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HUNTSMANSHIP AND HUNTING WEAPONS IN MALBORK COMMANDRY

The subject of huntsmanship of Malbork commandry¹ should be considered on few different levels. For the reason of its central location in the monastic state, and also because of Malbork's function as the capital of the state of Prussia, elite hunting expeditions took place here, where the highest official participated, even the Grand Master himself, there were also occasions when Teutonic knights hunted with the numerous guests of the monastic state's capital. For members of the order and people close related, hunting was main of all a form of a pleasure, a nice change to the monotony of everyday life, an occasion to get together in larger company and also to practise weapon skills. Here, Western

European knights had an occasion to hunt animals unmet or at least uncommon in their countries. It seems, that in this case supplying the meat of wild game was only a secondary role of hunting. Hunting was also an important element of noble lifestyle, an integral part of knightly culture². For townspeople and peasants inhabiting the Malbork commandry, hunting was mainly a way of supplying food, getting ridding of animals ravaging crop fields as well as a way of making living.

Huntsmanship in the monastic state of Prussia, thus also of Malbork commandry, was officially sanctioned by legal regulations, such as Chełmno Law privilege (in Latin – *Jus Culmense vetus*) for the civilian population and statutes for the monastic brethren. The Chełmno Law of the year 1233, later renewed in year 1251, regulating also the subject of huntsmanship, allows townspeople to hunt wild animals, with the exception of boars, bears and roe dears. Of all the animals killed, a right shoulder was to be handed over to the convent³. Such general regulations gave considerable freedom of hunting, on occasions they were expanded or restricted with more detailed rules given to specific settlements or people. By those regulations, it was sometimes allowed to hunt only bears and wolves, which were a menace to the people (and no other animals), on other times it was only allowed to hunt hare. In the monastic state, there were no strictly executed regalia, such as were in other European states where offence was treated very punitively – for example hunting in kings woods⁴. Concerning the rights of the Teutonic order, it is

¹ The subject of huntsmanship of the Teutonic state of Prussia was already taken up by scholars in the first half of the 19th century. The earliest studies concerning the topic are J. G. Bujack's, *Geschichte des Preussischen Jagdwesens von der Ankunft des Deutschen Ordens in Preussen bis zum Schlusse des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts mit besonders Bezugnahme auf einige Schwerige Aufgaben der Zoologie*, Programm des Königlichen Friedrichscollegium, Königsberg 1839 and J. Voigt's, *Über Falkenfang und Falkenzucht in Preussen*, „Preussische Provinzial-Blätter“, vol. 7, 1849, pp. 257-276. More important works concerning the subject are: F. Liedtke, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Jagd in Ermland und Altpreußen*, „Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ermlands“, vol. 10, 1894, pp. 512-532; W. Brünneck, *Zur Geschichte des altpreussischen Jagd- und Fische-rechts*, „Zeitschrift des Savigny – Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte“, vol. 39, 1918, pp. 18-144; J. Muhl, *Die Jagd auf der Danziger Nehrung*, „Mitteilungen Westpreussisches Geschichtsvereins“, vol. 25, 1925, pp. 72-78; F. Mager, *Wildbahn und Jagd Altpreußens im Wandel der geschichtlichen Jahrhunderte*, Neudamm 1941; G. Knabe, *Preußische Falken im Dienste der Politik des Deutschen Ordens*, „Preußenland“, vol. 7, 1969, pp. 17-21; G. Białuński, *W sprawie lasów i leśnictwa w południowo-wschodnich Mazurach od XIV do początku XVIII wieku*, „Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie“, no. 3, 1996, pp. 433-447; K. Militzer, *Jagd und Deutscher Orden*, [in:] *Jagd und höfische Kultur im Mittelalter*, ed. W. Rösner, Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, vol. 135, Göttingen 1997, p. 325-363, or recent C. Tryk, *Rys historii łowiectwa w Prusach Wschodnich do XVIII wieku*, „Masovia”, vol. 3, 2000, pp. 15-34 and G. Białuński, *Uwagi o myślistwie w Prusach na obszarze Wielkiej Puszczy w XV-XVI wieku*, [in:] *Las w kulturze polskiej*, vol. IV, ed. by W. Łysiak, Poznań 2006, pp. 479-484. The works mentioned above speak of the Teutonic huntsmanship in general, the author of this article concentrates specifically on Malbork commandry. The study presented is aiming to present, to the reader, some of aspects of huntsmanship around Malbork in the times of Teutonic State.

