

Abhandlung

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Between East and West Europe. A ducal motte-type residence from the first half of the 13th century in Chełm (south-east Poland)

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Zusammenfassung: Motten gehörten zu den am weitesten verbreiteten Wohn- und Verteidigungsobjekten im mittelalterlichen Europa und wurden von Herrschern, Bischöfen, Adeligen und Rittern gegründet. Dieses kulturelle Phänomen wird sowohl im Hinblick auf seine Ursprünge, seine Chronologie als auch auf seine Verbreitung untersucht. Ein interessantes Beispiel ist der Fürstenkomplex in Chełm, der im 13. Jahrhundert am westlichen Stadtrand von Rus' als Hauptstadt von Danylo Romanovich errichtet wurde und bis in die 1330er Jahre unter der Herrschaft seiner Nachfolger blieb. Die langjährigen archäologischen Forschungen haben interessante Ergebnisse erbracht, die darauf hindeuten, dass es sich bei der Form der fürstlichen Residenz um eine mottenartige Struktur westeuropäischen Ursprungs handelte. Hervorzuheben ist hier die relativ frühe Chronologie des Komplexes, insbesondere im Hinblick auf die Verbreitung von Mottenbauten in Ostmitteleuropa (1230er Jahre).

Die Zusammenfassung der Forschungsdaten deutet darauf hin, dass die Verbreitung dieses neuen Festungstyps in der westlichen Rus' durch die Gründungstätigkeit des Fürsten Daniel und ab 1264 seiner Nachfolger inspiriert wurde. Eine vergleichende Analyse des Chełm-Komplexes und der europäischen Mottes weist auf zahlreiche Analogien hin. Sie betreffen in erster Linie die Formen – ein zentral gelegener Turm und Wohngebäude, die entweder auf einem Hügel oder auf festem Boden errichtet und

dann von einem Wall umgeben wurden. Am Rande des Hügels wurde eine Befestigungsanlage in Form eines Walls oder einer Palisade errichtet. Analogien zu den Chełm-Gründungen der Phasen I und II finden sich praktisch in ganz Europa, um nur Bretoncelles (Frankreich), Lürken, Schulenburg, Krepe, Hoppenrade, Neuendorf, Schöna (Deutschland), Farnham, Phase I (England) zu nennen. Eine besondere Konstruktion des Hügels der Phase I mit einer äußeren Steinmauer verdient besondere Aufmerksamkeit. Eine solche bauliche Lösung ist relativ selten, obwohl sie in verschiedenen Teilen Europas, von England über die Niederlande bis Süditalien, nachgewiesen wurde, z. B. in Borssele (Niederlande), Farnham (England), Gent (Belgien), San Marco Argentano (Italien). Bemerkenswert ist, dass die oben aufgeführten Objekte als Übergang zwischen einer Motte und einer regulären Burg interpretiert werden. Objekte dieses Typs wurden weder im heutigen Polen noch in anderen Ländern Ostmitteleuropas registriert. Die mottenartige Residenz in Chełm, die auf die 1230er Jahre datiert wird, kann als eines der interessantesten Beispiele für kulturelle Kontakte zwischen der Rus' und Westeuropa angesehen werden. Die erwartete Forschungsrichtung ist die weitere Untersuchung von Mottenbauten in Mittel- und Osteuropa, wobei der Schwerpunkt auf deren Chronologie, Bautechniken, räumlicher Organisation und Stiftern liegt.

Schlüsselworte: Motte und Burg, Mittelalter, herzogliche Residenz, Chełm, polnisch-russisches Grenzgebiet, Fürstentum Galizien-Wolhynien, König Danylo Romanovych

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Abstract: Motte-type castles were among the most widespread residential and defensive objects in medieval Europe, founded by rulers, bishops, nobility and knights. This cultural phenomenon is investigated both in terms of its origins, chronology, and spread. An interesting example is the princely complex in Chełm, built in the 13th century on the western outskirts of Rus' as the capital of Danylo Romanovich and remaining under his successors' rule

until the 1330s. Many years of archaeological research have yielded intriguing results indicating that the form of the princely residence referred to a motte-type structure of Western European origin. What should be stressed here is a relative early chronology of the complex, particularly with regard to the spread of motte-type objects in East-Central Europe (1230s).

The summary of research data indicates that the spread of this new type of fortification in western Rus' was inspired by the founding activity of Prince Daniel, and from 1264 – his successors. A comparative analysis of the Chełm complex and European mottes points to numerous analogies. They concern primarily forms – a centrally located towers and residential buildings erected either on a mound or on solid ground and then surrounded by an embankment. A fortification in the form of a rampart or palisade was built on the edge of the mound. Analogies to the Chełm foundation from both Phases I and II can be found practically throughout all of Europe, just to mention Bretoncelles (France), Lürken, Schulenburg, Krepe, Hoppenrade, Neuendorf, Schöna (Germany), Farnham, phase I (England). A specific construction of the Phase I mound, with an external stone wall deserves particular attention. Such constructional solution is relatively rare, although it was confirmed in various parts of Europe, from England through the Netherlands to southern Italy, e. g., in Borssele (Netherlands), Farnham (England), Ghent (Belgium), San Marco Argentano (Italy). Noteworthy, objects listed above are interpreted as transitional between a motte and a regular castle. Objects of this type have not been registered either in today's Poland or in other countries of East-Central Europe.

The motte-type residence in Chełm, dated back to the 1230s, can be regarded one of the most interesting examples of cultural contacts between Rus' and Western Europe. The expected research direction is further investigation of motte-type structures in Central and Eastern Europe, focused on their chronology, construction techniques, spatial organization, and founders.

Keywords: motte-and-bailey, Middle Ages, ducal residence, Chełm, Polish-Rus' borderland, Principality of Galicia-Volhynia, king Danylo Romanovych

Abstrakt: W średniowiecznej Europie założenia typu motte były jednymi z najliczniej wznoszonych siedzib mieszkalno-obronnych fundacji królewskiej, książęcej, biskupiej, a także możnowładczej i rycerskiej. Ten kulturowy fenomen jest badany zarówno pod kątem genezy, jak i chronologii założeń oraz rozprzestrzenienia się w Europie. Interesującym przykładem jest zespół książęcy w Chełmie wzniesiony w XIII w. na zachodnich peryferiach

Rusi Halicko-Włodzimierskiej jako "stołeczny" gród pozostający we władaniu dynastii Romanowiczów do lat 30. XIV w. Wieloletnie archeologiczne badania przyniosły intrygujące rezultaty wskazujące, iż książęca rezydencja pod względem formy nawiązywała do założenia typu motte o genezie zachodnioeuropejskiej. Wyjątkowość problematyki podkreśla wczesna chronologia chełmskiej rezydencji typu motte dla terenów Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej (lata 30. XIII w.).

Zestawienie danych badawczych wskazuje, iż rozprzestrzenianie się nowego typu założeń na zachodniej Rusi było inspirowane aktywnością fundacyjną księcia Daniela i od 1264 r. jego następców. Analiza konstrukcyjna założeń motte z terenu Europy wykazała, iż rezydencję w Chełmie wzniesiono w analogiczny sposób. Zabudowę w postaci centralnie usytuowanej wieży i budynków mieszkalnych budowano na nasypie (kopcu) lub na stałym gruncie i obсыpywano ziemią. Na krawędzi kopca wznoszono fortyfikację w postaci wału lub palisady. Analogie do chełmskiego założenia zarówno z fazy I jak i II znajdujemy praktycznie w całej Europie – dla przykładu Bretoncelles (Francja), Lürken, Schulenburg, Krepe, Hoppenrade, Neuendorf, Schöna (Niemcy), Farnham (faza I, Anglia). Bardziej skomplikowana sytuacja miała miejsce w przypadku konstrukcji fazy 1 – nasypu zamkniętego murem. Potwierdzono stosowanie zbliżonych form w różnych częściach Europy od Anglii poprzez Niderlandy aż po południowe Włochy (Borssele, Niderlandy; Farnham, Anglia; Gandawa, Belgia; San Marco Argentano, Włochy). Taka forma założenia jest interpretowana jako przejściowa między motte a zamkiem. Obiekty tego typu nie występowały na terenach dzisiejszej Polski, a także w innych krajach Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej.

Rezydencja typu motte w Chełmie datowana na lata 30. XIII w. jest jednym z ciekawszych przykładów kontaktów kulturowych Rusi z Europą Zachodnią. Oczekiwanym kierunkiem badawczym są dalsze prace nad założeniami typu motte na terenie Środkowej, a szczególnie Wschodniej Europy w zakresie ich chronologii, budowy, organizacji przestrzennej i fundatorów.

Słowa kluczowe: motte-and-bailey, średniowiecze, rezydencja książęca, Chełm, pogranicze polsko-ruskie, Ruś Halicko-Włodzimierska, król Daniel Romanowicz

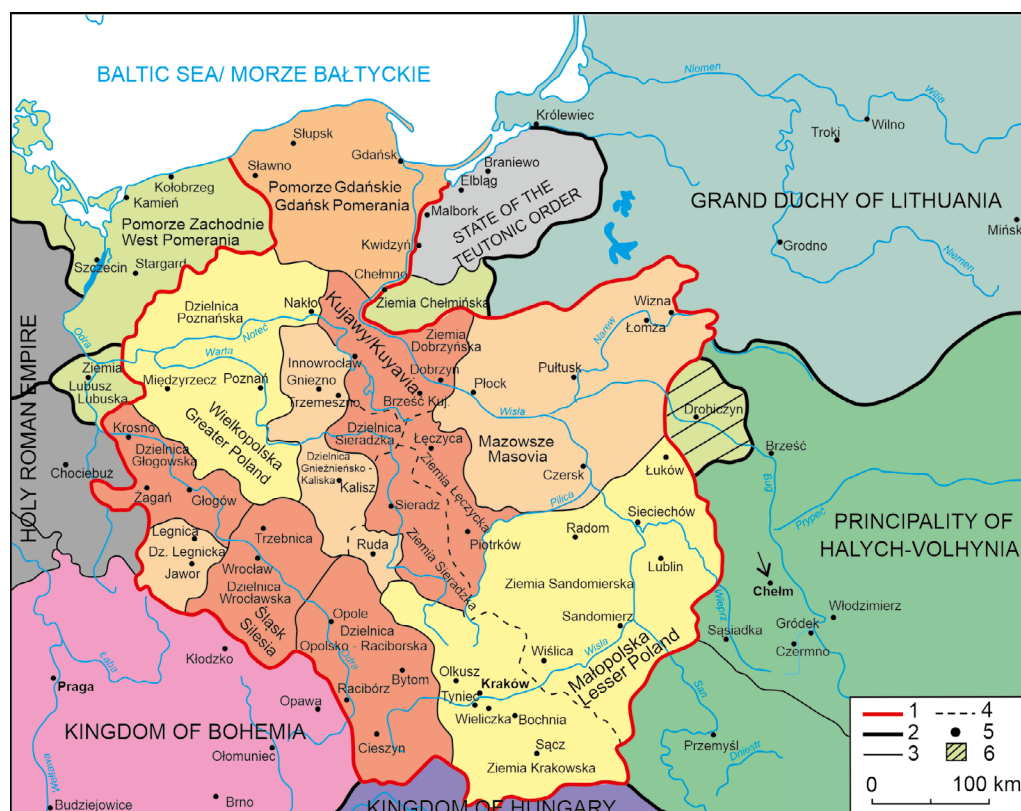


Fig. 1: Piast Poland, Halych-Volyn' Principality, and neighbouring states in the mid-13th century; after M.K. Barański (2008, 320, map), with additions by T. Dzieńkowski, redrawn by R. Ratajczak (after Dzieńkowski 2021, Fig. 2). 1 – border of Poland around 1250; 2 – borders of other states; 3 – borders of provinces and principalities; 4 – borders of lands; 5 – principal strongholds; 6 – territory lost by Piast Poland before mid-13th century. The location of Chełm is marked with an arrow.

Introduction

Research on the political and cultural borderland of medieval Piast Poland and Rus'¹ has enjoyed a sustained interest of historians, archaeologists and linguists for at least

two centuries². The constant discourse inspires and influences the dynamics of studies on the territory of upper and middle Bug River basin, as evidenced by publications that summarize past and currently implemented interdisciplinary campaigns³. Investigations of early medieval Chełm are of key importance here (Fig. 1). Archaeological and historical works carried on for several years in both the 20th and 21st centuries, contributed much to recognize several issues regarding this settlement complex. Although the results of interdisciplinary research have been recently summed up in a monograph edited by Andrzej Buko and

¹ The term “Polish-Rus’ borderland” (today’s eastern Poland) refers to the territory between the Piasts’ and Rurikids’ domains, in the 10th–13th centuries within the borders of Kyiv Rus’. It was also a part of a wider European frontier of the Orthodox and Latin worlds (Wołoszyn 2022). The origins of this division date back to the 10th century and can be associated both with the state-building processes and Christianization of the so-called Younger Europe. While Poland, Bohemia, Hungary and Scandinavia were baptized in the Western rite, Rus’ was Christianized by Byzantines (Lübke 2003; Wołoszyn 2007). Some researchers consider such a division line to be “the most durable cultural border of the European continent” (Kłoczowski 1998, 12). This approach refers to the traditional notion of partition into Western and Eastern Europe, modified by Oskar Halecki (1950) and Jenő Szűcs (1995). Both historians developed detailed divisions of Central Europe, and J. Szűcs’s taxonomy was applied in the following text.

² Halecki 1952; 2002; Szűcs 1995; Nadolski 1972; Parczewski 1991; Popowska-Taborska 1991; Franklin/Shepard 1996; Kłoczowski 1998; Aleksandrovich 1999; Davis 2006; Buko 2008; Salamon *et al.* 2012; Wołoszyn 2017; Błachowska 2017; frontiers and borderlands issues see Bartlett/MacKay 1989; Staecker 2004; Janeczka 2011.

³ Kalaga 2013; Dzik 2015; Florek/Wołoszyn 2016; Zschieschang 2017; Auch 2017; Wołoszyn 2018; Buko 2019; Buko 2022; Musin, Wołoszyn 2019; Florkiewicz *et al.* 2020; Dzieńkowski *et al.* 2020; Dzieńkowski 2021; Skrzyńska 2021; Auch *et al.* 2023.

published in 2019, they do not close discussion on the political and cultural importance of this borderland center but rather inspire further detailed analyses⁴.

This was the goal of the research presented here, focused on the form, spatial evolution, and cultural patterns of the medieval ducal residence in Chełm. The conclusions are of exceptional interest since they indicate the presence of the oldest Western European motte-type fortification in Rus', instead of a "classic" East Slavonic stronghold with monumental buildings, as the site has been interpreted so far⁵. The complex of stone, wood, and brick buildings, including the donjon and chapel, erected on an artificial mound and surrounded by fortifications, emerged in the border of western Rus' in the first half of the 13th century, at the earliest. Such an unusual architectonic form of the residence, referring to Western European patterns, as well as its relative early chronology inspire for comprehensive studies focused primarily on its broader European background⁶. Explaining this cultural phenomenon requires a broad-based approach, hence the first part of the text focuses on the most important stages of research on motte-type castles in Europe that create basis for an in-depth reflection on the genesis, development and meaning of mottes, also in relation to Rus'. The key considerations, preceded by a discussion of the archaeological and historical sources, were developed on the basis of the analysis of excavation data, i. e. the identification of motte-type features of the Chełm residence along with their European references. Comparative analysis of European formal analogies indicates, in turn, the sources of architectural patterns and influences. It must be admitted, however, that these issues have not been unequivocally resolved yet. Eventually, investigations on the spread of motte-type residences in western Rus' demonstrate how culturally inspiring the "Chełm Revolution" was⁷.

