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## 13<sup>th</sup>-century fortifications of Kraków

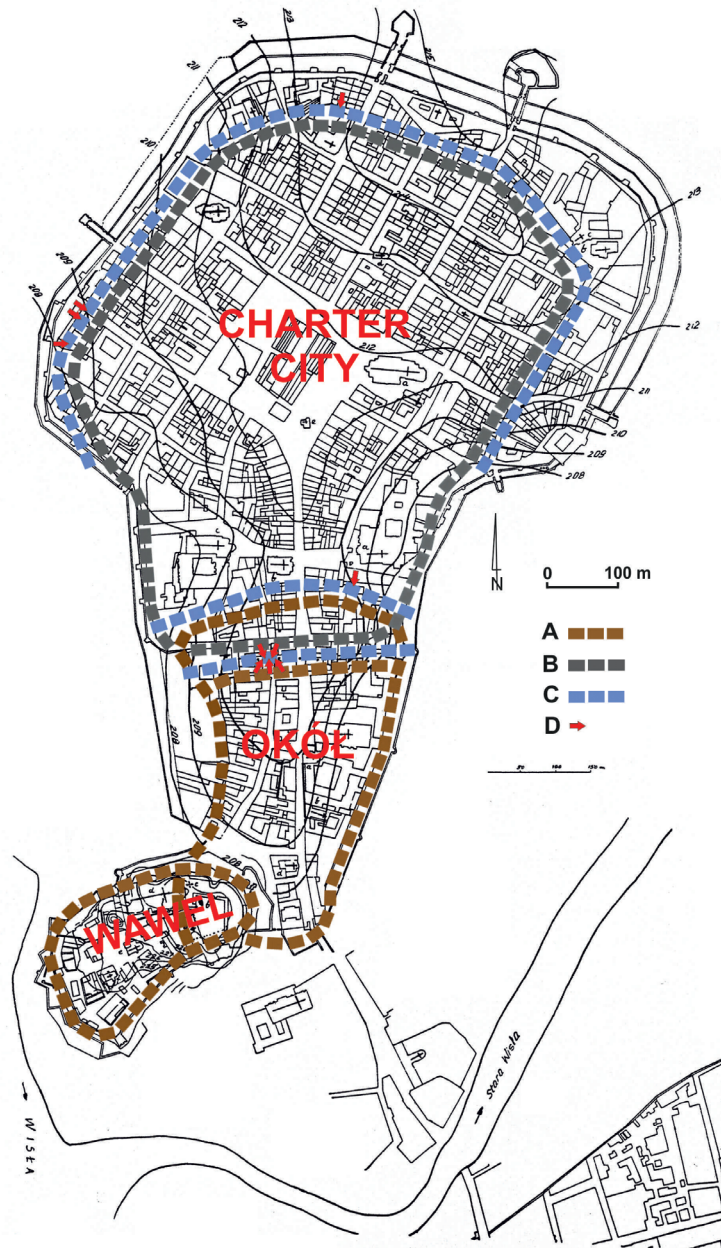
**Abstract:** The paper recapitulates the current state of knowledge about the fortifications of the three basic settlement units of 13<sup>th</sup>-century Kraków, namely Wawel, Okół, and the city established under Magdeburg Law. With respect to Wawel, written accounts have survived that clearly point to large-scale construction works on timber-and-earth defences of the stronghold undertaken in 1258 and 1265; these fortifications have partly been uncovered by archaeological research close to the southern edge of the hill. The northern section of the moat protecting the Kraków suburbium known as Okół (by the southern border of Wszystkich Świętych Square and Dominikańska Street) probably ceased to function in 1191 due to its destruction during the struggles among provincial dukes vying for control over Kraków. New archaeological investigations of the moat in the area between Poselska and Senacka Streets suggest that in the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century the area of Okół was constricted, with its northern boundary moved back to the line running between these two streets. The earliest planned attempt at fortifying the city of Kraków did not take place before 1285–1287, and it was undertaken on the initiative of Duke Leszek Czarny. It is worth emphasising that at the initial stage it was connected with incorporation of an older Dominican mill-race (mentioned before 1284) into the new system of defences. The construction of the full defensive perimeter in the form of timber-and-earth ramparts and moats must have been completed before the third Mongol invasion, which reached Kraków in the winter of 1287. The remains of a moat connected with the oldest fortifications of the city of Kraków, presumably created during the reign of Leszek Czarny on the northern side of the Church of St. Mark, were archaeologically identified on a parcel at 26 Sławkowska Street. The western line of a moat of the same age was confirmed in several places in the westernmost part of the University Quarter. The construction of Kraków city walls after 1298, during the reign of Waclaw II and Władysław Łokietek, was connected with expanding the area of the city in virtually all directions beyond the line marked by older fortifications from the times of Leszek Czarny.

**Keywords:** Kraków, Wawel Castle, Okół, fortifications, city walls

In light of written and archaeological sources, the 13<sup>th</sup> century was a period of highly significant spatial transformations in Kraków, resulting both from violent events of a political-military nature (such as intense struggles among provincial dukes vying for the seniorate capital, and two particularly damaging Mongol raids in 1241 and 1260) and further planned activity undertaken

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**Fig. 1.** Plan showing the reconstruction of fortifications of major settlement units in Kraków in the 13<sup>th</sup> century (before 1298): A – ramparts of the Kraków stronghold consisting of Wawel and Okół; B – ramparts of the charter city erected in 1285–1287; C – reconstructed courses of 13<sup>th</sup>-century moats; D – locations with archaeologically confirmed traces of 13<sup>th</sup>-century moats – older and younger lines of the northern section of the Okół moat, and the oldest moat of the charter city from 1285–1298. Graphic design by D. Niemiec, based on results of research by T. Dębowski, A. Kukliński, M. Łukacz, H. Münch, R. Myszk, Z. Pianowski, J. Poleski, and K. Radwański

in connection with the intensification of settlement processes, connected in particular with the foundation of Kraków as a chartered city and the shaping of its boundaries. All these events had a direct impact on changes in the system of Kraków's defences (Fig. 1). Analysis of historical accounts and the most recent results of archaeological research quite clearly indicate that the oldest fortifications of the Kraków stronghold (comprised of two basic elements: the fortified hill of Wawel and the suburbium known as Okół beneath it) had undergone significant transformation and modernisation even before Kraków was granted city rights under Magdeburg Law in 1257.

### Fortifications of Wawel in the 13<sup>th</sup> century

Archaeological and architectural research has produced a growing body of evidence suggesting that Wawel in the 12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries can be called what in German is known as a *Pfalz*, a type of an early castle, and its still few masonry elements, mainly gates with accompanying towers, were gradually added to the perimeter wall during the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries. The earliest such structure was a Pre-Romanesque barbican with the foundations of an inner tower discovered in the western section of the fortifications surrounding Wawel, near the Dragon's Cave. It was dug in the second quarter of the 11<sup>th</sup> century into an embankment dendrochronologically dated after 1016, with traces of repairs made after 1034 (Firlet, Pianowski 2005, 56; 2013, 38, figs 1, 15). It is worth noting that the relics of the Pre-Romanesque building were discovered in layers connected with the destruction of the stronghold's ramparts, dendrochronologically dated to the 1<sup>st</sup> quarter of the 11<sup>th</sup> century (after 1016), hence the erection of these masonry gateways should most likely be linked with a section of the early-Piast fortifications modernised after 1034, or even be dated slightly later, to the reign of Kazimierz I Odnowiciel (Casimir I the Restorer), perhaps after the alleged destruction of these fortifications during the invasion by the Duke of Bohemia Bretislav I in 1038 (Kukliński 1995, 244, 251; 2005, 291–299; 2017, 166, 169–173). Another masonry barbican, probably of the same date, was discovered by the southernmost end of Wawel Castle, near Senatorska Tower (Kukliński 2016, 37, figs 1, 16). The twelve levels of a road (cobbed and planked) discovered near and on the very line of the passageway within the gate suggest this southern entrance to Wawel remained in use relatively long, until the mid-13<sup>th</sup> century (Kozieł, Fraś 1979, 112; Kukliński 2016, 49–52, fig. 16). In the second half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century or the first half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, a Romanesque masonry defensive tower (square in plan, preserved up to a height of 18 m) was incorporated into the Wawel fortifications in the eastern edge of the hill (Pianowski 2007, 385; Firlet, Pianowski 2013, 44–45, fig. 1). In a chronologically close Romanesque horizon another masonry tower, this time cylindrical, was incorporated into the Wawel defences from the east, next to the older masonry barbican; the tower was later demolished when the 13<sup>th</sup>-century rampart was being raised (Kukliński 2005, 251; Firlet, Pianowski 2007, 56–57; 2013, 45, figs 1, 15).

