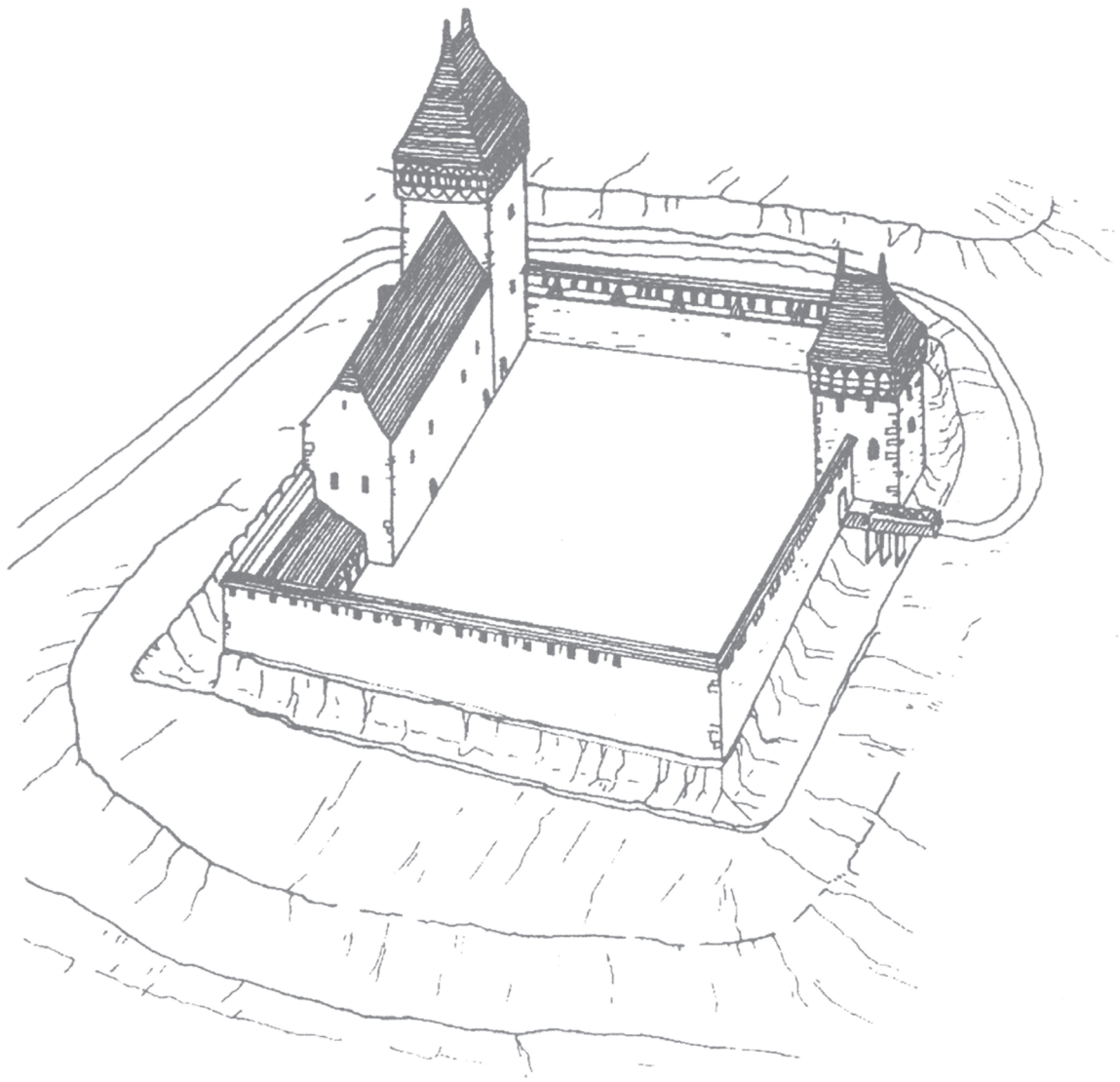


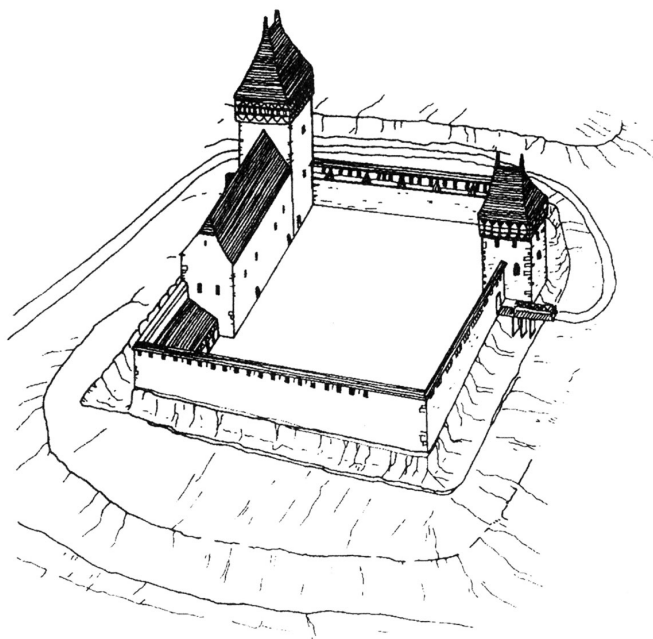
# **Castrum Bene 15**

**Zamek Książ 2017**



**A castle as a status symbol**

**Book of Abstracts  
and Study Tour Guide**



# **Castrum Bene 15**

**Zamek Książ, 16.05. – 19.05.2017**

**15<sup>th</sup> International Castellological Conference  
15. Internationale Konferenz für Burgenforschung  
15. Międzynarodowa Konferencja Kastellologiczna**

**A castle as a status symbol  
Burg als Statussymbol  
Zamek jako symbol statusu**

**Book of Abstracts and Study Tour Guide  
Zusammenfassungen der Vorträge und Studienfahrtführer  
Księga abstraktów i opis wyjazdu studyjnego**

**Wrocław 2017**

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**In memoriam**  
**Profesor doktor habilitowany Leszek Kajzer**  
**\*11.08.1944 - † 25.09.2016**



The conference is dedicated to the memory of Leszek Kajzer – our dear friend, colleague, teacher and member of the Permanent Committee of Castrum Bene for many years.





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# Conference Programme

## Programm der Konferenz

### Program konferencji

#### 15.05.2017 Monday / Montag / Poniedziałek

16:00 – 20:00 Arrival and registration / Anreise und Anmeldung / Przyjazd i rejestracja

#### 16.05.2017 Tuesday / Dienstag / Wtorek

- 9.00 – 9.15 Welcome / Begrüssung / Powitanie
- 9.15 – 9.45 Aleksander Andrzejewski, Janusz Pietrzak, *Prof. dr hab. Leszek Kajzer*  
– a researcher of castles
- 9.45 – 10.15 Petr Chotěbor, *Die Festen als Symbol und Mittel der Repräsentation*
- 10.15 – 10.45 Felix Biermann, *Spätmittelalterliche Burgen und sozialer Status*  
– archäologische Beispiele aus Brandenburg
- 10.45 – 11.00 Coffee break / Kaffeepause / Przerwa na kawę**
- 11.00 – 11.30 Małgorzata Chorowska, *The Castles of Henrys, the Dukes of Silesia, as a status symbol*
- 11.30 – 12.00 Stanislava Oporosková, Dieter Barz, *Spissky hrad: Die bauliche Entwicklung der Burg im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert im Kontext vom regionalen und europäischen Burgenbau*
- 12.00 – 12.30 Christofer Herrmann, *Hierarchie und Rangordnung in der Architektur des Hochmeisterpalastes auf der Marienburg*
- 12.30 – 13.00 István Feld, Dóra Hegyi, *The Red Tower of Sárospatak*  
– the status symbol of a Hungarian nobleman
- 13.00 Lunch break / Mittagspause / Przerwa obiadowa**
- 14.00 – 16.00 Tour of the Książ Castle/ Besichtigung der Burg Książ (Fürstenstein) / Zwiedzanie zamku Książ
- 16.00 – 16.30 Kazimierz Pospieszny, *Die Haupttürme der „klassischen“ Deutschordensburgen in Preußen – Funktionen und Bedeutung*
- 16.30 – 17.00 Patrick Schicht, *Kastelle – ein Baukonzept europäischer Fürstenhäuser*
- 17.00 – 17.30 Luboš Hobl, *The Přemyslid castles and Teutonic Order's castles: Another perspective on the issue of the relationship?*
- 17.30 – 18.00 Michaela Dvořáková, *Die Burg Týřov als Statussymbol in der Landschaft*
- 18.00 Dinner / Abendessen / Kolacja**
- 19.30 Tour of the Stary Książ Castle/ Besichtigung der Burg Stary Książ (Alt Fürstenstein) / Zwiedzanie zamku Stary Książ



**17.05.2017 Wednesday / Mittwoch / Środa**

- 9.00 – 9.30 Szabolcs Nagy, *An emblematic space for display: courtyards of the 14-15<sup>th</sup> century Hungarian castles*
- 9.30 – 10.00 Zuzana Ondrejková, *Historical and current castle status in relation to its renewal methodology preference*
- 10.00 – 10.30 Radu Lupescu, *Architectural features and decorations reflecting the social status of John Hunyadi as exemplified by Hunedoara Castle*
- 10.30 – 10.45 Coffee break / Kaffeepause / Przerwa na kawę**
- 10.45 – 11.15 Zlata Gersdorfová, *Curia, oppidum, castrum... Die Sitze der Herren von Krummau im Lichte der schriftlichen Quellen und Archäologie*
- 11.15 – 11.45 Silvija Pisk, *Honor banatus und die kroatischen Burgen*
- 11.45 – 12.15 Ján Beljak, Noémi Beljak-Pažinová, Michal Šimkovic, *Construction and functional changes of residences in Zvolen from the Early Middle Ages to the modern period*
- 12.15 – 12.45 Tatjana Tkalčec, *Ceramic Drinkware from Castles and Earth-and-Timber Fortifications as Indicators of the Medieval Slavonian Nobility's Status*
- 12.45 Lunch break / Mittagspause / Przerwa obiadowa**
- 13.45 – 14.30 Poster session / Poster-Sektion / Sesja posterowa
- Peter Bendár, Kristína Kučeráková, *Town Castles in the Middle Slovakia Mining Region*
- Josef Hložek, *Die Luxemburger Burgenpolitik in Böhmen*
- Juan P. Maschio, *Status and castles in Carniola*
- Michael Rykl, *Bischofsitz in Litovice bei Prag. Rekonstruktionsversuch der Anlage innerhalb des Gebäudes*
- Oana Toda, *Built Features of Rupea Castle during the Early Modern Period. The "Houses" from the Upper and Middle Precincts*
- 14.30 – 15.00 Josip Višnjić, *Evidence of Castles as Symbols of Status in Several Examples from Istria (Croatia)*
- 15.00 – 15.30 Anna Łuczak, Jerzy Piekalski, Kynast/Chojnik. *The first castle of the Schaffgotsch family*
- 15.30 – 15.45 Coffee break / Kaffeepause / Przerwa na kawę**
- 15.45 – 16.15 Zlata Gersdorfová, Petr Kastl, *Adelsresidenz? Militärische Festung oder Ruinen? Drei Gestalten einer mittelalterlichen Burg in der frühen Neuzeit am Beispiel von Burgen im böhmisch – bayerischen Grenzgebiet*
- 16.15 – 16.45 Peter Bednár, Drahoslav Magdoško, Michal Šimkovic, *Košice – ein unvollendetes Projekt der Burg*
- 16.45 – 17.15 Péter Levente Szócs, *Elements of social display at the Castle of Arduđ (15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> century)*
- 17.15 – 17.45 Piotr Lasek, *The Tower of a humble priest. The habitat of Kasper Sadłocha and the Polish manors in the 16<sup>th</sup> century*
- 18.00 – 19.00 Meeting of the Permanent Committee / Sitzung des Comité-Permanent / Posiedzenie Komitetu Stałego
- 19.00 Reception / Empfang / Przyjęcie**

**18.05.2017 Thursday / Donnerstag / Czwartek**

Full-day Study Tour / Ganztagestudienfahrt / Całodniowy wyjazd studyjny:

Siedlęcín (Boberröhrsdorf) – Przemysław Nocuń, *“Painted tower” in Siedlęcín – unique residence of an ambitious Silesian duke* (special paper)

Wleń (Lehnhaus) – **Coffee break / Kaffeepause / Przerwa na kawę**

Grodzic (Gröditzburg)

Świny (Schweinhaus)

Bolków (Bolkoburg) – **Dinner / Spätes Mittagessen / Obiadokolacja**

**19.05.2017 Friday / Freitag / Piątek**

9.00 – 9.30 Dominik Nowakowski, *Schlesische Motten im Lichte der archäologischen und schriftlichen Quellen*

9.30 – 10.00 Andrej Janeš, *Construction and location as a sign of social status: the case of a high medieval motte of Turčiče – Gradišće in Međimurje (northern Croatia)*

10.00 – 10.30 Nikolaus Hofer, *Überlegungen zur Niederungsburg als Statussymbol im Mittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit anhand ausgewählter Beispiele aus Ostösterreich*

**10.30 – 10.45 Coffee break / Kaffeepause / Przerwa na kawę**

10.45 – 11.15 Niklot Krohn, *Rauhkasten, Buckelquader und Silberwächter – die Burgen der Geroldsecker als Herrschaftssitze und Statussymbole*

11.15 – 11.45 Michał Wojenka, *Castles and elites of the Cracow Land in the Middle Ages – selected problems*

11.45 Final discussion / Schlussdiscussion / Dyskusja końcowa

**12.30 Lunch break / Mittagspause / Przerwa obiadowa**

13.30 Excursion to Wrocław / Exkursion nach Breslau  
/ Wycieczka do Wrocławia



## Paper Abstracts

### Zusammenfassungen der Vorträge

### Abstrakty wystąpienia

*Aleksander Andrzejewski, Janusz Pietrzak*

#### **Prof. dr hab. Leszek Kajzer – a researcher of castles**

On September 25, 2016 died Leszek Kajzer, a distinguished and highly respected scientist: archaeologist, historian, historian of material culture, historian of art, historian of architecture, castle researcher. He was one of the creators of historical archeology, and the Professor who introduced this to the teaching of archeology, which in the 1970s ended in the early Middle Ages.

Archaeological-architectural studies were the dominant part of his work. He led numerous and long-term field studies of masonry structures, defensive and thus fortified, castles, defensive mansions, rural defense buildings, and other objects commonly termed as “defensive buildings” as well as residential areas, where mansions and palaces were the focus of his interest. He was the author of stationary archaeological research of about 20 castles in Poland.

One of the most important qualities distinguishing Professor Kajzer among other researchers is his impressive scientific output. His publications comprise over 600 articles, including 26 books, published in 15 European countries and the United States, of which over 200 works were devoted to the castellological problems of Poland and Europe.

Among the most important are: the monumental work conceived and edited by Leszek Kajzer, the *Lexicon of Polish Castles*, a compendium of knowledge about the Polish castles from the beginning of the 21st century, and the *Castles and Society* describing the history of defense construction of Poland from the beginning of the state to the 18<sup>th</sup> century, written from the perspective of an archaeologist.

*Petr Chotěbor*

#### **Die Festen als Symbol und Mittel der Repräsentation**

Die befestigten Sitze, vor allem die Burgen, mussten mehrere Rollen erfüllen, unter anderem auch ihren Bauherrn repräsentieren. Sehr wichtig war dabei die Wahl des Standorts in der Landschaft, eine dominante, natürlich geschützte Lage und eigene Befestigung. Die Erbauer der Festen, größtenteils die Niederadeligen, hatten nicht genug Geld, um mit den Burgen zu konkurrieren. Auch die Möglichkeiten für die Auswahl der Baustelle waren stark begrenzt, denn die meisten Festen wurden direkt in dem Dorf gebaut. Ihre Befestigung war viel bescheidener als die bei den Burgen, sehr oft waren sie nur von einem Wassergraben und Wall umgeben. Bei einigen Beispielen kann man sogar die Fortifikation als mehr symbolisch oder demonstrativ charakterisieren. Für den repräsentativen Eindruck spielte die architektonische Gestaltung des Hauptbaus eine wesentliche Rolle. Sehr markant wirken bis heute z. B. die Wohntürme, die oft als ein einziger Wohnbau der Feste gebaut wurden, oder die turmartige Paläste. Wenn der Hauptbau mit den architektonischen Details aus dem gehauenen Stein ausgestattet wurde, wirkte er natürlich solider und dauerhafter, aber auch reicher – die Arbeit der Steinmetzen war teuer und nicht jeder Erbauer konnte sich das leisten.



Es gibt aber auch einige Ausnahmen – nicht zahlreiche Festen wurden an den Felsen gegründet, sogar ziemlich isoliert von dem Dorf, oder sie bestehen aus mehreren Bauten. Diese kann man mit kleineren Burgen vergleichen. Eine wirkliche Ausnahme stellen die Festen vor, deren Bestandteil eine eigene Kapelle war, oder diejenigen mit Wappenschildern ihrer Erbauer. Solche mehr repräsentative Sitze wurden von Hochadeligen oder kirchlichen Würdenträgern erbaut oder gewonnen und radikal umgestaltet.

*Felix Biermann*

### **Spätmittelalterliche Burgen und sozialer Status – archäologische Beispiele aus Brandenburg**

Eine zentrale Funktion der Burgen des späten Mittelalters war – neben ihren praktischen Zwecken als Wehrbau, Wirtschaftsanlage und Residenz – der Ausdruck sozialen Rangs, den sie im Grad ihres Ausbaus, ihrer militärischen Stärke und ihrer Architektur zeigten. Da viele der kleineren Anlagen (vor allem die häufigen Turmhügel) heute nur noch als Bodendenkmale erhalten sind, ist ihre archäologische Erforschung das wichtigste Mittel zur Erkenntnis ihres sozialen Symbolwerts. Mehrere in den letzten Jahren durchgeführte Ausgrabungen an Burgen in Brandenburg ermöglichen dazu neue Einsichten. Darüber gibt der Vortrag einen Überblick.

*Małgorzata Chorowska*

### **The Castles of Henrys, the Dukes of Silesia, as a status symbol**

This article is an attempt to look at the architecture of three oldest castles in Silesia (Wleń, Wrocław, Legnica) from the angle of special needs of their investors, the dukes of the Piast dynasty. In the second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries the Silesian duke's line gave the world some outstanding figures – Bolesław the Tall and four successive Henries (the First the Bearded, the Second the Pious, the Third the White and the Fourth the Probus [the Righteous]). After the first period of fighting for the lost local power, their political ambitions went beyond the Duchy borders and concentrated on restoring the unity of Polish territory as well as regaining power over it and its royal crown. Although those ambitions were not fulfilled on political grounds, they were distinctively expressed on architectural one through the language of forms and symbols. Not only did the very shape of those residences but also architectural programme included in them result in an explicit source that informed the rest of the society about the royal status of their owners.

