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**Left-bank Castle in Wrocław. Part 1:
From the seat of the Piasts to an imperial residence***

Abstract. This study attempts at summarising recent research on the left-bank ducal and imperial seat in Wrocław based on source queries and results of archaeological and architectural studies from the years 1999–2005. It provides a comprehensive discussion on medieval and early modern construction phases distinguished during excavations. Furthermore, it draws attention to connections between the castle and the early-urban settlement formed on the left-bank of the Oder, as well as its oldest defensive systems.

Keywords: Silesia, Wrocław, Middle Ages, archaeology, architecture, town planning, castle, brick.

Introduction

Long absent in the landscape of Wrocław, the Piast Castle was erected in the left-bank ducal areas in the northern part of the Old Town as the city's second castle after the residence on Ostrów Tumski (Thum Island). The regular chess and block plan of the founded centre, shaped as a result of spatial and legal reforms from ca. 1226–1232, 1242 and 1261, did not cover the belt of the ducal foundations by the Oder (Młynarska-Kaletynowa 1986; Kozaczewska-Golasz 1995; Rozpędowski 1995). At that time, a great enclave was formed there serving as a residential complex, now

* The study was carried out as part of the project of the National Program for the Development of Humanities – National Heritage NPRH/DN/SP/495215/2021/10-2 (2022) “Catalogue of castles and fortified manors of Silesia”.

called the Acropolis, which was mentioned as *civitas Vratislaviensis* (KDŚl. 1951, p. 275, no. 107) of the early town settlement centre in 1204. Not accidentally, as due to the dynastic contacts of Henry II the Pious and Anne of Bohemia, comparisons with the residential complex in Prague are the first to come to mind. We cannot fail to notice the symbolic references to the capital Cracow Wawel Royal Castle (Pianowski 1994; Małachowicz 1994)¹, which is understandable given the unification policy of Silesian Henrys (1201–1241). The representative and residential buildings aside, the duke's reserve became the area of the Franciscans Foundation, the Poor Clares, and the Crusaders with the Red Star (around 1234/before 1236/1237–1260). The left-bank castle alone, i.e. the *castrum* – unlike the *curia* – gradually reduced after 1241 to the defensive form of the seat in the western part of the residential complex at the new Oder crossing, became the residence of the last Wrocław Piasts (after 1290–1335). The great flourish of the declining seat was connected with the times of Charles of Luxembourg (1346–1378) and his successors. It was known more as an imperial castle, often visited by rulers; one of Silesia's largest residences in the Middle Ages and in the early modern period. In 1659, it was handed over to the Jesuits by Holy Roman Emperor Leopold I and within two centuries, it finally disappeared from the panorama of the city.

Historical and urban context. Source mentions

The Wrocław left-bank castle was located in the northern part of the founded town, on the so-called ducal areas, on the left-bank of the Oder. The castle was situated on a lateral accretion above the valley, which provided it with a natural defence from three sides (Badura, Kastek 2018, p. 139). The oldest traces of settlement registered there come from the 9th and 10th centuries. This area was intensively used in the 12th and 13th centuries. Until now, it has not been resolved whether the building stood in the place of the alleged left-bank hillfort. The spatial and functional plan of the Wrocław left-bank residence consisted of numerous monumental buildings. Successively, starting from the east, they included an archaeologically confirmed church of an unknown name, probably belonging to the palace, which entailed a basilica system, constructed ca. 1234–1240 (Kozaczewski 1963; Lasota, Rozpędowski 1981; Małachowicz 1994, pp. 90–117) and handed over to the Franciscans in 1236 or 1237, and then repeatedly remodelled. It was later known as St. James Church along with the buildings of the monastery; afterwards, the so-called House of the Ladies of Trzebnica – a vast tripartite residential building with an unclear original purpose (before 1241); St. Clare Church of the Poor Clares (1257–1260) along with

¹ Zbigniew Pianowski's association of Wrocław St. James' Church with Wawel St. Gereon's Church (St. Mary's of Egypt) is certainly accurate.

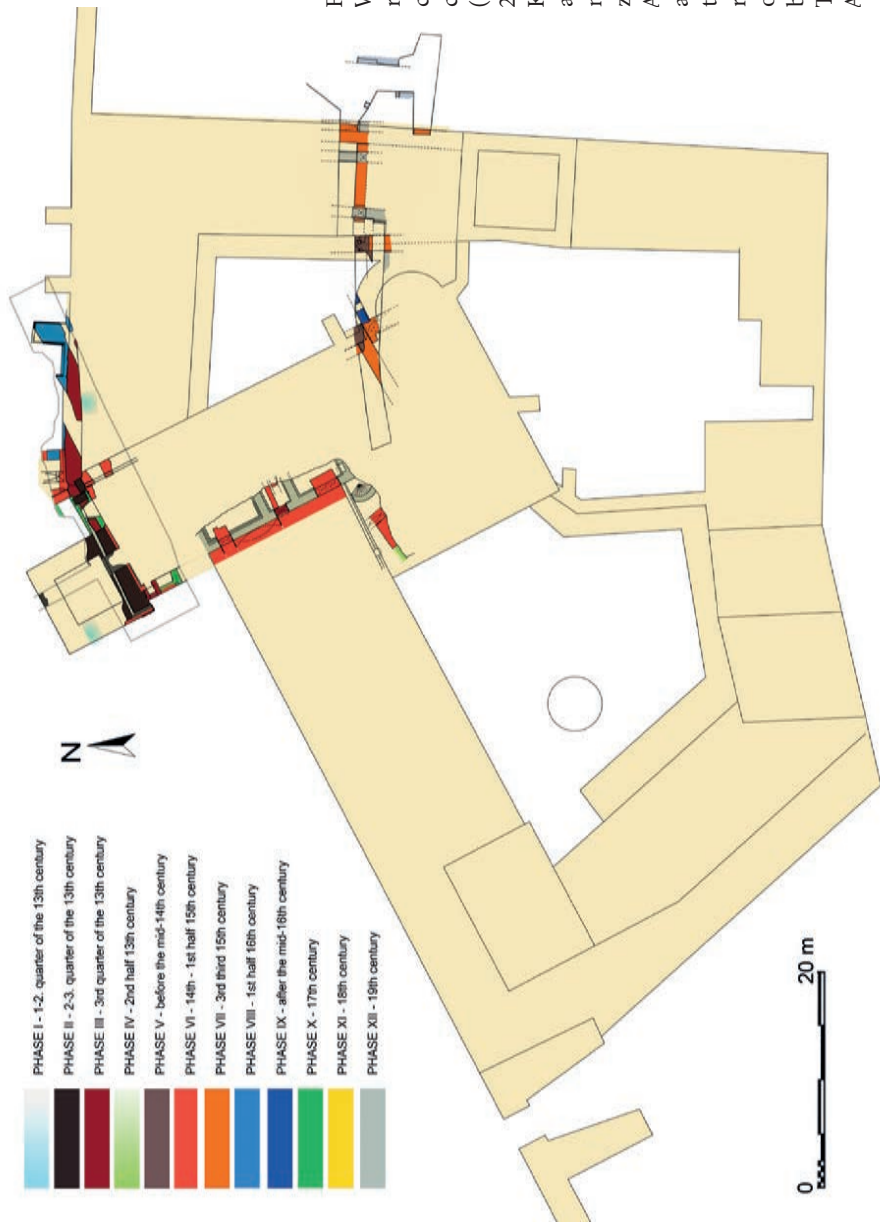


Fig. 1.

Wrocław, left-bank castle: relics of architecture discovered in 1999–2005 with chronological stratification (after Mruczek, Stefanowicz 2000; Mruczek *et al.* 2005; Konczewski *et al.* 2007 and archival total station measurements – R. Mruczek, M. Stefanowicz, Akme 1999–2005). The approximately outline of the castle complex was reconstructed on the basis of Bimler 1933) (drawing by R. Mruczek, M. Bijak, T. Kramar, M. Stefanowicz, A. Woźniak)

St. Hedwig Chapel and the buildings of the monastery; St. Matthias manorial (?) Church with a large complex of buildings, which was sometimes identified with the so-called Curia of Anna, Duchess of Silesia, and handed over to Knights Hospitaller – crusaders with the Red Star and the actual left-bank castle – castrum – which closed the ducal areas from the west.

In the late medieval municipal town, the left-bank castle was at the interface of the Butchers' quarters (*quartale seniorum carnificum*) and the Great quarters (*Magni quartale, grosse fyrtel*) (Goliński, 1997, pp. 47, 95) in their most northernmost part. It was then incorporated into town stockades and fortifications.