Throughout the entire 13<sup>th</sup> century Wawel Hill had fortifications in the form of timber-and-earth ramparts (Fig. 2), which were several times rebuilt and modernised until being replaced with stone walls towards the end of the century. A 15<sup>th</sup>-century abridgement from Konrad Mazowiecki's (Konrad I of Masovia) act of 1231 (1241?) mentions that the original document was written during the construction of the Wawel upper castle/stronghold above the then Kraków cathedral school (*Castrum Wijssograd [Wyschegrad] in Cracouia supra scolam fabricantibus* – Stopka 1994, 22, footnote 61; cf. *Codex diplomaticus...* 1919, 354, no 307). Then, the section of Jan Długosz's chronicle referring to the year 1335 informs the reader that Konrad Mazowiecki converted St. Andrew's Church in Kraków into a fortress (Długosz 2009, 340, cf.



**Fig. 2.** Plan of Wawel showing the discovered relics of early medieval architecture, new identification of church invocations, and reconstructed course of timber-and-earth fortifications from the 13<sup>th</sup> century: A – archaeologically confirmed timber-and-earth rampart from 1258–1265; B – reconstructed courses of the ramparts of Konrad Mazowiecki's lower and upper castles from a period spanning 1231–1243; C – early medieval gateways; D – early medieval graves and church cemeteries. Graphic design by D. Niemiec based on publications by J. Firlet, M. Fraś, R. Jamka, S. Koziet, A. Kukliński, G. Labuda, Z. Pianowski, A. Szyzko-Bohusz, J. Talko-Hrynciewicz, A. Żaki

Labuda 1983, 110). Along with analogical fortifying of churches in Prandocin and Skarbmierz, this incastellation of St. Andrew's Church is also mentioned in "Kronika Wielkopolska" predating Długosz's chronicle, where such enterprises are condemned as a "vile custom" initiated by Henryk Brodaty (Henry I the Bearded) and Konrad Mazowiecki which most often resulted in the profanation of churches (*Kronika Wielkopolska* 2010, 148; Teterycz-Puzio 2019, 141).

The analysis of the relatively detailed description of the first Mongolian invasion of Poland in 1241 provided by Długosz fully justifies a conclusion that the Kraków stronghold, consisting of Wawel and the Okół suburbium, must have successfully resisted the Tatar siege (Długosz 2009a, 16–17; Krakowski 1956, 138; Radwański 1975, 127; Labuda 1983, 221–223; Jasiński 1988, 53; Świętosławski 1997, 19; Urbański 2007, 272; Maroń 2008, 97). This is indicated in particular by the account of the successful repelling of Mongolian attacks by citizens of Kraków concentrated in the vicinity of St. Andrew's Church (Długosz 2009a, 16–17).

It is also known from Jan Długosz's account that during successive episodes of Konrad Mazowiecki's reign in Kraków in years 1241–1242, the Kraków Cathedral together with St. Gero's Church and the Rotunda of Blessed Mary were incorporated into a narrowed-down defensive perimeter surrounding the eastern culmination of Wawel Hill (Fig. 2; Szyszko-Bohusz 1932, 24; Labuda 1983, 109; 1988, 322; Pianowski 1990, 58–59; 1991, 47–48; Tyszkiewicz 1998, 45–47). According to the account: *Cunradus vero, omissa castris Skala, expugnatione, castrum in Cracovia aedificat, incipiens ab ecclesia beati Wenceslai, a sanctuario altaris beati Thomae tenedens ad ecclesiam Sancti Gereonis, et inde usque ad ecclesiam beatae Mariae rotundam* (*Codex diplomaticus...* 1919, 491; Długosz 2009a, 37). It has been assumed that the Wawel fortifications raised by Konrad Mazowiecki were in major part comprised of a palisade and a ditch, using masonry churches as towers (Szyszko-Bohusz 1932, 24–25; Labuda 1983, 334–336; Pianowski 1990, 58–59). That the information concerning this fortification activity by Konrad Mazowiecki provided by the 15<sup>th</sup>-century chronicler is highly credible is confirmed by a document issued at Wawel Castle on 10 July 1241 by Comes Sąd Dobiesławowicz of the Odrowąż family for the Norbertine Monastery at Dłubnia-Imbramowice (Labuda 1983, 330; Tyszkiewicz 1998, 45), in which a unique formula is used to describe the circumstances and place where it was signed: *Actum in Cracovia, cum castrum in Cracovia aedificabatur, post occisionem ducis H. filii priori H.* (Tyszkiewicz 1998, 48). However, as soon as under the year 1241, Długosz's chronicle mentions the demolition of the castle built by Duke Konrad in Kraków one year earlier (Długosz 2009a, 38, cf. Szyszko-Bohusz 1932, 25; Labuda 1983, 336). A reliable reconstruction of the extent of Konrad's fortifications at Wawel in 1241 requires a possibly precise analysis and verification of invocations of the churches and chapels featuring in the above-mentioned account by Jan Długosz. It needs to be emphasised that the focus of the chronicler's description is above all on the Cathedral of St. Venceslaus, the Chapel of St. Thomas adjoining the cathedral (which is crucial for all interpretations), and the Rotunda of Blessed Mary. Contrary to the established interpretations prevailing in the literature, it is virtually impossible to prove the identification of St. Thomas's Chapel mentioned in 1241 with a chapel with the altar of St. Thomas Becket of Canterbury, which is known from later accounts from the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> century as having been situated in the south-eastern part of the Gothic cathedral; this has already been noticed by Z. Kozłowska-Budkowa (1968, 123). Firstly, the Gothic chapel of this invocation was situated in a new part of the cathedral, which was erected in 1320–1327 outside the perimeter walls of the Romanesque cathedral functioning in the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Secondly, the invocation of St. Thomas the martyr is confirmed with respect to Wawel Cathedral no earlier than by Peter's Pence registers from 1350–1351, although analogical registers from 1325–1327 most likely concern the furnishings of the same altar (*Monumenta*

*Poloniae...* 1913, 111–112, 378; Kozłowska-Budkowa 1968, 123). One should not omit the fact that the Gothic chapel of St. Thomas Becket was adjoined from the east by the early Romanesque Church of St. Mary of Egypt, and there are no grounds in the sources to identify its possible original invocation with St. Gero, as was done in the past by A. Szyszko-Bohusz (1923, 11; 1932, 21). The invocation of St. Mary of Egypt should by all means be regarded as the original invocation of this church (Firlet 1998, 30–31, 35; Pianowski 2001a, 73, 76, fig. 6; 2007a, 308, fig. 14; Firlet, Pianowski 2013, 42), as it is evidenced already with respect to the Romanesque church in Peter's Pence registers from 1325–1327 (*Monumenta Poloniae...* 1913, 113), which means before its basically Gothic adaptation for a palace chapel during the reign of Kazimierz III Wielki (Casimir III the Great), concluded by a late consecration in 1377, already during the regent reign of Elżbieta Łokietkówna (Elizabeth of Poland) (Długosz 1863, 202). The other possible patron saint of the 13<sup>th</sup>-century chapel is St. Thomas the Apostle, whose cult in Kraków, with two separate church holidays marked before 1069 with square capitals in gold in the Egbert Psalter (the Gertrude Psalter) (*Modlitwy księżnej...* 2002, 106, 115), is thereby confirmed since the 11<sup>th</sup> century. As early as the first half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century (or possibly the second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century), this invocation was used in other places in the Kraków diocese, as evidenced by the original invocation of the church at Piotrawin, mentioned in the oldest biographies of St. Stanislaus (Wincenty z Kielczy 1987, 119–120; 1987a, 262–266; Mitrus 2014, 55–57, 62). Consequently, one should regard this second alternative as more probable (or at least equally corroborated by sources – cf. Kozłowska-Budkowa 1968, 123) with respect to the Wawel Cathedral of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, and therefore accept that the chapel mentioned in Długosz's description is the chapel with the altar of St. Thomas the Apostle, which was situated in the cathedral's northern part, on the axis of the main southern entrance to the church. With this point of reference for the lost church of St. Gero, which at this time was linked with the cathedral and the St. Thomas Chapel by fortifications, the old Wawel church under this lost invocation should be sought at the northern side of the cathedral, and by implication identified with the only church discovered in this area – a rotunda with a single apse in its Pre-Romanesque phase and with a rectangular presbytery in the Romanesque phase (Firlet, Pianowski 2013, 37, fig. 1). The further description of Konrad's fortifications can be deduced from another reference to the Kraków cathedral and the other lost church on Wawel Hill – the Rotunda of Blessed Mary – which must have been situated in the southern side of the cathedral. Such a location of a church under Marian invocation is also suggested by another source, independent from and older than Długosz, namely an early 13<sup>th</sup>-century antiphonary where a liturgical procession at the Pentecost period and Holy Trinity celebrations are mentioned as taking place between the cathedral, the Church of St. Michael: *ad stationem Sancti Michaelis*, and the Church of St. Mary: *ad stationem ecclesie Sancte Marie* (Windakiewicz 1903, 11; Kozłowska-Budkowa 1968, 124). The description indicates that the lost Wawel church under Marian invocation should be situated relatively close to both the cathedral and St. Michael's Church, basically in the same, southern part of Wawel Hill. This allows the Blessed Mary Church from Długosz's account to be identified with great probability with the two-apse, Pre-Romanesque church B, as proposed years ago by G. Labuda (1988, 340–343, 376) and recently maintained in studies published by a team of Wawel archaeologists (Firlet 1998, 32–33; Pianowski 2001a, 76–77; 2007a, 307, fig. 11; Kukliński 2017, 170). Such a reconstruction of the section of Konrad's fortifications linking the cathedral with the Pre-Romanesque church B can be linked with a recent discovery of a Pre-Romanesque barbican in the vicinity of the nearby Sandomierska Tower, and older discoveries of an early medieval road used in this area until the mid-13<sup>th</sup> century, discernible in the stratigraphy as several levels of road surface paved with cobblestones,

