

# Residential Towers of the Left-Bank Wrocław. An Unusual or a Forgotten Phenomenon in the Medieval Cityscape?\*

Roland MRUCZEK

Department of History of Architecture, Art and Technology,  
Wrocław University of Science and Technology  
<https://orcid.org/0000-0003-1866-3147>

Maria LEGUT-PINTAL

Institute of Archaeology, University of Wrocław  
<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6406-1038>

**ABSTRACT** In this study, we have taken on the subject of medieval residential towers in the chartered city of Wrocław. We discuss residential towers and tower houses that have been identified through archaeological/architectural, historical and iconographic research. The location of these towers in the city is associated with areas occupied by the elites of knightly and bourgeois origin, concentrated in the vicinity of the Market Square and the main roads leading from it. The model of residential towers can be found among the oldest masonry buildings from the 13<sup>th</sup> century and at the threshold of the early modern period, as evidenced by bourgeois constructions from the 16<sup>th</sup> century. It has been demonstrated that tower buildings could be associated with the foundations of the bourgeoisie, thus drawing inspiration from patterns known from Italy and Germany, serving as a means of emphasising the status of the founder. City-wall towers could also serve residential purposes; however, they did not possess the attributes of prestige.

**KEYWORDS** Middle Ages, Wrocław, tower house, residential tower, architecture, archaeology

**ABSTRAKT** *Wieże mieszkalne lewobrzeżnego Wrocławia. Nietypowe czy zapomniane zjawisko w krajobrazie średniowiecznego miasta?* W niniejszym studium podjęty został problem średniowiecznych wież mieszkalnych na terenie miasta lokacyjnego we Wrocławiu. Autorzy omawiają wieże mieszkalne i domy wieżowe zidentyfikowane w toku badań archeologiczno-architektonicznych, historycznych i ikonograficznych. Lokalizacja wież w mieście związana była ze strefami zajmowanymi przez elity pochodzenia rycerskiego i mieszczańskiego, skupiającymi się w sąsiedztwie Rynku i wychodzących z niego głównych dróg. Model wieży mieszkalnej spotykany był zarówno wśród najstarszych budowli murowanych z XIII w., jak i u progu doby nowożytnej, czego dowodem są realizacje mieszczańskie z XVI w. Budynki wieżowe mogły być związane z fundacjami mieszczan, co stanowiło nawiązanie do wzorców znanych z terenu Włoch i Niemiec, służyły podkreśleniu rangi fundatora. Wieże murów miejskich mogły również służyć celom mieszkalnym, pozbawione jednak były znamion prestiżu.  
**SŁOWA-KLUCZE** średniowiecze, Wrocław, dom wieżowy, wieża mieszkalna, architektura, archeologia

## INTRODUCTION

The distinct skyline of the medieval city of Wrocław was far from resembling the Italian *città turrite*, characterised by numerous towers erected by powerful families. Instead, it was dominated by monumental Gothic towers at parish churches, such as that of St Elizabeth, as well as at various monastic and collegiate churches, the cathedral, the city gates, and the left-bank city's castle. Tower houses and residential towers (known as *Steinwerk* or *Kemenate*) were also commonly found on the Dominsel (the Ostrów Tumski Island) and in the suburban estates of patricians.<sup>1</sup> These structures consistently evoked associations with prestige and a high social status equal to that of members of the feudal class, less often – with a distant past of the beginnings of the city or even the inconveniences of residence (Fig. 1). Over time, their function evolved from providing actual defensive independence as stone residences, resembling vertical palaces and tower houses, to becoming “non-functional symbols” that aimed to equalise the status of feudal lords and the bourgeoisie, or even to exalt the city's elites.<sup>2</sup>

The objective of this article is to provide a comprehensive overview of the identified tower houses in the area of the mediaeval chartered city of Wrocław,

located on the left (southern) bank of the river Odra and present them in the context of bourgeois housing development. A significant research aspect involves determining the positioning of these towers within the social topography of the city, as well as establishing their chronology and potential builders. It appears that in addition to influential knightly families, affluent merchants and even craftsmen might have been among the founders and occupants of these residential towers. This suggests that the model of the residential tower was widely adopted. The emergence of residential towers among the bourgeoisie was not only a manifestation of the influence of knightly culture or the adoption of patterns from western and southern Europe, but primarily a result of growing wealth disparities within this social group.

## URBAN RESIDENTIAL TOWERS AS A RESEARCH PROBLEM

An attempt at defining a residential tower as a specific product of the feudal system which was adapted to the resource of urban and then bourgeois forms, one with a characteristic structure, spatial and functional disposition as well as communication, already has an enormous

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

1. Małgorzata Chorowska, *Średniowieczna kamienica mieszczańska we Wrocławiu* (Wrocław: Oficyna Wydawnicza Politechniki Wrocławskiej, 1994), 17–19; ead., “Średniowieczne domy mieszkalne”, in *Leksykon architektury Wrocławia*, ed. Rafał Eysymontt et al. (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Via Nova, 2011), 54; ead., *Rezydencje średniowieczne na Śląsku. Zamki, pałace wieże mieszkalne* (Wrocław: Oficyna Wydawnicza Politechniki Wrocławskiej, 2003), 194–197; Adam Żurek, “Kurie kanoniczne Ostrowa Tumskiego”, in *Atlas Architektury Wrocławia*, ed. Jerzy Harasimowicz, vol. 2 (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Dolnośląskie, 1998), 27; Cezary Buśko, “Budynki wieżowe w krajobrazie średniowiecznego miasta”, in *Dom w mieście średniowiecznym i nowożytnym*, ed. Bogusław Gediga (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2004), 64–66; Dominik Nowakowski, “The Towers of Urban Castles in Lower Silesia”, in *Urbs Turrita. Urban Towers in Medieval and Renaissance Europe*, ed. Richard Oram (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2019), 80–96; Piotr Lasek, Tomasz Olszacki, Tomasz Ratajczak, “Residential Towers in Urban and Suburban Royal and Magnates' Residences in the Kingdom of Poland between 1300 and 1500”, in *Urbs Turrita*, 108–119.

2. Mieczysław Zlat, “Nobilitacja przez sztukę – jedna z funkcji mieszczańskiego mecenatu w XV i XVI w.”, in *Sztuka miast i mieszczaństwa XV–XVIII wieku w Europie Środkowowschodniej*, ed. Jerzy Harasimowicz (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1990), 77–101; Marian Kutzner, “Późnogotycka rezydencja patrycjuszowska w Wojnowicach”, in *ibid.*, 128; Roland Mruczek, “Zamki wieżowe na Śląsku w średniowieczu”, PhD thesis, Instytut Historii Architektury, Sztuki i Techniki Politechniki Wrocławskiej, Wrocław 2003; Małgorzata Chorowska, Czesław Lasota, *Kamienica mieszczańska w Świdnicy. Karczma i mieszkanie w XIII–XVIII w.* (Wrocław: Oficyna Wydawnicza Politechniki Wrocławskiej, 2013), 69–75, 203–204; Roland Mruczek, “Średniowieczne miasto lokacyjne na Śląsku: kamienice, wieże mieszkalne i konstrukcje ulic”, in *Dziedzictwo architektoniczne. W kręgu świata przyrodniczego i budowy miejskich*, ed. Ewa Łuzyniecka (Wrocław: Oficyna Wydawnicza Politechniki Wrocławskiej, 2019), 55–73.



1 a–d Residential towers of Wrocław on the panoramic map *Contrafactur der Stadt Breslau* by Barthel Weinert from 1562 (facsimile of the original from 1562, published in the Carl Foerster's printing house in Wrocław in 1826): a) The Market Square and Kurzy Targ Street area: towers at Market Square 33 and Kurzy Targ 1 are marked with arrows from the left, b) The Grand Quarter area: a tower at the corner of Wita Stwojsza Street (formerly Albrechtstrasse) and Św. Wita Street is indicated by an arrow, c) The Grand Quarter area: a tower within the plot on Kotlarska Street is marked with an arrow, d) A tower located at the corner of the quarter between Kuźnicza Street and Uniwersytecka Street (formerly Rittergasse and Schmiedebrücke). Source: <https://www.bibliotekacyfrowa.pl/dlibra/publication/117959/edition/108434/content>, accessed July 25, 2023

source literature.<sup>3</sup> A donjon (from Latin *dominatio*) – a residential and defensive tower and a specific form of a defensible residence, which essentially constituted a palace with a vertical layout of rooms – was primarily a symbol of strong central power, and it was perceived identically throughout Europe.<sup>4</sup> A donjon was not only a feudal shelter, but above all the feudal lord's apartment and usually the main prestigious building, and

it was constantly inhabited in peacetime. An excellent classic lecture on residential towers in German-speaking areas, depicting them in the realities of the feudal system, was presented in Otto Piper's study.<sup>5</sup> However, a completely separate issue is the presence of the tower in early urban agglomerations and founded cities, or even village settlements, where they constituted not only a feudal, but also a bourgeois and sporadically

3. See articles in the series of *Tower Studies* 1–3, e.g.: *Urbs Turrita*; Rafał Eysymontt, “Wieża mieszkalna – twierdza rodu czy symbol miejskiej komuny? Średniowieczne wieże mieszkalne Rzymu”, *Quart* 61, no. 3 (2021): 9–12, <https://doi.org/10.11588/quart.2021.3.84927>; Hans Joachim Mrusek, “Nowe badania nad średniowiecznymi warowniami prywatnymi w osiedlach niemieckich”, *Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki* 2, no. 3–4 (1958): 304–306.

4. Roland Mruzek, “Bergfried, Donjon, Eigenkirche. Miejsce zamków śląskich w architekturze europejskiej”, *Archaeologia Historica Polona* 26 (2018): 101–134.

