

# Ancient Chełmża

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Ustka 2023 / 2024

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## Names: Loza, Łoza, Chełmża

The language of the Sorbian culture and earlier cultures Normally, in the professional literature it is explained that we do not know a word of the people of the Sorbian culture. Below, however, I will present a proposal to read words from the Bronze Age, from the names of defensive and non-defensive settlements of the Lusatian culture. Defensive settlements with a rampart were not the only settlements in the Lusatian culture. The earth rampart, often reinforced inside with a wooden structure and having a palisade superstructure, was not a structure that always belonged to the settlements of the Lusatian culture.

According to our great philologist, Aleksander Brückner, language, is able to preserve and transfer extraordinary monuments from the earliest times.

The names of places, e.g. forests, meadows, lakes, rivers, have often survived to our times from distant epochs. They survived because the incoming settlers (this was the case, for example, in the 13th century, when a lot of German settlers came to the Chełmno land with the arrival of the Teutonic Knights, it was also similar when the boats carrying the Slavs began to arrive – from the 6th century) most often they all left the old names of these less important places in their communication – larger settlements had new names, e.g. Loza received the name Łoza from the Slavs, and Loza received from the Teutonic Knights a new name Kulmsee, written in Latin Culmsee.

The dialect has survived to our times<sup>1</sup>, whose dictionary was not compiled until the beginning of our century. However, there are even earlier printed records, these are articles in the local press. Many people in Chełmża and around Chełmża use this dialect on a daily basis<sup>2</sup>. It is a language, fragments of which date back to the Bronze Age and even, which cannot be ruled out now, from the Neolithic period (although the Neolithic people were semi-savage people and could only use a small number of words, but they had to use verbal communication to hunt e.g. mammoths – huge animals, they built huge houses and huge tombs from megaliths<sup>3</sup>). It is true that the Chełmżyńska dialect has a lot of words from the German and Polish languages. This is due not only to linguistic dependencies, but also to the course of the history of the settlement-city. At the time of the arrival of the Goths and Gepids, they did not occupy a very convenient place on the island, because there are no such signals from archaeologists, however they had to name the settlement that was in the vicinity of their settlement. In the vicinity of Łoza (about 6 km away, in Brąchnówek) there was a cemetery used for burials by the Goths and tribes associated with them – the cemetery was previously used by the people of the Pomeranian culture and the culture of cloche graves. In the 19th century, there were ruins of a building alien to the Lusatian or Pomeranian culture. There was no finding of the departure of the indigenous people with the Goths in the Loza. Strongholds of the Slavs were also built in the vicinity of the site of the "Lusatian" Lodge in the 9th century, these are two strongholds – on the Archidiakonka Lake (9th century) and on the southern shore of the Chełmżyńskie Lake (Middle Ages?). Archaeological research carried out at the site of the "Archdeacon" brought information that there was also an earlier settlement of the Lusatian culture in this place.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Meller Dariusz; Słownik gwary używanej w Chełmży i okolicach (tzw. gwara chełmińska); Chełmża 2002 r.

<sup>2</sup> Meller Dariusz; Krótka historia Chełmży (Łód pirszych pocuntków do dzisiaj), Chełmża 2004. s. 2-14

<sup>3</sup> Patrz również na informacje archeologiczne z chełmżyńskich wykopalisk z neolitycznej Osada kultury ceramiki wstęgowej rytej w Chełmży, wykopalisk prowadzonych w 1928 roku.

<https://biblioteka.ustka.pl/images/stories/literatura/golinski/art61.pdf>

<sup>4</sup> Dariusz Poliński; Wczesnośredniowieczny zespół osadniczy w Chełmży, woj. toruńskie (badania w 1995 roku), [w:] Wczesnośredniowieczny szlak lądowy z Kujaw do Prus (XI wiek), Studia i materiały, UMK Toruń 1997.

Early medieval layers discovered in the area of settlement at the Archidiakonka Lake in Chełmża may be related to three settlement phases: phase I - settlement (hillfort?) from the 9th - 1st half of the 10th century (2nd half of the 10th-10th century?), phase II - settlement from the 2nd half of the 10th - 1st half of the 11th century, phase III - hillfort and settlement from the end of the 1st half of the 11th-11th/12th centuries.<sup>5</sup>

The early appearance of the Slavs in Loza (as early as the 7th century) is probably due to the location of the Lodge on the Browina River, which is a tributary of the Vistula River. In the 7th century, the Slavs were already building a stronghold in the place where Browina flows into the Vistula River. The Slavs travelled in boats<sup>6</sup>. There is a lack of archaeological research in the area of the old town of Chełmża, I am thinking about the potential excavation sites because old houses turn into ruins and then jobs for archaeologists are created.

So I make the following assumption; the original population of the Loza settlement located on Lake Chełmżyńskie remained with their language in their former place of residence, it is possible that they shared the place of settlement with the incoming Slavs. So we have an unusual opportunity to learn a few more words from the period of probably around 700 BCE, although these words are already processed by the progress of civilization.

Below are presented the names of places with hypothetical origins of names from older epochs (most likely from the Bronze Age), as the basis for the analysis of the nomenclature I have taken the names of places from the areas occupied by the people of the Lusatian culture, including towns located by the roads connecting the settlements of the people of the culture in question. This is an incomplete list of names, but it is intended to show a blueprint for broader studies in this area. What I will not do here in this study is that I will not verify a similar study by Prof. H. Łowmiański, the study concerned the analysis of nomenclature and with this help the justification of the movements of Slavic tribes, e.g. the Obodrites. In the studies made by Prof. H. Łowmiański, we should also look for the nomenclature from the Bronze Age and not the nomenclature of the Slavs – in my opinion, it is also necessary to correct the direction of movement of the tribes from the Baltic Sea to the Tatra Mountains, although it is theoretically possible to settle from the north. The Western Slavs settled in Europe by coming on boats from the shores of the Black Sea – that is, by various rivers from the south to the north, east and west. But let's get to the point.

- Chełmno Country
- Łęg,
- Kałdus,
- Gzin koło Unisławia
- Bydgoszcz Country
- Pień,
- Grudziądz Country
- Słup, Słupski Młyn,

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<sup>5</sup> Władysław Goliński; Dzieje ziemi chełmińskiej, rozdział 3, s. 17.

<https://biblioteka.ustka.pl/images/stories/literatura/golinski/25ac.pdf> , s. 17

<sup>6</sup> Władysław Goliński; Wzmianki o łodziach Słowian we wczesnym średniowieczu i rozwój konstrukcji łodzi u pomorskich Słowian, maszynopis, Ustka 2022.

<https://biblioteka.ustka.pl/images/stories/literatura/golinski/art56.pdf>

- Gać,
- Mokre,
  - Toruń Country
- Nawra,
- Łoza,
  - Słupsk Country
- Słupsk, Słupia, (meaning probably not from the pillar because in Słupsk there was a ford on the road, which comes from the Bronze Age or even from the earlier period, from the Neolithic, and then, i.e. in the Bronze Age and in the Neolithic, there is already a settlement there see- Walter Witt; Urgeschichte des Stadt= und Landkreises Stolp, Stolp 1934.)<sup>7</sup>.
- Gać,
- Równo (the original meaning of this word was different, because where there is a hillfort of the Lusatian culture, it is by no means equal – it is quite mountainous),
- Siodłonie?,
- Swochowo,
  - Myślibórz Country
- Równo,
  - Głubczyce Country
- Mokre,
  - Strzelin Country
- Pęcz,
- Hungary, wheel Kapasvár
- Pécs,
- Nysa Country
- Słupice,
- Środa Śląska Country
- Słup,
- Pirzyce Country
- Swochowo.

Name- Chełmno, Chełmża, Łoza

At the outset, I would like to give a few examples of the well-known names of ancient Chełmża and ancient Chełmno, recorded in documents and used.

*Chełmno*;

**Bronze Age - *Kaldus*, Chełmno Country** (it is possible to take the name for Kaldus for a settlement with a location that is today's village near Chełmno),

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<sup>7</sup> Walter Witt; Urgeschichte des Stadt= und Landkreises Stolp, Stolp 1934, S. 34, 36.

**VIII-IX w. – Kulm** (Norse Name) , a settlement located close to the foot of St. Lawrence Mountain - *Kałdus*,

**1065 r.** – the first known mention of Chełmno (as a settlement under the Mount of St. Lawrence – Kałdus) named Culmen in Latin in a document issued by Bolesław the Generous for the Benedictine Monastery in Mogilno. (I would like to draw your attention to the Latin Culmen – the name of Chełmno given by the Vikings – *Kulm*.)

*Chełmża*;

**Bronze Age (?)** – actually the ancient name **Łoza** (I assume that it is an ancient name as it is written in the Geographical Dictionary of the Kingdom of Poland and other Slavic countries, discussed later in the study),

**średniowiecze** – *Łoza*, *Culmsee* (as a name written in Latin), the Germanic name Kulmsee (I will discuss the name Kulmsee in the next fragment of the chapter)

Rev. Stanisław Kujot explains the name of the castle as understood by Teutonic documents: [...] "We have proved above that even before the privilege was issued to Chełmno and Toruń, the Teutonic Knights had agreed with Christian to exchange the bishop's tithes from the land of Chełmno for grain tribute. In addition, the Teutonic Knights granted the bishop 600 voloks of land, which he gave to him near Łoza, i.e. later Chełmża, in Wąbrzeźno, Bobrowo and on the Drwęca River, in later Mszana — in Łoza. .. et in Wambrez et in Boberow et super Drivanciam — they measured. Perhaps Christian had already established a seat of missionary clergy in his Łoza, and Heidenreich settled there from the very beginning and elevated it to the see of the diocese, for the year 1248 speaks of the measures of grain which are given to the church of Chełmża — *que ecclesie Culmseensi solvuntur*. Doubtless he also gave his seat the name of Culmsee, resembling the name of the diocese taken from the main town of Chełmno. Next to the new name, the original name was quickly forgotten, although as late as 1246 the master of the village knew only the **Łożę — Łoza** — the Lodge. The local people changed the name of Culmsee to Chełmża.

On June 22, 1251, the bishop laid the foundation stone of the magnificent cathedral, which has survived to this day. On this occasion Heidenreich mentions that he was ordained by Pope Innocent IV himself<sup>8</sup>.

Certainly, therefore, the name *Łoza* can be accepted as used before *Culmsee*, a name coined by the Slavs who came to the Łoza. However, we do not know from what period of time this name originates. I warn against the simple modern explanation that it comes from plants growing in rushes.

### **The name of the cities of Chełmno and Chełmża as they are understood so far?**

Prof. Anton Englert, philologist, archaeologist of VIKINGESKIBS MUSEET from Roskilde, writes that the name originates from the times (9th-12th centuries), when Scandinavian (read: Danish) sailors and merchants often visited the southern coast of the Baltic Sea. This applies to similar words for hill names such as Gollen, Revekøl (Ditch), Gellen (the southern part of Hiddensee) and Kullen (the Swedish tip of the northern Øresunds). The Old Norse "kúla" means "hill" or a prominent hill noticeable on the rest of the plain. This meaning also corresponds to the meaning of the well-known work Fritzners Ordbog over det gamle norske Sprog. Below is an excerpt from the original.

kúla, f. Hævelse, hvad der hæver sig ud  
eller frem af den ellers jævne Overflade.

Figure 1. St. Lawrence Mountain-Kaldus.Fot. Author: [Pit1233](#), commons.wikimedia.



Source: Fig. Author [Pit1233](#), commons.wikimedia.

[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Gora\\_Sw.\\_Wawrzynca\\_kolo\\_Chelmna\\_\(2\).jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Gora_Sw._Wawrzynca_kolo_Chelmna_(2).jpg)

Thus, the settlement at a high hill, characteristic and visible after entering the Vistula, received the name Kulm from wandering Nordic merchants, and the settlement immediately after it on the Browina River was named Kulmsee. The Teutonic Knights must have known these names before they came to the land of Chełmno. They left the names written from Latin on Culm and Culmsee (translating: Hill, Hill-Lake).

The Historical and Geographical Dictionary of the Chełmno Land in the Middle Ages records the following names of Chełmża appearing in source documents:

**CHEŁMŻA** (1222 Loza, 1248 Culmense, Culmsee, Culminse, Cholmense, Culmenze, Culmensee, Colmenszee, Colmensee, Colmenze, Culmenzee, Kolmense, 1466 Chełmza alias Culmenseh, Culmeze, Culmensehe, Colmezehe, Colmsee) miasto w pow. toruńskim.  
Grodzisko wczesnośredn. (*Łęga* 512, 535; *Ziel.*

[...] 31).

[...] <sup>9</sup>

Dictionary meanings of the name Loza

The entry from the Latin document is puzzling: "... in Lodge", a document from 1246, is associated with the ancient term "lair", although it seems that most likely the Vikings used the name Kulmsee for Chełmża and this is probably how in the Latin documents of the Vatican this name was recorded as Culmsee. [...] The establishment of trading posts in Kałdus (today's Chełmno) and Łoza could have taken place at the beginning of the 9th century, i.e. at the time when the Vikings undertook great plundering expeditions in Western Europe. [...] <sup>10</sup>

Could the local population have been using their own Slavic language as early as 1246? Or even a term based on the Chełmno dialect? , the name of a settlement already equipped with defensive ramparts and later equipped with defensive walls. According to the Dictionary of the Polish Language edited by W. Doroszewski, in the 2nd sense of the word lies is: <<kwatery, stanowisko, zwykle: wojska>>: On the way to the winter quarters, a Norwegian fishing flotilla returning from the waters of Antarctica called at Pillar.... So, in terms of meaning, would the name Leże for the old Chełmża be more appropriate than the name Łoza?</kwa

The name of Łoza in Aleksander Brückner's Etymological Dictionary of the Polish Language is: [...] łoza, 'branch' (>>wine bed<<), 'willow rod'; Proto-Slavic; They were constantly juxtaposed with the lit. łazda (dialect łaza, Prus. lagzda), but these belong to Nasza laska and hazel, although their consonant resembles łoza; So it is probably appropriate to combine both trunks as varieties with the sonorous and the silent hissing. [...] <sup>11</sup> And so it turns out that the name Łoza is adapted to the Slavic language, but it is also adapted to the Chełmża dialect, today heavily weeded with German and Polish.

So today I am answering Prof. Anton Englert from VIKINGESKIBS MUSEET from Roskilde (he now has another place of work) to his question about the Slavic name Kulmsee. The name is Łoza.

Below is the original excerpt from a letter to me from A. Englert dated 24 November 2005: [...] Jetzt noch ein Kommentar zum Namen Gollen. Dieser Name stammt wahrscheinlich aus der Zeit, in der skandinavische (sprich: dänische) Seefahrer und Kaufleute die südliche Ostseeküste häufig besucht haben (9.-12. Jh). Es steckt nämlich der gleiche Wortstamm in den Anhöhen Gollen, Revekol (Rowokoł), Gellen (Südteil von Hiddensee) und Kullen (schwed. Landzunge nördlich des Øresunds). Das altnordische „küla“ bedeutet „Erhöhung“ oder „was sich heraus- oder hervorhebt aus der sonst ebenen Oberfläche“ (Siehe beiliegende Kopie aus Fritzners Ordbog over det gamle norske Sprog, 1891, Bd. 2, S. 357).

<sup>9</sup> Opracowała Krystyna Porębska, przy współpracy Maksymiliana Grzegorza, pod redakcją Mariana Biskupa; Słownik historyczno- geograficzny ziemi chełmińskiej w średniowieczu, Wrocław\*Warszawa\* Kraków\*Gdańsk 1971, s. 21.

<sup>10</sup> Władysław Goliński; Łoza w państwie pierwszych Piastów, maszynopis, 2018.

<https://biblioteka.ustka.pl/images/stories/literatura/golinski/Art41.pdf>

<sup>11</sup> Aleksander Brückner; Słownik etymologiczny języka polskiego, Warszawa 1985, s. 313

**kūla, f. Hævelse, hvad der hæver sig ud  
eller frem af den ellers jævne Overflade.**

Dieser Wortstamm steckt auch in dem bekannten Olsloer Skisprungberg Holmenkollen. Anscheinend war diese nautische Namensgebung für Gellen, Gollen und Revekol (ich gebe auch Kulm i Kulmsee- W.G.) so dominant, daß die deutschen Neuankömmlinge in Pommern für diese Anhöhen die skandinavischen Bezeichnungen übernahmen. Da würde es mich interessieren, wie die damalige slawische Bevölkerung diese Anhöhen benannte. Die Bezeichnung „Gollenberg“ deutet an, daß die Deutschen nicht (mehr) wußten, das „Gollen“ allein schon „die Anhöhe“ bedeutet. Das den ist übrigens der bestimmte Artikel in den nordischen Sprachen. [...]

Translation from German of the above text. Translated by W. Goliński.

[...] Now a comment on the name Gollen. The name probably comes from the times when Scandinavian (read: Danish) sailors and merchants often visited the southern coast of the Baltic Sea (9th-12th century). The same root word is found on the hills of Gollen, Revekol (Rowokol), Gellen (southern part of Hiddensee) and Kullen (Swedish promontory north of the Øresund). The Old Norse "küla" means "exaltation" or "that which stands out or is exalted from a flat surface" (see attached copy from Fritzner's Ordbog over det gamle norske Sprog, 1891, vol. 2, S. 357).

**kūla, f. Hævelse, hvad der hæver sig ud  
eller frem af den ellers jævne Overflade.**<sup>12</sup>

This root of the word is also found in the well-known Olsloer Holmenkollen. Apparently, this nautical nomenclature for Gellen and Revekol (I will add Kulm and Kulmsee- W.G.) was so dominant that the German newcomers to Pomerania adopted the Scandinavian names of these hills. I would like to know what the Slavic population at that time called these hills. The name "Gollenberg" indicates that the Germans did not (anymore) know that "Gollen" itself means "hill". This, by the way, is the definite article in the Norse languages. [...]

The issue of the name Loza is finally clarified by the Geographical Dictionary of the Kingdom of Poland and Other Slavic Countries. There are several places under the entry "Loza" included in the dictionary, but the most important now is the meaning in relation to the old Chełmża. Dictionary, entry Łoza: [...] 2.) Łoza, or more precisely Loza, was once the name of a fairly large lake near the town of Chełmża, Toruń district, from which the settlement itself took the name of Łoza in the earliest times; Lake Loza is mentioned in documents in the thirteenth century. Nowadays it is usually called: Chełmżyńskie Lake. Moved by Chełmża. [...]<sup>13</sup>

Name of Chełmża

In the minutes of the bench court of the city in 1522 a Polish text appears for the first time, and with it the Polish name of the town — Chełmża, created as a result of the transformation of the two-part "Culm-" into "Chełm-" and "see" into "ża". Surnames with a typical Polish sound also begin to appear — the Żuławów, Lubalczyków, Brzumieńskich, Przerwanych (or Prowańskich), Katlewskich and Ziółkowskich<sup>14</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> Fritzner's Ordbog over det gamle norske Sprog, 1891, vol. 2, S. 357

<sup>13</sup> Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego i innych krajów słowiańskich, Tom V, Szlurpiskizki – Warłyńka, Warszawa 1892, s. 763.

<sup>14</sup> Labuda Gerard; Fragmenty dziejów Słowiańszczyzny Zachodniej 3; Poznań 1975

## Land and water routes of the Chełmno Land over the centuries

### Land routes passing through the Chełmno Land

#### Neolithic roads

Neolithic flint mines operated continuously for about 600 years. The Neolithic occurs in our lands from 4500 BC to 1800 BC.<sup>15</sup> First of all, flint characteristic of the Świętokrzyskie Mountains was mined<sup>16</sup> (one of the largest mines in Europe was near Ostrowiec Świętokrzyski), after all, the mines worked on an industrial scale and needed a market, they found it in the settlements by the road. The characteristic flints found today came from these mines and testify that flint was transported as early as around 4500 BCE (probably on four-wheeled carts)<sup>17</sup> - the wagon was drawn, m.in. on a vessel from Ostrowiec Świętokrzyski) along a well-trodden and well-trodden road, trodden by merchants of the time transporting goods for sale for exchange, these carts also carried flint.

Flint did not travel only to the north – it was mainly traded by taking it south, although the mountain people also had a mineral that competed with flint. However, the scale of mass flint mining forces the exchange of goods in the vicinity and in distant lands.

Figure 2. Finds of axes made of striped flint from the mine in Krzemionki in the Opatów district.<sup>18</sup>



Source: J. Kostrzewski, *Pradzieje Polski*, Poznań 1949.

The development of trade and the necessity to move raw materials and goods resulted in the development of water and road transport. There are known depictions of Neolithic carts on clay vessels, as well as finds of wheels from this period. On the Polish lands, there are products exported

<sup>15</sup> Gąssowski Jerzy; *Kultura pradziejowa na ziemiach Polski*, Zarys; Warszawa 1985; s. 72

<sup>16</sup> Jażdżewski Konrad; *Pradzieje Europy Środkowej*; Wrocław 1981, s. 170

<sup>17</sup> Jażdżewski Konrad; *Pradzieje Europy Środkowej*; Wrocław 1981; s.216, 217

<sup>18</sup> Andrzej Piskozub; *Transport jako czynnik regionalizacji osadnictwa*, Gdańsk, 1967. Ryc. 13, s. 135

from the Carpathian Basin, the Balkans and even Asia Minor. Striped flint from Krzemionki was exported over distances of up to 660 km.

The distribution of the found axes made of striped flint mined in Krzemionki, in the Opatów district, is the earliest evidence of the geographical, economic and communication unity of the Vistula and Oder river basins and the adjacent basins of small coastal rivers of the southern coast of the Baltic Sea. The area of the later Chełmno Land was, as can be seen on the map below, a significant recipient of striped flint axes.

Dozens of flint mines were located in Poland. Flint was also mined and processed in Świątchów on the Vistula River, in Rachów near Kraśnik and in Lower and Central Silesia. Flint arrived from western Ukraine in the form of lumps and shavings. Flint raw material was also imported from the deposits on Rügen to Western Pomerania and part of Greater Poland.<sup>19</sup>

*[...] We must reckon with the fact that during the third millennium B.C. (according to dates 14C) the development of a network of regular vehicular roads began in Central Europe, in contrast to the earlier period, when roads were probably mostly narrower or wider paths or paths for pedestrians and domestic animals driven by them, and rarely for trawls and sleighs (in winter), older than the wagons. [...]*<sup>20</sup>

The places where flint was transported had to be connected by land or water. Striped flint, beyond the entire basin of the Oder and Vistula rivers (except for the mountain and foothill regions), reached as far north as the Sambia and the basins of the Pregola and Nemunas rivers, tens of kilometers beyond the Bug and San rivers, west and south to eastern Germany and to Bohemia and northern Moravia. The grey, white-speckled Świeciechów flint reached mainly the upper Vistula and San rivers, penetrated far along the Dniester to the east, was also transported to Kuyavia and the Chełmno land, as well as in the basin of the upper and middle Warta, and in a trace to northern Bohemia. Black chalk flint, mined in western Volhynia, was imported to the area of the funnel beaker culture through the Lublin region to central Wielkopolska, Kuyavia, Eastern Pomerania and the area on the Nida River. Chocolate-coloured Upper Astrack flint, mined for a very long time in the vicinity of Szydłowiec and Skarżysko near Radom, was exported by long-distance exchange, in the west to the central Warta River, in the north to the Noteć and Kuyavia, and in small quantities it reached Małopolska. Rügen flint from Rügen was transported to the east, to Pomerania, to north-western Greater Poland and to Kuyavia.<sup>21</sup>

Long-distance transport of the raw material took place in the Neolithic, for materials such as: gabbro (a rock containing a lot of silica, but also iron, calcium, magnesium, sodium and potassium), hematite (commonly used as a dye), copper products, etc.<sup>22</sup>

## Roads from the Bronze Age – the culture of the Bronze Age

Around 800 B.C., gold necklaces with snake heads and crescent-shaped rock crystal ornaments, additionally decorated with rock crystal and amber, appear in Crete.<sup>23</sup> The Greeks also knew amber, but where it was delivered from was a trade secret. If it was transported overland, it was probably from Sambia, where it occurs in large numbers.

<sup>19</sup> Gąssowski Jerzy; *Kultura pradziejowa na ziemiach Polski zarys*; Warszawa 1985; s. 94, 95

<sup>20</sup> Jażdżewski Konrad; *Pradzieje Europy środkowej*; Wrocław, 1981, s. 245

<sup>21</sup> Jażdżewski Konrad; *Pradzieje Europy środkowej*; Wrocław, 1981, s. 220, 221

<sup>22</sup> Jażdżewski Konrad; *Pradzieje Europy środkowej*; Wrocław, 1981, s. 221, 222

<sup>23</sup> Peter Levi; *Wielkie Kultury Świata, Grecja*; str. 48

Already in the Bronze Age, more precisely in the 1st and 2nd Bronze Age (early (I) Bronze Age period; 1700—1450 BCE. Older (II) Bronze Age period; 1450—1200 BCE), the people of the Extension culture in Pomerania left burial mounds along the route leading around the Baltic Sea. This cannot be a coincidence for such locations of cemeteries – there must have been a road even then.

### **Bronze Age roads – Lusatian culture**

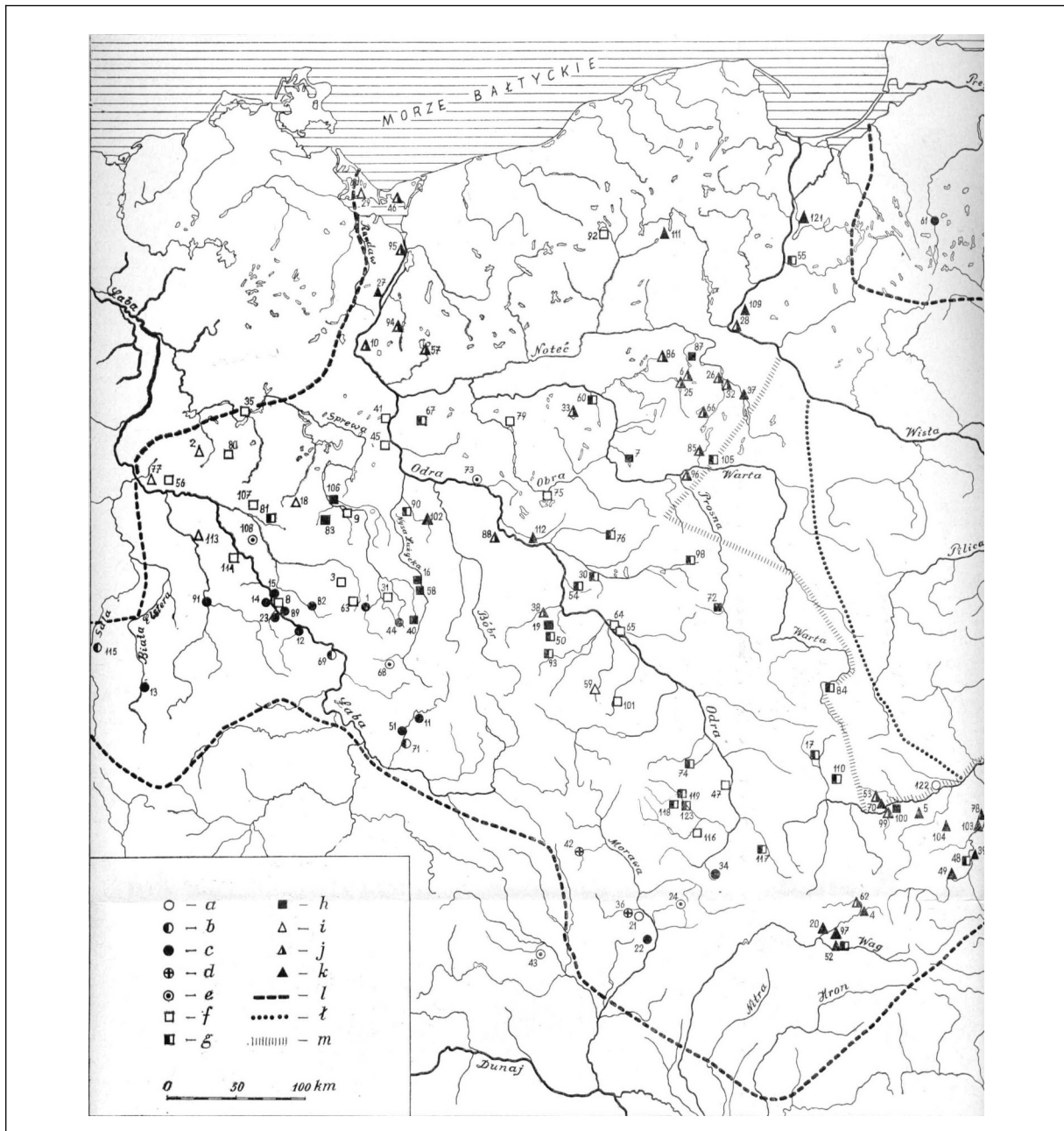
On the maps below, the settlements of the Lusatian culture occurring in Europe are marked (Only objects that in the light of previous excavations or surveys could be considered with certainty or with a high degree of probability as settlements of the Lusatian culture are taken into account. The chronology of the hillforts is given approximate — separate development phases are not taken into account), the people of the Lusatian culture built their castles the earliest in the area of today's Hungary and Slovakia. The hillforts were built mainly as defensive settlements – fortified with an earth rampart topped with a wooden palisade. The time of their creation dates back to about 1400-1100 BCE – in Hungary and Slovakia and 1100-700 BCE – in Polish and Germany. Although the latter of the established hillforts existed already in the Iron Age, they are assigned to the Bronze Age. The defensive settlements of the Lusatian culture housed residential buildings inside the fortifications. However, these settlements grew in such a way that part of the population in many settlements had to live outside the defensive wall.

The defensive settlements were abandoned by the inhabitants in the 4th century BC. The reason was climate collapse and excessive rainfall. However, the roads connecting the castles, trodden and driven by carts, remained and were certainly still used.

There was only one road to such a defensive settlement, surrounded by a rampart. This road branched off from the highway and led to the castle at a short distance – depending on the local terrain conditions. These settlements themselves were established as defensive settlements on peninsulas (Biskupin), they were established in the forks of rivers (Branchnowo), they were established on islands connected to the mainland by a bridge. The people of the Lusatian culture made great use of the existing terrain conditions, e.g. river forks.

The maps below also show the network of roads that certainly existed already in the Bronze Age, as they connected the settlements of the Lusatian culture. The maps do not show all the defensive settlements of the Lusatian culture, but certainly the old roads for some of the remaining road fragments are still possible to recognize the "old" road.

Figure 3. Fortified settlements (Lusatian culture).



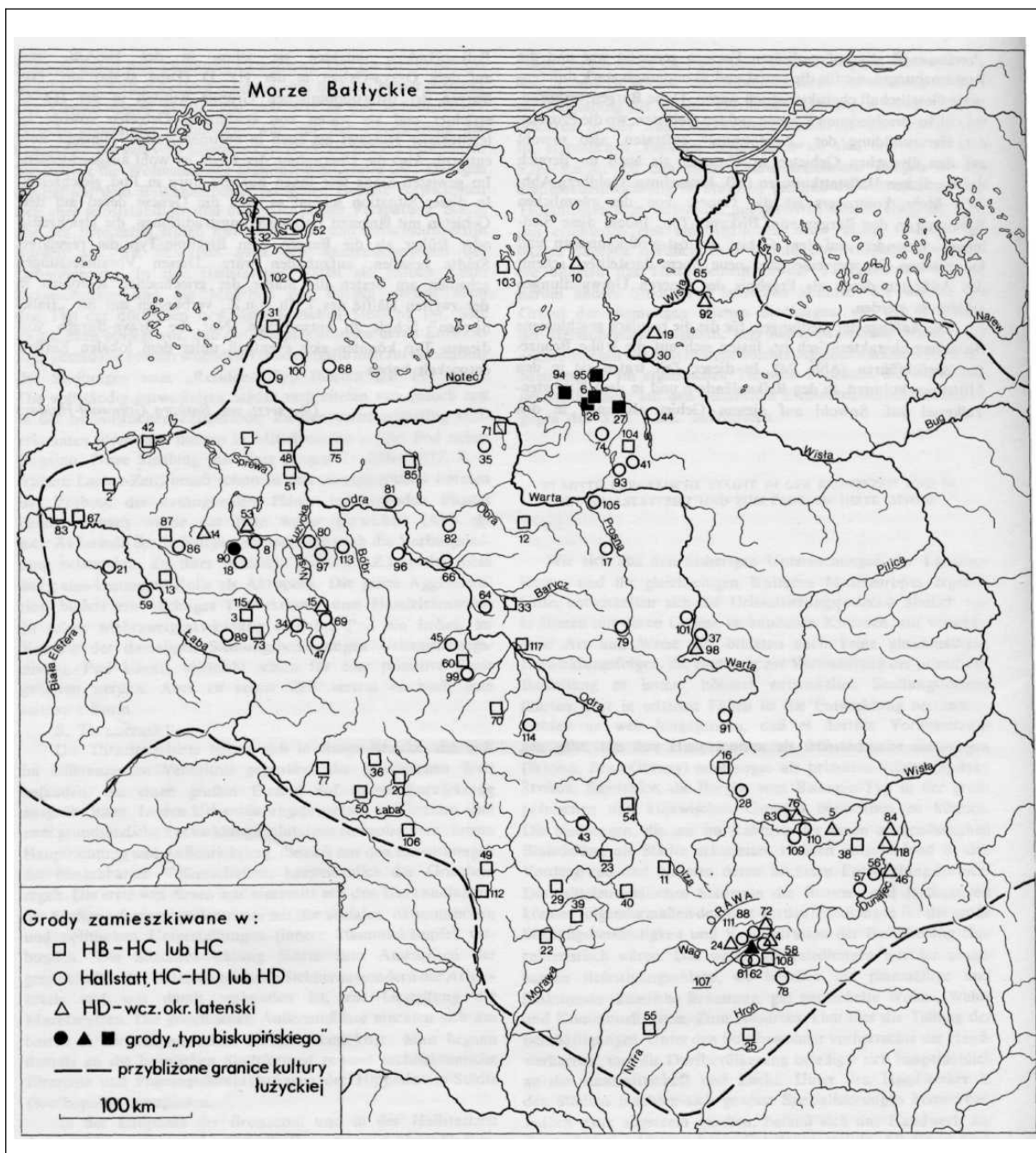
Mapa grodów kultury łużyckiej (I- III grupa weryfikacyjna)

II-III okr.ep.br.; b- IV okr.ep.br.; c- IV-V okr.ep.br.; d- IV okr.ep.br.-HC; e- V okr.ep.br.; f- V okr.ep.br.-HC; g- Hallstatt;  
h- HC-HD; i- HC; j- HD; k- HD-wcz.okr.lat.; l- przybliżona granica zasięgu kultury łużyckiej; t- przybliżona granica  
zachodniego zasięgu kultury trzcinieckiej; m- wschodnia granica zasięgu występowania grodów kultury łużyckiej  
(oprac. A. Niesiołowska- Wędzka)

Source: Lusatian Culture Castles - map<sup>24</sup>. According to Niesiołowska-Wędzka Anna; Urbanization processes in the Lusatian culture in the light of the influence of southern cultures.

<sup>24</sup> Niesiołowska- Wędzka Anna; Procesy urbanizacyjne w kulturze łużyckiej w świetle oddziaływań kultur południowych; Wrocław, s. 198

Figure 4. List of castles from the Bronze Age – Lusatian culture.



Source: Castles of the Lusatian culture - map.; Niesiołowska- Wędzka Anna, Procesy urbanizacyjne w kulturze łużyckiej w świetle oddziaływań kultur południowych.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Niesiołowska- Wędzka Anna, Procesy urbanizacyjne w kulturze łużyckiej w świetle oddziaływań kultur południowych. Wrocław 1989.

Castles of the "Biskupin type" against the background of Hallstatt castles of the Lusatian culture.  
List of castles.\*

1. Baldram woj. elbląskie, Polska; 2. Belzig „Brisciusberg”, NRD; 3. Biehla, Kr. Kamenz, NRD; 4. Biel k. Podbieli, ok. Dolny Kubin, CSRS; 5. Biskupice, woj. krakowskie, Polska; 6. Biskupin, woj. bydgoskie, Polska; 7. Bollersdorf, Kr. Staussberg, NRD; 8. Burg „Schlossberg”, Kr. Cottbus, NRD; 9. Cedyňa, woj. szczecińskie, Polska; 10. Charzykowy, woj. bydgoskie, Polska; 11. Chotěbuz — Podobora „Starý Tešín”, okr. Karviná, CSRR; 12. Cichowo, woj. leszczyńskie, Polska; 13. Falkenberg, Kr. Herzberg, NRD; 14. Gossmar, Kr. Luckau, NRD; 15. Grenzkirch — Podrosche, Kr. Weisswasser, NRD; 16. Grodziec, wzgórze „Dorotka”, woj. katowickie, Polska; 17. Grodzisko, woj. kaliskie, Polska; 18. Gross Mehssow, Kr. Calau, NRD; 19. Gzin, woj. toruńskie, Polska; 20. Habřina - Prašivka, okr. Hradec Králové, CSRS; 21. Hohburg „Burzelberg”, NRD; 22. Hostýn (lub Chvalčov), okr. Kroměříž, CSRS; 23. Hradec, okr. Opava, CSRS; 24. Hrádok k. Izdebné, okr. Dolný Kubin, CSRS; 25. Hrochoť, ok. Banská Bystrica, CSRS; 26. Izdebné, woj. bydgoskie, Polska; 27. Jankowo, woj. bydgoskie, Polska; 28. Jaworzno „Grodzisko”, woj. katowickie, Polska; 29. Jívová-Tepenec, okr. Olomouc, CSRS; 30. Kamieniec, woj. toruńskie, Polska; 31. Kamieniec, woj. szczecińskie, Polska; 32. Kamminke, Kr. Wolgast, NRD; 33. Kędzie, woj. wrocławskie, Polska; 34. Kleinsaubernitz „Radisch”, Kr. Bautzen, NRD; 35. Komorowo, woj. poznańskie, Polska; 36. Konecchlumi (gród podwójny), okr. Jičín, CSRS; 37. Konopnica, woj. sieradzkie, Polska; 38. Kopaliny, woj. tarnowskie, Polska; 39. Kostelec - Na hradě, okr. Kroměříž, CSRS; 40. Kotouč k/Štramberka, okr. Nový Jičín, CSRS; 41. Koziegłowy, woj. konińskie, Polska; 42. Krampnitz (lub Potsdam-Sacrow), Kr. Potsdam, NRD; 43. Krnov - Kostelec „Pfaflenberg”, okr. Bruntál, CSRS; 44. Kruszwica, woj. bydgoskie, Polska; 45. Kunice, woj. legnickie, Polska; 46. Kurów, woj. nowosądeckie, Polska; 47. Landeskrona, Kr. Görlitz, NRD; 48. Lcbus, Kr. Frankfurt/Oder, NRD; 49. Lechowice (Pavlov-Obersko), okr. Šumperk, CSRS; 50. Lišice, okr. Hradec Králové, CSRS; 51. Lossow, Kr. Eisenhüttenstadt, NRD; 52. Lubin, woj. szczecińskie, Polska; 53. Lübbenau „Batztin”, Kr. Calau, NRD; 54. Łubowica „Wał”, woj. katowickie, Polska; 55. Malé Kršěňany, okr. Topolčany, CSRS; 56. Marcinkowice „Grodzisko”, woj. nowosądeckie, Polska; 57. Maszkowice, woj. nowosądeckie, Polska; 58. Medzibrodie n. Orawą, okr. Dolný Kubin, CSRS; 59. Mehderitsch „Kessel”, Kr. Torgau, NRD; 60. Mierczyce „Góra Papaja”, woj. legnickie, Polska; 61-62. Mních I-II k. Ružomberoku, okr. Ružomberok, CSRS; 63. Mników — Zamkowa Góra, woj. krakowskie, Polska; 64. Moczydlina Klasztorna, woj. wrocławskie, Polska; 65. Mokre, woj. toruńskie, Polska; 66. Moszowice, woj. legnickie, Polska; 67. Mühlstadt „Burgwallstücke”, Kr. Rosslau, NRD; 68. Myślibórz „Winnica Tumską”, woj. szczecińskie, Polska; 69. Nieder-Neudorf „Vaterunserberg”, Kr. Nisky, NRD; 70. Niemcza, woj. wałbrzyskie, Polska; 71. Objezierze, woj. poznańskie, Polska; 72. Ostražica k. Nižné, okr. Naměstovo, CSRS; 73. Ostro, Kr. Kamenz, NRD; 74. Ostrowite Trzemeszeńskie, woj. bydgoskie, Polska; 75. Ośno Lubuskie, woj. gorzowskie, Polska; 76. Piekary, woj. krakowskie, Polska; 77. Písková Lhota, okr. Mladá Boleslav, CSRS; 78. Ploštín-Rohačka, Liptów, CSRS; 79. Podzamcze „Wał św. Rocha”, woj. katowickie, Polska; 80. Polanowice, woj. zielonogórskie, Polska; 81. Pomorsko, woj. zielonogórskie, Polska; 82. Przemęt, woj. leszczyńskie, Polska; 83. Ragösen (lub Krakau) „Burgstallberg”, Kr. Rosslau, NRD; 84. Roztoka „Na Skale”, woj. tarnowskie, Polska; 85. Rybojady, woj. gorzowskie, Polska; 86. Schlieben — Malitzschendorf „Burgwall”, Kr. Jassen, NRD; 87. Schönewalde, Kr. Finsterwalde, NRD; 88. Sedliacka Dubová, okr. Dolný Kubin, CSRS; 89. Seifersdorf „Burgberg”, Kr. Dresden, NRD; 90. Senftenberg, Kr. Calau, NRD; 91. Siedlec Wzgórze „Gąsczyk”, woj. częstochowskie, Polska; 92. Słup Młyn, woj. toruńskie, Polska; 93. Słupca, woj. konińskie, Polska; 94. Smuszewo, woj. pilskie, Polska; 95. Sobiejuchy, woj. bydgoskie, Polska; 96. Solniki, woj. zielonogórskie, Polska; 97. Starosiedle, woj. zielonogórskie, Polska; 98. Strobín, woj. sieradzkie, Polska; 99. Strzegom „Góra Bazaltowa”, woj. wałbrzyskie, Polska; 100. Swobnica, woj. szczecińskie, Polska; 101. Szczawno-Topieli, woj. sieradzkie, Polska; 102. Szczecin „Góra Zamkowa”, woj. loco, Polska; 103. Szczecinek, woj. koszalińskie, Polska; 104. Świątne, woj. konińskie, Polska; 105.

