

University of Rzeszów

ANDRZEJ ROZWAŁKA

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5801-8826>

[arozwalka@archeologia.rzeszow.pl](mailto:arozwalka@archeologia.rzeszow.pl)

---

*“Gates” at the Polish-Ruthenian Border in the Context of a Well-Known  
Polish-Ruthenian Battle of 1266 in an Unknown Place.  
An Attempt to Locate the Site*

---

„Wrota” na pograniczu polsko-ruskim w kontekście znanej bitwy polsko-ruskiej w 1266 r.  
w nieznanym miejscu. Glosa do dyskusji nad lokalizacją

SUMMARY

Interest in researching the *Gates*, a passage on the Polish-Ruthenian border in the early medieval period, has its long (since the 19<sup>th</sup> century) – although not continuous – tradition. It was only the last discovery of a stronghold on Czubata Góra in Kawęczyn, municipality of Szczepleszyn, county of Zamość, in the West Roztocze, which once again drew attention to the opportunity to find this passage on the border between Roztocze Szczepleszyńskie and Roztocze Gorajskie. The aim of the article was to examine to what extent this thesis is likely. Gathering both Polish and Ruthenian written sources, as well as examining them in the context of the battle between the Ruthenian duke, Shvarn, and Polish Bolesław the Chaste in 1266, but also in relation to the current discovery results, is needed to resume the discussion on such an important topic as the topography of the Polish-Ruthenian border in the 13<sup>th</sup> century. The outcomes of this discussion can significantly influence the beginning of archaeological research on the space in question.

**Keywords:** Middle Ages; Polish-Ruthenian border in Roztocze; battle in 1266; the *Gates* – a passage between Poland and Ruthenia

To Waldemar Harko, the explorer of Czubata Góra  
in Roztocze Szczepleszyńskie

Bronisław Włodarski, a prominent scholar of the Polish-Ruthenian relations in the Middle Ages, referred to the battle between Shvarn and Vasylo, and Bolesław

the Chaste in 1266 as of little significance, taking place somewhere at the Polish-Ruthenian border<sup>1</sup>. Perhaps this was the case in terms of strategy, but it is difficult to agree with this thesis in the context which – to use modern terminology – we would refer to as propagandist. Even a cursory overview of the Ruthenian chronicles, as well as the Polish sources, indicate that – at least looking through the prism of the chivalric ethos and art of war – the battle was significant for both parties. This prompted the author of these words to take interest in this event, particularly in the context of the latest archaeological research in Roztocze Gorajskie and Szczebrzeszyńskie. The leading subject of discussion will be the issue of the battlefield's location, and thus, a closer explanation of the notion of the *Gates* at the Polish-Ruthenian border at that time.

As Włodarski states,

[...] while taking over the power as the Grand Duke of Lithuania, Wojsiek gave away Black Ruthenia to Shvarn. We have some kind of a border conflict at that time between Shvarn and Vasylo, and Bolesław the Chaste (1265/6) as a consequence of the Lithuanian invasion of Bolesław's lands with the help of Ruthenian reinforcements<sup>2</sup>.

Let us develop this slightly laconic remark made by Włodarski. After the fighting in the territories of Mazovia and Chełm Land, Shvarn's detachment was fighting in the vicinities of Lublin, while that of Włodzimierz – near Biała. Having taken prisoners, Shvarn went to Chełm and Włodzimierz to Czermno where his father, Vasylo, was. After his arrival, Włodzimierz saw that the Polish army was ravaging the area of the town. However, as claimed by the chronicle, Polish troops could do very little. In this situation Bolesław sent an envoy to Vasylo in order to start peace talks. Tarnawa was chosen as a place for the meeting<sup>3</sup>. However, as stated by the Galician-Volhynian chronicle:

[...] and after that Vasylo went for the meeting in Tarnawa and [when] he was in Grabowiec, news reached him that the Poles had been "deceitful". They did not go for the meeting but having gone around the *Gates* [underlined by A.R.] they went to Bełż<sup>4</sup>.

Anticipating our field reconstructions, we should mention only the fact that after passing by Tarnawa, the Polish army had to take a road south of the Tarnawa–

<sup>1</sup> "Taking over the power as a Grand Duke of Lithuania, Wojsiek gave Black Ruthenia to Shvarn. We have in this period some sort of a border conflict between Shvarn and Vasylo, and Bolesław the Chaste (1265/6) as a result of the Lithuanian invasion on Bolesław's lands with the support of Ruthenian reinforcements. The defeats caused by Bolesław to Shvarn's troops were the decisive moment. There were no serious consequences of this conflict and peace was soon concluded which lasted for a long time" (B. Włodarski, *Polska i Ruś*, Warszawa 1966, p. 150).

<sup>2</sup> B. Włodarski, *op. cit.*, p. 150; Z. Szambelan, *Najazdy ruskie na ziemię sandomierską w XIII wieku*, „Acta Universitatis Lodziensis. Folia Historica” 1989, vol. 36, pp. 19–20.

<sup>3</sup> KH-W 2017, pp. 221–222.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 222.

Szczebrzeszyn route, most probably along the old tract of Zawichost–Biała–Izwoła (nowadays known as Dzwola–Szczebrzeszyn–Belz; Fig. 1)<sup>5</sup>. We come across the concept of the *Gates* once again in the description of the return of the Polish army back home. Vasylko appointed his nephew Shvarn and his son Włodzimierz to chase them and – what is significant for the reconstruction of the battlefield topography – he ordered them not to fight until the Polish troops enter their own lands and disperse. However, that is not what happened – the Ruthenian dukes had attacked before the Poles entered the country and only managed to pass through the *Gates*. The chronicle describes the *Gates* as a very narrow passage which was impossible for bypassing:

The Poles have not yet entered their land, but they only went through the *Gates* [underlined by A.R.]. But this place was very inaccessible because it was impossible to walk around it in any way. Therefore, it was referred to as the *Gates* due to its narrowness [underlined by A.R.]<sup>6</sup>.

Shvarn attacked the Polish army without waiting for the troops of Włodzimierz and he was defeated. Help from outside was not possible because as we read in the chronicle: "Other regiments could not come with support out of nowhere due to the narrow conditions"<sup>7</sup>.

It is worth emphasising that regardless of the version of translations, there are no fundamental differences which convince us that topographical conditions of the passage at the Polish-Ruthenian border were in fact the "Achilles' heel". In order to explain this topographical situation we should at first turn to the commentary of this part of the chronicle made by the Ukrainian scholar, M.F. Kotljar<sup>8</sup>. The author points out the findings of the 19<sup>th</sup>-century historian, A.I. Bunin, that the mountain range which stretches over 25 km of the southern section begins 15 *versts* (25 km)<sup>9</sup> from Tarnawa<sup>10</sup>. In one place the range is cut by two

<sup>5</sup> Cf. A. Rozwałka *Glosa do dyskusji nad lokalizacją wczesnośredniowiecznego Uhruska*, „Naukovi Studiyi” 2010, vol. 3, p. 116, Fig. 8: *Szlaki drożne okresu XI–XIII w. między górnym Wieprzem a Bugiem na podstawie latopisów (wg A. Poppe 1958)*. It is also worth looking at the map by Andrzej Janeczek which shows the roads of the Voivodeship of Belz in the 14<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> c. Although it concerns a period which was later than the battle in question, it indicates the possibility of the existence of a route from Belz to Szczebrzeszyn along the left bank of the upper fragment of the Wieprz River (A. Janeczek, *Osadnictwo pogranicza polsko-ruskiego. Województwo bełskie od schyłku XIV do początku XVII w.*, Warszawa 1993, map no. 9).

<sup>6</sup> KH-W 2017, p. 222.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>8</sup> H-WL 2003, p. 318.

<sup>9</sup> One Ruthenian *verst*, introduced also in the Kingdom of Poland in 1849, equals 1,668 km, thus  $1,668 \times 13 = 21,684$  km (J. Szymański, *Nauki pomocnicze historii*, Warszawa 2005, p. 180).

<sup>10</sup> A.I. Bunin, *Gde nahodilis' vorota, upominaemye v letopisi v 1268 g.*, „Izvestiâ XI Arheologičeskogo s'yezda” 1899, № 2, pp. 177–178. I would like to point out here that the discussion on the location of the battlefield has been continued for over a year and a half and has a long

gorges at the distance of 6 *versts* (10 km). This passage starts in Kawęczyn<sup>11</sup> and ends by the Gorajec River, 13 *versts* (21.7 km) from Tarnawa. The fragment cited from the commentary presents a long tradition of interest in the battle of 1266 but also inspires respect towards scholars of that time. Looking at the modern map it can be figuratively said that this 25-kilometre “mountain” range is Roztocze Szczebrzeszyńskie, situated along the valley of the Gorajec. Two gorges really cut this part of Roztocze at the fragment (in fact around 6-*versts* long) between Kawęczyn and the Gorajec River. These gorges cut the high loess elevations (in Kawęczyn the highest point is Czubata Góra 323.9 m above sea level, in Kawęczynek it is Niedźwiedzia Góra – 325.3 m above sea level) and enable to pass through to the Gorajec valley. These are the shortest passages in the area between the upper Wieprz and the valley of the Gorajec (Figs. 3, 7). Quite interesting is the similarity between the topography presented here and the statement quoted above from the chronicle that the Poles had managed to go through the *Gates*, but have not yet arrived in their own lands. They have not arrived since after leaving the gorge they reached the valley of the Gorajec, the eastern bank of which had still belonged to Ruthernia. It is amazing – looking at the modern geomorphological map – that firstly the frontier area and then the linear border ran along the valley of the Gorajec (Padół Gorajski)<sup>12</sup>,

