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Turris latericia destructa – the court of Duchess Anna in Wrocław and the latest research

Abstract

In 2020, architectural relics were identified in the crypts of St Matthias Church in Wrocław, located in the centre of the riverside area of the left bank of the river, known in historiography as the princely grounds, some of which had so far escaped the attention of researchers. However, a synthetic study of the entire hospital and monastery complex of the Knights of the Cross with the Red Star, carried out as part of the author's doctoral thesis, has shown that the discovered foundations may be the remains of a completely different, older building.

On the basis of an analysis of historical records, the specifics of the building, the stratigraphy of the layers, the discovered movable historical material, palaeoenvironmental data and comparisons with other buildings of this type, it was hypothesised that the discovered building may be part of the "court of Princess Anne", or even identical to the "destroyed tower" (*turrem latericam destructa*) mentioned in a document from 1253.

In addition, it has been hypothesised that the tower may have been destroyed in the 1240s or 1350s, possibly as a result of the Tartar invasion of 1241. It was only after this event that St Matthias Church and other accompanying buildings were erected on the site in question, which were then given to the hospital and the order.

This article presents the status of the research to date, the methods used, the interpretation of the discoveries made and the conclusions, shedding new light on the less explored history of the development of this part of medieval Wrocław.

Key words: Silesia, Wrocław, Middle Ages, princely grounds, Knights of the Cross with the Red Star, "destroyed tower"

Introduction

The architecture of the riverside area of the Old Town, referred to in the historiography of medieval Wrocław as the princely grounds, differed from the typical residential buildings of a municipal town, especially in the early period of the development of this urban centre. The buildings there were distinguished by their scale, material and function, as well as by their lack of connection to the urban plots.

The constructions undertaken by the Silesian Henrys and their wives in the area contained approximately between today's Piaskowa, Uniwersytecka and Odrzańska Streets and Bishop Nankier Square and the bank of the Oder River have long been of interest to researchers [1]–[4]. Going

from the west, there were: the oldest left bank ducal castle, a Jewish settlement with four synagogues, the church of St. James with a Franciscan monastery, the hospital and monastery of the Knights of the Cross with the Red Star with the church of St. Matthias (Fig. 1), the monastic house of the Poor Clares with the church of St. Clare, numerous manors, chancels of abbots, bishops or feudal lords.

The reason for writing this article was the discovery in the summer of 2020 of architectural relics found in the crypts of St. Matthias Church. As a result of the analysis of the cultural layers and the stratigraphy of the masonry, it was established that the fragments of the stone foundations, so far linked by researchers to St. Matthias Church, may be the remains of a completely different building. Its reconstructed shape was found to be analogous to other princely towers of the time. This, combined with its location in the heart of the left bank of the ducal territory, in an area associated with the curia of Duchess Anna of Přemyslid (ca. 1201–1265), points to the possibility of

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Fig. 1. View of St. Matthias Church from the south–west, together with a map showing the approximate extent of the princely grounds and the location of the church on a plan of modern Wrocław (photo and drawing by R. Biel)

Il. 1. Widok od południowego zachodu na kościół św. Macieja, wraz z mapą przedstawiającą przybliżony zasięg terenów książęcych i lokalizację świątyni na planie współczesnego Wrocławia (fot. i rys. R. Biel)

finding a ducal tower mentioned in written sources, the exact location of which has not yet been identified. This article aims to present the status of the research to date, describe the author's findings and present evidence that would support the hypothesis.

The state of research on the princely areas in Wrocław

Research into the interpretation of texts on the princely lands along the Oder began as early as the 19th century. Their precursor was Colmar Grünhagen [5], but the outlines of the concept of the existence of a strip of princely land stretching along the banks of the Oder, 100–180 m wide, were first presented in 1935 by Rudolf Stein [6]. Due to the limited number of sources, the hypotheses created by the above-mentioned and other German historians between 1860 and 1948 largely exhausted the possibilities of interpretation. Polish post-war researchers, despite breaking away from German research, used the earlier findings in a modified form. Most of them were presented and introduced to Polish science through the monograph *History of Wrocław* by Karol Maleczyński [7]. After him – on the occasion of studies on the history of the city – the subject was dealt with by other researchers, with the most recent synthesis focused on the princely areas being made

by Mateusz Goliński in his article *Pas nadodrzański Staroego Miasta we Wrocławiu – dzieje i podstawy pewnej koncepcji (do połowy XX w.)* [*The Oder Belt of the Old Town in Wrocław – the history and foundations of a certain concept (up to the mid-20th century)*] [8]. In addition to historical analyses, research into individual sites located on the princely grounds has been carried out by numerous interdisciplinary teams as well as individual researchers, but this is not directly relevant to the issue addressed in this article, so the author will limit himself to discussing research into the hospital and monastery complex of the Knights of the Cross with the Red Star.

