

ARCHAEOLOGICAL IMAGE OF RESIDENCES OF LOWER-RANKING OFFICIALS IN THE FORMER STATE OF THE TEUTONIC KNIGHTS IN PRUSSIA

Marcel Knyżewski

UNIVERSITY OF LODZ

marcel-knyzewski@wp.pl

In the late 1970s Jerzy Frycz described four groups of buildings of the Teutonic Knights, which served all sorts of functions and had very different forms. First of them is a group of conventual castles, which is the best-described group of Teutonic castles. Other castles and manors (the number of which can be estimated in hundreds) for a long time were not in the zone of research interest. Today, almost forty years later, many of the smallest castles and manors have been an object of archaeological research which allows us to make the first wider conclusions. It turns out that the differences between the edifices of the Teutonic Order were much larger than would appear from basic publications concerning the architecture of the Order. In this article I would like to present the less-known face of the architecture of the Teutonic Knights.

KEYWORDS: Teutonic Knights, Prussia, castles, medieval architecture.

Teutonic architecture is usually seen through the prism of monumental castles with the former metropolitan stronghold in Malbork as its finest example. Researchers have focused mostly on the forty castles that once were the seats of commanders. However, over the last several years a need to intensify the research on smaller defence objects in the former monastic state has been continuously postulated. Theoretically, this work is still taking place – castles have been subjected to architectural analysis since the 1950s. Over a few decades, approximately forty objects underwent archaeological research in varying degrees (sometimes quite unsatisfactory). In recent

years, monographs on individual objects such as, for example, the castles in Beżławki, Puck, and Pień were published as well¹.

¹ Dariusz Poliński, *Pień. Siedziba krzyżackich prokuratorów w ziemi chełmińskiej (Pień. The Teutonic Order Procurator's Headquarters)*, Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2013; *Beżławki, Ocalić od zniszczenia (Beżławki. Rescue from Destruction)*, ed. Arkadiusz Koperkiewicz, Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, 2013; Jerzy Kruppe, Martyna Milewska, *Dzieje zamku w Pucku (A History of the Puck Castle)*, Warszawa: Instytut Archeologii Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2014.

The amount of this kind of architectural objects in the entire monastic state can be estimated in hundreds. We can point to about one hundred castles and manors, which were the headquarters of officials, with the exception of commanders, serving, in general, the administrative function². If we add to this manors, which were the seats of administrators of farms and mills, and buildings whose role is not entirely clear, it will turn out that we are talking about a huge number of buildings, the majority of which did not survive until our times. Some cannot even be located in the form of relics. Therefore, they should be in the field of interest of archaeologists. Only after taking them into account and comparing them with the castles of commanders can we talk about a full picture of the Teutonic Knights' buildings in Prussia.

In this text I would like to show how the complexes – seats of the lower officials of the Teutonic Order generally looked like. The attempt to organize the entire research on fortified buildings in the state of the Teutonic Order into a certain framework took place forty years ago. Jerzy Frycz was the first to postulate clearly that apart from conventual castles, there were also large castles with different administrative, military and economic functions, which were at the same time the headquarters of voigts and procurators but did not serve as monasteries; small castles which were seats of minor Teutonic officials in the cities and in the countryside; as well as castles and manors built in the centres of estates³. This combination presented by Frycz almost fully covers the idea of the architecture of the Teutonic Order. Alternatively, this collection can be supplemented with hunting manors, fortified mills, and regular manors, the main

purpose of which was probably to serve as an accommodation base for the knights traveling around the country.

In scientific literature one can still find erroneous opinions concerning the architecture of the Teutonic Order, which I would like to subject to criticism in this text. This applies to forms as well as the period in which many of the castles and manors were erected. This article does not intend to discuss in detail the architecture of castles and manors, but rather aims to point out some tendencies and correct some opinions.

As for the shape of the castles, one can come across a wide range of models of brick fortresses: from strongholds in the form of a four-winged castle (Szczytno) and monumental castles with three wings (Działdowo, Nidzica) to a significant amount of fortresses with a single wing (the first phase of the castle in Działdowo; the castles in Pisz and Szestno, Beżławki, Garbno? before expansion). We should also highlight the strongholds with a house that was not directly connected to the fortified circuit (Elk, Gizycko, Sątoczno). At least some of them were *donjons*.

