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## **Kinsberg House, a place fit for a prince to live in... *Grodno Castle in modern times (16<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries) in the light of historiographic sources and field research***

### ***Introduction***

The power of a vassal under the authority of the Emperor Habsburg, based on the strength of generations of related Silesian families, strong and just, resulting from the exercise of Christian virtues, under God's guidance, and written in the stars. This message was presumably to be displayed on the portal of the upper castle's foregate to be seen by those arriving at Kinsberg Castle (Grodno). When read like an open book, it was an image of ambitions of the von Logau family which was one of the most powerful kin in Silesia in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Contents similar to those included in its decorations could be found in the most magnificent princely seats of the empire at that time<sup>1</sup> (Fig. 1).

Historical studies revealed the expansiveness of the 16<sup>th</sup>-century remodeling and extension<sup>2</sup>, which was unusual among noble houses, and which has been confirmed by historical, architectural and archaeological research

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<sup>1</sup> According to Hans Lutsch, on the portal: [...] *the imperial eagle is crowned with the home crown [of the Habsburgs], which is considered to be the imperial crown, presented at that time [...] as an ordinary courtesy of the owner towards the imperial court; here in the so-called unmittelbare Fürstentum territory [trans. direct, hereditary principality] was nothing unusual* [1, p. 193].

<sup>2</sup> The title of the article contains a fragment of the description of completed construction works from February 25, 1588, and at the same time an assessment of the castle, [...] *das Haus Kinsberg [...], darauf auch ein Fürst zu wohnen sich nicht schämen darf* (after: [3, p. 34, former reference number in the Royal State Archives: Breslauer Staats-Archiv. Fürstent. Schweidnitz-Jauer, further: StAFSJ, I, 73e]). Full quotation: footnote 32.



Fig. 1. Foregate portal  
on the cover of August Zemplin's book  
(drawing from around 1823, source: [2],  
in the collection of the University Library in Wrocław)

Il. 1. Portal przedbramia  
na okładce książki Augusta Zemplina  
(rys. ok. 1823 r., źródło: [2],  
w zbiorach Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej we Wrocławiu)

carried out until today. The castle, which was extended by the Czetrtritz family at the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century (phase III of the construction)<sup>3</sup>, was first renovated, then adapted to live in by the von Logau family within 15 years [3, p. 29], and finally lavishly furnished [4, p. 27] (phase IV of the construction). The side wings, the gatehouse and the tower of the upper castle were supplemented with additional storeys. On the crown of walls there was a decorative attic and at least one gable. The middle castle with a tower perimeter and a foregate were completed, whereas to the west and east of it, roundel bastion fortifications of the lower castle and outer bailey (partly on the older wall) were built along with outbuildings and a new gatehouse<sup>4</sup>. The façades were decorated with outstanding stonework detail of excellent quality in the architecture of Silesia as well as with sgraffito decorations of both Italian and Netherlandish provenance.

In 1595, the castle was already fully completed [5, pp. 308–310], [3, pp. 4–7]. A few years later, when it became the imperial property and was put up for sale in 1602, its roof was in danger of collapsing [6, p. 118]. Then, when it became the subject of speculation, it was not repaired until the end of the Thirty Years' War, during which it was the place where imperial and then Swedish troops were stationed (1633), and the place of devastation in search of treasures [3, p. 52]. Renovation works must have been undertaken in the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, since in 1667 Ephraim Ignaz Naso (Ephraim Ignatio Nasone) wrote about wonderfully furnished rooms [7, p. 259] (phase V of the construction). In 1642, Anna Katharina – daughter and heir of the last owner, Count Johann Georg von Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, returned to the castle with her husband Moritz August, Baron von Rochow, and began her reign<sup>5</sup>. The last construction works in the inhabited castle were carried out by Georg Gottfried, Baron von Eben, probably in 1686<sup>6</sup>. They certainly included the reconstruction of the tower and its dome after the fire. In the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the foregate tower was also remodeled.

In the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the castle “became a ruin here and there” [3, p. 61]. After Benjamin von Lieres had left the castle in 1774, the neglect of wall and roof repairs led to the gradual degradation of the building and finally to the collapse of the perimeter wall on the northern side, which also caused the demolition of the residential western wing in 1789. A division of the property in 1819 and the sale of the castle ruins to local peasants as

a building material in 1823 resulted in the destruction of everything that could be taken out of the walls in a short time. Only the inhabited gate building of the lower castle and the foregate with a portal survived at that time. Apart from them, no complete stone detail was preserved. The exposed polychromes in the interiors and the sgraffiti on the façades also underwent destruction. The castle ruin was preserved thanks to Johann Gustav Gottlieb Büsching who purchased it on September 18, 1823, and then secured and adapted it for visiting in the years 1824–1827 (phase VI of the construction).

The aim of this article is to complete and organize the existing knowledge about the castle and to interpret its form in modern times (16<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries). However, the study still leaves room for further research. For example, the subsequent restoration and conservation works which were done to the ruin of the castle after 1823 and are still pending for a discussion, were omitted. They were carried out according to various doctrines, at different expenditures of funds, with a greater and lesser dose of conservation “creation”<sup>7</sup>. Some actions made the appearance of the former castle clearer, others still make it difficult to recognize its original substance until today.

### *Review of the oldest research and literature*

Historical research on Grodno Castle in the early modern period and in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, from the earliest studies carried out in 1823 by August Zemplin, a health resort doctor in Szczawno and a court counselor, required the use of scattered documents from various collections. In 1945, many of these source materials, to which the 19<sup>th</sup>-century researchers had access, were destroyed, lost, or plundered. This concerned, first of all, the resources of the Royal State Archives in Wrocław (Königliche Staatsarchiv zu Breslau)<sup>8</sup> and land registers (Landbücher) of the Świdnica-Jawor Principality as well as the Hochbergs' archive in Książ Castle (Fürstensteiner Bibliothek). The archive, which was kept by the owners of Grodno Castle, burned down in around 1774 in the palace in Dzieńmorowice [10, p. 6]<sup>9</sup>, and probably decimated earlier during the Seven Years' War, when in the Austrian field sewing factory located in the castle, documents were to be cut into templates and measures [2, p. 18], [8, pp. 5, 6]<sup>10</sup>. The second edition of Zemplin's book, which was published in 1826, was the only independent work on the history of the castle ruins until 1886 [2]<sup>11</sup>. He based his

<sup>3</sup> The division into construction phases was adopted in accordance with the study by M. Chorowska, entitled *Chronology of transformations in Grodno Castle from the 13<sup>th</sup> to the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century* included in this issue of “Architectus”.

<sup>4</sup> See: M. Bogdała, A. Chodkowska, *Roundel bastion fortifications of Grodno Castle in Zagórze Śląskie* in this issue of “Architectus”.

<sup>5</sup> According to R. Weber: Johann Georg, Count of the Reich, von Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen-Behringen (Balingen?) und Wehrstein, Lord of Haigerloch [4, pp. 26, 27].

<sup>6</sup> Historians give different dates for the fire and the reconstruction of the tower. Zemplin dates the fire to 1689 and the reconstruction to 1684 (!) [2, pp. 17, 78], H. Schubert and O.H. report the year 1686 [3, p. 58], [8, p. 17].

<sup>7</sup> This topic in relation to the castle portals was developed by T. Dziedzic in the article *Details' wandering – transformations of architectural details and sgraffito of Grodno Castle in Zagórze Śląskie* in this issue of “Architectus”.

<sup>8</sup> In the State Archives in Wrocław, 300 documents in the *Fürstenthum Schweidnitz-Jauer* complex concerning the Principality of Świdnica and Jawor from 1285–1836, including land registers from the years 1527–1758 have been preserved. There are no books from the years 1561–1600 (after: [9]).

<sup>9</sup> A. Duncker does not give any date of the fire [11].

<sup>10</sup> In the years 1756–1763. Other historians do not confirm this fact.

