“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

SUMMARY

Interest in researching the Gates, a passage on the Polish-Ruthenian border in the early medieval period, has its long (since the 19th century) – although not continuous – tradition. It was only the last discovery of a stronghold on Czubata Góra in Kawęczyn, municipality of Szczebrzeszyn, county of Zamość, in the West Roztocze, which once again drew attention to the opportunity to find this passage on the border between Roztocze Szczebrzeszyńskie 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 13th 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 Szczebrzeszyńskie

Bronisław Włodarski, a prominent scholar of the Polish-Ruthenian relations in the Middle Ages, referred to the battle between Shvarn and Vasylik, and Bolesław
the Chaste in 1266 as of little significance, taking place somewhere at the Polish-
-Ruthenian border\(^1\). 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 au-
thor of these words to take interest in this event, particularly in the context of the latest
archaeological research in Roztocze Gorajskie and Szczebbrzeszyńskie. 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,

\[\ldots\] while taking over the power as the Grand Duke of Lithuania, Wojsielk gave away Black
Ruthenia to Shvarn. We have some kind of a border conflict at that time between Shvarn and Va-
sylko, and Bolesław the Chaste (1265/6) as a consequence of the Lithuanian invasion of Bolesław’s
lands with the help of Ruthenian reinforcements\(^2\).

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 Włodzimirz – near Biała. Having
taken prisoners, Shvarn went to Chełm and Włodzimirz to Czermno where his
father, Vasylko, was. After his arrival, Włodzimirz 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 Vasylko in order
to start peace talks. Tarnawa was chosen as a place for the meeting\(^3\). However, as
stated by the Galician-Volhynian chronicle:

\[\ldots\] and after that Vasylko 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* \[^4\] they went to Bełz\(^4\).

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–

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\(^1\) “Taking over the power as a Grand Duke of Lithuania, Wojsielk gave Black Ruthenia to
Shvarn. We have in this period some sort of a border conflict between Shvarn and Vasylko, and
Boleslaw the Chaste (1265/6) as a result of the Lithuanian invasion on Boleslaw’s lands with the
support of Ruthenian reinforcements. The defeats caused by Boleslaw to Shvarn’s troops were the
decisive moment. There were no serious consequences of this conflict and peace was soon conclu-

\(^2\) B. Włodarski, *op. cit.*, p. 150; Z. Szambelan, *Najazdy ruskie na ziemię sandomierską

\(^3\) KH-W 2017, pp. 221–222.

\(^4\) *Ibidem*, p. 222.
Szczebrzeszyn route, most probably along the old tract of Zawichost–Biała–Izwoła (nowadays known as Dzwola–Szczebrzeszyn–Belz; Fig. 1)⁵. 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.]⁶.

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”⁷.

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. Kotljjar⁸. The author points out the findings of the 19th-century historian, A.I. Bunin, that the mountain range which stretches over 25 km of the southern section begins 15 verst (25 km)⁹ from Tarnawa¹⁰. In one place the range is cut by two

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⁵ 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 14th–15th 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 Wiprzh River (A. Janeczek, Osadnictwo pogranicza polsko-ruskiego. Województwo belskie od schyłku XIV do początku XVII w., Warszawa 1993, map no. 9).

⁶ KH-W 2017, p. 222.

⁷ Ibidem.


⁹ One Ruthenian verst, introduced also in the Kingdom of Poland in 1849, equals 1,668 km, thus 1,668 × 13 = 21,684 km (J. Szymański, Nauki pomocnicze historii, Warszawa 2005, p. 180).

¹⁰ A.I. Bunin, Gde nahodilis‘ vorota, upominaemye v letopisi v 1268 g., „Izvestiâ XI Arheologičeskogo s”yeza” 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\(^{11}\) 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 Szczecbrzeszyńskie, 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 Ruthenia. 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)\(^{12}\).

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\(^{11}\) 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.

the valley which cuts Roztocze with a corridor dividing Roztocze Gorajskie from Roztocze Szczeczeńskie. Opinions of Teresa Dunin-Wąsowicz and Zdzisław Szambelan, who are in favour of identifying the Gates with Padół Zwierzyniecki, can be placed in the same scope of considerations. 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 Wartołowska who located the Gates near the settlement of Sutiejsk.

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. 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:

13 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.

14 Dunin-Wąsowicz 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 Sąsiadka, we do not know their defence from the south” (T. Dunin-Wąsowicz, Drogi 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”.

15 Wartołowska: “In the chronicle the Gates are referred to as »miesto twierdo, zane niemuszcno byst’ oboiti jeho nikuda, że tiemże narieczahutsia Worota tiesnotuju swojejju«. 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 Sąsiadka, 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. Wartołowska, 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 Belz (KH-W 2017, p. 222).

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*.

