ORDINES MILITARES COLLOQUIA TORUNENSIA HISTORICA Yearbook for the Study of the Military Orders



ISSN (print) 0867-2008 / ISSN (online) 2391-7512

DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.12775/OM.2017.014

Zamek biskupów chełmińskich w Wąbrzeźnie. Studia i materiały [The castle of the bishops of Culm in Wąbrzeźno. Studies and materials], red. Marcin Wiewióra, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, Toruń 2014, 252 pp. + CD, ISBN: 978-83-231-3313-1.

The book under review is part of a wider trend, of recently published works on fortifications and defensive architecture of late medieval Prussia. For the last 10 years, such studies have been very popular, both in terms of historic research and architectural and archaeological analyses of physical remains of fortified structures. This publication is an edited volume comprising of papers prepared by a team of historians, archaeologists, archaeozoologist and other naturalists, headed Marcin Wiewióra, an archaeologist based in Toruń. As the title suggest, all of the presented papers focus on the castle in Wabrzeźno (Germ. Friedeck), which belonged to the bishops of Culm. Thus, it is the second interdisciplinary, comprehensive study of a stronghold belonging to an ecclesiastic hierarch (and territorial ruler) in late medieval Prussia. The only earlier example, is the 2001 publication which focused solely on the castle in Lubawa (Germ. Löbau) which also belonged to the bishops of Culm.¹ The papers included in the volume are based on field work carried out in Wabrzeźno by the said team of scholars in 2010 and 2011. It ought to be noted here, that the research was conducted on a smaller scale than planned. Originally, the authors intended to carry out a two year pilot project that would continue in following years, but in 2011 the city government of Wąbrzeźno decided to end the works after the second season (pp. 11, 23). This decision is an example of a complete lack of understanding, on behalf of a local government, of how important comprehensive academic studies are for obtaining a better understanding of cultural heritage on the level of local communities.

The volume prepared by Wiewióra includes 9 articles, written by one or a number of authors, as well as table of contents (pp. 5–7), introduction (pp. 9–10), English summary (pp. 227–236), list of sources and literature (pp. 237–249) as well as notes concerning the affiliation of individual authors. The publication is also supplemented by a CD with a digital visualisation prepared by Paweł Moszczyński and Bogusz Wasik, showing how the castle in Friedeck may have looked in the mid. 17th century.

¹ Zamek w Lubawie. Dawniej i dziś, ed. L. Kajzer, Lubawa 2001.



The first chapter, written by M. Wiewióra, called *Zagadnienia wstępne* (*Preliminary Issues*, pp. 11–37) and provides a short description of the location where research was carried out in 2010 and 2011 (p. 11), as well as a concise outline of the history of the castle (pp. 11–16), a more extensive discussion of historical, architectural and archaeological studies of the site carried out prior to 2010 (pp. 17–23), the extent of excavation works conducted during the said two seasons of fieldwork (pp. 23–36) and, finally, a short outline of the layout of the castle and the level of preservation of its remains (pp. 36–37).

In the presentation of the history of the castle, there is a section focusing on the beginnings of the historic settlement which was mentioned for the first time in 1246 as *Vambresin*. The text is unclear however, as to where the stronghold and the settlement associated with it (perhaps misleadingly referred to as "stronghold settlement") were located. According to a study from 1992, these sites were occupied it two periods: from the 6th/7th century to the 8th century and from the 10th to the 1st half of 12th century (pp. 11-22). Hence, their location in relation to the later Friedeck settlement and the fortification of the bishops of Culm is also described in an unclear manner. Changes in the positions of settlements in this area are only portrayed in fig. 52 on p. 47, in the article by Dorota Bienias.

