

MEDIEVAL HERITAGE OF SMALL TOWNS IN THE STATE OF THE TEUTONIC ORDER IN THE REGISTER OF MONUMENTS

1. INTRODUCTION

Today, the territory of Northern Poland is a very interesting area rich in historic monuments. Since the 13th century, the State of the Teutonic Order in Prussia emerged and formed on the southern shore of the Baltic Sea. Well-managed, with a strong economy and considerable military potential, it was at that time, as they say economic historians – the only state without a debt in medieval Europe. Existing until the secularisation in 1525, the monastic state was not monolithic. Subordinate to the pope, it consisted of the lands ruled by the Teutonic Knights, but also local bishops and chapters, more or less dependent on the Order. Church-owned dominion occupied a large area, one-third of the territory of the state (Czaja and Nowak 2013, p. 17). Large Prussian cities also played an important role, most of all Gdańsk, Elbląg and Toruń. The thick network of smaller, in both population and area, Prussian towns had a slightly smaller impact on the economy and politics. However, it is this network that mainly determines the exceptional character of the material cultural landscape of the area. The basic framework of the medieval structure of urban settlement of the Teutonic state has survived in almost unchanged form to this day. Despite the passage of time and the turbulent history of this land, we can now admire the numerous monuments of urban planning and architecture of small towns of the monastic state.

The main objective of this paper is to determine the size and provide a brief characterisation of the resource of medieval architectural monuments and city plans of the Teutonic state. The article omits the already mentioned largest medieval cities in the region, which, due to their size, diversity and richness of

their historic tissue, require separate studies in the field of cultural heritage. The author focused his attention on small towns. The paper revolves around objects created through the order's direct initiative, as well as the heritage of the church's control and secular investors, namely municipal authorities and wealthy townsmen. Analyses were based on provincial registers of historic monuments, as well as publications on this topic and regional conservation programmes. Medieval monuments include not only well-preserved structures, but also relics, ruins and reconstructed buildings that contain listed medieval elements. Some registry entries refer to groups of historic buildings. In such cases, unless otherwise indicated, all objects in a group were considered as a single entry. Unfortunately, we should remember that regional registers are not perfect. For example, they lack any indication as to the time of construction of some structures. This results in the need to seek such information from other sources.

2. RESEARCH AREA

Before the Teutonic Knights received the Chełmno region and smaller endowments in Kujawy from Duke Konrad of Masovia in 1228 (Czaja and Nowak 2013, pp. 11–12), the lands on the southern Baltic shore were divided between Prussian tribes and Pomeranian dukes. Vistula served as a boundary between zones of influence. Through armed conquest, diplomacy, purchase and endowments, the Teutonic Knights were able to form a powerful state. The Teutonic territory and governance of the Church, which jointly formed the so called State of the Teutonic Order in Prussia, can be divided into three main parts. The Chełmno region, which represented a starting point for further territorial conquests, Prussia proper, which was conquered by 1283, and Pomerania, which the Polish State lost to the Order in the early fourteenth century (Tandecki 2013). The entire territory of the State of the Teutonic Order had an area of about 58 thousand square kilometres, with about 140 thousand Prussians, as much Slavic people and about 200 thousand of German origin (Czaja and Nowak 2013, p. 14). Today, this area is located within Kuyavian-Pomeranian, Warmian-Masurian and Pomeranian provinces. Small fragments once included in the Teutonic State are now in Western Pomeranian and Masovian provinces. The territory of the former Teutonic dominion was obviously bigger and, after merging with the lands owned by the Brothers of the Sword, reached Livonia. Those areas, however, are not discussed in this paper. The final end of the monastic state came in 1525, when the Grand Master of the Order Albrecht Hohenzollern secularised Prussia and paid homage to the Crown. Secular Duchy

of Prussia was transformed in the 18th century into the Prussian State, whose existence and actions contributed to the downfall of the Republic of Poland and in the 20th century became a hotbed for the Second World War¹.

3. SELECTION OF CITIES

The Teutonic presence on the southern coast of the Baltic Sea from 1228 to 1525, left a number of material traces, including the aforementioned settlement network. The Teutonic Knights in Prussia founded about 1000 villages and nearly 100 cities. 15 cities were founded in Chelmino Land, 60 in Prussia and 21 in Pomerania², for a total of 96 urban centres (Czaja 2013, Czaja and Nowak 2013).

Despite its apparent simplicity, the task of determining the number of cities where there are monuments from the period of the State of the Teutonic Order poses some difficulties. It is the author's view that an analysis of the cultural heritage of the Teutonic State only in places that are now cities would be an oversimplification. The main problem was the need to simultaneously take into account several factors when selecting the cities: the variability of the Teutonic State borders, the course of contemporary national borders of countries and regions, the date of obtaining city rights and the current status of the town, as well as the presence of medieval monuments. Additionally, some cities, particularly in Prussia proper, lost their charters due to depopulation after the Second World War. Some of them eventually recovered them, while others did not. The following are now considered villages: Kurzętnik (Kuyavian-Pomeranian), Gardeja, Biskupiec (Pomeranian), Dąbrówno, Srokowo (Warmian-Masurian).

After excluding the cities located beyond the border of today's Poland, we end up with 83 centres incorporated before 1525 within the former Teutonic State. This number also contains so-called twin cities³ (Kranz-Domasłowska

¹ According to M. Czaja and Z.H. Nowak (2013), a recent study by Tomasz Jasiński, call into question the hitherto recognized date of 1226 as the date when Emperor Frederick II, issued a document (the so-called Golden Bull) for the Teutonic Knights affirming their supremacy and rule over Prussia and confirming the Konrad of Mazovia's endowments.

² Currently, one city, historically belonging to the Gdańsk Pomerania, namely Biały Bór (1382), is located in the West Pomeranian Province. The provincial register of immovable monuments lists no objects/areas in the city.

³ The term New Town corresponds to: Old Town – New Town, Altstadt – Neustadt, which means the existence of a settlement complex consisting of two systemically differ-

2013). Twin cities in Prussia included: Gdańsk⁴, Toruń, Elbląg, Braniewo, Królewiec (Königsberg)⁵. Chełmno never gained such status. After excluding Gdańsk, Toruń and Elbląg, and including Braniewo as modern single city, we end up with 75 cities. The analysis omitted the towns located in the former monastic state which have Medieval monuments listed in the register, but received their city rights in the modern times⁶. The study also excluded areas that were under Teutonic rule temporarily, for a short period of several to several dozen years, such as Kujawy, Dobrzyń area, Zawkrze area, Wizna area, Słupsk area (Nowak 2000).

