

JANA MAZÁČKOVÁ

ROKŠTEJN CASTLE (CZECH REPUBLIC): ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE OF MILITARY ACTIVITIES

Rokštejn Castle is situated in the Bohemian-Moravian Highlands, 12 km to the southeast from the town of Jihlava. The settlement structure in this territory is recorded in written sources as late as the 13th century, even though the left bank and some of the settlements on the right bank of the River Jihlava south of the Rokštejn region were mentioned by written sources already in the 12th century (Fišer 2001, pp. 33, 49); (Fig. 1). The castle was built on a rocky gnarl flowed round by the Brtnice River; the so-called lower ward and the bailey, destroyed by

building development in the 19th and 20th centuries, are shifted onto a terrace below. During the 1950s and 1960s amateur archaeological excavations were carried out in the castle area, whereby some of the exposed or destroyed features were reconstructed. Professional archaeological research at the locality began with rescue excavations in 1981 and changed gradually into systematic research under the auspices of the Institute of Archaeology and Museology of the Masaryk University in Brno.¹

HISTORY OF THE CASTLE

Only a few written mentions remained of the earliest phase of the castle. The origin of the castle is associated with the family of Střížov who was probably related with the family of Hrutov, seated in the nearby village of Kněžice undoubtedly already in 1222 (CDM V, pp. 224–227, No. 12; CDB II, pp. 207–208, No. 222; CDM II, pp. 128–129, No. 124; CDB II, pp. 220–221, No. 232; CDM II, pp. 135–136, No. 136; CDB II, pp. 220–221, No. 232). Before and shortly after the mid-13th century members of this Hrutov family began to be installed in important offices within the margraviate. The office of castellan or burgrave of Bítov or Znojmo castles was held by individual generations of this family. After Dietrich I, his son chamberlain Hruto followed, who was superseded in the office of chamberlain of Bítov for two years by his son Dietrich II. This Dietrich let draw up a deed in 1289 on the handover of patronage of the churches in Opatov and Moravany to Henry, provost from Kněžice (CDM VII, pp. 776–777, No. 147). The split off Střížov-branch of the family of Hrutov occurs for the first time as the family of Ruthenstein in

the above-mentioned deed from 1289. Persons named Rutho or those with predicates “of Rutenstein” or “of Střížov” appear again as late as the second and third decades of the 14th century.

During the second half of the 13th century, maybe after 1270, Rutho of Rutenstein founded and built a stone castle, which was mentioned in 1289 (CDM VII, pp. 776–777, No. 147; Měřínský 2007, pp. 16–17). In 1317 some Rutho, holding the office of Chamberlain of Moravia, appended his seal to a deed on terms of colonisation and administration of property in possession of Otto the Elder of Parz. Next year already this Rutho was superseded in the office of Chamberlain of Moravia by Bernard of Cimburk. L. Hosák, the same way as L. Jan, identifies Rutho

¹ The excavations are running within a research project titled “Interdisciplinary centre of research on prehistoric to high medieval social structures” (MSM0021622427). At the locality also archaeology students are taught within the EU-Operation Program Education for Competitiveness 2.2 Education in Modern Methods of Archaeological Practice: Activity 4 (Methods of archaeological prospecting and excavations).

the Chamberlain with Rutho or Hruto of Rutenstein (CDM V, p. 91, No. 285; CDM VI, p. 91, No. 118; RBM III, p. 152, No. 371; Válka 1991, p. 83; Hosák 1952, p. 148; Jan 2000, p. 187). Possible relationship to the family of Rutenstein is indicated only by identical personal names. In 1325 in Prague Hruto of Rutenstein (*Hrutho de Rutenstein*) was allowed by King John of Luxembourg to sell the village of Chlupice. The king purchased the village from Hruto for Henry of Schenkenberg, who was husband of Hruto's daughter of unknown name. Hruto is reported to have obtained for this sale 250 Marks of silver, each of them equivalent to 64 groschen (CDM VI, p. 221, No. 285; RBM III, p. 420, No. 1078; Měřinský 2007, p. 17). Some years later written sources mention *Ješek of Rutonštajn*, who established a true alliance together with Otto of Martinice on 1 October 1339, including joint movable and immovable property at Martinice and Rutonštajn as well as at other estates (RTT I, p. 409; Sedláček 2000, XV, p. 243).

Ješek appears in written sources still in 1359, but the owner of family holdings with a possible residence at Střížov is already his son Ješek, who was referred to as "of Rutonštajn" and "of Střížov." After the loss of Rokštejn the Střížov demesne comprised the village of Střížov with the parish church, the village of Přímělkov with two mills and a timber castle, the village of Ozřetín and originally the entire village of Komárovice where the property of Střížov was later reduced to a single tract of land. In 1366 the castle is mentioned as the margrave's property (CDM IX, p. 103, No. 127; RBM VII/1, p. 133, No. 205; CDM IX, pp. 323–325, No. 42; Měřinský 1988, pp. 71–77).

Somewhere before or during the first four months of the year 1359 the castle was acquired by the Moravian margrave John Henry, who added it to his possessions. Rokštejn became a centre of the relatively extensive margrave's demesne and an important support point of manorial power in Southwest Moravia (CDM IX, p. 103, No. 127; RBM VII/1, p. 133, No. 205; Měřinský 2007, pp. 18–19). Rokštejn is being mentioned together with Bzenec Castle and the town of Bzenec in 1366 among bequests to John Henry's younger son Procopius; in addition also the towns and townships of Pohofelice, Ivančice, Stařeč, Rouchovany, Höflein and Brtnice are named. In the testament Rokštejn and Brtnice are treated separately, the same way as in 1371 when the possessions were inherited by John Soběslav (CDM IX, pp. 323–324, No. 420; CDM X, pp. 137–142, No. 118; Mezník 1999, pp. 199–201). Separate treatment of Rokštejn and Brtnice in both of the testaments may refer to the

fact that Brtnice was mortgaged and at the time when both the testaments were written it was still mortgaged and probably did not form any joint demesne with Rokštejn. The situation with the ownership of Brtnice and Rokštejn is not clear. During the 14th century these two holdings are not mentioned as a joint property. Despite this, after the acquisition of Rokštejn Castle the two neighbouring properties of Rokštejn and Brtnice were united both geographically and in terms of their significance.

On the basis of some indications in written sources the acquisition of the castle before the mid-14th century, already under the rule of Margrave Charles of Luxembourg, cannot be entirely excluded. According to dendrodates obtained from both palaces, at that time already some crucial rebuilds of the castle and extensions of built-up area may have taken place. However, the implementation of wood as constructional and complementary material remains a question. Secondary application of timber is nothing exceptional.

At the end of the 14th century the castle passes over into the hands of the Waldsteins, who buy out surrounding land holdings in 1399 and establish a relatively extensive demesne with two castles – Rokštejn and Sádek (ZDb VI, p. 99, No. 4; AČ VII, p. 580, No. 27) (Fig. 2).

Rokštejn appears among the holdings of the Waldstein family still in 1465. The family's proprietary policy changes after 1480. The Waldsteins begin to consolidate the Brtnice estate and buy out surrounding properties. At that time the existence of the castle is no longer documented by any sources. The first family member in possession of the castle was Hynek of Waldstein, who was followed by Henry of Waldstein as the eldest among male descendants. He died approximately in 1422–1432/34. Afterwards came his brother Zdeněk together with Henry's sons Wenceslaus and John, who shared the family holdings of Rokštejn and Sádek. In 1444 a property settlement was done between Zdeněk and Henry's sons. The Rokštejn estate was acquired by Zdeněk of Waldstein, who also obtained the Sádek property when Henry's sons died (AČ IX, p. 273, No. 32).

The source base referring to the 15th century became enhanced by documents that were drawn up and sealed at Rokštejn. In the archive of the Rosenberg family a correspondence between Oldřich of Rosenberg and Zdeněk of Waldstein remained, related to Zdeněk's disputes with John of Hradec, who took the side of Strakonice at the time of unrests between the Poděbrady and Strakonice parties. Disputes between the Strakonice and Poděbrady parties resulted

in an encounter of armies in the field near Buštěves, where also Zdeněk and his son John took part, and ended with ratification of the Vildštajn agreement. On 18 June 1450 Zdeněk of Waldstein put his seal onto an access letter to the Vildštajn agreement, which was drawn up at Rokštejn. Disputes between the Poděbrady party and the party of Zelená Hora (Green Mountain) became more tense in the 1460s. Zdeněk's sons were firmly on the side of King George of Poděbrady and remained thus clenched between two powerful entities – the anti-royal Jihlava and Henry of Hradec, who was very tightly related to the main actor of the revolt, Zdeněk of Konopiště. It was still in 1465 that King George of Poděbrady justified and defended Hynek of Waldstein together with his castle of Rokštejn against the Jihlava party. Two years later the king already mentioned only the Waldstein brothers being his adherents. In 1466 Rokštejn is probably mentioned for the last time at the Moravian Provincial Court in relation to a non-provided service involving two horses (AČ IX, p. 289, No. 52; AČ XI, p. 243, No. 7; AČ XIV, pp. 11–12, No. 1497; AČ XIV, pp. 46–47, No. 1574; AČ XIV, p. 47, No. 1575; AČ XIV, p. 54, No. 1595;

AČ XIV, p. 37, No. 1549; AČ XIV, p. 54, No. 1595; AČ III, p. 545, No. 558;² Regesten p. 32, No. 169; Regesten p. 33, No. 179; Hoffmann–Křesadlo 1971, p. 52, No. 165; Hoffmann–Křesadlo 1971, p. 54, No. 173; LCS IV, p. 213, No. 908; LCS IV, p. 2, No. 9; LCS IV, p. 42, Nos. 244–245; LCS IV, p. 49, No. 285; Neumann 1930, p. 141, No. 94).

After Zdeněk's death somewhere in the 1450s Brtnice Castle together with the same-named township and with Rokštejn and Sádek castles passed over to his sons John, Hynek and Wenceslaus. Finally it was just Hynek and Wenceslaus who stayed at the family demesne. After the death of both brothers the holdings passed over into the hands of Hynek's sons Burian and Zdeněk, who continued the initiated consolidation of property at the Brtnice demesne after 1490 (Měřinský, Plaček 1989, pp. 9–16; Měřinský 2007, pp. 21–56; Zaoralová 1988, pp. 101–106; AČ IX, p. 273, No. 32; ZDb XV, p. 22, No. 198; ZDb XV, p. 7, No. 25; ZDb XV, p. 23, No. 205; ZDb XV, p. 19, No. 164; Regesten p. 32, No. 169; Regesten p. 33, No. 179; Hoffmann–Křesadlo 1971, p. 52, No. 165; Hoffmann–Křesadlo 1971, p. 54, No. 173; Neumann 1930, p. 141, No. 94).

MILITARY ACTIVITIES IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF ROKŠTEJN CASTLE

According to written sources, in the neighbourhood of Brtnice existed two military camps associated with military actions and troop movements along the Habry Route towards the Čáslav region and to Kutná Hora. The first of them is documented in 1280; King Rudolph of Habsburg drew up a deed here on 18 October. The encampment was originally brought into relation with the locality of Buřenice between Lukavec and Hořepník. If a military campaign used the Habry Route, the connection to Brtnice seems to be optimal and very likely. Possible use of the Habry Route and a connection between Burdenitz and Brtnice were already accentuated by V. Richter. His conclusions are also confirmed by the variants of toponyms used with Brtnice in documents from the 13th century (RI VI, p. 104, No. 1230; RBM II, p. 528, No. 1220; Šebánek 1933, pp. 8–9; Měřinský 1988, pp. 55, 91, Notes 29–31). The other known military activity in the neighbourhood of Rokštejn is represented by a military encampment built for joint armies of Albrecht I of Austria, King of the Romans, and Charles Robert, King of Hungary, in 1304. The Hungarian troops went separated near Brtnice and marched further towards the east. Albrecht's army proceeded towards the south to Austria. According to the Zbraslav Chronicle 4000 people were killed in

Moravia and the church in Ivančice was burnt down. The chronicle does not mention by name any other locality damaged by the Austrian duke and the Hungarian king (FRB IV, p. 89; Šusta 1935, pp. 636–365; Měřinský 1988, p. 55).

In 1312 King John of Luxembourg marched to Moravia to fight the rebellious lords disturbing the *constitutio pacis*. Among them was also Nicholas II of Opava. The king captured Sádek Castle and afterwards Račice Castle in the Vyškov region and maybe also Boskovice Castle. After the conquest of Sádek 18 routiers were executed, as reported by the Zbraslav Chronicle. In the end the rebellious lords were granted pardon by the king in Brno (CDM VI, p. 383, No. 19; FRB IV, p. 179; Obšusta 2008, p. 67; Mezník 1999, pp. 18–19; Bobková 2003, p. 35).

During the 14th century no other military actions are known in the neighbourhood of Brtnice, which was mortgaged to Bohuš of Stareč and after him to Erhart of Kunštát. After the mid-14th century Rokštejn Castle belonged to possessions of the Moravian margrave John Henry. The situation did not change until 1399, when the House of Waldstein

² http://www.monasterium.net/pics/SOAT/SOAT-Historica-Trebon_14500618_1459-b_r.jpg



Fig. 1. Rokštejn Castle in the Brtnice Valley; siege Positions 1 and 2 are situated on the northern hillside of Pavlice Hill south of the castle

entered this area and their Rokštejn – Sádek demesne became involved in indictments treated by the Moravian Provincial Court. Hynek of Waldstein raided the neighbouring estates such as the fortified manor at Štěmechy, and this activity was also continued by his sons. During the Hussite Wars the Waldsteins disappear from written sources to reappear again as late as the 1430s in connection with activities of a free company led by Zdeněk of Waldstein. His fighting actions are recorded in execution protocols and indictments of the town of Jihlava. The activities of the Waldstein free company are documented before 1409 by attacks on the fortified manor at Štěmechy; in 1417 Henry of Waldstein took part in a campaign against Görlitz or rather against the merchants of Görlitz, and in the 1430s the troop undertook many raids under the leadership of Lord Zdeněk of Waldstein. The operating range of the company exceeded the distance of 30 km; in these cases it was always a raid on a residence or a murder attempt (LCS II, p. 168, No. 674; AČ XXXVIII, pp. 6–8, No. 4; pp. 8–9, No. 5, pp. 32–33, No. 19, pp. 98–99, 103–107, Nos. 62–63, 66–68, 70–73); (Fig. 3).

During the Hussite Wars the margrave posted in Jihlava a detached garrison of mercenaries under the leadership of mainly Austrian hetmans with high competences – in 1422 G. Tewffenpacher, J. Pairhofer, A. Lugaster; since 1423 Matheis of Ror/Mathesen von Ror and Düring of Hallwill/Düring von Halbil; in 1424 Wilhal Waldner and the Bohemian nobleman Oldřich Močihub of Kralovice; in 1425 William Ebser and in 1427 or as late as 1428 Jacob Pucher (Hoffmann 1961, pp. 112, 157–161, 172; Měřinský 2007, p. 46). In 1423 the Hussites operated in Moravia. After being besieged by Žižka in 1423, the garrison in Jihlava probably lost 69 mounted mercenaries who were led by the commander Mathesen of Ror. In the

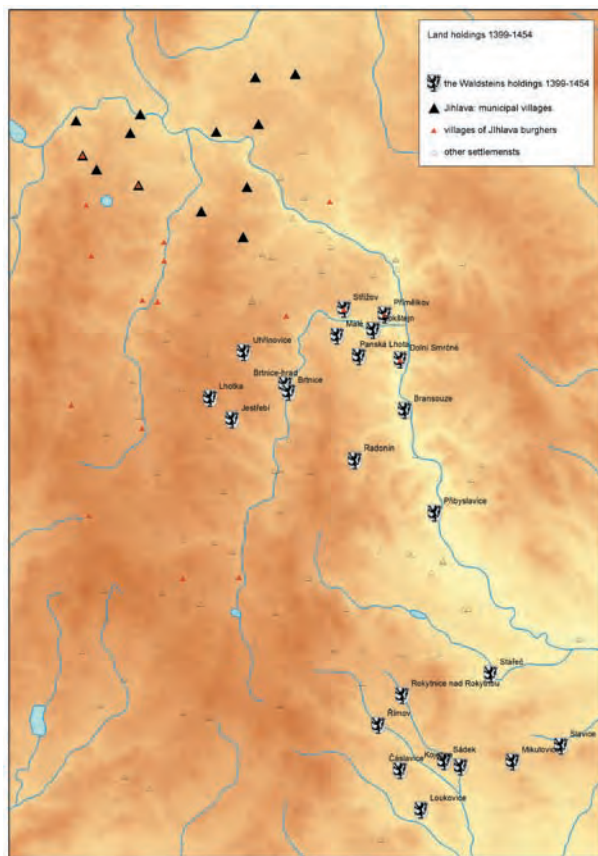


Fig. 2. Holdings of the Waldstein family:
the Rokštejn – Sádek demesne

next year Žižka marched to Moravia again and besieged Příbyslav where he died on 11 October 1424. The orphaned troops captured Ronov Castle and marched further to Ivančice while Korybut besieged Třebíč. After having plundered the neighbourhood of Ivančice, the Hussites turned back to Bohemia. The Hussite troops probably operated as well in the surroundings of Jihlava and in its municipal villages where they reappeared once again in September 1425. Other fights were initiated by the Hussite occupation of Třebíč (Hoffmann 1961, pp. 173–175; Válka 2005, pp. 70–75).

