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## Economy-related written sources of the Franciscans (and partially of the Poor Clares') in Bohemia and Moravia, ca. 1230 – ca. 1450

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Hereditas Monasteriorum 3, 27-54

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2013

Artykuł został opracowany do udostępnienia w internecie przez Muzeum Historii Polski w ramach prac podejmowanych na rzecz zapewnienia otwartego, powszechnego i trwałego dostępu do polskiego dorobku naukowego i kulturalnego. Artykuł jest umieszczony w kolekcji cyfrowej [bazhum.muzhp.pl](http://bazhum.muzhp.pl), gromadzącej zawartość polskich czasopism humanistycznych i społecznych.

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## Economy-related written sources of the Franciscans (and partially of the Poor Clares') in Bohemia and Moravia, ca. 1230 – ca. 1450

### Beginnings and normative foundations

Approaching the economic behavior of the Order of the Friars Minor in the Middle Ages, scholars tend to start with the foundation of the Franciscan movement, closely associated with the charismatic figure of Giovanni Bernardone of Assisi (1181/82–1226)<sup>1</sup>. The rejection, if not contempt, of any property and material security, which by the way ran far beyond the early followers of Francis, seems to be related to the emergence of new urban social structures, but also to a broader “protest against the rule of money”<sup>2</sup>. This attitude, however, received in no other order such a deep root in its spiritual identity than for those brothers who wanted to express in their religious name the idea of *minoritas*<sup>3</sup>. Given the radical postulate that recited the *poverello*, no wonder if frictions accompanied the community's development to a well integrated and successful Order. These tensions and struggles among themselves, with the Apostolic See or the secular clergy, have found wide attention in historiography<sup>4</sup>. From

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1 Recently C. STIEGEMANN, B. SCHMIED, H.-D. HEIMANN (eds.), *Franziskus – Licht aus Assisi. Katalog zur Ausstellung im Erzbischöflichen Diözesanmuseum und im Franziskanerkloster Paderborn*, München, 2011. Overview over the sources: M. CUSATO, *Early Franciscan Movement (1205–1239). History, Sources and hermeneutics* (Medioevo francescano, Saggi, 14), Spoleto, 2009. Out of German literature: D. R. BAUER, H. BERG, U. KÖPF (eds.), *Franziskus von Assisi. Das Bild des Heiligen aus neuer Sicht*, Köln-Weimar-Wien, 2005; H. FELD, *Franziskus und seine Bewegung* (Beihefte zum “Archiv für Kulturgeschichte”, 54), Darmstadt, 2007<sup>2</sup>.

2 Quotation: H. KELLER, *Das frühe 13. Jahrhundert. Spannungen, Umbrüche und Neuorientierungen im Lebensumfeld Elisabeths von Thüringen*, [in:] D. BLUME, M. WERNER (eds.), *Elisabeth von Thüringen – eine europäische Heilige. Aufsätze*, Petersberg, 2007, p. 20; C. ANDENNA, *Neue Formen der Frömmigkeit und Armutsbewegung*, [in:] B. SCHNEIDMÜLLER, S. WEINFURTER, A. WIECZOREK (eds.), *Verwandlungen des Staufferreichs. Drei Innovationsregionen im mittelalterlichen Europa*, Darmstadt, 2010, pp. 246–263; classic investigation: L. K. LITTLE, *Religious poverty and the profit economy in medieval Europe*, London, 1978.

3 See R. MICHETTI, *Francesco d'Assisi e il paradosso della Minoritas: la “Vita beati Francisci” di Tommaso das Celano* (Nuovi studi storici, 66), Roma, 2004.

4 Fundamental remains: K. ESSER, *Anfänge und ursprüngliche Zielsetzungen des Ordens der Minderbrüder* (Studia et Documenta Franciscana, 4), Leiden, 1966; shortly: H.-J. SCHMIDT, *Franz von Assisi und der Franziskanerorden*, [in:] C. STIEGEMANN, B. SCHMIED, H.-D. HEIMANN (eds.), *Franziskus – Licht aus Assisi*, pp. 68–80, with further literature.

within and outside the *Ordo*, the numerous adaptations and interpretations of the rule, their glosses and the numerous papal decrees were extensively discussed, for which reason the following remarks will only outline the most decisive stages<sup>5</sup>.

While the *regula non bullata*, the papally not approved rule (1221) composed probably soon after Francis' conversion prohibits the acceptance of money and determines that only the needs for corporeal life, if not to say survival, were allowed to receive (with the exception of liturgical goods and instruments for work), the *regula bullata* (1223) promulgated by Pope Honorius III reaffirms the money ban, but allows at least the acceptance of benefits in kind, whereas the acquisition of real property and movable goods is clearly prohibited<sup>6</sup>. In his 'last will' (1226), the Seraphic saint inculcated in the brothers once again that they, as pilgrims in the world, 'have nothing' and that they have to refuse everything that has been or will be built for them<sup>7</sup>. Almost four years after the death of the Order's founder, it was Pope Gregory IX who paved the way to a pragmatic handling of donations for the brothers already expanded throughout the Italian peninsula<sup>8</sup>. While his famous bull *Quo elongati* from late September 1230 stresses the uniformity of the Franciscan way of life in poverty with the Gospel and the practice of the apostolic church, in return, however, it declares the 'last will' of the Founder as not binding legally. Brothers were endowed for the first time with the right of using real goods and even money (*usus fructus*) awarded to them, since their ownership (*dominium*) formally remained the patron's; an intermediary (initially: *nuntius*) should be transferred to the upper ownership of the Holy See<sup>9</sup>.

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5 D. MITCHELL (ed.), *Poverty and prosperity. Franciscans and the use of money. Washington Theological Union Symposium Papers 2009*, St. Bonaventure-NY, 2009; R. LAMBERTINI, "Pecunia", "possessio", "proprietas" alle origini di Minori e Predicatori: osservazioni sul filo della terminologia, [in:] *L'economia dei conventi dei Frati Minori e Predicatori fino alla metà del Trecento. Atti del XXXI Convegno internazionale, Assisi 9–11 ottobre 2003* (Atti dei Convegni della Società internazionale di studi francescani e del Centro interuniversitario di studi francescani, Nuova serie, 14), Spoleto, 2004, pp. 3–42; furthermore the contributions of J. RÖHRKASTEN and R. RUSCONI in: C. ANDENNA, G. MELVILLE (eds.), *Regulae – Consuetudines – Statuta. Studi sulle normative degli ordini religiosi nei secoli centrali del Medioevo* (Vita regularis, 25), Münster, 2005.

