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## Quaestiones Medii Aevi Novae

vol. 18 + 2013

+ *KINGS IN CAPTIVITY*

+ *MACROECONOMY: ECONOMIC GROWTH*

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# Quaestiones Medii Aevi Novae

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♦ *KINGS IN CAPTIVITY*

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GERD ALTHOFF  
MÜNSTER

## BISHOPS AT THE COURT OF HENRY II. FORMAL AND INFORMAL PRACTICES OF PRODUCING DECISIONS



I have long been interested – and am increasingly more so – in the norms and rules according to which political dynamics actually functioned, the ways in which monarchy, nobility, and Church actually worked together<sup>1</sup>. Research during the last decade has clearly emphasized that these dynamics had a public sphere, in which the existing power structures and relationships were staged in a predominantly ritual manner, and by means of this staging became accepted reality<sup>2</sup>.

In addition to and distinct from this public sphere, it is also possible to observe a sphere of processes of negotiation and of preparatory negotiations, dominated by confidentiality and to which only a limited and difficult to define group of decision-makers had access<sup>3</sup>. The logic and semantics of action in the public rituals seems to have been largely elucidated by now. But there is little knowledge of the rules according to which the prior processes of negotiation took place, whether there even were any prevailing rules there at all that would have governed the actions of those making decisions.

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1 Cf. G. Althoff, *Spielregeln der Politik im Mittelalter. Kommunikation in Frieden und Fehde*, Darmstadt 1997; idem, *Rechtsgewohnheiten und Spielregeln der Politik im Mittelalter*, in: *Gewohnheit, Gebot, Gesetz: Normativität in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Eine Einführung*, ed. N. Jansen, P. Oestmann, Tübingen 2011, pp. 27-52.

2 Cf. G. Althoff, *Die Macht der Rituale. Symbolik und Herrschaft im Mittelalter*, Darmstadt 2012<sup>2</sup>.

3 Cf. G. Althoff, *Verwandtschaft, Freundschaft, Klientel. Der schwierige Weg zum Ohr des Herrschers*, in: idem, *Spielregeln der Politik...*, pp. 185-198; idem, *Colloquium familiare – colloquium secretum – colloquium publicum. Beratung im politischen Leben des früheren Mittelalters, "Frühmittelalterliche Studien" XXIV (1990)*, pp. 145-167.

For this reason, I believe, it is especially important to intensify the effort to illuminate this important phase of medieval politics. This is difficult, not least, because only rarely do the sources that have come down to us lift the veil of confidentiality with which the actors themselves covered their activities in these cases.

Over and over again, it has been obvious that in the Middle Ages decisive measures that lay down a specific direction must have been prepared confidentially. But the question of who was in a position to influence decisions secretly, with which arguments this took place, and which rules applied – if any – for the exertion of influence, generally remain hidden from us. In this area the state of our knowledge, in my opinion, is still very unsatisfactory, which, as mentioned above, is due not least to the sources that have come down to us.

As a rule, we are sufficiently informed about neither the content, nor the forms, nor the rules of the political activities that concerned the informal part of the political dynamic. It often appears as if this sphere was dominated by the king's capriciousness, or the dictatorship of networks or favorites. The danger of modern misunderstandings seems especially grave here, for the foreignness of the Middle Ages becomes particularly evident in this area.

I would like to draw some attention to this problem and cut the first paths into this dense forest. To this end I shall make use of the fact that in Saxony in 1010 there was an author at work who, for various reasons, was particularly attentive to the informal spheres of specific processes of political decision-making: Thietmar von Merseburg<sup>4</sup>. He and his bishopric had already been burned, so to speak, for they had been deeply affected by informal processes within the political dynamic; this was true of both bishop and bishopric.

He himself was a part of the networks of nobles who were not exactly in the favor of Henry II, but had also profited no small measure from Henry II<sup>5</sup>. The bishopric of Merseburg had, namely, been dissolved and had been re-founded by Henry II. In other words, its existence during this time period was by no means uncontested. It is thus no wonder that this observer, more than others, tends to speak of the background of decision-making processes<sup>6</sup>.

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4 Cf. H. Lippelt, *Thietmar von Merseburg. Reichsbischof und Chronist*, Mitteldeutsche Forschungen, LXXII, Köln-Wien 1973.

5 Cf. S. Weinfurter, *Heinrich II. Herrscher am Ende der Zeiten*, Regensburg 2002<sup>3</sup>; G. Althoff, *Adels- und Königsfamilien im Spiegel ihrer Memorialüberlieferung. Studien zum Totengedenken der Billunger und Ottonen*, Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften, XLVIII, München 1984.

6 Cf. E.-D. Hehl, *Merseburg – eine Bistumsgründung unter Vorbehalt. Gelübte, Kirchenrecht und politischer Spielraum im 10. Jahrhundert*, "Frühmittelalterliche Studien" XXXI (1997), pp. 96-119; idem, *Herrscher, Kirche und Kirchenrecht im späottonischen Reich*, in: *Otto III. – Heinrich II. Eine Wende?*, ed. B. Schneidmüller, *Mittelalter-Forschungen*, I, Stuttgart 2000, pp. 169-203; G. Althoff, *Magdeburg, Halberstadt, Merseburg. Bischöfliche Repräsentation und Interessenvertretung*

In what follows I shall single out predominantly the informal and confidential activities that can be observed when the office of bishop in the province of the archbishopric of Magdeburg had to be filled anew. For then the interests of different parties collided with one another, and we can assess the possibilities and the limits that existed for actors in this kind of situation to influence decisions informally.

One of the main difficulties in this task is presenting this subject in a sufficiently differentiated manner in one article. In what follows I will thus offer an outline of the problem, which in many respects requires explanation and further amplification.

So, to jump right in: What was the significance of informal communication when, upon the death of a bishop, a decision about his successor had to be made? In terms of ecclesiastical law, this matter was settled through an election by the clergy and the people of the Episcopal city<sup>7</sup>. But in the Ottonian-Salian imperial church system the will of the king was of decisive importance. But who exerted influence upon the formation of this will, and in which forms did this occur? Thietmar's chronicle offers many clues to help answer these questions.

Thietmar described both the secret and public activities of various decision-makers in the case of his own consecration, for example. When the death of the Merseburg bishop Wigbert appeared imminent, the Magdeburg archbishop responsible, Tagino, had already begun private negotiations with the king, and recommended his cathedral canon Thietmar to the king as successor. He presented these arguments: "You know him well. He fulfils his tasks intelligently and, with the help of God, is suited to the office"<sup>8</sup>.

The king approved of this suggestion, and he and the archbishop sent a Magdeburg cathedral canon and nephew of Thietmar to the candidate to

im ottonischen Sachsen, in: *Herrschaftsrepräsentation im ottonischen Sachsen*, ed. G. Althoff, E. Schubert, Vorträge und Forschungen, XLVI, Sigmaringen 1998, pp. 267-294.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *Die früh- und hochmittelalterliche Bischofserhebung im europäischen Vergleich*, ed. F.-R. Erkens, Beihefte zum Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, XLVIII, Köln 1998; K. Schreiner, *Wahl, Amtsantritt und Amtsenthebung von Bischöfen. Rituelle Handlungsmuster, rechtlich normierte Verfahren, traditionsgesteuerte Gewohnheiten*, in: *Vormoderne politische Verfahren*, ed. B. Stollberg-Rilinger, Berlin 2001 ("Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung", Beiheft XXV), pp. 73-117; H. Keller, *Über die Rolle des Königs bei der Einsetzung der Bischöfe im Reich der Ottonen und Salier*, "Frühmittelalterliche Studien" XLIV (2010), pp. 153-174; *Technik und Symbolik vormoderner Wahlverfahren*, ed. Ch. Dartmann, G. Wassilowsky, Th. Weller, München 2010 ("Historische Zeitschrift", Beihefte Neue Folge LII); A. Thier, *Hierarchie und Autonomie. Regelungstraditionen der Bischofsbestellung in der Geschichte des kirchlichen Wahlrechts bis 1140*, Studien zur europäischen Rechtsgeschichte, CCLVII, Frankfurt a. M. 2011.

<sup>8</sup> Thietmar von Merseburg, *Chronicon*, ed. R. Holtzmann, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores rerum Germanicarum N. S., IX, Berlin 1935, lib. 6, cap. 38, p. 321: *Est in meo monasterio quidam frater nomine Thietmarus, quem vos ipsi bene nostis; hunc sua modo prudenter disponentem ad hoc largiente Deo spero idoneum.*



informally make certain of his consent, which, apparently, could not be taken for granted. While Thietmar knew that agreements like this were inadmissible while a bishop still lived, he also understandably feared losing the king's favor if he refused outright, so he gave his conditional consent, in case of the actual demise of Bishop Wigbert<sup>9</sup>. In this way, through the confidential activities at an early point in time of those responsible, the course seemed to be set.

But when Bishop Wigbert actually died three months later, the matter developed into a crisis. Thietmar hinted at this with a striking humility: "But then, upon the instigation of others, the king turned his glance from me to better candidates. He wanted to give the office instead to the most worthy Adalger"<sup>10</sup>.

So there were apparently different interested parties involved here, not described in more detail by Thietmar, but nonetheless influential enough to sway a decision firmly envisaged by the king. But Archbishop Tagino, interestingly referred to as *familiaris regis* in this context, did not let the matter rest<sup>11</sup>. He vigorously opposed the new development and by means of his urgent requests caused the king to have Thietmar sent for after all.

We can gather from these reports that there must have been a confrontation between various interest groups attempting to influence the king's decision in accordance with their interests. In a situation like this one, a *familiaris regis* could oppose planned royal measures by urgently requesting him to make his decision in accordance with the interests of the *familiaris*. In doing so, he thus set in the balance his entire prestige with the ruler, making it more difficult for the latter to deny the request. It would be interesting to know in which form these urgent requests were expressed, in order to appraise to what extent they were in fact demands, but more on this later.

But the matter was not yet decided with Thietmar's being ordered to the royal court. For there, namely, Archbishop Tagino negotiated with the candidate, at first privately, and, in accordance with the king's instructions, put to him the extremely politically charged question of "whether I desired to help my church with a portion of my inheritance"<sup>12</sup>. Thietmar's inheritance

9 Ibidem, p. 321ff.: *Ad hec me immeritum esse iudico, unde ea laudare adhuc nequaquam presumo: potens est enim Deus, episcopum adhuc viventem de manu mortis eripere. Si autem prorsus recuso, me ab solita eius gracia repudiari vereor; non est michi preter hunc aliquod auxilium, a quo vel hec promereri vel maiora valeam percipere. Post mortem presulis, quod Deo placet et potestatibus ab eo constitutis, vita comite libenter adimplebo.*

10 Ibidem, cap. 39, p. 323: *Iam vero tum quorundam instinctu mentem suam a me ad meliora convertibat; voluit enim Ethelgero cuidam bene merito honorem hunc impendere.*

11 Ibidem: *Quod cum regis familiaris Thagino resciret, summopere rennuit et cum assidua supplicatione eo me cum gracia regis per Gezonem prepositum vocavit.*

12 Ibidem, cap. 40, p. 323: *Postera die vocatus interrogabar ab eo iussu regis, si aliqua ex parte hereditatis mee ecclesiam meam vellem adiuvare.*

was, in fact, considerable, for the male line of the counts of Walbeck died out in his generation. Thietmar and his brothers in the clergy thus inherited considerable possessions<sup>13</sup>. But he realized that with this question a request was being made to him that would fulfill the offence of simony, if the transfer of the office of bishop were dependent upon material benefit to the bishopric. As a matter of fact, Henry II had all three Walbeck brothers made bishops of “poor” bishoprics.

According to his own account, however, Thietmar did not make himself guilty of simony, but cleverly evaded the demand: “I cannot and will not yet say anything definitive in reply (he supposedly answered). If, through God’s will and the king’s gift, your plan – always favorably inclined towards me – should be realized, then in this case and otherwise, I will humbly carry out everything I can for the salvation of my own soul and out of duty for the office entrusted to me”<sup>14</sup>.

Tagino and apparently the king as well were satisfied with this response and Thietmar was granted the Episcopal dignity of Merseburg through transfer of the bishop’s crosier<sup>15</sup>.

Despite Thietmar’s discretion his hints provide us with important information about the informal and confidential part of the decision-making process, which in this case prepared a decision about filling an important Episcopal office. Various interest groups acted through informal channels. *Familiaritas* with the ruler, which Tagino possessed to a particularly great extent, made it possible for a person to represent his interests quite effectively: The *familiaris* was in a position to oppose the ruler’s intentions. His demands, presented as requests, were apparently not easy for the ruler to defy.

In the informal part of the preparatory communication, it was precisely the delicate subject that appear to have been broached, if – to all appearances – very cautiously, which might also be a function of how Thietmar wanted to represent things. But in any case, the candidate’s early inclusion in the decision-making process betrays that little was left to chance. These initial insights provided by the first case in point can be deepened through accounts

13 Cf. H. Lippelt, op.cit., p. 58. Thietmar’s brothers Siegfried and Brun became bishops of Münster and Verden.

14 Thietmar von Merseburg, *Chronicon*, lib. 6, cap. 40, p. 323: [...] *de hoc modo nil certi nec possum nec volo respondere. Si divino consensu et regis largitate vestra semper pia voluntas in me hic adimplebitur, quidquid in hoc aut in aliis rebus pro remedio anime mee et debito commissi facere possum, devotus implebo.*

15 *Ibidem*, p. 323f.: *Quod verbum archiantistes benigne suscipiens et laudans, me ad capellam Brunonis episcopi, ubi rex eum expectabat, duxit et paratus ad missam regi me per manus tradidit. Rex igitur cum electione omnium presencium pastorem curam cum baculo michi immerito commisit; et ut ego prostratus veniam peccati, cantor introitum incepit: Venite benedicti patris mei. Interim quoque in maiori ecclesia omnia signa ad maiorem missam consonabant; quod etsi casu et non iussu alicuius seu dignitate mea evenerit, rex tamen hoc bonum omen esse testabatur.*

of similar cases mentioned by Thietmar. Especially hotly contested at the time were changes in the archbishopric in the archdiocese of Magdeburg itself.

When Archbishop Tagino died some years after Thietmar's consecration, his death too, immediately gave rise to various kinds of informal decision-making processes<sup>16</sup>. Among other things, Thietmar tells of a meeting of Magdeburg's cathedral canons concerning the choice of bishop, in which he as a former Magdeburg cathedral canon was entitled to participate<sup>17</sup>. After Tagino's death, an envoy of the king, Bishop Erich of Havelberg, visited Magdeburg and conveyed the king's wish and request for them "not to hold an election, but rather to merely present him with a unanimous suggestion"<sup>18</sup>.

All the cathedral canons, however, had already decided to elect Walthard as their next archbishop, a candidate whom they had already chosen to be archbishop once before. But Henry had rejected their choice and chosen Tagino instead<sup>19</sup>. Disregarding the royal request was thus undoubtedly risky.

In the cathedral chapter's internal decision-making process, which was conducted while the envoy slept, Thietmar did not mince words, according to his own account: "I recommend the following to you and will support it as best I can. My lord may command as he will. But you must be on your guard against losing the rights you have been granted by God and his predecessors. I wish to be the first to vote for you, my brother, as my archbishop"<sup>20</sup>.

Thietmar thus resolutely disregarded the king's wishes, and the others followed him, electing Walthard regardless of the fact that this would not be to the king's liking. If he wanted to push his own candidate through, the king would have to ignore the chapter's selection once again. Thietmar had expressly advised them to take this risk. He seemed to have been counting on the possibility that the king would relent.

But Thietmar also took a prominent stance in other ways that give an impression of how those involved might have behaved in the informal part of political decision-making. When, namely, after this election, Walthard threw himself to the ground to plea for leniency and, for his part, to hold out

16 Cf. D. Claude, *Geschichte des Erzbistums Magdeburg bis in das 12. Jahrhundert*, Mitteldeutsche Forschungen, LXVII, Köln-Wien 1975, vol. 1, pp. 272ff.

17 Thietmar von Merseburg, *Chronicon*, lib. 6, cap. 62, p. 351: *Ego autem, hec omnia in Merseburg sero comperiens, in ipso deposicionis die orto iam sole adveni; cumque in maiori ecclesia pauca oracionis verba effudissem, veni in refectorium, ubi prepositus cum universis fratribus et militibus sedens de electione tractabat.*

18 *Ibidem*, pp. 351ff.: *Ipse vero rex Hericum episcopum ad nos misit, ut electio a nobis non fiat, sed tantum unanimitis consensus et hoc ei indicetur.*

19 *Ibidem*, lib. 5, cap. 40f., pp. 266ff.

20 *Ibidem*, lib. 6, cap. 62, p. 352: [...] *et hoc vobis consilium do ac illud adiuvare, in quantum possum, volo. Senior meus imperet, quod velit; vos autem, quod accepistis a Deo et antecessoribus suis, videte ne perdati. Te autem fratrem primus eligo mihi ad archiantistitem [...].*

the prospect of his goodwill to all of those who voted for him, Thietmar did something unusual: "I then bent down and asked him (probably so that the others could not hear), that if he did in fact obtain this Episcopal dignity, in the name of the Lord, and out of true brotherly love, to assure me upon his oath of reimbursing the rightful possessions of my severely damaged church. He promised this to me with certainty in the presence of all"<sup>21</sup>.

Thietmar, in other words, either cleverly or ruthlessly, used a situation in which the candidate for the Magdeburg Episcopal see relied upon his support, and had him make assurances under oath concerning the resolution of the property disputes between Merseburg and Magdeburg. Not a single syllable of his account hinted at any outrage elicited by this behavior.

After this assurance he continued to support Walthard's candidacy, even when he was invited to Henry's court with a few other Magdeburg canons and the candidate. Here too the case was treated purely informally: The king was first confidentially informed about the events<sup>22</sup>. He then summoned the visitors from Magdeburg to his chambers: "But only Walthard was admitted, and they negotiated alone until tierce. When Walthard came out (Thietmar and a Magdeburg provost had waited the entire time before the door), he wore the ring upon his hand, showed it to us, and explained: 'Here you see the sign of future favor'"<sup>23</sup>.

The king had thus declared himself willing to accept the choice of the Magdeburg canons, which he had actually wanted to prevent. Just how he was brought to relent, Thietmar does not mention. Perhaps he did not even know what Walthard had negotiated privately with the king. But in any case they all knew how to save the king's face: "We now all assembled before the king and elected, on the basis of the king's inquiry, the Father in question, who had first been named by the king himself, and all the magnates agreed"<sup>24</sup>. Thus everyone involved was able to save face, but the canons of Magdeburg had had their way.

Walthard seems not to have kept his promises to Thietmar's satisfaction, however, for the latter reports that in the negotiations following Walthard's death, he called upon the king in the presence of all those assembled, "that

21 Ibidem: *Tunc ego me inclinans rogavi eum per nomen Domini et per verae fraternitatis amorem, ut aecclesiae meimet admodum despoliatae parrochiam sibi iuste pertinentem, si ad hunc perveniret honorem, restituere aut sibi hanc cum aliis rebus inde abstractis voluisset sacramentis firmare. Hoc mihi in presentia omnium firmiter promisit.*

22 Ibidem, cap. 66, p. 356: *Mox in presentiam regis venientes misericorditer suscipiebamur, et pauca locutus rex nos ad hospicium ire permisit.*

23 Ibidem: *Et ibi solus intronittitur Walterdus et ibi usque ad terciam soli colloquebantur; et egressus tunc Walterdus anulum portat in manu sua et ostendens nobis: 'Ecce habetis', inquit, 'pignus subsecuturæ pietatis!'*

24 Ibidem, cap. 67, p. 356: *Et tunc omnes nos in presentiam venientes, examinatione regis, ipso primitus eum laudante, predictum patrem elegimus, et optimi quique aspirabant [...].*

before the appointment of an archbishop, he would please speak with him about my diocese, as well as other things taken from me unjustly"<sup>25</sup>.

Unfortunately, Thietmar does not say what kind of assembly this was in which he expressed himself so unambiguously. But one would be justified in presuming that this demand was made in the informal part of the decision-making process. In any case, the king hastened to assure him that he would settle the matter *cum iusticia aut alio salubri consilio* (through judgment or council). For, after all, Thietmar now too stood in a relationship with Henry II that was characterized by *familiaritas*.

But the dispute over Magdeburg's right to choose its archbishop was much older and had already been the cause of confusion in 981 upon the death of the first archbishop<sup>26</sup>. In 981 the Magdeburg clergy had already counted on being allowed to freely elect their archbishop on the basis of a right to election granted to them in writing in a document by Emperor Otto II. And this they also did, choosing the director of the cathedral school, a scholar named Ohtrich, to be their new archbishop, although the first archbishop had done everything in his power while he was alive to prevent Ohtrich's succession<sup>27</sup>. They sent their choice, with a delegation of Magdeburg canons, to Italy to seek the emperor's confirmation.

The actions of this delegation at the royal court offer abundant material for understanding the rules of informal communication that had to be observed in dealing with the ruler. Thietmar writes about this extensively:

"As they reached Italy upon their journey, they requested the assistance of Giselher (the bishop of Merseburg), who was well regarded by the emperor, and entrusted Giselher with their secret mission. He promised them that he would intercede faithfully on their behalf, but it was only to himself that he showed the utmost benevolence in this matter. For when he, namely, brought his knowledge before the emperor, he threw himself beseechingly at his feet, requested the promised and long-due reward for his many years of efforts and obtained it immediately by the will of God"<sup>28</sup>.

Elsewhere as well it is documented that envoys were well advised to secure at the royal court the support of an advocate who was a special

<sup>25</sup> *Ibidem*, cap. 81, p. 370: [...] *et ego accedebam et, cum iam tempus esset, ammonui hunc coram cunctis residentibus, ut aliquid de parrochia meimet caeterisque rebus iniuste ablati ante constitutionem archipresulis cum eo voluisset tractare.*

<sup>26</sup> *Ibidem*, lib. 3, cap. 11, pp. 108ff.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibidem*, cap. 12, pp. 110ff.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibidem*, cap. 13, p. 112: *Qui cum Italiae partes, ubi cesar tunc commorabatur, itinere adtingerent, Gisileri suffragium, qui apud imperatorem tunc plurimum valebat, implorantes, legationis suae secretum ei aperiuunt. Promissa ab eo est hiis fidelis intercessio, completurque sibi cunctis proxima in omnibus benevolentia. Namque ut audita cesaris auribus instillavit, pedibus supplex advolvitur, promissa et diu expectata longi laboris premia postulans, Deo hoc consentiente, protinus impetrat.*

*familiaris* of the ruler and could thus advocate for their cause<sup>29</sup>. While their choice of advocate, Giselher, was in fact a *familiaris*, in this case the Magdeburg clergy had set a fox to keep the geese. For Giselher used just the opportunities available to a *familiaris*. He chose the method of entreating upon bended knee, not for his clients, however, but for himself. In this way he received the archbishopric of Magdeburg, which had probably been decided long before in order to be able to dissolve the bishopric of Merseburg, since the great number of new foundations in Saxony planned by Otto I in 968 probably proved to be unviable<sup>30</sup>.

What we should note here is that there were apparently rules for informing the ruler of important things such as the choice of a bishop and not confronting him with them directly. But in this case the path stipulated by the rules also proved to be impassable, since a serious mistake had been made in the choice of advocate. In any case, from 981 to 1004 Magdeburg had to live with the unwanted Archbishop Giselher, whose previous bishopric was dissolved.

It was therefore no wonder that all the parties involved in the consecration of the bishop acted quickly when Giselher died in 1004. Even before Giselher's funeral procession, King Henry II sent his court chaplain Wigbert to Magdeburg in order to bring about the unanimous election of his candidate, the Bavarian Tagino<sup>31</sup>. But the messenger was not quick enough, for the cathedral provost Walthard mentioned above had already made sure that the canons once again exercised their right to vote. In Thietmar's words: "he announced the death of their lord and the approach of the king at the same time and urgently requested that they elect someone for the open position, and in this way to claim their ancient electoral rights"<sup>32</sup>.

Thereupon they all elected Walthard, who, as Thietmar relates: "as is right and proper, accepted with great humility and pled for leniency (for himself) upon bended knee"<sup>33</sup>. Once again, therefore, the Magdeburg clergy obstinately tried to resist the exertion of royal influence in the selection of archbishop.

But the king did not let up and sent Bishop Arnulf of Halberstadt to Magdeburg to get the king's candidate accepted. Walthard, however, openly

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Ekkehard, *Casus Sancti Galli*, ed. and transl. H.F. Haefele, Freiherr-vom-Stein-Gedächtnisausgabe, X, Darmstadt 1980, cap. 128-133, pp. 248ff.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. G. Althoff, *Magdeburg, Halberstadt, Merseburg...*, pp. 276ff.; D. Claude, op.cit., vol. 1, pp. 124, 139ff.

<sup>31</sup> Thietmar von Merseburg, *Chronicon*, lib. 5, cap. 40, p. 266: *Quo audito rex corpus archiantistis precedens usque ad Magadaburch subsequitur, premittens eo capellanum suimet Wigbertum, ut de electione Taginonis unanimum confratrum voluntatem inpetraret.*

<sup>32</sup> *Ibidem*: *Set prepositus eiusdem civitatis Waltherdus nomine, convocatis in unum confratribus univrsis obitum senioris et adventum regis pariter indixit, obsecrans, ut inuicem unum aliquem inquirerent, cum quo antiquam eligendi consuetudinem retinerent.*

<sup>33</sup> *Ibidem*: *Hoc cum magna, ut decuit, humilitate idem suscipiens veniam prostratus peciit.*

refused to comply with the king's request, in a non-public consultation of course.

"The intention of your lord is known to us. But we desire, if at all possible, to exercise our electoral rights. [...] We fear severe harm for our church and, in order to avoid this, request the king's favorable attitude and your intercession. Well we know the wise man's saying: 'The freedom of a people that is subject to a king is destroyed by the freedom of the ruler; only a shadow remains if all of his directives are followed' "<sup>34</sup>.

These were self-confident words; brought to the ruler in a confidential manner, they did not fail to have their effect. Bishop Arnulf, namely, delivered the message to Henry II, who consequently had Walthard summoned "and gave him many assurances and received his consent and the agreement of his fellow members of the chapter to the election of Tagino"<sup>35</sup>. It is not said just which assurances were made by Henry II, but they must have been ones that took into account the reservations of Magdeburg's clergy. But in any case, the king did not receive Walthard unfavorably, which can be seen not least in his acceptance of Walthard's election once again in 1012 after the death of Tagino, as I have described above.

That this could not by any means be taken for granted can be shown in an example from Hamburg from the same time (1013). The dying Hamburg Archbishop Liawizo advised his clerics to elect the canon Otto as his successor<sup>36</sup>. They followed his advice and then sought to obtain the king's agreement in the usual manner: "On this day Otto appeared humbly (at the royal court) with clergy and laity and requested through faithful advocates, as before, the king's favor in consummating his election. But the king did not grant them their request and instead conferred the bishopric upon his chaplain Unwan to the applause – not entirely voluntary, of course – of those in attendance"<sup>37</sup>. In this case the proper procedure of making one's concerns clear to the ruler by means of advocates did not yield the desired success.

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34 Ibidem, cap. 41, pp. 266ff.: "*Scimus*", inquit, "*quid vester senior intendat. Volumus, si licet fieri, potestatem habere eligendi [...]* Detrimentum aeclesiae fieri nostrae multum veremur; quod ne eveniat, regiam pietatem ac vestram petimus intercessionem. Non sumus inmemores proverbii cuiusdam sapientis: Libertatem populi, quem regna coercent, libertate dominantis perire tantumque eius umbram seruari, si cunctis eiusdem velit obtemperare preceptis".

35 Ibidem, p. 268: *Qui mox prepositum vocans multumque ei promittens, et sui licentiam ac consortiorum in electione Taginonis gratiam acquisivit.*

36 Ibidem, lib. 6, cap. 88, p. 380: *Hoc in extremis meimet salubre vobis consilium do, ut Oddonem, qui fraternitatis vestrae est particeps, communi nostrorum consensu ad rectorem nostrae eligatis aeclesiae et ad utilitatem patriae, divinam supplicantes pietatem, in cuius manu cor regis est, quatinus id sibi placite perficiatur.*

37 Ibidem, cap. 89, p. 380: *Et in ipsa die predictus Oddo clericis comitantibus ac laicis supplex venit et regis gratiam sicut prius ad complecionem electionis per fidos intercessores postulat. Quos rex nullatenus audit, sed capellano suimet Unwano cum laude advenientium, etsi non spontanea, episcopatum dedit [...].*

Thietmar's concluding remark also makes clear that Henry II did not, however, want to offend the Hamburg clergy: "He took Otto [the rejected candidate] into his service and attempted to make amends to him through the promise of his favorable attitude [*pietas*]"<sup>38</sup>.

The analysis of Thietmar's thick description of the events relating to Episcopal consecrations in Saxony around the year 1010 has resulted in a whole series of clues that provide insight precisely into the sphere of confidential decision-making and negotiation. In addition to the undisputed formal framework of such Episcopal consecrations, which granted the king the right to decide about the candidates, but granted the cathedral chapter, in contrast, only the right to elect or suggest, there also existed forms of exerting influence that can be characterized as informal and confidential, but that were, nonetheless, undoubtedly effective. While the kings were not helplessly at their mercy, they nevertheless had to take them into account in their decisions.

A key term for understanding this confidential exertion of influence seems to be *familiaritas*. Someone in a relation of *familiaritas* to the ruler was in possession of the ruler's basic goodwill and could thus intercede for others. This role of advocate or intervener reappears whenever requests, desires, and demands are put before the ruler by informal means. From this one can deduce that this method for informing the ruler was mandatory. Direct access to the ruler seemed to be barred even to delegations of cathedral clerics or monks.

But the informal means of approach left open every chance for negotiating, for modifying the matter at hand, and even for dropping it altogether without damaging the honor and reputation of one of the parties involved. This was certainly one attribute of this kind of communication. In successful cases, then, the interaction between requests and guarantees stabilized the positions of everyone involved.

But these observations also lead to the realization that it was indispensable for all those participating in the political dynamic to have as close connections as possible with as many *familiares* of the ruler as possible, in order – with their help – to be able to underscore their own concerns. From this perspective the function and significance of networks in medieval society becomes quite clear. On the other hand this of course expressly begs the question of just how free the ruler was in the choice of persons to whom he allowed a relationship of *familiaritas*. On various occasions, an overly narrow or one-sided selection did give rise to conflicts<sup>39</sup>.

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38 Ibidem: *Oddonem per manus succipiens et promissa sibi pietate demulcens*.

39 Cf. the example of Henry IV, cf. G. Althoff, *Heinrich IV., Gestalten des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, Darmstadt 2012<sup>3</sup>, pp. 61ff., 86ff.



Another question that arises from the few examples I have been able to discuss is, in the case of matters that actually ran counter to the ruler's interests, how many possibilities did a *familiaris* have to support these matters and to push them through. At times it is clear that advocates were quite persistent in representing their positions and were indeed in a position to overcome the ruler's resistance. It would be possible to cite further examples in which rulers were not free to ignore the advice of their *familiares*. Thietmar himself recounts several cases in which advisers insisted upon their advice being taken<sup>40</sup>.

All of these questions, however – which I can only pose and not answer here – delve deeply into the problem mentioned at the outset, of how medieval rulership functioned in just those cases where the written sources deny us a glimpse. Unfortunately, this often seems to be particularly true when arguments were exchanged, interests represented, and courses of action set: in other words, in the informal realm of medieval politics.

If I have at least managed to convince the readers that more attention should be devoted to researching the realm of medieval rulership characterized by informal practices, then my main goal here has already been achieved.

#### ABSTRACT

The contribution deals with the rules and practices of decision-making processes at the German king's court in the 11<sup>th</sup> century. It makes use of the rare occasion that Thietmar of Merseburg in his *Chronicon* had particular reasons to talk about activities which were secret and informal and normally not mentioned in historiography. He lifted the curtain to inform his successors in the bishopric of Merseburg about the difficult history of this diocese, hoping that having this information would avoid future damage. For this reason we are informed about a lot of confidential negotiations preparing or influencing a royal decision. This power game was especially acute when preparing a decision about the investiture of a new bishop by the king. We learn how the political game actually functioned and we can regard this glimpse into the confidential sphere as a representative example that helps us understand the unwritten norms and rules which guided behavior in the confidential and public spheres of medieval politics. We see the impact of social relations to the king especially in the form of *familiaritas*. We understand the difference between confidential and public actions and the underlying logic and get a better understanding of the possibilities and limits which the participants in the process of decision-making had, including the role of the king. The case study is one step to elucidate the functioning of order at the king's court in the High Middle Ages, which is dominated by the intersection of confidential and public activities.

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<sup>40</sup> See for example Thietmar von Merseburg, *Chronicon*, lib. 7, cap. 12, p. 410: *Cum tempus fuit et cum vestro honore id fieri potuit, me ista hortantem non exaudistis. Nunc a vobis est mens Bolizlavi ob longam filii retentionem et custodiam aversa, et vereor, si hunc sine obsidibus aut aliis confirmationibus remittitis, ut in posterum fidelis servitii in ambobus careatis.*

# I. KINGS IN CAPTIVITY

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DANIEL BAGI  
PÉCS

## UND WESSEN STRAFE? DIE INHAFTIERUNG VON KÖNIG SALOMON IN DER FRÜHEREN HISTORISCHEN TRADITION UND DIE THRONSTREITE DER ARPADEN IM 11. JAHRHUNDERT



Mit Recht ist zu behaupten, dass nur wenige Gestalten der mittelalterlichen ungarischen Geschichte dermaßen tragische Geschichte und kontroverse Beurteilung haben, wie König Salomon (1063-1074)<sup>1</sup>. Die Widersprüchlichkeit seiner Herrschaft, seiner Taten lässt sich durch den Umstand erklären, dass er durch die eigenen Verwandten vom Thron gestürzt und letztendlich vertrieben wurde. Darüber hinaus wird die korrekte, unbefangene Beurteilung des Königs dadurch erschwert, dass Salomon seinem Cousin, Ladislaus I. (1077-1095) gegenüber unterlegen blieb<sup>2</sup>. Ladislaus I., dessen Heiligsprechung am Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts. von Béla III. veranlasst worden war<sup>3</sup>,

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1 Zu Salomon vgl.: M. Wertner, *Az Árpádok családi története*, Nagy-Becskerek 1892, S. 128; Gy. Kristó, F. Makk, *Die ersten Könige Ungarns. Die Herrscher der Arpadendynastie*, Budapest 1999, S. 76-95; *Magyarország története. Előzmények és magyar történet 1242-ig*, hrsg. von G. Székely, A. Bartha, I/1-2, Budapest 1984, hier I/1 und I/2, S. 863-942; P. Rokay, *Salamon és Póla*, Újvidék (Novi Sad) 1990. Vgl. noch: J.M. Bak, *Salomon*, in: *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, VII, München 2003, Sp. 1315-1316; F. Makk in: *Korai Magyar Történeti Lexikon*, hrsg. von Gy. Kristó, Budapest 1995, S. 591.

2 Zu Ladislaus vgl.: *Magyarország története...*, I/2, S. 893-943.

3 Vgl.: *Legenda sancti Ladislai regis*, hrsg. von E. Bartoniek, *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum* (im Weiteren: SRH), I-II, *Edendo operi praefuit Emericus Szentpétery*, hier II, Budapest

wurde im 14. Jahrhundert zu einem der offiziellen „Ikonen“ der zu Beginn des Jahrhunderts an die Macht gekommenen Könige des Hauses Anjou. Das Haus Anjou regierte in Ungarn (ähnlich wie in Polen) aufgrund der Blutverwandtschaft mit der alten Dynastie, und suchte daher ihre historischen Vorbilder teils auch in der arpadischen Vergangenheit. Im 14. Jahrhundert entfaltete sich also die endgültige, bis heute andauernde Verehrung von Ladislaus dem Heiligen. Unter den Bildern der zur Zeit der Herrschaft von Ludwig I. von Anjou (1342-1382) kompilierten sogenannten Wiener Bilderchronik, sowie im Anjou-Legendarium nimmt Ladislaus unter den erinnerungswürdigen Ahnen der Dynastie einen privilegierten Platz ein<sup>4</sup>, und wenn man sich die Produkte der Kirchenmalerei im spätmittelalterlichen Königreich Ungarn anschaut, wiederholen sich Zyklen aus der Ladislaus-Legende an vielen Kirchenwänden.

Das historisch-kulturelle Gewicht von Ladislaus I. im nationalen Geschichtsbewusstsein und die Tatsache, dass er kinderlos starb und damit seine Linie erlosch, erschwert an sich, von König Salomon korrektes Porträt zu zeichnen<sup>5</sup>. Und es stellt sich damit in Zusammenhang die Frage: ist das, was in Bezug auf die Inhaftierung und Freilassung des Königs erfahren wird, das Porträt von Salomon, seine Geschichte? Oder handelt es sich um eine Rechtfertigungsstrategie seiner Nachfolger, in der er als Nebenfigur auftritt?

Um diese Fragen zu beantworten, oder zumindest in der Hoffnung, für sie eine Erklärung zu finden, wird im vorliegenden Aufsatz versucht, die früheste historische Tradition über König Salomons Festnahme, Inhaftierung und Freilassung zusammenzufassen, und die Schilderung des zwischen ihm und König Ladislaus I. ausgebrochenen Konflikts im Spiegel der verfügbaren Quellen und im Kontext der Thronstreite der Arpaden im 11. Jahrhundert zu analysieren. Selbstverständlich muss gleich an dieser Stelle unterstrichen werden, dass auf eine umfassende, allgemeine Beurteilung der historischen Rolle von König Salomon verzichtet werden muss.

König Salomon war der Sohn von Andreas I. (1046-1060) einem der Söhne des von Stephan dem Heiligen geblendeten und dadurch zur Herrschaft

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1999<sup>2</sup>, S. 509-527. Zur Legende vgl.: J. Geric, *Krónikáink és a Szent László-legendá szövegkapcsolatai*, in: *Középkori kútfőink kritikus kérdései*, hrsg. von G. Székely, J. Horváth, *Memoria saeculorum Hungariae*, I, Budapest 1974, S. 113-136; K. Szovák, *Szent László alakja a korai elbeszélő forrásokban. (A László-legendá és a Képes Krónika 139. fejezete forrásproblémái)*, „Századok“ CXXXIV (2000), 1, S. 115-145.

<sup>4</sup> Zusammenfassend vgl. dazu: B. Zsolt Szakács, *Az Anjou-legendárium képi rendszerei*, Budapest 2006.

<sup>5</sup> Zur Klarsicht trug der unter dem Titel *Sacra Corona* gedrehte und vorgestellte Film, dessen Libretto auf kritikloser Übernahme der mittelalterlichen Chroniken beruht, keineswegs bei. Vgl. *Sacra Corona*, Regie: G. Koltay, 2001.

ungeeignet gemachten Vazul. Vazul muss noch gleich nach 1031, nach dem Tode des Sohnes von Stephan dem Heiligen vom König selbst geblendet worden sein, und seine drei Söhne, Andreas, Béla und Levente mussten ins Exil nach Böhmen, Polen und die Rus fliehen<sup>6</sup>. Andreas kehrte um 1046 zurück, und wurde nach dem endgültigen Untergang von König Peter von Venedig (1038-1041/1044-1046) zum König geweiht, was nach sich zog, dass damit bis 1301, bis zum Aussterben der männlichen Linie der Arpaden die Abkömmlinge von Vazul in Ungarn herrschten. Salomon muss um 1053 geboren worden sein, und historisch nachweisbar hatte einen Bruder, David, und eine Schwester, Adelhaid, sowie einen einen Halbbruder, einen gewissen Georg, der von seinem Bruder im Konkubinat erzeugt worden sein soll<sup>7</sup>.

Salamon soll um 1058 von seinem Vater noch als Kind zum König erhoben worden sein<sup>8</sup>. Grund dafür schufen die politischen Interessen von König Andreas I., der die schon seit der nach dem Tode von Stephan dem Heiligen ausgebrochenen politischen Krise in Ungarn andauernden Kriege zwischen Ungarn und dem Reich abschließen wollte, was er durch die Verlobung eines Sohnes mit der Tochter von Heinrich III. zu erreichen meinte. Dies führte zu einem Konflikt zwischen Andreas I. und seinem aus Polen nach Ungarn zurückgekehrten anderen Bruder, Béla, der die Designation und Königserhebung von Salomon nach einer Version der Ungarischen Chronikkomposition nicht annehmen wollte<sup>9</sup> nach der anderen dennoch der Krönung mit seinen Söhnen zustimmte<sup>10</sup> Béla beleidigte sich wegen

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6 Vgl. dazu die verhältnismäßig unbefangenen berichtenden Niederaltaicher Jahrbücher: *Annales Altahenses Maiores*, hrsg. von W. von Giesebrecht, E.L.B. Oefele, Monumenta Germaniae Historica (im Weiteren MGH), *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum*, IV, Hannover 1979, a. A 1041, S. 24: [Stephanus] [...] *filium fratris sui digniorem in regno, [...] cecavit et parvulos eiusdem exilio relegavit*. Zum Exil der Söhne vgl.: *Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV*, ed. A. Domanovszky, SRH, I, S. 219-505, c. 78, S. 334: *Interea Endre, Bela et Levente, qui fugerant in Bohemiam, propter pauperitatis necessitudinem transierunt in Poloniam [...]*; *ibidem*, c. 80, S. 336: [...] *fratre suo relicto euntes iverunt ad Regem Lodomerie*. Zu den Ereignissen vgl.: M. Font, *Árpád-házi királyok és Rurikida fejedelmek*, Szeged 2005 (Szegedi Középkortörténeti Könyvtár, XXI), S. 129-130.

7 *Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV*, c. 92, c. 88, S. 345: *De concubina autem, quam habuit de villa Moroth, genuit Georgium*.

8 *Ibidem*, c. 91, S. 352: *Quia vero carnalis amor et consanguineitatis affectio solent impedire veritatem, vicit amor filialis in Andrea rege utitiam et rupto federe sue promissionis, quod in regibus esse non deberet, filium suum Salomonem adhuc puerulum infantulum adhuc quinque annorum super totam Hungariam anno imperii sui duodecimo confectus senio in regem fecit inungi et coronari*.

9 *Ibidem*, c. 91, S. 352-353: *Cum autem in coronatione Salomonis canerent: „esto dominus fratrum tuorum“, et hoc per interpretem Bele I. duci innotuisset, quod Saloomon infantulus sibi dominus constitueretur, graviter est indignatus*.

10 *Ibidem*, c. 92, S. 353: *Dicunt alii, quod Bela duce et filiis eius, Geycha scilicet et Ladizlao cunctisque regni optimatibus consencientibus Salomon unctus esset in regem*.

der Königserhebung von Salomon vor allem deshalb, weil er von seinem Bruder deshalb aus Polen nach Ungarn gerufen worden sein soll, um sein Thronerbe zu werden. Die Beleidigung des Arpadenherzogs beruhte auf dem angeblichen Vertragsbruch seines Bruders. Andreas I. und Béla einigten sich nämlich noch um 1048. Andreas rief seinen Bruder nach dem Tode des anderen aus Polen zurück. Dann teilten sie die Herrschaft in Ungarn im Verhältnis von ein Drittel bzw. zwei Drittel<sup>11</sup>, was zur Errichtung des in der wissenschaftlichen Fachsprache nur als *ducatus* bezeichneten sogenannten königlichen Herzogtums führte, das bis zu seiner Liquidierung durch Koloman den Buchkundigen um 1106 bestanden blieb. Dieses Herrschaftssystem ist bis heute Gegenstand heftiger Diskussionen, und nicht nur in der ungarischen Mittelalterforschung<sup>12</sup>. Der Konflikt zwischen Andreas I. und Béla mündete in offenen Krieg, als dessen Folge Salomon mit seiner Mutter, Anastasia von Kiew, seiner Frau, Judith von Schwaben und seiner Gefolgschaft zu seinem Schwager, Heinrich IV. fliehen musste, und erst 1063 zurückkehren konnte, als sein Onkel, der 1060 zum König erhobenen Béla I. starb<sup>13</sup>. Géza, der Sohn von Béla I. wurde von den Bischöfen überredet, mit Salomon Frieden zu schließen<sup>14</sup>, in Rahmen dessen Géza und im allgemeinen die Linie von Béla I. Salomons Herrschaft anerkannte. Salomon wurde sogar noch einmal, diesmal von Géza gekrönt<sup>15</sup>. Zwischen 1064 und

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11 Ibidem, c. 88, 345: *Rex autem hic Andreas fratre orbatus misit in Poloniam ad alterum fratrem suum Belam cum magna dilectione vocans eum et dicens: „Nos qui quondam penurie participes fuimus et laborum, rogo te dilectissime frater, ut ad me non tardes venire, quatenus consortes simus gaudiorum et bonis regni corporali presentia gaudentes communicemus. Neque enim heredem habeo, nec germanum preter te. Tu sis michi heres, tu in regnum succedas. Post hoc autem rex et frater eius Bela habito consilio diviserunt regnum in tres partes, quarum due in proprietate regis potestatis manserunt, tertia vero pars in proprietatem ducis est collata. Hec igitur prima regni huius divisio seminarium fuit discordie et guerrarum inter duces et reges Hungarie“.*

12 Zu den verschiedensten Forschungsansichten vgl.: I.R. Kiss, *Trónbetöltés és ducatus az Árpád-korban, „Századok“*, LXII (1928), 2-3, S. 733-765, 849-868, bzw. LXIII (1929), 4-6, S. 202-210, hier S. 746; Gy. Györffy, *A magyar nemzetségtől a vármegyéig, a törzstől az orszáig I-II, „Századok“* XCII (1958), 1-2, S. 12-87, bzw. 565-615, hier S. 48-49; P.V. Simon, *A Nibelungének magyar vonatkozásai, „Századok“* CXII (1978), 2, S. 271-325, hier S. 323-324; J. Steinhübel, *Nitrianske kniežatstvo: pociatky stredovekého Slovenska rozprávanie o dejinách nášho uzemia a okilich krájin od strahovania narodov do zaciatku 12 storočia*, Bratislava 2004, S. 17-34; Gy. Kristó, *A 11. századi hercegség Magyarországon*, Budapest 1974, S. 67; L. Koszta, *A nyitrai püspökség létrejötte: Nyitra egyháztörténete a 9-13. Században, „Századok“* CXLIII (2009), 2, S. 257-318; J. Deér, *Pogány magyarság, keresztény magyarság*, Budapest 1938, S. 126-127.

13 *Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV*, c. 96, S. 360: [...] *rex Bela* [...] *in Demes regali allodio, corrrente solio confractus corpore irremediabiliter cepit erotare.*

14 Ibidem, c. 97, S. 361-362: [...] *ut Salomoni* *quantis iuniori regnum cum pace redderet et ipse ducatum, quem pater eius prius habuerat, pacifice teneret.*

15 Ibidem, c. 97, S. 363: [...] *rex Salomon ipso die Pasce assistentibus regni proceribus per manus Geyse ducis honorabiliter est coronatus et regiam Beati Petri principis apostolorum basilicam ad audiendam missam gloriose deductus.*

1071 sollen Salomon und Géza, sowie höchstwahrscheinlich Ladislaus, der andere Sohn von Béla I. Ungarn gemeinsam regiert haben. Das Verhältnis verschlechterte sich aber unter den Verwandten bei der Belagerung von Belgrad im Jahre 1071. Der Konflikt endete wiederum mit einem Krieg, in dem Salomon im Jahre 1074 bei Mogyoród von seinen Cousins besiegt und vom Thron gestürzt wurde. Salomon floh nach Preßburg, wo er sich in der Burg verschanzte. Da noch in demselben Jahre Géza zum König gekrönt wurde, entstand eine ziemlich heikle Situation in Ungarn, da das Land gleichzeitig zwei, sich für legitim haltende Könige hatte. Salomons Status versuchte erst Ladislaus I., der nach Gézas I. Tode 1074 an die Macht kam, zu klären. Ladislaus bot Salomon eine Einung an: Salomon hätte auf seine Herrschaftsrechte verzichten müssen, und dafür hätte er einen „Lebensunterhalt“ ziehen können. Salomon scheint auf die Übereinkunft eingegangen zu sein, aber man weiß nicht, aus welchem Grunde, versuchte er dann wieder gegen seinen Cousin zu revoltieren, der ihn dann inhaftieren ließ, und ihn erst während der Heiligsprechung von Stephan dem Heiligen freiließ. Salomon ging nachher ins Ausland und starb um 1087<sup>16</sup>.

Die objektive Beurteilung der Absetzung, Inhaftierung und Freilassung von Salomon wird durch den Umstand kompliziert, dass über die Ereignisse nur knappe, teils unsichere und vor allem befangene und tendenziös gestaltete Quellen vorhanden sind. Die Quellen, aus denen man von Salomons Leben und Schicksal erfahren kann, sind sowohl zeitlich als auch thematisch in zwei Gruppen zu ordnen. Zu den frühesten, noch am Ende des 11. oder zu Beginn des 12. Jahrhundert verfassten Erzählungen, die entweder über die Einzelheiten der Inhaftierung des Königs oder nur über seine Vertreibung vom Throne berichten, gehören die folgenden Texte an: Die Preßburger Jahrbücher, die einzige überlieferte annalistische Darstellung der mittelalterlichen ungarischen Geschichtsschreibung geben zum Jahre 1083 nur sehr knapp an, dass Salomon inhaftiert worden sei, die *elevatio* von Stephan dem Heiligen und seinem Sohn erfolgt sei, und Salomon geflohen sei<sup>17</sup>. Damit in Zusammenhang berichtet die Ungarische Chronikkomposition schon etwas ausführlicher über die Ereignisse<sup>18</sup>. Darüber hinaus steht

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16 Zu seinem Tode vgl. *Die Chroniken Berholds von Reichenau und Bernords von Konstanz*, hrsg. von I.S. Robinson, MGH, *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum* ns., XIV, Hannover 2003, S. 465: *Salomon quondam rex Ungarorum, scilicet a Latislao iam dudum regno privatus et in exilium expulsus, dum quiddam fortiter contra regem Grecorum molitur, post incredibilem hostium stragem et ipse viriliter occubuit.*

17 *Annales Posenienses*, ed. E. Madzsar, SRH, I, S. 121-127.

18 *Chronici Hungarici compositio seculi XIV*, c. 133-134, S. 407-408: *Rex autem Ladizlaus deprehenso flagitio cepit Salomonem et in Vyssegrad retrusit in carcerem. Erat autem apud Salomonem Bodus filius Bokun in carcere. Hoc autem non causa timoris fecit, sed pro consanguinitate regis, qui semper minibatur facere „peiora prioribus“, et ut furor illius paululum temperaretur (p. 408). Ipse enim assidue pro Salomone orabat, ut ad legem Dei converteretur. Si vero Salomon conversus*

die dritte, von Bischof Hartvik von Raab/Győr verfasste Stephanslegende zur Verfügung, die Salomons Inhaftierung bzw. Freilassung im Rahmen der Mirakel behandelt<sup>19</sup>. Und schließlich kann in der Chronik des Bernold von Konstanz zum Jahre gelesen werden, dass Salomon inhaftiert worden sei<sup>20</sup>. Über die vier, hier erwähnten Quellentexte hinaus stehen noch weitere Texthinweise zur Verfügung, die über Salomons Herrschaftszeit Informationen geben. So ist unter anderem die Chronik von Gallus Anonymus zu erwähnen, die in Bezug auf die Problematik von Bolesław II. bzw. seine Vertreibung aus Polen kurz über Salomon berichtet<sup>21</sup>. Gallus Anonymus muss gewisse Informationen über den abgesetzten und inhaftierten König besessen haben, da Salomons Frau, Judith von Schwaben nach dem Tode der ersten (oder zweiten) Frau von Władysław Herman den polnischen Fürsten heiratete<sup>22</sup>. Auch in diese Reihe gehört ferner das Werk von Lampert

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*fuisse veraciter regnum plenarie sibi restituisset, ipse ducatum sibi elegisset. Et quomodo Salomon in carcere fuisse, Ladislaus multo magis ei condolebat. Sed postmodum Salomon rex dimissus de carcere, in elevatione corporis sancti regis Stephani et Beati Emerici confessoris.*

**19** *Legenda Sancti Stephani regis maior et minor, atque legenda ab Hartoico episcopo Conscripta*, hrsg. von E. Bartonek, SRH, II, S. 377-440, hier *Legenda S. Stephani regis ab Hartoico episcopo conscripta*, S. 401-440, x. 24, S. 434: *Sed ut hostenderet dominus, quante misericordie rex sanctus fuerit adhuc mortali vivens in corpore, qua iam cum Christo regnans se demonstrabat adhuc pre ceteris operibus aprobare, cum triduo sanctum eius corpus totis viribus elevare satagerent, nulla de loco suo potuit arte moveri. Eo namque tempore exigentibus culpulis inter predictum regem Ladislaum et fratrem eius Salomonem gravis orta seditio fuerat, ob quam Salomon captus carcere tenebatur. Cum ergo pro elevando corpore frustra conarentur, quadam inclusa iuxta ecclesiam Sancti Salvatoris in Bucan Sumliu, nomine Karitas, cuius vite percelebris tunc temporis opinio ferebatur, revelatione sibi celitus facta, regi mandavit eos incassum niti, non posse sanctum regis transferri pignora, donec Salomon a carcerali absoluto custodia, libera intulgentia preberetur. Illo itaque e carcere producto et triduo iterato ieiunio, cum ad transferendas reliquias sacras tertia die ventum fuisset, lapis ingens superpositus tanta facilitate sublatus est, ac si nichil ante ponderis habuisset.*

**20** *Die Chroniken Berholds von Reichenau und Bernords von Konstanz*, S. 435: *Salomon rex Ungarorum, set regia dignitate indignissimus, praedicti Henrici cognatus, a compatriota suo, nomine Latislao, regno privato incarceratur, et ille pro eo regia dignitate sublimatur.*

**21** *Galli Anonymi chronicae et gesta ducum sive principum Polonorum*, ed. K. Maleczyński, *Monumenta Poloniae Historica* ns., II, Cracoviae 1952, I, c. 27: *Ipse quoque Salamonem regem de Ungaria suis viribus effugavit, et in sede Wladislauum, sicut eminentem corpore, sic affluentem pietate collocavit. [...] Dicunt talem nunquam regem Ungariam habuisse, Neque terram iam post eum fructuosam sic fuisse.*

**22** *Galli Anonymi chronicae et gesta ducum sive principum Polonorum*, II, c. 1: *Wladislauus dux [...] sororem imperatoris tertii Henrici, uxorem prius Salamonis Ungarie regis in matrimonium desponsavit [...]. Der Akt fand auch in der Hagiographie Ottos von Bamberg Abklang. Vgl.: Die Prüfeningener Vita Bischof Ottos I. von Bamberg nach der Fassung des Großen Österreichischen Legendars*, ed. J. Petersohn, MGH, *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum*, LXXI, S. 54: *Et tempore soror regis, Iudith nomine, in fratris contubernio morabatur, in qua ille sepius, licet alias felix, infelicitatem fortunę expertus, quia eam servare honeste non poterat, honesto matrimonio iungere disponebat. De hoc se negotio pro honore regis et regni Otto fidelissimus intromisit et duci Poloniorum, ut mulierem pulchram et nobilem, utpote regis filiam regisque germanam, in coniugium pereret, suggerere non cessavit, magnum sibi ac suis honoris commo dum pacisque presidium ex affi-*

von Hersfeld<sup>23</sup>, die Niederaltaicher Jahrbücher, die wegen der Verflechtung des Königs mit den Saliern reges Interesse an Anliegen in Ungarn zeigten, die mit ihm in Zusammenhang waren. In diesen Quellen ist dennoch keine Spur über die Inhaftierung von Salomon überliefert worden.

Die zweite Etappe der Tradition über Salomon entfaltete sich im 13. Jahrhundert. Zu Beginn der achtziger Jahre des 13. Jahrhunderts ist die *Gesta Hungarorum* Simeons von Kéza, einem der bedeutendsten Autoren der mittelalterlichen Geschichtsschreibung in Ungarn, verfasst worden<sup>24</sup>. Die *Gesta Hungarorum* Simeons von Kéza lehnt teils an den früher entstandenen Chroniktexten an<sup>25</sup>, was auch einige Elemente der früheren Salomon-Tradition bezeugt. Jedenfalls hat Kézai ein ganz neues Bild über Salomon konzipiert: das des unglücklichen und erfolglosen Herrschers<sup>26</sup>. Auch zur späteren Tradition gehört die sogenannte Agramer Chronik, die trotz ihrer späteren Entstehungszeit an früheren Informationen anlehnt. Interessan-

*nitae regis asserens profuturum. Dux itaque viri prudentis, et cuius industriam ante noverat, salubri consilio adquiescens, nuncios honestos non sine muneribus direxit ad regem, eiusque germanam ab eo peccit et accepit uxorem. In cuius item obsequio Otto noster a rege directus Poloniam intravit eique fideliter astitit et ministravit. Quem mulier nobilissima archicapellani functum officio unice dilexit et coluit ac per eum fratri regi preciosa nonnunquam dona direxit.* Zur Genealogie von Herman vgl.: K. Jasiński, *Rodowód pierwszych Piastów*, Poznań 2004<sup>2</sup>, hier S. 154-170.

**23** *Lamperti Monachi Hersfeldensis opera*, ed. O. Holder-Egger, MGH, *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi*, XXXVIII, Hannover 1894, ad. A. 1071, S. 130: *Notatum autem est hunc gladium fuisse, quo famosissimus quondam rex Hunorum Attila in necem christianorum atque in excidium Galliarum hostiliter debachatus fuerat. Hunc siquidem regina Ungariorum mater Salomonis regis, duci Baioariorum Ottoni dono dederat 4, cum eo suggerente atque i annitente rex filium eius in regnum paternum restituisset.* Zur Deutung des Ereignisses vgl. G. Thoroczky in: *Írott források az 1050-1116 közötti magyar történelemről* (im Weiteren: IFMT), hrsg. von F. Makk, G. Thoroczky, Szegedi Középkortörténeti Könyvtár, XXII, Szeged 2006, S. 106-107, sowie Anm. 584 mit weiterführender Literatur.

**24** *Simonis de Keza Gesta Hungarorum*, ed. A. Domanovszky, SRH, I, S. 131-194, c. 61, S. 181: *Salomon ergo metuens fratres suos, cum tota familia in Styriam introvit, ubi in Agmund monasterio familia sua derelicta in Musunium est reversus volens colligere exercitum iterato. Sed cum de die in diem deficeret, illorumque processus reciperet felicia incrementa, confusus rediit ad caesarem adiutorium petiturus. Et licet pro militia solidanda affluentem pecuniam tradidisset, Teutonici ob timorem Hungarorum recipere noluerunt. Unde spe omni destitutus rediit in agmund ad reginam, cum qua dies aliquos cohabitans in veste monachali deinde Albam venit. Et cum Ladislaus frater eius in porticu ecclesiae Beatae Virginis manibus propriis pauperibus elemosinam erogaret, ipse ibi inter eos dicitur accepisse. Quem mox cognovit Ladislaus, ut inspexit. Reversus autem Ladislaus a distributione elemosinae inquiri fecit diligenter, non quod ei nocuisset; sed ille malum praesumens ab eodem, secessit inde versus mare Adriaticum, ubi in civitate vocata Pola usque mortem in summa paupertate in penuria finiens vitam suam, in qua et iacet tumulatus, nunquam rediens ad uxorem uaque mortem.*

**25** Zu Kézai vgl.: J. Szűcs, *Társadalomelmélet, politikai teória és történetiszemlélet Kézai Simon Gesta Hungarorumában*, „Századok” CVII (1973), 3-4, S. 569-641; Gy. Kristó, *Magyar historiográfia I. Történetírás a középkori Magyarországon*, Budapest 2003, S. 56-65.

**26** Vgl. neulich mit zahlreichen europäischen Analogien: G. Klaniczay, *A királyi bölcsesség ellentmondásos képe. Salamon*, „Aetas” XXIII (2008), 1, S. 25-41.



terweise wurde in diesem Werk der Konflikt der Arpaden, die Verjagung von Salomon aus dem Lande aufbewahrt, die Inhaftierung aber nicht<sup>27</sup>.

Wenn man nun den Konflikt selbst, sowie die Inhaftierung und die Erinnerung daran in der frühesten ungarischen Geschichtsschreibung unter die Lupe nehmen möchte, ist festzustellen, dass nur die vier, oben erwähnten Geschichtsquellen zur Verfügung stehen.

Die Preßburger Jahrbücher, wie darauf bereits Bezug genommen wurde, stellen die einzige überlieferte annalistische Produktion des mittelalterlichen Königreichs Ungarn dar<sup>28</sup>. Nach der älteren Auffassung sollen sie in Pannonhalma entstanden sein, während die neuere Forschung schon eher Székesfehérvár/Stuhlweißenburg als Entstehungsort bezeichnet<sup>29</sup>. Der Beurteilung der früheren Forschung nach sollen die Preßburger Jahrbücher aus vier verschiedenen Textteilen bestehen. Von ihnen sei nur die erste in Pannonhalma entstanden die zweite, die eben den Zeitraum umfasst, der uns in der vorliegenden Arbeit von Interesse ist, würde sich an den Informationen der Ungarischen Chronikkomposition anlehnen, während zwei weitere, die grundsätzlich spätere Nachrichten vermitteln, aufgrund lokaler Tradition berichten würden<sup>30</sup>. Diese Ansicht wurde jedoch von Gyula Kristó widerlegt, indem er im Hinblick auf die Eintragung der Jahrbücher zum Jahre 1081 feststellen konnte, dass diese durch die Chronik übernommen wurde<sup>31</sup>.

Die Informationen der Jahrbücher lehnen sicherlich an früheren Nachrichten an, daher werden sie in der Forschung im allgemeinen angenommen.

Zum zweiten muss die oben schon mehrmals zitierte Ungarische Chronikkomposition des 14. Jahrhunderts erwähnt werden. Dieser Text, die die

27 *Chronicon Zagrabense cum textu chronici Varadiensis collatum*, ed. E. Szentpétery, SRH, I, S. 195-215, c. 6, S. 208: *Rex Salomon, de quo supra, non fuit aptus ad regnandum et concordiam tenendam cum Bela duce filio Wazul et filiis suis, scilicet Geycha et Ladislao, postea gloriosis regibus, cum quibus semper, ut habet coronica Hungarorum, malitiose egit. Nam sanctus rex Ladislaus ab omnibus regnibus regnicolis post obitum Geyche regis, fratris sui, vix potuit induci, ut regni gubernacula susciperet. Qui cum ipso rege Salomone fecerat perfectam pacem concedendo sibi magnam partem regni, sed ipse Salomon post aliquod tempus de hoc non contentus in necem ipsius sancti regis conspiraverat et sic confusus et superatus ab ipso rege sancto de regno pereclitatus est nullo sciente et tandem obiit et in civitate Pola sepultus est.*

28 Zur Literatur vgl.: J.L. Csóka, *A latin nyelvű történeti irodalom kialakulása Magyarországon a XI-XIV. Században*, Irodalomtörténeti Könyvtár, XX, Budapest 1967, S. 342-344; Gy., Kristó in: *Az államalapítás korának írott forrásai* (im Weiteren: ÁKIF), hrsg. von Gy. Kristó, Szegedi Közékkortörténeti Könyvtár, XV, Szeged 1999, S. 354-357; F. Makk in: IFMT, S. 337-342; L. Veszprémy, K. Szovák, *Kronikák, Legendák, Intelmek – Utószó*, SRH, II, S. 738-739.

29 Gy. Kristó, *A történeti irodalom Magyarországon a kezdetektől 1241-ig.*, Irodalomtörténeti füzetek, CXXXV, Budapest 1994, S. 125-126. Vgl. noch Gy. Kristó in: ÁKIF, S. 354.

30 Vgl. B. Hóman, *A Szent László-kori Gesta Ungarorum és XI-XII. századi lezármazói. Forrástanulmány*, Budapest 1925, S. 76-78.

31 Gy. Kristó, *Magyar historiográfia...*, S. 28-29.

Hauptlinie der früheren ungarischen Geschichte ist in einer in zwei Textfamilien überlieferten, im 14. Jahrhundert zweimal kompilierten Chronikkomposition aufbewahrt worden, die ein sehr reichhaltiger „Textpool“ ist, in dem vom 11. Jahrhundert bis zum 14. zahlreiche Textschichten überliefert sind, die von verschiedenen Autoren in diversen Zeitpunkten verfasst worden sind. Und selbst die einzelnen, durch die ungarische Mittelalterforschung der vergangenen Jahrzehnte mit mehr-weniger Erfolg ausgewiesenen Textschichten unterlagen während der Jahrhunderte des Mittelalters Modifizierungen, infolge deren sie nur mit sorgfältiger Sisyphusarbeit ausfindig gemacht werden können<sup>32</sup>. Trotz aller Schwierigkeiten um die ungarische Chronikkomposition herum konnte die ungarische Chronikforschung in den letzten Jahrzehnten wenigstens in der Frage zu Konsens kommen, dass es während der Herrschaft von Koloman dem Buchkundigen eine neue Chronik oder *Gesta* entstanden sein kann, die zwar auch an früher entstandenen Erzählungen Modifizierungen vorgenommen habe, aber deren wichtigste Zielsetzung gewesen sei, die früheren Konflikte der Arpaden, insbesondere die zwischen König Salomon (1063-1074) und seinen Cousins, Géza I. (1074-1077) und Ladislaus I. (1077-1095) stattgefundenen Thronstreite darzustellen<sup>33</sup>. Das weist darauf hin, dass alle, in der Chronikkomposition aufbewahrten Texte sehr behutsam und kritisch behandelt werden müssen. Es ist nämlich der Verdienst von Gyula Kristó, dass heute schon als nachgewiesen gilt, dass die Chronik zu Beginn des 13. Jahrhunderts von einem unbekanntem Verfasser in vieler Hinsicht neugeschrieben wurde<sup>34</sup>. Es ist bis heute fraglich, ob diese Erneuerung nur Textteile, ganze Narrationen, oder aber nur stilistische Einzelheiten umfasste. Die Frage kann mit einem einfachen ja oder nein nicht beantwortet werden. Bei gewissen Kapiteln sind nur stilistische Überarbeitungen wahrzunehmen<sup>35</sup>,

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32 Vgl. dazu: J. Gerics, *Legkorábbi gesta-szerkesztéseink keletkezésrendjének problémái. Értekezések a történeti tudományok köréből*, Új sorozat, XX, Budapest 1962, passim. Zur vollständigen Zusammenfassung der Forschungsgeschichte der Chronik vgl. Gy. Kristó, *A történeti irodalom...*, S. 8-22. Ferner: L. Szovák, K. Veszprémy, *Krónikák, Legendák, Intelmek – Utószó*, S. 750-761. Vgl. noch: K. Szovák in: *Képes Krónika*, ins Ungarische übersetzt von J. Bollók, hrsg. von K. Szovák, L. Veszprémy, Budapest 2004, S. 239-254; G. Thoroczkay, *A magyar krónikairódom kezdetei*, in: *Aktualitások a magyar középkorkutatásban*, hrsg. von M. Font, T. Fedeles, G. Kiss, Pécs 2010, S. 23-34.

33 Vgl. dazu: K. Szovák in: *Képes Krónika*, S. 242.

34 Gy. Kristó, *A történeti irodalom...*, S. 88-103.

35 Vgl. dazu: D. Bagi, *Problematik der ältesten Schichten der ungarischen Chronikkomposition des 14. Jh. Im Lichte der ungarischen Geschichtsforschung der letzten Jahrzehnte – einige ausgewählte Problemstellen*, „*Questiones Medii Aevi Novae*“ XII (2007), S. 128-147; idem, *Quamvis sim nobilior quam paganus ille, tamen pugnabo pro regni vestri commodo et honore domoni ducis*. Zur Kritik eines Kapitels der Ungarischen Chronikkomposition, in: *Historia narrat. Studia mediawistyczne ofiarowane profesorowi Jackowi Banaszkiewiczowi*, hrsg. von A. Pleszczyński, J. Sobiesiak, M. Tomaszek, P. Tyszka, Lublin 2012, S. 97-111.

während andere Erzählungen mehrfach interpoliert wurden, und andere, zum 11. Jahrhundert gebundene Erzählungen nachweisbar erst in der zweiten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts verfasst worden sind<sup>36</sup>. Was die uns in dem vorliegenden Aufsatz interessierenden Fragen anbetrifft, muss also grundsätzlich festgestellt werden, dass die Kapitel der Chronik, die Salomons Festnahme und spätere Freilassung erzählen, höchstwahrscheinlich während Kolomans Herrschaftszeit verfasst wurden, was selbstverständlich nicht ausschließt, dass an diesen Teile des heute zur Verfügung stehenden Textkorpus auch kleinere Veränderungen vorgenommen wurden.

Noch interessanter ist die dritte, uns nun interessierende Quelle, die dritte Stephanslegende, dessen Autorenschaft mit Bischof Hartvik von Raab verbunden wird. König Stephan der Heilige verfügt über eine reiche hagiographische Literatur. Die erste, als *Legenda maior* bezeichnete Lebenserzählung muss um 1083 entstanden sein<sup>37</sup>. Während der Regierungszeit von Koloman dem Buchkundigen (1095-1116) ist die Abfassung der beiden anderen Legenden des ersten Ungarnkönigs anzusetzen: zunächst die *Legenda minor*<sup>38</sup>, und um 1099 – nach neuesten Forschungsergebnissen – die dritte, von Bischof Hartvik von Raab verfasste Legende des Königs<sup>39</sup>. In der Forschung zur Stephanshagiographie ist die Frage diskutiert worden, ob es eine vierte Legende gegeben haben könnte<sup>40</sup>, wofür Textspuren in anderen spätmittelalterlichen Überlieferungen sprechen<sup>41</sup>. Während also die *Legenda maior* eher hagiographischen Zwecken diene und die *Legenda minor* den Aspekt der Herrschaftsausübung des Königs stärker betonte, liefert die dritte ein noch anderes Bild über die Herrschaft des ersten Königs,

<sup>36</sup> Zu möglichen Entstehungszeiten der einzelnen Kapitel der Chronikkomposition vgl. die Kommentare zur im 15. Jahrhundert entstandenen Thuróczy-Chronik, deren erster Teil an der Chronikkomposition anlehnt. Vgl.: *Johannes de Thuroczy Chronica Hungarorum. II. Commentarii I-II*, composuit E. Mályusz, adjuvante J. Kristó, Budapest 1988. Davon unabhängig vgl. noch: E. Mályusz, *Az V. István-kori geszta*, Budapest 1971. Zu den Interpolationen der Chronik und den im 11. entstandenen Urkunden vgl.: T. Szócs, *A 14. századi krónikaszerkesztmény interpolációi és 11. századi okleveleink*, „Fons: Forráskutatás és történeti segéd tudományok“ XIV (2007), S. 59-95.

<sup>37</sup> *Legenda Sancti Stephani regis maior et minor, atque legenda ab Hartuico episcopo Conscripta*, SRH, II, S. 377-392.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibidem*, S. 393-400.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibidem*, S. 401-440. Zusammenfassung der Forschungsprobleme der Hartvik-Legende bei G. Thoroczkay, *Anmerkungen zur Frage der Entstehungszeit der Hartvik-Legende des Stephan des Heiligen*, „Specimina Nova. Pars Prima“, *Sectio Mediaevalis I* (2001), S. 107-132.

<sup>40</sup> Vgl. dazu Gy. Kristó, *A nagyobbik és a Hartvik-legenda szövegkapcsolatához*, „Acta Universitatis Szegediensis“, *Acta Historica XC* (1990), S. 43-62; G. Thoroczkay, *A magyar krónika-irodalom kezdeteiről*, in: *Aktualitások a magyar középkorkutatásban. In memoriam Kristó Gyula*, hrsg. von M. Font, G. Kiss, T. Fedeles, Pécs 2010, S. 23-34, hier S. 26.

<sup>41</sup> T. Körmendi, *Szent István király Nagyobb legendájának nyelvezete*, „Fons: Forráskutatás és történeti segéd tudományok“ X (2003), S. 65-118.

indem im Gegensatz zu den ersten beiden Legenden die Funktion dieser Darstellung viel politischer angelegt ist. Bereits in der Einleitung wird darauf Bezug genommen, dass die Legende auf den Befehl von Koloman dem Buchkundigen entstanden sei, was die Beziehung zwischen Auftraggeber und Text deutlich werden lässt<sup>42</sup>. Bischof Hartvik verwandte eine eigenartige Abfassungstechnik: mit leichten Änderungen band er die Texte der ersten beiden Legenden zusammen und fügte neue, in den beiden anderen Legendentexten fehlende inhaltliche Elemente ein, die vor allem als Kennzeichen des politischen Programms von König Koloman dem Buchkundigen zu verstehen sind. Die Hartvik-Legende ist also im allgemeinen eine sehr bewusst, den politischen Interessen von Koloman entsprechende, zielbewusst kompilierte und verfasste Streitschrift, die alles aus der Sicht von Koloman dem Buchkundigen betrachtet und bewertet.

Und zum Schluss sei hier kurz die Chronik Bernolds von Konstanz erwähnt<sup>43</sup>. Wie darauf oben bereits hingewiesen wurde, was Salomon war mit den Saliern verschwägert, was dazu führte, dass alles, was mit ihm in Zusammenhang war, auch im Reich Abklang fand. Außer dieser Geschichtsquelle sind noch zu Salomons Leben und seinem Konflikt mit seinen Verwandten auch in den Niederalteicher Jahrbüchern, bei Lampert von Hersfeld überliefert. Die Chronik von Bernold ist also eine der wichtigsten Quellen, anhand deren selbst die Tatsache der Inhaftierung von Salomon belegt werden kann.

Will man hier kurz eine Zwischenbilanz ziehen, ist folgendes festzuhalten. Königs Salomon Inhaftierung und Freilassung muss tatsächlich erfolgt sein, weil sie sogar außerhalb der Reichweite der dynastischen Geschichtsschreibung überliefert ist. Zum zweiten ist festzuhalten, dass die Entstehungszeit der Quellen, wo die Inhaftierung und Freilassung erwähnt wird, nur bei Bernold und der Hartvik-Legende festgestellt werden kann. Und zum dritten ist festzulegen, dass von den vier, zur Verfügung stehenden Quellen alleine die Chronikkomposition und die Hartvik-Legende breitere Erklärung zu den Ereignissen liefern. Daher muss im Weiteren auf die Frage eingegangen werden, wie die in ihnen überlieferten Informationen bewertet werden können.

József Gerics war der erste unter den ungarischen Mittelalterforschern, der zuerst darauf aufmerksam machte, dass die Chronikkomposition die ab Mitte des 11. Jahrhundert bis Koloman geführten Thronstreite der Arpaden aus zwei, voneinander abweichenden Gesichtspunkten beurteilt und

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<sup>42</sup> *Legenda Sancti Stephani regis maior et minor, atque legenda ab Hartvico episcopo Conscrip-ta*, SRH, II, S. 401: *Incepturus opus, domine mi inclite, quod michi vestro regali precepto de vita beati regis Stephani potentialiter iniuxisti [...]*.

<sup>43</sup> Vgl. dazu: P. Rokay in: IFMT, S. 204.

erklärt hat<sup>44</sup>. Die eine Erklärung habe hiernach König Salomon gegenüber seinen Vettern unterstützt, und habe sich darauf berufen, dass Salomon trotz der negativen Eigenschaften seines Charakters durch die von seinem Vater erfolgten Designation unantastbare Rechte auf die Herrschaft erworben hätte<sup>45</sup>: Dies habe sogar auch Géza anerkannt, indem er sich bekannte, er habe die Macht von Salomon usurpiert<sup>46</sup>. Gerics schloss daraus auf eine konsequente Argumentationsstrategie des unbekanntes Chronisten, der hier auf die *legitimitas* von Salomon berufen hätte<sup>47</sup>. Hingegen seien aber andere Kapitel der Chronikkomposition von einem Autor geschrieben worden, der sich – da Ladislaus und Géza die Macht in illegitimer Weise Salomon entrissen hätten –, nicht mehr auf die Legitimität berufen habe, sondern das noch der Karolingerzeit durch die Kirche ausgearbeitete Konzept der *idoneitas*, also das der herrscherlichen Eignung herausgehoben habe<sup>48</sup>. Damit in Zusammenhang machte Gerics ferner darauf aufmerksam, dass in der zwar später verfassten, aber teils auf früherer Texttradition beruhenden<sup>49</sup> Agramer Chronik (*Chronicon Zagrabense*) die Uneignung von Salomon zum Ausdruck gebracht werde<sup>50</sup>. Dies würde darauf hinweisen, dass der *Chronicon Zagrabensense* ältere, die Herrschereignung bzw. Uneignung in den Mittelpunkt stellende Chronik verwendet hätte<sup>51</sup>. Gerics' Ansichten nach soll die Idee der Idoneität für das Zeitalter von Koloman bezeichnend gewesen sein, d. h. die am Hofe des gebildeten Königs verfasste Chronik bzw. *Gesta* habe auf der Seite der Herzöge Salomon gegenüber gestanden, und die Absetzung von Salomon mit dem Mangel seiner Eignung erklärt<sup>52</sup>. Um diese mit weiteren Quellenbelegen zu untermauern, zog Gerics die dritte, von Bischof Hartvik verfasste Stephanslegende zu seiner Beweisführung heran, von der er ebenso feststellte, dass sie sich auf die Idoneität berufen hätte<sup>53</sup>. Damit in Zusammenhang stellte er ferner fest, dass die Argumenta-

44 J. Gerics, *Legkorábbi gesta-szerkesztéseink...*, S. 88-112.

45 *Chronici Hungarici compositio seculi XIV*, c. 92, S. 353: *Dicunt alii, quod Bela duce et filiis eius, Geycha scilicet et Ladislao cunctisque regni optimatibus consentientibus Solomon unctus esset in regem [...]*.

46 *Ibidem*, c. 130, S. 401: *Dicebat [scil. Géza] se peccasse, quia regnum legitime coronati regis occupaverat [...]*. Ferner *ibidem*, c. 133, S. 407: *[...] quia ius legitimum Ladislaus non habebat contra eum [...]*.

47 J. Gerics, *Legkorábbi gesta-szerkesztéseink...*, S. 88-89.

48 *Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV*, c. 120, S. 388; K. Szovák in: *Képes Krónika*, S. 241.

49 Vgl. L. Szovák, K. Veszprémy, *Krónikák, Legendák, Intelmek – Utószó*, S. 749-750.

50 *Chronicon Zagrabense*, c. 6, S. 208: *Rex Salomon, de quo supra, non fuit aptus ad regnandum et concordiam tenendam cum Bela duce filio Wazul et filiis suis, scilicet Geycha et Ladislao, postea gloriosis regibus, cum quibus semper, ut habet coronica Hungarorum, malitiose egit.*

51 J. Gerics, *Legkorábbi gesta-szerkesztéseink...*, S. 89-90.

52 *Ibidem*, S. 93-94.

53 *Ibidem*, S. 94.

tionen, die von der Legitimität von Salomon ausgegangen seien, erst später, in der zweiten Hälfte des 12. Jahrhunderts verfasst worden seien, und im Grunde genommen die politischen Ansichten des Zeitalters von König Stephan III. widerspiegeln würden<sup>54</sup>.

Gegenüber den Ansichten von Gerics und seinen Anhängern formulierte Gyula Kristó eine abweichende Meinung. Was die ältesten Redaktionen der Chronikkomposition anbetrifft, vertrat er den Standpunkt, die Urredaktion sei die unter Kolomans Herrschaft, zu Beginn des 12. Jahrhunderts entstandene „Chronik“, die irgendwie Ordnung zwischen den beiden Linien der Arpaden, also Salomon bzw. Géza I. und Ladislaus I. zu schaffen versuchte<sup>55</sup>. Koloman war der Sohn von Géza I., stammte also aus der Linie von Béla I., deren Söhne Salamons *legitime* Macht stürzten. Aber Koloman selbst hatte Thronstreit mit seinem Bruder Álmos. Obwohl nicht Koloman, sondern Álmos von Ladislaus I. zum Throne designiert worden war<sup>56</sup>, wurde Koloman *legitim* gekrönt. Von nun an habe Álmos nur als Thronforderer auftreten können, was laut Kristó den in königlichem Auftrage verfahrenen Chronisten dazu veranlasst haben könnte, Kolomans Macht hinsichtlich der *legitimitas* zu untermauern, und seine Herrschaft Álmos gegenüber selbst von der *legitimitas* abzuleiten. Koloman sei aber in schwieriger Lage gewesen, weil er andererseits aus der Linie von Béla I. stammte, dessen Söhne die Macht des legitim zum König erhobenen Salomon stürzten. Daher habe Koloman gleichzeitig auch die Idoneität also die Eignung zur Herrschaft in Betracht ziehen müssen<sup>57</sup>. Kristó berief sich ferner auch auf die dritte Stephanslegende, die zweifelsohne während Kolomans Herrschaft entstanden ist. Gerics' Meinung gegenüber formulierte er eine These, der nach Bischof Hartvik auf die Intentionen von König Koloman eine neue, aufgrund der *legitimitas* stehende Theorie entworfen habe, in deren Mittelpunkt die gleichzeitige Beherrschung des Landes und der Krone gestanden habe<sup>58</sup>.

Kristós Thesen wurden in der späteren Forschung auf heftige Kritik gestoßen. József Gerics lehnte in einer seiner späteren Schriften Kristós Ansichten vollständig ab, und nahm wie in seiner 1961 erschienene Monographie Stellung, indem er sich auf die Vorrangigkeit einer idoneistisch ge-

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54 Ibidem, S. 102-103.

55 Gy. Kristó, *Legitimitás és idoneitás. (Adalékok Árpád-kori eszmetörténetünkhöz)*, „Századok“ CVII (1974), 3, S. 585-619, hier S. 591.

56 Vgl. dazu die eindeutige Stellungnahme der Ungarischen Chronikkomposition: *Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV*, c. 140, S. 419: *Beatus autem Ladizlaus sic ordinavit, ut post ipsum Almus regnaret*. Zu den konstruktiven Quellenaussagen über die Designation bzw. dem Verhältnis zwischen den beiden Brüdern vgl.: Gy. Kristó, F. Makk, *Die ersten Könige Ungarns...*, S. 129-130.

57 Gy. Kristó, *Legitimitás...*, S. 591.

58 Ibidem, S. 598.

sinnten Chronik während der Herrschaft von Koloman berief<sup>59</sup>. Auch János Bollók war der Meinung, dass die Einstellung der zur Zeit von Koloman entstandenen Chronik die Ereignisse aus Sicht der Idoneität betrachtet habe<sup>60</sup>. Und schließlich nahm diesbezüglich auch Kornél Szovák Stellung, der die Thesen von Geric annahm<sup>61</sup>.

Der Diskurs entfaltete sich also über Legitimität und Idoneität in den Thronkämpfen der Arpaden zwischen József Geric und Gyula Kristó vor allem um die Frage herum, ob die Chronikpassagen, die sich darauf berufen, dass Salomon trotz seines Verhaltens, bzw. der Mängel von Eignungskriterien zur Herrschaft durch seine Krönung, bzw. die im Jahre 1064 durchgeführte Bekräftigungskrönung 1064 unantastbare Rechte zur Herrschaft erworben hätte. Im Kapitel 130 der Chronikkomposition wird erzählt, dass sich Géza I. schon nach seiner Krönung bekannt hat, er habe die Herrschaft des legitim gekrönten Königs entrissen<sup>62</sup>. Das andere, Salomons legitime Rechte befürwortende Kapitel der Chronik berief sich sogar darauf, dass Salomon zwar nicht im Besitz von gewissen Eigenschaften war, sogar *trux und impacibilis* war, Ladislaus trotzdem kein legitimes Recht ihm gegenüber gehabt hätte, und er sogar ihm – nachdem sie sich versöhnt hatten, eine Verpflegung zur Verfügung stellen wollte, weil die Großen des Reiches zur Teilung des Königsreichs nicht zugestimmt hätten<sup>63</sup>. Und schließlich wird der Verbleib der endgültigen Versöhnung damit erklärt, dass sich Salomon nicht verändern konnte. Hätte er das getan, wäre ihm das regnum zurückgegeben, und von Ladislaus nur der ducatus behalten worden<sup>64</sup>.

Will man die Ergebnisse des zwischen den beiden Gelehrten geführten Diskurses kurz bewerten, ist folgendes festzustellen: Als Verdienst des vorwiegend zwischen Geric und Kristó geführten Diskurses ist festzuhalten, dass sie die Aufmerksamkeit auf die Zusammenhänge zwischen dynastischer Historiographie und ideologischer Begründung der Macht gelenkt hat. Gleichzeitig ist jedoch zu bemerken, dass der Gelehrtenstreit um Legi-

59 J. Geric, *Kálmán-kori krónikáink és legendáink koronafogalmához*, in: Mályusz Elemér *Emlékkönyv: Társadalom- és művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok*, hrsg. É. Balázs, E. Fügedi, F. Maksay, Budapest 1984, S. 131-140.

60 J. Bollók, *Szent Imre alakja középkori krónikáinkban*, in: *Művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok a magyar középkorról*, hrsg. von E. Fügedi, Budapest 1986, S. 61-75, hier S. 72 und Anm. 57.

61 K. Szovák, *Szent László alakja...*, S. 116-118. Vgl. noch idem in: *Képes Krónika*, S. 241.

62 *Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV*, c. 130, S. 404: *Dicebat se pecasse, quia regnum legitime coronati regis occupaverat.*

63 *Ibidem*, c. 133, S. 408: *Rex autem Ladislaus, quamvis sciret Salomonem nimis esse trucem et impacibilem, victus tamen pietate et maxime iustitia compellente, quia ius legitimum Ladislaus non habuit contra eum, sed omnia ex facto fecit, non de iure, quarto annon regni sui pacificatus est cum Salomone, donans ei stipendia ad regales expensas sufficientia. Optimates autem regni futura pericula precauentes non patiebantur regnum partiri cum Salomone.*

64 *Ibidem*, c. 133, S. 407-408: *Si vero Salomon conversus fuisset, veraciter regnum sibi restitisset, ipse ducatum sibi elegisset.*

timität und Idoneität die Begriffe sowohl geographisch (Ungarn), als auch begriffsgeschichtlich (Legitimität bzw. Idoneität) verabsolutiert hat, indem die beiden Begriffe nur in bezug auf die ungarische Geschichte und auf eine, in der Chronikkomposition bzw. anderen Quellen beschriebene Situation, beschränkt wurden. Die Klärung dieser Frage bedarf gründlicher Analyse in einer Einzelstudie.

Von Bedeutung ist jedoch diese Frage auf die Zielsetzungen der vorliegenden Arbeit deshalb, weil sich die Frage stellt, aus wessen Sicht der unmittelbare Konflikt zwischen Ladislaus I. und Salomon in der Chronik dargestellt und interpretiert wird? Die Antwort könnte darauf die dritte, in unserem Falle relevante Quelle bieten, die von Bischof Hartvik von Raab verfasste Stephanslegende.

Die Hartvik-Legende ist, wie darauf oben schon Bezug genommen wurde, eine zielbewusst angefertigte Erzählung, deren authentische, von Bischof Hartvik auf die Intention von Koloman dem Buchkundigen verfassten Textpassagen gut durchdachten Zwecken dienen. In unserem Falle bedeutet dies eindeutig, dass die Hartvik-Legende unser erster, zu einem sicheren Zeitpunkt datierter Text ist, der über die Inhaftierung und Freilassung von Salomon bewertend berichtet. Eine andere Frage ist es dennoch, ob die Erinnerung an Salomons Festnahme und Freilassung, bzw. deren Erwähnung und Einfügung in die Heiligsprechung von Stephan dem Heiligen wegen Salomon oder Ladislaus in der Legende Abklang fand?

Es bedarf keiner weiteren Erklärung, und der ungarischen Geschichtsforschung ist schon seit langem bekannt, dass Koloman der Buchkundige als tatsächlicher Erschaffer des Stephanskultes gilt. Das verrät im allgemeinen das Prolog zu seinem ersten Gesetzbuch, wo er sich dem Werk des heiligen Königs angemessen hat. Koloman scheint der Fortsetzer der Christianisierung Ungarns geworden zu sein<sup>65</sup>, indem er sich selbst *non tam, quasi fundator, sed superedificator*<sup>66</sup> nannte. Darauf, dass der Heilige König im Geschichtsdenken und Herrscherpraxis von Koloman privilegierte Rolle hatte, gibt es auch weitere Indizien. Er war der erste unter den im 11. Jahrhundert regierten Arpaden, der sich in Székesfehérvár, also in der Begräbnisstätte

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65 L. Závodszy, *A Szent István, Szent László és Kálmán korabeli törvények és zsinati határozatok forrásai*, Budapest 1904, S. 182-183: *Nam cum tempore predicti patris universum regnum eius barbaricis seroierit incultibus ac rudis coactusque christianus contra commonitorium sancte fidei stimulum adhuc recalcitraret, adhuc contra penitentialia ultricis virge verbera remota, opere precium fuit, ut sancte discipline coaccio in fidelibus quidem ad conversionem fidei, sed conversis fieret ad iusticiam penitencie peccati. At christianissimus rex noster Columbanus columbine gracia simplicitatis cum omni virtutum discrecion predictus, postquam vidit adultam fidem perfecte religionis robor accepisse, legalis vinculum cathen cogitavit relaxare prudenter, utpote perpendens indignum esse, si iam spontaneum fidei militem legalis pene timor torqueret, quem nec ipsa mors ab agnitione iam confessione veritatis abstrahere potuisset.*

66 Ibidem, S. 183.



des Protokönigs bestatten ließ<sup>67</sup>, und ebenso der Erste in der Dynastie, der seinem Sohn und designierten Nachfolger den Namen des ersten Königs gab<sup>68</sup>. Aber im Wege der Kultpflege des ersten Königs stand der Veranlasser seiner Heiligsprechung selbst, Ladislaus I., der 1074 mit seinem Bruder die Macht des legitimen Königs stürzte und dadurch in den Augen der Zeitgenossen eigentlich als Thronusurpator gelten konnte. Ladislaus' schlechtes Image hätte aber die Tatsache der Heiligsprechung selbst gefährden können<sup>69</sup>. Es ist also mit Recht zu vermuten, dass die in der Hartvik-Legende überlieferte Szene über Salomons Freilassung, die in der Interpretation der Legende zur Voraussetzung Entfernung des Felsens über dem Grab wurde, auch in diesem Kontext zu deuten ist. Daraus folgt, dass die in den zeitgenössischen Quellen wohlbekanntere Inhaftierung und Freilassung von Salomon in ungefähr zwanzig Jahren schon gewisse „Umwidmung“ fand, indem sie im Rahmen zu einem Baustein der behutsamen Rehabilitierungsversuche von König Ladislaus wurde.

Diese Behauptung kann durch ein anderes Argument untermauert werden.

Die Hartvik-Legende berichtet, Ladislaus sei von einer gewissen *Caritas*, einer Klosterschwester des Klosters von Bakonyosmlyó unterrichtet worden, dass der Felsen über dem Grab erst dann entfernt werden könnte, wenn er Salomon freilässt<sup>70</sup>. Die Hartvik-Legende ist die einzelne Quelle, in der über *Caritas* gelesen werden kann. In der früheren Forschung wurde dieser Szene die Authentizität abgesprochen. Marczali versuchte nachzuweisen, dass die Karitas-Episode im Text als spätere Interpolation eingefügt worden sei<sup>71</sup>. Bartoniek machte hingegen Versuche, Karitas allegorisch zu deuten, und ihre Gestalt mit der Meinungsäußerung der niedrigeren gesellschaftlichen Schichten zu identifizieren<sup>72</sup>. Seit Gerics' bis heute aktuelle Monographie hegt aber kein Zweifel, dass die Szene ursprünglich Teil des

67 *Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV*, c. 152, S. 433: *Cuius corpus in Alba quiescit.*

68 Trotz der abweichenden Texttradition ist dies nicht zu leugnen: *ibidem*, S. 434: *Cui subcessit Stephanus filius eius [...] bzw. Potentiores regni Stephanum Colomani filium in regem coronaverunt.*

69 L. Veszprémy, *Megjegyzések korai elbeszélő forrásaink történetéhez*, „Századok“ CXXXVIII (2004), 2, S. 325-347.

70 *Legenda Sancti Stephani regis maior et minor, atque legenda ab Hartoico episcopo Conscripta*, SRH, II, S. 434: [...] *quadam inclusa iuxta ecclesiam Sancti Salvatoris in Bucan Sumliu, nomine Caritas, cuius vite percelebris tunc temporis opinio ferebatur, revelatione sibi celitus facta, regi mandavit eos incassum niti, non posse sanctum regis transferri pignora, donec Salomon a carcerali absoluto custodia, libera intulgentia preberetur.*

71 H. Marczali, *Magyarország története az Árpádok korában (1038-1301)*, in: *A magyar nemzet története II*, hrsg. von S. Szilágyi, Budapest 1896, S. 134.

72 E. Bartoniek, *A magyar királyválasztási jog a középkorban*, „Századok“ LXX (1936), 9-10, S. 359-406, hier S. 368.

Legendentextes sein konnte<sup>73</sup>, und die von Bartoniek angebotene Erklärung wurde auch mit Kritik betrachtet<sup>74</sup>. Es ist des Weiteren ziemlich fraglich, ob der Inhalt der Karitas-Episode der Legende glaubwürdig sein kann. Hierbei ist nämlich zu beachten, dass das bei Bernold eine andere Chronologie der Inhaftierung und Freilassung des Königs angibt<sup>75</sup>, was die Angabe der Legende zumindest zum Bedenken würdig macht, und die Ansichten stärkt, dass hier eher die Herrschaftsprobleme von Ladislaus als eine reale Erzählung zu sehen ist<sup>76</sup>. Unseres Erachtens hegt kein Zweifel daran, dass die Karitas-Szene eher allegorisch und in übertragenem Sinne gedeutet werden muss. Es ist anzunehmen, dass die Anweisungen eher zum strukturell-topologischen Instrumentar der Legende angehört haben dürften. Als Analogie lohnt es sich z. B. die bei Gallus Anonymus überlieferte Erzählung über die Ratschläge von Bischof Franco heranzuziehen<sup>77</sup>. Der enigmatische Bischof wies bekanntlich Władysław Herman und seine Frau, denen kein Kind geboren worden war an, sich an den Heiligen Ägidius zu wenden<sup>78</sup>. Die Identität von Bischof Franco konnte trotz gründlicher Forschung und zahlreicher Theorien bis heute nicht endgültig geklärt werden<sup>79</sup>. Es ist unseres Erachtens eher anzunehmen, dass hier eher die Anweisung als die Vermittlungsperson von Bedeutung war. Was aber *caritas* anbetrifft, gibt es unseres Erachtens eine Möglichkeit, die Szene anderswie zu deuten. Geht man ja nicht von der Person selbst, sondern deren Namen ausgeht, könnte folgendes festgestellt werden. *Caritas* war im Mittelalter nicht nur Liebe an sich, sondern nach der *dilectio* die höchste Stufe der unter den Freien vorhandenen Bindungen<sup>80</sup>. Dadurch war die *caritas* vor allem verwandt mit der Freundschaft, bzw. mit den als *amicitia* bezeichneten zahlreichen Freundschaftsvorstellungen<sup>81</sup>. Es ist also unseres Erachtens ohnehin anzunehmen,

73 J. Gericz, *Legkorábbi gesta-szerkesztéseink...*, S. 94.

74 Gy. Kristó, *Legitimitás...*, S. 593-594.

75 Vgl. dazu: F. Mátyás, *Chronológiai megállapítások hazánk XI. és XII. századi történetéhez, Értekezések a történelmi tudományok köréből*, XVIII, Budapest 1899, S. 18; Gy. Kristó, *Legitimitás...*, S. 594.

76 Gy. Kristó, *Legitimitás...*, S. 594.

77 *Galli Anonymi chronicae et gesta ducum sive principum Polonorum*, I, c. 29.

78 *Ibidem*.

79 Zu den Forschungsansichten vgl. D. Bagi, *Królowie węgierscy w Kronice Galla Anonima*, Kraków 2008, S. 124-138.

80 Vgl. dazu G. Althoff, *Verwandte, Freunde und Getreue. Zum politischen Stellenwert der Gruppenbildungen im frühen Mittelalter*, Darmstadt 1990, S. 86-95.

81 G. Althoff, *Königsherrschaft und Konfliktbewältigung im 10.-11. Jh.*, „Frühmittelalterliche Studien“ XXIII (1989), S. 265-290; idem, *Amicitiae und pacta: Bündnis, Einung, Politik und Gebetsdenken im beginnenden 10. Jahrhundert*, MGH, Schriften, XXXVII, Hannover 1992. Zur politischen Freundschaft vgl. noch: C. Garnier, *Amicus amicis – inimicus inimicis. Politische Freundschaft und fürstliche Netzwerke im 13. Jh.*, hrsg. von F. Prinz, Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters, XLVI, Stuttgart 2000, zu Anliegen vor dem 12. Jahrhundert

dass die *Caritas*-Episode zur Versöhnung, der Konfliktbewältigung und zur Rückkehr der *amicitia* beitragen wollte. Kehrt man kurz zum Kapitel 88. der Chronikkomposition zurück, wo Andreas I. seinen Bruder aus dem polnischen Exil nach Hause rief, ist gleich zu merken, dass die Chronik damit argumentiert, dass die Brüder nach den Jahren der Verbannung nun auch die Vorteile der Herrschaft gemeinsam genießen sollten, und dass sich Andreas I. auf die Ankunft seines Bruders deshalb freute, weil er dadurch Unterstützung und Beistand von ihm erhalten sollte<sup>82</sup>. Die in Andreas' Mund gegebenen Worte, er suche nach den Jahren der Verbannung und Not einen *consors*, mit dem er das Land gemeinsam besitzen würde<sup>83</sup>. Das weist auf die Erweiterung ihrer verwandtschaftlichen Bindung um genossenschaftliche Elemente, und entspricht in ihren Grundzügen den Kriterien der Schwurfreundschaft<sup>84</sup>, die bekanntlich alle Bereiche des Lebens, jegliche Arten von Hilfeleistung umfassen konnte und als eine Schutzverband funktionierte, und war – zumindest in den Augen von Alkuin – eine Freundschaft, die auf der Gleichheit der Freunde beruhte<sup>85</sup>. In Bezug auf das Kapitel 88. der Chronikkomposition hat bereits die frühere Forschung festgestellt, dass sie interpoliert ist, und nicht früher als die Herrschaftszeiten von Ladislaus I. entstanden sein könnte<sup>86</sup>. Andere haben diese Feststellung damit ergänzt, dass das Kapitel von dem Autor verfasst worden sein könnte, der später Andreas I. vorwarf, dass er seinen Sohn Béla gegenüber bevorzugte<sup>87</sup>. Es ist unseres Erachtens nicht zu bestreiten, dass das Kapitel 88 interpoliert sein kann. Sogar, der Hinweis auf die erste Teilung des Landes, bzw. die negative Beurteilung dieses Aktes<sup>88</sup> könnte darauf verweisen, dass diese Passage

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vgl. S. 9-12; V. Epp, *Amicitia. Zur Geschichte personaler, sozialer, politischer und geistlicher Beziehungen im frühen Mittelalter*, Stuttgart 1999.

82 *Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV*, c. 88, S. 345: [...] *quatenus consortes simus gaudiorum et bonis regni corporali presentia gaudentes communicemus [...] Bela adlinitus cum omni familia sua venit ad regem. Quem rex videns gavisus est gaudio magno valde, quia fraterno fulcitus est robore.*

83 *Ibidem*: [...] *quatenus consortes simus gaudiorum et bonis regni corporali presentia gaudentes communicemus [...] Bela adlinitus cum omni familia sua venit ad regem. Quem rex videns gavisus est gaudio magno valde, quia fraterno fulcitus est robore.*

84 Vgl. als Klassiker: W. Fritze, *Die Fränkische Schwurfreundschaft der Merowingerzeit. Ihr Wesen und ihre politische Funktion*, „Zeitschrift für Savigny-Stiftung“, Germanistische Abteilung XXLI (1954), S. 74-125, hier S. 75-124. Vgl. noch: G. Althoff, *Verwandte...*, S. 86-87.

85 Alcuinus, *De dialectica*, in: *Patrologia Latina*, ed. J.P. Migne, 101, S. 975-980, hier S. 978: *Quid est amicitia – aequalitas amicorum.*

86 S. Domanovszky, *Az Árpádok trónöröklési jogához*, „Századok“ LXIII (1929), 1-3, S. 37-52, hier S. 49-50.

87 J. Gerics, *Legkorábbi Gesta-szerkesztéseink...*, S. 82-83; Gy. Kristó, *A 11. századi hercegség...*, S. 67.

88 *Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV*, c. 88, S. 345: *Hec igitur prima regni huius divisio seminarium fuit discordie et guerrarum inter duces et reges Hungarie.*

später, schon um den Zeitpunkt der Abschaffung des *ducatus* durch Koloman den Buchkundigen verfasst worden sein kann. Koloman muss also tatsächlich beschäftigt haben, wie die seit der Mitte des 11. Jahrhunderts andauernden Konflikte zwischen den zwei Linien der Arpaden ideengeschichtlich abgeschlossen werden könnten. Die Hartvik-Legende scheint also eine Tendenz zu vermitteln, durch die Freilassung von Salomon die Verwandten im Nachhinein – wie das einst Gyula Kristó formulierte – zum Frieden und Konsens zu kommen, wodurch sowohl Ladislaus gewissermaßen rehabilitiert als auch der Stephanskult weitergepflegt werden konnte.

Will man nun an dieser Stelle zu einer Zusammenfassung kommen, ist folgendes festzustellen:

Salomons Inhaftierung und Freilassung taucht in verschiedenen, bereits um den Zeitpunkt seiner endgültigen Vertreibung aus Ungarn verfassten Quellen auf. Von den diesbezüglich verfügbaren Quellen ist vor allem die von Bischof Hartvik verfasste dritte Stephanslegende von Bedeutung, die einen besonderen Mehrwert enthält, indem sie die Gefängnisstrafe und Freilassung des abgesetzten Königs im Kontext der Heiligsprechung und Kultpflege des ersten ungarischen Königs behandelt. Paradoxiere liefert aber die Legende durch die Erzählung der Inhaftierung und Freilassung von Salomon nicht unmittelbar über den König Informationen, sie nimmt eher zur Frage Stellung, inwiefern Ladislaus der Sünde der Thronusurpierung und Absetzung seines Cousins entlastet werden kann. Ladislaus selbst kann sich für schuldig gehalten haben, weil er die Macht von Salomon usurpierte. Aber seine Entlastung wurde für Koloman noch wichtiger: wie darauf oben bereits hingewiesen wurde, sollte Ladislaus der Weiterpflege und Personalisierung des Stephanskultes nicht im Wege stehen. Salomons Strafe war also viel mehr die von Ladislaus. Daher muss leider eingesehen werden, dass wir über die Einzelheiten der Inhaftierung des Königs nur im Hinblick auf Kolomans politisches Programm erfahren können. Was aber auf der einen Seite Nachteile bereitet, ergibt auf der anderen Vorteile: aus der Erzählung der Ungarischen Chronikkomposition und der Hartvik-Legende zeichnet sich ein Bild, das darauf hinweist, dass die Strafe von Salomon Ladislaus – und dadurch – Koloman noch mehr besorgt haben dürfte, als den inhaftierten König selbst. Daher bietet die traurige Geschichte des Sohnes von Andreas I. wesentlichen Baustein zum Verständnis der Thronstreite der Arpaden im 11. Jahrhundert.

#### ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

König Salomon (1063-1074) war einer der interessantesten Herrschergestalten des Arpadenhauses. Seine Person und Herrschaft ist jedoch in den zur Verfügung stehenden Quellen sehr schlecht mitzuverfolgen, da die grundlegenden Informationen über ihn aus Quellen herkommen, die nach seinem Absturz vom Thron, schon aus Sicht seiner Vetter und Gegner,

Géza I. und Ladislaus I. entstanden sind. Im vorliegenden Aufsatz wird versucht, die früheste historische Tradition über König Salomons Festnahme, Inhaftierung und Freilassung zusammenzufassen, und die Schilderung des zwischen ihm und König Ladislaus I. ausgebrochenen Konflikts im Spiegel der verfügbaren Quellen und im Kontext der Thronstreite der Arpaden im 11. Jahrhundert zu analysieren. Diese Ausgabe ist deshalb nicht leicht, weil über die Ereignisse nur knappe, teils unsichere und vor allem befangene und tendenziös gestaltete Quellen berichten. In dem vorliegenden Artikel werden vor allem diese Quellen, die erste bzw. zweite Welle der historischen Tradition, und Salomon in der Erinnerungsgeschichte analysiert.

SEYMOUR PHILLIPS  
DUBLIN

## KINGS IN CAPTIVITY: THE CASE OF EDWARD II OF ENGLAND, 'THE ISLAND KING'



After a reign of nearly twenty years, marked by almost constant political tension, by civil war, and by conflict with Scotland and France<sup>1</sup>. Edward II, king of England, lord of Ireland, and duke of Aquitaine, entered captivity on 16 November 1326. He was taken prisoner near the castle of Llantrisant in the lordship of Glamorgan in South Wales, at a place that has since been known in the Welsh language as *Pant-y-brad*, or 'Vale of Treachery' in English. From there Edward was first taken to Monmouth and then to the castle of Kenilworth in England, where he remained until the beginning of April 1327 when he was moved for safer keeping to another fortress, at Berkeley near Gloucester. Here he was murdered on 21 September 1327 and was buried on 20 December in St. Peter's Abbey, Gloucester, the present Gloucester Cathedral. Within a few years an elaborate tomb, a masterpiece of the English stonemason's art, was erected above his body, and became both a place of pilgrimage and the scene of miracles<sup>2</sup>. At the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century Edward's great-grandson, Richard II, another king who was to be deposed and also suffered death in captivity, attempted unsuccessfully to have him canonized<sup>3</sup>.

Although the king's formal experience of captivity thus lasted for less than a year, Edward had already been in danger of capture and imprisonment several times during his career. Soon after he became king in 1307 Edward

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<sup>1</sup> For a detailed account of his reign see S. Phillips, *Edward II*, Yale English Monarchs Series, New Haven-London 2010 (henceforth cited as Phillips).

<sup>2</sup> For Edward's capture and subsequent imprisonment see *ibidem*, chapters 10-11. For photographs of Berkeley castle and of Edward II's tomb see *ibidem*, plates 16, 18. There is a detailed description of the recently restored tomb in C.M. Heighway, *The Tomb of Edward II*, Stonehouse, Gloucestershire 2007; Phillips, pp. 554-560.

<sup>3</sup> Phillips, pp. 600-606.

founded a Dominican house at King's Langley in Hertfordshire in fulfillment of a vow he had made 'when in peril'. The circumstances of the peril are unknown, but probably occurred between 1300 and 1307, during one of his father Edward I's Scottish campaigns<sup>4</sup>. A possible occasion was the skirmish fought on the banks of the River Cree on 8 August 1300, during the sixteen-year-old Edward's first experience of warfare. This took place after a misunderstanding of the king's orders led to a confused engagement with the Scots on swampy ground and in heavy rain, in which the divisions of the English army commanded by the king and by Edward then became involved. The fighting in the end achieved little, but in such a situation almost anything might have happened to the young Edward<sup>5</sup>.

A second, and far more dangerous encounter, was the battle of Bannockburn fought in Scotland on 24 June 1314 when the forces of Robert Bruce, king of Scots, inflicted a humiliating defeat on a much larger English army. Edward II found himself in the thick of the battle, which was fought on very constricted ground, and had to fight hard to avoid capture. After his warhorse was wounded he was given a riding horse, on which he fled for safety to Dunbar, hotly pursued by the Scots. The death of Sir Edmund de Mauley, the steward of his household, and the capture of the keeper of his privy seal, Sir Roger de Northburgh, together with both the seal and the king's shield, are further indications of just how close a call Edward experienced<sup>6</sup>. Even the king's surgeon, the Spaniard Master Martin de Vera, lost horses, either at the battle itself or, more likely, in the looting of the English camp that followed<sup>7</sup>. It was no wonder that Edward once again sought the consolation of religion, and made a vow to the Virgin Mary that if he escaped he would found a house for twenty-four Carmelites at Oxford<sup>8</sup>.

This was not to be the last time that Edward II risked capture by the Scots. In September 1322 he led another invasion of Scotland in one last vain attempt to defeat Robert Bruce. The English army, ravaged by a shortage of supplies and by sickness, soon withdrew from Scotland, closely followed by the Scots. On 14 October Edward was staying at the abbey of Byland in Yorkshire, when the Scots attacked and routed an English army on the

<sup>4</sup> Phillips, p. 67; Victoria County History, *Hertfordshire*, IV, ed. W. Page, Oxford 1971, pp. 46-51.

<sup>5</sup> Phillips, p. 84.

<sup>6</sup> On the battle of Bannockburn and its aftermath see: *ibidem*, pp. 228-237; G.W.S. Barrow, *Robert Bruce*, Edinburgh 1988<sup>3</sup>, pp. 203-232. Edward did not flee alone, since he had an escort of 500 men.

<sup>7</sup> The National Archives, Kew, London (henceforth cited as TNA), C 61/32, m.17 (Gascon Roll, 11-12 Edward II [1317-1319]).

<sup>8</sup> TNA, SC 8/11/512, printed in *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, II, ed. J. Strachey et al., London 1767, p. 35, no. 23; D. Knowles, R. Neville Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales*, London 1953, p. 198.

nearby Blackhow Moor. Luckily, Edward and his companions were warned of their danger, supposedly while they were eating breakfast, and escaped in the nick of time<sup>9</sup>.

But the Scots were by no means Edward II's only enemy. One of the most consistent and formidable of his opponents was his own first cousin, Thomas earl of Lancaster, the wealthiest and most ambitious member of the English nobility. Lancaster's support of administrative reform in the Ordinances of 1311 was the nominal root of their mutual hostility, but its real cause was Lancaster's responsibility for the capture and execution in 1312 of Edward's favourite, Piers Gaveston earl of Cornwall. After this event hostility deepened into real hatred which no amount of political manoeuvring and occasional compromise could conceal. It was even alleged that the new tower, which Lancaster built at his castle of Pontefract near York, was intended to serve some day as a prison for the king. Ironically Lancaster himself was to be held there for a single night after his defeat and capture by Edward in 1322, which was followed by his execution outside the castle on 22 March<sup>10</sup>.

Four years later, in the autumn of 1326, the tables were turned and Edward II was himself defeated. During the parliament held at Westminster in January 1327 a set of articles was read out by the archbishop of Canterbury, in which Edward was declared to be incompetent and unworthy of the throne, and was solemnly deposed: he was accused of being personally incapable of governing, of allowing himself to be led and governed by others, who advised him badly, and of refusing to remedy these defects when asked to do so by the great and wise men of the kingdom or allowing anyone else to do so; of devoting himself to unsuitable work and occupations, while neglecting the government of his kingdom; of exhibiting pride, covetousness and cruelty; of losing, for lack of good government, the kingdom of Scotland, and other lands and lordships in Gascony and Ireland and of forfeiting the friendship of the king of France and of many other great men; of destroying the Church and imprisoning churchmen, and of putting to death, imprisoning, exiling and disinheriting the great men of his kingdom; of failing to observe his coronation oath through the influence of his evil councillors; of abandoning his kingdom and doing all in his power to cause the loss both of it and of his people; and of being incorrigible and without hope of improvement. All of which was said to be so notorious that it could not be denied<sup>11</sup>.

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<sup>9</sup> Phillips, pp. 425-430.

<sup>10</sup> Ibidem, pp. 408-409; *Vita Edwardi Secundi*, ed. W.R. Childs, Oxford 2005, pp. 212-213. The author however adds, 'this was the common story, but I have not heard witness to its truth'. In 1399 Richard II was held prisoner in Pontefract after his deposition and died there in February 1400, probably from starvation, either self-inflicted or brought about by his captors: N. Saul, *Richard II*, New Haven-London 1997, pp. 424-426.

<sup>11</sup> For the events surrounding Edward II's deposition see Phillips, pp. 524-539. The articles are conveniently published in *Foedera, Conventiones, Litterae et Acta Publica*, ed. T. Rymer,



On 2 February 1327 Edward's elder son was crowned king in his place as Edward III. But the old king, now referred to simply as 'Edward the king's father' or as 'Edward of Caernarfon' after his birthplace in Wales in 1284, lived on<sup>12</sup>. The question was what to do with him. There may have been individuals who wished to see him put to death as he had done to his own defeated opponents in 1322, but to execute an anointed king, even a deposed one, was a step too far, and there is no evidence that this was ever seriously considered. Alternatively he could have been set at liberty to wander wherever he wished. But this too was hardly feasible in practice. If he were to venture abroad outside his former dominions, a deposed king, however diminished in status, was bound to attract attention both from those who knew of or guessed his identity, or from foreign enemies who might find ways to use him against the kingdom of England; and there was also the danger that, if he were at liberty anywhere within his former dominions, his remaining friends, allies and sympathisers might rally to his cause and seek to restore him to power. As events were soon to show, this was all too real a possibility. The only practical option was to keep Edward in custody in some suitable and well-guarded location for the rest of his natural life<sup>13</sup>: but for how long this might be no one could possibly know. At the time of his deposition in 1327 the former king was forty-two years old and until that time apparently strong and in good health. His grandfather Henry III and father Edward I had reached the ripe ages of sixty-five and sixty-eight but their longevity was exceptional. Edward II was the youngest of at least fourteen children born to Edward I and his first wife, Eleanor of Castile, seven of whom, including his elder brothers John and Henry, were already dead by Edward's birth in 1284, while his remaining brother Alfonso died shortly after his birth. Of Edward's sisters, only two, Mary (1279-1332), a nun of the convent at Amesbury in Wiltshire, and Margaret (1275 - c. 1333), duchess of Brabant, lived to be over fifty; his remaining sisters lived only into their late twenties or mid thirties<sup>14</sup>. Perhaps the pattern of an early natural death would repeat itself in Edward's case, but the political risks attached to his survival were considerable and were soon apparent. The temptation among his enemies to hasten the end then became almost irresistible.

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Record Commission Edition, II, part i, London 1818, p. 650, and in S.B. Chrimes, A.L. Brown, *Select Documents of English Constitutional History, 1307-1485*, London 1961, pp. 37-38.

<sup>12</sup> Phillips, p. 541.

<sup>13</sup> In the Byzantine Empire, for example, Edward might have been blinded or otherwise mutilated, as a way of disqualifying him from any further capacity to rule, and then sent to a monastery to live out his days.

<sup>14</sup> Phillips, p. 40, n. 48; J.C. Parsons, *The Year of Eleanor of Castile's Birth and Her Children by Edward*, "Mediaeval Studies" XLVI (1984), pp. 262, 264; idem, *Eleanor of Castile*, New York-London 1995, p. 33; M. Prestwich, *Edward I*, New Haven-London 1997<sup>2</sup>, pp. 125-126. For a description of Edward II see Phillips, p. 10, and sources cited there.

The evidence on Edward's treatment after his deposition is conflicting and influenced by rumour and propaganda. Edward was initially detained at Kenilworth in Warwickshire, a former castle of Thomas earl of Lancaster, now belonging to his brother Henry, where he had been held since early December 1326 and where he had received the news of his deposition on 20 January 1327. The intention seems to have been to treat him well: at some point he was sent two pipes of Rhenish wine<sup>15</sup> by his son the new king, enough to drown his sorrows for a considerable time to come<sup>16</sup>. Whether he had anyone with him to minister to his needs and to keep him company is entirely unknown. After Edward's removal to Berkeley, his custodians there, Thomas de Berkeley the lord of the castle, and John Maltravers, were allowed £5 a day for his maintenance<sup>17</sup>: altogether they were paid £700, of which £200 came directly from the exchequer, while in May 1327 they received a further £500 in cash, equivalent to one hundred days' maintenance<sup>18</sup>. The Berkeley accounts contain references to the supply of wine, wax, spices, eggs, cheese, capons, cattle, etc. for Edward's use. It was not lavish but would have been enough to keep Edward in modest comfort<sup>19</sup>. Edward did not however have the use of any of the personal effects which he had left behind in Caerphilly castle in Wales during his flight in October and November 1326, and which later took six wagons to remove. These included his bed with a canopy and curtains, a mattress and other bedding; a leather bedside cabinet and a chair;

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15 A pipe held about 480 litres of wine.

16 Phillips, p. 541; *PROME (Parliament Rolls of Medieval England 1275-1504)*, Parliament of November 1330, TNA, E 175/2/216, item 19 (volume IV of print edition, ed. J.R.S. Phillips, W.M. Ormrod, p. 128); *The Parliament Rolls of Medieval England 1275-1504*, general ed. C. Given-Wilson, exists in CD-ROM and online versions, published by Scholarly Digital Editions & The National Archives (Leicester 2005); a printed edition in 16 volumes was published by the Boydell Press, Woodbridge, Suffolk & Rochester, NY 2005 (henceforth cited as *PROME*).

17 Phillips, p. 541; *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1327-1330*, 27 (15 May 1328). The chronicler Adam Murimuth incorrectly claimed that only 100 marks a month were allowed: *Adae Murimuth Continuatio Chronicarum*, ed. E.M. Thompson, Rolls Series, XCIII, London 1889, p. 52 (henceforth cited as *Murimuth*).

18 Phillips, p. 541; TNA, E 352/120, m.39r (1 Ed. III): account of John de Langton, clerk, for the treasure, goods and chattels in Caerphilly; Berkeley Castle Muniments, Select Roll 39; J. Smyth of Nibley, *The Lives of the Berkeleys*, ed. sir J. Maclean, Gloucester 1883, I, p. 293; W. Rees, *Caerphilly Castle and its Place in Annals of Glamorgan*, Caerphilly 1974, p. 113. The enrolled accounts of Thomas de Berkeley and John Maltravers, for custody of Edward II, from 3 April to 21 September 1327, and of his body from 21 September to 21 October 1327 are contained in TNA, E 352/120, m.25r. There is also a heading for these accounts at the top of m.25v, as if more material was to go there. The original accounts do not appear to be extant. See also S.A. Moore, *Documents Relating to the Death and Burial of King Edward II, "Archaeologia" L (1887)*, pp. 223-224.

19 Phillips, p. 541; Berkeley Castle Muniments, Select Rolls, 39, 41-42; I.H. Jeayes, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Charters and Muniments at Berkeley Castle*, Bristol 1892, pp. 274-277.

a red retiring robe, a black cap lined with red velvet, and two caps of white beaver lined with black and green velvet; as well as his personal drinking cup, and large quantities of silver plate and kitchen utensils<sup>20</sup>.

Several of the chroniclers remark on the misery experienced by Edward during his imprisonment at Berkeley<sup>21</sup>. According to Adam Murimuth, Thomas de Berkeley and John Maltravers took turns in looking after him, one month at a time: Berkeley allegedly treated him humanely but Maltravers 'otherwise'<sup>22</sup>. Geoffrey le Baker recorded, allegedly on the evidence of the repentant William Bishop, the former commander of Edward's guards, and told to him twenty years later after the Black Death, that on the way to Berkeley castle, Edward was forced to travel at night, lest he might be recognised by some friend, was not allowed to sleep, was given disgusting food; and was shaved with ditchwater to prevent him from being recognized; and having arrived at Berkeley Edward was held in a room adjoining a pit full of rotting animal carcasses whose smell almost suffocated him. The chronicler also claims that Thomas de Berkeley was forbidden to have any close familiarity with Edward and that eventually, with reluctance, he withdrew from his own castle, after which the persecution of Edward continued till his death<sup>23</sup>.

The chronicles are also the source of much comment and opinion upon Edward's state of mind and suffering. The author of the *Flores Historiarum*, a writer who was not sympathetic to him, commented that Edward, while still technically king, spent Christmas 1326 at Kenilworth "in great sadness" (*in ingenti tristitia*)<sup>24</sup>. The unknown author of the *Brut* chronicle remarked that the downfall of Edward II and the disasters of his reign were the fulfilment of the prophecies of Merlyn: "and ever afterwards he lived his life in much sorrow and anguish"<sup>25</sup>. When told of his deposition at Kenilworth on 20 January

<sup>20</sup> Phillips, p. 541; W. Rees, op.cit., pp. 85-87, 109-121 (detailed inventory of Edward II's goods).

<sup>21</sup> Especially *The Brut*, ed. F.W.D. Brie, Early English Text Society, CXXXI, part I, London 1906, pp. 252-253 (henceforth cited as *Brut*); *Chronicon Galfridi le Baker de Swynebroke*, ed. E.M. Thompson, Oxford 1889, pp. 29-33 (henceforth cited as *Le Baker*).

<sup>22</sup> *Murimuth*, p. 52.

<sup>23</sup> *Le Baker*, pp. 30-33. The account of Edward's journey is a much-elaborated version of that in *Murimuth*, p. 52, which also relates to the period immediately after an unsuccessful attempt to free Edward from Berkeley in July 1327. On the relationship between Murimuth and Le Baker's works see A. Gransden, *Historical Writing in England*, II, c. 1307 to the Early Sixteenth Century, London 1982, p. 38. William 'Bishop' is recorded as a sergeant-at-arms in the royal household while Edward III was in the Low Countries between 1338 and 1340: *The Wardrobe Book of William de Norwell, 12 July 1338 to 27 May 1340*, ed. M. Lyon, B. Lyon, H.S. Lucas, J. de Sturler, Commission Royale d'Histoire, Brussels 1983, pp. 11, 281, 304, 351, 391.

<sup>24</sup> *Flores Historiarum*, III, ed. H.R. Luard, Rolls Series, London 1890, p. 235; Phillips, p. 520.

<sup>25</sup> *Brut*, I, pp. 242-247: "and ever he levede his lif aftirward in miche sorw and anguisse"; S. Phillips, *Edward II*, p. 536; idem, *Edward II and the Prophets*, in: *England in the Fourteenth*

1327, Edward was so affected by grief that he could barely stand and had to be helped by the earl of Leicester and bishop of Winchester. [...] Weeping and crying out, Edward said that he was deeply saddened that his people were so angry with him, but was pleased that his son would at least succeed him as king"<sup>26</sup>.

There is even a source that lays claim to being Edward's own record of his state of mind after his deposition, *The Lament of Edward II*, consisting of one hundred and twenty lines written in French (entitled *De le Roi Edward le Fiz Roi Edward, le Chanson qe il fist mesmes*) and supposedly composed by Edward himself while in prison. In it Edward bemoans his fate and shows repentance for his past misdeeds<sup>27</sup>:

1. 'In winter time harm befell me, fortune has thwarted me too much, good luck has eluded me all my life. Full often have I experienced this: there is no one on earth so fair nor so wise, so courtly nor so famed, who, if luck does not favour him, will not be proclaimed a fool.

[...]

They make me suffer cruelly, granted that I have well deserved it. Their false faith in parliament has brought me down from the heights to the depths. Ah, Lord of salvation I repent and beg thy mercy for all my sins! May the agony which my body endures be to my soul joy and mercy.

[...]

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*Century: Proceedings of the 1985 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. W.M. Ormrod, Woodbridge 1986, pp. 191-192.

<sup>26</sup> *Le Baker*, pp. 27-28. This closely resembles the passage in *Murimuth*, on which it was clearly based: "with tears and sighs, he replied that it grieved him greatly that he had so acted toward the people of his realm, but if things could not be otherwise, he was pleased that his son had been accepted by the people to succeed him and would reign after him" (*Murimuth*, p. 51). In contrast, the official proclamation in London, on 24 January 1327, of Edward II's departure from the throne provided a sanitized version of what had in reality been a very emotional occasion: "Pur ceo qe sire Edward nadgairs roi Dengleterre de sa bone volunte et de comun conseil et assent des prelatz, countes, et barons, et autres nobles, et tote la communalte du roialme, sen est ouste del government du roialme et ad graunte et veut qe le government du dit roialme deveigne a sire Edward, son fuitz eyne et heir, et qil governe, regne, et soit roi corone, par qai touz les grantz ount fait homage [...]" ("Since sir Edward lately king of England of his good will and with the common assent of the prelates, earls, barons, and other nobles, and the whole community of the realm, has removed himself from the government of the realm and has granted and wishes that the government of the said realm should come to sir Edward, his elder son and heir, and that he should govern, reign, and be crowned king, for which reason the great men have performed homage [...]" [my translation]) (S.B. Chrimes, A.L. Brown, op.cit., p. 38).

<sup>27</sup> The poem, which was first discovered by Paul Studer in 1921, exists in two separate fourteenth-century versions, in Longleat Ms. 26, ff. 76v-77r, published in I.S.T. Aspin, *Anglo-Norman Political Songs, Anglo-Norman Texts*, XI, Anglo-Norman Text Society, Oxford 1953, no. IX, pp. 93-104 (text and English translation); and in British Library, Royal Ms. 20. A.II, ff. 10r-10v, published in T. Smallwood, *The Lament of Edward II*, "Modern Language Review" LXVIII (1973), pp. 521-529. See also Phillips, pp. 22-23, 542.

6. 'I give myself to thee, Lord Jesus, asking forgiveness and grace. I used to be so greatly feared, now all despise me; I am called the tumble-down king, and all the world mocks me; my most intimate friends have deceived me, too late I see it openly.

[...]

15. 'Wise men and foolish, I beg you all, pray for me together, to Mary, mother of mercy, who nurtured Jesus the Almighty; that for the joys she had of him, she may pray him devoutly, that he have mercy on all who are betrayed and falsely condemned'<sup>28</sup>.

Unfortunately, while the poem makes poignant reading, there is not the slightest evidence that it was actually written by the deposed king<sup>29</sup>.

According to both the *Brut* chronicle and Geoffrey Le Baker, Edward was especially saddened by the failure of his wife, Queen Isabella, or any other members of his family to visit him<sup>30</sup>. Any anger he had felt against Isabella for her role in the invasion of England by his enemies in the autumn of 1326 and in his deposition and any possibility that he might do her harm had probably dissipated by this time and been replaced by feelings of loss and unhappiness<sup>31</sup>. Whatever Isabella's true attitude towards her estranged husband may have been, there is no doubt that the question of whether or not she should visit him or even rejoin him was a very serious political issue in 1327. As the former but still politically active queen, she could hardly return to Edward as his wife, since this might be taken as implying that Edward still had some status, even after his deposition<sup>32</sup>. Comments about Isabella's failure to visit her husband were already being made in December 1326, shortly after he had entered captivity. The question was discussed at that time by Isabella's advisers, and it was decided that in order to protect her reputation a public explanation of her actions should

<sup>28</sup> The translation is taken from I.S.T. Aspin, op.cit., pp. 100-102.

<sup>29</sup> This was almost certainly composed by an anonymous fourteenth-century writer, making use of the familiar theme of the wheel of fortune and trying to cast Edward in a favourable light, see Phillips, pp. 22-23; 542. See also C. Valente, *The "Lament of Edward II": Religious Lyric, Political Propaganda*, "Speculum" LXVII (2002), pp. 422-439; D. Tyson, *Lament for a Dead King*, "Journal of Medieval History" XXX (December 2004), 4, pp. 359-375.

The British Library, Royal Ms. 20. A.II version of the poem (edited by I.S.T. Aspin) is contained in a manuscript of Peter Langtoft's French chronicle of English history down to 1307. The manuscript, which was made during the reign of Edward II, begins with a series of images of English kings, the last of which depicts Edward while he was still Prince of Wales. Originally a Latin poem in praise of Edward was written below the image, but was later erased and replaced by the text of the lament: *Royal Manuscripts: the Genius of Illumination*, ed. S. McKendrick, J. Lowden, K. Doyle, London 2011, pp. 342-343.

<sup>30</sup> *Brut*, I, pp. 252-253; *Le Baker*, p. 29.

<sup>31</sup> Phillips, pp. 541-542.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 520.

be given. This was done in a sermon delivered by Adam Orleton the bishop of Hereford, in which he claimed that Edward's cruelty to Isabella made it impossible for her to return to him. Orleton later denied saying that Edward "carried a knife in his hose to kill Queen Isabella, and that if he had no other weapon he would crush her with his teeth", admitting only to saying that Edward's anger was increased by the execution of his former favourite, Hugh Despenser the Younger<sup>33</sup>. But, if the usually reliable *Historia Roffensis* is to be believed, during the parliament of January 1327 Orleton, with the support of other bishops, did then say that if the queen were to return to the king, he would kill her<sup>34</sup>. Even then Isabella appears to have retained some attachment to Edward: in April 1327 she told a council held at Stamford that she was ready and willing to visit her husband but was told firmly by the prelates and magnates present that it was out of the question<sup>35</sup>. In a mandate to the English bishops on 5 May 1327 the archbishop of Canterbury Walter Reynolds sought to quell the rumours about Isabella's failure to return to her husband, stating that until the kingdom was fully at peace it would be dangerous for her to do so<sup>36</sup>. Edward was probably desperate to see both his wife and his children, but, in the light of the archbishop's mandate, Adam Murimuth's statement that Isabella hypocritically refused to see him on the pretext that the community of the realm would not permit it, while sending Edward delicacies and friendly letters (*litteras blandientes*), is not convincing<sup>37</sup>. Nonetheless the claim that Edward would have killed Isabella, and even their son, if they had come to visit him in prison, was also repeated, for example, by the author of the *Brut* chronicle and suggests that it was a widely held opinion<sup>38</sup>. It was of course very much in the interests of those who had gained most by Edward's deposition, especially Roger Mortimer of Wigmore, Isabella's ally and possibly also her lover, that once in prison he should stay there without any possibility of restoration or reconciliation. Conversely it also served the interests of those, like the young Edward III and his supporters, who bitterly resented the power that Mortimer had exercised since his father's overthrow, to emphasise any role Mortimer had played in

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33 Ibidem, pp. 520-521; *Historiae Anglicanae Scriptores Decem*, ed. R. Twysden, London 1652, columns 2767-2768; *Chartulary of Winchester Cathedral*, ed. A.W. Goodman, Winchester 1927, pp. 105-107.

34 Phillips, p. 521; British Library, Cotton Ms. Faustina B.V, f. 49: *si Regina Regi adhereret occideretur ab eo*.

35 Phillips, p. 521; *Historiae Anglicanae...*, columns 2767-2768; *Chartulary of Winchester Cathedral*, pp. 106-107.

36 R.M. Haines, *The Stamford Council of April 1327*, "English Historical Review" CXXII (2007), pp. 141-148, especially pp. 145-148; Phillips, p. 521.

37 *Brut*, I, p. 252; *Murimuth*, p. 52.

38 *Brut*, I, pp. 252-253.

bringing about and continuing the estrangement between Edward II and Isabella<sup>39</sup>.

The continuing debate over whether or not Edward could be allowed contacts with members of his family was only one indication that, although he had gone, he was far from forgotten. He was also remembered in other quarters. Although Edward II's removal as king during the January 1327 parliament had been carefully stage-managed to give the appearance of unanimity and to minimize dissent, not everyone had approved. The archbishop of York, for example, and several other bishops were among them<sup>40</sup>; and there were other lesser folk, men of little or no political significance in themselves but with a strong residual affection for the fallen monarch. As time went on divisions and rivalries also began to appear among the great men who had brought about Edward's deposition, notably between Roger Mortimer of Wigmore and Henry earl of Lancaster, and on the part of Edward's half-brother, Edmund earl of Kent<sup>41</sup>. No sooner had Edward been deposed than his friends and allies began plotting to free him from his imprisonment and possibly even to restore him to the throne<sup>42</sup>. The first signs came in March and April 1327 when a plot to free him from Kenilworth was discovered; those involved were local men, including two priests and a Dominican friar. This led directly to Edward's removal to Berkeley castle in May. In July a further and more determined plot came to light, once again involving a cast of friars and clergy, as well as a number of former members of Edward's household; this may have brought about Edward's temporary release from his prison, while still remaining within

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<sup>39</sup> In the charges against Roger Mortimer at his trial in 1330 it was alleged that "the said Roger falsely and maliciously initiated discord between the father of our lord the king and the queen his consort, and he caused her to believe that if she came to him he would have killed her with a knife or murdered her in another manner. Because of which, for that reason, and by his other subtle scheming, he caused the said queen not to come to her said lord, to the great dishonour of the king and of the queen his mother, and perhaps the great damage of all the realm in future, which God forbid" (*PROME*, Parliament of Nov. 1330, TNA, C 65/2, item 1 [volume 4 of print edition, p. 105]); Phillips, pp. 521-522, 571-572.

<sup>40</sup> Phillips, pp. 536-537.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 565-571. The earl of Lancaster was the younger brother of Thomas earl of Lancaster executed in 1322. One of Thomas of Lancaster's other earldoms, that of Leicester, was restored to Henry in March 1324; the earldom of Lancaster was restored to him in February 1327.

<sup>42</sup> The fact that Edward's elder son and undisputed heir had already been crowned on 2 February would have made a restoration of Edward next to impossible in practice, without another round of civil war, which would probably have been even more divisive than the last. Ironically the last known document issued in the name of Edward II was a charter confirming the liberties of the city of Dublin dated ten days after the coronation, on 12 February 1327, and witnessed by John D'Arcy, the Justiciar of the lordship of Ireland, see Dublin City Archives, DCA 18. Edward III's rule was not formally proclaimed in Ireland until 13 May 1327: Phillips, p. 546.

the walls of the castle. It is possible that, for additional security, Edward was then moved for a time from place to place, including Corfe castle in Dorset, before being returned to Berkeley<sup>43</sup>. Geoffrey Le Baker's account of Edward's ill treatment, while travelling from Kenilworth and at Berkeley, may refer instead to this episode, and so indicate a definite worsening in the conditions of Edward's imprisonment after the conspiracy in July. In September news came to Roger Mortimer of yet another plot, this time by supporters of Edward in North Wales. Mortimer then sent one of his men, named William Ockley, to Berkeley with instructions 'to take speedy action to avoid greater danger'; on 22 September Thomas de Gurney, another of Mortimer's retainers, left Berkeley to give the king the news that the former Edward II had died on the previous day<sup>44</sup>.

Edward's body was eviscerated and embalmed, and his heart placed in a specially made silver vase, which was later given to Isabella and, after her own death in 1358, was placed inside the breast of the effigy on her tomb in the choir of the church of the London Franciscans. On 21 October Edward was removed to St. Peter's abbey in Gloucester, where he lay in state on a specially built hearse. This included four gilded lions, which stood around the hearse and wore mantles bearing the royal arms, and standing figures of the four evangelists. Eight figures of angels and two lions rampant completed the decoration. So many people came to view Edward lying in state that four stout oak beams were placed around the hearse to control the crowds. The body in its coffin was not visible, being surmounted by a specially made wooden image of the dead king, which bore a copper crown and was probably dressed in pieces of armour that were specially brought from London<sup>45</sup>. This was the first occasion on which a royal effigy was employed in England, but it started a tradition that was followed until the 18<sup>th</sup> century<sup>46</sup>. The image of a warrior

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43 Phillips, pp. 542-547; *Murimuth*, p. 52.

44 Phillips, pp. 547-549; *Select Cases in the Court of King's Bench under Edward II*, ed. G.O. S\ayles, V, Selden Society, LXXVI, London 1958, p. 59. Edward III was told of his father's death on Wednesday, 23 September "during the night" ("de deinz la nuyt"), see TNA, DL 10/253 (Edward III's letter of 24 September announcing his father's death [ Phillips, plate 17]).

45 Phillips, pp. 550-554. The original accounts for the custody of Edward's body and for his funeral arrangements are preserved in TNA, E 101/383/1, and were also enrolled on the Chancellor's Roll for 6 Ed. III, TNA, E 352/125, m.46v, and on the Pipe Roll for the same year, TNA, E 372/177, m.45d. A transcript of this material was published by S.A. Moore, *Documents Relating to the Death and Burial of King Edward II*, "Archaeologia" L (1887), pp. 224-226. There is an earlier edition by J. Hunter, *Expenses of Conveying the Body of King Edward II from Berkeley Castle to the Abbey of Gloucester*, "Archaeologia" XXVII (1838), pp. 294-297.

46 Phillips, p. 553; W. St John Hope, *The Funeral Effigies of the Kings and Queens of England*, "Archaeologia" LX (1907), pp. 517-550; *The Funeral Effigies of Westminster Abbey*, ed. A. Harvey, R. Mortimer, Woodbridge, Suffolk & Rochester, NY 1994, pp. 4-6, 30-36. Edward II's funeral effigy has not survived.



king was presented for the lying in state but for the actual burial the effigy was adorned with Edward II's coronation robes, which were returned to the great wardrobe in London after the funeral; the body itself was clothed in the under-garments that Edward had worn at his coronation in 1308. Edward was being regarded and treated with dignity. Instead of such euphemisms as 'Edward, the king's father' or even 'Edward of Caernarfon', which had been employed after his deposition, Edward was referred to as king in the financial records of his funeral; and this was consistent with the lavish display of the funeral arrangements themselves. It was clearly to be a ceremony, which, like a coronation, emphasized the continuity of the monarchy and the legitimacy of both the present and the previous incumbents of the English throne. The ambiguities and untidiness of the events surrounding Edward II's deposition in January were to be made up for by the splendour of his funeral in December, and reinforced within a few years by the construction of an elaborate tomb above his burial place in Gloucester abbey<sup>47</sup>.

The solemn funeral was held on 20 December, in the presence of Edward's widow Isabella, the young king Edward III and Roger Mortimer; and there for the moment matters rested<sup>48</sup>. Initially it appears to have been accepted that Edward had died a natural death<sup>49</sup>. The mental and physical condition of a man who had so recently been in a position of power with all the trappings of royalty and was now separated from family, friends and dignity is likely to have been very poor. It is easy to believe that Edward was deeply depressed by September 1327, and that it would have taken little to bring his life to an end<sup>50</sup>.

Nonetheless rumours that the former king had been murdered soon began to circulate. Adam Murimuth, for example, wrote that it was commonly said that Edward had been murdered "by a trick"<sup>51</sup>. The most lurid and

47 Phillips, pp. 552-553. See also the very valuable discussion of Edward II's funeral and its significance in J. Burden, *Rewriting a Rite of Passage*, in: *Rites of Passage*, ed. N.F. McDonald, W.M. Ormrod, Woodbridge, Suffolk & Rochester, NY 2004, pp. 13-29. On the financing and construction of the tomb, for which no records are known to have survived, see Phillips, pp. 554-560.

48 Nothing is known in detail about the day of Edward's funeral. There are no official records and the English chroniclers barely mentioned the occasion, see Phillips, p. 554.

49 For a detailed analysis of the printed and unprinted narrative sources, nearly thirty in number, which refer to the death of Edward II see *ibidem*, pp. 560-565, and I. Mortimer, *Sermons of Sodomy: a Reconsideration of Edward II's Sodomitical Reputation*, in: *The Reign of Edward II: New Perspectives*, ed. G. Dodd & A. Musson, Woodbridge, Suffolk & Rochester, NY 2006, pp. 58-60.

50 The account in the *Brut* chronicle, I, pp. 252-253, would strongly suggest this.

51 *Murimuth*, pp. 53-54: *per cautelam occisus*. When writing of Mortimer's execution in 1330 *Murimuth* added that Mortimer was accused of having Edward suffocated (*suffocates*), see *Murimuth*, p. 63.

circumstantial account of Edward's death was provided by Geoffrey le Baker, who wrote that Edward was held down under his bedding and suffocated, while a red-hot iron was inserted into his anus through a horn in order to burn out his intestines but without showing any outwardly visible mark. Edward's dying screams it was said could be heard throughout the castle and outside<sup>52</sup>. This story was to be repeated in the *Brut* chronicle and other fourteenth-century sources<sup>53</sup>. Le Baker was also the ultimate source of some of the information used in the 16<sup>th</sup> century by Raphael Holinshed for his historical writing and, via Holinshed, by Christopher Marlowe in his play, *Edward II*. Through its sheer horror and by dint of repetition the red-hot iron story became the classic account of Edward's death, and was to remain so for centuries<sup>54</sup>.

Once it became widely believed that Edward was murdered, the search was on for those responsible. There were plenty of suggestions as to both the instigators and the actual murderers. The author of the *Historia Roffensis* described Thomas Gurney, who had brought the news of Edward's death to the young Edward III, as "the follower of Satan" and added that Edward had died while in the hands of enemies who had long planned to kill him, "saying we shall put him to a most shameful death"<sup>55</sup>. John Maltravers and Thomas Gurney were named as the killers by Adam Murimuth, the *Brut*, and Geoffrey le Baker, among others; the *Brut* adding that they were acting on orders received from Roger Mortimer<sup>56</sup>. Geoffrey le Baker had a different and very colourful explanation, that Isabella herself ordered Edward's death by sending a deliberately ambiguous message composed by Adam Orleton, the bishop of Hereford, which read: *Edwardum occidere nolite timere bonum est*, and which could be interpreted either as "Do not fear to kill Edward. It is good", or "Do not kill Edward. It is good to fear"<sup>57</sup>. However the bishop was not in England at the time, having been sent to the French court and the papal curia at Avignon to inform them of Edward's deposition, and so could not possibly have composed such a letter. There is little doubt that the message was a literary device, similar to and perhaps based directly on, an episode in the early thirteenth-century history of the kingdom of Hungary, when in 1213 the archbishop of Gran/Ezstergom allegedly sent a message

52 *Le Baker*, pp. 33-34.

53 *Brut*, I, pp. 252-253. For other fourteenth-century examples see Phillips, p. 562.

54 Phillips, pp. 14, 25-32; A. Gransden, *op.cit.*, II, p. 40, n. 248.

55 Phillips, pp. 562-563; British Library, Cotton Ms. Faustina B.V., f. 51r: *Sathanae satellite; Obit itaque in manibus hostium qui multo tempore mortem illi inceptanates et dicentes morte turpissima occidamus eum.*

56 Phillips, pp. 562-563; *Murimuth*, pp. 53-54; *Brut*, I, p. 253; *Le Baker*, pp. 32-34.

57 Phillips, p. 563; *Le Baker*, pp. 31-32.

instigating the murder of Queen Gertrude the wife of Andrew II of Hungary: *Reginam interficere nolite timere bonum est*<sup>58</sup>.

There is no reason to believe that Isabella had any involvement in bringing about her husband's death, either directly or indirectly. But all signs seemed to point to her ally Roger Mortimer, whose retainers had been at Berkeley at the time of Edward's death. In the charges laid against Mortimer in October-November 1330 after the young Edward III had in effect carried out a *coup d'état* to take control of his own kingdom, Edward II's death was publicly described as murder for the first time. Mortimer was accused of having engineered Edward's removal from Kenilworth to Berkeley castle, where he was "traitorously, feloniously and falsely murdered and killed by him and his followers"<sup>59</sup>. Mortimer was hanged as a traitor and two of these followers, Thomas Gurney and William Ockley, were also judged guilty of the murder of "King Edward, the father of our present lord the king" and sentenced to death in their absence<sup>60</sup>.

But even this was not the end of the affair. Just as many suspected or believed that Edward II had been murdered, so others suspected or wished to believe that he was still alive. A contributory factor was that, because of the press of other business, there had been no opportunity for the king or anyone close to him to view the body before it was disembowelled and embalmed. According to Adam Murimuth, the only people who saw the body were the abbots, priors, knights and burgesses from Bristol and Gloucester who were summoned to view it but could do so only superficially<sup>61</sup>. Kings who lost their throne or who died mysteriously were often rumoured to be alive somewhere or other, perhaps living as hermits to do penance for their sins

58 This story has been traced via the English chronicler Matthew Paris writing in in St. Albans in the mid-thirteenth century to the early thirteenth-century French chronicler, Alberic des Trois Fontaines, see R.M. Haines, *The Church and Politics in Fourteenth-century England: the Career of Adam Orleton, c. 1275-1345*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, 3<sup>rd</sup> series, Cambridge 1978, p. 109; Phillips, p. 564; Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, ed. H.R. Luard, Rolls Series, III, London 1876, p. 51; Matthew Paris, *Historia Anglorum*, ed. F. Madden, Rolls Series, II, London 1866, pp. 233-234; *Chronica Albrici Monachi Trium Fontium*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores, XXIII, ed. G.H. Pertz, Hanover 1874 (reprinted 1963), p. 898.

59 Phillips, pp. 565, 571-572; *PROME*, Parliament of November 1330, C 65/2, item 1 (volume 4 of print edition, p. 103): *et ordina q'il feust mande au chastell de Berkle, ou par lui et ses soens feust treterousement, felonusement, et falsement murdre et tue*. No evidence was presented to support this and none given in defence of Mortimer.

60 Phillips, p. 565; *PROME*, Parliament of November 1330, C 65/2, item 5 (volume 4 of print edition, p. 107). Both men fled the country. Nothing is known of Ockley's fate but Gurney was pursued by English agents through Spain and Italy before finally being arrested in Naples and dying at Bayonne in Gascony on the way back to England: Phillips, pp. 574-575; R.M. Haines, *Edwardus redivivus: the 'afterlife' of Edward of Caernarvon*, "Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archeological Society" CXIV (1996 [1997]), pp. 65-86.

61 Phillips, p. 577; *Murimuth*, pp. 53-54.

or waiting for the moment when they could return as the saviour of their people; the burial of a substitute body and the appearance of impostors also often formed part of such legends. They were attached for example, to Harold the last Anglo-Saxon king of England, to the Holy Roman Emperors Henry V in the 12<sup>th</sup> century and Frederick II in the 13<sup>th</sup>; and to the emperor Baldwin of Constantinople in the 1220s<sup>62</sup>. Similar rumours of survival were also to be associated with Edward II's great-grandson Richard II after his deposition in 1399<sup>63</sup>. Another fourteenth-century example is John I, king of France, and the posthumously born son of Louis X, who lived for a few days in 1316<sup>64</sup>. Given the atmosphere of intrigue and conspiracy which surrounded the last days of Edward II, and which was really the culmination of the intrigues and conspiracies that had been rife in the kingdom of England ever since 1322, it is hardly surprising that after his death Edward II should become the focus of fresh rumours; it would have been more surprising if he had not.

