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19

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II. THE ORIGINS OF PRE-INCORPORATION PROTO-URBAN CENTRES IN EAST CENTRAL EUROPE

Städte schießen wie Pilze aus dem Boden
(Carl Haase 1978, 77)

1. THE DEFINITION OF A MEDIEVAL TOWN

Due to the importance of urbanisation and of the prosperity of towns for the progress of civilization at large as stressed earlier, emotional identification with towns may at times be more pronounced on the peripheries of medieval Europe where the urbanization processes unfolded more slowly and less intensively. Apparently, this is true not only of the early inhabitants of these towns, but of their modern day investigators too. This is reflected by the discussion on the definition of a town, long in progress in Central Europe and East Central Europe in particular.

The key difficulty in defining the concept of a town is the marked variability of the phenomenon in time and space. It evolved across several millennia adjusting to changing economic, demographic, legal-political and natural circumstances. Due to this, we cannot hope to present a universal, generally accepted definition of a town. Some experienced urban researchers, such as Edith Ennen (1953, 10), deliberately choose not to address this question. Others, like Marek Słoń in his recent book on the new towns of Central Europe, have concluded that the discussion about the definition of a town is unproductive. After all, everyone can see what a town is like (Słoń 2010, 7–16). Nevertheless, in a study addressing the origins of urbanisation some reflection on the material scope of the object of analysis is necessary.

In modern research practice many criteria have been used to draw a distinction between towns and other centres of settlement, namely legal status, an urban type of economy, a complex social structure, a religious-ideological function, the presence of 'urban' buildings and fortifications. The feature recognized as obligatory for a town from the earliest age, even the Middle Ages, was the defensive wall, which also served legal and ideological functions and marked the boundary with the surrounding outer area. In addition, there is no doubt that urban space is one that is singled out in a positive way. There are hints to this effect in the 14th-century German law book Sachsenspiegel (cf. Isenmann 1988, 20) and three centuries later, in the Universal Lexicon of Johann Heinrich Zedler (Universallexikon 1774, 769). In most of Europe – the Mediterranean, the northwest, including Great Britain, and in Germany, this criterion is indeed a significant piece of information. However, what are we to do about East Central Europe, and more specifically, modern Polish territory? Here, a good many towns did not have fortifications, or these were built with a delay of up to 200–300 years after the time of incorporation (Widawski 1973, 1977; Samsonowicz 1986, 93). Economic potential, but also the peculiar political situation, did not favour defensive measures in urban projects.

A central feature of a town, one emphasized by all the researchers, is a crafts-and-market economy (cf. e.g. Strahm 1950, 372; Stoob 1956/1970, 20; Irsigler 1983, 84). To claim that a town depends for its existence on the results of an agrarian economy pursued in its hinterland is to strongly underscore this criterion, but at the same time, to simplify the problem (Sombart 1907, 93). In the light of a more recent approach, the nature of urban economy is a corollary of the social division of labour into crafts

and commerce on the one hand, and agriculture on the other. Urban markets and the food-producing countryside were mutually complementary, the process of urbanization largely the result of surplus food production (Krüger 1991, 191; Engel 1995, 10). Let us add that this does not rule out there being some agricultural activity within a town. Urban centres with a purely commerce-and-crafts character were something of an exception. For a dozen-odd percent of late medieval towns on German territory agriculture was the mainstay of livelihood and about ¾ of the population were involved, to a limited extent, in crop cultivation and animal husbandry (Isenmann 1988, 22). In Poland, the percentage was higher (Samsonowicz 2002, 13–14). The borderline between the agrarian and non-agrarian economy was hazy, especially in smaller towns. We have to note that some townspeople, who farmed land, so long as they engaged to some extent in commerce or in non-agricultural production, also fulfilled urban functions (Haase 1978, 70–71; Goliński 1991, 172). We do not know the extent of crop farming or animal husbandry during the early phases of town development. Nevertheless, the presence, discovered in the course of archaeological fieldwork, of a cultural deposit containing a significant percentage of manure, leaves no doubt that the breeding and selling of livestock, or at least the keeping it for a time inside a town were common practices.

Another feature of a town is its unique social differentiation. This is manifested by growing professional specialization and the resulting economic stratification. In some urban centres, a number of town communes functioned side by side, at times with an ethnically different makeup (Goehrke 1980, 196; Irsigler 1983, 84; Młynarska-Kaletynowa 1986, 51–67; Ennen 1988, 638). According to Fernand Braudel (1979/1992, 408–409) a large town could function only if it had a steady inflow of people from the outside, who were for the most part, poor and lacking professional training, to form is plebeian stratum. Nevertheless, there were also communities where the dominant role was played by a single professional group, for example, miners' towns (Schwabenicky 1993; Hrubý 2011).

The next criterion distinguishing medieval towns is legal regulation. In Central Europe, town law was formed in the period of the 12th–13th century in many variants, the most important of them associated with Freiburg am Breisgau, Nuremberg, Brunswick, Lüneburg, Dortmund and Aachen. For East Central Europe the town laws of Lübeck and Magdeburg were of particular importance. Town rights were granted by the landowner to an existing or an emerging town. They regulated ownership of the land, buildings and the personal freedom of the townspeople. They included market privileges, the organization of commerce and penal law, complete with its implementation (Isenmann 1988, 78, with references; Engel 1993, 38–54). They regulated the relationship not only between the town's lord and the commune, but also between the town and the surrounding area. Their main element – regulation of payments for the land granted to the commune and from the specifically organized economic activity, had an impact on the regulation of urban space. These payments became the basis for planning the town and its inner divisions. The legally regulated burgage plot was adopted as a basic unit in calculating one of the main town taxes (Schich 1993; Goliński 1997, 289–309; Piekalski 2001, 230–238). Contracts between the lord of the town and the commune could be renewed and changed, even in specific matters. As they prospered economically, larger towns tended to obtain greater political freedom and military competences. The town law belongs among the key criteria of urban status. However, to recognize it as critical and necessary would be to exclude from the category of urban places all other communities that meet the rest of the criteria obligatory for urban status (Steuer 1995, 89–90; Gawlas 2000, 26–37). Occasionally, it is also problematic to distinguish town rights from village rights in East Central Europe as granted by an act of incorporation. The charter does not always specify whether it relates to a town or to a village organized according to German law. Such a village was given a separate juridical district and the right to land in exchange for rent (Zientara 1976, 88; Piskorski 1990/1991, 156–186). To invoke the now classical theory of Max Weber (1920/21) we may conclude that the criterion of legal regulation does distinguish a key stage in the history of development of towns, but not of a town in general. Indeed, it emphasizes the phenomenon in the history of urbanisation such as the towns of western and central Europe of the High and Late Middle Ages and of the modern age.

A town fulfils a religious function that is regulated by the Church. Relations with the Church are there in every stage of the development of medieval towns. The presence of one or more churches in a town was the rule. Only some mining communities or newly founded towns were without a religious edifice of their own and used, for a time, the one in a castle or in the neighbouring village. Ecclesiastical organization in a town was closely allied with the process of its formation and growth. It is often a reflection of the

territorial and social polycentrism of towns, not only at the early stage of their development (cf. Blaschke 1987). Not infrequently, the dating of churches confirms the early development of a town, earlier than the legal regulation of the municipal commune. Developmental stages of a town may be reflected in the network of monasteries within it or in its immediate vicinity (Steuer 1995, 96; Piekalski 2002). Regarding the elements that are useful in confirming urban status we have to note that only serving a religious function is not enough to identify a town and set it apart from other settlement structures. This criterion becomes significant only when the church is one with a higher status and dominates in the religious organization of the area, in keeping with the theory of central places (Cristaller 1933; Meynen 1979). In a town of the High and Late Middle Ages all becomes clear – the parish church is the key factor unifying a municipal commune.

An essential criterion in separating a town from other settlement structures is distinctive spatial organization. A town is supposed to be a settlement centre with a major cluster of buildings in an orderly arrangement (Irsigler 1983, 84). In this context, several ideal models of urban topography are usually invoked. One of them refers to an idealized plan of Jerusalem. It was to have been circular, its perimeter wall with 24 evenly spaced towers, a regular street plan, or some such similar variant (Junghanns 1959, 79; Borst 1983, 195). Plans of this type were not put into effect in medieval Europe; the built environment of towns that did come to exist in the historical reality was born of a compromise in their development between actual economic, legal and geographical conditions. In fact, the criterion of a deliberately planned or outright, regular built environment of a town, used as proof of urban status, may be highly misleading. For there are towns which took shape as a result of their own multiphase development, their street plan irregular, and then again, there are communities set up a novo, in cruda radice (on a site previously never under any form of development), their plan regular but with reduced urban functions, or an outright agricultural economy (Kiryk 1980; Stephan 1997). In proto-urban communities, the criterion of regular planning has no application although the problem of the design of their sacred space is still discussed (Michałowski 1993; Manikowska 2000; Słoń 2002, 135). What is certain however is that the arrangement of buildings and of communication routes in between was orderly.

There should be special buildings in an urban space that are not seen in other categories of settlement namely, townhouses, permanent commercial facilities, or town halls that we would not find on a castle or a monastic site (Steuer 2004, 41). As Edith Ennen noted (1988, 637–638) such houses, relatively expensive to build and furnish, are supposed to guarantee a suitable level of living conditions.

The criteria named here are not the only ones we find in the rich literature on the subject but they became the basis of a discussion aimed, not so much on formulating an unequivocal definition, as on differentiating urban places from centres that do not meet the conditions in a satisfactory manner and remain outside the category of towns. In the view of Carl Haase, not all of these criteria need to be fulfilled by a town, and none of them is absolutely obligatory. This is because their selection depends on the time and space in which a given town was functioning (Haase 1978, 79–81). A similar conclusion was reached independently by Martin Biddle in his study of the towns of medieval England. He noted that urban functions were more pronounced if a larger number of criteria of the 12 named by him were applicable in a given centre. Martin Biddle proposed, subjectively, that 3–4 criteria were the required number and in this way suggested there is continuity of urban life in England from the Roman age through to the Middle Ages (Biddle 1976, 99–100). Different sets of criteria are not useful so much for defining the concept of a town as for distinguishing and describing their individual types. Thus, according to the definitions based on legal and topographical criteria (e.g. Below 1887–1888; Strahm 1950; Kroeschell 1985, 12), towns have existed in Central Europe since the 12th century. They were characterized by the following: a crafts-and-market economy, the presence of a municipal commune governed by its own council who administered municipal finances, marked social and professional stratification, regularly arranged buildings centred on a marketplace, fortifications defining the boundaries of the town, developed ideological functions and art. Centres of this sort have been described as fully evolved, municipal, incorporated towns in a legal sense, or as towns of western European type (e.g. Planitz 1954; Stoob 1956/1970, 15, 1970, 6; Irsigler 1983, 84; Haase 1976; Ennen 1987).

The second group of definitions, ones that place emphasis on economic and social criteria, highlights the richness of town forms. Using these, we should assign miscellaneous communities that evolved over several millennia in Asia, Africa, Europe and the New World to the category of town. In the case of Central Europe, these would be the early medieval settlement

structures. Their main features are an economy based on production and commerce, the presence of central political-administrative foci, military functions and religious ones (e.g. Sombart 1907; Tymieniecki 1919; Weber 1920/1921; Junghanns 1959; Hensel 1963; Leciejewicz 1968, 1989; Jankuhn, Schlesinger and Steuer 1974/1975; Lalik 1976; Moździoch 1991; Žemlička 1978).

The use of social-economic criteria to define urban status created a basis for the rapid development of the study of early medieval towns. Different models of towns were now compared that were distant from each other in terms of culture, chronology and territory. At the same time, the distinction between towns and other settlement structures became less clear. This is evident especially in the study of the Slav settlement complexes of East Central Europe. The freedom to choose among many criteria and their unequal weight in relation to different centres resulted in the term 'town' also being used with regard to settlement foci of quite a different character. This freedom was made use of especially by archaeologists who, faced by the scarcity of written sources have, as a matter of course, to rely heavily on material facts. We know that a central place became a town when crafts and commerce were added to the administrative, military and religious function. However, how to differentiate, in early medieval centres, between commerce and production of a stronghold or village type on the one hand, and early urban on the other? Is the density of the material remains of trade and production sufficient to support the interpretation that the leading role was that of a non-agrarian economy? Does the discovery of scales, weights and coins or the solitary remains of production warrant the conclusion that the settlement centre had an urban economy? In a search of yet another early medieval town, will we not exceed the limits of the interpretative potential of archaeology? Neither can we hope to obtain an answer as to when individual centres became towns since their emergence has the nature of a long-term process and not a single act.

There is no ignoring these problems and the impossibility of their clear resolution has prompted a more cautious use in recent years of the term 'early medieval town'. After several years devoted to the study of early towns in Poland, Sławomir Moździoch concluded that '…the earlier fruitful discussion of the definition of a town has played itself out today' and its place should be taken by the question of central places (Moździoch 1997, 45). Sebastien Rossignol went further, observing that the criteria of urban status discussed in literature were not noticed at all by early medieval authors describing these centres and thus, presumably, nor by their inhabitants. Written accounts tend to focus on the monumental and opulent aspects of town buildings associated with centres of power and pay little heed to the economy (Rossignol 2009). Therefore, we have to agree with the observation made by Ernst Pitz (1991, 11) that the concept of a town does not lend itself to accurate definition. Moreover, while on this subject, let us add that the problem of differentiating towns from other settlement structures does not apply to the Middle Ages alone; it is characteristic for the whole history of urbanisation (Christie and Loseby 1996). The discussion about its definition, at times not free from strong sentiment, does confirm the belief about substantial internal differentiation of the phenomenon. The discussion also shows that settlement structures underwent transformation in response to changing conditions. Economic fluctuation, legal change, demographic and ethnic shift, extreme political developments and natural disasters that were common in the history of towns resulted in their structure having to adjust to a new reality. The changes could have had the nature of decline or rapid growth; they could have caused the earlier structure of a town to contract or expand, or cause its radical transformation. In some not uncommon cases reorganizing a town involved having it moved by as much as a few kilometres. Some changes could be so pronounced that sometimes it is legitimate to question the continuity of a given centre (Urbańczyk 1994; Brachmann 1997). Thus, one interpretation would be that the town was established at the same location several times over and the other that it was transformed to adapt to new needs. The latter interpretation, unlike the first, accepts the complexity of the problem and provides a basis for an analysis of the causes of change. The richness and diversity of the forms of urban life in Antiquity, the Middle Ages and the early modern period followed from the diversity and variability of conditions in which they emerged and functioned. Despite lacking universal criteria to define the concept of a town, we can describe diverse categories of habitation and social urban, proto-urban structures and ones similar in their character to towns (Johanek and Post 2004; especially Steuer 2004, 43–46). Limiting ourselves to medieval Europe, we can turn our attention to post-antique towns (transforming to the form typical for the Middle Ages), early medieval seacoast crafts-and-trade emporia, settlement complexes developed around central places of lay and ecclesiastical authority, communal towns of north Italy and the Netherlands, German communal towns

evolving from early medieval centres or established based on contracts between merchants and the territorial lord, incorporated towns of East Central Europe and a range of others, such as burgi novi, bastides, villes noveaux, borough, villae forensic, etc. often small, and organized to fill the remainder of urbanisation niches (Pitz 1991; Steuer 1995; Benevolo 2000, 337–515; Bartlett 2003, 253–274; Schofield and Steuer 2007).

In the present contribution the phenomena unfolding in East Central Europe, especially in its inland area where the key points of the urban network were Prague, Wrocław and Krakow are of most interest to us. Medieval urbanisation occurred in this area in two major phases, the first of them may be described as pre-communal or pre-incorporation, the second as urban, communal or incorporation phase. Each of them has its corresponding distinct categories of town and the transformation from one type to the next, or the decline of some to be succeeded by another form took place within a complex process of cultural change across the territory of the former barbaricum and advanced them to a previously unattainable level of civilization (Piekalski 2001; Klápště 2012, 325–326).

2. THE PROBLEM OF PRE-INCORPORATION PROTO-URBAN CENTRES IN EAST CENTRAL EUROPE

For some time now, scholars have ceased to question the existence of early medieval towns. Past discussion of this subject is summarized in a recently published manual of medieval European archaeology, complete with a long and varied list of these centres (Schofield and Steuer 2007). The classification proposed therein may be too detailed, however. It suggests we divide these centres geographically, chronologically, by their economic base and legal-political organization. In assigning them to one of ten categories of relevance, it is advisable to consider their relationship to the traditions of Antiquity and to the new state organisms. Centres in the heartland of East Central Europe are classified by Heiko Steuer to Type 7, in company with proto-towns of the region more to the west, between the Rhine and the Elbe (Schofield and Steuer 2007, 139–142). The similarity of the proto-towns of the western and the eastern zone of the Central European interior results from the similarity of their origin; they all evolved from settlement nuclei formed next to prominent power centres, secular or religious. In this way, they are set apart from post-antique towns on the Rhine and the Danube, near the former limes, but also from crafts-and-market emporia on the North Sea and the Baltic, the latter of which owe their origin largely to economic factors (Urbańczyk 1994; Piekalski 2001, 63–88).

Less easy is the assessment of the extent of urbanization in the area more to the east and the form of the centres that arose there. The earlier mentioned, imprecise criteria used in identifying early towns used to represent, especially for archaeologists, a difficult temptation to resist to amplify the urban landscape of East Central Europe, vesting almost every larger castle with its accompanying settlement with urban status. The listings of early towns or their nuclei in Poland and Bohemia proposed in the past are untenable today (e.g. Hensel 1963; Kavka 1963). Urban researchers are agreed on the matter (e.g. Urbańczyk 2002, 37–42; Moździoch 1997). After several years of study on early towns, I have come to the realization that my calculations in this respect used to be over-optimistic (Piekalski 2001, e.g. 88–89, 116–117). Perhaps it would be timely to ask whether we are in a position, at all, to identify and describe the early towns of inner East Central Europe. Moreover, is there a need to do so? The latter question can be easily answered in the affirmative given the importance of these centres for economic and social development, and their undeniable relevance for scholarly analysis. Nevertheless, as to the former question, caution is advisable. The challenge of sorting out the proto-towns, or for that matter, early urban centres from other settlement structures, admittedly reflects their actual features, and the way they differ from the later image of a town encoded in our awareness. Unlike Przemysław Urbańczyk (2002, 39–43), I feel that the stages of development of these centres lend themselves to a precise definition only in theory. We lack the answer as to when the castle with its accompanying settlement, morphed into a proto-town, because the distinction between the two is vague, dependent on our subjective choice of criteria. Neither shall we determine the boundaries of the area occupied by individual early towns. The absence of a clear-cut chronological and territorial divide seems to describe the earlier stage of urbanization in Central Europe on both banks of the Elbe. This is presumably why some researchers, mainly historians

and architectural historians, are not inclined to accept the urban nature of these settlement complexes, most notably, centres situated outside the territory of the former Carolingian empire. Presumably, a balanced and relatively objective view on such structures on Slav territory was expressed by Ernst Pitz, historian, author of a comprehensive work on early European towns. He accepted the urban nature of many pre-incorporation centres of East Central Europe, emphasizing how different they were compared to the early towns of 'older Europe' (to the line of the Elbe and the Saale), and how similar to the centres of Scandinavia and Hungary. He ascribes the growth of their non-agrarian economy to the necessity to sustain and supply power structures – the prince with his court, local officials and armed retinue (Pitz 1991, 212–219; cf. Urbańczyk 1994). Robert Bartlett, an English scholar on medieval Europe, addressing the question of the early urban phase on Slav territory, concluded that the granting of town rights was tantamount only to a change in the organization of an existing town rather than its initiation from scratch. Economically the town had existed much earlier before it developed in a legal sense. The same author also draws attention to a series of similarities in the urbanization process of East Central Europe and other areas under medieval colonization – mainly in the Celtic zone of the British Isles, and to a certain extent, in the kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula emerging in the course of the Reconquista (Bartlett 2003, 256–260). It would seem that the views of Ernst Pitz and Robert Bartlett correctly summarize today's research on the early towns of East Central Europe and give the phenomenon its proper place within the process of urbanization across the continent. At the same time, they both see the number of early urban centres on this territory as seriously limited.

