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The stronghold on Kirkut Hill in Lublin. The state of recognition of the remains of the former stronghold and its role in the medieval Lublin agglomeration

Abstract

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The aim of the article is to present the state of the research conducted on the remains of a medieval stronghold on Grodzisko Hill, also known as Kirkut Hill (due to the Jewish cemetery from the late Middle Ages and early modern period located on its top), as well as to show the latest approach to dating the remains of the stronghold and its role in the medieval Lublin agglomeration. Archaeological research carried out on the hill and at its foot in the 1960s and 1970s was of limited range due to the existence of the Jewish cemetery. However, it can be considered that they provided an amount of data that enables the reconstruction of stratigraphy of the stronghold and recognition of the structure of its rampart running along the edge of the hill. After many discussions, both among historians and Lublin archaeologists, a certain consensus regarding the chronology and the function of the former stronghold on Grodzisko Hill has now been reached. It seems that it was in the 13th century that the stronghold was built and, then, before the century ended, it was destroyed. It coexisted with an older structure – probably built in the 12th century – namely the castellan stronghold on Zamkowe Hill. Recent research indicates that during the second half of 13th century, or at the turn of the 13th and 14th centuries, a new line of ramparts was built on Staromiejskie Hill. This is how three parts of the Lublin agglomeration were distinguished. Perhaps, in this structure, the stronghold on Kirkut Hill could have functioned as a guard post for a part of the long-distance route located in the area of today's Kalinowszczyzna Street. The 13th century, and especially its second half, was the time of numerous Yotvingian, Lithuanian, Mongolian, Ruthenian and Tatar invasions.

Keywords: Eastern Poland, Lublin, Grodzisko Hill, remains of a medieval stronghold, archaeological research

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1. Introduction

Lublin is crossed by the Bystrzyca River, which flows into the Wieprz River and then with it into the Vistula. The Bystrzyca has formed a wide valley within the borders of the modern city. In the past, it was swampy, making it difficult to access the Staromiejskie and Zamkowe hills. It is upon these that the main sections of the agglomeration were built. Both hills rise steeply above another valley – that of the Czechówka. This river, east of the Old Town complex, flows into

the Bystrzyca. From the north, into the interconnected river valleys, enters the loess headland adjacent to the loess plateau (Fig. 1). Later use of the area, and especially the creation of Kalinowszczyzna Street, resulted in the formation of a gap. From the east, the border of the promontory is marked by a natural gorge, where Floriańska Street (formerly Podmiejska Street) is located. Further to the east, there is a hill called Białkowska Góra. It was named after Baltazar Białkowski, who took the area in 1552. In 1602 he established his own jurydyka here, which he tried to

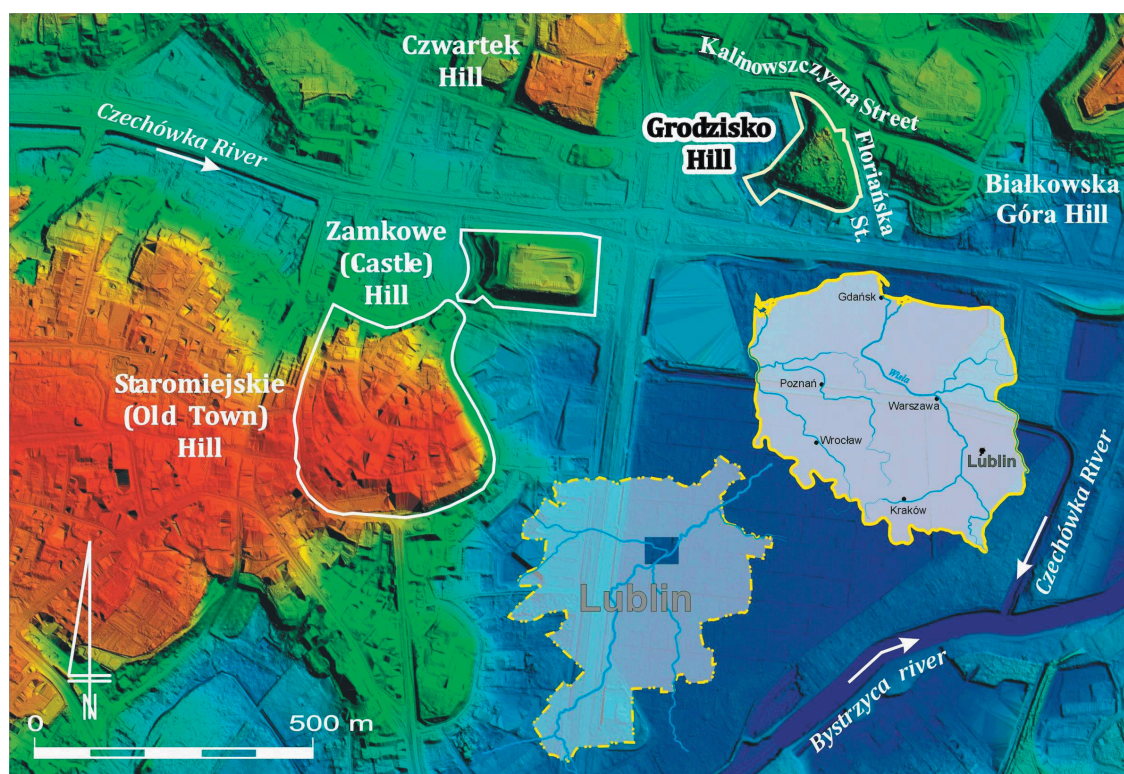


Fig. 1. Grodzisko (Kirkut) Hill. Digital terrain model by G. Mączka, based on ASL data (after R. Niedźwiadek 2019).

separate from the town's lands. His attempt was unsuccessful, but the jurydyka survived. It was abolished by the provisions of the Constitution of May 3, 1791 (Wojciechowski *et al.* 1986, 29). Białkowska Góra might have been a part of the stronghold complex where craft settlement might have been located (cf. Rozwałka *et al.* 2006, 81–83).

The first preserved reference to the said promontory comes from 1502, when it was called “grodzisko (stronghold) mountain”, while in 1508 it was described as “the old stronghold before Lublin” (Kuraś, 127). The phrase “the hill called grodzisko”, however, was found in a document from 1555, when the Jews living in Lublin Podzamcze leased a third of the area to turn it into a Jewish cemetery (Wojciechowski *et al.* 1986, 29). In the cited sources one can notice the record of a process to which this landform was subjected – from a place recognised in the first half of the 16th century as a stronghold to a necropolis, which finally covered its entire area (Fig. 2). For these reasons, two names are used simultaneously – Grodzisko and Kirkut (from the German kirchhof). In the first half of the 17th century, at the base of the hill occupied by the necropolis, a massive fence wall was built. The wall separated the hill even more visibly from the surrounding space (Fig. 3). Three tombstones of Ashkenazi Jews located closest to

Kalinowszczyzna Street entrance have been preserved. The dates on them are older than the confirmed date of leasing the area to create the cemetery: 1541 – matzeva of Jaakow Kopelman (a Talmudist and rabbi), and next to it there are tombstones of cantor Abraham, son of Uszaj (who died in 1543) and a woman named Chana, who died in 1552 (after Trzciński 1990).

Grodzisko Hill covers an area of about 1.3 hectares. In plan view, its shape is similar to a triangle, with its obtuse angle is located in the west corner. The northern top meets the loess hilltop, the opposite one goes deeply into the valley zone, while the north-west side has a characteristic concavity (Fig. 1–2). The surface of Grodzisko falls slightly towards the south – to an elevation of about 185.00 m a.s.l. In the northern part, however, there is a section rampart, the culmination of which approaches 190.00 m a.s.l. The panorama of this site is characterised by steep slopes with the base, on the southern side, located about 173.00 m a.s.l. (Fig. 4). We can therefore conclude that from the side of the river valleys, the edge of the hill was elevated to, at least, 12 m. In the Middle Ages, the promontory was at least 1.5 meters higher because such was the thickness of contemporary and early modern period embankment layers found in the valley area, under the present Floriańska and Sienna Streets that

