



CASTELLA MARIS BALTICI 6

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Front cover: Castle of Trakai

Photos by Albinas Kuncevičius

Back cover: Royal palace in an Upper castle.

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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, Kernavė, 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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Especial thanks deserve my colleagues who organised this event Rita Mosiejienė, dr. Justina Poškienė and dr. Gintautas Zabiela.

Dr. Albinas Kuncevičius

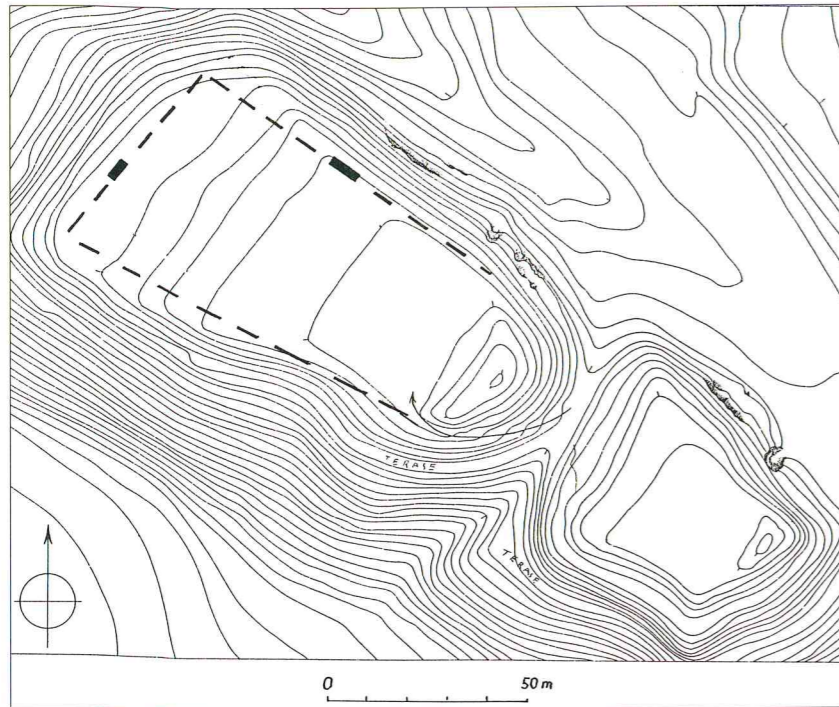


Abb. 5. Burgberg in Ascheraden/Aizkraukle mit der Rekonstruktion des Grundrisses der Ringmauer. Schwarz - 1971 und 1974 von Urtāns freigelegte Teile der Mauern (Aufmessung nach Brastiņš 1930)

Jahrhunderts Holzburgen auf den Burgbergen gebaut haben. Die Form des Plateaus, die abgeplattete Oberfläche des Hügels, ist meistens rundlich oder oval gewesen, und die unregelmässige Linie der in mehreren Ausgrabungen freigelegten äusseren Holz-Erde-Befestigungen folgt gewöhnlich dem Rand des Abhangs. Die archäologisch erforschten Siedlungen der Einheimischen im Flachland haben keine Zeugnisse für Befestigungen erbracht. Es ist aber kaum zu glauben, dass die ursprünglichen Holz-Erde-Befestigungen die Form des Grundrisses der Steinburg beeinflusst haben. Man kann nur betonen, dass ein Rechteck die einfachste Form für die Begrenzung eines Territoriums im Flachland ist.

Da für die Ringmauer der ersten Steinburgen verschieden bearbeitete Baumaterialien und unterschiedliche Mauerstärken verwendet wurden, könnte man an meh-

re Baumeister denken. In der oben erwähnten Chronik Heinrichs werden als Erbauer der ersten Burgen Livlands die Steinmetzen aus Gotland erwähnt. Die Gotländer sind erfahrene Meister des Mauerwerks gewesen, weil in Gotland im 12. Jahrhundert Steinkirchen und Stadtmauern gebaut wurden. Die Chronik hat auch zwei Sprachformen als Bezeichnung der ersten Burgen verwendet – castrum und castellum. Beide wurden im Mittelalter für die Benennung der Burgen benutzt und zeugen von lateinischer Terminologie, die schon die römischen Befestigungen bezeichnet haben.

