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THE STORES OF ARMS IN THE TOWN HALL OF ELBING AT THE BEGINNING OF THE 15TH CENTURY

Our knowledge about the military accessories of Elbing dating from the pre-war period, the time of the Great War between the Teutonic Knights and the Poles in the years 1409-1410 and the following years is quite limited. It is, however, wide compared with the data concerning the other large cities of the former Teutonic State in Prussia and Eastern Pomerania. Besides an inventory of 1413 listing, among others, all the fire arms stored in the town hall of Elbing¹ we have at our disposal an extremely valuable register of the defensive system of the city walls dating back to 1417². The precious source is the new account book of the Old City of Elbing from the period 1404-1414. The book contains accounts of the town's war expenditure³. It is the only material providing accurate information about the expenses borne in connection with the Gotland War of 1404, the Samogitian War of 1405 and successive wars with Poland (1409-1410, 1413, 1414). The document is a supplement to the War Book of Elbing (*Elbinger Kreegsbuch*), which contains data concerning the number of men armed by the town and sent on war expeditions in the years 1383-1409⁴. The new account book of the Old City of Elbing is the only municipal book which can be compared to such preserved account books as *Das Marienburger Tresslerbuch* and *Das Ausgabebuch des Marienburger Hauskomtur*. Those corresponding registers cover a similar period of time, namely from the close of the 14th to the beginning of the 15th century⁵. Therefore the value of the above book cannot be underestimated.

¹ Archiwum Państwowe w Gdańsku (The State Archive in Gdańsk) [further cited as APGd], call number 369, 1/ 789.

² APGd, 369, 1/ 3006. „Registrum de custodia, murorum, turrium atque valvarium Civitatis. Item atmet de in cendio. Item continetur murorum, turrium respectu Civitatis [huius] pacta est hec Ordinaria. De Anno 1417”, pp. 36-53.

³ APGd, 369, 1/ 1378: *Nowa księga rachunkowa Starego Miasta Elbląga 1404-1414 (The New Account Book of the Old City of Elbing 1404-1414)* [further cited as NKR]. Part 1 (1404-1414), Warsaw-Toruń 1987, Part 2 (1411-1414), 1989. Edited by M. Pełecz.

⁴ APGd, 369, 1/ 3005: *Das Elbinger Kriegsbuch* - fragments published by M. Toeppen: „Altpreussische Montaschrift”, Bd 36, 1989, pp. 229-273.

⁵ *Das Marienburger Tresslerbuch der Jahre 1399-1409*,

The citizen book, in which the oldest records date back to 1415, turns out to be very helpful in establishing the identity of many of the people mentioned in the above sources⁶.

1. The Elbing Register of 1417

The register of the defensive system of 1417, listing all the sections, towers and gates of the city walls, was not a description of the condition of those fortifications. It was made in order to organize the defence of Elbing. Groups of citizens were assigned particular wall sections to defend. The town was divided into four quarters. Each quarter was commanded by two representatives of the City Council and four citizens elected from among the people of the quarter. The inhabitants of the quarter were obligated to take care of their section of the walls⁷.

At the end of the 19th century records in the new account book concerning military accessories were examined and published by Max Toeppen in *Elbinger Antiquitäten*⁸ and the above-mentioned

hrsg. von E. J o a c h i m, Königsberg 1869; *Das Ausgabebuch des Marienburger Hauskomturs für die Jahre 1410-1420*, hrsg. von W. Z i e s e m e r, Königsberg 1911; Also cf. A. N o w a k o w s k i, *Arsenale zamków krzyżackich w Prusach w latach 1364-1431 (The Arsenals of Teutonic Castles in Prussia in the Years 1364-1431)*, [in:] *Mediaevalia Archaeologica*, ed. A. N a d o l s k i, Wrocław-Warsaw-Cracow-Gdańsk-Łódź 1986, pp. 49-97.

⁶ APGd, 369, 1/ 131. „Das ist echte buch”; *Das Elbinger Stadtbuch*, Bd I: 1330-1366, hrsg. von H. W. H o p p e, Münster 1976, Bd I: 1361-1417, hrsg. von H. W. H o p p e, Münster 1987.

⁷ See among others M. T o e p p e n, *Register de custodia murorum*, „Altpr. Monatsch.”, Bd 36, 1899; A. S e m r a u, *Beitrag zur Geschichte der Bautätigkeit in der Altstadt Elbing in 13. und 14. Jahrhundert*, „Mitteilungen des Copernicus Vereins für Wissenschaft und Kunst zu Thorn”, Bd 31, 1923; by the same author, *Die Register über Bewachung der Altstadt Elbing aus dem 15. Jahrhundert*, „Mitteil. C. V.”, Bd 29, 1921, pp. 60 seqq.

⁸ M. Toeppen, *Elbinger Antiquitäten. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des städtischen Lebens im Mittelalter*, Heft 1-3, Dantzig 1871-1873 - particularly H. 1, chapter 3: *Kriegsverfassung*, pp. 74-104.

Das Elbinger Kriegsbuch. The researcher discussed the participation of the people of Elbing in the numerous wars, the City Council's war expenditure, the town's military purchases such as fire arms, arbalests, drawing contrivances, arrows, and the townspeople's personal equipment and defensive arms. Toepen mentions the armoury in the Elbing town hall. He cites the relevant data from the period 1410-1413, the inventory of 1413 included⁹. It should be remembered that Grand Master Konrad von Jungingen visited Elbing in 1412 and 1413¹⁰.

In medieval Elbing there were municipal stables and the above armoury. As I have mentioned before, the townspeople were obligated to possess their own arms and armour. However, in written sources there are records concerning expenses borne by the treasurers for home affairs in connection with the purchase of new weapons for the armoury and expenses borne by the treasurers for foreign affairs in connection with the purchase of weapons for war expeditions. In the days of Teutonic rule, the high war commissioner of Elbing (Oberste Kriegsherr) was the Grand Master himself. All war decisions such as munitions for the town's battle-ships and supplies for the crews, joining the Hanseatic League, the participation in the Hanseatic coalition created in order to defend the towns against the pirates of Visby as well as other military undertakings had to be approved by him.