broken stone, and timber (Kozieł, Fraś 1979, 112; Kukliński 2016, 49–52, fig. 16). The analysis of the stratigraphic context indicates that Wawel's mentioned southern gate possibly functioned until the time when a rampart from the reign of Bolesław Wstydlivy (Boleslaus V the Chaste) was built, as the rampart covered the relics of the barbican. The gate and the discovered sections of the road were composed into a natural ravine (Kozieł, Fraś 1979, 112), above and to the west of which the Pre-Romanesque church B stood, identified with the Rotunda of Blessed Mary. From a strategic point of view it is difficult to assume that the fortification could follow the shortest line from the rotunda straight to the cathedral, across the ravine. It is more likely that the ravine's edge and a local culmination to its west were used, perhaps along with "a small knoll by St. Michael's Church" mentioned in 1229 (*in modico monte ad ecclesiam sancto Michaelis*) (Wojciechowski 1904, 312–313; Dalewski 1996, 51–54). Most likely, a late-Romanesque tower was built on this culmination using the demolished walls of the Romanesque Church of St. Michael, and the rampart followed further to the southern tower of the Romanesque cathedral.

In another place, referring to 1243, Jan Długosz mentions the incastellation of the Church of St. George on Wawel Hill by Konrad Mazowiecki (Długosz 2009, 249; cf. Labuda 1983, 110; 1988, 330–331; Pianowski 1990, 59; 1991, 327; Rajman 2002, 327). It is worth emphasizing that archaeological research carried out within the remains of the Gothic Church of St. George in Wawel have not revealed any *in situ* relics of an older, Romanesque church. What is particularly important, the research has not confirmed the presence of an alleged older church graveyard under the late medieval graves, and charred remains of timber foundations discovered immediately beneath the presbytery belonged to a building provided with a hearth, which can be dated to the 11<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> century (Leńczyk 1953, 84–85, figs 10, 13; 1955, 416–417; Jamka 1963, 126–128, fig. 65; Kozieł, Fraś 1979, 108, footnote 214; Firlet, Pianowski 2013, 44; Kwiatkowska-Kopka, Zdanek 2015, 74). The layers of destruction of the Gothic church yielded only one older detail, perhaps re-used, namely the capital of a Romanesque column datable to the 12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> century (Pianowski 2012, 293; Firlet, Pianowski 2013, 44; Kwiatkowska-Kopka 2015, 76–77). However, the Church of St. George in Kraków must be older than early Romanesque, since it was mentioned as early as 1229 in a papal protective bull for the Tyniec Abbey (Rajman 2002, 121; Kwiatkowska-Kopka, Zdanek 2015, 74). In the context of the information about the incastellation of the mentioned church in Wawel in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, it is worth mentioning a puzzling hill/mound, allegedly situated between the Church of St. George and Złodziejska Tower, featuring on what is known as the Dresden plan of Wawel from the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Tomkowicz 1908, 18, fig. 3; Grzywiński 1917, 528; Jamka 1963, 135, fig. 70). Hypothetically, this feature can be interpreted as the remains of a motte connected with Konrad Mazowiecki's stronghold surrounding the alleged Romanesque Church of St. George, or it can be identified with the ruins of the church itself, possibly damaged by fortification works of that period or during military struggles among provincial dukes in the 1230s and 1240s. This alleged devastation may have resulted in a translocation of the church to a new place, where a Gothic church under the same invocation was built in 1346–1347 (Długosz 1863, 592–594; Goras 2003, 95; Kwiatkowska-Kopka, Zdanek 2015, 74). An alternative location of the original Church of St. George is connected with possible attribution of this invocation to a rotunda whose relics were discovered next to the ramparts of the early medieval Kraków stronghold in the vicinity of Sandomierska Tower. It is also worth noting that the relics of the mentioned Romanesque rotunda from the 12<sup>th</sup> century had been covered by a younger, 13<sup>th</sup>-century rampart of the Wawel stronghold (Kukliński 1998, 75, footnote 1; Firlet, Pianowski 2013, 43–44), which allows the final demolition of the church to be linked with the works ordered by Bolesław Wstydlivy in

1258–1265, or perhaps even with the last direct attempt of gaining control over Wawel by the Duke of Masovia in 1243.

According to the highly credible “Rocznik kapitulny krakowski” from the 13<sup>th</sup> century, among the fortifications in Kraków that were captured (or erected?) in connection with the last attempt of Konrad Mazowiecki to capture the senior seat was also an enigmatic *castrum in Cracovia, ubi Rudawa intrat Vizlam* (*Rocznik kapitulny...* 1872, 804; Pianowski 1991, 49; Teterycz-Puzio 2019, 209–210; cf. Długosz 2009a, 68). In another reference to this stronghold, in Jan Długosz’s chronicle, it is mentioned as being “raised in the forks of the Rivers Vistula and Rudawa” (Długosz 2009a, 68). In this context, it is worth mentioning Wyspa Poboczna, an island in Zwierzyniec with a residence of Kraków’s bishops, which was most likely situated, as suggested by Z. Pianowski, in a Vistula oxbow near the mouth of the Rudawa. It had communication links with the medieval Poboczna Gate situated at the foot of Wawel Hill, which opened towards the island (Pianowski 1992, 44). This “Zwierzyniec” location of the stronghold captured (erected?) by Konrad Mazowiecki seems to fit to the written accounts and the strategic location in relation to Wawel much better than the most recent and highly hypothetical attempt by J. Laberschek to identify it as the fortified magnate residence by the Granowski watermill, which in the 14<sup>th</sup> century belonged to the Leliwa family from Melsztyn and which, importantly, was situated on an artificial mill-race of the Rudawa created in a much later period (Laberschek 2016, 42–43, 94).

Bolesław Wstydlivy’s document from 1250 mentions an obligation to build or repair the ramparts protecting Wawel Hill. A later document, issued by the same ruler in 1258, records building stronghold ramparts in Kraków (i.e. in Wawel and Okół) undertaken hastily soon before another Mongol invasion that took place at the turn of 1259/1260 (Pianowski 1991, 52–53). The fact that extensive fortification works were undertaken in 1258 not only in Kraków but also in Sandomierz corresponds too precisely with the arrival of Mongolian armies under Boroldai in neighbouring Halicz Rus’ and Lithuania the same year for one to interpret it as a pure coincidence (Ulanowski 1884, 309; Jasiński 1988, 66–67). The gravity of the situation at that time, soon before the expected Tatar invasion, is clearly evident from Bolesław Wstydlivy’s document written on 11 June 1258, in which the anxious ruler announced that the fortifications of the Kraków and Sandomierz strongholds being erected with the help from the bishop of Kraków were to protect “the population of the country from disastrous defeat” (Jasiński 1988, 67). The measures taken in advance owing to the cooperation of the duke and the bishop resulted in effective protection of the Kraków stronghold: despite having previously successfully sacked Sandomierz, rather than laying siege, the Mongols who arrived at the vicinity of Kraków in February 1260 only plundered and burned down the buildings of the chartered city and the Cistercian Abbey at Mogiła near Kraków (Ulanowski 1884, 371–318; Krakowski 1956, 194–195; Jasiński 1988, 69; Świętosławski 1997, 21; Urbański 2007, 239–241, 244).