Tarnowa, woj. konińskie, Polska; 106. Topol, okr. Chrudim, CSRS; 101. Tupá skala, okr. Dolný Kubin, CSRS; 108. Turík, okr. Liptevský, Mikuláš, CSRS; 109. Tynec „Grodzisko”, woj. krakowskie, Polska; 110. Tynec „Opactwo”, woj. krakowskie, Polska; 777. Veličná, okr. Dolný Kubin, CSRS; 112. Velké Opatovice „Hradisko”, okr. Blansko, CSRS; 113. Wicina „Góra Zamkowa”, woj. zielonogórskie, Polska; 114. Witostowice, woj. wrocławskie, Polska; 775. Wittichenau, Kr. Hoyerswerda, NRD; 776. Wrocław - Osobowice „Szańce Szwedzkie”, woj. loco, Polska; 777. Wrocław — Osobowice „Wzgórze Kapliczne”, woj. loco, Polska; 778. Zawada Lanckorońska, woj. tarnowskie, Polska. (Oprac. A. Niesiolowska-Wędzka)

\* Only objects which, in the light of previous excavations or surveys, could be considered with certainty or with a high degree of probability as castles of the Lusatian culture were taken into account here. The chronology of the hillforts is given approximate — separate developmental phases are not taken into account.

### Description of selected roads from the Bronze Age in the Chełmno Land

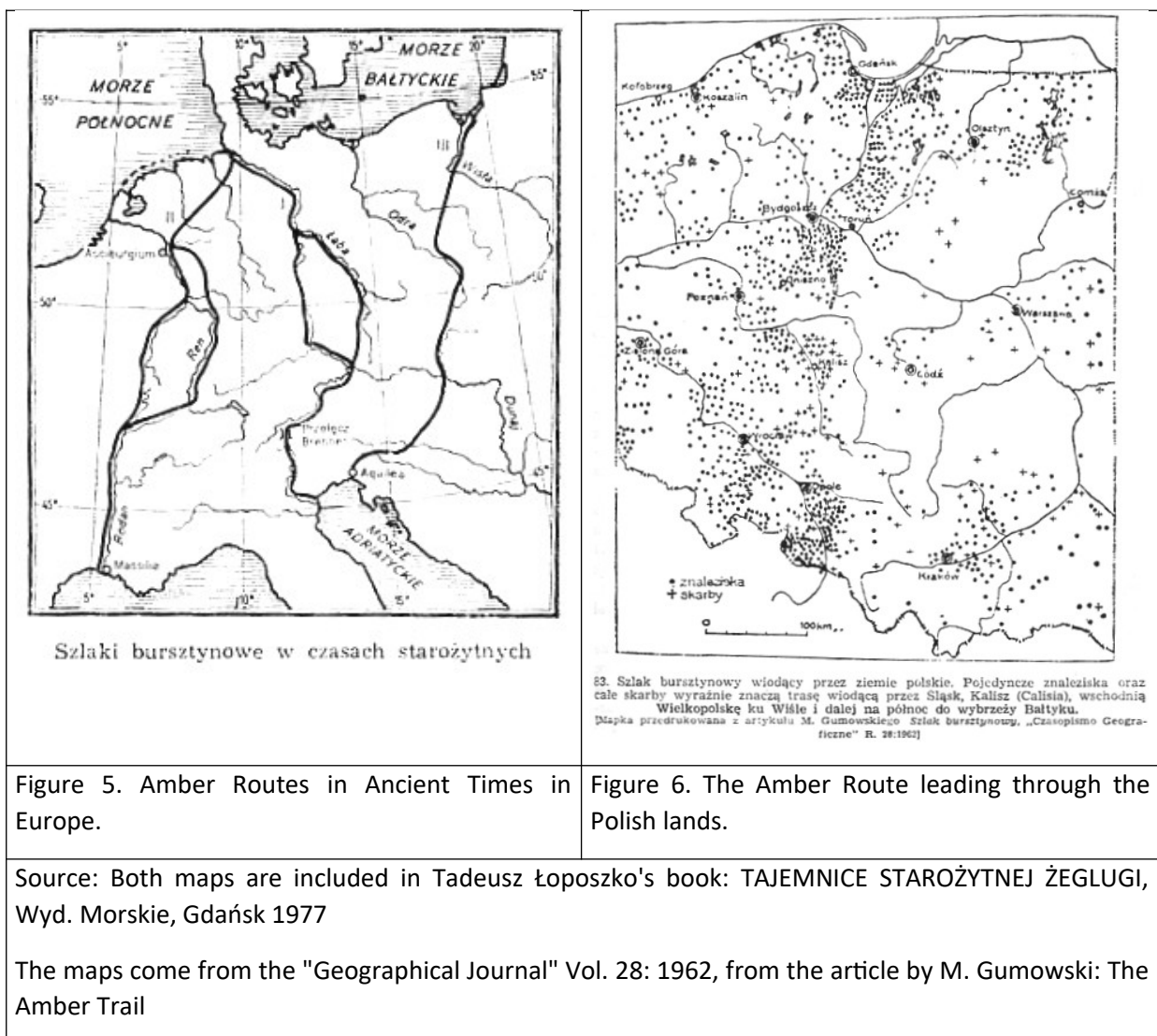
Already in the Bronze Age there was probably a land route, which locally ran: ... - Grodno (defensive settlement) - Łoza (today's old part of the buildings in Chełmża) - Gzin (defensive settlement) - Kaldus (i.e. its defensive settlement from the Bronze Age) -... In these considerations, it does not matter whether one assumes the existence of a defensive or an open settlement in Łoza. The fact that there are settlements on the islands is sufficient to assume the existence of water transport as well. Boats (canoes) were commonly used, for example, by beekeepers to transport honey....

### The Amber Route

Amber was widely known in the ancient world. Its astonishing qualities and highly mysterious properties were widely admired. A beautiful transparent colour, from honey yellow to hyacinth-red and brown, sometimes fluorescing with a golden reflection, or cloudy, whitish-milky, often extremely diverse in one lump, with variable colours and patterns, is a feature that primarily attracted the eye. Its great shine, lightness, softness and ease of processing made amber a highly sought-after raw material by ancient jewellers. It has been noticed for a long time that individual lumps and lumps of amber often contain inside perfectly visible in the transparent mass the remains of mosses and ferns, leaves of some unknown plants, and even whole, eternally imprisoned, often very strange, unprecedented creatures and insects in the world. Perhaps the most surprising thing for the ancients was the mysterious ability of amber to attract small crumbs of wood, filings, fabric debris, and dust when rubbed. The Greeks gave it the name "electron", which some scholars derive from "elek" – to defend and "tron" – means, manner. Amber was supposed to be some kind of omnipotent means of protection against all evil. Others derive the name "electron" from the nickname of the sun god Helios — "the Elector", who, according to legend, was supposed to carry amber from the abode of the gods of Olympus to earth. The Romans took over the name of amber from the Germanic tribes — *glæsium*, which derives from the smoothness and shine of this raw material. They also used the term *succinum* (or *sucinum*) — from juice (*succus*) — to denote amber from the Baltic and North Seas. Myths about amber were created in ancient Greece. However, the strongest minds of Greek scholars can accurately explain the origin of amber. Aristotle, probably on the basis of the intense resinous smell emitted by amber when rubbed and the content of organic and animal particles in its lumps, put forward the view that, that it is an organic matter, the resinous sap of trees, hardened by the forces of nature: "There (above Eridane) there are many poplars from which the so-called electron comes. This, resin-like, hardens like a stone and, collected by the

natives, gets to the Greeks." An excellent observer, the well-known Roman scholar Pliny the Elder, wrote of amber: "It is formed by the sap that leaks from trees of the pine species, just as rubber leaks from cherries and resin from pine trees. It gushes out of there as a result of excess liquid, thickens under the influence of cold or time, or seawater, when in spring rough waves wash it away from the islands. In any case, when washed ashore by the waves, it turns out to be extremely volatile, so that it seems to hang in the water and does not settle on the bottom. Even our ancestors were convinced that it was the sap (succus) of the tree, which is why they called it succinum. That it is a product of a tree of the pine species is indicated both by the smell felt by rubbing and by the fact that, when lit, it burns like a tar torch, with a bright flame ...

The Amber Route was initiated in the Neolithic.



The map from the article by M. Gumowski presents a map of Polish with marked places where abandoned amber was found. The number and density of these places of abandonment is certainly determined by the course of the trade route along which amber was transported. The route itself is shown approximately, because the abandoned amber probably comes from a robbery committed on the route. Chełmża and Chełmno are located on the main, eastern amber route, leading from Greece to the Bay of Gdańsk, however, the route leading from Anatolia to the Bay of

Gdańsk dates back to the Neolithic period and coincides with the route designated for the transport of amber. The route had its best years in the Bronze Age, because fortified settlements of the Lusatian culture were built along this road. The amber trade is barter and ceramic products, mainly metal products, have become the subject of trade. Chełmża and Chełmno, as settlements, also had to take full advantage of their privileged position for trade.<sup>26</sup>

## Crossing the Vistula River near Toruń and Chełmno

The oldest traces of human presence (from about 11 thousand years ago) were discovered by archaeologists on the left bank of the Vistula River, in the present district of Toruń-Podgórze, where there was a settlement of nomadic people. In the Neolithic, here, on the right bank of the Vistula, the people of the funnel goblet culture and the spherical amphora culture, already engaged in farming and breeding, left their existence. Within today's Old Town there are traces of settlement of the highly developed population of the Lusatian culture. Their defensive settlement with an earth rampart was probably abandoned by this population in the 4th century BC.

The resettlement, which took place in the 8th century, was carried out by the Western Slavs. In the area where the Teutonic castle was later built, a settlement was established, which in the 10th century had a defensive earth rampart rebuilt. To the west of the hillfort, a settlement was established. The fortified settlement located in the place of today's castle was called Postolsko (Postolsk, Postolin) in documents, it fulfilled military and administrative functions until the 13th century. In 1222 the castle was given by Duke Konrad of Masovia to Bishop Christian. This stronghold was probably destroyed as a result of the invasions of Prussian tribes.

Initially, the foundations for the development of urban life were found only in the Chełmno land: dense settlements, good agricultural facilities, and a well-developed system of trade routes along the Vistula River. That is why the Teutonic Knights decided to establish two strong centers of urban life here: Toruń and Chełmno (Chełmża and Grudziądz had already established themselves as cities, because the Teutonic Knights had granted them city rights – Toruń was founded in 1233). A trade route existed at this site before; For example, the route connecting the settlements of the Lusatian culture, this route existed as an even earlier road. The Amber Route led through Chełmno and Toruń. The crossings of the Vistula near Toruń and Chełmno are older than the cities themselves. Locally, this road is called the road from Kuyavia to Prussia.

*[...] This was conducive to settlement. On the left bank of the Vistula, from the bend opposite Złotoria to the mouth of the Zielona River, there were five villages: Ozchotino, Nieszawa, Nieszawka, an unnamed village, and Wierdzelew lying on the Wierdzelewa River, which is now the Green Stream. The area appealed to those brought in 1226. The Teutonic Knights, who created a base for the Knights. At their request, Konrad Mazowiecki built a small castle, which they called Vogelsang (Nightingale Song). It was located somewhere between today's Stawki and Rudak and controlled one of the two crossings over the Vistula. The Teutonic Knights knew very well that the second crossing, fortified with spikes and barbed wire, in the village of Verdzelew, was more important, but their meagre forces at that time did not allow them to take care of it. Its military character is evidenced by*

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<sup>26</sup> Tadeusz Łoposzko, Tajemnice starożytnej żeglugi, Gdańsk 1977, w rozdziale XII p.t.: Bursztyn- złoto północy, autor dokonał opisu szlaków bursztynowych jak również opisał historię handlu bursztynem prowadzonym przez cywilizacje starożytne. Poniżej zamieszczam streszczenie niektórych zagadnień a wszystkich zainteresowanych bardziej zagadnieniami starożytnej żeglugi i handlu odsyłam do źródła.

*the names of the villages preserved to this day: Osiek Wielki on the left bank and Przysiek on the right bank of the Vistula River. [...]*<sup>27</sup>

## Boat crossings

Both crossings, which already existed during the reign of the Teutonic Knights, were served by boats pushed away from the bottom with five-metre sticks with metal fittings at the end. Although these crossings were close to each other, they differed significantly. The first one near Vogelsang was short, about 600 meters long, deep with a fast river current. The second one, near Wierdzelwo, was long - over 1.5 km - shallow with a lazy river current. And it was this one that was usually chosen to cross the river safely. However, this crossing had its drawbacks. As the water level rose, the terrain turned into a quagmire of more than two kilometers. Then, whether we wanted to or not, we had to go for a less safe crossing. Although the river was deep and flowed swiftly, thanks to its unswampy high banks, it created favorable conditions for crossing it. The great significance of these crossings for the inhabitants of that time is evidenced by the fact that already in the first Chełmno privilege issued in 1233. The Teutonic Knights made sure to include the following sentence: "... both cities [Toruń and Chełmno] are granted the right to transport freely across the Vistula, with the proviso that both the members of the Order and all persons connected with them are to be transported for all time without any charge"<sup>28</sup>.

The Teutonic Knights, as feudal lords of this land, quickly put their hand on the income obtained from the crossings, because already in the renewed Chełmno privilege in 1251 they treated transport as regale, i.e. the monopolistic right of the ruler to draw all income exclusively for himself. At the same time, they also extended the list of people entitled to cross the Vistula free of charge. It included people paid and supported by the Order, envoys from foreign lands, monks from all congregations, and secular clergy. In addition, they toughened penalties for unscrupulous carriers. The penalty for non-compliance with the applicable contract includes a fine of four shelongs.

## Withdrawal of the Teutonic Knights from supervising the crossings of the Vistula

*[...] Despite the extension of the list of those entitled to free transport, the crossings, which functioned depending on the state of the waters, were still a profitable venture. However, the troubles associated with their management exceeded the capabilities of the Teutonic Knights, because already in 1372 they renounced all rights to them and handed them over to the city, which also had legal, financial and organizational problems with them. This state of affairs lasted until 1457, when King Casimir IV Jagiellon finally put these matters in order. [...]*<sup>29</sup>

The rapid development of Toruń and the increase in its commercial importance encouraged councillors and merchants to replace the troublesome transport with a bridge. Karl Prätorius, a

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<sup>27</sup> Krzysztof Kalinowski; Historia toruńskich mostów, Wyborcza/ Toruń- Internet.

<https://torun.wyborcza.pl/torun/7,48723,14962717,historia-naszyc-mostow-cz-ii-377-lat-drewna-na-wisle-archiwalne.html?disableRedirects=true>

<sup>28</sup> Krzysztof Kalinowski; Historia toruńskich mostów, maszynopis- Internet.

<https://torun.wyborcza.pl/torun/7,48723,14962717,historia-naszyc-mostow-cz-ii-377-lat-drewna-na-wisle-archiwalne.html?disableRedirects=true>

<sup>29</sup> Krzysztof Kalinowski; Historia toruńskich mostów, maszynopis- Internet.

historian from Toruń, places the first mention of a pontoon bridge in Toruń under the year 1433, but there is no convincing evidence for its existence.

## Bridges in Toruń

Toruń was founded by the Teutonic Knights in 1233 on the right bank of the Vistula River, in the place where an elongated island, or rather a clump of the Vistula – called Holm in the past and now Kępa Bazarowa – divided the river into two branches: the right – wider with the main current and the left – narrower, called the Little or Dead Vistula<sup>30</sup>.

## Military pontoon bridge in Toruń

*[...] Only the Thirteen Years' War (1454-1466) provides reliable evidence that there was a pontoon bridge near Toruń. This is evidenced by the accounts from 1458 that have survived to this day, thanks to which we know that in October and November 1454 such a structure was erected near Toruń twice. On 12 September 1455, the levy under the command of Casimir IV Jagiellon again crossed the Vistula River. We had another march of troops three years later. Construction of the last pontoon bridge began on July 20, 1461. It is clear that the bridges were of a military nature and were built where they were needed at the moment. The last "pontoonship" from Toruń was floated down the Vistula River to Grudziądz, because the hostilities moved to the north. So it can be said that the king always took this bridge with him. Maybe it was a good thing, because it did not bring any material benefits to Toruń, on the contrary, it exposed the city to costs. He showed, however, that a crossing based on anchored boats covered with planks was easy to build. Most likely, after 1466 there was a civil bridge in Toruń, which was sensitive to the water level in the Vistula and had to be dismantled for the winter. [...]*<sup>31</sup>

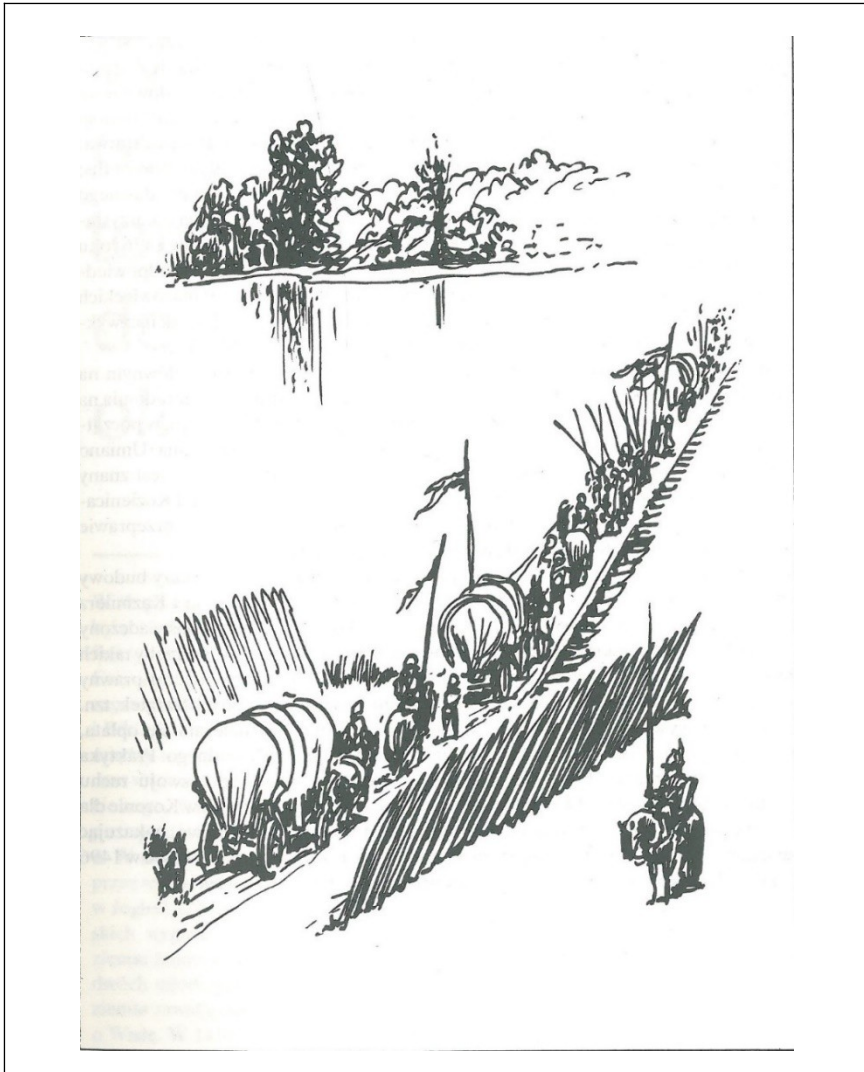
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<sup>30</sup> Janusz Jankowski; Mosty w Polsce i mostownicy polscy (od czasów najdawniejszych do końca I wojny światowej), Wrocław 1973, s. 22.

<sup>31</sup> Krzysztof Kalinowski; Historia toruńskich mostów, maszynopis- Internet.

<https://torun.wyborcza.pl/torun/7,48723,14962717,historia-naszyc-mostow-cz-ii-377-lat-drewna-na-wisle-archiwalne.html?disableRedirects=true>

Figure 7. Troops crossing the river by pontoon bridge.<sup>32</sup>



Source: Aleksander Gieysztor; *Wiśła w średniowieczu* [w:] WISŁA, Monografia rzeki, Wydawnictwa Komunikacji i Łączności, Warszawa 1982.

### Bridge on stilts in Toruń

The bridge on stilts in Toruń was built in the fifteenth century. At the request of the City Council in 1496, John I Albert granted the privilege of building a permanent wooden bridge on stilts in Toruń, or rather two bridges across both branches of the Vistula River. Construction began on 1 June 1497 and was completed before Easter 1500. The bridge of master Peter Postill was situated between the current iron bridges: the railway bridge and the old road bridge. This bridge existed on this site until 1835, i.e. for more than 350 years.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Aleksander Gieysztor; *Wiśła w średniowieczu* [w:] WISŁA, Monografia rzeki, Warszawa 1982. Str. 29.

<sup>33</sup> Janusz Jankowski; *Mosty w Polsce i mostownicy polscy (od czasów najdawniejszych do końca I wojny światowej)*, Wrocław 1973. s. 22.

According to the royal privileges of Albert and Aleksander, wood building material for the construction and reconstruction of the bridges in Toruń could be collected free of charge from the royal forests.<sup>34</sup>

*[...] The wooden bridge on stilts in Toruń, built in the years 1497-1500, existed for the longest time of all permanent bridges in the lands of the former and then Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Repaired, supplemented and rebuilt every year, it survived until 1855, i.e. over 350 years.*

*In 1672, the Toruń bridge of the main stream of the Vistula River was almost completely destroyed along with the chambers by spring waters and ice, despite the fact that it was built on thick piles and thick logs fixed with iron bolts and clamps. In later years, the pile bridges in Toruń were often destroyed by ice and wars, but until 1855 they were rebuilt despite all costs. In the intervals, when the permanent bridges were destroyed or rebuilt, and during the wars, when the bridges were probably deliberately destroyed by the Toruń garrison, skate bridges appear temporarily, as can be seen in old drawings. [...]*<sup>35</sup>

## Bridge in Chełmno

Hartnoch also included engravings with bridges in Tczew, Chełmno, Braniewo, Działdowo and Elk. Since these bridges, such as the six-span railway bridge over the Vistula in Tczew or the four-span bridge of a similar construction also over the Vistula in Chełmno, are depicted in the convention of the time, we cannot say anything about their construction.<sup>36</sup>

## History of roads in the Middle Ages<sup>37</sup>

For centuries (I'm not talking about the roads of the Roman Empire and some of the roads of Charlemagne's state), until the middle of the 17th century, no one in Europe was engaged in land routes. Communication routes in the lowlands, called roads, highways or tracts, did not have a paved surface, they were not marked out with drainage ditches. These trails were not built by anyone, they were not repaired by anyone and no one cared for them. The roads were trodden by a pedestrian and widened by the wheels of passing carts.

The width of the roads was thus determined by the intensity of the traffic and the size imposed by the terrain. Steep slopes were commonplace. The roads had holes punched by horses' hooves, ruts carved by wagon wheels, pits that the rain turned into quagmires barely passable.

Although already in the thirteenth century some feudal lords made attempts to impose the width of the road in their areas, the whole action failed in the face of the lack of roadside ditches enforcing the width of the road.

The danger on the roads was not only due to the poor condition of the road, where you could break your wheels on potholes, get stuck in the mud or drown while crossing a ford. The roads were used not only by respectable travelers, merchants carrying their goods, but also by thugs and

<sup>34</sup> Janusz Jankowski; *Mosty w Polsce i mostownicy polscy (od czasów najdawniejszych do końca I wojny światowej)*, Wrocław 1973. s. 23.

<sup>35</sup> Janusz Jankowski; *Mosty w Polsce i mostownicy polscy (od czasów najdawniejszych do końca I wojny światowej)*, Wrocław 1973. s. 56

<sup>36</sup> Janusz Jankowski; *Mosty w Polsce i mostownicy polscy (od czasów najdawniejszych do końca I wojny światowej)*, Wrocław 1973. s. 61.

<sup>37</sup> „Historia dróg w średniowieczu” w niniejszej pracy historia dróg została napisana na podstawie opracowania Studenckiego Koła Naukowego Drogowców Politechniki Rzeszowskiej- pełny tekst jest umieszczony w Internecie. <http://knd.prz.edu.pl/portal.php?show=6>

enemy troops prone to robbery, and even their own troops chasing easy prey. Such a state prevailed in the Middle Ages throughout Europe, including Poland.

In times of feudal fragmentation, the economy of each settlement had to be self-sufficient, so it was not dependent on the transport of goods. The feudal lord was interested in the condition of the roads, and he had to move from place to place quite often with the entire army. The rulers were also interested in efficient means of communication with the world. The good condition of the roads ensured efficient political, military and trade contacts. The better the road, the more efficient the communication with the world.

The maintenance of roads, bridges and dikes in good condition required considerable expenditure for this purpose. The stronger the king or the more subservient the prince, the better the roads in their area, and thus the better the conditions of communication.

The good condition of the Great Dane translated into better economic development of the country. The transit road network had, according to some, an impact on the formation of cities and the development of them. Road crossings (e.g. Chełmża) or stabilized fords (e.g. Chełmno) were the seeds for the creation of the city.

In the fourteenth century, the cities in Poland were already stabilized, about the towns in the Chełmno land it can be said that such stabilization took place already in the thirteenth century. The construction of castles in the Teutonic state also took place mainly in places where trade routes intersect and places on trade routes. There were no special routes for transit trade routes in Europe and there could not be. The routes and trails that constituted the roads of that time were accessible to all; their own and others'. At the beginning of the 15th century, the basic road part in the Chełmno land and its immediate surroundings was as follows.

Baltic roads from Gdansk:

- to Gniezno via Skarszewy- Raciąż- Tuchola- Kamień- Nakło- Żnin,
- to Samogitia via Elbląg- Königsberg,
- to Lübeck via Słupsk- Sławno- Kołobrzeg- Stargard- Szczecin,
- to Toruń via Elbląg- Malbork- Grudziądz- Chełmno and further along the right bank of the Vistula

River, Pomeranian roads from Toruń:

- to Wrocław via Inowrocław- Strzelno- Powidz- Pyzdry- Żerków- Pleszew- Koźmin- Milicz- Trzebnica,
- to Lviv via Brest Kuj.- Przedecz, Łęczyca- Inowódz- Opoczno- Radom- Opatów- Sandomierz- Jarosław- Przemyśl- Gródek,
- to Lithuania via Dobrzyń- Rypin- Serock- Wyszaków- Brok- Nieskurzyn- Gródek- Brańsk- Bielsk,
- to Cracow via Brześć Kuj.- Przedecz- Łęczyca- Zgierz- Piotrków- Rosprzę- Miechów- Słomniki.

However, an analysis of the basic network of Polish roads in the Middle Ages is not possible without first examining the mechanism of operation of the famous "law of composition". Most of the feudal lords, who were in constant financial trouble, were largely dependent on medieval cities that grew rich from trade and crafts. This relationship has produced a peculiar result. In exchange for certain services rendered by the city councils, such as money loans, recognition of authority, opening of city gates, etc., the princes granted the individual towns privileges for the monopolistic sale of all goods

in the city. In practice, this led to the imposition of an obligation on foreign merchants to sell their goods to local merchants and to a ban on taking foreign goods out of the city. This is the ancient law of composition.

It is difficult to determine who was the first, where and when this law was introduced, it can only be stated that in Western Europe it was already an old law in the thirteenth century. Here is the privilege issued to Cologne in 1259 by Archbishop Conrad:

"... Any merchant from Hungary, Bohemia, Polish, Bavaria, Swabia, Saxony, Thuringia, Hesse, Flanders, Brabant, or any other country tries to leave Cologne (bypass Cologne) may be apprehended by any burgher of Cologne who seizes him, and punished according to the old custom which the people call "hansen..."

This "old custom" was probably in keeping with the organization of trade in the early Middle Ages, when merchants gave up further overland travel through foreign lands. Perhaps there were both factual considerations – safety, ignorance of roads and conditions of passage, as well as irrational reasons, such as the then common fear of dragons, infernal powers, etc.

As a result, some commercial transactions were carried out in a "relay" system. The goods were simply sold to a merchant from a neighboring town, several dozen kilometers away, who in turn resold them further, of course adding his own profit. In later centuries, when the range of merchant travel increased significantly, the interests of intermediary cities and individual intermediaries were threatened. It was probably on their initiative that the "law of storage" was introduced, imposing compulsory intermediation on foreign merchants.

Towards the end of the Middle Ages, this law was expanded and diversified. It could apply to all goods or only to some of them, it could be "absolute", i.e. prohibiting the export of all transport brought by a foreign merchant from the city, or "relative", i.e. obliging him to put the goods up for sale in bulk for a few or several days. Only in the absence of a local buyer could a foreign merchant take his goods out of the city.

As the years passed, the law of warehousing began to grow into local customary regulations, always working to the detriment of the "stranger". In some cities of Western Europe, there were complete absurdities – for example, the municipal authorities were entitled to confiscate goods that touched the ground during transshipment.

In Germany, such a law (Grundruhrrecht) was not only in force in cities. If, on the way, as a result of, for example, damage to the wagon, the goods fell to the ground – which was very likely given the terrible condition of the roads – it gave serious benefits. This law may have been in force in Poland as well – it would be evidenced by the old adage "what fell from the cart, is gone". But perhaps it referred to the conditions in foreign countries to which our merchants went for some more attractive goods. [...]<sup>38</sup>

*[...] Bridges and ferries were not only used by merchants and travelers. Numerous local wars waged in the Middle Ages by feudal lords required efficient organization of river crossings, which were the most serious obstacles to the march of troops. Such bridges had to be solidly built, because the knights' armies of that time usually carried with them large wagons with war equipment and food.*

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<sup>38</sup> „Historia dróg w średniowieczu” fragment napisany na podstawie opracowania Studenckiego Koła Naukowego Drogowców Politechniki Rzeszowskiej, Str. 4/10- pełny tekst jest umieszczony w Internecie. <http://knd.prz.edu.pl/portal.php?show=6>

*Through not very deep streams and streams, wooden bridges were usually built with a structure that today we call a lay bridge. The piles were beaten to the bottom, connected with caps on which longitudinal beams were laid, and covered with dyline, thus obtaining a durable and quick construction. This system was already used in the early Middle Ages even in the Slavic lands, which were technically backward. [...]*<sup>39</sup>

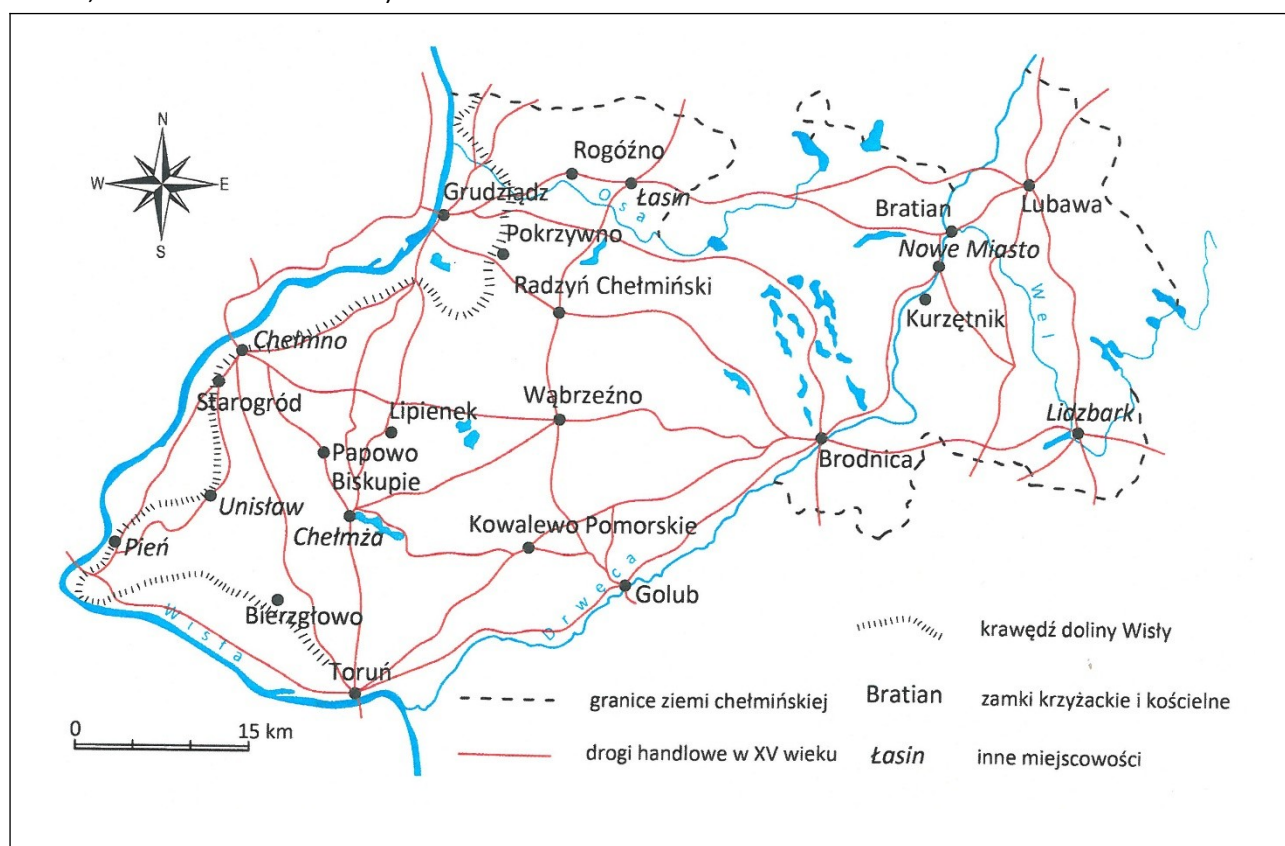
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<sup>39</sup> „Historia dróg w średniowieczu” fragment napisany na podstawie opracowania Studenckiego Koła Naukowego Drogowców Politechniki Rzeszowskiej, Str. 5/10- pełny tekst jest umieszczony w Internecie. <http://knd.prz.edu.pl/portal.php?show=6>

## Selected castles and watchtowers in the Chełmno Land in the 13th century

The map below shows the location of castles in the Chełmno land against the background of land routes, unfortunately, there are no waterways from the Middle Ages, the map does not show smaller rivers and yet in the early Middle Ages these rivers were frequented waterways, castles also controlled waterways, e.g. the castle in Papowo Biskupie was located on a slope by the Browina River (at that time, when the Browina castle was built, it was a navigable and navigable river) and at the same time it fulfilled the functions of collecting fees by the trade road leading from Chełmża to Chełmno. The castle in Toruń provoked great dissatisfaction of the city authorities on the large fees of ships sailing on the Vistula.

Figure 8. Castles of the Chełmno Land against the Background of the Network of Trade Routes (Fig. B. Wasik, after Bartoszewicz 1996)<sup>40</sup>



Source: Bogusz Wasik; *Budownictwo zamkowe na ziemi chełmińskiej (od XIII do XV wieku)*, Toruń 2016.

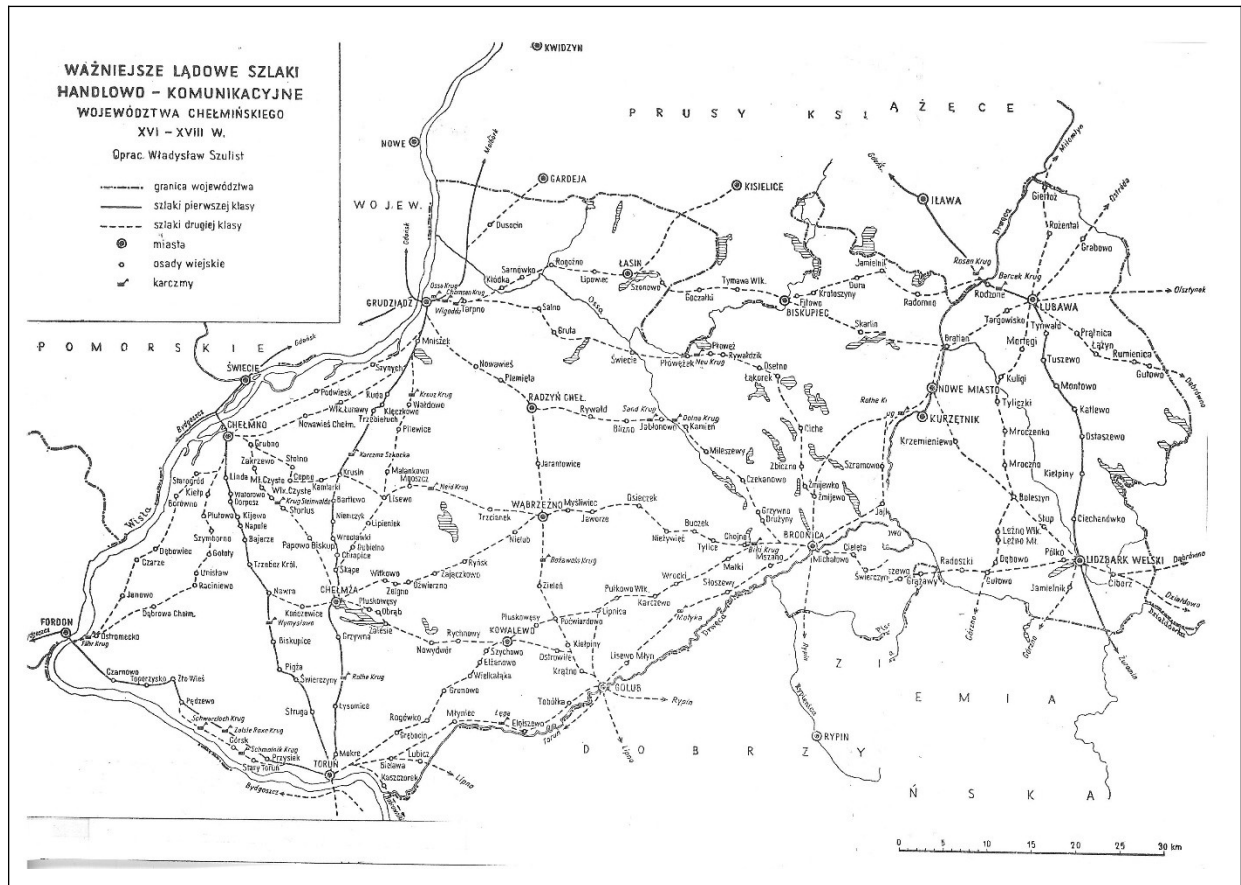
The existence of communication routes in this place is supported by such data as early medieval castles, city gates, suburbs, water network, the role of administrative power centres, including towns, customs chambers, transport on the Vistula and Drwęża rivers, bridges, seats of the oldest parishes, individual inns, folk tradition, orientation and shape of villages<sup>41</sup>.

<sup>40</sup> Bogusz Wasik; *Budownictwo zamkowe na ziemi chełmińskiej (od XIII do XV wieku)*, Toruń 2016, s. 28, Ryc. 2

<sup>41</sup> Hubert Rabant; *Historyczne i obecne szlaki komunikacyjne ziemi chełmińskiej*, maszynopis, Instytut Geografii Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, Toruń.

## Ausgewählte Landhandels- und Kommunikationswege der Region Chełmno im 16.-18. Jahrhundert

Figure 9. The most important trade and communication routes of the Chełmno region in the 16th-18th centuries.



Source: Władysław Szulist; Ważniejsze lądowe szlaki handlowo- komunikacyjne województwa chełmińskiego w XVI-XVIII W. [w:] Zapiski historyczne – tom XXXVIII – rok 1973 Zeszyt 1.<sup>42</sup>

The routes from the 16th-18th centuries shown on the map are main transit and even international roads, with heavy traffic and roads connecting the centres of administrative power, including cities with each other. In addition, there were also minor routes connecting the towns with each other and roads that were of importance only to the locality.

The onshore road network of the Chełmno Voivodeship in the 16th-18th centuries can be divided into 4 classes of roads:

- 1) Roads of an eminently transit and even international character, with great traffic intensity.
- 2) Roads connecting individual centres of administrative power, including cities, with each other.
- 3) Roads connecting individual towns and villages with each other.

<sup>42</sup> Władysław Szulist; Ważniejsze lądowe szlaki handlowo- komunikacyjne województwa chełmińskiego w XVI-XVIII W. [w:] Zapiski historyczne – tom XXXVIII – rok 1973 Zeszyt 1.

#### 4) Locally relevant roads.

Only the first and second routes will be described below. The first class includes: Toruń-Grudziądz (1), Toruń-Bydgoszcz (2), Toruń-Chełmno (3) and Ława-Lidzbark (4).

1. Toruń- Mokre- Łysomice- Grzywna- Chełmża- Skąpe- Chrapice- Wrocławki- Niemczyk- Bartlewo- Krusin- Trzebieluch- Klęczkowo- Ruda- Mniszek- Grudziądz.

The route from Toruń to Grudziądz also had a side branch between Skąpe and Mniszek via Lisewo. From Skąpe it led through Dubielno, Lipienek, Lisewo, Malankowo, Pilewice, Wałdowo Szlacheckie, to join the main road in Mniszek. Behind Wałdów Szlachecki there was an inn (Kreuzkrug). It seems that the route from Toruń through Ruda was busier than through Lisewo. The ore is mentioned several times by sources.

2. Toruń- Przysiek- Pędzewo- Zła Wieś- Toporzysko- Czarnowo- Fordon- Bydgoszcz.
3. Toruń-Struga- Świerczyny- Pigża- Biskupice- Nawra- Trzebcz- Bajerze- Napole- Kijewo- Dorposz- Watorowo- Linda- Chełmno.
4. Ława- Rodzone- Lubawa- Tynwałd- Tuszewo- Montowo- Katlewo- Ostaszewo- Kiełpiny- Ciechanówka- Lidzbark.

The following may be conventionally accepted as second-class tracts: Golub- Grudziądz (1), Brodnica- Radzyń Chełmiński (2), Chełmża- Chełmno (3), Chełmno- Bydgoszcz (4), Chełmno- Brodnica (5), Chełmża- Kowalewo (6), Toruń- Brodnica (7), Grudziądz- Brodnica (8), Grudziądz- Chełmno (9), Grudziądz- Chełmno (10), Nawra- Wąbrzeźno (11), Toruń- Brodnica (12), Brodnica- Lidzbark (13), Grudziądz- Lubawa (14), Nowe Miasto Lubawskie- Lidzbark (15), Lubawa- Górzno (16), Brodnica- Nowe Miasto Lubawskie (17), Chełmno- Bydgoszcz (18), Lubawa- Biskupiec Pomorski (19), Lubawa- Dąbrówno (20).

The hydrographic system of the Drwęca, Vistula and Osa rivers is characteristic for the Chełmno region. It was followed by a settlement network. The road network has been decisively dependent on the latter, especially in cities. This is particularly evident in the transport and bridges in the cities of Toruń, Grudziądz, Golub, Brodnica, Nowe Miasto Lubawskie, as well as in the towns of Fordon, Złotorya, Lubicz, Rodzone, Świecie nad Oą and Kłódka.

The transit road network was concentrated in the cities of Toruń, Grudziądz, Chełmno and in the eastern part of the province. The local road network was intertwined with transit roads. The local road network was mainly located in the central part of the province.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Władysław Szulist; Ważniejsze lądowe szlaki handlowo- komunikacyjne województwa chełmińskiego w XVI- XVIII W. [w:] Zapiski historyczne – tom XXXVIII – rok 1973 Zeszyt 1.