From the group of written sources presenting the process of development of the riverside strip of the Old Town in Wrocław, only a small part refers to the property of the Knights of the Cross with the Red Star, hereafter abbreviated as the Crusaders. Among the most important, directly related to the princely curia, one can mention documents from 1253, 1268, 1300 and 1309, and these are analysed in detail later in this article. Nevertheless, the history of the Crusaders is generally well documented, and the first researcher to deal with the subject was already the monastic master Michael Fibiger, who lived in the late 17th and early 18th centuries. Although many historians' works have been devoted to the origins of the Order, their activities and development [3], [9], [10], in the case of the architectural history of the Wrocław branch, the focus has been mainly on Gothic and Baroque alterations [2], [11]–[13].

In terms of architecture and archaeology, the princely grounds, due to the more urgent needs of the city, were not investigated for a relatively long time. It was not until the 1980s and 1990s that the activities of architects and architectural historians, in cooperation with representatives of other disciplines, brought about many new findings. The state of knowledge from that period was compiled in Edmund Małachowicz's work *Książęce rezydencje, fundacje i mauzolea w lewobrzeżnym Wrocławiu* [*Ducal residences, foundations and mausoleums in the left bank of Wrocław*] [3]. This work popularised two concepts: the distinctiveness and exceptional importance of the princely grounds and the original existence of the court of Henryk II and Duchess Anna on the site of the later Crusader hospital and monastery complex (Fig. 2). These are present in all subsequent works devoted to the history of the Crusaders in Wrocław [9], [10], [12]. Efforts to determine the more precise dating of the various parts of St. Matthias Church have also continued. In 1999, Romuald Kaczmarek presented a precise dating of the reconstruction of the chancel to the years 1310–1330 and of the southern transept of the church to the period 1380–1390 [11].

Verification of some of the hypotheses put forward so far, as well as completely new discoveries, were possible thanks to research already carried out in the 21st century. This was conducted as part of various types of rescue work, the results of which were largely unpublished and remained in the form of working documentation and conservation reports. Of these, the key studies were carried out in the church crypts [14], then in the building at 17 Biskupa Nankiera Square, located to the east of the church [15], and – of the greatest extent – during the construction of

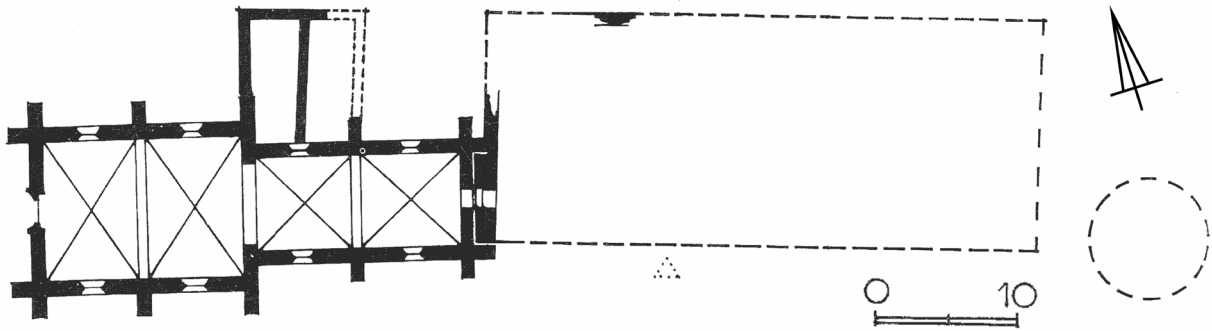


Fig. 2. Concept for the reconstruction of the court of Duchess Anna according to Edmund Małachowicz, 1994 (drawing by E. Małachowicz [3])

II. 2. Koncepcja rekonstrukcji dworu księżnej Anny według Edmunda Małachowicza, 1994 (rys. E. Małachowicz [3])

the baroque garden between the church and the Ossolineum building. Their conclusions were published in only two articles. A general overview of the results of the research of the building at 17 Biskupa Nankiera Square was presented by Rafał Eysymontt, describing the medieval origins of this building and its traces preserved to this day [16]. Roland Mruczek, on the other hand, briefly presented discoveries from the church crypts in a 2012 publication when discussing early Silesian castles [17]. A survey of the hospital buildings to the north of the church did not receive a separate publication. Jakub Adamski also wrote about St. Matthias Church in his book *Gotycka architektura sakralna na Śląsku w latach 1200–1420* [*Gothic sacral architecture in Silesia in the years 1200–1420*]. Main directions of development, in which, among other things, he favoured the hypothesis of considering the portal in the southern elevation as secondary and dating it to the last quarter of the 13th century, or “even rather closer to the end” of this century [13].

All previous research concepts, results of architectural and archaeological studies, including unpublished ones, were collected, analysed and synthesised by Radosław Biel in his PhD thesis *Zespół szpitalno-klasztorny Rycerskiego Zakonu Krzyżowców z Czerwoną Gwiazdą na terenach książęcych we Wrocławiu w okresie średniowiecza* [*The Hospital and Monastery Complex of the Knights of the Cross with the Red Star on the Princely Grounds in Wrocław in the Middle Ages*], defended at the Faculty of Architecture, Wrocław University of Science and Technology [18].