It is worth emphasizing that the conclusions drawn from the studies on the form of the Chełm residence introduce the issue of motte-type objects in Rus' into scientific circulation to a much greater extent than before, as illustrated by the state of research in Europe⁸. Undoubtedly, these interesting results should become an impulse for further research activity. It should be borne in mind that the case of Chełm discussed here is consistent with wider issues of significant cul-

tural importance, such as the migration of people and ideas, diffusion of innovations, and cultural contacts, as well as the broadly understood Westernization of Rus'⁹.

Motte in Europe

One can define a motte-type residence as a manor house typical for the 10th–15th centuries, built and utilized by representatives of various social groups – primarily knights and nobles, but also bishops, princes, and kings¹⁰. The key element of every motte was an earth mound on which the residence was located¹¹. Its major element was a wooden or brick tower, accompanied by other buildings, often sunken into the embankment for various technical reasons. The buildings were fortified with a palisade or a wall situated on the edge of the plateau. For defensive purposes, the mound was secured with a moat and occasionally additional surrounding ramparts. The outer bailey functioning together with the motte constituted its settlement and economic base. What should be emphasized here is the large number of motte-type objects, their formal repetitiveness, and their spread throughout almost all of Europe – from France, the British Isles, the Netherlands through Italy, Germany, the countries of Northern and East-Central Europe, to western Ukraine and Belarus and even further eastwards. It is sufficient to mention a mound described as a motte, discovered in Russia, in the Novgorod region¹². It should be noted, however, that the site has not been excavated yet, hence such an identification sheds understandable doubts. Over 600 mottes have been recorded in Poland. However, their number in Germany, France, and the British Isles is much higher¹³. Thanks to the images on the Bayeux Tapestry (2nd half of the 11th century), depicting fortifications in Dol, Rennes, Dinan, Bayeux, and Hastings, we can reconstruct with a certain degree of probability the oldest forms of motte-type castles (Fig. 2)¹⁴. Our notions of how such objects could have looked like, particularly the artistic ones, are complemented by paintings of great masters, such as

4 Buko 2019; Buko *et al.* 2021; Dzieńkowski 2021, 91–123; Buko 2022.

5 Dzieńkowski 2012, 371–433; Buko 2019; Rodzińska-Chorąży 2019, 209–217.

6 Hinz 1981; Dzieńkowski 2019, 121–128; 2021, 282–288; Biermann/Posselt 2022.

7 Panyshko 2016; 2019; 2022.

8 Hinz 1981; Felgenhauer-Schmiedt *et al.* 2007; Biermann/Posselt 2022.

9 Kłoczowski 1998, 12–13; Możdziej 2004; Salamon/Strzelczyk 2010; Preiser-Kapeller *et al.* 2020.

10 Hinz 1981, 11–12; Nowakowski 2017, 11–13; Biermann/Posselt 2022a, 16–21.

11 Bruand 1958, 243–265; Bouard 1973; Müller-Wille 1966; Friedrich 2007; 2012; Flambard Héricher 2002a, 87–100; Nowakowski 2017, 24–26.

12 Konetsky/Troyanovsky 2013, 233–250.

13 Müller-Wille 1966; Hinz 1981; Marshall 2007; Poisson 2007; Friedrich 2007; Marciniak-Kajzer 2011, 312 Map 1; Nowakowski 2017, 24–27; 482 Map; Biermann/Posselt 2022.

14 Rowley 2016, 20–22; 118–136; Musgrove/Lewis 2022, 156–161; Coppola 2022a, 85–108.

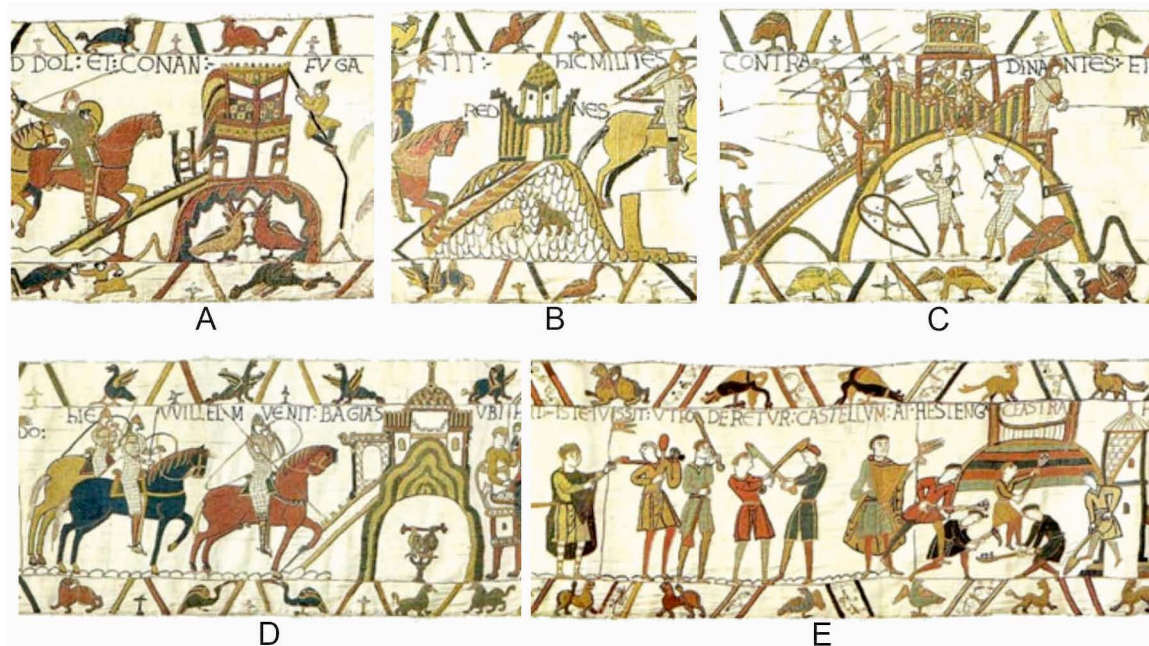


Fig. 2: Bayeux Tapestry. Fragments depicting motte structures in Dol (A), Rennes (B), Dinan (C), Bayeux (D), Hastings (E); public domain: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bayeux_Tapestry https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bayeux_Tapestry_tituli

Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528) or William Turner (1775–1851), who made them the subject of their works.

European motte-type castles were inventoried, described and studied already in the 19th century¹⁵. Works were intensified after World War II, resulting in the first classifications and syntheses of regional and European scope¹⁶. In 1980, a colloquium entitled “Les fortifications de terre en Europe occidentale du Xe au XIIe siècles”, held in Caen, brought a breakthrough in motte research. The discussion focused on the origins of the motte-type objects, their chronology and function, as well as problems with their definition. The conclusions, although spatially limited to Western Europe, were published in 1981¹⁷. In the same year, Hermann Hinz published another fundamental monograph discussing motte- and donjon-type castles in a broad European context, including also sparse data from Central and Eastern Europe, except for Ukraine and Belarus¹⁸.

The next summary was published only 25 years later in the form of a multi-author monograph discussing the state of research in particular countries and regions¹⁹.

Noteworthy, the book provides detailed data from both several Western as well as Central and Eastern European countries, including Slovakia, Hungary, the Czech Republic (Moravia), and Lithuania. Regrettably, there was a lack of information regarding Poland, Ukraine or Belarus. The title “Motte – Turmhügelburg – Hausberg” signaled the increasingly perceived formal differentiation of European fortifications²⁰. In the following years, the trans-regional research project “Die Motte – Ausbreitung eines Burgentyps an Elbe und Oder im hohen und späten Mittelalter” (2013–2017) brought groundbreaking results. The work was carried out by a team led by Felix Biermann and Norman Posselt and finished with publication issued in 2022. The research focused on selected mottes in the lowland zone of Germany and Poland²¹. Investigations on 13 objects provided a basis to determine differences in the size of mounds and types of buildings – wooden, timber frame, and masonry ones. Absolute dating acquired for some of investigated sites permit for reconstruction of the widespread emergence of a new form of defensive architecture from the Western countries from the early 13th century onwards²².

Researches carried out so far indicate that the oldest motte-type castles are located in northern and western France (Normandy, Champagne, Pays de la Loire). Their

¹⁵ Pitt-Rivers 1883, 452–453; Hinz 1981, 11–12; Higham/Barker 2004, 21–22; Nowakowski 2017, 15–30; Kernévez 2020, 40; Biermann/Posselt 2022a, 16–20.

¹⁶ Hope-Taylor 1952; Schad'n 1953; Müller-Wille 1966; Kamińska 1966; Boüard 1973.

¹⁷ Les fortifications de terre en Europe... 1981, 5–38.

¹⁸ Hinz 1981; see rev. Boüard 1982, 396–397.

¹⁹ Felgenhauer-Schmiedt *et al.* 2007.

²⁰ Kührtreiber/Reichhalter 2007, 225–248; Friedrich 2020, 2–10.

²¹ Biermann/Posselt 2022.

²² Biermann/Posselt 2022b, 432–437.

origins date back to the period between the late 10th and the mid-11th century²³. Early structures of this type, although few, are also known from the Rhineland (Husterknupp II, North Rhine-Westphalia) and the Netherlands (Zeeland)²⁴. Environmentally, mottes dominated the lowland landscape, which in all likelihood contributed to their relatively quick widespread in the areas from northern France to western Germany and the Netherlands²⁵. However, a significant increase in the number of mottes and their spread throughout Europe started only after the mid-11th century. In the following century, the number of objects with masonry buildings also increased. A specific form, called *shell-keep* emerged in the British Isles. It was comprised of mound with the buildings of its plateau surrounded by a stone wall (Oxford, Totnes, Launceston)²⁶. In the 13th century, mottes lost their importance in Western Europe, but they lasted a century or even two longer²⁷.

First motte-type castles in Central and Eastern Europe can be dated to the second half of the 13th century. It should be borne in mind, however, that this is only an arbitrary chronological “milestone” that requires verification in each particular case²⁸.

The widest spread of motte-type objects occurred in the 14th and 15th centuries. The influx of a new, Western form of fortification can be associated with colonization on the so-called German law, fortification law, the weakening of ducal power, and – although to a slightly lesser extent – with the processes of feudalization, which reached this part of Europe in a modified form²⁹. Depending on the region, mottes were in use up to the 15th–16th and even 17th centuries³⁰. They are known from Bohemia, Moravia, Hungary, Slovakia, and Poland, but also from Lithuania, Belarus and Ukraine³¹. Their forms repeated Western European patterns with local modifications³².

The brief outline of the state of research on mottes in Europe, presented above, draws a picture that is still incomplete, although rich in details regarding the construction types and their formal and topographic diversity in particular regions. Thanks to extended research, we can more precisely date the subsequent stages and directions of motte-type diffusion and analyze its social and political background. It should be noted, however, that as data from Central and Eastern Europe gradually enter scientific circulation, the territory of historical Rus’, encompassing today’s western Ukraine, Belarus, and eastern Poland, still remains *terra incognita*. The discovery of a motte-type ducal residence in Chełm, discussed here, should be an impulse for changes, stimulating both research interest and encouraging in publishing of new data from this part of Europe.

Medieval Chełm. Archaeological and historical background

Chełm emerged in the first decades of the 13th century as both ducal residence and administrative and cultural center³³. One of the key sources about its history is the *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle* – an exceptional record of the history and culture of Rus’ and neighboring countries in the 13th century. Noteworthy, the chronicle was partly written down at the Chełm court³⁴. The main narrative axis is the history of the Romanovych dynasty, hence references to Chełm – descriptions of the town and related events – are numerous³⁵.

The last two decades of archaeological investigation on medieval Chełm and – more broadly – the Chełm land can be considered a significant breakthrough. It is the effect of several years of interdisciplinary research. Their results, published in a series of articles and, primarily, in subsequent monographs, have become a vast database for studies on medieval Chełm³⁶.

Archaeological and historical sources confirm that the newly founded center became a new political quality in the Polish-Rus’ borderland. It was also a herald of the upcoming cultural changes brought by the ground-breaking 13th

23 Poisson 2007, 47–60; Biermann/Posselt 2022a, 19.

24 Friedrich 1991, 179–181; Janssen 1990, 229; Aarts 1996, 2007; De Meulemeester 2007, 30–31.

25 Biermann/Posselt 2022a, 16–20.

26 Bruand 1958, 264 ff.; Hassall 1976; Janssen 1990, 229; Dodd 2003; Poore *et al.* 2009; Higham/Barker 2004, 171–194; Orsel 2012, 281–285; Higham 2016, 13; 19; Nowakowski 2017, 23.

27 Aarts 1996, 11–23; 2007; Poisson 2007, 52–53; Friedrich 2012, 188; Biermann/Posselt 2022a, 16–20.

28 Nowakowski 2017, 7.

29 Modzelewski 1977, 71–99; Bartlett 1993, 9–10; Reynolds 1994; Dygo 2013, 667–670.

30 Kajzer 1987, 105–126; 1998, 429–439; 2016, 7–26.

31 Hinz 1981; Felgenhauer-Schmiedt *et al.* 2007; Biermann/Posselt 2022.

32 Nadolski 1985; Boguszewicz 2005; Marciniak-Kajzer 2011; Nowakowski 2017.

33 Baran 2005a; 2005b; 2006; Dąbrowski 2016; Dzieńkowski 2012; 2021, 91–123; Buko 2022.

34 Chronicle II, 77–81.

35 Chronicle I; Chronicle II; Chronicle III; Dąbrowski 2012; 2016; 2023; Jusupović 2021.

36 Dzieńkowski 2012; Buko *et al.* 2014; Buko/Gołub 2016; Buko 2019; Buko *et al.* 2021; Dzieńkowski 2021, 92–123; Buko 2022.

century³⁷. As the seat of power, Chełm played an important role in the politics of medieval Rus' for almost a century. It gained particular importance after the Mongol invasion, which stopped the development of Rus' as a state for over 200 years³⁸.

The cultural, elitist, but also innovative character of the center is evidenced by exquisite products of Rus' and Byzantine provenance, such as jewelry (gold, silver and glass), religious objects (icons, encolpions, crosses), vessels (glazed pottery, glass items, imported amphorae for wine, olive oil) and monumental residential and sacral architecture (Fig. 3)³⁹.

Chełm was founded on a calcareous hill rising from 227 to 233 m above sea level and clearly dominating the plain surroundings. In scientific and local terminology, the hill is called Cathedral Hill, Cathedral Mountain or Chełm Mountain. On the western side, the hill is surrounded by the waters of the Uherka River – a tributary of the Bug, and smaller watercourses. Apart from the hill, the settlement also occupied a zone of depressions stretching at its foot (Fig. 4).

Ducal stronghold, the bishop's seat with the cathedral church, and the bailey were located in the eastern part of the hill, taking advantage of its natural defenses. The place where the ducal residence was located is called "Wysoka Górka" (High Hillock). This artificial mound, trapezoidal in cross-section, hides relics of a multi-phase residential complex. Its height ranges from 5–7 to 10 m and the dimensions of the plateau, leveled in the 19th century, are 40 × 60 m. Its central part is occupied by the Independence Mound, erected in 1928 over the remains of the 19th-century Orthodox church of Saints Cyril and Methodius, built on the walls of a medieval residence.