4. PRUSSIAN TOWNS

There were two main categories of cities in the medieval Teutonic State. The first consisted of big cities, so-called great cities of Prussia, with significant social and economic capital. The largest and oldest Prussian cities include six so-called great cities – members of Hanza: Main City of Gdańsk, Old Town Elbląg, Old Town Toruń, Chełmno, Old Town Braniewo and Königsberg (Czaja and Nowak 2013).

These were very rich urban centres conducting far-reaching international trade and having real influence on regional politics. Two of those cities, namely Chełmno considered the monastic capital and Old Town Braniewo founded by Warmian bishops and the chapter, have never gained a role as significant as

ent but spatially adjacent cities (Krantz-Domasłowska 2013). Twin cities in Prussia included: Gdańsk, Toruń, Elbląg, Braniewo, Królewiec. Chełmno never gained such status.

⁴ Gdańsk actually consisted of three cities: Gdańsk Main Town, Gdańsk Old Town and the Gdańsk Young City.

⁵ Today's Kaliningrad, the capital of the Kaliningrad region.

⁶ These are: Ełk (1560), Olecko (1560), Gołdap (1570), Węgorzewo (1571), Giżycko (1612), Pisz (1645), Biała Piska (1722), Mikołajki (1722), Ryn (1723), Szczytno (1723), Orzysz (1725), Ruciane-Nida (1958), Korsze (1962) in Warmian-Masurian Province, Miastko (1617), Wejherowo (1650), Nowy Dwór Gdański (1880), Sopot (1901), Kartuzy (1923), Skórcz (1934), Pruszcz Gdański (1945), Rumia (1954), Władysławowo (1963), Reda (1967), Jastarnia (1973), Brusy (1988), Żukowo (1989), Krynica Morska (1991), Czarna Woda (1993) in Pomeranian Province and Jabłonowo Pomorskie (1962) in Kuyavian-Pomeranian Province. In the above list, Ełk is an interesting case, as despite receiving its charter in 1435, the incorporation was not successful and the town was officially a village for 125 years. Ełk has been using its municipal rights since 1560 (Czubiel and Domagała 1969, 126). According to R. Czaja (2013, p. 91), Ełk received a charter first around 1440, and then in 1669.

Gdańsk or Elbląg and over time lost their initial importance. Other Prussian cities included in the second group were decidedly less influential. Some of them evolved over the centuries and now their population exceeds 30 thousand. These are Iława and Ostróda in the Warmian-Masurian Province, Tczew, Starogard Gdański, Chojnice, Malbork, Kwidzyń and Lębork in the Pomeranian Province and Grudziądz in the Kuyavian-Pomeranian Province. Initially small, Olsztyn (Warmian-Masurian) even rose to become the capital of the province. However, the vast majority of cities still rank among small towns with less than 20 thousand residents, as well as very small towns with small spatial scale.

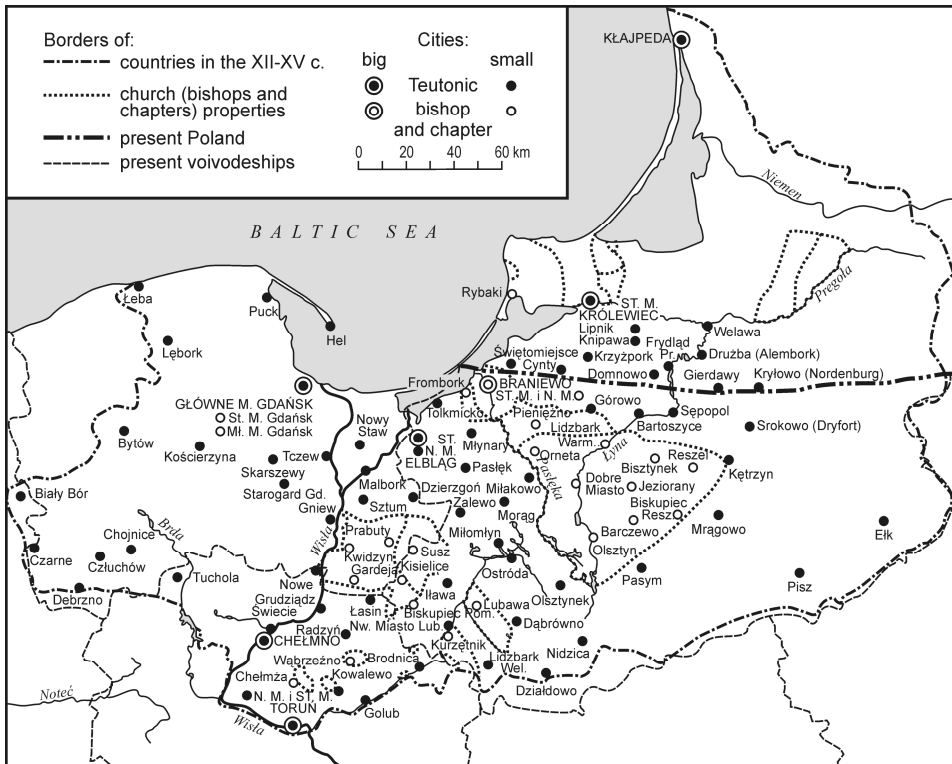


Fig. 1. Cities of the State of the Teutonic Order between the 13th and 15th centuries
Source: M. Czaja (2000), modified

The density of the urban settlement network of the Teutonic State varied. In the entire state, it was 1/320 km², with 1/200 km² in the densest areas and 1/770 km² in Gdańsk Pomerania. Distances between cities ranged from a few to 25–30 km (Biskup 1980 cited in Kulesza 2011). In the mid-15th century, urbanisation of the monastic state was over 20%, which is a significant value. The

network of towns of the area between the 13th and 15th centuries is shown in figure 1.

A large part of Prussian towns developed spatially and functionally only in the 19th century, with economic development of Prussia and the appearance of railway in the area (Achremczyk 2008). As a result, and despite considerable damage of the First and Second World Wars, spatial layouts of many cities have retained distinct characteristics of their charter layouts, and in some cases also traces of pre-charter settlements.