*Stanislava Oporosková, Dieter Barz*

### **Spissky hrad: Die bauliche Entwicklung der Burg im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert im Kontext vom regionalen und europäischen Burgenbau**

Nach einem Einblick in die historische Überlieferung zur Burg werden die relevanten Bauteile beschrieben. Die älteste mittelalterliche Bebauung besteht aus dem Fundament eines imposanten runden Wohnturmes mit einer Tankzisterne. Hinzu kommt noch eine weitere Tankzisterne und ein Ringmauerrest. In der ersten Hälfte

des 13. Jahrhunderts wurden ein Palas mit Saal, sehr großen Fenstern und vielleicht einem Kapellenerker, ein Bergfried – als Ersatz des Wohnturms, ein aufwendiger Torturm mit Fallgatter und große Teile der Ringmauern errichtet. In der zweiten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts wurde ein Turm mit dem Gebäude des „Prepost“ ergänzt. Die Größe der heutigen Burg wurde bereits im 13. Jahrhundert erreicht.

Für die Oberburg zeichnet sich im 12. Jahrhundert ein „wehrhafter“ Charakter der Burg ab. Im 13. Jahrhundert wird die Burg von einem aufwendigen Palas dominiert und der Zugang zur Oberburg wird durch einen repräsentativen Torbau geschützt. Hier hat offensichtlich ein *residenzartiger Ausbau* der Burg stattgefunden. Der Turm des Burgvogtes dürfte eine „Burg in der Burg“ bilden.

In der Slowakei können in der östlichen Hälfte relativ viele runde Türme beobachtet werden, die vielleicht auf Spissky hrad zurückgehen können. Dies ist auch für die wenigen Tankzisternen möglich. Tortürme sind nur vereinzelt bekannt, was auch für den Turm des „Prepost“ gilt. Einen *residenzartigen Charakter* weisen neben der Residenz der Könige von Ungarn in Esztergom auch Pusty hrad, Bratislava, Sárospatak, Trencin und Visegrad in ihrem nördlichen ungarischen Königreich auf. Der wirtschaftliche Aspekt von Spissky hrad (Vorkommen von Eisenerz und Kupfer sowie besonders Travertin-Steinbruch) ist nicht zu unterschätzen.

Im europäischen Burgenbau haben große runde Wohntürme nur wenig Verbreitung mit einzelnen Konzentrationen gefunden, wobei der Wohnturm von Spissky hrad bis ins 12. Jahrhundert der Größte ist. Türme mit Zisternen oder Brunnen können selten beobachtet werden. Die Entwicklung von einer großräumigen Burg mit Wohnturm zu einer Burg mit Bergfried und Palas kann bei hochadeligen Burgen nachvollzogen werden. Die aufwendige Gestaltung vom Palas von Spissky hrad und der Kapellenerker finden Parallelen. Aufwendige Tortürme sind in Mitteleuropa selten, aber präsent. Türme von Vasallen in der Burg werden zeitgenössisch in Frankreich als *bisturris* überliefert, sind vereinzelt auch in Mitteleuropa anzutreffen.

Um der Bedeutung von Spissky hrad gerecht zu werden, soll abschließend ein Größenvergleich mit der größten Burg in Frankreich angestellt werden. Die Burg Coucy wurde im 13. Jahrhundert von einem niederadeligen Geschlecht errichtet, das über die Mittel verfügt hat, um gleichzeitig die monumentalste Burg aller Zeiten zu bauen. Spissky hrad weist bereits früher mit dem Wohnturm einen monumentalen Charakter auf und wurde später mehr residenzartig ausgebaut. Immerhin bietet die - ca. 5.000 m<sup>2</sup> große - Oberburg genügend Raum für repräsentative Feste und Veranstaltungen. Hierbei dürften Zelte eine wichtige Rolle gespielt haben, die zu dem wertvollsten Besitz von Adligen und Rittern gezählt haben, aber in der Forschung kaum beachtet werden.

*Christofer Herrmann*

## **Hierarchie und Rangordnung in der Architektur des Hochmeisterpalastes auf der Marienburg**

Hierarchie und Rangordnung bildeten grundlegende Ordnungsstrukturen im mittelalterlichen Gesellschafts- und Herrschaftsgefüge. Dies spiegelt sich auch in der Residenzarchitektur der Zeit wider. Ein herausragendes Beispiel für ein nach hierarchischen Prinzipien organisiertes Bauwerk ist der Hochmeisterpalast auf der Marienburg / Malbork. Der um 1385 bis 1396 errichtete Regierungs- und Wohnsitz des Hochmeisters folgte – sowohl in funktionaler als auch in gestalterischer Hinsicht – streng den am Rangordnungsdenken orientierten Prinzipien. Dies gilt sowohl für die vertikale als auch für die horizontale Bau- und Nutzungsstruktur des Palastes. Dabei standen die auf der höchsten Ebene gelegenen Wohn- und Repräsentationsräume des Hochmeisters an der Spitze der Hierarchie, gefolgt

von den Räumen für die Gebietiger und der im unteren Bereich angesiedelten Kanzleibene. Der Baumeister hat bei der Konzeption des Palastes – den Rangordnungsprinzipien folgend – die unterschiedlichen Nutzungszonen angeordnet und aufeinander abgestimmt. Dabei verstand er es auch, die hierarchische Abstufung in der Architektur einzelner Räume bis in kleinste Details durchzugestalten.

*Kazimierz Pospieszny*

### **Die Haupttürme der „klassischen“ Deutschordensburgen in Preußen – Funktionen und Bedeutung**

Zu den weithin sichtbaren Elementen der entwickelten „klassischen“ Form der Konventsburgen des Deutschen Ordens in Preußen im 14. Jh., jenen nach der Regel errichteten Bauten, gehörten meistens die Bergfriede genannten Haupttürme dieser Burgen. In einigen der Burgen, denen von höchstem Rang, wie die Marienburg, die in Königsberg und die in Marienwerder (die Burg des Deutschordenskapitels), waren Türme neben den Burghkirchen errichtet worden und wurden täglich, obwohl so massiv und martialisch in der Form gebaut, als Glockentürme benutzt. Sie bilden überhaupt mit ihren kraftvollen Baukörpern den Ausdruck und Stellenwert des Souveräns, sind zugleich ein Zeichen mit symbolischer Bedeutung, das mit Maria, der himmlischen Königin in Preußen, der Patronin des Ordens, verbunden ist.

Ein Schlüsselbau in der Entwicklung der Gestaltung zu der „klassischen“ Form der rechteckigen Burgen war das Konventshaus in Mewe (an d. Weichsel), welches um 1297 gebaut wurde. Als Abschluss der Modernisierung der Burg nach sakralem Modus mit den großformatigen Fenstern der Konvents-Kirche und -Säle wurde der Umgang der Mauer mit einem Turm des Bergfried-Typus geschlossen, welchen der Orden als Eckgebäude in das Rechteck nachträglich einsetzte. Die Wehrhäuser der unlängst so genannten Ritter Christi (miles Christi), gegründet in der Zeit der preußischen Kreuzzüge im 13. Jh., wurden seit dem 14. Jh. als die Architektur-Zeichen der territorialen Herrschaft der „Diener der Maria“ gebaut.

Die maßgeblichen Konstruktionen der Burgtürme hatten große Bedeutung bei dem Bau der monumentalen städtischen Pfarrkirchen, besonders jener, die in den Gemeinden der hansischen Großstädte errichtet wurden. Eine Größenbegrenzung dieser Bauten wurde durch den Orden streng gefordert. Der martialische Ordens-(Marien-) Charakter der Türme von Pfarrkirchen hat sich auch auf dem Land in den Dörfern verbreitet und damit die architektonische Landschaft des Ordensstaates in Preußen geformt und bestimmt.

*Patrick Schicht*

### **Kastelle – ein Baukonzept europäischer Fürstenhäuser**

Der Autor hat sich auf Basis seiner 2003 veröffentlichten Studie zu Kastellburgen in Ostösterreich seitdem intensiv international mit dem Phänomen Kastellbau beschäftigt und steht kurz vor der Publikation einer entsprechend umfangreichen Inventarisierung. Dabei ergaben sich für das Tagungsthema hoch relevante Besonderheiten, die hier vorgestellt werden sollen.

Zunächst ist festzuhalten, dass Kastelle, also regelhafte Gevierte mit im Idealfall vier Ecktürmen, im Mittelalter in fast in ganz Europa Verbreitung fanden, von Schweden bis Süditalien und von Schottland bis zum Balkan. Vor allem in Mitteleuropa sind sie auf landesfürstliche Bauherren konzentriert, also auf regierende

Könige bzw. den eng zugeordneten Reichs- und Hofadel, sowie auf hochrangige Fürsten wie Erzbischöfe und Herzöge.

Dabei hat sich früh ein überregionaler Baukanon entwickelt, der zwar lokale Eigenheiten kennt, aber sonst bemerkenswert einheitlich ausgeführt scheint. Vor allem im Spätmittelalter gab es offenbar eine weiträumige architektonische Konkordanz von Fürstensitzen, die bislang noch kaum beachtet wurde.

Mangels ausreichender Grundlagen wurde bislang auch die Herkunft der Kastellkonzeption kaum reflektiert. Auf Basis zahlreicher Vergleichsbauten im Königreich Jerusalem und im byzantinischen Kaiserreich lässt sich nunmehr sicher nachvollziehen, dass mit der Kreuzfahrerbewegung im 12. Jahrhundert der Typus nach England, Frankreich und Spanien gekommen ist, von wo er nach Mittel- und Südeuropa ausstrahlte. Im 14. Jahrhundert gehörte das Kastell bereits zu einem wichtigen Baumodell der Landesherrschaft und wurde vom Papst bis zum Deutschen Orden eingesetzt.

Die weithin mit ihrer symbolbeladenen Zahl an Türmen leicht erkennbare Bauform wirkt wie ein Prototyp landesfürstlicher Statusmanifestation. Sie demonstrierte durch Monumentalität und Regelmäßigkeit die Macht und Ordnung der Herrschaft und bildete eine emblematische Würdeformel, die wohl allgemein als königlich bzw. staatstragend verstanden wurde. Mit diesem Hintergrund wird auch die oft programmatische Lage an Residenzorten oder aber an neuralgischen Grenzpunkten erklärbar.

Es besteht die Hoffnung und der eingehende Wunsch, im Rahmen der Tagung diese Thematik zu vertiefen, zu erweitern und zu kalibrieren.

*Luboš Hobl*

### **The Přemyslid castles and Teutonic Order's castles: Another perspective on the issue of the relationship?**

Regular castles of the Teutonic Order in Prussia are a phenomenon of the European castellology, whose genetic connection was the theme of lengthy discussions and resulted in publishing a number of hypotheses. Their models were sought in many regions of Europe but also in the Middle East (from the Iberian Peninsula to Palestine). Among the variety of these theories there is one which was published by Professor Thomas Durdík in 1993. This theory assumes that the first castle with a regular plan (rectangular) in this territory was the castle in Königsberg (now Kaliningrad) and then the Order's other castles derived from it. It was to be founded by king Přemysl Otakar II during the Crusade in 1254/1255. The model for the castle should have been a group of castles known as the Central European castell, which at this time was already present on the territory of Bohemia and Austria. Besides a regular plan these castle types have other architectural features (e.g. arcade gallery, corner towers, etc.) in common as well. However, this version of transmission of architectural form seems unlikely. This presentation points out the weaknesses of this hypothesis. It will also outline a different model of this process. In the periods of the last Přemyslids more castles whose communication structure is similar to that of the Teutonic Order's ones appeared in the Czech lands, except for the already mentioned so-called Central European castells. This similarity will be visualized with the use of a spatial analysis (e.g. access analysis). Similar comparisons will be applied to the castles of the Emperor Frederick II in Sicily and southern Italy, which are also often referred to as a model for the Order's castles. These new facts are the result of advancing research and scientific projects (both historical and archaeological), which are intensively carried out in these castles today.



*Michaela Dvořáková*

## **Die Burg Týřov als Statussymbol in der Landschaft**

Die Burg Týřov wurde bis vor kurzem als ein eigenständiges Element in der Landschaft begriffen. Der vorliegende Beitrag stellt Týřov im Kontext der Landschaft vor. Dieser Beitrag schildert, wie die Burg ihren Status in der Landschaft durch die dominante Lage zeigt, vor allem wie sie sich gegenüber den umliegenden Siedlungen und Landschaftselementen präsentiert.

*Szabolcs Balázs Nagy*

## **An emblematic space for display: courtyards of the 14<sup>th</sup> – 15<sup>th</sup> century Hungarian castles**

Today the symbolic aspects of elite residences and the fact that castles could act as a medium to establish or strengthen the owners' social status is almost a commonplace in scholarly discourse. However, beyond general statements, identifying actual, concrete architectural features or elements that reflect this symbolic function is often much more problematic. One can distinguish two major ways in the understanding of the representation of architectural prestige. In a wider sense the phrase refers simply to the fact that a king, a noble, a burgher etc. builds something that *corresponds to* his social status, representing his social rank. In this sense, prestige representation is an inherent feature of basically each building of the medieval elite. The narrower, more restricted understanding of prestige representation presupposes a *deliberate, conscious act of communication* on the part of the builders by means of their spectacular, imposing buildings. In this sense, these buildings are used for displaying power and wealth, and hereby strengthening one's position, promoting one's prestige and social status.

During the reign of Louis I (1342-1382) and Sigismund of Luxemburg (1387-1437) several new royal residences were built in the Hungarian Kingdom with a particular ground plan arrangement characterized by a rectangular courtyard, completely surrounded by storied palace wings. Already from the late 14<sup>th</sup> century the most powerful Hungarian barons also seem to be imitating the architecture of the royal court in their newly erected or significantly rebuilt residences. The square-shaped interior courtyard was almost an indispensable element of these castles, in which comfort and power display tended to be more important aspects in the course of time. In parallel with this process courtyards gradually became a particular architectural motif that could serve as an effective means of prestige representation. The lecture will present a few case studies of how interior castle courtyards could deliver their builder's special messages.

*Zuzana Ondřejková*

## **Historical and current castle status in relation to its renewal methodology preference**

Castles, among other historical buildings, have been restored in our region from the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. The original motivation to restore parts of the abandoned castles was to build family museums in the former residences of noble families. It can be said that these castles were used again after a longer period of abandonment as a presentation of aristocratic status. After this short period of romantic

castle renewal with the remembrance of nobility (or castle's) past glory a lot has changed – from the ownership of castles to the motivation of its restoration. After the state became the owner of these buildings, the main aim became to use large castles located in the center of towns as seats of state institutions, where again the castles have been seen as suitable representatives of state power. The use of renewal methodology is determined by many factors. To briefly sum up – the most expensive and most visible results are achieved by the method of reconstruction. And reconstruction is used mainly to demonstrate the former and current glory (or status) of the owner of the castle. This will be illustrated with three examples: the evolution of Bratislava castle reconstruction, the former and planned Spiš castle restoration and the current Krásna Hôrka castle renewal.

*Radu Lupescu*

### **Architectural features and decorations reflecting the social status of John Hunyadi as exemplified by Hunedoara Castle**

One of the basic purposes of royal or noble residences was to reflect the social status of the owner. The layout, role of different spaces, architectural masses, inner and outer decoration of a residential construction could serve this purpose. The aim of my paper is to analyze some of the architectural features from this perspective based on the case study of Hunedoara Castle, one of the most representative for the medieval Hungarian castle architecture. Behind its outstanding features stands an ambitious commissioner, John Hunyadi, who, as a *homo novus*, was keen on covering up the traces of the humble origins of his family. The result was a unique castle, its architectural and decorative particularities being a remarkable witness to the commissioner's status symbol. Although during the last centuries the castle was heavily restored, it still preserves many of its original features, being a vivid testimony of how a castle was used as a status symbol by its commissioner.

*Zlata Gersdorfová*

### **Curia, oppidum, castrum... Die Sitze der Herren von Krummau im Lichte der schriftlichen Quellen und Archäologie**

Das 13. Jahrhundert ist eine interessante und dynamische Zeit, wann es in den böhmischen Ländern zu den grundsätzlichen strukturellen Umwandlungen im sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Bereich kommt. Mit dieser Problematik hängen zusammen natürlich nicht nur die Anfänge des böhmischen Adels, sondern auch Konsolidierung und Festigung von seinen Machtpositionen und zwar vor allem durch den Aufbau der eigenen Sitze, die verschiedene Funktionen (Residenz, Verwaltung, Machtstützpunkt) erfüllten. Der Beitrag diskutiert ein heikles Thema in der böhmischen Geschichtsschreibung – die Frage der Entstehung des böhmischen Adels, die Entwicklungstheorien über die Anfänge der hochmittelalterlichen Burgen in Böhmen, ihre Typologie, wer und unter welchen Bedingungen konnte eine Burg bauen und über sie disponieren. Als Beispiel für die Diskussion der bisherigen Theorien ist eine Geschlechtlinie der Wittigonen genommen. Die Herren von Krummau gehörten zu den ältesten Adelsgeschlechtern in Böhmen und sind im Jahre 1302 (bzw. 1337) ausgestorben. Hinter dem erstaunlichen Aufstieg von dieser Geschlechtlinie stand die Gewinnung von Gold und allgemein von Edelmetallen

in Südböhmen. Gewissermaßen ist es möglich, ihre Durchdringung in die Grenzgebiete des Böhmisches Königreichs und ihre grenzüberschreitende reißende Politik zu verfolgen. Damit ist auch der Kolonisationsverlauf und Gestalt von ihren Sitzen zusammengebunden. Manche von ihren Sitzen verfielen mit der Erlöschung von diesem Geschlecht. Aus dieser Zeit haben wir nicht viele überlieferte schriftliche Quellen, aber auch so belegen sie die überraschende Differenzierung der Sitze der Krummauer Herren, von den utilitären Machtstützpunkten bis zu den umfangreichen und repräsentativen Bauten, die wir als Residenzen bezeichnen können. Wenn wir diese Sitze nur aufgrund der Erwähnungen in den schriftlichen Quellen typologisch gliedern sollten, bekommen wir ziemlich missgebildete Vorstellung über ihre Gestalt. Die erforderlichen Informationen bringen die archäologischen Untersuchungen von destruktivem und nicht-destruktivem Charakter, die unsere Meinung über diese Problematik bedeutend korrigieren. Im Rahmen des Beitrags ist geplant, die archäologischen Untersuchungen der ehemaligen Prädikatsitze der Krummauer Wittigonen (Prčice, Český Krumlov, Skalice, Sepekov, Strunkovice und Ledenic) zu erwähnen.