The results of the research allow to determine the extent of the ducal and episcopal residence, simultaneously indicate that it was fortified and covered an area of approximately 7 ha⁴⁰. The relics constitute the oldest part of the historical complex with the currently existing buildings dated to different periods – the Basilica of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary (18th century), the bishop's palace (17th–19th centuries) and the former Basilian monastery (17th–20th centuries).

The borough, in turn, with residential and farm buildings was located in the western part of the hill and surrounded by wooden and earth fortifications⁴¹. The craft and

production district occupied the foot of the hill and covered an area of several hectares. Aforementioned elements of the oldest settlement complex were defined thanks to the archaeological research carried out since the early 20th century⁴². Given the chronology of archaeological sources, stratigraphy, and absolute dating, the emergence of medieval Chełm refers to the first half of the 13th century (1220s–1240s). Its further development continued unchanged until the town was chartered in 1392. Receiving the urban law was followed by spatial rearrangement of the entire settlement, as evidenced by the excavations⁴³. Mentions about Chełm in written sources, mainly in the *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle*, do not provide unequivocal answers to the question of its beginnings. The views of several researchers are contradictory, although the majority of them point to the 1220s–1230s. Various exact dates are proposed, ranging between 1217/1218 and 1223 or even 1238⁴⁴. It is worth noting, however, that both archaeological and historical datings are consistent, at least in general.

The image of the newly founded center outlined here deserves supplementing with the broader political context of the borderland, although limited to the most important events from the 12th and 13th centuries. The activity of Prince Roman Mstislavovich was of key importance here. In 1199 he united the principalities of Volodymyr and Halych and incorporated the upper and middle Bug River basin area. After he died in 1205, a several-year fight for the borderland broke out between the Romanovych family, the Duke of Krakow, Leszek the White, and the Hungarians⁴⁵. As a result, no later than in 1218, upper and middle Bug River basin came under the rule of Danylo and Vasylo Romanovych⁴⁶. Political stabilization that favored the dynamic development of Chełm, was interrupted by the death of Prince Danylo in 1264. This event initiated the gradual loss of Chełm political significance, although it did not stop the development of settlement⁴⁷. In 1323, after the death of the last of the Romanovych family, Bolesław Troydenovych from the Masovian Piast line took over the principality. His death in 1340 opened a period of competition for the upper and middle Bug River basin between Poland, Rus', Lithuania, and Hungary, finally ending with the annexation of the territory in question by the Kingdom of Poland in 1387⁴⁸.

42 Ibid. 2021, 37–48.

43 Dzieńkowski 2012, 450–458; Janeczek 2019, 65–69.

44 Szczygieł 1996, 29; Baran 2005a, 443; Dąbrowski 2019, 25–28.

45 Kotlyar 1985, 118 ff.; Dąbrowski 2009, 54; 2011, 81.

46 Włodarski 1966, 70; Szczygieł 1996, 27; Bartnicki 2005, 33; Dąbrowski 2009, 55; Voytovych 2015.

47 Dąbrowski 2009, 56; 2019, 36; Dzieńkowski 2021, 123.

48 Nowak 1996, 304; Dąbrowski 2009, 56; 2019, 37.

37 Bartlett 1993, 106–196; 2003, 162–193; Kłoczowski 1998, 72–85; Biermann 2012, 3–7.

38 Tolochko 1987, 167–170; Dąbrowski 2012, 117–120; 217 ff.

39 Buko 2019; Buko et al. 2021; Buko 2022.

40 Dzieńkowski 2021, 91–114.

41 Ibid. 114–120.



Fig. 3: Medieval Chełm. Religious items from the excavations: A – fragments of a soapstone icon, B – reconstruction of the icon, C – bronze icon, D – bronze reliquary cross. Stone walls of the residence from Phase 1: E–H (A–B after Buko *et al.* 2021; C–H photo by G. Zabłocki).

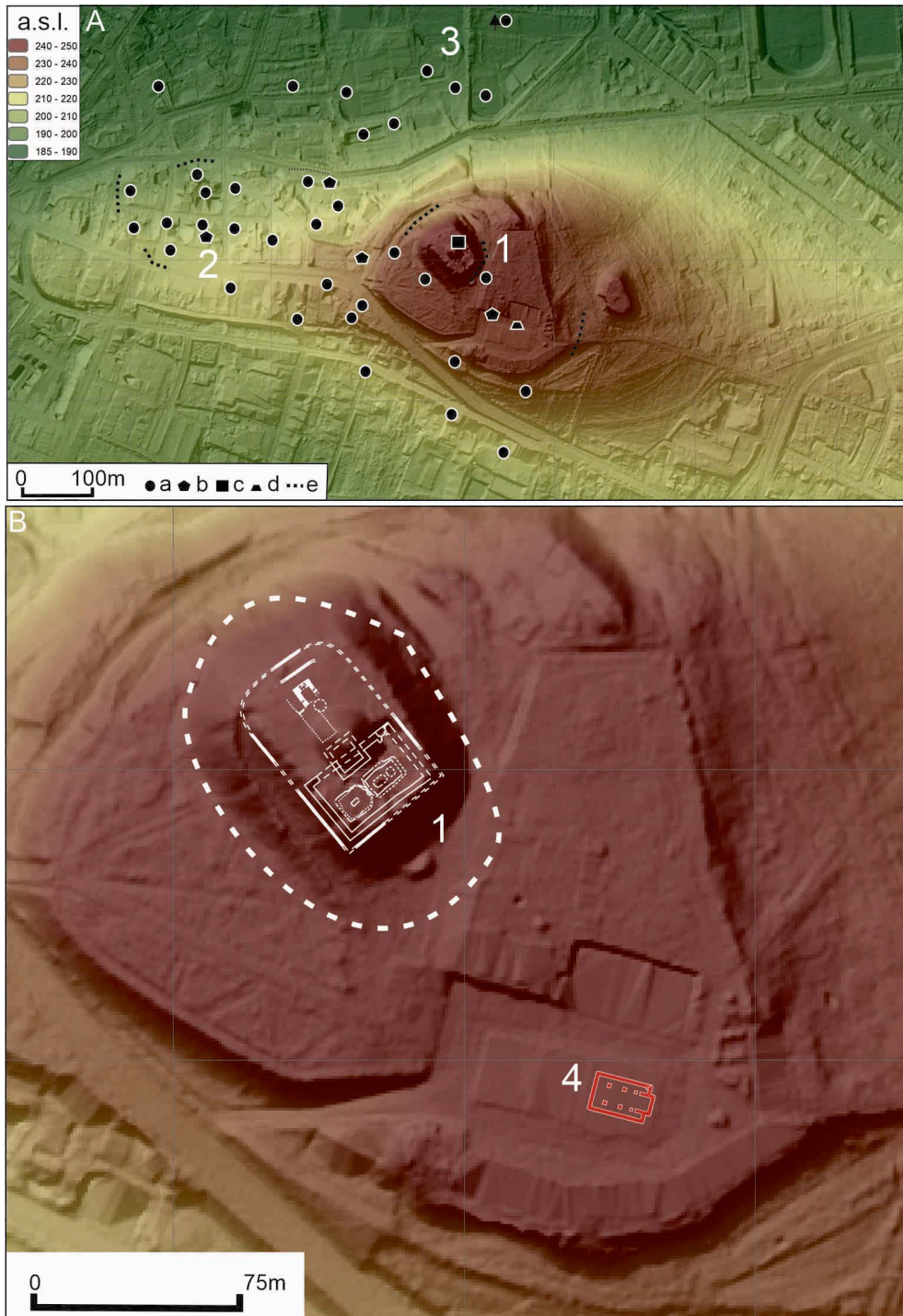


Fig. 4: Medieval settlement complex in Chełm. Digital Elevation Model of the Cathedral Hill (A) and High Hillock (B) with the location of sites: 1 – ducal residence with buildings of Phases I and II, 2 – bailey, 3 – artisans quarter, 4 – 13th-century cathedral church, a – archaeological sites, b – cemeteries, c – ducal residence, d – church, e – moats (prepared by P. Demczuk, R. Ratajczak, and T. Dzieńkowski).

Stronghold – *palatium* – *motte*. Research on the form of Chełm residence

The majority of information about the princely residence in Chełm is included in the *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle*. Among the numerous references, *The Story of the Founding, Burning, and Rebuilding of Chełm* is the crucial one from our point of view. According to Dariusz Dąbrowski: “It is the most extraordinary and valuable [...] fragment of the *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle*. It contains a huge amount of information about architecture, unique in medieval Rus’ historiography”⁴⁹. The chronicler, describing the foundation activities of Prince Danylo in Chełm, mentioned four Orthodox churches: St. John Chrysostom, located in the stronghold, Theotokos (identified as a cathedral church), and other two without a precise location – Saints Cosmas and Damian, and Saint Trinity. Secular buildings described in the chronicle include a tower in the center of the stronghold, a well, and a stone column located outside the fortification. It is worth quoting here relevant fragments of the *Chronicle*:

“[Then Danilo] built the beautiful and majestic Church of St. John. The following is [a physical description of its] structure: [There were four] vaults – one vault from each end – [which] rested on four human heads sculptured by some artist and three windows adorned with Roman glass. At the entrance to the altar there stood two pillars [made] entirely of stone which supported [another] vault. The ceiling above was decorated with gold stars against a sky-blue background, while the floor within [the church] was cast of copper and pure tin so that it shone like a mirror. Its two gates, ornamented by white cut-stone from Halych and green stone from Cholm, had engravings made by a certain artist [called] Avdej. The bas-reliefs [on them] were of all colors and of gold. On the front gate [of the church] there was [a statue of] the Saviour and on its northern gate – one of St. John so that everyone who looked [at the church] marvelled [at its great beauty. Danilo] decorated the icons, which he brought from Kiev, with precious stones, pearls, and gold. [These were] the icons of the Saviour and the Blessed Virgin which his sister Fedora gave him. He brought [other] icons from the Monastery of St. Fedor, and from Ovruc [he] brought an icon depicting the Presentation [of Our Lord at the Temple of Jerusalem which he inherited] from his father. [These icons] were magnificent to behold and [later] burned in the Church of St. John. Of [all] these magnificent icons only [the icon of] St. Michael remained. [Some of the

church] bells he brought from Kiev while others he cast on the spot, and all of these the fire burned.

In the middle of the city there was [such a] high tower that one could fire from it at the outskirts of the city. Its base up to a height of fifteen cubits was made of rocks, while it itself was built of hewn logs and painted white like cheese so that it shone from all sides. Next to it was a spring that is – a well – the depth of which was thirty-five sages. The churches [of Xolm] were beautiful, and [during the celebrations after they were built?] mead would [flow from the bonfires?] as [thick as] pitch. [Danilo] planted a beautiful orchard and built a church in honor of the blessed altruists [Saints Cosmas and Damian.] It has four columns entirely of cut-stone, which hold up the ceiling. From them other [columns lead to] the altar of St. Demetrius. As one enters, it stands facing the side doors in all its beauty. It had been brought here from distant lands. A thousand paces away from the city there is a stone column and on it an eagle also carved out of stone. The height of the stone [column] is ten cubits, but together with the top and pedestal it measures twelve cubits”⁵⁰.

Three research campaigns – from 1910–1912, 1966–1968, and 2010–2020 – were crucial for the archaeological recognition of the both Chełm settlement centre and particularly the ducal residence that is at issue here. Excavations in the early 20th century were carried out by Fedor Korallov and Petr Pokryshkin⁵¹. A well-preserved rectangular masonry building from the 13th century was discovered then, identified with the residence of Danylo Romanovych comprised of a ducal palace and the church of St. John. Inside the alleged palace, relics of two other structures were found with unclear stratigraphic position, chronology (11th–12th century or 13th century), and function (a tower or a well). The presence of a wooden-earth mound, on which masonry buildings were erected, led the researchers to the hypothesis about the existence of an older, destroyed stronghold, and even a place of pagan worship from the tribal period.

Another research campaign from the 1960s was carried out by researchers from two academic centers – the Cracow University of Technology and Maria Curie-Skłodowska University. The excavations significantly increased the scope of data, pointing to two phases of the entire complex, confirmed by stratigraphic sequences and newly discovered structures. The researchers again unearthed buildings identified with the ducal palace and the St. John’s church and discovered the relics of a tower built on the walls of the palace. The works were then extended to the northern part

⁴⁹ Dąbrowski 2023, 136.

⁵⁰ Chronicle III, 75–76; Chronicle I, 398–404; Chronicle II, 205–207.

⁵¹ Rappoport 1954, 313–323; Dzieńkowski 2021, 38.

of the hill, where brick buildings were found, and to the southern slope of the hill, where earth-wooden fortifications were uncovered. However, the functions and chronology of the structures discovered inside the palace complex were not been determined. The relationship of the palace walls to the earth embankment and wooden structures was not entirely clear, so they were again considered to be relics of a stronghold from the 11th–12th centuries⁵². Noteworthy, the excavations were carried out in the years 1966–1968, i. e., when research on the famous motte La Chapelle in Doué-la-Fontaine in France began. A year earlier, Janina Kamińska published an article about the so-called conical strongholds, thus introducing the issue of motte-type structures to a broader scientific discussion in Poland⁵³. However, the state of research on the Chełm residence and the unusual nature of its form were not conducive to putting research in this direction.

Only the third research campaign, held in recent years and headed by Andrzej Buko, yielded results that fundamentally changed the previous considerations about the residence, enriched and clarified analyses of its form, function, and chronology⁵⁴.

Before we discuss the effects of the third research campaign, it is useful to draw attention on how the relics of the residence were interpreted in the light of available historical and archaeological data. The author of the *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle* applied typical terms to describe Chełm, namely, “градъ” and “городъ”, which can be translated as fortified place, stronghold, and its diminutive “градець” – small fortification⁵⁵. He thus referred to the classic definitions of Slavonic strongholds – centers having a number of functions, from military to administrative ones. Obviously, such a general description does not provide new knowledge about the details of the residential complex in Chełm. We learn much more from the chronicler’s tale on the foundation of Chełm, describing its components – a tower and a well, a column located outside the stronghold (hence, less interesting here), and four churches, including one within the residence⁵⁶. This mention was most often interpreted as a description of a powerful, well-fortified town with numerous residential and religious buildings⁵⁷.

The image of the residence that stems from the *Chronicle* was modified thanks to the archaeological research of both Petr Pokryshkin and – particularly – Wiktor Zin. The

concept of a 13th-century ducal *palatium* emerged – a large stone building on a rectangular plan with an area of approximately 800 m² (22 × 38 m), connected to a chapel located in the eastern part, identified with St. John’s church⁵⁸. The tower erected in the center of the complex was dated back to the reign of Casimir the Great (14th century). The remaining buildings recorded “inside” the palace remained a mystery, both in terms of their function and chronology. Data from the northern part of the site have not been taken into considerations, apart from a general statement on the existence of buildings, their destruction, and possible economic function⁵⁹. The concept of a palace connected with a chapel persisted in the literature for quite a long time. We can guess that its authors noticed formal and functional connections with European, including early Piast’, residences of rulers⁶⁰.

On the other hand, Ukrainian and Russian researchers focused on architectural analyzes of churches mentioned in the *Chronicle*⁶¹. Extended studies also included the tower, both in terms of construction and its function, seeing it as the main defensive element of the stronghold⁶². The notion of the so-called Volyn’-type towers, including the Chełm one, defending the western border of Rus’, also deserves attention⁶³. In the late 1990s, Vasyl Petryk pointed at the castle-like nature of the complex, with a courtyard surrounded by peripheral walls and internal buildings. Such hypothesis, although unpublished, contributed much to the research direction inclining towards studies on relationships between Chełm and European (mainly Hungarian) castles, as well as crusaders fortifications in the Holy Land⁶⁴. Nonetheless, old idea of a large palace building is still developed today, although in a slightly modified form, focused on formal analogies between Chełm residence and the Byzantine empire⁶⁵.

