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On September 18–22, 2001 the Symposium Castella Maris Baltici VI was held in Lithuania. This is already the 6th symposium for the researchers of the medieval castles. The first symposium was held in Turku, Finland in 1991, the second – in Nyköping, Sweden in 1993, the third - in Malbork, Poland in 1995, the fourth - in Estonia in 1997, and the fifth – in Denmark in 1999. The topic of the conference held in Lithuania was “Contacts and Genetically Dwellings in the Castle Buildings”.

Over 40 scientists participated in the conference from Denmark, Belarus, Finland, Sweden, Switzerland, Germany, Russia, Great Britain, Poland, Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania. In the conference there were not only reports presented but also the most famous castles of Lithuania visited in Vilnius, Trakai, Kernavé, Kaunas and Klaipėda.

The time of this conference coincided with the European Heritage Days "Defensive Fortifications in Lithuania". This conference was organised by the Public Institution Academy of Cultural Heritage established by Vilnius University, Vilnius Academy of Arts, Vilnius Gediminas Technical University, Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Lithuania and Department of Cultural Heritage Protection. The Symposium Castella Maris Baltici VI was sponsored by the Department of Cultural Heritage Protection.

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Dr. Albinas Kuncevičius
bestehenden Holzbauweisen angepasst wurde. Drei Burgen wurden im Flachland gebaut, zwei auf den Erhebungen (Burgenbergen).

2. Die Stärke der Ringmauern ist sehr unterschiedlich, von 1,2 m in Alt-Dahlen bis 4,55 m in Holme gewesen. Die Überbleibsel der Ringmauern hatten sich im 20. Jahrhundert zu 2 m Höhe erhalten, aber die ursprüngliche Höhe wird auf 4–5 m geschätzt.

3. Als Baumaterial wurden sowohl Dolomitplatten als auch Feldstein verwendet, aber sorgfältig gehauener, großer Block, der gelegentlich mit der Bürgermeister wohl bekannt.


5. Das Ausmass der mit einer Ringmauer umgebenen Fläche der Burg ist unterschiedlich. Da die Länge der freigelegten Mauern 20 bis 40 m beträgt, kann man die Fläche der Burgen auf etwa 1000 bis 1800 m² schätzen. Diese Burgen sind keine große Gebäude, sondern eine Mauer mit einem Turm.


Königliche Burgen und befestigte Städte an Handelsstraßen, die im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert durch Polen bis an die Ostsee geführt haben. Ein Beitrag zur Erkenntnis des Planungssystems der Landesverteidigung


Sie kreuzen sich in Torun (Thorn), einer Handelsstadt des Ordens, die an der Weichsel, am Anfang des Schiffahrtszeitalters liegt. Die Bezeichnung der Stadt wurde, und indirekt von Ruthem und Ungarn aus über Moskau.

1333 bestätigt die polnischen Thronherrschaft der Großen. Dieser Befreiungsbewegung der östlichen, östlichen und äußersten deutsche Grundlagen der Landesverteidigung wieder auf. Er gründet u.a. neue Systeme zur Festigung. Das Bestandteil dieses Systems muss in den Festungen der großen, internationalen Handelsstraßen bestehen.

In Städten auf der sog. alten Straße von Wörlitz (Breslau) aus bis Thorn (Kronstadt) über Parnawa, Preßburg (Olsztyn) bis Thorn (Olsztyn). Die Stadtmauer, die in der Mitte der Stadt, von der Stadtmauer und der Stadtmauer ist nicht nur für die Stadtmauer, sondern auch für den Stadtmauer.
In 1368 the Teutonic Order crossed the Vistula river and conquered the Płast duchies lying westwards of the river. This was the way it united with affable Brandenburg (Miltzer 1999: 352–362). Almost at the same time, in 1309, the Order expanded eastwards, in the direction of Lithuania (Aragi-Filipiak 1992: 154–155).