Based on the analysis of selected archaeological finds and written sources, the second horizon of decline was dated back to the turbulent Hussite period. Hitherto evaluated coin finds from the castle represent a chronologically limited assemblage related above all to the end of the 14th century and to the first third of the 15th century, which supports the hypothesis of Z. Měřinský and M. Plaček that the castle declined at the end of the first third of the 15th century (Měřinský, Plaček 1989, p. 31; Měřinský 2007, pp. 116–118). After 1423 the relationships between Rokštejn and Jihlava became considerably worse. An indication that the castle may have declined already before the

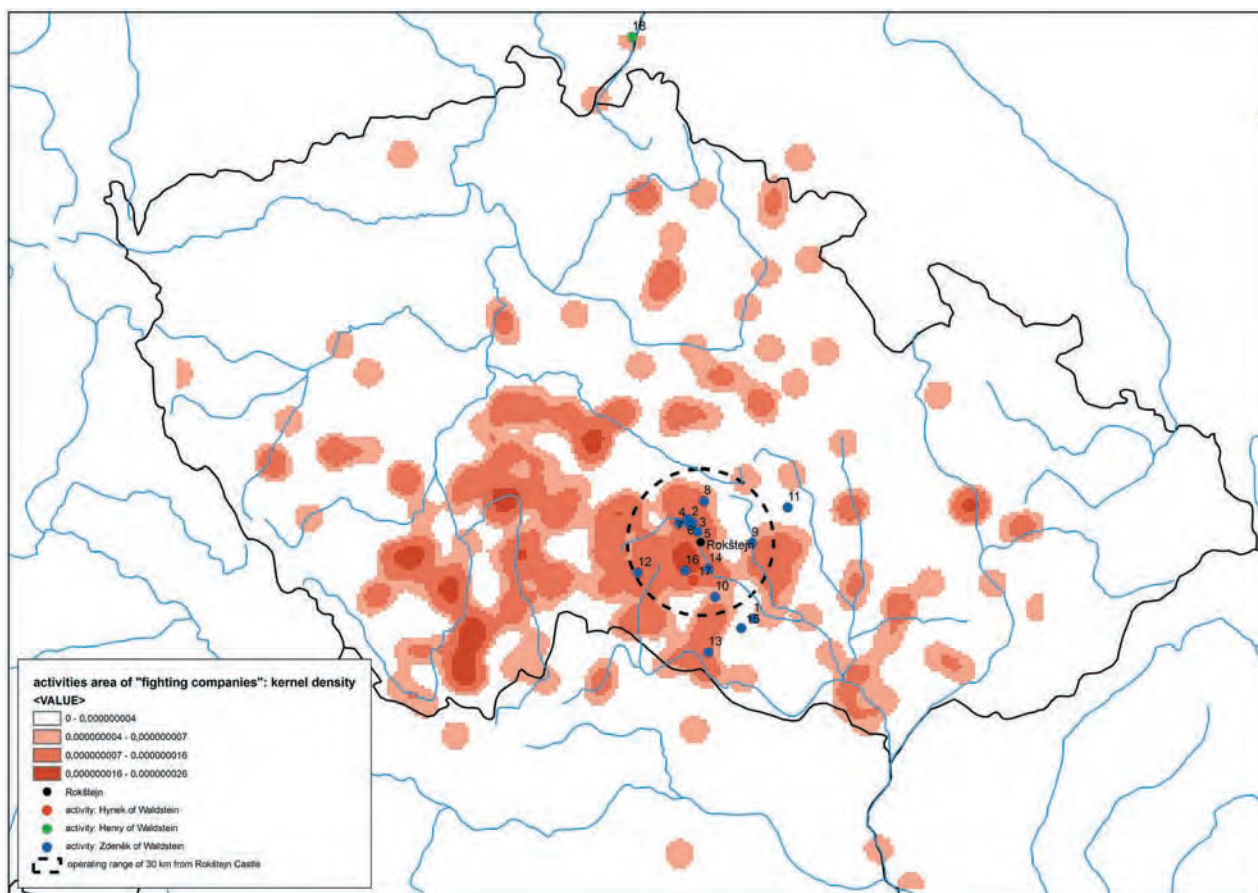


Fig. 3. Operating range of free companies mentioned in written sources such as execution protocols of the royal town of Jihlava and the Rosenbergs, Libri citationum et sententiarum (AČ XXXVIII; PKPR; LCS); places of attacks and robbery: | 1 – Mstěnice; 2 – Jeclov; 3 – Velký Beranov; 4 – Jihlava; 5 – Luka nad Jihlavou; 6 – Henčov; 7 – Bradlo; 8 – Polná; 9 – Velké Meziříčí; 10 – Vacenovice; 11 – Rozsíčka; 12 – Částkovice; 13 – Štítary; 14 – Petrovice; 15 – Biskupice; 16 – Opatov; 17 – Štěměchy; 18 – Görlitz

mid-1420s was offered by E. Schwab who stated that Rokštejn was captured in 1424 and in this incident also his owner, Henry of Waldstein, was killed (Schwab 1941, p. 119). E. Schwab neither refers to any source nor suggests any construction, based on which he came to the conclusion about attacks on the castle (Hoffmann 1961, p. 165, Note 18; Hoffmann 1986, p. 74, Note 10). Historical background to a reconstruction of the castle's decline in the 1420s and 1430s is represented on the one hand by payments from the new Moravian margrave Albrecht of Austria to Austrian hetmans, who were posted in Jihlava in 1422–1423 and demanded compensations for damages suffered in the fights against the Hussites, and on the other hand by the subsequent occupation of the monastery in Třebíč by the Hussites in autumn 1425 at the latest. The situation in the area to the southeast from Jihlava should have been entirely under the control of the Hussites or Hussite aristocracy represented by the Waldsteins' Rokštejn and the captured

monastery in Třebíč (Měřinský 2007, p. 46; Šmahel 2001, pp. 225–226).

The decline of the castle and the death of Henry of Waldstein relate either to 1424 when Albrecht's troops pacified the rebellious aristocracy in Moravia, or to as late as to the year 1432, which is associated with activities and attack on Jihlava led by Zdeněk of Waldstein. The destruction of Rokštejn is also corroborated by F. Hoffmann, who analysed the proscription records from Jihlava and assumes a transfer of the centre from Rokštejn to Brtnice. This all is still supplemented with conclusions about the residence in Sádek Castle, which was in use while Brtnice Castle was still under construction and Rokštejn was not yet repaired. F. Hoffmann assumed that Henry of Waldstein had died already 1418, Z. Měřinský and M. Plaček as well as E. Schwab suppose that he died around 1422–1435 or 1424 (Měřinský 2007, p. 48, Note 148, p. 51; Hoffmann 1986, pp. 73–74, Note 10; Hoffmann 1987, pp. 84–85, Note 46; AČ

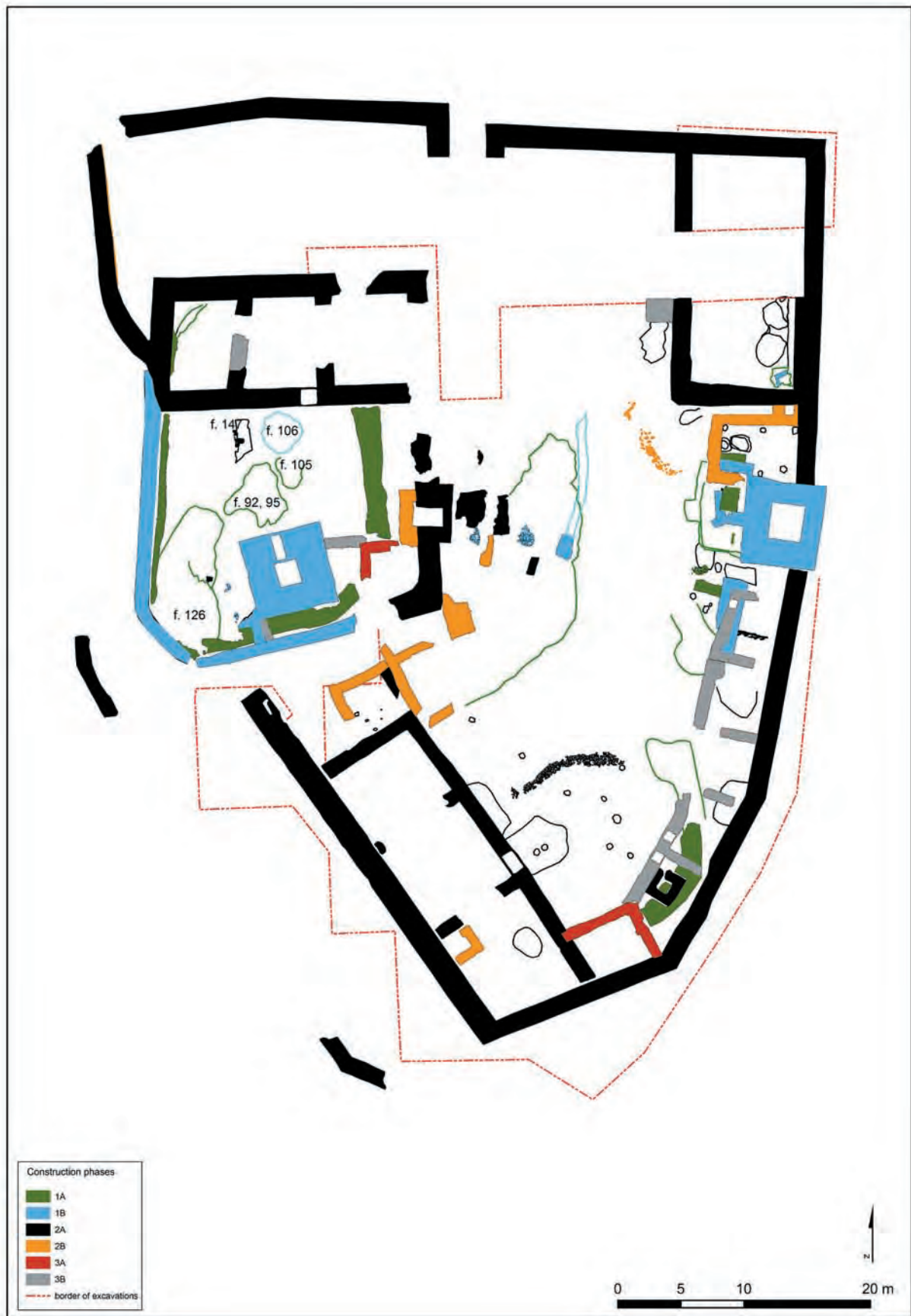


Fig. 4. Main construction Phases 1A–3B

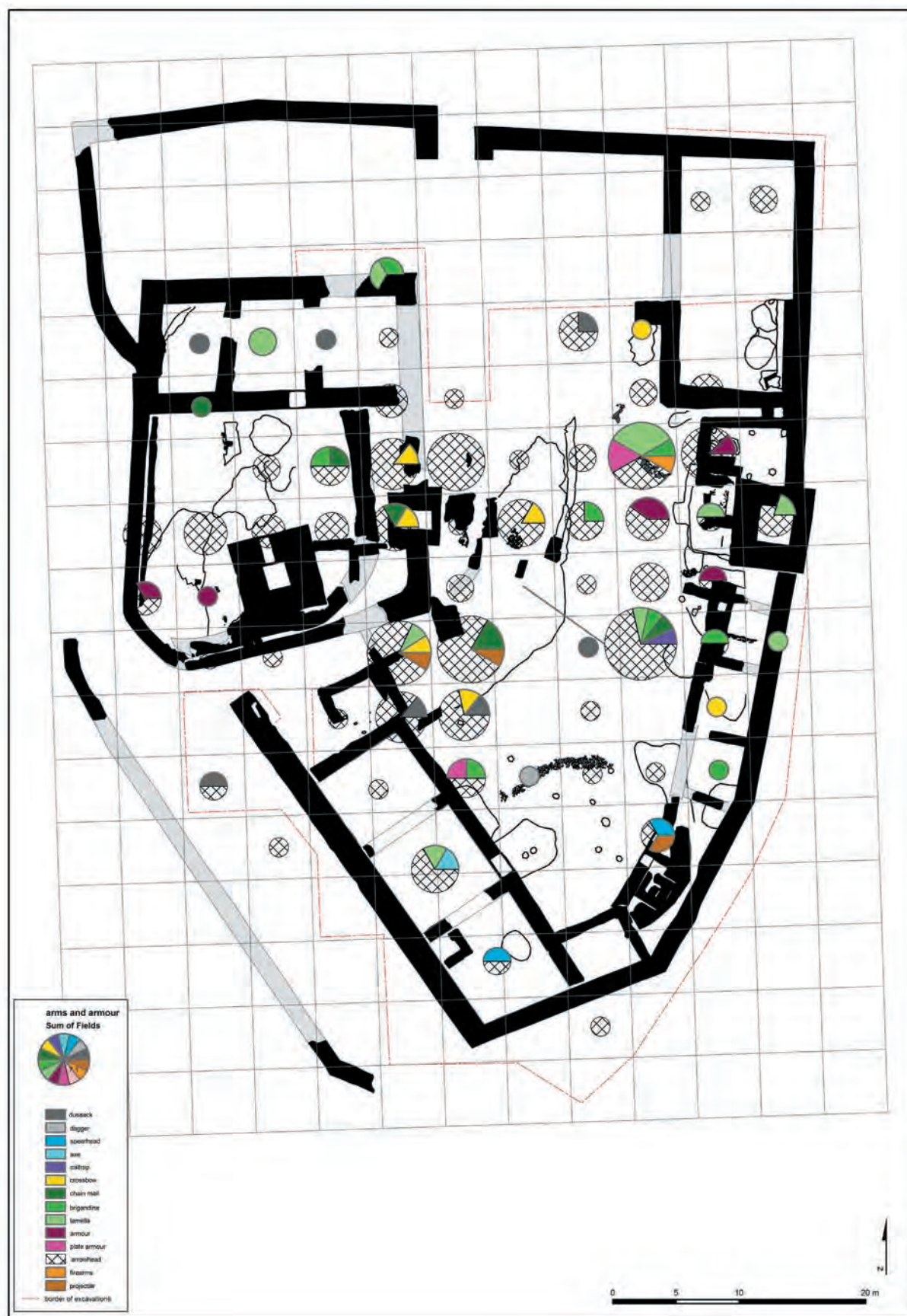


Fig. 5. Summarisation of arms and armour in the excavated parts of Rokštejn Castle

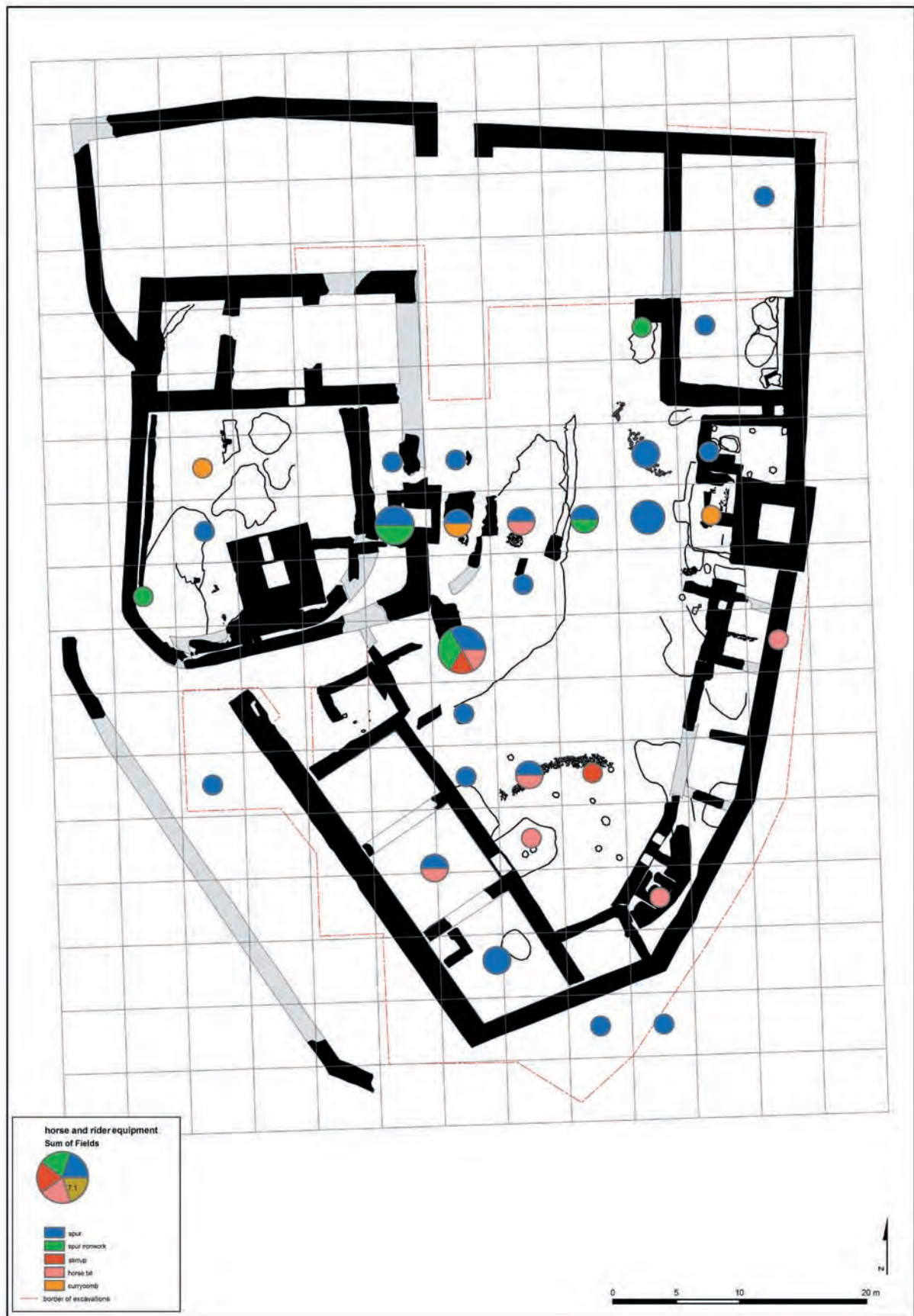


Fig. 6. Summarisation of horse and rider equipment in the excavated parts of Rokštejn Castle

XXXVIII, pp. 103–104, No. 67, pp. 104–105, No. 68, Note 1).