<sup>11</sup> Zemplin treated his article from 1924 as the first edition [12, pp. 345–371].

research on documents from the Royal State Archives and the library in Książ, as well as on the materials which were provided to him by his fellow enthusiasts, i.e., archivists and officials. The work is of great value due to the publication of contents of currently non-existent documents. The history of the castle, although fully reported in the author's opinion (after: [3, *Vorwort*]), contained many gaps and incorrect interpretations of sources, e.g., in relation to the genealogy of the von Logau family, then duplicated and colored for over half a century by other authors [13, pp. 33–51], [8]. Zemplin's work also describes the state of preservation of the castle after its abandonment and destruction until 1823. The book which was written by the owner of the castle, Johann Gustav Gottlieb Büsching [14], a historian, archaeologist, ethnographer, and professor of Wrocław University and published in 1827, has the value of a source document by discussing the security, renovation and adaptation works which were carried out up to that year at the castle.

Until today, a historical study by Wrocław teacher Heinrich Schubert from 1886 [3], which was supported by footnotes and revised in the editions in 1900 and 1910, can be considered the most reliable and comprehensive [15]. Schubert used documents from the Royal State Archives in Wrocław and the Hochbergs' archive from Książ, which he re-examined, and those collected by Baron Max Ferdinand von Zedlitz-Neukirch [3, *Vorwort*]. Thanks to them, he verified the previous research on the history of the von Logau family. Schubert was the first [3, pp. 5, 7], then Viktor Schaetzke [5, pp. 308–310], to quote the original wording of the urbarium from 1595, i.e., a comprehensive description of the then completed residence. Robert Weber included orderly historical information, e.g., about successive lords of the castle in the *Schlesische Schlösser* album [4, pp. 25–28, Taf. 68–69], however, without citing any sources. The history of the von Logau family was most extensively discussed by Kurt Engelbert against the background of the biography of Bishop Kaspar von Logau from Wrocław, in his doctoral dissertation which was published in 1925 [16]. After 1945, the subject of the history and architecture of Grodno Castle was resumed by Jerzy Rozpędowski in publications in 1957 and 1960 in connection with the measurement as well as with historical and conservation research carried out from 1955 [17, pp. 7–32], [10]. Until now, these were the last studies covering the entire castle complex. It is also worth appreciating popular science publications, such as tourist guides, which contained information on current investments, for example, Wilhelm Reimann from 1912 [6, pp. 116–119] or Jan Sakwerda from 1989 [18]. Sakwerda discussed the post-war conservation works during the times when the castle was used by the Polish Tourist and Sightseeing Society (PTTK). Noteworthy is a reliable, albeit brief, historical study on the fief times of the von Logau family [18, pp. 7–9].

Unfortunately, the iconography of the castle from its heyday has not survived. The only known source presenting it before it became a ruin could be a map of Martin Helwig from 1561, which was published in Nysa (*Tabula geographica sive mappa Silesiae*), namely an illustrative

map of Silesia with miniatures of cities, castles, monasteries and villages. It probably presented Grodno Castle in a very simplified way after the first early modern reconstruction by Matthäus von Logau, but with the emblem of the city, not the castle, and the name of Waldeberg (Wałbrzych). The search for the castle's drawings by Friedrich Bernhard Werner from the 18<sup>th</sup> century did not bring any results<sup>12</sup>. All other preserved views come from the times when the castle was already a ruin, i.e. the oldest ones by, inter alia, Friedrich Gottlob Endler, Carl Friedrich Stuckart, or Friedrich August Tittel from 1798, which are described by Grzegorz Sanik.

### *The von Logau family at Grodno Castle*

The history of Grodno Castle in the years 1545–1596 was associated with the von Logau family, Matthäus the Elder from Altendorf<sup>13</sup> and Biechów (Matthäus, Matthias or Matheus von Logau Ältere zu Altendorf u. Beschaw, 1489–1567) and his sons Kaspar (1524–1574) and Georg (–1595).

Ferdinand I, King of Bohemia, Hungary and King of Rome, Holy Roman Emperor from 1558, pronounced the castle fief of Euphemia von Hoberg (Hochberg), widow of knight Christoph, on February 18, 1545. In the years 1542–1557 he leased them for life with all squads, church fiefs, villages and estates, for the amount of a pledge of 1600 Hungarian guilders in gold, Starost of Świdnica-Jawor, Matthäus von Logau and his eldest son Kaspar, then in the service of Archduke and later Emperor Maximilian II [3, p. 22]. In the years 1562–1574 Kaspar was the bishop of Wrocław, General Starost of Silesia and Prince (Fig. 2). They both acquired the property for life on November 1, 1545. Apart from the fiefs, they received 400 Hungarian guilders for services to the monarchy (the so-called *Gnadengeld*) from Ferdinand I. The costs of necessary construction works of 500 Rhenish guilders were also recognized because [...] *the castle is partially collapsing and, if no repairs were undertaken, great damage might have happened in the future*<sup>14</sup>. After paying off the pledge in 1547, the contract was extended by 10 years after Kaspar's death [3, p. 23]. It happened in recognition of the service of Matthäus, whose sons, probably the eldest Kaspar and Matthias called The Younger (–1593), joined the war in Saxony<sup>15</sup>. In the same year, the owners

<sup>12</sup> An overview of the iconography of Grodno Castle was made by G. Sanik – cf. the article in this issue of "Architectus".

<sup>13</sup> Later Mellendorf, at present Młynica near Dzierżoniów.

<sup>14</sup> Fragment of Ferdinand's I document: *das Schloß zum Teil baufällig ist, und, wenn nicht Besserungen vorgenommen würden, künftig ein großer Schaden geschehen könnte*. The castle in the mortgage agreement was named Kinspergkh (after: [3, p. 21, 22, StAFSJ, I, 73e]).

<sup>15</sup> According to Engelbert, Kaspar accompanied the sons of Ferdinand I, Maximilian and Ferdinand, in the war waged by Emperor Charles V against France in 1544, as well as in the First Schmalkaldic War (1546–1547) and the victorious battle with Protestants at Mühlberg on the River Elbe (1547). The author also mentioned the service of Matthias the Younger in the imperial army as a higher officer in 1546 (Obriestwachtmeister) [16, pp. 4–6].





Fig. 2. Portrait of Bishop Kaspar von Logau in the years 1562–1574  
(source: [16, p. I],  
in the collection of the University Library in Wrocław)

Il. 2. Portret biskupa Kaspara von Logau w latach 1562–1574  
(źródło: [16, s. I],  
w zbiorach Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej we Wrocławiu)

of the lease pledge obtained the right to enrich their property with new lands, mills and farms [18, p. 6].

The castle was owned by Matthäus the Elder until his death and four months later (April 1, 1568) Kaspar renounced the properties which were left by his father to his brothers [15, pp. 19, 20], i.e. Matthias the Younger, in the years 1565–1593 Starost of Świdnica and Jawor and from 1570 [2, p. 41] or 1572 [19] the head of the royal chamber in Silesia; Georg, in the years 1567–1577 (?) Starost of Nysa; Heinrich, also Starost of Nysa in the years 1578–1581, and Gotthard (–1589), from 1573 (?) Lord of Skoczów and Strumień State Country (Skotschaw-Schwarzwasser, Cieszyn powiat).

After Kaspar, the owner of the lease pledge in Grodno should have been the eldest of the remaining brothers, Matthias, who, however, from 1565 held the office of Starost of Świdnica and Jawor Principality with the seat in the castle in Jawor. This is probably why Matthias received the castle fief in Jawor, whereas the “Kinsberg House” and the assigned right of ten years was given to Georg, the third brother, after Kaspar’s death. He remained in the castle for the next eleven years on expiry of that period. Heinrich inherited the Niemodlin fief and many estates in Nysa and its vicinity. Gotthard, the youngest of the brothers, received Biechów near Nysa [15, p. 20].