² Extensive study of this subject was presented by F. Kusiak, *Rycerze średniowiecznej Europy łacińskiej*, Warszawa 2002, pp. 274-284.

³ K. Zielińska-Melkowska, *Przywilej chełmiński 1233 i 1251*, [in:] *Teksty pomników prawa chełmińskiego w przekładach polskich*, no. 1, ed. by Z. Zdrójkowski, Toruń 1986, p. 42, footnote 20. According to Bujack it was caused by the fact that the monks were supposed to avoid consumption of better sorts of meat – J. G. Bujack, *Geschichte...*, p. 5, more probable, such meat was easier to conserve and store for a longer period of time – F. Mager, *Wildbahn...*, p. 35.

⁴ F. Kusiak, *Rycerze...*, s. 275 gives examples from England, were in year 1016 king Canute established a law, by which anyone who illegally hunted in kings woods was punished with death.

already the counterfeit of the Treaty of Kruszwica, which states, that Konrad I of Masovia renounces his rights to hunt in Chełmno Land and to hunt beavers (these were the only animals mentioned by name – which states their significance) to the Teutonic order. Later on, it was reflected in Chełmno Law, where those animals are covered by regalia⁵. The basic law for members of the Teutonic order were defined by statutes, according to which hunting was forbidden for the monastic brothers. Though, there was a possibility to hire huntsmen (*jeger*)⁶ who, not being a member of the order were not subjects the monastic regulations. During the hunt the brethren knights accompanied the huntsmen, but only to protect them from bandits and pagans – not to hunt themselves. Possibilities to kill a wolf, bear or lion was the only exception, as these were a threat for people. Thus, making it a necessity dictated by safety reasons and not amusement. Also allowed was bird hunting, which allowed the brethren to practice their skills with bow and crossbow. With time the Grand Master or Komturs allowed the brothers to hunt more and more often⁷.

However, already in 14th century the Grand Masters were forced to make statutes opposing numerous deviations from orders doctrines. These were a sign of gradual laicization of the convent, the order knights and their customs were growing similar to the life of secular knights. And so, in year 1347 the Grand Master Heinrich Dusemer along with the general chapter issued a statute, which amongst other things regulated participation of Teutonic brothers in hunting. Accordingly, knights of the order returning from raid expeditions were forbidden to participate in hunting, unless the Grand Marshal allowed it. Grand Master Winrich von Kniprode issued an act forbidding the monks possession of hunting dogs, though in was not forbidden to keep dogs as a common property of the castle. In Livonia bringing dogs and falcons into churches was banned, meaning that earlier it was common thing to happen. Teutonic brothers were not allowed to possess falcons, except for Komturs and House Komturs. Falconry was a sign of status of monastic dignitaries⁸.

The paradox of the situation has to be noted here: on one side the order diplomatically organised best conditions it could (for own territorial authority, with hunting rights among other things), while on the other side conventual friars were forbidden to hunt by rules of monastic life.

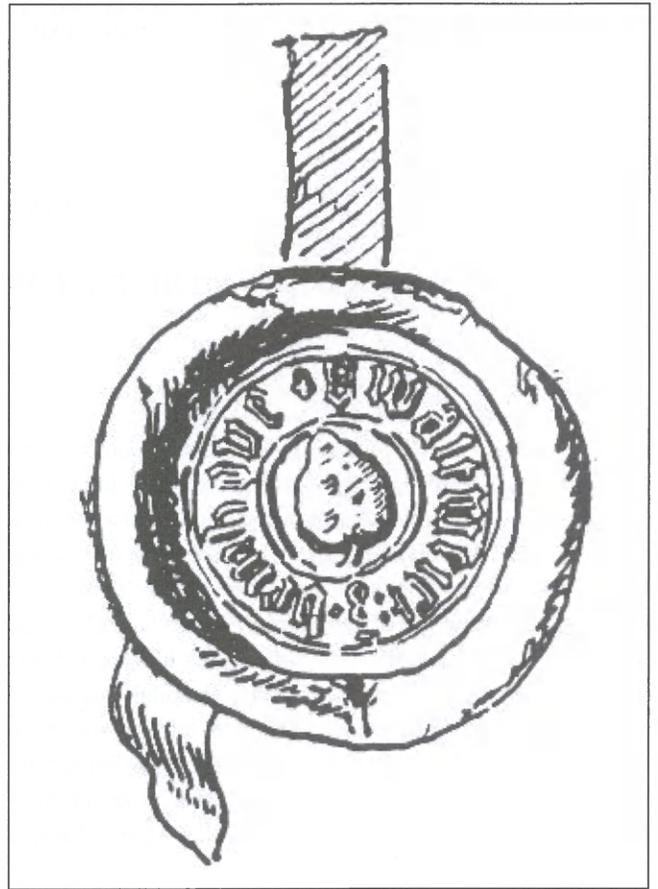


Fig. 1. The seal of Teutonic forester in Benowo (B. Schmid, *Die Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler Pomesaniens. Kreis Stuhm, Danzig* 1909, p. 58.).

