

ARTICLES

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DIENERS IN THE SERVICE OF THE TEUTONIC ORDER  
IN PRUSSIA IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 14<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY –  
THE FIRST HALF OF THE 15<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY:  
THE GROUP SIZE, MAINTENANCE, ACCOMMODATION\*

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Research on the issues of lay people residing permanently or temporarily in the vicinity of the grand masters and other Teutonic dignitaries and officials in the monastic state in Prussia in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries remains only in the initial phase; however, luckily, there are plenty of sources through which the analysis is possible. Dieners were a characteristic and (in different periods) diversified group, which in this context may be captured. However, it is not at all easy to define precisely a group of people who, in the accounts written and edited in the late medieval Teutonic state in Prussia, hid under such a definition. The German historian Bernhart Jähnig, recapitulating 16 years ago the state of knowledge about those who appeared in the circle of grand masters in Malbork, recognized that this group included young people from knightly families who decided to serve the head of the Order for some time. During the time of their service, they acquired political experience at the court of the grand masters, but they remained in a secular state and did not join the group of Teutonic knights. The same researcher also included in the group of dieners the following professions: lawyers, doctors, builders, painters, guards, cooks, writers appearing in the vicinity of the Order's superiors<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Bernhart JÄHNIG, *Junge Edelleute am Hof des Hochmeisters in Marienburg um 1400*, [in:] *Erziehung und Bildung bei Hofe*, hrsg. v. Werner PARAVICINI, Jörg WETTLAUER, Stuttgart 2002, p. 22. The researcher followed here Max Töppen, who, in extensive commentaries to the chronicles written during the Thirteen Years' War, tried to define the group of Teutonic dieners in medieval Prussia. Unfortunately, he did not explain why he included in the group also lawyers,

The proposals of the German scholar quoted here require a comment. While, in general, the attempt to define dieners by B. Jähnig as young people from knightly families may be acceptable, it is difficult to include in this group all those who, at the court of the grand masters, should be treated as ordinary service or paid employees, craftsmen or artists on the basis of the nomenclature used in the sources from the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries. It seems that the decisive feature, limiting at least for Malbork the concept of a “diener” only to a certain specific group is their (chivalrous) origin and the diplomatic, court and military service they paid in the vicinity or – in the case of travel or military expeditions – in the procession of grand masters. Representatives of this group came to Malbork from Germany, Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, Burgundy, Flanders or from the territory of the monastic state in Prussia. For some young dieners, mainly from the monastic state, the stay at the court of the grand masters was a stage to obtain a knight’s belt<sup>2</sup>. The scarce data about people who are likely to be included in the thus defined group of dieners may be found in the Prussian state in preserved sources from the 1320s<sup>3</sup>. Owing to the greater number of existing written accounts, relatively much is known about dieners in relation to the Malbork castle at the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century – in the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. It was there that young people from knightly families usually stayed for the period of half a year up to two years (there were also occasional longer stays)<sup>4</sup>. Sometimes an additional stimulus inspiring young people from Flanders, Burgundy, Bohemia or Moravia to join the service was their desire to master the German language. At the beginning of the 1450s young sons from knightly families were motivated to join the group of dieners<sup>5</sup> as they were taught bravery, piety and were able to acquire some military experience. Interestingly, in the relatively well-acquainted group of dieners

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doctors, artists, writers, painters, clerks (chamberlains, sub-chamberlains), heralds, messengers, interpreters, etc. – comp. *Geschichten von wegen eines Bundes von Landen und Steten*, hrsg. v. Max TÖPPEN, [in:] *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum*, hrsg. v. Theodor HIRSCH, Max TÖPPEN, Ernst STREHLKE, Bd. 4, Leipzig 1870, pp. 110–114 (the editor’s commentary).

<sup>2</sup> B. JÄHNIG, op.cit., pp. 22–23.

<sup>3</sup> Dieners appeared on the lists of witnesses in German documents issued by the land master Friedrich von Wildenberg (of 4 April 1321), grand drapers and commanders of Dzierzgoń Günther von Schwarzburg (of 6 January 1332) and Aleksander von Körner (of 22 August 1339) – *Preußisches Urkundenbuch. Politische Abteilung* (further cit. Pr.Ub.), Bd. II, hrsg. v. Max HEIN, Erich MASCHKE, Königsberg/Pr. 1939, nr 332, 749; Pr.Ub., Bd. III/1, hrsg. v. Max HEIN, Königsberg/Pr. 1944, nr 258.

<sup>4</sup> Comp. further on.

<sup>5</sup> In the sources of the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century representatives of this group were referred to as diebers, or collectively as “hoffegesinde” – Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, XX. Hauptabteilung, Ordensbriefarchiv (further cit. GStAPK, OBA), nr 11100, 11641.

from the Reich, staying in Malbork at the turn of the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries, the majority were people from families, from whom came also brothers-crusaders currently staying in Prussia, e.g. von Egloffstein, von Helfenstein, von Wallenrod, von Schwarzburg and others<sup>6</sup>. There is no doubt that the dieners received money for their service. The sums recorded in the sources from the turn of the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries, which were paid to them upon the order of grand masters at the moment of their final departure from Malbork, are best shown here. Dieners from beyond Prussia received 60 Hungarian florins (over 32.5 marks)<sup>7</sup>, while local dieners were paid on average 30 marks<sup>8</sup>. Naturally, during the service their principal granted them some lands or provided them with financial resources such as the financing of the wedding, financial assistance to the family or other less tangible forms of financial help<sup>9</sup>. Regardless doubts concerning the definition of people belonging to the group of dieners, the analysis conducted by Jähnig was limited to the Malbork [Marienburg] castle of grand masters. However, it must be stressed that, at least from the 1320s, dieners in the monastic state in Prussia appeared also in the territorial administration (of commanderies and vogt's offices).

In the context of the analyses conducted here concerning the term "diener", the theses formulated by Maciej Dorna in his two books – prosopographies of members of the Teutonic Order in Prussia in the years 1228–1309 – fail to add any substantial information. In the improperly titled sub-chapter *Categories of brothers in the light of 'Statutes'*, the scholar made an attempt to categorize all members of the monastic corporation on the basis of the Teutonic normative sources written in the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century ('Rule', 'Law Customs'). In the introduction he characterized three basic categories (clergymen, brother-knights and sariant brothers), but in the subsequent part of this subchapter he started to discuss other people mentioned in the source, who failed to have the status of monastic brothers ("scholar", "fratres familiares", "famuli", "servientes", "servi", "armigeri", "scutiferi", "turcopuli"). According to Maciej Dorna, at the bottom of the hierarchy there were servants ("ministry", "dinere"). Nevertheless, the scholar did not make any attempt to distinguish those groups, or to define the scope of their responsibilities<sup>10</sup>. This issue is very important since

<sup>6</sup> B. JÄHNIG, op.cit., pp. 23–38.

<sup>7</sup> *Das Marienburger Tresslerbuch der Jahre 1399–1409*, hrsg. v. Erich JOACHIM, Königsberg 1896 (further cit. M.Tr.), pp. 347, 382, 401, 500; B. JÄHNIG, op.cit., pp. 29–33.

<sup>8</sup> M.Tr., pp. 40, 81, 87, 495, 510, 537, 562.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., pp. 68, 150, 546, 558, 578.

<sup>10</sup> Maciej DORNA, *Bracia zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach w latach 1228–1309. Studium prozopograficzne*, Poznań 2004, pp. 23–24; idem, *Die Brüder des Deutschen Ordens in Preußen 1228–1309. Eine prosopographische Studie*, Wien–Köln–Weimar 2012, pp. 23–25.

in the German editions of those normative Teutonic sources, recorded in the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century (for the Holy Land), in two places in the Rule and Laws the noun 'diener' appeared. What did it mean? In the first case: in the introduction to the Rule saying about the treatment of sick members of the Order in hospitals (infirmaries), where lay "servants" (Latin: "servitores", German: "dienere", French: "sergens") responsible for caring about sick Teutonic brothers were mentioned<sup>11</sup>. In the second case, in another extract of the Rule, in the context of dining in convents, lay "servants" "waiting at the tables" were mentioned (Latin: "ministri", German: "dinere", French: "li menistre"). They were to dine at "the other table" after monastic brothers and priests had finished eating<sup>12</sup>. One of the fragments of the Laws mentions the "other table", at which "servants" ate (Latin: "ministrantes", German: "dinere")<sup>13</sup>. At this point, it must be emphasized that the meaning of the word "diener", which appeared (quite rarely) in the monastic normative sources of the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, failed to correspond its meaning applied in the Teutonic state in Prussia in reference to people surrounding grand masters and monastic dignitaries over a hundred years later.

Recently, Krzysztof Kwiatkowski has undertaken to characterize "dieners" (with a chronological gap) from the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. He assumes that dieners were lay members of guilds ("gesinde"), who were provided with accommodation, food, clothes and pay by the Teutonic Order; their task was to work as servants in convents of the Teutonic Order in Prussia. The scholar also maintains that they were usually divided into two groups: "servants"/"dieners" ("dienere") and "menials"/"knechts" ("knechte")<sup>14</sup>. It should be underlined that the division proposed by Kwiatkowski in the light of more recent sources (it must be remembered that the opening chronological caesura adopted by the author was the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century) is not obvious<sup>15</sup>. The same scholar ponders about the scope of the significance of the German term "diener". He notices the semantic similarity with the Latin verb "famulor, -ari" ("to serve")<sup>16</sup>. However, it seems that a broader range of meanings should be taken into account. At least in the notarial deeds written in the monastic state in Prussia in the 14<sup>th</sup> century and the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century in Latin, the

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<sup>11</sup> *Die Statuten des Deutschen Ordens nach den ältesten Handschriften*, hrsg. v. Max PERLBACH, Halle 1890, pp. 32–34.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 40–42.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 66–68.

<sup>14</sup> Krzysztof KWIATKOWSKI, *Zakon Niemiecki jako „corporatio militaris”, cz. 1: Korporacja i krąg przynależących do niej. Kulturowe i społeczne podstawy działalności militarnej zakonu w Prusach (do początku XV wieku)*, Toruń 2012, p. 314.