The literature is dominated by the conviction that the largest seats of officials were the voigts' castles, next the procurators' castles, and that the smallest ones were the bailiffs' castles⁴. It is worth to correct this statement. Typically, the seats of voigts were the largest, but there were individual procurators' castles that were even larger, such as, for example, the building in Węgorzewo (the main building with a length of over 60 m). There were also voigts' headquarters that never evolved into brick forms as the one in Dąbrówno. The best-preserved bailiff's castle is the one in Beżławki (the courtyard measures about 43 x 53 m). It should be noted that the procurator's castle in Szestno (its plan close to a square with sides of about 25 m) could easily fit almost twice inside the walls of this castle. The forestry headquarters

² This is evidenced by the lists of Teutonic officials, e.g., Johannes Voigt, *Namen-codex der Deutschen Orden-Beamten*, Königsberg, 1843; Peter G. Thielen, *Die Verwaltung des Ordensstaates Preussen vornehmlich im 15. Jahrhundert*, Köln-Graz, 1965.

³ Jerzy Frycz, „Architektura zamków krzyżackich” (Architecture of Teutonic Castles), in: *Sztuka Pobrzeża Bałtyku*, Warszawa: PWN, 1978, p. 21.

⁴ E.g.: Małgorzata Jackiewicz-Garniec, Mirosław Garniec, *Zamki państwa krzyżackiego w dawnych Prusach (Castles of the State of the Teutonic Order in Prussia)*, Olsztyn: Studio ARTA, 2009, pp. 48–57; Tomasz Torbus, *Zamki krzyżackie (Teutonic Castles)*, Wrocław: Ossolineum, 2010, p. 13.

in Sątoczno seems very similar to the castles of procurators in Giżycko and Elk. It should be noted that the present state of research does not allow us to determine whether the headquarters of bailiffs (as well as forestry and fishing offices) were indeed distinguished by smaller size. Several preserved and investigated examples show, however, that their dimensions did not differ from many of the procurators' castles, but their number is far too small to prejudge about the other ones. The procurators' castles were probably also the most diverse. At the same time, the model of a castle with a single brick house, which became popular in the second half of the fourteenth century, occurred most frequently among the fortresses occupied by officials of that rank.

I would like to check if the time of the founding of the headquarters had a significant impact on its form (it is worth to remember that most of them were built in the fourteenth century).

If we look at castles erected in the first half of the fourteenth century, we can see that castles with long main houses (over 40 m) like the buildings in Pasłek and Przewmark were predominant at that time. They occurred mainly at the end of the first half of the fourteenth century. In the second half of the fourteenth century we can note a remarkably long house in Węgorzewo (possibly also the castle house in Pisz had a length exceeding 40 m, but archaeological research on the site of the castle remains was far too modest)⁵. Locations with brick houses with a length not exceeding 30 m were widespread in the second half of the fourteenth century. Some of them were not directly connected to the fortified circuit.

There are not many identified fortresses from the second quarter of the fourteenth century, but it seems that we can expect among them many objects, which can be considered to be built of wood and earth (especially in the east of the country). Tomasz Torbus wrote

⁵ Jerzy Gula, „Badania archeologiczne prowadzone w 2003 roku na terenie zamku w Pisz” (Archaeological Research Conducted in 2003 in the Castle Grounds in Pisz), in: *Znad Pisy* 2003, No. 12, pp. 14–43.

that the castles with two brick houses, which were built from the 1340s, should be an important aspect of future research on the headquarters of village mayors and procurators⁶. The first stronghold, which was founded as a two-winged castle, was probably the one in Olsztynek (completed approximately in 1366)⁷. The example of the Działdowo castle presented by Torbus never had only two wings in the period of the Middle Ages⁸. Some objects were eventually expanded and additional brick buildings were added. This was probably due to the changing needs and features, and was not a result of any previously planned operations. At most, I would be ready to cautiously assume that in the process of erecting castles in their original brick form, attempts were made to design them in such a way that over time it would be easy to extend them by adding further buildings (it probably should not be ruled out that in some places the possibility to expand the castle to a form a typical conventual castle was left as an option). The best example of this process appears to be the castle in Działdowo. The size of the castle hill, which was largely artificially dug during the erection of the foundations of the main house, allowed to build another wing of the castle (the castle was established on a plan close to a square with sides of approximately 46 m), which was built approximately 30 years later. It is quite unlikely that the planned action was implemented for three decades, but probably the further expansion of the castle was not excluded from the very beginning.