## Waterways of the Chełmno Land

### The Vistula River – the main waterway of the Chełmno region

*The Vistula River, which has been abundant in drinking water and aquatic fauna since the beginning of the last ice sheet, has been the most important communication route for the Polish lands since the last ice sheet descended. [...] Along with the retreat of the glaciation in the late glacial (the oldest Dryas, Bölling, the older Dryas, Alleröd, the younger Dryas), which was the late Palaeolithic (from about 11500 – 8300 BC), conditions appeared for the expansion of the ecumene, the shift of the human habitable zone to the north, and with this fact the importance of the Vistula as an important settlement and communication route increased. At the same time, it was a period in which the Vistula riverbed changed (e.g. in the vicinity of Warsaw), as evidenced by the research in Kissing near Otwock, indicating that these changes took place in the younger glacial. They illustrate the growing importance of the Vistula River as a factor concentrating settlements, and further facilitating the movement of human groups and the communication route, allowing for the production of various minerals (especially salt and flint). During this period, the central parts of the Vistula River became increasingly important in culture-forming processes, as well as as centres of encampments. This is particularly visible in the group of Mazovian cultures, whose original main concentration was in the vicinity of Warsaw, from where they spread to almost all of Polish, as well as beyond its borders. From Małopolska (from the Świętokrzyskie Mountains), on the other hand, excellent wax and chocolate flint was imported to Mazovia via the Vistula River for a selection of tools. Large quantities of this raw material were found in Świdry Wielkie, which further confirms the assumption that it was transported via the Vistula River. [...]*<sup>44</sup>

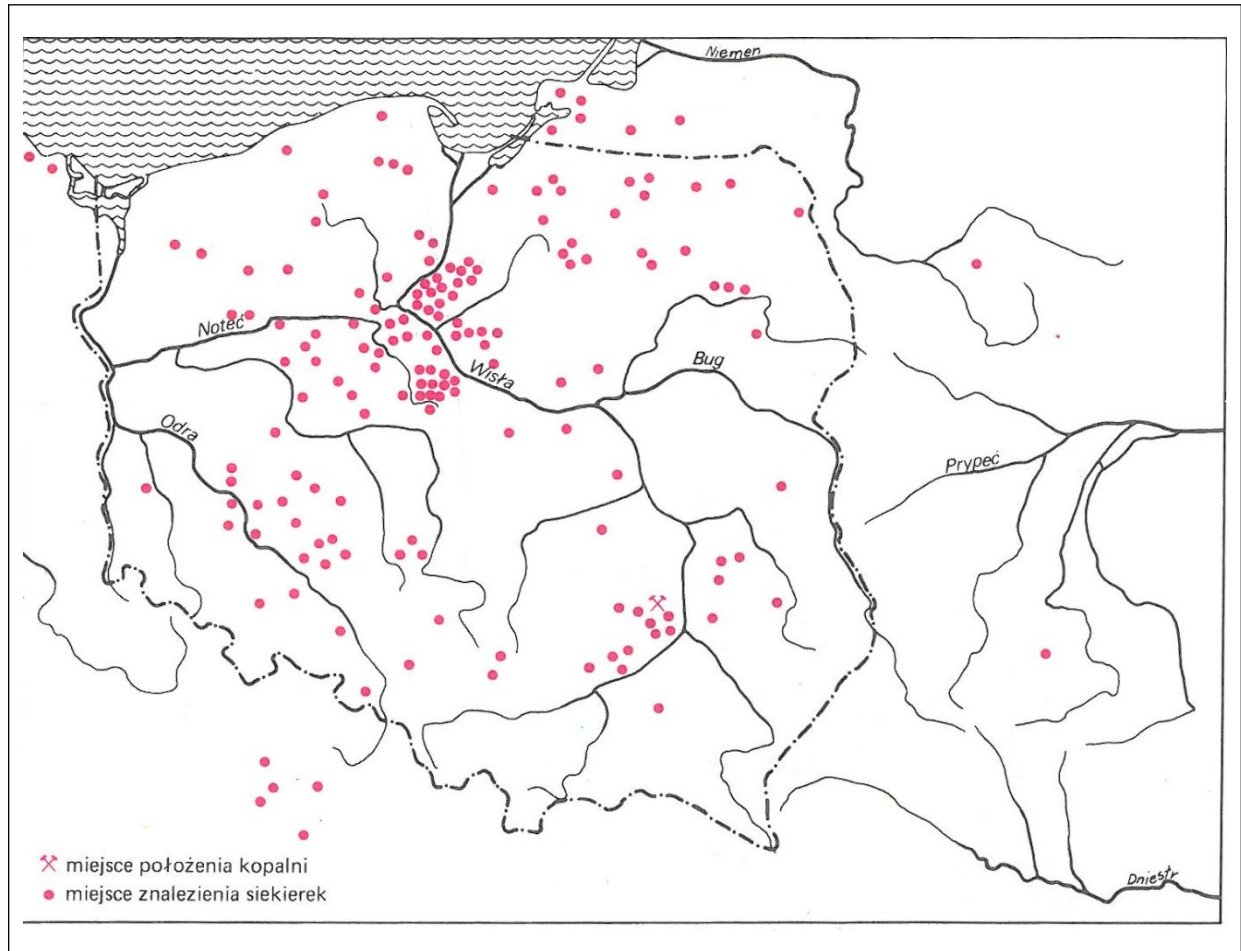
The uneven distribution of mineral resources is the reason why these raw materials were transported along the Vistula River from places of their occurrence to other places of demand throughout the Neolithic period. And so, on the Baltic Sea, east of the Vistula, there were rich deposits of amber called the "gold of the north". Amber products can be found to this day in many different habitats of Neolithic population groups from all over Polish. The Neolithic, dating back to about 4500-1800/1600 BC, is still a period of dominance of flint as a raw material for the production of many tools of work and fighting. These tools were made of good quality raw material. Its particular concentration is between Ćmielów and Zawichost, so flint of good quality was transported from this area along the Vistula River to the Chełmno region. The Vistula River played a role in the transport of copper products from the south. In the valley of the Vistula, copper foundry workshops from the Neolithic period were also found (Złota near Sandomierz and in Ćmielów near Opatów)<sup>45</sup>.

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<sup>44</sup> Witold Hensel; *Wiśła w pradziejach* [w:] *Wiśła, Monografia rzeki*, Wydawnictwa Komunikacji i Łączności, Warszawa 1982. s. 12 i 13

<sup>45</sup> Witold Hensel; *Wiśła w pradziejach* [w:] *Wiśła, Monografia rzeki*, Wydawnictwa Komunikacji i Łączności, Warszawa 1982. s. 14.

Figure 10. Spread of striped flint axes from Krzemionki near Opatów (according to B. Balcer; Świeciechowski flint in the funnel beaker culture – exploitation, processing, spread. Wrocław - Warsaw - Krakow - Gdansk 1975).



Source: Witold Hensel; Wisła w pradziejach [w:] Wisła, Monografia rzeki, Wydawnictwa Komunikacji i Łączności, Warszawa 1982.<sup>46</sup>

[...] .... The Oder zone was subject to different cultural systems (in the archaeological sense) than the Vistula zone. Within these different structures, both rivers have not lost their former importance. Thus, in the first Bronze Age (ca. 1800/1600-1400 BCE), the Vistula was an axis connecting settlements with Neolithic features, and at the same time one of the peripheral groups of the Unetice culture. At that time, the areas located mainly on the left bank of the Vistula, namely in the regions of the upper Vistula and Kuyavia, were of particular importance for settlement processes. [...]<sup>47</sup>

<sup>46</sup> Witold Hensel; Wisła w pradziejach [w:] Wisła, Monografia rzeki, Wydawnictwa Komunikacji i Łączności, Warszawa 1982. s. 15.

<sup>47</sup> Witold Hensel; Wisła w pradziejach [w:] Wisła, Monografia rzeki, Wydawnictwa Komunikacji i Łączności, Warszawa 1982. s. 15 i 16.

In the second period of the Bronze Age, the Vistula was also of great importance in the formation of the "Polish" branches of the Trzciniec culture from various southern and local elements<sup>48</sup>.

In the third period, the Lusatian culture reigned supreme in large areas of the Polish lands. From that moment on, the Lusatian culture in Poland would last for almost 1000 years (from about 1250/1200 to 300 BC). In Kuyavia and the Chełmno Land, the Kuyavian-Chełmno group is located. In the next fourth Bronze Age (ca. 1000-800 BC), along with the development of settlements, the importance and use of the Vistula increased. The Vistula River fulfilled either the functions of linking or the functions of communication of border settlements. This state of affairs continued until the older Hallstatt period and even into the younger Hallstatt period (500-400 BC)<sup>49</sup>.

The Vistula in the Hallstatt period – regardless of its function in settlement, together with its tributaries constituting the backbone of various groups – somehow lost its importance as a communication route connecting the area of Polish with the south of Europe<sup>50</sup>.

*[...] In the younger period of Hallstatt, some bronze products from the Kuyavian-Chełmno group made their way upstream. Around the middle of the first millennium B.C. The Vistula was one of the three routes of penetration of Scythian elements into Polish. [...]*<sup>51</sup>

The remnants of the Lusatian culture were still present in Kuyavia and in the Chełmno Land from 300 to 150 BC – as far as the Vistula valley is concerned.

The expansion of small groups of Celts almost reaches the Chełmno Land. At that time, there was a huge development of ferrous metallurgy in Poland. All this is of great importance in the development of the Vistula trade route in the Roman period.

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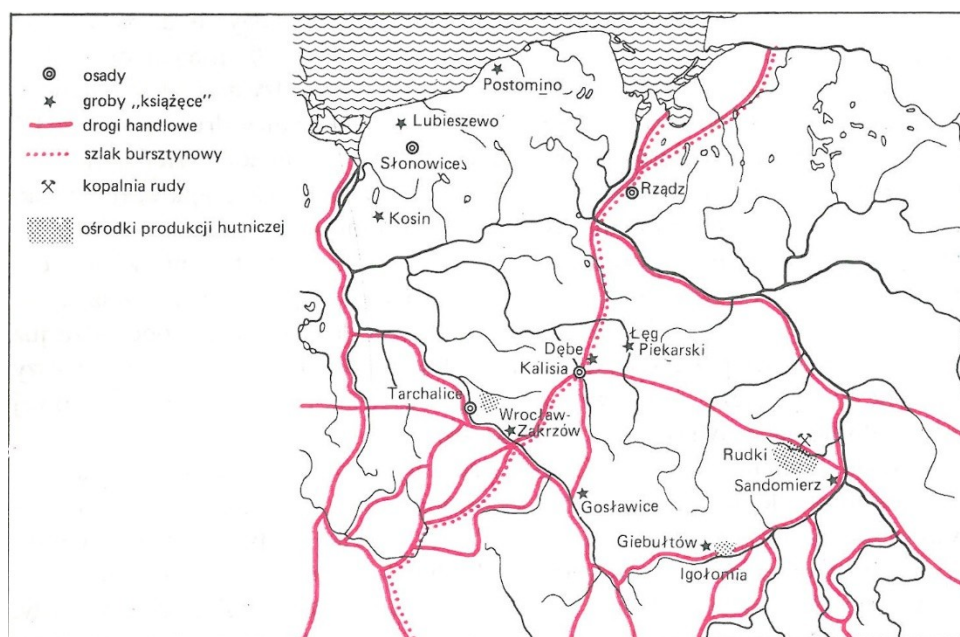
<sup>48</sup> Witold Hensel; Wisła w pradziejach [w:] Wisła, Monografia rzeki, Wydawnictwa Komunikacji i Łączności, Warszawa 1982, s. 16.

<sup>49</sup> Witold Hensel; Wisła w pradziejach [w:] Wisła, Monografia rzeki, Wydawnictwa Komunikacji i Łączności, Warszawa 1982, s. 16 i 17.

<sup>50</sup> Witold Hensel; Wisła w pradziejach [w:] Wisła, Monografia rzeki, Wydawnictwa Komunikacji i Łączności, Warszawa 1982, s. 17.

<sup>51</sup> Witold Hensel; Wisła w pradziejach [w:] Wisła, Monografia rzeki, Wydawnictwa Komunikacji i Łączności, Warszawa 1982, s. 18.

Figure 11. The main inland trade routes connecting the area of Polish with other lands in the Roman period, along with marking the locations of some production centers and princely graves.



Source: Witold Hensel; *Wisła w pradziejach* [w:] *Wisła, Monografia rzeki*, Wydawnictwa Komunikacji i Łączności, Warszawa 1982.<sup>52</sup>

*[...] Despite a rather incomplete study of sites from the very beginning of the early Middle Ages in Poland (5th/6th-7th centuries AD), the cartographic approaches to date indicate that in these centuries the regions located on the upper Vistula and Kuyavia did not lose their importance as centres of settlement. Favourable ecological conditions and the growing baby boom meant that in the following centuries the importance of the Vistula increased even more, with its first apogee occurring in the eighth and ninth centuries. [...]*<sup>53</sup>

*In written sources, the Vistula often appears as a topographical reference to events – in Gallus Anonymus. In the historiography of Master Wincenty, the Vistula has a very broad description as a Polish river. In later historiography, the Vistula even lived to see a description of natural disasters – floods. Jan Długosz devoted a lot of space to the Vistula describing the floods, but the Vistula received a description of its hydrographic network. [...] The Vistula River in the Central Pomeranian Lowlands flows through several settlement landscapes, which were connected in the 10th and 11th centuries by the province of Masovia with the state and diocesan capital in Płock. In the 11th and 12th centuries, the province reached the mouth of the Pilica River in the south, and the mouths of the Ossa and Brda rivers in the northwest. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Kuyavia with its own diocese from before the middle of the twelfth century, the Dobrzyń Land and the Chełmno Land*

<sup>52</sup> Witold Hensel; *Wisła w pradziejach* [w:] *Wisła, Monografia rzeki*, Wydawnictwa Komunikacji i Łączności, Warszawa 1982, s. 19.

<sup>53</sup> Witold Hensel; *Wisła w pradziejach* [w:] *Wisła, Monografia rzeki*, Wydawnictwa Komunikacji i Łączności, Warszawa 1982, s. 19.

were separated in it, but before that there were clearly separate lands here. [...] <sup>54</sup> In the Chełmno Land and in the surrounding lands, the population was quite dense, which was conducive to bringing the Vistula strongholds closer to each other. These were the following strongholds: Zakroczyn below the mouth of the Narew River, Wyszogród opposite the mouth of the Bzura River, then Płock and Dobrzyń, and in Kuyavia Włocławek, Przypust, Słońsk and beyond the mouth of the Brda River Wyszogród, and in the Chełmno Land Chełmno and Grudziądz. In addition, castles in the tributaries of the Vistula participated in the exchange of goods, such as Chełmża (the former name of Łoza) located on the Browina River. The role of the Vistula as a water communication route and a barrier to be crossed on permanent transport, which served local and transit traffic, is clear.

Figure 12. The Vistula River in the Middle Ages.



Source: Aleksander Gieysztor; *Wiśła w średniowieczu* [w:] *Wiśła, Monografia rzeki*, Wydawnictwa Komunikacji i Łączności, Warszawa 1982. <sup>55</sup>

<sup>54</sup> Aleksander Gieysztor; *Wiśła w średniowieczu* [w:] *Wiśła, Monografia rzeki*, Wydawnictwa Komunikacji i Łączności, Warszawa 1982, s. 21 i 22.

<sup>55</sup> Aleksander Gieysztor; *Wiśła w średniowieczu* [w:] *Wiśła, Monografia rzeki*, Wydawnictwa Komunikacji i Łączności, Warszawa 1982 s. 27.

## Drwęca – the waterway of the Chełmno Land

The oldest in Poland is considered to be the Dobrzycki Canal, dug – as it is assumed – by Prussian prisoners of war in the years 1331–34 with the consent of the Teutonic commander from Dzierzgon at the request of the inhabitants of Zalew. It connected Lake Ewingi with Jeziorak, from which the Iławka flows into the Drwęca, a tributary of the Vistula River. Grain from Zalew was sent this way to Gdańsk.

The Wel River was in the Middle Ages and is now a tributary of the Drwęca River. In the early Middle Ages, the Wel was a small river, while the Wkra, called the Great Wkra in its upper course, flowed into Cibórz, where it changed its course to the south. At the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The Teutonic Knights ordered the construction of a ditch, directing the waters of the larger Wkra into the bed of the Wel River, which became a navigable river and it was possible to deliver goods and wood to Gdańsk.

## Osa (Ossa) – a waterway of the Chełmno region

The river was already mentioned in old historical documents in 1222 as the northern border of the Chełmno land, thus being the border between the then Mazovia and Prussia. Osa was navigable, so it was probably this way to send wood to Gdańsk<sup>56</sup>.

## Waterway from Chełmża to the Vistula

Wandering, changing the place of settlement was a natural behavior of the people of earlier epochs, when tribes "wandered" from one place to another. It is not surprising that the people who had previously lived here and now became associated with the Goths have left their native lands. Archaeologists confirm that after the departure of the Goths, there were no archaeological layers in many places – for some time no one lived here in the land of Gdańsk and in the Vistula basin, and entire regions were empty. In the 5th century, the Slavs entered this empty place, occupying the entire Baltic coast as far as the Elbe. The Slavs came in carrying their culture. It is certain that they had their own boats (this is about their own boatbuilding experience).

The waterways of the Slavs are the same ones used by the people of the Lusatian and Pomeranian cultures, and later by the Goths and Gepids. However, the level of groundwater, the level of water in water reservoirs and the level of water in rivers have changed again. The surface of the earth was constantly being drained, although here in Pomerania it was still an area abounding in swamps.

Łoza, as a settlement existing on a similar principle as mentioned above, probably has the continuity of population.

There was a settlement and a haven in Łoza from time immemorial. Have merchants always had peaceful intentions – certainly not.

## Waterways of the Goths and Gepids

In earlier centuries, even in the Middle Ages, waterways were the basis for transporting people and goods.

The cemetery of the Goths in Brąchnówek, a few kilometers from Chełmża – a town located in the central point of the Chełmno land, as one of many Gothic cemeteries occurring in the Vistula basin, defines the places of settlement of the Goths, from this place, from this area, there is also the

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<sup>56</sup> Piotr Skurzyński "Warmia, Mazury, Suwalszczyzna" Wyd. Sport i Turystyka - Muza S.A. Warszawa 2004, s. 251

possibility of direct navigation along the Vistula River to the Baltic Sea and to Scandinavia. There is not the slightest doubt that the Goths and Gepids owned boats, so they used them to transport people and goods. These were stave boats with rowing propulsion (at least this is the hypothesis – to this day science does not have sufficiently reliable data). Jordanes, the author of the chronicle of the *Getica*, even speaks of the Goths' possession of ships – we do not believe it yet. The Goths were in Pomerania from the 2nd – 5th centuries.

The waterways of the Goths and Gepids are the same ones used by the people of the Lusatian and Pomeranian cultures. However, the level of groundwater, the level of water in water bodies and the level of water in rivers have changed. Generally, in Pomerania the surface of the earth was constantly being drained, although the area around Chełmża was an area with two lakes (Jez. Mielkusz and Chełmżyńskie Lake) and the area abundant in the surrounding swamps.

Locally, the Fryba and Browina rivers were great roads – already in the Middle Ages they led not only to the harbours located on the Vistula River, but also to the wider world (the Baltic Sea, the North Sea, the ocean and even further wherever the Vikings reached, as far as Iceland, Greenland, North America).

### Viking Haven in Łoza

Out of necessity, it is necessary to move the place of inquiry to the Black Sea – i.e. to where the Goths went, to where the Slavs came. It is necessary to answer the question whether the stave boats that later appear among the Slavs are the same ones that these Slavs brought with them? If anything, stave boats probably had to be built first in the coastal area, because the waves of the waters there are much higher requirements than in the inland. But also in the inland, in order to increase the carrying capacity of the boat, several staves were added to each side of the dugout.

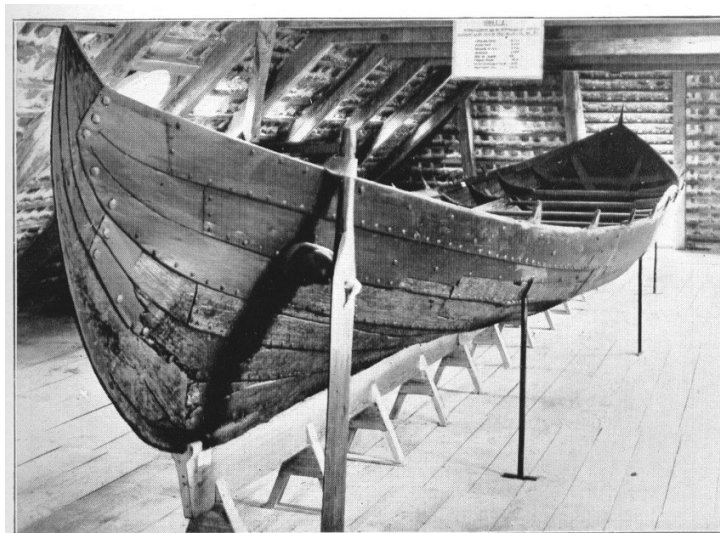


Abb. 3. Boot I von Ohra fertig ergänzt, im Landesmuseum Oliwa.

Source: Otto Lienau, *Die Bootsfunde von Danzig-Ohra aus der Wikingerzeit*, Danzig 1934, S. 9, Abb. 3.

Abb. 13. Slawisch Boat (Reproduktion einer Fotografie aus dem Buch von Otto Lienau)<sup>57</sup>.

Boat from the find from Gdansk - Orunia; presented in the study by Prof. Otto Lienau, it was shown in the 30s of the twentieth century in the conservator's workshop in Oliwa. It is a reconstruction of a Slavic boat of great prowess recognized by scientists. The construction of this boat did not require special production halls – there was enough yard and boatbuilding knowledge as well as cooperative connections, e.g. for rigging elements, rivets...

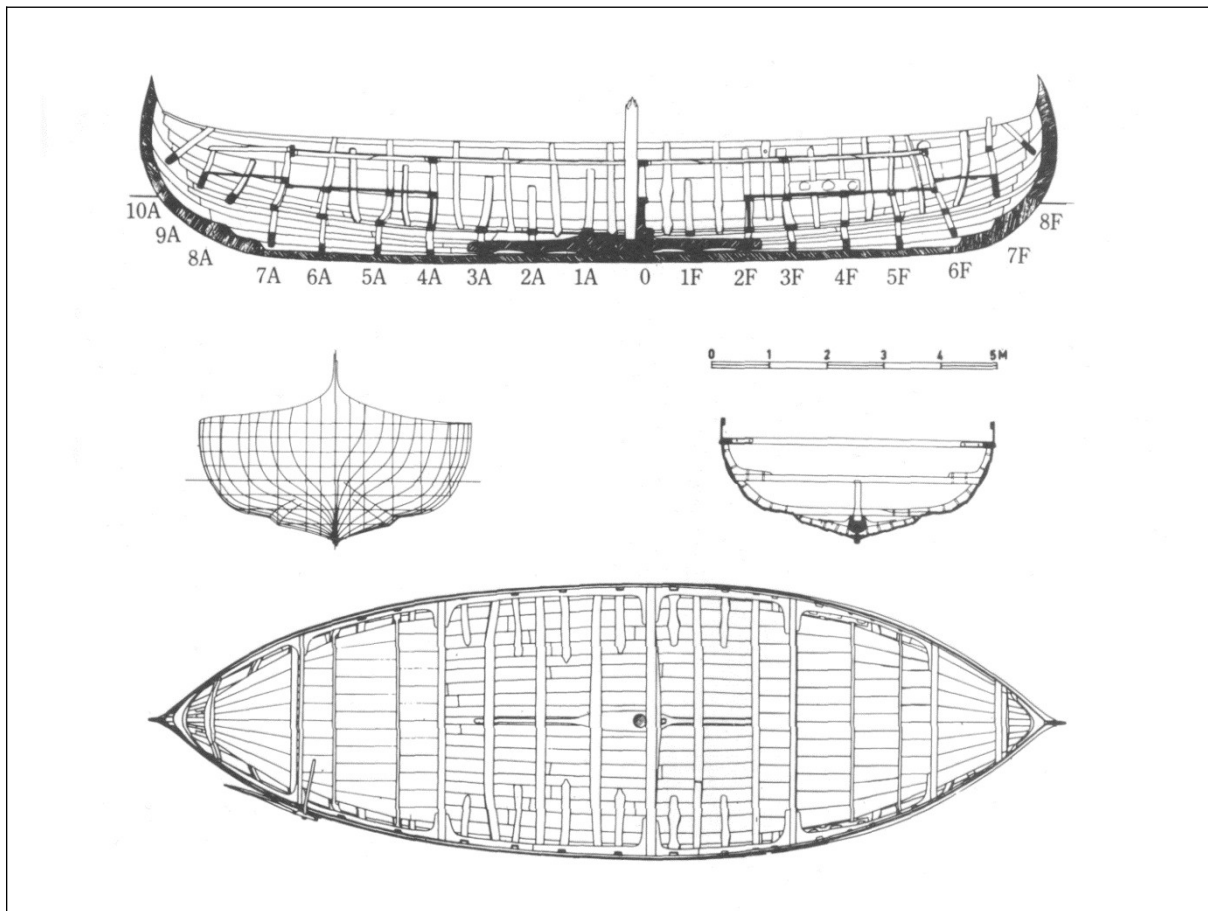
Just like among Slavic boats, there is a problem with deciding on a specific Viking boat. Only a superficial assessment does not allow us to see the differences between the boats of the Vikings and the Slavs. There are differences in the way the hull was designed, there are differences even in

<sup>57</sup> Otto Lienau, *Die Bootsfunde von Danzig-Ohra aus der Wikingerzeit*, Danzig 1934, S. 9, Abb. 3.

the shape of the hull itself, it is immediately apparent that the Vikings more often travelled long distances....

ANTON ENGLERT AND WALDEMAR OSSOWSKI are the authors describing a journey they took recently, in 2000, on a boat that was a replica of an old boat. [...] A vessel that made such a voyage must have been seaworthy enough to sail the open sea for seven days and nights, as Wulfstan had recalled. Accordingly, one of two floating reconstructions of Viking merchant ships made at Roskilde was chosen. The first is the "Roar Ege" reconstruction of the wreck of the "Skuldelev 3", a small cargo vessel from around 1040 with a capacity of 4-5 tons, and the larger "Ottar" - a reconstruction of the wreck of the "Skuldelev 1" from around 1030 [...]

Figure 14. Ottar - reconstruction of the ship Skuldelev 1, longitudinal and transverse section and top view.



Source: Anton Englert, Waldemar Ossowski; *Podróż morska Wulfstana w IX wieku. Wyniki eksperymentalnego rejsu z Hedeby do Gdańska*. [w:] *Pomorania Antiqua*, tom XX.<sup>58</sup>

## The description of the voyage is entitled: WULFSTAN'S SEA VOYAGE IN THE NINTH CENTURY

### RESULTS OF AN EXPERIMENTAL CRUISE FROM HEDEBY TO GDANSK

#### ADMISSION

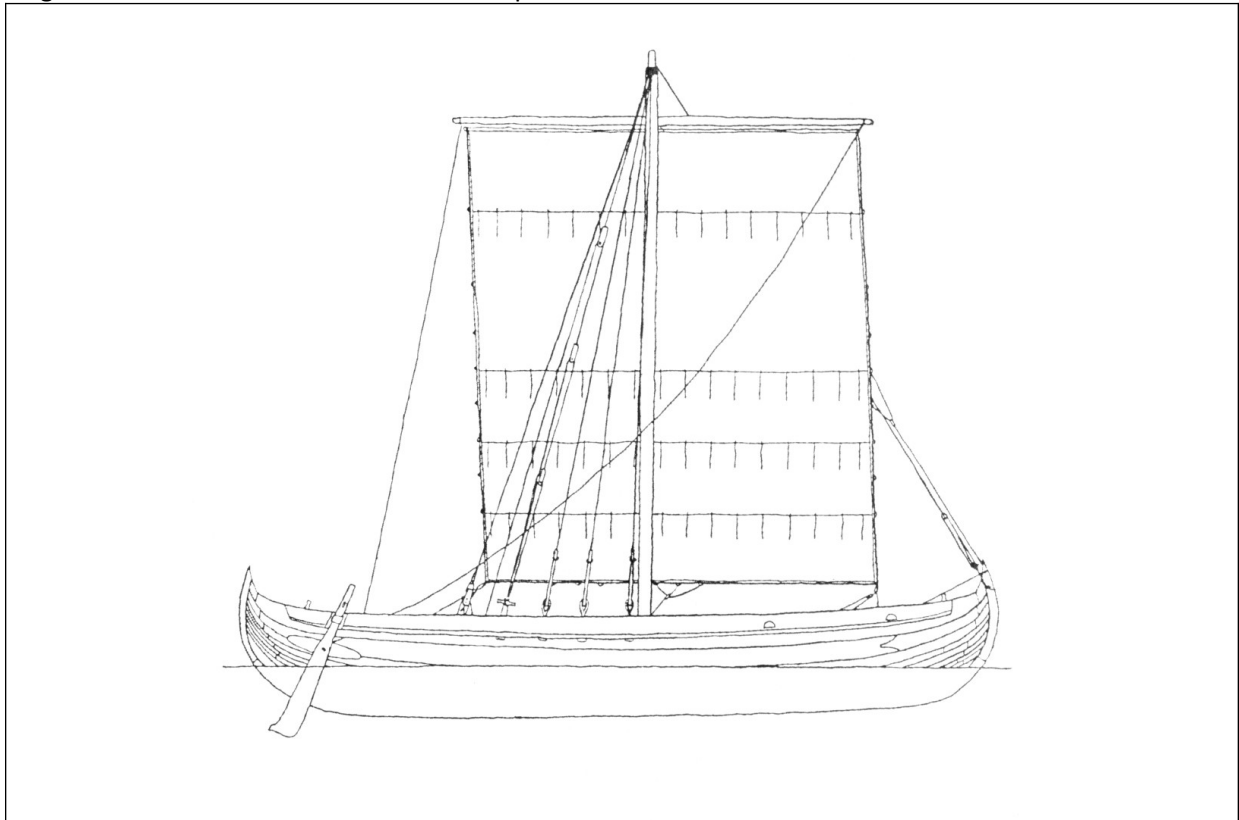
[...] Around 870-90, the Anglo-Saxon navigator Wulfstan made a sea voyage between the Danish Hedeby and Truso, located on the Prussian bank of the Vistula delta. The text of his account was included by King Alfred the Great of Wessex (872-899) in his translation of Paulus Orosius' chorography. A native of Spain, Orosius (died c. 423), writing his greatest work (c. 417 A.D.) *The Historiarum adversus paganos libri VII*. (*The Seven Books of History Against the Gentiles*), whose introduction was a brief geographical description of the then known world (the so-called

<sup>58</sup> Anton Englert, Waldemar Ossowski; *Podróż morska Wulfstana w IX wieku. Wyniki eksperymentalnego rejsu z Hedeby do Gdańska*. [w:] *Pomorania Antiqua*, tom XX. s. 312

chorography), did not include the areas north of the Danube and east of the Rhine. King Alfred the Great translated the text of Orosius into Old English, updating many passages at the same time.

To fill in the missing information, he included the accounts of two travelers: the Norwegian nobleman Ohthere, who circumnavigated the coasts of Scandinavia reaching as far as the White Sea, and Wulfstan, whose journey began in Haede (Hedeby) in Denmark (now Haithabu in Germany) and ended in Truso located at the mouth of the Vistula River. [...]<sup>59</sup>

Figure 15. Ottar- reconstruction of the ship Skuldelev 1.



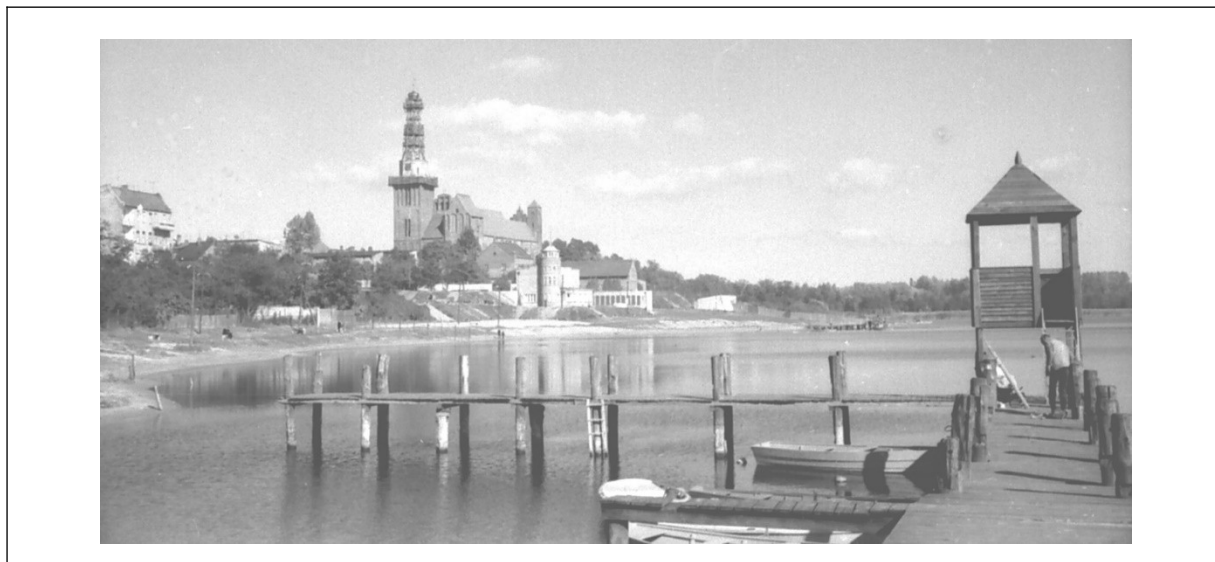
Source: Anton Englert, Waldemar Ossowski; Podróż morska Wulfstana w IX wieku. Wyniki eksperymentalnego rejsu z Hedeby do Gdańska. [w:] Pomorania Antiqua, tom XX.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>59</sup> Anton Englert, Waldemar Ossowski; PODRÓŻ MORSKA WULFSTANA W IX WIEKU, WYNIKI KSPERYMENTALNEGO REJSU Z HEDEBY DO GDAŃSKA [w:] "Pomorania Antiqua", tom XX

<sup>60</sup> Anton Englert, Waldemar Ossowski; Podróż morska Wulfstana w IX wieku. Wyniki eksperymentalnego rejsu z Hedeby do Gdańska. [w:] Pomorania Antiqua, tom XX. s. 313

The piers, which were still in the harbour in the 60s and 70s of the twentieth century, contained in their appearance and construction those from the Middle Ages. See for yourself.

Ryc. 16. Sailing and canoeing marina. 1969.



Source: photo from the archive of Władysław Goliński

Figure 17. Marina, fishing boats. 1969.



Figure 18. A marina, a fisherman on a pier. 1969.



Source: photo from the archive of Władysław Goliński

Source: photo from the archive of Władysław Goliński

## A mystery from the Viking Age?

The Vikings left "their representatives" in certain places of their choice, on the principle of leaving their trading posts. These people who were left behind had the task of gathering the goods purchased on the spot so that when the boats arrived from their home country, they could spend as little time as possible unloading and loading the goods.

Therefore, the place on Sądowa Street, on the western side, by the lake, can be selected for such a warehouse, a warehouse at the marina. At that time, people were also traded, the market in Hedeby (then Denmark, now Germany) was the largest, most famous place of human trafficking in northern Europe. The Romans knew this very well, because slave traders also came there to Hedeby to buy slaves to work in the huge Roman latifundia.

Apart from the Norwegians, it was certainly the Danes who also came to Łoza.

The population of this "trading post" necessarily formed a separate ethnic and cultural group, they formed an "aristocratic clan". She didn't associate with the local community on a daily basis. Then, when suddenly everything changed, when the world collapsed on their heads, boats from their lands stopped coming – it was the Teutonic Knights, their presence here did not foresee the presence of any fleet from Scandinavia; The Scandinavians posed a mortal threat to the existence of the Teutonic Knights. Probably after agreements among themselves, these poor people, cut off from their homeland, decided to "close" themselves in their circle – it was decided that marriages of young people would be possible only from members of their own community, which was after all a small family. Such a close relationship is necessarily lethal to the health of the children being born, mainly it is fatal to mental health.

Barbara Kuna in the article "Relaxation by the sea"; [in:] *Gazeta Chełmińska*, No. 170, April, describes the stay of a group of sick children, residents of Chełmża, at the seaside, in Dziwnów. They were also allowed to make a trip to Wolin – this city also in the Viking Age had similar warehouses as the one described in Chełmża, but the history for the Wolinians – Vikings was kinder than for the inhabitants of Chełm – Vikings, Wolin had a better geographical location for social integration than Chełmża.

## Local tradition

There is no doubt that the local tradition is an excellent historical source. It is passed down from generation to generation within the same local community.<sup>61</sup> The place where the tradition was passed on were the history lessons of the primary school in Chełmża. The content was the information that Łoza, or Chełmża, was located on an island (which is consistent with historical geography) and that there was a prison here, which, thanks to its location, fulfilled its function better. Such a place of this prison is once a built-up area adjacent to the buildings of the marina (today's "Włóknarz" club), on Sądowa Street. Were the slaves held there before they were transported to Denmark or somewhere else?

## The last boats on the Chełmża-Wisła waterway

It is not known which boat was the last one to travel this way. The reason for the cessation of navigation on the Browina River was, without a doubt, the low water level, too low to think about navigation. In addition, the boats of the Slavs and the boats of the Vikings had a shallow draught – we do not yet know what kind of boats the Teutonic Knights had at their disposal in Chełmża (this

<sup>61</sup> Stanisław Mielczarski; *Wokół miejsca śmierci świętego Wojciecha*, [w:] *Święty Wojciech w tradycji i kulturze europejskiej*, Gniezno 1992, str. 155.

knowledge is to change after the scientific work undertaken in the museum of old boats in Chełmża planned to be created).

The Teutonic Knights always built castles in strategic places, garrisoned the castle with their crew, and only then did further fights for new territories take place. This strategy gave very good results and allowed small forces to join new territories all the time without losing old gains<sup>62</sup>. On the land road adjacent to the waterway to Chełmno, the Teutonic Knights built a castle, the ruins of this castle can be visited to this day, they have survived. Auxiliary boats had to be used to guard the waterway.

### Ruins of the Teutonic Knights' castle in Papowo Biskupie – 1965.

Figure 19. Ruins of the Teutonic Knights' castle in Papowo Biskupie. 1965.



Source: photo from the archive of Władysław Goliński

Ryc. 20. Ruins of the Teutonic Knights' castle in Papowo Biskupie. 1965.



Source: photo from the archive of Władysław Goliński

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<sup>62</sup> Labuda Gerard; Wielkie Pomorze w dziejach Polski; Poznań 1947.

## Defensive settlement of Loza, Łoza, Slavs and the church of St. Nicholas in Chełmża

The Rise of a Defensive Settlement in the Bronze Age

### The beginnings of spatial planning in the Lusatian culture

From about 700 BC, the presence of the Lusatian population in the lands of Polish began to be marked – in today's language – in the field of spatial planning. From that time on, instead of amorphous agglomerations of small settlements, settlement complexes were created, consisting of a fortified settlement with an area of about 1-5 ha (in Loza, i.e. today's Chełmża there was about 5 ha), densely built-up, and small permanent settlements, located around it with a radius of about 10-15 km. According to some, the idea of such ensembles was born in Bohemia and North Moravia; in any case, these bands gradually spread in our country from the basin of the upper Oder. Around the middle of the first millennium B.C., the area of their occurrence reached the vicinity of the Dunajec, Nida, Prosno and Gopło Lake<sup>63</sup>.

### Establishment of the Lusatian culture stronghold – Loza

On the basis of the description of the construction of the hillfort in Biskupin, I will try to outline the creation of the defensive settlement in Loza. The name Loza can be used in relation to the resulting present-day settlement Chełmża<sup>64</sup>, It is likely that the name was created at that time – around 700 BC. After all, the creation of a defensive settlement is shown by the sparse archaeological evidence of the existence of a settlement, here on Chełmżyńskie Lake. I have already discussed the local settlement of the Lusatian culture in the study entitled *Dzieje ziemi chełmińskiej*<sup>65</sup>.

The names Loza and Łoza were explained in the Geographical Dictionary of the Kingdom of Poland and Other Slavic Countries under the entry Łoza: [...] 2.) Łoza, or more precisely Loza, was once the name of a fairly large lake near the town of Chełmża, Toruń district, from which the settlement itself took the name of Łoza in the earliest times; Lake Loza is mentioned in documents in the thirteenth century. Nowadays it is usually called: Chełmżyńskie Lake. Moved by Chełmża. [...] <sup>66</sup>

The hillfort was erected on an island surrounding the lakes Mielkusz and Chełmżyńskie. It cannot be ruled out that the newly arrived people had to somehow come to an agreement about the "right" to the place of settlement with the people of the Neolithic cultures who had previously occupied this naturally defensive island – at that time the water level in the lakes was a few or even a dozen meters higher than today.

From the south and south-east, the island was surrounded by a breakwater – often a circle of several thousand piles driven obliquely into the bottom of the lake and a rampart about 2.5 m wide and about 3-4 m high, consisting of three rows of bottomless chests, filled with earth,

<sup>63</sup> Wiktor Krassowski; *Dzieje budownictwa i architektury na ziemiach Polski*, tom I, Warszawa 1989, s. 23

<sup>64</sup> Władysław Goliński; *Nazwy: Chełmno, Chełmża, Łoza*, maszynopis, Ustka 2022, s. 2-6.

<https://biblioteka.ustka.pl/images/stories/literatura/golinski/art16c.pdf>

<sup>65</sup> Władysław Goliński; *Dzieje ziemi chełmińskiej*, maszynopis, Ustka 2023, Rozdz. I, s. 35 i dalsze,

<https://biblioteka.ustka.pl/images/stories/literatura/golinski/art58b.pdf>

<sup>66</sup> *Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego i innych krajów słowiańskich*, Tom V, Szlurpkiszki – Wartynka, Warszawa 1892, s. 763

supported from the inside by poles spaced relatively sparsely. The walls of the boxes were made of logs arranged horizontally and mutually hooked with appropriate cut-outs, and covered with clay from the outside. From the north and north-west, where there was no direct access to the lake, a rampart was driven at the base of the embankment and the rampart itself was about 3 m wide at the base and about 5-6 m high. The construction of the dam embankment was similar to that on the south side. I assume that the northern street along the embankments is today's Szewska Street and marks the northern border of the settlement. The interior of the hillfort was accessible through a gate, to which a bridge of about 150 m led from the shore of Lake Mielkusz (similar to the one in Biskupin). The structure of the bridge consisted of piles on which cross beams were mounted, supporting the platform.

From the inside of the rampart, a wood-paved road ran around the entire estate, and at the gate there was a square measuring about 25 x 25 m. The circular street connected the outlets of parallel streets (about 3 m wide). Unfortunately, it is not possible to determine the exact date of the establishment of the defensive (or even open) settlement in Loza due to the scarcity of traces, which proves not the poverty of construction in this period, but the low advancement of the research carried out so far. The later defensive walls are on the same plan as the earlier ramparts.

The alleged construction of the Lodge castle on the basis of the construction of Biskupin. Thanks to the research of archaeologists, we know that the hillfort near Biskupin was erected very quickly; We also know the order of work. First, the island was levelled and the poles were dug in, protecting them from subsidence; Then the roads and floors were laid, and only at the end were the walls built. The construction of this castle was not spontaneous or spontaneous, but was made according to some well-thought-out project. The building material was, of course, wood.