4.1. Historic urban layouts

Among the cities founded in the State of the Teutonic Knights before 1525, the majority (63) have historic spatial arrangements and old town districts listed in the register of monuments⁷ (Tab. 1 and Fig. 2). Cities in Prussia in most cases formed on the raw root (*in cruda radice*), sometimes out of settlements surrounding a castle, as centres of bishop's rule, out of Prussian market settlements or at the locations of Prussian castles. According to M. Kulesza (2011), 40% of religious settlements in the monastic state were founded to replace earlier Prussian settlements, most often markets. Until mid-13th century, mostly irregular settlements around castles were developing, later founded based on German town laws, and thus shaped into the more regular form of a Gothic medieval city. Since the 14th century, there was dynamic development in colonisation and the incorporation of new urban settlement with markets, parish churches and city walls, often also accompanied by a castle. The incorporation of towns in the area was modelled on Magdeburg Law, which was later modified and adapted to local circumstances as Chełmno Law (Czaja 2000, Wysocki 2009, p. 87, Kulesza 2011). Among 96 Prussian towns, most were located under Chełmno Law, with just 7 receiving Lubeck Law: Old and New Town Elbląg, Łeba and Hel located by the order, as well as Klaipėda (Memel), Braniewo and Frombork located by the church (Gołombiowski 1990, Czaja 2000). Such cities would sometimes later be converted to Chełmno Law.

⁷ According to M. Kulesza (2011, pp. 279–280), other cities in the region, which received municipal rights after the secularisation of the Order in 1525, also have interesting spatial arrangements. Such towns as Barciany, Biała Piska, Elk, Giżycko, Goldap, Mikołajki, Olecko, Orzysz, Węgorzewo and Wielbark, founded and developing as early settlements and villages as part of the defence system, later gained some significance. Some settlements (Pisz, Węgorzewo, Ryn, Orzysz and Biała Piska) kept their arrangements without a clearly defined and unified market square even after receiving municipal rights. In such linear towns, a wide street served as a market square.

Table 1. Number of medieval urban layouts and old town districts in small towns of the former State of the Teutonic Knights entered in the provincial registers of historic sites

Province	Town and date of location
Kuyavian-Pomeranian (6)	Brodnica (1298), Chełmno (1232), Golub (1310–1326) ^a , Grudziądz (1291), Nowe (1282), Tuchola (1346)
Pomeranian (16)	Bytów (1346), Chojnice (1309 i 1360), Człuchów (1348), Gardeja (1334), Gniew (1297), Kościerzyna (14 th c.), Kwidzyn (1233 and 1360), Nowy Staw (1343), Lębork (1341), Malbork (1276, 1286), Prabuty (1305–1321), Puck (1348), Skarszewy (1320), Starogard Gdański (1348), Sztum (1416), Tczew (1260)
Warmian-Masurian (41)	Barczewo (1364), Bartoszyce (1332), Biskupiec Pomorski (1325), Biskupiec Reszelski (1359), Bisztynek (1385), Braniewo (1254 Old Town and 1342 – New Town), Dąbrówno (1325/26), Dobre Miasto (1329), Działdowo (1344), Iława (1305), Frombork (1310), Górowo Iławeckie (1335), Janowo (1421), Jeziorany (1338), Kętrzyn (1357), Kisielice (1331), Kurzętnik (1330), Lidzbark Warmiński (1308), Lidzbark Welski (1325), Lubawa (1301–1311/1326), Miłakowo (1490), Miłomłyn (1335), Młynary (1329), Morąg (1327), Mrągowo (1405), Nidzica (1381), Nowe Miasto Lubawskie (1325), Olsztyn (1353), Olsztynek (1359), Orneta (1313), Ostróda (1329), Pasłęk (1297), Pasym (1386), Pieniężno (1312), Reszel (1337), Sępole (1351), Srokowo (1405), Susz (1305), Tolkmicko (1299/1351), Zalewo (1305)
Total number of towns	63

^a Today Golub-Dobrzyń.

Source: own study on the basis of: conservation programmes (Pomeranian for 2011–2014⁸, Warmian-Masurian for 2012–2015 and Kuyavian-Pomeranian for 2013–2016), registers of historical monuments for Pomeranian, Kuyavian-Pomeranian, West Pomeranian and Warmian-Masurian provinces (as of 31.03.2015), R. Czaja (2013).

In reference to M. Książek (1996), M. Kulesza (2011) distinguishes the following three morphological types of cities:

- regular city, cities with chequered (orthogonal) streets;
- genetically older towns, where ‘wide street’ served as a market and the main communication route; this arrangement is characteristic of port towns (Old

⁸ No newer studies were available at the time this paper was written.

Town Elbląg, Old Town Toruń, Main City of Gdańsk, New Town Braniewo) and for the cities located in the hinterland, like Malbork or Pasłek;

– chequered town with a triangular or rectangular market, characteristic mainly in smaller towns, where communication played a significant role (Brod-nica, Nidzica, Dąbrówno, Miłomłyn, Olsztynek, Górowo Iławeckie, Tolkmicko) (Kulesza 2011, p. 148).

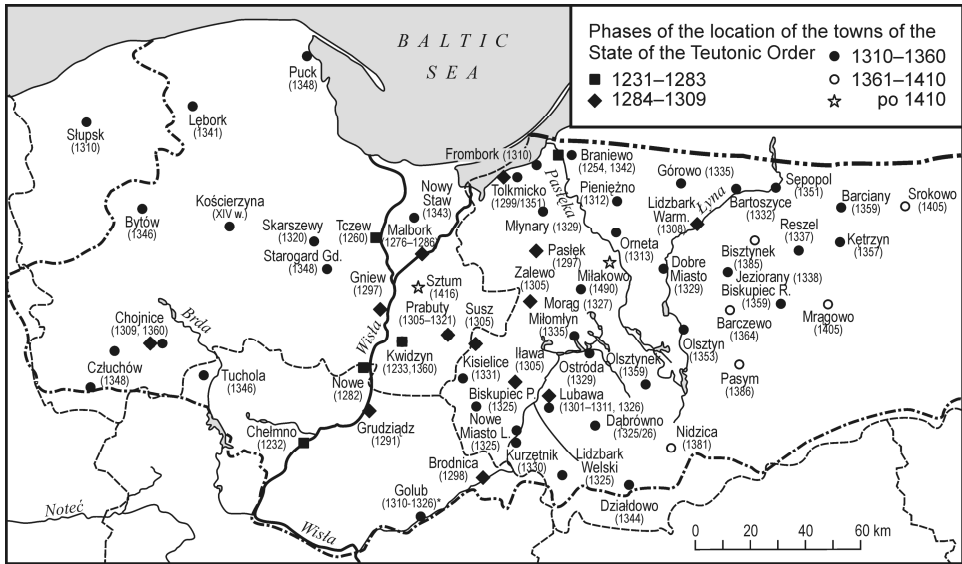


Fig. 2. Number of medieval urban structures and old town districts in small towns of the former State of the Teutonic Knights entered in the provincial registers of historic sites

Source: author's own elaboration

Some of the cities founded under Chelmino law, such as Olsztyn, Ostróda, Kętrzyn, Olsztynek, Reszel, Biskupiec or Barczewo that can be included in the first group according to M. Kulesza's (2011) division, are characterised by bold urban planning and distinguishing features of local provincialism (Conservation programme for Warmian-Masurian province in 2012–2015, p. 16). Significant regularity in spatial arrangement is one of the distinguishing features of monastic cities, 'which can be explained by both destruction during the conquests of our settlements and the maturity of measuring workshops brought from Germany by the colonists' (Kulesza 2011, p. 138).