---

bibliography. It is not my intention to introduce the entire history of research and to evaluate its condition because – apart from the above-mentioned Bunin – no one was so close in determining the location of the battlefield, and my article refers, first and foremost, to the latest field discoveries. However, I should point out to at least some of the latest publications on this topic, particularly those by Ukrainian scholars: M. Peleshchyshyn, *Novi vidomosti pro litospysnye urochyshe „Vorota” na Yavorivshchyni*, „Visnyk L’vivs’koho universytetu. Seriya istoriya” 1993, vol. 29, pp. 3–6; I. Kryp’yakevych, *Halytsko-Volyns’ke knyazivstvo*, Lviv 1999, p. 46, 66; O. Vaslyshyn, D. Vaslyshyn, *Pryzabuti mistysya: z istoriyi sela Voroblyachyn (Yavorivs’koho rayonu L’vivs’koyi oblasti, „Visnyk L’vivs’koho instytutu ekonomiky i turyzmu” 2008, vol. 3, pp. 118 – 122; V.M. Lyaska, «...zemlya Bozhyyai tvoya i gorodi tvoi...»: Vsevolzhskaya volost’ knyazya Vladimira Vasil’kovicha (istoriko-arkheologicheskoye issledovaniye)*, „Rossica Antiqua” 2013, vol. 1, pp. 3–54; V. Lyaska, Y. Pogoralsky, *Pogranicze polsko-ruskie we wczesnym sredniowieczu na Lubelszczyźnie / Skarby z przeszłości / Praca zbiorowa pod red. E. Banasiewicz-Szykuły, Lublin: Wojewódzki Urząd Ochrony Zabytków w Lublinie, 2009 – 168 s.*, „Materiały i dosлідzhennya z arkhеологіі Prykarpattya i Volyni” 2011, vol. 15, pp. 429–443; D. Bugay, *Y bashet’ Vorota proshly: pro bytvu rus’kykh ta pol’s’kykh viys’k 1266 r.*, “Colloquia Russica. Series I, vol. 9: Rus’ and Poland (10<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> centuries)”. Publication from the 9<sup>th</sup> International Scientific Conference, Przemyśl, 5–8 December 2018, edited by Vitaliy Nagirnyy and Tomasz Pudłocki, Kraków 2019, attachment 2 (see here for the older and the latest historiography).

<sup>11</sup> If we make a circle on a map of the radius of 25 km from the centre of Tarnawa then it will cut exactly through Kawęczyn and Kawęczynek.

<sup>12</sup> See Z. Szambelan, *op. cit.*, map: *Najazdy ruskie na Ziemię Sandomierską w XIII w.*; W. Markarski, *Pogranicze polsko-ruskie do połowy wieku XIV. Studium językowo-etniczne*, Lublin 1996, map 3: *Mapa osadniczo-nazewnicza pogranicza polsko-ruskiego do połowy XIV wieku*, map 5: *Pogranicze polsko-ruskie w świetle faktów dialektalnych*.

the valley which cuts Roztocze with a corridor dividing Roztocze Gorajskie from Roztocze Szczebrzeszyńskie<sup>13</sup>. Opinions of Teresa Dunin-Źawowicz and Zdzisław Szambelan, who are in favour of identifying the *Gates* with Padół Zwierzyniecki, can be placed in the same scope of considerations<sup>14</sup>. However, it should be added that, in my opinion, Padół Zwierzyniecki did not create the very *Gates* but constituted their entrance. This matter was seen a little differently by Zofia Wardołowska who located the *Gates* near the settlement of Sutiejsk<sup>15</sup>.

Let us now look at what the Polish sources tell us about the battle of the *Gates* in 1266. We read in “Rocznik Traski”, for 1265, that the Poles defeated the Ruthenians at the Polish border and they killed many of them, that also Duke Roman was killed by Leszek the White in Zawichost<sup>16</sup>. The fragment about Duke Roman and Leszek is obviously the copy of the description of the events from the battle of Zawichost in 1205 and thus it is worth adding here the commentary by the editor of “Annals”, August Bielowski:

<sup>13</sup> See A. Jahn, *Wyżyna Lubelska. Rzeźba i czwartorzęd*, „Prace Geograficzne” 1956, t. 7, p. 226; J. Buraczyński, *Roztocze. Środowisko przyrodnicze*, Lublin 2002, Fig. 50, p. 97.

<sup>14</sup> Dunin-Źawowicz states that “there is no doubt about the fact stemming from the geographical analysis of the land that the only convenient passage through Roztocze was the valley of the Goraj (the stream valley, do not confuse it with the neighbouring valley where the town of Goraj is situated) and the valley of Zwierzyniec; both of those passages are controlled from the north by the settlement in Sądziadka, we do not know their defence from the south” (T. Dunin-Źawowicz, *Drogami średniowiecznej Polski. Studia z dziejów osadnictwa i kultury*, Warszawa 2011, p. 150). According to Szambelan (*op. cit.*, pp. 21–22), “this concerns, without a doubt, one of the two closely situated passages which were going through the massif of Roztocze, most certainly – the valley of Zwierzyniec”.

<sup>15</sup> Wardołowska: “In the chronicle the *Gates* are referred to as »miasto twierdo, zane niemoszczno byst’ oboiti jeha nikuda, że tiemże narieczahutsia Worota tiesnotuju swojeju«. If we assume that the hard and narrow passage led through the swamps and the Polish army returned via the same route they used from Tarnawa to Czerwień, then the marshes which were difficult to cross were encountered while crossing the two wide and swampy river valleys: Wieprz and Pór. Naturally, »hard« route amongst the swamps in the valley of the Wieprz no longer exists. On the other hand, the valley of the Pór has only one peninsula protruding for two and a half kilometres across the river valley, from which the very name of Sutiejsk originated. If it was assumed – on the basis of these weak premises – that the *Gates* mentioned in the Hypatian chronicle could be located in the area of today’s village of Sądziadka, then not only the destruction of the stronghold and the town of Sutiejsk had to be older, but it had to be also so complete that even the place where Sutiejsk was situated was named differently – *Gates*. Demolition of the settlement did not usually cause the entire and permanent liquidation of the settlement life around the stronghold” (Z. Wardołowska, *Gród Czerwieński Sutiejsk na pograniczu polsko-ruskim*, „Światowit” 1958, t. 22, pp. 35–36). However, it is difficult to agree with this kind of location of the *Gates* since the Polish army did not “return via the same route which they used from Tarnawa to Czerwień”. The author ignored the important information from the chronicle that the Poles “did not go to the meeting but after going around the *Gates* [underlined by A.R.], they went towards Bełz (KH-W 2017, p. 222).

<sup>16</sup> MPH II, pp. 839–840: *Poloni spoliaverunt Ruthenos et multos occiderunt in metis Polonie* [underlined by A.R.], *et dux Romanus occiditur a Lesccone in Zawichost*.

Bolesław the Chaste, who had already appointed Leszek the Black his successor, sent the army against Shvarn, the Ruthenian duke, who was plundering Poland in 1266. A victorious battle was won against him on the feast of Saint Gervasius and Protasius, also remembered by the victory once won during Leszek the White's reign against Roman of Halych. Leszek's name and the day of this feast had confused the copyist so that instead of Shvarn's defeat, he spoke here about the defeat of Roman. This event was most accurately narrated by the Franciscan annalists of Cracow: *Eodem anno (1266) Poloni Russiam spoliantes in fest sanctorum Gervasii et Protasi cum eisdem confligendo in metis Polonie, que porta dicitur in die Sabbati multa mila occiderunt*<sup>17</sup>.

However, Bielowski does not indicate that we have also a one-sentence mention, although for 1267, in "Rocznik Traski": *Bolezlaus dux Cracovie devicit Ruthenos in loco qui est ad petram*<sup>18</sup>. There is only a doubt whether the author had in mind a place by the rock or if he distorted the term *ad portam*. Other sources – "Rocznik kapitulny krakowski"<sup>19</sup>, or "Kronika Wielkopolska"<sup>20</sup> mention the battle very broadly, but as I have mentioned at the beginning, they first and foremost emphasise the meaning of the ethos of the victorious knighthood. Jan Długosz wrote an extensive fragment on the battle but when it comes to the subsequent phases of the battle his description is thoroughly different and – it must be admitted – not very credible<sup>21</sup>. Let us begin with the fact that for 1265 Długosz writes about Duke Shvarn's invasion of Sandomierz Land. Krystyna Pieradzka considered this passage as fake and a preparation for the description of the Polish retaliation expedition in 1266<sup>22</sup>. Therefore, we are dealing here with some sort of an extensive construction of the chronicler who presented the history of the retaliatory expedition rather "accurately", but those details find no confirmation in other sources concerning these events. As an example, it is only in Długosz's work that we have a reference that after the victorious battle, the Polish troops, under the command of the voivode of Cracow, were destroying and plundering "Shvarn's country"<sup>23</sup>. This is implau-

<sup>17</sup> MPH II, n. 8, pp. 839–840.

<sup>18</sup> MPH II, p. 839.

<sup>19</sup> Topographical elements are lacking here. MPH II, p. 808: *Boleslaus Dux Cracovie misit exercitum suum in Russiam et vicit Swarnonen Ducem Russie, et terram suam vastavit, et siluit terra in habundancia optate pacis tempore sue vite.*

<sup>20</sup> KW 2010, p. 197: "That year the army of Bolesław, the duke of Cracow, having slipped into the lands of Ruthenia, devastated the principality of Shvarn. The above-mentioned Duke Shvarn clashed with this army on the day of Saint Gervasius and Protasius, and fought bravely. But the Poles, having won, having killed many thousands of Ruthenians, and having enriched themselves with booty, returned to their country with honour [underlined by A.R.]. And the land became silent for a while in the abundance of the desired peace".