The situation developed very fast in the 1420s. In 1421 the Waldsteins acceded the *constitutio pacis* by Sigismund of Luxembourg. The situation changed with the accession of Albrecht V of Austria as lien holder of several towns, administrator and thereafter Margrave of Moravia. Through the marriage with Sigismund's daughter in September 1421 Albrecht became lien holder of towns such as České Budějovice, Znojmo, Jihlava, Jemnice and Pohořelice (Hoffmann 1961, pp. 168, 171). In 1423 Albrecht became Margrave of Moravia and urgently needed the aristocrats to take his part by vowing allegiance to him. He failed in negotiations and started a military campaign together with the Bishop of Olomouc in early June 1424. Albrecht's and Episcopal troops moved through Southeast and Central Moravia.

Still in 1425 the Lord of Rokštejn is being mentioned in association with the town of Jihlava because he was honoured with fish by the Jihlava burgher Janek Schoenmelczer, who was paid money by the town for this service and a messenger was sent from Jihlava to the Waldsteins' Sádek Castle (AKČ V, p. 182, No. 296; AČ X, pp. 246–250, No. V; AČ XL/1, p. 111). The catering for the Lord of Rokštejn and payment for the messenger to Sádek indicate rather some alliance between both these subjects and possible inclination of the Waldsteins to the side of Albrecht of Austria. It is not clear who of the Waldsteins was honoured with fish in Jihlava, maybe still Henry, who is mentioned by name among the living family members still in 1422, but in 1423 it is already only Zdeněk of Waldstein who borrows money from Jihlava. Henry is mentioned as deceased as late as at the opening of the Moravian Provincial Court in 1436 (LCS III, p. 112, Nos. 555–556; LCS III, pp. 117–118, No. 596).

According to the testimony of written sources the relationships to Jihlava are getting worse as late as with the person of Lord Zdeněk of Waldstein in the early 1430s due to activities of his free company, inclusive of a raid on Jihlava in cooperation with John of Lichtenburg, burgrave of Jemnice. According to R. Urbánek, Zdeněk took the side of the Hussites and this way he is also regarded by later literature, which accepts this opinion (Urbánek 1940, p. 261; Hoffmann 1961, pp. 165–166; Hoffmann 1986, pp. 74–75; Měřínský, Plaček 1989, p. 13; Měřínský 2007, p. 49). If the castle fell during the Hussite Wars, an attack of the Hussites on the walls of Rokštejn could be rather supposed in the 1420s. Possible attack from the side of Jihlava may have come as late as in the 1430s, probably not later than 1433–1434 when Zdeněk declared truce with Albrecht and acceded the *constitutio pacis* in the next year (Neumann 1930, p. 80, No. 50; AČ X, p. 250; Hoffmann 1961, p. 166).

Zdeněk's policy changed during the 1440s when he acted as arbiter and made peace between the Rosenbergs and Tábor (AČ IX, pp. 267–268, No. 26). The next unrests in the neighbourhood of the castle are associated with the 1460s and with the emergence of the League of Zelená Hora against King George of Poděbrady. This situation was not favourable for the Waldsteins who took the royal side. Inside the region under review they were opponents of the Lords of Hradec and of the royal town of Jihlava. The domestic battle turned into an international war conflict and incursion of the Hungarian troops into Moravia. Třebíč fell in 1468, at the time of the Bohemian-Hungarian War. It is exactly this period, to which the fall of Rokštejn Castle is dated back by older local-historical literature (Pátek 1887, pp. 11–12; Večeřa 1893, p. 13; Hoffmann 1925, pp. 45–47; Sojka 1940, p. 10).

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITUATION IN THE CASTLE

The horizon of decline in Rokštejn Castle has so far been associated with the period of the Hussite Wars and with an organised military action with subsequent renewal of one part of the castle around the mid–15th century (Krejsová 2004, pp. 65–75, 180–182; Měřínský, Plaček 1989, p. 15; Měřínský 2007, pp. 53–55, 73–74).

The analysis of terrain situations has recently resulted in distinction of four basic horizons. This classification partly coincides with the original division by Z. Měřínský into three stages according to individual castle owners. Archaeological horizons

are based on documented terrain situations from systematic archaeological excavations and correlate with construction phases. Further detailed analysis is needed for later construction phases 2B–3B (Fig. 4). Several situations were proved by dendrochronological dates and some of them open the problem of re-evaluation of castle masonry. The horizons are defined only on the basis of relations between deposits and preserved masonry, without any detailed evaluation of all finds recovered from the deposits.

A quite voluminous pottery assemblage from a broader area around Brtnice is being presently

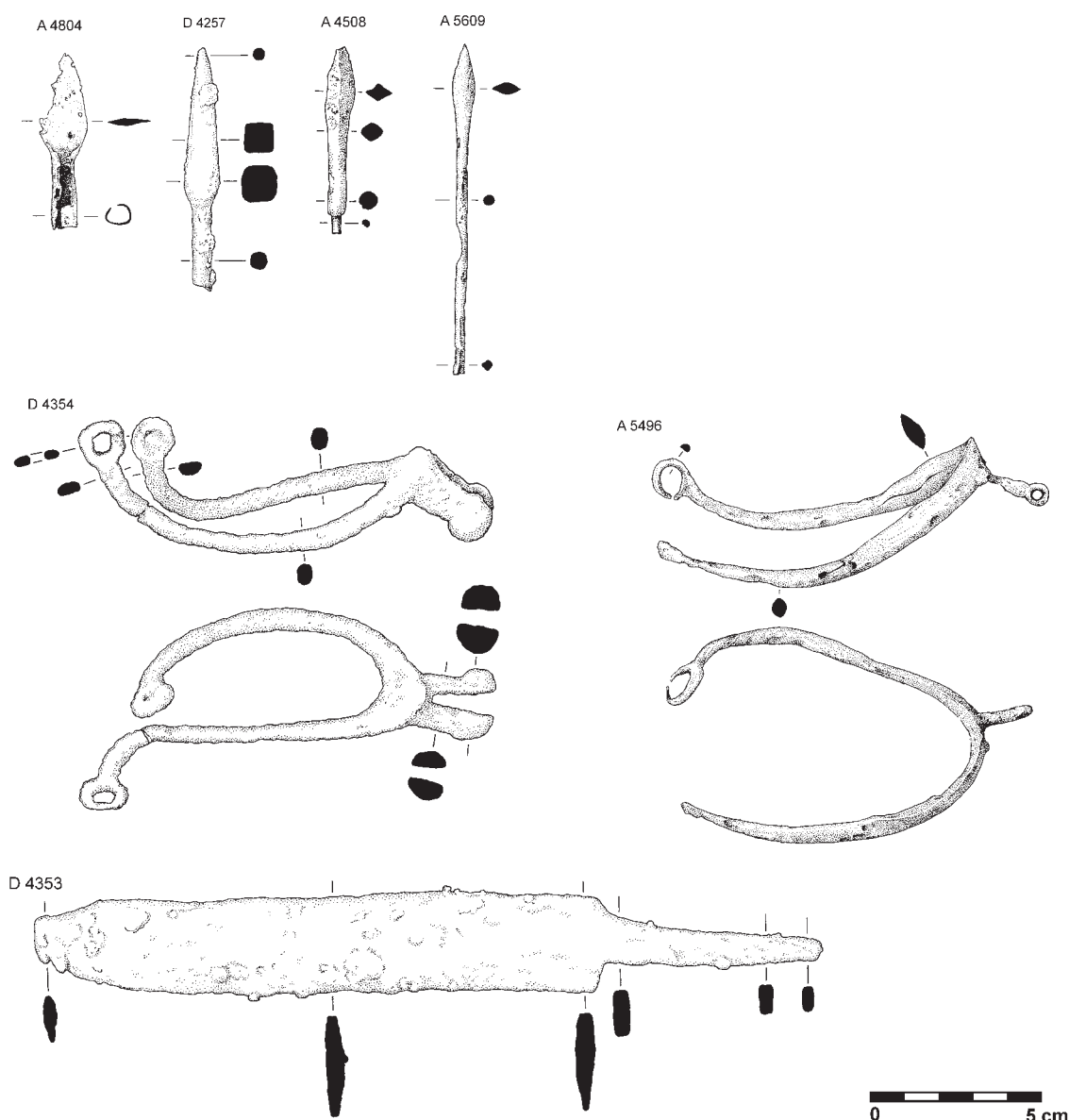


Fig. 7. Horizon Ia (drawing by S. Plchová)

analysed. That is why the general conclusions of Z. Měřínský, who divided the pottery from Rokštejn into 4 phases within the time-span from the c. 1260 to c. 1430 (Měřínský 2007, pp. 88–92), are still valid.

The newly distinguished archaeological horizons are represented by Horizon I before the levelling of the ditch, which is subdivided into Subhorizon a including occupation layers or floor modifications in features from the last third of the 13th century, which ended before 1307 with fire and destruction (detected in the area of the upper ward, the western part of the outer ward and the ditch), and Subhorizon b comprising the construction of the keep in the upper ward and the southern and western section of existing defensive wall in the upper ward (beginning of the

14th century), and continuous use of the ditch. Horizon II comprises a distinct intervention into building structure of the castle represented by the construction of two palaces and other parts of the castle inclusive of the curtain wall, levelling, construction and occupation layers from the second half of the 14th century to the 15th century underneath the occupation layer of the horizon of decline, and levelling and abolition of the ditch. Horizon III is a horizon of decline including Subhorizon a – an occupation layer overlaid with Subhorizon b – a burnt layer. This sequence is closed with a destruction representing Horizon IV. The destruction of stone structures of the castle in the form of multiple-phase debris overlays the preceding horizon of decline. Later large-area intrusions into the

Tab. 1. Rokštejn Castle. Summarisation of arms, armour, and horse and rider equipment in Horizons I-IV

			I (Ia)	Ib-II	III a-b	IV	Σ
arms and armour	dagger			1			1
	big knife		1				1
	falchion				2	3	5
	battle axe				1		1
	spearhead				1	1	2
	arrowhead/bolt head		8	29	65	57	159
	crossbow	bone-plate				2	2
		nut			1	1	2
		stirrup			1	1	2
	crossbow hook					1	1
	firearm			1			1
	projectile			1	2		3
	brigandine				2	2	4
	chain mail		2	3	2		7
	plate			1	3	3	7
	caltrop			1	1		2
horse and rider equipment	spur		2	5	12	12	31
	buckle + spurs ironwork						2
	stirrup				2		2
	horse bit			2	3	1	6
	Cheek					1	1

original terrain contexts were represented by a bowling track in the bailey of the lower ward in quadrants 10/7–10/10 and an intrusion into deposits in Building C in the form of an asphalt finishing in quadrants 12/13–12/14 and 13/13–13/14 (Fig. 3). Stones from the destruction of castle structures, such as the upper palace and Building C, were extracted and used for the construction of utilitarian and residential features in the 19th and 20th centuries, which were not related in any way to the castle, e.g., Fundulus' paper factory or structures in surrounding villages (Měřínský 2007, p. 124).

The evaluation of archaeological situations was related to the analysis of metal inventory and militaria belonging to individual identified horizons (Tab. 1; figs. 5–6).

The evaluation of terrain situation yielded crucial knowledge of two very well notable horizons of decline of the castle. The first decline is represented by the end of stratigraphic Horizon Ia and the other by Horizon IIIb. The variability of militaria from the first horizon of decline (Horizon Ia) is very limited. The assemblage comprises only 12 militaria or artefacts assignable to horse and rider equipment (Fig. 7).

The rider equipment is represented by 2 spurs with short neck for a rowel and with simple arched

heel band with round holes for the attachment of spur straps at its ends. Militaria are represented by a large tanged knife and 8 projectile points, one of them socketed. These points are only arrowheads including an incendiary arrowhead with prolonged neck (Fig. 7: A 5609). Horizon Ia-II also comprises another 5 tanged arrowheads (arrowhead typology after Krejsová 2004, tab. I, II); (Tab. 2). The difference between arrowheads and bolt heads is based on the long/weight index defined by T. Durdík. The threshold between these two categories is set to 3, any higher index value represents arrowheads (Durdík 1972, 4–6, 5–9).

An important boundary resulting from dendro-chronological analyses is represented by the dendro-date 1306/1307 obtained from a scaffold construction detected inside the masonry of the first floor of the keep in the upper ward. The keep itself overlays the original oldest recorded stone wall, which was associated with contexts containing human remains (Šabatová, Soukup, Kyncl 2010, pp. 207–208). An indication for determining the season, in which the siege took place, is yielded by the destruction of the main massive defensive wall. This collapsed into the area of later western outer ward and covered up the

Tab. 2. Rokštejn Castle. Variability of arrowheads in Horizons Ia and Ia-II.

Horizon Ia	
Inv. No.	Type
Rokštejn A 3272	B-II-1-a-1
Rokštejn A 4508	B-II-1-a-3
Rokštejn A 4804	A-IV-4-b-2
Rokštejn A 5609	B-III-5-b-3
Rokštejn A 5643/1	B- - -
Rokštejn A 5643/2	B-II-1-a-1
Rokštejn A 5643/3	B-III-1-a-1
Rokštejn D 4275	B-IV-2-a-2
Horizon Ia-II	
Inv. No.	Type
Rokštejn A 4768	B-III-4-a-1
Rokštejn A 5325	B-III-1-a-3
Rokštejn A 5346	B-III-1-a-1
Rokštejn A 5464	B-IV-1-a-3
Rokštejn A 5490	B-IV-1-a-2

traces of fire, which took place in summer months when hazelnuts ripen.

The horizon of decline is accompanied by ecofacts in the form of human remains that have been originally associated only with the last documented decline of the castle. Anthropological remains from the castle area can be divided according to how they were deposited and in what condition they occurred in uncovered archaeological contexts. Firstly there is a burial of a one-week-old male newborn in anatomical position, whose almost complete skeleton is preserved. The child was buried into a rock fissure (Feat. 130) between masonry (Phase 1A) and bedrock, and overlaid with partition masonry at the southwestern foot of the keep of the upper ward (Rokštejn A 4751; Měřinský 2007, p. 63; Měřinský, Plaček 1989, p. 19). In the backfill of the grave pit a finger phalanx of another, about one-year-old individual was found.

The other example is represented by scattered fragments of human bones in settlement layers – 7 skull fragments, 1 radius, 1 metatarsal bone and one cervical vertebra (Tab. 3; figs. 8–9). Fragmentary human skeletal remains are bound to the stratigraphic horizon of Phases Ia and Ib with intrusions as far as into deposits of Horizon IV, due to disturbance of the original deposits by modern anthropogenic interventions. The fragments of human remains from the original context are bound to the horizon of decline (Horizon Ia) accompanied by militaria, fires and destructions of many features inclusive of the stone curtain wall. The burial of the newborn was antecede-

Tab. 3. Rokštejn Castle. Cranial and skeletal fragments (* determined by P. Urbanová; + determined by G. Sacherová).

Inv. No.	Quadrant	Feature	Bone
A 3276	5/11		os parietalis*
A 3946	4/11		os parietalis, os temporalis*
A 4782	3/10		os parietalis*
A 4940	3/10		unavailable*
A 5007	3/10		os parietalis dextra*
A 3395	6/12		cranium
A 5357	3/10–311		cranium
?		92	vertebra +
?		92	radius +
?		92	os metatarsi +

ent to or contemporary with, the construction of the keep of the upper ward during the construction Phase 1B and belongs to archaeological Horizon Ib. Anthropological material is associated so far only with the area of the upper ward at Rokštejn and with a specific terrain situation disturbed by later interventions (Tab. 3). The assemblage of scattered and fragmentary anthropological remains in find-bearing and destruction layers or interspersed levelling construction layers in the area of the upper ward represents so far at least 3 and at most 11 individuals. The fragmentary human remains come from unburied individuals. The subsequent anthropogenic activities during the castle reconstructions disturbed the situations with older deposits and individual loose skeletal parts got mixed into various contexts. Standard burial in a prepared grave pit can be most probably excluded because none of the situations in the area of the upper ward indicates the presence of a disturbed grave pit. The accrual of deposits in the small area of the upper courtyard is not sufficient. The features recessed into bedrock mostly include fills from Horizons Ia-Ib with later intrusions. The minimal thickness of deposits does not anticipate regular forced burials in the castle area such as those in Sovinec, Tábor, Frýdštejn³ or Šariš (Tymonová 1996, pp. 98–100; Unger 2006, p. 145; Krajč, Mořkovský 2005, p. 415). The situation rather indicates that the involved individuals suffered violent death, were mutilated and tossed apart. They may have been killed in a battle or executed. The subsequent exposal of the bodies or body parts does not contradict the situation at discovery. After being decomposed, individual bones got into feature backfills or other deposits. The castle owners may have buried their dead at the parish church in Střížov

³ Personal communication by F. Gabriel.