In the *Podsumawanie* (eng. *Summary*) the author (together with B. Wasik) writes about an earlier hypothesis, disproved by the conducted study, that earth and timber fortifications from the original stronghold were reused after its destruction on the site of the later castle (p. 221), but this is not mentioned in chapter 1. Furthermore, the location of the stronghold is misleadingly labeled as 'western' (pp. 11, 221) in relation to the shoreline of the castle lake, while in reality the stronghold was located on the isthmus between the southern shore of the castle lake and the northern shore of lake Frydek which can is clearly shown in fig. 51 on p. 46 and fig. 52 on p. 47).

It is also noteworthy that the text barely discusses the history of the castle in the 19th century (p. 15) which makes one wonder whether the team conducted proper queries and researched the history of the site in the period when the castle became a slowly degrading ruin. In the section dealing with the history of the castle, the author shows a very indulgent attitude towards the previous most recent publication concerning the castle written by Jarosław Baciński (p. 17). This

An alternative chronology was suggested by Wojciech Chudziak who argued that the stronghold was built in the 2nd half of the 11th century, see: idem, Zasiedlenie strefy chełmińsko-dobrzyńskiej we wczesnym średniowieczu (VII–XI wiek), Toruń 1996, p. 252. Andrzej Kola dated the both phases of the stronghold apprioprately to the 9th–12th century and to the period till the mid. 14th century, see: idem, Grody ziemi chełmińskiej w późnym średniowieczu (Towarzystwo Naukowe w Toruniu, Prace Archeologiczne 9), Toruń 1991, pp. 220–223.

is surprising as this study was heavily criticised in chapter 3 by Sławomir Joźwiak and Janusz Trupinda who demonstrated that Baciński's methodology was flawed, and he lacked basic skills for conducting historical research (p. 51). Wiewióra does not compare theories concerning the architectural form of the Friedeck castle and its possible architectural links with castles constructed by the Teutonic Order, however, he does mention the view of Tomasz Torbus concerning the regular architectural layout of the keep (p.18), which has now been negatively verified through recent research (the castle didn't even have two, let alone four, wings of the same shape).

When it comes to the state of archeological research until 2010, the lack of documentation from the excavations in 1956 and 1974 is striking and completely unacceptable in science. What it means, is that most of the opinions based on the 1956 publication by Jerzy Frycz and Jerzy Kmieciński have to be treated with a high degree of caution, which the team working on the project did. Given the lack of records from the 1956 and 1974 excavations, as well as the not fully professional German excavations carried out in 1941 for which the documentation was lost (p. 18), it can be said that the excavations carried out in the years 2010–2011 were the first serious, competently carried out, and methodological research into the Friedeck castle complex. During the first season 9 trenches were dug in within the areas of the high castle. Together the trenches covered an area of 1002 meters (p. 23). In the next year 10 more test pits covering roughly the same area were dug in the area of the forecastle (p. 31). The overall area of the Friedeck castle is around 3400 m², which means that only 5.88% of the castle's overall area had undergone serious archeological study.

The second chapter, Fizjografia wzgórza zamkowego w Wąbrzeźnie i jego otoczenia (Physiography of Wąbrzeźno castle hill and its surrounding, pp. 39–48), written by D. Bienias, is devoted to the formation and shaping of the hill on which the castle is located and its surface geological structure. This is a highly useful study which gives a very good overall view of the natural conditions during the building of the Friedeck castle. The changes in the layout of the water system in the area in the proximity of the castle, which was observed thanks to a careful analysis of cartographical material from the 20th century, should especially be noted. Even in the short period of 100 years the process of disappearing of small bodies of water and the changing of the coast-line of larger ones, has led to serious topographical differences in the area. The level of water in the Castle Lake (Pol. Jezioro Zamkowe), which is located at the foot of the Friedeck castle hill, changed by 1.8 meters (p. 45). Studies concerning the height of the ground level of the castle and the forecastle show that the difference between the level of the castle terrain and of water of the nearby lake was at least 13 to 15.5 meters (p. 48; Wasik provides

a different value, 25 m. in chapter 8, but it is unclear what the basis of this statement is, see page 207 for comparison). The area where the castle was constructed was difficult to access as it formed a type of peninsula surrounded by water of the castle lake on nearly three sides, which had positive impact on the defensive potential of the castle. In this context the author refers to J. Baciński's translation of the castle's name (*Friedeck*) which he takes to mean 'calm peak' in, seemingly, direct reference to the natural features of the location (p. 48). This view must be rejected however, because this place name was indicating the terrain's character as a peninsula rather than hilltop (a direct translation would be: calm horn/calm point).