6 The *Regula non bullata* and *Regula bullata*, [in:] *Fontes Franciscani*, ed. E. MENESTÒ, G. M. BOCCALI (Medioevo francescano. Testi, 2), Maria degli Angeli, 1995, pp. 169–181, 183–212, esp. pp. 175, 197. Out of the vast literature: *La regola dei frati minori. Atti del XXXVII Convegno internazionale, Assisi, 8–10 ottobre 2009* (Atti dei Convegni della Società internazionale di studi francescani e del Centro interuniversitario di studi francescani, Nuova serie, 20), Spoleto, 2010. In short: H. ENZENSBERGER, *Franziskaner. Ökonomische Aspekte in Papsturkunden und Statuten*, [in:] *L'economia dei conventi*, pp. 43–48.

7 *Fontes Franciscani*, pp. 109–112; analysis by P. MARANESI, *L'eredità di frate Francesco: lettura storico-critica del Testamento*, Perugia, 2009.

8 For further consultation: *Gregorio IX e gli ordini mendicanti. Atti del XXXVIII Convegno internazionale, Assisi, 7–9 ottobre 2010* (Atti dei Convegni della Società internazionale di studi francescani e del Centro interuniversitario di studi francescani, Nuova serie, 21), Spoleto, 2011.

9 Edition and analysis: H. GRÜNDMANN, *Die Bulle "Quo elongati" Papst Gregors IX.*, "Archivum Franciscanum Historicum" [henceforth: AFH], 54, 1961, pp. 1–25; the theological implications of this view on possession in the Order is summarized in: J. COLEMAN, *Using, not owning – duties, not rights. The consequences of some Franciscan perspectives on politics*, [in:] M. CUSATO, G. GELTNER (eds.), *Defenders and critics of franciscan life. Essays in Honor of John V. Fleming* (The Medieval Franciscans, 6), Leiden-Boston, 2009, pp. 65–84; M. BENE-

The Franciscan Pope Nicholas III underscored with his bull *Exiit qui Seminatus* in 1279 the assessment that the life of the Friars Minor, following the specifications of saint Francis, was based on the Gospel and the teaching of Jesus Christ, reason why Pope and the Church would have to protect it. The mandatory poverty is exemplified by God and the apostles and practiced by Christ himself in the Church<sup>10</sup>. As well known, it was finally John XXII, who placed with three bulls, at the peak of the so-called theoretical poverty dispute, the decisive regulations on this topic which led to a temporary split of the Order. Firstly he questioned the compliance of the Apostle's community and Franciscan principles with regard to the practice of poverty (*Quia nonnumquam*); secondly he dissolved the legal construction of *the usus fructus* by abolishing the so defined office of the *procurator* and repudiating the *dominium* of the Roman Church for the donations hitherto only used by the Friars with the exception of churches, workshops and cult objects (*Ad conditorem canonum*); finally he declared heretical the assertion expressed by many *fratres* that Christ and his disciples had neither private nor commonly ownership (*Cum inter nonnullos*)<sup>11</sup>. With the theoretical disputes around the *usus pauper* and its continuation, especially in scholastic circles, and not least due to practical innovations in the handling of money (e.g. *mons pietatis*), the Franciscans are considered – in striking contrast to their early intentions – nearly as pioneers of modern, capitalist-oriented business ethics<sup>12</sup>.

### Historiography on the Friars medieval economic practice

If one looks beyond the studies which discuss the normative definitions and doctrinal provisions for or out of the exempt Order about economy, by surveying the

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DETTI discusses the juridical roots in “*La regola e vita dei frati è vivere senza nulla di proprio*”. *Primi accorgimenti giuridici, la fictio iuris*, [in:] G. MUSOTTO, A. MUSCO (eds.), *I Francescani e la politica (secc. XIII–XVII)*. *Atti dei Congressi internazionali di studi*, Palermo, 3–7 dicembre 2002 (Franciscana, 13/2), Palermo, 2007, pp. 47–74.

10 *Bullarium Franciscanum*, ed. J. H. SBARALEAE, vol. 3: *A Clemente IV. ad Honorium IV.*, Romae, 1765, pp. 404–417, no. 127; V. MÄKINEN, *Property rights in the late medieval discussion on Franciscan poverty* (Recherches de théologie et philosophie médiévales, 3), Louvain, 2001, esp. p. 95.

11 Sources in chronological order: *Bullarium Franciscanum*, vol. 4: *Referens ea, quae Nicolai III. Caelestini V. et Bonifacii VIII. sunt*, ed. D. A. ROSSI, Romae, 1768, pp. 224s., no. 464; *Extravagantes Iohannis XXII*, ed. J. TARRANT (Monumenta Iuris Canonici, series B, Corpus Collectionum, 6), Romae, 1983, pp. 217–221; finally *Bullarium Franciscanum*, vol. 5: *Benedicti XI, Clementis V, Joannis XXII Monumenta*, ed. K. EUBEL, Romae, 1898, pp. 256–259, no. 518; out of the literature: J. S. HEFT, *Nicholas III (1277–1280) and John XXII (1316–1334). Popes in Contradiction?*, “Archivum Historiae Pontificiae”, 21, 1983, pp. 245–257; J. MIETHKE, *Der “theoretische Armutsstreit” im 14. Jahrhundert. Papst und Franziskanerorden im Konflikt um die Armut*, [in:] H.-D. HEIMANN (ed.), *Gelobte Armut. Armutskonzepte der franziskanischen Ordensfamilie*, Paderborn, 2012, pp. 243–284; M. LAMBERT, *Franciscan poverty. The doctrine of absolute poverty of Christ and the Apostles in the Franciscan order 1210–1323*, St. Bonaventure/NY, 1998<sup>2</sup>.

