity in the Middle Ages, its title *ABC of European Heritage – Archaeology of the Byzantine Commonwealth*. An important item on the agenda of this seminar will be lectures on the Polish-Rus' borderlands, presented as an area of contact between Latin and Byzantine Europe. The whole will be simultaneously translated into English, to make each presentation available to a very wide audience, in fact from all over the world.

As mentioned earlier, a major problem in Eastern Poland is the lack of larger urban centres. This translates, among others, into a low attendance in museums (Tomaszów Lubelski is not an exception in this respect). Therefore, to achieve exhibition success it is not necessary to build huge display facilities but to systematically revive tourist traffic in Eastern Poland; this is expected to guarantee a financial viability of investing in the expansion of museums, the museum in Tomaszów Lubelski among them. In this situation we intend to develop a new narrative about Eastern Poland, the Polish-Rus' borderlands and the world of Eastern Christianity. We wish to emphasise the need for cooperation in this respect with a large group of institutions in Eastern Poland, i.e. the Father Stanisław Staszic Museum in Hrubieszów, the Dr Janusz Peter Museum in Tomaszów Lubelski, Museum of Zamość, but in the first place, with the Museum of the Eastern Territories of the Old Polish Republic (National Museum in Lublin) and local communities (e.g. in Czeremno and Gródek). Worth considering in this context would be the development of theme trails to direct the visitors to sites important for research on the Polish-Rus' borderlands<sup>21</sup>.

Our main goal is to involve the local community in the management of the local cultural heritage, promote cooperation and stimulate the economic development of the region making the most of the potential offered by its cultural heritage. A special place in this

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21. Examples include initiatives such as routes dedicated to Romanesque art in Germany, see Straße der Romanik – Offizielle Seite [www.strassederromanik.de](http://www.strassederromanik.de), accessed 17<sup>th</sup> June 2022.

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respect is occupied by the hillfort at Czermno, a site of international interest steadily destroyed by illegal metal detectorists. It is crucial to educate the local community about this archaeological site and to make them appreciate the value of “their” hillfort and join in protecting this piece of the local heritage: the general public are the best guardians of the local archaeology.

Accordingly, one of the tasks of the *Ex Oriente lux* project is creating a platform for cooperation between archaeologists and the local community in Czermno and more broadly, in the Tyszowce commune. An important element is to gain a better understand of the local community, the way its members perceive archaeology and the researchers involved in uncovering the local heritage. Our aim is to raise the awareness of the local community – by inviting its members to take part in educational activities – of the material and non-material benefits to be derived from a properly developed and managed archaeological site, the laying of tourist trails and, possibly, creating in the future an open-air museum; this in turn can be expected to promote the development of infrastructure and regional economic development. The basis for the implementation of this process will be the preparation, in cooperation with the local community, of a regional development strategy based on the local heritage and brochures on heritage. This task has been assigned to Katarzyna Radziwiłko and will be addressed drawing on the experience of the so-called civil science and participatory archaeology projects involving the participation of the inhabitants of a given region and of amateur archaeologists<sup>22</sup>.

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22. For further information on this subject see Wessman, Thomas, Rohiola 2010; Mařík 2013; Florjanowicz 2016; Schuster 2017; Ganciu 2018; Grodzińska-Jurczak 2019; Musteață 2019; Sigríd 2019; Dobat et al. 2020; Golánová et al. 2020; Sabaciński 2020; Nassaney 2021; Rác 2021; Wollák, Anders 2021; Kajda, Kobiálka, Marciniak [ed.] in print. Critical look: Hardy 2016; 2017; 2018. An excellent example of the success of this type of activity is the most recent exhibition held by the Museum in Hrubieszów (see Niezabitowska-Wiśniewska, Hyrczała, Bartecki (ed.) 2021).

THE ELEPHANT IN THE LIVING ROOM,  
OR THE ETHNIC SIGNIFICANCE OF THE FINDS  
FROM CZERMNO AND GRÓDEK

Closing this essay, we wish to refer to the most serious, one could say incendiary but rarely spelled out issue related to the Cherven' Towns. Whether we like it or not, a significant part of the artefacts from Czermino and Gródek must be described as Eastern Christian and Eastern Slav. No matter how much we try to distance ourselves from the ethnic interpretation (questionable today) of this material (cf. Brather 2004; Buko 2015; Hardt 2015; Pohl 2018), the fact remains that not only the cross pendants, and belt buckles, other religious items, lead seals and even spindle whorls, have analogies mostly in archaeological assemblages recovered in Belarus', Russia and Ukraine, and not in the territory of the early Piast domain in Poland.