*Silvija Pisk*

### ***Honor banatus* and Croatian Castles**

*Honor banatus* is a common term used for rights, possessions and revenues related to the title of Ban. By coming into power, every Ban, the highest state official in medieval Croatia, received, apart from a certain social status and various rights, several castles and related properties. Since the 14<sup>th</sup> century and the reign of Ban Mikac, *honor banatus* of Slavonian Bans included the rule over Veliki Kalnik, Mali Kalnik, Koprivnica and Garić castles. *Honor banatus* existed until the early 15<sup>th</sup> century when it was annulled by King Sigismund of Luxembourg. Unfortunately, the institution of *honor banatus* was never thoroughly researched in Croatian historiography and its impact on the mentioned castles remains quite a mystery. This work focuses in particular on this aspect of *honor banatus*, emphasizing the social status of those castles.

*Ján Beljak, Noémi Beljak-Pažinová, Michal Šimkovic*

### **Construction and functional changes of residences in Zvolen from the Early Middle Ages to the modern period**

The goal of this presentation is to present the changes of nobility residences in the microregion of Zvolen on the basis of the known archaeological sites. From the chronological point of view, we will focus on the residences from the Early Middle Ages to the modern period. The hillfort of Priekopa will be presented first as the first important centre of the microregion administration situated on a hilltop site in Zvolen-Môťová in the Great Moravian period (last two thirds of the 9<sup>th</sup> century) and the post-Great Moravian period (10<sup>th</sup> century). The hillfort was rebuilt several times, which is documented mainly by the construction changes in the fortifications. Gradual extinction is clear in the 11<sup>th</sup> century, in the Early Árpád period. Then, our attention will focus on the royal castle of Zvolen (today's Pustý hrad castle) erected on the dominant hill above the Zvolen Basin. The origin and beginnings of this stone castle can be related to the creation of the Zvolen county, an extensive unit of regional administration, which was administered by an officer (administrator) appointed by the king and residing in Zvolen. The Zvolen County

originated probably as early as the beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. The first written notice of the region and the castle called Zvolen is brought by the source entitled *Gesta Hungarorum (The Deeds of the Hungarians)* from the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Besides written sources, the dating of the castle is documented by its architecture, whose oldest constructions studied at the Upper Castle can be dated to the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. The castle played the role of a residence of Hungarian kings, mainly from the Árpád dynasty. Gradually, the old castle did not comply with the king's demands, thus, instead of it, king Louis I from the Anjou dynasty ordered to build a modern Gothic castle on the hill above the town of Zvolen in the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. It was built on the location of a former residence (a medieval royal mansion?). Today, the structure is known as the Zvolen Castle. It can be directly identified with the royal hunting lodge where Polish military commanders swore loyalty to Louis, the successor of Sigismund of Luxemburg, in 1382. In the 14<sup>th</sup> and mainly in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the Pustý hrad castle became desolate and was losing its military, economic, administrative and residential functions, which were gradually passed to the Zvolen castle. In the presentation, we will present the changes of the above mentioned residences, mostly on the basis of constructions, but we will also take into consideration the rich material culture and written sources.

*Tatjana Tkalčec*

### **Ceramic Drinkware from Castles and Earth-and-Timber Fortifications as Indicators of the Medieval Slavonian Nobility's Status**

This paper examines ceramic tableware used for serving and drinking beverages – cups and jugs – from castles and other fortified residences of lesser lords and major tenants in the area of medieval Slavonia.

Ceramic tableware represents material of exceptional importance for the research of different segments of high and late medieval archaeology. Suitable for chronological classification and found in secure archaeological contexts, it can represent a good point of reference in typological-chronological analyses of other, not-so-datable material from the same layers (most often fragments of kitchenware), as well as in further stratigraphic analyses of different layers and contexts at a single site. However, its value in archaeological analyses surpasses the mere typological-chronological significance because it offers a wealth of valuable data for the examination of the social status of the residents of castles and other fortified noble residences.

Among the examined material it is possible to distinguish exemplars of ceramic tableware used as drinkware by the lord and his family, as is the case in most examined sites, from drinkware for which it was determined that it was used by a castle's garrison located at its strategic, but marginal positions. The paper sheds new light on the issue of determining the workshop origin of different types and finds of locally produced ceramic cups from various medieval Slavonian sites. Besides ceramic drinkware produced in local workshops, imported exemplars have also been found in Slavonian castles and fortified manors of landlords, which additionally points to the standard and connections of the nobility, who had the wish and means to follow the prevailing fashion imposed and generated by stronger European centers.



*Peter Bednár, Kristína Kučeráková*

### **Town Castles in the Central Slovakia Mining Region**

Considerable growth in fortification construction in the mining area of the central Slovakia took place in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, which resulted in the establishment of the so-called town castles – fortified parish churches. Additional objects inside the complex were either connected with public life of the town (town hall) or served the parish church (vicarage, ossuary, cemetery). The town castles in Banská Bystrica, Lubietová or in Kremnica served not only as fortifications and centers of religious life, but also as public space and concourse. The Old castle in Banská Štiavnica is a distinctive type of fortified church, which lost its sacral function and was rebuilt into a defensive object. Town castles, or more likely fortified churches, are symbols of dignity in the central Slovakia mining region and they are regarded as a specific type of fortifications in the Upper Hungarian Empire.

*Josef Hložek*

### **Die Luxemburger Burgenpolitik in Böhmen**

Die Herrscher aus dem Geschlecht der Luxemburger handhabten die Verwaltung des böhmischen Gebiets auf sehr unterschiedliche Weise. Diese Unterschiede spiegelten sich unter anderem in der „Burgenpolitik“ der Angehörigen der Luxemburger Dynastie wider. Mit Johann von Luxemburg sind nur zwei neu erbaute Burgen größeren Ausmaßes auf böhmischem Gebiet verbunden. Zu seiner Zeit war der größte Teil der älteren Přemysliden-Burgen verpfändet. Ein Ausweg aus dieser Situation war es, Personen aus den Reihen des Adels mit der Erbauung neuer Burgen zu beauftragen, wobei diese Burgen ihren Erbauern danach auf der Grundlage eines Lehnungsvertrags überlassen wurden. Im Falle Karls IV. lassen sich drei Etappen der Erneuerung des Netzwerkes königlicher Machtstützpunkte verfolgen. In der ersten Phase wurde versucht, ausgewählte ursprüngliche Königsburgen aufzukaufen und in den Besitz der Krone zurückzuführen. In der zweiten Etappe versuchte Karl vergeblich, ausgewählte ursprüngliche Königsburgen als königliche Machtstützpunkte in seinem nie angenommenen Landesgesetzbuch (*Maiestas Carolina*) zu verankern. In den folgenden Jahren widmete sich Karl deshalb dem Bau neuer Machtstützpunkte. Wenzel IV. erbte von seinem Vater ein stabilisiertes Netzwerk königlicher Burgen. Er widmete sich während seiner Herrschaft dem Bau vieler repräsentativer Objekte und dem grundlegenden Umbau älterer Burgen. In einigen Fällen vergab jedoch auch dieser Herrscher bestimmte Königsburgen als Lehen.

*Juan P. Maschio*

### **Status and Castles in Carniola**

Throughout history castles have not only been defensive buildings but also a way to demonstrate status. This concept was conceived within the early medieval period as a more primitive and rudimentary principle, where the goal was to have an effective impact. To rule using a castle as a “subliminal” message (a psychological impact rather than defensive), lords needed to “show off” their power in order to consolidate their hegemony, frighten the surrounding enemies and subdue the commoners. The larger or the more impregnable castle they had, the more powerful image they had.

In the following years, already consolidated they began to develop an expansive policy. Major nobles began building more castles in order to expand their lands with their family's castle as the headquarters. In other cases, they began to make alliances to have under their protection local vassals, who already had their properties, such as Gorizia's and Devin's counts, the Ortemburgs, the Gallemburgs, the Auerspergs, etc.

The best way to show their status and supremacy was by investing in what nowadays is called "real estate". This kind of investments offered better opportunities; having larger and more advanced castles was a step to being recognised by higher nobility (kings, emperors, etc.). The more castles one had, the higher the status was and, consequently, this gave access to a wide range of possibilities: making powerful alliances, becoming a governor (as the Lueggers), a local captain (as the Ravbars), a diplomat (as the Cobenzls) or gaining a higher noble title. This tendency became even stronger by the end of the Renaissance, when the nobility had to evolve and adapt to the new ways in order to prevail. Most of the old castles were strategically built on hills or mountains, but progressively the best businesses took place in the town's market, outside the lord's control. The world was changing, following this paradigm, even weapons and combat techniques were drastically changing; gun powder became an effective reality, which made swords and old catapults obsolete. Slowly with the years the old medieval castles became useless. Those which survived the abrupt changes did so because of their close location to important towns or trade routes. Later they were adapted to the new ways of waging wars or became a local judgment court and kept ruling the area. Lords who were owners of obsolete castles capitulated. The change also brought new comfort standards. Castle's rooms were very cold, humid and dark due to the defensive requirements. Now architects and artists had the chance to express themselves freely. Larger spaces, light became a very important concept as seen in conceiving larger windows, use of perspectives and points of view, design of gardens and dance halls. Offering lords other tools to show their status, this concept somehow prevailed until the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Examples to use:

- Gorizia, Devin, Gallemburg, Ortemburgs (status shown with one big castle),
- Eggemburg's investments in Haasberg (castle and palace) (status shown by demolishing old castles and building palaces),
- Cobenzl's will to improve family's properties (Haasberg, Predjama, etc) (status shown by acquiring castles and refitting them),
- Werian von Windischgraetz's intention to acquire multiple castles (gaining status by purchasing castles).

*Michael Rykl*

### **Bischofsitz in Litovice bei Prag. Rekonstruktionsversuch der Anlage innerhalb des Gebäudes**

Im Bischofsitz, 1335 dendrodatiert, ist von den Bauspuren das abgestufte Zutrittsrecht ablesbar. Die wichtigsten Bauspuren stellt die Serie der Türriegel dar, weiter die Raumausstattung und teilweise auch die Nutzungsspuren.

*Oana Toda*

### **Built Features of the Rupea Castle during the Early Modern Period. The "Houses" from the Upper and Middle Precincts**

The ruin on the Castle Hill in Rupea (Braşov county, Romania) represents one of the most enduring medieval fortifications from Transylvania (first mentioned in 1324), for which notable planimetric changes were still recorded during the modern period. Frequent upkeep and construction work was documented during the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. This late evolution was mainly caused by the fact that the fortified core of the castle was transferred in the property of the Saxon community from the nearby settlement after in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Hence, the German administration had an important saying in all the ulterior developments of this ensemble, as the fortification also became the administrative centre of the Saxon seat bearing the same name. The presence of an active local community in the market town accelerated the spatial and functional mutations of the castle itself. However, the construction phases have not been clearly understood and distinguished from one another. This is also the situation of the more modest structures (some in ruin and many completely demolished) located in the Middle and Upper Castle precincts. Questions persist in connection to their dating, permanent or seasonal functions, and even proprietorship matters during the late medieval and early modern period. They are one of the distinctive physical features of the castle, the market town community, and, possibly, of other short lived administrations of the fortification.

*Josip Višnjić*

### **Evidence of Castles as Symbols of Status in Several Examples from Istria (Croatia)**

Although the indicators of castles as status symbols are not immediately evident, a closer study of the historical documentation and their architectural structure will reveal evidence that these fortifications also satisfied the desire of the owners to call attention to their privileged social status. There are a number of examples among the castles on the northern Adriatic Istrian peninsula that testify to this perception of fortifications. One of the most interesting examples is that of the *Castropola* aristocratic family of Pula. We can follow the presence of members of this family in Pula – at the time the pre-eminent urban centre on the peninsula – through documents from the first half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century on. At the time the *de Pola* family was only one of a number of prominent families in the city. The patriarchs of Aquileia relied on this family to maintain their authority in the south of Istria in the 13<sup>th</sup> century and, to this end, granted to it a number of estates, including the city fortress (*castrum Polae*). This elevated them to the sphere of the leading Istrian aristocratic families of the late 13<sup>th</sup> and early 14<sup>th</sup> centuries. Having secured ownership of its fortress and absolute rule over the city, the members of the family began referring to themselves as *Castropola*, clearly underlining the symbolic importance of ownership of the castle when drawing attention to their aristocratic status.

The architectural remains of the fortifications in this region also often manifest that – in terms of their symbolic value – they constitute more than simply defensive and residential space or the economic hub of an estate. This is especially true of the late medieval and early post-medieval periods, when representatives of aristocratic families possess residential buildings in nearby urban hubs, where they spend a sig-

nificant portion of their time. They continue, however, to undertake significant architectural interventions in the castles, transforming them into lavish countryside residences. That these construction interventions had as their focus the objective of calling attention to the owner's social status is vividly evident in the example of the castle in Paz. A new palace that incorporated the older buildings, with a square tower annexed to it, was erected there in the course of a major renovation undertaken in 1570. The form of the tower – a structure whose defensive role had been entirely eclipsed in the 16<sup>th</sup> century – and the large window openings that appear even in the lower sections of the structure, clearly signal the complete loss of the defensive function and the assumption of a purely symbolic role.

Along with the above-cited examples the lecture will also cover some others, which demonstrate the symbolic importance of castles to the nobility of the Istrian peninsula in the medieval and early post-medieval periods.

*Anna Luczak, Jerzy Piekalski*

### **Kynast/Chojnik. The first castle of the Schaffgotsch family**

The castle was built in the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century near the village of Hermsdorf/Sobieszów. Since the 1390s it was owned by knight Gotsche II Schoff. By his death in 1418 he had managed to build the foundations of the power of his family, later called Schaffgotsch. It was one of the most important aristocratic Silesian families, present mainly in the area of Jelenia Góra, but also in other parts of Silesia until 1945. The Kynast castle presented high defensive qualities. The whole complex is composed of: the upper castle located on the top, the middle castle added in the south-east, the lower castle adjacent in the east of the upper one, the roundel added to the eastern edge of the middle and lower castles as well as the bastion with the entrance gate in the north. The basic building material was local granite.

The comfort of living in the castle was, however, low. Therefore, shortly after the death of Gotsche II his descendants chose as their residence castle Gryf, initially leased and later bought. Despite this, Kynast played an important symbolic and representative role. It was an important element of local prestige – the Schaffs main estates were situated in its close vicinity. It highlighted the memory of Gotsche II – the creator of the family power, a knight and a Silesian dignitary. It was still considered an ancestral cradle. Its fortifications were developed, but it played mostly a symbolic role. It also served as a hunting castle. This function is also confirmed by archaeological finds.

Because of the military value of the castle, in the Post-medieval period it remained under the state control. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century it served as a garrison of the imperial troops. After the fall of general Albrecht von Wallenstein in 1634 and a related execution of Hans Ulrich Schaffgotsch, the castle together with the family's other estates was confiscated for a dozen years. The end of the use of the castle came in 1675, when a lightning caused an extensive fire. However, the sentiment to the place remained. Over time Castle Gryf, the preferred seat, also ceased to meet the high requirements of the Schaffgotschs. A new residence was built in Cieplice near Kynast. It was a Renaissance manor house and in 1784-1788 a monumental Baroque palace was built serving the owners until the end of their Silesian history in 1945.

### **Adelsresidenz? Militärische Festung oder Ruinen? Drei Gestalten einer mittelalterlichen Burg in der frühen Neuzeit am Beispiel von Burgen im böhmisch-bayerischen Grenzgebiet**

Die frühe Neuzeit brachte eine grundsätzliche Änderung in der Entwicklung einer mittelalterlichen Burg mit sich. Die ursprüngliche mittelalterliche Burg änderte sich nicht nur hinsichtlich ihrer architektonischen Gestaltung, sondern auch was die formelle Struktur der einzelnen Burgobjekte anbelangt. Im Zusammenhang mit der Entwicklung der Feuerwaffen in dieser Periode werden bei einigen mittelalterlichen Burgen neue Fortifikationssysteme erbaut, deren Folge oft eine neue Gliederung der Burg und deren Vorburg war. Das Ziel dieses Beitrags besteht in einer komplexen Bewertung von ausgewählten Adelsresidenzen im böhmisch-bayerischen Grenzgebiet, ihrer auf eine breitere Basis gestellten Interpretation und Rekonstruktion ihrer sich gegen Ende des 15. Jh. und zu Beginn des 16. Jh. ändernden Bedeutung und Funktion. Die Änderung der primären Funktion eines Adelsitzes sowie der an die einzelnen Burgobjekte gestellten Ansprüche führte zu oft übereilten baulichen Anpassungen nicht nur der Innenräume, sondern auch des Äußeren der Burggebäude und der Fortifikation. Eine grundsätzliche Änderung erfuhr ebenfalls die Vorburg von mittelalterlichen Burgen, und zwar im Zusammenhang mit den unternehmerischen Tätigkeiten der Burgbesitzer und mit dem Wechsel des adeligen Lebensstils. Die Änderungen einer mittelalterlichen Burg in der frühen Neuzeit können in drei grundlegende Kategorien eingestuft werden. Die erste Kategorie stellt die in einen Residenzort umgewandelte Burg dar, die seinen Besitzer und sein Geschlecht durch prunkvolle Bauelemente mit komplizierten architektonischen Details repräsentiert. Diese Objekte erfuhren in der nächsten Periode eine Umwandlung in Renaissance-Schlösser. Die zweite Kategorie umfasst die in militärische Festungen umgewandelten Burgen, die als Symbol der militärischen Macht ihrer Besitzer auftreten. Diese Burgen zeichnen sich häufig durch eine Verdrängung der Wohn- und Residenzfunktion aus. Die letzte Kategorie stellt die in eine Ruine umgewandelte Burg dar, wobei dieser Wandel in den meisten Fällen unabsichtlich geschah. Bei dieser Kategorie ist ein Verlust der Symbolik der ursprünglichen mittelalterlichen Burg sehr gut bemerkbar. In einigen Fällen kommt es zur Degradation des Burgkerns, wobei die Vorburg weiterhin erhalten bleibt. Die Vorburg galt dann als das wirtschaftliche und administrative Zentrum der ursprünglichen Herrschaft und es wird hier die Verwaltung untergebracht. Die meisten der erwähnten Umwandlungen von mittelalterlichen Burgen sind bis heute im böhmisch-bayerischen Grenzgebiet zu beobachten und werden an einigen im Westböhmen befindlichen Burgen dargestellt (Nový Herštejn, Pajrek, Pušperk, Rabí, Roupov).

*Peter Bednár, Drahoslav Magdoško, Michal Šimkovic*

### **Košice Castle – an unfinished castle project**

The Košice Castle is a monumental project whose function and dating remain a subject of debate due to the absence of written sources. Several authors have tried to determine the origin and role of this fortification since the 18<sup>th</sup> century; however, they did not come to any conclusion. They usually connected the castle's origin with the Amadeus dynasty and set it to the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Neither old nor modern historians have been aware of reliable contemporary reports concerned with the origin and existence of this castle.