12 L. PARISOLI (ed.), *Pauvreté et Capitalisme. Comment les pauvres franciscains ont justifié le capitalisme et le capitalisme a préféré la Modernité* (Franciscana, 23), Palermo, 2008; O. BAZZICHI, *Il paradosso francescano tra povertà e società di mercato: dai monti di pietà alle nuove frontiere etico-sociali del credito* (Polis & oikonomia, 12), Cantalupo, 2011; cf. also the contributions in the review “Vita Minorum”, 81, 2010; classic: G. TODSCHINI, *Ricchezza francescana: dalla povertà volontaria alla società di mercato* (Intersezioni, 268), Bologna, 2004.

economic practice of individual friaries<sup>13</sup>, the results, however, are comparatively small and the approaches predominantly generic<sup>14</sup>. Of course, this is due primarily to the low rate of surviving sources. Furthermore, the contributions of the last two decades dedicated to this subject are not many<sup>15</sup>. On the other hand, the scant attempts by economists to transfer models and theories of economic development to medieval religious communities, were perceived by medievalists, if at all, with noticeable restraint<sup>16</sup>. Just the French school led by Jacques Le Goff once established a relationship between mendicant settlements and urban development and thereby sustainably influenced the research since the 1960s<sup>17</sup>. The overall dilemma of a missing mediation between economic methodology and monastic historiography as a whole still exists today.

The historiographical picture on the material running of the Franciscans in general and of its medieval branch in particular darkens further if one directs the focus to their houses in Central Europe and especially in the Přemyslid Kingdom of Bohemia<sup>18</sup>,

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13 A. CACCIOTTI, M. MELLI (eds.), *I Francescani e l'uso del denaro. Atti dell'VIII Convegno storico di Greccio, Greccio, 7–8 maggio 2010* (Biblioteca di frate Francesco, 11), Milano, 2011.

14 Finding: A. RIGON, *Mendicant Orders and the Reality of Economic Life in Italy in the Middle Ages*, [in:] D. S. PRUDLO (ed.), *The Origin, Development, and Refinement of Medieval Religious Mendicancies* (Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition, 24), Leiden-Boston, 2011, pp. 242s. Exceptional are some local studies, e.g.: P. BERTRAND, *Commerce avec Dame pauvreté. Structure et fonctions des couvents mendiants à Liège (XIII<sup>e</sup>–XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles)* (Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège, 285), Genève, 2004; reflecting all Orders: A. KEHNEL, *Heilige Ökonomie*, [in:] G. MELVILLE, A. MÜLLER (eds.), *Mittelalterliche Orden und Klöster im Vergleich. Methodische Ansätze und Perspektiven* (Vita regularis, 34), Münster, 2007, pp. 269–320.

15 K. ELM (ed.), *Erwerbspolitik und Wirtschaftsweise mittelalterlicher Orden und Klöster* (Berliner Historische Studien, 17, Ordensstudien, 7), Berlin, 1992; cf. also chapter Three of: D. BERG (ed.), *Bettelorden und Stadt. Bettelorden und städtisches Leben im Mittelalter und in der Neuzeit* (Saxonia Franciscana, 1), Werl, 1992; N. BÉRIOU, J. CHIFFOLEAU (eds.), *Économie et religion. L'expérience des ordres mendiants (XIII<sup>e</sup>–XV<sup>e</sup> siècle)* (Collection d'histoire et d'archéologie médiévales, 21), Lyon, 2009; C. DOBRINSKI, B. GEDDERTH, K. WIPFLER (eds.), *Kloster und Wirtschaft im Mittelalter* (Mittelalter Studien, 15), München, 2007.

16 N. SMITH, *The economics of monasticism*, 2009, on: [www.thearda.com](http://www.thearda.com); tendentiously: R. B. EKELUND ET AL., *Sacred trust. The medieval church as an economic firm*, New York, 1996, esp. pp. 42–59, with remarks on monasteries.

17 J. LE GOFF, *Ordres mendiants et urbanisation dans la France médiévale. État de l'enquête*, "Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations", 25, 1970, pp. 924–946; J. B. FREED, *Urban development and the cura monialium in the thirteenth-century Germany*, "Viator", 3, 1972, pp. 311–327; C. CABY, *Les implantations urbaines des ordres religieux dans l'Italie médiévale. Bilan et propositions de recherche*, "Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa", 35, 1999, pp. 151–179.

18 W. DŁUGOKĘCKI, T. GAŁUSZKA, R. KUBICKI, A. ZAJCHOWSKA (eds.), *Inter oeconomiam coelestem et terrenam. Mendykanci a zagadnienia ekonomiczne* (Studia i Źródła Dominikańskiego Instytutu Historycznego w Krakowie, 9), Kraków, 2013; M. BUKAŁA, *Mendicant friars and medieval notions and ideas of economic life. "Oeconomia Dominicana" and "Franciscana"; and particularities of Central Europe*, [in:] H. SPECHT, R. ANDRASCHÉK-HOLZER (eds.), *Bettelorden in Mitteleuropa. Geschichte, Kunst, Spiritualität* (Beiträge zur Kirchengeschichte Niederösterreichs, 15, Geschichtliche Beilagen zum St. Pöltener Diözesanblatt, 32), St. Pölten, 2008; R. D. ORAM, *Breaking new ground: the monastic orders and economic development along the Northern European periphery c. 1070 to c. 1300*, [in:] F. AMMANNATI (ed.), *Religione e istituzioni religiose nell'economia europea. 1000–1800. Atti della "Quarantatreesima Settimana di Studi", 8–12 maggio 2011* (Fondazione Istituto Internazionale di Storia Economica F. Datini, Serie II, Atti delle Settimane di Studi e altri Convegni, 43), Firenze,

to which the countries Moravia, Silesia and Lusatia also belonged<sup>19</sup>. Leaving aside investigations on the economic behavior of the monasteries *in generis* or more recent works by Polish researchers<sup>20</sup>, actually only a socio-economic study of František Šmahel can be named in our closer context<sup>21</sup>. Given the few studies that have been published about the Friars Minor of this region<sup>22</sup>, it is worth outlining their formation in the Middle Ages before the introduction of the Observance movement by John of Capistrano (1386–1456)<sup>23</sup>.

The establishment and preservation of what we encounter in the written sources as the Czech-Polish province of the Order from roughly the mid-13<sup>th</sup> century onwards certainly reflects a complex process<sup>24</sup>. The backgrounds for the sometimes revoked

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2012, pp. 331–343; thoroughly R. ŠIMUNEK, *Soziale Netzwerke geistlicher Institutionen im Spätmittelalter. Das Beispiel der Minoriten- und Franziskanerklöster in Böhmen*, [in:] E. DOLEŽALOVÁ, R. ŠIMUNEK (eds.), *Ecclesia als Kommunikationsraum in Mitteleuropa (13.–18. Jahrhundert)* (Veröffentlichungen des Collegium Carolinum, 122), München, 2011, pp. 147–184.