In early 1330 yet another conspiracy was uncovered, involving Edward's half-brother Edmund earl of Kent, William Melton the archbishop of York, the bishop of London, four knights, and several friars. According to the confession made by the earl of Kent when he was interrogated at Winchester in March 1330, a Dominican friar from the London convent had come to him at Kensington near London and told him that he had raised the devil, who had told him for certain that the former king was still alive<sup>65</sup>. While on a mission to Avignon in 1329 the earl may also have tried to persuade the pope of Edward's survival<sup>66</sup>. In April William Melton was also interrogated and was charged that a certain William de Kingsclere had come to him at Sherburn in Yorkshire, 'announcing to him and emphatically asserting that Edward, the late king of England, the father of the present king, was alive and in good health in the prison of Corfe Castle and asking him if he would furnish any advice or help in releasing him'. Melton had allegedly replied that he would have sold all his goods and chattels, except for a single vestment and a single chalice, in order to bring this about<sup>67</sup>. Independent confirmation

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62 Phillips, pp. 599-600. See M. Evans, *The Death of Kings: Royal Deaths in Medieval England*, London 2003, chapter VI, *Once and Future Kings*, and pp. 152-153, 155, 157; G. Lecupre, *L'imposture politique au Moyen Age: la seconde vie des rois*, Paris 2005.

63 N. Saul, *Richard II*, p. 427. See also P. McNiven, *Rebellion, Sedition and the Legend of Richard II's Survival in the Reigns of Henry IV and Henry V*, "Bulletin of the John Rylands Library" LXXVI (1994), pp. 93-117, especially pp. 94, 98.

64 C.T. Wood, *Where is John the Posthumous?*, in: *Documenting the Past*, ed. J.S. Hamilton, P.J. Bradley, Woodbridge, Suffolk & Wolfboro, NY 1989, pp. 99-117.

65 Phillips, pp. 565-571; *Murimuth*, pp. 59-60 and Appendix, pp. 253-257 (this contains the text of the confession). There is also a lengthy account in the *Brut* chronicle, I, pp. 263-267.

66 Phillips, pp. 565, 569-570.

67 Phillips, pp. 566-567; Melton's confession is published in *Select Cases in the Court of King's Bench under Edward II*, V, pp. 43-45.

of Melton's involvement in a plot has come to light in a letter written by him in January 1330 to a London cloth merchant, Simon Swanlond, in which he said he had reliable information (*certainis noueles*) that his liege Lord Edward of Caenarvon was alive, in good health, and earnestly desired his freedom (*et enseur leu a sa volunte demeign [démener]*). This, Melton claimed, was the best news that he had ever had. Melton then went on to ask Swanlond to make money and clothing available for the former king's use<sup>68</sup>.

Circumstantial as these stories are, there is no convincing evidence that Edward really was alive. Neither the earl of Kent nor the archbishop of Kent had direct contact with the supposed prisoner at Corfe, and depended on third parties who claimed without supporting evidence that the king was alive. In his confession, as recorded in Murimuth's chronicle, the earl of Kent said that he had written to John Deveril, the constable of Corfe<sup>69</sup>. According to the version of events in the *Brut*, which also includes a supposed letter from the earl to Edward himself, the constable had admitted that Edward was in his charge but that nobody was permitted to see him<sup>70</sup>. In a further detail, Geoffrey le Baker claimed that a Dominican friar who was sent to Corfe by the earl of Kent to confirm that his brother was alive, bribed a doorkeeper, made his way inside in layman's dress and saw Edward dining splendidly<sup>71</sup>. The truth will probably never be known. It was most likely a product of wishful thinking and hope on the part of friars and others who had participated in the plots to free Edward II from captivity while he was certainly still alive; current enemies of Roger Mortimer; and *agents provocateurs* acting on Mortimer's behalf<sup>72</sup>. There is little doubt that Mortimer knew much about the plot well before the earl of Kent and the archbishop of York were arrested

68 R.M. Haines, *Sumptuous Apparel for a Royal Prisoner: Archbishop Melton's letter, 14 January 1330*, "English Historical Review" CXXIV (August 2009), p. 886; the text of the letter is on pp. 893-894. The existence of the letter, which is preserved in the Warwickshire County Record Office, has been known for a century but has only recently been taken note of: J.H. Bloom, *Simon de Swanland and King Edward II*, "Notes & Queries" 11<sup>th</sup> series, IV (1911), pp. 1-2.

69 Murimuth, pp. 59-60, and Appendix, pp. 253-257.

70 *Brut*, I, pp. 263-267.

71 *Le Baker*, p. 44: *Nocte introducitur in aulam, iussus induere habitum secularem, ne perciperetur, videbaturque sibi ipsum videre Edwardum patrem regis cene splendide assidentem.*

72 I have discussed the events of 1330 and the arguments for and against Edward II's death in September 1327 in more detail in my book: see especially Phillips, pp. 565-571, and chapter 12, *Afterlives*; see also: R.M. Haines, *Roger Mortimer's Scam*, "Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society" CXXVI (2008), pp. 139-156; R.M. Haines, *Edwardus redivivus*, pp. 65-86. It is only fair to add however that the case for Edward's survival in 1330 has also been strongly argued, e.g. I. Mortimer, *The Plot of the Earl of Kent, 1328-30*, in: idem, *Medieval Intrigue: Decoding Royal Conspiracies*, London 2010, pp. 153-172; K. Warner, *The Adherents of Edmund of Woodstock, Earl of Kent, in March 1330*, "English Historical Review" CXXVI (2011), pp. 779-805.

and questioned. It is possible, for example, that a messenger from the earl of Kent was deliberately allowed into Corfe and did indeed see someone 'dining splendidly' but without being allowed close enough to see whether it really was the former king.

However, the earl of Kent's confession had sealed his doom, and he was executed outside the gate of Winchester castle on 19 March. The archbishop was to have been tried but was acquitted of all guilt on the direct orders of the king in December 1330. In the meantime Mortimer had fallen from power and gone to the gallows himself<sup>73</sup>.

But even the events of 1330 did not end of stories of Edward II's survival. Somewhere between 1336 and 1338, a letter was addressed to Edward III by a papal notary named Manuel Fieschi. In it he tells of a meeting with a man who had identified himself as Edward II, and who had then made a confession in which he told Fieschi a long and circumstantial tale. Edward had escaped from Berkeley castle with a servant, after killing a sleeping doorkeeper whose body was later buried as if it were his; Edward had then gone to Corfe, after which he and his servant had crossed to Ireland, where he had spent nine months. Fearing recognition, he took the habit of a hermit and returned to England, where he arrived at the port of Sandwich. Still dressed as a hermit, he crossed to Sluys in Flanders. From there he went to Normandy, and then to many other places. Having travelled through the Languedoc, he came to Avignon, where he gave a florin to one of the pope's servants to take a letter to Pope John XXII. The pope summoned him and kept him honourably and in secret at Avignon for fifteen days. Finally, "after various discussions, and all things considered", the pope gave Edward permission to leave. Edward then went to Paris, from there to the duchy of Brabant in the Low Countries, and to Cologne, where he visited the shrine of the Three Kings "for the purposes of devotion". He crossed Germany to Milan in Lombardy and entered a hermitage belonging to the castle of *Milasco*, where he stayed for two and a half years. When this castle was overrun by war, Edward moved to another hermitage, in or connected with the castle of *Cecima* in the diocese of Pavia in Lombardy, and was in this hermitage for about two more years, "always the recluse, doing penance", and praying to God for Edward III and other sinners<sup>74</sup>.

The Fieschi letter, as it is now commonly known, was found in a register of documents belonging to the diocese of Maguelone, near Montpellier, in the 1870s, and has since been the subject of debate among historians of

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73 Phillips, pp. 566-567, 571-572.

74 Phillips, pp. 582-583. There is a photograph of the document in Phillips, plate 23. For a transcript of the Latin text of the letter see G.P. Cuttino, T.W. Lyman, *Where is Edward II?*, "Speculum" LIII (1978), pp. 537-538.

fourteenth-century England<sup>75</sup>. In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century the places where Edward allegedly took refuge were identified as Melazzo near Acqui Terme north of Genoa and the abbey of Sant' Alberto di Butrio, a short distance from Cecima. A now-empty grave at Sant' Alberto is even described as the initial resting place of the former king, before he was transferred to the tomb built for him at Gloucester in the 1330s<sup>76</sup>. The letter itself is certainly genuine, but the story contains a number of inconsistencies, which tell against its being an account of activities by the real Edward II<sup>77</sup>. The Fieschi were an important Genoese family, which was prominent in the Church, supplying two thirteenth-century popes and many other senior clergy, and which also had close links to the English crown. As well as being a papal notary at Avignon from 1329 to 1343, Manuel Fieschi held several valuable benefices in England; and a near relative of his, Nicolino Fieschi, acted as a confidential agent for Edward III in the 1330s and 1340s. Significantly, however, there is no evidence that either man had ever met the real Edward II during his lifetime<sup>78</sup>. While Manuel Fieschi almost certainly did meet someone either at Avignon or in Italy who claimed to be Edward II, there is no reason to believe that it really was Edward. The most likely course of events is that Fieschi first learned of the wanderer through his work at the papal curia, and realized the embarrassment which might be caused to the English crown, especially at a time when England and France were moving inexorably towards war. With the prior involvement and approval of Edward III and of the pope, Manuel and Nicolino de Fieschi probably then ensured that 'Edward' was held in safe custody in places in northern Italy that were under the control or influence of the Fieschi family. Manuel's letter to Edward III was in effect bringing him up to date with events<sup>79</sup>. There was however one further twist in the story, which may account for the letter being written when it was. In September 1338 a man named William le Galeys or le Waleys was 'arrested' at Köln in Germany after apparently declaring that he was Edward II, and

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75 Archives départementales de l'Hérault, Series G 1123, f. 86r (Cartulaire de Maguelone, Register A). It was first published by its discoverer, see A. Germain, as *Lettre de Manuel Fiesque concernant les dernières années du roi d'Angleterre Édouard II*, Société Archéologique de Montpellier, Montpellier 1878 (reprinted in: "Mémoires de la Société Archéologique de Montpellier" VII (1881), pp. 109-127). For a discussion of the document and its publication history see Phillips, pp. 583-589.

76 Phillips, pp. 587-589. There are photographs of Melazzo, Sant' Alberto di Butrio and of the 'tomb' of Edward II, see *ibidem*, plates 19-21. *Milasco* has also been identified with Mulazzo near Pontremoli in Liguria, see *ibidem*, p. 586.

77 *Ibidem*, pp. 589-591.

78 *Ibidem*, pp. 589-596. Manuel's uncle cardinal Luke Fieschi had been a papal envoy in England in 1317-1318 at a particularly delicate time in English politics.

79 Phillips, pp. 591-593.

was then escorted to Koblenz where Edward III was meeting the emperor, Ludwig IV. This episode was not a public demonstration by a deranged individual but rather a prearranged encounter between him and Edward III in order to satisfy the latter's curiosity. It is likely that William was the man described in the Fieschi letter and that he had been brought from Italy by another relative of Manuel Fieschi, a galley-master named Nicholas Blank de Fieschi who was engaged in supplying shipping for the English war effort against France. Having met Edward III, William was probably taken back to Italy, to end his days in seclusion<sup>80</sup>.

By 1338 the real Edward II was long dead and safely ensconced in his tomb in Gloucester Abbey in England, which became a centre of devotion. Offerings were made at the tomb by Edward III and other members of his family, while the abbey chronicle claimed that pilgrims came in such large numbers to pray at the tomb that they helped to finance the extensive rebuilding of the abbey during the 14<sup>th</sup> century<sup>81</sup>. The tomb effigy shows Edward holding the orb and sceptre and "with a fine bearded head, calm and typically Plantagenet, flanked by angels", which has led one commentator to suggest that the tomb was designed to emphasize the saintliness of Edward II, and the idea of the king as a type of Christ<sup>82</sup>.

Similar ideas were also in the mind of the chronicler Geoffrey le Baker, writing in the 1340s. Geoffrey claims that, when told of his deposition, Edward "After many tears and much sighing" was "prepared to lay down his life for Christ [...] knowing that a good shepherd would give his soul for his sheep"<sup>83</sup>; in an obvious allusion to the Crucifixion, he describes how Edward's guards insulted the anointed of God by forcing him to wear a crown made out of straw<sup>84</sup>; in Berkeley castle the "ministers of Belial"

<sup>80</sup> Phillips, pp. 582, 594-596; *The Wardrobe Book of William de Norwell, 12 July 1338 to 27 May 1340*, ed. M. Lyon, B. Lyon, H.S. Lucas, J. de Sturler, Commission Royale d'Histoire, Brussels 1983, pp. 212, 214. For another view of the relations between Edward III and the Fieschi, which argues that William le Galeys really was the former Edward II, see I. Mortimer, *Medieval Intrigue*, chapter 6, *Edward III, His Father and the Fieschi*.

<sup>81</sup> Phillips, pp. 555-556, 559. The *Historiae et Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestriae* claims that the offerings enabled Abbot Wigmore to rebuild the transept in six years: D. Welander, *The History, Art and Architecture of Gloucester Cathedral*, Stroud 1991, p. 628 (translation); D. Verey, A. Brooks, *Gloucestershire, II, The Vale and the Forest of Dean*, The Buildings of England, London 2002, p. 397.

<sup>82</sup> Phillips, pp. 556-558; D. Verey, A. Brooks, op.cit., p. 420; A. McGee Morganstern, *Gothic Tombs of Kinship in France, the Low Countries and England*, University Park (Pennsylvania) 2000, chapter 5, *The Royal English Tomb during the Minority and Reign of Edward III*, pp. 83-84.

<sup>83</sup> *Le Baker*, p. 27: *lacrimis et suspiriis [...] paracior pro Christo vitam finire [...] sciens quod bonus pastor animam suam ponit pro ovibus suis*.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 31: *Duxerunt exemplar paciencie per grangias castro Bristollie [Bristol] pertinentes, ubi de feno factam coronam capiti, iamdudum per oleum sanctum consecrato, imposuit fefarius ille de Corneye [Thomas de Gurney], ausus contingere christum Dei*.



attempted to end the life of “the servant of God” by poison, but failed, either because of Edward’s natural strength or, which Geoffrey believed was the truth, because “the Most High reserved his confessor for a more manifest martyrdom”<sup>85</sup>. His account of the terrible details of Edward’s murder by red-hot iron was a description of martyrdom, rather than of the more mundane death by suffocation, which is probably what Edward actually endured<sup>86</sup>. The comparison of Edward’s sufferings with those of Christ, which followed, was clearly intended to read like the conclusion, if not to an actual saint’s life, certainly to a potential one<sup>87</sup>.

There is, however, no clear evidence of a systematic attempt to start a formal process for the canonization of Edward II until the reign of Richard II. In October 1378 Richard visited Edward’s tomb during a parliament held in the abbey of St Peter’s, Gloucester, leaving his personal badge of the white hart painted on the adjoining pillars as a mark of his visit. In 1385 he sent a delegation to the curia to press Urban VI for his great-grandfather’s canonization but his work did not bear fruit until December 1389 when the newly elected pope Boniface IX ordered the archbishop of Canterbury to examine the life, merits and miracles of Edward II. The resulting book of miracles, together with a gold cup and a gold ring set with a ruby, was delivered to the pope in Florence early in 1395. Despite further English diplomatic pressure nothing had come of the attempted canonization when Richard II was deposed in 1399, and the new king Henry IV had no interest in the matter<sup>88</sup>. Any cult of ‘St Edward II’ that may have existed at Gloucester

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85 Ibidem, p. 30: *Venenum quampluries propinaverunt servo Dei ministri Belial, quod aut fortitudine naturali evacuaavit, [...] aut, quod verius credo, manifestiori martirio, suum confessorem Altissimus reservavit.*

86 This is how the story seemed to Geoffrey le Baker, but it has been argued plausibly that Edward II’s reputation for sodomy and specifically the story of his murder by red-hot iron, a form of anal rape, was also developed after his death as a way of discrediting him, see Phillips, pp. 24, 98, 102, 523, 563. See also: W.M. Ormrod, *The Sexualities of Edward II*, in: *The Reign of Edward II: New Perspectives*, ed. G. Dodd, A. Musson, Woodbridge, Suffolk & Rochester, NY 2006, pp. 22-47, and I. Mortimer, *Sermons of Sodomy*, pp. 48-60.

87 *Le Baker*, pp. 33-34: *Clamor ille expirantis multos de Berkeleya et quosdam de castro, ut ipsi asseruerunt, ad compassionem et oraciones pro sancta anima migrante evigilavit. Sic quem mundus odiovit, suumque magistrum Iesum Christum prius odio habuit, primo preceptorem de regno Iudeorum reprobatum, deinde discipulum regno Anglorum spoliatum recepit celsitudo regni angelorum.*

88 Phillips, pp. 24, 604-605; E. Perroy, *L’Angleterre et le Grand Schisme d’Occident*, Paris 1933, pp. 301, 330, 341-342. There is no sign of the book of Edward II’s miracles in the Vatican Archive, the Vatican Library, in the Italian National Library in Florence and other libraries in Florence, or in The National Archives, the British Library, and elsewhere in England. The medieval holdings of Gloucester Cathedral Library are very limited in scope and contain no trace of the book. It may yet turn up, perhaps in some very unlikely place, and throw light on fourteenth-century popular religion, the politics of sanctity, and the scale of devotion to Edward II. If any reader of this paper happens to find the book, I should be delighted to know of it.

has left no obvious trace other than the magnificent tomb and fine building in which it is housed.

The short and complex life of Edward II left a long and complex legacy. His time in captivity after his deposition lasted for a little under twelve months, but he was a captive long before that, even while he was still king. In a sense every king was a prisoner of his office and separated from everyday life by virtue of his status in society<sup>89</sup>. But that situation became very real in the aftermath of his victory over his opponents in the civil war of 1321-1322. The remark by the author of the *Vita Edwardi Secundi*, the most valuable and perceptive narrative source on the reign of Edward II, that "For an islander to rebel against an island king is as if a chained man were to try his strength with the warden of his prison"<sup>90</sup> could be turned on its head in relation to the years after 1322. Edward and his chief favourite, Hugh Despenser the Younger, were so brutal in the revenge they took against their baronial enemies and so rapacious in their seizures of land and property that a new opposition soon developed: conspiracies and plots, both real and imaginary, were seen in every direction, and both men came to live in an agony of suspicion. In 1325 Edward wanted to take an army to Gascony in south-western France to defend his possessions there against attack by the forces of the French crown, but did not dare to do so in case revolt would break out in his absence. Later the same year the plans for him to perform homage to Charles IV of France for the duchy of Aquitaine as part of a peace treaty came to nothing, partly for the same reason, but also because there was a very real fear that Roger Mortimer of Wigmore, his leading opponent now in exile, would try to kidnap him if he were to cross to France. The island king was effectively a prisoner on his own island. Instead Edward's son, the future Edward III, went in his place, and from there the final tragedy of Edward II's reign rapidly unfolded<sup>91</sup>.

#### ABSTRACT

Edward II of England was deposed and imprisoned in 1327 after almost twenty years of political tension, civil war, and foreign conflicts. Edward was lucky not to have become a prisoner earlier in his career; and in the final years of his reign was a virtual prisoner confined to his island kingdom. Following several attempts to free him from captivity, his

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<sup>89</sup> Hilary Mantell has very effectively made a similar point in her recent discussion of the 'glass wall' set up between royalty and the world around them: *Royal Bodies*, "London Review of Books" XXXV, 21 February 2013, pp. 3-7.

<sup>90</sup> *Vita Edwardi Secundi*, pp. 128-129.

<sup>91</sup> For the details of events after 1322 see Phillips, chapter 9, *Edward victorious, 1322-1324*; and chapter 10, *Edward vanquished, 1324-1326*.

death was announced in September that year and a funeral held for him. Rumours circulated widely about his ill treatment while in prison and about the brutal manner in which he had allegedly met his end. However reports also circulated that he was still alive in England and that later he had escaped and wandered across Europe, ending his days as a hermit in Italy. His posthumous reputation as a holy man contributed at the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century to his great-grandson Richard II's efforts to have him canonized.

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## COEUR DE LION IN CAPTIVITY



In December 1192 Richard I was seized near Vienna by Duke Leopold V of Austria. The duke, once he had negotiated terms with Henry VI in February 1193, handed him over to the emperor, and he was then held prisoner in Germany until 4 February 1194 when payment of a sum of 100,000 marks was completed and hostages for a further 50,000 marks provided. According to the calculation made by Roger of Howden, the widely-travelled and well-informed royal clerk and chronicler, he had been held for one year, six weeks and three days<sup>1</sup>. Richard became, in Adam Kosto's phrase, "the model of the captive king"; in the only general study of the subject, Carl Pfaff's "Der gefangene König", his ransom was "paradigmatisch". For the historian of hostages, Richard was the model because he was "a valuable pawn in a complex and highly public international diplomatic episode involving the duke of Austria, the emperor, the pope, the king of France, and Richard's own lieutenants and rivals back in England", and because his use of hostages made him "a key figure in the history of European diplomacy"<sup>2</sup>. His capture and ransom dramatically changed the course of events in Germany and the kingdom of Sicily. Some historians have argued that it had a major impact on English and French history too, leading directly to the king of England's "loss of Normandy" in 1204.

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1 Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, ed. W. Stubbs, I-IV (Rolls Series 1868–1871), iii. 234. On Roger see J. Gillingham, *Writing the Biography of Roger of Howden*, in: *Writing Medieval Biography. Essays in Honour of Frank Barlow*, eds. D. Bates, J. Crick, S. Hamilton, Woodbridge 2006, pp. 207-220.

2 A.J. Kosto, *Hostages in the Middle Ages*, Oxford 2012, pp. 171, 176; C. Pfaff, *Der gefangene König*, "Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde" LXXI (1971), pp. 9-35, esp. p. 27. I am indebted to Adam Kosto, as also to Brigitte Kasten, for their kindness in sending me material which I had not been able to obtain.

Richard also became the model of the captive king because he was widely regarded as a model king who suffered captivity in scandalous and astonishing circumstances. Despite being a crusader he had not been taken by enemies of his faith, as had happened to King Baldwin II of Jerusalem in 1123 and was to befall Louis IX in 1250<sup>3</sup>. He was not captured by dynastic rivals as King Stephen had been in 1141, nor was he taken by enemies with whom he was formally at war, as was, for example, Isaac Comnenus, the “emperor” of Cyprus, whom Richard captured in 1191. True, Henry VI described Richard as “the enemy of our empire” in the exultant letter which he sent to King Philip II of France on 28 December 1192, and Richard’s actions in Sicily could plausibly be represented in that light<sup>4</sup>. Similarly, much as the narrative setting out the duke of Austria’s view of events makes plain that Richard had deeply offended Leopold at Acre in the summer of 1191, there was not a state of war between them<sup>5</sup>. Unquestionably Richard had taken a risk by trying to travel incognito through lands where he would not have been a welcome guest<sup>6</sup>. He had made many enemies, offending all who belonged to the party of Conrad of Montferrat and humiliating two of them, King Philip and Duke Leopold. On his early return from crusade, Philip set up what was in effect a black propaganda factory in order to represent Richard as a traitor to Christendom who was responsible for the assassination of Conrad<sup>7</sup>. But the mere fact that enemies captured him did not make him a prisoner of war, and in official documents there was no talk of ransom<sup>8</sup>. As a returning crusader Richard was a pilgrim, theoretically

3 A. Kosto, *op.cit.*, pp. 166-170; Y. Friedman, *Encounter between Enemies Captivity and Ransom in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Leiden 2002, pp. 77-78, 158, 217.

4 The text of the letter in Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, iii. 195-196. But Philip too had recognised Tancred as Sicily’s ruler. The fact that Henry added “treason, treachery and mischief” in the Holy Land to his accusations against Richard reveals the weakness of the charge that he was an enemy of the empire.

5 *Historia de expeditione Friderici*, ed. A. Chroust, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum n.s., V*, Berlin 1929, pp. 101-102. The narrative from 1190 to 1197 was composed by an Austrian cleric who may have been called Ansbart, so that is how I shall refer to him here.

6 Once he learned of Henry VI’s and King Philip’s alliance against him, his choices were severely limited. It seems that he hoped to reach the lands of his brother-in-law Henry the Lion, travelling either through Hungary or Bohemia – by this time he would have learned that Henry VI and Ottokar of Bohemia were at odds (P. Csendes, *Heinrich VI*, Darmstadt 1993, p. 113, n. 70), but that a storm brought him to land where he had to ask for safe passage from Meinhard of Görz, a kinsman of Conrad of Montferrat. See J. Gillingham, *Richard I*, New Haven-London 1999, pp. 229-232, though the information attributed there (n. 31) to the Anonymous of Béthune in fact came from the *Chronique de Normandie*. On this see below.

7 U. Kessler, *Richard I Löwenherz*, Graz 1995, pp. 191-199; J. Gillingham, *Richard I*, pp. 5-7, 199-200.

8 U. Kessler, *op.cit.*, pp. 267-268.

therefore under the protection of the church<sup>9</sup>. This was not mentioned in the principal German chronicles written in the 1190s; Otto of St Blasien, writing nearly twenty years later, acknowledged that many blamed Leopold for an act of sacrilege but observed drily that their condemnation was of little use to the captured king<sup>10</sup>. English chroniclers were outraged, complaining that his fellow-Christians had sold him as though he were an ox or an ass, treating him worse than he would have been had he been captured by Muslims<sup>11</sup>. His imprisonment “had much in common with the modern kidnapping of wealthy businessmen to raise money”<sup>12</sup>.

Richard was not just any pilgrim. In the words of Gervase of Tilbury, “he was not so much the king of England as the defender of the Christian faith”. Further, he was “king of the kings of the earth, second to none of the human race in valour, greatness of soul, military prowess, knowledge and virtue of every kind”<sup>13</sup>. Of course Gervase was writing for Richard’s nephew, Emperor Otto IV, and this was the language of expedient panegyric. Those writing for his political and military enemies naturally saw him differently; they tended to emphasise his unscrupulous cunning and his arrogance. None the less it remains noteworthy that William the Breton, the verse biographer of Philip Augustus, observed that had Richard only showed due deference to the king of France then England would never have had a better ruler, while in the view of the great Muslim historian, Ibn-al-Athir of Mosul, he was “the outstanding man of his time for bravery, cunning, steadfastness and endurance. In him the Muslims were tried by an unparalleled disaster”<sup>14</sup>

9 Rigord of St Denis, writing for Philip Augustus, based his report on Henry VI’s letter of 28 December, but interjected a few words of his own: to capture a pilgrim was *contra morem* [...] *per quascumque terras christianorum* (Rigord, *Histoire de Philippe Auguste*, ed. and trans. E. Carpentier, G. Pon, Y. Chauvin, Paris 2006, c. 94, p. 314).

10 *Die Chronik Ottos von St. Blasien und die Marbacher Annalen*, ed. F.-J. Schmale, Darmstadt 1998, p. 58.

11 Words attributed to Richard himself by Roger of Wendover, in Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, ed. H.R. Luard, I-VII, *Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores* (henceforth as: RS), London 1872-1883, ii. 407-408. Ralph of Coggeshall, writing in 1195, made the same point with great vehemence, *Radulphi de Coggeshall Chronicon Anglicanum*, ed. J. Stevenson, RS, London 1875, p. 57. So also William of Newburgh, *Historia Rerum Anglicarum*, in: *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*, ed. R. Howlett, I-IV, RS, London 1884-1889, I, p. 387.

12 J. Dunbabin, *Captivity and Imprisonment in Medieval Europe 1000-1300*, Basingstoke 2002, p. 5.

13 Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia*, ed. and trans. S.E. Banks, J.W. Binns, Oxford 2002, pp. 464-465, 486-487.

14 *Philippidos, Liber V*, in: *Oeuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton*, ed. H.F. Delaborde, I-II, Paris 1882-1885, ii. p. 148; *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athir for the Crusading Period*, part 2, trans. D.S. Richards, Farnham 2007, p. 387; J. Gillingham, *Richard I: A King as portrayed by his Enemies*, in: *Richard Coeur de Lion roi d’Angleterre, duc de Normandie. Actes du Colloque International, Caen, Avril 1999*, ed. L. Le Roc’h Morgère, Caen 2004, pp. 269-283.

Walther von der Vogelweide paired Richard together with Saladin as a model ruler<sup>15</sup>. The fame of Richard's commitment to the crusades was to be matched only by Louis IX's; according to Joinville, Richard was held up to Louis as the king whose conduct should be emulated<sup>16</sup>. Obviously none of this means that those who were Richard's loyal subjects believed that everything he did was above criticism<sup>17</sup>. None the less there is plenty of evidence to show that he was held up as a model for subsequent kings of England to follow, a standard by which they might be adjudged to have fallen short<sup>18</sup>. To a Londoner writing in John's reign, he was *stupor mundi*, the wonder of the world<sup>19</sup>.

### THE IGNOMINY OF CAPTIVITY

In the extraordinary turn of events which brought the proud leader of the Third Crusade to languish in prison while his Christian enemies, including a brother whom he had treated generously – too generously some said – attacked his lands, it was inevitable that many people saw the hand of God. For Walter of Coutances, archbishop of Rouen and, as justiciar chiefly responsible for the government of England in 1192-1193, it was a puzzle. "Surely", he wrote on hearing the news of Richard's capture, "he who for the sake of God had poured out his wealth and had risked both his own and his followers' blood, deserved God's protection in all his journeys'. The justiciar's answer to the puzzle was that it was a test of Richard's high qualities, not a mark of

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15 They both knew how to win reputation and honour through generous giving: *wie man mit gâbe erwirbet prîs und êre* (M. Jones, *Richard the Lionheart in German Literature of the Middle Ages*, in: *Richard Coeur de Lion in History and Myth*, ed. J. Nelson, London 1992, p. 85).

16 Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, ed. N. De Wailly, Paris 1868, pp. 199-200.

17 As David Carpenter has emphasised, there were critics both of some of the arrangements made for the government of England during his absence on crusade and of the heavy taxation of the later years of the reign: *Abbot Ralph of Coggeshall's Account of the Last Years of King Richard and the First Years of King John*, "English Historical Review" (henceforth as: EHR) CXIII (1998), pp. 1210-1230; idem, *Richard by His Contemporaries. Was He a "Model King"?* *England in 1189*, in: *Richard Coeur de Lion...*, pp. 285-297.

18 *Thomas Wright's Political Songs of England*, ed. P. Coss, Cambridge 1996, p. 128; *Vita Edwardi Secundi*, ed. N. Denholm-Young, Edinburgh 1957, pp. 39-40; T. Turville-Petre, *England the Nation. Language, Literature and National Identity, 1290-1340*, Oxford 1996, pp. 120-124, 130-131.

19 Not altogether surprising that this author went a little over the top: *Erat enim vir strenuus, miles optimus, bellicosus, animosus, probus magnus, hominum fortissimus, gnarus, facundus, audax supra modum, pulcher, facetus et largus, benignus, humilis, mansuetus sapiens et prudens, moderatus, clerumque dilexit uniuersum* (J. Gillingham, *Stupor mundi: 1204 et un obituaire de Richard Coeur de Lion depuis longtemps tombé dans l'oubli*, in: *Plantagenêts et Capétiens. Confrontations et héritages. Actes du colloque de Poitiers et Fontevraud, May 2004*, ed. M. Aurell, N-Y Tonnerre, Turnhout 2006, pp. 397-411).

divine disapproval<sup>20</sup>. In Ansbert's view, it was God's punishment for Richard's arrogant treatment of the duke<sup>21</sup>. Other English churchmen also thought the king was being punished. None agonised more about God's hidden judgement than the Cistercian Ralph of Coggeshall. Among the possibilities he considered was that the king was being punished for sexual offences (*pro regis ipsius lubricate aetatis erratibus castigandis*)<sup>22</sup>. Ralph Diceto, dean of St Paul's London, reckoned it was as penance and satisfaction for his rebellious conduct towards the end of his father's reign<sup>23</sup>. A more distinguished theologian, Stephen Langton then lecturing in Paris, took exactly the opposite view. In his opinion Richard was being punished for the sins of his father<sup>24</sup>.

We know that in the end he was released. But those living through the experience, above all Richard himself, did not. Notoriously King Henry I's brother, Robert Curthose, captured in 1106, stayed in prison until he died nearly thirty years later. No doubt Henry VI and Leopold had more to gain from selling Richard than from keeping him in prison. But to whom would they sell him? To his subjects, most of whom wanted to see their king back on his throne? Or to King Philip and Count John, enemies who would prefer to see him dead or kept in prison for life. Given that Henry VI played a cat and mouse game with his prisoner, it is anything but surprising if there were times when Richard despaired of freedom. Roger of Howden recorded three moments of despair, on 21 March 1193, in late June 1193 and just before his

20 Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, iii. 196. Richard's imprisonment led to the Monk of Montaudon admonishing God with the words "He is a fool who follows you into battle", tenso 13 in *Les poésies du moine de Montaudon*, ed. M.J. Routledge, Montpellier 1977, pp. 105-112.

21 *Historia de expeditione...*, p. 101. German chroniclers of the time, like the French, were at one in characterising his conduct of the crusade as high-handed and arrogant. See J. Gillingham, *The Kidnapped King: Richard I in Germany, 1192-1194*, "Bulletin of the German Historical Institute, London" XXX (2008), pp. 5-34, esp. 30-31. I was entirely wrong, however, to refer to this there (p. 5) as the first meeting between the rulers of Germany and England; Conrad II and King Cnut had met at Rome in 1027.

22 *Radulphi de Coggeshall Chronicon...*, p. 57. Jean Flori probably had these words in mind when discussing Richard's alleged homosexuality, see idem, *Richard Coeur de Lion*, Paris 1999, 188, 448-464, esp. 456. Quite apart from the fact that none of the writers who were spokesmen for Richard's enemies never accused him of "unnatural" vice, the question of his homosexuality was laid to rest, one would have thought finally, by K. van Eickels, *Vom inszenierten Konsens zum systematisierten Konflikt: Die englisch-französischen Beziehungen und ihre Wahrnehmung an der Wende vom Hoch- zum Spätmittelalter*, Stuttgart 2002, pp. 341-393.

23 *Radulfi de Diceto Decani Londiniensis Opera Historica*, ed. W. Stubbs, I-II, RS 1876, ii. 107. Roger of Wendover followed this line, see Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, ii. 395.

24 *Ita his diebus quod in quodam magno rege captivato peccata patris eius vindicentur* (cited in Ph. Buc, *L'ambiguïté du livre*, Paris 1994, p. 62, cf. p. 105 n. 91). According to the 14<sup>th</sup>-century English historian, R. Higden, *Langton Wrote a Libellum on Richard's mores et actus*, eds. C. Babington, J.R. Lumby, in: *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden*, I-IX, RS, London 1865-1986, viii. 82.



release in February 1194<sup>25</sup>. The best known of the songs attributed to him, “Janus hons pris” (No man who is in prison) catches the mood of such times<sup>26</sup>. Despite this, his bearing in captivity won him admirers, both at the time and since, and not just from English historians such as Roger of Howden and William of Newburgh<sup>27</sup>. As Knut Görich has emphasised, it mattered that even in the most difficult of conditions he was able to maintain his royal dignity, and hence his honour, both in his own eyes and in the view of the outside world<sup>28</sup>.

None the less, no matter how Richard conducted himself, the uncertainty of his position – the possibility that he might never return, a thought which his brother John did what he could to harden – undermined his authority. Although his whereabouts in Germany was known by late March 1193 and from that date he was able to write letters to English recipients, so far as we can tell no petitioner thought it worth asking for a charter until late May at the earliest, and more probably not until late July<sup>29</sup>. Until the terms and conditions for his release had settled, and this was not until 29 June, too much uncertainty remained. In a letter of 8 June Richard himself indicated the kind of constraint within which he lived in prison: “You know that while we are in custody it is sometimes useful to give way to the demands of great men and appear to recommend people whom in reality we have no desire to promote”<sup>30</sup>. It was probably not until July that he began to receive the stream of visitors which so impressed Otto of St Blasien<sup>31</sup>.

During his time in captivity he suffered massive territorial losses in France, above all in Eastern Normandy and the Vexin, where the great blow was the surrender of Gisors on 12 April 1193<sup>32</sup>. There were major setbacks elsewhere

25 Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, iii. 199, 215, 232.

26 J. Gillingham, *Richard I*, pp. 254-55.

27 See, for example, the words with which Karl Alois Kneller S.J., in most respects a stern critic of Richard, closed his study: “die Tage seiner äussersten Verdemüthigung sind die glänzendste Zeit in Richards Leben” (idem, *Des Richard Löwenherz deutsche Gefangenschaft*, Freiburg 1893, p. 116).

28 K. Görich, *Verletzte Ehre. König Richard Löwenherz als Gefangener Kaiser Heinrichs VI*, “Historisches Jahrbuch” CXXIII (2003), pp. 65-91, esp. 89-91.

29 L. Landon, *The Itinerary of Richard I*, London 1935, nos. 367-377. For discussion of the dates of two problematic charters (nos. 367 and 377) see H.E. Mayer, *A Ghost Ship called Frankeneff: King Richard's German Itinerary*, EHR CXV (2000), pp. 134-144 and J. Gillingham, *William of Newburgh and Emperor Henry VI*, in: *Auxilia Historica. Festschrift für Peter Acht*, ed. W. Koch et al., München 2001, pp. 66-67, nos. 84 and 89.

30 Gervase of Canterbury, *Opera Historica*, ed. W. Stubbs, I-II, RS, London 1879-1880, i. 517.

31 *Die Chronik Ottos...*, p. 58.

32 D. Power, *The Norman Frontier in the Twelfth and Early Thirteenth Centuries*, Cambridge 2004, pp. 414-423, while noting on p. 419 that the Norman revolt against Richard in 1193 seems to have been more restricted than that against Henry II in 1173.

too: rebellion in Aquitaine and the surrender by treaty of the castles of Loches and Chatillon-sur-Indre in the Touraine. It is worth noting, however, that in Britain, where the influence of Philip Augustus was negligible, neither the Welsh princes nor the Scottish king attempted to exploit Richard's situation – in sharp contrast to the way in which Welsh and Scots usually seized the opportunities presented by English political difficulties<sup>33</sup>. According to Roger of Howden, when English envoys met Richard at Ochsenfurt in March 1193, their king, who was notably affable and cheerful, asked them about the well-being and prosperity of the king of Scots, saying that he counted on his good faith<sup>34</sup>. And, as it turned out, with good reason. Astonishingly King William even contributed to Richard's ransom. In the words of John Fordun, the first named Scottish chronicler of Scottish history, Richard was "that noble king so friendly to the Scots" in whose reign there was "so hearty a union between the two countries [...] that the two peoples were reckoned one and the same"<sup>35</sup>.

The threats to Richard's honour which captivity represented have been admirably analysed by Knut Görich. The four main contemporary or near-contemporary German accounts (the Marbach Annals, Ansbert, the annals of Magnus of Reichersberg and Otto of St. Blasien) all insist on the demeaning circumstances in which Richard was captured. These authors were following the official line, since the emperor himself, writing to Philip Augustus, king of France, had said that Richard had been captured in a *domus despecta* (a contemptible house)<sup>36</sup>. The story was nicely embellished by Magnus of Reichersberg (an Augustinian house in the diocese of Passau): "he was found hiding in a poor man's hovel, in the peasant's kitchen, preparing food for himself and his few companions"<sup>37</sup>. Then developed further by Otto of St Blasien: "it was laughable to see the king of England captured while roasting chicken, turning the spit with his own hand," from which, however, he had forgotten to remove an expensive ring<sup>38</sup>. Not surprisingly a similar line was adopted in the text of the most overtly pro-imperial of all the narratives, the south Italian *Liber ad honorem augusti*, a poem telling the story of events in South Italy and Sicily from 1189 to 1194, composed in 1195-1197 by Peter of

33 On their restraint, unique in the history of 12<sup>th</sup>- and 13<sup>th</sup>-century Britain, see J. Gillingham, *The Foundations of a Disunited Kingdom*, in: idem, *The English in the Twelfth Century*, Woodbridge 2000, pp. 93-109, 107-108.

34 Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, iii. 198.

35 John of Fordun, *Cronica gentis Scotorum*, ed. and trans. W.F. and F.H. Skene, Edinburgh 1871, ii. 269-271.

36 Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, iii. 195-196. Cf.: *in vili hospitio* (*Historia de expeditione...*, p. 102); *in parvo tuguriolo* (Marbach annals in *Die Chronik Ottos...*, p. 186).

37 *Chronicon Magni Presbiteri*, MGH Scriptorum, XVII, Leipzig 1925, pp. 519-520.

38 *Die Chronik Ottos...*, pp. 110-111. Görich began his analysis with this representation of the capture (idem, *Verletzte Ehre...*, pp. 65-67).

Eboli (near Salerno), an author who in offering his work to Henry, described himself “as the loyal servant of the emperor”<sup>39</sup>. His verses tell how Richard tried to escape the emperor’s all-seeing eyes by being badly dressed and by acting as a kitchen servant doing menial work<sup>40</sup>. Yet the one surviving manuscript is lavishly illustrated and the image facing the text shows Richard in pilgrim’s clothes, with a caption referring to him returning from Jerusalem, i.e. reinforcing his status as a pilgrim.



In the English accounts written in the 1190s which say something about the circumstances in which Richard was captured (Roger of Howden, Ralph of Coggeshall, William of Newburgh, Gervase of Canterbury) we hear nothing about the king in the kitchen, instead he was disguised as a merchant on pilgrimage<sup>41</sup>. He was detected only because his servant at the market was

<sup>39</sup> *Ego magister Petrus de Ebulo, servus imperatoris fidelis, hunc librum ad honorem Augusti composui* (Th. Kölzer und M. Stähli, *Petrus de Ebulo, Liber ad honorem Augusti sive de rebus Siculis. Codex 120 II der Burgerbibliothek Bern. Eine Bilderchronik der Stauferzeit*, Sigmaringen 1994, p. 245).

<sup>40</sup> *Ibidem* lines 1047-1051. From this poem the tale found its way to William the Breton, *Philippidos...*, IV, lines 343-344.

<sup>41</sup> *Radulfi de Diceto Decani Londiniensis Opera...*, ii. 106 gives date and place of Richard’s capture, but no details, likely a deliberate silence.

questioned under torture, and revealed his hiding-place. When arrested, he reached for his sword, not for a kitchen implement. According to Coggeshall, the king seeing he was in no position to resist so many barbarians (*tot barbaros*), insisted on surrendering to duke alone. When duke arrived, he went to meet him and proffered his sword. This was a warrior's honourable surrender. There was nothing laughable here<sup>42</sup>. William of Newburgh, who was able to supplement the material he found in Roger's chronicle thanks to his access to a uniquely well-informed source, Master Philip of Poitou, the confidential clerk who stayed with the king throughout his time in Germany, said that on being taken, sword in hand, Richard was assured that he was being taken into custody to keep him safe from the kindred of Conrad of Montferrat who were out for his blood. William was alert to matters of rank and honour. Twice he mentioned that the duke held the king in chains, which showed a lack of respect for royal dignity (*citra decus regium*)<sup>43</sup>. The most dramatic story was told by Gervase of Canterbury. He reckoned that Richard was handled shamefully and disgracefully by a Viennese mob, called a traitor and seemingly in danger of being stoned or hanged until handed over to the duke himself<sup>44</sup>. It is impossible to be sure what actually happened; what is striking and revealing are the marked differences between the English and German narratives.

It was undoubtedly in Leopold's interest to keep him alive, but it would have been impractical as well as being, at least in the emperor's mind, entirely inappropriate for the duke to negotiate a ransom without going through his lord, the emperor<sup>45</sup>. Naturally the duke did not hand his prize over until he had negotiated satisfactory terms. One meeting between Henry and Leopold, at Regensburg in January 1193, broke up without agreement. According to Ansbert, "the emperor listened to evil counsellors and was minded to use violence in order to get his hands on Richard"<sup>46</sup>. Negotiations were resumed and terms were settled by treaty made at Würzburg on 14 February. Emperor and duke agreed to share equally the 100,000 marks which Richard was to

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42 Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, iii. 186; *Radulphi de Coggeshall Chronicon...*, p. 56.

43 William of Newburgh, *Historia...*, pp. 383, 386. Allegedly Isaac Comnenus surrendered to Richard on condition that he would not be put in irons, so Richard had chains of silver made for him, see Ambrose, *The History of the Holy War*, eds. M. Ailes, M. Barber, I-II, Woodbridge 2003, i. lines 2031-244, ii. p. 60; Gervase of Canterbury, *Opera...*, ii. 88. But at least Isaac was spared mutilation, his most likely fate had he fallen victim to internal Byzantine politics, and was subsequently released.

44 [...] *turpiter et probrose ductus est; ab his et illis proditor appellatus est; ab aliis lapidandus, for ab aliis capite plectendus, a nonnullis patibulo suspendendus videbatur* (Gervase of Canterbury, *Opera...*, i. 513, ii. 89-90).

45 William of Newburgh, *Historia...*, pp. 386-387.

46 *Historia de expeditione...*, pp. 102-103; *Chronicon Magni Presbiteri*, p. 520

pay. Leopold's half was to serve as a dowry for Richard's niece who was to marry one of the duke's sons; what the emperor's half was for, the treaty did not say<sup>47</sup>. In any event the word 'ransom' was not used. Indeed it was studiously avoided in all official letters until Pope Innocent III used it, but by then Henry VI was dead.

Following this agreement Richard was handed over to the emperor. At this point German sources have no more to say about the captive king until his release in February 1194. For what happened in the intervening twelve months we have only the accounts composed by English chroniclers. By far the most detailed narrative is provided by Roger of Howden, to which William of Newburgh adds impassioned commentary. Richard was in effect put on trial at an assembly of princes at Speyer at Easter 1193. The emperor accused Richard of betraying the Holy Land, plotting the assassination of Conrad of Montferrat, and breaking agreements made with him – presumably a promise not to damage his interests while in Sicily. To this Richard replied with such force and eloquence that the charges were dropped; Henry raised him up and gave him the kiss of peace. This scene moved the onlookers to weep with joy. In reality no doubt the outcome of the "trial" at Speyer and the language to be used had been decided in advance<sup>48</sup>. Their dispute over, Henry and Richard were now firm friends, and Henry offered to effect a reconciliation between Richard and Philip of France in return for an agent's commission of 100,000 marks. Since this was to represent Henry as being helpful in the cause of international peace, there was obviously no reason for him to be excommunicated. Thus whereas in the treaty of Würzburg, it had been laid down that Richard should remain in custody until he had got the pope to absolve Leopold, in the agreement made at Speyer, and in the subsequent agreement made at Worms in June, there was never any mention of the emperor needing absolution<sup>49</sup>. At Speyer the reality of Richard's situation was cloaked in phony language<sup>50</sup>. Henry even promised to free Richard

<sup>47</sup> *Historia de expeditione...*, pp. 103-105. Although formally Richard was not a party to the treaty, it does seem likely that in discussion with the duke, he had been able to secure a few concessions in his own interest. Hence the view that at this point Richard "appears to have played an extremely poor hand brilliantly" (A.J. Kosto, *op.cit.*, 171-173). In addition to the points Kosto makes, the fact that c. 4 set limits to Henry's power to select the hostages which Richard had to grant him, indicates that Richard has had a say *pace* (J. Gillingham, *Richard I*, p. 235).

<sup>48</sup> U. Kessler, *op.cit.*, p. 263; J. Gillingham, *Richard I*, p. 230; K. Görich, *Verletzte Ehre...*, pp. 80-84; G. Althoff, *Die Macht der Rituale. Symbolik und Herrschaft im Mittelalter*, Darmstadt 2003, pp. 157-158.

<sup>49</sup> *Historia de expeditione...*, p. 104.

<sup>50</sup> Language which moved William of Newburgh to sarcasm (*idem*, *Historia...*, p. 388).

without payment if he had failed to bring the kings of France and England to peace<sup>51</sup>. That, of course, would have been the honourable thing to do, and Richard maintained the pretence that it was all a matter of honour. Writing to his mother and his ministers in England on 19 April, he said “if we were at liberty in England and the money due were not forthcoming, we would return to the emperor until it had been paid in full”<sup>52</sup>. He proclaimed, in other words, his readiness to do what King John of France was to do in 1363.

But at Speyer it had not been all plain sailing. According to Howden, on the eve of the assembly, demands had been made which Richard would not concede, not even “out of fear of death”. It is very unlikely that he was ever in danger of being killed since – unlike Arthur of Brittany who was to die in John’s custody ten years later – he was not a rival to his captor’s throne. None the less the possibility that harm might come to him was not just a product of Roger’s imagination. The treaty between Henry and Leopold had been *super incolumitate et pace Regis Anglorum*<sup>53</sup>. Gilbert of Mons, writing in 1196 after his retirement as chancellor to count Baldwin of Hainaut and Flanders, explained that Richard had been transferred to the emperor’s custody “on condition that he would not suffer harm to his body but could be ransomed”<sup>54</sup>. Henry, it should be remembered, was widely regarded as a man of violence, held responsible for the murder of the bishop of Liège in November 1192, a reputation he was to live up to in the aftermath of his conquest of Sicily when many of the defeated were mutilated or put to death. What had those demands been? Most likely homage was demanded and refused, since it seems improbable that the subject was not raised until February 1194, and from Roger’s and William’s language it is clear that Richard agreed to some symbolic gesture of submission, even if not quite the Byzantine/Sicilian proskynesis depicted in Peter of Eboli<sup>55</sup>.

Despite the kiss of peace and the language of friendship, despite Richard being led to expect an early release, the agreement made at Speyer did not last<sup>56</sup>. A new agreement was made at Worms on 29 June, and this time Richard promised to pay 150,000 marks, 100,000 before he was released and provide hostages for the outstanding 50,000. What had persuaded him to

51 Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, iii. 199. According to Peter of Eboli, the emperor would not have released the king even for a thousand talents; he chose to free him only because he was mollified by Richard’s humility, *Petrus de Ebulo, Liber ad honorem Augusti...*, p. 169.

52 Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, iii. 210.

53 *Historia de expeditione...*, p. 103.

54 Gilbert of Mons, *Chronicon Hanoniense*, ed. L. Vanderkindere, Brussels 1904, p. 284: *ut proprii corporis malum non pateretur*.

55 S. Hauser, *Staufische Lehnspolitik am Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts 1180-1197*, Frankfurt am Main 1998, p. 239; cf. K. Görich, *Verletzte Ehre...*, pp. 79-83.

56 Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, iii. 205-206.

acquiesce in these new terms? One possibility is that he came under further humiliating pressure. According to William of Newburgh, Richard himself later said that out of respect for his royal person he had initially been treated well and guarded with the appropriate honour, but then the French king's cousin, Bishop Philip of Beauvais, came to the imperial court, after which he was loaded down with chains so heavy that a horse or a donkey would have struggled to move<sup>57</sup>. It seems clear that any such treatment must have been meted out fairly early in his captivity, and probably significant that in the letter of 19 April 1193 he reported that his chancellor, William Longchamp, had been able to negotiate a move from the Trifels to Hagenau, where he was now being treated with honour. By implication on the Trifels he had not been honourably treated<sup>58</sup>. Dean Ralph of London, a friend of Longchamp's, in reporting that Richard was held in Trifels, described it as a prison for enemies of the empire who had been condemned to life imprisonment and said that being sent there was meant to terrify<sup>59</sup>. It may have been for a few weeks following Easter 1193 that Richard suffered the kind of treatment that Peter of Blois imagined when in a letter to Archbishop Conrad of Mainz (they had been students together) he described Richard 'in chains and made to go hungry, his face pale and body weak'<sup>60</sup>.

It is more likely, however, that it was events on the ground in Normandy which created the pressure which made him submit to Henry's blackmail. Whereas Philip's attempt to invade Normandy in 1192 had failed, he enjoyed tremendous success in April and May 1193<sup>61</sup>. Roger of Howden reported that after peace had been made at Speyer, envoys from the king of France arrived at the emperor's court and formally defied Richard<sup>62</sup>. It could be that after Speyer Richard was less the kidnapped pilgrim and more the friend of the emperor, hence a man against whom it was plausible to declare war – even though William of Newburgh was appalled by the morality of defying a man in prison<sup>63</sup>. Even preceded by the formality of defiance, Philip's invasion of Richard's lands was seen as an unjust war by Stephen Langton, then teaching in Paris<sup>64</sup>. Evidently, however, it was a war which promised rewards, and

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<sup>57</sup> William of Newburgh, *Historia*, pp. 493-494. The bishop of Beauvais had been pivotal in the accusation that Richard was behind the assassination of Conrad of Montferrat.

<sup>58</sup> Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, iii. 208-210.

<sup>59</sup> *Radulfi de Diceto Decani Londiniensis Opera...*, ii. 107.

<sup>60</sup> *Mainzer Urkundenbuch*, ed. P. Acht, 2/2, Darmstadt 1971, no. 573.

<sup>61</sup> J. Gillingham, *Richard I*, pp. 229-230, 240-242; D. Power, *op.cit.*, p. 419.

<sup>62</sup> Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, iii. 205.

<sup>63</sup> William of Newburgh, *Historia...*, p. 389.

<sup>64</sup> J.W. Baldwin, *Master Stephen Langton, Future Archbishop of Canterbury: The Paris Schools and Magna Carta*, EHR CXXIII (2008), pp. 811-846, 818. The passage is quoted in full in *idem, Masters, Princes and Merchants*, I-II, Princeton 1970, ii. 147-148.

Philip found many, including most notoriously Richard's brother John, who were happy to join in. Indeed the possibility that Henry VI would himself ally with Philip, in the expectation of securing French help in his campaign against a group of rebels in the lower Rhineland, seemed to loom large when it became known that Henry and Philip had arranged to meet on 25 June. In this situation Richard, despite being in custody, was able to become politically active and broker a peace between the emperor and the rebels. The Franco-German conference was called off. Despite this Richard's situation remained grim. He felt compelled to accept the settlement of 29 June as well as the harsh terms of the truce of Mantes negotiated by his representatives with King Philip on 9 July.

After the treaty of June 1193 seven months went by as throughout Richard's dominions efforts were made to collect the huge sum required. German envoys came across to London to check the weight and fineness of the silver, and the transport arrangements<sup>65</sup>. Although he remained in captivity all this time, the king began to regain some formal authority; he started issuing charters again. Eventually on 20 December 1193 Henry VI *per consilium principum imperii sui* wrote to the English, announcing that Richard would be released on 17 January and crowned king of Provence on 24 January<sup>66</sup>. Eleanor of Aquitaine travelled to Germany to attend the great court which would assemble to witness the ceremonial arranged for her son's release. By Epiphany she was at Cologne. But then Henry VI changed his mind again – just as he had done after the agreement made at Speyer. The assembly was postponed. The emperor was tempted by a new offer made by Philip and John, allegedly 150,000 marks if he kept Richard for another year, or £1,000 for every month he held him. Henry and Richard met on 2 February at Mainz, where Henry showed Richard their letters. Having read them, wrote Howden, Richard was disturbed, despairing that he ever would be freed<sup>67</sup>. The archbishop of Rouen, who was there, wrote to Dean Ralph about “anxious and difficult discussions”, and about the parts played by the archbishops of Mainz and Cologne in bringing matters to a conclusion<sup>68</sup>. According to Roger of Howden, the magnates of the empire who had been guarantors of earlier treaties were able to persuade the Emperor to reject the advances made by Philip and John<sup>69</sup>. Finally on 4 February 1194 Richard was released and immediately afterwards he became the emperor's man for all

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65 Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, iii. 225.

66 *Ibidem*, iii. 225-227; on the crown of Provence see K. Görich, *Verletzte Ehre...*, p. 88.

67 Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, iii. 229, 231-232.

68 *Radulfi de Diceto Decani Londiniensis Opera...*, ii. 112-113.

69 Roger listed ten of the magnates, Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, iii. 231-232; *Regesta Imperii: Die Regesten des Kaiserreiches unter Heinrich VI*, eds. J.G. Baaken, J.F. Böhmer, Köln 1972-1979, nos. 331-332.



his dominions, England included. The act of homage was described by two German contemporaries, the Marbach annalist and an annalist from Salzburg, the former emphasising that when Richard did homage he was a free man under no sort of coercion<sup>70</sup>. Formally this was true, but only formally. Once again, as at Speyer in 1193, there was a discrepancy between the words used and the reality of the situation.

It is important to note that German contemporary chroniclers had had nothing to say on the subjects of the conditions in which Richard was held, the continuing contacts between Henry VI and Philip, the driving upwards of the sums demanded for Richard's release. They pass from Richard's transfer to Henry in March 1193 to his release in February 1194 without a word about what happened in the intervening period. We might indeed be tempted to think that the "trial" at Speyer and the assembly at Worms were figments of the imagination of furious English chroniclers were it not for the survival of imperial charters issued there, and their lists of witnesses<sup>71</sup>. My impression is that all modern German historians of Henry's reign are silent on the subject of the silence of German contemporaries. They note that English authors condemned Henry – hardly a surprise! – but they say nothing about what German authors thought, no doubt on the straightforward assumption that since they said nothing, there is nothing that can be said. But this means they tend to give the impression that Henry's fellow Germans tacitly approved of his treatment of the crusader-king<sup>72</sup>.

Richard's homage was also reported by an English contemporary, Roger of Howden, though in this case it was entered at the end of narrative of the year 1192.

So that he might escape from captivity, and on his mother's advice, Richard resigned the kingdom of England, and granted it to the emperor as to the lord of all men, using his cap to invest him with it; but the emperor, as had been pre-arranged, in the sight of the magnates of Germany and England immediately restored it to him, to be held in return for an annual tribute of £5,000, investing him with a double cross of gold. On his deathbed the emperor released Richard and his heirs from this and all other agreements<sup>73</sup>.

As this passage shows, although Roger's usual practice was to write up his account of each year's events soon after the year's end, he wrote this

<sup>70</sup> *Ipsa liber et absolutus absque omni coactione homo factus est imperii Romani, tota terra sua Anglia et aliis terris propriis imperatori datis et ab eo in beneficio receptis* (*Die Chronik Ottos...*, p. 186). This section of the Marbach annals seems to have been composed by an author quite close to Henry VI's court, possibly Friedrich, provost of St Thomas's, Strassburg.

<sup>71</sup> *Regesta Imperii...*, nos. 283, 285-286, 303-304.

<sup>72</sup> See J. Gillingham, *The Kidnapped King...*, pp. 26, 30-31.

<sup>73</sup> Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, iii. 202-203.

only after he knew of Henry's death in September 1197<sup>74</sup>. Given how very well-informed Roger was, we can be sure he knew about the ceremony at Mainz in February 1194, but chose to remain silent about it. Not until after Henry had died could he bring himself to mention it, and only then in words which insisted that England was no longer a fief of the empire<sup>75</sup>. Strikingly Roger was the only English writer ever to mention the homage, not Coggeshall, not Gervase of Canterbury, not William of Newburgh, not Ralph Diceto. The dean of St Paul's, however, did allude to it. While writing about Richard's release, he referred to something happening that was "the result of disgraceful pressure, bad, illegal, contrary to canon law, contrary to good custom, illegitimate, null and void"<sup>76</sup>. Ralph did not say what this disgraceful act was, but he evidently felt very strongly about it.

It seems clear that doing homage to the emperor was a humiliation for Richard. The Salzburg annalist noted that the lands which Richard transferred to the emperor had been acquired by his father and Richard had held them in right (*in proprietate*). He had, in other words, failed to hold on to his inheritance<sup>77</sup>. Why then did he not subsequently deny the validity of his homage on the grounds that – as indeed the too-much protesting of the Marbach annalist implies – he had been coerced<sup>78</sup>? The silence of English contemporaries suggests that rather than draw attention to the humiliating circumstances in which he had performed homage, the preferred strategy was cover-up, to pretend that it had never happened. The silences of the English chroniclers and Dean Ralph's indignation speak volumes. In April 1193 Henry VI had written to the English, addressing his letter to the "archbishops, bishops, earls, barons, nobles and everyone in England to whom this comes". In this letter he had promised that he would always act for the honour and profit of Richard's subjects (*ad devotorum suorum et*

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74 He always left a few leaves blank between the end of one year and the start of the next so that he could enter any information that came to him later. Presumably by the time he was ready to admit that Richard had recognised imperial lordship over England, there was no space left at the end of his entries for 1193 and 1194. On Roger's working method see D. Corner, *The Earliest Surviving Manuscripts of Roger of Howden's "Chronica"*, EHRXC VIII (1983) and idem, *The Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi and Chronica of Roger, Parson of Howden*, "Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research" LVI (1983).

75 Although in 1216 the archbishop of Mainz seems to have believed that England still was an imperial fief, S. Kuttner and A. Garcia y Garcia, *A New Eyewitness Account of the Fourth Lateran Council*, "Traditio" XX (1964).

76 *Radulfi de Diceto Decani Londiniensis Opera...*, ii, 113.

77 [...] *terram propriam, quam paternis viribus expugnata in proprietate tenebat, imperatori tradidit et a manu imperatoris sceptro investitus suscepit* (*Annales Salisburgensium Additamentum*, MGH SS XIII, p. 240).

78 The question asked by K. Görich, *Verletzte Ehre...*, p. 88.

*fideliū honorem et profectum*)<sup>79</sup>. Evidently it was not just individuals, kings and others, who could possess honour; so too could a body of people; and possessing it, they could also lose it, as the English felt they did as a result of the act of homage of February 1194. In the light of the report that many saw John's surrender of the kingdom of England to the papacy in May 1213 as a huge and ignominious yoke of servitude, it is hardly surprising that a king's act of submission to another secular ruler should also have been regarded as shameful<sup>80</sup>. The silence of German writers on the subject of Henry VI's dealings with his captive during the months April 1193 to January 1194 implies that they too felt that their honour had been damaged by their ruler's conduct<sup>81</sup>. When Richard, on his way home in February 1194 attended mass in Cologne cathedral, the archbishop led the introit of the feast *Ad vincula Sancti Petri* (1 August): Now I know that God has sent his angel and taken me from the hand of Herod<sup>82</sup>.

Despite the extraordinarily high cost they had to pay, Richard's subjects appear to have been glad to see him back – even Philip's panegyrist, William the Breton, said as much<sup>83</sup>. No doubt not all of them, and certainly not all of them if we believe the report in the *curia regis* roll for 1194 of the charges brought by William FitzOsbert against his brother Richard, alleging that during a discussion of the ransom the latter had said he would give 40 marks for a chain “so that [word missing, but no doubt “the king”] and his chancellor might be hanged”, while Jordan the Tanner wished that the king would stay “where he now is”<sup>84</sup>. Richard FitzOsbert and Jordan the Tanner would presumably have been very unhappy about the expense incurred as a result of the “joyeuse entrée” staged by the city of London on his return<sup>85</sup>. But burdensome though the taxation was, it was generally believed to be in a good cause. Stephen Langton treated Richard's ransom as the exemplar of a just cause for the church's wealth being taken from it<sup>86</sup>.

79 Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, iii. 211.

80 [...] *multis ignominiosum videretur, et enorme servitutis jugum* (*Memoriale fratris Walteri de Coventria*, ed. W. Stubbs, I-II, RS, London 1873, ii. 210).

81 See K. Görich, *Die Ehre des Reiches (honor imperii). Überlegungen zu einem Forschungsproblem*, in: *Rittertum und höfische Kultur der Stauferzeit*, eds. J. Laudage, Y. Leiverkus, Köln 2006, pp. 36-74, esp. 67-74, describing the Reich as “von einer Personengemeinschaft gebildet und getragen, für deren Handeln der *honor* eine entscheidende Richtschnur war”.

82 *Radulfi de Diceto Decani Londiniensis Opera...*, ii. 114; Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, iii. 235.

83 *Philippidos...*, IV, lines 428.

84 *Rotuli Curiae Regis*, ed. F. Palgrave, I, London 1835, p. 69.

85 *Radulphi de Coggeshall Chronicon...*, p. 63.

86 *Sed si [...] rex iustam habeat causam, tunc de bonis ecclesie subveniendum est regi sicut quando ecclesia anglicana redemit Richardum regem anglorum* (J.W. Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants*, ii. 156).

Despite the warmth of the welcome it was clear that in some people's eyes Richard's kingly status had been shaken by his long imprisonment in another country. For this reason when he returned to England, he went through a confirmatory coronation, a *Befestigungskrönung*. According to Coggeshall, Richard was not keen. Perhaps because in his own mind his authority needed no bolstering; perhaps because he wanted to get back to Normandy as quickly as possible in order to strike back at Philip of France. Either way, or both, on 17 April 1194 at Winchester the archbishop of Canterbury placed the crown on his head. In William of Newburgh's words, "the ignominy of his captivity washed away, he appeared like a new king"<sup>87</sup>.

### THE IGNOMINY OF OTHERS

The ignominy of others was less easily washed away. It was in the light of his record in 1193-1194 that William of Newburgh described John as 'nature's enemy (*hostis naturae*)<sup>88</sup>. In material terms Henry VI, Duke Leopold and Philip II all gained immensely from Richard's captivity, but their reputations suffered. On crusade the king of France had tried to maintain his own – and his sister's – honour. His failure to save hers precipitated what Ralph Niger called the "old and inexorable hatred" between him and Richard and his own early return from crusade brought him great shame, as indeed he later acknowledged<sup>89</sup>. Something of the way his reputation suffered further from his part in the events of Richard's captivity can be read in the third stanza of Peire Vidal's song *A per pauc de chanter no.m lais* composed while Richard was in the prison of an emperor who has "broken God's command".

And all the trouble comes from France, from those who used to be the best, for the king is neither noble nor true to honour, nor to Our Lord; he quit the Sepulchre and buys and sells just like a serf or bourgeois, whereby his Frenchmen are put to shame<sup>90</sup>.

In 1195 and 1196, after two years in which there seemed no end to the emperor's good fortune, Henry VI encountered setbacks which can in part

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<sup>87</sup> William of Newburgh, *Historia...*, p. 408; cf.: *propter praecedentem captionis contumeliam* (Gervase of Canterbury, *Opera...*, p. 526; Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, iii. 247-248. But he was not re-anointed. The oil with which he had been anointed king had evidently not been washed away, see R. Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings 1075-1225*, Oxford 2000, pp. 128-129. For the comparisons with Stephen's second coronation and other instances, K. Görich, *Verletzte Ehre...*, pp. 73-74.

<sup>88</sup> William of Newburgh, *Historia...*, p. 402.

<sup>89</sup> *Radulfi Nigri Chronica*, ed. R. Anstruther, London 1851, p. 102; J. Gillingham, *Richard I*, pp. 140-143, 164-165.

<sup>90</sup> *Anthology of Troubadour Lyric Poetry*, ed. and trans. A.R. Press, Edinburgh 1971, pp. 204-205. I have made three small changes to Press's translation.

be explained by the distrust felt towards a ruler who was plainly ready to jettison conventional political morality whenever it seemed expedient and profitable<sup>91</sup>. And when he died in 1197 crucially important opposition to his family's claim to retain the imperial throne, a cause on which Henry had expended a great deal of political capital, came from his former captive<sup>92</sup>. Ironically it was not only the king of England's great wealth that allowed him to promote the Welfs and take a kind of dynastic revenge on the Hohenstaufen; within Germany his status as *homo imperii Romani* gave him the right to be involved. As for the duke of Austria, he was vouchsafed only a short while to enjoy a share of the ransom. He died on 31 December 1194 in agony and misery. His son, Frederick, who was present at his father's deathbed, swore to go on crusade for as long as Richard had been a prisoner, but he himself died on the crusade which he embarked on *pro patris anime sue* (Otto of St Blasien's phrase)<sup>93</sup>.

Pope Celestine's reputation was clearly damaged by his feeble response to the capture of the most prominent crusader of the day. It may well be that the letters written in the names of Queen Eleanor and the archbishop of Rouen by Peter of Blois were rhetorical exercises never meant to be sent<sup>94</sup>. None the less they very powerfully express the view, probably widely held throughout the Angevin Empire, that the pope should have done something to secure Richard's release, but failed<sup>95</sup>. He excommunicated Duke Leopold, but the evidence suggests that it was not until after Richard's release that he took this step, and then only very half-heartedly. A letter written early in 1195 by the metropolitan of the Austrian church, Archbishop Adalbert of Salzburg, after he had absolved Leopold from excommunication, expressed astonishment in pontifical terms – *plurimum mirantes et apud nos stupentes* – that the pope had never bothered to inform him of the excommunication, so that until he went to the dying duke's bedside he had known nothing about it except for potentially unreliable gossip<sup>96</sup>. This suggests that although the duke had all along anticipated being excommunicated, it was not until

91 J. Gillingham, *The Kidnapped King...*, pp. 32-33.

92 J. Ahlers, *Die Welfen und die englischen Könige 1165-1235*, Hildesheim 1987, pp. 178-195; B.-U. Hucker, *Kaiser Otto IV*, Hanover 1990, pp. 22-35.

93 *Chronicon Magni Presbiteri*, pp. 522-523; *Die Chronik Ottos...*, p. 124. On the atmosphere at the Austrian court in the mid 1190s see J. Ashcroft, *Der Minnesänger und die Freude des Hofes: Zu Reinmars Kreuzliedern und Witweklage*, in: *Poesie und Gebrauchsliteratur im deutschen Mittelalter*, eds. V. Honemann et al., Tübingen 1979, pp. 219-237.

94 A.J. Duggan, *Hyacinth Bobone: Diplomat and Pope*, in: *Pope Celestine III (1191-1198)*, eds. J. Doran, D.J. Smith, Farnham 2008, p. 11, n. 59.

95 *Patrologia Latina*, ed. J.-P. Migne, 207, 1815-1875, nos. 144-146, pp. 61, 71.

96 Magnus, *Chronicon*, pp. 522-523. It is also clear that Bishop Wolfger of Passau had felt that he need not proclaim the papal interdict, *Historia de expeditone...*, p. 109.

1194 that Celestine eventually did so, probably in response to pressure from a king of England, who naturally hoped to secure repayment of the duke's share of the money<sup>97</sup>.

If Celestine took any steps at all against Henry VI, it remained an even better kept secret, known to no one except Roger of Howden. Roger's report that Henry died (September 1197) "excommunicated by Pope Celestine III for his imprisonment and ransoming of King Richard" and in consequence was long refused ecclesiastical burial has passed into historians' folklore, but has no other evidence to support it<sup>98</sup>. It is more plausible to regard this as a tale reflecting Roger's feelings about what the emperor deserved, and perhaps also his wish to believe that the pope had at long last done something<sup>99</sup>. Moreover, in excommunicating Leopold but not Henry, the pope revealed that his values were diametrically opposed to those of most contemporary churchmen. Rigord of St Denis, for example, described what Leopold and Henry did, but it was only Henry whom he accused of acting unjustly<sup>100</sup>. As for the contemporary English writers, despite their obvious attempts to rescue Richard's honour in their accounts of how he was captured, they all recognised that the duke had a real grievance, and understood that he would seek redress<sup>101</sup>. In their eyes, given the insult done to him at Acre Leopold's conduct was at least defensible. Henry VI's was indefensible<sup>102</sup>.

The modern consensus is that anything Celestine might have said or done would have been a "futile gesture", useless or possibly worse than useless in further inflaming a violent ruler<sup>103</sup>. This may be so, although Henry's position within Germany was still far from strong in early 1193; there were powerful ecclesiastical princes, notably the archbishops of Mainz and Cologne, who would have lent, at the very least, a sympathetic ear to papal strictures against an emperor already widely blamed for the murder of a bishop<sup>104</sup>.

<sup>97</sup> Diceto included a copy of Celestine's letter to the bishop of Verona dated 6 June 1194 ordering him to excommunicate the duke unless he fulfilled terms including return of hostages and restitution of what he had received *iniqua redemptione* (*Radulphi de Diceto Decani Londiniensis Opera...*, ii. 119). These matters were well discussed in K.A. Kneller, *op.cit.*, pp. 103-111.

<sup>98</sup> Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, iv. 31.

<sup>99</sup> A.J. Duggan, *op.cit.*, pp. 17-18. Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, iii. 208, for his report that in 1193 that pope said he would excommunicate emperor and *Reich* unless Richard were quickly freed.

<sup>100</sup> Rigord, *Histoire de Philippe Auguste*, pp. 314-316.

<sup>101</sup> As noted in K. Görich, *Verletzte Ehre...*, p. 73. See *Radulphi de Coggeshall Chronicon...*, p. 59; *in ultionem cujusdam laesionis exiguae* (William of Newburgh, *Historia...*, p. 383); Gervase of Canterbury, *Opera...*, i. 514. Indeed by the time Matthew Paris told the story it was in a version entirely favourable to the duke, see Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, ii. 384-385.

<sup>102</sup> J. Gillingham, *The Kidnapped King...*, pp. 31-32.

<sup>103</sup> A.J. Duggan, *op.cit.*, pp. 17, 22, 27; P. Edbury, *Celestine III, the Crusade and the Latin East*, in: *Pope Celestine III...*, p. 132.

<sup>104</sup> P. Csendes, *op.cit.*, pp. 106-114.

Even without papal prompting they were able to place some restraints on Henry VI's dealings with his royal prisoner, both in the run-up to the *Hoftag* at Worms and in February 1194<sup>105</sup>. What is clear is that Celestine's silence led to loss of reputation at the time, above all in the minds of Richard's friends, and this was to be immensely damaging to his future reputation since, as John Doran pointed out, English sources contributed a great deal to the overwhelming view of historians that he was a weak pope<sup>106</sup>.

### A KING'S RANSOM

Although the master-narrative of English history treats Richard's time in Germany as a sideshow, this is not the case with the king's ransom. All too often the cost of this is said to have been borne by English taxpayers, and not, as it was, by Richard's subjects throughout his dominions<sup>107</sup>. What is true, however, is that the remarkable richness of English chronicle writing in the 1190s has enabled historians to analyse the ransom's impact on England in much greater detail than is possible for the other parts of the Angevin empire. According to Ralph Diceto, its payment was agreed by common assent (*statutum est assensu communi persolvere*) and John Maddicott has drawn attention to the way in which this reinforced an association between national taxation and general consent which had begun with the Saladin Tithe of 1188. Moreover the fact that both Saladin Tithe and king's ransom were undeniably good causes helped to establish what became a principle of English government, that no groups, in particular not nobles, should enjoy the privilege of exemption from taxation<sup>108</sup>.

Owing to the size of the ransom and then the cost of the war to recover the territory lost while Richard was in prison, many historians have wanted to draw a straight line from Richard's captivity to the loss of Normandy in 1204. "Since 1194 with the dual burdens of King Richard's ransom and the crisis in the Norman wars the strain had become intolerable"<sup>109</sup>. "In Richard's last years", it has been asserted, "both Norman clerics and laity

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<sup>105</sup> Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, iii. 214-215, 232-235.

<sup>106</sup> J. Doran, *A Lifetime of Service in the Roman Church*, in: *Pope Celestine III...*, pp. 53-54, 56-57, 66, 68.

<sup>107</sup> A recent example: "the extraordinary sum of £100,000, literally a king's ransom, raised from English taxes" (N. Vincent, *A Brief History of Britain 1066-1485*, London 2011, p. 177). In fact the money was raised *infinita liberalitate Anglorum et transmaritanorum fidelium eius* (*Radulfi Nigri Chronica*, p. 103).

<sup>108</sup> *Radulfi de Diceto Decani Londiniensis Opera...*, ii. 110; J.R. Maddicott, *The Origins of the English Parliament 924-1327*, Oxford 2010, pp. 120-121, 418-421.

<sup>109</sup> J.C. Holt, *The Northerners*, Oxford 1961, pp. 145-146. Cf. "the ransom paid in Germany, and the consequent upsurge in resistance to taxation in England and Normandy,

grew alienated from Plantagenet rule under the pressures of chronic warfare". In consequence King John was confronted by the unenviable task of trying to rule a Normandy "weary of war"<sup>110</sup>. In financial terms the year 1194 was unarguably a turning point in Richard's reign<sup>111</sup>. And there is no question but that in England the burden of taxation was felt to be heavy in the late 1190s – even though William of Newburgh felt that people complained less about the level of taxation under Richard than they had about the lesser burden under Henry II<sup>112</sup>.

But did Normans feel the same? Since they were the ones directly threatened by Philip's troops they might have appreciated the purpose of the taxes better than the English did. William Marshal long remembered the welcome Richard received on his return to Normandy. Old and young danced and sang in anticipation: "It is time for the French king to go"<sup>113</sup>. Of course, that was in 1194; by 1199 people might have felt differently. Historians have tended to sympathise with the plight of taxpayers and assume that they must have become alienated. And, after all, Normandy was conquered by Philip between 1202 and 1204. But Vincent Moss has argued that in Normandy "the war stimulated economic expansion, credit and the money economy leading to increased commercialization, occupational specialization and labour productivity"; he pointed to "the lack of evidence of any protest against taxation or price movement" and to the absence of any claim made in Capetian sources for Norman defections from Angevin rule in the years after 1194<sup>114</sup>. Except in the case of the archbishop of Rouen, whose estates in the Vexin suffered particularly badly from the war, evidence for alienated Normans in the years after 1194 is hard to find.

On the contrary Ambroise's *Estoire de la guerre sainte*, composed by a Norman towards the end of the 1190s, is indicative of strongly pro-Richard feeling in Normandy. According to Ambroise, the loss of his castles in Normandy occurred "through envy and jealousy (*par covetise e par envie*)" following his capture while he was a pilgrim under God's protection. "He was in such great need that never was there a saint of God, man or woman (*Qu'onques n'ot Deu saint ne sainte*) – and there have been many saints – who suffered for God, short of death, more than did this king in

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left the Anglo-Norman realm financially destabilised" (N. Vincent, *BBC History Magazine*, September 2006, p. 34).

<sup>110</sup> R.V. Turner, R.H. Heiser, *The Reign of Richard Lionheart: Ruler of the Angevin Empire, 1189-1199*, Harlow, Essex 2000, p. 179; W.L. Warren, *King John*, London 1961, p. 72.

<sup>111</sup> N. Barratt, the English revenue of Richard I, *EHR CXVI* (2001), 642-643, 650.

<sup>112</sup> William of Newburgh, *Historia*, p. 283.

<sup>113</sup> *History of William Marshal*, ed. A.J. Holden, I-III, London 2002-2006, line 10, 452.

<sup>114</sup> V. Moss, *War, Economy and Finance in Angevin Normandy 1195-1998*, in: *Richard Coeur de Lion...*, pp. 89-103, esp. 102-103.



his prison in Austria and in the rich realm of Germany". And the *Estoire* finishes on a positive note, interpreting as a sign of God's justice the success which was now rewarding the effort Richard had put into his war against the king of France in order to recover the land that had been taken from him<sup>115</sup>.

The volume of evidence for Norman opinion has recently been substantially increased thanks to Gregory Fedorenko's analysis of the *Chronique de Normandie* (which began as a French translation of Robert of Torigni's edition of the *Gesta Normannorum Ducum*) and of its companion chronicle of the kings of France, the *Geste de France*, both of them works which have previously, in large part owing to the number of manuscripts and complexity of the manuscript tradition, been either neglected or misunderstood<sup>116</sup>. Fedorenko points to a continuation of the *Chronique de Normandie* which takes the story up to 1202, and was probably written at some date between c. 1203 and c. 1210, perhaps after rather than before 1204, since it ends ominously with a description of John acting "in fear" at a conference with Philip Augustus. The greater part of this text is devoted to Richard's reign as duke of Normandy, presenting him in very positive terms, more so than both his father and brother. It bears, in Fedorenko's view, "the hallmarks of having been done in response to interest in the deeds of this king on the part of a Norman baronage that was passionately devoted to him"<sup>117</sup>. Of this continuation there are three surviving manuscripts. A lightly edited version of it survives in the five extant manuscripts of the *Histoire des ducs de Normandie* (the Anonymous of Béthune's recension of the *Chronique* which takes the story up to 1220). In another version of the *Chronique*, taking the story up to 1215, an even more heroic view of Richard as duke was presented. As the number of manuscripts suggest, in so far as anything can give us an indication of widespread and influential opinion within northern France in the first two decades of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, it is this vernacular chronicle.

In the *Chronique de Normandie's* narrative of the crusade the villain is not Saladin but Philip Augustus, and the tone is throughout anti-Capetian. Richard, on his way back from Outremer, was forced to change his journey plans when he learned of the conspiracy between the emperor and the king of France. When he fell into Henry VI's hands "the emperor kept him for a long time in order to get the ransom and for the love of the king of France who gave

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<sup>115</sup> Ambroise, *The History...*, i. 198-199, ii. 193. For other evidence of Norman opinion see J. Gillingham, *Richard I*, pp. 344-347.

<sup>116</sup> G. Fedorenko, *The Texts, Manuscripts and Historical Significance of the Prose Chronique de Normandie and Geste de France* (c. 1180 - c. 1230), Ph. D. dissertation, 2 vols, Cambridge 2012.

<sup>117</sup> Ambroise, *The History...*, i. 247.

him a great deal of money to hold him while he made war on Normandy". The version ending in 1215 also emphasised that Philip sent great gifts to the emperor so that he would keep him in captivity longer, noting that while Richard was in prison "Normandy suffered great persecution". All this does nothing to support the view that by 1199 the Normans were ready to welcome Philip as their ruler<sup>118</sup>.

Richard's death came as godsend to Philip. Despite the great territorial gains he had made at Richard's expense during 1193 and 1194, by 1197-1198 Philip was clearly losing the war. In John Baldwin's words, "Richard benefitted both from his deserved reputation for open-handed generosity and from Philip's unsavoury reputation [...] to spin a web of alliances around the French king"<sup>119</sup>. Among those who joined that web of alliances were the counts of Flanders, Boulogne, Toulouse, Blois and Perche – "almost all the princes of the kingdom", wrote William the Breton<sup>120</sup>. What led to the loss of Normandy, in other words, was not the great cost, direct and indirect, of Richard's captivity in Germany, but rather the king of France's capacity to exploit Richard's death and his brother's succession. True, by 1199 John had probably managed to repair some of the damage done to his reputation by his conduct in 1193-1194, but King Philip had good cause to remember him as the son who in 1189 had deserted his father when convinced he was losing, who deserted a brother in prison in January 1193, and who in the spring of 1194 deserted Philip in his turn when convinced that it was now the king of France who was going to lose<sup>121</sup>.

## LEGENDARY

In what happened to the crusader-king between December 1192 and February 1194 there was clearly great human drama. David Hume took a dim view of the crusades – "the most signal and most durable monument of human folly that has yet appeared in any age or nation" – and of Richard himself – "so much guided by passion and so little by policy" – but even the sceptical Scot was moved: "the king of England who had filled the whole world with his renown, found himself... confined in a dungeon and loaded with

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<sup>118</sup> Ibidem, ii. 107, 136. See now the summary and list of manuscripts in G. Fedorenko, *The Thirteenth-Century Chronique de Normandie*, "Anglo-Norman Studies" XXXV (2012/2013), pp. 163-180.

<sup>119</sup> J.W. Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus*, Berkeley 1986, p. 91.

<sup>120</sup> William the Breton, *Gesta Phillipi Augusti* in: *Oeuvres de Rigord...*, pp. 202-204.

<sup>121</sup> J. Gillingham, *MCXCIX visitavit Deus regnum Francorum*, in: *Richard Coeur de Lion...*, pp. 133-139; J. Gillingham, *Richard I*, pp. 335-338. For the most detailed account of John's defeats see D. Power, *op.cit.*, pp. 423-445.

irons in the heart of Germany, and entirely at the mercy of his enemies, the basest and most sordid of mankind"<sup>122</sup>. This drama explains why so much legend became attached to the captivity. It was to this crisis in his life that the tale which "explained" how he came to be called "lionheart" became attached<sup>123</sup>. More famous today is the story, the earliest known version of which was told in the mid 13<sup>th</sup> century by "a minstrel of Rheims", of how the captive king was found by a minstrel called Blondel who had travelled from castle to castle singing outside each of them a song known only to him and Richard<sup>124</sup>. Although the story is based upon a total misunderstanding of Richard's predicament – since, as Ansbert put it, the news of the capture and humiliation of so great a man travelled fast<sup>125</sup> – it long continued to fascinate. In the miscalculated moment of royalist enthusiasm which greeted the playing of "O Richard, O mon roi, l'univers t'abandonne", the hit tune from Grétry's new opera, *Richard Coeur de Lion*, at Versailles in the presence of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette, it even achieved real political significance and was in consequence banned by the revolutionary regimes in 1791, 1830 and 1848<sup>126</sup>. It is at places traditionally associated with Richard's captivity, Dürnstein and Trifels/Annweiler, that his memory has long been assiduously cultivated<sup>127</sup>. Most powerful of all the modern legends, the tales of Robin Hood, presuppose Richard's enforced absence, an absence which opened the door for the image of the king returning to restore good order

**122** Much as Hume condemned Richard as a politician, he praised him for not seeking vengeance against John, Leopold and Henry: their conduct "had been so base and was exposed to such odium and reproach that the king deemed himself sufficiently revenged", see D. Hume, *History of England*, London 1871 (reprint of 1786 edn.), vol. I, pp. 162, 261, 273, 277.

**123** Its contents are summarized in Bradford B. Broughton, *The Legends of King Richard I Coeur de Lion*, The Hague 1966, pp. 42-45, 66-74.

**124** *Recits d'un ménestrel de Reims*, ed. N. De Wailly, Paris 1876, pp. 41-44. Although there very probably was a troubadour called Blondel, we know nothing about his life and in the songs attributed to him in early manuscripts there is not a single reference to Richard.

**125** *Historia de expeditione...*, p. 105. On the other hand it may be said to reflect the fact that for about eight weeks, from mid November to mid January no one in England or Normandy knew where he was: *interrogati de rege, ubi esset, responderunt: "Nescimus"* (Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, iii. 194).

**126** On this see D. Boyle, *Blondel's Song*, London 2005, pp. 292-298. Boyle's a book shows that the tale continues to fascinate, but his suggestion that the legend may have begun as a cover story concocted by the English government to conceal the "fact" that their agents had intercepted Henry VI's letter to Philip is, however, thoroughly implausible. Since Henry VI intended to put the king of England up for sale, he was naturally keen to arrange for potential purchasers to view the goods.

**127** For example H. Reither, H. Seebach, *Der englische König Richard I. Löwenherz als Gefangener auf Burg Trifels*, Beiträge zur Trifelsgeschichte, Heft 1, Mainz 1996; *Kaiser, Könige und Ministerialen*, Beiträge zur Geschichte des Trifels und des Mittelalter, III, ed. F. Schmidt, Annweiler 2006.

and justice after the corrupt rule of a greedy usurper<sup>128</sup>. In these legendary ways his captivity added hugely to the enduring fame reflected in the words with which Sir Walter Scott chose to close *Ivanhoe*.

He left the name at which the world grew pale,  
To point a moral, or adorn a tale.

#### ABSTRACT

This article examines the reasons behind the emergence of Richard I of England as the model of the captive king in European history. They include the sensational circumstances in which he was captured, a returning crusader-king, regarded by many contemporaries as a model ruler and theoretically a pilgrim under the church's protection, kidnapped by fellow-Christians; and the subsequent international political game in which Richard's friends and enemies, the latter including his own younger brother John, bid for possession of the prisoner. It considers the impact of these events not just on the reputation of captive and captors but also on the reputations of others, notably Pope Celestine III, arguing that the ways in which opinion-formers, chroniclers and troubadours, wrote about these events reveal about the political morality of the age. Since these events not only changed the course of German and Sicilian history, but were also a great human drama, they became the stuff of legends some of which continue to be re-worked in today's media.

Although the orthodox master narrative of English history regards Richard's captivity as a sideshow, it tends to draw a straight line between the burden of a king's ransom and the loss of Normandy in 1204. This article questions that narrative and in so doing draws attention to a neglected source, the *Chronique de Normandie*.

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128 F. Amy de La Breteque, *Richard Coeur de Lion au cinéma*, in: *Richard Coeur de Lion...*, pp. 343-354. On films and computer games see D. Berg, *Richard Löwenherz*, Darmstadt 2007, pp. 290-292, 300.



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## THE CAPTIVITY OF LOUIS IX<sup>1</sup>



On April 6<sup>th</sup>, 1250, Louis IX (died 1270), king of France and leader of the biggest and best yet planned crusade, was routed and captured by the Egyptian Ayyubids in the town of Fāraskūr in northern Egypt. Most of his army was lost to disease or slaughter, and those that were not were captured along with the king. Louis spent one month in captivity, and after fraught negotiations, and no few moments of terror, was, on May 6<sup>th</sup>, along with the other Frankish captives, released in exchange for the return of Damietta (which his army had captured six months earlier) and half of the agreed ransom of 800,000 byzants (= 400,000 *livres tournois* [*l.t.*]). He fled immediately to Acre, the head of the rump Kingdom of Jerusalem, where he spent four more years working for the security of the Frankish Holy Land. The defeat and the king's imprisonment were utterly catastrophic, both for the army and for the cause of the crusade in general. In theory, it should also have been catastrophic for his reputation as the leading monarch in the West. And yet, his military failure and capture did not serve to undermine his royal authority. He returned to Paris and took up the reins of government without trouble. The years between 1254 and 1270 (when he died, having again gone on crusade) were the strongest of his reign. And his capture in the service of his devotion to God and service to the Church became a source of his saintly authority, his canonization being secured in 1297, twenty-seven years after his death.

In this essay, following a discussion of the historiography of Louis' first crusade and the sources pertaining specifically to his captivity, I have tried to recount, staying as close to the primary, first-hand, eye-witness sources

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1 I extend my thanks to Wojciech Fałkowski for inviting me to participate in this volume, and to Philippe Buc for suggesting me for it. I also thank Sean Field, Christopher MacEvitt, and Peter Jackson for feedback earlier drafts. Mistakes herein are of course my own.

as possible, the events on the ground and in the camp where Louis was held prisoner between April 6<sup>th</sup> and May 6<sup>th</sup>, 1250. The essay then moves to a discussion of the contemporary implications of the captivity (and the failure of the crusade itself; the two are not really separable). Finally, it examines the ways in which, in the half century following Louis' death on his second crusade in 1270, within the context of his sanctification, the event and import of the captivity were reimagined, retold, valorized, and explained.

## SOURCES

The French and Latin language sources for the history of Louis' first crusade were categorized in 1890 by Reinhart Röhricht, and many of these, along with some of the Islamic sources, have been recently – usefully – gathered together and translated by Peter Jackson in *The Seventh Crusade, 1244-1254, Sources and Documents*<sup>2</sup>. The progress of the Louis IX's first crusade itself (sometimes labeled “the Sixth” Crusade, sometimes “the Seventh”) is best known through the recollections of Jean de Joinville (died 1317), who, in subsequent decades, wrote up his version of the campaign and its aftermath<sup>3</sup>. The events, from the perspective of the Latin Levant are also known from the *Rothelin Chronicle* (the anonymous continuation of the *History* of William of Tyre)<sup>4</sup>, and the story was picked up by innumerable other medieval chronicles<sup>5</sup>. We can corroborate the historical outline provided by Christian

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2 R. Röhricht, *Der Kreuzzug Louis IX. gegen Damiette (in Regestenform)*, in: *Kleine Studien zur Geschichte der Kreuzzüge, Wissenschaftliche Beilage zum Programm des Humboldt-Gymnasiums zu Berlin, Ostern 1890*, Berlin 1890, pp. 11-14; P. Jackson, *The Seventh Crusade, 1244-1254: Sources and Documents*, Aldershot 2009 (texts and translations cited hereafter from Jackson's volume are cited as Jackson, op.cit., with the page range, following a descriptive title). In rare instances where I have altered Jackson's translation, I have given the citation for the original. The material on sources in this paragraph is taken directly from P. Jackson, *The Seventh Crusade*, pp. 1-6. Other relevant texts are found in: *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, I-XXIV, ed. by M. Bouquet, Paris 1738, reprint: Farnborough 1967 (henceforth: RHF).

3 Dating and function of Joinville's *Vie* is debated. For the view that Joinville wrote the entirety after 1305, see J. Monfrin, *Introduction*, in: *Vie de Saint Louis*, Paris 1995, pp. 69-79. For the view that the crusade narrative was written in the 1270s or 1280s, see C. Smith, *Crusading in the Age of Joinville*, Burlington VT 2006, pp. 48-58. I concur with the latter view in M.C. Gaposchkin, *The Making of Saint Louis: Kingship, Sanctity, and Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, Ithaca 2008, pp. 182-185. The text is cited following the recent English translation of C. Smith Joinville and Villehardouin, *Chronicles of the Crusades*, London 2008 (henceforth: Joinville, following paragraph number (§), not page number).

4 Cited according J. Shirley, ed. *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century. The Rothelin Continuation of the History of William of Tyre with part of the Eracles or Acre text*, Aldershot 1999, pp. 66-69 (chs. 42-44), pp. 85-108 (chs. 59-69).

5 For example: Marino Sanudo, *The Book of the Secrets of the Faithful of the Cross. Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis*, transl. by P. Lock, Farnham 2011, pp. 347-348; J.M.É. Viard, *Les grandes chroniques de France*, I-X, Paris 1920, VII, pp. 151-157; Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique*

sources by several key Muslim accounts, which Jackson has (for the non-Arabic speaking Europeanist) translated<sup>6</sup>. Chief among them is the chronicle of Ibn Wāsil (died 1298), a historian in the pay of the Egyptian emir (Husām al-Dīn Ibn Abī 'Alī) who was living in Cairo during the events of April and May of 1250<sup>7</sup>. Other historians, both Christian and Muslim, writing at either a greater distance or much later, and who drew upon otherwise lost contemporary works can also be, if judiciously, drawn upon.

For the short history of the captivity itself, in addition to Joinville's highly textured and personal account, we are best served by a letter of Robert of Nantes (the Patriarch of Jerusalem) written in May 1250, Louis' own letter to his subjects written that August, and Charles of Anjou's much later deposition during the canonization process, probably given in 1282<sup>8</sup>. From the Muslim

*latine de Guillaume de Nangis de 1113 à 1300, avec les continuations de cette chronique de 1300 à 1368*, Paris 1843, pp. 205-207; Guillaume de Nangis, *Gesta Sanctae memoriae Ludovici regis franciae*, RHF, XX, ed. by P.Ci.Fr. Daunou, Y. Naudet, Paris 1840, pp. 373-385; *Chronicle of Reims*, Washington University Publications in Social Sciences, X, 1939, pp. 334-340; *Extraits de la Chronique attribué a Boudoin d'Avesne, fils de la contesse Marguerite de Flandre*, RHF, XXI, ed. by J.-D. Guigniaut, N. de Wailly, Paris 1855, pp. 167-169. R. Röhricht, *Der Kreuzzug Louis IX*, lists these in greater detail.

6 For a review of authors writing in Arabic about Louis' crusade, see A.-M. Eddé, *Saint Louis et la Septième Croisade vus par les auteurs arabes*, "Croisade et idée de croisade à la fin du Moyen Âge: Cahiers de Recherches Médiévales (XIII<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> s.)" I (1996), pp. 65-67, and P. Jackson, *The Seventh Crusade*, pp. 4-6 and 125-128. The translations in F. Gabrieli, *Arab Historians of the Crusades*, Berkeley 1969, are now superseded by those in P. Jackson, op.cit.

7 As of 2007, the portion of his *Chronicle* (entitled dealing with Louis' first crusade had still not been edited. The manuscript source is Paris BNF Arabe 1703. It is accessible through P. Jackson (op.cit.). Gabrieli used BNF Arabe 1702, which represents the Chronicle of Ibn Wasil's continuator, Ibn 'Abd al-Rahim, who incorporated an abridged version of Ibn Wasil's text, and is thus a less accurate recension than 1703, with quite different readings. My thanks to Peter Jackson for this point. The other contemporary Muslim source, Sa'd al-Dīn Ibn Hamawiya Juwain (d. 1276), was allied with Husam al-Dīn's principal rival, the emir Fakhr al-Dīn Ibn at-Shayk, and his writing are preserved in the chronicle of "The Sib of Ibn al-Jawzī," that is, of Shams al-Dīn Abū l'Muzaffar Yūsuf ibn Qizūghli (d. 1256). C. Cahen, *Une source pour l'histoire des croisades: le mémoires de Sa'd ad-Din Ibn Hamawiya Juwain*, "Bulletin de la Faculté des Lettres de Strasbourg" XXVIII (1950), pp. 320-337. These excerpts too can be found in P. Jackson, op.cit.

8 For the letter of Robert of Nantes, see: *Annales monasterii de Burton*, in: *Annales Monastici*, ed. by H.R. Luard, Rolls Series, XXXVI, London 1864, pp. 285-289, translation in P. Jackson, op.cit., pp. 103-106; Louis' letter to his subjects was first printed in A. Duchesne, *Historiae Francorum scriptores coetanei... rerum francicarum monumentis*, I-V, Paris 1636-1649, V, pp. 428-432, and several translation exist: P. Jackson, op.cit., pp. 108-114, Jean de Joinville, *The Life of St. Louis*, transl. by N. de Wailly, New York 1955, pp. 247-254, and most recently *Crusade and Christendom: Annotated Documents in Translation from Innocent III to the Fall of Acre, 1187-1291*, ed. by J. Bird, E. Peters, J.M. Powell, Philadelphia 2013, pp. 366-374; Charles of Anjou's canonization testimony was published by P.E. de Riant, *Déposition de Charles d'Anjou pour la canonisation de saint Louis*, in: *Notices et documents publiés pour la Société de l'histoire de France à l'occasion du cinquantième anniversaire de sa foundation*, Paris 1884, pp. 155-176, and is



perspective, Ibn Wāsil, whose patron met and negotiated with Louis while he was in captivity, offers precious information. Ancillary sources – ranging from letters, accounts, and chronicles written in 1250 to materials written by participants of the crusades testifying during Louis' canonization process – complement the account, although many of these must be viewed within the context of, first, the amplifications inherent in the story-telling of the event itself as it was reported back to Europe, and later, the sanctification of Louis the IX after his death in 1270. Included among the latter are the two earliest vitae written in support of Louis' canonization in the 1270 by two Dominican clerics who had accompanied him East in 1248, one of whom (William of Chartres) remained with the king throughout his captivity<sup>9</sup>.

At what point the hagiography out of which many of the principal lineaments of Louis' life were established was transformed into what we might consider modern history or biography is open to interpretation, but to follow the train of events of April and May 1250 one can still hardly do better than Sebastien le Nain de Tillemont, written in the 1680s, in the third volume of his magisterial *Vie de Saint Louis*<sup>10</sup>. Tillemont knew virtually all the Latin sources upon which any modern estimation can be made (and at least one of the central Arabic sources<sup>11</sup>). Tillemont often attributed the course of events to God's will<sup>12</sup>, and he took some hearsay (as for instance, rumors reported by Matthew Paris<sup>13</sup>) at face value. That said, it is still a masterful account, and few purely narrative histories add much to it. René Grousset's and Henri Wallon's, and more recently Jean Richard's, tread over essentially the same ground<sup>14</sup>.

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translated in P. Jackson, op.cit., pp. 115-120. They are cited hereafter following the Jackson's translation.

9 The two Dominicans are Geoffrey of Beaulieu and William of Chartres. See Geoffrey of Beaulieu, *Vita et sancta conversatio piae memoriae Ludovici quondam regis Francorum*, RHF, XX, pp. 1-27; and William of Chartres, *De vita et actibus inclytæ recordationis regis Francorum*, RHF, XX, pp. 27-41. Both will soon be available in translation in: *The Sanctity of Louis IX: The Early Lives of Geoffrey of Beaulieu and William of Chartres*, ed. by M.C. Gaposchkin, S.L. Field, trans. by L. Field, Ithaca forthcoming. Citations hereafter will be to the chapter or paragraph numbers and the page numbers as it appears in the *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France* (RHF, XX).

10 S. Tillemont, *Vie de Saint Louis, Roi de France*, I-VI, Paris 1847-1851, III, pp. 324-386.

11 S. Tillemont cites in vol. III, pp. 329-331, al Makrisi, whose account of Louis' captivity he drew from Ibn Wāsil, and the notes from which he kept in his now lost manuscript "G". For Tillemont's working process, see S.L. Field, *The Missing Sister: Sébastien Le Nain de Tillemont's Life of Isabelle of France*, "Revue Mabillon" n.s. XVIII (2007), pp. 243-270.

12 S. Tillemont, *Vie*, III, p. 334, and throughout.

13 For Matthew Paris, see (for Latin): *Matthæi Parisiensis, monachi Sancti Albani, Chronica majora*, I-VII, London 1872. For English translation, see Matthew Paris, *Matthew Paris's English History. From the Year 1235 to 1273*, London 1852. I cite herein the English translation.

14 H.A. Wallon, *Saint Louis et son temps*, I-II, Paris 1875, I, pp. 355-391; R. Grousset, *Histoire des croisades et du royaume franc de Jérusalem*, I-III, Paris 1934-1936, III, pp. 481-505.

Tillemont's account substantially modernized in 1969 when Joseph Strayer, in writing up a history of Louis' two crusades for the six volumes on the history of the Crusades edited by Hazard and Zacour, addressed issues of funding, supply lines, and military organization<sup>15</sup>. And yet, it was only in 1979 that William Chester Jordan's study of the crusade and its implications for Louis' reign finally broke the long hagiographical shackles on its interpretation, working through all sorts of newly tapped sources to reconstruct the cost and implications of the crusade and demonstrating the transformative role it played in the life and reign of the king<sup>16</sup>.

That said, although no modern history of the Crusades fails to treat the captivity, it is rarely been treated as a subject unto itself<sup>17</sup>. Around 1900 a Parisian antiquarian named Albert de Ricaudy did write a little book entitled *La captivité de Saint Louis à Mansourah*, the explicit purpose of which was to raise the funds to buy back the house in which Louis had been imprisoned<sup>18</sup>. But Strayer's authoritative account of Louis' crusade treaded over familiar ground in treating the captivity<sup>19</sup>, and Jordan's revolutionary interpretation treated the captivity only in snippets, summarizing its salient features over two pages<sup>20</sup>. In 1996 Jacques Le Goff, in his 900-page biography, devoted less than a page to Louis' captivity, saying, simply, that "being taken prisoner was the worst misfortune that could befall a king"<sup>21</sup>. Among recent historians only Megan Cassidy Welch has expanded on the theme in a chapter-length study in a book on imprisonment in the Middle Ages, in which she explores "bigger questions around the representation of Louis' captivity and the meanings imputed to it by those who included the event in various types of written texts"<sup>22</sup>. Given the clear interpretive paradigm offered by Jordan, and the fuller availability of Arabic sources made available in translation by

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15 J.R. Strayer, *The Crusades of Louis IX*, in: *A History of the Crusades, II: The Later Crusades, 1189-1311*, ed. by K.M. Setton, Madison 1969, pp. 343-376.

16 W.C. Jordan, *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade: A Study in Rulership*, Princeton 1979.

17 For instance S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, I-III, Cambridge 1954, III, pp. 269-274; J. Richard, *Histoire des Croisades*, Paris 1996, 354-361; J. Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A Short History*, New Haven 1987, pp. 160-161; T.F. Madden, *A Concise History of the Crusades*, Lanham 1999, pp. 173-176. Most recently, C. Tyerman, *God's War: A New History of the Crusades*, Cambridge 2006, pp. 791-802, effectively synthesizes a great deal of non-narrative materials.

18 Albert de Ricaudy, *La captivité de Saint-Louis à Mansourah*, Paris 1900.

19 J.R. Strayer, *op.cit.*, pp. 343-376, and pp. 502-504 for captivity.

20 W.C. Jordan, *op.cit.*, p. 77 (on the ransom), pp. 125-126.

21 J. Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, Paris 1996; for English, see *Saint Louis*, trans. by G.E. Gollrad, Notre Dame Ind. 2009, pp. 137-138.

22 M. Cassidy-Welch, *Imprisonment and Freedom in the Life of Louis IX*, in: *Imprisonment in the Medieval Religious Imagination, c. 1150-1400*, New York 2011, pp. 101-123, and see p. 102 for quote.

Jackson, it is time for a new narrative, a fresh interpretation of the captivity, its impact on Louis himself, and what it meant to contemporaries in assessing the crusade and the person of the king.

#### CONTEXT AND BACKGROUND

Louis had taken the cross in 1244 following a grave illness that threatened his life. Some have thought that Louis may have been inspired to take the cross by learning that the Khwarazmian Turks had retaken Jerusalem in 1244 but it is not clear that the news had reached Louis by the time he fell sick<sup>23</sup>. In 1245, Pope Innocent IV gave Louis' crusade official sanction at the First Council of Lyon<sup>24</sup>. In 1248, after more than three years of preparation, Louis left Paris, and set sail a few months later from Aigues Mortes on the Mediterranean coast. He wintered in Cyprus, awaiting reinforcements from the West. There, it was decided the crusade army, following in the footsteps of the Fifth Crusade, would set their sights on the Ayyubid power-base in Cairo. To kill the snake, Robert of Artois said, one needed to cut off the head<sup>25</sup>. In this view, Cairo was the head of the Ayyubid snake that had a stranglehold on Jerusalem.

If fragmentation and in-fighting in the political world of the Islamic Middle East was the key to a successful crusade (in the image of the First Crusade), then the situation on the ground in the 1240s was propitious for Louis<sup>26</sup>. Ayyubid solidarity was frayed, not strengthened, by the looming Mongol threat that had appeared in the world of the Muslim Middle East in the first part of the century, and the heirs to Saladin's political consolidation of Syria and Egypt were at odds. In 1244 Sultan al-Nāsir Yūsuf (died 1260) of Aleppo and his cousin Sultan al-Sālih (died 1249) of Egypt – two Ayyubid cousins – had gone to war against each other. In that same year, pushed out of Iran by the Mongols, the Khwarazmian Turks allied loosely with the Sultan of Egypt (al-Sālih) and moved in upon Jerusalem in August of 1244, ending Latin rule in Jerusalem once and for all. Within the larger political and military scheme of the Middle East, the Latin principalities on the Levantine coast were of little consequence – tiny pawns in larger struggles – and in an effort either to press the advantage of warring Muslim factions or simply to survive found themselves in different alliance with one or another

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<sup>23</sup> P. Jackson, *op.cit.*, p. 17.

<sup>24</sup> N.P. Tanner, *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, I-II, London-Washington, DC 1990, I, pp. 297-301 (constitution 5).

<sup>25</sup> Joinville, §183.

<sup>26</sup> Helpful overview is P.M. Holt, *The Age of the Crusades: The Near East from the Eleventh Century to 1517*, London 1986, pp. 60-66, 82-89.

power in the Middle East. Their chief Muslim allies – or at least, powers with whom they held an inconsistent truce – were the rulers of Damascus, who themselves, but sometimes only in theory, recognized the suzerainty of the Sultan of Egypt<sup>27</sup>. By 1245, however, the Sultan of Egypt al-Sālih had captured Damascus.

On the eve of the Frankish invasion, al-Sālih, only 44, but ill and severely diminished, was leading his army into Syria to reassert control over Homs, which his cousin, the Sultan of Aleppo, had seized. The expedition exhausted him and his army, and heightened the rivalry between his two best commanders, Fakhr al-Dīn and Husām al-Dīn. Upon a negotiated victory, al-Sālih returned to Egypt: Husām al-Dīn to Cairo, and Fakhr al-Dīn to Damietta to prepare for the Crusader invasion<sup>28</sup>. The story that Frederick II wrote to al-Sālih to warn him of Louis' invasion may be true<sup>29</sup>; the letter from Louis to the Sultan preserved in fourteenth century Muslim histories is almost certainly apocryphal<sup>30</sup>. Louis' forces arrived by sea on June 4<sup>th</sup>, took Damietta without opposition on June 5<sup>th</sup> (Fakhr al-Dīn and the garrison fled to Mansourah), and settled in to await the arrival of reinforcements. After six months, on November 20<sup>th</sup>, Louis's army set out upstream towards Cairo. During their march southward the Franks learned of al-Sālih's death<sup>31</sup>, an event which set into motion a series of power plays in Cairo and Damascus that would have consequences for the crusade. His son, Tūrān Shāh, who had been serving as emir in a backwater outpost in Hisn-Kayfā (now Hasankeyf, Turkey), was sent for. But Fakhr al-Dīn, who allied with the dead-Sultan's wife (Shajar al-Durr), and his rival Husām al-Dīn, both had ambitions to assume the throne. In early December, Fakhr al-Dīn sent a letter to Cairo urging jihad against the French, which was read aloud from the pulpit of the Prayer Mosque<sup>32</sup>. Under Fakhr al-Dīn's military leadership, the Ayyubid forces installed themselves in the city of Mansourah, the walled outpost lying between Damietta and Cairo. The Franks arrived before Mansourah right before Christmas (December 24<sup>th</sup>)<sup>33</sup>. On February 7<sup>th</sup>, 1250, the Frankish vanguard, made up of the Templar elite and led by the king's younger brother,

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<sup>27</sup> P.M. Holt, *op.cit.*, pp. 60-62; C. Hillenbrand, *The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives*, New York 2000, pp. 224-225. Still invaluable is S. Runciman, *op.cit.*, III.

<sup>28</sup> Al-M. Makīn, 1205-1273, *Chronique des Ayyoubides: 602-658/1205-6-1259-60 / Al-Makīn ibn Al-'Amīd*, traduction française annotée par A.-M. Eddé et F. Micheau, Paris 1994, pp. 82-83.

<sup>29</sup> P. Jackson, *op.cit.*, pp. 46 f.; A.-M. Eddé, *op.cit.*, p. 68.

<sup>30</sup> A.-M. Eddé, *op.cit.*, pp. 69 f.

<sup>31</sup> Ibn Wāsil claims that it was learning of his death that made Louis set out when he did. But this can't be true, as they set out on November 20<sup>th</sup> and the sultan died on November 22<sup>nd</sup>.

<sup>32</sup> Ibn Wāsil, in: P. Jackson, *op.cit.*, p. 141.

<sup>33</sup> Louis' letter to his subjects, in: P. Jackson, *op.cit.*, pp. 247. For chronology see also information given by Ibn Wāsil, in: P. Jackson, *op.cit.*, p. 141.

Robert of Artois, attacked the city and were slaughtered to a man. Although Fakhr al-Dīn was killed in the battle, the Muslims sustained comparatively small losses. Further battles outside the city did not greatly affect the relative positions. Louis dug in.

### THE CAPTIVITY IN DETAIL

At his point, Louis and his men began to see their fortunes turn clearly downward. On February 9<sup>th</sup> Louis ordered a bridge built across the river<sup>34</sup>, and the army fought skirmishes daily against the Muslim forces. After a few weeks and upon the arrival of Tūrān Shāh and his chief advisors<sup>35</sup>, the Muslims began a blockade, cutting the French off from their supply lines from Damietta and starving them out<sup>36</sup>. The king and the sultan began talks which would have returned Damietta to the Muslims in exchange for the lost territories of the Kingdom of Jerusalem<sup>37</sup>, but these negotiations – if they had been serious – broke down when the Muslims demanded that Louis himself be delivered over as surety<sup>38</sup>. Conditions in the camp began to deteriorate and illness began to spread<sup>39</sup>. Louis himself would report on the catastrophic loss to illness of both men and horses at this stage, describing their sad reduction in numbers from plague or lack of food, and saying that there was no one in the camp that “did not mourn those who had died or were mortally ill”<sup>40</sup>. The French spent Good Friday and Easter Sunday in this state of despair and uncertainty, and on 5<sup>th</sup> April – two months after the catastrophe of Manusrah, sick and lacking food – Louis ordered a retreat to Damietta<sup>41</sup>.

The retreat was by both land and water<sup>42</sup>. Louis’ men urged him to board one of the galleys going down river, but Louis refused, saying he would never abandon his people<sup>43</sup>. Three decades later, Charles of Anjou still recalled how

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34 February 9<sup>th</sup>. See: J. Shirley, *The Rothelin Continuation*, p. 98.

35 February 25<sup>th</sup>. See *ibidem*. J.R. Strayer, *op.cit.*, p. 502, dates Tūrān Shāh’s arrival to February 28<sup>th</sup>.

36 Joinville, §292. Templar/Hospitaller letter, in: P. Jackson, *op.cit.*, p. 100 f.; Ibn Wāsil, in: P. Jackson, *op.cit.*, p. 146 f.

37 Joinville, §301. Templar/Hospitaller letter, in: P. Jackson, *op.cit.*, p. 103.

38 Joinville, §302. Of this trade, Ibn Wāsil said “The Franks’ demand was that they should hand over to the Muslims the port of Damietta and should receive in exchange Jerusalem and part of the coast; but this did not meet with acceptance” (P. Jackson, *op.cit.*, p. 147). The Sibit says that the Franks asked for terms in line with those of the fifth crusade, “but this we rejected” (P. Jackson, *op.cit.*, p. 159).

39 Joinville, §303. Robert Patriarch of Jerusalem to the Cardinals, in: P. Jackson, *op.cit.*, p. 104.

40 Louis’ letter to his subjects, in: P. Jackson, *op.cit.*, p. 110.

41 Joinville §304. J. Shirley, *The Rothelin Continuation...*, p. 138.

42 Robert Patriarch of Jerusalem to the Cardinals, in: P. Jackson, *op.cit.*, p. 104.

43 Joinville, §306.

Louis snapped at him when Charles insisted that Louis was endangering the army by slowing its progress: "If you find me a burden," the king replied, "leave me behind, since I will not desert my people"<sup>44</sup>. Instead, he rode a small horse<sup>45</sup>, joining the rear-guard commanded by Gauchier of Chatillon<sup>46</sup>, but they did not get far before the Muslim army began harrying the retreat<sup>47</sup>. Neither route was secure. Some made it onto galleys, but many of these were captured and burned<sup>48</sup>. Only one small contingent, including Robert of Nantes, the Patriarch of Jerusalem and Odo Chateauroux, the Papal Legate, made it to Damietta<sup>49</sup>. Those retreating by land were attacked and suffered many casualties. Those travelling by river hoped that the King would join them upstream<sup>50</sup>. What remained of Louis' forces on land met a contingent of al-Sālih's Bahrite Mamluks (his elite guard of slave-soldiers) the following day, on April 6 in the Battle of Fāraskūr<sup>51</sup>. The Franks were outnumbered and out-skilled. Later an Arab chronicler praised the Mamluks, saying that they were Islam's Templars<sup>52</sup>. The French battle standard, the Oriflamme, was captured and cut to pieces<sup>53</sup>. The king's seal was taken<sup>54</sup>. The Muslim historian Sa'd al-Din Ibn Hamawiya estimated that they slew 30,000 Franks that day<sup>55</sup>. That evening, the king, accompanied by Geoffrey of Sergines, stopped in the town of Sharamsāh<sup>56</sup>. The king himself was by this point so sickly that he was in no condition to fight<sup>57</sup>. Also with him were Jean Fuinon, Jean de Valéry, P[ierre] of Baucay, Robert of Bazoches, and Gautier of Chatillon<sup>58</sup>. He was, recalled Joinville, "carried into a house and laid, as if he were quite dead, in the lap of a *bourgeoise* from Paris. They thought he would not see the evening"<sup>59</sup>.

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44 Charles of Anjou, in: P. Jackson, op.cit., p. 116.

45 Joinville, §309.

46 Ibidem, §308.

47 Robert Patriarch of Jerusalem to the Cardinals, in: P. Jackson, op.cit., p. 104.

48 Ibidem, p. 104 f.

49 Ibidem, p. 104 f. J. Shirley, *The Rothelin Continuation...*, p. 103.

50 Ibidem, p. 104.

51 Louis' letter to his subjects, in: P. Jackson, op.cit., p. 110. For the Bahrite Mamluks, see Ibn Wāsil, in: P. Jackson, op.cit., pp. 148 f.

52 Ibn 'Abd al-Rahim; this reading is given in: F. Gabrieli, op.cit., p. 294. See also P. Jackson, op.cit., p. 148, n. 93.

53 Templar/Hospitaller letter, in: P. Jackson, op.cit., p. 102.

54 J. Shirley, *The Rothelin Continuation*, p. 103.

55 The Sibit, in: P. Jackson, op.cit., p. 159.

56 Robert Patriarch of Jerusalem to the Cardinals, in: P. Jackson, op.cit., p. 105.

57 On Louis' condition by this time, see Charles of Anjou, in: P. Jackson, op.cit., p. 115 f.

58 Ibidem, p. 116.

59 Joinville, §310.

Louis sought terms. He had sent Philip of Monfort, Lord of Toron and Tyre, to engage the cavalry officer Jamāl al-Dīn Muhassan al-Sālihī in talks, when a French sergeant named Marcel betrayed the French<sup>60</sup>. In Joinville's bitter recollection, Marcel cried out to the French camp, "Lord knights! Surrender yourselves – the king commands you to do so. Do not let the king be killed"<sup>61</sup>. Joinville swears that the king had given no such order; but the French, not knowing this, surrendered, and the Egyptians, pressing their advantages, promptly ended the truce talks<sup>62</sup>. All of Louis' men still in the field, both on land and water, were then taken into captivity<sup>63</sup>.

Of his capture, Louis himself said that he, along with Alphonse of Poitiers and Charles of Anjou, and the majority of those retreating by both land and water "were taken and put in chains, not without a very great slaughter of our men and the shedding of no little Christian blood"<sup>64</sup>. The Patriarch of Jerusalem simply said that "of the entire force which was retreating by land, there was not a single Christian who had not been captured or killed"<sup>65</sup>. Louis was taken by boat (*harāriq*) back to Mansourah<sup>66</sup>.

Uncertain of the king's fate, the queen, Marguerite of Provence, holed up in Damietta and in her ninth month of pregnancy, on 8 April, sent ten galleys to the King's aid<sup>67</sup>. When the search party got to Sharamsāh, they discovered only the great and gruesome casualties of the Battle of Fariskur<sup>68</sup>. They returned to Damietta, and did not get the news of those who had survived by capture until the Sunday, April 10<sup>th</sup><sup>69</sup>. One can only imagine how relieved Marguerite was when she learned that Louis was, at least, still alive. In Damascus, Christians learned the news and, horrified, "blackened and daubed with soot the faces of the icons in their church out of grief at what has happened to the Franks"<sup>70</sup>.

Louis was put in shackles and taken to the house of the head of the secretariat named Fakhr al-Dīn Ibn Luqmān, where he was placed under

60 Ibidem, §311; Ibn Wāsil, in: Jackson, op.cit., p. 148.

61 Joinville, §311.

62 Ibidem, §311. In Ibn Wāsil's version, the surrender simply followed Jamāl al-Dīn's granting quarter; there was no renegeing of an earlier offer.

63 Joinville, §§311-313.

64 Louis' letter to his subjects, in: P. Jackson, op.cit, p. 110. Corroborated by Ibn Wāsil, in: P. Jackson, op.cit., p. 148.

65 Robert Patriarch of Jerusalem to the Cardinal, in: P. Jackson, op.cit., p. 105.

66 A.-M. Eddé, op.cit., p. 89.

67 Robert Patriarch of Jerusalem to the Cardinals, in: P. Jackson, op.cit., p. 105. Joinville (§397) says Marguerite gave birth to their third son, Jean Tristan, so named because of the tragic circumstances of his birth, three days later.

68 Robert Patriarch of Jerusalem to the Cardinals, in: P. Jackson, op.cit., p. 105.

69 Ibidem.

70 P.M. Holt, (p. 83) citing eyewitness historian "Abu Shama".

the guard of one of the young Sultan's entourage, the cavalry officer Sabīh al-Mu'azzamī<sup>71</sup>. Tūrān Shāh took his mantle – red wool, lined with ermine, and with a buckle of gold – as a victory trophy and sent it to his deputy (emir) in Damascus, Jamāl ad-Din ibn Yaghmur, who then donned it victoriously<sup>72</sup>. Louis' health had so deteriorated that Tūrān Shāh put him in the care of his own doctors who, Geoffrey of Beaulieu would later ruefully admit, better knew how cure Louis than his own doctors<sup>73</sup>. Back home, it was reported the king was so despondent that "he would not eat or drink anything for two days after his capture, and wished for death"<sup>74</sup>. But once safely in captivity, the king was treated well. Al-Sālih sent Louis proper bedding and clothing worthy of his status<sup>75</sup>, a breviary that had been taken during the capture was returned to him so that he might pray<sup>76</sup>, and his chaplain and a cook were allowed to stay with him<sup>77</sup>. The sultan even invited him to a banquet; but, according to one contemporary Arab source, Louis declined, saying "I will not eat his food. He only invited me so that I should be a laughing-stock for his army"<sup>78</sup>.

Of the rest, those who survived the slaughter of the battle and its aftermath were also returned to Mansourah. It was terrifying. The Sultan's men taunted the captives with continual threats of immediate execution<sup>79</sup>. The prisoners were hustled into groups in various yards and makeshift pavilions<sup>80</sup>. Joinville too, after his own capture on the river, was routed into the pavilion where the captives were kept. He reported that there were about 10,000 "barons" that had been taken<sup>81</sup>. Muslims sources estimated that the Christian captives numbered more than 20,000, including "princes and counts," while they themselves had lost fewer than 100 men<sup>82</sup>. There were too many prisoners to deal with effectively, and Tūrān Shāh ordered the wealthy ones who would fetch a good ransom sorted from the rest. The ordinary mass who bore little

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71 Ibn Wāsil, in: P. Jackson, op.cit., p. 148; al Makīn, *Chronique des Ayyoubides...*, p. 88.

72 F. Gabrieli, *Arab Historians of the Crusades*: 302 (translating Maqrizi). Abu Shama (quoted in P.M. Holt, op.cit., p. 83), says the mantle arrived April 20<sup>th</sup>.

73 Geoffrey of Beaulieu, op.cit., p. 16 (ch. 25). The sentiment was repeated by Guillaume of Nangis, *Gestorum sanctae memoriae Ludovici*, p. 377.

74 *Matthew Paris's English History*, II, p. 368.

75 Joinville, §403. The clothes were "made of black samite, lined with vair and grey fur, with a great many solid gold buttons".

76 William of Chartres, op.cit., p. 30 (§6).

77 Ibidem, p. 30 (§§6-7); S. Tillemont, *Vie*, VII, pp. 341 f.

78 Al-Dhahabī, in: P. Jackson, op.cit., p. 160; see also A.-M. Eddé, op.cit., p. 90.

79 E.g. Joinville, §§336 f., 354.

80 Joinville, §334 describes the various prison areas as a "pavilion" and also "yard surrounded by an earthen wall", and "enclosure".

81 Ibidem, §332.

82 Al-Dhahabi, in: P. Jackson, op.cit., p. 160.



promise of high ransom he had executed<sup>83</sup>. He instructed one his men, Sayf al-Dīn Yūsuf al-Tūrī to behead 300 Franks each night and throw their corpses into the Nile “until there were none left”<sup>84</sup>. Some were given the choice of conversion or death<sup>85</sup>. Once the numbers were down to a manageable level, the sultan provided over 50 new robes for the captives deemed worthy of negotiation<sup>86</sup>. The giving of robes signified protection and patronage. Those who had survived thus far were now, presumably, safe. Although, according to al-Dhaahabi, Louis refused to accept the one intended for him<sup>87</sup>.

After a few days – by April 10<sup>th</sup> – the king was reunited with his surviving brothers<sup>88</sup>. The question now, for Tūrān Shāh and his men, was how best to press their advantage in negotiations. A certain number among the Franks had tried to negotiate separate terms for their release<sup>89</sup>. Louis was furious at this prospect. He had these men called to him to expressly forbid independent negotiations. Charles of Anjou later reported the king’s infuriated instructions on this point:

I hear that some of you are negotiating separately for your release and that of your brethren. This I would on no account permit. I want everybody under my command to know that, if God delivers me from this prison, I shall deprive whoever has acted thus of everything he holds from me or possesses under my rule. I prohibit all under my command from daring to do anything of the kind on pain of death and of everything they hold from me. The reason is that if this came about it would cause the worst trouble and scandal, because the only people to be released by these means would be the wealthy, who could afford the price, while all the poor, who lack the wherewithal to ransom themselves, would remain captives in perpetuity. But let everyone leave it to me to negotiate in general for the release of all the prisoners, since I want nobody to spend any of his own money for his release. I want to be the only person burdened with paying myself the cost of the ransom of each and every one<sup>90</sup>.

Louis’ position was clear even if somewhat self-contradictory; he did not want the wealthy to be advantaged over the poor in their fates; at the same

83 Ibidem.

84 Al-Makīn, *Chronique des Ayyoubides...*, p. 88.

85 Joinville, §334.

86 Al-Dhaabi, p. 160.

87 This is probably contradicted by Joinville (§403), who says Louis was still wearing the clothing (“les robes que le doudanc li avoit fet bailler et tailler”).

88 Charles of Anjou, in: P. Jackson, *op.cit.*, p. 116.

89 Ibidem.

90 Ibidem, p. 116. Note that this story made it into the hagiography; see Guillaume of Saint-Pathus, *Vie de Saint Louis*, ed. by H.F. Delaborde, Paris 1899, p. 75 f., including the Louis’ own quotation.

time, he felt that he personally should be responsible for the entire indemnity. This was of a piece with his refusal to board one of the galleys, his sense that his own sins were responsible for the fate of the crusade, and, later, of his work securing the release of Christians in captivity.

The captivity gave Louis time to reflect deeply about what had led there. All evidence points to a sense of personal despair or defeat. He was in a state of penitential introspection the whole time, taking count of his responsibility in the catastrophic outcome of the crusade, both with regards to his men and before God. In Europe it was said that for three days he neither ate nor drank and longed for death<sup>91</sup>. During his captivity, each time he exited his confinement he would lie on the ground in the form of a cross, and make the sign of the cross all over his body<sup>92</sup>. He quipped at one point that he did not even know whether the queen would be willing to ransom him<sup>93</sup>. When, a bit later, Husam al-Din asked Louis what had possibly possessed him to think he could cross the sea and conquer a land full of Muslim troops, Louis reportedly just laughed dolefully, but made no reply<sup>94</sup>. I, for one, imagine this to be a laugh of resignation, a recognition of the great folly of his situation and the unimaginable catastrophe that resulted from his most sublime dream. Husām al-Dīn purportedly also told Louis that it was of honored opinion that any such man who twice travelled by sea was “weak minded” and his testimony should not be trusted. Louis again laughed, this time responding that “whoever said this was right in his conclusion and did not miss the mark”<sup>95</sup>. His cleric later recalled that he diligently recited all of the canonical hours and the mass throughout his captivity<sup>96</sup>. We get perhaps the best sense of the state of his mind and soul from Joinville, to whom, a few days later during the sea journey to Acre (May 8<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup>), he recounted the events<sup>97</sup>. Joinville reported an odd conversation in which Louis said the emirs had mused about offering him the sultancy, and that he would have “not refused it”<sup>98</sup>. It is hard from Joinville’s telling to interpret Louis’ attitude in this, but it is also hard to imagine he believed the suggestion was serious. Joinville also tells of how, right after his release, Louis – furiously – rebuffed gifts from a Frenchman who had converted to Islam during the Fifth Crusade<sup>99</sup>. The king was on tenterhooks. When, after his release, he

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91 *Matthew Paris’s English History*, II, p. 368.

92 Joinville, §367.

93 *Ibidem*, §342. I owe my understanding of this passage to W.C. Jordan (op.cit).

94 Ibn Wāsil, in: P. Jackson, op.cit., p. 153.

95 *Ibidem*, p. 154.

96 William of Chartres, op.cit., p. 30 (§6).

97 Joinville, §404.

98 *Ibidem*, §366.

99 *Ibidem*, §394.

blew up in anger at Charles of Anjou for playing dice, we can only imagine the cause to be the unbendable standard of virtue he had set for himself and his people that he now sought to uphold<sup>100</sup>. Louis later mused about the salvific role of such trials, claiming they were God's way of directing one to moral introspection<sup>101</sup>.

Having forbidden separate ransom arrangements, it was thus up to the king himself to negotiate the conditions of release. It does not seem as if the king and sultan ever met face to face<sup>102</sup>, but Tūrān Shāh sent men from his council for talks. They first demanded that Louis give over castles and lands in Syria. They were probably just taunting him, but Louis responded that he had no authority over these since they were held in lordship from the Emperor<sup>103</sup>. Christian sources report that at this point Tūrān Shāh's men threatened to torture the king. Joinville famously described the grizzly *barnacles* with which they threatened him<sup>104</sup>. The king, in a state of despair, replied simply that "he was their prisoner and they could do what they like with him"<sup>105</sup>. But negotiations persevered, and by April 28, the king and the sultan had agreed on terms for a ten-year truce. Louis himself reported the terms he had agreed to in the letter he wrote home three months later (in August 1250)<sup>106</sup>. The Sultan would release Louis and all Christians held in captivity, including those captured during the Fifth Crusade, and the Christians would continue to hold their territories in Palestine; in exchange Louis would return Damietta, pay 800,000 gold bezants (about 400,000 *l.t.*, half of which was to be paid up front), and return all Muslim prisoners in Christian hands<sup>107</sup>. Eddé has calculated that the total sum would have hardly covered the Muslim's own costs and should thus been seen as "modest"<sup>108</sup>. Tūrān Shāh may have wanted the French expelled and the affair wrapped up as

100 Ibidem, §405.

101 Ibidem, §§40-41, and §§ 635-637. These are later recollections intended to sanctify Louis and should be interpreted differently than Joinville's accounts of the captivity. See M.C. Gaposchkin, *The Making of Saint Louis...*, p. 90 f.

102 Joinville repeatedly talks of the "Sultan's council," (§§340, 342) his "councilors" (§§335, 339, 343), the "Sultan's men" (§345) or the "emirs" (§343).

103 Joinville, §332. Muslim sources do not detail this as a goal.

104 Ibidem, §341.

105 Ibidem.

106 Louis' letter to his subjects, in: P. Jackson, op.cit., p. 111. See also Patriarch of Jerusalem letter, in: P. Jackson, op.cit., p. 106; J. Shirley, *The Rothelin Continuation...*, p. 103 f. For Joinville's account, see §§358-359.

107 Note that Joinville tells us that the initial sum proposed was 500 thousands *l.t.*, but the Tūrān Shāh knocked off 100 thousands *l.t.* in gratitude that Louis did not make him bargain more. Joinville §342. For the correspondences between bezants and *l.t.*, see J.R. Strayer, op.cit., p. 504.

108 A.-M. Eddé, op.cit., p. 86.

quickly as possible so that he could get on with the business of consolidating his authority in Cairo. The truce terms further provided for the safe-conduct of Christians into Christian territory, and the protection of any ill Christians or others and their goods who might stay on in Damietta after the handover. Both Louis and the Sultan took an oath to secure the terms<sup>109</sup>.

On April 28<sup>th</sup>, the Sultan moved the king and his entourage downriver in four galleys from Mansourah to Fāriskūr, near Damietta, to effect the handover<sup>110</sup>. Once the galleys had reached Damietta, Louis and his brothers were taken off ship and settled in a tent outside the city, while the rest of the prisoners were kept on the water<sup>111</sup>. Joinville reports that the sultan had intended to effect the handover on Saturday April 30<sup>th</sup>, but this seems to have been delayed, since Louis was still in captivity on May 2<sup>nd</sup><sup>112</sup>. Once terms had been made and oaths secured, the king sent word to Marguerite in Damietta and summoned Robert of Nantes, Patriarch of Jerusalem, to his prison camp to help organize the exchange<sup>113</sup>. The Patriarch was given safe passage and arrived on May 1<sup>st</sup>.

Louis was expecting to be released when events among his captors overtook him. On the morning of May 2<sup>nd</sup>, the leaders of the Bahrite Mamluks – the elite slave soldiers in al-Sālih’s entourage who had been responsible for the two great victories over the Franks – assassinated Tūrān Shāh. It was a classic coup. Ibn Wāsil says plainly that the assassins were motivated by their loss of rank and status in the new regime<sup>114</sup>. As the events unfolded, Louis, in his prison-tent, knew something was amiss, but could at first not get reliable news about what was happening; sensing danger, the king had the Office and Mass of the Cross recited “together with certain other prayers which he knew were beneficial in such circumstances”<sup>115</sup>. Then the commander of the Mamluk corps Fāris al-Dīn Aqtāy, who had just pulled the heart from Tūrān Shāh’s chest<sup>116</sup>, surrounded by followers, proceeded

109 Charles of Anjou, in: P. Jackson, *op.cit.*, p. 117.

110 J. Shirley, *The Rothelin Continuation*, 104; Charles of Anjou, in: P. Jackson, *op.cit.*, p. 117; Joinville, §344; Ibn Wāsil, in: P. Jackson, *op.cit.*, p. 149 gives name of town. It is Joinville who gives the date, and number of galleys. With Louis were his brothers, Peter of Brittany, William of Flanders, John of Soissons, and the Constable Humbert of Beaujeau, Baldwin and Guy of Ibelin (Joinville, §344).

111 Charles of Anjou, in: P. Jackson, *op.cit.*, p. 117; Joinville §345.

112 Joinville, §347.

113 Patriarch of Jerusalem letter, in: P. Jackson, *The Seventh Crusade*, p. 106. See also William of Chartres, *op.cit.*, p. 31 (§8); Joinville, §364.

114 Ibn Wāsil, in: Jackson, *op.cit.*, p. 150. See also the Sibte, in: P. Jackson, *op.cit.*, p. 161.

115 Charles of Anjou, in: P. Jackson, *op.cit.*, p. 117.

116 Joinville, §353. It was Baybars who actually delivered the fatal blow, although French sources will later credit Fāris al-Dīn Aqtāy with this.

directly to the king's tent, bloodied sword still in hand, to confront Louis<sup>117</sup>. The emir was one of the two leaders of the coup (Baibars being the other), and was held in high regard among the Egyptians. Even Joinville said of him that he was "one of the most trustworthy Saracens that [he had] ever encountered"<sup>118</sup>. But in the moment Louis was terrified. Fāris al-Dīn Aqtāy dismissed the guards and then asked the king, "What will you give me? For I have killed your enemy for you, who would have put you to death had he lived"<sup>119</sup>. Joinville says that the king remained silent. What exactly Fāris al-Dīn Aqtāy wanted from Louis at this moment is unclear. Perhaps nothing beyond exercising his newly acquired control of the situation. Charles of Anjou later testified that Fāris al-Dīn Aqtāy justified the assassination to Louis by saying that Tūrān Shāh would have killed Louis and his men regardless of the treaty<sup>120</sup>, and also that Tūrān Shāh had stripped men in his father's service of their rank after his father had died. Louis himself reported that the assassins hurried to his tent "armed and inflamed with frenzy, as if they sought – so many feared – to vent their rage on us and other Christians"<sup>121</sup>. Louis was sure he was about to be executed<sup>122</sup>. At the same time, some of Fāris al-Dīn Aqtāy's men went aboard the galleys to confront the other prisoners. Joinville and those around him assumed they would all be massacred, and made last confessions<sup>123</sup>.

Very soon, however, Fāris al-Dīn Aqtāy assured Louis that he was safe and that the Mamluks would honor the agreement Louis had reached with Tūrān Shāh<sup>124</sup>. In the end, they simply wanted to be sure they would receive their 800,000 bezants, particularly because Tūrān Shāh had drained the coffers<sup>125</sup>. So negotiations were resumed. The Muslim envoy sent to Louis at this point, Husam al-Din, reported that the king was a thoughtful and intelligent man<sup>126</sup>. Robert of Nantes, the Patriarch of Jerusalem who had come from Damietta, told the king that there was no way that the Christians could hold the city<sup>127</sup>. The treaty in its original form was thus affirmed, but the

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117 Joinville, §353. Louis' letter to his subjects, in: P. Jackson, op.cit., p. 111.

118 Joinville, §401. For the dismissal of the guards, see William of Chartres, op.cit., p. 31 (§8).

119 Joinville, §353.

120 This is corroborated: *ibidem*, §357.

121 Louis' letter to his subjects, in: P. Jackson, op.cit., p. 111.

122 Charles of Anjou, in: Jackson, op.cit., p. 117.

123 Joinville, §354.

124 William of Chartres, op.cit., p. 31 (§8).

125 Joinville, §357.

126 Ibn Wāsil, in: P. Jackson, op.cit., p. 153.

127 Louis' letter to his subjects, in: P. Jackson, op.cit., p. 112. This was later confirmed by William of Chartres, op.cit., p. 30 f. (§7).

Franks were nervous given how fragile the situation was and asked for some sort of further ratification. They requested that the Muslims take a series of oaths promising to uphold the agreement. If they reneged, they vowed, they would be as dishonored as men who go on pilgrimage to Mecca with heads uncovered; as men who leave a wife and take her back afterwards, and as men who eat pig's flesh<sup>128</sup>. At this point, the Muslims asked Louis to swear that if *he* did not keep faith "he would be as dishonored as the Christian who denies God and his Mother, and is barred from the fellowship of his twelve companions and of all the saints"<sup>129</sup>. Louis' advisors were chagrined that they had even asked for the new oaths in the first place<sup>130</sup>. Louis was horrified and flatly refused. His companions – seeing freedom on just the other side of the oath and fearing immediate execution if he refused – were aghast at Louis' steadfastness on this point<sup>131</sup>. They urged him to take the oath since, they argued, he fully intended to keep it<sup>132</sup>, but Louis was unmovable. He said that even though he fully intended to meet the terms, he still could not utter the actual – the unthinkable – words<sup>133</sup>. Robert of Nantes, who had been severely mistreated, begged the king to swear the oath, saying that he would take upon his own soul any possible sin that would be so incurred<sup>134</sup>. Joinville noted wryly that he never learned whether the oath was finalized or not, just that the emirs were satisfied<sup>135</sup>. Years later, this would be a point in favor of Louis' canonization. The hagiographers were certain that Louis had refused to the end<sup>136</sup>.

Meanwhile, in Damietta, the Queen was busy trying to raise the 400,000 bezants needed to effect the transfer. She was clearly terrified. She asked that an elderly attendant vow to kill her before she could be captured if the Saracens took the city<sup>137</sup>. In the prison camp the emirs demanded surety to guarantee payment after Louis was released. Charles of Anjou later

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128 Joinville, §360. J. Shirley, *The Rothelin Continuation...*, p.105, says that twenty-two emirs took the oath.

129 Joinville, §362.

130 This is clear from Charles of Anjou's testimony.

131 Joinville, §363. Charles of Anjou, in: P. Jackson, *op.cit.*, p. 118.

132 Charles of Anjou letter, in: P. Jackson, *op.cit.*, p. 118.

133 *Ibidem*.

134 Joinville, §364. See also Robert's own account in: P. Jackson, *op.cit.*, p. 106.

135 Joinville, §365.

136 Note that Louis himself passed over the episode in his letter home, saying only that they took further oaths and were satisfied. P. Jackson, *op.cit.*, p. 111 f. Guillaume of Saint-Pathus, *op.cit.*, p. 23 f.; M.C. Gaposchkin, *Blessed Louis, Most Glorious of Kings: The Cult of Louis IX of France*, trans. with P.B. Katz, *Notre Dame Texts in Medieval Culture*, Notre Dame, IN 2012, p. 66 f. (*Gloriosissimi regis*), 128-29(*Beatus Ludovicus*); Anonymous of Saint-Denis, *Gesta sancti Ludovici noni, Francorum Regis*, RHF, XX, p. 55 (ch. 12).

137 Joinville §397.

recalled that Louis was given a choice: either he stay captive and everyone else was released, or he alone would be released until he could deliver the money<sup>138</sup>. Louis, the whole burden of responsibility weighing on his shoulders, immediately offered to remain in captivity, but this was clearly unacceptable. The emirs suggested that Louis choose one of his brothers in his stead. Ruefully, Charles would later recount that, “when the King chose to leave behind as hostage the Count of Anjou, [i.e., Charles himself] [the Saracens] judged that he had more affection for the Count of Poitou, whom he had chosen to keep by his side; and they wanted to hold the latter in their hands so that the King would fulfill his undertakings more promptly to get him back. And so it was done”<sup>139</sup>.

And so it was done. On May 6<sup>th</sup>, Damietta was handed over to the emirs, and the king and other captives were released. The four galleys which held most of the prisoners had been anchored right outside the city the previous evening. It was Geoffrey of Sergines, Louis’ companion throughout the captivity, who was sent from the camp into the city to arrange the surrender<sup>140</sup>. All the Christians within the walls of Damietta, led by Marguerite of Provence, were escorted out of the city and onto the ships. Those in captivity waited throughout the day to be released. Joinville, who was under the impression he was to have been released at sunrise, remembers being taunted by his captors all day<sup>141</sup>. At one point, it seemed that they would all be massacred. At another, as their galley began moving upstream, that they would be sent to Cairo<sup>142</sup>. Finally, after a meal, they were released. Joinville was put ashore. He saw Louis, on the riverbank, preparing to board an armed Genoese galley there to receive him. With Louis was Charles of Anjou, Geoffrey of Sergines, Philip of Nemours (marshal), the Master of the Order of the Trinity, and Joinville himself<sup>143</sup>. Joinville then recalls collecting the ransom monies, weighing out the gold on scales which measured 10,000 *livres*<sup>144</sup>. Louis was fearful for Alphonse, and, remembered Charles, he “refused to let the ship leave until he had paid the money, handed over Damietta, and had his hostages brother back”<sup>145</sup>. As soon as Alphonse was safe, and after his wife the queen, the wives of his three brothers, and the Duke of Burgundy had

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138 Charles of Anjou, in: Jackson, op.cit., p. 119.

139 Charles of Anjou, in: P. Jackson, op.cit., p. 119. Note that the J. Shirley, *The Rothelin Continuation...*, p. 105 says that Alphonse was released from captivity along with Charles and Louis.

140 Joinville, §369.

141 Ibidem, §§371-372.

142 Ibidem, §§374-375.

143 Ibidem, §378.

144 Ibidem, §380.

145 Charles of Anjou, in: P. Jackson, op.cit., p. 119.

emerged from the city and joined him<sup>146</sup>, Louis set sail “straight for Acre”<sup>147</sup>. One can hardly blame him for his desire to be rid of Egypt all together.

### THE FALLOUT

In Egypt, they were obviously pleased to be done with the Franks. For the most part, it seems, those Muslims who dealt directly with Louis found the king himself to be a man of dignity and faith – even if it was the wrong one<sup>148</sup>. But there was great glee at the resounding victory over the venture as a whole. The Egyptians were aware that for the crusaders this was a war of faith, a war of religion. And they believed their wholesale victory and the slaughter of the crusaders made clear which faith it was that had won. A contemporary poet, the Lord Jamāl Ibn Martuh, composed celebratory verse in which he mocked the king himself, the French cause, the pope, and Christianity all at once:

Give the Frenchman, if you love him, a true statement from those who offer sound advice: ‘May God requite you for the slaughter that has befallen the worshippers of Jesus the Messiah! You came to Egypt, thirsting to conquer it and reckoning the drumbeat but a gust of wind; And so Time has carried you to a disaster which has made narrow what was broad in your eyes; While through your fine strategy you have brought all your men to the inside of the tomb; Of fifty thousand not one is to be seen who is not dead or a wounded prisoner. God grant you [more] triumphs of the ilk, that Jesus may perhaps find relief from you. If the pope was satisfied with this, perchance fraud has emanated from the counselor! And tell them, if they think of coming back to take revenge or for some sound purpose: ‘Ibn Luqmān’s house is still there; the chains and the officer Sabīh have not gone away’<sup>149</sup>.

In Egypt and Syria more broadly, Louis’ captivity was the immediate context for the coup which ended Saladin’s Ayyubid dynasty and welcomed the onset of Bahrite Mamluk rule that would last in Egypt and Syria through 1517. It is not unlikely that the Mamluks – the elite military class that had emerged under Ayyubid rule and in particular under al-Sālih’s patronage – would have seized power in the absence of the crusade and Louis’ captivity. Their consolidation of power near the top under al-Sālih, combined with their

<sup>146</sup> J. Shirley, *The Rothelin Continuation...*, p. 105.

<sup>147</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>148</sup> This is what I take from the scene reported in Ibn Wāsil, in: P. Jackson, *op.cit.*, p. 153. See also Al-Dhaabi, in: P. Jackson, *op.cit.*, p. 160. C. Tyerman, *op.cit.*, p. 797, suggests this was simply western propaganda. See for instance the testimony reflected in Guillaume of Saint-Pathus, *op.cit.*, p. 134 f.

<sup>149</sup> Recorded by Ibn Wāsil, in: P. Jackson, *op.cit.*, p. 149.



repeated military victories against the crusaders, placed them in the position of strength during the period of Ayyubid factionalization. But the urgency of settling the issue of the ransoms and expelling the crusaders from Egypt, combined with the incompetence of al-Sālih's inexperienced and tone-deaf successor, Tūrān Shāh, provided the immediate incentive and opportunity for the takeover. And it also provided – crucially – the assumption narrative of Mamluk legitimacy as the defenders of Islam against the invading, infidel crusaders<sup>150</sup>.

For both sides, there were financial implications. The cost of the crusade itself notwithstanding, the ransoming of Louis was expensive. The desire to gain control of the ransom money may even have been the principal motivation for the assassination of Tūrān Shāh. In the event, Louis ended up turning over only 200,000 of the initial 400,000 *l.t.* (= 800,000 byzants) agreed upon<sup>151</sup>. The relative magnitude of this sum can be appreciated by knowing that a single knight's yearly income is estimated at about 200 *l.t.*, as was the cost of such a knight redeeming his crusader vow<sup>152</sup>; and that the crusade itself was estimated in the fourteenth century to have cost the crown just over a million and a half *l.t.*<sup>153</sup> But for the French the ransom was not so expensive that it created immediate problems. Louis had spent four years arranging for the financing of the crusade before his departure from France, and Marguerite was able to raise the initial 200,000 *l.t.* for the ransom without too much trouble (although not without strong-arming the Templars for a loan)<sup>154</sup>. Even after his ransom Louis was able to take on substantial new commitments, as evidenced by Joinville's own indebtedness to him at this point<sup>155</sup>. And he was able to finance his four-year long stay in Acre without too much trouble. The crown remained solvent until 1253<sup>156</sup>.

From a constitutional standpoint, unlike the long captivities of Richard the Lionheart or, later, John the Good, Louis' captivity, short as it was, was not so problematic. In Damietta, the queen – magnificently, if we follow Joinville – assumed the role of sovereign in directing affairs, raising funds for

<sup>150</sup> L.A. Northrup, *The Bahri Mamluk sultanate, 1250-1390*, in: *The Cambridge History of Egypt*, ed. by C. Petry, Cambridge 2008, p. 255; R. Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages: The Early Mamluk Sultanate, 1250-1328*, Carbondale 1986.