Kisielice and Iława cannot be classified in any typological group, so they should be considered a separate type. Both were located in early 14th century, but they remained private property. Iława survived in this form until early 19th cen-

ture. Kisielice was destroyed during the Second World War and only a church remained of the original buildings. The historic centre is now a wasteland (Conservation programme for Warmian-Masurian province in 2012–2015, p. 16).

Large number of Prussian towns (93%) did not exceed 10 ha, 29 towns occupied an area of less than 5 ha, and 56 cities between 5 and 10 ha (Czaja 2013). The dominance of small towns is thus clearly visible. Only a few have developed small suburbs.

Despite their apparent uniformity, medieval, regular centres of the monastic state are highly diverse, e.g. in terms of market sizes and proportions, communication routes, locations of churches (Kulesza 2011, 282), but also in terms of spatial relations between the castle and the town (Czubiel and Domagała 1969, Kajzer, Kołodziejcki and Salm 2007, Musiaka 2013).

4.2. Churches and monasteries

Compared to the spatial arrangements of cities, historic architectural tissue has suffered much more damage during the Second World War (Salm 2006, Wysocki 2009, Lewandowska 2012). The destruction in some historic Prussian city centres, such as Miłomłyn or Pieniężno reached 90%. Despite such huge losses, most urban churches survived to our times. Many of them kept their distinct stylistic features and, owing to their continued sacred function, as well as the care of the Church and the followers, their modern technical condition is usually good or very good.

When they came to the southern shores of the Baltic Sea in the 13th century, Teutonic Knights did not build the local Church administration from scratch. There already was a network of parishes and churches in the Chełmno area and Gdańsk Pomerania. The situation was different in the area of Prussia proper, where the network of town and parishes had to actually be built from the ground up. According to M. Biskup (2013, p. 146), there were 948 parishes, including 97 urban ones in Teutonic Prussia of the early 15th century, operating in the Bishoprics of Chełmno, Pomesania, Warmia, Samland, as well as Włocławek, Gniezno, Płock and Kamień. Parish churches in cities served not only as places of worship. They were also an important link of local government, economic and intellectual lives of the burghers (Biskup 2013). In addition to castles and town hall towers, they constituted the main (sometimes the only) landscape dominant in small Prussian towns.

Churches in cities were located in squares near one of the corners of markets, in the quarter or directly adjacent to the walls. In addition to parish churches,

monasteries were created in some towns, mostly Dominican and Franciscan. Monastery buildings were very often built at some distance from the market and included in the outline of municipal walls. Robust temples (both town churches and monasteries) thus served an important defensive role. Architectural models were derived from cathedrals in larger cities. Kwidzyn cathedral was a model for the Vistula region, while churches in Warmia resembled the Frombork cathedral. Great longevity of the Gothic was another architectural feature of the monastic state. Buildings in this style in the Eastern Masuria were erected until the 17th century (Wysocki 2009, pp. 125–128). It is worth noting that Teutonic castles are actually monasteries-fortresses, which also served religious functions. Episcopal and chapter buildings were slightly different, but there always were castle chapels there.

Table 2. Number of sacred buildings in small towns of the former State of the Teutonic Knights entered in the provincial registers of historic sites

Province	Churches and monasteries (number of objects and building complexes)
Kuyavian-Pomeranian (18)	Brodnica, Chełmno (3 and 1 complex), Chełmża (2), Golub, Grudziądz (2), Kowalewo Pomorskie, Łasin, Nowe (3), Radzyń Chełmiński (2), Świecie
Pomeranian (17)	Bytów, Chojnice, Dzierzgoń, Gardeja, Gniew, Hel, Kwidzyn ^a , Lębork, Malbork, Nowy Staw, Prabuty (2), Puck, Skarszewy, Starogard Gdański, Tczew (1 and 1 complex)
Warmian-Masurian (45)	Barczewo (2), Bartoszyce (2), Biskupiec Pomorski, Biskupiec Reszelski, Bisztynek, Braniewo (2), Dąbrówno, Dobre Miasto (2), Działdowo, Frombork (2 complexes), Górowo Iławeckie, Iława, Jeziorany, Kętrzyn (2), Kisielice, Kurzętnik, Lidzbark, Lidzbark Warmiński, Lubawa (2), Miłakowo, Miłomłyn, Młynary, Morąg, Nidzica, Nowe Miasto Lubawskie, Olsztyn, Olsztynek, Orneta, Ostróda, Pastęk, Pasym, Pieniężno, Reszel, Sępól, Srokowo, Susz, Tolkmicko, Zalewo
Total number	80

^a The Co-cathedral in Kwidzyn is listed as part of the castle complex.

Source: own study on the basis of: conservation programmes (Pomeranian for 2011–2014, Warmian-Masurian for 2012–2015 and Kuyavian-Pomeranian for 2013–2016), registers of historical monuments for Pomeranian, Kuyavian-Pomeranian, West Pomeranian and Warmian-Masurian provinces (as of 31.03.2015).