19 Introductionary on Lusatia e.g.: J. JUROK, *Luzice, Sleszko a "vedlejší země" ve státu České koruny*, [in:] *Sleszko v dějinách českého státu. Sborník příspěvků z vědecké konference, pořadané pod záštitou prezidenta České republiky Václava Havla u příležitosti 50. výročí Sleszkého ústavu SZM v Opavě*, Opava, 1998, pp. 165–169. About Silesia see only: B. CZECHOWICZ, *Dvě centra v koruně. Čechy a Sleszko na cestách integrace a rozkolu v kontextu ideologie, politiky a umění (1348–1458)*, České Budějovice, 2011.

20 J. ČECHURA, *Klášteří velkostatek v předhusitských Čechách, základní tendence hospodářského vývoje a metodická východiska dalšího studia*, *Archeologia historica*, 10, 1985, pp. 315–407; balanced investigation on the material running of the Prague settlement of the Order of St John carried out by: M. SVOBODA, *Hospodaření strakonické komendy Johaniťů do poloviny 15. století*, *Časopis národního muzea, řada historická*, 170, 2001, pp. 1–21. For the traditionally strong Order historiography in Poland, see also: K. OZÓG, T. GAŁUSZKA, A. ZAJCHOWSKA (eds.), *Mendykanci w średniowiecznym Krakowie* (Studia i Źródła Dominikańskiego Instytutu Historycznego w Krakowie, 2), Kraków, 2008; recently the University of Wrocław is publishing a series, cf.: M. DERWICH, A. POBÓG-LENARTOWICZ (eds.), *Klasztor w mieście średniowiecznym i nowożytnym. Materiały z międzynarodowej konferencji naukowej zorganizowanej w Turawie w dniach 6–8 V 1999 r. przez Instytut Historii Uniwersytetu Opolskiego i Instytut Historyczny Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego* (Opera ad historiam monasticam spectantia edita apud LARHCOR, Series I, Colloquia, 4), Wrocław, 2000.

21 F. ŠMAHEL, *Intra et extra muros. Společná rola franciszkanův obserwantův i klarysek na zemích českých od polovy XIV do konca XV wieku*, [in:] J. Kłoczowski (ed.), *Franciszkanie w Polsce średniowiecznej*, part 1: *Franciszkanie na ziemiach polskich* (Zakony franciszkańskie w Polsce średniowiecznej, 1), Kraków, 1983, pp. 274–298.

22 Partially outdated: F. HYBL, *Počátky minoritů v Čechách a na Moravě*, *Český časopis historický*, 2, 1896, pp. 335–345; F. MACHILEK, *Reformorden und Ordensreformen in den böhmischen Ländern vom 10. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert*, [in:] F. SEIBT (ed.), *Bohemia sacra. Das Christentum in Böhmen 973–1973*, Düsseldorf, 1974, pp. 63–81. See also: L. JIRÁSKO, *Kláštery v městech v Čechách a na Moravě ve 13. století*, *Hospodářské dějiny*, 4, 1979, pp. 133–159.

23 F. FELSKAU, *Agnes von Böhmen. Leben und Institution, Legende und Verehrung*, vol. 1, Nordhausen, 2008, pp. 154–181. On Capistran cf. for instance: P. HLAVÁČEK, *Die böhmischen Franziskaner im ausgehenden Mittelalter. Studien zur Kirchen- und Kulturgeschichte Ostmitteleuropas* (Forschungen zur Geschichte und Kultur des östlichen Mitteleuropa, 40), Stuttgart, 2011, esp. pp. 32–40.

24 Amongst others: J. KŁOCZOWSKI, *La Pologne dans l'Église médiévale* (Collected Studies, 417), Great Yarmouth/Norfolk, 1993; cf. also IDEM., *Die Minderbrüder im Polen des Mittelalters*, [in:] *800 Jahre Franz von Assisi. Franziskanische Kunst und Kultur des Mittelalters* (Katalog des NÖ Landesmuseums, N.F., 122), Wien, 1982, pp. 318–331 (mostly of limited value the contribution of Rokyta about Bohemia).

attribution of single friaries or even entire custodies (such as the Lower Silesian custodies of Wrocław (Breslau) and Złotoryja (Goldberg) to this or another province, often connected with the influence of the powerful *Saxonia* do not have to be explained in greater detail<sup>25</sup>, as well as the question of the existence of an independent Polish province<sup>26</sup> or to what extent the notorious tensions between the three national components – that is the Czech, the Polish and German-speaking fractions of the brothers – challenged the unity of the province<sup>27</sup>. If we rather follow the description of the late 14<sup>th</sup> century under the pen of the fairly reliable Order's member Bartholomew of Pisa (ca. 1338–1401)<sup>28</sup> and complement it to subsequent foundations and recent findings on individual settlements, we can state that the Czech-Polish province, between its solidification till roughly 1420, consisted of seven custodies which did not completely fit the spatial divisions of secular power<sup>29</sup>:

First, the Central Bohemian Custody of Prague (Praha, Prag) with the two local friaries St. Francis and St. James, to which the general studies (*studia generalia*), probably founded during the 1310s<sup>30</sup>, were affiliated, and the convents in Bechyně (Bechin),

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25 In short: F. FELSKAU, *Agnes von Böhmen*, pp. 154–182, 515–522. About the beginnings, connected with John de Piano Carpine (c. 1185–1252) and Jordan of Giano (c. 1195–1262), see K. ELM, *Sacrum Commercium. Über Ankunft und Wirken der ersten Franziskaner in Deutschland*, [in:] P.-J. HEINIG, B. KRAUß (eds.), *Reich, Regionen und Europa in Mittelalter und Neuzeit. Fs. für Peter Moraw* (Historische Forschungen, 69), Berlin, 2000, pp. 389–412; many contributions in the serial “*Saxonia Franciscana*” (Werl) are dedicated to allied topics.

26 L. TEICHMANN, *Die polnische Franziskanerprovinz in Schlesien im 13. Jahrhundert*, “Archiv für Schlesische Kirchengeschichte”, 42, 1984, pp. 145–158; critical on some assumptions: W. IRGANG, *Beiträge zur Silesia Franciscana im 13. Jahrhundert*, *ibidem*, 48/49, 1990, pp. 219–247; J. KŁOCZOWSKI, *Klöster und Orden im mittelalterlichen Polen* (Klio in Polen, 15), Osnabrück, 2013, pp. 114–119; cfr. R. MICHAŁOWSKI, *Princeps fundador. Monarchische Stiftungen und politische Kultur im piastischen Polen*, [in:] E. MÜHLE (ed.), *Monarchische und adlige Sakralstiftungen im mittelalterlichen Polen* (Stiftungsgeschichten, 9), Berlin, 2013, p. 92.