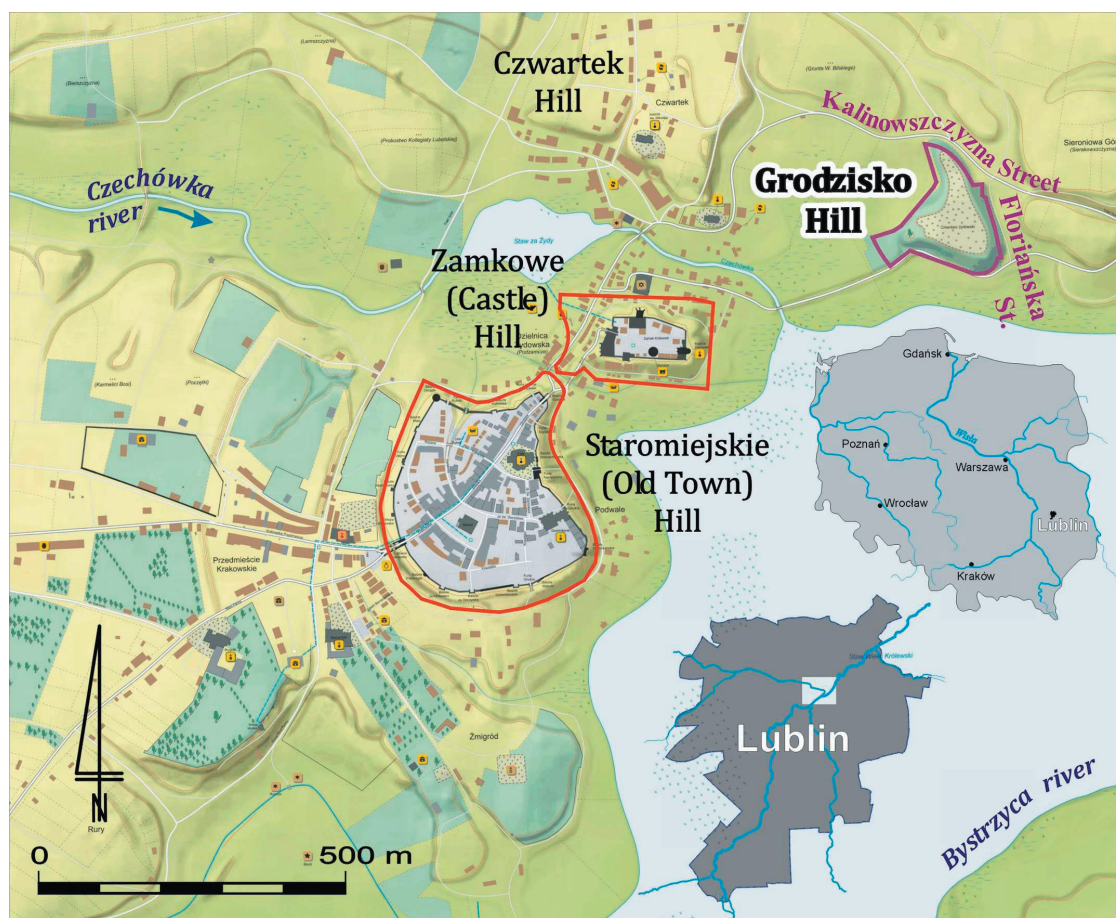


Fig. 2. Grodzisko (Kirkut) Hill, Czwartek Hill, Staromiejskie (Old Town) and Zamkowe (Castle) Hill in the cartographic reconstruction of Lublin from the Union of Lublin period by Jakub Kuna (after R. Niedźwiadek 2019).



Fig. 3. Grodzisko (Kirkut) Hill. View from the south-east, present times (after A. Rozwałka, R. Niedźwiadek, M. Stasiak 2006).



Fig. 4. View of the Grodzisko (Kirkut) Hill from the south-east. Aerial photography by P. Krassowski from 1964 (after R. Niedźwiadek 2019).

surround the discussed site from the east and south (Niedźwiadek and Zimny 2019, 21, 32, 87).

The defensive advantages such as natural steepness of the slopes, were also strengthened by periodic fluctuations of water level (Fig. 2). As for the period between 1200 and 1400, when the stronghold on Grodzisko Hill probably existed, it has been found that, compared to the previous cycle, the climate was wetter and colder (Maruszczak 1974, 46–47; Maruszczak 1991, 182–190). At that time, peat-forming processes occurred at the bottoms of the Lublin river valleys. The swamping of river valleys became an obstacle to the economic development of Lublin but it led to improvement of its defences (Kociuba 2011, 84–87). At that time, the gorge separating Grodzisko Hill from Białkowska Góra appeared, as well as the road connecting Czechówka River valley and the entrance of the stronghold on Grodzisko Hill (Kociuba 2011, 87 – note no. 43; Rodzoń and Mroczek 2017, 312–315). No paleo-environmental research has been carried out on the site and its surroundings. One can, however, picture the water relations due to the partial recognition of the former Franciscan monastery complex (now Salesians) adjacent to the west side of Grodzisko

Hill (Fig. 4). The southern and western wing of the monastery buildings, protruding into the Bystrzyca valley, was erected on a wooden grate put on river silt (Hunicz 1970, 2–3).

If we look, even briefly, at the history of the research on Grodzisko Hill, we will undoubtedly admit that the scientific interest in this site has been led by historians. Teresa Wąsowicz thought that in the period between 11–12th centuries more than one stronghold might have functioned in Lublin. The first of them would have been on Zamkowe Hill, and the second one on Grodzisko (Kirkut) Hill. Both were supposed to guard the river crossing and the ford leading to the area of today's Stare Miasto (Old Town) (Wąsowicz 1961, 223–224, note 57). Stefan Wojciechowski also argued for the synchronous existence of the strongholds on Kirkut Hill and Zamkowe Hill. In his opinion, both hills had almost the same defensive values, and their strategic location afforded control over the wide valley of connected rivers. The fortress located on Grodzisko could, additionally, guard the Ruthenian trail and the settlements on Czwartek Hill (Figs. 1–2). Within its ramparts, there was probably a settlement consisting of several dozen houses (Wo-

kiejchowski 1965, 11–23). Aleksander Gardawski was the first archaeologist to comment on the analysed site, and he believed that the hypothetical tribal defence system located in the northern part of Czwartek Hill was moved to the Kirkut area. He believed that Grodzisko, together with the neighbouring Białkowska Góra Hill, formed one settlement complex. The next translocation was to Zamkowe Hill and during the relocation of the stronghold both structures could function simultaneously, defending in the 12th century the settlement centre of the Lublin agglomeration (Gardawski 1965, 24–29).

2. History of the research and methods

In 1968, the first excavation research was carried out on Grodzisko-Kirkut Hill (Fig. 5) (Hoczyk 1969, 260–262). It should be noted that the end of the 1960s

and the beginning of the next decade of the 20th century was a period of intensive research aimed at discovering traces of Slavic settlements. In 1968, the second excavation campaign on one of the most important sites – the settlement on Czwartek Hill – ended (Młynarska-Kaletyn 1966, 79–122). That year, the first excavations on Staromiejskie Hill (Hoczyk-Siwkowa 1974, 97–113), were also started, and, in the following season, systematic archaeological research on Zamkowe Hill began (Hoczyk, Ślusarski. 1971, 53–77). The research has continued, with varying degrees of intensity, to this day. The excavation campaigns from 50 years ago were followed by surface survey of the river valleys, both within and outside the city (Libera 1985–1986, 249–256). All these actions contributed to rapid increase in the amount of gathered data, which, since then, has been an invaluable source of information about Lublin settlement throughout the early Middle Ages.



Fig. 5. Lublin – Grodzisko Hill. Range of archaeological recognition: a – the outline of the former Franciscan complex, b – fence wall of the Jewish cemetery, c – excavations of S. Hoczyk-Siwkowa from 1968, d – are grid and excavations of I. Kutyłowska from 1974, e – surveys by I. Kutyłowska from 1976, f – range of ramparts of the stronghold proposed by S. Hoczyk-Siwkowa, g – sections of the fence wall which were renovated with archaeological prospection carried out by ARCHEE studio (after R. Niedźwiadek 2019)

Compared to the sites mentioned earlier [...] *only Grodzisko (Kirkut) Hill was not archaeologically investigated*. Stanisława Hoczyk-Siwkowa included such words in the documentation of these works, and this is probably how she expressed the need to start the investigation. The researcher carried out the archaeological research with the support of Maria Chyżewska (Sułowska). Although S. Hoczyk-Siwkowa is the only author in the publications presenting the archaeological excavation research results, it is necessary to point out that the researcher herself, in the text of the documentation and the latest article summarising the work, mentions the input of Maria Chyżewska (Sułowska). According to the opinion expressed by S. Hoczyk-Siwkowa, Maria Chyżewska (Sułowska) should also be treated as the author of the research, but this fact has not been used in literature so far. The researcher recalls: [...] *because at the same time I was already conducting field work on the above-mentioned sites, we invited Maria Chyżewska, a graduate of the University of Łódź, employed at the Department of Polish Archeology of the Catholic University of Lublin, to work on Grodzisko Hill* (Hoczyk 2012, 170). Elsewhere, S. Hoczyk-Siwkowa states – *It is because of her that this site was then as well recognised as the others. With cheerful approval, she supervised the daily progress of works, labelled artefacts, drew plans and profiles [...]* (Hoczyk 2009, 13).

In the 1968 season, the survey excavation method was chosen. The size of the excavations was 1×5 m with 10 meters distance between them (Fig. 5). The excavations were attempted to be located near the edge of the stronghold. By the eastern escarpment there were five excavations – marked with numbers from I to V. Along the southern border of the hill, a line of 5 ditches was marked out (no. X–XIV). After the discovery of settlement features from the tribal period, the scope of exploration was expanded to fully

capture their outlines and contents. In the northern part, where the remains of the ramparts were located, the grid of excavations – nos. VI, VII/1, VII/2, VII/3, VII/4, VIII, IX – was significantly thicker, and the excavations themselves were enlarged to a length of even 14 meters. At the western edge, the survey excavation XV was located, while excavations nos. XVI and XVII run across the parade ground. Near the northern base of the rampart, the last excavation no. XVIII was marked out.

As S. Hoczyk-Siwkowa explains – the choice of the described method was the optimal compromise that reduced to minimum the possible damage to the site surface (Hoczyk 2009, 2). Placing survey excavation along almost all sides resulted in a fairly good picture of the stratigraphy. It should be remembered, above all, that the Grodzisko parade ground hides the remains of the first Jewish cemetery in Lublin where, despite the devastation from the Nazi occupation period and the People's Republic of Poland times, many tombstones survived (Fig. 6). In such a situation, free planning of excavations was not an option.

In total, during field works that took place between June 18th and July 27th, 1968, an area of over 2 ares was investigated, which was approximately 1.5% of the entire stronghold area. While deepening the excavations, the “arbitrary levels” method was used, but for the infills of features the method chosen was excavation by natural levels (Hoczyk 2012, 172).

