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STONE HOUSES, GLAZED JUGS AND PILGRIM BADGES. AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTRIBUTION TO THE PROBLEM OF THE CULTURAL UNITY OF THE HANSEATIC TOWNS IN THE BALTIC REGION

Summary

Archaeological research on the Hanseatic towns established in the Middle Ages in the Baltic region has been conducted on a large scale since the 1980's. Discoveries made since then allow to formulate a thesis about the cultural unity among the inhabitants of towns situated on the South Baltic coast between the 13th and 15th centuries. Based on selected instances of the urban culture, widely discussed in archaeological sources, the paper is an attempt to prove that a number of similarities can be revealed in various spheres of life led by the inhabitants of towns located in the Baltic region, often situated far away from one another. The analysis covered the following aspects: architecture – quoting the example of tenements with entrance halls which in the 14th century became a common element of the cultural landscape in towns located in the Baltic region; pottery – quoting the example of popular in this part of Europe stoneware and red glazed jugs; and, last but not least, devotional objects – quoting the example of pilgrim badges that revealed evident preferences demonstrated by the pilgrims as to their pilgrimage destinations, paying special attention to supra-regional sanctuaries located in German-speaking area, particularly on the Rhine and the Moza rivers.

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As for reasons underlying the development of the cultural unity of the Hanseatic towns, archaeologists mention similar legal and economic factors contributing to their development, much the same cultural and ethnical origin of the townspeople the majority of whom came from German territory, and, last but not least, business contacts (particularly distant ones) which, after all, embodied the essence of the Hanseatic League since they were aimed at exchanging not only goods, but also ideas.

Introduction

The Hanseatic League was finally developed in the 13th century as a confederation of towns, merchants of which were involved in a far-distance trade. One of the basic factors of establishing the League was a need of protection of the merchants and their privileges in the regions situated far away of the home towns. According to a broadly accepted opinion the range of the activity of the League is marked by the position of the four Hanseatic "kontors" situated in London, Bergen, Brügge and Novgorod. Among the members of the Hanseatic League located within the area, the port towns located on the southern coast of the Baltic Sea were of special importance. These were the towns chartered mostly in the 13th century according to the so-called "German Low" and situated in areas inhabited by different people, namely the Elbe Slavs, Slavic inhabitants of Pomerania, the Balts and the Finno-Ugric peoples.

The chartered towns were founded in the entire area under discussion on the initiative of local feudal authority, including rulers of the Slavic duchies as well as knightly orders conquering the eastern part of the region. All along the coast, from Lübeck in the west to Tallin (Reval) in the east, the founding of the chartered towns was a breakthrough point in the urbanization process of the region. This was reflected in a number of changes introduced such as new legal regulations under which the towns were to function, new rules governing the delimitation and organization of urban area and the influx of German settlers who would later on compose a majority of the town inhabitants. The aforementioned factors were common for towns situated far away from one another. Moreover, the towns were tied with a net of the trade connections which were the essence of activities undertaken by Hanseatic merchants and a driving force not only behind the flow of goods, but also behind the exchange of practices or ideas. Therefore, one may

expect that the culture of the Hanseatic towns located on the South Baltic coast shared a number of similarities. Results of archaeological research conducted in the towns in the area under discussion over the last decades shed a new light on the problem.

The archaeology of late medieval towns, including those belonging to the Hanseatic League, is a relatively young and at the same time very specific area of science. The first archaeological observations indicating the exceptional importance of archaeological sources to research on medieval history of towns founded in the Baltic region were made shortly after the Second World War. It is worth citing the example of Lübeck in the case of which such observations were made while reconstructing the parts of town destroyed during the war. The actual excavations were, however, carried out at the beginning of the 1970's. These fairly long beginnings of urban archaeology had to do with a comparably long time it took the late medieval archaeology to emerge in Europe. The situation was even more difficult outside Lübeck, i.e. in other towns situated on the South Baltic coast which, during the post-war period, belonged to the former Eastern Bloc, namely in GDR, Poland and Baltic republics of the USSR. One of reasons behind such a state of affairs was the lack of interest in archaeological research which stemmed not only from the advancement of urban archaeology, but also from unwillingness to examine "German", as it was then assumed, cultural heritage. Therefore, it came as no surprise that a breakthrough in archaeological research into towns in the Baltic region coincided with a political breakthrough achieved at the turn of the 1980's and 1990's. Already in the 1980's, archaeological research was carried out on a large scale, mainly as a result of the then initiated reconstruction of old city centres, e.g. in Elbląg, Kołobrzeg, and on a smaller scale also in Riga or Rostock. From the beginning of the 1990's, the studies under discussion flourished and in the majority of cases had a "rescue" character.[1]

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[1] On the overview of state of the research two decades ago cf. *Lübecker Kolloquium zur Stadtarchäologie im Hanseraum*, vol. I: *Stand, Aufgaben und Perspektiven*, ed. M. Gläser, Lübeck 1997; also remarks made by M. Rębkowski: *Pierwsze lokacje miast w księstwie zachodniopomorskim. Przemiany przestrzenne i kulturowe* [The first chartered towns in the Duchy of Pomerania. Spatial and cultural transformations], Kołobrzeg 2001, pp. 7–18, and *Ratować przeszłość? O uwarunkowaniach i znaczeniu badań archeologicznych prowadzonych przy odbudowie Starówki* [Save the past? On circumstances and significance of archaeological research accompanying the reconstruction of the old town], in: *Kołobrzeg i okolice poprzez wieki. Studia i szkice* [Kołobrzeg and its environs over the centuries. Studies and Sketches], ed. R. Ptaszyński, Szczecin 2010, pp. 45–47. On towns situated in Estonia: E. Russow, H. Valk, A. Haak, A. Pärn, A. Mäesalu: *Medieval Archaeology in the Europeaen Context: Towns, Churches, Monasteries and Castles*, in: *Archaeological Research in Estonia 1865–2005*, eds. V. Lang, M. Laneman, Tartu 2006, pp. 164–175.

Consequently, a number of unique sources allow to look at the history of the Hanseatic towns and the culture of their medieval and postmedieval inhabitants in a brand new way.[2] Some studies, based on the aforementioned sources, suggest that a number of evident similarities can be revealed in the cultural development of the Hanseatic towns located at a certain distance. Some researchers are inclined to believe that specific and coherent culture existed there for a certain period of time.[3] The problem requires further analysis, yet cannot be thoroughly discussed in the present paper which is, after all, aimed at presenting and comparing selected examples of the common elements of the urban culture visible in archaeological sources and shared by the Hanseatic towns situated on the South Baltic coast. These instances refer to different aspects of townspeople's life at the end of the Middle Ages, i.e. between the 13th and 15th centuries, and to be more specific – architecture, private life (indoor sphere) and religious practices.

