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## *Chronology of transformations in Grodno Castle from the 13<sup>th</sup> to the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century*

### *Introduction*

The Princely Castle of Grodno (*Kinsperch, Kiensberg, Kinsberg, Kynsburg*) is situated near Choina mountain at 440 m above sea level. Its picturesque silhouette is best seen from the village of Niedźwiedzica and from artificial Bystrzyckie Lake. It is dominated by an angular tower standing on a rock and a monumental wall of the upper castle, behind which there is one of the two preserved residential wings, i.e., the southern one. Originally, there were three wings, but in 1789 the western wing collapsed and has still not been reconstructed to this day. The remaining wings and the buildings of the outer baileys also fell into ruin and remained uninhabited. In 1824, they began to be partially reconstructed. Simultaneously with the first conservation and reconstruction works, studies on the history of the castle and the families inhabiting it were started. Construction actions, which were undertaken in Grodno after 1945, were preceded by architectural and archaeological reconnaissance.

The first researcher of the history of the castle was August Zemplin, a doctor in the health resort in Szczawno-Zdrój. Thanks to the help of superintendent Worbis and archivist Professor Stenzel, he had access to the documents<sup>1</sup> which have not been preserved until today and recreated the list of Grodno mortgage lords from the late Middle Ages and the early modern period [1, pp. 4–8]. Tracking the heterogeneity of the castle walls and the variability of methods of their construction over the centuries, he

noticed that the oldest part was the tower and what was directly adjacent to it. He dated all other buildings only to the 16<sup>th</sup> century. When it comes to the origin of the layout, he rejected presumptions of Ephraim Ignatius Nason who connected the origins of the castle with the person of prince Bolesław I the Tall who was supposed to extend and strengthen it as early as in 1198. However, he confirmed bonds with the rule of Świdnica and Jawor princes, i.e. Bolko I the Strict (1291–1301) and Bolko II the Small (1326–1368) [1, p. 22], supporting them with the knowledge of chroniclers and documents. Sixty years later, historian Heinrich Schubert corrected Zemplin's mistakes regarding details in the biographies of owners of Grodno, nevertheless, he upheld the theses which were connected with the construction history of the stronghold [2, pp. 5–9].

The post-war knowledge of the origins and architectural transformations of the castle was based on the research by Jerzy Rozpędowski, which was conducted as part of his master's thesis at the Faculty of Architecture of Wrocław University of Science and Technology and published in "Scientific Papers of Wrocław University of Science and Technology" [3] as well as – in a redrafted form – in the Grodno monograph published in the series "Silesia in art monuments" [4]. The author then conducted basic observations of the walls, made a drawing inventory, and theoretical reconstruction of the castle in two phases, i.e., in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries (Figs. 1, 2). He also emphasized the need for further thorough and systematic research. According to the recognition made at that time, the 14<sup>th</sup>-century stronghold, which was built of broken stone, consisted of a courtyard surrounded by a high buttressed wall, on which two residential and most likely farm buildings made of wood were supposed to stand. There was also a water cistern here. In the south-eastern corner there was a square and not a very high tower, whereas the entrance was to run through the gatehouse from the south-western

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<sup>1</sup> Mainly documents from the castle archives, which were cut up by an Austrian field sewing room during the Seven Years' War (1756–1763) and from the archive in Książ Castle.

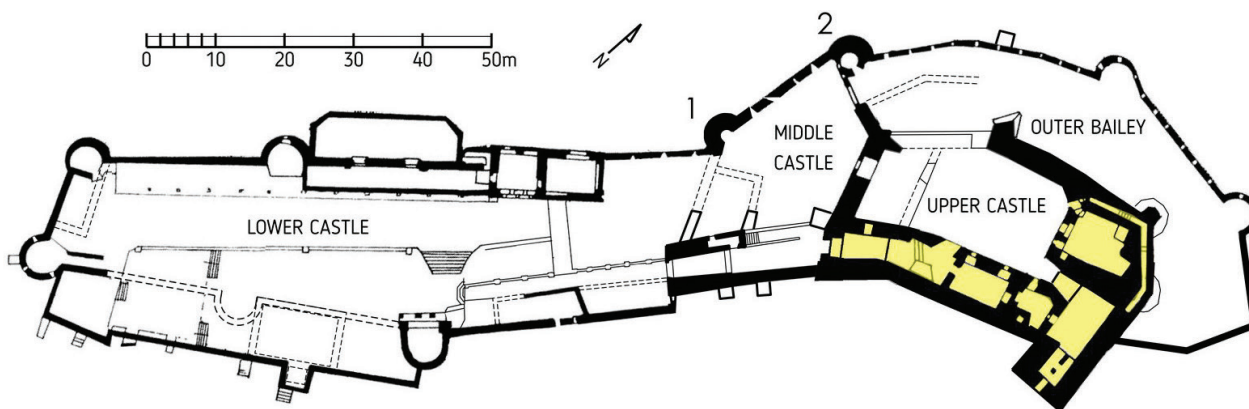


Fig. 1. Plan of Grodno Castle according to J. Rozpędowski. The southern and eastern wings were marked in color (source: [3, board Ia])

Il. 1. Plan zamku Grodno według J. Rozpędowskiego. Kolorem zaznaczono skrzydła: południowe i wschodnie (źródło: [3, tablica Ia])

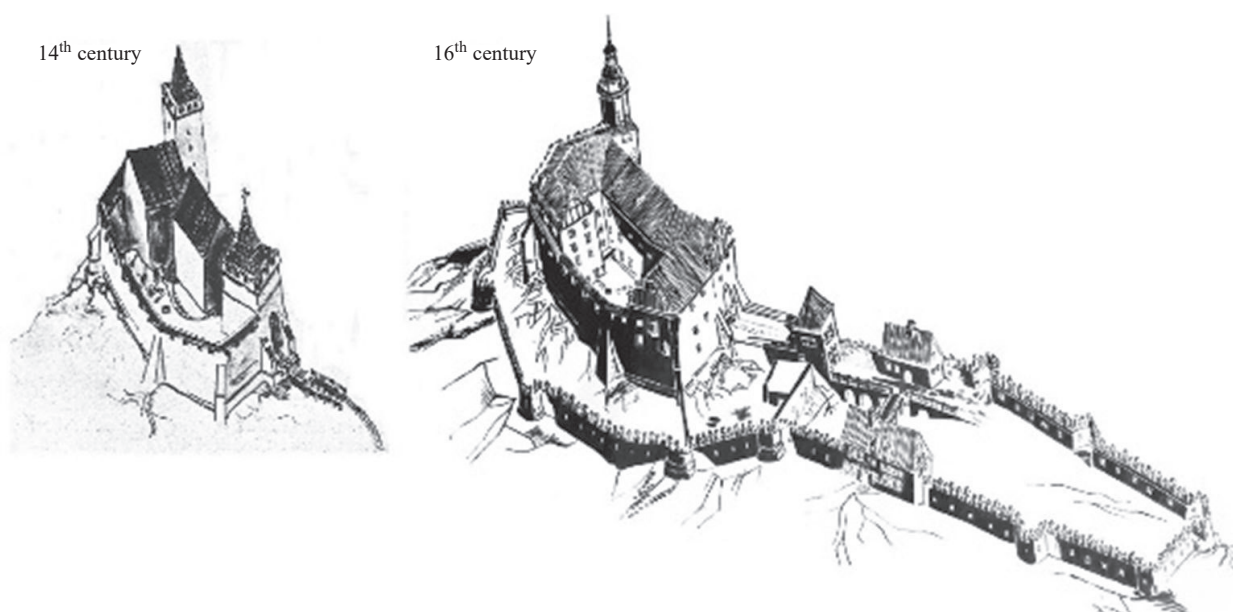


Fig. 2. Grodno Castle in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries in the reconstructions by J. Rozpędowski (source: [3, pp. 34 and 38])

Il. 2. Zamek Grodno w XIV i XVI w. na rekonstrukcjach J. Rozpędowskiego (źródło: [3, s. 34 i 38])

side. The tower was situated at the highest and most endangered point because from the side of the gently sloping mountain ridge it was easiest to approach the castle, while from the other sides it was protected from being accessed by the steep slopes of Mount Choina. The oldest stone buildings – one residential and the other gatehouse – consisted of 2–3 storeys. Their connection into the southern wing and the superstructure up to the fourth storey was supposed to take place in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Only then were the western and eastern wings with a kitchen to be built, which transformed the gothic castle into a monumental renaissance three-wing layout.

Continuing the postulate of further research, in the 1980s a detailed inventory of the castle with the use of the photogrammetry method was made. In 1987 Leszek Berduła carried out an archaeological survey of the so-called latrine and a renaissance kitchen, where he discovered a relic of an older foundation wall and made discoveries

in the courtyard of the upper castle [5]. However, nothing new was brought by the architectural research on the walls of the upper castle, which was carried out in 2012 [6] in connection with the concept of reconstruction of the collapsed part of the walls of the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> storeys and covering them with a roof. In 2016, supplementary architectural and stratigraphic studies of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> storeys of the preserved wings of the castle were conducted, which can be positively assessed only in the layer of stratigraphic findings by Agnieszka Witkowska [7].