In 1974, in connection with the planned construction of the future Open Air Village Museum in Lublin, seven excavations covering a total area of 120 m² were established in the south-eastern part of the site (Fig. 5, 7). The research was conducted by Irena Kutylowska under the supervision of Jan Gurba. Within the excavations, early medieval features as well as levels and graves created during the use of the cemetery were found (Kutylowska 1977, 211–212). I. Ku-



Fig. 6. Grodzisko (Kirkut) Hill. View from north-east, present times (photo Marek Stasiak)

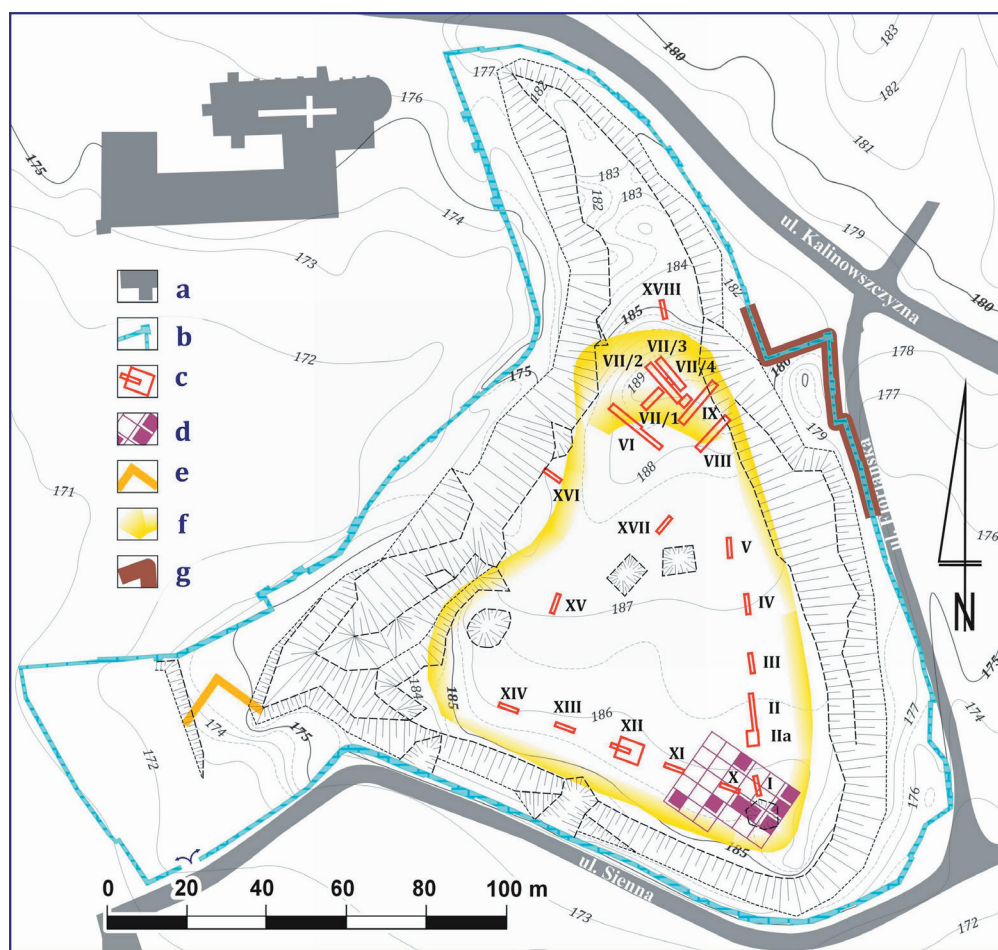


Fig. 7. Lublin – Grodzisko Hill. Range of archaeological recognition: a – the outline of the former Franciscan complex, b – fence wall of the Jewish cemetery, c – excavations of S. Hoczyk-Siwkowa from 1968, d – are grid and excavations of I. Kutylowska from 1974, e – surveys by I. Kutylowska from 1976, f – range of ramparts of the stronghold proposed by S. Hoczyk-Siwkowa, g – sections of the fence wall which were renovated with archaeological prospection carried out by ARCHEE studio (after R. Niedźwiadek 2019)

tyłowska returned to the site in question in 1976 and conducted some survey research. This time, at the foot of Grodzisko Hill, on its south-west side, where levelling was carried out before the construction of a car park, two cross excavations were established. The survey no. 1 on the north-south axis was 13 meters long and 2 meters wide while the east-west excavation was 2 meters longer with the same width as no. 1. Under the turf there were levels of loess. The deposits were 2.0 to 2.5 meters thick and might have been the result of anthropogenic levelling or denudation processes. 21 early modern period graves from the Jewish cemetery were dug in these layers. Below, there was a cultural layer dated, after clay vessels fragments analysis, to the VII–VIII century. It was a layer of [...] *brown-black soil, 50 cm thick, with fragments of early medieval ceramics from VII–VIII century, clods of daub and, in the western part of the excavation, remains of decayed*

wood in the form of two vertically embedded, 10–15 cm thick, stilts connected with thinner, plaited branches. A more detailed interpretation of the wood remains is not possible due to the narrow width of the excavations (Kutylowska 1975, 180).

In later years, archaeologists no longer had access to the site. Archaeological research around the stronghold was limited to the supervision of line excavations. Usually, they were shallow trenches for telecommunication infrastructure. Limited observation possibilities resulted in a small amount of data on land economy in the early Middle Ages. Only obtaining a fragment of a clay pot dated to XII to XIII century can be considered as significant. The artefact was found in the *settlement layer* located at a depth of about 100 cm below the surface of Sienna street (Hunicz 2009, 182).

The results of most of this significant and pioneering research, carried out on the Lublin hills in the

late 1960s or early 1970s, usually not long after their completion, were published and thus included in the scientific circulation. In terms of publications, the results of excavation research on Grodzisko Hill were not so lucky. For the first time they were discussed in the unpublished doctoral dissertation of Stanisława Hoczyk. Particularly large part of it was devoted to the description and analysis of artefacts and settlement features from the tribal period (Hoczyk 1971). One of the chapters was titled *Defence Structures*, and it provides brief information about the results of the 1968 research (Hoczyk 1971, 74–76). In subsequent publications, the researcher repeatedly referred to the results achieved, but in a briefer manner than in the source work. Each of the following articles lacked layers characteristics, stratigraphic system analysis, layers chronology, and presentation of, at least, some parts of the field work documentation.

The importance of the excavation research carried out in 1968 on Grodzisko Hill clearly contrasted with the impossibility of gaining a deeper insight into the results. Thus, many contradictory and, sometimes, mutually exclusive hypotheses regarding the dating of the site and even its function have arisen (Rozwałka *et al.* 2006, 81–83; Florek 2014, 171–188).

This text is not meant to be a synthesis, and the authors do not intend to reinterpret the findings. The article is an attempt to present the results of all the archaeological research done on Grodzisko Hill. Those who wrote these words obtained the permission to view S. Hoczyk-Siwkowa's doctoral dissertation, to which the author refers in many publications, and it should be clearly emphasized that the typescript of the dissertation was the first and most complete source of information about the research results from this site until 2012. In terms of movable material, it is still the most comprehensive information resource. In 2009, the cited researcher submitted documentation of the excavations to the Provincial Office for the Protection of Monuments in Lublin. The study contains 13 pages of text, 12 tables with drawings of fragments of ceramics, a plan of excavations and a photocopy of selected drawings from field documentation, which were coloured (the originals are stored in the Lublin Castle Museum). Documentation from field research should be the first and basic source of information about the archaeological site. However, in the case of the object in question, the elaboration of results was labelled: "Only for official use. The copyright of the authors of field works documentation (drawings and photographs) and the priority of publication reserved." The objection could impede the use of this source. S.

Hoczyk published the text of the cited documentation, after expanding and supplementing it, in *Studia i Materiały Lubelskie*. Thus, it can be considered that the restrictive clause has expired. The study was accompanied by a copy of Paweł Fijałkowski's article on the funeral rite of Polish Jews, writing of which he used, among others, the results of excavations carried out in 1968, 1974 and 1976 (Fijałkowski 1989, 25–42).

The last article by S. Hoczyk-Siwkowa in *Studia i Materiały Lubelskie* (2012, 167–205) regarding the research on Kirkut Hill can be treated as the only synthesis where the sequence of layers from the entire site was determined, individual units were described, phases of use were separated, and the final dating was discussed and decided. The Grodzisko Hill area was divided into two parts. The flatter, southern one, resembling a *plateau*, is number 2a, while the northern one – with preserved remains of rampart embankment was marked as 2b (Fig. 5, 7). In this publication, after graphic processing, some selected drawings were included – the plan of the site showing the location of excavations, tables with examples of movable artefacts, views and cross-sections of several features of the tribal period, as well as views and cross-sections of excavations VIII, IX presenting the stratigraphy of the rampart (Fig. 8 b–c). Therefore, the 1968 discoveries seem to be a reliable source of information to refer to. On the other hand, I. Kutylowska did not submit documentation from two seasons of her own archaeological research until 2019. In this situation, apart from short references in *Informator Archeologiczny* and hypotheses expressed in the habilitation dissertation from 1990 (Kutylowska 1990), we have only an extensive article by the researcher provided with scarce picture material (Kutylowska 2003, 249–258).