Each of the brothers multiplied the property which was inherited from their father and initiated the reconstruction

of their seat of the fief respectively. In 1568, Matthias the Younger undertook a major extension of the castle in Jawor [20, p. 8] and from around 1570 he also conducted construction works at the castle in Bolków. Apart from remodeling Grodno, Georg gave the Renaissance shape to the castle in Frydek (Friedeck, Frýdek, 1573–1581), whereas the youngest brother – Gotthard – built the castle in Skoczów (around 1573–1589). In 1570, Matthias the Younger and his brothers bought the Principality of Ząbkowice and Ziębice for a huge sum of 180,000 guilders from Karl Christoph, Duke of Ziębice and Oleśnica. The purchase was unsuccessful because the knights of these principalities did not agree to a feudal subordination to the common nobility [8, p. 8], [11]. Eventually, Emperor Maximilian II bought both of them for the Bohemia crown. Probably the fact of this unsuccessful transaction and the large-scale investments, whose splendor was to go hand in hand with the ambitions of the brothers, and finally the premature death of Bishop Kaspar, initiated the family’s financial difficulties and huge debts, especially for Georg, who did not get out of them until his death.

The von Logau family, who had lived in the Principality of Świdnica for at least 200 years, belonged to the oldest families of the Silesian nobility [3, p. 20], [19]. In his youth, Matthäus the Elder for many years was in the service of Wrocław bishops – Johann Turzon [18, p. 6] and Jakob von Salza – initiators of the Renaissance patronage in Silesia. For the first time he was named a notary of the bishop’s office in a document from 1517, and then he was promoted to the dignity of bishop’s chancellor and counselor [16, p. 5], which must have proved his careful education. In around 1523, Matthäus married Susanna Ogigel, daughter of the Bishop’s Starost Ivan Ogigel, with whom he had five sons and daughters Anna, Magdalena, and Barbara. After Susanna’s death, he married the aunt of bishop Balthasar, widow Hedwig von Promnitz, with whom he probably had four more daughters and two sons [16, pp. 6, 7]. Matthäus’s cousin, Georg, was a Renaissance scholar and poet educated at universities in Cracow and Vienna [19]. He traveled to Italy at least twice thanks to the financial support of, inter alia, bishop Turzo, and from 1526 he was a secretary and educator in the service of Ferdinand I [16, pp. 4–6]. Engelbert, biographer of Kaspar von Logau, believed that thanks to Georg’s support, he was transferred from the parish school in Nysa to the Habsburg court and was brought up together with princes Maximilian and Ferdinand, who were several years younger [16, p. 8]. The princes attended school at Ambras Castle in Innsbruck, which was also attended by a number of noble children from various countries of the Empire [16, pp. 8, 9]. The future Saxon elector August I (in the years 1553–1586) was also educated at this school. He was an outstanding patron of the arts and a builder of castles, inter alia, in Augustusburg, Dresden, and Annaburg, and the one who could have been bonded by friendship with Kaspar von Logau as well as with Maximilian II<sup>16</sup>. It seems that

<sup>16</sup> Visit of August I in 1572 at Matthias the Younger von Logau’s castle (after: [20, p. 1], [21]).



Kaspar's entire life was planned at the Habsburg court, so after the Schmalkaldic War – studies at the Italian university in Padua or Bologna in 1548–1551 [16, p. 13], the position of Karl's Preceptor, the third son of Ferdinand I, and then the clergy. He was the provost of the cathedral chapter in Litomierzyce from 1551, the bishop of Wiener-Neustadt from 1560, and two years later the bishop in Wrocław. During his reign in Silesia he was accused of submission to Protestants [16, pp. 108, 109], but also of nepotism and extravagance<sup>17</sup>. The tombstone of Bishop von Logau in St. James Church in Nysa, which was funded by the brothers, shows his figure in a Sansovino posture, in a rich architectural frame, the composition of which, as well as the Italian and Netherlandish sculptural decoration, have common features with the portals of Grodno Castle from a similar time.

Much less is known about Georg, the third son of Matthäus. We know nothing about his education, although it must have been versatile, like education of his brothers Kaspar and Matthias, who were really sophisticated<sup>18</sup>. In around 1560, he married Anna Seydlitz von Schönfeld (from Siedlimowice near Świdnica), with whom he had daughters Susanna, Maria, Helena, and Anna. From 1567, he performed the function of Starost in Nysa, the seat of Wrocław bishops at that time. After the death of his wife Anna on May 31, 1575 (at the age of 36), in about 1577 he got married to Katharina Silber von Silberstein, a rich heiress from Bohemia, with whom he had son Christoph (1589–) [3, pp. 30, 31, 35], [2, p. 48].

Immediately after taking over the property of Kinsberg, Georg von Logau began to undertake “major construction changes” [3, p. 29], i.e., to renovate and multiply the mortgage seat [3, p. 30], [...] *he renewed the castle, perimeter walls, towers and began to magnificently build more rooms from scratch*<sup>19</sup>. Apart from works in the castle, he started the construction of Meierhof farm at its foot and another one in Jedlinka (Tannhausen). While constructing expensive buildings on the one hand, and on the other – buying farms, fields and mills, Georg von Logau ran into financial problems. According to Schubert: *He took on too much debt and persuaded a large number of nobility to provide loan guaranties. Urged by them and by his creditors, he had to resort to numerous pledges* [3, p. 32]. Documents, especially from the last 10 years of Georg's life, show a picture of a struggle for survival, threats of taking over the castle for debts (1588/1589), *cutting down forests up to indecency* (1589–1594)<sup>20</sup> in order to support the family. Harassed by commissions, penalties, and imperial orders, he died on April 3, 1595. Widow Katharina, after renouncing her dowry and her lifetime right to the

castle, left Kinsberg Castle with her son and stepchildren in 1596.

The era of the von Logau family, who was faithful to Emperors Ferdinand I and Maximilian II, and accompanied them at war and at court, at coronations and in parliaments, ended at the castle. For half a century, Grodno Castle was in the hands of a significant family with connections, who held numerous public functions and was well-educated, ambitious and wealthy as well as familiar with Italian culture.

### *The first stage of the early modern remodeling of the castle in the years 1545–1567*

#### *Fortifications*

From 1527, Silesia, under the rule of King of Bohemia – Ferdinand, Archduke of Austria – became an element of the Habsburg policy which was conducted in the face of the threat from the Ottoman Empire. Matthäus von Logau, as a new vassal at Grodno Castle, probably immediately began to repair and extend the fortress which was neglected by the Hochbergs. These transformations were aimed at adapting the upper castle to living and strengthening the defensive perimeter of the middle castle and the foregate.

According to Zemplin, teams were clearly mentioned in the mortgage agreement, which was proof that [...] *the castle was still planned as a national stronghold [Landesveste]* [2, p. 38]. An important stage of works was certainly completed in 1551, which is evidenced by a dimension stone with primitively made initials M v L, the coat of arms and the date (Fig. 3), embedded in the fortifications “on the western side of the wall” [2, p. 13], in a difficult to determine place, probably secondarily, in the curtain of the lower castle wall. It was still there at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It is not known whether the date 1551 ended the first modern stage of construction works. It should be assumed that the construction activity of Matthäus the Elder ceased in around 1557, when he resigned from the office of starost due to his age [3, p. 24].

Research by Małgorzata Chorowska, Marek Bogdała, and Anna Chodkowska<sup>21</sup> within the middle castle and outer bailey showed that the north-western section of the low wall of the middle castle, which was built at the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century in the parkan type, gained a superstructure only in the middle of the century and was adapted to the requirements of modern art war. This stage of works must have also included the wall which closed the middle castle from the south-western side and was demolished in around 1904, [6, pp. 116–119]. Farm buildings such as stables were added to it, probably transferred here from the upper courtyard. The “protruding lower gate building” [4, p. 27], which was mentioned by Robert Weber (not confirmed in other sources), in the form of a ramp enclosed by walls, probably gained the shape of a foregate in the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century thanks to the construction of the gate tower. Its dating could be confirmed by

<sup>17</sup> Engelbert believed that both the father and brothers owed all their offices to Bishop Kaspar (after: [16, pp. 108, 109]).