27 Introductionary: T. ERTL, *Ihr irrt viel umher, Ihr jungen Leute. Der mittelalterliche Franziskanerorden zwischen europäischer Entgrenzung und regionaler Beschränkung*, [in:] U. ISRAEL (ed.), *Vita communis und ethnische Vielfalt. Multinational zusammengesetzte Klöster im Mittelalter. Akten des internationalen Studientages vom 26. Januar 2005 im Deutschen Historischen Institut in Rom* (Vita regularis, 29), Berlin, 2006, pp. 1–34; for the Bohemian Franciscans, this aspect was investigated by Z. SMEJKAL, *K dějinám národnostních sporů u českých františkánů (1256–1517)*, Olomouc, 1939; critical review of evidence: F. FELSKAU, *Agnes von Böhmen*, pp. 522–527.

28 B. DE PISA, *De conformitate Vitae beati Francisci ad vitam domini Iesu*, “*Analecta Franciscana*”, 4, 1906, pp. 554s.; with regard to the internal registrations of the provincial development: H. GULOBVICH, *Series provinciarum Ordinis Fratrum Minorum saec. XIII et XIV*, AFH, 1, 1908, pp. 1–22.

29 V. ČINKE, *Organizace českých klášterů ve 13. a 14. století na podkladě provinčním*, “Československý časopis historický”, 16, 1968, pp. 435–446. Lemmata on individual monasteries in the lexikons: D. FOLTÝN ET ALII, *Encyklopedie moravských a slezských klášterů*, Praha, 2005; P. VLČEK, P. SOMMER, D. FOLTÝN, *Encyklopedie českých klášterů*, Praha, 1997. On the spatial structuring of the Franciscan associations: H.-J. SCHMIDT, *Kirche, Staat, Nation. Raumgliederung der Kirche im mittelalterlichen Europa* (Forschungen zur mittelalterlichen Geschichte, 37), Weimar, 1999, pp. 405–423. For the communities of the Polish territory and beyond, see now D. KARCZEWSKI, *Franciszkanie w monarchii Piastów i Jagiellonów w średniowieczu. Powstanie – rozwój – organizacja wewnętrzna*, Kraków, 2012, esp. the list on pp. 475–481, which is not fully reliable because of the foundation data.

30 Overview: J. KADLEC, *Die Franziskaner in den böhmischen Ländern und ihr Generalstudium in vorhussitischer Zeit*, “Archiv für Kirchengeschichte Böhmens, Mährens und Schlesiens”, 8, 1987, pp. 84–91.

Benešov (Beneschau), Mladá Boleslav (Jung-Bunzlau), Jindřichův Hradec (Neuhaus), probably Horažďovice and finally Český Krumlov (Böhmisch Krummchau); second, the Custody of Moravia with seven communities in Brno (Brünn), Jihlava (Iglau), Krnov (Jägerndorf), Uničov (Mährisch Neustadt), Olomouc (Olmütz), Opava (Troppau) and Znojmo (Znaim); third, the North Bohemian Custody of Hradec Kralové (Königgrätz) with houses in Kłodzko (Kladsko, Glatz), Vysoké Mýto (Hohenmaut), Hradec Kralové, Nový Bydžov (Neubidschov) and Časlav (Tschaslau); fourth, then the West Bohemian Custody of Litoměřice (Leitmeritz) with convents in Most (Brüx), Panenský Týnec (Jungfernteinitz), Kadaň (Kaaden), Litoměřice, Stříbro (Mies), Plzeň (Pilsen), and Žatec (Saaz); fifth, the Silesian Custody of Opole (Oppeln) with friaries in Bytom (Beuthen), Wodzisław Śląski (Loslau), Głogówek (Oberglöggau) and Opole; sixth, the Polish Custody of Cracow (Kraków) with houses in Chęciny, Cracow itself, Korczyn, Lelów, Radomsko, Stary Sącz and Zawichost; seventh, the Great Polish and Lower Silesian Custody of Gniezno, with the local settlement as well as the ones in Głogów (Glogau), Grabów to the river Prosna, Wyszogród, Inowrocław, Kalisz, Oborniki, Radziejów, Pyzdry, Śrem, and at least temporarily, Chełmno (Kulm) and probably Toruń (Thorn)<sup>31</sup>. The Bohemian convents of the imperial city of Cheb (Eger) and of Domažlice (Taus) as well as the one of Valtice (Feldberg) in Moravia belonged, however, to other organizations, the first two to the Saxon, the latter to the Austrian province, evenly established around 1239<sup>32</sup>.

With the Hussite Reformation triggered in Bohemia by the preachings of Jan Hus, this association structure crashed to the ground and the Franciscan conventual life was extinguished in no less than twelve, almost exclusively Bohemian houses, while the Moravian part of the country was largely spared from assaults and damages<sup>33</sup>. The Observant movement, flourishing in the 1450s, brought further changes, detectable in the take over of some conventual friaries (Bechyně, Cheb, Valtice, Horažďovice and Plzeň, Znojmo)<sup>34</sup>. Restricting our observations to the boundaries of current Czech Re-

31 J. SARNOWSKY, *Dominikaner und Franziskaner im Ordensland Preußen*, [in:] M. ROBSON, J. RÖHRKASTEN (eds.), *Franciscan Organisation in the Mendicant Context. Formal and informal structures of the friars' lives and ministry in the Middle Ages* (Vita regularis, 44), Münster, 2010, p. 54.

32 On Feldsberg, probably founded by Henry V of Kuenring († 1281) in short: G. E. FRIESS, *Geschichte der österreichischen Minoritenprovinz Austria*, Wien, 1882 (offprint from "Archiv für österreichischen Geschichte", 64, 1882, 1); also G. WENDL, *Die Anfänge der Bettelorden in Niederösterreich*, Wien, 1920, pp. 66s.

33 A. NEUMANN, *Die Chroniken der mährischen Minoriten*, Olomouc, 1936, pp. 36, *passim*; V. DOKOUPIL, *Dějiny moravských klášterních knihoven ve správě universitní knihovny v Brně*, Brno, 1972.