<sup>151</sup> Summarized in C. Tyerman, *op.cit.*, p. 781. Louis abrogated the rest when he learned that the Mamluks had slaughtered ill Christians remaining in Damietta, and when the number of captives returned was far below what had been expected.

<sup>152</sup> C. Tyerman, *op.cit.*, p. 778 f.

<sup>153</sup> J. Fred, A. Cazal, *Financing the Crusades*, in: *A History of the Crusades, VI: The Impact of the Crusades on Europe*, ed. by K.M. Setton, Madison 1969, p. 145.

<sup>154</sup> Joinville, §381-385.

<sup>155</sup> *Ibidem*, §441.

<sup>156</sup> C. Tyerman, *op.cit.*, p. 779 f.

the ransom, organizing the relief party, and negotiating with contract partners (the Genoese and Pisans, mostly)<sup>157</sup>. In France, Blanche had been given the powers of regent for the duration of the crusade<sup>158</sup>; and in any event, she probably did not even learn of Louis' captivity until after he was released. In the end, it was Blanche's death in 1252, not Louis' captivity, that began to erode the smooth functioning of royal government and required Louis' return<sup>159</sup>. Authority reverted to an ecclesiastical council, which lacked the unity and possibly some of the unique focus on royal interests that Blanche had maintained<sup>160</sup>. When Louis *did* return, he did so with undiminished authority. His personal mien had changed. And he was the target of some popular criticism<sup>161</sup>. But he was as strong a king as ever, and if anything, his reputation as a most Christian king had been enhanced, not diminished, by the time in captivity.

More immediately, Louis' captivity may have sharpened in him the resolve to work for the release of Christian captives throughout the Middle East<sup>162</sup>. There were still many whose captivity dated back to the Fifth Crusade – a fact brought to light, if nothing else, by the provision in the agreement reached with Tūrān Shāh for the release of prisoners in captivity “since the time of Sultan Kamil, the grandfather of this Sultan [Tūrān Shāh]”<sup>163</sup>. The negotiations with Tūrān Shāh's assassins that followed ratified the agreement. When Louis reached Acre, the release of captives was top of his agenda. He was aghast when the first envoy redeemed only four hundred, rather than the expected 12,000 captives, accused the Mamluks of breaking faith, and used this as the excuse to default on the remaining ransom payments<sup>164</sup>. The outrage was so great that its fact was rehearsed back in Europe<sup>165</sup>. In the king's anguished letter to his subjects, he detailed his efforts to recover prisoners and said that working for the release of Christian

157 Joinville, §§ 397-400.

158 W.C. Jordan, *op.cit.*, pp. 105-133.

159 *Ibidem*, pp. 116-125.

160 *Ibidem*, p. 117.

161 E. Siberry, *Criticism of Crusading: 1095-1274*, Oxford 1985; P.A. Throop, *Criticism of the Crusade: A Study of Public Opinion and Crusade Propaganda*, Amsterdam 1940, pp. 174-178. See, for example, the popular song by Austorc d'Aurillac, *Ai Dieus!*, translated now in: P. Jackson, *op.cit.*, p. 176 f.

162 Y. Friedman, *Encounter between Enemies – Captivity and Ransom in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Leiden 2002, pp. 96-99. M. Cassidy-Welch, *op.cit.*, pp. 110-112.

163 Louis' letter to his subjects, in: P. Jackson, *op.cit.*, p. 111.

164 *Ibidem*, p. 112; J. Shirley, *The Rothelin Continuation...*, p. 106 (ch. 69).

165 *Extraits de la Chronique attribué a Boudoin d'Avesne, fils de la contesse Marguerite de Flandre*, RHF, XXI, p. 169; Marino Sanudo, *The Book of the Secrets of the Faithful of the Cross...*, p. 348; *Matthew Paris's English History*, II, p. 382; J. Shirley, *The Rothelin Continuation...*, p. 106.

captives, out of “our sympathy for the incarceration and sufferings of our prisoners”, was one of two principal reasons he was not returning directly to France<sup>166</sup>. His empathy for the fellow captives and his sense of personal responsibility pierces through the centuries, and we might speculate about what role the experience of his own captivity had in his resolve. Certainly his hagiographers would all remember the care he took to ransom Christians in captivity for his remaining years in the Levant<sup>167</sup>.

Back in France, it took some time to learn of the catastrophe. When early reports reached Paris, Blanche was so aghast she refused to accept their truth and reportedly had hanged the unfortunate bearers of the news<sup>168</sup>. Definitive news of the Battle of Mansourah and the king’s captivity reached London only on August 1<sup>st</sup><sup>169</sup>, and Innocent IV, staying at Lyon, wrote an anguished letter of consolation to Louis (in the East)<sup>170</sup> and one to Blanche (in Paris), only on August 12<sup>th</sup><sup>171</sup>. The outcome was hard to explain, and Innocent IV wrote a series of letters to bishops throughout the French kingdom in which he related the events of the crusade and captivity and in which he agonized over the failure, promising that it was not the fault of the king and could only be understood as part of God’s love for those whom he reproves and his mysterious plan<sup>172</sup>. He ventured that, though the king himself and the church that supported him were surely not to blame, perhaps the

**166** Louis’ letter to his subjects, in: P. Jackson, op.cit., p. 112-113 (the quote is on p. 113).

**167** Guillaume of Saint-Pathus, *Vie*, pp. 91-92; M.C. Gaposchkin, *Blessed Louis...*, pp. 70 f. (*Gloriosissimi regis*), pp. 116-117 (*Beatus Ludovicus*), pp. 80 f. (Liturgical readings); Guillaume of Nangis, op.cit., p. 180 f.; J.M.E. Viard, op.cit., VII, p. 157 f.

**168** Or, so says Matthew Paris, who may have been embellishing. This does not sound like Blanche. *Matthew Paris’s English history*, II, pp. 376-386. For other indications of the spread of the news, see J. Tillemont, *Vie*, VII, p. 333 f.

**169** Or perhaps as early as July 17<sup>th</sup>. *Matthew Paris’s English history*, II, p. 366, for the date at which Richard of Cornwall received the news at the Exchequer in London, which he reports as “On the day of St. Kenelm, which was on the 1<sup>st</sup> of August”. The Feast of Saint Kenelm was in fact July 17<sup>th</sup>, so there is a discrepancy of two weeks. Matthew Paris then (II, pp. 383-386) reports a letter received by Richard of Cornwall which appears to correspond to the events described at p. 366 ff.

**170** A. Duchesne, op.cit., V, pp. 413-415 (for the letter to Louis); Letter to Blanche originally edited in: H.M. Schaller, *Eine kuriale Briefsammlung des 13. Jahrhunderts mit unbekanntten Briefen Friedrichs II*, “Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters” XVIII (1962), p. 212, and translated in P. Jackson, op.cit., p. 167 f.

**171** Innocent’s letter to Louis is dated “ij Id. August”. The letter to Blanche is undated, but presumably of about the same time.

**172** Pope Innocent IV’s letter to Eudes Rigaud, in: A. Duchesne, op.cit. V, pp. 415-417, and partially translated in P. Jackson, op.cit., p. 168. The letter is addressed to the archbishop of Rouen (Eudes Rigaud), but appears to be in the form of an encyclical. E. Berger, *Saint Louis et Innocent IV: études sur les rapports de la France et du saint-siège*, Paris 1893, p. 343, is surely right on this point.

failure was due to the “transgressions on the part of the people”<sup>173</sup>. Yet some were willing to suggest that Louis was perhaps also culpable. Even Joinville expressed some criticism of Louis for how Damietta’s spoils had been divided up<sup>174</sup>. And Matthew Paris thought the failure of the entire venture may have been caused by the king’s own rapaciousness and despoiling the church<sup>175</sup>.

Louis himself certainly thought so. In the letter he wrote to his French subjects from Acre in August – just three months after his release – he described the events of the crusade, its failure, and his captivity. It was the first stab at an official account of the catastrophe and his humiliation. Throughout, he credited God’s agency in the course of events, and in the passage in which he detailed his capture, he drew twice on scripture to defer the outcome of human events to God’s will and authority. “Since *the ways of Man are not in himself* [Jer. 10.23]” wrote Louis, “but rather in Him Who *directs all men’s steps, and disposes according to what pleases His will* [Psalm 36.23], while we were on the return march, that is, on April 5, the Saracens assembled all their forces and attacked the Christian army in countless numbers; and, as it chanced, by divine permission and as our sins required, we fell into the hands of the enemy”<sup>176</sup>. Following a long tradition of explaining crusading failures through Christian sin, Louis saw “our sins” as the cause of reversal<sup>177</sup>. He may have been referring to the sins of the crusaders in general, or even Christendom as a whole, but more likely he was using the royal we. Throughout the letter Louis employed the first personal plural in referring to his actions and interests alone. At the end of the letter, after a plea for a new *passagium*, Louis requested that prayers (presumably the Holy Land Clamour, that is, the special call to God to help take back the Holy Land inserted into the mass) be offered in France on behalf of the crusade, saying, again, that “your prayers and those of other good men, will achieve *what our own sins have prevented*”<sup>178</sup>.

At about the same time, in mid-August when Innocent IV wrote to the French episcopal hierarchy to inform them of the events in the East, he too asked them for prayers on behalf of the crusade. He instructed churchmen throughout France to organize prayers, general processions of both clergy

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173 Pope Innocent IV’s letter to Eudes Rigaud, in: P. Jackson, *op.cit.*, p. 168. Guillaume of Nangis blamed “the sins of a few,” in the *Chronique Latine*, p. 206: *peccatis fortasse aliquorum exigentibus*.

174 Joinville, §169.

175 *Matthew Paris’s English History*, II, pp. 387-389. See further W.C. Jordan, *op.cit.*, pp. 82-98; E. Siberry, *op.cit.*, pp. 136-138; M.C. Gaposchkin, *Louis IX, Crusade, and the Promise of Joshua in the Holy Land*, “*Journal of Medieval History*” XXXIII (2008), pp. 262-267.

176 Louis’ letter to his subjects, in: P. Jackson, *op.cit.*, p. 110.

177 On the trope of “our own sins,” E. Siberry, *op.cit.*, pp. 69-108.

178 Louis’ letter to his subjects, in: P. Jackson, *op.cit.*, p. 114.

and laity throughout the cities and diocese of France, and weekly sermons for Louis and for the Christian army<sup>179</sup>. The practice of organizing special prayers and general processions for the Holy Land causes had been operative throughout the thirteenth century, and constituted one way in which Christians of all stripes were enveloped in the crusading cause. A new versicle was added to the crusading clamour, which beseeched “Oremus pro afflictis et captivis et peregrinis christianis [We pray for the afflicted and the captives and Christian pilgrims (that is, crusaders)]”<sup>180</sup>. In this way, Frenchmen and women at large learned of the catastrophe in the East, the captivity, and the disrepute befallen to the king. Rumors abounded. One was that Tūrān Shāh had planned to have Louis sent captive prisoner as a present to the caliph in Baghdad<sup>181</sup>. Another was that Louis and the Sultan had met face to face to talk about the reasons for the crusade<sup>182</sup>. A third was that Louis remained in captivity<sup>183</sup>. Matthew Paris reported that in France people were so grieved and confused at the news of Louis’ captivity that some lost their faith, and others even accused God himself of injustice<sup>184</sup>. “Never has it been found in any history that a king of France had been taken prisoner, especially by infidels, or defeated, except this one”<sup>185</sup>. But the whole does not seem to have seriously dampened the king’s reputation. In fact, William Chester Jordan has argued that “the crusaders’ defeat in Egypt in 1250 and the news of the king’s capture accentuated popular loyalty to the monarchy”<sup>186</sup>.

One manifestation of that loyalty was a popular, possibly millenarian, movement known as the *Pastoureaux* – the Crusade of the Shepherds – which took form in the north (Brabant, Flanders, Picardy) in the Spring of 1251 around the goal of going in aid of the king in captivity<sup>187</sup>. The chroniclers all linked the advent of the *Pastoureaux* with the failed crusade and the royal captivity which exemplified it. The clamours, processions, and sermons that Innocent had ordered for Louis’ aid in August 1250 may have had a role

179 A. Duchesne, op.cit., V, pp. 415-517.

180 A. Linder, *Raising Arms: Liturgy in the Struggle to Liberate Jerusalem in the Late Middle Ages*, Turnout 2003, p. 44.

181 *Matthew Paris’s English History*, II, pp. 377-378, 380.

182 Ibidem, pp. 504-505.

183 See paragraph below on the Shepherd’s Crusade (*Pastoureaux*).

184 *Matthew Paris’s English History*, II, p. 386 f., 458. The account elsewhere reflects criticism of the very idea of the crusade. See for instance, Matthew Paris, op.cit., II, 374 f.

185 *Matthew Paris’s English History*, II, p. 376.

186 W.C. Jordan, op.cit., p. 111.

187 Jordan, op.cit., pp. 113-117. See also M. Barber, *The Crusade of the Shepherds in 1251*, in: *Proceedings of the Tenth Annual Meeting of the Western Society for French History*, ed. by J.F. Sweets, Lawrence 1984, pp. 1-23; G. Dickson, *The Advent of the Pastores (1251)*, “Revue Belge de philologie et d’histoire” LXVI (1988), pp. 249-267. The primary sources for the *Pastoureaux* are all now collected and translated in: P. Jackson, op.cit., pp. 179-193.

in igniting the movement<sup>188</sup>. An “army” of regular – “simple” – people, following a certain “Master of Hungary” and seeing that the knighthood of France had been destroyed, proclaimed that “God frequently chooses the weak portions of the world to confound the stronger ones,” and that, apparently, not acceptable to the Almighty are those “who presume on their skill and bravery in war”<sup>189</sup>. They took crusading upon themselves “in the hopes that they would obtain possession of the Holy Land, and avenge [Blanche’s] sons”<sup>190</sup>. They claimed that God himself “had chosen them to march in aid of the Holy Land and the King of France, captive in the country”<sup>191</sup>. The crusaders “had learned from their master that they would liberate the king of the French”<sup>192</sup>. Like other popular crusading movements that preceded it (the army of Peter the Hermit; the Children’s crusade), the *Pastoureaux*’s crusade ended badly. Most never made it out of France. After receiving initial support from Blanche of Castile, the *Pastoureaux* caused low-grade mayhem in the towns around Paris, venting an anti-clerical bias, and initiating violence against Jewish communities. As the would-be crusaders became increasingly unruly, Blanche reversed her position, the movement was crushed, and the leaders were executed. “The remainder disappeared like smoke”<sup>193</sup>. The *Pastoureaux* were quickly demonized. The entire misadventure was said to be the work of a Muslim magician working for the Sultan of Cairo, who wished to sow confusion and mayhem in France<sup>194</sup>. Its leaders were heretics. Its followers were gravely seduced, misguided. And yet, it is clear even through the hostility of the medieval sources that the popular movement was inspired by a desire to rescue Louis and aid his cause – was, in Malcom Barber’s words “united [... ] in the more positive affirmation of support for the king”<sup>195</sup>.

The greatest impact of the captivity was probably on the person, and thus the reign, of Louis himself. Louis would often refer to it in later years, recounting his time in prison and his relations with the Egyptians<sup>196</sup>. His confessor of those years said he spoke of it plainly and without shame. But it clearly had a profound effect on him. His earliest biographers all testified

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188 Dickson thinks so: G. Dickson, op.cit., p. 259.

189 *Matthew Paris’s English History*, II, p. 452.

190 Ibidem.

191 Guillaume de Nangis, op.cit., pp. 207 f.

192 *Matthew Paris’s English History*, II, p. 457.

193 *Ceteri quasi fumus evanuerunt* (Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique Latine*, p. 208). Matthew Paris reported that a few made it to the Holy Land where they entered Louis’ service – *Matthew Paris’s English History*, II, p. 457.

194 J.M.É. Viard, op.cit., p. 162.

195 M. Barber, op.cit., p. 16.

196 Geoffrey of Beaulieu, *Vita et sancta conversatio...*, p. 6 (ch. 10).

to his changed character upon his return from overseas, most noticeably in his dress-code, which signalled a profound penitence that permeated his character and his rule. Among his modern biographers, it is William Chester Jordan who has most clearly connected the dots between Louis' captivity and the failure of the larger mission which it represented, his penitential resolve in its wake, the nature of his reign and his policies in the years after his return, and his desire to mount a new crusade<sup>197</sup>. The "spirit of reform" which animated royal governance after 1254 and all the policies which it engendered, paired with the uncompromising moralization of his kingship, seem to have been borne from Louis' profound sense of personal responsibility for the crusade's failure and his sense of duty in legislating virtue throughout the kingdom, including the "anti-corruption" campaigns of the 1250s and 60s<sup>198</sup>. Louis inaugurated a series of reforming measures – including the institutionalization of the *enquêteurs* and other revisions to the king's administrative arms, legislation circumscribing Jewish usury and other practices offensive to the sensibilities of Christian kingship, and reforms to the administration of the city of Paris – all designed to ensure as much as possible the just kingship to which Louis aspired<sup>199</sup>. His desire to effect an ideal of Christian kingship born of his penitential ambition was probably also the impetus for his measures at peacemaking, both within and outside his realm<sup>200</sup>. At least, his hagiographers thought so<sup>201</sup>.

## MEMORY AND SANCTIFICATION

Louis' captivity became a central feature of his Christian kingship and ultimately his sanctification. The official, "royal", historiography that came out of Saint-Denis (Guillaume of Nangis' *Gesta Sanctae Memoriae Ludovici*, its translation into Old French, and its incorporation into the *Grandes*

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**197** W.C. Jordan, op.cit. especially at pp. 127-133. Jordan has extended the implications of this essential argument in his *Anti-corruption Campaigns in Thirteenth-century Europe*, "Journal of Medieval History" XXXV (2009), pp. 204-219; *Men at the Center: Redemptive Governance under Louis IX*, Budapest 2012. I have drawn heavily on this argument in M.C. Gaposchkin, *Louis IX, Crusade...*

**198** W.C. Jordan, *Anti-corruption Campaigns...*

**199** All treatments of this subject now must begin with W.C. Jordan, "The Spirit of Reform", in: *Louis IX and the Challenge...*, pp. 135-181. It is now also worth reading his *A Tale of Two Monasteries: Westminster and Saint-Denis in the Thirteenth Century*, Princeton 2009 and *Men at the Center*. See also J. Richard, *Saint Louis: Crusader King of France*, trans. by J. Birrell, Cambridge 1992, pp. 155-183.

**200** J. Richard, *Saint Louis...*, pp. 184-210.

**201** William of Chartres, op.cit., pp. 33, 34 f. In particular, this was a strong theme in the Enseignements that Louis wrote and was transmitted by Geoffrey of Beaulieu, op.cit., pp. 8 f. (ch. 15). Joinville, §§740-754.

*Chronique de France*) was largely taken from Louis' own letter of August 1250 (perhaps through Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum Historiale*<sup>202</sup>). In turn, the hagiographical tradition that flourished in the years around his canonization was largely built upon the edifice of the *vita* written in the early 1270s by Louis' longtime confessor (and companion in Egypt), Geoffrey of Beaulieu<sup>203</sup>. Louis' captivity was featured prominently – and laudably – in both traditions. The stories that took root and were repeated are illustrative of the ways in which his captivity had come to have moral and ideological meaning. His commitment to staying with his army and ensuring certain capture rather than fleeing alone, his willingness to remain prisoner in exchange for the freedom of others, his secure faith in the face of the infidel victors, and his refusal to take an oath to deny Christ were featured in almost all later accounts<sup>204</sup>.

Both traditions were embellished by select details from stories that had been collected in 1282-1283 during the inquest held into Louis' sanctity<sup>205</sup>. For instance, one story that came out of the canonization inquest was that Fāris al-Dīn Aqtāy (who, for some reason, the *Grandes Chroniques* calls Julian<sup>206</sup>), credited here with killing Tūrān Shāh himself, upon entering Louis' tent to threaten him and holding a bloody sword "that could kill the king" above his head, asked Louis to be knighted<sup>207</sup>. Louis, the story went, said that he would only make him a knight if he were Christian, *but* that if he wished to convert Louis would not only knight him, but bring him back to France and make him wealthy with lands<sup>208</sup>. The interpolation drew upon, but ultimately rejected, the Western fantasy of the chivalric Muslim knight that had grown up around Saladin<sup>209</sup>. More strikingly, the story, minimized Fāris

202 See P. Jackson, *op.cit.*, p. 3 f., 120 n. 206.

203 Geoffrey of Beaulieu, *op.cit.*, pp. 1-27.

204 Guillaume of Saint-Pathus, *op.cit.*, pp. 74-76; Boniface VIII, *Sermones et Bulla*, RHF, XXIII, ed. by N. de Wailly, L. Delisle, C. Jourdain, Paris 1876, p. 156. M.C. Gaposchkin, *Blessed Louis...*, pp. 64-71, 128-129, 178 f.

205 L. Carolus-Barré, *Le procès de canonisation de Saint Louis (1272-1297): Essai de reconstitution*, ed. by H. Platelle, Rome 1994.

206 J.M.É. Viard, *op.cit.*, VII, p. 155.

207 Guillaume of Saint-Pathus, *op.cit.*, p. 25. Guillaume of Nangis, *op.cit.*, pp. 378 f., 380 f. and 79; J.M.É. Viard, *op.cit.*, VII, p. 155.

208 It is attested in Guillaume of Saint-Pathus, *op.cit.*, p. 24 f., thus indicating that it probably came out in the proceedings. See further M.C. Gaposchkin, *op.cit.*, pp. 128 f. (*Beatus Ludovicus*), 88 f. (for the Liturgical readings). J.M.É. Viard, *op.cit.*, p. 155 f.; Anonymous of Saint-Denis, *op.cit.*, p. 55 (note that the Anonymous of Saint-Denis was almost certainly Yves of Saint-Denis. On which, see: M.C. Gaposchkin, *op.cit.*, p. 12 n. 41). Cf. Joinville, §353. For an earlier, closer, version of a story in which the governor of Cairo offers to convert to Christianity, see *Matthew Paris's English History*, II, p. 362.

209 J.V. Tolan, *Mirror of Chivalry: Salah al-Din in the Medieval European Imagination*, "Cairo Papers in Social Science (*Images of the Other: Europe and the Muslim World before 1700*, ed. by



al-Dīn Aqṭāy's threat, effectively denying him power, subordinating him to Louis through the request, and recognizing Louis' authority as the more legitimate and the more prestigious. It was a rhetorical move, one that belied the awkward fact of Louis' captivity within the royalizing historical narrative which was the project of the monks at Saint-Denis<sup>210</sup>. Here Louis was the chivalric hero, upholding the principles of Christian knighthood against the ignoble, shiftily, and duplicitous Muslim. His captivity was simply the scene of the Muslim knight's chivalric supplication.

Writing after his death, his hagiographers saw his captivity in particular as a sign of his suffering and humility, permitted by God in order to showcase his exalted humility to the infidel<sup>211</sup>. The accounts of Geoffrey of Beaulieu and William of Chartres used the captivity to highlight aspects of Louis' humility and uncompromising faith<sup>212</sup>. His release for a "modest" sum was billed as a miracle<sup>213</sup>. They marveled at the Muslim's own apparent respect for the conquered king<sup>214</sup>. In the canonization bull, Pope Boniface VIII suggested that God had actually *allowed* Louis to fall into captivity in order to demonstrate the core value of humility and endured suffering to the infidel<sup>215</sup>. The captivity was, thus, merely an instrument of God's greater design.

The meaning of Louis' captivity was further enhanced by interpretive moves around information that had come to light during the process of canonization<sup>216</sup>. In particular, Louis' captivity as a proof of his Christian "patience" (as in *passio* – that is, faithful endurance and suffering) became a mainstay in his sanctification. The virtues of humility and patient suffering were central both to ideals of sanctity and also, increasingly, to the salvific

D.R. Blanks) XIX (1997) 2, pp. 7-38. My thanks to Christopher MacEvitt for insight on this point.

<sup>210</sup> G. Spiegel, *The Chronicle Tradition of Saint-Denis: A Survey*, Brookline 1978; A.D. Hedeman, *The Royal Image: Illustrations of the Grandes Chroniques de France, 1274-1422*, California studies in the history of art, XXVIII, Berkeley 1991.

<sup>211</sup> M.C. Gaposchkin, *The Role of the Crusades in the Sanctification of Louis IX of France*, in: *Crusades: Medieval Worlds in Conflict*, Burlington VT 2010, p. 200.

<sup>212</sup> Ibidem, p. 200. See Geoffrey of Beaulieu, op.cit., p. 16 (ch. 25); William of Chartres, op.cit., p. 30 f. Also discussed in M. Cassidy-Welch, *Imprisonment in the medieval religious imagination...*, pp. 113-122.

<sup>213</sup> Geoffrey of Beaulieu, op.cit., p. 16 (ch. 25), called it "a great wonder" (*multum mirandum*). Later hagiography and liturgical readings called it a miracle (*miraculum*): M.C. Gaposchkin, *Blessed Louis...*, pp. 116 f. (*Gloriosissimi regis*), 78 f. (*Beatus Ludovicus*).

<sup>214</sup> Geoffrey of Beaulieu, op.cit., p. 16 (ch. 25).

<sup>215</sup> Boniface VIII, *Sermones et Bulla*, p. 149. This was repeated in later texts; M.C. Gaposchkin, *Role of the Crusades...*, p. 200.

<sup>216</sup> L. Carolus-Barré, *Les enquêtes pour la canonisation de Saint Louis de Grégoire X à Boniface VIII et la bulle Gloria Laus, du 11 Août 1297*, "Revue d'Histoire de l'Église de France" LVII (1971), pp. 19-31; *Le procès*.

value of crusading<sup>217</sup>. Already, even before Louis returned home in 1254, his captivity was being billed as a humiliating suffering – a passion – on behalf of, and in imitation of, Christ in ways that drew on long-establishing crusading ideologies<sup>218</sup>. “The king and his brothers,” wrote Innocent IV to Blanche of Castille, “are understood to be enduring such a passion (salvifically recalling their Lord’s) on behalf of Christ”<sup>219</sup>. But this take was accentuated in the context of his sanctification. In the 1270s, William of Chartres recalled that “under all pressure he always remained the soul of constancy, so that even the leading emirs marveled at him and said to the king, when he remained so unmoved in the face of their unrelenting demands, ‘It is a great wonder to us that you – whom we have considered to be our prisoner and slave and find you such in all things – consider that it is we who are these things, as though it were *you* who held *us* in prison’”<sup>220</sup>. Someone at the canonization inquest remembered the exchange more sharply: “You are our prisoner and our slave in our prison and you speak to us haughtily?” said an emir. “Either you do what we want of you or else you will be crucified, you and your men”<sup>221</sup>. To which Louis replied that even if they killed his body they would never have his soul<sup>222</sup>. Using this exchange, the post-1282 hagiography and historiography collapsed the episode of Fāris al-Dīn Aqtāy entering Louis’ tent after having killed Tūrān Shāh and Louis’ denial to take an oath to renounce Christ. The result was to make Louis conform to the classic trope of martyrdom – steadfast confession of faith in the face of persecution and

**217** For sanctity, see A. Vauchez, *Sainthood in the later Middle Ages*, transl. by J. Birrell, Cambridge 1997. For its place in crusading C. Smith, *Crusading...*, pp. 98-108. I examine some of these themes in M.C. Gaposchkin, *Role of the Crusades...*

**218** On which, see W.J. Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality in the Holy Land and Iberia, c. 1095-1187*, Woodbridge 2008, pp. 22-27.

**219** Innocent IV in: P. Jackson, op.cit., p. 168. I have somewhat altered Jackson’s translation. The original reads: [...] *dicti rex et fratres pro Christo [...] tantam noscuntur passionem salubriter recolendo dominicam tolerare* (H.M. Schaller, op.cit., p. 212).

**220** William of Chartres, op.cit., p. 30 (par. 7): *De hoc supra modum miramur, quod vos, quem prisonem nostrum et sclavum reputabamus, talem in omnibus invenimus, et tales non etiam reputatis, ac si nos in carcere teneretis.*

**221** Guillaume of Saint-Pathus, op.cit., p. 24 (ch. 3): *Vos estes nostre chetiz et nostre esclave et en nostre chartre, si parlex si hardiement! Ou vos ferez ce qu nos vodron, our vos serez crucefeiez vos et les voz.* Versions of the detail were repeated by Boniface VIII, *Sermones et Bulla*, p. 156. Guillaume of Nangis, op.cit., p. 381: *Trop nous merveillons come vous soiés nostre esclave et nostre chetif, pourquoi vous parlés si baudement; sachiés se vous ne faite ce, je vous occirray maintenant.’ A ce respondi li bons roys, et dist: ‘Le cors de moyh pourrès vous bien occirre; main lame nocirrés vous pas’.* See also: Anonymous of Saint-Denis (Yves of Saint-Denis), op.cit., p. 55 (ch. 12); J.M.E. Viard, op.cit., VII, p. 156.

**222** Guillaume of Saint-Pathus, op.cit., p. 24 (ch. 3): *se il avoient ocis le cors, il n’auoient pas toutevoies l’ame de lui.* A slightly different version can be found in Guillaume de Nangis 381 (see note above).

death – even though he survived the encounter. Indeed, when Yves of Saint-Denis retold the story around 1317, he even said that Louis was “eager for martyrdom”<sup>223</sup>. This was of a piece with the move to claim that Louis had fulfilled the requirements of martyrdom and should be so accorded saintly status<sup>224</sup>. The ideal of crusade as patient suffering, as affective martyrdom, was here being accrued to the prestige of the crown<sup>225</sup>. That is, the captivity was Christic, and thus spiritually prestigious, evidence of Louis’ exemplary faith and thus his most Christian kingship. Indeed, what was remarkable was precisely how the captivity – what Jacques Le Goff described as the worst catastrophe that could befall a king – became one of the sources of Louis’ saintly authority, redounding at once on his own reputation, and ultimately to the prestige of the Capetian crown.

#### ABSTRACT

Louis IX, King of France (d. 1270), was taken prisoner by Egyptian (Muslim) forces on April 6<sup>th</sup>, 1250 in the course of his first crusade, and, along with other Franks, remained in captivity for a month before being released on ransom. In Egypt, Louis’ captivity was the occasion for the military coup which ended the Ayyubid dynasty and saw the onset of Mamluk rule in Egypt that would last until 1517. For Louis, the experience represented the most extreme failure of both his devotional ambitions and of his military campaign. Yet despite the catastrophe, the captivity enhanced his reputation at home and was a key factor in the sanctification that led to his canonization in 1297. Staying as close to the first-hand eyewitness accounts as possible, this essay narrates the events of his captivity, including the capture itself, the ransom negotiations, the military coup in the Muslim camp, and the king’s eventual release. It then discusses the implications of the captivity both for Louis individually, and more widely for the crusading cause, for the remainder of his reign. Finally, the essay examines how the captivity was discussed in the hagiographic and historiographical texts produced around Paris in the years following his death and sanctification to show how the captivity became one of the sources of Louis’ saintly authority, and, in turn, royal legitimacy.

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<sup>223</sup> Anonymous of Saint-Denis (Yves of Saint-Denis), *Gesta sancti Ludovici noni, Francorum Regis*, p. 55: *Rex vero promptus ad martyrum*.

<sup>224</sup> Classically, see Joinville §5, but elsewhere as well. See C. Smith, *Martyrdom and Crusading in the Thirteenth Century: Remembering the Dead of Louis IX’s Crusades*, “Al-Masaq: Islam and the Medieval Mediterranean” XV (2003), pp. 189-196; M.C. Gaposchkin, *Role of the Crusades...*

<sup>225</sup> P. Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095-1270*, Cambridge, MA 1991; C.T. Maier, *Mass, the Eucharist and the Cross: Innocent III and the Relocation of the Crusade*, in: *Pope Innocent III and his World*, ed. by J. Moore, Brookfield VT 1999, pp. 351-360; J. Flori, *Prêcher la croisade: XI<sup>e</sup>-XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, Communication et propagande*, Paris 2012.

IVAN HLAVÁČEK  
PRAHA

**KÖNIG WENZEL (IV.)  
UND SEINE ZWEI GEFANGENNAHMEN  
(SPIEGEL SEINES KAMPFES MIT DEM HOCHADEL  
SOWIE MIT WENZELS VERWANDTEN  
UM DIE VORHERRSCHAFT IN BÖHMEN UND REICH)**



An der Spitze weht der Wind. Was allgemein seit der Urzeit bis heutzutage für Leute an leitenden Stellen der gesellschaftlichen Strukturen gilt, galt freilich, ja manchmal in noch zugespitzter Form, auch für das Spätmittelalter. Doch jedes Schaustück hat andere Kulissen, jede Szene andere Schauspieler. Solche, die an der Bühne im Vordergrund stehen, jedoch auch solche, die sich hinter ihr bewegen oder gar verschiedentlich verbergen. Die Rollen werden vergeben, können sich jedoch auch innerhalb des Schaustücks ändern, so dass die konkrete Intrige stets im Stande ist auch belehrtes Publikum zu überraschen.

Das Regieren an allen Ebenen braucht einen starken und klugen, besonders jedoch rücksichtslosen und zugleich zielbewußten Mann, gelegentlich auch Frau. Jedoch auch der Kompars ist wichtig, da aus manchen Komparsisten nicht selten profilierte Spieler bzw. Gegenspieler werden können, die imstande sind aus der Hauptgestalt Marionette zu machen. Die Frauen sind eher Ausnahmen und ihre Hintergrundrollen sind meist nicht zu erkennen. Das soll natürlich auch bedeuten, dass wir nicht immer bei den diesbezüglichen Sondierungen das Richtige erkennen können. Ja wir können aus diesem richtigen Weg leicht durch Scheinindizien verführt werden. So kann es auch sein, dass ein Drama, in der historischen Darstellung sich gar zum Vaudeville verwandeln kann. Doch kein „Frontmann“, sei es Kaiser, König, Herzog, Graf, jedoch auch Mann der Kirche oder Bürgermeister, wußte „seinen“ Tag bzw. „seine“ Stunde. Die Katastrophe in Gestalt der Ermordung, Vergiftung, Gefangennahme oder einfacher Entmachtung im Namen hoher Ideale, öfter

jedoch nur „hoher Ideale“, aber auch der Berechnung oder Pieke waren am laufenden Band, von einem einfachen Pferdesturz oder „Pferdesturz“ ganz zu schweigen. Die entsprechende Spitzengestalt, die im Schein der Lichtspiegel war, mußte stets wachsam und in Lauerstellung sein<sup>1</sup>.

So war auch das mittelalterliche Regieren ein ja anstrengungsvolles und oft auch gefährliches „Gewerbe“. Trotzdem gab es immer Prätendenten genug, die sich nach der entsprechenden Stelle sehnten und für ihren Erwerb im Stande waren, ihre Seelen dem Teufel zu verschreiben. Freilich haben dabei objektive sowie subjektive Vorbedingungen mitgespielt, denn nicht selten konnte ganze Regierung ohne größere Erschütterungen verlaufen, anderswie jedoch fühlte man die Vibration mehr oder weniger die ganze Regierungszeit, wobei die Eruption, zu der freilich nicht kommen mußte, immer zu erwarten war, öfter auf unerwarteten Stellen. Der Schlag konnte vom Hofmilieu, jedoch auch von außen her kommen, konnte lange vorbereitet werden, jedoch auch als Blitz vom reinen Himmel die Gesellschaft überraschen und erschrecken. Der Druck an den konkreten Herrscher kann auch mehrere Phasen aufweisen. Von den kaum merkbaren wie z. B. die Mahnung von Autoritäten meist kirchlicherseits bis zu den übersinnlichen Zeichen (so vornehmlich in den Fabulierungen der mittelalterlichen Chronisten bzw. in Interpretationen der Hofastrologen).

Sowohl das Sinnliche, als auch das Physische haben jedoch auch gewisse Gradation gehabt. Drei deutliche Phasen sind hier zu betrachten: die Androhungen verschiedenen Ranges, die Inhaftierung und drittens die physische Gewalt, die meist mit dem Tode des Betroffenen endet. Dass dabei subjektive sowie objektive Phänomene ihre wichtige Rolle spielten, wie eben angedeutet, versteht sich von selbst, egal ob es sich um den guten oder schlechten, rechten oder unnützen, erkorenen (gewählten) oder erblichen bzw. usurpierenden Großen – König handelte.

Ein solches Haftdrama in zwei Akten mit Vorbühne, mehreren Bildern und einer Pause mit einem in gewisser Hinsicht versöhnlichen unmittelbaren Ausklang soll im Folgenden knapp geschildert werden. Es ließ jedoch das Publikum nicht ganz aufatmen. Obwohl es im engeren Sinne ohne gewaltiges Ende, mit Abstand gar mit dem natürlichen Tod des Protagonisten abgeschlossen wurde, doch führten dessen Folgen zum europaweit größten Umsturz sowohl in politischer als auch in kirchlicher Sicht; mindestens im spätmittelalterlichen Rahmen. Es kam nämlich die hussitische Revolution, die

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<sup>1</sup> Schönes Beispiel bringt neuerdings M. Štefánik, *Die Beschlüsse des venezianischen Consiglio dei Dieci. Zu den Attentatsversuchen auf Sigismund aus den Jahren 1413-1420*, in: *Kaiser Sigismund (1368-1437). Zur Herrschaftspraxis eines europäischen Monarchen*, hrsg. von K. Hruza, A. Kaar, Forschungen zur Kaiser- und Papstgeschichte des Mittelalters. Beihefte zu J.F. Böhm, *Regesta Imperii*, XIII, Köln-Weimar-Wien 2012, S. 161-173.

ganz Europa in Erregung brachte und nach der sich der Staat der Böhmisches Krone völlig geändert hat. Auch in der umliegenden Welt sieht man eine weitreichende Wende, da sie sich damit auseinandersetzen mußte<sup>2</sup>. Sowohl im Leib als auch in den Gliedern.

Es hat sich um die Geschicke des ältesten Sohnes des größten Luxemburgers, nämlich Karls IV. gehandelt, d. h. um Wenzel (IV.) (\*1361-†1419), der seinen Vater in seinen beiden wichtigsten Königswürden, nämlich der des römischen (1376) und der des böhmischen Königs (1363 als zweijähriger!) folgte. Der Flitterglanz der Kaiserwürde spielte seine Rolle nur im Schlußakt des Schaustücks.

Zwei Gefangennahmen fanden statt, mit denen Wenzel buchstäblich europaweit alle seine ähnlich betroffenen Gefährten der Zeit nicht eben rühmlich übertrumpft hat<sup>3</sup>. Eigentlich auch darin, dass beide Gefangenschaften zwar in mehreren Hinsichten fatale Folgen hatten, jedoch weder unmittelbar noch mittelbar zur physischen Liquidierung des Königs führten, obwohl das im zweiten der Fälle mindestens im Sinne des völligen zeitlich unbegrenzten Verdrängens Wenzels aus dem politischen Leben in Form lebenslanger Haft außerhalb des Landes beabsichtigt worden war. Nur nebenbei sei bei dieser Gelegenheit bemerkt, dass die Luxemburger dritter böhmisch-mährischer Generation, die im Karusell der Hofintrigen teilgenommen haben, noch ein anderes Primat besitzen. Nämlich dass sie alle mit Ausnahme des wohl „glücklicherweise“ allzu früh verstorbenen Halbbruders Wenzels Johanns von Görlitz († 1396) und des Geistlichen Johann Soběslav († 1394), der aber statt dessen kurzerhand durch die Udineser erschlagen wurde, die Haft „genossen“. Es gilt sowohl über Sigismund, der durch ungarischen Adel auf diese Weise bedroht wurde (wobei ihm in sei-

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2 Für die ganz breiten böhmischen Zusammenhänge ist besonders auf das Buch von F. Šmahel, *Die Hussitische Revolution*, I-III, Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica, XLIII, Hannover 2003 nachdrücklich hinzuweisen, das freilich auch die Wenzels Affären im breiten Kontext berücksichtigt hat. Die anderen allgemeiner gehaltenen Werke, neueren Datums werden unten zitiert werden, ähnlich auch spezielle Literatur. An dieser Stelle ist nur das Buch von E. Schubert, *Königsabsetzungen im deutschen Mittelalter. Eine Studien zum Werden der Reichsverfassung*, Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Klasse, Dritte Folge, 267, Göttingen 2005, anzuführen.

3 Da kann man an die Einleitung diesen Bandes hinweisen, die mich im folgenden entbindet, zur allgemeinen Literatur Stellung zu nehmen. Freilich mit Ausnahme solcher Texte, die den unten präsentierten Fall irgendwie berühren, oder aus methodischer Sicht hilfreich sein könnten. Deshalb soll an dieser Stelle der Aufsatz von F. Graus, *Das Scheitern von Königen. Karl VI., Richard II., Wenzel IV.*, in: *Das spätmittelalterliche Königtum im europäischen Vergleich*, hrsg. von R. Schneider, Vorträge und Forschungen, XXXII, Sigmaringen 1987, S. 17-39 und W. Eberhard, *Gewalt gegen den König im spätmittelalterlichen Böhmen. Adelliger Widerstand und der Ausbau der Herrschaftspartizipation*, in: *Königliche Gewalt – Gewalt der Könige*, Berlin 2004 („Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung“, Beiheft XXXIII), S. 101-118.

ner Not eben Wenzel selbst hilfsbereit beistand), als auch über Jodok (durch Wenzel kurzfristig gefangen) und Prokop (von seinem Bruder Jodok für längere Zeit in schwere Haft gesetzt). Mit Ausnahme des letztgenannten, der wohl an die Folgen der Inhaftierung vorzeitig gestorben worden war, haben das alle übrigen ohne unmittelbare physische Folgen überlebt. Die psychischen sind zwar nicht genauer abzuschätzen, jedoch vornehmlich eben bei Wenzel müssen sie so gut wie sicher vorausgesetzt werden und haben zweifellos an sein ganzes politisches Handeln enormen Einfluß ausüben müssen. Als gewisses Paradoxon darüber hinaus gilt, dass trotz all dem mit einziger Ausnahme Sigismunds alle Gefangennahmen „in dem Familienkreis“ blieben.

Jedoch zurück zu Wenzel konkret. In beiden seinen „Fällen“ handelte es sich um Spektakuläres, obwohl man sich vornehmlich im ersten anfangs um gewisse Vertarnung – jedoch erfolglose – bemühte. Man schockierte mit diesem Ereignis das ganze römische Reich und dadurch eigentlich das ganze Europa<sup>4</sup>. Im zweiten brachte dann dieses Anliegen die Böhmisches Krone in Erregung, und hat dadurch „nur“ das Auditorium der engeren Umwelt, nämlich das des römischen Reiches außer Atem gesetzt. Deshalb nimmt es kaum Wunder, dass beide Akte dieses traurigen Schauspiels, ja manchmal eher der Schmiere, großen Widerhall nicht nur bei den Zeitzeugen, jedoch auch in der zeitgenössischen, folglich noch mehr in der folgenden Historiographie geweckt haben und bis heutzutage wecken. Dass man dabei über den ganz konkreten Verlauf im Kontrast zu Publizität und Folgen der Sache nicht eben entsprechende umfangreichere und direkte zeitgenössische Dokumentation zur Verfügung hat, gehört zur Ironie der Geschichte. Doch muss man auch über die indirekten Informationen dankbar sein.

Bei Darstellung der Ereignisse sind zwei ihre Phänomene zu verfolgen. Das erste kann man als eine Linie der „großen“, die zweite die der „kleinen“ Geschichte bezeichnen, obwohl der Terminus „kleine Geschichte“ wegen der Persönlichkeit um die es sich handelte, das Thema eigentlich automatisch ebenfalls zur „großen“ zureiht. Mit anderen Worten: es handelt sich einerseits um die langwierigen und geschichtsträchtigen Ereignisse, die als Vermächtnis der vorgehenden Zeit Wenzel geerbt hatte. Zuerst muss das politische „Schwammgewebe“ knapp wenigstens andeutungsweise erwähnt werden. Denn es handelte sich um Ergebnis einer längeren und konfliktvollen Entwicklung und Spannung im Lande, die in den konkreten Verlauf der kritischen Zeit in den Jahren 1394 und 1402-1403 mündeten.

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<sup>4</sup> Vgl. z. B. I. Hlaváček, *Ohlas prvního zajetí Václava IV. v roce 1394 v Padově*, in: *Ad vitam et honorem. Profesoru Jaroslavu Mezníkovi přítelé a žáci k pětasedmdesátým narozeninám*, hrsg. von T. Borovský, L. Jan, M. Wihoda, Brno 2003, S. 481-490.

Die ersten Spuren kann man schon vor Jahrhunderten registrieren. Denn es handelt sich um immanente Tension innerhalb der höchsten Machtstrukturen. Vereinfachend formuliert zwischen dem König (Herzog) und der (hoch)adeligen Spitze, die einen immer größeren Anteil an jeweiligen Regierungsgeschäften erstrebte, öfter von einem verkannten oder sich verkannt fühlenden Mitglied der regierenden Familie unterstützt oder gar provoziert. Das mehr oder weniger konfliktvolle Gespräch dieser beiden Kräfte spitzte sich im Laufe der Zeit immer mehr zu und es hing von der Regierungsart und -begabung des Herrschers selbst ab, nämlich inwieweit er im Stande im Stande war, diesen potentiellen Sprengstoff zu dämpfen.

Die konkrete, jedoch nur skizzenhafte Darstellung muß schon mit den Zeiten Karls Vaters Johann von Luxemburg anfangen, obwohl man eigentlich den roten Faden des Kampfes des Herrschers und des Adels tief bis in die Přemyslidenepoche verfolgen könnte<sup>5</sup>. Denn die Geschichte der Spannung zwischen dem Fürsten – König und dem Adel reicht eigentlich in Böhmen, in die Urzeiten der přemyslidischen Herrscher und die Gewalt hat dabei natürlich nicht selten eine wichtige Rolle gespielt<sup>6</sup>. Doch hat es sich um keine Eigentümlichkeit der böhmischen Verhältnisse gehandelt. Auch darin nicht, dass dabei so gut wie stets andere Mitglieder der herrschenden Sippe wichtige Rolle spielten. Mit nur kleiner Übertreibung bedeutet das, dass ohne sie solche Affronts bzw. Attacken kaum Chance hatten durchzukommen.

Der erste böhmische Luxemburger, Johann (1311-1346)<sup>7</sup>, war in der Art, der innenpolitischen Regierung weder glücklich noch geschickt genug. Das im Kontrast zu seiner meist erfolgreichen Auslandsdiplomatie und Kriegslust, obwohl die innenpolitische Situation etlichemal mit einer schicksalhaften Konfrontation drohte. Sein Sohn, Karl IV., wusste dagegen (1346-1378), die politische Lage sowohl im Reich als auch in Böhmen zu meistern und die ordnungsgemäß entstehenden Reibungsflächen mit den zentripetalen Kräften im Reich und in Böhmischer Krone zu dämpfen. Als Meister der Kompromisse und des Lavierens konnte er den fortwährend drohenden Zusammestößen weichen<sup>8</sup>. Die potentielle und immanente Spannung ver-

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5 Da ist auf den Aufsatz von J. Žemlička, *Gemeinsam und gegeneinander: Gefangene und Kerkermeister im Přemyslidengeschlecht*, „*Quaestiones Medii Aevi Novae*“ XVIII (2012), S. 335-353.

6 Für das Meiste ist immer noch besonders das Buch von V. Novotný, *České dějiny*, I,1-4, Praha 1912-1937 zu konsultieren.

7 Vgl. neulich L. Bobková, *Velké dějiny země Koruny české*, IVa, Praha-Litomyšl 2003, S. 311ff. Aus der Spezialliteratur sonst J. Kejř, *Sporné otázky v bádání o tzv. Maiestas Carolina*, „*Právněhistorické studie*“ XXXII (1992), S. 53-82 und J. Mezník, *Odvolání Majestas Carolina*, in: *In memoriam Josefa Macka (1921-1992)*, Praha 1996, S. 53-63. Die Arbeiten von František M. Bartoš, František Šmahel, Václav Štěpán und Petr Čornej werden unten angeführt

8 Als Meisterstück seiner diplomatischen Kunst kann seine Zurückziehung des nicht nur geplanten, da eigentlich fertigen neuen Gesetzbuches angeführt werden, dessen Einzel-



erbt natürlich sein Sohn, dessen allgemeine Begabung zwar nicht bezweifelt wurde, der doch den politischen Spürsinn seines Vaters nicht besaß. Freilich waren dabei auch die sich zuspitzenden Verhältnisse in Reich und Kirche im Spiel. Wenzel hat zwar den Beraterkreis des Vaters übernommen, doch schon bald merkt man dessen fortlaufenden Wandel, der sowohl kirchliche als auch weltliche Gefährten und Ratsleute betraf. Darüber hinaus kam es zu seinem schweren Zerwürfnis mit Johann von Jenstein († 1400 im römischen Exil), dem jungen, ebenfalls impulsiven und ehrgeizigen Prager Erzbischof, der vorher enger Berater, ja Freund des Königs war. Diese Spannung allein hatte tief die inneren Verhältnisse im Lande beunruhigt, ja destabilisiert und warf Johann, sein Apparat sowie das ganze Metropolitankapitel buchstäblich in die Arme des böhmischen hohen Adels als mehr als willkommene Gefährten. So etwas wäre in der Zeit Wenzels Vaters unmöglich gewesen. Dieses beklagenswerte Ereignis, gipfelte mit dem unglücklichen Tod, besser Mord aus Königs Hand eines der Erzbischofs innigsten Mitarbeiter, seines Generalvikars Johann von Pomuk (1393)<sup>9</sup>.

Da sich Wenzel zielbewusst mit dem niederen Adel bzw. auch mit den Angehörigen des Bürgertums, vornehmlich des aus den Prager Städten, umgeben hat, hat sich die Kluft zwischen ihm und den schon erwähnten vornehmsten Mitgliedern der politischen Repräsentation der Landstände laufend vertieft. Das ist leicht den Urkunden des Königs abzulesen, wo als Relatoren so gut wie stets seine Leute zum Wort kamen, unter denen freilich auch hoftreue Mitglieder des hohen Adels zu finden sind, die doch in Minderheit waren<sup>10</sup>. Es wird auch durch die Analyse der Verzeichnisse der böhmischen Landes- jedoch noch mehr der Hofdignitäre bestätigt<sup>11</sup>.

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bestimmungen verschiedentlich doch in das gemeine Recht eingedrungen sind. Siehe auch J. Mezník, *Odvolaání Majestas Carolina*, wie vorige Anm.

<sup>9</sup> Über diese Ereignisse vgl. am ausführlichsten J.V. Polc, *Svatý Jan Nepomucký*, I, Řím 1972 mit mehreren Nadrucken und das erste Kapitel des Buches von V. Vlnas, *Jan Nepomucký. Česká legenda*, Praha-Litomyšl 2012<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> Vgl. die Verzeichnisse und besonders die Frequenz der Relationen in Wenzels Urkunden in meinem Buch *Das Urkunden- und Kanzleiwesen des böhmischen und römischen Königs Wenzel (IV.) 1376-1419*, Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica, XXIII, Stuttgart 1970, S. 445ff.

<sup>11</sup> Die diesbezüglichen Informationen sind in jeder ausführlicheren Bearbeitung der böhmischen Geschichte dieser Zeit zu finden und werden in nachkommenden Anmerkungen angeführt. Dabei fallen freilich die Werke von Josef Šusta und František Kavka aus, die die Zeit Wenzels nicht mehr behandeln. Neulich aber kommt hinzu J. Mezník, *Lucemburská Morava 1310-1411*, Praha 1999 und V. Štěpán, *Markrabí moravský Jošt*, Brno 2002. Der Letztgenannte schrieb schon vorher über Jodoks Beziehungen zu seinen Verwandten einen Aufsatz, jedoch ohne Dokumentation: *Osobnost markraběte Jošta a jeho vztah k ostatním členům lucemburského rodu*, in: *Moravští Lucemburkové 1350-1411*, Brno 2000, S. 73-145. Weiter P. Čornej, *Velké dějiny zemí Koruny české*, V: 1402-1437, Praha-Litomyšl 2000. Die Jubiläumsliteratur zum Jodoks Tode

Den deutlichen Unwillen der Mächtigen mit dem König und mit seiner Regierungsart hat auch der Versuch um Wenzels Vergiftung (wohl nicht der einzige), im Jahre 1393 in Prag während der diplomatischen Verhandlungen mit Bayern, wohl in Wein versteckt, signalisiert. Der König ist nach schwerer Erkrankung zwar genesen, doch mit bleibenden Folgen. Der bayerische Herzog Friedrich ist dagegen in ein paar Tagen nach diesem Vergiftungsattentat gestorben. Seine Initiatoren sind niemals entdeckt worden, doch steht der Verdacht, der in die oben angedeutete Richtung führt, nahe. Obwohl man, soweit wir informiert sind, keine Gewaltmaßnahmen angeordnet bzw. durchgeführt hatte, vertieften sich die Spannungen zwischen dem Hof und der sich damals formierenden böhmischen Baronenfronde stets von Tag zu Tag. Sie haben ja gar auch in der zeitgenössischen tschechischsprachigen belletristischen Literatur Echo gefunden<sup>12</sup>. Aber auch im Reich waren die Stimmen immer lauter, die Unzufriedenheit mit Wenzels dortiger Regierungs(un)art deklariert haben<sup>13</sup>. Es ist hier jedoch nicht am Platz, die allgemein bekannten Tatsachen zu wiederholen, nur ist zu sagen, dass beides, sowohl die Vorwürfe im Reich als auch in Böhmen, im gewissen Sinne als übertrieben gewertet werden muß. Bleiben wir aber am böhmischen Boden.

Da ist es klar, dass auch die Allianz des Hochadels mit der kirchlichen Hierarchie allein einfach nicht durchkommen konnte. Dazu brauchte sie noch einen hochkarätigen Gehilfen ersten Ranges, nämlich ein Glied aus dem regierenden luxemburgischen Haus, das sich dieser Machtgruppierung vornhin gestellt hätte. Diesen Mann zu finden war nicht allzu schwer, da es sich in luxemburgischer Sippe lauter um sehr ehrgeizige Individualitäten handelte, die darüber hinaus über ihren Bruder bzw. Vetter nicht eben allzu

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(† 1411) braucht nicht, wohl mit Ausnahme des Sammelbandes *Morava v časech markraběte Jošta*, hrsg. von L. Jan, Brno 2012, zitiert werden. Auch die alte, doch nicht immer veraltete Darstellung von F. Palacký, *Dějiny národu českého v Čechách a v Moravě*, II-2<sup>2</sup>, Praha 1877 ist stets lesenswert.

**12** Es handelt sich um die sog. *Nová rada zvířat von Smil Flaška von Pardubitz*, die als allegorisches didaktisches Gedicht bezeichnet wird. In Wirklichkeit handelt es sich aber um spezifisches Produkt der Fürstenspiegelliteratur. Vgl. *Lexikon české literatury*, I, Praha 1985, S. 717 (Autorin Z. Tichá) und M. Nejedlý, *L'Idéal du roi en Bohême à la fin du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle. Remarques sur le Nouveau conseil de Smil Flaška de Pardubice*, in: *Penser le pouvoir au moyen âge. VIII<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècle, Etudes offertes à Françoise Autrand*, Paris 2000, S. 247-260. Noch zwei meine Sondierungen in das Problem des Adels am Wenzels Hofe sind zu erwähnen: *Aktivita české šlechty na dvoře Václava IV.*, „*Mediaevalia historica Bohemica*“ I (1991), S. 205-216 und *Dvorské a zemské elity v Čechách v době Václava IV.*, in: *Genealogia. Stan i perspektywy badań nad społeczeństwem Polski średniowiecznej na tle porównawczym*, Toruń 2003, S. 301-316. Vgl. auch idem, *K organizaci státního správního systému Václava IV. Dvě studie o jeho itineráři a radě*, Praha 1991.

**13** Es genügt nur noch die alte, jedoch stets inspirative Arbeit Th. Lindners, *Geschichte des deutschen Reiches unter König Wenzel*, I-II, Braunschweig 1875-1880 und J. Spěváček, *Václav IV. K předpokladům husitské revoluce*, Praha 1986 anzuführen.

große Meinung hatten, freilich im Unterschied von der Meinung über sich selbst. Das galt jedoch nur bis zum Moment, als sie selbst in die Enge gerieten. Dann war ihnen Wenzels, man kann sagen selbstopfernde Hilfe mehr als willkommen. Und es geschah nicht einmal, sondern wiederholt. Ebenfalls gilt das auch über verschiedene Ämter sowohl im Reich als auch in der Böhmisches Krone, die Wenzel seinen Verwandten großzügig und zur eigenen und letztenendes auch seiner Reiche Schade wiederholt erteilt hat. Dass diese aber ihnen verschiedentlich abgenommen wurden, versteht sich nach verschiedenen Eskapaden beiderseits von selbst. Das um so eher, da diese Befugnisse nicht selten unter schwerem Druck erpresst worden waren.

Während also ein Luxemburger – Sigismund – bei der zweiten Gefangennahme in gewisser Hinsicht als Solitär, jedoch mit geschütztem Rücken, handelte, im ersten Fall hat die Herrenunion den mährischen Markgrafen Jodok als „Gruppenführer“ willkommen geheißen, denn erst jetzt konnte sie sich genügend ausgerüstet fühlen. Das um so mehr, wenn wir wissen, dass sowohl Jodok als auch Sigismund sich ihre politischen Eskapaden verschiedentlich durch ausländische Kontakte versichert haben. Südlich Böhmens war das der Habsburger Albrecht III., der in beiden künftigen Fällen wichtige Rolle spielen sollte. Im ersten indirekt, da dort auch der Meißner Markgraf zur Verfügung stand, im zweiten dann entscheidend. Solche Annäherung hat natürlich auch ihre Vorgeschichte gehabt<sup>14</sup> und die verwandschaftliche Versöhnung „der großen luxemburgischen Drei“ am Anfang des Jahres 1394 in Prag konnte daran nichts ändern. Wenzels Bemühungen und Entgegenkommen galten nichts, da seine Verwandte schon entschieden waren. Sigismund zog sich vorübergehend zurück und zum Protagonisten wurde Jodok. Nur marginal wurde der Streit zwischen Jodok und Prokop am Programm, der aber eigenes Leben und schwankende Dimension besaß, dem auch Sigismund verschiedentlich weitere Akzente gab. Wichtiger für Jodok war die Verabredungen mit den verbündeten Baronen zu führen. Sie sind zwar nicht genügend urkundlich belegt, doch aus Logik und folgendem Verlauf der Dinge scheinen sie auf der Hand zu sein.

Die „Sünde“ und Sünde Wenzels in Augen des bisher freien Adelskreises waren viele. Politische, verwaltungstechnische, rechtliche sowie wirtschaft-

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<sup>14</sup> Darüber V. Štěpán, *Markrabí moravský Jošt*, S. 343ff, idem, *Osobnost markraběte Jošta...*, S. 73-146 sowie J. Spěváček, op.cit., S. 230f. Da ist besonders die Bündnisurkunde gegen jedermann zwischen Sigismund, Jodok, Albrecht III. von Österreich und Wilhelm Markgrafen von Meißen vom 18. Dezember 1393 in Znaim für Wenzel eine schwere Drohung gewesen. Mit einziger Ausnahme des römischen Reichs, jedoch nicht auch des römischen Königs, nimmt sie keine Entität, also auch Wenzel nicht, aus. Eigentlich bedeutete das, dass sie vornehmlich ihm gegenüber gerichtet war. Vgl. ihre Edition in *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Moraviae* (weiterhin: CDM), XII, hrsg. von V. Brandl, Brünn 1890, Nr. 174.

liche, die seinerseits nicht gelöst, sondern nur stets verschoben wurden. Deshalb erwarteten Wenzels Gegner zur Attacke nur den passenden Augenblick. Der ist im Mai des Jahres 1394 gekommen, als die Aufrührerischen sich am 5. Mai förmlich in Prag konstituiert haben<sup>15</sup>. In einer tschechisch verfassten Urkunde (sie gehört zu der überhaupt ältesten Schicht von Urkunden, die tschechisch verfasst wurden, was wohl Jodoks Einfluß zuzuschreiben ist<sup>16</sup>) verbündete sich Jodok mit neun der vornehmsten Adeligen zu einem schon förmlichen Verband, wie es in der Urkunde heißt, „zur Durchsetzung und Wahrung von Recht und Ordnung im Lande“. Interessant kann sein, dass weder der Raum (Jodok war doch Markgraf in Mähren, während er in Böhmen noch keine Prärogativen besessen hat) noch das potenzielle Objekt gegen die man sich abgegrenzt hat, genannt wird. Ohne nähere Kenntnis der wirklichen Lage müsste man voraussetzen, dass im Lande eine wahre Königsvakanz waltet. Doch gilt es als eindeutig, dass als Objekte stillschweigend das Königreich Böhmen und mehr noch sein König Wenzel gemeint waren.

Die Zusammensetzung der signierenden Verbündeten war bezeichnend. Drei waren Witigonen, die buchstäblich seit Jahrhunderten traditionell in Opposition zur Zentralmacht standen. Zwei von ihnen, Heinrich von Rosenberg und Heinrich von Neuhaus, beide aus Südböhmen, figurieren in der Intitulation unmittelbar nach dem Markgrafen Jodok, was eindeutig über ihre vornehmste Rolle zeugt und auch in die Zukunft hinweist. Jedoch auch weitere Verbündeten gehörten zur Adelsspitze, mit den Gütern in anderen Regionen des Landes. Sie seien aufgezählt: der dritte Witigone Wilhelm von Landstein, Břenko von Skála, Otto von Bergow, Heinrich Berka von Duba, Borsso d. J. von Riesenburg, Johann Michalec von Michelsberg und Bočko von Kunstadt. Besondere Rolle fiel dem von Bergow zu, der damals fast überraschend jahrelang als Oberster Prager Burggraf wohl der wichtigste Landesbeamte war. Als Relator, was bis zum gewissen Grad als Zeichen der Zugehörigkeit zur regierenden Hofgesellschaft galt, tauchte er aber nur

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15 Die wichtigsten elf Dokumente hat zuerst František Palacký in: *Archiv český*, 1, Praha 1840, S. 52-68 unter dem Titel *Král Václav a Jednota panská od roku 1394 do 1404* gesammelt und ediert. Es ist vielleicht zu bemerken, dass auch alle übrigen Dokumente tschechisch verfasst sind, obwohl damals Latein bzw. in diplomatischen Texten vornehmlich Deutsch vorherrschend waren. Besonders interessant dabei ist, dass als Mitaussteller auch Adelige wahrscheinlich deutscher Herkunft waren. Neulich über diese Problematik M. Nejedlý, *Václav IV. a panská jednota. Část první: „Barvy všecky“*, „Historický obzor“ X (1999), S. 242-249; *Část druhá: „Králova koruna krásná jest věc, ale těžká“*, „Historický obzor“ XI (2000), S. 8-15 und *Část třetí: „Račič, králi, poslúchati“*, ibidem, S. 68-74. Diese Studie wird ein für allemal zitiert, bringt jedoch aus unserer Sicht kaum etwas Faktographisches, da sie die damalige zeitgenössische tschechisch verfasste Belletristik nacherzählt, die die Stimmung des Adels im Land widerspiegelt.

16 Vgl. darüber V. Uhlířová, *Zur Problematik der tschechisch verfassten Urkunden der vorhussitischen Zeit*, „Archiv für Diplomatik“ 11/12 (1965/1966), S. 468-544, namentlich S. 477.

einmal auf, darüber hinaus in einer Reichsangelegenheit und außerhalb des Landes, obwohl nur in Oberpfalz, nämlich in Amberg<sup>17</sup>. Die übrigen Beteiligten sind als Relatoren so gut wie nicht belegt, freilich mit Ausnahme Jodoks. Aber auch bei ihm ist diese Aktivität sehr relativ und stoßartig und spiegelt stets den konkreten und sich wandelnden Stand des Verhältnisses zum König<sup>18</sup>.

Seines Amtes wegen galt in dieser Gruppe neben Jodok als wichtigster Mann Otto von Bergow, der auch die kürzlich einberufene Landesbereitschaft unter dem Befehl hatte. In öffentlicher Meinung kursierte die Vorstellung, diese sollte gegen Borsso d. J. von Riesenburg ins Feld ziehen. Da dieser aber Mitglied der eben geschlossenen Union war, scheint die Sache klar zu sein, nämlich dass die militärische Bereitschaft einen anderen Sinn hatte. Die Konfrontation, gar die militärische, wurde also in Kauf genommen, obwohl die friedliche „Machtübernahme“ der Union lieber wäre, da sie sonst schwere politische Probleme einkalkulieren müsste.

Als man in Prag den Bund abschloß, war Wenzel, wie sonst oft, kurzfristig wieder in seiner beliebten Jagdburg Bettlern (Žebrák) im westlichen Mittelböhmen. Die Herren wollten ihn zur Audienz nach Prag kommen lassen, Wenzel selbst wollte dagegen die Delegation in Bettlern empfangen. Den diesmal besonders herben goldenen Mittelweg bedeutete das Zusammentreffen am halben Weg zwischen Bettlern und Prag. Das war nach einer Information die Ortschaft Königshof in der Nähe der königlichen Stadt Beraun, nach verlässlicherer Information das Dominikanerkloster in Beraun direkt. Dort kam es zum entscheidenden Konflikt.

Jetzt ist aber ein quellenkundlicher Exkurs zu machen. Denn während für die Kenntnis der politischen Ereignisse vor und nach der eigenen Isolation, die sich bald in Verhaftung umwandelte, das urkundliche und teilweise auch chronikalische Material<sup>19</sup> vorhanden ist, freilich lange nicht im gewollten Ausmaß, für die kritische Zeit der knapp gemessenen drei Monate besitzen wir zwei spezifische Quellen, die näher vorgestellt werden müssen. Es handelt sich um zwei aktenkundliche, leider anonyme Berichte, die detaillierte Informationen bieten, jedoch lange nicht untereinander im Einklang sind. Den ersten (A) hat in die Forschung František Palacký schon in den 40er Jahren

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17 J. Mötsch, *Regesten des Archivs der Grafen von Sponheim 1065-1437*, II: 1371-1399, Koblenz 1988, Nr. 2290.

18 Da ist das Relatorenverzeichnis in meinem *Urkunden- und Kanzleiwesen...*, S. 416ff. zu konsultieren. Mit einer einzigen Ausnahme erübrigt es sich die Biographien der Repräsentanten der Herrenunion zu bringen. Die bildet die Biographie des Rosenbergers von J. Šusta, *Jindřich z Rožmberka*, Praha 1995, hrsg. von I. Hlaváček.

19 Sie wird von Th.R. Kraus (*Eine unbekannte Quelle zur ersten Gefangenschaft König Wenzels im Jahre 1394*, „Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters“ XLIII (1987), S. 137 Anm. 6) aufgezählt.

des 19. Jahrhunderts gebracht<sup>20</sup>, den zweiten (B) hat relativ unlängst der Aachener Archivar T.R. Kraus in seinem Archiv, nämlich in Aachen entdeckt<sup>21</sup>. Sie sollen kurz vorgestellt werden.

A – Dieser Bericht, der sich *Forma curialis et veridica, qualiter serenissimus d. Wenceslaus Romanorum et Bohemie rex per barones Bohemie juste et meritorie fuit arrestatus* nennt, ist zweifellos ein parteiliches Produkt eines Anhängers der adeligen Union, der ihm auch gewisse literarische Form gab. Er wurde aus einer Sammelhandschrift, also aus Abschrift der Bibliothek des Prager Metropolitankapitels ediert, die sich mittels ihren Inhalts und freilich auch auf Grund der äußeren Merkmale zum Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts meldet<sup>22</sup>. Die Handschrift weist zwar keinen alten Vorbesitzer aus, doch es ist nicht ausgeschlossen, dass ihr ziemlich alter Besitzer Johann von Krumau († 1488) war, Dechant des Metropolitankapitels, der zwar nicht direkt als Bücherspender der Kapitelsbibliothek bekannt ist, doch dessen dortige Spur sonst deutlich belegt ist<sup>23</sup>. Bis auf den einleitenden *Quadripartitus* des hl. Cyrill, Senecas Traktat über *Quatuor virtutes cardinales* und (Pseudo) Augustins *Vita christiana* handelt es sich stets um Abschriften von Korrespondenzen bzw. ähnlicher Materialien diplomatischen Charakters zu den Ereignissen des endenden 14., jedoch besonders des 15. Jahrhunderts, manchmal unikatere Überlieferung, aus dem Palacký verschiedene Texte, u. a. auch die Schilderung des Verlaufes Wenzels erster Haft, ausgewählt hat. Seine Edition dient seit der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts der Forschung als Ausgangspunkt der Darstellung, die jedoch nicht zur Kenntnis nimmt, dass dieses Unikum nach der lateinischen Version noch die tschechische Fassung bringt. Dessen Fassung ist literarisch gefärbt und an mehreren Stellen ausgesprochen stilisierend, was schon zur gewissen Zurückhaltung mahnt. Noch ist also die tschechische Version kurz zu charakterisieren. Leider ist in ihr nichts Neues bzw. Abweichendes von der lateinischen zu finden. Wie kann man sich die Funktion des Berichtes A in seinen beiden Fassungen vorstellen? Welche Sprachform ist die ursprüngliche? Die letzte Frage ist zwar vorläufig nicht zu beantworten (könnte hier ein Philologe helfen?), der Bericht ist jedenfalls als eindeutige parteiliche Stellungnahme zu bezeichnen. Sie stellt höchstwahrscheinlich als öffentliche Werbungsschrift für die Union und Verteidigung

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20 Vgl. F. Palacký, *Über Formelbücher zunächst in Bezug auf böhmische Geschichte. Nebst Beilagen. Zweite Lieferung*, Abhandlungen der k. böhm. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, V-3, Prag 1847, auch selbständig, Nr. 104, S. 97-99. Im Folgenden als A bezeichnet.

21 Th.R. Kraus, op.cit., S. 135-159. Im Folgenden als B bezeichnet.

22 Vgl. A. Podlaha, *Soupis rukopisů knihovny metropolitní kapitoly pražské*, II, Praha 1922, sign. G 19, S. 93-95.

23 Vgl. A. Patera, A. Podlaha, *Soupis rukopisů knihovny metropolitní kapitoly pražské*, I, Praha 1910, besonders Nr. 437 (sign. C XXI-2) und Nr. 495 (C CLXVI-1) sowie A. Podlaha, op.cit., II, Nr. 635 (sign. D LXIX).

ihrer Handlung dar, die als Pamphlet sui generis breit ausgeweitet werden sollte. Ob das wirklich geschah, ist leider nicht zu verfolgen, doch kann glaubwürdig vermuten werden, was auch die Zweisprachigkeit ziemlich deutlich avisiert.

B – Nach Kraus handelt es sich um ein Papierblatt mit Überschrift *Dit sind die artichel van ons roemischen kunigs gevennisse*. Doch wurde der abgeschriebene Titel zu diesem wichtigen „Fetzen“ erst in Aachen nachträglich zum eigenen Text beigefügt, der scheinbar unerklärbar im elsässischen Dialekt verfasst ist. Der Editor setzt richtig voraus, dass diese Konstatierung keine Überraschung darstellt, da die Kontakte des luxemburgischen Hofes mit Elsass als einer königsnahen Landschaft ziemlich rege waren. Er führt dazu als Unterstützung den Namen Bořivojs von Svinaře an, der ein wichtiger Kontaktmann des Hofes mit dieser Region galt. Dazu kann beigefügt werden, dass er überhaupt ein Hoffachmann für Reichssachen und darüber hinaus ein wirklich naher Vertrauensmann des Königs war. Man kann aber weiter gehen und versuchen, warum diese „elsässische Spur“ im niederrheinischen Aachen landete. Dieser Faden ging wahrscheinlich wirklich über Bořivoj, der ab 1392 Landvogt in Elsass war, dort verschiedentlich längerfristig weilte, jedoch sonst auch am Hofe tätig war. Als Relator, ständig für das Reich kompetent, gehört er zu den sechs exponiertesten Relatoren, Boten bzw. verschiedentlich Bevollmächtigten Wenzels Hofes<sup>24</sup>. Und in der Krisenzeit im Mai 1394 weilte er beim König. Am 4. und 5. Mai treffen wir ihn in mindestens sieben Urkunden für Friedberg und Worms als Relator tätig, stets mit dem Kanzleinotar Franz von Gewicz. Dann verschwindet dieser Paar für mehrere Wochen völlig aus dem Kanzleibetrieb und wohl auch aus dem öffentlichen Leben. Beide tauchen wieder erst am Hof des zurückgekehrten Königs im Kanzleidiens auf. Am 1. September figurieren sie wieder gemeinsam in Klingenberg (Zvíkov) in mehreren Mandaten über die städtische Reichssteuer auf. In der Zwischenzeit übernahmen Bořivojs Rolle andere Leute, besonders Jodok selbst, der sich des Kanzleidiens entweder Wlchniks von Weitmühl oder des Kanzlers Johann von Kammin direkt bedient hat. Bořivoj ist zweifellos der „Verhaftung“ in der Lokalität Königshof/Beraun entgangen, doch stand den Ereignissen nahe. Kurz danach können wir ihn an unbekannter Stätte in intensiver persönlicher Korrespondenz mit den Reichsstädten finden. Leider erhellt aus der allzu wortkargen Notiz in der Augsburger Rechnung, an die Kraus aufmerksam macht, Inhalt seiner

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<sup>24</sup> Vgl. J. Becker, *Die Landvögte des Elsass und ihre Wirksamkeit von Heinrich VII. 1308 bis zur Verpfändung der Reichslandvogtei an die Kurfürsten der Rheinpfalz 1408*, Jahresbericht des bischöflichen Gymnasiums an St. Stephan zu Straßburg XII, im Schuljahr 1893-1894, S. 29f. und über seine Frequenz als Relator vgl. I. Hlaváček, *Das Urkunden- und Kanzleiwesen...*, S. 249, 251 und S. 469f.

Briefe nicht<sup>25</sup>. Doch ist vorauszusetzen, dass sie mit der böhmischer Affäre im Zusammenhang standen.

Setzen wir fort. Es ist bekannt, dass die größten Reichsstädte am Königshof ihre ständigen Beobachter zu haben pflegten, oder mindestens mit solchen, die am Hof ihren Informator besaßen, im Kontakt waren. So kann man sich also ziemlich leicht vorstellen, dass das Aachener Informationsblatt von einem Straßburger Informant herrührt. Der könnte wohl direkt von Bořivoj irgendwann um Anfang August in Südböhmen über die Königsgeschicke der letzten Wochen zusammenfassend belehrt werden. Und von dort aus wanderte diese Nachricht an verschiedene Städte im Reich, darunter auch nach Aachen. Und es ist darüber hinaus sozusagen fast mit Sicherheit vorauszusetzen, dass ähnliche Nachricht auch anderswohin zielte und es kann sein, dass sie noch in irgendwelchem reichsstädtischen Archiv verborgen liegen kann<sup>26</sup>. Damit sind ziemlich leicht die durch T.R. Kraus mitgeteilten Informationen<sup>27</sup> in Einklang zu bringen. Das heißt also, dass dem Aachener Bericht höherer Grad der faktographischen Glaubwürdigkeit zuzuschreiben ist, was mit anderen Worten heißt, dass ihm bei der Schilderung der Dinge vor dem Bericht A auch deshalb Vorzug gegeben werden soll, da er fast um 20% umfangreicher ist. Auch strukturell ist er schroff, ohne jede stilistische Bestreben und moralische Floskeln, die man in A fast auf jeder Zeile merkt. Doch man darf nicht vergessen, dass es sich in B um Aussage aus der Feder, eigentlich aus dem Mund, Wenzels Anhängers handelt, während der Text A als literarisches oder mindestens literarisierendes Produkt zu bezeichnen ist.

Sowohl A als auch B sind an Namen karg. Mit einer einzigen Ausnahme wenn nämlich Heinrich von Rosenberg in A erwähnt wird. Es geschah jedoch nur im Nebenkontext, nämlich im Zusammenhang mit Erwähnung Krumaus. In B wird neben der Luxemburger nur noch der Markgraf von Meissen erwähnt. Doch können diese Nachrichten durch verschiedene Urkunden und Mandate der Aufständischen und unter ihrem Druck auch die des Königs bereichert werden, die auch eine Fülle von Namen der Akteure vermitteln, deren wichtigste unten zu Wort kommen. Die Chronistik ist dagegen geizig

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25 Th.R. Kraus, op.cit., S. 154.

26 Über das Kommunikationsnetz der Reichsstädte vgl. I. Hlaváček, *Miszelle zur Rolle der Kanzleien bei der Kommunikation im Reich am Ende des 14. Jahrhunderts. König und Stadt – Wenzel und Frankfurt am Main. Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Deperditaforschung*, in: *Nulla historia sine fontibus. Festschrift für Reinhard Härtel zum 65. Geburtstag*, hrsg. von A. Thaller, J. Gießauf, G. Bernhard, Graz 2010, S. 205-218. Sonst vgl. den *Reichenauer Tagungsband Gesandtschafts- und Botenwesen im spätmittelalterlichen Europa*, Vorträge und Forschungen, LX, hrsg. von R.C. Schwinges, K. Wriedt, Ostfildern 2003. Genaue Analyse für eine engere Stadtlandschaft bot jüngst C. Hübner, *Im Dienste ihrer Stadt. Boten- und Nachrichtenorganisationen in den schweizerisch-oberdeutschen Städten des späten Mittelalters*, *Mittelalter-Forschungen*, XXX, Ostfildern 2012.

27 Th.R. Kraus, op.cit., S. 154.



und bringt kaum etwas Sicheres und Neues zur Chronologie sowie zum eigentlichen Verlauf der diesbezüglichen Ereignisse<sup>28</sup>.

Die nüchterne, jedoch zutreffende und detailliert genug konzipierte Wiedergabe beider Texte durch den Aachener Archivar<sup>29</sup> entbindet mich der Pflicht ihn (=B) betreffs des konkreten Verlaufs der Dinge ausführlicher paraphrasieren zu müssen. Darüber hinaus findet man die Schilderung auch in vielen sowohl tschechischen als auch deutschen Darstellungen, die zur Hand genommen werden können. Diese nachzuerzählen erübrigt sich deshalb ebenfalls.

Jedoch eine äußerst knappe Skizze, die doch zum Verständnis der allerwichtigsten Zusammenhänge nötig ist, scheint unerlässlich zu sein. Zuerst die Skizze zum konkreten Verlauf der Gefangennahme. In Beraun, der nächsten königlichen Stadt westlich von Prag und zwischen Karlstein und Bettlern gelegen (ab Ende des Jahrhunderts auch der neu ausgebauten imposanten Burg Točník) traf sich Wenzel mit den Baronen, mit Jodok an der Spitze, zusammen. Dabei kam es zum scharfen Streit Wenzels mit Jodok und seiner Kohorte der Aufständischen. Nach dem Aachener Bericht geschah es in der Jodoks Herberge, die nicht näher lokalisiert wird. Nach einer Wiener Chronik geschah das im dortigen Minoritenkloster<sup>30</sup>. Da sich jedoch in der Stadt bloß das Kloster der Dominikaner befand, mußte sich um dieses handeln. Für den Verlauf der Auseinandersetzung ist das jedoch irrelevant. Jedenfalls war Wenzel mit den Seinen in so großer Minderheit (darüber, dass die meisten aus seinem Gefolge bald verschwanden, gar nicht zu sprechen), dass irgendwelcher Widerstand sinnlos war. Die Übermacht der Aufständischen war so groß, dass sie den König gebrochen hat. Vom Wutausbruch zur Resignation dauerte es bei ihm stets und auch diesmal, nur eine Weile.

Wenzel wurde folglich nach Prag eskortiert, jedoch nicht in seinen Königshof in der Altstadt, sondern in die Prager Burg, die ihm jedoch schon seit Jahren kein Domizil war. Der ursprüngliche Gedanke Jodoks und seiner Gefährten war den Wenzels Sturz vertarnt zu halten und die Umwälzung unter seiner Ägide durchzuführen und so seine völlige Unterwerfung erzielen, ohne *pro foro externo* dramatische Szenen anzubieten. Das ist ihnen jedoch nur am Anfang und nur zum Teil geglückt worden, wann es gelungen ist mehrere Hofämter umzubesetzen. Jodok konnte neben anderen Profiten die erpresste Ernennung zum Hauptmann des Landes bekommen. Zum vollen Sieg sollte der von Heinrich von Neuhaus zusammengerufene Landtag,

28 Als Beispiel seien nur die Alten böhmischen Annalen angeführt, derer einzelne Handschriften verschiedentlich verbalhornte Informationen bringen. Sonst ist die Chronistik, namentlich die des Reiches, sorgfältig bei Th.R. Kraus (op.cit., S. 132, Anm. 6) versammelt.

29 Die Darstellung nach der Handschrift des Prager Domkapitels Kraus l. c. (ibidem, S. 17-144), die der Aachener Handschrift ebendort S. 145-154. Die Edition folgt S. 154-159.

30 Ibidem, S. 147.

zwar im Auftrag der Herrenunion, doch scheinbar im Namen des Königs zum 10. Juni (er begann jedoch um zwei Tage später) einberufen werden. Die Situation änderte sich jedoch nicht nur von einem Tag zum anderen, sondern von einer Stunde zur anderen. So konnte der Landtag seine Verhandlungen unter Regie der Aufständischen zwar beginnen, jedoch nicht nach ihrer Absicht durchlaufen und schließen lassen. Denn inzwischen wurde Wenzels wirkliche Lage bekannt, was breite Empörung geweckt hat, womit die Aufständischen wohl kaum gerechnet haben<sup>31</sup>. Nicht nur in Prag allein, das sich zuerst den neuen Verhältnissen allmählich anpassen wollte, sondern vornehmlich außerhalb der Hauptstadt, d. h. am Lande und im Reich, wobei Jodoks neue Vollmächte nur teilweise zur Geltung kamen.

Diese Herausforderung nahmen zwei wichtige politische Kräfte an: Wenzels jüngster Bruder, Johann von Görlitz und das Reich, d. h. Ruprecht III. von der Pfalz, der sich dort sofort Vollmacht und den Titel des Reichsverwesers von den Kurfürsten erteilen ließ. Johann hat unmittelbar danach das Heer für einen Feldzug organisiert und bald stand er mit ziemlich großer Macht in Kuttenberg zur Aktion bereit. Ähnlich richtete sich das Reichsheer zum Böhmenzug. Das hat die Unionisten in Unsicherheit gebracht, so dass sie mit König als Geißel-Häftling die Prager Burg evakuiert und Wenzel zuerst in der am Nordrand der Rosenbergischen Domäne liegenden Burg Přeběnice und nachher in der Rosenbergschen Residenzburg Krumau in Südböhmen untergebracht haben. Als jedoch beide obgenannten Heere mit Peripetien in Südböhmen auftauchten, fühlten sich dort die Unionisten mit ihrer Beute nicht sicher genug und transportierten Wenzel geheim nach Oberösterreich. Dort wurde Wenzel in der sich in der Nähe von Linz befindlichen Burg Wildberg, die den Rosenbergnahen Starhembergern gehörte gebracht. Freilich verlief das alles unter Schutz des österreichischen Herzogs Albrecht III<sup>32</sup>.

Nach langwierigen Verhandlungen in Südböhmen kam es beiderseits zu Konzessionen bzw. es wurde am 30. Juli ein Abkommen abgeschlossen. Das geschah in der Art, dass man Wenzel frei gemacht hat gegen 50 Geiseln der Königspartei und Pfand von allen königlichen Burgen. Als Ausnahme galten nur die vier wichtigsten für so lange Zeit, bis alle Forderungen der Aufrührerischen erfüllt würden. Die Konkretisierung wurde in die Hände von vier Schiedsrichtern (je zwei beiderseits) gelegt. Jodok selbst hat sich zurückgezogen<sup>33</sup>.

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31 Aus der kanzellarischen Verwaltungstätigkeit der Hofkanzlei hat nur Jodok unmittelbar als Landvogt in Elsaß profitiert. Die Geschehnisse dieser dramatischen Tage werden ausführlich besonders von V. Štěpán (*Markrabí moravský Jošt*, S. 360ff.) geboten.

32 Die wiederholten Urfehdebriefe Wenzels an diese Herren sind gedruckt in: *Urkundenbuch des Landes ob der Enns*, XI, Linz 1944, Nr. 345 und CDM, XII, Nr. 208.

33 Zwei direkte Berichte von demselben Tag sind hier anzuführen, beide ediert in den *Deutschen Reichstagsakten unter König Wenzel*, II, hrsg. von J. Weizsäcker, München 1874, S. 405f., vgl. auch dorthin S. 383.

Die unmittelbar anknüpfenden Verhandlungen waren voll von Emotionen und Ablenkungsmanöver sowie Erpressungen und Affekte beiderseits, derer ja nur knappe Darstellung weit die Möglichkeit dieser Seiten sprengen dürfte. Für die folgende Gesamtentwicklung sind sie insoweit von Bedeutung, dass sie die Hartnäckigkeit sowie Manövrierungsmöglichkeiten, jedoch auch Grenzen beider Parteien zeigten. Das vorläufige Fazit dieser monatelang geführten Verhandlungen, Beschuldigungen, Ansprüche und Aussprüche, sowie direkter Angriffe kann man am deutlichsten so zusammenfassen, dass man theoretisch, d. h. den bekannten und verbrieften Verpflichtungen nach den Sieg der Partei der Baronenunion zuschreiben muß, während Wenzel die überwiegend für ihn sehr erniedrigenden Forderungen und Ansprüche bzw. gar die von ihm zugebilligten Zugeständnisse scheinbar akzeptierte. Doch war die Realität bis zu gewissem verschiedentlich wechselndem Grad bedeutend anders und ist kaum genau abzuschätzen. Denn der König, obwohl er sich formell seiner herrscherlichen Prärogativen verschiedentlich entledigte, konnte mit Unterstützung seiner ergebenen Höflinge, die von ihm abzutrennen es den Unionisten meist nicht gelungen ist, seine Pflichten doch zum guten Teil ausüben. So besonders die Urkundenemission der Hofkanzlei lief in alter Weise fort. Womit jedoch nicht gesagt werden soll, dass diese eben ideal bzw. ausgewogen war. Es waren vornehmlich finanzielle Angelegenheiten, für das Funktionieren der Zentrale des Reiches so wichtig, die dieses Urkundengut reflektierte, jedoch lange nicht nur.

Die Herrenunion festigte doch ihre Position nicht nur im Lande direkt, sondern auch durch vertiefte internationale Verbindungen, so vornehmlich mit den Habsburgern. Dass sowohl Sigismund als auch Jodok dabei stets mehr oder weniger im Hintergrund standen, versteht sich von selbst, da ihre Pläne stets auf Kosten Wenzels bauten. Der suchte dagegen von Zeit zu Zeit einfältig ihre Nähe aus, beauftragte sie wiederholt mit verschiedenen hohen Ämtern in Böhmen und im Reich, parallel Unterstützung bei den Herzögen von Bayern bzw. beim Markgrafen von Meißen suchend. Diese ist jedoch als nur kurzlebig zu bezeichnen. Das Ende der ersten Haft hat also die Auseinandersetzung zwischen dem König und der Baronenfronde nicht zu Ende gebracht. Die Spannung zwischen beiden wichtigsten Kräften des Landes (wobei der „Verwandtentandem“ Jodok/Sigismund intensiv die Baronenpartei stets unterstützt hat) blieb, ja – soweit möglich – sie eskalierte. Doch hat sich der König davon nicht belehren lassen. Vornehmlich betraf das seine Regierungsart, es galt jedoch auch angesichts der Beziehungen mit seinen nächsten Verwandten und es kam auch zur Zerwürfnis mit dem bisher auf Wenzels Seite stehenden Johann von Görlitz<sup>34</sup>.

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<sup>34</sup> Neben der schon zitierten Literatur vgl. auch immer noch wichtige Arbeit von R. Gelbe, *Herzog Johann von Görlitz*, „Neues Lausitzisches Magazin“ LIX (1883), S. 1-201.

Objektiv konnte Wenzels Unterstützung seitens Herzogs Johann von Görlitz und die Zusammenarbeit mit ihm den vernünftigsten Weg bedeuten, obwohl sich Wenzel auch mit ihm kurzfristig tief entfremdet hat. Diese Entfremdung hatte ihren Grund in Wenzels Desinterpretation Johanns Rolle nach seiner Befreiung und auch in ungeschickt formulierten Ansprüchen Johanns. Nur bei ihm, Johann, konnte man nämlich voraussetzen, dass er sich Wenzel ohne größere Hintergedanken und dem zurückhaltenden Beitritt zur Herrenunion zum Trotz, genähert hat. Doch dem hat Johanns früher Tod Schluß gemacht, da er mit 26 Jahren unerwartet, da voll Kraft und Gesundheit, starb (1. März 1396). Ob ihm irgendwie „geholfen wurde“, muss zwar offen bleiben, scheint jedoch trotzdem auf der Hand zu sein und könnte der hier angedeuteten Interpretation nahe stehen.

Sigismund dagegen hat nach Eskalation der Probleme in Ungarn seine Gedanken, ja *idée fixe*, sich im Reich und in Böhmen durchzusetzen, nicht vom Horizont verloren und stets intensiv verfolgt. Sein Weg führte durch Wiedergewinnung Wenzels Gunst, wozu die Schimmeridee der Erwerbung des Kaisertitels und zugleich die Versöhnung mit Jodok dienen sollte. Doch auch das dauerte nur begrenzte Zeit. Das folgende knappe Jahrzehnt ist aus der Sicht der Ambivalenz der Regierungskräfte ebenso dynamisch und wechselvoll zugleich, wie es bisher der Fall war. Doch sind es vier Ereignisse, die besonders diese Jahre bis zur zweiten Gefangennahme Wenzels profilierten.

Erster Punkt ist die Wenzels Urkunde für die Herrenunion vom 30. Mai 1395 auf der Burg Bettlern ausgestellt<sup>35</sup>. Sie zählt die sich verschiedentlich wiederholenden Erfordernisse der Barone auf und verspricht, dass er, der König, den Schiedsspruch der beiderseits gewählten Schiedsrichter respektieren will. Da jedoch keine Termine gestellt wurden, konnten diese Ansprüche und ihre Erfüllung von Wenzel stets verschoben werden<sup>36</sup>, so dass Palacký<sup>37</sup> treffend konstatieren konnte, dass ihre Ergebnisse so gut wie gleich Null waren.

Zweitens. Die Suche nach Versöhnung Wenzels mit Jodok, die schwankend Teilerfolge, bzw. Ausfälle verzeichnete, scheiterte – nicht zum letztenmal – nur ein paar Tage nach der Ausstellung der eben erwähnten Urkunde, nämlich am 9. Juni 1395. Der König lud Jodok und Vertreter der Herrenunion nach Karlstein zur gewissen Art Versöhnung ein, ist jedoch beim Jodoks Er-

35 Reg. in *Regesta Bohemiae et Moraviae aetatis Venceslai IV. (1378 dec. - 1410 aug. 16)*, III, Fontes Archivi publici Trebonensis, hrsg. von B. Kopiczková, Pragae 1977, Nr. 320.

36 Mehrere Editionen sind vorhanden, zuletzt die in *Výbor české literatury od počátků po dobu Husovu*, Praha 1957, S. 801-804. Verschiedentlich wird irrig erwähnt, dass es sich um die erste (erhaltene) tschechisch verfasste Königsurkunde handelt. Das stimmt aber nicht, da diese Priorität einer anderen Wenzels Urkunde zwar auch für die Herrenunion, jedoch vom 25. August des Vorjahres in Pisek ausgestellt, gehört.

37 In seinen *Dějiny národu českého...*, II-2, S. 310ff.

scheinen dem unkontrollierbaren (man könnte das jedoch ganz gut begreifen, obwohl nicht rechtfertigen) Wut verfallen. Das hieß zugleich, dass er ihn und seine Unionistenbegleiter bei dieser Audienz angegriffen hat. Ergebnis war überraschend und nicht überraschend. Wenzel hat sie wegen aller ihrer angehäuften Sünden ihm gegenüber angegriffen und ließ sie – trotz der gültigen Geleite – verhaften. Doch Jodoks Begleiter wurden bald freigelassen, Jodok selbst dann nach rund zwei Wochen, wohl auf Intervention des bayerischen Herzogs, auch. Kaum Wunder, dass sich die gegenseitigen familiären Beziehungen nicht eben entgegenkommend weiter entwickelt haben, ja eben im Gegenteil. Jodok hat sich der Herrenunion noch tiefer angelegt als vorher<sup>38</sup>, obwohl ihn Wenzel überraschend verschiedentlich mit Ämtern und Würden im Reich, wohl in der Hoffnung ihn zu besänftigen, betraut hat, das Land litt nach wie vor sehr.

Drittens. Es hat sich wieder um etwas Spektakuläres gehandelt, was die Situation eskaliert hat und eng mit Wenzels Ringen mit der Herrenunion zusammenhing. In den Kronrat mußte der König die Vertreter der Union kooptieren, doch seine alte Equipe blieb am Ruder. Auf der Burg Karlstein kam es am 11. Juni 1397 zum vierfachen Mord an Wenzels engen, ja engsten Ratsmitgliedern. Burchard Strnad von Janowitz, Stephan von Opočno, Stephan Poduška von Martinitz und der Johanniterprior Markolt von Wrutitz wurden die Opfer, Herzog Johann (Hans) II. von Troppau und Ratibor, Borsso von Riesenburg, Bohuslaus von Schwannberg und Johann von Michalowitz dann direkte Täter, die die obgenannten während der Kronratsitzung in Absenz des Königs gemetzelt haben. Den Getöteten wurde seitens der Mörder vorgeworfen, dass sie dem König die Sorge um Reich abrieten und ihn schließlich ums Leben bringen wollten<sup>39</sup>. Perfidie, die bedrückt, die jedoch in diesen Kreisen seit eh und jeh bis in die Gegenwart nicht eben Seltenheit ist. Es genügt nur den 23. November 1407 zu erwähnen, wann auf öffentlichen Befehl des Herzogs Johann ohne Furcht Ludwig von Orléans, der Bruder des französischen Königs, ähnlich grausam erschlagen wurde<sup>40</sup>.

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38 Da ist erneut an die dickleibige Biographie Jodoks von V. Štěpán (*Markrabí moravský Jošt*) hinzuweisen, die wiederholt zur Hand genommen werden muß, doch mit kritischer Sicht.

39 Dieser Mord wird freilich in jeder der oberwähnten Darstellungen erwähnt. Doch die konkreten Hintergründe, soweit sie nicht bloße Übernahme der Rechtfertigung der Täter waren, die über die kaum zu glaubhafte Lebensgefährdung des Königs durch die Ermordeten sprachen, sind stets auf halbem Wege stehen geblieben. Nur V. Štěpán, *Vražda čtyř členů královské rady na Karlštejně roku 1397*, „Český časopis historický“ XCII (1994), S. 24-44, versucht das Thema prosopographisch zu thematisieren, doch hat er dabei all zu viel fabuliert (so z. B. nur in der ersten Hälfte der S. 32 finden wir gut zehn hypothetische Annahmen), so dass seine Schlüsse nicht in allem überzeugend erscheinen, obwohl wirtschaftliche Grundinteressen der Täter sehr wahrscheinlich erscheinen.

40 Vgl. farbige Beschreibung dieser Ereignisse bei M. Nejedlý, *Na dobrodružných stezkách. Zvědové pozdního středověku II.*, „Historický obzor“ XX (2009), S. 58ff.

Ausführlicher Bericht über die Greuelthat stammt aus der Feder des Straßburger Boten Hermann Ebner an seine Stadt, datiert am 5. Juli 1397<sup>41</sup>. Obwohl Wenzel mit diesem absurden Theater gegen seine treuen Parteigenossen nichts gemeinsam hatte, hat er, wohl durch waltende düstere Atmosphäre, die ihn selbst zu treffen drohte, bedrückt, diese brutale Tat akzeptiert und ins Reich Nachricht verschickt, die die Version der Mörder völlig akzeptierte<sup>42</sup>. Dass hier diesmal der Markgraf Prokop in Vordergrund als Relator der entsprechenden Schriftstücke der Hofkanzlei hervortritt, ist wichtig, da es seine Sternstunde war. Denn es gelang ihm den Bruder Jodok zurückzudrängen. Nicht lange hat es gedauert, dass er von seinen Verwandten, besonders von Sigismund endgültig zu ihrem Erzfeind erklärt wurde.

Auf den ersten Blick würde man meinen, dass also diese Geschichte unmittelbar mit dem Kampf der Baronenunion gegen den König zusammenhängen muss. Doch ist das höchstwahrscheinlich nicht so einfach der Fall gewesen. Denn keiner der Baronenunionenführer kommt hier zu Wort und der *spiritus agens* der Karlsteiner „Mordparte“, der Troppauer Herzog Hans, im Rat *homo novus* war<sup>43</sup>. Im komplizierten politischen Spiel am und um Wenzels Hof kamen nämlich auch andere Präferenzen im Vorder- jedoch vornehmlich im Hintergrund zu Wort, die freilich auch mit der Reichsregierung zusammenhingen, jedenfalls auch primär finanzielle Ansprüche reflektierten<sup>44</sup>. Obwohl die Ermordeten als Vertreter der „minimalen Reichspolitik“ und deshalb als Bremse der diesbezüglichen aktiven Tätigkeit gelten sollten, ist das nur zum Teil, falls überhaupt, der Fall gewesen<sup>45</sup>.

Nur scheinbar parallel zum Grundstreit Wenzels mit dem Hochadel und Jodok, gehört auch dieses Ereignis in diesen Kontext. Die Baronenfronde bzw. ihre Vertreter, hatten darauf nämlich reagiert und ihre Positionen gefestigt, obwohl der Jodoks Stern im Moment zurücktrat, ebenfalls der des Sigismund. Das schien um so eifacher zu sein, da der König nach jahrelanger Unterbrechung größere, viermonatige Reise ins Reich nicht nur plante, sondern, fast könnte man sagen *incredibile dictū*, auch realisierte. Die Regierung Prokops, der in Böhmen zum Verweser ernannt wurde, war voll von kleinen, aber auch größeren Zusammenstößen der Anhänger bzw. Protagonisten beider Parteien und auch die Rückkehr Wenzels nach Prag, hat die Verhältnisse nicht beruhigt, eben umgekehrt. Dass die Aktionen der Baronenfronde und

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41 Gedruckt in: *Deutsche Reichstagsakten unter König Wenzel*, II, Nr. 274, S. 454.

42 Nur das einzig bisher bekannte Stück, die *littera patens* für die Stadt Regensburg, ist bekannt. Abbildung bei V. Štěpán (*Vražda čtyř členů královské rady na Karlštejně...*) herausgestellt schon früh von F.M. Pelzel, *Lebensgeschichte des römischen und böhmischen Königs Wenceslaus*, II, Prag-Leipzig 1790, Urkundenbuch Nr. 134.

43 Vgl. I. Hlaváček, *Das Urkunden- und Kanzleiwesen...*, S. 470.

44 Das hat V. Štěpán (*Vražda čtyř členů královské rady na Karlštejně...*) deutlich belegt.

45 Nur bis zum gewissen Grad können hier die konkreten Relationen dieser Vier in Wenzels Urkunden zugezogen werden. Das tat Václav Štěpán (*ibidem*).

anderer politischen Subjekte nicht näher verfolgt werden können verursacht, dass sicher manche Bindungen zwischen Personen und verschiedenen Strukturen entweder als unerkannt bleiben müssen, denn es fehlen manchmal auch entsprechende Unterlagen. So wird das Bild der böhmischen politischen Szene noch mehr verzerrt als es sonst der Fall ist<sup>46</sup>.

Doch es ist auf ein weiteres, schon viertes schicksalhaftes Ereignis aufmerksam zu machen. Es handelt sich um die Absetzung Wenzels vom römischen Thron inmitten des Jahres 1400, die ebenfalls im Reich keine Parallele hat, da das Schicksal Ludwigs des Bayern andere Konnotationen hatte; ebenfalls die päpstlichen Absetzungen der römischen Könige der Stauferzeit bzw. die noch der älteren Zeiten um so mehr<sup>47</sup>.

Dazu zielende Tendenzen sind sowohl subjektiven als auch objektiven Charakters gewesen. Wenzel selbst hat von Zeit zu Zeit über die Abdikation nachgedacht, jedoch wohl ohne sie im Ernst verwirklichen zu wollen. Dagegen haben sich damit die mächtigen Gruppen der Reichsspitzen nachdenklich beschäftigt, obwohl auch dort die Ansichten geteilt wurden. Neben den rheinischen Pfalzgrafen bewarben sich zuerst auch die Habsburger um diese Würde-Bürde, die jedoch im Laufe der Zeit von diesem Wettbewerb ausgefallen sind<sup>48</sup>.

Die Zeiten um die Jahrhundertwende sind in Böhmen voll von schnell sich ändernden Allianzen sowohl der Mitglieder des Luxemburgischen Hauses unter- und gegeneinander, eventuell mit verschiedenen auch ausländischen Machthabern. Ähnlich präsentierten sich aber ebenfalls andere Schauspieler innerhalb des Landes, so dass diese, manchmal kurzlebige Allianzen als sehr undurchsichtig bezeichnet werden können. Freilich spielt da Wenzel als ihr neuralgischer Zentralpunkt, egal ob als Subjekt oder als Objekt, die zentrale Rolle. Doch aus der Sicht unseren Themas ist Wenzels Absetzung durch die rheinischen Kurfürsten mit Palacký treffend als ihre Verschwörung zu bezeichnen<sup>49</sup>. Sie fand nach etlichen grausamen Zwischenfällen am 20. August in Oberlahnstein statt.

<sup>46</sup> Es reicht aus nur die Kämpfe in erster Jahreshälfte 1399 anzuführen, die der Waffenstillstand vom 15. Juni mindestens kurzfristig abschloß. Vgl. F.M. Bartoš, *České dějiny*, II-6: *Čechy v době Husově*, Praha 1947, S. 163 oder L. Bobková, op.cit., S. 383.

<sup>47</sup> Zu den schon verschiedentlich zitierten Arbeiten vgl. noch P. Moraw, *Propyläen Geschichte Deutschlands*, III: *Von offener Verfassung zu gestalteter Verdichtung 1250-1490*, Berlin 1985. Weitere Literatur in qualitativer Breitauswahl sowohl bei L. Bobková (op.cit.) als auch P. Čornej (op.cit.).

<sup>48</sup> Über die schon zitierte Literatur vgl. besonders A. Gerlich, *Habsburg – Luxemburg – Wittelsbach im Kampf um die deutsche Königskrone. Studien zur Vorgeschichte des Königtums Ruprecht von der Pfalz*, Wiesbaden 1960. Sonst allgemein E. Schubert (op.cit.).

<sup>49</sup> F. Palacký, *Dějiny národu českého...*, II-2, S. 348f., dessen erbitterte Charakteristik auch heute noch kaum ohne Emotion zu lesen sind.

Sie hat zum Teil auch im Reich, jedoch besonders im Königreich Böhmen allgemein Empörung herausgerufen, die auch die Luxemburger einstimmig geteilt haben. Leider nur *pro foro externo*. Diese Einstimmigkeit wurde jedoch nur bedingt, denn *pro foro interno* hieß es, welche Vorteile könnten daraus für den einen (Jodok) oder den anderen (Sigismund) fließen. Dass Wenzels starke Worte mit denen er das kommentierte und besonders Jodoks theatralische „Bartszene“, denen keine Taten folgten, obwohl sich Wenzel im Reich an viele Anhänger verlassen konnte (vornehmlich, aber nicht nur, handelte es sich um die dem König entgegenkommend auftretenden Reichsstädte), versteht sich schon als fast selbstverständlich. Diese stille oder auch öffentliche Unterstützung ist von luxemburgischer Partei nicht ausgenützt worden. Andererseits hat Wenzel erneut von seinen Verwandten während der Verhandlungen über seine Bitten nur Erniedrigungen erlebt.

Besonders galt das über das Zusammentreffen Wenzels mit Sigismund, an der der erstere um Hilfe im Reich bat und dem auch Jodok mit den Vertretern der Herrenunion beiwohnte. Dieses fand um Mitte Oktober 1400 in der Nähe von Kuttenberg statt, nämlich im Zisterzienserkloster Sedletz. Als sein Ergebnis sollte aktive Reaktion des Luxemburgischen Hauses an die vorjährige Absetzung Wenzels gelten. Obwohl das zum Profit aller luxemburgischen Verwandten sein musste, ist es schief gegangen. Denn für Sigismund, so meinte er, war das die Chance, endgültig die Initiative an sich zu reißen. Die heutigen Kritiker Sigismunds könnten dazu nur konstatieren, dass diese Chance Sigismund als Manna von reinem Himmel betrachten mußte. Schritt nach Schritt zielte es zu seiner endgültigen Abrechnung mit Wenzel, dessen Kompetenzen im Königreich er an sich reißen wollte<sup>50</sup>. In dieser wiederholt theatralischen innenfamiliären Szene stellte Sigismund an Wenzel unerfüllbare materielle sowie politische Forderungen, die Wenzel einfach ablehnen mußte, wollte er nicht die letzte Spur von eigenem Ehrgefühl verlieren. Der Zerfall der möglichen luxemburgischen Koalition zur Rettung des kaum Rettenbaren im Reich war das Wasser auf die Ruprechts Mühlen, da folglich auch die meisten Reichsstädte ihre Lanze über Wenzels Reichsregierung aus einfacher Überlebensidee brechen begannen. Und auch im Königreich fand Sigismund bereitwillige Männer unter eigentlich allen übrigen Luxemburgern und freilich auch bei der Baronenfronde.

Konkrete Rolle, die dabei Jodok und die böhmischen Barone gespielt haben ausführlicher zu schildern, erübrigt sich. Doch kann man feststellen, dass sie beim Jodok wie sonst so oft, zwiespältig war. Jedenfalls verlor auch

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<sup>50</sup> Die Quelle von Sigismunds Parole, dass er Wenzel lebenslänglich einkerkern lässt, stammt zwar gar nur aus „dritter Hand“, doch kann man sie im Ernst nehmen (aus den Deutschen Reichstagsakten zit. bei J.K. Hoensch, *Itinerar König Sigismunds von Luxemburg 1368-1437*, Studien zu den Luxemburgern und ihrer Zeit, VI, Warendorf 1995, S. 126, Anm. 13).



er nie seinen eigenen engsten Nutzen vom Auge. Im Laufe der Zeit näherte er sich zu seinem Schwager, dem Meißenner Markgrafen Wilhelm, der sich inzwischen in Ruprechts Dienste gestellt hatte und ähnlich war das auch bei der Herrenunion der Fall. Wilhelms Heer es auch war, das im Jahr 1401 Böhmen plünderte und gar Prag belagerte und es einnehmen wollte. Die Rolle der Herrenunion war dabei stets aktiv „für Wohl des Landes“. Sie nahm an diesem Raubzug direkt teil und kämpfte stets um ihre alten Anforderungen, was ihr umso einfacher gelingen konnte, da ihre alten Vorkämpfer Heinrich von Rosenberg und Otto von Bergow laut dem Friedensabkommen vom 12. August 1401<sup>51</sup> dem König als Mitglieder des höchsten Landesrates Schulter am Schulter stehen sollten.

Bei seiner Ratlosigkeit sehen wir Wenzel in ähnlicher Situation wieder nach Versöhnung mit beiden Vettern, Jodok und Prokop zu sehen. Der zweitgenannte von ihnen blieb zwar in unserer Schilderung der Dinge ein bißchen stiefmütterlich behandelt, obwohl er öfter eine wichtige Vermittler- bzw. gelegentlich auch eine der Hauptrollen gespielt hat. Auf Seiten Wenzels, jedoch auch für sich selbst tätig.

Und darüber hinaus: der immer energiegelasse und zielbewusste Mefisto-Sigismund war stets auf der Hut! So am Anfang des kommenden Jahres, genau am 25. Februar 1402, wurden die Herrenverordnungen in seiner Anwesenheit im böhmischen Landtafelnamt beschlossen. Jedoch ihre Publikation und zugleich Inkraftsetzung durch das königliche Mandat, das sich an alle königlichen Städte sowie Kreisstrafrichter wendet, wurde überraschend erst nach drei Jahren am 5. Januar 1405 ausgestellt, dem auch als Annex das kürzlich vorher in Dezember 1404 beschlossene Urteil des Landgerichtes zugefügt wurde. Wie kann man diese große Verzögerung des Grundstocks der Herrenbeschlüsse erklären? Denn auch nach der Flucht aus Wien hat das mehr als ein ganzes Jahr gedauert. Es ist freilich schwer, falls überhaupt, diese Entscheidung glaubwürdig zu interpretieren, doch weist das alles eindeutig auf große Spannungen an und es ist vorauszusetzen, dass sich Wenzel lange Zeit weigerte, dieses Herrenurteil zu billigen<sup>52</sup>. Aber es näherte sich der zweite Akt des dramatischen Schauspiels Wenzels Gefangennahmen. Diesmal völlig in der Regie Sigismunds, der keine Skrupel in seiner Handlungsweise aufwies. Das römische Papsttum hat Inspiration genug geboten. Sigismund knüpfte nämlich an Idee Bonifaz' IX. an, der damals noch nicht zu Ruprecht

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51 Statt wiederholt langatmig die oberwähnte Literatur zu zitieren, die sich meist in Einzelheiten unterscheidet, sei nur auf die Darstellung von L. Bobková (op.cit., S. 390f.) hingewiesen. Dabei ist aber kaum zu verschweigen, dass die alte Darstellung František Palackýs (*Dějiny národu českého...*) immer noch deutlichste Konturen der Ereignisse bietet.

52 Vgl. besonders die Beilage am Schluß dieses Beitrags, die versucht, neue Interpretation dieser Serienmandate bzw. -ernennungen zu deuten, was allgemeinere Bedeutung für die Abschätzung der laufenden Geschehnisse hat.

wechselte, und schlug vor, er – Sigismund – sollte mit Wenzel nach Rom zur kaiserlichen Krönung kommen. Diese Idee wurde im Lande so breit bekannt gemacht, dass Sigismund sich entscheiden konnte mit dieser relativ wahrhaft aussehenden „Illusion“ Wenzel auf Dauer zu neutralisieren. Doch war der Papst nicht der einzige, der diese Idee formulierte.

Nach dem oberwähnten Zusammenstoß mit Wenzel in der Sedletzer Zisterze in der Nähe von Kuttenberg im Frühherbst 1400 zog er sich nach dem Kriegszug gegen Johann II. von Troppau-Ratibor (den wir als kaltblutigen Mörder vom Jahr 1397 kennengelernt haben) nach Ungarn zurück<sup>53</sup>, wo er selbst im Sommer mehr als vier Monate von seinen Magnaten gefangen wurde<sup>54</sup>. In der Zwischenzeit bewältigte sich Jodok und die Herrenunion des zentralen, böhmischen Schauplatzes. Aber auch Sigismund wollte dem Zufall nichts anheimstellen. Er tauchte am Ende Januar 1402 zuerst in Olmütz auf. Dann führte sein Weg über Königgrätz nach Prag, wo er mit der Herrenunion und mit Jodok aufs Engste gegen Wenzel kollaborieren begann und allmählich nicht nur die zentrale Verwaltungsstruktur des Landes drastisch umzubauen begann, was vornehmlich bedeutete, dass er Wenzels Leute in verschiedenen Ämtern durch seine Exponenten ersetzt hat. Wenzels Vertraute verloren allmählich den Boden unter den Füßen. Massive finanzielle Ansprüche waren ganz selbstverständliche Begleiterscheinung.

Dazu tritt der Wandel in der großen Europapolitik hinzu, d. h. es kam zur Herbstkatastrophe Ruprechts im Jahr 1401. Seine römische Krönungsfahrt endete in Trümmern. Dagegen konnte sich Wenzels alter Freund der Mailänder Visconti totalen Erfolg zuschreiben. Dessen Ergebnis war u. a. Gian Galeazzos Aufbruch, Wenzel solle mit Sigismund, oder eher umgekehrt, Sigismund solle mit Wenzel nach Rom ziehen und die Kaiserkrone erwerben<sup>55</sup>. Und damit hat Sigismund operiert und Wenzel in seiner ewigen politischen Naivität „in Obhut“ genommen. Wie sich diese Obhut in Festnahme wandelte, so wandelte sich die Fahrt zur lebenslanger, so von Sigismund geplant,

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53 Es existieren zwar zwei moderne Itinerarbearbeitungen Sigismunds: J.K. Hoensch, *Itinerar König Sigismunds von Luxemburg...* und P. Engel, N.C. Tóth, *Itineraria regum et reginarum Hungariae (1382-1438)*, Budapest 2005 mit parallelem ungarischem Titel; beide weisen jedoch, besonders die ungarische, in unserem Kontext etliche unbegreifliche Lücken aus. Besonders wären die widersprüchlichen Aufenthaltsorte Sigismund am Januaranfang 1402 zu klären. Nach beiden Itinerarbüchern (P. Engel, N.C. Tóth, op.cit., S. 78f. und J.K. Hoensch, *Itinerar König Sigismunds von Luxemburg...*, S. 69) befand er sich in Preßburg bzw. in Tyrnau, während dessen die Urkunde vom 1. Januar 1402, die er gemeinsam mit Wenzel ausstellt, wird in Kuttenberg datiert (siehe *Deutsche Reichstagsakten unter König Wenzel*, V, München 1885, Nr. 148).

54 J.K. Hoensch, *Itinerar König Sigismunds von Luxemburg...*, S. 69, 126f.

55 Zu diesem Kapitel vgl. I. Hlaváček, *Wenzel (IV.) und Giangaleazzo Visconti*, in: *Reich, Regionen und Europa Doch war der Papst nicht der einzige, der diese Idee formulierte. Mittelalter und Neuzeit. Festschrift für Peter Moraw*, hrsg. von P.-J. Heinig u. a., Berlin 2000 (Historische Forschungen, LXVII), S. 203-226.

Wenzels Haft in Wien bei Sigismund zugeneigtem Herzog Albrecht von Habsburg, um. Noch vorher erteilte Wenzel am 4. Februar 1402 Sigismund Vollmächte zum Regieren in Böhmen mit vielen weiteren Kompetenzen. Sich selber reservierte er nur bedingtes Ernennungsrecht der Landesbeamten. Da Sigismund auch (eben damals nicht allzu lukratives) Amt des Reichsvikars von Wenzel bekommen hatte, war in Theorie die Übergabe der Regierungsrechte, um die sich Sigismund mit der Baronenfronde gerne teilte, so gut wie total. Denn alles Geplante hat Sigismund sofort realisieren begonnen und innerhalb relativ begrenzter Zeit waren die wichtigsten Gerichts- und andere Beamtenstellen in administrativer Struktur des Landes in der Hand Sigismunds und seiner Anhänger. In Praxis versuchte zwar Wenzel diesen bis zur Auflösung zielenden Verfall verschiedentlich blockieren, doch gegen Bruders Einsatz mit nur recht bescheidenem Ergebnis.

Am 2. März hat Wenzel noch den Bán von Dalmatien und Croatien Nikolaus von Gara wegen seiner Verdienste um Sigismund in seinen schweren ungarischen Zeiten in den königlich böhmischen und Reichsschutz<sup>56</sup> genommen. Nur einige Tage nachher hat Sigismund im drastischen Kontrapunkt dazu Wenzel am 6. März 1402 verhaften und vom Königshof beim hl. Benedikt in der Prager Altstadt öffentlich seinen Bruder zum Hradschin eskortieren lassen. Als Marionette sollte Wenzel jedoch weiter figurieren. Die Tätigkeit der Hofkanzlei ist aber allmählich still geworden. Aber auch damit wurde bald Schluß, bis Sigismund seine neuen Kompetenzen brutal mißbrauchen begann. Da aber war „des Guten allzu viel“ und Sigismund verlor bei weitem endlich die Unterstützung des Großteiles der adeligen Kommunität – freilich mit Ausnahme des harten Kerns der Herrenunion, also des Heinrich von Rosenberg, der Schwannberger, Riesenberger und ihrer Trabanten<sup>57</sup>.

Von der Baronenfronde unterstützt entwickelte Sigismund im Kampf gegen die königliche Partei unter der Führung des Markgrafen Prokop, breite Aktivitäten. Nachdem Wenzel in Hradschin isoliert die ersten Monate seiner Haft verbrachte, wendete sich Sigismund gegen Prokop, den er mit der ihm eigenen List ausgelockt und trotz des Geleitbriefes unter Prokops Burg Bösig (Bezďez) in Nordböhmen ebenfalls verhaften ließ. Jodok befand sich zuerst um diese Zeit kurzfristig zum gutem Teil direkt außerhalb dieser Wirren und regierte in Mähren. Doch nach verschiedenen Nachrichten entschied

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56 Urkundenreihe in dem Ungarischen Nationalarchiv, Nr. 8701.

57 Es genügt nur die lakonischen Worte der sog. *Chronicon universitatis Pragensis* zu zitieren: *et tunc consilium regis Wenceslai contra, ut dicebatur, suum promissum a rege Hungarie Sigismundo recessit* (ed. J. Goll in *Fontes rerum Bohemicarum*, V, Pragae 1893, S. 569). Nüchtern skizziert den Verlauf der zweiten Haft besonders P. Čornej (op.cit., S. 72-79), ein wenig emotionell F.M. Bartoš (op.cit., S. 199ff).

sich nach Prag zu ziehen, wo wir ihn Anfang Mai 1402 sehen. Letztenendes aber fügte auch er sich in den luxemburgischen rankesüchtigen Karusell ein, in dem noch Verhandlungen mit Ruprecht, vor kurzem als Erzfeind bezeichnet, ihre Stätte besaßen.

Irgendwohin in diese Zeit gehört wohl die nicht eben verlässliche Nachricht über den Plan auf Vergiftung Wenzels, woraus die Umgebung des Unterkämmerers beschuldigt wurde<sup>58</sup>. Da sein Name nicht erwähnt wird, muß man versuchen den betreffenden Eintrag den Namen der dem Verhör anwesenden Schöffen nach zu datieren. Diese gehörten dem Rat, der schon durch Sigismund am 9. März ernannt wurde an<sup>59</sup>. Deshalb ist es so gut wie sicher, dass es sich um Otto von Bergow, das vornehme Glied der Baronenfronde seit ihrem Anfang, handeln mußte. Otto wurde nämlich von Sigismund, nachdem er an sich volle Macht im Lande riß, sofort zum Unterkämmerer, einem der Schlüsselbeamten des Hofes, ernannt und ersetzte einen der Wenzels Günstlinge seit eh Sigismund Huler. Ohne eventuelle konspirative Gedanken zu entfalten ist bloß zu sagen, dass es ohne Sigismunds Wissen kaum möglich worden war, der davon aber formell Abstand nahm. Immer mehr weiteten sich in Böhmen lokale Kleinkriege aus und Sigismund begann den Boden unter den Füßen zu verlieren, bis am Anfang Herbst sich an seine Spitze Jodok selbst stellte.

Inzwischen führte Wenzels dorniger Weg nach Wien über die andere Burg der Starhemberger, nämlich über Schaunberg, wo er seit dem 10. August rund einen Monat zuhause sein mußte. Ob man dort doch noch über die Romfahrt Wenzels (und Sigismunds) bedacht hat, ist reine Spekulation, denn der einzige Mann, der es durchsetzen könnte, Mailänder Herzog Giangaleazzo Visconti, ist eben um diese Zeit verstorben und Nachrichten über Sigismunds „weltweite“ diesbezügliche Verhandlungen sind nur als sein „Nebelschleier“ zu betrachten. Der einzige Weg Wenzels führte also wohl von Anfang an nach Wien unter die Kuratel der Habsburger, konkret schon Albrechts IV., während Prokop seine mehrmonatige Haft in Preßburg verbrachte.

Doch hatte der knapp 12-monatige Wiener Aufenthalt Wenzels mehrere Peripetien, die man kurz wie folgt fassen kann<sup>60</sup>. Der Tatsache, dass es Wenzel

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58 Vgl. B. Zilynskij, *Zápisy o činnosti nižší šlechty v době druhého zajetí Václava IV. z novoměstské knihy útrpných vyznání*, „*Documenta Pragensia*“ I (1980), S. 142.

59 Vgl. V.V. Tomek, *Dějepis města Prahy*, III<sup>2</sup>, Praha 1893, S. 412.

60 Da stütze ich mich an meine Ausführungen im Aufsatz *Die Wiener Haft Wenzels IV. der Jahre 1402-1403 aus diplomatischer und verwaltungsgeschichtlicher Sicht*, in: *Husitství – Reformace – Renaissance. Sborník k 60. narozeninám Františka Šmahela*, hrsg. von J. Pánek, M. Polívka, N. Rejchrtová, Praha 1994, S. 225-238, die wegen des notfalls beschränkten Umfangs manches unberührt lassen mussten.

am 11. November 1403 gelang, die Flucht zu realisieren, ist zu entnehmen, dass sein Wiener Haftregime im Laufe der Zeit nicht so sehr streng war, ja auch seine Aufenthalte außerhalb Wien sind belegt. Auch ganz allgemein waren die Bewegungsbeschränkungen für den König innerhalb der Stadt nicht all zu strikt, der dort einen kleinen Hof mit seinen Dienern und gar etlichen Günstlingen ausbauen konnte bzw. bewilligt bekommen hat. Sein Domizil war nach kurzer Zeit, die er in der Wiener Burg verbrachte, das Haus Herzog Wilhelms am Kienmarkt (heute Ruprechtsplatz 1), das seit dieser Zeit den Namen *Prag* bzw. *Klein Prag* trug<sup>61</sup>.

Aus der Zeit der ersten Wiener Monate haben wir so gar wie keine Wenzels Schriftstücke und deshalb auch kaum deutlichere Nachricht. Das älteste bekannte Schriftstück wird am 8. August 1403 gar in Hainburg, also knapp 35 km Luftlinie von Wien entfernt, datiert. Diesen „Ausfall“ kann man sich kaum anders als dass er unter großer Obhut seiner Kerkermeister geschah, vorstellen. Doch wissen wir davon nur aus der Tatsache, dass eben diese Gelegenheit Anlaß zur Ausstellung einer besiegelten Urkunde Wenzels bot, in der er zwei Schlesier bevollmächtigte an seiner Stelle nach ihrer Wahl geeignete Person in das Breslauer kolegiat Kreuzkapitel zu präsentieren. Die Tatsache ist nicht nur deshalb seltsam, dass sie davon zeugt, dass Wenzel mit auch sein Rücksiegel und einen Notar haben mußte. Auch ihre ursprüngliche Archivüberlieferung ist seltsam. Es handelt sich nämlich um das böhmische Kronarchiv, was heißt, dass das Stück nicht expediert wurde, da es das Archiv des Ausstellers nicht verlassen hat, wohin die Urkunden freilich erst nach Wenzels Freilassung kommen konnte<sup>62</sup>. Diese Worte aber bedeuten mehr. Denn Wenzel konnte in Wien beschränkte, ja sehr beschränkte Verwaltungsaktivitäten entfalten und auch Besuche absolvieren, worüber wir fast kaum informiert sind. Über seine Kommilitonen aus Böhmen, also aus seinem Prager Hof, erfahren wir nur wenig. Wie sie kontrolliert wurden bzw. welche Impulse zu ihm gelangen konnten, wissen wir auch nicht, da es sich um ganz verstreute Einzelheiten handelt, die kein Ganzes ausmachen. Der Bogen spannt sich von der Aufforderung der Egerer ihm und Jodok treu zu bleiben über Aufhebung der Reichsacht vom gewissen Friedrich Kraft (das auf Geheiß des österreichischen Herzogs Wilhelm) und Wappenerteilung bis zum Bündnis mit den österreichische Herzögen<sup>63</sup>. Die rätselhafte Grup-

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61 Vgl. I. Hlaváček, *Die Wiener Haft Wenzels IV...*, S. 229.

62 Die Frage der Kronarchivüberlieferung muß einmal genauer als es Rudolf Koss und Otokar Bauer (*Archiv Koruny české*, I, Dějiny archivu, Praha 1939) gemacht haben, durchgeforscht werden. Vorläufig habe ich es versucht ein Segment davon hier im Anhang zu interpretieren.

63 Genauere Zeit- und bibliographische Angaben sind in meinem Aufsatz *Die Wiener Haft Wenzels IV...*, S. 230f. zu finden.

pe der anderen Silesiaca, die weder inhaltlich noch den Empfängern nach Einheit bildet, weiss ich nicht zu deuten<sup>64</sup>. Deshalb ist kaum möglich, ein systematischeres Bild über Wenzels Wiener Leben, wo er möglicherweise auch Reimschmied wurde<sup>65</sup>, zu skizzieren. Interessant sein kann, dass mit Ausnahme des Stückes von 20. November 1402, wo Wenzel Sigismund und den drei habsburgischen Brüdern verspricht, dass er allen seinen Burggrafen zu sich zu kommen (Ort wird nirgendwo erwähnt) befohlen hat, um sie ihnen huldigen sollen<sup>66</sup>. Es wurde daraus nichts, denn Sigismund konnte die Empörung, ja Widerstand in Böhmen kaum bewältigen und dieser Versuch konnte an der Sache nichts ändern. Es dauerte aber gut vier Monate, ehe weitere Einzelstücke mit Wenzels Intitulation bekannt sind, die aber keine politischen Informationen brachten.

In der Zeit Wenzels „Wiener Haftintermezzo“, entflammte in seinem erblichen Land der wüstende Krieg. Jodok ist finanziell durch Verkauf Luxemburgs zum guten Teil genesen und stellte sich an die Spitze des Widerstandes gegen Sigismund, der sich jedoch das Königreich nicht leicht herausreissen lassen wollte. Das Land konnte erst nach dem Olmützer Waffenstillstand aus April 1403 aufatmen. Doch dessen Verlängerung hat Sigismund noch zeitlang Chance gegeben das Land weiter zu plündern. Doch die sich zuspitzenden Verhältnisse in seinem ungarischen Reich zwangen ihn hinzuziehen und Böhmen zu verlassen. Mehr als drei Iustra hat er das Königreich nicht ausbeuten können.

Auch Wenzel hat sich in Wien aktiviert. Es ist zwar nur seine Aufforderung an Eger vom 4. April 1403 erhalten geblieben, wo es heisst, die Stadt soll seinen, d. h. Wenzels Beamten und Markgrafen Jodok treu bleiben. Es besteht jedoch kein Zweifel, dass ähnliche Aufrufe mehrere, ja viele waren und auch entsprechendes Echo besaßen und so den Boden für Beruhigung des Landes und für ersehnte Rückkehr Wenzels bereiteten<sup>67</sup>. Auch Wenzels Kerkermeister Herzog Albrecht kehrte um und schloß am 25. Juli mit seinem Häftling ein bißchen überraschend ein Bündnis ab. Eine umfangreiche Klageschrift an Sigismund wurde am 10. September 1403 veröffentlicht. Obwohl sich nur eine aktenartige Abschrift in einem Krakauer Stadtbuch erhalten hat<sup>68</sup>, sind

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<sup>64</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>65</sup> Vgl. I. Hlaváček, *Byl Václav IV. literárně činný?*, „Zprávy Jednoty klasických filologů“ XXII (1980), S. 30-32.

<sup>66</sup> Herausgestellt von F.M. Pelzel (op.cit., Urkundenbuch Nr. 184) und F. Palacký (*Dějiny národu českého...*, II-2, S. 369).

<sup>67</sup> Vgl. I. Hlaváček, *Die Wiener Haft Wenzels IV...*, S. 230 und F.M. Bartoš (op.cit., S. 201f).

<sup>68</sup> Herausgestellt in CDM, XIII, hrsg. von V. Brandl, Brünn 1897, Nr. 278. Da nicht in urkundlicher Form erhalten, kommt nicht im Verzeichnis in meiner *Die Wiener Haft Wenzels IV...*

sicher mehrere Texte dieser Art publiziert worden und nur die Ungunst der Zeiten hat es verursacht, dass keine mehr erhalten geblieben sind. Denn sowohl Eger als auch Krakau, obwohl sicher wichtig, sind kaum die einzigen möglichen profilierten Empfänger solcher Texte gewesen. Wenzels Flucht aus dem Gefängnis, nun eigentlich eher Abschied von einem längeren, nicht eben angenehmen Besuch (freilich nicht aus der Sicht Sigismunds, der davon schwer betroffen wurde) ließ an sich nicht lange warten<sup>69</sup>.

Zum konkreten Verlauf Wenzels Flucht ist knapp zu sagen, dass diese mit seinen Gefährten wohl längere Zeit in Zusammenarbeit mit den Liechtensteinern geplant wurde. Am 11. November 1403 erfolgreich am Boot geflüchtet, erschien er zuerst in Nikolsburg. Nach kurzer Aufatmung erschien er nach einer Woche in Brünn. Weiter ging es über Kuttenberg, das ihm im Jahre 1402 gegen Sigismund treu beistand, nach Prag. Aber schon unterwegs begann Wenzel seine herrscherlichen Prärogativen frei auszuüben. Das erste und einzig bekannte Stück, das in Brünn ausgestellt wurde, trägt das Datum des 19. Novembers und betrifft seine Einung mit den Befreiern Johann, Heinrich und Hartneid von Liechtenstein<sup>70</sup>. Obwohl nur mit dem Rücksiegel versehen, ist es wahrscheinlich, dass Wenzel dort seinen altneuen Kanzler Wenzel Králík von Buřenice getroffen hatte, der ihn dann bis nach Prag begleitete<sup>71</sup>.

Der Einzug nach Prag war zwar nicht den feierlichen Herrschereinzügen der Zeit gleich, doch gehörte zu solchen, wann die Leute spontan den Rückzug des legitimen Herrschers bejubeln. Das in der Hoffnung, dass er Beruhigung bringt und ruhige oder mindestens ruhigere Zeiten walten läßt. Dass das nur für kurze Zeit gelingt, konnte niemand ahnen. Der zweite und abschließende Akt des Haftdramas Wenzels war am Ende. Die Herrenunion hat ihre Ziele nur zum kleinen Teil erreicht und ihre Anführer um so weniger, trotz vieler Niederlagen des Herrschers, die das Klima doch beeinflußt haben. Wenzel trotz erschütteter Autorität konnte bis zum Tod am Thron bleiben. Dessen Tod im Jahr 1419 war natürlich und war nicht. Den der tödende Schlaganfall wurde durch Ereignisse verursacht, die ihm aus der

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<sup>69</sup> F.M. Bartoš, op.cit., S. 202f. Dort auch (S. 203, Anm. 2) die Zusammenstellung der chronikalischen Nachrichten über Wenzels Flucht. Bartošs Annahme über strengere Obhut Wenzels in den Herbsttagen 1403 scheint mir unangemessen zu sein.

<sup>70</sup> Vgl. M. Zemek, A. Turek, *Regesta listin z Lichtenštejnského archivu ve Vaduzu z let 1173-1526*, „Sborník archivních prací“ XXXIII (1983) S. 232, ebenfalls Nr. 232.

<sup>71</sup> Er ist zwar gemeinsam mit dem Registrator Johann von Bamberg erst an der nächsten am 12. Dezember in Kuttenberg ausgestellten Urkunde als Protonotar belegt. Doch ist es sehr wahrscheinlich, dass er Wenzel in Brünn erwartete, wo er in der zweiten Hälfte des Jahres mehrmals belegt ist (vgl. *Regesta Bohemiae et Moraviae aetatis Venceslai IV. (1378 dec. – 1419 aug. 16.)*, VII, Fontes Archivi terrae Moraviae Brunae, hrsg. von P. Krafl, Praha 2010, Nr. 399-401).

Hand entglitten sind. Die erste Prager Defenestration hat der hussitischen Revolution Tür geöffnet.

Sigismund verschwand auf Jahre vom böhmischen Horizont. Erst um die gespaltete Wahl des römischen Königs nach Ruprechts Tod taucht er wieder in Konkurrenz mit durch Wenzel unterstützten Jodok auf. Nach dessen überraschendem Tod hat ihm auch Wenzel seine Stimme gegeben. In der neuen Würde konnte sich Sigismund damit rühmen, dass er in einer der Hauptrollen bei der Lösung des päpstlichen Schismas auftrat, jedoch auch sein Wort dem Hus gegenüber, eigentlich könnte man sagen, wie bei ihm üblich, nicht gehalten hat. Für Hus und den Hussitismus wird er zur Schicksalgestalt.

Wie stets: die Belehrung aus dieser bizarren Schau ist keine. Nach wie vor gab es schwache und starke, aber auch mittelmässige Herrscher. Manchmal haben sie Glück, andersmal Pech. Denn es gab und gibt stets nach wie vor Leute, die sich nicht entsprechend anerkannt fühlten und fühlen und die sich mit Gewalt oder auf verschiedenen mehr oder weniger unwürdigen Wegen durchsetzen wollten und wollen.

Wenzel als Herrscher war ein begabter, jedoch schwacher Mann, der in anderer Zeit und mit anderer sowohl familiären als auch professionellen Umgebung, in die Geschichte und Geschichtsbücher mit bedeutend anderer Bewertung eintreten könnte. Die konkrete Zeit und den konkreten Raum, hat er nicht „gemeistert“, ja nicht „meistern“ können. Sie gaben ihm nämlich trotz etlicher, ja mehrerer seiner Anläufe keine Chance sich im Sinne des Vaters zu profilieren. Dazu hat weitgehend seine zweifache, ihn dehonestierende Haft beigetragen, die einer der Gründe waren, warum er sich nicht zu denen Mächtigen einreicht, die sich ihrer Aufgabe mit Ehre und in Würdigkeit entledigt haben.



## ANHANG

## Die Bestätigung der Herrenbeschlüsse der Jahre 1402 und 1404 durch Wenzel am 5. Januar 1405

In Beurteilung des Ausklangs des Machtkampfes, zwischen Wenzel und seinen Gefährten einer- und der Herrenunion, die abwechselnd oder aber gemeinsam durch Wenzels Verwandte Jodok und Sigismund unterstützt wurde andererseits, der in seiner zweiten Haft gipfelte, spielt die Interpretation des urkundlichen Materials, das am 5. Januar 1405 in Betlern datiert ist, eine wichtige, ja im gewissen Sinne gar eine Schlüsselrolle. Mir scheint es, dass dieses Phänomen von der bisherigen Literatur nicht entsprechend erkannt und interpretiert wurde. Es handelt sich um zwei umfangreiche Urkundenreihen Wenzels, die zum guten Teil in Originalausfertigungen erhalten geblieben und mit allen nötigen äußeren Merkmalen versehen sind, handle es sich um Besiegelung, verschiedene Kanzleivermerke usw. Ihre Wichtigkeit wird schon dadurch avisiert, dass sie alle das sonst sehr seltene Mandat des Königs und Relation des Kanzlers besitzen<sup>72</sup>. Worum geht es?

Die erste Urkundenreihe wendet sich an konkrete königliche Einzelstädte im Land, die zweite gilt einzelnen Rechtsrichtern (*justiciarii seu oprawczones*) in den konkreten Kreisen, in die das Land damals verwaltungstechnisch verteilt war<sup>73</sup>. Jede Urkunde dieser Reihe bringt das lateinische Mandat an konkrete königliche Stadt in dem es steht, dass sie verpflichtet ist, dem entsprechenden Kreisrechtsrichter alle mögliche Hilfe bei Wahrung des Friedens beizusteuern, jedoch ohne dass dessen konkreter Name angeführt wird. Anschließend werden Beschlüsse des Landtags, der am 25. Februar 1402 im Minoritenkloster zum hl. Jakob in der Prager Altstadt stattfand, inseriert, die nach der lateinischen Einleitungsformel, wo vier der anwesenden Barone mit Namen, andere nur zusammenfassend, sowie Wenzels Bruder König Sigismund erwähnt werden. Dem folgen die tschechischen Beschlüsse, an die ebenfalls der tschechisch verfasste Beschluß des Landtags vom 20. Dezember 1404 anknüpfte, der etliche frühere unrechtmäßige Bemächtigungen, besonders die von der Burg Žerotín, widerruft. Beides

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72 Freilich keine seine Unterschrift, wie es F.M. Bartoš (op.cit., S. 210) suggeriert. Schon diese Kombination zeugt davon, dass ihnen die höchste Aufmerksamkeit gewidmet wurde. Denn aus der nächsten zeitlichen Umgebung sind in den Kanzleivermerken sowohl im Mandat (Relation) bzw. in der Unterschrift des ausführenden Notars auch andere Personen tätig. Sonst vgl. I. Hlaváček, *Das Urkunden- und Kanzleiwesen...*, besonders S. 249f.

73 Darüber vgl. A. Sedláček, *O starém rozdělení Čech na kraje*, Praha 1921. An S. 177 werden Urkunden „unserer“ zweiten Gruppe einfach und kommentarlos als Ernennungsurkunden für einzelne Kreisrechtsrichter bezeichnet.

mit lateinischen Schlußdatierung versehen, was freilich auch über die der eigentlichen Urkunde gilt.

Diese erste Reihe richtete sich also an alle königlichen Städte im Königreich Böhmen<sup>74</sup>, wie es entsprechende Stadtarchive zum guten Teil bezeugen. Ihre Existenz ist auch dort vorauszusetzen, wo weder Original noch Abschrift auf Grund der Ungunst der Zeiten existiert. Da ist die Sache ziemlich klar. An dieser Stelle sei vorläufig nur die Frage gestellt, warum es von den Landtagsbeschlüssen zur Beurkundung knapp drei Jahre und von der Rückkehr aus der zweiten Haft immerhin mehr als 15 Monate gedauert hat.

Im Böhmisches Kronarchiv befinden sich weitere zwanzig Urkunden an konkrete Kreislandfriedensrichter (-wahrer) in Einzelkreisen (*poprávci*), die ebenfalls textlich sowie kanzleigemäß identisch sind und deshalb auch aus diplomatischer Sicht keine Bedenken aufweisen<sup>75</sup>. Diese Gruppe ist besonders wichtig, da es sich um Ernennungen konkreter Richter in den Einzelkreisen, gelegentlich auch zwei, handelt. Wie werden sie durch die bisherige Literatur interpretiert?

Man muß mit F. M. Pelzel beginnen. Er zählt die einzelnen Kreisrichtersrichter ohne jeden Zweifel und kommentarlos als zu diesem Amt ernannte auf und rechnet deshalb damit, dass die einzelnen Empfänger in das betreffende Amt wirklich ernannt würden<sup>76</sup>. František Palacký betrachtet diesen Rechtsakt summarisch als Anfang der Konsolidierung der inneren Verhältnisse in Böhmen. Anschließend fügt er bei, dass die Entfernung des Heinrich von Rosenberg, eines der Unionanführer vom Hof (der jedoch als Empfänger eines der Ernennungsdekrete angeführt wird!), bedeutend zur Beruhigung der Verhältnisse beigetragen hat<sup>77</sup>. Václav V. Tomek, registriert im seiner

<sup>74</sup> *Codex iuris municipalis regni Bohemiae*, II, hrsg. von J. Čelakovský, Praha 1895, Nr. 771. Es wurde das Ex. für die Stadt Čáslav als Vorlage benutzt, wobei weitere neun Stücke nur in Kurzregesten evidiert werden. Weiteres defektes Ex., diesmal für die Prager Altstadt, befindet sich im ersten Band des eben genannten Codex, Praha 1886, Nr. 121. Es besteht kein Zweifel, dass auch übrige kgl. Städte des Landes dieselbe Urkunde erhielten auch wenn das nicht bezeugt ist. Die vereinzelt städtischen Urkundenbücher langatmig aufzuzählen, finde ich nicht sinnvoll.

<sup>75</sup> Vgl. A. Haas, *Archiv Koruny české, V: Katalog listin z let 1378-1437*, Praha 1947, Nr. 164-183, dessen bibliographische Hinweise jedoch irreführend sind. Die originalgetreuen Faksimilia befinden sich in: *Archivum Coronae regni Bohemiae. Facsimilia phototypice expressa*, V.2, Praha 1993, Nr. 1366-1385. Die Interpretation in der Geschichte des Kronarchiv (R. Koss, O. Bauer, op.cit., I) finde ich als irreführend, denn die Vorstellung, dass die einzelnen Kreisrichtersrichter ihre Ernennungsurkunden ins Kronarchiv zur Aufbewahrung gegeben haben, so ist kaum vorstellbar. Denn sie brauchten die Dekrete in der zu haben.

<sup>76</sup> F.M. Pelzel, op.cit., S. 506 und neulich auch im Rahmen des entsprechenden Unternehmens *monasterium* am Internet.

<sup>77</sup> F. Palacký, *Dějiny národu českého v Čechách a v Moravě*, III-1<sup>3</sup>, Praha 1877, S. 77ff.; A. Haas, op.cit., Nr. 167. Auch B. Rieger (*Zřízení krajské v Čechách*, I, Praha 1894, S. 52) erwähnt diese Urkunden als ganz problemlos.

Geschichte Böhmen „von Prag aus gesehen“ diese wichtige Entscheidung nur ganz flüchtig und undeutlich, wobei er das Datum überhaupt nicht anführt<sup>78</sup>. In der lange Zeit maßgeblichen Darstellung der böhmischen Geschichte von F.M. Bartoš wird der Landtagssitzung Ende Dezember 1404 und den Ernennungsdekreten für einzelne Kreisrechtsrichter genauere Aufmerksamkeit gewidmet. Sie gelten ihm als Durchsetzung der lange erstrebten Personalforderungen der Herrenunion, in deren Kreis Wenzel nur ganz vereinzelt eigene Leute durchsetzen konnte<sup>79</sup>. Bis zur gewissen Stufe konfus beschreibt die Situation in seiner Biographie Wenzels J. Spěvák, der die Wenzels Handlung als seine Billigung der Errungenschaften der Herrenunion, ja als Beugung vor dem hohen Adel und seiner Union interpretiert. Die Union sollte auf diese Weise die „lange Zeit gewollten Postulate der Anteilnahme an Gerichts- und Verwaltungsmacht durchsetzen“<sup>80</sup>. Größere Aufmerksamkeit widmete diesem Ereignis ein Kanadier, John Martin Klassen, der es ebenfalls traditionell interpretiert, jedoch gewisse Zurückziehung der Herrenunion konstatiert<sup>81</sup>. František Šmahel stellt sich zur Bartošs Meinung mit großer Reserve an, sonst bespricht er das Thema kaum<sup>82</sup>. Da sich Jodok, der um diese Zeit wieder mit Wenzel kooperierte, eben in dieser Zeit nicht in Böhmen befand, nimmt Václav Štěpán in seiner Jodoks Biographie zu diesem Ereignis keine Stellung. So kann man diese knappe bibliographische Recherche mit dem Hinweis an Čornej schließen, der zwar ebenfalls die Dekrete Wenzels als seine Zugeständnis dem hohem Adel gegenüber interpretiert und folglich als faktisches Ende der Herrenunion betrachtete<sup>83</sup>.

Besondere Aufmerksamkeit ist der Archivgeschichte des Kronarchivs von Rudolf Koss und Otakar Bauer zu widmen<sup>84</sup>. Diese Autoren setzen voraus, dass alle diese Urkunden von den entsprechenden Empfängern mit Absicht ins Kronarchiv deponiert wurden. Für diese Vermutung wird damit argumentiert, dass die quasiparallele Reihe der Urkunden für die Städte

78 V.V. Tomek, op.cit., S. 425.

79 F.M. Bartoš, op.cit., besonders S. 210. Ähnlich urteilt auch die deutsche Historiographie, nur mit falschem Datum zum 5. Februar. Siehe F. Seibt in: *Handbuch der Geschichte der böhmischen Länder*, hrsg. von K. Bosl, I, Stuttgart 1967, S. 489 und von ihm übernommen J.K. Hoensch, *Geschichte Böhmens. Von der slavischen Landnahme bis zur Gegenwart*, München 1997<sup>3</sup>, S. 139.

80 Vgl. J. Spěvák, op.cit., S. 358f. Ausdrücklich liest man, „dass die neuen Kreisrechtsrichter Ernennungsdekrete erhalten haben“.

81 J.M. Klassen, *The Nobility and the Making of the Hussite Revolution*, East European Monographs, XLVII, Boulder 1968, S. 58f. und unpaginierte Beilage II. [S. 146-147].

82 In der tschechischen Fassung *Husitská revoluce*, I, Praha 1993<sup>2</sup>, S. 196f. In der deutschen Version des Buches F. Šmahel (*Die Hussitische Revolution*, I, S. 97) interessierte den Autor vornehmlich die räumliche Verteilung des Landes.

83 Vgl. P. Čornej, op.cit., S. 78f.

84 R. Koss, O. Bauer, op.cit., besonders S. 143f.

in ihren Archiven ruht. Das ist jedoch kein Beweis, da die Funktion dieser Dekrete eine ganz andere war und die Archivierung an einer im normalen Rechtsverkehr unerreichbaren Stätte wäre völlig sinnlos. Die entsprechenden Kreisrechtsrichter brauchten diese Bevollmächtigung nämlich stets in der Hand zu haben. Darüber hinaus muß man erwägen, dass die Urkunden für die Städte keine konkreten Namen der Kreisrechtsrichter anführen. Denn wie sonst könnte sich der Kreisrechtsrichter als solcher ohne die betreffende Urkunde bei den entsprechenden Städten präsentieren? Und darüber hinaus: ist es überhaupt vorstellbar, dass bei den so gespannten Machtverhältnissen zwischen Wenzel und den Spitzen der Herrenunion z. B. Heinrich von Rosenberg (aber auch anderen) solche wichtige Urkunde in fremder Hand liegen lassen könnte?<sup>85</sup> So muß es heißen: dafür, dass die Empfänger ihre Ernennungsdekrete mit Absicht ins Kronarchiv abgelegt haben, ist kein vernünftiger Grund gewesen.