The inhabitants of Elbing came for Lbeck. Therefore when the town was founded, it followed the organization of Lbeck and every man had to join the services in case of war. All the military decrees dating from the period 1383-1409 are recorded in the so-called *Kriegsbuch*, which is a register of the town's military affairs concerning, among others, the war obligations of each citizen. The form of this conscription depended on any given citizen's position in the social hierarchy and his property and possessions. The body of rules which regulated this compulsory enlistment did not differ from those which operated in Teutonic districts. Each conscripted *Wäppner* who could afford it had to turn out for duty armed, dressed in full armour, in a coat mail and on horseback. Going off on an expedition, he had the worth of his steed or loose horse, arms and armour secured in the review register¹¹.

⁹ Ibidem, pp. 88 seqq., see also note 6.

¹⁰ The son of Max Toepen, Robert, writes on this topic in: *Festmahle und Ehrungen den Hohmeistern von der Stadt Elbing gegeben*, „Zeitschrift für Westpreussische Geschichtsverein“, Bd. 39, 1889, pp. 147-158.

¹¹ For instance: the charger Herman from the vicinity of Družno was worth 12 marks (the price may be considered as high). M. T o e p p e n, *Elbingen*, op. cit., H. 3, p. 78. On the field organization of the Teutonic forces „Plattendienst“, „Rosdienst“ and types of arms used see A. N a d o l s k i's study *Grunwald. Problemy wybrane*, (*Grunwald. Selected problems*), Olsztyn 1990, pp. 53 seqq.

2. Weapons in Elbing. According to the Treasurers' Records at the Beginning of the 15th Century

At the beginning of the year 1409, the defensive arms were purchased by the treasurer for home affairs Lyffard von Hervoren. The town hall armoury in Elbing was enriched by four kettle-hats, two suits of English full plate armour, suits of Rhenish half-armour and a pair of rerebraces, twenty one Rhenish breastplates, two coats of mail, as well as two „heavy“ helmets called Frog-mouthed helms (hundskegogel). Twenty seven kettle-hats were handed over to Master Peter, the guard of the armoury. The guards of the armoury were also given two other helmets worth 1.5 marks¹². In the middle of the year 1410, the process of reinforcing the army was intensified. More and more military accessories, mainly crossbows and large guns, were bought. The armoury acquired, among other things, a coat of mail and two helmets worth 4.5 marks altogether and a coat of mail worth half a mark. Part of these arms were probably a gift of Heinrich von Ruden to the Poles¹³. One scotus was spent for the tallow which was used to preserve the kettle-hats and breastplates from corrosion¹⁴. In the following years the city authorities did not give defensive arms much attention, because, as has already been said, each citizen was obligated to turn out for duty in armour in person or send one, two or three substitutes. For instance, Tydeman Nazen (Nase, Naze), who in various priods held office as Municipal Master Builder, Treasurer for Foreign Affairs, Village Administrator and Steward of Balga, had to arm two horsemen¹⁵, and the merchant Hans Vrenwolte put one horseman in the field. The horseman had to be dressed in a coat of mail, a kettle-hat and a pair of iron gauntlets¹⁶. The treasurer for foreign affairs Claus Busdorp (Busdorff) was obligated to provide four soldiers (two of them on horseback). The mayor Arndt (Arnoldus) Ronbir put three armed men in the field and the chief village administrator Heinrich (Heinus) Ronbir provided five armed horsemen etc.¹⁷

Considerable expenses were borne by the city treasury in connection with the purchase of shooting arms and the projectiles. In 1411 18 scoti were spent for fifteen score bolts (*pfile*) and 16 solids for twelve score bow arrows (*scheffte*)¹⁸. In 1412 the treasurer for home affairs Johann Werner bought for the town

¹² NKR, part 1, p. 169, item 783. The pieces of information about the purchases of the armoury and expenditures on military accessories should be treated as examples selected from the new account book of the Old City of Elbing, and not as an estimate or some relative characteristics of the whole stock.

¹³ Ibidem, p. 227, item 1044.

¹⁴ Ibidem, p. 227, item 1045.

¹⁵ Her Tyde Nase - 2 harnisch, 2 equos. See APGd 369, 1/3006. *Registrum de custodia...*, p. 36.

¹⁶ Ibidem, p. 37.

¹⁷ Ibidem, p. 46.

¹⁸ NKR, part 2, p. 10, item 1172.

hall armoury 96 score bolts i. e. 1920 arrows for 8 marks. The carter Gabriel was paid 3 marks and 6 scoti for the transport¹⁹. Shooting arms were in widespread use at that time. They required different types of accessories, drawing devices and repairs. At the close of the 14th and the beginning of the 15th century bows were frequently replaced with arbalests²⁰. From the year 1404 onwards, or even before this date, the town armoury had been buying drawing mechanisms (*spangordel*) and stretching mechanisms (*krapen*). The scribe Johannes was paid half a mark for a crossbow with a drawer²¹. A new battle arbalest was worth 1 mark and four drawers and four stretchers 16 scoti. An interesting description of a large wooden infantry shield with two or three iron spikes for fixing in the ground, equipped with buckles or leather handles on the inside, called *strumwand*²² or *stormtartz*, also dates from the year 1404. The shield had an observational opening for watching the foreground. The opening had tin fittings and the edges were reinforced with iron. Two such shields were worth 5 scoti²³. The inventory of 1413 lists 68 shields „to be placed on the walls”²⁴.