As a result of recent research, previous interpretations were verified, and the concept of a motte-type ducal castle with Western European analogies was raised⁶⁶. Such a hypothesis was included in the research agenda, although it has not gained the status of sufficiently documented. Hence, the issue requires broader explanations⁶⁷.

52 Gurba/Kutyłowska 1970, 239.

53 Kamińska 1966, 43–78; Boüard 1973, 5–110.

54 Buko 2019; Buko 2022; Dzieńkowski 2021, 91–123.

55 Dąbrowski 2023, 136–168; 277.

56 Ibid. 136–168.

57 Gurba/Kutyłowska 1970, 234; 237; Dąbrowski 2019, 31–35.

58 Rappoport 1954, 313–323; Zin/Grabski 1967b, 725–729; Gurba/Kutyłowska 1970, 237; Buko 2019, 381–386.

59 Zin/Grabski 1967b, 726–727; Gurba/Kutyłowska 1970, 234.

60 Pianowski 1994; Binding 1996; Stala 2013, 11–40.

61 Rappoport 1982, 107–108; Antipov 2000, 104–109.

62 Antipov 2000, 107–108; Petryk 2003, 119–127.

63 Rappoport 1952, 1967; Kutyłowska 1997, 59–72; 2005, 149–160.

64 Pringle 1998, 187–191; Buko 2019, 391–393; Rodzińska-Chorąży 2019, 209–217; Buko 2022, 680–682.

65 Buko 2014, 143; 2019, 393.

66 Dzieńkowski 2019, 123–125.

67 Buko 2019, 392; 2022, 680; Rodzińska-Chorąży 2019, 216.

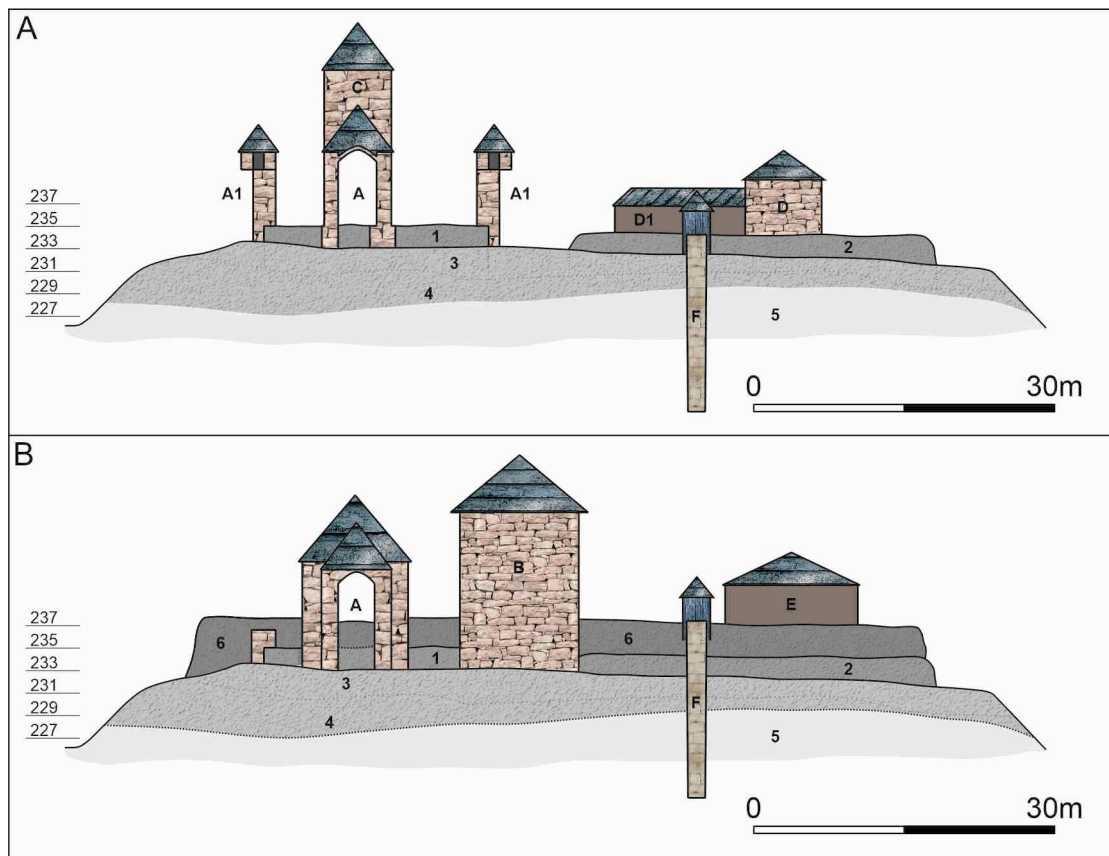


Fig. 5: Ducal residence in Phase I (A) and II (B). A–E – buildings, F – well; 1–2 – Phase I embankments, 3 – stone earthen platform, 4 – transitional zone between the platform and the bedrock, 5 – bedrock, 6 – Phase II embankments (A1 – stone wall, A – building identified with the church of St. John Chrysostom, B – donjon, C–D – tower, D1–E – wooden buildings, prepared by R. Ratajczak, T. Dzieńkowski).

Ducal residence in Chełm as a motte-type castle: construction phases and structure

The princely seat in Chełm functioned in the course of the 13th and 14th centuries. Given archaeological data, two chronological phases have been separated. Phase I starts with building of the residence, includes a short period of its occupation and finishes with a construction disaster. Phase II refers to the rebuilding process and further functioning of the entire complex. Later architectural changes were minor and limited only to the main buildings⁶⁸. It has to be stressed already at the outset that the Chełm residence was not a “classic” stronghold with an earth-wooden ramparts, but a structure with a deliberate form, unquestionably progressive both for those times and the entire region (Fig. 5). It is therefore necessary to discuss the most important ele-

ments that clearly confirm its interpretation as a motte-type castle.

The residential complex of Phase I was planned as bipartite, comprising of two mounds, northern and southern, 4–5 m high, with buildings erected on their tops. Both segments were surrounded by a dry and deep moat and communicated with each other by a bridge. Given on the differences in buildings form and construction, we can assign residential and economic functions to particular mounds.

The northern mound was build of earth, wood and stones. It was 4–5 m high, had a rectangular plan with dimensions of 25–27 × 33–35 m, while the area on its top, dedicated for buildings measured 750–800 m². On the *plateau*, in its central part, a stone construction was erected, with foundations placed directly on an embankment. Probably, the lack of stable foundations caused the disaster during construction works and, as a result, henceforth the building was not completed. Another structure (D) in the form of a tower and dimensions of 5 × 5 m was built in the same place, mounted also on the embankment. In order to obtain greater stability, the tower was built on a wooden frame re-

⁶⁸ Dzieńkowski/Petryk 2019, 95–120.

inforced with a stone wall. It was lighter, more resistant to embankment deformations, and spread the weight evenly. Constructional solutions of this type were quite common in medieval architecture⁶⁹. Next to the tower, a residential building (D1) with a wooden structure and a well (F) were built. The remains of a palisade or a fence/rampart were located on the edge of the mound. Wooden poles from the bridge that connected the northern mound with the southern one were also documented (Fig. 5, 6).

The southern part of the complex (S), with dimensions of 22.5 × 33 m, occupied an area of approximately 750 m². Its architectural form – a modification of motte-type objects and early castles – can be described as innovative for Central and Eastern Europe. A group of stone and wooden buildings was located on an earth mound surrounded by a defensive wall. In the first stage, two stone buildings were erected – a chapel (A) and a tower (C). Both of the constructions were built at the same time. They are located on the long axis of the complex and founded on stable ground. Stratigraphic and architectonic analyses indicate that the construction of both buildings preceded creating a mound surrounding them. The embankment was reinforced by an external stone wall, which served both constructional and defensive functions. Both the techniques applied to buildings' foundations and the mound construction described above are widespread among motte-type objects with stone and wooden buildings all over Europe, e. g., Doué-la-Fontaine (France), Goltho (England), or Plemięta (Poland)⁷⁰. Only the external wall finds but a few analogies, among others in Farnham (England) or Borssele (Netherlands)⁷¹, discussed below.

Such constructional solutions did not prevent the residence from collapsing, although we do not know to what extent it was due to external reasons (siege, fire) or technical issues.

Whatever the reason, the complex of Phase I was destroyed quite quickly. The excavations documented the collapse of the south-eastern wall of the mound S, as well as the destruction of the buildings E–F and then of the buildings D and D1 in the northern part, evidenced by a fallen wall and traces of conflagration. This forced the rearrangement of the entire complex. In Phase II, the concept of a motte-type residence was maintained, although some radical technical alterations were introduced. The northern and southern parts were connected by filling the space between them. Then the occupational level was raised by 2–3 m, thus ob-

taining a larger area for buildings, approximately 0.3 ha. In the central part of the residence, a stone-and-wooden tower (donjon) with dimensions of 11 × 12 m was erected. Its foundations were placed on stable ground (building B; Fig. 5B). The above-ground walls of building A were also rebuilt. The remaining buildings documented on the mound had a wooden structure. A huge wooden palisade was constructed on the edge of the mound and its slopes were reinforced with wooden boxes placed above the relics of the external stone wall form Phase I and filled with rubble from the bedrock.

The features described above, such as embankments and constructions (towers and buildings, less often a chapel and a well) as well as a palisade and a moat, can be regarded as typical elements of residences called motte (Fig. 5–8). It is obvious that objects of this type built in the 13th century differed from their prototypes from the 11th century. It is sufficient to mention both unusual structure of the southern mound with an external wall surrounding it, along with the location of the residence on a high hill instead of the lowland.

Ducal motte in Chełm. Analysis of its principal characteristics

Research on the motte-type objects from the Polish-Rus' borderland, i. e., today's eastern Poland, western Ukraine, and Belarus, which remained under the rule of Rus' princes in the Middle Ages, is particularly interesting for several reasons. Both the issue of the reception of cultural and architectural patterns from Western Europe in Rus' and the hitherto neglected question of the spread of the motte castles in Eastern Europe are among the principal ones⁷². The case of Chełm appears to be crucial here – the discovery of a motte-type princely residence with early chronology and Western European analogies, as well as discernible diffusion of this type of construction further east, allows to trace how this process developed and how new patterns could quickly adapt in such a “foreign” environment.

The motte-type residential complex of Phase I in Chełm encompassed two mounds – the northern one with brick and wooden buildings and the southern one, reinforced with a wall, with internal stone buildings (Fig. 7). It was replaced by a single earth mound of Phase II, with stone and wooden buildings on its top (Fig. 8).

⁶⁹ Binding 1977, 69–77.

⁷⁰ Boüard 1973; Beresford 1987, 85–100; Nadolski 1985.

⁷¹ Hinz 1981, 42–43 ff.

⁷² Hinz 1981, Catalogue, 161–163; Felgenhauer-Schmiedt *et al.* 2007; Biermann/Posselt 2022a, 16–20.



Fig. 6: Excavations of the ducal residence in Chełm in the 2010–2018. A–B – general view on the hill, B – excavated area; C, F – walls of A1 building; D–E, G – construction details of Phase 1 mound (photo by P. Bakun, M. Bogacki, T. Dzieńkowski).

A comprehensive analysis of the residence requires commentary on the most significant parameters, such as the plan, the height of the mound and the size of its occupational area, the bipartite structure, the presence of a bailey, as well as data on the topography of the complex, the structure of the mound and analogies. Such criteria are present in each classification of the motte-type objects and enable comparative analysis against a broader European background⁷³.

The mounds from Phases I and II are built on a rectangular plan with rounded corners. Such a form distinguishes them from the most numerous circular or oval structures⁷⁴. This does not mean, however, that this regular plan was unknown. Research on mottes in the Rhineland revealed that approximately 18% of them had a quadrangular or similar outline⁷⁵. Among them, sites in Dinslaken, Bensberg and Lürken (North Rhine-Westphalia) are worth mentioning here⁷⁶. The motte in Alt-Radmannsdorf (Austria) also deserves attention. Its mound was built on a square plan with a side length equal to 20 m. Two phases of occupation, dating back to the 11th–13th and 13th–15th centuries, have been distinguished⁷⁷. Much more examples can be given, among them motte in Neuendorf (Brandenburg), recently excavated⁷⁸. The spread of the quadrilateral form of mounds is probably contingent on the development of brick architecture. Such a phenomenon refers to the younger phase of motte evolution, dated to the 13th and 14th–15th centuries. In Polish lands, Silesia can serve as an example. As many as 44% of Silesian motte-type objects had a quadrangular or square-like shape⁷⁹.

The height of the mound is a useful criterion to assess both the state of preservation and the amount of effort and resources necessary to build it, and thus may reflect the social status of the owner⁸⁰. An unusual example of large-scale investment are so-called *shell-keeps* – huge structures known from the British Isles (e. g. Launceston, Oxford), France (Gisors), or the Netherlands (Leiden), with mounds up to 30 m high⁸¹. The majority of researchers assume that the erection of mounds 10 m high and above required significant resources, hence such constructions can be attributed to ducal families and aristocracy. Several metric classifications can be found in the literature. In 1959, Dereck F.

Renn proposed a simple distinction between large and small mounds, whereas Michael Müller-Wille introduced a more detailed three-stage division – up to 5 m, 5–10 m, and above 10 m⁸². In turn, Reinhard Friedrich, working on data for motte mounds from the Rhineland, distinguished the following ranges: less than 2.5 m (117 objects), between 2.5 and 5 m (79 objects), from 5 to 10 m (24 objects), over 10 m (12 objects)⁸³. These data also reflect general trends in the region, namely the mass construction of small and medium-sized mounds that include a total of 196 objects with a height of up to 5 m. It is worth adding that, contrary to appearances, a relatively modest height of the mounds does not undo their defensive value⁸⁴. Embankments with height reaching up to 10 m and even more constitute a significantly smaller group (36 objects). This is to stress once more that the construction of such huge and stable mounds, sufficient to support stone or wooden buildings, was quite a difficult task, successful only when the founder (usually a magnate, prince, or king) had appropriate funds.

In 2017, Dominik Nowakowski submitted a classification more adequate for both Central Europe and the 13th–14th centuries, when a tendency to reduce the size of the mounds becomes visible⁸⁵. The data from Silesia indicate that the height of the small mounds reached up to 2 m (105 objects), the medium ones – from 2 to 4 m (104), and the large ones – over 4 m (31). The latter are regarded as ducal and episcopal foundations⁸⁶. Statistics from both Rhineland and Silesia reveal a clear predominance of small and medium-sized mounds and a noticeable although small group of the large ones. The tendency to reduce the height of the embankments in the 13th century and later is also noticeable.

In the case of Chełm, the situation is much more complex. Taking into account the earth embankment (up to 4–5 m) along with the ground structure (the so-called levelling platform, 2–3 m high), we would obtain a total height of approximately 6–7 m in Phase I. During the rebuilding of the complex in Phase II, the mound was raised by 2–3 m, which gives a total height of approximately 8–10 m. In the 2019 publication, the authors mainly referred to the height of the earth embankment without taking into account aforementioned “levelling platform”, hence the differences⁸⁷. The data indicate that, along with the extensive structure of the ground, stabilized with stones and capable of supporting a huge embankment, the parameters of the Chełm motte cor-

⁷³ Renn 1959, 106; Müller-Wille 1966, 7–8; Zadora-Rio 1985, 191–196; Nowakowski 2017, 91–100.