Figure 21. Reconstruction of the Lusatian culture stronghold in Biskupin.



Source: Photograph taken by: Ludek, Wikimedia Commons

[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Biskupin\\_brama\\_od\\_zewnatrz.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Biskupin_brama_od_zewnatrz.jpg)

## Traces of the former castle of Loza

There is a certain trace recorded in the entry Chełmża in the Geographical Dictionary of the Kingdom of Poland and Other Slavic Countries. Below is an excerpt from Chełmża:

*[...] Chełmża, Germ. Culmsee, Kulmsee, also called in some manuscripts Chełmżyca or Łoża, small town in the district of Toruń, on the beaten track between Chełmno and Toruń, more than a mile from Chełmno, 3 miles from Toruń; it is located on the peninsula of the great lake, stretching more than a mile from Chełmża to Zalesie. Nearby, on the other northern side, there is another lake near Bielczyny, called Mielkusz; there is a tradition among the people that St. Jutta, whenever she had to shorten her way to Chełmża, went straight across the lake and nothing harmed her; people also say that the church has collapsed over Mielkusz, and fishermen, planting their nets for fish, will often hook its towers. In this naturally defensive place there had long existed a fortified town, called Loza, which the pagan Prussians were tempted to conquer, and often suffered a severe defeat. The first Christians, as the old church visitations write, remembered the times of Mieczysław here..... [...]*<sup>67</sup>

I believe that Blessed Jutta<sup>68</sup> walked on a sunken bridge dating from the period of the Lodge of the Lusatian culture. Even in the early modern period, fishermen fishing in Mielkusz with nets would hook on the protruding remains of the bridge. Dendrochronological testing of wood will determine exactly when the tree was cut down for the construction of the bridge.

Today, it is necessary to look for the remains of the bridge in this swamp left by Lake Mielkusz. From my memory I have drawn a somewhat blurred fact and I am sure that I saw the

<sup>67</sup> Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego i innych krajów słowiańskich, Tom I, Szlurpiskizki – Warłyńka, Warszawa 1892, s. 569.

<sup>68</sup> Błogosławiona Jutta, Jutta z Chełmży, Jutta z Bielczyn, Jutta, Jutta von Sangerhausen, ur. ok. 1220 w Sangerhausen, zm. 12 maja 1260 w Bielczynach k. Chełmży – niemiecka arystokratka, błogosławiona kościoła katolickiego, mistyczka i pustelnica. Mogła mieszkać w pustelni, a nie być pustelnicą w całym tego słowa znaczeniu.- Wikipedia. [https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jutta\\_z\\_Che%C5%82m%C5%BCy](https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jutta_z_Che%C5%82m%C5%BCy)

remaining parts of the piles driven into the bottom of Lake Mielkusz during an expedition with my friends on a piskor in 1962.

### Local communication of the fortified settlement Loza<sup>69</sup>

Already in the Bronze Age there was probably an overland route, which locally ran: ... - Grodno (defensive settlement) - Loza (defensive settlement) -Gzin (defensive settlement) - Kaldus (i.e. its defensive settlement from the Bronze Age) -... In these considerations, it does not matter whether the existence of a defensive or an open settlement is assumed in Łoza. However, there was only one road leading to the castle itself, which was a lead from the main route.

The fact that there are settlements on the islands is sufficient to assume the existence of water transport as well. Boats were commonly used, for example, by beekeepers to transport honey....

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<sup>69</sup> Władysław Goliński; Szlaki lądowe i wodne ziemi chełmińskiej na przestrzeni wieków, Ustka 2020.  
<https://biblioteka.ustka.pl/images/stories/literatura/golinski/art43.pdf>

## The twilight of Lusatian culture

The defensive settlement in Biskupin did not exist for long, it was finally destroyed and abandoned by the people of the Lusatian culture around 450 BC<sup>70</sup>. In the 6th-5th centuries B.C., the Lusatian culture came to an end. There were many reasons for this. The main ones may have been climate change. There was an increase in the annual amount of precipitation, causing a rise in the water level in rivers and lakes, and thus the destruction of crops and sediments located low, as well as the swamping of black soils, forcing the shifting of crops to light sandy soils. However, in the case of the location of the settlement of Loza, located on a hill, the rise of the water level would not cause much damage, because the fields near the settlement were also located high and would not suffer from heavy rainfall. Again, the lack of archaeological research does not allow us to answer the question of whether the population of the Lusatian culture left their defensive settlement of Loza. I assume that she did not leave the settlement she had built earlier, but such a hypothesis is contrary to the results of scientific research (or rather the lack of any meaningful research in the area of Chełmża), although it is difficult to believe that the Lodge was deserted.

According to some, the Lusatian culture formed the ground on which the culture of the Polish lands developed until the establishment of the Polish state. The greatest wealth of the region is the preserved at least partially ancient language – the Chełmno dialect, I am fully convinced of the indigenous, probably few words of the dialect coming from the language of the people of the Lusatian culture, the people who also live in Loza. If the language survived, so did the descendants of the Lusatian culture.<sup>71</sup>

## Alter Friedhof in Chełmża

In the historical tradition of Chełmża the name "Old Cemetery" has survived. In settlements of both defensive and open Lusatian cultures, Pomeranian cultures and cloche graves, cemeteries were located in the immediate vicinity of inhabited settlements. I think that such a multicultural cemetery is the old cemetery located at Chełmińska Street, where in the Middle Ages the church of St. George stood.

If this is indeed the case, as far as the age of the cemetery is concerned, then the ground has certainly preserved relics of the past, such as potsherds of old pottery. There is no need for any special archaeological research to be carried out in this cemetery at present, it is enough for archaeologists to sift through the soil at the graves that are currently being dug up again.

Archaeological research at the cemetery should confirm or deny the contribution of the population of the settlement in Loza to the population of the Lusatian and Pomeranian cultures. And so: [...] Over the course of about 350-400 years, the Pomeranian culture occupied the areas from Pomerania in the north to the Carpathians and Subcarpathia and the Polish and Ukrainian Uplands in the south. However, it is uncertain whether this is only due to cultural changes and/or migrations of people of various scales... [...]<sup>72</sup>

However, according to scientists, the matter of the occurrence of the customs of the Pomeranian culture is not as simple as it seems. [...] However, this "Pomeranian" continuation of the

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<sup>70</sup> Witold Krassowski; *Architektura drewniana w Polsce*, Warszawa 1961, s. 6.

<sup>71</sup> Władysław Goliński; *Nazwy: Chełmno, Chełmża, Łoza, maszynopis*, Ustka 2022;  
<https://biblioteka.ustka.pl/images/stories/literatura/golinski/art16c.pdf>

<sup>72</sup> Jarosław Lewczuk; *Przyczyny przemian kulturowych- nie tylko we wczesnej epoce żelaza*, [w:] *Między kulturą łużycką a kulturą pomorską. Przemiany kulturowe we wczesnej epoce żelaza*, Gdańsk 2010, s. 34.

use of previously inhabited landscape zones was not a simple replacement of one structure with another. Some of the above-mentioned dating of several defensive settlements (e.g. Kamieniec or Kałdus) and the fact that there are sources of a Lusatian-Pomeranian character at individual sites clearly show the existence of such temporary settlement enclaves in the final phases of the early Iron Age. If we assume that both a group of open and defensive settlements functioned in a broader social context (along with the cremation necropolises used), it seems that there could have been some kind of coexistence of the late Lusatian and Pomeranian communities. This view is further confirmed by the repeatedly revealed co-occurrence of mixed features on vascular ceramics sediments.... [...] <sup>73</sup>

However, there is such a possibility when it comes to surviving with their customs the people of the Lusatian culture. [...] The local group of people of the Lusatian culture, most likely a part of a larger whole at the beginning of the Iron Age (the so-called Lusatian culture on the Oder), may have lasted until the end of the period. Its assumed uninterrupted existence could have applied to both a certain part of the defensive and open settlements, as well as the mostly small cremation necropolises accompanying them. [...] <sup>74</sup>

### Cemeteries of the Lusatian culture

Figure 22. An ashtray from the cemetery of the Lusatian culture.



Source: Photograph taken by Dariusz Cierpiąła in 2006 in the open-air museum in Częstochowa.

[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Cz%C4%99stochowa\\_Skansen\\_03.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Cz%C4%99stochowa_Skansen_03.jpg)

Urns are currently found in cemeteries of the Lusatian culture, which were located next to the settlements of the people of this culture, the ashtrays found are now covered with earth – probably originally they were left on the surface of the ground. In the ashtrays there is the rest of the funeral pyre – a uniform form of cremation burial for this culture – in ashtrays of various shapes depending on the place of occurrence.

<sup>73</sup> Jacek Gackowski; „Pomorska” modyfikacja grupy chełmińskiej kultury łużyckiej. Refleksje nad lokalnym modelem przemian na przełomie epoki brązu i żelaza, [w:] Między kulturą łużycką a kulturą pomorską. Przemiany kulturowe we wczesnej epoce żelaza, Gdańsk 2010, s.163.

<sup>74</sup> Jacek Gackowski; „Pomorska” modyfikacja grupy chełmińskiej kultury łużyckiej. Refleksje nad lokalnym modelem przemian na przełomie epoki brązu i żelaza, [w:] Między kulturą łużycką a kulturą pomorską. Przemiany kulturowe we wczesnej epoce żelaza, Gdańsk 2010, s.164.

## **The settlement (Łoza) of Łoza in the period from the 4th century BC to the 4th century AD.**

In the 6th century B.C., the population of the Pomeranian culture began its "migration" from the Baltic Sea to the south, as far as the Bóbr River, undoubtedly there was a merger of the populations of both cultures and thus the distinguishing features characteristic of the Pomeranian culture as the dominant one. The closest cemeteries of the Pomeranian culture in the area were in Zalesie and Brąchnówek. I think that the community of the Lodge maintained the wood and earth ramparts, which continued to effectively defend the population in the settlement. For example, around 500 BCE, the Iranian nomadic shepherds, the Scythians, reached the Moravian Gate from the Black Sea and, having crossed it, plundered the areas along the Oder River, as well as Sieradz and eastern Greater Poland in the fifth century BC. Perhaps they even reached the land of Chełmno.

### **The Chełmno Land at the Turn of the Bronze and Iron Ages according to Tadeusz Malinowski**

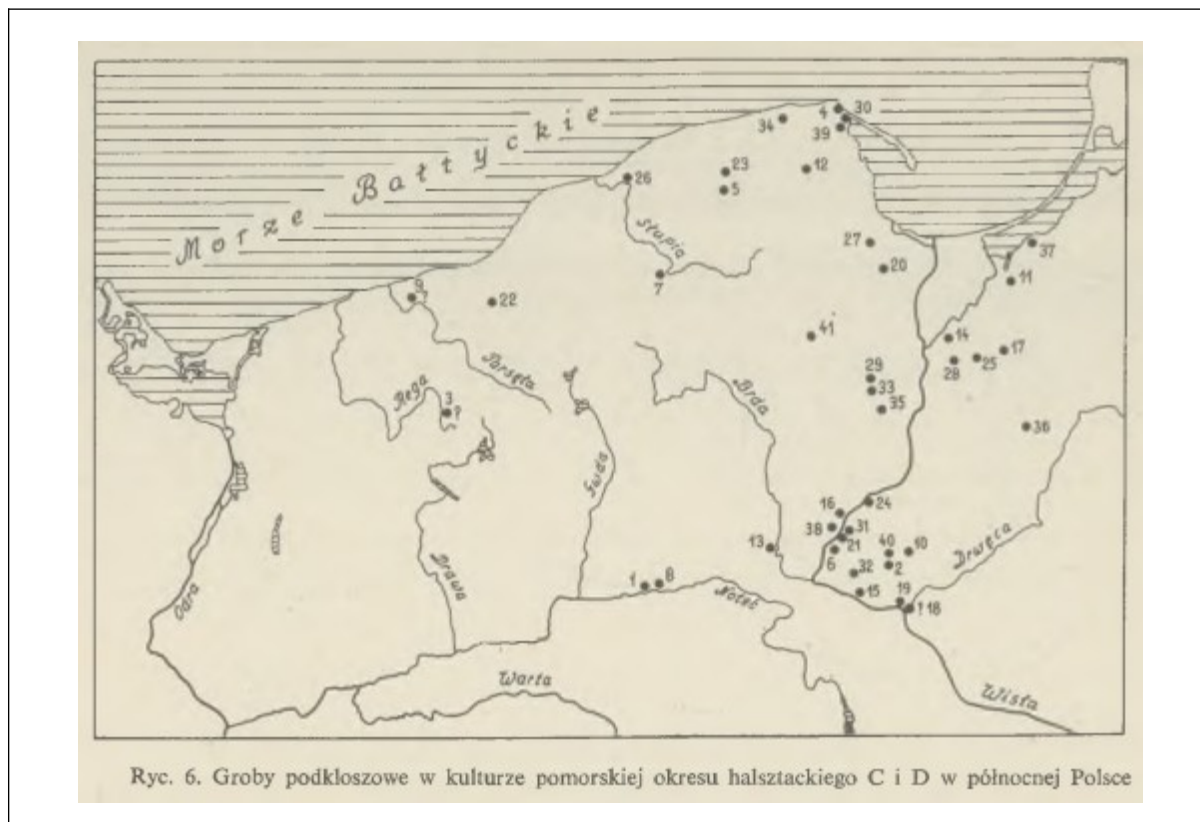
Archaeological excavations from the period when defensive settlements were commonly abandoned (around the 4th century BC) by the people of the Lusatian culture, are carried out almost exclusively in cemeteries (the exception here is the settlement in Biskupin, which has survived as ruins to this day). Łoza probably has remains of a bridge from the settlement of the Lusatian culture, confirming the origin of the settlement, it would be useful to work in the very old town of Chełmża – after all, excavations can be carried out in the places of crumbling tenement houses of the old Chełmża.

The cemeteries of the Lusatian culture looked different from those of the Pomeranian culture. In the case of the settlement in Łoza (Łoza is the Slavic name of the settlement), there was a complete leveling (civilizational changes) of the cemeteries of the Lusatian and Pomeranian cultures.

A unique position is occupied by cloche graves. We know them from Brąchnówek in the district of Toruń, Czarza in the district of Chełmno, Dźwierzno, Gostków, Górsko and Kamieniec in the district of Toruń, Kokock, Nowe Dóbr and Różnów in the district of Chełmno, Rzęczków and Zalesie in the district of Toruń, a total of eleven sites. In this type of burial, the ashtray with the bones is covered with a clay lampshade in the shape of a large vase, about 50 cm high. This type was exceptionally present in the Younger Bronze Age in the Lusatian culture, as it was found in Kaszczorek and Rogów in the district of Toruń. The lampshades of the Hallstatt period are therefore a remnant of the Lusatian culture of the 4th and 5th Bronze Ages. This is also underlined by the fact that cloche graves of the Hallstatt period occur only in the counties of Toruń and Chełmno, where these forms already existed at the end of the Bronze Age. However, in Hallstatt, there is an innovation, previously unknown. Namely, in addition to lampshades standing freely in the ground, there are also lampshades surrounded with stone slabs, as we saw in Gostków and Brąchnówek in the district of Toruń. In this way, the Lusatian cloche graves adapted to the box graves by taking over the boxes from them. In the ashtrays covered with a lampshade there are Sorbian elements, which change under the influence of the Pomeranian culture. There is another difference between box graves and cloche graves. The first ones are always collective, they contain ashtrays with the remains

of several, even a dozen or so individuals or one family or one lineage. The cloches, on the other hand, always cover only the urn with the bones of one person, as was the case in the Lusatian culture.

Figure 23. Under-cloche graves in the Pomeranian culture of the Hallstatt period C and D in northern Poland.<sup>75</sup>



Source: Tadeusz Malinowski; On the Genesis of Face Ashtrays and Under-Cloche Graves in Pomeranian Culture, *Przegląd Archeologiczny* Vol. 28: 1981, pp. 211-218 PL ISSN 0079-7138.

1. Białosłowie, gm., woj. Piła 2. Brąchnówko, gm. Chełmża, woj. Toruń 3. Bronowo, gm. Połczyn-Zdrój, woj. Koszalin (kultura łużycka?) 4. Chłapowo, gm. Władysławowo, woj. Gdańsk 5. Chocieľewko, gm. Nowa Wieś Lęborska, woj. Słupsk 6. Czarze, gm. Dąbrowa Chełmińska, woj. Bydgoszcz 7. Darskowo, gm. Kołczygłowy, woj. Słupsk 8. Dębówko Nowe, gm. Białosłowie, woj. Piła 9. Dygowo, gm., woj. Koszalin 10. Dźwierzno, gm. Chełmża, woj. Toruń 11. Elbląg 12. Gościcino, gm. Wejherowo, woj. Gdańsk 13. Gościeradz, gm. Koronowo, woj. Bydgoszcz 14. Gościszewo, gm. Sztum, woj. Elbląg 15. Górsk, gm. Zławieś Wielka, woj. Toruń 16. Gruczno, gm. Świecie, woj. Bydgoszcz 17. Jezioro, gm. Dzierżoń, woj. Elbląg 18. Kaszczorek, gm. Lubicz, woj. Toruń 19. „ „ „ „ „ „ (kultura łużycka?) 20. Kleszczewko, gm. Pszczółki, woj. Gdańsk 21. Kokocko, gm. Unisław, woj. Toruń 22. Konikowo, gm. Świeszyno, woj. Koszalin 23. Niebędzino, gm. Nowa Wieś Lęborska, woj. Słupsk 24. Nowe Dobra, gm. Chełmno, woj. Toruń 25. Nowy Targ, gm. Stary Targ, woj. Elbląg 26. Osieki Słupskie, gm. Ustka, woj. Słupsk 27. Opatów, gm. Kolbudy Górne, woj. Gdańsk 28. Parowy, gm. Sztum, woj. Elbląg 29. Pączewo, gm. Skórcz, woj. Gdańsk 30. Poczernino, m. Władysławowo, woj. Gdańsk 31. Różnowo, gm. Unisław, woj. Toruń 32. Rzęczkowo, gm. Zławieś Wielka, woj. Toruń 33. Skórcz, gm., woj. Gdańsk 34. Słuchowo, gm. Krokowa, woj. Gdańsk 35. Stara Jania, gm. Smętowo Graniczne, woj. Gdańsk 36. Starzykowo Małe, gm. Iława, woj. Olsztyn 37. Tolkmicko, gm., woj. Elbląg 38. Topolno, gm. Pruszcz, woj. Bydgoszcz 39. Wielka Wieś-Swarzewo, gm. Puck, woj. Gdańsk 40. Zalesie, gm. Chełmża, woj. Toruń 41. Zamek Kiszewski, gm. Stara Kiszewa, woj. Gdańsk.

<sup>75</sup> Tadeusz Malinowski; W sprawie genezy popielnic twarzowych i grobów podkloszowych w Kulturze pomorskiej, *Przegląd Archeologiczny* Vol. 28: 1981, pp. 211-218 PL ISSN 0079-7138.

The Iron Age in the Chełmno Land (700 BC to 1250 CE)<sup>76</sup>

Iron production was discovered at the latest from the production of metals in antiquity. The technology of production came to south-eastern Europe around 1200 BC. This late mastery of iron production is explained by the technological difficulties of smelting, it is about obtaining the necessary temperature (above 1000°C) for the metal to melt from its ore. In smelters (metallurgical furnaces) semi-liquid metal was obtained and its purification from inclusions took place by forging. That is why forges were located next to the slag pits.

The first, early period (650-400 BC) is named after the great Hallstatt cemetery in Austria. During this period, the Chełmno Land still has its settlements (open and defensive) of the Lusatian culture. The largest settlement discovered so far is the defensive settlement in Gzin. Similar settlements are in Kamieniec (near Toruń) and Kałdus (near Chełmno). Traces of a settlement from this period have also been discovered in Chełmża, but it is not certain that it was a defensive settlement based on these research results.<sup>77</sup>

During the Hallstatt period, the Chełmno region was under the influence of another group of people from the north – the people of the East Pomeranian culture. The people of the East Pomeranian culture buried their dead in the so-called box graves (see the drawings attached to the report from the cemetery in Brąchnówek near Chełmża). So far, no settlements of the East Pomeranian culture have been found in the Chełmno region. Box graves are known, m.in, from Chełmno, Borówno, Czarż, Grzybno, Kałdus, Trzebcz, Łunawa, Kłęczkowo, Brąchnówko, Zalesie and others. The graves of the East Pomeranian culture were found in the same place as the Lusatian culture, so it seems that the expansion of the Pomeranian culture was peaceful.<sup>78</sup> However, the question remains: why is the population of the Lusatian culture building a fortified settlement in Gzin?

The mutual influence of the Lusatian and East Pomeranian cultures created a new image of material culture. This takes place as early as the second period of the Iron Age (400 BC to the beginning of our era), in the Latén period. In the Chełmno region, the Latén period is marked by cemeteries with cloche graves, by many researchers this period is referred to as the dominance of the culture of cloche or cloche graves. Only the cemeteries from Kokock, Różnów, Wabcz, Nowe Dobra, Czarż and Brąchnówek are known from this period. The people of this culture were probably engaged in agriculture and livestock<sup>79</sup>. The final time of the Latén period (125 BC to the beginning of our era) is called the Venetian period (named after the Venetians mentioned in the sources of Greek and Roman writers). At that time, pit burials were resumed.

The Celts had an influence on the cultural changes in the Latén period. The Celts came to Silesia and Lesser Poland in the third century BC. Then the population reached Kuyavia and the Chełmno land. The Celts spread the production of iron that they had already possessed<sup>80</sup>.

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<sup>76</sup> Władysław Goliński; *Dzieje ziemi chełmińskiej*, Rozdział 2, maszynopis, Ustka 2022, s. 3-5, <https://biblioteka.ustka.pl/images/stories/literatura/golinski/25ab.pdf>

<sup>77</sup> Czarciński Ireneusz, *Początki osadnictwa na ziemi chełmińskiej*, [w:] *Dzieje Chełmży*, 1994, s. 30

<sup>78</sup> Z. Bukowski, *Wschodni zasięg form kloszowych i pomorskich*. *Archeologia Polski*, t 12: 1967, s. 389-390, *Uwagi na temat zbieżności pomiędzy kierunkami rozwoju niektórych form obrządku pogrzebowego ludności kultury łużyckiej* [w:] *Munera*, *Archeologia Polski*, t. 12: 1967, s. 369-370.

<sup>79</sup> Grześkowiak Jan, *Najdawniejsze dzieje Chełmna i jego okolicy*, [w:] *Dzieje Chełmna*, 1987, s. 51

<sup>80</sup> Grześkowiak Jan, *Wczesnośredniowieczny Włocławek w świetle badań archeologicznych z lat 1957-1961* [w:] *Ziemia Kujawska, Inowrocław-Włocławek* 1963 s. 52, 53

However, the indigenous population of the Chełmno region did not surrender to the Celts, because little ethnic changes were noted. The intensity of settlement of the Venetian culture was maintained until the end of the Laten period and throughout the entire period of Roman influence (the Roman period is counted from 0 to 400 AD). Thanks to the research in Podwiesko, Chełmno, Nowe Dobra, Rządź and other places, the picture of the epoch was presented quite accurately<sup>81</sup>.

At the end of the Laten period, internal and long-distance trade developed strongly in the Chełmno land. Traces of contacts are found in Roman coins found in Uście, Lisewo, Chełmno, Nowa Wieś Chełmińska, Falęcin, Gołoty. Other finds confirming long-distance contacts include glass beads, pendants, bowls, jugs, buckets, etc. Social differentiation undergoes changes during this period, and this can be seen in the different furnishings of the graves. Typical grave furnishings include, in addition to pottery, ornaments such as fibulae, decorative belt buckles, glass beads, rings, and more. The grave furnishings also include military items<sup>82</sup>.

There is no ready-made explanation for the settlement void that occurred in the fifth and sixth centuries. If there have been migrations, why so rapid? In principle, there are no traces of migration. However, the continuity of settlement must have existed, since already in the 7th century a settlement of the "proto-Polish" population in Kałdus can be noted<sup>83</sup>.

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<sup>81</sup> Janikowski J., *Międzyrzecze Wisły, Drwęcy i Osy w okresach: późnolateńskim i wpływów rzymskich*, Toruń 1976 (maszynopis), s. 46.

<sup>82</sup> Grześkowiak Jan, *Najdawniejsze dzieje Chełmna i jego okolicy*, [w:] *Dzieje Chełmna*, 1987, s. 56

<sup>83</sup> Grześkowiak Jan, *op. cit.*, s. 57

## A multicultural cemetery near Chełmża in Brąchnówek. Burials of the local population of the Pomeranian culture and the culture of cloche graves.

Figure 24. Box grave.

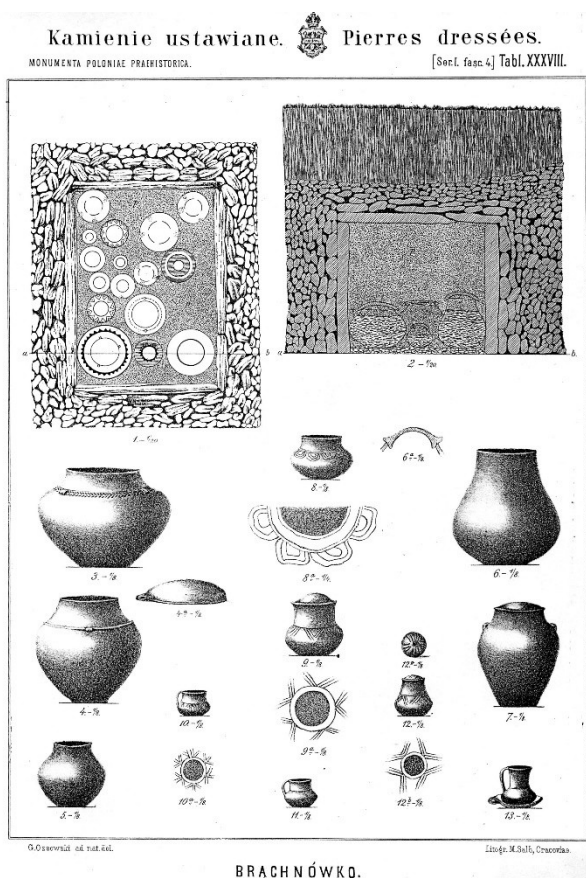
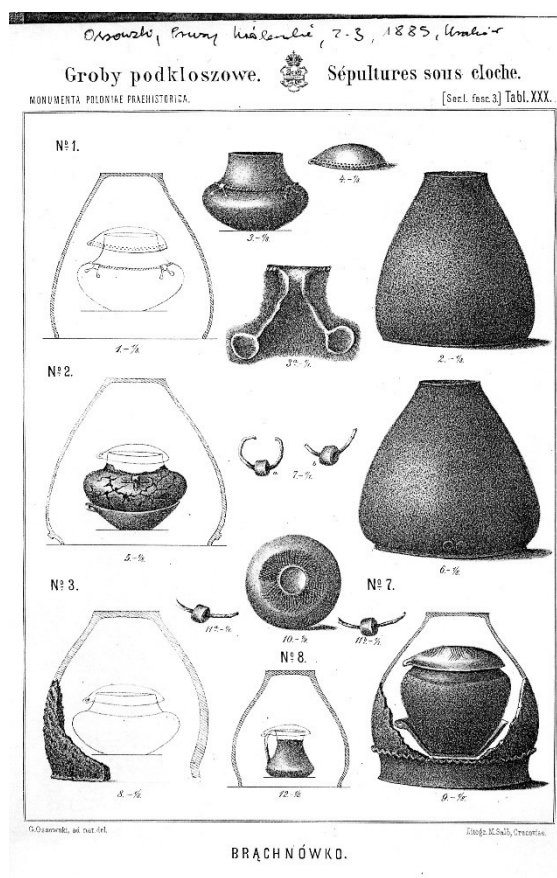


Figure 25. Under-cloak graves.



Source: G. Ossowski, Royal Prussia z. 4, 1888, Kraków. Archaeological report of Godfryd Ossowski from the multicultural cemetery in Brąchnówek located near Chełmża on the Fryba River.<sup>84</sup>

## The twilight of the Pomeranian culture and the culture of cloche graves

On the other hand, the decline of the Pomeranian culture and cloche graves may have come quite late. [...] The process of disappearance of the population groups building box and cloche graves could generally have coincided with the older pre-Roman period, when in some box burials appear Kowalowice fibulae (Unistaw) or iron paddle pins of Jastrów provenance (Nawra). It would be the proper end of the local Lusatian-Pomeranian complex, as a fragment of a certain whole, undergoing a gradual erosion of civilization, after which Central Europe entered a completely different stage of its history. [...]<sup>85</sup>

### Contemporary "Old Cemetery" in Chełmża

<sup>84</sup> Władysław Goliński; Dzieje ziemi chełmińskiej, Rozdz. 2, maszynopis, Ustka 2022, s. 22.

<https://biblioteka.ustka.pl/images/stories/literatura/golinski/25ab.pdf> p. 22

<sup>85</sup> Jacek Gackowski; „Pomorska” modyfikacja grupy chełmińskiej kultury łużyckiej. Refleksje nad lokalnym modelem przemian na przełomie epoki brązu i żelaza, [w:] Między kulturą łużycką a kulturą pomorską. Przemiany kulturowe we wczesnej epoce żelaza, Gdańsk 2010, s.164.

Figure 26. "Old Cemetery" in Chełmża – contemporary look. Beginning of summer 2007.



Source: Photograph taken by Maria Golińska.

The Gothic episode in the Middle Roman period in Pomerania (traces of the temporary stay of the Goths in the vicinity of the Loza)

### Goths and Gepids and their road marked by "stone circles" and roads-rivers.<sup>86</sup>

Today there are many people who can name at least a few cemeteries of the Goths, commonly called stone circles. This is due to the propagation of the cause of their occurrence throughout Pomerania. The reason for the creation of these cemeteries was the "passage" of the Goths, a people originating from Scandinavia, the destination of their migration was the Roman Empire. This land (today's Scandinavia), which is the edge of the world, was called by various names. Some called it Thule, others Scantinia, Scandia, or it was referred to as "Mount Saevo". Today, it is difficult to say exactly what these names denoted in the geographical sense<sup>87</sup>. The existence of these difficulties does not mean that the people living in this area are a cultural backwater of Europe. The Goths, after their migration started in the first century A.D. from the area of today's southern Sweden through Pomerania, with the help and often also fighting against other peoples, caused such great displacements of peoples that many scholars call this period the period of migration of peoples, and the Middle Ages counts from the attack of the Huns on the Byzantine Empire.

<sup>86</sup> Władysław Goliński; *Dzieje ziemi chełmińskiej*, Rozdział 2, maszynopis, Ustka 2022, s. 9.

<https://biblioteka.ustka.pl/images/stories/literatura/golinski/25ab.pdf> p. 9

<sup>87</sup> Leciejewicz Lech; *Normanowie*; Wrocław\*Warszawa\*Kraków\*Gdańsk 2015, s. 3, ze wstępu do książki.

Today, the Fryba River is a watercourse, but at the time of the settlement of the people of the Pomeranian culture, the culture of the cloche graves and the temporary settlement of the Goths and Gepids in Brąchnówek, the Fryba was quite a large river. Its size is evidenced by the carved gorges that are still visible today. Rivers in the Iron Age and Roman influence were the basis of communication, they were used to transport goods and people. The rivers Fryba and Browina lead to the Vistula River and that is why Brąchnówko used to be not located off the beaten track at all, but was on the main road.<sup>88</sup>

G. Ossowski, an archaeologist conducting research in the 19th century, was very well acquainted with the under-cloche graves of the Pomeranian culture, or rather its later "transformation" separated from the Pomeranian culture. Only the Pomeranian culture has this type of burial. Barrows can be found as early as in the Międzyzycze culture. But circles of stone, or stones so arranged as to show the shape of a boat?

G. Ossowski was a precursor of the discovery of cemeteries of the Wielbark culture (the term Wielbark culture was coined only in the 20th century). The Goths and Gepids, advancing along the Vistula River, created cemeteries to the south, where also (in these cemeteries) tingi (folk meetings) were held, during the tings courts were held (the cemetery, the close presence of ancestors adds solemnity to such activities). The farther away from Gotland, the cemeteries look less and less like those on Gotland. The period of time the Goths spent in a given place is also important. It is also an obvious influence of the current environment, as the Gothic tribes absorbed the indigenous population. In the Chełmno land, however, no connection between the indigenous population and the Goths was found, while the disappearance of cemeteries in the 5th and 6th centuries was found. The Goths, after reaching the gates of the Byzantine Empire, soon adopted Christianity as their religion.<sup>89</sup>

## Where did the Goths come from?

In the first century C.E. Pliny, called the Elder, in his encyclopedic treatise *Natural History* (*Naturalis historia*) recorded information about the voyage of discovery of the Greek merchant Pytheas of Massalia (today's Marseilles). The aim of the expedition was to reach the country of amber by sea – Pytheas travelled around 330 BC. According to Prof. Jerzy Strzelczyk, there is no doubt that Pliny had in front of him an authentic "logbook" of Pytheas - a treatise on the Ocean, which has not been preserved (to the great detriment of science) to our times. At this point we are interested in only one fragment of Pliny's work (Book XXXVII, c. 35):

"Pytheas says that the Germanic people of Guiones live on a shallow shore of the ocean called Metuonis, which is 6,000 furlongs [i.e., about 1,100 km] long. A day's sail away is the island of Abalus, on whose shores amber is washed up by the hardened sea in spring. The inhabitants [of the island] use it instead of wood for fire, and also sell it to their neighbors the Teutons."

One thing can be believed about the chronicle of Jordanes (written six centuries after the actual events) – the Goths came from the north and occupied the southern shore of the Baltic, and finally the Gepids arrived. The largest occurrence of cemeteries of Goths and Gepids is in Kashubia.

Figure 27. A fragment of the plan of the multicultural cemetery in Brąchnówek. Stone

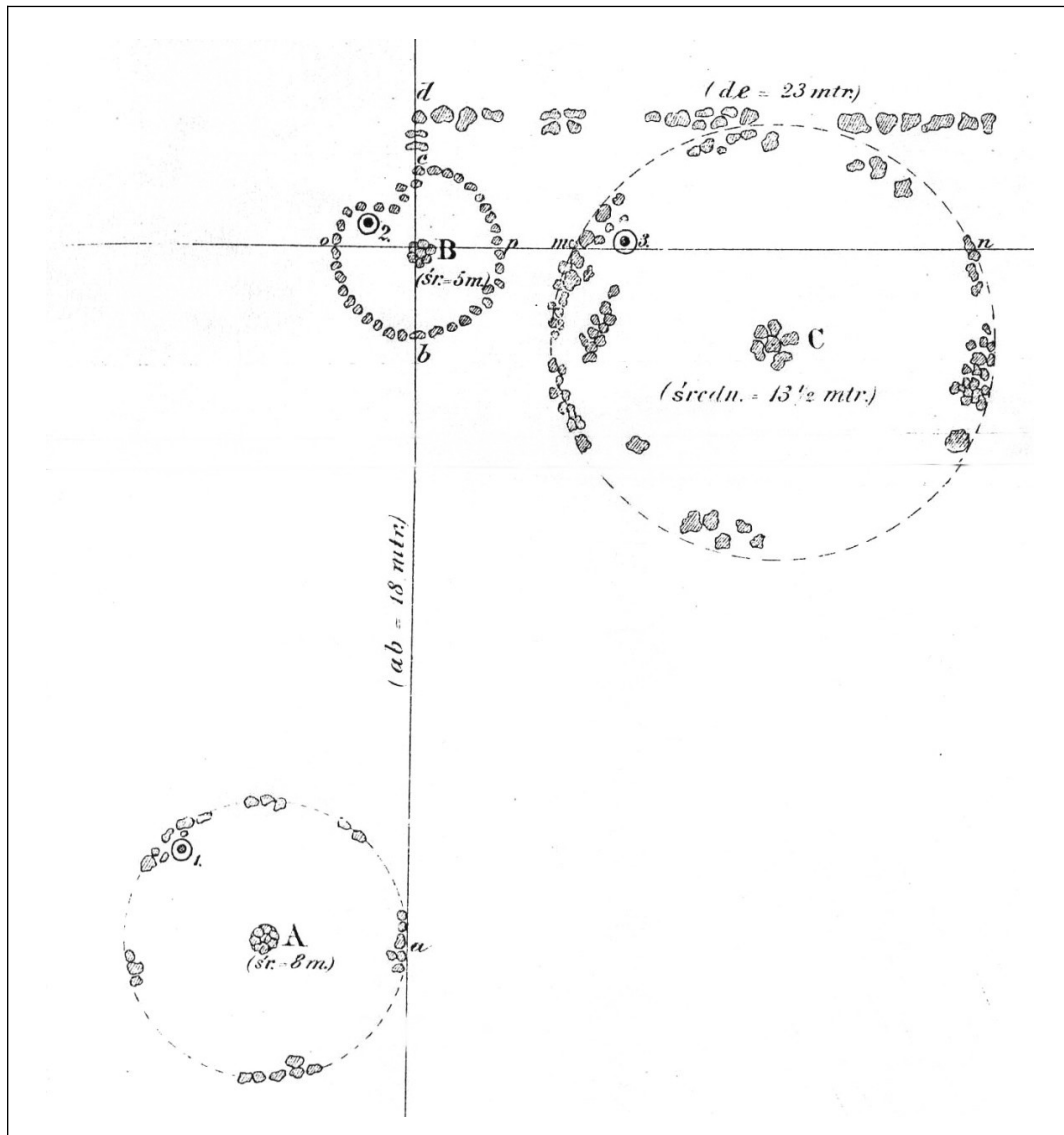
<sup>88</sup> Władysław Goliński; *Dzieje ziemi chełmińskiej*, Rozdział 2, maszynopis, Ustka 2022, s. 22.

<https://biblioteka.ustka.pl/images/stories/literatura/golinski/25ab.pdf>

<sup>89</sup> Władysław Goliński; *Dzieje ziemi chełmińskiej*, Rozdział 2, maszynopis, Ustka 2022, s. 44.

<https://biblioteka.ustka.pl/images/stories/literatura/golinski/25ab.pdf>

## Circles.



Source: G. Ossowski, Royal Prussia z. 4, 1888, Kraków. Archaeological report of Godfryd Ossowski from the multicultural cemetery in Brąchnówek located near Chełmża on the Fryba River.<sup>90</sup>

It is impossible to expect that the people living in these lands and being at home (e.g. the people of the Pomeranian culture) would allow themselves to take away the territory necessary for life without a fight. Archaeologists occasionally record battlefields, the local population often preserved information about the battlefield in legends. Oral tradition, however, placed it during the Thirteen Years' War or spoke of Swedish origin. In fact, these were battlefields from the period of the invasion of the Goths and Gepids.

<sup>90</sup> Władysław Goliński; Dzieje ziemi chełmińskiej, Rozdz. 2, maszynopis, Ustka 2022, s. 42.  
<https://biblioteka.ustka.pl/images/stories/literatura/golinski/25ab.pdf>

## Cemeteries of the Goths and Gepids – Wielbark culture

Cemeteries of the Goths and Gepids can be found all over Pomerania. Archaeologist Andrzej Kokowski devoted himself to research and caused a significant increase in archaeological sources. Below is a list of archaeological sites according to Kokowski: Babi Dol-Borc, Belno, Biała, Błędowo, Bytów, Dąbrowa, Dębina, Dorotowo, Grodno, Grzybnica, Kłoda, Krępsk, Lutom, Łomnica, Mnich, Odry, Osowo, Pawłówek, Podgórze, Seefeld, Starzyska, Świerczyna, Węsiory, Zelgniewo, Bad Meat. The cemeteries of the Wielbark culture allow us to learn about the funeral rite of this culture, but they also tell us about the places where people moved during their migration.

Figure 28. The central stone circle and burial mounds of the cemetery in Węsiory.

Fot. Wł. Goliński.



Source: Władysław Goliński Archive

Figure 29. Cemetery of the Goths in Odry, stone circles - large dimensions of the circles.

Fot. Wł. Goliński



Source: Władysław Goliński Archive

## Departure of the Goths to their new homes – to the Black Sea

Wandering, changing the place of settlement was a natural behavior of the people of earlier epochs, when tribes "wandered" from one place to another. On the other hand, this particular movement of the Gothic tribes has the character of a carefully thought-out and planned action – the goal was well known. That destination was the Byzantine Empire, from which gold coins reached Scandinavia, either through trade or the pay received from the enlistment and service of young Germans in the imperial army.

A few centuries later, around the year 965, Ibrahim ibn Jacob, a slave trader, writes in his travelogue notes:

"Meško is bordered by Rūs to the east and Burūs to the north. The seats of the Burūs [are] on the Ocean [Baltic]. They have a separate language [and] they do not know the languages of their neighbors. They are famous for their bravery. When an army comes upon them, none of them hesitates to be joined by his comrade, but stands out without looking at anyone, and slashes with his sword until he is killed. They are crossed by the Rūs on ships from the west. To the west of Burūs [lies] the City of Women. It has lands and slaves, and they [i.e., women] get pregnant by their slaves. If a woman gives birth to a boy, she kills him. They ride horses and take part in war personally, and they are distinguished by strength and severity. Said Ibrahim the son of Jacob the Israelite, "The report of this city [is] true; Hōtto [Otto I], king of the Romans, told me about it. To the west of this city there is a tribe belonging to the Slavs, called the Weltāba people. [He lives] in the forests belonging to the lands of Meško [or: ... in the forests of the lands of Meško] [on this side], which is close to the west and part of the north. They have a mighty city on the Ocean [the Baltic], with

twelve gates. It has a harbour for which they use halved trunks [?]. They are at war with Meško, and their fighting power [is] great. They have no king and are not led by one [ruler], and the rulers among them are their elders.<sup>91</sup>

I want to pay attention to the information obtained from Emperor Otto I regarding the City of Women. It seems that Otto I had good news, albeit a rather fairy-tale description of the city and its laws.

[...] "... Jordanes also mentions the Goths' encounter with huge swamps, in which many of them died, and which forced them to stop for a while and even retreat for rest. Taking into account the first variant of the route, this obstacle could only be the vast Polesie marshes, and the area to which they withdrew — Mazovia. The country, at that time comparatively peaceful, abounding in game and fish, was well suited for a temporary halt, especially since the surrounding swamps and forests provided security. It was also at that time, as suggested by a long-time researcher of Mazovia, Andrzej Kempisty "The Goths decided to leave women, children, and old people in this friendly land, unable to bear the hardships of the journey. Only a band of male warriors set out for the south, and with little to lose, they bravely faced their enemies and made their way to the "promised land" all the more courageously. Soon they reached the provinces of the Black Sea empire, and the devastation they wreaked there terrified even the citizens of Rome, as Roman writers expressed in their chronicles.