Bis auf kleine Nuancen der Literatur ist also ihre Stellung einmütig. Und trotzdem von Grund aus falsch, da dabei nicht die Prinzipien der historischen, vornehmlich der diplomatischen Kritik in Kauf genommen wurden. Das muß man genauer erklären und dabei auch die Archivgeschichte zuziehen. Die Mandate für die Städte findet man, soweit sie sich noch in Originalform erhalten haben, in den diesbezüglichen Stadtarchiven oder in Abschriften, die aus der Empfängerüberlieferung abgeleitet werden können. Wie sieht das aber aus mit den Ernennungsdekreten für die (hoch)adeligen Kreisrechtsrichter? Alle befinden sich – nicht in den diesbezüglichen Adelsarchiven, wie es zu vermuten wäre, sondern im Archiv des Ausstellers, d. h. im Böhmisches Kronarchiv, ohne der kleinsten Spur einer Empfängerabschrift. Sollte das eben passiert sein, dann gingen die meisten (vielleicht mit Ausnahmen der Stücke für den Rosenberger bzw. auch für Ulrich von Landstein) kaputt, denn wir besitzen – mit eben erwähnten Ausnahmen – kaum ein einziges zusammenhängendes Adelsarchiv. Mit anderen Worten heißt das, dass diese Stücke niemals ausgehändigt wurden und deshalb nicht in Geltung traten. Einen bis zum gewissen Grad ähnlichen Fall haben wir aus dem Jahre 1390 aus Mähren. Damals ernannte Wenzel seinen Vetter wohl schon zum dritten mal zum Reichsvikar in Italien<sup>86</sup> und hat ihm dazu eine Reihe von Mandaten<sup>87</sup> an die italienischen Empfänger mit dem Befehl ihm bei seinen Reichskompetenzen behilflich zu sein, zur Verfügung gestellt. Aus seiner Mission wurde nichts, deshalb blieben diesbezügliche Texte im Archiv des

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<sup>85</sup> Nur ganz nebenbei: im Kronarchiv liegt eine Wenzels Ermächtigung an zwei Schlesier betr. des Präsentationsrechtes zum Kreuzkapitel in Breslau, die ähnlich nicht in Kraft getreten ist (vgl. hier oben).

<sup>86</sup> CDM, XI, hrsg. von V. Brandl, Brünn 1885, Nr. 597.

<sup>87</sup> Edition *ibidem*, Nr. 596.

Vermittlers ohne Wirkung liegen. Eigentlich sollte man sie zurück an Wenzel, also ins Kronarchiv, schicken. Die ungeordneten und gespannten Verhältnisse haben das verhindert.

Das Ergebnis dieser Überlegung führt jedoch in gewisse Unsicherheit, denn dieses Ereignis ist anders zu deuten als es bis heutzutage der Fall war. Denn während alle bisherigen Interpretationen meinten, dass sie mit konkretem und rechtskräftigem urkundlichem Material arbeiten, ist nun die Sache komplizierter. Wenzel hat seine Ernennungen an Personen, also an die Kreisrechtsrichter, nicht ausgehändigt, derer Namen sicher zum guten Teil mit der Opposition konsultiert werden musste, wurden keinesfalls en bloc in ihr Amt installiert. Die Reaktion der Hofgesellschaft und besonders der endenden Herrenunion sind wir nicht im Stande abzuschätzen. Dagegen haben die Städte den Befehl ausgeliefert bekommen, den Kreisrechtsrichtern zur Seite zu stehen, ohne ihnen die konkreten Namen mitgeteilt würden. Das ist aber auch so zu deuten, dass ihre Kompetenzen in dieser Hinsicht ziemlich breit gefasst wurden und sie eigentlich auch allein im Stande waren, sich um die Sicherheit in ihrem Raum zu kümmern<sup>88</sup>. Das ermöglicht die Annahme, dass Wenzel und sein sich langsam konsolidierender Hof (man muss immer im Auge halten, dass die Zeitspanne zwischen den ersten Beschlüssen und dem 5. Januar 1405 ziemlich groß ist, auch wenn man die dazwischen liegende zweite Haft eingerechnet wird) mit der Opposition zäh nach Wenzels Rückkehr aus Wien gekämpft und langsam wieder Respekt gewonnen hat. Die Ernennungsdekrete für die Kreisrechtsrichter hat man zwar konzipiert, ja ausgefertigt, jedoch nicht ausgehändigt. Nach eigenem – uns nicht bekanntem Entschluß – hat Wenzel entschieden, diese nicht ins Amt einzusetzen. Was das aber signalisiert, ist klar. Wenzels Position wurde bedeutend fester als man vermutet hat und spricht auch über die Höhe seiner Enttäuschung und leider über nur vorübergehend gezeigte Kraft seines Geistes und Args. Kann man sich ihm nach seinen Erfahrungen wundern? Sigismund verschwindet auf etliche Jahre aus der böhmischen Szene. Sicher nicht zur Schade dieses Landes. Die Herrenunion zerfiel. Über Wenzel als Sieger zu sprechen kann man jedoch nur mit großem Fragezeichen, obwohl sich die Verhältnisse beruhigen begannen. Andere Großprobleme sollen die künftigen Jahre bringen.

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<sup>88</sup> Es genügt nur das von F. Šmahel (*Husitská revoluce*, I, S. 196) angeführte Beispiel anzuführen, wann Wenzel um ein paar Jahre später der Stadt Iglau das Recht erteilt hat, die Verbrecher und Landschädlinge im ganzen Lande zu verfolgen.

## ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Die Gefangennahmen von mittelalterlichen Würdenträgern durch ihre Konkurrenten und Feinde unterschiedlichen Ranges sind keine Seltenheit, was Leute beider Stände – egal ob geistlich oder weltlich – betraf. Das gilt sowohl über die Täter als auch über ihre Opfer, denn diese Taten sich nicht nur kreuzten, sondern auch verschiedentlich durchdrangen. Nur allzu oft merkt man das an allen Stufen sowohl der weltlichen als auch kirchlichen Hierarchie. Dass dabei die Spitzen am deutlichsten dokumentiert sind, versteht sich von selbst, was freilich lange nicht bedeutet, dass diese Eskapaden der Nachwelt vollkommen durchsichtig erscheinen müssen. Die Luxemburger der dritten böhmischen Generation sind in dieser Hinsicht eigentlich gewisse Ausnahme. Das, was sie dem staunenden Europa präsentiert haben, hat – bedauerlicherweise – keine Parallele. Die machtpolitischen Gründe sind dabei klar. Als Zentralfigur galt dabei Wenzel IV., römischer König und König von Böhmen. Er hat jedoch zwei sehr „tüchtige Sekundanten“: seinen Stiefbruder Sigismund, König von Ungarn (1387), nachher römischen König (1410), König von Böhmen (1420 bzw. 1437) und zuletzt Kaiser (1433), sowie Vetter Jodok, Markgrafen von Mähren (1375) und Brandenburg (1388) und kurzfristig in Konkurrenz zu Sigismund vor seinem sehr verdächtigen jähen Tod auch römischen König (1410).

Aus mehreren kurz- bzw. mittelfristigen Gefangennahmen untereinander waren die zwei Wenzels die folgenschwersten. Die erste dauerte ein paar Wochen (1394), die zweite wurde auf Wenzels Lebenszeit geplant, doch gelang es Wenzel nach ein halbjähriger Flucht zu können (1402-1403). In beiden Fällen sind ihre Gründe ganz eindeutig und können als solche ausschließlich als die des machtpolitischen Charakters bezeichnet werden. Dass Wenzels Regierungsweise verschiedentlich zur Kritik Anlaß gegeben hat, muss zwar in Kauf genommen werden, doch ist die Reaktion seiner Verwandten keinesfalls angemessen gewesen. Im ersten Fall galt Jodok als Verbündeter der sog. Herrenunion, die ein Flügel des böhmischen Hochadels, der seit Jahrzehnten, ja eigentlich immanent in Opposition gegen die Zentralgewalt stand, da er führende Rolle am Hof und im Lande spielen wollte. Diese subjektiven Ziele des Jahres 1394 tarnte sie mit schönen Phrasen und wollte den König in eine Marionette umwandeln. Da aber Wenzel nicht mitmachte und die Tat allgemeine Empörung weckte, transportierten ihre Anführer Wenzel nach Österreich. Erst nach Eingreifen Wenzels anderen Stiefbruders Johann von Görlich und der Reichsbereitschaft unter Pfalzgrafen Ruprecht III. führte zur friedlichen Versöhnung zwar mit formellem Erfolg der Aufständischen, der jedoch zur bloßen Theorie wurde.

In zweiter Wenzels Gefangenschaft wurde sein Gegenspieler sein Stiefbruder Sigismund, wieder in Zusammenarbeit mit den österreichischen Herzögen und der Baronenfronde, der Wenzel listig unter Vorwand der Organisation seines Romzuges lebenslänglich im Hausarrest in Wien, unter der Obhut der österreichischen Herzöge vegetieren lassen wollte. Sein Ziel hat Sigismund, wieder in Kooperation mit der Herrenunion, zuerst vorübergehend erreicht, nämlich die Herrschaft in der Böhmisches Krone und damit zusammenhängende personelle Umwälzung ihrer Zentralverwaltung. Doch gelang es Wenzel nach einem Jahr und 8 Monaten im Spätherbst 1403 zu flüchten und die Beuteherrschaft Sigismunds zu Ende zu bringen. Überraschend versöhnte sich Wenzel mit beiden Verwandten – Kerkermeistern. Sigismund zog sich dann jahrelang nach Ungarn zurück, Jodok hat seine Ambitionen zurückgehalten. Wenzel musste dann schließlich anderen historischen Ereignissen standhalten.

Die Beilage bringt Versuch einer Neuinterpretation der wichtigen Bestätigung der Herrenbeschlüsse der Jahre 1402 und 1404 durch Wenzel vom 5. Januar 1405.



## II. MACROECONOMY: ECONOMIC GROWTH

(THE SECTION EDITED BY MARIAN DYGO)

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### THE ECONOMIC THOUGHT OF ST. THOMAS AQUINAS – AND THE ATTEMPT TO MODEL MEDIEVAL ECONOMIC GROWTH



#### I

According to Werner Stark, one consequence of the early scholastics' view on universal harmony as the basis of the divine plan was that, "we must not think of the contained economy as necessarily a static one; it may advance, it should advance, as long as this happens in the rhythm of well-ordered growth. Condemned is only that never-satisfied hunt for ever more which is incompatible with a sound ordering of life both on the individual and the social level, and which is a stupidity in the individual and an outrage unto God and men"<sup>1</sup>. Murray N. Rothbard, in turn, recently expressed the view that, as far as St. Thomas Aquinas is concerned, he had a rather poor grasp of economic growth, although "he clearly posits man as active moulder of his life. Gone is the passive Greek ideal of conforming to given conditions or to the requirements of the polis"<sup>2</sup>. John D. Mueller has written that even though the early scholastics were able to explain the phenomenon of economic growth,

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1 W. Stark, *The Contained Economy*, Aquinas Paper, XXVI, London 1956, p. 21.

2 M.N Rothbard, *Economic Thought before Adam Smith. An Austrian Perspective on the History of Economic Thought*, I, Auburn 2012<sup>3</sup>, p. 57.



they nonetheless adopted the premise from Aristotle that economies do not grow “the population and its average standard of living do not increase – because mankind in general had never experienced a substantial and sustained increase of either”<sup>3</sup>.

I have chosen these several statements as examples indicating the divergence of scholars’ views on the topic of the early scholastics’ attitude toward the changes of important variables in the economy that today are analyzed by means of economic growth theory, or more broadly, by theory of economic dynamics<sup>4</sup>. This divergence of views encourages us to take up its subject matter once again. Inasmuch as it is not possible for this paper to take into consideration the entire oeuvre of early scholasticism, we shall confine ourselves to an analysis of the views of St. Thomas Aquinas.

## II

The starting point for our further considerations is that of statements by St. Thomas himself concerning the aims of the individual’s economic activity. For instance, he states that nature has not given the human individual material goods, but the individual may assure himself of everything by the labor of his own hands (*omnia officio manuum posset praeparare*)<sup>5</sup>. One of the requirements of rulers is to ensure there be *affluentia rerum*<sup>6</sup> in their realm. For the human was endowed by God with reason and *dominium* over external things so that he may use them to sustain himself (*ad corporalem hominis sustentationem*)<sup>7</sup>. The human may, and indeed should satisfy his needs even when such satisfying involves the appearance of evil. For riches are good, *secundum suam naturam*, although if abused they can become evil<sup>8</sup>. However,

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3 J.D. Mueller, *Redeeming Economics. Rediscovering the Missing Element*, Culture of Enterprise series, VI, Wilmington, DE 2010, pp. 34-35.

4 Cf. the remarks on the topic of the concept of economic dynamics and growth theory as one of the methods of economic dynamics: J.R. Hicks, *Capital and Growth*, Oxford 1965, chap. 1. Hicks holds that the crucial variables are that of the amount of produced and consumed goods and the prices at which they are exchanged.

5 *Divi Thomae Aquinatis De regimine principum ad regem Cypri*, [Taurini] 1971<sup>2</sup> (henceforth: DRP), I, cap. I and cf. cap. XIII; cf. *S. Thomae Aquinatis Summa theologiae*, Pars Secunda Secundae, Taurini-Romae 1952 (henceforth: ST, II-II), q. 59, art. 1, resp.; q. 78, art. 2, ad 5; q. 78, art. 3, resp.; q. 78, art. 3, ad 3.

6 DRP, II, cap. V-VII.

7 ST, II-II, q. 66, art. 1, resp: *Et sic habet homo naturale dominium exteriorum rerum: quia per rationem et voluntatem potest uti rebus exterioribus ad suam utilitatem, quasi propter se factis*; also ad 1. Concerning the term *dominium* cf. C. Spicq, *Dominium, possessio, proprietas chez St. Thomas et chez les jurists romains*, “Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques” XVIII (1929), pp. 269-281.

8 ST, II-II, q. 58, art. 10, ad 2; q. 63, art. 3, resp. and q. 66, art. 1, ad 2; q. 77, art. 4, resp. Cf. *Thomae Aquinatis Summae contra gentiles libri quattuor*, ed. by K. Albert et al., Darmstadt 2009<sup>3</sup> (henceforth: SCG), III.1, cap. XXX.

if evil were removed, the scope of satisfying needs would shrink<sup>9</sup>. In other words, the growth of riches may (under certain circumstances) be interpreted as the growth of the good. Of course, the human individual is able only generally to grasp with his reason the needs which should be satisfied, and this is why he should live in community<sup>10</sup>.

Thomas explains that managing large resources of material goods belongs to the most important conditions for the good life of the individual, i.e., living (behaving) in virtue<sup>11</sup>. How is this to be understood? Human life (behavior) is good, particularly insofar as it is in accord with the principles of justice<sup>12</sup>. And here again it turns out that satisfying human needs has a scope that is not only individual, but supra-individual. Thomas addresses this latter scope with the following remark “*iustitia non consistit circa exteriores res quantum ad facere, quod pertinet ad artem: sed quantum ad hoc quod utitur eis ad alterum*”<sup>13</sup>. Therefore the virtue of justice subordinates the behavior of the individual in connection with satisfying needs to the general good<sup>14</sup>.

The question arises on how to interpret the satisfying of human needs so understood. According to Edmund Schreiber, St. Thomas’ ideal is that of a lifestyle for each that is in accord with its state<sup>15</sup>. That author is aware of the fluidity of that criterion for satisfying needs. Moreover, that criterion pertains only to a certain aspect of the problem being analyzed. Let’s therefore call on the theory of needs developed by František Čuhel, the

9 SCG, III.1, cap. LXXI: *Si ergo malum totaliter ab universitate rerum per divinam providentiam excluderetur, oportet etiam bonorum multitudinem diminui. Quod esse non debet.* Cf. the widely-discussed recent book by: T. Sedláček, *Economics of Good and Evil. The Quest for Economic Meaning from Gilgamesh to Wall Street*, Oxford 2011, pp. 159-161.

10 DRP, I, cap. I et al.; SCG III, cap. CXXXIV.

11 DRP, I, cap. XV: *Ad bonam autem unius hominis vitam duo requiruntur: unum principale, quod est operatio secundum virtutem (virtus enim est qua bene vivitur); aliud vero secundarium et quasi instrumentale, scilicet corporalium bonorum sufficientia, quorum usus est necessarius ad actum virtutis.*

12 ST, II-II, q. 58, art. 3, resp.: *Et ut Tullius dicit [...], ex iustitia praecipue viri boni nominatur. Unde, sicut ibidem dicit, in ea virtutis splendor est maximus.* Cf. E. Schreiber, *Die volkswirtschaftlichen Anschauungen der Scholastik seit Thomas v. Aquin*, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Nationalökonomie, I, Jena 1913, pp. 32-34; Ch. Mühlum, *Zum Wohl des Menschen. Glück, Gesetz, Gerechtigkeit und Gnade als Bausteine einer theologischen Ethik bei Thomas von Aquin*, *Contributiones Bonnenses*, II, 3, Bonn 2009, pp. 212-218.

13 ST, II-II, q. 58, art. 3, ad 3; cf. art. 5, resp.: *iustitia [...] ordinat hominem in comparatione ad alium. Quod quidem potest esse dupliciter. Uno modo, ad alium singulariter consideratum. Alio modo, ad alium in communi.*

14 *Ibidem*, q. 58, art. 12, ad 1; art. 5, ad. 3; q. 59, art. 1, resp. Cf. E. Schreiber, *op.cit.*, pp. 22, 53-60; cf. recent work by Ch. Mühlum, *op.cit.*, pp. 72-107.

15 R. Schreiber, *op.cit.*, p. 19. The author draws on St. Thomas’ statement: *homo secundum aliquam mensuram quaerit habere exteriores divitias, prout sunt necessaria ad vitam eius secundum suam conditionem.*

Czech economist of the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century<sup>16</sup>. Čuhel identifies the satisfying of needs above all with welfare. Satisfying the desire for welfare is conditioned by the existence of the conviction as to the necessity of using certain means for satisfying needs. The consequence of this conviction, in turn, is the desire to possess precisely such means. On the basis of his feelings the individual judges the place he occupies on the scale of welfare. Besides the desire for welfare, the desire to use, and the desire to possess, Čuhel distinguishes dispositions for all these desires. Joining the relevant desires with the dispositions for those desires provides in consequence the needs people feel – that is: the need for welfare, the need to use, and the need to possess. Čuhel calls attention to the fact that the feelings of the individual inform him not only about his own state of welfare, but also about the state of others' welfare. In connection with this, Čuhel distinguishes the following individual and collective feelings concerning well-being: self-regarding, other-regarding, and mutual-regarding.

There is no obstacle to satisfying the needs St. Thomas talks about within the categories of desiring/needing well-being. Namely, it is permissible to accept that desiring/needing well-being result from the intelligent nature of the human as God's creation. To this we may add desiring/needing the use of material means and desiring/needing possession of those same means – for this desiring/needing is not at variance with God's will. Lastly, we may accept that the above-mentioned types of feelings concerning well-being (self-regarding, other-regarding, and mutual-regarding) hearken to St. Thomas' postulate that they be satisfied in accord with the demands of justice.

Simon Kuznets defines the concept of economic growth as the long-term, sustained increase in the production of goods necessary for satisfying human needs, both individual and collective. In this, "the increase must be in the volume of product, the provision of which is, from the standpoint of society, the rationale for economic activity". Kuznets distinguishes the types of economic growth as pre-modern and modern. The former is characterized by an increase in population and an expansion of global product, but not the growth of product *per capita*. The growth of product *per capita* is usually possible in the case of a drastic decline in population<sup>17</sup>. Eric L. Jones, in turn, proposes distinguishing two types of economic growth –

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<sup>16</sup> F. Čuhel, *Zur Lehre von den Bedürfnissen. Theoretische Untersuchungen über das Grenzgebiet der Ökonomik und Psychologie*, Innsbruck 1907. We make indirect use of this book via: idem, *On the Theory of Needs*, "New Perspectives on Political Economy" III (2007) 1, pp. 27-56 ([pcpe.libinst.cz/nppe/3\\_1nppe3\\_1\\_4.pdf](http://pcpe.libinst.cz/nppe/3_1nppe3_1_4.pdf); access: 16.09.2013).

<sup>17</sup> S. Kuznets, *Six Lectures on Economic Growth*, [New York] 1959, pp. 13-14. However, the distinguishing feature of modern growth is "the frequent combination of high rates of growth of the total population and of *per capita* product, implying even higher rates of growth of total product" (ibidem, p. 14).

extensive and intensive. He expresses the view that intensive growth also appeared in pre-modern times, as “no pre-modern economy’s resources anywhere approached an optimal allocation, nor was current ‘best practice’ technology widely adopted”<sup>18</sup>.

Though we can only skirt the debate on the essence of economic growth in the epoch we are concerned with (any review of the literature would exceed the frame of this paper), it must be stated nonetheless that satisfying needs in the meaning of welfare, especially as concerns living standards, is not possible without a certain level of such growth. Thus, since St. Thomas wrote that the individual should satisfy his needs, and more importantly that the satisfying of needs is a condition for the good life, signifying one that is in accord with the principles of justice, this means that he must posit the increasing of his resources of material goods. On the other hand, the objective phenomenon of economic growth in the meaning of an increase (albeit *per capita*) in the volume of goods satisfying human needs cannot be identified with the individual’s subjectively felt satisfying of needs in the meaning of welfare. Even high economic growth does not have to translate to the conviction of the individual that his position on the scale of welfare (whether indicated absolutely or relatively) is shifting ever higher<sup>19</sup>.

While reflecting on the relation between satisfying needs (welfare) and economic growth in light of the views of St. Thomas, let’s direct our attention to his response to the question: “May a thing be sold for more than it is worth?”<sup>20</sup>. Thomas states at the beginning, in overture to Aristotle’s views, that the acts of buying and selling grasped *secundum se* should be equally beneficial for both parties to a transaction, and therefore *debet secundum aequalitatem rei inter eos contractus institui*. Thus we can speak about *aequalitas rei* in a buyer-seller contract when there is no divergence between the price of something (in money) and *quantitas valoris rei* (let’s take this to mean “cost”, i.e., outlays of labor and materials<sup>21</sup>).

Thomas then draws upon St. Augustine, writing that the price of something depends on the utility that a person receives from it<sup>22</sup>. He

<sup>18</sup> E.L. Jones, *Growth Recurring. Economic Change in World History*, Ann Arbor 1988<sup>2</sup>, p. XXIV.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. *ibidem*, p. XV: “Real income as economists normally define, it is a simple, if crude, measure of welfare, and a small improvement in it went a long way when incomes started out by being cruelly low”.

<sup>20</sup> ST, II-II, q. 77, art. 1. Among the activities embraced by the concept of commutative justice we consider loans; however we skip over such matters as leasing, tenancy, renting, hocking, pawning, payment for service; cf. *ibidem*, q. 61, art. 3, resp.; art. 4, ad 2; q. 71, art. 4.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. E. Schreiber, *op.cit.*, pp. 39-41, 45; M.N. Rothbard, *op.cit.*, pp. 52-53.

<sup>22</sup> ST, II-II, q. 77, art. 2, ad 3: *sicut Augustinus dicit [...], pretium rerum venalium [...] consideratur secundum quod res in usum hominis veniunt*. E. Schreiber (*op.cit.*, p. 43) gives such an interpretation of Thomas’ views on prices: “Der Preis wird bestimmt nach dem Maße des

considers the situation when the just price for something can be higher than its value *secundum se*. This is the case when the seller would suffer a loss in handing something over, that is, he would be subject to a disadvantageous alternative, one of a lower utility. In this situation the price of something should also take into consideration the amount of a given loss. Likewise, if a purchaser “multum iuветur ex re alterius quam accepit”, and the seller suffers no harm, the price may not be raised: “Quia utilitas que alteri accrescit non est ex vendente, sed ex conditione ementis”<sup>23</sup>.

Thomas’ conclusion is as follows: “in iustitia commutativa consideratur principaliter aequalitas rei. Sed in amicitia utilis consideratur aequalitas utilitatis: et ideo recompensatio fieri debet secundum utilitatem perceptam. In emptione vero, secundum aequalitatem rei”<sup>24</sup>. How is this argument to be understood? When the price of a given thing is equal to *quantitas valoris* of a thing (which we identify with the “cost”), then we are dealing with a certain state of balance. One condition for such balance is the supply of the given thing, which should be neither lower nor higher than a certain volume. In this state of balance resides the optimum with regard to the allocation of resources, a thing’s utility, and societal welfare. Hence, this is the case of a positive-sum game.

The next case is the opposite: the seller is threatened with suffering a loss in selling a commodity. Here we need to assume that the supply of a given commodity is sufficiently low, that the utility of the commodity for the seller exceeds the sum of “costs”: the reflection of this is the price demanded by the seller<sup>25</sup>. As a result, the seller demands a price that exceeds the “cost” of the commodity. Thomas postulates that the buyer should compensate the seller for the difference between the price as an equivalent of the costs, and the value of utility. This possibility emerges when the value of the utility of the given commodity for the buyer will suitably exceed the value of utility of the commodity for the seller. In other words, the welfare of the seller will be funded from the welfare of the buyer. We surmise here that the alternative is to withdraw from the transaction, if the buyer does not have the possibility to give such compensation.

One variation of the above situation is that of when, in connection with the large supply of a given commodity, its price falls below its “costs”. However, the seller maintains his notion of the commodity’s utility and

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Bedürfnis”; cf. pp. 59-60, 63-64; recently L. Farber, *An Anatomy of Trade in Medieval Writing. Value, Consent, and Community*, Ithaca-London 2006, pp. 40-42, 49-54, cf. pp. 67-68, which aptly stresses utility as the measure of price (value); cf. M.N. Rothbard, *op.cit.*, p. 52.

23 ST, II-II, q. 77, art. 1, resp.

24 Ibidem, q. 77, art. 1, ad 3.

25 Cf. *ibidem*, q. 77, art. 3, ad 4; q. 77, art. 4, ad 2.

demands a price, for example, at least equal to the “costs”. Thus, in this case also can the buyer give compensation, as when the value of the utility of a commodity purchased will be for him sufficiently higher than the value of the utility of the commodity for the seller.

And now we have the next situation: the seller suffers no loss in selling something, however the buyer gains a profit through the purchase, i.e., he maximizes its utility. In this case, St. Thomas tells us, the seller cannot raise the price. From the seller’s point of view, the “cost” is the equivalent of the commodity’s price and its utility. From the buyers’ point of view the commodity’s utility exceeds its cost and the price. Such a situation is advantageous in regard to societal welfare. The transaction is a positive-sum game.

Recently Germano Maifreda expressed the view that for St. Thomas “the problem of the construction of value finds theoretical resolution in monetary equivalence as this emerges from the whole body of exchanges carried out within the society. [...] The overall homogeneity of individual needs defines necessity: again, an entirely human element with no reference to the ‘worthiness’ of a good – that is, its nature. The result of human need is expressed, through exchange and money, in the just price, as it identifies social value, assigns it a monetary equivalent”<sup>26</sup>. However, in the case of the loss of utility it seems doubtful that the possible compensation could be determined “within the society”. As James M. Buchanan shows, if people whom externals effects concern do not participate in choosing an action that generates those effects, “there is simply no means of determining, even indirectly, the value that they place on the utility loss that might be avoided”. Such an evaluation is possible only when a personal externality relationship exists. Such a relationship, in turn, is “limited to a critically small number of persons. In large-number groups, by comparison, there may be little or no incorporation of the interests of ‘others’ in the utility calculus of individuals”<sup>27</sup>.

The question of relations between people has essential meaning for economic growth. According to Albert O. Hirschman, the domination of both “the group-focused image of change” and “the ego-focused image of change” is incompatible with broad-based economic growth (development), and rather indicates a poorly integrated society and static economy. That is

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<sup>26</sup> G. Maifreda, *From Oikonomia to Political Economy. Constructing Economic Knowledge from the Renaissance to the Scientific Revolution*, Farnham 2012, pp. 49-50.

<sup>27</sup> J.M. Buchanan, *Cost and Choice. An Inquiry in Economic Theory*, The Collected Works of James M. Buchanan, VI, Indianapolis 1999, pp. 66, 73. Concerning “external effects” cf. e.g., Y.-K. Ng, *Welfare Economics. Introduction and Development of Basic Concepts*, London-Basingstoke 1979, pp. 166-186; A.M. Feldman, *Welfare Economics and Social Choice Theory*, Boston etc. 1989<sup>7</sup>, chap. 5.

necessary then is a new concept for change, “which takes cognizance of the possibility of mutual benefits and all-round growth”<sup>28</sup>. Here we need note that at the center of St. Thomas’ attention was rather “the group-focused image of change” – family, small informal groups, and urban communities<sup>29</sup>. For it is precisely in these small groups that behaviors far from the “rational” approach to the function of utility were possible, behaviors that can be reconciled with the above-mentioned feelings concerning welfare: self-regarding, other-regarding, and mutual-regarding.

One way or the other, St. Thomas tables the postulate that, following a transaction, its parties are to find themselves in a better situation, and at the very least in one that is not worse than before the transaction. This postulate can be dubbed the quasi Paretian criterion of welfare<sup>30</sup>. In any event, the just price does not signify the same profit from an evaluation of the utility gained by each of the parties to a transaction. In this way the distribution of financial and material resources is carried out for those applications that assure their possessors the greatest possible utility. It was not without reason that St. Thomas said, in drawing on Aristotle, that exchange transactions were carried out for the shared utility of each party to a transaction<sup>31</sup>.

Let’s now examine the definition of investment proposed by Maurice F. Scott, who states “expenditures undertaken to improve assets over and above required maintenance constitute investments. Such improvements result essentially from rearrangements of things or of system of work”. He goes on add that “by defining investments in this way as the cost of change, it is at once clear that all growth must result from investment, together with demographic change which it seems most convenient to keep as a separate sector. [...] Investment has been defined as the cost, in terms of consumption forgone, of improving economic arrangements”<sup>32</sup>.

In referring to M.F. Scott’s proposal we will be treating analytically the above-mentioned buy-sell transactions as investments. These investments have as their objective maximizing the utility of tangible assets. Maximization of utility serves to satisfy people’s needs (for welfare), also via compensating the participants of economic activities for their losses in the scope of well-being. Maximization of the utility of assets is the driving force of economic growth. However, concerning costs, St. Thomas suggests the existence of cost as an objective, countable quantity, although he points attention to the

28 A.O. Hirschman, *The Strategy of Economic Development*, New Haven 1963, pp. 11-20.

29 E.g., ST, Pars Prima Secundae (henceforth: I-II), Taurini-Romae 1952, q. 105, art. 2, ad. 3; II-II, q. 71, art. 2, resp.; q. 101, art. 2.

30 Cf. Y.-K. Ng, op.cit., pp. 30-32; A.M. Feldman, op.cit., pp. 140-142.

31 ST, II-II, q. 77, art. 1, resp.

32 M.F. Scott, *A New View of Economic Growth*, Oxford 1991, pp. 14, 19.

typical need for estimation in such calculations<sup>33</sup>. However, as far as the utility of assets is concerned, it would be more precise to interpret cost as the anticipated utility of a commodity that was rejected as an alternative for a commodity selected<sup>34</sup>. In this grasp wealth is created not thanks to a reduction of the relative costs, but thanks to the maximization of relative utility. *Quantitas valoris*, which we identify with “cost”, does not determine exchangeable value. Relative exchangeable values are distinguished by relative utilities, and not relative costs. On the other hand, in circumstances of a generally high labor-intensive production and of modest technical equipment for work, the possibilities for growth of efficiency thanks to a reduction of costs were very limited, whereas the differences in the alternative costs were in all likelihood insignificant<sup>35</sup>.

In this model population growth must be taken into consideration. St. Thomas Aquinas admonishes against depopulating the state or region in result of a concentration of one’s own lands. He mentions the rising population of cities, and suggests that the greater the populous, the better the satisfying of the human needs<sup>36</sup>. M.F. Scott points to the existence of a feedback mechanism between the growth of production and an increase in the labor force<sup>37</sup>. Nonetheless, E.L. Jones appraises population growth ambivalently: “it would not generate intensive growth”<sup>38</sup>. Albert O. Hirschman, in turn, notes: “The basic determinant of development which we have called the ‘ability to invest’ is decisively enhanced in the course of the struggle to accommodate more people”. That author emphasizes the role of urbanization as a factor stimulating economic growth<sup>39</sup>.

The problem here discussed bears on investment opportunities. In M.F. Scott’s model investments induce subsequent investments<sup>40</sup>. However, A.O. Hirschman observes that in developing countries “the difficulty [...] lies [...] with the perception of investment opportunities and their transformation into actual investments”<sup>41</sup>. Indeed, we need note the favorableness for

33 ST, II-II, q. 77, art. 1, ad 1.

34 Cf. J.M. Buchanan, op.cit., pp. 41-48.

35 A separate question is that of the enormous trouble in estimating costs in the pre-industrial age, above all the value of labor, cf. recent G. Maifreda, op.cit., pp. 146-150; cf. also the views of Pierre Bourdieu, that in traditional societies the division of production and non-production labor, of profitable and non-profitable labor has a secondary meaning, see P. Bourdieu, *Die zwei Gesichter der Arbeit. Interdependenzen von Zeit- und Wirtschaftsstrukturen am Beispiel einer Ethnologie der algerischen Übergangsgesellschaft* (édition discours, XXV), Konstanz 2000, pp. 53-60. Cf. ST, II-II, q. 71, resp.; ad 1-3.

36 ST, I-II, q. 105, art. 2, ad. 3; DRP, I, cap. I.

37 M.F. Scott, op.cit., pp. 40-45.

38 E.L. Jones, op.cit., p. XXII.

39 A.O. Hirschman, op.cit., pp. 177, 180, also p. 181.

40 M.F. Scott, op.cit., pp. 131 ff.

41 A.O. Hirschman, op.cit., p. 35.



investments that appear in a city, that *perfecta communitas*<sup>42</sup>. In describing the determinations of “the old law” St. Thomas writes that, in the cities, it allowed the sale of homes and moveable properties forever: “Non enim erat statutus numerus domorum civitatis, sicut erat certa mensura possessionis, ad quam non addebatur, poterat autem aliquid addi ad numerum domorum civitatis”<sup>43</sup>. Herein we find an implicit thesis that was later taken up by Jean-Baptiste Say, namely that “national industry is limited, not by territorial extent, but by extent of capital”<sup>44</sup>. It is undoubtedly no accident that Thomas at once writes about the need to extend credit on profitable terms<sup>45</sup>, about immediately paying (poor) day-workers<sup>46</sup>, and, lastly, about the fact that “illi qui locant alias res, divites esse consueverunt, nec ita indigent locationis pretio ad suum dictum quotidianum”<sup>47</sup>. This last case would seem to concern the owners of homes/domiciles/workshops. Here Thomas mentions various property rights *vis-à-vis* homes/domiciles (*dominium, usus, conductio, locatio*), along with homes as guarantees on loans<sup>48</sup>.

Now we need turn to the concept of “urban growth machine”, in accordance with which the city, as a place that is the basis for the life of a human collective and the accumulation of assets generating wealth, is the subject of the activity of two (rival) powers. One of them serves the maximization of exchange value city-place via place commodification; the other serves the maximization of the use value of urban space. Behind that first power are urban elites, formulating a program that exceeds beyond place commodification, namely a broad-based urban growth program<sup>49</sup>. Such a program was necessary, if we are to note only how capital-intensive is the construction of homes; urban growth raised the level of revenue from houses<sup>50</sup>. Urban growth as a multifaceted phenomenon created opportunities for investment. Here sundry interdependencies and linkage effects were at work<sup>51</sup>.

42 DRP, I, cap. I.

43 ST, I-II, q. 105, art. 2, ad 3.

44 J.-B. Say, *A Treatise on Political Economy, or the Production, Distribution, and Consumption of Wealth*, Kitchener 2001, p. 32.

45 ST, I-II, q. 105, art. 2, ad 4.

46 *Ibidem*, q. 105, art. 2, ad 6: *mercenarii qui locant operas suas, pauperes sunt, de laboribus suis victum quaerentes quotidianum, et ideo lex provide ordinavit ut statim eis merces solveretur, ne victis eis deficeret.*

47 *Ibidem*, q. 105, art. 2, ad 6.

48 ST, II-II, q. 78, art. 1, resp.; art. 3, resp.; ad 2.

49 J.R. Logan, H.L. Molotch, *Urban Fortune. The Political Economy of Place. With a New Preface*, Berkeley-Los Angeles 2007; *The Urban Growth Machine: Critical Perspectives Two Decades Later*, ed. by A.E. Jonas, D. Wilson, Albany 1999.

50 A wealth of interesting material on this issue can be found in the recent publication: M. Kowaleski, P.J.P. Goldberg, *Medieval Domesticity. Home, Housing and Household in Medieval England*, Cambridge 2008.

51 Cf. A.O. Hirschman, *op.cit.*, pp. 109-110.

The contrast with the village “place” is plain insofar as St. Thomas mentions decisions in the “old law” which were to prevent the concentration of earthly possessions “quod omnes possessiones ad paucos deveniant, et ita necesse erit civitatem vel regionem habitatoribus evacuari”<sup>52</sup>. In reference to times contemporary to St. Thomas one may assume the phenomenon of the expansion of money from the city to the village. The purchasers of land in the village could be burghers who invested their pecuniary assets in real estate of high value and limited availability. These were prestigious properties, socially as well<sup>53</sup>. However, the former small-time owners of land moved with the money they had earned to the city – to the center of growth. Therefore, in the case of prestigious goods we see a stronger impact of the use value vis-à-vis exchange value<sup>54</sup>; in the city-place it was the other way around<sup>55</sup>.

### III

Werner Stark explains that the early scholastics understood the phenomenon of money-capital thus: “they did not have an express theory of it, but they realised, however dimly, what its true nature is – to be the spring of economic change and advancement, to be the motor force of progress”. According to them the cost of such progress was too high; fearing the collapse of the *divine ordo* they “banned usury from the city”<sup>56</sup>. It is worth addressing this question.

Drawing on Aristotle, St. Thomas writes, “Quantitas autem rerum quae in usum hominis veniunt mensuratur secundum pretium datum: ad quod est inventum numisma”<sup>57</sup>. He divides commodities into 1) those whose usage involves be used up, and in which case one cannot separate usage from the commodity itself, and 2) those whose usage does not involve being used up, and in which case one can separate usage from the commodity itself, and in connection with which it is forbidden to take payment for the usage of such

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52 ST, I-II, q. 105, art. 2, ad 3. In the meantime, in St. Thomas’ opinion, *dignior enim est civitas si abundantiam rerum habeat ex territorio proprio, quam si per mercatores abundet* (DRP, II, cap. III; cf. cap. V-VII).

53 Cf. F. Hirsch, *Social Limits to Growth*, London-Henley 1977, pp. 20-12, 29, 52.

54 Among prestige goods we need count the vessels made of precious metals Thomas mentions, see ST, II-II, q. 61, art. 3, resp.; q. 77, art. 2, ad 1; q. 78, art. 1, ad 6. On such vessels (and other movable properties) as a measure of credit worthiness cf. e.g.: C. Muldrew, ‘*Hard Food for Midas’: Cash and Its Social Value in Early Modern England, “Past & Present”* CLXX (2001), p. 32 ff.; E. Welch, *Shopping in the Renaissance: Consumer Cultures in Italy 1400-1600*, New Haven 2005, pp. 90, 92.

55 Cfr. DRP, II, cap. III: *Dignior [...] est civitas si abundantiam rerum habeat ex territorio proprio, quia si per mercatores abundet*; see E. Schreiber, op.cit., p. 23.

56 W. Stark, op.cit., p. 19.

57 ST, II-II, q. 77, art. 1, resp. Cf. DRP, II, cap. VII.

a commodity. Again hearkening to Aristotle, Thomas states that money was invented especially for conducting exchange and that it why the main and proper usage of money is its using up or sale. This is why *secundum se* it is forbidden to accept payment, i.e., usury, for the usage of borrowed money<sup>58</sup>.

Here the question arises as to Thomas' attitude toward the question of money's utility. We may find a measure of clarification in the following statement he made: "ergo dicendum quod ille qui mutuuum dat potest absque peccato in pactum deducere cum eo qui mutuuum accipit recompensationem damni per quod subtrahitur sibi aliquid quod debet habere: hoc enim non est vendere usum pecuniae, sed damnum vitare. Et potest esse quod accipiens mutuuum maius damnum evitet quam dans incurret: unde accipiens mutuuum cum sua utilitate damnum alterius recompensat"<sup>59</sup>. One may surmise that harm to the creditor is a consequence not only of lending money without interest, but of the fact that he has been deprived of the possibility of acquiring something which he should possess. In other words, the harm is identical with the lack of having at one's disposal the utility of a certain thing. In turn, the passage describing that if the debtor avoids greater harm than the harm experienced by the creditor, then he should compensate the creditor for said harm, directs our attention to the utility of lending (*mutuum cum sua utilitate*). Indeed, this utility – we surmise – does not result from the fact that the debtor received a loan without having to pay interest, but from the fact that he acquired something of a certain utility. After all, harm is that of the absence of a certain utility.

But let's return to the matter of lending money. Bent Hansen writes that "the utility function [of money – M.D.] is based on the hypothesis that both holdings and real money-claim holdings give the owner some kind of utility" – namely, "money in real terms is useful not only because it can be exchanged for useful commodities, but because it facilitates the process of transactions, bridges gaps between payments and receipts, makes unexpected purchases possible, and so forth"<sup>60</sup>. John Hicks, in turn, draws attention to the fact that, in a money system relying on precious metals with a poorly developed credit market, what was important was to possess cash reserves<sup>61</sup>. However, it seems that St. Thomas was not thinking of money's utility as a current assets, but about the utility of a commodity acquired by

58 ST, II-II, q. 78, art. 1, resp.; art. 1, ad 3; art. 1, ad 5; art. 1, ad 6.

59 Ibidem, q. 78, art. 2, ad 1.

60 B. Hansen, *A Survey of General Equilibrium Systems*, New York etc. 1970, pp. 56-57, 67.

61 J. Hicks, *Economic Perspectives. Further Essays on Money and Growth*, Oxford 1977, p. 51; cf. A.O. Hirschman, op.cit., p. 36.

way of taking on debt<sup>62</sup>. Thus, the credit market is to serve the maximization of a thing's utility, but not the maximization of the utility of money, as reflected in profit (*de pecunia non est lucratur*)<sup>63</sup>. Here the condemnation of usury was consistent, as was the postulate for the development of interest-free lending<sup>64</sup>. In buying-selling transactions extending credit was to be bound by the absolute price instead of the relative price<sup>65</sup> (which reflects the utility of money). What is of interest is that, although St. Thomas favored a high rate of time preference, as we may deduce from the statement, "minus est habere aliquid virtuti quam habere actu"<sup>66</sup>, on the other hand he postulated an interest rate equal to zero. Notwithstanding this, Thomas recognized the existence of a market for interest loans. He stated that usury is an evil that accompanies loans, and the later are good<sup>67</sup>.

Whatever the case, St. Thomas came out decidedly in favor of mobilizing monetary reserves. He wrote that it is more praiseworthy to spend money than to hoard it<sup>68</sup>. Such mobilization of reserves could be carried out on the credit market<sup>69</sup>. According to St. Thomas, loans are good<sup>70</sup>; there is no reason to refrain from seeking a loan<sup>71</sup>; it is acceptable to borrow from a usurer with regard to the necessity to deal with need<sup>72</sup>; a loan enables matters of utility to be carried out<sup>73</sup>. The evil that can accompany credit transactions to not negate the good that is connected with such transactions.

Corresponding with this is the statement that commodities possessed in excess are to serve the maintenance of the poor. Here St. Thomas relies on a relevant passage from the sermons of St. Ambrose and the "Decretum Gratiani: miserorum redemptio et absolutio est pecunia quam tu in terram defodis"<sup>74</sup>. What results from this is that we may speak of an excess of commodities when they are withdrawn from use (circulation), for then their marginal utility is equal to zero. We may suppose that such withdrawal of commodities is a consequence of a rise in income. Thomas' postulate that an excess of commodities is to serve in maintaining the poor (*pauperum sustentatio*) is not to be understood literally, as stipulating that such excess be

62 Cf. ST, II-II, q. 62, art. 4 resp.; art. 4, ad 1 i ad 2; q. 78, art. 3, resp.

63 Ibidem, q. 78, art. 2, ad 1; cf. B. Hansen, op.cit., pp. 94-95.

64 E.g., ST, II-II, q. 78, art. 2,

65 See B. Hansen, op.cit., pp. 64-66.

66 ST, II-II, q. 62, art. 4, resp.

67 Ibidem, q. 78, art 1, ad 3; art. 4, resp.; art. 4, ad 2.

68 SCG, III, cap. XXX.

69 Cf. J. Hicks, *Economic Perspectives...*, pp. 54-55.

70 ST, II-II, q. 78, art. 4, ad 1.

71 Ibidem, q. 78, art. 4, ad 2.

72 Ibidem, q. 78, art. 4, resp.

73 Ibidem, q. 78, art. 1, ad 3.

74 Ibidem, q. 66, art. 7, resp.; cf. ibidem, q. 118, art. 1, ad 2.

passed out<sup>75</sup>. *Sustentatio pauperum* may take place – as we can assume – also through undertaking investments. In this regard we need to turn attention to the concept of excess. St. Thomas, for example, writes in regard to the social virtues related to justice that excess does not depend on quantity or amount, but on other circumstances “Attenditur autem eius superfluum non quidem secundum quantum, sed secundum alias circumstantias”<sup>76</sup>. In terms of fulfilling the duties of a given virtue, what has priority for St. Thomas in such fulfilling is the search for a balance (*medium*) between excess and shortage. It is quite another thing that, as he writes “omne vitium ex defectu virtutis nominatur quod magis virtuti opponitur”<sup>77</sup>. Concerning the question of investment we may state that said *medium* is distinguished by a point when the value of the utility of an investment is equal to the value of outlays. What remains should be designated to supporting the poor through charitable activities.

Money served the maximization of the utility of tangible assets, so there is no competition between money and those assets. If the monetary interest rate were zero, as St. Thomas wanted, and if at that rate monetary reserves were mobilized, and the “natural” interest rate were higher than zero<sup>78</sup>, then we could expect, in accord with Knut Wicksell’s theory<sup>79</sup>, growth in the demand initially for capital goods (in our case e.g., homes and ships), and then for consumption goods, along with a general rise in prices. The rapid tempo to economic growth would last as long as the law of diminishing returns would not be felt, as that would draw the “natural” interest rate down to zero. Whatever the case, it is noteworthy that Thomas, in writing about usury loans, points to real estate (homes, fields) as securities for such loans<sup>80</sup>. In connection with this Thomas’ following statement is of interest “Et ideo non praecipitur quod assignentur illae possessiones his a quibus fuerunt acceptae usurae, quia forte plus valent quam usurae quasi dederunt”<sup>81</sup>. This information can be interpreted to mean that the natural interest rate, i.e., the rate of profit from said examples of real estate (does this concern homes in the city?), was higher than the monetary interest rate. The difference encouraged investment in fixed capital.

75 Support for the poor is variously conditioned; moderation is advised (*ibidem*, q. 58, art. 10, resp.; q. 61, art. 1, ad 1; art. 2, resp.; ad 3; cf. q. 32, art. 6); the relevant actions rest with the owner of commodities (*ibidem*, q. 66, art. 7, resp.); assistance is directed to chosen persons (*ibidem*, q. 71, art. 1, resp.), etc.

76 *Ibidem*, q. 104, art. 2, ad 2.

77 *Ibidem*, q. 107, art. 2, resp.

78 Cf. *ibidem*, q. 78, art. 2, ad 5, where Thomas speaks about the profit from a merchants’ or artisans’ company; see also q. 77, art. 4, resp.: *lucrum moderatum*.

79 Cf. e.g.: B. Hansen, *op.cit.*, pp. 113-118; J. Hicks, *Economic Perspectives...*, pp. 61-72.

80 ST, II-II, q. 78, art. 3.

81 *Ibidem*, q. 78, art. 3, ad 2.

Finally, we need turn to institutions. Thomas was aware that exchange (investment) is in essence an act of ownership rights. He therefore emphasized that ownership is *necessarium ad humanam vitam*. One consequence of ownership, after all, is that of a greater output of labor, social order (*ordinatio rerum humanarum*), and social peace (*pacificus status hominum*)<sup>82</sup>. No-one can be unjustly deprived of their property<sup>83</sup>. Moreover, Thomas observed that the ruler should assure money of a stable value (*numisma, sive moneta propria*)<sup>84</sup>, along with safe and free roads<sup>85</sup>, and also establish *iustae mensurae rerum venalium*<sup>86</sup>. All of these postulates need to be interpreted in the context of the statements of today's historians – namely, that “the main obstacle to growth in the feudal economy was the cost of trade, which was defined mainly by institutional regulation and tariffs and by developments in transport technology. Yet the lords' and towns' main purpose in stimulating trade was to maximize rent streams from their social and political powers”<sup>87</sup>.

#### IV

Let us now try and summarize the above reflections. Can we, on the basis of St. Thomas' considerations, sketch a rough “model” for economic growth? It seems we can. We thus deem the aim of economic activity to be that of satisfying needs. By “satisfying needs” we understand making well-being a reality. This making well-being a reality is subordinated to the postulate of the common good. The concept of well-being also includes an abundance of material goods. This abundance is a consequence of economic growth. The centers of growth are cities. In the process of growth a maximization of the utility of tangible assets is carried out. Economic growth is a function of investment and demographic increase. Monetary (and commodity) reserves are made avail of to finance growth; the monetary interest rate should be maximally low, even equal to zero. Investments are mobilized until the marginal value of the utility of investment equals the marginal value of

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82 Ibidem, q. 66, art. 2, resp.

83 Ibidem, q. 62, art. 6.

84 DRP II, cap. XIII. 7.

85 Ibidem, cap. XII.

86 ST, II-II, q. 77, art. 2, ad 2; DRP II, cap. XIV. 8.

87 S.R. Epstein, *The Late Medieval Crisis as an 'Integration Crisis'*, in: *Early Modern Capitalism. Economic and Social Change in Europe, 1400-1800*, Routledge Explorations in Economic History, XXI, ed. by M. Praak, London-New York 2001, pp. 25-50, quotation p. 34; cf. M. Bourin, S. Carocci, F. Menant, L. To Figueras, *Les campagnes de la Méditerranée occidentale autour de 1300: tensions destructrices, tensions novatrices*, “Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales” LXVI (2011) 3, pp. 663-704; also M.F. Scott, op.cit., pp. 286, 306-310; E.L. Jones, op.cit., pp. XXVII-XXVIII et al.

outlays. The remaining monetary and other reserves become designated for charitable ends.

What looms from St. Thomas' considerations is that the subjects of growth are human groups: in human collectives growth may be initiated, and human collectives are the beneficiaries of growth. In this approach we may see a reflection of the idea that the task of the economy is to generate a relatively sufficient product for all, in accord with the postulate of the common good. As Karl G. Persson put it: "When there is pooling of risks within a group the welfare of an individual or household will depend not only on its own effort but on a joint product as well. The production of a household not only satisfies its own needs but the need for a surplus that can be redistributed in case there is a subsistence crisis. [...] Especially in small groups, when the dependence on a joint product is relatively more important, this externality may prove to be decisive"<sup>88</sup>.

#### ABSTRACT

This article's purpose is to answer how the early scholastics approached the issue of changes to important variables in the economy, ones which are currently the subject of economic growth theories. Thus, on the basis of the writings of St. Thomas of Aquinas an attempt is made to reconstruct the scholastic "model" of growth. According to Thomas, the management of a sufficient supply of material goods ranks among the most important conditions for the human's life to be in accord with the principles of justice. This concerns a life that is subordinated to the common good in regards to satisfying needs in the meaning of welfare. Welfare is a function of the maximization of the utility of tangible assets. Maximization of the utility of tangible assets, in turn, is a result of investment. The financing of investments is carried out by putting monetary resources into circulation via a credit market. The interest rate should be as low as possible, as the purpose of the credit market is not to maximize the utility of money, but to maximize the utility of goods. The amount of investment is optimal when the value of outlays equals the value of the utility of investments. The volume of the supply of the given good should not stray from the level at which the utility of a good, the allocation of resources, and social welfare attain an optimum. It is human groups that are the subjects of efforts directed toward the maximization of tangible assets. The larger the society, the better the satisfying of needs. The main centers of growth are cities. The reserves not designated to finance investments should be designated to help the poor.

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<sup>88</sup> K.G. Persson, *Pre-Industrial Economic Growth. Social Organization and Technological Progress in Europe*, Oxford 1988, pp. 39-40.

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## NATIONAL INCOMES AND ECONOMIC GROWTH IN PRE-INDUSTRIAL EUROPE: INSIGHTS FROM RECENT RESEARCH\*



The capacity of pre-industrial European economies to resist the Malthusian tendency for increases in national income to be absorbed by further expansion of population and, instead, generate and sustain improved material well being and real per capita economic growth remains a matter of considerable debate. Gregory Clark, for instance, believes that Malthusian relationships remained paramount until right up to the industrial revolution, as evidenced by the fact that 15<sup>th</sup> century levels of real wage rates and his own consumption-based estimate of English per capita GDP were not significantly bettered until late in the 19<sup>th</sup> century<sup>1</sup>. R.C. Allen takes a more optimistic view and claims that relatively high real wage rates paid in England and its immediately neighbouring North Sea economies spurred investment in labour-serving technology and human capital formation, culminating in adoption of the raft

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<sup>1</sup> This view is most fully articulated in G. Clark, *A Farewell to Alms: A Brief Economic History of the World*, Princeton 2008.



of innovations associated with the industrial revolution<sup>2</sup>. For this privileged minority of economies, take off to sustained economic growth was thus preceded by a long era of economic dynamism and structural change when Malthusian pressures were mostly kept in abeyance and Smithian processes of commercial expansion and specialisation were to the fore.

Estimates of English per capita GDP by Crafts and Harley from 1700, largely corroborated and extended back to the 13<sup>th</sup> century by Broadberry, Campbell, Klein, van Leeuwen and Overton, endorse this more optimistic view<sup>3</sup>. Between 1500 and 1750 England's population grew from 2.2 million to 7.3 million and, on the latter's estimates, its per capita GDP improved from \$1,135 to \$1,680. Other countries which successfully reconciled modest improvements in per capita wealth and prosperity with sustained demographic expansion include Holland during its early modern "Golden Age" (Table 3) and Italy during the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> century commercial revolution (Table 4). In each case, Smithian trade-based specialisation, Ricardian investment in improved institutions and new technology, and Boserupian intensification of land-use delivered enhanced returns to land, labour and capital. Rising urbanisation levels provide one of the clearest symptoms of the real economic progress thereby achieved, as secondary and tertiary activities grew in importance and economic structures became more complex and differentiated<sup>4</sup>.

Pre-industrial rates of economic growth were always modest, invariably less than 1 percent and typically well below 0.5 percent *per annum*, and prone to falter and decline<sup>5</sup>. Nevertheless, from the fifteenth century they were sufficient to generate a widening divergence within Europe between the leading and lagging economies and their respective capacities to resist

<sup>2</sup> R.C.Allen, *The Great Divergence in European Wages and Prices from the Middle Ages to the First World War*, "Explorations in Economic History" XXXVIII (2001) 4, pp. 411-447; idem, *The British Industrial Revolution in Global Perspective*, Cambridge 2009.

<sup>3</sup> N.F.R. Crafts, C.K. Harley, *Output Growth and the British Industrial Revolution: A Restatement of the Crafts Harley View*, "Economic History Review" LXV (2008) 4, pp. 703-730; S.N. Broadberry, B.M.S. Campbell, A. Klein, M. Overton, B. van Leeuwen, *British Economic Growth 1270-1870*, London School of Economics, Working Paper, London 2011.

<sup>4</sup> E.A. Wrigley, *Urban Growth and Agricultural Change: England and the Continent in the Early Modern Period*, "Journal of Interdisciplinary History" XV (1985) 4, pp. 683-728; J.L. van Zanden, *Early Modern Economic Growth: A Survey of the European Economy, 1500-1800*, in: *Early Modern Capitalism: Economic and Social Change in Europe, 1400-1800*, ed. by M. Prak, London 2001, pp. 69-87 ("regional differences in levels of development [...] are perhaps best approached via variations in the urbanization ratio").

<sup>5</sup> K.G. Persson, *Pre-industrial Economic Growth: Social Organization and Technological Progress in Europe*, Oxford 1988, pp. 124-142; J.L. van Zanden, B. van Leeuwen, *Persistent But Not Consistent: The Growth of National Income in Holland 1347-1807*, "Explorations in Economic History" IL (2012) 2, pp. 119-130; S.N. Broadberry, B.M.S. Campbell, A. Klein, M. Overton, B. van Leeuwen, *op.cit.*

the negative consequences of population growth and achieve higher average levels of per capita material wellbeing. Both economic groups contained significant numbers of poor households living at a bare-bones level of subsistence, but with the difference that as per capita GDP slowly rose in the leading economies, so the proportion of such households gradually diminished and provision grew of institutionalised welfare intended to sustain them through hard times<sup>6</sup>. In England Malthusian positive checks to population growth had consequently been more-or-less eliminated well before advent of the industrial revolution<sup>7</sup>.

## PER CAPITA GDP

Discussion of pre-industrial rates of economic growth and the wealth and poverty of nations ultimately hinges upon effective estimation of national income, population, and, thence, per capita GDP. Angus Maddison's per capita GDP estimates for a range of European countries in 1850 provide a reasonably secure benchmark against which levels of development in earlier centuries may be judged. At that time per capita GDP ranged from less than \$1,000 (Geary-Khamis 1990 PPP International dollars) in poor and relatively under-developed European economies such as Finland, Norway, Greece and Portugal, to a maximum of over \$2,300 in the leading economies of Great Britain and the Netherlands, and averaged approximately \$1,600 in Western Europe as a whole<sup>8</sup>. Maddison has also offered a range of estimates for earlier centuries, extending as far back as the Roman Empire, but methodologically these are less robust and his estimates for countries since subject to close empirical examination have all turned out to be too low<sup>9</sup>. By implication, therefore, gains in per capita GDP between 1000 and 1850 were substantially smaller than those estimated by Maddison and rates

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6 S.N. Broadberry, B.M.S. Campbell, A. Klein, M. Overton, B. van Leeuwen, op.cit.

7 B.M.S. Campbell, *Four Famines and a Pestilence: Harvest, Price, and Wage Variations in England, 13<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> Centuries*, in: *Agrarhistoria på många sätt; 28 studier om manniskan och jorden. Festskrift till Janken Myrdal på hans 60-årsdag*, ed. by B. Liljewall, I.A. Flygare, U. Lange, L. Ljunggren, J. Söderberg, Stockholm 2009, pp. 23-56; B.M.S. Campbell, C.Ó. Gráda, *Harvest Shortfalls, Grain Prices, and Famines in Pre-industrial England*, "Journal of Economic History" LXXI (2011) 4, pp. 859-886; M. Kelly, C.Ó. Gráda, *The Poor Law of Old England: Institutional Innovation and Demographic Regimes*, "Journal of Interdisciplinary History" XLI (2010) 3, pp. 339-366.

8 A. Maddison, *Statistics on World Population, GDP and per capita GDP 1-2008 A.D.*, Groningen 2009, (<http://www.ggdc.net/maddison/oriindex.htm>); for updated estimates see <http://www.ggdc.net/maddison/maddison-project/data.htm>.

9 His estimates for Italy (\$1,100), the Netherlands (\$761), France (\$727), the United Kingdom (\$714), Germany (\$688), and Spain (\$661) in 1500 are on average 40 percent lower than the re-estimates given in Table 1.

of economic growth slower, which lends support to stagnationist verdicts on the period<sup>10</sup>. Exceptions nevertheless existed and the transformation of first Holland and then England from lagging to leading economies, with per capita GDPs which more than doubled over the 400 years between the eves of the Black Death and industrial revolution, demonstrates that cumulative growth could and did occur (Graphs 8 and 10).

Historical national incomes may be estimated by totalling the value of incomes, expenditure or net output, with results from each method of estimation providing a crosscheck on the others. Further, net output can either be measured directly (from data on agriculture, mining and manufacturing, and services and valued using data on prices) or inferred indirectly from data on population size, wage rates and estimated levels of urbanisation (on the principles that domestic food production was proportionate to the population to be fed and non-agricultural output proportionate to the non-agricultural, i.e. urban, population). Rigorous methodologies exist for deriving estimates in these alternative ways and thereby making best use of available empirical data<sup>11</sup>. For England from 1253 and Holland from 1348 directly estimated output-based per capita GDP series are now available on an annual basis (Graphs 8 and 10) and are complemented by equivalent output series estimated indirectly for Spain from 1277 and Italy from 1310 (Graphs 6 and 7). Additional indirect estimates have been derived for selected European countries for a range of benchmark dates (Table 1).

Table 1: Per capita GDP and urbanisation ratios for selected European countries and benchmark dates.

	1300	1400	1500	1600	Mean 1400, 1500, 1600
A) Per capita GDP (Geary-Khamis 1990 PPP International dollars):					
Holland		\$1,264	\$1,461	\$2,448	\$1,724
Italy	\$1,650	\$1,682	\$1,544	\$1,302	\$1,509

<sup>10</sup> Italy is the clearest example of long-term stagnation and decline: P. Malanima, *The Long Decline of a Leading Economy: GDP in Central and Northern Italy, 1300-1913*, "European Review of Economic History" XV (2011) 2, pp. 169-219. Sweden, in contrast, existed in a state of dynamic equilibrium from the 1560s to 1860s, with significant structural economic change essentially no improvement in *per capita* GDP: L. Schön, O. Krantz, *The Swedish Economy in the Early Modern Period: Constructing Historical National Accounts*, "European Review of Economic History" XVI (2012) 4, pp. 538-541.

<sup>11</sup> C.H. Feinstein, *National Statistics, 1760-1920: Sources and Methods of Estimation for Domestic Reproducible Fixed Assets, Stocks and Works in Progress, Overseas Assets, and Land*, in: *Studies in Capital Formation in the United Kingdom, 1750-1920*, ed. by C.H. Feinstein, S. Pollard, Oxford 1988, pp. 257-471.

France		\$1,300	\$1,244	\$1,244	\$1,263
Germany			\$1,385	\$989	\$1,187
England	\$760	\$1,251	\$1,136	\$1,093	\$1,160
Spain	\$1,046	\$989	\$1,018	\$1,074	\$1,027
Sweden				\$847	
B) Urbanisation ratio (%):					
Netherlands	13.8	21.7	29.5	34.7	28.6
Italy	21.4	17.6	21.0	18.4	19.0
France	8.0	10.8	8.8	10.8	10.1
Germany	7.9	11.1	8.2	8.5	9.3
UK	4.4	5.7	4.6	7.9	6.1
Spain	8.8	7.8	c.8.0	14.5	10.1
Sweden				c.2.0	

Sources: (A) Per capita GDP – Holland and England: S.N. Broadberry, B.M.S. Campbell, M. Overton, J.-L. van Zanden, *Reconstructing the National Incomes of Britain and Holland, c. 1270/1500 to 1850*, research project funded by the Leverhulme Trust, Reference Number F/00215AR. (N.D.); Italy: P. Malanima, *Italian GDP 1300-1913*, Institute of Studies on Mediterranean Societies, Italian National Research Council (N.D.); Netherlands; France, Germany and Spain: C. Álvarez-Nogal, L. Prados de la Escosura, *The Rise and Fall of Spain (1270-1850)*, "Economic History Review" LXVI L (2013) 1, p. 23; Sweden: L. Schön, O. Krantz, *The Swedish economy in the early modern period: constructing historical national accounts*, "European Review of Economic History" XVI (2012) 4, p. 546; (B) Urbanisation ratio – Italy: P. Malanima, loc.cit.; Spain: Álvarez-Nogal and Prados de la Escosura, op.cit., p. 14; Netherlands, France, Germany and UK: P. Bairoch, J. Batou, P. Chevre, op.cit.; Sweden: L. Schön, O. Krantz, op.cit., p. 540.

Generally, the wealthier and more developed an economy the higher its urbanisation ratio, since urban growth was contingent upon production of agricultural surpluses and expansion of demand for manufactured goods and services. Deviations did nonetheless occur, when per capita GDP rose but urbanisation ratios did not, as, most strikingly, following the Black Death when the contraction of populations exceeded the shrinkage of national incomes and crowded urban populations were hit hard by plague. This raises the intriguing question whether per capita GDP growth under such negative circumstances and without increasing urbanisation amounted to real economic growth at all. The fact that per capita GDP improved by less than real wage rates, and sometimes even declined, also suggests that the impression of 15<sup>th</sup> century prosperity and growth implied by labourers' real wage rates may be an illusion. Certainly, as Luis Angeles has shown, changes in relative factor prices, the length of the working day and year, and the labour-force participation rates of men, women and children might all raise or depress real wage rates relative to per capita GDP<sup>12</sup>. Much is therefore to be gained by considering real wage-rates, urbanisation, and per capita GDP

12 L. Angeles, *GDP per capita or Real Wages? Making Sense of Conflicting Views on Pre-industrial Europe*, "Explorations in Economic History" XLV (2008) 2, pp. 147-163.

trends comparatively, especially when, as in the case of England, each has been estimated independently of the others.

## REAL WAGE RATES

Quantitative historical analysis of absolute and relative levels of economic development prior to the industrial revolution effectively commenced with publication in 1956 of Henry Phelps-Brown and Sheila Hopkins' celebrated chronology of the real wage rates of English building labourers, reconstructed from data on wages and prices gathered during the previous 100 years by J.E. Thorold Rogers and William Lord Beveridge<sup>13</sup>. Since then, real wage-rate series for technologically unvarying tasks such as building and farm labouring have been widely employed to draw inferences about the direction, magnitude and character of economic change. For instance, Allen has recently used building workers' real wage-rate series for 19 cities to investigate the widening divergence in the relative cost of labour between the countries of the North Sea region and the rest of Europe over the course of the early modern period<sup>14</sup>. Where unit labour costs were highest, as in the cities of the southern North Sea region, incentives to invest capital in labour-saving technology were strongest. Comparisons between wages and prices in Europe and Asia point in the same direction<sup>15</sup>.

English real wage-rate series are chronologically the longest and most robust currently available. As recently corrected and revised by John H. Munro, the Phelps-Brown and Hopkins chronology of English building workers' real wage rates runs continuously for seven centuries from 1264 (Graph 1). A corresponding chronology of farm labourers' real wage rates compiled by Clark commences even earlier, in 1209, but remains discontinuous until 1268 (Graph 2). Both series yield closely comparable chronologies, with the prominent exception of the immediate aftermath of the Black Death of 1348-

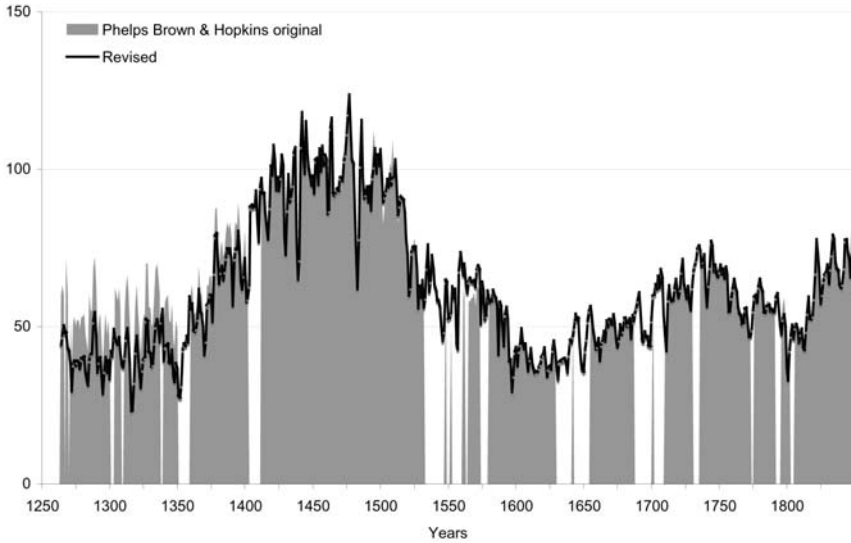
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<sup>13</sup> E.H. Phelps-Brown, S.V. Hopkins, *Seven Centuries of the Prices of Consumables, Compared with Builders' Wage Rates*, "Economica", new series, XXIII (1956) 92, pp. 296-314, reprinted in *A Perspective of Prices and Wages*, London-New York 1981; J.E. Thorold Rogers, *A History of Agriculture and Prices in England from 1259 to 1793*, I-VI, Oxford 1866-1902; W.H. (Lord) Beveridge, L. Liepmann, *Prices and Wages in England from the Twelfth to the Nineteenth Century*, I, London 1939.

<sup>14</sup> R.C. Allen, *The Great Divergence in European Wages and Prices from the Middle Ages to the First World War*, "Explorations in Economic History" XXXVIII (2001) 4, pp. 411-447; R.C. Allen, *Data: Wages and Price History*, <http://www.nuffield.ox.ac.uk/People/sites/Allen/SitePages/Biography.aspx>.

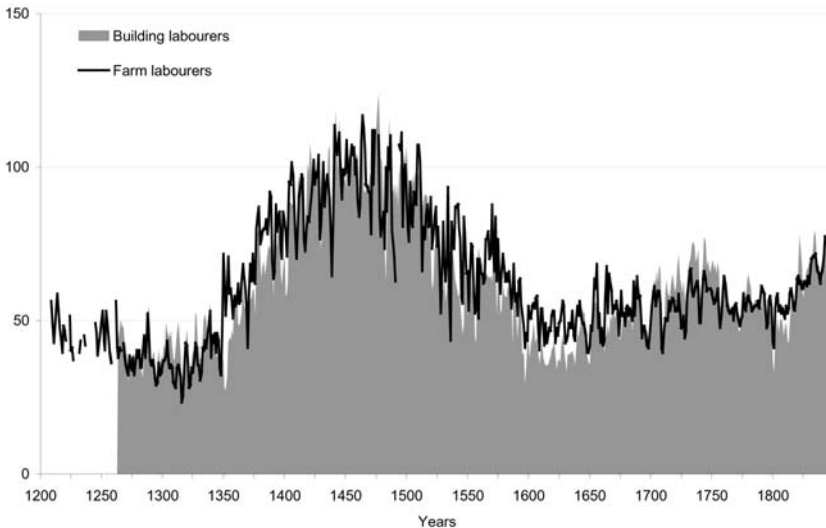
<sup>15</sup> S.N. Broadberry, B. Gupta, *The Early Modern Great Divergence: Wages, Prices and Economic Development in Europe and Asia, 1500-1800*, "Economic History Review" LIX (2006) 1, pp. 2-31.

Graph 1: John H. Munro’s re-working of the Henry Phelps Brown and Sheila Hopkins index of English building labourers’ real wage rates.



Sources: E.H. Phelps-Brown, S.V. Hopkins, *Seven Centuries of the Prices of Consumables, Compared with Builders’ Wage Rates*, “Economica”, new series, XXIII (1956) 92, pp. 296-314; J.H. Munro, *The Phelps Brown and Hopkins ‘Basket of Consumables’ Commodity Price Series and Craftsmen’s Wage Series, 1264-1700*: rev. by John H. Munro’, <http://www.economics.utoronto.ca/munro5/ResearchData.html>.

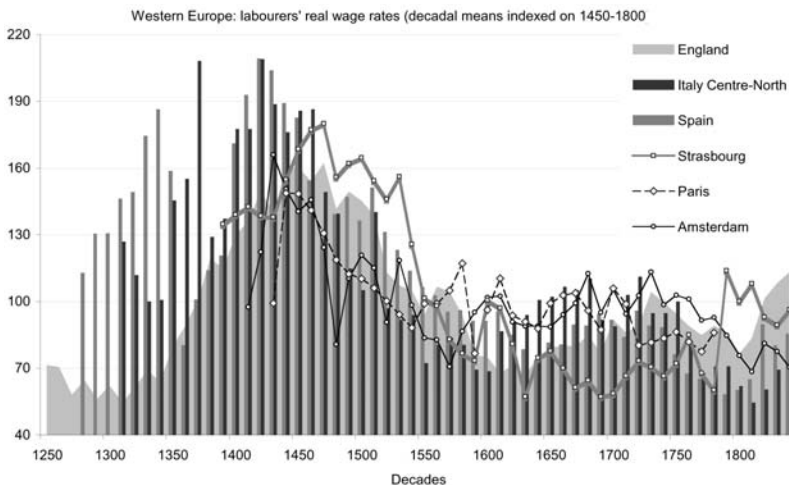
Graph 2: English building labourers’ and farm labourers’ indexed real wage rates.



Sources: Graph 1 and G. Clark, *The Long March of History: Farm Wages, Population, and Economic Growth, England 1209-1869*, “Economic History Review” LX (2006) 1, pp. 130-134.

-1349, when the labour of scarce farm workers rose to a premium but demand for building labourers slumped as most construction work was suspended<sup>16</sup>. Following this initial period of readjustment and during the prolonged demographic decline and stagnation that followed the Black Death, real wage rates of urban and rural labourers both rose to levels that would not be bettered until the closing decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Graph 2). These peak late-medieval wage rates are one of the most remarkable features of the Phelps-Brown and Hopkins chronology and have now been confirmed as a general phenomenon, showing up in Italy, Spain, Holland and most cities across Europe (Graph 3). Whether they are symptomatic of acute labour scarcity or genuine economic growth nevertheless remains an issue.

Graph 3: Building labourers' real wages: England, Spain, North-Central Italy, Amsterdam, Paris and Strasbourg.



Sources: England, Graph 2; Spain, data supplied by L. Prados de la Escosura; Italy: G. Federico, P. Malanima, *Progress, Decline, Growth: Product and Productivity in Italian Agriculture, 1000-2000*, "Economic History Review" LVII (2004) 3, pp. 459-460; Amsterdam-Paris-Strasbourg: R.C. Allen, *Data: Wages and Price History*: <http://www.nuffield.ox.ac.uk/People/sites/Allen/SitePages/Biography.aspx>.

Equally striking is the inverse correlation that existed between real wage rates and population trends (Graphs 4 and 8), as reconstructed in great detail for England from the country's unrivalled late medieval and early modern manorial, parochial and tax records. The clear tendency for real wage rates to

<sup>16</sup> J.H.Munro, *Before and after the Black Death: Money, Prices, and Wages in Fourteenth-century England*, in: *New Approaches to the History of Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Selected Proceedings of Two International Conferences at The Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters in Copenhagen in 1997 and 1999*, ed. by T. Dahlerup, P. Ingesman, Copenhagen 2009, pp. 335-364.

decline during periods of population growth during the thirteenth, sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, sink to their nadir at times of extreme harvest failure and acute demographic pressure, as in 1316, 1597 and 1801 (Graphs 1 and 2), and then recover when numbers declined or ceased to grow, notably from 1350 to 1450 and 1650 to 1750, has naturally lent itself to pessimistic Malthusian interpretations of pre-industrial economic development<sup>17</sup>. Income-based estimates of per capita GDP derived in part from, and dominated by, these real wage rates naturally suggest a similar conclusion<sup>18</sup>. If real wage rates are taken as a guide, Ricardian diminishing returns to labour seemingly prevailed and were not reversed until industrialising and modernising processes were well advanced, with the result that unskilled workers did not begin to benefit from sustained gains in purchasing power until well into the nineteenth century<sup>19</sup>. In Italy, too, a similarly inverse relationship prevailed between labourers' real wage rates and population trends from the fourteenth to the early nineteenth centuries (Graphs 5 and 7) but with the critical difference that over these five centuries the Italian manufacturing sector was contracting and urbanisation ratios falling, as this once leading economy steadily declined<sup>20</sup>.

Wage rates of a single occupational cohort of workers least exposed to technological change are nevertheless an imperfect proxy for estimates of per capita national income and were themselves a function of changes in the relative price of labour and the length of the working day and year. From the mid 18<sup>th</sup> century as labourers almost everywhere began to work more industriously, thereby increasing the per capita supply of labour, real wage rates in Spain, Italy, England and Holland declined relative to per capita GDP (Graphs 6, 7, 8 and 10)<sup>21</sup>. Farm labourers needed to work longer in order to maintain their living standards, while urban labourers did so in order to acquire some of the new cheap consumer goods (Graph 9). Workers in the new factories also found themselves subjected to a much tougher work discipline<sup>22</sup>. Conversely, during the labour-scarce 15<sup>th</sup> century many

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17 J. Hatcher, M. Bailey, *Modelling the Middle Ages: The History and Theory of England's Economic Development*, Oxford 2001, pp. 21-65.

18 G. Clark, *The Macroeconomic Aggregates for England, 1209-1869*, "Research in Economic History" XXVII (2010), pp. 51-140.

19 G. Clark, *The Condition of the Working-class in England, 1209-2004*, "Journal of Political Economy" CXIII (2005), pp. 1307-1340.

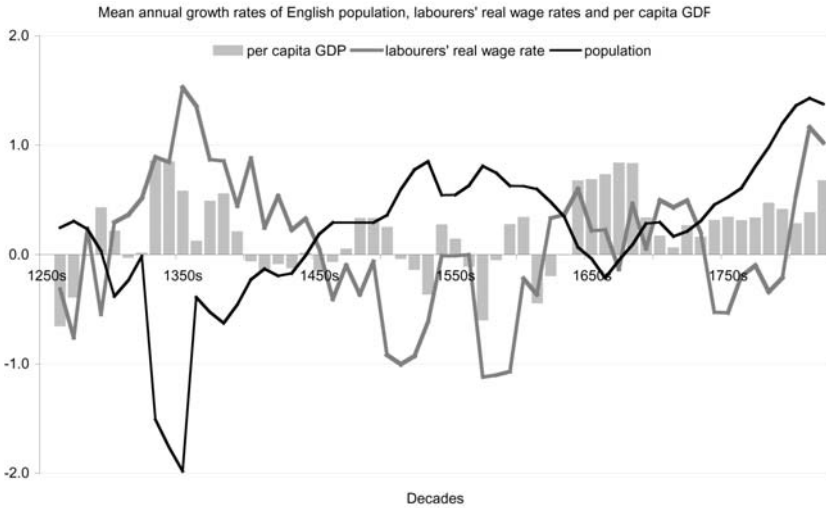
20 P. Malanima, *Wages, Productivity and Working Time in Italy, 1270-1913*, "Journal of European Economic History" XXXVI (2007) 1, pp. 127-171; idem, *The Long Decline of a Leading Economy: GDP in Central and Northern Italy, 1300-1913*, "European Review of Economic History" XV (2011) 2, pp. 169-219.

21 L. Angeles, op.cit., pp. 153-159.

22 H.J. Voth, *The Longest Years: New Estimates of Labor Input in England, 1760-1830*, "Journal of Economic History" LXI (2001) 4, pp. 1065-1082.

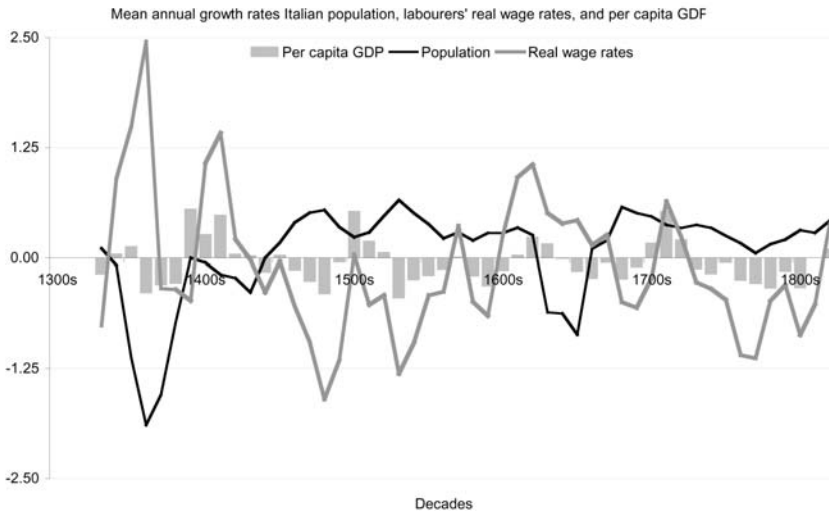


Graph 4: Mean annual growth rates of English population, labourers' real wage rates and per capita GDP.



Sources: S.N. Broadberry, B.M.S. Campbell, M. Overton, J.-L. van Zanden, *Reconstructing the National Incomes of Britain and Holland, c. 1270/1500 to 1850*, research project funded by the Leverhulme Trust, Reference Number F/00215AR; Graph 2.

Graph 5: Mean annual growth rates of Italian population, labourers' real wage rates and per capita GDP.



Sources: P. Malanima, *Italian GDP 1300-1913*, Institute of Studies on Mediterranean Societies, Italian National Research Council (N.D.); G. Federico, P. Malanima, *Progress, Decline, Growth: Product and Productivity in Italian Agriculture, 1000-2000*, "Economic History Review" LVII (2004) 3, pp. 459-460.

workers found that with the high real wage rates then prevailing (Graphs 1, 2 and 3) they could satisfy their basic subsistence requirements with fewer days of paid work per year (Graph 9). Rather than work more industriously in order to acquire more material goods, most building workers and their rural counterparts found that the drudgery of much manual work made greater consumption of leisure the more attractive option<sup>23</sup>. This further reinforced the contraction in labour supply and upward pressure upon labourers' wage rates. Because of these changes in relative factor prices and in the number of days that labourers needed or wished to work per year, significant divergences sometimes occurred between the trajectories of real wage rates and per capita GDP (Graphs 6, 7, 8 and 10).

### URBANISATION RATIOS

Urbanisation ratios (the proportion of the population resident in towns of a given minimum size) provide a useful alternative proxy measure of overall levels of economic development, on the principle, enunciated by Simon Kuznets, that urbanisation represents "an increasing division of labour within the country, growing specialisation, and the shift of many activities from non-market-oriented pursuit within the family or the village to specialised market-oriented business firms"<sup>24</sup>. Other things being equal, therefore, "a rising level of real income per head and a rising proportion of urban dwellers are likely to be linked phenomena in a pre-industrial economy"<sup>25</sup>.

In England, where per capita GDP and urbanisation ratios have been separately estimated, a clear correlation existed between the two: the correlation coefficient for per capita GDP against the percentage resident in towns of at least 5,000 inhabitants for seven benchmark dates between 1290 and 1801 is a strongly positive +0.96. In tandem with an increase in per capita GDP from \$680 to \$2,140 and rise in the urbanisation ratio from 5 to 28 percent, the structure of the English economy changed from one in which agriculture contributed at least two-thirds of all output and employment to one in which manufacturing and services together accounted for over

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23 I. Blanchard, *Introduction*, in: *Labour and Leisure in Historical Perspective, Thirteenth to Twentieth Centuries: Papers Presented at Session B-3a of the Eleventh International Economic History Congress, Milan 12<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> September 1994*, ed. by I. Blanchard, Stuttgart 1994, pp. 19-22; R.C. Allen, J.L. Weisdorf, *Was There an 'Industrious Revolution' before the Industrial Revolution? An Empirical Exercise for England, c. 1300-1830*, "Economic History Review" LXIV (2011) 3, pp. 715-729.

24 S. Kuznets, *Modern Economic Growth: Rate, Structure, and Spread*, New Haven 1966, p. 271.

25 E.A. Wrigley, *Urban Growth and Agricultural Change: England and the Continent...*, p. 683.

two-thirds of both output and the labour force<sup>26</sup>. Export earnings also made an increasing contribution to national income, doubling in value from approximately an eighth of national income at the opening of the 14<sup>th</sup> century to a quarter of national income at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and exceeding a third of national income during the mercantilist boom years of the mid 18<sup>th</sup> century<sup>27</sup>.

Table 2: Measures of economic change in England 1600-1750.

ENGLAND	1600	1670	1700	1750	Annual % change 1600-1750
Total population	4.11m.	4.98m.	5.06m.	5.77m.	+0.23%
London population	200,000	475,000	575,000	675,000	+0.81%
% in towns of 5,000+	8.25%	13.5%	17.0%	21.0%	+0.62%
Exports as % GDP	13.2%	*9.5%	22.0%	37.5%	+0.70%
Agricultural output	100	106	130	171	+0.36%
Manufacturing output	100	149	204	259	+0.64%
Real wage rates	100	122	132	166	+0.34%
GDP per capita \$1990	\$1,058	\$1,244	\$1,608	\$1,757	+0.34%

\* 1660

Sources: E.A. Wrigley, *Urban Growth and Agricultural Change: England and the Continent in the Early Modern Period*, "Journal of Interdisciplinary History" XV (1985), p. 688; S.N. Broadberry, B.M.S. Campbell, M. Overton, J.-L. van Zanden, *Reconstructing the National Incomes of Britain and Holland, c. 1270/1500 to 1850*, research project funded by the Leverhulme Trust, Reference Number F/00215AR.

In England's case, expanding domestic and overseas demand were plainly fundamental to the processes of economic growth and urban and metropolitan expansion. Well before the industrial revolution had begun to get under way, the dramatic rise in the urbanisation ratio from 8 percent in 1600 to 21 percent in 1750 and parallel growth of London from a population of 200,000 to one of 675,000, are clear manifestations of the Smithian gains then being obtained from trade (Table 2). Development of what Wrigley has termed an advanced organic economy enabled agriculture to keep abreast of the expanding demands for food, fuel and raw materials and Victoria Bateman has drawn attention to the greater integration of internal English grain markets that was

<sup>26</sup> S.N. Broadberry, B.M.S. Campbell, B. van Leeuwen, *When Did Britain Industrialise? The Sectoral Distribution of the Labour Force and Labour Productivity in Britain, 1381-1851*, "Explorations in Economic History" L (2013) 1, pp. 16-27.

<sup>27</sup> I am grateful to Bas van Leeuwen for making these estimates.

integral to the same process<sup>28</sup>. After 1750 building workers' real wage rates turned down once again (Graph 8) but the momentum of economic growth continued, as borne out by continued shrinkage of the share of the labour force employed in agriculture and a further rise in the urbanisation ratio to 27.5 percent by 1800<sup>29</sup>.

Table 3: Measures of economic change in Holland 1500-1650.

HOLLAND	1500	1550	1600	1650	Annual % change 1500-1650
Total population	273,000	350,000	503,000	796,000	+0.72%
Amsterdam population	14,000	30,000	65,000	175,000	+1.70%
% in towns of 5,000+	45%		45%		
Exports as % GDP	21%	27%	38%	25%	+0.12%
Agricultural output	100	148	167	250	+0.61%
Real wage rates	100	82	81	69	-0.25%
GDP per capita \$1990	\$1,461	\$1,685	£2,448	\$2,399	+0.33%

Sources: S.N. Broadberry, B.M.S. Campbell, M. Overton, J.-L. van Zanden, *Reconstructing the National Incomes of Britain and Holland, c. 1270/1500 to 1850*, research project funded by the Leverhulme Trust, Reference Number F/00215AR; J. de Vries, *European Urbanization 1500-1800*, London 1984, p. 171; J.-L. van Zanden, B. van Leeuwen, *Persistent But Not Consistent: The Growth of National Income in Holland 1347-1807*, "Explorations in Economic History" IL (2012) 2, pp. 119-130.

The Netherlands, during the Dutch Golden Age 1500-1650 (Table 3), illustrates a similar synergy between commerce, urbanisation and what J.L. van Zanden and B. van Leeuwen describe as "persistent but not consistent" economic growth<sup>30</sup>. Over almost two centuries of sustained "Smithian" expansion, Dutch per capita GDP doubled from \$1,100 to \$2,490 and the already impressive urbanisation ratio of the Netherlands rose from 22 percent to 35 percent (Table 1). Greater market integration, expansion of international trade and shipping and rapid structural change were key features of the growth of Dutch national income and accompanying rise of the urbanisation ratio to hitherto unprecedented levels for pre-industrial Europe<sup>31</sup>. In the

28 E.A. Wrigley, *The Transition to an Advanced Organic Economy: Half a Millennium of English Agriculture*, "Economic History Review" LIX (2006) 3, pp. 435-480; V.N. Bateman, *The Evolution of Markets in Early Modern Europe, 1350-1800: A Study of Wheat Prices*, "Economic History Review" LXIV (2011) 2, p. 464.

29 S.N. Broadberry, B.M.S. Campbell, B. van Leeuwen, op.cit., pp. 16-27; E.A. Wrigley, *Urban Growth and Agricultural Change: England and the Continent...*, pp. 688.

30 J.-L. van Zanden, B. van Leeuwen, op.cit., pp. 119-130.

31 On the growing integration of Dutch grain markets see V.N. Bateman, op.cit., pp. 462-463.

process, Amsterdam grew from insignificance to become a major maritime metropolis of 175,000 inhabitants. Contrary to these positive developments, Amsterdam building labourers' real wage rates trended down over this same period in a clear illustration of the divergent course sometimes taken by real wage rates and per capita GDP (Graph 10), as employment conditions changed and the profits of economic growth were shared unequally among occupational groups.

By implication, countries with lower urbanisation ratios were less developed and correspondingly poorer. By 1600 P. Bairoch, J. Batou and P. Chevre reckon that the Netherlands' urbanisation ratio was treble the European average of 12 percent, which only the Balkans, Portugal, Italy and Flanders also clearly exceeded<sup>32</sup>. At the opposite extreme, urbanisation ratios in most of east-central and northern Europe were substantially lower and in Scandinavia sank to a European minimum of less than 4 percent. Significantly, an independent estimate by Lennart Schön and Olle Krantz reckons Swedish per capita GDP in 1600 to have been \$847 (Table 1), barely a third that of Holland's \$2,448 and two-thirds that of Italy's \$1,302, which until the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century had been the most urbanised and developed economy in Europe with an urbanisation ratio of around 20 percent and per capita GDP in the range \$1,500-\$1,900. Yet even in poor and weakly urbanised Sweden estimated urbanisation ratios and per capita GDP yield essentially similar trends, "even if variation is within narrow margins"<sup>33</sup>.

Italy's economic golden age had been in the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when it had reaped maximum gains from what Robert Lopez has justifiably called the "commercial revolution"<sup>34</sup>. Its many self-governing urban communes, led by the maritime republics of Genoa and Venice, prospered on the re-expansion of Mediterranean commerce and new opportunities for trans-Alpine trade promoted by the Champagne Fairs operated under the politically neutral jurisdiction of the quasi-independent counts of Champagne<sup>35</sup>. Commercial privileges in the Middle East secured following the unexpected success of the First Crusade gave access to lucrative Levantine markets and a growing volume of high-value Asian trade goods reaching the crusader ports of the eastern Mediterranean across the Syrian

32 P. Bairoch, J. Batou, P. Chevre, *The Population of European Cities from 800 to 1850*, Geneva 1988, p. 259.

33 L. Schön, O. Krantz, *The Swedish Economy in the Early Modern Period: Constructing Historical National Accounts*, "European Review of Economic History" XVI (2012) 4, p. 540.

34 R.S. Lopez, *The Commercial Revolution of the Middle Ages, 950-1350*, Cambridge 1976; J.R.S. Phillips, *The Medieval Expansion of Europe*, Oxford 1988, pp. 201-121.

35 J.L. Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony: The World System A.D. 1250-1350*, Oxford 1989, pp. 102-134; J. Edwards, S. Ogilvie, *What Lessons for Economic Development Can We Draw from the Champagne Fairs?*, "Explorations in Economic History" IL (2012) 2, pp. 131-148.

desert from Baghdad and the Persian Gulf. Further commercial gains were made when Venice won direct access to the Black Sea in 1204, to be superseded by Genoa from 1261. Genoa was 13<sup>th</sup>-century Italy's most successful maritime city-state and over the course of that century, as the value of its long-distance trade grew rapidly, its population more than doubled<sup>36</sup>.

Paolo Malanima's estimates imply that the population of the centre and north of Italy grew by an average of 0.3 percent *per annum* between 1000 and 1300 and per capita GDP by 0.2 percent over the same period. Meanwhile, the proportion of the population resident in towns of at least 5,000 inhabitants more than doubled from 5-12 percent to 21.4 percent and the country's per capita GDP peaked at a hitherto unprecedented \$1,700 (Table 4). By the close of the 13<sup>th</sup> century Italian cities accounted for almost a third of Europe's urban population and 24 of the continent's 103 largest cities with populations of at least 20,000<sup>37</sup>. The country's high urbanisation ratio (rivalled at the time solely by that of Flanders, its major but much smaller trading partner in northern Europe) is thus symptomatic of its place in the vanguard of contemporary commercial developments.

Table 4: Measures of economic change in Italy 1000-1300.

ITALY (CENTRE-NORTH)	1000	1300
Population	c.3.20m.	c.7.75m.
Density per km <sup>2</sup>	20	48
% urban (towns of 5,000+)	5-12	21.4
GDP <i>per capita</i> (1990 \$)	c.\$1,000	c.\$1,640
Population growth rate	0.3% per annum	
Economic growth rate	0.2% per annum	

Sources: P. Malanima, *L'economia italiana. Dalla crescita medievale alla crescita contemporanea*, Bologna 2002, p. 450; idem, *Urbanisation and the Italian Economy during the Last Millennium*, "European Review of Economic History" IX (2005) 1, pp. 97-122.

Spain at the same date, after adjustment for agro-towns, had a substantially lower urbanisation ratio of 9 percent and correspondingly smaller per capita GDP of \$1,050 (Table 1); just 60 percent that of Italy. England was less commercially developed and urbanised than either, with only 5 percent of its population in towns of at least 5,000 inhabitants and a lower per capita GDP

<sup>36</sup> A. Greif, *Institutions and the Path to the Modern Economy: Lessons from Medieval Trade*, Cambridge 2006, p. 243.

<sup>37</sup> P. Bairoch, J. Batou, P. Chevre, *op.cit.*, p. 289.

of \$750 (less than half that of Italy) (Table 1). According to Bairoch, Batou and Chevre, urbanisation ratios were lower still in much of east-central and northern Europe, as, presumably, was per capita GDP<sup>38</sup>. Maybe in the poorest and least populous of these commercially most peripheral economies per capita GDP was as low as the \$500-600 that Maddison took to be the norm almost everywhere in Europe at this date (and the level prevailing in the poorest countries of sub-Saharan Africa today)<sup>39</sup>. If so, estimated urbanisation ratios imply that at the close of the 13<sup>th</sup> century the per capita GDP of virtually all European countries lay in the range \$500 to \$1,700 (Table 1). By 1850 the latter had shifted upwards to \$750 to \$2,350 and the economic fortunes of some individual countries had changed even more dramatically.

#### DECLINE, STAGNATION, STABILITY AND GROWTH: THE EXPERIENCE OF LATE-MEDIEVAL ITALY, SPAIN, ENGLAND AND HOLLAND

By 1300 England, Spain, Flanders and Italy were all at different stages of economic development (Table 1), as reflected by per capita GDPs which ranged from a minimum of \$750 in England to a maximum of at least \$1,650 in Italy and corresponding urbanisation ratios in the range 5 percent (England) to 21 percent (the centre and north of Italy) and maybe 30 percent (Flanders). The leading economies of Italy and Flanders (whose per capita GDP can scarcely have been less than that of Italy) had risen to European commercial prominence during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries when they became increasingly involved in international trade and developed their substantial manufacturing and service sectors. Both were exceptionally densely populated to the extent that morcellation of holdings and rural congestion were significant problems. The opposite was the case in the lagging economy of Spain, whose energies for much of the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries had been absorbed in the Christian re-colonisation of land re-conquered from the Moors. Here, under-population hampered fuller development of economic forces and kept wealth and urbanisation levels well below those prevailing in Italy<sup>40</sup>.

England was not thus disadvantaged. Rather, its merchants and manufacturers had failed to achieve the dominant position acquired by the Italians and Flemings with the result that, notwithstanding centuries of active commercialisation, its secondary and tertiary sectors remained circumscribed

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<sup>38</sup> Ibidem, pp. 258-259.

<sup>39</sup> A. Maddison, *Statistics on World Population, GDP and per capita GDP 1-2008 A.D.*, Groningen, <http://www.ggd.net/maddison/oriindex.htm>.

<sup>40</sup> C. Álvarez-Nogal, L. Prados de la Escosura, *The Rise and Fall of Spain (1270-1850)*, "Economic History Review" LXVI (2013) 1, pp. 1-37.

in scale. Two centuries of strong population growth in combination with lax tenurial regulation of access to land and limited opportunities for making a livelihood outside agriculture meant that rural congestion and concomitant structural poverty were mounting problems<sup>41</sup>. From at least the mid 13<sup>th</sup> century, its increasingly bottom heavy socio-economic structure, in which 70 percent of households received only 40 percent of income and occupied barely a third of all arable land, was exerting downward pressure upon real wage rates and per capita GDP, depressing mass demand, polarising consumption patterns and thwarting further urbanisation<sup>42</sup>. The upshot was that England remained significantly less developed and poorer than either Flanders or Italy.

From the 1290s, onset of a deepening and ultimately self-reinforcing international commercial recession terminated the long economic expansion of the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries and hit the wealthier and commercially more dependent of these economies hardest as a series of reverse multiplier effects was set in train. Malanima's estimates indicate that per capita GDP in the more developed centre and north of Italy shrank by 15 percent (at -0.46 percent per annum) between 1310 and the mid 1340s, while the real wage rates of urban building workers declined by 25 percent (Graph 7). The consequent implosion of Italian domestic demand compounded the loss of overseas markets and rising transaction costs of overseas trade. Flanders suffered similarly and from the 1310s output of its important textile industry shrank significantly, with consequences for per capita GDP and real wage rates which have yet to be quantified<sup>43</sup>. Spain, far less dependent upon overseas trade, was less adversely affected and the relative scarcity of labour prevented real wage rates from declining. Here, real wage rates attained a temporal peak during the decades immediately prior to the Black Death (Graph 6).

Waged labour was significantly cheaper in England (Graph 3), whose labour market was glutted by an over-supply of workers. Yet neither English real wage rates nor per capita GDP displayed a downward trajectory comparable to that of once thriving Italy (Graph 8). With no surviving export industries of consequence, it was less vulnerable to the worsening international commercial situation and, paradoxically, as overseas textile producers switched from low- to high-value cloths better able to withstand

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41 B.M.S. Campbell, *The Agrarian Problem in the Early Fourteenth Century*, "Past and Present" CLXXXVIII (2005), pp. 3-70.

42 B.M.S. Campbell, *Benchmarking Medieval Economic Development: England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland circa 1290*, "Economic History Review" LXI (2008) 4, p. 940.

43 J.H. Munro, *Industrial Transformations in the North-West European Textile Trades, c. 1290 - c. 1340: Economic Progress or Economic Crisis?*, in: *Before the Black Death: Studies in the 'Crisis' of the Early Fourteenth Century*, ed. by B.M.S. Campbell, Manchester 1991, pp. 110-148.



rising freight and other transaction costs, demand for English wool remained buoyant<sup>44</sup>. Cheap labour also sustained high levels of tin output, of whose supply the country effectively enjoyed an international monopoly<sup>45</sup>. Early 14<sup>th</sup> century England may have been the least wealthy of these four countries but the relative stability of both real wage rates and per capita GDP independently estimated indicate that, short-term crises apart, it was not becoming significantly poorer.

Graph 6: Spain: population, real wage rates, and per capita GDP, 1300-1850.



Sources: data supplied by L. Prados de la Escosura.

Understandably, these differently circumstanced economies responded in quite different ways to the massive negative demographic shock inflicted by the Black Death of 1347-1353 and successor pandemics of the 1360s and 1370s. For sparsely populated Spain the dramatic reduction in numbers was a serious setback, since labour became so scarce that established levels of productivity proved difficult to sustain. C. Alvarez-Nogal and L. Prados de la Escosura believe that Spanish per capita GDP declined by approximately one-fifth following the plagues to less than \$800 during the final quarter of the fourteenth century and did not regain its pre Black Death level until the closing decades of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, when the country had emerged as an imperial and colonial power of the first importance (Graph 6). Significantly, although mid 15<sup>th</sup> century Spanish real wage rates eclipsed those of the era

<sup>44</sup> E.M. Carus-Wilson, O. Coleman, *England's Export Trade, 1275-1547*, Oxford 1963.

<sup>45</sup> J. Hatcher, *English Tin Production and Trade before 1550*, Oxford 1973.

of vigorous frontier colonisation before the Black Death, per capita GDP remained stubbornly below the earlier peak level due to the ongoing problem of under population (Table 5). It remains to be seen whether similar trends prevailed in Europe's other thinly peopled regions where heavy plague mortality may have had equally adverse economic consequences, lowering populations, shrinking market demand and limiting specialisation. Certainly, Spain's problems appear modest when compared with those experienced by Ireland<sup>46</sup>.

Table 5: Per capita GDP versus labourers' real wage rates, Spain, Italy, England and Holland 1300-1349 to 1400-1449.

	Spain:		Italy:		England:		Holland:	
	Per capita GDP	Real wage rate	Per capita GDP	Real wage rate	Per capita GDP	Real wage rate	Per capita GDP	Real wage rate
1300-1349	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
1400-1449	90	123	103	169	169	230	c. 142	N.D.

Sources: Spain, data supplied by L. Prados de la Escosura; Italy: P. Malanima, *Italian GDP 1300-1913*, Institute of Studies on Mediterranean Societies, Italian National Research Council (N.D.); G. Federico, P. Malanima, *Progress, Decline, Growth: Product and Productivity in Italian Agriculture, 1000-2000*, "Economic History Review" LVII (2004) 3, pp. 459-460; England and Holland: S.N. Broadberry, B.M.S. Campbell, M. Overton, J.-L. van Zanden, *Reconstructing the National Incomes of Britain and Holland, c. 1270/1500 to 1850*, research project funded by the Leverhulme Trust, Reference Number F/00215AR (N.D.).

The response in Italy reflected its significantly greater density of population. Following the devastating impact of plague upon its crowded and urbanised population, it still supported an average density of 25 per square kilometre, reduced from 40 per square kilometre at the opening of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, when peak rural population densities reached and sometimes exceeded 75 per square kilometre. Where rural congestion was so great, loss of numbers was more a boon than a misfortune and Malanima's estimates of real wage rates and per capita GDP indicate that, after a hiatus during the third quarter of the 14<sup>th</sup> century as successive waves of plague struck the peninsula, both rose (Graph 7). Yet, whereas the mean gain in per capita GDP between the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> and first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> centuries was a mere 3 percent, the improvement in urban and rural labourers' real wage rates was almost 70 percent (Table 3).

<sup>46</sup> *A New History of Ireland, II: Medieval Ireland 1169-1534*, ed. by A. Cosgrove, Oxford 2008.

Graph 7: Italy: population, real wage rates, and per capita GDP, 1300-1850.



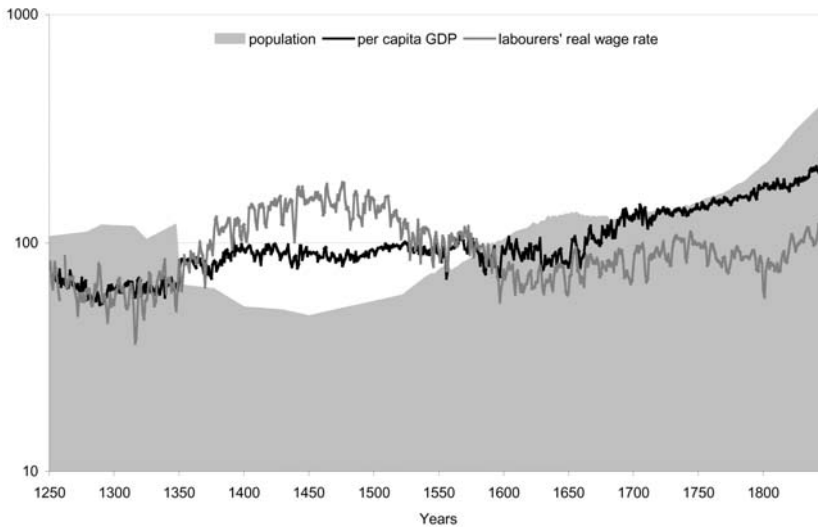
Sources: P. Malanima, *Italian GDP 1300-1913*, Institute of Studies on Mediterranean Societies, Italian National Research Council (N.D.); G. Federico, P. Malanima, *Progress, Decline, Growth: Product and Productivity in Italian Agriculture, 1000-2000*, "Economic History Review" LVII (2004) 3, pp. 459-460.

In Italy the return to per capita GDP growth that eventually followed the successive plagues of 1347-1375 was the product of contraction rather than expansion, as the shrinkage of national income lagged behind the ongoing contraction of population. Nor, tellingly, was there any accompanying improvement in the urbanisation ratio, for Italian overseas trade and commerce were in retreat. The once lucrative Italian-controlled trans-Eurasian trade had shrunk to a heavily tolled trickle, merchants were more risk averse than formerly so that local orbits of exchange were now the mainstay of most mercantile activity, and, with smaller populations to supply, markets were less integrated<sup>47</sup>. Without reinvigorated commercial expansion to underpin it, the renewal of Italian population growth during the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century consequently exerted negative pressure upon both real wage rates and per capita GDP while the country's urbanisation ratio resumed its inexorable decline (Graph 7). In Italy's case the post-plague windfall economic gains lacked durability and withered once the exceptional demographic circumstances responsible for them had passed. Insofar as this was growth, it was of a decidedly insubstantial and transitory nature.

<sup>47</sup> B.Z. Kedar, *Merchants in Crisis: Genoese and Venetian Men of Affairs and the Fourteenth-century Depression*, New Haven-London 1976; V.N. Bateman, op.cit., p. 464.

England, by far the less-developed country, fared decidedly better. As in Italy, per capita GDP and real wage rates both benefited from the mortality-induced elimination of excess population but unlike Italy these gains were felt immediately following the first pandemic of 1348-1349 and continued to accrue thereafter as the productivity of those who survived the plagues steadily improved and the burden of structural poverty effectively disappeared (Graph 8). They were also on a proportionately greater scale. From \$700-800 before the Black Death, English per capita GDP had risen by a third to \$1,000-\$1,200 by the early 15<sup>th</sup> century; the concurrent improvement in real wage rates was even greater, more than doubling (Table 3). Nevertheless, in accordance with the intrinsically negative character of the prevailing economic dynamic, these substantial gains in per capita GDP and labourers' real wage rates failed to translate into any improvement in the urbanisation ratio. This was differential contraction rather than demand generated growth and most gains in per capita consumption benefited rural producers and craftsmen rather than urban artisans and traders.

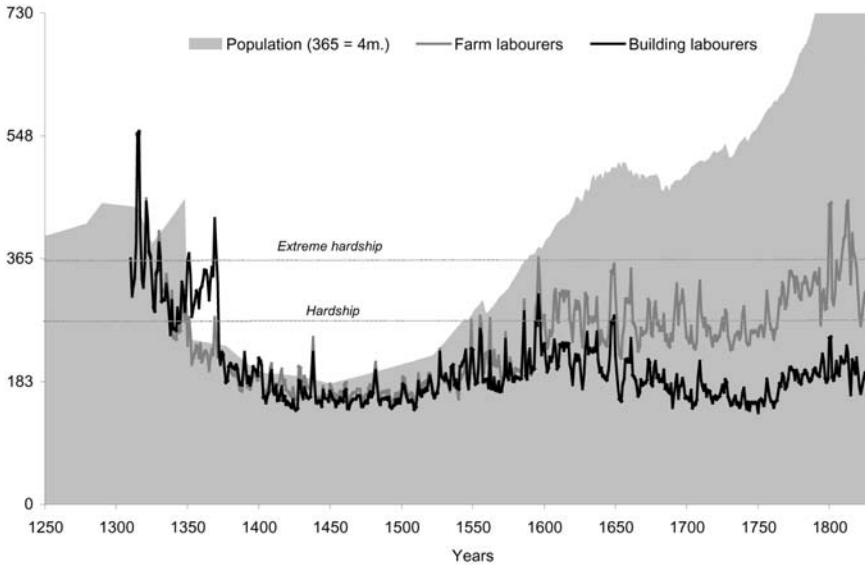
Graph 8: England: population, real wage rates, and per capita GDP, 1250-1850.



Sources: S.N. Broadberry, B.M.S. Campbell, M. Overton, J.-L. van Zanden, *Reconstructing the National Incomes of Britain and Holland, c. 1270/1500 to 1850*, research project funded by the Leverhulme Trust, Reference Number F/00215AR (N.D.); Graph 2.

England's post-plague per capita GDP gains also proved more durable than those achieved in Italy, insofar as they endured without significant erosion for the next 250 years. During the 16<sup>th</sup> century London started to grow vigorously and the urbanisation ratio to rise as the country's economic

Graph 9: England: annual number of days' work required by waged labourers to meet the subsistence needs of their households.



Sources: R.C. Allen, J.L. Weisdorf, *Was there an 'industrious revolution' before the industrial revolution? An empirical exercise for England, c. 1300-1830*, "Economic History Review" LXIV (2011) 3, pp. 715-729, data supplied by J.L. Weisdorf.

structure began to change with the slow but steady expansion of both the manufacturing and service sectors<sup>48</sup>. It was these structural developments that enabled per capita GDP gains accrued during an era of demographic decline to survive into the ensuing era of population growth (Graph 8). Although real wage rates trended down again (Graphs 1 and 2), as labour declined in relative value and the working year lengthened as labourers worked more industriously in order to maintain household incomes (Graph 9), with certain notable short-term exceptions, per capita GDP did not. A new dynamic equilibrium had been achieved as the economy entered a commercially more expansive phase and latent processes of Smithian growth gathered momentum that would deliver further significant gains in per capita GDP from the late 17<sup>th</sup> century so that by 1700 English per capita GDP finally breached the \$1,500 ceiling and overtook that of the now ailing Italian economy<sup>49</sup>.

<sup>48</sup> E.A. Wrigley, *Urban Growth and Agricultural Change: England and the Continent...*, pp. 683-728; S.N. Broadberry, B.M.S. Campbell, B. van Leeuwen, op.cit., pp. 16-27.

<sup>49</sup> English real wage rates likewise overtook those of Italy between 1670 and 1730: P. Malanima, *When Did England Overtake Italy? Medieval and Early Modern Divergence in Prices and Wages*, "European Review of Economic History" XVII (2013) 1, pp. 45-70.

Table 6: Welfare ratios (earnings relative to poverty line) of urban building labourers for nine European cities, 1450s and 1590s.

City	Welfare ratio 1450s		City	Welfare ratio 1590s
Antwerp	1.57		Antwerp	1.34
			Amsterdam	1.20
London	1.54		London	1.01
Valencia	1.53		Valencia	0.87
			Naples	0.78
Vienna	1.51		Vienna	0.70
Paris	1.26		Paris	0.65
Florence	1.32		Florence	0.61
Strasbourg	1.36		Strasbourg	0.59

Source: R.C. Allen, *The Great Divergence in European Wages and Prices from the Middle Ages to the First World War*, "Explorations in Economic History" XXXVIII (2001) 4, pp. 411-447; idem, *Data: Wages and Price History*, <http://www.nuffield.ox.ac.uk/People/sites/Allen/SitePages/Biography.aspx> (N.D.).

England's ability to hang onto most of its post-plague gains in per capita GDP was evidently unusual to judge from the fact that the wage rates of London building labourers would still just about purchase a "respectability basket of consumables" at the close of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, whereas those of building labourers in most other European cities had ceased to do so (Table 6). According to Allen's calculations, the purchasing power of Parisian, Florentine and Strasbourgian workers had at least halved between the 1450s, when real wage rates everywhere were at their peak, and the 1590s. Most resilient of all were the real wage rates of building workers in the southern North Sea *entrepôts* of Antwerp and Amsterdam, the latter situated within a small and advantageously located region whose economy had displayed increasing vitality from early in the 15<sup>th</sup> century and by the mid 16<sup>th</sup> century had overtaken Italy in the purchasing power of its wage rates and per capita GDP<sup>50</sup>.

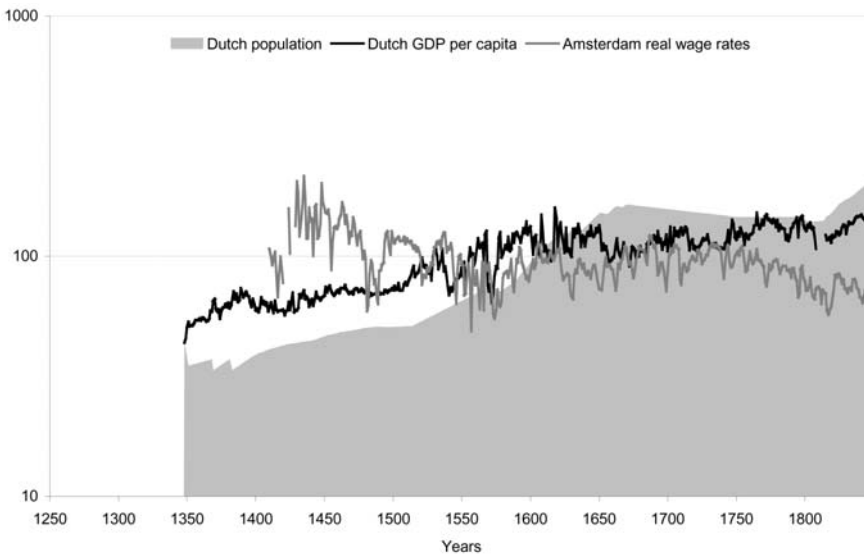
Late-medieval Flanders, Brabant and Holland are all tantalisingly less well documented and fully researched than their English neighbour immediately across the North Sea. For Holland alone quantifiable data are sufficient to allow a tentative output-based reconstruction of national income and per capita GDP from 1348 until 1500, when the range and quality of available data lend more confidence to the estimates (Graph 10). Initially, following the Black Death, per capita GDP developments in Holland look very much

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50 B. van Bavel, J.-L. van Zanden, *The Jump Start of the Holland Economy during the Late Medieval Crisis, c. 1350 - c. 1500*, "Economic History Review" LVII (2004) 3, pp. 503-532; J.L. van Zanden, B. van Leeuwen, op.cit., pp. 119-130.

like those in England, with the difference that Dutch per capita GDP was marginally higher, varying within the range \$1,000 to \$1,400 throughout the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. In an age of contraction, the province's small size was an advantage: with a population of around 0.2 million (compared with England's 2.5 million in 1377), its national income was roughly one tenth that of England. It possessed an excellent network of navigable waterways and canals, was blessed with abundant supplies of peat for fuel and clay for brick and tile manufacture, and was strategically well placed to profit from the established maritime commerce of the North Sea and new opportunities for fishing and trade opening in the North Atlantic. In the late 14<sup>th</sup> and early 15<sup>th</sup> centuries shrinking peat and rising water tables presented a major ecological setback, displacing population from the land, obliging farmers to switch from arable to pastoral production, deflecting investment into fishing and shipping, and begetting a dependence upon imported grain supplies<sup>51</sup>. Confronted by these environmental challenges, Dutch per capita GDP suffered a modest decline between 1390 and 1430, by which date it was more-or-less on a par with that of England.

Graph 10: Holland: population, real wage rates, and per capita GDP, 1350-1800.



Sources: S.N. Broadberry, B.M.S. Campbell, M. Overton, J.-L. van Zanden, *Reconstructing the National Incomes of Britain and Holland, c. 1270/1500 to 1850*, research project funded by the Leverhulme Trust, Reference Number F/00215AR (N.D.); R.C. Allen, *The Great Divergence in European Wages and Prices from the Middle Ages to the First World War*, "Explorations in Economic History" XXXVIII (2001) 4, pp. 411-447; idem, *Data: Wages and Price History*, <http://www.nuffield.ox.ac.uk/People/sites/Allen/SitePages/Biography.aspx> (N.D.).

51 B. van Bavel, J.-L. van Zanden, op.cit., pp. 503-532.

From the 1430s, however, the Dutch economy (probably in parallel with that of Brabant immediately to the south, whose capital, Antwerp, was flourishing) appears to have entered a new growth phase and started to forge ahead of its neighbours. From this time shipping, fishing, dairying, brewing, textile manufacture, brick and tile making and peat digging all grew in economic significance. Sustained by favourable marketing institutions, well-defined property rights and migration from the countryside, towns prospered, so much so that by 1500 the urbanisation ratio had reached almost 30 percent. Concurrently, per capita GDP had recovered and risen to \$1,480 at a modest average annual growth rate between the 1420s and 1500s of 0.24 percent *per annum*. Given that the population was also rising, urbanisation increasing, commerce expanding, the structure of the economy changing, and technology advancing, this was real growth and, as such, almost unique in Europe at the time. It laid the foundation for rapid take off of the Dutch economy in the following century as population growth accelerated to 0.61 percent a year and per capita GDP growth doubled to an average of 0.47 percent, thereby elevating per capita GDP to almost \$2,500 by the close of the 16<sup>th</sup> century (Graph 10). No European country had ever been as wealthy. Only real wage rates ran counter to this growth trend (Table 3): by 1600 an Amsterdam building labourer's wage rate purchased 24 percent less than in 1500 and 40 percent less than in the second quarter of the 15<sup>th</sup> century (Graphs 3 and 10).

Meanwhile, during the 16<sup>th</sup> century per capita GDP of imperial and colonial Spain grew by less than 0.1 percent, that of England displayed zero growth, and that of the once leading economy of Italy (overtaken by Holland in the 1520s) shrank by -0.27% *per annum* (Graphs 6, 7 and 8). All were maritime nations as exposed as Holland to the revival of European commerce, establishment of a North Atlantic economy, and establishment of direct maritime links with India and the Far East. None, however, enjoyed Holland's early start, or was as open to, and derived as large a share of national income from (in Holland's case, a third of the total), overseas trade. Golden Age Holland thus exemplifies the Smithian gains from trade that could be reaped by a small and advantageously located region, endowed with good riverine and maritime communications and cheap and abundant fuel, and with property rights and institutions which promoted and rewarded economic enterprise. In these respects, its success both resembled and exceeded that of Italy and Flanders during the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries and anticipated that achieved by England from the late 17<sup>th</sup> century.

#### GROWTH AND THE ILLUSION OF GROWTH IN LATE-MEDIEVAL EUROPE

Recent reconstructions by a variety of direct and indirect methods of the national incomes of a handful of European countries have yielded a number



of valuable insights and revisions respecting economic growth or the want of it during the pre-industrial centuries. Absolute estimates of per capita GDP emerge as significantly higher than those originally proposed by Maddison. Relatively under-developed agrarian economies dominated by primary production with limited manufacturing sectors and low urbanisation ratios, such as early 14<sup>th</sup> century England and late 16<sup>th</sup> century Sweden, had per capita GDPs of around \$750-\$850. Although materially anything but rich, their food, drink and clothing were relatively costly to produce, which boosted per capita GDP above the bare-bones minimum of \$1 a day. During more prosperous times, when demographic pressures were in abeyance, these economies were capable of sustaining a per capita GDP of around \$1,000, whereby a substantial majority of households were able to enjoy a respectability level of subsistence (Tables 1 and 6). Higher levels of per capita GDP of \$1,500 or greater, such as those attained by Italy and probably Flanders in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, Holland in the 16<sup>th</sup> century and England from the mid 17<sup>th</sup> century, required fuller development of value-added activities. These, therefore, were economies with developed secondary and tertiary sectors. Necessarily, they were also underpinned by impressive levels of agricultural productivity. All were actively involved in overseas trade, which made a significant contribution to national income and promoted high and rising urbanisation ratios. The most successful and dynamic of these advanced pre-industrial economies – Golden Age Holland and early industrial England – sometimes achieved a per capita GDP of \$2,000-\$2,500 (Table 1). Such wealth was, however, quite exceptional and came quite late in the growth process. Most societies had to be content with much less.

Gains in per capita GDP over time were generally modest and episodic and many European economies were little wealthier in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century than they had been five centuries earlier. Italy, whose per capita GDP declined from \$1,650 in 1300 to \$1,010 in 1800, was actually poorer (Graph 7). The magnitude of its decline reflected the scope for contraction provided by its precocious early development. Few, if any, economies fared as badly, for the general Western European trend was towards slowly increasing per capita GDP over time. If English per capita GDP in 1300 of around \$700-\$800 was close to the European median and the average per capita GDP of 30 Western European countries in 1850 was approximately \$1,570, per capita GDP roughly doubled across these five centuries at an average annual growth rate of 0.15 percent. A small and quite exceptional group of economies achieved higher rates of growth and successfully trebled their per capita national incomes over this same period. Holland belonged to this elite group and during the final quarter of the 16<sup>th</sup> century when its economy was developing most rapidly it briefly sustained an annual growth rate of 1.2 percent. Such rapid growth was quite exceptional. The maximum that England achieved

prior to its industrial revolution was 0.78 percent during the final quarter of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. "Fast" growth by pre-industrial standards was therefore anything in excess of 0.25 percent *per annum* and was usually contingent upon slow population growth. Even at this rate it would have taken almost 300 years for per capita GDP to double. Any economy that achieved this was therefore doing exceptionally well.

The chronology of economic development revealed by trends in per capita GDP is different from that implied by labourers' real wage rates and, with the notable exception of the 100 years following the Black Death, more consistent with that suggested by urbanisation ratios. In both England and Italy real wage rates display a strong inverse correlation with population (Graphs 4 and 5), primarily because of the influence of population size upon relative factor prices and, in turn, the number of days it was necessary for labourers to work in order to satisfy their families' subsistence requirements (Graph 9). Real wage rates consequently lend themselves to a pessimistic Malthusian interpretation of pre-industrial development, whereby population growth was typically at the expense of per capita incomes, which only rose when growth ceased or was reversed. Trends in per capita GDP provide grounds for greater optimism since they tended to hold up better during periods of population growth and were less prone to inflation when populations declined (Graphs 6, 7, 8 and 9). They also better encapsulate the totality of economic activity and consequently are a surer guide to the pace and direction of economic change. A good example is the downturn of Amsterdam building labourers' real wage rates between 1450 and 1600 at a time when rising population, urbanisation, export earnings and per capita GDP indicate that real economic change and growth were taking place (Table 3).

It might be tempting to argue that the divergent trajectories between per capita GDP and labourers' real wage rates are in part at least an artefact of the methods of employed in estimating the former. Angeles, however, has provided a convincing economic explanation of why genuine deviations between the two are to be expected in terms of relative factor prices and per capita labour supply<sup>52</sup>. He demonstrates that this is why English per capita GDP rose but real wage rates fell after 1750, as the working year lengthened and per capita labour supply increased, and his explanation would appear to fit the concurrent divergences that occurred in Holland, Italy and Spain. Replication of this pattern in all four independently constructed chronologies lends confidence to the credibility of both the chronologies and the trend. Much the same applies to the divergence between real wage rates and per capita GDP that followed the Black Death, for this shows up in Italy, England, and Spain (where wage rates rose but per capita GDP actually fell), and is

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52 L. Angeles, *op.cit.*, pp. 147-163.

implicit in the high real wage rates of mid 15<sup>th</sup> century Holland (Graphs 6, 7, 8 and 10). Such a recurrent pattern is unlikely to be an artefact of the time series and is undoubtedly to be explained by a European-wide rise in the price of labour relative to land and capital, reinforced by a per capita reduction in labour supply as higher wage rates enabled labourers to work less.

This chimes with Allen and Weisdorf's analysis of the number of days per year that English urban and rural labourers needed to work in order to provide their households with a respectability basket of consumables, which they estimate declined to less than three days a week during the real wage-rate peak of the mid 15<sup>th</sup> century (Graph 9)<sup>53</sup>. As they point out, this gave manual labourers the option of enjoying more leisure or working more industriously in order to acquire more consumables<sup>54</sup>. A strong preference for the former is suggested by the fact that, as S.H. Rigby has observed, there was no corresponding rise in the urbanisation ratio<sup>55</sup>. Contrary to Wrigley's dictum, during this period a rising level of real income per head did not translate into a rising proportion of urban dwellers, and to judge from Bairoch, Batou and Chevre's national estimates of urbanisation, this seems to have been repeated to varying degrees right across Europe<sup>56</sup>. Differences did nevertheless exist in the magnitude of the divergence between real wage rates and per capita GDP (which was far greater in Italy than Spain and greater still in England), mainly because of differences in the relative price of labour on the eve of the Black Death (which was highest in labour-scarce Spain and lowest in labour-surfeited England) (Table 5 and Graph 3).

The gains in per capita GDP that occurred during the pre-industrial centuries arose either for the negative reason that population was shrinking faster than national income, or the positive reason that economic output was expanding faster than population. A rise in the urbanisation ratio, often driven by emergence of a single major metropolis or cluster of great cities, was typically characteristic of the positive, but not the negative, scenario. It was

<sup>53</sup> I. Blanchard (op.cit., p. 17) estimated that peasant families spent 125-135 days a year on farm work "leaving them 130-140 days of 'dead time' [...] free from the agricultural round".

<sup>54</sup> R.C. Allen, J.L. Weisdorf, op.cit.: leisure time comprised approximately 100 holy days ordained by the Church and up to 140 days available for popular recreations: I. Blanchard, op.cit., pp. 19-23. For the array of leisure pursuits cheaply or freely available to ordinary people see C. Reeves, *Pleasures and Pastimes in Medieval England*, Stroud 1995.

<sup>55</sup> S.H. Rigby, *Urban Population in Late Medieval England: the Evidence of the Lay Subsidies*, "Economic History Review" LXIII (2010) 2, p. 411: "the share of England's population living in its provincial towns in 1524 was, at most, no higher than that in 1377 and may even have been slightly lower".

<sup>56</sup> E.A. Wrigley, *Urban Growth and Agricultural Change: England and the Continent...*, pp. 683-728; P. Bairoch, J. Batou, P. Chevre, op.cit., p. 259: Germany, Belgium, Spain, France, Italy, Switzerland, Austria, Hungary and the Czech lands, the Balkans and European Russia all had lower urbanisation ratios in 1500 than 1400, while Romania's remained unchanged.

symptomatic of the leading role played by expanding trade and commerce in promoting productivity improvements via greater specialisation, fuller market integration, adoption of more efficient institutions, technological innovation, and more intensive use of available resources. Positive growth of this sort is exemplified by Italy during its commercial revolution, Holland during its golden age, and England during the mercantilist prelude to its industrial revolution (Tables 2, 3 and 4).

Such conditions scarcely applied during the 100 years that followed the Black Death, when Europe was in the grip of a deepening commercial recession, urban hinterlands were shrinking and markets becoming less integrated<sup>57</sup>. Thinly peopled Spain is unlikely to have been alone in sustaining a reduction of per capita GDP in the wake of the plague as depopulation rendered established levels of productivity unsustainable: its experience cautions against returning an overly optimistic verdict upon this unusual period. Tellingly, even when real wage rates and per capita GDP both improved, as in the case of both Italy and England, this failed to translate into higher urbanisation ratios, as should have been the case if this was economic growth in a conventional Kutznetsian sense. Moreover, in most of Europe the improved real wage rates and per capita GDP gains of the post-plague era proved transitory and endured no longer than the exceptional demographic circumstances responsible for them. The exceptions were a group of regions around the southern North Sea – Flanders, Brabant, Holland and England – all advantageously located, small in scale, well endowed with cheap energy, and blessed with favourable institutions. Here, post Black Death gains in per capita GDP were successfully maintained into the ensuing era of renewed population growth and commercial expansion, when, first Flanders, then Brabant, Holland and finally England, built upon them (Graphs 8 and 10)<sup>58</sup>.

Historical national income analysis is in its infancy. The number of case studies is small and biased towards countries – Italy, Holland and England – which at one time or another were in the van of European economic development. Application of the method is contingent upon both survival of relevant historical records and the current state of historical knowledge, in terms of available quantifiable information on key areas of economic activity. All of the national income reconstructions presented and discussed in this paper will in due course require revision, as further research is undertaken and fuller and more precise data become available. Scholarly criticism of

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<sup>57</sup> B.Z. Kedar, *op.cit.*; B.M.S. Campbell, *English Seigniorial Agriculture 1250-1450*, Cambridge 2000, pp. 430-436; V.N. Bateman, *op.cit.*, p. 464.

<sup>58</sup> J.L. van Zanden, B. van Leeuwen, *op.cit.*, pp. 119-130; S.N. Broadberry, B.M.S. Campbell, A. Klein, M. Overton, B. van Leeuwen, *op.cit.*

data, methods and results is to be expected<sup>59</sup>. In their methods and results, each, nevertheless, provides a cross-check on the others, hence extension of the approach to additional countries and regions can only refine and increase confidence in the results and place each country's experience in a clearer economic context. Although many historians may be uncomfortable with such a macro scale of analysis and the challenges this poses and questions it begs, it has the great merits of highlighting historiographic inconsistencies and oversights and generating results which facilitate a genuinely comparative approach to historical analysis of economic development both within and beyond Europe. Key topics that invite closer investigation include the economic multiplier effects of Western Europe's prevailing mixed-farming agricultural systems, impact of the Black Death upon per capita output in relatively sparsely populated regions, the forms taken by the strong leisure preference of late-medieval wage labourers, the extent of changes over time in the length of the working day and year, the ability of waged labourers to secure regular full-time employment, the labour-force participation rates of men, women and children, and whether the wage rates paid to casual labourers are representative of those received by those on annual contracts<sup>60</sup>. Historical national income analysis is therefore as valuable for the historical questions it raises, as for the answers it is beginning to provide.

#### ABSTRACT

Pessimistic Malthusian verdicts on the capacity of pre-industrial European economies to sustain a degree of real economic growth under conditions of population growth are challenged using current reconstructions of urbanisation ratios, the real wage rates of building and agricultural labourers, and GDP per capita estimated by a range of methods. Economic growth is shown to have outpaced population growth and raised GDP per capita to in excess of \$1,500 (1990 \$ international at PPP) in Italy during its 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> century commercial revolution, Holland during its 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> century golden age, and England during the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century runup to its industrial revolution. During each of these Smithian growth episodes expanding trade and commerce sustained significant output and employment growth in the manufacturing and service sectors. These positive developments were not necessarily reflected by trends in real wage rates for the latter were powerfully influenced by associated changes in relative factor prices and the per capita supply of labour as workers varied the length of the working year in order to consume either more leisure or more goods. The scale of the divergence between trends in real wage rates and GDP per capita nevertheless varied a great deal between countries for reasons which have yet to be adequately explained.

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59 Witness the contrasting estimates of S.N. Broadberry, B.M.S. Campbell, B. van Leeuwen, *op.cit.*, pp. 16-27 and G. Clark, *1381 and the Malthus Delusion*, "Explorations in Economic History" L (2013) 1, pp. 4-15 as reviewed by T. Leunig, *Understanding the English Economy 1381-1869: Editor's Introduction*, "Explorations in Economic History" L (2013) 1, pp. 1-3.

60 J. Hatcher, *Unreal Real Wages: How "Golden" Was the Fifteenth Century?*, in: *Commercial Activity, Markets and Entrepreneurs in the Middle Ages: Essays in Honour of Richard Britnell*, ed. by B. Dodds, C.D. Liddy, Woodbridge 2011, pp. 1-24.

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## ENERGY, POWER AND GROWTH IN THE HIGH MIDDLE AGES



Historians agree that the long period between the 9<sup>th</sup> century and the 14<sup>th</sup> could actually be defined as a period of growth in Europe. Population rose and urbanisation spread thanks both to the formation of new centres and to the increase in number of inhabitants of the old ones; technical knowledge improved and institutional changes supported this material progress. Yet it is much harder to specify the character of this phase of growth. Was it an epoch of mere rise in population, without any improvement in the standard of living, or an age of true economic rise in per capita terms? The first form of growth is ordinarily defined as *extensive* growth, while the second as *intensive* growth. Since any form of extensive or intensive growth must be supported by a rise in energy resources, it is reasonable to wonder whether new energy sources began to be exploited or if exploitation of the existing ones improved.

Sections 1 and 2 of the present article will be devoted to the increase in population and urbanisation. Since increase in urbanisation implies some rise in labour productivity and subsequently some form of intensive growth, in section 3 I will examine the sources of energy of past agrarian civilisations and then, in section 4, the information regarding the specific sources of energy exploited by European medieval populations. Section 5 will be devoted to power exploitation and section 6 to the influence of climate on energy availability in the period under examination. I will therefore, begin with the evidence on growth provided by data on population and urbanisation and follow on to the changes in the energy basis of the medieval population.

### 1. THE EUROPEAN POPULATION

Whilst during the 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> centuries, density of population on the continent was low indeed – 5 or fewer inhabitants per km<sup>2</sup> – in the subsequent three

to four centuries, the number and size of inhabited areas increased and new centres of population multiplied. Cities became more populous and deserted regions, especially in the east and north of the continent, began to be inhabited. Yet quantitative figures on population for this age are almost entirely lacking; with the exception of scattered information in the few medieval censuses of land-ownerships (the polyptics) existing today and the evidence of the birth of new centres and spread of population towards uninhabited areas. Any quantitative attempt at estimating European population at the beginning of the phase of growth cannot but proceed from the population level around 1300, date for which more reliable information is available, going back to previous epochs through plausible rates of increase. This is the method followed in column 7 of Table 1<sup>1</sup>, while the other columns report data proposed by historians and demographers on the European population between 1000<sup>2</sup> and 1500.

**Table 1:** The European population between 1000 and 1500 (000).

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	Uralanis	Mc Evedy, Jones	Biraben*	Russell	Le Bras	Maddison	Malanima
1000	56,400	36,000	43,000	38,500	43,000	39,200	47,000
1300	78,700	79,000	86,000	73,500	87,000		93,600
1400	78,100	60,000	65,000	50,000			67,800
1500	100,400	81,000	84,000	81,800	84,000	87,700	84,800

Sources: 1 – B.T. Uralanis, *Rost Naselenie v Evrope*, Moscow 1941; 2 – C. Mc Evedy, R. Jones, *Atlas of World Population History*, New York 1978; 3 – J.-N. Biraben, *Essai sur l'évolution du nombre des hommes*, "Population" XXXIV (1969), pp. 13-25; 4 – J.C. Russell, *European Population 500-1500*, in: *The Fontana Economic History of Europe*, ed. by C.M. Cipolla, Glasgow-London 1973, I, pp. 25-70; 5 – H. Le Bras, *La popolazione*, in: *Storia d'Europa*, ed. by P. Anderson, M. Aymard, P. Bairoch, W. Barberis, C. Ginzburg, I, Torino 1993, pp. 71-130; 6 – A. Maddison, *Contours of the World Economy, 1-2030 AD. Essays in Macro-Economic History*, Oxford 2007; 7 – P. Malanima, *Pre-modern European Economy. One Thousand Years (10<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> Centuries)*, Leiden-Boston 2009 and present text.

\* The whole of Russia is included and not only the European part.

Around the year 1000, we see that the range between the lowest and highest estimate, 36 million and 56 million, is higher than 50 percent. However, if we exclude the outlying figure proposed by Uralanis, the range shrinks to 30 percent. For 1300, a remarkable difference still exists between

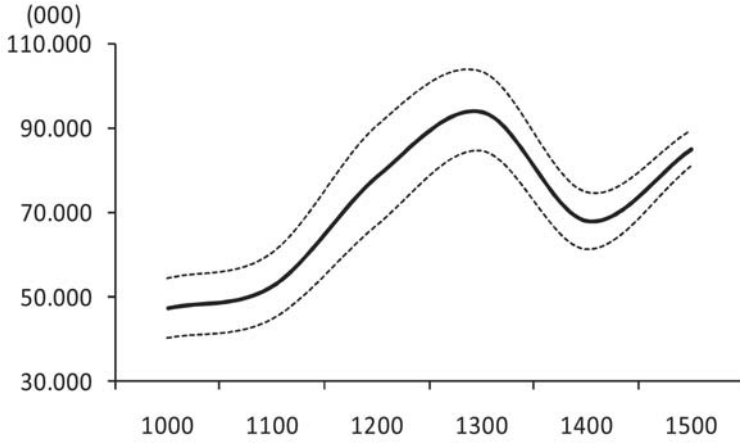
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1 Assuming the annual percentage rise of 2.3 per thousand, plausible in the case of pre-modern societies.

2 The information collected in Table 1 starts from 1000. This is, however, only a chronological simplification deriving from our ignorance regarding the starting period of medieval demographic growth.

the highest (94 million) and the lowest figure (73 million), although the range is lower: 20 percent. Any estimate, however, points at a remarkable rise in population during the period under examination and its peak in around 1300. The demographic level reached in that period will not be overtaken until the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

Graph 1: European population and range of uncertainty of our estimates from 1000 until 1500 (000).



Sources: as in Table 1, col. 7. The dashed curves draw the range of uncertainty of our figures, diminishing from the beginning to the end of our series. The interpolation of the figures for 1100 and 1200 is done by means of a logistic curve.

## 2. URBANISATION

Since in pre-modern societies per capita income underwent modest changes and was hardly higher than the level of subsistence, population growth implied increase in gross output. By contrast, rise in urbanisation witnesses rise in labour productivity and per capita GDP: workers in the primary sector must be able to support not only themselves, but also a share of population not employed in agricultural production.

A comparison between urbanisation in 1300 and urbanisation some centuries earlier is not easy to make given the scarcity or the lack of information on urban population before the 14<sup>th</sup> century (Table 2). However, historians have often emphasized, that the increase in the number and population of the urban centres constituted a landmark of medieval European civilisation. The available information on specific cities seems to support this opinion. The results of a recent estimate of the western European centres with more than 10,000 inhabitants indicate that these doubled from 74 around the year 1000 to 156 around 1300. In the same period, the urbanisation rate would



have risen from 5.8 percent to 6.5: a modest increase indeed<sup>3</sup>. If we consider “cities” as centres with more than 10,000 inhabitants, 210 cities can be counted in the whole of Europe in the year 1300 and not merely in western Europe, as in the previous estimate, with an urbanisation rate of about 5 percent<sup>4</sup>. The most urbanised regions were Italy and Flanders, with 18 percent of the population living in towns of more than 10,000 inhabitants. Spain also boasted a high level of urbanisation (12 percent). In some regions, such as Scandinavia, Scotland and The Netherlands no city reached the threshold of 10,000 inhabitants.

Table 2: Urbanisation rate in 1300 (towns with over 10,000 inhabitants).

	1300
	Urbanisation
Scandinavia	0.0
England (Wales)	4.0
Scotland	0.0
Ireland	0.8
Netherlands	0.0
Belgium	18.8
France	5.2
Italy	18.0
Spain	12.1
Portugal	3.6
Switzerland	3.0
Austria (Czech., Hung.)	0.6
Germany	3.4
Poland	1.0
Balkans	5.2
Russia (European)	2.1
EUROPE	5.3
EUROPE (without Russia)	5.4

Source: P. Malanima, *Pre-modern European Economy* and idem, *Decline or Growth? European Cities and Rural Economies, 1300-1600*, pp. 18-44.

Note: The urbanisation rate of Italy refers only to the centre and north.

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<sup>3</sup> M. Bosker, E. Buringh, J.L. Van Zanden, *From Baghdad to London. The Dynamics of Urban Growth in Europe and the Arab World, 800-1800* (forthcoming; provisional draft).

<sup>4</sup> P. Malanima, *Pre-modern European Economy* and idem, *Decline or Growth? European Cities and Rural Economies, 1300-1600*, in: *Zwischen Land und Stadt, "Jahrbuch für Geschichte des ländlichen Raumes" VI* (2009), pp. 18-44.

### 3. ENERGY SOURCES OF PAST AGRICULTURAL CIVILISATIONS

Today the daily consumption of energy on the world scale is 50,000 kilocalories per capita. In Europe it is notably higher: 150,000 kilocalories. However, at the beginning of modern growth, in the first decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, about 10 times less energy was consumed: 5,000 kilocalories per capita per day on the world scale and 15,000 in Europe<sup>5</sup>. Despite the increasing exploitation of coal, energy consumption in Europe was still based on the three traditional carriers of an agricultural society: first of all food, then firewood and fodder for working animals. Food had been the original source of energy since the human species came into being. The second source was firewood, discovered between one million and half a million years ago. The third source, fodder for working animals, began to be exploited on a wide scale by agricultural civilisations between 5,000 and 4,000 years BC, at the time of the taming of animals and their exploitation in agricultural labour and transport. Food and fodder were, so to speak, the fuels of animate, biological converters. Their joint contribution was equal to that of wood: about 50 percent in southern Europe and less in the north, where firewood represented a higher share of the overall consumption. These were also the main sources of mechanical energy, since, through their metabolism, they provided almost the totality of work.

Water and wind were the only non-organic sources of energy. At the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the contribution of water exploited by watermills, and wind – utilized by sailing ships, boats and mills – to the overall energy consumption was modest indeed. If we assume that watermills, windmills and sails, whose number and power are known for several European countries, functioned all day long and their contribution to consumed energy is divided among the population, the result seldom exceeds 1-3 percent of the total energy consumption<sup>6</sup>. However, we will see that in terms of power, water and wind play a more important role<sup>7</sup>.

All these forms of energy are reproducible and will in all likelihood remain so for some 5 billion years, that is for as long as the sun's rays continue to reach the Earth. These are organic vegetable sources – while fossil sources are organic mineral<sup>8</sup> – and may effectively be considered inexhaustible sources. In the long run their availability could be assumed to be endless, yet it is effectively difficult to increase their exploitation. Sunlight can be employed more advantageously by increasing the number of cultivated areas,

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5 I examined the topic of energy consumption in pre-modern Europe in P. Malanima, *Energia e crescita nell'Europa preindustriale*, Roma 1996.

6 P. Malanima, *Pre-modern European Economy*, chap. II.

7 In section 5.

8 As defined by E.A. Wrigley, *Continuity, Chance and Change. The Character of the Industrial Revolution in England*, Cambridge 1988.

woodland can be managed with greater efficiency and the power of wind and water harnessed more effectively. These are, however, slow processes, which increase human strength only in the long term. It is easy, by contrast, to extract ever-larger quantities of crude oil or coal. Although growth existed before modern times, the increase of production in those pre-modern epochs met with difficulties in energy availability that were virtually impossible to overcome in the short-term. The availability of energy was always the main constraint to growth for pre-modern, agricultural economies; the medieval economy included.

In the case of extensive growth, the total consumption of energy has to increase. Naturally, the increase has to be higher whenever growth is intensive. In this last case, energy consumption has to support not only demographic increase, but also the higher standard of living of the growing population. Now, we have just seen that during the three-four centuries of medieval growth population doubled, increasing by about 50 million. If we optimistically assume that energy, in the form of wood, food for the population and feed for working animals required 2 hectares, including arables (with fallow land), forests and meadows, then the exploitable surface necessary to meet the needs of 50 million inhabitants was 1 million km<sup>2</sup>, that is 10 percent of the whole extent of Europe<sup>9</sup>. Any calculation of this kind is only a rough approximation. Naturally, the requirement of forest was much higher in cold, northern Europe than in the south. Similarly, whenever we refer to arable soil, the required amount of land to support a person differed as land productivity was diverse in different regions. Because the dry European agriculture needed working animals, the demand for land was inevitably greater. In any case, a massive effort was required in order to support the doubling of the population. Excluding Russia and excluding lands where survival was impossible, as in the case of high mountainous areas, we can estimate that medieval demographic growth had to be supported by the colonisation of one third of the total extent of the continent in order to keep energy consumption per head stable.

The question is: what changes did occur in the energy basis during medieval growth to meet this increase in the number of inhabitants?

#### 4. ENERGY IN THE HIGH MIDDLE AGES

We can only speculate about the level of energy consumption during the high Middle Ages. Deviations in food consumption from the average of

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<sup>9</sup> I presented an estimate of the extent of land necessary to provide the energy in pre-modern Europe in P. Malanima, *The Energy Basis for Early Modern Growth 1650-1820*, in: *Early Modern Capitalism. Economic and Social Change in Europe, 1400-1800*, ed. by M. Prak, London-New York 2000, pp. 51-68.

2-3,000 kilocalories per day cannot be too great. Furthermore, information relating to the early modern centuries suggests that a technical ratio between working animals and population existed in Europe: an ox or horse every 4-7 people<sup>10</sup>. Since any medieval draft animal needed about 20,000 kilocalories in fodder per day, and taking into account their size, a European inhabitant could avail himself of a further 2,800-5,000 kilocalories. Considering a draft or transport animal as a machine, we merely divide its daily fodder consumption by the number of its owners. Variations in firewood consumption were sharp in different European regions. Although 1 kg, or 3,500 kilocalories per head, could suffice in the south, in the extreme north, any inhabitant had to consume 5 kg or more, including the industrial uses of fuel.

Thus the energy balance of medieval Europeans can be synthesized by the following equation:

$$c = \frac{F_h}{N} + \frac{F_a}{N} + \frac{F_i}{N} + \frac{W}{N} \quad (1)$$

where  $c$  is per capita consumption of energy (expressed in some energy measure),  $F_h$ ,  $F_a$ ,  $F_i$  and  $W$ , respectively the total consumption (in calories or some other energy measure) of food for humans, fodder for working animals, firewood and both water and wind-power, and  $N$ , population.

It is important to specify that only a small part of the whole energy input was converted into useful energy, that is mechanical work or heat that people could actually exploit. If we divide this useful energy ( $E_u$ ) by the total energy input ( $E_t$ ), and multiply by 100, the result, that is the efficiency in the exploitation of energy:

$$\eta = \frac{E_u}{E_t} \quad (2)$$

The result is that the efficiency in the use of energy was 15-20 percent in pre-modern agrarian societies, whereas today, in our modern economies, it is about 30 percent<sup>11</sup>. From 80 to 85 percent of the input of energy was lost in pre-modern biological economies. In our mechanical economies, the loss is lower: around 70 percent.

**Arables.** Medieval colonisation came about between the 10<sup>th</sup> and the 14<sup>th</sup> centuries. The boundaries of farming shifted and woodland regions were cultivated for the first time. Particularly important was the settlement, from the 12<sup>th</sup> century onwards, of German peasants in the eastern European

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<sup>10</sup> A. Kander, P. Warde, *Energy Availability from Livestock and Agricultural Productivity in Europe, c. 1800-1913: A New Comparison*, "Economic History Review" LIV (2011) 1, pp. 1-29. See also the figures proposed in P. Malanima, *Energia e crescita...*

<sup>11</sup> P. Malanima, *Pre-modern European Economy*, chap. II.

regions beyond the Elbe River<sup>12</sup>. A veritable migration took place. Thousands and thousands of German settlers flooded into eastern Europe. The European border was shifted further east and thousands of farming villages were created.

Based on European and non-European examples, an elasticity of woodland to population rise of -0.6 has been recently estimated, which means that an increase of 10 percent in population implies a reduction of woodland by 6 percent<sup>13</sup>. Using this elasticity coefficient, we can estimate that, during the centuries of the medieval European demographic rise, forests diminished by 30 percent, to be replaced by arable lands.