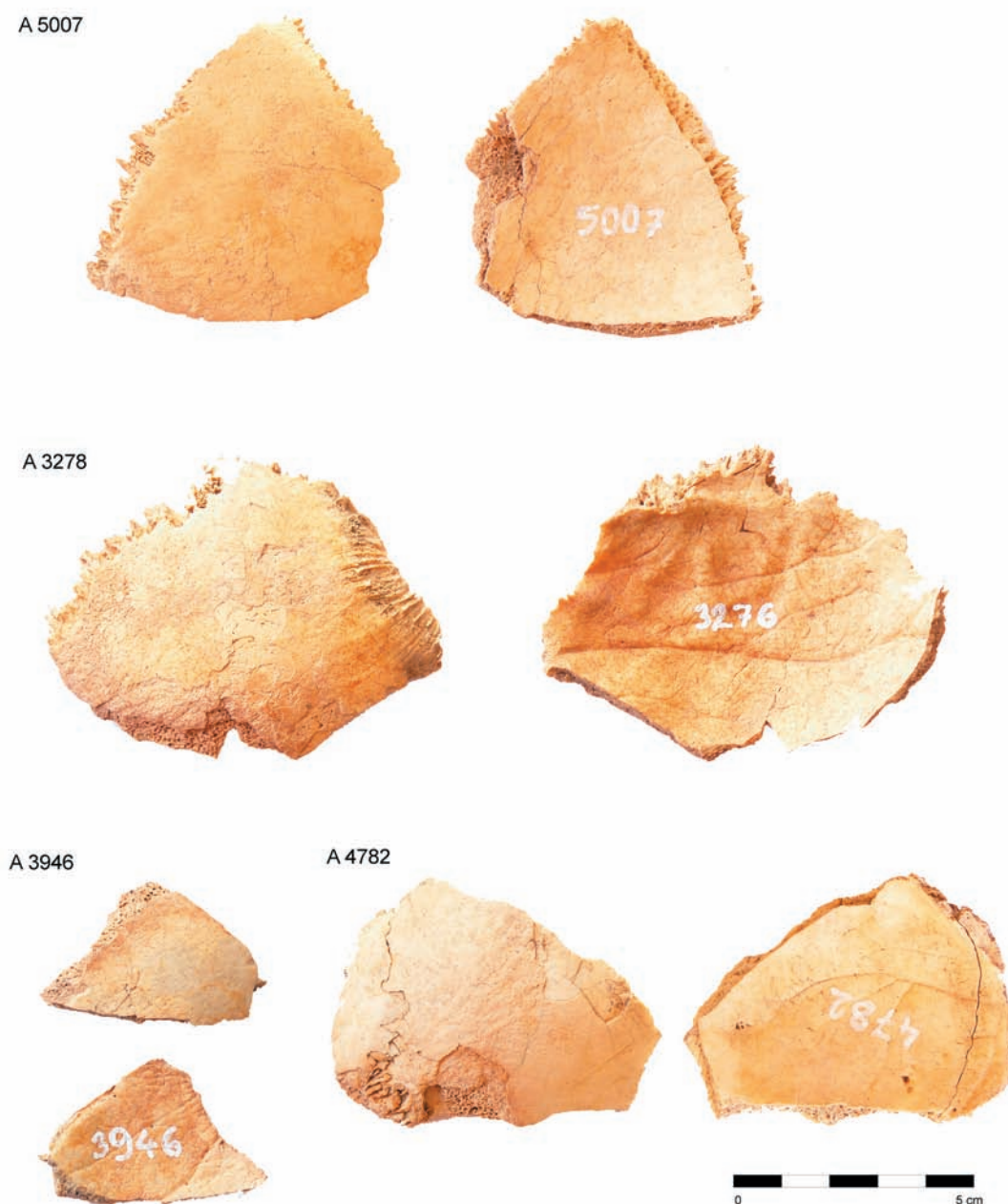


Fig. 8. Cranial fragments from the upper ward of the castle

or at another parish church in nearby Brtnice. The distance between the castle and possible cemeteries does not represent any major obstacle. The nearest parish church in Střížov lies only 2 km away and the church in Brtnice only 8 km. The Waldsteins founded their family tomb as far as in the Dominican Friary in Jihlava in the early 15th century (Hoffmann 1986, p. 73, Note 6; Měřinský 2007, p. 28; Sedláček 1906, p. 336).

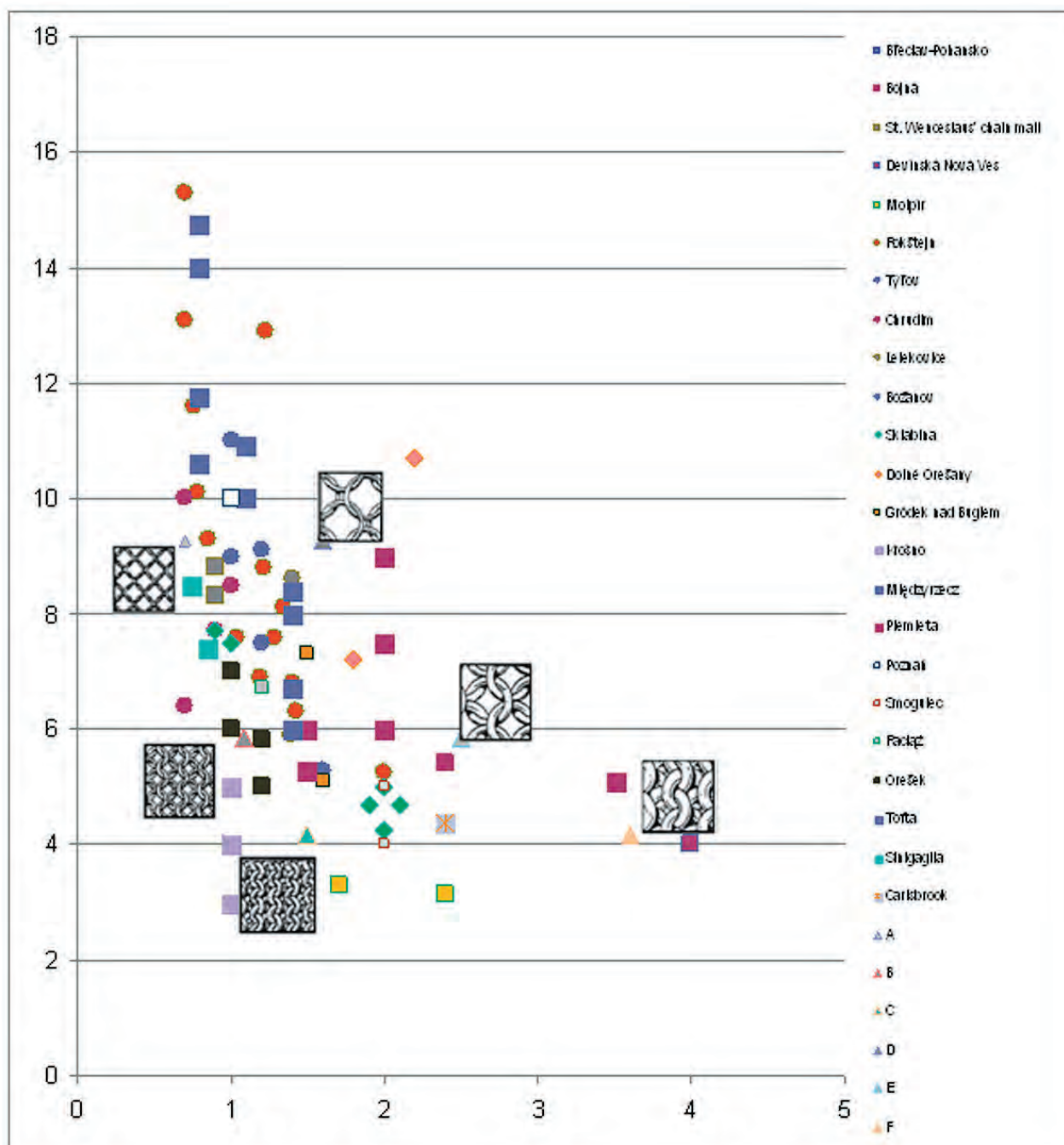
The identified decline of Horizon Ia was followed by a crucial rebuilding of the castle (construction Phase 1B) documented in the archaeological Hori-

zon Ib, in which the ditch below the upper ward of the castle was still in use. Horizon Ib in the ditch ends with a levelling layer associated with Horizon and construction Phase II. Militaria in Horizon Ib-II include mainly arrowheads, a firearm fragment and evidence of rider equipment in the form of spurs.

In Horizon III we can distinguish militaria and horse and rider equipment in the occupation layer (IIIa) and in the burnt layer (IIIb). The assemblage from Horizon III comprises 2 stirrups, 3 horse bits and 12 spurs. The category of militaria is dominated by 62 arrowheads. In Phase IIIa we can record 25



Fig. 9. Distribution of arms, armour and human bones in Horizon Ia



Graph 1: A comparison between the density of chain mail (the ratio between ring diameter and wire thickness) from the early medieval to late medieval periods in Central Europe (defined density: A–C – ring diameter 6.4 mm, density 9.26; 5.83; 4.17; D–F – ring diameter 15 mm, density 9.26; 5.83; 4.17; system of ring mail density after Scott 1997: <http://www.vikingsonline.org.uk/resources/authenticity/chainmail/index.htm>; Pleiner 2002, pp. 7–80; Pieta 2006, pp. 180, 182, fig. 8: 5; Šchráníl 1934, pp. 167–168; Šimčík 2007, pp. 178–179; Durdík 1983, tab. V: 1–3; Durdík 1976, fig. LIII: 7; Unger 1999, p. 123, fig. 134: 4; Šimčík, Pupala 2005, p. 94; Šimčík 2007, pp. 181–182; Łaskiewicz, Michalak 2007, p. 101; Kotowicz, Muzyczuk 2008, pp. 144–148, fig. 10–11; Sawicki 2003, p. 44; Łaskiewicz, Michalak 2007, pp. 101–103; Nadolski, Grabarczyk 1985, pp. 85–86; Grzywaczyk, Pawlicka, Perzyńska, Żak 1962, p. 193, fig. 6: 8; Dębska-Luty 1972, p. 156, fig. 3: a; Kowalczyk 1986, p. 79, tab. LXIV: b; Kuśnierz 2006, p. 85, tab. V: 14; tab. V: 15; Grandin 2008, p. 9; Burgess 1957, pp. 199–205; Young 2000, p. 146, fig. 52: 51; artefacts with two values: ring diameter and wire thickness)

A-Type points and 10 B-type points, in Phase IIIb 24 A-Type points and only 3 specimens of Type B. The use of missile weapons is also documented by crossbow components, namely the nut, a fragment of bone lining and the cocking stirrup (Fig. 14).

Firearms are represented only by two cylindrical projectiles with calibres of 26 and 34 mm. Among the militaria from Phase IIIa-b are 3 falchions, 1 modified battle axe and a spearhead (Krejsová 2007, pp. 267–276). Defensive armour is represented by chain

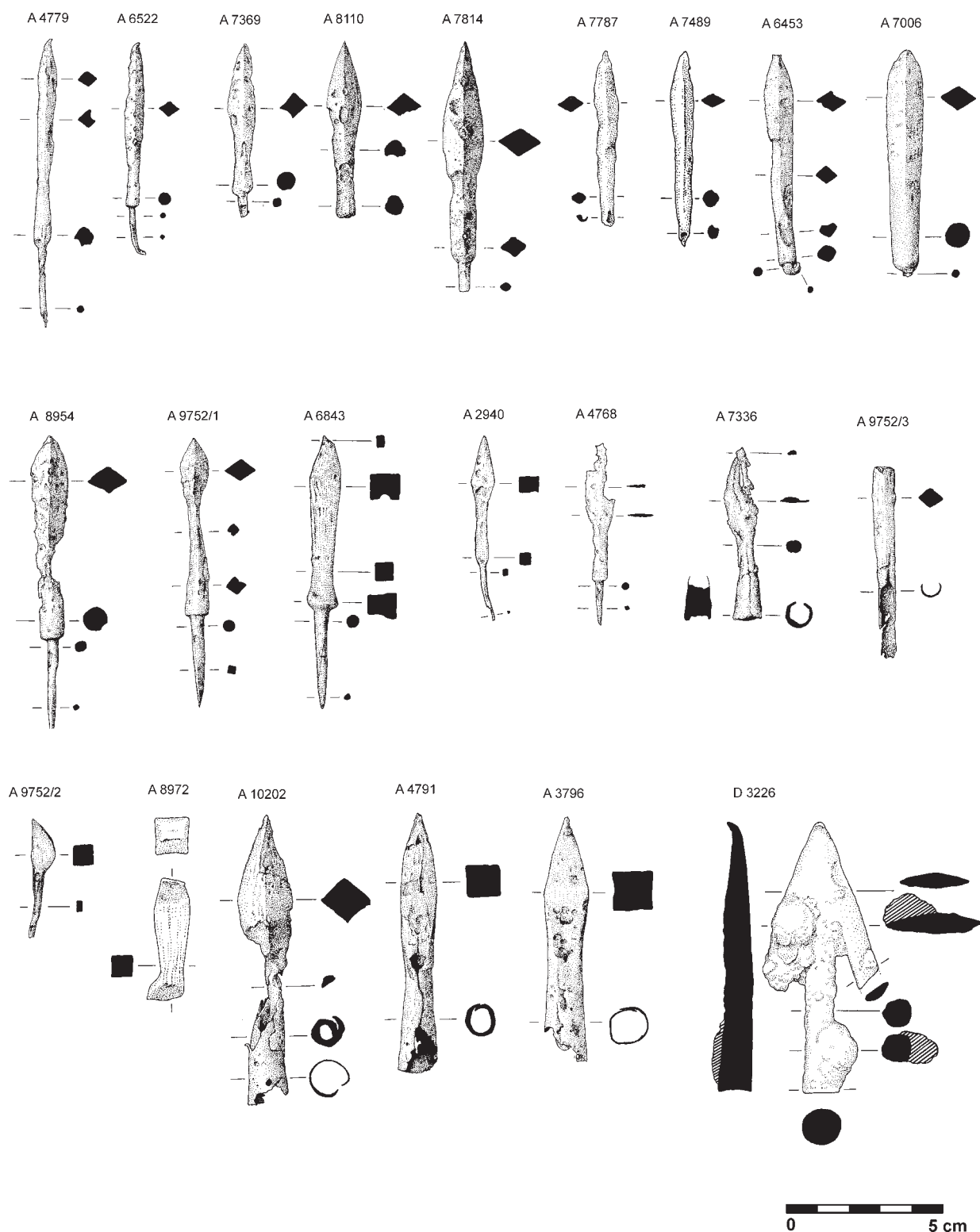


Fig. 10. Arrowheads and bolt heads in Horizon II (drawing by S. Plchová)

mail, brigandine as well as plate armour inclusive of a gauntlet (Fig. 16; Graph 1).