The last major redevelopment of timber-and-earth fortifications of the Wawel stronghold is mentioned in “Rocznik kapitulny krakowski” under the year 1265, when Bolesław Wstydlivy *castrum edificatur in Cracovia super totum montem cum lignis* (*Rocznik kapitulny...* 1872, 808). With great likelihood, clayey-sandy layers with traces of timber box structures and containing late medieval pottery recorded beneath the foundations of a Gothic defensive wall from the 1st half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century near Sandomierska Tower (area X, trench 15/1977–1986), can be linked with the 13<sup>th</sup>-century rampart. It is worth noting that smudges of rotten wood, reflecting places where timber boxes from the rampart’s inner structure were crossing, were observed in layers from the 2nd half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century identified in this area (Pianowski 1991, 55; Kukliński 2005, 306). The bottom layers connected with this “early Gothic” rampart



contained fragments of bricks and roof tiles and potsherds representing late medieval forms, some of which were covered with green glaze (Pianowski 1991, 56; Kukliński 2005, 306). It is also worth noting that these deposits covered older relics of a Romanesque rotunda from the 12<sup>th</sup> century (Kukliński 1998, 75, footnote 1). Another relatively well-preserved section of the “early Gothic” rampart was recently discovered at the southern edge of Wawel Hill near Senatorska Tower, where it was found to have been built on clearly earlier relics of a early medieval masonry gate (Kukliński 2016, 42). In this context it is worth mentioning that negative impressions of timber boxes 2 x 3 m in size were identified in this place, which were connected with this phase of the rampart (Kukliński 2016, 44, 46, fig. 5). Bricks and roof tiles found in these layers, materials completely new to Kraków, may have appeared in Wawel only after such ceramics started to be produced by a workshop operating at the Dominican Monastery from the late 1230s (Bojęś-Białasik, Niemiec 2016, 249–250; Niemiec 2017, 8–10; cf. Pianowski 1991, 56). Layers connected with this youngest Wawel rampart, in which late medieval pottery was found accompanied by the mentioned bricks and roof tiles, should therefore be dated to the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century and linked with two episodes of extensive fortifying activity undertaken by Bolesław Wstydlivy at Wawel, mentioned in 1258 and 1265 (Pianowski 1991, 56).

It was assumed in the literature that the latest account confirming the existence of traditional ramparts of timber box construction at Wawel could be the entry referring to 1289, in which *castrum Cracovie, quod adhuc structuris ligneis erat firmatum* is mentioned in the context of Henryk IV Probus’ (Henry IV the Righteous) struggles for the rule over Kraków (*Rocznik kujawski* 1878, 207; Pianowski 1991, 54). In connection with the same developments of 1289, D. Dąbrowski and A. Jusupowić have recently noted another, more detailed description of stone, most likely masonry, fortifications of Wawel Castle, provided in a much earlier source known as “Galicko-Volynska letopis” (Galician-Volhynian Chronicle), more precisely in its youngest part dated to the close of the 13<sup>th</sup> century (*Kronika halicko-wołyńska* 2017, 263; Dąbrowski, Jusupowić 2017, 81, footnote 1834). The literal reading of the account justifies a conclusion that the earliest sections of stone defensive walls must have been built at Wawel when Kraków was under the control of Leszek II Czarny (Leszek II the Black). Perhaps, the “timber structures” mentioned under 1289 by “Rocznik Kujawski” were actually not a reference to the material from which the basic defensive perimeter was built, but rather to some improvised structures of a type of “defensive machines”, which in this meaning are more clearly described in the Galician-Volhynian Chronicle. Following this interpretation of the written sources, one should assume that the early Gothic stone palace built in the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, which Z. Pianowski proposed calling *palatium album*, must have been protected by masonry perimeter walls as early as in the 1280s (Pianowski 2001, 81, fig. 1; 2007, 385, 387; Firlet, Pianowski 2005, 141, fig. 5). The *palatium album* itself was built slightly earlier, most likely in the closing stages of Bolesław Wstydlivy’s reign (probably in the 1270s), with the curtain of the defensive wall added later in the times of Leszek Czarny. Relatively soon, subsequent masonry towers started to be erected within the line of timber-and-earth fortifications modernised in 1265. Among the earliest early Gothic tower structures created after 1265 one should mention a stone, square tower incorporated into the south-eastern section of the fortifications, built in the place now occupied by a tower known as Jordanka (Firlet, Pianowski 2005, 142, fig. 5; 2013, 45; Pianowski 2007, 387). At the present stage of research it can be concluded that a stone curtain wall 3.3 m wide, linking the tower with the Romanesque “keep”, was built already in the period of Leszek Czarny’s reign (cf. Firlet, Pianowski 2005, 142, fig. 5; Pianowski 2007, 387). Thus, the mentioned building activity can be seen as the beginning of the construction of a full, masonry defensive perimeter of the Gothic castle at Wawel.

## Fortifications of Okól in the 13<sup>th</sup> century

The earliest northern boundary of the Wawel suburbium known as Okól was a section of a great moat cutting across the plateau of the middle terrace, quite far north from the line of Poselska Street and much closer to the southern frontage of Dominikańska Street, Dominikański Square, and Wszystkich Świętych (All Saints') Square (Fig. 1; Radwański 1975, 112, figs 1, 11, 16; 2007, 96, fig. 1; Poleski 2005, 49–50, figs I, IV; 2010, figs 2, 6; Zaitz 2006, 243, fig. 2; 2014, 59–60, figs 2, 3; Piekalski 2014, 54–57, fig. 18). The largest fragment of this moat's northern section was explored in 2012 during archaeological excavations led by D. Niemiec on the southern side of Kraków Dominican Church, at the current backyard of the building at 1 Dominikańska Street (Fig. 1; Niemiec 2017, 98–100, figs 1, 3). During this research, nearly half of the moat's fill was cross-sectioned over a width of 6–7 m (Figs 1, 3; Niemiec 2017a, fig. 3), and the moat's bottom was recorded 8.5 m beneath today's ground level (at 201.65 m a.s.l.). The moat was originally dug into a sandy bedrock to a depth of 2.5–3.0 m, which means slightly shallower than it was assessed by K. Radwański based on earlier geological drillings, who believed its original depth to have reached 3.3–4.0 m (Radwański 1975, 112). On the other hand, the results of the archaeological research of 2012 allow the width of the moat in this place to be reconstructed very similarly as proposed by K. Radwański and E. Zaitz, which is most likely as from 14 to 18 m, with a funnel-like extension reaching 25–30 m in what today is the property of the Franciscans (Radwański 1975, 112; Zaitz 2006, 243). In the bottom part of the fill of the moat investigated at 1 Dominikańska Street, at a depth of 5.5–8.5 m, a sequence of deposits was recorded, consisting of dark-brown clay with organic remains interspersed with smudges of yellow and yellow-grey sand, and with a thin layer of charcoal-saturated deposit at the very bottom. This fill yielded sparse fragments of early medieval ceramic vessels, datable broadly to the 12<sup>th</sup> century and the first half of the 13<sup>th</sup>. This earliest sequence of organic and sandy deposits which had been used to fill in the bottom part of the moat can most likely be linked with the levelling of the northern section of Okól's ramparts of that date, and the thin charcoal layer at the bottom may reflect the destruction of possible wooden elements of this section of Okól fortifications in a rapid fire. Slightly above, at a depth of 450–590 cm and immediately above the bottom sequence, a late Romanesque brickmaking workshop connected with the Dominican Monastery was discovered. This is clear evidence that this section of Okól fortifications had been finally liquidated, or at the very least the moat had ceased to serve its primary function, shortly before the middle of the 13<sup>th</sup> century – the date indicated by the sizes of bricks and by late Romanesque floor tiles discovered in the context of this workshop. In the Kraków Dominican Monastery, ceramics of such parameters were used to build and furnish buildings raised in the 1240s and 1250s. With the *terminus ante quem* for the moment when the northern section of Okól's moat ceased to function determined in this way, one can suppose that in this part of the suburbium its fortifications may have been severely damaged and finally destroyed as a result of the Mongol invasion of 1241, and that they were not later rebuilt in the same place – as evidenced by the acquisition and exploitation of the area of the former moat by the Dominican Monastery for the needs of construction facilities. Another, alternative hypothesis could be that this section of the ramparts was damaged in the 1230s or early 1240s as a result of intense fighting among Konrad Mazowiecki, Henryk Brodaty and Bolesław Wstydlivy, who struggled for control over Kraków (Długosz 2009, 340).