⁷⁴ Müller-Wille 1966, 8–9; Hinz 1981, 22; Biermann/Posselt 2022a, 16.

⁷⁵ Müller-Wille 1966, 8–9; Friedrich 2002, 106; 2007, 90.

⁷⁶ Müller-Wille 1966, 31; 57–58; 84–85.

⁷⁷ Gutjahr/Tiefengraber 2007, 191; 196.

⁷⁸ Biermann/Posselt 2022b, 433.

⁷⁹ Nowakowski 2017, 97.

⁸⁰ Friedrich 2007, 96.

⁸¹ Higham 2016, 13.

⁸² Renn 1959, 106–112; Müller-Wille 1966, 7.

⁸³ Friedrich 2002, 103–106.

⁸⁴ Nowakowski 2017, 97, footnote 490; Biermann/Posselt 2022b, 362.

⁸⁵ Nowakowski 2017, 97–98.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Dzieńkowski/Petryk 2019, 102; Dzieńkowski 2021, 285.

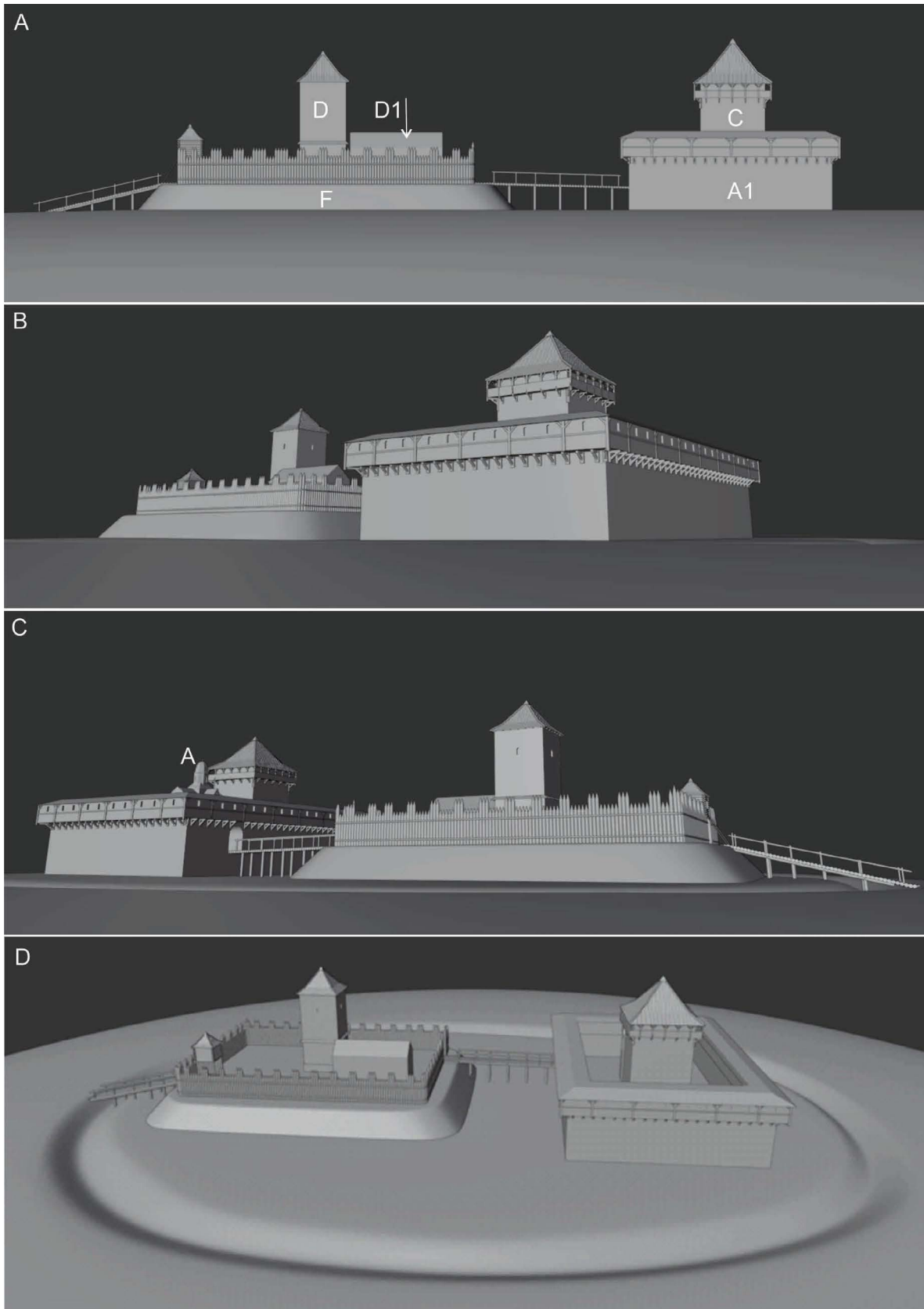


Fig. 7: Chełm, Poland. Residence of Phase I, 3D models. Southern mound: A1 – stone wall, A – building identified with the church of St. John Chrysostom. Northern mound: D – stone-brick tower, D1 – wooden building, F – embankment (prepared by T. Dzieńkowski and G. Więcek).

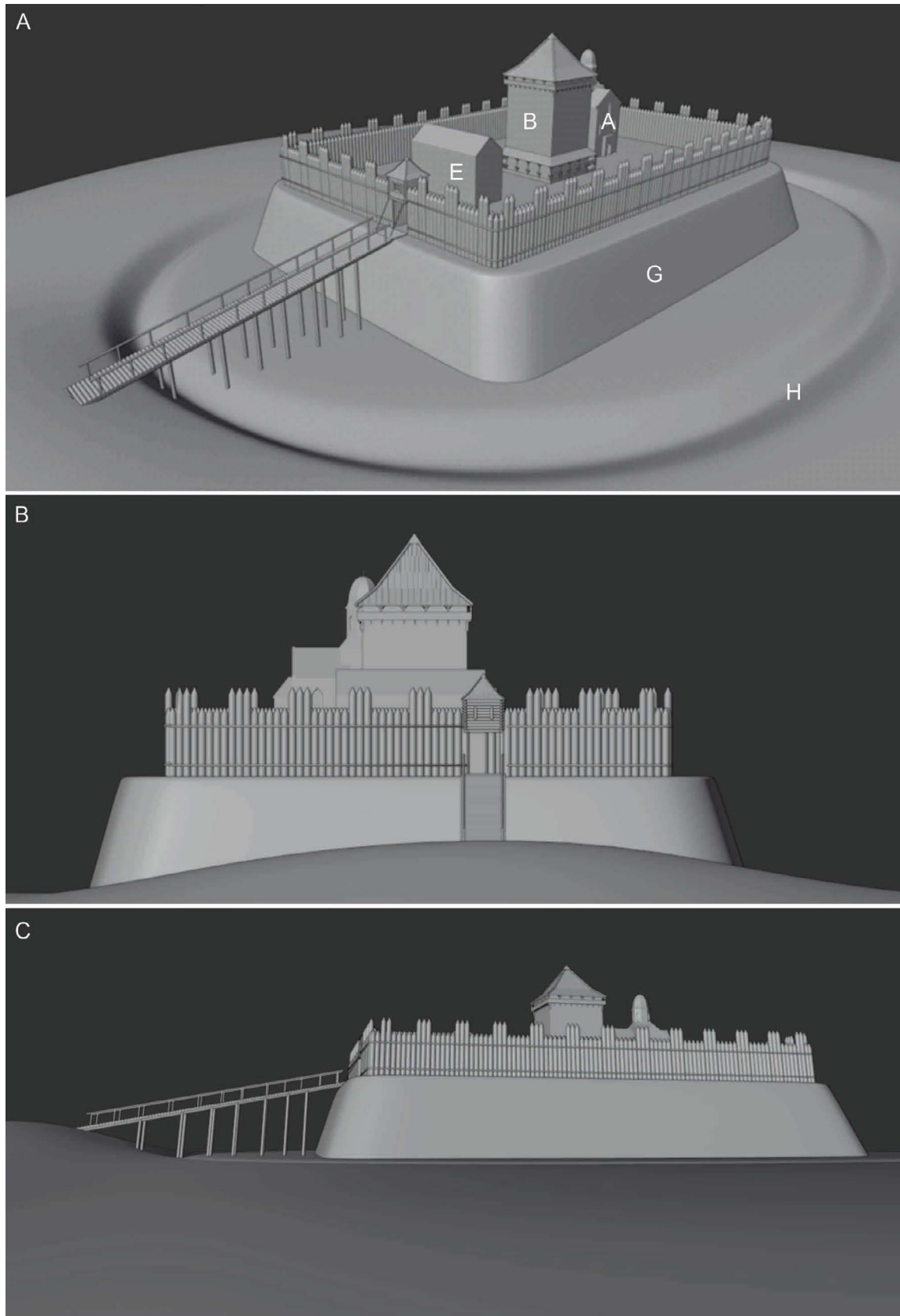


Fig. 8: Chełm, Poland. Residence from Phase II, 3D models: A – building identified with the church of St. John Chrysostom, B – tower/donjon, E – wooden building, G – embankment, H – moat (prepared by T. Dzieńkowski and G. Więcek).

respond – in both classifications discussed above – with the groups of medium and high mounds⁸⁸. Given the data from Central and Eastern Europe, the mounds of Phases I and II in Chełm distinguish themselves by their significant height, which is another argument for connecting such huge complexes with ducal or high nobility foundations⁸⁹.

The size of the plateau of the Chełm mound is also an important parameter. In Phase I it counted approximately 1,400 m², in total for the N and S mounds. It was more than doubled after the rebuilding in Phase II, reaching 2,400–3,000 m². Such values are consistent with the size of other European mottes⁹⁰.

Evaluation of the parameters of the mound, both height and surface, gives a basis to calculate the amount of earth needed for construction. Hence, the question arises whether it could have been taken from the moat that usually surrounded the fortification and how much time it took to complete the construction works. Such issues were discussed, among others, by Anne-Marie Flambard Héricher and Neil Phillips. Calculations for the mound in Bretoncelles (3 284 m³) indicate that the amount of soil obtained from the moat (4 545 m³) was sufficient⁹¹. In the case of Chełm, the results are similar. The N and S mound from Phase I with a total volume of approximately 9 978 m³ could be constructed with the use of earth taken from the moat (approximately 11 800 m³ with a moat depth of 5 m). Such a calculation can be confirmed by observations of the layers of both mounds composed of typical marly rubble. The need to acquire additional amounts of building material probably arose during the reconstruction works in Phase II, when the entire complex was raised and enlarged. The stratigraphy of the mound points to the use of rubble from demolished walls, while the presence of silty layers indicates the deepening of the moat. Noteworthy, Neil Phillips, comparing data from several sites in Wales, proved that the volume of earth obtained thanks to digging a moat was not always sufficient for mound, which suggests the necessity for additional exploitation of the immediate surroundings⁹².

The duration of the construction works is another interesting question. It is to stress here that, despite its dependence on various factors, the simplicity and relatively fast pace of works can be considered as the most characteristic features of the motte-type objects. Such quality was attributed to the mottes depicted on the Bayeux Tapestry, built

during the conquest of England by William the Conqueror⁹³. It is also confirmed by both experimental archeology and historical data. According to R. Roseff (2003), a typical motte with a diameter of 30 m and a height of 2 m could be built in 25 days by 50 workers⁹⁴. O'Connor (1993, 67) estimates time necessary to build such a structure at 42 days⁹⁵.

In the case of Chełm, the pace of the construction works is hard to estimate without detailed technical analyses, whereas stratigraphical data and relative chronology indicate that the building of the entire complex did not take a long time⁹⁶.

Among other features, the bipartite structure of the complex in Phase I, with a distinct division between residential-sacral area and outbuildings, is also noteworthy. It is not typical for motte castles, as indicated by only a few analogies documented so far. Additionally, a specific problem is the proper functional identification of a particular part of a given complex, not sufficiently reliable if not confirmed by excavations. Examples include, among others, castles in Duivelsberg in Netherlands and Elmendorf in Lower Saxony. The motte in Duivelsberg is identified with the historic Mergelpe. It is accompanied by a little mound, interpreted as a barrier and described as *motte-barrage*⁹⁷. And this military function is most often cited. In turn, bipartite structures with a division into a residence and outbuildings (so-called *doppelmotte*) are known from the Netherlands, Germany (e. g. Elmendorf, mentioned above), and a few also from Poland. Among Silesian mottes, the share of such structures reaches 9 %⁹⁸.

The majority of motte-type objects was accompanied by baileys. This was also the case of Chełm, as evidenced by houses and farm buildings registered on an area of 3–4 ha, adjacent to the residence on the mound⁹⁹. The bailey also encompassed a sacral part – with the bishop's seat and Orthodox Theotokos cathedral. Relics of the aforementioned church have been recently discovered under the 18th-century basilica¹⁰⁰.

The geographical location of the Chełm residence differs from the typical one, usually in the lowlands or valleys. In the case of Chełm, the motte was built on a chalk

88 Müller-Wille 1966, 7; Nowakowski 2017, 97.

89 Hinz 1981, 18.

90 Müller-Wille 1966, 8; Felgenhauer-Schmiedt 2007, 168–169.

91 Flambard Héricher 2002b, 125–127.

92 Phillips 2004, 49–50.

93 Armitage 1912, 87–88; Hinz 1981, 23; 35; Rowley 2016, 20–22; 118–136; Musgrove/Lewis 2022, 253–254; Coppola 2022a, 93.

94 Roseff 2003, 25 after Phillips 2004, 47.

95 O'Connor 1993, 67 after Phillips 2004, 48; De Meulemeester 2007, 31.

96 Dzieńkowski 2019, 121–129; Dzieńkowski 2021, 279–283; Demczuk *et al.* 2016.

97 Aarts 2012, 8–9.

98 Heine 2007, 61–84; Nowakowski 2017, 97.

99 Dzieńkowski 2021, 272.

100 Buko/Gołub 2016.

hill dominating the area. Nonetheless, one can point to a significant group of objects with an upland location from France, Austria, Germany, and Poland, just to mention: Brandes in the Alps (France), Gars am Kamp (Austria), Hünenburg (Germany), Janowiec, Pieszyce (Poland)¹⁰¹. Apparently, in the 13th century the choice of site was more dependent on local environmental conditions and to a lesser extent referred to the tradition of a lowland location. The upland position increased defensive values, but also had an important symbolic meaning, relating to power and political strength¹⁰².

The structure of the mounds and buildings are two key elements of the complex. Such issues have already been discussed above, and now focus should be put on selected details and examples of analogous objects.

Whereas the northern mound of Phase I was a typical embankment composed of sedimentary material, with wooden and brick buildings erected on its top, the southern part does not comply with standard solutions, given the external stone wall. However, the building process itself did not differ significantly from the construction of a classic motte. It started by placing the foundations of the tower and chapel on solid ground. In the next stage, buildings were surrounded by an embankment and a stone wall erected simultaneously, as evidenced by stratigraphic data. Such construction technique was applied for stone structures requiring stable ground, although it was also used for wooden or timber-frame buildings. European examples of analogous solutions are numerous, e. g., Farnham, Phase I (England), Diest (Netherlands), or German motte in Elmen-dorf, Schulenburg, Krepe, Hoppenrade, Neuendorf, Schöna, and Dittersbach¹⁰³. In Poland, one can point to, among others, Siedlątków¹⁰⁴. Analogous method of construction is depicted on the Bayeux Tapestry in a scene presenting the Hastings motte¹⁰⁵.