The composition of militaria from the second horizon of decline of the castle (Horizon IIIb) indicates

the use of crossbows, maybe also bows and firearms of light and heavy forms. Militaria remained in contexts with burnt wooden constructions in the area of a supposed communication corridor between the

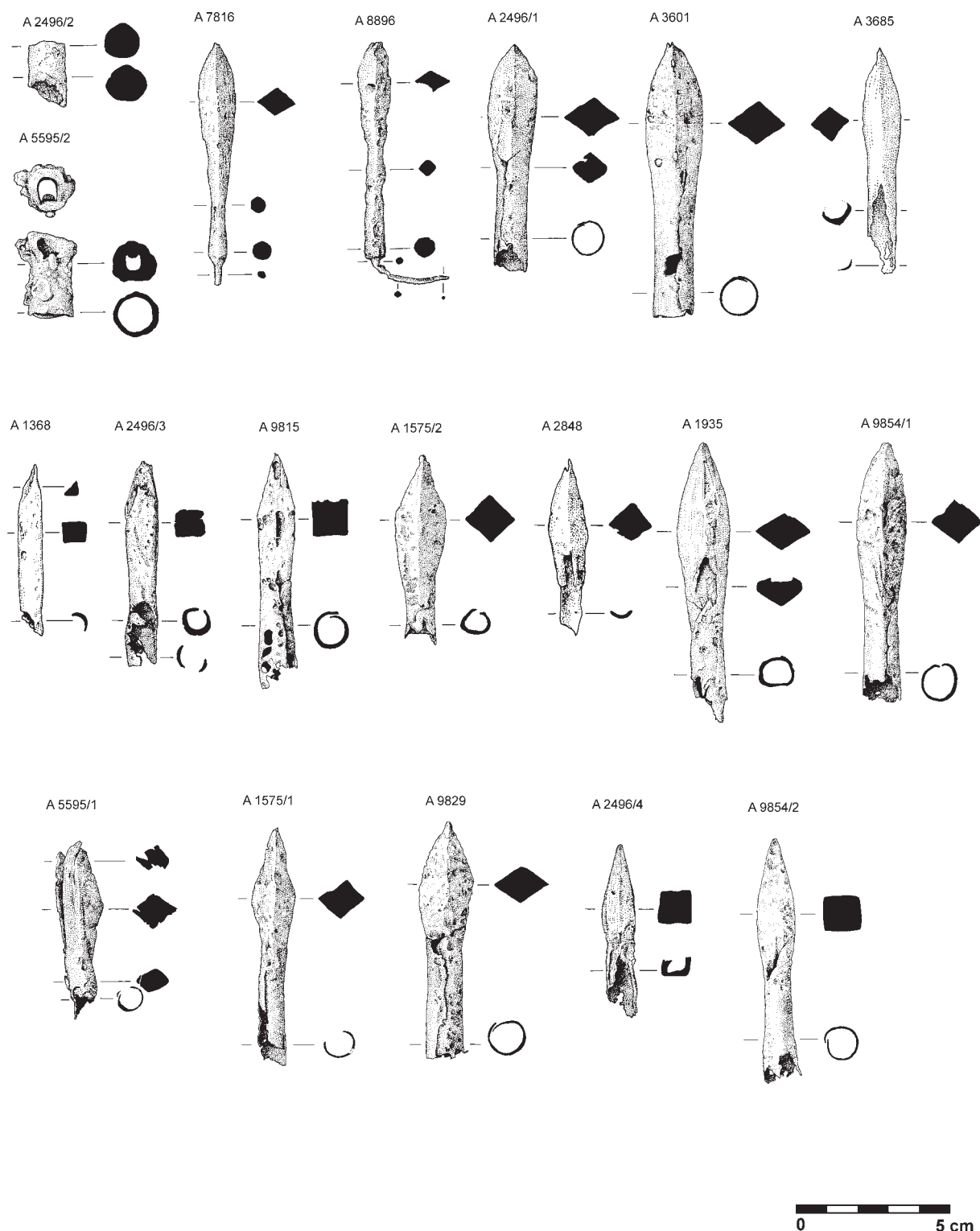


Fig. 11. Arrowheads and bolt heads in Horizon IIIb (drawing by S. Plchová)

courtyard and the upper ward, and in the destruction of fortification elements. The destruction of deposits in the courtyard by anthropogenic interventions prior to the mid-20th century affected the state of information acquired during the regular archaeological

excavation after 1981. Bolt heads and arrowheads are concentrated below the upper ward but also below the siege Position 2. Militaria appear in Horizon IIIa, which is associated with the occupation layer of the last phase of the existence of the castle,



Fig. 12. Presumed projectile for a siege engine from the area of Rokštejn Castle. Photo: B. Coufal, bequest of B. Coufal

and with Horizon IIIb of decline. In Horizon IIIa bolt heads are slightly predominant, and in Horizon IIIb the ratio between arrowheads and bolt heads is almost balanced. In Horizon IV arrowheads occur in destructions of stone structures, which are disturbed in many cases by later anthropogenic activities such as acquirement of building material, treasure hunters, bowling players or amateur archaeological excavations (Figs. 11, 13, 15).

The horizon of decline probably did not lack evidence of projectiles for heavier firearms. A photograph remained from amateur excavations by B. Coufal, showing a cracked stone ball without any details on finding conditions (Fig. 12). Even if the damaged projectile cannot be associated with any specific archaeological context or at least a specific part of the castle, the find testifies to the fact that the projectile was shot off and subsequently got cracked by hitting against a hard barrier.

Horizon IV yielded not only relatively numerous and varied militaria but also horse and rider equipment. The situation is influenced by later anthropogenic intrusions. From among defensive armour some fragments of harness, plate armour and a brigandine lamella remained. Rider equipment encompasses 11 spurs, 1 bit and 1 cheek. The use of missile weapons is documented by an assemblage of 42 arrowheads and crossbow components, such as drive plate, nut or cocking stirrup with a hook fragment from the equipment of a crossbowman. Arrowheads comprised

the dominant Type A represented by 28 specimens and Type B represented by 14 specimens. The assemblage of arrowheads contained 5 projectiles with intentionally modified hot-notched stem. The point, connected with the stem only through a 1–2 mm thick joint, thus broke off at impact (Krejsová 2007a, pp. 162–169).

The castle succumbed to an organised military action accompanied by siege and attack on the walls, but before individual castle structures had been destroyed and burnt down, some parts of the castle were emptied or plundered. Two different situations occur, one of them in storage chambers and the other in the lower ward. The residential building shows a considerable decrease in information on its presumable interior equipment, which is usually documented in other investigated palaces at castle localities. Two thirds or one half of this inventory probably fell into the area of the western outer ward, together with a wall equipped with beam pockets for docking the roof construction of the palace. Storage chambers, annexed to the inner face of the southeastern section of the main defensive wall, contained cereals and legumes, which were also stored in the area of the lower palace. A dog at the age of 1.5–3 years and an adult cat became possible victims of the final horizon in Chamber B. These two individuals are still supplemented with a dog skeleton found in Room A of the upper palace during the excavations by B. Coufal. The skeleton is documented only by photographs.



Fig. 13. Arrowheads and bolt heads in horizons I–IV.

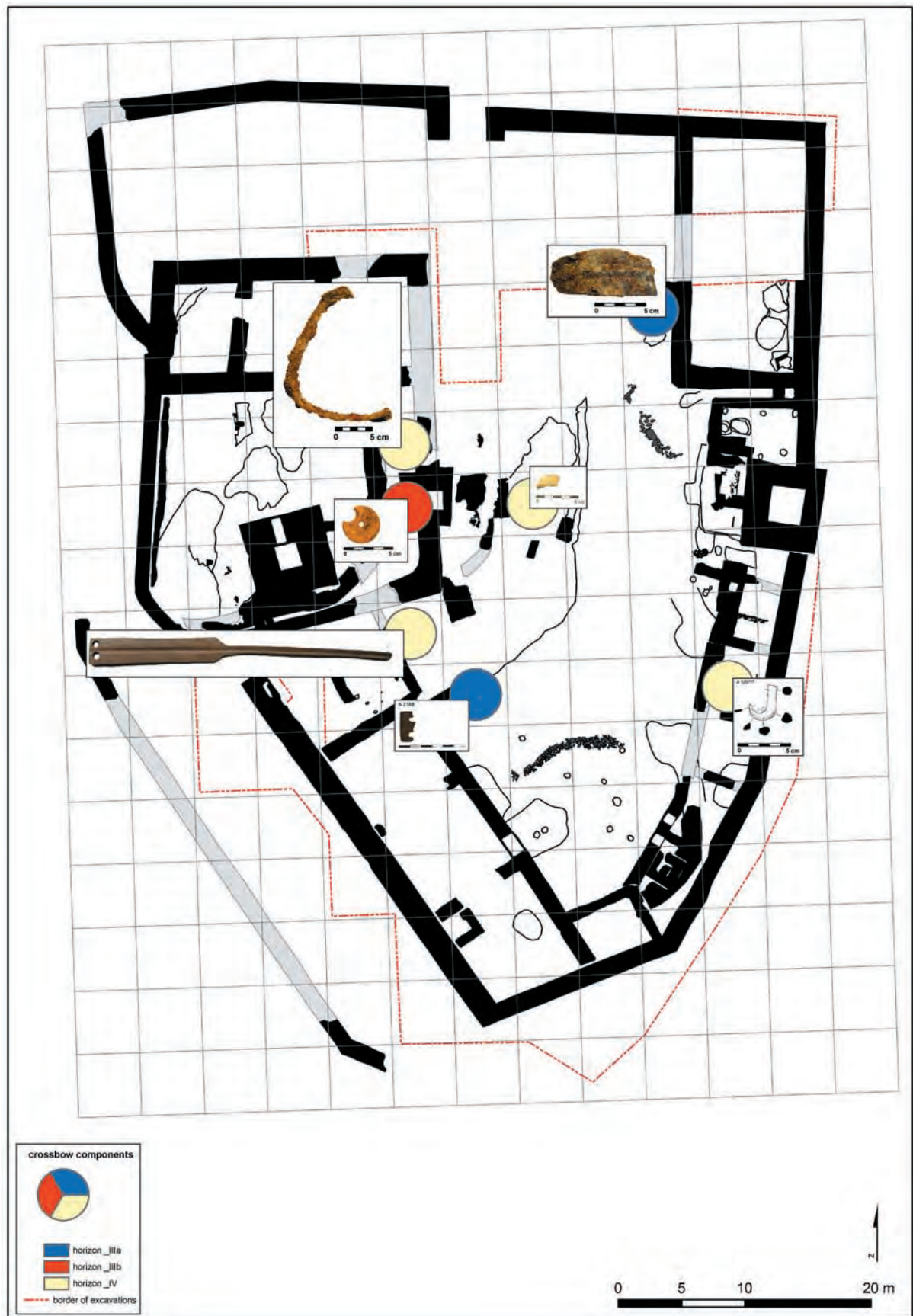


Fig. 14. Crossbow fragments



Fig. 15. Type-A (socketed) and Type-B (tanged) arrowheads/bolt heads in Horizons IIIa-IV of decline



Fig. 16. Chain mail fragments

Other analyses are related to archaeobotanical rests obtained from the lower palace, the storage chambers or from the courtyard area. Based on the composition of species and the amount of plant rests Z. Měřinský assumes that the castle was besieged in winter months

after the harvest and storage of cereals and other plant products had been accomplished (Roblíčková 2004, pp. 94–104; Kühn 1977, pp. 93–94; Měřinský 1991, p. 71).

SIEGE POSITIONS

Anthropogenic relics remained on a wooded hillside to the south of Rokštejn Castle. There are at least two ploughland strips and presumable siege positions. The remnants of siege facilities are represented by a system composed of one two-step platform and one platform divided by possible recent intrusion in the form of a deep ditch-like incision (Fig. 17). The detected siege positions are designated for the purpose of identification by Arabic numerals 1 (the eastern siege position with upper and lower step) and 2 (the western siege position with eastern and western part or platform). A 3D model of the platforms and of Rokštejn Castle shows clearly the dominant position of siege facilities with respect to the castle. The keep of the upper ward reaches the

height of 20 m compared to the preserved height of 16 m before it was reconstructed and modified into the current lookout tower (Fig. 18: 1–4).

The upper step of Platform 1 has strewn edges reaching the lengths of 50 m and 21 m. The platform is oriented with its long side in the SWW-NEE direction opposite the castle. The step covers an area of 1000 m². The lower step takes in an area of 1350 m² and its northeastern corner is also artificially amended with the help of an earthen bank. The western side of the lower step fades out in the present-day ground. The distance between the lower step of the siege facility and the castle corner in the southwestern part of the lower palace is 160 m and the distance between the same point of the castle and the lower

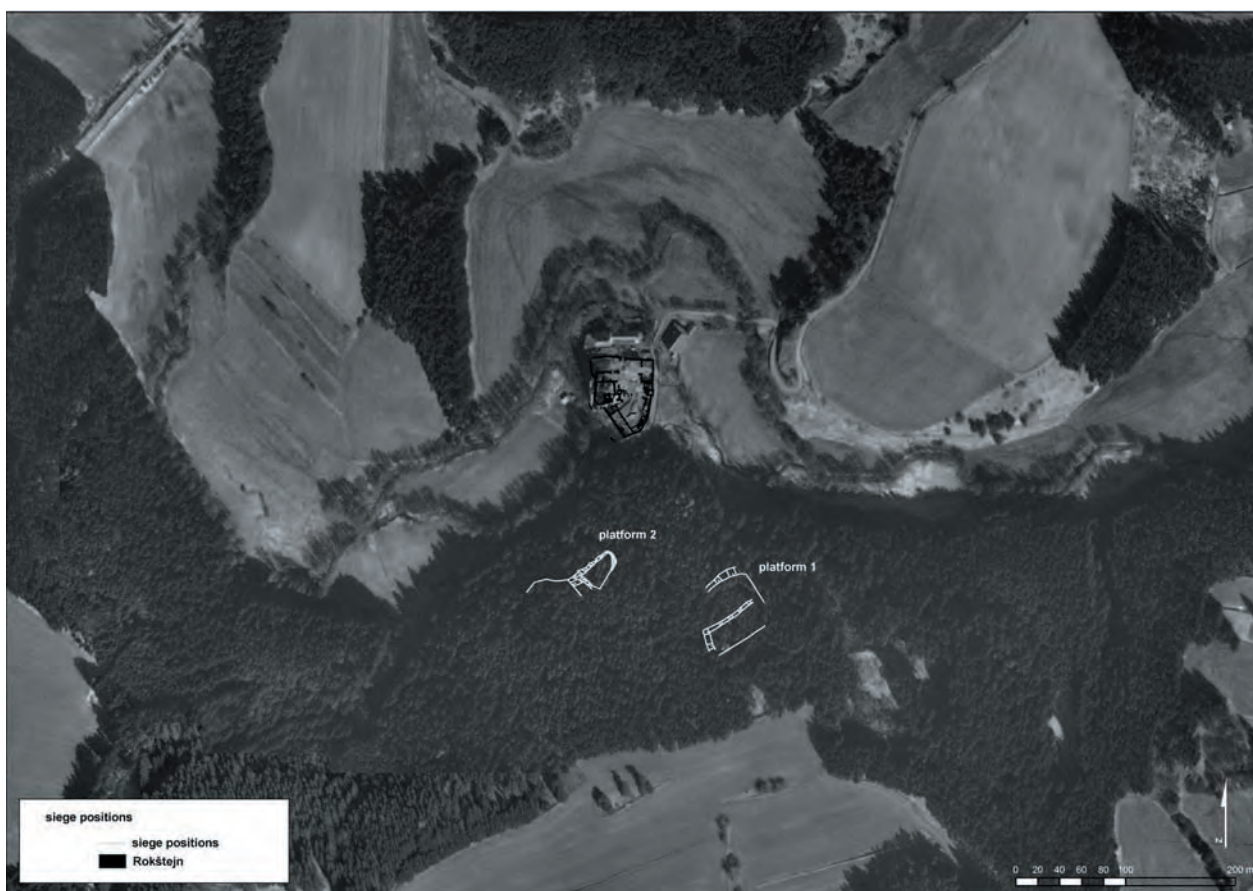


Fig. 17. Siege platforms on the northern hillside of Pavlice Hill

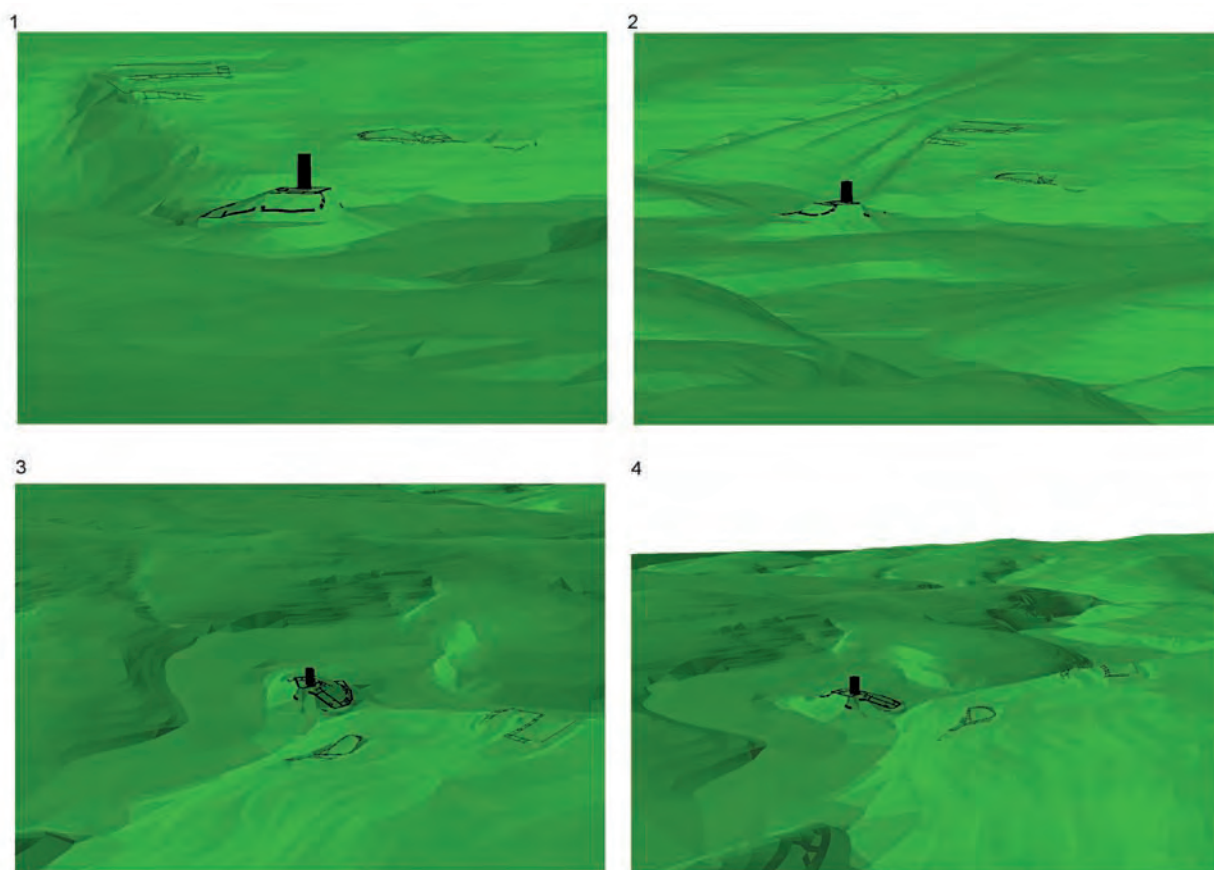


Fig. 18. A 3D model of the keep (reconstructed height 20 m) and of the nearest neighbourhood of the castle with siege platforms: 1 – view from the north; 2 – view from the northwest overlooking the River Brtnice valley; 3 – view from the south on the northern hillside of Pavlice Hill; 4 – view from the west into the Brtnice River valley

step is 190 m. The siege Platform 2 is situated 85 m to the northwest from the step-like siege Facility 1. Platform 2 is divided into two parts by a sharp ditch running parallel to the slope. The eastern part takes in an area of 480 m² and the western part covers an area of about 700 m². The eastern part of the platform sized 31 x 10 x 28 x 21 m is situated on a moderate slope and is protected from the east by a low rampart, which surrounds its southeastern corner. The northeastern strewn corner is reinforced with corner stones against landslide. The remaining part of the platform passes over to a steep slope and it was amended using the same kind of terracing as in the upper step of siege Facility 1. The western part of siege Platform 2 is situated 150 m from the southwestern corner of the castle and the eastern part of the platform with stone-armoured corner lies only 100 m from the same point. The distance between the keep of the upper ward and the eastern corner of siege Facility 2 reaches 140 m. The distance from the western edge of the platform is 170 m.