Proceeding with due caution we propose to list among these early centres ones that have a prominent central function – the multi-component settlement complexes at Prague, Krakow and Wrocław. They are not the only proto-towns in the cultural zone of interest but urban features in them are more evident than elsewhere. Their individual identities deserve a separate discussion. In addition, while belonging to the same category of proto-town and sharing several features, each of them is different, shaped by its individual course of development.

A. PRAGUE

The site selected for the construction of the castles at Prague and Krakow was the summit of an elevation rising over a major river, which was soon elevated to the role of central foci of state power. In Prague two castles were built, occupying two upland promontories lying roughly across the river from one another at a point where the Vltava River forms a bend flowing down a broader stretch of valley sometimes referred to as 'the Prague Basin'. The natural defensive values of the promontories were utilised when building Prague Castle and, a little more to the south, the 'Upper Castle'- Vyšehrad. Of special significance for the siting of the future town of Prague at this particular location were the advantages of the elevation on which Prague Castle was built (Fig. 2). It has the form of an attenuated ridge rising over the left bank of the river, above the north-western rim of the Prague Basin (Borkovský 1962, 1969, 12; Boháčová et al. 1994, 153; Herichová 1996; Hrdlička 1997, 2001, 201; Boháčová and Herichová 2008). When Prague's location is described, emphasis is placed on the political significance of its position in Bohemia, in the middle course of the Vltava. For the development of the town, this factor was no less essential than its position within the trade route network, which has been much stressed in publication (Vávra 1973; Třeštik 1995, 229). It may be more correct to assume that it was Prague's central functions that dictated the course of the main routes. This was the point of intersection of routes from Rus and Moravia to southern Germany, and down the Elbe and the Vltava to the Danube and onwards to Venice. The presence as early as in the 10th century of a major commercial centre was what made these routes attractive and, at the same time, a factor that contributed to the town's growth (Čiháková and Zavřel 1997, 93–96). A separate issue is the position of Prague Castle within this region at large. It was decided by a relatively intensive settlement in this part of the Bohemian Basin, forming the demographic and economic base of Přemyslid rule. The principal seat of the Přemyslids was moved from Levý Hradec to Prague Castle some 10 more kilometres to the south. Most commonly, it is assumed that the reason for the translocation was the position of the new castle, which was better for communication (Klápště, Smetánka and Dragoun 1983; Cymbalak and Podliska 2011, 299–301). Possibly more noteworthy and closer to the truth is the argument recently presented by Martin Ježek who noted the role played

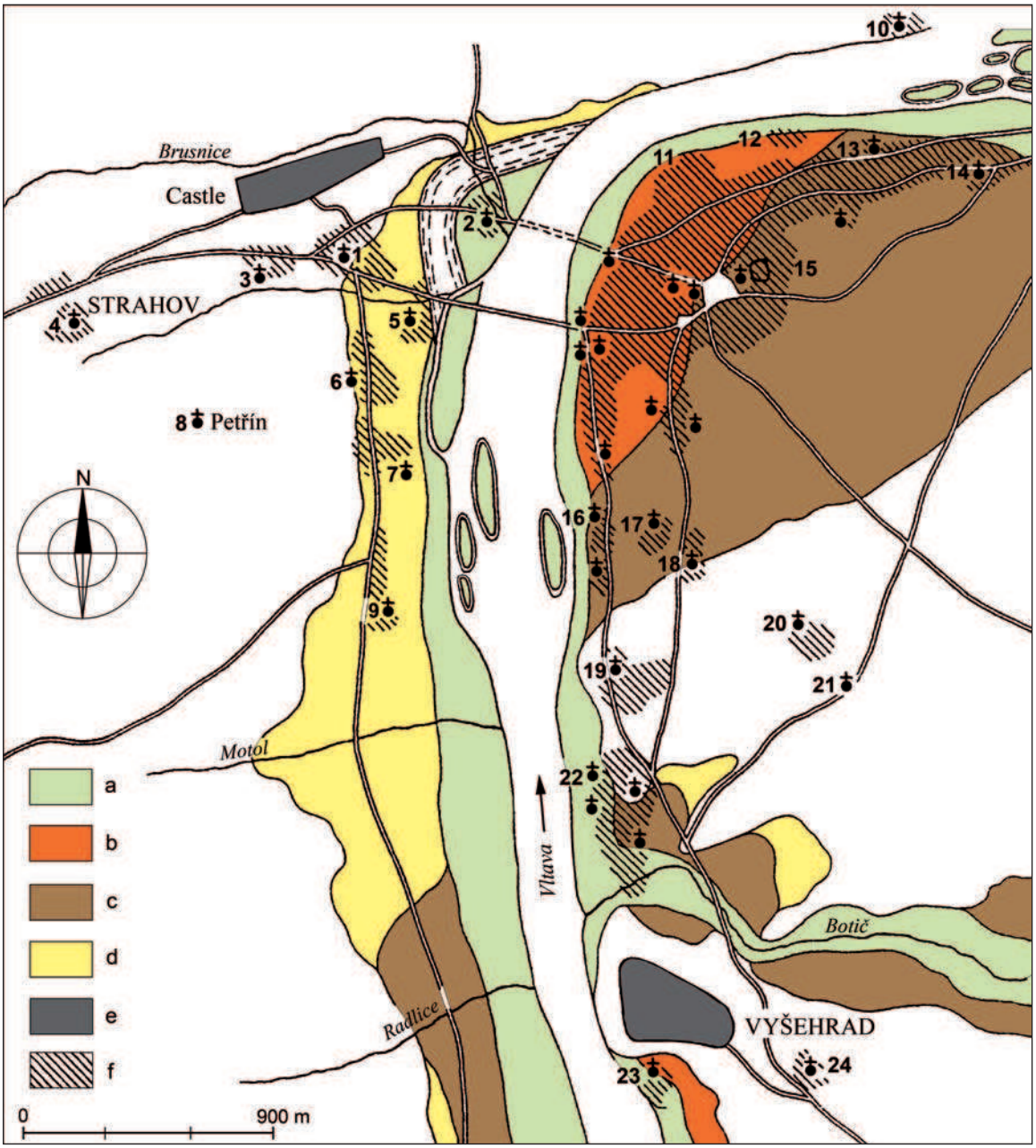

Fig. 2. Prague around 1200: 1 – Suburbium with St Nicholas's and St Martin's churches; 2 – Rybáře settlement with St Peter's church; 3 – Obora settlement with St John the Baptist's church; 4 – Strahov with the Premonstratensian monastery; 5 – Trávnik settlement with the Commandry of the Knights of St John; 6 – Nebovidy settlement with St Lawrence's church; 7 – Ujezd settlement with St John the Baptist's church; 8 – Petřin with St Lawrence's church; 9 – settlement around St Philip and St James's church; 10 – Rubna with St Clement's church; 11 – settlement around the later St Cyriac's monastery; 12 – settlement with the later Poor Clares nunnery; 13 – Ujezd settlement with St Clement's church; 14 – settlement with St Peter's church; 15 – area of later Old Town with Romanesque churches; 16 – settlement with St Peter's church Na Struze and St Albert's church; 17 – Opatovice with St Michael's church; 18 – settlement around St Lawrence's church; 19 – Zderaz settlement with St Wenceslas' church; 20 – Rybnik settlement with St Stephen's church; 21 – St John's church; 22 – suburbium of Vyšehrad with the churches of St Cosmas and St Damian, St John the Baptist and St Nicholas, and St Andrew: a – flood zone; b – flood zone by Vyšehrad; c – Old Town terrace; d – gravel; e – castles; f – open settlements. Huml, Dragoun and Nový 1990/91 with author's additions.

by the working of iron ores in the Prague Basin, especially on the hill at Petřin, on the left bank of the Vltava. Prague Castle was built in the late 9th century in order to control iron metallurgy and subsequently, the relocation of the seat of the Přemyslids from the fortified establishment Levý Hradec took place, which in his view had better defensive values (Ježek 2011, 625). The argument gains force if we consider

the role that ironworking would play in the Prague agglomeration over the three next centuries (Havrda, Podliska and Zavřel 2001; Podliska and Zavřel 2006; Podliska 2008).

Urban settlement, developing next to Prague Castle and Vyšehrad, occupied the land on both banks of the Vltava within its terraces as far as the edges of the river valley. The Holocene floodplain of the Vltava remained free from occupation during the Middle Ages. A special role in the evolution of the right bank town was played by terraces VIIa, VIIb and VIIc, described jointly as 'the Old Town terrace' or the 'Maniny terrace'. In the area bounded by the bend of the river, it was a broad plain, its higher lying areas safe from floodwaters (Fig. 3). On the other hand, the less elevated tracts of the terrace were subject to occasional flooding. The great flood of 1118 is mentioned by Cosmas (1923, III, 44). It is accepted that the flooding of the Old Town area in Prague became more serious after anthropogenic changes that involved the raising of the river bottom through its regulation during the Late Medieval period and climate change, evidenced to have started from the mid–13th century (Hrdlička 1984, 1996, 1996a; Brázdil and Kotyza 1997, 670–684). This phenomenon was more wide-ranging and is thought to have resulted mostly from the intensification of economic development and the increased forest clearance associated with it and in the upper reaches of rivers (Dunin-Wąsowicz 1974, 53; Sowina 2009, 62).

The earliest element of the polycentric proto-town at Prague is the Castle (Hrad) which united the function of secular power and that of a central religious focal point. The study of Prague Castle has lasted for nearly a century resulting in ever-new materials for discussion (Frolík and Smetánka 1997, 1998; Boháčová 1998, 1998a; 2001; Líbal 1998). The earliest occupation is dated to the late 9th century. This is when, under Duke Bořivoj (870–889), the first phase of the defences was built and the church of the Virgin Mary constructed (Borkovský 1953; Merhautová-Livorová 1983; Frolík and Smetánka 1997; Boháčová 1998a, 37–42). The accepted view is that since around AD 900 the castle had an earth-and-timber rampart in a grid construction. Presumably, at this time it enclosed the entire hilltop resulting in the area being a markedly elongated oval in plan. It is unclear when the inner space of the castle was divided by ramparts into two parts (Figs. 4, 5). However, there is reliable evidence that the eastern part, the larger of the two, during the Romanesque phase housed the ducal residence (palatium) and the churches of St George and St Vitus. St George's had the form of a basilica; the church of St Vitus is reconstructed as a rotunda with four apses. In 973, St Vitus's church was raised to the rank of a cathe-

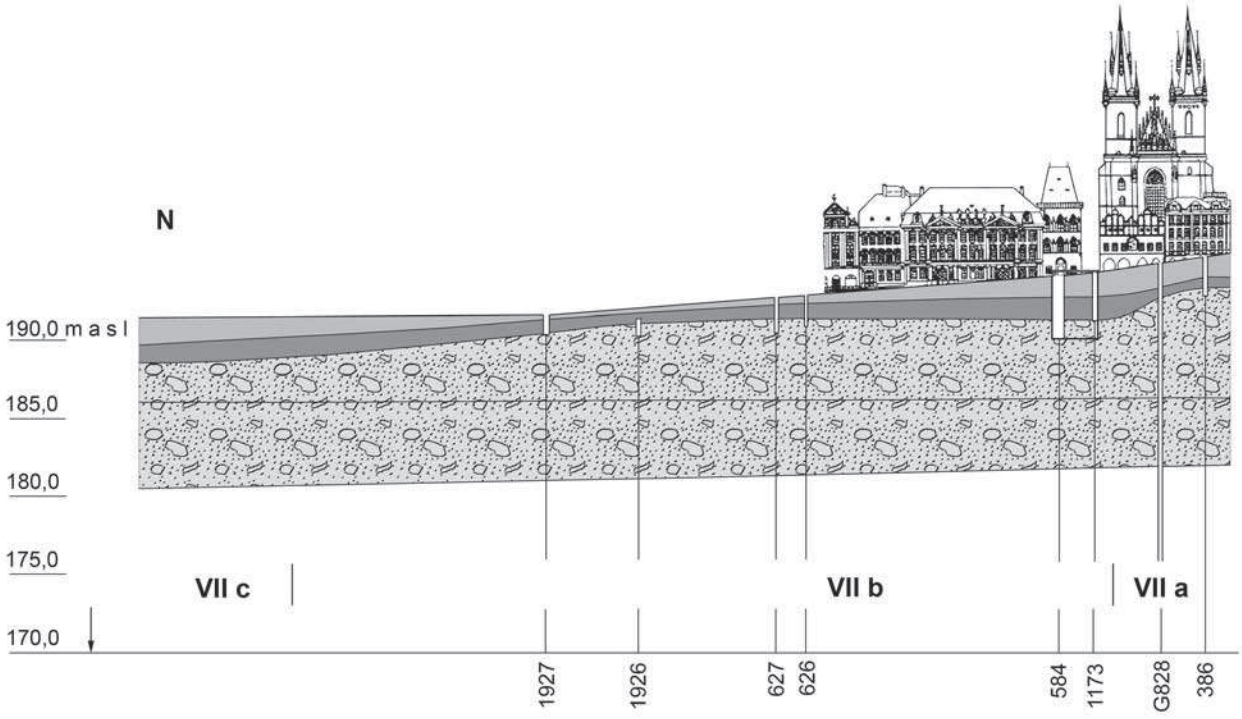

Fig. 3. Prague, Old Town. Stratigraphical cross-section. Hrdlička 2000

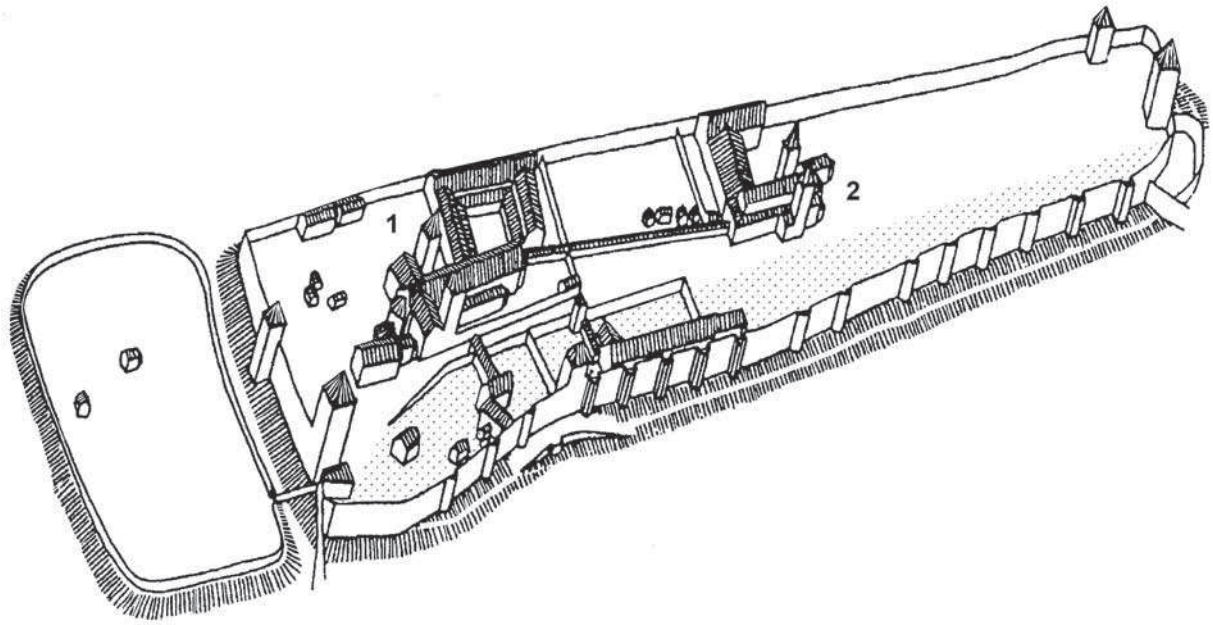

Fig. 4. Castle in Prague in the late 12th century: 1 – St Vitus's Cathedral; 2 – St George's church. Reconstruction P. Chotebor in Hrdlička 1997

dral. The next element of Prague Castle, founded by Duke Boleslav II (971/972–999), or possibly earlier, by Vratislav I (915–921), was a Benedictine nunnery. Its buildings were built next to the church of St George (Borkovský 1969; Merhautová-Livorová 1966; Smetánka 1982; Vlček, Sommer, Foltyn 1997, 438–439). Prior to the mid–11th century, the castle was subjected to a gradual but thorough remodelling.

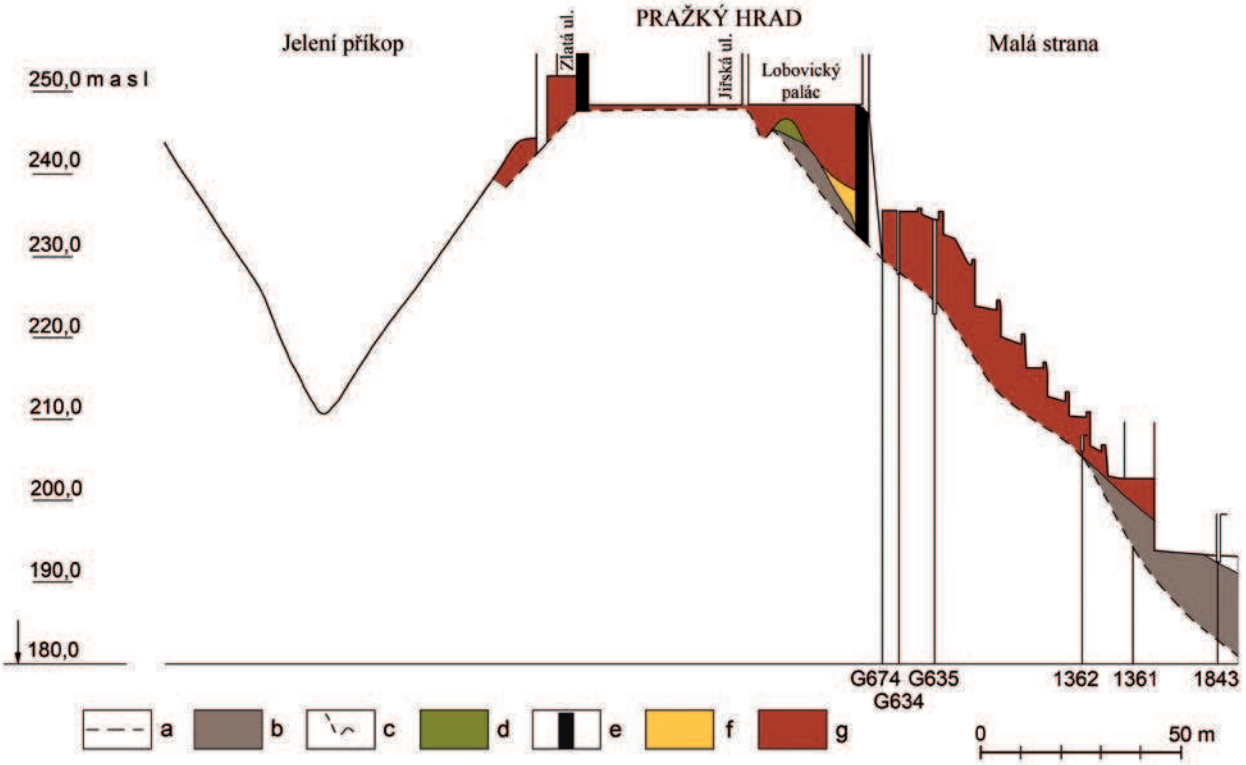

Fig. 5. Castle in Prague. Projected cross-section: a – bedrock; b – slate deposit; c – the oldest moat; d – ramparts; e – Romanesque fortifications after 1135; f – embankments from the second half of the 12th century; g – later embankments. Hrdlička 1997

Under Břetyslav I (1035–1055) changes were made to the ramparts. Presumably, at this time they had three gates in the south, east and west. During the second half of the 11th century, the churches of St Vitus and St George were remodelled and enlarged. Both were given the form of a three-aisled basilica. At this time, a claustrum for the canons serving the cathedral was built next to St Vitus (Durdík, Chotěbor and Muk 1984, 113–122). The next phase of the castle's development commenced in 1135 under Duke Soběslav (1125–1140). At this time new, masonry fortifications with towers were built to facilitate active defence. A new ducal palace was also constructed (Borkovský 1969, 59–64; Merhautová 1971, 202–206; Burian and Svoboda 1973, 12; Smetánka, Durdík and Hrdlička 1980; Frolík and Klápště 1991, 103–106; Boháčová et al. 1994, 153–157; Frolík and Smetánka 1997, 82–98).