The defensive layout originally occupied the northern part of the later castle area, i.e. the riverside embankment. From the west, this terrain reached to the so-called Wróble Wzgórze (Sparrow Hill) (*Venusberg, Sperlingsberg*), but not farther than to the Fishing Gate (Fischerpforte) within the city walls. From the north, it was limited by the late designated Grodzka Street (*Burgstrasse*), whereas from the south and east by Plac Uniwersytecki (University Square) (*Universitäts-Platz* and *Neugerberstrasse*) up to Furta Garbarska (Tanner Gate) (*Gerberpforte*). Halfway between the two gates there was Brama Cesarska (Imperial Gate) which separated the main body of the castle located in the east from its utility buildings situated in the west.

Ducal castle – Arx Nostre Wratislavia – circa 1231–1335

Contrary to older views, there are no strong grounds for dating the beginnings of the left-bank castle to a period earlier than the first third of the 13th century (Bimler 1933; 1940; Morelowski 1955, pp. 10–16; Kaźmierczyk 1959a; 1959b). The construction of a new seat of rulers is probably directly connected to the formation of the town centre on the left-bank of the Oder and sets the timeframe for the transformation of the polycentric early urban structure into a founded town. In the so-called Magdeburg legal notice dated to the years 1211–1238/1241 and associated with Henry I the Bearded or Henry II the Pious (SUb. 1963, pp. 235–237, no. 321), there is a mention of *numerous iniquities* that the duke was to commit to settlers. Magdeburg aldermen and burghers – senders of this sharp tone letter – expressed a protest, among other things, against the duke's violation of the urban area, agricultural lands belonging to the town and digging ditches as well as against the erection of any buildings against the will of the inhabitants (Młynarska-Kaletynowa 1986, p. 109). Karol Maleczyński and Anna Skowrońska from the analysis of the Magdeburg legal instruction drew a conclusion on the construction of Wrocław defensive walls and separating the town from the ducal castle (KDŚl. 1959, pp. 90–94, no. 147, footnote 7). In 1231, during the dispute over the crossings between Wrocław abbeys of the Norbertines and Augustinians, a new transport by the Oder was

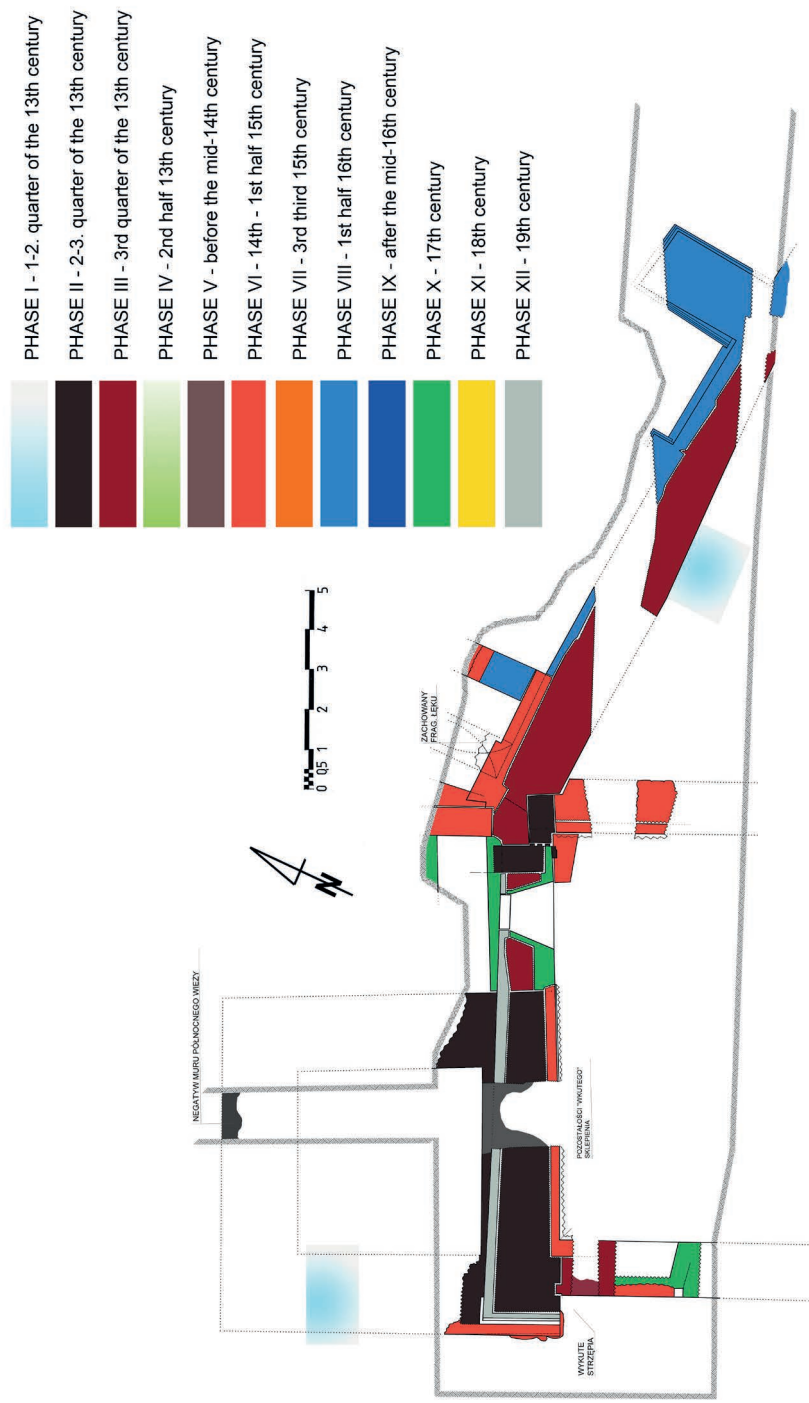


Fig. 2. Wrocław, left-bank castle: architectural relics discovered in 2005. Chronological stratification (after Konczewski *et al.* 2007 and archival total station measurements – R. Mruczek, M. Stefanowicz, Akme Archive 2005) (drawing by R. Mruczek and M. Bijak)

mentioned, which was situated – as we surmise – already in the vicinity of the ducal castle. The moment of bringing the Franciscans to Wrocław in 1236/1237 constitutes an important turning point for the process of constructing St. James Church which was probably originally designed as a palace temple and finally handed over to the Order of Friars Minor. It is a turning point in the history of the left-bank residence which would gradually transform into a vast sacral complex. The history of the left-bank enclave during the Mongol invasion in 1241 remains completely unknown, although it is at the same time known that Henry II the Pious, who died in the Battle of Legnica, was buried in the crypt of the original church of Friars Minor, which is known from archaeological studies.

However, the first alleged castle building, with a disputed location, was mentioned in the foundation document of St. Elizabeth Hospital only in 1253. It was a brick tower², already destroyed at that time, which was located in the area of curia of Anne, Duchess of Silesia (*item pars curiae domina matris nostre usque ad turrem lateritam destructam post obitum eiusdem*; (BUb. 1870, p. 17). It was then that part of the ducal terrains was handed over to the Crusaders with the Red Star for the construction of a hospital. Another part of them was to be transferred to the Order after the death of the founder (she died in 1265). Soon afterwards, the existence of the defensive perimeter of the ducal seat was confirmed – in 1263, in the foundation document of the New Town and when defining its range, there appeared a phrase between the walls of the castle of our Wrocław and the banks of the Oława River (*et muros arcis nostre Wratislavie, atque ripam fluminis Olawe*) (SUB. 1984, p. 436). However, it is not certain whether it refers to the seat in Ostrów Tumski or already on the left-bank. Schrott's document seems to be crucial today (i.e. a store) from 1273, which confirms a dual structure of the residence because *castrum et curia nostra* is mentioned (SUB. 1988, p. 209). A bit later, a slow disappearance of the old ducal seat in Ostrów Tumski took place – in 1290 the castle was specified in the will of Henry IV Probus as an old castle square. In practice, this means the final moving of rulers to the town seat on the left-bank. It is possible that it was supposed to be a temporary residence – it is also necessary to remember about the unfinished great investment of construction of the second left-bank castle in the place of a later town Arsenal. Already in 1302, the left-bank *curia ducis* was mentioned and in 1304 the town paid 39 marks to the duke for the castle with the gate (Luchs 1863, p. 2). In 1305, The Oder Gate was mentioned, which was located [...] *cum propugnaculo ducis* (CDS 1860, p. 15). In 1311, a bath which was situated behind the ducal curia appeared in the sources (*stubam balnearem [...] in fluvio Odera retro curiam wratislaviae sitam*), and was given to the bath-keeper Dytryk by dukes Bolesław III, Henry VI and Władysław (CDS 1892, no. 3228). In the same

² The causes of the destruction of the building were usually attributed to the Mongol invasion of 1241. However, it seems equally likely that it was damaged during the great flood in 1253.

year, the Duke left the castle in Ostrów Tumski and donated it to the town. In 1327, Henry VI the Good paid homage to John of Luxemburg in Wrocław – the left-bank castle served as the Piasts seat until the Piast's death in 1335.