New results of research in the area between Poselska and Senacka Streets seem to indicate that the suburbium known as Okól was narrowed down and its northern boundary moved back

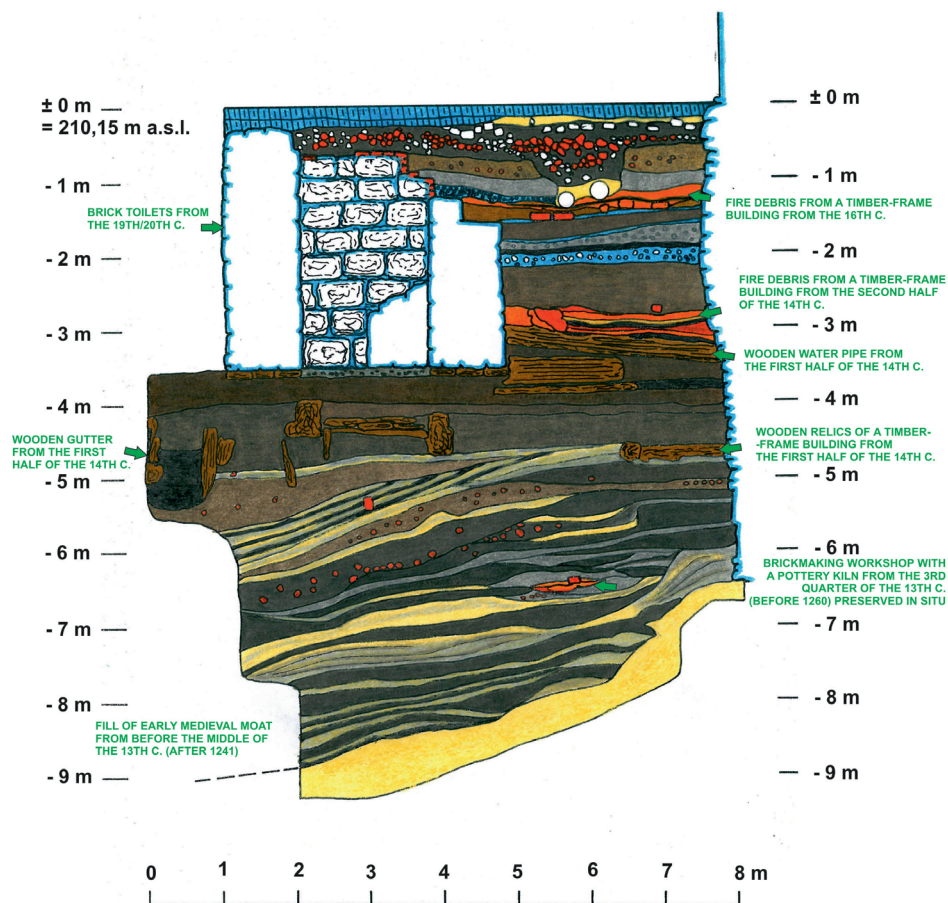
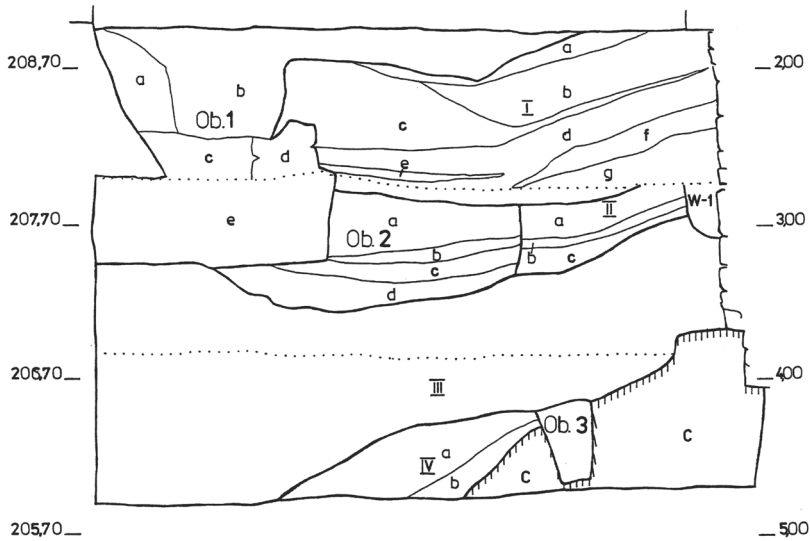


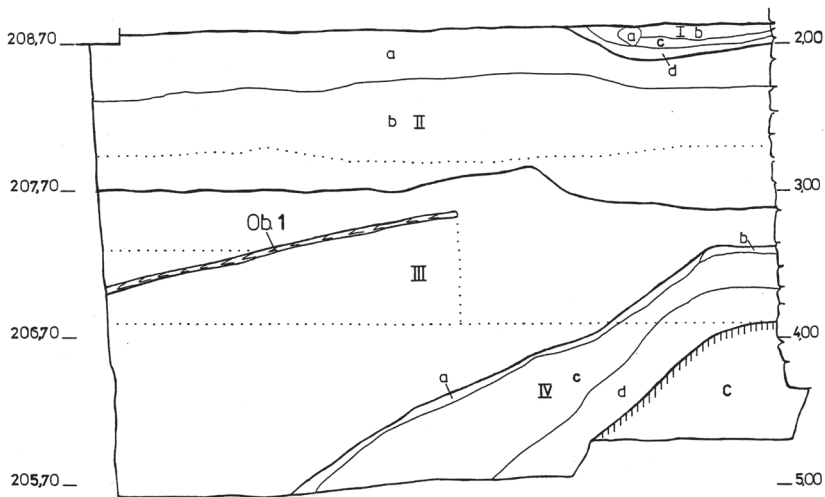
Fig. 3. Western wall of trench I/12 at 1 Dominikańska Street, with a fragment of the northern section of the early medieval moat of Okół. Graphic design by D. Niemiec

to a line falling somewhere in-between these two streets, and this probably took place as early as in the 1230s or immediately after the Mongol invasion of 1241, which means during one of the short episodes of Konrad Mazowiecki's rule in Kraków (Fig. 1; cf. Widawski 1973, 193, fig. 26). It is perhaps with this activity that one should link Jan Długosz's account, not fully clear in terms of topography, about the incastellation of St. Andrew's Church by the Masovian duke, which various scholars place in the 1230s or early 1240s (Długosz 2009a, 249). An alternative hypothesis, possibly even more likely and credible, links this new northern defensive line of Okół with a period following the grand charter of Kraków in 1257. This would allow the creation of the fortifications further to the south to be linked with the works undertaken in 1258 as Bolesław Wstydlivy attempted to strengthen the defences of the Kraków stronghold.

In 2004, T. Dębowski recorded a series of five cross-sections through the filled-back moat, situated close to each other at 6 Senacka Street (Figs 1, 4, 5; Dębowski, Dębowski 2005, 16, 18–23, fig. 1). The fill of the moat reached deeper than 490 cm (205.7 m a.s.l.) in this area (Dębowski, Dębowski 2005, 16–22). Based on the cross-sections, which cut through less than



**Fig. 4.** Eastern wall of the archaeological trench in the western part of a property at 6 Senacka Street, with a fragment of late medieval moat and palisade of Okół (after 1241(?) and before 1312). After T. Dębowski (2005, fig. 9)



**Fig. 5.** Eastern wall of the trench in the central part of a property at 6 Senacka Street, with a fragment of late medieval moat and palisade of Okół (after 1241(?) and before 1312). After T. Dębowski (2005, fig. 12)

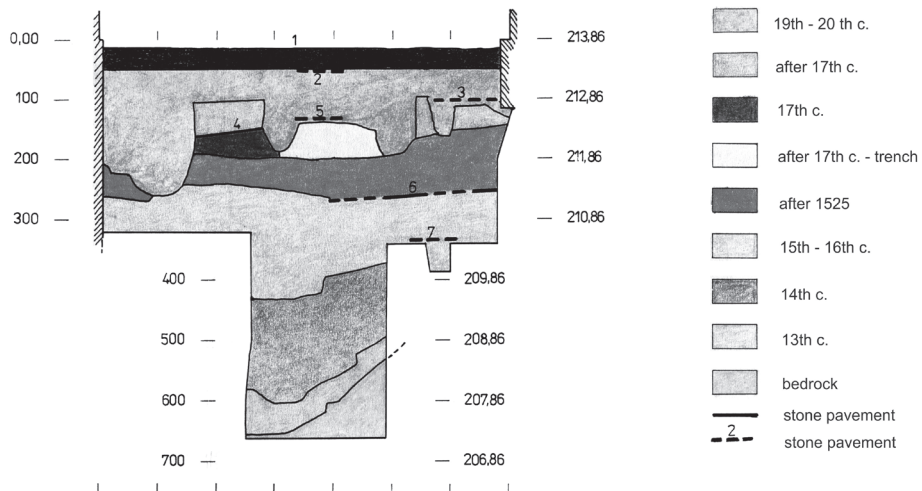
half of the moat over a length of 4–5 m (Figs 4, 5), the width of the moat's ditch can be reconstructed as reaching up to 10–12 m. In all five sections, the inner slope was recorded, with remains of a palisade identified in places. The palisade was made from posts varying from 10 to 34 cm in diameter (Fig. 4), and may have served as a stabilisation of the rampart or of the moat's slope itself from the south (Dębowski, Dębowski 2005, 16–22, figs 9–13; Niemiec