Among the most important findings of researchers in the 21st century, closely related to the subject of this article, is the question of the original appearance of St. Matthias Church and the recognition of changes in the development of the land belonging to the Crusaders. During the 2003 research, Roland Mruczek, who led the study, put forward the hypothesis that St Matthias Church was originally a small hall court church with an emporium tower blended into the body of the church. However, construction of the tower may have been interrupted at the level of the cornice crowning the perimeter walls before the gables were formed. This is to be indicated, among other things, by the extensive recess in the west wall, running to the base of

the gable, and by the truncated shakes probably left for the walls of the tower [17]. As a result of the same research, the west elevation was ruled out as the original location of the portal, now located in the south elevation [19]. In addition, in 2003, a stone wall relic discovered below the floor of the crypts, located at the junction of the present chancel and the body, was considered evidence that the church originally did not have a separate chancel [14], [17].

The southern buildings of the monastic complex of the Hospitaller Friars were erected in an area that had previously served as at least an ad hoc cemetery [15], [18]. These buildings included a hospital building, fragmentarily preserved to the present day, measuring approximately 30 × 10 m, which was located to the east of St. Matthias Church [16], [18], and a compact group of three buildings to the north of the church. They were all built of brick faced in a two-carriage weft, and the foundation trenches crossed the previously mentioned cultural strata. The church and the long building to the east of it were distinguished by the use of cross buttresses at the corners and by their combination into a single compositional unit, which was subordinate to the east–west axis of the church [18].

Characteristics of the discovered architectural objects

Radosław Biel, in his studies carried out between 2015 and 2021 – although his main focus was on collecting, analysing, systematising and synthesising the work of earlier researchers – verified all his findings in the field, at least where this was possible without the need for more extensive invasive research. During one such prospecting in the crypts of St. Matthias Church, the remains of a building founded on a rectangular plan measuring at least 16.8 m in length and 9.5 m in width, with two internal rooms divided by a massive wall, were identified (Fig. 3). The thickness of the foundation walls averaged about 1.3 m and they were constructed of gneiss erratic boulders of considerable size. Their average width was about 60 cm, with the largest being over 1 m wide. They were identified at five points located in the crypt of St. Matthias Church: at the junction of the body and the chancel, in the south–west corner of the vestibule to the crypts, under the east

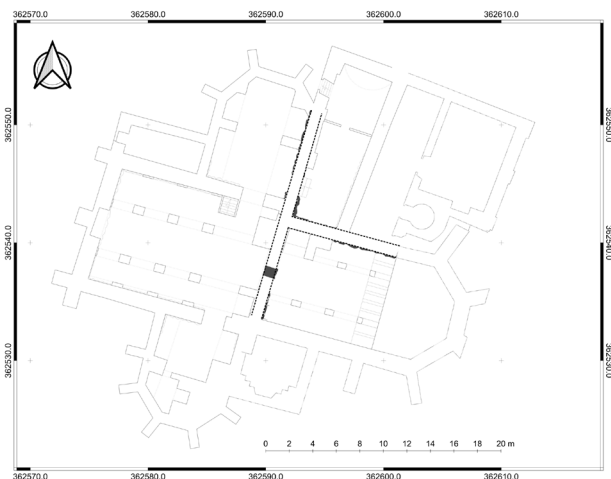


Fig. 3. Plan of the uncovered foundation relics of the building interpreted as Duchess Anne's curia on the plan of St. Matthias Church, the dashed lines indicate the reconstructed course of the walls (elaborated by R. Biel)

II. 3. Plan odkrytych reliktów fundamentów budynku interpretowanego jako kuria księżnej Anny na planie kościoła św. Macieja, przerywanymi liniami zaznaczono rekonstruowany przebieg murów (oprac. R. Biel)



Fig. 4. Chronological stratification diagram of the crypts of St Matthias Church and nearby buildings: 1 – the first half of the 13th century, 2 – from about 1241 to the middle of the 13th century, 3 – the second half of the 13th century, 4 – the years 1310–1330, 5 – the turn of the 14th and 15th centuries, 6 – the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries, 7 – the second half of the 16th century, 8 – from about 1670 to 1715, 9 – the 19th century, 10 – the 20th and 21st centuries, 11 – inaccessible fragments, 12 – currently visible fragments of the foundations of the building interpreted as Duchess Anne's curia, 13 – the location of selected photographs with their numbers (elaborated by R. Biel)