Disputes about the affiliation of borderland have been heated in the past and still are today. From the Polish perspective the starting point has always been the period of the Partitions when the Poland-Lithuania was dismembered by its three more powerful and better organized neighbours. Had the First Commonwealth escaped this fate it might have managed to modernise itself under the rule of its last king Stanisław August Poniatowski [1764-1795]. Perhaps, given time, the different nations inhabiting it vast territory, conscripted to serve in the country's army, exposed to the system of mass education and many other phenomena would have evolved a modern form of national feeling. Generally, it would be a Polish national identity, although definitely marked by some regional differences (especially where the Uniate Church, not the Catholic Church, would dominate) but still Polish. However, things happened differently and the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century became a time of a reconstruction of nations<sup>23</sup> on the territory of the now defunct Poland-Lithuania. As a result, Poles had to come to terms with Belarusians, Lithuanians and Ukrainians,

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23. As in the title of T. Snyder's book (see 2003).

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and to survive the *divide et impera* methods brutally implemented by Berlin, Petersburg and Vienna.<sup>24</sup>

As the dark century under foreign rule (1789-1918) dragged on for the Poles, there was a major change in the understanding of national and religious affiliation. When, at the end of the World War I, a new map of Central and Eastern Europe was taking shape, and the “draftsmen of the motherland”<sup>25</sup> entered the fray, there were no simple answers as to the boundaries of the nascent states – inheritors of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. On the one hand, there was an Eastern Slav (Ukrainian/Ruthenian) population in Przemyśl and Chełm (now in Poland), on the other, L'viv, Vilnius and Grodno were undeniably centres of Polish culture.

The argument of “time-honoured historical rights” to a given region was raised in 20<sup>th</sup>-century Europe on more than one occasion; this is true also of the relations between Poles and their neighbours – Lithuanians, Belarusians and Ukrainians. During the decades of the People's Republic of Poland, much was done to erase the traces of the Eastern Christian (Orthodox/Greek Catholic/Ruthenian) heritage in Poland, while in the Soviet Union a major effort was made to obliterate the traces of the Polish culture and presence. In both cases we are talking about the so called contested heritage<sup>26</sup>.

Even today traces of Eastern Christian (Ruthenian) culture in Poland are not accepted by everyone (a good example is the archaeology of Chełm – see Wołoszyn 2021). Nevertheless we cannot pretend that this issue does not exist. Just because we do not see the problem it will not go away. The last two decades have brought not only a progress in research but also the flourishing of pseudoscience. From the perspective

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24. In the second half of this century, both Prussia / Germany and Russia become nationalising empires where national minorities were doomed to “extinction”, like the natives in African or Asian colonies (we deliberately use colonial terminology here) (cf. Berger, Miller (eds.) 2015).

25. An allusion to the title of the work by M. Górny (see 2007).

26. On the subject of the unwanted heritage, see Silverman 2011. We know much more about Polish-German disputes over the early history of Silesia or Pomerania; some discussion of the relations between Poles and Eastern Slavs is made in the publication *From Cherven' Towns to the Curzon Line* (see Wołoszyn (ed.) 2017).

of the Polish archaeology, a major development has been the emergence of the ethno-nationalist concept of so-called “Great Lechia”, a prehistoric empire of the Western Slav people extending from the Atlantic in the West all the way to the Urals (see Żuchowicz 2018).

If archaeologists delay in addressing the question of the ethnic interpretation of artefacts, charlatans like Tomasz Kosiński are sure to step into the breach (see Kosiński 2017).

This problem of the ethnic ‘significance’ of early medieval artefacts is a further argument in favour of persevering in the study of the Cherven’ Towns and presentation its results to the general public, not by a single museum but by a large research team, and one qualified to present these sensitive issues. This requires the cooperation of archaeologists with cultural anthropologists, sociologists, and historians of the late modern period. In this it will be worth to draw on the experiences from projects of neighbouring countries, including those whose attitude towards the Big Brother in Moscow is quite similar to ours (for research on the cultural heritage of the eastern borderlands of Finland, see e.g. Kaisto, Wells 2020).

## CONCLUSION

We cannot avoid referring to the Russian aggression against Ukraine started in 2014, the best proof of the importance – also today, in this 21<sup>st</sup> century – of the dispute over historical heritage<sup>27</sup>. The stake in this war is the right to the past, the right to the inheritance of Kievan Rus’.