"Dielenhaus"

In German literature on the subject, one may come across the term "Dielenhaus" used for describing a characteristic type of burgher's stone house which have appeared in the Hanseatic towns situated on the Baltic coast since the end of the 13th century. In order to understand its origin, form and commonness in some parts of northern Europe, one should at the very beginning pay attention to certain features typical of the spatial organization of late medieval towns. What was characteristic about their layouts was a division into regular quarters that consisted of single parcels in the shape of rectangle the shorter side of which adjoined the street and the longer side marked the boundary between the adjacent plots. Such a piece of land was a private property of a townsman who had to pay

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[2] Cyclical scientific conferences organized over the recent years prove that the Hanseatic towns continue to attract archaeologists' attention. One of the most prestigious is *Lübecker Kolloquium zur Stadtarchäologie im Hanseraum* held since 1995 in Travemünde, vol. I–VIII, ed. M. Gläser, Lübeck 1997–2012. Worth mentioning are conference papers published in the following volumes: *The Medieval Town in The Baltic: Hanseatic History and Archaeology*, vol. I–II, eds. R. Vissak, A. Mäesalu, Tartu 1999 and 2002; *Archaeologia Elbingensis*, vol. I, eds. A. Czacharowski, T. Nawrolski, Gdańsk 1992, vol. II, eds. G. Nawrolska, J. Tandecki, Gdańsk 1997; *The Hansa Town Riga as Mediator between East and West*, eds. A. Caune, I. Ose, Riga 2009.

[3] In such a way e.g. D. Gaimster: *A paralell history: the archaeology of Hanseatic urban culture in the Baltic c. 1200–1600*, "World Archaeology" 2005, Vol. 37, No. 3, pp. 408–423. Cf. critical comments by U. Müller, *Hanse und Archäologie – Vom Konstrukt zur Vielfalt kulturellen Praxen*, in: *Hansegeschichte als Regionalgeschichte*, ed. O. Auge, Frankfurt a. Main 2013, pp. 127–168.

rent for it, which was probably the main reason behind the necessity to determine the surface area of the parcels in the then units of measurement.[4]

In port towns, where merchants carried on long-distance trade, roofed-over sites were an absolute must since they allowed to store bulk goods safely. Since the area of the parcel was limited and houses were "densely packed" in the quarters, necessity arose to put up storied and, as a rule, multifunctional buildings which combined utility and residential functions. Perhaps this was the main reason behind the popularity of the so-called timber-framed houses in the first period of existing of the chartered towns founded in the Baltic region. These houses were built on a timber-frame which consisted of upper and lower part connected to one another with vertical poles. The poles were embedded in pockets carved in ground beams and sometimes supported by angle struts. Empty space of a wall was filled in a number of ways.[5] This method of constructing houses had been invented in the region west of the Elbe river and spread to the East with German settlers. Needless to say, the popularity of such houses stemmed from newcomers' sentiment for their culture and tradition. The functional advantages of the

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[4] B. Zientara: *Przemiany społeczno-gospodarcze i przestrzenne miast w dobie lokacji* [Socio-economic and spatial transformation in the age of chartering of towns], in: *Miasta doby feudalnej w Europie środkowo-wschodniej. Przemiany społeczne a układy przestrzenne* [Towns of the feudal age in east-central Europe. Social change and spatial development], eds. A. Gieysztor, T. Rosłanowski, Wrocław–Poznań–Toruń 1976, pp. 93–94; R. Czaja: *Socjotopografia miasta Elbląga w średniowieczu* [Socio-topography of Elbląg in the Middle Ages], Toruń 1992, pp. 24–25; W. Schich: *Zur Grösse der area in den Gründungsstädten im östlichen Mitteleuropa nach den Aussagen der schriftlichen Quellen*, in: *Vera Lex Historiae. Studien zu mittelalterlichen Quellen*, eds. S. Jenks, J. Sarnowsky, M.-L. Laudage, Köln–Wien–Weimar 1993, pp. 81–115; C. Buśko: *Stan badań nad parcelą mieszczańską w średniowiecznych miastach śląskich* [Research on an urban parcel in medieval Silesian towns], "Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej" [Quarterly of the History of Material Culture] 1995, Ch. 43, No. 3, pp. 343–350; M. Rębkowski: *The Size of Original Plots in Pomeranian Port Charter Towns*, "Studia Maritima" 2004, vol. XVII, pp. 5–21.

[5] G. Fehring: *Städtischer Hausbau in Norddeutschland von 1150 bis 1250*, "Zeitschrift für Archäologie des Mittalalters" 1986, Beiheft 4, p. 275 f.; M. Scheftel: *Mittelalterlicher Holzbau in den Städten des niederdeutschen Raumes und der angrenzenden Küstengebiete*, "Lübecker Schriften zur Archäologie und Kulturgeschichte" 1990, Vol. 20, pp. 64–65; G. Legant-Karau: *Mittelalterlicher Holzbau in Lübeck an der Schwelle vom ländlichen zum städtischen Siedlungsgefüge*, "Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt" 1994, Vol. 24, 1994, p. 339 f.; J. Piekalski: *Początki budynków o konstrukcji szkieletowej na terenie Środkowej Europy* [The origin of timber-frame housing in central Europe], "Archaeologia Historica Polona" 1996, vol. 3, pp. 76–77; idem: *Wczesne domy mieszczan w Europie Środkowej. Geneza – funkcja – forma* [Early burgher's houses in central Europe. Origin - function - form], Wrocław 2004, p. 87 f.; M. Rębkowski: *Pierwsze lokacje...* (The first chartered towns...), pp. 121–143; Z. Polak: *Zabudowa lokacyjnego Kołobrzegu* [Housing in the chartered town of Kołobrzeg], in: *Salsa Cholbergiensis. Kołobrzeg w średniowieczu* [Medieval Kołobrzeg], eds. L. Leciejewicz, M. Rębkowski, Kołobrzeg 2000, pp. 161–170. Cf. also papers published in vol. III of Lübecker Kolloquium zur Stadtarchäologie im Hanseraum, ed. M. Gläser, Lübeck 2001.

timber-framed houses should be, however, highlighted once more. The construction did not impose any limitations as to the shape of building and allowed to put up storied ones, which was essential for high-density housing typical of urban space.