S. Hoczyk, in her doctoral dissertation, outlined the stratigraphy of the site for the first time. "Primary humus" (No. 1) was located over the sterile earth loess, layers 2 and 3 would correspond to the rampart, while unit no. 4 was *clay put on the rampart debris, probably in attempt to rebuild It* (Hoczyk 1971, 217–218). The sequence was intersected by grave ditches and trenches from World War II (Hoczyk 1971, 74).

I. Kutylowska introduced a different numbering when she discussed the results of her own excavations. Sterile earth loess was marked as no. 1. Above, there was the primary humus – layer no. 2. Fills of all the tribal period features – pits and farmsteads – as well as charcoal and ash clusters were described as number 2a. The researcher did not distinguish the units the rampart was built of, but there was another, very important category – layers that allow distinguishing

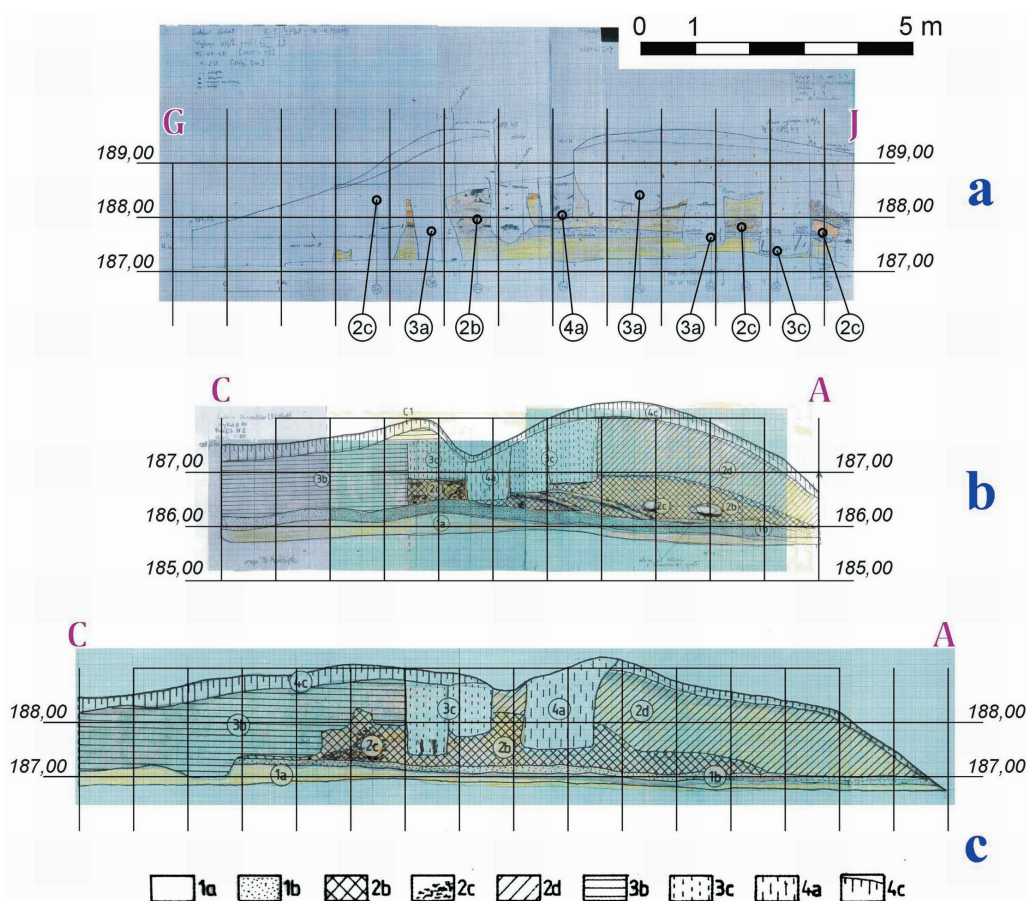


Fig. 8. Lublin – Grodzisko Hill – vertical cross-sections of the stronghold rampart (along profiles of excavations: a – No VII/2, b – No VIII, c – No IX, after S. Hoczyk 2009, 2012). Legend: 1a – geological loess, 1b – primary humus, 2b – light brown loess – embankment of rampart I, 2c – burnt clay soil with fragments of wooden beams and charcoal pieces, 2d – yellow-gray soil (embankment II), 3b – gray “embankment” soil, 3a – burial pit, 4a – shooting trench, 4b – humus (according to R. Niedźwiadek 2019).

the phases of use of the cemetery. Grave pits from the older horizon – marked as 2b – intersected the units 1, 2 and 2a. Above, there was layer no. 3 – a levelling layer consisting of loess and “grey soil” with an admixture of limestone stones, lumps of daub and charcoal pieces. During the deposition of this unit, the backfills of graves from the older phase were partially levelled, the depth of the burial pits, however, was in the range of 60–120 cm. The thickness of layer no. 3 exceeded 100 cm. A younger series of graves was found in its ceiling, some of them contained coins issued after the mid-17th century. Among the obtained numismatic items, the silver royal shilling of Sigismund III Vasa (from 1616) was introduced the earliest. Above the sepulchral levels there was contemporary humus – unit no. 4 (Kutyłowska 2003, 252–253).

I. Kutyłowska’s findings about the two phases of Kirkut Hill’s use are confirmed by written sources. In the inspection from 1614 it was noted that [...] *Jews pay the funeral rent annuatim [three zlotys] and for*

the area they dug in later, four zlotys (Rabinin 1938, 74). The quoted note can be interpreted not only as a confirmation of a kind of “renewal” of the burial space, but also as a result of its enlargement, because before adding the land, Jews paid 3 zlotys of rent for 1614, and after re-levelling the rent increased to 4 zlotys. The need to cover 16th century graves may indicate that there was no more space left for burying the dead. It was also done to follow one of the most important principles of a funeral rite – the integrity of burial. In light of the findings of I. Kutyłowska, the spreading of layer 3 could also go beyond the original outline of the stronghold, because in the excavations from 1976 she discovered that the thickness of the rampart at the foot of the southern escarpment of the hill reached up to 3 meters (Kutyłowska 2003, 255). Discriminating the phases of the use of the necropolis one can also refer to the earlier role of the site when it served as a stronghold. This situation was registered in the drawing documentation of the 1968

season (Hoczyk 2009, 7–8, picture material; Hoczyk 2012, 194, 197, Figs. 10, 13). The graves from the earlier stage were dug in the level of the ceiling of early medieval cultural layers or in the remains of the rampart. Younger graves, however, were dug in the level of the 17th century levelling (Fig. 8).

The results of two excavation campaigns shown above, conducted by two researchers, show different reconstructions of layer sequences, although they relate to the same site. Unification, therefore, was proposed by S. Hoczyk-Siwkowa in the documentation of the first season of field works (Hoczyk 2009, 7–8). In her latest article, a correction to the description and numbering of the lowest-lying units was included (Hoczyk 2012, 177–178, 192). Let us present the final findings, which were also used to prepare the figures included in the cited article. S. Hoczyk-Siwkowa distinguished 4 stratigraphic levels, which are also chronological horizons: 1 – primary formation; 1a – yellow sterile earth loess; 1b – “gray-brown primary humus”; 2 – early medieval levels (VI/VII–XIII century); 2a – settlement remains – feature backfills and cultural layer – dated to the tribal period; 2b – “embankment of rampart I”, also called “the lower one”; 2c – “elements of the structure of burnt rampart in the embankment” (stronghold burnt in the XIII century); 2d – embankment of rampart II consisting of “yellow loess”; 3 – use of the Jewish cemetery (~ 1541/1555–1830); 3a – grave pits from the older phase; 3b – a layer of soil increasing the level of the cemetery; 3c – grave pits from the younger phase; 4 – World War II and modern times; 4a – shooting trenches and their fillings; 4b – soil deposited during construction of trenches; 4c – contemporary turf.

From the list above, the main stages of the use of the site emerge. A relatively large number of surveys would allow an attempt to determine the primary morphology, e.g. using 3D modelling. As has been mentioned many times, however – due to the author’s restrictions – access to drawing documentation is very limited. After reviewing the field works documentation stored in Lublin Castle Museum, we can conclude that as for the part of the site marked as 2a, some drawings are missing.

I. Kutylowska believed that the use of the cemetery during the first phase resulted in the removal of significant amount of primary humus, sometimes to the point of reaching geological loess (Kutylowska 2003, 253). However, in most drawings made by M. Chyżewska (Sułowska), we can see the presence of this unit also under the embankment of the rampart. It is not intersected by any features. S. Hoczyk-Siwkowa

noted that, in its ceiling, there were fragments of vessels from the tribal period and *younger phases of the early Middle Ages* [...] *This may mean that the surface of the hill was deforested and, most probably, used for farming for many centuries* (Hoczyk 2009, 7). It is possible that, due to the removal of trees, the erosion process was started, because, in the southern part of the site, greater thickness of layer 1a was noted. The presence of artefacts in its ceiling, however, may suggest that it could, to some extent, also be a cultural layer. This, on the other hand, contrasts with the function assigned to layer 2a. Based on the available materials, this doubt cannot be resolved. The one thing that seems likely is the assumption that the site, throughout the early Middle Ages, was not abandoned for a longer period of time.