The heaviest expenses were connected with the purchase of artillery potential. In the Gotland War Elbing provided several small-calibre guns firing lead projectiles (*lotbüchse*), because new cannons bought in Gdańsk for 100 marks did not arrive on the battlefield²⁵. Even before the Battle of Grunwald, in 1410, the founder (*klokkenger*) Hermann from Lidzbark Warmiński sold a large gun firing stone balls (*buchsensteine*) and three small-calibre *lotbüchsen* for 7 marks and 8 scoti²⁶. A demolition gun over 5.5 hundredweights in mass (over 300 kg) was worth 17 marks²⁷. To transport the gun, two undercarriages were bought for 17 scoti (1414)²⁸. In 1410, a lot of money was spent on heavy guns, or rather on the

material: 20 hundredweights and 52 pounds of copper cost 53 marks 15 scoti and 17 phennigs. The founders were paid 36 marks and the gunners 30 and a half marks. All the guns required balls and gunpowder. 66 score (1320) small and big balls were bought for 43 marks 19 and a half scoti and the chief village administrator Jakub Kalle (Kalen, Kallen) was paid 67 marks 21 scoti for about 18 and a half hundredweights of gunpowder (2 *schippunt*, 7 *lispunt* and 7 *markpunt* i. e. about 425 kg)²⁹. Therefore the expenses were considerable. The master carpenter Johann, who worked for the Commander of Elbing, made the barrel supports (*bussenstelle*). The sieve for sieving the gunpowder (*zeve*) was worth 2 scoti. The town bought also bowls (*molden*) and other tubs for storing the gunpowder in (*stotte*). The saltpetre which was imported from Lbeck cost 4 marks and 8 scoti. 11 marks were spent for a dozen or so pounds of sulphur. 22 sacks of gunpowder were bought for 16 scoti, three barrels of gunpowder for 9 solids and 240 gun tenons or bungs (*propen*) for 5 scoti³⁰. The city's arsenal was enriched by 1320 big and small balls and 15 gun mounts for guns firing lead projectiles. Those purchases cost 42 scoti³¹.

In 1411 the city bore the following expenses connected with the purchase of artillery. A founder was paid 62 marks for casting one large gun and 14 *lotbüchsen*³². The carpenter Plotin was given one and a half marks for the oak gun mount for this cannon. He was also paid 20 denarii and 4 scoti for other gun mounts for guns in the armoury, which „up velt to her Oltmans [the councillor Heinrich Altman – A. Ch.] upelt Rathus unde dat holt”. In the same year a few marks were spent for other oak gun mounts, barrel supports and the transport³³. Some barrels were also carried from ships to the armoury³⁴.

In 1414 the city's artillery potential was supplemented with a large demolition gun 12 and a half hundredweights (625 kg) in overall mass, which was ordered in and transported from Gdańsk. It was also estimated that every hundredweight of the mass cost 5 marks and 3 scoti. In the armoury there were also other weapons bought in Gdańsk: seven guns firing stone projectiles and ten big and 13 smaller *lotbüchsen* worth 69 marks 8 scoti and 9 phennigs. 41 stone projectiles for the large cannon cost 2 marks 9 scoti and 24 phennigs. A half stone (of Toruń?) and 13 pounds of gunpowder were worth 4 marks 4 scoti and 24 phennigs. A barrel of sulphur was bought from Tideman Schulten for 10 marks and 18 scoti. The volume

¹⁹ Ibidem, p. 38, item 1265. In the same source there is information about repairs on the hauberk and Houndskull (Pig faced basnet) of a Mr Werner [Werner von Tettingen, Grand Hospitaller and Commander of Elbing - A. Ch.] and the purchase of a silver mug for 2 1/4 marks from Wawrzyniec the goldsmith for the same commander.

²⁰ A. N a d o l s k i, M. L e w a n d o w s k i, *Broń strzelcza (Shooting Arms)*, [in:] *Uzbrojenie w Polsce średniowiecznej 1350-1450 (Arms and Armour in Medieval Poland 1350-1450)*, ed. A. N a d o l s k i, Łódź 1990, pp. 143-178.

²¹ NKR, part 1, p. 16, item 67.

²² A. N o w a k o w s k i, *Uzbrojenie ochronne. Tarcze (Defensive Arms. Shields)*, [in:] *Uzbrojenie w Polsce (Arms and Armour in Poland)*, p. 94.

²³ NKR, part 1, p. 17, item 67: „Item dy 2 stormtartzten to beslau, vor krampen unden und blech vor dy venster, und dullen”.

²⁴ APGd 369, 1/ 789, p. 5: „Item do bi sin 68 setcze schilde uff dy mure”.

²⁵ M. T o e p p e n, *Elbinger*, H. 3, p. 88.

²⁶ NKR, part 1, p. 217, item 1005.

²⁷ M. T o e p p e n, *Elbinger*, p. 88.

²⁸ NKR, part 2, p. 84, item 1449.

²⁹ M. T o e p p e n, *Elbinger*, p. 89.

³⁰ NKR, part 1, p. 229, item 1051.

³¹ Ibidem, p. 230, item 1051.

³² Ibidem, part 2, p. 10, item 1171.

³³ Ibidem, p. 31, item 1251, for instance: „Item vor 2 eken tymmer to furenvort Rathus vor 8 stücke holtes to dem groten bussen [a great gun] 3 1/2 sc.”

³⁴ Ibidem, p. 31.

of the barrel measured 14 stones and 10 pounds. A stone of sulphur (15 lbs.) cost 18 scoti. At Tolkmicko there was a gunpowder mill. The master Degener, who probably worked in the mill, was paid 8 marks³⁵. It seems that the blacksmith Vasolt made two iron ladles feeding the large cannon from Gdańsk with gunpowder. The ladles cost 8 scoti³⁶.

3. The Place of the Town Hall Armoury

We do not have much information about the town hall of Elbing, one of the most important buildings of the town. *The Elbing Chronicle (Elbinger Chronik)* by Peter Himmelreich contains only an incomplete, fragmentary, medieval history of that seat of the Town Council³⁷. According to the chronicler, the building, which was subsequently added to, stood in Elbing as early as in 1319. It was situated in the eastern row of houses standing along Main Track. Opposite was St Nicholas' Church³⁸. An attempt at a reconstruction of the medieval and modern town hall was only made in 1834 (the town hall does not exist any more). The author of the reconstruction, which was quoted until 1993, was Ferdynant Neuman, an archivist and local historiographer (1791-1869). Neuman used an 18th century description of the rooms of the town hall. On the basis of his findings as well as on the basis archaeological and architectural researches conducted under the supervision of the late Tadeusz Nawrołski in 1993 we can attempt to reconstruct both the appearance of the outer mass of the town hall and the disposition of the inner rooms.