<sup>18</sup> Matthias the Younger traveled to Italy and Spain; his talents and customs aroused common admiration (after: [2, pp. 36, 37]).

<sup>19</sup> *Dasselbige ganz und gar renoviert und die Ringmauer, Bastei und die Zimmer mehr von neuem stattlich zu erbauen angefangen* (after: [3, p. 29–30, StAFSJ, I, 73b]), [5, p. 314].

<sup>20</sup> On the basis of complaints and exchange of letters with the chamber (after: [3, p. 35, StAFSJ, I, 73n]).

<sup>21</sup> Presented in this volume of “Architectus”.



Fig. 3. A block of stone of Matthäus von Logau with the coat of arms and the date displayed in the entrance hall of the upper castle (photo by A. Gryglewska, 2019)

Il. 3. Cios kamienny Matthäusa von Logau z herbem i datą eksponowany w sieni górnego zamku (fot. A. Gryglewska, 2019)

architectural and archaeological research in the area of the cellars and the first floor which was transformed into a neo-Gothic pavilion in the years 1845–1856<sup>22</sup>.

### Upper Castle

The scope of works which were carried out by Matthäus von Logau in the upper castle is merely mentioned in the documents quoted by Schubert: [...] *to some extent he repaired and equipped [the house] with residential rooms*<sup>23</sup>. In his work, Schubert also mentions the investments of Matthäus's son – Georg: [...] *the amenities are of much higher value than at the time when the old Mr. Matthias von Logau was pledged* (February 25, 1588)<sup>24</sup>. Moving some of the defensive functions into the middle of the castle and the foregate made it possible to achieve some additional living space in the gate building (western

part of the southern wing) and to change the function of the courtyard. The courtyard could then have gained a representative character, also thanks to the leveling and raising of its level, which was demonstrated by archaeological research from 2019. The works from the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century are distinguished by an imperfect construction workshop, which is visible in the method of making the vaults. The gatehouse was divided into a vestibule and two residential storeys with rooms and chambers by means of a groined barrel with irregular geometry<sup>25</sup>. The vault over the ground floor room, in the extension of the entrance hall, also has similar features. They differ from the carefully made vaulting in the gatehouse of the lower castle, which is dated to around 1570. The consequence of separating the entrance hall was the removal of a high arcade with a lowered portcullis, the outline of which, emphasized by large blocks of stone, is now visible under the remnants of plaster. The dating of the vault, entrances from the hall to the basement and the supporting structure of the flight of stairs leading from the entrance hall to the first floor, however, requires verification by means of further research.

### *The second stage of the early modern remodeling of the castle in the years 1568–1587. Decorating and fortifying the castle*

#### *Dating of works and performers*

Until the 19<sup>th</sup> century, no significant historical records about artists and craftsmen working on the remodeling of the castle at the time when it was the seat of the von Logau family survived. However, there were hypotheses about their “origin from distant Italy” [10, p. 19]. The only document presenting the names of performers and the scope of construction works was the report of the Silesian chamber commission meeting in December 1587, in connection with the debts of the vassal, and it concerned works carried out only at the end of the forty-year process of rebuilding the castle. It is known thanks to Schubert. The workers came from Jawor and Świdnica. *The stonework and brick-laying works at the castle, farm, malt house and brewery were estimated at 4572 thalers 17 pennies by stonemasons Andreas Gebert and Jonas Rossemann from Świdnica and masters Elias Hertwig, Christoph Pfeiffer, and Hans Genisser from Jawor.; carpentry works in the castle – masters Andreas Stellauf and Gabriel Domassen (Thomas) from Świdnica and they amounted to 1204 thalers 18 pennies 4 Pf. and near the castle 1108 thalers 7 pennies and on the farm in Jedlinka (Tannhausen) 974 thalers 17 pennies 4 Pf. The carpentry works were estimated at 841 thalers 12 pennies by masters Lazarus Hoffmann and Lorenz Neugebauer from Świdnica.; locksmith works were estimated at 581 thalers by Peter Merten and Jeronimus Unverricht from Świdnica; glass works were estimated at 253 thalers by David Kerber and Paul Schmidt from Świdnica. The stove fitter works were estimated at 260 thalers by Michael*

<sup>22</sup> Dating on the basis of [8, p. 14] and the preserved iconography.

<sup>23</sup> [Das Haus] *etzlichermassen gebessert und mit bewohnlichen Zimmern angerichtet* (after: [3, s. 29, StAFSJ, I, 73b]).

<sup>24</sup> *So sind die Genieße jetzt in viel höherem Wert als zur Zeit, wie dem alten Herrn Matthias von Logau der Pfandschilling eingethan* – commissioner information for the camera (after: [3, p. 34, StAFSJ, I, 73e]).

<sup>25</sup> A postcard showing the interior of the entrance hall in the 1920s and 1930s [22].





Fig. 4. Fragment of the foregate portal. Entablature with a frieze strip with heraldic decoration (photo by A. Gryglewska, 2021)

Il. 4. Fragment portalu przedbramia. Belkowanie z pasem fryzy z dekoracją heraldyczną (fot. A. Gryglewska, 2021)

*Schmider, Matz Kunz, and Jacob Kleindienst from Świdnica*<sup>26</sup>. The above names do not appear in other documents or contemporary historical studies on craftsmanship in Lower Silesia<sup>27</sup>.

Important dates for the remodeling of the castle by Georg von Logau are as follows: 1568, 1570, 1574, 1584, and 1587. It can be assumed that the years from his taking the fief in Grodno until the unsuccessful purchase of the principality were important for the concept of remodeling and modernization of the castle. Thanks to the influences and connections of Bishop Kaspar, some really remarkable workers, including sculptors and sgraffiters, for example from the area of Saxony, were employed then<sup>28</sup>. At that time, intensive construction works began both in the interior of the upper and lower castle. The purchase of properties in Frydek by the brothers Georg and Matthias, which was followed by the illness and death of Kaspar (who provided financial support and security to the project, and possibly was its *spiritus movens*), slowed down the works (but they were continued). Between the expiry of the mortgage contract and the completion of construction and the intervention of the administration of the Principality of Świdnica and Jawor regarding the debt, there was a period of hurried completion of works by local

craftsmen from Świdnica and Jawor, whose names appear in the aforementioned document [3, p. 34].

The period of activities of an outstanding construction workshop in the castle lasted no longer than to 1575, i.e., the year of Anna's (Georg's wife) death. This is confirmed by the coats of arms of both of them placed on the portals and mentioned in the 1820s by Zemplin *still fully preserved door with the coats of arms of Logau and Seidlitz* [2, p. 16]. The most beautiful, aedicule portal of the foregate was decorated with eight coats of arms (Fig. 4) depicting the genealogy of both of these families<sup>29</sup>. They are separated by altered entablature supported by a console. On the left of it, on the male side – Georg's, there are the coats of arms of Logau (father), Reibnitz (paternal grandmother), Ogigel (mother), Reideburg (maternal grandmother), on the right, on Anna's side – Seidlitz (father), once again Reibnitz (paternal grandmother), Mühlheim (mother) and Nimptsch (maternal grandmother)<sup>30</sup>. The coat of arms of the second wife Katharina Silberstein, which would date the works to the years after 1577, was neither preserved in the castle, nor mentioned in the documents.