<sup>15</sup> *Comp. further on.*

<sup>16</sup> K. KWIATKOWSKI, *op.cit.*, p. 314.

German word “diener” corresponded with the nouns “famulus”<sup>17</sup>, “scutier”<sup>18</sup> or “servitor”<sup>19</sup>. It is also possible that in some cases in Teutonic documents “dieners” appeared as “armiger”<sup>20</sup>.

<sup>17</sup> In the document issued upon the order of grand master Ludolf König on 6 December 1344 in the palace of the Malbork castle there appeared: “in stubella [...] consiliaria”, among others “Henr[icus] de Beringen et Petrus Karyotinus famuli predicti domini domini magistri generalis” – Pr.Ub., Bd. IV, hrsg. v. Hans KOEPPEN, Marburg 1960, nr 689. The noun “famulus” used here should be translated as “servant”, “courtier”, “menial” – comp. *Słownik łaciny średnio-wiecznej w Polsce*, ed. Marian PLEZIA et al., Wrocław–Kraków–Warszawa 1953–2014 (further cit. M. PLEZIA, *Słownik*), here: t. 4, pp. 68–69, which undoubtedly corresponded the German word “diener”. The first people referred to as “dieners” (“Dithamus Stangen, Steynboc, Albertus Waryn famuli nostri”) appear in the letter of witnesses of the document issued by grand master Luther von Braunschwig on 23 February 1333. In the document of the commander of Gdańsk confirming the sale of a third part of the village Zawory situated on the borderlands of this administrative unit, “Iohannes noster famulus et interpres” was mentioned, which means “diener” and interpreter of the commander – Pr.Ub., Bd. II, nr 775, 836.

<sup>18</sup> In the letter notarial instrument written on 3 October 1372, probably in the Winter Refectory of the Malbork palace of grand masters “Helmicus scutifer domini magistri generalis” was mentioned – *Codex Diplomaticus Warmiensis oder Regesten und Urkunden zur Geschichte Ermlands* (further cit. CDW), Bd. 2, hrsg. v. Carl P. WOELKY, Johann M. SAAGE, Mainz 1864, nr 462. Did the term “scutifier” correspond with the term “diener”? In the dictionary of Du Cange the word was identified with the Old French word “escuier” – “bearing the shield”, “esquire” – *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis*, cond. a Carolo DU FRESNE DOMINO DU CANGE, Parisiis 1840–1850, t. 6, pp. 142–143. In the most extensive dictionary of medieval Latin in Poland the following meaning of the word is to be found: “servant bearing the shield”, “esquire”, “menial”, “lower rank courtly official” – M. PLEZIA, *Słownik*, t. 8, pp. 825–826. It seems that indeed they meant here a diener from the closest entourage of the grand master.

<sup>19</sup> The dictionary meaning of the word for medieval Latin is: “servant”, “famulus”, “minister”, “servant or member of the family maintained by the head of the family”, “esquire” – comp. M. PLEZIA, *Słownik*, t. 8, pp. 1019–1021. In two documents made on 28 and 29 July 1374 in Latin and German, which included the sentence of conciliatory judges in the case concerning a long-lasting conflict between the Teutonic Order and bishops of Ermland [Warmia] about the borders between the two territories, “Tolne seruitor commendatoris in Thorun”. The same in the second document (written in German language) appeared as: “Tolne des komthurs diner von Thoren” was mentioned as one of the most active participants – CDW, Bd. 2, nr 497. The sources confirm that in the current reality of the Teutonic State in Prussia the term “servitor” corresponded the term “diener”, which means that the above-mentioned Tolne was a diener of the commander of Toruń. In the document issued on 31 August 1374 in Latin, which specified the sentence in the case about the borders, Tolne was referred to as “famulus domini [...] commendatoris in Thoron” – CDW, Bd. 2, nr 498.

<sup>20</sup> In the list of witnesses of the transumpt of the document of the margrave Waldemar written on 21 January 1428 in Malbork upon the order of grand master Paul von Rusdorf, three “armigeri” appeared (“presentibus famosis et ualidis Jonanne Rothoff, Thymon de Michelaw et Petro Tolkyn, Pomezaniensis, Wladislauensis et Warmiensis dyocesium armigeris testibus ad premissa vocatis pariter rogatis et requisitis”) – *Codex diplomaticus Brandenburgensis*, hrsg. v. Adolph Friedrich RIEDEL, Haupttheil I, Bd. 18, Berlin 1859, nr 1, pp. 282–283. The other of them (“Thymo de Michelaw”) was referred to in the same way in a list of witnesses of two vi-



Krzysztof Kwiatkowski in his extensive studies rightfully underlines the military-courtly aspect of the service of dieners to the benefit of the Teutonic Order (the participation in military actions, manning of castles, protection of envoys and guests, transmitting messages, transporting money, the reconnaissance of the enemy's territory, being part of the cortege of Teutonic commanders and officials). However, basing his research on the sources written from the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century (which was in accordance with the chronological caesura of his research) and overinterpreting some information, he extended too much the group of people who, according to him, should be categorized as dieners. The scholars included in the group also medical doctors, interpreters, guides, chamberlains, sub-chamberlains, heralds, "trumpeters", administrators of the court of the Order, some officials in Teutonic convents (e.g. master of the horse) or village administrators<sup>21</sup>.

At the same time, in practice, it is not easy to distinguish real dieners due to the inconsistencies in the terminology used in some medieval sources. In order to show the difficulties let me present two examples. In the letter sent to the grand master, which fails to provide the year of its issue (probably at the end of the first or at the beginning of the second decade of the 15<sup>th</sup> century), concerning family matters of a knight of Prussia Dietrich von Legendorf (accoladed in Burgundy in 1394), he appears as "her Dytherich von Logendorff euwir [of the grand master – S.J.] dyner"<sup>22</sup>. In another letter, written at the beginning of the 1440s (after April 1441), in which the herald of the head of the Teutonic Order, Berthold referred to as "Preußenland", informed his principal about the conflict with an Albrecht Woluitz called "Pragow" and identified himself as the "dyner" of the grand master<sup>23</sup>. What conclusions may be drawn from those observations? The conclusion is that the term "diener" might be used in some sources tentatively and out of courtesy. In other accounts from this period Legendorf (accoladed since 1394) or the herald of the grand master were not referred to as dieners. The examples shown above illustrate what difficulties await a historian who makes an attempt to define correctly the

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diminations issued upon the order of grand master on 3 December 1424 in Malbork – Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, XX. Hauptabteilung, Pergament-Urkunden (further cit. GStAPK, Perg. Urk.), Schiebl. 47, nr 1; Schiebl. 74, nr 3. Taking into account the meaning of the noun ("esquire", "young nobleman", "knight", "armoured man" – comp. M. PLEZIA, *Słownik*, t. 1, col. 757–758; "esquire", "guardsman", "servant" – comp. Janusz SONDEL, *Słownik łacińsko-polski dla prawników i historyków*, Kraków 2009, p. 79), it is possible that in those notarial instruments the word referred to dieners of grand masters.

<sup>21</sup> K. KWIATKOWSKI, *Zakon Niemiecki*, pp. 314–352; idem, *Wojska Zakonu Niemieckiego w Prusach 1230–1525. Korporacja, jej pruskie władztwo, zbrojni, kultura wojny i aktywność militarna*, Toruń 2016, pp. 103–104, 107.

<sup>22</sup> GStAPK, OBA, nr 28031.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., nr 28760.

word "diener" as used in the monastic state in Prussia in the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century and the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Irrespective of all those nuances and difficulties in the interpretation, one thing is known for sure. Unlike in the monastic normative sources of the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, lay dieners staying at that time in the entourage of grand masters and Teutonic officials cannot be identified with servants, who were used to provide minor services at tables, in infirmaries, and to perform other duties in the convent.

Having formulated the introductory remarks, it is time to pass on to the issues which have not been analysed as a separate research problem by scholars – the question of the quantity of dieners, their accommodation and maintenance by Teutonic officials and dignitaries.

#### THE NUMBER OF DIENERS

How many dieners stayed in Prussia during the period under discussion in this paper? There exist source data, mainly from the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, which, at least in some cases allow us to provide the answer to this question. The document written prior to March 1407<sup>24</sup> – the register of the remuneration for dieners of the grand master Konrad von Jungingen<sup>25</sup> lists fourteen dieners<sup>26</sup>. In the account book of Elbląg in 1407 the expenses connected with the visit of Ulrich von Jungingen were recorded. The account book mentioned the purchase of 20 pairs of trousers for dieners of the superior of the Teutonic Order, who travelled in his cortege<sup>27</sup>. As may be concluded from the context of other pieces of information included in the source, the register included twenty people. Eighteen dieners set off with the grand master to the war against Poland in August 1409<sup>28</sup>. In November 1411 the draper of the Malbork castle was given the money to purchase material to make summer clothes for

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<sup>24</sup> Krzysztof Kwiatkowski assumed that the register had been written between 1400 and 1407 – comp. K. KWIATKOWSKI, *Zakon Niemiecki*, p. 337.

<sup>25</sup> The register is titled "des homeisters dyner" and includes all the twenty-two people, among them writers, chamberlains, washer, dwarf and sub-chamberlain apart from the highest officials of the Order (the grand master, grand commander, the treasurer). We do not know why they were also included in the group of dieners. Nevertheless, in the subsequent sources they do not appear as dieners.

<sup>26</sup> GSTAPK, OBA, nr 28446; Bernhart JÄHNIG, *Organisation und Sachkultur der Deutschordensresidenz Marienburg*, [in:] *Vorträge und Forschungen zur Residenzenfrage*, hrsg. v. Peter JOHANEK, Sigmaringen 1990, Anhang, nr 1, pp. 71–72. Krzysztof Kwiatkowski included all the twenty-two people listed in the register in the group of the grand master's courtiers – comp. K. KWIATKOWSKI, *Zakon Niemiecki*, p. 337.