The other castle at Prague, Vyšehrad, was situated on the right bank of the Vltava, on a promontory closing off Prague Basin to the south-east. To the north, the promontory bordered the valley of a stream (the Botič); in the west, it was contiguous with the steep bank of the Vltava. The plan of Vyšehrad's fortifications dated to the second half of the 10th century was defined by the shape of the hill. They enclosed an area approximately the shape of a triangle with rounded corners in plan. The south-western part of this triangle, lying within the right angle, was set apart by means of a moat, as a quadrilateral 'acropolis' housing the duke's residence and the chapel of St John the Evangelist. Outside the acropolis was the church of St Lawrence, built in the late 10th century and remodelled in the second half of the 11th century (Nechvátal 2009). Next to it, after 1070, the principal religious edifice of Vyšehrad, the collegiate basilica of St Peter and St Paul was built (Nechvátal 2004). A third church was built around AD 1100– the rotunda of St Martin (Merhautová 1971, 237; Kašička and Nechvátal 1976; 1976a, 1976b, 1984; Nechvátal 1973; Huml, Dragoun and Nový 1990/91, 38; Varadzin 2009). It has been argued by some authors that Vyšehrad was built for the protection of long-distance trade, which supposedly took place on the right bank of the Vltava as early as during the second half of the 10th century. This argument was said to be supported by the presence of an allegedly ethnically, foreign cemetery with graves provided with stone settings, identified at Bartolomějská Street (Borkovský 1948; Ječný et al. 1984, 215). However, this ethnic interpretation, and consequently, its association with the environment of foreign, presumably Jewish merchants is being questioned (Klápště 1996, 20). Prior to the end of the 10th century ducal coins were minted in Vyšehrad (Hásková 1975). Its role as a centre of secular power came to the fore at the time of the crisis in the Czech state in the early 11th century. At this time, the main ducal residence was installed in this area. Written sources indicate that next to the ducal residence there was a residence of the elite (Ječný et al. 1984, 225–228). The central religious aspect of Vyšehrad finds reflection in the presence of a complex of religious buildings with the functionally dominant collegiate basilica of St Peter. On occasion, the seat of Prague bishop's curia was housed there.

The earliest crafts-and-market zone of Prague is thought to be the suburbium found to the south of Prague Castle (Fig. 1). It is accepted that the suburbium started to develop during the 9th century on the hillslope, especially in its less elevated zone at the point of convergence of roads leading to the castle (Zavřel 2001). To the east, the suburbium extended as far as the old river channel of the Vltava. Its buildings clustered in the area of the Lesser Town Square gradually spreading south-east to the river crossing, where the residence of the bishop was. The site occupied by the suburbium was an elongated oval in plan with a surface area of 14–15 ha. The density of the timber buildings in the suburbium is, at present, hard to reconstruct. According to approximate estimates it may have had up to 360 houses that formed an irregular plan. The marketplace has been located by researchers next to a road leading to the southern gate of Prague Castle (Čiháková and Zavřel 1995, 1997; Havrda 1996; Čiháková 1999; Čiháková, Dragoun and Podliska 2000, 128–139; Čiháková and Havrda 2008, 209–215). Other roads ran south-east to the bridge on the Vltava and west to the settlement of Obora, and to Strahov Monastery. According to one concept, the suburbium's eastern bank, by the ford to latter-day Klárov, was settled by Jewish merchants, who later moved to the right bank of the Vltava (Ječný et al. 1984, 220). The communications thoroughfares within the built-up area have been partly reconstructed, their plan apparently irregular (Fig. 6) (Čiháková and Müller 2008; Cymbalak and Podliska 2011, 307). They were removed after 1257, during the construction of the incorporated town.

The suburbium was fortified, the design of its defences and their orientation altered several times. The older defences were an earth-timber-and-stone rampart, the younger, enclosing a somewhat larger area, was a wall built of limestone (Čiháková 1999, 15, 2001, 30–52, 2009; Čiháková, Dragoun and

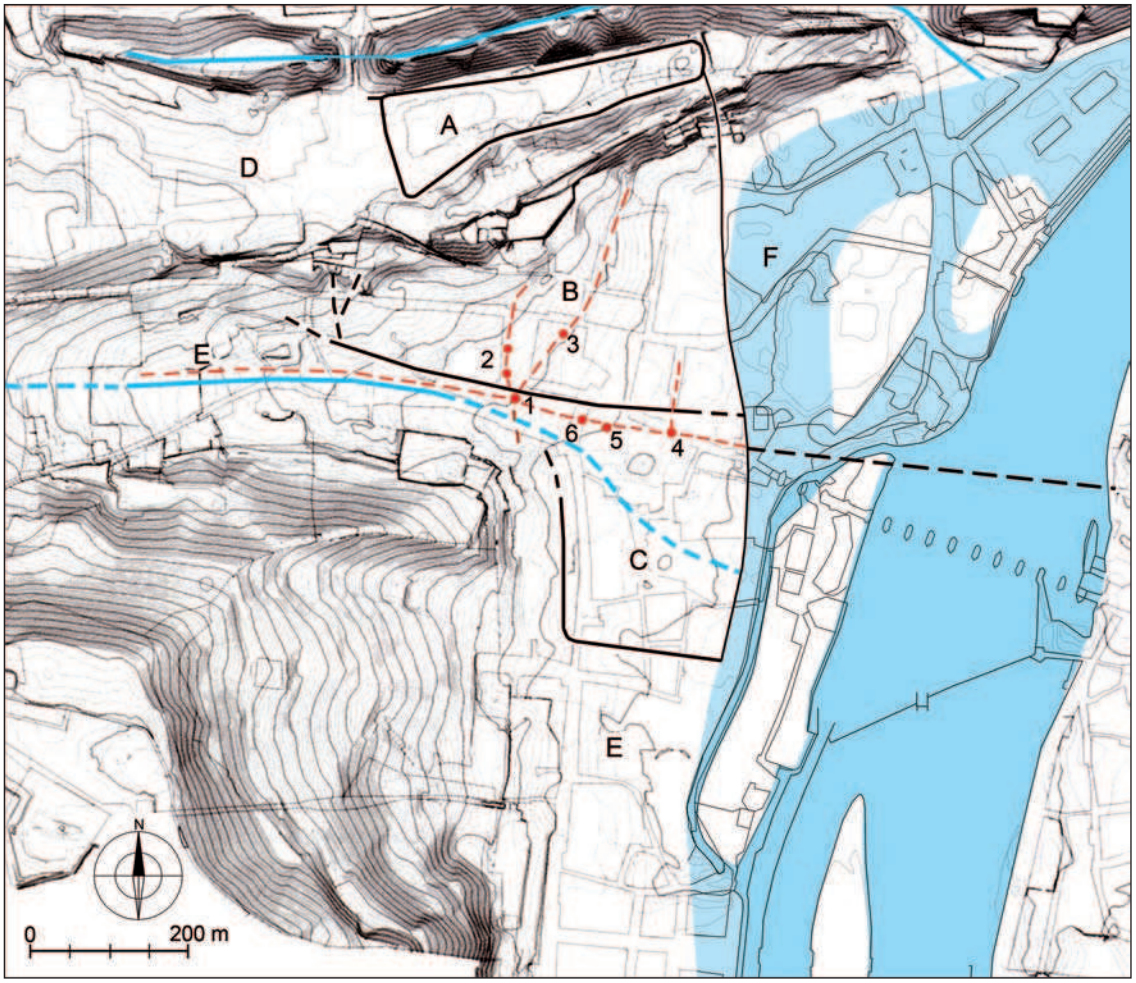

Fig. 6. Prague, Lesser Town. Projected early medieval road network of the intramural suburbium: red colour – site of individual discoveries of roads and their reconstruction (shaded blue colour – the course of the Malostranský stream: A – Prague Castle; B – suburbium; C – southern residential area; D – residential area of Hradčany; E – extramural settlement next to the Lesser Town; F – old branch of the Vltava River. 1 – Lesser Town Square plot no. 260; 2 – Lesser Town Square plot no. 993; 3 – Lesser Town Square plot no. 2; 4 – Mostecká Street; 5 – Lesser Town Square plot no. 271; 6 – Karmelitská Street. Cymbalak and Podliska 2011

Podliska 2000, 130–132; Čiháková and Havrda 2008, 209–215).

The built environment of the suburbium by Prague Castle continued developing even when the ducal residence was moved to Vyšehrad in the early 11th century. Archaeological sources do not confirm any more prolonged crises. On the contrary, it is thought that with space being in short supply, the rapid development of the settlement resulted in the relocation of production activity, and subsequently of the marketplace too, to the right bank of the Vltava, to the south-western margin of the later Old Town (Tomas 1984; Hrdlička 1996, 163–168; Podliska and Zavřel 2006, 392–394). Left bank Prague and chiefly, the suburbium by Prague Castle is the one mentioned in the mid–10th century account of Ibrâhîm ibn Ya`qûb, a Jewish merchant from Spain, who described a large marketplace of supralocal importance (Lewicki 1971; Čiháková and Zavřel 1997; Čiháková, Dragoun and Podliska 2000, 135). It appears from this description that at this time, this was an important slave market. Not all the researchers concerned with early medieval Prague refer to this category of activity, which was pursued by merchants and by local rulers. Recently this question was addressed by Martin Ježek (2011, 634–638), who reviewed past ideas on this subject and noted that in the 10th and 11th centuries this traffic was one of the pillars of the economic prosperity of the early town. An equally important role was that of the aforementioned ironworking, including the local extraction of ores, smelting in bloomery furnaces, and at least, the initial working and marketing. This activity is confirmed by the findings of archaeological research (Podliska 2008).

Areas with evidence of non-agrarian occupation were also identified on the right bank part of the

Prague settlement agglomeration. In the 11th century, a suburbium developed adjacent to Vyšehrad, in an area to the north of it, separated by the Botič stream. It occupied an area of varied topography from the upland margin to the floodplain. The uncovered sections of the cultural deposit show that the settlement extended along the terrace for some 800 m. Within it were the churches of St Cosmas and St Damian, St Nicholas and St Andrew and St John (Huml, Dragoun and Nový 1990–1991, 41; Dragoun 1997). Houses were built of timber and the presence of evidence on the smelting of iron found next to them testifies to at least a partial production character (Pavlů 1970/1971; Beranová 1979, 300–304; Podliska 2008, 169–172).

To the south of Vyšehrad are the settlements of Krušyna and Psary, which were located using archaeological methods, and they mark the southern periphery boundary of the early urban agglomeration of Prague. The church of St Pancras built at Krušyna was a rotunda with a tower added later. The original architectural form of the church of St Margaret at Psary is obscure. Krušyna and Psary had an accumulation of semi-dugouts built of timber, their nature as a crafts settlement recognized based on the recorded evidence of ironworking (Krumphanzlová 1966; Beranová 1979, 300–304; Klápště, Smetánka and Dragoun 1983, 421; Podliska and Zavřel 2006, 393–395).

Based on local place names that are known from the written sources, the distribution of Romanesque churches and drawing on archaeological discoveries, further settlements were identified lying to the north of Vyšehrad and its suburbium: Zderaz with the church of St Wenceslas; Na Struze with the church of St Peter and St Adalbert; Opatovice with the church of St Michael; Ujezd, on the right bank with the church of St Martin; a settlement with the church of St Lazarus; and a settlement next to the Vltava crossing with the church of St Clement (Ječný et al. 1984, 226; Richterová 1977; Huml 1978, 1981, 1987, 161–244); Dragoun 1988; Huml, Dragoun and Nový 1990/1991, 41). The function and significant importance of these settlements are variously interpreted in publications on the subject. As noted earlier, a case was previously made based on grave finds, for the early presence on the right bank of an ethnically foreign population (Borkovský 1948 and the critical observations of Klápště 1996, 27). This laid the foundation for a concept on the early origin and major significance of this zone of proto-urban settlement for long-distance trade. The area along the right bank of the Vltava would thus correspond to an area, recorded in the written sources as occupied by merchants, known as Mezihradi meaning ‘between the castles’ (Cosmas 1923, 153; Ječný et al. 1984, 215–220). In keeping with this concept, the development of commerce would have resulted in the settlement continuing to spread northward into the area of today’s Old Town, on the bend of the river (Ječný et al. 1984, 215–220). Václav Huml, Zdeněk Dragoun and Rostislav Nový (1990/1991, 42–44) do not share the view that settlement associated with Vyšehrad played an important role in the development of the crafts-and-market economy in Prague during the 11th–12th century. They rightly claim that archaeological material recovered in that area are too modest and do not justify this view. This was also the conclusion reached by Ladislav Hrdlička (1996, 163–168, 1996a), who even refers to the occupation in the area to the east of the river crossing as the suburbium on the right bank. His view is supported by the major economic importance and intensity of development of the suburbium at Prague Castle, confirmed by the rich corpus of archaeological material. Another view was expressed by Jindřich Tomas (1984a, 44), who is inclined to recognize the area next to Prague Castle and by Vyšehrad as separate, early urban agglomerations.

At the current stage of research, it can be said that the key to the origin of settlement on the Old Town terrace is, as noted earlier, intensive ironworking activity, confirmed by archaeological material. Traces of smelting and of the early stage of ironworking recovered on the right riverbank show that some workshops had been moved from the foot of Prague Castle already in the late 10th century. During the 11th century, they covered the whole floodplain on the bend of the Vltava with a dense network of such workshops (Fig. 7). Also present, although in a much smaller number, were non-ferrous metallurgy workshops. Heavy production generated logistical activity – continuous supplies of wood and charcoal, of food and other staple products, which in turn resulted in the development of the built environment. The labour force was presumably the duke’s unfree men. This is as least what Martin Ježek suggests, arguing that most of the dozen-odd small Romanesque churches were built on the right bank terrace for them (Fig. 8). In this, he has challenged a view presented in past publications that links these structures with high-ranking members of the duke’s entourage, supposedly residing in the agglomeration at Prague (Dragoun 1997; Klápště 2012, 52–60). Martin Ježek argues that this view lacks support in the sources. No remains of elite residences have been identified next to these churches

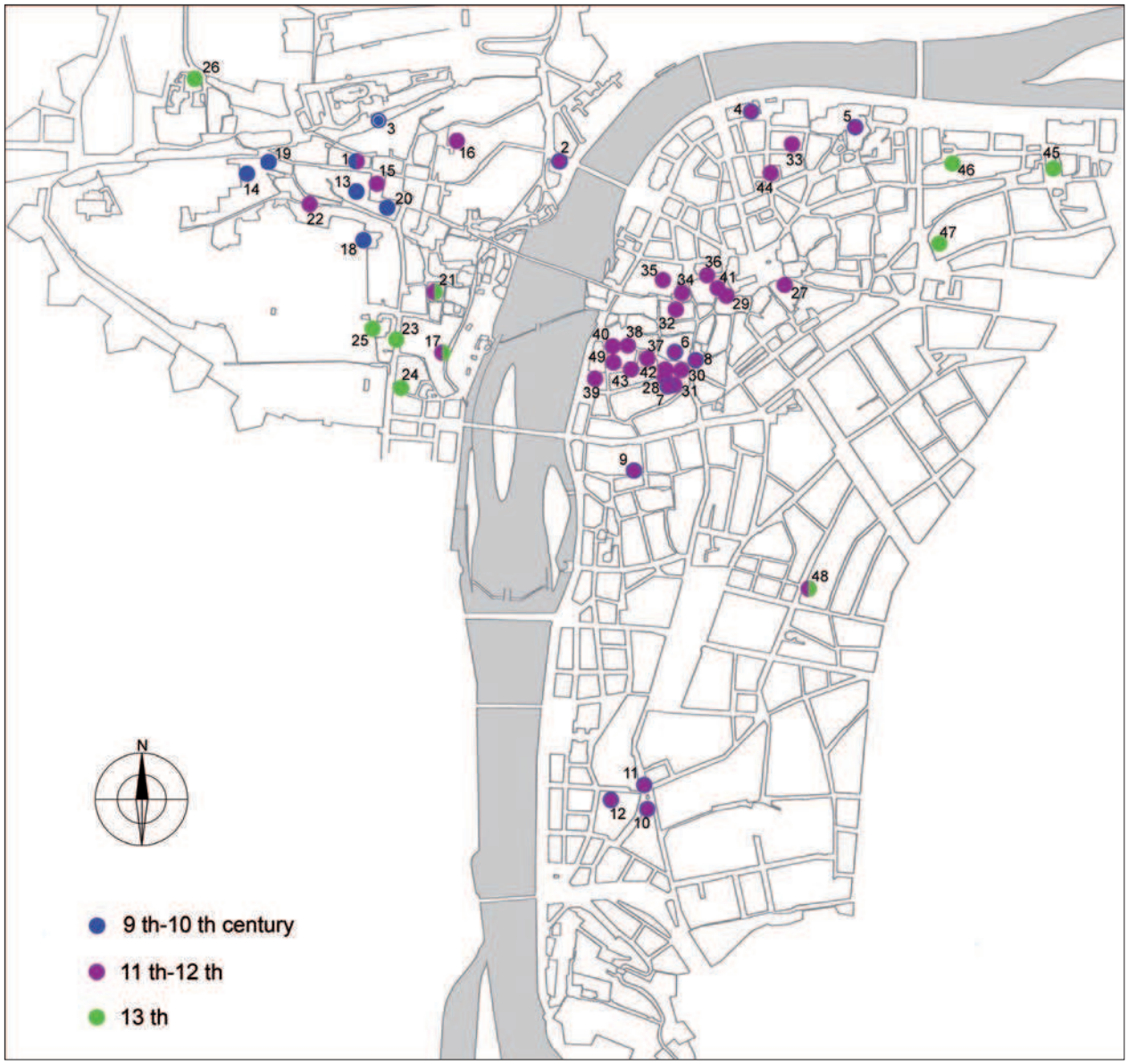

Fig. 7. Prague. Sites with archaeological evidence for ironworking, 9th–13th centuries. Havrda, Podliska and Zavřel 2001

but there is evidence for the smelting of iron. The few churches whose founder can be ascertained owe their existence to a duke or a bishop. It is they, and in the main, the ruling Přemyslids, that Martin Ježek proposes to recognize as organizers of the network of churches serving the unfree ironworkers (Ježek 2011, 632).

Cemeteries discovered above the margin of terrace VIIc, that is above the area used for settlement prior to the 12th century, are dated to the 10th–11th century (Fig. 9). What is their chronological relationship to the oldest churches? Did the 11th-century cemeteries lie next to the churches? (Dragoun 1997). Recent conclusions from the study of the earliest cemeteries of Wrocław and Krakow suggest that at least some of the churches may have been built to provide supervision and liturgical control of burials.

Thus, the question regarding the location of elite residences in the Prague proto-town remains open. Their presence next to the central seat of state power does not seem to raise any doubt. However, conclusive data on them is not provided either by written or archaeological sources. Some authors assume that at least in the early phase of the proto-town, residences of the elite were found in the suburbium next to Prague Castle.