34 P. HLAVÁČEK, *Die Franziskaner-Observanten zwischen böhmischer und europäischer Reformation. Ein Beitrag zur Religionsgeschichte Ostmitteleuropas*, [in:] W. EBERHARD, F. MACHILEK (eds.), *Kirchliche Reformimpulse des 14./15. Jahrhunderts in Ostmitteleuropa* (Forschungen und Quellen zur Kirchen- und Kulturgeschichte Ostdeutschlands, 36), Köln-Weimar-Wien, 2006, pp. 316s. A systematic portrayal of this topic is still lacking. See also EBERHARD ABLAUFF DE RHENO, *De novella plantatione provincie Austriae, Bohemie et Poloniae quo ad fratres minores de observantia Cronica*, lost manuscript, initially in the Archives of Bohemian Franciscan Province (Prague, Ms. II, fol. 277v–331r), photos (before 1918) at the Institut für Franziskanische Geschichte/Saxonia, Münster, Collection (Nachlass) Ferdinand Doelle.



public and adding the monasteries of the Poor Clares<sup>35</sup>, the so-called Second Order, which were intertwined with the men convents, also economically<sup>36</sup>, we grasp the following figure (map I).

The total of 29 friaries in the Czech Republic (including Glatz within the *provincia Glacensis* here) spread across 21 settlements in Bohemia and its boundary areas, and eight in Moravia<sup>37</sup>. Thirteen of the total, that is almost the half, was erected till the middle of the 13<sup>th</sup> century<sup>38</sup>, eight in the second half of this century and eight more in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, while foundations activities came soon after 1350 to a nearly complete standstill. The eight monasteries of Poor Clares, evenly distributed on the two core countries of the kingdom, were erected either as double monasteries<sup>39</sup>, as in Český Krumlov, Praha, Znojmo, Uničov, and Cieszyn, or at least in close proximity to a male Franciscan friary like in Cheb and Olomouc; we encounter a rather exceptional 'stand alone foundation' for the sisters only in Panenský Týnec, issued in 1279 by Habart of Zerotin († 1309) and his sons<sup>40</sup>.

35 Overviews: B. ROEST, *Order and disorder. The Poor Clares between foundation and reform* (The Medieval Franciscans, 8), Turnhout, 2013, esp. pp. 227–246; G. P. FREEMANN, *Clarissen in de dertiende eeuw, drie studies. Drei Studien zur Geschichte des Klarissenordens im 13. Jahrhundert. Proefschrift*, Utrecht, 1997. For Bohemia, still basic: E. WAUER, *Entstehung und Ausbreitung des Klarissenordens, besonders in den deutschen Minoritenprovinzen*, Leipzig, 1906; IDEM, *Die Anfänge des Klarissenordens in den slawischen Ländern*, Leipzig, 1903; partially outdated and blurred: KL. MINAŘIK, *Klarisky v zemích koruny České*, "Sborník historického kroužku", 26, 1925, pp. 49–53. About the economy of female Franciscan monasteries: A. HILSEBEIN, *Reiche Klöster – arme Klarissen? Finanzielle Transaktionen zwischen der Welt, dem Kloster und seinen Konventualinnen*, [in:] H.-D. HEIMANN (ed.), *Gelobte Armut*, pp. 307–334.

36 *Cura*-obligations could have been taken over also with the aim to receive material security through the female institutes who were not bounded by the precept of poverty; cf. M. WEHRLI-JOHNS, *Maria und Martha in der religiösen Frauenbewegung*, [in:] K. RUH (ed.), *Abendländische Mystik im Mittelalter. Symposium Kloster Engelberg 1984* (Germanische Symposien, 7), Stuttgart, 1986, pp. 357–360; on the other hand, friars occasionally provided to the *sorores* subsistence, even through begging activities; a thorough analysis of the mutual relationships between the two branches of the Order is missing up to now.

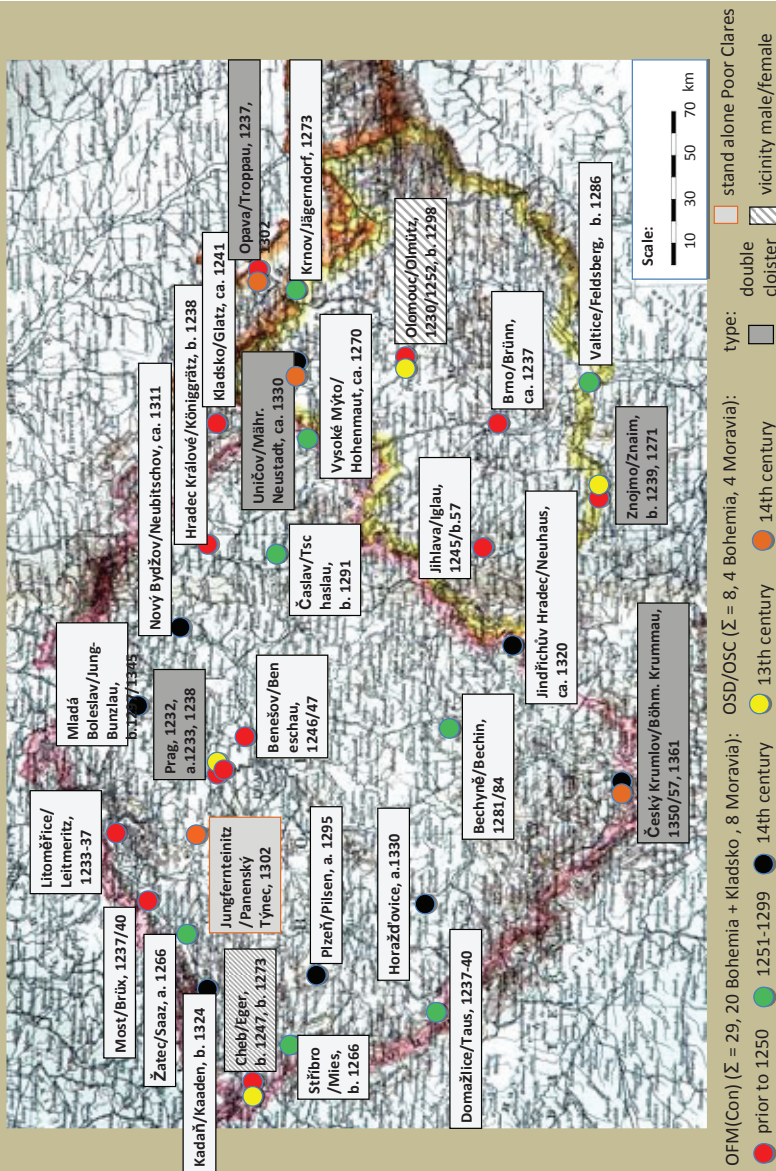
37 The size of Franciscan settlements in comparison to other orders is illustrated by Z. HLEDIKOVÁ, *Svět české středověké církve*, Praha, 2010, pp. 78s., note 28, unfortunately with some typos within the graphics.