Da die Mauertechnik zusammen mit den deutschen Kaufleuten und Missionaren Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts im Territorium Lettlands aufgekommen ist, kann man vermuten, dass die Idee des regulären Grundrisses der Steinburg auch aus deutschen Ländern kommen könnte. Wenn man die in der Chronik Heinrichs bis zu den 20er Jahren des 13. Jahrhunderts erwähnten deutschen Städte kartiert (siehe Abb.: Chronicon 1993: 336), folgt, dass eine breite Region im nördlichen und mittleren Teil Deutschlands, von Sachsen bis Westfalen, Kontakte mit Livland gehabt hat. Zur Zeit kann man keine konkreten Beispiele für die ersten regulären Burgen Lettlands nennen. Man kann nur folgern, dass die Einflüsse für das Mörtelmauerwerk und die rechteckige Ringmauer von West- oder Mitteleuropa gekommen sind, wo gemauerte Befestigungsanlagen lange Traditionen bis zu den Römern bestanden.

bestehenden Holzbebauung angepasst wurde. Drei Burgen wurden im Flachland gebaut, zwei auf den Erhöhungen (Burgbergen).

2. Die Stärke der Ringmauer ist sehr unterschiedlich, von 1,2 m in Alt-Dahlen bis 3,25 m in Holme gewesen. Die Überbleibsel der Ringmauer hatten sich im 20. Jahrhundert bis 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 gehauenen Quadern begegnet man nur in der Burg Holme. Das Innere der Schalenmauer ist mit allerlei zufälligem Steinmaterial in Kalkmörtel angefüllt worden.

4. Die Bebauung des Burghofes bestand aus Holzgebäuden. Es scheint, dass die freigelegten Fundamente der Steingebäude in Holme und Alt-Dahlen chronologisch etwas später als die Ringmauer gebaut wurden.

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 1600 m² schätzen. Diese Burgen sind keine grosse Baukomplexe gewesen. Die Ringmauer gehörte zu den dominierenden Elementen der Anlage.

Jetzt sind wir zur Frage gekommen, wo man die Einflüsse für den Bau der ersten in Lettland errichteten Burgen mit rechteckigem Grundriss suchen könnte. Zuerst muss man betonen, dass die alleinigsten Einwohner Lettlands bis zum Ende des 12.

Tadeusz Poklewski-Koziell

THE ROYAL CASTLES AND DEFENSIVE TOWNS ON TRADING ROUTES THROUGH POLAND TO THE BALTIC SEA IN THE 14th – 15th CENTURY. A CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORY OF COUNTRY DEFENCE SYSTEM PLANNING

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

Ende des 13. Jahrhunderts fangen die polnischen Herzogtümer aus dem Geschlecht der Piasten an, sich zusammenzuschliessen. Der Deutsche Ritterorden wersetzt sich der Vereinigung in den nördlichen Gebieten und erwirbt 1308 Pomerellen durch Waffengewalt. Seit dieser Zeit verlieren die polnischen Gebiete ihre direkte Verbindung mit der Ostseeküste, und alle Handelsstraßen bis an die See, von Danzig an, müssen durch Ordensgebiet führen.

Sie kreuzen sich in Toruń (Thorn), einer Handelsstadt des Ordens, die an der Weichsel, am Anfang des schiffbaren unteren Laufs des Flusses liegt. Nach Thorn führen drei große Wege: zwei Landwege von Schlesien aus über Großpolen und ein Wasserweg (die Weichsel entlang) von Klempolen aus, und indirekt von Ruthenien und Ungarn aus über Masowien.

1333 besteigt den polnischen Thron Kasimir der Große. Dieser baut die verwaltungsmässigen, ökonomischen, sozialen und militärischen Grundlagen der Landesentwicklung wieder auf. Er gründet u.a. neue Systeme zur festen Verteidigung. Zum Bestandteil dieses Systems wurden Festungen an den großen, internationalen Handelsstraßen.

In Städten auf der sog. alten Straße von Wroclaw (Bres-

lau) aus bis Thorn (Kozmin (Koschmin), Pyzdry, Inowrodaw (Hohensalza)) sowie auf der neuen Straße von Breslau aus bis Thorn (Ostrzeszow (Schildberg), Kalisz (Kalisch), Stawiszyn, Konin, Brześć Kujawski) baut er Burgen und Stadtbefestigungen. Der Weichsel entlang befestigt er mit Burgen wichtigste Hafenstädte (Nowe Miasto Korczyn, Sandomierz (Sandomir), Zawichost, Sieciechow, Kazimierz Dolny, Plock (Plock)). Er befestigt auch eine parallele Winterstraße und einen Landweg von der See her, indem er Burgen und befestigte Städte errichtet (Łęczyca (Lentschitz), Inowlodz, Opoczno, Radom). Auf diesem in Richtung Ruthenien und Ungarn geteilten Weg entstehen noch Burgen in Lublin, Włodzimierz Wolynski und Lwów (Leinberg) sowie in Sanok, Krosno und Czorsztyn. An wichtigen Punkten des Wasserwegs entstehen Stapelplätze (Sandomierz (Sandomir), Kazimierz Dolny, Plock (Plock) und vielleicht auch Bydgoszcz (Bromberg)).

