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

ABSTRACT

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



Seminarium Nr. 5
Seminar Nr. 5
Семинар № 5

PRZEMINEŁO Z WIATRÉM?

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

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

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

Grody Czerwieńskie –
złote jabłko polskiej archeologii
Die Červenischen Burgen –
der goldene Apfel
der polnischen Archäologie
Червенські Гради –
золоте яблуко
польської археології

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹⁸ The Authors' names have been spaced out.

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

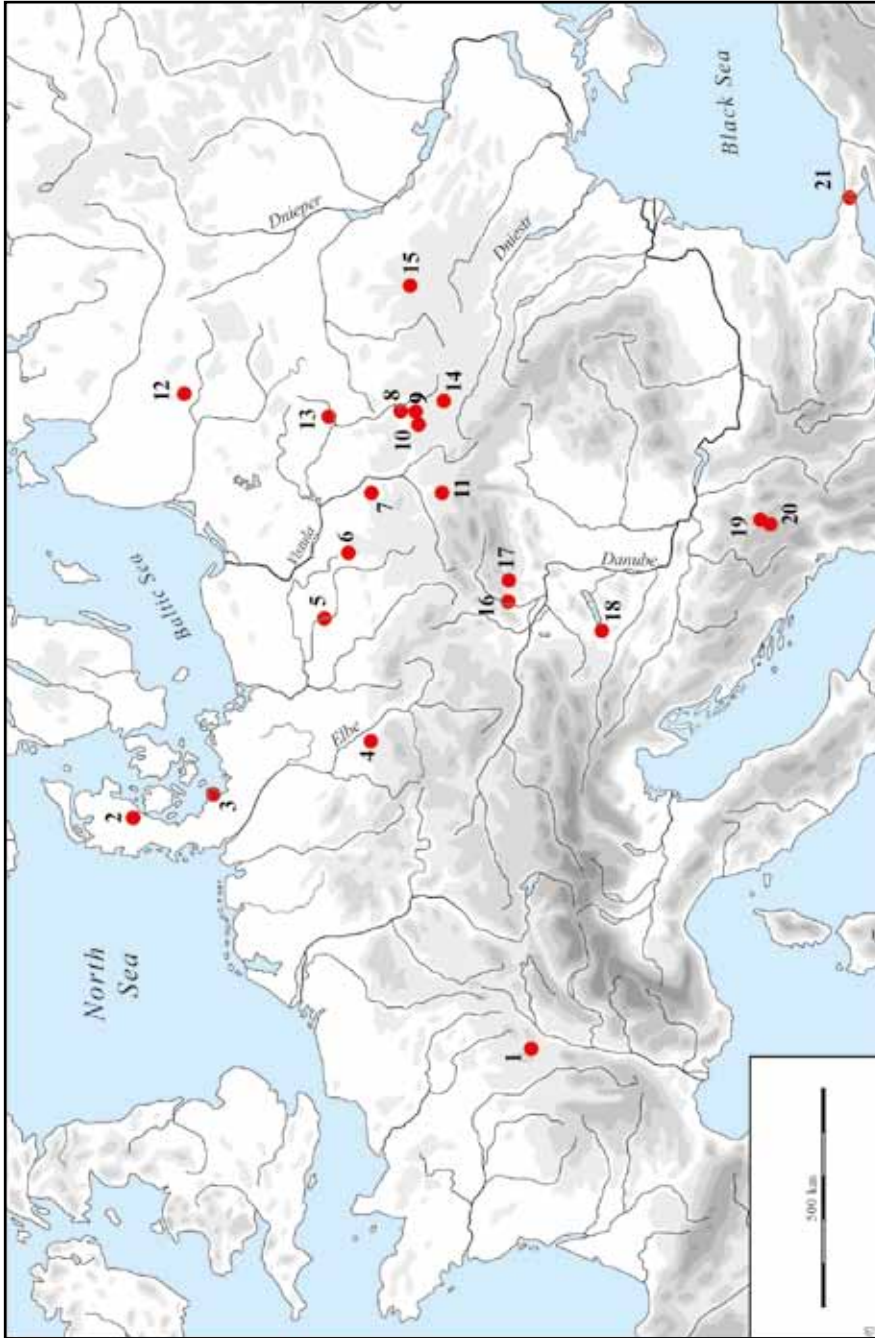


Fig. 3. Map of locations of research centres and archaeological sites presented in this volume (Drawn by I. Florkiewicz and I. Jordan)
1 – Bibracte, France; 2 – Jelling, Denmark; 3 – Gaarz, Germany; 4 – Gana (Hof/Stauchitz), Germany; 5 – Ostrów Tumski, Poland; 6 – Łódź, Poland; 7 – Radom, Poland; 8 –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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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