Royal and imperial castle – curia regis/Kaiserliche Pfalz – 1335–1659

Along with the transition of Wrocław under the Bohemian rule, the former left-bank seat of Silesian Henry's became a royal residence and soon the imperial one. In the years 1327, 1329, 1331, 1337, 1340 and 1344, John of Luxembourg visits were recorded in the castle (Burgemeister 1902, p. 275). In 1335, the castle officially became the Bohemian royal good. In the years 1346–1347 the town's medieval commune expenses for the construction of the royal curia are mentioned (CDS 1860, pp. 12, 23). In 1347, the castle was mentioned as *curia regis* (Luchs 1863, p. 2; Burgemeister 1902, p. 275). Probably construction works in the castle (valued at 500 marks) were still ongoing, since Emperor Charles IV (Charles of Luxembourg) lived in the Market Square when he visited Wrocław. In the years 1348–1372 this ruler visited the castle as many as seven times (Burgemeister 1902, p. 278; Bimler 1933, p. 5). It was due to his initiative that the basic reconstruction of the residence took place, which was preceded by unknown demolition works. In 1350, the older cylindrical castle tower, which was then demolished, (Bimler 1933) was mentioned. Construction works are confirmed by sources in the years 1359, 1361, and 1371 (Luchs 1863, p. 3; Burgemeister 1902, p. 277). An imperial document regarding construction of the castle and collection of lime for this purpose dates back to 1371. The status of the castle as a residence was confirmed in 1366 (*curia imperatoris*), in 1374 (*curia regis*), and in 1377 (*castrum sive curia imperialis*) (Burgemeister 1902, p. 275). Still in 1378, Emperor Charles of Luxembourg wrote about an increase in castle expenditures and about the necessity to build a roof over one of the wings (Burgemeister 1902, p. 278). In 1387, a royal stable in Sperlingsberg (Luchs 1863, pp. 4, 6) was mentioned. In 1389, Hauptmann Herrmann von Chotienitz was mentioned, whereas in the years 1390–1395 – Heinrich of Dubé; 1395–1397 – Stephan of Opočno; 1397 – Herrmann von Rychenbach (Reichenbach); 1398–1400 – Johann von Mühlheim; 1400 – Behnisch von Chotienitz; 1408–1413 – Janko von Chotienitz; 1413–1419 – Heinrich of Lasan; 1419–1424 – Albrecht of Kolditz (Müller 1844, pp. 300–301). In the times of Sigismund of Luxembourg, in 1420 a series of performances with the history of Nabuchodonozor (Nebuchadnezzar) (Luchs 1863, pp. 9–10; Burgemeister 1902; Bimler 1933, p. 18) was mentioned. Karl Amand Müller (1844, p. 299) noticed that in the same year the emperor began remodelling of the castle. In 1427, the northern walls and towers of the castle were included in the city's defence system. Moreover, the construction of the castle stable (Burgemeister 1902) and remodelling of the Imperial Gate (*Kaisertor*) together with

moving the bridge (Bimler 1933) took place. In 1431 and 1463 Kaisertor (Burgemeister 1902) was mentioned. In 1438, the visit of King Albrecht II Habsburg, who was supposed to extend the castle, was recorded (Bimler 1933, p. 5). In the years 1438–1439 the Hauptmann was Albrecht Markgraf of Brandenburg “der deutsche Achilles”; in 1456 – Jindřich of Rožmberk; in 1469 – Hans of Heide (Müller 1844, pp. 300–301). Further construction works took place in 1469, when the castle was renovated on the occasion of the visit of King Matthias Corvinus. Town builder Bernhard, outstanding Wrocław architect Hans Bertold, painters Nickel Smed (Schmid) and Nickel Korp (frescoes) as well as other craftsmen were mentioned at that time (Luchs 1863, pp. 11–12; Burgemeister 1902, p. 286; Bimler 1933, p. 5). In another document, the castle was mentioned as keyser hoff. The construction of castle fortifications (Luchs 1863), which was mentioned in 1472, took place within the range of the same initiative. In the years 1472–1475 the courts at the castle were held by King Matthias Corvinus (Burgemeister 1902). In 1474, the Hauptmann was Stephanus Graf of Zips; in 1478 – Rudolphus (Rudolf of Rüdesheim), Wrocław bishop; in 1482 – Georg of Stein; in 1490 – John IV Roth, Wrocław bishop; in the years 1491–1504 – Casimir II, Duke of Teschen; in 1507 – John V Thurzo (Thurso), Wrocław bishop; in 1509 – again Casimir II, Duke of Teschen; in 1522 – Charles I, Duke of Ziębice (Müller 1844, pp. 300–301). The construction of the early Renaissance southern wing of the castle, whose authorship is attributed to architect and fortifier Johann Tscherte or Hieronim Arconati, dates back to around 1530 (Bimler 1933). In 1536, Emperor Ferdinand I Habsburg was to start another remodelling of the castle (Müller 1844, p. 299; Burgemeister 1902, p. 288 *ff.*). In 1536, the Hauptmann was Jakob of Salza, Wrocław Bishop (Müller 1844, pp. 300–301). In 1538, the construction of three vaults in the castle was recorded (Luchs 1863, p. 13) and it was probably carried out using the Romanesque column from Olbin (Burgemeister 1902, p. 289). In the same year there was a visit of Emperor Ferdinand I Habsburg (Burgemeister 1902, pp. 288–289; Bimler 1933, p. 5). In 1539, the Hauptmann was Balthasar of Promnitz, Wrocław Bishop (Müller 1844, pp. 300–301). In 1547, the construction of a new gate near the castle (Luchs 1863) took place and in 1551 – the construction of a bastion by the Oder on the northern side of the residence (Luchs 1863). In the years 1556–1564 another extension of the castle was carried out, probably on the initiative of Emperor Ferdinand II Habsburg (Burgemeister 1902). In 1558, the imperial governor residing in the castle was mentioned (as above). In the same year, dukes Frederick III of Legnica and Henry XI of Haynau, later a pretender to the throne of the King of Poland, were imprisoned in the residence. In 1561, the Hauptmann was Caspar of Logau, Wrocław Bishop (Müller 1844, pp. 300–301). The status of the castle during the time of Maximilian II Habsburg is confirmed by references from the years 1562 and 1576, when Kaiser Hof was mentioned (as above) and from the years 1564–1576, when Kaiserlicher Pfalz (Burgemeister 1930) was mentioned as well. In 1570, the construction of the southern tower with a clock



Fig. 3. Wrocław, left-bank castle: architectural relics discovered in 1999. Chronological stratification (after Mruczek, Stefanowicz 2000 and archival total station measurements – R. Mruczek, M. Stefanowicz, Akme Archiv 1999) (drawing by R. Mruczek and M. Stefanowicz)

(Bimler 1933) was recorded and in the years 1572–1573 the clock on the south-western tower, the covering of the dome with copper as well as the extension of rooms of a tax collector and the customs office (Luchs 1863, p. 14; Burgemeister 1902, p. 290 ff.; Bimler 1933, p. 5). In 1574, Martin Gerstmann, Wrocław Bishop, was the Hauptmann and in 1575 – Andreas Jerin, Wrocław Bishop (Müller 1844, pp. 300–301). In 1575, the Imperial Gate with a round passage arch, decorative blends and a stepped gable as well as the construction of a court servant apartment in the tower were mentioned (Burgemeister 1902; Bimler 1933). In 1591 Kaiser Burg (Markgraf 1896) was mentioned. In 1596, the Hauptmann was Paulus Albertus, Wrocław Bishop; in 1600 – John VI of Sitsch, Wrocław Bishop; in 1609 – Duke Charles II of Münsterberg-Oels (Müller 1844, pp. 300–301). In 1611, a homage to Emperor Matthias in the castle was recorded (Bimler 1933, p. 5). In 1617, the Hauptmann was Adam Wenceslaus, Duke of Teschen; 1621 – George Rudolf, Duke of Legnica; in 1628 – Henry Wenceslaus, Duke of Ziębice and Oleśnica; in 1639 – Karl Eusebius Duke of Lichtenstein; in 1641 – again George Rudolf, Duke of Legnica; in 1653 – George III, Duke of Brzeg; in 1664 – Sebastian of Rostock, Wrocław Bishop; in 1671 – Václav Eusebius Duke of Lobkowicz, Duke of Žagaň; in 1676 – Frederick of Hesse-Darmstadt, Wrocław Bishop (Müller 1844, pp. 300–301). However, the fundamental turning point in the history of the Wrocław imperial residence occurred on 26 September 1659, when the castle was handed over to the Jesuits for temporary use by the emperor (Burgemeister 1902). The work *Relatio de Burgo cesareo Wratislawiae* comes from the same year – a detailed description of the castle contained in *Litterae annuae*, including a priceless building plan probably by Theodore Moretti. The demolition process of the imperial castle took place in stages in the years 1675–1896. At present, a small fragment of the wing of the eastern castle has survived. It is used as the sacristy of Jesus Name's Church and the lower part of one of the walls of the palatium building, legible in the Baroque University edifice. The spatial system and the development of the medieval castle in the field have been completely blurred.