In the case of castles with a single brick house, current research confirms the observations of Hanna

⁶ Tomasz Torbus, *Zamki konwentualne państwa krzyżackiego w Prusach (Conventual Castles of the State of the Teutonic Order in Prussia)*, Gdańsk: Słowo/obraz/terytoria, 2014, p. 268.

⁷ The results of archaeological excavations have not yet been published.

⁸ Marcel Knyżewski, „Zamek w Działdowie na tle architektury obronnej zakonu” (Castle in Działdowo on the Background of Defensive Architecture of the Order), in: *Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie*, No. 2, 2015, pp. 443–455.

Domańska, who claimed that strongholds of this type occurred sporadically in the first half and spread in the second half of the fourteenth century⁹. However, I have some doubts about the reasons for the popularity of this type of castles. The explanation that this model of the castle perfectly proved itself as an object whose courtyard could accommodate mercenary troops seems quite unconvincing, especially when considering the fact that a significant part of this type of objects was small (castle Szestno), and thus mercenary army camps probably rose all around fortresses, but not in the courtyard.

Further, it should be considered if the form of a castle or the manor was influenced by the location where it was erected. The former Teutonic state can be divided into three regions: Chełmno, Prussia and Pomerania (and a number of temporary territorial gains).

The first of the three regions is the cradle of Teutonic architecture and mostly had conventual castles. We do not know much about the strongholds of lower importance in this area. From those archaeologically investigated, the stronghold in Pień, and several manors of rather undefined function (Słup and Słozewy) should be distinguished¹⁰.

Basing on his reconstruction works, Dariusz Poliński believes that the building in Pień was an object created

in the frame structure. This is indicated by the archaeological material, as most of the late medieval layers consisted of rubble clay. A line of oak poles was also found. The wooden structure was probably supplemented with clay and straw¹¹. It was the seat of the procurator built in the early fifteenth century.

A literary source confirms that the object in Słozewy was the seat of an unspecified official in 1304. Its fortified settlement is separated from the upland by the relics of a moat. A shaft is also located at its base. A residential building was placed in the courtyard with dimensions of approximately 30 x 45 x 65 meters. The main element of the building had dimensions of 7.5 x 13.5 meters, whereas the annexed house was quite small – 2.5 x 3 meters. The building had a basement, and its eastern wall was reinforced with five poles¹².

Culmland was also home for the castles that served as the seats of lower officials of the Teutonic Order. However, they were few in number, and it is difficult to recognize them during excavations. Only some fragments of the outer walls and an oval tower remained from the castle of Bratian. Some researchers recognize a four-wing object with corner towers built according to

⁹ Hanna Domańska, „Zamek w Bytowie na tle architektury obronnej zakonu krzyżackiego z przełomu XIV i XV wieku” (Bytów castle on the Background of Defensive Architecture of the Teutonic Knights from the Turn of the Fourteenth to Fifteenth Century), in: *Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki*, 3, 1978, p. 160.

¹⁰ Ryszard Boguwolski, „Dotychczasowe wyniki prac archeologicznych na grodzisku wczesnośredniowiecznym w Słupskim Młynie, pow. Grudziądz (stanowisko 3) w latach 1971–1973” (Results of Archaeological Work on Early Medieval Stronghold in Słupski Młyn, District Grudziądz (Site 3) between 1971 and 1973), in: *Informator Muzeum w Grudziądzu*, 1974, vol. 15, No. 3–4, pp. 53–67; Andrzej Kola, *Grody ziemi chełmińskiej w późnym średniowieczu*, Toruń, 1991, pp. 214–217.

¹¹ Dariusz Poliński, *op. cit.*, pp. 168–178.