It seems that – no matter how this conflict ends on the military plane – there is no reconciling the Ukrainian and the Russian national identities<sup>28</sup>. Each day of this war brings new heroes to Ukraine, and the memory of their deaths may (but not necessarily) transform the Ukrainian culture of memory so much that its earlier heroes,

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27. For a discussion of the Russian modern historical rhetoric (see Kolesnikov 2020; Nowak 2022, 427-439).

28. For mental transformations in contemporary Ukraine, including derussification (see Kulyk 2018; Rogoż 2022).

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unacceptable from the Polish point of view (e.g. Stepan Bandera) will have lost their importance.

Let us recall that the archaeology of the Cherven' Towns, is more than the concern of desk research (in museums and universities) – it must be given a presence in the public space. In the relations between Piast Poland and Kievan Rus' there were many conflicts, but also many episodes of cooperation, and a mutual respect<sup>29</sup>. The Cherven' Towns can be a starting point for a narration about subsequent Polish-Ukrainian conflicts, and about Central-Eastern and Eastern Europe defined by cooperation, about the beginnings of the Polish-Ukrainian/Belorusian/Lithuanian neighbourhood. The choice is ours, and of our neighbours across the eastern border of Poland, and in any case, there has not been a better opportunity to start this second narrative ever since the Pereiaslav Agreement.

In closing, we wish to emphasize once again that it is certainly desirable to include the Polish-Rus' borderland and the archaeological heritage of this region, more broadly than in the past, in building a more balanced narration about our national (Polish) history. We invite sceptical “turbo-Slav patriots” to the pages penned by the leading historian of medieval Poland, who was already aware five centuries ago that “things Ruthenian” can also be a source of knowledge about our homeland. Starting to write his *Annales* Jan Długosz noted that despite his advanced age he had taken up the study of the Cyrillic script “to make his account of the Polish history more complete” (“Unde et ob eam rem cano iam capite ad perdiscendum literas Ruthenas me ipsum appuleram, quatenus historie nostre series crassior redderetur”; cf. Długosz, *Annales*, 62-63).

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29. Unfortunately, there is no modern synthesis of the history of Polish-Ruthenian relations from the perspective of cultural history. Traditional approach: Sielicki 1997; criticism (justified) of the latest synthesis (Jusupowicz 2022).

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GRODY CZERWIEŃSKIE W PRZESTRZENI PUBLICZNEJ:  
STAN I PERSPEKTYWY

*Streszczenie*

Kompleks osadniczy w Czermnie (łącznie ponad 150 hektarów), położony w widłach Huczwy i Sieniochy budził duże zainteresowanie już w XIX wieku. Do dziś prowadzone są dyskusje na temat łączenia umocnień w Czermnie z grodem Czerwień znanym z *Powieści lat minionych*.

Prace wykopaliskowe w Czermnie rozpoczęto w 1940 i 1952 roku i trwają one do dzisiaj. Przełom nastąpił w 2013 roku dzięki rozpoczęciu realizacji projektów finansowanych przez Ministerstwo Nauki i Szkolnictwa Wyższego (Narodowy Program Rozwoju Humanistyki) oraz Narodowe Centrum Nauki. Należy podkreślić, że wszystkie prace badawcze w Czermnie i Gródku realizowane były i są we współpracy z Centrum Badawczym w Lipsku (obecna nazwa Leibniz-Institut für Geschichte und Kultur des östlichen Europa [GWZO]). W latach 2013-2022 opracowano redakcyjnie i wydano serię książek na temat badań oraz zorganizowano dziewięć międzynarodowych seminariów na temat Grodów Czerwieńskich.

Od początku badania nad Grodami Czerwieńskimi realizowane są przy uwzględnieniu zainteresowania społecznego tą tematyką. Wskazać można na bardziej tradycyjne i nowatorskie formy transferu wiedzy. Wystawa *Czerwień – gród między Wschodem a Zachodem* zorganizowana przez Muzeum im. dr. Janusza Petera w Tomaszowie Lubelskim została zaprezentowana w kilkunastu polskich miastach (jak dotąd zabytki z Czermna obejrzało w Polsce ponad 60 000 osób!). W 2018 roku zaprezentowano wyniki badań w filmie *Droga do królestwa* (reżyser Z. Cozac). Grodom Czerwieńskim poświęcona jest m.in. strona internetowa przygotowana w czterech językach (angielski/niemiecki/polski/ukraiński).