Archaeological and architectonic-historical investigations in 2012 showed that it is an unfinished construction project in which archaic elements (a vast fortified area of approx. 4.5 ha) are combined with the elements of the high medieval architecture with analogies in other castles dated to the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Analysis and new interpretation of medieval notices of the area where the castle's remains are situated confirm this assumption. Written sources, the oldest of which come from the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, enable us to reconstruct the development of the local financial situation. Although they are indirect notices, they suggest existence of an older (unfinished) castle. The castle became extinct in the mid 13<sup>th</sup> century at the latest. Royal property donations suggest that it was an unfinished project of construction of a royal castle. This corresponds with the character of the studied remains of the castle and their comparison with contemporary castles in Hungary.

*Péter Levente Szócs*

### **Elements of social display at the Castle of Ardud (15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> century)**

The castle of Ardud / Erdőd (Satu Mare County, Romania) was built around 1480 by Bartholomew Drágfi, a significant member of the court of King Matthias Corvinus. The castle was built as a new residence for the Drágfis, in the center of the huge domain owned by the family. According to historical sources, the castle was the principal residence of its owner, thus it can be assumed that it was designed for a social display from the start. This is confirmed by the recent archaeological excavations, which revealed the original ground-plan arrangement consisting of a regular rectangle with round-towers in the corners. Later rebuilding activities respected the regular rectangular arrangement, as the new additions were disposed according to the original concept. The arrangement of the castle fitted within the old-new fashion of fortified residences with regular ground-plan, all of them playing a significant role in a social display of their owners. Moreover, a considerable part of the archaeological finds show the high status material culture of the owners, and among them, several elements suggest even direct links with the royal workshops, such as the fragments of stove-tiles which belong to the famous oven with cavalier decoration, identified in the royal palace of Buda.

*Piotr Lasek*

### **The tower of a humble priest. The habitat of Kasper Sadłocha and the Polish manors in the 16<sup>th</sup> century**

Kasper Sadłocha (ca. 1516-1603) was one of those representatives of the Polish gentry who chose the expanding and economically marketable towns of the Crown as his habitat. Both Sadłocha's public activity, and his architectural accomplishments place Kasper among the most interesting people of the 16<sup>th</sup> century Polish Kingdom. He worked for Bona Sforza and her son, Sigismund II Augustus from the Jagiellonian family. Sadłocha was his secretary and managed for the monarch both redevelopment of the Warsaw castle and the construction of the first bridge over the Vistula river. It was during the last years of Sigismund's reign in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth that Kasper Sadłocha had his own residence built in the so-called Cracovian Suburbs of Warsaw. It was a massive dwelling tower, placed in a large garden on the Vistula scarp. The tower probably vanished after 1632, when its structures were incorporated into Adam Kazanowski's palace,



the favourite of king Sigismund IV Vasa. The aim of the paper is to present the primal architecture of Sadłocha's tower and further transformations of the building in the context of the architecture of the Polish gentry's seats from Sadłocha's times. His case is also a crucial element in the research on the mentality and status symbols among the noble class in Poland. As a priest and a member of the privileged part of the society, Sadłocha consistently strived to have his own, private seat nearby Warsaw, even though as a Warsaw canon he had at his disposal a house *intra muros*, near the cathedral. He endowed his outstanding and monumental residence with a huge amount of symbolic meaning, dating back to the Middle Ages. What was the reason of such ostentation? It becomes clear when we mention that until 1596 Sadłocha owned no land, himself coming from the town of Osiek in Little Poland. He owed his career only to his own abilities, not parentage, and because of that he needed a strong manifestation of his social status.

*Dominik Nowakowski*

### **Schlesische Motten im Lichte der archäologischen und schriftlichen Quellen**

Schlesien, ein integraler Teil Polens im frühen Mittelalter, gelangte als eine der westlichsten Regionen des polnischen Staates bereits im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert in den Wirkungsbereich des deutschen Kulturkreises. In dieser Zeit unterlagen große Teile des östlichen Mitteleuropas einschneidenden politischen, wirtschaftlichen und kulturellen Veränderungen, die teils auf den großen Siedlungs- und Akkulturationsprozess der deutschen Ostsiedlung zurückgeführt werden können, teils auf allgemeine Wandlungen der Wirtschafts- und Herrschaftsstrukturen im slawischen Gebiet im Zuge einer Umbruchs- und Innovationszeit. In jener Epoche wurde das Siedlungsbild erheblich umstrukturiert: Viele Siedlungen fielen wüst, neue Dörfer und Städte entstanden, und auch die Burgenlandschaft wandelte sich ausschlaggebend. Wesentliche Veränderungen werden in jener Zeit auch im sozialen und rechtlichen Bereich sichtbar: der fortschreitende Prozess der Feudalisierung der Gesellschaft und der Entwicklung der Grundherrschaft sowie die Übernahme des deutschen Rechts. Eine wichtige Rolle spielten bei diesen Veränderungen die Burgen, die als Herrschaftssitze den Ausgangspunkt für weitere Tätigkeiten ihrer Stifter und Besitzer, sowohl Landesfürsten als auch Adelige, bildeten.

In dieser Zeit des Wandels verbreitete sich über großen Teil Ostmitteleuropas, so auch in Schlesien, der Burgentyp der Motte – eine künstlich herausgearbeitete, grabenumwehrte Hügelburg, zumeist mit zentralem Turm. In Form von Hoch- und Großmotten kommen sie als königliche oder fürstliche Wehranlagen vor, doch in der Masse bilden sie im hohen und späten Mittelalter den Sitz des niederen Adels feudaler Ausprägung. Daher bietet ihre Ausbreitung nicht nur ein exemplarisches Objekt für das Studium der Vermittlung von Ideen und Innovationen über weite Räume hinweg, sondern hängt auch eng mit der Verbreitung des grundherrschaftlichen Modells und der Diversifizierung adeliger Herrschaftsansprüche zusammen. Sehr interessant sind die unterschiedlichen Zeiträume, in denen dieser Burgentyp in den verschiedenen Teillandschaften seines Verbreitungsgebiets erscheint. Im Westen Kontinentaleuropas und in Westdeutschland ist er v. a. eine Erscheinung des Zeitraums vom späten 10. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert, während er östlich der Elbe vielfach erst nach 1200, in großen Teilen jenes Raums sogar erst im 14. Jahrhundert in Erscheinung tritt.

Den mottenartigen Burgen Schlesiens ist in der bisherigen Forschung keine gesonderte Bearbeitung gewidmet worden. Die archäologisch bislang nur begrenzt untersuchten Anlagen lassen jedoch bereits vermuten, dass die ersten derarti-

gen Anlagen schon zum Ende des 13. Jahrhunderts durch die Ritterschaft erbaut wurden. Etwas früher, in der 2. Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts, entstanden Verteidigungsanlagen mit mehr oder weniger künstlich aufgeschütteten oder anders herausgearbeiteten Hügeln. Diese Anlagen wurden auf fürstliche Initiative hin errichtet; in der Literatur werden sie als ‚Kolonisationsburgen‘ und ‚Übergangsburgen‘ bezeichnet. In den folgenden Jahrhunderten, in einer Zeit geschwächter fürstlicher Macht, wurden zahlreiche Motten vom Adel errichtet und die kleinen Befestigungen zum Inbegriff erstarkender Kleinadelsherrschaften. Archäologisch untersuchte Burgen und ikonographische Quellen zeigen, dass in Schlesien auch noch in der Neuzeit verschiedene Hofformen auf künstlichen Hügeln errichtet wurden, dieser Burgentyp somit über das Mittelalter hinaus weiterlebte. Mit der Frage nach der Genese der Motten in Schlesien ist auch jene nach der Entstehung der ältesten privaten befestigten Rittersitze des Landes verbunden. Das Problem der Entstehung und Entwicklung der verschiedenen Rittersitze (Wohntürme, unbefestigte Anlagen, typische Motten) in Schlesien und Polen ist ein vielschichtiges und komplexes Thema und wird in der jüngeren Forschung kontrovers diskutiert. Eine der wichtigsten Fragen ist dabei, wer die mottenartigen Burgen zuerst als private Herrschaftssitze in Schlesien errichtete: Waren es einheimische Adelsfamilien oder die zugewanderte deutsche Ritterschaft?

*Andrej Janeš*

**Construction and location as a sign of social status:  
the case of a high medieval *motte* of Turčišće  
– Gradišće in Međimurje (northern Croatia)**

The site of the hill-fort Gradišće I is located to the north-east of the village Turčišće in the region of Međimurje, northern Croatia. It is situated between the river Trnava and a stream Crni jarak (Black ditch). It consists of a central, round, plateau surrounded by two rings of ditches and earth ramparts. It is a medieval lowland *motte* (earthen fortification/hill-fort) constructed in a marshy terrain. The inhabited area of the central plateau was 200 m<sup>2</sup>. The two ditches were 4.5 m wide, while the width of the ramparts at the base is around 3 m. The size of the *motte* is 45 x 50 m. Finds of burnt wood, daub with prints of wooden beams and wattle indicate the existence of a wooden construction, which consisted of wooden beams that held the wooden frame covered with daub. Radiocarbon dates from the central plateau suggest that it was used in the first half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. The dates are corroborated by ceramic finds dated from the middle of the 12<sup>th</sup> to the middle of the 13<sup>th</sup> centuries. The site was abandoned in the middle of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, following a great fire.

It was the presumed seat of the estate known as *terra Damasa*, which was part of the medieval County of Zala. Most of the finds are ceramic fragments of pots characteristic for the high medieval period known from rural sites in the nearby Podravina region. Since the site can be connected to the family of the low noble man Damas, the absence of luxurious finds, metal or imported ceramics, is indicative, as is the absence of stone-built structures.

In this paper, I will try to show that the high medieval low nobility in Međimurje showed their elevated social status through the selection of the location and construction of their seat, while the material culture did not differ from its rural peasant surroundings.

*Nikolaus Hofer*

### **Überlegungen zur Niederungsburg als „Statussymbol“ im Mittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit anhand ausgewählter Beispiele aus Ostösterreich**

Der Vortrag beleuchtet die mögliche Interpretation von Niederungsburgen des ostösterreichischen Flachlandes als "Statussymbole" ihrer Besitzer. Im Gegensatz zu den oftmals noch imposant erhaltenen Höhenburgen sind viele dieser Anlagen heute völlig verschwunden oder in späterer Zeit massiv umgebaut worden, sodass vielfach nur die Archäologie Antworten auf die Fragestellungen des Tagungsthemas geben kann.

Anhand dreier archäologisch untersuchter Beispiele – Möllersdorf, Baden/Rohr und Zugging – wird zunächst erörtert, ob sich in der baulichen Ausgestaltung und im Fundspektrum dieser Burgen konkrete Hinweise auf den Status ihrer Besitzer finden lassen – und ob diese Merkmale über den jeweiligen Einzelfall hinaus auch allgemeinere Aussagen zulassen. Dabei ist allerdings zu berücksichtigen, dass keine dieser Anlagen vollständig ausgegraben worden ist. Trotzdem beinhaltet das Fundmaterial – wie auch bei anderen archäologisch untersuchten Niederungsburgen – teils erstaunlich hochwertige Objekte, und auch die architektonische Gestaltung der Wehranlagen lässt zumindest den Willen zur Repräsentation erkennen. Ein kurzer Blick wird schließlich auf mögliche Änderungen des "Statuswerts" am Übergang vom Hoch- zum Spätmittelalter geworfen.

In diesem Zusammenhang wird zuletzt die mittelalterliche Niederungsburg von Orth an der Donau, die derzeit im Rahmen eines Forschungsprojekts intensiv untersucht wird, etwas ausführlicher vorgestellt. Diese im Hochmittelalter gegründete Anlage wurde im 16. Jahrhundert in eine Art "Kastellburg" umgewandelt. Wenngleich die archäologischen und bauhistorischen Quellen zur mittelalterlichen Baugeschichte vergleichsweise dürftig sind, zeichnet sich bei der Wahl der frühneuzeitlichen Architekturformen die Bedeutung des Phänotyps "Burg" als Statussymbol noch deutlich ab. Das zum Teil hochwertige Fundmaterial bestätigt diesen Eindruck und zeigt zugleich, dass die Besitzer dieses "Burgschlosses" ihren Status durchaus auch in Gebrauchsobjekten demonstrierten.

*Niklot Krohn*

### **Rauhkasten, Buckelquader und Silberwächter – Die Burgen der Geroldsecker als Herrschaftssitze und Statussymbole**

Die Geroldsecker, mit sagenhaften Ursprüngen in karolingischer Zeit, zählten im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert zu den einflussreichsten und bedeutsamsten Adelsfamilien der Oberrheingegend. Ihre Herrschaft erstreckte sich von Sulz am Neckar bis nach Reichshofen im Elsass, territorialpolitisch war sie jedoch vor allem auf die südliche Ortenau konzentriert. Dort, in der Gegend um die später von ihnen gegründete Stadt Lahr, waren die Geroldsecker mit den Kastvogteien über die Klöster Ettenheimmünster und Schuttern belehnt und verfügten über reiche Silbererzvorkommen im Schutter- und Kinzigtal, mit denen sie sich auch aktiv in das Reichsgeschehen einmischten. Mit Walter von Geroldseck (1231–1263) besaß das Geschlecht einen Vertreter im Amt des Bischofs von Straßburg, der während des nach ihm benannten *Bellum Walterianum* mit der militärischen Niederlage in der Schlacht von Hausbergen am 8. März 1262 zu Gunsten der nach Unabhängigkeit strebenden Bürger Straßburgs einen unrühmlichen Bekanntheitsgrad erreichte. Walters

gleichnamiger Vater hatte bereits 1218 das am südlichen Oberrhein mit dem Aussterben der männlichen Linie der Zähringer entstandene Machtvakuum genutzt, und war durch den Stauferkaiser Heinrich II. mit der Vogtei einer Niederungsburg am Ausgang des Schuttertals versehen worden, aus deren Suburbium das 1278 mit dem Stadtrecht versehene Lahr als Hauptort der Geroldsecker entstand.

Nach dem Tod Walters und im Zuge des Verlustes der Bischofsherrschaft über die Stadt Straßburg begannen Aufteilungen und Abspaltungen des Besitzes der Geroldsecker, die schließlich in den Jahren 1277–1309 in eine endgültige Teilung der Herrschaft in das Haus Lahr-Mahlberg und in die Linie Hohengeroldseck gipfelten. Aus letzterer ging mit dem Tod des letzten männlichen Nachfolgers Jakob von Hohengeroldseck und Sulz im Jahr 1634 die seit 1711 unter Aufsicht des Reiches stehende Grafschaft Hohengeroldseck hervor, die von 1806–1813 als Fürstentum von der Familie von der Leyen regiert wurde, der auch die heutige Verteidigungsministerin der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Frau Ursula von der Leyen, angehört.

So unterschiedlich, wie sich die einzelnen Familienzweige der Geroldsecker entwickelten, stellt sich auch die Art und Überlieferungssituation Ihrer Burgen dar, von denen nachfolgend die drei wichtigsten aufgrund ihrer markanten Unterschiede kurz dargestellt werden sollen. Sie lassen klar den Charakter der jeweiligen Anlagen erkennen, der zwischen herrschaftlicher Machtdemonstration und Statussymbolik rangiert.

Von der 1139 erstmals erwähnten und als „Rauhkasten“ bezeichneten Ruine Alt-Geroldseck, der Stammburg des Geschlechtes, die auf einer 604 m ü. NN hohen Spornkuppe in der Nähe des Ortes Seelbach errichtet wurde, sind nur noch wenige Mauerreste der Schildmauer und des Palas sowie der Halsgraben erhalten. Ihre geringe Flächengröße von weniger als 400 m<sup>2</sup> sowie das bei Ausgrabungen in den 1950er Jahren zutage beförderte Fundmaterial lässt die bescheidenen Anfänge des Hauses Geroldseck während des 12. Jahrhunderts erkennen.

Eindeutig von herrschaftlicher Repräsentation und fortifikatorischer Bedeutung geprägt ist dagegen die ebenfalls nur noch in Resten vorhandene Niederungsburg, die zur Keimzelle der späteren Stadt Lahr wurde. Sie bildete in ihrem Grundriss ein leicht aus dem rechten Winkel verschobenes Rechteck mit vier runden Ecktürmen, von denen einer als „Storchenturm“ heute ein Wahrzeichen der Stadt Lahr ist. Die stattlichen Maueraußenlängen (ohne die Türme mit einem Durchmesser von etwa 9,20 m) betragen im Norden 40,40 m, im Osten 34,20 m, im Süden 36,70 m und im Westen 33,20 m. Die in Schalentechnik gefertigten Mauern trugen an der Außenseite Bossen, an der Ostseite stand das Palasgebäude, das Wirtschaftsgebäude an der Westseite. Die Sonderstellung der Lahrer Niederungsburg als *castrum* und Residenz in Einem wird durch die hohe Qualität der mit Steinmetzzeichen versehenen, bossierten Quader und die auffällige Ähnlichkeit mit Burgen wie Castel Maniace, Castel Ursino oder Castel del Monte unterstrichen.

Nicht minder repräsentativ gestaltet war die Burg Hohengeroldseck, die auf 523,90 m ü. NN auf einer Anhöhe rund 1,7 km nördlich des Standorts der Alt-Geroldseck in beherrschender Lage am Straßenverlauf über den Schönberg und in Mittlerstellung zwischen dem Kinzigtal und dem Schuttertal errichtet wurde. Sie löste die Lahrer Burg als Stammburg der Herren von Geroldseck spätestens ab den 1260er Jahren ab und bildete zwischen der Landesteilung 1277 und dem Ende der Geroldsecker-Herrschaft 1634 den Mittelpunkt der „Oberen Herrschaft“. Mit ihrem an erhabener Stelle auf einem Porphyrfelsen errichteten, repräsentativen Palas ist sie ein markantes, weithin sichtbares Wahrzeichen der Gegend des so genannten „Geroldsecker Landes“ und gehört touristisch zu den reizvollsten und größten Burganlagen des Schwarzwaldes. Ihre Lage im Herzen der von den Geroldseckern genutzten Silbererzvorkommen kennzeichnet sie neben Ihrer Residenz- und Repräsentationsfunktion auch als Anlage mit strategischer, wirtschaftlicher und herrschaftspolitischer „Wächterfunktion“.

In erster Linie als repräsentatives Statussymbol fungierte schließlich das ebenfalls auf dem Gebiet der heutigen Gemeinde Seelbach liegende, ehemalige Wasserschloss Dautenstein. Die stauferzeitliche Ursprungsanlage folgte dem Bauschema der Lahrer Niederungsburg mit rechteckigem Grundriss und vier runden Ecktürmen und wurde vermutlich um 1235 von den Reichsministerialen von Dautenstein errichtet. Nach ihrer Zerstörung im Bauernkrieg wurde die Burg 1594 von Jakob von Geroldseck zu einem Residenzschloss im Stil der Spätrenaissance umgebaut. Das heutige, im Privatbesitz befindliche Anwesen geht auf einen Neubau der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts zurück und nimmt nur noch einen Teil des ehemals mit einem Wassergraben versehenen Anwesens ein.