Left-bank castle as a subject of research

Until the large-scale post-war research on Ostrów Tumski, it was paradoxically the left-bank castle – known from numerous scenic views of Wrocław – that had attracted the most interest from researchers, while the oldest Piast residence in a fully built-up area in the vicinity of the Collegiate Church of the Holy Cross remained virtually unknown at the time. The work *Relatio de Burgo cesareo Wratislawiae* dates back to 1659 – a detailed description of the existing castle included in *Litterae annuae*, comprising the now priceless building plan, probably by Th. Moretti. At that time, knowledge about the origins of the left-bank-residence was scant. In the

chapter titled *Etliche Fragen von Breßlau*, Daniel Gomolcke (1731, p. 118) explained that the “castle in the city” was constructed by Holy Roman Emperor Sigismund of Luxembourg. Karl A. Müller (1844, pp. 297–303) addressed the left-bank castle profusely, providing a comparison and a critical assessment based on abundant source information. He questioned the early construction of the residence at this place previously suggested by Johann Gottlob Worbs (1812, p. 87) and Nikolaus Pol (1813, p. 12) by citing the chronicle mention that dates back to 1044 and associates the castle with Casimir I the Restorer. Another noteworthy work by Hermann Luchs (1863) brought, among other things, a set of source data for the medieval and early modern castle along with a discussion on the views of the residence from 1562, 1591, and 1668. The castle also appeared in Hans Lutsch’s studies (1886). Another researcher named Leon Burgemeister (1902) presented an inventory of the northern façade of the castle before 1727 (still with the northern tower) along with the imitation of its outline in the projection – a similar inventory of fortifications in the belt west of the castle (Brama Cesarska and Furta Rybacka) and views of the so-called *Wróble Wzgórze* from the same period. He selected four main castle construction phases, i.e., phase I - ducal, phase II - from the time of Charles IV, phase III – from the time of Matthias Corvinus, and phase IV – from the time of Ferdinand I. He mentioned the first archaeological discovery which took place in 1896 in the territory of the old castle. During the earthworks which were connected with the extension of the Chemistry Institute Building, the foundation of a cylindrical four-meter diameter tower with the unclear chronology and function was discovered (Burgemeister 1902, p. 308). This discovery was probably not recorded, although its approximate location appeared on the plan. Kurt Bimler (1933) made the first critical comparison of historical and cartographic data regarding the residence along with up-to-date drawing reconstructions. In his opinion, the oldest castle constituted the layout of a two-part character. The main part (upper castle), which was located in the eastern part of the complex, was supposed to consist of a cylindrical bergfried tower located in its northern part, a palace building, a kitchen, servants’ rooms, a well and the lord’s room, which were all closed in the form of a triangle. The additional part (lower castle?), which was situated in the western part of the complex, was to consist of a light tower in the northern part and along with the courtyard it was to perform economic functions. The tower of a bergfried type was located just between both parts. This castle was supposed to be built in the 12th and 13th centuries as a Romanesque and early Gothic structure. On K. Bimler’s plan there are two four-sided towers within the lower castle (outer bailey), i.e. the first one in the north-western corner and the other in the southern part. In K. Bimler’s work there are also discussions about the connections of the castle with the left-bank town and its function. Marian Morelowski (1955), who reconstructed a hypothetical defence system of the left-bank areas by means of a descriptive method, was also a supporter of the early foundation of the castle in

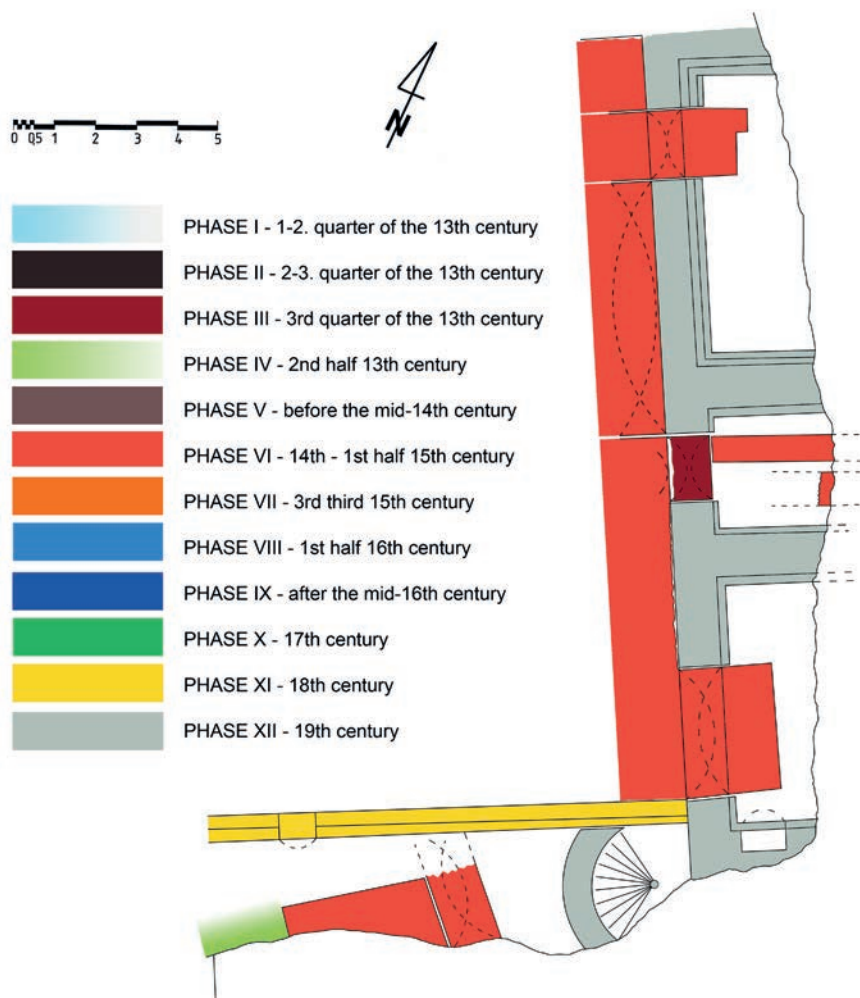


Fig. 4. Wrocław, left-bank castle: architectural relics discovered in 2002. Chronological stratification (after Mruczek *et al.* 2005 and archival total station measurements – R. Mruczek, M. Stefanowicz, Akme Archiv 2002) (drawing by R. Mruczek and M. Stefanowicz)

this place and its superiority in relation to the foundation of the town. In the light of this author's research – probably the first discoverer of the relics of Romanesque castle architecture (not only controversial Romanesque details but also the walls in the Slavonic bond) – the image of the left-wing castle similar to the one which was well-known from the works of older authors can be outlined. Bohdan Guerquin (1957) dated the castle initially to the turn of the 14th century. He saw it as a layout on an irregular plan with a tower from the river side, which was constructed in 1377. A synthesis of the research on the spatial development of the construction of the so-called left-bank ducal areas was presented by Edmund Małachowicz (1978; 1994). In his opinion, the left-bank castle was built in this place in the form of Wenceslaus II of Bohemia's manor in the early beginnings of the 14th century. This author connected the main construction works with the person of Charles IV and the years 1348–1370. He located earlier manors and left-bank castles in other places of the town. On the basis of an unknown source, he wrote about the outer bailey with two cylindrical towers. He connected the early 13th-century mentions about ducal manors not with the proper left-bank castle which he considered to be much younger and dated it to the times of Charles IV, but with the relics of buildings which were discovered or found in areas belonging to the Poor Clares and Knights of the Cross with the Red Star and, a little later, with the surroundings of St. Agnes' Church. So far, the most complete compilation of literature about the castle along with its critical discussion was presented by Henryk Dziurla, Rafał Eysymontt, and Agnieszka Zabłocka-Kos (1994). Jerzy Rozpędowski (1995) dated the left-bank castle back to the times of Henry the Bearded, i.e. to the first period of the 13th century and connected with it all mentions of the left-bank seat from the 13th century, including the damaged brick tower from 1253. According to him, it was supposed to be related to the foundation of the city, the so-called Great Foundation of Wrocław, closing one of the main urban axes and defending the new Oder crossing. Mateusz Goliński (1997) dated the left-bank castle to the 4th quarter of the 13th century or the beginning of the 14th century. He distinguished curia and left-bank castrum as separate structures with different locations and dates. The knowledge about the residence at that time was successfully summarised by Adam Źurek (1997) and the changes in the castle in the times of the Jesuits were described by H. Dziurla (1997).