Forest were the main, though not the only areas where hunting was possible; there were also fields, meadows, and water reservoirs. Prior to year 1410, over 60% of Prussia was covered by woods. Eastern parts of the monastic state were wooded most intensely. This was the area known as *Grosse Wildnis* (Great Forest), located east of the boundary marked by rivers *Drwęca* and *Łyna*. Territory of Malbork commandry was deforested significantly already in Teutonic times, especially in *Wielkie Żuławy* area, where fertile land was acquired for cereal farming. Nonetheless, some large forest complex' have preserved: the largest of them was *Sztum Forest* (*Stuhmische Heide*) located between Malbork and *Kwidzyn*, on the right side of upper *Nogat* River, and south of *Vistula* and *Nogat* embranchment right of *Vistula* River. Administered by a Teutonic forester (*waltmeister*) with abode in *Benowo* on the western edge of the forest, because of its closeness to the castle, this was the main hunting area of the Malbork commandry (fig. 1). Northern, parts of the commandry were also very popular amongst hunters: forested in a considerable degree *Vistula Spit* and the *Szkarpa* River areas which were a part of a fishery district⁹.

⁵ K. Zielińska-Melkowska, *op. cit.*, p. 36; K. Militzer, *op. cit.*, p. 336.

⁶ The huntsmen were usually paid a small salary, and given accommodation and a piece of land as well as payment in fruits of the land – F. Mager, *Der Wald in Altpreußen als Wirtschaftsraum*, Köln-Graz 1960, p. 166.

⁷ *Die Statuten des Deutschen Ordens nach den ältesten Handschriften*, pub. by M. Perlbach, Halle 1890, p. 47 (further quoted: *Statuten*); F. Liedtke, *op. cit.*, p. 512; F. Mager, *Wildbahn...*, p. 34; K. Militzer, *op. cit.*, pp. 325-326; C. Tryk, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-18.

⁸ *Statuten*, p. 152, 154; K. Militzer, *op. cit.*, pp. 341-343.

⁹ F. Mager, *Der Wald...*, p. 29; A. Chęć, *O siedzibie leśniczego krzyżackiego w Benowie*, „Schody kawowe. Kwartalnik

In medieval Prussia, consequently also in woods around Malbork, animal world was very diverse, there were: bears, wild boars, beavers, deer, elk, wild horses, martens, wolfs, lynx or aurochs'. The order, in its forests has also introduced species of animals from other countries of Europe, such as: pheasants, fallow deer and rabbits. For those reasons, hunting in forests of Prussia was very alluring for the order's guests, here they had an occasion to hunt animals unmet or at least uncommon in their countries¹⁰.

Coming to Prussia, asides of fighting with pagan Prussians and Lithuanians, West European knights made their stay pleasant by hunting, for example: prince Otto von Braunschweig – Lüneburg, who visited Prussia in year 1239, has brought with himself hunting dogs, hunting equipment and falcons. Returning a year later he left dogs and hunting nets, while two hunters – members of his retinue, have become members of the order¹¹. Possibility to participate hunting in Prussia was a strong magnet for many West European knights, thus they willingly came to monastic state to participate in raiding expeditions, after which they delighted themselves with hunting. As often an expedition was afterwards celebrated with a hunt¹². Skillfully, the order took advantage of such expectations, organizing splendid hunts and gifting guests of rank with falcons. these were not disinterest actions, in return for presents and for fulfilling hunting ambitions, the knights were expected to support the order state's politics and give pro-Teutonic agitation on West European courts. Aside of that, hunting was a good occasion to accumulate meat supplies for the trip back home¹³.

Townpeople and villagers of Malbork commandry hunted mainly to fulfill their own needs for animal protein, though there are very few information, concerning this, in written sources. Peoples services towards the order are documented much better. Asides of the earlier mentioned obligation to turn over the right shoulder of every killed animal, people were obliged to sell animal hides to the order¹⁴.