A breakthrough in the research into the construction history of the castle came in the years 2017–2019, when interdisciplinary activities began, i.e. simultaneously in the field of archeology and history of architecture. According to the initial assumptions, archaeological works were aimed at verifying geophysical anomalies which were discovered in the upper castle. However, in the next stage, an attempt was made to identify the stratigraphy of



Fig. 3. Grodno Castle.

Stratifications of the walls of the southern wing at the level of the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> storeys:

- 1 – wall face from about 1300, remodeled in around 1500, 2 – wall from about 1350, 3 – wall from about 1500, 4 – wall from about 1550–1600, 5 – wall from the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> or the 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, 6 – wall from the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, 7 – wall from the 21<sup>st</sup> century, 8 – negative of the wooden beam  
(elaborated by M. Chorowska, R. Biel)

### II. 3. Zamek Grodno.

Rozwarstwienia ścian skrzydła południowego na poziomie 3 i 4 kondygnacji:

- 1 – lico muru z ok. 1300 r. przebudowane ok. 1500 r., 2 – mur z ok. 1350 r., 3 – mur z ok. 1500 r., 4 – mur z 1550–1600, 5 – mur z końca XVIII lub 1. połowy XIX w., 6 – mur z 2. połowy XIX–XX w., 7 – mur z XXI w., 8 – negatyw belki drewnianej  
(oprac. M. Chorowska, R. Biel)

the rubble and earth embankment situated in the zwinger area. As a result of the exploration conducted, relics of the previously unknown perimeter of the defensive wall from the 15<sup>th</sup> century and several numismatic items from that time were discovered. A lot of mass historic material which was connected with the fires of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries was discovered as well. The real sensation was the discovery of Benedict XIII's Avignon obedience edict, which was preserved in very good condition. The excavation which was carried out in 2019 in the upper courtyard in the corner of the southern wing and the collapsed western wing, turned out to be very important for the history of construction transformations in the castle. It provided evidence of the simultaneous building of both of these wings already in around the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century, i.e., during the reign of Prince Bolko II the Small in the castle. The archaeological works were carried out by the team of Dr Paweł Konczewski from Wrocław University of Environmental and Life Sciences<sup>2</sup>.

The architectural examination of the walls of the two highest storeys of the castle was performed by the author at the request of the Culture and Tourism Centre of the Walim Municipality in December 2017 [8]. It covered the rooms

of the castle house, which now has the form of a building consisting of a long southern wing, including the so-called gatehouse and a short eastern wing. The basis of the works was a detailed inventory of internal walls of rooms which was made by Radosław Biel by means of the photo-scan method as well as architectural studies of the surfaces of non-plastered walls which were carried out in order to recognize their origins on the basis of the construction material used (Fig. 3). During the studies, the discoveries made by Witkowska in August 2016 [7] were used. Numerous discoveries, which were formed as a result of natural forces when the walls of the upper storeys of the castle remained exposed to the destructive influence of weather conditions, were also used. Many artifacts such as the remains of medieval stonework of window openings on the outer façade of the southern wing and nests of cantilever beams were recorded at that time. The observations made on the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> storeys allowed us to conclude that there was a chronological stratification of the castle walls, thanks to which we could arrive at a relative chronology of individual phases. The basis for bringing closer the absolute chronology of these transformations was the research consisting in comparing the material features of the walls of Grodno with the building materials used in castles of Świdnica and Jawor Principality [9], [10] and medieval burgher houses in Świdnica [11], as well as the comparison of the obtained

<sup>2</sup> Their results are presented in the articles included in this volume.



results with the calendar of the history of the castle which was prepared on the basis of works which were developed by pre-war monographers [1], [2], [12] and also written sources published in *Landbuch księstw świdnickiego i jaworskiego* [Landbuch of Świdnica and Jawor Principality] [13]. In the spring of 2018, Maciej Małachowicz, who represented the conservation supervision during the implementation of the multimedia exhibition devoted to the biodiversity of the Sowie (Owl) Mountains, repeated the studies of the upper storeys of the castle [14]. He drew similar conclusions as the author of this article.

The inspection of the entire castle walls supplemented by the results of 3D scanning, which was carried out by LabSkan3D scanning laboratory of Wrocław University of Science and Technology as well as photo-scans made from a drone by Marek Bogdała were developed during the

workshops of architecture students of Wrocław University of Science and Technology associated in the ArcHist research club in July 2019. They provided the basis for the stratification of walls of the upper castle into three medieval phases, two early modern phases, i.e., renaissance and late renaissance and phases connected with conservation and partial reconstruction of the castle which were carried out in several stages in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries (Figs. 4–7). This article presents the beginnings of Grodno Castle and further architectural transformations in the upper castle which took place until the end of the Middle Ages. According to the present findings, the whole structure of the upper castle, including the high perimeter wall and all three castle wings (southern, western and partly eastern), except for the brick Renaissance kitchen, was formed at that time.



Fig. 4. Grodno Castle.

Chronological stratification of the walls of the upper castle on the ground floor level:

- 1 – in about 1300, 2 – in about 1350, 3 – in about 1500, 4 – the years 1550–1600, 5 – the years 1600–1700, 6 – years 1789–1850, 7 – years 1850–2010, 8 – reconstructed walls, 9 – rock, 10 – stonework, 11 – archaeological surveys, ch – chimney, kitchen chimney, furnace cavity; names of the rooms according to the urbarium from 1595 (elaborated by M. Chorowska, A. Gryglewska, A. Kubicka)

#### II. 4. Zamek Grodno.

Rozwarstwienie chronologiczne murów zamku górnego na poziomie parteru:

- 1 – ok. 1300 r., 2 – ok. 1350 r., 3 – ok. 1500 r., 4 – lata 1550–1600, 5 – lata 1600–1700, 6 – lata 1789–1850, 7 – lata 1850–2010, 8 – ściany rekonstruowane, 9 – skała, 10 – kamieniarka, 11 – sondaże archeologiczne, ch – komin, komin kuchenny, czelusć pieca; nazwy pomieszczeń według urbarza z 1595 r. (oprac. M. Chorowska, A. Gryglewska, A. Kubicka)



### Basics of the chronological stratification of the walls of the upper castle

An attempt at isolating construction phases in the walls of the upper castle was made on the basis of observation of material features of the building material, which consisted of broken stone, brick, and mortar. On the basis of material differences, which were observed in macroscopic examinations, six types of walls were distinguished:

– wall 1 – broken stone without any addition of bricks arranged in leveling layers and visible especially in the external face; lime mortar not very strong; lime appeared in the form of dust and numerous lumps (i.e., micrite clusters) formed as a result of incorrect burning and slaking; mortar contained a significant additive of clay, which gave it a brown color and plasticity;

– wall 2 – stone crushed on a hard and strong lime mortar of brown color; less clay in the mortar than in the

wall 1; well-prepared lime – burnt and slaked in optimal conditions, which could be seen from a relatively small amount and fine granulation of the so-called lumps, i.e., micrite clusters;

– wall 3 – broken stone arranged in clear leveling layers; brick mainly in arcades and at the edges of recesses and openings; the lime mortar with visible micrite clusters contained clay sand with, especially in the core of the wall; significantly more lime was visible in the facing parts – it was hard, light, and beige in color;

– finger brick with dimensions of 8.0–9.2 × 14–15 × 28–30 cm; the lack of carefully prepared grout indicated the fact that the face of walls was plastered; in arches, brick fittings with a deep cavetto occurred sporadically, however, bricks with a carelessly made cavetto or facette were used more often. In some places, bricks arranged “flat” were used and cut in order to form a wedge; the lack of care in shaping the edge profiles of window recesses was compensated by a thick layer of plaster;



Fig. 5. Grodno Castle.

Chronological stratification of the walls of the upper castle on the 1<sup>st</sup> floor level:

1 – in about 1300, 2 – in about 1350, 3 – in about 1500, 4 – the years 1550–1600, 5 – the years 1600–1700, 6 – years 1789–1850, 7 – years 1850–2010, 8 – reconstructed walls, 9 – rock, 10 – stonework,

ch – chimney, kitchen chimney, furnace cavity; names of the rooms according to the urbanium from 1595

(elaborated by M. Chorowska, A. Gryglewska, A. Kubicka)

#### II. 5. Zamek Grodno.

Rozwarstwienie chronologiczne murów zamku górnego na poziomie I piętra:

1 – ok. 1300 r., 2 – ok. 1350 r., 3 – ok. 1500 r., 4 – lata 1550–1600, 5 – lata 1600–1700, 6 – lata 1789–1850, 7 – lata 1850–2010, 8 – ściany rekonstruowane, 9 – skała, 10 – kamieniarka, ch – komin, komin kuchenny, czelusz pieca; nazwy pomieszczeń według urbarza z 1595 r. (oprac. M. Chorowska, A. Gryglewska, A. Kubicka)



Fig. 6. Grodno Castle.