**Firewood.** During the later centuries of Roman civilisation, forests had been cut down in many densely inhabited areas of the Mediterranean<sup>14</sup>. Following the fall of the Roman Empire in the west, population declined in the Mediterranean regions and consequently the forests re-grew. There were less than 30 million people living in Europe in the 8<sup>th</sup> century, with demographic density at below 3 inhabitants per km<sup>2</sup><sup>15</sup>.

From the 10<sup>th</sup> century onwards, demographic growth began to intensify in Europe thus necessitating the felling of forests<sup>16</sup>. As the demand for food gradually increased, farming families, monasteries, and landowners cleared gaps in the thick forests in order to gain land for agriculture. Cultivated lands extended north, south and particularly in eastern Europe, where German settlers searched for land to cultivate.

The demise of woodlands due to deforestation by the population began to be seen as dangerous from the 13<sup>th</sup> century onwards, and, by the end of the century, the first laws appeared attempting to limit the felling of forests. According to the *Domesday Book* of 1086, 15 percent of the land surface of England was woodland. Over the next two centuries between one third and half of this area was cleared<sup>17</sup>.

Wood was not only necessary for building and heating, but also for use in many industries. Wood and charcoal were used in breweries, potteries,

<sup>12</sup> H. Aubin, *Medieval Agrarian Society in Its Prime: The Lands East of the Elbe*, in: *Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, ed. by M.M. Postan, I, Cambridge 1966, pp. 449-506.

<sup>13</sup> O. Saito, *Forest History and the Great Divergence: China, Japan and the West Compared*, "Journal of Global History" IV (2009), pp. 379-404.

<sup>14</sup> See the overview by W. Harris, *Bois et déboisement dans la Méditerranée antique*, "Annales HSS" (2011), pp. 105-140.

<sup>15</sup> Ch. Higounet, *Les forêts de l'Europe occidentale du V<sup>e</sup> siècle à l'an mil*, XIII settimana di studi del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo (Spoleto 1965), Spoleto 1966, pp. 343-399.

<sup>16</sup> J.O. Kaplan, K.M. Krumhardt, N. Zimmermann. *The Prehistoric and Preindustrial Deforestation of Europe*, "Quaternary Science Reviews" XXVIII (2009), pp. 3016-334.

<sup>17</sup> E.A. Wrigley, *The Transition to an Advanced Organic Economy: Half a Millennium of English Agriculture*, "Economic History Review" II s., LIX (2006) 3, p. 439, n. 18 (on the basis of O. Rackam).

salt refineries, dye-works, bakeries, and distilleries but above all for working metals. The ratio between charcoal used and iron obtained was 16 to 1. According to another calculation one needed to process 200 kg of minerals and burn 25 square metres of wood to obtain 50 kg of iron<sup>18</sup>.

Previously it has been seen that rising population implied a reduction of forests of about 30 percent. We know that, at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, woodlands represented 30 percent of the whole surface of the continent and that the strong demographic rise from the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century meant a remarkable decline in the extent of woodland areas. If, as already recalled, woodlands diminished by about 30 percent in the high medieval period and at the beginning of demographic growth forests presumably covered 70-80 percent<sup>19</sup>, it results that in the 14<sup>th</sup> century forests extended across 40-50 percent of the entire surface of the continent.

**Other fuels.** Coal was almost unknown in the ancient world, with the exception of England, where its exploitation was remarkable<sup>20</sup>. Already widely utilised in medieval China<sup>21</sup>, its exploitation in Europe is documented from the 13<sup>th</sup> century onwards. We know that it was extracted at that time in England, Scotland and in The Netherlands, around Aachen, in Franche-Comté, near Lyon, in Forez and in Anjou<sup>22</sup>. Limited quantities were transported by sea and consumed in places some distance from the mines. In the 13<sup>th</sup> century, coal from Northumberland was transported not only to London, but also to The Netherlands<sup>23</sup>. Peat, another fossil fuel, which had formed over the centuries in areas of marshland, was already employed when the Romans reached the Dutch plains. During the 11<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> century, its use spread with the population.

In the 15<sup>th</sup> century, coal and peat were widely used around Lièges and near Newcastle. In urbanised, therefore deforested areas, like Flanders, such quantities of peat were used as to exhaust the peat fields. Consequently,

18 R.F. Tylecote, *Metallurgy in Archaeology*, London 1962, pp. 190-191; R.F. Tylecote, *Furnaces, Crucibles, and Slags*, in: *The Coming of the Age of Iron*, ed. by T.A. Wertime, J.D. Muhly, New Haven-London 1980, p. 183; J. Schneider, *Fer et sidérurgie dans l'économie européenne du XI<sup>e</sup> au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, *Actes du colloque international 'Le fer à travers les âges'*, "Annales de l'Est" 1956, p. 125.

19 C.H. Higounet, op.cit.

20 A.H.V. Smith, *Provenance of Coals from Roman Sites in England and Wales, "Britannia" XXVIII* (1997), pp. 297-324. See also P. Malanima, *Energy Consumption and Energy Crisis in the Roman World* (forthcoming).

21 M. Elvin, *The Pattern of the Chinese Past*, Stanford 1973, p. 85; and above all R.M. Hartwell, *A Cycle of Economic Change in Imperial China: Coal and Iron in North-East China, 750-1350*, "Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient" X (1967), pp. 478-492.

22 J. Nef, *Mining and Metallurgy in Medieval Civilization*, in: *Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, ed. by M.M. Postan, P. Mathias, II, Cambridge 1952, pp. 691-761.

23 M. Postan, *The Trade of Medieval Europe: The North*, in: *Cambridge Economic History...*, pp. 240-304.

further supplies were sought elsewhere and were found to the north of Antwerp and near Utrecht<sup>24</sup>.

**Draft animals.** From the 8<sup>th</sup> century onwards, animal power began to be employed to a much greater extent on the European continent. It has been calculated that, as a result of this progress, 70 percent of the available mechanical energy in 11<sup>th</sup>-century England was provided by working animals (still mostly oxen at that time) and only the remaining 30 percent by human muscle power or by water mills<sup>25</sup>. Nonetheless, even assuming a more modest increase in the use of horses outside England, we can suppose that, in the high medieval centuries, there was a rise in the availability of energy per capita.

In the early Middle Ages horsepower was little used and, as in ancient times, the horse was still considered a war machine. Horses were not exploited in agriculture and were expensive being owned only by rich people. In Anglo-Saxon documents of 7<sup>th</sup> century England, for example, the horse is never mentioned as a working animal<sup>26</sup>. In early 9<sup>th</sup> century France, only the ox appears as a working animal in the fields, whereas the horse is employed exclusively for the transportation of people and goods<sup>27</sup>.

The exploitation of horsepower was most intense in northern Europe and particularly in England and The Netherlands. Certainly, the wider exploitation of animal power was an important support to the colonisation of northern Europe during the high Middle Ages and was, as suggested, the cause of the changing demographic balance between the south and the north. Europe was becoming more and more continental and ever less Mediterranean<sup>28</sup>.

**Water and wind.** Until a few decades ago, the opinion prevailed that the water mill, although an ancient invention, was definitely a medieval "innovation". It was commonly believed that water mills, after enjoying a short-lived period of technological development in the late Roman Empire, rapidly declined and almost disappeared in the early Middle Ages. Only from the 9<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> centuries onward did the mill spread again thanks to the initiative of monasteries and feudal lords. The span of time between the

24 J.W. De Zeeuw, *Peat and the Dutch Golden Age. The Historical Meaning of Energy-Attainability*, "A.A.G. Bijdragen" XXI (1978), pp. 3-32.

25 J. Langdon, *Horses, Oxen and Technological Innovation. The Use of Draught Animals in English Farming from 1066-1500*, Cambridge 1986, p. 20. In this estimate, only mechanical energy is included. See also J. Langdon, *The Use of Animal Power from 1200 to 1800*, in: *Economia e energia secc. XIII-XVIII*, ed. by S. Cavaciocchi, Firenze 2003, pp. 213-221. See also P. Vigneron, *Le cheval dans l'antiquité gréco-romaine*, Nancy 1968; R. Lefebvre De Noëttes, *L'attelage. Le cheval de selle à travers les âges. Contribution à l'histoire de l'esclavage*, I, Paris 1931; A.G. Haudricourt, M. J-B. Delamarre, *L'homme et la charrue à travers le monde*, Paris 1955.

26 J. Langdon, *Horses, Oxen and Technological Innovation...*, p. 26.

27 C. Parain, *The Evolution of Agricultural Techniques*, in: *Cambridge Economic History...*, I.

28 J.C. Russell, op.cit.

9<sup>th</sup> century and the 12<sup>th</sup> is usually regarded as a period of rapid progress in water technology. Mills began to be used not only to grind cereals but also for many different kinds of industrial work. Around the time of the *Domesday Book*, in the late 11<sup>th</sup> century, the population-waterwheels ratio had already reached the level it was to maintain for the following centuries until the beginning of economic modernisation<sup>29</sup>. In their important studies, both M. Bloch<sup>30</sup> and L. White<sup>31</sup> support this notion of technological progress in the Middle Ages. Some scholars argued that an industrial revolution had taken place in the central centuries of the Middle Ages and that this revolution had been supported by the rise in energy availability<sup>32</sup>.

The spread and eventually the prevailing of the overshot vertical mill, much more efficient than the old horizontal water mill, is often credited as having opened a new phase in the history of water technology. Because of its higher power yield, the vertical wheel was utilized in many different industrial sectors<sup>33</sup>. Amongst the new industrial applications for water were the fulling mill, water-powered suction pumps in the mines, hydro-powered bellows and the blast-smelter in metallurgy, paper mills and silk-throwing mills. As we go back in time, however, we find out that these innovations (except the last two) are only apparently such. In many cases, recent archaeological investigations indicate that they were already employed in ancient times.

Wind was used for mills and sails. The windmill supposedly originates from Asia. The first evidence we possess refers to the 7<sup>th</sup> century AD<sup>34</sup>. Whatever the origins really were, windmills were long known in Europe as Persian mills. Thus were they mentioned in one of the first, if not the first, account of windmills in Europe: the *Book of King Ruggero*, written in 1154 by the Arabian geographer al-Idrisi. In Sicily, al-Idrisi wrote, in Calatubo, near Erice, on the extreme southwest point of the island, "exists a quarry where they cut stone for the use of mills driven by water and for those called 'Persan'"<sup>35</sup>.

29 M.T. Hogden, *Domesday Water Mills*, "Antiquity" XIII (1939), pp. 261-279.

30 M. Bloch, *Avènement et conquête du moulin à eau*, "Annales d'histoire économique et sociale" VII (1935), pp. 538-563.

31 L. White Jr., *Medieval Technology and Social Change*, Oxford 1962.

32 B. Gille, *Le moulin à eau, une révolution technique médiévale*, "Techniques et civilisations", III (1954), pp. 1-15; E. Carus-Wilson, *Medieval Merchant Venturers*, London 1954.

33 See especially J.H. Munro, *Industrial Energy from Water-Mills in the European Economy, 5<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> Centuries: The Limitations of Power*, in: *Economia e energia secc. XIII-XVIII*, ed. by S. Cavaciocchi, Firenze 2003, pp. 223-269, which summarizes many previous works on this subject.

34 R.J. Forbes, *Power*, in: *A History of Technology*, ed. by Ch. Singer, E.J. Holmyard, A.R. Hall, T.I. Williams, II, New York-London 1956, pp. 589-628.

35 Idrisi, *Il libro di Re Ruggero*, in: *Italia euro-mediterranea nel Medioevo: testimonianze di scrittori arabi*, ed. by M.G. Stasolla, Bologna 1983, p. 118. For the origins of the windmill see



The regions in which wind power played a more important role were the great plains of northern and western Europe, where the winds are constant and there are no mountains; from northern France to Holland, Denmark and then inland as far as Poland and Russia. In any case, windmills only became important engines after medieval growth and their contribution to the energy balance during the high and late Middle Ages was negligible.

Whilst the use of wind power for milling was an innovation of considerable economic influence, the modifications in the use of the wind for navigation were less important and only marginally concerned the use of energy<sup>36</sup>. Although the harnessing of wind power in navigation was not a real innovation, uninterrupted progress occurred in quantitative terms: increase in the number of sails on the seas implied a growth in the magnitude of energy exploited. For the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century the carrying capacity of the European fleet has been estimated between 200,000 and 350,000 tons.

## 5. POWER

Together with the low availability of energy sources, another influential constraint to all pre-modern energy systems was the low power of the converters, which resulted in a low working capacity per unit of time. The high standard of living of modern societies is the result of the higher output per unit of time, or higher labour productivity, achieved using more powerful mechanical engines. The power of a man in everyday work is the same as a 40-watt lamp. The power of a horse is 15-20 times higher.

To clarify this central point about the differences between past and modern energy systems, we must remember that the power of an average car (80 kilowatts) is today equal to the power of 2,000 people and that the power of a large power station generating electricity (800 megawatts) is the same as that of 20 million people. The electric power of a medium sized nation of 40-60 million inhabitants, some 80,000 megawatts, equals the power of 2 billion people. Today, a nuclear plant or a nuclear bomb can concentrate millions of HP, or the work of many generations of humans and draft animals, into a small space and a fraction of time. This "concentration of work" allows humans to accomplish tasks that were barely imaginable just a few lifetimes ago.

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E.J. Kealey, *Harvesting the Air. Windmill Pioneers in Twelfth-Century England*, Woolbridge 1987, p. 69 and J. Langdon, *Water-mills and Windmills in the West Midlands, 1086-1500*, "Economic History Review" II s., XLIV (1991), p. 433 (n. 21) who criticises Kealey for his dates. See R.W. Unger, *The Ship in the Medieval Economy*, London-Montreal 1980, pp. 29 ff.

<sup>36</sup> R.W. Unger, *op.cit.*, pp. 29 ff.

Power is defined as the maximum energy liberated in a second by a biological or technical engine. The power of a man using a tool is about 0.05 horsepower (HP). That of a horse or donkey can be 10-20 times higher (Table 3).

Table 3: Animal power (in HP).

	HP
Horse	1.00
Bullock-Ox	0.75
Mule	0.70
Cow	0.40
Donkey	0.40

Watermills generally provided 3-5 HP (although this power could be increased remarkably in particular cases), while a windmill could reach 8-10 HP. In comparison, the very largest steam engines could attain 8-12,000 HP around 1900<sup>37</sup>. The conquest of power meant an incredible advance in the possibility of processing or manipulating the forces and materials of the environment (Table 4)<sup>38</sup>.

Table 4: Chronological advances in power from traditional societies to the steam engine (in HP).

	HP
Man pulling a lever	0.05
Ox pulling a load	0.50
Donkey mill	0.50
Vertical water mill	3.00
Post windmill	8.00
Newcomen's steam engine	5.00
Watt's steam engine	40.00

Source: E. Cook, *Man, Energy, Society*, San Francisco 1976, p. 29.

As already mentioned, the mechanical contribution of a watermill to energy availability in traditional societies was relatively modest when we compare it to human and animal energy consumption from food and fodder; even more modest if the comparison is made with total energy consumption

<sup>37</sup> See Chapter 6.

<sup>38</sup> The values in the Table refer to averages and only suggest orders of magnitude.

including firewood. The mechanical energy produced by a watermill endowed with the power of 2 HP working 12 hours is equal to about 15,000 kilocalories (64,749 kJ), and since a worker consumes 3,000 kilocalories in a day, consumption of gravitational energy by a watermill is 5 times the food energy consumption of a man. As we have seen a working animal consumed fodder containing about 20-25,000 kilocalories a day. Energy consumption of this animate machine was higher than that of a watermill. However, we also have to take into account that, while the yield of a mill is high, the transformation into mechanical, useful work is about 70 percent or more than gravitational water energy falling on a vertical wheel. The yield of an animal body is low, as we have seen: 10-15 percent for working animals and a little more for a man. Useful energy is about 2-2,500 kilocalories for an animal and 5-600 for a man. The inanimate machines of today are much more efficient: usually more than 30 percent of the energy of our cars is transformed into useful work (the transportation, that is, of people or commodities).

If in terms of energy consumption the contribution of a watermill is modest, in terms of power, or the capacity of doing work in the unit of time, one second, things are different. In the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries, the ratio of water-mills to the population was around one mill to every 250-300 people<sup>39</sup>; which means that more or less every village had at least one mill. The same ratio of population to mills prevailed in early modern Europe until the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. From late medieval and early modern documentary sources, we know that an ordinary watermill seldom exceeded the power of 3 HP. In the nineteenth century, more powerful mills were much more frequent. The contribution of waterpower in traditional economies is more apparent if we imagine a fairly typical medieval village of 300 people, each of whom consumes a little more than 2,000 kilocalories as food and works with some assistance from draft animals. The contribution, in terms of mechanical power, of a mill with the power of 3 HP would actually be substantial. Without it, there may not be enough muscle power to grind the grain. In table 5, we see a hypothetical quantification of the power, or the capacity to do mechanical work, for such a small village. We see that looking at the problem from the point of view of mechanical power, the existence of a mill represents a remarkable addition (10 percent) to the total power of the village. Vannoccio Biringuccio from Siena wrote in his *De la pirotechnia*, published in 1540, that a watermill could replace the mechanical work of 100 men<sup>40</sup>. We see

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<sup>39</sup> L. Makkai, *Productivité et exploitation des sources d'énergie (XII<sup>e</sup>-XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, in: *Produttività e tecnologia nei secoli XII-XVII*, ed. by S. Mariotti, Firenze 1981, pp. 165-181.

<sup>40</sup> V. Biringuccio, *De la pirotechnia*, ed. by A. Mieli, Bari 1914 [I ed. 1540]; T.S. Reynolds, *Stronger than a Hundred Men. A History of the Vertical Water Wheel*, Baltimore-London 1983 derived the title of his book from Biringuccio.

also that every inhabitant of the village was on average endowed with 0.16 HP (that is total HP divided by 300). Utilizing this power for 10 hours, we reach about 1.6 HPh (which is a measure of energy). This energy is equal to about 1,000 kilocalories or 0.0043 GJ. Assuming an efficiency of the energy system of 15 percent (plausible for the time as seen in section 4), 1,000 kilocalories per day per head imply an intake of energy of about 6,500 kilocalories (1,000/0.15), exploited by the biological and mechanical engines that an average European inhabitant could use at that time, to engender mechanical work. Firewood is excluded as source of heat and not mechanical work.

Table 5: Estimate of the endowment of power in a small village of 300 inhabitants, with 60 draft animals and 1 watermill (in HP and %).

	HP each	Total HP	% on total HP
300 people	0.05	15	30
60 animals	0.50	30	60
1 watermill	3.00	3	10

## 6. CLIMATE AND ENERGY

Could the above-mentioned energy sources have represented the main support of medieval demographic growth and the modest increase in the average income? Some doubts remain. The expansion of the arables to new areas, together with a wider exploitation of forests, meant the addition of new sources of energy to a rising population, but not a rise in energy consumption per capita. Probably animal power increased, with a keener exploitation of the horse's strength, and mills multiplied. In per capita terms, however, all this added very little to human working capacity. Over three-five centuries the population rose, although at a very modest rate and is likely to have met fast decreasing returns, as ordinarily in peasant economies, due to the shrinking of the available sources of energy per head. However, something still appears to be missing in the framework of medieval energy availability. In fact, when speaking of energy in pre-modern times, we often neglect the role played by climate and climatic changes. Given that in pre-modern organic vegetable energy systems the transformation of the sun's radiation into biomass by means of photosynthesis was fundamental and since the heat of the Sun is not constant on Earth, the energy basis – phytomass – of any human activity was subject to changes. Climatic phases have thus marked the history of mankind. The availability of phytomass deeply varied and strongly influenced human economies. While warm periods were favourable to the spread of cultivations and the multiplication of mankind, cold epochs

were correlated to demographic declines. Roman civilisation flourished in a warm period and was accompanied by population rise. The so-called warm Medieval Climatic Optimum coincided with worldwide population increase, between 900 and 1300, while the following Little Ice Age was a period of economic hardship and population stability or slow increase<sup>41</sup>.

The recently elaborated series of annual temperatures in the northern hemisphere show a declining trend from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD onward<sup>42</sup>. Temperatures remained low until the beginning of the so-called Medieval Climatic Optimum, which lasted from the 9<sup>th</sup> century until 1250-1300<sup>43</sup>. It became possible to cultivate land located in cold regions and therefore feed an increasingly larger population (Graph 2)<sup>44</sup>. Moreover, the higher temperature resulted in the formation of greater biomass for both men and working animals. The growth in population during the medieval period, and indeed of production, depended not only on the conscious efforts of man to harness new energy sources by means of new converters, but also on the variation in the availability of energy due to climatic phenomena.

Decadal data contribute to clarifying the overall trend in the northern hemisphere (Graph 3).

With the increasing density of population in northern Europe, the possibility of cultivating lands located at higher latitudes and located on the hills enabled an increase in the quantity of agricultural goods and a higher firewood production, in order to feed more inhabitants and draft animals. It may be noted that temperatures in the Alps increased from the 8<sup>th</sup> century until the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century (Graph 4).

Although the figures for temperatures present many differences, several paleoclimatologists agree on the favourable climatic epoch during the high Middle Ages and the temperature drop during the early Modern age:

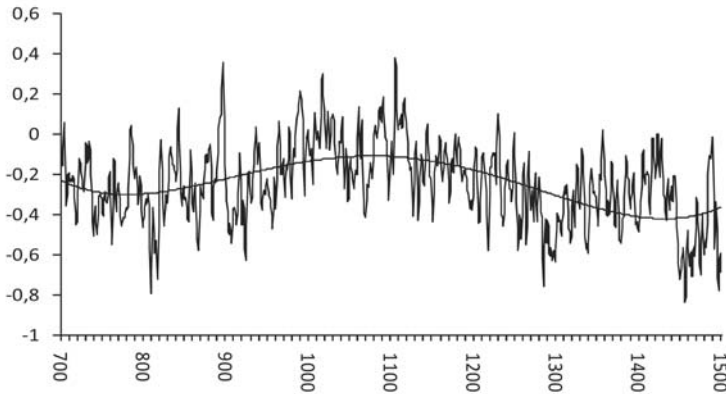
<sup>41</sup> Two introductions to the topic of climate over very long periods are those of E. Le Roy Ladurie, *Histoire du climat depuis l'an mil*, Paris 1967, and M. Pinna, *La storia del clima. Variazioni climatiche e rapporto uomo-clima in età post-glaciale*, Roma 1984.

<sup>42</sup> On the temperature-economy relationship in the late Middle Ages, see B. Campbell, *Cause and Effect? Physical Shocks and Biological Hazard. The Crisis of the 14<sup>th</sup> Century Revisited*, in: *Le interazioni fra economia e ambiente biologico nell'Europa preindustriale*, ed. by S. Cavaciocchi, Firenze 2010; B. Campbell, *Nature as Historical Protagonist. Environment and Society in Pre-industrial England*, "Economic History Review" LXIII (2010) 2, pp. 281-314.

<sup>43</sup> A general approach to climate in the past millennium is provided by R.S. Bradley, K.R. Briffa, J.E. Cole, M.K. Hughes, T.J. Osborn, *The Climate of the Last Millennium*, in: *Paleoclimate, Global Change and the Future*, ed. by K. Alverston, R.S. Bradley, T. Pedersen, Berlin 2003, pp. 105-144, and by C. Pfister, *I cambiamenti climatici nella storia dell'Europa. Sviluppi e potenzialità della climatologia storica*, in: *Che tempo faceva? Variazioni del clima e conseguenze sul popolamento umano. Fonti, metodologie e prospettive*, ed. by L. Bonardi, Milano 2003, pp. 15-59.

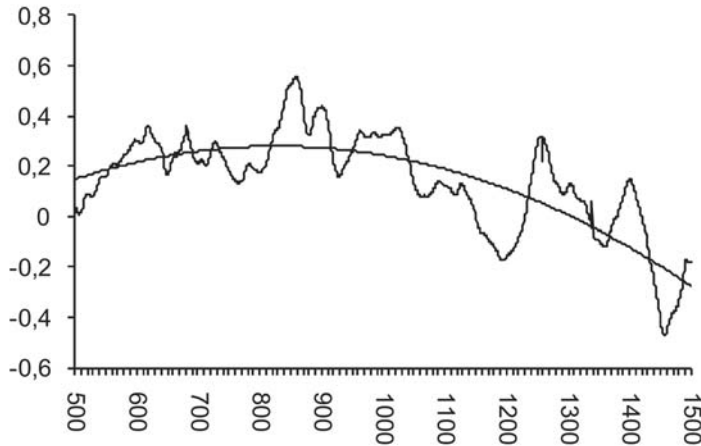
<sup>44</sup> M.E. Mann, *Medieval Climatic Optimum, I: The Earth System: Physical and Chemical Dimensions of Global Environmental Change*, in: *Encyclopedia of Global Environmental Change*, ed. by T. Munn, Chichester 2002, pp. 514-516.

Graph 2: Temperature in the northern hemisphere from 700 until 1500.



Source: A. Moberg, D.M. Sonechkin, K. Holmgren, N.M. Datsenko, W. Karlén, *Highly Variable Northern Hemisphere Temperatures Reconstructed from Low- and High-resolution Proxy Data*, "Nature" CCCCXXXIII (2005) 7026, pp. 613-617.

Graph 3: Temperature in the northern hemisphere from 500 until 1500.



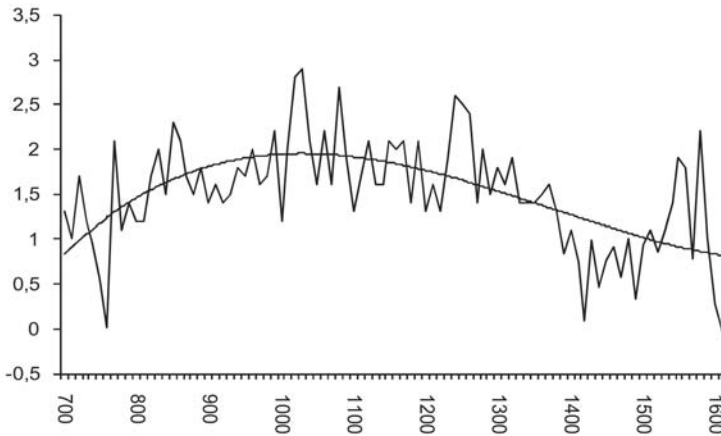
Source: C. Lohlele, *A 2000-Year Global Temperature Reconstruction Based on Non-Treering Proxies*, "Energy and Environment" XVIII (2007) 7-8, pp. 1049-1058.

"Large-scale surface temperature reconstructions yield a generally consistent picture of temperature trends during the preceding millennium, including relatively warm conditions centered around AD 1000 (identified by some as the 'Medieval Warm Period') and a relatively cold period (or 'Little Ice Age') centered around 1700"<sup>45</sup>.

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<sup>45</sup> Committee on Surface Temperature Reconstructions for the Last 2,000 Years, *Surface Temperature Reconstructions for the Last 2,000 Years*, Washington 2006, p. 111.

Graph 4: Temperature in the Alps from 700 until 1600.



**Source:** A. Mangin, C. Spötl, P. Verdes, *Reconstruction of Temperature in the Central Alps During the Past 2000 Years*, "Earth and Planetary Science Letters" CCXXXV (2005) 3-4, pp. 741-751.

Many historians have hypothesized an interruption in the rise of population as from the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century and again only a few decades after the end of the favourable climatic phase. We lack evidence regarding a relationship between climatic evolution and the Black Death. Recently, however, B. Campbell suggested that the outburst of the plague, not long after the climatic change, might not be merely circumstantial.

## CONCLUSION

The doubling of the European population between the 10<sup>th</sup> and the 14<sup>th</sup> centuries, together with the modest increase in urbanisation seem to suggest a cycle, prior to 1300, of both extensive and intensive growth. The level of the European population in 1300 was not exceeded until approximately three-four centuries later. Only from the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century onwards, with the start of the energy transition, did the European population begin to rise rapidly for about three centuries.

Medieval demographic rise implied a strong effort by the European populations in order to exploit more energy. The main feature of the pre-modern energy systems, that is the vegetable organic base, did not favour an easy rise in energy availability. Colonisation of new lands in the north and east increased the arables and allowed for the sustenance of more inhabitants and draft animals. This increase of the energy basis occurred at the expense of the forests and implied the resort to mineral energy carriers such as coal and peat. Even allowing for the progress of cultivation and the exploitation of new sources it seems, however, that the mere extension of the arables would

not explain the periods of intensive growth that rising urbanisation seems to indicate. In any case, growth in output per capita would hardly have been perceptible by the people of that time. Climatic changes played a decisive role in energy availability. The end of the Medieval Climatic Optimum, in the last decades of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, contributed to favour (or even determined) the interruption of medieval growth in the central centuries of the Middle Ages. The European populations had to wait at least three centuries for a new epoch of growth, which would prove to be much faster than ever before.

#### ABSTRACT

The long period between the 9<sup>th</sup> century and the 14<sup>th</sup> could actually be defined as a period of growth in Europe. Yet it is much harder to specify if it an epoch of mere rise in population, without any improvement in the standard of living, or an age of true economic rise in per capita terms. In any case the endowment with energy sources had to increase or their exploitations had to improve. The present article is devoted to the analysis of the specific sources of energy exploited by the European medieval populations and changes in their exploitation during the centuries between the 10<sup>th</sup> and the 14<sup>th</sup>. Particular attention is devoted to population, urbanisation and climate and their interaction.





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## TECHNOLOGY AND ENERGY: LOOSENING CONSTRAINTS ON MEDIEVAL ECONOMIC GROWTH



Access to sources of energy and the inefficient use of energy carriers in producing goods and services was one of the principal constraints on economic growth in the Middle Ages. Technical change was a potential source of economic growth, of getting more from the materials and efforts put into economic activity. The technical advances which improved energy use were a critical factor in pushing back the limitations on expansion in the medieval economy.

Growth in total output from the late Roman Empire to the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century was, at best, positive and slow. Output undoubtedly fell from the 6<sup>th</sup> century though the decline probably set in earlier. There was a reversal in the 8<sup>th</sup> or 9<sup>th</sup> century but gains were most likely all but wiped out by new external shocks until sometime in the eleventh when an upward trend began again. That continued until the 14<sup>th</sup> century when there was a major setback. The rest of the Middle Ages was a process of trying to regain the losses of the decades after 1350. The pattern of per capita income was different. Periods of stability or decline in total production were often associated with improvements in production per person. That appears to have been more or less the case in the late Middle Ages and there are signs of some improvement for the people who survived the diseases, environmental threats and wars of the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries. Above all when there was growth it was slow. While decline in total output might be sudden, thanks for example to a pandemic or widespread famine which decreased the workforce dramatically, growth was always incremental.

Growth in output can come from a range of sources and for the medieval economy the normal one was an increase in inputs. More resources devoted to production led directly to rising output. A major and almost always necessary input was labour and so the pace of growth in total output was

generally related to rises in population. Similarly the falls in output usually came with a fall in the total numbers of people. There were other inputs such as land and capital in various forms that fed into the production process but, given the labour-intensive nature of the overwhelmingly agricultural economy of medieval Europe, labour was often the critical component of production processes and the one which dictated how much the economy could achieve.

Growth could and did come from greater specialization in the employment of that labour and also of land. The division of labour which yields greater efficiency is an idea associated with though not originating with the Scottish moral philosopher Adam Smith (1723-1790). A major figure of the Scottish Enlightenment, Smith asked the general question about economic growth, that is why some nations are rich and others poor. He opened his most widely read work, published in 1776, by discussing the division of labour and how that made it possible to take advantage of the varied talents of people. His example was a pin factory where production could rise dramatically if each one of a group of people did part of the job. The next step was to point to the size of the market as the limiting factor in that division of labour<sup>1</sup>. Sadly many readers never get beyond the first few pages and so are unaware of what is a wide ranging discussion of many issues of political economy which detail exceptions and problems which the simple yet extremely powerful theory of the division of labour implies. Economic growth which is based on wider markets with the concomitant specialization in production has in the last half century come to be called Smithian growth. In that way it is separated from just increasing inputs. It is thought to apply, though by no means exclusively, to the centuries before the Industrial Revolution. The definition of Smithian growth also separates it from increases in production which can be traced to improvements in technology.

Technical change by definition means getting more output from the same array of inputs. Those greater rewards for the same effort could come through employing different equipment or through using different methods. The former implies an investment in machinery of some sort, no matter how simple or complex, and so leads to a shift in the mix of capital and labour in the production process. While the scientific basis for technological change, common since the 17<sup>th</sup> century, was not a feature of the Middle Ages there were still theoretical bases for the new machines and methods. Understanding certain physical relationships or social ones was a necessary foundation for

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1 A. Smith, E. Cannan, M. Lerner, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, New York 1937, pp. 3-21.

any specific technical advance. Investment was part of the adoption of new types of hardware. It could also be part of the adoption of new methods in the form of education, often a basis for the ideas that led to new ways of organizing work.

It was one thing to find a new device for or approach to production but quite another for people to adopt the technological advance. Change was never immediate nor was it ever wholesale. Since gains were typically small and the economy itself was in good years growing slowly the advantages of taking on something novel were often uncertain and limited. Gains from innovation were by definition questionable. Fears of loss made people very careful about taking on new ways of producing goods and services. A drop of output in a world of subsistence meant disaster. Poor communication delayed the spread of knowledge so that even if a technological change was known to be clearly beneficial it could be years or even centuries before it became standard practice in medieval Europe. As population increased and the economy grew exchange among different parts of the continent increased so the pace of dissemination of new methods rose. Faster innovation tended to speed up the effects of technological change and to remove more quickly the constraints limiting economic growth.

One critical input for all production processes, whether for goods or services, was energy. Having more available or using it more effectively was one relatively rapid way toward economic growth. Gains from more efficient energy use were often realized over long periods, those gains making continuing contributions to output. Before the shift to ever heavier reliance on fossil fuels, a process which gained momentum in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century in Britain and after that throughout the rest of the world, the range of energy carriers available was limited. For most work it was muscle power that was the source. In turn the energy to move the muscles, whether human or animal, ultimately came from food grown by farmers. Plants converted the sun's radiation into useable calories. For heat energy, the overwhelming source was firewood, another product of plants relying on the sun. As a converter of solar energy the process of photosynthesis was highly inefficient. What is more, human beings and animals could only put to use a small portion of the calories consumed since they needed considerable energy just to keep themselves alive and functioning. Added to plants were wind and water as sources of power. In all cases technological change in the course of the Middle Ages increased the quantities of energy available and, more important perhaps, made it possible to use more of that available energy. Justus von Liebig in 1840 identified a law of the minimum. He was talking about plants. For them he found that growth was limited by the availability of the most scarce necessary nutrient. While recent efforts to show that the law applies to all environments have found critics, still at its simplest level

the concept does describe a problem that faced the medieval economy. Often and for many economic activities the ability to use energy to produce goods or services was the limiting factor in increasing production. That being the case technological change which moved back constraints on energy supplies could open the door to economic growth. One criticism of Liebig's Law when applied to plants is that it ignores the ability of organisms to adjust and adapt. The same might be said about trying to apply the Law of the Minimum to the medieval economy. It was exactly adaptation and substitution, attributes found in the biological realm, which were found among producers and processes in the period<sup>2</sup>.

Total energy consumption through the High Middle Ages broke down to about fifteen per cent by human beings, a little short of twenty per cent by draught animals and a bit short of sixty-five per cent through the burning of wood. There was some use of fossil fuels in the form of peat and coal. That was almost exclusively in northwestern Europe and it may at its peak have reached one half of one per cent of total energy consumption. The use of falling water and wind as sources of energy contributed less than one per cent. Nearly two-thirds of all energy Europeans consumed came from firewood<sup>3</sup>. It is extremely difficult to calculate with precision the amount of energy individuals consumed. Such numbers are built up from scraps of data about population size, biological requirements, later patterns of use in non-industrial societies and anecdotal remarks made by contemporaries among other varied sources. Calculating the degree to which consumption patterns changed over time is even more difficult. All estimates must be understood as good guesses, always made with the expectation that improvements will be made and accuracy will increase with further study. It appears, using what is available, that the per person energy consumption around 1300 when medieval population and output were at or near their maxima, was in the range of twenty-one to twenty-two gigajoules per year. The Great Death in the middle of the 14<sup>th</sup> century and its recurrence led to a collapse in population. The fall may have been fifty per cent of the European total. The result was a fall in energy consumption but that decrease was not as great as the decrease in population. Per person energy used went up, mostly because the animal population, after an initial drop, rose and also because people ate more food.

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2 W.H. Brock, *Justus von Liebig: The Chemical Gatekeeper*, Cambridge-New York 1997, pp. 147-149; A.N. Gorban, L.I. Pokidyshcheva, E.V. Smirnova, T.A. Tyukina, *Law of the Minimum Paradoxes*, "Bulletin of Mathematical Biology" LXXIII (2011) 9, pp. 2013-2044; M. Danger, T. Daufresne, F. Lucas, S. Pissard, G. Lacroix, *Does Liebig's Law of the Minimum Scale up from Species to Communities?*, "Oikos" CXVII (2008), pp. 1741-1751.

3 The figures are slightly modified from but squarely based on: P. Malanima, *The Energy Basis for Early Modern Growth, 1650-1820*, in: *Early Modern Capitalism Economic and Social Change in Europe, 1400-1800*, ed. by M. Prak, London-New York 2001, pp. 51-68.

Data from England indicate an increase in beer drinking and beer needs much more energy to make than does bread, the alternative source of calories for people<sup>4</sup>. By the mid 15<sup>th</sup> century the per person energy consumption rate was probably somewhere in the range of twenty-five to twenty-six gigajoules per year. That would put the increase per person between the late 13<sup>th</sup> and mid 15<sup>th</sup> century at about fifteen to twenty per cent. That was a considerable rise though, given the dramatic population loss and the concomitant increase in resources per person, it is somewhat surprising that the increase was not more spectacular<sup>5</sup>.

By comparison individuals in Canada in the year 2000 were consuming three hundred and twenty-six gigajoules per person. Canada, for climatic reasons as well as the presence of extensive energy resources, is a relatively great user of energy. For European countries levels in the same year, though lower, were also considerably higher than in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. In England and Wales consumption levels were two hundred and eight gigajoules per person and in considerably poorer Portugal the rate was one hundred and three gigajoules<sup>6</sup>. People in England in the 15<sup>th</sup> century used about one eighth as much energy as their counterparts at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Heroic estimates of gross domestic product and population suggest that output of goods and services per person in 2000 was not eight but more than twenty-eight times what it was in 1500<sup>7</sup>. Even given the potential for substantial error in the estimates it seems certain that people in the Middle Ages were, relative to their modern counterparts, extremely inefficient in their use of energy. That made any and all technical changes which improved the work done by the energy people consumed even more critical to economic growth.

The great technical advances of the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century were unprecedented. The pace of advance which made possible sustained increases in production per person and for the more effective use of not only energy but all resources left the impression that the period before the Industrial Revolution or even before the Scientific Revolution of the 17<sup>th</sup> century was a wasteland in matters of technological change. The American scholar Lynn White jr., set out at the end of the 1930s to prove the characterization

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4 B.M.S. Campbell, *English Seigniorial Agriculture, 1250-1450*, Cambridge Studies in Historical Geography, XXXI, Cambridge-New York 2000, pp. 222-223, 247.

5 R.W. Unger, Late Medieval Energy Use, Social Metabolism and the Environmental Impact of the Black Death, Paper presented at the California Medieval History Seminar, Huntington Library, San Marino, CA, USA, 12 February, 2011.

6 S.T. Henriques, *Energy Consumption in Portugal, 1856-2006*, Naples 2009, p. 137; J. Thistle, R.W. Unger, *Energy Consumption in Canada in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries*, Naples 2013; P. Warde, *Energy Consumption in England & Wales, 1560-2000*, Naples 2007, p. 138.

7 A. Maddison, *Statistics on World Population, GDP and Per Capita GDP, 1-2008 AD*, <http://www.ggd.net/MADDISON/oriindex.htm> (accessed 13.01. 2012).

wrong. He announced his new path of research in an article in 1940 and he summarized the results in a book published in 1962<sup>8</sup>. He became a strong proponent of the importance of technology in the Middle Ages and for that matter in all of history. He inspired further research which has found more cases and has better documented cases of improvements in medieval technology. Unquestionably there were instances of new ways of doing things. It is difficult to measure the impact of those advances, to state categorically what each contributed to the economic growth there was. Still, the fact remains that medieval Europe saw improvements in technology and those made possible greater output.

Agriculture was by far the largest single sector in the medieval economy. Better methods in raising crops, therefore, had the potential for the greatest effect on economic growth. There were strides made in agriculture and in related and ancillary economic activities which did make for greater food production per hectare. Perhaps the greatest impact came from a change in the rotation of crops in northwestern Europe toward the end of the first Christian millennium. The tradition was to have two fields, each farmed in turn with one of the two left in fallow for a year so it could to recover as well as serve to offer grazing for animals. The beasts in the process manured the fallow field and made it more productive when it was planted in the following year. Two-field rotation was the standard in the Roman Empire. It was well-suited to the Mediterranean climate and to most soils in southern Europe. By dividing the land into three fields farmers created an additional option. Each year one of the three fields remained in fallow while a second was devoted to a crop planted in the late autumn and the third to a crop planted in the spring. Annually use rotated around the three fields. By spreading work out over the year capital invested in plough and draught animals could be used more effectively. The additional crop was different and so led to a diversification of what was a diet limited in vitamins and minerals as well as calories. Instead of having fifty per cent of land in crops in any year it was now sixty-seven per cent so for slightly more effort farmers gained a third more food. In addition in the course of the first Christian millennium heavy ploughs developed, often with an iron ploughshare, which could dig deeper into the soil. The addition of wheels to the plough made it easier to handle, though it still needed considerably more power to operate. Teams of draught animals increased from one or two for light ploughs to six or eight for the new heavy plough. The extra energy expended paid off in the opening to cultivation of heavy and often rich soils which typically were

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8 L. White jr., *Technology and Invention in the Middle Ages*, "Speculum" XV (1940) 2, pp. 141-159; idem, *Medieval Technology and Social Change*, Oxford 1962.

found in river valleys. The development of improved harness for horses made it possible to put them to work much more effectively as draught animals. The combination of heavy ploughs, new crop rotation and better harness brought more land under cultivation and increased the power deployed in ploughing. More energy was needed for the plough and to exploit the new land added to the total arable but the reward was more food for people and for animals. Agriculture did not change quickly nor were the novel methods adopted everywhere. It was centuries before three-field rotation reached all parts of Europe and in many regions, most notably around the Mediterranean on light soils and where precipitation was low, two-field rotation remained the norm<sup>9</sup>.

Another slow process of technical change in agriculture was the adoption of new crops. A few made their way across Eurasia to be domesticated in the far west of that land mass though most of the major grains were already well-known in the Bronze Age. Varieties of various plants increased and the better way to farm arable along with more intense cultivation led to the growing of a more varied collection of field crops<sup>10</sup>. The gradual spread from India to the Middle East to Sicily to southern Iberia of sugar cane in the Middle Ages indicated the barriers to innovation could be surmounted<sup>11</sup>. It would only be after the discovery of the Americas that a whole range of new plants quickly and dramatically expanded the choices for European farmers, sharply increasing the total energy available in the form of food. The sustained population rise from the 8<sup>th</sup> through the 13<sup>th</sup> century was a reflection of an expansion of food production before Columbus' first voyage across the Atlantic. Some of that growth in the supply of edible energy came from technical change. Some came from specialization. As Adam Smith pointed out, concentrating on what worked best for people or for land could yield improvements in agricultural production. With a few more crops and more and different soils to be exploited it was possible to concentrate on raising what would best suited to specific conditions. Such specialization relied

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<sup>9</sup> *Medieval Farming and Technology: The Impact of Agricultural Change in Northwest Europe*, ed. by G.G. Astill, J. Langdon, Leiden-New York 1997; J. Gimpel, *The Medieval Machine: The Industrial Revolution of the Middle Ages*, London, 1977, pp. 32-45; P.O. Long, *Technology and Society in the Medieval Centuries: Byzantium, Islam, and the West, 500-1300, Historical Perspectives on Technology, Society, and Culture*, Washington, DC 2003, pp. 39-44.

<sup>10</sup> C. Parain, *The Evolution of Agricultural Technique*, in: *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, ed. by M.M. Postan, H.J. Habakkuk, Cambridge 1966<sup>2</sup>, pp. 126-170; A.M. Watson, *Arab and European Agriculture in the Middle Ages: A Case of Restricted Diffusion*, in: *Agriculture in the Middle Ages: Technology, Practice, and Representation*, ed. by D. Sweeney, Philadelphia 1995, pp. 62-75.

<sup>11</sup> A.M. Watson, *Agricultural Innovation in the Early Islamic World: The Diffusion of Crops and Farming Techniques, 700-1100*, Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization, Cambridge-New York 1983, pp. 24-30.



on better transportation with lower costs which in turn was a product of technical change. Those better ways of moving goods and people had to do with improved equipment and also with greater knowledge.

The range and scope of education expanded during the High and Late Middle Ages. The collapse of the Roman Empire meant the disappearance of regular schooling. As heir to many of the social, educational and religious functions of the state the Christian church took on the responsibility for the preservation and transmission of knowledge. In the Early Middle Ages monasteries became havens for the literate and found themselves as the locations for schools. Those institutions were devoted to teaching basic skills such as reading and writing as well as some computation. Any advanced work was closely associated with religious questions. There were no restrictions on successful students applying the knowledge gleaned from that education to technical matters. At the same time there was no obvious effort to promote the use of what men learned to promote economic growth. Literacy and numeracy were necessary for people engaged in commerce and either through monastic education or home schooling, very possibly by women, town dwellers in northern Italy by the end of the first Christian millennium had assembled rudimentary skills to carry on trade. As business expanded in the region the need for an education more directed toward careers in commerce led to the establishment of schools in cities for boys to learn the essentials of reading and writing and mathematics. The change from Roman to Arabic numerals in the course of the 13<sup>th</sup> century and the introduction of the zero changed the way businessmen made calculations. The innovations facilitated record keeping and allowed, by the 14<sup>th</sup> century, for the emergence of double-entry bookkeeping. The surviving accounting records of medieval merchants indicate a high degree of accuracy. They also indicate people had the data they needed to manage businesses and assess the value of investments. The literacy of merchants made it possible for them to deal with commercial contracts which became more varied and increasingly complex. By the 14<sup>th</sup> century partnerships had emerged large and well-capitalized enough to operate branches in a number of towns in western Europe and to lend to royal governments. They could also move money easily, or rather could make payments in distant locations without ever having gold or silver coins change hands. Merchants did that through a complex system of offsetting payments carried out through networks of businessmen. The big partnerships which functioned as international banks were able to mobilize capital and decrease risk. By the 15<sup>th</sup> century it was even possible to insure directly against risk through contracts with men who made it their business to assume potential losses, all for a fee. The expanding system of education combined with innovations in arithmetic laid the foundation for improvements in business methods. First developed in Italy, and in many

cases based on precedents in the Muslim world, those developments made for better management methods<sup>12</sup>. The new ways of doing business were far from the hardware of technological change but they did, just like gadgets, contribute to economic growth and especially to greater trade, a critical factor in generating specialization and so greater output.

Firewood was the greatest source of energy by far for medieval Europeans. More efficient ways of using that wood, as with using bellows to increase heat intensity from fires, could provide savings in land devoted to cultivating trees and savings in the effort needed to cut the wood to size and transport it to consumers. Warmer mini-environments created by improved heating also had the potential for increasing comfort and the ability of people to do work in the home. Early in the 12<sup>th</sup> century the combination of chimney and fireplace and subsequent refinements over the next two centuries not only reduced pollution of the air inside houses and increased safety but also made more of the heat from burning wood available to warm the room or rooms. Fireplaces were expensive to build so they only slowly came into use in greater houses. They were all but unheard of in peasant homes. Stoves made of tiles were even more efficient than fireplaces. Connected to chimneys and set out from the wall they radiated heat and needed less frequent stoking than open fires. Archeological evidence suggests that stoves were in use in the Rhine Valley by the early 14<sup>th</sup> century. They became much more popular over time and especially in northern and eastern Europe<sup>13</sup>. The total contribution to energy saving to ways of burning firewood remained small through the rest of the Middle Ages as techniques disseminated slowly. The end result was positive, however, and over time the trend for Europeans was clearly toward greater efficiency in tapping the greatest source of thermal energy available to them.

Military technology on the other hand may have been the earliest and most easily disseminated. Armies were always in search of better gear, the benefits were immediately obvious and the lack of the newest devices could have disastrous consequences. Since military equipment was designed to destroy, the more efficient it was the less it would contribute to economic growth. On the other hand industries arose out of advances in destructive devices and there was in the Middle Ages spin-off from advances in military

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12 E.S. Hunt, J.M. Murray, *A History of Business in Medieval Europe, 1200-1550*, Cambridge, UK-New York 1999, pp. 60-67, 204-218; N.J.G. Pounds, *An Economic History of Medieval Europe*, London-New York 1994<sup>2</sup>, pp. 418-427.

13 L. Dresbeck, *Techné, Labor et Natura: Ideas and Active Life in the Medieval Winter*, "Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History", New Series, II (1979), pp. 85-91, 103-104; D.R.M. Gaimster, *German Stoneware 1200-1900: Archaeology and Cultural History: Containing a Guide to the Collections of the British Museum, Victoria & Albert Museum and Museum of London*, London 1997, pp. 191, 208.

technology. As with the modern era it is easy to overstate the civilian benefits even though there can be little doubt that there were some gains for the economy as a whole. Building castles became more complex as they changed from being earthworks to massive stone buildings of elaborate design. The process, most likely accelerated by direct exposure of western Europeans to practices in the Levant from the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century on, led to the development of various devices to dress and move stones and to raise them into chosen positions. Better building techniques and more refined building design were reflected as well in the large Gothic cathedrals which began to appear in the late 12<sup>th</sup> century in the area around Paris. The techniques that made those buildings possible spread from northern France throughout Europe. The development of gunpowder weapons in the course of the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries which originated with the military generated a source of explosives which could be used to clear natural obstacles. The concentrated, highly localized sudden release of energy found uses in mining though not as rapidly as in fighting.

The heavily armed mounted knight may not have been a direct product of the introduction of the stirrup as Lynn White famously and incorrectly argued but the fighting men of the High and Late Middle Ages did rely on improvements in metallurgy to cover more of their bodies with armour and to supply them with better swords and other iron gear<sup>14</sup>. The ability to produce more and better metal made a considerable, if difficult to measure, contribution to the economy. By the 13<sup>th</sup> century water-powered bellows created hotter temperatures for the manipulating of iron and eased processes to make it more malleable. In the 15<sup>th</sup> century the men who refined iron added the blast furnace to their tools. The result was not only more iron but also heavy hard cast-iron. That cast iron, refined under high heat, proved useful for a great range of uses though it would be the later 16<sup>th</sup> century before the obvious military application in the form of iron cannon threatened the dominance of bronze guns. By the end of the Middle Ages because of better refining iron tools could hold a better edge and longer<sup>15</sup>. The long term trend in better metallurgy had made easier the shaping of wood, the material of much building and of many items in daily use. More effective saws, chisels, hammers and many other tools sped up the work of carpenters. Those men also added new gear to their toolboxes in the course of the High and Late Middle Ages. Simple in conception and design, they could prove very

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<sup>14</sup> L. White jr., *Medieval technology...*, pp. 1-28.

<sup>15</sup> B.G. Awty, *The Development and Dissemination of the Walloon Method of Ironworking, "Technology and Culture" XLVIII (2007) 4*, pp. 783-793,796-803; S.A. Epstein, *An Economic and Social History of Later Medieval Europe, 1000-1500*, Cambridge-New York 2009, pp. 202-205; N.J.G. Pounds, *op.cit.*, pp. 323-325.

helpful. The brace-and-bit, probably based on the spit used for centuries to turn meat as it cooked over a fire, introduced the idea of using a compound crank and so not only saved work in drilling holes but also laid the basis for more complicated devices in the future<sup>16</sup>. As with the blast furnace, it was the 15<sup>th</sup> century when an artisan invented the brace-and-bit. The greater range of better tools by the end of the Middle Ages saved human labour and created more options for artisans.

The same could be said of the development of new devices for use in the textile industry. The spinning wheel, introduced in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, accelerated turning wool into thread. The addition of a foot treadle freed the hands of the operator so both quantity and quality of supplies for looms improved. In the course of the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries looms themselves had changed from vertical ones requiring extensive space to horizontal ones, also foot-powered. The new devices decreased labour requirements and allowed the production of a more standardized product. They set in motion a transformation of cloth making from a domestic chore to an industrial operation marked by a high degree of division of labour with a product traded over long distances<sup>17</sup>.

The tapping of alternative sources of energy, that is wind and water, contributed directly to lightening the load of at least a few medieval workers. The Roman Empire knew watermills and of two types. Vertical mills with water falling over vanes connected to a turning axle already had a long history. Horizontal mills with water running over or under a wheel which turned an axle are associated with Vitruvius who described their operation in the time of Augustus Caesar. Vitruvian mills depended on an adequate and continuous force of water so considerable investment was needed in ponds and millraces, often in difficult terrain. As the Empire collapsed so apparently did the use of watermills. Employed principally for grinding grain, the fall in population made operating the devices impractical with so little demand<sup>18</sup>. By the 11<sup>th</sup> century, though, watermills were back and found throughout western Europe. In England in 1086 there was one watermill for about every two hundred fifty people<sup>19</sup>. The ratio probably remained much

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16 L. White jr., *Medieval technology...*, pp. 110-115.

17 S.A. Epstein, op.cit., pp. 192-197; P. Long, op.cit., p. 53; N.J.G. Pounds, op.cit., pp. 303-308.

18 G. Brooks, *The "Vitruvian Mill" in Roman and Medieval Europe*, in: *Wind & Water in the Middle Ages: Fluid Technologies from Antiquity to the Renaissance*, ed. by S.A. Walton, Tempe 2006, pp. 1-38; S. Longepierre, *Meules, moulins et meulières en Gaule méridionale du II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. au VII<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C.*, Montagnac 2012, pp. 9-10, 17-18, 110-130.

19 R.J. Forbes, *Power*, in: *A History of Technology*, II: *The Mediterranean Civilizations and the Middle Ages c. 700 B. C. to c. A. D. 1500*, ed. by C. Singer, E.J. Holmyard, A.R. Hall, T.I. Williams, Oxford 1956, p. 611; P. Malanima, op.cit., p. 53.

the same through the High Middle Ages. Numbers were lower in eastern Europe. For much of the Middle Ages watermills made grain more easily available, especially for commercial markets since the machines could handle larger quantities of grain than hand- or horse-powered mills. If English figures are any guide the number of mills fell in the years after the pandemic of the mid 14<sup>th</sup> century though only by some ten per cent, much less than the population decline. There was then more waterpower available per person than at any previous time and that remained true through the rest of the Middle Ages and beyond. Farmers and their landlords continued to grind grain with watermills but after the Great Death there was a relative shift to more industrial uses of what were increasingly powerful machines. Pockets of industrial use of watermills had already appeared in the 13<sup>th</sup> century as new ways were found to apply the power of the machines to various tasks<sup>20</sup>. Over time industrial uses such as powering bellows or operating trip hammers to beat ores and metals or to beat cloth in washing tubs became relatively more important. The contribution of watermills to total energy deployed was always small so even with an expanding variety of tasks performed the impact on the economy was never great.

The windmill appeared in the 12<sup>th</sup> century and led to something of a craze to adopt the new technology. Over the course of the 13<sup>th</sup> century owners realized that maintenance costs and the unreliability of the power source made such mills, in many cases, a liability. Their numbers declined with windmills surviving in places where using waterpower was impractical. Flat treeless plains or passes in hills where wind funnelled through were the likely sites for windmills in the Late Middle Ages. They benefited over time from more sturdy construction and better gearing, improvements they shared with watermills. From early in the 14<sup>th</sup> century carpenters began to build tower mills where the base remained fixed and only the top of the mill rotated to face the wind. Bigger than post versions, tower mills could produce more power. Their development and adoption, though, belonged more to the years after the Middle Ages<sup>21</sup>. While windmills might replace some watermills and might offer alternative energy where falling water could not, their contribution to the economy was extremely small. There

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<sup>20</sup> J. Langdon, *Mills in the Medieval Economy: England 1300-1500*, New York 2004, pp. 11-45; P.O. Long, op.cit., pp. 45-48; A.R. Lucas, *Industrial Milling in the Ancient and Medieval Worlds: A Survey of the Evidence for an Industrial Revolution in Medieval Europe*, "Technology and Culture" 46 (2005) 1, pp. 1-30.

<sup>21</sup> J. Langdon, op.cit., pp. 108-125; idem, *Water-mills and Windmills in the West Midlands, 1086-1500*, "Economic History Review" XLIV (1991) 3, pp. 424-444; J. Langdon, M. Watts, *Tower Windmills in Medieval England: A Case of Arrested Development?*, "Technology and Culture" XLVI (2005) 4, pp. 697-718.

was one case, though, where the use of wind power had a profound effect on the economy.

While Europeans developed better ways to deploy thermal energy they had more serious barriers to face with producing kinetic energy. To move objects on land the answer was muscle power. People carried goods or pushed barrows. Animals carried packs or pulled carts or wagons. There were few improvements, the introduction of the pivoted front axle on wagons dating from as early as the 13<sup>th</sup> century being a rare example<sup>22</sup>. So too was the better horse harness which made the animals useful not only for pulling ploughs but also carts. That led to the relatively faster adoption of horses among small holders since horses could carry out more and more varied tasks than other draught animals<sup>23</sup>. It was on the water where technical change led to the more effective use of an inanimate power source. Wind could provide energy not connected to food consumption. Using wind, as with mills, meant tapping a new and abundant source of energy. The more effective use of wind to power ships lowered transport costs, made possible greater specialization in production and expanded the range of goods available to Europeans.

Using muscle power to move craft over the water did not disappear in the Middle Ages. Galleys, inherited from the Roman and Byzantine Empires, were parts of the commercial fleets of Mediterranean trading towns down into the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Changes in the design of those oar-powered vessels in the High Middle Ages made them more effective fighting ships but decreased their cargo capacity to the point that only a few of the largest galleys stayed in commercial service. Even those few were limited to routes where luxury goods could be a significant share of their cargoes. It was the change to using sails as the power source which made ships more efficient<sup>24</sup>. Oared vessels like Roman galleys and the Viking longships, adapted in the 8<sup>th</sup> century from the north German rowing barge, always carried sails to complement the muscle power of the crews. Wind was the preferred source of propulsion but it was unreliable. Ships entering or leaving harbours or in battle needed an immediate and predictable power supply and that meant using the muscles of men on board.

There had always been pure sailing ships. The Romans had built some giants of over one thousand tons. As population fell and the economy

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22 M.N. Boyer, *Medieval Pivoted Axles*, "Technology and Culture" I (1960) 2, pp. 128-138.

23 J. Langdon, *Horses, Oxen, and Technological Innovation: The Use of Draught Animals in English Farming from 1066 to 1500*, Cambridge-New York 1986, pp. 270-272.

24 J. Lucassen, R.W. Unger, *Shipping, Productivity and Economic Growth*, in: *Shipping Efficiency and Economic Growth 1350-1850*, ed. by R.W. Unger, Leiden 2011, pp. 8-17; J.H. Pryor, *Geography, Technology, and War: Studies in the Maritime History of the Mediterranean, 649-1571*, Cambridge-New York 1988, pp. 57-86.

contracted in the Early Middle Ages those sailing ships got smaller. The smaller boats could use a triangular sail, in use in Roman times. Those lateens made it possible to sail closer to the direction of the wind and, though they were greedy of manpower to handle them, they became the standard for Mediterranean sailing craft by the 11<sup>th</sup> century<sup>25</sup>. That change in rigging was more or less simultaneous with a shift to building hulls of ships frame-first with the hull planks tacked on to the ribs already set in place on the keel. In northern Europe builders remained faithful to shell-first construction where the strength and watertightness of the hull was guaranteed by a heavy and well-sealed outer skin. Using overlapping planking it was possible for those shipwrights to create relatively efficient sailing ships. Taking an old Celtic design and giving it a keel, north German and Low Countries shipyards by the 13<sup>th</sup> centuries were producing cogs powered by a single large square sail. While the cog was not highly manoeuvrable its box-like hull gave considerable carrying capacity. Travelling in relatively peaceful waters those vessels were able to reach crew sizes compared to tonnage that would be similar to those of best practice in Europe through to the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century<sup>26</sup>. The cog played a major role in the emergence of trade in bulk goods in the Baltic and North Seas in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, a trade made even easier by further modifications in design around 1400 which made the type more seaworthy. At the same time the addition of more and more complex cranes to the new quays being built in larger northern European ports increased the volume of goods that could be handled and decreased the energy needed to do that<sup>27</sup>.

The contribution of the cog to pushing back constraints on trade was even greater after sailors from the North brought it into the Mediterranean. It may not have been until the last years of the 12<sup>th</sup> century that southern shipwrights saw cogs but they set about quickly to adopt and adapt the novel design. The result first was a *cocca*, a cog with a hull built frame-first. The next step was to add a second mast with a triangular sail to the stern of the large mast with a single square sail, creating the carrack. The type toward the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century got a third mast at the bow with a small square sail to balance the lateen on the mizzenmast at the stern. Already by the late

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25 J.H. Pryor, *op.cit.*, pp. 25-39.

26 J. Lucassen, R.W. Unger, *op.cit.*, p. 16; D. Ellmers, *The Cog as Cargo Carrier*, in: *Cogs, Caravels, and Galleons: The Sailing Ship, 1000-1650*, ed. by R. Gardiner, R.W. Unger, Annapolis 1994, pp. 29-46.

27 D. Ellmers, *Development and Usage of Harbour Cranes*, in: *Medieval Ships and the Birth of Technological Societies, I: Northern Europe*, ed. by S. Busuttil, P. Adam, C. Villain-Gandossi, Malta 1989, pp. 43-69; J. Lucassen, *Work on the Docks: Sailors' Labour Productivity and the Organization of Loading and Unloading*, in: *Shipping Efficiency and Economic Growth 1350-1850*, ed. by R.W. Unger, Leiden 2011, pp. 271-272.

13<sup>th</sup> century the modified cog was able to sail back and forth through the Strait of Gibraltar and established seaborne transportation between southern and northern Europe. Further advances in the design of carracks by the 15<sup>th</sup> century not only created large vessels which could maintain commerce between those two economic zones but also in a smaller and easier to handle version, a type often called a ship, it could make long distance voyages over the open ocean<sup>28</sup>.

The result by the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century was European ships making their way by sea to India and to what was to the sailors on board a New World. The contribution to geographic knowledge, which in turn made for better navigation, complemented what was an equally if not more important contribution to economic growth<sup>29</sup>. Water transport was always cheaper than land transport and opening an all water route between Italy and the Low Countries saved the labour of carrying goods over mountain passes and along rivers through western and central Europe. Overland trade, especially in goods of higher value, continued though now complemented and expanded to a broader range of bulkier goods thanks to practical seaborne carriage. The end of the Middle Ages was the culmination of a long term trend in falling transport costs made possible by technical improvements in ship design and construction. The 16<sup>th</sup> century economy as a result faced considerably fewer constraints than its medieval predecessor.

The success of technology in creating new opportunities led to a new found respect for work. Benedictine monks from the beginning of the order certainly thought their tasks to be prayer and work so physical labour was not condemned by early medieval Europeans. Trade, urbanization and new technical possibilities beginning in the 11<sup>th</sup> century created more varied employment. The growth and diversification opened questions about the role of workers in society and even more about the role of what they did in their salvation. There was debate among theologians and by the late 12<sup>th</sup> century the response was generally positive about the impact of work on chances for being saved. Some jobs, such as prostitution, were just not acceptable<sup>30</sup>. Most were. Authors even turned to extolling the labour of artisans, classifying the mechanical arts alongside intellectual pursuits. The study of theology might still be the best occupation for anyone but things like woodworking or jewellery making were to be praised and understood as part of some

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28 I. Friel, *The Carrack: The Advent of the Full Rigged Ship*, in: *Cogs, Caravels, and Galleons...*, pp. 77-90.

29 P. Long, op.cit., pp. 80-86; J.H. Pryor, op.cit., pp. 39-57; R.W. Unger, *The Ship in the Medieval Economy, 600-1600*, London 1980, pp. 75-250.

30 J. Le Goff, *Licit and Illicit Trades in the Medieval West*, in: *Time, Work & Culture in the Middle Ages*, Chicago 1980, pp. 58-70.



grand design for society<sup>31</sup>. Technology gained respect to the point that God was even depicted as a builder, using tools to construct the universe. Society by the late Middle Ages accepted technological change as positive. The transmission of knowledge about how to do things, almost exclusively by word of mouth or example through most of the period, showed signs over time of becoming more formalized. Technicians started to produce written and graphic representations of what they were doing in what would become in subsequent centuries a systematic way<sup>32</sup>.

The Middle Ages were not a time of major scientific changes which in turn led to a range of dramatic technological breakthroughs. Better gadgets and methods tended to be based on experiments by practitioners with many small advances slowly disseminated. The contributions to the economy might well be momentous over the long term as those technical innovations were refined, improved and applied in different ways in different parts of Europe and spread across the Continent. Isolating the first inventions is all but impossible. Identifying and following the process of innovation is almost as difficult. Assessing the impact of any single technological change with any precision is out of the question as well. The inability to measure exactly or accurately what innovation meant to the medieval economy by no means denies the importance of technical advance. It is clear that a broad range of novel methods in a wide range of fields which became acceptable and even respected and praised did push back constraints people faced. Improvements in agriculture made possible greater production of foodstuffs. Not only did that allow a rise in population but also the deploying of more energy to carry out tasks. Better metallurgy and tool design made the application of energy from human and animal muscles easier and decreased the effort needed to complete tasks. The harnessing of inanimate power in the form of water and wind power offered new and renewable sources of energy. Though the contribution from the latter may have been small in terms of energy consumed the ability to use it to move ships over water more efficiently and effectively created a considerable range of new economic opportunities<sup>33</sup>. Lower transport costs made possible increased exchange within regions and across all of Europe and, by the end of the Middle Ages, to other continents. The greater specialization which those lower transport costs promoted made

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31 G. Ovitt, *The Restoration of Perfection: Labor and Technology in Medieval Culture*, New Brunswick 1987, pp. 58-59, 68-72, 94-137; L.T. White jr., *The Iconography of Temperantia and the Virtuousness of Technology*, in: *Medieval Religion and Technology: Collected Essays*, Berkeley 1978, pp. 181-204.

32 G. Ovitt, op.cit., p. 166.

33 R.W. Unger, *Ship Design and Energy Use, 1350-1875*, in: *Shipping Efficiency and Economic Growth...*, pp. 263-267.

many producers more efficient. New technologies lowered the amount of energy needed to produce goods. The decline was nothing on the order of the pattern in the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries but decline there was. A pattern of reliance on better ways of doing things to produce more from the same inputs became an enduring aspect of European society in the High and Late Middle Ages. In a world facing periodic collapses in agricultural production and outbreaks of pandemic disease as well as a considerable degree of political instability, economic growth and especially sustained economic growth per person was extremely difficult to generate. No matter how small in the short run the contribution of technical change may have been to what economic growth there was, it was one of the few sources of long term positive improvement in economic welfare.

#### ABSTRACT

Lack of energy and its inefficient use was a serious constraint on medieval economic growth. Compared to 21<sup>st</sup> century consumers medieval people used perhaps only twelve-fifteen percent as much energy but from that gleaned only about three-four percent as much production of goods and services. Various technical changes made it possible for people in the Middle Ages to increase energy deployed in production. More and more efficient use of wind and water, improved equipment for draught animals, devices for the production of cloth and stoves for home heating were just part of a general improvement in the exploitation of potential energy. The use of wind to power ships proved especially important to improved exchange of goods and information. Those improvements in turn allowed greater specialization in production, a principal source of economic growth before industrialization. The pace of development of novel methods could not compare to that of the years from the 18<sup>th</sup> century on but a slower pace did not mean their contribution to economic growth was insignificant. The broad range of technical advances, and not just those devoted to improving use of energy, established a pattern of finding better ways to produce more from the same inputs, an attitude which proved critical to economic growth in the Middle Ages and in the long run as well.



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## MONEY ECONOMY AND ECONOMIC GROWTH: THE CASE OF MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN POLAND



Attempts to create a model of economic development in pre-partition Poland have a long and well-established tradition. The first work of fundamental importance was *Economic History of Poland (until 1864)* by Jan Rutkowski<sup>1</sup>, published shortly after the Second World War but having pre-war roots.

In response to Rutkowski's theses, other 20<sup>th</sup> century scholars presented their own visions of economic changes in the Polish lands<sup>2</sup>. Most of them subscribed to the Marxist interpretation of history that prevailed in communist Poland the central assumption of which was that social changes should be viewed in the context of economic changes. In spite of its bias, Polish economic historiography at that time had its undeniable achievements. Most importantly, it succeeded in emancipating itself from the dominance of political and cultural historiography (although, as it soon appeared, only for two or three decades). Nevertheless, I believe it is time to try to make a new effort to assess the economic situation in the Kingdom of Poland by applying other theories of historical economic development which are not rooted in Marxism, but offer an equally important perspective.

There are some difficulties faced by scholars studying Polish economic history. Foremost among these is a relatively small amount of medieval source material, which makes it virtually impossible to undertake a reliable assessment of changes in gross domestic product. We do not have at our disposal such comprehensive sources as the Domesday Book providing

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1 J. Rutkowski, *Historia gospodarcza Polski (do 1864 r.)*, Warszawa 1953.

2 W. Rusiński, *Rozwój gospodarczy ziem polskich w zarysie*, Warszawa 1963; W. Kula, *Rozwój gospodarczy ziem polskich XVI-XVIII wieku*, Warszawa 1993; J. Topolski, *Problemy modelowego ujęcia dziejów gospodarczych Polski*, in: *Badania nad historią gospodarczo-społeczną w Polsce (problemy i metody)*, Warszawa-Poznań 1978, pp. 25-39.

information about the incomes of individual landlords across almost the whole country in the 11<sup>th</sup> century – an excellent starting point for the study of economic progress in medieval England. Another problem is that although the study of prices in historic Poland has already resulted in the publication of databases for several towns, their number is still insufficient to make any advanced assessments for the Middle Ages in Poland, similar to those conducted for western Europe<sup>3</sup>.

The above deficiencies induce us to search for other means of describing the economic development of Poland in the late Middle Ages and at the beginning of the early modern period. One of them will be the classical theory of economy concentrated on the issue of land and population. The other will be the theory of commercialisation rooted both in Adam Smith's concept of greater productivity derived from the division of labour, but also Marxist economic concepts, very popular recently in British and American historiography<sup>4</sup>.

The theory of commercialisation applied to the study of economic development in medieval England was introduced by Richard Britnell. Questioning the classical approach with its focus on fluctuations in the number of people, Britnell claimed that commercialisation was a key to explaining "why English society in the fifteenth century was more urbanised and wealthy than in the eleventh century, even though the level of population was much the same in the two periods"<sup>5</sup>. He provided two definitions of the concept of commercialisation: weaker and stronger. In the weaker sense, commercialisation was "simply growth in the total amount of commercial activity over a period of time. Indications of commercialisation of this sort would include the multiplication of trading institutions, the growth of towns and the growth in the quantity of money in circulation". The other definition suggests that "commercial activity was growing faster than the population. This would suggest that commerce grew faster than the total output of goods and services, that an increasing proportion of goods and services produced each year was traded and that and that people were increasingly dependent upon buying and selling for their livelihood"<sup>6</sup>. This kind of

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3 R. Allen, *Economic Structure and Agricultural Productivity in Europe, 1300-1800*, "European Review of Economic History" III (2000), pp. 1-25; P. Malanima, *The Long Decline of Leading Economy: GDP in Central and Northern Italy, 1300-1913*, "European Review of Economic History" XV (2011), pp. 169-219; C. Álvarez-Nogal, L. Prados de la Escosura, *The Rise and Fall of Spain (1270-1850)*, "Economic History Review" LXVI (2013), pp. 1-37.

4 J. Hatcher, M. Bailey, *Modelling Middle Ages. The History and Theory of England's Economic Development*, Oxford 2001.

5 R. Britnell, *The Commercialisation of English Society, 1000-1500*, Manchester-New York 1996<sup>2</sup>, pp. XIII-XIV.

6 *Ibidem*.

approach has become common among other scholars studying medieval English economy and is currently perceived as a basic means of assessing economic development<sup>7</sup>.

The emergence of the theory of commercialisation was first noticed in Polish historiography about a decade ago<sup>8</sup>. A programme of study utilizing its assumptions was outlined in 2006 by Sławomir Gawlas, who saw commercialisation as a mechanism in the process of Europeanisation of the peripheries in the Early and High Middle Ages<sup>9</sup>. Inspired by British economic historians, Gawlas explained that a comprehensive study of commercialisation in Poland could include “the problems of money and the whole infrastructure of economic exchange: population growth and increase in economic productivity, expanding network of fairs, progress in urbanization, communication and transport, emergence and hierarchy of local markets, supply for the markets, specialization in production, the importance of wool export, monetarisation of peasant dues and wages, economy of large estates, the role of literacy, standardization of measurements, the role of credit, the importance of Jewish colonies, the demands and actions of royal administration”. The author added that British scholars paid much attention to assessing the volume of cash in circulation<sup>10</sup>. He noted also that due to the limited number of primary sources, applying this whole questionnaire to the study of Polish economy in the past is not possible. It is my contention, though, that in the face of its long-lasting crisis, Polish economic historiography cannot afford not to ask at least some of these questions or not to try to revise the findings of the older generations of scholars. In this article, I concentrate on three decisive elements in the development of Polish economy at the turn of the Middle Ages: population, land and monetisation.

#### POPULATION: NUMBERS AND STRUCTURE

While it is impossible to make reliable assessments of the population in Poland under the Piast dynasty, the Late Middle Ages and early modern period are much better documented. Demographic studies with their

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7 *A Commercialising Economy. England 1086-1300*, ed. by R. Britnell, B.M.S. Cambell, Manchester-New York 1995; M.M. Bailey, *The Commercialization of the English Economy*, “Journal of Medieval History” XXIV (1998), pp. 297-311.

8 P. Guzowski, *Gospodarstwo chłopskie w późnośredniowiecznej Anglii w świetle najnowszych badań. Problemy i metody badawcze*, “Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych” LXIII (2003), pp. 54-71, spec. pp. 67-68.

9 S. Gawlas, *Komercjalizacja jako mechanizm europeizacji peryferii na przykładzie Polski*, in: S. Gawlas et al., *Ziemia polskie wobec Zachodu. Studia nad rozwojem średniowiecznej Europy*, Warszawa 2006, pp. 24-116.

10 *Ibidem*, p. 71.

advanced methodology allow for generating relatively reliable and precise numerical data<sup>11</sup>. Although individual scholars tend to differ over details of calculations and their interpretation, the analysis of reports of Peter's Pence payments in the 1340s<sup>12</sup> shows that the number of people in the three largest regions of Poland (Greater Poland, Lesser Poland and Masovia) was about 1.2 million, giving a population density of 8 per km<sup>2</sup>, which is slightly lower than in the German Empire (10 people per km<sup>2</sup>), half of the density in England (15 per km<sup>2</sup>) and France (20 per km<sup>2</sup>), and much lower than in the most developed regions of northern and southern Europe<sup>13</sup>.

An estimated size of Poland's population in the 1570s and 80s can be calculated on the basis of records of land tax payments. Similarly to Peter's Pence payments analysis for demographic purposes, this fiscal source also requires special methods of study to be worked out. Since different scholars use different methods, results also tend to differ. Nevertheless, it can be tentatively assumed that around 1580, the total population of Greater Poland, Lesser Poland and Masovia was 3.1 million (3.65 million in the whole country)<sup>14</sup>, which gives a population density of 20 per km<sup>2</sup>. In comparison with west European countries, the Kingdom of Poland was still less densely populated (29 per km<sup>2</sup> in England, 27 per km<sup>2</sup> in France, 29 per km<sup>2</sup> in German lands) even though population growth (including natural population increase and immigration) was 0.38% annually<sup>15</sup>, which was higher than the European average in the 15<sup>th</sup> century (0.28%) and similar to west European indicators at the beginning of the early modern period. It is worth adding that population growth in the Kingdom of Poland was probably more or less linear. There is not much evidence to prove that the Black death reached Poland in the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century, but other waves of plague in later periods are well documented<sup>16</sup>.

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<sup>11</sup> J. Mitkowski, *Uwagi o zaludnieniu Polski na początku panowania Kazimierza Wielkiego*, "Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych" X (1948), p. 127; W. Kula, *Stan i potrzeby badań nad demografią historyczną dawnej Polski (do początków XIX wieku)*, "Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych" XIII (1951), p. 39; E. Vielrose, *Ludność Polski od X do XVIII wieku*, "Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej" V (1957), p. 48; T. Ładogórski, *Studia nad zaludnieniem Polski w XIV wieku*, Wrocław 1958, p. 134.

<sup>12</sup> Unlike in England or Scandinavia, Peter's Pence payments in the Kingdom of Poland were paid per capita. They were collected from almost all inhabitants of the country over the age of 10-12. See: T. Ładogórski, *op.cit.*, pp. 8, 74.

<sup>13</sup> E. Helin, A. van der Woude, *Les Pays-Bas*, in: *Histoire des populations de L'Europe*, I, ed. by P. Bardet, J. Dupaquier, Paris 1998, p. 429.

<sup>14</sup> W. Kula, *op.cit.*, p. 69; E. Vielrose, *op.cit.*, p. 41; I. Gieysztorowa, *Ludność*, in: *Encyklopedia historii gospodarczej Polski do 1945 roku*, ed. by A. Mączak, Warszawa 1981, p. 431.

<sup>15</sup> I. Gieysztorowa, *op.cit.*, p. 431.

<sup>16</sup> A. Chilińska, U. Zawadzka, A. Sołtysiak, *Pandemia dżumy w latach 1348-1379 na terenach Królestwa Polskiego: model epidemiologiczny i źródła historyczne*, in: *Funeralia Lednickie, X: Epidemie, kłeski, wojny*, Poznań 2008, pp. 165-174.

Table 1: Population dynamics in three major regions of Poland in the 14<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Years	Greater Poland			LesserLesser Poland		
	Number of people (in thousand)	Total increase (%)	Annual increase (%)	Number of people (in thousand)	Total increase (%)	Annual increase (%)
c. 1340	560	120	0.33	440	180	0.43
c. 1580	1230			1230		

Years	Masovia			Total		
	Number of people (in thousand)	Total increase (%)	Annual increase (%)	Number of people (in thousand)	Total increase (%)	Annual increase (%)
c. 1340	250	156	0.39	1250	148	0.38
c. 1580	640			3100		

Source of data: I. Gieysztorowa, op.cit., p. 431.

To assess the level of development and commercialisation of the Polish economy at the turn of the Middle Ages, it is important to determine the percentage of non-agricultural population in the overall population structure. Tadeusz Ładogórski, the author of the only estimation of urban population around 1340, claims that in LesserLesser Poland (for which the most reliable data are available), urban population constituted about 14% of the total population, with the reservation that a half of this figure were people living in so called pseudo-towns of 100 to 500 inhabitants<sup>17</sup>. Henryk Samsonowicz claims that around 1400, in LesserLesser Poland there were about 90 urban settlements, which gives one town per 620 km<sup>2</sup>. Greater Poland with its 160 towns was more urbanized (one town per 350 km<sup>2</sup>), whereas Masovia with its 40 towns was definitely of more rural character (one town per 870 km<sup>2</sup>)<sup>18</sup>.

The Latter Middle Ages was the time of intense urbanization, with the new towns located first by the rulers of individual provinces and later by the kings of united Poland (Table 2). Gradually, the role of noblemen increased in the process and they began creating new urban centers as important elements of their estates<sup>19</sup>.

<sup>17</sup> T. Ładogórski, op.cit., p. 150.

<sup>18</sup> H. Samsonowicz, *Spółeczeństwo w Polsce około 1400 roku*, in: *Polska około roku 1400. Państwo, społeczeństwo, kultura*, ed. by W. Fałkowski, Warszawa 2001, pp. 12-13.

<sup>19</sup> M. Bogucka, H. Samsonowicz, *Dzieje miast i mieszczaństwa w Polsce*, Wrocław 1986, pp. 83-84.



Table 2: New towns in particular provinces/regions in the 13<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> centuries

Province/ Region	13 <sup>th</sup> century	14 <sup>th</sup> century	15 <sup>th</sup> century	13 <sup>th</sup> -15 <sup>th</sup> centuries
Silesia	128	34	7	169
Greater Poland	64	96	97	257
Lesser Lesser Poland	29	75	54	158
Masovia	4	36	43	83
Gdańsk Pomerania	5	24	0	29
Total	230	265	201	696

Calculated on the basis of M. Bogucka, H. Samsonowicz, *op.cit.*, p. 84.

It must be remembered, though, that in historic Poland the urban population did not necessarily mean a non-agricultural population. The vast majority of towns fell into the category of so called rural towns. Besides, the inhabitants of the suburbs in regular towns also engaged in farming. Henryk Samsonowicz claims that around the year 1400, only 20-25 towns were characterized by such a level of occupational diversification that their inhabitants could be divided into larger social groups<sup>20</sup>. On the other hand, the non-farming rural population should also be taken into account, although precise determination of its size is not possible due to the lack of sources. I am inclined to follow Andrzej Wyczański, who in his model of 14<sup>th</sup>-century Polish economy took the percentage of urban population (10-12%) for the estimated percentage of non-farming population in Poland<sup>21</sup>. It is less than in Robert Allen's estimates (14%), but it appears that Allen, not knowing the works of Polish historical demographers, overestimated the total population of Poland around 1400<sup>22</sup>.

By 1578, the size of the urban population had increased to 24.1%, but the level of urbanization varied across the country. In the most economically developed region, that is Royal Prussia, the urban population constituted over 35% of the total population, whereas in Masovia it was only 14%. Townspeople made up 25% of the population in the two most important regions of Poland,

<sup>20</sup> H. Samsonowicz, *Spółeczeństwo w Polsce...*, p. 14.

<sup>21</sup> A. Wyczański, *Gospodarka wiejska w Polsce XIV wieku w ujęciu liczbowym (próba oceny)*, "Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych" LXII (2002), p. 169.

<sup>22</sup> R. Allen, *op.cit.*, p. 8. In his study Allen uses a widely cited, but not very reliable for early historical periods: B.R. Michell, *European Historical Statistics, 1750-1970*, London 1978.

i.e. Greater and Lesser Poland<sup>23</sup>. In spite of a noticeable increase in the size of urban population within the social structure resulting in greater, at least theoretically, similarity between Poland and west European countries, the majority of Polish towns were in fact small units whose urban character derived from their legal status rather than their economic importance. There were very few towns whose population exceeded 5,000 people (Gdańsk, Toruń, Cracow, Warsaw, Poznań, Lublin and Lviv) and their number, in spite of economic changes at the turn of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, did not change. Consequently, although the total increase in the number of towns from 688 in 1500 to 873 a hundred years later (Table 3) cannot be ignored, it must be clearly stated that the majority of almost a million of Polish townspeople played a significantly lesser role in creating the market and in the social division of labour than their west European counterparts.

Table 3. Towns on the Kingdom of Poland in the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

Region	Early 16 <sup>th</sup> century	Late 16 <sup>th</sup> century
Greater Poland	263	256
Lesser Poland	164	210
Masovia	88	107
Royal Prussia	36	36
Warmia	12	12
Red Ruthenia	110	215
Podolia	15	37
Kingdom of Poland within its borders prior to 1569	688	873
Podlachia	13	25
Wolyn		68
Ukraine		321

Source: *Historia Polski w liczbach*, ed. by A. Jezierski, A. Wyczański, I, Warszawa 2003, p. 61.

## LAND

Population density in Poland increased at the end of the Middle Ages and at the beginning of the early modern period, but it was still significantly lower than in the west. Consequently, land resources at that time were still abundant. The process of colonization of lands in Greater and Lesser Poland

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<sup>23</sup> W. Kula, *op.cit.*, p. 71; *Atlas historyczny Polski: Prusy Królewskie w drugiej połowie XVI wieku*, ed. by M. Biskup in cooperation with L. Koc, Warszawa 1961, p. 73.

Poland reached its peak in the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries, but continued in the ensuing centuries. One of the important reasons why a manorial economy emerged in these two important regions of Poland was that they had reserves of land, forests and wasteland, that could be made suitable for ploughing. It is estimated that in 1370-1400, forests and marshland constituted about a half of the total territory of Greater Poland. The other half contained 2,621 settlements. By 1580-1600 the number of settlements had increased to 3,573 to take 59.1% of the region's territory. Simultaneously, there had been a drop in the amount of land per one settlement from 12.3 km<sup>2</sup> to 9.1 km<sup>2</sup><sup>24</sup>. In this respect, the situation in Greater Poland was similar to that in Lesser Poland where, for example, in Lubelskie voivodship the amount of land was 11.7 km<sup>2</sup> per settlement<sup>25</sup>, but differed considerably from the situation in Masovia where the rate was 5 km<sup>2</sup> per settlement<sup>26</sup>. At the beginning of the early modern period, the process of colonization took place also in Pomorskie voivodship, the hinterland of Gdańsk, and its peak fell in the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> and in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Between 1570 and 1700, the number of settlements increased there by 40% from 1,242 to 1,732<sup>27</sup>. In the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century, a similar process began also in Red Ruthenia. It was accompanied by another process, very important for the commercialisation of the local economy, i.e. the process of transference of villages from Polish and Ruthenian law, characterized by manorial dues paid in kind and labour, to German law, characterized by money rents. In the Sanok Land, the number of settlements increased between the 14<sup>th</sup> and the 16<sup>th</sup> century from 68 to 449, of which 32.3% were villages following the German law<sup>28</sup>. In the years 1345-1434, as many 104 German law villages were located in the neighbouring Przemyśl Land<sup>29</sup>. The number of settlements in Bełzkie voivodship increased from 430 to 493 over one hundred years (1472-1578). In the beginning, there was one village per 20.7 km<sup>2</sup>, by the end of this period this rate had decreased to one village per 18 km<sup>2</sup><sup>30</sup>. Apart from new farming settlements, there were also villages where peasants were making their living from animal

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24 K.J. Hładkiewicz, *Zmiany krajobrazu i rozwój osadnictwa w Wielkopolsce od XIV do XIX wieku*, Lwów 1932, p. 78; *Historia Polski w liczbach*, p. 57.

25 S. Wojciechowski, *Województwo lubelskie w drugiej poł. XVI wieku*, Warszawa 1966, p. 26.

26 *Mazowsze w drugiej połowie XVI wieku*, ed. by W. Pałucki, part 2, Warszawa 1973, p. 76.

27 K. Mikulski, *Osadnictwo wiejskie województwa pomorskiego od połowy XVI do końca XVII wieku*, Toruń 1994, p. 70.

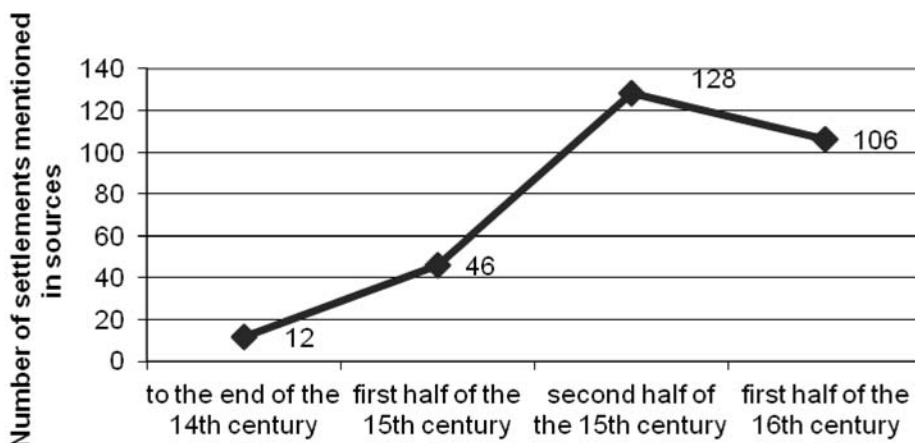
28 A. Fastnacht, *Osadnictwo ziemi sanockiej w latach 1340-1650*, Wrocław 1962, p. 269.

29 E. Dybek, *Lokacje na prawie niemieckim w ziemi przemyskiej w latach 1345-1434*, Lublin 2004, p. 58.

30 A. Janeczek, *Osadnictwo pogranicza polsko-ruskiego. Województwo bełskie od schyłku XIV do początku XVII wieku*, Wrocław 1991, p. 183.

husbandry, especially in the Podkarpacie region. According to Grzegorz Jawor, the process of location of this type (the Vlach law) reached its peak in the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century when 128 new villages were located. During the whole period, between the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the total number of newly located villages whose inhabitants bred sheep and oxen reached 292 (Graph 1).

Graph 1: Number of settlements following the Vlach law in the 14<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> centuries.



Source: G. Jawor, *Osady prawa włooskiego i ich mieszkańcy na Rusi Czerwonej w późnym średniowieczu*, Lublin 2004<sup>2</sup>, table 1.

As we can see, new lands were reclaimed in central regions of Poland (Greater and Lesser Poland) as well as in the peripheries (Masovia, Red Ruthenia, Pomerania). However, natural demographic growth, even though accompanied by a constant inflow of settlers from western Europe, did not result in shortages of land. An average peasant farm in 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> century Poland was much larger than its average western European counterpart. At the early stages of the process of colonization and transference from Polish to German law in the 13<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> centuries, peasant families were usually given farms of one *mansus*<sup>31</sup>.

The earliest reliable statistical data concerning the size of peasant farms in areas characterized by a free land market, though scarce in number, come from the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. They show that, depending on the region, average farms consisted of half a *mansus* or more. Information for the 16<sup>th</sup> century is more readily available, especially for farms in crown and

<sup>31</sup> P. Guzowski, *Chłopi i pieniądze na przełomie średniowiecza i czasów nowożytnych*, Kraków 2008, pp. 31-32.

ecclesiastical estates. In Masovia, Lesser Poland and the Polish-Ruthenian borderland, peasants had, on average, half-a-*mansus* big farms, whereas in Greater Poland, average farms ranged between 0.8 and 1.2 *mansi*, while in Pomerania their size was even bigger (Table 4).

Table 4: Average peasant farm size in Poland in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Village, estate	Region	Time	Average farm size
Zawady	Lesser Poland	1466-1475	0.8
Kłobuck	Lesser Poland	1466-1475	1.19
starostwo sochaczewskie	Masovia	1496-1510	0.50
Zawady	Lesser Poland	1506-1517	0.74
Kłobuck	Lesser Poland	1506-1517	1.25
Wolborskie	Kuiavia	1534	0.72
starostwo korczyńskie	Lesser Poland	1537-1556	0.50
starostwo sandomierskie	Lesser Poland	1564	0.40
starostwo sanockie	Red Ruthenia	1521-1564	0.56
Estate of the Archbishop of Gniezno	Greater Poland	1554	1.36
Crown estates	Masovia	1564-65	0.60
Kalisz voievodship	Greater Poland	2 half of the 16th c.	0.8-0.9
Brok	Masovia	1595	0.56
Wolborskie	Kuiavia	1598	0.49
Płockie voievodship	Masovia		0.50

Sources of data: P. Guzowski, *Chłopi i pieniądze na przełomie średniowiecza i czasów nowożytnych*, Kraków 2008, pp. 93-98; W. Jakóbczyk, *Utworzenie ludności wiejskiej w królewskich zachodnich województwach Korony w II poł. XVI w.*, "Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych" V (1936), p. 58; J. Muszyńska, *Gospodarstwo chłopskie w starostwie sandomierskim 1510-1663*, Kielce 1991, tables 9-12; A. Nowak, *Początki kryzysu sił wytwórczych na wsi wielkopolskiej w końcu XVI i pierwszej połowie XVII wieku (na przykładzie województwa kaliskiego)*, Warszawa-Poznań 1975, tables 20-22; H. Wajs, *Powinności feudalne chłopów na Mazowszu od XIV do początku XVI w. (w dobrach kościelnych i monarszych)*, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków-Gdańsk-Lódź 1986, pp. 46-49; A. Wawrzyńczyk, *Gospodarstwo chłopskie na Mazowszu w XVI i początkach XVII wieku*, Warszawa 1962, p. 28; A. Wyczański, *Rolnicy Kłobucka i Zawady w latach 1465-1517, Społeczeństwo staropolskie, III*, Warszawa 1983, pp. 35-36; A. Wyczański, *Studia nad gospodarką starostwa korczyńskiego w latach 1500-1660*, Warszawa 1964, p. 105; L. Żytkowicz, *Gospodarka folwarczno pańszczyźniana*, in: *Historia chłopów polskich*, ed. by S. Inglot, I, Warszawa 1970, p. 262; L. Żytkowicz, *Studia nad gospodarstwem wiejskim w dobrach kościelnych w XVI w.*, II, Warszawa 1962, table 1.

Assuming that the size of a self-sufficient farm had to be at least a quarter of a *mansus*<sup>32</sup>, it can be concluded that self-sufficient farms with varying degrees of market-orientation formed the basis of the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> century peasant economy. In the 16<sup>th</sup> century, farms that fell below the self-sufficiency line constituted only 2 to 7% of all peasant farms<sup>33</sup>.

At the turn of the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> century, proceedings of noblemen's and peasant courts of law started to be recorded, which allows us today to study the characteristics of the rural land market. Although historians have long claimed that in Later Middle Ages, not only in western Europe but also in Poland, the gentry<sup>34</sup> lost much of their income coming traditionally from land ownership and, as a result, took their first steps in proto-industry, it still cannot be denied that land was still the basis of their wealth. Some scholars believe that as early as in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the gentry in Poland made their first attempt at compensating for the losses in money rents by creating manorial farms whose functioning was based on *corvée*<sup>35</sup>. However, some practices of the late medieval gentry are in fact indicative of their rather traditional attitude to the question of income. Promoting the settlement of peasants on reclaimed land as well as acquiring fragments of the royal estate and engaging in land transactions prove the importance of income derived from money rents and dues in kind. The situation changed in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, when manorial farms became more widespread, but even then the gentry did not appear to interfere much in the peasant land market. Peasants were relatively free to sell and buy whole farms or their fragments, farmsteads and gardens, and the frequency of land transactions in the 16<sup>th</sup> century was much bigger than a century before.

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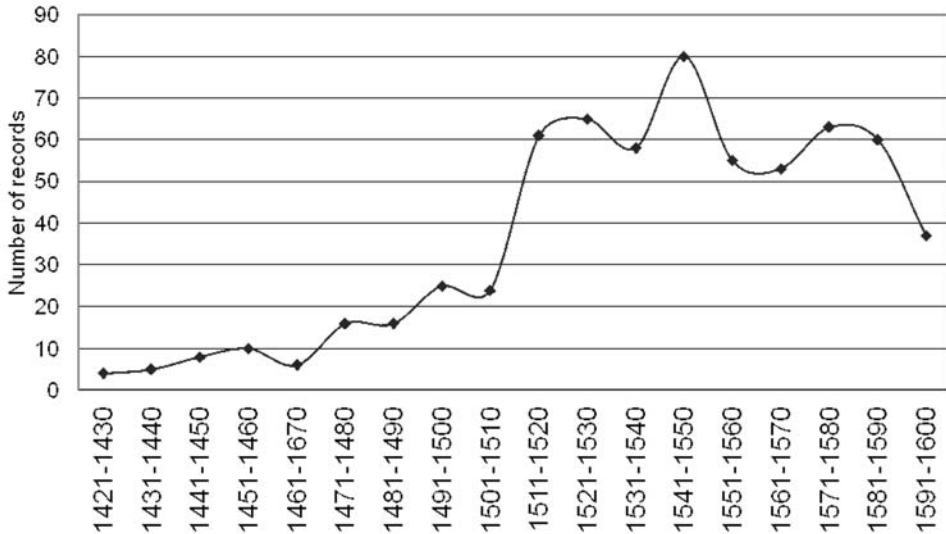
32 P. Guzowski, *Wyznaczniki biedy w społeczności chłopskiej w początkach epoki nowożytnej*, in: *Bieda w Polsce*, ed. by G. Miernik, Kielce 2012, pp. 35-45.

33 S. Cackowski, *Gospodarstwo wiejskie w dobrach biskupstwa i kapituły chełmińskiej w XVII-XVIII wieku*, I: *Gospodarstwo chłopskie*, Toruń 1961, p. 100; A. Nowak, *Początki kryzysu sił wytwórczych na wsi województwa kaliskiego w końcu XVI i pierwszej połowie XVII wieku*, Warszawa 1975, p. 78; J. Muszyńska, *Gospodarstwo chłopskie w starostwie sandomierskim 1510-1663*, Kielce 1991, tables 9-12; A. Wyczański, *Uwarstwienie społeczne w Polsce XVI wieku*, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków-Gdańsk 1977, p. 93; L. Żytkowicz, *Studia nad gospodarstwem wiejskim w dobrach kościelnych w XVI w.*, Warszawa 1962, I, table 1.

34 M. Dygo, *Wschód i Zachód: gospodarka Europy w XIV-XV wieku*, in: S. Gawlas et al., *Ziemia Polskie...*, p. 172.

35 J. Wroniszewski, *Szlachta ziemi sandomierskiej w średniowieczu. Zagadnienia społeczne i gospodarcze*, Poznań-Wrocław 2001, p. 53-68; K. Mikulski, J. Wroniszewski, *Folwark i zmiany koniunktury gospodarczej w Polsce XIV-XVII wieku*, "Klio" IV (2003), pp. 30-33.

Graph 2: Number of land transactions in Trześniowa village court rolls in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries.



Source: P. Guzowski, *Chłopi i pieniądze...*, p. 71.

## MONETISATION

The basis of a monetised economy is money in circulation, performing a variety of functions: of a means of exchange, a measure of value, a store of value, and a tool in credit transactions<sup>36</sup>. The emergence of a monetised economy is the product of several, not only economic, factors, e.g., population and market growth, the development of law, increase in literacy and numeracy. They all contributed to the gradual, evolutionary monetisation of economy. As J. Bolton notes, population growth led to an increase in demand, which consequently resulted in market, trade and urban development. Parallel to these were also: simplification of exchange procedures, creation of infrastructure (roads, bridges), reduction of trade costs. More widespread use of money required more precise currency and measurement systems in all, not only financial, sectors of the economy. The development of trade contributed to the emergence and spreading of new financial instruments, such as credits, bonds, and later also to the expansion of taxation systems and rents. Resulting from all these changes was the introduction of new legal regulations by the state whose role was to provide a legal framework for

<sup>36</sup> R. Britnell, *Uses of Money in Medieval Britain*, in: *Medieval Money Matters*, ed. D. Wood,, pp. 16-30; D. Begg, S. Fischer, R. Dornbusch, *Ekonomia*, II, transl. by R. Rapacki, Warszawa 1995, pp. 95-97.

market transactions and to guarantee the good quality of coins as symbols of its power. The introduction of taxes paid in cash led to the increase in monetary use and circulation. The state helped also in the development of such institutions as local fairs playing an important role in a monetised economy<sup>37</sup>. All these changes and transformations were of evolutionary character, they took longer than a year, a decade, or even a century. In Poland, they lasted for the whole medieval period until the beginning of the early modern period.

Unfortunately, it has not been thus far determined how much money was in circulation in the Kingdom of Poland. Some important clues about the development of Polish mintage and economy in general are provided by the research on the productivity of Polish mints in Late Middle Ages conducted by Marian Gumowski. According to this author, in 1391, the mint in Cracow manufactured 484,000 deniers, while during eighteen months starting in the middle of 1393, it produced 1.05 million *kwartniki* (*Viertelstück*) which is 4.3 million deniers<sup>38</sup>. Although international trade and big transactions were still dominated by Prague groschen, during the reign of Władysław Jagiełło the share of Polish coins in circulation increased to an unprecedented degree<sup>39</sup>. However, a really extraordinary increase in the output of Polish mints took place during the reign of Władysław Warneńczyk. The records of the Cracow mint in 1434-1435 contain the amounts of silver used in the process of mintage. According to Stanisław Kubiak, the value of silver in deniers equalled 53 million<sup>40</sup>, while Marian Gumowski claims that it was 61 million<sup>41</sup>.

A growing diversification of the size of coins, connected with the monetary reform in Central Europe, is the measure of money's accessibility. Thick silver coins – groschen – were used by people whose involvement in the monetised economy was the greatest, for example, merchants and traders, sovereigns, and the feudal elite. The true measure of the level of monetisation, though, was the popularity of ready cash with ordinary people. The emergence of a large number of half-grosch and denier coins, accompanied by a policy of debasement resulting in the reduction of their commodity value, contributed to the greater accessibility of money<sup>42</sup>.

It is not possible, unfortunately, to assess the degree of involvement in the monetised economy of the lowest, least privileged echelons of the society, especially villagers, but an attempt can be made to determine

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37 J. Bolton, *What Is Money? What Is a Money Economy? When Did a Money Economy Emerge in Medieval England?*, in: *Medieval Money Matters*, ed. by D. Wood, Oxford 2004, p. 7.

38 M. Gumowski, *Dzieje mennicy krakowskiej*, Poznań 1927, pp. 38-39.

39 S. Kubiak, *Monety pierwszych Jagiellonów (1386-1444)*, Wrocław 1970, pp. 152-161.

40 Ibidem, p. 132.

41 M. Gumowski, op.cit., p. 49.

42 J. Bolton, op.cit., pp. 10-11.



a minimal amount of cash that ordinary people had to possess to function in late medieval and early modern economic reality in Poland. The only regular payment made in ready cash since the Early Middle Ages was Peter's Pence, paid by every household. Initially, it was collected by the prince, later by Polish bishops, and eventually by special papal collectors. In 1318, the payment based on households was replaced by a capitation tax (although probably not everywhere) at the rate of 1 dinar per head, paid by all adults, from all social groups (except non-Christians). In practice, more and more groups were gradually granted exemption, so by the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century gentry and clergymen and their servants, heads of villages, children who did not receive the Communion at Easter (i.e. under the age of 10-12), and Jews had been exempted from paying Peter's Pence. In total, this was about 50% of the society<sup>43</sup>. The fact that for a long time it was possible to pay this tax in kind (in oats) and also the collectors received their earnings either in cash or in kind proves that the level of monetisation in Poland was relatively low<sup>44</sup>.

Among other taxes paid by villagers, the most important one was the tithe. Although there are traces as early as in the 13<sup>th</sup> century of tithes paid in cash by individuals representing different categories of villagers<sup>45</sup>. It was not the most widespread method of paying this tax either in the Middle Ages or in the early modern period. Fifteenth-century village location privileges in Lesser Poland and Red Ruthenia contain information about a flat rate of this tax (from 4 to 12 groshen *per mansus*; most frequently 6-8 groshen), but equally frequently they mention tithes paid in kind or in a mixed form (in kind and in cash)<sup>46</sup>. As it appears, tithes did not force peasants to engage more in the monetised economy. On the other hand, there is ample evidence that individual villagers eagerly seized the opportunity to buy grain coming from tithes, either on a parish, bishopric or chapter level<sup>47</sup>. The practice was made possible by the ordinances of diocesan and provincial synods in the 14<sup>th</sup> century and by state legislation<sup>48</sup>. Since the amounts paid in kind

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43 T. Gromnicki, *Świętopietrze w Polsce*, Kraków 1908, pp. 16-32, 52-67.

44 S. Kuraś, *Papieska taryfa świadczeń należnych wizytatorom z 1336 r. jako źródło poznania sytuacji gospodarczej Polski*, in: *Nummus et historia. Pieniądz Europy Środkowej*, Warszawa 1985, p. 159.

45 P. Górecki, *Parishes, Tithes and Society in Earlier Medieval Poland c. 1100 - c. 1250*, Philadelphia 1993, p. 97 f.; I. Subera, *Synody prowincjalne arcybiskupów gnieźnieńskich. Wybór tekstów ze zbioru Jana Wężyka z roku 1761*, Warszawa 1981, p. 47.

46 P. Guzowski, *Warunki gospodarowania chłopów w Małopolsce i na Rusi Czerwonej w pierwszej połowie XV w. w świetle dokumentów lokacyjnych*, "Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych" LXVI (2006), pp. 17-18.

47 F. Sikora, "Kmieć szlachcicem". *Wilkowice z Pawlikowic w XV w.*, in: *Heraldyka i okolice*, Warszawa 2002, pp. 399-417.

48 M. Wyszzyński, *Stosunek ustawodawstwa państwowego za Władysława Łokietka i Kazimierza Wielkiego w sprawie dziesięciny do kościelnego ustawodawstwa powszechnego i partykularnego*,

considerably exceeded the consumption capacity of the clergy, the level of commercialisation in the management of the surplus was naturally very high, which can be seen, for instance, in Jan Długosz's *Liber beneficiorum*. Even if tithe in some parts of the diocese of Cracow was collected in kind, Długosz and his collaborators expressed its value in cash<sup>49</sup>. However, it must be clearly stated that the monetisation of the church economy was incomparably higher than of the peasant economy. Especially, as other small dues paid by peasants to the church, e.g. for saying the Mass (*meszne*), were paid in grain, not in cash<sup>50</sup>.

An event of key importance from the point of view of the monetisation of Polish economy was not connected with the evolution of payments to the church, but with the introduction of the German law and replacement of old feudal dues in kind with new ones paid in cash<sup>51</sup>. This brought about revolutionary changes in the economy by forcing peasants to commercialise their production and engage in the market. It is important to remember in this context that all Polish peasants had either gentlemen, the king, or clergymen, or townspeople as their lords, so the change affected absolutely all social groups in the country. In the 14<sup>th</sup> century, the commercialisation of the peasant economy was still minimal and it did not allow for much more than just covering the costs of basic feudal dues and king's taxes<sup>52</sup>. With time, however, the market potential of peasant farms increased and in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, a farm bigger than half a *mansus* was already capable of producing extra income that could be invested in, for example, land. Evidence for such transactions indeed taking place is provided by village court rolls<sup>53</sup>. In the 16<sup>th</sup> century, peasants' engagement in market-oriented production and thus in the monetised economy increased even further due to growing grain prices and the general expansion of the market. A rapid increase in urbanization also contributed to the intensification of trade between a soaring urban population and village people.

Modernization of the country was a side effect of the process of colonization in which German law was granted to new settlements. One of its symptoms

"Sprawozdania Towarzystwa Naukowego we Lwowie" VIII (1928), pp. 190-196; I. Subera, op.cit., p. 66; J. Dudziak, *Dziesięcina*, in: *Encyklopedia katolicka*, IV, Lublin 1989, p. 602.

49 *Joannis Dlugossii Liber beneficiorum dioecesis Cracoviensis*, I-III, ed. A. Przeździecki, Kraków 1863-1864.

50 E. Wiśniewski, *Kolęda – meszne – stołowe na ziemiach polskich. Problem rejonizacji*, in: *Kultura średniowieczna i staropolska. Studia ofiarowane Aleksandrowi Gieysztorowi w pięćdziesięciolecie pracy naukowej*, Warszawa 1991, pp. 625-638.

51 Z. Kaczmarczyk, M. Szczaniecki, *Kolonizacja na prawie niemieckim w Polsce a rozwój renty feudalnej*, "Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne" III (1951), pp. 59-83.

52 A. Wyczański, *Gospodarka wiejska...*, pp. 185-186.

53 P. Guzowski, *Chłopi i pieniądze...*, pp. 108-147; idem, *Changing Economy – Models of Peasant Budgets in 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> Century Poland*, "Continuity and Change" XX (2005), pp. 9-26.

was an increase in the importance of cash in economic relations between lords and their subjects. Modernization was visible also in the organization of the state, which in turn accelerated the development of a monetised economy. There are no primary sources of information about the amount of money collected by the state in the form of taxation during the rules of Władysław the Elbow-high (Łokietek) and Kazimierz the Great. The earliest available data come from privileges approved by king Louis of Hungary in 1374 and 1381. They introduced a tax of 2 groshen per *mansus* in villages owned by the gentry and 4 groshen in monastic properties. Neither of these sums was particularly high, but during the 15<sup>th</sup> century the subjects were occasionally obliged to pay also an extraordinary tax, so called *łanowe*, which in early 16<sup>th</sup> century transformed into a general tax, since 1578 paid by virtually all categories of peasants<sup>54</sup>. The situation was similar in the case of the *szos*, a tax paid by townspeople. Its reforms in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries are indicative not only of the growing fiscal needs of the early modern state, but also of the growing level of monetisation<sup>55</sup>. To these must be added a capitation tax levied three times during the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries. Since 1521, it was paid by as many as 192 occupational groups<sup>56</sup>. Moreover, the state imposed a tax on rents collected in all types of estates<sup>57</sup>. The fact that all members of the society at that time were taxed is the most important proof of the monetisation of economy. All people, regardless of their status, participated in it to a greater or lesser extent. Peasants, the largest social group, were no exception. Moreover, it appears that their financial reserves were higher than the bare minimum required to pay all taxes and rents. When a survey of crown estates was conducted in 1564-1565 across the country, the value of all rents and dues that used to be paid by peasants in kind was given in cash.

Seemingly, the process of monetisation could have been hampered in Poland by the introduction in the 15<sup>th</sup> century of *corvée* as a key element of the emerging manorial system. *Corvée*, however, did not replace money rents, although it can be seen that the two were treated as equivalents, i.e., lords who collected high rents did not demand much unpaid labour from their peasants. The same mechanism is visible in the first official decision regulating the amount of unfree labour. In 1477, the regional assembly (*sejmik*)

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54 T. Brzeczowski, *Ustanawianie podatków nadzwyczajnych Polsce XV w.*, "Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych" XLII (1981), pp. 79-96; S. Weyman, *Pierwsze ustawy poglównego generalnego w Polsce (rok 1498, 1520) na tle ówczesnego systemu podatkowego*, "Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych" XVIII (1956), p. 17.

55 S. Russocki, *Szos*, in: *Encyklopedia historii gospodarczej Polski...*, II, p. 368.

56 A. Wyczański, *Uwarstwienie społeczne w Polsce XVI wieku...*, pp. 192-254.

57 K. Boroda, *Kmieć, łan czy profit? Co było podstawą poboru łanowego w XV i XVI wieku?*, in: *Człowiek wobec miar i czasu w przeszłości*, ed. by P. Guzowski, M. Liedke, Kraków 2007, pp. 152-170.

of the gentry in Krasnystaw decided that landlords could choose between introducing at least one day a week of labour service and raising rents<sup>58</sup>. Since 1521, a weekly corvée became obligatory all over the country, but even after it had increased to more than one day a week, many peasants chose to buy themselves out of this service. In 1564, of 275 villages of the crown estates in the Krakowskie voivodship, only 28% paid their dues in the form of corvée, 30% bought themselves out, 40% paid the rent<sup>59</sup>. In many parts of the country, peasants insisted on having the rules written in 14<sup>th</sup>-century location privileges which determined the rate of money rents observed. All consecutive monetary revolutions, first in the 15<sup>th</sup> century (Prague groschen replaced by groschen issued in Poland) and then in the 16<sup>th</sup> century (price revolution; introduction of the system of Polish *złoty* and of new coins), made peasants less willing to accept rising rents than growing corvée<sup>60</sup>. Even so, while the cases of peasants paying monetary equivalents of corvée are quite common, there is no evidence for peasants asking for the replacement of high rents with corvée.

It seems that in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, the manorial system contributed to the monetisation of the economy of the gentry, but it would be wrong to assume that it automatically meant that a parallel process in the peasant economy had been hampered. With more and more regions of the country joining the Baltic trade in grain since the 1480s (Table 5), Poland became an important partner in an international economic system<sup>61</sup>.

Table 5: Geography of suppliers to Gdańsk.

Region	Percent in the volume of export in the years 1455-1480	Percent in the volume of export in the years 1481-1510
Royal Prussia	50	21
Teutonic Prussia	11	14
Kuiavia	10	8
Masovia	20	27
Lesser Poland	8	18
Greater Poland	1	12

Source: H. Samsonowicz, in: *Historia Gdańska*, ed. by E. Cieślak, II, Gdańsk 1982.

<sup>58</sup> J. Wroniszewski, op.cit., pp. 62-63; M. Kołacz-Chmiel, *Spółeczności chłopskie ziemi chełmskiej w późnym średniowieczu*, Lublin 2009, pp. 42-43.

<sup>59</sup> E. Trzyna, *Położenie ludności wiejskiej w królestwach województwa krakowskiego w XVII w.*, Wrocław 1963, pp. 231-235.

<sup>60</sup> P. Guzowski, *The Role of Enforced Labour in the Economic Development of Church and Royal Estates in 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup>-century Poland* (in print).

<sup>61</sup> P. Guzowski, *The Influence of Exports on Grain Production on Polish Royal Demesne Farms in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century*, "Agricultural History Review" LIX (2011), pp. 312-327.

The great beneficiaries of this change were the peasants, whose economic role was not defined, as Jerzy Topolski claims, only by the fact that they farmed most of the arable land in the country and bred most of the cattle. Topolski explains that “larger peasant households, especially those that could afford to send hired labourers to serve *corvée*, developed [...] their own economic and trade activity. They quickly adjusted to the manorial system and, what must be particularly emphasized, found ways to compensate themselves the losses caused by new feudal burdens”<sup>62</sup>. In the first decade of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, more privileges for the fairs were issued than in the entire 15<sup>th</sup> century, and this tendency continued in subsequent years. The number of village fairs also increased and “together with the development of the grain market, trading villages were established along rivers”<sup>63</sup>.

Another aspect of a money economy is visible in late medieval and early modern sources indicating the importance of service as a stage in a typical peasant’s life cycle. Service was performed by almost all peasant children, moving to towns and cities to work as hired labourers in craft and trade, but most frequently finding employment on manorial farms or in other peasant households. They preferred to leave their family homes because elsewhere they worked not only for clothes, food and shelter, but they also received some money, which they could not expect to earn at home<sup>64</sup>. As a result, even the poorest villagers and those who were at the very beginning of their independent lives participated in a money economy. So did the poor in towns. This can be demonstrated by the frequency of appearance of information about daily wages of unqualified workers. Early 16<sup>th</sup> century sources used by economic historians in their analyses of the standards of living contain so many records of such wages that it has been possible to create lists of wages in the most important cities in the Kingdom of Poland: Cracow, Lviv, Warsaw, Lublin and Gdańsk<sup>65</sup>.

As a result of the monetisation of the Polish economy caused by the introduction of German law, increased fiscal demands of the state, and development of the market, at the turn of the Middle Ages money became a means of exchange, a measure of value and a store of value. Since the

62 J. Topolski, *Przełom gospodarczy w Polsce XVI wieku i jego następstwa*, Poznań 2000, p. 18.

63 J. Maroszek, *Targowiska wiejskie w Koronie Polskiej w drugiej połowie XVII i w XVIII wieku*, Białystok 1990, pp. 39-40.

64 A. Kamler, *Chłopi jako pracownicy najemni na wsi małopolskiej w XVI i pierwszej połowie XVII wieku*, Warszawa 2005, pp. 60-61.

65 W. Adamczyk, *Ceny w Lublinie od XVI do końca XVIII wieku*, Lwów 1935, p. 141; idem, *Ceny w Warszawie w XVI i XVII wieku*, Lwów 1938, pp. 11-112; S. Hoszowski, *Ceny we Lwowie w XVI i XVII wieku*, Lwów 1928, p. 279; J. Pelc, *Ceny w Gdańsku w XVI i XVII wieku*, Lwów 1937, p. 130; idem, *Ceny w Krakowie w latach 1369-1600*, Lwów 1935, p. 126.

Late Middle Ages, it had also been used in credit transactions. An increase in the demand for cash was connected with overall economic growth. The first official regulations of credit come from 1264 when Bolesław The Pious approved a privilege for the Jews of the city of Kalisz. During the reign of Kazimierz the Great this privilege regulated the practice of usury in the re-established Kingdom of Poland. The privilege was modelled after similar documents concerning the Jewish communities in Austria, Bohemia and Hungary. It is likely that its text reflected the economic reality of these countries rather than of Poland, but it does not mean that in Polish lands there was lesser demand for Jewish credit. On the contrary, Jewish credit was already sought for in the 13<sup>th</sup> century<sup>66</sup>. Credit transactions feature very frequently in documents coming from 14<sup>th</sup> century towns. The foundation privilege of Cracow Academy established a post for a Jewish banker whose role was to offer credit to students on preferential terms<sup>67</sup>. Money from the Jews was borrowed by kings, members of the urban elite, and villagers doing business in big market towns<sup>68</sup>. The oldest surviving records of the courts of the gentry (from the turn of the 14<sup>th</sup> century) contain traces of credit transactions between noblemen, but in some appear also references to clergymen, townspeople, aldermen, village leaders, and ordinary peasants<sup>69</sup>. The situation is similar in the case of credit transactions recorded by urban courts of law, which may be indicative of the economic importance of even relatively small urban centres and of their impact on all sections of the society<sup>70</sup>.

In the 15<sup>th</sup> century, in Gdańsk and possibly in some other bigger cities, financial institutions were established that offered loans, but also allowed money to be deposited with them and acted as money brokers exchanging coins and transferring money<sup>71</sup>. At the same time, the character of loans secured on royal properties changed as well. Originally, they were not really

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66 R. Grodecki, *Dzieje Żydów w Polsce do końca XIV wieku*, in: R. Grodecki, *Polska Piastowska*, Warszawa 1969, pp. 651-662; H. Zaremska, *Statut Bolesława Pobożnego dla Żydów. Uwagi w sprawie genezy*, "Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych" LXIV (2004), pp. 107-132.

67 S. Krzyżanowski, *Poselstwo Kazimierza Wielkiego do Awinionu i pierwsze uniwersyteckie przywileje*, "Rocznik Krakowski" IV (1900), p. 63.

68 L. Koczy, *Studia nad dziejami gospodarczymi Żydów poznańskich przed połową wieku XVII*, "Kronika Miasta Poznania" XII (1934), pp. 257-362; E. Muller, *Żydzi w Krakowie w drugiej połowie XIV stulecia*, "Biblioteka Krakowska" XXXV (1906), pp. 21-51; J. Wyrozumski, *Żydzi w średniowiecznym Krakowie*, in: J. Wyrozumski, *Cracovia Mediaevalis*, Kraków 2010, pp. 284-285.

69 M. Ungeheuer, *Stosunki kredytowe w ziemi przemyskiej w połowie XV wieku*, Lwów 1929, pp. 197-239.

70 M. Bogucka, H. Samsonowicz, op.cit., pp. 192.

71 H. Samsonowicz, *Początki banków prywatnych w Polsce*, "Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka" XXXVI (1981), pp. 136-137.

Table 6: Participation of different social groups in credit transactions (in %) in Polish towns (Cracow, Warsaw, Poznań, Sieradz, Ciężkowice, Radziejów, Szreńsk and Kowal) in the years 1430-1450.

Social groups	Townspeople	Peasants	Gentry	Clergy	Jews
Debtors					
Peasants	34.4	2.5	6.6	2.0	5.4
Townspeople	15.0	12.3	13.0	3.0	4.1
Gentry	29.0	9.1	4.4	10.9	5.9
Creditors					
Peasants	35.5	2.5	11.0		
Townspeople	15.0	15.3	22.3		
Gentry	30.9	5.4	4.4		

Source: M. Bogucka, H. Samsonowicz, *op.cit.*, p. 192.

significant and their role was to create special relationships between the king and his subjects. With time, royal loans transformed into important elements of the king's budget<sup>72</sup>. Demand for cash existed among all social classes, but peasant credit transactions made in villages differed considerably from royal, magnates', Jewish and urban credit. The oldest surviving village court records (from the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries) show that peasants purchasing land who could not afford to pay the whole price did not borrow money from usurers or bankers but arranged for the sum to be paid in annual instalments<sup>73</sup>. Although late medieval and early modern peasant economy was gradually becoming a monetised economy, the volume of cash at the disposal of lower social groups was still smaller than the demand and institutions offering credit to peasants were underdeveloped.

Taking the level of credit interest rates as a measure of economic development, it can be seen how quickly the Kingdom of Poland advanced in the Late Middle Ages. It is assumed that after the Black Death, annual interest rates in the most developed European economies oscillated between 5 and 6%<sup>74</sup>. Meanwhile, the statutes of king Kazimierz the Great in the

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<sup>72</sup> P. Guzowski, *Klienci czy wierzyciele? Nie tylko o ekonomicznym wymiarze zastawu dóbr królewskich w pierwszej połowie XV wieku*, in: *Patron i dwór. Magnateria Rzeczypospolitej w XVI-XVIII wieku*, ed. by E. Dubas-Urwanowicz, J. Urwanowicz, Białystok 2006, pp. 67-86; M. Sepiał, *Zastaw na dobrach ziemskich i dochodach królewskich w okresie panowania Władysława Warneńczyka na Węgrzech (1440-1444)*, "Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego" LXXIX, *Prace Historyczne* CXXV (1998), pp. 35-49.

<sup>73</sup> P. Guzowski, *Chłopi i pieniądze...*, pp. 55-62.

<sup>74</sup> J.L van Zanden, *The Long Road to Industrial Revolution. The European Economy in Global Perspective, 1000-1800*, Leiden-Boston 2009, p. 22.

mid-14<sup>th</sup> century established the maximum interest rate of Jewish credit at 108%<sup>75</sup>. High interest rates were characteristic also of credits in towns, where at the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century they ranged from 15 to 50%<sup>76</sup> (12 to 40% in Gdańsk<sup>77</sup>). In the 15<sup>th</sup> century, interest rates went down. The norm in credit transactions recorded by the courts of the gentry was 10% annually or less<sup>78</sup>. At the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, financial institutions in Gdańsk would give loans at 8 to 20%<sup>79</sup>.

Monetisation was thus a long, gradual process, occurring at a different pace in different sectors of the economy and in different sections of the society. It was also geographically diversified, which was connected with inequalities in economic and political development between the various regions of the Kingdom of Poland. A key moment during the process was the country's modernization stimulated by colonization, the introduction of the German law and the development of local markets. A higher level of monetisation, however, was not achieved by the Polish economy until the late 16<sup>th</sup> century when Poland entered the European grain markets as an important trading partner and underwent a price revolution. The main beneficiaries of these developments were not only the noblemen owning manorial farms, but also peasants taking advantage of free market in grain (as opposed to the market in craft production highly controlled by guilds and voivodas imposing fixed prices on goods).

## CONCLUSION

If we define economic development as a long-lasting process of changes in the economy that can be characterized quantitatively and qualitatively, then the analysis of such factors as human and land resources and increasing monetisation allows us to draw some conclusions about the condition of the Polish economy at the turn of the Middle Ages.

The growth in population which had begun at least in the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century and continued until the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century was indicative of a gradual increase in the standards of living, in production and in consumption.

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75 H. Zaremska, *Żydzi w średniowiecznej Polsce. Gmina krakowska*, Warszawa 2011, p. 152.

76 M. Bogucka, H. Samsonowicz, *op.cit.*, p. 191.

77 H. Samsonowicz, *Badania nad kapitałem mieszczańskim Gdańska w drugiej połowie XV wieku*, Warszawa 1960, p. 84.

78 J. Matuszewski, *Oprocentowanie sumy zastawnej w polskim prawie ziemskim do końca XV stulecia*, "Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych" XLI (1980), pp. 1-12.

79 H. Samsonowicz, *Badania nad kapitałem...*, p. 84.



A considerable increase in the size of population did not lead to a significantly greater population density because of abundant land resources. Free access to vast areas of land accompanied by shortage of labour resulted in the creation of the manorial system based on forced labour (*corvée*).

Drawing on the present state of the art and using current methodology, it is possible to conduct a detailed examination of the abovementioned indicators of economic growth for the period from the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Such a study should soon be conducted.

The question of the economic crisis in late medieval Poland raised in historiography also deserves further study based on thorough analysis of primary sources. What appears to be clear today is that, even if some sections of the society (e.g. the gentry, especially in the 15<sup>th</sup> century) did suffer from large-scale economic difficulties, they were not long-lasting and eventually brought about positive effects, e.g., greater activity of the gentry in non-agricultural sectors of the economy, which contributed to monetisation. Possible negative consequences of the crisis, such as the *corvée* becoming widespread, were neutralized by the greater activity of peasants in the market in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Similarly to the owners of manorial farms, they took advantage of the growing prices and greater demand for Polish grain.

My analysis of the advances in monetisation shows its steady progress in the Later Middle Ages and an unprecedented acceleration of the process in the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, although the monetisation of the Polish economy was definitely not universal. In the business relations of the citizens of Gdańsk or peasants in the alluvial delta of the Vistula River, money played a much greater role than in the lives of poor Masovian gentlemen or in the lives of their peasants.

#### ABSTRACT

The aim of the article is to look at the economic development of Poland at the turn of the Middle Ages from the perspective of the commercialization theory. The article covers the problems of population growth, land resources and monetization. The growth in population which had begun at least in the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century and continued until the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century was indicative of a gradual increase in the standards of living, in production and in consumption. The increase in the size of population did not lead to significantly greater population density because of abundant land resources. Free access to vast areas of land accompanied by shortage of labour resulted in the creation of the manorial system based on forced labour (*corvée*). Mimo to analysis of the advances in monetization shows its steady progress in the Later Middle Ages and an unprecedented acceleration of the process in the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, although monetization of Polish economy was definitely not universal.

## III. CURRENT RESEARCH

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ANNA WAŚKO  
KRAKÓW

### CRUSADES IN FINLAND AND THE CRUSADE IDEOLOGY IN SWEDEN FROM THE 12<sup>TH</sup> TO 14<sup>TH</sup> CENTURIES



The discussion on the position of the Baltic Crusades in the European crusade movement and the idea of the crusade itself still poses questions and produces a wide range of possible answers. For a long time the 20<sup>th</sup> century historians refused to acknowledge such a status to Swedish raids on Finland and Karelia, which were traditionally described as Crusades, and similar doubts were raised as regarded Danish expeditions within the Baltic. They were quite commonly considered to be part of economic and political expansion, while the value of religious and ideological factors was diminished. In his critical recapitulation of the attitude of Scandinavian historians towards crusades Kurt Villads Jensen remarked: "Within this framework of explanation, there was no difference between the Viking expeditions of the tenth and eleventh centuries and the Christian expeditions from the twelfth century onwards"<sup>1</sup>. Research recently carried out primarily by Danish historians has been an indication of a change noticeable in the approach towards northern Crusade movement<sup>2</sup>. Whereas in the past even the expeditions authorized by the pope were denied to be called crusades, at present those

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1 K.V. Jensen, *Introduction*, in: *Crusade and Conversion on the Baltic Frontier 1150-1500*, ed. by A.V. Murray, Aldershot 2001, s. XX.

2 First of all, see the work by: K.V. Jensen, C.S. Jensen, J.H. Lind, A. Bysted, *Danske korstog. Krig og mission i Østersøen*, København 2004, and the collection of articles: *Crusade and Conversion...; Medieval Spirituality in Scandinavia and Europe*, ed. by L. Bisgaard, C.S. Jensen, Odensee 2001; *Medieval History Writing and Crusading Ideology*, ed. by T.M.S. Lehtonen, K.V. Jensen, Studia Fennica, Historica IX, Helsingfors 2005.

ventures without such authorization are acknowledged as crusades, and their status is determined on the basis on convictions and interpretations of contemporary scholars over their external attributes of legality<sup>3</sup>.

According to the pluralist definition of the crusade<sup>4</sup>, it was an armed penitential pilgrimage, led in the name of the defence of Christianity and Christians, or the recovery of former Christian lands from the hands of Muslims, and next from pagans, heretics and the schismatic. One of the main criteria which separated a crusade from an ordinary military expedition against Muslims or pagans was the necessity, which stemmed from the just war doctrine, for a military expedition to be authorized by the pope. Such authorization (confirmed by the pope's bull) invested the expedition with universal significance: it became a war, led by the pope, in the defence of the Christian community, which distinguished it from wars against the infidel, inspired by particular interests of monarchs that were waged also during the "crusade" period (11<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> centuries). The onslaught of Valdemar II on pagan Estonia could have become part of a policy of expansion carried out by Danish rulers from at least the 11<sup>th</sup> century, but its ideological meaning was completely different: Valdemar fought against the heathen as a representative of the whole Christian Europe, called to arms by its supreme religious leader. Each crusade was as it were in principle international because it defended interests of the whole *christianitas*, even though its participants belonged to a single nation, like in the case of the Danish expedition to Estonia. The most spectacular sign of the universal character of the Baltic Crusades were annual Teutonic raids on Lithuania, which in the 14<sup>th</sup> century attracted crusaders from all over Europe. The guests of the Teutonic Order symbolically represented the ethnic mosaic of Latin Europe, which they defended.

The papal authorization of the crusade is closely connected with privileges, spiritual and secular ones, which were granted to the participants by the pope. This practice stemmed from the pilgrimage and penitential nature of the crusade. The crusade bull issued by Pope Eugene IV, including privileges for the participants of the expedition against the Polabian pagans (1147), the same which were granted to the crusaders to the Holy Land, represents the first evidence of the extension of the idea of the crusade to

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<sup>3</sup> A. Ehlers, *The Crusade of the Teutonic Knights against Lithuania Reconsidered*, in: *Crusade and Conversion...*, p. 42.

<sup>4</sup> See E. Sibbery, *The New Crusaders. Images of the Crusades in the 19<sup>th</sup> and Early 20<sup>th</sup> Century*, Aldershot 2000; C.J. Tyerman, *The Invention of the Crusades*, Basingstoke 1998; *The Atlas of the Crusades*, ed. by J.S.C. Riley-Smith, London-New York 1991; C.T. Mayer, *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology: Model Sermons for the Preaching of the Cross*, New York 2000; J.S.C. Riley-Smith, *What Were the Crusades?*, London 2002; J. Riley-Smith, *Krucjaty. Historia*, Poznań 2008, pp. 27-31; N. Jaspert, *The Crusades*, Abingdon 2005.

the Baltic territories. The link between privileges, especially the spiritual ones (indulgences), with a crusade became so close that in many cases they were not associated with the papal endowment anymore. Henry the Latvian seems to have noticed in his chronicle that the plenary indulgence could be also granted by a local bishop, and bishops in Spain granted crusade indulgences as early as in the 12<sup>th</sup> century<sup>5</sup>. In Livonia and next in Prussia there was a “ceaseless crusade”: the 14<sup>th</sup> century chaplains of the Teutonic Order could grant crusade indulgences, absolve of crusade vows etc. without the agency of the pope and the officially announced crusade<sup>6</sup>. The crusade initiative was gradually passed to local Churches and monarchs, which can be observed in crusade vows made by Emperor Henry VI or Louis IX before the crusade was announced by the pope. On the Baltic the initiative from the beginning belonged to bishops and kings – all papal crusade bulls were issued (sometimes reluctantly) in response to supplications from German and Scandinavian clergymen or rulers<sup>7</sup>.

In addition to the papal authorization, a crusade had to meet other criteria of the just war. Its defensive character was often justified by the obligation to protect converts, groups of Christians, or holy places – attacked by the infidel, the necessity to protect the purity of faith from heretics, and to recover for the Christian community the territories annexed by the infidel. The idea of the crusade proscribed converting by the sword, but not conquests. After the victory over pagans and taking their lands, missionaries and clergymen who created foundations for the Church organization began their work. They were joined by knights and secular officials, who built a new, Christian order. In the Baltic area a crusade was closely related to a mission, being its armed continuation, support, or initiating it.

The participants of a crusade made crusade vows, which let the cope supervise them to a point as it was only the cope or his legate who could absolve from such a vow, or exchange it for e.g. a fee, which in the 13<sup>th</sup> century became one of important elements of financing the crusade movement. A special ceremonial evolved around crusades, which comprised: a solemn act of receiving the cross, the pilgrim’s outfit, pilgrimages to holy places before setting out etc. There was one more factor which was required in order that an armed expedition could be considered a crusade: the awareness of its participants that they were taking part in the holy war, in the defence of Christianity, that they were the warriors of Christ whom

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5 *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. by L. Arbusow, A. Bauer, Darmstadt 1959, III 2; cf. J. Riley-Smith, *op.cit.*, p. 158.

6 A. Ehlers, *op.cit.*, pp. 37-38.

7 On the policy of the popes towards the Baltic Crusades, see I. Fønnesberg-Schmidt, *Papieże i krucjaty bałtyckie 1147-1254*, Warszawa 2009.

He would generously reward in their worldly lives and afterlives for their sacrifice and blood they shed.

Extra-religious, political or economic goals relevant to an expedition did not significantly influence its acknowledgement – or not – as a crusade. It is widely held that the participants of the 1<sup>st</sup> Crusade to the Holy Land (and the subsequent ones) regarded loot and territories they had taken as a reward from the Lord for their fight and effort, and similar practice was observed on the Baltic. Political and economic gains were an extra reward for the fight in the defence of Christ, and the economic dependence or weakening of the enemy, e.g. in the case of Sweden – of schismatic Novgorod, could be perceived as part of the fights in the defence of the true Catholic faith, thus in compliance with the crusade doctrine.

In this context one should consider all Swedish expeditions against the Baltic pagans, which led to the conquest of Finland and shifting of the border of the Latin Christendom as far as Vyborg on the Finish-Ruthenian borderland. Even though the first Swedish settlements on the South-Western Finnish coast (and in Karelia, on Lake Ladoga) are dated from a far older period, an armed conquest of Finland commenced in the second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, when Finland Proper (Varsinais-Suomi) was taken. In the first half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century the Swedes conquered the so called Nyland (Uusimaa) and Tavastland (Häme), and ventured deep into the Neva (1240). In the 1290s they built the fort of Vyborg and took control of the mouth of the Neva for a short period of time. The main political target of the Swedish expeditions was – after the conquest of Finnish tribes – the control of the route connecting Vuoksa and Saimaa and the Finnish Bay with the Neva and Lake Ladoga. This goal was never reached, because successive expeditions did not succeed in taking control of the mouth of the Neva or Karelia. The border between Novgorod and the Swedish territories was established in Nöteborg (1323), leaving Karelia and Lake Ladoga within the Ruthenian sphere of influence. In the 1340s King Magnus Eriksson attacked, yet again, the territories inhabited by the Izhorians, Vod and Karelia, and he was ultimately defeated on the Neva in 1350<sup>8</sup>.

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8 On the Swedish expeditions to the East see e.g.: *Kring korstågen till Finland. Ett urval uppsatser tillägnat Jarl Gallén på hans sextiårsdag den 23 maj 1968*, ed. by K. Mikander, Helsingfors 1968; W. Urban, *The Baltic Crusade*, New York 1975; E. Christiansen, *The Northern Crusades. The Baltic and the Catholic Frontier 1100-1525*, London 1980, pp. 171-192; T. Nyberg, *Deutsche, dänische und schwedische Christianisierungsversuche östlich der Ostsee im Geiste des 2. und 3. Kreuzzuges*, in: *Die Rolle der Ritterorden in der Christianisierung und Kolonisierung des Ostseegebietes. Ordines Militares I*, hrsg. Z.H. Nowak, Toruń 1983, pp. 93-114; P.L. Lehtosolohilander, *The Conversion of the Finns in Western Finland*, in: *The Christianisation of Scandinavia*, ed. by B. Sawyer, Alingsås 1987, pp. 31-35; J. Lind, *Early Russian-Swedish Rivalry. The Battle on the Neva 1240 and Birger Magnusson's second crusade to Tavastia*, "Scandinavian Journal of

The stages of the conquest of Finnish territories correspond to the actions described as Crusades: the 1<sup>st</sup> Finnish Crusade took place in 1157-1158, the 2<sup>nd</sup> Crusade – 1238-1239 (see below), the 3<sup>rd</sup> – between 1293 and 1300, the Magnus Eriksson Crusade – 1348-1350. First, the Church organization was established on the conquered territories – as early as in 1216 in Finland the Bishopric of Noisiainen, which was subordinated to Uppsala, was set up. In 1228 it was moved to Koroinen or Åbo, which finally became the capital of the diocese. Next, with the building of forts and royal strongholds the Swedish administrative and fiscal system was introduced. There is no doubt that the crusades constituted one of the components of the Swedish presence in the east, which was a traditional direction of the expansion of the Swedes since the Vikings.

### THE FIRST FINNISH CRUSADE

It is the so called first Finnish Crusade that arouses the most controversy. It was allegedly undertaken by King Erik Jedwardsson (1156-1160), future St. Erik, the patron of the Kingdom of Sweden. Historians' disputes concern the fundamental questions: did Erik's expedition to Finland ever take place and when? If so, can it be regarded as a crusade?

The doubts are justified, because the sources contemporary to the events remain silent about any Erik's expedition against the Finns. It is described in the *Vita Sancti Eriki*<sup>9</sup>, the text whose oldest extant copy dates to 1344, and its excerpts are included in the rhyming office of around 1270. Most scholars argue that the life of the saint ruler was written just then, in connection with the 1273 translation of Erik's relics to the new cathedral in Uppsala. There are also opinions that the *Vita Sancti Eriki* was written as early as in the 12<sup>th</sup> century. Haki Antonsson thinks that the first version of St. Erik's life was written during the reign of his son, Knut Eriksson (1167-1196) and indicates the simultaneously developing cults of the King of Denmark, Knud IV, Knud Lavard and jarl, Magnus of Orkney, which were promoted by their next of kin who were in power and by bishops in the period during which Scandinavian kingdoms underwent the process of gradual consolidation

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History" XVI (1991), pp. 269-296; T. Lindkvist, *När blev Finland svenskt? Om svenska behov av korståg mot Finland*, "Finsk tidskrift" (1992), pp. 561-571; *Novgorod-Örebro-Lübeck after 700 Years*, ed. by P. Hansson, Örebro 1995; T. Lindkvist, *Med sankt Erik konung mot hedningar och schismatiker*, in: *Väst moter Öst. Norden och Ryssland genom historien*, ed. by M. Engman, Stockholm 1996, pp. 13-33; T. Lindkvist, *Crusades and Crusading Ideology in the Political History of Sweden, 1140-1500*, in: *Crusade and Conversion...*, pp. 119-130.

<sup>9</sup> *Vita Santi Eriki regis et martyris*, in: *Röster från svensk medeltid: latinska texter i original och översättning*, ed. by H. Aili, O. Ferm, H. Gustavson, Stockholm 1990, pp. 92-102.

and new dynasties sought to legitimize their rules through the holy blood of their ancestors<sup>10</sup>.

If Erik's *Vita* was written in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, we still do not know how different this text was from the one recorded a century later and whether it contained information concerning Erik's expedition against the Finns. It is very unlikely, however, that this information was simply made up – if the first life was not written until the 13<sup>th</sup> century, it must have been based on the already established tradition. Those critics who point at the literary conventional character of the hagiographic life of the ruler and depreciate its credibility, tend to forget that the application of literary convention does not mean that fundamental facts shown in this convention cannot be true. The most commonly presented argument to be found in recent studies is that a sea expedition during the reign of Erik really took place (probably in 1158), but no one knows its details<sup>11</sup>. This is suggested also by other sources, which make Erik's expedition to Finland possible and place it in the ideological context.

In 1142 the Swedish prince and bishop, leading the fleet of 60 vessels, attacked Karelia – this information from the *Novgorod First Chronicle* must refer to King Sverker I Sverker. Another reference was made about the attack of *Swei* on the vicinity of Ladoga in 1164<sup>12</sup>, so during the reign of Sverker's son, Karl. Erik's son, Knut Eriksson (1167-1196) also must have undertaken an expedition to Finland, which is confirmed by the thank-you letter from the pope of 1193 for his military efforts he had made for the expansion of the Church and Knut's promise, included in this letter, that he would continue to fight against pagans<sup>13</sup>. In 1197, during the reign of Sverker II Karlsson, the

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<sup>10</sup> H. Antonsson, *St. Magnús of Orkney: A Scandinavian Martyr-Cult in Context*, Leiden 2007, pp. 139-145. The author remarks that the 12<sup>th</sup> century *Vitae* of Magnus, Knud IV, Knud Lavard, and also of Erik have much in common (e.g. violent deaths of their main characters) and show links with Anglo-Saxon hagiography, and the developing cults of those rulers were promoted – apart from their successors – also by the Cistercians and English Benedictines. The cult of Erik was supported by the Archbishop of Uppsala, Stephen, the Cistercian monk who led the Scandinavian delegation during the canonization ceremony of Knud Lavard. English Benedictines looked after the relics of new Danish saints in Ringsted and Odensee, and the Benedictine congregation attached to the cathedral in Uppsala according to *Vita* was established by St. Erik, may also have had English roots. According to tradition, Bishop Henry, the missionary of the Finns who accompanied Erik during the Crusade was also English, see *ibidem*, p. 26.

<sup>11</sup> P.O. Sjöstrand, *Hur Finland vanns för Sverige: en historia för nationalstater*, Uppsala 1996, p. 22; T. Lindkvist, *Med Sankt Erik...*; D. Harrison, Ph. Line, *Kingship and State Formation in Sweden 1130-1290*, Leiden 2007, pp. 422-425.

<sup>12</sup> *Poňnoje sobranije russkich letopisiej*, III: *Nowgorodskaja pierwaja letopis*, Leningrad 1950, p. 26. There is no doubt that only the attacks on those territories which were claimed by Novgorod were put in Ruthenian sources; for obvious reasons there is no information in those sources on the fights between the Swedes and the Finns.

<sup>13</sup> *Finlands medeltidsurkunder*, ed. by R. Hausen, Helsingfors 1910, I: 52.

Swedes under the royal jarl, Birger Brosa, participated in an episodic attack on Wironia<sup>14</sup>. At least from the reign of Sverker I (1130-1156) onwards, every Swedish monarch ran his *ledning* against pagans (till the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century), so it seems absolutely impossible that Erik Jedwardsson – who was the only one completely ignored by the sources contemporary to him and who was by future generations acknowledged as a crusade-king – was not among those who went on such expeditions. Leading plundering sea raids, associated in the 12<sup>th</sup> century with the conquest and Christianization of the defeated tribes, must have been part of the ethos of the Swedish king, who by proving his skill as a military commander confirmed his right to the throne, raised the prestige of the dynasty and provided his warriors with loot. That expeditions against pagans had a long tradition is confirmed by the expression included in a written agreement reached in 1285 between Magnus Ladulås and the inhabitants of Gotland. They were commissioned to pay a military tax (*ledningsslame*) in exchange for the former tribute and duty to provide seven vessels to be of service to the king for *exercitus* against pagans<sup>15</sup>.

Consequently, it is difficult to doubt in Erik's expedition against the Finns, but was it a crusade? The *Vita* reports a real event, but its description should be regarded as the expression of the 13<sup>th</sup> century ideology (since we do not know how different from it was the hypothetical 12<sup>th</sup> century account). Did Sweden of the second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century know the crusade doctrine? Unlike in the case of the Danes and Norwegians, whose participation in the crusade movement (e.g. in the 3<sup>rd</sup> Crusade to the Holy Land) has been confirmed well<sup>16</sup>, there is no such information concerning the Swedes. However, the three Scandinavian countries had very close ties: through dynasties, intermarriages of their elites as well as through economic, language and cultural bonds. It is difficult to assume that major European ideological currents did not reach Sweden, even if we consider its cultural backwardness with regard to its neighbours. There is no information that the 2<sup>nd</sup> Crusade to the Holy Land was announced in Sweden, but it is likely to have happened as it was then that St. Bernard of Clairvaux's friend, Eskil, was archbishop of Scandinavia, and in 1143 the Cistercians, who were associated with the crusade movement, were brought to Sweden, which could facilitate the adaptation of the crusade idea by the Swedish elite. Little is known about the period before the 1170s, but it seems that the long-lasting stable rule of Erik Jedwardsson's son, Knut Eriksson, and his

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14 Pope Celestine III issued in 1197 the crusade bulls (not preserved) in which he called for fighting against pagans, see I. Fønnesberg-Schidt, *op.cit.*, pp. 67-71.

15 *Diplomatarium Suecanum*, ed. by J.G. Liljegren, Holmiae 1829 (henceforth: DS) 815 (1285), cf. Ph. Line, *Kingship...*, p. 300.

16 See K.V. Jensen, C.S. Jensen, J.H. Lind, A. Bysted, *Danske korstog...*; D. Harrison, *Gud vill det! Nordiska korsfarare under medeltiden*, Stockholm 2005.



jarl, Birger Brosa, could have been as significant in the cultural sphere as the rule of Magnus Ladulås a hundred years later. During this twenty-year period new Cistercian monasteries in Sweden were established, and one should also emphasize the bringing of the Order of St. John to Sweden in 1185. The development of King Erik's cult is confirmed by the inscription of his name in the so called Calendar of Vallentuna in 1198<sup>17</sup>.

Already in the 1170s, if not earlier, the Swedes could listen to crusade sermons. The only preserved crusade bulls of that period, directed at the King of the Swedes and the Archbishop of Uppsala, were issued in 1171/1172 by Pope Alexander III and contained the call for the fight against pagans in Estonia as well as other pagans in that region. Spiritual privileges granted to the crusaders were smaller than those granted to the crusaders in Jerusalem, but those killed in combat against pagans were guaranteed the plenary indulgence<sup>18</sup>. The pope's letters were probably written with reference to the efforts made by Archbishop Eskil and it is probable that this call was answered by Knut Eriksson, who was at that time fighting against the house of Sverker for power and whose expedition to Finland is indirectly reported by the above mentioned papal letter of 1193. Historians still have not devoted enough time to discuss the consequences – and benefits – of the crusade idea for the royal ideology, but it is difficult to assume that the Swedish kings resigned from some extra prestige, which surrounded crusader-kings, especially during the period of rivalry between the two enemy dynasties. In the same period in Denmark, Knud Lavard's son, Valdemar I, propagated his father's cult, who was also worshipped as a crusader and had run the holy war against pagan Slavs. Even though this had taken place without the pope's approval, he had closely co-operated with bishops<sup>19</sup>. If the first life of Erik was written in this period, it cannot be ruled out that it described the founder of the dynasty as a crusader, as it seems that during his son's reign the crusade idea was already known in Sweden as much as in neighbouring Scandinavian countries.