5. Otto Piper, *Burgenkunde, Bauwesen und Geschichte der Burgen zunächst innerhalb des deutschen Sprachgebietes* (Augsburg: Weltbild Verlag, 1996).

even peasant property.<sup>6</sup> In medieval cities of Central and Eastern Europe, a reduced form of the donjon is found under the name *Steinwerk* or *Kemenate* (but also *caminata*, *steenwerk*, *steene*, *wicborc*). In Polish source literature, the phenomenon of residential towers and tower houses of Central Europe was analysed by Jerzy Piekalski.<sup>7</sup> A certain group of researchers supports the Mediterranean genesis of residential towers. Out of seven types of Roman medieval house that were distinguished by Aino Katermaa-Ottela, the most characteristic is the *casatorre* – a residential and defensive tower which constitutes the equivalent of the French donjon. The southern cultural models, whose recipients became primarily feudal secular and church elites of Central Europe, are postulated by, among others, Josef Schepers.<sup>8</sup> Also, Schepers indicated the most likely way of their dissemination, which lead through France and the Western-Alpine zone. The Rhineland cultural melting pot is also noteworthy in this respect. Anita Wiedenau notices a clear relationship between urban residential towers of Rhineland and the feudal stratum, and based the analysis of historical sources, she proposes a division into three categories of buildings, of which two, i.e. *turres* – residential towers and *arces* – tower buildings, are of great importance for our considerations.<sup>9</sup> Schepers, in turn, emphasises significant differences between impressive residential towers of Rhineland and southern Germany and their much more modest counterparts in the European Lowlands. For this reason, he suggests the concepts of *Turmhaus* – “tower house” and *turmartiges Haus* – “house like a tower”.<sup>10</sup> In search of explanation of these differences, it would be difficult to overestimate the cultural backwardness resulting from the course of

the *limes* and follow the opposition, i.e. Roman urban planning and architecture against the development of settlement in the zone of the *barbaricum*, especially since in Rome itself the residential tower was a new phenomenon, one connected with the Norman feudal world. It should rather be assumed that in the context of the decline of settlement centres with the Roman origin, the residential tower was extremely quickly and widely adapted from the resource of forms of the feudal world, ensuring both prestige and safety of its owners in times of unrest. Therefore, the panorama of early medieval Rome in the *città turrite* type is not surprising in a situation where the once million-high number of inhabitants of the Eternal City decreased to 45,000 people at the beginning of the second millennium AD and to just 17,000, of burgers at the end of the Avignon Papacy.<sup>11</sup>

Residential towers were a distinctive feature of Italian cities governed by merchant families, and held a prestigious status equivalent to that of the nobility.<sup>12</sup> Burgher towers dominated the urban landscapes of cities such as Rome, Bologna, Ferrara, Florence, Lucca, Genoa, Pavia, San Gimignano, Vicenza and Viterbo. Urban residential towers were also not uncommon in Europe north of the Alps, particularly in those areas of South Germany that had strong connections with Italian cities.<sup>13</sup> In that part of Europe, they were also found in cities like Basel, Zurich, Trier, Vienna, Regensburg and Nuremberg, in central Germany, for instance in Goslar, Frankfurt am Main, Koblenz, Mainz, Cologne and Paderborn; and even in northern regions such as Osnabrück, Brunswick and Lübeck. Most of these centres saw the decline of residential towers starting from

6. Josef Schepers, “Mittelmeerländische Einflüsse in der Bau- und Wohnkultur des westlichen Mitteleuropa”, in *Europäische Kulturverflechtungen im Bereich volkstümlicher Überlieferung. Festschrift für Bruno Schier* (Göttingen: Verlag Otto Schwartz, 1967), 1–27; id., *Der mittelalterliche profane Steinbau Westfalens im europäischen Zusammenhang* (Detmold: LWL-Freilichtmuseum Detmold Völkerkunde & Volkskunde, 1997).

7. Jerzy Piekalski, *Wczesne domy mieszczan w Europie Środkowej* (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2004).

8. Schepers, “Mittelmeerländische Einflüsse in der Bau- und Wohnkultur des westlichen Mitteleuropa”, 5–7.

9. Anita Wiedenau, *Katalog der romanischen Wohnbauten in westdeutschen Städten und Siedlungen* (Tübingen: Wasmuth, 1984).

10. Schepers, *Der mittelalterliche profane Steinbau Westfalens im europäischen Zusammenhang*, 40.

11. Aino Katermaa-Ottela, *Le Casatorri medievali in Roma* (Helsinki: Societas Scientiarum Fennica, 1981).

12. Eysymontt, “Wieża mieszkalna – twierdza rodu czy symbol miejskiej komuny?”, 3–25.

13. Piekalski, *Wczesne domy mieszczan w Europie Środkowej*, 135–155.

the 14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>14</sup> Regensburg stands out as the city where medieval towers managed to survive beyond the Middle Ages. Some towers in Prague are also identifiable examples.<sup>15</sup>

In Silesia and the Polish territories, residential towers appeared with the development of cities under German law.<sup>16</sup> The tower-like form could be adopted by ducal castles within city walls, particularly popular in Upper Silesia,<sup>17</sup> as well as the residences of vogts (head officials of towns, from Latin *advocatus*).<sup>18</sup> Some bishopric and chapter foundations (Gołańcz, Biestrzyków) also took on the tower form.<sup>19</sup> In addition, towers appeared in cities owing to the aristocracy, for whom this type of dwelling, often adorned with additional architectural attributes such as battlements or oriels, served as a distinguishing feature among the urban population.<sup>20</sup> Towards the end of the Middle Ages, the lifestyle of the nobility was increasingly emulated by the patrician class, whose wealth often equalled or

even surpassed the financial potential of the nobility. In addition, closer contacts with the southern German states and Italy, developed in the late Middle Ages, may have prompted potential founders of residential towers to refer to the ancestral towers as seen there.<sup>21</sup> The panorama of a medieval city thus included towered residential buildings of various origins. As a result of changing living patterns and transformations in urban development during the early modern period, residential towers disappeared from the cityscape and were replaced by developed bourgeois tenements and urban palaces of the aristocracy.

#### METHOD OF RESEARCH

In our research, we endeavoured to utilise the available sources to shed light on the lesser-known topic of residential towers in the left-bank city. Our approach relied on iconographic sources, including panoramic views of the city by Weiner,<sup>22</sup> Gross-Vroom,<sup>23</sup> Hayer,<sup>24</sup>

14. Buśko, "Budynki wieżowe w krajobrazie średniowiecznego miasta", 64–66, 71.

15. Zdeněk Dragoun, Jiří Škabrada, Michal Tryml, *Romanesque Houses in Prague* (Prague: Paseka, 2003).

16. Robert Bartlett, *The Making of Europe. Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change 950–1350* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994).

17. Chorowska, *Rezydencje średniowieczne na Śląsku*, 80–84.

18. Tomasz Liniecki, "Dom wójta Henryka z wieku XIII w Krakowie", *Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki* 33, no. 4 (1988), 287–297; Waldemar Komorowski, Piotr Opaliński, "O wieży wójta krakowskiego raz jeszcze", *Czasopismo Techniczne. Architektura* 23, no. 108 (2011), 119–129.

19. Piotr Lasek, *Turris fortissima nomen Domini. Murowane wieże mieszkalne w Królestwie Polskim od 1300 r. do połowy XVI w.* (Warszawa: Instytut Sztuki PAN, 2013), 122–123; Jan Salm, "Biestrzyków", in *Leksykon zamków w Polsce*, ed. Leszek Kajzer, Stanisław Kołodziejski, Jan Salm (Warszawa: Arkady, 2001), 93–94.

20. Buśko, "Budynki wieżowe w krajobrazie średniowiecznego miasta", 61–73. Małgorzata Chorowska, "Pałac i kamienica. Wpływ siedziby pańskiej na wrocławskie i podwrocławskie domy mieszczan w średniowieczu", in *Dom, majątek, klient, sługa. Manifestacja pozycji elit w przestrzeni materialnej i społecznej (XIII–XIX w.)*, ed. Marcin Rafał Pauk, Monika Saczyńska (Warszawa: Instytut Archeologii i Etnologii PAN, 2010), 63–80.

21. Eysymontt, "Wieża mieszkalna – twierdza rodu czy symbol miejskiej komuny?", 3–25.

22. Barthel Weiner, *Contrafactur der Stadt Breslau*, 1562, copy of C. G. Foerster and J. Partsch (1826), [https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Barthel\\_Weihner#/media/Plik:Breslau1562Weihner.jpg](https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Barthel_Weihner#/media/Plik:Breslau1562Weihner.jpg), accessed May 29, 2024.

23. Friedrich H. Vroom, Friedrich Gross, *Wratislavia, Civitates orbis terrarum. Urbium praecipuarum totius mundi. Liber quartus* (Köln: Georg Braun & Frans Hogenberg, 1594), Online Library of the University of Wrocław, <https://www.bibliotekacyfrowa.pl/dlibra/publication/31544/edition/96065>, accessed April 29, 2024.

24. Georg Hayer, *Urbis Wratislaviae Silesiorum Metropolis Genuina Descriptio*, 1591, British Museum, inv. no. 1850,0612.164, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P\\_1850-0612-164](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1850-0612-164), accessed May 29, 2024.



Merian,<sup>25</sup> Wernher,<sup>26</sup> as well as iconography depicting specific streets and buildings. However, it is important to acknowledge that these iconographic sources date from a period when the residential tower model had fallen out of favour. Extensive reconstructions and increased urban development resulted in the integration of tower buildings within the structures of bourgeois tenement houses. Therefore, the towers documented on panoramic plans represent only a fraction of the original image.

We tried to connect unidentified structures with information from historical sources, but the identification of medieval plot owners was not always feasible. To supplement our findings, we turned to archaeological and architectural research materials, some of which have not been previously published. Furthermore, due to the incomplete preservation of objects, opportunities for the definitive interpretation of archaeological and architectural remnants as remnants of tower buildings were limited. These limitations should be taken into consideration when analysing the findings.

#### EXAMPLES OF RESIDENTIAL TOWERS IN THE LEFT-BANK CITY OF WROCLAW

Based on more recent archaeological and architectural studies, it has been determined that the left-bank urban centre of Wrocław underwent multiple stages of development within the expansive early medieval agglomeration. This occurred as a result of spatial and

legal reforms implemented through three foundation campaigns carried out around 1214–1232, 1241/1242, and 1261. Over time, the city evolved from a ducal city to a municipal city with full local governance, which was officially recognised in 1329.<sup>27</sup>

The early division of the terrain around the Market Square is supported by a substantial number of dendrochronological dating, covering the period from the late 12<sup>th</sup> century to the first half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>28</sup> The earliest houses around the market were constructed in a timber-frame structure and occupied a small portion of the original plot. Masonry buildings made of brick appeared around the mid-13<sup>th</sup> century in the Old Market zone.<sup>29</sup> Among them were also buildings that can be interpreted as tower-like structures.

#### OLD MARKET SQUARE – DER RING (THE PRESENT RYNEK)

Probably the oldest known structure of the residential tower character in the very centre of the founded city of Wrocław is a building located on the plot at 33 Market Square at the mouth of Hintermarkt (Kurzy Targ Street; Fig. 1b; 3a–b). It was discovered by Czesław Lasota and mentioned in the study by Łukasz Krzywka, where it is dated to the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>30</sup> The existence of walls in the double stretcher bond, which consists of alternate two stretchers and one header for each course, was already indicated in previous research by the team of Cezary Buśko.<sup>31</sup> The building was located

25. Matthäus Merian, *Plan und Ansicht der Stadt Breslau*, [https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Plik:Merian\\_-\\_Breslau\\_Kupferstich.jpg](https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Plik:Merian_-_Breslau_Kupferstich.jpg), accessed May 29, 2024.