Most often villagers were allowed the so called small hunt (*kleine Jagd*) for hare, and roe deer, while big hunt (*grosse Jagd*) for bear, deer and bison was possible of an order or needs of the convent. In second case, for the purpose of the order's hunt presence of free people was necessary (they had to attend if called for) – in return they were given bread and salt¹⁵. Sometimes, the people inhabiting the area of hunting grounds helped during battue or watched over nets as to prevent animals from escaping¹⁶. In Teutonic sources there are some interesting information concerning help of peasants during the hunt of Grand Master Konrad von Jungingen: people of Lasowice village were rewarded for retrieving killed squirrels from treetops and for skinning them¹⁷. Accordingly to local tradition, Prussians presented traveling Grand Masters with beaver tails. Such gifts – in middle ages this priced delicacy covered with scales was treated the same as fish and consumed during fasting time, were a show of adoration towards the ruler¹⁸. Very often local people were hired to transport killed animals: in *Das Marienburger Tresslerbuch*, in year 1402 there are information about payment for people who have brought game which was a gift from Władysław II Jagiełło, King of Poland for the Grand Master Konrad von Jungingen¹⁹. In Teutonic sources, there are numerous records concerning supplying of animals killed on commission: this was dealt with by specialized hunters described as geese "catchers" (*gensefenger*), or bird hunter (*vogeler*)²⁰. At times supplying of Malbork castle was of occasional character or happened on the margin of other activities: one time a poor man has brought two young bears for the Grand Master Ulryk von Jungingen. Probably they were found to be abandoned by a she-bear. Also ducks were

¹⁵ G. Białuński, *W sprawie lasów...*, p. 445; C. Tryk, *Rys historii...*, p. 20.

¹⁶ After Konrad von Jungingen's hunt in Sztum (exactly its vicinity) in year 1400, during which the Grand Master has killed a stag, people from the battue were paid: „2 scot den luthen geben, die den hircz hulphen slan zum Sthume“, *Das Marienburger Tresslerbuch der Jahre 1399-1409*, pub. by E. Joachim, Königsberg 1896, p. 83 (further quoted: *MTB*). Also later, in years 1408 and 1409, there are information about reward payments for helping during hunting: „item 2 scot den luten of der jagit, dy vor der garnen stunden“, „item 4 scot und 1 sch. den luten, dy vor den garnen stunden“, *MTB*, pp. 468, 533.

¹⁷ „item 2 scot zen armen mannen, dy dy eychhorne usstegen, als der meyster schos“, *MTB*, p. 533; K. Militzer, *Jagd ...*, p. 356.

¹⁸ F. Liedtke, *Beiträge...*, s. 520; record of 8th of January 1452 – Malbork kitchen's inventory: „item 2 beberczegele“, *Das Marienburger Amterbuch*, pub. by W. Ziesemer, Danzig 1916, p. 139 (further quoted: *MÄB*).

¹⁹ „item 3 schog bemischer groschen den luthen geschankt, dy unserm homeister von konige von Polan wiltpret brochten“, *MTB*, p. 164. There is an interesting record concerning a stag transported by a coachman to Gdańsk, and probably killed in Sztum Forest, as a wedding gift („item ½ m. 1 furman, der 2 hircz ken Danczik furte zcu Puls hochzeit“), *Das Ausgabebuch des Marienburger Hauskomturs für die Jahre 1410-1420*, pub. by W. Ziesemer, Königsberg 1911, p. 3 (further quoted: *AMH*).

²⁰ *AMH*, s. 311, 354.

Kwidzińskiego Towarzystwa Kulturalnego”, no. 4 (20), 2004, pp. 4-5.

¹⁰ In location document of Elk village, of the year 1425, there are names of those animals – with a large dose of probability, we can say that they were also found in woods of Malbork commandry: F. Liedtke, *Beiträge...*, p. 513. Concerning import of animals to Prussia, see also C. Tryk, *Rys historii...*, p. 17.

¹¹ W. Paravacini, *Die Preussenreisen des europäischen Adels*, Sigmaringen 1989, p. 303.

¹² K. Militzer, *Jagd ...*, p. 342.

¹³ For example, reserve of salted meat from a hunt was prepared for the travel of Henry, Earl of Derby, from Prussia to England in April of the year 1391: P. T. Dobrowolski, *Szynki, jesiotry, migdały. Wydatki na żywność na dworze Henryka hrabiego Derby u schyłku XIV wieku*, „Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej”, vol. 34, no 4, 1986, p. 602.