The next chapter (Dzieje zamku w świetle źródeł historycznych / The History of Wabrzeźno castle in the light of historical sources, pp. 49-62), provides an analysis of the functioning of the Friedeck castle as a fortified residence of the bishops of Culm from the time of its construction in the mid-14th century till the time it fell to ruin in the last quarter of the 17th century. In the first section of the chapter, which concerns the period between the 14th and 15th centuries, S. Jóźwiak and J. Trupinda compare the existing written source material concerning the castle (pp. 49-57). They argue that the construction of the castle was began by bishop Hermann von Prizna (1303-1311), and that the works continued for a couple of years after his rule. By 1321 at least part of the castle must have been finished however, given that the bishop issued a document from there at this time. As there is little evidence about the bishops of Culm being present in the castle the first half of the 14th century, Jóźwiak and Trupinda rightly assume that the works must have been finished only after 1350 (p. 50). The two scholars criticize the claim made by Marc Jarzebowski according to whom in 1327 the bishop of Culm requested from the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order a siege engine ("Schleudermaschine") to protect the castle from raids by the Lithuanians ("litauische Raubzüge"); this claim is not a case of 'over-interpretation' (p. 50) but rather a serious hermeneutic mistake resulting from a misunderstanding of the source. Jóźwiak and Trupinda are right to argue that the request was not for the Grand Master to send a siege engine to Friedeck, but for military service of one of the landholders in the Löbau Land; the military service was to include the protection of fortified points. It should also be pointed out that the text refers only to fortified points belonging to the bishop and located the Löbau Land. Furthermore, the landholder was to report to military service with a crossbow rather than a siege engine (ballista is a Latin term used for a whole range of ballistic weapons other than bows). A siege engine would require a couple of people to operate it so it would make no sense that the landholder in question would be called to serve bearing one.

Jóźwiak and Trupinda argue convincingly, on the basis of an unknown, until recently, notarial document from 1 January 1413 (pp. 52-53), against the claim

made by Jarzębowski about the existence of two refectories, summer and winter one, in the castle. The single refectory can be located thanks to the information from a documentation of the castle completed in the 17th century, as well as from the results of the archeological excavations carried out in 2010. The resulting information indicates that the refectory was located on the first floor, in the middle of the south wing of the castle, in direct proximity of the chapel, which was located a little more to the east (p. 54). The localisation of the chapel is based on data from the 17th century, as well as comparative material from castles belonging to the Teutonic Order (pp. 53–54). The two historians suggest that the large tower, which is located on the axis of the eastern wing of the castle, was probably completed by the mid-14th century because after this, this sort of fortification system was no longer built in Prussia. Jóźwiak and Trupinda also emphasize that this tower was not referred to as 'bergfried' (p. 55).

The last fragment of the castle's fortification which is referred to in the medieval documentation is the 'upper' bridge, which connected the forecastle with the high castle (1412). Its name clearly suggests that another, 'lower' bridge existed as well, probably over the moat which protected the forecastle from the east (pp. 55–56). Jóźwiak and Trupinda do not take a stance on the reliability of the information provided by Simon Grunau concerning the destruction of the castle in 1414. They do note that the castle was in a bad state before 1464 (when it was burned down). They claim this is indirectly indicated by the fact that at this time, the bishop of Culm was referred to as the Bishop in Löbau (bischoff zcur Lobow), which suggests that the bishop resided mostly in Lübau rather than in Friedeck (p. 56).