In the results of both excavation campaigns, we find features assigned to the tribal settlement phase. In the course of the study from 1974, four shallow pithouses and a “pear-shaped” storage pits were uncovered – most of them dated to the VIII–IX century, one of the houses contained older fragments of ceramics (6/7–8th century) (Kutylowska 2003, 254–255). S. Hoczyk-Siwkowa distinguished similar time horizons. The earliest stage of Slavic settlement – phase I – is represented, among others, by repeatedly cited hut 29 with a stone oven, captured in excavation XII (Parczewski 1988, 166, 223, table XVIII). Also in other surveys, with the exception of the northern part occupied by the rampart, several features of the tribal period were discovered (phase II) (Hoczyk 2012, 182–186). Summing up the revealed remains of the settlement of the tribal period, S. Hoczyk-Siwkowa states that the southern part of the hill was occupied by a small settlement with residential buildings. But at the same time the author also states that, and it is important as for the next period of use – [...] *there is no settlement layer between the features, which may suggest a periodic use of the hill* (Hoczyk 2012, 189).

In the latest publication, S. Hoczyk-Siwkowa does not connect any residential features with the third phase, i.e. 10–11th century. In the documentation stored in the WUOZ archives this phase is not included at all – immediately after the settlement of the tribal period, phase IV (the second half of the 11th century – 1317) is presented. Some information about material remains of the phase can be found in the typescript of the doctoral dissertation, where detailed presentation of spatial distribution of the artefacts assigned to phase IV is included. According to the words written there, the cultural layer was found not only in excavations XV, XVI, XVII (central part of the parade

common to all fragments of the rampart. In excavation VI, some burned material was found, but the amount was smaller than in other excavations (Fig. 9). The absence of daub and stones was also noted there. Elsewhere in the typescript of the dissertation, it was said that in excavation VI there was dark gray earth, 50 cm thick and, moreover, *It contained charcoal and traces of two burned beams. It was spatially limited (length of 2.60 m) and it was probably a part of enlarged rampart core.* (Hoczyk 1971, 75). This information, based on available visual materials, cannot be verified, however – analysing the isohypse plan – it can be concluded that the rampart embankment may have run through the central and north-eastern part of excavation VI.

However, in surveys VIII and IX, in addition to burnt clay, pieces of coal and stones were registered and they were only found on the inner side of the embankment. The largest number of damaged artefacts was registered in excavations VII/1 – VII/2, where [...] *there was a huge amount of burned daub and stones, which made the excavation difficult to explore* (Hoczyk 1971, 75). A dense level of debris was also located on the inner side of the rampart, which preserved height

reached 40 to 60 cm. Given fragments of these remains can be found in the description, as well as in figures (Fig. 10). From the cited observations, it can be concluded that the embankment on the inner side had a kind of facing or formwork that protected the escarpment against slipping (layer 2c – according to the taxonomy adopted by S. Hoczyk in the last article from 2012).

In the latest study of the results of the first research season, one can find a comprehensive description of the rampart structure, which includes drawings and reproduced photographs (Fig. 8, 9, 10) (Hoczyk 2012, 192–193, figs. 10, 11a, 11b, c, 13). Wooden beams, 20–30 cm in diameter, were used to build the rampart grate. They were arranged at an angle to the line of the embankment with 1 meter distance between them. Near the beams, pieces of limestone and lumps of daub were found, but their role was not interpreted here. More details concerning the relationship between wood, stones and clay can be found in the typescript of the doctoral dissertation. S. Hoczyk stated that, excluding excavations VII/1–4 [...] *the rest of the sections of the embankment were made with less effort* (Hoczyk

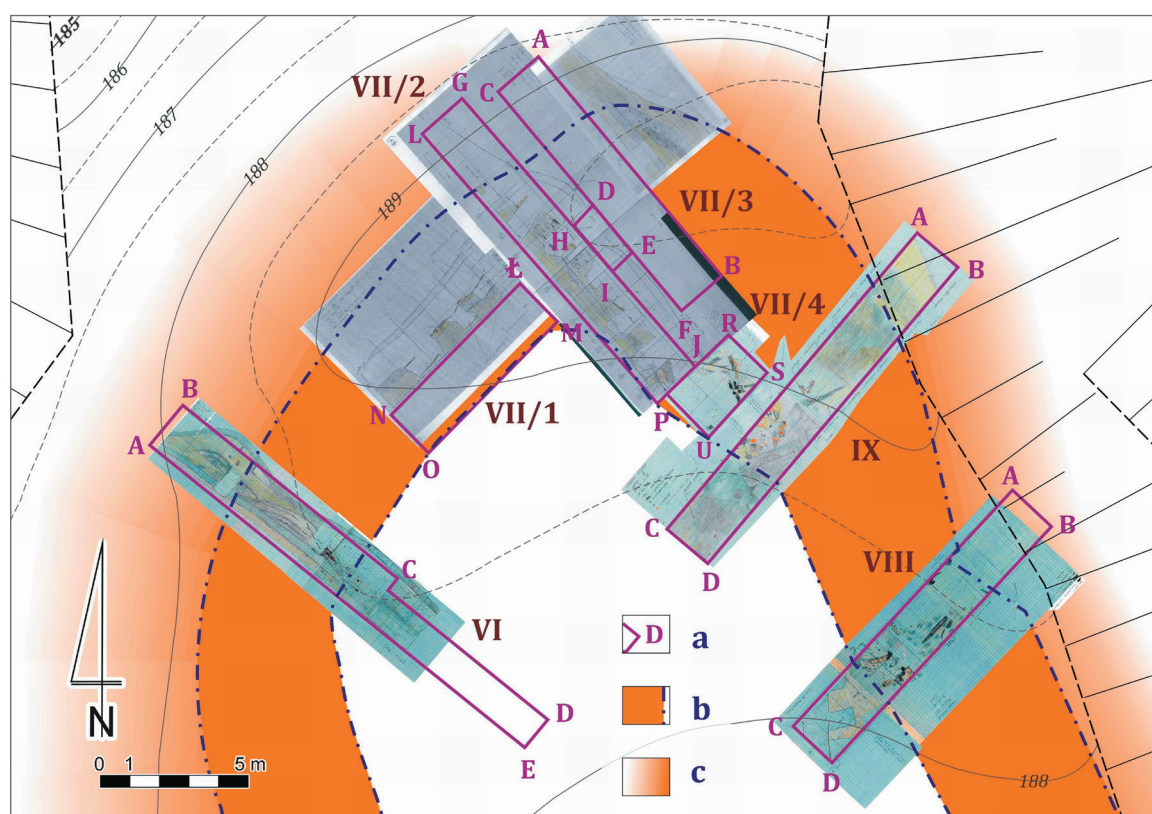


Fig. 10. Lublin – Grodzisko Hill. An attempt to reconstruct the ramparts location in the northern part of the site. In the base – the contour plan used in Fig. 7 and scaled drawings from documentation of excavations VI, VII / 1, VII / 2, VII / 3, VII / 4, VIII, IX (drawn S. Hoczyk): a – the excavations from 1968 and their corners marking, b – reconstructed rampart base, c – rampart slopes (after R. Niedźwiadek 2019).

1971, 76). In the balk between excavations VII/2 and VII/3, the most complex system was revealed, its main component was [...] burnt beams. They were not arranged in the same way. At a depth of 1.3 m there were traces of parallel beams (the first was 23 cm thick, the second was 12 cm thick) laid in the N-S direction. Slightly higher (1.08 m), in the uncovered section, there were another two beams touching each other at right angle by the wall N of the excavation. They were surrounded by burnt matter and baked, brick colour clay. The debris of the rampart discovered here, on an area of 1m², was on the outer side of the peak (Hoczyk 1971, 217–218). On the following pages of the cited work a similar description of the situation found in excavation VII/4 can be found. It was located about 3 m south-east to the balk mentioned above (Fig. 10). At this point, on the inner side, the embankment was secured against spreading with formwork made of wooden beams with an average diameter of about 20 cm. Within the excavation, several levels of the structure were registered. The beams were surrounded by clay burned orange. In the horizontal plane, slag clay occurred from a depth of 1.30 m. At a depth of 1.50–1.80 m, the remains of several burned beams, still arranged N-S and E-W, were also discovered. Visible in the profile, the beams went upwards diagonally and they were, probably, the internal facing of the rampart base (Hoczyk 1971, 219–220). The depth values used by S. Hoczyk-Siwkowa are relative, they were measured in relation to ground level.

From the quote cited in extenso, at least two conclusions can be drawn. First of all – joints and gaps between wooden logs were filled with clay. Secondly – this description evokes associations with a crossed logs ramparts or box ramparts (Bogdanowski 1996, 41, fig. 26). It is confirmed on another page of the work, where the author mentions finding a large number of lumps of daub (however, even their approximate number is nowhere to be found). On some of them there were traces of growth rings, which could mean that, actually, the clay tightly filled the gaps between the logs. Further in the text, fragments of lumps of daub with traces of beams arranged alternately, which most likely touched one another at right angles, are discussed (Hoczyk 1971, 218).

In her work from 1971, S. Hoczyk did not provide a clear and unambiguous interpretation of these discoveries. It was in the article from 2012 where she clearly stated that the beam system registered in excavations VII/2 and VII/3 should be interpreted as [...] a fragment of the corner of a quadrangular foundation, this is the only example of such a tight connection of beams on the site, therefore part of the structure was

treated by the author as a fragment of the corner of the gate base. (Hoczyk 2012, 199). Both the proposed interpretation and argumentation seem justified – only from the north it was possible to enter the stronghold and only there it was necessary to build a gate, and the gate had to be more solid than the other sections of the ramparts. In the dissertation, this section was defined as follows: “... clearly the form of a rampart blocking the access to the hill from Kalinowszczyzna Street.” (Hoczyk 1971, 76).