The expansion of the suburbium that developed adjacent to Prague Castle on the other side of the river necessitated a stable communication route. We do not know the stages of its organization or the tech-

Fig. 8. Prague, Old Town. St John the Baptist's church. Photograph taken prior to the demolition of the church in 1896. Ježek 2011

nological solutions used. It is assumed that a timber bridge linked the two parts of the agglomeration at a relatively early date, already by the end of the 10th century (Čiháková, Dragoun and Podliska 2000, 132). We know, however, that after 1158 and prior to 1173, a Romanesque stone bridge was built, named after Judith, the queen of Vladislav II (1158–1172) (Píša 1960; Dragoun 1989; Dragoun et al. 2003, 354).

The available options for dating archaeological finds from the Old Town terrace, mainly pottery, but also dendrochronological dates, suggest that the area was settled at a rapid rate. After the middle of the 11th century, the settlement occupied much of the area of the later Old Town (Ječný et al. 1984, 235; Hrdlička 1996, 174–177). Findings from archaeological research indicate that the churches built there were accompanied mostly by timber buildings. The intensification of development and its spread north eastwards came in the 12th century. This is confirmed by discoveries made on the site occupied in a later period by the nunnery of St Agnes (Borkovský 1955, 1956), next to St Clement's church built after the mid–11th century (Fig. 10; Juřina 2005) and at Haštalské Square (Ječný et al. 1984, 238). In downtown Prague this was confirmed in many excavation trenches, e.g. in the Old Town Square and at Tyn Court (Hrdlička 1977, 212, 2005, 6; Hrdlička, Dragoun and Richterová 1981; Bureš, Kašpar and Vařeka 1997, 205–209) and at St Martin's (Dragoun 1979). In this way, the border of the settled zone shifted deep into the Old Town terrace, beyond the area of the 'Mezihradi' of old. Based on recent discoveries, it has been concluded that the timber houses built there had an orderly arrangement, associated with a network of streets leading to the marketplace (Juřina 2005, 154). Thus, it is assumed, that street plan of the later Old Town presumably started to take shape as early as in the 12th century.

In earlier publications, the north-eastern area of proto-urban Prague was regarded as a separate settlement centred around the church of St Peter na Poříčí. It was thought to have occupied the edge of the right bank terrace of the Vltava next to the road leading eastward (Špaček 1983; Kršáková 1983; Bureš, Kašpar and Vařeka 1994; Bureš, Kašpar and Vařeka 1997). In the light of a charter confirmed by Duke Soběslav at St Peter's between 1173 and 1178, it is usually assumed that the settlement was inhabited by a commune of German *hospites* who had their own law (CD Bohemiae I, no. 290; Kejř 1969). However, Jindřich Tomas (1984a, 49–50) pointed out nevertheless, that the document does not specify whether the Germans lived next to St Peter's Church and whether they occupied that area only. As an argument in confirmation of his theory that the German merchants inhabited a broader area on the right bank of Prague, he referred to the absence of Romanesque stone houses in the district of Poříčí a part of which, in his view, belonged to those merchants. Meanwhile, a major excavation undertaken in 2003–2006 in Republic Square shed new light on the area between the Romanesque churches of St Benedict, St Clement and St Peter. The discovery there in an area of 2 hectares of 12th century buildings shows that the area by the church of St Peter was not a separate unit, but was an integral part of the right bank settlement. We may assume at present that the entire area within the bend of the Vltava was settled during the 12th and early 13th century.

The dating of buildings in Republic Square is corroborated by the discovery of coins from the reign of King Vladislav II (1158–1172), other finds, including fragments of imported glass vessels, have the mark of elite material culture. Some of the timber houses depart in their character from the local building tradition, which was mainly that of log houses. Thus, there is now evidence of dugout buildings in

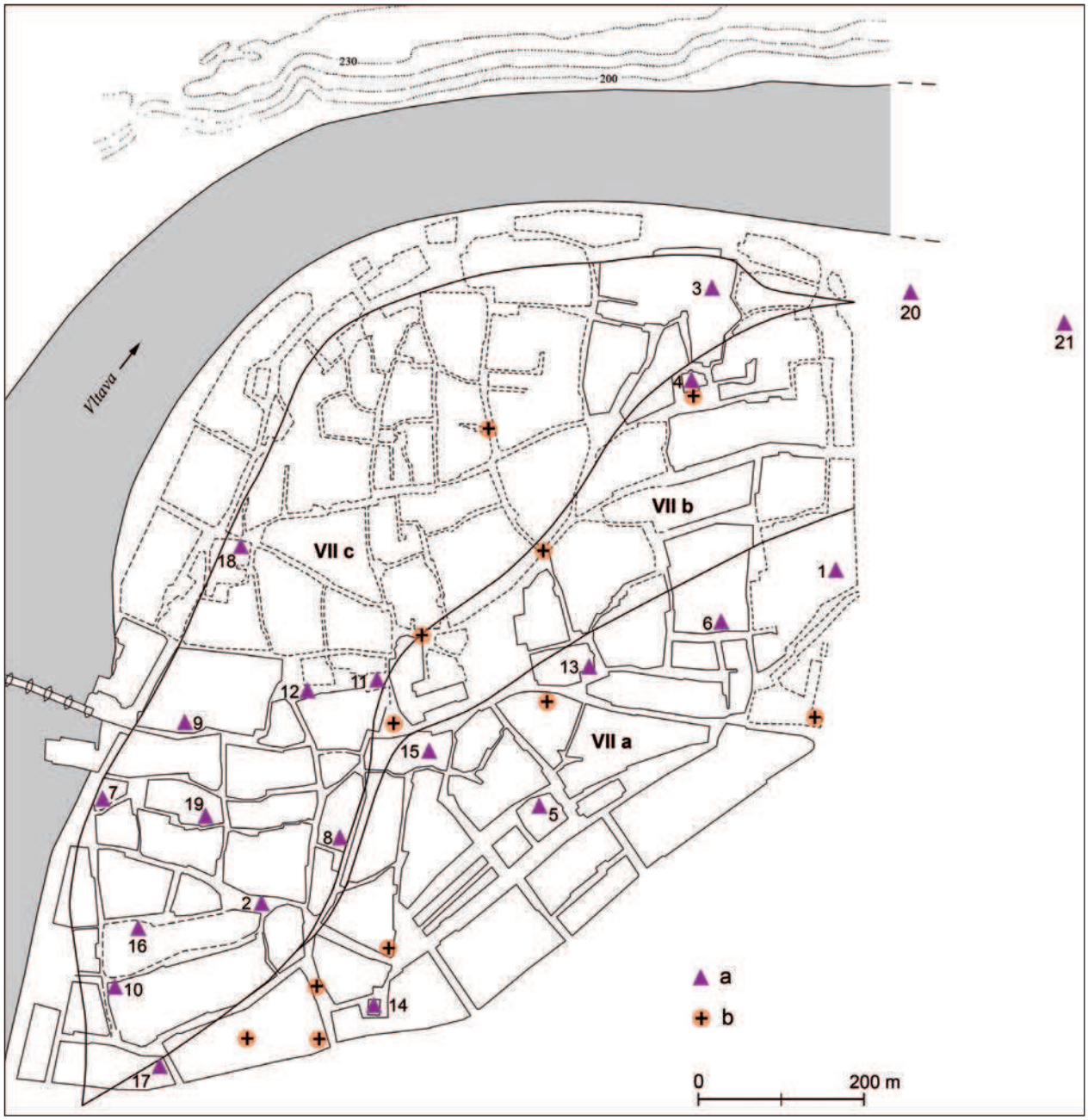

Fig. 9. Prague, Old Town: a – early medieval churches; b – cemeteries from the 10th and 11th centuries. 1 – St Benedict's; 2 – St Philip's; 3 – Blessed Agnes's; 4 – St Castulus's (Haštal); 5 – St Gall's; 6 – St James's; 7 – St John Na Zábradli's; 8 – St Giles's (St Jiljí); 9 – St Clement's; 10 – Holy Cross; 11 – St Leonard's; 12 – Virgin Mary Na louži's; 13 – Our Lady's before Tyn; 14 – St Martin's in the Wall; 15 – St Michael's; 16 – St Andrew's; 17 – St Stephen's; 18 – St Valentine's; 19 – St Lawrence's; 20 – St Clement's; 21 – St Peter's. VIIa, VIIb, VIIc – geological division of the Old Town terrace. Dragoun 1997 and Čiháková, Dragoun and Podliska 2000

a post-in-ground construction form with a surface area of up to 85 m^2. Moreover, elite stone houses were identified (Juřina 2006; Juřina, Kašpar and Podliska 2009, 44–48). These new findings are in conflict with the view on the secondary importance of the settled area in north-eastern zone of proto-urban Prague. It was even suggested that Pořiči had a residential character, at least its western part. Its inhabitants would have been foreign merchants, presumably Germans, this the written sources suggest, but possibly, also speakers of a Romance language (Dragoun, Juřina and Kašpar 2009; Kašak, Valkony and Militký 2009). A relevant piece of evidence in analysing this issue is also the find of an elite gold ring (precious metal content of 76–78%) with a setting of a recycled antique gem and an inscription

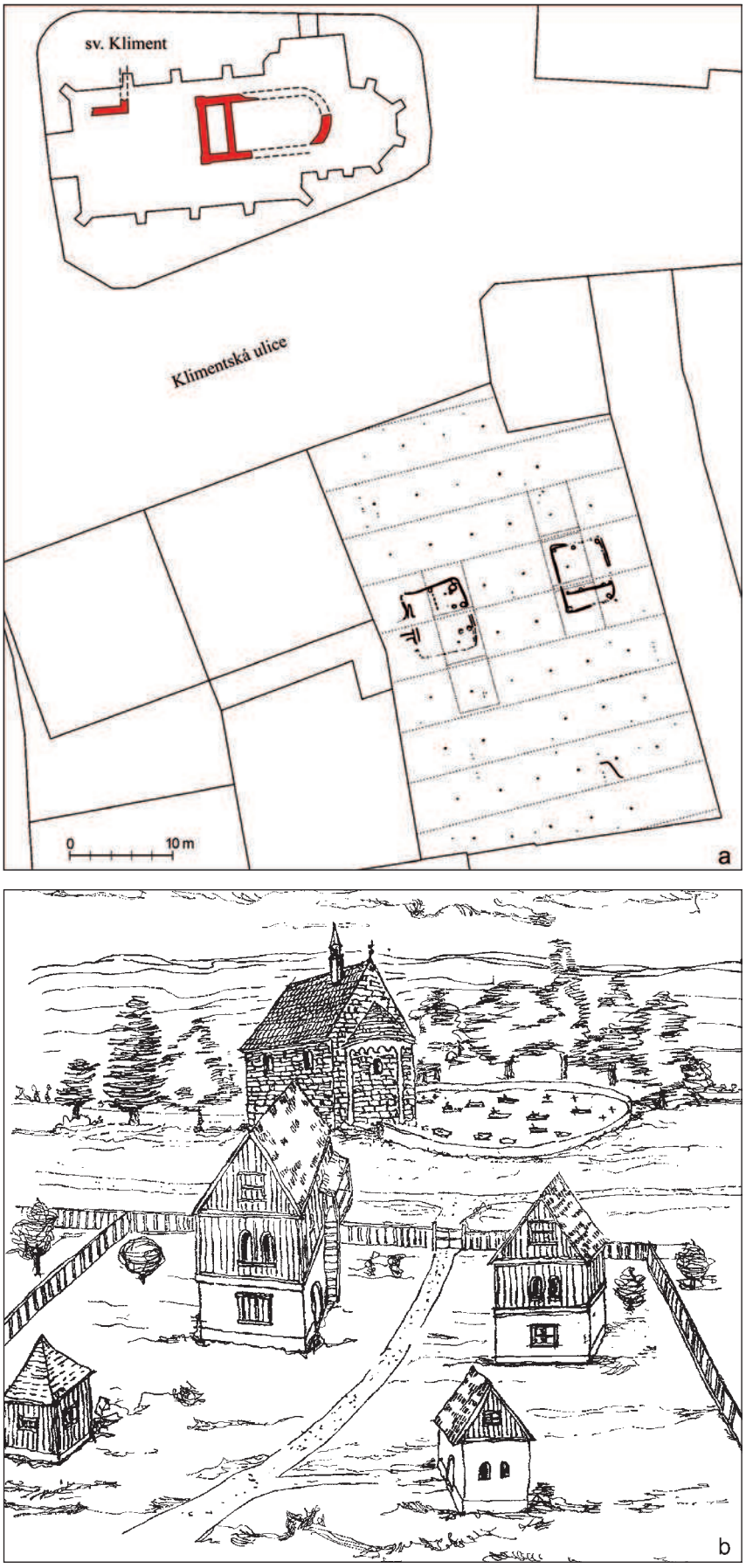

Fig. 10. Prague. Pre-incorporation buildings near St Clement's church: a – plan, b – projection. Juřina 2005

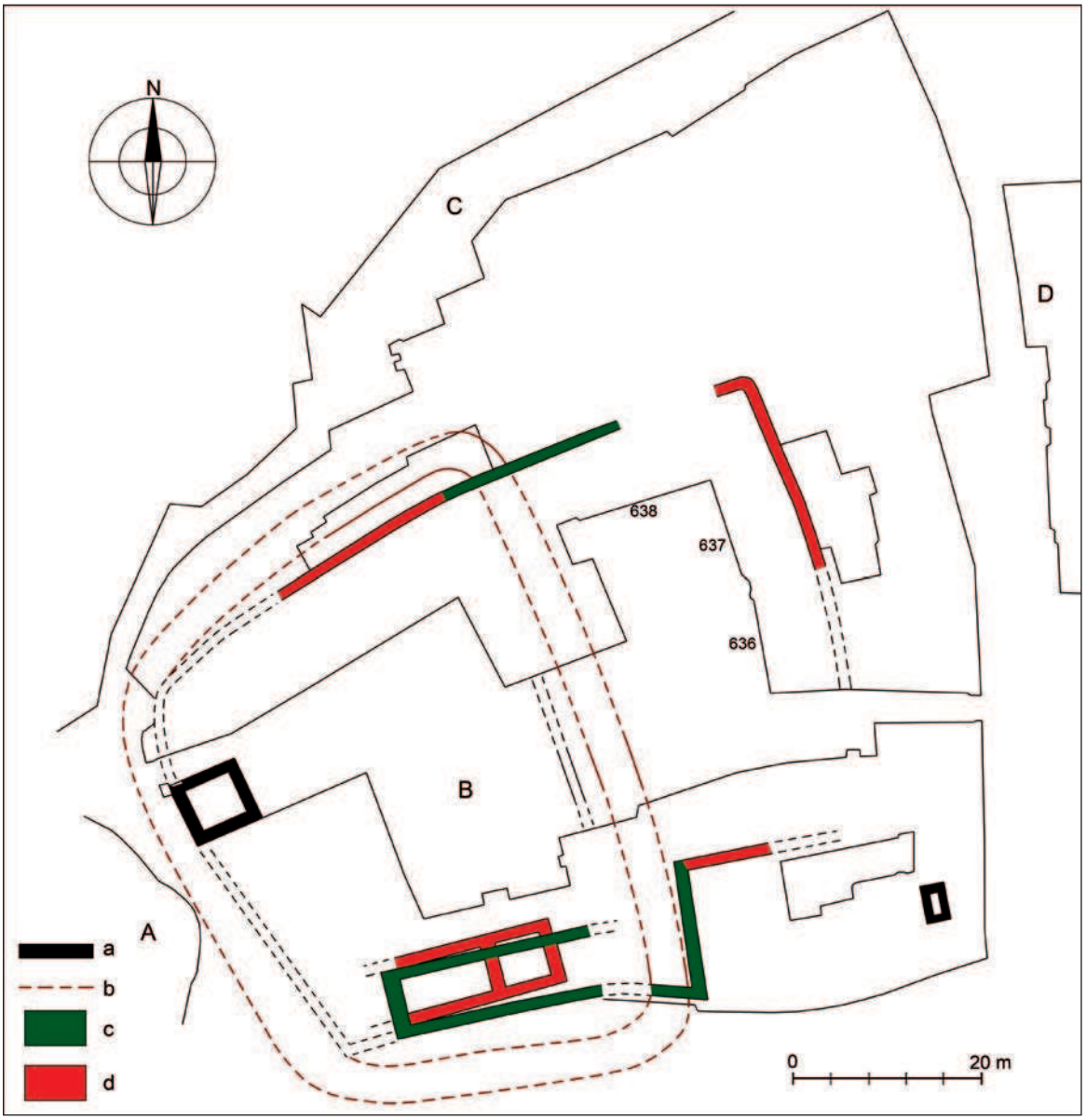

Fig. 11. Prague. Tyn Court (Ungelt, Teinhof). A – church; B – court; C – Týnská Street; D –St James's church. a – Romanesque stage; b – early medieval moat; c – 14th century; d – late Romanesque stage. Hrdlička, Dragoun and Richterová 1981

in Hebrew MSH BR SLMH, interpreted in Czech literature as MOSHE BAR SHLOMO. This find was recognized as a seal ring of a Jewish merchant by its excavators (Zavřel and Žegklitz 2007; Kašpar and Žegklitz 2009, 56).

What we know at present leaves no doubt that the crafts-and-market settlement on the right bank was, during the first decades of the 13th century the largest part of the Prague agglomeration. This was the settlement that decided the non-agrarian character of the economy of the proto-town. The dynamics of socio-economic growth is confirmed by the dense network of churches and Romanesque stone houses. Its central element was the marketplace on the right bank of the Vltava. It is assumed to have been larger than the later Old Town Square (Ječný et al. 1984, 246–247). It extended from the margin of the Vltava terrace in the west to Tyn Court in the east. Tyn Court that formed its eastern border and known also as Ungelt or Teinhof, was a defensive complex that serviced and controlled commerce (Fig. 11). Some of its buildings were stonebuilt; others were timber, enclosed by a moat, 4–5 m wide with a depth of around 3 m. The area was irregular in plan, 45 × 65 m. Traces of non-ferrous metallurgy were found in this area (Hrdlička, Dragoun and Richterová 1981; Hrdlička 2005).

The original shape of the marketplace changed prior to the mid-13th century. Its western part, as well as it northern and southern edges were occupied by timber or masonry merchants' houses. The plots were set out without precisely measured units. In its final form the marketplace was an irregularly shaped quadrangle in plan with seven streets issuing from it.

Putting aside the solitary find of a merchant's seal ring with the Hebrew inscription from Republic Square, we have to emphasize that the main site of activity of the Jewish commune came to be the relatively large area to the north of the marketplace. The Jewish population settled there prior to the mid–12th century after leaving the left bank suburbium next to Prague Castle. It had a synagogue and a graveyard in the new district at Opatovice (Ječný et al. 1984, 233).

The rapid growth on the Old Town terrace of settlement subordinated to commerce and crafts brought significant change in the topography of proto-urban Prague. The breakdown of the early structure that had formed around the power centres occurred here sooner than in other towns of East Central Europe. A large economic centre developed there even prior to the urban reform regulating the legal status of the commune. Its supraregional importance made Prague of the first half of the 13th century not only the political and religious state capital, but also a supraregional economic centre.

The early agglomeration at Prague included some centres of monastic life. The earliest of these were associated with the bishopric and the Přemyslid residence. Next to the church of St George in Prague Castle was a Benedictine nunnery founded at the end of the 10th century at the latest by Duke Boleslav II (971/972–999). Cannons Regular were established at St Vitus's Cathedral after 1060. Masonry remains of the monastery date from the period when the church building was remodelled by Duke Spytihněv II (1055–1061) to the form of a basilica. The buildings of the monastery were constructed to connect with the north-eastern wall of the basilica. It was a quadrilateral complex with a formal chapter house and a typical cloister. A vaulted refectory with three aisles was added to the north-eastern part of the quadrangle. The results of archaeological research confirm that the monastery was an establishment built for display (Durdík, Chotěbor and Muk 1984).