As for prosperous towns, such as Lübeck, it was already in the first half of the 13th century that first secular buildings were made of brick.[6] They, however, did not contribute significantly to the eventual shape of urban architecture on the south coast of the Baltic. High-density housing together with timber framing posed a serious risk of being consumed by fire. In order to prevent from such a situation, since the middle of the the 13th century town councils began to issue regulations obliging inhabitants to put up brick firewalls along boundaries between particular parcels. The Lübeck council was the first to announce such a decision. As a result of closing the front and back sides, at first by erecting framed and subsequently brick walls, a single-room lofty space was created, referred to in German as ground-floor hall ("Diele"). Consequently, a number of characteristic brick buildings were put up. Their tops faced the street and their longer sides were shared by two neighbouring parcels and hence their owners. What is interesting, the side walls had characteristic niches. Therefore, the width of such stone houses equalled the width of parcels on which they were built and, as a rule, amounted to several metres. They were several dozen metres long, i.e. a single tenement covered greater part of the parcel. Every building could be entered from the street, and in the back wall there was a passage to the backside of the plot. These were two- or three-storeys buildings with a hight-pitched roofs and large storage capacity, however at first without any cellars.[7] According to some estimations, tens of thousands of bricks were used for the construction of one house under discussion.[8]

Originally, the ground floor of tenements had a wooden ceiling and was not divided into smaller rooms. It was used mainly as a working place and storehouse, while the residential part was probably on another storey; with time it was moved

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[6] M. Gläser: *Archäologisch erfaßte mittelalterliche Hausbauten in Lübeck*, in: *Lübecker Kolloquium….*, Vol. III, p. 296.

[7] W. Erdmann: *Entwicklungstendenzen des Lübecker Hausbaus 1100 bis um 1340 – eine Ideenskizze*, "Lübecker Schriften zur Archäologie und Kulturgeschichte" 1983, Vol. 7, p. 24 f.; G. Fehring: *Städtischer Hausbau…*, p. 56 f. As for Polish literature on the subject, cf. Z. Polak: *Uwagi archeologa do historii kamienicy gdańskiej* [Archaeological remarks on the history of the Gdansk tenement], in: *Stan badań archeologicznych miast w Polsce* [Archaeological research on Polish towns], eds. H. Paner, M. Fudziński, Z. Borcowski, Gdańsk 2005, pp. 245–255; J. Piekalski, *Wczesne domy…* [Early burgher's houses...], p. 121 f.

[8] *Hus un Hoff. Wohnbauten im mittelalterlichen Stralsund*, Stralsund 2008, p. 15.

to annexes built on the tenement in the backside of the parcel. In other words, the utility function of buildings was much more important than their residential function.[9]

The first stone houses of such a kind were built in Lübeck, probably soon after the middle of the 13th century. The results of the post-war archaeological excavations prove that it was there that at the turn of the 13th and 14th centuries such tenements became a construction standard, and before 1320 most parcels in Lübeck were developed in such a way.[10]

The process of replacing timber houses with brick tenements with ground-floor halls was the case with all Hanseatic towns on the South Baltic coast, and archaeological research continues to provide new information as to where and how fast they were built. In Rostock, likewise in Lübeck, the oldest brick tenements, discovered during archaeological excavations, date back to the second half of the 13th century.[11]

No later than in the fourth quarter of the 13th century the first firewalls were appeared in Stralsund, and at the end of the aforementioned century first tenements were built there to become a dominant element of the urban landscape within the next 100 years.[12] It was also then that such buildings were put up in Greifswald.[13] In Kołobrzeg, a town which has undergone relatively comprehensive research, the earliest registered brick houses date back to the first quarter of the 14th century. It can be assumed that it was then that housing boom was the case with Kołobrzeg, as a result of which over the following several dozen years such stone houses were built in most parcels.[14]

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[9] J. Piekalski: *Wczesne domy…* [Early burgher's houses...], p. 131.

[10] W. Erdmann: *Entwicklungstendenzen…*, p. 22; G. Fehring: *Städtischer Hausbau…*, p. 56; M. Gläser: *Archäologisch erfaßte…*, p. 298.

[11] G. Schmitt: *Der städtebauliche Wandel Rostocks im. 13 Jahrhundert*, in: *777 Jahre Rostock. Neue Beiträgezur Stadtgeschichte*, ed. O. Pelc, Rostock 1995, p. 15 f.

[12] J.Ch. Holst: *Stand und Aufgaben der Hausforschung des Mittelalters in der Hansestadt Stralsund. Beobachtungen eines Lübeckers*, in: *Archäologie des Mittelalters und Bauforschung im Hanseraum*, ed. M. Gläser, Rostock, 1993, pp. 398–399; *Hus un Hoff…*, pp. 10–19, 29 f.

[13] H. Schäfer: *Früher Holz- und Steinbauten in der Hansestadt Greifswald*, in: *Lübecker Kolloquium…*. 2001, Vol. III, p. 428.

[14] Z. Polak: *Budownictwo i architektura* [Building and architecture], in: *Archeologia średniowiecznego Kołobrzegu* [Archaeology of medieval Kołobrzeg], vol. 2, ed. M. Rębkowski, Kołobrzeg 1997, p. 156; idem: *Zabudowa mieszkalna i gospodarcza. Typy konstrukcji, przemiany przestrzenne, datowanie* [Housing and commercial development. Types of buildings, spatial development, dating], in: *Archeologia średniowiecznego Kołobrzegu* [Archaeology of medieval Kołobrzeg], vol. 4, ed. M. Rębkowski, Kołobrzeg 1999, p. 187 f.; idem: *Zabudowa lokacyjnego Kołobrzegu…* [Housing in the chartered town of Kołobrzeg], pp. 163–169.

In Elbląg, situated to the east, the earliest tenements were also put up as a consequence of taking fire protection measures, i.e. erecting firewalls. The process began after the fire that consumed great part of the town in 1288. Based on the analysis of both written sources and archaeological findings, brick architecture had been flourishing in Elblag since c.a. 1330.[15] Scant attention, which is quite surprising, is paid to its origin in Gdańsk, though there as well the process had probably taken place in the same manner as in other large port towns.[16] On the other hand, in Riga, established in 1201, relics of earliest brick houses, including the most popular tenements with ground-floor halls, discovered during excavations date back to the 13th and 14th centuries.[17] It is assumed that in a similar period and in a similar way the stone houses were developed in the Hanseatic towns located in the eastern part of the southern coast of the Baltic. As a matter of fact, they mark the eastward frontier of the region where this type of brick houses have been spread in the Middle Ages.[18]

The above discussion indicates that in the course of the 14th century, "Dielenhäuser" became a dominant element of cultural landscape in the towns situated on the southern coast of the Baltic. They obviously were subjected to further development and changes, like e.g. appearing of differentiated front walls, dividing the hall into smaller rooms, appearing characteristing perrons in the front and annexes in the back sides, etc. These, however, are not of major importance to issues addressed in the present paper.

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[15] T. Nawrolski: *Gebäude und topographische Strukturen des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts in Elbing*, "Lübecker Kolloquium zur Archäologie und Kulturgeschichte" 1990, Vol. 20, p. 159 f.; R. Czaja: *Socjotopografia…* [Socio-topography…], p. 82 f.; A. Kąsinowski: *Ein Blick auf die mittelalterliche Raumdisposition von Elbing und ihre Realisierung: Stadt-Baukomplexe-Bauparzelle*, in: *Archaeologia Elbingensis…*, Vol. 1, pp. 67–78; idem: *Średniowieczna kamienica mieszczańska: Elbląg, Ryga, Kołobrzeg* [Medieval burgher's tenement: Elbląg, Ryga, Kołobrzeg], in: *Archaeologia Elbingensis…*, Vol. 2, pp. 51–52.