The arguments cited above appear to be consistent. Based on the discoveries from 1968, it should be clearly stated that in the northern part of the hill, near the narrow piece of land connecting the plateaus, there was a section rampart with a base width of 8–10 m (Fig. 10). Its preserved height in the excavated material did not exceed 1.0 m (Fig. 8–9). It seems obvious that, originally, it had to be larger. However, this parameter cannot be reliably reconstructed. For example, it can be assumed that the maximum height did not exceed half of the width of the base (combining these parameters, we get the cross section most similar to an equilateral triangle). In this approach, the analyzed site gets close to the definition proposed by Janusz Bogdanowski, which says that a stronghold is a synonym of a fenced place, but the separation does not mean securing property – e.g. as in a case of a farm with an ordinary fence, but it means a conscious construction of a fortified place that provides protection against hostile intentions of other people (Bogdanowski 1996, 43). It is worth mentioning that this defensive structure is reflected in Indo-European languages, while in all Slavic languages it has a very similar pronunciation (Bogdanowski 1996, 522).

It has been frequently mentioned that the foundations of Grodzisko ramparts were laid directly on primary humus (Figs. 8–9). During research in the 1968 season, only in the outer part of the VII/3 excavation a pit crossing the original soil profile was registered (no information about this feature was found anywhere). However, in excavation VIII, on the ceiling of the humus layer, an open hearth was exposed, where 10 fragments of a thin-walled vessel were found, and the vessel had traces of secondary burning. The artefact was made using the coiling and throwing technique with careful trimming, it was ornamented with shallow flutes located around the vessel. Its edge was rounded and curled inwards. In stratigraphic view – the use of this furnace precedes the construction of the rampart, thus determining the post quem terminus for the construction of the defensive structures. S. Hoczyk-Siwkowa does not

present more detailed chronology of this item. But, in the same paragraph, she mentions that among burnt wooden elements of the rampart, similar, in terms of technique and ornamentation, pieces of ceramics were obtained. In total, there were 44 items (Fig. 11) (Hoczyk 2012, 199, fig. 13). These artefacts are discussed in the chapters on phase IV – the state period – 11th–13th century (Hoczyk 2012, 191) or the second half of the 11th century – 1317 (Hoczyk 1971, 2) – and this is how their chronology should be read (Hoczyk 1971, 74–75, 219–221; Hoczyk 2012, 191–201). The chronology of the ceramic artefacts lying under or among the destroyed structures should be the same as the dating of the fortifications.

In relation to the findings presented in her own doctorate, S. Hoczyk-Siwkowa mentions in the last work on Kirkut Hill [...] *in the first study, “frame” dating was used, so the construction, use and burning of the rampart was put in a wider chronological range, determined on the basis of vessel ceramics from its embankment.*” (Hoczyk 1971, 217–218; Hoczyk 2012, 201). Until the publication of the 2012 article, Grodzisko Hill was dated according to this “broad frame dating” that was based on the chronology of the ceramics and resulted with the periods between XI–XIII century or between the second half of XI century – 1317. These suggestions were repeated in subsequent articles of the cited researcher (Hoczyk-Siwkowa 1974, 109–111). The proposed time range and the function of

the site were included in Andrzej Rozwałka’s analysis of the transformations of Lublin’s Staromiejskie Hill. At that time, a hypothesis was formulated that the location of the stronghold was moved to the Kirkut Hill from the area of the present Stare Miasto, where the tribal period stronghold ceased to exist. The translocation might have taken place around the middle of the XI century, when the Piasts created a new network of strongholds, and when the cited work was being written, no other Lublin stronghold had a chronology that was even partly related to XI century (Rozwałka 1997, 63–64). This concept was once more used in *Early Medieval Lublin* monograph (Rozwałka *et al.* 2006). It was believed then that the continuity of the functioning of the administrative center for the entire agglomeration had to be maintained. It was believed that the center of “judiciary and police” power located on Grodzisko Hill would have been located closer to the long-distance trade route, and thus might have exercised more effective control over people and goods moving along the route (Rozwałka, Niedźwiadek, Stasiak 2006, 81, 83). Let us emphasize again – views on the discussed site were formulated on the basis of scarce information available in publications and studies. What is surprising, S. Hoczyk-Siwkowa’s expressed indignation, or at least misunderstanding of the used arguments, in the last article, where she mistakenly dated the use of the stronghold to X–XI century (Hoczyk-Siwkowa 2012, 176).

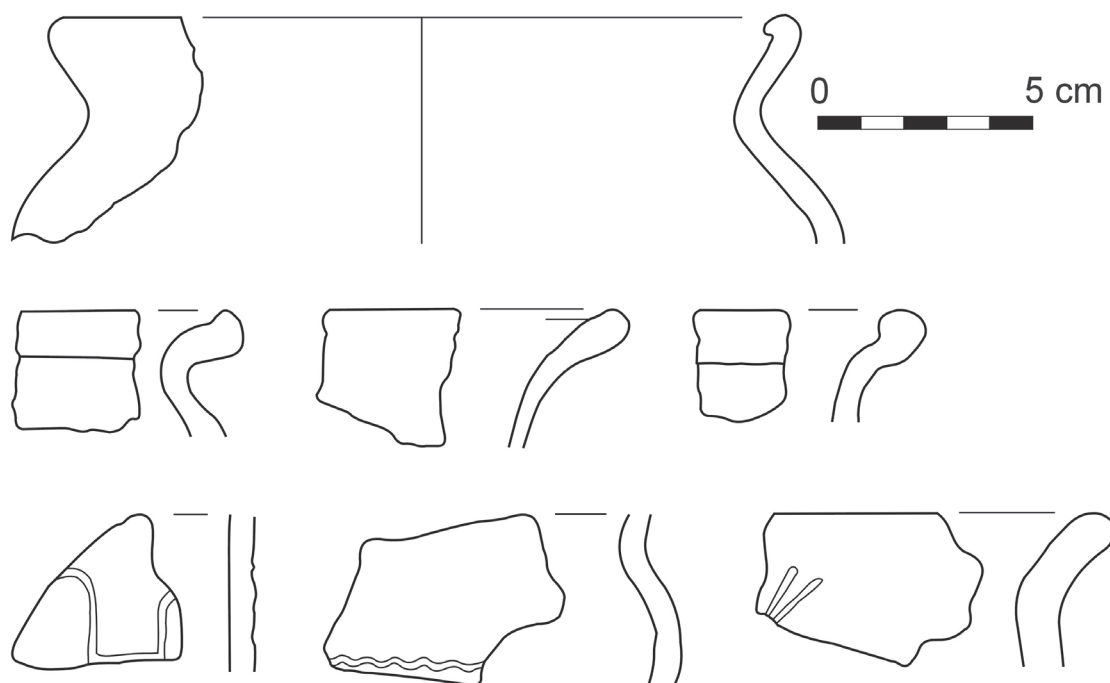


Fig. 11. Lublin – Grodzisko Hill. Selection of fragments of vessels from excavation VIII (after R. Niedźwiadek 2019).

Summing up the discussion that has been continued for years, one must state that the present knowledge of the subject is a direct derivative of the availability of the research results related to it. An example of a totally different view on the dating of the stronghold on Kirkut-Grodzisk Hill is the hypothesis of I. Kutylowska, who did not come across any remains of the embankment elements during her own research, although she must have had knowledge about their presence and state of preservation. I. Kutylowska discovered only settlement features of the tribal period, but due to complex argumentation, based on the relation of the said features to burials from the first phase of the use of the cemetery, she tried to prove that the stronghold was built in the period between VI/VII and VIII century (Kutylowska 1990, 68–70). As this concept was not accepted and it was popularly rejected, it can be treated as a curiosity and a kind of experiment within the mainstream discussion.

3. New proposition

In her latest work, S. Hoczyk-Siwkowa, proposed an alternative solution that may, until new data is obtained, suspend the discussion about dating the stronghold on the Kirkut Hill. The starting point is about 200 pieces of ceramics obtained in 1968 and dated to the younger phase of the early Middle Ages (11th–13th century). There is no reason to question the presented time frame, it should be remembered that it was proposed by the author of the Lublin typology of early medieval ceramics, who consulted her own findings with renowned experts on the period and pottery production methods used then – professors Zofia Kurnatowska, Michał Parczewski and Wojciech Szymański (Hoczyk-Siwkowa 1978, 189–220).

Some of this pieces of ceramics, like the researcher herself emphasizes, were found in situ, i.e. among damaged elements of the rampart (Fig. 12). Let us remind that in most of the parade ground, the cultural layer and levels including preserved original soil profile were registered. If these layers had been removed and built into the embankment of the rampart, one might think that the artefacts were moved to a secondary context. But the indicated items were captured in profiles. It must therefore be assumed that the vessels found among the remains of the rampart structure were broken during its construction. In this approach, they should be synchronous with the time of building of the stronghold. The author has seen the materials, which were taken to the Lublin Castle Museum. The collection consists of 3 envelopes with la-

bels signed by M. Chyżewska. The first two envelopes contain ceramic material collected from a depth of 1.2–1.3 m. They contain both modern and early medieval fragments. The mixing of artefacts should be explained by the context in which they were found. The stratigraphy indicates that the levels at the indicated depth should be connected only with the functioning of the Jewish cemetery. In the study by P. Fijałkowski, we find information on placing fragments of ceramics into the eye sockets and the mouth of the dead. For this purpose, fragments of vessels were sometimes cut into regular figures – triangles, rectangles and trapezoids. It is confirmed by both archaeological material and written documents (Fijałkowski 1989, 27–28). Therefore, the presence of fragments of modern vessels is not surprising.