In the second part of chapter 3, Bogusz Wasik provides a very careful and convincing analysis of the spatial layout of the castle in the first half of the 17th century. His claims are based on the results of the 2010 excavations as well as the written material from the 1614, 1646 and 1661 documentations of the castle (pp. 57–62). The task is challenging given the lack of iconographic material. The forecastle was at this time surrounded by an irregular wall. In the east part of this wall there was probably a gate flanked by a tower. There was also a second tower which, according to the author, was probably located in the north-east corner of the forecastle. According to Wasik, the area of the forecastle included stables, the house of the burgrave, a barn, smaller stables and a small coach house. Archeological research indicates that the courtyard of the forecastle was partly paved (pp. 57–59). A gateway with two timber frame buildings on each side of it, located in the inter-wall (parcham) area, led to the high castle (pp. 57–59). The high castle was a three-wing structure which was closed off from the east (the direction of the forecastle) by a large, octagonal tower which stood next to the gate.

The main element of the castle was the southern wing; on the first floor of which the chapel of St. Mark, the refectory and a chamber were located. On the ground floor a smaller chamber, hallway and pantry were located. The south wing was the only wing which had underground cellars. In the central section of these cellars a *hypocaust*-type stove was discovered (pp. 59–61). The functions of the chambers in the western and northern wings remain unknown, despite the fact that their layout has been established. Most of the rooms in the north wing were probably used for storage space. In the hallway located on the ground floor, in the eastern section of the north wing, a flax-stove was discovered. Its presence is also attested for in visitation inventories. The rooms on the ground floor of the north wing had wooden ceilings. The upper levels, directly below the roof, probably served as storage space, as was usually the case in castles of the Teutonic Order (p. 61). The south wing was the only wing which had a two-level, external gallery (Wasik somewhat inaccurately refers to it as a 'cloister'). The other two wings lacked such galleries (p. 59). In this context there is inconsistency between the claims of Wasik and those of Jóźwiak and Trupinda, who follow earlier literature and accept the existence of a wooden gallery which was already functioning between the 14th and 15th centuries (p. 55), even though there is no eviednce for this. The existence of a dansker tower was neither confirmed nor disproved (p. 61). We do know that in the 16th and 17th centuries, other buildings were located by the castle, outside of the fortification walls, including for example the brewery (located by the lake), and the servants' quarters (p. 62). Given that only a small percentage of the area of the castle complex and its nearest proximity was studied archeologically, the localization of these buildings could not be verified.

In chapter 4, entitled Stratygrafia kulturowa wzgórza zamkowego w Wąbrzeźnie i jego otoczenie. Synchronizacja warstw i analiza obiektów kulturowych (Cultural stratygraphy of the Castle Hill. The layers synchronization and cultural objects analyses, pp. 63–86), M. Wiewióra provides documentation and precise description of the excavation work carried out in trenches in 2010 and 2011. This terrain was not easy for archaeologists to study as examined cultural layers were damaged or mixed, and architectural remains poorly preserved. The outlines of some section of the walls were established based on negatives (that is the marks in the ground left after walls have been taken down) (p. 64). In the case of the high castle, one particularly important result of the study is the confirmation that the west wing of the castle was reconstructed. It has been proposed, albeit cautiously, that this took place in after the so-called Thirteen Year's War (that is after 1466) (p. 63; compare to p. 89 and 92 in chapter 5). The study also confirmed the existence of a timber framed structure located in the western part of the castle, to the north of the octagonal tower. This building was mentioned in 17th century visitation

documents though M. Wiewióra and B. Wasik do not agree whether its walls were built of brick or other materials (see pp. 59, 71). Remains of other two buildings were identified in the forecastle and by the outer wall of the castle (pp. 78, 81, 83).