<sup>21</sup> *Jana Długosza kanonika krakowskiego Dziejów polskich ksiąg dwanaście*, t. 4, ks. 6, przeł. K. Mecherzyński, Kraków 1868, pp. 384–385.

<sup>22</sup> H. Suszko, *Latopis hustyński. Opracowanie, przekład i komentarze*, Wrocław 2003, p. 291, n. 990.

<sup>23</sup> "After plundering and then destroying with fire the country of Shvarn, the voivode of Cracow escorted the victorious Polish army – carrying a splendid and rich harvest of various spoils of war it enriched itself with – to Poland" (*Jana Długosza...*, p. 385).

sible after such an exhausting battle and capturing the entire military camp of the Ruthenian troops<sup>24</sup>. Additionally, Długosz presents an entirely different nature of the battle – coming together of both armies, setting up the camps, and starting the battle the next day<sup>25</sup>. The elements which are similar to the chronicle's descriptions are: the site of the battlefield in Ruthenia and, obviously, the great victory of the Polish army. A new narrative element in Długosz is providing the name of the battlefield as *Heel (Pięta, Pyetha)*. It is puzzling why the 17<sup>th</sup>-century "Chronicle of Hustynia" (*Latopis hustyiński*), generally repeating information from the "Galician-Volhynian Chronicle" (*Latopis halicko-wołyński*) and abundantly using the Polish sources, completely ignores the extensive account by Długosz<sup>26</sup>. Włodarski points out that it was Shvarn who attacked Bolesław the Chaste – returning from the expedition to his district – "somewhere along the Polish-Ruthenian border" and was defeated<sup>27</sup>. A very interesting fact was pointed out by Tadeusz Lalik while analysing the city charter of Sandomierz from 1286. In 1255, Bolesław the Chaste conferred on the Poor Clares of Zawichost the bound duty, known as *brona* and, as the author assumes, it referred to a harrow which belonged to the castellany of Zawichost. Income from this duty was significant as it amounted to one golden mulct per year<sup>28</sup>. Lalik also assumed that this harrow was situated in the vicinity of Targowisko, on the route to Sutiejsk (Sąsiadka). The village of Targowisko is currently situated around 3 km from Tarnawa. Almost immediately next to Targowisko is situated the village of Biskupie which in the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> century was the property of the bishopric of

<sup>24</sup> "The whole camp of Ruthenians, wealthy with huge riches, was taken as spoils of war" (*Jana Długosza...*, p. 385).

<sup>25</sup> The Polish army arrived at the battlefield on Friday but they engaged in fighting only on the next day, of Saints Gervasius and Protasius. As was noted by Bielowski while analysing the reference from "Rocznik Traski", it is undoubtedly a reproduction of information on a sacral context of the battle of Zawichost in 1205 which ended with a great Polish victory over the Ruthenian duke, Roman, exactly on a day of the above-mentioned saints. Długosz ends the narrative in a hagiographic style, highlighting the effects of the intercession of Princess Cunegunda, the wife of Bolesław the Chaste – "and above all, the virtues and merits of the Blessed Cunegunda to whom – when she prayed and asked God to save the Poles and grant them victory – two men dressed in white manifested and who announce to her a future victory, promised to the Poles by God by her intercession, and these saints, as some assume, were Gervasius and Protasius" (*Jana Długosza...*, p. 385).

<sup>26</sup> H. Suszko, *op. cit.*, p. 198. The version by Długosz was completely uncritically accepted, excluding the chronicle sources, in an extensive, popular-scientific article by Bronisław Wilk, and, as a consequence, also the offer to present the site of the battle as the eastern outskirts of Rzeszów (B. Wilk, *Zagadka miejsca bitwy sprzed 750 lat, „Skarby Podkarpacia”* 2011, t. 2, nr 27, pp. 10–13).

<sup>27</sup> "A number of Polish sources lists the expedition of Bolesław the Chaste to the principality of Shvarn under 1266. Bolesław wanted to lure Vasylo away from supporting Shvarn but the planned meeting of the dukes did not come to fruition. The Ruthenian chronicle ascribes a fake approach to Bolesław. The Poles returning from the expedition were attacked by Shvarn somewhere along the Polish-Ruthenian border, but he was defeated" (B. Włodarski, *op. cit.*, p. 183).

<sup>28</sup> [...] *marca auri de theloneo populariter dicto brona annuus redditus* [...], KDM II no. 448.

Lubusz<sup>29</sup>. It is also worth noticing the unusual geomorphological configuration of the area in question. Targowisko, Biskupie and Tarnawa are situated at the junction of the cuneus tip of Padół Zamojski, entering between Roztocze Zachodnie and Wyniosłość Giełczewska. It could be graphically said that walking from the west into Padół Zamojski, into the valley of the Por, we enter in front of the *Gates* to Ruthenia, to – as was described by the bishop of Cracow – “another world”, [...] *in Ruthenia, que quasi est alter orbis* [...] <sup>30</sup>. But waking from this place towards west we head towards a junction of routes between the Principality of Galicia-Volhynia and Poland – Zawichost. Andrzej Pleszczyński points out that this was a special place. In 1259, the mother of Bolesław the Chaste, Grzymisława, was buried there in the convent of the Poor Clares. He states: “The choice of the duchess’ resting place could have been dictated by sentiment – the daughter of Ingvar of Lutsk ordered to be buried by the Polish border, along the main road to Ruthenia”<sup>31</sup>. The above-mentioned theory by Lalik is adequate, but – in my opinion – only to the time when the stronghold in Sąsiadka functioned. After its destruction in the first half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, the place of Sąsiadka was taken over by the near-by Szczebrzeszyn where, right next to the stronghold, a town centre started to develop since the configuration of the routes and roads changed as well<sup>32</sup>. Rejecting the theory of the *Gates* being situated near Sąsiadka is also supported by the extensive marshes of the Pór River valley which existed until the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century<sup>33</sup>.

<sup>29</sup> In the document from 1282, Leszek the Black gives an immunity to numerous estates of the bishopric of Lubusz, i.e. in the village of Biskupie – *in terra Lublinensi in Biscopicz prope Tarnaw* (ZDM IV 881; *Słownik historyczno-geograficzny województwa lubelskiego w średniowieczu*, oprac. S. Kuraś, t. 3, Warszawa 1983, p. 81).

<sup>30</sup> The whole sentence is as follows: *Nec modo in Ruthenia, que quasi est alter orbis, verum etiam in Polonia et Boemia, vel communi appellatione Slavonia, que plures provincias continet, talem at tantum fructum, tamque Deo acceptabilem faceretis, ut ab ipso postmodum audiretis: Euge serve bone et Fidelis*, MPH II, pp. 15–16; *List Mateusza biskupa krakowskiego do św. Bernarda o nawracaniu Rusi*, a letter from around 1150.

<sup>31</sup> A. Pleszczyński, *Podłoże polityczne i ideowe fundacji Bolesława Wstydliwego dla zakonu klarysek w Zawichoście*, [in:] *Peregrinatio ad veritatem. Studia ofiarowane Profesorowi Aleksandrze Witkowskiej OSU z okazji 40-lecia pracy naukowej*, red. U. Borkowska, C. Deptuła, R. Knapieński, Z. Piłat, E. Wiśniowski, Lublin 2004, p. 392.

<sup>32</sup> A. Wędzki, *Sutieski*, [in:] *Słownik starożytności słowiańskich*, t. 5, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk 1975, p. 486; R. Szczygieł, *Lokacja miasta na prawie niemieckim i jego dzieje w czasach jagiellońskich*, [in:] *Dzieje Urzędowa*, red. R. Szczygieł, M. Surdacki, Lublin–Urzędów 2011, p. 195; O. Baran, *Rozwój sieci ośrodków grodowo-miejskich Księstwa Włodzimierskiego w XIII i pierwszej połowie XIV w.*, [in:] *Stientia nihil est quaqm veritatis imago. Studia ofiarowane Profesorowi Ryszardowi Szczygłowi w siedemdziesięciolecie urodzin*, red. A. Sochacka, P. Jusiak, Lublin 2014, pp. 81–82.