### THE 13<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY CRUSADES

The 13<sup>th</sup> century brought some changes to the crusade ideology, which has to be taken into account if one considers its character in the kingdom on the

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<sup>17</sup> See *Liber Ecclesie Vallentunensis*, ed. by T. Schmid, Stockholm 1945, p. 45; on the cult of Erik: *Erik den Helige. Historia, kult, relikier*, ed. by B. Thordeman, Stockholm 1954; H. Antonsson, *op.cit.*, pp. 139-140; V. Hernfjäll, *Via Regia – Kungsvägen – Eriksgatan, "Fornvannen"* (2000), pp. 23-29.

<sup>18</sup> *Non parum animus – Diplomatarium Danicum*, I, ed. by H. Nielsen, København 1924, 27 (1171/1172); I. Fønnesberg-Schmid, *op.cit.*, pp. 57-65.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 50-53.

edges of the *Balticum*. From the pontificate of Innocent III and the crusade decrees issued at the Lateran Council (*Ad liberandam* 1215) a certain canon of privileges, which were granted to the crusaders and their supporters depending on the rank of the venture, was established. In addition, a set of regulations preparing the crusade, which concerned the dissemination of the idea, financial matters, and the peace in the Christian world during the expedition etc., was issued. Customs and ceremonies associated with the crusade were consolidated, and the concept of the crusade war was extended onto the wars against the enemies of faith and the papacy – heretics, and ultimately the schismatics from the Greek Church, which was particularly important in the context of Swedish expeditions against Novgorod.

The model crusade idea was fully reflected in the crusades organized by Louis IX, whom Le Goff called a perfect Crusader, because in his two crusades he “combined the motives which stood behind crusaders – conquest, mission, and atonement”<sup>20</sup>. The King accepted the Cross after his serious illness in 1244, and only later received the pope’s approval for the projected expedition. The Council in Lyon (1245) issued a number of decrees concerning the crusade, which were to lead to its success thanks to the moral cleansing of the crusaders and Christians in general – pride and luxury were condemned, wars and tournaments, trading with Saracens, piracy and breaking crusade vows were forbidden<sup>21</sup>. The preparations for the crusade were made in two directions – on the one hand, supplies were gathered, financial resources collected, the army formed on a previously unknown scale. On the other hand, religious preparations took place, crusade sermons preached, and actions taken against usury and Jews. In 1247 the inspection of the royal administration started, together with redressing grievances and restoring justice, which was described by Le Goff as “a peculiar penance practice of the royal administration”<sup>22</sup> and which effected the royal ordinances, issued after the return from the crusade. Before the next crusade (1270) the King repeated his decisions taken against usury, prostitutes, blasphemers, and Jews.

The restoration of justice and peace in the kingdom before setting out on a crusade does not seem to be anything new. Even the Council of Clermont issued a decree which was supposed to make internal peace before the 1<sup>st</sup> Crusade. This was also a completely understandable, pragmatic action, like e.g. appointing the regent for the time of the king’s absence, which was probably a common practice before the ruler set out on a crusade. In this

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20 J. Le Goff, *Święty Ludwik*, Warszawa 2001, p. 630.

21 Ibidem, pp. 143-144. The resolutions of the Council of Lyon were modelled after the decree *Ad liberandam*.

22 Ibidem, p. 143.

case, however, this pragmatic action is accompanied by religious motives, the will to redress grievances, restore justice, a moral revival, and wiping out evil in the kingdom. The link between the crusade and moral cleansing was underscored in the papal propaganda from the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century onwards<sup>23</sup>, and it was popular belief that all failed crusades (and also other disasters) were caused by the sins of Christians. This is distinctly proven e.g. by the so called Children's Crusade of 1212, or the rising of Shepherds, striving to free their king from the Saracen captivity in 1250. Despite all this, the crusade was a religious expedition and required the ceremonies of cleansing to be performed<sup>24</sup>. These comprised – in the case of the king – his private penance (renouncing superfluity in dress and food), touring the kingdom in 1248 and 1269-1270, inspecting administrative staff, changing the legal system, pilgrimages, and donations to the Church. Before Louis IX nobody, however, had carried out the “cleansing” action on such a scale (or at least nothing is known about such actions). According to Jordan, the aim of this action was to provide crusaders with God's favour, and the crusade was the central theme in Louis' rule and was supposed to be the crowning achievement of his activity as a Christian monarch, the ultimate goal of his reign. For Le Goff it was only one of many components in the model of an ideal monarch, while Louis' goal was to “live his life and reign perceived as spiritual cleansing”<sup>25</sup>. In the 13<sup>th</sup> century the crusader-king becomes a significant component in the overall image of the ideal ruler, and at the same time the elements of cleansing and penance which were transferred by the ruler from the private to the public sphere get more and more emphasized in the crusade ideology.

Swedish sources show permanent, continuous expansion in Finland, along with occasional raids, probably retaliatory, to Karelia, in the region of Ladoga and Neva. Innocent III in his correspondence to Erik Knutsson (1210-1216) recognized his right to the territories which his ancestors had captured from pagans and which he himself would conquer in future<sup>26</sup>. In the 12<sup>th</sup> year (during the reign of Erik's successor, Johan II Sverkersson) the Swedes made a failed attempt to establish a permanent base in Leal (Lihula) in Estonia. Following the pagans' attack on the fort in Leal, Bishop Linköping, Karl Magnusson, and jarl, Karl Döve, were killed (1220). In 1229 Gregory IX, most probably in response to King Erik Eriksson's request,

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<sup>23</sup> It is particularly noticeable after the lost battle of Hittin, when Pope Gregory VIII called on to do penance, as well as in the bulls of Innocent III e.g. *Quia major* of 1213, see J. Riley-Smith, *op.cit.*, pp. 198-199, 201.

<sup>24</sup> W.CH. Jordan, *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade. A Study in Rulership*, Princeton 1979, pp. 105-106.

<sup>25</sup> J. Le Goff, *op.cit.*, p. 151.

<sup>26</sup> *Finlands medeltidsurkunder...*, I: 52.

accepted the idea of imposing an embargo on trade with Novgorod, whose army allegedly attacked newly baptized Finns. During the reign of this monarch (St. Erik's great grandfather) Birger Magnusson's expedition, known as the 2<sup>nd</sup> Crusade, took place.

The major – and the only – Swedish source referring to Birger's expedition to Häme (Tavastland) is the rhyming *Erik's Chronicle*, which was written one hundred years after those events. The author does not give us any dates, but the composition of the chronicle suggests that the expedition took place in 1249-1250. Most contemporary historians argue that Birger's mission to Häme, which was crowned by establishing fort Tavastahus (probably Hakoinen), happened in 1238-1239<sup>27</sup>. In terms of time this corresponds to the projected expedition against Novgorod. This expedition was followed by the attack on Karelia and the defeat on the Neva in 1240. Moreover, in December 1237<sup>28</sup> Pope Gregory ordered the Archbishop of Uppsala to preach crusade sermons, which lends credence to dating the crusade to the late 1230s.

During the rule of Birger Magnusson the Swedes participated in at least one more expedition to the east. In the 1250s William of Modena (a.k.a. of Sabina) called for attack on the enemy who did not recognize the authority of Rome, and the pope issued the bull against the schismatics. It may have resulted in a joint action taken by the Swedes and the Teutonic Order on the Neva in 1256; in the same year Pope Alexander IV allowed the Archbishop of Riga to appoint Friedrich von Haseldorf to the position of Bishop of Karelia<sup>29</sup>. It is likely that the next year (1257), following the request of King Valdemar Birgersson (his father, Birger, ruled the country on his behalf), Alexander IV ordered the Archbishop of Uppsala to preach crusade sermons against the Karelians and other pagans in the east, which seemed to mean explicitly that Swedish monarchs were given the right to conquer Karelia<sup>30</sup>.

Sources confirm two crusades, both authorized by the papacy, which may have been led by Birger (who became the royal jarl in 1248). Thus the *Erik's Chronicle* gives us a credible tradition on the expedition of the jarl to Tavastland, yet the dating given by the author may still be challenged.

27 J. Gallen, *Kring Birger jarl och andra korståget till Finland. En omdatering och en omvärdering*, in: *Kring korstågen till Finland*, ed. by K. Mikander, Helsingfors 1968, pp. 87-102. Birger Jarl Carnot have been in Finland in 1249, because in the summer of that year he was running negotiations with the Norwegian King, Håkon IV. See also J.H. Lind, *Early Russian-Swedish Rivalry...*, p. 279.

28 DS 298.

29 With the seat in Koporye and next in Dorpat, E. Nazarova, *The Crusades against Votians and Izhorians in the Thirteenth Century*, in: *Crusades and Conversion...*, pp. 193-194.

30 DS 571. The date of issuing the bull remains uncertain.

On the other hand, its description and the shape of the crusade ideology given by the chronicler, which reflect the views of his time (the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century), sow the seeds of doubt. As far as the idea of the crusade in the 13<sup>th</sup> century Sweden is concerned, it is the *Vita sancti Erics* that seems to be more credible. The Life consists of two parts, the first of which describes the life and activity of the saint monarch, while the other one his martyrdom and miracles performed through his intercession. The first part divides the activity of the ruler into three successive phases, which correspond to the Holy Trinity. Firstly, he dealt with building churches and the revival of faith in his country. Next, he devoted his time to ruling his people and introducing laws of justice, and he finally set out on an expedition against the enemies of faith and the kingdom. The monarch toured his country (*via regis*) visiting his subjects, brought peace to those feuding, released the oppressed from their mighty oppressors, expelled the godless (*impios*) from the country, led the just on their way to God, and did justice to everyone, abolishing unjust laws. He also applied penance and restraint in his private life<sup>31</sup>. After doing all this, he set out on an expedition against the enemies of faith: "Postremo vero, ut supra diximus, edificata ecclesia, ordinato regno, ad inimicos fidei et hostes populi sui manu convertens coadunato exercitu et assumpto secum ex ecclesia Upsalensi beato Henrico episcopo versus Finnonnes expeditionem dirigit"<sup>32</sup>.

Is the whole activity of the monarch, according to the *Vita*, not the preparation for the crusade which crowns his reign? Just like Louis IX, the Swedish monarch also toured his country redressing grievances, doing his justice and reforming the law. Louis acts against blasphemers, usurers and Jews, Erik – against the godless in his kingdom. Even Erik's hair shirt and his fasts resemble the penance which Louis IX performed in his private life before the Crusade. I do not think that the author of the *Vita Sancti Erics* regarded Louis IX as the model hero for his work. It is more likely that both this text and Louis' activity, in future described by Joinville and Gottfried of Beaulieu, reflect the model of a Christian monarch – crusader. In his pre-crusade rite of cleansing and penance Louis (and Erik) tries to do what an ideal monarch did, he did it throughout his life and this made him worthy of fighting for faith.

The description of the expedition against the Finns is also tinged with the crusade idea. The aim of his mission is to convert pagans – the king and the bishop offer them peace and Christian faith, but the infidel remain indifferent and defiant. The ruler, taking vengeance on them for the blood of Christians, attacks them with all his power and defeats them, killing

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31 *Vita sancti Erics*, pp. 92-96.

32 *Ibidem*, p. 96.

a lot. Next, he cries over the spilt blood and offers peace to the survivors. The text of the *Vita* combines the crusade with a religious mission, which was obvious in the case of expeditions against pagans, and – as I mentioned above – was common in the Baltic region from the 12<sup>th</sup> century onwards. The story also defends the crusade as necessary to protect Christians, whose blood had been shed, which was the element present in the majority of papal crusade bulls and royal supplications to the pope.

Let us now take a closer look at the account given by the *Erik's Chronicle*. Its author writes about the expulsion of King Erik Eriksson by Knut the Tall (Holmgerrson), his return (1234) and victory over the opposition in the battle of Sparsåtra (1247). After the enemies were defeated the period of peace began in the country, the king cherished noble traditions, consolidated law and justice, and provided his people with peace. Then he summoned his knights and warriors from all over the kingdom and announced an expedition to a pagan country, and appointed his brother-in-law, Birger Magnusson, its leader<sup>33</sup>. Here also, though perhaps less explicitly, there is the well-known pattern. The expedition against pagans takes place after peace and justice are provided for the country, as the crowning of the reign of a good monarch. The mission itself is described in a relative standard way, but it is preceded by a beautiful description of the parting of the fleet – tears and kisses on the beach, and also joy that “God’s glory will increase thanks to this expedition”<sup>34</sup>. Immediately after landing in a pagan country, the Swedes had a bloody encounter with the Tavastians (who had been warned of the attack) in a very big battle, and defeated them. The fleeing enemies were proposed conversion to Christianity as the condition to spare their lives and property, and those who defied this were killed. Next the Swedes constructed a fort (*taffvesta borgh*) and began to christianize the country<sup>35</sup>.

Nordstrandh argues that the description of the crusade led by the jarl could have been modelled after the account of Erik Jedwardsson’s expedition from the *Vita*, which entitles one to propose a thesis that the report included in the *Chronicle* is absolutely incredible. As it was written above, historians often mistakenly assume that the application of a certain literary convention completely undermines the informative value of the source. However, this does not have to be the case, and certainly one cannot conclude on the basis of this that the 2<sup>nd</sup> Crusade did not take place at all<sup>36</sup>. This is contradicted by

33 *Erikskronikan*, ed. by R. Pipping, Stockholm 1963, v. 30-99.

34 *Ibidem*, v. 114-115: *Tho gladdos the at gud heder skulle meras aft then fardh*.

35 *Ibidem*, v. 101-156.

36 G. Nordstrandh, *En kritisk läsning av Erikskrönikans första korstågsperiod*, “Historisk tidskrift för Finland” LXXV (1990), h. 1, pp. 9-31. According to the author, the description of the crusade was to serve the purpose of ideological shaping of Birger Jarl as the founder of the new dynasty, based on the example set by St. Erik; Gisela Vilhelmsdotter argues that

archaeological data that unambiguously show the christianization of Häme in that period, which was seen e.g. through a change of funeral practices: in around the 13<sup>th</sup> century in Häme one can observe a complete disappearance of pagan burials with funeral gifts<sup>37</sup>. It is also difficult to deny that going on an overseas expedition was only possible when peace had been made in the country and the royal power was secured. I also disapprove of the opinion that the author of the *Erik's Chronicle* modelled his work after the *Vita sancti Eriki* – both texts reflect the ideal of a monarch and the crusade ideal, which were common in that period, just like they are reflected in the activity of Louis IX.

There are also voices that Finnish expeditions cannot be called crusades, because the Finnish tribes did not put up strong resistance and, as a matter of fact, one can call the christianization of Finland a peaceful action rather than a conquest. Indeed, the Swedes did not meet with as much resistance of the Finnish tribes as e.g. the crusaders conquering the Livonians or Estonians<sup>38</sup>. Sources lack any information on possible risings of the Finns or Tavastians after the conquest, but all this is not enough to suggest that there was no resistance on their side or defence from the attack of an enemy army. Of course, however, the Swedish conquest was facilitated by the fact that the Finnish tribes and Häme could have found in their forts shelter from the attacks of their traditional enemies, the Karelians and Ruthenians, which most likely induced them to succumb to the new authority.

The argument that the Finns showed “no resistance” is a bit tortuous, because regarding a military expedition as the crusade does not depend on the degree of armed resistance from the “enemies of Christ”. Besides, there is no justification to consider the Finnish expeditions as christianization actions taken without using the military. Philip Line argues, however, that St. Erik's *Vita* and St. Henry the Apostle of the Finns' *Vita* do not mention the conquest at all, which in the author's view rules out the crusade<sup>39</sup>. Nevertheless, the words written in the legend of St. Erik stand in contradiction to such an interpretation: “versus Finnonex expeditionem dirigit ipsosque, fide Christi prius oblata ac pace exhibita, renitentes et rebelles in ulcionem sanguinis Christiani manu valida aggreditur ac bello devictos victor prostravit<sup>40</sup>. Next, the author of the life reports: “victoria

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the crusade is merely a literary invention, see G. Vilhelmsdotter, *Riddare, bonde och biskop*, Stockholm 1999.

37 Ph. Line, op.cit., p. 441.

38 Ibidem, p. 464.

39 Philip Line shows a certain lack of consequence: if the legend originated in the 13<sup>th</sup> century and met the ideological demands of that period (ibidem, p. 425), it is hard to determine on the basis of this text whether Erik conquered Finland or whether he christianized it peacefully, as this source, being late and highly ideological, is not credible.

40 *Vita sancti Eriki*, p. 96.

hostium Christi i gloriosa victoria"<sup>41</sup>. Thus the *Vita* clearly mentions an armed expedition taken in order to punish the enemies of faith, which they threaten; the author also suggests conquering the country. After the victory Erik could "call the people" (*qui remansit*) and give them peace<sup>42</sup>, which shows him as a ruler who at the rally organizes his new territories, gained in battle. The *Erik's Chronicle* abounds in the descriptions of bloody clashes with great armies of pagans and the Ruthenians.

In the 13<sup>th</sup> century, and especially in the second half, the Kingdom of Sweden undergoes the process of quick "modernization", adopting social and legal, as well as ideological patterns from the West; knightly culture and new piety develop. Bigger openness to the ideas flowing from the Continent also meant a wider acceptance of the crusade idea; it became tradition among aristocratic families to go on pilgrimages to the Holy Land, also the armed ones. In Årsta the seat of the Teutonic Order was established, and it was joined by Johan Elofsson, King Magnus Ladulås' cousin<sup>43</sup>. Gregory X issued the crusade bulls against the Finns and Karelians, and confirmed the request of the King of the Swedes to impose an embargo on trade with Novgorod<sup>44</sup>. In 1295 King Birger Magnusson also imposed such an embargo, which was inspired, in the crusade style, by the cruelty of the Karelians to Christians<sup>45</sup>. This kind of ventures were at that time considered to be *passagium particulare*, which supported main actions connected with the crusade movement. Papal bulls (and to Sweden also went the bulls concerning crusades to the Holy Land<sup>46</sup>) started the whole propaganda machinery of the Church, which entailed crusade sermons, collecting donations to *Subsidium Terrae Sanctae*, and making crusade vows.

Twenty last wills of Swedish knights, covering the period 1280-1300, remain extant, and 12 of them include references to crusade vows<sup>47</sup>. The most significant is the last will of King Magnus, which dates to 1285, because it was the royal court that set new cultural examples, and the monarch's conduct was the pattern to follow for the elite. Magnus mentioned in his last will

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41 Ibidem, pp. 96, 98.

42 Ibidem, p. 98.

43 B. Eimer, *Gotland unter dem Deutschen Orden und die Komturei Schweden zu Årsta*, Innsbruck 1966.

44 DS 254; DS 255 (01.09.1275).

45 DS 1125 (04.03.1295).

46 E.g. the bull of Nicholas IV of 1<sup>st</sup> August 1291, calling for the crusade after the fall of Acre (DS 1734).

47 Crusade vows must have been made far earlier, but the secular last wills where there are references to them did not become common until the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. See A. Waško, *Frömmigkeit und Ritteridee im Lichte der schwedischen ritterlichen Testamente aus dem 14. Jahrhundert. Zur Verbreitung des Testaments und des Testamentsbegriffs in Schweden*, Kraków 1996, pp. 120-121.



two crusade vows which he had made. One of them concerned a crusade to the Holy Land, while the other – an expedition to “Riga”. “*Pro redemptione crucis nostre ad terram sanctam*” the King offered 400 silver marks, which he designated for an offering and covering the travel expenses of four knights travelling to the Holy Land. The executors of the will were supposed to send to Riga four squires at the expense of the ruler<sup>48</sup>. That is to say that Magnus planned to participate in two crusades. He sought support of the Church in his fight for the throne against his brother, King Valdemar, who tried to save his reign by becoming the vassal of Pope Gregory X and promising his participation in the crusade to Jerusalem (1275)<sup>49</sup>, at that time propagated by the pope. It seems likely that Magnus made the crusade vow at the same time – his conflict with Valdemar was entering the decisive moment, and accepting the Cross could influence the pope’s and bishops’ decision to accept the coronation of the usurper. After “picking up the Cross” Magnus was able to justify that fact that in 1278 he had taken over (with or without the consent of the Church) some of the funds collected in Sweden for the *subsidium Terrae Sanctae*, whose return was demanded by Pope Nicholas III in 1279<sup>50</sup>. This money may have been spent by Magnus on the repayment of his debt which had been incurred for the war against Valdemar and the expensive wedding with a princess from Holstein. In November 1281 Pope Martin IV mentioned Magnus’s obligation when he granted the monarch the privilege to appoint his personal confessor, who would have the right to e.g. exchange the ruler’s vows (*vota per te emissa*) for some other pious deeds except for – restricted to the pope – the crusade vow (*Hierosolymitan [...] voto except*)<sup>51</sup>. The crusade vow became an important element of politics, which was used, sometimes cynically, by rulers, also in financial matters.

In 1286, one knight (Karl Estridsson) made his will being almost a reproduction of the royal one, allowing for the proportions that stemmed from his lower rank and property: he offered 40 silver marks as the buyout of his crusade vow to the Holy Land and 100 marks “in Rigam”<sup>52</sup>. A few other aristocrats and clergymen placed in their wills legacies *pro redemptione*

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48 DS 802 (22.02.1285).

49 Ph. Line, *The Rise...*, pp. 133-134. At that time the cross was also taken by the Kings of France and Sicily, and Rudolph Habsburg.

50 DS 674 (07.06.1279).

51 DS 735 (22.11.1281). Perhaps, however, the wording of the pope’s letter concerns the exceptions from the privilege in general, but not Magnus’s personal situation, as the pope also listed, among the exceptions, the vow of chastity. This could not have been fulfilled, because since 1276 he had been married and had at least two children, and before his marriage to Helwig he had been engaged to a woman named Sophia. Thus it is difficult to assume that he made his vows of chastity in these circumstances.

52 DS 910 (23.04.1286) the will of Karl Estridsson.

*crucis ad terram sanctam* between 1282 and 1299<sup>53</sup>. This group of Swedish lords seem to have made their crusade vows together with the monarch.

Due to the fact that the crusade did not take place, the king and his knights put the appropriate legacies in their wills, and some of them went on individual pilgrimages, like Nils Ubbeson did. Before setting out on a dangerous journey in 1286, Nils made a will, where he called himself *crucesignatus ad terram sanctam arripiens*<sup>54</sup>. Nils might have participated in the last battle for Akka – all we know, however, is that he returned to Sweden and died there before 1298, when his widow, Juliana, expressed her wish to be buried next to him in the church of Sigtuna<sup>55</sup>.

The formulations included in King Magnus's and Karl Estridsson's wills are also interesting for other reasons. More money was designated for the buyout of the crusade vow to Jerusalem, and less – to Riga. This is understandable, because the expedition to the Holy Land must have been far more expensive than to Riga. However, four knights are sent to Jerusalem by the king, whereas to Riga – four squires, which testifies to a higher rank of the crusade to Jerusalem. In the policy of the popes the crusade to the Holy Land had always been of major significance, but the will made by Magnus Ladulås proves that this difference in the rank between the wars for the protection of the Lord's Grave and the wars against the Baltic pagans was noticed also at the courts of the rulers of the North and in local Churches. Perhaps Magnus made another, third crusade vow, which he realized. In 1278 Dmitri Alexandrovich conquered Karelia, and in 1280 and in 1283 two Swedish attacks on those territories took place.

In 1292 the citizens of Novgorod attacked the province of Häme. In 1293, probably in response to this attack, the so called 3<sup>rd</sup> Crusade under Marshal Torgils Knutsson (King Birger Magnusson was underage) set off from Sweden. In the same year the Swedes constructed the fort of Vyborg, which was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary. Mother of God becomes the patron saint of the Baltic Crusades already in the chronicle of Henry of Latvia – Prussia and Estonia become the dowry of Mother of God, and they are handed over to Christians. The patron of Vyborg seems to testify to the fact that the goal of the Swedes was to emphasise the affiliation of Finland and Karelia with the territories which were under the protection of the Blessed Virgin Mary and were the target of the expeditions of European crusaders.

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53 DS 732 (25.04.1282) Folke Karlsson lagman of Varend; DS 762 (11.06.1283) Sigge Guttormsson; DS 1039 (07.04.1291) the cannon Stenar of Linköping; DS 1053 (1292); DS 1737 (01.08.1292) the legacy on behalf of Peter Ragvaldsson in the will of Magnus Ängel; DS 1278 (16.07.1299) Nils Sigridsson.

54 DS 911 (02.05.1286).

55 DS 1232 (25.04.1298).

The description of Torgils Knutsson's expedition to Karelia in *Erik's Chronicle* can be considered credible. The chronicler based his work on the recollections of the participants of the events which had taken place thirty years before and the only fault with him was probably that he embellished his story in a spirit of knightly culture. The expedition under Torgils set out when there was peace and prosperity in Sweden<sup>56</sup>, having been provided by King Magnus Ladulås before his death. After building Vyborg, the army sailed back home, leaving their Voigt in the fortress. Next the Swedes captured the fort of Kexholm, which they soon lost to the Ruthenians. The chronicler writes that Sigge Loke lost his life there and "God would offer heaven to his soul, just like to every Christian who died there for God and the holy faith"<sup>57</sup>. The expedition entered a new phase after the wedding of young King Birger Magnusson, on the Day of Pentecost, when following the King's order the fleet, which was the most beautiful of all the fleets ever seen before, set sail under Marshal Torgils. The Swedes built the fort of Landskrona, and then they "did not want to spare pagans any longer" and set out on *ena reso*<sup>58</sup>. Eight hundred warriors, who got to Lake Ladoga, set fire and plundered the country of the Karelians for a few days. The Swedes returned to their homes at St. Michael's, having garrisoned Landskrona, which in the following spring had to surrender to the Ruthenians after some heavy fights. The crusade under Torgils was carried out, as a matter of fact, in a few stages, where the expeditions were combined with the defence of the forts by Swedish garrisons. The chronicler suggests several times that those killed in the battles against the Karelians and Ruthenians, whom he often names "pagans", would go to heaven. The description of the confrontation is full of details and seems to be based on the accounts given by eye witnesses, and the crusade is shown by the author in the convention of a knightly adventure. Its main characters carry out raids on pagans, fight major battles and skirmishes, burn and plunder their property, bear up hunger and diseases, value death over captivity, and challenge the Ruthenians to duels. The crusade depicted in *Erik's Chronicle* is the Crusade of Richard the Lionheart, not of Louis IX, a beautiful expedition in search for glory and adventure – which, after all, does not rule out faith, and its participants die as martyrs. The crusade's goal is to spread faith and veneration of God. Nothing is known whether King Birger made efforts to obtain papal bulls for his mission, but according to the *Novgorod First Chronicle*, Torgils Knutsson's army was accompanied by the pope's envoy, which may suggest, if this information is credible, some co-operation with the Holy Seat<sup>59</sup>.

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56 *Erikskronikan*, v. 1322-1323.

57 *Ibidem*, v. 1378-1381 (transl. by A. Waśko).

58 *Ibidem*, v. 1458-1462, 1482-1484.

59 *Połnoje sobranije russkich letopisiej*, p. 90. It allegedly took place in 1300.

One of the most beautiful scenes to be found in *Erik's Chronicle* is the dialogue, being a great commendation for the Teutonic Order, between a Teutonic knight and Karl Ulfsson, who, having been made to leave Sweden, went to the Teutonic Order and took part in the battle of Durben. The Teutonic knight persuades Karl to flee as the battle is lost. He himself will not do this, because, despite the preponderance of the enemy force, he will defend the Christian soil, and his *ordo* prohibits one from escaping. Besides, both the Bible and the holy word say that before his blood cools on the ground, his soul will have been in heaven. Karl (who, as this passage suggests, was a guest of the Order, not its member) replies that he has always believed that if he dies for God, he will go to heaven<sup>60</sup>. This scene confirms that in the 14<sup>th</sup> century – if not before – the conviction was consolidated that death in combat against pagans brings the warrior salvation, even without papal indulgencies.

#### MAGNUS ERIKSSON'S CRUSADE

In 1323 King Magnus Eriksson (or actually his regents on his behalf) concluded peace with Novgorod in Nöteborg, thus ending the fights in Karelia which were described in *Erik's Chronicle*. However, already in 1326 Pope John XXII agreed to support the King with half of the six year crusade tax, which had been already collected in Sweden following the request of Clement V, for the protection from the pagan Karelians and Ruthenians, and in 1331 the pope granted him the privilege to be absolved from all his sins by his personal confessor *in articulo mortis*<sup>61</sup>. In 1347 Magnus's envoys arrived in Avignon with a number of supplications to Pope Clement VI. Responding to them, the pope granted to the monarch (and his wife, Blanche) a number of privileges, e.g. confirmed his predecessor's consent for his sins to be absolved by his personal confessor. He also accepted Magnus's idea of a pilgrimage, together with 100 others, to the Holy Land<sup>62</sup>.

However, a year before that (1346), Magnus made his last will, where he confirmed that he had made the crusade vow to set out on an expedition

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<sup>60</sup> Ibidem, v. 318-351.

<sup>61</sup> DS 2573 (13.08.1326); DS 2872 (20.08.1331). In the 14<sup>th</sup> century popes increasingly granted as a privilege the right for the plenary indulgence from the personal confessor at the time of one's death. Such privileges were granted to e.g. crusaders Peter I of Cyprus, and Vladislas II Jagiello in 1388, which is associated by Axel Ehlers with a crusade, see A. Ehlers, *op.cit.*, p. 26.

<sup>62</sup> DS 4226 (08.09.1346): *Item quod possit peregrinari ad sanctum Sepulcrum cum centum hominibus uel mittere centum homines peregre pro se ipso absque aliqua pena excommunicationis suspensionis et interdicti non obstantibus quibuscumque constitutionibus vestris uel predecessorum uestrorum quas dignemini hic haberi pro expressis.*

against God's enemies, and if he died before the journey begins, the executors of the will were obliged to send one hundred people, fully equipped, against the enemies of faith<sup>63</sup>. Magnus does not say where exactly his people were going to be sent. The number of people (one hundred) is repeated both in the will and the pope's response to the royal supplication, but the pope clearly says that he means the expedition to the Holy Land. Nevertheless, in the same year (1347) Magnus had already prepared his expedition to Karelia.

It seems that Magnus made his crusade vow to Jerusalem in connection with the crusade of the French King, Philip VI, planned in 1331. This expedition did not start, and in the 1340s even thoughts of *passagium generale* were abandoned. Perhaps the supplication to the pope concerned the buyout of this particular stillborn vow, or perhaps Magnus aimed to exchange it for the crusade against pagans and schismatics on the Baltic? This remains undiscovered, but what is certain is that the monarch intended to realize the crusade vow by sending one hundred men where they could fight against the enemies of Christ, not necessarily in the Holy Land.

On the expedition of Magnus against the Karelians and Ruthenians (1348-1350) there is information included in some diplomatic sources of the day and Ruthenian chronicles, thus its details are relatively well-known<sup>64</sup>. The history of this expedition is closely linked to the activity of Birgitta, the visionary and future saint who was the King's advisor between 1346-1349, and who in her *Revelationes*<sup>65</sup>, part of which was addressed to this ruler, showed the portrait of an ideal prince and crusader.

63 DS 4069 (01.05.1346): *Ællegghis ærum vi konungh magnus skyldugghi enæ reysu vt sændæ. a. mot guþz owinum. oc kunnun wi franfalla. før æn han ær giord. þa sculu vare executores hundraþa mæn með fullum tyghum oc androm þem þyngom som reysæn tilsigher. utsændæ þer þe qwæmelicæst gita a mot guþz owinum, oppa warn kost, scaþaløsn. forlust. oc fangenscap. oc þer byndom wi þem til. vndi þerræ syæl. oc værældz heper.*

64 J. Fennel, *The Campaign of King Magnus Eriksson against Novgorod in 1348: An Examination of the Sources*, "Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas" XXXII (1966), pp. 1-9; E. Christiansen, *The Northern Crusades. The Baltic and the Catholic Frontier 1100-1525*, London 1980, pp. 171-192; J. Lind, *Magnus Eriksson som birgittinsk konge i lyset of russiske kilder*, in: *Birgitta. Hendes værk og hendes klostre I Norden*, ed. by T. Nyberg, Odense 1993, pp. 103-128; M. Nordberg, *I kung Magnus tid*, Stockholm 1995, pp. 85-106; T. Lindkvist, *Med sankt Erik konung mot hedningar och schismatiker*, in: *Väst möter Öst. Norden och Ryssland genom historien*, ed. by M. Engman, Stockholm 1996, pp. 13-33; J.H. Lind, *Consequences of the Baltic Crusades in Target Areas: The Case of Karelia*, in: *Crusade and Conversion...*, pp. 134-150; A. Waśko, *Arystokraci ducha. Obraz społeczeństwa średniowiecznego w Revelationes św. Brygidy szwedzkiej*, Kraków 2009, pp. 181-190.

65 *Sancta Birgitta Revelationes Book I, with Magister Mathias Prologue*, ed. by C.-G. Undhagen, Uppsala 1978; *Sancta Birgitta Revelationes Book II*, ed. by C.-G. Undhagen, B. Bergh, Uppsala 2001; *Sancta Birgitta Revelationes Book III*, ed. by A.-M. Jonsson, Uppsala 1998; *Sancta Birgitta Revelationes Book IV*, ed. by H. Aili, Uppsala 1992; *Sancta Birgitta*

In the *Revelaciones* of Birgitta the crusade is the imitation of Christ and his martyrdom on the Cross, described as a fight, and it is also the physical equivalent of the spiritual fight which Christians lead against the sin in their souls (III 13)<sup>66</sup>. Following Christ requires cleansing from the sin and moral regeneration. The ruler, who wants to fight for faith, must start with himself, change his own life in order to deserve an honourable death (VI 41). The link between the crusade and penance and compensation, as well its identification with the pilgrimage following Christ's tracks leads to the situation that the ruler setting out on an crusade is obliged to fix his kingdom – just like an ordinary crusader should put his affairs, both professional and private, in order. The Christ talking to King Magnus in Birgitta's revelations demands from him to summon his knights *voluntarios et correctos* before the crusade. Firstly, he has to tour his kingdom and find out if justice is done, who and how does justice and exercises the authority, so as to be able to redress injustice, correct wrongdoings of his subjects and set a good example of virtuous life (VIII 39). He also should care about the Church, the clergy, and the religious life of his people, destroy superstition and expel sorcerers and the enemies of faith from his country (VI 26, VI 82, VIII 18). He has to change his life, do an examination of conscience "as though he was about to die", put on a modest attire and return illegally appropriated goods (VI 41). The programme of private and public cleansing corresponds exactly to those programmes which were formulated by the 13<sup>th</sup> century popes in the idea of the penitential crusade and which, as we know, was implemented by Louis IX.

Next Birgitta writes her advice on the proper logistic preparations for the crusade. The king should appoint two regents, the secular and clerical, and ask the people to accept the idea of imposing the crusade tax (VIII 18, VIII 6). The army should consist of volunteers, real knights of Christ whose motives are pure – they only want the salvation of pagans and to die for the glory of God, not personal benefits or wealth (IV 129, VI 41). He should be accompanied by virtuous bishops and monks, who will work on converting pagans and build a cathedral in their country (VIII 46, VIII 47). After arriving in the pagan country, the ruler should raise his banner of mercy and offer peace and voluntary conversion, and only after they reject this, should the banner of justice be raised and fight start (VIII 43). The visionary was convinced that all pagans want is real faith and they would accept it with joy if they were not discouraged by misconduct of evil Christians.

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*Revelaciones Book V*, ed. by B. Bergh, Uppsala 1971; *Sancta Birgitta Revelaciones Book VI*, ed. by B. Bergh, Uppsala 1991; *Den heliga Birgittas Revelaciones Book VII*, ed. by B. Bergh, Uppsala 1967; *Sancta Birgitta Revelaciones Book VIII*, ed. by H. Aili, Uppsala 2002.

<sup>66</sup> Reference numbers in the text indicate the number of the book of the *Revelaciones* (Roman numerals) and the number of the passage (Arabic numerals).

However, those who are defiant and determined in their hatred for Christ should be removed like weeds that prevent flowers from growing (VIII 40). The programme of the crusade itself in St. Birgitta's revelations can be put in the religious but also Swedish tradition with its reference to the *Vita sancti Erici* in emphasising the missionary aim of the crusade and the necessity to offer peace to pagans before the sword is used.

Was the repairing of the kingdom and destroying injustice supposed to serve the success of the crusade, or quite the opposite, was the crusade to serve the spiritual cleansing and real Christian reign? There is no doubt that Louis IX was convinced that these two aims intermingled. For Birgitta the answer is clear: the crusade is not the aim *per se*, but one of the elements of the reign of a real Christian king.

In one of her visions Birgitta gives the king "ten pieces of advice leading to heaven". In addition to dismissing evil advisors, listening to complaints of the subjects, supervising officials, doing justice, funding monasteries, giving alms and observing fasting, the organization of the crusade was put on the list (on the third place VIII 2). The crusade does not become the crowning of a good reign, its ultimate goal, but one of the duties of an ideal prince. What is more, according to Birgitta the crusade undergoes the process of "nationalization", because the main benefits from the expedition (spiritual and religious) go to the kingdom which organizes it and to the ruler and knights participating in it. The visionary does not describe King Magnus as fighting on behalf of the whole Christianity, which contrasts with Louis IX's attitude. After his crusade failed, the French King was despairing that because of his failure the whole Christianity suffered confusion<sup>67</sup>. The pope put the blame for the defeat on the sins not of the King but of the whole Christian people, and his legate, Odo, called in his sermons Louis's crusaders the "champions of the entire Christian people"<sup>68</sup>. Birgitta, on the other hand, writes about the King of Sweden and Swedish knighthood, without putting them in the universal context. In her vision of the crusade there is no room for co-operation with the pope, privileges for the crusaders etc. The crusade is to be a Swedish venture, with the participation of knights, bishops, and Swedish monks, and under the Swedish monarch.

Does this mean that according to Birgitta there was no need for the pope's approval? Probably not, the just war can also be waged by the monarch who, in the visionary's opinion, is responsible for the Church and salvation of his subjects. Magnus obliged himself in his last will to go on an

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<sup>67</sup> *Matthaei Parisiensis, monachi Sancti Albani Chronica majora*, ed. by H.R. Luard, London 1872-1873, V, p. 466.

<sup>68</sup> P. Jackson, *The Seventh Crusade 1244-1254. Sources and Documents*, Aldershot 2007, pp. 165-170.

expedition against the enemies of God and realized such a mission, without appealing to the pope<sup>69</sup>. The expedition possessed all the features of the crusade – except for the official papal bull and crusade privileges. Its aim was to convert pagans and persuade schismatics to accept the real faith, and next the mission and building the Church in Karelia. It was supposed to be joined by volunteers only, and the reasons for their actions were to be merely religious. Those who died in combat for Christ became martyrs, which Birgitta mentions numerous times in other texts, and she states in one of her “crusade” revelations that they “will receive their reward which will be one hundred times as big as normal” (VIII 40). One can assume that in her view those who died in their fight against pagans and without the papal indulgence – just like Torgils Knutsson’s warriors in *Erik’s Chronicle* – were directly admitted to God’s presence. The expedition was to be the pilgrimage following Christ’s tracks (in the spiritual sense) and penance for one’s own sins, and its goal was to contribute to the religious and moral revival of the kingdom.

In all probability Magnus prepared his crusade according to Birgitta’s advice. His will was the examination of conscience and compensation for his sins, and at the same time the collection of generous legacies to the Church. In 1347 the king’s envoys tried to mediate between the warring monarchs of England and France, which resembles similar mediation of Louis IX before his crusade. It remains unknown whether he toured his country and redressed the injustice caused by his officials, but the inauguration in this particular year of the activity of the commission of *lagmen*, who began to work on the redaction of the first Swedish land law, does not seem to be a coincidence<sup>70</sup>. Birgitta’s brother, Israel Birgersson, became the Regent of the Kingdom. According to the *Novgorod First Chronicle*, on his arrival in the Ruthenian territory Magnus suggested a dispute on faith, which was rejected by the Ruthenians<sup>71</sup>. He, however, did not resign from recruiting mercenaries from German countries, who were gathered under the banner of St. George, which after the failure of the crusade was considered by Birgitta as one of the reasons of the defeat.

The sources from the 13<sup>th</sup> and mid-14<sup>th</sup> centuries indicate that Swedish expeditions to Finland and Karelia became part of the European crusade

69 After the defeat in 1350 Magnus managed to obtain the crusade bulls which were issued by Clement VI. The crusaders received the same privileges as the participants of expeditions to the Holy Land and some financial resources (DS 5253-5255). Another expedition, however, never materialized.

70 Among the committee members were Birgitta’s brother, Israel, and some other *langmen*, see A. Holmbäck, *Inledning*, in: *Magnus Erikssons landslag i nysvensk tolkning*, ed. by A. Holmbäck, E. Wessen, Lund 1962, pp. XXVII-XXXV.

71 *Połnoje sobranije russkich letopisiej*, p. 359.



movement in that period. Some of them were crusades also “legally”, with the pope’s approval and privileges. There is no doubt, however, that their participants were convinced that they were fighting for faith and God, and that the death on the battleground (*pro caritate* – the term used by Birgitta) would bring them salvation. The Life of St. Erik shows the ideal of the ruler-crusader, interestingly in conformity with the model of the “ideal crusader” who was embodied by St. Louis, and *Erik’s Chronicle* – the knightly ideal of the crusade, where the elements of penitential and pilgrimage nature go to the background. The *Revelationes* of Birgitta put emphasis on the crusade as penance and an opportunity for the moral revival, which confirms that they were deeply-rooted in the European crusade thought. Nevertheless, they also draw on the local tradition springing from the Baltic Crusades and their ideology.

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## REVIEW OF RESEARCH ON THE BATTLE OF GRUNWALD (15<sup>TH</sup> JULY 1410) IN HISTORICAL STUDIES OVER THE PAST HALF-CENTURY



The battle of Grunwald (a.k.a. Tannenberg) was one of the most significant events in the history of the Polish and Lithuanian Middle Ages. Therefore it is no wonder that from the very beginning (from the 15<sup>th</sup> century onwards) it aroused a lot of interest, originally among chroniclers, and also among scholars from the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards. For a long time German and Polish historians were at the forefront of the studies of this subject. Unfortunately, due to the meaning of this event and a centuries-old influence it exerted on future extremely complicated Polish-German and Polish-Lithuanian relations, all attempts made in this respect to establish the facts and to reconstruct the course of events intertwined with the state of mutual political relations of the day. All this hampered any would-be scientific objectivity.

In fact, right after 1945 the only change noticeable in the works on the war between Poland, Lithuania and the Teutonic State, and on the battle of Grunwald<sup>1</sup>, was a gradual withdrawal of German scholars from the research on this subject. They were replaced by academics representing other nationalities, which probably resulted from territorial shifts after World War II as well as from the nature and final result of this great medieval battle. It was not until the political transformations taking place at the turn of the

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<sup>1</sup> It has to be emphasised at this stage that the term “the great war” applied in historical studies from the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards to the conflict between 1409 and 1411 is anachronistic. All sources which were written right after 1410 apply the adjective “great” to the battle of Grunwald only, cf. S. Józwiak, K. Kwiatkowski, A. Szweđa, S. Szybkowski, *Wojna Polski i Litwy z zakonem krzyżackim w latach 1409-1411*, Malbork 2010, pp. 12-13.

1990s, the progressing internationalization of studies of this issue and the discovery of new sources, that the right atmosphere could be created for their increased objectivity.

The first decade after 1945, however, did not witness either in Poland or in Lithuania (within the USSR) any spectacular achievements in this scope, which was the case for quite obvious political and ideological reasons. The first important event in the history of post-war studies of the battle of Grunwald was the publishing of a large monograph in 1955, written by Stefan Maria Kuczyński. The author's original goal was to describe the whole conflict of 1409-1411, but as a matter of fact he devoted a particularly large part of his work to the battle of Grunwald itself. The whole content was divided into five parts. The third part included a detailed analysis of the preparations of the warring parties for the final stage of the conflict, while in the fourth part the summer 1410 Polish-Lithuanian expedition to Grunwald was discussed and the course of the battle was reconstructed<sup>2</sup>. From the perspective of contemporary historians and apart from a number of indisputable merits of this book, its biggest drawback (in each of this work's five editions) is the fact that the author did not make use of a large part of the impressive and extant Teutonic archives. Particularly striking is that S.M. Kuczyński engaged himself in a detailed description of the battle of Grunwald itself, which considering his usage of comparatively few sources relating to this matter could not have been successful in many respects. On the other hand, it should also be noted that, by and large, the fundamentals of S.M. Kuczyński's knowledge of the war stemmed from a few older and – which can be quite paradoxical – better documented works (in terms of sources) from the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries<sup>3</sup>.

Despite some fundamental drawbacks mentioned above, the book by S.M. Kuczyński was considered immediately after being published to be a primary work on the subject and induced a heated scientific debate, which lasted a few years. One has to admit, however, that this discussion was quite one-sided. Instead of referring to relevant issues (e.g. the way the author used the extant sources), the reviewers of this work focused their attention on matters of secondary importance, first of all on details regarding the battle of Grunwald. These remarks, due to a lack of newly-discovered written sources and the early stages of archaeological excavations, formed only more or less

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<sup>2</sup> S.M. Kuczyński, *Wielka Wojna z Zakonem Krzyżackim w latach 1409-1411*, Warszawa 1955.

<sup>3</sup> Here especially two works should be indicated: F. Thunert, *Der Grosse Krieg zwischen Polen und dem Deutschen Orden 1410 bis 1. Februar 1411. Beilage: Die Quellen zur Schlacht bei Tannenberg*, "Zeitschrift des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins" XVI (1886), pp. 37-104; S. Kujot, *Wojna*, "Roczniki Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu" XVII (1910), pp. 56-350.

grounded hypotheses<sup>4</sup>. Nevertheless, the interest taken in the subject and the exchange of opinion, which it provoked, facilitated a quick supplemented re-edition of the book by S.M. Kuczyński in 1960<sup>5</sup>.

The 550-anniversary of the battle of Grunwald in 1960 gave rise in Poland to writing numerous articles, reviews and polemics on this subject<sup>6</sup>. Krystyna Pieradzka presented in her work traces of the battle in the Prussian, Silesian, and western European chronicles of the day. They were in many cases the outcome of the reports disseminated on this issue by the Polish and Teutonic parties<sup>7</sup>. Another scholar, Julia Radziszewska, collected some relevant material which was included in the Ruthenian chronicles of the turn of the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries. Even though a dozen or so of the accounts of this kind are known to be extant, only a few of those which were independent from each other could be identified<sup>8</sup>. Finally, Czesława Ochałówna showed in her interesting analysis some traces of the battle of Grunwald in Polish-Latin poetry written in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, publishing the preserved works

4 H. Łowmiański [rev.], *Stefan M. Kuczyński, Wielka wojna z Zakonem krzyżackim w latach 1409-1411*, Warszawa 1955, pp. 551, "Kwartalnik Historyczny" LXII (1955) 4-5, pp. 222-231; S. Herbst [rev.], *Stefan M. Kuczyński, Wielka wojna z Zakonem Krzyżackim w latach 1409-1411*, Warszawa 1955, pp. 551, "Zapiski Historyczne" XXII (1956) 1-3, pp. 251-254; S. Herbst, *Uwagi o bitwie grunwaldzkiej. Potrzeba nowej hipotezy*, "Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie" (1958) 2, pp. 193-196; S.M. Kuczyński, *Na marginesie "uwag" prof. dr. St. Herbst*, "Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie" (1959) 1, pp. 101-103; S. Herbst, *W odpowiedzi prof. dr. Kuczyńskiemu*, "Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie" (1959) 1, p. 103; S.M. Kuczyński, *O miejscu zgonu w. mistrza i kilku sprawach innych*, "Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie" (1960) 2, pp. 153-161; S. Herbst, *Znów o Grunwaldzie*, "Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie" (1960) 3, pp. 414-415.

5 S.M. Kuczyński, *Wielka Wojna z Zakonem Krzyżackim w latach 1409-1411*, Warszawa 1960<sup>2</sup>. Some updates resulting from a lively scientific debate were included already in the third edition of this book (of 1966), while the other two editions (of 1980 and 1987) were at the moment of their release dated to a great extent, because their author had not included those written sources which had been newly discovered and published in the meantime. He did not update the review of research either. In this last case the blame was not on his side as he died in 1985. It also should be admitted that the discussion on the second edition of the book by S.M. Kuczyński of 1960 was also limited to issues of secondary importance, cf. W. Bortnowski [rev.], *Stefan M. Kuczyński, Wielka Wojna z Zakonem Krzyżackim w latach 1409-1411*, Warszawa 1960, pp. 624, "Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie" (1960) 3, pp. 416-421.

6 The attempt to sum up the anniversary discussion on Grunwald joint by scholars till 1962 was made with passion for polemics by S.M. Kuczyński, *Pokłosie Grunwaldu*, "Rocznik Olsztyński" IV (1961/1962), pp. 397-426.

7 K. Pieradzka, *Bitwa grunwaldzka w obcych relacjach kronikarskich (pruskich, śląskich i zachodnioeuropejskich)*, "Małopolskie Studia Historyczne" III (1960) 1/2, pp. 51-65.

8 J. Radziszewska, *Echa bitwy grunwaldzkiej w ruskich latopisach*, "Małopolskie Studia Historyczne" III (1960) 1/2, pp. 67-80. In the next year (1961), S.M. Kuczyński carried out an analysis, without considering the former author's work, of the chronicle of Bychowiec (dating to the 16<sup>th</sup> century) in the context of information which was included there on the so called great war, cf. S.M. Kuczyński, *Informacje tzw. latopisu Bychowca o "wielkiej wojnie" lat 1409-1411 (uwagi krytyczne)*, "Rocznik Łódzki" IV (1961), pp. 65-84.

in the original languages and translating them (the author also carried out their detailed grammatical analysis)<sup>9</sup>. In 1962 Aleksander Świeżawski made an attempt to determine a possible participation of the Belz banner in the battle of Grunwald. Admittedly, this was not mentioned by Jan Długosz in his chronicle, but Aleksander Świeżawski proposed a hypothesis that an armed representation of this territory must have been among those who formed the Duke of Mazovia Siemowit IV's banners<sup>10</sup>. The matter-of-fact and indisputable discoveries relating to the battle itself were, however, the result of archaeological excavations carried out on the Grunwald battlefield in 1958-1960 and in 1979-1990<sup>11</sup>.

A strong impetus for verifying previous findings and making progress in the studies of the 1409-1411 war, and also – even if to a smaller degree – the battle of Grunwald itself, was mostly provided by gradually discovered and published sources. Particularly important are rich contents of the former archive of the grand masters in Malbork, housed in Königsberg (present Kaliningrad) till 1944, and nowadays in Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin-Dahlem. Gradual yet continuous development of studies of the 1409-1411 war, which have been taking place till now, is a tangible result of new discoveries made particularly in this archive. An interesting article regarding the first phase of the battle of Grunwald was published by a Swedish historian, Sven Ekdahl, in 1963. Using the content of the previously unknown source, the author referred to the episode, described also by Jan Długosz in his chronicle, of the escape from the battleground of at least some of the Lithuanian troops during the battle. According to the Swedish scholar, this was in fact a tactical manoeuvre of a fake flight (see below for further discussion on this subject)<sup>12</sup>. The account itself, discovered

9 C. Ochałówna, *Bitwa grunwaldzka w poezji polsko-łacińskiej XV wieku*, "Małopolskie Studia Historyczne" III (1960) 1/2, pp. 81-106.

10 A. Świeżawski, *W sprawie przypuszczalnego udziału chorągwi betzkiej w bitwie pod Grunwaldem*, "Slavia Orientalis" XI (1962) 1, pp. 115-122.

11 In the first phase, between 1958-1962, they comprised comprehensive research on the ruins of the chapel located on the fields of Grunwald (R. Odoj, *Kaplica na polach Grunwaldu*, "Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie" (1962) 1, pp. 737-752; idem, *Sprawozdanie z badań na stanowisku 1 (kaplica)*, "Rocznik Olsztyński" IV (1961/1962), pp. 219-264; idem, *Badania wykopaliskowe w latach 1958-1959*, "Rocznik Olsztyński" IV (1961/1962), pp. 209-217), while in the second phase, between 1980-1990, some bullets for hand fire-arms, which chronologically match the battle, were discovered as well as some other military equipment – the summary of this research in: A. Nowakowski, M. Mielczarek, Z. Wawrzonkowska, *Badania archeologiczne na Polach Grunwaldu w latach 1980-1985*, in: *Studia Grunwaldzkie*, ed. by M. Biskup et al., I, Olsztyn 1991, pp. 77-105; M. Mielczarek, A. Nadolski, A. Nowakowski, R. Odoj, *Badania archeologiczne na Polach Grunwaldu w latach 1988-1990*, ibidem, II, Olsztyn 1992, pp. 77-92.

12 S. Ekdahl, *Die Flucht der Litauer in der Schlacht bei Tannenberg*, "Zeitschrift für Ostforschung" XII (1963), pp. 11-19. The important theses included in this article provoked

by S. Ekdahl, was also applied by S.M. Kuczyński for his conception of the battle. The Polish author argued, however, that the retreat of the part of the Lithuanian-Ruthenian wing had not been premeditated. According to this historian, it was provoked by the Mongols, who made the Lithuanians follow them<sup>13</sup>. In his article published in 1964 Zdzisław Spieralski claimed (contrary to the suggestions made by older generations of historians)<sup>14</sup> that Moldavians did not participate in the battle of Grunwald<sup>15</sup>. Three years later S.M. Kuczyński, who carried out a more thorough analysis of the sources, adopted the opposite stance on the issue<sup>16</sup>. Another scholar, Bronisław Cetera, tried to examine the battle of Grunwald from a slightly different angle. Focusing on the questions of leadership and tactics, the author indicated the influence of the treatise *De re militari* by Vegetius, an ancient Roman writer, on these elements of the art of warfare applied by the Polish and Teutonic command. Based on this assumption, the author made an individual attempt to reconstruct the course of the battle. However, due to his relatively weak knowledge of the relevant sources, the results of his study are at least controversial<sup>17</sup>. They were heavily criticized, among others, by S.M. Kuczyński<sup>18</sup>. In 1974 Zdzisław Spieralski<sup>19</sup> re-entered the polemic with the opinions of S.M. Kuczyński<sup>20</sup> concerning Poland's economic capacity in the face of the war and the number of troops engaged in the battle of Grunwald. This scientific debate was joined by Gotthold Rhode, a German

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a lively discussion, even though for a long time only among Polish scholars. Its summary in: W. Majewski, *Wokół Grunwaldu (O preliminarjach i pierwszej fazie bitwy, o odwolecie Litwinów)*, "Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie" (1967) 1-2, pp. 547-561.

13 S.M. Kuczyński, *Taktyka walki skrzydła litewsko-ruskiego w bitwie pod Grunwaldem*, "Studia i Materiały do Historii Wojskowości" X (1964), part 2, pp. 35-46.

14 E.g. S. Stefanescu, *Participarea românilor la lupta de la Grunwald (15 iulie 1410)*, "Studii. Revista de istorie" XIV (1961) 1, pp. 5-20.

15 Z. Spieralski, *W sprawie udziału Mołdawian w bitwie pod Grunwaldem*, "Zapiski Historyczne" XXIX (1964) 4, pp. 7-14.

16 S.M. Kuczyński, *Mołdawianie pod Grunwaldem*, "Zapiski Historyczne" XXXII (1967) 2, pp. 7-16.

17 B. Cetera, *Bitwa grunwaldzka w świetle reguł wojennych traktatu Wegecjusza*, "Rocznik Olsztyński" VIII (1968), pp. 199-231.

18 S.M. Kuczyński, *Spór o Grunwald*, Warszawa 1972, pp. 191-228.

19 Z. Spieralski, *Czy koniec sporów o Grunwald (refleksje polemiczne)*, "Zapiski Historyczne" XXXIX (1974) 2, pp. 89-101.

20 S.M. Kuczyński, *Spór o Grunwald*. In his book the author referred to the following issues: the name of the place of the battle, its territorial range, the routes the warring parties chose to the battlefield, the time of the arrival of both armies at Grunwald, the way both armies took their positions, defence barriers against the Teutonic Knights, the number and ethnic composition of the fighters, the way they started the battle, tactics, the course of events during the battle and its duration, the losses on both sides, and the place of the death of the Grand Master.

scholar, who was critical of the size of the warring parties and casualties as suggested by S.M. Kuczyński<sup>21</sup>.

In general, the biggest drawback of all these disputes about the battle of Grunwald was their exaggerated theorizing in the face of a lack of sources (except for the discovery made by S. Ekdahl) which would extend one's knowledge of this subject. More promising in terms of the results were those studies which concerned other aspects of the war. In 1966 Andrzej Feliks Grabski carried out an interesting analysis of the mechanism of propaganda warfare led by both feuding parties in the course of a few years after the battle of Grunwald. Among the majority of the Teutonic allegations, the three crowning arguments proving Jogaila's (Pol. Jagiełło) and Vytautas's (Pol. Witold) base behaviour were: both rulers' aiming for the war, engaging pagans in the conflict, and their planning to destroy Christianity. This propaganda was efficiently counterbalanced by the Polish-Lithuanian party, who put forward their own counter-arguments. In the appendix the author published the letter written on the 24<sup>th</sup> November 1411 by the King of England, Henry IV, which regarded this issue and was addressed to the Pope, John XXIII<sup>22</sup>. In the next year (1967) the same scholar collected and analyzed the source material relating to the 1409-1411 war (and the battle of Grunwald in particular) included in relatively numerous 15<sup>th</sup> century western European historical works, focusing primarily on the fact that they were the outcome of the knowledge disseminated on the subject by the Teutonic and Polish parties<sup>23</sup>.

In turn, with his article published in 1968 S. Ekdahl began long-lasting research on mercenary troops fighting alongside the Teutonic Order in the war. The author tried to assess their numbers in three periods: from the beginning of July 1410, the participants of the battle of Grunwald, and the defenders of Malbork. He also published an interesting source (as an appendix) in the form of the summons to appear issued to the mercenaries by Nicholas von Kottewitz in October 1410<sup>24</sup>. In 1971 Jan Mietelski presented

21 G. Rhode, *Polemiken um die Schlacht von Tannenberg 1410. Zu einem Buch von Stefan M. Kuczyński*, "Zeitschrift für Ostforschung" XXII (1973) 3, pp. 475-486.

22 A.F. Grabski, *Pogrunwaldzkie polemiki*, "Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego. Nauki Humanistyczno-Społeczne", Series I, issue XLV, Łódź 1966, pp. 45-66.

23 A.F. Grabski, *Echa bitwy grunwaldzkiej w historiografii zachodnioeuropejskiej*, "Zapiski Historyczne" XXXII (1967) 1, pp. 7-48. In 1996 an attempt was made by Maria Błaziak to carry out a similar analysis in chronicles and annals which were written between 1417 and the mid 16<sup>th</sup> century in Poland, Prussia, Germany, Silesia and Ruthenia. Unfortunately, her findings were to a great extent derivative, see M. Błaziak, *Miscellanea grunwaldzkie*, in: *Uniwersalizm i regionalizm w kronikarstwie Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej. Średniowiecze – początek czasów nowożytnych*, ed. by U. Borkowska, Lublin 1996, pp. 216-232.

24 S. Ekdahl, *Kilka uwag o księdze żołdu Zakonu Krzyżackiego z okresu "Wielkiej Wojny" (1410-1411)*, "Zapiski Historyczne" XXXIII (1968) 3, pp. 111-130.

the outcome of his analysis of atmospheric phenomena (sunrise and sunset, the phases of the Moon, location of planets, weather) between the 14<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> July 1410. On the basis of these estimates, he concluded that Jan Długosz was credible enough in his description of these constituents of events<sup>25</sup>. A few years later, Z. Spieralski investigated the future fate of the two swords which before the battle of Grunwald had been sent by the Grand Master Ulrich von Jungingen to the King Władysław Jagiełło and the Grand Duke of Lithuania Vytautas. In the author's view, at least one of them has survived till to-day<sup>26</sup>. In 1979 Guy P. Marchal ruled out, on the basis of his critical analysis of sources, the participation of Swiss troops in the battle of Grunwald<sup>27</sup>. Three years later (1982) the contrary conclusion on this subject was drawn by S.M. Kuczyński<sup>28</sup>.

In the same year another pretext appeared for resuming a lively scientific debate about the battle of Grunwald thanks to the release of the book by S. Ekdahl. The author's aim was to make this work the most possibly comprehensive, in-depth and critical analysis of the extant written sources (but not only) concerning the battle, which in future would provide the basis for its reconstruction, as accurate and credible as possible. In essence, S. Ekdahl carried out thorough studies of the preserved sources housed in archives and libraries (chapter I), collected and critically reviewed all narrative sources concerning the battle, which were redacted in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century (chapter II). He also extensively surveyed cartographic sources and the outcomes of archaeological excavations<sup>29</sup>. In 1984 an in-depth review of this work was written by M. Biskup. This scholar noticed that the main emphasis in S. Ekdahl's book was put, first of all, on the presentation and analysis of chronicles, and to a lesser extent on archival material (which in fact was not fully explored by the author). The reviewer, giving the author credit for collecting all materials on the battle of Grunwald, was critical of the way they had been analysed, especially the *Annals* by Jan Długosz. As a matter of fact, this source had been considered by S. Ekdahl not to be

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25 J. Mietelski, *Ścisłe odtworzenie momentów i warunków niektórych zjawisk atmosferycznych w czasie bitwy pod Grunwaldem*, "Studia Historyczne" XIV (1971) 3, pp. 419-427.

26 Z. Spieralski, *O mieczach krzyżackich spod Grunwaldu*, "Zapiski Historyczne" XXXIX (1974) 2, pp. 23-29.

27 G.P. Marchal, *Szwajcarzy w bitwie pod Grunwaldem 1410? O notatce o "gens et natio sweyczerorum" w "Banderia Prutenorum" Jana Długosza*, "Zapiski Historyczne" XLIV (1979) 3, pp. 5-17.

28 S.M. Kuczyński, *Szwajcarzy pod Grunwaldem*, "Studia i Materiały do Historii Wojskowości" XXV (1982), pp. 339-341.

29 S. Ekdahl, *Die Schlacht bei Tannenberg 1410. Quellenkritische Untersuchungen, I: Einführung und Quellenlage*, Berlin 1982. The Polish translation included quite a superficial update of later studies in the footnotes, idem, *Grunwald 1410: studia nad tradycją i źródłami*, transl. by M. Dorna, Kraków 2010.



credible for the studies of the 1409-1411 war. M. Biskup also showed that the Swedish historian had missed some works pertinent to the analysed subject<sup>30</sup>. Another significant voice concerning the book by S. Ekdahl was raised by Andrzej Nadolski in his review article. This scholar's polemics with the Swedish researcher regarded, among others, the value and credibility of some narrative sources, the location and course of events during the battle of Grunwald, as well as the number of its participants<sup>31</sup>. In the article published in 1984 Krzysztof Mosingiewicz, a Toruń based historian, discussed the organizational structure of the Polish army in the battle of Grunwald within the scope of the banner system (royal, aristocratic and family banners). The author focused on the issues of calling to arms, numbers, leadership, and financing of the knights under their respective banners<sup>32</sup>. A few years later (1988) Antoni Czacharowski, having taken into consideration some written sources previously unknown to scholars, attempted to explain the causes of the formation of the opposition among the knights in the Chełmno Land during the war (1409-1411). He identified their possible leaders, and at the same time discussed the post-war biographies of some of them<sup>33</sup>. In 1987 Markian Pelech took up the question of the participation of the Old Town of Elbląg in the 1409-1411 war, investigating both the issue of the number of armed forces representing this town and measurable costs and losses which its citizens suffered in the aftermath of the military operations. In the appendix the author published an interesting source dating to October 1410. It was the document where the Council of Elbląg made apologies to the acting Deputy Grand Master, Henry von Plauen, for their over-cordial relations with the King of Poland allegedly maintained after the 15<sup>th</sup> July 1410<sup>34</sup>. In the same year M. Pelech published an in-depth article in which he discussed the issue of paying ransom for the Teutonic prisoners taken captive during the war (in most cases in the battle of Grunwald). In the annex attached to the essay the author included five written accounts relating to the matter<sup>35</sup>. In 1989 Jerzy Łojko turned his attention to the appearance

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30 M. Biskup, *Nowa praca Svena Ekdahla o źródłach do bitwy pod Grunwaldem*, "Zapiski Historyczne" XLIX (1984) 4, pp. 137-149.

31 A. Nadolski, *Grunwald. Problemy wybrane*, "Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie" (1983) 2-3, pp. 296-325.

32 K. Mosingiewicz, *Chorągwie rodowe i ich dowódcy w bitwie pod Grunwaldem*, in: *Prace z dziejów państwa i zakonu krzyżackiego*, ed. by A. Czacharowski, Toruń 1984, pp. 107-126.

33 A. Czacharowski, *Opozycja rycerstwa ziemi chełmińskiej w dobie Grunwaldu*, in: *W kręgu stanowych i kulturalnych przeobrażeń Europy Północnej w XIV-XVIII w.*, ed. by Z.H. Nowak, Toruń 1988, pp. 77-96.

34 M. Pelech, *Die Teilnahme der Altstadt Elbing am Großen Krieg (1409-1411) und ihre während des Krieges erlittenen Schäden*, "Beiträge zur Geschichte Westpreußens" X (1987), pp. 49-66.

35 M. Pelech, *W sprawie okupu za jeńców krzyżackich z wielkiej wojny (1409-1411)*, part I, "Zapiski Historyczne" LII (1987) 1, pp. 131-152; part II, *ibidem*, issue 2, pp. 95-112.

and number of Polish and Lithuanian banners taking part in the battle of Grunwald, indicating relatively numerous mistakes that Jan Długosz had made in his account of that matter<sup>36</sup>.

In the early 1990s a few more works relating to the battle of Grunwald were published. One has to begin with no fewer than two bibliographies of the battle, edited in 1990, where not only the titles of relevant academic works (also for the general public) published after 1989 were listed, but also all kinds of texts within the scope of literature, art, music, film, celebrations and tradition<sup>37</sup>. Another point of view of the battle of Grunwald was presented in the form of a monograph by Andrzej Nadolski, an archaeologist. This work came as a result of long-standing research carried out by the author, including his excavations on the battlefield. Probably for this particular reason three chapters within the scope of military history (1. Location 2. Armies 3. Battle) form the core of the whole work. Discussing this subject, A. Nadolski was particularly attracted by such topics as: weaponry, tactics, the number of participants on both sides, and the exact course of events<sup>38</sup>. In his review of this work M. Biskup suggested that the estimated figures as shown in the book, regarding both armies (including the mercenaries) as well as casualties and captives, should be verified. The reviewer, however, accepted A. Nadolski's remarks concerning the tactics of the warring parties, or the direction of the approach of the armies to the battlefield<sup>39</sup>. This work was reviewed in detail and at the same time in many instances heavily criticized by Jerzy Sikorski<sup>40</sup>. In the next year (1991) M. Biskup published his academic approach towards the battle of Grunwald directed at the general public, while devoting a significant part of his book to the tradition of this fight in the history of the Poles and Germans between the 15<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries<sup>41</sup>. At the same time, the 1409-1411 war aroused, for the first time on such a scale, more

36 J. Łojko, *Chorągwie polskie i litewskie w bitwie pod Grunwaldem*, "Lituanio-Slavica Posnaniensia. Studia Historica" III (1989), pp. 141-154. Unfortunately, the author did not consider important discoveries on the subject made by K. Mosingiewicz (cf. footnote 32).

37 W. Mierzwa, *Bibliografia grunwaldzka*, Olsztyn 1990; H. Baranowski, I. Czarciniński, *Bibliografia bitwy pod Grunwaldem i jej tradycji*, ed. by M. Biskup, Toruń 1990.

38 A. Nadolski, *Grunwald. Problemy wybrane*, Olsztyn 1990. The latest edition published after the author's death, with the supplementary afterword by Witold Świątosławski; it included a short presentation of most recent trends in the research on the subject (pp. 243-247), Wodzisław Śląski-Łódź 2010. In the abridged version directed at the general public: A. Nadolski, *Grunwald 1410*, Warszawa 1993, 2003<sup>2</sup>, 2010<sup>3</sup>.

39 M. Biskup [rev.], *Andrzej Nadolski, Grunwald. Problemy wybrane*, Olsztyn 1990, ss. 242, "Przegląd Historyczny" LXXXII (1991) 3/4, pp. 521-526.

40 J. Sikorski, *Grunwald – problemy wybrane*, "Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie" (1994) 2-3, pp. 347-357.

41 M. Biskup, *Grunwaldzka bitwa. Geneza – przebieg – znaczenie – tradycje*, Warszawa 1991.

interest among Lithuanian historians, yet first of all within the limited scope of the battle of Grunwald. It is worth noting that these scholars tended to highlight particularly the strand of the participation of the Lithuanian troops in this event, trying to undermine the fundamental tradition included in the chronicle by Długosz as well as previous findings of most Polish researchers on this subject and thus to convince the public that the Lithuanians played a key role in the victory at Grunwald<sup>42</sup>. It is risky, inasmuch as these scholars were at the same time unable to present any more, new proof (except for the discovery of S. Ekdahl made in 1963, which they used second-hand and over-interpreted) which could indisputably support their interpretation of the battle.

In 1997, Franciszek Sikora, on the basis of the analysis of sources from Little Poland (including the unpublished ones), made a number of interesting remarks on the preparations (stocking up on weaponry, horses, property divisions, taking out loans) and the participation of the knights representing that province in the decisive phase of the war in 1410, thus extending our knowledge of its participants<sup>43</sup>. The author's deliberations are important for the examination of losses suffered by the Polish party in the battle of Grunwald. In the article published in the same year, Błażej Śliwiński attempted to explain a lack of any similarities between the images on seals of the Commanders of Gniew and Castle Commanders from the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries and the appearance of the standard captured by the Poles at Grunwald, which had been identified by Długosz in his two accounts as the one belonging to Gniew. According to B. Śliwiński, the 15<sup>th</sup> century historian made a mistake by considering the Franconian standard to be the one from Gniew. In fact and in all probability, the original from Gniew was not captured by the Poles at Grunwald at all<sup>44</sup>.

At the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries a shortage of studies of the subject discussed here occurred. The only exception was the year 2002, when the first

42 M. Jučas, *Žalgirio mūšis*, Vilnius 1990 1999<sup>2</sup> (English translation: M. Jučas, *The Battle of Grünwald*, transl. by A. Strunga, ed. by J. Everatt, M. Šapoka, Vilnius 2009; recently this works has also been translated into Polish, but it does not include even a partial update on recent research – M. Jučas, *Grunwald 1410*, transl. by J. Jurkiewicz, Kraków 2010); E. Gudavičius, *Kelios pastabos apie lietuvių taktiką Žalgirio mūšyje*, "Karo Archyvas" XIII (1992), pp. 34-42; R. Batūra, *Lietuviškos taktikos reikšmė Žalgirio mūšyje*, in: *Žalgirio laikų Lietuva ir jos kaimynai*, Vilnius 1993, pp. 65-77; V. Dolinskas, *Naujienos iš Žalgirio mūšio lauko*, "Lietuvos Istorijos Studijos" VIII (2000), pp. 94-100. In the same spirit also: A. Bumblauskas, *Žalgiris: neatsakyti klausimai*, "Lietuvos Istorijos Studijos" XXVI (2010), pp. 59-93.

43 F. Sikora, *Uwagi o przygotowaniach rycerzy małopolskich do wielkiej wojny z Zakonem Niemieckim*, in: *Venerabiles, nobiles et honesti. Studia z dziejów społeczeństwa Polski średniowiecznej*, ed. by A. Radzimiński, A. Supruniuk, J. Wroniszewski, Toruń 1997, pp. 247-259.

44 B. Śliwiński, *O tzw. chorągwi gniewskiej w bitwie pod Grunwaldem*, in: *Krzyżowcy, kronikarze, dyplomaci*, ed. by B. Śliwiński, Gdańsk-Koszalin 1997, pp. 285-293.

English language monograph was published by William Urban, an American scholar, whose major goal was the analysis of the battle of Grunwald. However, the title of this work is misleading because, as a matter of fact, the author wrote about the history of the relations between Poland, Lithuania, and the Teutonic State from the close of the 14<sup>th</sup> century to 1525. This book was based exclusively on published-primary sources and on indiscriminately selected secondary sourced, hence the majority of the theses advanced by the author need to be elaborated on, verified, and even rectified in relation to obvious mistakes and simplifications<sup>45</sup>. In 2005 Gizela Vollmann-Profe, a German scholar, tried to answer the question how the battle of Grunwald was described in five chronicles dating to the 15<sup>th</sup> century, which were written on the territory of the Teutonic State in Prussia. She noticed that the image of the fight itself got blurred with time, while the authors highlighted in their works the episodes which were didactic in nature or those politically topical. In general, however, they did not regard the outcome of the battle as an irreparable catastrophe for the Teutonic power<sup>46</sup>. In the article published in 2006 Grzegorz Jacek Brzustowicz investigated the participation of the youngest son of the Duke of Szczecin Świątobor I's – Kazimierz in the war (most probably from 1409 together with his father) and in the battle of Grunwald (independently), after which he remained in Polish captivity till June 1411. The author estimated with a great exaggeration the number of the military contingent under his command at 1000 mounted knights and 1000 foot warriors. The basis of his reflection was also incomplete<sup>47</sup>. In the same year Stefan Kwiatkowski concentrated on one of the episodes in the Polish campaign of 1410 and the battle of Grunwald itself. He threw doubt on the fact that the song *Bogurodzica* was commonly known by the Polish army and therefore performed on the battlefield<sup>48</sup>. In the next year (2007) Klaus Militzer, an German historian, discussed the social, ideological, and propaganda meaning of the two swords presented to the King Władysław Jagiełło and the Grand Duke of Lithuania Vytautas by the heralds of the King

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45 W. Urban, *Tannenberg and After: Lithuania, Poland, and the Teutonic Order in Search of Immortality*, Chicago 2002 (edition in Lithuanian: *Žalgiris ir kas po jo. Lietuva, Lenkija ir Vokiečių ordinas – nemirtingumo beieškant*, Vilnius 2004).

46 G. Vollmann-Profe, *Vom historiographischen Umgang mit Niederlagen – die Schlacht von Tannenberg in preußischen Chroniken des 15. Jahrhunderts*, in: *Vom vielfachen Schriftsinn im Mittelalter. Festschrift für Dietrich Schmidtke*, ed. by F. Löser, R.G. Päsler, Hamburg 2005, pp. 607-622.

47 G.J. Brzustowicz, *O udziale księcia szczecińskiego Kazimierza V w bitwie pod Grunwaldem*, "Przegląd Zachodniopomorski" XXI (2006) 3, pp. 21-45.

48 S. Kwiatkowski, *Śpiewy grunwaldzkie. Dlaczego rycerstwo Władysława Jagiełły miałyby śpiewać "Bogurodzicę" podczas kampanii w Prusach w 1410 roku?*, "Przegląd Zachodniopomorski" XXI (2006) 4, pp. 107-118.

of Hungary Sigismund of Luxemburg and the Duke of Szczecin Kazimierz V before the battle of Grunwald, which was accompanied by the demand for pointing at the location for the battle. The author noticed that this was a chivalric practice which occurred quite rarely on the territory of France, Burgundy, and in Brabant, whereas being completely unknown in central-eastern Europe. In the German scholar's opinion, the Teutonic Order, while applying this practice before the battle (along with a defiant speech by the heralds), intended to provoke the other party to take an incautious step. By doing so, they hoped to embarrass the King and the Duke in front of the western European knights. Jagiełło, however, – according to the author – came away unscathed from this provocation quite by chance, and the Polish party was extremely successful in taking advantage of this event in the propaganda war over the course of next years. K. Militzer's argument, however interesting, has a few flaws<sup>49</sup>. Particularly noticeable is a certain contradiction between the alleged ignorance of this tradition in central-eastern Europe (after all, quite rare in the west as well) and the employment of heralds who represented the monarchs from this particular region – the King of Hungary and the Duke of Szczecin, to perform this action. For this reason, this issue certainly requires undertaking further research. The beginning of 2008 brought an article by S. Ekdahl on Teutonic mercenary troops in the war of 1409-1411. The essay comprises the author's previous findings on the subject, with an emphasis put on numbers, tactics, weaponry, equipment, recruitment, wages and the significance of these troops in the conflict under discussion<sup>50</sup>. In the next year (2009), the same scholar, on the basis of an in-depth analysis of sources, tried to establish the detailed itineraries and positions of the enemy armies on the 15<sup>th</sup> July 1410, till the moment the battle began. He decided that the Polish army relocated from Wierzbica via Samin towards Mielno. Near Grunwald the royal troops went to the right of the road and entered some farmland. In turn, the army under the command of the Grand Duke Vytautas took their position farther to the east, in the direction of Łodwigowo. Finally, the field chapel of the Teutonic army was located, according to the Swedish scholar, where a temple, whose foundations have been preserved, was erected after the battle. This was also the place where the bloodiest fights probably took place. In essence, the main frontline was put along the road Grunwald–

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<sup>49</sup> K. Militzer, *Das Problem der zwei Schwerter in der Schlacht bei Tannenberg*, in: *Rechtsverständnis und Konfliktbewältigung. Gerichtliche und außergerichtliche Strategien im Mittelalter*, hrsg. von S. Esders, Köln-Weimar-Wien 2007, pp. 379-389.

<sup>50</sup> S. Ekdahl, *The Teutonic Order's Mercenaries during the "Great War" with Poland-Lithuania (1409-11)*, in: *Mercenaries and Paid Men. The Mercenary Identity in the Middle Ages. Proceedings of a Conference Held at University of Wales, Swansea, 7<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> July 2005*, ed. by J. France, Leiden-Boston 2008, pp. 345-361.

–Łodwigowo, and when the battle began the sun was shining straight into the eyes of the Teutonic Knights<sup>51</sup>. S. Ekdahl's findings on the subject are interesting, even though some of their details are not uncontroversial.

The six hundredth, round anniversary of the battle of Grunwald, which took place in 2010, brought a large number of new historical studies, some of which were more valuable than others. This review article will consider only the most significant of them. One should begin with another, retrospective bibliography, published in that year, where studies published in the period 1990-2010 were gathered<sup>52</sup>. Its authors, like in the previous two works of this kind issued in 1990, included not only scientific studies of the subject, but also a plethora of texts within the scope of literature, art, music, celebrations, tradition, and even ordinary newspaper features. Unfortunately, as regards scientific studies – the most important for historians – this bibliography is in places patchy, and the descriptions of some publications are incorrect. For this reason, those using this work should be aware of its shortcomings. In the same year (2010) a new monograph of the war between Poland, Lithuania and the Teutonic Order was published. It was written by four academics from Toruń and Gdańsk, namely Sławomir Józwiak, Krzysztof Kwiatkowski, Adam Szweda and Sobiesław Szybowski. A large part of the book, where the battle of Grunwald was discussed together with the events which directly preceded it (the march of the Polish-Lithuanian army deep into the Prussian territory) and after it (the temporary taking control of large areas of the Teutonic State; the siege of Malbork), was written by Krzysztof Kwiatkowski. The author carried out a thorough analysis of almost all sources known to be extant and made great efforts to familiarize himself with a (huge) number of studies on the subject. As far as the battlefield itself is concerned, K. Kwiatkowski cautiously (with numerous reservations about details) supported the findings, best justified so far, of S. Ekdahl. According to the scholar from Toruń, both armies got into position along the axis from the north-west to the south-east, to the south-west of Stębark; this is where modern accounts indicated "the battlefield". The fight itself lasted from around 12.00 till around 19.00. K. Kwiatkowski identified its four phases, underlining great difficulties a researcher faces while trying to establish the chronology and locations of the battle's respective episodes. In any case, the author remarked that, contrary to the uncompromising judgement of some scholars, it is impossible to determine whether the retreat of the Lithuanian-

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51 S. Ekdahl, *Aufmarsch und Aufstellung der Heere bei Tannenberg/Grunwald (1410). Eine kritische Analyse*, in: *Krajobraz grunwaldzki w dziejach polsko-krzyżackich i polsko-niemieckich na przestrzeni wieków. Wokół mitów i rzeczywistości*, ed. by J. Gancewski, Olsztyn 2009, pp. 31-103.

52 A. Romulewicz, A. Wysocka, S. Białęcka, *Bibliografia grunwaldzka za lata 1990-2010*, Olsztyn 2010.

-Ruthenian troops which took place in the first phase of the battle was a mere escape or a fake withdrawal. The course of events regarding other stages of the battle is also extremely difficult to be reconstructed. K. Kwiatkowski, accepting convincing arguments of A. Nadolski and S. Ekdahl, reached a conclusion that the bloodiest fights took place in the fourth phase of the battle, when the Polish troops were capturing the Teutonic camp. According to him, the fact that the Polish-Lithuanian army outnumbered the enemy may have been one of the main reasons for their victory, but sources on this subject are too ambiguous to be able to retrieve any absolute numbers. It is a fact that, in addition to the Grand Master the majority of Teutonic grandees were killed (203 or 211), but not necessarily all of them during the combat itself<sup>53</sup>.

The analysis of the battle of Grunwald carried out by K. Kwiatkowski has been the most comprehensive, and what's the most important – the most up-to-date thorough scientific study of this subject on the bases of virtually all accessible sources<sup>54</sup>. It is also a perfect point of departure for further studies, which are continued. A few months later the same scholar published the copies in the form of regesta from the correspondence (most of which have not been preserved in the original) between some Teutonic officials, covering the period of the 1409-1411 war, which were written in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century and housed in the Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences in Vilna. This publication included the editor's in-depth commentary. This collection comprises numerous accounts previously unknown to scholars, including a source which provided information on the participants of the battle of Grunwald<sup>55</sup>. In the same year (2010), K. Kwiatkowski published also an article where he attempted, on the basis of a scrupulous analysis of few extant sources, to investigate the impact which the defeat of the Teutonic army and the events directly following it had on the public feeling of the inhabitants of the Teutonic State in Prussia (peasants, townspeople, clergymen, knights and the rulers themselves – the Teutonic Knights) after the 15<sup>th</sup> July 1410. The author was particularly interested in the mechanism of spreading the news of the battle, which he examined on the basis of some elements that the psychology of cognition has on offer<sup>56</sup>. His proposal, however, was criticized by Stefan Kwiatkowski, especially in relation to the

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<sup>53</sup> K. Kwiatkowski, *Wyprawa letnia 1410 roku*, in: S. Józwiak, K. Kwiatkowski, A. Szweda, S. Szybkowski, *Wojna...*, pp. 238-563.

<sup>54</sup> The whole monograph by the four authors on the 1409-1411 war has received a positive review, the only one so far, by Tomasz Jurek, see T. Jurek [rev.], S. Józwiak, K. Kwiatkowski, A. Szweda, S. Szybkowski, *Wojna Polski i Litwy z zakonem krzyżackim w latach 1409-1411*, Malbork 2010, ss. 846, "Roczniki Historyczne" LXXVI (2010), pp. 318-322.

<sup>55</sup> K. Kwiatkowski, *Neue Quellen aus dem Kreis des Deutschen Ordens zum Krieg von 1409-1411 (Teil I)*, "Zapiski Historyczne" LXXV (2010) 4, pp. 67-112.

<sup>56</sup> K. Kwiatkowski, *Pierwsze wrażenia w Prusach po porażce zakonu niemieckiego w bitwie grunwaldzkiej*, "Zapiski Historyczne" LXXV (2010) 2, pp. 47-66.

usefulness and effectiveness of the application of the method itself<sup>57</sup>. In the article published in the same year (2010) Witold Świątosławski summed up the results of research on the weaponry of the participants of the battle of Grunwald. He concluded that, paradoxically and contrary to the findings of older generations of researchers, it was the Polish party that possessed the weapons modelled after the western European ones, while the Teutonic Knights used the military equipment of eastern origin (Baltic, Lithuanian or Ruthenian)<sup>58</sup>.

On account of the round six hundredth anniversary of the battle of Grunwald, which occurred in 2010, a few conferences (in Poland and Lithuania) took place, and a few scientific works on the subject were published as well. For some important factual reasons they will be discussed below in a slightly changed chronology of their release. In October 2010 a big international conference was held in Vilna on the battle of Grunwald in the context of fighting a war and concluding peace in the Middle Ages. Three articles in the volume published in the early 2012, which was the outcome of this conference, refer directly to the problems discussed here. In the first essay (*The battle of Grunwald in the context of a late-medieval history of a battle, or a war*), its author Hans-Henning Kortum made an attempt to answer the question what makes the greatness and significance of a late-medieval armed clash: the number of the fighting participants, the killed ones, loot, captives, memory, or perhaps a legend? He noticed that already from the perspective of a few decades a war may be perceived in a different way, only because the perception of the same war can change with time. In consequence, the author concluded that none of medieval battles can be reconstructed in a credible way, as chroniclers who later wrote about it transformed it into a narrative myth, not reflecting the reality<sup>59</sup>. The author's interpretation and his conclusions can be challenged in a few places in terms of the correctness of the application of the historical method. Of course, one cannot question his view that it is impossible to reconstruct in a objective and fully credible manner the course of events in a battle due to the limited availability of sources. On the other hand, H.-H. Kortum based his deliberations on the contents of a few 15<sup>th</sup> century chronicles, which he had gathered randomly,

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57 S. Kwiatkowski, *O ludziach na pobojowisku grunwaldzkim. W związku z artykułem Krzysztofa Kwiatkowskiego "Pierwsze wrażenia w Prusach po porażce Zakonu Niemieckiego w bitwie grunwaldzkiej"*, "Zapiski Historyczne" LXXVI (2011) 2, pp. 87-93.

58 W. Świątosławski, *Broń walczących pod Grunwaldem. Próba porównania*, in: *Santok i Drzeń w konflikcie polsko-krzyżackim. W 600 rocznicę bitwy pod Grunwaldem*, ed. by W. Popek, Gorzów Wielkopolski 2012, pp. 17-30.

59 H.-H. Kortum, *Die Tannenbergsschlacht im Kontext der spätmittelalterlichen Kriegs- bzw. Schlachtgeschichte*, in: *Tannenberg – Grunwald – Žalgiris 1410: Krieg und Frieden im späten Mittelalter*, ed. by W. Paravicini, R. Petrauskas, G. Vercamer, Wiesbaden 2012, pp. 89-101.



whereas there are plenty other materials for this particular period. Thus one can put a justified question whether the author did not happen to try to match the narrative sources that he had collected this way with his previously advanced theses. And if this was the case, such practices have nothing to do with workshop professionalism of a historian. The content of another article, entitled 'Accounts of the tactics in the battle of Grunwald' by S. Ekdahl does not necessarily reflect the title as suggested by the author since this scholar did not define the concept 'tactics' itself. In fact, he presented the results of his long-standing research on the course of events in the battle, starting from the positions of the armies, through respective phases of the combat, ending with the effects and losses<sup>60</sup>. Here, one issue, which has been very important for a long time, needs to be commented on more widely. As it has already been mentioned, in 1963 S. Ekdahl became a discoverer of a new source, previously unused in the context of the battle of Grunwald. It is a letter redacted most likely in 1413 by an unknown commander of the mercenary troops to the Grand Master. In one of its passages the author made a retrospective reference to one episode of this battle (the content of the account does not indicate if he was present at Grunwald). According to him, the Teutonic Order should make sure in future that its mercenaries keep formation on the battlefield, even if it happened that one or two enemy banners would take a decision to retreat or flee. The aim of such an action would be to break the ranks of the Teutonic army, as it is typical of fighters to chase their foe, which occurred in the great battle [of Grunwald]<sup>61</sup>. In his works published over the past forty-five years S. Ekdahl has elaborated on the interpretation of this passage. He suggests that this was not an ordinary flight of the Lithuanians from the battlefield shown as such by Długosz, but a fake retreat of some of the Lithuanian-Ruthenian troops, which was a manoeuvre, previously planned together with the Polish party, which was a landmark moment for the future course of events in the battle of Grunwald<sup>62</sup>. With such an interpretation

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<sup>60</sup> S. Ekdahl, *Quellenaussagen über die Taktik in der Tannenberg Schlacht*, ibidem, pp. 285-299.

<sup>61</sup> For form's sake the key fragment of this source needs to be quoted as follows: *Lieber her meister! Ab is Got ffugete, das ir mit euwirn vinden tzu hoffe qwemet unde ir sult euwir ding bestellen unde schigken ken euwirn vinden, so were unsir ratd, das ir die geste, die ir bey euch hat, die ir dirkennet dorzu tochtig seyn, das ir die dotzu nemet unde bestellet mit euwirn gebitigern, das die gehorsam seyn wie sie geschigk werden, das sie do bleyben in der schigkunge. Is muchte geschen, das euwir vinde den uffsatz vor sich nehmen unde lissen eyne banirh addir tzuw weychin addir fluchtig werden: das were eyn uffsatz do mete sie meynten euwir schigkunge tzubrechen noch deme als die luthie phlegen gerne noch tzu yagen, als ouch geschach in dem grossen streythe [...]* (Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin-Dahlem, XX. Hauptabteilung, Ordensbriefarchiv [henceforth: OBA], no. 2024).

<sup>62</sup> S. Ekdahl, *Die Schlacht von Tannenberg und ihre Bedeutung in der Geschichte des Ordensstaates*, in: *Žalgirio laiku Lietuva ir jos kaimynai*, ed. by R. Čapaitė, A. Nikžentaitis, Vilnius

of this event the Swedish historian endorsed the opinion promoted by Antanas Kučinskas, a Lithuanian historian, (and continued in variants by his followers) in 1930 about the manoeuvre of a fake flight, carried out in this phase of the battle, which was the result of the deliberate choice made by the Grand Duke Vytautas<sup>63</sup>. Fortunately, in his article of 2012 discussed here, S. Ekdahl significantly softened the tone of his interpretation, this time only maintaining that this passage had mentioned a fake flight of some Lithuanian troops facing difficulties on the battlefield<sup>64</sup>. Indeed, in this account its author only warned the Grand Master not to be drawn in giving chase to one or two enemy banners, but not a single passage suggests that this manoeuvre had been planned at Grunwald by the Lithuanians (or the Grand Duke Vytautas himself). Besides, even a careful reading of S. Ekdahl's article of 2012 casts doubt on this issued in a number of cases (although the author did notice them). Is it possible that after an hour long, fierce battle against the Teutonic army on the left wing the Lithuanians could have carried out the manoeuvre of a previously planned, fake flee, or would this have been simply an ordinary escape? How should these alleged tactical intentions explained in the context of serious losses suffered by the Lithuanians in the war (first of all in the battle)? It is known from the letter written by the Commander of Balga to the Grand Master on the 21<sup>st</sup> October 1410 that the Grand Duke Vytautas lost half of his army in the summer campaign<sup>65</sup>. Moreover, how can this allegedly planned manoeuvre be explained in the light of the accounts of the battle of Grunwald included in the chronicles an anonymous continuator of Jan von Posilge (information on the Teutonic Knights breaking the initial attack of the Lithuanian-Ruthenian troops and the Poles saving the situation), Enea Silvio (similar information), or Bychowiec (who writes that the Duke Witold, facing a difficult situation of his troops, demanded help from Jagiełło)? These questions, which were asked here briefly, suggest a more balanced interpretation of this and other sources so that no theoretical deliberations which have nothing to do with academic research should arise. In general, one has to conclude that among historical studies written so far, the most objective and at the same time fully documented (indicating all possible difficulties in establishing facts) analysis of this stage of the battle of Grunwald has been carried out by K. Kwiatkowski<sup>66</sup>.

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1993, pp. 34-64; idem, *Žalgiris. Šiandienos žvilgsnis. Trys paskaitos Vilniuje*, Vilnius 1999; idem, *The Turning Point in the Battle of Tannenberg (Grunwald/Žalgiris) in 1410*, "Lituanus. The Lithuanian Quarterly Journal of Arts and Sciences" LVI (2010) 2, pp. 53-72.

63 A. Kučinskas, *Žalgirio mūšis*, in: idem, *Vytautas Didysis*, Kaunas 1930, pp. 69-90.

64 S. Ekdahl, *Quellenaussagen...*, p. 291.

65 OBA, no. 1376.

66 K. Kwiatkowski, *Wyprawa...*, pp. 415-417.

The collection of articles which were published as the result of the conference in Vilna in 2010 also includes the essay by Henadz Sahanovič, a Belarusian historian, on the participation of some Orthodox Ruthenians in the battle of Grunwald and on the impact those events had on future chroniclers writing on the territories which they inhabited. As far as the first issue is concerned, the author noticed that there are big difficulties in establishing how many Ruthenians took part in the battle. An additional problem is the fact that one cannot unambiguously identify those who as a matter of fact should be included in that ethnic group. Simultaneously, the researcher observed that the battle of Grunwald was by no means perceived by Ruthenian chroniclers in later years as a significant event<sup>67</sup>.

A few publications on the subject worthy of mention were released in 2011. Jerzy Rajman presented a number of his own remarks regarding respective phases of the battle, confronting the account by Długosz with other extant sources, and expressed his criticism of some previous findings in this matter. Not downgrading the significance of the ideologization of Grunwald noticeable in the account by the Polish chronicler, the author intended to explain what the chronicler could have really known about the military aspects of the battle. J. Rajman observed some alleged or factual yet false information which was presented by Długosz as regarded the itinerary, number of troops, formation, number of banners, course of events, losses etc. In conclusion the author decided that in general the description of the battle as written by the chronicler does not differ from the information on this subject included in the "Chronicle of the conflict". What is more, some facts appear in the work by Długosz only. Moreover, J. Rajman also maintains that the chronicler provided false information on the stance of the Lithuanian army on the battlefield. He also recognized that the source materials do not provide enough evidence to undermine Władysław Jagiełło's leadership skills<sup>68</sup>. Despite this scholar's unquestionable erudition, one has to accept some of his views with some reservations. This should be the case, for example, in relation to the controversy, mentioned here a few times, regarding the real or fake flight of the Lithuanian troops in the first phase of the battle. J. Rajman, not having carried out the analysis of the source discovered by S. Ekdahl in 1963, acknowledged the argument that the manoeuvre of a fake retreat had been premeditated. This proposal was suggested in this form by the Swedish

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67 H. Sahanovič, *Tannenberg und die ostslawische orthodoxe Welt*, in: *Tannenberg – Grunwald – Žalgiris...*, pp. 309-320.

68 J. Rajman, *Czy duchowni kronikarze potrafili opisać "wielkie starcie"? Uwagi o bitwie, liczebności i stratach obu armii w świetle źródeł i nowszej historiografii polskiej*, in: *Bitwa pod Grunwaldem w historii i tradycji Polski i Litwy*, ed. by J. Rajman, "Annales Universitatis Paedagogicae Cracoviensis", *Studia Historica*, XI, Kraków 2011, pp. 26-74.

scholar until recently, and he was followed by virtually all Lithuanian and some Polish researchers. Thereby, J. Rajman found the account by Długosz on this topic lacking any credibility. On the other hand, the argumentation presented here has suggested that the content of the source under discussion does not allow us to accept the conclusions drawn by the overwhelming majority of scholars and this question remains open. Therefore, it is not certain at all whether in this particular part of his narration Długosz deliberately distorted the facts (even if he did not mention the later return of part of the Lithuanian troops to the battleground).

The review of research on the battle of Grunwald in Lithuanian historical studies was written by Tomas Baranauskas in the same year (2011). This scholar observed that those researchers, contrary to Polish historians, were very sensitive to any attempts made to downgrade the role played by the Grand Duke Vytautas and his Lithuanian army in the battle of Grunwald, particularly in the early and final stages of the battle. In the most controversial issue of withdrawing the Lithuanians in the first phase of the battle, all their historians regarded it unanimously as a specially planned tactical manoeuvre whose aim was to break the enemy's ranks. They all cited the letter, discussed here numerous times, which was discovered in 1963 by S. Ekdahl. Its content is commonly acknowledged by Lithuanian historians as the final confirmation of the hypothesis on the manoeuvre of a fake flight. As far as the question of commanding the armies of the allied monarchs is concerned, a belief was prevailing among Lithuanian historians for a long time that it was the Duke Vytautas who was the chief commander, only to some extent aided by Władysław Jagiełło. Recently, however, there has been a tendency to acknowledge that both rulers equally contributed to the victory<sup>69</sup>. This brief review presented by T. Baranauskas reveals a specific approach of Lithuanian historians to the issues connected with the battle of Grunwald. It is clearly noticeable that the discovery made by S. Ekdahl plays an extremely important role in their deliberations on the battle. Unfortunately, none of Lithuanian researchers attempted to carry out an individual analysis of the content of this source, while drawing extensively on the interpretation suggested by the Swedish scholar, which in any case were modified with time. And the author of this essay tried to demonstrate above how fragile this basis is to be able to come to such definite conclusions.

In 2012 an article was published, whose author Mariusz Bartnicki focused on the issue of high command in the battle of Grunwald. The subject, already mentioned here, has been disputed for many years now. The author argues

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<sup>69</sup> T. Baranauskas, *Bitwa po Grunwaldem w pracach historyków litewskich*, ibidem, pp. 75-91.

that the information included in the work by Długosz on appointing Zyndram of Maszkowice the commander of the Polish army and on the actions taken by the Grand Duke Vytautas during the battle cannot be regarded as the chronicler's attempts to diminish Władysław Jagiełło's leadership there. In conclusion the researcher emphasised that neither the Duke Vytautas was made to be a great commander by the author of this account, nor Zyndram, whose participation in the combat was passed over in silence by Długosz in his description of the battle itself. Thus Długosz did not deny the role of the King of Poland as the leader, while his description of the ruler's conduct during the military conflict stemmed from the composition of the work formerly adopted by the chronicler and based on the image of a pious monarch<sup>70</sup>.

In the same year (2012) another monograph of the battle of Grunwald was published by Sylvain Gouguenheim, a French medievalist. Since the author directed his work at readers who know little or virtually nothing about political relations in this part of Europe, he briefly outlined in the preface to his book the territorial, situational and chronological context of the events (starting from the 1380s). Next, after presenting direct and indirect causes of the war, he discussed the heart of the matter. The battle of Grunwald was showed by him in a wider context. In the first part the author described the balance of powers, weaponry, tactics, intelligence, itineraries of armies and their positions. After that, the author discussed in detail the course of events during the battle itself and its short-term and long-term consequences<sup>71</sup>. Despite some small factual mistakes, the book by S. Gouguenheim should be appraised very highly. The author is not only fluent in Latin and German language sources, which in fact he analyses himself in many cases, but what also deserves respect is his in-depth knowledge of historical studies of the subject. It is almost impossible to indicate the scientific studies in Polish and German on the subject (including the latest ones) which he would not know. His book is also significant because it not only puts the battle of Grunwald in the context of mutual relations between Poland, Lithuania and the Teutonic State, but also discusses it as an element of the medieval history of Europe. Undoubtedly, this is the best work that has been published on this issue in western European historical studies.

To sum up this review of research on the battle of Grunwald over the past half-century, one has to notice that the knowledge of this subject has significantly increased in this period. A few factors have contributed to this.

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70 M. Bartnicki, *Kwestia dowodzenia w bitwie grunwaldzkiej*, in: *600-lecie bitwy pod Grunwaldem i jej tradycje*, ed. by G. Jakimińska, Z. Nasalski, R. Szczygieł, Lublin 2012, pp. 75-86.

71 S. Gouguenheim, *Tannenberg 15 juillet 1410*, Paris 2012.

First of all, new sources have been discovered (even though they are still not too numerous) and the methods of their analysis have been perfected. In addition, the research on the battle of Grunwald has been greatly facilitated by gradual abandonment of its ideologization in the context of complicated modern history of the relations between Poland, Germany and Lithuania. Last but not least, of certain significance is the fact that a growing number of scholars who come from outside the classic range of interest, which is beneficial for greater objectivism of a scientific discourse, investigate this issue. All these factors let us hope that the future will bring some more interesting discoveries relating to this important fragment of the history of late medieval Europe.

translated by Robert Bubczyk

#### ABSTRACT

To recapitulate the review of research on the Battle of Grunwald over the past half-century, it should be remarked that the knowledge of this event has significantly increased in this period. This has been made possible by a number of factors. First of all, discovering new sources, especially written (yet they are still insufficient in numbers), and perfecting methods of their analysis need to be mentioned. The study of the Battle of Grunwald is also greatly facilitated by the fact that historians gradually depart from approaching the problem in an ideological manner in the context of complicated modern history of mutual Polish-German and Polish-Lithuanian relations. Finally, it is also of some significance that more and more academics from outside the classic circle deal with the battle, which is undoubtedly beneficial for making the scientific discourse more objective. All things considered, one should hope that in future some other, interesting discoveries will be made on this important fragment of the European history of the late Middle Ages.



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## DAS MÜHLWESEN ALS BESTANDTEIL DER WIRTSCHAFTSPOLITIK DES DEUTSCHEN ORDENS IN PREUSSEN\*



Die Erforschung der Entwicklung des gesamten Netzes von Wassermühlen im Mittelalter wie auch deren Bedeutung in Hinsicht auf die sich innerhalb der damaligen Gesellschaften vollziehenden sozial-wirtschaftlichen Umwandlungen kennzeichnet sich bereits durch eine lange Tradition in der Geschichtsschreibung<sup>1</sup>. Im Falle des Deutschordenslandes in Preußen verfügte man neben der umfangreichen Studie Hans Steffens<sup>2</sup>, der Rolle der auf ländlichen Gebieten betriebenen Wassermühlen gewidmet, über allgemeine Anmerkungen zu deren Bedeutung für die Wirtschaftsführung des Deutschen Ordens, formuliert von Jürgen Sarnowsky<sup>3</sup>. Mit Rücksicht hierauf bedurfte eine vollständige Beurteilung des Mühlwesens und dessen Rolle bei der Wirtschaftsführung des Deutschen Ordens neuer, umfangreicher Erforschung, und dies gestützt auf alle heute zugänglichen Quellen. Unter den wichtigsten Fragen im Zusammenhang mit der Erforschung des sich entwickelnden Mühlwesens auf diesen Gebieten seien die Bewertung der tatsächlichen ökonomi-

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\* Dieser Aufsatz liegt als Kurzdarstellung eines Teils von Forschungsergebnissen vor, die als Buchausgabe *Młynarstwo w państwie zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach w XIII-XV w. (do 1454 r.)*, Gdańsk 2012 veröffentlicht wurden.

1 Hierbei sei zu verweisen auf klassische Studien M. Blochs, *Avènement et conquête du moulin à eau*, „Annales d'histoire économique et sociale“ VII (1935), S. 538-563; E.M. Carus-Wilson, *An Industrial Revolution of the Thirteenth Century*, „The Economic History Review“ XI (1941) 1, S. 39-60 sowie auf die neueren Monographien von R. Holt, *The Mills of Medieval England*, New York 1988; J. Langdon, *Mills in the Medieval Economy England 1300-1540*, New York 2004.

2 H. Steffen, *Das ländliche Mühlwesen im Deutschordenslande*, „Zeitschrift des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins“ LVIII (1918), S. 73-92.

3 J. Sarnowsky, *Die Wirtschaftsführung des Deutschen Ordens in Preußen (1382-1454)*, Veröffentlichungen aus den Archiven Preussischer Kulturbesitz, XXXIV, Köln-Weimar-Wien 1993.



schen Bedeutung der Wasser- und Windmühlen für die Wirtschaftsführung der einzelnen administrativen Einheiten des Deutschen Ordens wie auch die allgemeine wirtschaftliche Politik des Ordens den Müllern gegenüber zu erwähnen, die entweder als Eigentums- oder als Pachtmüller tätig waren. Indem man sich des Zustands der erhaltenen Quellen bewusst ist, die zur entsprechenden Darstellung dieser Frage unentbehrlich sind, muss man im Voraus ausdrücklich bemerken, dass man die detaillierten Forschungen in vielen Fällen lediglich ausschließlich für die zweite Hälfte des 14. und die erste Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts durchführen konnte. Im Zusammenhang damit beziehen sich meistens die hierbei formulierten detaillierten Anmerkungen eben auf diese Zeitspanne, wobei sie nicht immer auf die früher herrschenden Verhältnisse bezogen werden können. Trotz dieser Einschränkungen versuchen wir die Organisation und das Funktionieren des Mühlwesens im Deutschordenslande näher zu betrachten, und insbesondere auf Gebieten, die der unmittelbaren Obrigkeit des Deutschen Ordens unterstellt waren. Auf ein Minimum wurden hierbei Anmerkungen zur Organisation und Funktion von Mühlen auf Gebieten beschränkt, die im Rahmen des zur Kirche (vornehmlich zu Klöstern) gehörenden Großbesitzes wie auch auf den der Obrigkeit der Bischöfe und der bischöflichen Kapitel unterstellten Gebieten innerhalb des Deutschordenslandes in Preußen betrieben wurden.

#### GESETZLICHE REGELN IM BEREICH DES MÜHLWESENS

Die richtige Bewertung der Verhältnisse, unter denen der Deutsche Orden seine Wirtschaftspolitik im Bereich des Mühlwesens führte, sei nur dann möglich, wenn man sich im Voraus darüber klar wird, dass es dem Deutschen Orden – als dem in Preußen größten Grundbesitzer – gelang, das für ihn günstige Recht, das heißt das Mühlenregal festzusetzen. Das Mühlenregal erlaubte dem Deutschen Orden den Bau allerart Mühlenanlagen örtlich und zeitlich zu beaufsichtigen, zunächst der mit Wasserkraft angetriebenen und dann auch der Windmühlen. Das Durchsetzen solcher Regelung ergab sich nicht nur aus ökonomischen Voraussetzungen, sondern auch aus der besonderen militärischen Bedeutung der Wassermühlen zur Zeit der Eroberung Preußens im 13. Jahrhundert<sup>4</sup>. Vergleichbare Begünstigungen im staatlichen Ausmaß gewannen lediglich Bischöfe und bischöfliche Kapitel auf den von

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<sup>4</sup> Auf militärische Bedeutung der Wassermühlen im Deutschordenslande verwies G. Kisch, *Das Mühlenrecht im Deutschordensgebiete*, in: *Studien zur Rechts- und Sozialgeschichte des Deutschordenslandes*, Sigmaringen 1973, S. 103. Mit Rücksicht auf diese Voraussetzungen präsentierte ich diese Frage umfangreich in meinem Aufsatz: R. Kubicki, *Zur militärischen Bedeutung der Wassermühlen im Ordensland Preußen*, in: *Beiträge zur Militärgeschichte des Preußenlandes*, hrsg. von B. Jähnig, Berlin 2010, S. 291-300.

ihnen kontrollierten Gebieten. Über keine dergleichen Rechte verfügte dagegen das hiesige Rittertum. Wollte ein Ritter eine Mühle beziehungsweise eine Windmühle erbauen, musste er jeweils eine Baugenehmigung seitens des Deutschen Ordens erwerben, um eine derartige Anlage in seinen Gütern zu errichten. Von besonderer Bedeutung war für den Deutschen Orden das Recht auf Ausschließlichkeit im Bereich des Aufbaus von Mühlenanlagen in der Nähe von Schlössern und in den Städten<sup>5</sup>. Folgen jener Politik können deutlich am Beispiel der Komturei Gniew/Mewe illustriert werden, wo der Orden über eine große Mühle in Wierzyca/ Ferse in der nächsten Umgebung der Stadt Mewe sowie über drei Mühlen in der Nähe der Deutschordensgüter in Starogard/Preußisch Stargard, Brody/Deutsch Brodde und Wda/Mühle Wda) verwaltete<sup>6</sup>. Im Einlösungs- bzw. Tauschwege erwarben die Deutschordensritter das Recht auf Einnahmen aus Betrieb von Mühlen, die sich im 13. Jahrhundert im Besitz der Stadt Toruń/Thorn befanden, und in anderen Städten gewährte sich der Deutsche Orden das ausschließliche Recht auf Mühlenaufbau, indem er diese Begünstigung durch entsprechende Klauseln in den lokationsbezogenen Handfesten bestätigte<sup>7</sup>. Infolge dessen gehörten alle Wassermühlen und alle mit Wasserkraft angetriebenen Anlagen in den großen Städten des Deutschordenslandes zum Deutschen Orden<sup>8</sup>. Es waren eben diejenigen Anlagen, die ihnen die höchsten Einnahmen gewährten.

Eine vergleichbare wirtschaftliche Bedeutung hatte für die Deutschordensritter das gesamte Netz von Schlossmühlen, die nicht nur die Bedürfnisse

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5 Eine Genehmigung für den Betrieb von städtischen Mühlen, die durch den Deutschen Orden nicht kontrolliert wurden, stellte durchaus eine Ausnahme dar und bezog sich u.a. auf Chojnice/Konitz, Chełmno/Kulm und Pasym/Passenheim. Solche Städte wie Stare Miasto Elbląg/Altstadt Elbing und Stare Miasto Toruń/Altstadt Thorn erwarben dagegen 1410 das Recht, eine Rossmühle aufzubauen.

6 K. Bruski, *Ziemia nad dolną Wieżycą od XIII do początków XV wieku*, Gdańsk 1997, S. 148; idem, *Gniew w średniowieczu (XIII - połowa XV w.)*, in: *Dzieje miasta Gniewu do 1939 r.*, hrsg. von B. Śliwiński, Pelplin 1998, S. 94.

7 Diskussion zur Frage des Rechtsstatus der Thorner Mühlen siehe P. Ostwald, *Die Mühlen der Stadt Thorn im Mittelalter*, „Mitteilungen des Copernicus-Vereins für Wissenschaft und Kunst zu Thorn“ (weiter zit.: MCV) XX (1912), S. 2-7; G. Kisch, *Das Mühlenregal im Deutschordensgebiete*, „Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte“, Germanische Abteilung XLVIII (1928), S. 176-193; A. Semrau, *Zur Geschichte des Mühlenregals im Deutschordenslande*, MCV XXXVII (1929), S. 1-10.

8 In den späteren Zeiten bemühten sich vornehmlich die großen Städte um das Recht, in ihrem Gebiet Rossmühlen aufbauen zu können. Im Jahre 1410 und dann 1454 wandten sie sich an den polnischen König mit der Bitte, ihnen die einst dem Deutschen Orden gehörenden Mühlen zu verleihen. Die Stadt Gdańsk/Danzig tat es bereits 1410, siehe P. Simson, *Geschichte der Stadt Danzig*, IV, Danzig 1918, Nr. 121, S. 83-85; die anderen Städte erst 1454 siehe A. Semrau, *Zur Geschichte des Mühlenregals...*, S. 9-10; J. Luciński, *Przywilej chełmiński z 1233 r., jego treść oraz dzieje jego postanowień*, in: *Studia culmensia historico-juridica czyli księga pamiątkowa 750-lecia prawa chełmińskiego*, I, hrsg. von Z. Zdrójkowski, Toruń 1990, S. 116.

der eigenen Güter und Vorwerke, sondern auch der umliegenden Dörfer befriedigten.

Da der Deutsche Orden das Mühlenregal innehatte, konnte er den daran interessierten Personen das Recht gewähren, in ihren Dörfern Wassermühlen aufzubauen. Es erfolgte meistens in Form eines besonderen Müllerprivilegs, das an den Müller verliehen wurde und ihm das erbliche Nutzungsrecht an der Mühle gewährte. Meistens wurde das Vorrecht nach dem Kulmischen Recht beziehungsweise als Bestandteil einer Leihung für den Schultheiß – den Lokator des Dorfes verliehen<sup>9</sup>. Im letzteren Fall wurden allerart Mühlenanlagen wahrscheinlich in der Praxis von den zu diesem Zweck gedungenen Müllern erbaut und betrieben, die über entsprechende Fachkenntnisse und Geschicklichkeit verfügten, die jedoch keine Eigentumsrechte auf ihre Arbeitswerkstatt besaßen. Ähnlich gestaltete sich auch die Situation in den von den ehemaligen Lokatoren beaufsichtigten Mühlen in den bischöflichen Städten in Ermland, den bischöflichen Mühlen wie auch in den auf ritterlichen Wirtschaftshöfen und im umfangreichen kirchlichen Grundbesitz (Klöster in Pomerellen) angelegten Mühlen. Mit der Zeit wechselten selbstverständlich die bisherigen Besitzer, und zwar sowohl der Erbmühlen als auch derjenigen, die als Bestandteil einer größeren Schenkung galten, der Orden behielt sich jedoch das Recht auf Kontrolle über all diese Geschäfte sowie das Recht auf Akzeptanz solcher Verträge vor.

#### DAS MÜHLENNETZ IM DEUTSCHORDENSSTAAT

Wie bereits oben erwähnt, entschied der Deutsche Orden dank dem ihm zustehenden Mühlenregal über zeitliche und örtliche Gegebenheiten der anzulegenden Mühlen, und dieses Prinzip bezog sich sowohl auf seine Dörfer als auch auf ritterliche Güter. Im Falle der neu angelegten Dörfer und Städte bediente man sich recht umfangreich entweder eines Systems der Platzreservierung für den Bau einer Mühle für Eigenbedarf oder der Gewährung des Baurechts für Schultheißen beziehungsweise Müller, und dies gegen einen im Voraus in der Lokationsurkunde des Dorfes oder in einem besonderen Mühlenprivileg zu leistenden Zins, der entweder als Getreide- oder Geldzins zu entrichten war<sup>10</sup>. Die Analyse der räumlichen Verteilung von Mühlen verweist eindeutig auf die durch den Deutschen Orden konsequent durchgesetzte Wirtschaftspolitik hin, die eng mit den Vorhaben im Bereich von Neubesiedlung verbunden war. Insbesondere bezog es sich auf das gesamte

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<sup>9</sup> Zur Frage des Formulars wie auch der in den Mühlenprivilegien enthaltenen Regelungen berichtete umfangreich G. Kisch, *Das Mühlenrecht im Deutschordensgebiete*, S. 123-135.

<sup>10</sup> Eine detaillierte Analyse der Reservierungsfälle enthält das Buch von R. Kubicki, *Młynarstwo w państwie zakonu...*, S. 88-93.

Netz von ländlichen Mühlen: Hierbei setzte man nicht nur das System der Platzreservierung für künftige Mühlenanlagen durch, sondern man bestimmte gleichzeitig den Abstand zwischen den einzelnen Mühlen und führte das Verbot ein, neue Mühlenanlagen in bestimmter Entfernung von den bereits bestehenden Mühlen errichten zu dürfen<sup>11</sup>. Eine Ergänzung des vorhandenen Wassermühlennetzes stellten Windmühlen dar. Angesichts der eigenartigen Geländevoraussetzungen wurden sie zur grundsätzlichen Mahlanlage lediglich im Weichselwerder<sup>12</sup>. In städtischen und ländlichen Gebieten, die dem Deutschen Orden direkt unterstanden, erwähnte man bis 1454 in den erhaltenen Quellen insgesamt über 740 Wasser- und Windmühlen. Nicht alle genannten Anlagen bestanden und wurden zur gleichen Zeit in Betrieb genommen. Es handelte sich dabei um 78% aller Mühlen, die im gesamten Deutschordensstaat in den Quellen erwähnt wurden. Zum Vergleich betrug der Mühlenanteil in den bischöflichen Gütern insgesamt 12,6% und in den Gütern der bischöflichen Kapitel 5,4%<sup>13</sup>.

Eine gesetzlich und wirtschaftlich aus dem Dorfgebiete ausgesonderte Mühle galt als eigenständiger Wirtschaftshof, dem meistens das Recht darauf zustand, im Mühlenteich Fischfang zu treiben; gar nicht selten verfügte eine Mühle über eigene Grundverleihung oder sogar über das Recht, eine Schänke zu betreiben. Gleichzeitig wurde der spezifische Mühlenbetrieb, und vor allem die Notwendigkeit, Wasser zu stauen, zur Hauptursache dessen, dass man allerart Mühlenrechte und deren Relationen mit dem Dorf eindeutig festzulegen hatte, wovon auch die im Zusammenhang damit entstehenden

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11 Grundsätzlich sollte der Mindestabstand zwischen den einzelnen Wassermühlen von einer halben bis zu einer Meile (circa 3,8 bis 7,7 km) betragen, und zwar flussaufwärts und flussabwärts zählend, das heißt, man durfte in einem Abstand von 7,7 bis 15,4 km von der bereits betriebenen Mühle keine neuen Mühlenanlagen aufbauen, siehe R. Kubicki, *Młynarstwo w państwie zakonu...*, S. 312.

12 W. Długokęcki, *Z dziejów młynarstwa w komturstwie malborskim w XIII-XV wieku*, „Rocznik Elbląski” XII (1991), S. 31-62; idem, *Młynarstwo w komturstwie malborskim w XIII-XV w.*, in: W. Długokęcki, J. Kuczyński, B. Pospieszna, *Młyny w Malborku i okolicy od XIII do XIX wieku*, Malbork 2004, S. 7-36; R. Kubicki, *Wiatraki na Żuławach w pierwszej połowie XV w.*, „Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych” LXXII (2012), S. 45-72.

13 Den einzelnen Institutionen unterstanden die unten erwähnten Zahlen von Mühlen, wobei man alle bis 1454 quellenartig erwähnten Anlagen berücksichtigte. Nicht alle hierbei genannten Mühlen bestanden wahrscheinlich zur selben Zeit. Unter Herrschaft des Deutschordensstaates waren es 743 Mühlen, des Bischofs von Ermland 67, des Ermländer Domkapitels 31, des Bischofs von Samland 19, des Samländer Kapitels 3, des Bischofs von Pomesanien 9, des Domkapitels von Pomesanien 12, des Bischofs von Włocławek/Leslau 14, des Bischofs von Płock/Plock 2, des Erzbischofs von Gniezno/Gnesen 2, des Bischofs von Kulm 9, des Domkapitels von Chełmża/Culmsee 5, in den Gütern der Zisterzienser zu Oliwa/Oliva 12, der Zisterzienser zu Pelplin 4, der Zisterzienserinnen zu Żarnowiec/Zarnowitz 2, der Prämonstratenserinnen zu Żukowa/Zuckau 7 und der Kartäuser zu Kartuzy/Karthaus 7. Eine detaillierte Zusammenstellung samt Aufteilung in die einzelnen Halbjahrhunderte siehe R. Kubicki, *Młynarstwo w państwie zakonu...*, Tabelle Nr. 33, S. 326.

Streitigkeiten zeugten<sup>14</sup>. Erbmüller beziehungsweise andere Mühleneigentümer nutzen manchmal auch die so genannten Scharwerkverpflichtungen aus, die zu ihren Gunsten die in der Umgebung lebenden Bauern zu leisten hatten<sup>15</sup>. In absoluten Zahlen waren die meisten Mahlanlagen in Komtureien Danzig, Bałga/Balga, Elbląg/Elbing und Królewiec/Königsberg im Betrieb. Insbesondere ist hierfür die hohe Position der zwei im östlichen Teil des Staates liegenden Komtureien zu beachten. Die erhaltenen Quellen weisen darauf hin, dass die Zahl der betriebenen Wasser- und Windmühlen zu Anfängen des 15. Jahrhunderts am höchsten zu schätzen sei; später verringerte sich diese Zahl systematisch infolge unterschiedlicher Gründe<sup>16</sup>. Auf die genaue Verteilung der Mühlen verweist die unten dargestellte Tabelle sowie die dem Text beigelegte Karte<sup>17</sup>.

Tabelle 1: Mühlenzahl – aufgeteilt in die einzelnen Verwaltungseinheiten des Deutschordensstaates bis 1454<sup>18</sup>.

Lfd. Nr.	Verwaltungseinheit	Datum der Aufzeichnung					Mühlenzahl insgesamt (einschl. Windmühlen)	Darunter Zahl der Mühlen, die den Getreidezins entrichteten (einschl. Windmühlen)
		1200-1249	1250-1299	1300-1349	1350-1399	1400-1454		
Bischöfliche Domänen								
1	Bistum Pomesanien			3	3	3	9	4
2	Domkapitel Pomesanien			2	9	1	12 (1)	6 (1)
3	Bistum Samland		1	9	7	2	19 (1)	2

<sup>14</sup> H. Steffen, op.cit., S. 90; R. Kubicki, *Młynarstwo w państwie zakonu...*, S. 256-258.

<sup>15</sup> H. Steffen, op.cit., S. 87; R. Kubicki, *Młynarstwo w państwie zakonu...*, S. 65-66.

<sup>16</sup> Es bestätigt unterschiedliche Entwicklungstendenzen innerhalb des Deutschordensstaates und der benachbarten Gebiete dem westlichen Europa gegenüber. Zum Beispiel war die Zahl der vorhandenen Mühlen in England in den ersten Dekaden des 14. Jahrhunderts am höchsten, dann verringerte sie sich um die Mitte dieses Jahrhunderts, um dann im Mittelalter niemals den vorherigen Zustand erreicht zu haben, siehe J. Langdon, *Watermills and Windmills in the West Midlands, 1086-1500*, „Economic History Review“, New Series XLIV (August 1991) 3, S. 424; J. Ambler, J. Langdon, *Lordship and Peasant Consumerism in the Milling Industry of Early Fourteenth-century England*, „Past and Present“ CXLV (November 1994), S. 5.

<sup>17</sup> Die hier präsentierte Karte liegt als Abdruck der Karte Nr. 9 vor, die im Buch von R. Kubicki, *Młynarstwo w państwie zakonu...*, S. 352 zu finden ist.

<sup>18</sup> In den aufeinander folgenden fünfzigjährigen Perioden stellte man Informationen über neue Mühlen, die in den Quellen aufgezeichnet worden sind, dar. Die Auflistung berücksichtigt keine Mühlen, die in den Dörfern des Bistums Leslau betrieben wurden, wobei deren Zahl auf mindestens 14 zu berechnen sei (11 bekannte Mühlen nach 1400), wie auch 2 Mühlen im Erzbistum Gnesen.

4	Domkapitel Samland		1	1	1		3	1
5	Bistum Ermland		5	23	29	10	67 (2)	–
6	Domkapitel Ermland			13	7	11	31	6
7	Bistum Kulm					9	9 (2)	1 (2)
8	Domkapitel Culmsee			1	3	1	5 (1)	2 (1)
Konturen und sonstige Einheiten des Deutschordensstaates								
1	Gdańsk/Danzig		7	9	13	87	116 (3)	8 (2)
2	Bałga/Balga	1		2	11	80	94 (1)	–
3	Elbląg/Elbing		3	11	4	42	60 (3)	10 (2)
4	Królewiec/ Königsberg		2	5	16	34	57 (1)	–
5	Ostróda/ Osterode			7	5	34	46	13
6	Tczew/Vogtei Dirschau		6	8	9	22	45 (4)	6 (2)
7	Malbork/Marienburg			2	5	37	44 (27)	6 (2)
8	Pokarmin/ Brandenburg			2	2	36	40 (1)	5
9	Tuchola/Tuchel		1	4	14	10	29 (2)	11 (1)
10	Dzierzgoń/Christburg		1	10	5	16	32 (5)	8 (3)
11	Człuchów/Schlochau			4	14	16	34 (4)	5 (1)
12	Brodnica/Strasburg			3		18	21	8
13	Gniew/Mewe		4	3	1	6	14	5
14	Świecie/Schwetz		2	3		13	18	5
15	Toruń/Thorn		4	2	3	10	19 (2)	2 (2)
16	Golub/Gollub					12	12	5
17	Grudziądz/Graudenz				2	7	9	1
18	Pokrzywno/ Engelsburg				1	8	9	2
19	Rogóżno/ Vogtei Roggenhausen				2	7	9 (3)	3 (2)
20	Radzyń/Rheden					9	9 (2)	6 (2)
21	Kłajpeda/Memel		2		2	1	5	–
22	Kowalewo/Schönsee			1		6	7	–
23	Bratian/Vogtei Brattian			2	1	3	6	2
24	Starogród/Althaus				3	10	13 (3)	3 (2)
25	Nieszawa/Nessau			1	2	5	8 (1)	2 (1)
26	Papowo/Papau					3	3	3
27	Ragneta/Ragnit					3	3 (1)	–
28	Lipienek/Leipe					1	1	–

Quelle: R. Kubicki, *Młynarstwo w państwie zakonu...*, Tabelle Nr. 34, S. 327-328.

ORGANISATION UND WIRTSCHAFTLICHE BEDEUTUNG  
DER DEM DEUTSCHEN ORDEN GEHÖRENDE MÜHLEN

Im Zusammenhang damit, dass der Deutsche Orden alleiniger Besitzer von Stadt- und Schlossmühlen war, erarbeitete er die detaillierten Grundsätze der Verwaltung über diese Anlagen wie auch der Aufteilung der aus diesen Anlagen gewonnenen Einnahmen. Die organisatorische und finanzielle Aufsicht über diese Mühlen übten die so genannten Mühlmeister, Ritter- beziehungsweise Sariantbrüder, die zu den einzelnen Ordenskonventen gehörten, auf deren Territorien derartige Anlagen betrieben wurden. Die Mühlmeister, ähnlich wie andere, mit der Bewirtschaftung der Konventsgüter beauftragten Beamten, waren verpflichtet, detaillierte Rechnungsdokumentation zu führen, Jahresabschlüsse sowie Inventare des von ihnen verwalteten Wirtschaftshofes vorzubereiten, die sie ihren Vorgesetzten im Moment allerart Amtswechsel vorzustellen hatten<sup>19</sup>. Der Mühlmeister beaufsichtigte nicht nur die ihm unterstellten Mühlen, sondern auch besoldete die Arbeiter und führte eine selbständige wirtschaftliche Tätigkeit, indem er von den erworbenen Einnahmen die nötigen Reparaturarbeiten und die neuen Investitionen finanzierte. Die wirtschaftliche Bedeutung der unter unmittelbarer Obrigkeit des Deutschen Ordens stehenden Mühlen wie auch die dementsprechend wichtige Rolle des Mühlmeisters im Dienste des bestimmten Konvents beruhten vornehmlich auf Belieferung des Konvents mit nötigem Getreide und Malz, die wiederum als Mahlgebühr von der Bevölkerung eingezogen wurden, die ihr Getreide in der Ordensmühle mahlen ließ<sup>20</sup>. Außerdem erfüllten sie auch andere Pflichten, ähnlich wie die anderen Ritterbrüder,

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19 J. Sarnowsky, *Die Wirtschaftsführung...*, S. 155. Zwei Inventare der Ausrüstung der Marienburger Mühlen sind bekannt: vom 1430 und vom 1441, *Das Marienburger Ämterbuch*, hrsg. von W. Ziesemer, Danzig 1916 (weiter zit.: MA), S. 150-151.

20 Die Höhe der Mahlgebühr wurde in der Mühlenordnung des Hochmeisters des Deutschen Ordens Dietrich von Altenburg (1335-1341) festgesetzt und diese Regeln waren für den gesamten Deutschordensstaat obliegend. Nach dieser Ordnung hatte ein Mahlgast im Falle, dass das Mahlen beziehungsweise das Schroten von Getreide unter Beteiligung eigener Dienstleute stattfand, von jedem Kornscheffel (*mensura*) eine Metze (*mezcze*) als Gebühr zu leisten. Dieses grundsätzliche Getreidemaß (*Metze*) machte den sechzehnten Teil eines Scheffels (1 Scheffel = circa 55 l) aus, das heißt ungefähr 3,4 Liter. Eine derartige Gebühr wurde von jedem gemahlene Scheffel eingezogen. Zusätzlich legte man Gebühren fest, die dann zu entrichten waren, wenn das gelieferte Getreide mit Hilfe der in der Mühle beschäftigten Mühlgesellen gemahlen wurde. Fürs Mahlen von zwei Scheffeln Getreide und fürs Schroten von 6 Scheffeln Malz sollte man zusätzlich einen Pfennig (Denarius) bezahlen. Gleichzeitig durfte man einen Mahlgast, der sein Getreide selbständig mahlen wollte, nicht zwingen, den Dienst der Mühlgesellen in Anspruch nehmen zu müssen. Eine derart festgesetzte Mahlgebühr galt auch später als obliegend, siehe *Preußisches Urkundenbuch*, III/1, hrsg. von M. Hein, Königsberg 1944, Nr. 416, S. 285.

die zu den bestimmten Konventen gehörten; sie fungierten also als Zeugen bei der Erstellung von Urkunden, es war sogar ein Fall bekannt, dass ein Mühlmeister in Vertretung des abwesenden Komturs Gericht halten sollte<sup>21</sup>. Hauptsächlich beruhte jedoch die Rolle und Aufgabe der Mühlmeister darauf, den Betrieb von Getreidemühlen wie auch den damit gebundenen wirtschaftlichen Anlagen (Walkmühlen, Brauereien, Bäckereien, Schweineställen usw.) zu beaufsichtigen<sup>22</sup>.

Es waren große Produktionsbetriebe mit eigenem Personal, deren Aufgabe es war, bestimmte Einnahmen auszuarbeiten, die in den wirtschaftlichen Plänen der einzelnen Komtureien berücksichtigt wurden. In den Ordensmühlen in Elbing, die vom hiesigen Mühlmeister verwaltet wurden, wurden zum Beispiel im Jahre 1386 achtzehn Personen beschäftigt<sup>23</sup>. Laut den Rechnungen aus dem Jahre 1431 bezahlte der genannte Mühlmeister von seinen Einnahmen 21 Personen, das Mühlgesinde nicht eingerechnet, das gesondert besoldet wurde<sup>24</sup>. Der Mühlmeister in Pasłęk/Preußisch Holland besoldete dagegen im Jahre 1444 insgesamt 6 Personen<sup>25</sup> und der Komtur zu Dzierzgoń/Christburg im Jahre 1429 und 1440 ungefähr 10 Personen<sup>26</sup>. Eine Vorstellung

21 Quellenaufzeichnungen zusammengestellt von J. Sarnowsky, *Die Wirtschaftsführung...*, S. 158.

22 Dieses Amt wurde nach Bedarf dort einberufen, wo die Ordensmühlen betrieben wurden. Zum Aufgabenbereich der Mühlmeister siehe J. Sarnowsky, *Die Wirtschaftsführung...*, S. 153-159. Eine Zusammenstellung jener Beamten für das 15. Jahrhundert ist den Personenverzeichnissen der einzelnen Konvente zu entnehmen, bearbeitet von P.G. Thielen, *Die Verwaltung des Ordensstaates Preussen vornehmlich im 15. Jahrhundert*, Köln 1965, S. 136, 138, 141, 143, 147, 153, 162, 175.

23 Dem Mühlmeister unterstanden neben Mühlknechten (*molknechten*) auch 2 Mälzer (*melczer*) sowie weitere Brauer: ein Brauermeister samt drei Knechten wie auch ein Bäckermeister – ein Werkmeister und drei Knechte, siehe W. Ziesemer, *Wirtschaftsordnung des Elbinger Ordenshauses*, „Sitzungsberichte der Altertumsgesellschaft Prussia“ XXIV (1922), S. 14-15; A. Semrau, *Der Wirtschaftsplan des Ordenshauses Elbing aus dem Jahre 1386*, MCV XLV (1937), S. 40; B. Geremek, *Problem siły roboczej w Prusach w pierwszej połowie XV w.*, „Przegląd Historyczny“ XLVIII (1957) 2, S. 198.

24 Es waren: 1 Schreiber, 1 Mälzer (*melczer*), 1 Koch, 1 Stallknecht (*stalknechte*), 2 Kutscher, 2 Schweineknechte (*schwinknechten*), 3 Werkmeister, 4 Helfer (*helferen*), und darüber hinaus 3 Bäckereiarbeiter, 1 Brauermeister (*bruermmeister*) und dessen 2 Gehilfen, siehe Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz Berlin Dahlem (weitr zit.: GStA PK) XX. HA, Ordensfoliant (weiter zit.: OF) 200b I, k. 87v, 88r-v.

25 Es waren: 1 Roggenmüller (*rockenmolner*), 1 Werkmeister, 1 Mahlgebühreinnehmer (*metczenner*), Gehilfe Martin, 1 Schweineknecht und 1 Mälzer, siehe GStA PK, OF 200b I, k. 149r.

26 Im Jahre 1429 belohnte man 1 Mahlgebühreinnehmer (*metczenner*), 1 Werkmeister, dessen Gehilfe, 1 Koch, 1 Fischer, 1 Bäcker, Gartengehilfen, Fuhrknechte und manche Lohnarbeiter aus Masowien (*Masurken*), siehe Z.H. Nowak, J. Tandecki, *Przyczynki do życia codziennego w zakonie krzyżackim. Wykaz rachunków komturstwa dzierzgońskiego z 1429 roku*, „Zapiski Historyczne“ LXV (2000) 3-4, S. 163-164, 170-171. Im Jahre 1440 erhielten ihren Lohn wie



über die Zahl der in solchen Betrieben beschäftigten Personen liefert auch das Verzeichnis der Arbeiter der Großen Mühle in der Altstadt Danzig, das zwar erst 1471 herausgegeben wurde, das aber wahrscheinlich den Betriebsbedingungen zur Zeit der Verwaltung des Deutschen Ordens entspräche. Damals wurden in der Mühle 20 Personen beschäftigt, hierzu sollte man allerdings noch Tagelöhner zurechnen, die beim Tragen von Getreide- und Mehlsäcken beziehungsweise bei sonstigen Arbeiten beschäftigt waren<sup>27</sup>.

Die von Mühlmeistern verwalteten Mühlbetriebe beschränkten ihre Tätigkeit gar nicht aufs Mahlen von Getreide oder Malz<sup>28</sup>. Der Umfang der hier geleisteten Arbeiten war viel weiter und hing in den bestimmten Fällen vom lokalen Bedarf ab. Der Mühlmeister zu Marienburg verwaltete nicht nur über einen Mühlbetrieb, sondern auch über einen Stall, er beaufsichtigte die Schweinezucht (die zur Mast gehaltenen Schweine wurden mit allerart Nebenprodukten gefüttert, die beim Getreidemahlen anfielen). Auch in Elbing<sup>29</sup> und Preußisch Holland<sup>30</sup> gehörte die Schweinemast zu Aufgaben der den Mühlmeistern unterstellten Wirtschaftshöfe. Aus den erhaltenen Rechnungsurkunden, geführt vom Mühlmeister zu Bartoszyce/Bartenstein, ergab sich, dass er nicht nur über eine Getreidemühle, sondern auch über eine Walkmühle und Fischwirtschaft verwaltete<sup>31</sup>. Auch der Mühlmeister zu

folgt: ein Fischer, ein Mahlgebühreinnehmer, ein Werkmeister und dessen Gehilfe, Martin – der Fischer, 1 Koch, 1 Gartenknecht, Fuhrknechte, 1 Bäcker und Stallknechte, siehe *Księga rachunkowa urzędów rybackich komturstw malborskiego i dzierzgońskiego 1440-1445*, hrsg. von Z.H. Nowak, J. Tandecki, Fontes TNT, LXXXII, Toruń 1997, S. 1-2.

<sup>27</sup> Es waren: 1 Werkmeister, 1 Malzmüller, 1 Roggenmüller, 1 Mahlgebühreinnehmer (*Metzner*), 9 Steinhauer, 2 Vikare (Werkmeistergehilfen), Schleusenknecchte, 2 Kutscher, 1 Köchin und 1 Schweinestallaufseherin, siehe M. Foltz, *Geschichte des Danziger Stadthaushalts*, Quellen und Darstellungen zur Geschichte Westpreußens, VIII, Danzig 1912, S. 198-199; M. Bogucka, op.cit., S. 29; W. Długokęcki, *Z dziejów młynarstwa...*, S. 61; idem, *Młynarstwo...*, S. 3; idem, *Spór gdańsko-krzyżacki o opłaty w Wielkim Młynie w pierwszej połowie XV w.*, in: *Władcy, mnisi, rycerze*, hrsg. von B. Śliwiński, Gdańskie studia z dziejów średniowiecza, III, Gdańsk 1996, S. 17-27.

<sup>28</sup> Anhand unterschiedlicher Formen der Mahlgebühr ist festzustellen, dass die Mühlen gewöhnlich Getreide mahlten, vor allem Roggen und Gerstenmalz, viel seltener wurde dagegen Weizen gemahlen. Als Nebenprodukt des Mahlens erhielt man das schlecht gemahlene Getreide und Spreu, die als Schweinefutter gebraucht und in den Quellen als „sweynoss“ bezeichnet wurde. Das Einnehmen jener Nebenprodukte gleich wie des Getreides als eines Bestandteiles der Mahlgebühr fand eine Bestätigung in den Mühlurkunden des Pflegers zu Szeszto/Seehesten aus den Jahren 1448, 1450-1452.

<sup>29</sup> A. Semrau, *Der Wirtschaftsplan des Ordenshauses...*, S. 8, 31-32; W. Długokęcki, *Z dziejów młynarstwa...*, S. 57; J. Sarnowsky, *Die Wirtschaftsführung...*, S. 157; P.G. Thielen, op.cit., S. 109-110.

<sup>30</sup> Im Jahre 1444 betrug die Belohnung der Mühlknecchte 1,5 Mark, siehe GStA PK, OF 200b I, k. 149v.

<sup>31</sup> GStA PK, XX. HA, Ordensbriefarchiv (weiter zit.: OBA) 1739; ibidem, OF 201, k. 2v-4v. Eine Aufzeichnung über Ober- und Untermühle, die dem Mühlmeister zu Bartenstein

Königsberg betrieb circa um 1425 Getreidemühlen, eine Malz- und Walkmühle<sup>32</sup>. Wie bereits oben erwähnt, wurden die den Mühlmeistern anvertrauten Aufgaben, ähnlich wie die anderen Bestandteile der durch die einzelnen Komtureien geführten Wirtschaft in ihren wirtschaftlichen Plänen festgesetzt. Darin bestimmte man unter anderem Getreidemengen und Geldsummen, die die Mühlmeister von den aus ihren Wirtschaftshöfen erworbenen Einnahmen zur Kasse der Komtureien zu liefern hatten. Es ist direkt aus dem Inhalt der bis heute erhaltenen Wirtschaftspläne der Komtureien zu Elbing und zu Königsberg ersichtlich<sup>33</sup>. Vermutlich sah die Situation bei den anderen Mühlmeistern, darunter auch in Danzig und Dirschau, ähnlich aus, wo die Mühlmeister außer den Getreidemühlen auch Walkmühlen betrieben. Einen großen Wirtschaftshof führte auch der Mühlmeister zu Marienburg, der über Wassermühlen verwaltete, die den teilweise künstlich entstandenen Marienburger Mühlgraben entlang aufgebaut wurden (es waren Landmühle, Bäckermühle, Mittelmühle, Schlossmühle und eine Walkmühle)<sup>34</sup>. Bedauerlicherweise ist kein Wirtschaftsplan der Marienburger Komturei bis in unsere Zeit erhalten. Eine teilweise Rekonstruktion eines derartigen Wirtschaftsplans scheint allerdings möglich zu sein, und dies anhand der Analyse der vorhandenen Einzelrechnungen. Der oben erwähnte Mühlmeister zahlte regelmäßig einen gewissen Teil von erworbenen Einnahmen in die Marienburger Konventskasse ein. Von hier aus wurden entsprechende Summen für den Einkauf benötigter Mühlsteine wie auch für laufende Überholungen von Mühlenanlagen ausgegeben<sup>35</sup>. Aus den heute noch vorhandenen Quellen ist zum Beispiel ersichtlich, dass der Marienburger Mühlmeister in den Jahren 1400-1410 jährlich 50 Mark in die Kasse des hiesigen Tresslers von Einnahmen aus der Walkmühle sowie über 30 Mark aus dem Malzverkauf abführte<sup>36</sup>. Insgesamt betragen die Einzahlungen des Mühlmeisters in die Konventskasse für diese Zeitperiode ungefähr 818 Mark, wobei die von dem

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unterstellt waren, siehe *Das grosse Ämterbuch des Deutschen Ordens*, hrsg. von W. Ziesemer, Danzig 1921 (weiter zit.: GA), S. 156.

<sup>32</sup> B. Jähnig, *Zur Wirtschaftsführung des Deutschen Ordens in Preussen vornehmlich vom 13. bis zum frühen 15. Jahrhundert*, in: *Zur Wirtschaftsentwicklung des Deutschen Ordens im Mittelalter*, hrsg. von U. Arnold, Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens, XXXVIII, Marburg 1989, S. 146-147; J. Sarnowsky, *Die Wirtschaftsführung...*, S. 157-158.

<sup>33</sup> A. Semrau, *Der Wirtschaftsplan des Ordenshauses...*, S. 31-32; B. Jähnig, op.cit., S. 146-147.

<sup>34</sup> W. Długokęcki, *Z dziejów młynarstwa...*, S. 56.

<sup>35</sup> Im Jahre 1405 zahlte der Schatzmeister (Tressler) für den Einkauf von Mühlsteinen und Überholungsarbeiten in den Mühlenanlagen insgesamt 32,5 Mark und 5 Skot aus, siehe *Das Marienburger Konventsbuch der Jahre 1399-1412*, hrsg. von W. Ziesemer, Danzig 1913 (weiter zit.: MK), S. 162.

<sup>36</sup> W. Długokęcki, *Z dziejów młynarstwa...*, S. 56; J. Sarnowsky, *Die Wirtschaftsführung...*, S. 156.

Tressler getragenen Kosten etwa 535 Mark ausmachten<sup>37</sup>. Aus der Kasse des Marienburger Konvents finanzierte man auch Arbeiten, die in der von dem oben erwähnten Mühlmeister verwalteten Mühle zu Dirschau ausgeführt wurden<sup>38</sup>. Der Treßler (Schatzmeister) des Hochmeisters überwies dem Vogt zu Dirschau in den Jahren 1399-1400 insgesamt beinahe 1186 Mark zur Deckung von Baukosten einer neuen Mühlenanlage<sup>39</sup>. Auch die seit 1402 durch die Mühle zu Dirschau generierten Einnahmen wurden unmittelbar von dem Vogt überwiesen, was darauf hinweisen könnte, dass zu jener Zeit das Amt des Mühlmeisters zu Dirschau immer noch nicht bekleidet war<sup>40</sup>. Genaue Angaben über das Funktionieren der Mühlenhöfe im strukturellen Rahmen der ausgewählten Komtureien stellt die unten angeführte Zusammenstellung dar.

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<sup>37</sup> Berechnet wurden diese Summen anhand der in die Kasse geleisteten Einzahlungen (MK, S. 61, 83, 114, 141, 160, 173, 197, 198, 214, 240; *Das Zinsbuch des Hauses Marienburg*, hrsg. von W. Ziesemer, Marienburg 1910 [weiter zit.: ZHM], S. 58-63) und Ausgaben (MK, S. 29, 62, 86-87, 143, 162, 199, 241). In den Jahren 1411-1412 verzeichnete man dagegen keine Einnahmen aus der Walk- und Malzmühle; die Ausgaben für Mühlsteine und Instandsetzung von Mühlenanlagen betragen dagegen insgesamt über 169 Mark, siehe MK, S. 259, 282-283.

<sup>38</sup> MK, S. 257.

<sup>39</sup> *Das Marienburger Tresslerbuch der Jahre 1399-1409*, hrsg. von E. Joachim, Königsberg 1896, S. 42, 48-49.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibidem*, S. 131, 370. Später wurde die Mühle gegen eine Metze (eine Mahlgebühr) in Pacht genommen und die erworbenen Einnahmen in Höhe von 80 Mark überwies der Vogt nach Marienburg, siehe *Das grosse Zinsbuch des Deutschen Ritterordens 1414-1438*, hrsg. von P.G. Thielen, Marburg 1958 (zit.: GZB), S. 13.

Tabelle 2: Die Analyse der Funktion des Mühlmeisters innerhalb der Strukturen der ausgewählten Konvente<sup>41</sup>.

Lfd. Nr.	Die dem Mühlmeister unterstellten Betriebe	Der Mühlmeister zu				
		Bartenstein <sup>42</sup>	Marien- burg <sup>43</sup>	Königsberg <sup>44</sup>	Elbing <sup>45</sup>	Preußisch Holland
1	Getreidemühlen	+	+	+	+	+
2	Walkmühle	+	+	+	+	+
3	Malzmühle (Mälzerei)			+ (Bau)	+	+
4	Bäckerei				+	
5	Brauerei				+	
6	Schweinstall (Schweinemast)	+	+		+	+
7	Fischwirtschaft	+				
8	Ständige Pflichten, die im Wirtschaftsplan festgesetzt wurden bzw. die sich aus den erhaltenen Rechnungen ergaben	450 Scheffel Malz und 150 Scheffel Roggenmehl an den (Pfleger?) zu Preußisch Eylau, Mehl für den Hochmeister	Einnahmen aus der Walkmühle 50 Mark für den Konvent 30-35 Mark jährlich aus dem Malzverkauf	800 Mark für den Konvent, für den Kellermeister 2000 Scheffel Malz, 3 Fässer Bier für den Konvent, 200 Scheffel Hafer für Zugpferde	6500 Scheffel Malz für Bierproduktion, 1139 Scheffel Roggen und 1032 Scheffel Weizen an den Bäckermeister	2390 Scheffel Malz für Bierproduktion

41 Das System der Getreidemaße im Ordensstaat gestaltete sich wie folgt: 1 Last (3300 l) = 60 Scheffel (1 Scheffel = 55 l) = 960 Mäßchen (Metze, 1 Mäßchen, Metze = 3,4 l); das Münzsystem gestaltete sich dagegen wie folgt: 1 preußische Mark = 4 Vierdung = 24 Skot = 45 Halbschoter = 60 Schilling = 180 Vierchen = 720 Pfennige; siehe W. Odyniec, *Chełmiński system miar i chełmińska stopa mennicza w rozwoju historycznym*, in: *Księga pamiątkowa 750-lecia prawa chełmińskiego*, hrsg. von Z. Zdrójkowski, I, Toruń 1990, S. 404, 406.

42 Im Rechnungsbuch des Mühlmeisters zu Bartenstein (1413) ist eine Aufzeichnung zu finden, dass er 35 Scheffel Roggen an den Hochmeister, 6 Scheffel nach Ryn/Rhein, 16 Scheffel nach Jeziorany/Seeburg, 6 Scheffel nach Olsztyn/Allenstein und 15 Scheffel nach Barczewo/Wartenburg geliefert hatte.