The third envelope has a label informing that the items were found in excavation IX, at a depth of 120–150 cm, “on the rampart”. The last information is particularly important, because inside the envelope there are only fragments of early medieval ceramics. Their production technique – throwing, high quality firing, horizontal flutes ornament – confirm the time period between 11th and 13th century proposed by S. Hoczyk-Siwkowa (Fig. 13). Let us emphasize – the set of ceramic artefacts found in the debris of the rampart is quite homogeneous, looking at details, however, one can notice some differences in terms of the shape of spout edges, the technology of mixing ceramic mass, the firing atmosphere, as well as the style of ornamentation and parts of a vessel it covers.

In the latest publication about the Kirkut Hill, S. Hoczyk-Siwkowa attempted to show the similarity between materials found in remains of the rampart and the collection of ceramics obtained by Andrzej Hunicz from excavation I/73 located in the northern part of Zamkowe Hill. The set of artefacts from excavation I/73 was found in the bottom fill of a log house Hunicz 1984, 9–10, table II, 10–18, table III). Comparing the graphic presentations of these collections, it is difficult to find such visible similarities as those suggested by S. Hoczyk-Siwkowa, in the pictures one can see not only the different drawing styles the authors used but also the way some of the vessel edges are shaped (Hoczyk 2012, 201–203, figs. 12, 15, 16).

Apart from ceramics, there was a spur which the researcher included in type III which is dated to XI–XIII century, according to the classification of Andrzej Nadolski (Nadolski 1954, 83–84). The same artefact, according to the typology of Zofia Hilczerówna, was assigned to the variety 5 type II, dated to the second half of 13th century (Hilczer 1956, 16–20, 49–58. As

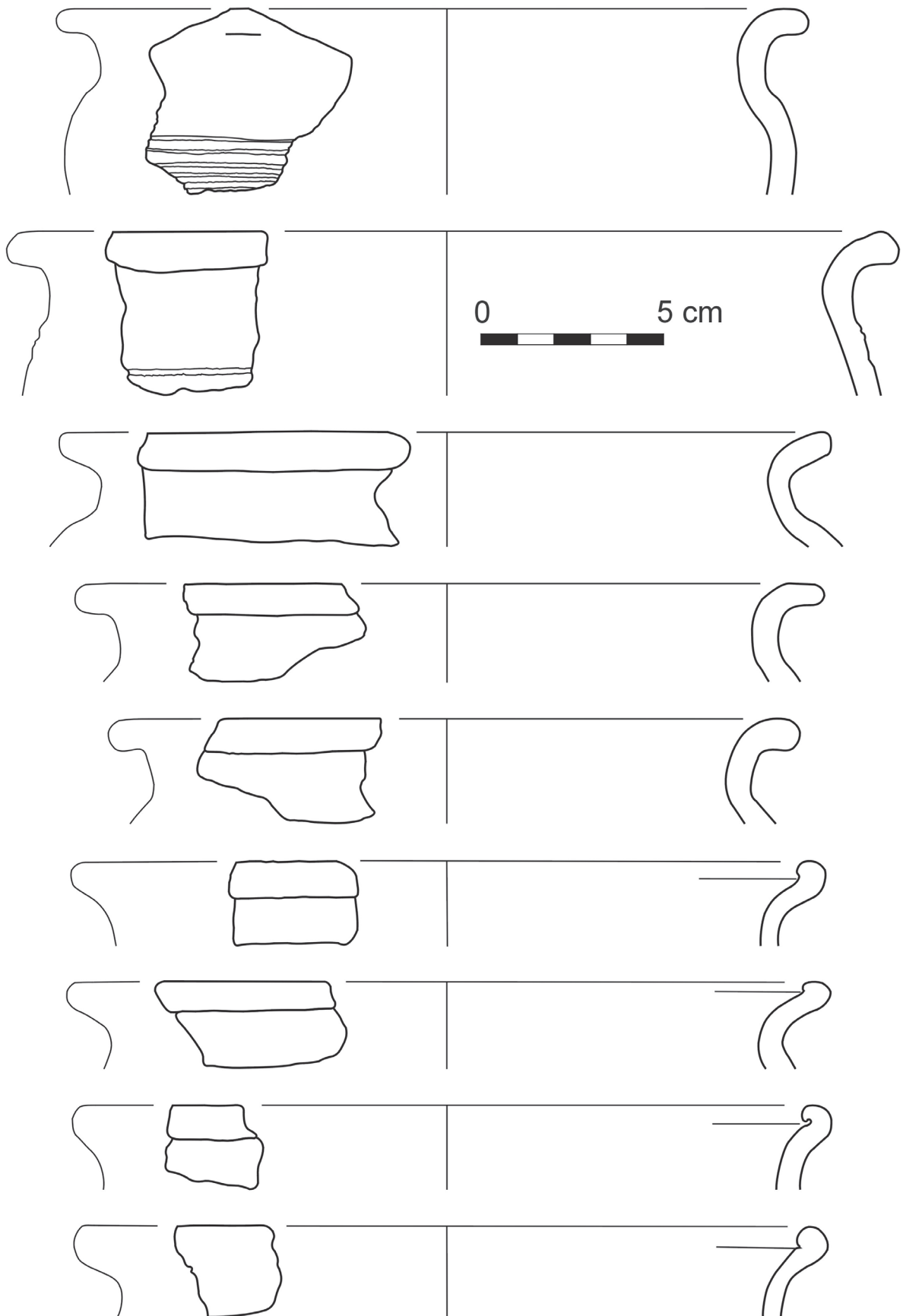


Fig. 12. Lublin – Grodzisko Hill. Selection of fragments of vessels from excavation IX (after R. Niedźwiadek 2019).

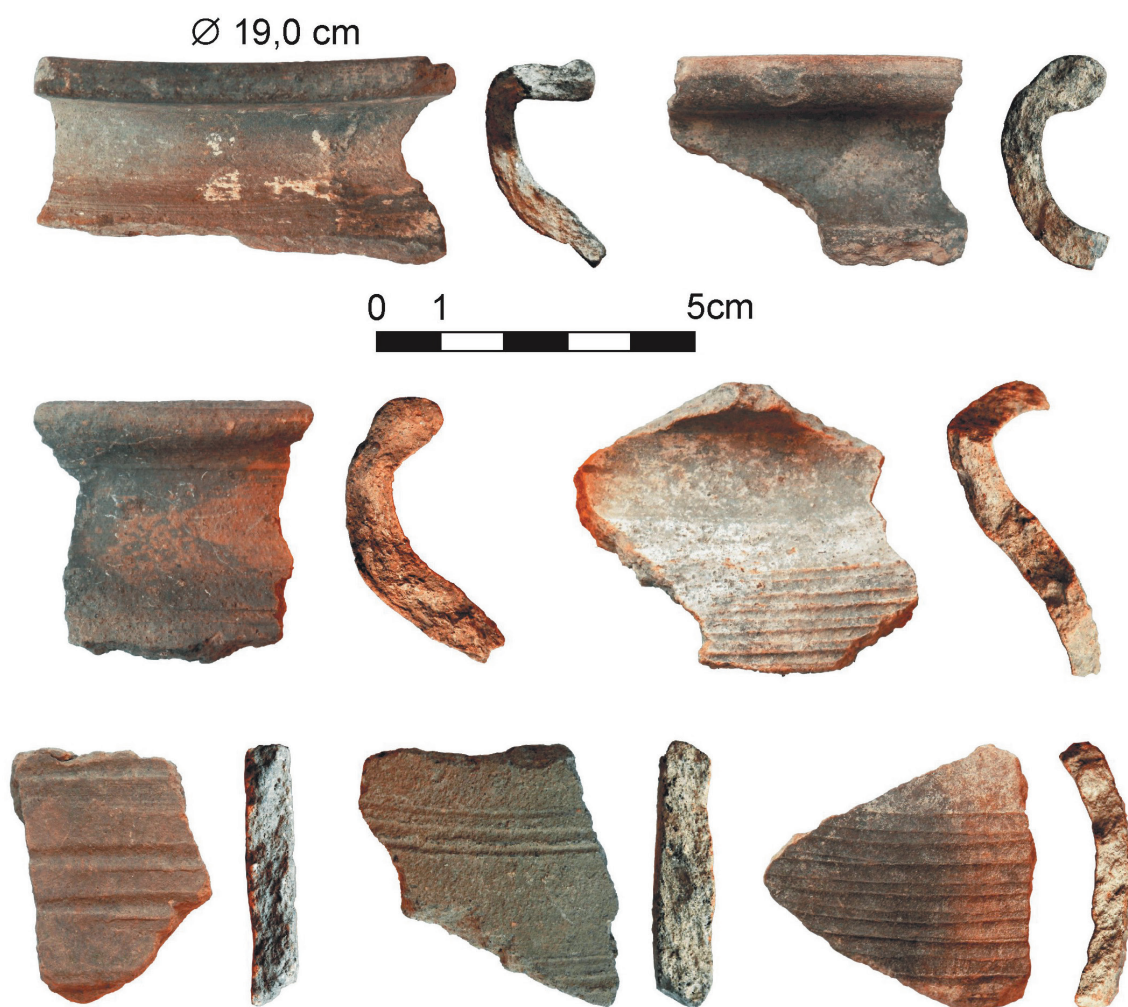


Fig. 13. Lublin – Grodzisko Hill. Selection of fragments of vessels from excavation IX, depth 1,20–1,50 or 1,50 m (after R. Niedźwiadek 2019).

for A. Hunicz's research, the formal analyses of the artefacts were supplemented with dendrochronological dating of the wood from the structure of the house (Dąbrowski, Hunicz, Kardasz 1975, 27–36). As many as 10 beams were chosen for specialist tests. Before discussing the results of the absolute dating, one should mention the reservations expressed by Mieczysław Dąbrowski and Margarita Kardasz – the authors of the analysis. The researchers emphasized that, in the early 1970s, works began to establish the basis for applying the dendrochronological method to excavated materials, but only in the long run it will be possible to create a scale and a kind of “calendar” (Dąbrowski *et al.* 1975, 30). Carrying out the measurements, it was found that the tested material contains trees at a relative age of 39 to 70 years that grew in two habitats and belonged to two genetic populations (Dąbrowski, Hunicz, Kardasz 1975, 33). The obtained calendar dates for the Lub-

lin material ranged between 1272 and 1288, but the authors highlighted that the comparative material for the analyzed samples came from Sieradz and Germany (Dąbrowski *et al.* 1975, 34–35). The efforts made should be considered extremely important and valuable, but at the same time one should be aware that the proposed results should be corrected using current dendrochronological scales.