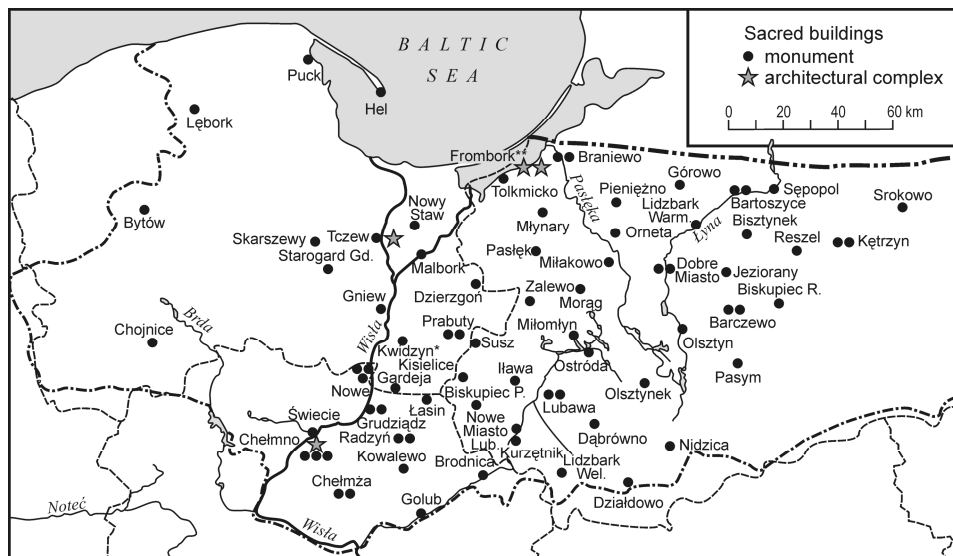


Fig. 3. Sacred buildings and complexes in small towns of the former State of the Teutonic Order entered in the provincial registers of historic sites
Source: author's own elaboration

We can find especially intense concentration of sacred buildings in Chełmno. The register of monuments lists 4 Gothic churches⁹. Such a large number of churches and monasteries was related to the planned capital function of the city. Especially valuable is also the cathedral defence complex in Frombork, which was associated with capital function for Warmian dominion.

80 religious buildings and complexes survived to our times in the small towns of the Teutonic State (Tab. 2 and Fig 3). The more highly valued objects that survived to this day include urban Gothic churches in Chojnice, Gniew, Lębork, Nowy Staw, Puck, Tczew, as well as the cathedral in the castle complex in Kwidzyn in Pomeranian province, Brodnica, a complex of four churches, the chapel of St. Martin and Benedictine monastery complex with the church of SS. Johns Baptist and Evangelist in Chełmno, buildings in Chełmża, Golub-Dobrzyń, Grudziądz, Kowalewo Pomorskie, Łasin, Nowe, Radzyń Chełmiński, Świecie in Kuyavian-Pomeranian province, as well as the stronghold and cathedral complex in Frombork, Gothic parish churches in Orneta, Jeziorany, Reszel, Barczewo, Olsztyn, Bartoszyce, Pasłęk, Morąg, Pasym, Sępólno, collegiate complex in Dobrze Miasto, fortified church of St. George in Kętrzyn, and others.

⁹ One entry concerns the Benedictine monastery.

4.3. Castles

The area of the former Teutonic State is characterised by a high density of castles unified in form to a degree unique in Europe. When conquering new areas, the Teutonic Knights would quickly fortify them with strongholds, watch-towers and castles. Researchers still do not agree how many such structures were erected in the Teutonic State. According to B. Guerquin (1983, 14, cited in Pawłowski), the number of Teutonic castles in total exceeded 120. P. Zaniewski (2005) concurs, quoting the number of stone fortifications as over 120¹⁰. M. Arszyński (2000, pp. 40–41) uses the phrase ‘well over a hundred’. Bieszk gives a more precise number by saying that the total number of castles erected in all parts of the State of the Teutonic Order is 163 (Bieszk 2010, p. 9).

The network of strongholds in Prussia proper and the Chełmno area was based on the rule that castles should be located no further than one day of travel on horseback from one another (usually no more than 30 km). Initially, the monks erected wooden objects¹¹, but since the end of the 13th century castles were built of stone. The oldest of them is the castle of the Teutonic Knights in Toruń built in 1255–1300 (Guerquin 1984, 311). Monastic stone castles were characteristically rectangular, with an internal yard and one or more outer yards serving commercial and military functions. Over time, a specific type of monastic castle formed in Prussia, namely the conventional castle, which was at the top of the administrative ladder of Teutonic strongholds (with the obvious exception of the capital of the State).

M. Jackiewicz-Garniec (2006, p. 40–41) put forward an interesting theory that a four-step hierarchical structure of Commander – mayor – procurator – bailiff corresponds to the four architectural types of castles: Commander's, mayor's, procurator's and bailiff's. Administratively, the castles belonged to the order or were owned by the church (bishop or charter). Knight castles were practically absent in this area. Strongholds in Prussia were castles belonging to the state administration. Castles built by Teutonic Order, bishop chapters and bishops themselves served different functions in the Medieval times: military, commercial, administrative, sometimes judicial, monastic (in the case of monastic castles), residential, and others.

¹⁰ P. Zaniewski (2005, p. 9) defines ‘Teutonic castles’ as ‘all castles existing within the former Teutonic State, regardless of their ownership, including monastic, episcopal, charter and knights' castles’.

¹¹ As a building material, wood was cheap, easily accessible, did not require specialised construction techniques and allowed for quick construction.

Spatial relations between castles and towns varied (Czubieli and Domagała 1969, Musiaka 2013). From completely separated to tightly connected (combined) defensive complexes. Regardless of the degree of connection between the castle and the city walls, they served a key role in the city's defence.

Only some of them remained to our times in an almost unchanged state. Most were converted or survived in the form of more or less preserved ruins (Arszyński 2000). There are also some that we only learn about from written sources. 37 strongholds or their remains can currently be found in the cities included in the analysis (Tab. 3 and Fig. 4).

The most valuable and still used castles in the area in question are obviously Malbork, the former capital of the monastic state, as well as several lesser strongholds, such as Bytów, Gniew, Sztum and the charter castle in Kwidzyn in Pomeranian province, Golub-Dobrzyń, Nowe and Świecie in Kuyavian-Pomeranian province, as well as Działdowo, Kętrzyn, Nidzica, Ostróda and the Warmian charter castle in Olsztyn, bishop's castle complex in Lidzbark Warmiński and the bishop's castle in Reszel in Warmian-Masurian province.

Table 3. Number of medieval castles in small towns of the former State of the Teutonic Order entered in the provincial registers of historic sites

Province	Castles
Kuyavian-Pomeranian (8)	Brodnica, Golub, Grudziądz, Kowalewo Pomorskie, Nowe, Radzyń Chełmiński, Świecie, Wąbrzeźno
Pomeranian (10)	Bytów, Czarne, Człuchów, Gniew, Kwidzyn, Lębork, Malbork, Prabuty, Skarszewy ^a , Sztum
Warmian-Masurian (19)	Barczewo, Braniewo, Dąbrówno, Działdowo, Jeziorany, Kętrzyn, Kurzętnik, Lidzbark Warmiński ^b , Lubawa, Miłakowo, Morąg, Nidzica, Olsztyn, Olsztynek, Orneta, Ostróda, Pasłęk, Pieniężno, Reszel
Total number	37

^a The castle was built by the Knights of the Order of St John of Jerusalem and eventually sold the Teutonic Order.