As a result of the Order’s seizure of Gdańsk Pomerania, and especially the port city of Gdańsk itself, the Kingdom of Poland, which was just being rebuilt by Prince Władysław (Lokietski) I the Short, lost Gdańsk and direct access to the sea. Direct access to the sea had been ensured a priori in 1282 by the treaty signed in Kępno between Gdańsk Duke Mieszko II and Przemysław II, Duke of Great Poland (Zielinska 1969; Zielinska-Melkowska 1980). The agreement stated that Przemysław II and his heirs received hereditary ownership of Gdańsk Pomerania and the city of Gdańsk. This was supposed to be the beginning of the reunification of the kingdom, which, in turn, was to take place some day in the future. However, the Treaty of Kępno made it possible for Przemysław II to be crowned King of united Poland in 1295.

Finally, Polish lands were re-united and the kingdom was restored by Przemysław II’s successor Władysław I the Short, who became King of Poland in 1321. In 1331 the new King strengthened the kingdom by winning the war with the Teutonic Order. Thus the Order’s expansion towards the south and the Polish lands was checked. Władysław died in 1333, his son, Casimir III the Great, ascended the throne. At first he did not attempt to expand Polish territory and gave up the idea to regain Pomerania and Gdańsk. He launched a campaign within the kingdom, the aim of which was to adjust the old law to the new social, economic and political situations appearing in Europe in the 14th century (Kaczmarczyk 1999: passim). He issued new laws defining the status of the landed gentry, the townsmen and the peasants, and introduced orders into the administrative authorities and courts. The King reformed the army and built defences in the form of castles and city fortifications, made of stone and brick (Kaczmarczyk 1938: Olejnik 1970: 219–235; Poklewski-Koziell 1994: 61–79).

Attempts to ensure the freedom of trade and give tradesmen a sense of security were one of the key elements of Casimir III the Great’s internal and inter-national policy. This was why the King took action to provide his people with safe trade routes (Poklewski-Koziell 1994: 24).

It should be remembered that from 1308 onward the lower Vistula River from Toruń to the Baltic Sea belonged to the Teutonic state. Thus the Teutonic Order owned both the routes leading from Poland to the sea. What is more, the Teutonic city of Toruń had a monopoly on trade between Poland and the main Baltic port in the southern part of the coast – Gdańsk (Weymann 1938: 100–104). Until the beginning of the Middle Ages the two main trading directions, namely the parallel direction, running from Western Europe via Wrocław and Cracow to Ruthenian Kiev and the meridian one, leading from the Adriatic Sea via Prague, Wrocław, Cracow and finally Torun to the Baltic Sea and Gdańsk (Weymann 1938: 98–104, 115–116), met on Polish territory. The parallel route is mentioned in some written sources dating from the mid-twelfth century (Ortlepp 1872: 4). Fourteenth-century authors also refer to the route and the safety of the travellers (Poklewski-Koziell 1994: 23–4). However, while discussing castella Maris Baltici we are interested in meridian routes, which led to the Baltic Sea. They are quite clearly described by Teutonic sources dating back to the fourteenth century and are called de Thorun super Wistulia via etnial and de Thorun super Wistuliawian via nova (Weymann 1938: 101). The routes ran along almost the same roads on the territory of Kujawy and Great Poland and the route divided as far as the southern part of the province of Great Poland and especially Silesia. The French knight Jean de Bigis, who in 1363 and 1369 travelled to the Teutonic Order to set off on a crusade (in the West such an expedition was called a voyage de Prusea) (Parravicini 1899: 210–212), described the routes in great detail. One of the routes, namely via antiqua, ran from Torun to Inowroclaw, then in the direction of the Prussia River to Pyzdry, and further via Kozmin to Milicz, Trebniak and Wrocław.

Fig. 1. The big commercial routes from Poland to the Baltic Sea in the fourteenth century.