¹² Andrzej Kola, *op. cit.*, p. 109; Grzegorz Wilke, „Późnośredniowieczny dwór obronny w Słozewach koło Brodnicy w świetle badań archeologicznych” (Late Medieval Fortified Manor House in Słozewy near Brodnica in the Light of Archaeological Excavations), in: *Średniowieczne siedziby rycerskie w ziemi chełmińskiej na tle badań podobnych obiektów na ziemiach polskich*, Toruń: Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika, 1987, pp. 77–91; Andrzej Kola, Grzegorz Wilke, „Późnośredniowieczne siedziby rycerskie na ziemi chełmińskiej w świetle badań archeologicznych w Słozewach i Plemiętach” (Late Medieval Knight’s Headquarters at Chelmn, in the Light of Archaeological Excavations in Słozewy and Plemięta), in: *Acta Universitatis Nicolai Copernica, Archeologia*, 6, 1980, pp. 65–87.

a quadrangular plan¹³. It would have had the character of a conventual castle, which could be partially suggested by the nineteenth-century plan.

On the other hand, on the basis of some materials provided by Tomasz Torbus, Bratian appears to have been a regular building of a plan resembling a square with sides of 35–40 m. Perhaps the castle had only two wings and a tower in the north-west corner (round at the bottom, polygonal above)¹⁴.

The seats of lower Teutonic officials in Prussia were built gradually. Especially intense construction took place in the second and fourth quarter of the fourteenth century. This was caused by the erection of wooden and earth objects in the second quarter of the century, which in the third quarter of the century were massively destroyed by the Lithuanians. In the last years of the fourteenth century they were being rebuilt from brick. Some new objects were created as well. The highest number of objects of this type could be found in Prussia. I have already mentioned some of them. It would be wise, however, to divide Prussia into the east and west parts and the part of the Vistula Lagoon.

Initially, brick strongholds were erected mainly in the west part of Prussia and at the Vistula Lagoon. The territories under the administrators of Dzierzgon, Malbork and Elbląg should be specifically highlighted here. As I noted before, at first they were mainly large objects (Pasłęk, Przezmark, Morąg).

We can add the castle in Sztum which was subordinate to the authorities in Malbork to the castles described earlier. The first phase of the construction of the castle took place between 1326 and 1331. The castle was built on an irregular hexagonal plan. Architectural research showed that the peripheral wall and the tower

gatehouse were erected at first. The south wing for the perimeter wall was built over time¹⁵. It was founded on a rectangular plan with dimensions of 52 x 11 meters. Over time, the castle church was built in the south-east corner. In addition to the above-mentioned construction works, there were two additional corner towers within the walls – the north-west tower built on a hexagonal plan and the north-east tower built on a quadrangular plan.

The area under the jurisdiction of the authorities in Malbork also included the seat of the procurator in Mątowy Małe. The expansion of his seat took place at the beginning of the fifteenth century. The main building was up to 142.7 m long (eastern wall) and 13.8 m wide. No traces of the original internal partitions have been discovered until now. It is believed that this building consisted of rooms mentioned in the inventories: a brewery, a chapel, a caravan, a cellar, a pigsty, and a cowshed¹⁶.

Small wood and earthen buildings could be found in the same area as well. Traces of such objects as the seat of the forester, which was frequently occupied by religious dignitaries during hunting, were found, for example, in Benowo¹⁷.

¹⁵ Architectural research has not been published.

¹⁶ Adam Chęć, „Der Ordenshof in Mątowy Małe (Klein-Montau): die Ergebnisse der archäologischen Ausgrabungen im Jahr 2001”, in: *Die Ritterorden in der europäischen Wirtschaft des Mittelalters*, hrsg. von Roman Czaja und Jürgen Sarnowsky, Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2003, pp. 183–195.

¹⁷ Adam Chęć, Paweł Jankowski, „Badania archeologiczne na terenie dawnego folwarku i siedziby leśniczego krzyżackiego Benowie, gm. Ryjewo na Dolnym Powiślu: sezony badawcze 2002 i 2003” (Archaeological Research at the Site of a Former Farm and Forestry Headquarters of the Teutonic Knights in Benowo, Municipality Ryjewo Lower Powiśle: Research Seasons 2002 and 2003), in: *XIV Sesja Pomoroznawcza*, vol. 2: *Od wczesnego średniowiecza do czasów nowożytnych*, ed. Henryk Paner, Mirosław Fudziński, Gdańsk, 2005, pp. 355–360.

