

Archaeology of Conflicts

edited by
Pavel Drnovský – Petr Hejhal

Kniha je vydána v rámci dotace Ediční rady FF UHK pro rok 2020

The book is published as part of a grant from the Editorial Board
of the Faculty of Arts, University of Hradec Králové for 2020

Published by Pavel Mervart Publishing,
P. O. Box 5, 549 41 Červený Kostelec,
2020

Translation Jana Kličová, Urszula Baron

Printed H.R.G., spol. s r. o.

www.pavelmervart.cz

Reviewed:

prof. PhDr. Václav Matoušek, CSc.

Mgr. Petr Žákovský, Ph.D.

© Univerzita Hradec Králové, 2020

© Miloš Bordáč, Pavel Drnovský, Eduard Droberjar, Martin Gojda, Aneta Gołębiowska-Tobiasz,
Petr Hejhal, Jiří Hofman, Matouš Holas, Jiří Juchelka, Balázs Komoróczy, Sławomir Konik,
Martin Krůl, Radosław Liwoch, Łukasz Miechowicz, Klára Andresová Skoupá, Piotr Strzyż,
Pavol Šteiner, Marek Vlach, 2020

© Pavel Mervart 2020

ISBN 978-80-7465-469-5

Content

Introduction	9
Remarks on the possibilities of studying armed conflicts between the Romans and Germans during the Marcomannic Wars in Moravia	
<i>Eduard Droberjar – Balázs Komoróczy – Marek Vlach</i>	11
Medieval fortification systems in the form of linear embankments in present-day Poland	
<i>Łukasz Miechowicz</i>	27
Weapon imports in the burials of the Polovtsian elites in the Black Sea – Caspian Steppe	
<i>Aneta Gołębiowska-Tobiasz</i>	41
The Mongols in Poland in the 13th century. Traces of the Invasions	
<i>Radosław Liwoch</i>	55
The use of firearms in siege operations in medieval Poland. New discoveries and interpretations	
<i>Piotr Strzyż</i>	69
How to build a redoubt? Instructions from military manuals of the Thirty Years' War	
<i>Klára Andresová Skoupá</i>	83
The forms of defence of the Silesian-Hungarian border and their development in the Early Modern Period	
<i>Martin Krůl</i>	99
Eighteenth-century military camps in the light of written sources	
<i>Jiří Hofman</i>	115
The Austro-Prussian Wars in the territory of East Bohemia and their reflection in archaeological sources	
<i>Pavel Drnovský – Petr Hejhal – Matouš Holas</i>	123
Austrian military camp on the battlefield at Wagram in the light of archaeological sources	
<i>Ślawomir Konik</i>	133
Identification of components of the 1813 fortification line in the Lower Ohře Valley through aerial landscape survey	
<i>Martin Gojda</i>	149
Second phase of non-destructive archaeological survey of field fortification features in the neighbourhood of the Smolkov Artillery Fort	
<i>Jiří Juchelka</i>	171
Historical and archaeological evidence of a crashed American B-24 Liberator bomber near Trenčín	
<i>Miloš Bordáč</i>	195
Possibilities of archaeological research on the World War II battlefields in Slovakia 205	
<i>Pavol Šteiner</i>	207
Conclusions	223

The Mongols in Poland in the 13th century

Traces of the Invasions

Radosław Liwoch

During the three 13th-century winters, politically broken Poland was ravaged by three big Mongol (Tatar) attacks.

The first Mongol invasion of Poland took place in the winter and early spring of 1241. It was led by Baidar, grandson of Genghis Khan. It was conducted in two phases – in January and February, during reconnaissance activities, the Mongols seized Sandomierz and defeated the Polish forces near Tursko (Fig. 1: 1), and in March and April, the troops of nomads destroyed Łęczyca, Sieradz and Cracow (the Wawel and Okół survived), outfought the Poles at Chmielnik and Tarczek, suffered defeat at Racibórz and headed towards Wrocław (Fig. 2). The town was set on fire by the inhabitants who sought refuge in the castle. On April 9, 1241, the Battle of Legnica took place, which was a kind of culmination of the invasion, in which Duke Henry the Pious was killed. It seems that the attack of 1241 did not bring great damage to the Polish lands, as it was mainly intended to engage the forces of the Piast dukes to prevent them from helping Hungarians. Probably about twenty thousand inhabitants of Poland died in all the battles and as murder victims, and maybe one or two thousand of them were taken in slavery. Although the campaign was victorious for the Tatars, they suffered considerable losses. The Mongol attack on Hungary led by Batu Khan at that time had much more tragic results, of which the German chronicler even wrote that after three hundred and fifty years it ceased to exist¹ (Krakowski 1956, 119–170; Labuda 1959; Bunar – Sroka 1996, 46–47; Jackson 2007, 102–112; Laszlovszky et al. 2016; Vargha 2017; Laszlovszky et al. 2018).

The second Mongol invasion was carried out in the winter of 1259/1260 by the Golden Horde army, ruled by Khan Berke, another of Genghis Khan's grandsons. Troops of Golden Horde commanded by Burundaj burned down Lublin and Cracow (but not local castles), Sandomierz, Jędrzejów, Miechów, Wąchock, Sulejów and many other towns, villages and monasteries (Fig. 3:1). There was preserved an Old Ruthenian description of the siege and capitulation of the Sandomierz stronghold, according to which Burundaj promised the Poles staying there safety and free departure on the condition that they would leave their belongings. The civilian population and the garrison left the stronghold, but the invading commander did not keep his word and they were all killed (another source says that pretty girls and young boys were spared). The second Mongol onslaught brought great desolation to south-eastern Poland, both in the social sphere (disorganization of the country, mass killings and enslavement of thousands of people) and economic sphere (destruction and transfer of huge spoils of war). The Tatars did not suffer major losses during these raids (Krakowski 1956, 181–201; Bunar – Sroka 1996, 50).

¹ „1241. Hoc anno regnum Ungarie, quod 350 annis duravit, a Tartarorum gente destruitur” (Hermannii Altahensis annales [1861], 394).