<sup>33</sup> See the description of areas about the stronghold of Sąsiadka by Wartołowska, *op. cit.*, pp. 44–49. The chronicles inform about a very narrow passage but there are no references that the soldiers drowned. It is worth mentioning here still accurate findings of Dunin-Wąsowicz (1974) on the topography of settlement in the 13<sup>th</sup> century under the influence of changes in water relations; see



Finally, let us proceed to the presentation of archaeological sources and the evaluation of their significance in establishing the place of the battle of 1266. Archaeological image of settlement of the eastern part of Roztocze Zachodnie in the period from the 7<sup>th</sup> to the 13<sup>th</sup> century unfortunately does not give us very strong premises to separate distinctive settlement spheres, apart from three of them in the early-state period: in Sasiadka, Szczebrzeszyn, and a line along the Łada river, which included the territories of Goraj and Łada (Fig. 10). The remaining archaeological concentration are of an insular nature and all we can say about those clusters is that they only prove penetration while there are no grounds to define them as manifestations of a permanent or stable settlement<sup>34</sup>. Perhaps the view would be clearer if the chronology of finds was specified and if the sites, which nowadays are generally considered as early medieval – and thus dated to a broad timeframe between the 7<sup>th</sup> and the 13<sup>th</sup> century – were included. The poor occupancy of Roztocze Szczebrzeszyńskie and Gorajskie in the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries is pointed out by an outstanding geographer, Jan Buraczyński, in his monumental monograph on the settlement in Roztocze<sup>35</sup>. Considering the significance of archaeological sources, particularly in the context of searching the battlefield site from 1266, it is possible to state that, first and foremost, the discovery of the settlement on Czubata Góra in Kawęczyn by Waldemar Harko – an expert in and a practitioner of lidar searches, an archaeology enthusiast and a friend of archaeologists – in 2014 may be of a considerable importance<sup>36</sup>. Archaeological surveys conducted later on to a limited extent did not offer any conclusion on the function and chronology of the structure discovered on the surface. Concluding the research results, the Authors stated that

[...] collected and presented results seem to unequivocally indicate an anthropogenic origin of the created embankments and depressions defining the boundaries of the site AZP 90-85/20-22 in Kawęczyn. Therefore, we can talk about the settlement which is distinguished by a singular ring of

---

also T. Dunin-Wąsowicz, Z. Podwińska, *Changes in rural landscape of Poland till 1200 in the light of archaeological research*, “Geographia Polonica” 1978, vol. 38, pp. 81–82.

<sup>34</sup> The vast majority of sites which are referred to in the archaeological nomenclature as settlement traces, i.e. sites, on the areas of which up to three finds occurred, almost only fragments of clay vessels.

<sup>35</sup> J. Buraczyński, *Roztocze. Dzieje osadnictwa*, Lublin 2008, pp. 70–99, the map of settlement in the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> c. after p. 92.

<sup>36</sup> After discovering the relicts of the stronghold, Harko sent the documentation to the Voivodeship Office for the Protection of Monuments in Lublin, Branch in Zamość (*Wojewódzki Urząd Ochrony Zabytków w Lublinie, Oddział w Zamościu*). After acquainting himself with the documents and establishing the historic site card, the Chief Specialist in Archaeology, Wiesław Koman, went for a field verification and engendered the launch of survey research for verification. The research was conducted by the company Archee. Badania i Nadzory Archeologiczne, from Lublin, under the supervision of Dr. Rafał Niedźwiadek. I would like to thank both men for providing me with the documentation and publications about the settlement on Czubata Góra.

embankments, nowadays preserved to the height of around 50–100 cm. Outside of the embankments a moat was placed, the width of which was not more than 10 m and the reconstructed depth had to be slightly greater than 1 m. No materials that could date the construction or the usage of the structure could be attained – no movable monuments were found in the narrow surveys, also no fragments of ceramics were found on the arable fields adjacent to the structure from the north.

And then,

[...] the problem of chronology must, therefore, remain open and requires further explanations. [...] Undoubtedly – the problem of the chronology of the site demands further efforts. This does not change the fact that this structure is a result of a deliberate activity of some kind of a human community and for these reasons requires conservation protection<sup>37</sup>.

Expressing hope that the archaeological field research will be continued and will allow to establish the chronology of the structure, at this point I can only state that the settlement is situated on a significant elevation of Czubata Góra (323.9 m above sea level) and the stronghold existing here in the past enabled the observation of roads linking Padół Zwierzyniecki with Padół Gorajecki. It can be also assumed that the founding of the settlement in this place seems to indicate that it was one of the gorges near Kawęczyn that became a place of a tragic trap for the Ruthenian troops.

Concluding the above-mentioned discussion, it can be stated that the hypothesis on the location of the battlefield of 1266 should be supported by systematic archaeological research not only of the settlement on Czubata Góra but also in the valley of the Gorajec and its outskirts. This regularity is also associated with a meticulous prospect of using the metal detectors – as a methodical example one could use the research on a settlement complex in Czermino (municipality of Tyszowce, county of Tomaszów) where, despite many years of illegal research, the research team had found a number of archaeological monuments including the so-called treasures<sup>38</sup>.

---

<sup>37</sup> D. Bednarski, R. Niedźwiadek, J. Tkaczyk, P. Zimny, *Kawęczyn, gm. Szczepieszyn. Opinia po badaniach weryfikacyjno-sondażowych domniemanego grodziska, stanowisko AZP 90-85/20-2*, Lublin 2017 (documentation from the Voivodship Office for the Protection of Monuments in Lublin, Branch in Zamość), p. 9.

<sup>38</sup> J. Kuśnierz, *Militaria z Czermina nad Huczwą. Próba rekonstrukcji sposobu ataku Tatarów na gród (w 1240 r.) na podstawie dotychczasowych badań archeologicznych*, „Acta Militaria Mediaevalia” 2005, t. 1, pp. 115–129; J. Bagińska, M. Piotrowski, M. Wołoszyn, *Skarby biżuterii*, [in:] *Czerwień – gród między Wschodem a Zachodem. Katalog wystawy*, red. J. Bagińska, M. Piotrowski, M. Wołoszyn, Tomaszów Lubelski–Leipzig–Lublin–Rzeszów 2012, p. 345.

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- H-WL – The Galician-Volhynian Codex (*Halicko-wołyński latopis*)  
 KDM – Diplomatic Codex of Lesser Poland (*Kodeks dyplomatyczny Małopolski*)  
 KH-W – The Galician-Volhynia Chronicle (*Kronika halicko-wołyńska*)  
 KW – The Chronicle of Greater Poland (*Kronika Wielkopolska*)  
 ZDM – Collection of Documents of Lesser Poland (*Zbiór dokumentów Małopolskich*)

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS FOR MAPS AND SETS OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES

- AZP – Archaeological Photographs of Poland (*Archeologiczne Zdjęcia Polski*)  
 o. – settlement (*osada*)  
 p.ś. – Late Medieval Period (*późne średniowiecze*)  
 ś.o. – trace of settlement (*śląd osadniczy*)  
 w.ś. – Early Medieval Period (*wczesne średniowiecze*)

## REFERENCES

**Source commentaries**

- Jana Długosza kanonika krakowskiego Dziejów polskich ksiąg dwanaście*, t. 4, ks. 6, przeł. K. Mecherzyński, Kraków 1868.  
*Kodeks dyplomatyczny Małopolski*, t. I, red. i kom. F. Piekosiński, Kraków 1876 (t. II, red. i kom. F. Piekosiński, Kraków 1887).  
*Kronika halicko-wołyńska. Kronika Romanowiczów*, przeł., wstęp i kom. D. Dąbrowski, A. Jesupović, Kraków–Warszawa 2017.  
*Kronika Wielkopolska*, przeł. K. Abgarowicz, wstęp i kom. B. Kürbis, Kraków 2010.  
*Zbiór dokumentów Małopolskich*, red. S. Kuraś, I. Sułkowska-Kuraś, cz. 4–6, Wrocław 1969–1974.

**Historical cartography**

- Topograficzna Karta Królestwa Polskiego*, Warszawa 1839, scale 1:126 000.

**Unpublished works**

- Banasiewicz E., Podgórska-Czopek J., AZP 89-85, Zamość 1990.  
 Bednarski D., Niedźwiadek R., Tkaczyk J., Zimny P., *Kawęczyn, gm. Szczepreszyn. Opinia po badaniach weryfikacyjno-sondazowych domniemanego grodziska, stanowisko AZP 90-85/20-2*, Lublin 2017 (documentation from the Voivodeship Office for the Protection of Monuments in Lublin, Branch in Zamość).  
 Bober J., AZP 90-85, Zamość 1990.  
 Buszewicz J., Kuśnierz J., Urbański A., Waszkiewicz J., AZP 88-84, Zamość 1989.  
 Buszewicz J., Urbański A., Waszkiewicz J., AZP 88-85, Zamość 1989.  
 Buszewicz J., Urbański A., Waszkiewicz J., AZP 89-84, Zamość 1990.  
 Hoczyk-Siwkowska S., AZP 89-85, Lublin 1981.  
 Koman W., AZP 87-83, Zamość 1989.  
 Koman W., AZP 87-84, Zamość 1989.  
 Kuśnierz J., Urbański A., AZP 88-84, Zamość 1989.

- Libera J., AZP 89-81, Lublin 1993.  
Niedźwiadek R., Rejniewicz Ł., Rozwałka A., AZP 87-82, Lublin.  
Niedźwiedź J., AZP 87-83, Zamość 1999.  
Niedźwiedź J., AZP 85-82, Zamość 2002.  
Niedźwiedź J., AZP 86-82, Zamość 2003.  
Siembida M., *Osadnictwo wczesnośredniowieczne na Roztoczu Zachodni*, Lublin 2013 (Master's thesis written under the supervision of M. Florek, Archives of the Institute of Archeology MCSU).  
Taras H., AZP 89-83, Lublin 1998.  
Wichrowski Z., AZP 86-81, Kraśnik 1997.  
Wichrowski Z., AZP 87-81, Kraśnik 1998.  
Wichrowski Z., AZP 88-83, Kraśnik 1999.  
Wichrowski Z., AZP 89-82, Kraśnik 2002.  
Wichrowski Z., AZP 88-82, Kraśnik 2003.  
Wichrowski Z., AZP 88-81, Kraśnik 2006.