1. The Vistula river summer route from Cracow and Lvov to Gdańsk
2. The winter and return road route from Gdańsk and Torun to Cracow and Lvov.
3. The new road from Wroclaw to Torun.
4. The old road from Wroclaw to Torun. Drawing by Emilia Wówkiewicz – Mazurczak
the12th c., grew in importance. From 1308 onward the Teutonic Order controlled the section of the river lying downstream of the town. What is Torun today constituted the border station for all goods brought to Poland or via Poland from far away southern lands – Hungary, Transylvania, and the Great. Realized the significance of the Vistula River route for the economy of this part of Europe and of course for the economics of the town. The town had undertaken the task of re-organizing the route so as to adjust it to the new political situation of the lands it ran through.

The newly organized route along the Vistula river to Torun ran through the trade corridor from Little Poland to Mazovia and could subsequently be used to transport goods from Hungary and Ruthenia. It was particularly handy to send vast quantities of salt, corn and pepper, lumber, timber from Mazovia, and corn from Ruthenia, as well as minerals and wine from behind the Carpathian Mountains (Weymann 1938: 100–101).

The route began in Cracow (Kronika..., 1897: 351–352; Poklewski 1995: 64), where the King enlarged and modernized the castle and strengthened the defensive city walls. Downriver, at a node, the maritime trade vessel Missia dostępna. Further, there was built a castle at the mouth of the river San and the town of Sandomierz was surrounded with a wall. The ruler fortified the old fort and granted the town of Zawiercie and Sandomierz the right to build new castles there. Kazimierz Dolny, the settlement situated half way from Cracow to Torun and first mentioned in the 13th century, was considered very important by the King, who erected a stone castle on the high, right bank of the river. At the foot of this castle the hill settlement developed into a town and a few stone granaries appeared next to it on the river bank (Weymann 1938: 100–102; cf. also Dumnicki 1877: 47–53).

Little source information can be found about Kazimierz Dolny and its significance along the trade route system along the Vistula River. In the thirteenth century a river port was built there. In this place the trade route from the Baltic Sea via Torun to Ruthenia, and as far as Włocławek, changed into a parallel land road via Lublin, Chełm and Horodło. Undoubtedly, in the 14th century kingdom of Casimir III the Great this centre retained its importance and served the needs of people using both the road to Ruthenia via Lublin province and the road from Cracow, Little Poland and Hungary (Weymann 1938: 100–104). Although the King’s resolutions regarding traffic from Torun to Cracow and Hungary demanded a land route via Brzesc, Przedecz, Leczycy, also as Inowłodz or Piotrkow and Rozprza, the King provided for the development of this river route by building a few castles, including the one at Kazimierz Dolny, along the course of the river.

More source information can be found about the function of this town as a special trading emporium from the year 1506 onward. It was then, during the reign of Sigismund I the Old and Sigismund II Augustus, that the corn trade of Little Poland flourished and the Vistula river route grew in importance. However, the route witnessed that after the early medieval water route from Ruthenia along the Bug river to the Vistula river and onwards to the Baltic Sea was not renovated in the 14th-century. This in turn, suggests that the Vistula river served as a trade route linking Ruthenia with the Baltic coast.

The Vistula river route came complete with a parallel substitute land road running only through the kingdom lands. It served as a return route for traders from Little Poland and Ruthenia coming back home from Torun and possibly from far as for Gdansk. What is more when the river froze, it may have been used even further to the small and large goods. This was normally noted to run from north to south, which would emphasize its “returning” character (Weymann 1938: 103–104). The road led from Torun via Brzesc Kujawski, where the King erected a brick castle and fortified the town. In Przedecz the King also built a brick castle. This is the reason why in 1347 Casimir III the Great took Przedecz away from the Archbishop of the Archdiocese of Gniezno and gave him the dominium at Spicymierz on the Warta River in return (Poklewski 1975: 19–20). The road ran via Leczycy (Kronika..., 1897: 351–352; Widawski 1972: 285–295; Żarnowicz 1877: 79–106) to Inowłodz on the Piłica River. In both towns the King built a brick or stone castle and surrounded the town with a brick or stone wall. From Inowłodz as well as Piotrkow (Widawski 1972: 341–353) there also built a stone castle (Kronika..., 1897: 351–352; Augustyniak 1980: 41–55). It is possible that he road then ran eastward via Radom, fortified by the King with a brick wall and a brick castle (Kronika..., 1897: 351–352; Widawski 1973: 328–332), to Kazimierz Dolny on the Vistula River and finally to Ruthenia. It could also lead southward via Wisława, also fortified by the King, from this route from Leczycy to Piotrkow (the King fortified the latter with a brick wall) and then further southward probably via Miechów to Cracow.