2017a, figs 4–6). The bottom part of the moat was filled with a sequence of layers consisting of brown clay with organic remains and grey-yellow sand, and locally a post-destruction layer in the form of lenses of daub, perhaps originating from the destruction of daubed timber structures within the rampart (Dębowski, Dębowski 2005, 16–22). This layer contained late medieval pottery revealing archaic technological traits, datable to the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century or the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century (Dębowski, Dębowski 2005, 16). The mentioned chronological indicators, and the results of archaeological research at 1 Dominikańska Street, allow the functioning of the younger northern section of Okół's moat to be placed primarily in the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, and its liquidation to be linked with the inclusion of the former suburbium into the chartered city following the suppression of the rebellion of Mayor Albert by Władysław I Łokietek (Vladislaus I the Elbow-high) in 1312 (Słoń 2010, 295–296).

### Fortifications of the chartered city in the 13<sup>th</sup> century

As emerges from written sources, the earliest planned action of fortifying the city of Kraków after its establishment according to the Magdeburg Law was undertaken only in 1285–1287 on the initiative and with the full approval of Duke Leszek Czarny. It should be emphasised that in the initial phase this action involved the incorporation of the closing sections of a Dominican mill-race, dug some time before, into the new defensive system (Fig. 1; Pianowski 1991, 56–57; Wyrozumski 1992, 183; Żmudzki 2000, 422, 440; Rajman 2004, 206; Sowina 2009, 83–86; Laberschek 2016, 97, 103, 108–109). That this economic undertaking was distinctly earlier than the mentioned document from 1285 in which Leszek Czarny gave his consent for erecting city defences has been demonstrated by U. Sowina by the analysis of another document of Leszek Czarny, granting the Dominicans a privilege for using the water that the same Dominicans had earlier (*prius*) supplied to the monastery through an artificial mill-race dug from the Rudawa River near Mydlniki (*fluuiio Rudawa de Midlniki*) (Żmudzki 2000, 440; Sowina 2009, 83; Laberschek 2016, 50). Perhaps the same Dominican mill-race is referred to in a document from 1284 mentioning a tavern in Kraków situated close to the moat at Floriańska Street (*taberna circa fossatum in platea quae ducit ad ecclesiam Santi Floriani*); the document originates from the Cistercian Abbey at Wąchock (Pianowski 1991, 56; Laberschek 2016, 108–109).

According to “Kronika Dzierzwy”, during the reign of Leszek Czarny the city of Kraków was surrounded with *fortissimis plancis et fossatis* (Widawski 1973, 197; Pianowski 1991, 57; Wyrozumski 1992, 183; Żmudzki 2000, 420). The same emerges from an account in “Kronika katedralna krakowska”, which informs us that the ruler *Cracovie et Sandomirie civitates circumfodi iussit et cum lignis Blancami* (Pianowski 1991, 57; Wyrozumski 1992, 184; Żmudzki 2000, 422–423). Among major political-military considerations of that time, which must have surely had an impact on the ruler's decision to fortify the two biggest cities in Małopolska (Lesser Poland), one should certainly mention the permanent threat of Mongol invasions, additionally fuelled at that time by the fresh news from the other side of the Carpathians about the arrival of new Tatar units, which ravaged some areas in Hungary, Transylvania in particular, in the first half of 1285 (Krakowski 1956, 210; Jasiński 1988, 71; Świątosławski 1997, 25; Żmudzki 2000, 454; Urbański 2007, 257). The construction of a full defensive perimeter around the chartered city in Kraków, in the form of timber-and-earth ramparts and moats, must have been completed before the third Mongol invasion that reached Kraków in the winter of 1287. This is evidenced by a document issued by Leszek Czarny the following year, in which he thanks Kraków burghers for their successful defence of the city under siege by the Mongol



**Fig. 6.** Western wall of trench I on a property at 26 Sławkowska Street, with a fragment of the northern section of the earliest moat of the charter city of Kraków from 1285–1298. After T. Dębowski (1995, fig. 16)

army one year earlier (*Kodeks dyplomatyczny...* 1879, 4–5; Jasiński 1988, 73; Żmudzki 2000, 459; Urbański 2007, 260). The successful repelling of the Mongol attack in 1287 by the citizens of Kraków is also confirmed by a proper *passus* from the Galician-Volhynian Chronicle (*Kronika halicko-wołyńska* 2017, 241).

Relics of a moat belonging to the oldest fortifications of the chartered city, allegedly functioning at the close of the 13<sup>th</sup> century (from the times of Leszek Czarny) to the north of St. Mark's Church, were first identified by T. Dębowski in 1994–1995 at 26 Sławkowska Street (Figs 1, 6; Dębowski 1995, 34–35, 42–43, figs 15, 16; 1996, 199–207, figs 1, 2). An extensive through-shaped hollow was recorded there, dug into the bedrock and filled with late medieval alluvial deposits, which was interpreted as the remains of the moat's reverse slope (Fig. 7; Dębowski 1995, 34–35, 42–43, figs 15, 16; 1996, 202, 203, figs 2, 3). Based on the layout of the bedrock, the moat was estimated to be up to 2.5 m deep in this area, while its width in the upper part may have exceeded 6 m (Dębowski 1996, 203). The existence of an older line of defences from the times of Leszek Czarny in the northern part of the city is also suggested by irregularities observable in the urban space layout (Fig. 1; Łukacz 2004, 101–102; Krasnowolski 2004, 104, figs 3, 9; Zaitz 2006, fig. 2; Poleski 2010, 79, fig. 6; Piekalski 2014, 88).

According to a very credible reconstruction by U. Sowina, the eastern section of the city moat from the times of Leszek Czarny overlaps with the course of a vaulted water channel designed on the strength of a judgement of the bishopric court of arbitration from 1395. The channel – as emerges from this legal act – was to repeat the line of the Dominican mill-race from the 13<sup>th</sup> century (Sowina 2009, 85, 86). This ultimately unrealised engineering project, which referred to the provisions and effects of Duke Leszek Czarny's privilege issued for the Dominicans in 1286, envisaged that after crossing the city walls next to the Holy Spirit Hospital and Monastery, the watercourse would follow through an underground brick channel under Św. Krzyża (Holy Cross) Street, ultimately arriving near the monastery gate in the vicinity of the school at St. Mary's Church (Sowina 2009, 85; Laberschek 2016, 101, 103). From the south, in the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century the early chartered city was separated from the Wawel

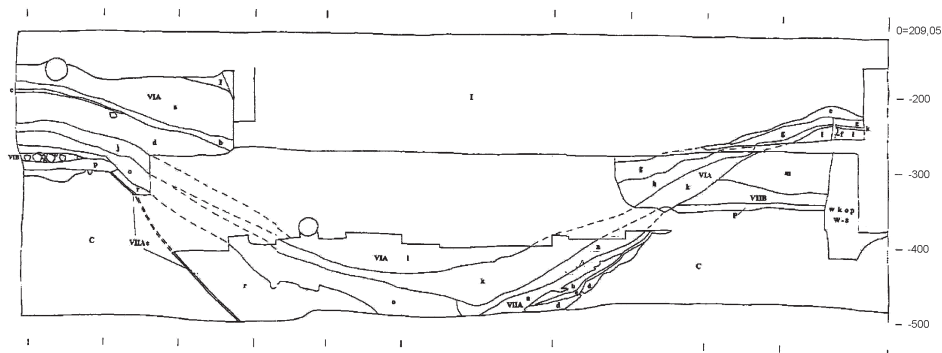


Fig. 7. Northern wall of trench XV/2000 at Św. Anny Street, next to foundations of Collegium Nowodworskiego, with a fragment of the western section of the earliest moat of the charter city of Kraków from 1285–1298. After Kwaśniewska, Myszk (1995, fig. 249)

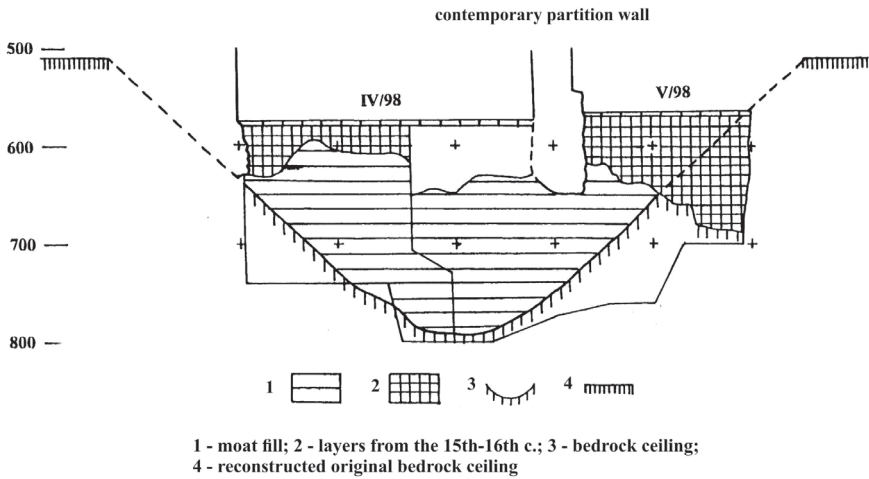
suburbium known as Okół by a moat dug in that period between Poselska and Senacka Streets (Fig. 1; cf. Widawski 1973, 193, fig. 26).