[16] Z. Polak: *Uwagi archeologa…* [Archaeological remarks…], pp. 245–253.

[17] A. Caune: *Ziliśča Rigi XII–XIV vv. Po dannym archeołogiczeskich raskopok*, Riga 1984, p. 175; idem, *Typen der Wohnhäuser Rigas im 12. bis 14. Jahrhundert aufgrund der archäologischen Ausgrabungen*, in: *Lübecker Kolloquium….*, vol. III, 2001, p. 358; A. Kąsinowski: *Średniowieczna kamienica…* [Medieval burgher's…], p. 49 f.

[18] E.g. Mäesalu: *Die Haustypen im hansezeitlichen Tartu (Dorpat)*, in: *Lübecker Kolloquium…*, Vol. III,, pp. 586–587. Cf. remarks made by J. Piekalski: *Wczesne domy…* [Early burgher's houses...], p. 133.

Luxury table ware

The commonness of tenements with ground-floor halls illustrates nicely how the cultural unity of the Hanseatic towns developed, at least as far as urban architecture is concerned. As an example of a similar process taking place indoors, one may cite pottery used in every household at that time. The fragments of pottery belong to the category of the most common archaeological finds and, due to their mass character, are a solid basis for conducting extensive research. As for the late Middle Ages, such sources enable archaeologists to address a number of issues such as e.g. technological advancement of the potters, production techniques, trade contacts, pottery market, consumer tastes and their social status, etc.[19] Excavations conducted in the Hanseatic towns of the region have produced millions of pottery shards. Studies based on such fragments of ceramics have revealed a number of very characteristic tendencies and similarities.

As far as the entire region under analysis is concerned, the so-called greyware was the main kind of pottery used in the chartered towns. It was produced locally from ferrous clay, kilned in reducing atmosphere, which prevented it from oxidation, and differentiated considerably in terms of functionality. Across large regions of central Europe, including the Baltic coast, greyware were spread simultaneously to the process of colonization and influx of new settlers in the 12th and 13th centuries. In other regions, however, it became popular only because new technologies were adopted.[20] Pottery used in the Middle Ages in the Hanseatic towns of the Baltic region, specially tableware, had one more prominent feature, namely the significant shares of high quality vessels produced in other parts

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[19] Of numerous publications see: S.A. Moorhouse: *The medieval pottery industry and its market*, in: *Medieval Industry*, "CBA Research Report", vol. 40, ed. D.W. Crossley, London 1981, pp. 96–125; P.J. Davey: *Theory and Practise in Medieval Ceramic Studies*, "Medieval Ceramics" 1988, vol. 12, pp. 3–13; D.H. Brown: *Pottery and Archaeology*, "Medieval Ceramics" 1988, vol. 12, pp. 15–21. As for Polish literature on the subject cf. A. Buko: *Ceramika wczesnopolska. Wprowadzenie do badań* [Early Polish pottery. Introduction to research], Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk–Łódź 1990, p. 26 f.

[20] Of numerous publications see: J. Kruppé: *Garncarstwo późnośredniowieczne w Polsce* [Late medieval pottery in Poland], Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk–Łódź 1981; G. Mangelsdorf: *Untersuchungen zur Formenkunde spätmittelalterlicher Keramik im westlichen Brandenburg*, Frankfurt am Main 1994; idem: *Zur mittelalterlichen Keramik des 12. bis 15. Jahrhunderts in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern – ein Bericht zur Forschungslage*, in: *Z pravéku do stredovéku. Sbornik k 70. narozeninam Vladimira Nekudy*, ed. P. Michna, R. Nekuda, J. Unger, Brno 1997, pp. 230–236; T. Nawrolski, M. Rębkowski: *Ein Beitrag zur Erforschung mittelalterlicher Keramik in Pommern*, "Offa" 1995, Vol. 52, pp. 166–167; H. Lüdtke: *Grauware des 12. bis. 15. Jahrhunderts*, in: *Handbuch zur mittelalterlichen Keramik in Nordeuropa*, eds. H. Lüdtke, K. Schietzel, Neumünster 2001, pp. 83–174.

of Europe and imported to the Baltic. This was mainly the case of the so-called red glazed ware and stoneware.

In all towns where excavations were conducted, in the cultural deposits dated to the 13th century and the first half of the 14th century there were found shards of the vessels kilned in red colour, the outer surfaces of which were covered with lead glaze with a green, brown or yellow tint. Some of the red-glazed vessels, frequently referred to as high decorated pottery, were ornamented also with white slip, engobes, plastic applications made of white clay which after enamelling added to the range of colours, as well as engraved or stamped motifs. Such products are represented mainly as tableware, first of all jugs and drinking vessels. According to the estimates made for a few towns of the region under discussion, during the period of its greatest popularity, i.e. in the second half of the 13th century, red glazed ware was a very characteristic element of the pottery used by townspeople.[21] Its share in the whole pottery sets was never less than a few per cents. In the case of Kołobrzeg it was 7–8%.[22]

Imported from western Europe, luxury glazed ware eventually reached towns on the South Baltic coast by sea. It was at first produced in Flandern where it gained enormous popularity in the 13th century. At that time, it was a phenomenon related to urban communities, both in terms of production and use.[23] With time, migrating Flemish potters started the production in the towns of the Low Countries. It was also in the 13th century that the pottery was copied by craftsmen in southern Denmark, Lübeck and the environs of Rostock.[24] The phenomenon was connected with a need for bringing the production sites closer to the market

[21] D. Gaimster: *The Baltic Ceramic Market c. 1200–1600: An Archaeology of the Hanse*, "Fennoscandia Archaeologica" 1999, vol. XVI, pp. 59–69; idem: *Die Keramikmarkt im Ostseeraum 1200 bis 1600: Exportkeramik als Indikator für Fernhandelsbeziehungen und die Wanderung des hansischen Handwerks und der Wohnkultur*, in: *Lübecker Kolloquium…* 1999, Vol. II, esp. Abb. 1. See also: P.K. Madsen, H. Stielke: *Bleiglasierte Irdenware*, in: *Handbuch…*, pp. 539–612.

[22] M. Rębkowski: *Średniowieczna ceramika miasta lokacyjnego w Kołobrzegu* [Medieval pottery in the chartered town of Kołobrzeg], Kołobrzeg 1995, Tab. 1, p. 20 and Fig. 8. It seems that red glazed ware was hardly ever redistributed from the port towns to towns situated at a certain distance from the coast.