#### *Descriptions of the castle in 1588 and 1595 and their interpretation*

In 1584, ten years after the death of Kaspar von Logau, and thus the end of the Grodno pledge period, the value of the property was 26,490 thalers, so it increased more than tenfold in almost forty years<sup>31</sup>. In 1585, the land property was inspected and a new urbarium was prepared [3, p. 31]. The content of this document is unknown. Probably due to the fact that Georg von Logau incurred debts and was

<sup>26</sup> *Die Steinmetz- Maurerarbeiten am Schlosse, Vorwerk, Malz- und Breuhaus, taxiert durch die Steinmetzen Andreas Gebert und Jonas Rossemann aus Schweidnitz und die Meister Elias Hertwig, Christoph Pfeiffer und Hans Geniesser aus Jauer, betragen 4572 Thlr. 17 Wgr. Die Zimmerarbeiten auf dem Schlosse, taxiert durch die Meister Andreas Stellauf und Gabriel Domassen (Thomas) von Schweidnitz, betragen 1204 Thlr. 18 Wgr. 4 Pf.; dieselben unter dem Schlosse = 1108 Thlr. 7 Wgr. und dieselben auf dem Vorwerke Tannhausen = 974 Thlr. 17 Wgr. 4 Pf. Die Tischlerarbeit, taxiert durch die Meister Lazarus Hoffmann und Lorenz Neugebauer aus Schweidnitz = 841 Thlr. 12 Wgr. Die Schlosserarbeit, taxiert durch Peter Merten und Jeronimus Unverricht aus Schweidnitz = 581 Thlr. Die Glaserarbeit, taxiert durch David Kerber und Paul Schmid aus Schweidnitz = 253 Thlr. 6 Wgr. Die Töpferarbeit, taxiert durch Michael Schmider, Matz Kunz und Jacob Kleindienst aus Schweidnitz = 260 Thlr. (after: [3, pp. 33–34, StAFSJ, I, 73n]).*

<sup>27</sup> On the basis of consultations with Rainer Sachs, the author of the multi-volume *Lexicon of Silesian Artists* (parts in preparation).

<sup>28</sup> This is supported by a comparative analysis of architecture and sculpture and the highly probable acquaintance of Kaspar von Logau with the Saxon elector August I from childhood in Innsbruck (see footnote 16). This is a hypothesis only, and the artistic connections of Silesia and Saxony, where the Northern Italian artists worked, require further studies.

<sup>29</sup> The wife of Matthias the Younger, also Anna Seidlitz, came from Milin near Mietków (Fürstenau).

<sup>30</sup> The lineage of Anna of Siedlimowice, who died in 1577, is confirmed by analogous coats of arms on the tombstone of her daughter Anna von Logau in Dzieńmorowice.

<sup>31</sup> The value of 1,600 Hungarian guilders equaled the sum of 2,533 thalers and 12 pennies. The pledged amount included the so-called grace fund of 633 thalers and 12 pennies, construction fund 416 thalers and 24 pennies donated to Matthias the Elder, the sum of the loan granted by bishop Kaspar von Logau to the emperor in the amount of 18,000 thalers and properties purchased by the von Logau family for 4,906 thalers and 24 pennies (after: [3, p. 28]).

urged by his creditors [3, p. 32], the Silesian chamber appointed a special commission which on December 9 and 10, 1587 assessed the construction, stonework and brick-laying works in the castle, then the farm, malt house and brewery, carpentry work in the castle and near it, carpentry, locksmith, glass and stove fitting works (in total for approximately 9,795 thalers) as well as purchased farms, meadows and mills (for approximately 4,906 thalers), which amounted to 14,702 thalers 17 pennies [3, pp. 33, 34]. The list of works showed that in the last 16<sup>th</sup>-century stage of remodeling, window and door joinery, stoves and the structure of roofs or defensive porches were made in the castle. On February 25, 1588, the commissars noted: [...] *we find a building constructed with great work and heavy expense [...], and we consider Kinsberg House, which would be fit for a prince to live in, to be fully completed*<sup>32</sup>. This entry primarily presented the investment achievements of Georg von Logau and his great passion for building the castle in its prime.

After the vassal's death, the description of the property was made again. The text of the urbarium from 1595, from the collection of documents of the principality of Świdnica and Jawor in the Royal State Archives in Wrocław, was recorded by Schubert in 1886 [3, pp. 4, 5, 7], then by Schaetzke in 1927 [5, pp. 308–310], and finally by Rozpędowski in 1957 [17, p. 11]. It says: *This castle is situated on a fairly high mountain, built magnificently and built of stone from scratch; the outer courtyard is also surrounded by a wall, in the front it has a refined vaulted gatehouse with a room for domestics, above two rooms and three chambers; opposite there is a vaulted bakery, on [its] right side there is a bakery room and a chamber, on the other side there is a spacious bathhouse. In the covered outer courtyard there are two stables, one for twelve, another for four steeds, inside a wooden enclosure, a shed with two chambers and wood and other things are kept in roundels.*

*As we go towards the castle there is a vaulted gatehouse again, with a vaulted room at the top.*

*There is a vaulted gatehouse in the castle, and under the castle there are also four different vaulted cellars. On the left side of the front house there is a large vaulted and painted room, on the other side there is a large vaulted pantry. In the courtyard there is a vaulted kitchen with a kitchen vault. On another [first] floor there is a small hall, on the left a large guest chamber<sup>33</sup>, on the right side of the hall there is a room with a beautiful ceiling and floor; additionally two more chambers, besides one large vault [vaulted hall], then another room, separated from an alcove by means of planks. On the third storey [second floor] there is a small hall again, on the left a large beautiful blue painted room, on the right again a wonderful room with a chamber and a large vault [vaulted*

*hall], again a room separated from the alcove by means of a plank wall. Up to this place, the stairs are made of stone.*

*There is only one wall as we move towards the farm, a porch on it, and no other buildings were built next to it.*

*There is a large hall on the fourth storey, a spacious room on the left, moreover; four chambers, a vault to the right of the hall [vaulted hall], and a large guest chamber opposite in relation to the [place] under the tower. There is one room under the roof, two on the left, four more chambers to the right and one open small room under the tower. This castle has one fairly high tower, a transparent top, covered with white sheet metal; besides, the roof over the entire castle is shingled, and everything is new and in line with construction knowledge<sup>34</sup>.*

The probable layout of rooms in the upper castle, which was reconstructed on the basis of the urbarium, is illustrated by the drawings of the chronological stratification of walls at the level of the ground floor and 1–3 floors made by Chorowska<sup>35</sup>. It was assumed that the term “room” (*Stube*) means a heated room intended for living during the day, whereas a “chamber, alcove” (*Kammer*) means an unheated, usually sleeping room. The location of three chimneys from the 16<sup>th</sup> century – a kitchen chimney in the north-eastern corner, the second one at the connection of the southern and western wings (visible on Endler's etching from around 1798)<sup>36</sup> and the third one visible in the southern wall on the second and third floors

<sup>34</sup> The urbarium text, quoted from: [5, pp. 308–310], [3, pp. 4, 5, 7]: *Dieses Schloß liegt auf einem ziemlich hohen Berge, statlich erbaut und von Grund auf gemauert; der Außenhof ist auch mit einer Mauer umfassen, hat erstlich ein zierlich gemauert Thorhaus gewölbt, dabei eine Gesindestube, oben zwei Stuben und drei Kammern; gegenüber ist ein gewölbt Backhaus, auf der rechten Seite eine Backhausstube und eine Kammer, auf der anderen Seite eine geraume Badestube. In gedachtem äußeren Hof sind zwei Stallungen eine für 12, die andere für 4 Rosse, ein hölzern Zimmer mit darin, ein Schuppen mit zwei Kammern und in den Rondelen wird Holz und andere Sachen gehalten.*

*Gegen dem Schloß ist wieder ein gewölbt Thorhaus, oben eine gewölbt Stube.*

*Im Schloß ist das Thorhaus gewölbt, unter dem Schlosse sein vier unterschiedliche Keller, so gewölbt. Zur Linken des Vorhauses ist eine große gewölbt und gemalte Stube, auf der anderen Seite eine große gewölbt Speisekammer. Im Hofe ist eine gewölbt Küche samt einem Küchengewölbe. Im anderen Gaden (Stockwerk) ist ein kleiner Saal, zur Linken eine große Gastkammer, zur Rechten des Saales eine Stube mit einem schönen Decke und Boden, daneben zwei Kammern, dahinter ein großes Gewölbe, dann wieder eine Stube, so mit Brettern zu einer Schlafkammer unterschieden. Im dritten Gaden wiederum ein Sälchen, zur Linken eine große, blau gemalte schöne Stube, zur Rechten wiederum eine schöne Stube mit einer Kammer und einem großen Gewölbe, wiederum eine Stube mit einer Bretterwand zur Schlafkammer unterschieden. Bis daher sind die Treppen steinern. Gegen dem Vorwerk ist nur eine Mauer, darauf ein Gang und daran keine Zimmer gebaut (the last sentence only in: [3, p. 7]).*

*Im vierten Gaden ist ein großer Saal, zur Linken eine geraume (geräumige) Stube, daneben vier Kammern, zur Rechten des Saales ein Gewölbe, unter dem Turme gegenüber eine große Gastkammer. Unter dem Dache ist eine Stube, zur Linken zwei und zur Rechten derselben noch vier Kammern und ein offen Kämmerlein unter dem Turm. Dies Schloß hat einen ziemlich hohen Turm, oben durchsichtig, mit weißem Blech eingedeckt; sonst ist das Dach über das ganze Schloß mit Schindeln eingedeckt und alles neu und in baulichem Wesen.*

<sup>35</sup> In this volume of “Architectus”.