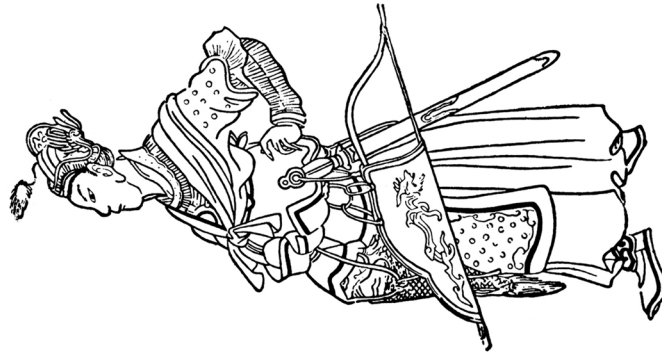
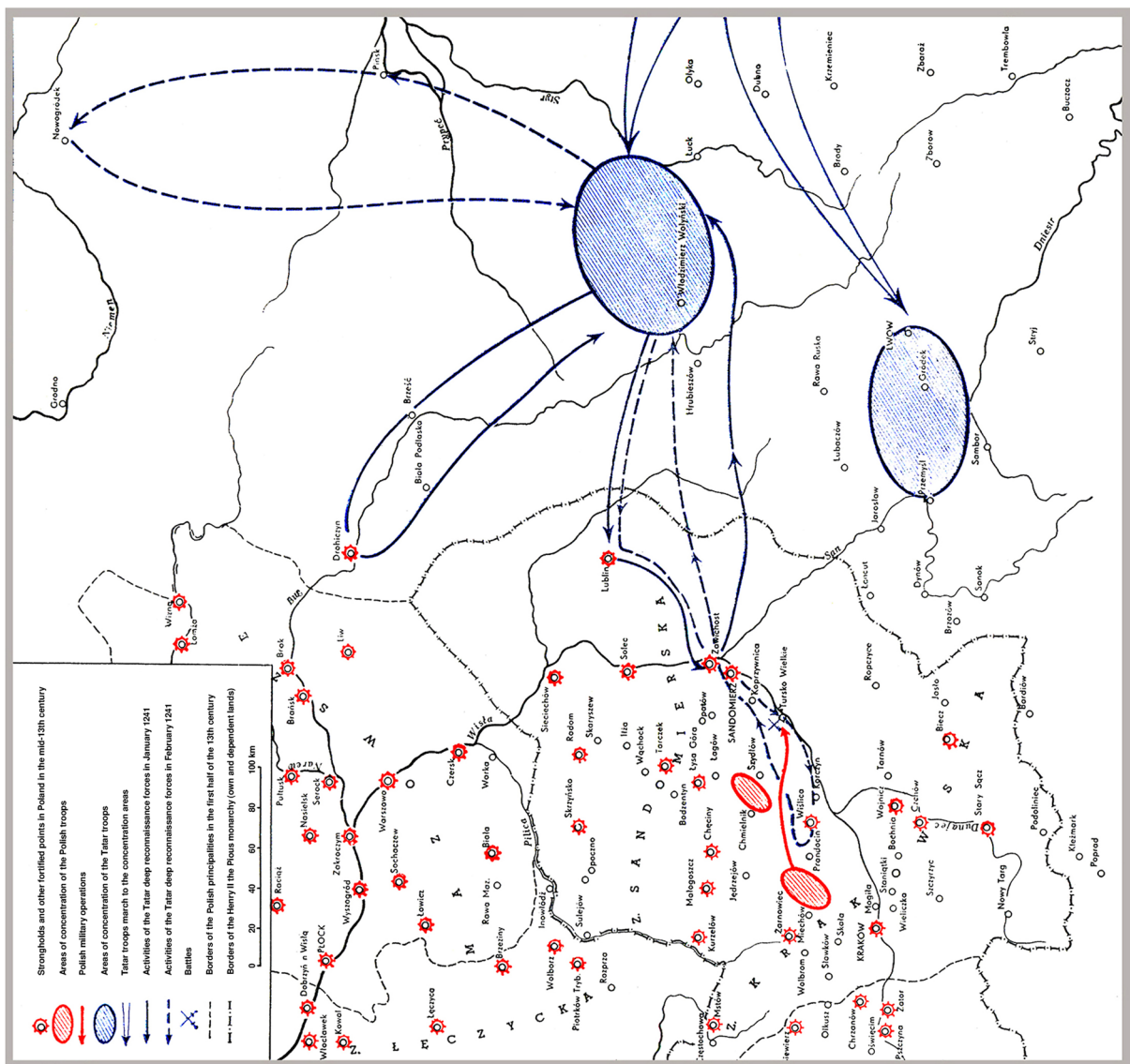


Fig. 1. 1 – 1st Mongol invasion of Poland (operations of deep reconnaissance units, January–February 1241); 2 – Batu Khan (Chinese miniature) (according to *Krakowski 1956, 57, map 4*).