The oldest defensive line of the chartered city, connected with the fortifications built around Kraków in 1285–1287, was also confirmed archaeologically in several places in the western part of the city, primarily at the margins of the university quarter (Figs 1, 7–9; Niemiec 2007, 70, footnote 5; 2013, 140, footnote 12, fig. 1; Poleski 2010, s. 78, fig. 6). In this part of the city, a moat functioning in the last quarter of the 13<sup>th</sup> century was first discovered in 1997–2000 next to foundations of the front part of Collegium Nowodworskiego (Nowodworski College) and in the basements of this building (Kwaśniewska, Myszk 2001, 5–6, 13, figs 8, 9, 13, 14; Niemiec 2013, 140, footnote 12, fig. 1). In these two places, traces of a moat 7.5 m wide and 3.5 m deep were found, dug into the bedrock from the level of the buried topsoil (Kwaśniewska, Myszk 2001, 5, figs 13, 14). In trench XV/00, situated by the foundations of the front wall of Collegium Nowodworskiego, the full width of the moat was recorded along a section 7.5 m long (Fig. 7; Kwaśniewska, Myszk 2001, 5, figs 13, 14), while the bottom of the 3.7 m deep moat was only recorded in trenches IV/98 and V/98, situated in the basements under the front wing of Collegium Nowodworskiego, where it reached 202.25–202.30 m a.s.l. (Fig. 8; Kwaśniewska, Myszk 2001, 5). The oldest city moat ran 10.5 m from the north-western corner of the building, and 33 m to the east from the line of a younger medieval city wall (Kwaśniewska, Myszk 2001, 5).

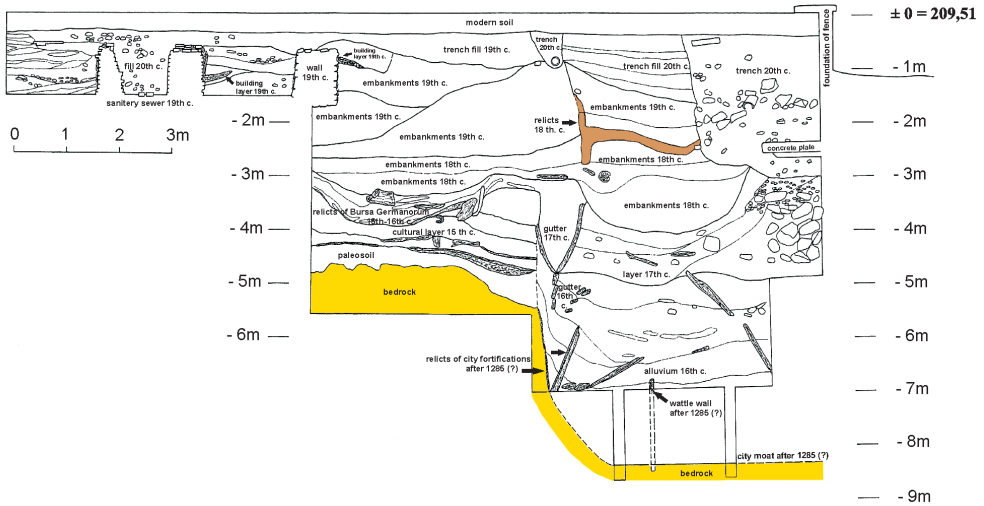
Relics of the same western section of the moat from the times of Leszek Czarny, in the form of the fill of a vast ditch, were also identified in 2007 (at a similar depth) in the western part of Ogród Profesorski (Professors' Garden), between the northern wing of Collegium Witkowskiego (Witkowski College) and the southern façade of Collegium Nowodworskiego (Figs 1, 9; Niemiec *et al.* 2011, 253, 255, figs 5–8; 2012, 211, figs 5–8; Niemiec 2013, 140, footnote 12, fig. 1). A large trench opened in this place showed that the slope of the moat, cut in the bedrock, was reinforced with plaiting and with poles driven transversally into the ground, and stakes made from birch trunks, perhaps remains of another plaited wall, were found 180 cm further (Fig. 9). The digging of the wide ditch for this section of the moat was started from the level of the buried topsoil (discovered at a depth of 4.4 m), by extracting the bedrock sand down to a depth of 8.23 m. This suggests that the city moat, more than 6 m wide, could have reached a depth of 3.7 m.

The earliest sections of Kraków defensive walls were created in the times of Waclaw II (Wenceslaus II), after 1298, as evidenced by references in “Rocznik Świętokrzyski”

400 — 206,15 m. a.s.l.



**Fig. 8.** Reconstructed full cross-section through the western section of the earliest moat of the charter city of Kraków from 1285–1298, based on results of archaeological research in trenches IV/98 and V/98 in the basement of Collegium Nowodworskiego at 12 Św. Anny Street. Graphic design by T. Dębowski (Kwaśniewska, Myszką 1995, fig. 251)



**Fig. 9.** Southern wall of trench I/07 in the western part of Ogród Profesorski, with a fragment of the western section of the earliest moat of the charter city of Kraków from 1285–1298. Graphic design by D. Niemiec

concerning the Czechs who allegedly built walls around Kraków (*Bohemi Cracoviam muraverunt*), and the fact of Waclaw building walls around the city (*civitatem Cracoviensem ex integro muravit*) mentioned in “Kronika katedralna krakowska” (Wyrozumski 1992, 184; Żmudzki 2000, 422–423). The bulk of the city walls’ perimeter was erected before 1306, in the early years of Władysław Łokietek’s reign, which is indicated by the terms *infra*

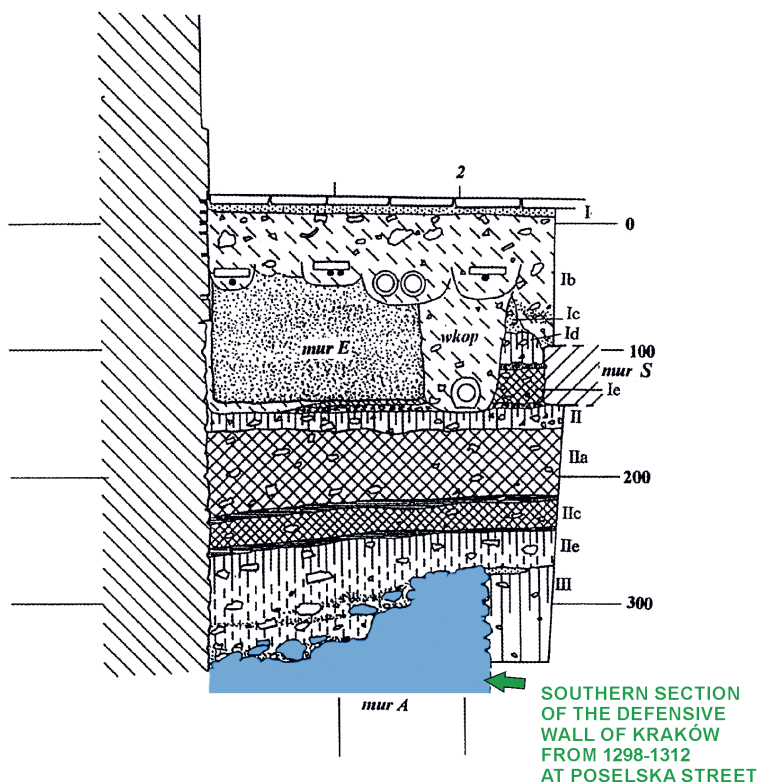


*muros* and *extra muros* used with reference to Kraków at that time (Wyrozumski 1992, 184; Żmudzki 2000, 422–423).