### Literature

- Bagińska J., Piotrowski M., Wołoszyn M., *Skarby biżuterii*, [in:] *Czerwień – gród między Wschodem a Zachodem. Katalog wystawy*, red. J. Bagińska, M. Piotrowski, M. Wołoszyn, Tomaszów Lubelski–Leipzig–Lublin–Rzeszów 2012.
- Baran O., *Rozwój sieci ośrodków grodowo-miejskich Księstwa Włodzimierskiego w XIII i pierwszej połowie XIV w.*, [in:] *Stientia nihil est quaqm veritatis imago. Studia ofiarowane Profesorowi Ryszardowi Szczygłowi w siedemdziesięciolecie urodzin*, red. A. Sochacka, P. Jusiak, Lublin 2014.
- Bugay D., *Y bāshet' Vorota proshly: pro bytvu rus'kykh ta pol's'kykh viys'k 1266 r.*, “Colloquia Russica. Series I, vol. 9: Rus' and Poland (10<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> centuries)”. Publication from the 9<sup>th</sup> International Scientific Conference, Przemyśl, 5–8 December 2018, eds. V. Nagirnyy, T. Pudłocki, Kraków 2019, attachment 2.
- Bunin A.I., *Gde nahodilis' vorota, upominaemye v letopisi v 1266 g.*, „Izvestiâ XI Arheologičeskogo s'yezda” 1899, № 2.
- Buraczyński J., *Roztocze. Dzieje osadnictwa*, Lublin 2008.
- Buraczyński J., *Roztocze. Środowisko przyrodnicze*, Lublin 2002.
- Dunin-Wąsowicz T., *Drogami średniowiecznej Polski. Studia z dziejów osadnictwa i kultury*, wyb. i red. A. Janeczek, posłowie M. Młynarska-Kaletynowa, Warszawa 2011.
- Dunin-Wąsowicz T., *Zmiany topografii osadnictwa wielkich dolin na Niżu Środkowoeuropejskim w XIII wieku*, Wrocław 1974.
- Dunin-Wąsowicz T., Podwińska Z., *Changes in rural landscape of Poland till 1200 in the light of archaeological research*, “Geographia Polonica” 1978, vol. 38.
- Gurba J., Banasiewicz E., Florek M., Gołub S., Rozwałka A., *Formowanie się wczesnośredniowiecznego osadnictwa Polski środkowowschodniej*, „Annales UMCS. Sectio F” 1995, t. 50.
- Jahn A., *Wyżyna Lubelska. Rzeźba i czwartorzęd*, „Prace Geograficzne” 1956, t. 7.
- Janeczek A., *Osadnictwo pogranicza polsko-ruskiego. Województwo belskie od schyłku XIV do początku XVII w.*, Warszawa 1993.
- Kryp'yakevych I., *Halysko-Volyn's'ke knyazivstvo*, Lviv 1999.
- Kuśnierz J., *Militaria z Czeramna nad Huczwą. Próba rekonstrukcji sposobu ataku Tatarów na gród (w 1240 r.) na podstawie dotychczasowych badań archeologicznych*, „Acta Militaria Mediaevalia” 2005, t. 1.
- Lyaska V.M., «...zemlya Bozhiiay tvoya i gorodi tvoi...»: *Vsevolozhskaya volost' knyazyia Vladimira Vasil'kovicha (istoriko-arkheologicheskoye issledovaniye)*, „Rossica Antiqua” 2013, vol. 1.

- Lyaska V., Pogoralsky Y., *Pogranicze polsko-ruskie we wczesnym średniowieczu na Lubelszczyźnie / Skarby z przeszłości / Praca zbiorowa pod red. E. Banasiewicz-Szykuły*, Lublin: Wojewódzki Urząd Ochrony Zabytków w Lublinie, 2009 – 168 s., „Materiały i doslidzhennya z arkeolohiyi Prykarpattya i Volyni” 2011, vol. 15.
- Makarski W., *Pogranicze polsko-ruskie do połowy wieku XIV. Studium językowo-etniczne*, Lublin 1996.
- Peleshchysyn M., *Novi vidomosti pro litospysne urochyshe „Vorota” na Yavorivshchyni*, „Visnyk L'vivs'koho universytetu. Seriya istoriya” 1993, vol. 29.
- Pleszczyński A., *Podłoże polityczne i ideowe fundacji Bolesława Wstydliwego dla zakonu klaryssek w Zawichoście*, [in:] *Peregrinatio ad veritatem. Studia ofiarowane Profesor Aleksandrze Witkowskiej OSU z okazji 40-lecia pracy naukowej*, red. U. Borkowska, C. Deptuła, R. Knapieński, Z. Piłat, E. Wiśniowski, Lublin 2004.
- Pogranicze polsko-ruskie we wczesnym średniowieczu na Lubelszczyźnie*, red. E. Banasiewicz-Szykuła, Lublin 2009.
- Rozwałka A., *Glosa do dyskusji nad lokalizacją wczesnośredniowiecznego Uhruska*, „Naukovi Studiyi” 2010, vol. 3.
- Słownik historyczno-geograficzny województwa lubelskiego w średniowieczu*, oprac. S. Kuraś, t. 3, Warszawa 1983.
- Suszko H., *Latopis hustyiński. Opracowanie, przekład i komentarze*, Wrocław 2003.
- Szambelan Z., *Najazdy ruskie na ziemię sandomierską w XIII wieku*, „Acta Universitatis Lodziensis. Folia Historica” 1989, t. 36.
- Szczygieł R., *Lokacja miasta na prawie niemieckim i jego dzieje w czasach jagiellońskich*, [in:] *Dzieje Urzędowa*, red. R. Szczygieł, M. Surdacki, Lublin–Urzędów 2011.
- Szymański J., *Nauki pomocnicze historii*, Warszawa 2005.
- Vaslyshyn O., Vaslyshyn D., *Pryzabuti mistysya: z istoriyi sela Voroblyachyn (Yavorivs'koho rayonu L'vivs'koyi oblasti*, „Visnyk L'vivs'koho instytutu ekonomiky i turyzmu” 2008, vol. 3.
- Wartołowska Z., *Gród Czerwieński Sutiejsk na pograniczu polsko-ruskim*, „Światowit” 1958, t. 22.
- Wędzki A., *Sutiejsk*, [in:] *Słownik starożytności słowiańskich*, t. 5, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk 1975.
- Wilk B., *Zagadka miejsca bitwy sprzed 750 lat*, „Skarby Podkarpacia” 2011, t. 2, nr 27.
- Włodarski B., *Polska i Ruś. 1194–1340*, Warszawa 1966.

## STRESZCZENIE

Zainteresowanie badawcze „Wrotami”, czyli przejściem na granicy polsko-ruskiej w okresie wczesnego średniowiecza, ma długą (od XIX stulecia), choć nie ciągłą tradycję. Dopiero ostatnie odkrycie na Roztoczu Zachodnim grodziska na wyniesieniu Czubatej Góry w Kawęczynie (gm. Szczebrzeszyn, pow. zamojski) ponownie zwróciło uwagę na możliwość doszukiwania się tego przejścia na pograniczu Roztocza Szczebrzeszyńskiego i Roztocza Gorajskiego. Celem artykułu było wskazanie, na ile prawdopodobna jest taka teza. Zebranie danych ze źródeł pisanych – zarówno polskich, jak i ruskich – oraz rozpatrzenie ich w kontekście bitwy ruskiego księcia Szwarna z księciem polskim Bolesławem Wstydliwym w 1266 r., a także w odniesieniu do obecnego odkrycia sprawia, że na nowo powinniśmy wznowić dyskusję na tak istotny temat, jakim jest topografia pogranicza polsko-ruskiego w XIII w. Rezultaty takiej dyskusji mogą istotnie wpłynąć na rozpoczęcie badań archeologicznych w omawianej przestrzeni.

**Słowa kluczowe:** średniowiecze; pogranicze polsko-ruskie na Roztoczu; bitwa w 1266 r.; „Wrota” – przejście między Polską i Rusią