Near the main entrance to the town hall was a separate staircase leading to the spacious and high cellars. In the cellars there was a long, dark room called the *Kolhlenkamera*, which had previously served as a small armoury. A little farther was the room of the excise office, and finally the treasury (*Trösel*)

³⁵ Ibidem, p. 78, item 1429. The following measures of weight should be adopted:

1 Zentner = 5 thornische Steine = 120 Markpfund

1 Schiffpund = 20 Lispfund

1 Lispfund = 18 Pfund = 20 Markpfund.

See NKR, *Pruski system monetarny i miar (Prussian Coinage and the Measuring System)* p. XXXI.

³⁶ Ibidem, part 2, p. 95, item 1490.

³⁷ P. H i m m e l r e i c h, *Elbinger Chronik*, hrsg. von M. T o e p p e n, [in:] *Die Preussischen Geschichtsschreiber des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig 1881, pp. 1-27.

³⁸ Himmelreich lists successive dates from the history of the town hall: 1332 – casting and fixing the bell in the town hall tower; 1367 – the construction of a new tower roofed with a spire covered with sheets of lead (for about 70 marks), the old tower still stood in 1383. In 1399 the gilded hand of the clock was mended by Strengener the goldsmith. The Elbing chronicler Christoph Falk mentions the enlargement of the town hall in 1556 – M. T o e p p e n, *op. cit.*, H. 2, pp. 200-203.

„with a fireproof vault, in which documents and authentic privileges are stored”³⁹.

On the storey above (or on the high ground floor), on the right side of the staircase there was a long hall whose windows looked out into the market place. In the summer the hall was a meeting-place for the Inferior Class (in the winter the meetings took place in the so-called Wet Room). The windows of the Room of the Council, which had a vaulted roof, looked out onto the other side of the building. In the winter, also the sessions of the court were held in this room. Next to it, there was the office, where the secretary of the council and the notaries worked. Each of them worked in his own cabinet, separate from the rest. One of the office doors led to the old office serving as the archive. Facing the town hall from the front of Kowalska Street, at the left side of the building there was the so-called old town hall, „which used to be leased to citizens in Polish times”⁴⁰. At the right side there was the so-called Long House, namely the cloth hall. The ground floor was occupied by merchant stalls. On the first floor there was the Summer Hall (Sommerhaus), where Sate councils were held and banquets given for important guests. Next to the town hall was a spice garden. According to mentions dating from the beginning of the 15th century, the tables on which spices grown in the garden were arranged would be used when the lords of the Old City received the lords from the New City and regaled their guests with *einem frckliche Trunk gethan*⁴¹.

During the excavations mentioned above, Tadeusz Nawrołski uncovered the foundations and partition walls of the cellars of a building (10 metres by 25) situated perpendicular to the cloth hall. The cellars, probably with an arched vault, have not yet been mentioned in the sources. The building was dated at a period after 1384⁴².

The above general topography of the buildings and rooms of the town hall can be compared with the inventory of 1413. In order that they can more easily be compared with the text of the source they have been numbered from 1 to 9. They are as follows:

1) „in the peculiar treasury of the town hall there is an abundance of gunpowder, sulphur, coal and weights”, 2) in the scales room – nothing, 3) before the scales room 4) in the cloth hall, in a small room on the right side, 5) at an unspecified place of the town hall, 6) in the inner room (the treasury, the office?), 7) in the Summer Hall of the cloth hall, 8) in the Room of the Council, 9) in the stores of the attic.

³⁹ The inside of the treasury was reinforced in the 14th and the 15th centuries: NKR, part 2, p. 18, item 1193: „Item 2 arbeydern 10 [dage] lon, de den calk unde stene loden, dar de tresel mede gemurt wart, maket 16 sc.” – the thick type is the author's.

⁴⁰ M. T o e p p e n, *Elbinger*, H. 2, p. 205.

⁴¹ Ibidem, p. 206.

⁴² T. N a w r o ł s k i, *Ratusz odnaleziony (The Town Hall Found)*, „Spotkania z Zabytkami”, No. 9, pp. 7-10.