After a long break, the first verification of the proposal for the chronological stratification of the castle complex, based mainly on archival materials, was archaeological and architectural research in 1999 which was of a small scope, carried out within the undeveloped area north of the Church of the Name of Jesus, in the place of the former castle courtyard (and the Chemistry Building from before the expansion) and the eastern wing of the castle. That research made it possible to separate construction phases from the 14th to the 16th century and to connect them with some known castle buildings (Babij *et al.* 1999; Mruczek, Stefanowicz 2000). Research was continued in 2002 yielding stratigraphic data on the oldest

site, as well as the discovery of further medieval and modern relics (Mruczek 2003; Mruczek *et al.* 2003; Mruczek, Nowakowski, Stefanowicz 2005). However, the key discoveries were provided by research conducted in 2005, thanks to which the 13th-century parts of the castle were identified in the form of a four-sided tower, relics of the palatium building (?) and a younger defensive wall (Konczewski *et al.* 2007; 2014; Nowakowski 2023). Discoveries in the area of the left-bank castle and their interpretations have recently appeared in the context of discussions on the origins of Silesian castles and changes surrounding the foundation of Wrocław as a city (Kajzer, Kołodziejski, Salm 2001; Mruczek 2003; 2012; 2019; Badura *et al.* 2010; Mruczek, Stefanowicz 2010; Kastek. Mruczek 2016; Badura, Kastek 2018). Completely new research perspectives are opened by works published in recent years by researchers from Czech research centres (Bobková 2005; Hola 2005; 2007; 2008; 2012; Czechowicz 2008; 2011; 2013; 2015). Particular attention should be paid to the analyses of the issue of the left-bank residence, seen from the perspective of the then capital city of Prague and in the Silesian and European context, as well as in-depth historical studies. These analyses will certainly bring about a change in the directions that research will take, which in recent years has focused on the issues of the beginnings of Wrocław and the early Silesian urban planning – in favour of analyses of the residence itself, especially in the context of the patronage of Charles IV of Luxembourg and his successors.

*Spatial changes in the residence in the light of archaeological
and architectural research (Figs. 1–4)*

Ducal castle

Phase I – the first – second quarter of the 13th century? The scope of construction works. The sand embankment with significant thickness and the content of humus, charcoal, and relics of wooden elements, which were identified in excavations from 1999 and examined in a survey in 2005, comes from the oldest currently known construction phase (Fig. 2, Fig. 5: b–d). Its precise dating and character raise doubts. Probably, it is an element of a vast system of sand, earth, and fascine embankments of the border (fossata), defensive, and flood character which by researchers is connected with either the time of spatial and legal transformations from before half of the 13th century, which could be related to the so-called first foundation of Henry I the Bearded (in around 1226–1232) and was mentioned in the foundation document from 1261 (Rozpędowski 1995; Badura *et al.* 2010; Mruczek, Stefanowicz 2010; Kastek, Mruczek 2016; Mruczek 2019) or – which is less probable – with strengthening the so-called external town after 1261 (Konczewski *et al.* 2010). However, during the research in the area of the castle, the presence of a levelling layer with a high



Fig. 5. Wrocław, left-bank castle: a – relics of the architecture of the cross buttresses of the older palatium building (phase II) and the defensive wall (phase III); view from NW; b–d –relics of the defensive wall (phase III), standing on the relics of the sand and earth embankment (phase I); view from the S, SW and W sides (photo by R. Mruczek)

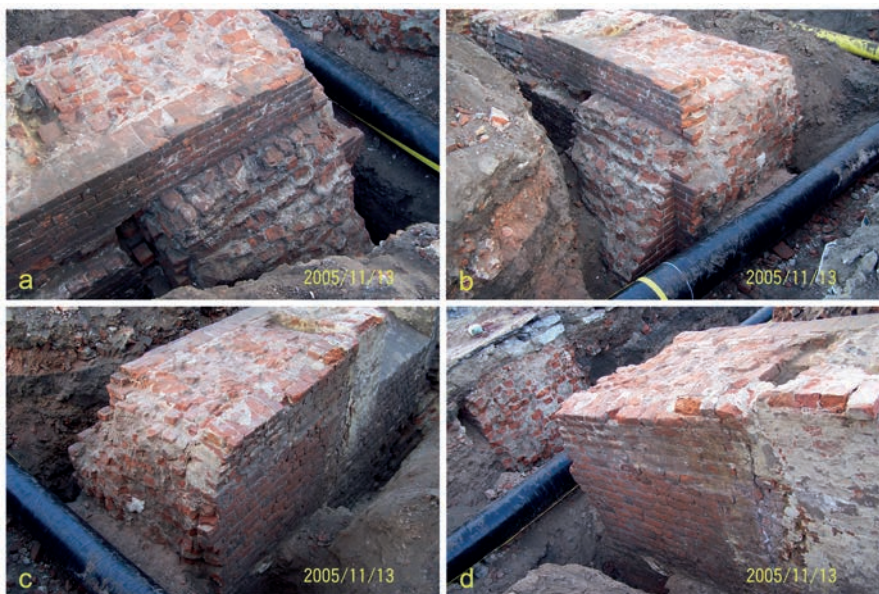


Fig. 6. Wrocław, left-bank castle: relics of the rectangular tower architecture (phase II). View from: a – N, b – NW, c – SW, d – E (photo by R. Mruczek)

burning content determining an important turning point in the development of the neighbouring church of the Crusaders with the Red Star and by researchers recently connected with the events of the Mongol invasion in 1241, was not recorded.

Phase II – second – third quarter of the 13th century? The scope of construction works. The first, known from archaeological research, brick buildings of the left-bank castle include a cuboidal tower with dimensions of 8.45 by 8.60 m and the width of the main walls of 1.90–1.95 m (Figs. 2, 6) and cross buttresses constituting a fragment of the north-eastern corner of the residually preserved building, which was already replaced by the extensive and rectangular in the plan palatium in the 14th century (Fig. 2, Fig. 5: a, Fig. 7: a). These objects, protruded strongly into the outskirts in the northern direction, were constructed in the wetland area of river backwaters in the vicinity of the Oder crossing. They were erected in the technique of *opus emplectum*, i.e. made of bricks arranged in the Wendish/double-stretcher bond on a very good quality and very cohesive sand and lime mortar in a cream to almost white colour, which was typical for ducal workshops and at the same time extremely different from the binder known from the construction of the 13th-century town fortifications.

At present, it is difficult to determine what character the exposed tower had. Both the cuboidal form, small sizes and a relatively small width of the main walls do not allow us to unambiguously include it in the group of towers of a bergfried type, which was represented at that time by cylindrical towers of the final defence from Legnica, Głogów and Racibórz or the polygonal one from Wleń (Mruczek 2003; 2005; 2018). Analogies for it constitute rather towers of the castle in Ostrów Tumski, which were already connected with the defensive perimeter, from the reign of Henry III the White (1248–1266), Lubińska Tower of the castle in Legnica (around 1220–1240) and the towers of the castle in Opole (around 1260) as well as in Poznań (after 1253 – before 1306) (Guerquin 1974; Rozpędowski 1965; 1971; 2009; Małachowicz 1993; Chorowska 2003; Kastek *et al.* 2013). In the sense of defensive usefulness – as objects extending onto the outskirts and flanking curtains of the walls – the above-mentioned towers already constitute elements of the fortified tower system and at the same time differ from the standard fortified shell towers used in Wrocław with a face width of 7.8–8.0 m, protrusion before the curtain face 2.1–4.0 m and a height equal to the defensive perimeter, i.e. 7–9 m or gateway towers with a square plan and a side of about 9.3 m. Some researchers suggest a relationship of the tower of the left-bank castle with the new Oder crossing, gate and bridge. At the same time, it is worth remembering about the close proximity of the cuboidal tower with the building of palatium, similarly to the castle in Poznań. The Poznań tower, which was erected on a plan similar to a square with dimensions of 11 by 11.5 m and wall thickness 3.0–3.5 m, could have actually performed the function of a bergfried. It is also necessary here to refer to the archival discovery of 1896, which was made during the construction of the Chemistry Building, when the relics of another castle cylindrical tower were revealed. A brief description, which is contained in the



Fig. 7. Wrocław, left-bank castle: a – relics of the cross buttresses of the NE corner of the older palatium (phase II), to which a defensive wall was added (phase III); view from W (photo by R. Mruczek); b–c – relics of the pillar-arch foundation of wall E palatium and the palatium partition wall perpendicular to it – at the junction with the chapel (phase V, along with subsequent reconstructions from phases VII–IX); view from S and from above (photo by R. Mruczek and M. Stefanowicz)

works by L. Burgemeister (1902, p. 308) and K. Bimler (1933), however, shows the registration of the circular foundation of the structure with a four-meter diameter (not the thickness of the walls, as in the case of bergfried), which gives the possibility of another interpretation of the exposed object (staircase?) and does not determine the issue of its chronology.

Chronology. Attempts to precisely determine the chronology of the oldest and currently known relics of the castle exclusively on the basis of techniques and construction technologies, especially in the context of the relatively well-dated sacral investments of the left-bank terrain reserve of the Piasts, are vividly discussed in the environment of Wrocław researchers. However, the connection of the castle with a new north-south urban axis running along Świdnicka Street, the eastern frontage of the Market Square and Kuźnicza Street through the characteristic chicane – which was noticed by M. Morelowski (1955) – to the new Oder crossing, seems to be indisputable. This new urban axis of Wrocław must have appeared along with the crossing in the period from 1230/31 to 1242. This chronology is also confirmed by the record of the first temple of the ducal areas – the palace St. James Church which at the time of the arrival of the Friars Minor in 1236/1237 was at least in an advanced stage of construction.