*Michał Wojenka*

### **Castles and elites of the Cracow Land in the Middle Ages – selected problems**

The presentation concerns the issue of a castle as a power and status symbol in the medieval landscape of the Cracow Land (SE Poland). In most previous research on the function of Polish castles the attention focused on their military and political significance or on their role as administrative centres, while their symbolic functions were far from clear. Nevertheless, it appears that apart from playing other roles, the castles might have served as markers of central or lordship power.

In most cases, at the level of castle planning it was a tower which played a major role in creating impression about the owner's rank and status. Understanding of towers in such terms might be referred to the group of *bergfried* castles, such as Czchów, Myślenice, Czorsztyn, Rytro or Biecz, most likely all of them founded at the turn of the 14<sup>th</sup> century by the king Wenceslaus II. It is certainly not an accident that localization of these dominant *bergfried* towers visible from a distance may be correlated with toll houses mentioned in the written records. In such a case, apart from its defensive value, a castle would have got a symbolic significance as a place of royal power.

The demonstration of rank and status, obviously, was very common in the foundations of nobility and this is the main topic which I will concentrate on. From the early 14<sup>th</sup> century onwards it was the elite of Cracow Land which enjoyed the privileged position in shaping the course of Polish politics. It is not surprising, therefore, that it affected much of castle building. One of the earliest evidence for the private masonry castle within Cracow area is Biały Kościół, founded before 1352 by a nobleman Jan from Syrokomla. This very small undertaking may yet be regarded as a compromise between the necessity of rank manifestation and the limited financial resources. Private investments created during the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century are more spectacular, to mention only the castles of Smoleń (with a *bergfried* tower in its highest part), the magnificent tower house in Bydlin or the stunning *turris magna* in Melsztyn, the latter probably built at the turn of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. The 15<sup>th</sup> century, once described by Professor Leszek Kajzer as "the time of private castles", is the period when masonry structures become the markers of elite's power, a good example of which is the castle in Dębno, built in 1470-1480 and adorned with very rich architectural design.

One of the last undertakings which I will focus on is the Ogrodzieniec castle, rebuilt in the second quarter of the 16<sup>th</sup> century by a rich and influential bourgeois, a fledgling nobleman Seweryn Boner. The Ogrodzieniec castle was extensively restored and acquired a form which in the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century was undoubtedly antiquated. In this case one can not escape an impression that building a castle that looked older than it really was could be a deliberate choice inspired by a desire to disguise the recent nobilitation of the founder.



# Study Tour Guide

## Studienfahrtführer

### Opis wyjazdu studyjnego

*Artur Boguszewicz*

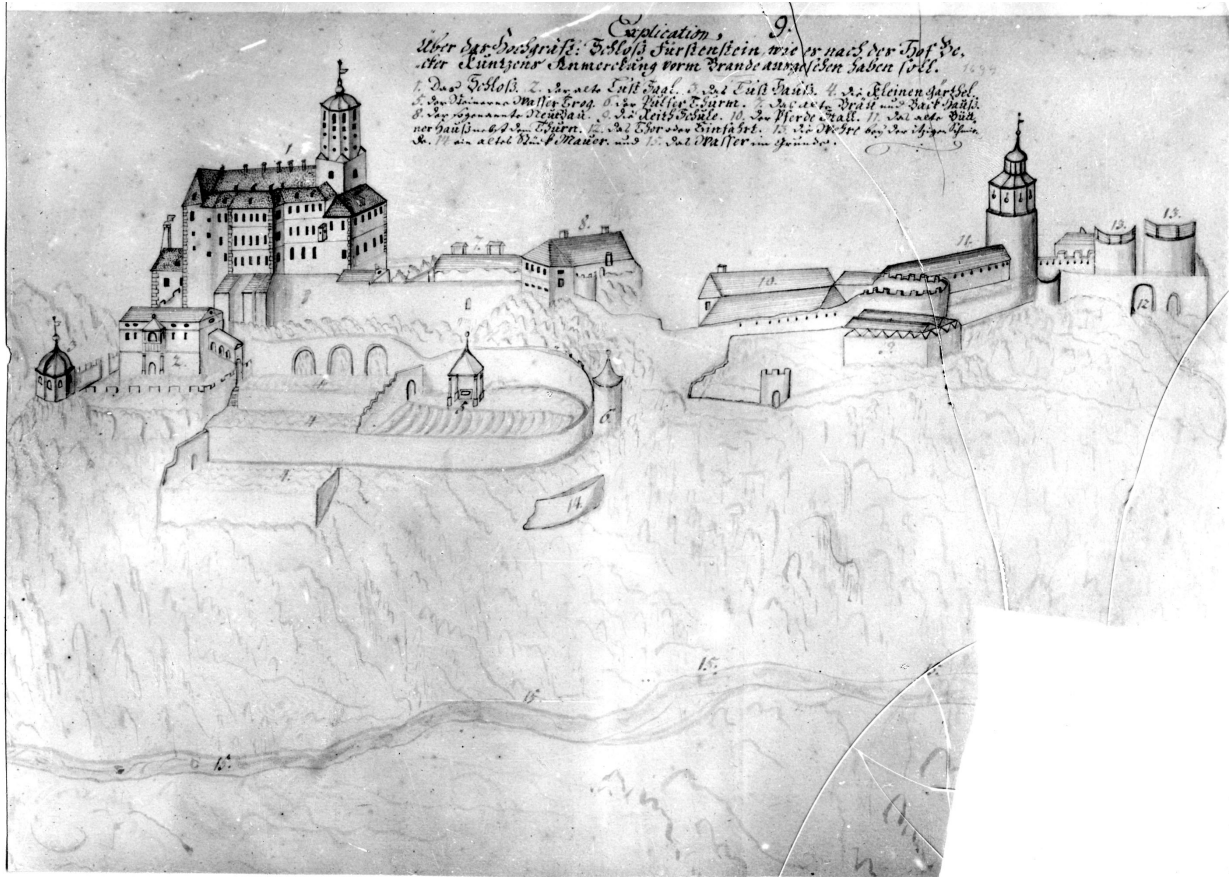
#### **Książ Castle (Fürstenstein)**

The Polish name of the castle of Książ was coined after 1945 as a direct translation of the historical name of Fürstenstein. However, the original name was Fürstenberg, first recorded in 1293 in Bolko I's title (*Bolko dei gratia dux Slesie et dominus de Wrstenberc*). The idea of adapting the title of a representative of the Silesian line of Piasts to the German toponym fashionable at the time in Silesia was born from the need to symbolically unite into one body the former duchy of Lwówek and the southern part of the Duchy of Wrocław conquered by Bolko I (at that time the duke of Lwówek) in 1290. After his death in 1301 the title was also used by his sons and grandsons, the rulers of Bolko I's domain divided into the duchies of Świdnica, Jawor and Ziębice. In view of the data available now it can not be conclusively determined which of the objects situated on both sides on the Pelcznica river valley was referred to as Fürstenberg. Archaeological data only show that the extensive bailey of the castle of Stary Książ (Alt Fürstenstein) already existed at the turn of the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries. Even though there are no archaeological data concerning the castle of Książ (Fürstenstein), architectural details preserved within the upper castle may prompt its chronology. What is certain is that in the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century the extensive bailey of the castle of Stary Książ disappeared (whether its main part did too is not known) and that the present castle of Książ took over the role of a local centre.

The oldest document directly concerning the castle of Fürstenberg (even though it is not known which of the objects) – and not the titles of the dukes – comes from 1337. In 1355 Bolko II gained control over the castle (it is still not known which one) when he was recapturing the castles occupied by the mutinous nobility. The altered name of the castle of Fürstenstein began to circulate from 1356 even though the title of the “Lord of Fürstenberg” remained unchanged, which should be recognised as the moment of ultimate transfer of the centre of authority to the today's castle of Książ (Fürstenstein). Even though the local Piasts consistently used their titles, there is no proof that they ever visited the castle (no document drawn in Książ has survived to our times), which was administered by burgraves acting in their name.

After 1371 the castle of Fürstenstein became the property of Elizabeth of Prochowice, who sold it in 1386 to the Bohemian captain of the duchy of Świdnica-Jawor – Beneš of Choustník. In 1410 Jan of Chotěmice became the captain and he bought the castle with the nearby estates. When he died in 1428, the property was inherited by his son Janko the Younger, who shared his ownership of the castle with Hermann Czettritz from 1430. After Janko's death in 1447 the oldest of his daughters married Hermann Czettritz, bringing the property of Książ in her dowry. Hermann died in 1454 and the estate was taken over by the son Hans. In 1463 the stronghold became the property of George of Podiebrad, who passed it on to his trusted military commander Birka von Nassidel (Bernard of Nasiedle). In 1466 Birka pledged Książ with Hans von Schellendorf. During the war of Silesian succession Hans Schellendorf was one of the most tenacious supporters of George of Podiebrad and after his death in 1471 he tenaciously supported Vladislaus II the Jagiellonian in his war against the king of Hungary Matthias Corvinus and his ally – the town of Wrocław.





1. The Książ Castle (Fürstenstein). View of the castle before 1694, according to the reconstruction from 1730 (courtesy of Instytut Historii Sztuki PAN w Warszawie, W\_003\_003).

In 1475 he managed to defend the castle besieged by Matthias Corvinus himself and again in 1477. Only the attack in 1482 carried out by Silesian and Lusatian estates together with Hungarian troops broke his resistance. He was imprisoned together with his son Friedrich and the victorious Matthias Corvinus gave the estate to his state captain of Silesia Georg von Stein, despite Hans Schellendorf's wife's attempts to sell it. From 1484 till 1497 the captain of Książ was Friedrich Hochberg. In 1497 Vladislaus II the Jagiellonian leased the estate of Książ to his chancellor Johan von Schellenberg. His son Georg swapped it for the estate of Głubczyce with Peter Haugwitz. The latter sold Książ in 1509 to Kunz (Konrad) Hochberg. In 1605 Konrad III Hochberg bought out the pledged estate from the emperor for 72 thousand thalers and transformed it into a hereditary property. Książ remained in the hands of the Hochberg family until 1943, when it was taken over by the state of the Third Reich. Since the end of World War II Książ has been within the borders of Poland. It was occupied by the Soviet Army from 1945 to 1946 and then it was handed over to the state institutions of Poland.

The medieval fortifications underwent frequent reconstructions until World War II. No archaeological excavations or architectural research have ever been carried out. Very general outlines of the stronghold's development may only be determined on the basis of analysis of some elements of the construction, iconographic material, modern documents and notes concerning construction undertakings.

The castle was probably first divided into the upper and lower parts in the Middle Ages. In its oldest phase the upper castle had almond-shaped outlines. The only remains surviving from that time are the lower parts of a four-sided "upper" tower, the foundations of the perimeter wall on the southern side with the tracery of the trefoil outlines and the foundations of the castle's wall on the northern side with the remains of a four-sided tower.

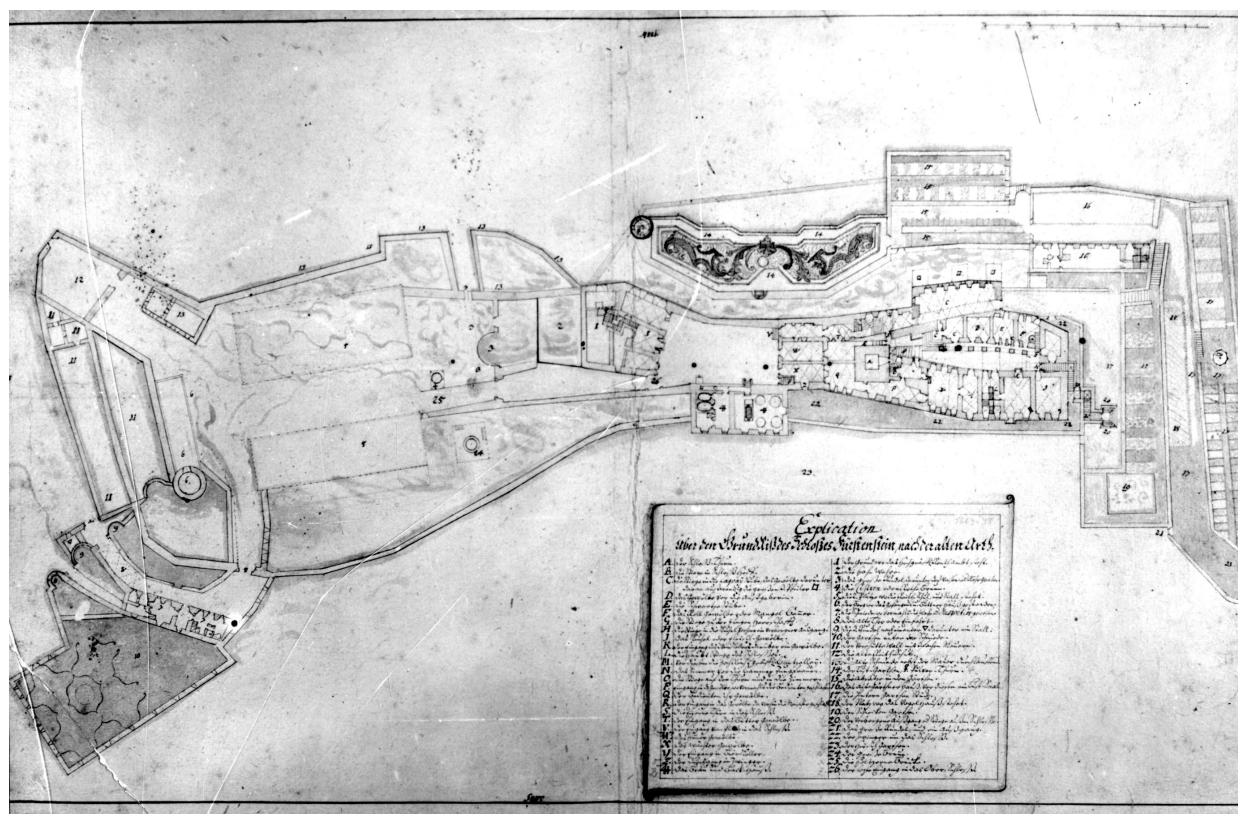
The lower castle was separated from the upper by a moat carved in the rock. Among the structures functioning till today the fortifications in the north-eastern part of

the lower castle have medieval origins, but they have been considerably rebuilt in the modern times, including “regothisation” at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Today’s northern tower of the gate building was erected on the foundations of the circular “lower” tower, which in the Middle Ages was an element of the perimeter wall. On the northern side there was a line of defences consisting of four semi-circular horseshoe-shaped towers flanking two gates leading to the lower castle.

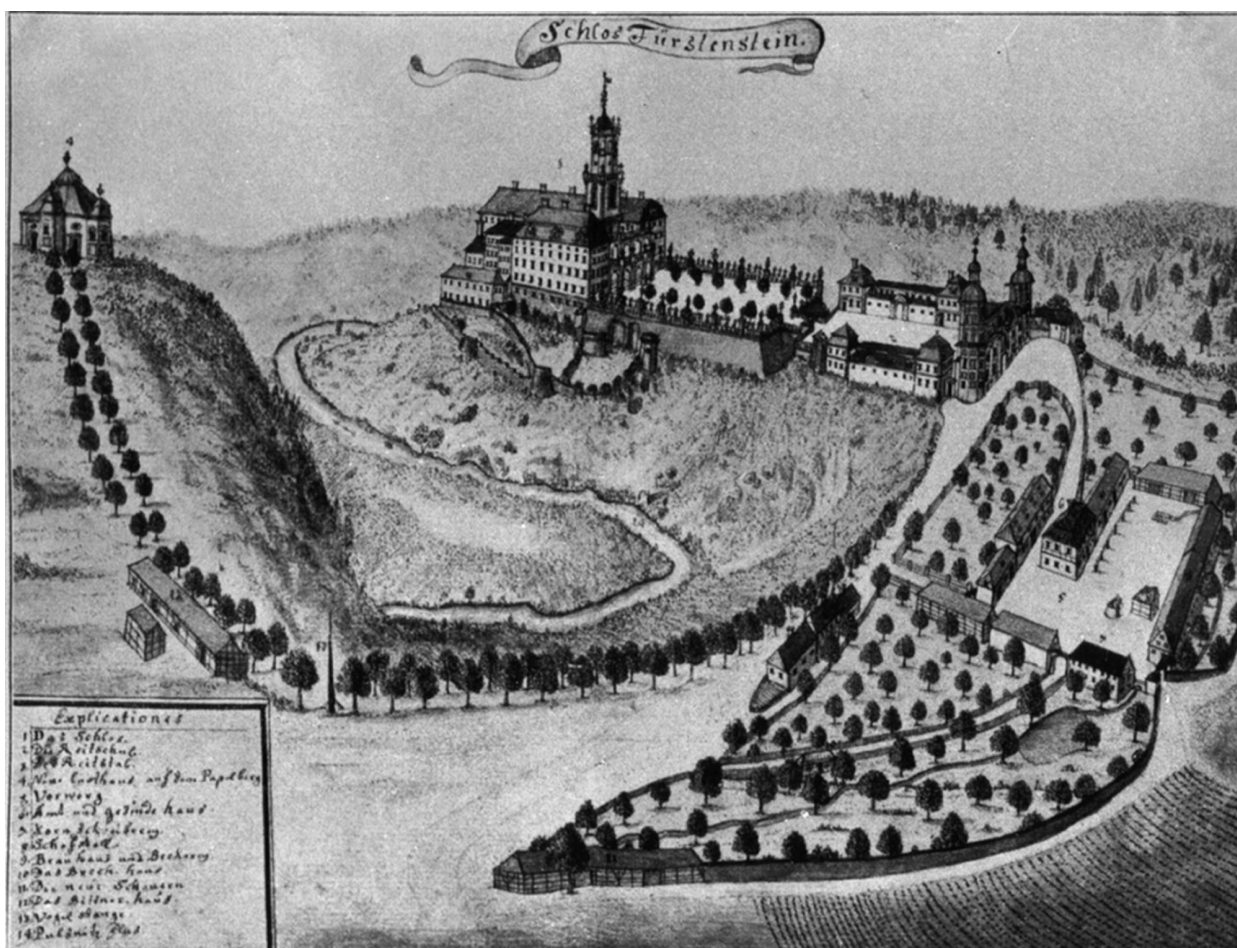
The stock-taking from 1599 describes the fortifications, whose shape had remained unchanged from the end of the Middle Ages; however, it is difficult to identify the buildings listed there due to later reconstruction. The road to the castle approached it from the north-west through a grange. Further down there was the bailey surrounded by ramparts, moats and the outer wall and then a bridge leading to the gate flanked by two circular towers. In the southern part of the defensive perimeter there was a huge cylindrical tower with arrow slits, which housed a prison. On its southern side there used to be a bastion. The buildings of the lower castle (stables, a brewery, smithy, sheds and two bath houses) adjoined the southern and northern sections of the perimeter wall. The south-western corner of the lower castle was fortified with a tower; on its northern side there was a bridge over the moat and two fortified gates leading to the upper castle. The upper castle was surrounded by two lines of perimeter walls. On the eastern side there was a courtyard with outbuildings. In the western part of the upper castle there was a complex of residential buildings arranged around a four-sided tower with two clocks. On the tower’s eastern side there was the “ducal house” with a vaulted lower storey, where there was a chamber and a bedroom. On the upper storey there were various rooms, one of which was a hall. A passage situated by the tower’s southern wall connected the “ducal house” with another residential building one storey higher. Its topmost storey housed a gallery for the guards and rooms for the domestic servants. The roofs of the buildings in the lower and upper castles were covered with shingles.