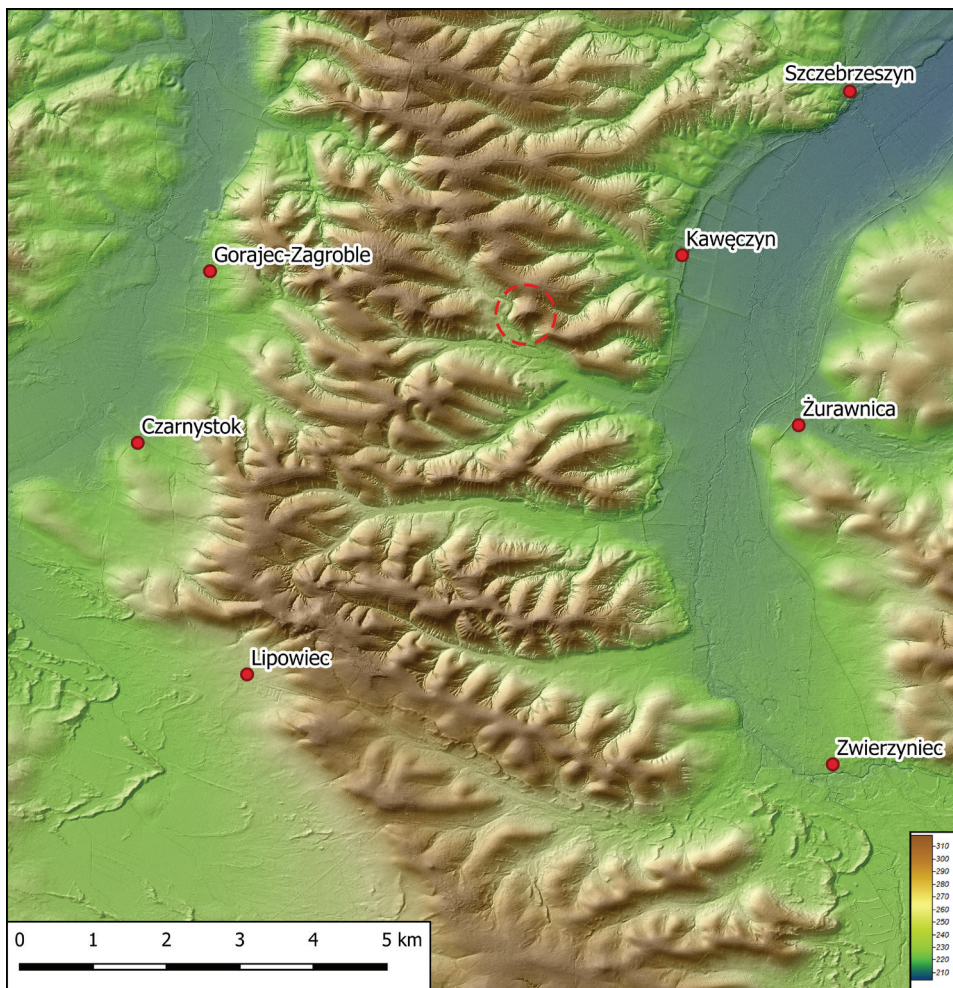


Fig. 3. Physiographic features of the area of Roztocze Szczeczeszyńskie between Zwierzyniec and Szczeczeszyn, Padół Zwierzyniecki, and Padół Gorajecki; red segmented circle includes Czubata Góra [Superposition of the shaded model (azimuth: 315 degrees, inclination: 35 degrees) with the Numerical Model of the Terrain (coloured palette); ed. by Aleksandra Sznajdrowska-Pondel]

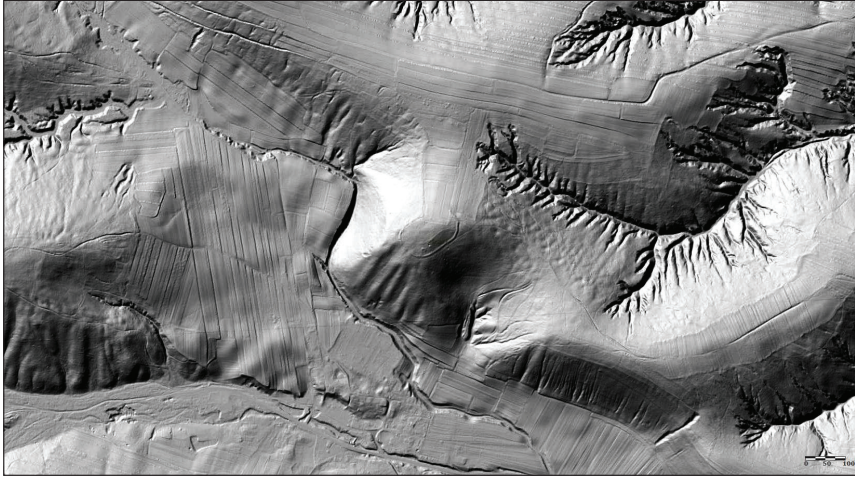


Fig. 4. Settlement on Czubata Góra in Kawęczyn, municipality of Szczepczeszyn, county of Zamość [Superposition of the shaded model (azimuth: 315 degrees, inclination: 35 degrees) with the Numerical Model of the Terrain (coloured palette); ed. by Waldemar Harko]

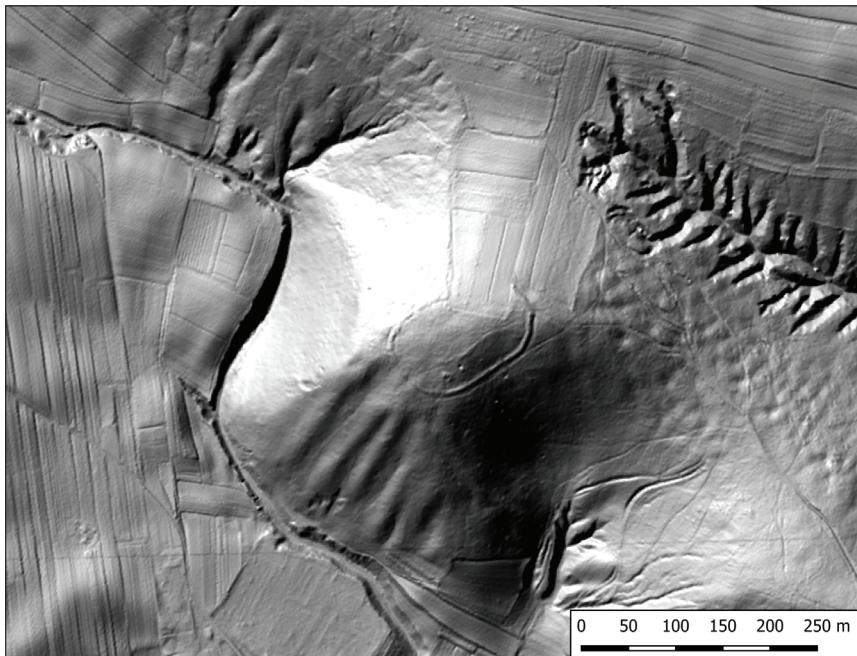


Fig. 5. Settlement on Czubata Góra in Kawęczyn, municipality of Szczepczeszyn, county of Zamość [Superposition of the shaded model (azimuth: 315 degrees, inclination: 35 degrees) with the Numerical Model of the Terrain; ed. by Aleksandra Sznajdrowska-Pondel]



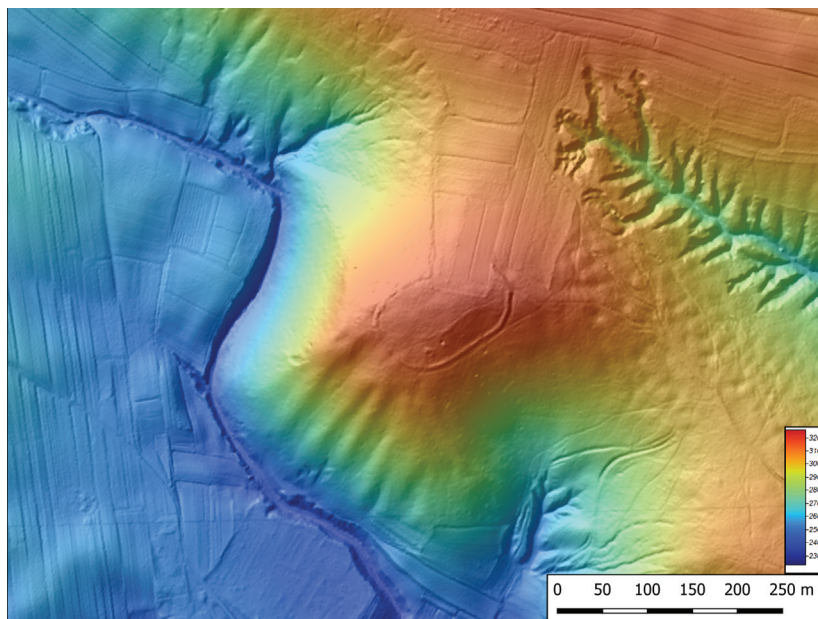


Fig. 6. Settlement on Czubata Góra in Kawęczyn, municipality of Szczepleszyn, county of Zamość [Superposition of the shaded model (azimuth: 315 degrees, inclination: 35 degrees) with the Numerical Model of the Terrain (coloured palette); ed. by Aleksandra Sznajdrowska-Pondel]