Fig. 8. Wrocław, left-bank castle: a – relics of the foundation pillar and the broken arcade (phase VI); view from W; b, d – relics of two foundation pillars (phase VI), preserved together with a section of wall W of the younger palatium (phase VI) under the E gable wall of the Main Building of the University of Wrocław and W wall of the now non-existent Chemistry Building; view from E; c – a relic in the W section of the perimeter wall of the castle (phase III), partially preserved under the arcaded foundation of the non-existent Chemistry Building, originally in the wall W of the younger palace (phase VI); the foundation of a perpendicular wall (phase VI) is visible next to it; view from E (photo by R. Mruczek)

Phase III – third quarter of the 13th century (before 1263?). The scope of construction works. The oldest castle buildings were included in the brick defensive perimeter at that time (Figs. 2, 5). On the northern section, it had E–W course, then – absorbing the cross buttress of the alleged palatium building – it ran towards the south-western direction and reached corner SE of the cuboidal tower coaxially into its wall S. Its width exceeded 1.5 m. The western section of the peripheral wall had its origin in the vicinity of corner SW of the tower, where – up to the carved toothings – it was added perpendicular to its wall S. There the wall width reached about 1.4 m.

The defensive wall was built on a sinking sand and humus (original embankment?) in opus emplectum technique and made of bricks arranged in the Wendish/double-stretcher bond, connected by means of sand and lime yellow and brown

mortar with the content of un-calcinated lumps of lime, on a continuous stone foundation arranged in a narrow-space excavation with the use of pebbles sealed with fatty humus. Despite a clear kinship between technique and technology for the construction of walls surrounding the left-bank castle with the first brick defence perimeter of Wrocław, it is appropriate to pay attention to the significant difference in the width of both defence systems. The width of the 13th-century city walls is on average 2.1–2.2 m.

However, the walls of the castle in Ostrów Tumski (around 1248/1254–1266) with identical features of the above-ground part and a width of 0.87–1.75 m, differ as regards the method of building the foundation. The defence perimeter of the castle, which was placed on unstable layers consisting mainly of decayed wood and matted straw, was constructed on a pillar and arch foundation. The exception was the northern section, where in fact the wall was built on a continuous foundation made of glacial erratics without the use of mortar but its width did not exceed 1.75 m. Problems which were connected with building in a wetland area also appeared during the construction of the left-bank castle. Although we are not sure whether the reason for the destruction of the tower mentioned in 1253 was the flood or settling of the foundations, it seems very symptomatic with the withdrawal of the defensive wall line by seven meters to the south, which was noticeable in the section to the west of the castle core and which Janusz Badura and Tomasz Kastek (2018, pp. 148–149) connect with an important turning point in the process of building urban fortifications after closing the defensive perimeter of the castle. In archaeological layers registered in 2002, our attention is drawn to the layer of brick powder of significant thickness, which was initially combined with treatments aimed at isolating castle buildings from the wetland. With the current state of research, we can interpret these layers as a side-product of the construction of town defensive walls, also seen in the neighbouring regions of the town (e.g. to the west of Wróble Wzgórze in the nearby so-called “Bawaria” – 4 Garbary Street).

Chronology. The technique and technology of the construction and the course of the wall on an open section make it possible to indirectly combine it with a large investment in the construction of the internal ring of the defensive walls of Wrocław (around 1260–1291). At the same time, in order to specify the dating of this construction phase, a mention from 1263 regarding the already existing walls of the Wrocław castle, which was cited in the foundation document of the New Town, is very important.

Phase IV – second half of the 13th century. The scope of construction works. After the construction of the town defensive walls / perimeter walls of the castle, there appeared a stone pavement which was made of erratics (Fig. 2). It was preceded by traces of settlement difficult to clearly identify. Due to the disturbance of the stratigraphic relation with the oldest stone relics (extensive excavations under the later walls), it is impossible to answer the question whether it functioned

simultaneously with these buildings. The altitude analysis, however, speaks for their later formation, namely at least in relation to the so-called palatium. The original medieval stratigraphy within the range of construction investments which were connected with the 19th-century Chemistry Building was either completely destroyed to a depth of nearly two meters below the current level of the area, or this additional layer results from the earthworks in 1865. However, the original stratigraphy of the western part of the university courtyard is fragmentarily preserved.

Phase V – before mid-14th century. The scope of construction works. The layout probably included a new extensive building of the palatium, rectangular in plan, and – completely unknown to previous researchers and authors of modern vedutas – a four-sided building situated within the later northern courtyard, east of the palace and the alleged tower.

During the research, relics of the roof ridge walls of the palatium were recognised to a varying extent (Fig. 3, Fig. 7: b–c). The eastern wall of the building – at the level of pillar and arch foundations (M1) – with the north-western – south-eastern course, was 145 cm wide. It was built of 27.0 by 12.5 by 9.5–10.0 cm bricks that were connected using yellow and brown mortar, quite hard, with a clear content of calcium carbonate in the form of lumps. Thus, the new palace did not originally have any basement. A perpendicular wall (M2) with a preserved width of about 50 cm, built of bricks measuring 26.5 by 11.5–13.5 cm by 9.5 cm and bonded with yellow and brown mortar with a clear content of calcium carbonate in the form of lumps was added to the face of the arcade wall. It is likely that it had a shallow foundation, as indicated by its later soffit.

The south-eastern corner (M3) of an unknown building, which was recorded about 8.5 m east of the relics of the palatium and residually preserved, comes from the same construction phase (Fig. 3, Fig. 9: a). It was built of erratics measuring 30 by 25 cm on average, halves of bricks of 14 cm by 9 cm format, and a large amount of their fractions which were connected by means of yellow and brown mortar, quite hard and with a clear content of calcium carbonate in the form of lumps. The eastern arm of the corner was 1.45 m wide; the southern one, destroyed during previous installation works, retained the width of 0.5 m only, but at a distance of 1.03 m to the west of the northern arm face it was completely deprived of wedges. The described relic might constitute a remnant of an unknown castle building, whose fragments were later used in the foundation part of the western roof ridge wall of the eastern castle wing. The mutual relationship of M1 and M3 relics is not clear. However, the southern wall of the alleged building might have had a maximum length of seven meters. We date this construction phase to the 14th century.

At present, serious doubts are raised by the third alleged element of the residence, i.e., a cylindrical tower (of bergfried type?), which was situated in the vicinity of the palatium within the later northern wing of the castle. It was in use until 1350,



Fig. 9. Wrocław, left-bank castle: a – relics of the SE corner of the building (phase V), to which a section of wall W of the E wing of the castle was added (phase VII); view from S; b–c – relics of wall E and the partition wall of wing E of the castle (phase VII); view from N; d – fragment of wing E of the castle (phase VII), adapted for the needs of the sacristy of the Church of the Name of Jesus; view from W; e – fragment of wall E of wing E of the castle (phase VII) (photo by R. Mruczek and M. Stefanowicz)

but afterwards, it was demolished in an effort to expand the palatium northward. Unearthed in the course of works aiming at extending the edifice of the Institute of Chemistry in 1896, it was usually associated in literature with a mysterious building with a circular foundation (Burgemeister 1902, p. 308; Bimler 1933; Rozpędowski 1978, p. 52; Małachowicz 1994, pp. 24–25; Mruczek *et al.* 2005, pp. 178, 183, 188). It was located within the northern wing of the castle from the Gothic phase. Importantly, the laconic description of this find mentions that the structure was four-meter large in diameter (not the thickness of the walls), based on which it can be rather considered a spiral staircase of an unknown chronology.

It should be emphasised that no relics of the eastern perimeter wall from the 13th and 14th centuries were found during the research. Presumably, the castle was no longer significantly extended in this direction. On the opposite side of the street, relics of medieval bourgeois tenement houses were discovered during the research. The lack of a defensive perimeter on the eastern side of the residence may at the same time indicate a greater range of the original layout from the 13th century, which would probably include (up to 1265?) the areas of Anne, Duchess of Silesia curia, other left-bank manor houses, and later monastery foundations.