In the area of siege Platforms 1 and 2 no other visible terrain intrusions were detected, which could be

associated with docking and placing of siege engines or firearms. The fortification of these positions is documented only by a fragment of the southwestern rampart of Platform 2. Agricultural activities, still documented in the first half of the 19th century, may have caused degradation of Platform 1.

The viewshed from the upper keep of Rokštejn Castle as well as from the curtain wall of the upper ward into the River Brtnice valley and on the surrounding hillsides was very good but the platforms were protected by their primary terrace-like shape. The upper step and the eastern part of the lower step of Platform 1 were not visible from the perimeter of the defensive wall (Fig. 19).

The northern hillside of Pavlice Hill offers two conditions which are crucial with siege positions, namely the advantages of superelevation and surveillance over all events in the courtyard of the lower ward of the castle. Both of the platforms provided each other with immediate defence. The viewshed of a man standing on the platform into the nearest neighbourhood on the hillside and into its lower part sloping down into the valley is minimal or as good



Fig. 19. Viewshed from the perimeter of the wall of the upper ward, reconstructed only up to the height of 5 m.
Dark tones represent a very good viewshed

as none because the view is hindered by the hillside relief and terrain depressions, but the view of the valley with the castle on a rocky gnarl is very good and the platforms cover a quite large area of two thirds of the valley with the castle except a small area of the northern forefield of the castle and the southeastern section of a River Brtnice meander (Fig. 20). From the reconstruction of the viewshed from Platforms 1 and 2 follow the possibilities of crossfire, view of the courtyard of the lower ward from platform 1 as well as control over the eastern part of the outer ward, whose southern section is not known due to being disturbed by a recent road passing through this area. The possibilities of communication between the inner ward and the eastern outer ward were again controlled by Platform 1. Hypothetically seen, the enclosure of the castle may have been functionally supplemented with other siege positions, e.g. those to the west or north from the castle on the hillside of Bizovka Hill. No other anthropogenic features were directly interpreted in the surroundings. Interesting is the situation at the southern foot of Bizovka Hill to the north of the castle, which is situated beyond the

range of 200 m from castle walls. Two promontories, the western and the eastern one, clench the castle within a shooting distance of 200 m (Figs. 21–22).

The Rokštejn siege Platform 1 lies 30/35 m higher than the upper courtyard (measured from the dismantled mural crown of the main defensive wall from the oldest phase of the castle) and 36/45 m higher than the lower courtyard. The western siege facility lies 10 m higher than the upper courtyard and in average 15 m higher than the lower courtyard. The steep slope of the first terrain step of Platform 1 guards the second step against shooting from the castle. The possibilities of castle defenders to batter the platform effectively from the walls standing in front of it are minimal, even though both of the platforms are situated within a shooting distance of 200 m. The models of viewshed from the defensive walls of the upper ward and from the walkway of the keep, using also the windows in its southern wall, show that both of the platforms were hittable. Other possibilities are diminished by the fortification character of the main and curtain wall. The existence of walkways on the curtain and main wall is not proved. The space for

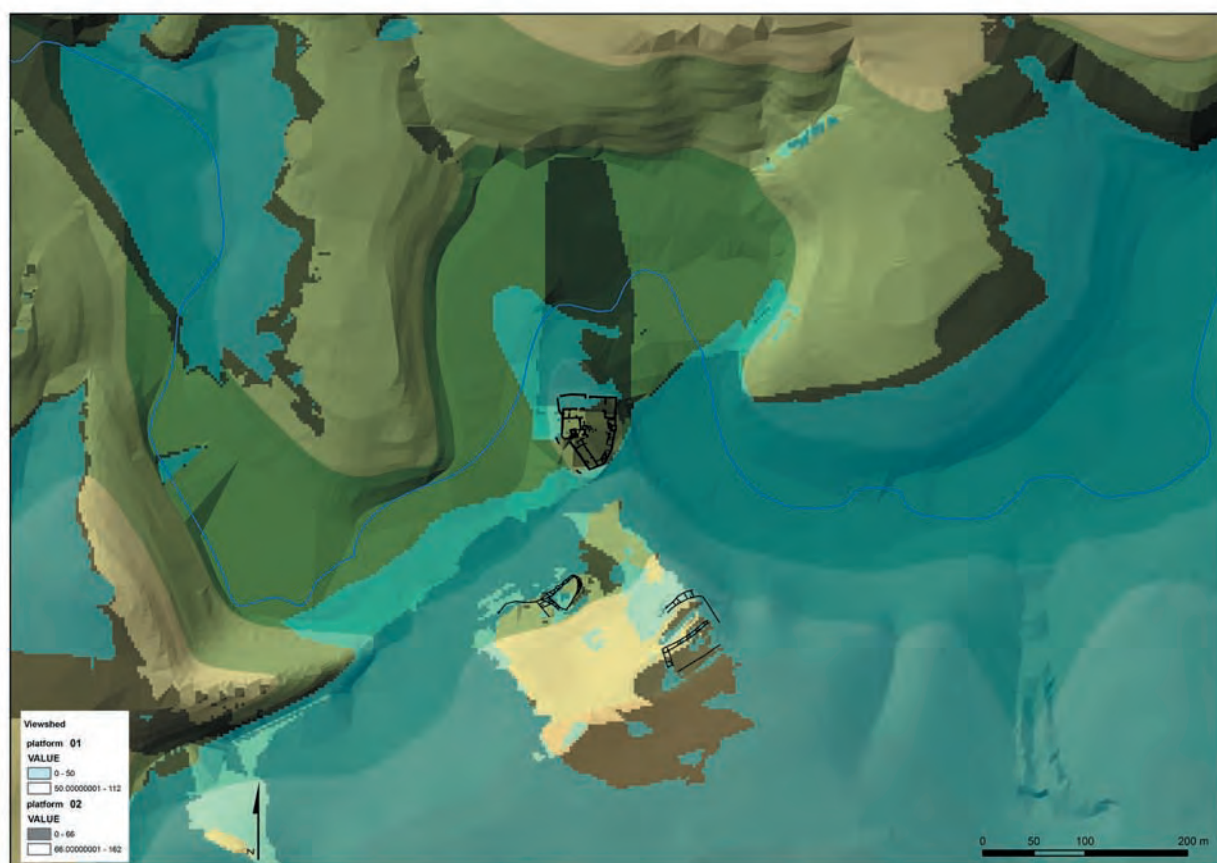


Fig. 20. Viewshed from the edges of the platforms (dark tones are marking the area invisible to besiegers)

a concentrated shooting was offered by a 10 m long section of the walkway in the southern part of the wall of the upper ward and by the southern side of the keep (Figs. 6–7).

A terrain situation with a promontory and a rising hillside above also occurs with the siege complex in Hus Castle. The castle itself is situated approximately on the spot height of 740 m ASL. The siege Facilities 3 and 4 can be found on spot heights of 763 and 765 m ASL. They are situated 23–25 m higher than the castle, at distances of 240 m and 170 m from the castle (Anderle, Procházka, Švábek 1993, p. 132, fig. 1). In the case of siege facilities in the neighbourhood of Cornštejn Castle it is again a promontory with castle, which is rising from the moat up a steep hillside, the same way as in Hus and Rokštejn castles. The southeastern siege facility is situated at a distance of 250 m from the castle and 40 m higher than it. The northwestern siege position takes in the spot heights of 380–390 m ASL at a distance of 220 m from the castle and lies almost at the same elevation ASL as the castle area itself (Měřínský, Plaček 1991, p. 162, fig. 1).

The oldest terrain-documented siege facility in the nearest neighbourhood of the Czech lands is situated in Lower Saxony and is dated back to 1073. While besieging the Harzburg Castle, King Henry IV let build a siege position at a distance of 400 m from the fortification, with an advantageous superelevation of 60 m. The location on Sachsenberg is oval in shape, with inner area sized 90 x 60 m, protected by a 1.4 m wide rampart (Küntzel 2006, pp. 331–332).

The oldest landscape relics of siege facilities in the Czech environment are not being dated earlier than to the 1420s. Another concentration of siege positions is dated back to the second half of the 1460s. Among siege facilities we can distinguish camps, shooting positions, linear fortifications, trenches and command posts. In general, siege complexes can be divided into two basic groups. The first group encompasses relatively large-sized areas enclosed with fortifications, which also make use of landscape configuration by intersecting a promontory in front of the besieged point, or the opposite promontory or terrace (Bechyně, Grabštejn, Nový Hrad u Kunratic, Stará Dubá or Velký Vřeštov). Siege complexes com-

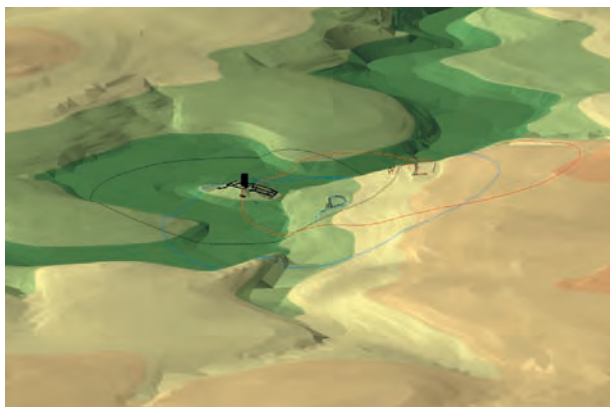


Fig. 21. Shooting distances up to 200 m from the platforms and castle walls (red – Platform 1; blue – Platform 2; black – shooting distance from the keep of the upper ward); (view from the southwest)

prise residential and utilitarian features or features associated with military activity, namely the shooting positions (Kypta, Richterová 2003, pp. 117–122; 2003a, pp. 37–40; 2004, pp. 285–290; Drobná 1953, pp. 197–200; Durdík 2006, p. 310, fig. 2; Durdík 1980, pp. 141–168; Durdík 1999a, pp. 4–17).

The second group includes siege complexes composed of a system of fortified posts or lines, terraces substituting a linear fortification with advantageous superelevation, forward shooting positions and a camp with utilitarian and residential features. The siege complex near Lopata Castle consists of a camp, linear fortification, fortress, and of forward shooting positions located ahead the proper camp of besiegers. The landscape configuration made it possible to clench the castle between two main linear fortification ramparts, in the forefield of which the shooting positions are situated. The northern line protects a camp established on the terrace. This group also comprises other siege complexes composed of loosely distributed fortified as well as unfortified features. A separated unipartite to tripartite fortified location can be supplemented in some cases with adjacent utilitarian and military features, among which we can identify shooting posts interpreted as catapult positions or fire trenches. Such a system is still supplemented with other unipartite to tripartite fortified posts or terraces with trenches or catapult positions, which close the siege ring around the locality (Cornštejn, Hus, Konopiště, Lichnice, Nový

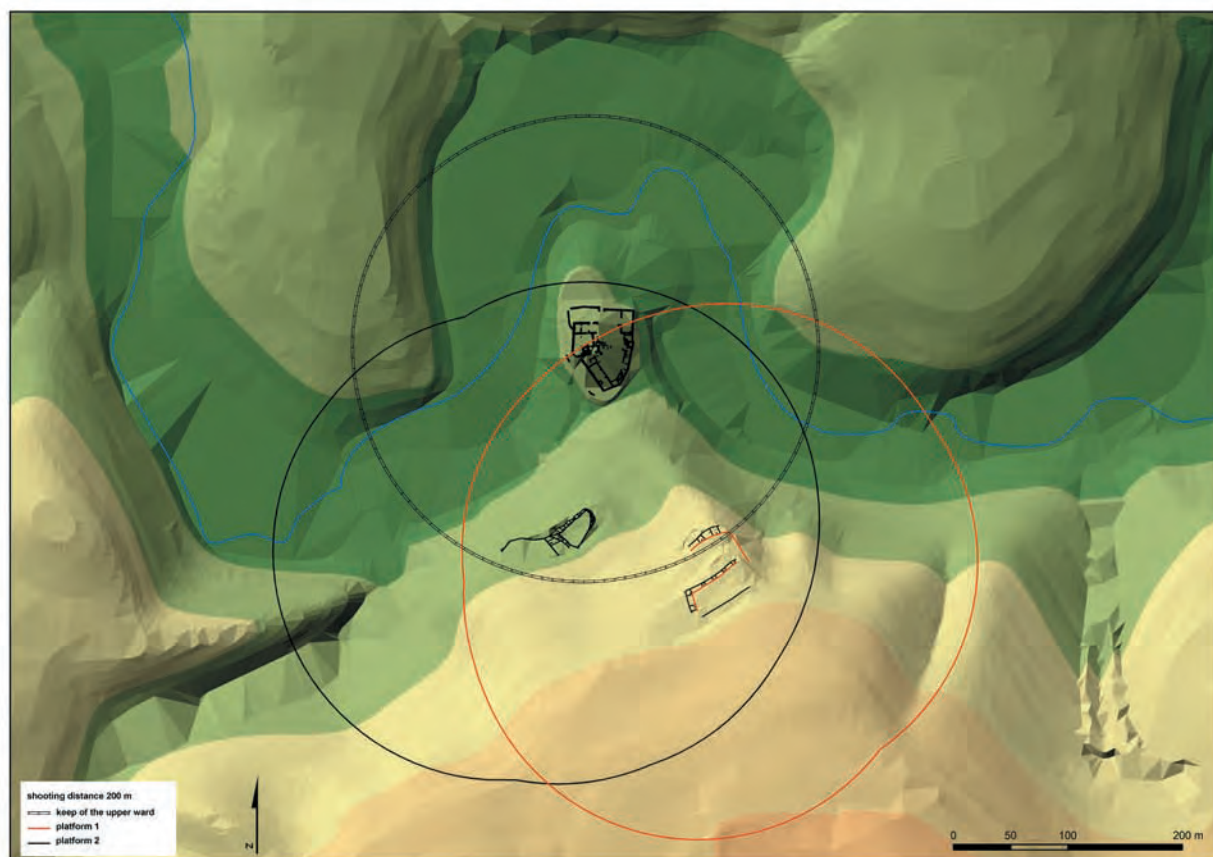


Fig. 22. Siege platforms on the northern hillside of Pavlice Hill, shooting distances up to 200 m from the platforms and from the keep of the upper ward

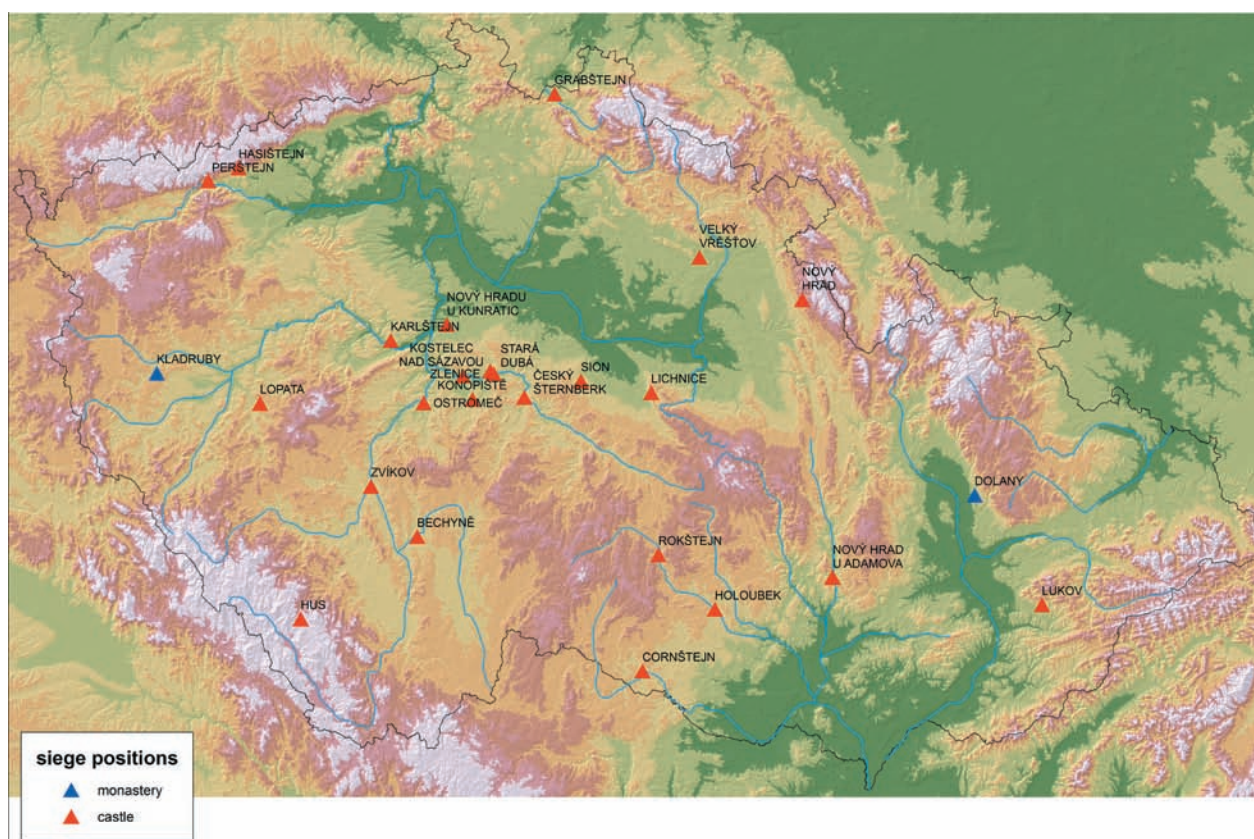


Fig. 23. Medieval siege positions detected in the Czech Republic

Hrad u Adamova, Sion, Zbořený Kostelec, Zvíkov); (Anderle, Procházka, Švábek 1993, pp. 131–136; Frolík 2002, pp. 399–408; Frölich 1991, pp. 155–160; Jánská 1963, p. 242; Jánská 1965, pp. 40–41; Konečný, Merta 1976, pp. 231–252; Konečný, Merta 1980, pp. 305–319; Kypta, Richterová 2004a, pp. 253–260; Meduna 1984, pp. 119–128; Meduna 1994, pp. 243–250; Měřinský, Plaček 1991, pp. 161–176; Teplý 2007, pp. 463–489); (Fig. 23).