¹⁴ In a privilege of the year 1405, for residents of Pisz and Elk, animal hides were evaluated as follows: aurochs 18 sc, aurochs cow 12 sc, wild horse 6 sc, mare 5 sc, deer 3.5 sc, beaver 4.5 sc, marten 2.5 sc and viper 2 sc C. Tryk, *Rys historii...*, p. 19.

hunted, as they eat fish from the fishery ponds near Malbork – they were bought for kitchen use from the gardener who was catching them²¹.

As it was already mentioned, for brothers of the convent and Teutonic dignitaries the hunt was restricted by the rule of monastic life. Yet, the laicization of the Teutonic order was reflected also with less and less restrict approach to hunting: with time Teutonic customs were becoming more and more similar to the court culture of the West European knights. It should be noted, that in the second half of the 14th century Grand Master Winrych von Kniprode has introduced in the monastic state the cult of Saint Hubert - patron of hunters²².

Because of their closeness to the capital, forests of Malbork commandry were the favourite place to hunt for the Grand Masters and higher dignitaries of the convent, accompanied by rank and file members of the order. The most popular was the area of Vistula Spit. Teutonic sources register frequent expenses during, „*als der Meister auf der Nerie war*“, pay for people, who during the Spit hunts stood at the nets, or who were fixing them. There is an interesting record of the year 1399, concerning a winter hunt of the Grand Master Konrad von Jungingen, who was accompanied by Mattias von Bebern²³. Also Konrad younger brother and his successor Ulrich von Jungingen liked to hunt in this area: before Christmas of the year 1409, a cook came to the Spit, probably for the purpose of preparing meals during the Grand Master's hunt and possibly to disembowel the animals killed²⁴. Heinrich von Plauen, the next Grand Master also liked to spend time in this way: in year 1412 he came to the Spit for a hunt, by ship²⁵.

On the base of accounting books, it can be established that at least during the reign of Grand Master Michael Küchenmeister von Sternberg (year 1414-1422), the Vistula Spit was a favorite location for hunts, which were organized yearly. He was probably staying at the manor in Sztutowo, called *Rotenhusz*, mentioned in year 1422²⁶. Hunts of subsequent rulers of the Teutonic state on the Vistula Spit were also recorded: Paul von Rasdorf on 17th of December 1439, and very often Konrad von Erlichshausen on 19 of July 1443, 9th to 12th of August 1446, 24th to 26th of May 1447, 29th, 31st of May and 4th of June 1448, 12th to 17th of September 26th to 27th of August and 1st of September 1449. Konrad has also visited Szparkawy just as often²⁷.

Another popular hunting place, favored by Grand Masters and other dignitaries, was Sztum Forest. Its main advantage was direct closeness to Malbork castle. In Sztum, on the east periphery of the forest a summer residence was built, which could also serve as a base for hunting expeditions. Close to the Sztum castle (possibly at the edge of Sztum Forest), there was a park with wild animals (Tiergarten) and within its fenced area it was also possible to hunt. Number of animals kept there was constantly replenished: in year 1401 a stag and another animal were brought in for the Grand Master, in the same year a stag and an elk were brought to Sztum by servants from Człuchowo²⁸. In year 1402, Grand Master got seven animals from Heinrich von Gintirsberg²⁹. In year 1404 an aurochs was registered as a gift for the Grand master from Komtur of Balga. The animal was brought by a pair of Prussians³⁰. In year 1406 Jagiełło, King of Poland has sent the Grand Master a bison³¹. A year later a pair of Prussians have brought to the park an elk, a gift from Komtur of Balga³². In year 1409 two stags were brought from Komtur of Ostróda³³. The animal park in Sztum was probably closed after year 1410. Another similar park was later formed in Malbork, in written sources it is mentioned in year 1420³⁴. Animals were tended by servants in Teutonic sources called *hirte*³⁵. Grand Masters and dignitaries hunting in Sztum Forest have probably also stayed at manors in Benowo and Ryjewe³⁶.

Preussen – ein Rezidenzherrscher unterwegs. Untersuchungen zu den Hochmeisteritineraren im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert, Wien 1990.

²⁸ „item 1 m. eyne manne, der dem meister hirze und tyr brochte us der Marcke” - MTB, pp. 125-126; „item 2 m. den knechten, dy do wilt brochten von Schlochow in den tyrgarthen zum Sthume” - MTB, p. 98. More about animal park A. Treichel, *Der Tiergarten zu Stuhm nach dem D. O. Treßlerbuche*, Zeitschrift des historischen Vereins für Regierungsbezirk Marienwerder, vol. 35, 1897, pp. 61-77, vol. 37, 1899, pp. 27-35, vol. 38, 1900, pp. 15-27.