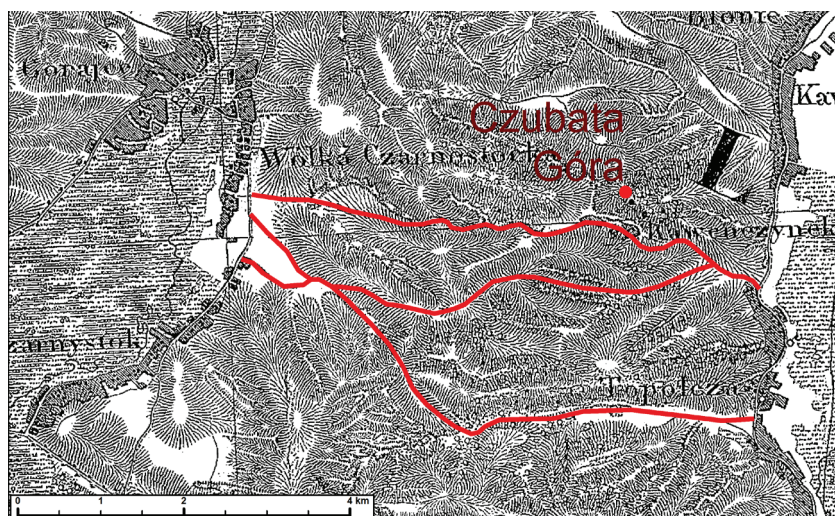


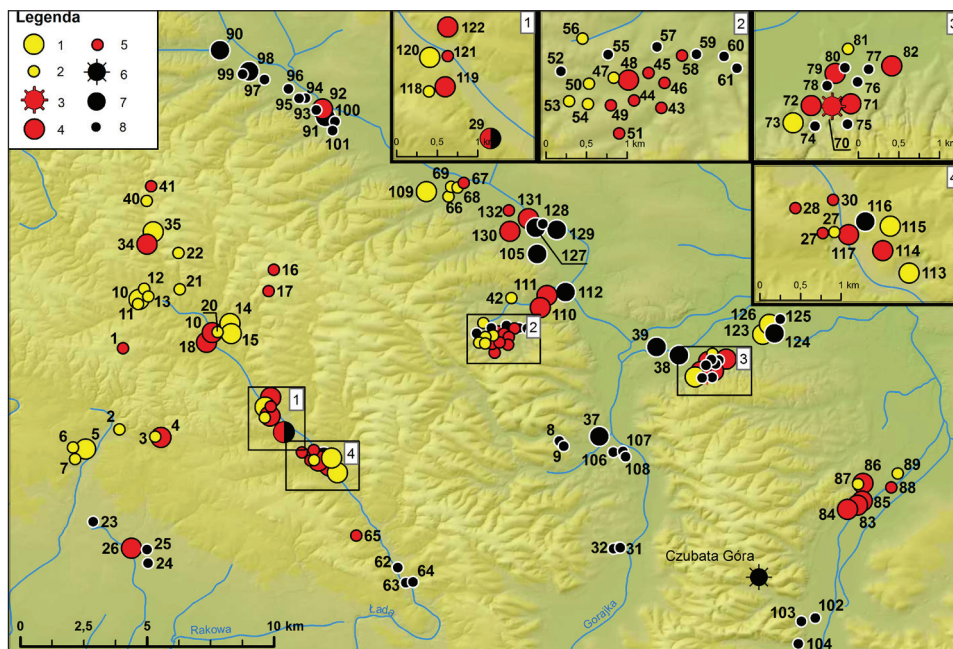
Fig. 7. Fragment of a map – Topographic Card of the Kingdom of Poland (Warsaw 1839, scale 1:126 000) presenting routes between Padół Zwierzyniecki and Padół Gorajski (red lines duplicate roads on the map which are, according to the author, the potential roads used to cross the *Gates* by the army of Shvart in 1266 towards Polish lands, red point is the location of the stronghold's relicts on Czubata Góra; substantive editing by the author; cartographic editing by Krzysztof Dzik)



Fig. 8. Gorge at the beginning of the road from Kawęczynek (by Czubata Góra) to the valley of Gorajec River (photo by A. Rozwałka)



Fig. 9. Gorge in the central part of the road from Kawęczynek (by Czubata Góra) to the valley of the Gorajec River (photo by A. Rozwałka)



Map legend: 1. Settlement from the tribal period (7<sup>th</sup> to the 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 10<sup>th</sup> c.); 2. Settlement trace from the tribal period (7<sup>th</sup> to the 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 10<sup>th</sup> c.); 3. Settlement from the early-state period (2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 10<sup>th</sup> c. to the 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 13<sup>th</sup> c.); 4. Settlement trace from the early-state period (2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 10<sup>th</sup> c. to the 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 13<sup>th</sup> c.); 5. Settlement from the early medieval period (7<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> c.); 6. Settlement trace from the early medieval period (7<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> c.); 7. Settlement from the early medieval period (7<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> c.); 8. Settlement trace from the early medieval period (7<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> c.); skeleton cemetery from this period was enclosed with the settlement (2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 10<sup>th</sup> c. to the 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 13<sup>th</sup> c.) in Szczebreszyn

Fig. 10. Archaeological image of the settlement in the eastern part of Rostocze Zachodnie in the Early Middle Ages (7<sup>th</sup> to the 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 13<sup>th</sup> c.), (substantive ed. by the author; cartographic ed. by Krzysztof Dzik)

Table (to Fig. 10). Archaeological image of the settlement in the eastern part of Roztocze Zachodnie in the Early Middle Ages (7<sup>th</sup> to the 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 13<sup>th</sup> c.)

Town	Municipality/ county	Number of sites on the map	Archaeological sources	Unpublished and archaeological works (chosen documentation and publications)
Biskupie	Wysokie/Lublin	98, 99	w.ś. – 1 ś.o. w.ś. – 1 o.	AZP 86-82/31, 33 (J. Niedźwiedź 2003); J. Gurba, E. Banasiewicz, S. Gołub, M. Florek, A. Rozwałka 1995, map 1; M. Siembida 2013
Branew	Dzwola/Janów	1, 2, 3, 4	9 <sup>th</sup> –10 <sup>th</sup> c. – 1 ś.o. 11 <sup>th</sup> –12 <sup>th</sup> c. – 1 o. 12 <sup>th</sup> c. – 1 ś.o.	AZP 88-81/59, 62 (Z. Wichrowski 2006); AZP 88-82/86 (Z. Wichrowski 2003); J. Gurba, E. Banasiewicz, S. Gołub, M. Florek, A. Rozwałka 1995, map 1; M. Siembida 2013
Branewka	Dzwola/Janów	5, 6, 7	8 <sup>th</sup> –9 <sup>th</sup> c. – 1 o. 9 <sup>th</sup> –10 <sup>th</sup> c. – 1 o. (?) 9 <sup>th</sup> –10 <sup>th</sup> c. – 1 ś.o.	AZP 88-81/69, 73 (Z. Wichrowski 2006); J. Gurba, E. Banasiewicz, S. Gołub, M. Florek, A. Rozwałka 1995, map 1; M. Siembida 2013
Chłopków	Frampol/ Biłgoraj	8, 9	w.ś. – 2 o.	AZP 88-84/16, 17 (J. Kuśnierz, A. Urbański 1989); J. Gurba, E. Banasiewicz, S. Gołub, M. Florek, A. Rozwałka 1995, map 1; M. Siembida 2013
Chrzanów	Chrzanów/ Janów	10–11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19–20, 21, 22	w.ś. – 1 ś.o. 7 <sup>th</sup> –10 <sup>th</sup> c. – 1 o. 8 <sup>th</sup> –9 <sup>th</sup> c. 1 ś.o. 8 <sup>th</sup> –10 <sup>th</sup> c. – 1 o. 9 <sup>th</sup> –10 <sup>th</sup> c. – 3 ś.o. 9 <sup>th</sup> –10 <sup>th</sup> c. – 2 o. 11 <sup>th</sup> –12 <sup>th</sup> c. – 2 o. (?) 13 <sup>th</sup> c. – 2 ś.o.	AZP 87-81/60-62, 64 (Z. Wichrowski 1998); AZP 87-82 (R. Niedźwiadek, Ł. Rejniewicz, A. Rozwałka 2003); AZP 88-82/44-45 (Z. Wichrowski 2003)
Dzwola	Dzwola/Janów	23, 24, 25, 26	w.ś. – 2 ś.o. 10 <sup>th</sup> –12 <sup>th</sup> – 1 o. (?)	AZP 89-81/10-12 (J. Libera 1985, 1993); J. Gurba, E. Banasiewicz, S. Gołub, M. Florek, A. Rozwałka 1995, map 1; M. Siembida 2013
Goraj	Goraj/Biłgoraj	27, 28, 29, 30	8 <sup>th</sup> –10 <sup>th</sup> c. – 1 o. 9 <sup>th</sup> –11 <sup>th</sup> c. – 1 ś.o. 10 <sup>th</sup> –11 <sup>th</sup> c. – 1 ś.o. 12 <sup>th</sup> –13 <sup>th</sup> c. – 1 o. 13 <sup>th</sup> c. – 1 ś.o.	AZP 89-82/30 (Z. Wichrowski 2002); AZP 88-82/7, 13, 17 (Z. Wichrowski 2003); J. Gurba, E. Banasiewicz, S. Gołub, M. Florek, A. Rozwałka 1995, map 1; Z. Wichrowski 2000; M. Siembida 2013

Table 1. contd.

Gorajec	Radecznica/ Zamość	31, 32, 33	w.ś. – 2 o. w.ś. – 1 ś.o.	AZP 89-84/4-6 (J. Buszewicz, A. Urbański, J. Waszkiewicz 1990); J. Gurba, E. Banasiewicz, S. Gołub, M. Florek, A. Rozwałka 1995, map 1; M. Siembida 2013
Kolonia Otrocz	Chrzanów/ Janów	34, 35	9 <sup>th</sup> –10 <sup>th</sup> c. – 1 ś.o. 9 <sup>th</sup> –10 <sup>th</sup> c. – 1 o. 10 <sup>th</sup> –12 <sup>th</sup> c. – 1 o.	AZP 87-81/69-70, 79 (Z. Wichrowski 1998)
Latyczyn	Radecznica/ Zamość	36, 37	w.ś. – 1 o. 12 <sup>th</sup> –13 <sup>th</sup> c. – 1 ś.o.	AZP 89-84/22, 23 (J. Buszewicz, J. Kuśnierz, J. Waszkiewicz 1989); J. Gurba, E. Banasiewicz, S. Gołub, M. Florek, A. Rozwałka 1995, map 1; M. Siembida 2013
Łada	–	118, 119, 120, 121	8 <sup>th</sup> –10 <sup>th</sup> c. – 1 ś.o. 8 <sup>th</sup> –10 <sup>th</sup> c. – 1 o. 12 <sup>th</sup> –13 <sup>th</sup> c. – 1 ś.o. 12 <sup>th</sup> –13 <sup>th</sup> c. – 1 o.	AZP 88-82/20, 22 (Z. Wichrowski 2003); J. Gurba, E. Banasiewicz, S. Gołub, M. Florek, A. Rozwałka 1995, map 1; M. Siembida 2013
Mokrelipie	Radecznica/ Zamość	38, 39	w.ś. – 2 o.	AZP 88-84/34, 39 (J. Buszewicz, A. Urbański, J. Waszkiewicz 1990); J. Gurba, E. Banasiewicz, S. Gołub, M. Florek, A. Rozwałka 1995, map 1; M. Siembida 2013
Otrocz	Chrzanów/ Janów	40, 41	9 <sup>th</sup> –10 <sup>th</sup> c. – 1 ś.o. 12 <sup>th</sup> –13 <sup>th</sup> c. – 1 ś.o.	AZP 86-81/89, 93 (Z. Wichrowski 1997); J. Gurba, E. Banasiewicz, S. Gołub, M. Florek, A. Rozwałka 1995, map 1; M. Siembida 2013
Podlesie Duże	Radecznica/ Zamość	42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57	w.ś. – 3 ś.o. 8 <sup>th</sup> –9 <sup>th</sup> c. – 2 ś.o. 8 <sup>th</sup> –9 <sup>th</sup> c. – 1 o. (?) 9 <sup>th</sup> –10 <sup>th</sup> c. – 3 ś.o. 10 <sup>th</sup> –11 <sup>th</sup> c. – 4 ś.o. 10 <sup>th</sup> –11 <sup>th</sup> c. – 2 o. 11 <sup>th</sup> –12 <sup>th</sup> c. – 1 ś.o.	AZP 87-83/12 (J. Niedźwiedz 1999); AZP 88-83/17-18, 20-23, 28-29, 35-36, 38, 47, 50, 53 (Z. Wichrowski 1999); J. Gurba, E. Banasiewicz, S. Gołub, M. Florek, A. Rozwałka 1995, map 1; M. Siembida 2013
Podlesie Małe	Radecznica/ Zamość	58, 59, 60, 61	w.ś. – 3 ś.o. 10 <sup>th</sup> –11 <sup>th</sup> c. – 1 ś.o.	AZP 88-83/46-47, 50, 53 (Z. Wichrowski 1999); J. Gurba, E. Banasiewicz, S. Gołub, M. Florek, A. Rozwałka 1995, map 1; M. Siembida 2013
Radzięcin	Frampol/ Biłgoraj	62, 63, 64, 65	w.ś. – 3 ś.o. 11 <sup>th</sup> c. – 1 ś.o.	AZP 89-83/10, 16-17, 66 (H. Taras 1998); J. Gurba, E. Banasiewicz, S. Gołub, M. Florek, A. Rozwałka 1995, map 1; M. Siembida 2013