II. 4. Schemat rozwarstwienia chronologicznego krypt kościoła św. Macieja i pobliskich budynków: 1 – pierwsza połowa XIII wieku, 2 – od około 1241 roku do połowy XIII wieku, 3 – druga połowa XIII wieku, 4 – lata 1310–1330, 5 – przełom XIV i XV wieku, 6 – przełom XV i XVI wieku, 7 – druga połowa XVI wieku, 8 – od około 1670 do 1715 roku, 9 – XIX wiek, 10 – XX i XXI wiek, 11 – fragmenty niedostępne, 12 – widoczne obecnie fragmenty fundamentów budynku interpretowanego jako kuria księżnej Anny, 13 – lokalizacja wybranych zdjęć wraz z ich numerami (oprac. R. Biel)

wall of the north transept, under the north wall of the choir, and at the site of a fray left over from the south wall of the first choir (Fig. 4). Currently, all but the first of these points are accessible. As mentioned when discussing the status of the research, the first trace of an older building at the site of the modern church's rainbow arch was encountered in 2003 during research under the supervision of Roland Mruczek [14]. At that time, however, it was interpreted as evidence in the discussion on the one- or two-phase nature of the church (Fig. 5). It was not taken into account that a relic of an older building had been encountered. The accessible parts were easily visible and protruded 60 cm above the present level of the crypt. In addition, they formed protrusions under the higher walls, in places widening them by up to 30 cm. For many years they were thought to be offsets under the higher parts of the walls of St. Matthias Church and the sacristy.

It had been missed by earlier researchers that these lowest parts of the walls were separated by a thick layer of plastic humus from the fragments above, made of finer stones and then bricks, which already constituted the walls of St. Matthias Church. The humus layer dividing them was 7–12 cm thick and contained significant amounts of charcoal, mortar lumps and small brick fragments (Fig. 6). It was consistently found under all the walls of St. Matthias church and sacristy and throughout the area where the temple was erected, even where these additional, lowest parts of the foundations were not recorded, such as under the west wall of the north transept. It was also surprising that the lowest parts of the foundations were related to each other, even though the higher parts constituting the body and north transept wall of the church were characterised by different architectural styles. The walls of the body are in the Vendian motif, while those of the transept are in the Gothic style, having been built some one hundred and fifty years later [3], [18] (Fig. 7).

During the cleaning of the walls for photographic documentation, four fragments of pottery similar to monuments found elsewhere in Wrocław were found in the border layer of humus (Fig. 8). They are dated to a wide period from the second half of the 10th century to the first half of the 13th century. The oldest fragment, with a dark firing and dusty admixture with mica and clear pottery marks, is similar to artefacts found on Ostrów Tumski, dated to the 10th century [20]. The second, smaller fragment also shows a dusty admixture. The manufacturing technique of the other two, larger fragments suggests that they date from the first half of the 13th century. Similar finds have been discovered at Nowy Targ and attributed to a proto-urban settlement [21]. They are characterised by wide grooves and an admixture of sand. All fragments show traces of banding on the outside and smoothing with cloth on the inside. What is missing, however, is the strongly moulding edging that appeared in monuments from the early 13th century onwards. Although the small number of finds does not allow certain dating, this does not exclude the hypothesis that they come from a levelling layer created in the first half of the 13th century, with older material possibly appearing secondarily. It would have been after this period that the construction of the temple would have begun.



Fig. 5. Relics of the lowest parts of the foundations discovered during the 2003 excavations (photo by D. Biernat [12])

Il. 5. Relikty najniższych partii fundamentów odkrytych w trakcie badań w 2003 roku (fot. D. Biernat [12])



Fig. 6. Clearly visible layer of humus separating the lowest part of the foundations from the proper walls of St Matthias Church (photo by R. Biel)

Il. 6. Wyraźnie widoczna warstwa próchnicy oddzielająca najniższą partię fundamentów od właściwych murów kościoła św. Macieja (fot. R. Biel)



Fig. 7. Visible in the crypt under the north transept is the central north buttress of the body to which the transept wall was added with the first half of the 13th century levelling layer present beneath them, the lowest parts of the foundations are missing (elaborated by R. Biel)

Il. 7. Widoczna w krypcie pod północnym transeptem środkowa północna przypora korpusu, do której dostawiono mur transeptu z obecną pod nimi warstwą niwelacyjną z pierwszej połowy XIII wieku, brak najniższych partii fundamentów (oprac. R. Biel)

The hypothetical older building discovered beneath St Matthias Church would have been bipartite, rectangular and located along a north–south axis. The presence of a massive wall dividing its interior into two parts suggests that it served as a residence. The closest analogies for plan buildings of this type can be found in residential towers in older castles, such as the one in Ostrów Tumski in Wrocław, but also in younger ones, such as those in Świdnica, Wierzbną, Siedlęcín or Świny [22]. In the case of Wrocław, such a tower was probably built of brick on stone foundations, with only the stone part surviving to the present day. Separated from it by a layer of humus, the brick walls are the walls of an already later building – St Matthias Church. It should also be noted that we do not know the exact dimensions of this older building and it may represent a type of tripartite palace, similar to the bishop’s palace in Ostrów Tumski in Wrocław or the ducal palace in Jelcz near Wrocław [23]. Indirectly, the hypothesis of a ducal curia is supported not only by written but also by palaeoenvironmental sources.