38 Recent research moves away from fix foundation data, underlining the long lasting processus of them; cf. W. E. WAGNER, M. BORGOLTE (eds.), *Stiftungen und Stiftungswirklichkeiten. Vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart* (Stiftungsgeschichten, 1), Berlin, 2000.

39 S. HAARLÄNDER, *Doppelklöster und ihre Forschungsgeschichte*, [in:] E. KLÜTING (ed.), *Fromme Frauen – Unbequeme Frauen? Weibliches Religiosentum im Mittelalter* (Hildesheimer Forschungen, 3), Hildesheim, 2006, pp. 27–44; C. U. KURZ, "Ubi et est habitatio sororum et mansio fratrum". *Doppelklöster und ähnliche Klostergemeinschaften im mittelalterlichen Österreich (Diözese Passau in den Ausdehnungen des 13. Jahrhunderts)*, *Diss. Universität Wien*, Wien, 2010, on: <http://othes.univie.ac.at/9392/>, pp. 327–341, with remarks on the houses in Dürnstein, Laa a.d. Thaya and Vienna, St Theobald.

40 *Regesta diplomatica nec non epistolaria Bohemia et Moravia* (henceforth: RBM), vol. 2: *Annorum 1253–1310*, ed. J. EMLER, Prague, 1882, pp. 650, 801, nos. 1510, 1863; in 2007, the publisher Olms edited a reprint; still informative: F. ŠTĚDRÝ, *Týnec Panenský. Klášter klarisek*, "Sborník historického kroužku", 7, 1906, pp. 171–176; 8, 1907, pp. 65–73.

Map I: Foundations of the Friars Minor and the Poor Clares in Bohemia & Moravia



What was the significance of these communities in economic terms? How did the brothers (or sisters) and their leaders, the guardians and abbesses<sup>41</sup>, or their vicarious office bearers, the male or female procurators<sup>42</sup> mould the economic livelihood of which they were entrusted and what do or can we know of their economic management? First, it must be stressed that an analytical discussion of the entire corpus of relevant sources hitherto does not exist, if we don't limit our observations to some specific source types, such as the most valuable office books (*Amtsbücher*)<sup>43</sup>. Much of the following should thus be understood rather as a working hypothesis than a safe stock.

### Economic actions of the Franciscans: activities and their classification

Even beyond the 1240/50s – the establishment phase of the Friars Minor in Bohemia and Moravia –, those activities were of crucial economic importance which served for the *cura animarum*, the souls' salvation of the faithful; here, the brothers acted naturally more as a receiving than a demanding body, the more if they could rely on a wide popularity among local, but also of trans-local circles of the population<sup>44</sup>. In the first place, these actions included the exercise of memorial tasks initially deriving from donations (*dotationes*) and/or foundations (*fundationes*)<sup>45</sup>, called *Seelgerät* by German historiographers; then the execution of worship including a growing number of specialized masses (*missae speciales*)<sup>46</sup>, no less funerals, whose legacies

41 On the offices: L. VIALLET, *Le rôle du gardien dans les couvents franciscains au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, [in:] M. ROBSON, J. RÖHRKASTEN (eds.), *Franciscan Organisation*, pp. 225–252; about the authority of the female counterpart, shortly: R. BACHER, *Klarissenkonvent Pfullingen. Fromme Frauen zwischen Ideal und Wirklichkeit* (Schriften zur südwestdeutschen Landeskunde, 65), Ostfildern, 2009, pp. 73–75.

42 For example, a *procuratrix* is testified in case of the Brno Franciscans in 1352; cf. B. MENDEL (ed.), *Knihy počtů města Brna z let 1343–1365* (Knihy městských počtů z doby předhusitské, 1), Brno, 1935, p. 196; at other places, for instance Riga, we often encounter the vice-guardian, see *Urkundenbuch der alten Sächsischen Franziskanerprovinzen*, ed. L. LEMMENS, vol. 1: *Die Observantenkustodie Livland und Preussen*, Düsseldorf, 1902, p. 19, no. 34 (ca. 1295).

43 Cf. S. PÄTZOLD, *Amtsbücher des Mittelalters. Überlegungen zum Stand ihrer Erforschung*, "Archivalische Zeitschrift", 81, 1998, pp. 87–111; see also M. HÖMBERG, *Zur Strukturierung der Buchbestände: Amtsbücher der Wirtschaftsführung*, retrievable from the webpage of the Universität Düsseldorf, cf.: [www.phil-fak.uni-duesseldorf.de/.../Hoemberg-Quellentypologie.pdf](http://www.phil-fak.uni-duesseldorf.de/.../Hoemberg-Quellentypologie.pdf).

44 Classic study: F. ELSENER, *Vom Seelgerät zum Geldgeschäft*, [in:] M. LUTTER, H. KOLLHOSSER (ed.), *Recht und Wirtschaft in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Festschrift für Johannes Bärmann zum 70. Geburtstag*, München, 1975, pp. 85–97; about developments within the non-begging Orders: V. TONEATTO, P. ČERNIC, S. PAULITI (eds.), *Economia monastica. Dalla disciplina del desiderio all'amministrazione razionale* (Quaderni di cultura medio-latina, 4), Spoleto, 2004.

45 Basic considerations: Z. VAŠEK, *Zbožné dary šlechty na Moravě v 1. polovině 14. století (diskusní příspěvek)*, [in:] L. BOBKOVÁ, J. KONVIČNÁ (eds.), *Náboženský život a církevní poměry v zemích Koruny české (Korunní země v dějinách českého státu, 4)*, Praha, 2009, pp. 267–280. With an analytical approach about Bohemia: Z. HLEDÍKOVÁ, *Fundace českých králů ve 14. století*, "Sborník historický", 18, 1981, pp. 5–55; also: M. R. PAUK, *Działalność fundacyjna możnowładztwa czeskiego i jej uwarunkowania społeczne (XI–XIII wiek)*, Kraków-Warszawa, 2000; Z. JAKUBOWSKI, *Czeskie i morawskie fundacje kanonickie XIV–XV wieku (Studium z dziejów devotio moderna)*, Częstochowa, 2001.