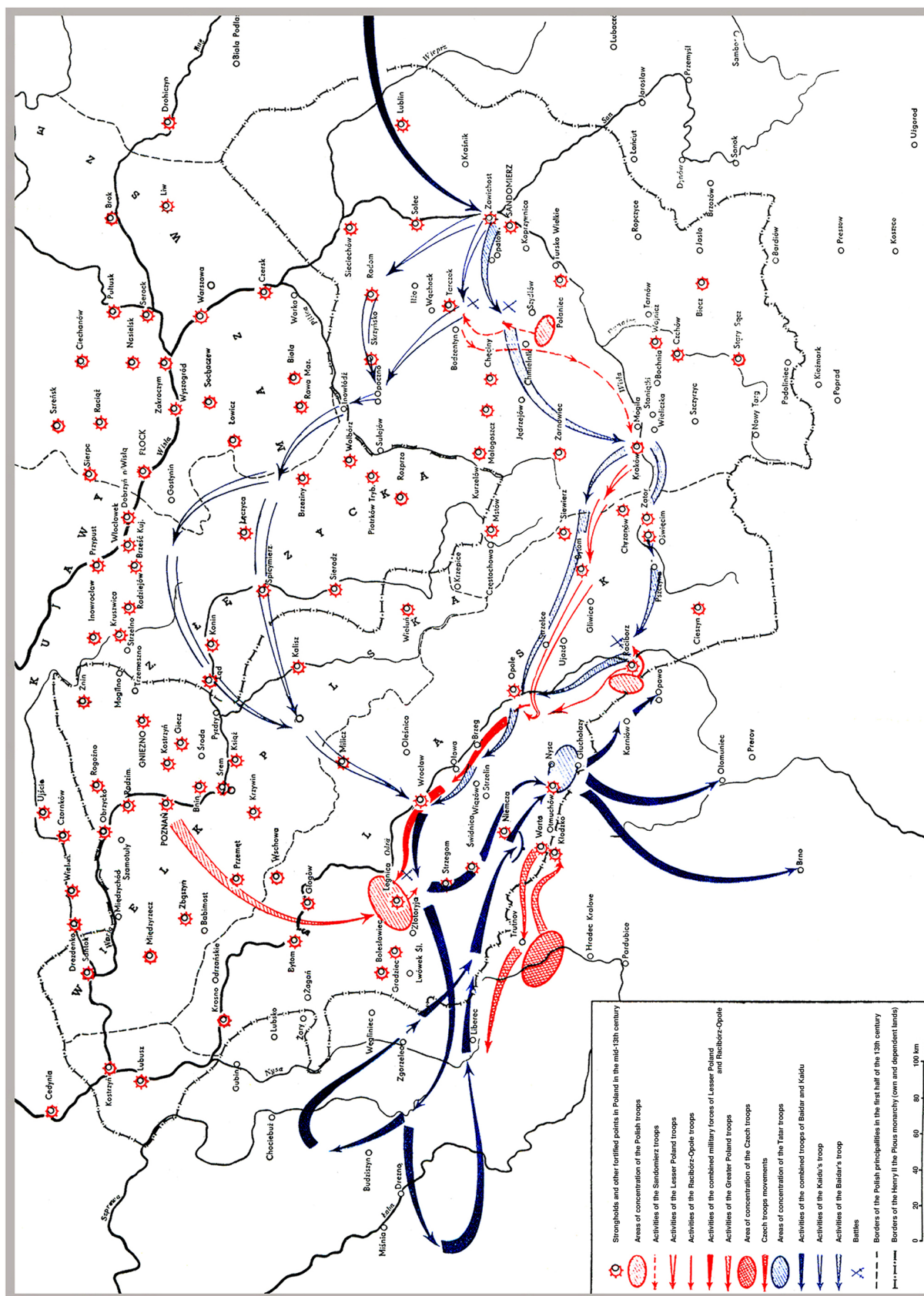


Fig. 2. 1st Mongol invasion of Poland (March–May 1241) (according to *Krakovski 1956, map 5*).

The third Mongol invasion struck mainly Lesser Poland (Fig. 4: 1) in December 1287 and continued in January of the following year. The Army of Talabuga, the great-great-grandson of Genghis Khan and the Khan of the Golden Horde, conducted military operations in the Sandomierz region, where they were defeated at the Battle of Łagów. The troops of Nogai, the Khan's deputy and the administrator of the Black Sea region, operated in Cracow region. After the unsuccessful attack on Cracow, part of the Tatar army moved to (Stary) Sącz, which was unsuccessfully besieged. Meanwhile, at the request of Leszek the Black, the Duke of Cracow, a Hungarian rescue arrived, which resulted in a heavy defeat of the Tatars near Sącz. This defeat was probably the stimulus that caused the withdrawal of Nogai's army to Rus'. This invasion was the least successful one for the Tatars, as it met resistance which could not be crushed. Fortified places were defended, and the Polish-Hungarian counter-attack meant that they stayed in Lesser Poland only for a short time. They made up for the "losses" in an almost terrorist action in the subordinate Galicia-Volhynia Rus' principality, where they plundered and killed a significant part of the population (Krakowski 1956, 203, 210–223; Bunar – Sroka 1996, 55–56; Żmudski 2000, 454–459).

In the study of Central European archaeological finds from the Mongol Empire, Witold Świątosławski (1997, 32–73) describes quite rare artifacts, including single arrowheads from the 13th century Polish lands from: Bieliny, Nisko county; Cichów, Turek county; Dębno, Kielce county; Kowala-Stępocina, Radom county; Cracow; Podzámce, Zawiercie county; Strzegom, Świdnica county; Szaflary (Fig. 9: 4; inv. no. MAK/8338), Nowy Targ county; Wrocław-Old Town; as well as three arrowheads from Czchów, Brzesko county; two arrowheads, a head of a whip and a horse tack plate from Opole-Ostrówek and an element of a horse tack from Wrocław-Ostrów Tumski.

The above group should include also the items from the Ancient Collections Department of the Archaeological Museum in Cracow, which were discovered in the 19th century and which W. Świątosławski did not take into account. There is no doubt that some arrowheads from the Bęblowska Cave in Bębło, Cracow county (inv. no. MAK/3532; fig. 5: 1, 2, maybe also 7: 3–5; Polish bolt heads 5: 6, 7); Mamutowa Cave in Wierzchowie, Cracow county (inv. no. MAK/19; fig. 5: 8, maybe also 5: 9–11); and from the Kmita's Rock (Fig. 6) in Zabierzów, Cracow county (inv. no. MAK/4889) are of the Eastern² origin. The collection from the battlefield in Zabierzów is diverse, and therefore particularly interesting, and consists of undoubtedly Mongolian arrowheads (Fig. 5: 1–3), arrowheads of possibly Eastern origin (Fig. 7: 4–6) and local bolt heads and probably also snaffle bits and heraldic belt fittings (Fig. 7: 7–11), which are described in more detail in another article by the author (Liwoch in press).