[23] F. Verhaeghe: *La céramique tres décorée du Bas Moyen Age en Flandre*, in: *Actes du Colloque de Lille (26–27 Mars 1988)*, ed. G. Blieck, Lille 1989, pp. 19–113.

[24] D. Mayer: *Glasurkeramik des Mittelalters von einer Töpfereiproduktion aus der Kleinen Burgstrasse zu Lübeck – ein Vorbericht*, "Lübecker Schriften zur Archäologie und Kulturgeschichte" 1993, Vol. 23, pp. 277–282; H. Schäfer: *Zur Keramik des 13. bis 15. Jahrhunderts in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern*, "Bodendenkmalpflege in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern" 1997, Jb. 1996, p. 302; U. Braun: *Eine Produktionsstätte der antropomorph verzierten mittelalterlichen roten Irdenware*, "Zeitschrift für Archäologie des Mittelalters" 2002, Jg. 30, pp. 165–171.

of consumers in the new founded and chartered towns in the Baltic region. It was there that a growing demand for luxury products could be noticed.[25] Such a pottery, highly decorated in particular, was characterized by a superior aesthetic value thus meeting special needs expressed by its users and enhancing their social prestige.

However, in the course of the first half of the 14th century, the most common kind of tableware used in the Hanseatic towns became stoneware which eventually eliminated red glazed ware from the market. The stoneware, a very typical ceramic product made of clay that could be kilned in high temperatures, was the hardest pottery of the highest quality produced in the Middle Ages only in few regions of Europe, mainly in central and northern Germany.[26] In the second half of the 13th century large amounts of the so-called early stoneware produced in the Rhineland were imported to towns on the Baltic coast. These were mainly medium-sized jugs with a characteristic shape of neck.

From the beginning of the 14th century, classical, fully fused stoneware produced in Siegburg (Rhineland) was imported on a mass scale to the Baltic region.[27] These were unique top quality jugs and drinking vessels that flooded the Baltic pottery market in the 14th and 15th centuries. In other words, it was then that stoneware pushed red glazed ware and early stoneware jugs out from the Hanseatic towns of the region. For the sake of understanding the role of goods produced in Siegburg, it is worth presenting estimates made for Kolobrzeg. According to them, at the end of the 14th century even every fifth vessel used by inhabitants of the town was produced on the Sieg river.[28] Also in other towns situated in the Baltic region stoneware from Siegburg represented in this period a greater part of the pottery used throughout the period under analysis. Apart from the Siegburg vessels, stoneware produced in southern Lower Saxony was

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[25] D. Gaimster: *The Baltic Ceramic Market…*, p. 62.

[26] H.-G. Stephan: *The development and production of medieval stoneware in Germany*, in: *Ceramics and Trade. The production and distribution of later medieval pottery in north-west Europe*, eds. P. Davey, R. Hodges, Sheffield 1983, pp. 95–120; D.R.M. Gaimster: *German Stoneware 1200–1900. Archaeology and Cultural History*, London 1997; M. Roehmer: *Steinzeug*, in: *Handbuch zur mittelalterlichen Keramik in Nordeuropa*, eds. H. Lüdtke, K. Schietzel, Neumünster 2001, pp. 465–538.

[27] B. Beckmann: *The main types of the first four production periods of Siegburg pottery*, in: *Medieval pottery from excavations*, eds. V.I. Evison, H. Hodges, J.G. Hurst, London, pp. 183–220; E. Hähnel: *Siegburger Steinzeug, Bestandkatalog*, Köln 1987; D.R.M. Gaimster: *German Stoneware…*, pp. 163–185; M. Rohmer: *Steinzeug…*, pp. 471–483.

[28] M. Rębkowski: *Średniowieczna ceramika…* [Medieval pottery…], Tab. 1, p. 20, 72 and Fig. 6.

also discovered in the Hanseatic towns of the Baltic, yet not on such a mass scale. These were very characteristic tableware, usually covered with brown engobe.[29]

Stoneware from Rhineland and Lower Saxony reached the Baltic by sea from ports of western Europe, e.g. from Utrecht, Bremmen or Bergen op Zoom. The pottery was floated from the manufacturing sites down the great rivers, namely the Rhine and the Wesser. It is very likely that other types of stoneware like the Waldenburg stoneware and the so-called "Falke Group" stoneware, distributed in the Baltic region since the end of the 14th century, were imported down the Oder river directly from the regions of the production. The former imitated Siegburg pottery in certain aspects and was produced in the town of Waldenburg situated in Saxony. As for the latter, the production sites have not been discovered yet, though researchers are inclined to believe they were located probably somewhere in Lausitz.[30] Nevertheless, they both lost competition with Siegburg pottery and relatively few of them were found in the towns located on the Baltic coast.

Treating as a whole, stoneware was a dominant element of tableware used by the inhabitants of the Baltic region towns. In fact, it was the most significant and characteristic element of the medieval households, which is confirmed by the analysis of pottery sets discovered in Lübeck, towns situated in Mecklenburg, Kołobrzeg or Gdańsk as well as Prussian and Livonian towns.[31] Based on its commonness, one may assume that stoneware in some way embodied the culture of Hanseatic towns in the 14th and 15th centuries.[32] At the same time, it is worth

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[29] H.-G. Stephan: *Coppengrave. Studien zur Töpferei des 13. bis 19. Jahrhunderts in Nordwestdeutschland*, Hildesheim 1981; idem: *The development…*, p. 105 f.; D.R.M. Gaimster: *German Stoneware…*, pp. 300–302; M. Roehmer: *Steinzeug…*, pp. 517–527.

[30] On Waldenburg pottery cf. D. Scheidemantel, Th. Schifer: *Waldenburger Steinzeug. Archäologie und Naturwissenschaften*, Dresden 2005. On finds in the the Baltic region: H. Schäfer, *"Siegburger Steinzeug" des 14. bis 16. Jh. aus Sachsen*, "Mitteilungen zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte für Ostmecklenburg und Vorpommern" 1993, No. 40, pp. 118–122; M. Rębkowski: *Nowe znaleziska kamionki waldenburskiej w północnej Polsce* [New finds of Waldenburg stoneware in northern Poland], in: *Archaeologia et historia urbana*, eds. R. Czaja, G. Nawrolska, M. Rębkowski, J. Tandecki, Elbląg 2004, pp. 421–428. On the so-called Falke-Group stoneware recently H.-G. Stephan: *Badania nad ceramiką "grupy Falkego". Bogato zdobiona gotycka kamionka łużycka i jej środowisko archeologiczno-historyczne* [Research on the Falke-Group stoneware. High decorated pottery from Lausitz and its archaeological background], in: *Wrocław na przełomie średniowiecza i czasów nowożytnych. Materialne przejawy życia codziennego* [Wrocław in medieval and modern times. Material aspects of everyday life], eds. J. Piekalski, K. Wachowski, Wrocław 2004, pp. 293–330.