26. Friedrich Bernhard Werner, *Topographia Seu Compendium Silesiae. Pars II*, Online Library of the University of Wrocław, <http://www.bibliotekacyfrowa.pl/Content/16339/PDF/document.pdf>, accessed April 29, 2024.

27. Marta Młynarska-Kaletynowa, *Wrocław w XII–XIII wieku. Przemiany społeczne i osadnicze* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich – Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1986); Jerzy Piekalski, *Praga, Wrocław, Kraków. Przestrzeń publiczna i prywatna w czasach średniowiecznego przełomu* (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2014).

28. Jerzy Piekalski, “Problem datowania początków Rynku we Wrocławiu”, in *Nie tylko zamki*, ed. Ewa Różycka, Małgorzata Chorowska (Wrocław: Oficyna Wydawnicza Politechniki Wrocławskiej, 2005), 343–351.

29. Małgorzata Chorowska, Czesław Lasota, “O zabudowie murowanej w pierzejach Rynku i ulic”, in *Ulice średniowiecznego Wrocławia*, ed. Jerzy Piekalski, Krzysztof Wachowski (Wrocław: Instytut Archeologii UW, 2010), 159–177.

30. Czesław Lasota, Stefan Zalewski, Joanna Służałek, *Badania architektoniczno-konserwatorskie I piętra budynku Rynek 33 we Wrocławiu*, Wrocław 1997, Dolnośląski Wojewódzki Urząd Ochrony Zabytków (Archive of Provincial Monument Protection Office in Wrocław, henceforth: DWUOZ), no inv. no.; Łukasz Krzywka, “Kamienice Rynek 33 i Kurzy Targ 6–8”, *Renowacje* 3 (12), no. 2 (2000), 54–62.

31. Cezary Buśko, Barbara Gawlikowska, Jerzy Piekalski, *Badania wykopaliskowe przy realizacji kabla energetycznego przy ulicach Janickiego i Kurzy Targ we Wrocławiu*, Wrocław 1996, DWUOZ, no inv. no.

in the front part of the bourgeois plot. At present, inside a classicist tenement house, there is a three-storey and probably two-room, partially adapted residential tower. It is built on a rectangular plan, with dimensions of over 13 × 10 m, oriented towards the market with its shorter side. In the 14<sup>th</sup> century, it was higher by one storey and some building development was constructed on the free part of the plot from the Market Square side. At the end of the Middle Ages, these two narrow two-storey tenement houses with two window axes received twin stepped gables. The remains of a *hypocaustum*-type furnace and lighting recesses closed with a segmental arch, as well as window openings from the Market Square and Kurzy Targ side, were preserved from the original layout. Bricks with a characteristic wrinkled texture were used in the construction, arranged in the double stretcher bond with carefully formed triangular joints. This structure, which is important, for it was situated on a corner plot and thus was of a corner nature, must have been built in the 2<sup>nd</sup> half the 13<sup>th</sup> century. This dating is made more precise by, on the one hand, the moment of opening of the Hintermarkt (today: Kurzy Targ) street, which was determined indirectly, with the help of a large series of dendrochronological datings, for the 1240s or the 1250s,<sup>32</sup> and on the other hand, by the disappearance of the older, double stretcher bond (two stretchers – one header) and the spread of a new brick bond (single stretcher bond, the so-called Flemish bond – alternately one stretcher and one header)

in Wrocław architecture, which generally took place in the 1280s and in the 1290s.<sup>33</sup>

Today it would be difficult to indicate other tower buildings near Wrocław's Market Square. Already in the 13<sup>th</sup> century there was advanced building development there. It is known that originally, tenement houses could also have had a defensive crowning in the form of battlements. This important manifestation of defensive independence was discovered in the tenement house at 48/49 Market Square.<sup>34</sup> It can probably be connected with the ordinance of the City Council from 1290, which was issued in the face of the expected Mongolian invasion.<sup>35</sup>

#### THE HINTERMARKT ZONE (THE PRESENT KURZY TARG)

Another place where residential towers appeared within Wrocław area was the zone along the Hintermarkt street (Kurzy Targ, Fig. 3) which was a significant artery connecting the Main Market (Rynek) and the Town Hall with the parish church of St. Mary Magdalene.<sup>36</sup> The Hintermarkt street was marked out in mid-13<sup>th</sup> century; it cut the eastern frontage of the Market Square in the middle, changing the original plan of the town. The frame building development which was discovered under the surface of the street was dated dendrochronologically to the time after 1209 (horizon IIa) and after 1223 – after 1230 (horizon IIb).<sup>37</sup> The extension of the road, which led to the formation of Kurzy Targ

32. Roland Mruczek, "Kurzy Targ we Wrocławiu. Uwagi o pierwotnym planie miasta", in *Centrum średniowiecznego miasta. Wrocław a Europa Środkowa*, ed. Jerzy Piekalski, Krzysztof Wachowski (Wrocław: Uniwersytet Wrocławski, Instytut Archeologii, Akme – Zdzisław Wiśniewski, 2000), 259–278.

33. Chorowska, *Średniowieczna kamienica mieszczańska we Wrocławiu*, 5.

34. Chorowska, "Średniowieczne domy mieszkalne", 52; Małgorzata Chorowska, "Działka mieszczańska Rynek 50–Igielna 18. Przemiany architektoniczne zabudowy posesji i jej sąsiedztwa w XIII–XX w.", in *Rynek wrocławski w świetle badań archeologicznych*, part 2, ed. Jerzy Piekalski (Wrocław: Instytut Archeologii UW, 2002), 204–213.

35. Chorowska, *Średniowieczna kamienica mieszczańska we Wrocławiu*, 77; Georg Korn, *Breslauer Urkundenbuch* (Breslau: Wilhelm Gottlieb Korn, 1870), Anhang 1.

36. Mruczek, "Kurzy Targ we Wrocławiu", 259, 271.

37. In this zone settlement traces from before 1209 were found. An important series of dendrodates are from neighboring plots in Saint Mary Magdalene's Street, which covered the years after 1185. Massive beams, which were reused in the 13<sup>th</sup> century as the foundations of frame buildings in the quarter between Saint Mary Magdalene's, Szewska, Oławska and Łaciarska Streets and dated dendrochronologically for the time after 1185, two of them after 1202, after 1215, after 1234, may have come from the demolition of the ceiling of Mary Magdalene's Romanesque churches. The construction works carried out there can probably also be connected with a layer of brick debris, which determined another – after a wooden one dated after 1239 – surface of the street running along the southern border of the cemetery, see: Aleksander Limisiewicz, Roland Mruczek, "Fara św. Marii Magdaleny na tle przemian przestrzennych

in its present form, might have been connected with the re-regulation of the city after its formal foundation in 1261.<sup>38</sup> It is reflected in dendrological dating of solid wooden routes which were founded on stilts and recognised in the eastern frontage of the Market Square in Kurzy Targ, Kuźnica, Oławska and Wita Stwosza streets (after 1254 – after 1263).<sup>39</sup> Partly burnt several-phase wooden tracks of Kurzy Targ, which date from the years 1258–1263 (samples from phase II),<sup>40</sup> correspond to analogous structures from the eastern part of the Market Square (Rynek) frontage, which were erected in the years 1254–1259.<sup>41</sup>

The specific form of the late-medieval building development of Kurzy Targ street with residential towers or tower houses certainly had some connection with the prestige of the place, as well as with the secondary subdivision at the expense of plots oriented towards the Market Square or towards Szewska Street.<sup>42</sup> The oldest layout in this route of buildings was the already mentioned corner tower at 33 Rynek / 7/8 Kurzy Targ.

Another residential tower was built in the very middle of the southern street frontage, on the plot of land at no. 1 Kurzy Targ. It is presented in the views by B. Weiner dating from 1562 (Fig. 1b; 3c) and by M. Merian from after 1650.<sup>43</sup> This structure, which had a four-sided ground plan and which stood in the front part of the bourgeois plot, finally disappeared at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century during the construction

of the Barasch Brothers' department store. The outline of its foundations is still visible in the photograph documenting the process of demolishing the tenement houses of the southern frontage of the street. Today, there are no grounds for the precise dating of this tower, which could have been built in the time range from the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century up to the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

A structure that was probably analogous existed in the northern frontage of the street at 6 Kurzy Targ (Fig. 3a–b).<sup>44</sup> It was a rectangular building located in the front part of the plot, which from the backyard side was equipped with a cylindrical outer staircase resembling a chronologically late, that is 16<sup>th</sup>-century, tower situated in the not very distant Żmigród.<sup>45</sup> It is known both from archival materials and from views and photographs of this part of the city dating from the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>46</sup> It was replaced by a spacious building in the spirit of the late French Renaissance constructed in the years 1896/97.<sup>47</sup> As to the interpretation of this layout as a tower, Lasota expressed his doubts by pointing to the heights of storeys of this multi-storey building, which were typical of bourgeois tenement houses. It should be remembered that the structures in Kurzy Targ were built in special conditions, i.e. on plots of land that were very short, transverse in relation to the original measurements, and designated only after opening this street in the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, which undoubtedly influenced

wczesnego Wrocławia”, in *Śródmiejska katedra. Kościół św. Marii Magdaleny w dziejach i kulturze Wrocławia*, ed. Bogusław Czechowicz (Wrocław: Oficyna Wydawnicza ATUT, 2010), 55–136.

38. This road may be related to the course of the traditional trade route leading through Wrocław from Wallonian settlement to Szczepin before the regular grid of streets and the market square was laid out. This trail is named after the author of the reconstruction of its hypothetical course: “Morełowski’s road”, see: Limisiewicz, Mruczek, “Fara św. Marii Magdaleny na tle przemian przestrzennych wczesnego Wrocławia”, 74–79.

39. Piekalski, *Praga, Wrocław, Kraków*, 195–200; Paweł Konczewski, Jerzy Piekalski, “Stratygrafia nawarstwień i konstrukcje ulic”, in *Ulice średniowiecznego Wrocławia*, ed. Jerzy Piekalski, Krzysztof Wachowski (Wrocław: Instytut Archeologii UW, 2010), 91–157.

40. Mruczek, “Kurzy Targ we Wrocławiu”, 270.

41. Bogdan Kitliński, “Badania przy wschodniej pierzei Rynku”, in *Rynek wrocławski w świetle badań archeologicznych*, 176.