Curia between two ditches

The church of St Matthias was first mentioned in 1253, when it was listed as existing together with a hospital on the left bank of the ducal curia. This document is regarded as a foundation act for the Wrocław house [24]. In the document we read: „[...] Bona autem, quae memorato hospitali et ministris prelibatis donamus et super quibus idem hospitale nostrum fundatum est, sun haec: Curia in qua consistit ipsum hospitale et ecclesia sancti Matthiae in eadem constructa. Item pars curiae dominae matris nostre usque ad turrem latericam destructam post obitum eiusdem relinquam vero partem predictae donamus claustro et conventu fratrum minorum in Wratislavia”¹.

¹ “[...] The goods, in turn, which we donate to the above-mentioned hospital and staff, and on which this our hospital is founded, are as follows: The Curia where the hospital itself is located and the church of St. Matthias built on it. Likewise, part of our mother’s curia up to the ruined

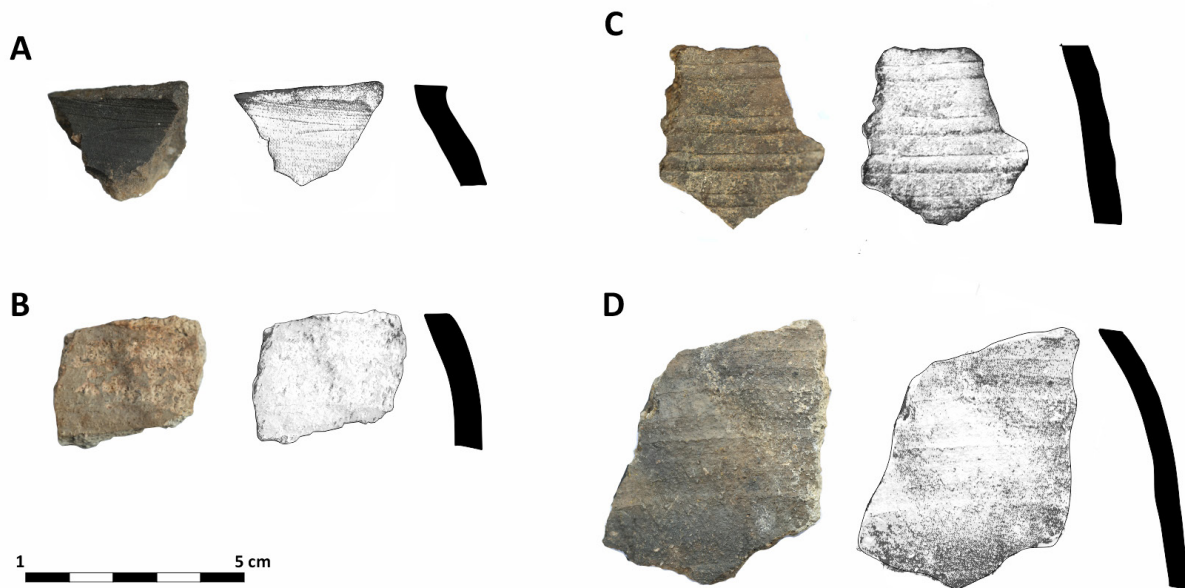


Fig. 8. Photographs and drawings of uncovered ceramic fragments (elaborated by R. Biel)

Il. 8. Zdjęcia i rysunki odkrytych fragmentów ceramiki (oprac. R. Biel)

The ambiguity of the term *curia* in medieval writings allows us to assume that in the case of the so-called *curia* of Duchess Anna, it also refers, although perhaps not exclusively, to the area where the court of the Piast princely couple was located. In a similar context, as an area or plot of land, the term *curia* was used in the princely privilege of 1268, in which Bolesław Rogatka gave the *curia* belonging to his mother to the Order of the Poor Clares: “*Curia matris nostre que iuncta est clastro sancte Clare*”, which was to be located “*inter duo fossata*” – between two ditches. The location of the *curia* given to the Poor Clares, on the other hand, was described in later documents as “*located opposite St. Clare and St. Matthias*”. At the same time, texts from 1300 and 1309 report that “*curiam suam sitam contra ecclesiae sancte Clare*” and “*vnam curiam ex opposito domus sancte Clare, ubi itur de sancto Matthe versus sanctam Claram a dextris in acie sytuatam*” [25]. This has led many historians, including Mateusz Goliński, to place it to the south of Bishop Nankier Square [8].

Until recently, attempts to locate the two ditches mentioned in the sources on the contemporary plan of the Old Town were unsuccessful. However, an analysis of historical cartographic studies, the results of archaeological work and geological-engineering research has shown that the territory previously thought to be a 5–7 m high terraced area contained sediments formed by the meandering of the Oder during the Holocene period [26].