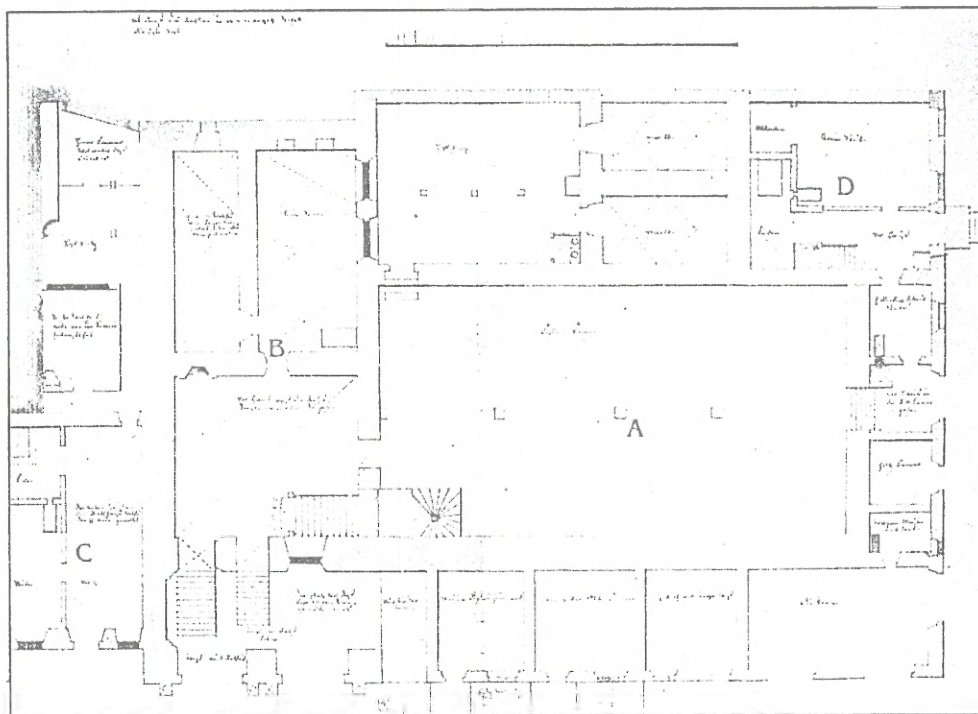


Fig. 1. Reconstruction of the town hall complex made by F. Neumann in 1834: A – „Long House” (The Cloth Hall), B – „new town hall”, C – „old town hall”, D – the scribe’s house.

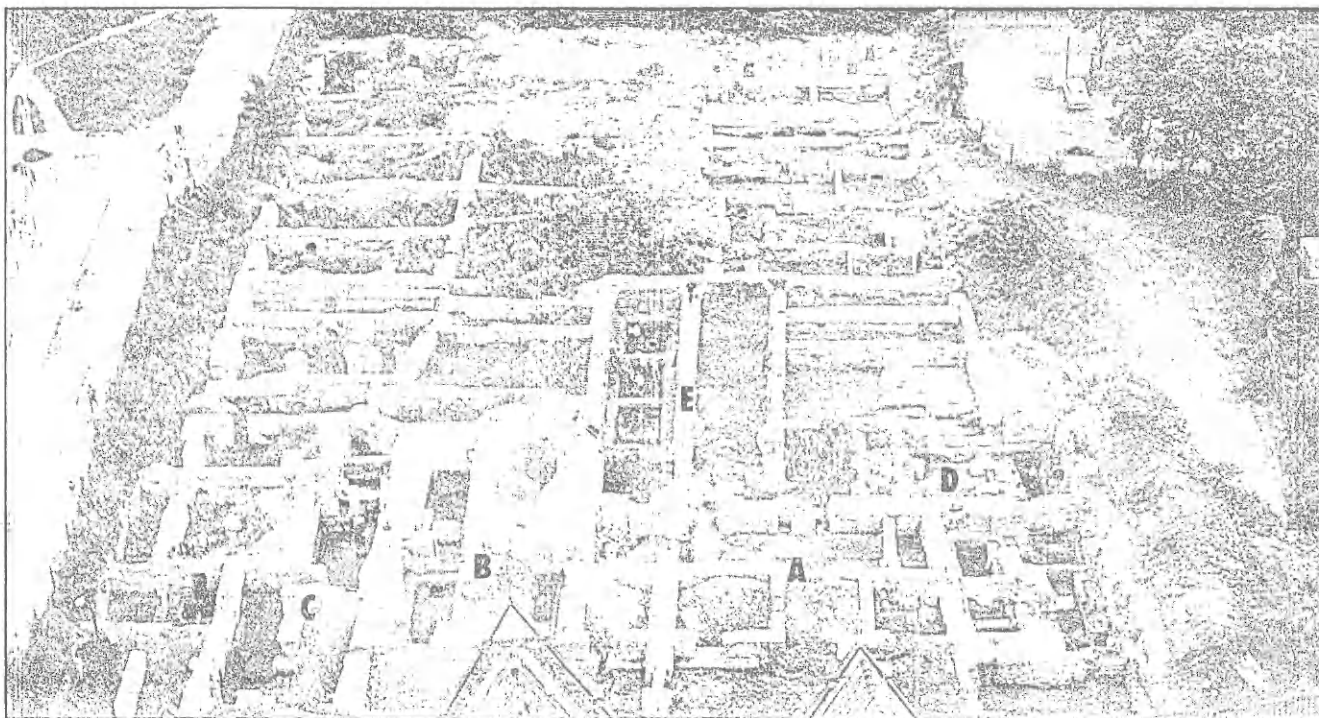


Fig. 2. Unearthed walls of the town hall complex: A – „Long House” (The Cloth Hall), B – „new town hall”, C – „old town hall”, D – the scribe’s house, E – unidentified building added on to The Cloth Hall.

4. The Inventory of the Military Accessories and Different Things in the Town Hall of Elbing Made in 1413

The inventory with the title *Dys register gehoret an den burgermeyster* was compiled in 1413. The title was given by the inspectors, whose names have not been preserved. They made a list from nature of the objects found in the town hall. Probably this was neither the first nor the last inventory of the town hall.

As early as in 1411, some building works started. The stone bench standing in the town hall's treasury was strengthened. At that time, the treasury was transformed into the store of war materials.

1. In the town hall's treasury⁴⁵ there were four barrels of saltpetre, four barrels of gunpowder, probably three other full barrels and two barrels which were only half full. The sulphur was stored in three barrels: one of the barrels was three-quarters full and two barrels were half full. There were two barrels of bolts (bolen), half a barrel of gunpowder, a tied up sack of gunpowder, and another barrel of sulphur 10 and a half stones in mass⁴⁶. The high prices of saltpetre and sulphur justify placing the materials in the room of the treasury. In the treasury there were also 21 *kopperyne steinbuchszen*, i. e. small-calibre red bronze barrels firing stone balls, and 24 *lotbüchsen* – small-calibre guns firing lead projectiles. The latter were kept „in one coffer, in which also fuses with hooks and iron bungs were stored”.