Chronological stratification of the walls of the upper castle on the 2<sup>nd</sup> floor level:  
 1 – in about 1300, 2 – in about 1350, 3 – in about 1500, 4 – the years 1550–1600,  
 5 – the years 1600–1700, 6 – years 1789–1850, 7 – years 1850–2010,

8 – reconstructed walls, 9 – rock, 10 – stonework,  
 ch – chimney, kitchen chimney, furnace cavity; names of the rooms according to the urbarium from 1595  
 (elaborated by M. Chorowska, A. Gryglewska, A. Kubicka)

#### II. 6. Zamek Grodno.

Rozwarstwienie chronologiczne murów zamku górnego na poziomie II piętra:

1 – ok. 1300 r., 2 – ok. 1350 r., 3 – ok. 1500 r., 4 – lata 1550–1600, 5 – lata 1600–1700, 6 – lata 1789–1850,  
 7 – lata 1850–2010, 8 – ściany rekonstruowane, 9 – skała, 10 – kamieniarka,

ch – komin, komin kuchenny, czelusć pieca; nazwy pomieszczeń według urbarza z 1595 r.

(oprac. M. Chorowska, A. Gryglewska, A. Kubicka)

– wall 4 – stone mixed with bricks of a medieval format (8.0–8.5 × 13–14 × 26 cm); in some parts a brickwork bond consisted of single side faces of bricks; the face of the wall prepared for plaster; brick poorly burned with a high marlstone content, strongly eroded; a very strong lime mortar with a high content of powdery lime and in lumps, gave the mortar a cream color;

– wall 5 – stone mixed with brick of early modern format (6.6–7.0 × 14.5 × 15–26 cm), the face of the wall prepared for plaster; the lime mortar a bit weaker, fine-grained, light beige, few lumps of lime;

– wall 6 – it is distinguished by a brick with dimensions of 7 × 13.5–14.0 × 28–29 cm, burned to cherry color; the lime mortar with a large additive of sand, fine-grained, yellow and beige, not very strong;

– wall 7 – walls are mostly brick or brick and stone, bonded with a fine-grained lime mortar of gray and beige

colors; bricks are not uniform in terms of size and color (from light orange to cherry red), coming from different brickyards or reused demolition bricks.

#### *Dating the walls from phases 1 and 2*

The existence of the wall defined in terms of construction technique as 1 and 2, i.e., containing clay, was confirmed in the following places of the stronghold:

– in the defensive wall of the upper castle (wall 1), along its entire perimeter which on the southern and eastern sides reached the height of 4 storeys, while on the northern and western sides 3 storeys only;

– in the relic of the short wall (wall 1) connected with the southern section of the defensive wall, which is situated in the so-called dungeon under the level of the 1<sup>st</sup> floor;



Fig. 7. Grodno Castle.

Chronological stratification of the walls of the upper castle on the 3<sup>rd</sup> floor level:

- 1 – in about 1300, 2 – in about 1350, 3 – in about 1500, 4 – the years 1550–1600, 5 – the years 1600–1700,  
 6 – years 1789–1850, 7 – years 1850–2010, 8 – reconstructed walls, 9 – rock, 10 – stonework,  
 ch – chimney, kitchen chimney, furnace cavity; names of the rooms according to the urbarium from 1595  
 (elaborated by M. Chorowska, A. Gryglewska, A. Kubicka)

#### II. 7. Zamek Grodno.

Rozwarstwienie chronologiczne murów zamku górnego na poziomie III piętra:

- 1 – ok. 1300 r., 2 – ok. 1350 r., 3 – ok. 1500 r., 4 – lata 1550–1600, 5 – lata 1600–1700,  
 6 – lata 1789–1850, 7 – lata 1850–2010, 8 – ściany rekonstruowane, 9 – skała, 10 – kamieniarka,  
 ch – komin, komin kuchenny, czeluszka pieca; nazwy pomieszczeń według urbarza z 1595 r.  
 (oprac. M. Chorowska, A. Gryglewska, A. Kubicka)

– in the lower parts of the northern wall of the southern wing (wall 2), preserved to the level of the offset occurring at the height of about half of the 1<sup>st</sup> floor of this wing; this wall was added to the section of the defensive wall in the area of the so-called gate building;

– in the foundation part of the corner of the southern and western wings (walls 2), which was discovered in the archaeological survey; the walls which made up this corner were connected; this fact surprised researchers, forcing them to change the previously adopted chronology of the development growth;

– in the destruction of the eastern (courtyard) wall of the western wing (wall 2).

The chronological framework of the occurrence of these relics can be approximated mainly on the basis of the material characteristics of the mortar because broken stone in the Sudeten part of Silesia was widely used from the 13<sup>th</sup> to the 20<sup>th</sup> century, which makes it a poor date

proof. However, an analogous lime mortar with a large additive of clay was observed in cellars and burgher houses of Świdnica, which were erected from the foundation of the town until around the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century [11], as well as in the oldest parts of tenement houses in Dzierżoniów and Strzegom, and Wleń Castle, in the walls from the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries. The youngest well-dated example of the use of highly clayey mortar are the foundation walls of the non-existent synagogue situated at 1 Sakwowa in Świdnica, which was founded by a Jew Lazar in 1381. It is, however, an isolated example.

This dating corresponds with the first unquestionable mention of the castle castellan Kilian von Haugwitz (1305–1327), a trusted knight and creditor of Świdnica princes, who at Grodno Castle on March 22, 1315, on the eve of Easter, made a donation to St. Augustine Abbey of regular canons of in Wrocław [15, vol. 4, no. 3481]. Therefore, the castle must have already functioned for some time and



its beginnings can be dated to the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, whereas Bolko I the Strict or Bernard of Świdnica can be considered to be the initiator of its construction. However, it also includes investments which were carried out in the castle in the era of Bolko II the Small. Taking into account the above-mentioned joints which occurred between the so-called gatehouse and the perimeter wall<sup>3</sup>, it should be assumed that the defensive wall was built in the first phase of the castle's functioning, i.e., during the reign of Bolko I, whereas both residential wings – southern and western – during the reign of Bolko II.

Grodno was mentioned as a princely castle in the document of the records of towns and castles of Świdnica and Jawor Principality of Anna, Bolko II's niece, and wife of the Czech King Charles IV in 1353 [16, Bd. 1, pp. 508–511, no. 20 and p. 512, no. 23]. Periodically, there was also a prince's office in the castle<sup>4</sup>. At that time, the stronghold was managed by castellans such as Eyko (1335) [15, Bd. 7, no. 5432, p. 2432], Ulrich Schaff (1321–1382, multiple witness in the documents of Bolko II, burgrave of *Kynsburg* in 1369), his son Reinczko (1351–1382), marshal and court judge of Świdnica, lifetime burgrave *das haus zum Kiensberge* (from 1372) who were closely related to the princely court, [17, p. 280], [13, t. 1, p. 139, no. 720]. The castle fief consisted of the following villages and farms: Jugowice (*Hausdorf*), Jawornik (*Jauernick*), Pogorzała (*Seifersdorf*) on the side of the village council (*Scholtisei*), together with the village council, Dziećmorowice (*Dittmannsdorf*), Jedlinka (*Tannhausen*) with courts, fiefdom church and teams, apart from the mill by the River Bystrzyca with three wheels as belonging to the castle and one more mill [1, p. 24].

### Dating the walls from phase 3

The range of occurrence of type 3 wall coincides with the level of the upper two storeys of the residential house, in particular:

- it occurs in the walls closing the southern wing from the courtyard side and partially the short eastern wing;
- it forms a 2-meter-thick wall closing the short eastern wing from the north; after the extension of the southern wing this wall became a partition wall;
- its relics were recorded in the wall separating the so-called gate building from the southern wing;
- it occurs in the arches of some window openings which were made in the perimeter wall of the castle within the western and southern wings.

Walls 3 are characterized by the presence of a harder lime mortar, although sometimes also not without loamy fractions. In the walls of bourgeois tenement houses in Świdnica, walls of this type, mainly stone, but with the addition of bricks used to form arches and edges of open-

ings, were present from around the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century until the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century [11, pp. 10–14]. The above-mentioned ceramic fittings in the form of bricks with a cavetto, which at Grodno Castle were used in arches of several window openings and occasionally as building material in wall 3, remain a slightly more precise date proof. In Central Bohemia similar fittings appeared at Točník Castle in the part of the building dated to around 1500<sup>5</sup>.

At that time, Grodno was no longer a princely castle. After the death of Princess Agnes in 1392, the castle along with the entire principality became the property of the Czech king and was transferred to feudal lords as a pledge (*Pfandherrschaft*) with the right of inheritance. At that time, the castle was still in the possession of the Schaffs, but according to the document of July 27, 1406, it was abandoned then<sup>6</sup>.