The construction of Kraków city walls during the reign of Waclaw II was connected with the extension of the built-up area outside the line of slightly older fortifications from the times of Leszek Czarny in virtually all directions. The city borders were moved the furthest in the north, where the area between the present-day Św. Marka (St. Mark's) Street and the newly built defensive wall was included into the city. From the north-west, the new walls surrounded the Holy Spirit Monastery and Hospital, while to the east they encompassed the area transformed into what was called Gródek during Łokietek's reign. Archaeological research within the university quarter demonstrated that in the western part of the city, a stone defensive wall was built in 1298–1310 at a distance of 33 m from Leszek Czarny's moat, identified in this area in three excavations (Niemiec 2013, 140, footnote 12, fig. 1). New discoveries also indicate that stone city fortifications from the south, overlapping with the line marked by Poselska Street, must have been erected in the same time. This is suggested by relics of defensive walls from the 13/14<sup>th</sup> century discovered in several places near the northern frontage of this street, and the moat of such a date confirmed archaeologically in 2004 between Poselska and Senacka Streets.

Construction of the first stone fortifications in the northern part of the city is attributed to Czech stonemasons hired by Waclaw II in 1298 (Radwański 1986, 49–51). First, the main city moat – nearly 20 m wide – was dug, next the St. Florian's Gate was built, and then sections of curtain walls were added to the city gate (Radwański 1986, 49–50). The main wall of this oldest fortifications was 240 cm thick and reached a height of 7 m. It was built of limestone blocks carefully laid on limestone mortar, with clearly discernible levelling layers every 60–70 cm. In turn, the extension of the eastern boundary of the city in the times of Waclaw II is evidenced by a city gate with a barbican, which has survived on the side of Planty in the walls of Dominican Nuns monastery at Gródek (Świszczowski 1950, 17; 1977, 49), and by a fragment of badly damaged defensive wall revealed in the south-eastern part of the courtyard of that monastery (Radwański 1959, 58; 1986, 56, fig. 34). As noted by S. Świszczowski, the city gate discovered at Gródek is situated precisely on the reconstructed extension of the straight section of Mikołajska Street running from Main Market Square, and the gate itself is slightly oriented towards the present-day Kopernika Street, which is towards the old road to Mogiła (Świszczowski 1950, 18; 1977, 51–52). In light of the results of archaeological research and the analysis of written accounts concerning the circumstances of incastellation of Mayor Albert's house by Duke Władysław Opolczyk (Vladislaus II of Opole) one should accept that there is no unambiguous evidence for the existence of any independent structure of a stronghold type in this place prior to Albert's rebellion, and the streets of Św. Krzyża (at that time Świnia) and Mikołajska (at that time Rzeźnicza) must have originally had a regular course, as originally proposed by S. Świszczowski (1950, 18–20, figs 20, 21; 1977, 52, fig. 22).

A fragment of what seems to be a defensive wall (known as wall A, more than 220 cm thick) uncovered by E. Zaitz in trench IX situated within the northern frontage of Poselska Street (Fig. 10; Zaitz, Zaitz 2007, 302–303, figs 2, 3) should be linked with the extension of the southern boundary of the chartered city in the mid-13<sup>th</sup> century (or second half of the century), which involved demolition of older fortifications situated further to the north. Based on stratigraphic observations and technological traits the wall should be dated to the first quarter of the 14<sup>th</sup> century (Zaitz, Zaitz 2007, 302–303, fig. 6). Referring to Władysław Łokietek's commitment from 1306 not to link the castle and the city with common walls, Z. Pianowski assumed that Kraków had been surrounded with a complete perimeter of defensive walls



**Fig. 10.** Eastern wall of trench IX at the northern frontage of the western part of Poselska Street, with a fragment of the southern section of the Krakow city wall (so-called wall A) from 1298–1312. After E. Zaitz, M. Zaitz (2007, fig. 6), supplemented and interpreted by D. Niemiec

before 1306, and the southern boundary of the chartered city must have overlapped with the course of Poselska Street, with the incastellated church of St. Peter incorporated into this line of defences (Pianowski 1980, 18; 1984, 174; 1991, 68). It is also worth noting that a relic of an alleged defensive wall, which can be connected with the southern line of fortifications protecting the chartered city, was discovered in the northern wall of the conventual Church of the Bernardine Sisters, i.e. the Church of St. Joseph, precisely at the extension of the northern frontage of Poselska Street (Niewalda, Krasnowolski 1981, fig. 2). It was widely regarded as nearly certain in the literature that the territory of *Okół* had not been an integral part of the chartered city of Kraków until the beginnings of Kazimierz Wielki's reign, and many scholars even believed that an independent city, referred to in written sources as *Nova Civitas in Okol*, functioned in place of the former suburbium as long as until 1346 (Wyrozumski 1992, 259–264; Gawlas 1994, 101–110; Tyszka 2001, 67–70, 159–166; Krasnowolski 2004, 37, 111–113, 120–122; Rajman 2004, 208–211, 358; cf. Słoń 2010, 289–293). However, it has recently been noted that all the accounts mentioning estates in *Nova Civitas in Okol* concern transactions concluded with the municipal tribunal of Kraków, which is the best evidence that the territory of *Okół* must have been subject to Kraków jurisdiction (Słoń 2010, 293).

Proceeding from the above, M. Słoń concluded that after suppressing the revolt of Mayor Albert, Władysław Łokietek managed in 1312–1317 to extend the jurisdiction of Kraków to Okół and to rebuild city fortifications in this area (Słoń 2010, 295–296). As indicated by archaeological-architectural research, after this juridical – and therefore also spatial – inclusion of Okół into the urban area and the fortifying of the chartered city carried out by Władysław Łokietek after the suppression of Albert's rebellion in 1312, the moat situated between Poselska and Senacka Streets and the buffer zone between the early chartered city and Okół (together with the moat and stone fortifications separating them) were liquidated.

### XIII-wieczne fortyfikacje Krakowa

W artykule podsumowano stan współczesnej wiedzy o XIII-wiecznych fortyfikacjach trzech podstawowych jednostek osadniczych Krakowa, czyli Wawelu i Okołu oraz miasta lokacyjnego. W odniesieniu do Wawelu zachowały się jednoznaczne przekazy pisane, które wskazują na podejmowanie w latach 1258 i 1265 wielkich prac przy budowie drewniano-ziemnych umocnień grodu, częściowo rozpoznanych archeologicznie przy południowej krawędzi wzgórza.

Kres funkcjonowania północnego odcinka fosi podgrodzia krakowskiego – zwanego Okołem – przy południowej granicy Placu Wszystkich Świętych i ul. Dominikańskiej należy najprawdopodobniej wiązać z ich zniszczeniem w wyniku walk książąt dzielnicowych o Kraków w 1191 r. Nowe rozpoznania archeologiczne fosi zlokalizowanej w strefie pomiędzy ulicami Poselską i Senacką wskazywać mogą, że w 2. połowie XIII w. obszar podgrodzia zwanego Okołem został zawężony i cofnięty od strony północnej do linii zawartej pomiędzy wymienionymi ulicami.

Najwcześniejsza planowa akcja fortyfikowania krakowskiego miasta lokacyjnego przeprowadzona została dopiero w przedziale lat 1285–1287 z inicjatywy księcia Leszka Czarnego, przy czym podkreślić należy, że w początkowej fazie związana była z włączeniem do tego nowego systemu obronnego końcowych odcinków wcześniej przekopanej młynówki dominikańskiej, wzmiankowanej już pod rokiem 1284. Budowa pełnego obwodu umocnień obronnych krakowskiego miasta lokacyjnego w postaci drewniano-ziemnych wałów i fos musiała zostać zakończona przed trzecim najazdem mongolskim, który dotarł do Krakowa zimą 1287 r. Pozostałości fosi stanowiącej element najstarszej linii fortyfikacji miasta lokacyjnego, które istnieć miały w Krakowie od czasów Leszka Czarnego pod koniec XIII w. po północnej stronie kościoła św. Marka zidentyfikowane zostały na posesji przy ul. Sławkowskiej 26. Zachodnią linię odcinka tak datowanej fosi potwierdzono też w kilku miejscach w skrajnej, zachodniej części tzw. kwartału uniwersyteckiego. Budowa krakowskich murów miejskich po 1298 r. w okresie panowania Wacława II i Władysława Łokietka powiązana została z poszerzeniem obszaru zabudowy miasta lokacyjnego niemal we wszystkich kierunkach na zewnątrz linii wyznaczonej przez nieco starsze fortyfikacje z czasów Leszka Czarnego.

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