2. In the scales chamber, on the way to the treasury, nothing was taken down⁴⁷.

3. Before the scales chamber⁴⁸ the inspectors took down two large guns and the third gun, the biggest of them.

4. Rifle hooks, among other things, caught the inspectors attention in the „summer house”, i. e. in the cloth hall⁴⁹. In the first coffer for storing the cloth in there were 800 small stone balls, in the second coffer 44 a bit bigger balls and in the third coffer 162 still bigger projectiles. There were also four smaller coffers containing various „buchszen gereth” for cannons. In the coffer standing on the right side of the room there were 62 large-calibre balls. The 68 massive shields mentioned above („setcze schilde uff dy mure”) had also been taken down⁵⁰. In the cloth hall there were also two old and two new gun mounts for large guns, 13 normal *buchszenladen*, 11 barrel rests (*buchszen gestelle* – trestles?), 13 large borers for bo-

⁴³ APGd 369, 1/789: „...in dem sunderlichen Tresel des Rathauses”.

⁴⁴ See note 39.

⁴⁵ APGd 369, 1/789, p. 2.

⁴⁶ 1 stone of Toruń = 25 lbs. = about 10 kg.

⁴⁷ APGd 369, 1/789, p. 4.

⁴⁸ Ibidem.

⁴⁹ Ibidem, p. 5.

⁵⁰ Ibidem, p. 6.

ring barrels, iron tongs for firing stone projectiles from guns, an anchor, *Zuker* (an unexplained object), a rod for ramming down the charge, a mint stamp or a trademark stamp with an image of a ship, and a tent (?) – an object described as „eine gegetwethe hut”.

5. In the town hall building⁵¹ there were four large infantry shields, 14 cases for arrows fastened to the shields, one big and two normal drawing mechanisms.

6. Some tin utensils were stored in the treasurer's room: 14 big and four small jugs, 23 salt cellars or sauce boats (*salsirgen*) and 27 dishes⁵². There were also 16 pickaxes⁵³, an iron hoop and two swords used for executions⁵⁴.

7. In the Summer Hall of the cloth hall the following objects were taken down: five heavy crossbows with pulley drawers (*windearmbrost*), 171 lighter crossbows for defending walls with lever stretchers (*wilarmbrost*) and other crossbows with strings stretched by means of hooks (*spanarmbrost*)⁵⁵, two kettle-hats, two basnets, two suits of full armour, a breastplate, three coats of mail, two houndskulls (Pig faced basnets), two battle hatchets (axes). I shall add that a Rhenish kettle hat and a cuirass were hung on one of the walls during the Grand Master's visit to Elbing in 1407. At that time, the hall was redecorated and fitted with a haircloth wall covering⁵⁶.

8. The following silver utensils belonged to the council benches in the town hall⁵⁷: three cups (chalices), a tub or a bowl, 12 spoons, a tub for spices (*kru-denab*), further, two red bronze bowls with ears, an *hantfas* – a water container for washing the hands during a feast, three „right” candlesticks, four new tin jugs, three iron tubs, 16 half-litre jugs, 18 tin bottles, a tin jug for drinks and a little jug.

9. In the stores of the town hall's attic⁵⁸ there were 1176 score bolts (23520 arrows). Among them

⁵¹ Ibidem, p. 8.

⁵² Ibidem.

⁵³ NKR, part 2, p. 94, item 1485. In 1414 a new pickaxe – *steinbicke* (?) was bought from the Elbing blacksmith Stegener (Stregener) for 3 scoti.

⁵⁴ Ibidem, p. 38, item 1265; p. 87, item 1460. In 1412 the executioner's sword was also purchased for 2 scoti and in 1414 two Rhenish swords for executions were bought for 6 scoti.

⁵⁵ At the same time, it is hard to say whether these were crossbows or crossbows and the drawing mechanisms; according to me, both arbalests and the mechanisms were taken down. In Teutonic sources the term *spangurtel* was used to denote a hook for a crossbow fixed to the archer's belt, thus, the word *spanarmbrost* would mean „a crossbow with a hook” or „a crossbow drawn by means of such a hook”. A similar remark refers also to the names of the types of crossbows listed in the inventory. See also A. Nowakowski, *Uzbrojenie wojsk krzyżackich w Prusach w XIV w i na początku XV w. (Arms and Armour of the Teutonic Forces in Prussia in the 14th and at the Beginning of the 15th Centuries)*, „Acta Archaeologica Lodziensia”, 29, Łódź 1980, pp. 122 seqq.

⁵⁶ NKR, part 1, p. 87, item 427.

⁵⁷ APGd 369, 1/789, p. 11.

⁵⁸ Ibidem, p. 13.

were 150 score new bolts, 150 score unfeathered bolts (made of flat narrow pieces of linden wood), 21 score arrows for pulley arbalests and 4500 bow arrows – just to mention a few items listed in the inventory. The inspectors found also an iron file, a tin jug and steel jug, two hatchets and a lance (or a javelin) for examining the contents of the lime-kiln.

The last items mentioned in the inventory were three great locks for the town gates⁵⁹. It may be suspected that in 1413, as a result of the inspection, the host of the armoury was recommended and obligated to buy four keys: three coffer keys and a key to the store room for 2 scoti and 20 phennigs⁶⁰.

5. Conclusion

So far the inventory of the armoury of the Elbing town hall has been underestimated. But the military accessories enumerated in the register could not correspond to the town's military potential at that time. The arms in the town hall had been gathered for ages and it is hard to say whether and to what extent the stock of weapons was enriched after the great war of 1409-1410 (especially after the departure of the armed troops commanded by the Grand Hospitaller of the Order). The curtailed stocks may have been supplemented at that time, as in the new account book of the Old City there are expenses connected with the purchase of arms and armour, artillery guns included. One of the reasons for those expenditures was the enlargement of the defensive system of the town. The construction of the new extensions was initiated by the townspeople in 1410. The fortifications were well adapted to defending the city against artillery fire. After the lost war, the Teutonic Knights had an interest in building up the city defences, which they had strongly opposed before⁶¹. The building of the fortifications (one kilometre in length), consisting of, among other things, nine cylindrical towers, the second, outer, line of city walls preceded by a moat, and a barbican was started near Targowa Gate at the end of 1410⁶².