According to Zemplin and Schubert, who based their arguments on documents [1, pp. 24–28], [2, pp. 14–20], in the 2<sup>nd</sup> quarter of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the castle and the associated properties were in the hands of representatives of the von Mühlheim family from Pastuchów. In 1429 they were Kunz and Heinz Mühlheim as well as Wenzel von Schellendorf from Rogowiec (*Hornsberg*) and Mühlheim called *Puschke von Kinsberge*. In 1424, the latter sold *Veste Kynsburg* to his uncle Nicolov von Reibnitz for 1000 Marks, however, in 1447, George Puschke, known as Mühlheim, appears as the lord of Kynsburg, probably the son of one of the previously mentioned. In the years 1444–1463 the owner of the castle was Georg von Mühlheim.

From 1465 to 1535, the knightly family of Czetryc ruled the castle<sup>7</sup>. The first mortgage lord was Knight Georg Czetteras (1465–1484), who received the castle along with properties from King George of Podiebrady by the repurchase of the pledge in the amount of 1600 Hungarian guilders. In the years 1484–1490 it was held by Georg's brother, knight Hannos [Hasse] Czetteras who after his death in 1490 passed it on to his son by inheritance. Hannos's son – Hans Czetteras the Younger, who died in 1494, passed on his inheritance to four of his eight sons, i.e. Herman, Georg, Dyprand and Bernard. Initially, the brothers managed the legacy together. Its division was carried out in 1493. From 1494, the pledge was in possession of Hermann Czetteras for almost forty years. In 1535, it was handed over to knight Christof von Hoberg, Starost of Świdnica and Jawor Principality as a repurchase along with the villages of Jedlinka, Miłochów, Jugowice, Pogorzała and everything that belonged to Dziećmorowice with a forest called *Sifte* (Golden Forest?). The latter owner died the same year, leaving the castle to his wife Euphemia von Hoberg. The widow owned it for the next ten years and then handed it over to knight Matthias von

<sup>5</sup> Date from the information board in the castle.

<sup>3</sup> These joints were found on the basement and ground floor levels. The latter at a significant height of the wall, which excludes the possibility of building the perimeter wall and the gatehouse at the same time. The so-called gatehouse was in fact part of the southern wing.

<sup>4</sup> In 1388, three documents were signed at the castle, i.e. nos 595, 596 and 670 [13, t. 2, pp. 119 and 134].

<sup>6</sup> Jan, Gotsche Schaffa's son-in-law, undertook to transfer all properties, including Chojnik Castle and abandoned Grodno Castle (*wustennunge Kynsburg*) as well as four villages, to his Liebental cousins, in the event of his and his children death [13, t. 3, no. 1696, p. 430].

<sup>7</sup> The theses about the highland robbery activity of its representatives are not sufficiently confirmed in written sources.

Logau, Starost of Świdnica and Jawor principality and his son Kaspar through the pledge repurchase.

From the above-mentioned ownership history of the castle, a rather complicated ownership structure emerges. It stabilized only in the last decade of the 15<sup>th</sup> century during the ownership of the descendants of Hans Czetryc and in 1502 was sealed by Władysław Jagiełłończyk, King of Bohemia, with the confirmation of the rights of the Czetryc brothers to the received property and compliant with the collection of the shipping duty up to Jedlinka<sup>8</sup>. This date was carved on the lintel of the neo-Gothic two-armed portal leading to the tower. Jedlinka controlled the border crossing from the Lowering of Nowa Ruda, i.e. the northern part of the Kłodzko land through the Upper Bystrzyca Valley in historic Silesia to the Wałbrzych Basin in Pełcznica Valley. In the opinion of previous researchers, it was believed that from the time of the pledged ownership of the castle until around the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, no major construction works were carried out here. It was supposed to be indicated by, inter alia, fixed price of castle properties occurring at subsequent transactions amounting to 1,600 Hungarian guilders. However, in the course of recent research, the effects of a massive extension represented by walls 3 were observed, which should be connected with phase 3 of transformations of the stronghold. It is quite probable that it was the lucrative income from customs duty in Jedlinka that allowed the Czetryc brothers to make this investment.

#### *Dating the walls from phases 4 and 5*

The range of their occurrence includes:

- walls: southern, northern and western, the so-called gatehouse at the level of the 3<sup>rd</sup> floor;
- the western section of the perimeter wall at the level of the 3<sup>rd</sup> floor;
- walls of the kitchen – western and northern at the level of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> floors as well as relics of the kitchen chimney;
- glyphs of window recesses in all rooms at the level of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> floors;
- the chimney duct and the jamb of the window next to the chimney, on the 2<sup>nd</sup> floor.

The basis for dating wall 4 was determined by finger bricks present in it, with dimensions which can be described as medieval. This type of bricks, at least 7.5–8 cm high, were still present in many castle and manor buildings in Lower Silesia at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, despite the fact that in the capital city of Wrocław, the format of bricks was changed to the modern one in the 1950s and 1970s. Bricks were joined with the mortar characteristic of the Renaissance era. It was so hard and strong that after five centuries of erosion of the brick faces in some places there were grouts alone only, which formed a character-

istic network protruding from the ceramic destructs. The construction action at that time was also indicated by the cartouche with the date of “1551” as well as the coat of arms and initials of the then owner of the castle, Mattias von Logau (1545–c. 1567), which is at present located in the entrance hall to the upper castle.

The walls, which were classified as No. 5, differed from those described above by the addition of bricks and brick fittings 6.5–7 cm high. Apart from little ceramics in the early modern format, it still contained broken stone and medieval bricks, therefore the origin of these walls probably dates back not later than to the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. From 1568 to 1595, Georg von Logau was the mortgage lord of Grodno (1568–1587). Early modern fittings and bricks mixed with bricks of a medieval format are present, among other things, in the glyphs of arrow-slits located in the perimeter of the low roundel bastion walls surrounding the zwinger and the upper castle on the northern and eastern sides, and in the lower outer bailey, which allows us to connect these perimeters with the construction actions of Georg von Logau.

#### *Dating the walls from phases 6 and 7*

The date proof for walls No. 6 is a brick with dimensions characteristic for the 18<sup>th</sup> and the 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (7.0 × 14 × 28–29 cm) and with an intense cherry color. This technique was used in Grodno Castle in the following places:

- in the walled up door openings leading from the southern to the western wing, which collapsed in 1789;
- in the walled up window openings in some rooms on the 3<sup>rd</sup> floor;
- in the gate, which is currently located in the zwinger area near the tower, leading from the east to the courtyard of the middle castle.

When the western wing collapsed, the castle was already abandoned, so bricking up the openings did not make much sense. Presumably, it happened after 1824, when historian Johann Gustav Gottlieb Büsching<sup>9</sup> bought the ruins, settled in the castle and adapted both gatehouses, and personally supervised restoration and reconstruction works. The construction works manager was master Schlosser from Walim [2, p. 63]. At that time, a staircase was built in the tower which was a viewing point for tourists. The northern section of the zwinger was closed with a gate between the zwinger and the outer bailey in order to arrange a small zoological garden there [18, p. 18].

Walls No. 7 included:

- repairs of lateral walls of the southern wing;
- jambs, sill walls and arches of arcades in almost all window openings on the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> floors;
- entrance opening to the room above the kitchen (2<sup>nd</sup> floor), to the porch leading to the 3<sup>rd</sup> floor;
- remodeling of the renaissance kitchen.

<sup>8</sup> According to accounts from unconfirmed sources, the privilege of toll income in Jedlinka was granted in 1504 to seven brothers of von Czetryc and then transferred to Głuszycza (*Wüstigersdorf*).

<sup>9</sup> In 1823, the ruins were sold to local peasants to be demolished for building material. The devastated castle was then bought by Professor J. Büsching, the then secularization commissioner of the liquidated Silesian monasteries.



These walls were built during subsequent conservation and restoration works carried out from 1840 by Count Frederick von Burghaus, whereas from 1855 by Baroness Emilia von Zedlitz from Czarny Bór and her son, Baron Max Ferdinand von Zedlitz und Neukirch, who in the 1860s repaired the tower, strengthened the ruined walls, and secured their crown. Grodno remained in the hands of this family until 1945. Walls 6 and 7 include all construction and conservation actions which were carried out in the castle from 1824 to 1945 as well as the post-war 20<sup>th</sup>-century construction works. The last phase of reconstructing the castle took place in the years 2011–2019.

***Phase 1 of construction transformations  
in the castle – Grodno Castle at the beginning  
of the 13<sup>th</sup> century***

At the turn of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, during the reign of Prince of Świdnica and Jawor, Bolko I (1278–1301), the castle on Choina Mountain was surrounded with a high defensive wall and crowned with battlements. The original existence of battlements is evidenced by a single shield with an incomplete height and hewn edges, which is preserved in the north-western section. At this point the wall reached a height of 3 storeys. On the other side of the hill, in the southern section, it was one storey higher and it was additionally protected by a hoarding hanging over a rocky slope. It defended the road running along the River Bystrzyca Valley from the Bohemia's side. Its existence is signaled by a row of seven nests which remained after wooden cantilever beams located at the level of the ceiling above the 3<sup>rd</sup> storey, on which there was the hoarding's floor (Fig. 8). On the internal side of the defensive wall, more or less at the same level, there is an offset 1 m

wide, which suggests that it was originally a fragment of the battle porch that usually surrounded castle walls. The porch was separated from the hoarding by a four-meter high stone wall which has survived until today.