[31] See: D.R.M. Gaimster: *German Stoneware…*, pp. 74–78 and papers in Vol. II *Lübecker Kolloquium…*1999; on Estonian towns see E. Russow: *Importleraamika Lääne-Eesti linnades 13.–17. sajandi*, Tallin 2006, pp. 41–55.

[32] D. Gaimster: *The Baltic Ceramic Market…*, p. 63.

highlighting that, likewise in the case of red glazed ware, on a definitively smaller scale these products were imported to towns located at a certain distance from the Baltic coast.[33]

Pilgrimage

The last aspect discussed in the present article has to do with religious practices. In the literature on the subject it has been already noticed that the parish churches of the chartered towns founded on the southern coast of the Baltic were dedicated to specific holy patrons. Particularly popular were namely Blessed Virgin Mary, St Nicolas and St James to whom churches in the newly located towns had been most frequently dedicated. In large towns, divided into two or three parish districts, all the churches were under the invocation of one of the abovementioned patrons, an example of which is for example Greifswald.[34] This is said to reflect religious and cultural unity of the Hanseatic towns and their influence in the Baltic region.[35] Such an unity has also been proven by comprehensive research on pilgrimage conducted over recent years and based on the already discovered archaeological pilgrim badges.

At the end of the Middle Ages Europe was covered with network of roads leading to hundreds of sanctuaries. The role of this network was exceptionally important since pilgrimage to sacred places ("ad loca sancta") was a typical and most common form of expressing religious beliefs. It was in such places that very characteristic devotional souvenirs had been produced since the second half of the 12th century. These items were mainly tinned and leaden casts of the size of several centimetres presenting the images of saints or their holy relics adored in

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[33] Situated in Pomerania town of Stargard is a good example. The share of red glazed ware was there estimated to less than 10%, see: P. Romanowicz: *Standardy luksusu – naczynia kamionkowe w późnośredniowiecznym Stargardzie* [Signs of luxury – stoneware vessels in late medieval Stargard], in: *Ekskluzywne życie – dostojny pochówek. W kręgu kultury elitarnej wieków średnich* [Exclusive life – dignified burial. In the sphere of elite culture of the Middle Ages], ed. M. Rębkowski, Wolin 2011, pp. 280–281.

[34] H. Heyden: *Kirchen Pommerns und ihre Weihetitel*, "Baltische Studien" N. F. 1958, Vol. 45, p. 66; J. Petersohn: *Der südliche Ostseeraum im kirchlich-politischen Kräftespiel des Reichs, Polens und Dänemarks vom 10. bis 13. Jahrhundert. Mission – Kirchenorganisation – Kultpolitik*, Köln–Wien 1979, pp. 435–436; M. Rębkowski: *Pierwsze lokacje…* [The first chartered towns…], 2001, pp. 113–116.

[35] K. Blaschke: *Nikolaikirchen und Stadtentstehung im pommerschen Raum*, "Greifswald-Stralsunder Jahrbuch" 1970–1971, Nr. 9, p. 26.

respective sanctuaries.[36] The devotional objects were bought by pilgrims once they reached their destinations and provided evidence of their presence in the sacred places. On their way back, the pilgrims in a way distributed them all over Europe. For some time now, they are discovered in different regions of the continent, usually while deepening river channels and during archaeological excavations carried out mainly in urban areas.[37] A series of such discoveries have already been made on the South Baltic coast. A decade ago researchers examined nearly 70 of such objects found from Lübeck in the west to Pärnu in the east.[38] In recent years, new and remarkable discoveries have been made, e.g. several dozen pilgrim signs in Stralsund and Wismar,[39] and what still partly awaits publication is the largest in this part of Europe the collection of badges finds from Gdańsk. The set consists of hundreds of items and is stored in the local Archaeological Museum.

One of fundamental tasks to be accomplished in the course of research into pilgrim badges is to assign them to respective sanctuaries and thus to identify townspeople's preferences in choosing places to which they made their pilgrimage. Analysed from such a perspective sets of devotional items from the South Baltic region, especially those dating back to the 13th and the 14th centuries, reveal certain tendencies that differentiate them from the badges discovered

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[36] Their prototypes were most probably shelves *Pecten Maximum* L. used since the 11th century as a symbol of pilgrimage to the tomb of St James the Greater in Compostela, e.g. K. Köster: *Pilgerzeichen und Pilgermuscheln von mittelalterlichen Santiagostraßen*, Neumünster 1983, p. 142 f.; A. Haasis-Berner: *Die Pilgerzeichen des 11.-14. Jahrhunderts. Mit einem Überblick über die europäische Pilgerzeichenforschung*, in: *Archäologie als Sozialgeschichte. Studien zu Siedlung, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft im frühgeschichtlichen Mitteleuropa*, eds. S. Brather, Ch. Bücker, M. Hoeper, Rahden 1999, p. 272.

[37] Cf. B. Spencer: *Medieval pilgrim badges. Some general observations illustrated mainly from English sources*, "Rotterdam Papers" 1968, no. 1, p. 139, and remarks made by: L. Andersson: *Pilgrimsmärken och vallfahrt. Medeltida pilgrimskultur i Skandinavien*, "Lund Studies in Medieval Archaeology" 7, Lund 1989, p. 188.

[38] M. Rębkowski: *Pielgrzymki mieszkańców średniowiecznych miast południowego wybrzeża Bałtyku w świetle archeologii. Wstęp do badań* [Pilgrimages of the inhabitants of medieval towns situated on the South Baltic coast in the light of archaeology. An introduction to the research], "Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej" [Quarterly of the History of Material Culture] 52, 2004, no. 2, pp. 153–188.

[39] R. Samariter: *Pilgerzeichen und religiöse Zeichen aus Stralsunder Frankenvorstadt*, "Bodendenkmalpflege in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern" 2008 (2009), Jb. 56, pp. 191–212; idem: *Neue Pilgerzeichen und religiöse Zeichen aus Stralsund*, in: *Wallfahrer aus dem Osten. Mittelalterliche Pilgerzeichen zwischen Ostsee, Donau und Seine*, eds. H. Kühne, L. Lambacher, J. Hrdina, Frankfurt am Main 2013, pp. 145–178; J. Ansorge: *Mittelalterliche Pilgerzeichen aus der Hansestadt Wismar*, "Bodendenkmalpflege in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern" 2008 (2009), Jb. 56, pp. 213–257; idem: *Pilgerzeichen sowie religiöse und profane Zeichen aus der Grabung für das Ozeaneum in Stralsund*, in: *Das Zeichen am Hut im Mittelalter*, eds. H. Kühne, L. Lambacher, K. Vanja, Frankfurt am Main 2008, pp. 83–114.

in western Europe. First of all, apart from few cases, the pilgrim badges from French, English and Italian shrines, Rome included, are not found on the South Baltic coast. The finds of the characteristic shells of St James (*Pecten maximus* L.) are more common and provide evidence that the pilgrims under discussion visited the tomb of the saint in a distant Compostela. However, the greatest part of badges discovered in the Baltic region was produced in supra-regional sanctuaries located in German-speaking area, among which the most popular were sacred places on the Rhine and the Maas rivers.