The relevant source material documents the existence of foundries working for Elbing in Gdańsk and Lidzbark Warmiński at that time. Efforts were made to produce various kinds of firearms, which were modern weapons for the contemporaries. Demolition guns, larger and smaller bombards, terrace guns and harquebuses with hooks were made. One of the guns ordered in Gdańsk in 1414 was said to be 12 and a half hundredweights in mass, i. e. 1240 lbs. Therefore it must have been an impressive gun firing

stone projectiles up to 400 pounds in mass. In the Elbing armoury there were many various calibre harquebuses. The hooks were stored in separate boxes. A specimen from the municipal armoury of Berno dated at 1415 and reproduced by Hartmut Boockmann is an example of such an arbalest with the fixed on a wooden gun mount⁶³.

The stone projectiles which were described as small were contrasted with the greater calibre projectiles, which is evidence of the existence of at least three kinds of different calibre guns. According to Volker Schmidtchen, in the 14th century, the light gun was the 12-20(cm)-bore gun, the heavy gun was the 25-45-bore gun, the very heavy gun was the 50-80-bore gun. All guns firing lead projectiles were characterized by the barrel below 12 cm in diameter⁶⁴.

Besides the firearms and the projectiles in the armoury of Elbing there were stores of arrows and arbalests. It is hard to say whether the weapons were distributed among the townspeople obligated to defend particular sections of the city walls during wars (in peacetime, the townspeople would practise the accuracy of shooting at the shooting range)⁶⁵. Besides, some cities used to employ mercenary contingents. Part of the stocks may have been used to reinforce such troops enlisted in case of war.

6. Annexe.

The Inventory of 1413 of the Town Hall of Elbing

The contemporary title of the inventory: *Dys register gehoret an den burgermeyster*, seems to hint at the possibility of the existence of many documents of this type. However, only this register has been preserved in the collections of Elbing sources.

The language of this document resembles that of the new account book of the Old City of Elbing dating from the period 1404-1414. This is the Low German language and the High German language with some elements of the Low German language.

The source has been edited by the method presented by Johannes Schutze, Friedrich Benninghoven and accepted by Markian Pelech⁶⁶. The text has

⁵⁹ H. B o o c k m a n n, *Die Stadt im späten Mittelalter*, München 1994 (3. Aufl.), Kat. 52, p. 40.

⁶⁰ V. S c h m i d t t c h e n, *Die Feuerwaffen des Deutschen Ritterordens bis zur Schlacht bei Tanenberg 1410. Bestände, Funktion und Kosten. Dargestellt anhand der Wirtschaftsbücher des Ordens von 1374 bis 1410*, Lüneburg 1977, pp. 12 and 20. For further information about firearms in the Middle Ages see M. G ł o s e k, *Broń palna (Firearms)*, [in:] *Uzbrojenie w Polsce (Arms and Armour in Poland)*, pp. 155-164.

⁶¹ A. N a d o l s k i, *Grunwald. Problemy wybrane (Grunwald. Selected Problems)*, Olsztyn 1990, p. 43.

⁶² J. S c h u l t z e (ed.), *Richtlinien für äuseere Textgestaltung bei Herausgabe von Quellen zur Neueren deutschen Geschichte*, „Blätter für deutsche Landesgeschichte”, 98, 1962, pp. 1-11; F. B e n n i n g h o v e n (ed.), *Das Stadtbuch von Schwetz 1374-1454*, „Zeitschrift für Ostforschung”, 21, 1972, pp. 45 seqq.; M. P e l e c h (ed.), *NKR, op. cit.*, pp. XVI-XVIII.

⁵⁹ Ibidem, p. 14.

⁶⁰ NKR, part 2, p. 60, item 1341.

⁶¹ For more details see M. P e l e c h, *Die Teilnahme der Altstadt Elbing am Grossen Krieg (1409-1411) und ihre während des Krieges Erhaltenen Schäden*, „Beitrag zur Geschichte Westpreussen”, 10, 1987, p. 52.

⁶² See among others A. S e m r a u, *Die Register*, pp. 60 seqq.

been copied *verbatim*, except for the numerals. The original Roman numerals have been replaced with Arabic numerals. All the letters *e* and *o* with diacritics have been placed after those letters, *u* and *v* have been standardized, e. g. *und* not *vnd*, similarly, *i* and *j* have been standardized as *i*, all the grammatical mistakes have been retained, capital letters have been placed at the beginning of the sentences (items) and names. The corrections in square brackets are the author's.

The supplement to the Inventory is a glossary of some more difficult terms and words. The entries are spelt after the source version.