42. Mateusz Goliński, *Socjotopografia późnośredniowiecznego Wrocławia (przestrzeń – podatnicy – rzemiosło)* (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo UW, 1999), 83; Limisiewicz, Mruczek, “Fara św. Marii Magdaleny na tle przemian przestrzennych wczesnego Wrocławia”, 117.

43. Chorowska, *Średniowieczna kamienica mieszczańska we Wrocławiu*, 19.

44. Mruczek, *Zamki wieżowe na Śląsku w średniowieczu*, 401–402.

45. Chorowska, *Rezydencje średniowieczne na Śląsku*, 187–188.

46. Materials housed in Archiwum Budowlane Miasta Wrocławia (The Construction Archive of the City of Wrocław).

47. Krzywka, “Kamienice Rynek 33 i Kurzy Targ 6–8”, 54–62.



their spatial layouts.<sup>48</sup> Thus, we are dealing here with a tenement house which out of necessity referred to residential towers in terms of proportions and communication solutions. At present, its precise dating is not possible, although a similarity to the already mentioned Renaissance tower in Żmigród or the even later tower in Dalków near Głogów is truly striking.<sup>49</sup> However, the alleged tower at 6 Kurzy Targ was not noticed or recorded in any of the 16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup>-century views of the city and probably acquired its characteristic form relatively late (before the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century). Nevertheless, this now non-existent building certainly constitutes a very interesting and chronologically late example of the vertical development of a bourgeois tenement house.

#### HERREN STRASSE

##### (THE PRESENT KIELBAŚNICZA STREET)

Kielbaśnicza Street, which was situated at the back of the western quarter of the building development around Rynek (from 1420 known not only as Herrengasse or, later, Herrenstrasse, literally: the street of the lords, but also, from 1507, as Wurstgasse – Sausage Street), ran through both the Merchants' Quarter and the Butchers' Quarter. It constituted an interface of the property of the wealthy patriciate and the knighthood (Fig. 2). Its northern outlet was connected with Św. Mikołaja Street and the former church cemetery as well as with the city parish church of St Elizabeth, which was traditionally frequented by members of the patrician class.<sup>50</sup> Corner plots were of great significance there. The character of the objects found on the plot at 28 Kielbaśnicza Street, such as a spur with a star-like rowel and a mace discovered within the area of a stable dating from the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, as well as a silver statue

of Virgin Mary,<sup>51</sup> probably brought from long-distance travels, proves the high financial status of the owners of the plot. In the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> century the Herren Strasse, as the name suggest, may have been inhabited by not only by patricians, but also by noble families.

Another early facility in this zone was a residential tower from phase II of the development of the Wrocław bourgeois tenement house, which was situated in the front part of the plot at 77 Św. Mikołaja Street (German: Nicolai Strasse; Fig. 2) at the outlet of Kielbaśnicza Street (the former Herrenstrasse) and erected at the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>52</sup> This corner structure neighbouring the mayor's house at 76 Św. Mikołaja Street probably belonged to the building development of Herrenstrasse which at that time may have been inhabited by knights.<sup>53</sup> A residential tower with a rectangular plan has survived to this day in the form of basement walls within a modern tenement house. Its dating was based on the analysis of the technological features of the walls and on the relation to the sequence of archaeological layers of the Market Square zone. The tower was built during the period of their intensive accumulation in the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. The total thickness of the garbage and backfill layers in the centre of Wrocław reached 3.8 to 4 m at that time, completely submerging the basement of the oldest 13<sup>th</sup>-century houses and necessitating a remodelling of their first floors into ground floors.<sup>54</sup>

The neighbouring residential tower at 27 Kielbaśnicza Street (Fig. 2), which was discovered by Małgorzata Chorowska during the research on the quarter of building development between Rzeźnicza, Ruska, Kielbaśnicza and Św. Mikołaja streets in 1998 and studied in the following year, had a similar character and

48. Mruczek, "Kurzy Targ we Wrocławiu".

49. Chorowska, *Rezydencje średniowieczne na Śląsku*, 186–188.

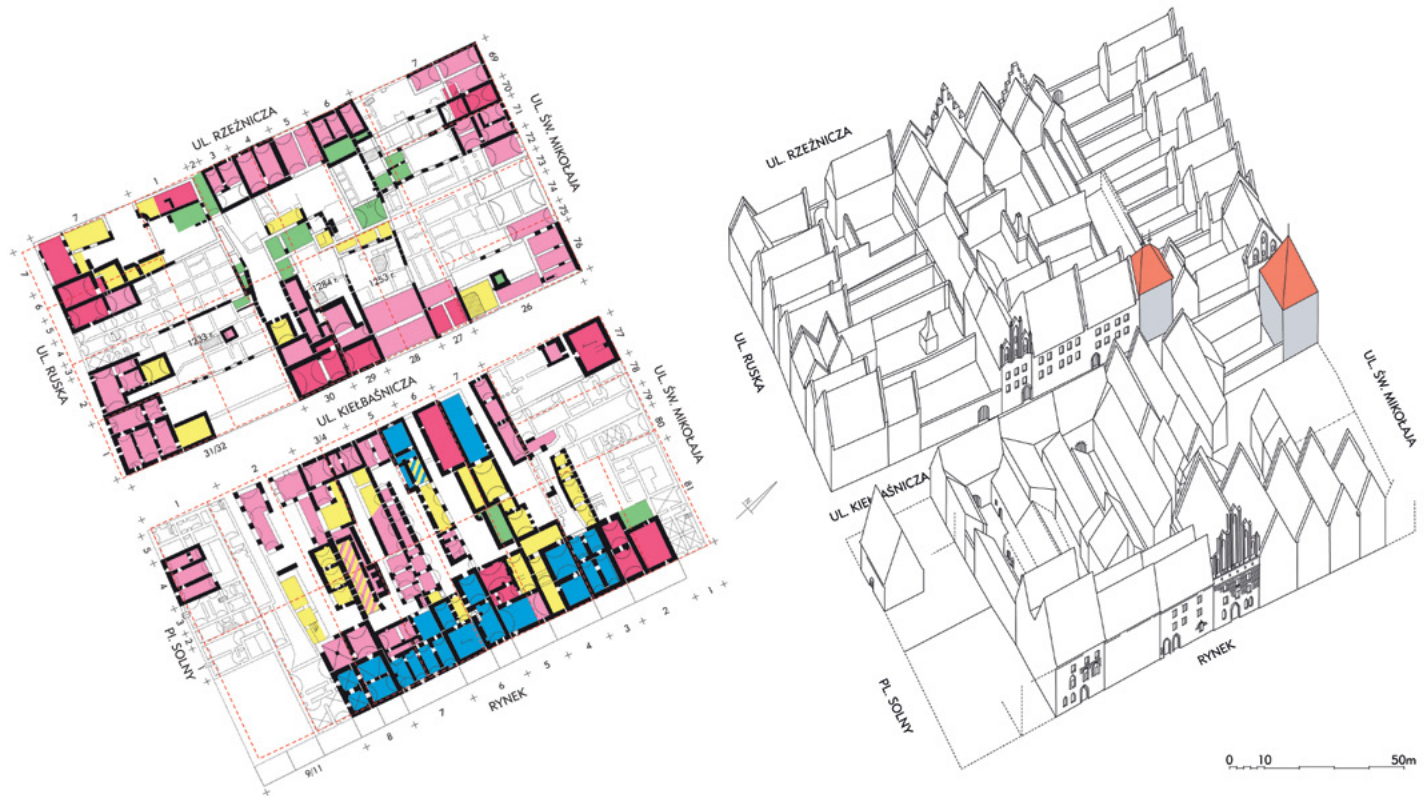
50. Goliński, *Socjotopografia późnośredniowiecznego Wrocławia*, 30–32, 41–45, 76–77.

51. Krzysztof Kamiński, "Paradna głowica buławy ze Starego Miasta we Wrocławiu", *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej* 48, no. 3–4 (2000): 163–169. Karol Bykowski, Piotr Cholewa, Teresa Dąbrowa, Wojciech Fabisiak, Krzysztof Kamiński, Paweł Konczewski, Krzysztof Kwaśnica, Aleksander Limisiewicz, Małgorzata Opalińska, Tomasz Płonka, Andrzej Wiśniewski, *Kwartal Starego Miasta we Wrocławiu ograniczony ulicami Kielbaśniczą, Ruską, Rzeźniczą i Św. Mikołaja – interdyscyplinarne badania ratownicze. Cz. I. Wyniki badań archeologicznych*, Wrocław 2000, DWUOZ, inv. no. 26/239.

52. Goliński, *Socjotopografia późnośredniowiecznego Wrocławia*, 45.

53. Jerzy Burnita, Małgorzata Chorowska, Roland Mruczek, *Wyniki badań architektonicznych murów odstoniętych na terenie posesji: św. Mikołaja 69–76, Rzeźnicza 4–6, Kielbaśnicza 26–30, Ruska 2–4*, Wrocław 2001, Archive of Institute of History of Architecture Art and Technology, Wrocław University of Technology, no inv. no.

54. Piekalski, *Praga, Wrocław, Kraków*, 188; Chorowska, *Średniowieczna kamienica mieszczącańska we Wrocławiu*, 6.



ROZWÓJ ZABUDOWY MUROWANEJ  
DEVELOPMENT OF MASONRY BUILDINGS

- budynki z XIII w.  
buildings from the 13th century
- budynki z 1. połowy XIV w.  
buildings from the 1st half of the 14th century
- budynki z 2. połowy XIV – 2. tercji XV w.  
buildings from the 2nd half of the 14th century – 2nd third of the 15th century
- budynki z 3. tercji XV – 1. ćwierci XVI w.  
buildings from the 3rd of the 15th century – 1st quarter of the 16th century
- budynki z 2. – 4. ćwierci XVI w.  
buildings from the 2nd – 4th quarters of the 16th century

- rekonstruowane granice parceli  
z czasów lokacji  
reconstructed borders of parcels  
from the incorporation period
- mury odsłonięte w trakcie badań terenowych  
walls uncovered during field studies
- mury rekonstruowane  
na podstawie badań terenowych  
walls reconstructed basing  
on field studies
- przebieg murów na podstawie archiwaliów  
location of the walls basing on archives
- odsłonięte relikty budynków szachulcowych  
uncovered relics of timber-framed buildings