²⁹ „item 7 m. vor 7 thy, die her Hynrich von Guntirsberg unserm homeister geeret hatte, und 4 m. den luthen zu vortrinken, die das wylt unserm homeister brochten” - MTB, p. 190.

³⁰ „item 1 ½ m. zwen Prussen gegeben, die dem meister eynen euwir brochten, do mete yn der kompthur zur Balge geeret hatte” - MTB, p. 299.

³¹ „item 1 ½ m. eyne furmanne gegeben, der eynen weszent brochte, do mete der konig von Polan unserm homeister erete” - MTB, pp. 379-380.

³² item 16 scot zwen Prussen, die die meerkuwe her brochten, die der kompthur von der Balgen unserm homeister gesant hatte” - MTB, pp. 417-418.

³³ „item ½ m. eyne geschant, der 2 hirze vom kompthur von Osterrode brochte” - MTB, p. 594.

³⁴ AMH, pp. 349-351.

³⁵ Record of the year 1401: „item 3 firdung dem manne, der der merochsen wart zum Sthume, und 3 firdung eyne, der tyr wart ouch zum Sthume” - MTB, p. 126 and of the year 1407: „item 1 fird. den zwen hirten zum Sthume als dem hirzhirten und merkuwhirte” - MTB, p. 417.

³⁶ As the names of those manors suggest: Ryjewe (Rehhof) means Roe Deer Manor and Benowo (Bönhof) – probably a deformation of Bärenhof, which is Bear Manor. More on this subject A. Cheć, *Folwarki krzyżackie na terenie wójtostwa sztumskiego*,

²¹ MTB, p. 534: „item 9 sol. vor 6 ente, dy umb der karpen willen wurden ufgekouff”; AMH, p. 334, 335.

²² C. Tryk, *Rys historii...*, p. 22.

²³ „item 2 m. her Mattis des meisters kumpan gegeben, alzo her in die jagt zoch uf die Nerie” MTB, p. 40.

²⁴ „item 1 frd. einem koch, der mit her Claus uf der Nerge was vor wynachten” - AMH, p. 2.

²⁵ „item 2 m. 8 knechten, dy mit dem schiffe off dy Nerge furen, alz der meister jayte” - AHM, p. 79.

²⁶ K. Militzer, *Jagd...*, p. 353; concerning a manor on the Spit: MÄB, s. 58.

²⁷ Grand Master's visits to the Vistula Spit were listed by K. Neitmann in his work *Hochmeister des Deutschen Ordens in*

Amongst highest dignitaries and their guests, a very popular form of hunting was falconry. Teutonic brothers of a higher state function were allowed to use birds of prey during hunting, though "in temperance". Well trained birds were also treated as gifts, presented by Grand Masters to guests of the Teutonic order, or sent to European royalty were suppose to win their favour. Only Grand Master had the right to send falcons to foreign countries. Birds were brought from Sambia, as there were so many of them there. Caught mainly by House Komtur of Königsberg Bishop of Sambia, later they were sent to the Grand Master. Hunting falcons were also caught on Vistula Spit. The Grand Master had a private falconer, who was not a member of the convent. Together with his wife, he lived at the outer court of Malbork castle³⁷.

Also dogs were used for hunting. They were kept in kennels (*hundestal*), which in Malbork were located near Steinhof (stone-cutter's workshop) at the outer court³⁸. Dogs were also kept in Sztum, where there was probably a dog training centre. From Sztum they were sent to other castles or for hunting in other regions of the monastic state³⁹. In Teutonic sources there are also information concerning other aspects of dog keeping and their use, registered there are: costs of lines and chains for dogs, cauldrons for dog food preparation, as well as information concerning compensations for livestock losses caused by the dogs during the chase⁴⁰.

It is impossible to imagine a medieval hunt without a horse, also in Teutonic state. There are records concerning horses used for hunting, which in sources were described as *jagtpferde* or *jaytsweyken*. They were probably used for transportation of animals, killed or caught. There are also information about special hunting saddles (*jagtsetel*) thus

[in:] *Z dziejów Sztumu i okolic*, vol. IV, ed. by A. Lubiński, Sztum 2005, pp. 25 and 31.