In the next chapter, Wasik provides more detailed results of the research concerning the architectural remains of the castle (Analiza źródeł architektonicznych / Architectonic sources analysis, pp. 87-98). Because the author often repeats information which has already been provided earlier by Wiewióra, it might have been a good idea to present the archeological and architectural results in a single chapter. As a result of the excavations, the researchers established the dimensions of the wings of the high castle (south wing: $10 \times 37/38$ m, west wing: 9.3×36 m, north wing $9 \times 37/38$ m), as well as the layout of some of the sections of its ground floor plan and of the cellars of the south wing of the high castle. An important aspect was the establishing of the inclination of the retaining wall; a small fragment of it was visible above the ground level in the south-east section of the defensive system. This was the result of an attempt to better fortify the construction of the wall, by maintaining the pressure of the mass of the soil which filled the inter-wall area to a higher level than the terrain on the outer side of the wall (p. 92). After a detailed analysis of the size of the bricks, of which 110 were measured, it turned out the bricks have the same dimensions as the bricks from the urban church of St. Simon and St. Jude; this suggests that the same brickyard produced the building material for both the castle and the church (p. 95).

A large portion of the volume comprises of chapter 6, entitled *Analiza źródeł* archeologicznych (Archaeological sources analysis, pp. 99-176), which was written by a group of scholars: Piotr Błędowski, Maciej Majewski, Monika Olszewska, Małgorzata Markiewicz, Wojciech Miłek, Marek Kołyszko, Iwona Kamińska and Katarzyna Węgłowska, and concerns the analysis of the archaeological material obtained during the excavation. Błędowski presents ceramic vessels of various types, and suggests their chronology (pp. 99-122), Majewski analyses bricks and roof-tiles (pp. 123-137) while Węgłowska analyses the elements of carved ornamentation in terms of form and symbolism. She emphasizes its high quality and its morphological similarity to the elements which are visible on the façade of the cathedral of the Holy Trinity in Culmsee (Pol. Chełmża) and the decorative frieze of the parish church of St. Mary in Culm (Pol. Chełmno) (pp. 137-145). Olszewska discusses early modern tiles which were obtained during the excavation (pp. 145-149), Markiewicz presents the glassware (pp. 149-156) while Miłek discusses 8 coins which were found in the area of the fortified complex, and which date variously from the end of the 14th up till the early 20th century (pp. 156--163). The metal finds (including military equipment) were rather rare and are analyzed by Kołyszko (pp. 163–167); who also analyses products made from bone

(pp. 167–168), clay (but not pottery) (pp. 168–170) and stone (pp. 170–171). Together with Kamińska, they analyze devotional objects found from the early modern period (pp. 171–176).

The archaeobiological material obtained during the excavation (for example elements of bone and wood) were analysed by Marzena Makowiecka, Daniel Makowiecki and Dorota Bienias in the chapter entitled *Analiza źródeł przyrodniczych* (Natural sources analysis, pp. 177–205). There were no human bones found during the excavation. From the point of view of a historian, the results of bone analysis are particularly interesting. Quantitative analysis suggests that the meat eaten by the inhabitants of the castle (both in the late medieval, as well as early modern periods) was very varied; beef, pork, mutton and goat meat, as well as geese and chicken were all eaten (pp. 195, 200-201). Fish were also eaten, albeit rarely (pp. 201-202); fish were obtained from the local lake (for example pike and tench), rivers (sturgeon) and even from the sea (cod). Apart from the pigs, other animal produce was obtained outside of the castle (this is indicated by the low percentage of skulls). The authors suggest that in the case of the pigs, the head was seen as a valuable part of the carcass. Furthermore, the pigs could have been, in part at least, bred somewhere within the castle complex, because unlike many of the other animals, pig-farming did not require the presence of pastures (p. 201). Given the fact that the castle was a place of residence, and the fact that letting the animals graze on pastures was a common practice in pig farming, this theory seems unlikely. In the case of rising cattle, the authors believe that (similarly to the practice in early modern Gdańsk and Poznań) young calves and fully grown animals were slaughtered in turns. This allowed the raising of cows for milk. The higher number of bones belonging to cows than those belonging to bulls suggests that the cattle was being raised predominantly for milk production (pp. 201–202).