In turn, external wall surrounding the mound can be considered an innovative solution. Among technical reasons that would explain such action, strengthening the stability of the mound to prevent destruction appears to be the primary one. Military and symbolic premises also come to the fore, more so that they are bound to the evolution of the motte-type fortifications toward castle complexes¹⁰⁶.

Archaeological excavations reveal traces of various methods for the reinforcement of mounds. Relics of wooden structures discovered at the foot of many embankments indicate the use of wooden palisade surrounding the mound. Such elements have been documented, among others, in Brüggen and Kippekausen (North Rhine-Westphalia, Germany)¹⁰⁷. A stone or turf sheath covering the embankment was registered at many sites, e. g., in England (Goltho) and Denmark¹⁰⁸. Analysis of depictions of mottes in Rennes and Hastings on the Bayeux Tapestry points to the existence of such reinforcements in both mounds¹⁰⁹ (cf. Fig. 2B, E). An external stone wall was documented at several sites, the best analogies come from Borssele (Berg van Troye, Zeeland, Netherlands), Ghent (East Flanders, Belgium), Farnham (England) and San Marco Argentano (Calabria, Italy; cf. Fig. 9, 10). In all the above-mentioned cases, the construction of the wall was related to the subsequent stage in the development of the complex.

Currently, the Borssele mound is approximately 6.5 m high and 50 m in diameter at the base. In the first Phase (11th–12th centuries), such parameters were much smaller (3.3 m high). At that time, a small wooden tower on a stone foundation occupied its plateau¹¹⁰.

Subsequent rearrangements (Phase II–IV) resulted in raising the mound to a height of 7.1 m. Around 1200 a surrounding brick wall was erected¹¹¹ (Fig. 9). It is interpreted as a barrier stabilizing and protecting the embankment, additionally reinforced with buttresses. The construction of the castle is attributed to the Borssele family¹¹². Excavations conducted in 1946 and 1958–1960, as well as sondages in 2001, confirmed the course of the wall, its parameters, and location of the buttresses¹¹³. The structure designed in this way was technically stable and protected the mound from destruction. Additionally, a relatively large width of the wall, equal to 1.9 m, indicates its defensive function. Such a thesis is supported by the height of the fortifications, which probably reached several meters above the top of the mound (over 7 m). Thus, the construction could serve as both a retaining and defensive wall.

In Ghent, at Gravensteen Castle, excavations revealed that already in the 12th century the mound was surrounded by a stone wall, similar to Borssele¹¹⁴. It is assumed that

¹⁰¹ Felgenhauer-Schmiedt *et al.* 2007; Nowakowski 2017, 40–50.

¹⁰² Poisson 2007, 53; Aarts 2007, 37; Nowakowski 2017, 31; 38–40.

¹⁰³ Thompson 1960, 84; Hinz 1981, 35–36; De Meulemeester 2007, 32; Friedrich 2007, 90; Biermann/Posselt/Stephan 2022, 55; 65; 115; Biermann/Posselt 2022c, 124.

¹⁰⁴ Kamińska 1966; 1968; Hinz 1981, 36; Nowakowski 2017, 40–50.

¹⁰⁵ Musgrove/Lewis 2022, 328 No. 45; 46.

¹⁰⁶ Friedrich 2007, 90; Janssen 1990, 233–240.

¹⁰⁷ Hinz 1981, 42–43.

¹⁰⁸ Beresford 1987, 85–110; Everson 1990, 9–14.

¹⁰⁹ Hinz 1981, 35; Musgrove/Lewis 2022, 160; 328 No. 18, 45.

¹¹⁰ Braat 1957, 70–71; 1961, 129–131.

¹¹¹ Braat 1961, 133 ff; Heeringen van *et al.* 2007, 166–171.

¹¹² Braat 1961, 141.

¹¹³ Braat 1961, 133–144; Heeringen van *et al.* 2007, 166–171.

¹¹⁴ De Meulemeester 2007, 32.

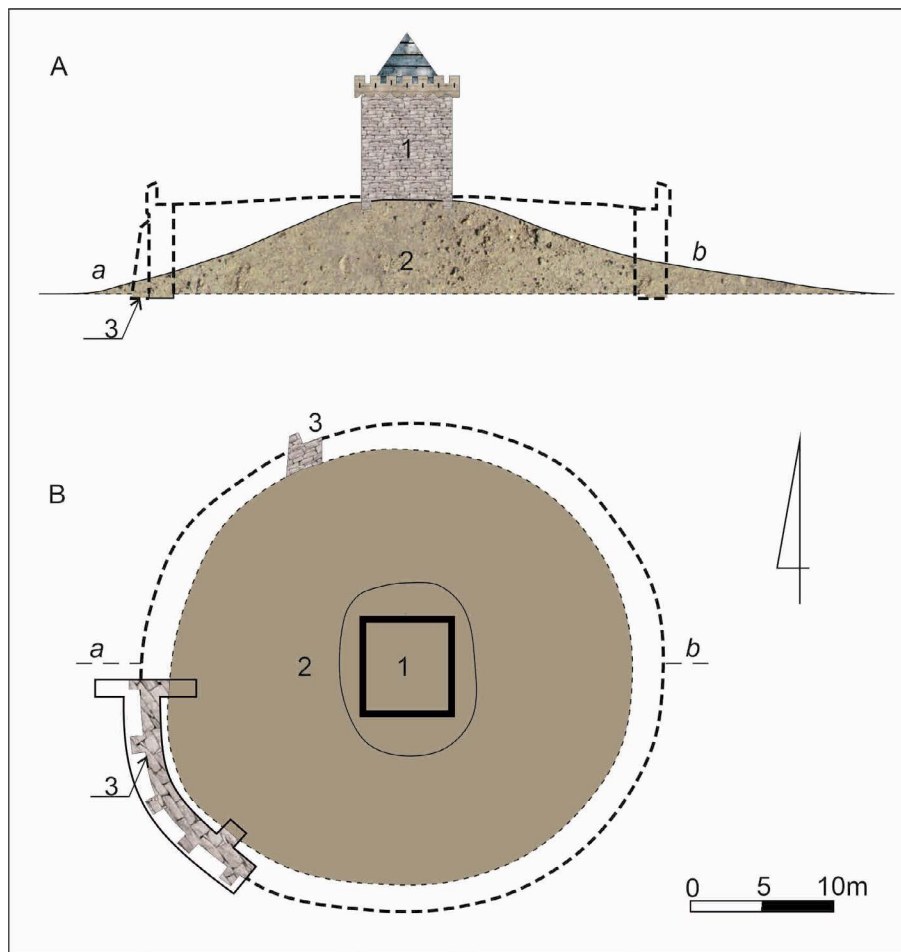


Fig. 9: Motte in Borssele (Netherlands) with a wall surrounding the mound: A – cross-section, B – plan, 1 – tower, 2 – mound of Phase I, 3 – wall (after Braat 1957, Fig. 18; Braat 1961, Fig. 4; redrawn by R. Ratajczak and T. Dzieńkowski).

it was erected during the rebuilding of the fortification carried out around 1180 by Philip of Alsace (1143–1191), Count of Flanders¹¹⁵. Construction works included leveling the mound, raising the ground level and building a defensive wall. According to Johnny De Meulemeester, this rebuilding documents the evolution of the motte into a regular castle¹¹⁶.

Motte in Farnham, excavated in the 1960s, can serve here as a particularly interesting example¹¹⁷. In the first phase, a tower was built on solid ground, then surrounded by a hardened mound. Only in the next stage, dated to the late 12th–early 13th century, an external wall of defensive and stabilizing function was erected (Fig. 10)¹¹⁸. Both the description of the wall and published drawings indicate its considerable width of up to 3–3.5 m and height, preserved up to 13 m. The outer façade had a stepper cross-section, widening downwards, which may evidence subsequent

stages of construction. The inner façade was, in turn, vertical. The foundation level of the wall was not unearthed from the inside, thus its connection with the embankment remains unrecognized, although according to the descriptions, both structures represent different building phases.

Regrettably, the motte in Farnham has not been excavated to an extent that allows answering the majority of research questions¹¹⁹. Construction phases, their chronology based on written sources, and the founder are still debatable¹²⁰. The principal researchers agree, however, that the wall discussed here was added to an already existing mound in the 12th–13th centuries. Furthermore, analysis of the construction detail points to the differences between Farnham and other *shell-keep* castles with a perimeter wall on the edge of the mound and justifies its separate classification¹²¹. Nicholas Riall also rises an interesting question. In his opinion, if we recognize the Bishop of Blois as the

¹¹⁵ Ibid. 32; Laleman 2010, 229–230.

¹¹⁶ De Meulemeester 1983, 210; 215–216.

¹¹⁷ Thompson 1960; 1961; 1967.

¹¹⁸ Thompson 1960, 83 Fig. 28; Riall 2003, 122; 128.

¹¹⁹ Riall 2003, 127.

¹²⁰ Thompson 1960, 83–84; Riall 2003, 128.

¹²¹ Davis 2013.

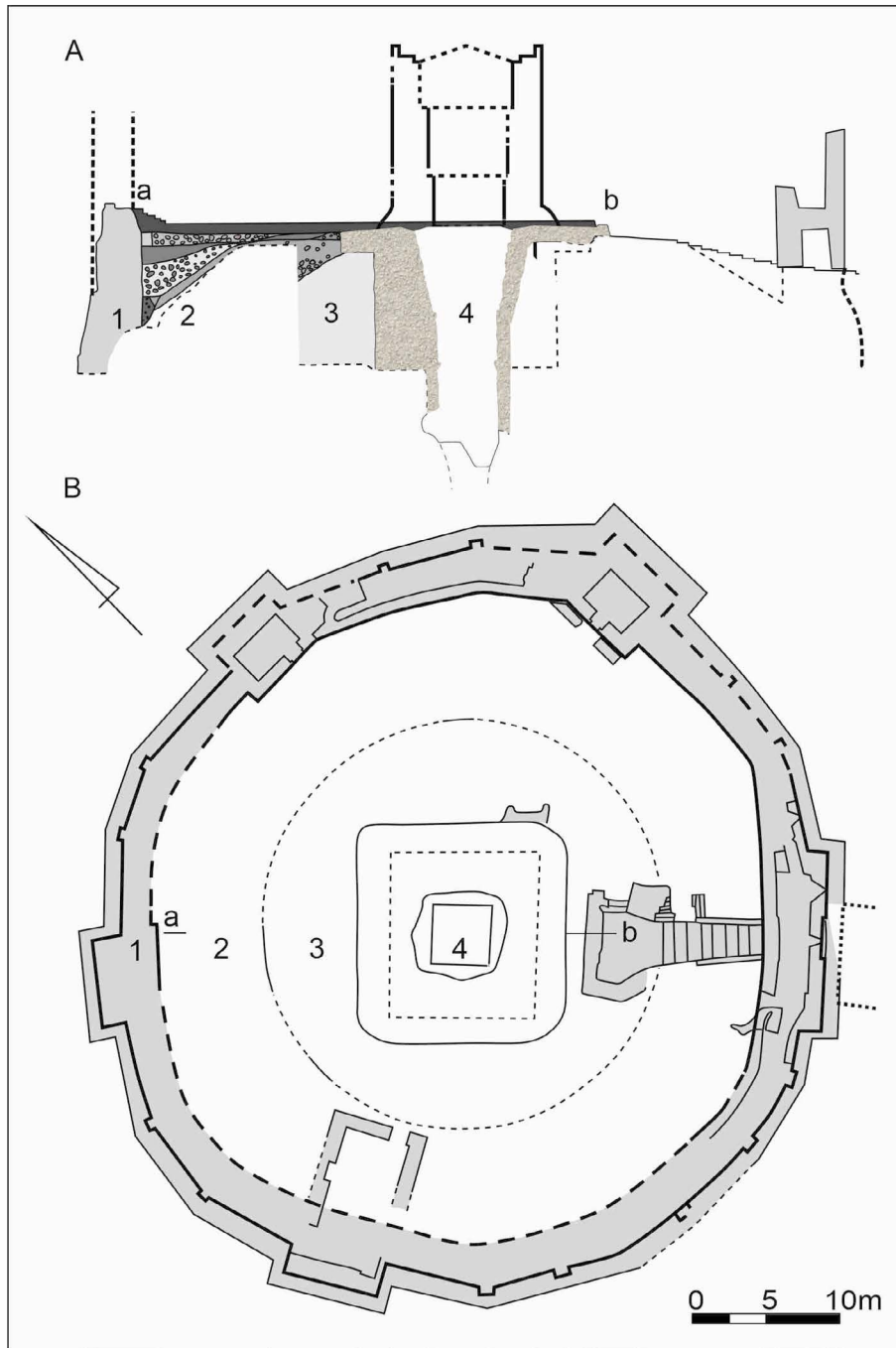


Fig. 10: Motte in Farnham (England) with a wall surrounding the mound. 1 – perimeter wall, 2 – mound from 12th–13th century, 3 – mound from 11th century, 4 – tower with a well (after Thompson 1960, Fig. 27, 28; redrawn by R. Ratajczak and T. Dzieńkowski).

founder of Farnham (which is probable), we should bear in mind the clear architectural differences between the castle discussed here and other Bishop's foundations¹²².

Constructional solution similar to the examples discussed above was also applied in San Marco Argentano in Calabria (Italy). It is worth noting that this region, along with the entire southern Italy and Sicily, came under the

Norman rule in the 11th century. The conquerors implemented a new type of fortifications there, namely the motte¹²³. Both historians and archaeologists unanimously attribute the construction of the motte in Scrabla to Robert Guiscard after his arrival in Calabria¹²⁴. The construction

¹²³ Bresc 1975, 428–432; Coppola 2022a, 85–108; 2022b, 51.

¹²⁴ Noyé/Flambard-Héricher 1977, 227–246; Flambard-Héricher 1994, 89–109.

¹²² Riall 2003, 125.

of the motte in San Marco Argentano is also associated with the Guiscard family. Initially, it comprised an earth mound with a wooden tower on the top¹²⁵. Most likely in the 12th century, a masonry tower was built and the embankment was surrounded by a stone wall. Due to the lack of detailed research, it is difficult to verify data on the technique and construction of the castle. Although Italian research on the motte is developing very dynamically, the works are carried out mainly in Puglia, Abruzia, and the northern regions of the country¹²⁶.

The examples discussed above, although they cannot serve as direct analogies, prove that the construction technique characterized by the presence of an external wall surrounding the mound was known and applied in various regions of Europe, from England through the Netherlands to southern Italy. Regrettably, the unsatisfactory state of research on the aforementioned objects and, consequently, the lack of stratigraphic details hinders the possibility of in-depth analysis. It is worth emphasizing, however, that the perimeter walls discussed here fulfilled both retaining and defensive functions. Constructions of this type appeared at the earliest at the end of the 12th century, and their widest spread took place in the 13th century. It is also worth adding that the fortifications of such type are perceived as transitional between a motte-type object and a regular castle¹²⁷. It must be, however, stated that the Chełm residence differs in details from the mottes described above. What needs to be emphasized is the simultaneity of the wall and the mound, the rectangular outline of the structure and the lack of earlier occupational phases¹²⁸. Other elements, such as the parameters of the wall and mound, the construction of buildings' foundations, and the form of housing, are congruent.