But let's go back to Mazovia. The hypothesis put forward by A. Kempiste is very probable, all the more so because it is supported by the results of archaeological research. In the 3rd-4th centuries CE, i.e. at the time when we observe the greatest activity of the Goths in the north-eastern provinces of the Roman Empire, a culture known to archaeologists as the Eastern Mazovian group of the Gothic-Gepid culture flourished in Mazovia. I have already mentioned a few characteristic features of this culture, pointing out its affinity with the area of Gdańsk Pomerania inhabited in the 1st-2nd century AD by the Goths and Gepids. It is worth adding, however, that the aforementioned cemeteries, where only women were buried, have one more important feature. Most of them have been in use for a long time, often reaching two centuries. For two hundred years people were buried in the same place! How difficult it is to point to a cemetery that has functioned for so long in our times. In those times of rapid migrations and displacements of peoples, this fact is unambiguous: the people who inhabited Mazovia in the 2nd-4th centuries CE achieved a high level of stability there, and their settlement was not temporary.

.....

Mazovian burial mounds from the 3rd-4th centuries AD also confirm a strange regularity observed already in cemeteries, where almost exclusively women are buried.

It is time, therefore, to gather all these scattered, though eloquent facts into one thought and to pose the question: do not the predominance of women's graves, the archaeological traces of the stay of the Goths in Mazovia in the times when they undoubtedly stayed on the Black Sea, and the mysterious references of medieval chroniclers about the country of women stretching between the land of Polans, Ruthenia and Prussia speak for this? that in the 3rd-4th centuries CE there was a state in the area of eastern Mazovia organized and ruled by Gothic women?

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<sup>91</sup> Ibrahim ibn Jakub (Tadeusz Kowalski); *Relacja Ibrahima Ibn Jakuba z podróży do krajów słowiańskich w przekazie al.-Bekriego*, Kraków 1946

If this is the case, and our reasoning is correct, let us now try to retrace the course of events from the moment of our journey south, now free of women, Gothic warriors.

Probably, leaving their wives in Mazovia, they intended to take them away from there as soon as possible, so that they could live with them in the happy land to which they were just going. However, the luck that favored them in their military expeditions meant that for almost two centuries they did not find peace, fighting and robbing with increasing zeal. The warriors living in this atmosphere, who left their wives in Mazovia, postponed the moment of bringing their women further and further into the future, which they were effectively persuaded to do by beautiful captives and slaves captured in the Roman provinces.

Meanwhile, the women left behind in Mazovia, taking care of their safety and prosperity, created a small state, in which the most important among them began to rule. They, too, were buried after their deaths in the "princely sepulchres" of which we have spoken. This women's state, established at the end of the second century C.E., did not live in absolute emptiness, but, as archaeological evidence testifies, it maintained lively contacts with the surrounding Slavic tribes, acquiring from them many skills in the field of construction, making clay vessels and farming. Gothic women probably also established closer contacts with local men, but they lived with them in concubinage, without formalizing these relationships. They were prevented from doing so by the pride of their Germanic descent and the fear of punishment that their lawful husbands were ready to inflict on them if they returned at any moment. For these reasons, none of the deceased lovers were buried in the family cemetery, and their bodies were probably transported outside the borders of the women's state. The threat of revenge for marital infidelity was very real for many long years. Although the Goths did not take their wives to the south, they maintained constant and lively contact with them. As archaeologists and anthropologists have shown, there were routes frequented and controlled by the Goths at that time leading to the shores of the Baltic Sea and even to their ancient homeland, Scandinavia.

In the graves of the Mazovian women's cemeteries, products from the craft workshops of the Black Sea provinces of Rome have been found many times." [...] <sup>92</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> Zdzisław Skrok; *Na tropach archeologicznych tajemnic Mazowsza*, Warszawa 1980, s. 55-58.

## Mentions of Slavic boats in the early Middle Ages and the development of boat construction among Pomeranian Slavs

### Introduction to the chapter References to Slavic boats in the early Middle Ages and the development of boat construction among the Pomeranian Slavs

I approached this study with the belief that I would be able to face the issue of the ancient description in the sources with the actual appearance and construction of boats used by the Slavs in the period of populating the areas of today's Polish, from the end of the VI and the entire VII century. I have noted down all the fragments I could find contained in the ancient descriptions (PAN; THE INSTITUTE OF SLAVIC STUDIES was published by Alina Brzóstkowska and Wincenty Swoboda; TESTIMONIA OF THE EARLIEST HISTORY OF THE SLAVS, GREEK SERIES) and to these descriptions I have preserved the footnotes contained therein, which are available in translation into Polish. In the footnotes there are opinions about the boats used by the Slavs in the times before they decided to set off, I think, with their boats to the West of Europe, among others, to the areas of today's Polish. The skill of building boats and their use were therefore not alien to various Slavic tribes, although it must be admitted that monoecious boats (canoes) were known to many peoples in antiquity.

Other tribes also sailed on monoecious boats in the Black Sea basin, e.g. the Goths, who basically already had the ability to build stave boats at that time. This "technological leap backwards" can only be explained by the construction technology that was not available on the way – the migration of the Goths from Scandinavia to the Black Sea. To build stave boats, the Goths needed steel rivets or at least construction tools such as steel drills, and finally the building material – suitable wood, preferably oak. In fact, to build a boat from a single trunk, you needed a blow, a chisel, an axe and a hammer (?), i.e. tools commonly available at that time.

In order to travel from the vicinity of today's Kiev to today's Mazovia, it was not necessary to have specially sophisticated equipment for transporting people and their basic tools to run a farm. The road was also known. If they set off from Kiev, then after loading their belongings onto the monoxyl, they had to go first up the Dnieper to the mouth of the Pripjat and up the river to the mouth of its tributary – the Mukhavets, through which it was necessary to get to the Bug.

Sailing on the inland by boat has the advantage that you don't need to know the roads, you can cross the swampy areas painlessly, but the problems start when you have to settle by the sea. And here you need to have equipment that is more difficult to build, e.g. for fishing. Boats need to have higher seaworthiness. To meet this set of requirements, only experience allows, in a word, you need to have the right knowledge to meet the requirements of the sea.

In terms of design, the development of boats on the inland is different and it is also different by the sea.

PRISKOS OF PANION; HISTORY, [in:] TESTIMONIA OF THE EARLIEST HISTORY OF THE SLAVS, GREEK SERIES, vol. 2, writers from the V-X centuries.

p. 12

[...] After getting out of the inaccessible area, we found ourselves on a plain, all wooded.<sup>93</sup> There we were received by barbarian ferrymen on single-trunk boats,<sup>94</sup> which they do themselves by cutting down and hollowing out the tree. They carried us across the river, not because they were waiting for us, but because they were carrying a multitude of barbarians whom we met on the way, and who, like Attila, wanted to go to the territory of the Romai for their booty. After crossing the Danube and passing 70 stadia with the barbarians<sup>95</sup> we were obliged to wait on a plain until envoys from Edekon's entourage informed Attila of our arrival.

p. 13

... From there we set off along a level road leading across the plain and came to navigable rivers, the largest of which, after the Danube, were the rivers called Drekon, Tigas, and Tifesas. We crossed them on one-drawn boats, which are used by those who live by the rivers, and through others we sailed on rafts, which barbarians carry through the swampy areas on carts.....

MIRACLES OF ST. DMITRI, [in:] TESTIMONIA OF THE EARLIEST HISTORY OF THE SLAVS, GREEK SERIES, vol. 2, writers from the V-X centuries

p. 178

<sup>93</sup> The route of the embassy of the Eastern Roman Emperor Theodosius II to Attila in 448 C.E. was marked out primarily by the clue found in fragment 7 of Priskos's account, according to which, under the negotiations of 447, the border of the Hun state with the empire was established along the course of the Moravia, from Niš to its mouth to the Danube. Hence, according to F. Barišić (VI, vol. 1, p. 13), Priskos and his companions, after leaving Niš, had to advance along the right bank of the Morava or through the Timok valley. D. Dimitrijević (O etničkim problemima Vojvodine u vreme doseljenja Slovena, [in:] Simpozijum, p. 86) *He considers the first possibility to be more probable, and thinks that the legation crossed the Danube near the Roman castle of Laderat, i.e. near today. Banatska Palanka. On the other hand, taking into account the presence of a Hunnic representative in the legation, it seems possible that the legation would cross the left bank of the Morava River, through the territory under the control of the Huns. However, the question is determined by Priskos's description of the terrain in which they got lost before reaching the Danube. It corresponds to the area of Silva Bulgarica, well known for its inaccessibility and described in medieval sources (cf. W. Swoboda, Silva Bulgaricae, [in:] SSS, vol. 5, p. 181), stretching between the Moravia and the Danube, from Niš to Branichevo, located near the ancient Viminacium, i.e. only a little west of Lederata.*

<sup>94</sup> Greek μονόξυλα – boats made of a single tree trunk, the so-called one-timbered boats. On the technique of their construction, cf. W. Kowalenko, Łódzie, [in:] SSS, vol. 3, pp. 121-122. These boats, being one of the most primitive tools of navigation, cannot be the hallmark of the Slavs in the fifth century, even if in the period of their later migration to the Balkans they became characteristic of them in the eyes of their contemporaries. The occurrence of dugouts among the Gauls is attested by Livy (History XXI, 26), and in times nearer Priscus the use of them by the Goths is proved. This information comes from Ammianus Marcellinus (Res gestae XXXI, 4,5). This Roman author, who lived in the second half of the fourth century, saw how they were used by the inhabitants of the vicinity of Ctesiphon on the Tigris (ibid. XXIV, 4, 8-9). The swimming of the Goths in one-woods is also mentioned many times by Zosimos.

<sup>95</sup> Stadium is a Greek measure of length. There are discrepancies in how it is converted by today's measures. E.g. G. E. Benseler (Griechisch-deutsches Schul-Wörterbuch, Leipzig 1882, p. 759) states that 1 stadium = 184.97 m, while according to Abramowiczówna (s. v.) – approx. 192 m; 8 furlongs = 1 Roman mile.

On the building of ships by the Degovites, Sagudats, Velezites, and others.

It is said that this was during the time when the late John was a bishop. The Sclaven nation was assembled in great numbers, which included the peoples of the Drugovites, the Sagudats, the Velezites, the Vayunites, the Verites, and others. For the first time, they invented a way to build boats hollowed out of a single trunk.<sup>96</sup> Having prepared themselves for sailing at sea, they plundered all Thessaly and the Greek islands of the Cyclades, all of Achaea and the mainland, a large part of Illyricum, and a part of Asia.

**JERZY PIZYDA; WOJNA AWARSKA, [w:] TESTIMONIA NAJDAWNIEJSZYCH DZIEJÓW SŁOWIAN, SERIA GRECKA, z. 2, pisarze z V-X wieku.**

pp. 247 and 248

.... The barbarian, having thrown on the ships the bands of Sclavs joined with the Bulgarians (for he had canoes hollowed out like a trough), combined the land battle with the sea battle.

There, as in a fishing net, they placed the connected canoes. And when they all attacked our fleet with a shout, the fate of the battle was not known.

So these hollowed-out canoes must have found shelter during the tempest. Great confusion, fear, and anxiety fell upon the barbarians fighting at sea. And when one of them jumped out of the boat and tried to swim, he was caught, another who hoped to escape by imitating a dead man under the water suffocated, and who had surreptitiously forced his way under the wall of the fortress and remained there for a long time, had to die..

**THEOPHYLACT SIMOKATTA; HISTORY, [in:] TESTIMONIA OF THE EARLIEST HISTORY OF THE SLAVS, GREEK SERIES, vol. 2, writers from the V-X centuries.**

p. 260

VI 3:9-4:12 Chagan demanded from the emperor additional fees to the agreed agreement. When the emperor did not listen to the words of the barbarian, he immediately went to war. So he ordered the Sclavens to make a lot of light boats that would make it possible to cross the Danube.

The inhabitants of Singidunum [however] in several violent attacks destroyed the equipment of the Sclavens and set fire to their boats.....

p. 261

... Then the chagan advanced at 5 parasang and encamped opposite Sirmium, and ordered the masses of Sclaven to work wood to cross the Sava River in boats. He also urged them to cross, and they prepared the means of navigation in accordance with the order. This may have been caused by the fear of the commanders of the subjects. So when the light boats were ready and launched, the barbarian tribe crossed the nearby river.....

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<sup>96</sup>This is undoubtedly an exaggerated statement (cf. fn. 2 to Priscus and fn. 13 to Zosimos). On the other hand, it shows that in the 1st half of the 7th century the use of monoshekels for inland and sea navigation was considered characteristic of the Slavs. It is not known, however, whether they were already adapting these boats to sail the sea. Information about this is much later (cf. Kovalenko, Lodz, p. 121).

CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITUS; On the Ruthenians who come from Ruthenia to Constantinople on monoxyls, [in:] TESTIMONIA OF THE EARLIEST HISTORY OF SLAVS, GREEK SERIES, vol. 2, writers from the Vth-X centuries.

p. 300

... The monoxyls that come from distant Rus to Constantinople, some are from Novgorod, where Sviatoslav, son of Igor, Prince of Rus', sat, others from the towns of Smolensk, Lubech, Chernihiv and Vyshgorod. They all flow down the Dnieper River and gather in Kiev, also known as Sambatas. On the other hand, the Sklavas and their allies, called Krywicz, Lędziany and from other areas of Sklavinia, in the mountains, in their area, in the winter season, hew boats from a single trunk and, after equipping them at the beginning of the year, when the ice melts, they launch them on the nearby lakes. And because they connect with the Dnieper River, from there they reach this river and go to Kiev, [where] they take them out to finish and sell them to the Russians. The Russians, on the other hand, buy only small boats, and destroy their old monooxyls, taking from them oars, oarlocks, and other necessary things for the new ones, which they thus equip. In June, they set off on the Dnieper River. They sail down to Vitychevo, which is a tributary locality of the Rus, and gather there for about two to three days, until all the monoxyls are collected, and then set out and sail down the said Dnieper. First, they arrive at the first dam, the so-called Essupi, which translates in the Rus language and in Sklaven: "do not sleep". This threshold is as narrow as the width of a football field, and in the middle of the river there are high rocks that look like islands. The water hitting them, spilling and falling downwards, causes a great noise and terror. That is why in Rusov they do not dare to pass through the middle of it, but they dock near the shore and put people on dry land, leaving their equipment in monoxyls. Then they wade with their bare feet so as not to hit a rock. Some do this at the bow, others at the middle, others at the stern, feeling the way carefully with their sticks, and they pass the first barrier along the bend and along the banks of the river. And when they cross this barrier, they take the others from the land and sail away. They reach the next dam, which is called Ulvorski in Russian, and Ostrovuniprach in Sclaven, which translates as "barrier island." This one, like the first one, is dangerous and difficult to overcome. And having taken the people again, they cross the monoxyls as before. In the same way, they cross the third dam, called Gelandri, which translates in Sklaven, "the noise of the barrage," and the fourth great dam, called Aeifor in Russian, and Neasit in Sclaven, because pelicans nest among the barrier stones. At this dam, therefore, all the [boats] come to the shore with their bows forward, and the appointed men disembark to guard them; they move away [a little] and vigilantly guard them against the Pechenegs. The others gather up the things they have in monoxyls, and carry the bound slaves over the land for six miles until they reach the dam. And so, some pulling, while others carrying their monooxyls on their shoulders, reach the place on the other side of the dam. There they put them on the river, throw their luggage, get in, and set sail again. They come to the fifth dam, called Varuforos in Russian and Vulniprach in Sclaven, because it forms a great pond; again they cross their monooxyls through the bends of the river, as at the first and second dams; they also capture the sixth dam, called in Russian Leanti and in Claven Verutzi, which means "boiling water", and cross it in the same way. From there they flow to the seventh dam, called in Russian Strukun, and in Sklaven Naprezi, which translates as "small dam". And they come to the so-called Krarion ford, where the Chersonites and Pechenegs cross from Rus to the Chersonesus, and it is the width of a hippodrome, and the height from the bottom to the place where the rocks emerge, such that an arrow from a bow will go from here to there. That is why the Pechenegs come to this place and fight against the Rus. And when they leave it, they come to an island called St. Gregory, and on this island they offer sacrifices, because there is a huge oak tree there, and they offer live cocks. Some also stick arrows around, others put bread and meat, and what each of them has, as their custom dictates. They cast lots for roosters, whether to kill them, or eat them, or leave them alive.

Beyond this island, the Rus are not afraid of the Pechenegs until they reach the Selina River.

Then they leave it and sail for about four days until they reach the backwaters of the river, which is the mouth and on which the island of St. Aitherius is situated. Having reached the island, they rest there for about two to three days. And again, they supply their monooxyls with what they need: ship equipment, masts, tillers, which they carry with them. As the mouth of this river is said to form a floodplain and reaches as far as the sea, and the island of St. Aitherius lies in the sea, from thence they set out towards the Dniester, and having safely reached there, they rest again. Beyond this island, the Rus are not afraid of the Pechenegs until they reach the Selina River. Then they leave it and sail for about four days until they reach the backwaters of the river, which is the mouth and on which the island of St. Aitherius is situated. Having reached the island, they rest there for about two to three days. And again, they supply their monooxyls with what they need: ship equipment, masts, tillers, which they carry with them. As the mouth of this river is said to form a floodplain and reaches as far as the sea, and the island of St. Aitherius lies in the sea, from thence they set out towards the Dniester, and having safely reached there, they rest again...

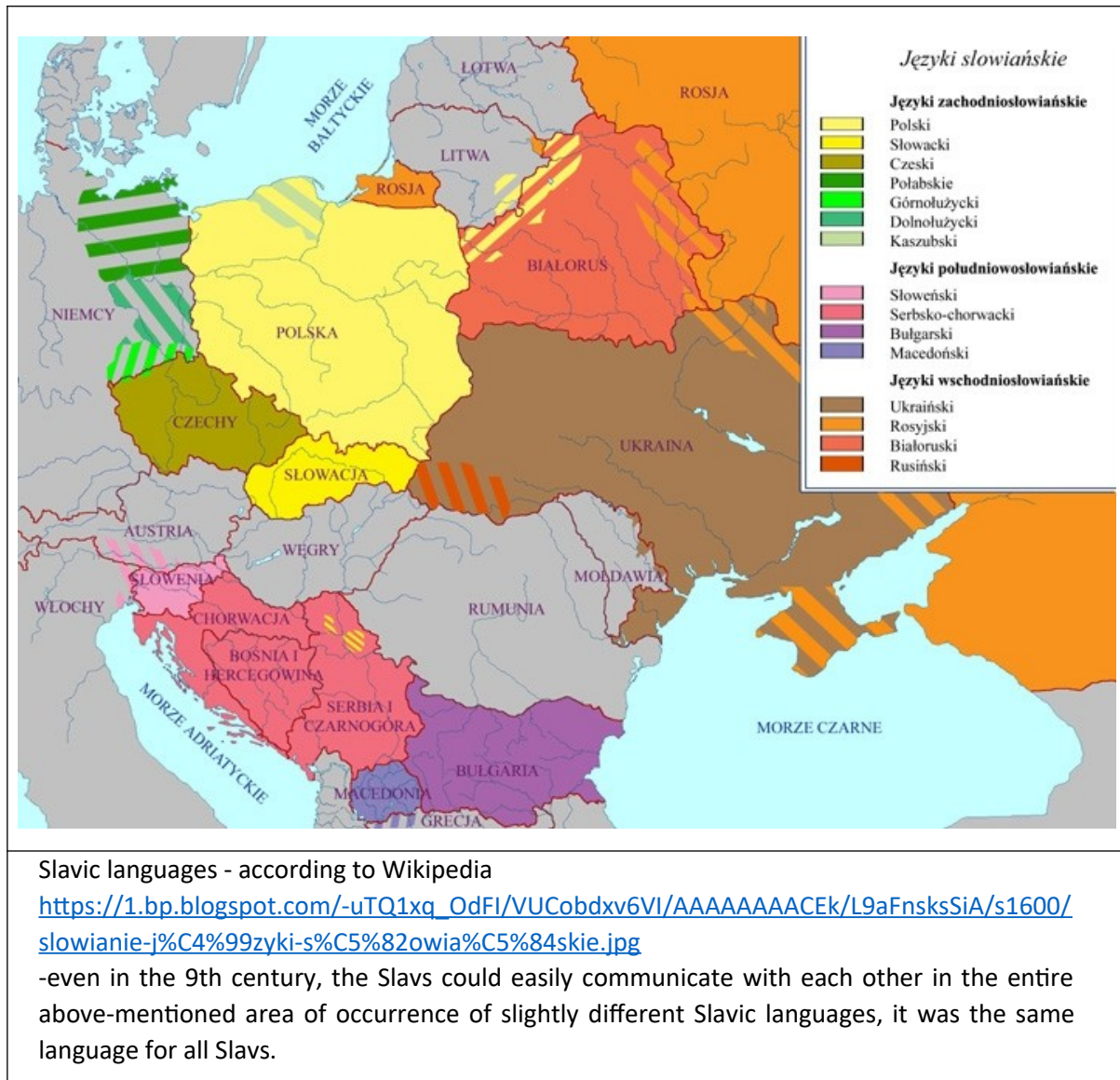
## Generally

Linguistic analyses proved to be extremely helpful in learning about the migrations of the Slavs. In this study, the area of my interest is the southern shore of the Baltic Sea. Tribes occupied the area coming from the south-east (to put it simply) and settled from the Vistula to the Elbe as early as the 5th century. The occupation of new territories by the Slavs was uneven and unsystematic (in terms of spatial regularity).

As for the view of our perhaps the best philologist, Alexander Brückner, it is as follows: ... [...] "The "Kashubian language" is an Old Polish dialect, taking part even in the late Polish linguistic development, and it cannot be separated from the Polish language; it is a bridge from the Polish language on the Noteć to the more and more distant, and consequently more distinct, dialects, from which Pomerania, the Marches, Mecklenburg as far as the Elbe to the Old March and Lüneburg once resounded when these lands were still Slavic; the Slavs finally died there only in the 16th and 17th centuries.... [...]"<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>97</sup> Aleksander Brückner; „*Dzieje Języka Polskiego*”, Wrocław 1960, s.18-19



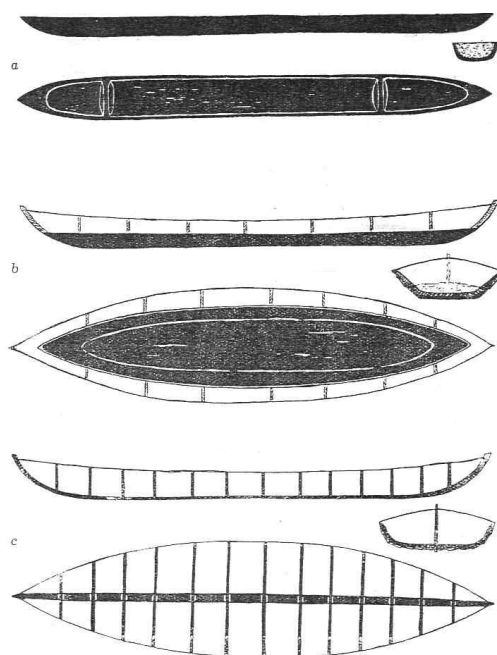
A high level of shipbuilding could only be achieved by people who had access to a body of water. The shaking of this organization of the Slavic peoples took place after the Saxons conquered Old Lübeck (1143), i.e. in the period when the Slavs from Pomerania were already building quite mature constructions of boats propelled by oars and rectangular sails. The Saxons finally broke into the Baltic Sea, making a breach in the Slavic barrier. Due to the increasing Saxon expansion, the territorial losses of the Slavs increased. The Hanseatic League was formed, which resulted in the displacement of the Viking ships and the Slavic fleet by Western European types of ships: the Frisian coga (a construction known from the 9th-10th century) and the Gothic "holk" (sailed in the northern seas from the 10th century). Only thoroughly rebuilt could they match the navigability of Viking and Slavic ships, but they had a greater carrying capacity. It is also known that the German forces based on the actions of the Teutonic Knights contributed to the final loss of Pomerania. The same defeat was suffered by ancient Prussia and the Prussians.

However, there are boatbuilders doing their job. After all, the German colonists didn't know this profession – because nowhere did they know? It must be admitted, however, that the cog was quickly mastered in construction also in German shipyards.

## Slavic boats from the Middle Ages – types of construction

The archaeologist tells us what are the basic constructions among the boat wrecks found so far in the early Middle Ages. The history of material culture has been and is being studied, recently perhaps not with such intensity as it used to be (1970s), but there is still more and more information about boats." ... Both monoecious ships, hollowed ("dugout") or burned in a tree trunk found in the sea, or in its vicinity, as well as more structurally developed ships of mixed construction, connecting a boat made of a single trunk, constituting the lower part of the hull with the side built upwards<sup>98</sup>, They seem to indicate that the Slavic "shipyards" were no strangers to any of the above-mentioned forms; However, the basic type of shipbuilding was the complex structure, created by replacing the uniform shell of the hollow bottom part with planks extended downwards of the superstructure, stretched on a strong skeleton, which took over the load-bearing function of a monoecious canoe, which had been an essential element of the ship's construction and a guarantee of its durability (Fig. 30). The latter construction form is represented by early medieval ships, or their parts, found quite a lot during archaeological research.

Figure 30. Construction variants of West Slavic ships (diagram). A- monoecious vessel, B- mixed construction, C- skeletal construction. The elements carrying the main part of the stress have been blackened<sup>99</sup>.



Source:; P. Smolarek, Inventory of sources for the history of boatbuilding technology of the Pomeranian Slavs, [in:] *Materiały Zachodnio-Pomorskie*, vol. I, 1955.

These are open, deckless boats with spoon-shaped bow and stern ends, usually flat-bottomed, with the plating passing perpendicularly into the keel protruding downwards and a small draught,

<sup>98</sup>Such was the case with a ship from Gdańsk, with a length of 14.3 m, as well as smaller canoes from Lake Radunia, Lake Jutrzenki and a boat from Parsęta, with clear traces of the skeleton of the superstructure of the sides in the form of stewa and frames. O. Paret, *Die Einbaume im Federseeried und im übrigen Europa*, *Praehistorische Zeitschrift*, t. XXI, 1930 r., nr 1/2. str. 103—131; P. Smolarek, *Inwentaryzacja źródeł do dziejów techniki szutniczej Słowian Pomorskich*, *Materiały Zachodnio-Pomorskie*, t. I, 1955 r., str. 98.











<sup>99</sup> M. Prosnak, *Zachodnio-słowiańska sztuka korabnicza wczesnego średniowiecza*, *Materiały Zach.-Pom.*, t. IX.

indicating adaptation to navigation among shallows, sand lagoons and rivers. They were characterized by excellent seaworthiness, ease of rowing and excellent navigability<sup>100</sup>, constituting universal vessels, adapted both to the harsh conditions of northern sea navigation and to penetrate far upstream, to sail on lakes, as well as to use trawls<sup>101</sup>.

The general design of the West Slavic korabi is characterized by the significant rigidity of the hull, which is ensured, on the one hand, by the rigid keel ties of the powerful internal skeleton with the planks of the working (and thus belonging to the set of stiffening elements) plating, supporting the operation of the keel as a longitudinal stiffener, and on the other hand, by numerous and strong frames constituting the transverse stiffening.<sup>102</sup> ...”

Below are presented, m.in cross-sections of the keels of Slavic boats, the wrecks of which were found in Pomerania, near the seashore, at the beginning of the 20th century.

Figure 31. Main dimensions and characteristics of the structure of Pomeranian finds.

Główne wymiary i charakterystyka budowy znalezisk korabniczych Pomorza										
	Orunia I	Orunia II	Orunia III	Mech-linki	Charbrów I	Czarnowska	Bagart	Frombork	Brzeźno	Szczecin
Długość całkowita	12,76	11,00	13,30	9,32	13,20	13,76	11,90	17,36	17,80	8,05*
Szerokość na wręgach	2,37	2,27	2,46	2,47	3,30	3,35	2,60	2,78	5,00	2,20*
Wysokość srodookręcia	0,70	0,87	0,72	0,80	ca 1,00	0,85	0,86	0,92	1,55	0,66*
Zanurzenie z ładunkiem	0,30	0,58	0,35	0,55	0,50	0,50	0,50*	0,52	0,80*	0,45*
Zanurzenie bez ładunku	0,20	0,38	0,25	0,35	0,25	0,25	0,32	0,32	0,40*	0,25*
Stosunek dług. do szer.	5,38	4,86	5,40	3,78	4,00	4,10	4,57	6,24	3,57	3,66*
Wyporność z ładunkiem	2,700	5,000	2,900	4,400	7,600*	8,600*	5,000*	8,400*	25,000*	3,200*
Nośność	1,500	3,500	1,500	2,350	5,000*	6,000	3,500*	3,700*	10,000*	1,700*
Współczynnik pełnotliwości $\gamma$	0,460	0,418	0,436	0,492	0,470*	0,475*	0,460*	0,454	0,470*	0,480*
Współczynnik pełnotliwości $\beta$	0,800	0,756	0,818	0,816	0,820*	0,825*	0,800*	0,836	0,810*	0,820*
Współczynnik pełnotliwości $\alpha$	0,683	0,661	0,593	0,660	0,625*	0,630*	0,650*	0,626	0,600*	0,630*
Ilość wręg	13	11	13	12	13	12	11	15	34	6
Odległość między wręgami	880	800	750—1000	470 i 800	900 i 1000	700—1000	1000	około 1000	500	około 900
Ilość wiosel	18	4—6	20	około 4	około 10	10	około 6—8 (10*)	do 24*	ca 12 (?)	około 4*
Deska stępkowa	135 × 40	200 × 20	220 × 35	290 × 25	300 × 25	200 × 25	250 × 25	440 × 32	?	350 × ?
Wystająca część stępki	80 × 65	80 × 65	90 × 75	120 × 80	90 × 70	110 × 100	85 × 65	80 × 100	?	?
Przekrój stępki	330 × 120	250 × 80	200 × 70	—	—	—	—	—	?	?
Przekrój wręg	90 × 70	130 × 70	120 × 70	110 × 100	180—160 × 75	200—100 × 80	120 × 55	140 × 170	?	?
Grubość desek poszycia*	22—15	22	22	20—15	20—18	25—18	25	30	40	15—20
Przekrój kółków (nitów)	12 i 18	12 i 18	12 i 26	15 i 25	?	12—13	żelazne 8	żelazne	drewniane 26 i żelazne	drewniane
Wzdłużnik ławkowy	35 × 60	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Wzdłużnik burtowy	40 × 100	20 × 25	45 × 35	—	—	—	?	?	?	?
Ławy wiosłarzy	40 × 100	40 × 100	60 × 100	40 × 100	?	?	?	?	?	?
Przekroje stępki										

\* Uzupełnienia własne wg orientacyjnych obliczeń.  
 Opracowanie wg: O. Lienau, *Die Bootsfunde von Danzig-Ohra aus der Wikingerzeit*, Gdańsk 1934 r., str. 15; Dane okrętu z Brzeźna wg F. Buscha, H. Doctera, *Germanische Seefahrt*, Berlin 1935 r., str. 260—263; Dane łodzi z Czarnowska skorygowane wg P. Smolarka, *Lokalizacja stanowiska łodzi „Charbrów III”*. Sprawozdania Archeologiczne, t. IV, 1957 r., str. 202—204; Dane łodzi ze Szczecina wg Wł. Czerworskiego, *Najnowsze odkrycia archeologiczne na podgroziu słowiańskim w Szczecinie*, Szczecin 1962 r. zesz. 7—8, str. 179—184.

Source: Otto Lienau; *Die Bootsfunde von Danzig-Ohra aus der Wikingerzeit*, Danzig 1934, S. 15.

The planks of the sides were attached to the keel, with this shape of the keel cross-section, it is easy to imagine that the "base", which was once a monoecious boat, was replaced. Such a shape of the keel cross-section guarantees maintaining a constant course, but also significantly reduces the steering of the boat.

<sup>100</sup> M. Prosnak. *Próba analizy wartości łodzi słowiańskich jako statków pełnomorskich*, Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej, roczn. IX, 1961r., nr 1. str. 35—14.

<sup>101</sup> Written sources often mention the passage of shallows and straits through Slavic korabie that was impossible for Scandinavian boats to pass; Hence the method of artificially creating shallows as a passive defense against ships. They also mention mass transports of Slavic ships through the translucs. K. Pieradzka, *Walki Słowian na Bałtyku w X—XII wieku*, Warszawa 1953 I., str. 19, 45, 58, 78, 87, 93; 101, 110—111, 119.

<sup>102</sup> M. Prosnak, *Zachodnio-słowiańska sztuka korabnicza wczesnego średniowiecza*, Materiały Zach.- Pom., t. IX.

## Finds at the mouth of the Łeba River

Regarding the finds on the Łebsko Lake – see the map Fig.1, p. 17, a copy of the map comes from the book by Prof. O. Lienau. I'm sure many readers are familiar with this book and thus the map. I'm using this map because I haven't come across a better Polish one with geological analysis. Lake Gardno is connected with Lake Łebsko by the Łupawa River. In the period around the year 1000 (1300) there was no isthmus to the mouth of the Łupawa River directly into the sea in the village of Rowy.

**Lake Łebsko is a lake with a shallow depth and a very large area. In case of bad weather, there was a high, steep wave – the prevailing north-westerly wind. Weather changes in the body of water are (and certainly have been) rapid. No one in those days, around the year 1000, was reckless with their boat, boats were extremely "expensive". On the south-eastern shore of Lake (Gardno) Łebsko boats without a crew, carried by stormy winds and waves, were sent after an accident. I think that the penetration of this shore must also bring back the finds of old boats, West Slavs or even Viking boats.**

The finds of boats from the immediate vicinity of Rowokoł are among the most interesting in the Słupsk Land. This is because the stave boats found were the perfect means of water transport of their time. So far, there are four boats that have been found on the lake. Łebsko:

Charbrowo I (Charbrów)

Charbrowo II

Czarnowsko I (Charbrowo III)- named after the village, whose current name is Żarnowska

Czarnowsko II

three of these boats have been recovered and are now in the National Museum in Szczecin (Charbrowo I, Czarnowsko I) and in the Central Maritime Museum in Gdańsk (Czarnowsko II). Only two of them have been studied (Charbrowo I, Czarnowsko I)<sup>103</sup>.

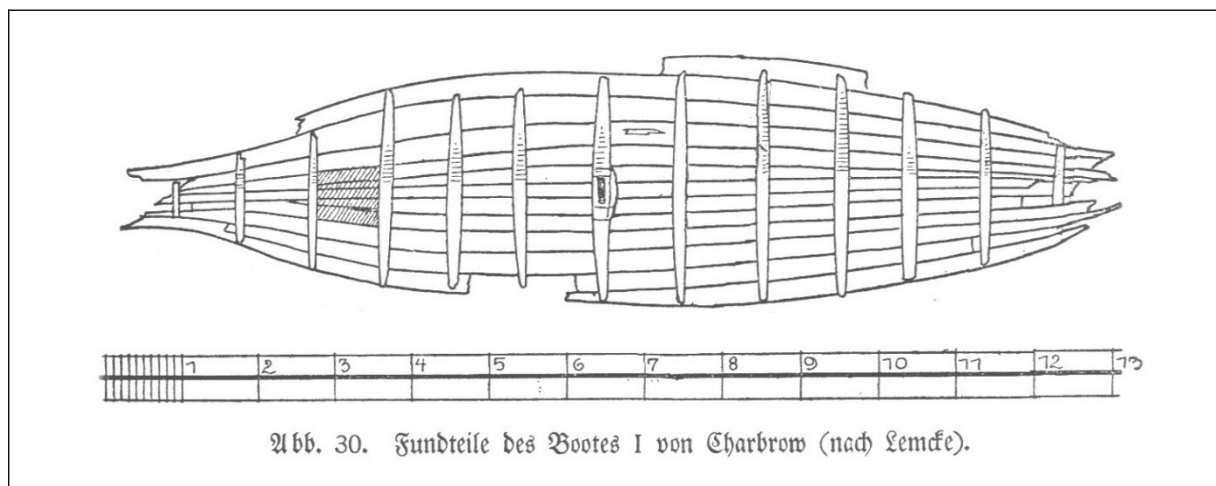
It is the wrecks and reconstructions of these boats that should be included in the collections of the newly established museum in Ustka or Łeba. The first of the boats<sup>104</sup> It was discovered in 1896 on Lake Łebskie near Charbrów and hence the technical name of the boat – Charbrów I. Its excavation, transport to Szczecin (in 1900) and reconstruction (in 1905) was undertaken by the then provincial conservator, Hugo Lemcke. He published the results of his work in 1911<sup>105</sup>.

<sup>103</sup> Paulina Kubacka; Znaleziska średniowiecznych łodzi klepkowych znad jeziora Łebsko, [w:] Materiały Zachodniopomorskie, Tom XLVI, str. 235-278

<sup>104</sup> Historia wraka łodzi Charbrów I została opisana zgodnie z opracowaniem: Przemysław Smolarek; W sprawie rekonstrukcji wczesnośredniowiecznych łodzi pomorskich. Komunikaty Naukowe.

<sup>105</sup> H. Lemcke, *Bericht über ein bei Charbrow gefundenes Boot der vorgeschichtlichen Zeit vom Typ der Wikingerfahrzeuge*. Załącznik do *Bau und Kunstdenkmäler des Regierungsbezirks Köslin*, t. II z. 2, *Die Kreise Bütow und Lauenburg*, Szczecin 1911, s. 305 i n.

Fig. 32. Boat Charbrowska I. Sketch of the found parts of the wreck, with thirteen frames marked; The outermost frames were then removed during the reconstruction. Acc. to H. Lemcke, Bericht über ein bei Charbrow gefundenes Boot der vorgeschichtlichen Zeit vom Typ der Wikingerfahrzeuge, attached, to Bau und Kundstenkmäler des Re-gierungsbezirks Köslin, vol. II, no. 2. Die Kreise Bütów und Lauenburg, Szczecin 1911.



Source: H. Lemcke, *Bericht über ein bei Charbrow gefundenes Boot der, vorgeschichtlichen Zeit vom Typ der Wikingerfahrzeuge*.<sup>103</sup>

..... In the summary of his publication, reflecting on the age and origin of the boat, Lemcke suggested its Scandinavian provenance. "He ruled out the possibility of making it in Pomerania, claiming that the flat coast, devoid of ports, was not suitable for the use of this type of vessel"<sup>106</sup>.

Such a formulation does not stand up to criticism primarily for two reasons: firstly, O. Lienau's analysis of the technical characteristics of the Pomeranian vessels showed that they had a shallow draught, allowing them to navigate even on smaller, shallow Pomeranian rivers<sup>107</sup>. The Charbrów III boat found in the vicinity of Boat I, showing a striking structural similarity to the vessel examined by Lemcke, had a draught of about 50 cm and an unladen draught of about 25 cm with a load of about 6 tons<sup>108</sup>. Secondly, in his publication, Lemcke mentions the discovery of Slavic pottery in the Charbr I boat, characteristic of the "Pomeranian Wendish period". This pottery was, he admitted, the only remnant of the boat's users. It also served as a basis for dating the find. However, this fact did not cause him much trouble. "Although pottery of Slavic boat users has been found in the boat, the period from which this 'Wendish' pottery came is called the 'Viking Age' in the history of Scandinavia. Eo ipso, the boat was supposed to be a Viking unit"<sup>109</sup>.

In this way, the thesis was to be supported by an appropriate reconstruction of the monument. As a model for the reconstruction of the Charbrów I boat, Lemcke took a ship from the 4th century AD,

<sup>106</sup> H. Lemcke, op. cit., s. 317.

<sup>107</sup> O. Lienau, *Die Bootsfunde von Danzig-Ohra aus der Wikingerzeit*, Gdańsk 1934, s. 15 i nast.

<sup>108</sup> O. Lienau, *Ausgrabung und zeichnerische Wiederherstellung...*, op. cit., s. 13.

<sup>109</sup> H. Lemcke, op. cit., s. 309: „Beim Abriiumen des Achterteils fanden sich etwa in der Mitte zwischen der Mastspur und der Stelle des Achterstvens die einzigen Spuren der früheren Benutzer, länglich, gespaltene und vom Feuer geschwärzte Findlingsbrocken, wie sie bei uns in wendischer Ansiedlungen als Unterlage und Ummauerung von Heerden gedient haben und bei, und in Burgwällen häufig begegnen, ferner an derselben Stelle Scherben, rneist Bodenstücke, von Tongefässen, die im Bruche eine unzweifelhaft der vorgeschichtlichen Zeit angehörende Tonmischung zeigten und mindestens der wendischen Zeit zuzurechnen sind; diese aber fällt mit der Wikingerzeit zusammen".

found in 1863 in Nydam (Denmark), regardless of the fundamental design differences between the two types. Only the bottom part of the Charbrów boat has survived, without stew. It was a flat-bottomed, freighter vessel, designed to sail in calm sheltered waters. Lemcke, wishing to make her resemble a Scandinavian ship, felt that he was forced to make many changes in her construction. He ordered to cut off the ends of the keel at the stews, the ends of the staves of the side plating and the ends of the frames<sup>110</sup>. Then he installed stews, slanted in relation to the plane of the waterways, with ends protruding far above the line of the railing – typical of a Nydam ship. Although all known Pomeranian boats had side, diagonal stew joints with the keel, Lemcke used connectors similar to the nydams, which was possible by cutting off the authentic ends of the keel. At the same time, he trimmed the edges of the keel board at the joints with the stews, as a result of which, due to the far forward bow and tail, the stern and bow part of the boat acquired a sharper, slender form, characteristic of the Nydam ship. As a consequence, it was necessary to remove two frames from the stern and bow, which did not fit in these corrections. On the side of the boat, we can still easily find traces of the original pin holes for 13 frames, while only 11 of them were left in the boat. The new frame arrangement could not be reconciled with the original one, so new dowel holes were drilled to connect the transverse stiffener to the sheathing.

Cutting off the upper end of the frames does not allow to determine the height and finish of the side. Lemcke introduced 6 additional rows of planks, with the rails and the oar reinforcement made on the model of modern Norwegian boats, and partly on the model of the Nydam ship<sup>111</sup>....

... But Kunkel already had his own opinion on the issue of Pomeranian boats, especially after the problems with the reconstruction of Lemcke. In response, he therefore stated:

"... In no way can I assume that these shells are pre-Slavic; I doubt that they are early German, and I am absolutely convinced that they were created in the Slavic period... Personally, I don't see any reason why the Pomeranian Slavs could not be credited with the ability to build such ships (temporarily they were even a competitor to the Vikings). I also don't think that such a statement is dangerous for us — provided that the issue of settlement (Germanic-Viking-Wendish as opposed to Polish and German) is properly interpreted)"<sup>112</sup>.

In the light of the above-mentioned documents, the delay in examining the boat from Czarnowska and then leaving it in the ground becomes unambiguous. The reason given for not mining the boat due to the lack of credits is not in line with reality. Before the expedition left for Czarnowsk, the Museum received the approval of the presented cost estimate for the entire work<sup>113</sup>. In addition, K. Paetow, the head of the Regional Museum in Słupsk, who was apparently not privy to Kunkel's efforts, asked Szczecin for permission to exhibit the boat in his museum. At the same time, he expressed his readiness to cover the costs of transport, reconstruction and conservation. On Kunkel's recommendation, however, Dr. Bethe wrote back that "... the director wants to keep the decision about the fate of the boat from Łeba to himself" <sup>114</sup>.... ()<sup>115</sup>

<sup>110</sup> Tamże. s. 314 i nast.