Diese Tendenz hält bis zum Dreizehnjährigen Krieg (1454–1466) an. Mit dem Thorner Frieden (1466) fallen die Ostseeküste und zwei große Hafenstädte an der Mündung der Weichsel, Danzig und Elbing, an das Polnische Reich zurück. Die Befestigungen an großen Handelsstraßen verlieren an Bedeutung.

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In 1308 the Teutonic Order crossed the Vistula river and conquered the Piast duchies lying westwards of the river. This was the way it united with affable Brandenburg (Militzer 1999: 352–362). Almost at the same time, in 1309, the Order expanded eastwards, in the direction of Lithuania (Arszyński 1992: 154–155).

As a result of the Order's seizure of Gdansk Pomerania, and especially the port city of Gdansk itself, the Kingdom of Poland, which was just being rebuilt by Prince Wladislaw (Lokietek) I the Short, lost Gdansk and direct access to the sea. Direct access to the sea had been ensured a priori in 1282 by the treaty signed in Kepno between Gdansk Duke Mszczuj II and Przemyslaw II, Duke of Great Poland (Zielińska 1968; Zielińska-Melkowska 1980). The agreement stated that Przemyslaw II and his heirs received hereditary ownership of Gdansk Pomerania and the city of Gdansk. 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 Kepno made it possible for Przemyslaw II to be crowned King of united Poland in 1295.

Finally, Polish lands were re-united and the kingdom was restored by Przemyslaw II's successor Wladyslaw 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. When Wladyslaw 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 Gdansk. 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 1939: passim). He issued new laws defining the status of the landed gentry, the townspeople and the peasants, and introduced order 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-Koziełł 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 international policy. This was why the King took action to provide his people with safe trade routes (Poklewski-Koziełł 1994: 24).

It should be remembered that from 1308 onward the lower Vistula River from Torun 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 Torun had a monopoly on trade between Poland and the main Baltic port in the southern part of the coast – Gdansk (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 Wroclaw and Cracow to Ruthenian Kiev and the meridian one, leading from the Adriatic Sea via Prague, Wroclaw, Cracow and finally Torun to the Baltic Sea and Gdansk (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 (Ortlibi..., 1872: 4). Fourteenth-century authors also refer to the route and the safety of the travellers (Poklewski-Koziełł 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 Wratislaviam via antiqua* and *de Thorun super Wratislaviam via nova* (Weymann 1938: 101). The routes ran along almost the same roads on the territory of Kujawy and Great Poland and the road divided as far as the southern part of the province of Great Poland and especially Silesia. The French knight Jean de Blois, who in 1363 and 1369 travelled to the Teutonic Order to set off on a crusade (in the West such an expedition was called *voyage de Prusse*) (Parravicini 1989: 210), described the routes in great detail. One of the routes, namely *via antiqua*, ran from Torun to Inowroclaw, then in the direction of the Prosna River to Pyzdry, and further via Kozmin to Milicz, Trzebnica and Wroclaw. The other, *via nova*, led from Torun probably via Brzesc Kujawski to Konin and then via Kalisz and Ostrzeszow to Olesnica and Wroclaw. Jean de Blois used the new road twice and Gilbert de Lannoy, another guest of the Teutonic Order and crusader, travelled along this route in 1414 (Parravicini 1989: 210–212). Guillaume de la Tremoille (Poklewski-Koziełł 1994: 27–28) and the other Burgundian and Savoy knights, also the Order's guests, returning from an unsuccessful crusade in 1379, as well as the pilgrims travelling from Prussia to Rome chose the old road (Parravicini 1989: 243–244).