The second monastery of canons in Prague was associated, as noted earlier, with the collegiate basilica of St Peter in Vyšehrad. Its purpose was to service the existing complex of religious buildings and the bishop's chapter that functioned periodically in the castle. The plan of this monastery is obscure. External power centres and the Prague Bishopric had an array of monastic communities. Strahov Monastery with the church of the Virgin Mary was on the north-western margin of the early agglomeration. It was founded around 1140 for an as yet unidentified monastic community, which was soon replaced by the Premonstratensians of Steinfeld in Bavaria. The first monastery was housed in timber buildings; it was replaced by masonry buildings in the second half of the 12th century (Sommer 1984; Vlček, Sommer, Foltyn 1997, 442–451). On the left bank of the Vltava crossing, in the settlement of Travnik, during the second half of the 12th century a fortified commandry of the Knights of St John was built (Huml, Dragoun and Nový 1990–1991, 55). There is also evidence that by the early 13th century the Order of Brothers of the German House of Saint Mary had built a residence at Pořici on the right bank of Prague but the form of their precinct is unknown (Bureš, Kašpar, Špaček and Vařeka 1997, 7; Dragoun, Juřina and Kašpar 2009, 58). During the same period, the presence of the Knights Templar by the church of St Lawrence at the south-western margin of the Old Town terrace was confirmed (Borkovský 1957; Huml, Dragoun and Nový 1990–1991, 50).

Completing the proto-urban structure of Prague were settlements to which we are unable to ascribe a crafts-commercial function or associate with a monastery. They continued to emerge from the 10th century, mainly along the left bank margin of the Vltava valley. Farthest north, on a holm at the confluence of Brušnice stream and the Vltava, was the settlement of Rybaře with the church of St Peter (Hrdlička 1972, 644). To the west of the suburbium by Prague Castle, was the settlement of Obora with the rotunda of John the Baptist (Ječný et al. 1984, 219; Dragoun 1988a). Four other 11th–12th-century settlements have been identified spread along the margin of the terrace to the south of the suburbium. They are thought to represent settlements known from the written sources: Travnik with the later commandry of the Knights of St John's at the river crossing; Nebovidy with the church of St Lawrence; Ujezd with the church of St John, and a settlement centred on the church of St Philip and St James (Ječný et al. 1984, 219; Tomas 1984a, 41; Huml, Dragoun and Nový 1990–1991, 42, Fig. 2). In all probability, the mainstay of economy of these settlements was mostly agriculture, even though not every one of them lies on soils favourable for farming.

B. WROCŁAW

The origins of the proto-urban settlement complex in Wrocław date back to the castle on a river island. The decision to site the castle on the later Ostrów Tumski (Cathedral Island) was based on its naturally defensive position created by the unique local hydrography. It is created by the Odra River, meandering down a broad depression and divided into several channels, joined by the tributaries of the Oława, Bystrzyca, Widawa and Ślęza rivers and many smaller streams. At first, these waterways changed course naturally, and later, due to anthropogenic causes give rise to a string of low-lying islands. Of special significance were changes in the course of the Odra and the Oława as they determined the locations suitable for development (Fig. 12). It is accepted that these two rivers may have had six to seven main channels. They were rather shallow, on average about 50 cm deep (Leonhard 1901). With no humans to interfere, the islands and the riverbanks could change form with every flood, of which there were many. Thus, one of the conditions for the development of settlement was having protection from

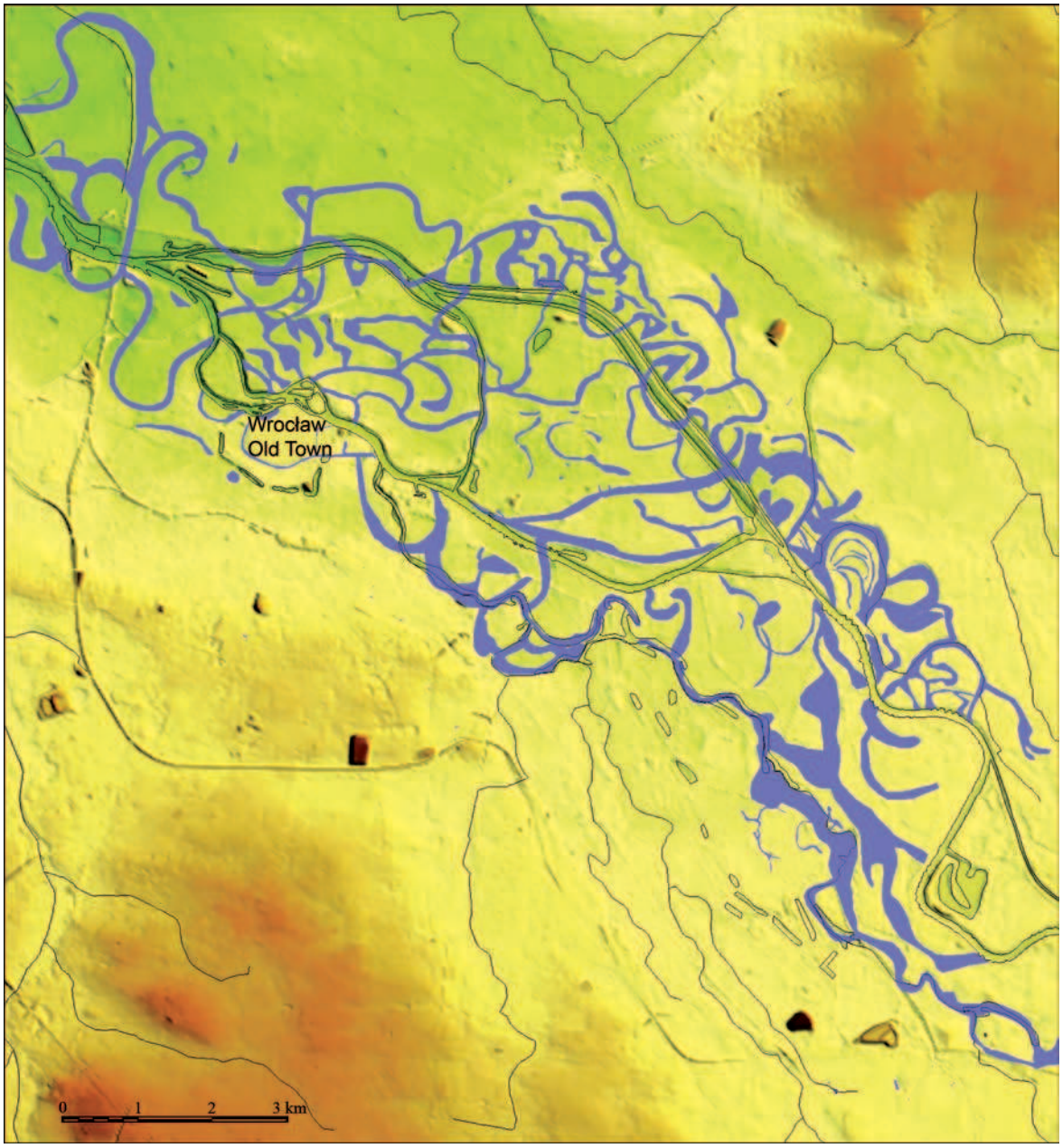

Fig. 12. Ancient meanders of the Odra River in Wrocław. Badura 2010

the river's destructive force. Of major importance for the development of settlement were the islands of Ostrów Tumski and Piasek as well as the area on both banks of what was then the main river channel. The latter could have been hemmed in by minor channels of the Odra and the Oława. The differences of elevation within the town and its close surroundings were slight. The mean water level in the Odra prior to the rise of the communal town is estimated at about 111 m above sea level. Elevation in the settled islands was about 115–116 m asl. This was also the elevation of the area on the riverbanks. The upper terrace has an elevation of about 117 m asl, and development began only in the 13th century. This is where the central marketplace of the incorporated town was established. By raising its original level by 5–6 m higher than the mean water level in the river, it was made relatively safe from flooding. More to the south, the land sloped to a natural depression and this was used for a moat, described as 'the outer moat'. Thus, a substantial area of the town, especially in the north, remained marshy (Badura 2010, 40–44; Piekalski 2013, 380–382).

The nucleus around which the settlement of early Wrocław would concentrate was the castle on Ostrów Tumski (Fig. 13). The available evidence at present induces us to locate the earliest stable occupation on the eastern part of that island. With it are associated remains, identified at two locations, of an earth-and-timber rampart in hooked joint construction. One of these remnants was dated using input from dendrochronological analysis to a time prior to the mid–10th century (Kaźmierczyk 1991–1995, part 2, 21). Trial reconstruction of the defences undertaken

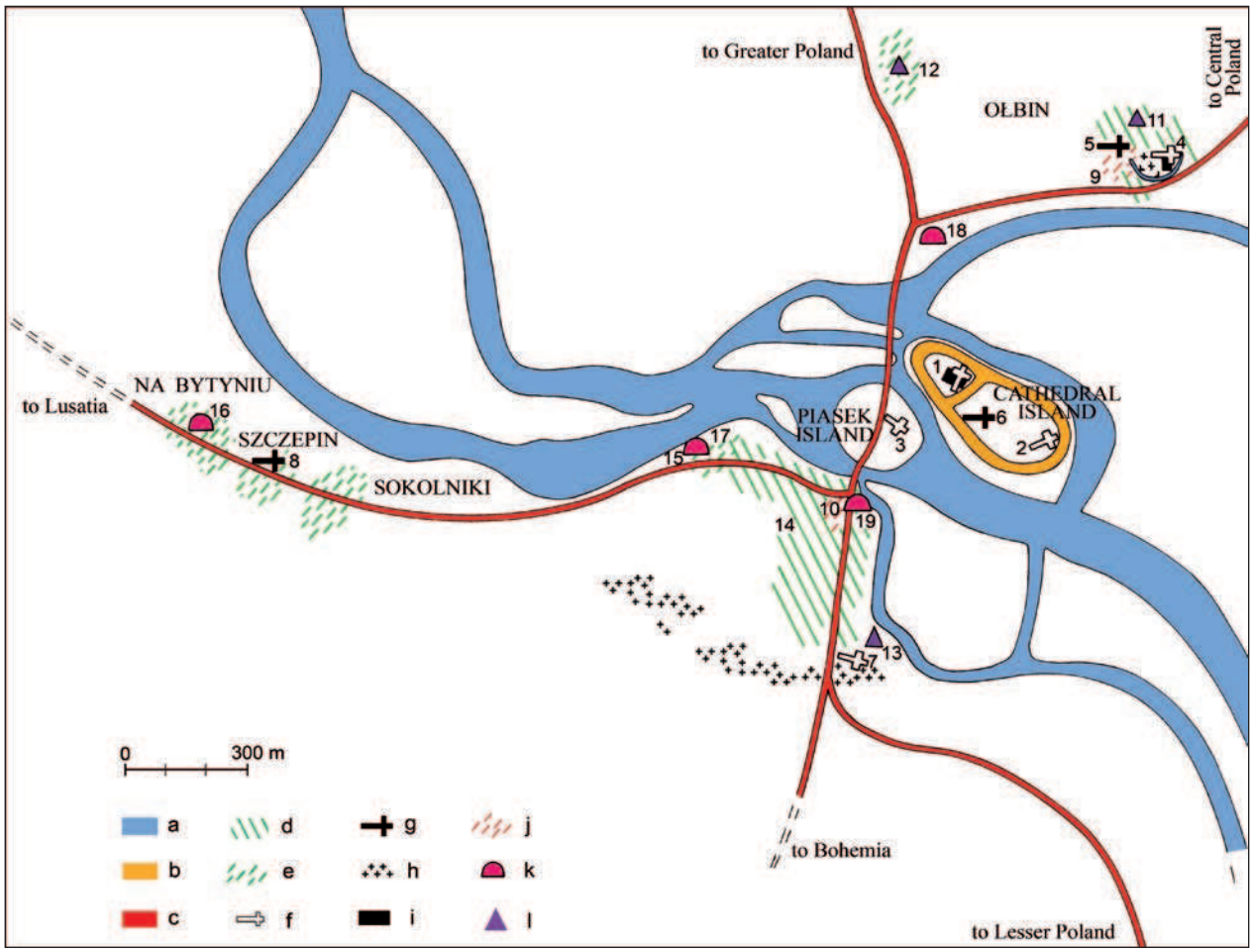

Fig. 13. Wrocław, 11th–12th century: a – river; b – castle rampart; c – main road; d – settlement documented by archaeology; e – settlement documented by written sources; f – church; g – church, approximate location; h – cemetery; i – ducal residence; j – marketplace; k – inn; l – noble residence approximate location. 1 – castle precinct with St Martin's chapel; 2 – St John's Cathedral; 3 – Augustinian abbey with Our Lady's church; 4 – Premonstratensian abbey with St Vincent's church; 5 – St Michael's church; 6 – St Peter's church; 7 – St Wojciech/Adalbert's church; 8 – St Nicholas's church; 9 – site of the annual fair in front of St Vincent's church; 10 – projected location of the marketplace in the left bank district; 11 – estate of the noble Włostowic family; 12 – estate of the nobleman Mikora; 13 – projected location of Gerung's estate (*curia*); 14 – district centred on St Wojciech/Adalbert's church; 15 – Jewish district; 16 – inn in the district 'Na Bytyniu'; 17 – inn 'Birvechnik'; 18 – inn 'ad fine pontis'; 19 – inn of the Augustinian abbey. J. Piekalski based on data from Młynarska-Kaletynowa 1986. Drawing N. Lenkow

by the discoverers shows a small fort some 60 m across (Kaźmierczyk 1991–1995, part 1, 15–45). At the same time, the limited scope of the investigation of the rampart leaves considerable freedom to reconstruct its plan (Młynarska-Kaletynowa 1992, Fig. 6; Buśko, Piekalski and Rzeźnik 1995, Fig. 2; Moździoch 2004). In addition, it is also feasible that the earliest defences enclosed a much larger section of the eastern part of the island including the site of the later cathedral and bishop's palace. This is suggested by the remains of development in the area lying to the south-east of the rampart, layers T and W recorded in trench II during the excavation. This occupation phase is dated to the 10th century by small finds recovered from building interiors, mostly ceramics and a small silver cross displaying an affinity with the Bernhardstahl type (Měřinský 1988, 126–127). The buildings were situated with their walls parallel to the rampart. This orientation changed after layer T was destroyed. The younger houses, built after the dismantling of the rampart, were given a different alignment (Kaźmierczyk, Kramarek and Lasota 1980, 76–91). These findings are not in conflict with the interpretation proposed by Józef Kaźmierczyk concerning the earliest castle. They only show that there is a need to continue this direction of research in the eastern area of Ostrów Tumski. The important role, stressed by this researcher, of the eastern part of the island for the development of the earliest settlement in Wrocław is reflected by the construction at this location of the cathedral for the bishopric founded in AD 1000. It appears that the area to the west of the earliest castle was used for agriculture, as evidenced by the discovery of intermittent plough marks in trench III (Kaźmierczyk 1991–1995, part 1, 53–54).

Intensive settlement growth on Ostrów Tumski in the 11th to the late 13th century was stimulated by the presence of centres of power – state, secular and ecclesiastical, in the north-western and south-eastern area of the island respectively (Limisiewicz and Mruczek 2010, 56–65). Both these centres were located in a new castle, built around AD 1000, 5–6 ha in area, presumably composed of two separate parts from the outset (Kóčka and Ostrowska 1955; Kaźmierczyk 1991–1995, part 1, 31–45, Fig. 6). The ducal residence occupied a smaller, western part of the fort, surrounded by an impressive rampart, its width at the base about 20 m. By the mid–12th century at the latest the church of St Martin's had been built there (Żurek 1996, 20–39), and starting around 1200, all the timber structures began to be replaced with masonry ones. The new brick palace was the main residence of the Silesian Piast dukes (Małachowicz and Lasota 1987, 4–10; Małachowicz 1993, 36; cf. Chorowska 2003, 45–52). The larger, eastern segment of the castle housed the cathedral and the residence of the bishop. The area between the ducal residence and the cathedral had a dense development of timber structures, organized in individual units. Each unit had a house built of logs or wattle construction with a surface area of 20–25 m^2, an outbuilding, and occasionally, a granary. The layout was orderly with the walls of neighbouring buildings placed parallel. Communication was facilitated by the presence of timber-surfaced streets and open spaces (Buśko, Czerska and Kaźmierczyk 1985; Kaźmierczyk 1991–1995, part 2, 22–24; Bykowski et al. 2004, 120–124). The buildings mainly served the castle garrison and the entourages of the duke and the bishop. There was no evidence to confirm crafts and commercial activity (Buśko 2005a, 182).

The crafts-and-market settlement established itself on the left bank of the Odra River. This, despite the fact that the major commercial event of this proto-town – the annual fair of St Vincent – was held at the opposite end of the settlement complex, on the right bank in Ołbin (Młynarska-Kaletynowa 1986, 44). The origins of the settlement and its spatial evolution have been discussed in publications for several decades now with new arguments presented parallel with the increase in the archaeological source base started during the 1960s. Today, after the studies of Józef Kaźmierczyk (1966–1970) and Cezary Buśko (2005), and excavation undertaken in 2010–2011 by Jerzy Piekalski's team, it is possible to present a tentative summary of the views and current knowledge. Recently obtained materials have confirmed the conclusions reached by Józef Kaźmierczyk that the left bank settlement had its origins in the 11th century. Thus, such a chronology of the earliest remains continued to be disputed because in the riverbank area, next to the Franciscan church of St James, the lowest occupation level was a deposit dated no earlier than the 12th century. After the investigation of linear trenches in Piaskowa Street on the northern edge of the New Market Square with input from dendrochronological analyses, the earliest occupation was given a later dating – the 12th century, even its very end (Buśko 2005a, 186; Niegoda 2005, 79). However, the latest conclusions drawn from the excavation of a larger area (of approximately 0.4 ha) in New Market Square suggest that it is possible to revert to the dating proposed in the past by Józef Kaźmierczyk.

The settlement occupied an area adjacent to the river crossing to Piasek Island on to the castle on

Ostrów Tumski. In the 11th–12th century, it extended southward not more than 400 m, i.e. at most as far as the church of St Adalbert and today's Wita Stwosza Street; its east-west span was about 300 m (Piekalski 2010). A ditch discovered by the south-western edge of the settlement, at the intersection of Wita Stwosza and Biskupia streets, could have been a boundary ditch. It was dug during the 12th, possibly the early 13th century and ran north-south. Its width was more than 6.8 m but less than 12 m, and the depth was 1.1 m. The ditch was lined with brushwood, visible at the time of discovery as a smudge of deep brown humus (Konczewski and Piekalski 2010, 139–140).

This early phase of the settlement is documented by the remains of small semi-dugouts and other pits, mostly hard to interpret as to their function. No timber samples were obtained from them that were useful for dendrochronological analysis and the dating is based on small finds, mostly pottery vessels, but also on metal finds. Józef Kaźmierczyk was the first to identify the settlement as a crafts centre, his interpretation based mostly on traces of metallurgy and leatherworking (Kaźmierczyk 1966–1970, part 2, 83–182). This argument too was confirmed by later research (Buśko 2005a, 185–186).