<sup>27</sup> *Nowa Księga rachunkowa Starego Miasta Elbląga 1404–1414*, ed. Markian PELECH, cz. 1: (1404–1410) (Fontes TNT, t. 72), Warszawa–Poznań–Toruń 1987 (further cit. *Nowa Księga*), p. 93.

<sup>28</sup> M.Tr., p. 554.

16 dieners of the grand master<sup>29</sup>. In the context of the human casualties, which entailed financial difficulties on the part of the Teutonic Order during the war in the years 1409–1411, this low number of dieners should not be surprising. The data quoted here allow us to estimate the number of dieners staying in the entourage of grand masters in the first two decades – at one time there were at least a dozen of them. In the records included in the whole book of the Malbork treasurer for the years 1399–1409 about 50 dieners of the heads of the Teutonic Order were listed<sup>30</sup>. It must be remembered that some of them were mentioned only once, while others stayed with grand masters for ten years<sup>31</sup>.

It should not be forgotten that other Teutonic dignitaries residing in Malbork, e.g. the grand commander and treasurer, had at least a few dieners. When in 1407 those monastic dignitaries (along with the grand master) visited Elbląg, in the cortege of the former there were two dieners, while in the cortege of the latter – three dieners<sup>32</sup>.

Absolutely exceptional is the detailed register of brother-knights, sariants, priests and dieners staying in the Czluchów convent, which was enclosed to the letter of 7 May 1413 by the Czluchów commander Wilhelm von Steinheim to grand master Heinrich von Plauen. In reference to the same dieners, the source is particularly interesting as the commander completed the information about some of them (e.g. their background). In other sources from this period of time there is no such information. In total, the Teutonic knight established that there were 24 dieners permanently residing in the castle<sup>33</sup>. Among the dieners there were: the chamberlain, the notary and the cook of the commander, the gunsmith, the notary of the Teutonic forest superior (“mynes waltmeisters schryber”) and administrators of monastic granges (“houfmeister”) in Strzeczona, Czarne and Zychce. Six of the dieners came from the Reich, Silesia and

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<sup>29</sup> *Das Marienburger Konventsbuch der Jahre 1399–1412*, hrsg. v. Walther ZIESEMER, Danzig 1913, p. 251.

<sup>30</sup> M.Tr., p. 14 n. This is the estimated number since there are many people known only from their names. We cannot be sure whether they were actually dieners of grand masters.

<sup>31</sup> The group of dieners staying at the turn of the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries at the court of grand masters included for a very long time only those who came from Prussia: Nammir von Hohen-dorf, Jan Surwiłło, Piotr Struwe, Paweł Sparow and Hartung – M.Tr., p. 17 n.

<sup>32</sup> “Item des gros-kumpthurs dynern 2 par hosen [...]. Item 3 par des trezele[r]s denern derglich” – *Nowa Księga*, p. 93, B. JÄHNIG, *Organisation*, p. 62. In the letter of the witnesses of the vidimation of 5 April 1446 in Malbork upon the order of the Teutonic treasurer there appeared, among others, “Maternus famulus dicti domini thesaurarii”, the diener of this Teutonic dignitary – GStAPK, Perg. Urk., Schiebl. 90, nr 4.

<sup>33</sup> The commander was not accurate here. He wrote that those dieners stayed permanently in the castle (“item so synt dese nochgeschrebeen dyner, dy ich state im huß habe”), but in the subsequent parts of the register it says that a few of them resided in several places within the borders of the Czluchów commandry – comp. later.



Bohemia, four dieners came from the Czluchów commandry, seven from other territories of the Teutonic Monastic State; the origin of the remaining dieners was not defined. What is more, the Teutonic knight included interesting information in reference to the diener from Bohemia – Jarosław. The commander made him, his menial and two horses stay with him for a year. They received from him full maintenance and accommodation; they were allowed to dine at the table of Teutonic brothers (“herentische”)<sup>34</sup>.

Unfortunately, other sources from the discussed period are much poorer in content. However in some cases, they include information about the quantity of dieners maintained by Teutonic dignitaries. In the undated latter (written probably between 1411 and 1414), the commander of Kłajpeda [German: Memel] informed the grand master that apart from 14 dieners maintained by him he had taken over another 13 dieners, who, along with 10 shooters, had been sent to him by other Teutonic dignitaries<sup>35</sup>. In the extensive letter sent on 17 October 1422 the commander of Toruń, Martin von Kemnate, informed the superior of the Teutonic Order about the problems connected with the personnel of the castle in Nieszawa [Nessau]. He added that it was a transitional period as, on the strength of the peace treaty concluded on 27 September 1422 at Mełno Lake, the Teutonic Order was obliged to return its territories in Kuyavia to Poland and to destroy its fortifications in Nieszawa (now Mała Nieszawka, 5 km west of Toruń)<sup>36</sup>. He informed the grand master that the commander of Nieszawa had left the Nieszawa castle with some Teutonic knights and his personnel. The only people who stayed in Nieszawa were: the priest, the superior of the convent’s kitchen (“kochemeister”), gunsmith, two guards and

<sup>34</sup> “Item so synt dese nochgeschreiben dyner, dy ich state im huß habe: Bartusch von Tundil, myn kemerer; Nicolaus, myn schrybere; Lange Hannos und Hincze, bruder von Czernese; Meynhard von Woczendorf, eyn Foylender; Petir Huczzenberger, eyn Beyger; Peter Slesyer; Hannos buchssenschucz, eyn Sleziger; Heyse Kasczube; Niclos Sachse; Hannos Litthow; Paschke von Lysaw; Sander us dem Osterodische gebitte; Phylip von der Lybe; Walter von Musken-dorf; Michel Luebig vom Elwinge; Paschke von Wolkow und der zuet ken Drysen; Heynrich Maledyte; Hannos, mynes waltmeisters schryber; item Mattis us dem Balgesche gebitte, myn houfmeister zu Streczczyn; item Heynrich von Muskendorf, myn houfmeister zum Hamersteyn; item Martyn Preusse, myn houfmeister zur Sichcze; item Jaroslaw, eyn Beyme, den habe ich iczczunt gehalden eyn ganz jare myt 2 pferden und myt eynem knechte und her siczt zu herentische und ym und synen knechten gegeben cleyd und alle ander notdorft, glych mynen dinern; item myn rytkoch. Summa der bruder 18. Item summa der dyner, den ich alle notdorft gebe 24” – GStAPK, OBA, nr 28219; Marian BISKUP, *Skład konwentu zakonu krzyżackiego w Czluchowie z 1413 roku*, *Zapiski Historyczne* (further cit. ZH), t. 63: 1998, z. 1, pp. 127–128.

<sup>35</sup> “Ouch lieber her meister! So habe ich 14 diener und 13 diener der gebieteger und 10 schutczen, also ich hoffe, die do alle wol togen” – GStAPK, OBA, nr 1809; K. KWIATKOWSKI, *Zakon Niemiecki*, p. 318.

<sup>36</sup> Comp. Sławomir JÓŹWIĄK, *Zburzenie zamku komturskiego w Nieszawie w latach 1422–1423*, *Rocznik Toruński* (further cit. RT), t. 30: 2003, pp. 19–33.

eleven “sent dieners”<sup>37</sup>. It is hard to infer from the context whether they were dieners subordinated to the commander of Nieszawa or Toruń. The truth is that by mid-June 1423 the Teutonic knights dismantled the castle in Nieszawa, but at the turn of August and September 1431 they reconquered the territories in Kuyavia adjacent to the Vistula River adapting and extending the castle of king Władysław Jagiełło erected in Dybów between 1427 and 1430 (opposite Toruń)<sup>38</sup>. In the interesting register of the cost of the maintenance and extension of the fortress there appear data about the Teutonic settlement. Apart from the commander and six brother-knights there lived also: 10 mercenaries, 21 dieners of the convent (the question is what it should mean as such a category of dieners is not known from other sources from the Teutonic territories in Prussia), 10 dieners of the commander, the priest (“caplan”), the notary, the tailor, gunsmith (two more were required), two menials, two cooks and their superior (“kuchmeister”) along with four menials dealing with carts, horses and stables. The people who were omitted in the register were: a baker, a young menial and four guards (“wechter”)<sup>39</sup>. In 1431 in the Dybów castle stayed as many as 31 dieners, which was a significant number, but could be caused by the location near the border and the war. The documents of expenses and revenues of the Toruń commander made between 11 November 1447 and 11 November 1448 (probably during the control visit) show that he maintained 17 dieners<sup>40</sup>.

There also exist numerical data for some other castles in Chełmno Land. In the undated letter (probably the second or the third decade of the 14<sup>th</sup> century)<sup>41</sup>, which on 3 May the Teutonic vogt of Rogóźno sent to the grand

<sup>37</sup> “Sunder her hath unsirm huwskomphthur also geentwert, der do nichts me aldo von manschaft findt, wen eynen prister bruder unnd den kochemeister mit dem buchssenschotzce unnd sust czwene wechter ober all unnd 11 gesanthe dyner [...]” – GStAPK, OBA, nr 3947.

<sup>38</sup> About the 15<sup>th</sup> century history of the castle comp. Sławomir JÓZWIĄK, *Nowa Nieszawa (Dybów) naprzeciw Torunia w latach 1423–1460/62 w świetle średniowiecznych źródeł pisanych*, [in:] *W poszukiwaniu zaginionego miasta: 15 lat badań średniowiecznej lokalizacji Nieszawy*, ed. Aleksander ANDRZEJEWSKI, Piotr WRONIECKI, Łódź 2015, pp. 27–34; Sławomir JÓZWIĄK, Janusz TRUPINDA, *Zamek w Nowej Nieszawie (Dybowie) w świetle średniowiecznych źródeł pisanych*, RT, t. 42: 2015, pp. 171–184.

<sup>39</sup> “So habe ich noch 10 soldern, den gebe ich iczlichem 1/2 marg dy woche. So habe ich 6 heren unde der herren dyner 21. Ouch so habe ich selbir 10 dyner unde 1 caplan unde 1 schrriber unde 1 sneyder unde 2 kellerknechte unde 2 koche. So mus ich haben 1 becker unde 1 jungen. So habe ich 1 kuchmeister. So habe ich 2 waynknechte unde 1 stalknecht unde 1 stal iungen. So durfte ich wol 4 wechter, das mir dy unser homeister sente, dy aws diesim lande sein, wen ich der nicht bekommen kan, den ich getruwen mag” – GStAPK, OBA, nr 5837.