From the perspective of the exploration of the two ditches, the meander arc that surrounded the Nowy Targ

square to the south and west proved to be of particular interest. A fragment of it was discovered during archaeological investigations carried out at the junction of Wita Stwosza and Biskupia Streets [27]. This survey revealed a regulated watercourse 7–12 m wide and 1.1 m deep. The watercourse was lined with fascine, which was visible as an intensely brown humus layer. Its banks bore traces of a fortification that had been made in the 12th or early 13th century. It probably formed the south–western boundary of the settlement on the left bank of the river [21]. The continuation of the course of the watercourse in a northerly direction led up to a meander spur, on which a left bank castle was built in the 1330s [28]. This spur was distinguished by a depression with a clearly marked western edge meander, exposed in University Square, in the courtyard between the former ducal castle and the Ossolineum building [26]. The researchers do not indicate any specific function for this meander spur. Assuming that the western meander spur could have been one of the ditches surrounding the above-mentioned ducal *curia*, the eastern ditch would then have been the oxbow lakes of the Oława, which connected with the bed of the Oder (Fig. 9).

The area that would have encompassed the ducal *curia* described above would have coincided approximately with the area of the left-bank settlement *ad sanctum Adalbertum* (by the church of St. Adalbert). This settlement, unlike the town arranged around the rectangular Market Square, was organised according to an earlier pattern until the 1360s and was formally under the direct control of the dukes [21], [29]. However, actual control of the area slipped away from the rulers at least once in 1241 during the Mongol invasion, and successively shrank thereafter, moving from the south–east to the north–west, towards the castle on the left bank of the Oder and the Oder River

brick tower – after her death, in fact, we donate the remaining part of the above-mentioned [*curia*?] to the monastery and convent of Friars Minor in Wrocław” (translation after Edmund Małachowicz [3], with a slight correction of the ending).

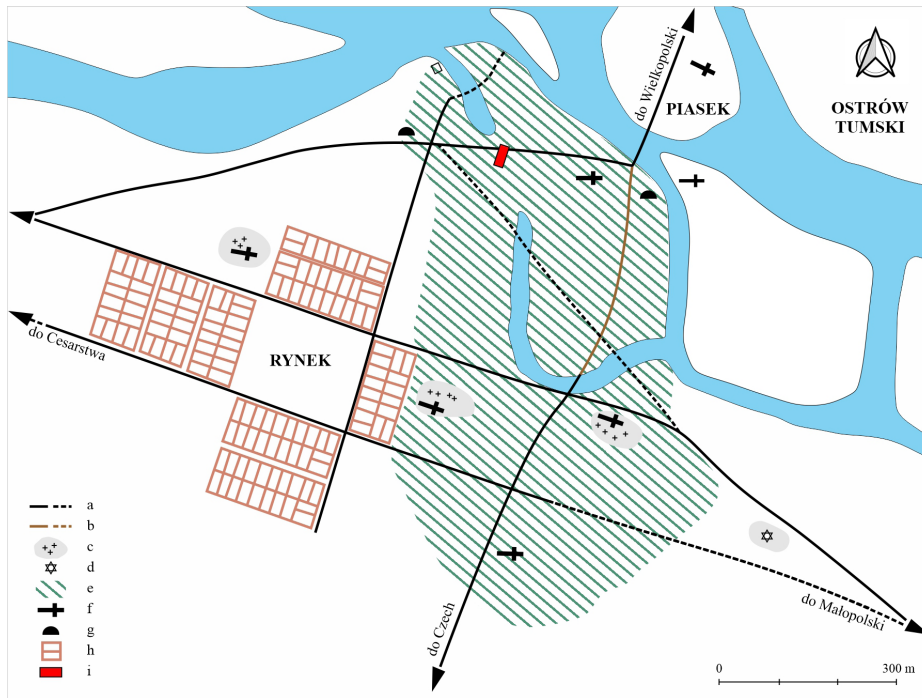


Fig. 9. Modified plan of Wrocław before the middle of the 13th century, with the western ditch marked (based on the results of geomorphological research): a – reconstruction of the road (street), b – wooden surface of the street, c – cemetery, d – Jewish cemetery, e – old settlement, f – church, g – inn, h – well, i – reconstruction of the land parceling, j – destroyed tower (modified by R. Biel according to: N. Lenkow [25] and J. Badura, T.A. Kastek [22])

II. 9. Zmodyfikowany plan Wrocławia przed połową XIII wieku, z naniesionym zachodnim rowem (na podstawie wyników badań geomorfologicznych): a – rekonstrukcja drogi (ulicy), b – drewniana nawierzchnia ulicy, c – cmentarz, d – cmentarz żydowski, e – stara osada, f – kościół, g – karczma, h – studnia, i – rekonstrukcja parcelacji, j – zniszczona wieża (mod. R. Biel za: N. Lenkow [25] i J. Badura, T.A. Kastek [22])

area. Evidence of the loss of control over part of the area of the ducal curia can be found in the entry in the deed of the third location of Wrocław from December 1261, which mentions the unlawful takeover of the ducal butcheries and gardens by the magistrate and burghers. These events took place in the years 1241–1242, at the time of the minority of the dukes Henryk III and Władysław, who issued the foundation document after the death on the battlefield of their father, Henryk II Pobożny [4]. In addition, the reduction of the area of the curia occurred as the princes handed over parts of these lands to religious congregations, who were invited to settle in Wrocław.