<sup>111</sup> Tamże, s. 316: „...*Die Knaggen, die statt der Dollen als Widerlager für die Ruder dienten, sind nach dem Muster der heute noch in Norwegen üblichen und zugleich durch die Nydamer Funde als uralte nachgewiesenen aus naturgewachsenen Stamm- und Astwinkeln zurecht geschnitten und mit Holznägeln auf das Dollbord genagelt. Die Form, der Steven entspricht mit ihren hochragenden Endigungen der althergebrachten skandinavischen Bauart*”.

<sup>112</sup> Akta MPZ. inw. 719, Tgb. 34/1619. Kunkel do W. La Baume, 23 sierpnia 1934.

<sup>113</sup> Kosztorys robót i decyzja nadprezydenta w aktach MPZ, inw. 750.

<sup>114</sup> K. Paetow do dra Bethe, 10.III.1932 i 4.VI.1932 oraz odpowiedź Bethego w aktach MPZ, inw. 1857, Słupsk, nr 64 i nr 87. APPA betreff. das Heimatmuseum in Stolp.

<sup>115</sup> Całość materiału dotyczącego prac badawczych łodzi określanej w fachowej literaturze Charbrów I została tu opracowana na podstawie: Przemysław Smolarek; W sprawie rekonstrukcji wczesnośredniowiecznych łodzi

Today, scientists have no doubts about the authenticity and distinctiveness of the Slavic construction thought. Here's an example. At my request for consultation on the above-mentioned correspondence of German scientists from the 1930s, Mr. Arne Emil Christensen; from "Kulturhistorisk museum, Universitetet i Oslo" wrote: "I know the boats from Charbrow from old publications. In my opinion, these boats have Slavic features, which are also characteristic of similar Polish finds as those from Gdansk-Orunia, Gdańsk and Szczecin".

In 1931, Albert Klotz, a resident of the village of Czarnowska, came across another boat while digging a drainage ditch in his meadows. At the time of its discovery in 1931, the boat from Czarnowsk (later called Charbrów III) was advertised by the Reich press as a new relic of Germanic material culture. The great scientific significance of the findings is confirmed by the statements of the participants of the scientific expedition. Despite this, it was not excavated, but covered with earth and left in place. The reason given for this was the lack of adequate funds for transport and maintenance. Such a preliminary inspection was enough to postpone the extraction of the boat for an indefinite period of time. The reason for the lack of interest in the discovery was the description of the boat as a boat of the West Slavs.

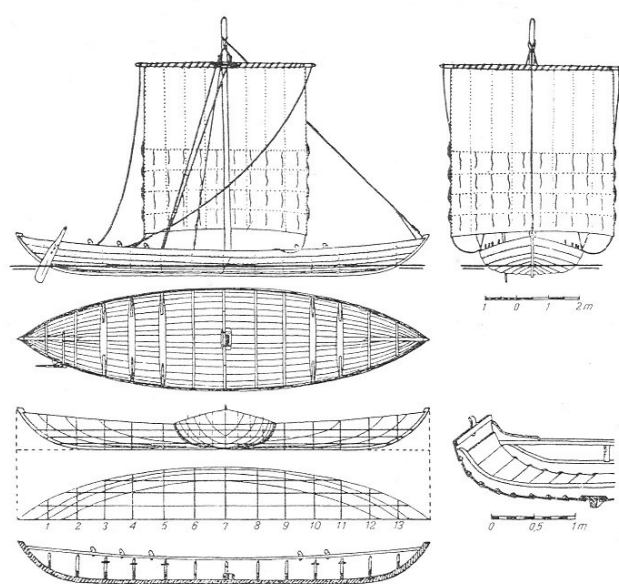
It was only thanks to the efforts of Przemysław Smolarek that the wreck of the Charbrów III boat was excavated from the ground, and excavations began on 24 July 1957. It was there that she was examined.

Figure 33. Reconstruction of a boat found in the field of Charbrów, near Łeba.<sup>116</sup>

The drawing was created as a result of analyses carried out by Prof. Otto Lienau on the basis of finds marked as Charbrów I, II and III – finds from the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

This boat also did not require special production halls to make it, but in order to create it, it was enough to have boatbuilding knowledge, a separate place in front of the cottage and cooperative connections for the production of fittings, rivets, and a sail...

Łódź Charbrów III dates back to the second half of the twelfth century.



Ryc. 11. Próba rekonstrukcji statku z Charbrowa, na podstawie O. Lienaua, szkic własny.

Source: Mieczysław Prosnak, *The West Slavic Art of the Early Middle Ages*, [in:] *West Pomeranian Materials*, vol. IX, Szczecin 1963, p. 253, Fig. 11.

I'm giving the details of the boat recorded on the museum information board:

Statek Czarnowsko, m. Jezioro Łeba

Sailing ship

total length – 13.8 m

width on side - 3,4 m

height - 0,85 m

Immersion - 0,5 m

Net tonnage- 5 ton

propulsion – sailing, auxiliary rowing

chronology – second half of the twelfth century

Dating: dendrochronological – 1169

A ship made of sessile oak (*Quercus sessilis*) joined by pine pegs (*Pinus sylvestris*), sealed with moss (species not specified) with a T-shaped keel”.

<sup>116</sup> Mieczysław Prosnak, *Zachodnio-słowiańska sztuka korabnicza wczesnego średniowiecza*, [w:] *Materiały Zachodnio-Pomorskie*, t. IX, Szczecin 1963, s. 253.

Research conducted by Dr. G. Indruszewski in Szczecin in 1999 corrected the chronology.<sup>117</sup>:

Charbrów I- 1188

Charbrów II- 1175

The wreck of the Czarnowsko II boat was discovered near the previous boats in 1962. The find was taken care of by the Archaeological Museum in Gdańsk and the Polish Maritime Museum in Gdańsk. The shorter part of the keel, cut off by the excavator, is currently exhibited in the Polish Maritime Museum, while the wreck is dismantled into parts in the CMM workshop in Tczew, preserved.<sup>118</sup>

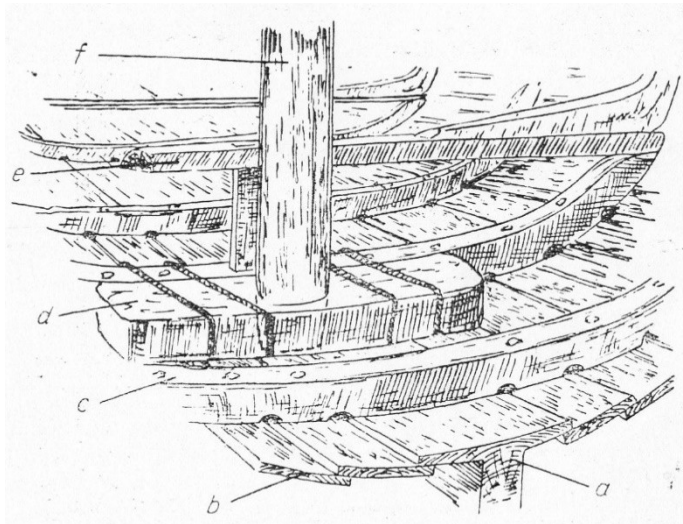


Fig. 34 Fixing the mast on ships from Charbrów and Czarnowsk.

- a- keel,
- b- planks sheathing,
- c- frames,
- d- mast socket,
- e- rowing bench with bracket,
- f- mast.

Source: Mieczysław Prosnak, *Zachodnio-słowiańska sztuka korabnicza wczesnego średniowiecza*, [w:] *Materiały Zachodnio-Pomorskie*, t. IX, Szczecin 1963<sup>119</sup>.

<sup>117</sup> Georg Indruszewski; *Man, Ship, Landscape. Ships and seafaring in the Oder Mouth area AD 400- 1400. A case study of an ideologikal context*. Copenhagen 2004 r. s. 171

<sup>118</sup> Paulina Kubacka; *Znaleziska średniowiecznych łodzi klepkowych znad jeziora Łebsko*, [w:] *Materiały Zachodniopomorskie*, Tom XLVI, str. 257-258

<sup>119</sup> Mieczysław Prosnak, *Zachodnio-słowiańska sztuka korabnicza wczesnego średniowiecza*, [w:] *Materiały Zachodnio-Pomorskie*, t. IX, Szczecin 1963, s. 254.

Figure 35.

Skeleton of a ship from Charbrów, (Charbrów III) an example of the construction assumptions of the Slavic Korab.

Source: MPZ archival photo.

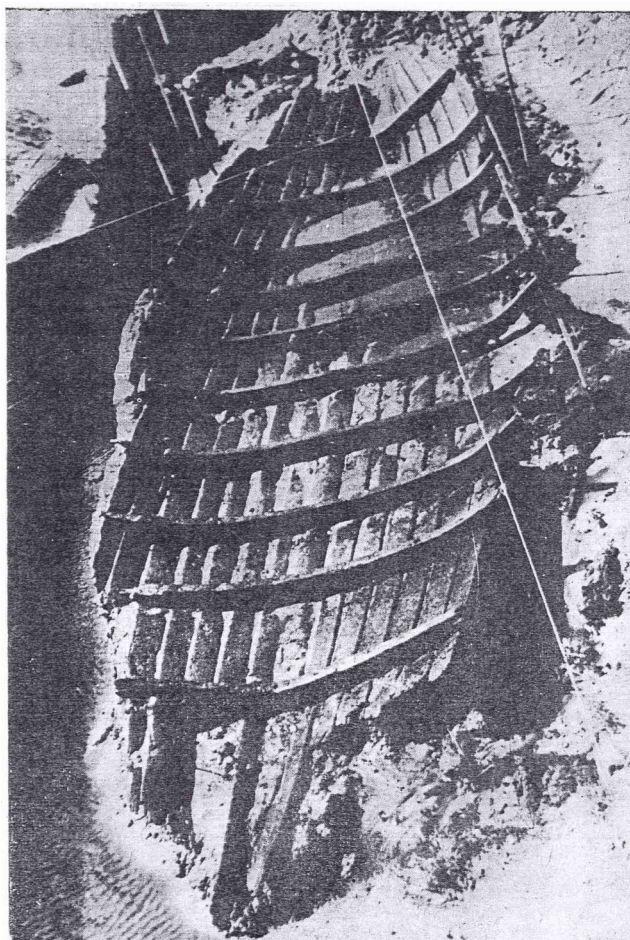
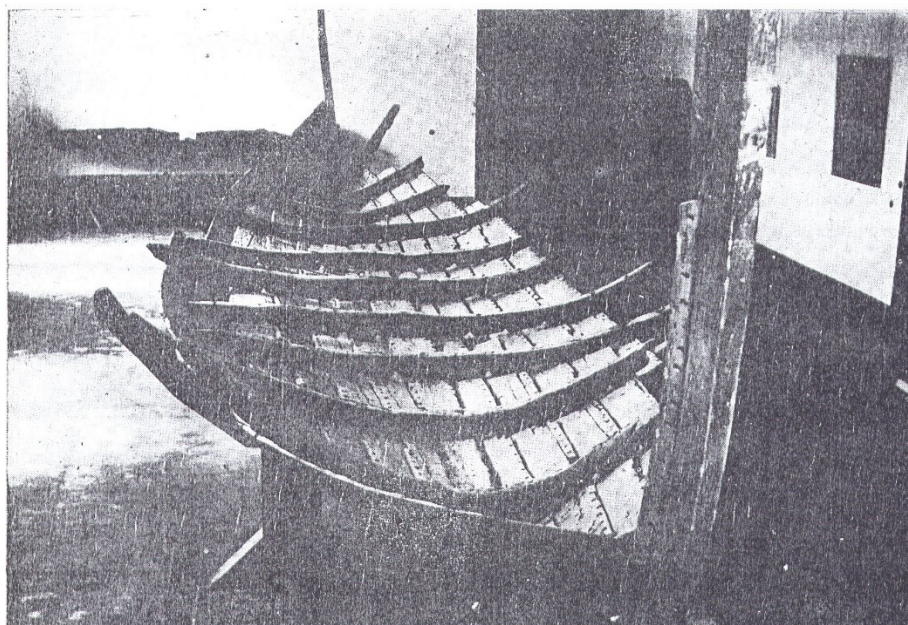


Figure 36. Remains of the ship from Czarnowsk (Charbrów III- after W. Filipowiak).

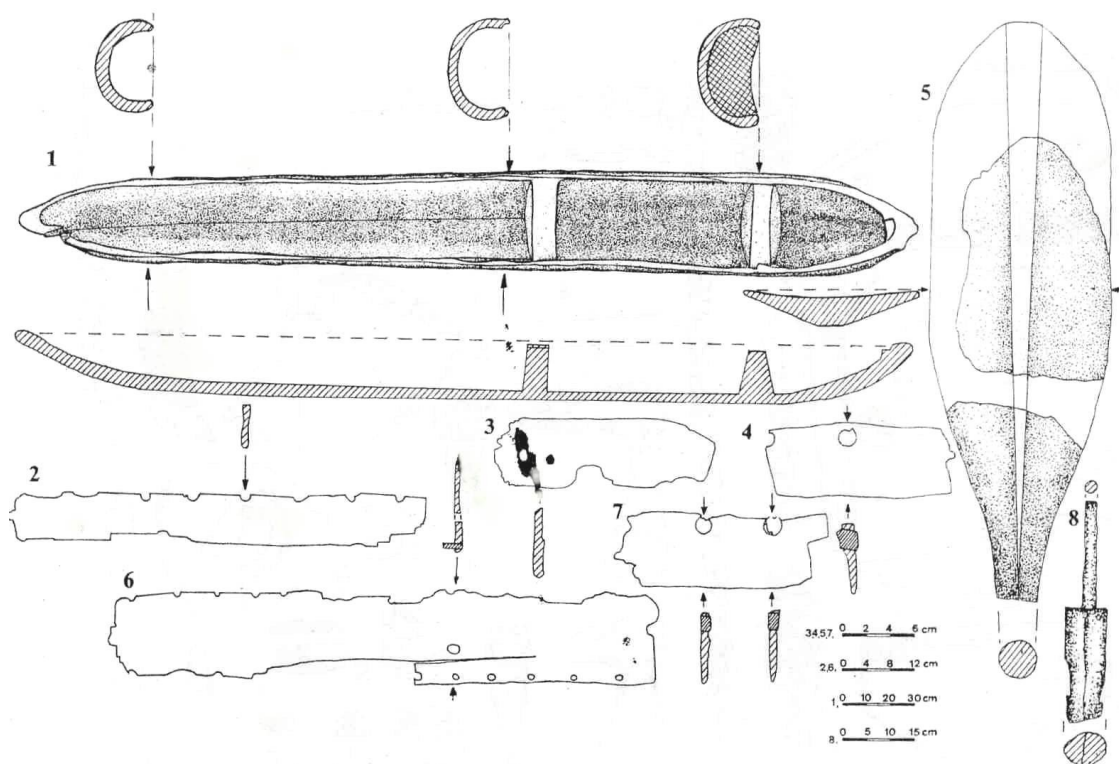
Source: MPZ archival photo.

## Finds in the vicinity of Miastko

The material presented here will not be arranged in a special way, e.g. chronologically. However, the main criterion will be, as far as possible, the presentation of finds from before 1337 – i.e. until the signing of the agreement between the Słupsk City Council and the Święca family – i.e. boats appearing in excavations dating back to the 9th and 14th centuries. I will also not discuss the dugouts used on shallow lakes and swamps – such a boat can be seen in the Museum of Central Pomerania in Słupsk. It is primitive, with low performance, completely unsuitable for sailing on the river, and even more so on the swift Słupia. The one from the Słupsk museum comes from the vicinity of Kluk. I'm mainly talking about boats called *bordynes*<sup>120</sup>.

The boats depicted here were found on the beautiful Lake Bobięcino Wielkie, near Miastko, where in the 9th-12th centuries, a defensive settlement existed on the island. There was a bridge to the island.

Figure 37. Movable source materials from archaeological research of underwater relics of an early medieval bridge in Bobięcino near Miastko, Słupsk Voivodeship, from the years 1977–1983).



3. Bobięcin, gm. Miastko, stan. 3. 1 dłubanka, 2—4, 6, 7 deski poszycia łodzi, 5 wiosło, 8 pałka ciesielska

Source: Archaeological report on the research on Lake Bobięcińskie.<sup>121</sup>

<sup>120</sup>Burdyna (bordynka) – a boat that started from a dugout with raised sides by hammering in a few staves. Equivalent to the Russian name "nadbojnaya lodka" and the Swedish "bording". It occurs as early as the 12th century, and undergoing evolution, it survived in Gdańsk Pomerania until the 19th century.

<sup>121</sup> Wiesława Matuszewska-Kola, Andrzej Kola, Movable source materials from archaeological research of underwater relics of the early medieval bridge in Bobięcino near Miastko, Słupsk Voivode ship, from the years 1977–1983).

*DUGOUTS, PLANKS AND OARS*

Among the wooden artefacts from the site in question, a dugout boat deserves special attention, as well as several fragments of stave boat plating and a fragment of an oar. The discovered dugout was firmly wedged between the piles that were the remains of the bridge's pillars. At the time of its discovery, its interior was filled with large field stones, which could indicate that it was deliberately sunk. Perhaps we are dealing here with a hostage sacrifice related to beliefs unknown to us. This boat was made of a single trunk of an oak tree. It had a length of 3.76 m and a maximum width of 45 cm in the stern part, with almost the same height along its entire length within the range of 23-25 cm (Fig. 3:1). The bottom of the boat was given a semicircular form, and its interior was equipped with two bulkheads reinforcing the hull.

In addition to this completely preserved specimen of a dugout boat, a fragment of a second dugout with a part of the bottom and a bulkhead was found in the area of the relics of the bridge, as well as several planks from the planking of stave boats (Fig. 3:2—4, 6, 7), with holes for the installation of wooden rivets. Small fragments of these planks do not allow conclusions to be drawn as to a more precise determination of the type of boats from which they come, and thus to determine their chronology....<sup>122</sup>

The age of the boat excavated in Bobięcino was determined by research conducted by Dr. Waldemar Ossowski from the Maritime Museum in Gdańsk.<sup>123</sup>

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<sup>122</sup> Wiesława Matuszewska-Kola, Andrzej Kola, *Ruchome materiały źródłowe z archeologicznych badań podwodnych reliktyw mostu wczesnośredniowiecznego w Bobęcinie koło Miastka, woj. słupskie, z lat 1977—1983*.

<sup>123</sup> Waldemar Ossowski; *Studia nad łodziami jednopiennymi z obszaru Polski*, Gdańsk 1999

## Settlements of the Slavs

Settlement of the Chełmno Lake District by the Slavs in the Early Middle Ages<sup>124</sup>

By 1996, 561 settlement points from the Chełmno Lake District had been identified and this constitutes 11% of all sites in the Chełmno-Dobrzyń zone<sup>125</sup>, from the oldest stage of Slavic settlement (7th-8th century) come 48 points. The main settlement sites of the first settlements were located mainly in the catchment area of three right-bank tributaries of the Drwęca: Struga Łysomicka, Kowalewska and Wąbrzeska. Faint traces of settlement were also found in the northern part of the region, north of the terminal moraine range, which at that time constituted a clear ecological barrier. There were also traces of settlements in the northern part of the region, in the Brodnica Lake District<sup>126</sup>.

From the 9th to the 1st half of the 10th century, 118 settlement points were examined, of which only less than 60% can be considered settlements. With the exception of the Brodnica Lake District, almost the entire region of the Chełmno Lake District was settled at that time. Settlements from this period also included the areas of the Osa catchment and other streams flowing directly into the Vistula. The southern part of the Chełmżyńska Plain and the northern part of the Wąbrzeskie Hills were sparsely inhabited. In some parts of the region, the former settlements disappear during this period<sup>127</sup>.

From the 2nd half of the 10th-11th centuries, 110 settlement points were discovered, irregularly located in the region. Lower density was in the southern part of the Chełmżyńska Plain. In fact, the eastern part of the Lake District, east of Lutryna, was not inhabited. The northern part of the Lake District was more densely settled<sup>128</sup>.

[...] The range of settlement zones of the Chełmno Lake District – essentially formed in the 2nd half of the 10th-10th/11th centuries – did not change significantly in the next two centuries. [...] <sup>129</sup>

To sum up, the Chełmno Lake District was characterized by quite significant settlement in the early Middle Ages. At various times, the requirements of the settlers regarding habitat conditions were also unstable.<sup>130</sup>

The early appearance of the Slavs in Łoza (as early as the 7th century) is probably due to the location of Łoza on the Browina River, which is a tributary of the Vistula River. In the 7th century, the Slavs were already building a stronghold in the place where Browina flows into the Vistula River. The Slavs travelled in boats.<sup>131</sup> The Slavs, after loading their belongings on boats, set off from their homes on boats first up the Dnieper to the mouth of the Pripyat River and up the river to the mouth of its

<sup>124</sup> Władysław Goliński; *Dzieje ziemi chełmińskiej*, Rozdz. 3, maszynopis, Ustka 2022, s. 5.

<https://biblioteka.ustka.pl/images/stories/literatura/golinski/25ac.pdf>

<sup>125</sup> Wojciech Chudziak; *Zasiedlenie strefy chełmińsko- dobrzyńskiej we wczesnym średniowieczu (VII- XII wiek)*, Toruń 1996. s. 59

<sup>126</sup> Wojciech Chudziak; op. cit., s. 60

<sup>127</sup> Wojciech Chudziak; op. cit., s. 61

<sup>128</sup> Wojciech Chudziak; op. cit., s. 61

<sup>129</sup> Wojciech Chudziak; op. cit., s. 62

<sup>130</sup> Wojciech Chudziak; op. cit., s. 63

<sup>131</sup> Władysław Goliński; *Wzmianki o łodziach Słowian we wczesnym średniowieczu i rozwój konstrukcji łodzi u pomorskich Słowian*, maszynopis, Ustka 2022.

<https://biblioteka.ustka.pl/images/stories/literatura/golinski/art56.pdf>

tributary – the Mukhavets, through which they got to the Bug and further to the Vistula. Unfortunately, there is a lack of scientific research carried out in Chełmża (I omit the discussion of the late settlement of the Slavs in the settlement on the Archdeakonka Lake) and which would give certainty about the course of settlement by the Slavs of settlements inhabited by peoples of earlier cultures. However, one thing is certain – the Chełmno dialect<sup>132</sup> it survived the onslaught of the Slavs, because the people speaking this language survived.

The first parish church in Chełmża

However, there is a certain trace in the history of the European Catholic Church, it is almost certain that the parish in Chełmża began to develop even before the ecclesiastical organization in Poland was established.

[...] Charlemagne still had a suitable plan, but it was not until 831 that the Archbishopric of Hamburg was founded, with the apostolate as its aim. The first archbishop was Ansgar, a monk from Old Corbea on the Somme, and he received the necessary mandate from the Holy See for his missionary work. Ebo, Archbishop of Reims, had already obtained a similar legation, but when he himself was too occupied with the affairs of state, Ansgar was chosen to serve in the mission. In the year 831 Ansgar was able to act independently, and the legation granted to him by Gregory IV concerned his successors, and extended "in omnibus circumquaque gentibus Danorum, Sueonum, Norvehorum, Farrie, Gronlandon, Halsingalandon, Islandan, Scrideuindun, Slavorum nec non omnium septentrionalium et orientalium nationum"<sup>133</sup> The original of this bull is suspect, but it was already the basis of legal relations in the tenth century under Archbishop Adaldaga. Ansgar was mainly concerned with missions in the north, but his activities also related to the Slavs to some extent. He founded a monastery in Hamburg, where he brought monks from Old Corbea and set up a school for bought Danes and Slavs. It was in this monastery and in the monastery of Turholt in Flanders, subject to Ansgar, that these boys were destined to be future missionaries in their homeland. However, this did not last long, because as a result of the destruction of Hamburg, the monastery collapsed, and the monastery of Turholt was soon taken from Ansgar. It seems, therefore, that Ansgar's activity in this direction did not bear the expected fruit, and the legation of the Church of Hamburg, insofar as it concerned the Slavs, was forgotten for some time... [...]<sup>134</sup>

**It was the Vikings who attacked the monastery in Hamburg and sacked Hamburg in 845<sup>135</sup>. However, those were the times when the Danish king knew the importance of the Church in governing the state. Increasingly, on the boats of the Vikings, undertaking a mission or a further voyage, there was a priest as a member of the crew. The German missionary Ansgar builds churches in Hedeby and Ribe in 850.<sup>136</sup> These incidents of the seizure of these educated priests from Hamburg with knowledge of Danish and Slavonic are probably also confirmed by the Danish chronicles. I would also like to mention that even in the ninth century all Slavs spoke one language, fully understood by all Slavs. It was then that the first Christian community had to be established in the settlement of Loza (see the Slavic name of the settlement) based on a priest educated in Hamburg, transported from Denmark to Loza, brought by the Vikings trading with the settlement of Loza, which had the Germanic Norse name Kulmsee.<sup>137</sup>**

<sup>132</sup> Dariusz Meller; Słownik gwary używanej w Chełmży i okolicach (tzw. gwara chełmińska), Chełmża 2015.

<sup>133</sup> Jaffé, Regesta Pontificum Romanorum ab condita Ecclesia ad annum post Christum natum MCXCVIII, t. I et II

<sup>134</sup> Władysław Abraham; Organizacja kościoła w Polsce do połowy wieku XII; Poznań 1962, s. 100

<sup>135</sup> Collen Batey, Helen Clarke, R. I. Page, Neil S. Price; Wielkie Kultury Świata, Wikingowie, s. 8

<sup>136</sup> Collen Batey, Helen Clarke, R. I. Page, Neil S. Price; Wielkie Kultury Świata, Wikingowie, s. 44

<sup>137</sup> Władysław Goliński; Nazwy: Chełmno, Chełmża, Łoza, maszynopis, Ustka 2022, s. 2-8.

The Pope's confirmation of the existence of a Christian community in ancient Loza takes place in a papal bull. In his bull of 3 August 1234, Pope Gregory took note of the fact that Prince Konrad had granted — this time — **not a castle, but "the land called Chełmno" as it had been inhabited by Christians since ancient times.** Therefore, information about Christian communities in the Chełmno land must have been passed to Rome much earlier, such information must have been passed on by the Danish Catholic Church or even the Danish king himself, although it could not have been a "Christian" secret for Prince Konrad, son of the Polish king from the Piast dynasty – Bolesław Krzywousty.

Notes about the Slavs from the travels of Ibrahim ibn Jacob

Ibrahim ibn Jacob was a Sephardic Jew from Tortosa, Spain, in the Caliphate of Cordoba. He was a traveller, merchant and chronicler, in addition to being involved in the slave trade. I think he was doing intelligence for the Moors.

The first known informant about the country of Mieszko Dagon, Ibrahim ibn Jakub, does not call Mieszko I the Duke of the Polans or even the Lord of the Slavs, but the Ruler of the North. The north, now as then, was associated primarily with Scandinavia and its inhabitants, and only later with the Slavs, about which little was known and was treated rather as an indefinite nebula of frontier peoples, living in forests and not distinguishing themselves except that it was easy to get slaves and amber there.<sup>138</sup>

Thanks to the journey of Ibrahim ibn Yakub, we sometimes have quite peculiar information about Mieszko's country and about the Slavs in general. The notes about the Slavs from the travels of Ibrahim ibn Jacob are multi-thematic and therefore so valuable.

The route of the journey is shown on the two maps below. It is not easy to reconstruct the records of Ibrahim ibn Yakub, it is difficult to collect data about his journey. Józef Widajewicz did it brilliantly and in his book he writes, among others: [...] The data that could be used here. they seem to indicate that Ibrahim could observe each of the four seasons in Central Europe, i.e. he could stay there all year round. But at what time he arrived, at the end of 965 or at the beginning of 966, and at what time he departed, in autumn or at some other time, neither his elaboration nor other sources can provide a certain answer.[...] <sup>139</sup>.

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<https://biblioteka.ustka.pl/images/stories/literatura/golinski/art16c.pdf>

<sup>138</sup> Zdzisław Skrok; Czy wikingowie stworzyli Polskę?, Warszawa 2013, s. 34, 35

<sup>139</sup> Józef Widajewicz; Studia nad relacją o Słowianach Ibrahima ibn Jakuba, Kraków 1946

Figure 38. Nakon Travel Map.

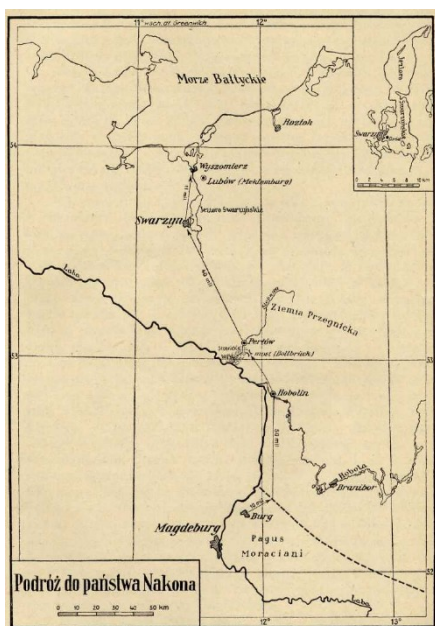
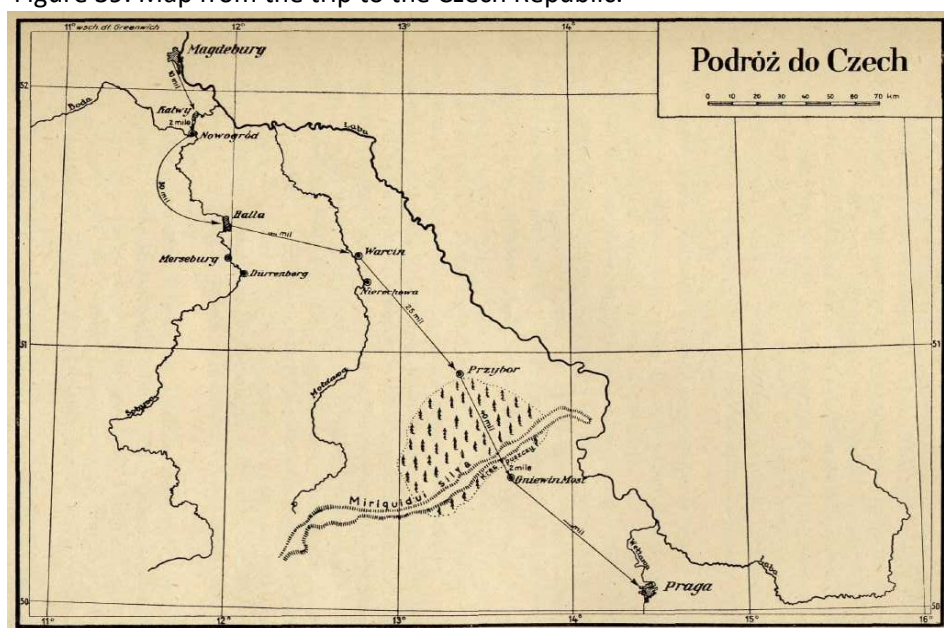


Figure 39. Map from the trip to the Czech Republic.



Source: Both maps come from Józef Widajewicz's book; *STUDIA NAD RELACJĄ O SŁOWIANACH IBRAHIMA IBN JAKUBA*, Kraków 1946.

It is quite difficult to decipher the texts, especially concerning the exact boundaries of the lands. Below are some examples of Ibrahim's notes, and I repeat the first fragment of the notes, which was presented early on, but in a different context.

"Meško is bordered by Rūs to the east and Burūs to the north. The seats of the Burūs [are] on the Ocean [Baltic]. They have a separate language [and] they do not know the languages of their neighbors. They are famous for their bravery. When an army comes upon them, none of them hesitates to be joined by his comrade, but stands out without looking at anyone, and slashes with his sword until he is killed. They are crossed by the Rūs on ships from the west. To the west of Burūs [lies] the City of Women. It has lands and slaves, and they [i.e., women] get pregnant by their slaves. If a woman gives birth to a boy, she kills him. They ride horses and take part in war personally, and they are distinguished by strength and severity. Said Ibrahim the son of Jacob the Israelite, "The report of this city [is] true; Hōtto [Otto I], king of the Romans, told me about it. To the west of this city there is a tribe belonging to the Slavs, called the Weltāba people. [He lives] in the forests belonging to the lands of Meško [or: ... in the forests of the lands of Meško] [on this side], which is close to the west and part of the north. They have a mighty city on the Ocean [the Baltic], with twelve gates. It has a harbour for which they use halved trunks [?]. They are at war with Meško, and their fighting power [is] great. They have no king and are not led by one [ruler], and the rulers among them are their elders"<sup>140</sup>.

Ibrahim drew a kind of arc describing the borders of Polish. So you can determine a section of the seashore, probably quite accurately. And so, in the east, it is a country occupied by the Prussians. In the west, the bordering people are the Slavic Velets. Unfortunately, historians are not sure about these assessments. More or less the eastern border in the north is the Vistula River, the western border in the north is defined by the Odra River.

This "city on the Ocean [the Baltic], with twelve gates" is most often read as Wolin. Following Ibrahim's record, "It has a haven for which they use halved trunks [?]." Now we just have to ask the question what is made of these trunks. Piers?, Sidewalks?- these were built in this way, which is confirmed by archaeological works. Boats?- these especially auxiliary boats among the Slavs are built of halved and hollowed tree trunks.

And as for the country of Meško, it is the most extensive of their [i.e., Slavic] countries. It abounds in food, meat, honey, and arable land [or fish]. The taxes [or: fees] collected by him [i.e., the fees] [constitute] commercial weights. [They go] [to] the pay of his husbands [or: footmen]. Each month [there is] a certain [literally: known] number of them. He has three thousand armored troops, and a hundred of them is equal to ten hundred other [warriors]. He gives these men clothes, horses, weapons, whatever they need. And when one of them has a child, he [i.e., Mieszko] orders him to pay his salary from the moment of birth [literally: at the hour in which he is born], whether he be male or female. And when [the child] grows up, if he is a man, he marries him and pays the marriage gift for him to the girl's father, but if he is a female [literally, a woman], he marries her and pays the marriage gift to her father. And the wedding gift [is] considerable among the Slavs, in which their custom is similar to that of the Berbers. If two or three daughters are born to a man, they [become] the cause of his wealth, and if two boys are born to him, they [become] the cause of his poverty.<sup>141</sup>

<sup>140</sup> Ibrahim ibn Jakub (Tadeusz Kowalski); *Relacja Ibrahima ibn Jakuba z podróży do krajów słowiańskich w przekazie al.-Bekriego*, Kraków 1946, s. 50.

<sup>141</sup> Jerzy Strzelczyk; *Mieszko I*, Poznań 1992, s. 40

After reading the above text, the question arises: where does Mieszko get so much money to maintain and fully equip the army, after all, taxes are certainly not enough for this. After all, it is still necessary to build, equip and maintain fortified settlements. Unfortunately, other internal problems of Mieszko I's state did not attract the attention of the Jewish wanderer.

Meško. A large city [=state] in the lands of the Slavs, by the sea, among dense forests, through which the armies can break through. His king's name [is] Meško; It was named after him. [...] Its king has foot troops because the cavalry cannot move in their countries.<sup>142</sup>

Foot troops don't necessarily have to be more effective at breaking through dense forests. After all, there was a network of roads in the Slavic region dating back to the period when the people of the Lusatian culture had settled in these lands, the roads were connected by fortified settlements. From the north to the south there was an amber route, there was a road around the Baltic Sea... Through Wielkopolska and Mazovia the road led from west to east. There were certainly also local roads next to the main routes mentioned.<sup>143</sup>

## Slave Trade Sites

As far as slavery is concerned, historians have calculated that a slave who was paid twenty silver Arab dirhems in the Slavic region was sold for two hundred of the same coins in the Baghdad market. The Vikings, who were at the same time, depending on the circumstances, robbers, merchants and craftsmen, drew the greatest profits from this trade.<sup>144</sup>

There is a puzzling passage from Ibrahim ibn Jakub's account of Prague in Bohemia: "It is a city," we read, "built of stone and lime by the river flowing there. It seems larger than other towns and villages. There is a large market stocked with all the goods useful to the inhabitants and travelers. (...) Ruthenians and Slavs come to this city from Karako, with goods. And Jews also come to them from the country of the Turks (i.e. Hungarians) and from the lands of the Mohammedans, also with goods and weights for bullion. And they take slaves from them, and tin, and all kinds of precious furs"<sup>145</sup> Thus, Ibrahim ibn Yaakov confirms the existence of a large slave market in Prague for the countries of southern Europe and the countries of the Middle East.

The settlement with today's name Hedeby (formerly Heithabu), located at the crossroads of the then roads, located at the base of the Jutland Peninsula, had an excellent place for trade, including the slave trade.<sup>146</sup> The market in Hedeby was therefore the main recipient in Western Europe for slaves from the Slavic lands. Of course, the population of Denmark at that time was not the main recipient of goods from the Slavic region – Hedeby traded using sea and land routes with practically the entire world known at that time.

<sup>142</sup> Jerzy Strzelczyk; Mieszko I, Poznań 1992, s. 44

<sup>143</sup> Władysław Goliński; Szlaki lądowe i wodne ziemi chełmińskiej na przestrzeni wieków, Ustka 2020.  
<https://biblioteka.ustka.pl/images/stories/literatura/golinski/art43.pdf>

<sup>144</sup> Skrok Zdzisław; Słowiańska moc, Warszawa 2006, s. 80

<sup>145</sup> Skrok Zdzisław; Słowiańska moc., Warszawa 2006, s. 113

<sup>146</sup> Herbert Jankuhn; Haithabu. Ein Handelsplatz der Wikingerzeit. 8. neubearbeitete und stark erweiterte Auflage. Wachholtz, Neumünster 1986,

[...] The largest slave market, which attracted merchants from distant countries, was located across the Carpathian Mountains, in Prague, Bohemia. Hence the southern locations of these fortified barracks. The slaves, although they could stay there for a long time until the transport was formed, apart from a clay bowl or a cup, did not have many objects with them that they could lose and thus leave a legible mark on archaeologists. So, if we have read the meaning of the archaeological evidence correctly, then in the 10th and the first half of the 11th century Małopolska was a huge slave hunting ground, just like West Africa in the 18th century. Varangian expeditions from Greater Poland and Ruthenia systematically combed the forests and settlements, captured people, gathered them and sent them to the south and west. This is where the wealth and power of the heirs of Askold and Dir residing in Łęczyca and Ostrów Lednicki came from.[...] <sup>147</sup>

### Establishment of a trading centre in the settlement of Łoza

In Western Europe, great raiding expeditions were regularly undertaken by the Normans from the beginning of the ninth century. In 820, a raid along the coast of Flanders was repelled with great difficulty by the coast guard of the Frankish king Louis I. In 845 the Vikings sailed up the Seine and sacked Paris, leaving when Charles the Bald paid them a huge ransom of seven thousand pounds of silver. In 859 they circumnavigated Spain, plundered North Africa, Italy, and sacked Pisa. In places convenient for robbery, they set up fortified camps where they spent the winters, and often lived there longer, even with their families. In the Rhine Delta, their state lasted thirty years. In 881 they carried out a great raid on Aachen, Koblenz, Cologne....

Being intelligent and practical people, the Normans soon gave up brutal raids and robberies, pure "butchery" did not interest them in the long run. They quickly began to settle in coastal areas, especially in the Orkneys, Shetland, Ireland and Britain. They founded towns and craftsmen's workshops, levied taxes on the local population, but in return ensured their safety. As early as 841, the first longforts, fortified coastal settlements and ports were established in Ireland, from which expeditions into the hinterland set out. In England, the first settlement of this kind was established in 876. <sup>148</sup> There is a presumption that a Christian community was founded in Łoza (today's Chełmża) around the year 850. The establishment of trading posts in Kałdus (Kulm, today's Chełmno) and Kulmsee (today's Chełmża) could have taken place at the beginning of the 9th century, i.e. at the time when the Vikings were undertaking great plundering expeditions in Western Europe. They used the site of the old settlements, which were now growing into real trading settlements, centers of local administration, and later cities grew out of them. Chełmno is located on the Vistula River and Chełmża on Lake Chełmżyńskie and the Browina River, which is a tributary of the Vistula River. An example of the creation of a centre of local administration is Kałdus (Chełmno), Łoza (Chełmża) is an example of a trade, border settlement, so it must have a defensive character – it must have defensive ramparts and later defensive walls in order to improve security. An additional danger is the storage of slaves (slaves stayed in prepared rooms until the transport was formed) until they were sent by boats to the west. At the time of Mieszko I's accession to power, there is no problem with the management of these centers – certainly the manager was a man appointed by Mieszko I himself (Mieszko I died in 992, he was succeeded by Bolesław the Brave, who ruled similarly to his father – Mieszko I).

[...] In the case of Mieszko, it can be seen that we are no longer dealing with a leader like Samon or some Polabian chieftain who comes from an illustrious native family, but without full

<sup>147</sup> Zdzisław Skrok; Czy wikingowie stworzyli Polskę?, Warszawa 2013, s. 312

<sup>148</sup> Zdzisław Skrok; Czy wikingowie stworzyli Polskę?, Warszawa 2013, s. 24

power, dependent on a tribal assembly. Mieszko no longer has these obstacles, no chronicler mentions that anything on the part of his subjects limited him. He is no longer the "big man" of the early days of Slavic activity, his position does not depend on military talents and luck, he does not have to listen to a tribal rally. He is the "ruler of the north", as Ibrahim ibn Yakub wrote, independent, independent, powerful and extremely wealthy, since he could afford a great guard armed with excellent foreign weapons, as confirmed by archaeological discoveries, and probably composed mostly of the most excellent warriors of the time, the Scandinavian varangians, as there is a consensus among historians. However, if he was a native ruler, one of many Opole chieftains, who managed to build a unique position and take over absolute power over his fellow countrymen, then it is reasonable to ask when it happened and how he did it? How in one generation he went from the position of an elected leader to the status of an absolute ruler deciding the fate of his subjects?

Let's even assume that Mieszko's skills and luck allowed him to make this leap. However, another important question immediately arises: where did he get the funds to build his state, to buy expensive weapons and to pay his mercenaries? Could the export of honey, linen, amber and grain, as the old archaeologists had predicted, have (if it existed at all) at least partially satisfying these expenses? There can be only one answer – he couldn't.

At that time, there was only one export commodity that brought great profits, and for its export the Slavic region was known throughout the world at that time, from the emirates of Central Asia to the Maghreb countries and the Frankish kingdom. That commodity was slaves. Only by selling people could the "ruler of the Slavic north" finance his state expenses.... [...] <sup>149</sup> At that time, there was only one export commodity that brought great profits, and for its export the Slavic region was known throughout the world at that time, from the emirates of Central Asia to the Maghreb countries and the Frankish kingdom. That commodity was slaves. Only by selling people could the "ruler of the Slavic north" finance his state expenses...