2 Wrocław, Old Town, the area of Herren Strasse (currently Kielbaśnicza Street). Residential towers possibly belonging to knights. Compiled by Małgorzata Chorowska, cartographic design by Jarosław Pałamarczuk. Source: *Atlas historyczny miast polskich*, vol. 4: Śląsk, issue 13: Wrocław (Wrocław 2017), plate 8b

probably a knightly sponsor.<sup>55</sup> The building, which was dated to the 14<sup>th</sup> century, retained the form of the tower even after subsequent reconstructions. It was a three-storey residential tower with an almost square ground plan, covered with a hipped roof. Today, it is preserved only in the form of a southern wall, which was adapted during the construction of the neighbouring tenement house at No. 28 (at present, obscured by the Wratislavia Center edifice). The structure was pulled down to the foundations during the extension of E. Bielschowsky department store in 1922. The remains of the foundation parts of other walls were demolished

in 1999 during the construction of the Wratislavia Center. In phase I, dated to the 14<sup>th</sup> century, a three-storey, probably tower-like, front building with an almost square ground plan and dimensions of 10.1 × 12 meters was erected. Based on the study of the preserved border wall (the southern wall), it is possible to estimate the heights of its floors. The ground floor together with the first floor had the height of 7.7 m. Above, there was an 80 cm-high groove which was carved in the wall and corresponded (at least in part) to the thickness of the ceiling and pugging above the first floor. The height of the second floor, which was determined by the level of

55. Chorowska, “Średniowieczne domy mieszkalne”, 54.

berm and the next carved groove, was 2.9 m. The 8 cm-wide berm probably constituted the place of support for the ceiling beams. Above it, there was a 40 cm face belt (which determines the height of ceiling beams) and a 17-centimeter groove (thickness of the pugging and floor). The third storey was at least 3 m high, because the back wall of the building was preserved to that height. This wall was connected with the border wall at the corner of the house, which indicates that the building in question had been built as the first one in the area of plots at 27/28 Kielbaśnicza Street. The thickness of the back wall at the level of the ground floor and first floor was 80 cm, and above them, it was 60 cm. None of the four gables, which were preserved to varying degrees in the examined border wall, could be connected with the described front building; hence, Chorowska conjectured that the building was covered with a hipped roof, which gave its body the silhouette of the tower. The southern border wall in the above-ground part was constructed of bricks arranged in a single-stretcher bond with a triangular grout in the cross-section. The foundation part of the northern wall was also within the research excavation. It included relics of a pillar, up to 3 m long, which was placed at the front of the tenement house, and a 7 m long, continuous strip foundation. The space between the pillar and the 2 m long strip foundation was filled with a wall during the 16<sup>th</sup> century. In total, the foundation of the tower building was preserved over a length of 12.5 m from the front of the plot. The pillar foot and the strip foundation were made of medium-sized field stones and brick debris on a beige-coloured, not very cohesive sand and lime mortar. In phase II – dated to the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> century – the front tower was extended deep into the plot. The rear part (annex) was shallow (3.3 m) and low, merely the ground floor covered with a mono-pitched roof and small slant. A trace of contact

between the roof and the wall survived in the form of a slanting belt of bricks arranged in a flat manner. This makes it possible to estimate the angle of the roof slant at approximately 41 degrees and the height of the ground floor at 5 m. Constructing an annex did not much change the character of the body of the front part, which still looked like a tower. It was only in phase III, dated to the 15<sup>th</sup> century, as a result of extensive construction works on plots No. 27 and 28, that the large late-medieval tenements houses, which absorbed the characteristic vertical body, were constructed.<sup>56</sup>

#### ALBRECHTSTRASSE (THE PRESENT WITA STWOSZA)

The Albrechtstrasse (Św. Wojciecha Street, at present Wita Stwosza Street) was since the Middle Ages inhabited by members of higher social classes,<sup>57</sup> which is evidenced by numerous residences of dukes, counts and patricians that functioned there. Therefore, it probably constituted the scenery for the ceremonial entries of emperors in 1563, 1577 and 1611. The structure, which was situated at the intersection of Wita Stwosza and Św. Wita streets, was studied by Cezary Buśko and dated to the turn of the 14<sup>th</sup> century (Fig. 1c). It belongs to the more often cited residential towers of this zone.<sup>58</sup> It was a three-storey residential tower on a square-like ground plan with a bay window from the eastern side, which occupied the front part of the plot. In its original form, it was recorded in the drawing by Weiner from 1562 as a corner structure which was located in the front part of the plot. In 1364, Louis I the Fair bought it from the patrician Dominik Hanke.<sup>59</sup> In 1365, it was mentioned in the sources as *curia ducis Ludovici*, then in 1391 as *Curia ducis Lodwici* and *Conuentus ducis Lodwici*,<sup>60</sup> whereas in 1417 the name was recorded as *herzog Ludwigs Steinhaus*.<sup>61</sup> According to Mateusz Goliński, the ducal estate also included a brewery from Krowia

56. Burnita, Chorowska, Mruczek, *Wyniki badań architektonicznych murów*.

57. Wojciech Brzezowski, "Ulica św. Wojciecha i jej architektura", in *Architektura Wrocławia*, vol. 2: *Urbanistyka do roku 1945*, ed. Jerzy Rozpędowski (Wrocław: Oficyna Wydawnicza Politechniki Wrocławskiej, 1995), 124–126.

58. Cezary Buśko, "Badania archeologiczne ulic wrocławskich", *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej* 47, no. 1–2 (1999), 48.

59. Hans Lutsch, *Verzeichnis der Kunstdenkmäler der Provinz Schlesien*, vol. 1: *Die Stadt Breslau* (Breslau: W.G. Korn, 1886), 121.

60. Alwin Schultz, "Topographie Breslaus im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert", *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Geschichte und Alterthum Schlesiens*, no. 10 (1870): 261, 266, 267.

61. Hermann Markgraf, *Die Strassen Breslaus nach ihrer Geschichte und ihren Namen* (Breslau: Verlag von G. Morgenstern, 1896), 4.





Street side, which suggests merging several properties.<sup>62</sup> In 1451, the *curia* was sold, whole or in part, to the city scrivener Johann Magdeburg. Goliński draws attention to the building's courtyard surrounded by outbuildings and a vast garden at the back of the plot, which occupied the entire width of the building development quarter. Its being within the first ring of urban fortifications – as a secular property – is almost a precedent, which may indicate that originally, or from a very early time, this area belonged to one owner. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the tower structure under analysis was in the hands of the dukes of Ziębice (Herzogtum Münsterberg) and at the beginning of the next century, it was included in the Hatzfeld Palace. Numerous researchers pointed that the latter was erected by using older walls, including Louis I's tower, whose characteristic bay window (of the chapel?) can still be seen in an etching by Carl Remshart from 1736.<sup>63</sup> After the destruction of the residence during the siege of Wrocław in 1760, in the years 1764–1773 a new Hatzfeld Palace facility was erected, in whose body there are no remains of older buildings

demolished in the autumn of 1763. However, the tradition of the chapel, designed by Carl Gotthard Langhans in the eastern wing of the palace, remained.<sup>64</sup>

RITTERGASSE/SCHMIEDEBRÜCKE  
(THE PRESENT UNIWERSYTECKA/  
KUŹNICZA STREETS)

Weiner's plan reveals the existence of a tower building on the corner plot between today's Kuźnicza and Uniwersytecka streets. It was a three-story structure with a flat roof and battlements. The entrance was located on the ground floor, facing Rittergasse (Uniwersytecka Street). In the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the prestige of this area was associated with its proximity to the imperial castle and the court of the dukes of Brzeg, which occupied a spacious plot opposite. This property or one of the neighbouring plots was subject to a sale in 1345, in which Hoyger von Pritlicz and Herman von Borsnitz sold it to Zofia von Falkenheim. The above transaction confirms the interest of members of knightly families in plots in this area. Until the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century, the

62. Goliński, *Socjotopografia późnośredniowiecznego Wrocławia*, 104.

63. Brzezowski, "Ulica św. Wojciecha i jej architektura", 130.

64. Jerzy K. Kos, "Czy Carl Langhans był twórcą pałacu Hatzfeldów?", in *Architektura Wrocławia*, vol. 1: *Dom*, ed. Jerzy Rozpędowski (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Werk, 1995), 189–200.



3a–c Wrocław, Old Town, Market Square and Kurzy Targ Street (formerly Hintermarkt) area in archival photographs: a) Building at Market Square 33 (with a well-preserved large residential tower) and a residential tower or tower house at Kurzy Targ 6), 1896, b) Building at Market Square 33 (with a well-preserved large residential tower) and a residential tower or tower house at Kurzy Targ 6), 1870–75, c) Demolition of the buildings on the southern side of the street along with the last remnants of a residential tower at Kurzy Targ 1 during the construction of the commercial building for the Barasch Brothers, 1903. Source: polska-org.pl

area in the vicinity of the castle belonged to the Jewish population, but after the expulsion of Jews from the city, the plots were taken over by courtiers and townspeople.<sup>65</sup> The identification of this tower as the Jewish school seems to be unconfirmed.<sup>66</sup>

#### THE TOWER OF LUCAS LINDNER (KUPFERSCHMIEDE STRASSE, THE PRESENT KOTLARSKA)

The bourgeois tower, which was constructed deep in a plot in Kotlarska Street (Fig. 1d) and is recorded in the known drawing by Weiner from 1562 within the quarter of the building development limited by Szewska, Kotlarska, Kuźnicza and Nożownicza streets, had a completely different character.<sup>67</sup> It was erected in 1516 by the furrier Lucas Lindner *der Stadt zu Ehren*,

*ihm zu einem Gedächtniss*.<sup>68</sup> The fact that information about the construction of the tower was recorded in the yearbook of Niclas Pol testifies to the uniqueness of this building in the scale of the city. It was to be similar to a knightly seat, with the features of a noble residence highlighted in a way that was exaggerated to the point of grotesque, in order to distinguish and ennoble the patrician house.<sup>69</sup>

Goliński wondered about the non-accidental relationship of Lindner's foundation with the house in the plot at 37 Kotlarska Street (mentioned as *elsten Kirsner Haus*),<sup>70</sup> which together with the outbuilding belonged to the guild of furriers in the years 1409–1711. The slim proportions of the structure, which were quite typical of clock towers fashionable at that time, deserve special attention. They introduce us to the world of

65. Goliński, *Socjotopografia późnośredniowiecznego Wrocławia*, 108.

66. Małgorzata Chorowska, Mateusz Goliński, Mariusz Caban, "Zaginiona średniowieczna synagoga we Wrocławiu na tle synagog z terenu Europy Środkowej. Architektura i historia", *Wiadomości Konserwatorskie – Journal of Heritage Conservation* 73 (2023): 84–101.