Both the roads were mentioned in the Treaty of Kalisz of 1343 signed between Casimir the Great and the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order (Kodeks..., 1878: 1217–1222). The King, the knights of Great Poland and the municipal governments of the largest cities of Great Poland were obliged to ensure freedom of passage and safety on the roads for all the travellers going to the Teutonic state or leaving it for Silesia and the south. Those resolutions were not strictly obeyed, which can be best illustrated by the incident that occurred in 1345. The outstanding European politician Charles of Luxembourg, Margrave of Moravia at that time, who later became the Emperor Charles IV, was stopped there on the orders of the King (Vita..., 185). Similar accidents happened on the other road too, for example in 1379 and 1392. Generally speaking, however, both the roads were safe and the King equipped them with some defensi-

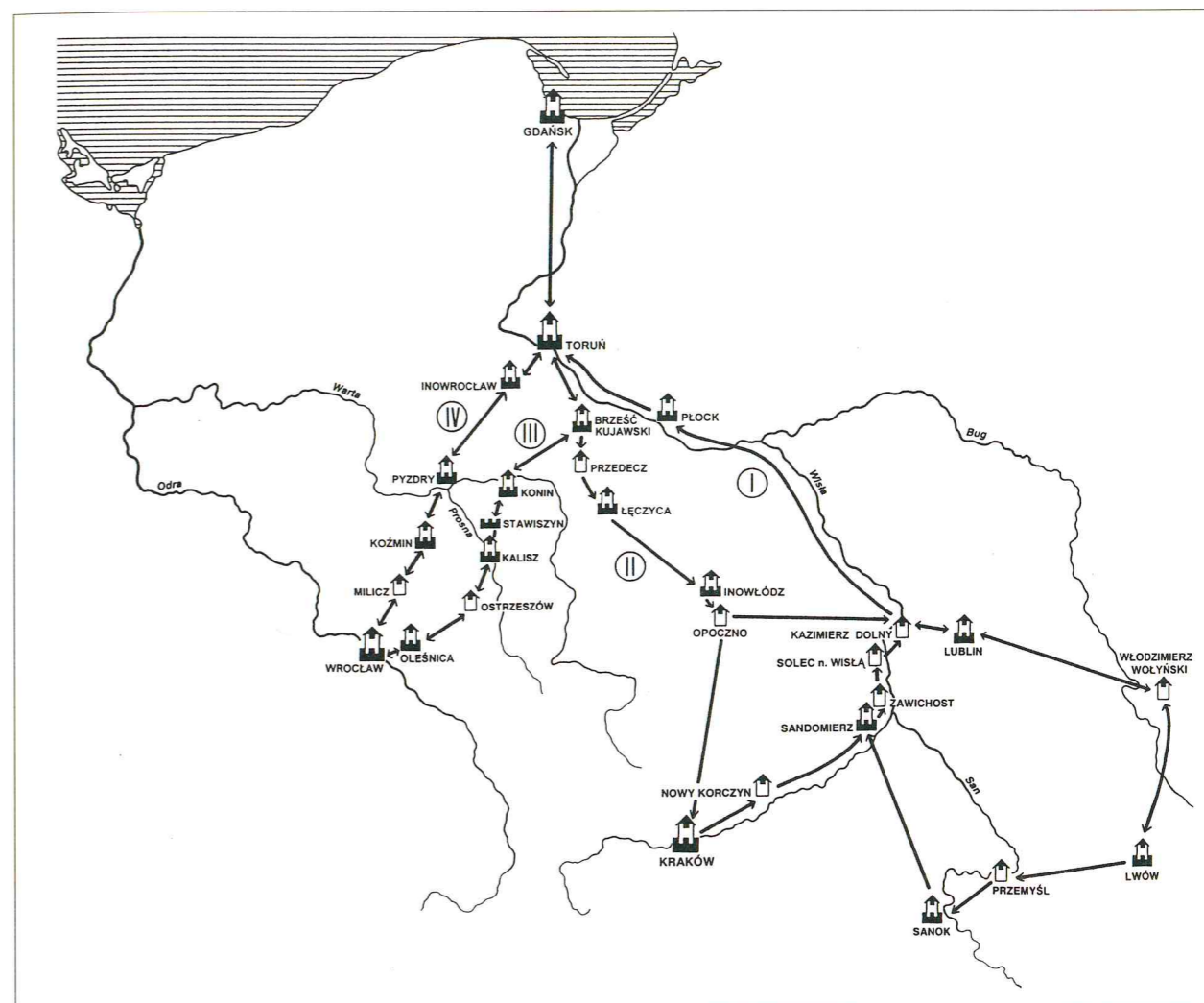


Fig. 1. The big commercial routes from Poland to the Baltic Sea in the fourteenth century.
1 - The Vistula river summer water-route from Cracow and Lvov to Gdansk.
2 - The winter and return road route from Gdansk and Torun to Cracow and Lvov.
3 - The new road from Wroclaw to Torun.
4 - The old road from Wroclaw to Torun. Drawing by Emilia Wtorkiewicz – Marosik