The exact date when the northern wing of the upper castle (in later sources referred to as the “long house”) was built is open to debate. It is not mentioned in

2. The Książ Castle (Fürstenstein).  
The plan of the castle from 1719  
(courtesy of Instytut Historii Sztuki  
PAN w Warszawie, W\_003\_002).







3. The Książ Castle (Fürstenstein).  
View of the castle after Baroque  
reconstruction drawn  
by Friedrich Bernhard Werner  
in the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century  
(courtesy of Archiwum  
Zamku Książ)

the stock-taking of 1599, even though the casing of the bay window in the northern wall of the wing bears the date of 1580. Though it is quite possible that the casing originally came from another building, the “long house” may be the “residential building” recorded in 1599.

During the Thirty Years’ War the castle was besieged many times. It was seriously damaged in 1633, following which the fortifications and accommodation for the expanded garrison were extended in 1640. Yet, the castle was damaged during the sieges in 1642 and 1646. Following the latter, Hans Heinrich Hochberg (1598-1671) received the emperor’s permission to demolish the fortifications. He had the ramparts levelled and the ditches and moats filled and the area of the lower castle and the courtyard of the upper castle tidied up. In 1649 gardens were set up in the zwinger of the upper castle on the southern side (the gardens already existed there before the Thirty Years’ War). His successor Hans Heinrich II (1639-1698) continued the rebuilding of the castle in the Baroque style from 1670. He had the towers of the lower and upper castles renovated and a house built in the garden. However, from 1678 the main construction work focused on the redevelopment of the upper castle. By adding two storeys to the passage connecting the “ducal house” in the front and the “residential building” in the back, the southern wing of even height was created. The castle became a residence with wings supported by buttresses. In 1688 further work comprised the northern wing called the “long house”, where a vaulted staircase was built leading to the third floor. However, the effects of this redevelopment were to a great extent nullified by subsequent construction work.

Much more architectural elements survived following a great redevelopment undertaken by Konrad Ernst Maximilian Hochberg in the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. During its first stage (1718-1719) a gate building of the lower castle was erected.



It was flanked by two towers; the lower parts of the northern tower still had medieval origins. The next stage comprised the redevelopment of the upper castle preceded by the levelling of the rampart and demolishing the gate, hornwork, brewery and bakery. The terrain of the bailey of the upper castle was elevated to the level of the first perimeter wall's coping. After the demolition of the houses neighbouring the four-sided tower in 1722, construction of the palace's two wings adjoining it from the north and the south began. In 1728-1731 an avant-corps was built between the palace's new wings with a reception hall on the first floor. The work was completed with evening out the surface of the courtyard in front of the palace's façade and building a balustrade with sculptures. The last architectural work erected during the life of Konrad Ernst Maximilian was a summer pavilion built in 1734 on top of the Popelberg hill, where a huge garden was also set up with avenues of linden trees radiating from the pavilion.

During the time of Hans Heinrich V Hochberg outbuildings and outhouses, including stables and coach houses, were built in 1779-1781, after a fire of the lower castle in 1772. At the turn of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries some of the castle's rooms were modernised in the Neoclassical and Romantic styles on the initiative of Hans Heinrich VI Hochberg. The most important investment was a spacious English landscape garden. One of its main elements were the sham ruins erected in the "theatrical Gothic" style in 1797 in the place of the medieval stronghold "Alt Fürstenstein" on the other side of the Pelcznica river valley. Apart from these, a water pumping station built in the form of a chapel, a water tower whose shape imitated ruins of a medieval tower, a "Schweizeri" as well as grottos and "temples" in the Neoclassical style were erected in the garden, none of which has survived till today.

The castle did not undergo any greater redevelopment in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century; the only more significant change was the conversion of the Baroque pavilion into a family funeral chapel in 1883. Only at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century did a major conversion of the castle begin, which lasted from 1905 till 1923. Two new wings were built, flanked with towers on the northern and western sides. Additionally, the southern wing was regothicised and another wattle-and-daub storey

4. The Książ Castle (Fürstenstein). View of the castle on a postcard from the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, before rebuilding (private collection).





5. The Książ Castle (Fürstenstein). Photo of the castle from the S-W side during the rebuilding in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century (courtesy of Archiwum Zamku Książ).

was added on top. At the same time another floor was added to the avant-corps in the front of the upper castle. The tower was also rebuilt; the plaster was removed uncovering the stone and a pseudo-Renaissance cupola with a lantern was put on its top. The black courtyard was formed; a two-storey arcade loggia was added, decorated with coats of arms and a rich Renaissance ornament carved in stone. In the southern wing, where some of the rooms were also regothicised, Renaissance fireplaces were installed. New fireplaces, door frames and pseudo-Baroque stuccos were installed in the palace's wings built at the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The major conversion in the lower castle comprised the reconstruction of the system of fortifications with the towers, battlements and patrol paths as well as erecting a post-office building and a laundry with timber framing superstructure and rich Renaissance woodwork.

In 1943 the residence was confiscated by the state of the Third Reich and a vast building project began, carried out by the Todt Organisation. Probably the castle was to become the headquarters of the Riese project – a complex of underground factories built in the nearby Sowie Mountains. Some rooms in the castle were rebuilt in the Third Reich architectural style. Yet, the main investment effort carried out by the inmates from the Gross Rosen concentration camp focused on building a system of rooms and passages carved in the rock under the castle. The most bizarre undertaking was a huge 50-metre-deep shaft for a service lift situated in the centre of the courtyard.

In 1945 the castle was captured by the Soviet Army and plundered. After it was taken over by the Polish authorities, it housed the board of the coal mines in Wałbrzych in 1946-1948. Later the castle was abandoned and gradually deteriorated. Only in 1974 did the renovation work begin, putting an end to the deterioration of the castle and practically going on to this day.

Even though the castle escaped direct damage during the war, it was stripped of its furnishings, initially during the construction work carried out by the Todt organisation and later, when the works of art were protected against damage and hidden

in connection with the expected Allied bombings and the approaching front in 1945. More damage was done by the Soviet military personnel stationing in the castle. After it was taken over by the Polish administration, the castle's collections were transferred to museums, archives and libraries. Only their small proportion has been returned to the castle since the renovation began in the 1970s. Most of it still remains dispersed between public institutions and private collectors, both in Poland and abroad.

*Artur Boguszewicz*

### **Stary Książ Castle (Alt Fürstenstein)**

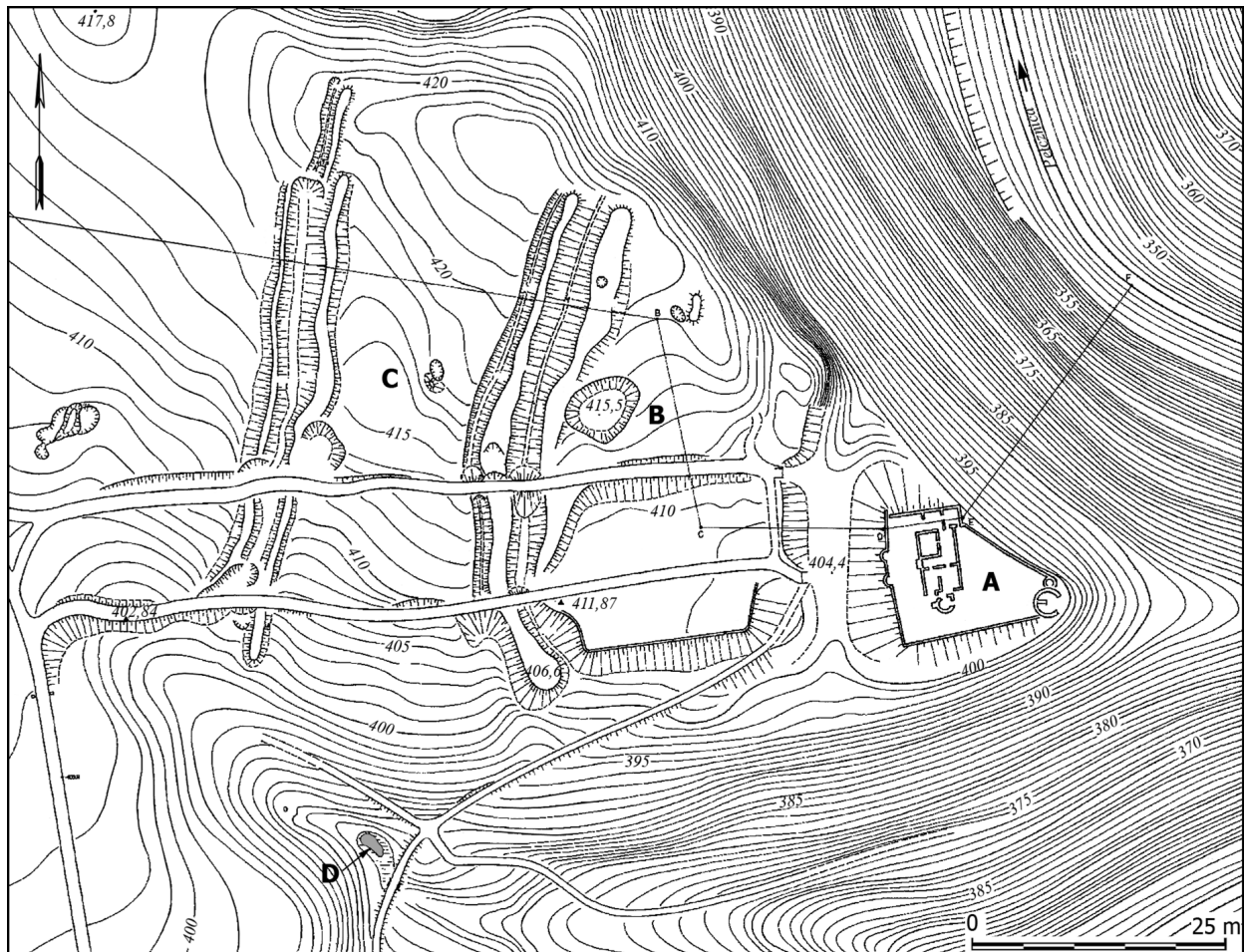
The castle of Stary Książ (Alt Fürstenstein) occupies an elevated headland fanning towards its base. The fortifications consist of three parts – the masonry upper castle and two baileys surrounded by a system of two ramparts separated by a moat cut in the rock. The remains of the masonry section of the stronghold were in most part occupied by a sham ruin from the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Fragments of the perimeter medieval wall have survived in the south-western and north-western corners of the object. The upper castle is separated from the bailey by a deep moat, which was probably widened in the modern times. Archaeological excavations carried out in the north-western part of the stronghold's centre (bailey I) revealed the remains of a timber-framing building – probably the remains of the inner building development situated along the defensive perimeter. The excavated material shows that the bailey functioned in the second part of the 13<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century.

The stronghold's older phase from the second part of the 9<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 10<sup>th</sup> centuries is a matter of debate. Such chronology is prompted by the discovery of a few metal artefacts, dated on the basis of the analysis of their typology, whose results are not confirmed by the stratigraphy of cultural layers.

Because there are no reliable written records and because no extensive archaeological excavations have ever been carried out in the castles of Stary Książ and Książ, it is impossible to determine conclusively which of the objects was actually called Fürstenberg – the name featuring among the titles of the local line of Silesian Piasts from 1293 (cf. the castle of Książ). At the current stage of research it can not be ruled out that both castles functioned simultaneously at the turn of the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries. The significance of Stary Książ undoubtedly decreased at around the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century, which is substantiated by the fact that the extensive bailey was abandoned at that time. Whether the masonry part of the stronghold situated on the edge of the rock headland functioned after that is open to debate. Possibly, the decline of the castle's significance is connected with the change of the name of Fürstenberg to Fürstenstein, which happened at around the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century.

A new chapter in the history of the castle began when sham ruins were built in 1794-1797 as an element of a spacious English landscape garden. The entrance led across a drawbridge through a gate flanked by two small towers. Further on there was a small courtyard and behind it – a three-storey utility building with an uneven coping of the third storey's walls emulating a ruin and an adjacent tower. The building's gates had late-Renaissance portals, which were imported from the Hochbergs' residence in Trzebień near Bolesławiec (the portals have survived till today). On the other side of the building there was an inner courtyard with a cloister on the northern side. In the east the courtyard was closed by the building of St Anna's chapel and another, lower tower. A vaulted corridor went along the southern section of the perimeter wall, described as a "medieval dungeon".

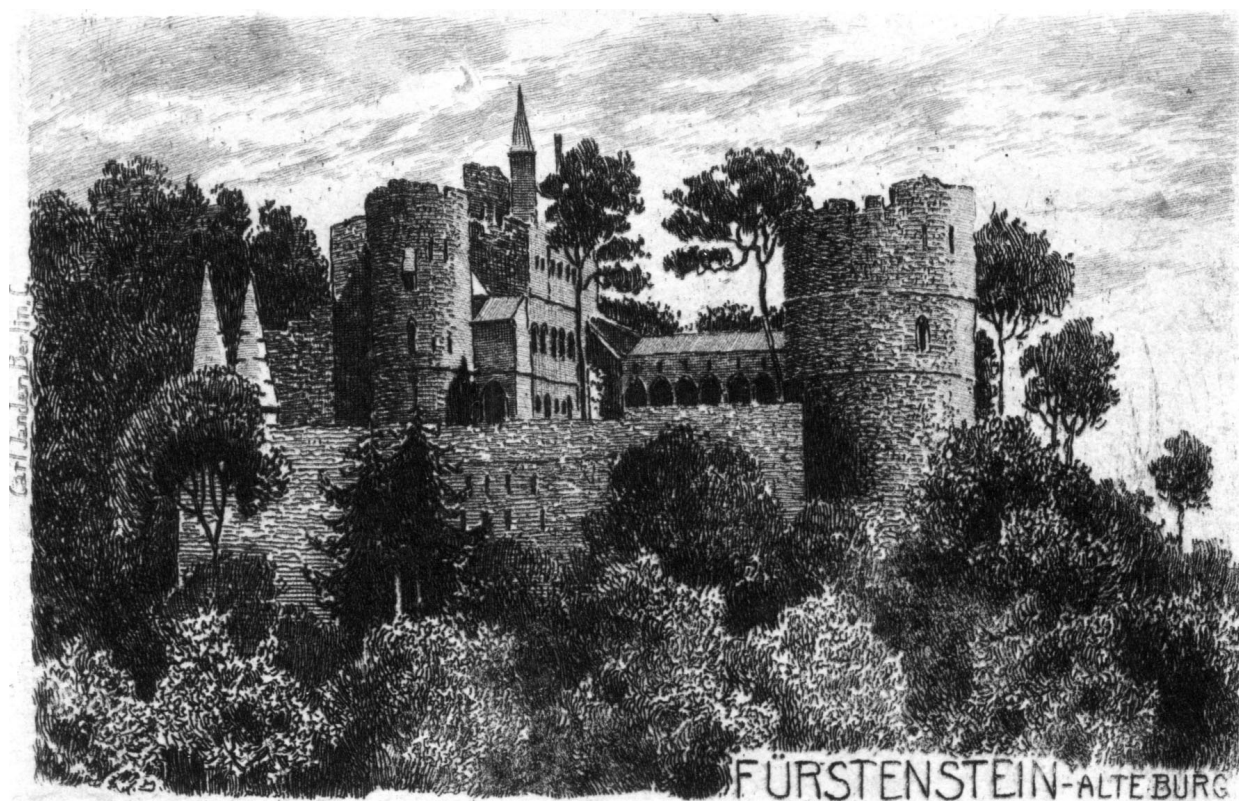




1. The castle of Stary Książ (Alt Fürstenstein). The plan of medieval fortification with the relics of sham ruin from the end of 18<sup>th</sup> century (by Artur Boguszewicz).

New investment in the medieval stronghold was made in connection with a visit of the Prussian royal couple: Frederick William III and his wife Louise, and a tournament staged to celebrate the occasion, which took place on 30 August 1800. In the southern part of the middle segment of the medieval bailey the ground was levelled to form a quadrilateral yard with a stone wall on one side. The royal loge and the stands for several thousand spectators were erected. Sixteen knights – representatives of the local nobility divided into four groups – took part in the tournament. According to the witnesses, they appeared in a company of heralds, standard-bearers, three referees and pages wearing the 16<sup>th</sup> century costumes from the times of Charles V and Francis I. The winner, knight von Czettritz zu Schwarzwaldau, was decorated by Queen Louise with a medallion depicting the royal couple wearing medieval costumes. Among the audience's enthusiastic accounts of the tournament, there were more balanced opinions, such as that of John Quincy Adams – at that time the ambassador to Berlin and a future president of the USA. He praised the organisation of the pageant, but he remarked that as far as the horsemen's skills were concerned, much better shows could be seen in any circus in Europe and America.

After the tournament the sham ruins of Alt Fürstenberg became very popular with tourists. The Hochbergs seized the opportunity and channelled the visitors there to ease the pressure on their residence on the other side of the valley. For that purpose they arranged an exhibition in the front building and the tower, displaying collections from various times, including the portrait gallery of the Hochbergs and related Silesian families, weapons (including the weapons from the tournament from 1800), antique furniture and tableware. In the chapel there were glass cabinets with the artefacts excavated during the construction of the sham ruins,



including arrowheads, horseshoes, fragments of pottery and numerous bones. An inn opened in the castle sometime in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

The castle burnt down after the Soviet Army soldiers set fire to it on 19 or 20 May 1945. Abandoned, it deteriorated slowly until it was tidied up and the walls were protected against further destruction in the 1980s and 1990s.

2. The castle of Stary Książ (Alt Fürstenstein).

View of the castle from the S-W side, condition from the early 20<sup>th</sup> century (private collection).