¹³ E.g. Mieczysław Haftka, *Zamki krzyżackie w Polsce. Szkice z dziejów (Teutonic Castles in Poland. Sketches from History)*, Malbork-Płock: Wydawnictwo CONSORT i Muzeum Zamkowe w Malborku, 1999, pp. 54–55.

¹⁴ Tomasz Torbus, *Die Konventshäuser und Grossgebietersitze des Deutschen Ordens im Deutschordensland Preussen*, Hamburg, 1998, p. 193.

The first strongholds in eastern Prussia began to form in the second quarter of the fourteenth century. They were probably mostly wooden buildings. Relics of this type of fortifications were found, for example, in Pisz. Buildings of this type were probably erected also in Giżycko, Węgorzewo, Okartowo, Kętrzyn and Barciany. In the third quarter of the century the majority of them was destroyed.

Numerous strongholds in the form of small buildings with a single brick house (Ełk, Giżycko) were built in the last quarter of the fourteenth century. The castle in Sątoczno is worthy of highlighting as an example of this type of fortifications from earlier times. It was a two-part construction with a brick house on its north-east side, situated on a small mound. It was built on a rectangular plan with dimensions of 16.1 m x 26,3 and a slightly tilted west wall. Leszek Kajzer believes that it was a building with at least one floor, and the floors had two to three chambers. The mound on which the house was located was in the north-eastern corner of a rectangular area surrounded by a moat with dimensions of 73 x 96 m. However, the house stood outside the fortifications. A stockade consisting of long and probably sharpened wooden piles was located at the outer edge of the moat. There was a palisade on the inner side, which was developed in sections towards the inside that had a porch for the defenders¹⁸.

In West Prussia, some strongholds were expanded (Działdowo), and others, very monumental and representative (Nidzica), were constructed. That intense construction campaign in Prussia was spurred by the quiet situation on the border with Lithuania and Mazovia and the increased settlement action.

In the entire territory of of Prussia, architecture seems to be very diverse. However, it appears that in the last quarter of the fourteenth century, especially in the eastern part of the region, minor strongholds dominated

the landscape. The area of Pomerania has some more examples of the above-discussed architecture. Despite the fact that it was seized by the Teutonic Order in 1308, the construction of territorial administration did not start everywhere immediately, thus the official seats were not erected from the beginning.

Czarne Castle was built on an irregular trapezoid mound measuring 40 x 58 x 60 m, surrounded by a two-meter-high retaining wall made of brick and fieldstone. It might have had a tower or a gatehouse. According to Bernhard Schmid, initially the main house occupied the entire south side of the courtyard, and was built as a half-timbered construction¹⁹.

Fischmeister in Puck belonged to the Gdansk convent. It seems that this castle was more focused on economy than defence. One could even call it a house with defensive features. It also stands out in the inventories, where it is practically impossible to find any note of weaponry present in the house.

The conducted research verified some opinions concerning the formation of the castle in Puck. This happened probably within approximately fifty years from the date of issue of the document establishing the town. These were the last years of the fourteenth or the beginning of the fifteenth century.

In the light of the research conducted in the 1990s, the central point of the castle was taken by a solid brick building erected on a rectangular plan with sides of 22.5 to 10.5 metres and an entrance through a rectangular annex²⁰.

The location of the castle took advantage of the defensive qualities of the terrain configuration. It was built on the edge of a rise adjacent to the north-west corner of the urban area. The castle bordered on the town from the east and the south. A natural stream was its western moat. The borders of the castle were strengthened with oak and pine piles. Studies have shown that what

¹⁸ Aleksander Anrzejewski, Leszek Kajzer, „Zamek w Sątocznie w „Terra Barthensi” albo triumf historii” (Castle in Sątoczno in “Terra Barthensi” or the Triumph of History), in: *XIV Sesja Pomorzoznawcza*, vol. II, pp. 197–205.

¹⁹ Bernhard Schmid, „Ordenshof Hammerstein”, in: *Zeitschrift des Historisches Vereins für den Regierungsbezirk Marienwerder*, H. 63, 1924, pp. 1–8.

²⁰ Jerzy Kruppe, Martyna Milewska, *op. cit.*, pp. 31–57.

separated the castle from the town was only a moat and a natural ravine.