<sup>40</sup> “Den dynern eren 17 vor schu und leynen cleider zu 2 mr. und 2 s[cot]” – Marian BISKUP, *Materiały do dziejów komturstwa toruńskiego z lat 1447–1448*, RT, t. 34: 2007, p. 153.

<sup>41</sup> About its date of issue comp. in: Sławomir JÓZWIĄK, Janusz TRUPINDA, *Krzyżackie zamki komturskie w Prusach. Topografia i układ przestrzenny na podstawie średniowiecznych źródeł pisanych*, Toruń 2012, p. 132.

master, there was a piece of information about dieners maintained by this Teutonic dignitary. There were to be 11 of them. One of the dieners stayed in the defence mill in Słup<sup>42</sup>, while four others in individual granges (landowners' farms) within the administrative boundaries of the village. In the subsequent part of the letter, the Teutonic vogt informed that two dieners had been sent to him by the grand master, while one had been brought by him himself (the question is whether they were included in the total number or they should be treated as additional dieners)<sup>43</sup>. From the accounts of revenue and expenses of the commandry of Starogród (there are no references that could allow us to date the source precisely, but we can specify that they were created at the end of the second or in the third decade of the 15<sup>th</sup> century) it may be concluded that the Teutonic official maintained 11 dieners<sup>44</sup>. Subsequent accounts from the same territorial administration, made in the years 1436–1437, inform us that at that time the commander of Starogród maintained 13 dieners<sup>45</sup>. According to the above mentioned data, the number was quite constant. There is a letter of the second decade of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, in which the commander of Radzyń asked the grand master to give him permission to sell rye and wheat in order to be able to finance the maintenance of his monastic brothers and dieners<sup>46</sup>.

<sup>42</sup> About the mill in Słup at the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century comp. Sławomir JÓZWIĄK, Janusz TRUPINDA, *Zamek biskupów chełmińskich w Wąbrzeźnie na podstawie źródeł pisanych. Chronologia budowy i układ przestrzenny*, [in:] *Zamek biskupów chełmińskich w Wąbrzeźnie w świetle badań archeologiczno-architektonicznych. Studia i materiały*, ed. Marcin WIEWIÓRA, Toruń 2014, pp. 51–52.

<sup>43</sup> "[...] dorczu habe ich gesinden 11 diner, dy man cleidet obir somer, der ist einer czum Starkenberge in der moel und 4 sint in den hoven, so hat uwer gnode mir czwene gegeben und brochte selbir einen mit mir" – GStAPK, OBA, nr 28677.

<sup>44</sup> "Item 55 mark aldiz geldis den dyenern vor ir wynter gewant und der synt 11; iclichem 5 mark" – GStAPK, OBA, nr 28683. Records included in the Chełmno court book are the evidence of the fact that dieners were maintained by the commanders of Starogród as early as 1340. The sources mentions three cooks from the Starogród castle – victims of the injury: "Petrus, polonus, coquus", "Henco, coquus torcoppelorum", "Gerco Schonenualt, coquus puerorum" – *Das Kulmer Gerichtsbuch 1330–1430. Liber memoriarum Colmensis civitatis*, bearb. v. Carl A. LÜCKERATH, Friedrich BENNINGHOVEN, Köln–Weimar–Wien 1999, p. 303. The first of them could have been the cook of the local commander or of the convent, while the second – of the local shooters (see more: K. KWIATKOWSKI, *Zakon Niemiecki*, pp. 416–424); the term "coquus puerorum" probably referred to the cook of the dieners residing in the castle.

<sup>45</sup> "Item 39 m. 13 dynern vor somergewant, schugelt unde satilgeld uff Ostern [31 III 1437]. Item 42 m. 20 sc. geg(eben) 13 dynern vor wintergewant, schugeld unde satilgelt uff Michaelis [29 IX 1437]. Summa dyner notdorfft 81 ½ (m.) 8 sc." – GStAPK, OBA, nr 7251, p. 11r; Jürgen SARNOWSKY, *Die Wirtschaftsführung des Deutschen Ordens in Preußen (1382–1454)*, Köln–Wien 1993, Anhang, nr 33, p. 820.

<sup>46</sup> "[...] wo das nicht geschit, so vurchte ich, das saltcz und gewant beide der bruder und der diner ons tueger wirt, went das hues czum Reddin wenig tzinses hat und mussen ons bergen vom deme, das ons Got gibt us der erden [...]" – GStAPK, OBA, nr 28074.

Unfortunately, the Teutonic official did not inform how many dieners he had to maintain.

There are also sources that inform about the number of dieners in some Teutonic convents situated in Upper and Lower Prussia. In the letter written on 21 September 1437 the commander of Brandenburg, Johann von Beenhausen, reported to the grand master that in his convent there stayed 41 (or 42)<sup>47</sup> brother-knights and monastic priests. He also maintained 28 dieners<sup>48</sup>. There is relatively much data concerning this subject matter in reference to the biggest convent in Königsberg (at least in the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century)<sup>49</sup>. In the accounts of the commander of the castle made in 1430, within half a year, there were recorded payments from the "court's resources" ("oppergeld") for dieners maintained by the superior of the convent. There were 51 or 52 of them<sup>50</sup>. In the subsequent accounts of the commander of Königsberg (from the years 1433–1435) there appeared the payment of 75 marks to spend on the "clothes of the court members" ("hoffgewand") – 25 dieners (three marks for each of them)<sup>51</sup>. In another place in those accounts there was a piece of information about the payment of 18 marks to six dieners, who were about to set off to Livonia<sup>52</sup>. Unfortunately, it cannot be inferred from the records that within several years the number of dieners staying in Königsberg was reduced. In the accounts of the years 1433–1435 the total number of dieners is not provided. This suggestion is confirmed by the letter sent on 1 July 1453 by the grand marshal (the commander of Königsberg), Kilian von Exdorf, to the grand master, Ludwig von Erlichshausen. This Teutonic dignitary informed his superior that his convent consisted of 63 brother-knights and Teutonic priests along with 42 dieners, whom he maintained<sup>53</sup>.

<sup>47</sup> The difference results from the unclear content of this fragment of the source.

<sup>48</sup> "Und ich dach nymenden sende us meymande covend, wend ich nu habe den pristerbruder czu Barthen, so habe ich 40 hern und 28 dyner mit meynem capplan [...]" – GStAPK, OBA, nr 7372; Christian PROBST, *Der Deutsche Orden und sein Medizinalwesen in Preussen. Hospital, Firmarie und Arzt bis 1525*, Bad Godesberg 1969 (Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens, Bd. 29), p. 115.

<sup>49</sup> At that time in the convent there were about 60 brother-knights and Teutonic priests – comp. Sławomir JÓŹWIAK, *Liczebność konwentów zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach w pierwszej połowie XV wieku*, ZH, t. 72: 2007, z. 1, pp. 13–14, 19.

<sup>50</sup> „Hofengeld [...]. Oppergeld: primo 3 marc 1 fird. 52 dyner Katherine [...]. Item 4 1/2 marc 51 dyner 2 oppergeld – weynacht, purificationis [...]. Item 2 marc 4 scot 52 dyner oppirgeld pasce. Item 2 marc 4 scot 52 dyner oppirgeld pfingsten” – Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, XX. Hauptabteilung, Ordensfolianten (further cit. GStAPK, OF), nr 166m, p. 83.

<sup>51</sup> "Item haben wir gegeben 25 dynern geld vor ire hoffgewand zcu 3 guten m., das machet 75 m. gutes geldes" – Walther ZIESEMER, *Ein Königsberger Rechnungsbuch aus den Jahren 1433–1435*, Altpreußische Monatsschrift, Bd. 53: 1917, p. 257.

<sup>52</sup> "Item 18 m. 6 dynern, die ken Liefland czogen" – *ibid.*, p. 267.

<sup>53</sup> "[...] denn der couent itczunt gnuß alda beswert ist, wen wol 63 bruder unsirs ordens

In the accounts of revenue and expenses of the commandry of Elbląg in the year 1445 at Christmas there was recorded the payment of 2 marks and a half *Vierdung* of the “money from contributions” (“oppergelt”) for 51 dieners (each of them was to receive one *scotus*). In 1446 the analogous payment was made to 44 dieners, while from the records of 1449 it may be inferred that 43 dieners received a similar payment<sup>54</sup>. The records cited above show the trend of reducing the number of dieners maintained by commanders of Elbląg in the 1450s.

Adding up the numerical data for the group of Teutonic convents in Prussia presented in the sources and omitting the increased number of dieners sent to castles situated near the borders such as Dybów or Kłajpeda (military needs), it should be estimated that the above mentioned Teutonic dignitaries in the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century had to maintain fewer than 250 dieners. There is a correlation between the number of brother-knights and monastic priests in those convents<sup>55</sup> and the number of dieners maintained by individual Teutonic dignitaries and officials. Despite the lack of relevant sources, it may be assumed that the situation in the remaining castles of Teutonic commanders, vogts and pflegers [burgraves] in the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century looked similar. The final conclusion may be that at that time the Teutonic Order in its state in Prussia maintained in total about 450–500 dieners.

#### ACCOMODATION AND MAINTENANCE OF DIENERS

Is it possible to indicate where exactly in the castle of the Teutonic State in Prussia the rooms for dieners were located? The sources from the epoch which allow us to answer the question are scarce, but, fortunately, they exist. The biggest quantity of information refers to the castle of Malbork, but, still, it is hard to define the exact situation of the spaces occupied by dieners. More precise guidelines are provided by the sources from the second decade and the mid-15<sup>th</sup> century. In 1412 the commander of Malbork paid to a locksmith who had made two locks (with four keys to each of them) for the dieners of the grand master who occupied the room (rooms?) under the buttery<sup>56</sup>. It is not possible to infer from the source mentioned above whether the singular or plural number of the rooms was used here. Where might those rooms

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da hyn gehoret und 42 diener den wir notdorft müssen schicken” – GStAPK, OBA, nr 12165; J. SARNOWSKY, op.cit., p. 327.