The Hungarian mace head found in 1910 in Librantowa (inv. no. MAK/10657; Fig. 5: 12), Nowy Sącz county is related to the third Mongol invasion. It is most likely a remnant of the battle fought in January 1288 near (Stary) Sącz. It was then that the Golden Horde warriors were defeated by the unit of George of Sónár (Sónári Soós György), who rushed to help the Duke Leszek the Black. This devastating defeat was probably the reason for the withdrawal of Nogai's army to Rus' (Liwoch 2016).

Many discoveries of objects representing probably traces of the great 13th-century Mongol invasions were made shortly before or after the publication of W. Świątosławski's monograph. Such recent finds include arrowheads from: Góra Birów in Podzámce (fig. 8: 1–4), Zawiercie county (Muzolf 1997a, 45–46; Muzolf 1997b, 120–121); Zbrojewsko (Fig. 8: 5, 6), Kłobuck county (Gedl 2002, 74, 76); Smugowa Góra near Troks (Fig. 8: 7–11), Olkusz county (Bodnar et al. 2006); Zielona Góra (Fig. 9: 1; Dziedzic – Michalak 2008, 93–94); maybe Witków, Żagań county (Dziedzic – Michalak 2008, 95–96); Krosno Odrzańskie (Fig. 9: 2; Dziedzic – Michalak 2008, 96); Main Market Square in Cracow (Fig. 9: 3; Buśko – Głowa 2010, 150, 152); Sandomierz (Bajka 2013, 154, 164); the Dominican monastery in Cracow (Bojęś-Białasik – Niemiec 2013, 287, 290, ill. 16); Jerzmanowice-Stara Wieś, Cracow county (Wojenka 2016, 667–669). Other artifacts of steppe origin are expected to be found especially

² For over half a century the monograph by Aleksander F. Medvedev (1966) is the fundamental study of parts (bow, crossbow and projectiles to them) of the 8th–14th century East European military, on which this article is largely based.

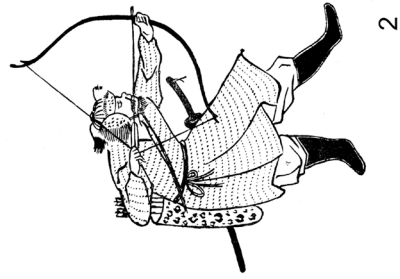
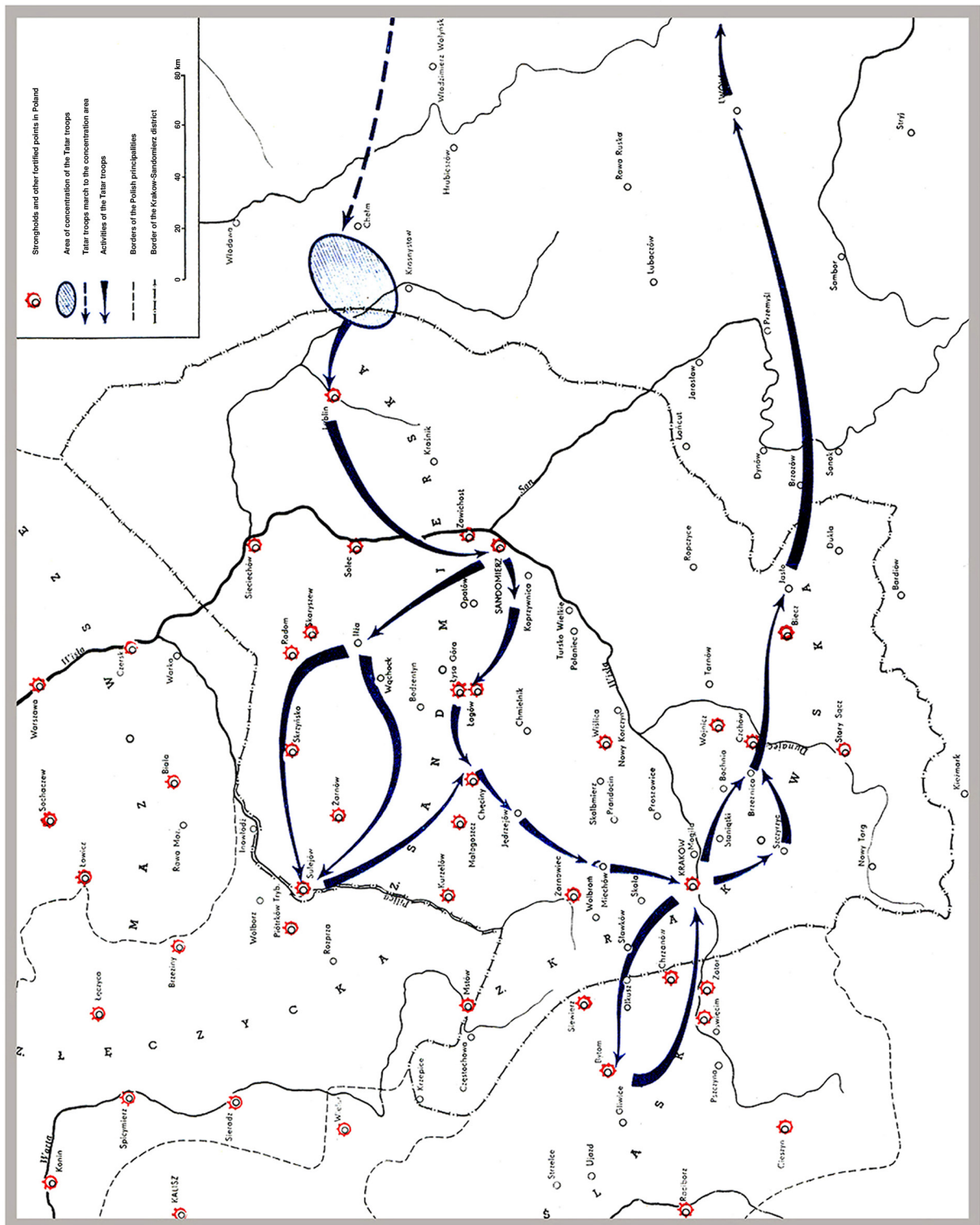
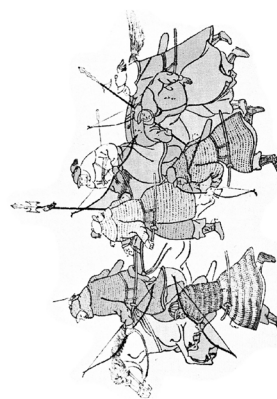
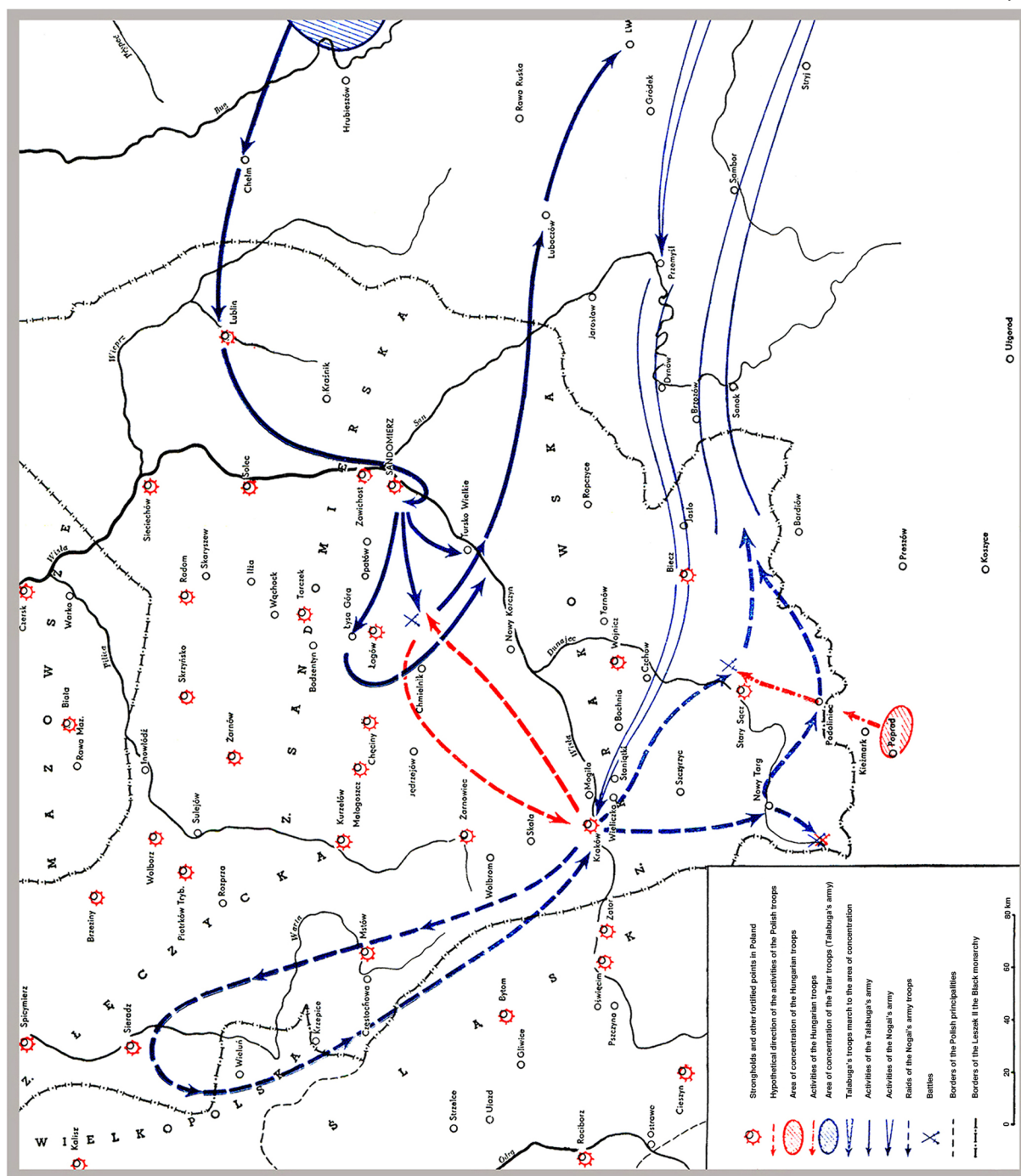