^b The castle complex in Lidzbark Warmiński consists of the bishop's castles, the palace of bishop Grabowski, two administrative wings and elements of fortifications (keep and bastion).

Source: own study on the basis of: conservation programmes (Pomeranian for 2011–2014, Warmian-Masurian for 2012–2015 and Kuyavian-Pomeranian for 2013–2016), registers of historical monuments for Pomeranian, Kuyavian-Pomeranian, West Pomeranian and Warmian-Masurian provinces (as of 31.03.2015).



Fig. 4. Medieval castles in small towns of the former State of the Teutonic Order entered in the provincial registers of historic sites
Source: author's own elaboration

A large number of castles survived as ruins. The Teutonic one in Radzyń Chełmiński is especially valuable. Many fortified structures can also be found in cities founded in modern times, such as Elk, Giżycko, Ryn, Węgorzewo and others, as well as in the countryside.

4.4. City walls and defence equipment

City fortification is another important feature of the cities in the Teutonic State. Even small and very small towns, such as medieval Olsztynek (Sikorski 1999) and many other towns, had such fortification. As was the case with castles, cities were initially surrounded with wood and earth fortifications, and moats. Later masonry installations were most often made of bricks on stone foundations.

City walls, turrets, towers and gates ceased to serve their original functions in the 17th and 18th centuries (Bogdanowski 2002). In the 19th century, a great majority of them were demolished (Wysocki 2009). The ones saved from demolition were usually adapted to serve a residential function. Some towns were open and did not have any fortifications (such as the Nowy Staw on Żuławy located by the Malbork stronghold). The number of fragments of walls, defences and defence complexes listed in the register of monuments is 47 (Tab. 4 and Fig. 5).

Table 4. Number of city fortifications and defence equipment in small towns of the former State of the Teutonic Knights entered in the provincial registers of historic sites

Province	City walls, defence equipment and defence complexes
Kuyavian-Pomeranian (8)	Brodnica (1 complex), Chełmno (1 complex), Golub, Grudziądz (1 complex), Kowalewo Pomorskie, Nowe, Świecie, Tuchola
Pomeranian (9)	Chojnice (1 complex), Debrzno, Gniew, Kwidzyn, Malbork (1 complex), Prabuty (1 complex), Skarszewy, Starogard Gdański (1 complex), Tczew
Warmian-Masurian (30)	Barczewo, Bartoszyce, Biskupiec Pomorski, Bisztynek, Braniewo (1 complex), Dąbrówno (1 complex), Dobre Miasto (1 complex), Frombork (1 complex) ^a , Górowo Hławeckie, Hława, Jeziorany, Lidzbark Warmiński (1 complex), Lubawa (1 complex), Miłakowo, Miłomłyn, Morąg, Nidzica, Nowe Miasto Lubawskie (1 complex), Olsztyn (1 complex), Olsztynek, Ostróda, Pasłęk, Pasym, Pięno, Reszel, Sępólno (1 complex), Susz, Tolkmicko, Zalewo (1 complex)
Total number	47

^a City walls are listed as one main entry consisting of 9 elements.

Source: own study on the basis of: conservation programmes (Pomeranian for 2011–2014, Warmian-Masurian for 2012–2015 and Kuyavian-Pomeranian for 2013–2016), registers of historical monuments for Pomeranian, Kuyavian-Pomeranian, West Pomeranian and Warmian-Masurian provinces (as of 31.03.2015).

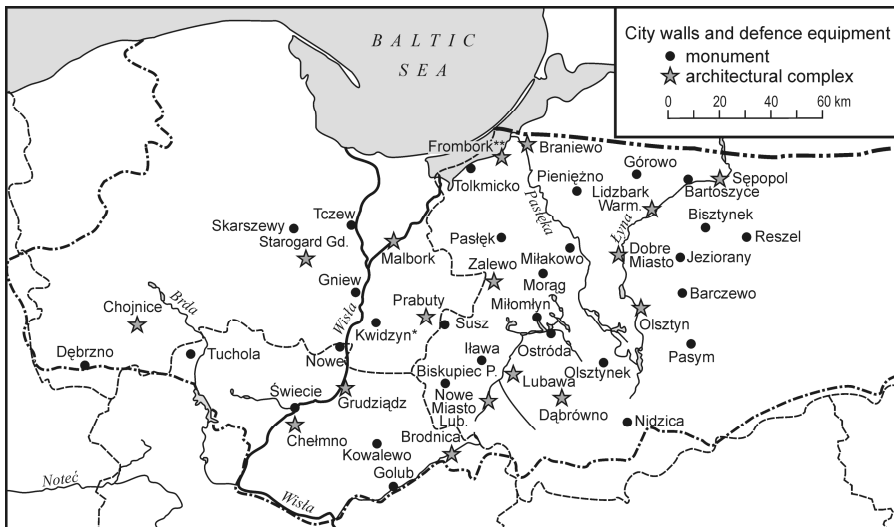


Fig. 5. Medieval fortifications and defence equipment in small towns of the former State of the Teutonic Knights entered in the provincial registers of historic sites
Source: author's own elaboration

The most complete circumference of defensive walls in the cities under analysis, with 90% of it saved, can be found in Pasłęk (Conservation programme for Warmian-Masurian province... 2011, p. 33). Significant fragments of walls were also preserved in Kowalewo Pomorskie, Nowe, Świecie, Dobre Miasto, Morąg and Reszel.

The most visually stunning parts of city fortifications were undoubtedly the gate buildings. City gates constructed in the era of dominance of gates and turrets were the most sensitive and open to attacks in the defensive ring. Therefore, they were strongly fortified. City gates were preserved in Człuchów, Chojnice, Debrzno, Gniew, Kwidzyn, Lębork, Malbork, Puck, Skarszewy and Tezew in the Pomeranian province, Brodnica and Grudziądz in Kuyavian-Pomeranian province, and in Bartoszyce, Bisztynek, Lidzbark Warmiński, Lubawa, Nidzica, Nowe Miasto Lubawskie, Olsztyn, Olsztynek and Pasłęk in the Warmian-Masurian province.