It must be acknowledged that there is considerable doubt about the possibility of identifying the “ruined tower” from the 1253 document with the relics of the building discovered under St. Matthias Church. Indeed, by analysing the content of this one document, the location of the church and the ruined tower are not identical. The Crusaders are given the *Curia*, which contains the hospital and church built *in eadem*, and half of the property of Duchess Anne *usque ad turrem latericam destructam*. Thus, not only does the ruined tower still appear visible (or at least vivid in the memory of the Piasts) at a time when the hospital and church are functioning, but it is also a boundary point for the part belonging to the Crusaders. Only the other part of the property was to have been assigned to the Franciscans after the Duchess’ death, which ultimately did not materialise due to the Poor Clares being brought there [4]. However, we do not obtain information as to what condition this “ruined tower” was to be in. A characteristic feature of analogous examples of court ensembles of the Silesian Piasts is that they consist of three elements – a church, a palatium and a tower. This is, moreover, how Edmund Małachowicz developed his 1994 concept [3]. In that case, it is possible that we are dealing not with a tow-

er, but with a princely palatium. Although such an interpretation would be consistent with the content of the 1253 document, it raises new questions and doubts.

We are not aware of any other potential structures in the immediate vicinity that could be interpreted as the remains of a tower. No similar relics have yet been discovered in any of the buildings comprising the Crusader hospital and monastery complex or the nearby Poor Clares. On the other hand, interpreting *as turris latericia destructa* the relics of the oldest left bank castle is all the more inconsistent with the content of the document, as the Franciscans should then have been located to the west of the Crusaders. At the same time, the “ruined tower” as a boundary point could not have been too far away from St. Matthias Church. Not least if we were to consider it as part of a typical three-part manor layout. After all, the division of the plots according to the principle: part to the west falls to the Crusaders and part to the east to the Franciscans (and eventually to the Poor Clares), corresponds to what we know from later centuries. In addition, palaeoenvironmental studies indicate that the building discovered under St. Matthias Church in the first half of the 13th century, and subsequently the church and hospital itself, are located exactly at the passage between the two branches of the western ditch (Fig. 9). And even if the ditch itself was not a property boundary or was very quickly filled in, the land suitable for the construction of the future hospital and monastery complex may have been much more limited than it may appear to us today. Hence the need to rebuild Princess Anne’s manor house may have arisen, and the existing foundations were used secondarily to stabilise the new building on relatively waterlogged ground.

In addition, if we accept as a possible hypothesis the functioning of a three-aisled manorial complex on the left bank princely grounds in the first quarter of the 13th century, the function of the temple there could have been

performed by the oldest phase of the church of St. James (from 1530 St. Vincent, now the Greek Catholic cathedral). The function of the small three-nave basilica uncovered by Czesław Lasota and Jerzy Rozpędowski, with a rectangular tower to the west and an in-built hall crypt in the east, has been debated since its discovery. However, some researchers, such as Jakub Adamski, point out that the rich spatial programme of this foundation is not what the mendicants might have wanted. They therefore took over the temple temporarily, quickly replacing it with a new building, which was in fact a common practice. Zbigniew Pianowski and Andrzej Grzybowski, on the other hand, directly suggest the original function of the palace church of Duke Henryk II Pobożny [13]. And while there is no evidence to link it to a specific person, in light of the discovery made under St. Matthias Church, the hypothesis of a larger manorial foundation is worth reconsidering.

Conclusions

In the light of the analysed written records, the established chronology of the site, its location, the palaeoenvironmental data, the observed dimensions and the analogy with other sites of this type, it can be hypothesised that the discovered architectural relics under St. Matthias Church are the remains of a larger building, probably a ducal tower. It may have been part of a larger structure of Princess Anne's residence. However, there are some doubts about linking the discovered relics directly to the "destroyed tower" (*turrem latericam destructa*) mentioned in the 1253 document.

Thus, Edmund Małachowicz, who almost thirty years ago, with the then relatively scant knowledge of the local medieval wall relics, would have been partly right in locating Princess Anne's manor house precisely on the site of the hospital and monastery complex of the Knights of the Cross with the Red Star [3]. This is partly because the concept of a building aligned along an east-west axis was not confirmed by later research. It also appears that the closure of the original church choir may have looked different. However, Edmund Małachowicz's research contribution should be acknowledged, as without it the identification of the building in question might not have happened at all.