<sup>54</sup> “Item 2 marc 1/2 fird. 51 dynern eer oppergelt uff Weynachten. Itczlicher 1 sc. [...] item 1 marc 20 sc. 44 dyner[e]n oppergelt zcu Weynachten gegeben. Itczlichem 1 sc. [...] item 1 marc 19 sc. gegeben oppergelt 43 dynern [...]” – GStAPK, OE, nr 200b I, p. 350v, 367, 408.

<sup>55</sup> The number of individual Teutonic convents in Prussia in the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century has been already estimated in historiography – comp. S. JÓŹWIĄK, *Liczebność*, pp. 7–21.

<sup>56</sup> “Item 1/2 m. deme kleynsmede vor 2 slos. ichlich slos hot 4 slossel, des meysters dyner vor ere kamer under der schefferye” – *Das Ausgabebuch des Marienburger Hauskomturs für die Jahre 1410–1420*, hrsg. v. Walther ZIESEMER, Königsberg 1911 (further cit. AMH), p. 73.



have been located? The key to solve this question is to establish the location of the buttery. Bernhard Schmidt put forward an interesting hypothesis that it had been located in the southern part of the eastern wing of the first, inner lower bailey. On the basis of the record of 1412 the scholar assumed that dieners of the grand master had occupied only one room on the ground floor of the building<sup>57</sup>. However, other sources indicate that there might have been more rooms for dieners. In 1413 the commander of the castle in Malbork paid a locksmith for making a lock and key for the “dieners of the grand master to their rooms”<sup>58</sup>. What is more, the same Teutonic official in 1414 financed building works conducted next to the “gemach” of the dieners of the superior of the Teutonic Order<sup>59</sup>. Probably, it is the same space located in the southern part of the eastern wing of the first, inner lower bailey. In the context of the events taking place in July 1456 in this part of the Malbork fortification, there was a record concerning the fact of the grand master’s dieners being expelled by Bohemian mercenaries from their “gemach”<sup>60</sup>. Taking into account the actual meaning of the noun in the German nomenclature of the Teutonic sources<sup>61</sup>, it may be assumed that at least a few rooms occupied by dieners took up a bigger part of the ground floor in the southern part of the eastern wing of the first, inner lower bailey. However, it is hard to say whether they had their own rooms each or whether they shared the rooms. Probably, it was determined by seniority and merits. In 1416 a lock to an individual room of a diener was made<sup>62</sup>. A diener Pietrasch<sup>63</sup> also had his own room in 1411, as did another diener Kirstan<sup>64</sup> according to the entry of 1412. On the other hand, in 1412 the commander of the castle in Malbork paid a locksmith for making

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<sup>57</sup> *Die Marienburg. Ihre Baugeschichte dargestellt von Bernhard Schmid*, hrsg. v. Karl HAUKE, Würzburg 1955 (further cit. B. SCHMID, *Die Marienburg*), pp. 66–67. The most recent findings about the buttery in Malbork and its location comp. in: Sławomir JÓZWIAK, Janusz TRUPINDA, *Organizacja życia na zamku krzyżackim w Malborku w czasach wielkich mistrzów (1309–1457)*, Malbork 2011 (ed. 2), pp. 300–302.

<sup>58</sup> “Item 16 sc. dem cleynsmede vor slossil und slos des meisters dinern vor ire kamern” – AMH, p. 114.

<sup>59</sup> “Item 1 m. 3 muwerer, dy der dyner gemag haben gemuwert und an her Ditrichs gem[ach] [...] item 1 m. 3 muwerer, dy des meisters dyner [gemach] haben gemuwert” – *ibid.*, p. 140.

<sup>60</sup> *Geschichten von wegen eines Bundes von Landen*, p. 169.

<sup>61</sup> In the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> century sources concerning the Teutonic construction of fortifications in Prussia, the noun “gemach” was used to refer to bigger detached buildings (residential or farming) or floors in bigger buildings – comp. S. JÓZWIAK, J. TRUPINDA, *Krzyżackie zamki*, pp. 109–110.

<sup>62</sup> “Item 1 fird. vor eyn slos vor des meisters diner kamer” – AMH, p. 241.

<sup>63</sup> “Item 11 sol. Petresch des meysters dyner vor eyne thore und eyn slos an syne kamer” – *ibid.*, p. 32.

<sup>64</sup> “Item 1 fird. vor 1 slos Kirstan des meisters diner” – *ibid.*, p. 77.

two locks to (probably) two rooms of dieners. Each of the locks was provided with four keys<sup>65</sup>. The question arises how many people resided in one room. Bernhard Schmidt made a suggestion that dieners of grand masters could have lived on the ground floor in the “palace”<sup>66</sup>. It is not impossible, but there is no confirmation of this hypothesis in the preserved written sources.

On the other hand, there is no doubt that there were some residential rooms for “retired” and sick dieners in another part of the Malbork castle. What is meant here is the “infirmarium of menials” (“knechte firmarien”), which appeared under such a name in the registers of the accommodation of Teutonic participants in the Malbork ordinary chapter (1399) and general chapter (1404)<sup>67</sup>. From the 1440s it was referred to as the “infirmarium of dieners” (“diener firmarie”)<sup>68</sup>. It is difficult to localize the infirmary in the fortress as this information appears also in the records from the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. On 30 March 1408 the grand master Ulrich von Jungingen visited granaries at the Nogat River (in the western part of the other outer bailey)<sup>69</sup>, where he watched the shooting weapons prepared for the defence of the granaries. On his way back to the “palace”, he visited the infirmary for menials and ordered to give four *scotus* to a Gotcze Swegirchen<sup>70</sup>. Looking at the layout of all the buildings within the Malbork castle in the Middle Ages, one may conclude that the infirmary must have been located in the western part of the other outer bailey, next to the Church of St. Lawrence. In fact, in the inventory records of the administrator of the Malbork gardens (“Gartenmeister”) of 1410–1430, the above mentioned infirmary “czu sente Lorencz”, administered by this official is frequently referred to<sup>71</sup>. The sources do not say to whom it was devoted. In the infirmary there were 7–12 beds and other small pieces of furniture and accessories (pillows, bedsheets, kettles, buckets, pots). In 1417 and 1430 the records mention a doorman<sup>72</sup>. Another source – a much more

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., p. 73.

<sup>66</sup> B. SCHMID, *Die Marienburg*, p. 60; idem, *Führer durch das Schloß Marienburg in Preußen*, Berlin 1942, p. 57.

<sup>67</sup> Jürgen SARNOWSKY, *Die Quellen für die angebliche Münzstätte des Deutschen Ordens auf der Marienburg in der Zeit um 1410 mit einem Nachtrag zur Edition des Treßlerbuchs*, Zeitschrift für Ostforschung, Bd. 38: 1989, H. 3, Anhang, pp. 352–353, 355–357.

<sup>68</sup> See more further on in the text.

<sup>69</sup> See more about the location of the building in: S. JÓŹWIAK, J. TRUPINDA, *Organizacja życia*, pp. 456–459.

<sup>70</sup> “Item 2 scot den kornknechten im spycher by dem Noguth, als der meyster dy bochsen besach. item 4 scot Goczze Swegirchen in der knechte firmaria [...]” – M.Tr., p. 475.

<sup>71</sup> Another thing is why the administrator of the Malbork gardens supervised the infirmary. Comp. S. JÓŹWIAK, J. TRUPINDA, *Organizacja życia*, pp. 393, 472–476.

<sup>72</sup> “Der sluser hat 7 bette” – *Das Marienburger Ämterbuch*, hrsg. v. Walther ZIESEMER, Danzig 1916, pp. 147–150; “Item 1 1/2 m. 1 loth dem sloser in der knechte firmanie” – AMH, p. 290.

recent one – confirms that next to the Church of St. Lawrence there was the infirmary for dieners (“diener firmarie”). In the document issued on 20 June 1446, the grand master, Konrad von Erlichshausen, gave permission to his lay diener Jakub Osterwitek to reside until his death in a room with a chimney next to the Church of St. Lawrence, in the infirmary for Malbork’s dieners (“in unsir diener firmarie”); he was granted the same rights (concerning food and clothes) as half-monastic brothers (“halbbruder”)<sup>73</sup>. Both records indicate that in the space of the infirmary there were separate rooms for “retired” dieners or menials maintained by the Teutonic Order. On the eve of Easter of 1409 the sub-chamberlain of the grand master ordered to pay to a Franczek, a former menial (“knecht”) of the grand steward of Malbork, half a mark<sup>74</sup>. If one takes into account all the records mentioned above, one may agree with the suggestion put forward by Kazimierz Pospieszny that the infirmary of dieners/menials from the north adjoined directly the Church of St. Lawrence<sup>75</sup>. The layout of the spaces inside is not known. From the record of 20 June 1446 one may infer that it consisted of more than one room as the source mentioned also a room with a chimney<sup>76</sup>. It seems that the infirmary discussed here started to operate in the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century. The document, on the strength of which 16 bishops gathered in Avignon granted 40 days’ indulgence to repentant sinners visiting the Church of St. Lawrence in Malbork and giving alms to the sick staying near the church, was issued on 2 March 1358<sup>77</sup>. This information might have referred to the infirmary.

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It is probable that a doorman from the same infirmary appeared also in 1418 in the books of expenses of the Malbork commander. The fragment does not say what infirmary is meant here (“item 5 fird. den sluser Mertin in der firmanien”), but the record includes the information about the payment given to a lookout on duty in the fortifications next to the Church of St. Lawrence, where the infirmary of menials was located – AMH, p. 319.

<sup>73</sup> GSTAPK, OF, nr 16, pp. 124–125; Zenon Hubert NOWAK, *Sprawa zaopatrzenia „emerytalnego” w zakonie krzyżackim w pierwszej połowie XV wieku*, [in:] *Zakon krzyżacki a społeczeństwo państwa w Prusach*, ed. Zenon Hubert NOWAK, Toruń 1995, *Aneks źródłowy*, nr 2, pp. 89–90. See more about the earlier career of Jakub Osterwitek in: J. SARNOWSKY, *Die Wirtschaftsführung*, p. 175.