4.5. Other objects

Public use buildings are equally interesting, though far less of them remained to modern times. We can include town halls in this group. They were mostly located in the centres of medieval markets or along main communication routes when there was no typical market square. Medieval town halls or their fragments were preserved in Chojnice, Kościerzyna, Lębork, Malbork, Kwidzyn and Gniew in Pomeranian province, Brodnica in the Kuyavian-Pomeranian province, Barczewo, Górowo Iławeckie, Morąg, Orneta, Olsztyn and Pasłęk in the Warmian-Masurian province. Public buildings also included the so-called Latin school (currently a modern building sits on the Gothic foundations) in Malbork and the hospital of the Holy Spirit (listed as a hospital complex). Other interesting medieval monuments include residential burgher buildings. Only fragments survived, mainly foundations and cellar ceilings (e.g. in Chełm, Nowe Miasto Lubawskie, Orneta, Reszel or Sępólno). Urban plot divisions were preserved more frequently. One of the most interesting market square building complexes can now be seen in Gniew. It consists of a row of 8 tenements from the 14th and 15th centuries located in the western frontage. These are the so-called 'Gniew leby'. Monuments of technology are another group of interesting medieval remains. The area of study includes seven granaries with Gothic elements in Grudziądz, the former salt granary (currently a Pentecostal church) in Lębork, the upper mill in Malbork with 15th-century elements, relics of the castle mill in Olsztyn or the remains of watermill in Młynary. Interesting monuments of medieval technology can also be found in Reszel, where two

Gothic bridges and a system of channels and waterworks is listed in a register of immovable monuments. In Frombork, a water channel dating back to the 15th century is also listed. Other objects from the period include the 'old' presbytery in Chojnice, as well as the former presbytery, and now a residential house, in Olsztynek or the so-called 'Klasztor' in Nidzica.

5. CONCLUSION

Over the centuries, Prussian cities have undergone physiognomic and morphological changes. Their contemporary shape and preserved heritage are the result of natural, evolutionary development of cities, as well as revolutionary events, such as fires or war. 17th century was an important era for medieval monuments in Prussian cities. It was then that the demolition started on medieval fortifications, ordered by Prussian authorities and continuing into the 19th or even 20th centuries. 19th century brought dynamic industrial development, expansion of the railway network, as well as a hike in population due to the agrarian reform, which also influenced the morphology of settlement units. The First World War destruction, especially severe in Masuria, were another important factor which influenced the spatial arrangement of the centres of towns of the former monastic state (Salm 2006). The reconstruction of Eastern-Prussian towns was conducted on a grand scale and often involved planned regulation of streets and plots, which in many cases erased the elements of medieval arrangement. The Second World War was particularly tragic for Prussian cities (Lewandowska 2012), as the west-bound front line almost levelled a number of historic city centres. The post-war period was not a very good time for the destroyed cities in the Recovered Territories either. In the first period, a significant portion of construction materials was moved to Gdańsk and Warsaw in order to accelerate the reconstruction of these important cities. In subsequent years, the modernisation of transportation routes and, above all, the construction of multi-family buildings in the historic centres caused irreparable transformations in the landscape.

One very visible example of such reconstruction can now be seen in Malbork, where the magnificent castle complex is now located next to a housing estate on the Nogat embankment. The image of urban landscape transformations in the former monastic state is also shaped by modern architectural and planning endeavours. They are not always thoughtful and harmoniously blended with the surrounding. Despite these negative factors, the number of historic urban arrangements and architecture can be considered significant. These include both

international-level structures such as the Malbork castle listed by UNESCO, the Frombork cathedral considered as an medieval gem, or the ‘Wawel of the north’ – bishop's castle in Lidzbark Warmiński, but also lower-rank structures such as the Orneto town hall, fragments of fortifications in Kowalewo Pomorskie, the spatial arrangement of Górowo Iławeckie or the remains of the Radzyń Chełmiński castle. Numerous initiatives involving the restoration and revitalisation of historic centres in the region give us hope for the continuous improvement of the technical condition and a new life for historic monuments and areas. They apply to both large cities, such as Elbląg, and smaller ones of a couple thousand inhabitants, as is the case with Nowy Staw in Malbork district¹².

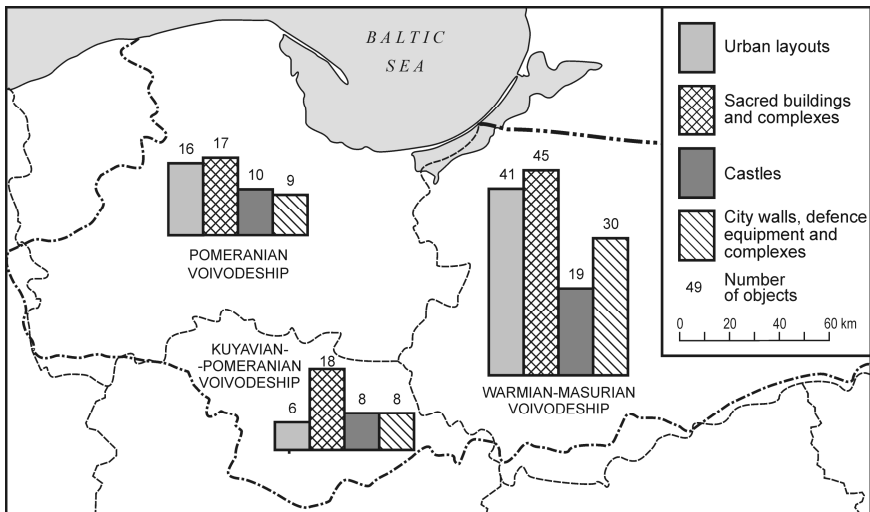


Fig. 6. Total number of medieval architectural monuments and complexes in small towns of the former State of the Teutonic Knights entered in the provincial registers of historic sites
Source: author's own elaboration

Today, the medieval heritage that survived to our times (Fig. 6) may be perceived in two ways – as a hindrance to local development and an onerous duty, or as an economic, social and cultural potential. In recent years, we have witnessed many processes of functional and ownership changes related to the technical condition of monuments. And we, the citizens, can also help decide what direction the transformations will go. This is why discussing the themes of cultural heritage of cities is so important.