Making two sections of the wall higher by one storey – the eastern and the southern – resulted from topographical relief (Fig. 9). The wall “climbed” a rocky slope and culminated on the eastern side. There, at the highest point of the hill, it formed a square tower with slightly thicker walls, but with the same height as its adjacent sections. This fact makes us connect Grodno Castle with the type of the so-called coat castles, relatively rare in Silesia, but numerous in the territory of Bohemia [19]. A stone avant-corps might have been the basis for upper storeys erected in a half-timbered structure.

The entrance to the castle led, as it does today, from the south-west under a high pointed ogival gate arcade. The stone framing of the opening at the same time formed sliding grooves inset of the portcullis which secured the entrance. They were made of pink Permian sandstone. The portcullis was locked with a bolt. On both sides of the jambs the sliding grooves insets for beams locking the gate have been preserved.

The wall surrounded the courtyard which was quite spacious because its area was diminished neither by brick residential wings nor the gatehouse. On the eastern side, however, some part of it was covered with rock (Fig. 10). At present, it is lower, but originally it reached the height of the ceiling above the first floor of the present house and its height can be seen on the external side of the wall. The usable level of the courtyard near the entrance was well below the present one, which shows that the area of the courtyard must have fallen sharply to the west. Suffice it to say that in the archaeological excavation site which



Fig. 8. Grodno Castle. View of the southern curtain of the perimeter wall. Nests of the cantilever beams of hoarding and relics of late gothic window stonework were outlined (photo by M. Chorowska)

Il. 8. Zamek Grodno. Widok na południową kurtynę muru obwodowego. Gniazda po belkach wspornikowych hurdycji i relikty późnogotyckiej kamieniarki okiennej zostały obrysowane (fot. M. Chorowska)



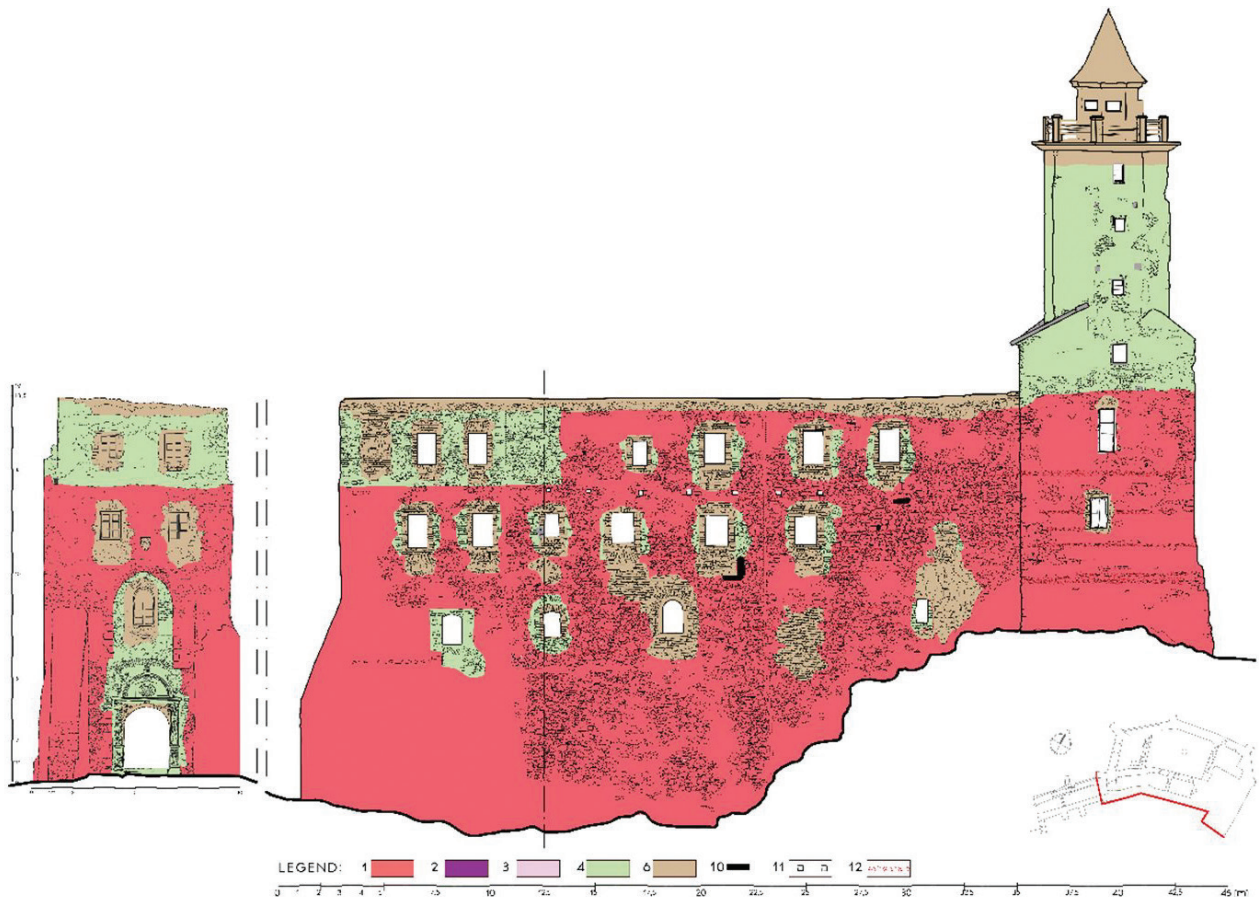


Fig. 9. Grodno Castle – photo scans of the western façade of the gatehouse and the façade of the southern wing from the lake side. Chronological stratification of walls: 1 – in about 1300, 2 – in about 1350, 3 – in about 1500, 4 – the years 1550–1600, 6 – the years 1825–1950, 10 – stonework, 11 – negatives of hoarding cantilever beams, 12 – leveling layers (elaborated by M. Bogdała, M. Chorowska, A. Kubicka)

Il. 9. Zamek Grodno – fotokany elewacji zachodniej domu bramnego i elewacji skrzydła południowego od strony jeziora. Rozwarstwienie chronologiczne murów: 1 – ok. 1300 r., 2 – ok. 1350 r., 3 – ok. 1500 r., 4 – lata 1550–1600, 6 – lata 1825–1950, 10 – kamieniarka, 11 – negatywy belek wspornikowych hurdycji, 12 – warstwy wyrównawcze (oprac. M. Bogdała, M. Chorowska, A. Kubicka)

was located next to today's entrance to the courtyard, the original usable level of the castle was found about 1.2 m below the present one.

The princely house was built at the highest point of the rocky hill on the eastern side, i.e. at the level of the present 1<sup>st</sup> floor. This can be concluded on the basis of the discovery of a wall fragment in the so-called dungeon, which was the only one connected with the perimeter wall, so it can be treated as constructed simultaneously with the oldest layout described. The dungeon was originally a rock crevice which was situated next to the avant-corps/fortified tower between the later levels of the ground floor and the 1<sup>st</sup> floor<sup>10</sup>. The direction of the wall in question corresponds to the direction of the courtyard wall of the eastern wing of the house from the later period. In the first construction phase, it could have been a stone foundation for the façade of the princely house built in a half-timbered structure. It cannot be ruled out that this wall was

entirely made of brick and was dismantled in a later period. The house was erected under the cover of a stone defensive wall which – as it was already emphasized – was made higher by one storey in this place. Only the high roof of the castle house might have protruded above the brick defensive perimeter, testifying to the grandeur of the princely seat. The only entrance to the building was from the porch and hoarding, which significantly increased its defense. Farm facilities of the castle were probably also wooden and clay.

### *Phase 2 of construction transformations in the castle – Grodno Castle in around the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century*

In around the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century, i.e. during the reign of Prince of Świdnica and Jawor, Bolko II, a long two-winged house, which was broken in the south-western corner, was added to the internal side of the defensive wall (Fig. 11). As already mentioned, this corner, which was uncovered in the archaeological excavation in 2018, confirmed the connection of its two wings. They were made

<sup>10</sup> This crevice was bricked up in the 3<sup>rd</sup> phase of the castle extension and transformed into a starvation dungeon.