Fig. 3.1 – 2nd Mongol invasion of Poland (1259/1260); 2 – Mongol archer (Japanese drawing) (according to Krakowski 1956, 23, map 12).



2

1

Fig. 4. 1 – 3rd Mongol invasion of Poland (1287/1288); 2 – Attack of the Tatar warriors (Japanese drawing) (according to *Krakowski 1956, 37, map 13*).

in the vicinity of Cracow, where the activities of the Mongolian armies were particularly intense during each of the invasions.

Arrowheads with a shaft and a spike, usually of a lanceolate shape and a rhomboidal cross-section, were taken into account in the above enumeration, because it seems that at least some – most (?) – of these artifacts are of eastern origin (cf. Medvedev 79–80; Fedorov-Davydov 1966, 26–27; Holeščák 2019, 55–57) though perhaps not all the way from the Mongolian steppe³. This assumption is supported by the fact of their coexistence with undoubtedly nomadic arrowheads with differently shaped flat blades and a clear difference from the local boltheads with a socket. The arrowhead from Szaflary, where additionally a clearly nomadic arrowhead and numerous Polish boltheads were found, is another not mentioned example of this type (inv. no. MAK/8344; Fig. 9: 5). Probably the triblade arrowheads found on Góra Birów are also remnants of the Golden Horde riders (cf. Fedorov-Davydov 1966, 26–27).

It should be remembered that the „civilian artifacts“ can also be the traces of the Mongol invasions, which the author mentioned earlier (Liwoch 2014, 416; 2017, 191). For example the items from the caves near Cracow dated to the 13th century⁴: a spindle whorl made of the Ovruch slate from the Ciemna Cave in Ojców (inventory no. MAK/2516; Fig. 9: 6); a fragment of a glass bracelet from the Łokietek Cave in Ojców (inv. no. MAK/6735; Fig. 9: 7); a spindle whorl made of the Ovruch slate from the Mamutowa Cave in Wierzchowie (inv. no. MAK/5354; fig. 9: 8); a fragment of a glass bracelet from the Wierzchowska Górna Cave in the same village (inv. no. MAK/4267; Fig. 9: 9) and scale fragments from the Mamutowa Cave, which has already been mentioned twice (inv. no. MAK/19; Fig. 9: 10). The items mentioned here were presumably the property of people who wanted to hide from the steppe warriors. The above-mentioned arrowheads found in caves prove that the attempts to take refuge were not always successful.