ve structures. Alongside the old road some royal fortifications were erected in Inowroclaw and Pyzdry, including the castle in Pyzdry. Besides, there was the archbishop's fortified town of Gniezno and Knight Bartosz Wezenborg built a castle and a fortified city in Kozmin, just before the Silesian border. Alongside the new road there appeared fortified towns with castles in Brzesc Kujawski, Konin and Kalisz and the castle in Ostrzeszow, near the Silesian border. The town of Stawiszyn, lying between Konin and Kalisz, was fortified too. As a result a traveller could finish almost each day's stage of his journey in a fortified town or seek shelter at a castle. The fortified cities offered tradesmen some space that could be used for safe storage of their goods and a chance to participate in the local trade exchange.

In addition to the roads described above, there existed another ancient route through Poland to the Baltic Sea. This was the water route along the Vistula river. It was more important still as it was a

connection between the sea and Gdansk and the southern Ruthenian lands (Lvov, Luck, Halicz, Kiev) along the San and Bug rivers as well as the sea and Gdansk and the Hungarian lands, especially the northern part (present-day Slovakia), through the Carpathian passes.

Fortified trading centres and a large scale existed on the Vistula river as early as the 12th and 13th centuries. Downstream of Cracow there were Sandomierz, Zawichost, probably Warsaw, Wyszogrod, Dobrzyn and Chelmno. Alongside the Bug river there stood Wlodzimir Wolynski, Brzesc Litewski and Drohiczyn and the San river was guarded by the town of Przemysl (Weymann 1938: 101–102; Poklewski 1995: 64–65).

In 1333 Casimir III the Great found himself in a different position. When the Teutonic Order seized Gdansk Pomerania in 1308, the downstream part of the river started to be controlled by the Order, which had been founded by the Order as early as

the 1230s, grew in importance. From 1308 onward the Teutonic Order controlled the section of the river lying downstream of the town. What is more Torun constituted the border station for all goods brought to Poland or via Poland from far away southern lands – Hungary and Ruthenia. Casimir the Great realized the significance of the Vistula River route for the economy of this part of Europe and of course for the economy of Poland. This is why he undertook 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 was to carry traffic 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 possibly lead from Little Poland, 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 monarch erected a castle in Nowe Miasto Korczyn. 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 afresh the old ford points at Zawichost and Solec by building new castles there. Kazimierz Dolny, the settlement situated half way from Cracow to Torun and first mentioned as early as the thirteenth 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 the castle hill the 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 1987: 47–53).

Little source information can be found about Kazimierz Dolny and its significance for 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 Włodzimierz, changed into a parallel land road via Lublin, Chelm and Horodlo. 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 dealt with the land route via Brzesc Kujawski, Przedecz, Leczyca, as well as Inowłodz or Piotrkow and Rozprza, the King provided for the development of the Vistula 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 must have existed before that time and researchers of architecture have spotted some 14th-century construction elements in at least two out of over twenty granaries that have survived until our times (Samsonowicz 1962: passim; Dumnicki 1987: 47–53).

It is possible that Kazimierz Dolny, situated half-way along the Vistula river route, functioned as a transshipping station between smaller boats better suited for the upper section of the river and larger boats which were more economical downriver. The 13th-century tariff statutes of Gdansk, which mention two different tariffs for small and large cargo vessels, might support this theory (Weymann 1938: 118). Torun may be expected to have served as a similar transshipping station. A number of brick granaries were erected in the riverfront area of this town. The warehouses could hold large amounts of salt and corn as large quantities of those commodities were gathered to ship downstream in large barges.

During the reign of King Casimir, downstream of Kazimierz Dolny the Vistula river ran into the territory of the Duchy of Mazovia, where the important town of Warsaw was situated to the side of the river (Gerquin 1984: 318–323). Warsaw was surrounded by a defensive wall and had a brick castle erected by the duke. From there the river ran towards the royal town of Plock (Widawski 1973: 341–354), where Casimir III the Great built a brick castle and surrounded the town with a brick defensive wall. Downstream of Plock but before Teutonic Torun there stood yet another castle at Włocławek, a town belonging to the bishops of Kujawy.