I have presented here the three main trade routes, which led from Poland and via Poland to the Baltic Sea. They all met in Torun and then ran along the downstream section of the Vistula river through the Teutonic state. They served all the Polish lands. Two of the routes, the land roads, were also clearly political in character as they were used by the Teutonic Order in their conflict with German countries, Western Europe and Italy (Paravovici 1988: passim). The Treaty of Kalisz of 1343 seems to be evidence of the Order’s initiative to have the roads functioning and to extend access to those lands. As it already been noted, this does not mean, however, that the fortifications, castles and town defensive walls were built only to make the routes safe. On the contrary, Kalisz, Pyzdy, Droźdżyce and Kozmin were part of the fortifications erected along the borderland between Poland and Silesia on the Prosna and Barycz rivers (Poklewski-Koziell 1994: 61–78). Konin and Pyszyń seem to have been fortifications of Great Poland’s inner barrier against the Bolesław the Warta river (Poklewski-Koziell 2001: 145–140) while Brzesz Czarny and Inowrocław must have been in rear fortification centres for the Kujawy section of the border with the Teutonic state, thus the forts erected on both the old and the new roads de Torun super Visthalia fulfilled a dual function: they protected the state and the international road against attacks. Stawłyn created a defense line here. The town, situated on the new Torun road and surrounded by the King with a brick defensive wall, seems to have functioned only as a station for travelers (Kronika..., 1897: 351–353; Widawski 1973: 441–444).

The Vistula river route was fortified in a different way. I believe that the route was organised to further the internal interests of the kingdom and it was only for the sake of profit that it was also used to carry transit traffic. Undoubtedly, the fortifications erected along the river were the border defense system. The castle and the defensive town at San- domierz not only guarded the place where the San river and the Vistula river routes met but was also an administrative and judicial dual function. While the castles at Nowe Miasto Korczyn, Zawichost and Solec were used primarily to protect a communication route.

The situation was similar on the land substitute route. Brzesc Kujawski was a rear border defence centre on the border between Kujawy and the Teutonic state. Leczycy was probably the capital town of the Duchy of Leczycy and Brzesc Kujawski. In both cases the function of the road station was subsidiary in character. The fortifications in Przedecz, Inowłodz and Piotrkow were mainly intended to protect the road route. The castle at Opoczno, built at a settlement situated at the crossroads of two large public roads, namely the meridian road from the Baltic coast to Little Poland and the parallel road running from Silesia to Ruthenia, appears to have served a similar purpose.

The castle at Kazimierz Dolny together with the town and the granaries was probably a very special case. Evidently, a large transhipping post for large quantities of goods was organised here and the stone castle was built nearby to secure safety on the Vistula river.

The above discussion of the main international trading routes running across Poland from the south to the Baltic Sea leads to a single basic conclusion: Casimir III the Great was mainly interested in the solution to the problem of north-south transit across Poland. The King preferred the roads running through the Teutonic state. He practically excluded the routes that ran downstream the Warta river and the Lower
Oder river, which ran through Brandenburg, and the central-Pomeranian route, via Wielno and Naklo to Kolobrzeg. The monarch’s actions seem to have been very coherent. The legislative measures and specification of rights and duties on the public roads adopted in the treaty of Kalisz of 1343 were accompanied by investments, namely building castles at the points which were crucial for road safety as well as the fortification of towns serving as road stations. As far as both the land roads, de Thorun via nova et antiqua, are concerned, in most cases, the defensive structures on the roads performed a dual function. Each fortified city was also a rear logistic centre in the permanent state or provincial defence system. Kalisz, Konin, Inowrocław and Pyzdry were such cities. Self-contained castles, for example the one in Ostrowszow, were border fortifications clearly military in character.