<sup>74</sup> “Item 1/2 m. Franczken in der knechte firmarya, der des grosscheffers knecht gewest ist” – M.Tr., p. 537.

<sup>75</sup> Kazimierz POSPIESZNY, *Program i forma architektoniczna krzyżackich infirmerii zamkowych w Prusach*, [in:] *Szpitalnictwo w dawnej Polsce*, ed. Maria DĄBROWSKA, Jerzy KRUPÉ, Warszawa 1998, p. 130. His suggestions concerning the hypothetical layout of individual rooms should be treated with more caution – see in: S. JÓŹWIAK, J. TRUPINDA, *Organizacja życia*, p. 392 f.

<sup>76</sup> GSTAPK, OF, nr 16, pp. 124–125; Z. H. NOWAK, op.cit., *Aneks źródłowy*, nr 2, pp. 89–90.

<sup>77</sup> “[...] et qui infirmis prope eandem capellam in egritudine iacentibus manum porrexerint adiutricem et elemosinam accipientibus et servitoribus ipsius capelle ipsam elemosinam dantibus [...]” – Johannes VOIGT, *Geschichte Marienburgs, der Stadt und des Haupthauses des deut-*

Very interesting information about the subject matter analysed here was included in the letter of 7 December 1428 sent by the commander of Świecie to the grand master<sup>78</sup>. The Teutonic official mentioned in the letter that during the alluvion of the Vistula River the outer bailey of his castle, where stables and “gemach” were situated, had been flooded. The flowing water led to the encroachment and collapse of the land along with the floor covering (one foot deep) in “the rooms of the dieners”<sup>79</sup>. According to the commander, the range of losses was to grow if no preventive measures were taken<sup>80</sup>. The account quoted here explains unequivocally that in the castle of Świecie the rooms for dieners were situated in the outer bailey (in its southern part) of the “gemach” of the commander, on the ground floor. The conclusion results from the fact in the Middle Ages the main course of the Vistula River was situated south of the castle<sup>81</sup>. It was probably one of the chambers (“kamer”) situated in this “gemach” that was referred to in the document issued on 14 June 1450 by the grand master Ludwig von Erlichshausen, in which he granted Fritsche Swenkenfeld<sup>82</sup>, a diener of the commander, the right to the lifelong accommodation, maintenance and dining at the table of monastic brothers in the castle of Świecie.

In the letter of 20 February 1451, in which the grand master granted to Mikołaj Bardyn, a local diener of the commander, the right to dine at the table in the castle of Elbląg, there was included the information that the diener should be accommodated in the chamber/room under the castle's forge, which was formerly inhabited by a Ruland<sup>83</sup>. The record might have referred to some

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*schen Ritter-Ordens in Preußen, Königsberg 1824, Beilagen, nr 7, pp. 536–537; Pr.Ub., Bd. V/2, hrsg. v. Klaus CONRAD, Marburg 1973, nr 633; Ch. PROBST, op.cit., p. 130.*

<sup>78</sup> About the dating of the document comp. in: S. JÓZWIAK, J. TRUPINDA, *Krzyżackie zamki*, pp. 94–95.

<sup>79</sup> “Auch gnediger lyeber her meister! So geruche euwer erwidrige gnade zcu wissen, das dy Wyssel zcu mole sere dringet uff das vorborge des hwses zcur Swecz, do dy stallunge unnd myn gemach lyet, unnd das wasser das estryche gar sere wege gewasschen hot unnd noch teglich weg wesschet, alzo das dy erde unnd estrich yn myner dyner cammern gesunken ist wol eynes fusses tyff [...]”.

<sup>80</sup> GStAPK, OBA, nr 28241.

<sup>81</sup> *Lustracja województwa pomorskiego 1565*, ed. Stanisław Hoszowski, Gdańsk 1961, p. 191; Conrad STEINBRECHT, *Die Ordensburgen der Hochmeisterzeit in Preussen* (Die Baukunst des Deutschen Ritterordens in Preussen, Bd. 4), Berlin 1920, pp. 15–17; Maria SPŁAWSKA-KORCZAK, *Zamek krzyżacki w Świeciu. Próba rekonstrukcji zamku wysokiego w średniowieczu*, Toruń 2014, p. 36 n.

<sup>82</sup> “[...] so her aber nich wirt dienen können, so sal em eyn kompthur czur czeit zcur Sweczen eyne kamer eyngeden, em eynen iungen goennen zcu halden, em ouch herenkost an speysse und an getrenke gleich eynem herren in seyne kamer lassen fulgen und alle iar diener notdorfft gleich eynem seyner diener geben zcu seyнем leben [...]” – GStAPK, OF, nr 17, p. 505.

<sup>83</sup> “Ouch sal man en itczund inweizen in die kamer mit eynem schorsteyne under der

rooms in the infirmary for lay dieners – not monastic brothers. However, the fact of the chamber being situated under the forge is quite strange. It is possible that the information should be treated less literally – in more spatial terms<sup>84</sup>. Interesting information may be obtained from the bestowal granted on 18 September 1446 by the grand master Konrad von Erlichshausen to a knight Filip von Baseleiden. As a diener of the commander of Elbląg he received a chamber over the “infirmary of the superiors”, in the vicinity of the room occupied by the commander’s companion<sup>85</sup>. It is not the first document about a diener who was to receive a chamber in the castle of Elbląg. In the document issued on 23 February 1424 the grand master Paul von Rusdorf, guaranteed to his diener and his predecessor Jacob Kale full board and accommodation covered by the Teutonic Order for their loyal service. The diener was to receive a chamber with a chimney in the castle in Pasłęk or in Elbląg (in another place of the source referred to as “gemach”), where he could live with his menial<sup>86</sup>.

It is quite probable that most dieners of Elbląg commanders had their own residential and utility spaces in the southern part of the complex extended on the eastern side of the northern outer bailey of the castle. This hypothesis is supported by the information included in the 16<sup>th</sup> century chronicle, where a tower erected in 1345 was mentioned (it was destroyed at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century). It was called “Dienerturm” and was situated in the south-eastern part of the outer bailey<sup>87</sup>. There are also sources informing what the conditions of the maintenance of dieners were. Particularly important are records

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smede des huwzes Elbing darinne Ruland itczwan hat gewonet [...]” – GStAPK, OF, nr 17, pp. 599–600.

<sup>84</sup> From the register of rent of 1426 one may infer that there was a forge in the outer bailey of the Elbląg castle (“Smede. Die aldt smede vor dem huwse Elbing gibt alle jor 3 marc” – GStAPK, OF, nr 166n, p. 4). The question is whether it was the only forge in the fortress.

<sup>85</sup> “[...] und dorczu die kammer ubir der herren firmarien daselbst bey des kompthurs kompans kamer und diener notturft gleich eynem anderen eyns kompthurs zcum Elbinge diener” – GStAPK, OF, nr 16, pp. 233–234. With minor difference in the interpretation the source was published by Z. H. Nowak – comp. idem, op.cit., Aneks źródłowy, nr 4, p. 92. However, it is hard to state whether it is this infirmary that is mentioned in the inventory register of the commandry of Elbląg of 1 November 1428: “item czum Elbing an gereytem getreide 8 leste weise im kornhuse, item 123 leste aldes kornes off der kirchen, item 7 leste aldes kornes uff dem reventher, item 18 leste ald korn uff der firmaria, item 3 1/2 last nuwe korn uff dem spicher [...]”. According to the record, it may be inferred that on the highest floor crop was stored – *Das grosse Ämterbuch des Deutschen Ordens*, hrsg. v. Walther ZIESEMER, Danzig 1921, pp. 87–88.

<sup>86</sup> GStAPK, OF, nr 95, pp. 104v–105.

<sup>87</sup> Karl HAUKE, Horst STOBBE, *Die Baugeschichte und die Baudenkmäler der Stadt Elbing*, Stuttgart 1964, p. 29, 120; Janusz TRUPINDA, Sławomir JÓZWIĄK, *Zamek krzyżacki w Elblągu. Topografia i układ przestrzenny na podstawie średniowiecznych źródeł pisanych*, [in:] *Studia z dziejów średniowiecza* (nr 19), ed. Beata MOŻEJKO, Marek SMOLIŃSKI, Sobiesław SZYBKOWSKI, Warszawa 2015, pp. 217–218.



included in the regulation concerning the functioning of the castle of Elbląg prepared at the end of the 1380s (in 1387)<sup>88</sup>. In the fragment titled "How the retinue sits in the refectory" it read that dieners of the commander were seated at the table where readings were conducted ("lezeztule"), on the left hand side (of the commander?). The seats were reserved exclusively for them. On ordinary days they received three meals, while during the Fast – four with the additional portion of herbs, as did monastic brothers<sup>89</sup>. According to the most recent findings, the refectory was at that time situated in the "gemach" of the commander in the (northern) outer bailey of the Elbląg castle<sup>90</sup>.

On the basis of relatively numerous preserved sources the information about the location of chambers of dieners of grand masters and commanders of Königsberg can be obtained. The starting point for the analysis is the document of 13 January 1481, which confirms the loan of 12 marks given to an inn-keeper from Fuchsberg (15 km south-east of Königsberg), Brosian Briger, by a parish priest serving at the altars of the Blessed Virgin Mary and Saint Barbara in the Church of Saint Magdalena located in the Königsberg "infirmary of dieners"<sup>91</sup>. A similar situation was described in a letter of an unknown person to the grand master written probably in the third decade of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. The letter referred to an unpaid loan of a Ruland von der Segebrost to Niclos Engelbrecht – a former parish priest in the "infirmary of dieners in front of the Königsberg castle"<sup>92</sup>. Undoubtedly, the same building ("firmaria famulorum extra castrum Königsberg") was referred to in the presentation document of

<sup>88</sup> The first publisher of the source, Walther Ziesemer, on the basis of the analysis he had conducted, stated that the source was created about 1387 – Walther ZIESEMER, *Wirtschaftsordnung des Elbinger Ordenshauses*, Sitzungsberichte der Altertumsgesellschaft Prussia für die Vereinsjahre 1909–1922, Bd. 24: 1923, pp. 78–79. Arthur Semrau, referring to the findings of his predecessor came to the vague conclusion that the document was prepared in 1386 – Arthur SEMRAU, *Der Wirtschaftsplan des Ordenshauses Elbing aus dem Jahre 1386*, Mitteilungen des Copernicus-Vereins für Wissenschaft u. Kunst zu Thorn, Bd. 45: 1937, p. 2. It seems that W. Ziesemer was the closest to the truth.