Table 1. contd.

Rokitów	Turobin/Biłgoraj	67, 67, 68, 69	8 <sup>th</sup> –10 <sup>th</sup> c. – 3 ś.o. 10 <sup>th</sup> –11 <sup>th</sup> c. – 1 ś.o.	AZP 87-83/62, 64-66 (J. Niedźwiedź 1999); J. Gurba, E. Banasiewicz, S. Gołub, M. Florek, A. Rozwałka 1995, map 1; M. Siembida 2013
Sąsiadka	Sułów/Zamość	70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82	w.ś. – 2 ś.o. w.ś. – 3 o. 9 <sup>th</sup> –10 <sup>th</sup> c. – 2 o. <i>grodzisko</i> – 1 <sup>st</sup> half of the 11 <sup>th</sup> c. – 1 <sup>st</sup> half of the 13 <sup>th</sup> c. 11 <sup>th</sup> –13 <sup>th</sup> c. – 1 o. 12 <sup>th</sup> –13 <sup>th</sup> c. – 1 o.	AZP 88-84/60-62, 64-67, 76,78 (J. Buszewicz, J. Kuśnierz, A. Urbański, J. Waszkiewicz 1989); Z. Wartołowska 1958; J. Gurba, E. Banasiewicz, S. Gołub, M. Florek, A. Rozwałka 1995, map 1; J. Kalaga (ed.) 2013
Szczebrzeszyn	Szczebrzeszyn/ Zamość	83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89	<i>grodzisko</i> – 10 <sup>th</sup> c. 10 <sup>th</sup> c. – 1 o. 10 <sup>th</sup> c. – 1 ś.o. <i>grodzisko</i> – 12 <sup>th</sup> –13 <sup>th</sup> c. <i>cmentarzysko szkieletowe</i> – 12 <sup>th</sup> –13 <sup>th</sup> c.	AZP 89-85/10 (S. Hoczyk- -Siwkowa 1981), AZP 89- 85/1, 11, 14 (E. Banasiewicz, J. Podgórska-Czopek 1990); J. Gurba, E. Banasiewicz, S. Gołub, M. Florek, A. Rozwałka 1995, map 1; S. Hoczyk-Siwkowa 1999, pp. 93–96; I. Kutylowska 2015; M. Siembida 2013
Targowisko	Zakrzew/Lublin	90	w.ś. – 1 o. (?)	AZP 85-82/41 (J. Niedźwiedź 2002); J. Gurba, E. Banasiewicz, S. Gołub, M. Florek, A. Rozwałka 1995, map 1; M. Siembida 2013
Tarnawa Duża	Turobin/Biłgoraj	91–96	w.ś. – 4 ś.o. w.ś. – 1 o. (?) 12 <sup>th</sup> –13 <sup>th</sup> c. – 1 o. (?)	AZP 86-82/14-16, 18-20 (J. Niedźwiedź 2003); J. Gurba, E. Banasiewicz, S. Gołub, M. Florek, A. Rozwałka 1995, map 1; M. Siembida 2013
Tarnawa Duża Kolonia	Turobin/Biłgoraj	97	w.ś. – 1 ś.o.	AZP 86-82/26 (J. Niedźwiedź 2003); J. Gurba, E. Banasiewicz, S. Gołub, M. Florek, A. Rozwałka 1995, map 1; M. Siembida 2013
Tarnawa Mała	Turobin/Biłgoraj	100, 101	w.ś. – 1 ś.o.	AZP 86-82/39-40 (J. Niedźwiedź 2003); J. Gurba, E. Banasiewicz, S. Gołub, M. Florek, A. Rozwałka 1995, map 1; M. Siembida 2013
Topólca	Zwierzyniec/ Zamość	102, 103, 104	w.ś. – 3 ś.o.	AZP 90-85/14, 16, 17 (J. Bober 1990); J. Gurba, E. Banasiewicz, S. Gołub, M. Florek, A. Rozwałka 1995, map 1; M. Siembida 2013

Table 1. contd.

Wólka Abramowska	Goraj/Biłgoraj	113, 114	9 <sup>th</sup> -10 <sup>th</sup> c. – 1 o. 10 <sup>th</sup> c. – 1 o. (?)	AZP 89-82/19, 21 (Z. Wichrowski 1992); J. Gurba, E. Banasiewicz, S. Gołub, M. Florek, A. Rozwałka 1995, map 1; M. Siembida 2013
Wólka Czernięcińska	Turobin/Biłgoraj	105	w.ś. – 1 o. (?)	AZP 87-84/57 (W. Koman 1989); J. Gurba, E. Banasiewicz, S. Gołub, M. Florek, A. Rozwałka 1995, map 1; M. Siembida 2013
Zaburze	Radecznica/ Zamość	106, 107, 108	w.ś. – 3 ś.o.	AZP 89-84/11, 12, 14 (J. Buszewicz, A. Urbański, J. Waszkiewicz 1990); J. Gurba, E. Banasiewicz, S. Gołub, M. Florek, A. Rozwałka 1995, map 1; M. Siembida 2013
Zagrody	Goraj/Biłgoraj	122	10 <sup>th</sup> -11 <sup>th</sup> c. – 1 o.	AZP 88-82/55 (Z. Wichrowski 2003); J. Gurba, E. Banasiewicz, S. Gołub, M. Florek, A. Rozwałka 1995, map 1; M. Siembida 2013
Załawcze	Turobin/Biłgoraj	109	9 <sup>th</sup> -10 <sup>th</sup> c. – 1 o. (?)	AZP 87-83/67 (J. Niedźwiedz 1999); M. Siembida 2013
Zaporze	Radecznica/ Zamość	110, 111, 112	w.ś. – 2 o. 12 <sup>th</sup> -13 <sup>th</sup> c. – 1 o.	AZP 87-84/67, 69-70 (W. Koman 1989); J. Gurba, E. Banasiewicz, S. Gołub, M. Florek, A. Rozwałka 1995, map 1; M. Siembida 2013
Zastawie	Goraj/Biłgoraj	115, 116, 117	w.ś. – 1 o. 9 <sup>th</sup> -10 <sup>th</sup> c. – 1 o. 10 <sup>th</sup> -13 <sup>th</sup> c. – 1 o.	AZP 89-82/ 23, 24, 25 (Z. Wichrowski 2002); J. Gurba, E. Banasiewicz, S. Gołub, M. Florek, A. Rozwałka 1995, map 1; M. Siembida 2013
Żrebce	Sułów/Zamość	123, 124, 125, 126	w.ś. – 1 o. w.ś. – 1 ś.o. 8 <sup>th</sup> -10 <sup>th</sup> c. – 2 o.	AZP 88-85/28, 30-31, 33 (J. Buszewicz, A. Urbański, J. Waszkiewicz 1989); J. Gurba, E. Banasiewicz, S. Gołub, M. Florek, A. Rozwałka 1995, map 1; M. Siembida 2013
Żurawie	Turobin/Biłgoraj	127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132	w.ś. – 2 o. w.ś. – 1 ś.o. 10 <sup>th</sup> -12 <sup>th</sup> c. – 1 o. 11 <sup>th</sup> -12 <sup>th</sup> c. – 2 o 11 <sup>th</sup> -12 <sup>th</sup> c. – 1 ś.o.	AZP 87-83/ 23, 29, 32 (W. Koman 1989); AZP 87-84/42, 44, 46 (W. Koman 1989); J. Gurba, E. Banasiewicz, S. Gołub, M. Florek, A. Rozwałka 1995, map 1; M. Siembida 2013