43 Der Kellermeister hatte Malz aus der Mühle abzunehmen, siehe MA, S. 92.

44 Im Rechnungsbuch des Mühlmeisters sind auch Informationen über die Ausgaben für den Einkauf von Karren für die Bäckerei zu finden. Im Bestandsverzeichnis, das angesichts des Wechsels im Amt des Kellermeisters zu Königsberg (1428) erstellt wurde, sind wiederum Aufzeichnungen über das an den Mühlmeister gelieferte Malz enthalten, siehe GStA PK, OF 166m, k. 45r.

45 In Elbing beaufsichtigte der Mühlmeister die hiesige Brauerei und besoldete den Mälzer und dessen 2 Gehilfen, siehe GStA PK, OF 200b I, k. 88r.

9	Getreide, Malz und Mehl von an- deren Beam- ten erhalten				530 Scheffel Roggen und 410 Scheffel Weizen vom Komtur, 660 Scheffel Weizenmehl, 290 Scheffel Weizen und 1020 Scheffel Roggen vom Getreide- meister	Erhielt eine Hilfe vom Komtur zu Elbing 25 Mark, 750 Scheffel Malz und 240 Scheffel Roggen
10	Getreide, Malz und Mehl an andere Beamten überwiesen	155 Scheffel Hafer für den Groß- komtur, 630 Scheffel für Bier in Bartenstein	Malz – überwiesen an den Keller- meister, der über Malzmühle verwaltete	2700 Scheffel Malz an den Kellermeister 100 Scheffel an den Groß- marschall	3300 Scheffel Roggen- mehl und 1740 Scheffel Weizen- mehl an den Bäckermeister überwiesen	156 Scheffel Malz an den (Pfleger?) zu Bardyny/ Baarden

Quelle: GStA PK, XX. HA, OBA 1739; ibidem, OF 201, MK, MA, OF 200 b I, k. 82r-88v, 146r-150v. Abdruck der Tabelle Nr. 14 nach R. Kubicki, *Młynarstwo w państwie zakonu...*, S. 175-176.

In den oben genannten Wirtschaftsplänen der einzelnen Komtureien formulierte man manchmal recht genau auch die Pflichten des Mühlmeisters. So stellte man in einer Urkunde der Königsberger Komturei fest, dass es zu den Pflichten des Mühlmeisters gehörte, entsprechende Mühlsteine einzukaufen, nötige Überholungsarbeiten durchzuführen, seine Untertanen zu besolden wie auch Eichen- und Fichtenholz sowie nötige Nägel zum Aufbau von Gebäuden zuzustellen<sup>46</sup>. Aus den von Michael Tussenfelder im Jahre 1425 erstellten Rechnungen ergibt sich, dass der Mühlmeister zu Königsberg aus dem Verkauf von Malz und Getreide sowie aus dem Betrieb einer Walkmühle Einnahmen von insgesamt 1268,5 Mark erzielt habe. Von dieser Summe überwies er 700 Mark an den Hauskomtur und 70 Mark an den Großmarschall. Mehr als 153 Mark bestimmte man für Bauarbeiten, 242 Mark für den Einkauf von Mühlsteinen, über 33 Mark für die Belohnung des Mühlpersonals, 27 Mark für Hafer für Zugpferde und den Rest für sonstige Werkstoffe und Leistungen, die laufend in Getreide- und Walkmühlen zu erbringen waren.

<sup>46</sup> *Item alle stein, dy muss her kouffn. Item her muss buwen jerlichen was notdorfft ist in den molen. Item her [muss] lonen allem synen gesinde. Item allerleye eychn adir vichten holcz muss her schicken zcu synem gebuwde. Item ginteln nageverg und andyssnb(er)g [?] daz muss her schicken* (B. Jähnig, op.cit., S. 146). Ähnliche Aufgaben erfüllten auch andere Mühlmeister, siehe J. Sarnowsky, *Die Wirtschaftsführung...*, S. 156, Anmerkung 75.

Man führte auch neue Investitionen im Zusammenhang mit dem Bau einer Malzmühle durch<sup>47</sup>. Von der Ertragskraft und der Ausgabenstruktur des von dem Mühlmeister zu Königsberg geführten Wirtschaftshofes zeugt am besten die Tatsache, dass man insgesamt lediglich 5% der anfallenden Ausgaben für die Belohnung von Arbeitern bestimmte, 18% dieser Ausgaben benötigte der Erwerb neuer Mühlsteine, circa 6,5% nahmen Werkstoffe und laufende Überholungsarbeiten und 11,5% neue Bauinvestitionen in Anspruch. Daraus ist zu schließen, dass beinahe 59% aller Einnahmen als Gewinn den Konventbeamten (dem Hauskomtur und dem Marschall) überweisen wurden<sup>48</sup>. Aus einer weiteren Überlieferung, die bereits vor 1419 aufgezeichnet wurde, ergibt sich, dass der Großmarschall jährlich von den Einnahmen der von dem Königsberger Mühlmeister verwalteten Mühlen ungefähr 700 Mark und 2000 Scheffel Malz bekam<sup>49</sup>. Im Jahre 1430 zeichnete man im Rechnungsbuch des Hauskomturs zu Königsberg auf, dass er vom Mühlmeister 300 Mark erhalten habe, was beinahe ein Viertel aller seiner Einnahmen ausmachte (diese betrug damals 1282 Mark und 19,5 Skot)<sup>50</sup>. Was hierbei sehr interessant zu sein scheint, befinden sich unter diesen Rechnungen auch Aufzeichnungen über die Summen, die für den Einkauf von Fischen (*fischgeld*) für Mühlgesinde (*molknechten*) ausgezahlt wurden<sup>51</sup>.

Laut dem für 1386 erstellten Wirtschaftsplan verwaltete der Mühlmeister zu Elbing nicht nur über die hiesigen Wassermühlen sondern auch über eine Bäckerei, eine Brauerei und eine Viehzucht<sup>52</sup>. Aufgrund durchgeführter Analyse seiner 1431 ausgefertigten Rechnungen ist festzustellen, dass er über vier Getreidemühlen verfügte: Ober-, Unter- Neue („obirmole“, „nedir mole“, „nuwen mole“) und Notsack-Mühle; darüber hinaus verwaltete er über eine Walk- und Malzmühle, eine Brauerei, eine Bäckerei und die oben erwähnte Schweinezucht (Schweineestall)<sup>53</sup>. Auch der Mühlmeister zu Preußisch Holland verwaltete im Jahre 1444 nebst einer Wassermühle auch über eine

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47 J. Sarnowsky, *Die Wirtschaftsführung...*, Quellenbeilage Nr. 7, S. 728-731. Die neu errichtete Malzmühle wurde in den dreißiger Jahren unmittelbar von dem Mühlmeister verwaltet, siehe GA, S. 37, 41, 43.

48 Berechnet anhand der Rechnungen des Mühlamtes, siehe J. Sarnowsky, *Die Wirtschaftsführung...*, Quellenbeilage Nr. 7, S. 728-731.

49 GZB, S. 18.

50 GStA PK, OF 166m, k. 75v.

51 *Ibidem*, k. 85r.

52 Zur Frage der Wirtschaftsführung des Mühlmeisters zu Elbing im Jahre 1386 siehe A. Semrau, *Der Wirtschaftsplan des Ordenshauses...*, S. 31-32.

53 Es handelt sich dabei um die in den Jahren 1431-1432 von Nikolaus Berger erstellten Rechnungen, siehe GStA PK, OF 200b I, k. 82r-88v. B. Jähnig, *op.cit.*, S. 127, indem er ihm den Namen Nikolaus Beringer zuschrieb, identifizierte ihn irrtümlicherweise als Mühlmeister zu Preußisch Holland. Zur Edition siehe *Rachunki mistrza młyńskiego w Elblągu z lat 1431-1432*, hrsg. von R. Kubicki, „Rocznik Elbląski“ XXIII (2010), S. 185-196.

Walk- und Malzmühle<sup>54</sup>. Mit Rücksicht auf die vorhandenen Rechnungen versuchte man in der unten angegebenen Zusammenstellung die von den Mühlmeistern zu Bartenstein (Komturei Balga), zu Königsberg (Komturei Königsberg), zu Elbing und zu Preußisch Holland (Komturei Elbing) geführte Mühlwirtschaft zu bewerten.

Tabelle 3: Rechnungen der Mühlmeister zu Bartenstein, zu Königsberg, zu Elbing und zu Preußisch Holland.

Lfd. Nr.	Rechnungsposten oder Ausgabenzweck	Bartenstein 1414	Königsberg 1425	Elbing 1431-1432	Preußisch Holland 1444
1	Erhobene Malzmenge (in Scheffeln)	1336	5042	7102	1572
2	Erhobene Roggenmenge (in Scheffeln)	1214	2340	1139	1820
3	Erhobene Weizenmenge (in Scheffeln)	125,5	710	1032	110
4	Mahlgebühr (malczpfennig)	–	–	31,5 M 2,5 Sk.	11 M 4 sol.
5	Einnahmen aus Getreide- und Malzverkauf	18 M	1061,5 M	91,5 M 4 Sk.	15 M 8 Sk. 1 sol.
6	Einnahmen aus einer Walkmühle	9,5 M 4 Sk.	161 M	30 M 1 Vierdung	18,5 M 6 d
7	Einnahmen aus einer Malzmühle	–	–	–	4 M 6,5 Sk.
8	Ausgaben für Mühlsteine	4 Vierdung	242 M	35 M	35 M 4 Sk. 6 d
9	Ausgaben für Überholungs- und Bauarbeiten (darunter Arbeitskosten)	17 M	153 M 21 Sk. 6 d	89,5 M 2 Sk.	29 M 12 Sk. 6 sol.
10	Ausgaben, Summe	45 M 4 Sk. 6 d	1325 M 1 sol.	184,5 M 4 Sk. 6 d	79 M 16 Sk. 3 d
11	Einnahmen, Summe	30 M 14 Sk.	1268,5 M	171,5 M 15 d	80 M 4 Sk. minus 2 d
12	Einnahmen/Ausgaben, Differenz	–15 M 7 Sk. 1,5 d	–56,5 M 1 sol.	–12 M 8 Sk. 9 d	+7 Sk. 1,5 d

Quelle: GStA PK, OF 201, k. 2r-4v; ibidem, OF 200b I, k. 82r-88v, 146r-150v; J. Sarnowsky, *Die Wirtschaftsführung*, Quellenbeilage Nr. 7, S. 728-731. Abkürzungen: d – denarius (Pfennig), M = Mark, Sk. – Skot, sol. – solidus (Schilling). Abdruck der Tabelle Nr. 15 nach R. Kubicki, *Młynarstwo w państwie zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach w XIII-XV w. (do 1454 r.)*, Gdańsk 2012, S. 177.

<sup>54</sup> Es handelt sich dabei um die im Jahre 1444 von Johannes Krug erstellten Rechnungen, siehe GStA PK, OF 200b I, k. 146r-150v. Johannes Krug, der Mühlmeister zu Preußisch Holland, wurde auch im Verzeichnis derjenigen Ordensbeamten erwähnt, die Pferde besaßen, siehe Archiwum Państwowe w Gdańsku, Akta miasta Elbląga, Księga czynszów komturstwa elbląskiego, 369,1/2104a, k. 17-18.

Indem man versucht, die in der oben angeführten Tabelle dargestellten Angaben näher auszuwerten, muss man betonen, dass insbesondere die am Ende berechnete Differenz, die sich aus der einfachen Zusammenstellung von Einnahmen und Ausgaben ergibt, nicht ganz präzise die tatsächliche wirtschaftliche Bedeutung der von den einzelnen Mühlmeistern verwalteten Anlagen und Objekte widerspiegelt. Es scheint so, als hätte das Mühlengut des Mühlmeisters zu Königsberg den größten Gewinn erbracht. Von den im Laufe des Jahres erzielten Einnahmen überwies er bis auf 770 Mark in Bar an den Hauskomtur (700 Mark) und an den Großmarschall (70 Mark)<sup>55</sup>. Es war möglich dank dem unmittelbaren Verkauf eines beträchtlichen Teils der als Mahlgebühr erhobenen Naturabgaben in Malz und Getreide<sup>56</sup>. Verkauft wurde der gesamte erhobene Roggen und Weizen sowie 2242 Scheffel Malz. Vom übrig gebliebenen Malz wurden 2700 Scheffel direkt an den Kellermeister und die weiteren 100 Scheffel an den Großmarschall überwiesen<sup>57</sup>. Zum Vergleich konnten um 1400 die potentiellen Einnahmen der ganzen Komturei zu Königsberg aus dem Getreideverkauf 550,70 Mark betragen<sup>58</sup>. Auf eine durchaus andere Art und Weise bewirtschaftete die erhobene Mahlgebühr der Mühlmeister zu Elbing. Von dem aus Abgaben gesammelten Malz überwies der Mühlmeister bis auf 6500 Scheffel für Bierproduktion, wobei der ganze ihm als Mahlgebühr überwiesene Roggen (1139 Scheffel) und Weizen (1032) dem Bäckermeister übergeben wurde. Es handelte sich dabei um ein durchaus unterschiedliches Wirtschaftsmodell als dies in der Komturei zu Königsberg der Fall war. Hätte man das oben genannte Malz und Getreide für einen Preis verkauft, den hierfür der Mühlmeister zu Königsberg erzielte, so würde man daraus entsprechende Einnahmen erhalten: für Malz circa 1083 Mark, für Roggen beinahe 247 Mark und für Weizen 258 Mark. Die genauere Analyse der Verrechnungen des Mühlmeisters zu Preußisch Holland weist dagegen darauf hin, dass er das abschließende positive Bilanzergebnis nur dank der Unterstützung des Elbinger Komturs erzielt habe, der ihm 25 Mark in Bar sowie 750 Scheffel Malz und 240 Scheffel Roggen überwiesen hat<sup>59</sup>. Auch das

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55 Zum Vergleich sind die Einnahmen der Königsberger Komturei aus Getreideverkauf sowie aus dem von den preußischen Dörfern bezahlten Hakenzins auf 3000 Mark zu schätzen, siehe G. Vercamer, *Siedlungs-, Sozial- und Verwaltungsgeschichte der Komturei Königsberg in Preußen (13.-16. Jahrhundert)*, Marburg 2010, S. 67. Der oben erwähnte Autor berichtete an dieser Stelle lediglich die Schätzungen für die Komturei zu Königsberg, indem er auf potentielle Fehler in Bezug auf andere Verwaltungseinheiten des Staates verwies, präsentiert in einer Tabelle nach J. Sarnowsky, *Die Wirtschaftsführung...*, Tabelle Nr. 59, S. 490.

56 Einnahmen in Geld erzielte er vor allem aus dem Verkauf von Malz – 374 Mark 16 Skot, Roggen – 509 Mark 8 Skot und Weizen – 177,5 Mark.

57 J. Sarnowsky, *Die Wirtschaftsführung...*, Quellenbeilage Nr. 7, S. 729-730.

58 G. Vercamer, op.cit., S. 66.

59 GStA PK, OF 200b I, k. 148r.



negative Bilanzergebnis des Mühlmeisters zu Bartenstein ergab sich daraus, dass er das als Mahlgebühr erhobene Getreide nicht auf dem freien Markt verkaufte. Zum Jahresabschluss besaß er immer noch 600 Scheffel Roggen, wobei er früher unter anderem 450 Scheffel Malz an Preußisch Eylau und Getreide – Roggen und Weizen – an den Hochmeister überwies<sup>60</sup>. Fehlende Rechnungen des Mühlmeisters zu Danzig erlauben nicht, das Funktionieren seiner Mühlwirtschaft zu rekonstruieren. Man weiß jedoch darüber Beschied, dass es die größte Anlage dieser Art im Deutschordensstaat war. Den richtigen Maßstab ihrer Gewerbetätigkeit widerspiegeln die erhaltenen Inventare der Mühlenausstattung gegen Ende des 14. Jahrhunderts, wo auch die Angaben über die Mengen des dort gespeicherten Getreides enthalten sind. Nach dem Inventar aus dem Jahre 1385 befanden sich in der Mühlenanlage 5900 Scheffel Malz, 453,5 Scheffel Weizen, 20548 Scheffel Roggen und 1837 Scheffel Hafer<sup>61</sup>. Im Jahre 1389 überwies man an die Ordensbeamten in Leborg/Lauenburg und in Puck/Putzig insgesamt 201 Last (12060 Scheffel) Roggen, wobei man gleichzeitig 5000 Scheffel Hafer einkaufte<sup>62</sup>. Im Jahre 1418 fütterte man im Mühlvorwerk 29 Schweine<sup>63</sup>. Zum Vergleich befanden sich im Jahre 1392 in den Mühlen des Mühlmeisters zu Königsberg 300 Scheffel Malz<sup>64</sup>, im Jahre 1412 im Schloss und in den Mühlen zu Bartenstein gab es 515 Scheffel Roggen, 16 Scheffel Weizen und 90 Scheffel Malz<sup>65</sup>, im Jahre 1451 in Elbing 60 Scheffel Weizen, 120 Scheffel Roggen, 500 Scheffel Malz und 700 Scheffel Gerste<sup>66</sup>, und zur selben Zeit in Preußisch Holland 180 Scheffel Roggen, 120 Scheffel Weizen und 250 Scheffel Malz<sup>67</sup>. Wir verfügen auch über Rechnungen der Komturei zu Christburg aus dem Jahre 1429, die unter anderem ein Beweismaterial für die in den hiesigen Mühlen geführte Wirtschaft liefern. Nach diesen Unterlagen wurde hier eine Mahlgebühr in Höhe von insgesamt 1523 Scheffel Roggen, 231 Scheffel Weizen und 586 Scheffel Malz erhoben. Von dieser Menge überwies man 895 Scheffel Roggen und den gesamten Weizen in die Mühle zu Stare Dolno/Alt Dollstädt, wo das Getreide gemahlen werden sollte. Von diesem als Mahlgebühr erhobenen Roggen wurden 300 Scheffel an die Dörfer verteilt, 260 überwies man in die Bäckerei, 38 Scheffel blieben im Hofe, 30 Scheffel lieferte man an den Hofmeister zu Nowica/Neumark, 500 Scheffel Malz bestimmte man für Bierproduktion, die weiteren 50 Scheffel sendete man nach Przemark/Preußisch Mark, und

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60 Ibidem, OF 201, k. 3v-4v.

61 GA, S. 684.

62 Ibidem, S. 685.

63 Ibidem, S. 696.

64 Ibidem, S. 7.

65 Ibidem, S. 156.

66 Ibidem, S. 105.

67 Ibidem, S. 106.

die übrigen 36 speicherte man in der Mühle<sup>68</sup>. Einen gewissen Richtwert in Bezug auf die wirtschaftliche Bedeutung der einzelnen, direkt durch den Deutschen Orden verwalteten Mühlkomplexe kann uns die Höhe der Steuer (Schoss) liefern, die die Mühlmeister im Jahre 1451 entrichtet haben. Der Mühlmeister zu Danzig sollte damals 15 Gulden, derjenige zu Marienburg 12 Gulden, der Mühlmeister zu Königsberg 8 Gulden und derjenige zu Elbing 7 Gulden Schoss entrichten. Es weist auf die bedeutende Rolle der Großen Mühle in der Altstadt Danzig wie auch diejenige der Marienburger Mühlen<sup>69</sup>. Die Mühlmeister waren auch manchmal für die Versorgung des Konvents mit Gemüse verantwortlich<sup>70</sup>.

Der eigenartige Betrieb von Wassermühlen hing von dem zyklischen Charakter deren Arbeit ab, das heißt sowohl von den Wetterverhältnissen als auch der Getreideproduktion. Eine große Aktivität im Herbst sowie im Vorfrühling wechselte mit einer geringeren Aktivität im Sommer. Die Mahlleistung der einzelnen Mühlenanlagen war durch ihre Bauart bedingt, insbesondere hing sie von deren Antrieb ab (ein überschlächtiges beziehungsweise ein weniger leistungsfähiges unterschlächtiges Wasserrad), von den vorhandenen Wasserbedingungen sowie von dem tatsächlichen Mahlbedarf. Die höchste Effizienz der Ausnutzung von Mahlanlagen erzielte man im Falle der großen Stadtmühlen. Selbstverständlich verfügten Wassermühlen gewöhnlich über ein durchaus höheres Verarbeitungspotential als Windmühlen, es bedeutete jedoch gar nicht immer, dass dieses Potential wirklich ausgenutzt wurde. Das Mahlpotential der Mühlen wurde im Allgemeinen in einem sehr unterschiedlichen Maß, abhängig von den örtlichen Bedingungen ausgenutzt. Detaillierte Berechnungen in Bezug auf die in der dem Kammeramt Szeszno/Seehesten unterstellten Region betriebenen Wassermühlen (Wassermühlen zu Seehesten, Pilc/Pülz, Mragowo/Sensburg) weisen darauf hin, dass die hiesigen Mühlen gewöhnlich ihre theoretische Mahlleistung durchschnittlich in 40-50% ausnutzten, wobei dieser Wert bei Mindestnutzung unter 20% herabsenkte<sup>71</sup>. Den nach einem bestimmten Zyklus verlaufenden Betrieb der von den Mühlmeistern verwalteten großen Wassermühlen kann man dank den erhaltenen detaillierten Rechnungen rekonstruieren, die als Nachweis für die wöchentlich erhobene Mahlgebühr in Malz und Getreide vorliegen. Um die verzeichneten Änderungen im Jahresmaßstab besser auswerten zu können, wurden die als Mahlgebühr

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68 Z.H. Nowak, J. Tanddecki, op.cit., S. 170.

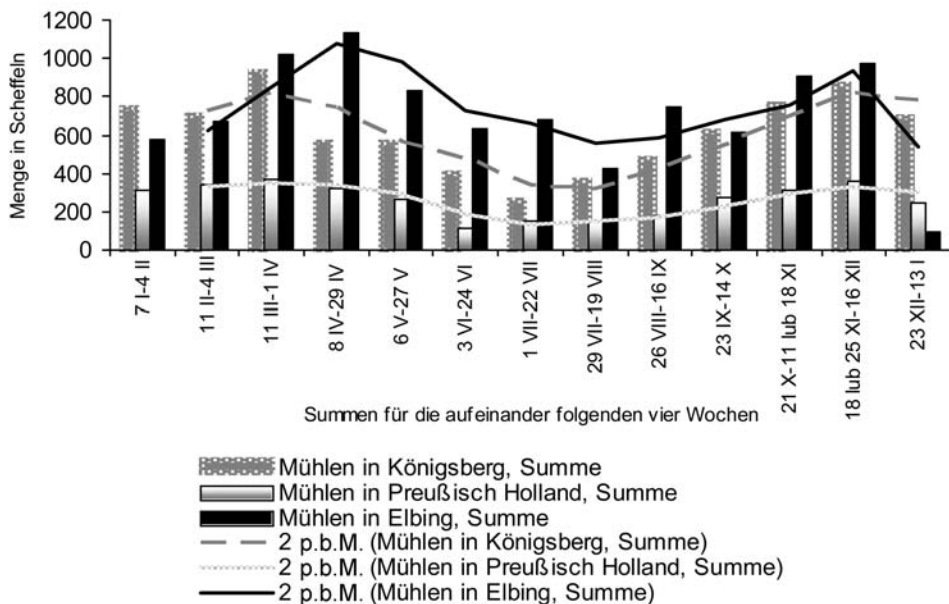
69 Ibidem, S. 155.

70 Der Mühlmeister zu Danzig lieferte im Jahre 1410 Zwiebel, Knoblauch und Kohl, siehe GA, S. 691; J. Sarnowsky, *Die Wirtschaftsführung...*, S. 156. Der Mühlmeister zu Bartenstein lieferte hingegen Zwiebel, siehe GStA PK, OF 201, k. 2v.

71 R. Kubicki, *Młynarstwo w państwie zakonu...*, S. 198-200, Diagramm Nr. 9-10.

eingezogenen Mengen an Malz und Getreide für vier aufeinander folgende Wochen summiert. Das erzielte Bild präsentiert das unten vorgestellte Diagramm. Darin sind die allgemeinen Tendenzen zu finden, die im Falle der von den Mühlmeistern in Königsberg, Elbing und Preußisch Holland verwalteten Wassermühlen beobachtet werden. Mit Rücksicht darauf, dass sich die Angaben für die einzelnen Mühlhöfe auf unterschiedliche Jahre beziehen (1425, 1431-1432, 1444-1445), was einen bestimmten Einfluss auf die konkreten Zahlen und die Mahlleistung ausgeübt haben könnte, stellt man deutlich sehr ähnliche Entwicklungstendenzen im Verlauf des Jahres fest. Diese Tendenzen bestätigen eindeutig, dass die Aktivität der Wassermühlen eng mit dem Zyklus der Getreideproduktion (Erntezeit) und den Wetterverhältnissen verbunden war. Wichtige Einflussgrößen waren hierbei die verfügbaren Wassermengen während der sommerlichen Dürrezeit, das Zufrieren von Mühlwasser im Winter und die Gefährdung durch Eisschollen im Vorfrühling. Neben den wetterabhängigen und technischen Einflussfaktoren galten auch die wichtigeren Festtage als Indikatoren der Aktivität von Mühlen, weil man an diesen Tagen die vorhandenen Mühlenanlagen teilweise oder sogar vollkommen außer Betrieb setzte.

Diagramm 1: Mengen an Malz, Roggen und Weizen, eingezogen in den Mühlen des Mühlmeisters zu Königsberg (1425), zu Elbing (1431-1432) und zu Preußisch Holland (1444-1445).



Quelle: R. Kubicki, *Młynarstwo w państwie zakon...*, Diagramm Nr. 6, S. 185. Abkürzung – p.b.M. (periodischer bewegter Mittelwert).

## EINNAHMEN AUS LÄNDLICHEN MÜHLEN

Wie in der Einleitung erwähnt, schilderte bereits Jürgen Sarnowsky seine Schätzungen in Bezug auf die Bedeutung des Mühlwesens für die Wirtschaftsführung des Deutschen Ordens. Nach diesen Schätzungen betragen die von den Mühlen in Bar entrichteten Geldzinsen in den allgemeinen Staatseinnahmen entsprechend 5,4% um 1417, 4,4% im Jahre 1437 und 4,3% im Jahre 1450<sup>72</sup> und sie ähnelten den Zinseinnahmen aus Schänken (circa 5%)<sup>73</sup>. Was die Mühlen anbetrifft, waren allerdings nicht Geldzinsen am wichtigsten. Aus den von Sarnowsky durchgeführten Berechnungen ergibt sich, dass der Orden in Form von der seitens der Mühlen zu entrichtenden Mahlgebühr durchschnittlich bis auf 60% der Gesamtmenge des als Zins eingezogenen Roggen erzielt haben könnte. Neben Geldzinsen wurde eben der als Mahlgebühr erhobene Getreidezins zum Grundelement der Versorgung von Ordensburgen<sup>74</sup>. Aus Privatmühlen erzielte der Orden um 1417 in Form von dem ihm zukommenden Zins Geldeinnahmen in Höhe von beinahe 2500 Mark und einen Getreidezins von bis auf 1078 Last (64680 Scheffel)<sup>75</sup>. Zum Vergleich betragen alle zu jener Zeit von dem Orden erhobenen Geldzinsen insgesamt etwa 45700 Mark<sup>76</sup>. Später verminderten sich jedoch die Einnahmen aus Wassermühlen deutlich, weil der Geldzins etwa um 1437 weniger als 73% ausmachte und der eingezogene Getreidezins bis auf 70% des früher erhobenen Wertes herabsenkte. Einen geringen Aufstieg notierte man in den 1440er Jahren und dieser blieb auf ähnlichem Niveau auch in den nächsten Jahren erhalten, worauf die Quellen aus der Zeit um 1450 verweisen<sup>77</sup>. Die in der ersten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts verzeichnete Herabsenkung der Einnahmen aus Mühlen stand im direkten Zusammenhang mit der Entvölkerung der Dörfer und dem Niedergang der Getreideproduktion. Dies war wiederum das Ergebnis der Verwüstung von Dörfern infolge der wiederkehrenden Kriege mit Polen. In der ersten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts kann man einen deutlichen Rückgang in Bezug auf die Höhe des von dem Orden erhobenen Gesamtzinses aus Mühlen beobachten, der im Falle der Komturei Osterode 12%, der Komturei Balga 7-8%, der Komturei Elbing 4% betrug. Viel schlimmer sah die Situation im Kulmerland und in Pomerellen aus. Zum Beispiel betrug der Rückgang in Bezug auf die Zinshöhe in der Komturei

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72 J. Sarnowsky, *Die Wirtschaftsführung...*, Tabelle Nr. 7, S. 204.

73 *Ibidem*, S. 205.

74 *Ibidem*.

75 *Ibidem*, S. 204.

76 *Ibidem*, Tabelle Nr. 2, S. 189.

77 *Ibidem*, Tabelle Nr. 7, S. 204.

Schönsee 40%, in der Komturei Strasburg 25% und in der Komturei Tuschel 64%<sup>78</sup>.

Wie aus den angeführten Schätzungen ersichtlich, generierten nicht nur die dem Orden unterstellten Mühlen einen wesentlichen Teil der Einnahmen in diesem Wirtschaftszweig, da auch die ländlichen Mühlen eine durchaus bedeutende Rolle dabei zu spielen hatten. Es waren zwar keine großen Anlagen, doch sie waren sehr wichtig in Hinsicht auf sozial-wirtschaftliche Struktur des Dorfes. Die aus einer mit einem Mühlrad ausgestatteten ländlichen Mühle erzielten Zinsen betragen meistens von 1 bis 4 Mark jährlich. Was die Höhe der aus ländlichen Mühlen erhobenen Zinsen anbetrifft, verfügen wir über folgende Zahl der Informationen hierüber: 1 Mark (30-mal), 2 Mark (46-mal), 3 Mark (55-mal) 4 Mark (48-mal), 5 Mark (26-mal) und 6 Mark (31-mal). Insgesamt 229 Mühlen entrichteten einen Zins bis 5 Mark, 60 Mühlen über 5 bis 10 Mark und 37 Mühlen über 10 Mark<sup>79</sup>. Ein Teil der Mühlen entrichtete einen Zins, der außer einem bestimmten Geldbetrag auch andere Bestandteile umfasste, wie zum Beispiel Getreidelieferung, kostenfreies Mahlen beziehungsweise Schweinemast. In der zweiten Hälfte des 14. und der ersten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts ist ein deutlicher Anstieg in Bezug auf die Zahl der betriebenen Mühlen zu beobachten, deren Zins als Getreidezins festgesetzt worden ist. In die erste Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts werden die urkundlichen Aufzeichnungen datiert, die über 4 Fälle des in Getreide entrichteten Zinses berichten (Powunden, Lauth, Wielki Komorsk/Groß Kommorsk, Fischhausen); in der zweiten Hälfte des Jahrhunderts sind es schon 19 Berichte, in der ersten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts sogar mehr als 110 Informationen. Auch wenn man den unterschiedlichen Erhaltungszustand der Quellen wie auch das entschiedene Übergewicht an Aufzeichnungen berücksichtigt, die erst aus der ersten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts stammen, sind diese Tendenzen auffallend<sup>80</sup>. Charakteristisch scheint auch die Tatsache zu sein, dass der Getreidezins sehr oft im Falle von Windmühlen festgelegt worden ist. Von insgesamt 40 Berichten über Windmühlen entrichteten 12 einen Geldzins und bis auf 22 einen Getreidezins. Urkundliche Aufzeichnungen über Zinsen aus Windmühlen stammten allerdings hauptsächlich aus der Zeit, als der Getreidezins immer populärer wurde. Die zu

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<sup>78</sup> Ibidem, S. 205-206.

<sup>79</sup> Detaillierte Zusammenstellung siehe R. Kubicki, *Młynarstwo w państwie zakonu...*, S. 205-210.

<sup>80</sup> Die Festlegung des Getreidezinses war für die Obrigkeit günstiger. Es garantierte nämlich feste Einnahmen, die vom schwankenden Geldwert und Getreidepreis unabhängig waren. Konsequenterweise war eine derartige Verpflichtung für den Müller viel mehr belästigend. Darauf verwies M. Dembińska, *Przetwórstwo zbozowe w Polsce średniowiecznej (X-XIV wiek)*, Warszawa 1973, S. 215.

liefernden Getreidemengen wurden allgemein als Korn beziehungsweise genauer als entsprechende Lastenzahl von Roggen und Weizen bestimmt. Darüber hinaus bediente man sich eines Zinses, der als bestimmte Scheffelzahl gemahlener Malz oder Mehls zu entrichten war. Die meisten ländlichen Mühlen, für die man den gebührenden Zins als Getreidezins bestimmte, gehörten zu den kleinen Mühlenanlagen, deren Mahlleistung recht gering war. Die entschiedene Mehrheit (64 Mühlen) entrichtete einen Zins, der von 1 bis 5 Lasten betrug. Einen Zins von 6 und mehr Lasten hatten lediglich 15 Mühlen zu entrichten, wobei ein Teil davon mit zwei Mühlrädern ausgestattet war, was wiederum einen tatsächlich niedrigeren Zins vom Rad voraussetzte, als dies bei den übrigen Mühlen der Fall war<sup>81</sup>. Der Getreidezins sicherte viel besser die Interessen des Ordens, insbesondere damals, als Geld schnell an Wert verlieren begann, was zur Folge hatte, dass sich gleichzeitig der in Bar festgelegte Realzins verringerte. Andererseits kann man nicht vergessen, dass das als Zins erhobene Getreide befördert werden musste, was in der Praxis die effektiven Einnahmen des Ordens herabsetzen ließ.

Eine genaue Analyse der seitens der ländlichen Mühlen entrichteten Zinsen (Getreide- beziehungsweise Geldzinsen) erlaubt uns die Lage der ländlichen Wirtschaft in den einzelnen Staatsregionen wie auch die sich vollziehenden Umwandlungen (Ausbau bestehender Mühlen um weitere Mühlräder, Anstieg beziehungsweise Herabsetzung des entrichteten Zinses) besser zu verfolgen. Man verwies bereits darauf, dass die Mühlabgaben hauptsächlich aus dem gewöhnlich in Geld oder Getreide festgelegten Zins bestanden. Manchmal kamen auch zusätzliche Verpflichtungen hierzu, wie zum Beispiel das zu entrichtende Pflugkorn, Einlieferung von Geflügel und Schweinezucht<sup>82</sup>. Die vorgesehenen Zahlungsfristen ergaben sich vornehmlich aus Regelungen, die in den Mühlenprivilegien enthalten waren, und bezogen sich auf einen beziehungsweise einige bestimmte Tage des Jahres. Eine gewissermaßen Ratenzahlung der Zinsen verwendete man besonders häufig bei Windmühlen. Die Anordnung der die anfallenden Zinsen als Getreidezinsen entrichtenden Mühlen weist gewöhnlich auf einen Zusammenhang der Zinsenart mit der örtlichen Lage der ländlichen Wirtschaft (Getreidezins – ein niedrigerer organisatorischer Entwicklungsgrad) sowie auf ihren beschränkten Anteil am Geldaustausch. Nicht immer ist dieser Zusammenhang selbstverständlich. Im Falle des Kulmerlandes konnte sich der hier übliche Getreidezins aus der Zugänglichkeit des Getreideabsatzmarktes ergeben, der wiederum mit den nahe liegenden Handelsstrecken

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81 R. Kubicki, *Młynarstwo w państwie zakonu...*, S. 214-215.

82 Eine Zusammenstellung der durch Mühlen in den einzelnen administrativen Einheiten des Ordensstaates entrichteten Zinsen präsentierte J. Sarnowsky, *Die Wirtschaftsführung...*, Tabelle Nr. 62, S. 507-515.

verbunden war<sup>83</sup>. In Samland bestanden die Mühlen dagegen nicht nur in der Nähe der kulmischen sondern auch der preußischen Dörfer, was mittelbar Festlegungen in Bezug auf beachtliche ökonomische Entwicklung der hiesigen preußischen Dörfer bestätigen könnte, die sich im Vorhandensein großer Wirtschaftshöfe manifestierte, die größtenteils mit einem Zins belegt wurden. Es ist bekannt, dass diese Mühlen einen Geldzins in Bar bezahlt haben, woraus zu schließen sei, dass der wirtschaftliche Austausch mit den hiesigen Bauern auch in Bar zu erfolgen hätte<sup>84</sup>.

Zwecks Erhöhung beziehungsweise sogar zwecks Sicherung der Rentabilität der Mühlen bediente man sich ausnahmsweise des Mühlenzwangs, der bestimmte Dörfer verpflichtete, ausschließlich in einer bestimmten Mühle mahlen zu lassen<sup>85</sup>. Die Obrigkeit behielt sich ziemlich häufig das Recht vor, für ihren eigenen Bedarf kostenfrei mahlen lassen zu können. Es bedeutete eine große Belastung für Müller, deshalb bekamen sie eine Rückvergütung hierfür in Form proportional geringerer Zinsen. Die Höhe der Mahlgebühr für alle Mahlkunden im Deutschordensstaat war beinahe gleich. Es sind allerdings solche Fälle bekannt, dass der Zins geändert – herabgesetzt oder erhöht – worden ist, was zu Streitigkeiten mit Stadtbewohnern oder dem Rittertum führte. Insbesondere bezog es sich auf Erhebung von zusätzlichen Gebühren in Bar (*molepfennig*), die als Vergütung des Mühlgesindes zu entrichten war<sup>86</sup>.

Neben der Mahlgebühr, die unmittelbar von den über Ordensmühlen verwaltenden Mühlmeistern, die in großen Städten tätig waren, erhoben wurde, waren die ausgewählten Ordensbeamten niedrigeren Ranges dazu berechtigt, über die dem Orden gebührenden Abgaben zu verfügen, die als Getreide- oder Geldzinsen von den Müllern beziehungsweise den Mühleigentümern laut den Bestimmungen zu entrichten waren, die in ihren Mühlenprivilegien oder zeitlich befristeten Pachtverträgen festgelegt wur-

83 Auf diesen Aspekt machte mich Prof. Roman Czaja in seiner bei der Habilitationsprozedur vorbereiteten Rezension aufmerksam.

84 G. Vercamer, *op.cit.*, S. 197-198, 376-378.

85 Vorhaben dieser Art waren im Falle der Ordensmühlen verboten. Formell trat der Hochmeister Winrich von Kniprode (1351-1382) dagegen, als er feststellte, dass *man sal gemeinlich gunnen allin leuthin czu malen in allen muelen, wo is en allirbequemest ist. Doch were das imant seinen leuthin werte, in unseren muelen zcu malen, des gleich moget ir weder thun* (*Acten der Ständetage Preussens unter der Herrschaft des Deutschen Ordens*, hrsg. von M. Toeppen, I, Leipzig 1878 [weiter zit.: ASP], Nr. 19, S. 36); siehe auch H. Steffen, *op.cit.*, S. 89.

86 Zur Frage der Höhe der in den Mühlen erhobenen Mahlgebühr siehe R. Kubicki, *Młynarstwo w państwie zakonu...*, S. 243-251. Zur Frage der Beschwerden über die durch den Deutschen Orden erhobenen zusätzlichen Mahlgebühren in Bar (*molepfennig*), die fürs Mahlen in den Ordensmühlen eingezogen wurden, siehe: H. Steffen, *op.cit.*, S. 89; R. Czaja, *Miasta pruskie a zakon krzyżacki. Studia nad stosunkami między miastem a władzą terytorialną w późnym średniowieczu*, Toruń 1999, S. 200-203.

den. Die vorhandenen Quellen erlauben nicht, den Umfang dieses Phänomens eindeutig zu bestimmen; es ist allerdings bekannt, dass zum Beispiel der Zins aus der Mühle in Wolitta im Jahre 1418 von dem Fischmeister und aus der Mühle in Żelazna Góra/Eisenberg in der Balger Komturei von dem Waldmeister eingezogen wurde<sup>87</sup>. Der Pfleger zu Tapiawa/Tapiau verfügte wiederum im Jahre 1437 über Zinsen aus vier Mühlen, die auf dem Gebiet des Waldamtes in Tapiau gelegen waren (Tolleyne, Tapiau, Symnaw und Gilge)<sup>88</sup>. Auch die Zinsen aus Mühlen, die in den einzelnen administrativen Einheiten der Marienburger Komturei gelegen waren, zogen die Schultheißen in Grabiny/Herregrebin und Laski/Leske, der Fischmeister in Szkarpawa/Scharpau sowie die Pfleger in Lasowice/Lesewitz und Małowy/Montau ein<sup>89</sup>. Der Pfleger zu Seehesten verpachtete in den Jahren 1448-1452 drei Getreidemühlen in Seehesten, Sensburg und Pülz. Der Unternehmer, der mit ihm einen Vertrag geschlossen hatte, war berechtigt, ein Fünftel von der gesamten Mahlgebühr zu erheben<sup>90</sup>.

Aus den der ersten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts entstammenden Quellenüberlieferungen ergibt sich, dass die Praxis der Übergabe von Mühlen an Pächter gegen einen bestimmten Zins weit verbreitet war. Auf diese Art und Weise garantierte sich der Orden feste Einnahmen aus Pachtverträgen, die meistens für drei Jahre geschlossen wurden, wobei er gleichzeitig enge wirtschaftliche Beziehungen mit seiner Klientel verstärkte, die aus einer Gruppe von Verwaltern (Hofmeistern) und Pächtern bestand<sup>91</sup>. Sie übernahmen auch Mühlenanlagen, die sich in den großen Städten und sogar in der Nähe von Ordensburgen befanden<sup>92</sup>. Aus den überlieferten Rechnungen des Ordens ist ersichtlich, dass die Pächter einen sehr hohen Zins in Höhe von etwa zig Mark jährlich zu entrichten hatten, der vermutlich den

87 GA, S. 163.

88 GZB, S. 60. Dabei wurde der Zins aus der Mühle in Tolleyne zeitweise unmittelbar durch den Königsberger Konvent erhoben, siehe GZB, S. 19.

89 Verzeichnisse in MA, S. 28-32, 43-45, 47, 52, 54-55, 57-58, 73-75, 83, 86.

90 GStA PK, OF 186, k. 7v-8v.

91 Der erhaltene Pachtvertrag vom 1417 über die Mühle zu Kobbeldude (russ. Swetloe), gelegen in der Komturei Brandenburg, eben auf drei Jahre befristet, veröffentlicht von J. Sarnowsky, *Ein Schuldbuch des Komturs von Brandenburg aus dem Anfang des 15. Jahrhunderts*, in: *Prusy – Polska – Europa. Studia z dziejów średniowiecza i czasów wczesnonowożytnych*, hrsg. von A. Radzimiński, J. Tandecki, Toruń 1999, S. 272.

92 Es handelte sich um Mühlen in Zinten (russ. Kornewo) (80 Mark), Schrankenberga (58,5 Mark), Frydłąd Pruski/Friedland und Krzyżpork/Kreuzburg (je 60 Mark), Zastawno/Schönberg und Młynary/Mühlhausen insgesamt 52 Mark, Neumühl (russ. Kostromino), Tolleyne (je 50 Mark), Kadyny/Kadinen und Tolkmicko/Tolkemitz insgesamt 54 Mark, Górowo Haweckie/Landsberg (40 Mark), Nowy Młyn/Neue Mühle (40 Mark) Srokowo/Drengfurt (32 Mark), Tapiawa/Tapiau (28 Mark), Aniołowo/Rapendorf (27 Mark), Pruszcz Gdański/Praust (24-32 Mark).



durchschnittlichen Einnahmen entsprach, die der Orden zu derjenigen Zeit erzielt hatte, als er selbständig über diese Mühlen verwaltet hatte<sup>93</sup>. Eine vergleichende Zusammenstellung der in den Ordensmühlen geführten Inventare, die von deren Verwaltern erstellt wurden, und der Verzeichnisse der als Getreide- und Geldzinsen erzielten Einnahmen, die die Mühlen zu entrichten hatten, erlaubt festzustellen, dass die zahlreichen Ordensmühlen zeitweilig verpachtet wurden. Die detaillierten Angaben hierüber stellt die unten präsentierte Tabelle dar.

Tabelle 4: Die zeitweilig in Pacht gegebenen Ordensmühlen.

Lfd. Nr.	Ortschaft (Mühle)	Die von Ordensbeamten erstellten Inventare (Datum)	Der zu Gunsten des Ordens entrichtete Zins (Datum)	Form des von Pächtern zu entrichtenden Zinses	Bemerkungen
1	Mragowo/Sensburg	1441	1422	Geld	
2	Gniew/Mewe	1402, 1404, 1440, 1441, 1444	circa 1419, 1437, 1444	Getreide	
3	Bratian/Brattian	1379, 1411-1412, 1420-1421, 1434-1435, 1439, 1442	1437	Getreide	
4	Frydląd Pruski/Friedland	1507	1437, 1447	Geld	
5	Kętrzyn/Rastenburg	1412, 1414, 1420, 1442, 1447	1418, 1437	Geld	Zinsen an den Hochmeister
6	Sątoczno/Leunenburg	1416, 1418, 1420	1422	Geld	
7	Tczew/Dirschau	1415, 1431, 1437, 1438, 1439, 1446	circa 1417	„man helt sy umb dy met-cze“	Zinsen an Marienburg
8	Sępopol/Schuppenbeil	1412, 1420, 1437, 1442	1422, 1437	Geld	Zinsen an den Hochmeister
9	Skarszewy/Schöneck	1418, 1431, 1437	1417	Getreide	
10	Sobowidz/Sobowitz	1437, 1438	1417	Getreide	

93 J. Sarnowsky, *Die Wirtschaftsführung...*, S. 203.

11	Stara Kiszewa/ Alt Kischau	1437-1439	1417	„dy helt man umb dy met- cze“	
12	Starogard Gdań- ski/ Preußisch Star- gard	1402, 1438, 1446	circa 1419, 1437, 1444	Getreide	
13	Szestno/ Seehesten	1441	1422	Geld	
14	Świecie nad Osą/ Schwetz am Ossa	1434	1438	Getreide	
15	Tuchola/Tuchel Schlossmühle	1413, 1417, 1431	1438	Getreide	die 2. (neue) Mühle leer
16	Wielka Nieszaw- ka/ Gross Nessau	1382	nach 1418	Geld und Ge- treide	Mühle leer

Quelle: GZB, S. 5-6, 13-16, 24, 29-30, 50, 72-73, 85, 99-100, 106-107, 117-118, 120; GA, S. 155, 159, 163-165, 168-169, 177-179, 181-182, 189-190, 194, 196, 246, 361, 363, 366-370, 372-374, 477, 574, 635, 637-638, 642-643, 719, 722-724, 727, 729-734, 735, 738, 740, 752-753, 757-760. Abdruck der Tabelle Nr. 6 nach R. Kubicki, *Młynarstwo w państwie zakonu...*, S. 78.

## MÜLLER UND MÜHLARBEITER

Die weite Verbreitung von Wassermühlen ließ konsequenterweise eine Gruppe von Müllern entstehen, darunter auch denjenigen, die über das Erbrecht auf Mahlanlagen verfügten, die als eine besondere Kategorie insbesondere in Bezug auf strukturelle Aufteilung der ländlichen Bevölkerung fungierte. Die berufliche Gruppe der Müller war allerdings gar nicht einheitlich. Neben den Müllern, die über Mühlenprivilegien mit gleichzeitig zuerkanntem Erbrecht auf Mühlennutzung verfügten, bestand auch eine Gruppe von Pachtmüllern sowie Müllern, die als Personal in den großen Produktionsbetrieben beschäftigt waren. Die Einnahmen dieser Berufsgruppe waren recht unterschiedlich. Die dörflichen Müller, die über Mühlenprivilegien verfügten, gehörten ganz sicher zu ökonomischen Eliten der ländlichen Bevölkerung. Eine in Hinsicht auf ihren Vermögensstatus etwa in der Mitte stehende Gruppe bildeten diejenigen Müller, die in den Mühlen aufgrund eines bestimmten, mit deren Eigentümern geschlossenen Arbeitsvertrags beschäftigt waren, und am niedrigsten platzierten sich die Müller, die als Personal in den großen, dem Orden beziehungsweise den Bischöfen gehörenden Mahlbetrieben arbeiteten. Daneben gab es auch Pachtmüller, die als Pächter gegen einen bestimmten Anteil an der erhobenen Mahlgebühr ihre Arbeit leisteten, Pachtmüller, die sich mit einem Eigenkapital an einer Mühle beteiligten sowie Müller, die keine eigenen Anteile besaßen und deren Aufgabe es war, Ordens- beziehungsweise Privatmühlen zu führen. Neben

den Müllern waren dagegen die Mühlenarbeiter am zahlreichsten vertreten, die zum Hilfspersonal oder dem qualifizierten Mühlgesinde gehörten und verschiedene Leistungen beim Mahlen erbrachten, wie auch diejenigen einfachen Hilfsarbeiter, die als Tagelöhner bei der Beladung und Beförderung von Getreide und Mehl beschäftigt waren. Die erhaltenen Quellenüberlieferungen verweisen auf eine recht günstige wirtschaftliche Lage derjenigen Müller, die eigenständige Mahlbetriebe besaßen. Laut dem Entwurf von Steuertarifen vom 1419, die die gesamte Bevölkerung des Staates umfassen sollten, wurden Müller als eine Sondergruppe betrachtet. Sie sollten ihre Steuer vom Mühlrad wie von einer Hufe (16,8 Hektar) entrichten, wobei diejenigen, die gegen eine Mahlgebühr – Metze ihre Arbeit leisteten wie diejenigen ... (siedzacy na  $\frac{1}{4}$  lub  $\frac{1}{5}$ ) od  $\frac{1}{5}$ <sup>94</sup>. Das Problem der Steuern, die von den Müllern zu entrichten waren, wurde auch später vielseitig betrachtet<sup>95</sup>. Breit diskutiert wurde diese Frage bei der Bearbeitung des Steuertarifs für das Jahr 1431. Nach diesem Entwurf sollten die ländlichen Müller (*landmolner*) einen halben Vierdung (3 Skot), das heißt um 50% mehr als die Bauern (2 Skot) bezahlen. Besonders interessant schien hierbei die Tatsache zu sein, dass man im Rahmen dieser Zusammenstellung Schneidemüller (*sneydemolner*), die eine Gebühr von 2 Skot zu entrichten hatten, sowie Stadtmüller (*stadmolner*) getrennt betrachtete. Unter den Letzteren unterschied man diejenigen, die eine Mahlgebühr in Geld (*malepfennyng*) erhoben, und die sonstigen. Die von den Ersteren zu bezahlende Steuer sollte 1 Vierdung (6 Skot) betragen, die anderen hatten dagegen 4 Skot zu entrichten. Abgesondert schätzte man auch Personen, die als Kupfermüller (*coppermolner*) ihren Beruf ausübten und 1 Vierdung (6 Skot) zu bezahlen hatten, diejenigen, die Walkmühlen führten (*walkmolner*) und eine Gebühr von 2 Skot entrichteten sowie solche, die Schleifereien betrieben (*sleifmolner*) und von denen eine Gebühr von 1 Skot erhoben wurde<sup>96</sup>. Selbstverständlich entsprach die vorgeschlagene Steuergebühr der mittleren Wohlhabenheit der Vertreter der einzelnen Berufsgruppen. Daraus ergibt sich, dass die von den Stadtmüllern zu entrichtende Steuer, die eine Mahlgebühr (*malepfennyng*) einzogen, zweimal höher als diejenige von den ländlichen Müllern (*landmolner*) erhobene, wobei die Letzteren um 1 Skot weniger zu entrichten hatten als die Stadtmüller (*stadmolner*), die wiederum keine Mahlgebühr in Geld erhoben. Weniger als die ländlichen

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94 *Item die molner, iclicher von eynem rade gleich eyner huben, sunder welche molner die do sitczen uff das fumfte adir vierde, sullen geben ir fumfte teil erem herren czu hulfe* (ASP, I, Nr. 277, S. 338; Nr. 281, S. 341).

95 Im Jahre 1420 *ibidem*, Nr. 278, S. 338; Nr. 279, S. 339; Nr. 282, S. 342. Im Jahre 1425 *ibidem*, Nr. 340, S. 435. Im Jahre 1427 *ibidem*, Nr. 362, S. 467.

96 *ibidem*, Nr. 406, S. 543-544. Diese Festlegungen wurden im Jahre 1433 wiederholt, siehe *ibidem*, Nr. 441 S. 586-587.

Müller sollten dagegen Schneide-, Walk- und Schleifmüller als Steuerabgaben entrichten. Von einer ausgesprochen guten Vermögenslage der Müller zeugen auch die Bestimmungen der Antiluxusgesetze<sup>97</sup>. Das im Jahre 1445 beschlossene Landesgesetz verbot den Handwerkern und ihren Ehefrauen wie auch den Schultheißen, Bauern, Schankwirten und Müllern sowie ihren Ehefrauen unter anderem Pelze und Kleider mit Silberknöpfen zu tragen<sup>98</sup>. Auf diese Regelungen verwies man mehrmals auch später<sup>99</sup>. Was hier auch von Bedeutung zu sein scheint, betrachtete man Müller als eine besondere Steuergruppe auch während des Dreizehnjährigen Krieges<sup>100</sup>.

Zusammenfassend lässt sich sagen, dass die Entwicklung des Mühlwesens auf dem Gebiet des Deutschordensstaates in der Zeit vom 13. bis zum 15. Jahrhundert vornehmlich das Ergebnis einer konsequenten Tätigkeit des Deutschen Ordens war, dem es gelang, einen – in damaligen Maßstäben gemessen – außerordentlich weit zentralisierten Apparat der Wirtschaftsverwaltung entstehen zu lassen und der gleich konsequent dessen Aktivitäten im Bereich der Mühlenwirtschaft durchsetzte. Da die Staatsmacht eine geistliche Körperschaft innehatte, die über gewährte Grundsätze im Bereich der Bekleidung und Übergabe von Ämtern verfügte, konnte man eine langfristige Wirtschaftspolitik führen. Das grundlegende gesetzliche Werkzeug bei der Organisation des Mühlwesens war die Anwendung des Mühlenregals. Dies erlaubte dem Orden Voraussetzungen dafür zu schaffen, dass die meisten durch die großen Stadtmühlen generierten Gewinne wie auch Zinse aus den ländlichen Mühlen der Deutsche Orden allein erheben konnte. Die Verwaltung über allerart Mühlenanlagen wurde den Ordensbeamten – den Mühlmeistern übergeben, die für die Instandhaltung der von ihnen beaufsichtigten Anlagen sowie für die Überweisung der ausgearbeiteten Einnahmen für den Bedarf des lokalen Konvents verantwortlich waren. Den größten Teil der Einnahmen sicherten die großen Wassermühlen, die unmittelbar von den Ordensbeamten verwaltet wurden, wie auch andere Stadtmühlen, die dem Orden gehörten und die teilweise kraft befristeter Pachtverträge an private Unternehmer übergeben wurden. Für die gesamten Einnahmen des Ordensstaates war auch das in den Mühlen als Mahlgebühr erhobene Getreide von großer Bedeutung. Viel geringer waren dagegen die

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97 H. Steffen, *op.cit.*, S. 92; G. Kisch, *Das Mühlenrecht im Deutschordensgebiete*, S. 161.

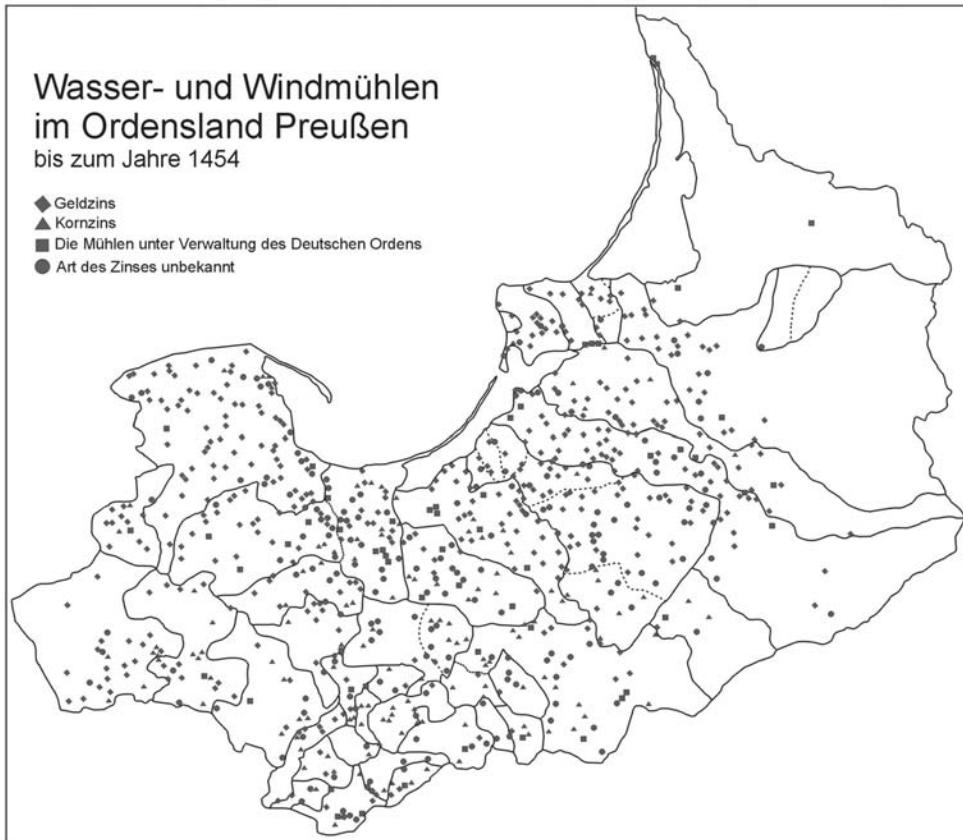
98 *Item das keyn hantwerkesman adir sein weip, schulcze, gebuwer, kretczmer adir molner, noch ere weybe, kein growerk, czabeln adir marderren sullen tragen, nach keyn silberwercke an gortel und knofel bobin eyne lotige mark silbers* (ASP, II, hrsg. von M. Toeppen, Leipzig 1880, Nr. 410, (Nr. 37), S. 671).

99 H. Steffen, *op.cit.*, S. 92.

100 (1455) ASP, IV, hrsg. von M. Toeppen, Leipzig 1884, Nr. 306, S. 458-459; (1456) *ibidem*, Nr. 328, S. 486-487; Nr. 329 S. 490-491; (1457) *ibidem*, Nr. 378, S. 577-578; (1458) ASP, V, hrsg. von M. Toeppen, Leipzig 1886, Nr. 2, S. 2-4.

aus Zinsgeld eingezogenen Einnahmen. Der in Bar erhobene Zins entsprach annähernd den aus Schänken erzielten Einnahmen. Am besten lässt sich die große wirtschaftliche Bedeutung der Wassermühlen am Beispiel der wirtschaftlichen Lage der einzelnen Komturei verfolgen, für die das als Mahlgebühr erhobene Getreide nicht nur zur Grundlage der Versorgung mit dem wichtigsten Bestandteil der Ernährung wurde, sondern auch die Möglichkeit bot, wichtige Einnahmen im Falle dessen Weiterverkaufs zu erzielen. Dies alles weist eindeutig darauf hin, dass das Mühlwesen für den Deutschen Orden ein äußerst wichtiger Wirtschaftszweig war. Es bestätigt auch, dass als Schlüsselement dieses Zustands die richtige Kontrolle über diesen Produktionsbereich galt, die ausschließlich dank der Einführung sowie der Einhaltung des Mühlenregals möglich war.

übersetzt von Dorota Fałkowska



## ABSTRACT

Dieser Aufsatz liegt als Kurzdarstellung eines Teils von Forschungsergebnissen vor, gewidmet dem Mühlwesen im Deutschordensstaat Preußen, die früher bereits als monographische Buchausgabe veröffentlicht wurden. Man konzentrierte sich darauf, die besondere Bedeutung des Mühlwesens in der Wirtschaftsführung des Deutschen Ordens hervorzuheben, indem man dessen Organisation und das Funktionieren auf den Gebieten berücksichtigte, die der unmittelbaren Obrigkeit des Deutschen Ordens unterstellt waren. Besprochen wurden gesetzliche Regelungen im Bereich des Mühlwesens, darunter das Mühlenregal. Es wurde hierbei auf diejenigen Einflussgrößen verwiesen, die eine bestimmte Gestaltung des Mühlennetzes bedingten. Man versuchte auch die Berufsgruppe der Müller als eine besondere Kategorie zu charakterisieren, und zwar vor allem innerhalb der Strukturen der ländlichen Bevölkerung. Praktisch genommen führte der Zustand des erhaltenen Quellenmaterials dazu, dass man die detaillierten Forschungen in vielen Fällen lediglich ausschließlich für die zweite Hälfte des 14. und die erste Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts durchführen konnte. Im Zusammenhang damit beziehen sich meistens die hierbei formulierten detaillierten Anmerkungen eben auf diese Zeitspanne, wobei sie nicht immer auf die früher herrschenden Verhältnisse bezogen werden können.

Die Entwicklung des Mühlwesens auf dem Gebiet des Deutschordensstaates in der Zeit vom 13. bis zum 15. Jahrhundert war vornehmlich das Ergebnis einer konsequenten Tätigkeit des Deutschen Ordens, dem es gelang, einen – in damaligen Maßstäben gemessen – außerordentlich weit zentralisierten Apparat der Wirtschaftsverwaltung entstehen zu lassen und der gleich konsequent dessen Aktivitäten im Bereich der Mühlenwirtschaft durchsetzte. Da die Staatsmacht eine geistliche Körperschaft innehatte, die über gewährte Grundsätze im Bereich der Bekleidung und Übergabe von Ämtern verfügte, konnte man eine langfristige Wirtschaftspolitik führen. Das grundlegende gesetzliche Werkzeug bei der Organisation des Mühlwesens war die Anwendung des Mühlenregals. Dies erlaubte dem Orden Voraussetzungen dafür zu schaffen, dass die meisten durch die großen Stadtmühlen generierten Gewinne wie auch Zinse aus den ländlichen Mühlen allein der Deutsche Orden erheben konnte. Die Verwaltung über allerart Mühlenanlagen wurde den Ordensbeamten – den Mühlmeistern übergeben, die für die Instandhaltung der von ihnen beaufsichtigten Anlagen sowie für die Überweisung der ausgearbeiteten Einnahmen für den Bedarf des lokalen Konvents verantwortlich waren. Den größten Teil der Einnahmen sicherten die großen Wassermühlen, die unmittelbar von den Ordensbeamten verwaltet wurden, wie auch andere Stadtmühlen, die dem Orden gehörten und die teilweise kraft befristeter Pachtverträge an private Unternehmer übergeben wurden. Für die gesamten Einnahmen des Ordensstaates war auch das in den Mühlen als Mahlgebühr erhobene Getreide von großer Bedeutung. Hieraus erlangte der Deutsche Orden 60% von der Gesamtmenge des in Zinsform erhobenen Roggens. Viel geringer waren dagegen die aus Zinsgeld eingezogenen Einnahmen, die etwa 5% von den auf diese Weise erzielten Gesamteinnahmen des Staates betragen, was annähernd den aus Schänken erzielten Einnahmen entsprach. Die große wirtschaftliche Bedeutung der Wassermühlen kann man genau am Beispiel der wirtschaftlichen Lage der einzelnen Komtureien verfolgen, für die das als Mahlgebühr erhobene Getreide nicht nur zur Grundlage der Versorgung mit dem wichtigsten Bestandteil der Ernährung wurde, sondern auch die Möglichkeit bot, wichtige Einnahmen im Falle dessen Weiterverkaufs zu erzielen. Dank der konsequenten Wirtschaftspolitik des Deutschen Ordens befand sich das Mühlwesen als äußerst wichtiger Bestandteil der Produktionsstrukturen der damaligen Wirtschaft im Rahmen dessen territorialen Herrschaft beinahe unter vollständiger Kontrolle des Ordens und brachte ihm wesentliche und stabile Einnahmen.



KRZYSZTOF POLEK  
KRAKÓW

## THE ROLE OF THE KHAZAR KHAGANATE IN THE ECONOMIC SYSTEM OF THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES



In memory of  
Jerzy Gołębiowski (1943-2010)

Since the origin till its collapse in consequence of the 965 memorable military expedition under the Duke of Kiev Sviatoslav, the Khazar Khaganate (together with the Byzantine Empire and Abbasid Caliphate) co-shaped the history and culture of south-eastern part of Eastern Europe. It also played a part in developing economic relations in early medieval Europe, which is shown in archaeological and historical studies<sup>1</sup>. It was not only, however, political aspects and a military potential of the Khaganate which determined its significance in the diplomatic realities of the day. It should be remarked that the Khazars controlled vast territories stretching (in their heyday) from the Danube delta in the west to the areas between the Caspian Sea and Aral Sea, and from the Caucasus right to the

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1 The latest studies on the history of the Khazars have been discussed by P.B. Golden, *Khazar Studies: Achievements and Perspectives*, in: *The World of the Khazars. New Perspectives*, ed. by P.B. Golden, H. Ben-Shammai, A. Róna-Tas, Handbook of Oriental Studies, section 8: Central Asia, XVII, Leiden-Boston 2007, pp. 7-57; on the meanders of Soviet and Russian studies on the Khazar issue see: V.A. Shnirelman, *The Story of Euphemism: The Khazars in Russian Nationalist Literature*, in: *The World of the Khazars...*, pp. 353-372; with reference to archaeological studies see: S.A. Pletneva, *Khazarskoe problemy v arkheologii*, "Sovetskaja Arkheologia" (1990) 2, pp. 77-91; for the review of most recent works by Russian historians go to: M.G. Magomedov, *Obrazovanie hazarskogo kghanata*, Moskva 1983; and G. Rostkowski, *Wyprawa Światosława na Chazarię w 965 r. i jej następstwa*, "Przegląd Historyczny" XCII (2001) 3, p. 271, footnote 12; A. Paroń, *Nomadic Peoples of the Black Sea Steppes – from Cimmericians to Polovtsyq. Outline of the Political Relations*, "Sprawozdania Archeologiczne" LXI (2009), pp. 97-124; see also the bibliography concerning the Khazars presented by K.A. Brook, <http://www.khazaria.com/khazar-biblio/toc.html> (access on 07.11.2012).



middle basin of the rivers: Volga, Dnepr, Seversky Donec and Don. The *Pax Khazarica* also guaranteed political and ethnic stability to those trouble spots for the period of more than two centuries. The location of the Khaganate in lands which were extremely important also from an economic point of view determined that fact that the state soon became the focal point of diplomatic services, first of all, of the Byzantine Empire, and then (during the rule of the dynasties of the Umayyad and Abbasid) the Caliphate as well.

Constantinople relatively early spotted the key role which the Khaganate played for the Empire in maintaining its dominant position in the zone of the Black Sea and the Caucasus<sup>2</sup> both for the security of its territory and for economic reasons. The territorial configuration of the Khazar state facilitated access to long-distance trade routes running from the Black Sea across the Caucasian and Caspian territories towards Central Asia and China, without recourse to the Persians and then the Arabs. With time also the routes which

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2 Joint military actions of the Khazars and Byzantium against the Persians are confirmed by Theophanes, *Chronographia. The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor. Byzantine and Near Eastern History AD 284-813*, transl. with introduction and commentary by C. Mango, R. Scott, with assistance of G. Greatrex, Oxford 1997, AM 6117 (AD 624/625), pp. 446-447. See also the study on the sources by J. Howard-Johnstan, *Byzantine Sources for Khazar History*, in: *The World of the Khazars...*, pp. 163-193; P.B. Golden, *Khazar Studies. An Historico-Philological Inquiry into the Origins of the Khazars*, vol. I, Budapest 1980, pp. 61-62; S. Polgár, *A Contribution to the History of the Khazar Military Organization: The Strengthening of the Camp*, "Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae" LVIII (2005) 2, pp. 187-204 (henceforth as: Acta Orientalia ASHung.); the review of the main strands in the Byzantine historiography as regards the attitude towards the nomads: D. Chermienko, *The Rulers of European Nomads and Early Mediaeval Byzantine Historiography*, "Acta Orientalia ASHung." LVIII (2005) 2, pp. 171-178. These territories were regarded by the Byzantine diplomacy as the areas located within the borders of the Empire, even though they were *de facto* excluded from the real authority of Constantinople, see V. Vachkova, *Danube Bulgaria and Khazaria as Parts of the Byzantine oikumene*, in: *Other Europe in the Middle Ages. Avars, Bulgars, Khazars and Cumans*, ed. by F. Curta, R. Kovalev, East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450-1450, II, Leiden-Boston 2008, pp. 339-362. The Khazar Khaganate formed the external part of this political *oikumene*, cf. T. Stepanov, *The Bulgars and the Steppe Empire in the Early Middle Ages. The Problem of the Others*, East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450-1450, VIII, Leiden-Boston 2010, pp. 66-74. Of some significance was also the role which the Turk people played in the political and economic history of Central Asia in the 6<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> centuries, see M.R. Drompp, *Imperial State Formation in Inner Asia: The Early Turkic Empires (6<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> Centuries)*, "Acta Orientalia ASHung." LVIII (2005) 1, pp. 101-111; this coincided with the military and political presence of the second Turkish Empire in the territories mentioned here in the 1<sup>st</sup> quarter of the 8<sup>th</sup> century, see M. Dobrovits, *The Great Western Campaign of the Eastern Turks (711-714)*, "Acta Orientalia ASHung." LVIII (2005) 2, pp. 179-185. These relations were aptly characterised in the chronicle by Theophanes, *Chronographia...*, AM 6221, p. 563 (AD 729); AM 6223 (AD 730) p. 567; 6255 (AD 762-763) p. 600; AM 6256 (AD 764), p. 602; L. Balogh, *Notes on the Western Turks in the Work of Theophanes Confessor*, "Acta Orientalia ASHung." LVIII (2005) 2, pp. 187-195. These peoples became also the target of political actions of the diplomacy of the Chinese Empire.

ran vertically acquired significance. They enabled Greek, Muslim, and Jewish merchants to get to eastern Slavic territories and to the Baltic Sea coast<sup>3</sup>.

It was not, however, until the third quarter of the 8<sup>th</sup> century that a convenient geographical location and advantages as well as economic resources of the lands dependent on the Khanate were fully used. A serious obstacle in this respect was a long-lasting conflict between the Khazars and the Arabs, whose origins should be dated to the period of the early Arab expansion in the second quarter of the 7<sup>th</sup> century. It was the region of the Caucasus and the lands located to the west of the Caspian Sea that became a disputed territory. Its strategic advantages were noticed quite early by Muslim rulers aiming to take control over the main mountain passes – the Darial and the Derbent<sup>4</sup>. The conflict gained momentum when in 713-714 the Arabs occupied lands to the east of the Caucasus, which were inhabited by the Khazars (Derbent) and the Alans, their allies<sup>5</sup>. In the end of the second

3 F. Kmietowicz, *Drogi napływu srebra arabskiego na południowe wybrzeża Bałtyku i przynależność etniczną ich nosicieli*, "Wiadomości Numizmatyczne" XII (1968), pp. 65-83; L. Leciejewicz, *O pierwszych kontaktach Słowian północno-zachodnich ze światem arabskim*, in: *Europa – Słowiańszczyzna – Polska. Studia ku uczczeniu Prof. Kazimierza Tymienieckiego*, Poznań 1970, pp. 213-227; idem, *Obcy kupcy na Słowiańszczyźnie Zachodniej w okresie wielkiego przełomu (IX-XI w.)*, in: *Cultus et cognitio. Studia z dziejów średniowiecznej kultury. Księga pamiątkowa dla Aleksandra Gieysztor*, Warszawa 1976, pp. 333-339; W. Łosiński, *Chronologia napływu monety arabskiej na terytorium Europy*, "Slavia Antiqua" (henceforth as: SlAnt.) XXXI (1988), pp. 116-135; idem, *Chronologia, skala i drogi napływu monet arabskich do krajów europejskich u schyłku IX i w X w.*, "SlAnt." XXXIV (1993), pp. 11-28; Th.S. Noonan, *The Impact of the Silver Crisis in Islam upon Novogrod's Trade with the Baltic*, "Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission" LXIX (1988), pp. 411-447; A. Nazmi, *Commercial Relations between Arabs and Slavs (9<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup>)*, Warszawa 1998, chapter 3 and pp. 212-218; M. McCormick, *The Origins of the European Economy. Communications and Commerce A.D. 300-900*, Cambridge 2005, pp. 562-564, 568-569.

4 *Hudud al-'Alam. The Regions of the World. A Persian Geography, 372 A.H. - 982 A.D.*, translated and explained by V. Minorsky, second edition with the preface by V.V. Barthold, ed. by C.E. Bosworth, E.J.W. Gibb Memorial, new series, XI, Cambridge 1982, § 48:3, p. 161 the Darial pass is called the gate of the Alans (Dar-i Alān); Ibn al-Faqīh, *Kitāb al-Buldān [The Book of Towns or The Book of Countries]*, transl. and commentaries by T. Lewicki, in: *Źródła arabskie do dziejów Słowiańszczyzny*, II, part 1, Prace Komisji Orientalistycznej PAN w Krakowie, VIII, Wrocław 1969, passage XXII, p. 39; D.M. Dunlop, *The History of the Jewish Khazars*, Princeton Oriental Studies, XVI, Princeton 1954, pp. 41-57 reconstruction of the course of the first Arab-Khazar war; T.W. Greenwood, *Armenian Neighbours (600-1045)*, in: *The Cambridge History of the Byzantine Empire c. 500-1492*, ed. by J. Shepard, Cambridge 2008, p. 344; A. Nazmi, op.cit., pp. 65-73; Th.S. Noonan, *Why Dirhems First Reached Russia. The Role Arab-Khazars Relations in the Development of the Earliest Islamic Trade with Eastern Europe*, "Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi" IV (1984), pp. 151-282 reprinted in idem, *The Islamic World, Russia and the Vikings, 750-900. The Numismatic Evidence*, Variorum Collected Studies: CS, 595, Aldershot 2009, chapter II, pp. 151-282 (hereafter quoted after the latest edition); D.J. Wasserstein, *The Khazars and the World of Islam*, in: *The World of the Khazars...*, pp. 374-380.

5 A. Nazmi, op.cit., pp. 66; Th.S. Noonan, *Why Dirhems First Reached Russia...*, pp. 183-184; I.V. Arzhantseva, *The Alans: Neighbours of the Khazars in the Caucasus*, in: *The World of the Khazars...*, pp. 59-73.

decade of the 8<sup>th</sup> century heavy fights were observed there. The Arabs managed to prevent, yet in the short run, further invasions of the Khazars on the territories located to the south of the Caucasus, the ones whose loss the Khaganate was not going to accept<sup>6</sup>.

This is well noticeable in military actions taken during another phase of the conflict which took place in 722-737, and connected with the Khazars' aspirations to regain the territory of Armenia<sup>7</sup>. Despite some earlier military successes, further course of fights turned for the Khazars to be unfortunate, which was confirmed by the loss of Balanğar – the main seat of the Khagan. Yet the Khazars still possessed enough forces to let them carry out offensive military operations on the territories to the south of the Caucasus (i.e. the Arab province of Armenia which covered the whole territory of the Transcaucasia)<sup>8</sup>. Further military campaigns were not stopped until the victory of the Arab armed forces won in the battle on the Araxes river in 726<sup>9</sup>. Soon after that the Khazars again managed to pose a threat to these territories, and in 730 they defeated the Arabs in the battle of Ardabil, which enabled their army to get unopposed as far as Mosul<sup>10</sup>.

In the following year considerable armed forces under the Governor of Armenia, Maslama ibn' Abd al-Malik crossed the Caucasian passes and attacked the Khazars. The campaign ended when the Derbent was captured (732) and the Khazars were driven from this part of the Transcaucasia<sup>11</sup>. It was

6 Ibn Al-Faqīh *Kitāb al-Buldān*, passage XIV, p. 31, on the Khazar presence in the Transcaucasian zone passage III, p. 21, IX, p. 23; Al-Ja'qūbūī, *Kitāb al-buldān* [The Book of Countries], in: *Źródła arabskie do dziejów Słowiańszczyzny*, transl. and commentaries by T. Lewicki, I, Wrocław-Kraków 1956, passage X, p. 255 and 278, footnote 82; on the locations of Khazar towns listed there see also: Ibn Al-Faqīh, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, passage XIV, p. 31, XVIII, p. 35; Ibn Hurdādbeh, *Kitāb al-masālik wa'l-mamālik* [The Book of Routes and Kingdoms], in: *Źródła arabskie do dziejów Słowiańszczyzny*, I, passage XII p. 73; P.B. Golden, *Khazar Studies...*, vol. I, pp. 61-62; Th.S. Noonan, *Why Dirhems First Reached Russia...*, pp. 182-183, 185; D.J. Wasserstein, op.cit., pp. 374-375, 377-380.

7 K. Czeglédy, *Khazar Raids in Transcaucasia in A.D. 762-764*, "Acta Orientalia ASHung." XI (1960) 1-3, pp. 75-78; D.M. Dunlop, op.cit., pp. 58-87, the second Arab- Khazar war P.B. Golden, *Khazar Studies...*, vol. I, pp. 62-64; Th.S. Noonan, *Why Dirhems First Reached Russia...*, pp. 184-190; K.A. Brook, *The Jews of Khazaria*, Lanham, 2010, pp. 127-129.

8 Al-Balādūr, *Kitāb futūh al-buldān* [The Book of the Conquers of the World], in: *Źródła arabskie do dziejów Słowiańszczyzny*, I, passage III, p. 219; Th.S. Noonan, *Why Dirhems First Reached Russia...*, p. 185.

9 D.M. Dunlop, op.cit., p. 67; P.B. Golden, *Khazar Studies...*, vol. I, p. 63; Th.S. Noonan, *Why Dirhems First Reached Russia...*, p. 185; K.A. Brook, *The Jews of Khazaria*, pp. 127-128.

10 D.M. Dunlop, op.cit., pp. 69-71; P.B. Golden, *Khazar Studies...*, vol. I, p. 63; Th.S. Noonan, *Why Dirhems First Reached Russia...*, p. 186.

11 Ibn Qutajba, *Kitāb al-ma'ārif* [The Book of Messages], in: *Źródła arabskie do dziejów Słowiańszczyzny*, I, passages III, IV, p. 203; D.M. Dunlop, op.cit., pp. 70-80; K. Czeglédy, op.cit., pp. 75-77; Th.S. Noonan, *Why Dirhems First Reached Russia...*, pp. 187-191.

not until the next military expedition of 737, however, that the position of the Arabs in the region was definitely consolidated.

The command in this campaign was given to the Governor of Armenia, Marwān ibn-Muhammad, who – according to the account presented by some Arabic sources – greatly outnumbered the enemy. This can prove that this operation was very important to the Baghdad Caliphate. After crossing the Dar-i-Alan pass in the central part of the Caucasus, Marwān directed his forces against the Khazar towns – Balanğar, Samandar and al-Baidā<sup>12</sup>. Military actions of the Arabs took the Khazars by surprise, who despite the organized defence were unable to repulse the invaders and decided to leave the current seat of the Khagan in order to move it to a safe place – Itil of the Volga delta<sup>13</sup>. Unlike in previous military campaigns, this time the Arabs did not limit their actions to the lands of Derbent and Marwān (who later was the caliph between 744-750) headed with his army to the north, penetrating deep into the Khazar country. By doing so, he intended to provoke the Khazars to fight a decisive battle and to settle the campaign in his own favour. However, the Khagan and the Tugun did not want to take this risk. In order to avoid the battle, they retreated to the right bank of the Volga river. The Muslim troops crossed the river, following the enemy, which made the Khazars take up the fight. It took place in an unknown location, most probably somewhere between the lower Don and the Volga, and it resulted in the defeat of the Khazars. The Tugun was killed in combat while the Khagan was captured<sup>14</sup>.

Assessing the results of the fights mentioned above, it has to be stressed that for the Khazars their defeat was not that severe. Despite losing some of the lands located in southern Caucasus, they managed to avoid the destruction of their state and occupation of their territory by the Arabs. Instead, they agreed to pay a yearly tribute and the Khagan accepted his own conversion to Islam. The Khaganate retained its territorial integrity and the current structure of the state. It also maintained its own military potential,

<sup>12</sup> Ibn Hurdābeh, *Kitāb al masālik wa'l-mamālik*, passages XII and XIV, p. 73; Ibn al-Faqīn, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, passage XXI, p. 39; as regards the identification with Itil see: *Hudud al-'Alam...*, § 50:3, p. 162 and the commentary p. 454; A. Zajączkowski, *Ze studiów nad zagadnieniem chazarskim*, Prace Komisji Orientalistycznej PAU, XXXVI, Kraków 1947, pp. 42-44, 48-50; T. Nagrodzka-Majchrzyk, *Geneza miast u dawnych ludów tureckich (VII-XII w.)*, Wrocław 1978, pp. 127-128; P.B. Golden, *Khazar Studies...*, vol. I, pp. 221-222, 225, 234, 236-237.

<sup>13</sup> A. Zajączkowski, op.cit., pp. 44-48; D.M. Dunlop, op.cit., pp. 81-87; T. Nagrodzka-Majchrzyk, *Miasta chazarskie Itil i Sarkel*, "Przegląd Orientalistyczny" I (LXXXV) (1973), pp. 46-48; idem, *Geneza miast u dawnych ludów tureckich...*, p. 127; P.B. Golden, *Khazar Studies...*, vol. I, pp. 224-226.

<sup>14</sup> D.M. Dunlop, op.cit., pp. 83-84; P.B. Golden, *Khazar Studies...*, vol. I, pp. 63-64; Th.S. Noonan, *Why Dirhems First Reached Russia...*, pp. 191-194; K.A. Brook, *The Jews of Khazaria*, pp. 128-129.

which is shown by its role in Eastern Europe, where the dominant position of the Khazars remained undiminished.

The war between the Khazars and the Arabs had its far more serious consequences for the territories located between the Caucasus and the Caspian Sea, where major military offensives took place. They wreaked havoc in colonisation processes. Also the territories of the Transcaucasia became the target of devastating raids of the Khazar troops, which seriously reduced the contribution of the Caucasian – Caspian zone to long-range trade<sup>15</sup>. The main benefit for the Arabs from these wars was the taking of the control over the major Caucasian passes – the Darial and Derbent, and the annexation of the lands to the south of the Terek river. Thus they could control trade and transportation routes running from the Middle East, Asia Minor and Iraq to the north, south-east, and towards Central Asia. The Khazar-Arab war was also part of an anti-Byzantine policy of the Caliphate, which aimed to break up a close political and military co-operation between Constantinople and the Khaganate<sup>16</sup>.

Despite winning the war, the Arabs did not manage to subdue the Khazar Khaganate, and their current territorial expansion lost its momentum<sup>17</sup>. Plans to convert the Khazars to Islam, whose resistance hampered spreading Islam among peoples and tribes in Eastern Europe, also turned into a fiasco<sup>18</sup>. One

15 Th.S. Noonan, *Why Dirhems First Reached Russia...*, pp. 198-201.

16 *Ibidem*, pp. 199-201; M. Whittow, *The Middle Byzantine Economy (600-1204)*, in: *The Cambridge History of Byzantine Empire...*, p. 486. This is clearly noticeable when the chronology of military actions taken by the Khazars is compared with the course of the Byzantine-Arab war, see: W.E. Kaegi, *Confronting Islam: Emperors versus Caliphs (641 - c. 850)*, in: *The Cambridge History of Byzantine Empire...*, pp. 365-394; K. Czeglédy, *op.cit.*, pp. 77-78; P.B. Golden, *Khazar Studies...*, vol. I, p. 65; on the Byzantine-Khazar relations in this region see: D.J. Wasserstein, *op.cit.*, pp. 377-380; C. Zukermann, *The Khazars and Byzantium – the First Encounter*, in: *The World of the Khazars...*, pp. 399-432, esp. pp. 432-432; P.B. Golden, *Khazar Studies...*, vol. I, pp. 63-65; Ch.F. Robinson, *The Rise of Islam 600-705*, in: *The New Cambridge History of Islam, I: The Formation of the Islamic World Sixth to Eleventh Centuries*, ed. by Ch.F. Robinson, Cambridge 2010, pp. 173-225, esp. pp. 218-220; P.M. Cobb, *The Empire in Syria, 705-763*, *ibidem*, pp. 226-268, esp. pp. 234-241.

17 D.M. Dunlop, *op.cit.*, pp. 84-87; P.B. Golden, *Khazar Studies...*, vol. I, pp. 64-65; D.J. Wasserstein, *op.cit.*, pp. 382-386; P.M. Cobb, *op.cit.*, pp. 237-241 (Transsoksanía).

18 Al-Gardīzī, *Zajn al-ahbār* [*The Decoration of Messages*], transl. by E. Chwiłkowska, *Wiadomości perskiego pisarza Gardīzī'ego (IX w.) o ludach wschodniej i środkowej Europy*, "SIAnt." XXV (1978), pp. 145-152 (text), 153-170 (commentary), passage XVII, p. 147; D.M. Dunlop, *op.cit.*, pp. 116-170 with reference to Arab and Hebrew sources; O. Pritsak, *The Khazar Conversion to Judaism*, "Harvard Ukrainian Studies" II (1978) 3, pp. 267-281 (henceforth as: HUS); P.B. Golden, *The Conversion of the Khazars to Judaism*, in: *The World of the Khazars...*, pp. 137-138; D.J. Wasserstein, *op.cit.*, pp. 375-376; on more studies: G. Rostkowski, *Wyprawa Światosława...*, p. 270, footnote 7. It has to be remarked, however, that the accounts by Arab authors clearly indicate the dissemination of Islam among the Khazars, which was reflected in erecting mosques in the towns of the Khaganate. Interesting conclusions in this respect

exception were the Kama Bulgars, as in this case of more importance was the anti-Khazar policy and efforts made at the Baghdad court to receive some financial support<sup>19</sup>. Of some significance were also trade matters, because in the 10<sup>th</sup> century the number of Bulgars who maintained relations and participated in interchange of goods with the Muslim world was meaningful. This is confirmed by the archaeological finds of hoards and single Muslim coins in the Bulgarian and East-Slavic territory from the period discussed here<sup>20</sup>. Another, most significant consequence of this war was the fact that the territory of the Khaganate managed to hold a monopoly, till at least the mid 10<sup>th</sup> century, on trade and interchange of goods between the Baghdad Caliphate and tribes and peoples from Eastern Europe.

That the Khaganate retained its military capability to realize its political plans in Transcaucasia is proven by military actions taken by the Khazars in 762-763 and in 799-800<sup>21</sup>. However, their scale did not match the previous conflict from before 737. One of the reasons why the two parties were not interested in escalating fights was the development of booming trade relations, which originated in the economic revival in Muslim countries, first of all in the territory of Al-Iraq and the Middle East<sup>22</sup>. It is noteworthy that

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can be drawn from the analysis of the numismatic material regarding Khazar coins minted in 837/838, see: R.K. Kovalev, *Creating Khazar Identity through Coins: The Special Issue Dirhams of 837/838*, in: *East Central and Eastern Europe in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. by F. Curta, Ann Arbor (MI) 2005, pp. 220-253, esp. pp. 237-240 (at this stage I would like to express my thankfulness to professor Przemysław Urbańczyk for allowing me to access this publication).

19 This is noticeable in the diplomatic mission sent from Baghdad in 922-923 by the Caliph al-Muqtadir to the ruler of the Kama Bulgars, with the participation of Ibn Fadlān, *Kitāb [The Book]*, transl., preface, and commentaries by A. Kmietowicz, F. Kmietowicz, T. Lewicki, Prace Komisji Orientalistycznej PAN, XVIII, Kraków 1985, pp. 87, 109 and the preface pp. 8-10.

20 W. Łosiński, *Chronologia, skala i drogi napytywu...*, pp. 9-11; idem, *Chronologia napytywu monety arabskiej...*, pp. 96-116.

21 The reconstruction of the conflict, on the basis of the accounts provided by Arabic, Greek, and Armenian sources was carried out by D.M. Dunlop, *op.cit.*, pp. 180-186; K. Czeglédy, *op.cit.*, pp. 79-88; P.B. Golden, *Khazar Studies...*, vol. I, pp. 65-67; Th.S. Noonan, *Why Dirhems First Reached Russia*, pp. 219-222, 243-249; K.A. Brook, *The Jews of Khazaria*, pp. 130-132.

22 The dominant role of the 9<sup>th</sup> century Baghdad as the centre of the world trade is shown by al-Jāhiz who gave his account of goods and products which arrived in the capita; of the caliphate of the Abbasids from different parts of the world, quoted after: G.H. Heck, *Charlemagne, Muhammad and the Arab Rots of Capitalism*, Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des islamischen Orients, Neue Folge, XVIII, Berlin-New York 2006, p. 274; R. Hodges, D. Whitehouse, *Mohammed, Charlemagne and the Origins of Europe*, Ithaca (NY) 1983, pp. 126-157; D. Abulafia, *Early Islamic Trade, 650-1000*, in: *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe, II: Trade and Industry in the Middle Ages*, ed. by M.M. Postan, E. Miller, Cambridge 1987, pp. 411-414; A.W. Watson, *Agricultural Innovation in the Early Islamic World*, Cambridge 2008, pp. 129-146; M. McCormick, *op.cit.*, pp. 582-587; C. Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages. Europe and the Mediterranean, 400-800*, Oxford 2005, pp. 454-460, 767-780; T. El-Hibri, *The Empire in Iraq*,

the last decade of the 8<sup>th</sup> century also brought symptoms of an upturn in the economy, clearly noticeable in the territory of Western Europe<sup>23</sup>. Growing demand of the developing Muslim economy for raw materials, commodities, products and slaves let the Khazars make use of their capabilities and make their presence felt as a major participant in long-range trade, where the key role was played by merchants from the Baghdad Caliphate.

Contrary to the opinion that nomadic peoples had primitive economies, the Khazars – as it is shown by historical and archaeological research – diverged from this model. According to recent studies, the Khazar people underwent transformations in the period discussed here, which were linked to the development of semi-nomadism. This was facilitated by political and settlement stability in the area, thanks to the dominance of the Khazar state in the region that was maintained for over two centuries<sup>24</sup>. Favourable climatic conditions and fertile soil contributed to the development of growing crops among the inhabitants of the Khazar Khaganate, and this is confirmed by the finds of grains such as millet, wheat, rye, barley, and also seed grains of hemp<sup>25</sup>. Another hint in this respect are wholly or partly preserved quern

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763-861, in: *The New Cambridge History of Islam...*, pp. 269-304, esp. pp. 272-277; A.A. Duri, *Baghdad*, in: *The Encyclopedia of Islam. New Edition*, I: (A-B), Leiden 1986, pp. 894-908, esp. p. 894; Ch. Pellat, *Al-Basra*, ibidem, pp. 1085-1086.

23 R. Hodges, *Dark Age Economics. The Origins of Towns and Trade A.D. 600-1000*, London 1982 (a new issue 2001). Thirty years after its first edition the author of this book took up the topic again allowing for new methodologies in archaeological and historical studies which have taken place ever since. See by the same author: *Dark Age Economics. New Audit*, London 2012; idem, *Towns and Trade in the Age of Charlemagne*, London 2003, chapters 2-4; N.J.G. Pounds, *An Economic History of Medieval Europe*, London-New York 1994, pp. 73-77; regarding the development of towns in Europe see the classic work by A. Verhulst, *The Rise of Cites in North-West Europe*, Themes in International Urban History, IV, Cambridge 1999, pp. 44-67; on the most recent historical and archaeological studies on the subject see: *Post-Roman Towns, Trade and Settlement in Europe and Byzantium*, I: *The Heirs of the Roman West*, ed. by J. Henning, Millenium Studies in the Culture and History of the First Millennium C.E., V.1, Berlin-New York 2007. The occurrence of the economic revival in the Europe of the day is also indicated by the monetary reform carried out by Charlemagne, see S. Suchodolski, *Moneta i obrót pieniężny w Europie Zachodniej*, Kultura Europy wczesnośredniowiecznej, XIII, Wrocław 1982, pp. 185-224; Ph. Gierson, M. Blackbourn, *Medieval European Coinage*, I: *Early Middle Ages (5<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> Centuries)*, Cambridge 2006, pp. 194-210; this tendency within the transformation of the monetary system can be observed, as regards the period under discussion, with reference to the Kingdom of Mercia during the reign of Offa (757-796), see: Ph. Gierson, M. Blackbourn, op.cit., pp. 276-282; C. Wickham, op.cit., pp. 674-692, 794-819.

24 G. Györffy, *Système des residence d'hiver et d'esté chez les nomads et les chefs hongrois an X<sup>e</sup> siècle*, "Archiwum Eurasiae Medii Aevi" I (1975), pp. 45-153; P.B. Golden, *Khazar Studies...*, vol. I, p. 106; Th.S. Noonan, *Some Observations on the Economy of the Khazar...*, pp. 207-210.

25 This is confirmed by numerous finds coming first of all from the Crimean Peninsula and from the Azov Sea see Th.S. Noonan, *Some Observations on the Economy of the Khazar...*, pp. 220-221, 226-227; K.A. Brook, *The Jews of Khazaria*, p. 62; T. Nagrodzka-Majchrzyk, *Chazarowie*,

stones made of quartz and granite<sup>26</sup>. Well-developed were: fruit farming and vine growing, especially on the Crimean Peninsula and in the eastern part of the Black Sea coast<sup>27</sup>.

The data collected so far and concerning the sedentary way of life and occupations of the inhabitants of the Khazar Khaganate, come first of all from the western part of its territory, i.e. from the Crimean Peninsula, the Taman Peninsula, and the territories at the mouth of the Don (archaeological sites of the Saltovo-Mayaki Culture). To date – except for sporadic cases – there are no finds linked to the Khazar settlements from the territory of the Volga delta and from the Caspian Sea<sup>28</sup>. Information coming from the accounts by Muslim authors (of Arab, Persian, or Jewish origin), as well as Hebrew and Greek sources fill the gaps in this respect. Among well-known Khazar regions famous for fruit farming (cherries and sour cherries) and vineyards were lands located in the southern part of the Khaganate between Samandar and Derbant<sup>29</sup>. The Khazars also took up jobs connected with digging of canals for irrigation (the Caucasian region)<sup>30</sup>.

The territory of the Khazar Khaganate covered a few economic zones which were not only of local, but, first of all, of international importance. The central part of the Khaganate was covered by lands located in the Volga delta and on the Caspian Sea. The proximity of steppe areas in the Black Sea and Caspian Sea zones, as well as large rivers, such as: the Volga, Don, and Donec, including their tributaries, had their impact on the kinds of jobs the people of the Khaganate performed. In the case of the Khazars, nomadism, so typical of wandering tribes, underwent a deep evolution. Of special

in: K. Dądborski, T. Nagrodzka-Majchrzyk, E. Tryjarski, *Hunowie europejscy, Protobułgarzy, Chazarowie, Pieczyngowie*, Kultura Europy wczesnośredniowiecznej, IV, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków-Gdańsk 1975, p. 436; T.J. Makarova, *Krym v VIII-IX vekach khazarskoe gosudarstvo*, in: *Krym, Severo-Vostočnoe Pričernomor'je i Zakavkaz'e v epohu srednovekov'ă*, Moskva 2003, pp. 53-64.

<sup>26</sup> K.A. Brook, *The Jews of Khazaria*, p. 69, footnote 25; T.J. Makarova, op.cit., p. 58.

<sup>27</sup> Al-Gardizî, *Zajn al-ahbâr*, p. 147; *Tzw. Korespondencja żydowsko-chazarska*, ed. A. Bielowski, *Monumenta Poloniae Historica* (henceforth as: MPH), I, Lwów 1864 (re-edition Warszawa 1960), pp. 77-78; P.B. Golden, *Khazar Studies...*, vol. I, p. 103; K.A. Brook, *The Jews of Khazaria*, p. 63; Th.S. Noonan, *Some Observations on the Economy of the Khazar...*, pp. 215, 222-223; T.J. Makarova, op.cit., p. 63; Â.M. Paramov, *Khazarskij period (VIII-X v.)*, in: *Krym, Severo-Vostočnoe Pričernomor'je i Zakavkaz'e v epohu srednovekov'ă*, pp. 161-167.

<sup>28</sup> See the accurate suggestion by L.N. Gumilev, *Otkrytie Khazarii (istoriko-geografičeskij etiud)*, Moskva 1966, pp. 52-71; the shifts in the water level of the Caspian Sea of the day are shown on the maps: <http://www.kroraia.com/fadlan/gumilev.html> pp. 2 i 3 (access on 04.11.2012).

<sup>29</sup> Large excerpts of the translation of the work by Al-Istachrî, *Kitâb masâlik al-mamâlik* [*The Book of the Rutes of Kingdoms*], were published by D.M. Dunlop, op.cit., pp. 91-105, esp. p. 96.

<sup>30</sup> A. Brook, *The Jews of Khazaria*, p. 63, footnote 29.



significance in this respect is a letter (the so called Short Redaction) of the king of the Khazars, Joseph, to Chasdaj ibn Szaprut<sup>31</sup>, an influential personage at the court of the Ummayyads in Spain during the reign of the caliphs: Abd Ar-Rahmān (912-961) and Al-Hakam II (961-976). The correspondence confirms the development of a sedentary way of life among the Khazar people. Moreover, there is a mention in the letter of the Khazar ruler that the country of the Khazars has fertile soil, there is farmland in it, vineyards, gardens and orchards, which are characterized by diversity of fruit.

The Khazars elite, just like the court of the Khagan, left the capital in the month of *nizan* (i.e. March-April), heading for their estates where they stayed until late autumn (i.e. October)<sup>32</sup>. There they were engaged in occupations such as farming, vineyard farming, orchard cultivation, husbandry, and also hunting and fishing. The development of these occupations in the territory of the Khaganate was conditioned by the diversity of the local natural environment. The importance of farming for the Khazars is shown by archaeological finds of ploughing tools or the ones connected with land cultivation, such as: wooden ploughs, hoes, sickles, and scythes. The finds of scythes indicate a particular intensification of animal husbandry of livestock kept in enclosures, which required sufficient feedstuff for winter. In settlements located at the mouth of the Don and Donec archaeologists excavated the remains of some homesteads (stables)<sup>33</sup>.

Old customs and occupations of the people professionally attached to pasturing were reflected in a yearly, seasonal migration to the steppes,

31 Notes on the life and activity of Chasdaj see: A. Bielowski in the preface to Joseph's letter, MPH, I, pp. 51-55 and T. Lewicki, *Chasdaj ibn Szaprut*, in: *Słownik Starożytności Słowiańskich*, I, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1964, part 2, p. 238; H.-G. Mutius, *Hasdaj ibn Schaprut*, in: *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, IV, München 2003, Sp. 1951; N. Mindel, *Hasdai Ibn Shaprut*, [http://www.chabad.org/library/article\\_cdo/print/true/aid/112514/jewish/Hasdai-Ibn-Shaprut](http://www.chabad.org/library/article_cdo/print/true/aid/112514/jewish/Hasdai-Ibn-Shaprut), pp. 1-3 (access on 20.12.2012); on the so called Jewish-Khazar correspondence see: A. Zajączkowski, op.cit., pp. 4-8; T. Lewicki, *Ze studiów nad tzw. "Korespondencją chazarską"*, "Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego" (1954) 11-12, pp. 3-16; N. Golb, O. Pritsak, *Khazarian Hebrew Documents of the Tenth Century*, Ithaca-London 1982, pp. 75-95, 96-100 (photocopies of the original text of the document from Cambridge), 106-121 (re-edition and English translation).

32 *Tzw. Korespondencja żydowsko-chazarska*, p. 77; there is an account on the richness of the Khazar country in the work by the anonymous author called *Hudud al-'Alam...*, § 50, p. 161; Al-Gardīzī, *Zajn al-ahbār*, p. 147: "In the Khazar country there are many arable lands and gardens"; P.B. Golden, *Khazar Studies...*, vol. I, pp. 104-106.

33 M.J. Artamonov, *Khazarskaja krapost' Sarkel*, "Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae" VII (1956), pp. 321-341, esp. p. 335; T. Nagrodzka-Majchrzyk, *Chazarowie*, pp. 415, 416, figures 6:1-8; Th.S. Noonan, *Some Observations on the Economy of the Khazar...*, pp. 221-222; K.A. Brook, *The Jews of Khazaria*, p. 62; R. Rolle, *Saltovo und Majack Kultur*, in: *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, VII, München 2003, col. 1318.

where cattle, horses and also other livestock grazed<sup>34</sup>. We learn from the correspondence of the Khazar monarch (the so called Short Account) about the distances between summer camps of the Khazars and their winter residences<sup>35</sup>. In this system an important role was played by efficient transport, which provided food supplies for the court of the Khagan and his officials, the Khazar elders settled in Itil, let alone the other inhabitants of this town. Most probably it was the proximity of the Volga together with its extensive delta that was of some significance for the distribution of agricultural and other farm produce, which facilitated the supplies of the capital.

Similar data can be found in Muslim sources, which confirm the popularity of semi-nomadic forms of economic activity among the Khazars<sup>36</sup>. The development among the population of the Khazar Khaganate of the activities typical of sedentary communities was not only facilitated by favourable natural conditions. Among other factors was also the necessity for the provision of food and produce from plants and animals to a large concentrated group of people, which Itil constituted. In addition to the court milieu, in the town was a large population of the Khazar elite, merchants and craftsmen representing different ethnic and religious groups, and also the poor<sup>37</sup>. Both the fact that there was a large population inhabiting Itil and the role it played in the administration of the Khaganate contributed to the development in its environs a very intensive cultivation of land and animal husbandry. According to the accounts by Arab authors (Al-Gardīzī, Al-Istachrī, Al-Mas'ūdi, Al-Maqaddasī)<sup>38</sup>, the capital of the Khaganate consisted of three parts, forming a vast complex of buildings. These were as follows: the residence of the queen, her court and servants, next the district inhabited by merchants and craftsmen, while the third segment was constituted by the isle centrally located on the Volga, where, surrounded by other buildings, was a magnificent palace of the king. We learn from king Joseph's letter addressed to Chasdaj ibn Szaprut that Itil with numerous

<sup>34</sup> Tzw. *Korespondencja chazarska*, p. 77; Th.S. Noonan, *Some Observations on the Economy of the Khazar...*, pp. 223-224.

<sup>35</sup> Tzw. *Korespondencja chazarska*, p. 77; Al-Istachrī, *Kitāb masālik al-mamālik*, p. 93.

<sup>36</sup> Al-Gardīzī, *Zajn al-ahbār*, p. 147; Al-Istachrī, *Kitāb masālik al-mamālik*, p. 93: "The city has no villages. But their farms are extensive", and p. 225; Th.S. Noonan, *Some Observations on the Economy of the Khazar...*, p. 215, footnote 41.

<sup>37</sup> Tzw. *Korespondencja chazarska*, p. 77; *Hudud al-'Alam...*, § 50:1, p. 161; P.B. Golden, *Khazar Studies...*, vol. I, p. 103; Th.S. Noonan, *Some Observations on the Economy of the Khazar...*, pp. 210-211.

<sup>38</sup> Al-Istachrī, *Kitāb masālik al-mamālik*, pp. 91-95, esp. pp. 91-93; Al-Gardīzī, *Zajn al-ahbār*, p. 147; *Hudud al-'Alam...*, § 50:1, pp. 161-162, 451-452; A. Zajączkowski, op.cit., pp. 44-45, 52; P.B. Golden, *Khazar Studies...*, vol. I, pp. 102-103; and also T. Nagrodzka-Majchrzyk, *Geneza miast u dawnych ludów tureckich...*, pp. 129-129.

craftsmen's settlements and street markets was also an important trade centre<sup>39</sup> which possessed proper food base, and a large concentration of people facilitated the development of intensive farming and animal husbandry in the immediate proximity of this centre.

In the lower Volga stretch vast areas of steppes, which create favourable conditions for the development of horse, cattle and sheep breeding<sup>40</sup>. On the other hand, the profusion of water flows, numerous river beds, branches, and turn-offs where the Volga feeds into the Caspian Sea, created perfect conditions for the development of fishing. The whole region of the Volga delta abounded in numerous and diverse species of freshwater fish, and the Khazars were famous for fishing for them and exporting their catch to the market of the Byzantine Empire. Freshwater fishing as well as sea fishing belonged to most widespread activities of the inhabitants of the Khaganate<sup>41</sup>. Based on the osteological material that comes from archaeological excavations the following species of fish were identified: carp, sturgeon, starlet, perch, and beluga<sup>42</sup>. According to the account by al-Istakhari, staple food of the inhabitants of the capital of the Khaganate comprised rice and fish<sup>43</sup>. So a big advantage in the development of the region discussed here was the location of Itil (Atil) in the Volga delta, and also communications routes running in the Caspian zone from the west and south-east, as well as those running along that river from the south to the north.

Traditionally well there developed pasturing and domestic animal husbandry, first of all of horses, sheep and goats, horned cattle, donkeys, pigs, and domestic fowl<sup>44</sup>. These occupations played an important role among the Khazars, which was also facilitated by the proximity of steppes, which

39 *Tzw. Korespondencja żydowsko-chazarska* (= the short account), p. 77 mentions that the capital of the country covered the area of as many as "44 square parsangs" (1parsang/farsah = approx. 6 kilometres, see W. Hinz, *Farsah*, in: *The Encyclopaedia of Islam. New edition*, II: (C-G), Leiden 1991, pp. 812-813; with reference to the nomenclature of the western and eastern parts of the capital of the Khaganate see P.B. Golden, *Khazar Studies...*, vol. I, pp. 224-225; see also Al-Istachri, *Kitāb masālik al-mamālik*, p. 93.

40 T. Nagrodzka-Majchrzyk, *Chazarowie*, p. 413; Cs. Bálint, *Some Archaeological addenda to P. Golden's Khazar Studies*, "Acta Orientalia ASHung." XXXV (1981) 2-3, pp. 397-412, esp. p. 407; Th.S. Noonan, *Some Observations on the Economy of the Khazar...*, pp. 218-219.

41 T. Nagrodzka-Majchrzyk, *Chazarowie*, pp. 415-416, 417, fig. 7:17 (fish-hook); P.B. Golden, *Khazar Studies...*, vol. I, pp. 103-104 and footnote 320; Th.S. Noonan, *Some Observations on the Economy of the Khazar...*, p. 224; K.A. Brook, *The Jews of Khazaria*, pp. 62-63.

42 K.A. Brook, *The Jews of Khazaria*, p. 63.

43 Al-Istachri, *Kitāb masālik al-mamālik*, p. 93: "Their chief food is rice and fish"; P.B. Golden *Khazar Studies...*, vol. I, p. 103.

44 *Hudūd al-'Alam...*, § 50, p. 161; Th.S. Noonan, *Some Observations on the Economy of the Khazar...*, pp. 223 (the percentage of the finds of animal bones from Geroevka on the Kerch Peninsula), 227-229.

created good conditions for pasturing large herds of cattle and horses<sup>45</sup>. As it is shown by archaeological evidence, the Khazars also developed camel breeding, mainly in the Caspian zone, on the lower Don and Donec. In this respect this was spurred by close relations with trade centres from Central Asia. Very sought after and particularly tough species of these animals were bred for the needs of the organizers of merchants' caravans<sup>46</sup>.

Favourable climatic conditions prevailing in the Black Sea area, as well as ancient traditions helped the development in the territory of the Khaganate of vine growing. This is confirmed by the finds of knives used for tending vines in vineyards, traditional pots for storing and transporting wine, and also vineyards themselves, discovered on the Crimean Peninsula in the settlements of the people belonging to the Saltovo-Mayaki Culture<sup>47</sup>.

The most economically advanced territories of the Khaganate were located on the Sea of Azov and the Black Sea (the Crimean, the Taman Peninsulas) at the mouth of the Don and Donec. An additional asset of the western lands of the Khaganate was the immediate proximity of Greek towns on the coast of the Crimean Peninsula, in the area of the Strait of Kerch and on the north-east coast of the Black Sea. With reference to the territory of the Crimea the lands located behind the coastal mountains, which formed a natural sphere of Byzantine influence (climates), became the territory of the development of intensive colonisation of the ethnic groups of Bulgars and Alans<sup>48</sup>. The origins of this process were linked to the growth in importance of the Khaganate among the local peoples and tribes, and also to the consequences of the Khazar-Arab war. This process is well-documented in archaeological remains coming from the Crimea, where in the period under discussion numerous

45 Al-Gardīzī, *Zajn al-ahbār*, pp. 147, 148; they were the target of the actions taken by the Arabs during their invasion on the territory of the Khaganate in 737; Th.S. Noonan, *Some Observations on the Economy of the Khazar...*, p. 216, footnote 52 and 53. As mentioned the Al-Istachrī, *Kitāb masālik al-mamālik*, p. 98, 224-225 various numerous animals come from Burtas territory (North-East from the Lower Volga).

46 We do not know the species of the Camel used in the Khaganate, D.M. Dunlop, op.cit., p. 224 assumed that these animals were related to Bactrians; K.A. Brook, *The Jews of Khazaria*, p. 63; Th.S. Noonan, *Some Observations on the Economy of the Khazar...*, p. 228.

47 According to Al-Istachrī, *Kitāb masālik al-mamālik*, p. 95 vineyards stretched as far as the border with Sarīr. Thus they should be located in the region of the Black Sea and Caucasia; with reference to Sarīr see *Hudud al-'Alam...*, § 49, p. 161 (the border with Byzantium-Rum and Armienia, and in the north with the Alans), pp. 447-448; see also § 5:18, p. 67; Z. Hilczer-Kurnatowska, *Sołtowo-majacka kultura*, in: *Słownik Starożytności Słowiańskich*, V, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1975, pp. 30-34; wine amphoras: *Krym, Severo-Vostočnoe Pričernomor'je i Zakaŋkaz'e v epohu srednovekov'ā*, tab. XXXI, p. 117, LXVII: 33-39, p. 224; LXXI: 22, p. 238; e.g. in Kordon-Oba: Th.S. Noonan, *Some Observations on the Economy of the Khazar...*, pp. 222-223.

48 E.g. the settlement called Tau-Kipčak, see T.J. Makarova, op.cit., pp. 57-58.

settlements were established. This is also noticeable in the way the houses and storage sheds were erected (homesteads were shallowly dug into the ground or they were typical half-dug-outs)<sup>49</sup>.

Arab authors in their accounts clearly remark that the Khazars were first of all famous for being suppliers of skins of valuable species of fur-covered animals, such as: sables, foxes, and beavers<sup>50</sup>. This confirms the fact that hunting was well-developed among the Khazar population. Another important role in the economy of the Khaganate was played by the income that came from loot which was brought from military expeditions and raids to neighbouring tribes, and from tributes. Apart from prestigious reasons, they provided the Khazars with numerous prisoners, skins and animal furs, which were in constant and high demand in Arab countries. Interesting data in this respect are provided in the account by Ibn Fadlān. We read there that the ruler of the Kama Bulgars paid his yearly tribute to the Khagan in one sable skin from each homestead<sup>51</sup>. On the basis of this (considering the price of 1 skin on the Arab market) Th.S. Noonan established that a yearly tribute in respect only of this yielded a significant income to the Khagan, in the amount of as much as 100-125.000 dirhems<sup>52</sup>. For the economy of the Kama Bulgars the tribute which they sent to the Khazars was not a heavy burden. It was compensated by the tributes which the Bulgar rulers imposed on eastern Slavic and Finnish tribes dependent on them (which equalled the tribute for the Khazars)<sup>53</sup>. Moreover, in the 10<sup>th</sup> century Volga-Kama Bulgaria participated to a large degree in the revenues which were generated in the trade with Muslim countries. It is yet to be established whether in the case under discussion we can observe actions which aimed to maintain well-developed long-range trade, or whether an attempt was made to save the prestige of the Khaganate. Taking into consideration the mention in the *Tale*

49 Ibidem, pp. 57-58, 63-64, tab. 30, p. 116, tab. 33: 1-12, p. 119.

50 *Kitāb al-mahāsīn wa'l-addād* [*The Book of Beauty and Contradictions*], in: *Źródła arabskie do dziejów Słowiańszczyzny*, I, passage I, p. 179; Ibn Hurdādbēh, *Kitāb al-masālik wa'l-mamālik* [*The Book of Routes and Kingdoms*], in: *Źródła arabskie do dziejów Słowiańszczyzny*, I, passage XV, § B, p. 17; Ibn Rostēh, *Kitāb al-A'lāq an-nafisa* [*The Book of Precious Jewels*], ed. by M. Czapkiewicz, A. Kmietowicz, F. Kmietowicz, in: *Źródła arabskie do dziejów Słowiańszczyzny*, II, part 2, Prace Komisji Orientalistycznej PAN w Krakowie, XIV, Wrocław 1977, c. VIII, p. 31; *Hudud al-'Alam...*, § 52, p. 162; Al-Istachrī, *Kitāb masālik al-mamālik*, pp. 93, 96; T. Lewicki, *Handel Samanidów ze wschodnią i środkową Europą*, "SlAnt." XIX (1972), p. 14; idem, *Ze studiów nad źródłami arabskimi*, "SlAnt." III (1952), pp. 151-153, where species of the animals which occurred in Arabic sources have been identified; Th.S. Noonan, *Some Observations on the Economy of the Khazar...*, p. 231, footnotes 125, 127.

51 Ibn Fadlān, *Kitāb*, p. 108.

52 Th.S. Noonan, *Some Observations on the Economy of the Khazar...*, p. 238.

53 Cf. Ibn Fadlān, *Kitāb*, p. 104 (the account by the king of the Bulgars) and 188 footnote 421; *Hudud al-'Alam...*, § 44, p. 159 the tribute received from ar-Rūs.

of *Bygone Years* (a.k.a. the *Primary Chronicle*)<sup>54</sup> of the tribute which was paid to the Khazars by eastern Slavic tribes, it is difficult to accept the opinion that this was a weak state. Despite political transformations which occurred in the close proximity of the Khazar Khaganate<sup>55</sup> in the 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century, and despite the shift in the geographical situation of long-range trade routes in Eastern Europe, this state managed to maintain its strong position in this zone till at least the middle of the 10<sup>th</sup> century.

The Khazars became leading suppliers of slaves to the Byzantine market and to Muslim countries, and Itil was one of the major centres in Eastern Europe which specialised in this kind of activity on an international scale. A large number of slaves were sent to towns in Central Asia, where very lively trade relations with the Khazar Khaganate were maintained.

A significant source of slaves were the Khazars' expeditions to neighbouring tribes (e.g. the Pechenegs)<sup>56</sup> and wars which those local tribes fought against each other<sup>57</sup>. Slaves were obtained from subjugated peoples and tribes, and their large number reached the Khazar state through the agency of Scandinavian merchants (the Rus people) and Slavic, whose trading activity on the Volga route in the discussed period is confirmed by Arabic sources<sup>58</sup>.

54 *Powieść minionych lat*, transl. and ed. by F. Sielicki, Biblioteka Narodowa, seria II, no. 244, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1999, c. 8 (for the year 6370), p. 16, c. 10 (for the year 6393), p. 19, c. 24 (for the year 6472), p. 52.

55 On the activity of the peoples located in the Black Sea zone see Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, ed. by Gy. Moravcsik, Engl. transl. R.J.H. Jenkins, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantine, I, Washington 1967, c. 2, p. 49; c. 3, p. 51; c. 4, p. 49, 53; c. 5, p. 53; c. 10, p. 63; c. 13 p. 65. This is also illustrated by intensive Bulgar-Muslim relations in the first quarter of the 10<sup>th</sup> century, see: A. Nazmi, op.cit., pp. 101-103 and the expedition of the duke, Igor, ca. 925 to Tmutoranań A.V. Mošin, *Helgu khazarskego dokumenta, "Slavia" XV (1937-1938)*, pp. 191-200; V.J. Petrukhin, *Khazaren and Rus'*, in: *The World of the Khazars...*, p. 259. Helgu identifies him as the Duke of Czernikhov, not the Duke of Kiev, see H. Łowmiański, *Początki Polski*, V, Warszawa 1973, pp. 198-201; on the so called Anonymous from Cambridge see D.M. Dunlop, op.cit., pp. 125-169; V.Ya. Petrukhin, *The Decline and Legacy of Khazaria*, in: *Europe around the Year 1000*, ed. by P. Urbańczyk, Warszawa 2001, pp. 110, 113; G. Rostkowski, *Wyprawa Światosława...*, pp. 272-273.

56 *Hudud al-Alam...*, § 47, p. 169; Al-Gardīzī, *Zajn al-ahbār*, pp. 146-147; Th.S. Noonan, *Some Observations on the Economy of the Khazar...*, p. 218, footnote 68; A. Nazmi, op.cit., pp. 186-191.

57 Ibn Rosteh, *Kitāb al-A'lāq an-nafisa*, passage VIII, p. 31 (Burdas = Butrasi, who organized raids on the Bulgars and Pechenegs); c. IX p. 33; Al-Gardīzī, *Zajn al-ahbār*, p. 148.

58 Al-Istachrī, *Kitāb masālik al-mamālik*, pp. 96, 99-100 slaves, just like honey, wax, the skins of beavers and other fur-covered animals were imported to the country of the Khazars, who re-exported them to other countries; Ibn Fadlān, *Kitāb*, p. 108; Ibn Hurdādbēh, *Kitāb al-masālik wa'l-mamālik*, passage XV B, p. 77; Ibn Rosteh, *Kitāb al-A'lāq an-nafisa*, passage XII, p. 41. This practice is documented in the archaeological material by the finds of iron handcuffs or their fragments. From the western part of the Khazar Khaganate two such examples, dated to the

An important place on the list of the revenues of the Khaganate was held by customs duties and other charges which were paid by arriving merchants, first of all from Muslim states (The Baghdad Caliphate, the Samanid state), the Rus people, and also from neighbouring territories (the Burtas people)<sup>59</sup>. It is noteworthy that in trade relations between the Khazars and the Kama Bulgars market rules were binding, which is confirmed by the account of Ibn Fadlān. He informs his readers that the Khazar merchants who arrived in the town of Bulhār were also obliged to pay a tribute to the local ruler, just like the other strangers did<sup>60</sup>. This means they were not treated on specific terms even though the Bulgars were dependent on the Khaganate.

Such assets as a favourable geographical location, a strong political position in the region, an easy access to attractive produce of natural origin which was in increasingly big demand among economically developed countries, and good relations with Byzantium and the Baghdad Caliphate, all contributed to a strong position the Khaganate held in the economic development of Eastern Europe. These factors made this state an important link in the system of the international trade and exchange of the day, acting as a intermediary between Eastern Europe, Scandinavia and the territories of Central Asia, Muslim countries, Byzantium, China and the Indian Peninsula. It is well-illustrated by the composition of the inhabitants of Itil, where the most numerous group were Muslim and Jewish merchants and craftsmen, and also Christians. It is noteworthy that the commercial and service district was located near the isle with the palace of the Khazar monarch<sup>61</sup>. This can indicate a high status and importance which these groups played in the Khaganate. In terms of the development of trade relations of the Khazar state, it could not be underestimated by the international milieu of merchants of Jewish origin that the Khagan and his circle adopted Moseism as the main religion.

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9<sup>th</sup> - the 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century, are known to be extant, see J. Henning, *Gefangenenfesseln im slawischen Siedlungsraum und der europäische Sklavenhandel im 6. bis 12. Jahrhundert. Archäologisches zum Bedeutungswandel von "sklābos-sakālība-sclavus", "Germania" LXX* (1992) 2, pp. 403-426, esp. pp. 414-415, and the catalogue of the finds 423 entries 8 and 19.

59 Al-Istachrī, *Kitāb masālik al-mamālik*, p. 98; Al-Gardīzī, *Zajn al-ahbār*, pp. 147, 148; Ibn al-Faqīh, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, passage XIII p. 29; P.B. Golden, *Khazar Studies...*, vol. I, pp. 88-90.

60 Al-Istachrī, *Kitāb masālik al-mamālik*, pp. 93, 99 and 228-229; Ibn Fadlān, *Kitāb*, p. 108; Al-Gardīzī, *Zajn al-ahbār*, p. 148; Ibn Rosteh, *Kitāb al-A'lāq an-nafisa*, passage IX, p. 31; Th.S. Noonan, *Some Observations on the Economy of the Khazar...*, p. 238.

61 With reference to the topography of Itil see footnote 39; Al-Istachrī, *Kitāb masālik al-mamālik*, pp. 91-95; T. Nagrodzka-Majchrzyk, *Geneza miast u dawnych ludów tureckich...*, pp. 128 (al-Istacharī), 129 (al-Mas'ūdi), 130-131; Ibn Rosteh, *Kitāb al-A'lāq an-nafisa*, passage VII, p. 29; King Joseph's letter from Tzw. *Korespondencja żydowsko-chazarska*, p. 77; T. Lewicki, *Handel Samanidów...*, p. 12.

Interesting data in this respect come from Ibn Hurdabdēh, who described trade routes used by Radhanite merchants (Ar-Rādānija) travelling between Europe, North Africa, and China<sup>62</sup>. Their asset was both knowledge of foreign languages and contacts with Jewish communities scattered in the Mediterranean zone and in the territory of the Middle East, lining the Silk Route. Contacts with the Khazar state were actively maintained by representatives of Jewish communities from Central European countries and on the Balkans<sup>63</sup>. This tendency could be observed also after the collapse the Khazar Khaganate, when the state of Kama Bulgars and Kiev Rus came to power<sup>64</sup>.

On the other hand, there is little information which could document the activity of Khazar merchants. We know about their journeys to the Kama Bulgars<sup>65</sup> or Chorasmia, which in the 10<sup>th</sup> century played an increasingly significant role in trade relations with the Khaganate<sup>66</sup>. The large scope of the trade and exchange of the day is proven by numerous finds of Arabic coins in the territory of Eastern Europe, which were minted mainly in Baghdad and in the state of the Samanids<sup>67</sup>.

On the long list of produce to be found as the Khazar-Byzantine-Arab trading goods, only fish, fish glue, honey, and wax came from the Khaganate<sup>68</sup>. A vast majority of other goods arrived from outside its territory. In this case the Khazars played a role of an intermediary in the economic system of the early Middle Ages, securing themselves a strong position from at least the beginning of the 10<sup>th</sup> century onwards. As it is shown in accounts, the

62 Ibn Hurdādbēh, *Kitāb al-masālik wa'l-mamālik*, passage XV A, p. 75, XV C, p. 77; M. McCormick, op.cit., pp. 688-693; on the role of the Rhdanites in relations between Europe and China see É. de la Vaissière, *Sogdian Traders. A History*, Handbook of Oriental Studies, section 8: Central Asia, X, Leiden-Boston 2005, pp. 184-186.

63 A suitable example illustrating this phenomenon was the mediation of Jewish merchants in the circulation of *Tzw. Korespondencja żydowsko-chazarska*, pp. 64-65 (Hasdai ibn Shaprūt's letter to the King Joseph).

64 The commercial role of Prague was shown by Jehuda ben. Me'ir ha-Kohen, *Seper hadinim*, in: *Źródła hebrajskie do dziejów Słowian*, transl. and ed. by F. Kupfer, T. Lewicki, Wrocław 1956, passage I, p. 37, regarding Hungarian Jews pp. 54-56; with reference to Meinz *Komentarz moguncki*, ibidem, pp. 26-27; on the relations between Regensburg and Rus see Qaliniņos b.r. Šabbetai, *Šibbale hā-leget [Pokłosie]*, ibidem, pp. 65-66; N. Berend, *At the Gate of Christendom. Jews, Muslims and 'Pagans' in Medieval Hungary c. 1000 - c. 1300*, Cambridge 2001, pp. 110-115.

65 Ibn Rosteh, *Kitāb al-A'laq an-nafisa*, passage IX, p. 31.

66 T. Lewicki, *Świat słowiański w oczach pisarzy arabskich*, "SIAnt." II (1949-1950) 2, pp. 330-335; É. de la Vaissière, op.cit., pp. 253-255 (the items coming from Central Asia which were found at archaeological sites linked to the Khazar Khaganate).

67 On the numerous silver mines that were located in the territory of Transoxania see T. Lewicki, *Handel Samanidów...*, pp. 3-7, 15-16; Th.S. Noonan, *Why Dirhams First Reached Russia...*, pp. 156-172, 262-281; W. Łosiński, *Chronologia napływu monety arabskiej...*, p. 108; É. de la Vaissière, op.cit., pp. 251-252.

68 Al-Istachrī, *Kitāb masālik al-mamālik*, p. 96; Al-Gardīzī, *Zajn al-ahbār*, p. 147.



economic matters, which determined political actions, were of fundamental importance for mutual relations between the Khazars and their neighbours. The position of a hegemonic leader, which the Khaganate held in Eastern Europe, did not cause any dramatic shifts in the running or functioning of the most important trade routes in this region and in its relations with Byzantium and Muslim countries. It has to be stressed that the Khazars fully benefited from the location of their territory, as well as the economic growth in Arab countries. Eastern European lands delivered large numbers of skins of fur-covered animals (black and red foxes, sables, weasels, beavers, martens, and squirrels)<sup>69</sup>, slaves<sup>70</sup>, weapons<sup>71</sup>, and amber<sup>72</sup> (the south-east Baltic coast). Among important importers of the farming produce and animal breeding of the groups of the Bulgars and Alans who had settled on the Crimean Peninsula were Greek towns, first of all, Cherson<sup>73</sup>. The activity of the Scandinavian people in the territory of Eastern Europe and in the Baltic zone contributed to the expansion of the zone where products that originated from Byzantium and Muslim countries, and also from Central Asia and China, were distributed. These merchants, using the trade routes which ran across the territory of the Khaganate, reached Persian towns and Baghdad. They brought with them sought-after kinds of animal skins (e.g. beavers, black foxes, sables) and swords<sup>74</sup>. In return, high quality everyday objects

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69 Al-Istachrī, *Kitāb masālik al-mamālik*, p. 96; Al-Gardīzī, *Zajn al-ahbār*, pp. 148, 149, 152; *Hudud al-'Alam...*, § 52, pp. 162-163; Ibn Rosteh, *Kitāb al-A'lāq an-nafisa*, passage IX, p. 31; Ibn Hurdādbēh, *Kitāb al-masālik wa'l-mamālik*, passage XV B, p. 77.

70 See Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, c. 1, p. 48-49; c. 53, p. 286-287; Al-Istachrī, *Kitāb masālik al-mamālik*, p. 96; Ibn Hurdādbēh, *Kitāb al-masālik wa'l-mamālik*, passage IV, p. 69; Ibn Fadlān, *Kitāb*, pp. 108-109; *Hudud al-'Alam...*, § 50, p. 161; T. Lewicki, *Źródła arabskie i hebrajskie do dziejów Słowian w okresie wczesnego średniowiecza*, "Studia Źródłoznawcze" III (1958), pp. 61-99, esp. p. 66.

71 Ibn Fadlān, *Kitāb*, pp. 109 i 195, footnote 445; *Hudud al-'Alam...*, § 44, p. 159 swords from the town of Kūyāba (= Kiev); M. McCormick, op.cit., pp. 732-733; T. Lewicki, *Ze studiów nad źródłami arabskimi*, pp. 161-162.

72 T. Lewicki, *Ze studiów nad źródłami arabskimi*, pp. 154-163; Z. Krumphanzlová, *Abber: Its Significance in the Elary Middle Ages*, "Památky Archeologické" LXXXIII (1992), č. 2, pp. 350-371, esp. p. 363; É. de la Vaissière, op.cit., p. 253.

73 A.J. Ajbabin, *Kherson*, in: *Krym, Severo-Vostočnoe Pričernomor'je i Zakaŋkaz'e v epohu srednovekov'ā*, pp. 65-67; idem, *Pamjätniki krymskogo varianta saltovo-majäškoj kultury v Vostočnom Krymu i stepi*, ibidem, pp. 55-59, tab. XIX: 18, 41, 42-50, p. 105; by the same author, *Step' i jugo-zapadnyj Krym*, ibidem, pp. 59-64; A. Bartoli, M. Kazanski, *Kherson and Its Region*, in: *The Economic History of Byzantium. From the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*, II, ed. by A. Laiou, Dumbarton Oaks Studies, XXXIX, Washington 2002, pp. 261-263; M. McCormick, op.cit., p. 588.

74 Al-Istachrī, *Kitāb masālik al-mamālik*, pp. 99 and 225-227; Ibn al-Faqīh, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, passage XIII, p. 27; *Tzw. Korespondencja żydowsko-chazarska* (list króla Józefa), p. 77 mentions the activity of ar-Rūs in the territory of the Khaganate and their trade relations and military encounters with the Baghdad Caliphate; *Hudud al-'Alam...*, § 44, p. 159.

arrived, including ceramics, silver products, textiles, jewellery, decorations and spices, and coins (dinars, dirhems, and solids)<sup>75</sup>.

The revival of the exchange in long-distance trade in the discussed territories was facilitated by the fact that a very favourable configuration of the water system in Eastern Europe was used. It was built around the Volga, which – together with its vast catchment area – provided communications routes between the Black Sea, the Caspian Sea zone, and the region of the Baltic Sea and Scandinavia. Together with using overland routes the network of regional and local connections increased, contributing to the extension of communications routes, including those latitudinal.

What was the meaning and place of the Khazar Khaganate in the economic system of Eastern Europe, and in international trade? This question is justified as according to the account by the 10<sup>th</sup> century writer named Al-Istachri<sup>76</sup>, the country of the Khazars possessed very limited resources, and only a few natural products were its exports. Does it mean that the Khazar Khaganate should be perceived merely as a beneficiary of the 9<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> century boom in the long-distance trade or – quite the contrary – that the state played an active role in it, influencing its range and level of development in the region?

A suitable benchmark for determining the level of development of the economy of the Khazars was establishing its own mint. Archaeological excavations, during which both single coins and their deposits and hoards of the Khazar provenience were found, provided some interesting material in respect of this. Their biggest number found so far (87 items) were placed in a deposit coming from the village of Devica (the discovery was made in 1939). In addition to the hoard of goldsmithery and jewellery there were 323 coins – including 299 whole ones and 24 preserved in fragments – most of which were Abbasid dirhems<sup>77</sup>. Particularly noticeable is a group of coins

75 Th.S. Noonan, *When Did Dirhams First Reach the Ukraine?*, HUS II (1978) 1, pp. 26-40; idem, *Fluctuations in Islamic Trade with Eastern Europe during the Viking Age*, HUS XVI (1992) 3-4, pp. 237-259; idem, *Ninth-century Dirham Hoards from European Russia: A Preliminary Analysis*, in: idem, *The Islamic World, Russia and the Vikings...*, pp. 47-117; idem, *Early 'Abbāid mint output*, ibidem, pp. 113-175; É. de la Vaissière, op.cit., pp. 249-255; G.W. Heck, *Charlemagne, Muhammad and the Arab Roots...*, pp. 278-285.

76 Large excerpts from the work by Al-Istachri, *Kitāb masālik al-mamālik*, were translated by D.M. Dunlop, op.cit., pp. 90-100, esp. p. 96. This account is based on the work by al-Balhī, which was written circa 920. It had a significant impact on the views of the authors of later historical and geographical works, who usually copied almost the whole content of this account referring to the Khazars. E.g. this can be observed as regards Ibn Hawqal, whereas Yāqūt, even though he copiously took information from the work by Al-Istachri, he also used information with reference to the Khazars that came from the account by Ibn Fadlān. D.M. Dunlop, op.cit., p. 100 dated the origin of the work by Al-Istachri to approximately 932.

77 Th.S. Noonan, *Ninth-century Dirham Hoard from Devitsa in Southern Russia*, in: idem, *The Islamic World, Russia and the Vikings...*, chapter V, p. 199, tab. 1, pp. 189-196 the list of the

which are distinguished by their irregular shape and by the fact that most of them were minted at the same time, i.e. in 837/838<sup>78</sup>. There is an inscription *Ard Al-Khazar* on most of them, which – just like the other inscriptions placed on the reverse – was made in Arabic<sup>79</sup>.

Another group of coins which numismatists found interesting is characterised by the inscription, placed on the obverse, which says *Moses is the messenger of God*<sup>80</sup>. In addition to the inscription made in Hebrew, worthy of note is their irregular shape and some mistakes in the name of the mint, as well as in the dates placed on the reverses. Based on this an assumption was made that we face imitations of Arabic dirhems, which were minted by the Jews working in the territory of the Khaganate. At present only a few cases are known where this kind of coins are to be found in hoards and deposits, or as single finds. In the numismatic material the Khazar imitation of dirhems is rare, and at present there are only five of them, all coming from the sites located on the Baltic coast. In the period discussed here (i.e. 837/838) another variant of money, also modelled after the Arabic dirhem, with a characteristic emblem in the shape of a twig (*tangha*)<sup>81</sup> placed on the obverse, appeared in the Khaganate. All these variants of money appeared at the same time, and they were issued following the initiative of *beg*<sup>82</sup>, who at that time held a strong position in the structure of the ruling apparatus in the Khaganate.

Already in earlier studies an assumption was made regarding the Khazars' own coin, but it was not until the analysis of the contents of deposits and

coins; A.A. Bykov, *O khazarском čekane VIII-IX vv.*, Leningrad 1971, see the review of this book by M. Czapkiewicz, "Folia Orientalia" XV (1974), pp. 306-310.

78 Th.S. Noonan, *Ninth-century Dirham Hoards from European Russia... A Preliminary Analysis*, p. 65, tab. C.

79 R.K. Kovalev, *Creating Khazar Identity through Coins...*, p. 252, photo 9.1 A, B (the specimen comes from the hoard in Stora Velinge, Sweden).

80 This rare specimen of a Khazar coin comes from Spillings, one of the biggest deposits even discovered in Scandinavia. The discovery was made on a farm located to the north of Bogevisken, in Gotland, and it comprises three hoards, the two of which contain mostly silver ornaments and coins (mainly representing the production of Muslim and Persian mints), dated to the period from the 6<sup>th</sup> to the third quarter of the 9<sup>th</sup> century. In general, the find, which weighs 67 kilograms, contains as many as 14295 coins, 486 bracelets, 25 rings and a number of other ornaments. The numismatic specimen we focus on, including the inscription in Hebrew, has been published by P. Widerström, M. Östergren, *The Spillings Hoard, Sweden: A Viking Sensation, "Minerva"* XIV (2003) 1, p. 46, photo 1 and R.K. Kovalev, *Creating Khazar Identity through Coins...*, p. 252, photo 9.2 A, B; as regards the treasury of Spillings see: *The Spillings Hoard – Gotland's Role in Viking Age, World Trade*, Visby 2009; D.C. Waugh, *The Spillings Hoard in the Gotland's Museum, "The Silk Road"* IX (2011), pp. 165-196.

81 R.K. Kovalev, *Creating Khazar Identity through Coins...*, pp. 227-230, 252, photo 9.3 A.

82 Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, c. 42, 27, p. 182; P.B. Golden, *Khazar Studies...*, vol. I, pp. 162-163.

hoards of coins which came from the territory of the Khaganate that some data for further discussion were retrieved. The combination of numismatic data with linguistic material, including in particular the terms referring to weights and sizes (*bismar/bezimän/bezmen*) and occurring in old-Turkish, induced O. Pritsak to advance the thesis that there was a local monetary system in the Khazar Khaganate, which was compatible with such systems functioning in the Carolingian state and in Muslim countries<sup>83</sup>. In this way the above mentioned scholar supported the claim that the Khaganate played a significant role in the long-distance trade with Northern and Western Europe as well as with Muslim countries.

Despite its originality this hypothesis arouses controversy, especially of methodological nature, and in particular as regards the issue of adopting by the Khazars their own standard size coin (i.e. 2.75 grams) modelled on the weight of dirhems minted in North Africa. Moreover, it should be stressed that this value was determined based on the arithmetic mean of the items coming from one find (*Devica*), and there is no justification for accepting the speculation that the Khazars adopted the organizational structure of minting activity from North Africa. It remains unclear why Muslim merchants arriving in the Khaganate from the territories of Iraq, the Middle East, or the Sassanid state would use in their commercial transactions this variant of money instead of dirhems minted in their own countries. With reference to the Carolingian denar, the calculations done by O. Pritsak (1.7 grams) are underestimated, which has been proven by numismatists, because after the reform this coin weighed approximately 1.71-1.75 grams, although there are items exceeding these values<sup>84</sup>. In addition, so far only a few coins of unquestionably Khazar provenience have been found, and apart from five specimens of dirhems minted in 837/838 all other coins were found in the territory of the Khaganate. For this reason they were not in use in long-range trade, let alone the exchange with tribes subjugated by the Khazars such

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<sup>83</sup> O. Pritsak, *The Origins of the Old Rus' Weights and Monetary Systems. Two Studies in Western Eurasian Metrology and Numismatics in the Seventh to Eleventh Centuries*, Cambridge (MA) 1998, pp. 22-32 (chapter 2). In conclusion he remarked: "Thus, the Khazars did have their own metrology, money economy and their own coinage in the eight-tenth centuries. As one might expect from a nation engaged in international commerce, their monetary system was built the international standards" (ibidem, p. 32).

<sup>84</sup> S. Suchodolski, *Moneta i obrót pieniężny w Europie Zachodniej*, Kultura Europy wczesnośredniowiecznej, XIII), Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków-Gdańsk-Łódź 1982, pp. 207-209; Ph. Gierson, M. Blackburn, op.cit., pp. 206-210 and tab. 34 nos 742, 743, 759, 770, 772, 774, 781-783, 778-779, 791 where examples were given of the so called heavier denars, issued during the reigns of Charles the Great and Louis the Pious. In general it can be remarked that the denars minted in Italy were heavier. A significant growth of in the weight of denars occurred during the rule of Louis the Pious; M. Blackburn, *Money and Coinage*, in: *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, II: c. 700 - c. 900, ed. by R. McKitterick, Cambridge 2002, p. 151.

as the Pechenegs or east-Slavic tribes. A limited occurrence of the coins of unquestionable Khazar provenience in recent archaeological finds suggests that there is not enough evidence to accept the above mentioned findings of the author as the explanation of the practical aspects of the Khazar monetary system. There has been no evidence, also in the archaeological material (coins, weights), to prove that the local metrological system functioned in practice in the territory of the Khaganate. What is more, quite recently attention has been paid to extra-economic reasons for which the mints were established in the Khaganate<sup>85</sup>.

It cannot be ruled out that the fact that the Khazars put into circulation their own coin resulted not only from a difficult domestic situation of this state at that time<sup>86</sup>, but also from the readiness to stress the position of this country in long-distance trade. Referring to the experience of the Arabs stemmed from the popularity and position which dirhem held in long-distance trade, which was at that time the coin the most willingly imitated (copied) outside the borders of the empire of the Abbasids<sup>87</sup>. This can indicate the significance of trading relations between the Khaganate and Muslim countries, providing the Khazars such a strong standing in Eastern Europe. As some of the coins of the Khazar provenience which imitated dirhems came from outside the territory of the Khaganate, one should ponder the participation of the Khazar coin in long-distance circulation.

The establishing by the Khazars of the first mints took place already at the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> quarter of the 9<sup>th</sup> century and was connected with the decrease in the influx of the previous stream of dirhems, which mainly came from North African mints (Tunisia). Issuing a new local coin proved not only technical and organizational capabilities of the Khaganate within this scope, but also access to regular supplies of the mints in precious metal. Thanks to this not only minting coins was made possible, but also controlling the quality of the money through maintaining high, fixed content of precious metal in the coin. One of such places of origin for the material were deposits located in the territory of the Caucasus<sup>88</sup>. Moreover, the material was retrieved from

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85 R.K. Kovalev, *Creating Khazar Identity through Coins...*, pp. 240-242.

86 *Ibidem*, pp. 231-240; with reference to the domestic situation see D.M. Dunlop, *op.cit.*, pp. 188-192.

87 F. Kmietowicz, *Some Remarks on the Origin of Imitations of Arabic Dirhems*, "Wiadomości Numizmatyczne" XVII (1973) a special issue, pp. 50-53 argues that the Chorasmians, who were quite numerous in the territory of the Khaganate, could also be found among the minters. Trade relations with the towns of Central Asia (Chorasmia) had a big impact on the spread of imitations of Arabic silver monetary practices.

88 D.M. Dunlop, *op.cit.*, p. 227, footnote 43 as regards the province of Derband-Nāmah (upper catchment area of the Terek river), where there were also deposits of gold and copper.

the outside in the form of scrap coins. In addition to prestigious reasons and the circumstances that shaped the domestic situation in the Khazar state of the day, another important – if not the most important – reason why the decision was taken to issue the local currency was the maintaining of trade and exchange with the peoples and tribes from Eastern Europe at the existing level. This was conditioned by possessing enough quality coins. The decision taken to start the production and put a local coin in circulation can therefore indicate the level of trade in the region and the involvement of the Khaganate in it.

However, putting in circulation a local currency was seriously hampered by the strong position of dirhems in the economy of Eastern Europe. This is confirmed by numerous examples of making transactions with the use of them, and they are commonly found in hoards of coins and deposits. Ibn-Rosteh provides information on the role of Arabic monetary silver as the most important legal currency in trade and exchange with tribes and peoples of Eastern Europe. In his *Book of precious stones* a passage can be found concerning the influx of high quality dirhems to the state of the Kama Bulgars, which were called there: whole and white<sup>89</sup>. This means that the size and value of transactions was really big, as the Arab chronicler mentioned that in circulation were only those coins which were not damaged, e.g. divided into smaller pieces (choppers). Other texts by Arab authors tell us that in the Khazar territory – just like in Kama Bulgaria – marten skins were commonly used as extra-monetary currency besides precious metal coins<sup>90</sup>. This practice was nothing exceptional in the economy of the European states in the early Middle Ages, which was vividly seen in Frisia<sup>91</sup> and Bohemia<sup>92</sup> – the countries whose monetary economies were fully developed.

89 Ibn Rosteh, *Kitāb al-A'lāq an-naḥīsa*, passage IX, p. 92, footnote 139: "Dirhemy są (lub: bywają) białe i okrągłe. Te dirhemy oni (Bułgarzy Kamscy) biorą i za nie wszystko kupują. Potem dirhemy dają (przekazują) Rusom i, bo te ludy inaczej towarów nie sprzedają jak za dirhemy [Dirhems are (or happen to be) white and round. These dirhems are taken by them (the Kama Bulgars) and used for buying all the stuff. Next they give (hand over) the dirhems to the Rus and Saqlāb peoples, as these people only sell their produce for dirhems]".

90 Ibn Fadlān, *Kitāb*, pp. 104, 167; Ibn Rosteh, *Kitāb al-A'lāq an-naḥīsa*, p. 33; T. Lewicki, *O cenie niektórych towarów na rynkach Wschodniej Europy*, "Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej" XIV (1963) 1, pp. 112-132, esp. p. 113; W. Dzieduszycki, *Kruszce w systemach wartości i wymiany społeczeństwa Polski wczesnośredniowiecznej*, Poznań 1995, pp. 96-106 with reference to the object currency; A. Nazmi, op.cit., pp. 235-236; U. Lewicka-Rajewska, *Arabskie opisanie Słowian. Źródła do dziejów średniowiecznej kultury*, Prace Etnologiczne, XV, Wrocław 2004, pp. 108-116, 218-221.

91 Ph. Gierson, M. Blackburn, op.cit., I, pp. 149-154 and 509, tab. 30.

92 *Relacja Ibrāhīma ibn Ja'kūba z podróży do krajów słowiańskich w przekazie Al-Bekrīego*, przekład, wstęp i komentarze T. Kowalski, Monumenta Poloniae Historica, nova series, I, Kraków 1946, § 3, p. 4 and pp. 83-84 (remarks); J. Štěpkowa, *Dínár-kinšár Ibrahīma b. Jakūba*

Numerous Arabic coins, discovered in hoards from the territory of Eastern Europe, coming from mints in North Africa, the Abbasid and Samanid states, and Chorasmia, indicate growing significance of relations with Muslim countries in the 8<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> centuries. Their distribution in the region poses the question about the role of the Khaganate in disseminating dirhems in Eastern Europe, and their redistribution to the Baltic coastal zone, mainly to Scandinavia<sup>93</sup>. The growth in significance of relations with Muslim countries is confirmed by the increasingly growing presence of the Arabic coin which came from the mints of North Africa, the Abbasid Caliphate and the Samanid state in hoards and deposits located in the Eastern Europe of the 8<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> centuries. We can observe a large concentration of sites with hoards of Arabic coins in the territory of middle and upper catchment area of the Dnepr, on the upper Oka and Volga. In the territories of North-West Ruthenia stand out in this respect the environs of Lake Ilmen and the catchment area of the Volkhov river<sup>94</sup>. The comparison made between archaeological sites which contained hoards and deposits of Arabic coins (dirhems) and the network of communications routes indicates that the areas of their occurrence were important centres and local settlements of eastern Slavic tribes.

Interesting data for the assessment of the role the Khazars played in trade and circulation of precious metal coins are provided by the analysis of the contents of hoards and deposits where the Arab coins (mainly dirhems) are in the absolute majority. Their presence in the territory under discussion reflects the political and ethnic situation in the region in the 9<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> centuries, where – except for the Khazars and Kama Bulgars – their participation was clearly marked by the merchants of Scandinavian origin, who contributed to the development of trade and local, as well as long-distance, exchange.

In the territory of the Khaganate the archaeological sites including hoards or single finds are to be found mainly in north-western part of the state, in the areas of the lower Don and Donec. The Arabic coin in the definite majority

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*a jeho kupní síla, "Numismatické listy" X (1955), pp. 137-139; regarding the minting industry in the state of the first Premislids see: S. Suchodolski, Początki mennictwa w Europie Środkowej, Wschodniej i Północnej, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków-Gdańsk 1971, pp. 39-101; idem, Spór o początki mennictwa w Czechach i w Polsce, "Wiadomości Numizmatyczne" XLII (1999), pp. 5-20; Z. Petráň, Problematika pražské mincovny za vlády Boleslava II, in: Přemyslovský stát kolem roku 1000. Na paměť knížete Boleslava II († 7. února 999), ed. by L. Polanský, J. Sláma, D. Třeštík, Praha 2000, pp. 147-154; W. Hahn, Die älteste böhmische Münzprägung Boleslaus II. – Eine Materialzusammenstellung, in: Moneta mediaevalis. Studia numizmatyczne i historyczne ofiarowane profesorowi Stanisławowi Suchodolskiemu w 65 rocznicę urodzin, ed. by B. Paszkiewicz, Warszawa 2002, pp. 379-392.*

<sup>93</sup> W. Łosiński, *Chronologia napływu najstarszej monety arabskiej...*, p. 98, map 1; Th.S. Noonan, *Fluctuations in Islamic Trade with Eastern Europe...*, pp. 239, 242-247, 249-250.