<sup>89</sup> "Also sitz das gesinde ym rebenther. Des komptur dyner sitzen by deme lezeztule uf di linkehant; do sitz nimant bey in ober deme tische. Den gibt man 3 gerichte wen man nicht vastet. Wen man vastet, so gibt man in 4 und gibit yn krude als den herren" – GStAPK, OE, nr 166m, p. 31v; W. ZIESEMER, op.cit., pp. 84–85; A. SEMRAU, op.cit., p. 50.

<sup>90</sup> J. TRUPINDA, S. JÓŹWIĄK, *Zamek krzyżacki*, pp. 203–211.

<sup>91</sup> "[...] douon her sal vorpflicht sein, her und seyne elichen erbe und nochkomelinge, dem obgenanten her Thomas und seynen nochkomen zcu der vicarien und altare unßer lieben ffrauen und sente Barbaren in der dyner firmarie und sente Marie Magdalenen kirche gelegen bei der alden thore alle iar jerlich [...] eyne mark geringes geldis zcu czinßen [...]" – GStAPK, Perg. Urk., Schiebl. XXXI 78.

<sup>92</sup> "[...] dornoch ist derselbige Rulant gekomen czu her Nicklos Engelbrecht dem alden nonnen probiste, der uf die czeyt vicarius was in der dyner firmaria vorm hawße Konigisberg und hat von seyner vicaria genomen drey marg czunses gudes geldis" – GStAPK, OBA, nr 28130.

the priest Niclos to the bishop of Sambia concerning the vacancy for a position of a priest of the altar of St. Maria Magdalena in the Church of St. Maria Magdalena<sup>93</sup>. Another priest from the church/the “infirmarium of dieners”, Niclos Scherf, in a letter of 17 December 1444 asked the chaplain of the grand master Sylvester Stodewescher to speak on his behalf with the grand master about the difficulties he had with being paid for his service<sup>94</sup>. In the document issued on 20 August 1437 the grand master Paul von Rusdorf provided the maintenance and accommodation to a diener of the marshal Jacob Ganshern in return for his loyal service. In the future (old age, sickness) he was also to receive a room in the “infirmarium for dieners”<sup>95</sup>. According to all the above mentioned sources, in the 15<sup>th</sup> century the infirmarium discussed here constituted an integral part of the Church of St. Mary Magdalen. The building existed earlier as the “infirmarium for menials” (“knechte firmerie”), which is confirmed by the sources of the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. In the document issued on 29 December 1372 by the grand marshal and the commander of Königsberg, Rüdiger von Elner, which extended the *wola* (exemption from rents) of one of the three towns situated there (Kneiphof) by three and a half morgens, among Teutonic witnesses – brothers of the convent – there appeared also “brudir Giselbrecht von Bernsberge firmeriemeistir in der knechte firmerie” – the superior of the Königsberg “infirmarium for menials”<sup>96</sup>. In the list of witnesses of the document issued by the Sambian chapter on 7 August 1376, which bestowed the estates upon a Tustyn, there appeared the name of “her Johannes Vogil eyn vicarius czu sancte Marien Magdalenen in der knechte firmerie”<sup>97</sup>. On the other hand, in the books of the Malbork treasurer in 1408 there appeared a record confirming that two parish priests in the “infirmarium for menials” in Königsberg had collected 6 marks<sup>98</sup>.

It is not easy to establish the location of the infirmarium on the basis of the medieval written sources. What can be inferred from the sources analysed here? Unfortunately, the 14<sup>th</sup> century documents do not provide us with any hints. The first information comes from more recent sources. From the letter of the third decade of the 15<sup>th</sup> century it may be inferred that the infirmarium of

<sup>93</sup> “Reuerende pater et domine! Ad vicariam altaris beate Marie Magdalene in ffirmaria famulorum extra castrum Konigsberg [...] dominum Nicolaum presbiterum [...] presentamus” – GStAPK, Perg. Urk., Schiebl. LII, nr 64.

<sup>94</sup> “Nicolaus Scherf vicarius ecclesie infirmarie famulorum apud castrum Konigisberg capellanus humilis vester” – GStAPK, OBA, nr 8627.

<sup>95</sup> “[...] in die firmarie der dyner” – GStAPK, OF, nr 13, p. 454.

<sup>96</sup> *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Königsberg i. Pr.*, bearb. v. Hans MENDTHAL, Bd. 1: (1256–1400), Königsberg i. Pr. 1910, nr 80.

<sup>97</sup> *Urkundenbuch des Bisthums Samland*, hrsg. v. Carl P. WOELKY, Hans MENDTHAL, H. 3, Leipzig 1905, nr 505.

<sup>98</sup> “Item 6 m. zwen vicarien in der knechte firmarje zu Konigisberg” – M.Tr., p. 465.

dieners/menials was situated in “vorm hawße Konigisberg”, which means in front of the Königsberg castle<sup>99</sup>. In the document of 9 November 1441 it was described as located “extra castrum Konigisberg”, which means “beyond the Königsberg castle”<sup>100</sup>. According to the letter of 17 December 1444, the church along with the “infirmarium for dieners” was to be situated “apud castrum Konigisberg”, which means “next to the Königsberg castle”<sup>101</sup>. In the register of rents paid by the commander of the Königsberg castle to the superiors there appeared the sum of 19 marks for “der knechte firmarie vorm huwse”, which means in front of the castle<sup>102</sup>. In the letter of the council of the town of Kneiphof [Knipawa] to the council of the Main City of Gdańsk of 23 September 1476 it reads about the priests “yn der firmarien hynder dem slosse Konigisbergk hynder sunte Marien Magdalenen kirchen gelegen” (represented by Johann Knoffel), who demanded to be paid the overdue rents from the estate in Kneiphof, which amounted to 4 marks a year<sup>103</sup>. According to this record, the buildings discussed here might have been located north of the castle (from the perspective of Kneiphof), the first of them being the Church of St. Maria Magdalen, followed by the infirmary. The entry in the document of 13 January 1481 indicates that the infirmary along with the Church of St. Maria Magdalen were situated “bei der alden thore”, which means – next to an old gate<sup>104</sup>. Another source – the document appointing the priest Dominik Hollsten the parish priest of the church and altar of Saint Andrew the Apostle in the chapel of St. Maria Magdalen – indicates that the chapel was situated next to (close to) the Königsberg castle<sup>105</sup>.

The location of the Church of St. Maria Magdalen and the infirmary for dieners/menials may be established more precisely on the basis of the information of 1517 written prior to the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century in the chronicle of Johann Freiberg. At that time the Franciscans were installed there, and, according to the author of the chronicle, the buildings were situated in the territory of the *wola* in the vicinity of the pond of the mill, north of the north-east part of the outer bailey of the Königsberg castle, in the site of what was later Mint Square

<sup>99</sup> GStAPK, OBA, nr 28130.

<sup>100</sup> GStAPK, Perg. Urk., Schiebl. LII, nr 64.

<sup>101</sup> “Nicolaus Scherf, vicarius ecclesie infirmarie famulorum apud castrum Konigisberg” – GStAPK, OBA, nr 8627.

<sup>102</sup> GStAPK, OBA, nr 9231.

<sup>103</sup> Archiwum Państwowe w Gdańsku [The State Archives in Gdańsk], Listy i dokumenty, 300, D/67, 92. I would like to thank Cezary Kardasz for indicating the source to me.

<sup>104</sup> GStAPK, Perg. Urk., Schiebl. XXXI 78. On the basis of the information we have it is hard to explain which gate it was.

<sup>105</sup> “[...] in capella sancte Marie Magdalene prope castrum Konigisbergk” – GStAPK, Perg. Urk., Schiebl. LIV 26.

(“Münzplatze”)<sup>106</sup>. It seems that the infirmary for dieners/menials in Königsberg was the only one in the whole Teutonic State in Prussia located outside the space of the Teutonic castle.

A diener of the commander of Tuchola, Gregor Muweritz, received accommodation in this interesting and unconventional place, which may be inferred from the document of 16 July 1449 which bestowed upon him the lifelong maintenance in the castle. He was provided with a room/chamber (“kamer”) located on the upper floor of the gate (of the outer bailey of the castle of Tuchola) leading to the city<sup>107</sup> (with the reservation that if in the event of war Gregor was unable to protect the gate, he would be moved to another chamber situated in a more safe place<sup>108</sup>).

The document concerning the bestowal of the right to dine in the castle in Brandenburg [Pokarmin] upon a diener of the local commander, a Paulucken, issued on 7 July 1448 by the grand master Konrad von Erlichshausen, also includes very interesting information. The diener was also provided with a room with a chimney “in the infirmary next to the chapel”<sup>109</sup>. The record includes an important piece of information allowing us to indicate the location of the buildings in the space of the outer bailey in the Brandenburg castle. The temple was referred to as a “chapel” (“capelle”). In the 15<sup>th</sup> century Teutonic sources this term was used to refer to additional temples in the castle beyond the main (and only) church of the high castle<sup>110</sup>. It must have been located in one of the buildings (the destination of which has not been established yet<sup>111</sup>)

<sup>106</sup> “Mittwoche nach Natiuitatis Marie [9 IX 1517 r.] dieweil die gemeine pristerschafft noch gewonheit die vigilie Irer Bruderschaft sungen gab der her homeister den Monchen die kirche in der Firmaneie ein (an dem Molteiche do iczunt das weiße lange haus steht) und die schlußel zu allem gerethe und Altarien den Monchen ubirreichet. Dornoch huben die Monche an, Ire horas zusingen, In der selben kirchen zu sant Marie Magdalene” – *Die Königsberger Chroniken aus der Zeit des Herzogs Albrecht*, hrsg. v. Friedrich A. MECKELBURG, Königsberg 1865, pp. 4–5; *Die Chronik des Johannes Freiberg*, bearb. v. Udo ARNOLD, [in:] *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum. Die Geschichtsquellen der preussischen Vorzeit*, hrsg. v. Walther HUBATSCH, Udo ARNOLD, Bd. 6, Frankfurt 1968, pp. 358, 497, 521; Friedrich LAHRS, *Das Königsberger Schloss*, Stuttgart 1956, p. 12.