The next chapter, entitled *Próba rekonstrukcji etapów budowy i układu* przestrzennego zamku na podstawie wyników badań historycznych, archeologicznych i architektonicznych (Attempts of the castle building stages and spatial arrangement reconstruction on the ground of historical, archaeological and architectonic research results, pp. 207–214) was written by B. Wasik and provides a synthesis and a concise analysis of the different stages of the construction and morphology of the castle in Friedeck. Of particular interest is Wasik's claim that the castle was not built over any pre-existing structure and that there was no leveling of terrain undertaken as preparation for its construction (pp. 207, 211). This in turn, suggests that the builders of the castle could not rely on a readily available, high number of peasant labourers legally obliged to assist in the construction works (*Scharwerk*). The castle was planned using the 'new Culm' measuring unit that was slightly shorter than the older one and was commonly used from the 14th century

338

(pp. 207–208). Just as was the case during the construction of the castles of the Teutonic Order, the building of the castle in Friedeck began with the construction of the outer walls and the octagonal tower. However, contrary to how Teutonic Order's castles were constructed, during the second stage of the building process, at least two wings of the high castle were built simultaneously (the main, south wing and the west wing). This is somewhat similar to the case of the bishop's castle in Löbau, where the outer walls and the wings of the castle were all built at the same time. The brick gallery of the southern wing was added later (p. 208). The inter-wall area was not levelled, which means that it was of different width in various sections (that's why the line of the wall around the inter-wall area was irregular). The researchers have also disproved the older claim that there was a double inter-wall area on the south side of the high castle. The inter-wall wall was probably constructed relatively quickly after the construction of the high castle. This is also when the moat which divides the high castle from the forecastle, was constructed. The forecastle was constructed last; it had an irregular shape and measured 70 × 100 m. It is also probable that it was built by a different building workshop than the other parts of the castle. Unlike the high castle, the area of the forecastle was levelled before construction (p. 211). If we accept (with some caution) that the forecastle was built in the second quarter of the 14th century, then this would correlate with the economic development and more extensive management of the region which might have resulted in larger number of peasants obliged to assist the bishops in the construction works in their castle

Wasik then claims that next construction works which can be traced archaeologically took place in the beginning of the 17th century, and involved the construction of two timber-framed buildings on both sides of the gateway. It was also confirmed that the walls of the northern structure were built with material less durable than brick (p. 213). This does not, however, take note of the rebuilding, or restoration, of the west wing which is clearly evidenced in the archaeological record (though its extent remains unknown). The time of the reconstruction was not established archeologically and can only hypothetically be connected with the damages sustained by the castle in 1464. In any case, the building works that took place in the west wing must have been extensive since they included reconstruction of the foundations of the outer wall.

The final chapter, entitled *Podsumowanie* (*Summaries*, pp. 215–225) and written by Wiewióra and Wasik, provides a summary of the conducted research and position the Friedeck castle in the context of other fortified structures built by the bishops of Culm and other clerical lords in Prussia, for example the castles in Kauernick (Pol. Kurzętnik) and Löbau, as well as in the broader context of the architecture and building practices of the Teutonic Order in Prussia. The

two authors consider whether during the construction of the Friedeck castle, the builders followed the same rules according to which the Teutonic Order built conventual castles (p. 221). While they do not provide a decisive answer to this question, Wiewióra and Wasik do suggest a similarity in the defensive potential of the castles and the disposition of the interior (p. 221). This first feature cannot be treated as an element particular to conventual castles, while our knowledge of the second one is too fragmented to support direct and far-reaching similarities between the Friedeck castle and conventual castles of the Teutonic Order. The castle in Friedeck was not a house of a convent and never became one in the future. This must have influenced the interior layout of the high castle from the very start. The presence of a chapel, hypocaust, or storage spaces is not particular to conventual structures. If these features are to be interpreted as being characteristic of any specific type of fortified structure, then it would be more likely that these are features of fortified residences of local rulers. It is also worth noting that a conventual house did not usually have a residential character; residential structures in Prussia were usually built beyond the area of the convents. For this reason, one cannot agree with the Wiewióra's and Wasik's claim that the layout of the rooms in the Friedeck castle is, overall, similar to the layout of the interiors in conventual castles and was in fact an adaptation of conventual models for the purposes of a bishop's residence (p. 224). The authors mention the representative and symbolic functions of the castle (p. 221) but do not emphasize them.