The castle in Puck also functioned as a kind of urban seat of the Teutonic Order. In a number of texts one can find a statement that such buildings were popular in the former Teutonic State. This is not entirely true. From the previously discussed areas we can point an example of the Kętrzyn castle. Most seats of this type are, however, not confirmed in the archaeological or strictly historical studies. Their existence is frequently based exclusively on the local tradition. However, in Pomerania, one can occasionally encounter castles and manors of these types.

The castle in Lębork was erected before 1363, with the arrival of the first voigt – perhaps even approximately 20 years earlier, as the town's fortifications were formed around 1340. The entire castle complex had dimensions of approximately 50 x 60 m. The main house rested on a southern curtain wall which was also the city wall. The building had a considerable size and was built on an elongated rectangular plan of about 11 x 47 meters. This is one of the best-preserved town castles in the former Teutonic state.

There is a clue about the existence of defensive walls in Nowe from 1365. Perhaps at this time the seat of the Teutonic procurator was constructed. The exact spatial arrangement of the complex in the Middle Ages is not known. The preserved castle house was built on a rectangular plan with dimensions of 38.85 x 12.2 m. Inside the fortified circuit there was probably only one more wing, small and not high, built for the economic function. Between the castle and the town there was only a brick wall and perhaps a dry moat as well.

In addition to the castles in Puck, Nowe and Lębork, two more castles should be highlighted: the castle in Skarszewy, which was an object of archaeological research, and the more mysterious castle in Tczew²¹. As for

²¹ Martyna Milewska, „Zamek w Skarszewach. Próba rekonstrukcji dziejów założenia” (Castle in Skarszewy. An Attempt to Reconstruct the History of the Foundation), in: *Pomerania Antiqua*, vol. 15, 1993, pp. 141–153.

the latter one, we are still not sure whether the building, which was largely uncovered during excavations in the city, was in fact a castle of the Teutonic Knights.

The majority of the already mentioned seats from the area of Pomerania belonged to the collection of large (apart from the castle in Puck) and regular objects. But there were also other complexes. Among those that have been subject to archaeological research, one can mention the castle of Kiszewa of significant size and also a smaller object in Osiek²². They both belong to a type of irregular strongholds, but differ greatly in terms of scale as well as the genesis of their form. While the shape of the castle in Osiek is rather the result of adapting to the landforms, the castle in Kiszewa, as the archaeological research has shown, was built in the place of an earlier wood and earth fortification, which explains its configuration²³.

The *donjon* in Nowy Jasiniec should be highlighted as well. It was subject to archaeological research, which helped expanding the knowledge about the object, but did not change in any way the general perception of the building²⁴.

I did not mention, of course, all the seats that were excavated, or those that were preserved sufficiently to compare them with other objects. At the moment, we can say that more than a third of approximately 100 buildings, which were once the seats of the lower Teutonic officials, were investigated archaeologically to a different extent. Some of the unsaved objects that have not been excavated well enough can be reconstructed on the basis of historical sources and iconography.

²² Patryk Muntowski, „Architektura zamku krzyżackiego i rezydencji staorstów w Osieku w świetle badań archeologicznych”, in: *XVII Sesja Pomorzoznawcza*, vol. II, ed. H. Paner, M. Fudziński, Gdańsk, 2013, pp. 243–262.

²³ Janusz T. Podgórski, „Sprawozdanie z działalności Muzeum Archeologicznego w Gdańsku w 1978–1979 r.” (Report on the Activities of the Archaeological Museum in Gdansk in 1978–1979), in: *Pomerania Antiqua*, vol. 11, p. 226, 231.

²⁴ The results of archaeological excavations have not yet been published.

It is worth noticing that to this day the surviving castles are mostly more monumental ones. They were also often analyzed and excavated. This does not allow us, however, to conclude that most of the seats of officials were brick castles. We can be sure about that only in the case of slightly more than a third of all objects.

It is difficult to maintain the opinion that in the majority of cases the type of office determined the size of the object. It is true, however, that the seats of voights were usually larger. Seats of procurators and bailiffs as well as other offices were very diverse and their form had to depend on many factors. Certainly, offices were not equal even if they were called the same. They had different strategic importance from the viewpoint of economy, logistics and their military tasks.