<sup>36</sup> Compare the article by G. Sanik in this volume of “Architectus”.

<sup>32</sup> [...] *befinden wir allerseits große Baue, die mit großer Arbeit und schweren Unkosten angebracht, und sonderlich das Haus Kinsberg halten wir für ein wohlgebautes Haus, darauf auch ein Fürst zu wohnen sich nicht schämen darf* (after: [3, p. 34, StAFSJ, I, 73e]).

<sup>33</sup> *Gastkammern* – guest chambers, on the first and third floors, were probably heated, which results from the location of the chimneys [footnote by A.G.].



near the tower<sup>37</sup>, determines the location of warm rooms. The description of the second and third floors, which always starts with the room serving as the entrance hall and which was recognized in the corner at the connection of the southern and eastern wings, suggests the existence of stairs leading from the ground floor, probably in the place of the present porch in the corner of the courtyard at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The stairs would have begun with the rock-cut steps, which are now visible in the former Renaissance kitchen in the eastern wing. Zemplin described them: [...] *from the kitchen to the right there are narrow stone stairs leading to the tower; their construction method is certainly the oldest, and they were left from the first building* [2, p. 16]. The negative of the impressive portal in the kitchen wall from the courtyard side indicates that there was an important entrance in this place. Above them, on the level of the second floor, there could have been a gallery, which would be confirmed by the preserved offset. Whether the stairs were an openwork structure or a closed staircase, stone or wooden, could be explained by an inventory of details in the castle's lapidaria. The spiral staircase in the north-western corner of the east wing, which were preserved from this phase of remodeling, would only have economic significance, ensuring transport between the kitchen, the room on the first floor (probably the dining room) and defensive porches. Between the second and third floors, they turn into a flight of stairs ascending in the thickness of the outer northern and eastern perimeter walls. An analogous layout could have existed near the non-existent western wing. Therefore, in 1667, Naso wrote: [...] *there is a narrow porch around the back of the fortress / with embrasures*<sup>38</sup>. Zemplin claimed that the reason for the collapse of the northern wall in 1789 was the location of the stairs: *In this part of the wall there were stairs in order to use them to reach the battlements by defenders in the face of a threat. Thanks to these stairs, the wall lost its necessary durability and it was clear that it collapsed unexpectedly* [2, p. 12]. On the inventory plans of the ruins from 1927 [5, p. 300] and 1985, a wall is visible separating the so-called large, vaulted, painted room on the ground floor of the western wing from the perimeter wall. The narrowing corridor, which was created in this way, would have been enough to insert there at least a straight flight of stairs, which could have been connected both with the construction stage of the western wing in the Middle Ages and its superstructure in the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. In 2013 this place was walled up, which made it impossible to examine it thoroughly.

The distribution of representative and residential functions in the castle was the result of a compromise and the adaptation of the interiors arranged by the Czetztritz family at the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The large hall on the third floor probably retained its representative function.

<sup>37</sup> This chimney could have started on the first floor in the entrance hall at the connection of the southern and eastern wings, where the cavity of the furnace is preserved. The course of the chimney between the first and second floor is unknown.

<sup>38</sup> *An dem Rücken der Festung ist umbher ein enger Gang / mit Schieß=Löchern* [7, p. 259].



Fig. 5. Window recess with relics of polychrome from the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century in the room on the second floor of the eastern wing of the castle (photo by A. Gryglewska, 2021)

Il. 5. Wnęka okienna z relikwiami polichromii z 2. połowy XVI w. w izbie na II piętrze wschodniego skrzydła zamku (fot. A. Gryglewska, 2021)

A new dining room was built probably on the first floor, above the kitchen. The vaulted hall behind the entrance hall on the ground floor served as a pantry. In the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, many new living rooms, chambers and guest rooms were built. The interiors were richly decorated, which is evidenced by the supplemented polychrome portals on the first floor and underwent anastylosis at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, as well as a few remnants of old painting decorations around the windows on the second floor (Fig. 5).

The remodeling of the upper castle in the times of Georg von Logau consisted in leveling its three wings to the height of four floors and making the tower higher. The upper castle above the western wing gained the second and third floors and in the western part of the southern wing, the third floor was added. The northern, four-storey part of the eastern wing was built at the place of the older kitchen with the use of the perimeter wall. The body of the castle was crowned with high shingled roofs surrounded by an attic, the relics of which have survived to the present day above the eastern wing on the northern and eastern sides (Fig. 6). They are documented by photographs from the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century<sup>39</sup>. It is impossible to confirm the existence of an attic around the entire body of the castle or its form, because of the destruction of the crown of walls and the lack of reliable iconography. Due to the arrangement, it can be assumed that the attic also crowned the northern façade of the western wing and the façade of the gatehouse, which was presented in the drawing of the castle reconstruction (Figs. 7, 8). The existence of the southern wing attic is suggested by the aforementioned graphic by Endler. In the plinth of the attic of the eastern wing there were windows of the attic rooms, alternating with larger

<sup>39</sup> View of the castle from the east, the 1920s and 1930s [23].



Fig. 6. Grodno Castle from the northern side. View from a drone (photo by M. Bogdała, 2019)

Il. 6. Zamek Grodno od strony północnej. Widok z drona (fot. M. Bogdała, 2019)

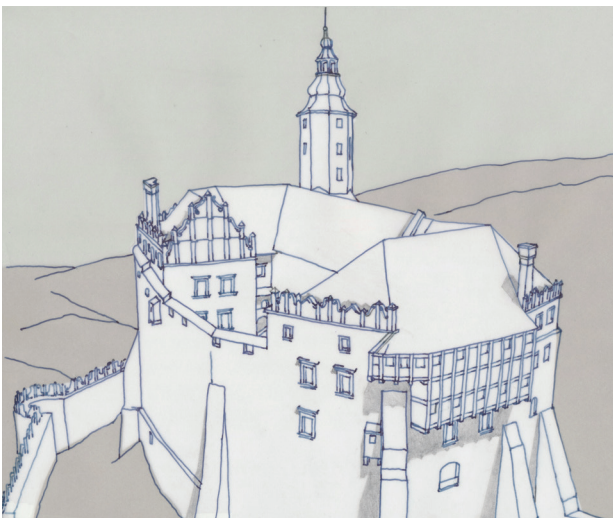


Fig. 7. Grodno Castle in around 1600. Visualization of the upper castle from the north-west (elaborated by A. Gryglewska, A. Kubicka)

Il. 7. Zamek Grodno ok. 1600 r.  
Wizualizacja górnego zamku w ujęciu od północnego zachodu (oprac. A. Gryglewska, A. Kubicka)