The water route on the Vistula river seems to have been organized separately. Along this route, not only were the road defence fortifications built at Sandomierz and Nowe Miasto Korczyn but a large defensive transshipping station at Kazimierz Dolny as well. This was also the only road prepared to carry heavy traffic of vast quantities of commodities, such as corn, salt and other minerals. The royal granaries erected along the route, particularly the ones at Kazimierz Dolny, are evidence of this fact.

Examining the distribution of customshouses and estimating internal tariff profits can best measure road traffic in the Middle Ages and its fiscal value (Weymann 1995: passim). However, the installation of customshouses itself, even if backed up by setting up protective posts equipped with suitable fortifications, remains only a passive way of caring for roads and road traffic. The way the Vistula river route was organised seems much more valuable to me as thanks to the creation of royal transshipping depots at road stations, the route was made active and the economic factor was employed in order to organise traffic on the river.

It appears that Casimir III the Great’s efforts to organise big trading routes as well as the issue of ensuring safety of the traffic are an immanent element of the campaign to build a modern kingdom. Road issues were mentioned both in the Treaty of Visegrád of 1335 signed with John of Luxembourg, King of Bohemia, and the treaty of Kalisz signed with the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order in 1343. The attitude towards the problem of comfort and freedom of movement on the public roads adopted is one of the factors contributing to the modern character of Casimir III the Great’s state. The problem of communication with the city of Gdansk lying on the Baltic coast seems to be a prior task. Trade with Poland and other countries that shipped goods via Poland guaranteed bigger economic growth than the development the city could have undergone if it had remained an internal trading post within the Teutonic state and its trade had been confined to this country. Besides, it should be pointed out that the same trading exchange laid the foundations for the economic well being of the flourishing town of Toruń. Therefore, one should not be surprised that a century later, in the Thirteen Years’ War, both the cities sided with Poland and Trinity, after the Treaty of Toruń was signed in 1466, they became a permanent part of the Polish Kingdom (Biskup 1967: passim).

**Kazimierz Pospieszny**

**DER PREUSSISCH-LIVLÄNDISCHE "KONVENTSHAUSTYP" ALS EINE KLOSTER-UND HERRSCHAFTSIDEE**

**The Prussian Livonian “Convent house Typo” as an Idea for Cloister and Reign**

In 1927 K.H. Clasen used the term “Convent-house Type” to describe the four-corner castles with an enclosed gallery courtyard (cloister). A substantial number of these was built in Prussia as the residences of German Orders during the middle of 13th century. Most of the published historical research in this field considers these buildings as serving a twofold purpose – being both cloisters and secular “houses”. The conclusions remained open. On the one hand numerous reorganisations mixed the homogenous (secular/sacral) characteristics of different functions, on the other hand, new factors changed the “old” model from around 1300. Takeover of the model outside Prussia contradicts the thesis of Clasen about the planning and development of buildings of the Orders on site. Political circumstances of the period of 1226–1250 supported the architectural reform of two Order centres in Montfort (Holy Land) and Marburg (Hessen), that were to be relocated to Elbing, where in 1251, the new permanent residence in Prussia was established. Firstly, according to definition of the type, the secular outline of the castle is reflected in the structure of tower. The absence of monumental outside walls and the conventional two-floor residential area, that characterised the castle as landlord’s home with “piano mobile”, indicate the imperial origin and Norman-Mediterranean genesis of rectangular castle with courtyard, despite the explicit Cistercian-Brandenburg features of brick Gothic architecture.

Secondly, closely related to the first element was the enclosed gallery (cloister). Serving the purpose of procession route, it emphasised the sacral character of the most significant, yet not all, the Prussian castles. However the enclosed gallery was soon considered universal, and since the 14th century was used as the location for sacral-manorial ceremonies. The idealised architecture reflected the transcendental symbolism of the buildings.

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