Strewn platforms incised into the hillside occur in two forms: as a deliberately modified place for a siege engine sized about 100 m² or twice as much, or as a terrace with other detectable features inclusive of the above-mentioned smaller platforms or trenches as in Bechyně, Cornštejn or Nový Hrad u Adamova. Long terrace-like structures occur in the neighbourhood of Cornštejn or Nový Hrad u Adamova castles.

The dimensions of siege platforms at Rokštejn do not exceed in any way the dimensions of other similar relics documented in the neighbourhood of Bechyně, Cornštejn, Konopiště, Kostelec nad Sázavou, Lichnice, Nový Hrad u Adamova, Sion or Stará Dubá castles. The difference with Rokštejn platforms consists in only minimal evidence of earthen fortification, which was not necessary here due to the superel-

elevation above Rokštejn Castle and the possibility of launching projectiles on it (Fig. 24).

Metal detecting in the area of both platforms and the lower part of the hillside opposite the castle yielded a small collection of artefacts datable from the Late Middle Ages to present times. Among late medieval items are 6 arrowheads, a horseshoe fragment, buckles, finish hardware in the form of nails and other iron fragments. The 20th century is being associated with a coin collection and the evidence of tramping (tent pegs a. o.) (Fig. 25).

The position of the platforms in the hillside could refer to the first siege in the early 14th century using siege engines or to the other possible use in the final destruction of the castle. Comparing the composition of militaria in documented horizons of decline in the area of the castle indicates that the siege positions should be rather associated with the 15th century. Older forms of arrowheads were obtained mainly from the lower part of the hillside whereas the projectile points found in the area below the southeastern corner of Platform 2 are identical in form to those from the horizon of decline in the area of the castle (Fig. 11). The siege was associated with heavier forms of firearms documented by a non-stratified stone projectile, and with light firearms attested by

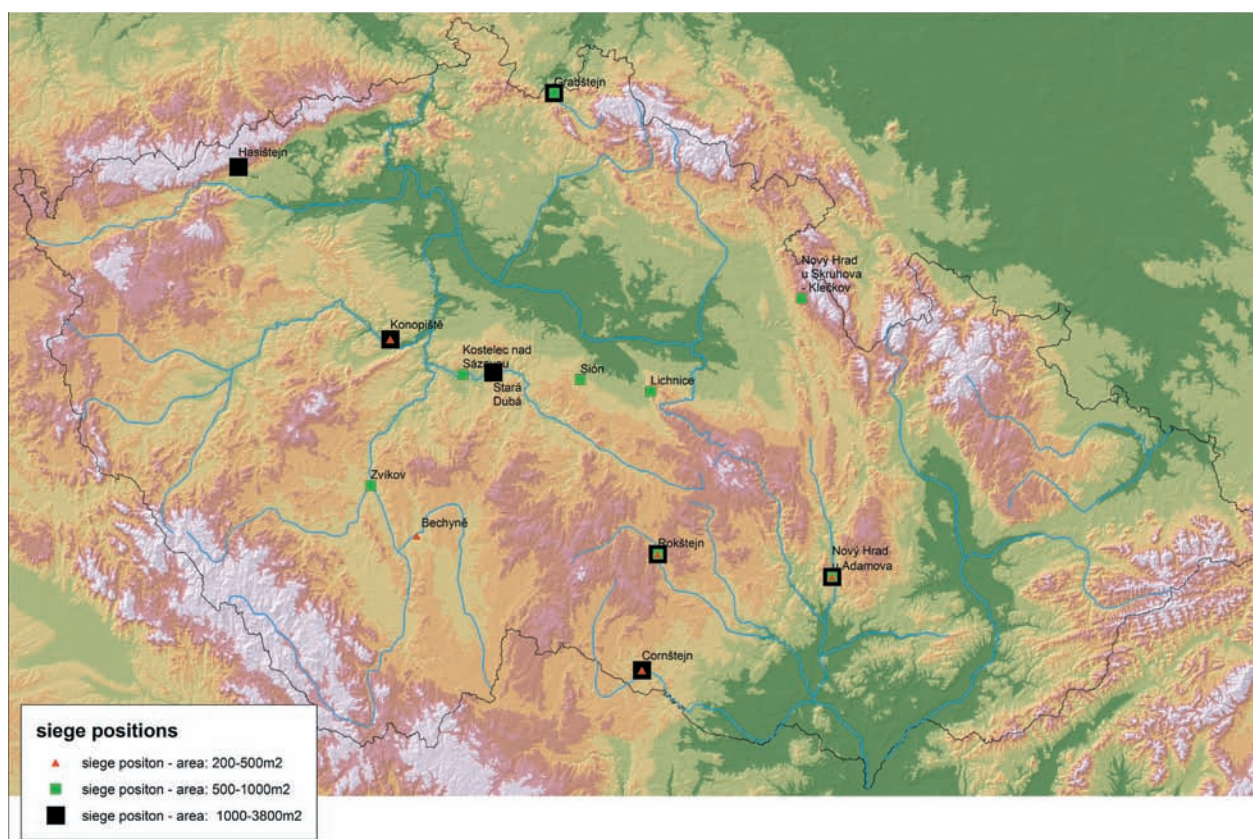


Fig. 24. Siege positions with an area of 200–3800 m²

metal cylindrical projectiles from the castle courtyard, which according to situations with siege complexes at Lopata or Zbořený Kostelec have supplemented the large forms of firearms inclusive of siege engines (Meduna 1984, pp. 122–125; Novobilský 2008, pp. 51, 61).

The interpretation of relics based on a comparison and graphic representation of siege positions was corroborated by terrain prospecting using a metal detector. The area examined with the detector was limited to the identified siege positions and the hillside below siege Facility 1 sloping down to the castle. Each recovered artefact was labelled and measured with a total station. Most of medieval artefacts rested under the forest litter, very few finds, above all arrowheads below siege Position 2, were found in the find-bearing layer in the maximum depth of 15 cm below the present-day surface. A concentration of artefacts was detected in the area of interest of both platforms, supporting the interpretation of anthropogenic activities from the Middle Ages to present times. The obtained assemblage comprised 103 find numbers. The primary evaluation involves mainly those artefacts which are datable to the Late Middle Ages and count among militaria, craft tools, personal equipment or finish hardware. In the assemblage we

can distinguish several groups of artefacts according to dating. The first large group comprises 49 find numbers with three subgroups including finds from the Late Middle Ages or those occurring from the late medieval period to modern or present times. This assemblage encompasses 30 artefacts datable to the Late Middle Ages, 8 artefacts datable from the Middle Ages to modern times and 14 find numbers assigned to items which are datable from the Late Middle Ages to present times. The last mentioned subgroup includes artefacts with long period of use, such as boot tips, wires, hooks or kettle mounts. Three find numbers belong to artefacts of modern and recent age and the remaining 51 find numbers represent items from the 19th and mainly 20th centuries. The recent assemblage was dominated by 19 coins dating mainly from the second half of the 20th century.

The artefacts were concentrated above all in the northeastern part of Platform 2 and below its north-eastern corner. Another concentration was found on the hillside directly opposite the southeastern corner of the castle. Fewest artefacts were found on the two-step Platform 1. It was mainly artefacts datable to present times or items of unaltered shape used from the Middle Ages to present times. However, some



Fig. 25. Concentration of medieval artefacts

nails were also found here, which can be dated to the Late Middle Ages. Late medieval items correspond to the overall density of artefacts (Fig. 25).

Among the artefacts were also 6 arrowheads or bolt heads⁴ (Tab. 5; fig. 23). Two arrowheads, shot out probably from the castle, were found below the northeastern corner of the western platform. Based on their traces inside the find-bearing layer these projectiles indicated possible direction of shots against the platform (Fig. 26, Nos.: 060, 058). Other projectiles were concentrated on a slope crest opposite to castle wall, at the same height level as the wall. These were typologically older projectile points, most probably arrowheads, datable to the course of the 13th–14th centuries (Fig. 26, Nos.: 087, 093).

The obtained militaria are associable only with Platform 2. Similar evidence is missing in the step-like Platform 1 where only nails were recovered, formally assignable already to the Late Middle Ages.

⁴ Typological determination of arrowheads or bolt heads was modified after Krejsová 2004, tab. I-II (the categories left out: body/socket ratio, socket diameter, body/neck ratio, neck shape).

The first horizon of decline represents only fragments of preserved contexts disturbed by later activities in the area of the castle. A small assemblage of militaria is supplemented with fragments of human bones, which can perhaps be interpreted as killed defenders of the castle. The second horizon of decline of the castle bears evidence of partial depletion of the locality mainly in the upper and lower palace and in the structure adjacent to the northern wall of the lower palace. Militaria remained above all in the area of the courtyard of the lower ward, in the burnt down timber construction at the entrance into the upper ward.

Tab. 4: Variability of arrowheads from the neighbourhood of Rokštejn Castle.

Inventory number	Type
Rokštejn OP 003	B-II-1-a-2
Rokštejn OP 058	A-II-1-a-3
Rokštejn OP 060	A-III-2-a-2
Rokštejn OP 087	B-III-1-a-1
Rokštejn OP 093	B-III-5- -2
Rokštejn OP 098	A-IVa-4-b-1

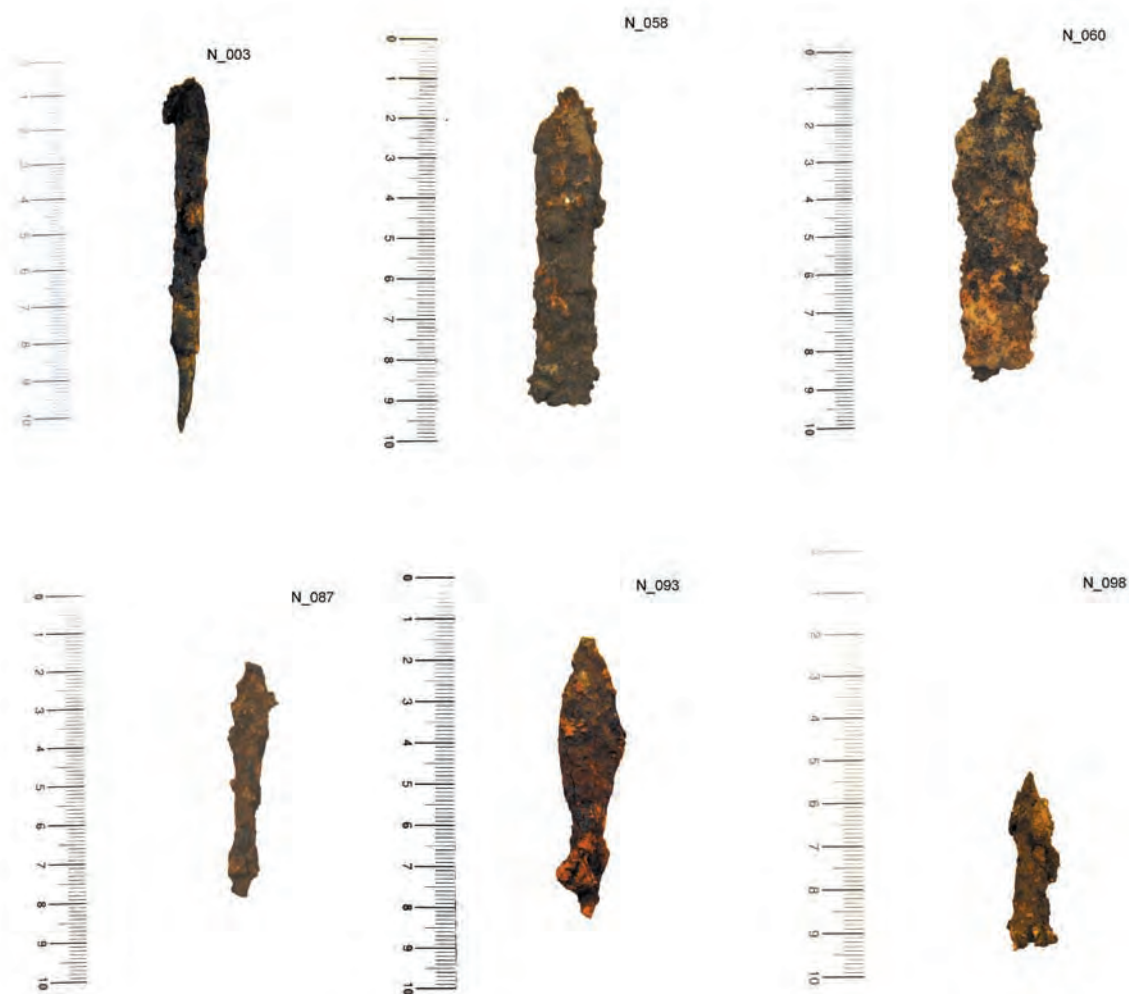


Fig. 26. N_003: projectile point from the northeastern part of Platform 2; N_058, N_060: arrowheads from below the northeastern corner of the western siege position; N_087, N_090, N_098: arrowheads from a slope crest opposite the castle wall

Anthropogenic relics on the northern hillside above Rokštejn Castle can be interpreted as siege positions. With the help of 3D modelling we can point out their location towards the castle and set up the shooting range of other hypothetically places suitable for the build-up of siege facilities. Terrain modification and levelling of the area are similar to those at Kostelec nad Sázavou and Lopata castles, to shooting lines opposite the Bechyně, Velký Vřešťov or Zvíkov castles, or to terraces near Cornštejn or Nový Hrad u

Adamova castles. The construction elements make use of sloping terrain and are formed into terraces for docking a catapult or firearms. Characteristic components of the above-mentioned siege relics are sometimes trenches, which were not identified in siege facilities at Rokštejn. Fortification elements in the examined siege facilities were built of timber and earth. A very low rampart is documented in the eastern section of siege Position 2.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ABBREVIATIONS

- AKČ – Archiv Koruny české (Archive of the Bohemian Crown)
 AČ – Archiv český (Czech Archive)
 CDB – Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris regni Bohemiae
 CDM – Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Moraviae
 FRB – Fontes rerum Bohemicarum
 LCS – Libri citationum et sententiarum
 MGH SRG NS – Monumenta Germaniae Historica Nova series
 RBM – Regesta diplomatica nec non epistolaria Bohemiae et Moraviae
 Regesten – Regesten der Archive im Markgrafthume Mähren
 RTT – Reliquiae tabularum terrae
 ZDb – Zemské desky brněnské (Land Tablets of Brno)

PUBLISHED SOURCES

AČ:

ed. F. Hoffmann

- 2001 Archiv Český čili staré písemné památky české a moravské, XXXVIII. Praha.

ed. F. Hoffmann

- 2004 Archiv Český čili staré písemné památky české a moravské, XL/1. Praha.

ed. J. Kalousek

- 1840 Archiv Český čili staré písemné památky české a moravské, VII. Praha.

ed. J. Kalousek

- 1889 Archiv Český čili staré písemné památky české a moravské, IX. Praha.

ed. J. Kalousek

- 1890 Archiv Český čili staré písemné památky české a moravské X. Praha.

ed. J. Kalousek

- 1892 Archiv Český čili staré písemné památky české a moravské, XI. Praha.

ed. J. Kalousek

- 1895 Archiv Český čili staré písemné památky české a moravské, XIV. Praha.

ed. F. Palacký

- 1844 Archiv Český čili staré písemné památky české a moravské, III. Praha.

AKČ:

ed. A. Haas

- 1947 Archiv Koruny české, V. Katalog listin z let 1378–1437. Praha.

CDB:

ed. G. Friedrich

- 1912 Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris regni Bohemiae, II. Pragae.

CDM:

ed. A. Boček

- 1839 Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Moraviae, II. Olmucii.

eds. A. Boček, J. Chytil

- 1850 Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Moraviae, V. Brunae.

ed. V. Brandl

- 1875 Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Moraviae, IX. Brünn.

ed. V. Brandl

- 1878 Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Moraviae, X. Brünn.

ed. J. Chytil

- 1854 Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Moraviae, VI. Brünn.

ed. J. Chytil

- 1858 Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Moraviae, VII/1. Brünn.

ed. J. Chytil

- 1860 Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Moraviae, VII/2. Brünn.