The Mongol invasions presented here briefly did not make the Polish Lands dependent on the Genghisids, but delayed – in fact prevented, because Silesia became part of the Czech Kingdom in the 14th century – the unification of the state and caused significant population and economic decline. The thirteenth-century warriors from the Great Steppe did not leave too many traces in Poland, but the number of finds that can be associated with them has been increasing, both as a result of new excavations or accidental finds, as well as identification during queries in museum collections, as presented in this paper.

³ It should not be forgotten that in the invasions of Poland, the Genghisid army was supported more or less voluntarily by the Ruthenian princes, whose warriors could use similar arrowheads, and that the Golden Horde troops supported the Rurik dynasty in minor wars with the Piasts, and steppe warriors could use the weapons of Ruthenian production (cf. *Kronika halicko-wołyńska. Kronika Romanowiczów* [2017], 211–213, 232–233, 240–241).

⁴ It is worth mentioning that in the Archaeological Museum in Krakow there are Ruthenian equivalents of “civilian artifacts” from Polish caves, i.e. finds (inv. numbers MAK/6787–6791; Fig. 9: 11–15) from the Vetrova Cave (currently connected with the Optymistyczna Cave) in Korolivka, Borshchiv district (Ukraine). In this case, it is almost certain that the attempt to seek shelter from the (Mongolian?) attackers failed, because the ornaments (also fragments of vessels and an axe) were found near human remains. Also the Slovak Moldavská cave in Moldava nad Bodvou, Košice-okolie district; and Leontína cave in Slavec, Rožňava district; served the local population as a refuge during Batu Khan's invasion of the Hungarian Kingdom in 1241–1242, on the other hand the Tatárská Cave in Hrhov, Rožňava district was used quite differently – as a burial place of a Mongolian dignitary, but the latter information requires verification (Hunka – Soják 2017, 549–555).

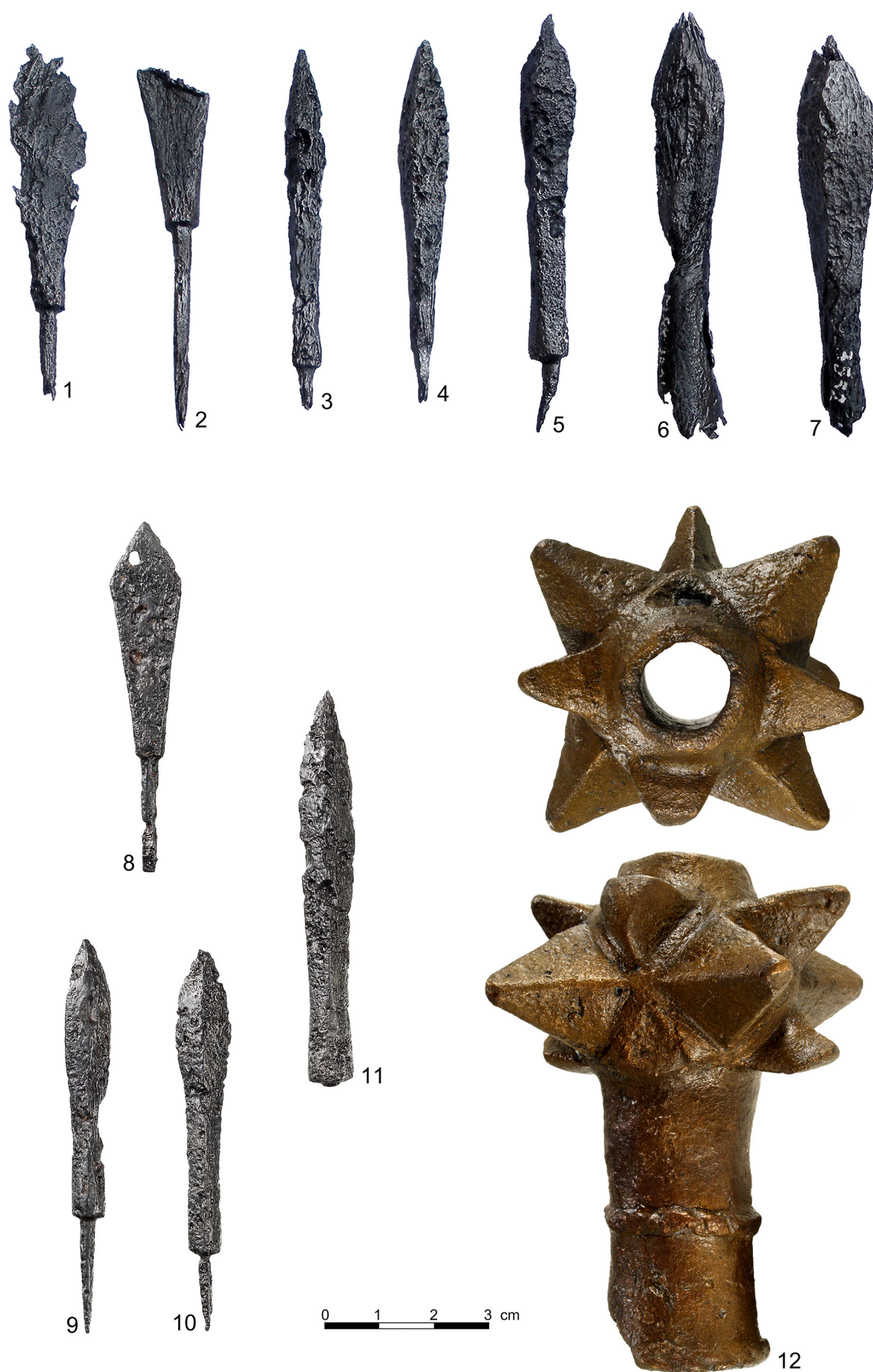


Fig. 5. Iron arrowheads and boltheads and a bronze mace head: 1–7 – from Bębło; 8–11 – from Wierzchowie; 12 – from Librantowa (1–7 – photo by R. Liwoch; 8–12 – photo by A. Susuł)



