



Castra Terrae Culmensis. Na rubieży chrześcijańskiego świata [Castra Terrae Culmensis. On the Edges of the Christian World]. Vol. 1–2. Edited by Marcin Wiewióra. Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2020. 170 and 312 pp. + CD. ISBN: 978-83-231-4365-9 and 978-83-231-4366-6.

The two-volume publication under review is another significant stage of research on defense architecture in former Prussia. Its editor, Marcin Wiewióra from Institute of Archaeology at the Nicholas Copernicus University in Toruń, is currently one of the leading researchers of the castles of the Teutonic Order in its Prussian territories. For almost two decades he has been implementing further research projects concerning the fortress in the Culmerland (Pol. ziemia chełmińska), regularly publishing the results of research of his interdisciplinary research teams.¹ The two volumes of *Castra Terrae Culmensis* contain the results of research conducted in 2016–2019 as part of the project of the same name. It included archaeological research of an invasive and non-invasive nature combined with a wide spectrum of geo-environmental research. Five fortified objects in the historical territory known as the Culmerland, namely the castles of the Teutonic Order in Unisław (Germ. Unislau), Starogród (Germ. Althaus), Bierzgłowo (Germ. Birglau, today Zamek Bierzgłowski), Lipienek (Germ. Leipe) and Papowo (Germ. Papau, today Papowo Biskupie) were subject to investigation. While the last three strongholds were already examined in prior excavations, the first two castles were subjected to wider research for the first time.

The first volume of the publication includes a short opening introduction (pp. 5–6), a closing English *Summary* (pp. 162–169) and six chapters written by either one or several authors. The opening chapter by Marcin Wiewióra (*Zagadnienia wstępne / Preliminary issues*, pp. 7–29) contains a general presentation of the project and main research questions (pp. 9–10), as well as an overview of the individual objects. This is supplemented by archaeological, historical and art historical studies that have been devoted to them so far. It also explains the

¹ Cf. *Zamek w Grudziądzu w świetle badań archeologiczno-architektonicznych. Studia i materiały*, ed. Marcin Wiewióra (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2012); *Zamek biskupów chełmińskich w Wąbrzeźnie. Studia i materiały*, ed. Marcin Wiewióra (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2014).

scope of studies on these individual objects and the related characteristics of the applied research methods, taking into account the specificity of each of the castles (pp. 12–29) analyzed in the book.

The second chapter (*Środowisko geograficzne / Geographical environment*, pp. 30–58), authored by Paweł Molewski, presents the contemporary geographical environment of the surroundings in which the castles are located. It includes details of the topography of the architectural complexes themselves (pp. 30–49). Using data from numerical terrain models to supplement prior geo-environmental studies, Molewski analyzes the terrain, geomorphological, pedological and hydrographic conditions and contemporary land use. As such, his work draws upon an extensive geo-environmental context for all five strongholds. From the point of view of archaeological and historical research on the studied castles and their function, a significant addition to this chapter is Sebastian Tyszkowski's analysis of changes in the surrounding topography of the castles in the past, from the end of the eighteenth century and modern times. This analysis is based on cartographic material including, among others, the so-called map of Schroetter produced between the years 1796–1802 (pp. 50–58). Tyszkowski's analysis presents large changes over the last 200 years, especially for the vicinity of the castles in Lipienek and Papowo where, in both cases, a much larger range of lake areas (Lipienek) and wetlands (Papowo) was shown (pp. 51–54). These elements of the local topography had to significantly influence the choice of places for the construction of the fortress, of course, if one assumes that the observed changes that took place in the modern period (19th–20th century) were a continuation of longer processes. These processes would have included the disappearance of glacial lakes and wetlands, which would mean that the range of this type of space in the thirteenth century was even greater.

Another chapter written by Marcin Wiewióra (*Stratygrafia warstw kulturowych i charakterystyka poziomów osadniczych / Stratigraphy of cultural layers and characteristics of settlement levels*, pp. 59–100) contains detailed archaeological documentation of excavations carried out in all five fortified buildings. It consists of descriptions of the location of excavations and characteristics of settlement levels and is provided with rich illustrative material (coloured photographs, drawings/plans and colour profile sketches).

The fourth chapter includes the analysis of traces of settlement captured on the studied sites from the period before the construction of the castles, i.e., before the second quarter of the thirteenth century / second quarter of the fourteenth century (*Najstarsze ślady osadnictwa / The oldest signs of settlement*, pp. 101–131).