Construction material and technique. The architectural relics from phase V show diversity in terms of material, technique, and foundations, although they are connected by mortar of an identical recipe. The palatium foundation walls were erected in the form of an arcaded wall made exclusively of 27.0 by 12.5 by 9.5–10.0 cm large bricks, bonded with fairly hard yellow and brown mortar obtained from sand and calcium carbonate in the form of dust and lumps. The wall was 1.45 cm wide, while the preserved fragment of the foundation of the solid partition wall situated next to it and perpendicular to it was at least 0.5 m wide (probably around 1.25 m). Foundation walls of an unknown building which was located east of the palatium within the later northern courtyard in its southern part were erected as solid, with the use of 30 by 25 cm erratics, halves of bricks measuring 14 by 9 cm, and a large amount of their fractions which were bonded with identical mortar as above and arranged carelessly and without a bond, at least at this level. This wall was 1.45 m wide. On the basis of the altitude analysis of the walls, it can be assumed that the utility level from which they were erected was similar to the present one. Given the technology they were constructed in, this makes it possible to date the discovered relics to the 14th century, but the lack of a part with a clear bond does not allow us to make a further clarification. In the Market Square and its surrounding zone, this dating can be specified to the middle of the 14th century; in the area of the castle, however, we have to take into account the original rise of this terrain.

Imperial castle

Phase VI – after 1346. The scope of construction works. At the end of the Middle Ages and in the beginning of the modern early period, the castle was covering an extensive part on the pentagonal irregular plan with five one-part wings arranged around three irregular courtyards and three cuboidal towers situated in the northern, western, and south-western parts of the castle (Fig. 1). The gate was located in the southern curtain of the defensive walls from the city side. The northern tower protruded entirely outwards from the face of the defensive walls, while the western tower was located on the part enclosed by the defensive perimeter; the south-western tower was situated analogously to the western one or protruded outwards, like the northern one. The number, form (projection, crowning), and location of the towers vary in different drawings. It is commonly assumed that the walls of the castle wings and towers survived within the range of the Jesuit buildings. However, their range has not been yet ultimately confirmed in archaeological or architectural research.

The western wall of the palatium from that time – adapted partly during the construction of the eastern gable wall of the University – was recorded in the form of two massive foundation pillars connected by means of arcades of a considerable span (Figs. 1, 2, 4, 8). To the south-west, one more foundation pillar was recorded, probably connected to the northern wall of the chapel. It was accompanied by a broken foundation arcade an unclear purpose that stretched along the N–S axis. At that time, the palatium was partially basement. A bipartite basement was created in its northern part, within which relics of the monastery vault are visible, as well as the western flank of the entrance opening with a massive jamb. The basement window recesses – preserved in the western and northern walls of the cellar immediately adjacent to the northern tower (phase II) – were not created until the 17th century (phase X), perhaps in place of the older ones.

The northern tower, which was erected on a rectangular plan with the use of significant parts of the older tower from phase II dated to the time after 1350, likely served as the main tower. On the basis of Th. Moretti's and K. Bimler's plans, its size was estimated roughly to ca. 11 by 12 m in K. Bimler's (approximately 9.5 by 10.7–11.0 m on the plan from 1660) with a wall thickness of 2.6 m (according to K. Bimler). In fact, the building measured 8.45 by 8.60 m at the basement level.

It was a cuboidal tower, probably with four storeys, covered with a high conical dome flanked with four crowning pinnacles. Its height to the base of the crowning was nearly 30 m. It was demolished in 1735. Preserved in archival plans, the crowning of the tower can be dated at the earliest to the mid-14th century. In older works, its form was associated with the architecture of Prague. The building was probably of a residential tower type (*donjon*).

Famous for numerous city vedutas, the western tower was built on a rectangular plan with dimensions of approximately 9 by 13 m in K. Bimler's (approximately 10

by 15 m on the plan from 1660) with a wall thickness of two meters; it appears only in the plan by Barthel Weiner from 1562. In other views, it has a crowning analogous to that of the northern tower. It is likely that it served as a residential tower.

The south-western tower, which was built on a parallelogram plan with dimensions of approximately 9 by 11.5 m in K. Bimler's (on a rectangular plan measuring approximately 7 by 9 m; the plan from 1660) with a wall thickness of 2.4 m, on the B. Weiner's plan from 1562 had three storeys, covered with a hipped roof, and was embedded in the southern wing at the gate; it does not occur before its face. In 1570 it was constructed from scratch or remodelled into the Clock Tower. In 1572, the already operating clock and covering the tower copula with copper are mentioned. In a drawing by Nicolaus Häublein from 1668, the tower gives the impression of a low and massive building, probably four-storey, covered with a copula with a clearance and flanked with crowning elements (pinnacles?). The tower does not appear before the face (façade) of the southern wing. It should be taken into account that originally, it was another residential tower.

In the years 1736–1737, the south-western tower and the western wing of the castle were adapted to the rooms of the University's southern wing. However, in 1740, the still existing southern entrance wing of the castle was lowered and a passage gate was built.

Phase VII–VIII– 3rd third of the 15th century (from 1469?) – half of the 16th century (up to ca. 1538?). The scope of construction works. The next phase – late-Gothic and early Renaissance – is connected with the construction of the eastern wing of the castle along with the curtain of the perimeter wall and the remodelling of the palatium (which at least in the south-eastern part was intended to have a basement or vaults) related to the foundation of the chapel. It was built in the central part of the layout at the southern end of the palace. The construction of the eastern wing of the castle resulted in the demolition of the building from phase V (Fig. 1).

Construction material and technique. The walls from phase VII were made exclusively using bricks (size 26.0–27.5–30.0 by 13 by 8–9 cm; 25.0–27.5 by 13.0 by 8.0 cm; 25.0 by 12.5–13.0 by 8.5 cm; 27.0 by 13.0 by 7.5–8.0 cm), usually arranged in the Gothic (stretcher face) bond in *opus emplectum* technique with a filling in the herringbone bond with halves of the bricks and with a big amount of mortar. Due to excellent binding properties, this very hard binder of creamy and grey colour with calcium carbonate in the form of dust and lumps appeared in Wrocław along with the construction workshop entrusted with the building of roundel bastion fortifications after 1474. The walls from this construction phase had a width ranging from 1.30–1.49 to 1.70 m in the case of the perimeter wall (eastern wing). Apart from erecting new structures, older ones were also remodelled, such as the palatium. The works, which were probably connected to the foundation of the chapel, included making the soffit of older walls, the introduction of new ones with corner lesenes, which was probably connected to the construction of vaults.

These walls were erected in an irregular bond with the use of identical mortar and erratics in the foundation part.

At that time, pillar and arch wall M1 and wall M2 were adapted for the purpose of a new building which was located here (Fig. 3, Fig. 7: b–c). Wall M2 was partly built with a soffit and partly replaced with a new one (M4) with the same course, 1.25 m wide and made of bricks sized 26.0–27.5–30.0 by 13.0 by 8.0–9.0 cm, connected by very hard grey and cream coloured mortar with the content of calcium carbonate in the form of lumps; it was constructed on a foundation built using erratics; it also partly filled the arcade of wall M1. This wall was found over a length of about 5.7–5.8 m. In the first place, the foundation part of wall M2 was partly demolished, probably in order to provide better access to the arcade which was intended to be filled. Together with wall M4, which continued to the northern part of the arcade, the 84 cm wide wall (M5) was constructed into the north-western direction, which was perpendicular to wall M4 and connected to it, while its face was connected to the western face of pillar and arch wall M1. In this way, a corner was formed, which we link to the construction of the castle chapel. In the second stage of filling the arcade, wall (M6) was built in an identical technique as M4. It was perpendicular to it and was added to its south-eastern face. It was 1.45 m wide and completely filled the rest of the arcade. In this wall and in the thus-formed corner, a square in projection *lesene* with a side of 0.6 m was made. We also link this corner to the construction of the castle chapel; however, having applied it to K. Bimler's plan, we argue that this was part of its presbytery.

We link the architectural relics of the eastern castle wing to the same construction phase (Figs. 3, 9). There are records of the remains of the quite primitively and slapdash constructed corner of the north-western building, which was part of this wing and was built simultaneously with the perimeter wall or both roof ridge walls and perpendicular to them, which constituted the partition wall of that wing. The interpretation was hindered by a small width of the excavation and significant destruction of the walls during the housing of the older heating installation. Wall (M7), with the north-south course, 1.30–1.49 m wide, made of bricks measuring 25.0–27.5 by 13.0 by 8.0 cm bonded with very hard grey and cream mortar with the content of calcium carbonate in the form of lumps, was pressed into corner M3 of the older Gothic building. The varying relic width – larger in the southern profile of the excavation – has not been explained yet. The irregularity of the western wall of the eastern castle wing, which is clearly visible in its fragment existing to this day – the sacristy of the Jesuit church (Fig. 9: d) – is also confirmed in the location of the recently discovered architectural relics. The wall with the east-west course, marked as (M8), formed the second arm of that corner (partition wall?). It has been preserved on a length of about 9.2 m with width of at least 1.01 m. It was constructed using 25.0 by 12.5–13.0 by 8.5 cm large bricks arranged in the Gothic bond and connected using very hard grey and cream (or sometimes yellow and