In the south the settlement bordered on an extensive cemetery, spreading from the later St Adalbert's church in the east to St Elizabeth's church in the west. The graves were widely spaced with some discovered along Wita Stwosza Street, at Szewska Street, and where Kuźnicza Street joins the Market Square. The earliest burials from the 11th century were deposited in the eastern area of the cemetery, the latest, from the first decades of the 13th century, at its western end. At this point it is worth noting that the study of cemeteries from the proto-urban phase may have now reached a turning point and promises to bring essential changes in interpretation. In the past, we used to search in Wrocław, seat of a bishopric since AD 1000, for cemeteries attached to the churches that functioned according to the principles of *cura animarum* (Piekalski 1991, 61–64). If we happened to unearth a cemetery older than a known church as in the case of the parish church of St Elizabeth, we suspected the presence in that area of a wooden church not documented by legible sources (Lasota and Piekalski 1997). When graves next to St Adalbert's and St Mary Magdalene's appeared to be older than the churches, we were inclined to push back the chronology of the latter. However, the discovery of churches from the 11th–12th centuries along present day Wita Stwosza Street, relatively far from the churches of St Adalbert and St Mary Magdalene, suggest a different relationship between graves and churches and a different status of the cemetery in the structure of the settlement (Czerner et al. 2000; Buśko 2005a, 191–192; Konczewski and Piekalski 2010, 142–145, also the graves discovered by Przemysław Guszpit at Krawiecka Street, known to me personally). It is quite likely that the topographical position of the burial site had a bearing on the choice of site for the construction of the Wrocław churches of St Adalbert during the first half of the 12th century, St Mary Magdalene's church around 1200, and St Elizabeth's before 1250 (Piekalski 2011, 150–152; Wojcieszak 2012, 18–20).

The second half of the 12th century, and especially, the first decades of the 13th century, saw a marked intensification of settlement on the left bank of the Odra. This conclusion is drawn based on cultural layers dated to this period. The area of the early settlement was augmented by adding a strip of land about 250 m wide adjacent to it from the south and south-west (Fig. 14). The burial site to the south gradually went out of use, its function taken over by cemeteries attached to the churches. The oldest of these was St Adalbert's, built during the 1140s at the latest (CDS Maleczyński, vol. 1, no. 22, 55–56, no. 68, 158–159; Młynarska-Kaletynowa 1986, 44 with information about the written source). It gave its name to a settlement known in the early 13th century as *ad sanctum Adalbertum* (SUB, vol. I, no. 77). The younger church of St Mary Magdalene was built in the south-western area of the newly settled zone. Its early history is not illuminated adequately by written sources. Nevertheless, they make it possible to conclude with a great measure of probability, that in 1226 the existing church was vested with the rights and duties of a parish church, exercised earlier by St Adalbert's which that same year passed to the Dominicans, who arrived in Wrocław from Krakow (SUB, vol. 1, no. 266; Młynarska-Kaletynowa 1986, 90). Archaeological excavation carried out on the church during the 1960s confirmed the presence of the remains of earlier buildings, of which the oldest were dated to the late 12th century. The surviving stone-and-brick foundations were too poorly preserved to reconstruct the size and shape of this building. Its chronology was determined from stratigraphy and the attributes of pottery vessels discovered in association with the foundations. Religious function is determined by graves associated with these buildings (Broniewski and Kozaczewski 1967, 9–13). Let us add here that the use of brick in the foundations and the lack of grave goods in the inhumations suggest – or even impose outright – a dating to the early 13th

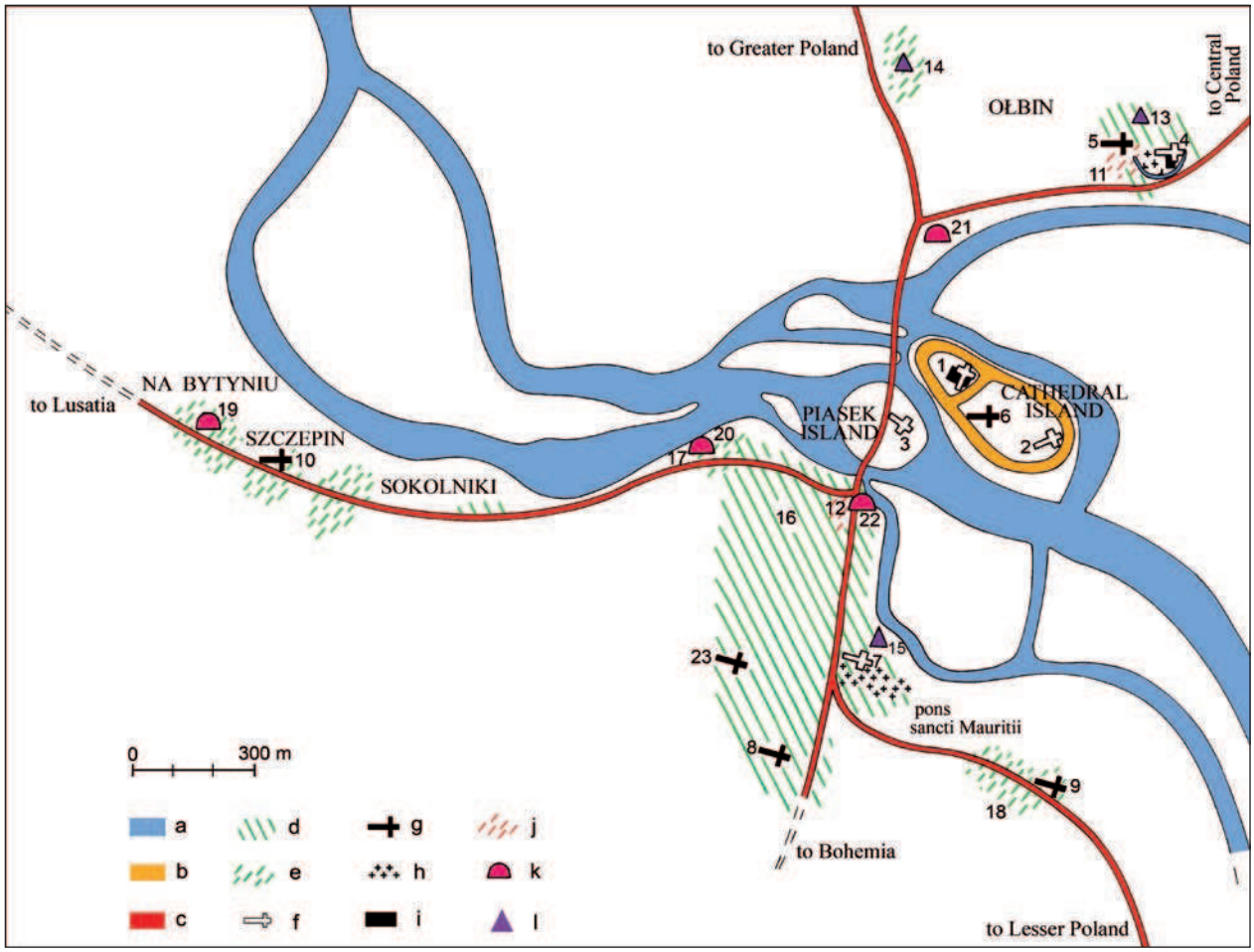

Fig. 14. Wrocław, prior to the incorporation: a – river; b – castle rampart; c – main road; d – settlement documented by archaeology; e – settlement documented by written sources; f – church; g – church, approximate location; h – cemetery; i – ducal residence; j – marketplace; k – inn; l – noble residences, approximate location. 1 – castle precinct with St Martin's chapel; 2 – St John's Cathedral; 3 – Augustinian abbey with Our Lady's church; 4 – Premonstratensian abbey with St Vincent's church; 5 – St Michael's church; 6 – St Peter's church; 7 – St Wojciech/Adalbert's church; 8 – St Mary of Egypt's church; 9 – St Maurice's church; 10 – St Nicholas's church; 11 – site of the annual fair in front of St Vincent's church; 12 – projected location of the marketplace in the left bank district; 13 – estate of the noble Włostowic family; 14 – estate of the nobleman Mikora; 15 – projected location of Gerung's estate (*curia*); 16 – crafts-and-market settlement; 17 – Jewish district; 18 – Walloon district; 19 – inn in the district 'Na Bytyniu'; 20 – the inn 'Birvechnik'; 21 – inn 'ad fine pontis'; 22 – inn of the Augustinian abbey; 23 – St Mary Magdalene's church. J. Piekalski based on data from Młynarska-Kaletynowa 1986. Drawing Nicole Lenkow

century. The upper limit would be the year 1226, after which date the church was being remodelled.

The southernmost extent of the pre-incorporation occupation is confined by the area next to the church of St Mary of Egypt, 250 m south of the church of St Adalbert. Arguments in favour of its pre-incorporation chronology were presented by Marta Młynarska-Kaletynowa (1986, 69–70). The remains of the church itself have not yet been identified. At the same time studies confirmed the presence around it of a stratigraphical sequence dated to the first half of the 13th century. We do not know the original function of these early churches, and particularly intriguing is the role of the church of St Mary Magdalene. There is only indirect evidence for its role. A starting point would be to use the view that ecclesiastical organisation in a town of the High Middle Ages was related to its territorial expansion. The distribution of churches is largely the reflection of successive stages in the evolution of the town's structure. Using the works of Karl-Heinz Blaschke, it may be said that the presence of several churches does not result from a town's large population, but from its multi-stage development. It illustrates the division into districts formed at different times or used by different communes (Blaschke 1987, 24–40). Until around 1200, the community of the left bank settlement would have been integrated by the presence of the church of St Adalbert. The construction of St Mary Magdalene's in the newly settled zone appears

to reflect the emergence in Wrocław of the early 13th century of a separate community. One could venture the conclusion that this was the earliest commune of German speaking *hospites* (Piekalski 2002a, 58–59, 2011, 152–153; differently Goliński 2012, 38).

On the western edge of the settlement, starting from around 1200 was a district of Jewish *hospites*. This dating of the presence of Jewish merchants on the left bank of the Odra is substantiated by finds of tombstones from a cemetery destroyed during the 14th century (Wodziński 1996, 39, 163, 167–172). The site of their settlement was determined using information from later written sources (Markgraf 1896, 225–226; Młynarska-Kaletynowa 1986, 51–58) and, to some extent, archaeological evidence. The view afforded by the latter is not entirely clear since objects of material culture discovered in the cultural deposit are no different in the main from those recorded in the town's Christian districts. Objects associated with religious symbolism very rarely found their way into the ground. The only reasonably reliable information to confirm the enduring presence of a Jewish commune is animal bone assemblages deficient in the remains of pig (Kaźmierczyk 1959, 245).

It was accepted in earlier publications that Walloon colonists arrived in Wrocław during the second half of the 12th century (Goerlitz 1936; Młynarska-Kaletynowa 1986, 59–67). Their settlement conceivably was thought to have formed the south-eastern margin of the proto-town; its central point was the church of St Maurice, mentioned for the first time in 1226–1234 (Goliński 2007; Słoń 2007). The findings from an archaeological investigation carried out next to this church did not produce such early materials associated with the settlement (Konczewska and Piekalski 2008). It is more likely that it developed during the first decades of the 13th century, in the area of today's Dominikański Square, where archaeological material was discovered dating from the first decades of the 13th century, and with time, in connection with the incorporation, shifted slightly to the east. Nonetheless, the Walloon settlement formed part of the proto-urban pre-incorporation complex. Let us add that there is no indication that this commune was marked by having a material culture different from that of other *hospites*. This would undermine the argument of Colmar Grünhagen (1861) long established in literature that they had come directly from the far off Moselle (cf. Młynarska-Kaletynowa 1986, 59–67, with earlier references). It is more likely that they had moved in from a much closer neighbourhood – from Lusatia or Saxony – where they had migrated to at the end of the 11th century and during the 12th, in stages, as was usual during the entire colonisation process.

The artisanal character of the expanded left bank settlement linked with the *civitas Wratislaviensis* of written sources is confirmed by rich archaeological evidence, e.g. traces of iron and non-ferrous metals working, including gold, as well as leather, wood, bone and antler working. These activities went on in an orderly townscape, which had buildings of diverse construction. Timber-framed houses predominated, a design unknown earlier in the region that was introduced from the West. However, no individual burgage plots were identified in the layout of the settlement.

The right bank of the Odra river was used intermittently starting from the 8th century. An enclosure with a semi-dugout house was identified there and was dated by an assemblage of small finds (Fig. 15). It is notable that this is the earliest evidence of medieval occupation discovered in Wrocław to-date. On the other hand, permanent settlement in Ołbin may be said to have been documented as beginning from the 11th century. Timber buildings organised into individual units were discovered there and indicate an agrarian economy. We know from the written sources that in the 12th century this settlement was associated with the fortified residence of the powerful noble Włostowic family. Its prominent representative was Piotr, palatine to Bolesław the Wrymouth (1102–1138) and Władysław II (1138–1146). According to *Carmen Mauri*, an epic source from the late 12th century, during the first half of that century Piotr was in possession of a manor described as *satis bene munitam*, meaning that it was 'sufficiently well fortified' (Cronica Petri Comitis 1951, 35–46). This establishment had at least a palisade with a gate. The residence itself had several chambers. After the palatine's fall in the winter of 1145, the manor was burnt down.

The Włostowic family were not the only representatives of Wrocław's powerful, only we are unable to identify their residences. Somewhere in the western part of Ołbin was the seat of *comes* Mikora, passed in 1175 to the Cistercians of Lubiąż. Gerung's *curia* was in the settlement *ad sanctum Adalbertum*. In addition, Pomian and presumably, Bezelin, in the second half of the 12th century, had their residences there (Młynarska-Kaletynowa 1986, 37). In addition, some hard to name *area vel curiae* were found in Ostrów Tumski (SUB, vol. 2, no. 247).

The origins of two large monasteries are associated with the powerful Włostowic family, and these were elements of the settlement structure of the

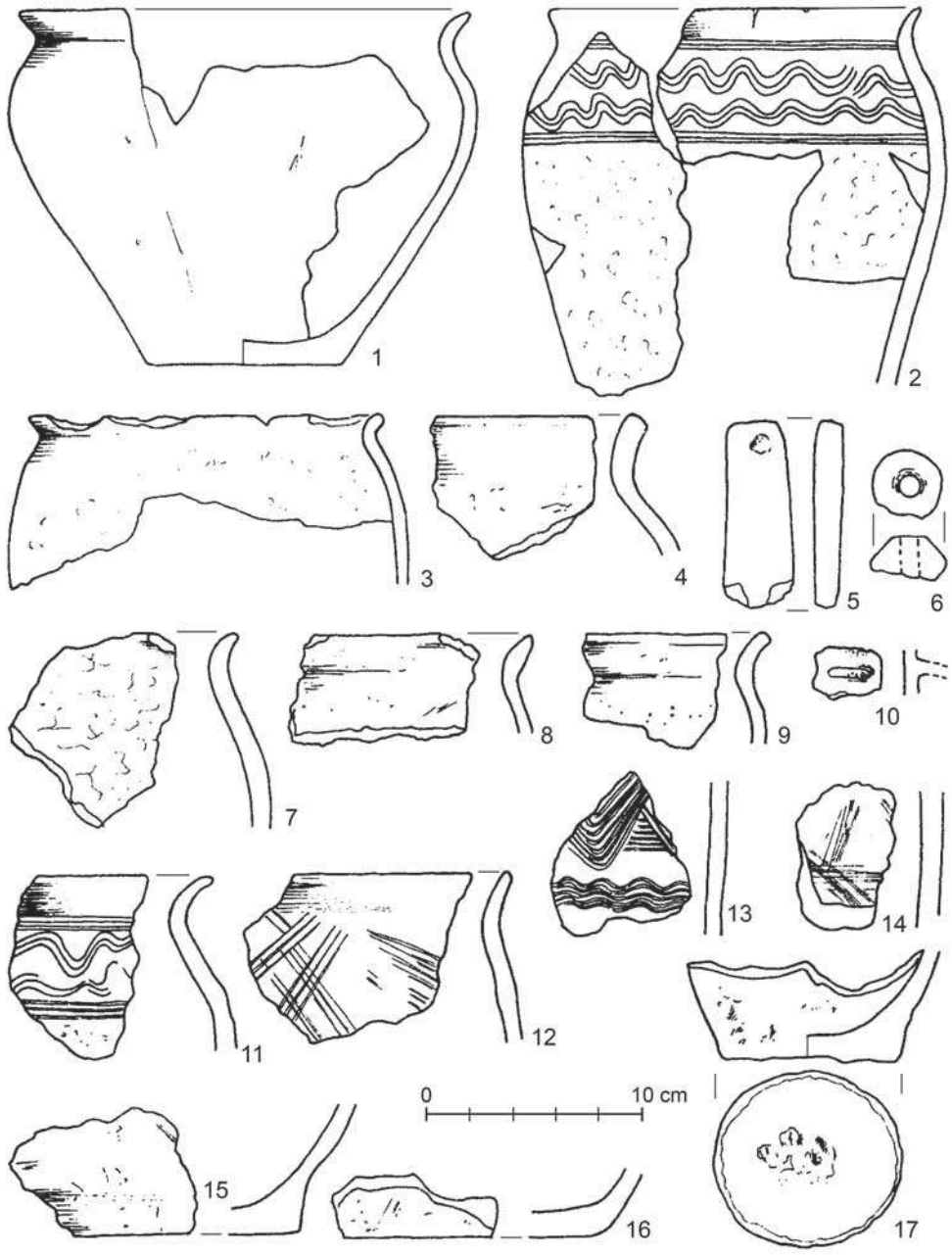

Fig. 15. Wrocław-Ołbin. 1–17 –archaeological finds, 8th–9th century. Piekalski 1991

Wrocław proto-town. In the 1120s or 1130s, at the initiative of Palatine Piotr, construction started in Ołbin, next to the Włostowic residence, of an abbey for Benedictine monks brought in from their house at Tyniec near Krakow (Fig. 16; Lasota and Piekalski 1990/91). The Romanesque basilica of the monastery, raised of granite mined in Mount Ślęża, was equal in size to cathedral churches. The cemetery next to it served the lay populations and attests to the proto-parish function of the abbey. Prior to 1149, an annual fair was instituted at Ołbin, intensifying Wrocław's long-distance trade. The market was held in front of the abbey church (*ante atrium ecclesiae*), ten days after the feast of Saint Vincent, from the 6 – 16 June (Młynarska-Kaletynowa 1986, 44). The monastery was, moreover, the owner of an inn and other commercial facilities, which later changed hands repeatedly. Their organization was affected by political developments linked to the return to Silesia of sons of the exiled Duke Władysław II. Property in Ołbin, including a meat market, was acquired at that time by the Cistercians from the newly established abbey at Lubiąż. The ejection of the Benedictines from the abbey and the introduction of the Premonstratensians

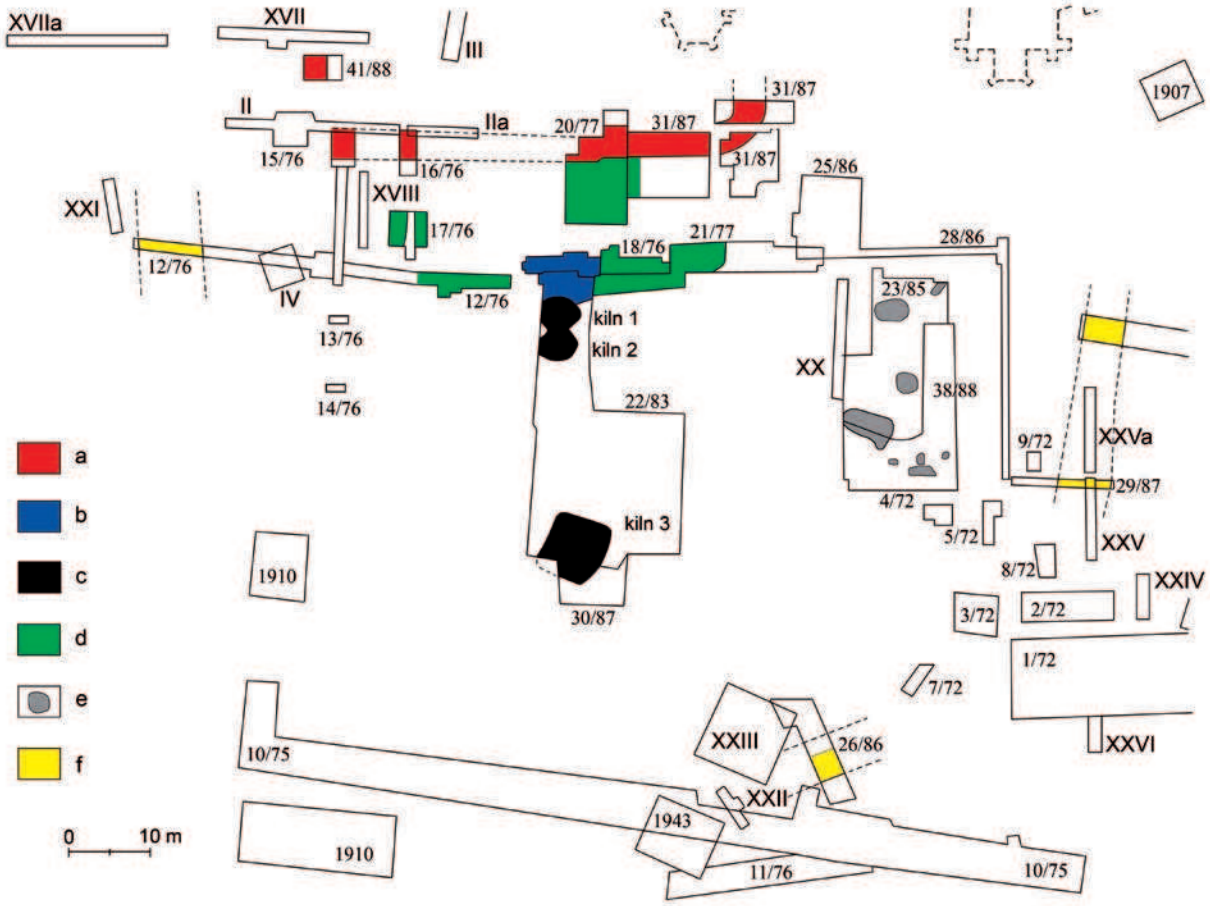

Fig. 16. Wrocław-Ołbin. Construction site of the Benedictine abbey: a – ghost wall of S aisle of St Vincent's church; b – foundry; c – lime kiln; d – stoneworking site; e – settlement feature; f – watercourse. Piekalski 1991

in the late 12th century is also viewed in this context (Młynarska-Kaletynowa 1986, 39–44; Piekalski 1991, with references to sources and publications).