FRB:

ed. J. Emler

- 1884 Fontes rerum Bohemicarum, IV. Praha.

LCS:

ed. V. Brandl

- 1873 Libri citationum et sententiarum. Knihy půhonné a nálezové, II. Brunae.

ed. V. Brandl

- 1878 Libri citationum et sententiarum. Knihy půhonné a nálezové, III/1. Brunae.

ed. V. Brandl

- 1880 Libri citationum et sententiarum. Knihy půhonné a nálezové, III/2. Brunae.

ed. V. Brandl

- 1881 Libri citationum et sententiarum. Knihy půhonné a nálezové, IV/1,2. Brunae.

MGH SRG NS:

ed. B. Bretholz unter Mitarbeit v. W. Weinberger

- 1923 Cosmae Pragensis Chronica Boemorum, I-II. MGH SRG NS II. Berlin.

PKPR:

ed. A. Kalný

- 1993 Popravčí kniha pánů z Rožmberka. Třeboň.

RBM:

ed. J. Emler

- 1882 Regesta diplomatica nec non epistolaria Bohemiae et Moraviae, II. Pragae.

ed. J. Emler

- 1890 Regesta diplomatica nec non epistolaria Bohemiae et Moraviae, III. Pragae.

ed. B. Mendl, M. Linhartová

- 1954 Regesta diplomatica nec non epistolaria Bohemiae et Moraviae, VII/1. Praha.

Regesten:

ed. P. Chlumecký

- 1856 Regesten der Archive im Markgrafthume Mähren, I. Brünn.

RI:

ed. J. F. Böhmer

- 1898 Regesta Imperii, VI. Die Regesten des Kaiserreiches unter Rudolf, Adolf, Albrecht, Heinrich VII. 1273–1313. Innsbruck.

RTT:

ed. J. Emler

- 1870 Reliquiae tabularum terrae regni Bohemiae, I. Pozůstatky desek zemských království českého r. 1541 pohořelých. Praha.

ZDb:

eds. P. Chlumecký, J. Chytil, C. Demuth, A. R. Wolfskron
1856 Die Landtafel des Markgrathums Mähren. Brüner
Cuda. Brünn.

Others:

ed. Šusta J.

1909 Purkrabské účty panství Novohradského z let 1390–
1391. Praha.

Internet sources:

http://www.monasterium.net/pics/SOAT/SOAT-Historica-Trebon_14500618_1459-b_r.jpg

SCHOLARSHIP

Anderle J., Procházka Z., Švábek V.

1993 *Hrad Hus a jeho obležení*, Castellologica Bohemica,
Vol. 3, pp. 131–136.

Bobková L.

2003 *Velké dějiny země Koruny české, díl IVa: 1210–1402*,
Praha.

Burgess E. M.

1957 *The mail shirt from Sinigaglia*, The Antiquaries
Journal, Vol. 37/3–4, pp. 199–205.

Dębska-Luty K.

1972 *Badania wykopaliskowe w Poznaniu na posesji przy
ul. Szewskiej 6, w roku 1960*, Fontes Archaeologici
Poznaniensis, Vol. 22, pp. 144–167.

Drobná Z.

1953 *Husitský tábor u Kunratic*, Historie a vojenství, Vol.
2, pp. 197–200.

Durdík T.

1972 *K problematice středověkých šipek v Československu*,
Zpravodaj klubu vojenské historie, Vol. 2, pp. 4–6,
Vol. 3, pp. 5–9.

1976 *Nálezy z hradu Týřova I. Katalog starších sbírek
(text)*, Zprávy ČSSA, Vol. 18, pp. 3–6.

1980 *Povrchový průzkum zaniklého středověkého kom-
plexu Stará Dubá*, Sborník vlastivědných prací
Podblanicka, Vol. 21, pp. 141–168.

1983 *Středověké zbraně. Sbirka okresního muzea v Chru-
dimi*, Historická řada, Vol. 2/2, Chrudim.

1999 *Ilustrovaná encyklopedie českých hradů*, Praha.

1999a *Zaniklý sídlištní komplex Stará Dubá. Sázavsko*, Vol.
6, pp. 4–17.

2006 *Zum derzeitigen Stand der Studien zu Belagerungs-
swerken vor böhmischen Burgen*, (in:) O. Wagoner,
H. Lass, (eds.), ...wurfe hin in steine/gröze und niht
kleine... *Belagerung und Belagerungsanlagen im
Mittelalter*, Beihefte zur Mediävistik, Vol. 7, Frank-
furt am Main – Berlin – Bern – Bruxelles – New York
– Oxford – Wien, pp. 305–326.

Fišer R.

2001 *Kláster urostřed lesa*, Brno.

Frolík J.

2002 *Nálezy z obléhání hradu Lichnice v letech 1428–1429*,
Castellologica Bohemica, Vol. 8, pp. 399–408.

Frölich J.

1991 *Středověká opevnění kolem hradu Zvíkova*, Castello-
gica Bohemica, Vol. 2, pp. 155–160.

Grandin L.

2008 *Ringar Från En Ringväv. Metallografisk Och Kemisk
Analys. Gotland, Tofta Socken, Tofta Kyrka. UV
Uppsala Rapport 2008:22 Geoarkeologisk Undersö-
kning*, [http://www.arkeologiuv.se/publikationer/rap-
porter/gal/2008/ru2008_22_gal.pdf](http://www.arkeologiuv.se/publikationer/rapporter/gal/2008/ru2008_22_gal.pdf)

Grzywaczyk T., Pawlicka L., Perzyńska M., Żak, J.

1962 *Z badań wykopaliskowych nad osadą św. Gotharda
w Poznaniu w 1960 roku*, Sprawozdania Archeolo-
giczne, Vol. 16, pp. 184–196.

Hoffmann A. K.

1925 *Městys Brtnice na Mora, Brtnice*.

Hoffmann F.

1961 *Jihlava v husitské revoluci*, Havlíčkův Brod.

1986 *Bojové družiny před husitskou revolucí na západní
Moravě*, Moravský historický sborník, Vol. 1, pp.
72–88.

1987 *Bojové družiny před husitskou revolucí ve východních
Čechách*, Československý časopis historický, Vol.
35, pp. 75–104.

Hoffmann F., Křesadlo K.

1971 *Městská správa Jihlava. Inventář. Sv. I. Listiny (1240)
1269–1900 (1929)*, Jihlava.

Hosák L.

1952 *Středověká kolonisace horního poříčí Jihlavy*,
Časopis společnosti přátel starožitností, Vol. 60, pp.
142–153.

Jan L.

2000 *Vznik zemského soudu a správa Moravy ve středověku*,
Brno.

Jánská E.

1963 *Archeologický výzkum hradu Sión*, Archeologické
rozhledy, Vol. 15, pp. 224–247.

1965 *Hrad Jana Roháče z Dubé Sión*, Sborník Oblastního
muzea v Kutné Hoře, řada A – historická, Vol. 67,
pp. 5–72.

Konečný L., Merta J.

1976 *Zjišťovací průzkum středověkých fortifikací v okolí
Nového hradu u Adamova*, Archeologia Historica,
Vol. 1, pp. 231–252.

1980 *Pokračování průzkumu středověkých opevnění kolem
Nového hradu u Adamova*, Archeologia Historica,
Vol. 5, pp. 305–319.

Kotowicz P. N., Muzyczuk A.

2008 *Militaria średniowieczne z Królewskiego Miasta
Krosna*, Acta Militaria Mediaevalia, Vol. 4, pp.
125–166.

Kowalczyk M.

1986 *Raciąż – średniowieczny gród kasztelania na Po-
morzu w świetle źródeł archeologicznych i pisanych*,
Archeologia Baltica, Vol. 6, Łódź.

Krajč R., Mořkovský T.

2005 *Nález lidských pozůstatků na tábořském hradě*, (in:)
V. Hašek, R. Nekuda, M. Ruttkay (eds.), *Ve službách
archeologie*, Vol. 6, Brno, pp. 397–416.

Krejsová J.

2004 *Střelné zbraně z hradu Rokštejna. Brno. Ústav arche-
ologie a muzeologie Filozofické fakulty Masarykovy
univerzity*, unpublished MA thesis

2007 *Dochované fragmenty tesáků z hradu Rokštejna*,
Archeologické výzkumy na Vysočině, Vol. 1, pp.
267–276.

2007a *Nastříhnuté hroty šípů z hradu Rokštejn*, Sborník
prací filozofické fakulty brněnské univerzity 2005–
2006, Vol. M10–11, pp. 162–169.

Kypta J., Richterová J.

2002 *K metodice studia pozdně středověkých zemních
fortifikací*, Hláška, Vol. 13/4, pp. 54–56.

2003 *Tábor obláhatelů z dob husitských válek u Bechyně*,
Dějiny staveb, pp. 117–122.

- 2003a *Tábor obláhatelů u hradu Velkého Vřeštov*, Hláška, Vol. 14/3, pp. 37–40.
- 2004 *Opevnění postavení obláhatelů hradu Grabštejna*, Castellologica Bohemica, Vol. 9, pp. 285–290.
- 2004a *Příspěvek k interpretaci reliktů obláhatelů prací u hradu Zvíkova*, Archeologické výzkumy v jižních Čechách, Vol. 7, pp. 253–260.
- Kühn F.
1977 *Obilí z hradu Rokštejna*, Přehled výzkumů 1975, pp. 93–94.
- Küntzel T.
2006 *Belagerungsburgen in Niedersachsen*, (in:) O. Wagener, H. Lass (eds.), ...wurfe hin in steine/größe und niht kleine... *Belagerung und Belagerungsnalagen in Mittelalter*, Beihefte zur Mediävistik, Vol. 7. Frankfurt am Main – Berlin – Bern – Bruxelles – New York – Oxford – Wien, pp. 327–360.
- Kušnier J.
2006 *Z badań nad militarnym znaczeniem Gródka nad Bugiem (Wołynia) we wczesnym średniowieczu*, Acta Militaria Mediaevalia, Vol. 2, pp. 79–102.
- Łaszkiewicz T., Michalak A.
2007 *Broń i oporządzenie jeździeckie z badań i nadzorów archeologicznych na terenie Międzyrzecza*, Acta Militaria Mediaevalia, Vol. 3, pp. 99–176.
- Meduna P.
1984 *Pozůstatky středověké militární činnosti u hradu Kostelce nad Sázkou*, Sborník vlastivědných prací Podblanicka, Vol. 25, pp. 119–128.
- 1994 *Povrchový průzkum komplexu obláhatelů prací u Konopiště z let 1467–1468*, Castellologica Bohemica, Vol. 4, pp. 243–250.
- Měřinský Z.
1988 *Brtnice a okolí od poloviny 13. století do válek husitských*, (in:) Janák, J. (ed.), Dějiny Brtnice a připojených obcí, Brno, pp. 51–99.
- 1991 *Hrad Rokštejn a jeho úloha v předhusitském a husitském období*, (in:) Z. Měřinský, (ed.), Sborník příspěvků k 555. výročí vyhlášení basilejských kompaktát v Jihlavě 1436–1991, Brno-Jihlava, pp. 65–82.
- 2007 *Hrad Rokštejn. Dějiny, stavební vývoj a výsledky čtvrtstoletí archeologického výzkumu 1981–2006*, Brtnice-Brno.
- Měřinský Z., Plaček M.
1989 *Rokštejn, středověký hrad na Jihlavsku (jeho dějiny, stavební vývoj a výsledky archeologického výzkumu 1981–1989)*, Brno-Brtnice.
- 1991 *Terénní pozůstatky fortifikačních systémů v předpolí hradu Cornštejna*, Castellologica Bohemica, Vol. 2, pp. 161–176.
- Mezník J.
1999 *Lucemburská Morava 1310–1423*, Praha.
- Nadolski A., Grabarczyk E.
1985 *Militaria z grodziska w Plemiętach. Uzbrojenie ochronne*, (in:) A. Nadolski (ed.), Plemięta. Średniowieczny gródek w ziemi Chełmińskiej, Warszawa-Poznań-Toruń, pp. 85–98.
- Neumann A.
1930 *Nové prameny k dějinám husitství na Moravě*, Studie a texty, Vol. 6. Olomouc.
- Novobilský M.
2008 *Obléhání hradu Lopaty. Rekonstrukce obléhání hradu z roku 1432–1433*, Plzeň.
- Obšusta P.
2008 *Historie hradu Ungersberg neboli Sádek na Lebsku*, Vlastivědný věstník moravský, Vol. 60, pp. 66–81.
- Pátek J. A.
1887 *Brtnice trhov a zboží brtnické*, Velké Meziříčí.
- Pieta K.
2006 *Hradiská Bojná II a Bojná III. Významné sídlo z doby stáholovania národov a opevnenia 9. storočia*, (in:) K. Pieta, A. Ruttkay, M. Ruttkay (eds.), Bojná. Hospodárske a politické centrum Nitrianskeho kniežatstva, Nitra, pp. 173–190.
- Pleiner R.
2002 *Metalografický výzkum velkomoravské kroužkové zbroje z Břeclavi-Pohanska*, Sborník prací filozofické fakulty brněnské univerzity, Vol. M 7, pp. 77–80.
- Roblíčková M.
2004 *Analýza osteologického materiálu*, (in:) P. Vršek (ed.), Hospodářské komory hradu Rokštejna, Brno, pp. 97–104.
- Sawicki T.
2003 *Katalog wystawy*, (in:) T. Sawicki (ed.), Oręż wieków minionych. Uzbrojenie na ziemiach polskich od X do początku XIX wieku, Gniezno, pp. 32–96.
- Sedláček A.
1906 *Z Valdštejna*, (in:) Ottův slovník naučný, Vol. 26, pp. 335–338.
- 2000 *Hrady, zámky a tvrze Království českého*. Praha. CD-ROM. Praha.
- Scott R.
1997 *Ring mail – breaking the chain*, <http://www.vikingsonline.org.uk/resources/authenticity/chainmail/index.htm>
- Schránil J.
1934 *O zbroji sv. Václava*, (in:) Svatováclavský sborník. Národní výbor pro oslavu svatováclavského tisíciletí, Praha, pp. 159–172.
- Schwab E.
1941 *Iglauer Wehrwesen im Mittelalter*, Zeitschrift des Deutschen Vereins für die Geschichte Mährens und Schlesiens, Vol. 43, pp. 109–122.
- Sojka J.
1940 *Rokštyň. Z historie Horácka*, Kamenice u Jihlavy.
- Šebánek J.
1933 *Listiny přibyslavické. Rekonstrukce a kritika*, Časopis matice moravské, Vol. 57, pp. 1–58.
- Šimčík P.
2007 *Fragmenty kroužkové zbroje z lokalit Smolenice – Molpír a dolné Orešany – poloha Železník*, Zborník Slovenského Národného múzea, Vol. CI, (= Archeológia, No. 17), pp. 175–188.
- Šimčík P., Pupala M.
2005 *Kroužková košel' z hradu Sklabiňa*, Zborník Slovenského Národného múzea, Vol. 99, (= Archeológia, No. 15), pp. 93–102.
- Šimůnek R.
2002 *Hradní inventář jako typ písemnosti a možnosti jeho badatelského využití (na příkladu inventářů rožmberských hradů ca. 1450–1470)*, Husitský Tábor, Vol. 13, pp. 229–253.
- Šmahel F.
2001 *Husitské Čechy: struktury, procesy, ideje*, Praha.
- Šusta J.

- 1935 *České dějiny*, díl III/1: *Soumrak Přemyslovců a jejich dědictví*, Praha.
- Teplý J.
2007 *Obležení hradu Lichnice 1428–1429. Dnešní stav stop po obléhacím okruhu*, (in:) M. Drda, Z. Vybíral (eds.), Jan Žižka z Trocnova a husitské vojenství v evropských dějinách. VI. mezinárodní husitologické sympozium, Tábor 12.–14. října 2004. Husitský Tábor, Supplementum 3, pp. 463–489.
- Tymonová M.
1996 *Nález dvou koster na hradě Sovinci (okr. Bruntál)*, Střední Morava, Vol. 2, pp. 98–100.
- Unger J.
1999 *Život na lelekovickém hradě ve 14. století*, Brno.
- 2006 *Pohřební ritus 1. až 20. století v Evropě z antropologicko-archeologické perspektivy*, Panoráma biologické a sociokulturní antropologie, Vol. 25. Brno.
- Urbánek R.
1940 *K historii husitské Moravy*, Časopis matice moravské, Vol. 63–64, pp. 229–314.
- Válka J.
1991 *Dějiny Moravy I. Středověká Morava*, Brno.
- 2005 *Husitství na Moravě. Náboženská snášenlivost. Jan Ámos Komenský*, Brno.
- Večeřa J.
1893 *Zříceniny hradu Rokštyna. Topograficko-historický náčrt*, Lhota – Přerov.
- Young S. J.
2000 *The Excavation at Carisbrook castle, Isle of Wight 1921–1996*, Wessex Archaeology Report, Vol. 18.
- Zaoralová M.
1988 *Od husitství k Bílé hoře (Brtnice v majetku Brtnických Valdštejnů)*, (in:) J. Janák (ed.), Dějiny Brtnice a připojených obcí. Brno, pp. 101–132.

Jana Mazáčková, MA
Masaryk University
Faculty of Arts
Department of Archaeology and Museology
1 A. Nováka St.
CZ 602 00 Brno
jkrejsov@phil.muni.cz