The route along the Vistula river was the basic route for transporting vast quantities of commodities brought from Little Poland and Mazovia. A whole network of connections also fortified by King Casimir, ensured access to the transit route. One of those connections was the road along the Dunajec River to Hungary. On this road the King built a stone castle and fortified the town of Czorsztyn. Another "arm" was the route from Halicz Ruthenia and Lvov, which ran along the San river to Sandomierz via Sanok, where the King built a castle and fortified the town, and Przemyśl, where the ruler erected a stone castle (Kronika..., 1897: 351–353; Poklewski 1995: 63–67). The third route, the Bug River in the direction of Volhynia and the Duchy of Luck, had never been properly fortified. No masonry castles or town walls were added to the powerful early medieval fortifications at Drohiczyn and Brzesc. In the last two years of his life, 1368 and 1369, the King undertook the task of building a castle in Włodzimierz on the Bug river. This was a strategic point not only on the water route but on the land road from Silesia to Ruthenia via Boles-

lawiec-upon-Prosna, Pajeczno, Opoczno, Radom and Lublinas well. The castle appears to have been an indispensable element of the parallel route defensive system (Jan z Czarnkowa..., 1872: 643–644). Therefore one can assume that 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 route had lost its original importance 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 as far as Gdansk. What is more when the river froze, it may have been used to transport goods in both directions. The road 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 Gniezno and gave him the dominium at Spycymierz on the Warta River in return (Poklewski 1975: 19–20). The road ran via Leczyca (Kronika..., 1897: 351–353; Widawski 1973: 285–295; Zamki..., 1977: 79–106) to Inowłodz on the Pilica River. In both towns the King built a brick or stone castle and surrounded the town with a brick or stonewall. From Inowłodz the road led to Opoczno, where the ruler also built a stone castle (Kronika..., 1897: 351–353; Augustyniak 1980: 41–55). It is possible that the road then ran eastward via Radom, fortified by the King with a brick wall and a brick castle (Kronika..., 1897: 351–353; Widawski 1973: 328–332), to Kazimierz Dolny on the Vistula River and finally to Ruthenia. It could also lead southward via Wislica, also fortified by the King. An "arm" of this road led from Leczyca to Piotrkow (the King fortified the latter with a brick wall) and then further southward probably via Miechow 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 to communicate with German countries, Western Europe and Italy (Parravicini 1989: passim). The Treaty of Kalisz of 1343 seems to be evidence of the Order's initiative to have the roads functioning and to ensure "road safety". As has already been stressed, 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, Pzdry, Ostrzeszow and Kozmin were part of the

fortifications erected along the borderland between Poland and Silesia on the Prosna and Barycz rivers (Poklewski-Koziełł 1994: 61–78). Konin and Pzdry seem to have been fortifications of Great Poland's inner barrier against the Teutonic Order running along the Warta river (Poklewski-Koziełł 2001: 145–140) while Brzesc Kujawski and Inowłodz must have been rear fortification centres for the Kujawy section of the border with the Teutonic state. Thus the fortifications erected on both the old and the new roads de Thorun super Vratyslavia fulfilled a dual function: they protected the state and the international road against attacks. Stawiszyn might have been the only exception 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 travellers (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 road did not serve as the border defensive system. The castle and the defensive town at Sandomierz not only guarded the place where the San river and the Vistula river routes met but was also an administrative centre thus fulfilling a 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. Leczyca was mainly the capital town of the District of Leczyca, like 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 Ruthenia and the parallel road 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 transshipping 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 had chosen one strategic 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 Wielen 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 viae 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, Inowroclaw and Pyzdry were such cities. Self-contained castles, for example the one in Ostrzeszow, 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 customhouses and estimating internal tariff profits can best measure road traffic in the Middle Ages and its fiscal value (Weymann 1938: *passim*). However, the installation of customhouses itself, even if backed up by setting up protective posts equipped with suitable fortifica-

tions, 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 Torun. Therefore, one should not be surprised that a century later, in the Thirteen Years' War, both the cities sided with Poland and finally, after the Treaty of Torun was signed in 1466, they became a permanent part of the Polish Kingdom (Biskup 1967: *passim*).

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DER PREUSSISCH-LIVLÄNDISCHE “KONVENTSHAUSTYP“ ALS EINE KLOSTER-UND HERRSCHAFTSIDE

The Prussian-Livonian “Convent-house Type“ 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 homogeneous (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 1228–1250 supported the architectonic reformation 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.

Security, 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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