Interestingly, there is a lack of direct analogies from Poland or, more broadly, from Central and Eastern Europe¹²⁹.

At this point, it is worth referring to the concept pointing to the castle in Óbuda (Hungary) as the closest analogy to Chełm residential complex¹³⁰. The castle has a quadrilateral perimeter wall that surrounded the internal buildings. Given that, its general form corresponds somehow to Phase I of Chełm residence, its southern section in particular.

The main structural difference is the lack of a mound associated with the wall in Óbuda, which proves that it was not a motte-type structure and its origins should rather be referred to early castles¹³¹. It should be admitted, however, that the knowledge and state of recognition of both Hungarian mottes and castles remain modest¹³². The question of possible Hungarian influence is, however, very interesting, primarily due to the documented stay of Danylo Romanovych after his father's death at the court of King Andrew II¹³³. Similarities of some architectural details from Chełm and Óbuda are also noteworthy, as they can indicate workshop connections and inspirations of the builders of the Chełm residence (Fig. 11)¹³⁴.

Regrettably, research on architectural details from Chełm, hitherto of limited scope, has not provided an unequivocal answer on their origin. These issues still require detailed analysis¹³⁵.

Due to the atypical form, the southern section of Phase I required comprehensive and multidimensional analyses, presented above. Nonetheless, both the northern mound of Phase I and the entire complex of Phase II find analogies in the majority of European motte-type structures. Foundations of towers, chapel, and residential buildings were placed either on the top of the mound (Phase I, mound N) or solid ground and then covered with embankment (Phase II; tower and chapel). The edges of the mounds were fortified by a palisade or a rampart.

Analogies to both Phases I and II of the Chełm residence can be found throughout Europe, just to mention again: Bretoncelles (France), Lürken, Schulenburg, Krepe, Hoppenrade, Neuendorf, and Schöna (Germany), as well as Farnham, Phase I (England)¹³⁶.

It is worth emphasizing that both the exceptional parameters of the mounds (6–10 m) and the extensive architectonic program that included masonry towers, a donjon, a chapel, a well, and residential buildings point to a princely foundation unequivocally. It should be stressed once more that such a form of a residential complex has no direct analogies in Central and Eastern Europe, although we can find them in Western Europe¹³⁷.

125 Coppola 2022a, 91.

126 Forgione 2010a; 2010b; Cirelli/Noyè 2013, 69–91; Grandi *et al.* 2013, 155–166; Canzian 2013, 145–154; Redi/Forigione 2015, 198.

127 De Meulemeester 1983, 210; 215–216; Janssen 1990, 233–239.

128 Dzieńkowski/Petryk 2019, 101–109; Dzieńkowski 2021, 95–103.

129 Hašek/Unger 2007, 263–275; Feld 2007, 289–305; 2022, 337–348; Marciniak-Kajzer 2011; Nowakowski 2017; Biermann/Posselt 2022.

130 Buko *et al.* 2014; Buko 2019, 391–393; Rodzińska 2019, 215–217.

131 Altmann 1982, 232; 1999; Dzieńkowski 2021, 106–107.

132 Feld 2007; 2014; 2015; 2016; 2017; 2022, 337–348.

133 Dąbrowski 2012, 50–55.

134 Havasi 2006, 238 kat. 22; 250 25 kép.; 2015.

135 Bukowska 2019, 172; Bevez 2019, 181–194; Rodzińska 2019, 203.

136 Hinz 1981, Catalogue; Flambard-Héricher 2004, 79–97; Biermann/Posselt 2022.

137 Hinz 1981; Felgenhauer-Schmiedt *et al.* 2007.



Fig. 11: Architectural details: A – Óbuda (Węgry), B – Chełm (A – after Havasi 2006, catalogue 22, photo 25 [photo by Bence Tihanyi 2004]; B – photo by P. Pokryshkin, Archive of the Institute of the History of Material Culture, Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg).

Motte in Western Rus'

The results of the formal and functional analysis of ducal residence in Chełm are of crucial importance for research on the appearance of motte-type structures in the territory of historical Western Rus', encompassing today's eastern Poland, Ukraine, and Belarus. They prove that this is the first object of that type in the aforementioned area that can be undoubtedly dated back to the 1230s. Both the transfer of the idea and the actual investment were following the standards of that time, supported by the will and capabilities of the ruler – in this case, Prince Danylo Romanovych. The introduction of a foreign construction workshop and building a residence of a new type not only bore a symbolic meaning but also initiated a cultural revolution in the entire region. Thus, thirteenth-century Chełm, located on the western outskirts of Rus', became a transmission belt for architectural novelties, such as motte-type struc-

tures, towards the east. Verification of archaeological data indicates the spread of a new type of fortification in western Rus' as a part of the first wave inspired by the activity of Prince Danylo and, from 1264 onwards, his successors.

The presence of a new type of defensive structures in Western Rus' (also in the Bug River basin) was noticed by P. Rappoport, who introduced the term "Volyn' towers" in the literature, although he did not connect them with motte-type objects¹³⁸. Rappoport included in this group the towers in Kamyenyets (Belarus), Chortoryisk (Ukraine), Bielawin, Chełm, Stołpie, Lublin, probably Spas/Podgórze (Poland), as well as objects known only from historical sources – in Hrodna and Brest (Belarus), and alleged towers in Uhrusk,

¹³⁸ Rappoport 1952; 1967.



Fig. 12: Tower on mound in Kamienyets (Belarus; IS PAN R0000027509, IS PAN R0000027508 Kamieniec Litewski. Photo Nielubowicz 1920).

Czerniejów (Poland), L'viv and Drohobuzh (Ukraine)¹³⁹. In summary, he pointed to their defensive function and spread in Volyn', as well as possible architectural connections with Western Europe¹⁴⁰. The concept of the Western Rus' defense line was challenged 40 years later by Irena Kutyłowska, who negatively verified alleged towers in Uhrusk, Czerniejów, and Drohobuzh, and indicated problems with identification of other objects¹⁴¹. The issue of Volyn'-type towers was also discussed by Ilja V. Antipov, who interpreted them as new fortification elements "borrowed" from Poland and functioning either independently or integrated into castle and urban structures¹⁴².

From our point of view, however, this group of fortifications appears to be extremely interesting, particularly when we take into account the verification of archival data and new field research. Given new analyses, interesting conclusions can be drawn for Kamienyets and Bielawin. There is evidence of the existence of mounds surrounding both towers¹⁴³. In the case of Kamienyets, the presence of the embankment is documented by illustrations, while in Bielawin the mound is not visible today. It should be borne in mind, however, that previous research focused primarily on architectural analyses of towers and less on studies of possible mounds. Thus, our knowledge is limited¹⁴⁴. Analyses show that the brick donjon in Kamienyets was built on solid ground, and then an earth embankment was erected (Fig. 12). The chronology of both the objects is different. The

construction of the tower in Kamienyets is dated back to the 1270s–1280s (between 1275/1276–1287/1288) and is attributed to Prince Volodymyr Vasylykovich¹⁴⁵. The tower in Bielawin, in turn, has a much broader chronology between the late 13th century and the second half of the 14th century. Among the possible founders are princes Yuri Lvovich (1252–1308) and Yuri Narimuntovich (ok. 1326–1398)¹⁴⁶.

New and significant data were brought also by research carried out in the 1990s at the place called *Stolp* near Novougruz'ke (Volyn'ska oblast', Ukraine). The site is identified with the historical *Ugroves'k*, an important town mentioned in the *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle*, a seat of eparchy and monastery of St. Daniel¹⁴⁷ (Fig. 13).

Archaeological research focused on an artificial mound of quadrilateral plan with dimensions of approximately 40 × 42 m and a height of 2.5 m, which can be considered a motte-type object. In its central part, the foundations of a rectangular tower built of stone and brick were discovered. The building had dimensions of 7.4 × 9.3 m, with the width of the walls 1.5–1.7 m. The foundations reached 1.3 m into the mound and were most likely placed on a bedrock¹⁴⁸. From the east, the mound was accompanied by an artificial platform, probably the relic of a bailey. The entire complex can be dated back to the 13th century. The founder of the complex remains unknown, although the most probable is Danylo Romanovych, who began the development of *Ugroves'k*, or his son Shvarn, holding the rule after 1264¹⁴⁹. It should be

139 Ibid. 206–220.

140 Ibid. 222–223.

141 Kutyłowska 1997; 2005, 150.

142 Antipov 1998, 2012, 2000.

143 Rappoport 1952, 206; 213; Bashkov/Iov 2013.

144 Tkachou 1978, 18–22; Tkachev 1987.

145 Baran 2008–2010, 48–49; Dąbrowski 2023, 250–251.

146 Kajzer/Olszacki 2012, 192–193; Dzieńkowski 2021, 301–303.

147 Jusupović 2014; Dąbrowski 2023, 234.

148 Mazuryk *et al.* 1998; Mazuryk/Ostapiuk 2003, 54–60; Mazuryk/Panyshko 2015.

149 Jusupović 2014, 24; Dąbrowski 2023, 234.

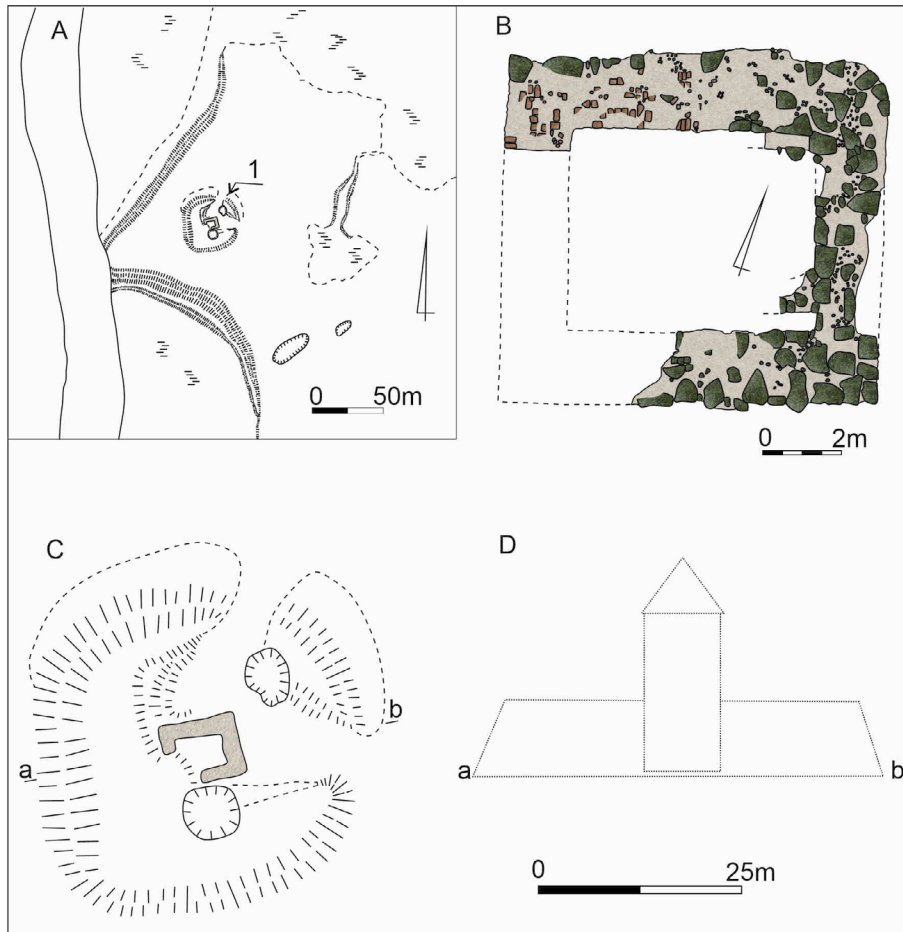


Fig. 13: Historical *Ugroves'k* (Novougruz'ke, Volyn'ska oblast', Ukraine). Site *Stolp* (after Mazuryk *et al.* 1998, 2003). A – location, B – tower, C – mound with tower, D – reconstruction of the motte. Redrawn by R. Ratajczak, T. Dzieńkowski.

emphasized that the discoveries in Novougruz'ke have not been hitherto interpreted as remains of a motte-type object. Nonetheless, in the light of the analogies discussed here, such identification appears to be justified¹⁵⁰.

Among fortifications referring to the motte-type, archaeologically well-recognized object in Stołpie, also mentioned in the *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle*, deserves particular attention¹⁵¹. The complex includes a stone tower and a rectangular mound. Noteworthy, there are certain differences between the complex and a typical motte, among them the location of the tower in the corner adjacent to the mound and the non-standard stone and earth structure of the embankment. The chronology of the site refers to the first half of the 13th century and the foundation is attributed to Prince Danylo Romanovych. Researchers emphasize the sacral function of the tower with a chapel on the top floor, at least in the first phase of its functioning. As indicated by dendrochronological dates, after 1284 the complex was mili-

tarized, although its form remained unchanged¹⁵². Archaeological investigations revealed also traces of an adjacent settlement with structures that can be dated back to the end of the 12th century.

Among the other sites from the western Bug River Basin that fulfill the motte-type criteria and can be referred to the 13th century, the stronghold in Andrzejów should be mentioned at first. The fortification has the form of an earthen mound with wooden buildings on its top, surrounded by a moat and perhaps an additional rampart¹⁵³. There was also a settlement at the foot of the mound, as evidenced by pottery finds. Motte in Andrzejów is identified with the stronghold *Vereshchin* or *Andriiv*, mentioned in the *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle* (1243–1246)¹⁵⁴. The stronghold in Kukawka (currently Bończa) should be also mentioned here, since its features, such as the form and the size, refer to the motte type¹⁵⁵.

¹⁵² Ibid. 126–130.

¹⁵³ Ibid. 147–148.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid. 148.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid. 182–183.

¹⁵⁰ Mazuryk/Panyshko 2015; Panyshko 2016.

¹⁵¹ Buko 2009; Dzieńkowski 2021, 126–130.

Regrettably, the insufficient state of research does not allow for the undoubted classification of the masonry building (currently a chapel) in Spas-Podgórze near Chełm as a motte-type object. However, both P. Rappoport's research and subsequent analyses suggest that the structure in question includes relics of a tower built in the 13th century on the initiative of the Romanovych' family¹⁵⁶.

In this context, it is worth having a closer look on the state of research on motte-type objects in western Ukraine. Excavation works have been carried out recently, although information about strongholds that can be included in this group has appeared since the late 19th century. They were mentioned by Volodymyr Antonovich (1900), Aleksander Cynkałowski (1961), and then P.A. Rappoport (1967) and Sviatoslav Ters'kiy (2010)¹⁵⁷. However, it was Serhyi Panyshko who properly defined the objects discussed here and undertook systematic research on the issue of motte-type fortifications in Rus'. In the 1980s, he carried out first excavations on the strongholds in Kamin'-Kashyrskyi and Korshev near Lutsk¹⁵⁸. He developed his research agenda in subsequent works from 2011–2022¹⁵⁹. In addition to field research, the author also discussed the form and function of strongholds, their founders and chronology¹⁶⁰. Currently, thanks to the growing scientific activity, the number of excavated sites and the verification of already known ones are gradually increasing. It must be admitted, however, that the state of research is still insufficient for in-depth analyses.