Overall, Wiewióra and Wasik are overly attached to the widely-accepted historiographical approach, according to which, administrative ranks and functions of castles in Prussia is reflected in their architectural forms. According to this approach, Prussian castles can be classified into three broad categories defined by their morphological form and status. However, grouping castles in terms of these three categories is overly rigid and schematic and thus not reflect past realities. This is evident in the later section of the chapter, where Wiewióra and Wasik rightly point out the similarities between Friedeck castle and the oldest castles of the Teutonic Order of a regular type. The list of similarities include small size, the irregular shape of the outer retaining wall of the inter-wall area, lack of smaller towers protruding from the walls of the high castle as well as the presence and localization of a large, main tower (pp. 221–222).

This does not mean however, that these features are the defining traits of conventual houses (in their oldest, regular form) because the castle in Friedeck was not planned as a conventual castle. For this reason, the claim that the builders of the castle 'accepted' a conventual model but applied it in an 'impoverished' way (p. 224) must be rejected. A better interpretation is that they maybe used a multi-wing model of a castle with a rectangular plan, and a large tower. This, however,

was neither a 'conventual castle' model, nor a 'commander's castle' model. The castle in Friedeck was also not a site of an administrator (bailiff/*Vogt* or procurator) but the residence of a bishop. The schematic approach is also undermined by the important observation made by the authors of the article, namely that the localization of the main tower in the castle of Friedeck was similar to that of the morphological form of the castle in Preußisch Mark (Pol. Przezmark), which, in its 14th century phase had a single-winged layout, and was the site of a procurator and later a bailiff/*Vogt*. The even greater similarity between the layout of the Friedeck castle complex and the plan of the castle in Westerburg in Saxony (p. 222), which the authors point out, is particularly interesting. The authors do not expand on this issue however.

In the end, it should also be pointed out that some of the archeological articles contain minor historical mistakes. Errors include: the chronology of the second Prussian revolt which is described as having taken place in 1260–1283 (p. 12) but which actually took place in 1260–1274; the mention of a Prussian revolt in 1220 (p. 12) even though such term cannot be used to describe any military activity undertaken by the Balts at this time³; Frederick William II (1792) is mixed up with Frederick II the Great (1773) (p. 15) and vice versa; the castle in Kauernick is described as being located in the lands belonging to the bishops of Culm (p. 215) while in reality it was located in the lands belonging to the Culm chapter. The explanation of the term 'conventual castle' is also highly misleading because contrary to the claim of the authors (p. 218, note 1) the term 'conventual', that is related to a convent, in Prussian practice always implied that the castle was held by a commander, who was always the head of a conventual house. The fact that sometimes, castles which were not constructed as conventual castles could be elevated to the role of conventual castles, and conversely, that conventual castles could sometimes be transformed into castles managed by a procurator or a bailiff/Vogt, is a different issue. These mistakes, however do not have a significant impact on the high quality and great scientific value of this volume.

Krzysztof Kwiatkowski (Toruń)

³ Attacks by autochthonic, pagan Prussians on the neophytes living in their proximity in the later Culmerland or, what is more likely, in the Löbau Land, probably took place in winter 1220/1221, see J. Powierski, *Stosunki polsko-pruskie do 1230 r. ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem roli Pomorza Gdańskiego* (Annals of the Science Society in Toruń 74,1), Toruń 1968, p. 153. Referring to this event as an 'revolt' resp. 'uprising', however, is completely inaccurate.