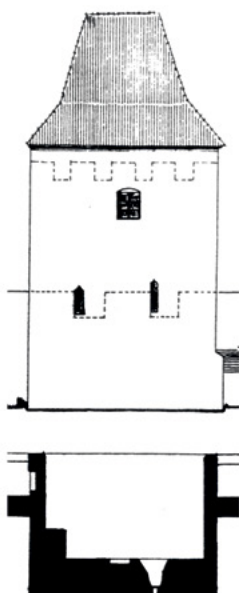
67. Chorowska, *Średniowieczna kamienica mieszczańska we Wrocławiu*, 19.

68. Nikolaus Pol, *Jahrbücher der Stadt Breslau von Nikolaus Pol*, ed. Johann G. G. Büsching, vol. 3 (Breslau: Johann Friedrich Korn, 1819), 1.

69. Jerzy Rozpędowski, "Późnogotyckie rezydencje na Śląsku", in *Sztuka i ideologia XV w.*, ed. Piotr Skubiszewski (Warszawa: PWN, 1978), 516; Zlat, "Nobilitacja przez sztukę – jedna z funkcji mieszczańskiego mecenatu w XV i XVI w.", 83.

70. Goliński, *Socjotopografia późnośredniowiecznego Wrocławia*, 68.





4a–c Wrocław, Old Town, 13<sup>th</sup>-century defensive wall towers adapted for residential purposes: a) Tower at Ks. W. Kraiński Street 14, known as the Bear Tower, eastern elevation with discernible crenellation of a shell tower from phase 1, b) Tower at Ks. W. Kraiński Street 14, known as the Bear Tower, eastern elevation with discernible crenellation of a shell tower from phase 1 and a horizontal cross-section. Source: Mirosław Przyłęcki, *Budowle i zespoły obronne na Śląsku. Geneza, modernizacja i ewolucja do XVII wieku* (Warszawa 1998), p. 148, fig. 138, c) Tower on the site of the former city slaughterhouse at the junction of Łazienna and Rzeźnicza streets. Source: *Schlachthof und Viehmarkt zu Breslau* (Breslau 1900)

“non-functional symbols”, like, for example, the “tower of last defence” of the patrician castle in the nearby Wojnowice, which was reduced to the form of a decorative little tower with analogous proportions.<sup>71</sup>

#### THE NEW TOWN

The New Town of Wrocław was founded in 1263 and already in 1327 was absorbed by the Old Town organism.<sup>72</sup> It could not match it in terms of the density and character of buildings for a long time. Against its background, a tower complex probably stands out, located on a corner plot at the intersection of Purkyniego and Garncarska (at present Geta-Stankiewicza) streets, studied in 1999 by Maciej Małachowicz, Czesław Lasota and Andrzej Legendziewicz.<sup>73</sup> It was recorded by

Weiner in a view from 1562, where the structure, a rectangular building with tower proportions, stands in the company of half-timbered buildings on the edge of a sparsely built-up bourgeois quarter dominated by green areas.<sup>74</sup> It was a residential tower on a rectangular plan with dimensions of 8.0 × 7.5 m, built of brick, single-space at the basement level, vaulted, surrounded by buildings of less permanent character (on arcaded foundations). On the southern border of the plot, there was probably a curtain wall, erected on a pillar-arch foundation. Field research made it possible to associate that building with Gothic architecture and date it to the late Middle Ages. The location in the middle quarter of the medieval centre, in the vicinity of the later town hall of the New Town, may suggest a connection with

71. Kutzner, “Późnogotycka rezydencja patrycjuszowska w Wojnowicach”, 128.

72. *Schlesisches Urkundenbuch*, vol. 3: 1251–1266, ed. Winfried Irgang (Köln–Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 1984), no. 436; Goliński, *Socjotopografia późnośredniowiecznego Wrocławia*, 220.

73. Czesław Lasota, Andrzej Legendziewicz, Maciej Małachowicz, *Wyniki badań architektonicznych działek przy ulicach: Purkyniego 29, 30, 31, 32 i Garncarskiej 4, 5, 6 na Nowym Mieście we Wrocławiu. Części I–II*, Wrocław 1999, Cz. 1, 2. Raporty Zakładu Konserwacji i Rewaloryzacji Architektury Politechniki Wrocławskiej 1999, inv. no. SPR no 502.

74. Mruczek, *Zamki wieżowe na Śląsku w średniowieczu*, 403–404.



the former vogt's plot (at this stage, however, this is only a hypothesis).

#### EXAMPLES OF ADAPTING CITY WALL TOWERS FOR RESIDENTIAL PURPOSES

The quite common phenomenon of adapting the towers of the city defensive wall for residential purposes, which can be observed in most cities where medieval city fortifications have survived, may be a supplement to the image of a Wrocław residential tower. In Wrocław, there are known cases of adapting the towers – originally half-shell, belonging to the internal defensive circuit dating from the 13<sup>th</sup> century – for the dwellings of townspeople. The tower building at Wincetego Kraińskiego Street no. 14 (Fig. 4a–b; known as the “Bear Tower”), probably identical with the building noted by Goliński and described in a rent book from the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century as *Weyckhaws vnd erbe in der Polnischengassen*, is worth mentioning.<sup>75</sup> A similar tower, known from numerous photographs, was demolished together with the city's slaughterhouse, the so called “Kuttelhof”, at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>76</sup> It was located at the intersection of Łazienna (Engelsburg) and Rzeźnicza (Büttnerstraße) streets (Fig. 4c). One of wall towers by the river Oder was transformed into a house (*wighuz*), and was a property of a tanner.<sup>77</sup> The phenomenon of inhabiting the towers of the city's defensive walls was also observed by Goliński in the south-eastern part of the outer city, at the so-called Taschenberg, where another defensive circuit functioned from around 1299–1348.<sup>78</sup> Around 1352, the *thorme im Taschenberge* was inhabited by Paweł of Niemcza, who rented the building from the city and was released from rent for taking care of the key to it. Another tower in the neighbourhood was leased by a woman described as “Walter's widow”; yet another – near the Jewish cemetery – *Gyrlach bey m heiligen Geyste*. Shortly afterwards, a certain *Meykeze*

paid the rent *de parua turri prope valuam taschinbergensem*, while Marcin the *melfurer* from another property *prope valuam taschinbergensem*. An inhabitant of the tower on “Taschinberg” was also mentioned in 1403.<sup>79</sup> This issue is interesting because – unlike the towers of the inner defensive perimeter, which at that time no longer had a military significance – these were among the fortifications that were the city's main line of defence at that time.<sup>80</sup>

Apart from the tower on Kraińskiego Street, which during the modern period served as a *Lusthaus* surrounded by a garden, the gate towers and wall towers adapted for residential purposes did not possess a prestigious character. The tower-like structure itself was not a definitive indicator of social status, as these buildings could be inhabited by poorer craftsmen. Therefore, not only the form of the tower, but its context and its background were equally important.

#### EPILOGUE: THE LAST TOWER?

At the end of the Middle Ages, tower-like forms of urban residences gave way to palaces with horizontal layouts, often featuring courtyards. However, tower arrangements did not fade into oblivion among the residences of the nobility, as exemplified by the construction of the residence of Polish king Sigismund I the Old in Piotrków Trybunalski. The high artistic quality of this building contributed to a temporary resurgence of the popularity of tower residences in the Polish lands, and these influences may have extended to Silesia, which was economically connected with Poland.<sup>81</sup> The three-story building, surrounded by a moat and with a ground plan close to a square, leaves no doubt as to its tower-like character. However, in these structures, ceremonial functions increasingly outweighed defensive considerations.

In this context, the front building erected by Heinrich Rybisch on a narrow plot along Junkerstrasse

75. Goliński, *Socjotopografia późnośredniowiecznego Wrocławia*, 224.

76. *Schlachthof und Viehmarkt zu Breslau*, ed. Magistrat der Königl. Haupt- und Residenzstadt Breslau (Breslau: J. U. Kern's Verlag, 1900).

77. Goliński, *Socjotopografia późnośredniowiecznego Wrocławia*, 114.

78. Mateusz Goliński, “Fortyfikacje miejskie Wrocławia XIII–XIV w.”, *Studia i Materiały do Historii Wojskowości* 39 (1986): 23–41.

79. Goliński, *Socjotopografia późnośredniowiecznego Wrocławia*, 199–200.

80. Tomasz Kastek, Roland Mruczek, “Średniowieczne obwarowania i fortyfikacje Wrocławia w świetle odkryć w rejonie Narodowego Forum Muzyki”, in *Centrum staromiejskie we Wrocławiu*, ed. Tomasz Głowiński, Halina Okólska (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo GAJT, 2016), 10–36.

81. Teresa Jakimowicz, *Dwór murowany w Polsce w wieku XVI* (Warszawa–Poznań: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979), 71–73.

(at present no. 1 Ofiar Oświęcimskich Street) could also be considered tower-like. The three-story building was topped with a belvedere featuring a tall Renaissance dome that further emphasised its vertical character. The plan by Hayer dating from 1591 clearly shows that the rooftop of the building was a dominant in this part of city. However, by then it was certainly no longer a defensive structure but rather a type of a tower palace with spectacular front decorations and a ceremonial hall and library inside. Another tower-like form can be observed in the same plot, in the building located above a moat, serving as a summer house.<sup>82</sup> Similar forms were seen in the 16<sup>th</sup>- and 17<sup>th</sup>-century *Lusthauses* found in suburban gardens surrounding the city outside the fortifications.<sup>83</sup> Thus, the tower-like form retained its elitist significance at the threshold of the early modern period, although its functions changed and defence gave way to prestige.

High tenement houses with balustrades or attics on top must have also evoked associations with towers, as they were depicted in views in a similar manner. Examples include the “House under the Golden Crown” on the corner of the Main Market Square and Ohlauer Strasse (the present Oławska) or the building of the St. Elizabeth Gymnasium rectorate.

#### DISCUSSION: TOWERS IN LATE-MEDIEVAL WROCLAW AS BOURGEOIS RESIDENCES

A group of towers functioned in the left-bank town. Apart from the relatives of the dukes, church hierarchs or the knights settled in the cities, a bourgeois equivalent of a dwelling tower – usually referred to as a *Steinwerk* or *Kemenate* – was built by rich burghers. One of the earliest of those was the tower at 33 Rynek (the Market Square), at the end of Kurzy Targ Street, erected in the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. In the 13<sup>th</sup>-century tenement house at 48/49 Rynek, relics of the original crowning in the form of a battlement were recorded. Clusters of left-bank towers can be distinguished at Kurzy Targ, Św. Mikołaja and Pańska (the former *Herrenstrasse*, now Kielbaśnicza Street) streets, along with some outstanding buildings in the eastern part of the Old Town, in the so-called Great Quarter (e.g. at the intersection of Wita Stwosza and św. Wita streets, a place that Duke Louis I the Fair bought from the patrician Dominik Hanke in 1364). The next towers

were built in the suburban estates of church hierarchs and patricians.