Fig. 6. 1 – Kmita's Rock in Zabierzów; 2 – view from the Kmita's Rock; 3 – view of the battlefield at the Kmita's Rock (1–3 – photo R. Liwoch)



Fig. 7. Selection of iron arrowheads and boltheads, an iron snaffle bit and a bronze belt fitting from Zabierzów (photo by A. Susuł)

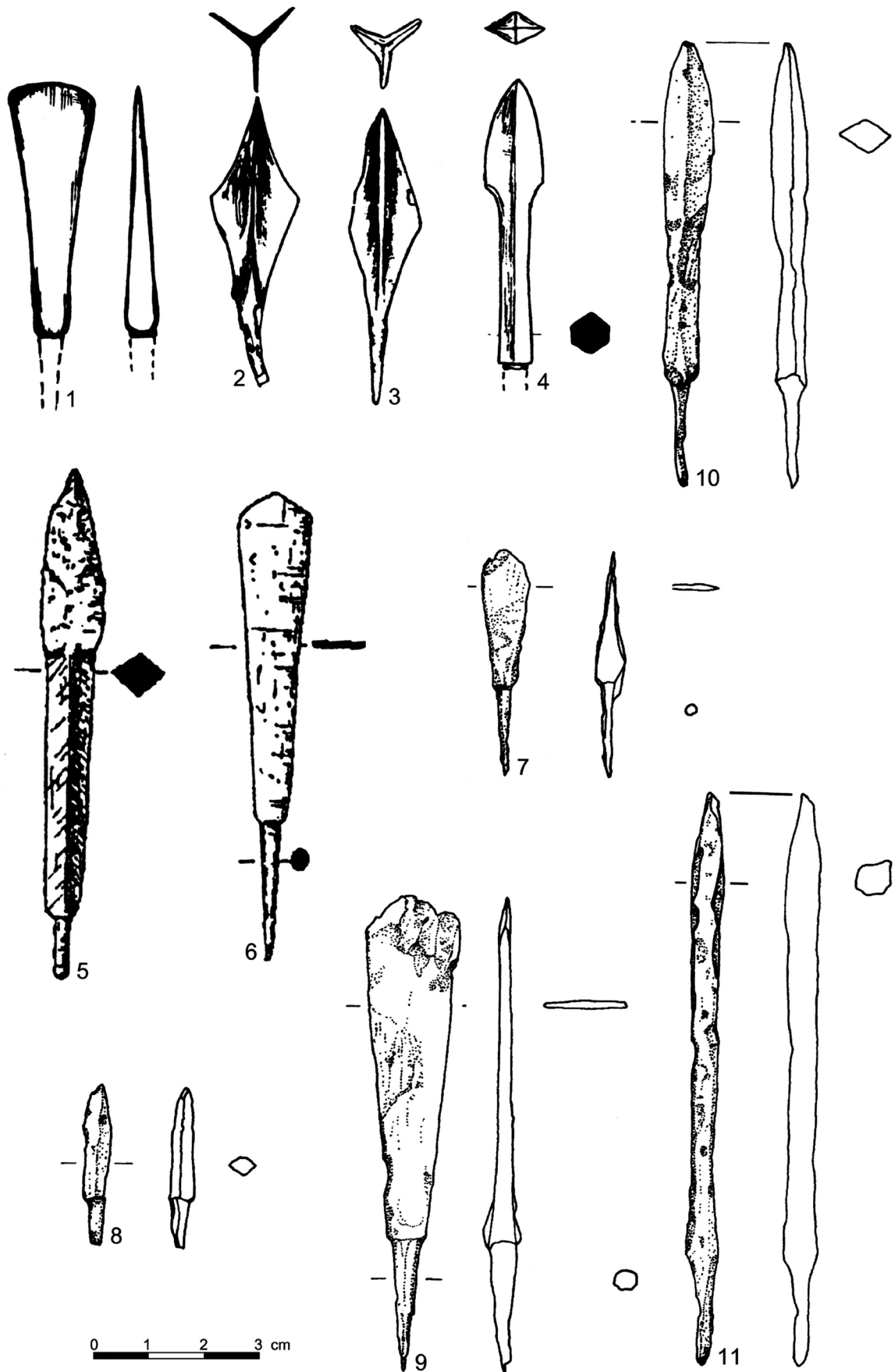


Fig. 8. Iron arrowheads: 1–4 – from Podzamcze; 5, 6 – from Zbrojewsko; 7–11 – from Troks (1, 2 – according to Muzolf 1997b, 121; 3, 4 – according to Muzolf 1997a, 46; 5, 6 – according to Gedl 2002, 76; 7–11 – according to Bodnar et al. 2006, 533, 535)



Fig. 9. Iron arrowheads, spindle whorls made of the Ovruch slate, glass bracelets, bronze scales, silver ring, bronze temple rings: 1 – from Zielona Góra; 2 – from Krosno Odrzańskie; 3 – from Cracow; 4, 5 – from Szaflary; 6, 7 – from Ojców; 8–10 – from Wierzchowie; 11–15 – from Korolówka (1, 2 – according to *Dziedzic, Michalak* 2008, 93, 96; 3 – according to *Buśko, Głowa* 2010, 150; 4, 5 – according to *Wałowa* 1960, table X; 6–15 – photo A. Susuł; 3 – no scale).