Translated by Zuzanna Poklewska-Parra

Dys register gehoret an den burgermeyst

- p. 2 [1] dis nochgeschreiben das ist geflegen in dem sun derlichen Tresel des Rathauses.
Indes erste 4 tonnen salpeter.
Item 4 tonnen pulvers also 3 gancze tonnen unde 2 halbe tonnen.
Item 3 virdel van 1 tonnen swefel dar is in 2 halbe tonnen.
Item 2 tonnen bolen.
Item 1/2 tonne mit loten dor an is ein sak mit pulver gebunden.
Item 1 tonne swebels dy wyged 10 1/2 stein minus 3 adir 4 pfunt.
Item 21 kopperynne steinbuchszen.
Item 24 lotbuchszen in ayner kysten und dor selbst sint auch inne entezunde haken und proppen und proppe yseren.
- p. 4 [2] Hir volget dy Pfunkamer.
[3] Item vor der Pfunkamer.
Item so sin do 2 buchszen gliche gros.
Item 1 das is dy grosseste so sin do mittenander 3.
- p. 5 [4] Hir volget das Gewanthus.
Ins erste uff dy rechtehant do is ein klein kemerlin und dor is inne mancherleye gerethe unde ysenwerck also hoken czu buchszen ^a.
Item do sin do folgende in den gewandkysten buchszensteine.
Item 13 schok unde 20 kleine buchszensteine in deme ersten kysten.
Item do selbst ist inne 44 buchszensteine, ein wenick grosser wen dy ersten. Item in deme andern kasten doby do sein inne 2 schok und 42 buchszensteine abir grosser donne dy ersten und dy andern. Item do selbst inne sin 4 laden adir kleine kysten do der buchszen gerethe mane cherleye inne is. Item do kein ober uff dy linkehant. In deme ersten kasten do sin inne. Steine czu den grosten buchszen 1 schok und 2 steine. Item do bi sin 68 setcze schilde uff dy mure.
- p. 6. Hir volget dy buchszenladen in deme Gewandhuse.
Ersten so sin do aldeladen. Item 2 grosse nie laden. Item der gemeinen laden der sin 13. Item so sin do 11 buchszen gestelle. Item so sin do 13 grosse nefeger dy roren do mete czu boren. Item 1 grosse yserne czange czu steinen. Item 1 ancker. Item 1 zucker. Item 1 pulver klotz. Item 1 pffenning klotz in dy frederchiff. Item eine gegerwethe.
- p. 8 [5] Hir volget uff deme Rathuse.
Item sin do 4 setcze tarzczzen. Item 14 schu mit pfilen by den tarzczzen hengende. Item 3 winden eine grosse und 2 gemeine.
[6] Item in der kamerer Kamer van binnen do is inne. Item 14 grosse czinnen fasse. Item 4 kleyne czinne vasse. Item 23 czinnen salsirgen. Item 27 czinnen muschofflen. Item 16 steinbicken und auch sin do grosse iserne reyfen. Item 2 richteswerte.
- p. 9 [7] Item in deme Somerhuse.
Ersten 5 grosse windearbrost. Item wilarmbrost und spanarmbrost durch den andern sr 1 1/2 ^{cXXI}^a. Item 2 ysenhutte. Item 2 huben. Item 1 borst. Item 2 beinharlich. Item 3 panczer. Item 2 hundeskoglen.
Item 2 polle exen.
- p. 11 [8] Hir volget dy Rathstone.
Item so sin do 3 zilbern koppe. Item 1 silbern schale. Item 12 silbern leffel. Item 1 silbern krudenab. Item 2 messing handbecken. Item 1 gross becken. Item 1 hantfas. Item 3 eren luchter. Item 4 grosse czinem kannen. Item 3 stell konchen. Item 16 halbe stoffkanne. Item 18 czinen flasschen. Item 1 czinen schenke kannen. Item 1 kleine kenchen.
- p. 13 [9] Hir volget was oben uff deme Rathuse uff der locht is.
Item 16 schok pfile. Item 40 schok pfile. Item 50 schok ungefeder. Item 50 schok nuerpfile. Item 74 schok pfile. Item 100 schok pfile. Item 73 schok pfile. Item 7 schok windearmbrost pfile. Item 15 schok scheffte. Item 60 schok scheffte. Item 1 czinnen unde 1 stelen kanne. Item 1 yserene helde. Item 2 pol exen. Item 1 grunt adir kalk spis.
- p. 14 Item so haben dy kemerer van binnen 3 grosse slos dy gehoren czu den stat thoren.

^a abbr., a special sign denoting *coram* - before everyone's eyes.

^a I have retained the source spelling of the number.

**Glossary
of the More Difficult Terms and Words**

adir, oder	or
aldeladen	old gun supports
ancker	anchor, tie
beinharnisch (bynharnach, binharnsch)	full plate armour
borst, brust	breastplate
bol, bolen	bolt, bolts
buchse, buchsen	gun barrel, barrels
buchsensteine	stone projectiles for cannons
buchsen gestelle	gun barrel rests
buchsenladen	gun barrel supports, carriages
czange	tongs
czinnen fasse	tin jugs, tubs
doby	deep
entezunde	fuse
virdel	quart
flaschen	bottles
gancz, gancze	whole
geissfuspanne	lever with a hook for drawing the crossbow, the <i>goat's leg</i>
gemeinen laden	ordinary gun barrel mounts
gewandkysten	coffers used for storing cloth in
Gewandhus	Cloth Hall
haken	hooks
halbe stofkanne	jugs holding about half a litre of liquid
handbecken	buckets with ears
hantfas	a water container for washing the hands during a feast
held, helde	file
hoken czu buchssen	hooks for barrels
huben	basnets (type of helm)
hundeskogeln	Houndskull („Pig faced basnet”)
hut	tent (?)
kamerlin	a little room
kannen, kanen	jug
kasten	coffers
koppe (zilbern)	cups chalices (silver)
kopperynne	made of copper
kropen	stretchers for crossbows
krude	spices
krudenab	tub for spices
kysten	coffers
lade, laden	coffer, coffers
lotbuchsen	barrel firing lead balls, light cannon
luchter	candlestick
mure	wall
musschofflen	spades for manure
nefeger dy roren	borer for barrels
puluer klotz	rod for ramming down the charge
phenning klotz in dy frederschiff	stamp with an image of a ship
pfilen	arrows
pfuntkammer	scales room, scales chamber
polle exen	battle hatchets (axes)
proppen	tenons or bungs
proppe ysern	iron tenons or bungs
puluer	gunpowder
Rathstonne	council room, Room of the Council
reyfen	hoops
richterwert	executioner's axe
sak	sack
salpeter	saltpetre
salsirgen	salt cellars, sauce boats (?)
schale	tub
scheffte	bow arrow
schenke kannen	jug for drinks
setcze schilde, setzschild	large infantry shield often with spikes for fixing in the ground
schok	threescore
schu mit pfilen	quiver, a case for holding arrows
slos	gate lock
spanarmbrost	light crossbows with stirrup drawing mechanisms (by means of stirrups and leather straps)

steinbicken	pickaxes for hewing stone
steinbuchen	heavy gun firing stone balls
stelen konchen	small steel bucket
swefel, swebels	sulphur
tonne	barrel
tresel	treasury
wilarmbrost	medium-light arbalest with a lever stretcher
winden	jacks, pulley drawing mechanisms for arbalests
windearmbrost, wyndearmbrust	heavy arbalests with pulley drawing mechanisms for defending walls
wyget	weighs
ysenhutte	kettle-hat (type of helm)
zucker	pointed bar (?)