However, Bielowski does not indicate that we have also a one-sentence mention, although for 1267, in “Rocznik Traski”: *Bolezlaus dux Cracovie devicit Rusthenos in loco qui est ad petram*. 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”, or “Kronika Wielkopolska” 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. 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. 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”. This is implaus-

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17 MPH II, n. 8, pp. 839–840.
18 MPH II, p. 839.
19 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 vitae*.
20 KW 2010, p. 197: “That year the army of Boleslaw, the duke of Cracow, having slipped into the lands of Ruthenia, devastated the principalty 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”.
21 *Jana Długosza kanonika krakowskiego Dziejów polskich ksiąg dwanaście*, t. 4, ks. 6, przeł. K. Mecheryżyński, Kraków 1868, pp. 384–385.
23 “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. 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. 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 17th-century “Chronicle of Hustynia” (Latopis hustyński), generally repeating information from the “Galician-Volhynian Chronicle” (Latopis halicko-wolnyński) and abundantly using the Polish sources, completely ignores the extensive account by Długosz. 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. 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. 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 13th and 14th century was the property of the bishopric of

24 “The whole camp of Ruthenians, wealthy with huge riches, was taken as spoils of war” (Jana Długosza..., p. 385).
25 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).
26 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, „Skroby Podkarpacia” 2011, t. 2, nr 27, pp. 10–13).
27 “A number of Polish sources lists the expedition of Bolesław the Chaste to the principal- 26 ity of Shvarn under 1266. Bolesław wanted to lure Vasilyko away from supporting Shvarn but the planned meeting of the dukes did not come to fruition. The Ruthenian chronicler 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).
28 […] marca auri de theloneo populariter dicto brona annuos reddis [...], KDM II no. 448.
Lubusz. 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 [...]30. 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”31. 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 13th century, the place of Sąsiadka was taken over by the near-by Szczeczeńszyn where, right next to the stronghold, a town centre started to develop since the configuration of the routes and roads changed as well32. 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 20th century33.

29 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).

30 The whole sentence is as follows: Nec modo in Ruthenia, que quasi est alter orbis, verum etiam in Polonia et Boemia, vel communi appelatione Slavonia, quae 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.


33 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 13th 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 7th to the 13th 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 Sąsiadka, Szczebczyn, 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. 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 7th and the 13th century – were included. The poor occupancy of Roztocze Szczebczynskie and Gorajskie in the 13th and 14th centuries is pointed out by an outstanding geographer, Jan Buraczyński, in his monumental monograph on the settlement in Roztocze. 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. 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


34 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.


36 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 Nadvzory 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 protection37.

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 Czermno (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 treasures38.


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 (ślad osadniczy)
w.ś. – Early Medieval Period (wczesne średniowiecze)

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Wichrowski Z., AZP 88-81, Kraśnik 2006.

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**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. Szczecbrzeszyn, pow. zamojski) ponownie zwróciło uwagę na możliwość doszukiwania się tego przejścia na pograniczu Roztocza Szczecbrzeszyńskiego 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 Ruś
Fig. 1. Between Szczebrzeszyn and Zawichost: roads in the 13th–14th c. in Roztocze Zachodnie (substantive editing by the author; cartographic editing by Krzysztof Dzik; based on the map by L. Gawrysiak 2004)

Fig. 2. Ruthenian invasions of the Polish lands between the upper Wieprz and Vistula rivers in the 13th c. (acc. to part of the map by Z. Szambelan 1989, with the changes done by the author; cartographic editing by Krzysztof Dzik, based on the map L. Gawrysiak 2004; black lines are vectors of the Ruthenian army marches)
Fig. 3. Physiographic features of the area of Roztocze Szczeczeszyńskie between Zwierzyniec and Szcebrzeszyn, 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 Szczebrzeszyn, 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 Szczebrzeszyn, 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 Szczebrzeszyn, 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 Shvarn 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 Gorajec River (photo by A. Rozwałka)
Map legend: 1. Settlement from the tribal period (7th to the 1st half of the 10th c.); 2. Settlement trace from the tribal period (7th to the 1st half of the 10th c.); 3. Settlement from the early-state period (2nd half of the 10th c. to the 1st half of the 13th c.); 4. Settlement from the early-state period (2nd half of the 10th c. to the 1st half of the 13th c.); 5. Settlement trace from the early-state period (2nd half of the 10th c. to the 1st half of the 13th c.); 6. Settlement from the early medieval period (7th–13th c.); 7. Settlement from the early medieval period (7th–13th c.); 8. Settlement trace from the early medieval period (7th–13th c.); skeleton cemetery from this period was enclosed with the settlement (2nd half of the 10th c. to the 1st half of the 13th c.) in Szczebrzeszyn

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

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<td>9th–10th c. – 3 ś.o.</td>
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