References

- Hermannii Altahensis annales [1861], In: G. H. Pertz ed., *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores* (in Folio) 17 (*Annales aevi Suevici*). Hannover.
- Kronika halicko-wołyńska. Kronika Romanowiczów [2017], translation, introduction and comments D. Dąbrowski and A. Jusupović. Kraków – Warszawa.
- Bajka, M. 2013: Ziemia Sandomierska w pradziejach i wczesnym średniowieczu. Katalog wystawy/Sandomierz Region in Prehistory and Early Medieval Times. Catalogue of the Exhibition. Sandomierz.
- Bodnar, R. – Rozmus, D. – Szmoniewski, B. Sz. 2006: Early medieval arrowheads from Smugowa Góra near Troks in Olkusz district. *Sprawozdania Archeologiczne* 58, 531–542.
- Bojęś-Białasik, A. – Niemiec, D. 2013: Kościół i klasztor Dominikanów w Krakowie w świetle badań archeologiczno-architektonicznych w latach 2010-2012, In: A. Markiewicz et al. (eds.), *Sztuka w kręgu krakowskich dominikanów*. Kraków, 257–313 + ilustracje.
- Bunar, P. – Sroka S. A. 1996: *Wojny, bitwy i potyczki w średniowiecznej Polsce*. Kraków.
- Buśko, C. – Głowa, W. 2010: Osada przedlokacyjna na Rynku krakowskim. *Krzysztofor* 28/1, 145–152.
- Dziedzic, P. – Michalak, A. 2008: Import czy wyrób miejscowy? Uwagi o proveniencji kilku żelaznych zabytków uzbrojenia z terenu środkowego Nadodrza w świetle analiz metalograficznych. *Archeologia Środkowego Nadodrza* 6, 93–121.
- Fedorov-Davydov G. A. 1966: *Kočevniki Vostočnoj Evropy pod vlast'û zolotoordynskih hanov*. Moskva.
- Gedl, M. 2002: Pozostałości drewnianej budowli w średniowiecznym gródku w Zbrojewsku. *Archeologia Historica Polona* 12, 73–80.
- Holeščák, M. 2019: *Medieval Archery Equipment from the Territory of Slovakia*. Nitra: Veda, Publishing House of the SAS.
- Hunka J. – Soják M. 2017: Nové doklady k vpádu mongolsko-tatárskych vojsk do Uhorska v rokoch 1241–1242, In: J. Gancarski (ed.), *Stan i potrzeby badań archeologicznych w Karpatach*. Krosno, 541–561.
- Jackson, P. 2007: *Mongolowie i Zachód*. Warszawa.
- Krakowski, S. 1956: *Polska w walce z najazdami tatarskimi w XIII wieku*. Warszawa.
- Labuda, G. 1959: Wojna z Tatarami w roku 1241. *Przegląd Historyczny* 50/2, 189–224.
- Laszlovszky, J. – Pow, S. – Pusztai, T. 2016: Reconstructing the Battle of Muhi and the Mongol Invasion of Hungary in 1241: New Archaeological and Historical Approaches. *Hungarian Archaeology Winter 2016*, 29–38. (http://files.archaeolingua.hu/2016T/Laszlovszky_E16.pdf – dostęp 25 lutego 2020 r.)
- Laszlovszky, J. – Pow, S. – Romhányi, B. F. – Ferenczi, L. – Pinke, Z. 2018: Contextualizing the Mongol Invasion of Hungary in 1241–42: Short- and Long-Term Perspectives. *Hungarian Historical Review* 7/3, 419–450.
- Liwoch, R. 2014: Importy staroruskie w Polsce. Przykłady ze zbiorów dawnych Muzeum Archeologicznego w Krakowie, In: P. P. Toločko et al. (eds.), *Mista Davn'oi Rusi. Kiiv*, 415–423.
- Liwoch, R. 2016: Węgierska buława z Librantowej, In: B. Chudzińska et al. (eds.), *Od Bachorza do Światowida ze Zbrucza. Tworzenie się słowiańskiej Europy w ujęciu źródłoznawczym. Księga jubileuszowa Profesora Michała Parczewskiego*. Kraków – Rzeszów, 675–679.
- Liwoch, R. 2017: Średniowieczna waga z Jaskini Mamutowej w Wierzchowie koło Krakowa. *Prądnik. Prace i Materiały Muzeum im. Prof. Władysława Szafera* 27, 189–192.
- Liwoch, R. in press: Średniowieczne zabytki z pobojuwiska przy Skale Kmity w Zabierzowie. *Materiały Archeologiczne* 43.
- Medvedev, A. F. 1966: *Ručnoe metatel'noe orużie (luk i strely, samostrel) VIII–XIV vv*. Moskva.
- Muzolf, B. 1997a: Badania kompleksu stanowisk na Górze Birów w Podzamczu, województwo katowickie. *Badania Archeologiczne na Górnym Śląsku i Ziemiach Pogranicznych w 1993 roku*, 44–48.
- Muzolf, B. 1997b: Badania wielokulturowego stanowiska na Górze Birów w Podzamczu, województwo katowickie. *Badania Archeologiczne na Górnym Śląsku i Ziemiach Pogranicznych w 1994 roku*, 119–131.

- Vargha, M. 2017: „Swords drunk with the blood of the slain” (GH, Mag. Rogeriii..., p. 211). Traces of destruction. The archaeological remains of the Mongol invasion of Hungary. *Acta Archaeologica Carpathica* 52, 235–258.
- Wałowcy, A. 1960: Materiały z badań archeologicznych na średniowiecznym zameczku w Szaflarach, pow. Nowy Targ. *Materiały Archeologiczne* 2, 295–332 + tabl. I–XII.
- Wojenka, M. 2016: Jerzmanowice-Stara Wieś. Nowo odkryta warownia średniowieczna na Wyżynie Krakowsko-Częstochowskiej, In: B. Chudzińska et al. (eds.), *Od Bachorza do Światowida ze Zbrucza. Tworzenie się słowiańskiej Europy w ujęciu źródłoznawczym. Księga jubileuszowa Profesora Michała Parczewskiego*. Kraków – Rzeszów, 663–673.
- Żmudzki, P. 2000: *Studium podzielonego królestwa. Książę Leszek Czarny*. Warszawa.

Radosław Liwoch
Muzeum Archeologiczne w Krakowie
ul. Senacka 3
31-002 Kraków
radliw@interia.pl