The probably bipartite building was founded on a rectangular plan with minimum dimensions of 16.8 m long by 9.5 m wide and an average wall thickness of about 1.3 m. We are not in a position to state unequivocally whether the construction of the ducal tower was completed or how extensive its damage was. However, it is known that its foundations were covered by a substantial levelling layer. Analysis of the sparse movable monumental material suggests that this occurred in the 1340s or 1350s. Combined with the unusual burials in the immediate vicinity of the church and the traces of mechanical damage visible on the bones, this may suggest that the destruction was carried out as a result of the Mongol invasion of 1241. Anthropological analyses confirmed, among other things, a very unusual burial of two men, one of whom died from a bro-

ken neck [30]. A cemetery may also have been established at that time, where the victims of the raid were buried. There is a possibility that the companions of the fallen Prince Henryk rested there, as his remains were deposited in the crypt of the nearby Franciscan church of St. James. However, we do not know how large an area the cemetery at St. Matthias Church occupied, as few skeletons have been preserved only under the southern hospital building (today the building at 17 Bishop Nankier Square).

Whatever the real reason for the destruction of the tower, the church of St. Matthias was founded on the ruins of the building, not only surrounding the already functioning cemetery (not an isolated situation in medieval Wrocław [29]), but at the same time may have been intended as a manorial chapel. A new long palace was then built to the east of it, perpendicular to its axis. At that time, it was much shorter than today's building at 17 Bishop Nankier Square, which meant that it did not enter the area where the burials were discovered.

This moment is at the same time associated with the arrival of the monks of the Knights of the Cross with the Red Star, assuming, following Marek Słoń, that this happened during the period of Duchess Anne's regency – from April 1241 to March 1242 [10]. The monks were given the buildings already on the site, the construction of which had probably not yet been completed, and the original purpose and associated building plans were modified and adapted to the needs of the hospital and the congregation of the Knights Order. The abandonment of the construction of the emporium tower blended into the body of St. Matthias Church could have resulted from this. In 1253, all endowments were finally confirmed to the Knights of the Cross with the Red Star, who had been present in Wrocław and had been running the St Elizabeth's Hospital since at least 1248 [10].

It is likely that it was not until the second half of the 13th century that monastic buildings were constructed, the remains of which were discovered to the north of the church and, unlike the temple and the southernmost building, do not have rectangular buttresses at the corners [18].

However, there are still contentious or debatable issues that would require additional intrusive research. For example, we do not know how far the hypothetical princely tower extended beyond the outline of the later St. Matthias Church, but it seems likely that it extended further both north and south. We are also uncertain as to the reason for the destruction of the tower, also the very function attributed to it is based on relatively meagre indications in the form of mainly analogous princely assumptions. It has also not been possible to establish even the approximate extent of the cemetery, which was presumed to have functioned in the short period between the destruction of the tower and the construction of the temple. Furthermore, the concept of the functioning of the object as part of a three-part manorial establishment, typical of the time, consisting of a palatium, a tower and a temple, remains open. In that case, the object discovered under St. Matthias Church would be the remains of a palatium rather than the "ruined tower" mentioned in 1253.

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Streszczenie

Turrís latericia destructa – kuria książęcej Anny we Wrocławiu w świetle najnowszych badań

W 2020 roku w kryptach wrocławskiego kościoła św. Macieja, zlokalizowanego w centrum nadodrzańskich terenów lewobrzeżnego Wrocławia, określanych w historiografii terenami książęcymi, zidentyfikowano relikty architektoniczne, z których część dotąd umykała uwadze badaczy. Inne fragmenty z kolei błędnie interpretowano jako fundamenty tej świątyni, jednak syntetyczne studia całego zespołu szpitalno-klasztornego Rycerskiego Zakonu Krzyżowców z Czerwoną Gwiazdą prowadzone w ramach pracy doktorskiej autora wykazały, że odkryte fundamenty mogą stanowić pozostałość po całkiem innej, starszej budowli.

Na podstawie analizy przekazów historycznych, specyfiki budowli, stratygrafii nawarstwień, odkrytego zabytkowego materiału ruchomego, danych paleośrodowiskowych oraz porównań z innymi obiektami tego typu, wysunięto hipotezę, że odkryta budowla może stanowić element „dworu książęcej Anny”, a nawet być tożsama ze „zniszczoną wieżą” (*turrem latericam destructa*), wzmiankowaną w dokumencie z 1253 roku. Dodatkowo postawiono tezę, że wieża mogła być zniszczona w latach 40. lub 50. XIII wieku, być może w wyniku najazdu tatarskiego w 1241 roku. Dopiero po tym wydarzeniu na omawianym terenie wzniesiono kościół św. Macieja i inne towarzyszące mu budynki, które następnie przekazano na potrzeby szpitala i zakonu.

W artykule przedstawiono dotychczasowy stan badań, zastosowane metody, interpretację dokonanych odkryć oraz wnioski, rzucając nowe światło na mniej zbadaną historię zagospodarowania tej części średniowiecznego Wrocławia.

Słowa kluczowe: Śląsk, Wrocław, średniowiecze, tereny książęce, Rycerski Zakon Krzyżowców z Czerwoną Gwiazdą, „zniszczona wieża”