³⁷ F. Liedtke, *Beiträge...*, p. 525; G. Knabe, *Preußische Falken im Dienste der Politik des Deutschen Ordens*, „Preußenland”, 1969, vol. 7, pp. 17-21; C. Tryk, *Rys historii...*, p. 18; G. Kucharski, *Życie codzienne i dworskie Wielkich Mistrzów Krzyżackich w świetle Marienburger Tresslerbuch z lat 1399-1409*, „Roczniki dziejów społecznych i gospodarczych”, 2001, vol. 61, p. 202. Record concerning the falconer in *MAB*, p. 155.

³⁸ Records of the year 1415.: „*item 20 d. 1 knechte, der dem treszeler hat gegraben bey dem steynhoffe den hundestal*” - *AMH*, p. 184. Concerning the Grand Master's kennel see also *MTB*, p. 275.

³⁹ K. R. Miltzer, *Jagd ...*, p. 353; S. Józwiak, *Polowania wielkich mistrzów zakonu krzyżackiego w wójtostwie bratiańskim w XIV – początkach XV w.*, „Zapiski Historyczne”, vol. 67, no 2, p. 13. Records concerning transportation of hounds: „*Item 4 scot dem jeger, der dy hunde vom Partisschen ken Sthume furte*” and „*item 4 scot eyne, der dem jeger dy hunde vom Sthume und wedir hin half furen*” - *MTB*, pp. 508, 530.

⁴⁰ Lines and chains: „*item ½ m. Jokusch Dobrisken vor regarn zu bussen und vor keten und selen zu leythunden*” - *MTB*, p. 586; cauldron: *hundeskeszel - Das Grosse Ämterbuch des Deutschen Ordens*, pub. by W. Ziesemer, Wiesbaden, p. 168 (further quoted: *GAB*) and compensation for sheep: „*item 2 ½ m. ½ fird. vor 21 schofe, dy dy hunde dirbissen, als unser Homeyster yagete*” - *MTB*, p. 467.

meaning, they were the basic means of transportation for Teutonic brothers during the hunt⁴¹.

In Teutonic sources there are a lot of information concerning hunting equipment. On the base of these, it is possible to at least partial reconstruct what was necessary during big game hunting. Most preserved information concern hunting gear from away from Malbork commandry, though they can be used as analogies for hunting around Malbork and nearby manors or castles. The equipment mentioned in sources most often are nets, which appear under names such as *wiltgarnn*, *garn zcur jagt* or *jagtgarn*. They were made of bass or hemp rope. There were also specialist nets, for catching specific types of animals: *hasengarn* or *hasennetze* (hare net), *regarn* (roe deer net), *perkawnen* or *birkhunergarn* (greyhen net), or *hirczgarn* (deer net). With the help of these, animals were caught during the battue and killed with the use of bows, crossbows (especially lighter types with a stirrup – *stegereiffarmbrust*) or hunting spears: *spiesse*, *spis zur jaget*, *eiberspyze* (wild boar spear), or transported to castles alive. Specialist wagons were used for transport, in sources found under names such as *jagitwagen* or *yaetwayn*. Some of them were additionally strengthened with ferrules, for the purpose of conveyance of larger load (*beslagen wayn*). Hooks known as *jaythoke* were used for loading animals into wagons⁴².

Asides of being an entertainment, in Teutonic state of Prussia hunting fulfilled also other important functions. First of all it was a way of providing meat. Great hunts were organized prior to war campaigns, in order to amass meat supplies, like before the Polish-Lithuanian-Teutonic War. Such hunts allowed not only to supply the army, but also to sell surplus abroad⁴³. Also, hunting was a way to (at least partially) deliver the demand for meat in castles: in Malbork venison was often served on tables of the convent and the Grand Masters court. In Teutonic sources there are information concerning meat of boars or bears, while that of stags, roe deer, hare or wild birds was delivered to the kitchen of the Grand Master⁴⁴. Hunting animals were also a source

⁴¹ *GAB*, pp. 64, 155, 180, 254, 550.

⁴² Numerous records in *GAB*. More information in J. Muhl, *Die Jagd...*, pp. 72-73. More about crossbows in A. Nowakowski, *Uzbrojenie wojsk krzyżackich w Prusach w XIV i na początkach XV w.*, Łódź 1980, pp. 121-122.

⁴³ C. Tryk, *Rys historii...*, p. 18.