An important observation is that the residential towers in the city were mostly but not exclusively typical of the nobility. Although most of the buildings were owned by noble or ducal families, at least some of them were founded by patricians. Transfers of ownership from the townspeople to the nobility and vice versa were possible as well. The tower could become a manifesto of the townsman’s success, as evidenced by the symbolic foundation of the furrier Lucas Lindner.

Residential towers can be recognized in panoramic city views due to their square-like proportions of the base and their flat or sunken roofs, some of which had battlements. Despite the chronological proximity and high reliability of the plans by Weiner, Gross-Vroom and Hayer, noticeable differences in the depictions of individual structures can be observed. Some towers are only present in isolated plans, which may be attributed to inaccuracies of the artists, variations in viewing angles, or architectural transformations and conversions into tenement houses. It is also possible that tower houses could be identified among buildings with high hipped roofs, built on square ground plans.

In terms of quantity, residential towers constituted a small percentage (less than 0.5%) of the city’s building fabric. Their significance as prestigious elements also diminished over time due to changes in architectural context. The densification and vertical development of the city’s buildings resulted in the towers being less distinct among the neighbouring houses. In the case of Wrocław, the towers did not reach impressive heights that would exceed four storeys. None of them is visible on early modern panoramas of the city, which otherwise are full of church and wall towers. The visibility of residential towers in the urban structure must have been better in the Middle Ages, when the density of buildings and their height was lower.

The distribution of residential towers within the city largely corresponds to our knowledge regarding the areas settled by the wealthiest strata of society, such as in the vicinity of the Market Square (Markt/Großer Ring, Hintermarkt), along St. Adalbert Street (Adalbertstrasse), Herrengasse and Rittergasse. However, it is puzzling that such structures are absent in the wealthiest

82. Katarzyna Sulej, *Fundacje artystyczne wrocławskiego patrycjusza Heinricha Rybischa (1485–1544)* (Wrocław: Oficyna Wydawnicza ATUT, 2011), 95–97.

83. Wojciech Brzezowski, Marzanna Jagiełło, *Ogrody na Śląsku*, vol. 2: *Barok* (Wrocław: Oficyna Wydawnicza Politechniki Wrocławskiej, 2017), 179–187.

western section of the Market Square, dominated by grand patrician houses, as well as around the Salt Market (Saltz Ring, Plac Solny) and Junkergasse, which by the end of the Middle Ages were considered the most prestigious areas.<sup>84</sup> Apart from the unique foundation of Lucas Linder, residential towers are also absent from quarters inhabited by moderately affluent craftsmen.

Looking at the complex of residential towers in Wrocław in the context of large urban centres in Silesia, we come to the conclusion that they have never been the basic type of seat of the clergy, knights, and especially of the bourgeoisie, although they always carried a whole baggage of symbolic meanings located at the crossroads between prestige, economy and politics. This symbolic aspect of constructing a residential tower is much clearer in the case of Świdnica – the second-largest centre in Silesia after Wrocław, at one point surpassing even Cracow in terms of demographic potential. In the medieval Świdnica, wealthy townspeople began to build such towers en masse, following the example of the keep of the castle belonging to the powerful dukes of Świdnica and Jawor (Herzogtum Schweidnitz-Jauer). *Steinwerks* in Świdnica, in contrast to Wrocław, were not the oldest elements of the brick development of plots, but they were built deep in the plots in the late Middle Ages.<sup>85</sup> They were not permanently inhabited either; this function was performed by comfortable front houses, for a long time erected as half-timbered structures above brick cellars. On the other hand, the discoveries in the ducal town of Brzeg, where one of the oldest currently known residential towers of the city, dating from the 13<sup>th</sup> century, was excavated,<sup>86</sup> only reassure us that it was a type of an elite seat, typical of the times of *melioratio terrae* rather than one that

should be associated with the end of the Middle Ages and the beginning of modern times, when a wealthy burgher usually had a comfortable front house with a communication annex. However, the tower often remained a carrier of prestigious contents, either as a desirable but “non-functional symbol” at the back of the plot (Wrocław, Świdnica), or even as the seat of the administrator of the city farm (Rakowice Wielkie near Lwówek Śląski).<sup>87</sup> Additionally, further research is needed to explore the significance of the oldest residential towers and private residences in shaping the early urban planning in Silesia, which is particularly compelling but difficult to substantiate in the case of Wrocław.

#### CONCLUSION

Despite the challenges posed by the limited preservation and archaeological evidence, the residential towers and tower houses in Wrocław present a highly intriguing complex of urban structures. They serve as a reflection of the spatial and legal transformations that occurred from the early stages of the city’s formation, through its development as a ducal city, and into the communal city era, up to the early modern period.

The catalogue of urban residential towers presented here aims to raise awareness of the historical presence of these towers in Wrocław’s cityscape, despite their transient nature. It is possible that number of medieval residential towers in the left-bank city of Wrocław could be expanded through future architectural or archaeological research. But even then, they should be considered a unique element in relation to commonly used solutions.

84. Barthel Stein, *Bartłomiej Steina renesansowe opisanie Wrocławia*, ed. Rościśław Żerelik, transl. Marek Krajewski (Wrocław: Oficyna Wydawnicza Arboretum, 1995).

85. Chorowska, Lasota, *Kamienica mieszczańska w Świdnicy*, 69–75; Małgorzata Chorowska, “Od szachulców do kamienic. Etapy kształtowania się średniowiecznej zabudowy mieszkalnej w Świdnicy na przykładzie zachodniej pierzei Rynkowej”, in *Non solum villae. Księga jubileuszowa ofiarowana profesorowi Stanisławowi Medekszy*, ed. Jacek Kościuk (Wrocław: Oficyna Wydawnicza Politechniki Wrocławskiej, 2010), 353–355, 358–360.

86. Jerzy Skarbek, “Relikty miejskiej wieży mieszkalnej przy ul. Jabłkowej 6 w Brzegu”, *Opolski Informator Konserwatorski*, nr 11 (2013): 101–116.

87. Chorowska, *Rezydencje średniowieczne na Śląsku*, 190–193.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Bartlett, Robert. *The Making of Europe. Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change 950–1350*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994.
- Brzewowski, Wojciech. “Ulica św. Wojciecha i jej architektura.” In *Architektura Wrocławia*, vol. 2: *Urbanistyka do roku 1945*, edited by Jerzy Rozpędowski, 121–157. Wrocław: Oficyna Wydawnicza Politechniki Wrocławskiej, 1995.
- Brzewowski, Wojciech, and Marzanna Jagiełło. *Ogrody na Śląsku*, vol. 2: *Barok*. Wrocław: Oficyna Wydawnicza Politechniki Wrocławskiej, 2017.
- Buśko, Cezary. “Badania archeologiczne ulic wrocławskich.” *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej* 47, no. 1–2 (1999): 39–50.
- Buśko, Cezary. “Budynki wieżowe w krajobrazie średniowiecznego miasta.” In *Dom w mieście średniowiecznym i nowożytnym*, edited by Bogusław Gediga, 61–73. Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2004.
- Chorowska, Małgorzata. *Średniowieczna kamienica mieszczańska we Wrocławiu*. Wrocław: Oficyna Wydawnicza Politechniki Wrocławskiej, 1994.
- Chorowska, Małgorzata. “Działka mieszczańska Rynek 50–Igielna 18. Przemiany architektoniczne zabudowy posesji i jej sąsiedztwa w XIII–XX w.” In *Rynek wrocławski w świetle badań archeologicznych*, edited by Jerzy Piekalski, part 2, 204–213. Wrocław: Instytut Archeologii UW, 2002.
- Chorowska, Małgorzata. *Rezydencje średniowieczne na Śląsku. Zamki, pałace wieże mieszkalne*. Wrocław: Oficyna Wydawnicza Politechniki Wrocławskiej, 2003.
- Chorowska, Małgorzata. “Od szachulców do kamienic. Etapy kształtowania się średniowiecznej zabudowy mieszkalnej w Świdnicy na przykładzie zachodniej pierzei Rynkowej.” In *Non solum villae. Księga jubileuszowa ofiarowana profesorowi Stanisławowi Medekszy*, edited by Jacek Kościuk, 347–360. Wrocław: Oficyna Wydawnicza Politechniki Wrocławskiej, 2010.
- Chorowska, Małgorzata. “Pałac i kamienica. Wpływ siedziby pańskiej na wrocławskie i podwrocławskie domy mieszczan w średniowieczu.” In *Dom, majątek, klient, sługa. Manifestacja pozycji elit w przestrzeni materialnej i społecznej (XIII–XIX w.)*, edited by Marcin Rafał Pauk, Monika Saczyńska, 63–80. Warszawa: Instytut Archeologii i Etnologii PAN, 2010.
- Chorowska, Małgorzata. “Średniowieczne domy mieszkalne.” In *Leksykon architektury Wrocławia*, edited by Rafał Eysymontt, Jerzy Ilkosz, Agnieszka Tomaszewicz, Jadwiga Urbanik. Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Via Nova, 2011.
- Chorowska, Małgorzata, Goliński, Mateusz, and Mariusz Caban. “Zaginiona średniowieczna synagoga we Wrocławiu na tle synagog z terenu Europy Środkowej. Architektura i historia.” *Wiadomości Konserwatorskie – Journal of Heritage Conservation* 73, (2023): 84–101. <https://doi.org/10.48234/WK73SYNAGOGUE>.
- Chorowska, Małgorzata, and Czesław Lasota. “O zabudowie murowanej w pierzejach Rynku i ulic.” In *Ulice średniowiecznego Wrocławia*, edited by Jerzy Piekalski, Krzysztof Wachowski, 159–177. Wrocław: Instytut Archeologii Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2010.
- Chorowska, Małgorzata, and Czesław Lasota. *Kamienica mieszczańska w Świdnicy. Karczmia i mieszkanie w XIII–XVIII w.* Wrocław: Oficyna Wydawnicza Politechniki Wrocławskiej, 2013.
- Dragoun, Zdeněk, Jiří Škabrada, and Michal Tryml. *Romanesque Houses in Prague*. Prague: Paseka, 2003.
- Eysymontt, Rafał. “Wieża mieszkalna – twierdza rodu czy symbol miejskiej komuny? Średniowieczne wieże mieszkalne Rzymu.” *Quart* 61, no. 3 (2021): 9–12. <https://doi.org/10.11588/quart.2021.3.84927>.
- Goliński, Mateusz. “Fortyfikacje miejskie Wrocławia XIII–XIV w.” *Studia i Materiały do Historii Wojskowości* 39, (1986): 23–41.
- Goliński, Mateusz. *Socjotopografia późnośredniowiecznego Wrocławia (przestrzeń – podatnicy – rzemiosło)*. Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 1999.
- Jakimowicz, Teresa. *Dwór murowany w Polsce w wieku XVI*. Warszawa–Poznań: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1979.
- Kamiński, Krzysztof. “Paradna głowica buławy ze Starego Miasta we Wrocławiu.” *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej* 48, no. 3–4 (2000): 163–169.
- Kastek, Tomasz, and Roland Mruczek. “Średniowieczne obwarowania i fortyfikacje Wrocławia w świetle odkryć w rejonie Narodowego Forum Muzyki.” In *Centrum staromiejskie we Wrocławiu*, edited by Tomasz Głowiński, Halina Okólska, 10–36. Wrocław: Wydawnictwo GAJT, 2016.
- Katermaa-Ottela, Aino. *Le Casertorri medievali in Roma*. Helsinki: Societas Scientiarum Fennica, 1981.
- Kitliński, Bogdan. “Badania przy wschodniej pierzei Rynku.” In *Rynek wrocławski w świetle badań archeologicznych*, edited by Jerzy Piekalski, vol. 2, 173–182. Wrocław: Instytut Archeologii Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2002.
- Krzywka, Łukasz. “Kamienice Rynek 33 i Kurzy Targ 6–8.” *Renowacje* 3(12), no. 2 (2000): 54–62.
- Komorowski, Waldemar, and Piotr Opaliński. “O wieży wójta krakowskiego raz jeszcze.” *Czasopismo Techniczne. Architektura* 23, no. 108 (2011): 119–129.