*Przemysław Nocuń*

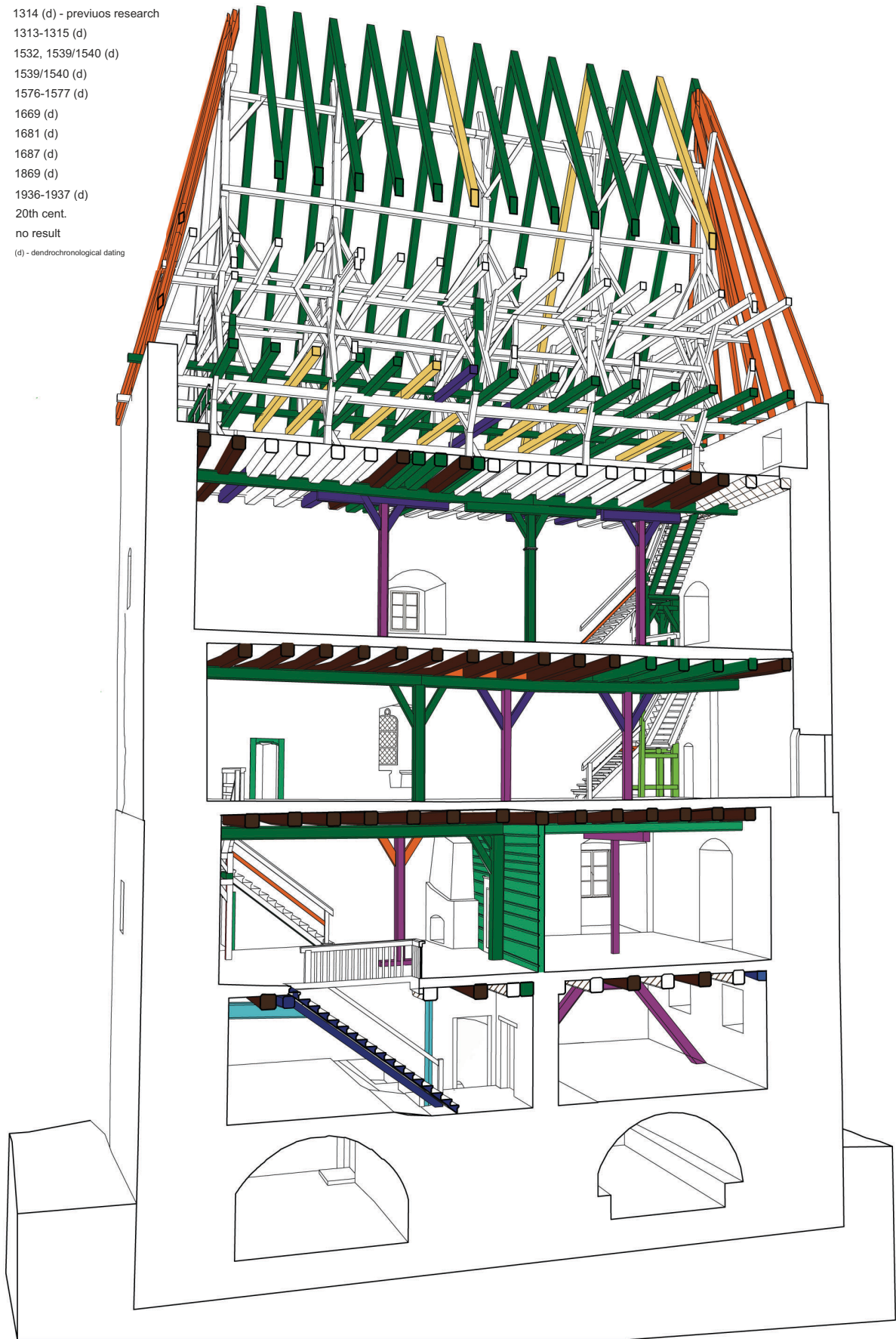
### **Siedlęcin (Boberröhrsdorf) “Painted tower” in Siedlęcin – unique residence of an ambitious Silesian duke**

The ducal residential tower in Siedlęcin (Boberröhrsdorf) near Jelenia Góra (Hirschberg) and its murals are commonly ranked among the most important medieval monuments in Poland. The tower was founded by Duke Henry I of Jawor (Jauer) in the second decade of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. The polychrome paintings created before the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century are the oldest murals of a non-religious nature in Poland and feature, among others, scenes from the legend of Sir Lancelot of the Lake. They were commissioned either by the ambitious duke Henry, the founder of the tower, or his successor Bolko II the Small.

In the first half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, the mountainous areas where Siedlęcin lies remained outside the main wave of colonisation that reached southern parts of Lower Silesia. The granting of town rights to Jelenia Góra at the close of the 13<sup>th</sup> century gave an added boost to rural colonisation. In the woody landscape, the Siedlęcin tower, built in the centre of the newly settled village, could have initially served as a ducal hunting lodge. The five-storey cellared building crowned with battlements was erected during the building activity lasting a few years. Thanks to dendrochronological analyses its construction can be dated to 1313-1315. The results show



-  summer 1313
  -  1314 (d) - previous research
  -  1313-1315 (d)
  -  1532, 1539/1540 (d)
  -  1539/1540 (d)
  -  1576-1577 (d)
  -  1669 (d)
  -  1681 (d)
  -  1687 (d)
  -  1869 (d)
  -  1936-1937 (d)
  -  20th cent.
  -  no result
- (d) - dendrochronological dating



Siedlęcín (Lower Silesia, Poland). Ducal tower (cross-section, axonometric view). Chronology of wooden construction and elements (by Przemysław Nocurń, Aleksander Konieczny and Paulina Pałka).

that while the walls of the tower were being erected (beginning from the summer of 1313), initially only the main ceiling beams were set in particular floors. The completion of the ceilings was left for the final stage of construction, perhaps already after the tower was roofed – which probably took place in 1315.

The original entrance to the building is situated at the level of the present ground floor (in the southern wall) and is closed with two lock beams. The ground floor originally probably had slit windows, while the windows of the 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>, and 3<sup>rd</sup>, floors were niched ones, some of them with additional window seats and Gothic trefoil framings (the best examples survived on the 2<sup>nd</sup> floor). Traces of internal divisions of medieval origin remain legible only on the 2<sup>nd</sup> floor, where there were three compartments (hall, “warm chamber” – insulated with wooden panels, and privy). Both garderobe projections in the eastern wall on this floor are most likely original as well.

From the very beginning the tower was surrounded with a moat and most likely with a stone perimeter wall. At the close of the Middle Ages the moat had its outer side reinforced with a stone wall, and the tower was approached across a wooden bridge. In the present-day body of the manor house building one can identify a late medieval gate tower and places where the bridge construction was anchored (it could originally have been a drawbridge). The wall surrounding the tower from the west, north, and east should be dated to the 15<sup>th</sup>, or possibly even to the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

An important redevelopment of the residential tower took place in 1532, i.e. the 1<sup>st</sup> floor was divided by a partition wall. In the western room a fireplace and garderobe projection were built. On the 2<sup>nd</sup> floor a garderobe projection similar to that from the 1<sup>st</sup> floor was built. The original manor house building, added to the tower from the eastern side, probably comes from the same period. A fire struck the tower around the year 1575, making it necessary to undertake significant repairs. The ceilings, weakened by the fire and partial replacement, had to carry the weight of the new rafter framing, which gained an additional support in the form of an elongated central frame.

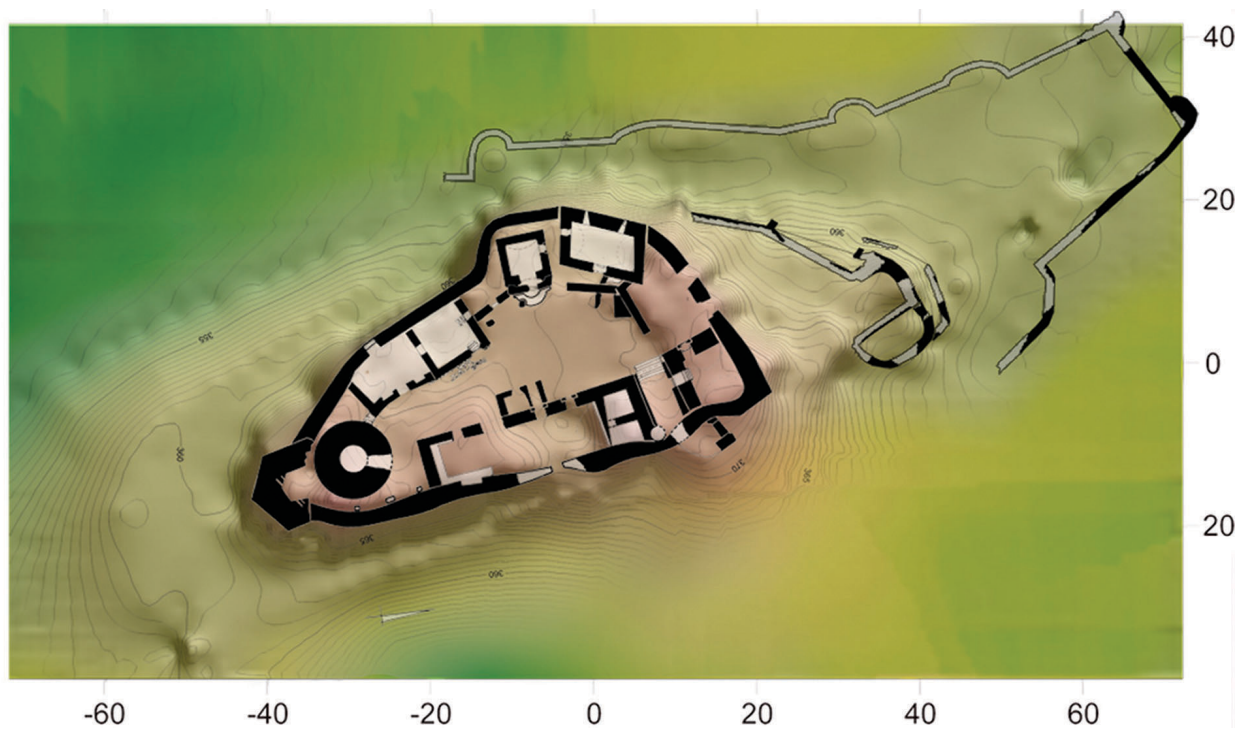
The tower in Siedlecin should be seen as a unique status symbol of the ruler of the newly created duchy (of Jawor). The manifestation of the ducal power can be found both in the form of the castle – a great keep (the latest one big donjon in Silesia), and also its decoration – i.e. the painted Arthurian legend, which must have been known, read and told at the ducal court.

*Jerzy Piekalski*

## **Wleń Castle (Lehnhaus)**

The historical Wleń complex (Valan, Wlan, Lähn) consists of a castle and a city located on the Bóbr River, on the borderline of the Kaczawskie and Izerskie Foot-hills. The castle was built on the Castle Hill on the left bank of the river, while the town occupied the low terrace. Written sources and archaeological finds shed light on the past of the castle.

A stronghold from the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> century and the settlement that accompanies it constitute the oldest phase in the settlement of the Castle Hill. Both elements are poorly preserved, and the knowledge about them is fragmentary. Transformation of the wooden and earthen stronghold into a stone castle began in the last decades of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. We may assume after written sources that this transition was connected with the imperial intervention and the return to Silesia of the sons of Duke Władysław II the Exile – Bolesław and Mieszko – in the 1160s. In the highest part of the defense complex a Romanesque residential house and soon afterwards



a chapel and a hexagonal bergfried were built. At the same time the highest part was surrounded by a stone wall, replacing the older ramparts. These buildings are dated to the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century or the early 13<sup>th</sup> century, which is confirmed by pottery and C<sup>14</sup> dates. Apart from the castle, about 110 m to the south of it, a Romanesque Church of Virgin Mary was erected in the accompanying settlement. These discoveries seem to prove that Wleń is one of the oldest masonry castles in Silesia and in Poland, next to Legnica and Wrocław.

Further development of the castle consisted in its reconstructions, resulting in the emergence of new stone structures and a partial demolition or transformation of the old ones. As a result, a late medieval castle was formed, which consisted of three main parts – the high castle, the middle castle and the outworks. The high castle had buildings along the walls, with a new Gothic residential house and a new cylindrical bergfried. The middle castle served communications purposes, while the outworks had an economic function.

During the next stage the castle was adapted to the requirements of the development of firearms in the 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries. This phase of the development is the least recognized and requires further research.

The damages caused by the Thirty Years' War, especially the destruction after which the castle was captured by the Austrian troops in 1646, closed the period of its operation. After the war, it was never reconstructed. After 1653 the new owner Adam von Kuelhaus built a Baroque mansion outside the mountain peak, 90 meters south of the old castle.

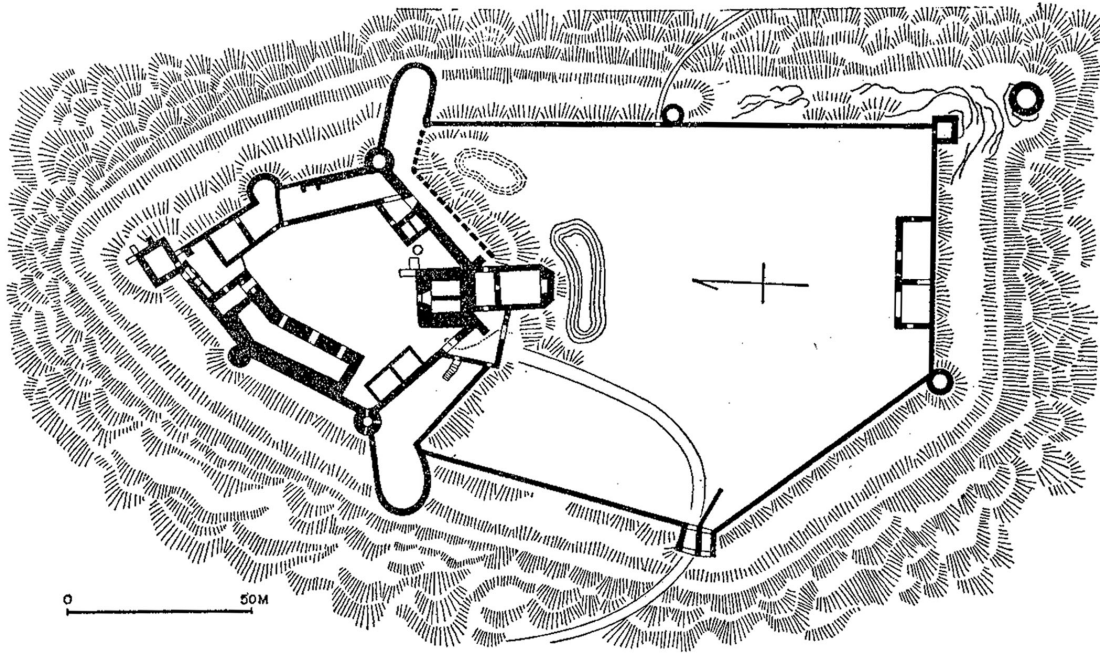
The town of Wleń was founded around the mid-13<sup>th</sup> century. For a long time it was dependent on the castle. It was built on a regular plan with a rectangular market square and a parish church, but the fortifications were never erected. It remained a local centre situated between the larger and better developed towns of Jelenia Góra in the south and Lwówek in the north.



## Grodziec Castle (Gröditzburg)

The castle is situated upon a basalt hill towering over Pogórze Kaczawskie (389m a.s.l.). It was erected in the place of an earlier wooden and ground-based stronghold. Since Bolesław I the Tall issued *super castrum Grodiz* in 1175 – a founding document for the monastery of Cistercians in Lubiąż, it remains certain that the castle existed in the second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> C. In 1245 Grodziec was recognized as a castellan settlement in the bull written by Pope Innocent IV. In 1320 the Duke of Legnica, Bolesław III the Generous, sold Grodziec with its likely wooden fortification to a knight, Swolo of the Bożywoj family. It remains to be ascertained whether the 14<sup>th</sup> C. and the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> C. were devoted to the construction of a defensive brick settlement. In 1470 or 1472 Grodziec became the property of the Duke of Legnica and Brzeg – Fryderick I. Being evidently under the influence of a journey to Vienna, which he made together with Matthias Corvinus, Fryderick decided to reconstruct his three castles, namely Niemcza, Grodziec, and Legnica. In order to build a tower imitation resembling one of Legnica's castle towers, and to locate it "on the way to the town" (which plainly implies the cylindrical tower of St. Hedwig), in 1473, the Duke signs a contract with Teutonic Masters i.e. Blasius Rose from Wrocław, Bartusch Bloeschuch from Legnica, and Hannus Trauernicht from Zgorzelec. The contract amounts to 200 Hungarian zlotys paid in four instalments. Apparently, the Duke committed himself to providing construction materials as well as food and beverages for the Masters and their servants. The construction of the castle was still in progress in 1487. Its initial function is yet to be discovered. It is assumed that the residential tower constitutes its oldest southern part. Unlike Legnica tower of St. Hedwig, it is not cylindrical but four-sided. It was set upon a quadrilateral plan approximating a square with the shorter walls totalling 16.2 meters and longer walls 16.9 meters. It consists of seven storeys connected by cylindrical staircases (one of them joined the storeys 2 to 4, whereas the other one linked the storeys 4 to 7). There was also a residential apartment on the third floor with a chamber and a compartment. The apartment was accessible from the guards' cloister, and it contained a latrine bay window. Similarly, on the fourth floor, there was a six-meter high chamber also equipped with a latrine bay window. The sixth floor was occupied by a defensive corridor with machicolation cavities. The top was crowned with merlons and a tent-like roof. Including the tower, the compound represented an irregular hexagonal defensive perimeter enforced with bastions. The gate was adjacent to the residential tower. It is yet to be discovered whether at that moment the outer brick ward was equipped with defensive machinery. In 1502 Władysław Jagiełńczyk conferred the castle to the Dukes of Legnica i.e., Fryderick II and Jerzy. During the partition of the Duchy of Głogów in 1505, Fryderick II received the castle. He initiated the refurbishment, which led to the creation of the palace building adjacent to the slightly distorted line of the north-western walls. The construction comprised the basement, the entrance hall with a cylindrical staircase, the great hall (10x19m) enclosed by a net vault, chambers with fireplaces and a spiral staircase, as well as two crosswise compartments. The interiors of the great hall and the chamber were enlarged by the magnificent window niches crowned with diamond vaults. Above these rooms, on the first floor, there was a roofed cloister. The room arrangement on the first storey was parallel. Marian Kutzner claimed that the construction was built in two stages. The first one was carried out at the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> C. by the Saxon-Lusatian craftsmanship. This phase mainly focused on the walls, the facade, the vault of the lower Hall, the vaults of the ground floor windows, the main staircase, ground floor portals, and perhaps the vault of the so-called Ducal Hall on the first floor. The second stage of the construction work, which according to Kutzner took