In the historical area of Volyn', 13 objects have been recognized, although to varying degrees: Kamin'-Kashyrskyi, Liuboml', Vetly, Ratno, Turysk, Korshev, Horodyshe I, Falemychy, P'iatydni, Khotyn, Nova Vyzhva (Volyn'ska oblast', Ukraine), Koblyn, Dubno (Rivnens'ka oblast', Ukraine; Fig. 14–15)¹⁶¹. A group of unexcavated sites, often described as burial mounds or mounds with an unclear function is also worth mentioning: Romansivka by Lutsk; mound *Bashta* in Ovlochyn, and *Male Horodyshe* in Bus'k¹⁶².

Among the strongholds enlisted here, only eight were excavated, while the others were only surveyed, described, and documented. However, the analysis of the data provided by the research allows several conclusions. In terms of location, elevated spots in lowlands and wetlands were

preferred, which can be considered a reference to “pan-European” patterns. It is noteworthy that fortifications were most often built in places of earlier settlements, although in the case of several sites we do not have reliable data (Liuboml', Dubno, P'iatydni, Khotyn, Nova Vyzhva). Further conclusions are much more general and their verification is necessary.

Chronology of the strongholds is still debatable. The objects discussed here are placed in a relatively wide time span, encompassing the 13th–14th or 14th–15th centuries, and even the 16th century. Data on the form, construction, and parameters of the objects are still incomplete, since they come from few sondage trenches, surveys, and archives.

Preliminary analyses indicate that at least six sites can be described as strongholds consisting of conical mounds and adjacent baileys. The others are identified as large mounds-forts and require verification. Information about the size of the strongholds, particularly the volume of the occupational area and the height of the embankments deserves particular attention. Mounds at Falemychy (a diameter of 40 m and a height of 8 m), P'iatydni (8 m and 9 m), Liuboml' (60 m and 5–6 m) and Horodyshe I (60 m and 5 m) can serve as examples here. Although considerable heights of the mounds, reaching from 5 to 9 m, require verification, it is worth remembering that they may indicate founders from higher social classes¹⁶³. In the case of the sites in Falemychy and P'iatydni, it is also worth emphasizing their location in the vicinity of Volodymyr – one of the pivotal strongholds of the Halych-Volyn' Principality. Finding the answer, of course, requires further research, primarily regarding the precise chronology of objects. Other problems include the lack of data on the buildings and spatial organization of the strongholds and adjacent settlement. Questions concern the type of buildings on the mounds – whether they were wooden or brick towers, donjons, or manors – as well as the forms of external fortifications and the spatial organization of the baileys. Regrettably, at the current stage of research, comprehensive analyses are hardly possible to conduct.

The volume of data on the origins and the spread of the motte-type fortifications in Belarus is even more modest. Research on defensive architecture from the 13th–14th centuries does not provide information about such objects. This period is mainly associated with the development of brick towers and donjons, which were to appear in Belarus as a result of contacts with Western and East-Central Europe, including Poland¹⁶⁴. However, if we take a closer look at particular objects, it turns out that some of the towers could

¹⁵⁶ Rappoport 1952, 221; Dzieńkowski 2021, 131–132.

¹⁵⁷ Antonovich 1900; Cynkałowski 1961; Rappoport 1967; Ters'kiy 2010.

¹⁵⁸ Panyshko 2006; 2009.

¹⁵⁹ Panyshko 2011; 2012; 2014; 2016; 2017; 2019; 2022.

¹⁶⁰ Panyshko 2016, 61–65; 2019, 87–104; 2022, 71–77.

¹⁶¹ Mazuryk 2012; Panyshko 2012; 2014; 2016.

¹⁶² Panyshko 2016, 64.

¹⁶³ Hinz 1981, 18.

¹⁶⁴ Tkachou 1978, 16–26.

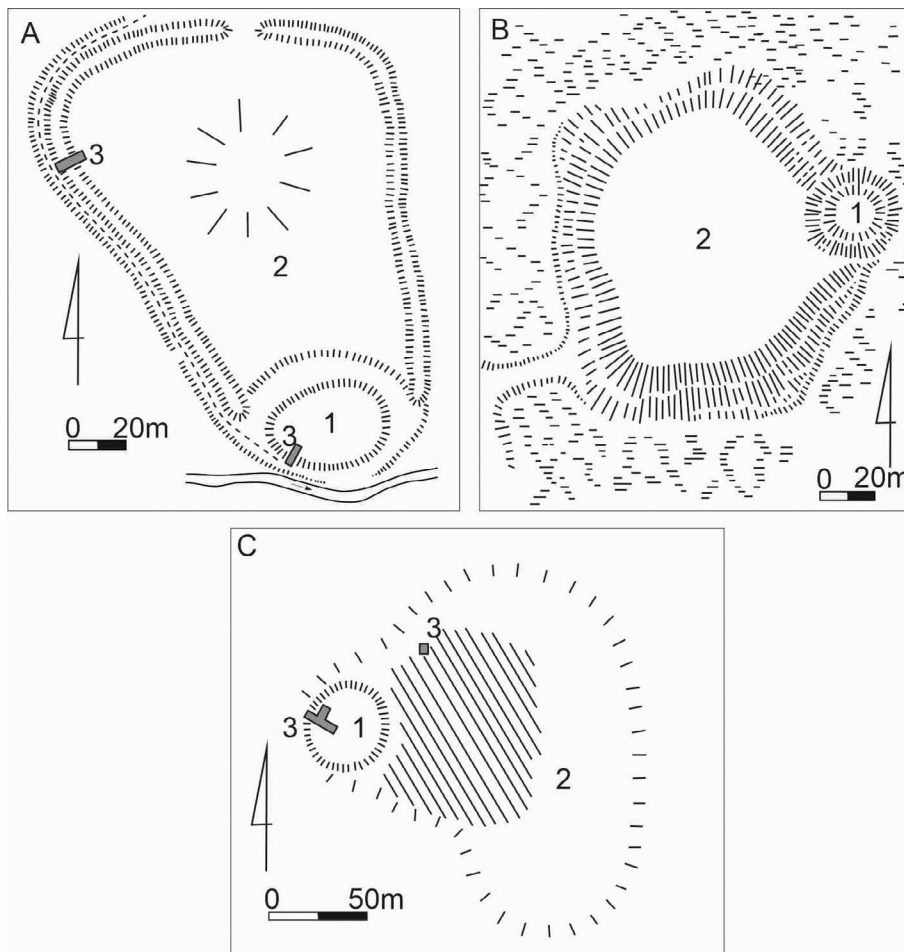


Fig. 14: Chosen examples of motte-type objects from western Ukraine: A – Korshev, B – Ratne, C – Vetly (A–C Volyn'ska oblast'); 1 – motte, 2 – bailey, 3 – archaeological trenches (after Panyshko 2011, 2016). Redrawn by R. Ratajczak.

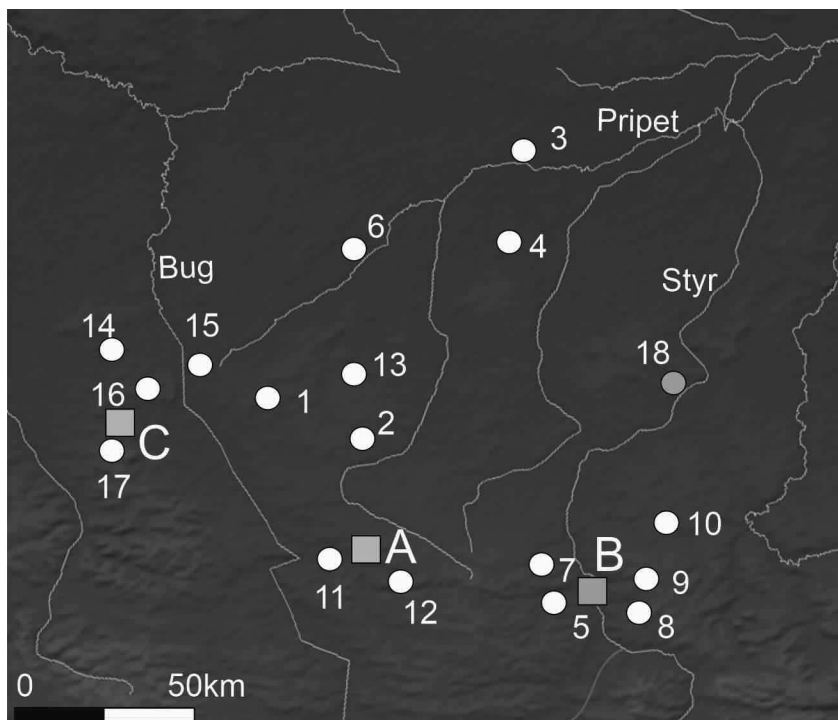


Fig. 15: Sites identified with motte-type castles from the territory of historical Volyn': 1 – Liuboml', 2 – Turyisk, 3 – Vetly, 4 – Kamin'-Kashyrskyi, 5 – Korshev, 6 – Ratne, 7 – Horodyshe I, 8 – Koblyn, 9 – Dubno, 10 – Khotyn, 11 – P'iatydni, 12 – Falemychy, 13 – Nova Vyzhva, 14 – Andrzejów, 15 – Novougruz'ke, 16 – Chełm-Bielawin, 17 – Stółpie, 18 – Chartoryis'k (alleged); principal centers: A – Volodymyr, B – Luts'k, C – Chełm (1–7, 10–13, 15, 18, A, B, Volyn'ska oblast', Ukraine; 8–9, Rivnens'ka oblast'; 14, 16, 17, C – Lublin voivodship, Poland) (after Panyshko 2011; 2012; 2016; 2017; 2019; 2022; prepared by T. Dzieńkowski).

have been built on an artificial mound, i. e., they can be classified as motte. The example of tower in Kamyenyets, discussed above, indirectly confirms such a thesis¹⁶⁵. Other towers, in Hrodna, Brest, and Navahrudak, mentioned in historical sources, have not yet been verified by archaeological research¹⁶⁶.

Conclusions

In medieval Europe, motte-type castles were among the most frequent residential and defensive objects of various foundations, from royal, princely, and episcopal to nobility and knights¹⁶⁷. This cultural phenomenon is investigated both in terms of its origins and chronology, its spread throughout Europe and the identification of its main features¹⁶⁸. The analyses afford to discuss the political, cultural, and social circumstances that influenced the development of the motte-type objects. They also give a basis to study how new patterns of residential and defensive architecture migrated to the territories of Eastern Europe. The case of the residence in Chełm is therefore quite particular for the reasons mentioned above. Thanks to many years of interdisciplinary research resulting in numerous analyses and publications, our knowledge of the history of Chełm is considerable. Numerous mentions in the *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle* make Chełm's past non-anonymous and contribute much to its cultural and social image. Equally important, both in terms of politics and civilization, was the location of the center on the periphery of Western Rus', i. e., in the border zone of Western and Eastern Europe, an area stimulated by cultural impulses from each side. *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle* describes this specific multiculturalism perfectly: "When Prince Danilo saw that God placed [Xolm] under His protection, he began to invite immigrants – Germans, Rus'ians, [all kinds of] foreigners, and Poles. Day after day they came – young people and artisans as for example saddle, bow and quiver craftsmen and iron-, copper- and silver-smiths [who had] escaped from regions under Tatar occupation. [Thus] life [began to pulsate] and the households, the field, and villages around the city grew rich"¹⁶⁹.

The importance of the center was emphasized by its capital function based on administration and an economy focused on production and trade¹⁷⁰. Cultural development was favored by the proximity of the West, numerous contacts and the implementation of innovations that spread in the 13th century along with the colonization process¹⁷¹. It is therefore not surprising that Chełm became the cultural center of Western Rus', from where new trends quickly spread to the east. Perhaps Prince Danylo Romanovych (king from 1253) decided to build his residence according to Western European patterns to legitimize his rule also in a symbolic sphere. Danylo's familiarity with Western culture, contacts, and lasting relationships with the Hungarian rulers Andrew II and Bela IV, the coronation performed by the legate of Pope Innocent IV, as well as his involvement in the war for the Babenberg succession also cannot be neglected¹⁷². All that emphasizes his connections with the Western world, as well as his political significance not only in Rus' but also in Central Europe¹⁷³. Another important factor must be pointed out here, namely the dramatic political and economic situation of Rus' after the Mongol invasion, which stopped the development and functioning of the state¹⁷⁴. Given that, Danylo's political activity and the smaller scale of devastation of Western Rus', as well as the creation of the new power center in Chełm deserve particular attention¹⁷⁵. In this context, hypothesis formulated by Dariusz Dąbrowski concerning the breakdown with the traditional relationship between "the fact of exercising power in a given duchy and having a center considered to be the capital" is undoubtedly worth noting¹⁷⁶. According to Dąbrowski: "[...] the decision of the elder of Romanovychi was so innovative not with regard to the transfer of the power center itself because this – as the aforementioned analogies show – had happened before, but in promoting as the capital a town built out of scratch and located in a hitherto peripheral area"¹⁷⁷.

Aforementioned factors emphasized the ideological and political significance of Chełm. Thus, its founder gained additional prestige by building a new type of residence. Furthermore, bringing of construction workshops from Western Europe or the Kingdom of Hungary triggered

165 Ibid. 18–22; Tkachev 1987.

166 Dąbrowski 2023, 248–252; Tkachou 1978, 23; 24; Tkachev 2002; Buben'ko/Metel'skiy 2013, 49.

167 Biermann/Posselt 2022a, 16–20.

168 Les fortifications de terre en Europe... 1981; Hinz 1981; Felgenhauer-Schmiedt *et al.* 2007; Biermann/Posselt 2022.

169 Chronicle III, 75.

170 Dzieńkowski 2021, 91–123.

171 Bartlett 1993, 106–196; 2003, 162–193.

172 Dąbrowski 2012, 50–57, 267–280; 319–328; 461–466.

173 Ibid. 465–466.

174 Tolochko 1987, 167–170; Dąbrowski 2012, 117–120; 217 ff.

175 Dąbrowski 2012, 452–453.

176 Dąbrowski 2019, 26.

177 Ibid. 26. I owe my attention to the above issues to discussions with Dariusz Dąbrowski and Marcin Wołoszyn.

a supra-regional architectural revolution, both through the use of both stone and brick and the introduction of a new type of residence. Available data indicate that these architectural novelties spread quite quickly in western Rus'. From the mid-13th century, an intensified construction activity is evident. One cannot exclude that partly it was the result of imitation of the building enterprises of the ruling family. Apart from the residence in Chełm, the motte form, although slightly modified, may have been applied in nearby fortification in Stolpie. Recent discoveries also indicate the presence of a motte in historical *Ugroves'k* (today Novougruz'ke, Ukraine). The construction of the motte in Kamienyets (Belarus) can be dated back to the second half of the 13th century. Perhaps this period or the beginning of the 14th century was the time of erecting the tower in Bielawin. In this case, however, as in Chortorys'k, further research is necessary, particularly focused on the archaeological context, architectural details and founders, probably of the princely family. The strongholds in Andrzejów, Vetly, Liuboml', Korshev, and Ratne can be dated back to the 13th and 14th centuries, although without further research it is impossible to draw far-reaching conclusions.

Undoubtedly, the motte-type residence in Chełm, dating back to the 1230s, is one of the most interesting examples of Rus' contacts with Western Europe, as well as attempts to draw on European cultural patterns, and transmit them further to the East. This discovery expands the possibilities of research on the spread of new ideas and the process of their adaptation. The next research step should focus on further investigation on motte-type structures in Central and especially Eastern Europe, particularly on their chronology, structure, spatial organization, and founders¹⁷⁸.

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