The remains of Neolithic settlement (Kamil Adamczak, pp. 101–103), from the Iron Age (Jacek Gackowski, pp. 103–110) and from the era of Roman influence (Ewa Bokinić, pp. 110–123) which were subsequently discovered during excavations, are discussed in this chapter. What merits specific attention is the large accumulation of monuments from these periods in the area and in the immediate vicinity of the later castle in Starogród and from the early Middle Ages (until the beginning of the thirteenth century) (Wojciech Chudziak, Piotr Błędowski, pp. 123–131). In relation to this last period, which also included the epoch of functioning in the region of state structures of the Piast monarchy (eleventh–twelfth centuries), earlier discoveries of the remains of the gord were identified. This was located in the place of the later castle in Lipienek and currently dated to the second half of the tenth century, although this is an uncertain chronology and it could also have been constructed in the following centuries (pp. 124–128). Relics of the Slavic gord from the second half of the tenth century or the beginning of the eleventh century, located 250 m north-east of the castle of the Teutonic Order in Unisław (pp. 128–130), are also examined in this chapter. Apart from these two castles, only in the case of Zamek Bierzgłowski and Papowo Biskupie were ceramic monuments from the second half of the eleventh and early twelfth centuries recorded (pp. 130–131).

The next chapter was written by historians Sławomir Józwiak and Janusz Trupinda, who collected and analyzed numerous written records concerning all five castles in the Middle Ages (*Zamki krzyżackie w świetle średniowiecznych źródeł pisanych / Teutonic castles in the light of medieval written sources*, pp. 132–151). They are successively discussed in alphabetical order, although a chronological arrangement would seem more appropriate. Thus, it is basically five separate short analyses, unrelated to each other, without attempts to capture the broader context of the entire Culmerland. To some extent, this approach is justified. It should be emphasized that although to a large extent this chapter is based on older publications by Sławomir Józwiak and devoted to the administrative structures of the Teutonic Order in the Culmerland,² it also contains a number of sources (published and

² Sławomir Józwiak, *Powstanie i rozwój struktury administracyjno-terytorialnej Zakonu krzyżackiego na Kujawach i w ziemi chełmińskiej w latach 1246–1343*, Roczniki Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu 87,3 (Toruń: Towarzystwo Naukowe w Toruniu, 1997); id., “Przeobrażenia centralnej władzy administracyjnej zakonu krzyżackiego w ziemi chełmińskiej w latach 1285–1410,” *Zapiski Historyczne* 64, no. 2 (1999): 243–275; id., “Zmiany w sposobie funkcjonowania administracji terytorialnej w ziemi chełmińskiej pod panowaniem zakonu krzyżackiego w latach 1410–1422,” *Zapiski Historyczne* 67, no. 3–4 (2002): 61–70.

archival) so far not included research publications, especially those concerning the first half of the fifteenth century.

Non-invasive (i.e., not based on excavations) research described is the subject of the chapter written by Krzysztof Misiewicz, Wiesław Małkowski and Miron Bogacki (*Wyniki badań nieinwazyjnych / Noninvasive explorations*, pp. 152–161). This chapter includes taking photographs from the air (in the spring period) and developing orthophotographs and numerical models of land coverage on their basis. The second task undertaken by these authors was to perform wide magnetic measurements along with topographic and altitude measurements in the field. On the basis of this data, electrical resistance measurements of selected fragments of the terrain were carried out. The whole of this research was conducted over a period of five areas within two sessions. However, in the case of Zamek Bierzgłowski, the terrain situation (numerous reconstructions of the castle) significantly limited the possibilities of performing full prospectations that were planned.

The second volume of publication *Castra Terrae Culmensis*, in addition, is comprised of eight chapters in addition to a short introduction (p. 6) and a closing bibliographic list of published sources and elaborations (pp. 266–312). The last chapter is that of Marcin Wiewióra entitled *Podsumowanie / Summary* (pp. 253–257), which briefly summarizes the most important content contained in both volumes and emphasizes the main research achievements of the entire project. The following several pages in English *Abbreviation* (pp. 258–263), contrary to the suggestion resulting from the placement in the volume and the same numbering as the earlier *Summary* (8), is by no means its translation. It is, rather, a summary of the content of the chapters of the second volume only.