The functions of these buildings evolved over time, and thus their forms changed as well. The Teutonic state was expanding. Over time, settlements appeared at its borders. Places, which for many years had been exposed to attacks, at some point became safer. The economy could flourish, thus the presence of representatives of the authorities, who had their headquarters in brick castles or smaller-scale mansions, was required there as well.

The reason why the majority of the seats of the lower-ranking officials were built in Prussia and Pomerania rather than in Culmland was the fact that in Culmland most of the castles were erected during the formation of the territorial administration in the former Teutonic State. Over time, it turned out that the transfer of the seat of the Grand Master from Venice to Malbork (1309) had to lead to administrative reforms. Solutions that worked well for dozens of years in Culmland did not work in the rest of the country. Over time, the rank of officials residing in some of the castles of Culmland was lowered. However, the castles were erected as typical conventual castles and thus are not a subject of interest in this text.

It is a difficult task to determine if certain regions were dominated by specific types of strongholds. One can certainly say that the location had an impact on the form of strongholds, but this seems to be obvious because of the process of adaptation to the local conditions

and strategic importance of a given point. The question, however, is more general because it concerns a group of objects rather than individual buildings. In this case, erecting small strongholds in the east of the country in the last quarter of the fourteenth century, as well as more frequent integration of castles into the city walls in Pomerania attracts one's attention.

It is also worth considering why large castles were built mainly in the first half of the fourteenth century, while the second half was dominated by small fortresses. This is certainly not a result of an empty state treasury as, for example, at the beginning of the fifteenth century huge sums were assigned to build a castle in Ragna. Therefore, there had to be other reasons.

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SENOSIOS PRŪSIJOS KRYŽIUOČIŲ VALSTYBĖS ŽEMESNIO RANGO PAREIGŪNŲ REZIDENCIJŲ ARCHEOLOGINIS VAIZDAS

Marcel Knyżewski

REIKŠMINIAI ŽODŽIAI: kryžiuočiai, Prūsija, pilys, viduramžių architektūra.

SANTRAUKA

Kryžiuočių architektūros vaizdas yra gerokai įvairesnis, nei paprastai matome literatūroje. Šalia konvento pilių, būta didelio skaičiaus pilių ir dvarų, kurie tuo pat metu nebuvo vienuolynai. Feodalų pilys dažniausiai būdavo didžiausios, mažesnės – prokuratorių pilys ir mažiausios – dvarų valdytojų būstinės. Vis dėlto būta ir didelių prokuratorių būstinių, o neretai ir dvarų valdytojų pilių, kurios nesiskyrė nuo daugelio teoriškai aukšto rango pareigūnų rezidencijų. XIV a. pirmoje pusėje buvo statomos didesnės pilys nei antrojoje. Per visą kryžiuočių valstybės egzistavimo laikotarpį formavosi mediniai pastatai, kurie buvo naudojami kaip įvairių pareigūnų rezidencijos. Žemesniųjų pareigūnų būstinės buvo labai įvairių formų. Tarp pilių ir dvarų formų galima išskirti monumentalius pastatus, donžonus, miesto namus, taisyklingas ir netaisyklingas struktūras. Tiesiogiai susiję su konvento pilimis pastatai, tokie kaip Ščytno pilis, buvo reti. Tarp dažniausiai sutinkamų mūrinių pastatų – objektai su vienu namu.

Daugelis žemesnio rango pareigūnų būstinių buvo statoma Prūsijoje ir Pomeranijoje, bet ne Kulmo žemėje. Nustatyti, ar tam tikruose regionuose vyravo tam tikri tvirtovių tipai, yra sunkus uždavinys. Tačiau galime pastebėti, kad XIV a. antroje pusėje šalies rytinėje dalyje daugiausia buvo statomi smulkūs objektai.

Šiuo metu galime teigti, kad daugiau kaip trečdalis iš mažiausiai 100 pastatų, kadaise buvusių žemesnio rango kryžiuočių pareigūnų būstinių, yra archeologiškai ištyrinėta skirtingu mastu. Galbūt ateities tyrimai pakeis mūsų įsivaizdavimą apie šių pastatų architektūrą.