⁴⁴ More on this subject T. Jasiński, *Was assen die Hochmeister des Deutschen Ordens und ihre Gäste am Anfang des 15. Jhs?*, „*Studia Historica Slavo-Germanica*”, 1991-1992, vol. 18, p. 19 and G. Kucharski, *Życie codzienne ...*, p. 181. Records about venison: „*10 siten fleisch von wilden swynen*”, „*item 70 spisse wiltbret, item seyten sweynenwilbreth van zcujure*” – *MAB*, pp. 18, 139; „*item vor antvogel, vor genze und kleyne vogel 8 sc. und 1 sol.*”, „*item 9 sc. minus 6 d. vor 44 antvogel*”, „*item 17 kranche czu 3 sol.*”, „*item 8 sol. vor 3 kranche*”, „*item 20 sc. eim furman, der unserm homeister mete und wiltbret ken Grudencz furte und weder heim ken Marienburg*” – *AMH*, pp. 39, 40, 42, 84, 310; „*item 19 scot vor 40 rephuner dem komphthur zu Thoran*”, „*item 2 m. 5 scot*

of fur and hair, which was used for production of clothes, saddles and mattresses⁴⁵.

The few remarks outlined here, give the idea of the importance of role of hunting in Malbork commandry.

Translated by Maciej Majewski

Streszczenie

Artykuł poświęcony jest polowaniom i broni łowieckiej na terytorium komturstwa malborskiego w czasach krzyżackich (XIV – XV wiek). Wiedzę o tym zagadnieniu czerpiemy przede wszystkim z zachowanych i opublikowanych ksiąg rachunkowych i inwentarzowych zakonu krzyżackiego (*Das Marienburger Tresslerbuch der Jahre 1399-1409*, *Das Marienburger Ämterbuch*, *Das Ausgabebuch des Marienburger Hauskomturs für die Jahre 1410-1420*, *Das Grosse Ämterbuch des Deutschen Ordens*). Na omawianym terenie istniały dwa tereny łowieckie: Mierzeja Wiślana i Puszcza Sztumska. Polowali tam zarówno bracia zakonni (także najwyżsi dostojnicy Zakonu z wielkim mistrzem), jak i goście Zakonu licznie przybywający do stołecznego Malborka oraz ludność miejscowa. Szczególnie dla rycerzy z zachodniej Europy łowy na tym terenie były bardzo atrakcyjne, bowiem występowały tu zwierzęta, których populacja w zachodniej Europie była już poważnie wytrzebiona (np. niedźwiedzie, łosie). Polowania należały do ulubionych rozrywek, podczas których można było także doskonalić władanie bronią. Dawały również możliwość uzupełnienia zapasów żywności. Polowano przy pomocy psów i sokołów – na miejscu w Malborku i Sztumie były miejsca hodowli tych zwierząt. Podczas polowań używano ponadto różnych rodzajów sieci, kusz i włóczni. Skóry i sierść upolowanych zwierząt wykorzystywano do produkcji odzieży (czapki, futra), siodeł i materacy.

10 den. vor 100 rephuner zu halbenscoter item 5 scot, die rephuner ken Marienburg zu furen“ - MTB, pp. 25, 338.

⁴⁵ Numerous records such as: pelt of a fox (*vochsbalge*) – *GÄB*, p. 300; *berndecke* (coverlet of bear or boar hide) – *GÄB*, pp. 62, 66, 118, 120; winter fur („*item 5 fird. des treszellers kemerer schreyber und des groskompturs gesynde vor winterpelcz*“) – *AMH*, p. 190, stag hide (*hirczhut*) – *AMH*, pp. 209, 312; roe deer hide („*item 10 sc. minus 1 sol. vor 25 refel czu gerben unserm homeyster*“) – *AMH*, pp. 5, 144, 191, 209; roe deer hair – for mattresses („*item 4 m. minus 1 fird. vor 18 tonnen rehor*“) – *AMH*, pp. 2, 45, 89; furs for conventual friars („*item 21 herrenpelcze*“) – *MÄB*, p. 136, sable fur and beaver fur hats – *MTB*, pp. 471, 488, 495; hair of roe deer (*rehar*) and hair of elk (*ellenthor*) for filling of saddle seats („*item 2 ½ m. 6 sol. vor 26 tonnen rehor in das satelhus*“) – *AMH*, p. 192, fur of aurochs (*uwerleder, uwerhute*) – for saddle seats and pieces of harness (*uwirrymen*) – *GÄB*, p. 14, *MÄB*, p. 7, W. Świętosławski, *Zamkowe siodlarnie krzyżackie w Prusach*, „Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej“, R. 39, z. 4, pp. 656-657.