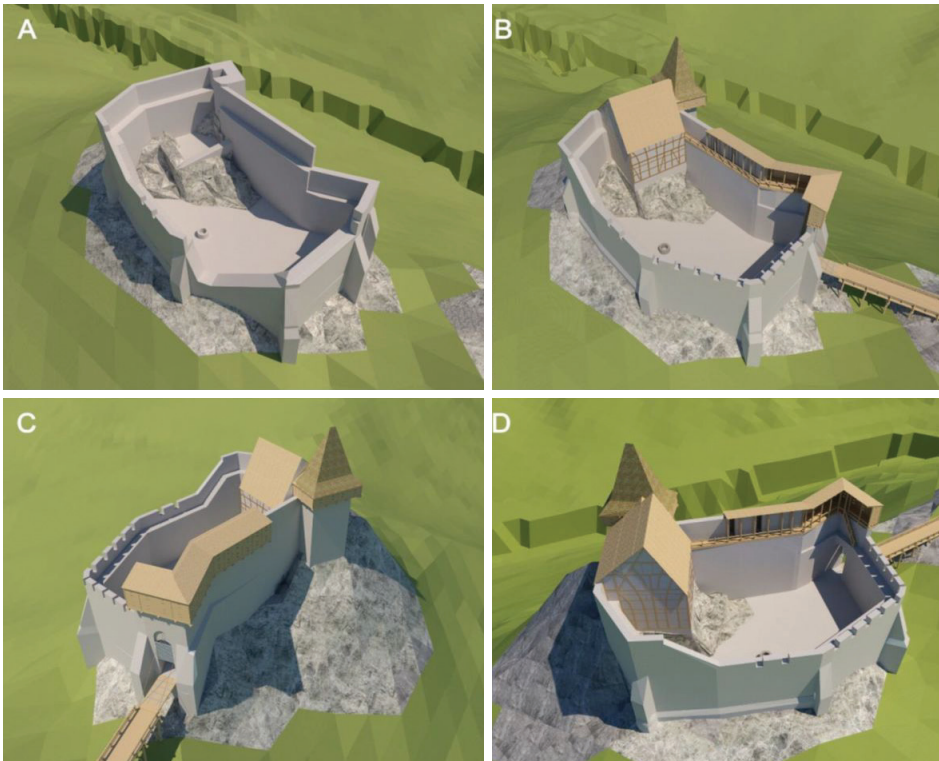


Fig. 10. Grodno Castle in about 1300:  
A – preservation condition of the walls from the phase 1,  
B–D – different views of the visualization of the upper castle (elaborated by M. Chorowska, A. Kubicka)

Il. 10. Zamek Grodno około 1300 r.  
A – stan zachowania murów z fazy 1,  
B–D – różne ujęcia wizualizacji górnego zamku (oprac. M. Chorowska, A. Kubicka)

of stone with windows in hewn stone frames and reached the level of the offset visible on the long courtyard façade of the castle, about half the height of the present 1<sup>st</sup> floor. Perhaps the storeys in the so-called half-timbered structure were situated higher, but it is difficult to confirm or deny it. From the east, the southern wing reached to the rock on which the oldest castle building stood.

One complete window opening from the discussed phase, which is bricked up now, has survived until today. It is

rectangular, enclosed in thick hewn stone door jambs and a straight lintel beam. Everything was made of pink Permian sandstone and widely chamfered on the edges. Moreover, on the courtyard façade of the southern wing, in various places we can see blocks of stone similar in color, which were reused during the 19<sup>th</sup>-century conservation works, mainly as binders of cracks in the walls. They probably framed other openings from the 2<sup>nd</sup> phase. To the right of the window described above, there is a fragment of an

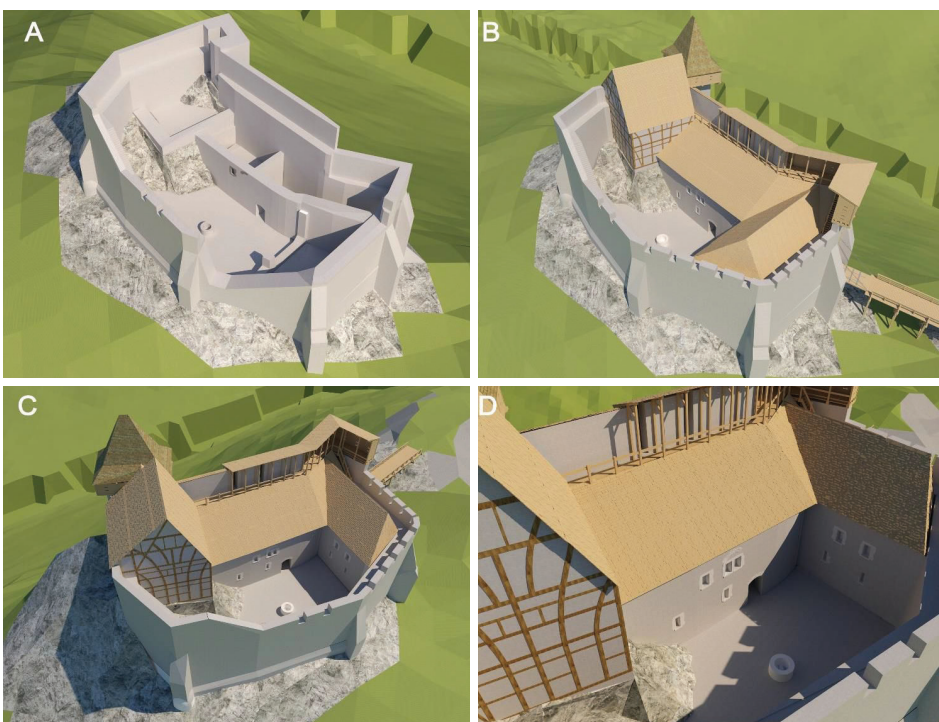


Fig. 11. Grodno Castle in around 1350:  
A – preservation condition of the walls from the phase 2,  
B–D – different views of the visualization of the upper castle (elaborated by M. Chorowska, A. Kubicka)

Il. 11. Zamek Grodno około 1350 r.:  
A – stan zachowania murów z fazy 2,  
B–D – różne ujęcia wizualizacji górnego zamku (oprac. M. Chorowska, A. Kubicka)



arch which relieves some other one, much larger window opening, perhaps a bifora opening.

The usable level of the courtyard in phase 2 was about 40–45 cm lower than the present one. It is marked by an offset in the foundation wall of the southern wing, where archaeologists discovered the level of the stone pavement. In the excavation, the foundation walls were exposed to a depth of about 1.5 m, but the bedrock on which this building was erected was not reached. These relations illustrate differences in the original shape of the courtyard level. Archaeologists' observations prove that in order to level the usable storey, in the 2<sup>nd</sup> phase a rock was cut in its eastern part, whereas the western part was sprinkled with aggregate. In the middle of the courtyard, the timbered wall inlet of the cistern, in which rainwater was collected, has been preserved.

The entrance to the castle was at the same place as before. First, the road led under a high arcade in the perimeter wall and a lowered portcullis, and then through a vestibule belonging to the southern wing. The exit to the courtyard was halfway the length of the wing, in the place of today's gate, but it was situated lower.

### ***Phase 3 of construction transformations in the castle – Grodno Castle at the turn of 16<sup>th</sup> century***

The exact date of the late gothic remodeling of Grodno Castle is unknown. It probably took place at the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, due to the fact that the Czetryc family obtained a royal privilege in 1502 and a lucrative customs house in Jedlinka. As a result, the two-storey stone house was transformed into a four-storey stone and brick house, although some of its internal divisions and the rooms above the kitchen were made of wood. Three brick storeys of the heightened house "climbed the rock", on which the half-timbered princely house from phase 1 was situated so far and were closed from the north with a stone wall more than two meters thick. Even further to the north, beyond the rock, there was a stone (?) kitchen and above it prob-

ably one half-timbered room attached to a warm kitchen chimney (Fig. 12).

The kitchen occupied the courtyard cul-de-sac which was formed between the northern section of the defensive wall and the rock on which the oldest house was located. This rock was also made much lower. In 1984, archaeologists discovered the foundation of the medieval wall under the western wall of the Renaissance kitchen which has survived until today [5]. It was the foundation of the medieval kitchen. However, it is difficult to say whether it was made of stone or made of wood and clay. The outflow of waste, i.e. the gutter, ran through a stone gutter through the perimeter wall in the northern section. Today, it is visible from the zwinger of the castle. The evidence of inhabiting the room located in the kitchen vertical at the attic level is reflected in the remains of whitewashed plaster which was preserved under the Renaissance kitchen chimney. The plaster was laid on the layer of cladding which was placed on the older defensive wall in order to even out its face and cover the dirt and soot deposited during long years in the open air. As the room above the kitchen was the warmest interior in the late Gothic building, it might have served as *kinderstube*, i.e. a children's room or alternatively a dining room.

On the level of the 4<sup>th</sup> storey in the southern wing, a window overlooked the kitchen side, which indicates that the space between the storey above the kitchen and the storeys of the southern wing could not have had too many structures. In the rock crevice situated right next to the fortification tower from phase 1, a small cellar – possibly a starvation one – was built by bricking the rocks with stone walls, which could still have been justified in the turbulent times of the 15<sup>th</sup> and early 16<sup>th</sup> centuries. The only entrance led to it from above through an opening in the floor from the level of the 2<sup>nd</sup> storey.