<sup>107</sup> “[...] von sunderlichin gnaden gonnen wir em, das her in den kamer boben den thore, als men in die stat geht, der weyle es frede ist, moge wonen und bleiben [...]”.

<sup>108</sup> GStAPK, OF, nr 17, p. 324. In view of the condition of the knowledge concerning the topography and layout of the castle in Tuchola in the Middle Ages, it is hard to establish the location of the gate.

<sup>109</sup> “[...] eyne kamer mit eyne schorsteyne uff unserm huwße Brandenburg in der firmarien an der cappellen gelegen zcu seynem leben der inne zcu wonnen [...]” – GStAPK, OF, nr 16, p. 1035.

<sup>110</sup> See more in: S. JÓŹWIAK, J. TRUPINDA, *Krzyżackie zamki*, pp. 177–184, 294–296.

<sup>111</sup> Comp. Tomasz TORBUS, *Die Konventsburgen im Deutschordensland Preussen*, München 1998, pp. 371–373.

located next to the defence walls in the south-west or the south-east part of the outer bailey of the castle in Brandenburg. The room allocated to the above mentioned diener was probably situated in the local infirmary for dieners.

The documents issued by grand master Paul von Rusdorf and Konrad von Erlichshausen on 23 May 1437 and 17 March 1449, which guaranteed the life-long maintenance for the dieners of the vogt of Rogóžno and the commander of Ostróda (Johannes Czepensdorff and Niclas Machfrede), said that both dieners were given a chamber with a chimney and were allowed to have a menial, for the maintenance of whom they had to pay themselves<sup>112</sup>. Taking into consideration the above mentioned remarks, it is very probable that in both cases the residential spaces were located in the outer bailey. When on 21 October 1453 "nach colacien" on one of the galleries of the Radzyń castle a local commander of the castle was seriously offended by a member of the convent, brother-knight Burghard; witnesses of this event were "many virtuous people, residents and menials". Among them there must have been dieners, who had their chambers in the castle. The commander of Radzyń informed the grand master about those events in a letter sent on 25 October 1453<sup>113</sup>.

The undated letter of the superior of the Teutonic Order (of the first or second decade of the 15<sup>th</sup> century) informs what was one of the ways of allocating dieners to individual territorial dignitaries. The grand master ordered the commander of Brodnica to provide full board, maintenance and accommodation "gleich euwer diner eyme" to the man bearing the letter for the period of three months, during which time the diener was to decide where he would like to stay in the future<sup>114</sup>.

What conclusions may be drawn on the basis of the analysis conducted? The conclusion is that dieners in the Teutonic State in Prussia at the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century and the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century were people from knightly families (not infrequently from beyond the territory of the state), who were maintained by Teutonic dignitaries and officials (they were provided accommodation full board, clothes and remuneration) in return for the diplomatic, military or courtly service (the participation in military actions, the manning of castles, transmitting information, the protection of envoys and guests, the reconnaissance of the enemy's territory, the participation in corteges, etc.). In fact, in the period with the most complete source data (the first half of the

<sup>112</sup> GStAPK, OF, nr 13, p. 432–433; nr 17, p. 213.

<sup>113</sup> "[...] das manch gut man, geselle und knechte haben gehort uffim gange" – GStAPK, OBA, nr 12463.

<sup>114</sup> "Her kompthur! Wir senden czu euch dessin keginwortigen bewiser und bitten, das ir in bey euch haldet eyn virteil jar und im herren tissches gunnet und in sust haldet gleich euwer diner eyme, uff das her bynen der czeit besehn moge, wo her vordan bleibe" – GStAPK, OBA, nr 27897.



15<sup>th</sup> century), every Teutonic high official, commander and Vogt maintained from a few to a several dozens of dieners, which means that in the whole Teutonic state in Prussia there might have been about 450–500 dieners.

The source analysis conducted here concern the castles in Malbork, Świecie, Elbląg and Brandenburg. They allow us to conclude that dieners were provided with accommodation in the buildings located in the outer bailey. They were chambers devoted exclusively for them or separate rooms in the castle infirmaries of dieners/mentals. As may be concluded from the relatively numerous sources, in the fortress of Malbork dieners were accommodated on the ground floor in the southern part of the eastern wing of the first internal bailey, in the rooms of the infirmary next to the Church of St. Lawrence (the southern wing of the second outer bailey) or maybe in the “palace” of grand masters (the western wing of the first inner bailey). The solution adopted in Königsberg was quite unconventional as dieners residing there were allowed to stay in rooms located within the outer bailey of the fortress (it cannot be confirmed in the sources, though), but the infirmary for dieners was situated in agricultural villages of *wola* in the vicinity of the castle, north of the north-east part of the outer bailey.

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DIENERS IN THE SERVICE OF THE TEUTONIC ORDER IN PRUSSIA  
IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 14<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY – THE FIRST HALF  
OF THE 15<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY: THE GROUP SIZE, MAINTENANCE, ACCOMMODATION

### Summary

**Key words:** the Middle Ages, topography of Teutonic castles, the Monastic State in Prussia, servants of the Teutonic Order

In the late medieval Monastic State of the Teutonic Order in Prussia dieners were people who came from knightly families (not infrequently from beyond the territory of Prussia) and were maintained by Teutonic dignitaries and officials (they were pro-

vided with accommodation, food, clothes and pay) in exchange for the diplomatic, military-knightly and courtly service (the participation in military actions, the manning of castles, transporting information, the defence of envoys and guests, the examination of the territory occupied by the enemy, the participation in corteges, etc.). In the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century (the available data refers only to this period of time), every high Teutonic official, commander and vogt had even a few dozens of dieners at their disposal, except extraordinary situations such as the manning of frontier castles in Klaipėda and Dybów. In the whole territory of the Teutonic State in Prussia there might have been about 450–500 dieners at that time.

The source analysis conducted here which concerned the castles in Malbork, Świecie, Elbląg and Brandenburg allow us to state that dieners were provided with the accommodation in the buildings situated in the outer wards of the castles. They were given rooms (chambers) exclusively for their use or individual rooms in infirmaries of dieners/servants. As may be inferred from the relatively numerous sources in the Malbork castle they were accommodated on the ground floor in the southern part of the eastern wing of the first internal ward, in the infirmaries next to the Church of St. Lawrence (the southern wing of the first internal ward). In Königsberg the solution was quite exceptional. Dieners residing there were allowed to have their residential space within the outer wards of the castle (which cannot be proved), but the infirmary where they resided was situated in the territory of the so called *wolnizna* [Burgfreiheit], in the north of the north-east part of the outer ward.

DIENER IM DIENST DES DEUTSCHEN ORDENS IN PREUSSEN  
IN DER 2. HÄLFTE DES 14. UND DER 1. HÄLFTE DES 15. JAHRHUNDERTS.  
ZAHL, UNTERHALT, UNTERKUNFT

Zusammenfassung

**Schlüsselwörter:** Mittelalter, Topografie der Deutschordensburgen, Ordensstaat in Preußen, Ordensdiener

Im spätmittelalterlichen Staat des Deutschen Ordens in Preußen waren Diener zumeist Personen, die aus Ritterfamilien stammten (häufig auch von außerhalb dieses Territoriums) und die von Gebietigern und Amtsträgern aus dem Orden unterhalten wurden (Unterkunft, Verpflegung, Kleidung, Bezahlung). Dafür waren sie zu diplomatischem, militärisch-ritterlichem und höfischem Dienst verpflichtet (Teilnahme an Kriegshandlungen, Besatzung von Burgen, Übermittlung von Informationen, Schutz von Abgesandten und Gästen, Aufklärung in feindlichem Gebiet, Teilnahme an Gefolgszügen usw.). Insgesamt unterhielt in der 1. Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts (nur für diesen Zeitraum existieren Quellenangaben) abgesehen von besonderen Anlässen (Besatzung der Grenzburgen in Memel und Dübau) jeder hohe Würdenträger des Ordens, jeder Komtur und Vogt bis zu mehrere Dutzend Diener. Im gesamten Ordensstaat in Preußen könnte es damals schätzungsweise 450–500 von ihnen gegeben haben.

Die hier durchgeführten Quellenanalysen zu den Ordenshäusern in Marienburg, Schwetz, Elbing oder Brandenburg lassen den Schluss zu, dass den Dienern Unterkünfte in den Gebäuden der Vorburgen zugewiesen wurden. Dabei handelte es sich um Räumlichkeiten, die ausschließlich für ihre Bedürfnisse bestimmt waren oder auch um gesonderte Innenräume für Diener und Knechte in den Krankentrakten der Burgen. Wie aus den relativ zahlreichen Quellen hervorgeht, waren sie in der Hauptfestung Marienburg im Erdgeschoss im südlichen Teil des Ostflügels der geschlossenen Bebauung der ersten, inneren Vorburg untergebracht, außerdem in den Räumlichkeiten des Krankentrakts bei der St.-Laurentius-Kirche (südlicher Bereich der zweiten Vorburg) sowie eventuell im „Palast“ der Hochmeister (Westflügel der ersten, inneren Vorburg). Eine recht unkonventionelle Lösung lässt sich für Königsberg ermitteln. Die dort lebenden Diener können natürlich Wohnräume im Bereich der Vorburg der dortigen Festung besessen haben (was sich jedoch nicht beweisen lässt), der für sie bestimmte Krankentrakt befand sich allerdings auf einem abgabefreien Gelände der Burg, etwas nördlich vom nordöstlichen Teil der Vorburg.

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