Wobec przemian cywilizacyjnych jakie nastąpiły po 1989 roku Muzeum w Tomaszowie Lubelskim podjęło plany modernizacyjne

w zakresie nie tylko prezentacji, ale i przechowywania, konserwacji i udostępniania zabytków z Czerмна.

W rezultacie pojawiła się idea budowy skansenu archeologicznego połączonego z placówką badawczą prowadzącą długofalowe badania wykopaliskowe. Równolegle powstały dwie wersje realizacji tej koncepcji, przy czym nie muszą się one wykluczać.

Wersja nr 1 – roboczo nazwana „Centrum Archeologiczno-Historyczne Grody Czerwieńskie” zakłada budowę pawilonu wystawienniczego w siedzibie Muzeum Regionalnego w Tomaszowie Lubelskim. Zgodnie z projektem kompleks (powierzchnia ponad 3900 m<sup>2</sup>) ma składać się z dwukondygnacyjnego pawilonu z parkingiem. W pawilonie zaprojektowane zostały 2 sale ekspozycyjne, sala konferencyjna, pracownia badawcza, pracownia konserwacji zabytków, pokoje gościnne, a także magazyny, parking oraz pomieszczenia dla grupy rekonstrukcyjnej (drużyna wojów). W tzw. strefie otwartej, czyli na wewnętrznym dziedzińcu, odtworzony ma zostać fragment podgrodzia w Czermnie.

Wersja nr 2 – wyrasta z dotychczasowych doświadczeń związanych z pracami nad Grodami Czerwieńskimi. Sukcesy ostatniej dekady w zakresie opracowania materiału zabytkowego z Czerмна i Gródka wynikają ze współpracy, a nie rywalizacji poszczególnych placówek Polski wschodniej. Warunkiem powodzenia dalszych działań musi być utrzymanie tej zasady. Należy przypomnieć, że współpraca wielu placówek zainteresowanych badaniami nad Grodami Czerwieńskimi została częściowo sformalizowana już w 2017 roku, kiedy to powołano do życia Międzyuczelniane Naukowe Centrum Badawcze FILIOQUE: ośrodek badań nad pograniczem łańcisko-prawosławnym oraz krajami bizantyńskiej wspólnoty narodów. FILIOQUE jest na razie bardziej „koalicją chętnych” niż instytucją, ale może być to fundament dla stworzenia ponadregionalnej placówki łączącej cele badawcze, edukacyjne i wystawiennicze. Największym problemem Polski wschodniej jest fakt, iż obszar ten pozbawiony jest większych ośrodków miejskich, co przekłada się m.in. na niewielką frekwencję w placówkach muzealnych. Dlatego też do osiągnięcia sukcesu wystawienniczego koniecznym jest przede wszystkim systematyczne ożywianie ruchu turystycznego w Polsce

wschodniej, co gwarantowałyby sensowność finansową inwestycji w rozbudowę placówek muzealnych, np. w Tomaszowie Lubelskim. W tej sytuacji naszym zamiarem jest przygotowanie nowej narracji dotyczącej Polski wschodniej, pogranicza polsko-ruskiego i świata chrześcijańskiego wschodu. Należy podkreślić konieczność współpracy w tym zakresie z całą grupą placówek Polski wschodniej: muzeów, uniwersytetów oraz społecznościami lokalnymi. Na pewno pożądane jest szersze niż do tej pory uwzględnienie pogranicza polsko-ruskiego i zabytków tego regionu w budowaniu narracji o naszej narodowej (polskiej) historii.

Znaczna część zabytków z Czermna i Gródka ma charakter ruski. Problem ten jest kolejnym czynnikiem przemawiającym za tym, by prezentacja Grodów Czerwieńskich realizowana była nie przez jedno muzeum, ale przez duży zespół badawczy (archeolodzy, antropolodzy kulturowi, socjolodzy, historycy dziejów najnowszych), który będzie w stanie problemy drażliwe przedstawić w profesjonalny sposób.

Wydaje się, że – bez względu na to jak zakończy się rosyjski najazd na Ukrainę na płaszczyźnie militarnej – proces rozejścia się ukraińskiej i rosyjskiej tożsamości narodowej jest już nieodwracalny. Archeologia Grodów Czerwieńskich może być punktem wyjścia do opowieści o kolejnych polsko-ukraińskich konfliktach, albo o Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej i Wschodniej zdefiniowanej przez współdziałanie, o początkach polsko-ruskiego sąsiedztwa. Wybór należy do nas i do naszych wschodnich sąsiadów, w każdym razie lepszej okazji do podjęcia tej drugiej narracji nie było od czasów ugody perejaśławskiej.

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