The former western wing was also remodeled, at least in the scope of two lower storeys. It is clearly visible in the structure of the remains of window openings made in the defensive wall which originally surrounded this wing from the west. On the ground floor there were two large

Fig. 12. Grodno Castle in around 1500:  
A, B – views of the visualization of the upper castle in the phase 3 (elaborated by M. Chorowska, A. Kubicka)

Il. 12. Zamek Grodno około 1500 r.:  
A, B – ujęcia wizualizacji górnego zamku w fazie 3 (oprac. M. Chorowska, A. Kubicka)

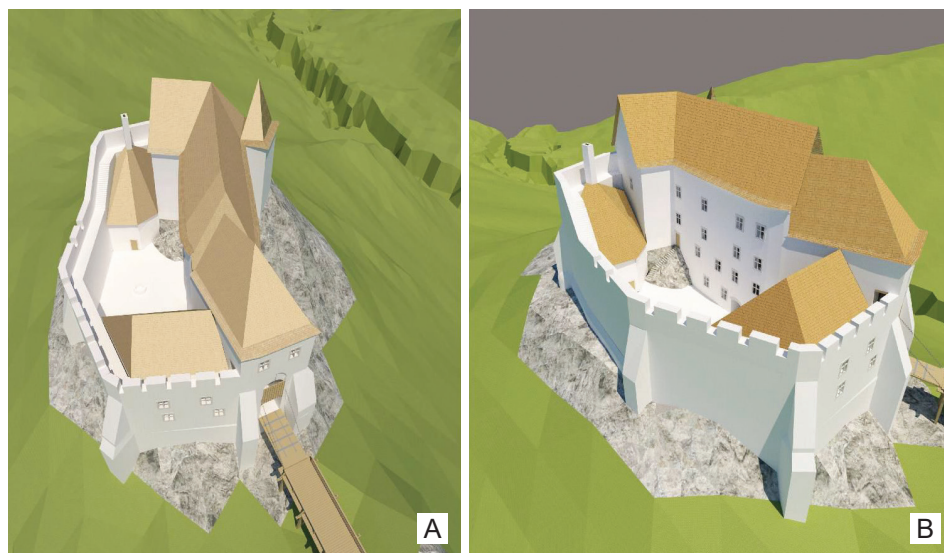






Fig. 13. Grodno Castle. Window openings, niches and nests in the northern wall of the southern wing, photo-scan outlined (elaborated by R. Biel)

Il. 13. Zamek Grodno. Otwory okienne, wnęki i gniazda w ścianie północnej skrzydła południowego, obrysowany fotoskan (oprac. R. Biel)



Fig. 14. The interior of the southern wing from the east, during construction works in 2019. To a large extent it corresponds to the lost knight's hall, which, like today, was of two storeys height (photo by M. Chorowska)

Il. 14. Wnętrze skrzydła południowego od wschodu, w trakcie prac budowlanych w 2019 r. W dużym stopniu odpowiada zaginionej sali rycerskiej przechodzącej podobnie jak dziś przez dwie kondygnacje (fot. M. Chorowska)

windows, each one with a small niche on the right side, but now bricked up. The windows had lintels in the form of segmented arches with a wide facette or cavetto on the edge, which can be considered a characteristic feature of the late Gothic phase. Windows of this type were also at the level of the 2<sup>nd</sup> storey, whereas the 3<sup>rd</sup> storey was completely remodeled in the next phase. A possible 4<sup>th</sup> storey of this wing does not exist at present and it is rather doubtful whether it had a medieval origin at all. The stairs leading to the level of the battle porch, and therefore to the upper storeys of the western wing, were in the thickness of the defensive wall on its short northern section. Zemplin mentions them [1, p. 13], explaining the reason for the collapse of this wall by weakening the structure due to the presence of stairs. One more stairway, which served the eastern end of the southern wing and was partially made in the rock, was outside this wing in the place where we now have a short porch connecting the southern and eastern wings at the level of the 2<sup>nd</sup> storey. The lower part of the stairs, made in rock, has been preserved in the Renaissance kitchen, whereas the upper part, probably wooden, was replaced with Renaissance stairs in the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

The most important room in the house was a magnificent hall which occupied the entire central part of the south-

ern wing at the level of the 3<sup>rd</sup> storey. This hall was 30 m long and almost 6 m wide and its height, which consisted of two full storeys of the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> storeys, was about 6 m<sup>11</sup> plus around a 3 m high wooden barrel which was usually used to cover this type of interiors by suspending it to the roof trusses of attics. In Grodno, its representative character is confirmed by the articulation of lateral walls with a characteristic arrangement of windows which were accompanied by (Figs. 13, 14) probably polychrome recesses on both sides. This composition was reduced by fireplaces in relation to the known solutions of this type from halls of European castles<sup>12</sup>.

<sup>11</sup> Measuring from the original usable level of this room, which was situated about 1 m below the present floor on the 3<sup>rd</sup> storey, to the level of the base of the wooden barrel, which was usually used to cover this type of interiors. The level of nests of wooden cantilevers which might have supported the barrel was accepted as the barrel basis.

<sup>12</sup> On the walls of castle halls there were alternating windows with recesses and fireplaces. The most famous examples include ceremonial halls at the castles of Coucy (France, 14<sup>th</sup> century) and Castel del Monte (Italy, 13<sup>th</sup> century). In Silesia, a similar, though slightly simplified model was represented by the relics of the hall at the castle in Milicz, which was built after the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century [20, pp. 89, 90].



Window niches in the northern wall of the hall were 2.4 m wide and were covered with high almost semicircular arches of 1.5 brick thickness. As mentioned above, they were accompanied by symmetrically placed recesses with the following dimensions: width 60 cm and height approximately 140 cm. The bricks in arches had trimmed edges forming wide chamfers. On the southern wall, window niches were large as well and the recesses were in their jambs, one for each opening. They were probably sedilia. On the façade of the southern wing overlooking Bystrzyca Valley, at the levels of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> storeys, there are visible fragments of simple-form sandstone window frames<sup>13</sup>.

Describing the building in 1827, Zemplin mentioned the paintings in the window recesses, currently not preserved, and the existence of a knight's hall on the highest storey of the southern wing [1, pp. 12–18]. The latter was confirmed in the castle's architectural research thanks to the discovery of beam nests in the courtyard wall of the wing. These nests were not carved in the wall, but carefully shaped and covered with stone little beams. Their dimensions were about 23 × 23 cm and the depth was up to 0.9 m, which indicates that wooden cantilevers might have been placed in them. They were situated 1.6–1.7 m above the former battle porch on the defensive wall which, after adding the southern wing, was inside the hall in question. Even if this height made it possible to walk under the cantilevers or joists (because people in the Middle Ages were not too tall), there was another circumstance which eliminates thinking of these elements as joists for ceiling beams. They were located halfway up the window recesses and the accompanying decorative niches. Thus, taking into account the location of nests in 2/3 of the height of the 3<sup>rd</sup> floor, as well as the dimensions and articulation of the room walls, it is possible to risk a statement that Grodno Castle had a ceremonial hall of the height of two storeys and covered with an apparent barrel vault penetrating into the attic space. So far, this would be the only example of this type confirmed in the castles of Lower Silesia.

A question arises as to the function which the former battle porch might have performed in the hall discussed. It was connected with the 3<sup>rd</sup> storey by comfortable single-flight stairs shaped in the thickness of the southern wall. The flight of stairs, which was 1.1 m wide, climbed the arcade of the window recess, now being a poorly readable relic (Fig. 15). Its cover was a barrel vault<sup>14</sup>. The porch provided connection with the 4<sup>th</sup> floor of the fortified tower on the rock and the rooms which occupied the upper storeys of the western part of the southern wing.

The western part of the southern wing, which was located in the vertical of the gatehouse, had dimensions of 10 × 5.6 m on each of its three storeys. Each storey was illuminated by two windows situated in analogical recesses

<sup>13</sup> These were the remains of one post and two window sills. The window sill on the 2<sup>nd</sup> floor is approximately 70 cm below the current usable floor on the 3<sup>rd</sup> storey.

<sup>14</sup> The entrance to the former porch was used in the 19<sup>th</sup> century for tourists to walk around the ruins of the castle walls. The colored postcard from the 20<sup>th</sup> century shows the entrance and brick stairs as well as the relic of the vaulted passage between the rooms of the southern wing.



Fig. 15. Grodno Castle. The outline of plaster on the wall shows the flight of stairs leading to the porch (photo by M. Chorowska)

Il. 15. Zamek Grodno. Zarys tynku na ścianie pokazuje miejsce biegu schodów na ganek (fot. M. Chorowska)

similar to those described above, but without the accompanying side recesses and sedilia. In the architectural research which was carried out in 2018 at the level of the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> storeys, several nests of large-size beams were found along the western section of the southern wall. Their dimensions indicate that they might have been a remnant of the construction of wooden walls and partitions which were usually found in residential parts of castles. In the urbarium from 1595 (after: [21, pp. 308–311]), i.e., the early modern description of Grodno Castle, at the level of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> storeys, “rooms separated from the bedroom by means of boards”, which should be located in the vertical of the entrance to the castle and in the adjacent western wing, were mentioned. There, at the level of the 4<sup>th</sup> storey, in the walls which were completely replaced in the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, there were grooves in wooden partitions which divided this interior.