The other monastery, also a foundation of the Włostowic family – the Augustinian abbey – defined the character of Piasek Island, to the west of Ostrów Tumski. During the phase prior to the rise of the urban commune, the monasteries played an important function in organizing proto-urban commerce, both on a local and supraregional scale. Nevertheless, the non-agrarian economic activity and the profits it generated were under the control of the duke (Rabęcka-Brykczyńska 1984, 18–21; Goliński 1991, 8–19).

Institutions run by the Church in the proto-town also included the Holy Ghost Hospital founded by Duke Henry I (1201–1238) in 1214 and run by the Augustinian monks from their abbey on Piasek Island (Trojak 1980; Słoń 2000, 80–130; Romanow and Romanow 2011). It was set up on the outskirts of the settlement, on the Odra where it was joined by the Oława in those days, east of the crossing to Piasek Island. The original layout of the hospital building and its chapel is unknown.

It is unlikely that non-local trade routes influenced the siting of Wrocław. It seems however that like the hydrographical network, they did have significant impact on the formation of the topographical structure of the proto-town. The nodal point of pre-incorporation Wrocław was the Odra crossing. The river was forded where it flowed down a number of channels with islands in between; the largest of them is Piasek Island. The route to the river crossing passed Ostrów Tumski with its ducal castle on the west side. Prior to 1149, at least a part of the crossing was over a wooden bridge, presumably controlled by the Augustinian abbey on Piasek Island (Młynarska-Kaletynowa 1986, 38, with footnotes to the sources and commentary). The location of this crossing is connected with the settled area on the left bank of the Odra. During the late phase of the early urban agglomeration, in the second half of the 12th and the early 13th century, settlement on the left bank was spread out mainly along the length of the long-distance routes. Of special importance in this respect was the section between the bridge and St Adalbert's, which was shared by two major routes – the *Via Regia*

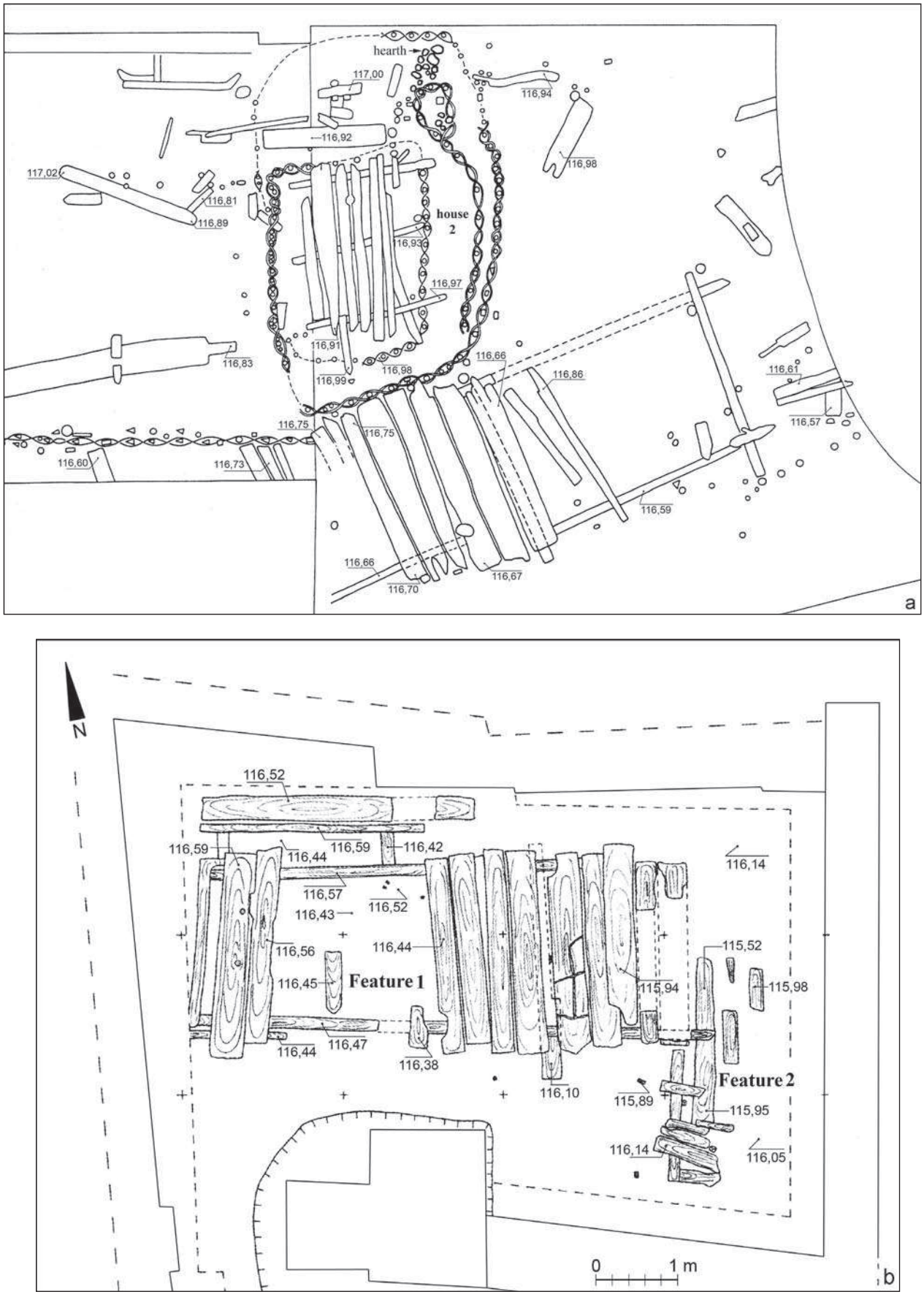

Fig. 17. Wrocław, Ostrów Tumski/Cathedral Island. Construction of streets in the castle: a – No. 2 św. Idziego Street, trench III, ca. 1000–1050. Kaźmierczyk 1991–1995, part 3; b – No. 4 Kapitulna Street, ca. 1050–1150. Bykowski et al. 2004

and the route from Greater Poland to Bohemia. We suspect the presence of a marketplace in this area, described in the early 13th century as *forum wratislaviensis*. Most researchers are inclined to place it in the neighbourhood of the bridge to Piasek Island (Markgraf 1881, 532–534; Młynarska-Kaletynowa 1986, 49–50, 141; Piekalski 1999, 121). However, it needs to be clearly said that at present, we have no sources to pinpoint its exact location. The route leading south from the settlement, beyond St Adalbert's and its churchyard, spilt into two roads; southward to Bohemia and south-eastwards to Krakow. On the route to Krakow, that is, on the *Via Regia*, the settlement of Walloon weavers was established. In 1226, this section was described as *pons sancti Mauricii* (SUB, vol. I, no. 266, 194–195), and later, as *platea gallica* or *platea romanorum.* In a record from 1315–1316, it is described as *pons lapideus* – a road paved with stone (Młynarska-Kaletynowa 1986, 59–66: cf. Goliński 2007; Konczewska and Piekalski 2008; Słoń 2007). On the southbound route, the church of St Mary of Egypt was built with its scatter of attendant buildings, dated by archaeological evidence to the first decades of the 13th century. This was the southern limes of *civitas Wratislaviensis*. The extent of the occupation layers, datable to around 1200, indicates that from the Odra crossing next to today's Piaskowy Bridge, the *Via Regia* ran west along the Odra to a Jewish settlement and a Jewish inn *Birvechnik* nearby (Młynarska-Kaletynowa 1986, 112), and onwards, now outside *civitas Wratislaviensis*, through the settlements of Sokolniki and Szczepin with the church of St Nicholas, and the settlement of *Na Bytyniu*, which had an inn.

Some of the streets of proto-urban Wrocław had a timber surface. This is true of thoroughfares and small open spaces inside the castle on Ostrów Tumski, and of streets on the left bank of the river (see Kaźmierczyk 1966–1970, part 1, 23–24). Regular streets with a timber surface were discovered under the later New Market Square. They were constructed of sleepers laid along the street edge to support heavy boards placed across them (Fig. 17). In the castle on Ostrów Tumski oak was used, often from demolished buildings. In two better investigated sections, the timber came from a dismantled or reconstructed section of the rampart. The streets were up to 2.5 m wide, but evidence was found of narrower thoroughfares and surfaced passages between buildings (Kaźmierczyk 1991–1995 part 3, Fig. 73; Bykowski et al. 2004, 120). At this time, most of the thoroughfares of the early urban agglomeration were not surfaced. This, presumably, was the form of the main street in the left bank settlement which developed on the stretch shared by the two long-distance routes, linking the Odra crossing with the church of St Adalbert's. No evidence of surface material was discovered during excavation and the course of this street is confirmed only by the remains of regular timber buildings, dating from the 1220s and 1230s (Niegoda 2005, 70–71).

C. KRAKOW

The main city of Lesser Poland (Małpolska) and of the medieval Kingdom of Poland too, was built in a landscape of varied morphology on the borderland of the Małopolska Upland, the Carpathian Foothills and the Vistula River valley. The proto-urban development started on a site lying in the contact zone of the Małopolska Upland and the Vistula valley (Fig. 18). The decisive factor presumably was the defensive value of Wawel Hill – a prominent limestone rock rising 25 m above the margin of the Vistula floodplain. The summit of Wawel Hill is relatively flat with some 4 hectares available for use. It is here that a castle was constructed – the seat of secular power and of a bishopric. Other elements of the structure of the town occupied a broad promontory of the middle terrace adjacent to Wawel in the north, known as the alluvial cone of the Prądnik, a tributary of the Vistula. This uniquely shaped spur of land tapers southward to form a bridge between the upland and Wawel Hill, adjacent to its southern tip. The width of the promontory in the settled zone is between about 180 m in the south to 800 m in the north. The settlement value of Prądnik Cone followed from its direct neighbourhood with Wawel Hill as a power centre, the Vistula's proximity and, not less important, safety from flooding. This is because the area under settlement was elevated by 4–7 m above the bottom of the floodplain (Poleski 2004, 393, 2013, s. 57). Given that the channel of the Rudawa, a left tributary of the Vistula, was dug to the north of Wawel Hill only sometime during the 13th or the 14th century; there was no natural feature to divide the castle from the rest of the area occupied by settlement (Kmietowicz-Drahtowa 1971, 1974; Radwański 1975, 14–18, 33–41; Wyrozumski 1992, 9–22; Wierzbicki 2010, 177; cf. Czop et al. 2010).

It is reasonable to assume that the castle on Wawel Hill was established and prospered due to its hinter-

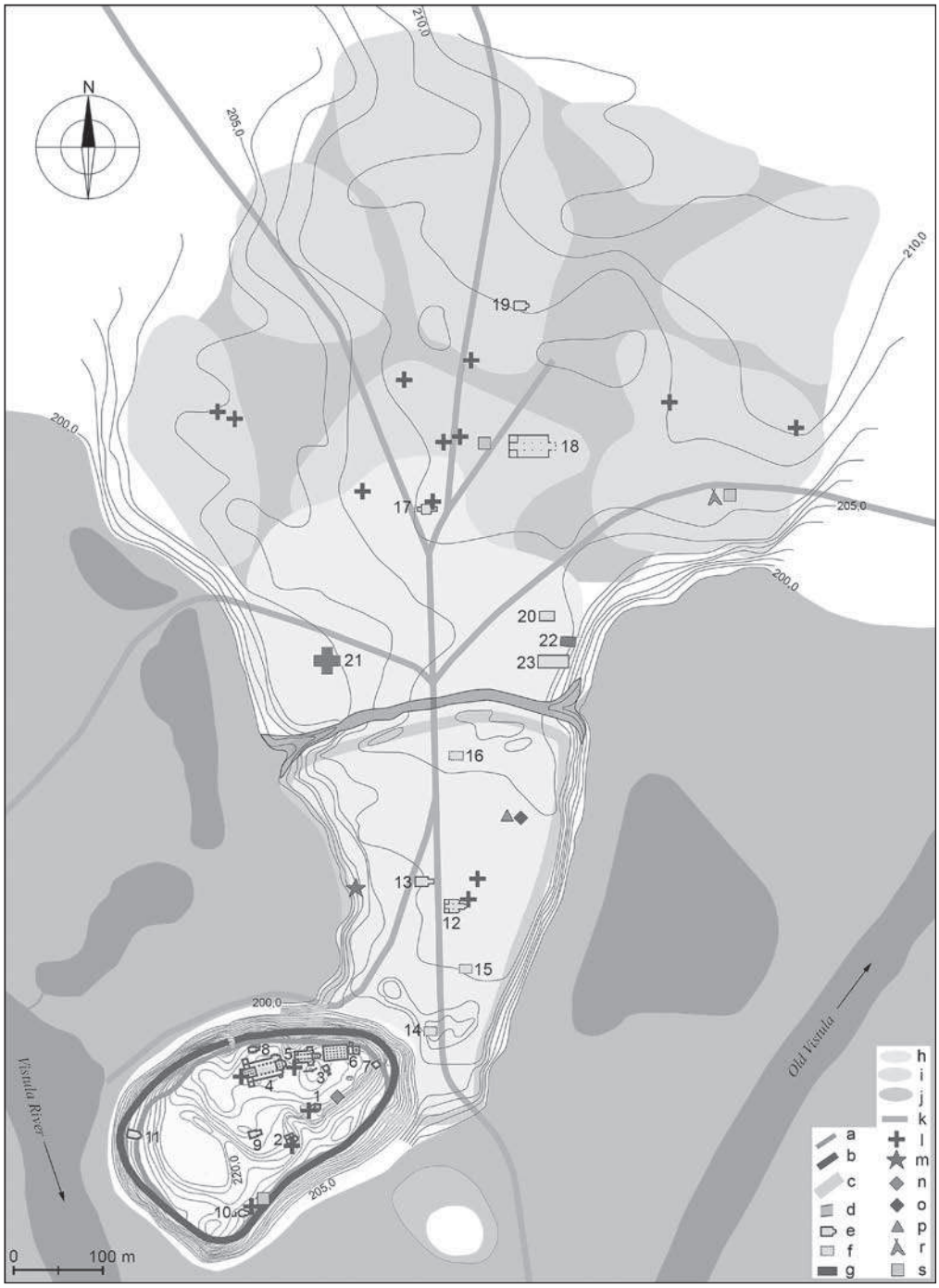

Fig. 18. Krakow. Structure of the settlement prior to the mid–13th century: a – rampart on Wawel Hill ca. mid–11th century; b – projected line of the rampart on Wawel Hill, second half of the 11th century–first half of the 13th century; c – the wall of Okół suburbium; d – dry moat; e – Pre-Romanesque and Romanesque masonry buildings; f – conjectured Romanesque churches; g – early Gothic churches and monasteries; h – zone settled before the 11th century; i – zone settled during the 11th century; j – zone settled in the 12th century–first half of the 13th century; k – projected road network prior to the mid–13th century; l – graves; m – hoard of iron currency bars; n – Carolingian strap mount from the second half of the 8th century; o – Great Moravian bronze earring; p – Old Magyar bronze belt mount from the late 9th–first half of the 10th century; r – iron spur with hook-like grips; s – remains of timber dwellings. Buildings: 1 – St Felix and St Adauctus's church; 2 – rotunda with two apses; 3 – 'rectangular building' in the arcaded courtyard; 4 – (St Wenceslas's) 'Cathedral' I and II; 5 – fragment of the chapel and the later St Mary of Egypt's basilica; 6 – Romanesque residence (palatium) and palace chapel; 7 – tower; 8 – chapel north of the Cathedral; 9 – St Michael's church; 10 – rotunda next to Sandomierz Tower; 11 – chapel in the area of Smocza Jama cave; 12 – St Andrew's church; 13 – St Mary Magdalene's church; 14 –St Giles's church; 15 – St Martin's church; 16 – St Peter's church; 17 – St Wojciech/Adalbert's church; 18 – Our Lady's church; 19 – St John's church; 20 – original (Romanesque?) Holy Trinity church; 21 – St Francis's church; 22 –'chapter house' of the Dominican monastery; 23 – early Gothic Holy Trinity church. Poleski 2005

land of early medieval open settlements, sufficiently dense in western Lesser Poland. Agriculture based on the cultivation of local loess soils and the early extraction of rock salt and iron ores provided a good hinterland for the castle at Krakow (Radwański 1991, 62–65). It is less easy to reach a decision as to the role the pattern of trade routes had on the choice of the site for the castle. Nevertheless, there is no question that they contributed to the economic growth of the proto-town prior to the incorporation of 1257. Perhaps the most important routes were those running West-East, from south Germany, through Regensburg, Prague and Olomouc, linking up at Krakow with the *Via Regia*, although the latter would increase in importance only during the 12th century (Myśliwski 2006, 254, 2009, 74–81). An important economic role is also ascribed to the route which connected Krakow and Hungary and to the increasingly significant waterway down the Vistula River to Gdańsk.

The topography of Wawel Hill determined the plan of the castle set upon its summit (Fig. 19). Thus, it was roughly irregularly oval-shaped in plan, wider in its western part. Five hectares were quite enough to build a complex necessary for effecting central political and ecclesiastical functions. The dating of the origins of the castle is still unresolved. In past publications, it was accepted that during the 10th century the castle was the power centre of the Czech Přemyslid rulers, and at the end of that century passed to the Piast dukes, who were then laying the foundations for the Polish state. At this time with no reliable source base, we cannot pronounce on the concept of the tribal stronghold, subordinated subsequently to Great Moravia. According to the researchers of Wawel's past, its first clay-and-sand rampart dates back to as early as the 9th century, and was replaced in the early 10th century by a stone-timber-and-earth structure (Pianowski 1991, 29; Firlet 1994, 274–277).