<sup>94</sup> W. Łosiński, *Chronologia napływu najstarszej monety arabskiej...*, p. 98, map 1.

came to Eastern Europe first of all through the Caucasian zone, and from there it followed communications routes across the Khaganate or its dependent territories, heading north and north-west. It is clearly noticeable first of all looking at the Volga route, as well as the routes along the Don and Donec. Next to the Khazars, an important role in the distribution of dirhems was played by Kama Bulgaria, which controlled the middle and upper part of the catchment area of the Volga, providing links between the Khaganate and Central Asia, and the territories of north-western and western part of Rus.

The comparison of different chronologies of the Arab coins that came from Eastern European hoards indicated that approximately 1/5 of such finds were deposited in 8<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> centuries, i.e. when the Khazar Khaganate was the key player in relations between peoples and tribes from Eastern Europe and the Baghdad Caliphate. It is noteworthy that the coins minted in the 3<sup>rd</sup> quarter of the 8<sup>th</sup> century form the absolute majority in this group of finds<sup>95</sup>. Equally numerous are specimens coming from before this period, while coins dated to the turn of the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> centuries are rare<sup>96</sup>. The biggest influx of the Arabic coin to the territory of Eastern Europe is dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> quarters of the 8<sup>th</sup> centuries, which corresponds to a clearly noticeable decrease in military tensions between the Khaganate and Baghdad Caliphate<sup>97</sup>, still observable in the 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century. In general we can observe in the contents of deposits and hoards a greater percentage of coins that came from earlier issues, dating from before the 3<sup>rd</sup> quarter of the 8<sup>th</sup> century. The specimens coming from the Middle Eastern mints prevailed among the coins, but we can also notice the coins which were the imitations of dirhems, minted mostly in the Samanid state. Th.S. Noonan noticed that around 25% of finds of dirhems from the territories which are discussed here were minted in 770-850 and come from the outside of the main Abbasid mints<sup>98</sup>. It should be remarked that – apart from the territory of the Middle East – these coins are the most numerous in the hoards and deposits coming from Eastern Europe.

With reference to the 10<sup>th</sup> century (till the collapse of the Khazar Khaganate) we can observe some changes in the directions of influx, location and composition of Arabic coins in the territory we discuss here.

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<sup>95</sup> Ibidem, p. 151 catalogue (no. 2).

<sup>96</sup> Ibidem, pp. 101 and 102, figure 2, p. 105 they constituted only 12% of the total content.

<sup>97</sup> Th.S. Noonan, *Early 'Abbāsīd Mint Output*, in: idem, *The Islamic World, Russia and the Vikings...*, chapter VI, pp. 113-175, esp. p. 121 (table), 120, it concerns the major Abbasid mints i.e. al-Basrah i al-Kūfah. It is noteworthy that the number of dirhems deposited in the territory of Eastern Europe was the second largest only after the analogical finds in the Middle East, see ibidem, p. 167, Appendix B.

<sup>98</sup> Th.S. Noonan, *Ninth-century Dirham Hoards from European Russia...*, pp. 64-66, tab. C.



Interesting is the fact that dirhems from Central Asian mints are in the definite majority<sup>99</sup>. This indicates that they reached Europe mostly not only through the Khazar territory, but also, or perhaps first of all, through the agency of Kama Bulgaria. The same conclusions can be drawn after the analysis of the contents of dirhems which came from Sweden, where the coins minted in the Samanid mints were in the definite majority (80-90%)<sup>100</sup>. Based on this we can argue that the role of the Khazar Khaganate in the transfer of Arabic monetary silver to the territory of Eastern Europe, just like to Scandinavia in the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> centuries, diminished noticeably, and this happened long before its collapse. The place of the Khazars within this scope was taken over by Kama Bulgaria, which increasingly frequent benefited from the development of direct communications routes linking this country with towns and commercial centres located mostly in Transoxania.

The numismatic material shows a clearly progressing process of shifting the power line-up in Eastern Europe, which reflects gradual diminishing of the role the Khaganate played in the economy of the region. We learn from the account by Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos<sup>101</sup> and also from the Jewish-Khazar correspondence<sup>102</sup> that in the mid-10<sup>th</sup> century the Khaganate

<sup>99</sup> Th.S. Noonan, *Some Observations on the Economy of the Khazar....*, p. 236.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 235-236. The participation of the coins from the Samanid state and from the Middle Eastern mints ranged from 5 to 10 per cent.

<sup>101</sup> Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, c. 11, p. 65; c. 42, 70-77, p. 186. It is noteworthy that after the Khazars were aided by the Emperor Theodore, the Byzantines began – following the advice of Petronias – to strengthen their position on the Crimea, see *ibidem*, c. 42, 22-47 and the English translation pp. 183, 185 and A. Kazhdan, *Kamateros*, in: *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. by A. Kazhdan, A.-M. Talbot, Oxford 1991, p. 1098. Constantine Porphyrogenetos also confirms the threat that was posed by the Alans, Oghuz Turks, and the Black Bulgars, see Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, c. 10, p. 60; c. 12 p. 64 (regarding the western border). On the Byzantine dominions on the Crimean Peninsula see: *ibidem*, c. 42,8 p. 72; A. Kazhdan, *Klima*, in: *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, p. 1133.

<sup>102</sup> *Tzw. Korespondencja żydowsko-chazarska*, pp. 76-77 (King Joseph's reply); *The Cambridge Document* in: N. Golb, O. Pritsak, *op.cit.*, p. 113, folio 1v. (21-22), p. 115, folio 2r. (15). The document from Cambridge mentions also the wars between the Khazars and the Greeks during the reign of the Khagan Benjamin (880-900) and during the reign of Aaron (c. 900-920), when Constantinople managed to persuade the Alans to turn against the Khazars, see *ibidem*, p. 115. During the reign of the Khagan Joseph (920-960) the Khazars were also threatened by the Rus people attacking Tmurokań (SMKRYŶ – "Smrkś" another name for Tmutorakań), pp. 115-116, 128. Despite doubts which the text brings with reference to historical realities, it contains some authentic contents, which indicated the deterioration in the Khazar-Byzantine mutual relations at that time. On the shift in the relations of the Khazars with their neighbours see also al-Mas'ūdi, *Murāj al-Dhahab [The Meadows of Gold]*, quotation after the translation by D.M. Dunlop, *op.cit.*, p. 213, whose work was written circa 943-947 and the event described there took place in 320AH (934 A.D.). The account by the Arab author confirms the information contained in the Document from Cambridge, including the military and commercial activity

managed (although with difficulty) to retain its previous influence in the Black Sea zone (towns in the Crimea) and the Caucasian zone. The *Cambridge Document* includes an passage on a military success of the Khazars in the war against Byzantium (circa 934). During the rule of the Khagan Aaron the Khazars were forced to fight against the Alans, who became their enemies following actions taken by the Byzantine diplomacy. The Khazars, aided by the Oghuz Turks, managed to defeat the Alans, who for some time changed their allies and reached an agreement with the victorious party. It was sealed by the marriage between Joseph, son of the Khagan Aaron, and the Alan princess<sup>103</sup>. Another consequence of this military conflict was the Alans' rejection of Christianity and the adoption of Judaism, which happened through the agency of the Khazars. The Khazar-Alan alliance did not last long, and the Constantinople diplomacy already during the rule of Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos took actions to persuade the Alans to make an about-turn<sup>104</sup>. Although in the 930s the Khazars managed to bring the political situation under control and retain their influence, in economy their position in the region diminished. The shift in the position of the Khaganate in Eastern Europe is also confirmed in the account by Ibn Fadlān which refers to political relations between Kama Bulgaria and the Baghdad Caliphate. Their aim was to receive support of the Abbasids for the strengthening of the Bulgars' military and financial position compared with their neighbours, and in particular with reference to the Khazars<sup>105</sup>. The image of a strong state, which is to be found in the letter of the King Joseph to Hasdai ibn Shaprūt should be referred to the period prior to the date on the correspondence<sup>106</sup>. Besides, the Khaganate was in the 10<sup>th</sup> century forced to compete for maintaining its previous sphere of influence with a new counterpart, that is the Kiev state. Its rulers ran an increasingly expansive policy not only in the southern, but also eastern and south-eastern directions. In addition, the Khazars did not regain the territories and lost influence in the Caucasian-Caspian zone<sup>107</sup>, which would have let them long-range

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of the Rus, visible at that time. See D.M. Dunlop, op.cit., p. 209 (with reference to the attack on Constantinople in 912).

<sup>103</sup> *The Cambridge Document*, p. 115, folio 2r., verses 7-15.

<sup>104</sup> Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, c. 11, p. 65. Among the steppe peoples who settled in the Caucasian zone the Alans played a leading role, which is confirmed by Arabic written sources, see P. Golden, *Khazar Studies...*, vol. I, pp. 93-94.

<sup>105</sup> Ibn Fadlān, *Kitāb*, pp. 100, 109.

<sup>106</sup> See footnote 31 of this work; N. Golb, O. Pritsak, op.cit., pp. 75-79, 94-95; P.B. Golden, *Khazar Studies...*, vol. I, p. 96.

<sup>107</sup> Th.S. Noonan, *Why Dirhems First Reached Russia...*, pp. 151-282, esp. p. 278. He noticed that the military activity of the Khazars towards the neighbouring tribes, and also the development of their commercial activity was to be counterbalanced by the losses incurred in consequence of the lost war against the Arabs and the loss of part of their territory.

communications routes running, among others, through the south-eastern territories of Eastern Europe.

Even though the death of the Kiev Duke, Igor, held for some time the military advancements of the Rus people in the Black Sea zone<sup>108</sup>, the establishing of political links between Kiev and Byzantium resulted in a permanent alteration of the political alignment in the region. The position which the Kiev state held as an ally of the Empire in its fights for regaining lost influence in the Balkans and in the Mediterranean zone (the regaining of Crete in 960) was not a good signal for the Khazars. Ultimately, during the rule of Duke Sviatoslav the disintegration of the Khaganate took place and Kiev Rus became a dominant power in Eastern Europe<sup>109</sup>.

In the discussion on the history of the Khazar Khaganate and on its economy one has to stress the importance of long-distance trade for both issues. This was confirmed by the period of the greatest prosperity of the Khazar economy, which lasted from the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century until the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, when of utmost importance were commercial relations with the Muslim world. This is also shown in the influx of a large amount of Arabic money to the territories of Eastern Europe, the process in which the Khaganate played the key role. In this context it cannot be ruled out that the Khaganate's extension of its influence on the territories of the Slavic states from the middle and upper catchment area of the Dnepr and Oka, which is confirmed by the account in the *Tale of Bygone Years*, remained in correlation between the economic book in the Baghdad Caliphate. For this reason, one has to agree with the estimate of the economy of the Khaganate given by al-Istakhari (beginning of the 10<sup>th</sup> century), where the author emphasises the lack of developed crafts. It is characteristic that he does not mention that the Khazars ever produced anything, yet the information about fishing suggests occupations and crafts associated with making boats and nets, as well as other fishing equipment. In general, however, the level of production was very low. The main source of income for the Khaganate were the revenues from duties, loot, and tributes. Therefore, the position of this state in international trade was dependent on its military and political dominance in the region,

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**108** The previous military activity of the Rus people in the territories remaining under the control of the Khazars and located in the area of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov is confirmed in the account by al-Mas'ūdi (circa 943), and also by other Arab authors, who mention organizing as many as four big military campaigns. The texts in question have been presented by N. Golb, O. Pritsak, *op.cit.*, pp. 137-142.

**109** As far as the accounts of Khazar-Rus relations at that time are concerned, see: G. Rostkowski, *Międzynarodowe i wewnętrzne położenie kaganatu chazarzkiego w pierwszej połowie X wieku*, "Mazowieckie Studia Humanistyczne" VI (2000) 1-2, pp. 5-24, esp. pp. 11-18; Vl.Ja. Petrukhin, *Khazaria and Rus': An Examination of Their Historical Relations*, in: *The World of the Khazars...*, pp. 245-268.

and also on the prevailing economic boom in Muslim countries in particular, and in Byzantium.

Maintaining the *status quo* by the Khazars in the region was already in the 2<sup>nd</sup> quarter of the 10<sup>th</sup> century getting more and more difficult. The policy of Kiev dukes, who were increasingly interested in the development of direct commercial links with Byzantium and Muslim countries, proved significant for destabilising the previous power alignment (including the economic activity of the Khaganate). Potential benefits within this scope were also noticed by the diplomatic service of Constantinople, which was reflected in clearly visible co-operation between Byzantium and Kiev Rus, observable already in during the regency of princess Olga. This situation, as well as the policy of the Duke Sviatoslav, run in a imperial manner and range, turned out to be extremely dangerous for the Khazar Khaganate. Despite financial benefits which this state reaped of trading relations with Byzantium and Muslim countries, its economic foundations were weak, based only on the military advantage, which provided political predominance. Its loss led to serious consequences, also of economic nature. The lack of natural resources that could work as an incentive for the development of the local production was the factor which caused the weakness of the economy of the Khazar state.

translated by Robert Bubczyk

#### ABSTRACT

A suitable location and easy access to diverse merchandise of natural origin contributed to the fact that the Khazar Khaganate played in the early Middle Ages an important role in long-distance trade. This is confirmed by both the accounts by Arab, Greek and Hebrew authors and rich and diversified numismatic material. In the period under consideration Itil was one of the most significant international centres of trade and exchange on the territory of Eastern Europe. Moreover, the Khazars received extra revenues from customs duties, fees collected from merchants, and loot and tributes that came from subjugated peoples and tribes. The Khaganate's participation in international trade and the benefits the state reaped accordingly, resulted primarily from its political and economic domination in Eastern Europe. They were also the result of the economic boom in Muslim countries and in Byzantium. This meant that the economy of the Khaganate – despite changes that took place in the lives of the Khazars (semi-nomadism) – was based on weak foundations. The major factor which caused this was a lack of raw materials and natural resources that could have contribute to a stronger and sustainable development in vernacular production.



## IV. IN MEMORIAM

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### PROFESSOR MARIAN BISKUP (1922-2012) LEBEN UND WERK



Professor Marian Biskup, hervorragender Historiker, Herausgeber historischer Quellen und Organisator der Wissenschaft widmete sein ganzes Leben der intensiven wissenschaftlichen und organisatorischen Arbeit, deren Ergebnisse noch lange durch die künftigen Forschergenerationen genutzt werden. Geboren wurde Marian Biskup am 19. Dezember 1922 in Inowrocław/Hohensaza, in einer Handwerkerfamilie (sein Vater war Inhaber einer Bäckerei) als Sohn von Zofia geborene Sobecka und Mieczysław. In seiner Geburtsstadt verbrachte er seine Kindheit und Jünglingsjahre. Hier eben erlangte er 1939 im humanistischen Jan-Kasprowicz-Lyzeum das sog. kleine Abitur, um später – während der Nazi-Okkupation – seine erste berufliche Arbeit vorzunehmen: zuerst als Lehrling in der einst seiner Familie gehörenden Bäckerei, die durch den Okkupanten übernommen wurde, dann als Angestellter in einer Landwirtschafts- und Handelsgenossenschaft. Bereits 1945 begann er das Geschichtsstudium an der Mikołaj-Kopernik-Universität (Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika/UMK) in Toruń/Thorn, einer Stadt, in der er bis an sein Lebensende blieb. Zuerst besuchte er das Studium als Hospitant und nachdem er im Februar 1946 seine Abiturprüfung bestanden hatte, wurde er zum vollberechtigten Studierenden der UMK. Während des Studiums besuchte er u.a. Vorlesungen solcher berühmten Historiker wie Karol Górski, Ryszard Mienicki, Bronisław Włodarski und Leonid Żytkowicz. Zu dieser Zeit befreundete er sich auch mit seinen Studienkollegen, den künftigen Professoren: Tadeusz Grudziński, Waclaw Odyniec, Jerzy Serczyk und Andrzej Tomczak, hier auch lernte er seine künftige Ehefrau, Irena Janosz, kennen.

Unter der Leitung des Mediävisten Professor Karol Górski, der zu jener Zeit in Toruń die neue polnische Schule zur Erforschung der Geschichte Pommerellens und des Deutschen Ordens ins Leben gerufen hatte, schrieb Biskup die im Juni 1949 verteidigte (und kurz danach veröffentlichte) Magisterarbeit über Jan Cegenberg (Czegenberg, Ziegenberg), mit welcher er die große Aufmerksamkeit nicht nur der hiesigen Historiker erweckte<sup>1</sup>. In seiner Autobiographie schilderte K. Górski derart seinen ehemaligen Schüler, Marian Biskup: „Unter meinen Studenten zeichnete er sich durch besondere Begabung, körperliche Kraft, Fleiß und Sorgfalt [...]. Zu jener Zeit besuchte er das vierte Studienjahr, seine Magisterarbeit war jedoch bereits fertig geschrieben und beurteilt worden“<sup>2</sup>. Die eben erwähnten Charaktereigenschaften trugen wahrscheinlich dazu bei, dass Marian Biskup kurz nach dem Magisterabschluss, es war im Oktober 1950, aufgrund seiner Dissertation *Die Haltung der Stadt Danzig gegenüber König Kazimierz dem Jagiellonen während des Dreizehnjährigen Krieges 1454-1466*, gleichfalls unter Leitung Professors Karol Górski vorbereitet und an der Humanistischen Fakultät der UMK verteidigt, den Doktorgrad erworben hatte<sup>3</sup>.

Als Magister, und dann als Doktor, erhielt Marian Biskup keine planmäßige Stelle an der Universität, deshalb setzte er weiterhin seine berufliche Arbeit (mit der er bereits 1947 begonnen hatte) fort, und zwar als Lehrer im Staatlichen Lyzeum für Gartenpflege in Toruń. Später, in den Jahren 1951-1953, arbeitete er in der Thorner Abteilung des Westinstituts (Instytut Zachodni) und – seit 1952 – in der Editorischen Anstalt der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft von Toruń (Towarzystwo Naukowe w Toruniu/TNT). Im Jahre 1953 wurde er Mitarbeiter des Instituts für Geschichte der Polnischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Polska Akademia Nauk/PAN), zunächst in der Abteilung des Historischen Atlases und dann – seit 1958 – in der Abteilung für Geschichte Pommerns in Toruń, wo er bis zu seiner Emeritierung (1992) beschäftigt war (seit 1987 als Leiter der Gesamtabteilung). Als Mitarbeiter der Polnischen Akademie der Wissenschaften hielt Marian Biskup in den Jahren 1958-1972 Vorträge und Seminare im Institut für Geschichte und Archivkunde an der Mikołaj-Kopernik-Universität in Toruń (bis 1962 im Rahmen einer Planstelle, dann als Auftragsstunden). Als Mitarbeiter des Instituts für Geschichte der Polnischen Akademie der Wissenschaften wurde ihm 1957 der Grad des Kandidaten der historischen Wissenschaften, 1958 der Dozententitel, 1961 der Titel des außerordentlichen und 1971 des ordentlichen Professors verliehen.

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1 M. Biskup, *Jan Cegenberg, współtwórca Związku Pruskiego*, „Zapiski TNT” XV (1949) Nr. 1-2, S. 73-122, Nr. 3-4, S. 27-78.

2 K. Górski, *Autobiografia naukowa*, Homines et historia, Toruń 2003, S. 85.

3 Vgl. M. Biskup, *Stosunek Gdańska do Kazimierza Jagiellończyka w okresie wojny trzynastoletniej 1454-1466*, Toruń 1952 („Roczniki Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu” LVI).

Seit Beginn seiner wissenschaftlichen Laufbahn konzentrierten sich die Forschungsschwerpunkte Marian Biskups auf die Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens in Preußen und Pommerellen im 13. bis 16. Jahrhundert sowie auf die Geschichte der Mittel- und Nordeuropa zur selben Zeitperiode. In seinem wissenschaftlichen Schaffen kann man mehrere deutliche Interessenkreise unterscheiden. Bereits während seines Studiums, und dann auch in der ersten Etappe seiner wissenschaftlichen Tätigkeit, widmete er sich hauptsächlich der mit der Ständeopposition im Ordensstaat Preußen wie auch mit der Geschichte des Dreizehnjährigen Krieges eng verbundenen Problematik. Zu jenem Themenkreis gehörte sowohl der früher erwähnte Beitrag über Jan Cegenberg und den Eidechsenbund, als auch die oben zitierte Dissertationsarbeit. Eine weitere äußerst wichtige monographische Studie Biskups, und zwar derselben Problematik gewidmet, die hohe Anerkennung im Lande und im Ausland genoss, war die Abhandlung *Vereinigung Ostpommerns mit Polen in der Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts*. Hier wurden die Genese und die wichtigsten Ursachen vorgestellt, die zur Inkorporation eines Teils Preußens zu Polen geführt hatten<sup>4</sup>.

Zum abschließenden Werk im Rahmen der diesen Fragen gewidmeten Forschungen war die 1967 veröffentlichte Studie *Der Dreizehnjährige Krieg mit dem Deutschen Orden 1454-1466*<sup>5</sup>, die auch vierzig Jahre nach der Veröffentlichung ihre Aktualität und Brauchbarkeit als Hilfe bei den wissenschaftlichen Forschungen stets beweisen kann. Dieser höchst interessanter Beitrag wurde sowohl von den polnischen als auch deutschen Wissenschaftlern sehr positiv beurteilt.

Im Ergebnis weiterer Studien Marian Biskups über die Geschichte des Deutschordensstaates wie auch über die künftigen Gründe dessen Umgestaltung in einen Laienstaat – ungeachtet zahlreicher früherer analytischer Studien – entstanden zwei wichtige Monographien Biskups: *Polen und der Deutsche Orden in Preußen zu Beginn des 16. Jahrhunderts*<sup>6</sup> und „*Preußischer Krieg*“ – *der Krieg zwischen Polen und dem Deutschen Orden in den Jahren 1519-1521*<sup>7</sup>. Beide Werke kennzeichnen sich – gleich wie die früheren Publikationen Professor Biskups – durch eingehende Rechercharbeit, durchgeführt in deutschen und polnischen Archiven, durch imposante Faktografie sowie das Recherchieren von Zusammenhängen zwischen unterschiedlichen Ereignissen und Tatsachen.

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4 M. Biskup, *Zjednoczenie Pomorza Wschodniego z Polską w połowie XV w.*, Warszawa 1959. Siehe auch R. Czaja, *Marian Biskup*, in: *Homines et historia. Odnowienie doktoratów Profesorów Mariana Biskupa, Jerzego Kłoczowskiego i Andrzeja Tomczaka*, Toruń 2000, S. 11.

5 M. Biskup, *Trzynastoletnia wojna z Zakonem Krzyżackim, 1454-1466*, Warszawa 1967.

6 M. Biskup, *Polska a Zakon Krzyżacki w Prusach w początkach XVI wieku: u źródeł sekularyzacji Prus Krzyżackich*, Olsztyn 1983.

7 M. Biskup, „*Wojna Pruska*“, czyli *wojna Polski z Zakonem Krzyżackim z lat 1519-1521: u źródeł sekularyzacji Prus Krzyżackich*, Olsztyn 1991.



Diese langjährigen Forschungen über die Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens und des Ordensstaates Preußen fanden ihren bedeutenden Abschluss in Form von zwei sehr wichtigen wissenschaftlichen Synthesen: einer gemeinsam mit Gerard Labuda verfassten *Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens in Preußen* (im Jahre 2000 wurde dieses Werk durch das Deutsche Historische Institut in Warschau auch in der deutschen Fassung herausgegeben) wie auch einer unter Biskups Mitarbeit redigierten Studie *Der Deutschordensstaat Preußen. Die Macht und die Gesellschaft* (Biskup war Mitautor umfangreicher Kapitel dieser Studie). An dieser Stelle – ungeachtet deren anderweitigen Charakters (eine Quellenveröffentlichung) – sollte die monumentale, gemeinsam mit seiner Ehefrau Irena Janosz-Biskupowa vorbereitete dreibändige Edition der Visitationen im Deutschen Orden in den Jahren 1236-1541<sup>8</sup> mindestens erwähnt werden.

Außer dieser grundsätzlichen Forschungsinteressen schenkte Marian Biskup seit mehreren Dekaden seine Aufmerksamkeit auch anderen, recht unterschiedlichen Problemkreisen, insbesondere der Geschichte Livlands und der Stadt Toruń, der Biographie Nikolaus Kopernikus' wie auch der Chronologie seiner Werke, der Geschichte des Ständelebens sowie der kontinuierlichen editorischen Arbeit bei der Veröffentlichung von historischen Quellen. Der 1973 festlich gefeierte 500. Geburtstag Nikolaus Kopernikus' trug zur Veröffentlichung des Werks *Regesta Copernicana* Professor Biskups bei (auch in der englischen Fassung erschienen), wie auch über 20 anderer Editionen und Studien, die der gemeinschaftlichen und wirtschaftlichen Tätigkeit des berühmten Thorner Bürgers gewidmet waren<sup>9</sup>. Als hervorragende editorische Leistung sind an dieser Stelle die in zwölf Bänden herausgegebenen *Akten der Ständetage Königlich-Preußens* aus den Jahren 1479-1526 zu erwähnen, die allerart Quellenüberlieferungen zum Ständeleben in dieser Region enthalten. Die ersten vier Bände erarbeitete Professor Biskup gemeinsam mit seinem Lehrer Karol Górski und die folgenden in Zusammenarbeit mit seiner Ehefrau Irena<sup>10</sup>. Diese Edition erfreute sich einer

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8 M. Biskup, G. Labuda, *Dzieje Zakonu Krzyżackiego w Prusach: gospodarka, społeczeństwo, państwo, ideologia*, Gdańsk 1988. Siehe auch: Gemeinschaftsarbeit, *Państwo zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach. Władza i społeczeństwo*, hrsg. von M. Biskup, R. Czaja, Warszawa 2008; *Visitationen im Deutschen Orden im Mittelalter*, hrsg. von M. Biskup, I. Janosz-Biskupowa, I: 1236-1449, Marburg 2002; II: 1450- 1519, Marburg 2004; III: 1528-1541, Marburg 2008.

9 Ein Gesamtverzeichnis der diesen und anderen Problemen gewidmeten Beiträge Professor Biskups siehe: *Bibliographie der Veröffentlichungen Marian Biskups aus den Jahren 1949-2001*, bearb. von I. Czarciański, in: M. Biskup, *Opera minora. Studia z dziejów zakonu krzyżackiego, Prus, Polski i krajów nadbałtyckich*, Toruń 2002, S. 8-53.

10 *Akta Stanów Prus Królewskich*, I-VIII, hrsg. von K. Górski, M. Biskup, I. Janosz-Biskupowa, Warszawa-Toruń 1955-1993. Mehr zur Genese und Durchsetzung dieses Vorhabens in der Anfangsphase siehe K. Górski, *Autobiografia...*, S. 85 f.

sehr hohen Anerkennung sowohl bei den polnischen als auch den ausländischen Historikern<sup>11</sup>.

Als Fortsetzung des letztgenannten Vorhabens galt die Herausgabe von Protokollen der Generallandtage Königlich-Preußens, die seit 1526 die ehemaligen Ständetage ersetzten. Bis heute erschienen drei Bände der *Protokolle*. Das vierte Band – bedauerlicherweise bereits ohne wertvolle Anmerkungen und Hinweise Professor Biskups – wird aktuell zur Veröffentlichung vorbereitet<sup>12</sup>. Es ist hervorzuheben, dass Marian Biskup – gleich wie Karol Górski – seit dem Anfang seiner wissenschaftlichen Laufbahn davon überzeugt war, die Herausgabe historischer Quellen gehörte zu den grundlegenden und wohl wichtigsten wissenschaftlichen Verpflichtungen jedes Historikers und Archivars.

Ein wichtiges Forschungsfeld Marian Biskups war auch die Geschichte der polnischen Diplomatie im Mittelalter und zu Beginn der Neuzeit. Im Ergebnis dieser Interessen entstand eine Reihe von Abhandlungen, die der Außenpolitik der Jagiellonen gewidmet waren. Darüber hinaus war Biskup Mitautor von zwei synthetisierenden Werken, das heißt des ersten Bandes der *Geschichte der polnischen Diplomatie* (Warszawa 1980)<sup>13</sup> sowie der *Geschichte der polnischen Diplomatie vom 10. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert* (Warszawa 2002)<sup>14</sup>.

Was die wissenschaftlichen Forschungen Professor Biskups anbetrifft, gewannen im letzten Vierteljahrhundert die allgemeinen Probleme immer mehr an Bedeutung, die mit der Geschichtsschreibung eng verbunden waren, und zwar insbesondere mit der Geschichte des südlichen Baltikums. M. Biskup beschäftigte sich auch mit politischen Voraussetzungen polnischer und deutscher Studien zur Geschichte des Ordensstaates Preußen, er war auch der Autor zahlreicher Abhandlungen, die den berühmten Historikern gewidmet waren, vor allem denen, die sich für Geschichte Pommerns interessierten (Otto Hintze, Karl Kasiske, Erich Maschke, Artur Semrau oder Max Toeppen)<sup>15</sup>.

11 Mehr zur Frage des editorischen Werks M. Biskups siehe u.a. M. Czaja, op.cit., S. 7-22.

12 *Protokoły Sejmiku Generalnego Prus Królewskich*, I: 1526 - Hälfte 1528, hrsg. von M. Biskup, B. Dybaś, J. Tandecki, Toruń 2001; II: Juli 1528 - Oktober 1530, hrsg. von M. Biskup, B. Dybaś, J. Tandecki, Toruń 2005; III: November 1530 - Oktober 1535, hrsg. von M. Biskup, K. Kopiński, P. Oliński, J. Tandecki, Toruń 2010.

13 M. Biskup bearbeitete hierbei die folgenden Kapitel: *Czasy Władysława Jagiellończyka* (*Warneńczyka*) 1434-1444, S. 395-478; *Czasy Kazimierza Jagiellończyka* (1447-1466); *Czasy Jana Olbrachtta i Aleksandra Jagiellończyka* (1492-1506), S. 531-586.

14 Als Autor bearbeitete M. Biskup das Kapitel: *Dyplomacja polska w czasach Andegawenów i Jagiellonów* (1370-1572), S. 64-166.

15 Vgl. u.a. M. Biskup, *W sprawie organizacji i zasięgu badań polskiej historiografii wojskowej*, in: *XII Powołany Zjazd Historyków Polskich. Symposium 9: Rola historii wojskowej w kształtowaniu patriotycznej świadomości społeczeństwa*, Poznań 1980, S. 163-165; idem, *Die*

Marian Biskup war im historischen Milieu nicht nur durch seine eigenen, herausragenden wissenschaftlichen Leistungen bekannt, die früher bereits erwähnt wurden (volle Bibliographie seiner Arbeiten umfasst über 800 Positionen, darunter mehr als 20 Bücher und 20 Bände Quellenausgaben wie auch einige hundert Aufsätze, Abhandlungen, Redigierungen und Rezensionen), sondern auch durch seine Tätigkeit als begabter Organisator der Wissenschaft. Die mit dem Namen Professor Biskups verantwortlich gezeichneten Forschungsprojekte ließen immer den Rang dieser wissenschaftlichen Vorhaben sowohl im Lande als auch im Ausland wesentlich erhöhen. Unter seiner Redaktion entstanden zahlreiche Monographien und Gemeinschaftsstudien, unter denen insbesondere auf mehrere Abhandlungen zur Städtegeschichte zu verweisen sei (Chełmno/Kulm, 1968, 1987; Koronowo/Polnisch Krone 1968; Szubin/Schubin 1976; Inowrocław 1978; Toruń 1983; Bydgoszcz/Bromberg 1991-1999 u.a.m.), *Historisch-landeskundliches Handbuch des Kulmerlandes im Mittelalter* (1971), 9-bändige Ausgabe *Polish Historical Library* oder *Materialien aus den Sitzungen der Deutsch-Polnischen Schulbuchkommission*. Seit 1959 – innerhalb von mehr als vierzig Jahren – war Marian Biskup nicht nur Redakteur zahlreicher regionaler fachwissenschaftlicher Zeitschriften, wie zum Beispiel „Rocznik Elbląski“ (1961-1985), „Rocznik Grudziądzki“ (1960-1970), „Ziemia Kujawska“ (seit 1963) oder „Prace Komisji Historycznej BTN“ (1963-1996), sondern auch Redakteur der durch die Wissenschaftliche Gesellschaft von Toruń herausgegebenen „Zapiski Historyczne“, einer Zeitschrift, die hauptsächlich dank seiner Bemühungen zu den besten polnischen historischen Zeitschriften gezählt werden konnte. Die Wissenschaftliche Gesellschaft und deren Publikationen waren „seit je her“ die wahre Leidenschaft Professor Biskups: in den Jahren 1965-1983 bekleidete er die Funktion des Generalsekretärs der TNT, und 1983 wurde er zum Präsidenten gewählt. Eben dank seiner Initiative und Bemühungen gelang es der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft von Toruń innerhalb der letzteren Jahrzehnte mehrere Bücher herauszugeben, die sich mit dem Problem der breit verstandenen baltischen Region (von Pommern bis Livland) beschäftigten. An dieser Stelle kann u.a. die durch die TNT unter der Redaktion Professor Biskups herausgegebene vielbändige *Geschichte der Stadt Toruń* (Biskup persönlich war Autor eines Bandes dieser Geschich-

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*Erforschung des Deutschordensstaates Preußen: Forschungsstand – Aufgaben – Ziele*, in: *Der Deutschordensstaat Preußen in der polnischen Geschichtsschreibung der Gegenwart*, Marburg/L 1982, S. 1-35; idem, *Zakon krzyżacki i jego państwo w Prusach w polskiej historiografii lat trzydziestych XX wieku*, „Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie“ II-IV (1994), S. 155-170; idem, *Artur Semrau (1862-1940), historyk, archiwista, muzeolog*, in: *Wybitni ludzie dawnego Torunia*, Warszawa 1982, S. 251-256. Vgl. auch R. Czaja, op.cit., S. 15 wie auch *Stan badań i potrzeby edycji źródłowych dla historii Pomorza i innych krajów południowej strefy bałtyckiej*, hrsg. von M. Biskup, Toruń 1995.

te) oder auch der erste Band der *Geschichte Pommerns* erwähnt werden, an dessen Entstehung er sich als Mitautor beteiligte<sup>16</sup>.

Professor Biskup erfüllte auch zahlreiche Funktionen an anderen wissenschaftlichen Organisationen. Unter anderen wirkte er als langjähriger Präsident der Thorner Abteilung der Polnischen Historischen Gesellschaft (PTH) und gleichzeitig als Stellvertretender Präsident des Hauptvorstands des PTH (seit 1960). Seine Verdienste um die Organisation des wissenschaftlichen Lebens führten später u.a. zur zweimaligen Wahl M. Biskups (1973-1978) zum Präsidenten des Hauptvorstands des PTH und dann zur Verleihung der ehrenwürdigen Mitgliedschaft dieser Organisation. Seit 1974 beteiligte sich Professor Biskup an allerart Aktivitäten der Deutsch-Polnischen Schulbuchkommission, und im Jahre 1985 wurde er zum Mitbegründer und Stellvertretenden Präsidenten der Internationalen Kommission zur Erforschung der Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens mit dem Sitz in Wien. Als einer der ersten polnischen Historiker knüpfte er bereits in den siebziger Jahren des 20. Jahrhunderts enge wissenschaftliche Beziehungen mit den Forschern der Geschichte der Ritterorden in den baltischen Ländern: Estland, Lettland und Litauen. Diese organisatorische Aktivität ließ sich auch auf anderen Tätigkeitsfeldern beobachten (z.B. in den Jahren 1991-1999 übernahm er die Pflichten des Vorsitzenden des Komitees für Historische Wissenschaften der Polnischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Ein Zeichen der hohen Anerkennung für hervorragende wissenschaftliche und organisatorische Leistungen Professor Biskups waren zahlreiche Würden, die ihm seitens unterschiedlicher staatlicher, wissenschaftlicher und Selbstverwaltungseinrichtungen verliehen wurden. Im Jahre 1991 wurde Biskup zum korrespondierenden und im Jahre 1994 zum ordentlichen Mitglied der Polnischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Seit 1990 beteiligte er sich auch an den Aktivitäten der Polnischen Akademie der Künste und Wissenschaften (Polska Akademia Umiejętności, PAU) – zunächst als korrespondierendes und dann, seit 1991, als ordentliches Mitglied. Zwei polnische Universitäten verliehen Marian Biskup die Ehrendoktorwürde: die Adam-Mickiewicz-Universität in Poznań/Posen (1998) und die Universität in Gdańsk/Danzig (2001). Bereits im Jahre 1974 wurde ihm die Würde des Ehrenmitglieds der Gesellschaft der Freunde der Stadt Inowrocław verliehen und im Jahre 1975 erhielt er die Medaille für Verdienste für Geisteswissenschaften der Region Olsztyn/Allenstein. 1995 wurde Professor Biskup die höchste Auszeichnung der Gesellschaft der Freunde der Stadt Toruń

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16 R. Czaja, op.cit., S. 19; M. Biskup, *U schyłku średniowiecza i w początkach odrodzenia (1454-1548)*, in: *Historia Torunia*, II,1, hrsg. von M. Biskup, Toruń 1992. Mehr zur M. Biskups Leistung als Historiker der Stadt Toruń siehe P. Oliński, *Marian Biskup (1922-2012), historyk Torunia*, „Rocznik Toruński” XXXIX (2012), S. 7-14.

– das Goldene Astrolabium – verliehen und 1997 wurde er zum Ehrenbürger seiner Geburtsstadt Inowroclaw, 2000 zum Ehrenbürger der Stadt Toruń und 2007 zum Ehrenbürger der Stadt Elbląg/Elbing. Im Jahre 2002 verliehen ihm die Behörden der Stadt Gdańsk die Medaille des Heiligen Adalbertus und 2008 wurde ihm die höchste Auszeichnung der polnischen Mediävisten verliehen: die *Lux et Laus*-Medaille des Ständigen Ausschusses der Polnischen Mediävisten (Stały Komitet Mediewistów Polskich/SKMP). Marian Biskup war auch Mitglied zahlreicher effizienter internationaler wissenschaftlicher Gesellschaften und Organisationen, u.a. der Internationalen Kommission für Ständetage (seit 1968), der Königlichen Historischen Kommission für die Edition von Quellen zur Geschichte Skandinaviens in Stockholm (seit 1974), der Academie l'histoire des sciences in Paris (seit 1978), der Monumenta Germaniae Historica in München (seit 1998), der Historischen Kommission zu Berlin, der Historischen Kommission für ost- und westpreußische Landesforschung u.a. Für seine Verdienste um die polnische Wissenschaft wurde Marian Biskup 1993 mit dem Komturkreuz des Ordens Polonia Restituta ausgezeichnet.

Seit 1951 stand ihm im Leben und Beruf seine Ehefrau Doz. Dr. habil. Irena Janosz-Biskupowa bei, verstorben im November 2011, mit der er drei Kinder hatte: Zofia, Krzysztof und Michał. Professor Marian Biskup starb am 16. April 2012. Seine letzte Ruhe fand er auf dem St. Georg-Friedhof in Toruń.

Das Schicksal und die Interessen Professor Biskups widerspiegelt mindestens im gewissen Maße sein reicher wissenschaftlicher und archivarischer Nachlass, den er noch zu seiner Lebenszeit ins Staatliche Archiv in Toruń (173 Archiveinheiten) sowie ins Archiv der Mikołaj-Kopernik-Universität in Toruń (circa 200 Archiveinheiten) deponieren ließ. Der Nachlass Professor Biskups enthält sowohl biographisches Material zu Person Professor Biskups und seinen nächsten Familienmitgliedern, wissenschaftliche Studien, Briefwechsel mit anderen Forschern und Gelehrten, als auch Archivalien und Werkstattmaterialien (darunter Foto- und Xerokopien wie auch die von ihm erhaltenen Sonderdrücke unterschiedlicher Beiträge und Abhandlungen), die mit der oben genannten wissenschaftlichen, organisatorischen und redaktionellen Tätigkeit Professor Biskups verbunden waren.

Manche von den wichtigeren Unterlagen und Dokumenten, die die öffentlichen Aktivitäten Professor Biskups nachweisen, wurden nach seinem Tod von der Familie in die Sammlungen der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft von Toruń überwiesen.

Janusz Tandecki

## PROFESSOR GERARD LABUDAS LEBEN UND WERK (1916-2010)



Am 1. Oktober 2010 starb Gerard Labuda – einer der berühmtesten polnischen Mediävisten. Er wurde am 28. Dezember 1916 in Nowa Huta in der Nähe von Kartuzy/Karthaus in einer kaschubischen Familie als Sohn von Stanisław und Anastazja geborene Baranowska geboren. Seine ersten Lehrer – so betonte Professor Labuda in seinen Erinnerungen – waren eben die Eltern: „meine Mutti hatte mir die Schreibkenntnisse beigebracht, und dies von Anfang an in schöner, kaligraphischer Deutschen Schrift, so wie sie selbst in der preußischen Schule erlernt hatte, als sie mich Fragmente eines deutschen Kochbuches abschreiben ließ; sie war eine äußerst anspruchsvolle Lehrerin [...] In den späteren Jahren verbesserte ich meine Schreib- und Lesekenntnisse unter Aufsicht meines Vaters, der alle näheren und weitläufigeren Nachbarn in gerichtlichen und Schiedssachen beriet, an allerart Kreis- und Gemeindefitzungen das Wort ergriff und mich nach seinem Diktat Widersprüche, Beschwerden, Klageschriften und Petitionen schreiben ließ“<sup>1</sup>.

Als er im Alter von 8 Jahren die vierklassige Schule zu besuchen begann, konnte er bereits schreiben und fließend deutsch und polnisch lesen. Seine hervorragenden Fähigkeiten entgingen nicht der Aufmerksamkeit seiner Lehrer in Luzino. Nach einem Monat ließen sie den neuen Schüler in die zweite und nach wenigen Wochen in die dritte Klasse versetzen. Zu jener Zeit – so erinnerte er sich – lernte er einwandfrei polnisch lesen und schreiben: „die polnische Sprache kannte ich lediglich aus den Predigten in der Kirche sowie aus meinem Gebetbuch, weil ich jedes Wort auf kaschubische Art vorlas und aussprach, wobei sich meine Orthografie von den Regeln der polnischen Rechtschreibung stark unterschied“<sup>2</sup>. In der Grundschule – so

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1 G. Labuda, *Dzieje wsi Luzino do schyłku XIX wieku*, Luzino 1995, S. 5.

2 Ibidem, S. 5-6.

schrieb Labuda selbst – fungierte er hauptsächlich als Autodidakt. Er las beinahe alles, was ihm in die Hände fiel, mit Zeitungen, marianischen Kalendern und den *Heiligenleben* Piotr Skargas beginnend, bis auf die ernsteren Lektüren, wie die Werke von Sienkiewicz<sup>3</sup>. Jeden Tag, als er zur Schule lief, besuchte er Feliks Dampc<sup>4</sup>, der ihm zahlreiche polnische Lektüren anbot. Er hat sich auch mit der gesamten Buchsammlung der hiesigen Abteilung der Gesellschaft der Volksleihbibliotheken (Towarzystwo Czytelni Ludowych/ /TCL) bekannt gemacht.

Nach dem Abschluss der Grundschule überzeugte Labudas Lehrer Walerian Meier seine Eltern, dass der Junge, angesichts seiner außerordentlichen Begabungen, die Lehre im klassischen Jan-Sobieski-Gymnasium in Wejherowo fortsetzen soll. Unter dem Einfluss seines Geschichtslehrers, Kazimierz Łomniewski, Doktor für Landeskunde und künftig Gründer der Danziger Schule der Ozeanografie, kamen Gerard Labudas Interessen an Geschichte erst im vollen Umfang zum Vorschein<sup>5</sup>. Zum Gegenstand seiner wissenschaftlichen Arbeit, die er als Historiker mit leidenschaftlicher Hingabe unternahm, wählte Labuda zuerst die Geschichte der Stadt Wejherowo. Er sammelte zahlreiche Dokumente vor Ort, dann entschloss er sich, nach dem zusätzlichen Material im Staatsarchiv der Freien Stadt Danzig zu suchen. Wie groß muss wohl das Erstaunen der deutschen Archivare wegen dieses ungewöhnlichen Besuches gewesen sein: der Besucher wurde nach seinem „Ausweis“ gefragt und da er wegen seines jungen Alters keinen Ausweis hatte, lautete die eindeutige Antwort: „Kein Eintritt“<sup>6</sup>. Der junge Gymnasiast ließ sich dadurch gar nicht entmutigen und besuchte demnächst die Danziger Buchhandlungen, wo er einige Bände der Zeitschrift des Preußischen Geschichtsvereins wie auch manche Aufsätze des deutschen Gelehrten Max Perlbach kaufte. Er erzählte mir, er pflegte diese Lektüre während des Unterrichts unter der Schulbank heimlich zu lesen. Im Jahre 1935, noch als

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3 *Wśród ksiąg. Z profesorem Gerardem Labudą rozmawia Tomasz Agatowski*, in: *Aere perennius. Profesorowi Gerardowi Labudzie dnia 28 XII w hołdzie*, Poznań 2001, S. 344; M. Kosman, *Gerard Labuda – człowiek i dzieło w 90. rocznicę urodzin*, „Przegląd Zachodni” (2006) 1, S. 34; G. Labuda, *Dzieje wsi Luzino...*, S. 5-6. Es wäre hierbei darauf hinzuweisen, dass bis zur Veröffentlichung der *Romantrilogie* von Sienkiewicz die *Heiligenleben* von Piotr Skarga wohl als die meistgelesene polnischsprachige Buchausgabe galt.

4 Einwohner des Dorfes Luzino, einst Zuhörer des Lehrerseminars, der aus finanziellen Gründen seine Lehre unterbrechen musste.

5 Kazimierz Łomniewski war nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg Professor an der Hochschule für Pädagogik (Wyższa Szkoła Pedagogiczna/WSP), und dann an der Universität in Gdańsk.

6 Darüber erzählte mir Professor Gerard Labuda persönlich, als ich als Dekan der Historischen Fakultät der Posener Universität (Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu/ /UAM) 1996 Materialien zu einer Festrede angesichts des 80. Jubiläums Professor Labudas sammelte.

Gymnasiast, ließ Gerard Labuda seinen ersten Aufsatz unter dem Decknamen Henryk Gerla veröffentlichen, in dem er sich mit einer Publikation Stefan Noseks, zu jener Zeit eines jungen Archäologen an der Jagiellonischen Universität, des künftigen Gründers der Lubliner Schule der Archäologie, kritisch auseinandersetzte. Zum Gegenstand der Polemik wurde das Problem des heidnischen Glaubens in der slawischen Frühgeschichte<sup>7</sup>.

Kurz vor seiner Abiturprüfung, als er die ehemalige Franziskanerbibliothek ordnete, fand Labuda das zweite Exemplar der *Chronik der Franziskaner zu Wejherowo*, erfasst vom hiesigen Guardian Gregor von Danzig, und eben zu dieser Chronik kehrte er nach über vierzig Jahren wieder<sup>8</sup>, um sie endgültig 1996, das heißt sechzig Jahre nach deren Entdeckung, herauszugeben<sup>9</sup>.

1936 fuhr Labuda nach Poznań/Posen, um dort Geschichte zu studieren. Er brachte mit sich die bereits fertig redigierte Genealogie der Pommerschen Herzöge, die später jemand anderer veröffentlichte und sich Professor Labuda für seine Hilfe in der Einleitung bedankte<sup>10</sup>. Noch im ersten Studienjahr schlug Professor Leon Koczy dem Studenten Gerard Labuda vor, ein kurzes Referat über Christian Bischof von Preußen vorzubereiten. Innerhalb von beinahe vier Monaten verwandelte sich „das kurze Referat“ in eine umfangreiche Monographie, die – wie es sich letzten Endes erwies – über 230 Druckseiten umfasste<sup>11</sup>. Die Überraschung war riesig. Was hierbei zu betonen sei, waren weder der Umfang des Aufsatzes noch die Tatsache dessen Veröffentlichung am wichtigsten, sondern der wissenschaftliche Wert der Abhandlung. In dieser Hinsicht schlug sie nicht nur die gesamte bisherige polnische Historiografie aufs Haupt, sondern reichte in vielerlei Hinsicht an die früher schon erwähnte ausgezeichnete Abhandlungen Max Perlbachs heran oder sogar – an manchen Stellen – übertraf sie dessen Leistungen. Der Autor wusste sich nicht nur fabelhaft mit dem außerordentlich umfang-

7 H. Gerla, *Na marginesie „Wierzeń religijnych naszych praojców Słowian“* [Stefana Noska], „Kurier Literacko-Naukowy“ (dodatek do Ilustrowanego Kuriera Codziennego) von 6 Mai 1935, S. XII-XIII.

8 *Kronika franciszkanów wejherowskich – zapoznany zabytek historiografii klasztornej z połowy XVII wieku. Nachtrag: Obrona Pucka w roku 1655-1656 w kronice o. Grzegorza Gdańskiego*, „Studia Polonistyczne“ V (1977 [1978]), S. 49-65.

9 O[]jca Grzegorza Gdańskiego *Kronika klasztoru franciszkanów ściślejszej obserwancji w Wejherowie w latach 1633-1676 = Liber seu Matricula conventus ordinis fratrum minorum strictioris observantiae ac totius fundationis Weiheropolitanae (in annis 1633-1676) auctore Gregorio Gedanense*, hrsg. von G. Labuda, der lateinische Text, abgelesen von Pater P. Turbański und G. Labuda, überprüft und festgesetzt von K. Głombiowski, polnische Übersetzung von Pater P. Turbański, überprüft und ergänzt von K. Głombiowski, unter Mitwirkung von Pater A.J. Szeinke, Wejherowo 1996, S. 302.

10 Es ist mir nicht gelungen, diese Publikation zu identifizieren.

11 G. Labuda, *Polska i krzyżacka misja w Prusach do połowy XIII wieku*, „Annales Missiologicae“ IX (1937), S. 201-435.



reichen polnischen und deutschen Forschungsstand zu helfen, sondern beschäftigte sich vor allem mit einer äußerst genauen Analyse der Dokumente, und zwar hauptsächlich der päpstlichen Bullen. Die aufmerksame Lektüre von päpstlichen Urkunden erlaubte dem jungen Forscher durchaus neue und präzise Schlussfolgerungen zu ziehen. Ein Jahr später erschien in den Spalten der „Roczniki Historyczne“ eine weitere „studentische“ Abhandlung Gerard Labudas, gewidmet den Anfängen des Magdeburger Erzbistums und der frühesten Geschichte des Bistums Posen<sup>12</sup>. Diesmal folgte der Autor dem deutschen Forscher Paul Kehr, dessen wissenschaftliche Ergebnisse er um neue Argumente erweiterte, die im Laufe einer äußerst eingehenden Quellenanalyse, vor allem der Analyse päpstlicher Dokumente, erarbeitet wurden. Hervorragende Lateinkenntnisse und außerordentliche Scharfsinnigkeit des jungen Forschers ließen eine ausgezeichnete Abhandlung entstehen<sup>13</sup>.

Im Frühling 1938, auf Empfehlung Professor Kazimierz Tymienieckis hin, half Labuda Józef Kisielewski bei der Entstehung und Redigierung des berühmten Buches *Die Erde speichert die Aschen*, das in Posen am Vortage des Ausbruchs des Zweiten Weltkrieges herausgegeben wurde<sup>14</sup>. Wegen des Besitzes dieses Buches wurde man während der Okkupation in Konzentrationslager verschickt, und dessen Autor wie auch seine Mitarbeiter (Józef Kostrzewski und Gerard Labuda) wurden polizeilich gesucht und für Reichsfeinde anerkannt.

Das Schuljahr 1938/1939, sein drittes Studienjahr, verbrachte Labuda in Schweden an der Universität Lund. Dort lernte er blitzschnell Schwedisch, Dänisch und Norwegisch. Wie er selbst in einer Radiosendung erzählte, erwiesen sich die Übersetzungen der Werke von Sienkiewicz besonders hilfreich beim Erlernen skandinavischer Sprachen. Die schwedische Sprache beherrschte er dermaßen, dass mir Sven Ahlgren, einer der jüngeren Schüler Knut Falks, des berühmten schwedischen Slawisten, beinahe vor dreißig Jahren derart davon erzählte: „Labuda sei der einzige Pole, der ohne polnischen Akzent Schwedisch sprechen kann“. An der Universität Lund arbeitete Labuda an seiner Dissertation über polnisch-skandinavische Beziehungen. Im Sommer 1939, kurz vor Beginn des Zweiten Weltkrieges, kehrte er nach Polen und legte seine fertig geschriebene Dissertationsarbeit in seinem Dekanat vor<sup>15</sup>. Bedauerlicherweise ist diese Arbeit infolge von

<sup>12</sup> G. Labuda, *Magdeburg i Poznań (Założenie arcybiskupstwa magdeburskiego i biskupstwa poznańskiego na tle wschodniej polityki misyjnej Ottona Wielkiego)*, „Roczniki Historyczne“ XIV (1938) 2, S. 185-238.

<sup>13</sup> Vgl. R. Michałowski, *Początki państwa polskiego w badaniach naukowych Gerarda Labudy*, in: *Naukowe dzieło Profesora Gerarda Labudy*, hrsg. von J. Dobosz, Poznań 2006, S. 71-72.

<sup>14</sup> J. Kisielewski, *Ziemia gromadzi prochy*, Poznań [1939].

<sup>15</sup> T. Schramm, *Gerard Labuda – zarys biografii*, in: *Naukowe dzieło Profesora...*, S. 10.

Kriegeshandlungen verloren gegangen, gleich wie das sich im Besitz des Autors befindende Exemplar.

Nachdem Deutschland Polen überfallen hatte, brachte Gerard Labuda zusammen mit einer Gruppe junger Kameraden von der Akademischen Legion am 3. September 1939 aus Posen in Richtung Warschau mit der Absicht auf, sich den polnischen Truppen anzuschließen und am Kampf gegen die deutschen Truppen teilzunehmen. Keine Militärabteilung wollte die Freiwilligen aufnehmen und so kamen sie endlich in Warschau an. Nachdem sie Warschau verlassen hatten, wanderten sie weiter nach Nordosten. Unterwegs schlossen sie sich einer Abteilung des IX. Korps an, das unter General Franciszek Kleeberg kämpfte. In der Nähe von Stoczek geriet Gerard Labuda zusammen mit anderen Zivilinfranteristen in die deutsche Kriegsgefangenschaft. Die ganze Gruppe marschierte beinahe 250 km bis auf Iława Pruska/Preußisch Eylau (heute Bagrationowsk in der zu Russland gehörenden Oblast Kaliningrad). Von hier aus wurde Gerard Labuda zusammen mit einer recht zahlreichen Gruppe der zivilen Gefangenen nach Stablack (heute Stabląwki, Gemeinde Górowo Iławickie) mit dem Zug befördert. Labuda wurde gemeinsam mit anderen Häftlingen im Stalag I A unterbracht. Zwei Jahre vor seinem Tod erzählte mir Professor Labuda, es war ein leeres Feld ohne irgendwelche Gebäude für Häftlinge. Das ganze Gelände war mit Stacheldraht umgeben und die Gefangenen schliefen auf der blanken Erde im Freien. Professor Labuda erzählte: „in unserer Gruppe war auch ein Arzt, er hieß Mały. Er riet uns, wir sollen nicht auf der linken Körperseite liegen, wo sich das Herz befindet“. Professor Labuda fügte dann hinzu, er verbrachte im Lager lediglich wenige Wochen, seit dieser Zeit litt er jedoch lebenslang an Wirbelsäuleschmerzen. Nach einigen Wochen schlugen die Deutschen den polnischen Häftlingen vor, sie können in den deutschen landwirtschaftlichen Gütern im Reich Kartoffeln ernten. Am Anfang Novembers wurden etwa dreitausend Häftlinge, die für angebliche Kartoffelernte ausgewählt wurden, zu Fuß nach Tczew/Dirschau getrieben. Während der Beladung der Güterwagen bat Labuda eine zufällig getroffene Frau, sie wolle ihn durch die Sperre, das heißt durch eine Pforte, bei der Fahrkarten kontrolliert wurden, begleiten. Mehrere Häftlinge von diesem Transport, so erwies sich dann später, gerieten ins Konzentrationslager Buchenwald. Gerard Labuda stieg in einen Zug nach Wejherowo ein und von hier aus ging er nach Kębłowo, wo sich damals seine Eltern aufhielten<sup>16</sup>. Der Aufenthalt im elterlichen Haus war für einen Flüchtling gar nicht sicher. Ein Haftbefehl war stets aktuell. Von der Gefahr der Verhaftung erfuhr Labuda durch Vermittlung zweier Pastoren, mit denen

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<sup>16</sup> Diese Informationen entstammen einer mündlichen Relation Professor Labudas, die von seinem Sohn Professor Aleksander Labuda aufgenommen wurde.

er noch vor dem Kriegesbeginn gemeinsam das Seminar Professor Karol Górskis besuchte. Er entschloss sich, nach Krakau zu fahren, wo – so erfuhr Labuda von Professor Wojtkowski – mit einiger Verspätung das akademische Schuljahr an der Jagiellonischen Universität beginnen sollte. So beschloss Labuda sich schnellstmöglich in die alte, am Wawel-Hügel gelegene Stadt zu begeben. Mit größter Mühe gelang es ihm einen Passierschein zu erwerben, dank dem er sich im Generalgouvernement aufhalten konnte<sup>17</sup>. Unterwegs, in Breslau, ließ ihn die deutsche Gendarmerie sich ausweisen. Nachdem Labudas Papiere überprüft worden waren, wurde er als Pole aufgefordert, das Bahnhofgebäude zu verlassen und den Zug außen zu erwarten<sup>18</sup>. Als sich in Krakau erwies, dass die Nachrichten über die Inauguration des normalen Studienganges an der Jagiellonischen Universität durchaus falsch waren, traf Gerard Labuda alle möglichen Maßnahmen, die ihm erlauben würden, sich der polnischen Armee in Frankreich anzuschließen<sup>19</sup>. Als der Plan misslang (inzwischen hörte er den geheimen Vorlesungen an der Jagiellonischen Universität zu<sup>20</sup>), wandte er sich an Markgräfin Wielopolska mit der Bitte, ihn mit der Ordnung des Archivs zu beauftragen, welche Aufgabe er noch vor dem Kriegesausbruch auf Empfehlung Professor Adam Skałkowskis angefangen hatte. Professor Skałkowski unterstützte Gerard Labuda noch zur Zeit seines Studiums in Posen. Er stiftete sogar ein bescheidenes Stipendium für Labuda und 1939 nahm er ihn mit sich nach Chrobrze, wo ihm Labuda bei der Arbeit an der Monographie Adam Wielopolskis behilflich war<sup>21</sup>. Während seines Aufenthalts in Chrobrze, schon während des Krieges, arbeitete Labuda im Majoratgut der Familie Myszkowski, zunächst als Archivar, und dann unterrichtete er die jungen Wielopolskis in Deutsch<sup>22</sup>. Nach der Enteignung des Gutes durch die deutsche Besatzungsverwaltung wurde er offiziell als Buchhalter beschäftigt. 1996 erwähnte Professor Labuda in einem Gespräch mit mir, er leitete und koordinierte damals die Arbeit von insgesamt 16 Unternehmen, die einst dem Majoratgut der Familie Myszkowski gehörten.

Gerard Labuda beteiligte sich an der lokalen Widerstandsbewegung, indem er mittels eines Vervielfältigungsapparates das illegale Bulletin

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17 M. Kosman, op.cit., S. 40.

18 Daran erinnerte sich Professor Labuda in September 1999 in Breslau, als er seine Rede während des 16. Allgemeinen Polnischen Historikertages (Powszechny Zjazd Historyków Polskich/PZHP) im Zusammenhang mit der ihm von der Breslauer Universität verliehenen Ehrenwürde des Doktors *honoris causa* hielt.

19 G. Labuda, *Tygodnik konspiracyjny Armii Krajowej Ziemi Pińczowskiej (Chroberz lipiec 1943 - styczeń 1945)*, in: J. Kubin, *Powstańcze reportaże z Żoliborza ze wspomnieniami K. Dunin-7-Wąsowicza i G. Labudy*, Warszawa 2004, S. 8.

20 T. Schramm, op. cit., S. 10.

21 M. Bajer, *Labudowie*, I: Spotkanie, „Forum Akademickie” VII/VIII (2007), S. 74-75.

22 M. Kosman, op.cit., S. 40.

(„Biuletyn“) der geheimen Armee des Pińczów-Landes herausgab. Während des Krieges, trotz der schweren Arbeits- und Lebensbedingungen, vergaß Labuda nicht über seine wissenschaftlichen Pflichten. 1943 wurde Labuda an der geheimen Universität der Westgebiete unter strengsten konspirativen Bedingungen promoviert und dann – es ist wohl kein Irrtum – wird ihm der Magistergrad verliehen. Das Doktordiplom wurde jedoch erst im Jahre 1945 ausgestellt. Seine Dissertationsabhandlung verteidigte Labuda in einer einfachen Bauernhütte in der Umgebung von Kielce; dorthin fuhr der künftige Doktor mit einer Kutsche. Während der deutschen Besatzung war Labuda als Lehrbeauftragter an der Filiale der Geheimen Universität in Kielce tätig.

Während seines Aufenthalts in Chrobrze lernte Gerard Labuda Alberta Wielopolska (1917-1999) kennen, die Urenkelin des Markgrafen Aleksander, Absolventin der Romanistik an der Lemberger Universität, die er 1943 heiratete. Aus dieser Ehe gingen fünf Kinder hervor: Aleksander Wit, geboren 1944, Romanist und Polonist, z. Z. Professor an der Breslauer Universität; Iwo, geboren 1945, Mathematiker, heute Professor an der University of Mississippi; Adam, geboren 1946, Kunsthistoriker, Professor an der Adam-Mickiewicz-Universität in Posen und in den Jahren 1995-2009 an der Humboldt-Universität in Berlin; Damian, geboren 1949, Genetiker, Professor an der Université de Montréal in Kanada sowie Forscher in der Pädiatrischen Abteilung und im Forschungszentrum des Sainte-Justine-Krankenhauses sowie Anastazja, geboren 1953, Kunsthistorikerin, wissenschaftliche Mitarbeiterin des Amtes für Denkmalpflege des Kantons Genf. Am Rande sei hierbei hinzuzufügen, dass auch Alberta Labuda, Gerard Labudas Ehefrau, wissenschaftlich tätig war: in den Jahren 1945-1976 las sie französische Literaturgeschichte vor, und dies zunächst am Lehrstuhl und seit 1969 im Institut für Romanische Philologie an der Adam-Mickiewicz-Universität in Posen (mit einer Unterbrechung in der Zeit 1952-1957, als die Tätigkeit des Lehrstuhls eingestellt wurde).

Noch zur Zeit der deutschen Besatzung bereitete Gerard Labuda seine Habilitationsarbeit vor, die jedoch im Laufe von Kriegeshandlungen teilweise vernichtet wurde<sup>23</sup>. Nach seiner Rückkehr nach Posen beginnt der rasche wissenschaftliche Aufstieg Professor Labudas. 1946 habilitierte er sich mit der Abhandlung *Studien zur Frühgeschichte des polnischen Staates*, im selben Jahr übernahm er den Lehrstuhl für westslawische Geschichte. Nachdem der Lehrstuhl aus politischen Gründen aufgelöst worden war, wurde Labuda zum Leiter des Lehrstuhls für Polnische Geschichte. Seine Hauptsorge in den ersten Nachkriegsjahren galt der Wiederherstellung der zur Zeit der Besatzung verbrannten Bibliothek des Historischen Seminars der Posener

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23 T. Schramm, op.cit., S. 10.

Universität. Auf eigenem Rücken brachte er Bücher aus ganz Polen herbei. Heute noch stellen sie die wichtigste Grundlage der Bibliothek des Historischen Instituts dar. Diese Anstrengung, die des Einsatzes aller körperlichen Kräfte bedurfte, wie auch das mehrere Stunden dauernde Hin- und Herfahren mit ungeheizten Zügen in der Suche nach den neuen Erwerben für die Bibliothek, ruinierten die Gesundheit Professor Labudas. Sein Gesundheitszustand verschlechterte sich dermaßen, dass er gezwungen war, auf beinahe jede berufliche Aktivität für mehrere Monate zu verzichten. Er verzichtete auch auf das von ihm bekleidete Amt des Prodekans der Historischen Fakultät. Zu jener Zeit, es war 1949, beabsichtigten die Staatsbehörden Gerard Labuda wegen seiner Ehe mit einer Markgräfin seines Postens zu entheben. Die geplante Entlassung kam nur deswegen nicht zustande, weil ihm eine Staatsauszeichnung des III. Grades verliehen wurde<sup>24</sup>.

1950 wurde Gerard Labuda der Titel des außerordentlichen und 1956 des ordentlichen Professors verliehen. Auf die hervorragenden wissenschaftlichen Leistungen Professor Gerard Labudas verwies das sich zu jener Zeit wohl des höchsten Prestiges erfreuende wissenschaftliche Gremium – die Polnische Akademie der Künste und Wissenschaften (Polska Akademia Umiejętności/PAU) mit dem Sitz in Krakau. Im Jahre 1951, im 35. Lebensjahr, wurde Professor Gerard Labuda zum korrespondierenden Mitglied der Akademie gewählt. Bedauerlicherweise musste die Polnische Akademie der Künste und Wissenschaften ein Jahr später aus politischen Gründen ihre Tätigkeit einstellen.

Eine durchaus neue Erfahrung in den organisatorischen Aktivitäten Professor Labudas war die von ihm 1955 übernommene Funktion des stellvertretenden Direktors des Westinstituts (Instytut Zachodni). Als Professor Labuda diese Funktion übernahm, war das Institut der Auflösung nahe. Es verfügte lediglich über anderthalb wissenschaftliche Planstellen. Dank dem Engagement und dem diplomatischen Talent Professor Gerard Labudas wie auch Professor Kazimierz Piwarskis gelang es, intensive wissenschaftliche und Verlagstätigkeit wieder zu beleben. 1958 wurde Gerard Labuda zum Direktor des Westinstituts und er bekleidete dieses Amt bis 1961.

Eben in diesem Jahre wurde plötzlich und durchaus unerwartet die weitere Existenz der ältesten wissenschaftlichen Einrichtung Posens in Frage gestellt: der Posener Gesellschaft der Freunde der Wissenschaften (Poznańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk/PTPN). Die Behörden beschloßen, diese so sehr für die polnische Wissenschaft verdiente Einrichtung zu schließen, nachdem einer der Professoren der Posener Technischen Hochschule auf dem Forum der Gesellschaft einen Vortrag gelesen hatte, in dem

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24 M. Kosman, *op.cit.*, S. 42.

er auf die Möglichkeit verwies, eine der wichtigeren Verkehrsstraßen in Posen so zu projektieren, damit sie den historischen Kirchengebäudekomplex der Dominsel (Ostrów Tumski) unversehrt bleiben ließ. Die Situation erwies sich so ernsthaft, dass die Mitglieder der Gesellschaft, indem sie die Gesellschaft retten wollten, zum Sekretär der Gesellschaft Professor Gerard Labuda wählten, und dies in Abwesenheit des Kandidaten, der zu jener Zeit in Frankreich verweilte. Nach seiner Rückkehr überzeugte Professor Labuda die lokale Verwaltung nicht nur von der Sinnlosigkeit der bereits getroffenen Entscheidung, sondern er begab sich nach Warschau und dort gelang es ihm das Unmögliche zu verrichten: Er führte zur Annullierung des Beschlusses des Politbüros der Vereinigten Polnischen Arbeiterpartei (Polska Zjednoczona Partia Robotnicza/PZPR). Die Parteibehörde kam zu jener Zeit zu der Erkenntnis, dass es in der UdSSR keine wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaften gab und sie zog einen entsprechenden Schluss daraus. Professor Labuda gelang es, ins Gebäude des Zentralkomitees – wie er erzählte: „durch die Küchentür“ – einzudringen und dort überzeugte er den Parteisekretär Zenon Nowak davon, dass man sich von diesem Beschluss zurückziehen sollte. Die Überzeugungsgabe Professor Labudas brachte erfolgreiche Ergebnisse und kurz danach verzichtete das Politbüro auf die Absicht, alle wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaften in Polen aufzulösen.

Die organisatorische Tätigkeit Professor Labudas im Westinstitut sowie in der Posener Gesellschaft der Freunde der Wissenschaften wusste der Senat der Posener Universität hochzuschätzen. Am 5. Mai 1962 wurde Labuda zum Rektor der Universität gewählt. Unter zahlreichen Verdiensten Professor Labudas bei der Ausübung seiner neuen Rolle soll vor allem die Berufung des Rektoratskollegiums wie auch des Rektorenkollegiums der Stadt Posen erwähnt werden. Es trug nicht nur zur deutlichen Rationalisierung der Tätigkeit der Posener Universität, sondern vor allem zur Integrierung des wissenschaftlichen Milieus Posens bei. Der neue Rektor bemühte sich darum, zunächst eine langfristige Entwicklungsstrategie der Adam-Mickiewicz-Universität Posen zu erarbeiten und dann diese Strategie erfolgreich durchzusetzen. Auf seine Anregung hin entstanden die Baupläne des Universitätscampus, der anfänglich im Posener Bezirk Marcelin erbaut werden sollte.

Man kann sich auch nicht über die organisatorischen Aktivitäten Professor Labudas bei der Polnischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Polska Akademia Nauk/PAN) hinwegsetzen. 1953 wurde Labuda zum Leiter des Lehrstuhls für Geschichte Pommerns, 1964 wurde er zum korrespondierenden und 1966 zum ordentlichen Mitglied der Polnischen Akademie der Wissenschaften gewählt. In den Jahren 1972-1980 arbeitete er als Vorsitzender der Posener PAN-Abteilung und in den Jahren 1984-1986 war er stellvertretender Vorsitzender der Polnischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Die aktive

Mitwirkung an den Vorhaben der Polnischen Akademie der Wissenschaften erlaubte Professor Labuda politische Unannehmlichkeiten zu überstehen, die er wegen politischer Aktivitäten seiner Söhne in März 1968 erfuhr. Im Zusammenhang damit zum Erscheinen im Ministerium aufgefordert, stellte er fest, dass „sich seine Söhne als Söhne des ehemaligen Rektors für den richtigen Platz auf der richtigen Seite entschieden haben“. Infolge dieser Stellungnahme verbot ihm die Kommission des stellvertretenden Ministers Mistewicz an der Posener Universität weiterhin zu lehren<sup>25</sup>. Dank der Entscheidung des damaligen Ministers Henryk Jabłoński wurde Labuda jedoch von der Universitätsprofessur offiziell beurlaubt und dies bis zu seiner Pensionierung im Jahre 1986. Während dieses Urlaubs leitete Gerard Labuda den Lehrstuhl für Allgemeine und Polnische Geschichte bis 15. Jahrhundert, er hielt Vorträge über allgemeine mittelalterliche Geschichte im Rahmen des Direktstudiums und beteiligte sich auch an den Sitzungen des wissenschaftlichen Rates. Auf diese Sitzungen bereitete er sich immer außerordentlich sorgfältig vor. Vor jedem Habilitationskolloquium las er die Abhandlung und die wichtigeren Publikationen des Habilitanten, auch wenn die Problematik dieser Arbeiten gar nicht zum Interessenkreis Professor Labudas gehörte. Den jungen Gelehrten gegenüber, die ihre wissenschaftliche Laufbahn erst betraten, war Gerard Labuda immer wohlgesinnt, aber die Prozeduren des Habilitationskolloquiums behandelte er immer mit vollem Ernst.

Damals führte Professor Labuda kein regelmäßiges Seminar für Magistern und Doktoranden, obwohl er auch zu dieser Zeit mehrere junge Historiker promovierte, darunter auch den Autor dieser Erinnerung. Zahlreiche junge wissenschaftliche Mitarbeiter des Historischen Instituts konnten an den Sitzungen des Lehrstuhls für Allgemeine Geschichte teilnehmen und bei dieser Gelegenheit ihre methodischen und beruflichen Kenntnisse vervollkommen. Wissenschaftliche Sitzungen des Lehrstuhls fanden mindestens einmal monatlich im Collegium Novum, Raum Nr. 314 statt. Jedes Zusammentreffen kennzeichnete sich durch eine bestimmte „Liturgie“. Professor Labuda nahm seinen Platz am Schreibtisch, auf einem „modernen“, ergonomischen Stuhl, der mit einem Kunststoff bedeckt war, das wohl auf das heutige Wachstuch erinnerte<sup>26</sup>. Am Tisch nahmen die selbständigen

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25 T. Schramm, op.cit., S. 18.

26 Professor Gerard Labuda legte einen gewissen Wert auf die bescheidene Ausstattung seines Zimmers im Collegium Novum (Raum Nr. 314). Als Dozentin Jadwiga Krzyżaniakowa als Dekanin der Historischen Fakultät die bisherigen Möbel durch elegantere und besser gepflegte ersetzen ließ, sagte Professor Labuda nachdenklich: „das ist schon nicht für mich, vielmehr für meinen Nachfolger“. Andererseits galt Professor Labuda als Befürworter allerart technischer Neuigkeiten. Er begann sehr schnell eine elektrische Schreibmaschine benutzen. In seiner Wohnung verfügte er über mehrere „Arbeitsplätze“, das heißt Schreibtische, auf denen sich verschiedene Schreibmaschinen usw. befanden.

wissenschaftliche Mitarbeiter und Doktoren Platz, zu jener Zeit gehörten zu diesem Gremium: Prof. Brygida Kürbis, Doz. Jadwiga Krzyżaniakowa, Dr. Zbigniew Wielgosz, Dr. Jerzy Strzelczyk. Im weiteren Kreis, rund um den Raum, dicht an den Wänden saßen die zahlreich vertretenen Assistenten. Gar nicht selten beteiligten sich an den Sitzungen des Lehrstuhls auch die zahlreichen Gäste, u.a. Doz. Helena Chłopocka, Mag. Ryszard Walczak u.a.m. Die angesichts dieser Zusammentreffen erörterten Probleme waren recht unterschiedlich. Nach dem Vortrag ergriffen die einzelnen Teilnehmer das Wort, und zum Abschluss der Diskussion äußerte sich immer Professor Labuda. Er versuchte, den Vortragenden in dreierlei Hinsicht zu helfen. Erstens ging er immer an die Tafel und zeichnete ein Modell, das eine höchst vielseitige Verallgemeinerung des erörterten Problems ermöglichte. Zweitens verwies er auf methodische und methodologische Aspekte des Problems. Auf dieser Etappe erfuhren wir, wie man praktisch eine Chronik bzw. ein Dokument auswerten sollte, das beispielsweise ein Falsifikat war. Und drittens widmete Professor Labuda seine Aufmerksamkeit den strikten inhaltlichen und detaillierten Problemen.

Als Vortragender beteiligte sich an den Sitzungen nicht selten selbst Professor Labuda. Nach einer kurzen Einleitung begann er seine Abhandlung vorzulesen, dabei trug er manche Korrekturen in den Text ein. Nach wenigen Minuten verzichtete er jedoch auf den geschriebenen Text und trug weiter frei vor. Während dieser Vorlesungen konnten wir die neuesten Abhandlungen Professor Labudas kennen lernen, häufig waren es Arbeiten, wie diejenige über den Heiligen Stanislaus, die erst nach einigen oder sogar nach einigen zehn Jahren veröffentlicht wurden. Während seiner Vorträge erwies Professor Labuda meistens sein polemisches Temperament, indem er sich dabei viel schärfer gegen seine Gegner äußerte (immer mit großem Taktgefühl), als das man später in der Druckausgabe lesen konnte. In seinen Vorträgen wie auch bei Besuchen in seinem Zuhause konnte man immer seinen wunderbaren Sinn für Humor spüren.

In Ausnahmefällen beteiligten sich an solchen Sitzungen unseres Lehrstuhls auch Gäste aus anderen polnischen Hochschulen. Ich erinnere mich an einen Vortrag Professor Labudas, etwa in der zweiten Hälfte der 70er Jahre, in dem er die Tagung zu Gaşawa, und eigentlich das Problem des Todesdatums Leszek I. des Weißen erörterte. Zu dieser Vorlesung kamen aus

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Ich erinnere mich auch an den jährlichen Aufenthalt Professor Labudas in Berlin: In einem ausgezeichnet ausgerüsteten Appartement bediente er sehr geschicklich die modernen Haushaltsgeräte, die auf eine recht komplizierte Weise programmiert werden sollten. Niemals entschied er sich jedoch dafür, seine Schreibmaschine durch einen Computer zu ersetzen. Es war dadurch zu begründen, dass Professor Labuda manche Probleme mit seinem Sichtvermögen hatte, die teilweise auf einen Unfall im Kindesalter zurückzuführen wären.



Warschau Professor Benedykt Zientara und Professor Henryk Samsonowicz. Professor Labuda begann mit der Feststellung, er wollte eigentlich seinen Aufsatz bereits in den späteren 60er Jahren im Druck erscheinen lassen. Völlig unerwartet äußerte sich jedoch hierzu der ehemalige Sekretär der Vereinigten Polnischen Arbeiterpartei Władysław Gomułka, angesichts einer Debatte mit den polnischen Intellektuellen, dass sich polnische Historiker mit solchem Unsinn, wie der Tod Leszek I. des Weißen keineswegs beschäftigen sollen! Nach dem Vortrag Professor Labudas entfaltete sich eine höchst interessante Diskussion unter Beteiligung der Warschauer Professoren.

Nach dem politischen Umbruch 1989 nahm Professor Labuda aktiv an der Reaktivierung der Polnischen Akademie der Künste und Wissenschaften (Polska Akademia Umiejętności/PAU) teil. Er wurde zum ersten Vorsitzenden der Akademie gewählt. Erfolgreich widersetzte er sich allerart Versuchen, die zum Ziel hatten, PAU als eine durchaus neue Institution ins Leben zu rufen.

Sogar in einer umfangreichen Erinnerung wäre es außerordentlich schwer, auch annähernd die wissenschaftlichen Interessen und Leistungen Professor Gerard Labudas ausführlich darzustellen. Sein Werk umfasst beinahe 2000 Publikationen, darunter einige zehn Bücher. Beinahe alle Aufsätze Professor Labudas sind als Entdeckungsarbeiten einzureihen, die die bisher herrschenden Festlegungen der nicht nur polnischen, sondern auch der ausländischen Historiographie durchaus ändern lassen.

In seinem wissenschaftlichen Ertrag sind mehrere Forschungsbereiche auszusondern. Auf der frühesten Etappe seiner wissenschaftlichen Arbeit konzentrierte er seine Aufmerksamkeit auf Geschichte Pommerns und des Deutschen Ordenstaates. Kurz danach widmete er sein Interesse der Frühgeschichte des polnischen Staates und Kirche. Bereits während des Studiums bereitete er seine Dissertationsarbeit vor, die er dem frühmittelalterlichen Skandinavien und dessen Beziehungen mit Polen und dem Slawentum widmete. 1949 erschien Labudas Abhandlung *Der erste slawische Reich. Samos Staat (Pierwsze państwo słowiańskie. Państwo Samona)*, die die lange Liste der der slawischen Geschichte gewidmeten Aufsätze eröffnet. Seit den Anfängen seiner wissenschaftlichen Arbeit erweckten die deutsch-polnischen Beziehungen sein besonderes Interesse. Eine Vollendung dieses Interessenkreises war die Abhandlung (*Polnische Westgrenze. Tausend Jahre politischer Geschichte (Polska granica zachodnia. Tysiąc lat dziejów politycznych, 1970)*). Besondere Aufmerksamkeit schenkte Professor Labuda solchen Interessenbereichen wie die Geschichte der Kultur und Diplomatie und schließlich auch die Quellenkunde, begleitet durch methodologische Reflexion und Geschichte der Historiographie.

Eine der höchst frappanten Eigenschaften des wissenschaftlichen Schaffens Professor Gerard Labudas war wohl die Tatsache, dass es sich beinahe immer mit den schwierigsten, meist verwickelten und komplizierten Ereignissen

nissen der polnischen und allgemeinen Geschichte beschäftigte. Wenn sich etwas in der Dämmerung der Vorzeit verlor, unsichtbar oder ungreifbar war oder als gewisser gordischer Knoten galt, erweckte es sofort das Interesse Professor Labudas. Zum Forschungsgegenstand wählte er immer die schwierigsten Probleme, indem er sich vom starken Willen leiten ließ, das Unbekannte zu erkennen. In seinem wissenschaftlichen Schaffen begleiteten ihn stets Neugier auf Weltgeschehen und Anteilnahme, Eigenschaften, die für große Gelehrte so charakteristisch sind. Dank seiner Scharfsichtigkeit und Gelehrsamkeit füllten sich die blanken oder unverständlichen Blätter der Geschichte mit durchsichtigen, klaren Ausführungen. Seine Gelehrsamkeit erlaubte Professor Labuda neue Tatsachen und Analogien herbeizurufen und seine Scharfsichtigkeit wie auch Verzicht auf allerart Schematismus ermöglichten, die früher unsichtbaren Zusammenhänge und Wechselbeziehungen zu bemerken und zum Vorschein zu bringen.

Das Fundament der wissenschaftlichen Forschungen Professor Labudas war der tiefe Humanismus, der ihn aufforderte, nach Antworten auf grundlegende Fragen zu suchen: Wer sind wir und welche ist unsere Stellung im Laufe der Geschichte. Professor Labuda erörterte dieses Problem auf vielerlei Ebenen: Der lokalen Gemeinschaft, der kleinen Heimat, der großen Heimat und der großen Gemeinschaft. Seine wichtigsten Arbeiten, obwohl gar nicht in der chronologischen Reihenfolge, lassen sich logisch einzuordnen und folgende Fragen zu beantworten: Wie waren die Anfänge des Slawentums? Wie war die Genese der slawischen Staatlichkeit? Wo kam der polnische Staat her? Was ist doch eigentlich das Kaschubentum und wie war die Geschichte seines Heimatsortes Luzino?

Indem man das historische Schriftwerk Professor Gerard Labudas charakterisiert, darf man ein weiteres sehr wichtiges Kennzeichen seines Schaffens nicht außer Acht lassen: Es ist seine echte Forschungsdemut und Verantwortung für das Wort. Es reichte ein einziger Zweifel, und ein Buch beziehungsweise ein Aufsatz mussten jahrelang auf deren Veröffentlichung warten, bis dieser Zweifel eindeutig geklärt worden war. Es war auch der eigentliche Grund hierfür, dass manche Bücher innerhalb von wenigen Monaten und die anderen innerhalb von einigen oder sogar einigen zehn Jahren entstanden.

Professor Gerard Labuda war außerdem ein berühmter Animateur des wissenschaftlichen Lebens, indem er nicht nur wichtige wissenschaftliche und administrative Funktionen erfüllte, sondern auch zahlreiche wissenschaftliche Vorhaben leitete oder zahlreiche wissenschaftliche Zeitschriften redigierte. Aus seiner Initiative entstanden und von ihm geleitet sind u. a. das mehrere Bände zählende *Wörterbuch der slawischen Altertümlichkeiten* (*Słownik starożytności słowiańskich*), *Geschichte Pommerns* (*Historia Pomorza*) oder *Geschichte der Diplomatie* (*Historia dyplomacji*). Er war Redaktionsmit-

glied mehrerer Zeitschriften, wobei er zwei hiervon für besonders wichtig hielt: Es waren „Roczniki Historyczne“ und „Studia Źródłoznawcze“. Die letztere Zeitschrift entstand aus der Initiative Professor Gerard Labudas und Professor Aleksander Gieysztor und diese beiden Wissenschaftler verliehen der Zeitschrift das eigentümliche Gepräge, das für die Zeitschrift bis heute kennzeichnend ist.

Er war großer Gelehrter und Humanist, der Wissenschaft und vor allem der wissenschaftlichen Forschung unbedingt ergeben. Ihnen widmete er beinahe ausschließlich die letzten Jahre seines Lebens. Um die Hälfte des Jahres 1990 begann Professor Labuda sich recht schnell aus allerart Aktivitäten zurückzuziehen, ausgenommen die wissenschaftliche Forschung. Immer seltener erschien er auf Zusammentreffen und wissenschaftlichen Feiern. Einmal im Jahr kam er jedoch immer zur Inauguration des akademischen Schuljahres an der Adam-Mickiewicz-Universität in Posen. Er wehrte sich mit aller Macht gegen Einladungen seitens der Rundfunk- und Fernsehjournalisten. Die auf diese Art und Weise gewonnene freie Zeit widmete er innerhalb von letzten zwanzig Jahren vollkommen der wissenschaftlichen Forschung. Auf Resultate musste man wohl nicht lange warten. Zu dieser Zeit erschien eine Reihe ausgezeichneter monographischer Studien und wichtiger Aufsätze. Hierbei sind insbesondere u.a. zu erwähnen: Zwei Auffassungen der Monographie über Mieszko II. und die Zeit des Umbruchs in der Geschichte des polnischen Staates (1992 und 1994), ein Buch über Luzino, den Heimatort Professor Labudas (1995), Franziskaner Chronik (1996), zwei Monographien über die kaschubische Geschichte (1996, 2006), zwei Monographien über den Heiligen Adalbertus (1997, 2000) sowie eine Monographie über den Heiligen Stanislaus (2000), eine Abhandlung über Mieszko I. (2002), ein Aufsatz über die Methodik der Geschichtsschreibung (2003), eine Quellenauswahl zur Erforschung des Slawentums (2003), historische Skizzen zum 10. und 11. Jahrhundert (2004), Studien zum Deutschen Orden (2007), eine Abhandlung über polnische Historiker (2010) sowie ein Versuch die Quellen neu zu systematisieren (2010). Professor Labuda war ein äußerst arbeitsamer Forscher, obzwar sich sein Gesundheitszustand in den letzteren Jahren dramatisch verschlechterte. Die Ärzte lassen ihn immer weniger arbeiten. Zu seinem Lebensende konnte er lediglich mit Hilfe eines starken Vergrößerungsglases lesen. Er ergab sich aber nie. Eines Tages – er meinte hierbei sein eigenes Leben – sagte er offen vor einem Publikum: „Die Fahne muss man immer hoch tragen, immer und bis zum Ende“. Er arbeitete allen Schwierigkeiten zum Trotz. Nur sein Gedächtnis und sein Verstand fungierten einwandfrei bis auf den letzten Tag. Im letzten Jahr seines Lebens konnte ich mit Professor Labuda mehrmals lange Gespräche führen. Er behielt klares Gedächtnis, so wie früher, und konnte alles auch so wie früher logisch betrachten.

Von seiner außerordentlichen Arbeitsamkeit und seinem tiefen Pflichtgefühl können zwei Tatsachen zeugen, die ich hierfür erwähnen möchte: Sein letztes Buch erschien genau am Tage seines Todes (er konnte es nicht mehr in die Hand nehmen). Als er sich dessen bewusst war, dass er die Inauguration des akademischen Schuljahres am 1. Oktober 2010 nicht erleben wird, schrieb er am Vortage einen Abschiedsbrief an den Rektor. Er starb am Inaugurationstag des neuen akademischen Schuljahres.

Tomasz Jasiński



## V. BOOK NOTICES

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Iwona Adamczyk, *Sztuka gotyku i renesansu. Katalog zbiorów Działu Sztuki Muzeum Śląska Cieszyńskiego. Malarstwo. Rzeźba. Rzemiosło artystyczne* (Gothic and Renaissance Art. A Catalogue of Art Collections in the Department of Art at the Museum of Cieszyn Silesia. Painting, Sculpture, Crafts), Cieszyn 2011, 224 pp., index of persons and geographical names, bibliography, black-and-white and colour illustrations.

A scientific catalogue of museum collections in Cieszyn containing, apart from an introduction with information about the origin of the monuments and the collection, notes concerning particular exhibits of which 13 pertain to painting, ten – to sculpture, and as many as 38 to crafts, i.a. pottery, weapons, furniture or gold artefacts. The mediaeval monuments discussed in the catalogue are chiefly remnants of the former outfitting of churches – painted or carved fragments of altars from the region of Cieszyn. Late mediaeval exhibits include several so-called Nurnberg bowls, a monstrance, a chalice with a paten and a censer. An exceptional exhibit connected with the workshop of Peter Parler is a statue of Madonna and Child from Cieszyn, of undetermined origin. The catalogue is bilingual (the English-language version starts on p. 162), a feature not mentioned either on the title page or the cover. An extensive collection of illustrations encompasses not merely monuments at the Cieszyn museum but also analogies or graphic models.

Bogusław Czechowicz

Agnieszka Bartoszewicz, *Piśmienność mieszczańska w późnośredniowiecznej Polsce* (The Literacy of the Townspeople in Late Mediaeval Poland), Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Warszawa 2012, 348 pp.

The author attempted to present the culture of writing in Polish towns from the mid-14<sup>th</sup> to the early 16<sup>th</sup> century. In doing so, she accepted a definition of literacy as “the ability to read and write influencing the world outlook, interpersonal relations and the organisation of society”. Her publication thus concerns writing as a tool of work and social communication. The author’s interests encompass mediaeval Poland, with the exception of Silesia and Prussia where the literacy of the townspeople represented a different level; on the other hand, she included Mazovia into her reflections.

The book is divided into five chapters, with the first characterising literate milieus in the towns, the *literati*. An essential part of this study is an analysis of the level of education, spanning from a parish school to a university. Distinct place has been assigned to Cracow and its role in creating the literacy of the burghers.

Chapter two considers the town chancery and the letters, documents or assorted town books produced therein. The author drew attention to guild documentation and attempts at chronicles made within the chancery.

Two successive chapters concern the “professionals of the written word”, in particular the town scribes as well as others whose writing skills became a profession. Here, the author presented the various categories of such persons and attempted to depict their place within the town community.

The last chapter focuses on the function fulfilled by writing in the life of the townspeople. The author analysed trade registers, letters, documents, and testaments. She also drew attention to the role of the book and in a separate sub-chapter considered the interesting question of women’s literacy. Finally, A. Bartoszewicz discussed the coexistence of Latin and native tongues in the city.

Marcin Sumowski

Zdeněk Beran, *Poslední páni z Michalovic. Jan IV. (+1435/1436) a Jindřich II. (1468)* (The Last Lords of Michalovice. John IV /+ 1435/1436/ and Jindřich II /1468/, České Budějovice 2011, 224 pp., bibliography, index of persons and geographical names, genealogical tables, black-and-white and colour illustrations, Zusammenfassung.

The book focuses on two generations of the lords of Michalovice, whose landed estates were concentrated in northern and southern Bohemia. The author started with a presentation of the source base, with a brief discussion of the 13<sup>th</sup>- and 14<sup>th</sup>-century history of the family and special attention paid to the administration of the scattered estates and the transformations of the coat of arms. Next, he considered the career of John IV known as Kruhlata, an adherent of King Sigismund Luxembourg, which resulted in considerable financial losses for the sake of the Hussites. This line was initially represented by Jindřich II, who with time opted for his own political path and joined the Calixtine faction of Jiří of Poděbrad while remaining a Catholic. At the time of King Vladislaus the Posthumous he was a member of the political elite of the realm and with time became increasingly involved in diplomacy. Although Jindřich II was closely associated with King Jiří he enjoyed the respect of the Catholic opposition. His last prominent deed was the defeat in 1468 of the Lusatian army marching towards Prague against Jiří, who several years earlier had been recognised by Rome as a heretic. Immediately afterwards, Jindřich II of Michalovice died without issue as the last member of his family.

The book offers insight into the domestic politics not only of Bohemia but the entire Bohemian Crown during the Hussite and post-Hussite era. Its assets lie in the fact that it embarked upon the topic of the Catholic gentry – the opponents of the Bohemian revolution, and set right the unambiguous image of the period, dominated by pro-Hussite influential researchers headed by František Palacky.

Bogusław Czechowicz

Piotr Bering, *Teatr w kronice. Studia nad dramatycznością kronik średniowiecznych* (The Theatre in the Chronicle. Studies on the Dramatic Qualities of Mediaeval Chronicles), Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM, Poznań 2013, 218 pp.

Analysing the scientific works of this author one may easily notice that the titular publication is a summary of his years-long studies on the theatre and narration forms in the Middle Ages, to which he admitted in the introduction. *Teatr w kronice* introduces the reader to newest research concerning theatrical qualities present in Polish and world mediaeval studies. By constantly expanding their boundaries they do not fear

the challenges of the interdisciplinary approach. Numerous analysed texts demonstrate not only the relations between the theatre and chronicles but also serve an analysis of social phenomena.

Kamila Nowak

Krzysztof Bracha, *Casus pulchri de vitandis erroribus conscientiae purae. Orzeczenia kazuistyczne kanonistów i teologów krakowskich z XV w. (Casuistic Rulings Proclaimed by Cracow Canonists and Theologians in the Fifteenth Century)*, Wydawnictwo DIG, Warszawa 2013, 176 pp.

The book by K. Bracha is an edition of *Casus pulchri de vitandis erroribus conscientiae purae*, casuistic rulings from the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century and contains judgments passed by university masters requested to resolve controversial issues, in particular these concerning confession. The authors include Stanisław of Skarbimierz, Mikołaj Kozłowski, Andrzej of Kokorzyn, Jan Kanty, Dzierśław of Borzymów, Jakub of Zaborów and Jan Elgot. The edition is based on three manuscripts: Cod. Boss. 3297 (The Lviv National Vasyl Stefanyk Scientific Library of Ukraine), Cod. 621 (81) from the collections of the library of the Cistercian monastery in Mogiła/Cracow, and Cod. 158 from the collections of the Archdiocesan Archive in Gniezno.

The book is preceded by a copious commentary about practical theology and penitential writings. It also introduces the reader to topics considered in *Casus pulchri* and connected with confession and Holy Communion, marital problems, pilgrimages and daily life.

Kamila Nowak

Česká koruna na rozcestí. K dějinám Horní a Dolní Lužice a Dolního Slezska na přelomu středověku a raného novověku (1437-1526) (*The Crown of Bohemia at a Crossroads. History of Upper and Lower Lusatia and Lower Silesia at the End of the Middle Ages and in the Early Years of the Modern Period /1437-1526/*), ed. by Lenka Bobková, Casablanca-Praha 2010 (*Tempora et memoria*, I), 480 pp., bibliography, index of persons and geographical names, black-and-white and colour illustrations, summary in English, Zusammenfassung.

A publication by Czech and German researchers initiating new a series: *Tempora et memoria*, whose premises, however, have not been disclosed. The book was written by nine authors and contains 11 studies preceded by a survey of research into the lesser lands of the Bohemian Crown (*Vedlejší země České koruny jako téma současné české, německé a polské historiografie*, pp. 7-24). The basic introduction is an extensive study by Lena Bobková: *Česká koruna na sklonku středověku*, (pp. 25-86), providing a survey of the titular problem in most recent literature. The successive text by Ludek Březina discusses the office of the land vogt and the estates of Lower Lusatia in 1458-1490 (*Dolny Lužice, úřad zemského fojta a stavy na podzim středověku, 1458-1490* (pp. 87-105). Mlada Holá wrote about: *Integrand tendence ve správě Slezska za Matyáše Korvína* (pp. 106-135), and L. Březina brought the reader closer to the political career of a royal official in Lower Lusatia: *Zemským fojtem za tři českých králů. Jindřich Tunkl z Brníčka a Dolní Lužice* (pp. 136-165). M. Holá reconsidered the homage voyages of Bohemian rulers to the capital of Silesia (*Holdovací cesty a návštěvy českých králů ve slezské Vratislavi v pozdním středověku, 1437-1526* (pp. 166-191). The above listed studies presented predominantly local structures of royal authority in Lower Lusatia and Silesia. These *sui generis* probes show certain phenomena as *pars pro toto*.



Further works deal with the functioning of the Church structures and institutions. Jan Zdichynec outlined the late mediaeval history of the bishopric of Meissen, whose centre – Meissen – was situated outside the Bohemian state but oversaw considerable parts of Upper and Lower Lusatia (*Mišenské biskupství v pozdním* (pp. 192-211). The late mediaeval piety of townspeople and the clergy exemplified by Lower Lusatian Lübben was depicted by Klaus Neumann (*Kirche und Welt im spätmittelalterlichen Lübben. Geistliches Leben und Frömmigkeit von Klerus und Bürgerschaft in einer niederlausitzischen Immendiatstadt* (pp. 212-239). A similar topic is considered in the study by Petr Hrahovec about the piety of the burghers of Zittau in about 1500, containing numerous appendices (*Zbožní měšťané žitavští kolem roku 1500* (pp. 240-293), while Christian Speer wrote about the significance of the Celestine monastery in Oybin and Königstein, towering over the environs of the town, for the pious practices of the burgher elites (*Die Bedeutung der Cölestiner für Frömmigkeitspraxis städtischer Eliten im Spätmittelalter* (pp. 294-338). The text is enhanced by an appendix containing a list of the priors and monks of both congregations. In turn, Lower and Upper Lusatian Cistercian abbeys are the topic of a study by J. Zdichynec (*Cisterciácké kláštery Horní a Dolní Lužice ve 2. polovině 15. století se zřetelem k jejich vztahu k českým králům*, (pp. 339-364). The list ends with a text by Blanka Zylinská: *Mezi řeholi, politikou a privátem. Příběh vratislavského opata Mikuláše Schönborna za neklidných časů krále Jiřího z Podbradě* (pp. 365-381) about a critical period in the history of the Bohemian Crown, when Wrocław refused to recognise the elevation of Jiří of Poděbrad onto the throne of Bohemia, albeit the local abbot retained a distance towards this policy of the town.

The copious book does not provide a complete history of several lands of the Bohemian Crown, but in accordance with the title offers insight into the current trends of research. The reader may be surprised by the absence of Polish authors who may certainly have something to add, at least as regards Lower Silesia.

Bogusław Czechowicz

Jacek Chachaj, *Blíže schizmatyków niż Krakowa... Archidiakoniat lubelski w XV i XVI wieku* (Closer to Schismatics than to Cracow... The Lublin Archdeaconry in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Century), Wydawnictwo Werset, Lublin 2012, 427 pp., appendices, maps, bibliography.

The presented work is composed of five chapters, an ending, three appendices, maps, a list of abbreviations, and a bibliography.

In the first chapter the author focused on the territory of the Lublin archdeaconry and discussed, i.a., its boundaries, natural landscape, settlements and towns. Emphasis has been placed on the fact that this territory was not uniform and the essential differences occurring between particular parts involved settlements or the structure of ownership and urbanisation.

In the following chapter: *Kościół lubelski*, J. Chachaj examined the functions and changes of the Lublin archdeaconry as well as the development of the network of parishes and their structures, Church estates, benefices and the presence of monastic orders.

The next chapter is a presentation of the outcome of the author's research into the Lublin clergy; here, he discussed the role played by the Lublin archdeacons and other members of the clergy associated with this unit of Church administration, taking a closer look at the education, material status, morality and customs of the lower clergy in Lublin and attempting to estimate the number of clergymen and congregations. The end of the chapter deals with the founders, patrons, and benefactors of the Lublin church.

In chapter four J. Chachaj presented the functioning of the local church, indicating a certain backwardness and specificity of phenomena connected with a considerable distance from Cracow and the location of the archdeaconry along the borderlands of ethnically Polish lands. The same chapter examines such issues as the role and structure of local communities, various conflicts or participation in the sacraments.

Finally, the last chapter is about the Reformation in the titular archdeaconry. Once again, it must be emphasised that the struggle against the Reformation was initiated with a certain characteristic delay.

The publication is enhanced by three extremely valuable appendices, the first of which offers fundamental information about more than seventy parishes in the Lublin archdeaconry in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> century, the second contains useful lists of clergymen in the archdeaconry to the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, and the last – a list of benefices together with their worth.

Radosław Krajniak

Jan Chlibec, Jiří Rohaček, *Sepulkrální skulptura jagellonského období v Čechách. Figura i pismo* (Sepulchral Sculpture of the Jagiellonian Epoch in Bohemia. Figure and Writing), Artefactum, Praha 2011, 312 pp., 102 black-and-white illustrations, bibliography, indices of persons and topography, Zusammenfassung.

This catalogue of 28 tombstones or their fragments from the 1471-1526 period (although the tombstone of Wojtěch of Pernštejn in Pardubice comes from the reign of Ferdinand I) presents various aspects of the history of art and epigraphics. The catalogue part is preceded, apart from an introduction, by two studies about tombstones within the context of funeral culture in late mediaeval Bohemia, a land of various creeds (Jan Chlibec), and about the epigraphics of the period, which from the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century gradually succumbed to the humanistic impact (Jiri Rohaček). An epigraphic analysis made it possible to, e.g. date one of the most curious Bohemian sepulchral monuments – the tombstone (epitaph?) of Vok of Rožmberk, the 12<sup>th</sup>-century founder of the abbey in Vyžší Brod – as late mediaeval and not, as claimed by certain scholars perceiving it as a later symptom of sophisticated historicism, as originating from the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The historical material contained in the book comes mainly from Southern Bohemia and indicates strong connections with the sepulchral art of lands on the Danube (Upper Austria, Bavaria), i.e. predominantly tombstones of the nobility and, to a lesser degree, of the clergy (chiefly monastic). The catalogue discusses figural and heraldic tombstones, but, for reasons unexplained, mentions only select examples.

Bogusław Czechowicz

Paweł Dembiński, *Poznańska kapituła katedralna schyłku wieków średnich. Studium prozopograficzne 1428-1500* (The Poznań Cathedral Chapter at the End of the Middle Ages. A Prosopographic Study 1428-1500), Wydawnictwo Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk, Instytut Historii Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Poznań 2012, 838 pp., appendices, bibliography, summary in English.

In the introduction the author accentuated that he intended to analyse the prelates and canons of the Poznań chapter. The prime issue, which he tried to resolve, was the determination of the personal composition of the corporations and the definition of the

role played by factors that enabled members of the clergy to undertake and continue Church careers. These factors, in his opinion, included age, ordination, social and family origin, education and held secular and Church posts. The analysis also encompasses residence next to the cathedral, thus distinguishing a group of clergymen most involved in the work performed by the chapter. For the needs of this imposing and copious study the author carried out a thorough archival survey using the resources of libraries and archives in Gniezno, Kórnik, Cracow, Płock, Poznań, Prague, Rome and Warsaw and presented the outcome of this research in eight chapters, including the introduction and a summary as well as two appendices, which comprise the major part of the book.

In the first part P. Dembiński paid attention to legal-systemic questions. In doing so, he brought the reader closer to, i.a. the systemic form of the chapter in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, depicting the corporation privileges and administration of the estates as well as discussing the admission of clergymen to the chapter and informing who had the right to nominate the candidate.

Much more important from the viewpoint of the study's topic are, however, the further chapters. Here, the author conducted a prosopographic analysis, presented the chapter offices, and focused on the residence of the clergymen next to the cathedral church as well as taking a closer look at the factors and mechanisms of careers. The most copious and probably the most valuable part of the study are the two appendices. The first makes it possible to become acquainted with the detailed biogrammes of 283 members of the Poznań chapter, arranged according to a lucid scheme, while the second lists the owners of particular prelate and canon prebends in the Poznań chapter from November 1428 to the end of 1500.

Radosław Krajniak

Vaclav Drška, *Dějiny Burgundska* (History of Burgundy), Veduta, České Budějovice 2011, 454 pp., black-and-white and colour illustrations, bibliography, index of persons, summary in French.

This monograph on the history of Burgundy by a Prague-based historian from Charles University is not, as is so often the case with similar publications, a mere compilation of existing writings. It is the outcome of years-long research into the history of a vanished state based both on an extensive bibliography and a study of sources (their list takes up 18 pages, i.a. almost the same as the cited publications), generously quoted in the footnotes. The book, not counting the introduction and conclusion, has been divided into five chapters, each with its specific structure (from two to six sub-chapters). Chapter one: *Burgundiones – mnohoznačné dědictví*, encompasses the pre-Carolingian era, the time of St. Sigismund and wars with Chlodwig. The second chapter (*Franské Burgundsko*) discusses the Carolingian reign and apart from registering facts attempts to acquaint the reader with assorted historiographic traditions and conceptions proposed by researchers. Chapter three: *Jedno jméno – pro kolik zemí*, describes the collapse of the realm in the 9<sup>th</sup> century, while the next chapter: *Burgundské míviny* describes the origin of new state structures in the former Kingdom of Burgundy in the 10<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> century. The most copious, fifth chapter is about: *Valois: od burgundského vévodství k "burgundskému státu"?* The Czech historian is understandably interested in 14<sup>th</sup>-century Burgundy at a time when it and Bohemia were ruled by a single monarch – the Emperor of Rome and the king of Bohemia and Burgundy (Arelat) – Charles IV of Luxembourg (who named the most talented of his sons – the future Emperor Sigismund Luxembourg – after the patron saint of Burgundy). Even more obvious is the extensive presentation of the 15<sup>th</sup>-century

history of the duchy at the time when it attained its political, economic, and cultural apogee, at least upon the scale of the second millennium. The book ends with the death of Duke Charles the Bold in 1477.

The publication focuses on political history without, however, avoiding political ideology and its carriers, including historiography and historical tradition, which in the case of Burgundy (or rather different Burgundies as regards time and space) is of utmost importance.

Bogusław Czechowicz

*Dolgoe srednevekov'e. Sbornik v chest' professora Adelaidy Anatol'evny Svanidze* (The Long-Lasting Middle Ages. A Collection of Articles in Honour of Professor Adelaida Anatol'evna Svanidze), ed. by A.K. Gladkov and P.Yu. Uvarov, Kuchkovo pole, Moskva 2011, 575 pp., illustrations.

Besides the profile of Professor A.A. Svanidze and the bibliography of her works, this book is comprised of 33 articles some of which are related to the history of the Middle Ages and to the broad range of issues involved. A.A. Anisimova describes the relationship between the town of Fordwich and its lord, the monastery of St. Augustin in Canterbury, in the 15<sup>th</sup> and at the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> centuries (her research was based on manuscript sources from Fordwich). M.V. Vinokurova deals with women's property rights in Medieval England. L.N. Chernova raises the issue of urban gentry in a case study of London Aldermen of the 14<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> centuries. There are a few articles with a focus on Scandinavia: G.V. Glazyrina writes about the Christianization of Iceland at the turn of the 10<sup>th</sup> century in the light of the relevant written sources, while T.N. Dzhakson deals with spatial representations in the ancient Scandinavian model of the world. E.A. Mel'nikova reviews the political relations and the trade contacts between Old Rus' and Norway in the 10<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> centuries, in the light of the written sources. Noteworthy is the article by V.D. Nazarov, focusing on the comparison drawn between the Russian service boyars and the Western knights in the 13<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> centuries. In the author's opinion, there were no conditions, whether economic (scanty resources), legal (the hereditary system), ideological (the upper classes unreceptive to the idea of crusades), or political (early formation of a centralized monarchy), for the development of knighthood in Rus'.

The knightly ethos is referred to in *St. Gerald's Caritas: on the Author's Intentions in 'Vita s. Geraldii Odo of Cluny'*, a study by Yu.E. Arnautova which is a polemic against the existing historiography. The author is of an opinion that Odo used the term *miles Christi* as synonymous with *sanctus*; no convergence between *miles Christi* and *miles terrenus* was implied, unlike in writings produced a hundred years after his *Vita s. Geraldii*. A number of other contributions to the history of culture, broadly understood, can be mentioned as well. A.K. Gladkov offers the reader analysis of the information about schools in Paris provided by John of Salisbury in his *Metalogicon*. S.K. Tsaturova reflects on John Gerson's contribution to the spiritual culture of Late Medieval France. I.A. Krasnova offers analysis of the political views of Donato Velluti in the context of the selected fragments of his *La Cronica domestica* concerning to the rule of Walter of Brienne, Duke of Athens, in Florence in the years 1342-1343. M.S. Bobkova deals with the process of transformation of a historical fact into a historiographic fact in medieval and early modern historiography. N.I. Devyataykina provides us with her analysis of four dialogues by Petrarch about the school and students, as a kind of reading matter targeted for a wide range of educated readers. E.V. Kazbekova raises the issues of the implementation of canon law and of its effectiveness in the 13<sup>th</sup> and at the beginning

of the 14<sup>th</sup> centuries. Political history is represented by A.A. Mayzlish's article on the policy pursued by John the Fearless, Duke of Burgundy, in his relations with the Liège Bishopric in the context of his French policy. A number of other authors raise issues bordering on economic and political history of the Mediterranean Region. I.I. Var'yash describes the stormy life of Pedro Laraondo (the turn of the 14<sup>th</sup> century), a Basque from Bilbao, merchant, buccaneer, Mameluke, and martyr. What S.P. Karpov makes the subject matter of his analysis (and of his publication) is a letter from Babilano Gentile-Pallavichino – a citizen of Pera, Genoa's colony in the strait of Bosphorus – sent to the Genoa government in 1468 to account for the costs connected with defending Pera from the potential destruction by the Turks in 1453. Also, the volume under discussion includes two other publications of source materials. A.V. Busygin and V.V. Rybakov make available to the reader five Swedish private documents dating from the 14<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> centuries, from the collection of P.I. Shchukin (+ 1912), together with their translation into Russian. In this context, A.K. Gladkov, by way of his contribution to the old Scandinavian theme being an area of special scientific interest for P.G. Vinogradov, has had the Russian version of "Saga of Saint Olaf" translated by the latter included here. It is also worth mentioning that there are a few other works related to the history of Medieval studies in Russia to be found in this publication. L.P. Repina writes about the concept of world history presented in the works by T.N. Granovsky (+ 1855) referred to as "the first Russian medieval historian". What is the subject matter of the paper by I.S. Pichugina is the importance of the works written by V.K. Piskorsky (+ 1910) about the history of the *Cortes Generales* in Castile. N.A. Khachaturian discusses the history of Medieval Studies in the Moscow University. The paper by Yu.P. Zaretsky is a contribution to our knowledge of the Russian Medieval Studies in the Soviet Era. P.Yu. Uvarov raises the issue of *Universities in the Russian Empire as Seen by a Medieval Historian*.

Marian Dygo

*Glosarium wyrazów i zwrotów ze średniowiecznych źródeł pruskich* (Glossary of Expressions and Words from Mediaeval Prussian Sources), prep. by Krzysztof Kopiński, Janusz Tandecki, Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika w Toruniu, Toruń 2011, 416 pp. The introduction is in Polish, German and English.

This dictionary contains the vocabulary occurring in Prussian sources from the Middle Ages. The authors employed earlier published editions and thus created a collection addressed primarily to historians and less beneficial for linguists. Particular words have not been placed in a wider source material context. The authors also resigned from dividing the publication into Polish-German and German-Polish parts, and instead opted for arranging the words and expressions in alphabetical order. Latin words are less numerous as a result of using mainly German-language town sources.

Marcin Sumowski

Jiří Kuthan, Jan Royt, *Katedrála sv. Víta, Václava a Vojtěcha. Svätyně českých patronů a králů* (St. Vitus, St. Wenceslas and St. Adalbert Cathedral. Temples of Czech Patrons and Kings), Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, Praha 2011, 684 pp., black-and-white and illustrations, bibliography, index of persons and geographical names.

This monumental monograph on the Prague arch-cathedral, preceded by a foreword by the President of the Czech Republic and the archbishop of Prague, is an attempt at

a summary of knowledge about the Gothic and neo-Gothic building and its outfitting and decorations. The first two of the 16 chapters are about the pre-Romanesque and Romanesque building, while the much more copious successive two deal with the erection of the Gothic cathedral: the first concentrates on assorted historical issues, i.a. the functioning of the church at the time of kings John, Charles and Venceslaus, while the second focuses attention on two chief architects (Matthew of Arras, Peter Parler) and particular elements of the building, such as chapels, the tower or vestibules. A separate chapter studies mediaeval drawings connected with the cathedral and its decorations, preserved mainly in Viennese collections. The sixth chapter discusses the rich carved decorations as well as the complex of tombstones in the cathedral interior. Chapters 7 and 8 concentrate attention on such remaining elements of the church outfitting and decoration from the pre-Hussite era as paintings and artefacts as well as painted embellishments, especially those amassed in the cathedral treasury. The relatively brief chapter 8 is about the altars, while the slightly longer ninth chapter is a complex presentation of the cathedral's ideological programme. The authors also considered the impact exerted by the cathedral upon Bohemian Gothic architecture.

The second part of the monograph is about the post-Hussite era and modern times. Chapter 11 presents the general historical conditions of the period spanning from 1420 to 1526 and concentrates on such important events taking place in the cathedral interior such as funerals of monarchs or coronations. The successive part of the publication discusses the opulent outfitting of the cathedral during the Jagiellonian era (1471-1526). The next two chapters (12 and 13) examine the transformations of the church and its decorations at the time the Renaissance and the Baroque, and the last two – the expansion of the church in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century as well as lesser work carried out during this period.

With several hundred excellent illustrations, more than 1.000 footnotes, and an extensive bibliography (arranged in chronological order) the presented publication by two Prague-based historians of art can be regarded both as an exclusive album and a summary of detailed research, particularly intensively pursued in the past 35 years. It could be also a point of departure for further studies. The book meets all the demands of a catalogue of individual elements of the building as well as hundreds of individual works of art associated with it. It also refers to an inventory conducted more than century ago chiefly by Antonin Podlahy. Each year marks a new chapter in the history of the cathedral – the day when this note was written coincided with the funeral ceremonies of the former President of the Czech Republic Václav Havel. In the closing sequences of the book the authors appear to have evaded the newest history of the cathedral and accentuated its role in contemporary research as well as the fact that a bibliography of the building contains works by the most outstanding present-day representatives of history and the history of art.

Bogusław Czechowicz

Jiří Kuthan, *Královské dílo za Jiřího z Poděbrad a dynastie Jagellonců, I: Král a šlechta* (King's Deeds of George of Podiebrad and the Jagiellonian Dynasty, I: The King and the Nobility), Togga, Praha 2010, 616 pp., 799 black-and-white and colour illustrations, index of names and topography.

A monumental publication about the artistic patronage of Bohemian political elites in 1458-1528, i.e. during the reign of King Jiří of Poděbrad and Vladislaus II and Louis Jagiellon (as well as the times of Matthias Corvinus, although he had been omitted in

the title of the book). The study encompasses two lands of the Bohemian Crown – the Kingdom of Bohemia and the Margraviate of Moravia, and does not discuss the Duchy of Silesia and the Margraviate of Upper and Lower Lusatia or the Duchy of Luxembourg, which at the time of Jiří definitely seceded from the Crown. The first of five chapters (*Královská vláda v zemích Koruny české od konce husitských válek do roku 1526*) is an outline history of the Bohemian state during the discussed period, correctly including the reign of Emperor Sigismundus, which affected the titular epoch. Chapter two (*Královská reprezentace od konce husitských válek do začátku vlády Jagellonců*) discusses a number of artistic initiatives concentrated chiefly in Prague and intent on enhancing the authority of the monarch and the principal residential town. Mention has been also made of several smaller centres (e.g. Kłodzko) connected with the patronage initiatives of King Jiří. The third chapter (*Králové z rodu Jagellonců na českém trůně jako stavebníci a objednatelé uměleckých děl*) concentrates on undertakings in the capital of Prague as well as such localities as Mělník, Karlštejn, Křivoklat or even Aix-la-Chapelle.

The most copious, fourth chapter presents the foundations of the local gentry – *Šlechta doby jagellonské jako stavebník a objednatel uměleckých děl*. Assorted questions are systematically discussed upon the example of particular families, with a particularly extensive presentation (almost 100 pages) of the accomplishments of the lords of Rožmberk. The less copious fifth chapter (*Královský mecenát doby jagellonské v českých zemích – jeho charakter a středoevropský kontext*) refers to the attainments of the imperial court as well as Hungarian, Polish, Saxon and Brandenburgian courts and the towns of South Germany. The authors wrote about such questions as the cult of Bohemian patron saints and historicism in the art of the period. The book ends with a concise conclusion.

The presented publication is an expanded catalogue with an historical introduction and a conclusion, showing the analysed works within a wider European context, although certain lands of the Crown, especially Silesia, have been drastically relegated to the margin. On the one hand, the book remains imposing due to its size and the author's erudition encompassing hundreds of artistic phenomena and offering the reader a wide cognitive horizon; on the other hand, it disappoints owing to its restriction to more or less half of the Bohemian state at a time when the permanent rival of Prague was the Silesian town of Wrocław. An interpretation of the accomplishments of the Bohemian and Moravian gentry cannot be complete without due consideration for its Silesian context and ducal status, exceptionable within the structure of the Bohemian Crown. The author also did not take into account the most mass-scale carrier of the ideology of authority – the coin. Finally, the book lacks an outline of the perspective for all artistic phenomena in Central Europe at this (and almost every) time, i.e. papal Rome, which was gradually attaining its primacy among European capitals, which it had lost during the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Hopefully, we shall not encounter these gaps in the planned second volume, which is to deal primarily with art in towns.

Bogusław Czechowicz

Jiří Kuthan, *Splendor et gloria Regni Bohemiae. Umělecké dílo jako projev vladařské reprezentace a symbol státní identity (Splendor et gloria Regni Bohemiae. The Work of Art as a Symptom of the Representation of Authority and a Symbol of State Identity)*, Praha 2008 (Opera Facultatis theologiae catholicae Universitatis Carolinae Pragensis, Historia et historia artium, VI), 592 pp., black-and-white illustrations.

The range of this collection of studies published in Czech or German encompasses a period of more than 500 years of the mediaeval Bohemian state perceived *via* the

prism of art, chiefly architecture but also town planning, sculpture, painting, the crafts, sphragistics and medal art. The topics include the oldest necropolises of Bohemian rulers or Bohemian parallels of the church in Schöngrabern (Austria). Four sets of studies (*Královské dílo v době posledních Přemyslovců*) deal with art of the titular period, with particular attention concentrated on the town planning of urban centres founded mainly in the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, monasteries, and royal seals. Thirteenth-century architecture in Bohemia and Moravia is analysed separately within a broad European context. A similar study focuses on the artistic patronage of King Přemysl Ottokar II, supplemented by a text on this ruler's foundations in the Austrian and Carinthian territories under his control, inherited from the extinct Babenberg dynasty. The second set consists of closely connected studies on the achievements of the Luxembourg era. The texts consider the functions of Prague as a capital within the Empire, the cathedral of St. Vitus in Prague and the chapel of All Saints at the local castle, the great churches in Kolin and Kutna Hora as well as Karlštejn Castle. These examples is supplemented by studies on Prague envisioned by Charles, once again the All Saints chapel, but this time within the context of associations with the Parisian Sainte-Chapelle, and another text on the church of St. Bartholomew in Kolin. Other characteristics pertain to the Archbishop of Prague, Ernest of Pardubice, as a patron of architecture, and 14<sup>th</sup>-century architectural changes of the abbey in Zlata Koruna. The closing text is about the artistic patronage of two Bohemian rulers from the Jagiellonian dynasty: Vladislaus II and Louis. The book contains noteworthy and extremely lavish and excellent illustrations, predominantly whole-page photographs, plans, and schemes, but unfortunately it lacks indices.

Bogusław Czechowicz

Jindřich Marek, *Jakoubek ze Stříbra a počátky utrakvistického kazatelství v českých zemích. Studie o Jakoubkově postilla z let 1413-1414* (Jakoubek of Stříbra and the Beginnings of Utraquist Preaching in Czech Lands. A Study of Jakoubek's postilla from 1413-1414), Národní knihovna České republiky, Praha 2011, 260 pp.

This publication is about Jakoubek of Stříbra – master of theology, lecturer at Prague University, and preacher at the Bethlehem Chapel, the first Hussite theologian. A detailed analysis examines his postilla from 1413-1414, closely connected with the emergent Utraquist movement.

The book is composed of four chapters, with the first bringing the reader closer to the most recent research conducted in the Czech Republic. The following chapter is a biography of Jakoubek of Stříbra, and the third concerns his career as a preacher. The last chapter is a meticulous analysis of postilla from 1413/1414, examining three codices from the collections of the National Library and the National Museum in Prague. The author paid special attention to the Utraquist doctrine and the reception of the ideas propounded by John Wycliffe.

Kamila Nowak

Zenon Hubert Nowak, *Przyczynki źródłowe do historii zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach* (Quellenbeiträge zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens in Preussen), Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, Toruń 2011, 220 pp.

This collection of ten source publications prepared by an acclaimed mediaevalist from Toruń (d. 1999) comprises a reprint of articles issued in 1976-1999 in i.a. "Zapiski



Historyczne". The presented edition is bilingual, since the editors added a translation of commentaries to the sources into the German, thus widening the range of the recreation of the texts. The editor of the collection is Roman Czaja.

The publication gathered sources for the history of the Teutonic Order during the 15<sup>th</sup> century: assorted categories of material, such as letters, documents or protocols from peace negotiations. The first part presents sources pertaining chiefly to Polish-Teutonic Order contacts. The second is composed of contributions to research into the intellectual and daily life of the Order.

Marcin Sumowski

Michaela Ottová, *Pod ochranou Krista Spasitele a svaté Barbory. Sochařská výzdoba kostela svaté Barbory v Kutné Hoře (1483-1499)* (Under the Protection of Christ the Saviour and Saint Barbara. The Sculptural Decoration of the Church of Saint Barbara in Kutna Hora (1483-1499), Tomáš Halama, České Budějovice 2010, 272 pp., 87 colour and black-and-white illustrations, bibliography, summary in English.

The monograph focuses on the extremely lavish Late Gothic decoration in an exceptional church of mediaeval Bohemia – the miner's church of St. Barbara in Kutna Hora, at the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century changed into an Utraquist cathedral. In ten chapters the author presented the second largest Bohemian town after Prague under the Jagiellons and the history of the erection of the church of St. Barbara. This introduction to the fundamental topic is followed by a discussion of particular parts of the decoration, with due consideration for the authors. Chapter eight is a general characteristic of the artistic aspects of the sculptures, with sub-chapters about the sculptors: Briccius Gauske (unfortunately, with incomplete reference to pertinent literature) and Matěj Rejsek, while the following chapter is a holistic interpretation of the ideological programme of the decoration conceived as a representation of a prosperous mining town. Regrettably, it lacks an interpretation of the heraldic programme on the presbytery ceiling; hence, the version proposed by the author appears to be incomplete. Chapter ten is a catalogue of architectural sculpture in the church presbytery. Here, an appendix of sorts discusses the predominantly zoomorphic gargoyles. The thus constructed publication appears to be a hybrid, albeit one that introduces into existing research copious material and new interpretations. Its additional assets include excellent illustrations. Attention is also due to an extensive summary in English (pp. 233-271).

Bogusław Czechowicz

Jaroslav Polách, *Jan Smil z Křemže. Život táboorského hejtmána a loupeživého rytíře* (Jan Smil of Křemže. The Life of a Taborite Hetman and Robber Knight), Veduta, České Budějovice 2011, 122 pp., bibliography, index of persons and geographical names, genealogical tables, maps, black-and-white and colour illustrations, maps.

This concise publication is a biography of one of many knights in Hussite Bohemia who benefitting from the pervading turmoil pursued a rapidly thriving career; their fall at the time of the stabilisation of the structures of power in the mid-15<sup>th</sup> century was just as swift. The book features a classical configuration and is composed, apart from an introduction and a conclusion, of a presentation of the ancestors of the titular knight from Southern Bohemia. Next, the author discussed the condition in which Jan Smil of

Křemže grew up, and a separate chapter is about his political and, so to speak, criminal career. Jan Smil was one of opponents of Oldřich (Ulrich) of Rožmberk (von Rosemberg), a pillar of the Catholic faction in Bohemia. The conflict involving the bellicose knight connected with the Taborites and the powerful nobleman ended tragically for Jan who, incarcerated in 1447 upon the basis of false charges (forgeries), was tried and sentenced to death. His fate was not averted by the outrage of the Bohemian Hussite elite, headed by the increasingly powerful Jiří of Poděbrad. A brief chapter deals with the sons of the titular protagonist, and a more extensive one – with the property he amassed in Central and Southern Bohemia, whose majority fell into the hands of the lords of Rožmberk. In a successive chapter the author's attention was attracted to the seals of Jan Smil, typical against the backdrop of gentry seals in Bohemia at the time. The publication is based on an archival survey and an extensive bibliography.

Bogusław Czechowicz

Andrzej Radziwiński, *Kobieta w średniowiecznej Europie*, (The Woman in Mediaeval Europe), Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, Toruń 2012, 350 pp., bibliography, colour illustrations, indices, summaries in English, French and Spanish.

This lavishly published book is addressed to a wide group of readers. Its popular-scientific character does not diminish the rank of the first Polish publication proposing such an extensive presentation of the position held by women and the assorted aspects their functions in the Middle Ages. The author conducted an imposing survey and gathered numerous examples of European literature, often inaccessible in Poland.

In 19 chapters of the synthesis he discussed a number of detailed questions relating to, i.a. the place of the woman in the Bible, classical tradition, the Arabian-Moslem world and the Early Middle Ages. Moreover, the book considers, i.a. the legal position of women, their clothes, erotic life or relations with the clergy. It also contains fragments about adultery and sexual mores.

The reader comes across interesting information about gentlewomen, women living in towns, peasant women, prostitutes, heretics, witches and Jewesses. The author drew attention to a relatively large group of women representing the highest social strata who appeared in an intellectual world dominated by men. A copious chapter deals with women of prayer, i.e. nuns, mystics and saints. A. Radziwiński also studied the phenomenon of misogyny, i.e. male animosity towards women and even fear of women discernible especially amongst such future saints as St. Augustine, St. Jerome or St. Thomas Aquinas.

The publication includes numerous and at times fascinating and well written descriptions of examples of relations between women and members of the clergy, infanticide, the abandoning of children, anti-conception and abortion. Apart from many anonymous women, the book mentions also equally numerous examples of outstanding women, whose names and surnames are known and who became distinguished in many domains of life and played a prime role in society of the period: Christine de Pisan, often described as the first professional European female writer, Hildegard of Bingen or Elisabeth von Schönau, prominent representatives of mediaeval mysticism. The publication enables the reader not only to learn about the life of the fair sex in the Middle Ages, but also to discover the ambiance and great diversity of the epoch, frequently and incorrectly described as dark and gloomy.

Radosław Krajniak

Andrzej Radziwiński, *Kościół i duchowieństwo w średniowieczu. Polska i państwo zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach* (The Church and the Clergy in the Middle Ages. Poland and the State of the Teutonic Order in Prussia), Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, Toruń 2012, 377 pp., bibliography, indices, colour illustrations.

The presented book is composed of 16 articles by A. Radziwiński, published in 1997-2010; the majority has appeared in German and English. A presentation of the studies in Polish and the very feat of gathering the often inaccessible and shorter texts as well as their joint publication in a single book are undoubtedly a valuable achievement. The sketches refer to 25-years of work conducted by A. Radziwiński, when his scientific interests concentrated chiefly on the history of the Church and the clergy in mediaeval Poland and the state of the Teutonic Order in Prussia.

The first part of the book discusses assorted writings about mediaeval Poland, i.a. articles on models of the Church careers of members of cathedral chapters, obituaries and recollections of the deceased in Polish cathedral chapters, and religious life in mediaeval Poland as well as a copious sketch about the Church in Poland in about 1300.

The second part of the book concerns cathedral chapter clergy, its identification, and the legal, social and cultural models of this group. The second part of the book considers the state of the Teutonic Order in Prussia and starts with a text about the Order's participation in the evangelisation of Prussia; successive studies are syntheses about the Church and the clergy in the Teutonic Order state and texts about parishes and the parish clergy, synodal statutes and relations between the Order and Prussian bishops and chapters in the 13<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> century.

The book ends with a chapter about Elisabeth of Thuringia, in which the author tried to answer the question: what did the phenomenon of this future saint consist of against the backdrop of the epoch?

Radosław Krajniak

Robert Šimůnek, Roman Lavička, *Páni z Rožmberka 1250-1520. Jižní Čechy ve středověku. Kulturněhistorický obraz šlechtického dominia ve středověkých Čechách* (The Lords of Rosenberg 125-1520: South Bohemia in the Middle Ages. A Picture of a Noble Demesne in Mediaeval Bohemia from the Cultural History Point of View), Věduta, České Budějovice 2011, 340 pp., black-and-white and colour illustrations, bibliography, index of persons and topography, summary in English.

An historian together with an historian of art embarked upon a concise synthesis of cultural problems associated with the powerful South Bohemian family of the lords of Rožmberk. The book offers insight primarily into artistic patronage depicted in the widest possible social context. Alongside a concise history of the family and its vast landed estates the work is also a presentation of the careers of its members and genealogical ties. These somewhat introductory parts of the book are followed by chapters discussing successive symptoms of the representation of the family: castles, monasteries with necropolises, education, and the cultural role of the Rožmberks. Particular attention has been paid to family traditions.

The next part of the book concerns the Church, its space and functions in the activity of the Rožmberk family, a discussion justified since its members acted as a pillar of

Catholicism in Bohemia in the throes of a Hussite revolution, The authors examined the place of the parish priest in the mediaeval community as well as daily and holiday rituals associated with the church and the cemetery, the last being treated separately. Lesser attention has been paid to the phenomenon of castellated South Bohemian churches. Other texts discuss artists serving the Rožmberk family or realising the commissions of its members. The chapter: *Jak vzniká stavba* is an interesting attempt at a reconstruction of the course of building a mediaeval church. The particularly noteworthy last chapter deals with the symbolic meanings of particular architectural details.

A presentation of the patronage of a family whose wealth, vast demesne, and political impact towered above many princely families within the Bohemian Crown posed without doubt a complicated and endless task. True, we could expect a wider discussion on the patronage of the bishop of Wrocław, Jodok (Jošt II) of Rožmberk (the publication mentions only his tombstone in Wrocław), but the authors obviously concentrated their attention on Southern Bohemia, as indicated by the book's title. In doing so, they proposed a highly modern approach, rendering the publication extremely interesting.

Bogusław Czechowicz

*Sedlec. Historie, architektura a umělecká tvorba sedleckého kláštera (Sedletz. Geschichte, Architektur und Kunstschaffen im sedletzter Kloster)*, ed. by Radka Lomičková, Togga, Praha 2009 (Opera Facultatis theologiae catholicae Universitatis Carolinae Pragensis, Historia et historia artium, X), 588 pp., black-and-white illustrations.

This Czech-German volume contains material from an international conference on the history and culture of one of the most renowned Czech Cistercian abbeys – Sedlec near Kutna Hora (today: part of the town). The reason for organising this event was the end of a years-long renovation of one of the most magnificent monuments of monastic culture in Europe. Apart from introductions and prefaces by Church and lay dignitaries and officials the book contains 26 articles arranged in three groups (History, Architecture, Art) divided into smaller thematic sets. The chapter: *Historia* is composed of four such sets, of which the first is about the founders and benefactors of Cistercian abbeys, not solely the one in Sedlec. Here, the authors discussed King Venceslaus I of Bohemia (Jiri Kuthan), Abbot Heidenreich (Kateřina Charvatová), Bernhard III of Kamjenc (von Kamenz) (Marius Winzeler) and the margraves of Brandenburg, members of the House of Ascania (Winfried Schich). The second set: *Z deja sedleckého kláštera*, contains two papers: on the conflict with the burghers in 1309 (Martin Musilek) and the relations of the abbey and the Budovec family of Budov (Jaroslav Čechura). Set three: *Sepulchrální památky v Sedlci*, is composed of comparisons of burials in Sedlec and those in other Cistercian abbeys (Christine Kratzke) as well as a fascinating sketch about the Jerusalem-inspired topography of the abbey (Petr Uličný). The first part ends with *Spirituality a klášterní život*, containing three studies about readership and writings (Gerhard B. Winkler), piety (Radka Lomičková) and connections with abbeys in Upper Lusatia in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century (Jan Zdichynec).

*Architecture* has four parts, with the first discussing the architecture of the abbey church in Sedlec as a symptom of the “avantgarde” in about 1300 (Marc C. Schurr), buildings of Salem Abbey (Ulrich Knapp), associations with Cracow cathedral (Tomasz Węclawowicz), and connections with the architecture of French abbeys (Alexandra Gajewski). Set two: *Sedlecký klášterní chrám ve světle nejnovějších průzkumů*, includes

two studies by archaeologists (Ales Pospíšil, Filip Velímský) and one about paintings by a conservator of historical monuments (Jaroslav J. Alt). Set three pertains to the architectural transformations of the abbey (*Přestavby a proměny sedleckého kláštera*). Four articles (Part Macek – Pavel Zahradník, Dušan Foltýn, Jan Lavický and Mojmir Horyna) bring the reader closer to investments from the 17<sup>th</sup> century and chiefly the 18<sup>th</sup> century, with pride of place granted on the works of Johann Blasius Santini-Aichel. Set four is a *sui generis* supplement discussing Bavarian analogies – the abbeys of Waldhausen and Fürstenfeld.

The third part about the visual arts is composed of three papers, with the outfitting of the church and monastery discussed by Aleš Mudra and Michaela Ottová. The resonance of miraculous paintings worshipped in Sedlec in the poetry and art of Baroque Bohemia is presented by Jan Royt, while Štěpán Vácha published unknown sources concerning paintings in the abbey church.

The volume is richly illustrated and particular articles are supplemented with summaries in Czech or German.

Bogusław Czechowicz

Marek Słoń, *Miasta podwójne i wielokrotne w średniowiecznej Europie* (Double and Multiple Towns in Mediaeval Europe), Uniwersytet Wrocławski Wydawnictwo, Wrocław 2010, (Monografie Fundacji na rzecz Nauki Polskiej), 741 pp., bibliography, subject index, index of persons and geographical names, tables, maps, summary in English.

In the introduction the author discussed, i.a. the conceit of the town, the identification of double and multiple towns, and the prevailing state of research. He went on to present the titular problem in Provence and Languedoc and then, in two chapters comprising the essential part of the publication, in Central Europe. The first chapter describes regional and functional specificity and the course of the *locatio*. Here, the author considered the origin of the double and multiple town in Central Europe (Flemish settlements, considered to be the “supposed beginning” in Brunswick, Hildesheim, Hamburg, Brandenburg, Hagen, Neustadt, Magdeburg), towns belonging to assorted lords, weavers; towns (Wrocław, Göttingen, Świdnica, Głogów, Racibórz, Nowe Miasto Toruń, Neustadt Salzwedel, Lipnik, Nowe Miasto Lemgo), new towns in Mecklenburg and Upper Pomerania, double towns in Brandenburg, Bohemia (Prague: Hradčany, Nové Město, Vyšehrad and Litomyšl), and Prussian new town communes in the policy of the great towns and the Teutonic Order. New town *locationes* within the 14<sup>th</sup>-century colonisation of the monarchy and the expansion of its capitals (here: Cracow 1305-1333, Königsberg, Kassel, Cracow 1334-1366, Prague, Budapest, Dresden, Warsaw), bridgeheads (here: Deutz near Köln, Stadtamhof near Regensburg, Neustadt Kassel, Altendesden, Little Basel), relocations of the Old Town, divided communes (here: Haigerloch, Głogów, Góra and Bytom), and, finally, the dissemination of the model of the double and multiple town. The second chapter is an attempt at a synthesis, with the author deliberating on the course and reasons for the *locatio* of new towns, the relations between communes within the range of an agglomeration, the church structures of a new town, and the town’s unification.

The summary accentuated: “For the great metropolises of southern France the presence of two consulates was one of numerous factors affecting their evolution, and by no means the foremost feature”, but “in the history of double and multiple towns in Central Europe it was a factor of prime importance, exerting an impact on the rate

of the growth of a given agglomeration, its direction and scale. This holds true not only for particular towns but, upon numerous occasions, also for the foundation of the urban network in a given region, e.g. in Mecklenburg and Upper Pomerania or Prussia. The essence of a New Town was decisive for the size of small towns [...], medium-ranking centres [...] as well as the largest European metropolises [...]. As evidenced particularly by weavers' settlements, New Town *locationes* could offer a new quality in the economic development of a region. Despite diverse connections two adjoining communes comprised separate organisms".

The publication ends with: 1. a list of toponyms: Nova civitas / Neustadt in the German Reich; 2. a list of New Town towns and communes, their original names and plans; 3. an insert featuring a map of Prague and Magdeburg in ca. 1210 and 1500.

Marek Derwich

Pavel Soukup, *Reformní kazatelství a Jakoubek ze Stříbra* (Preaching Reforms by Jakoubek of Stříbra), Filosofia. Nakladatelství Filosofického ústavu AV ČR, Praha 2011, 438 pp.

Pavel Soukup analysed changes in preaching during the 1360-1420 period when preaching rapidly became the prime instrument supporting the Hussite revolution. The fundamental sources are the oldest preserved sermons by Jakoubek of Stříbra, master of theology, lecturer at Prague University, and preacher at the Bethlehem Chapel and the church of St. Michael.

In chapter one the author compared the movement, which emerged in Bohemia during the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, the *devotio moderna* current as well as the Waldensians. He analysed the methods and tools used by all three, which affected the dynamic of preaching sermons and interpreting the Bible. The following chapter deals with the structure and topics of university sermons by Jakoubek of Stříbra, which originated in 1405-1406. Chapter three discusses doctrinal disputes within the Hussite movement, which appeared in about 1415 and in which Jakoubek supported the Utraquists.

The book also contains an appendix – extracts of sources, i.e. fragments of the sermons given by Jakoubek of Stříbra.

Kamila Nowak

*Ulice średniowiecznego Wrocławia* (Streets of Mediaeval Wrocław), ed. by Jerzy Piekalski, Krzysztof Wachowski, *Wratislavia Antiqua*, XI, Wrocław 2010, 429 pp., summary.

The presented volume is the eleventh in the *Bratislava Antiqua* series, which this time deals extensively with the streets of mediaeval Wrocław. The publication is composed of particular archaeological studies conducted as part of a reconstruction of the mediaeval street network. Attention focused on a detailed analysis of only a single town made possible a more complete recreation of the daily life of its inhabitants. Until now, e.g. Czech writings were dominated by presentations of the outcome of investigations focused on different categories of towns.

After a preface by J. Piekalski, the volume starts with reflections by J. Badura on geomorphological conditions of the left-bank settlement in Wrocław. The next text (J. Piekalski), on the pre-*locatio* settlement in the network of trade routes, presents the natural conditions that affected the functioning of the Wrocław centre. The author drew

attention to the growing significance of *Hoher Weg – via regia*, a West-East route, which in time became even more important than the South-North route (from the Mediterranean to the Baltic). M. Goliński concentrated on written sources relating to changes of the street network and pertinent terminology. In doing so, he stressed, i.a. the importance of the municipal order-keeping services. M. Chorowska presented the outcome of analyses of archaeological and written sources concerning regular street networks in Wrocław, establishing that the fundamental network was created in the 13<sup>th</sup> century and preserved in successive centuries. The basic part of the publication is an on-the-spot inventory carried out by P. Konczewski and J. Piekalski (stratigraphy and street constructions). Descriptions are enhanced with valuable drawn documentation prepared in the course of research. The authors concluded that the first fascine constructions originate from the 13<sup>th</sup> century while cobblestones were introduced in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. The erection of the first brick houses is examined in the next part of the publication (M. Chorowska and C. Lasota). Everything seems to indicate that the houses in question were built first in the market square (residences of wealthy burghers).

The second part of the book deals with the material culture of public town space examined upon the basis of an analysis of mobile historical monuments (I. Jastriemska, K. Jaworski, M. Konczewska, E. Lisowska, J. Maik, B. Paszkiewicz, K. Wachowski). A striking number of artefacts were not removed from medieval urban communication passages; typical mobile monuments are horseshoes. Researchers discovered the presence of the 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> century large S-shaped earrings, universally regarded as typical ornaments at the end stage of the Early Middle Ages. The discussed sites also contained a large number of leather and wooden artefacts. The presented reflections are supplemented by metallographic analyses (B. Miazga) and a genre identification and material assessment of leather monuments (T. Radek, A. Chrószcz), followed by a catalogue of mobile monuments. The publication ends with an attempted summary by J. Piekalski about the image of the street in the public space of mediaeval Wrocław. The volume also contains a list of sources and writings on the subject as well as a summary in English.

Bartłomiej Stawiarski

*Vademecum historyka mediewisty* (A Vademecum of a Mediaevalist Historian), ed. by Jarosław Nikodem, Dariusz Andrzej Sikorski, Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, Warszawa 2012, 770 pp.

This publication was conceived as a textbook useful chiefly in university teaching. It is thus a compendium for history students and those of the affiliated humanities.

The *Vademecum* is divided into two parts, with the first, *Przewodnik mediewisty*, presenting elements of the workshop, starting with the concept of mediaeval studies and their chronological range. Here, we come across basic information about lexicons, encyclopaedias, bibliographies and periodicals relating to the Middle Ages. Attention was drawn to the essential present-day role played by the Internet in research into the Middle Ages. The reader is offered a brief survey of the auxiliary sciences used in mediaevalist writings. Further sub-chapters are devoted mainly to editions of sources and historiography. Attention is also focused on other categories of sources, e.g. sermons, *exempla* or hagiography. Consecutive sub-chapters discuss such sciences associated with mediaeval studies as law, archaeology, the history of art and linguistics. The author also presented the basic problems of mediaeval studies. The first part of the book ends with an interesting examination of the most recent research tendencies

connected with the use of, i.a. historical anthropology, particularly significant in view of the fact that the publication is addressed to younger representatives of mediaeval studies.

The second part: *Przewodnik bibliograficzny* is a survey of the historiographies of particular countries, with a separate presentation of the history of the mediaeval Church and associated problems. Interested readers will find this guide to basic literature extremely helpful in their further research.

The publication shows the basic questions of mediaeval studies and has a chance to become, as the editors put it, an "invitation to the Middle Ages" addressed to students.

Marcin Sumowski

Hanna Zaremska, *Żydzi w średniowiecznej Polsce. Gmina krakowska* (Jews in Mediaeval Poland. The Cracow Kahal), Instytut Historii PAN, Warszawa 2011, 551 pp., summary, list of illustrations, maps and plans.

The study by H. Zaremska is a long awaited monograph about the Cracow kahal in the Middle Ages. The publication is, on the one hand, an erudite synthesis of the history of the Jews in mediaeval Poland and, on the other hand, a source-historiographic text with attention focused on the titular kahal. The configuration accepted by the author is extremely essential since the history of particular Jewish kahals cannot be considered without the backdrop of the country in which the Jews lived and the history of the Ashkenazy diaspora.

The first part of the publication begins with the author's personal reflections on writing a book and the specificity of mediaeval Jewish studies. Particular attention is due to examples of notes written in Hebrew in Christian sources. Valuable reflections relate to Jewish geography – a synthetic summary of this topic, spanning from the loss of the Jewish state (70 A.D.) and prominently focused on the development of the colonies of the Jewish Ashkenazy diaspora. A consecutive sub-chapter of the first part concentrates on the history of the Jewish population in Central Europe (predominantly Bohemia, Poland, Rus' and Hungary). H. Zaremska outlined similarities and differences in the situation of the Jews inhabiting particular parts of the region. She analysed the oldest sources about the Israelites and the possible origin of the first Jewish colonists, and went on to discuss the situation of the Jews in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, including the influx of the first settlers (sources concerning migration to Silesia) and the emergence of the foundations of the legal status of the Jews in the discussed region (the privilege issued by Bolesław the Pious in 1264 and its origin). Within the context of statutes issued for the Jewish population H. Zaremska indicated that this phenomenon is part of a wider context of a dispute concerning rule over the Israelites, involving secular princes and the clergy (or, more widely, the Empire and the papacy).

A natural continuation of these deliberations is a presentation of privileges issued by Kazimierz the Great and their mediaeval confirmations. Next, the author wrote about the place and role of the Jews in towns, with prominent attention paid to Jewish credit and commerce as well as socio-legal statues, with emphasis on the resistance on the part of the town authorities, hostile towards Jewish credit-trade activity. Another issue concerns the participation of the Jews in the administration of justice and Jewish crime. H. Zaremska stressed the rank of the Jewish oath (*iuramentum Iudaeorum*) as a specific proof procedure. Another important issue, which she tried to resolve is the size of the Jewish community in mediaeval Poland. Note the essential methodological remark,



namely, that demographic studies cannot be based on a sum of particular individuals present in the sources. During the 15<sup>th</sup> century the average Jewish colony was composed of 1-2 families, while large kahals concentrated 500-800 persons.

The next part of the text is about Jan Długosz, whose chronicle contains the most copious information about the Jews among all Polish mediaeval historical writings. Długosz is the author of several score texts about the Jewish population, which he included in the chronicle. His attitude towards the Israelites could be described as inimical, to say the least. The first part of the presented publication ends with reflections about the attitude of the Church towards the Jews. H. Zaremska presented also the stance of the other side (the rabbis, *Sefer chasidim*), thus representing a rare approach in existing historical studies

The second part of H. Zaremska's book pertains to the Jewish kahal in Cracow, starting with a justification of the research. Subsequently, the author defined the place of the local Jews in urban space (Zydowska Street), drawing attention to the challenging localization of the Cracow Academy *inter Iudaeos* and the ensuing conflicts between the students and the Jewish residents. A successive sub-chapter is about the structure of the Cracow kahal and its specificity. H. Zaremska used mainly Christian sources, although in the case of Cracow we have at our disposal also those written in Hebrew: six preserved 15<sup>th</sup>-century lists of the elders of the kahal and several other mentions about persons fulfilling this function. The author examined the duties of the kahal officials and their role in contacts with the Christians. Conspicuous Jews living in Cracow during the Late Middle Ages include the well-known financier Lewek and Rachela Fiszel. Referring to those two members of the Jewish community H. Zaremska outlined contacts with the monarch, the state elite and the town authorities, established by distinguished Jews. As a rule, Christian sources recorded scrupulously Jewish converts – a topic of further reflections, with the author coming across in the sources information about 22 converts (from the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century to the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century). Chronological analysis does not indicate that this phenomenon was dynamic (at least one convert lived in each decade). Finally, the last three parts of the book delve into various events in the history of the Cracow kahal: the pogrom of 1407, the trial of members of the kahal in 1495, and the transference of the settlement to Kazimierz. The book contains interesting graphic material – illustrations, maps and plans.

Bartłomiej Stawiarski

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