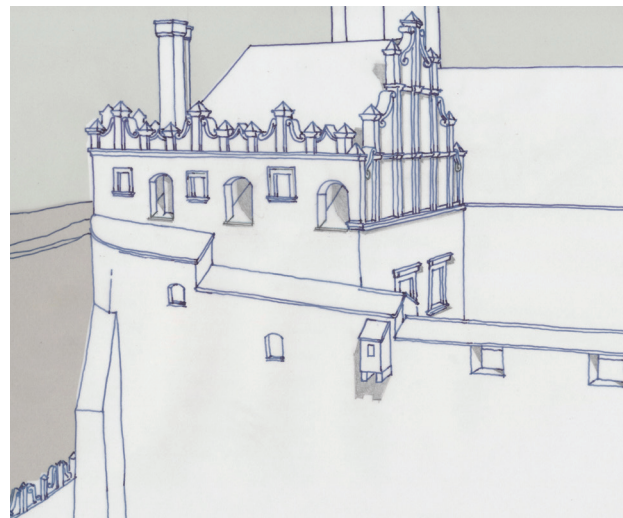


Fig. 8. Grodno Castle in around 1600. View of the eastern wing of the upper castle from the north-west (elaborated by A. Gryglewska, A. Kubicka)

Il. 8. Zamek Grodno ok. 1600 r.  
Widok skrzydła wschodniego górnego zamku od północnego zachodu (oprac. A. Gryglewska, A. Kubicka)

openings enabling water to drain from the roof. The crown of the attic, above the cornice of the plinth, consisted of triangular small gables and pairs of volutes separated by posts ending with pyramidal pinnacles. An analogous, volute attic ridge, but with diagonal posts, was made over the defensive perimeter of the lower ward and outer bailey, dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The gable above the eastern wing with a volute outline was three-storey and higher than in the modern reconstruction<sup>40</sup>.

<sup>40</sup> The second storey of the gable has been preserved with a full volute on the edge, beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century [24].

From various sources it is known that still in the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century traces of sgraffito decoration preserved on the surface of the tower, gable and curtain wall (?) were visible [10, p. 41]. In a graphic by Friedrich August Tittel from the 1820s, on the edges of the façade of the gatehouse, we can see forms made in this technique, which resemble the drawing of colored blocks of stone, which Schaetzke already noticed at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century [5, p. 310]. However, the knowledge about the decoration of the façade of the upper castle is minimal today.

The description in the urbarium and the preserved iconography from the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries make it possible to claim that in the 16<sup>th</sup> century the tower





Fig. 9. Zagórze Śląskie, Grodno Castle. The gatehouse of the lower castle: a) view from the north-east with the original sgraffito decoration, photo from around 1903 (after: [25, Taf. 90.2]), b) view from the north-east with the sgraffito decoration reconstructed in 1904 (photo by A. Gryglewska, 2019)

Il. 9. Zagórze Śląskie, zamek Grodno. Widok budynku bramnego dolnego zamku: a) widok od północnego wschodu z oryginalną dekoracją sgraffitową, fot. ok. 1903 r. (za: [25, Taf. 90.2]), b) widok od północnego wschodu ze zrekonstruowaną w 1904 r. dekoracją sgraffitową (fot. A. Gryglewska, 2019)

was made higher by one storey on a quadrilateral plan, directly above the medieval part, three storeys on an octagonal plan and a cupola with a lantern, which was covered with white sheet metal. It was described by Naso in 1667: *Near the old pagan piece [of the castle] stands a thick / and strong tower / from which you can see the entire valley*<sup>41</sup>.

Two storeys of the octagonal superstructure now have fascia casings and the remains of window sill cornices around small window openings preserved *in situ*. They show signs of fire damages. Their flattened profiles are also characteristic of the preserved details of the upper castle, e.g., windows in the eastern wing attic and they constitute an argument for dating the tower superstructure to the times of Georg von Logau.

Investments also included the area around the upper castle. The outer bailey, which was surrounded by a wall with two roundel bastions, was completed. The construction of the lower castle began. The surrounding roundel bastion fortifications with five shell bastions<sup>42</sup> were built, as well as a number of buildings with high gable roofs. From the north, a two-storey gatehouse with a chamber for servants and apartments, which was more representative than defensive, was constructed (Fig. 9), whereas on the southern side a bakery connected with a bathhouse<sup>43</sup> as well as sheds from the south and west with an undefined purpose were built. Most of the works in the lower castle could have been done in around 1570<sup>44</sup>, although

<sup>41</sup> *Bey dem alten heydnischen Stucke stehet ein dicker / und fester Thurm / auf deme man das ganze Thal übersehen kan* (after: [7, p. 259]).

<sup>42</sup> Cf. M. Bogdała, A. Chodkowska in this issue of “Architectus”.

<sup>43</sup> Demolished along with the bathhouse, in about 1824 [14, pp. 1, 2].

<sup>44</sup> The date of “1570”, which was made in the sgraffito technique, is situated above the entrance to the first floor of the gatehouse. It is





Fig. 10. Grille in the gate of the lower gatehouse. View from the inside  
(photo by A. Gryglewska, 2020)

Il. 10. Krata w bramie dolnego budynku bramnego. Widok od strony wnętrza  
(fot. A. Gryglewska, 2020)

the carpentry works were finished in 1587. Hans Lutsch, who in about 1903 made or commissioned a photographic documentation of the original sgraffito decoration of the gatehouse [1, Fig. 158, item 90.2], set the date of remodeling the castle for 1565. This was probably the reason why Schaetzke made the duplicated, rather too early, dating of the “beautiful, forged grille” [5, p. 304], which was located in the gate opening on the northern façade (Fig. 10). The photograph of the gatehouse, which was published by Lutsch [27], showed a distinct pattern still preserved at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and the unique technique of the authentic 16<sup>th</sup>-century sgraffito, in fact cut plaster on the eastern and northern façades (Fig. 9a). It was described by Schaetzke, who might have known it from autopsy: [...] *detailed studies showed that, contrary to the previous assumptions, the plaster did not consist of two differently colored layers; rather, the surface consisted of one layer of colorless plaster only in which the background was scratched for about 1 cm deep; while the relief was perfectly visible thanks to the very delicately cut lines; then the relief was completely painted – the background of frames was dark blue, moreover red, the cartouches were gray and in the color of skin, others were yellow, red, and green respectively*<sup>45</sup>.

a highly probable date of its construction and decoration, resulting from documented facts concerning the history of the von Logau family. The lack of evidence of its existence in this place before 1903 is the reason for numerous interpretations, e.g. Marzanna Jagiełło-Kolaczyk gives the probable date of the construction of the sgraffito decoration as around 1580 [25, pp. 189, 406].

<sup>45</sup> *Bei eingehender Untersuchung zeigte es sich, daß entgegen früherer Annahme, der Putz nicht aus zwei verschieden gefärbten Schichten bestand; es war vielmehr nur eine ungefärbte Kalkmörtelaufgabe vorhanden; in sie hatte man den Grund etwa 1 Zentimeter tief eingekratzt; das Relief dagegen erschien ebenfalls, aber lediglich mit sehr fein eingeschnittenen Linien (Ritzern) weiter ausgezeichnet. Nachher wurde das Ganze bemalt: der Grund in dem Rahmenwerke dunkelblau und sonst rot, die Kartuschen grau und lederfarben, das übrige entsprechend gelb, rot und grün (after: [5, p. 306]).*

In the context of similar decorations in Silesia, the richness of motifs, subtle drawing and vivid, rich colors were unusual here. This unique ornamentation and its technique on the façade of the gatehouse was reconstructed in the years 1903–1905 by Wrocław painter and architect Emil Nöllner [5, p. 306], who tried to repeat the original motifs as much as possible and probably slightly strengthened the background texture (Fig. 9a)<sup>46</sup>.