In the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the castle's defenses were increased by surrounding it from the north with a low stone defensive wall, the so-called fence, which was situated in the middle of the present zwinger. Its remains were discovered by archaeologists in the season of 2018 and 2019 along with

a priceless cultural property – papal bull of Avignon Pope Benedict XIII (Pietro de Luna)<sup>15</sup>. This wall was probably destroyed during the Hussite wars. If we were to believe Weber's information, who without giving any sources included it in his calendar of events taking place in the castle, it happened in 1429 when the stronghold was first destroyed by the Hussites and during the time of the next owners of the pledge, in particular the Czettritz family, [...] it was reinforced with an outer perimeter wall with round towers and protruding lower gatehouse [22, p. 27]. During the architectural research of the roundel bastion perimeter, in particular the north-western section of the walls of the middle castle and zwinger which are dated back to the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the author had the opportunity to confirm the truthfulness of Weber's reports. Two "round" towers of the middle castle, in fact two pure stone shell fortified towers (Fig. 1, fortified towers 1 and 2) and the low perimeter wall connecting them, as well as the lower section of the roundel bastion wall, preserved almost to tower 3, should be dated similarly

to phase 3 of transformations of the upper castle to the beginnings of the 16<sup>th</sup> century at the latest<sup>16</sup>. At the time when the owner of the castle was Matthias von Logau, these walls were made higher in the area of the middle castle, whereas during Georg von Logau's ownership, the western sections of the zwinger walls were made higher and the eastern sections were extended together with roundel bastions Nos. 3 and 4.

Summarizing the issue of the development of structures of Grodno Castle in the Middle Ages, it should be emphasized that in fact the upper castle was fully formed at that time, in terms of the plan and the full height of the walls, which was attributed so far to the construction actions of owners of the stronghold in the early modern period. The medieval origin also refers to the fortified tower perimeter of the middle castle and the low zwinger wall. The latter, probably also representing the type of the so-called fence.

Translated by  
Bogusław Setkowicz

<sup>15</sup> Information is included in two articles in this quarterly: by R. Biel, *The functional analysis of the 15<sup>th</sup> century fortification of the Grodno Castle*, and Ł. Orlicki, *Papal bull of Benedict XIII (1394–1417) from Grodno Castle*.

<sup>16</sup> Compare the article by M. Bogdała and A. Chodkowska, *Roundel bastion fortifications of Grodno Castle in Zagórze Śląskie*, in this issue of "Architectus".

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## Abstract

### *Chronology of transformations in Grodno Castle from the 13<sup>th</sup> to the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century*

The aim of the article is to present the results of the architectural research on Grodno Castle which was carried out by the author in the years 2017–2019 in cooperation with Radosław Biel and a query of published written sources by Agnieszka Gryglewska. They shed new light on the chronology of transformations in the structures of the upper castle in the period from the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> to around the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century. Contrary to what has been previously thought, the shape of the upper castle consisting of three wings of buildings with a height of 3–4 storeys was formed in a different way at that time. This was previously attributed to construction actions undertaken in the early modern age. The late-medieval origin also refers to the tower perimeter of the middle castle and the lower part of the wall protecting the zwinger.

As a result of the conducted studies and field research, construction actions which were undertaken in the Middle Ages in the upper castle, can be grouped into three phases that occurred in around 1300, 1350 and 1500. In phase 1, a high perimeter wall with battlements and a hoarding overhanging the entrance gate to the castle and a section of the southern wall from the rocky slope and the road running along the River Bystrzyca Valley, were constructed. The wall climbed a rocky slope, culminating on the eastern side. There, at the highest point of the hill, it formed a square tower in plan with the same height as its adjacent sections. This fact makes us connect Grodno Castle with the type of the so-called coat castles, relatively rare in Silesia, but numerous in the territory of Bohemia. The wall surrounded a large courtyard and the rock on which the princely house was built. The entrance to the castle led from the south-west through a high ogival gate arcade secured with a portcullis.

In around the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century, a long two-winged house was added to the inner side of the defensive wall. It had two storeys and reached half the height of the present 2<sup>nd</sup> storey of the castle. From the east, the southern wing reached the rock on which the oldest castle building was built. The last medieval extension probably took place at the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, due to the fact that the Czetryc family obtained a royal privilege in 1502 and a lucrative customs house in Jedlinka. As a result, the two-storey stone house was transformed into a four-storey stone and brick house, although some of its internal divisions and the rooms above the kitchen were made of wood. The storeys of the heightened house “climbed onto the rock” on which the house from phase 1 previously stood and were closed from the north with a thick stone wall. Even further to the north there was a brick kitchen. The most important room in the house was a magnificent two-storey hall which occupied the entire central part of the southern wing on the 3<sup>rd</sup> storey. Thus, it turned out once again that the scope of construction works which were carried out in the castle in the Middle Ages and the size of its body turned out to be larger than originally assumed.

**Key words:** Grodno, castle, Middle Ages, Knights' Hall

## Streszczenie

### *Chronologia przemian na zamku Grodno od XIII do połowy XVI wieku*

Celem artykułu jest przedstawienie wyników badań architektonicznych zamku Grodno przeprowadzonych przez autorkę w latach 2017–2019, przy współpracy Radosława Biela, oraz kwerendy publikowanych źródeł pisanych przygotowanej przez Agnieszka Gryglewską. Rzucają one nowe światło na chronologię przeobrażeń zabudowy górnego zamku w okresie od końca XIII do około połowy XVI w. Inaczej niż dotychczas sądzono, ukształtowała się wówczas bryła zamku górnego, złożona z trzech skrzydeł zabudowy o wysokości 3–4 kondygnacji, co przypisywano dotąd działaniom budowlanym podejmowanym w dobie nowożytnej. Średniowieczną metrykę przypisano także do obwodu basztowego średniego zamku i dolnej części muru osłaniającego międzymurze.

W wyniku przeprowadzonych studiów i badań terenowych stwierdzono, że działania budowlane podejmowane w średniowieczu na górnym zamku można pogrupować w trzech fazach zaistniałych ok. 1300 r., ok. 1350 i ok. 1500 r. W pierwszej fazie powstał wysoki mur obwodowy z blankowaniem i hurdycją nadwieszoną nad bramą wjazdową do zamku i odcinkiem muru południowego od strony skalnego zbocza i traktu drożnego biegnącego doliną rzeki Bystrzycy. Mur wspinał się po skalnym zboczu, osiągając kulminację po stronie wschodniej. Tam, w najwyższym punkcie wyniesienia formował kwadratową w planie basztę, o tej samej wysokości co przyległe jego odcinki. Stwierdzenie tego faktu każe wiązać zamek Grodno z typem tzw. zamków płaszczowych, stosunkowo rzadkich na Śląsku, lecz licznych na terenie Czech. Mur opasywał obszerny dziedziniec i skałę, na której zbudowano książęcy dom. Wjazd do zamku prowadził od południowego zachodu przez wysoką, ostrołuczną arkadę bramną zabezpieczoną broną.

Około połowy XIV w. do wewnętrznej strony muru obronnego został dobudowany długi, dwuskrzydłowy dom. Miał on dwie kondygnacje i sięgał do połowy wysokości obecnego I piętra zamku. Od wschodu skrzydło południowe dobijało do skały, na której wznosił się najstarszy budynek zamkowy. Ostatnia średniowieczna rozbudowa nastąpiła zapewne w początkach XVI w., w związku z uzyskaniem przez właścicieli zamku przywileju królewskiego i lukratywnej komory celnej w Jedlinie. W jej efekcie dwukondygnacyjny, kamienny dom został przekształcony w czterokondygnacyjny dom kamienno-ceglany, choć część jego wewnętrznych podziałów i izby nad kuchnią pozostały wykonane w drewnie. Piętra podwyższonego domu „weszły na skałę”, na której wcześniej stał dom z I fazy, i zostały zamknięte od północy grubą, kamienną ścianą. Jeszcze dalej na północ znajdowała się murowana kuchnia. Najważniejszym pomieszczeniem domu była potężna, dwukondygnacyjna aula zajmująca na poziomie II piętra całą środkową część skrzydła południowego. Tym samym po raz kolejny okazało się, że zakres prac budowlanych, jakie prowadzono na zamku w średniowieczu, i jego bryła były znacznie bardziej rozległe, niż początkowo przypuszczano.

**Słowa kluczowe:** Grodno, zamek, Middle Ages, Knights' Hall



Zagórze Śląskie, Grodno Castle.  
The gate building of the lower castle  
from around 1570.  
View of the gable wall to the south-east  
(photo by A. Gryglewska, 2021)

Zagórze Śląskie, zamek Grodno.  
Budynek bramny dolnego zamku  
z około 1570 r.  
Widok ściany szczytowej  
od południowego wschodu  
(fot. A. Gryglewska, 2021)