1. Grodziec.  
Groundplan of the castle  
according to Otto Reiner  
(after Bohdan Guerquin).

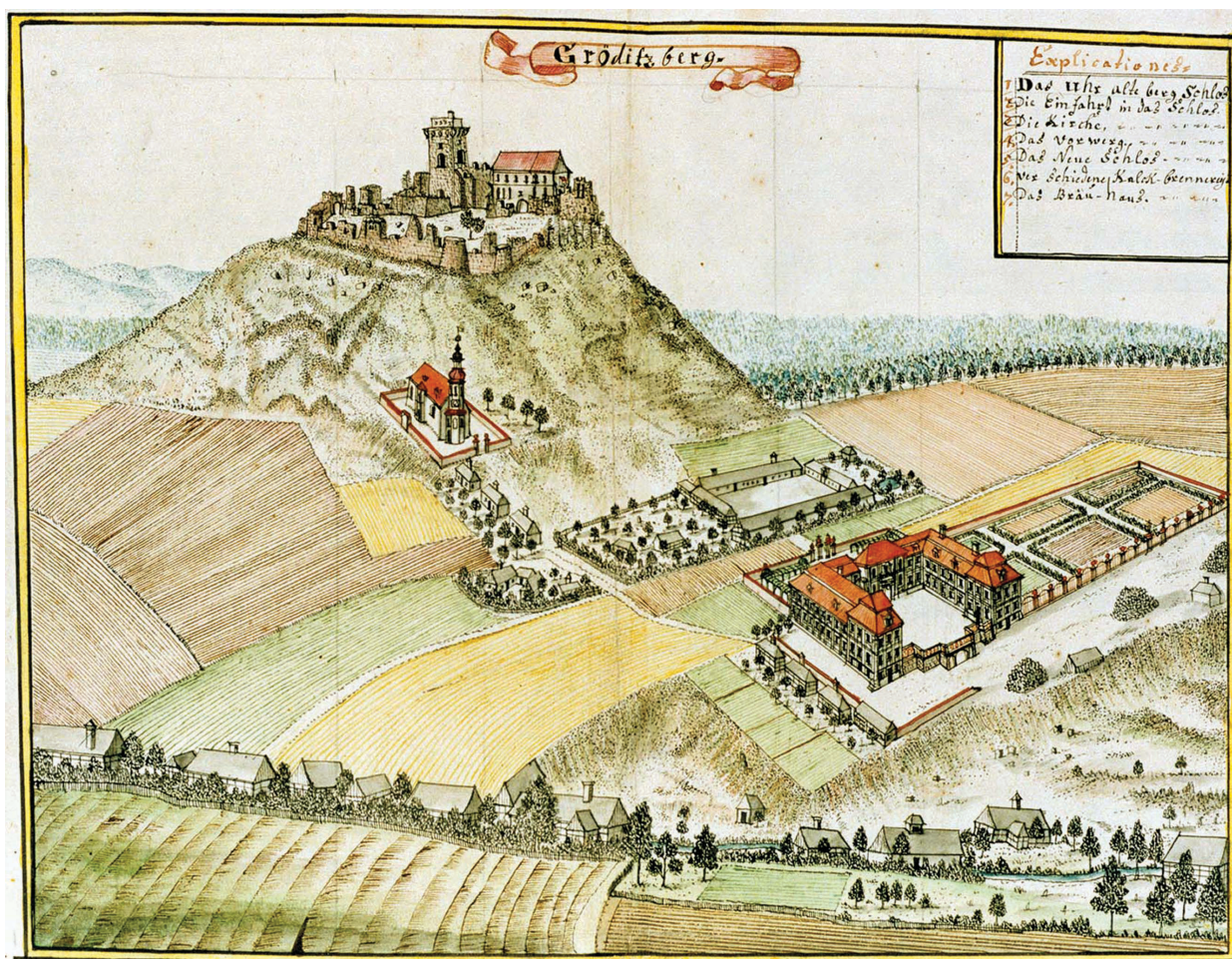
place between 1520-1524, was conducted by Wendel Rozkopf craftsmanship from Zgorzelec. He is believed to have crafted the vault in the entrance hall as well as three early Renaissance portals on the first floor. After that work the castle acquired its greatest splendour. Apart from Legnica, the castle's grandeur referred to the architecture of such buildings as Albrechtsburg in Meissen or the Vladislav Hall in Prague, which were the works of Rozkopf's teacher, Benedikt Rejt.

Taking advantage of the fear of Turkish invasion in the 1530s, Earl Jan von Hardeck transformed the defensive machinery of the castle and adapted it to the use of firearms. He had also worked on the enforcement of Legnica castle. Three elongated semicircle bastions, adjacent to the eastern, western, and southern sides of the old castle, as well as an extensive bailey were built at that time. Since Fryderick II moved his treasury to the castle, one may conclude that the new fortification of the castle must have brought the feeling of reliability. In 1538 Fryderick's son, Fryderick III, marries Katarzyna, the daughter of the Duke of Macklenburg. Having returned from the Netherlands in 1549, Fryderick III arranges a tournament in Grodziec. Stands for the ladies and the knights were set up in front of the castle, and the princes with other noble guests took seats on the castle balcony (most likely it meant the defensive corridor of the tower).

During The Thirty Years' War the castle persisted as a significant point of resistance. In 1619 Walenty Saebisch prepared the project for a modern fortification of Grodziec. The second development dates back to 1625. However, it seems that both alternatives were never initiated. However, some construction work was carried out in the castle in 1625-1626. These included defensive corridors on the walls and at the gate, which was equipped with new doors. The scale of that renovation is confirmed in the inventory drawn up in 1630. Gradually devastated and temporarily transformed into the imperial army quarters, the castle endured until the end of war; however, it never regained its previous grandeur.

With the termination of the Piast family from Legnica line in 1675, the construction lost its residential purpose and was taken over by the Emperor and his further affiliates. Despite minor renovations, the castle fell into ruin. The decline got even worse after the construction of the new, baroque residence at the foot of the mountain in 1718-1727. In the mid-eighteenth century the fortifications were ru-





ined, whereas the residential tower and the palace were still in use. The condition of the castle as well as the new palace and the church of St. George are depicted in one of the drawings by F. B. Werner.

Jan Henryk VI von Hochberg from Książ, whose forefather Konrad was the burgrave of the castle between 1490 and 1491, purchased the ruined premises in 1800. Furthermore, he cleared the debris of the palace, the castle courtyard, the inner ward courtyard, as well as the north-eastern section of the wall, whose crown was levelled. A considerable effort was also made to surround the castle with foliage and to chisel a new flight of stairs, which enabled convenient communication in this part of the castle. It was also Jan Henryk who planted trees on the castle hill, and opened the premises to visitors adapting it in the vein of a romantic yearning for the medieval times. His way of governing the castle became famous in sight-seeing descriptions. There was even a modest exhibition within the premises of the castle devoted to its past. During the years of Napoleonic wars the castle was notoriously looted. Yet, it persisted through the turmoil of war and remained fairly intact. Further renovations were commissioned by the banker, Wilhelm Krystian von Benecke, who was elevated to the nobility by Friderick William III of Prussia. From 1829 von Benecke titled himself as *von Gröditzberg*. Under his jurisdiction a part of the palace building and the castle park were renovated. During the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> C. the castle often went from hand to hand. Eventually, it became the property of Wilibald Karol Ernest von Dirksen in 1899. On his initiative Bodo Ebhardt began the renovation and drew up an inventory of the castle in 1906. Most of the modifications carried out in the palace building (though not all of them) were historically faithful. The renovation of 1906 comprised the façade, the new gable, and the roof with skylights. The walls were finished with merlons. Furthermore, a groin vault was introduced in the so-called princes hall, and new

2. Grodziec, castle, church of Saint George and new residence at the foot of mountain. Engraving by Friedrich Bernhard Werner, 1750 (from the collection of the Library of University of Wrocław, T2\_0185a).

traceries were placed in the windows of the first floor. This work was critically recognized as ahistorical by Marian Kutzner. In the same year – 1906 – the north-eastern tower was rebuilt. One year later, the ground works involved the courtyard, embankments, and the moats. After Bodo Ebhardt's innovations, the first floor of the palace was occupied by the knights' room and a new chapel. What's more, its bay window, vault, and the stonemasonry interior design were also reintroduced by Ebhardt. Some work was also carried out in the north-eastern and the south-western towers as well as in the bastions. The new cloisters surrounding the main courtyard and a well were also introduced. Additionally, a new entrance gate with towers and a bridge were funded. Likewise, reconstruction of the main tower began in 1908; however, it was not completely rebuilt, since Ebhardt's intention was to show the barbaric insolence of the Wallenstein soldiers. New construction and work comprised such elements as the south-eastern tower, the outer ward gate, the southern ward bridge, the battlements enforcement, and the enforcement and raising of the walls with crenellation and roofed corridors. The palace was also equipped with furniture and paintings. In addition, the attic was adapted for guest rooms, while the ground floor was occupied by a restaurant and an exhibition hall. The remains of the old stonemasonry were exposed in the south wall lapidary. The grand opening of 9 June 1908 was honoured by Emperor Wilhelm II.

During the presence of the Soviet army in Grodziec, the castle was looted again and partially burnt down. The collections of the Prussian Library in Berlin were confiscated and taken East. The first restoration and inventory were carried out only later in 1959. In 1960 the premises were roofed in order to protect the vaults, and the conservatory documentation was prepared. Keeping Ebhardt's conception in mind, the drawbridge was partially reconstructed, and the missing tiles of the towers and the curtain walls were supplemented together with the wooden cloisters. During the 1980s, the castle's condition gradually deteriorated, mostly affecting the roofs of the palace and the eastern tower. After 2002 the castle underwent an overhaul for the touristic purposes.

*Małgorzata Chorowska*

### **Świny Castle (Schweinhaus)**

The chronology of the fortifications in Świny goes back to the 10<sup>th</sup> century; a stronghold functioning as a military and administrative centre, situated on the highest part of a hill, was mentioned in 1108 as *Zwini in Poloniae* and as *Gradice Zpini* in a papal bull of 1155. In the first half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century it served as a castellany (1230 – *Theodor castellano de Svina*, 1244 – *Jaxa*, 1248 – *Petrico castellano de Zuni*). The latest archaeological excavations from 2016 revealed that it is one of the few objects in Poland where material remains of a castellany stronghold have been preserved in the form of a fragment of a wooden box-type rampart (remains of two wooden boxes and pottery from the 10<sup>th</sup> – 12<sup>th</sup> centuries were excavated in today's middle castle).

After the foundation of nearby Bolków in the 1270s Świny lost its administrative significance and became a knight's property. The last castellans, known as the lords of Świny (*de Swina*), were the forebears of a Silesian family *von Swyn* (later *von Schweinchen*), who ruled the castle and the nearby villages until 1702.

The first stone building in the castle was an approximately twenty-one-metre high five-storey donjon protected by a wooden-earthen rampart. It was built on a rock elevation on a rectangular plane (18 x 12 m). The main entrance concealed in the thickness of the western wall led directly to the second storey. It was a stone lancet-arch portal with portcullis runners. Approximately in the middle of the





tower's height there was an internal porch supported by a set-off and wooden beams. Two of the stone portals visible in the tower's southern façade were the entrances to the porch, the remaining were medieval windows. This monumental building, one of the biggest and best preserved knight's residential towers in Poland, may have been built at the earliest in the time of the castle's first hereditary owner – *Jan de Swyn* (1272-1288), the knight of Bolko I – the duke of Świdnica, and at the latest – in the time of Henryk of Świny (*Henricus de Swim*, 1316-1351), a prominent knight of Świdnica-Jawor dukes and a participant in a crusade to Rhodes (1323-1329). The rampart was replaced by a defence wall only in the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, which protected the rock plateau with its tower. The wall's northern section was discovered during archaeological excavations in 2016 while the location of its remaining part is known from an inventory drawing by Valentin von Seabisch from 1615-1620.

In the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century the castle's area was expanded by adding the middle courtyard enclosed by a defence wall, where a single-storey residential building with a gable roof was built after 1470. In 2016 a section of the wall enclosing the building from the side of the courtyard and the nearby well were excavated. The castle was modernised in the Renaissance style after 1564, when the donjon's lower part and the interiors of the middle castle were rebuilt.

Approximately in 1615-1620 the castle was extensively rebuilt, after which it became an outstanding artistic creation displaying Italianate features. The redevelopment was initiated by the owner Johan Sigismund von Schweinichen after he returned from his third trip in Europe. Its spectacular effect was a monumental, two-storey

palace with a three-front gable and two cylindrical towers in the corners. It featured such novelties as the gate portal reflecting the influence of Italian models, window returns enlarged at the top, frame type sgraffito on the façades while inside there was a staircase, spacious galleries and four-room apartments with stuccowork decoration. The donjon was also renovated and a staircase was added. The lower castle was enclosed by a curtain wall with arrow slits, a hornwork and a bastion. The area outside the gate was enclosed by a wall and a drawbridge.

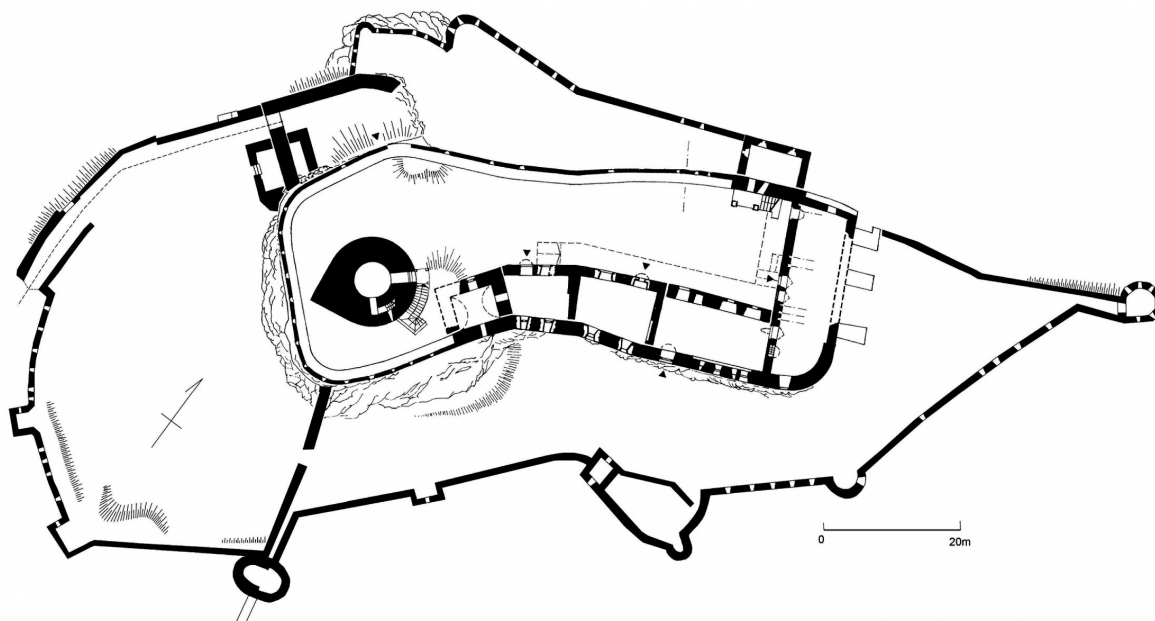
After 1735 the castle was abandoned and fell into ruin. Following conservation work in 1925-1935 and 1960-1970 it remains a permanent ruin of a great degree of authenticity.

*Artur Boguszewicz*

### **Bolków Castle (Bolkoburg)**

The castle of Bolków (Bolkoburg in German) was erected in 1277 after the centre of authority was transferred from the nearby fortifications of Świny by the duke of Legnica Bolesław the Rogatka (†1278). After his death the castle was taken over by his son Bolko (†1301), the founder and ruler of an independent domain in the south of Silesia and the forebear of the Fürstenberg line of Silesian Piasts. The castle and the Duchy of Świdnica remained under control of his descendants – the son Bernard (†1326) and grandson Bolko II (†1368), the last in this line of Piasts. After his childless death the castle and the whole duchy was incorporated by the Bohemian Crown, although until her death in 1392 it remained in the possession of Bolko II's widow Agnes of Austria *de domo* Habsburg (the younger daughter of Leopold I, Duke of Austria). During Bolko I's reign some of the duke's treasure was deposited in the castle while in 1345 it was unsuccessfully besieged by Bohemian troops during the war between Bolko II of Świdnica on one side and John the Blind and Charles IV, the kings of Bohemia from the House of Luxembourg, on the other. During the reign of Piasts the castle was under direct administration of burgraves and after it became the possession of the Bohemian Crown, it was in the hands of the captains administering the Duchy of Świdnica. In 1463 the town and castle of Bolków were taken over by George of Podiebrad and in 1468 the fortifications were captured by the troops from Wrocław, who supported Matthias Corvinus. The castle was besieged and captured again in 1475 by the king of Hungary and in 1491 it was captured by Casimir I, the Duke of Cieszyn – the state captain of the Bohemian king Vladislaus II the Jagiellonian. In the 16<sup>th</sup> century the castle's status changed from that of fiefdom to a hereditary estate. Until the Thirty Years' War it was in the possession of various Silesian families (van Salza, Logau, Zeidlitz) and in 1647 it was captured and destroyed by the Swedish army. In 1702 it became the property of the Cistercians from Krzeszów and fell into ruin after the dissolution of the order.

Archaeological excavations revealed that the castle was built in the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, possibly shortly before 1277, on the initiative of Bolesław the Rogatka, but it was developed into an extensive stronghold by Bolko I in the last quarter of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. One of its oldest elements was a tower (10.5 x 7.0 m) erected on a rectangular plane next to the eastern section of the perimeter wall. A spacious palace (7 x 24 m) on the north-eastern side probably comes from the same time. It had a vaulted basement and featured three storeys above ground. Further expansion taking place at the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century involved construction of a teardrop-shaped tower built on a circular plane with the diameter of 12 m and the height of 34 m. The tower had five storeys connected by a staircase built within the wall. At the same time a two-part, three-storey building was added to the older



quadrilateral tower. In the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century a gap between the row of buildings along the eastern section of the outer wall and the palace on the north-eastern side was built up and a wooden gallery joining the row of houses from the side of the courtyard was constructed. The town's defensive walls, joining the castle's fortifications, were probably also built in the first quarter of the 14<sup>th</sup> century.

In the 15<sup>th</sup> century a cloister supported on stone columns was built along the north-eastern wing while the building of the old palace was strengthened with three huge buttresses. In the last quarter of the same century courtyard II was built on the initiative of king Matthias Corvinus, which was strengthened by a hornwork built for the money provided by king Vladislaus II the Jagiellonian.

Further construction work took place in the modern times on the initiative of bishop Jakob von Salza, who employed master Jakob Paar. The construction work consisted in the development of the outer perimeter of defences (courtyards II, III, IV), which were equipped with the fortifications adapted to the use of firearms, and the reconstruction of the upper castle, which was redecorated in the Renaissance style, including the construction of the so-called "House of Maidens" in the bailey with the attic overlooking the courtyard of the upper castle. The castle was seriously damaged during the Thirty Years' War and till the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century only the most urgent repairs were made. Only after 1703, when the castle became the property of the Cistercians from Krzeszów, was more extensive renovation carried out. After 1810 (the dissolution of religious orders) the stronghold fell into ruin and the restoration began as late as in 1893.



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