Translated by Jarosław Sawiuk

¹² www.nowystaw.pl

REFERENCES

- ACHREMCZYK, S., 2002, Dziedzictwo kulturowe Warmii i Mazur, [in:] Achremczyk S. (ed.), *Życie codzienne na dawnych ziemiach pruskich. Świadectwa przeszłości*, Rozprawy i Materiały Ośrodka Badań Naukowych im. Wojciecha Kętrzyńskiego w Olsztynie, No. 202, Olsztyn, pp. 7–26.
- ACHREMCZYK, S., 2008, Krajobraz historyczny Warmii i Mazur, [in:] Achremczyk S. (ed.), *Życie codzienne na dawnych ziemiach pruskich. Krajobraz kulturowy Warmii i Mazur*, Rozprawy i Materiały Ośrodka Badań Naukowych im. Wojciecha Kętrzyńskiego w Olsztynie no. 244, Olsztyn, pp. 7–16.
- ARSZYŃSKI, M., 2000, Zamki i umocnienia krzyżackie, [in:] Nowak Z.H. (ed.), Czaja R. (co.a.), *Państwo zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach. Podziały administracyjne i kościelne w XIII–XIV wieku*, Towarzystwo Naukowe w Toruniu, Wydawnictwo UMK, Toruń, pp. 29–43.
- BIESZK, J., 2010, *Zamki państwa krzyżackiego w Polsce*, Wydawnictwo Bellona, Warszawa.
- BISKUP, M., 2013, Parafie w państwie krzyżackim, [in:] Hubert Z.N. (ed.), Czaja R. (co.) and Radziwiński A. (co.), *Zakon krzyżacki w Prusach i Inflantach. Podziały administracyjne i kościelne w XIII–XVI wieku*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, Toruń, pp. 129–149.
- BOGDANOWSKI, J., 2002, *Architektura obronna w krajobrazie Polski od Biskupina do Westerplatte*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, Warszawa–Kraów.
- CZAJA, M., 2000, Miasta i ich posiadłości ziemskie w państwie zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach, [in:] Nowak Z.H. (ed.) and Czaja R. (co.a.), *Państwo zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach. Podziały administracyjne i kościelne w XIII–XVI wieku*, Towarzystwo Naukowe w Toruniu, Wydawnictwo UMK, Toruń, pp. 44–65.
- CZAJA, R., 2013, Miasta i przestrzeń miejska w państwie zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach, [in:] Hubert Z.N. (ed.), Czaja R. (co.) and Radziwiński A. (co.), *Zakon krzyżacki w Prusach i Inflantach. Podziały administracyjne i kościelne w XIII–XVI wieku*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, Toruń, pp. 81–106.
- CZAJA, M. and NOWAK, Z.H., 2013, Państwo zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach – próba charakterystyki, [in:] Hubert Z.N. (ed.), Czaja R. (co.) and Radziwiński A. (co.), *Zakon krzyżacki w Prusach i Inflantach. Podziały administracyjne i kościelne w XIII–XVI wieku*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, Toruń, pp. 11–28.
- CZUBIEL, M. and DOMAGAŁA, T., 1969, *Zabytkowe ośrodki miejskie Warmii i Mazur*, Wydawnictwo Pojezierze, Olsztyn.
- GOŁEMBIOWSKI, M., 1990, Lokacje miast na prawie chełmińskim, [in:] Zdrójkowski Z. (ed.), *Studia Culmensia Historico-Iuridica czyli księga pamiątkowa 750-lecia prawa chełmińskiego*, Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika w Toruniu, Urząd Miasta Chełmna, pp. 229–333.
- GUERQUIN, B., 1983, *Problematyka zamków na pograniczu polsko-krzyżackim*, [in:] Pawłowski A. (ed.), *Średniowieczne zamki Polski Północnej. Wybór materiałów z sesji*, Muzeum Zamkowe, Malbork, pp. 9–14.

- GUERQUIN, B., 1984, *Zamki w Polsce*, Wydawnictwo Arkady, Warszawa.
- JACKIEWICZ-GARNIEC, M. and GARNIEC, M., 2006, *Zamki państwa krzyżackiego w dawnych Prusach: Powiśle, Warmia, Mazury*, Studio Wydawnicze Arta Mirosław Garniec, Olsztyn.
- KAJZER, L., KOŁODZIEJSKI, S. and SALM J., 2007, *Leksykon zamków w Polsce*, Wydawnictwo Arkady, Warszawa.
- KRANTZ-DOMASŁOWSKA, L., 2013, Miasta podwójne w państwie krzyżackim – przykład Torunia, *RIHA Journal*, 0067 (8 March 2013), URN: (urn:nbn:de:101:1-2013041713418), URL: <http://www.rihajournal.org/articles/2013/2013-jan-mar/krantz-domasłowska-miasta-podwojne> (10.01.2015).
- KSIĄŻEK, M., 1996, *Zarys budowy miast średniowiecznych w Polsce do końca XV wieku*, Kraków.
- KULESZA, M., 2011, *Zagadnienia morfogenezy i rozplanowania miast średniowiecznych w Polsce*, Wydawnictwo Ibidem, Łódź.
- LEWANDOWSKA, I., 2012, *Trudne dziedzictwo ziemi. Warmia i Mazury, 1945–1989*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warmińsko-Mazurskiego w Olsztynie, Olsztyn.
- MUSIAKA, Ł. 2013. *Funkcja turystyczna średniowiecznych zamków i jej wpływ na miasta Pomorza, Warmii i Mazur*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, Łódź.
- SIKORSKI, J., 1999, Zespół zamkowy oraz system urzędzeń miejskich Olsztynka w średniowieczu, [in:] Królikowska H. (ed.), *Życie codzienne na dawnych ziemiach pruskich. Człowiek a środowisko*, Rozprawy i Materiały Ośrodka Badań Naukowych im. Wojciecha Kętrzyńskiego w Olsztynie, nr 182, Olsztyn, pp. 18–31.
- WYSOCKI, J., (ed.), 2009, *Dziedzictwo kulturowe Warmii-Mazur-Powiśla. Stan zachowania, potencjały i problemy*, Warmińsko-Mazurskie Biuro Planowania Przestrzennego, Olsztyn.
- ZANIEWSKI, P., 2005, *Szlakami zamków krzyżackich*, Wydawnictwo Muza, Warszawa.

SOURCE MATERIALS

- Historic conservation programme for Kuyavian-Pomeranian province for 2013–2016.
- Historic conservation programme for Pomeranian province for 2011–2014.
- Historic conservation programme for Warmian-Masurian province for 2012–2015.
- Register of monuments of Kuyavian-Pomeranian province.
- Register of monuments of Pomeranian province.
- Register of monuments of Warmian-Masurian province.
- Register of monuments of Kuyavian-Pomeranian province.