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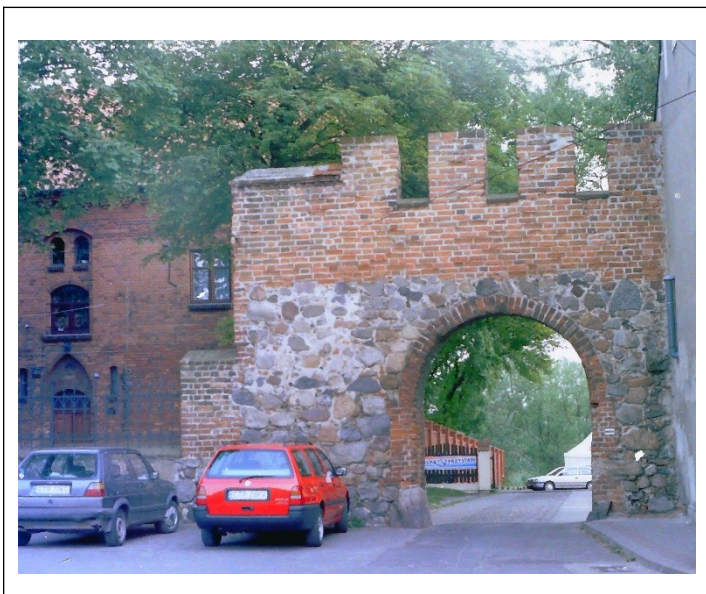
<sup>149</sup> Zdzisław Skrok; Czy wikingowie stworzyli Polskę?, Warszawa 2013, s. 88, 89.

### Defensive fortifications in Łoza (in Kulmsee)

In the ninth and eleventh centuries, large investments were undertaken in the Polish lands. These were, first of all, defensive fortifications of the centres of power, established in a planned manner by the consolidating state power, which, having at its disposal the apparatus of coercion – the teamsters – forced the subject population to implement them. The scale of these non-production works, enforced from the serf population, was considerable: the fortifications of only a few dozen hillforts required cutting, transporting, processing and stacking several million cubic meters of wood.<sup>150</sup>

Later defensive walls had to be built in place of defensive ramparts. It is wrongly assumed that Chełmża, or rather Łoza (a name derived from the Lusatian culture) or Łoza (a Slavic name), was located off the beaten track and was a poor settlement. Nothing could be further from the truth. Łoza was located exactly on the north-south trade route and moreover, from the latest in the ninth century there was a Danish exchange office here, so there was also a deep-sea trade here. Part of the population of the settlement (or town) was engaged in trade. If there was trade, crafts also flourished.... Łoza is a wealthy town, which had to have ramparts, or later walls, to defend its wealth, it could afford to build a brick church as early as around 1200. What makes me laugh the most is when it is said that Chełmża was located off the beaten track – nothing could be further from the truth, Łoza was located in the place where trade routes intersected and undoubtedly took full advantage of this fact.

Ryc. 40. The gate of the defensive walls survived. 2007.



Źródło: Fotografia Marii Golińskiej.

According to Piotr Birecki, the defensive walls were built quite late. [...] The turbulent times of the second half of the thirteenth century and frequent wars forced the construction of stronger fortifications. It was not until the end of his life that the third bishop of Chełmno, Werner (d. 1291), took steps in this direction. During his stay in Rotenburg in 1290, he obtained from the Grand Master of the Order, Burchard von Schwanden, before his departure for the Holy Land, the right to charge the inhabitants of the Chełmża area with an order to participate in the construction of fortifications and moats around the city. These commitments concerned the population who, in the event of a

<sup>150</sup> Witold Krassowski; *Dzieje budownictwa i architektury na ziemiach Polski*, tom I, Warszawa 1989 s. 104.

threat, would take refuge in Chełmża. Bishop Werner did not live to see this plan come to fruition, as he died on 20 October 1291 and was buried in the Chełmża Cathedral. Therefore, the first stage of the construction of the stone and brick defensive walls of the town with towers and raised gates was probably started in the times of Werner's successor, Bishop Henry (1292 - 1301). Hypothetically, it can also be assumed that the construction of the Chełmża fortification system - in its main assumption (i.e. walls with towers surrounding the town on all sides and the city gates) was completed during the reign of the next bishop Herman (1303 - 1311), known m.in for the beginning of the construction of the brick church of St. James in Toruń or the castle near Wąbrzeźno. [...] <sup>151</sup>

## Construction of the first brick church in the Chełmno region

### Giving land to the Church

After the introduction of Christianity, the prince maintained the clergy like his other functionaries and treated them similarly. Thus, he gave individual ecclesiastical institutions a certain part of the tributes of the population from individual castle districts, a certain share in customs duties, market fees, etc. as well as land and, in order to facilitate the management of this land, people. In some cases, instead of a part of the tributes from the boroughs, the prince gave the whole of these tributes to the ecclesiastical institutions and renounced to the Church some of the duties of the people from these districts. The nobles followed in the footsteps of the ruler and began to donate smaller or larger parts of their estates to church institutions. As a result, the ownership of ecclesiastical institutions grew rapidly <sup>152</sup>. It is puzzling that there was a community and the maintenance of the temple or even the temples, and the maintenance of the priests of the Catholic community of Łoży (Germanic, or more precisely, the Nordic name of Kulmsee) as late as in the 9th century – perhaps the priests of this community simply lived on alms? Later, i.e. in the thirteenth century, even before the Teutonic administration, it is known that the church in Łoża was given tithes <sup>153</sup>.

### The number of Polish churches in the 11th-12th centuries

The primitiveness of the houses in the 11th-12th centuries was contrasted not so much by the defensive fortifications as by the churches of the time, sometimes sophisticated even from the perspective of today. Churches in the Polish lands were already quite numerous at that time. According to older calculations, there were about 150 churches in 12th-century Poland, according to more recent analyses, there were about 177 or even about 250 churches in the diocese of Krakow alone. Calculations indicate that in the Polish lands about 1000 have a metric dating back to before 1200. <sup>154</sup>

### A multitude of spatial solutions for churches

In view of the small number of common features, the spatial solution of each of our churches built in the eleventh and twelfth centuries is essentially different. Most of them, which include cathedrals and some collegiate churches and monastery temples, are basilica buildings and

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<sup>151</sup> Piotr Birecki, *Dzieje sztuki w Chełmży*, Chełmża 2001, s. 15, 16.

<sup>152</sup> Witold Krassowski; *Dzieje budownictwa i architektury na ziemiach Polski*, tom I, Warszawa 1989 s. 113.

<sup>153</sup> Stanisław Kujot; *Dzieje Prus Królewskich*. cz. I, s. 886, 887.

<sup>154</sup> Witold Krassowski; *Dzieje budownictwa i architektury na ziemiach Polski*, tom I, Warszawa 1989 s. 122.

none of them has a western transept (often found in the architecture of Western Europe), but next to churches with an eastern transept they appear on equal terms and without transepts<sup>155</sup>...

## Diocese of Płock and Włocławek

In the early period of history, long before the establishment of the diocese of Płock, the Catholic community of Łoza, i.e. today's Chełmża, was developing. Mentions of the construction of churches in Łoza are late, although sources allow us to draw conclusions about the time of construction of the first brick church in Łoza. Below, with quotations from the book by Rev. Prof. Stanisław Kujot, I decided to use the explanation when the first brick church in Łoza was consecrated.

[...] We think, therefore, that the first churches after castles and other prominent settlements could have been founded contemporaneously with episcopal cathedrals, or even earlier than them...

... Although both of these lands, i.e. the Chełmno Land and the Gdańsk Land, in the first day of history, until the death of Bolesław Krzywousty, were subject to the same sceptre, Pomerania was already part of the Kuyavian diocese, while the Chełmno Land was under the administration of the bishops of Płock. However, a larger division took place between the two lands in the twelfth century, because Gdańsk Pomerania had its own princes from the very descent of Wrymouth until the end of 1294, and then passed under the rule of Przemysław of Greater Poland and his successors, until it was conquered by the Teutonic Knights in 1308 and 1309. Meanwhile, the land of Chełmno was a part of the Duchy of Masovia under the princes of the House of Piasts, until in 1231 the Teutonic Knights settled here in Old Toruń. Under them, it passed through the rest of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century, from 1243 a separate diocese. In 1246 it already had its first bishop. In 1309 both lands came under the rule of the Teutonic Knights and from then on they shared the same fate politically. There is only a small break between 1808 and 1815, when the Chełmno land belonged to the Grand Duchy of Warsaw. However, the diocesan government remained separate for centuries, until in 1821, by virtue of the bull *De salute animarum*, the small diocese of Chełmno grew to its present size, which also includes the Pomeranian archdeaconry. Therefore, following the historical development of the diocese, we will first consider the age of the churches in that part of the diocese which lies on the left bank of the Vistula, and here we will insert separate chapters on the sources and foundations of our work. In the second part, in which we will consider the churches on the right bank of the Vistula, we will base ourselves on the same principles. [...]<sup>156</sup>

There is a probable date of the construction of the wooden church in Łoza determined to be the year 979 at the latest, the date recorded in the article from the Messenger of the Blessed Jute as the latest time of the construction of the church of St. Nicholas in Łoza, as a church of wooden construction. The establishment of the parish in Łoza before even the dioceses had been established; Neither Włocławek nor Płock. I will come back to the issue of building the church of St. Nicholas in Chełmża, because it is possible to read documents saying that the parish in Łoza was founded in the ninth century and the brick church was built in 1200. The information about the existence of a wooden church as early as 979 is probably based on bishops' reports, specifically on the report of the visitation of Strzesz (bishop Olszowski) published in *Fontes TNT* and there are

<sup>155</sup> Witold Krassowski; *Dzieje budownictwa i architektury na ziemiach Polski*, tom I, Warszawa 1989 s. 125.

<sup>156</sup> Kujot Stanisław; *Kto założył parafie w dzisiejszej diecezji chełmińskiej? (z mapą) część pierwsza*, nakładem Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu, Toruń 1903, s. 36, 37.

mentions of Christians in Chełmża around 980. And yet there is a simple reasoning: where there is a Christian parish, there must be a church, or at least a chapel.

## Sources for the Church of St. Nicholas

I will quote a few more excerpts from Stanisław Kujot's book to allow the reader to find themselves closer to the medieval world. [...] "In order to say everything, we would like to point out that the estates of the episcopal see in the land of Chełmno were not a locked key, but were designated in four places. The reason for this was that the Teutonic Knights in the vicinity of Chełmża, or rather Kulmsee, did not have so many peasant settlements to provide for the cathedral, and they could not remove the nobility from their estates against their will. It was therefore necessary to look for the location of suitable settlements, even if such a distribution was less convenient for the episcopal see. But for us it furnishes irrefutable proof that it was already before the end of 1233 (for at that time his brother Henry Sturluz made the measurements at the latest). The estates of the nobility in the land of Chełmno were dense, so that the country was not a desert around 1244....<sup>157</sup>

"After the first war with the Prussians, Bishop Heidenreich raised the village of Łoza to the rank of towns in 1251 and gave it the name of Culmsee — Culmense —. As far as certainty can be ascertained, all the settlements did not take place until after 1282"<sup>158</sup> ...

The foundation document of the cathedral from 1251 also clearly mentions the parish church in Kulmsee. The Bishop gave it to his Chapter — *et in civitate Culmense 12 mansos et parochiam eiusdem civitatis*"<sup>159</sup>. [...]

An analysis of documents from the agreement of 1248 becomes even clearer. Thus it reads: [...] The bishop at once chose his seat in the main part of these estates, in Łoza, which he called Culmsee from the title of his diocese, i.e. Chełmno by the lake, and among the Polish population it took the form of Chełmża due to the slaughter. The first time we meet her — Culmse — is already in the act of agreement of July 1248, concluded between the bishop and the deputy grandmaster Henri de Honstein together with the inhabitants of the Chełmno land. It already speaks of the grain owed to the church of Chełmża — *eccles Culmenseensi*. From this it can be seen that the bishop, after his arrival in the diocese, quickly chose the episcopal church, which was undoubtedly the parish church in Łoza.[...]<sup>160</sup> Thus, the church of St. Nicholas did not burn down, but was suitable as an episcopal church, probably the only brick church in the entire Chełmno region at that time. In 1248 the churches of Toruń, Chełmno and Grudziądz did not yet exist.

The number of different names of Chełmża appearing in medieval source documentation is puzzling. These are the names: 1222 r. Łoza, 1248 Culmense, Culmsee, Culminse, Cholmense, Culmenze, Culmensee, Colmenzee, Colmensee, Colmenzee, Culmenzee, Kolmense, 1466. Chełmża alias Culmenseh, Culmeze, Culmensehe, Colmezehe, Colmsee.<sup>161</sup> Prof. Stanisław Kujot adds to these

<sup>157</sup> Kujot Stanisław; *Kto założył parafie w dzisiejszej diecezji chełmińskiej? (z mapą) część druga*, nakładem Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu, Toruń 1904, s. 47, 48.

<sup>158</sup> Kujot Stanisław; *Kto założył parafie w dzisiejszej diecezji chełmińskiej? (z mapą) część druga*, nakładem Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu, Toruń 1904, s. 65.

<sup>159</sup> Kujot Stanisław; *Kto założył parafie w dzisiejszej diecezji chełmińskiej? (z mapą) część druga*, nakładem Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu, Toruń 1904, s. 67.

<sup>160</sup> Stanisław Kujot; *Dzieje Prus Królewskich*. cz. I, s. 886, 887.

<sup>161</sup> Porębska Krystyna- opr., Grzegorz Maksymilian- współpraca, Biskup Marian- red.; *Słownik historyczno-geograficzny ziemi chełmińskiej w średniowieczu*; Wyd. PAN 1971, s. 21.

names of places: [...] before issuing the privilege for Chełmno and Toruń, the Teutonic Knights and Christian agreed to exchange the bishop's tithes from the Chełmno land for grain tribute. In addition, the Teutonic Knights granted the bishop 600 voloks of land, which he gave to him near Łoza, i.e. later Chełmża, in Wąbrzeźno, Bobrowo and on the Drwęca River, in later Mszana — in Łoza. .. et in Wambrez et in Boberow et super Drivanciam — they measured. Perhaps Christian had already established a seat of missionary clergy in his Łoza, and Heidenreich settled there from the very beginning and elevated it to the see of the diocese, for the year 1248 speaks of the measures of grain which are given to the church of Chełmża — *que ecclesie Culmseensi solvuntur* —. Doubtless he also gave his seat the name of Culmsee, resembling the name of the diocese taken from the main town of Chełmno. Next to the new name, the original name was quickly forgotten, although as late as 1246 the master of the village knew only the Łoza — the Łoza. The local people changed the name of Culmsee to Chełmża.

On June 22, 1251, the bishop laid the foundation stone of the magnificent cathedral, which has survived to this day. [...]<sup>162</sup>

Figure 41. The Co-Cathedral Basilica of the Holy Trinity. 2007.



Source: Photograph from the collection of Władysław Goliński

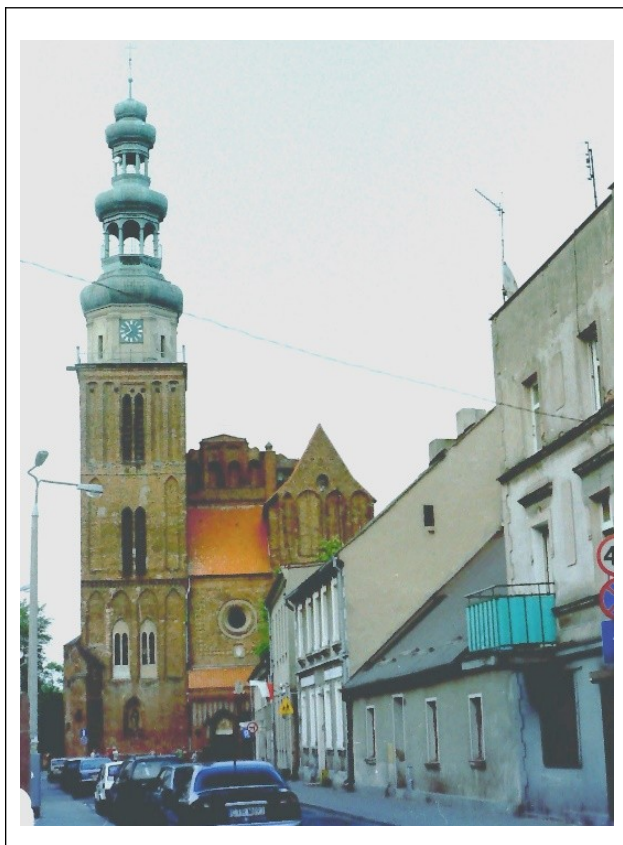
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<sup>162</sup> Stanisław Kujot; Kto założył parafie w dzisiejszej diecezji chełmińskiej? (z mapą) część druga, nakładem Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu, Toruń 1904; s. 42.

## Description of the architecture of the parish church and the cathedral (the cathedral has only a mentioned description) in Chełmża

Below are some excerpts from the literature on architecture, taken from [in:] Mroczo Teresa, Arsyński Marian, *ARCHITEKTURA GOTYCKA W POLSCE*, tom II, W- wa 1995, Inst. Sztuki PAN, s.98, 99.

Figure 42. Baroque tower of the Gothic co-cathedral basilica of the Holy Trinity. 2007.



Source: Photograph by Maria Goliński.

[...]... The cathedral in Chełmża, the archaizing original concept of which has already been mentioned, was rebuilt after being destroyed by the Prussian and Lithuanian invasions, and these works lasted until about 1359. [...]<sup>163</sup>

<sup>163</sup> Mroczo Teresa, Arsyński Marian; *Architektura gotycka w Polsce*, tom II, W- wa 1995, s.98, 99.

[...] ... Until the beginning of the fourteenth century, however, the model of the town parish church was not definitively developed and the use of various solutions can be observed. **For example, in Chełmża, at the same time as the expansion of the cathedral was undertaken, the parish church of St. Nicholas was erected, where a basilica system was used, later slightly obliterated by a change in the arrangement of the roofs!** Designs were often transformed and changed, which can be observed in the hall parish church of St. Catherine in Braniewo, which at the end of the thirteenth century began to be erected as a basilica. It can be assumed that with the use of the basilica system, a specific roofing was most often introduced: a separate gable roof was erected over each bay of the aisles, transverse to the longitudinal axis of the building, which made it possible to place quite large windows in the upper part of the walls of the central nave. A preserved example of such a solution is the parish church in Morąg, built in the 1st quarter of the 14th century, and this is what the parish church in Chełmża originally looked like, where as a result of the introduction of a continuous pitched roof over the aisles, the direct lighting of the main nave was eliminated. However, a similar solution can also be found in the hall building, which is the parish church in Chełmno, which will be discussed later. [...]<sup>161</sup>

### The original name of the church of St. Nicholas

The parish church of St. James has the following, unfortunately, quite late source mentions (here only the thirteenth century are mentioned): from 1251 – the parish in Chełmża receives 12 lans<sup>164</sup>; from 1264 the parish church has 12 lans<sup>165</sup>; from 1275 is mentioned the parson Gerhardus<sup>166</sup>; currently, this church is dedicated to St. Nicholas.<sup>167</sup>

### The appearance of the walls of the Church of St. Nicholas after alterations

The church was rebuilt several times. However, the most significant reconstructions are those of the nineteenth century, namely; A scandalous issue is also the assessment of scientists from Toruń – for the architectural style of the church of St. Nicholas, and more precisely its first brick image – in my opinion it was a three-nave, brick basilica in the Romanesque style. Later, the roofs were rebuilt and a tower was added. A transept between the chancel and the nave was built. A porch was added to cover the portal of the main entrance.

<sup>164</sup> Urkundenbuch des Bisthums Culm, t. 1-2, wyd. C.P. Woelky, Danzig 1887, nr 29.

<sup>165</sup> Urkundenbuch des Bisthums Culm, t. 1-2, wyd. C.P. Woelky, Danzig 1887, nr 72.

<sup>166</sup> Urkundenbuch des Bisthums Culm, t. 1-2, wyd. C.P. Woelky, Danzig 1887, nr 85, 86.

<sup>167</sup> Johann Heise, Bau u. Kunstdenkmäler der Provinz Westpreussen, t. 2; Kulmerland u. Löbau, Danzig 1887-1895, 2, 136-59; Die Bau und Kunstdenkmäler des Kreises Thorn, Danzig 1889, Kulmsee, S. 136.

<https://biblioteka.ustka.pl/images/stories/literatura/golinski/art60a.pdf>

Heise, unfortunately, did not provide a source for the original invocation – this information regarding the invocation of St. James for the parish church in Chełmża seems to be untrue for this church.

Figure 43. Church of St. Nicholas in Chełmża, 2007 The photo shows the northern wall of the presbytery.



Source: Photograph by Maria Goliński.

In the attached photo you can clearly see the horizontal border marked with an old, medieval brick and a brick made in the 19th century. After all, it follows that it was not only about changing the roofs, maybe it was also about changing the top of the windows? Or, which was successful for many years, a change in the style classifying the church as neo-Gothic.

The Gothic style is also called the pointed-arch style. However, this is not the right term. The pointed arch was present not only in Gothic architecture in the period from the mid-thirteenth century to the beginning of the sixteenth century, but also appeared (much earlier) in the Romanesque style from the tenth to the thirteenth century and was common in Islamic architecture.

A Romanesque church is a building composed of simple blocks of raw, heavy and monumental character. Thick walls and narrow window and door openings, massive towers, emphasize the defensive character of the assumptions. Churches built in the Romanesque style were not only centres of worship, they also had a defensive function, providing shelter during sieges.

## Location of the church

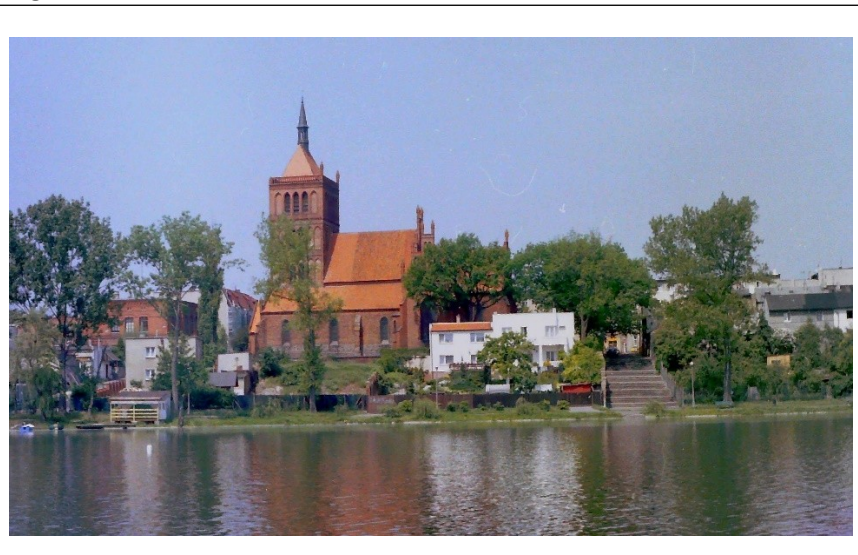
Romanesque churches were often built under the tops of hills, but not on the tops themselves. Symbolically, this corresponded to a location close to God, but not in the place where He dwells<sup>168</sup>. This is how the church of St. Nicholas in Chełmża is built – under the very top of the hill, but not at the very top.

## Solutions for portals of Romanesque churches

The solution of portals in churches of the 11th and 12th centuries seems to have been a separate issue, not related to the treatment of church walls. As far as the warp of the portal is concerned, it consisted in increasing the opening, and especially its width (usually already larger than that which was necessary to provide the faithful with free access to the interior), by placing the door not in the outer face of the wall, but in its depth, and preceded by a series of steps, the clearance of which was getting wider and wider. In the upper part of the portal, the equivalent of these faults were the archivolts resting on them, vaulted in a semicircular shape (pointed-arch openings began to appear in Poland only in the first half of the thirteenth century)...<sup>169</sup>

The Romanesque style had already been abandoned in France at the beginning of the 13th century. Later, churches in this style were stopped in Germany and Italy. I think that we should take seriously the information of Prof. Witold Krassowski about the use of pointed-arch openings in Polish Romanesque churches only in the first half of the 13th century. Therefore, I am making an amendment that the brick church of St. Nicholas in Chełmża could have been built as a Romanesque building in the first years of the 13th century, and not, as I claimed, in about 1150. Therefore, the parish would be subordinate to the diocese of Płock.

Figure 44. Church of St. Nicholas in Chełmża. Summer 2007.

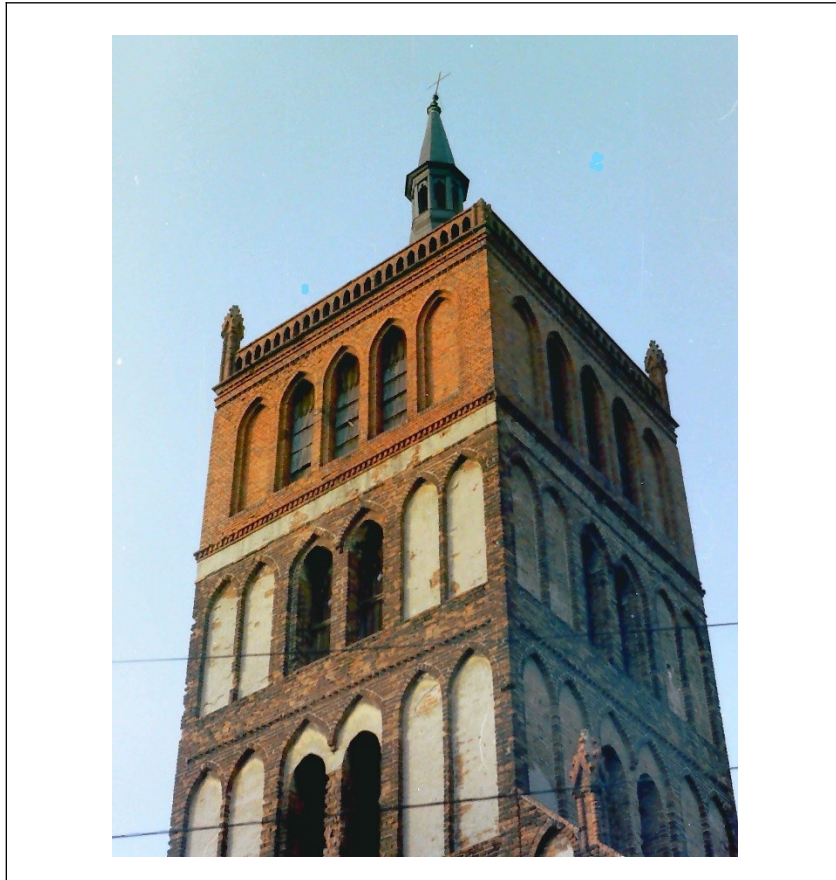


Source: Photograph taken by Władysław Golinski.

<sup>168</sup> Joanna Derdowska; *Praskie przemiany: sacrum i desakralizacja przestrzeni miejskiej Pragi*, Kraków 2006, s. 41.

<sup>169</sup> Witold Krassowski; *Dzieje budownictwa i architektury na ziemiach Polski*, tom I, Warszawa 1989 s. 128, 129.

Figure 45. Romanesque tower of the church of St. Nicholas in Chełmża. The tower has an added segment and turrets, and a Teutonic lantern in the 19th century.



Source: Photograph by Maria Goliński.

### Concluding thoughts on the Church of St. Nicholas

It is very difficult to believe, in the light of the argument, the date of the foundation of the church of St. Nicholas given in the Messenger of the Blessed Jute, determined before the year 979, although there is a report from the visitation of Strzesz (bishop Olszowski) published in Fontes TNT and there are mentions of Christians in Chełmża around the year 980. I take this reasoning, with the assumption of the date of the foundation of the church to about 979 (or earlier), as an obvious assumption. The evidence for the date of the parish church's creation, such as the scientific literature presented above, was collected mainly by Father Stanisław Kujot – a man of the Church, who was also sympathetic to the Teutonic Knights, who did not shy away from falsifying history, always to their advantage. The established church, dependent on Gniezno, is out of the question, possibly on the diocese of Płock, but at that time when the parish was established, there was no bishop in Płock, we do not have documentation and we do not know the whole history of the building of the church of St. Nicholas, and we also do not know the history of the parish from sources. In addition, the buildings of Łoza do not exclude the existence of several early medieval churches.

For example, in today's Łoza, Kruszwica, there were five churches. But Kruszwica has its sources coming mainly from archaeological works. [...] In the course of our arguments, we have

mentioned on various occasions the early medieval churches of Kruszwica. However, these are not all that can be located within the boundaries of the entire settlement complex of this area. Almost every more compact building in the twelfth century had its own church. Two churches are built on the eastern bank. One of them is the Romanesque austerity and beauty of the monumental church of St. Peter, erected at the beginning of the twelfth century, with a modest but dignified interior design. From the old décor of the church, traces of painting of the arches of the main nave and modest portal columns have been preserved. From this church, or perhaps its predecessor from the eleventh century, comes the now weathered sculpture of the capital, embedded in the tower of the collegiate church. From the old furnishings, a beautiful stone baptismal font from the twelfth century has been preserved.

The second church in this area was the church of St. Gotthard. At least two churches were erected on the west bank. One of them, dedicated to the Virgin Mary, may be near Piasta Street, and the other St. Clement's, near today's St. Theresa's Church. Thus, for some time there were five early medieval churches in Kruszwica. There could have been more, but the memory of five has survived to our day in one form or another. [...]<sup>170</sup>

From Hedeby or Roskilde to Loza, the Viking boat cruise lasted about 2-3 weeks in average weather conditions. Given the ability to gain influence, no head of state would miss an opportunity like this – he would not fill a church in a settlement where there is already a Nordic cantor and perhaps even a Nordic haven. Now this is a simple answer to the question: since when has there been a parish in Loza? The parish in Loza has existed since about 845. When was the first wooden church in Łoza built? The church was consecrated around 850. However, confirmation of this must be sought in the Danish or Norwegian archives (I assume no access to the archives in the Vatican).

I give the year of completion of the construction of the brick church as the latest, which results from the analysis of Pomeranian documents, i.e. the year 1200. The Teutonic Knights' documents do not mention that the church was built after 1248 (the Teutonic Knights would undoubtedly have created an incredible number of documents to boast of the newly built church), the sources only mention the reconstructions and renovations of the church of St. Nicholas that took place after 1248.

In 1222 he mentions "castrum Colmen per multos annos a prutenis destructum et totaliter desolatum"; Duke Konrad of Masovia allows Bishop Christian to have a court and chapter in the city of Chełmno<sup>171</sup>. Łoza may as well be thought of in this notation. After all, in 1222 there was already a stone and brick church in Chełmża – see the source from 1251. The foundation document of the cathedral from 1251 also mentions the parish church, so the church must have already physically existed.

A scandalous matter was also the assessment of scientists from Toruń for the architectural style of the church of St. Nicholas<sup>172</sup>, To be more precise, its first brick image – in my opinion it was a three-nave basilica, made of stone and brick, in the Romanesque style. Later, the roofs were rebuilt and the tower was rebuilt. A transept between the chancel and the nave was built. A porch was added to cover the Romanesque portal of the main entrance.... The form of the turrets decorating the roofs in various parts is not a special feature of the church in Chełmża.

<sup>170</sup> Hensel Witold i Broniewska Aleksandra; *Starodawna Kruszwica od czasów najdawniejszych do roku 1271*, Wrocław 1961, s. 126.

<sup>171</sup> T. Mroczko i M. Arsyński; *Architektura gotycka w Polsce t. II*, Warszawa 1995, s. 40.

<sup>172</sup> T. Mroczko i M. Arsyński; *Architektura gotycka w Polsce t. II*, Warszawa 1995, s. 98 i 99

The style assessment expressed in the 1927 article quoted earlier clearly defines the style of St. Nicholas Church as Gothic. And this is exactly how he writes: "It is a three-nave, cross, brick Gothic, with a heavy unfinished tower of the Teutonic type, heavy from the front".

I've read some literature about architectural styles, but I've never read about heavy, unfinished towers of the Teutonic type. Heavy Gothic?

Such furnishings as the main altar, pulpits, three bells from the tower, and a ten-register organ have remained in this church since they were purchased. Unfortunately, the most valuable side altars, the most valuable canvases went to the post-cathedral church. After the church is regained by the Catholic Church, the altars and paintings should be returned to the Church of St. Nicholas in Chełmża.

We have confirmation of the existence of Christianity in the Chełmno land, but it is a papal bull from the thirteenth century and it is a record in a general form.

[...] Meanwhile, the papal curia did not allow itself to be deceived by the alleged grant of Prussia by Prince Conrad. In his bull of 3 August 1234, Pope Gregory accepted the fact that Duke Konrad had granted — this time — not a castle, but "the land called Chełmno" as it had been inhabited by Christians since ancient times, while as for Prussia, the fact that it had been granted by Conrad was completely ignored. The Pope, having acknowledged that the Teutonic Knights, after taking over the land of Chełmno, had managed to extend Christian rule to a part of Prussia, decided, in order to encourage the Order to further efforts, to take this conquered part of Prussia "under the jurisdiction and property of St. Peter" and at the same time to give it to the Order for eternal possession, so that this land would henceforth not be subject to any other authority; the same was to happen to the rest of Prussia when it was conquered by the Teutonic Knights in the future. [...]<sup>173</sup>

Slightly older information comes from bishops' reports, bishops personally visited the lands of their diocese. Piotr Birecki from the Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń came across the report on the visitation of Strzesz (bishop of Olszowski) published in *Fontes TNT*, there are mentions of Christians in Chełmża around the year 980. Therefore, in Łoza we are not dealing with periodic missionary activity, but with the existence of a parish.

Where there is a Catholic parish, there must be a church; a church or at least a chapel. This old, although later built in Łoza is the church of St. Nicholas, consecrated around 1200, although taking into account the settlement outlined in the prehistoric settlement plan, it suggests the existence of a larger number of early medieval wooden churches in 980.

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<sup>173</sup> M. Biskup i G. Labuda; *Dzieje zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach*; Gdańsk 1986, s. 127.

Figure 46. Church of St. Nicholas in Chełmża. 2014.



Source: Photograph taken by the author: Doniaszwufoto , Wikimedia Commons.

[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ko%C5%9Bci%C3%B3%C5%82\\_%C5%9Bw.\\_Miko%C5%82aja\\_w\\_Che%C5%82m%C5%BCy\\_\(widok\\_z\\_drugiej\\_strony\\_jeziora\).JPG](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ko%C5%9Bci%C3%B3%C5%82_%C5%9Bw._Miko%C5%82aja_w_Che%C5%82m%C5%BCy_(widok_z_drugiej_strony_jeziora).JPG)

## The Chełmno Land in the 13th century, i.e. in the pre- and early historical period (The role of Chełmża in the wars with Prussia in the 13th century)

History of the Chełmno Land in the Piast Period

### **Denials of the Prussian occupation of the Chełmno land during the reign of the Piast dynasty**

The author of the study on the Piast period in the Chełmno land is decisive in his conclusions and says that the message of the chronicle of Peter of Dusburg about the conquest of the Chełmno land by the Prussians cannot be maintained. This is contradicted by numerous contemporary sources, and it also contains internal errors and contradictions. There was never any Prussian occupation in this area, only plundering expeditions, the two largest of which took place around 1217 and around 1230.<sup>174</sup>

[...] The results of archaeological research are consistent with onomastic data. According to J. Antoniewicz, the area of the Chełmno Land does not show any traces of the Prussians' stay there, apart from traces of fires in hillforts and settlements. The furnishings of the graves in the cemeteries in Kałdus and Wroń are dominated by Slavic products. Larger quantities of Prussian products can be found only in the Lubawa region and in the arc of the upper Drwęca. Some light on ethnic relations in the first half of the thirteenth century is shed by a document from 1257. It states that the bishop of Płock received from the Teutonic Knights an estate on Lake Chełmżyńskie, located according to the document near the manor house of Lutoldi the Deaf (Lutoldi Surdi), as well as another 100 lans, "which in Polish are called radła". It follows that the subject of the grant were settlements inhabited by the Polish population. The aforementioned manor house of Lutold is now Głuchowo, apparently named by the people from the nickname of its owner. [...] <sup>175</sup>

### **Document from "LONYZY" and the grant of the Chełmno land to the Prussian bishop Christian – fragments mentioning Chełmża**

[...] The deed in question (for the avoidance of confusion in connection with the disputed location of the place of issue, we will refer to it as the Lonyz Document according to the text) is dated August 5, 1222 and refers to this act. However, one cannot ignore the rather fundamental differences between the well-known document of Conrad's conferral and the papal confirmation. In the first of them, it is mentioned that a part of the Chełmno land was granted, 11 former castles with their associated villages, 6 enumerated villages subordinate to these towns, 26 villages that once belonged to Zyra, princely inheritances near Łoza (today Chełmża), the Grut (Gruda?) forest with neighboring villages, and other better villages and princely inheritances, not mentioned, a total of 100 inheritances in the Chełmno land. [...] <sup>176</sup>

[...] Due to the fact that the affiliation of some castles and estates is not mentioned in Konrad's document – due to the predetermined affiliation of some inheritances, their total number in the grant to Christian could indeed reach a hundred, despite the smaller number mentioned by

<sup>174</sup> Bieniak J.; Studia nad dziejami ziemi chełmińskiej w okresie piastowskim, Rocznik Grudziądzki, t. 5/6, s. 68

<sup>175</sup> K. Ślaski; Problem zajęcia ziemi chełmińskiej przez Prusów [w:] Acta Baltico-Slavica 6, Białystok 1969; s. 216

<sup>176</sup> Jan Powierski; Studia nad strukturą administracyjno-terytorialną ziemi chełmińskiej i michałowskiej w okresie piastowskim [w:] Bydgoskie Towarzystwo Naukowe, Prace Komisji Historii I, Warszawa-Poznań 1973; S. 7

name in the same deed. It seems, therefore, that both castles and estates were larger or smaller complexes of smaller inheritances connected with them, which we can conventionally call estates. An example of such an estate may be the ducal inheritance near Chełmża according to the words of Konrad's document, probably identical to the complex of estates that Bishop Christian then left behind when the rest of the Chełmno estates were handed over to the Teutonic Knights and which was later in the possession of the bishops of Chełmno Land. [...] <sup>177</sup>

[...] Assuming that the papal confirmation is earlier than Konrad's document, we can assume that before August 1223 (the document could have referred to Christian's earlier consent to the surrender of Chełmno, since already in July 1223 the castellan of Chełmno appears) the Prussian bishop returned Chełmno to Konrad with the rightful estate. In exchange for the Chełmno stronghold (or rather its area) he received 4 other former strongholds (Ruda, Głębokie, Turzno and Pień) with their villages and affiliations. They are located eccentrically in relation to the former grant. On the other hand, he probably received three new single villages and two larger estates for the Chełmno estate: Chełmża and Żyry. Even if the Chełmżyna estate belonged to the hillfort in Głębokie, which seems probable due to its location, the extent of the Żyro key, which could not have belonged to any of the newly granted old strongholds, testifies to the importance of the Chełmno estate. [...] <sup>178</sup>

#### Chełmno Land in the 13th and 14th centuries

From the beginning of the 13th century, the Chełmno Land was the area between the Drwęca, Vistula and Osa rivers. Its eastern border ran along the line of the Lutryna River. From the second half of the thirteenth century, the so-called Lubawa Land began to be included in the Chełmno Land. Also, the area on the right bank of the Osa River around the town of Łasina was included in the Chełmno land. In 1317, the small Michałów Land, located opposite Brodnica on the Left Bank of the Drwęca River, was also incorporated into it <sup>179</sup>.

#### Crusaders

The German Order at the Hospital of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Jerusalem was established to take care of pilgrims going to the tomb of Christ in Jerusalem during the Crusades or warriors who defended the Crusades kingdom in Palestine against attacks by Muslims and Saracens. Only with time, following the example of other Crusader orders of the time, such as the Knights Hospitaller and the Knights Templar, did the Teutonic Order also include knightly activities in its hospital and care services. The latter soon came to the fore, overshadowing hospital duties. However, there is a fundamental contradiction between inflicting wounds and healing them; this ambivalent activity recurred later in the subsequent history of the Order, both as an accusation and as a justification <sup>180</sup>.

Konrad the Duke of Masovia brought the Teutonic Knights to defend the borders of his duchy against the attacks of the Prussians, Yotviags and Lithuanians, as well as in the quiet hope that with their help he would be able to control the Prussian tribes that threatened his duchy the most. Meanwhile, the Teutonic Order not only occupied Prussia for itself, but also, taking advantage of the prosperity, seized Gdańsk Pomerania; during the fourteenth century he did not hide his intentions to appropriate further Polish and Lithuanian lands. In this way, he unleashed a long-term conflict with Poland and Lithuania. All this eventually ended with secularization, i.e. the liquidation of the Teutonic state in Prussia (1525), and later also in Livonia (1561). <sup>181</sup>

<sup>177</sup> Jan Powierski; op. cit.; s. 16

<sup>178</sup> Jan Powierski; op. cit.; s. 17, 18.

<sup>179</sup> Marian Biskup, *Ziemia chełmińska w przeszłości*, Toruń, 1961, s. VI

<sup>180</sup> M. Biskup i G. Labuda; *Dzieje zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach*; Gdańsk 1986, s. 9

<sup>181</sup> M. Biskup i G. Labuda; op. cit.; s. 12

## Documents "defining" the ownership of the Chełmno land in the Middle Ages

Even before the year 1222 Christian – the missionary bishop of Prussia was endowed with the following landed estates according to the record in the old documents: [...] ... Duke Konrad of Masovia gave him (Christian, the missionary bishop of Prussia), perhaps not immediately, but certainly between 1217 and 1223, the following estates in the Chełmno land: Kolno, Mirakowo, Czarze and Bolimin, the castles of Grudziądz, Wapcz and Pokrzywno, and the estates of Wieldząd, Gzin and Płutowo — Colno videlicet, Mirche, Charnese et Bolemino, necnon castra Gruzenz, Wabsk et Copriwen, ac possessiones Velsaz scilicet Kisin et Plot<sup>182</sup>....[...] So there is no mention of such castles as Loza (Beds) or Kaldus. The silence about Chełmża, in which there is certainly a Catholic parish and probably a parish church built of bricks, must testify to the existence of Christian's episcopal see there at that time. There is no confirmation in the surviving documents that Loza was Christian's seat. The legally defined capital of the diocese is to become Loza only in 1251.