- Konczewski, Paweł, and Jerzy Piekalski. "Stratygrafia nawarstwień i konstrukcje ulic." In *Ulice średniowiecznego Wrocławia*, edited by Jerzy Piekalski, Krzysztof Wachowski, 91–157. Wrocław: Instytut Archeologii Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2010.
- Korn Georg, *Breslauer Urkundenbuch*. Breslau: Wilhelm Gottlieb Korn, 1870.
- Kos, Jerzy K. "Czy Carl Langhans był twórcą pałacu Hatzfeldów?" In *Architektura Wrocławia*, vol. 1: *Dom*, edited by Jerzy Rozpędowski, 189–200. Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Werk, 1995.
- Kutzner, Marian. "Późnogotycka rezydencja patrycjuszowska w Wojnowicach." In *Sztuka miast i mieszczaństwa XV–XVIII wieku w Europie Środkowowschodniej*, edited by Jerzy Harasimowicz. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1990.
- Lasek, Piotr. *Turris fortissima nomen Domini. Murowane wieże mieszkalne w Królestwie Polskim od 1300 r. do połowy XVI w.* Warszawa: Instytut Sztuki PAN, 2013.
- Lasek, Piotr, Tomasz Olszacki, and Tomasz Ratajczak, "Residential Towers in Urban and Suburban Royal and Magnates' Residences in the Kingdom of Poland between 1300 and 1500." In *Urbs Turrita. Urban Towers in Medieval and Renaissance Europe*, edited by Richard Oram, 108–119. Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2019.
- Limisiewicz, Aleksander, and Roland Mruczek. "Fara św. Marii Magdaleny na tle przemian przestrzennych wczesnego Wrocławia." In *Śródmiejska katedra. Kościół św. Marii Magdaleny w dziejach i kulturze Wrocławia*, edited by Bogusław Czechowicz, 55–136. Wrocław: Oficyna Wydawnicza ATUT, 2010.
- Liniecki, Tomasz. "Dom wójta Henryka z wieku XIII w Krakowie." *Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki* 33, no. 4 (1988): 287–297.
- Lutsch, Hans. *Verzeichnis der Kunstdenkmäler der Provinz Schlesien. I: Die Stadt Breslau*. Breslau: W. G. Korn, 1886.
- Markgraf, Hermann. *Die Strassen Breslaus nach ihrer Geschichte und ihren Namen*. Breslau: Verlag von G. Morgenstern, 1896.
- Młynarska-Kaletynowa, Marta. *Wrocław w XII–XIII wieku. Przemiany społeczne i osadnicze*. Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich – Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1986.
- Mruczek, Roland. "Kurzy Targ we Wrocławiu. Uwagi o pierwotnym planie miasta." In *Centrum średniowiecznego miasta. Wrocław a Europa Środkowa*, edited by Jerzy Piekalski, Krzysztof Wachowski, 259–278. Wrocław: Uniwersytet Wrocławski, Instytut Archeologii, Akme – Zdzisław Wiśniewski, 2000.
- Mruczek, Roland. "Bergfried, Donjon, Eigenkirche. Miejsce zamków śląskich w architekturze europejskiej." *Archaeologia Historica Polona* 26 (2018): 101–134.
- Mruczek, Roland. "Średniowieczne miasto lokacyjne na Śląsku: kamienice, wieże mieszkalne i konstrukcje ulic." In *Dziedzictwo architektoniczne. W kręgu świata przyrodniczego i budowli miejskich*, edited by Ewa Łużyńska, 55–73. Wrocław: Oficyna Wydawnicza Politechniki Wrocławskiej, 2019.
- Mrusek, Hans Joachim. "Nowe badania nad średniowiecznymi warowniami prywatnymi w osiedlach niemieckich." *Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki* 2, no. 3–4 (1958): 304–306.
- Nowakowski, Dominik. "The Towers of Urban Castles in Lower Silesia." In *Urbs Turrita. Urban Towers in Medieval and Renaissance Europe*, edited by Richard Oram, 80–96. Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2019.
- Piekalski, Jerzy. *Wczesne domy mieszczan w Europie Środkowej*. Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2004.
- Piekalski, Jerzy. "Problem datowania początków Rynku we Wrocławiu." In *Nie tylko zamki*, edited by Ewa Różycka, Małgorzata Chorowska, 343–351. Wrocław: Oficyna wydawnicza Politechniki Wrocławskiej, 2005.
- Piekalski, Jerzy. *Praga, Wrocław, Kraków. Przestrzeń publiczna i prywatna w czasach średniowiecznego przełomu*. Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2014.
- Piper, Otto. *Burgenkunde, Bauwesen und Geschichte der Burgen zunächst innerhalb des deutschen Sprachgebietes*. Augsburg: Weltbild Verlag, 1996.
- Rozpędowski, Jerzy. "Późnogotyckie rezydencje na Śląsku." In *Sztuka i ideologia XV w.*, edited by Piotr Skubiszewski, 493–520. Warszawa: PWN, 1978.
- Salm, Jan. "Biestrzyków." In *Leksykon zamków w Polsce*, edited by Leszek Kajzer, Stanisław Kołodziejski, Jan Salm, 93–94. Warszawa: Arkady, 2001.
- Schepers, Josef. "Mittelmeerländische Einflüsse in der Bau- und Wohnkultur des westlichen Mitteleuropa." In *Europäische Kulturverflechtungen im Bereich volkstümlicher Überlieferung. Festschrift für Bruno Schier*, 1–27. Göttingen: Verlag Otto Schwartz, 1967.
- Schepers, Josef. *Der mittelalterliche profane Steinbau Westfalens im europäischen Zusammenhang*. Detmold: LWL-Freilichtmuseum Detmold Völkerkunde & Volkskunde, 1997.
- Schlachthof und Viehmarkt zu Breslau*. Edited by Königl. Haupt- und Residenzstadt Breslau. Breslau: J. U. Kern's Verlag, 1900.
- Schlesisches Urkundenbuch*, vol. 3: 1251–1266. Edited by Winfried Irgang. Köln–Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 1984.
- Schultz, Alwin. "Topographie Breslaus im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert." *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Geschichte und Alterthum Schlesiens*, no. 10 (1870): 239–293.
- Skarbek, Jerzy. "Relikty miejskiej wieży mieszkalnej przy ul. Jabłkowej 6 w Brzegu." *Opolski Informator Konserwatorski*, no. 11 (2013): 101–116.
- Sulej, Katarzyna. *Fundacje artystyczne wrocławskiego patrycjusza Heinricha Rybischa (1485–1544)*. Wrocław: Oficyna Wydawnicza ATUT, 2011.
- Stein, Barthel. *Bartłomieja Steina renesansowe opisanie Wrocławia*. Edited by Rościślaw Żerelik. Translated by Marek Krajewski. Wrocław: Oficyna Wydawnicza Arboretum, 1995.

*Urbs Turrata. Urban Towers in Medieval and Renaissance Europe*, edited by Richard Oram. Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2019.

Wiedenau, Anita. *Katalog der romanischen Wohnbauten in westdeutschen Städten und Siedlungen*. Tübingen: Wasmuth, 1984.

Zlat, Mieczysław. "Nobilitacja przez sztukę – jedna z funkcji mieszczańskiego mecenatu w XV i XVI w."

In *Sztuka miast i mieszczaństwa XV–XVIII wieku w Europie Środkowowschodniej*. Edited by Jerzy Harasimowicz, 77–101. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1990.

Żurek, Adam. "Kurie kanoniczne Ostrowa Tumskiego." In *Atlas Architektury Wrocławia*, vol. 2, edited by Jerzy Harasimowicz. Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Dolnośląskie, 1998.

## BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Roland Mruczek is an architectural historian and archaeologist, an assistant professor at the Chair of Architectural History, Art, and Technology at Wrocław University of Science and Technology. He specialises in archaeological and architectural research on urban centres, with a particular focus on Wrocław and Głogów, as well as architecture of Silesian castles.

Maria Legut-Pintal is an archaeologist and architectural historian, specialising in research on the cultural landscape of the Middle Ages and the Early Modern period. She is a post-doctoral researcher at the Institute of Archaeology at the University of Wrocław. She conducts studies on the valorisation of space in medieval towns and manifestations of prestige in residential architecture.

## NOTY BIOGRAFICZNE

Roland Mruczek jest historykiem architektury i archeologiem, adiunktem w Katedrze Historii Architektury, Sztuki i Techniki Politechniki Wrocławskiej. Specjalizuje się w badaniach archeologicznych i architektonicznych ośrodków miejskich, ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem Wrocławia i Głogowa, a także w badaniach nad architekturą zamków i dworów śląskich.

Maria Legut-Pintal jest archeologiem i historykiem architektury. Zakres jej specjalizacji obejmuje problematykę krajobrazu kulturowego średniowiecza i wczesnej nowożytności. Obecnie jest asystentem w Instytucie Archeologii Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, gdzie prowadzi badania nad waloryzacją przestrzeni w miastach średniowiecznych oraz przejawami prestiżu w architekturze.