The first chapter of volume two, by Piotr Molewski (pp. 7–28), contains a proposal to interpret the geographical environment of the construction sites of the five strongholds and their immediate surroundings during their period of their construction in the second half of the thirteenth century. Regarding the surroundings of the castles, data on the climate in the so-called medieval warm period were taken into account based on the current state of research, in addition to the outline of the terrain, data relating to soils and the most variable hydrological relations, covering the area with natural or cultivated vegetation and shaping of the road network. What is noteworthy is the analysis of mutual visibility of the examined castles, considering the height of land cover elements (p. 17). Meanwhile, the determinants of road transport were based only on previous publications, mainly research from the 1960s (erroneously quoted as published in 1996) (p. 21). The late medieval rural settlement in the vicinity of all five studied strongholds was

also treated too vaguely (p. 22). In terms of the topography of the area in the place of location of the castle complexes, detailed interpretative descriptions were made and supplemented with illustrative 3D visualizations (pp. 22–28). It is necessary to emphasize the Author's conclusions regarding the castles in Lipienek and Papowo, the location of which was skillfully adapted and integrated into the existing terrain conditions, were determined primarily by hydrological relations. The first stronghold was located on the lake peninsula, while the second on the inter-lake isthmus occupying a fragment of a long valley of several kilometers. This valley constituted a significant communication obstacle, to the effect that the castle appears as a fortified point closing one of the few passages through the line of this valley.

In the second chapter of volume II, Marcin Wiewióra together with Bogusz Wasik analyzed traces of settlement from the period of the presence of the Teutonic Order preceding the construction of the stronghold (*Najstarsze fazy osadnictwa krzyżackiego / The oldest stages of Teutonic settlement*, pp. 29–41). In the case of Unisław, they pointed to the erection of a timber and earth castle taking place in the 1280s. The form, scope and interior of this structure are only fragmentary (pp. 29–33). On the other hand, in Starogród for the period of the 1230s–1250s the first stage of the building of the castle area, in which a timber and earth stronghold was erected, was confirmed (p. 33). For Lipienek, the results of the research are less unambiguous, although it seems that in the initial phase of the existence of the stronghold of the Teutonic Order dated to the second half of the thirteenth century, it could have been in the form of wood and earth (p. 35). The most revealing findings presented in the chapter concern Starogród, where the settlement of the town of Culm (today Chełmno) founded in 1232 was located. The authors identified, for example, the outlines of fragments of moats and a fragment of a house with farm buildings (pp. 35–41).

The extensive third chapter written by Bogusz Wasik is devoted to a thorough archaeological and architectural analysis of the five castles in their brick form (*Zamki krzyżackie w okresie późnośredniowiecznym i nowożytnym. Analiza źródeł architektonicznych / Teutonic castles in the late Middle Ages and modern times. Architectonic sources analysis*, pp. 42–95). In relation to the strongholds, his chapter provides both a thorough discussion of construction techniques, as well as spatial arrangements and subsequent changes appearing in them, taking into account not only the medieval period, but also early modern times. This extended chronological perspective applied to three of the five objects (pp. 61–65, 79–80, 87–89) deserves praise here, because it may constitute a significant point of reference in research on the forms and various aspects of the development of post-Teutonic castles by

their new owners after the Thirteen Years' War (1454–1466). This was not of sufficient interest in the previous research. It should also be noted that Wasik's factual analyses were supplemented with illustrative visualizations of individual strongholds in addition to numerous drawings and photographic materials. This significantly facilitates the reception of his arguments and proposal. There is no place for a detailed discussion with some of the Author's interpretative proposals in this short elaboration, but there is no doubt that it will be undertaken among the researchers dealing with the fortified architecture of the Teutonic Order.

The next extensive chapter, consisting of subsections by a total of ten researchers (Piotr Błędowski, Marcin Hlebionek, Marek Kołyszko, Maciej Majewski, Małgorzata Markiewicz, Wojciech Miłek, Marcin Nowak, Michał Oleksy, Juliusz Raczkowski, Bogusz Wasik, *Analiza źródeł archeologicznych z późnego średniowiecza i nowożytności / Analysis of archeological sources from the Middle Ages and the modern times*, pp. 96–198). It contains an analysis of movable monuments from the Middle Ages and early modern times acquired during excavations. Alongside an analysis of vascular ceramics, construction ceramics, various metal, wooden, leather and glass products of different purposes, such as, for example, armament or equipment of rooms or their heating, the authors identify some anomalies. An example of this concerns a piston of the noble seal of an unidentified user from the second half of the fifteenth century excavated at the castle in Papowo (pp. 144–148), while in Starogród a relic of the architectural decoration of the castle chapel, namely a fragment of a female figure (probably a saint) (pp. 166–168) was excavated. The research also resulted in an expansion of the stock of numismatic artefacts mainly from the early modern period (pp. 190–198).