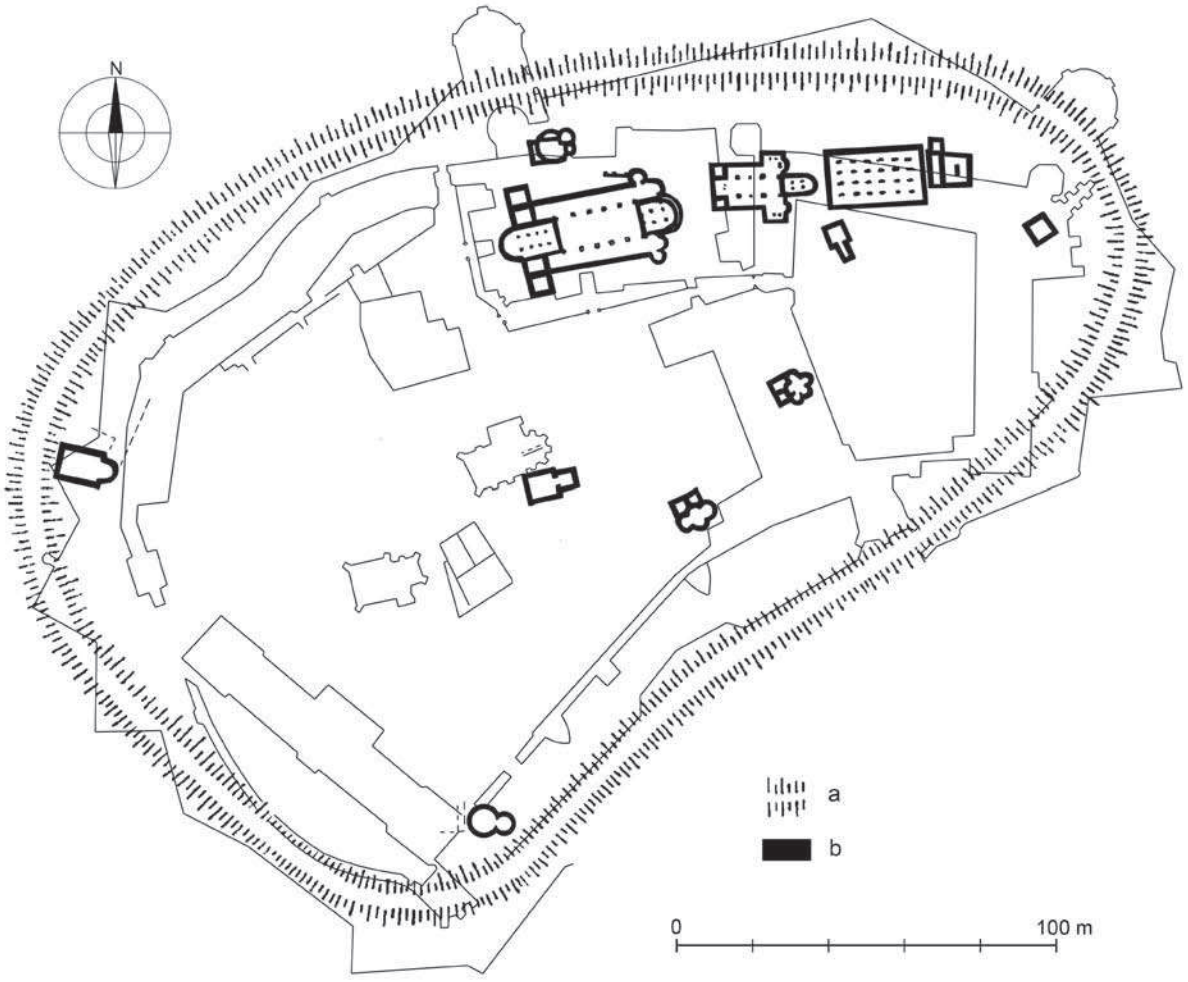

Fig. 19. Krakow. Pre-Romanesque and Romanesque Wawel; a – castle rampart; b – stone buildings. Firlet and Pianowski 1989

That this chronology is not definitive is indicated by dendrochronological dates. To-date isolated samples have been secured from the rampart that dates from the time of the reign of Bolesław Chrobry in the early 11th century (Kukliński 1995, 243; 2005; Poleski 2004, 392–399). However, it is better to delay final conclusions pending the analysis of a larger number of timber samples with a well-defined stratigraphical position, and input from the study of archaeological finds from the oldest occupation level in Wawel.

In the 11th century, the eastern, ducal part of the castle was separated from the rest of the castle interior with another rampart (Firlet 1994, 277–278; Pianowski 1994, 8–37). A stone *palatium* was built by the northern edge of the ducal compound with a hall of 24 pillars (referred to as *aula*) and an annex that was added in the east. To the west of the hall, on the same axis, the church of St Mary of Egypt was built – at first a chapel, later a basilica with a transept and presbytery closed by an apse – interpreted as the 'palace church'. The ducal compound also housed the rotunda of St Felix and St Adauctus's as well as another structure with a sunken floor, square in plan that was entered down a ramp (Pianowski 1994; Firlet and Pianowski 2007). The latter may have been part of a larger, raised timber building.

The principal element of the second area inside the castle was the Romanesque cathedral of St Wenceslas. The question of its functional predecessor, contemporary with the founding of the bishopric in AD 1000, is not fully clear. What is evident is that the Romanesque cathedral was an aisled basilica without a transept and with two western towers. It contained the vaulted crypt of St Leonard. In the eastern and central area of Wawel, five other, smaller Romanesque churches have been identified: three in the form of a rotunda and two rectangular structures with a nave and a well-defined presbytery. There was also some raised log houses next to the masonry buildings (Firlet and Pianowski 1989, 56; Pianowski 1994; Poleski 2004, 396; Firlet and Pianowski 2007, 2009).

During the 9th century or possibly, the first half of the 10th century, to the north of Wawel Hill the suburbium of Okół developed. It owed its location to the favourable morphology of the terrain, and eventually occupied about 10 ha. At its southern edge, the settlement spread 180–200 m east-west, at its northern end over it was 300 m wide, making use of the entire width of Prądnik Cone, elevated above the Vistula floodplain. The northern extent of the settlement, at a distance of about 450 m from the castle in Wawel, was restricted by a line of defences. During the 10th century, they presumably were palisades with a moat dug during the early 11th century (Radwański 1975, 57–140; Krasnowolski 2004, 134). Okół's status is illustrated by the presence of the Romanesque churches of St Andrew and St Mary Magdalene, and possibly also, of the churches of St Martin, St Gilles and St Peter the Apostle with All Saints and Holy Trinity churches added in the 13th century (Bicz-Suknarowska, Niewalda and Rojkowska 1996, Fig. 1; Zin and Grabski 1996, 53–57; Zaitz 2006, 229–245; Bober 2008; Niemiec and Szyma 2009). Holy Trinity church is recognized as the earliest parish church of Krakow (Rocznik Kapituły 1978, 19; Münch 1958; Rajman 2004, 154; Szyma 2004; Bojęś-Białasik and Niemiec 2013). Next to the stonebuilt ecclesiastical buildings, there were timber dwellings in the form of semi-dugouts that retained some fragments of their log constructions (Radwański 1975, 57–149, 1995, 11–13).

There is little in the archaeological record from Okół to confirm its function as a crafts settlement. Some traces of ironworking surfaced in the area bordering on the moat. There is more evidence to support the hypothesis of the presence of a marketplace between the churches of St Andrew and St Mary Magdalene. This conclusion is supported by the discovery of a paved area, a few lead weights and some coins (Jamroz 1967, 18; Radwański 1975, 139–140, 274–275, 1995, 23). An argument is also made for the presence in the suburbium of residences of the powerful and privileged (Rajman 2004, 67–78). Presumably, some of the elite finds may be attributed to the noble and the warrior class rather than only to the merchant class, such as the great deposit of axe-shaped iron currency bars with a very early dating to the 9th century (Zaitz 1990, 145, 172–173). During the second half of the 11th century, in Okół, near to St Andrew's, the prominent state grandee, Palatine Sieciech (1080–1100), supposedly had his residence. The architectural form of this establishment is poorly understood however (Lalik 1968, 240).

Questions such as these do not detract from the status of the suburbium, at least until the early 13th century, the time of the intensification of settlement and economic activity in the area to the north of Okół's moat.

During the 11th century, the northern area of proto-urban Krakow – the later incorporated town – was under a great burial site. The boundaries of its area cannot be easily determined but we have evidence that there was no great density of burials. Findings made so far suggest that the area of the burial site was greater than that of the later Main

Market Square (Myszka 2003). Judging from the features of more than 170 graves investigated in the north-eastern area of the square the burial practice was markedly uniform and this was the result of a gradual consolidation of the Christian rite (Fig. 20). Younger graves only rarely rested above older burials, suggesting the presence of some markers on the surface (Głowa 2010, with earlier publications). During the 12th century, the church of St Adalbert was built in the cemetery (possibly on the site of an earlier timber structure) followed, in the 1220s, by the church of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The choice of site for St Adalbert's especially appears to be justified by the presence of the earlier cemetery. At the present stage of research, one can suppose that the church was built not only to provide pastoral care, but also to organize the space of the cemetery. The graveyard continued to serve the Krakow settlement complex at least until the end of the 11th century. After this time, its function was subsumed by smaller cemeteries attached to Krakow's numerous churches.

Thus, the occupation of the area of today's Old Town district is more likely to only date to the 12th century when the old cemetery gradually went out of use and was abolished in due course (Buśko 2007, 226–227). The rate of its progress accelerated rapidly, giving rise to a new crafts-and-market zone in the proto-town. The position of the marketplace from this phase of urban development is unknown. It may have been near the parish church of the Holy Trinity. The growth and function of this area during the first half of the 13th century, complete with the locality occupied by the marketplace, are among issues discussed recently by the researchers of Krakow (Rajman 2004, 154, 173–182, 2012; Szyma 2004, 191–206; Wyrozumski 2007a; Bojęś-Białasik and Niemiec 2013). There is evidence that during the 1220–1230s there was a commune of German speaking *hospites* there with the parish church of the Blessed Virgin Mary, built during the 1220s, or a little earlier (Firlet, Kadłuczka and Pianowski 2011, 335–352). The organization of this commune is poorly understood. There is evidence that it was represented by its own *scultetus*, mentioned in the sources from the 1220s, thus approximately parallel to the time of the founding of the parish for the commune then being organized (Wyrozumski 2007a, 126–127; Rajman 2012).

The character of its buildings and the economic bases of its operation have been illuminated by archaeology. Traces of iron and non-ferrous metallurgy were confirmed in the southern area, near to the church of the Holy Trinity (Radwański 1975, 151). More data was obtained from a large-scale excavation carried out in the Main Market Square, especially its north-eastern part. Timber buildings dated to the 12th century were discovered there; these were log houses arranged in an orderly fashion into two rows, oriented

Fig. 20. Krakow. Pre-incorporation cemetery underneath the Main Market Square. Głowa 2010

north-south, divided by a street (?) some 10 m wide. Their wooden logs were from coniferous trees with the bark still intact. The buildings had a surface area of an average of 5 × 5 m with 2–3 levels of their log walls below ground level. The interiors were provided with a wooden floor or one of compacted clay, and heated with an open hearth or a dome stove built of clay. Finds of keys suggest that doors were fitted with locks. A separate area dedicated to economic activity was also identified next to the dwellings on their west side. It consisted of sunken wattle structures, lightweight roofed structures, assorted pits and open hearths. Next to them traces of iron and non-ferrous metallurgy were discovered. Small finds (weights and coins) would confirm commercial activity, also on a more than local scale. The settlement with log buildings was destroyed in the early spring of 1241 during the Mongol invasion (Buśko and Głowa 2010, 146–148).

An important urban-forming factor was the introduction of mendicant orders into the settlement and social structure of Krakow. In 1222, Holy Trinity church, to the north of the eastern section of Okół's moat, was granted to the Dominicans (Rocznik Kapituły 1978, 72; Szyma 2004, 21–22). The rights and duties of a parish church were taken over in 1227 by the Blessed Virgin Mary's (Rajman 2004, 157–158; Wyrozumski 2007, 130). Nearby, next to the western fragment of the boundary of Okół, the Franciscans were installed in 1237, and soon built a new church dedicated to Saint Francis (Rocznik Krakowski 1872, 838; Włodarek and Węcławowicz 1991, 329–331; Szyma 2005; Niewalda and Rojkowska 2008).

Less directly associated with the Krakow proto-urban complex was the Premonstratensian nunnery, founded during the 12th century on holms on the flood terrace of the Vistula River, to the west of Wawel Hill. This complex comprised the churches of the Saviour, St John and St Augustine, some monastic buildings and an attached settlement (Radwański 1975, 247–259; Radwańska 1993).

The image of early Krakow is completed by settlements found in its surrounding area, most of them with their own church. They were founded both on the Vistula floodplain and on the uplands. To the north of the later incorporated town, a settlement developed with the church of St Florian founded in 1185, later named Kleparz (Dzikówna 1932; Radwański 1975, 229–231). The area to the east of the Old Town district, on the terrace margin, is identified with the settlement of Wesoła with the church of St Nicholas, the latter mentioned for the first time in 1229. The Gothic fabric of the church was found to retain some Romanesque elements, and a cultural deposit discovered next to this building included early medieval pottery (Dzikówna 1938; Zin and Grabski 1996, 59–62; Radwański 1975, 231–232). Pre-incorporation occupation was also confirmed in several localities on the margin of the proto-urban complex – at Piasek, Kazimierz and Krzemionki, and across the river, on the right bank of the Vistula (Radwański 1975, 229–267, 1995, 13–15; Czopek 1995, 178–181).

3. MAIN FEATURES OF PROTO-TOWNS OF THE INNER ZONE OF EAST CENTRAL EUROPE

What is unique about the first phase of urbanization in the inner region of East Central Europe? To characterize briefly the origin of Prague, Wrocław and Krakow one could say that at some stage, each of them was a polycentric settlement complex combining central political, religious and economic functions. To set them apart from towns in a legal sense they are referred to as proto-towns. Each of them has its own individual character and is unique. At the same time, they have a number of common features resulting from the special nature of the cultural space from which they emerged. They took shape on a territory lacking the cultural heritage of Antiquity. They had no access to maritime commercial routes with their communications and transport potential and extensive network of trade emporia. They were the modest country cousins of the earlier and more intensively developed towns of the western region of Central Europe. It was only natural that in evolving their structures during the 10th century, the nascent Czech and Polish states drew on the political models of their great neighbour – the Holy Roman Empire – against which with varying success, they guarded their independence (Gawlas 2000, 72–94). The similarity of the organization of the system of power and the methods of exercising it as well as a comparable Church organization resulted in parallel developments in the evolution of central foci (Piekalski 2001, 67–158; 2011a).

The first act in the development of each of the three proto-towns under discussion was the decision to establish a castle on a specific site. Thus, only this

sole element of the polycentric agglomeration was the result of a well-considered choice. Evolution of all the other elements was secondary and followed from this earlier resolution. Largely dependent on this primary decision were the perspectives for economic growth and conditions of urban life. Determined by specific geographical factors, each town went on to develop its separate and unique character.

It is no accident that each of these three towns developed on a major river. It may be assumed that this situation resulted from the interplay of economic and military considerations – river communication and transport on the one hand, and its control on the other. During subsequent phases of urban development, these factors were less important while the merits and deficiencies of the position of the river tended to balance each other out. The periodic threat from flooding was compensated for by the easy access to water, the harnessing of its energy and the ease of sewage disposal (Sowina 2009, 41–76). Therefore, in Prague and Krakow the castles were established on inaccessible elevations over the valleys of the Vltava and the Vistula. This is different to Wrocław, where the castle was constructed on a low-lying island on the Odra River. The same military objective – to take the fullest advantage of natural defensibility – was achieved in two different ways.

According to earlier assumptions, large castles could achieve urban character *per se* (Hołubowicz 1956; Hensel 1963). They used to be described as castle-towns (Brachmann 1995). Let us recall that the archaeological studies of the castles in Prague, Wrocław and Krakow do not confirm the pursuit of a non-agrarian economy in them. The castles were the initial building block of the polycentric and multifunctional settlement complexes. They were elite establishments that united political, administrative, ideological and military functions (Leciejewicz 1989, 138–148, 264–280; Moździoch 1997, 41–44; Piekalski 2001, 75–90).

As with market settlements attached to the castles, they do not by themselves form the nuclei of towns. As aptly claimed even in the late 19th century, a town is not made by its market, a market lies within a town (Hegel 1898, 137; cf. commentary of Schlesinger 1973, 291–292). After all, there is a written record on the many but unstable markets found outside larger settlement complexes (Schlesinger 1973; Hardt-Friedrichs 1980). Nevertheless, it is certain that the market-crafts suburbia of Prague, Wrocław and Krakow developed as a result of the concentration of secular and church elites in castles with the concomitant demand for luxury goods, iron and articles of everyday use. The organization of widescale supralocal commerce, mainly in Prague, was associated with its control by the castle.

The castle and the non-agrarian suburbium that were important for supralocal commerce formed the main axis of the proto-town. At the same time, we need to recall that the structure of each of the discussed centres was created jointly by monasteries, residences of the nobility and agricultural settlements. The emergence of a proto-town with a developed structure was in each case a complex and prolonged process. Successive building blocks of a complex occurred in different periods in response to political, military, religious opportunities and needs, and to the economic situation. The proto-towns had no linear boundary. Consequently, we cannot say which of their surrounding settlements are to be treated as connected with them on a stable basis.

In the case of each of the discussed centres, the earliest cemeteries lie outside the settled zone, on the river terrace, and were extensive burial sites with a low density of graves. In Krakow, this was the area to the north of Okół, site of the later Market Square. In Wrocław, the cemetery neighboured the left bank settlement from the south. In Prague, the situation is less clear. It is assumed that during the 11th century there were several cemeteries in the more elevated area of the Old Town terrace. It seems that at least in Wrocław and Krakow the churches were built in already existing cemeteries over which they subsequently extended pastoral care and control. In the case of Prague, the process of the consolidation of the Christian burial rite and bringing it under ecclesiastical control is still in need of elucidation – a proposition for future research.

The archaeological method admittedly lacks suitable tools to identify the ethnicity of communities, but by piecing together material and written evidence, we can formulate some conclusions. The presence of *hospites* is confirmed in each of the investigated early medieval proto-towns, albeit at different stages of development. It is assumed that Jewish merchants and entrepreneurs were present in Prague as early as in the 11th century, mainly in the suburbium at the foot of Prague Castle. During the 12th century, the presence of a Jewish population on the right bank of the Vltava is confirmed. Both the written sources and archaeological finds suggest that this was a well-to-do community. We can associate at least some of the western European style built structures – stonebuilt and timber – with a German and a Romanic population, confirmed by the written sources for the second half of the 12th and the first decades of the 13th cen-

tury. In Wrocław, one can speak of the stable presence of ethnically foreign *hospites* during a slightly later period. New designs in building construction and new tendencies in pottery making are recorded no earlier than around 1200. Their dating roughly coincides with the dating of the Jewish tombstones from the destroyed cemetery and with the written sources, which confirm the permanent presence of Jews, Germans and a Romanic population in Wrocław. In Krakow, the presence of Jewish merchants has to be taken into account as early as in the 11th century (Zaremska 2011). We also find evidence on the institution of a German commune there, datable to the 1220s. It is difficult to overestimate the value of the activity of the ethnically foreign *hospites* for the economic growth of the proto-town (Lübke 1995). They were the ones who serviced supralocal commerce, carried information important for organizing the economy, for craft technology, for constructing buildings as well as for lifestyle and civilization advancement in general. In the current state of knowledge, we may even venture the claim that the presence of immigrants was one of the conditions for the emergence and functioning of a proto-town.

Proto-towns, which existed in the described manner, were a social and a settlement phenomenon reflecting demographic, political-legal and economic needs and conditions that were typical of their time. The change in these conditions during the 13th century brought their existence, in its earlier form, to an end transforming them in to a form dictated by new requirements.