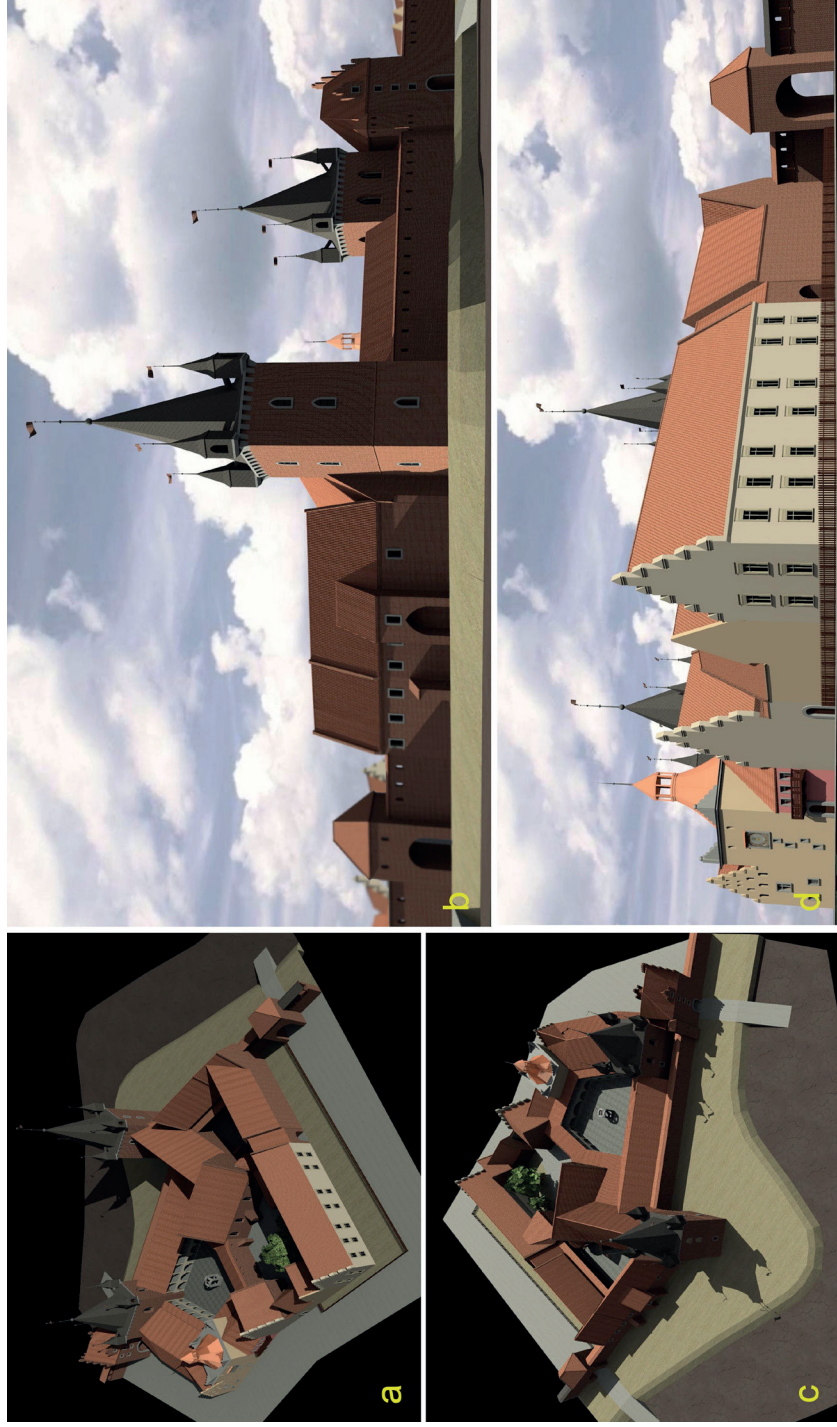


Fig. 10. Wrocław, left-bank castle. Reconstruction of the castle complex in modern times according to M. Caban; view from: a – SE, b – N, c – NW, d – SE (Archives of the Department of History of Architecture, Art and Technology of Wrocław University of Science and Technology)

cream) mortar in some places with the content of calcium carbonate in the form of lumps. As already mentioned, it was built simultaneously with wall (M9) 1.7 m wide, which was perpendicular to it, and registered at its eastern end. It was constructed in the same technique and probably also constituted a perimeter wall of the castle. The relics of M8 and M9 were bound up, whereas at the top, they were built edge-to-edge. The “economical” brickwork of *opus emplectum* was applied along with a filling consisting of halves of bricks in the herringbone bond with a great amount of mortar. The section of wall M9 was also recorded in the excavation closer to the sacristy of Jesus’ Name Church. The Gothic bond appeared there, likewise, i.e., bricks of the 27.0 by 13.0 by 7.5–8.0 cm format and the characteristic very hard grey and cream (or yellow and grey, in some places) mortar due to the rinsing of lime.

Chronology. We date the described construction phase to the end of the Middle Ages, i.e., to the time after 1470. However, it is possible that this occurred about the middle of the subsequent century. More important construction works in the discussed period were carried out here in the years 1469, 1554 and 1563. It is highly likely that the three vaults of the southern part of the palatium, which are connected to the chapel and known from the archival plans of the layout, can be related to the mention of the construction of three vaults in the castle using columns from Olbin in 1538 (Burgemeister 1902; Bimler 1933). The character of the relics discovered in the field (1999 and 2002) leaves no doubt as to their functional interpretation as the soffit of the older palatium walls intended for constructing a basement or vaults. The applied construction technique – typical of the workshop erecting roundel bastion fortifications in Wrocław – perfectly suits this time. The construction of the early Renaissance southern wing of the castle, which is dated to 1530 and whose authorship is attributed to architect and fortifier Johann Tscherte or Hieronim Arconati (Bimler 1933) as well as the intended remodelling of the eastern wing of the residence at that time (project not implemented), clearly indicate that this last wing of the castle had already existed for some time. Perhaps it began to be constructed during the period of the above-mentioned construction works in the castle from the years 1469 and 1472.

Phase IX – after the mid-16th century. The scope of construction works. The next distinguished phase is represented by the relic of the building which was erected, among other things, using demolition brick – perhaps it is the remain of cloisters around the castle courtyard (Fig. 3, Fig. 7: c). The wall (M10) with the northeast – southwest course and the width of 0.85 m (including 6.5 cm wide berm), built using 26.0–28.0 by 12.0–13.5 by 8.5–9.0 cm bricks (also demolition bricks) connected with very hard grey mortar is also dated to this period. It was built on the foundation of erratics. The walls from this phase were built very carelessly with an irregular bond. This wall was pressed into wall M6. Its function is not clear because there are no buildings in this place on K. Bimler’s plan. It is possible that this is related to the cloisters around the castle courtyard.

Chronology. The castle cloisters mentioned in 1659 were presumably constructed during the extension works ordered by Emperor Ferdinand II Habsburg dated to the years 1556–1564 (Burgemeister 1902). The construction technique applied in the recorded relics corresponds to the time after the mid-16th century.

Summary

In the light of the new studies, the left-bank ducal castle in Wrocław was constructed in the period when the early urban Wrocław agglomeration was being transformed into a founded city as an element of a vast residence located on the northern border of this urban organism between the old and the new crossing of the Oder, considered on par with capital residences of Prague and Cracow in terms of grandeur. The most important brick structures connected to this complex of representative and sacral buildings were erected in a time shorter than three decades, i.e., from the 1230s (before 1236/1237) to 1260; as early as in the last third of the 13th century and the beginning of the 14th century, they were significantly remodelled. Furthermore, there is a noticeable gradual shift in the character of this complex from residential to sacral, with the key milestones marked by the 1241 Mongol invasion and the donation made by Anne of Bohemia, Duchess of Silesia from 1253, which was completed in 1265. The time when the oldest, archaeologically recognised elements of the castle were erected, specifically, the cuboidal tower, fragments of the building (*palatium?*), and a slightly older section of the defensive walls on the older sand embankment, is still under discussion. In the light of the analyses of the stratigraphy, as well as the technique and technology of construction, these works can be dated to the time before the construction of the internal defensive walls of Wrocław (erected ca. 1260–1291). At the turn of the 14th century, the castle served as the main seat of the last Wrocław Piasts. The transition of Silesia into the hands of King John of Luxembourg and then King and Emperor Charles of Luxembourg resulted in further major transformations of the then residence to adapt it as the seat of the most important European ruler. Relics of the building discovered later confirm that some extensive construction works in the area of the castle were carried out in the last third of the 15th century and the first half of the 16th century. At that time, the residence known from the early modern views of the city was shaped (Fig. 10). It is highly likely that these structures started to be erected during the period of the mentioned construction works in the castle in 1469 and 1472 in the times of King Matthias Corvinus. The castle cloisters, which were mentioned in 1659 and whose relics were also discovered in the field, were presumably built during the works aiming at extending the castle ordered by Emperor Ferdinand II Habsburg in the years 1556–1564. After the Jesuits had taken over the residence, the process of demolition of the imperial castle took place in stages in the years 1675–1896.

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