Pilgrimage sanctuaries on the abovementioned rivers were arisen in the 12th century and four of them, namely in Aachen, Cologne, Maastricht and Trier, became in the course of time the most important pilgrimage destinations in Germany.[40] Considerable number of pilgrim badges from the first three aforementioned shrines have been discovered in the Baltic region. The growing role of Aachen and Cologne as sacred places to some extent stemmed from the fact they were located on the so-called Low German route (*Niederstraße*) leading to Compostela.

In the 13th century Aachen became popular and very soon one of major pilgrim centre in northern Europe. In the cathedral church there were kept holy relics, namely the swaddling-bands and loin-cloth of Jesus Christ, the nightgown of Virgin Mary as well as shawl of St John the Baptist. It was also there that the cult of Charlemagne was particularly strong.[41] Aachen was, however, mainly Saint Mary's sanctuary. Most pilgrim badges produced there presented the image of "Enthroned Virgin and the Child" also known as *Maria Aquensis*, or Blessed Virgin Mary's robe outstretched in the same fashion as it was displayed to pilgrims from the cathedral gallery.[42] As far as the Hanseatic towns are concerned, a substantial number of such items were discovered, among other things, in Gdańsk, Greifswald, Lübeck, Stralsund and Wismar.[43]

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[40] K. Köster: *Mittelaterliche Pilgerzeichen und Wallfahrtdevotionalien*, in: *Rhein und Maas. Kunst und Kultur 800–1400*, Köln 1972, pp. 146–147; A. Haasis-Berner: *Die Pilgerzeichen des...*, p. 274, Abb. 2.

[41] For general information on Aachen as a pilgrim destination see: E. Stephany: *Heiligtumsfahrt*, in: *Rhein und Maas...*, pp. 142–145; see also: K. Herbers: *Stadt und Pilger*, in: *Stadt und Kirche*, red. F.-H. Hye, Linz–Donau 1995, p. 219 f.

[42] K. Köster: *Mittelalterliche Pilgerzeichen…*, p. 21; A. Haasis-Berner: *Pilgerzeichen des Hochmittelalters*, Würzburg 2003, pp. 157–166.

[43] Early finds and literature listed by M. Rębkowski: *Pielgrzymki…* [Pilgrimages…], pp. 167–169. Recent discoveries in Wismar and Stralsund: cf. J. Ansorge: *Mittelalterliche Pilgerzeichen…*, pp. 221–224; idem: *Pilgerzeichen und Pilgerzeichenforschung in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern*, in: *Wallfahrer aus dem Osten…*, pp. 131–135; R. Samariter: *Neue Pilgerzeichen…*, pp. 152–153; see also: M. Rębkowski: *The Finds of the Pilgrim Badges from the Polish Baltic Coast*, in: *Wallfahrer*

Since the second half of the 12th century, masses of pilgrims had arrived in Cologne to adore the relics of St Ursula and her companions, who are said to had died nearby, and the relics of the Three Kings transferred there from Milan in 1164. Very soon Cologne became a place of worship of supra-regional importance and items produced there were inspired by the above mentioned relics. Pilgrim badges, presenting characteristic image of the "ship of St Ursula" and thus making a reference to the fragment of hagiographic legend about sea voyage made by the holy martyr, were discovered during archaeological excavations in Gdańsk, Szczecin and Stralsund[44]. Furthermore, badges brought by pilgrims from Cologne and presenting the "Bow of the Magi" were found in Lübeck, Elbląg and Stralsund.[45]

In the Hanseatic towns located on the Baltic coast, there have been also found a great number of pilgrim badges presenting St Servatius holding a key, optionally subduing a dragon with lower part of his crosier. His cult became extremely strong since the second half of the 12th century in Maastricht where his tomb was located.[46] Such badges were discovered on the South Baltic coast, namely in Rostock, Kołobrzeg, Elbląg, Gdańsku, Stralsund and Wismar.[47]

As already mentioned, devotional objects made in the aforementioned three sanctuaries are well represented and found along the entire Baltic coast, i.e. in towns where any pilgrim badges were at all discovered. According to the estimates, the pilgrim badges from the shrine on the Rhine and the Maas rivers

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aus dem Osten…, pp. 42–45. Extremely large collection of the badges depicting St Mary, found in Gdańsk and as it seems mostly derived from Aachen, has been recently published by H. Paner: *Średniowieczne świadectwa kultu Maryjnego. Pamiątki pielgrzymie w zbiorach Muzeum Archeologicznego w Gdańsku* [Medieval testimony of the cult of St Mary. The pilgrim souvenirs from the collection of the Archaeological Museum of Gdańsk], Gdańsk 2013.

[44] M. Rębkowski: *Pielgrzymki…* [Pilgrimages…], pp. 162–165; idem: *The Finds…*, pp. 39–40; J. Ansorge: *Pilgerzeichen und Pilgerzeciehnforschung…*, p. 131. First references made by K. Köster: *Mittelalterliche Pilgerzeichen…*, p. 154.

[45] M. Rębkowski: *Pielgrzymki…* [Pilgrimages…], pp. 165–167; R. Samariter: *Pilgerzeichen…*, pp. 201–202, 206–207. Recently more on such pilgrim signs A. Haasis-Berner, J. Poettgen: *Die mittelalterlichen Pilgerzeichen der Heiligen Drei Könige. Ein Beitrag von Archäologie und Campanologie zur Erforschung der Wallfahrt nach Köln*, "Zeitschrift für Archäologie des Mittelalters" 2002, Vol. 30, pp. 173–202, see for references.

[46] *Lexicon des Mittelalters*, Vol. VII, München 1995, pp. 1791–1792; *Lexicon der christlichen Iconographie*, Vol. VIII, Rom–Freiburg–Basel–Wien 1994, pp. 330–331; K. Köster: *Mittelalterliche Pilgerzeichen…*, pp. 154–155; L. Andersson: *Pilgrimsmärken och...*, pp. 67–69.