### *The Lady of Hohenzollern and others. Transformations of the castle from the 17<sup>th</sup> to the 19<sup>th</sup> century*

In the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century, due to the devastation of the castle during the Thirty Years' War, it became necessary to carry out renovation works. Their scope is unknown, but their visible sign was the painted decoration with the Rochow and Hohenzollern coats of arms on the arch in the entrance hall of the upper castle, which was preserved until at least 1945. Difficult to read at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century [2, p. 16], “refreshed” one hundred years later, the inscription said: *Moritz August baron von Rochow, Baroness Anna Katharina von Rochow, née Countess von Hohenzollern. These people were married on March 14, 1641 in the fortress of Spandau, and the following year 1642, on February 26, they came here and took power*<sup>47</sup>. The scope of changes

<sup>46</sup> The word *Wiederherstellung* used in: [27, p. 26] means restoration to the former condition, thus both reconstruction and conservation. A photograph of a copy fragment of a drawing on the façade, which was taken by Nöllner and is now preserved at the Herder Institute in Marburg (Niederschlesische Bildarchiv, reference number 243115), indicates that the painter also interpreted fragments of blurred motifs.

<sup>47</sup> The inscription with heraldic decoration has been removed. Its content was: *Moritz August Freiherr von Rochaw, Anna Katharina Freiin von Rochaw, geb. Gräfin von Hohenzollern. Diese Personen sind 1641 den 14. Marty (Märtz) vermählt worden in der Veste Spandau und mit folgenden Jahre 1642 den 26. Februar anhero kommen und die Herrschaft regierend angetreten (after: [5, p. 309]).*



in the spatial layout of the castle is unknown. The external stairs were probably removed at that time. According to Naso: [...] *the rooms in the castle are wonderfully furnished / well-equipped with what is most needed*<sup>48</sup>.

Georg Gottfried, baron von Eben, who bought the property in 1679, [3, p. 58] renovated the tower which was burnt down during the fire and rebuilt its shingled roof in the modest form of an octagonal spire seven years later. This shape of the tower, which is visible in Tittel's graphics, with a vertical scratch on the façade and described by Zemplin [2, p. 17], survived until the years 1824–1827. The tower, which was transformed into a viewing point, was then strengthened and rebuilt in the upper part<sup>49</sup>. In 1716, baron von Eben [5, p. 306] ordered a sundial to be made on the south-western corner of the gatehouse of the lower castle, which has been preserved to this day.

The date of remodeling of the foregate tower, which was transformed in the baroque style, has not been found in the historical documentation. There is no information that could attribute this investment to Countess von Rochow or to Baron von Eben. Zemplin described it as the best-preserved building, which was given [...] *the appearance of a pavilion or a Lusthaus, [...] according to the information of a weaver who is trying to replace the chronicle, [it was] a former chapel* [2, p. 14]. The building, in the form of a stocky four-sided tower, covered with a tented roof, had the upper storey illuminated by large and fully arched windows with framed divisions of the façade. The view of the building is known thanks to a drawing by Alexander Ferdinand Quast from 1832 [28] and a description by Büsching [14, p. 9], who after 1823 renovated it by adding a third window from the south.

<sup>48</sup> *Die Zim̄er sind in dem Schloß herrlich angerichtet / und mit zugehörigen Nothdurfften reichlich versehen* [7, p. 259].

<sup>49</sup> In the years 1824–1827, in the place of the crack, an observation loggia was built, reinforced with an oak wood structure, as well as internal spiral wooden stairs, a small observation deck, and a lightning protection system. Between 1860 and 1907, Max Ferdinand Zedlitz-Neukirch ordered the tower to be improved again. Cf. [14, pp. 13–16], [3, p. 64].

### Condition of the castle in 1823

A detailed description of the state of preservation of the castle ruin in 1823, when it was sold twice, was presented in Zemplin's article in "Schlesische Provinzialblätter" in 1824 and in a book published in 1826 [12], [2]. The author then reported: *From the height of the tower [...] one looks at the ruins in their entirety, noting that everything they are now happened due to using force. There is no window framing, no door framing, no spared usable beam, and what managed to escape violence, now declines in snow and rain; growing plants burst the walls which, thanks to tall trees, are picturesquely embraced by a dark shadow, and ended with a sad conclusion: over time this beautiful and expensive building was demolished and scattered. Its doors, locks, window and door frames were often sold for a few cents and taken to the area where they were built into the houses of the neighboring villages* [2, pp. 17, 18]. The interpretation of the architecture of Grodno Castle from the time of its greatest splendor at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, since then has only become the subject of imagination and scientific research.

### Summary

The research presented in the article confirms that the effect of the remodeling and extension of the late-gothic seat of the Czetrzitz family from the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, which actions were conducted by the influential von Logau family in the years 1545–1587, was a distinguished Renaissance castle. It was built consistently according to a uniform concept with the upper castle as a multi-wing layout with an internal representative courtyard, middle and lower castles and an outer bailey. In terms of the quality of architecture and its design, Grodno Castle could compete with Silesian princely residences at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

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### Abstract

#### **Kinsberg House, a place fit for a prince to live in... Grodno Castle in modern times (16<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries) in the light of historiographic sources and field research**

The subject of the article is the early modern remodeling and extensions of the medieval Grodno Castle (Kinsberg) at the time when it was the seat of the von Logau family, i.e. Matthäus, Kaspar and Georg, in the years 1545–1595, and its subsequent transformations until 1823. Purchased then by Johann Gustav Gottlieb Büsching, the castle was secured and turned into a romantic ruin. The studies were based on the analysis of German historical research, mainly from the 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, using the sources which were either incomplete or lost in 1945. Historical descriptions of buildings and an attempt at interpreting them were presented. Preserved iconographic materials and the field research, which was conducted in the years 2019–2021 by a team of scientists from the Department of History of Architecture, Art and Technology of Wrocław University of Science and Technology, were also taken into consideration.

The aim of the article was to present the architecture of the castle in its heyday. The discussed early modern phase of its remodeling turned out to be a consistently implemented and completed concept of rebuilding the late-gothic castle from the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century into an elegant Renaissance residence which consisted of a three-winged body of the upper castle closed with a curtain wall, crowned with a high roof surrounded by an attic, with an internal courtyard and a tower; then the middle castle, outer bailey and lower castle. In terms of the quality of architecture and its design, Grodno Castle could compete with Silesian princely residences at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

**Key words:** architecture of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, Grodno Castle, von Logau, Silesia, Zagórze Śląskie

### Streszczenie

#### **Dom Kinsberg, w którym książę nie powstydziliby się zamieszkać... Zamek Grodno w czasach nowożytnych (XVI–XVIII w.) w świetle źródeł historyograficznych i badań terenowych**

Tematem artykułu są nowożytne przebudowy i rozbudowy średniowiecznego zamku Grodno (Kinsberg) w czasach, gdy był siedzibą rodziny von Logau, Matthäusa, Kaspara i Georga, w latach 1545–1595, oraz jego późniejsze przemiany – do 1823 r. Zakupiony wówczas przez Johanna Gustava Gottlieba Büschinga zamek został zabezpieczony i przekształcony w romantyczną ruinę. Studia zostały oparte na analizie niemieckich opracowań historycznych, przede wszystkim z XIX i początku XX w., wykorzystujących obecnie niekompletne lub zaginione w 1945 r. źródła. Zaprezentowano historyczne opisy budowli oraz próbę ich interpretacji z uwzględnieniem zachowanych materiałów ikonograficznych oraz badań terenowych, prowadzonych w latach 2019–2021 przez zespół naukowców z Katedry Historii Architektury, Sztuki i Techniki Politechniki Wrocławskiej.

Celem artykułu było przedstawienie architektury zamku w okresie jego największej świetności. Omówiona nowożytna faza jego przebudowy okazała się konsekwentnie realizowaną i skończoną koncepcją przebudowy późnogotyckiego zamku z początku XVI w. w wytworną renesansową rezydencję, składającą się z trójskrzydłowej bryły zamku górnego zamkniętej ścianą kurtynową, zwieńczonej wysokim dachem otoczonym attyką, z wewnętrznym dziedzińcem, wieżą i przedbramiami; średniego zamku, miedzymurza i dolnego zamku. Pod względem jakości architektury i jej wystroju zamek Grodno mógł w końcu XVI w. rywalizować ze śląskimi rezydencjami książęcymi.

**Słowa kluczowe:** architektura XVI–XVIII w., zamek Grodno, von Logau, Śląsk, Zagórze Śląskie