Concluding the latest dating proposed by S. Hoczyk-Siwkova, it should be argued that the stronghold on Grodzisko Hill was built at the beginning of the last quarter of the 13th century and was destroyed in the same century (Hoczyk 2012, 203). The researcher believes that the next stage was the reconstruction – [...] *probably after the structure was burnt, it was decided to repair the rampart by elevating its surface, there are no traces of any supporting elements made of wood or stones* (Hoczyk 2012, 193, 199). The

attempt can be seen in piling up the loess layer with a thickness of 1,4–1,6 m, which in the cited publication was numbered as 2d (Fig. 8). This chain of evidence lacks some explanation – when, in what circumstances and for what purpose was it necessary to rebuild the castle? These questions seem to be impossible to answer.

The unit 2d is parallel to layer 3b which was created as a result of the renovation of the cemetery surface before the second phase of its use. The first of these units covers the outer side of the damaged wooden constructions and as a result of natural denudation processes it partially slid down towards the base of the hill. The second, containing lumps of daub, almost completely consisted of “loose soil”. In the original drawings from the field documentation, these differences in composition were presented with a different drawing manner. It is impossible to undertake further analysis, because color photographs were not taken at that time. We only have some interpreted figures from the article in *Studia i Materiały Lubelskie* (Fig. 8 b–c). However, the relationship between these layers, visible in the profiles of excavations VIII and IX, is rather thought-provoking.

4. Conclusions

In conclusion, let us try to look again at the possible functions that the early medieval fortress on Grodzisko Hill might have had (Fig. 14). If, following the suggestions of S. Hoczyk-Siwkova, we reject the early dating that goes back to the mid-11th century and lean to the 13th century dating, it will turn out that the fortress had to coexist with the castellan stronghold on Zamkowe Hill. When it comes to the military function of Zamkowe Hill in Lublin and the time when the castellan castle town was founded and functioned, for more than 50 years, there has been a discussion in the literature, but researchers have not found a clear, even partly convergent conclusion. It seems that the latest archaeological research – started in 2019 at three points of the southern wing – will provide new, more convincing data, including chronological and stratigraphic determinants (see Tkaczyk 2019).

This is a clear turn towards the first concepts of T. Wąsowicz, S. Wojciechowski and A. Gardawski. We should also consider the latest data showing that during the second half of the 13th century, or at the turn of 13th and 14th centuries, a new line of ramparts was



Fig. 14. Grodzisko (Kirkut) Hill. View from Działkowa Street, present times (after R. Niedźwiadek 2017).

built on Staromiejskie Hill (Rozwałka *et al.* 2016, 215–220). This is how three parts of the Lublin agglomeration were distinguished. Perhaps, in this structure, the stronghold on Kirkut Hill, according to older assumptions, could function as a guarding post for a part of the long-distance route located in the area of today's Kalinowszczyzna street. The route location hypothesis may be supported by the high, compared to other districts of modern Lublin, number of numismatic finds in this part of the city. Among the numismatic finds there were the following series: Bavarian of Henry IV (995–1002) and Henry V (1004–1009, 1017–1026); Swabian of Henry II (973–1024); Czech of Udalric (1012–1034); Hungarian of Stephen I (1000–1038) and Andrew I (1046–1061); French of Philip Augustus (1180–1223); denarii of Władysław Herman (1079–1102); coins of Władysław II (1138–1146); coins of Bolesław the Curly (1146–1173); 26 cross coins including basic-cross type and pearl-cross type; 19 cross coins of bishop's staff type (Niedźwiadek 2017, 316–337).

A network of settlements grew and developed along the long-distance route, and now they are systematically recognized thanks to archaeological research. An archaeological site within the contemporary borders of Lublin-Świdniczka, next to which a village was founded, may be one of the most interesting examples (Niedźwiadek 2017, 265–276). During the field works accompanying the construction of the northern ring road of Lublin, a vast settlement was investigated, with clear dating to 12–13th century (Piasecka, Piasecki 2012).

The necessity of establishing a stronghold on Grodzisko Hill could also result from a military threat. The 13th century, and especially its second half, was the time of unprecedented series of Yotvingian, Lithuanian, Mongolian, Ruthenian and Tatar invasions, which usually came from the east or north-east (Fig. 1–2) (Chachaj 2019, 123–155). In the context of these events, S. Hoczyk-Siwkowa sees the need to establish an advanced post, which she calls a “barrier stronghold” and which would protect the central stronghold on the Zamkowe Hill. For the researcher, the presence of 3 centers – on Staromiejskie Hill, Zamkowe Hill and Kirkut Hill – reflects the layout of the main cities of Lesser Poland – Kraków and Sandomierz (Hoczyk 2012, 204).

Postulating further excavation research seems to be obvious, and in the case of the site in question the need is more than well founded. The research carried out more than half a century ago was extremely important and ground-breaking (Fig. 15). However, access to the results is still limited, so it is difficult to verify the findings. At present, it is not possible to

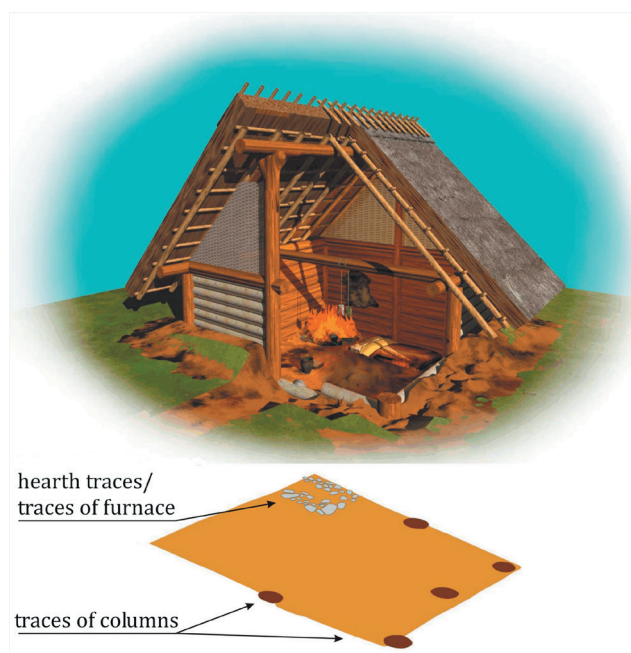


Fig. 15. Lublin – Grodzisko Hill. Reconstruction of a Slavic residential pithouse from Grodzisko Hill – hut No. 29, discovered in 1968 (after D. Bednarski 2017, R. Niedźwiadek 2019).

excavate the inner part of the stronghold, and the excavations carried out and the accompanying archaeological surveys are limited only to cleaning works (Tkaczyk 2014a). With the hope of discovering new facts, renovation of the fence wall on the Floriańska street side was done under archaeological supervision. Despite the limited range of the excavations and the damage found afterwards, it was possible to capture the eastern base of the hill escarpment, with the original soil profile preserved. This is how we obtained some data that helped in the reconstruction of the primary morphology (Tkaczyk 2014b). The findings may pave the way for starting excavations, because no Jewish burials are registered in this part of the hill. The steep escarpments seem to be enough to conclude that the dead were not buried there. Perhaps, in this part of the site, the base of the rampart could be exposed to take samples for absolute dating so that new important information about the chronology of the settlement could be obtained.

Without new field research, re-analysis of available materials is all that can be done. Modern techniques allow more precise compilation of plans and field profiles. In order to write this article, an attempt was made to synchronize the plans and profiles of the excavations from 1968. Thanks to this procedure, the location of ramparts could be more reliably estimated. In our opinion, the proposed location is closer both to the historical reality and to the results of the excava-

tion research of S. Hoczyk-Siwkowa and M. Chyżewska (see Fig. 5, 7, 10).

The article is an edited version of a publication by Rafał Niedźwiadek titled “Lublin Wzgórze Grodzisko – Kirkut. Stan rozpoznania stanowiska” (“Lublin Grodzisko – Kirkut Hill. The progress of investigation on the site”). It was published, in Polish, in the popular science series called “Skarby z Przeszłości” (“Treasures from the Past”), vol. XX, Ewa Banasiewicz-Szykuła (ed.), under the title of “Grody Lubelszczyzny od XI do XIV wieku” (“Strongholds of the Lublin region from the 11th to the 14th century”), Lublin 2019, 233–257.

Translated by Maciej Pondel

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