[47] M. Rębkowski: *Pielgrzymki…* [Pilgrimages…], pp. 160–162; idem: *The Finds…*, pp. 37–38; J. Ansorge: *Pilgerzeichen und Pilgerzeichenforschung…*, pp. 131–132.

represented several dozen per cent of all items, and in some cases, e.g. Stralsund, even more than 50%.[48]

Based on the above, it can be stated that the pilgrimage idea emerged among the inhabitants of the Hanseatic towns shortly after their chartering, namely in the 13th century. For the same period of time there are dated the oldest examples of the pilgrim signs found in towns of Lübeck, Stralsund, Rostock and Tallin (Reval).[49] In the 13th and 14th centuries the inhabitants of the region under discussion made their pilgrimage the most frequently to major supra-regional sanctuaries situated in German-speaking area, among which enormous popularity was achieved by sacred places located on the Rhine and the Maas rivers.[50] This is reflected both in archaeological finds and in results of research conducted in selected towns and based on written sources such as, e.g. bourgeois testaments.[51] The popularity of the aforementioned sanctuaries stemmed from a number of things. Presumably, it had to do indirectly with trade contacts established between the towns of the Baltic region and the Rhineland, or with the fact that some sanctuaries were founded on the route leading from northern Europe to Compostela.[52] Last, but not least, popularity under discussion probably followed from the fact that townspeople's identified themselves with the culture of the regions situated in north-western Germany.

Conclusion

The majority of towns situated on the Baltic coast which joined with time the Hanseatic League, were founded in the 13th century inside of different political structures. Each had its own and unique character to which the following

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[48] M. Rębkowski: *Pielgrzymki…* [Pilgrimages…], p. 184 f.; J. Ansorge: *Pilgerzeichen sowie…*, p. 89; idem: *Pilgerzeichen und Pilgerzeichenforschung…*, p. 131; R. Samariter: *Neue Pilgerzeichen…*, p. 173 and Tab. 1.

[49] M. Rębkowski: *Pielgrzymki...* [Pilgrimages...], p. 181, see for literature.

[50] Change would eventually take place at the end of the Middle Ages, i.e. in the 15th century, when in this part of Europe pilgrimages to local shrines would assume greater importance. The process is confirmed also in archaeological finds, e.g. J. Ansorge: *Pilgerzeichen sowie…*, p. 89.

[51] See: H. Wernicke: *Religiöses Alltagsleben in den pommerschen Hansestädten während des Spätmittelalters*, "Zeszyty Kulickie" [The Kulice Journal], Nr. 2: *Z dziejów chrześcijaństwa na Pomorzu* [From the history of Christianity in Pomerania], ed. L. von Zitzewitz, Kulice 2001, Fig. 23, p. 163; M. Rębkowski: *Pielgrzymki...* [Pilgrimages…], pp. 167–171.

[52] On the pilgrim route leading from northern Germany to Compostela cf. K. Köster: *Pilgerzeichen und Pilgermuscheln…*, p. 14 and Abb. 8; idem: *Mittelalterliche Pilgerzeichen…*, p. 211.

contributed: local factors determining development, ethnic and cultural back-
ground, topographical conditions, etc. However, in many respects one can no-
tice a number of similarities, if not common features, characterizing the towns
situated even at a fair distance. To name at least some of them, long known to
researchers: analogical legal realties, rules governing the organization of urban
space, ethnic and linguistic bonds of majority of inhabitants or economic realities.
Discoveries made in the course of archaeological excavations have shed a new
light on the subject matter under discussion.

As a matter of fact, archaeological research on medieval towns situated in
the Baltic region and belonging to the Hanseatic League has been conducted on
a large scale since the 1980's. Since then, urban archaeology began to flourish
which resulted also in quick increase of the number of excavated sources. Studies
undertaken in this scope have addressed a number of issues relating to the medi-
eval and post-medieval history of the Hanseatic towns and provided a new light
on the hitherto unknown elements of the urban culture. In many cases one may
notice striking resemblance which proves the cultural unity of the inhabitants of
the towns of the South Baltic coast between the 13th and the 15th centuries. At the
same time, special attention should be paid to the fact that the aforementioned
similarities can be noticed in regard to completely different cultural aspects such
as characteristic religious practices as pilgrimage, urban private architecture con-
tributing to the spatial development of towns, and finally tableware – kept and
used in every household. It can be expected that the phenomenon of some sort of
the cultural unity can be also proven by archaeological research into e.g. the then
craft industry, sea transport, etc.

Finally, one should give some thought to reasons underlying the development
of cultural unity of the Hanseatic towns located on the South Baltic coast.[53] First
and foremost, once more attention should be paid to similar legal and economic
factors contributing to the development of medieval towns under discussion. Sec-
ondly, emphasis ought to be placed to much the same cultural and ethnical origin
of the townspeople, the majority of whom came from German territory and spoke
the same language. Finally, one must not neglect the importance of long-distance
trade contacts which, after all embodied the essence of the Hanseatic League,
since they resulted in an exchange of not only goods, but also ideas. All the above

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[53] Cf. remarks based on single kinds of finds D.R.M. Gaimster: *The Baltic…*, p. 61;
J. Piekalski: *Wczesne domy…* [Early burgher's houses...], pp. 131–133.

factors have contributed to the development of cultural unity of the Hanseatic towns and had a major effect on their final form.

KAMIENICE SIENIOWE, SZKLIWIONE DZBANY I ZNAKI PRZELGRZYMIE. O WSPÓLNOCIE KULTUROWEJ NADBAŁTYCKICH MIAST HANZEATYCKICH W ŚWIETLE ARCHEOLOGII

Streszczenie

Badania archeologiczne nadbałtyckich miast należących w średniowieczu do Hanzy rozpoczęto na większą skalę dopiero w latach 80. XX wieku. Odkrywane w ich trakcie źródła pozwalają postawić tezę o istnieniu wspólnoty kulturowej mieszczan południowego wybrzeża Bałtyku w XIII–XV wieku. W artykule, na wybranych przykładach różnych elementów kultury materialnej dobrze czytelnych w źródłach archeologicznych, podjęto próbę wykazania podobieństw istniejących w odległych od siebie miastach nadbałtyckich w różnych sferach życia mieszczan. Analizę przeprowadzono w odniesieniu do: budownictwa – na przykładzie tzw. kamienic sieniowych, które w XIV wieku stały się wspólnym dla wielu miast nadbałtyckich elementem krajobrazu kulturowego; zestawów naczyń stołowych – na przykładzie popularnych w tej części Europy dzbanów kamionkowych oraz czerwonych naczyń szkliwionych, jak również dewocjonaliów religijnych – na przykładzie znaków pielgrzymich, wskazujących na istnienie wyraźnych preferencji w wyborze celów pielgrzymek, koncentrujących się na ponadregionalnych sanktuariach pielgrzymkowych położonych w niemieckim kręgu kulturowym, zwłaszcza w rejonie nadreńsko-nadmozańskim.

Przyczyny wytworzenia wspólnoty kulturowej miast upatrywane są w podobnych uwarunkowaniach prawnych i gospodarczych ich rozwoju, podobnym pochodzeniu kulturowo-etnicznym dominującej części mieszczan, wywodzących się z terenów niemieckich, jak też w intensywnych kontaktach handlowych, których skutkiem była przecież nie tylko wymiana towarów, ale również idei.