The document of transfer of the Chełmno land by Konrad Mazowiecki to the Prussian bishop Christian was drawn up in 1222. On this basis, in 1223 a document was drawn up to transfer Christian's donation to the Teutonic Knights. Below you will find Stanisław Kujot's opinion on the authenticity of the documents themselves. [...] However, from the previous year 1222 there are copies of an extensive document of the agreement concluded in Łowicz between the Prussian bishop and Prince Konrad. Their content shall be such as, *»that the bishop allows the newly assembled crusaders, led by Henry of Silesia and the bishops of Breslau and Lubusz, to rebuild the desolate city of Chełmno before they advance to Prussia. On the other hand, Konrad gives permission to the Bishop of Prussia of 23 formerly existing castles. Moreover, the prince gave to this bishop one hundred villages and estates with appurtenances, in the same right as the said castles, of which he is already giving him 6 named by name, and all the villages that Komes Żyro owned near Chełmno, and there are 26 of them enumerated by name; then the princely estates near Łoza or Chełmża with their appurtenances, as well as all the princely villages around the Grutski forest together with the forest and all the better villages and princely estates with adjoining lands up to the number of one hundred with all freedom. In addition, the prince gave the bishop all the land about which he and the Prussians had a dispute.«*

Well, the whole donation. There is more than enough of it, an almost accurate list of towns and villages from the Chełmno region! The difference between this document and the confirmation of Honorius III in 1223 is immeasurable! Of course, the pope had another document in front of him, and another one was kept here. But the one that has been preserved is not an original, but only a repetition, and it has been preserved in four copies. They were based on an original composed for Konrad's real donation, but we do not know this. The purpose of the falsifiat is visible: The Teutonic Knights needed it in order to prove to someone that if the Duke of Masovia and the Bishop of Płock still had any rights in the devastated, uninhabited and defenceless land of Chełmno at the beginning of the 13th century, they renounced them by virtue of this document to Christian, and in 1231 he ceded all his rights, except purely bishops' rights, to the German Order, and therefore the Teutonic Knights were the owners of the land of Chełmno according to the law and equity. [...] <sup>183</sup>

[...] The change in the nature of the endowment from legal and private to public law is the subject of further efforts of the authorities of the Order in the following years. The course of these efforts is revealed not only by authentic documents, but also by protocols and forgeries, which on this

<sup>182</sup> Pommerellisches Urkundenbuch, 33.

<sup>183</sup> Stanisław Kujot; Kto założył parafie w dzisiejszej diecezji chełmińskiej? (z mapą), część druga, nakładem towarzystwa naukowego w Toruniu, Toruń- 1904, s. 19, 20

occasion were produced by Konrad or by the Teutonic Knights themselves. These efforts were by no means closed by the well-known Kruszwica privilege of 30 June 1230, as it is usually assumed, but they were still going on in 1231, and reached their peak only in the years 1234-1235. The discussion so far, which has been directed mainly at attacking or defending the authenticity of the so-called Kruszwica privilege, has lost its proper perspective and has unnecessarily led to the obfuscation of a completely clear matter. We leave to another occasion the diplomatic dissection of all these privileges, and here we will dwell only on the facts relating to the question before us. The second flaw in the discussion so far is that it has paid too little attention to specifying the methodological assumptions for the interpretation of these privileges. Since, in order to solve this question, we have sources of various value, namely, in addition to undoubted authenticity, protocols which are not fully authenticated or documents which are questioned in their authenticity, it seems appropriate from the point of view of research methodology to interpret messages of dubious value on the basis of doubts; They should not be treated equally or even reversibly.[...] <sup>184</sup>

The real war of Polish and German historians is the assessment of the authenticity of documents from the first years of the Teutonic Knights' stay in the Chełmno land. [...] At present, Perlbach's compromise position that only one document is suspect, but of central importance, the so-called Kruszwica privilege of 30 June 1230, is gaining more and more recognition. It shows that Prince Konrad completely renounced the land of Chełmno in favor of the Teutonic Knights, he did not reserve any superior rights (*dominium directum*) for himself. However, a grant of such far-reaching significance was completely incompatible with the legal and political practice of the time; It was also never confirmed in the practice of Polish-Teutonic relations. [...] <sup>185</sup>

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Meanwhile, the papal curia did not allow itself to be deceived by the alleged grant of Prussia by Prince Conrad. In his bull of 3 August 1234, Pope Gregory accepted the fact that Duke Konrad had granted — this time — not a castle, but "the land called Chełmno" as it had been inhabited by Christians since ancient times, while as for Prussia, the fact that it had been granted by Conrad was completely ignored. The Pope, having acknowledged that the Teutonic Knights, after taking over the land of Chełmno, had managed to extend Christian rule to a part of Prussia, decided, in order to encourage the Order to further efforts, to take this conquered part of Prussia "under the jurisdiction and property of St. Peter" and at the same time to give it to the Order for eternal possession, so that this land would henceforth not be subject to any other authority; the same was to happen to the rest of Prussia when it was conquered by the Teutonic Knights in the future. <sup>186</sup>

Therefore, it is in the interest of the Teutonic Knights to diminish the value of the Chełmno land, I am thinking of the one from the time of its acquisition, because their achievements will be greater if they describe in their documents the fictitious reconstruction of the entire land from the ashes and the creation of a peaceful and rich land in this place, which bloomed thanks to the activities carried out on various levels by the Order of the Hospital of the Blessed Virgin Mary of the German House in Jerusalem.

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<sup>184</sup> Gerard Labuda; *Stanowisko ziemi chełmińskiej w państwie krzyżackim w latach 1228- 1454* [w:] *Przegląd Historyczny* 45/2-3, s. 285

<sup>185</sup> M. Biskup i G. Labuda; *op. cit.*; s. 23

<sup>186</sup> M. Biskup i G. Labuda; *op. cit.*; s. 127

## Church in the Chełmno Land, Chełmno Diocese

[...] However, it must be assumed, and the traces of this will be shown below, that the capital of Płock had other estates within the Chełmno land. Perhaps it was to her, from the care of Bolesław the Bold, that ninth grosz from the fair and the inn in Chełmno belonged<sup>187</sup> — in Culmine nonum forum tabernario — of which we have already mentioned<sup>188</sup>. IPope Honorius III mentions in 1223 that the bishop of Płock with the chapter not only of tithes and bishops' rights, but also of possessions — decimas et omnia iura spiritualia possessionibus — yielded to Christian<sup>189</sup>. [...] <sup>190</sup>

[...] ... Already on 7 October 1233 Pope Gregory IX knew about the treacherous capture of Christian by the Prussians, and on 29 June 1232 the Prussian bishop was staying in Greater Poland<sup>191</sup>. In the meantime, probably in the spring of 1233, he was taken captive by the pagans. In 1232 Christian could negotiate with the Teutonic Knights and the local population in the land of Chełmno to change the tithes. It was at that time that it was a burning matter, because the first German settlers were settling in Toruń and Chełmno, when in December 1233 both cities were already founded and took away the privilege. [...] <sup>192</sup>

In the years 1230-1243 Christian was, despite the attempt to remove his jurisdiction over the entire territory of Prussia announced in 1236, the undivided bishop of the land of Chełmno and Prussia. It was not until 1243 that the papal legate William, using the papal authorization (from 1236 and 1243), first separated the Chełmno land as a separate diocese, and then marked the boundaries of three Prussian dioceses, which more or less coincided with the later existing dioceses: Pomezan, Warmia and Sambia. Christian was faced with the necessity of choosing a diocese, but he resisted taking it until the end of his life. After his death in 1245, Pope Innocent IV created an archbishopric for Prussia and Livonia, entrusting this dignity to Albert Suerbeer.

At the same time, further appointments were made. Already in March 1246 the diocese of Chełmno was governed by Bishop Heidenryk (from the Dominican Order); in 1251 he moved the seat of the bishop to Chełmża and organized a chapter there. <sup>193</sup>

[...] ... Perhaps Christian had already established a seat of missionary clergy in his Loza, Heidenreich settled there from the very beginning and elevated it to the see of the diocese, for in 1248 he speaks of the measures of grain which are given to the church of Chełmża — que ecclesie Culmseensi solvuntur<sup>194</sup>. Doubtless he also gave his seat the name of Culmsee, resembling the name of the diocese from the main town of Chełmno... [...] <sup>195</sup>

[...] ... The Cistercian nuns of Chełmno were first mentioned in 1267, when they acquired a monastery in the town. This may have been due to the fear of invasions by the Prussians during the Second World War; but it may also be, as it has sometimes been claimed, that these maidens originally lived in Czysta near Chełmno. This village had already been bequeathed to them a year

<sup>187</sup> Ostatnie badania naukowe dowodzą, że ów podatek dotyczył targu i karczmy w Kałdusie.

<sup>188</sup> Część I, 2. — Kodeks Dyplomatyczny Wielkopolski 3.

<sup>189</sup> Pommerellisches Urkundenbuch, 33.

<sup>190</sup> Stanisław Kujot; op. cit., s. 53

<sup>191</sup> Pommerellisches Urkundenbuch, 69, 74.

<sup>192</sup> Stanisław Kujot; op. cit., s. 38

<sup>193</sup> M. Biskup i G. Labuda; op. cit.; s. 169

<sup>194</sup> Urkundenbuch des Bisthums Culm, wyd. Dr. C. P. Woelky, 7.

<sup>195</sup> Stanisław Kujot; op. cit., s. 53

before their settlement in Chełmno, in 1266, from the gift of Bertold's heirs — Bartoldus de Cist — and his wife Chrystyna... [...] <sup>196</sup>

[...] However, the parish church in Chełmno was never intended for an episcopal cathedral, because it was not built until about 1300; In 1311 it was still built, as evidenced by a bequest made for this purpose by Adelheida Ullmann <sup>197</sup>, and it was not until 1333 that it was finished or close to completion, for the Bishop of Sambia ordered that the bells in his cathedral of Königsberg should be drawn up on the model — secundum formam et dis-positionem — of the Chełmno cathedral — Culmensis ecclesie. [...] <sup>198</sup>

The building of the Chełmno church began to be completed 50 years later than the bishop's cathedral in Chełmża. It began with the presbytery, which is from the same time as the eastern gable of the Church of the Holy Spirit built by the city wall <sup>199</sup>.

When the alleged purpose of the Chełmno parish church for the cathedral dissipates in the context of chronological dates, we will only note that its dimensions, very considerable, 56.74 m long and 26.89 m wide, are not the largest in the Chełmno diocese, while the church of St. John in Toruń is 65.20 m long and 32.20 m wide <sup>200</sup>... [...] <sup>201</sup>

#### Construction of the Teutonic State – Chełmno Land

[...] Taking into account that the settlers would not have established their homesteads before they were sure of the bishop's tribute, we think that the agreement with the bishop should be referred to the year 1231, to which the above-mentioned agreements with the Teutonic Knights fall.

These 600 włók, mentioned in the tithe agreement, were imposed on the Prussian bishop — fuerunt mensurati — by his brother Henryk Storluz in the place where the bishop's estates later lie, in Łoza with a lake, that is, in Chełmża, in Wąbrzeźno, Bobrowo and on the Drwęca River in the later parish of Mszano. Therefore, Christian was already the owner of these estates, and a few years later he complained about this to the pope, as in the land of Chełmno they had sequestered him certain goods — prediis quibusdam retentis —.

The bishop's estates were divided into three great parts; Chełmża is located in the county of Toruń, Wąbrzeźno on the eastern end of the former Chełmno, Bobrowo and Mszano, separated from each other by other estates, in the county of Brodnica, so in the farthest eastern part of the Chełmno land. We need no more explicit proof that there was complete peace here at that time. [...] <sup>202</sup>

[...] About the fate of the Chełmno land we learn only so much that the Teutonic Knights prospered there; - and it must be remembered that at the same time in 1231 the first city of their foundation, Toruń, was founded, and in 1232 the second Chełmno. Of course, at the news of the great defeat of the Christians, no settler would come with his wife, children and property. All this

<sup>196</sup> Stanisław Kujot; op. cit., s. 58

<sup>197</sup> Pommerellisches Urkundenbuch, 113

<sup>198</sup> J. Heise Kulmerland und Loebau, 1887- 95, 49.

<sup>199</sup> tamże

<sup>200</sup> tamże 40 i 242.

<sup>201</sup> Stanisław Kujot; op. cit., s. 82

<sup>202</sup> Stanisław Kujot; Dzieje Prus Królewskich, cz. I, s. 577

proves that this was not the time of general terror coming from Prussia, for neither the settlers nor the knights of the Order would have survived. [...] <sup>203</sup>

[...] It is a pity that the first privilege of Chełmno has been preserved only in copy; in the restoration of 1251 it is clearly stated that the first specimen perished in the fire of Chełmno - per incendium civitatis Culmensis amisso-. The same fate befell during the First Prussian War, especially in 1242 and 1243, all settlement documents in the Chełmno land without exception. From the following years before the end of the Prussian wars (1282) only three originals have survived, two of the restored Chełmno document from 1251 in Chełmno and Toruń, and the foundation document of the Chełmża cathedral and chapter from the same year. It is evident that after 1251 all other towns and villages suffered the severity of war and were burned or devastated. Before Marshal Dytryk, who came to the Chełmno region together with Herman Balke, and before two commanders from Starogród and Kwidzyn, the document mentions as witnesses three religious brothers without any title. They are Henri de Seyne, Poppo de Osternach and Albertus de Langenberg [...] <sup>204</sup>

Chronicle of the Prussian land of Piotr Dusburg about Chełmża

### A word about the author of the chronicle and the chronicle itself

Peter of Dusburg lived at the turn of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. He was a priest of the Teutonic Order and at the same time a chronicler of the Order, he is the author of the Chronicle of the Prussian Land (Chronicon terrae Prussiae). The chronicle covers the history of the Teutonic Order up to the author's contemporaries, i.e. to the fourteenth century. On the occasion of presenting the beginnings of the Teutonic Knights' stay on the Polish-Prussian borderland, the Teutonic chronicler depicts the Prussian invasions of the Polish lands relatively broadly. It discusses the following events in turn: the invasions of the Chełmno land and the district of Konrad of Masovia, the history of the Dobrzyńs, the granting of Prussia and the Chełmno land to the Order, the construction of the Vogelsang castle by the first Teutonic legation, the arrival of reinforcements and their consolidation in Nieszawa, the construction of Toruń, the Prussian occupation of three castles in the Chełmno land, the seizure of these castles by the Teutonic brothers and the construction of Chełmno. Further parts of the Chronicle concern the conquest of the Prussian lands. Dusburg's portrayal is undoubtedly biased, but it is doubtful whether he was making up the facts. On the other hand, the fact that it was written nearly a hundred years after the aforementioned events may speak against the credibility of his work. In addition to tendencies, there is also the problem of the possibility and ability of the chronicler to use the earlier sources and oral tradition of the Order... [...] <sup>205</sup>

### Wars with Prussia according to the chronicle interpreted by Rev. Prof. Stanisław Kujot

[...] But let us return to Christian (Bishop of Prussia) himself and to his missionary work. Contrary to such a promising beginning, the fate of the Prussian bishop was not destined for the successful completion of his mission. This was prevented by further events in the Prussian land. For the pagans there seem to have hated the bishop. They treated their converted brothers with the same hatred, and perhaps they also began to fear, if not Polish, then Pomeranian neighbors. So they attacked their baptized brethren and did not give the missionaries access to them or to

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<sup>203</sup> tamże, s. 584

<sup>204</sup> tamże, s. 609

<sup>205</sup> Jan Powierski; Przekaz Dusburga o najazdach pruskich i przejściowej okupacji ziemi chełmińskiej [w:] Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie nr 4, s. 379-427, s. 379

themselves, and moreover, as the documents say, they invaded Gdańsk Pomerania several times, especially in 1224 the region of Oliwa and Żukowo, killing five nuns and the whole convent there. Neither the Polish annals nor the chronicles tell us anything about this change and about the armed help for Christian and the Christians, only a series of bulls of Pope Honorius III prove that the times of war have come here. So in 1218 the pope forbade the supply of iron and salt to the pagans, again exempted them from the Crusades in Palestine, and ordered them to go to Prussia. In 1221 he admonished the crusaders in Prussia not to show off their victory too much, but to give the captives to the bishop so that he could prepare them for baptism. From accidental mentions in documents, we also learn about the crusades of the Polish princes in 1222 and 1223. But there is no certainty that these armies would have invaded Prussia itself, much less that they would have been able to do anything against the heathen. Probably there was no result from these expeditions at all, and the pagans took over the entire mission area. In 1226 four Prussian lords settled even in the land of Chełmno and occupied the area on the Vistula River.<sup>206</sup>

Bishop Christian was always considered a dangerous enemy in the eyes of the Teutonic Knights. Meanwhile, it was also a matter of subduing the Prussians; because at first the Teutonic Knights settled in Nieszawa — Vogelsang — and from there they solicited them to no avail. In the spring of 1231 they finally fortified themselves on the right bank of the Vistula in Old Toruń. In a short time, with the help of reinforcements, they conquered the strongholds occupied by the Prussians in today's Starogród near Chełmno, and near Toruń in Rogów, and the third probably in Pistra, at least near Bierzysłowa. In the same year they founded their first city, Toruń, and in the following year Chełmno.

The invaders of the neighbouring Mazovia and Pomerania were the Pomezanians from the vicinity of Kiszporek and Prabut as far as Łasin to the south, and to the North towards the Fresh Bay. In order to subdue them, the Teutonic Knights erected a new castle of Kwidzyn on the border of their own land in 1233, and in August or September of the same year they defeated them with the help of the Polish princes and the Pomeranian Świętopełk on the Dzierzgonia (Sorge) river. In the following year, 1234, they erected a stronghold in Radzyn, at the exit from the border forest, which stretched from here to Płowęż and Wąbrzeźno. It can be seen that the stronghold was not so much to defend from the Pomezanians as from other tribes, the Pogórzans, Natangs and Barts near Barsztyn (Bartenstein). Further to the east were the Sudovians, who occupied the entire Podlaskie Voivodeship in the south. They were called Yotvingians there.<sup>207</sup>

It is not known who started the hostilities and under what circumstances; Their chronology is also uncertain. In any case, already in the autumn of 1242 Świętopełk fell into the land of Chełmno and drove as far as Toruń. In December 1242. The Teutonic Knights occupied Sartowice, taking the head of St. Barbara to Chełmno.<sup>208</sup>

Three times, between 1242 and 1248, 1260-1274 and 1277-1283, the Prussians tried to get rid of the Teutonic Knights, but the first and second times only those tribes were put to arms that were directly threatened.

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<sup>206</sup>Stanisław Kujot; kto założył parafie w dzisiejszej diecezji chełmińskiej? (z mapą) Część druga, nakładem Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu, Toruń- 1904, s. 23

<sup>207</sup> Stanisław Kujot; Kto założył parafie w dzisiejszej diecezji chełmińskiej? (z mapą) Część druga, nakładem Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu, Toruń- 1904, s. 25

<sup>208</sup> M. Biskup i G. Labuda; Dzieje zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach; s. 143

In the first war the Pomezanians fought, at times aided by Świętopełk of Pomerania and in agreement with him; he fought for Żuławy and Lanza. In the Second World War, there were encounters in Sambia near Königsberg, Natangia, Warmia and closer to the Chełmno land in Pogezania near Prabuty, Susz and Iława, and at the Barts, in the vicinity of Heilsberg and Barsztyn (Bartenstein). Even Pomezania, which was close to her, did not stand up to fight. It was different in the third one, in which the whole of Prussia, from the Vistula to Lithuania, the battle broke out. All three wars were also based on the Chełmno land, and in addition, at the end of the 13th century it was still visited by Lithuanian invasions.<sup>209</sup>

The storm of the first war fell on the land of Chełmno three times, at the end of 1242, and twice in 1243, at the very beginning of the year and before the battle of Rządz, between Chełmno and Grudziądz, which was unfortunate for the Teutonic Knights. The Pomezanians were advancing so strongly that only Radzyn, Chełmno and Toruń resisted, all other strongholds were captured. These included Bierzgłowo and Unisław<sup>210</sup>, probably founded as early as 1232. Perhaps the castles in Lipiny in the parish of Lisev and in Popowo<sup>211</sup>, which were later called bishops, are younger; the first information about it is from 1279, about Lipiny from 1274 or 1276.

**More details from the Second World War have been preserved: the Sudovics, or Yotvingians, besieged Chełmża several times, in which the first bishop of Heidenreich (r. 1246-1263) encouraged the weary townspeople and sheltered people from the area. Once, he forced them to make a trip. How it was possible to wound and carry away a very tall heathen. This was the happiness of the besieged, for the distressed chief of the enemy withdrew from the city when his captive was returned.**<sup>212</sup>

[...] In 1262 Trojnat, son of Mindowa, went from Lithuania to Mazovia. One unit of the army fell into the Chełmno land as far as Bierzgłowo, captured the castle and took away the belongings. The people took refuge in an inaccessible tower and survived.

The situation was even worse in 1263, when a large and well-led Prussian army invaded from both sides. The first was commanded by Henryk Monte, the chief of the Natangs, as far as Königsberg. He managed to burn all settlements except cities and fortified settlements and abduct a large nation with their possessions. The Prussian governor Helmeryk pursued them as far as Lubawa. Here they fought a fierce battle; governor, 40 knights and the entire army were cut down.

Now the Prussians returned to the Vistula and destroyed Kwidzyn and Radzyn, only the castles remained in the hands of the Christians. Probably at the same time Skomand, the leader of the Yotvingians, ravaged the southern part of the Chełmno land, between Chełmno and Toruń. In the evening of one day, two of his troops gathered near Bierzgłowo and set up camp. During the night the garrison of the castle made an excursion, but the pagans kept watch and repelled the attackers, and even killed two knights and one who was preparing for the order.

Perhaps in 1273 Carpet, the chief of the Barts, went to the same region; but during the siege of Bierzgłowa, probably, although the chronicler mentions Kowalewo here, he was laid down

<sup>209</sup> Stanisław Kujot; Kto założył parafie w dzisiejszej diecezji chełmińskiej? (z mapą) Część druga, nakładem Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu, Toruń- 1904, s. 60

<sup>210</sup> If Chełmża had also been conquered in this war, the chronicler would certainly have mentioned it.

<sup>211</sup> The modern name is Papowo Biskupie, located on the old waterway (Browina River) and land.

<sup>212</sup> Stanisław Kujot; kto założył parafie w dzisiejszej diecezji chełmińskiej? (z mapą) Część druga, nakładem Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu, Toruń- 1904, s. 62

by the commander of Bierzgłów, Arnold Kroph, with a bullet from a slingshot. From then on, the Barts surrendered. [...] <sup>213</sup>

Finally, Skomand again invaded the land of Chełmno with a large army of Sudovians and Ruthenians – Sudowitarum et Ruthenorum – for nine days. He even expected that this time he would take Chełmża; for a certain Polish nobleman Nimeric, perhaps Niemierzyc, promised to surrender it to him. With this in mind, when the townspeople **saw the enemy and climbed the walls**, and he went in with them, and twice gave a sign on the trumpet where there was a weaker place. But the frightened townspeople seized him, and, finding that he wished to execute them, hanged him, his son, and his servant in front of the gate. Skomand, seeing that the intention was revealed, went to the castrum of Hemsote, captured it by force, and cut down forty men who had been commissioned to defend it. And he conquered the city of another vassal, whose name was Cippel, with great power, and laid the people dead or took them captive. Both castles were reduced to ashes. So much for the chronicler. <sup>214</sup>

Castrum Hemsote, is Heimsod, in Polish Przeczmnno, whose names, Polish and German, are etymologically enigmatic.- The second, Cippel, means today's Szczuplinka near Radzyn.

Skomand, of course, preferred to return by a different route than the one he had come; and he probably came back through Lubawska. It is also necessary to mention it in the case of the so-called Third War, the beginning of which is laid on the year 1277. <sup>215</sup>

Between the second and third wars there was by no means peace, so that it may be said that immediately after the second the third war began, and again lasted ten years. The chronicler briefly says that during the time of the commander of the Chełmno region, Berthold von Nordhausen (r.; 1274-1276), the Sudovics entered and plundered with impunity and without hindrance, and that only his successor Herman von Schöenberg got to them in such a way that they could probably only show themselves in larger units.

But in the same year 1277, when Herman took office, the Prussians who were still living in Prussia attacked the Teutonic Knights for the third time. Closer to the Vistula, they were joined by the most valiant inhabitants of the Foothills. It is not known whether Skomand colluded with them, but in October he invaded the Chełmno land with 4000 men. <sup>216</sup>

At the very beginning, they stood in front of the stronghold of one of the nobles, in Płowęż on the Osa River. They bought themselves out in such a way that they gave the Skomand two guides for the further journey to the Vistula. With them Skomand went to Radzyn and Lipiny near Lisew, and further to Wielsądz to the south-west of Radzyno. He burned down the Wielsądzkie bailey. Then he advanced on Turznica, about a third of a mile to the north. And this castle was the property of a vassal. The pagans camped up for the night, only to continue the fight the next day; but when they found out that the defenders had arrived at night, they went to the neighbouring town of Plemięta, located halfway to Radzyn. Here the squire was unable to defend himself; The

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<sup>213</sup> Stanisław Kujot; Kto założył parafie w dzisiejszej diecezji chełmińskiej? (z mapą) Część druga, nakładem Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu, Toruń- 1904, s. 62,63

<sup>214</sup> Zapewne Piotr z Dusburga- zakonnik i pierwszy kronikarz krzyżacki (zmarł po roku 1326) opisujący te ww. zdarzenia sto lat po tym kiedy miały one miejsce (tyle w tym pewnych wiadomości, że Chełmża już w 1273 roku posiadała mury obronne)

<sup>215</sup> Stanisław Kujot; Dzieje Prus Królewskich, cz. I, str. 934

<sup>216</sup> Stanisław Kujot; Kto założył parafie w dzisiejszej diecezji chełmińskiej? (z mapą) Część druga, nakładem Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu, Toruń 1904, s. 64

pagans set fire to the city and burned it until they killed 100 Christians, and took away the women and children. From there they went to Grudziądz, Kwidzyn, Sątory and Kiszpork, ravaged all these towns, and whatever they encountered, either into captivity or went up in smoke. They returned, says the chronicler, with innumerable spoils of the Christian people and possessions. How much evil and what a defeat of the people of God was, and what disrespect for the holy sacraments and clergy was committed by this army, no one could think of without weeping<sup>217</sup>. Skomand himself was later converted and died a Christian<sup>218</sup>.

From 1283 onwards Prussia was considered to have been conquered and subjugated. This, too, was the end of the calamities; because those that were still coming from Lithuania were less significant and shorter. And so the Lithuanians ventured to Golub, plundered five villages in the neighborhood and killed many inhabitants and took others into captivity. It can be seen that on St. Michael's Day in 1298, during a church celebration, 140 Lithuanians unexpectedly burst into the town of Brodnica, killed the priest and the men, took away the women and children, and desecrated all the sanctities. But this time the provincial commander Konrad Sack went after them, caught up with them in the wilderness and cut them all down to one, and freed the captives.

In 1300 Lithuanians ravaged the Dobrzyń land. A hundred chosen ones crossed the Drwęca River and plundered two villages; but the Teutonic Knights caught up with them, killed 70 and freed the prisoners.<sup>219</sup>

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<sup>217</sup> *Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum*, 137.

<sup>218</sup> *Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum*, 143, 147

<sup>219</sup> Stanisław Kujot; *Kto założył parafie w dzisiejszej diecezji chełmińskiej? (z mapą) Część druga*, nakładem Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu, Toruń 1904, s. 65

As for whether Chełmża was burned down during the wars with Prussia and Świętopetek, there is no description of the capture of Chełmża by the enemies in the chronicle of Piotr Dusburg from the above description of the wars. There is no mention of the wartime fire of the city. On the contrary;

- a) From the episode mentioned in the Second World War, it appears that Chełmża was attacked by **"the Sudovics, or Yotvingians, and several times besieged Chełmża, where the first bishop of Heidenreich (1246-1263) encouraged the weary townspeople and sheltered people from the area. Once, he forced them to make a trip. How it was possible to wound and carry away a very tall heathen. This was the happiness of the besieged, for the distressed chief of the enemy withdrew from the city when his captive was returned"**<sup>220</sup>. It also follows from this description that the town had either ramparts or defensive walls, because the buildings of the city themselves would not have been besieged.
- b) From the description of events from the third war with Prussia, it appears that Skomand attacked Chełmża, who again invaded the land of Chełmno with a large army of Sudovians and Ruthenians – Sudowitarum et Ruthenorum – burning and plundering for nine days. He even expected that this time he would take Chełmża; but failed by trickery and treachery from the walls to warn the attacking enemy, because when the townspeople **"When they saw the enemy, they climbed the walls"....**<sup>221</sup> Therefore, we can be "sure" that Chełmża had defensive walls already before 1277.
- c) There is no description of the capture and destruction of Chełmża in the chronicle of Piotr Dusburg, nor does Chełmża appear in the mentioned towns conquered by Prussians or Lithuanians, or by the Pomeranian army.

### Selected chapters from the Chronicle of the Prussian Land about Chełmża

The following are the entire chapters of Peter Dusburg's Chronicle of the Prussian Land, taken from the modern translation of this chronicle, these are the chapters about Chełmża.

#### 153. ON THE SIEGE OF THE CITY OF CHEŁMŻA<sup>222</sup>

Then the Prussian army arrived and besieged the city of Chełmża. Alarmed by this, the bishop summoned the nobles and vassals to him, and in exchange for the redemption of their sins, he instructed them to leave the city and accurately determined the number of the enemy army and its strength. When they set out, they were met by some Prussians, with whom they clashed in battle. Of these, they wounded a man who was particularly tall, and who was taller than the others, for they all reached up to his shoulders, and then led him half-dead into the city. His capture greatly alarmed the leader of the Prussians, who promised that he would abandon the siege and would not harm any Christian if they gave them this man, so badly wounded. And so, with the consent of both parties, was done.

#### 154. ON THE DEATH OF MANY BURGHERS OF CHEŁMŻA<sup>223</sup>

<sup>220</sup> Stanisław Kujot; Kto założył parafie w dzisiejszej diecezji chełmińskiej? (z mapą) Część druga, nakładem Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu, Toruń- 1904, s. 62.

<sup>221</sup> Piotr z Dusburga; Kronika Pruska.

<sup>222</sup> Piotr z Dusburga; Kronika ziemi pruskiej, przetłumaczył Sławomir Wyszomirski, wstępem i komentarzem historycznym opatrzył Jarosław Wenta, UMK Toruń 2004. s. 132.

The Prussian army arrived at harvest time and hid for thirteen days in the forest near the village called Vogelsang, but every day a few Prussians appeared in the field and drove the townspeople away from the harvest. At last, when the grain had fully ripened and could not stand much longer without loss, all the townspeople, believing that the army had gone, went out to harvest. When the Prussians saw this, they rushed at them with great and violent impetus and murdered the men, and carried the women and children away into long-term slavery.

#### 166. OF THE CAPTURE OF TWO CASTLES, NAMELY HEMSOTH AND THE OTHER, WHICH BELONGED TO CERTAIN VASSALS<sup>224</sup>

Finally, Skumand, the commander of the Sudows, with a very large army of Sudows and Ruthenians, devastated the land of Chełmno with plunder and fire in nine days. During these nine days, when he began to approach the city of Chełmża, a certain knight from Polish called Niwerik came to the said city. The knight promised that he would deliver them into the hands of the aforementioned Scumand. Therefore, when the townspeople came up to the walls at the sight of their enemies, he also entered, and like a traitor, he gave them signs, and blew his horn again and again. At the sound of it, the terrified townspeople seized the knight and, thinking that he wanted to betray them, hanged him and his son with one of the servants before the city gate. Skumand, when he saw that he had been led into the field, went to the castle of Hemsoth and took it by force, and killed forty men who were appointed to defend it. Then, by force and violence, he forced his way into the castle of the second vassal called Herons, and murdered or took prisoner all the people who were there. He reduced both castles to ashes.

#### 272. OF BROTHER LUDWIG SCHÜPF, MASTER OF THE LAND OF PRUSSIA<sup>225</sup>

Brother Ludwig of Schüpf, the fourteenth master of the Prussian land, served for one year, died and was buried in Chełmża in the cathedral church.

#### 279. OF BROTHER KONRAD, MASTER OF PRUSSIA<sup>226</sup>

Brother Konrad Sack, the sixteenth master of Prussia, held office for six years. He was a very kind man, and he gained the kindness of all who looked upon him, so that, according to the facts, he could be said to be loved by God and men. Tired of hardships and weakened by illness, he finally resigned his office and settled in the Golub castle, which he had erected himself, and died there. He was buried in the cathedral church in Chełmża.

#### 309. ON THE DEATH OF BROTHER SIEGFRIED, GRAND MASTER

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<sup>223</sup> Piotr z Dusburga; Kronika ziemi pruskiej, przetłumaczył Sławomir Wyszomirski, wstępem i komentarzem historycznym opatrzył Jarosław Wenta, UMK Toruń 2004. s. 132, 133.

<sup>224</sup> Piotr z Dusburga; Kronika ziemi pruskiej, przetłumaczył Sławomir Wyszomirski, wstępem i komentarzem historycznym opatrzył Jarosław Wenta, UMK Toruń 2004. s. 137.

<sup>225</sup> Piotr z Dusburga; Kronika ziemi pruskiej, przetłumaczył Sławomir Wyszomirski, wstępem i komentarzem historycznym opatrzył Jarosław Wenta, UMK Toruń 2004. s. 192..

<sup>226</sup> Piotr z Dusburga; Kronika ziemi pruskiej, przetłumaczył Sławomir Wyszomirski, wstępem i komentarzem historycznym opatrzył Jarosław Wenta, UMK Toruń 2004. s. 195, 196.

AND THE MASTER OF THE LAND OF PRUSSIA<sup>227</sup>

In that year, on 3 Nones [5 March], in the main seat of the Order in Malbork, Brother Siegfried, Grand Master of the Order of the German House, died. He was buried in the cathedral church in Chełmża.

## OF THE CAPTURE OF MR. WIGBOLD,

BISHOP OF CHEŁMNÓ LAND<sup>228</sup>

In the year of our Lord 1375, the day after St. Ambrose's Day [5 April], Mr. Wigdbold, Bishop of Chełmno, was taken prisoner in Chełmża by the knight John of Kintschen and his companions. The same lord and bishop escaped, then left this land and never returned, as he ended his life in the Cistercian monastery in Altenberg. On the other hand, the perpetrators of this crime died an equally cruel death.

ABOUT EARLY HARVEST<sup>229</sup>

In the year of our Lord 1379 the harvest in Prussia was very early, so that about the feast of St. John the Baptist [June 24] the harvest was finished. The cherries ripened before Pentecost [29 V] and the grapes on the feast of St. James [25 VII].

## St. George's Church in Chełmża

## Location of the foundations of St. George's Church in Chełmża

St. George's Church in Chełmża - the third brick and stone church in Chełmża. All that remains of the church are the foundations sunk into the ground, and the construction drawings kept in the archives of Toruń and Gdańsk have also remained. It has been recorded in various documents, it was described by chroniclers and historians and described during episcopal visitations.

It was very difficult to locate the church. Systematic browsing of the archives helped. Piotr Birecki says in a local newspaper: [...] The portfolio 10/5078 in the Archives in Gdańsk, which once belonged to the District of Kwidzyn, is, I hope, a step towards the final explanation of where St. George's Church was located. Well, the plan itself, dating back to 1823, indicates a place located directly on the road from Chełmża to Grudziądz, more or less in the place where the Monument to the Murdered is located today (this is evidenced by the close proximity of a fragmentarily marked water reservoir referred to as Teich / pond). Next to it, as we know, there was a river with a bridge, connecting Lake Mielkusz with Lake Chełmżyńskie, recorded by bishops' visitations written in the 17th century.... [...] <sup>230</sup>

<sup>227</sup> Piotr z Dusburga; Kronika ziemi pruskiej, przetłumaczył Sławomir Wyszomirski, wstępem i komentarzem historycznym opatrzył Jarosław Wenta, UMK Toruń 2004. s. 212.

<sup>228</sup> Piotr z Dusburga; KRONIKA ZIEMI PRUSKIEJ, przetłumaczył Sławomir Wyszomirski, wstępem i komentarzem historycznym opatrzył Jarosław Wenta, UMK Toruń 2004. s. 244.

<sup>229</sup> Piotr z Dusburga; KRONIKA ZIEMI PRUSKIEJ, przetłumaczył Sławomir Wyszomirski, wstępem i komentarzem historycznym opatrzył Jarosław Wenta, UMK Toruń 2004. s. 244.

<sup>230</sup> Piotr Birecki; Dzieje sztuki w Chełmży, Chełmża 2001.

St. George's Church was located on Chełmińska Street, its longitudinal axis was parallel to the street itself, which grew out of the ancient road running there. Today, the remains of the church's foundations are in contact with the foundations of the Monument to the Murdered. This church is not oriented (other churches in Chełmża are oriented in the O-W line).<sup>231</sup> Much higher water levels in the Middle Ages allowed navigation even by a large boat on the Browina River all the way to the Vistula. This church is a navigational sign, in addition to its sacred, basic function. Probably even before the construction of this church, boats were coming to Chełmża (Łoza), the constructions of which can still be seen today in Viking museums, e.g. in Roskilde, in Oslo (see also: Vikingskibsmuseet, or the Haithabu museum), etc., while this waterway (leading along the Browina River) was also recorded in the history of Chełmno<sup>232</sup>. Łoza (albeit under the Nordic name of Kulmsee) was therefore involved in the Baltic trade.

When the Teutonic Knights came, occupied m.in Gdańsk Pomerania, they attacked Gdańsk in 1308, where the Polish nobility had gathered. They slaughtered (no one survived who was unfavorable to the Teutonic Knights), murdered the nobility and the then population of Gdańsk. They burned down Gdańsk.

They then conquered Gotland because it was a huge competition in maritime trade. Prof. Andrzej Kola from Nicolaus Copernicus University in his book<sup>233</sup> o grodach warownych podaje nawet przykłady imiennych rozliczeń ze szlachtą, z ziemi chełmińskiej- za straty poniesione w wojnie na Gotlandii.

Through the Browina River, as it appears from the construction of a church (read: a navigation sign) near Chełmża, transport by water had to take place even later, after the arrival of the Teutonic Knights. So we should look for wrecks and determine what kind of vessels sailed here?- but due to the high value of the boat at that time, finding a wreck in this place is unlikely. Boat wrecks are in places where the boat capsized on a steep, high wave, e.g. on Lake Łebsko – finds near the village of Charbrów.

## Creation and renovation of the church

The diseases of the Middle Ages, which plagued entire continents, mainly the population of cities, brought death in great suffering. Among the diseases with the greatest shock, the highest number of deaths of the population are plague, leprosy... There was no cure for most diseases, including leprosy, in the Middle Ages. The first leprosaria, which was supposed to separate the sick, date back to the 4th century. Originating in the Mediterranean, they were quickly spread throughout Europe. In Łoza, as in other towns, there were also lepers, they certainly had to move outside the city walls and were not allowed to enter the city.

When the Teutonic Knights came to Chełmża, they found it necessary to build a church for lepers. The chronicles of Blessed Jutta say of the Blessed that her persuasions led to the construction of this building.

St. George's Church was built in the Middle Ages, the first mention dates back to 1348. St. George's Chapel may have already existed in the years 1257-1260, at the leprosarium. This is the result of the life of Blessed Jutta. It was enlarged probably in the 17th century. Canon Władysław renovated the church from his own funds and monastery buildings for the Franciscans were erected nearby. In 1625 the monks returned and the foundation stone of the Franciscan monastery was laid.

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<sup>231</sup> Władysław Goliński; Wiejskie kościoły Wybrzeża Środkowego, maszynopis, Ustka 2017.  
<https://biblioteka.ustka.pl/images/stories/literatura/golinski/26b.pdf>

<sup>232</sup> Władysław Goliński; Kościoły i kapliczki Chełmży, maszynopis, s. 6.

<sup>233</sup> Andrzej Kola; Grody ziemi chełmińskiej w późnym średniowieczu, Toruń 1991.

The Franciscans were expelled from the city as a result of the actions of the Protestants from Chełmża (these Protestants must have had a lot of influence at that time).

The Historical and Geographical Dictionary of the Chełmno Land in the Middle Ages, edited by Krystyna Porębska, in cooperation with Maksymilian Grzegorz, edited by Marian Biskup, in the entry Chełmża, p.22 gives the following explanation: [...] St. George's Chapel: 1348 Bishop Otto of Chełmno handed over the chapel of St. George located outside the city walls to the chapter with the obligation to keep a priest in it (UC no. 290). [...] <sup>234</sup>

At the beginning of the 19th century, the church is heavily neglected. The leprosy subsided, but there was still a need for such a church in the diocesan rites.

The Protestants, who were coming to Chełmża in increasing numbers, took over the church and monastery of the Franciscan Fathers in 1820, with the support of the secular authorities and the Prussian government. In 1827 the Franciscan church burned down. It was never rebuilt. It was not the only church that ceased to exist in Łoza and which was demolished after the Reformation. Bricks from the burnt church were used to make the cemetery walls.

### Notes in the regional press about St. George's Church

Here are a few words from an article from the religious calendar: [...] This church was originally a branch with the title of St. George, connected as usual with a hospital and a cemetery. It stood outside the city on the site of today's old cemetery, built from time immemorial. In 1348 it was given to the chapter by Bishop Otto, together with the patronage and all revenues; Unfortunately, at the time of the Reformation, the church stood empty for many years, falling into decline more and more, mainly because all its funds were scattered somewhere. For a long time it stood there, regretfully abandoned, and yet it was very necessary for the clerical comfort of the poor and sick in the nearby hospital, and it was also needed at processions, funerals, and solemn enthronements of bishops, from where each bishop was ushered into the cathedral. Finally, there was a noble founder, and he was a providential man, a native of Chełmno, Gabrjel Prowański. Coming from a bourgeois family, endowed with extraordinary abilities, he graduated from the Cracow Academy, where he obtained his doctorate. Ordained a priest, he held various dignities, and finally became the tutor of Prince Władysław, after whom he took the surname Władysławski After completing the education of Prince Władysław, who was elected king after the death of his father Sigismund III, Gabrjel Władysław returned to his hometown of Chełmża in 1619 with the nomination of a canon of Chełmża. Having taken a prominent position in the chapter, he was elected administrator of the diocese after the death of Bishop Kuczborski in 1624. He paid special attention to the deteriorating Franciscan church. He decided not only to restore it to the glory of God, but also to found a monastery there. He eagerly set to work, carried out a thorough renovation of the church, and apart from the brick monastery, built all the necessary buildings belonging to the monastery. In 1625 the building was completed and on July 27 of the same year Bishop Zadzik introduced the Franciscan Fathers as permanent residents. The task of the Fathers was, in addition to the usual employment and duties prescribed by the rule, to assist in the services in the cathedral, to preach sermons and to hear confessions.

For nearly two hundred years the Franciscans worked for the glory of God, until the partition of Polish. The Prussian government, having declared a general dissolution of the monasteries in 1810, condemned the monks to extinction, and the last Franciscan died in 1818. Two years later, the Protestants, despite the resistance of the Catholics, took the former Franciscan church and used it

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<sup>234</sup> Krystyna Porębska, przy współpracy Maksymiliana Grzegorza, pod redakcją Mariana Biskupa; Słownik historyczno- geograficzny ziemi chełmińskiej w średniowieczu.

until 1827, when it was completely destroyed by fire on June 15. Because the fire broke out at night and was noticed not early enough, everything burned down and only the bare walls remained, which were later dismantled and some of the bricks were used to wall the cemetery. [...] <sup>235</sup>

### Furnishings of St. George's Church

The presbytery part of the church was enlarged by moving the rood beam towards the nave, on which the so-called Crucifixion Group was located. <sup>236</sup>

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<sup>235</sup> Szydzik ks.; Kościół św. Jerzego w Chełmży, POŚLANIEC Błogosławionej Juty, Kalendarz kościelny dla parafii Chełmżyńskiej na rok 1928, wyd. przez ks. Szydzika, s. 67, 68.

<sup>236</sup> Piotr Birecki; Dzieje sztuki w Chełmży, Chełmża 2001, s. 30.

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