The last analytical chapter of the reviewed publication by Monika Badura, Dorota Bienias, Karolina Maciejewska, Daniel Makowiecki, Marzena Makowiecka, Marek Merdalski and Martyna Wiejacka (*Analiza źródeł przyrodniczych / Analysis of natural sources*, pp. 199–229). Its subject concerns the remains of animals, plant seeds and charcoals obtained during the research. The conducted analyses allow the authors to make important observations regarding the scale and forms of meat consumption by the inhabitants of the castles (pp. 216–220) and to find a clear correlation between the construction of the fortresses and the organization of administrative centers in them and the increase in the intensity of the anthropogenic impact, consisting, among others, in deforestation and increasing the area of cultivated fields (p. 229).

The two penultimate chapters of volume II attempt to synthetically capture the results of archaeological and architectural research and situate them in the

broader context of the entire region of the Culmerland. In the first part of chapter 6 (pp. 230–247), Marcin Wiewióra inscribes the studied five strongholds in the Central European context of transformations taking place in fortified construction in areas subject to intense colonization from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. These include the Bohemia, Moravia, Brandenburg, Lusatia whose original wood and earth forms are described as ‘transitional-type castles’ in the chapter (p. 234). The author emphasizes that the reinforced points of this type were established by the Teutonic Order in the Culmerland both in new places and within the older Piast fortifications, although without direct chronological continuation (pp. 236–236). In the wooden-earth fortified buildings dominated by earthworks, towers could also be erected, as shown by the example of Bierzgłowo (p. 238). Although wooden and wooden-earth structures dominated in these strongholds, bricks, tiles, and skeleton structures were also used (p. 237). In the second part of the discussed chapter, Bogusz Wasik outlines the issues of the first location of the town of Culm (Chełmno) near the castle in Starogród, presenting in detail the elements of the urban topography of the settlement, also in the broader context of the late medieval urban planning of the Culmerland (p. 239–247).

In the short chapter 7 (pp. 248–252), Wasik summarizes the most important aspects of the construction and functioning of the five studied brick castles. As in the previous case, against the background of castle construction in the area of the Culmerland, among others on the basis of a slightly older study by the Author.³ In the case of two irregular castle complexes in Starogród and Bierzgłowo, the practice of erecting an irregular perimeter of the wall together with a single brick building in the first phase was emphasized. This was also used in other fortifications (Thorn (today Toruń), Graudenz (Grudziądz), Engelsburg (Pokrzywno)). The multi-wing form of the castle was obtained in subsequent stages, resulting in the implementation of new concepts and the application of construction investments. Thus, the final form of the fortress was not the result of some original uniform construction plan (pp. 248–250). ‘Regular’ castles, such as Papowo and Lipienek, are the oldest constructions of the convent-shaped castles in Prussia. They were built each time according to a homogeneous plan during a fairly short construction campaign (pp. 250–251). The castle in Unisław, defined by the Author as unique for the Culmerland, presents an architectural figure similar to the so-called tower houses, quite well known from the Prussian area (e.g., Jasnitz (to-

³ Bogusz Wasik, *Budownictwo zamkowe na ziemi chełmińskiej (od XIII do XV wieku)* (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2016).

day Nowy Jasiniec), Bäslack (Bezlawki), Putzig (Puck), Leunenburg (Sątoczno)) (pp. 251–252).

There is no doubt that the extensive study edited by Marcin Wiewióra is an extremely valuable work in the field of developing research on the castles of the Prussian branch of the Teutonic Order. On a broader scale, it is a significant contribution to the study of the defensive architecture in the Teutonic Order's former territory of Prussia. The volume shows the far-reaching architectural diversity of the castles of the Teutonic Order erected on a relatively small area of the Culmerland in its entirety. The research of the five strongholds showed a clear chronological consequence of the brick castles in relation to the wood-and-earth strongholds erected by the Order in the first decades of its presence in this area – a phenomenon generally well recognized in the literature on the subject. The *casus* of Unisław deserves special attention here. We are able to see the ways in which the wood-and-earth castle which served as the seat of the a convent, was replaced after several decades by a much smaller brick castle managed by a procurator (Germ. *Pfleger*). This clearly shows that the relationship between the architectural form of castles and their administrative function should not be treated schematically and categorically.

As a result of the implementation of the project *Castra Terrae Culmensis*, the number of fortified buildings in the Culmerland examined in a more detailed manner and, above all, with the usage of modern methods of data acquisition and verification, has increased significantly. The above-mentioned castles join the group of such strongholds such as Toruń, Grudziądz, or Wąbrzeźno. It would be desirable in the future to conduct new research projects in this field and present the results of research on further fortifications in this area. It is hoped that such a project will stand at a similar high level as the studies published in the two volumes of *Castra Terrae Culmensis*.

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