46 I. W. FRANK, *Ordensarmut und "missae speciales" bei den spätmittelalterlichen Mendikantenorden*, [in:] B. HILBERATH (ed.), *Vorgeschmack. Ökumenische Bemühungen um die Eucharistie. Festschrift für Theodor Schneider*, Mainz, 1995, p. 211.

(*Stolgebühren* in German terminology), especially the so-called ‘Fourth Part’ (*quarta funeralia*) brought about, like in more Western parts of Europe, several Bohemian and Moravian towns to some violent clashes with the parish clergy<sup>47</sup>; and finally the general administration of the sacraments, especially the confession (*confessio*)<sup>48</sup>. The Order received sustainable support first of all from papal, also from episcopal side by encouraging the faithful through indulgences (*indulgentiae*) to an active, not seldomly pecuniary assistance whenever the erection of churches<sup>49</sup> or the protection of missionary activities<sup>50</sup> had to be ensured. All of these measures, based on the intermediary function of the brothers in obtaining the salvation of the faithful, entailed monetarian or at least economic advantages which often can be explored only partially, for instance through injunctions in foundation charters which provide a precious piece of a far more accurate system of acquisition to be explored<sup>51</sup>. However, informal grants including the collection of the alms at the end of the mass, counter-gifts as means of gratitude or many other informal givings by the sacrament’s recipients or their families have only a scarce documentation in written form.

These activities have to be juxtaposed with the ones that brothers carried out for their own subsistence, that is, the maintenance of their community and the buildings, initially used and later on owned by them, or the building of the church, accomplished by the *fabrica*. As a makeshift practice, only in contrast to the above-mentioned type of action, I refer to this as *cura domestica*, as a “household concern”<sup>52</sup>. The most committed and original form of acquiring means of subsistence, begging, can be reconstructed occasionally, at least topographically, with the help of begging registers,

47 Broadly and still valuable: H. LIPPENS, *Le droit nouveau des Mendians en conflit avec le droit coutumier du clergé séculier, du concile de Vienne à celui de Trente*, AFH, 47, 1954, pp. 241–292; on the Bohemian situation reports JOHANNIS NEPLACHONIS ABBATIS OPATOVICENSIS, *Chronicon*, [in:] *Excerpta de diversis chronicis additis quibusdam aulae regiae memorabilibus*, ed. J. EMLER (Prameny dějin českých = Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum, 4,2), Praha, 1884, p. 480; see also the archival material: Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna v Brně, sign. ZD P 43 (Dominikaner-Fond): *Discordia praedicatorum et minorum cum clero saeculari*, of 1495.

48 An attempt of assessing the relevance was made by: A. TURCHINI, *Registri di messe negli archivi ecclesiastici*, [in:] R. DI PIETRA, F. LANDI (eds.), *Clero, economia e contabilità in Europa. Tra medioevo ed età contemporanea* (Studi storici Carocci, 122), Roma, 2007, pp. 173–184.

49 On this topic: H.-J. SCHMIDT, *Die Wirtschaftsführung der Bettelorden in Deutschland (XIII.–XIV. Jahrhundert)*, [in:] *Leconomia dei conventi*, pp. 278–281.

50 For Bohemia and Moravia, this is well documented by numerous papal letters: E. DOLEŽALOVÁ, J. HRDINA, F. ŠMAHEL, Z. UHLÍŘ, *The Reception and Criticism of Indulgences in the Late Medieval Czech Lands*, [in:] R. N. SWANSON (ed.), *Promissory Notes on the Treasury of Merits. Indulgences in Late Medieval Europe* (Brill’s Companions to the Christian Tradition, 5), Leiden-Boston, 2006, pp. 101–145; out of the copious references only: RBM, vol. 2, p. 530, no. 1122 (Innocenz IV, 1245).

51 Charter books or registers are edited for some neighbouring provinces: *Urkundenbuch der Kustodien Goldberg und Breslau*, vol. 1: 1240–1517, ed. C. REISCH (Monumenta Germaniae Franciscana, 1/1), Düsseldorf, 1917; G. E. FRIESS, *Geschichte der österreichischen Minoritenprovinz*, “Archiv für Österreichische Geschichte”, 64, 1882, pp. 79–245.

52 Polish research recently distinguished these spheres as ‘sfera gratiae (*mutuum*)’ and ‘sfera ekonomiczna (*emptio-venditio*)’; M. BUKAŁA, *Emptio-Venditio et Usura. Usura et Simonia*, [in:] W. DĘŁGOKĘCKI, T. GAŁUSZKA, R. KUBICKI, A. ZAJCHOWSKA (eds.), *Inter oeconomiam coelestem et terrenam*, p. 111.

labelled *Termineiverzeichnisse* in German historiography<sup>53</sup>. As far as the property of the goods was initially managed by a *nuntius*, then a mediating person or *procurator* assigned to the Order, one can detect a higher intrinsic economic involvement<sup>54</sup>. The management and leasing of real estate and the exercise of fundamental rights, arising from the *Seelgeräte*, paved the way, though rather late in Bohemia, namely in the late 14<sup>th</sup> century, to a greater participation of the friars in the “bond market”, that is the acquisition and dissemination of income and interest on immovable goods (*immobilia*)<sup>55</sup>. Looking at the quite well examined economic history of Prague, one can be ascertained, that the local friary of Saint James in the last quarter of the 14<sup>th</sup> century obtained a considerable part of its income from this branch by purchasing or leasing at least 24 urban houses<sup>56</sup>. Only conjectures are to be made with regard to the rural property and rights of soils and the extent of related income, let it be agriculture, the monastery garden, the forest industry, the fishing industry (*piscatura*), the mills, the wine yards or the breweries (*brazatoria*); in most cases we might only speculate if the earnings from this economic sector primarily served for the community’s maintenance or were reinvested to strengthen its wealth<sup>57</sup>. The involvement into pure money lending, however, in the strict sense of lending business, can be found, at least for Prague since 1398<sup>58</sup>.

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53 For instance, in the case of Zwickau: C. STIEGEMANN, B. SCHMIED, H.-D. HEIMANN (eds.), *Franziskus – Licht aus Assisi*, pp. 304s.

54 F. KLINCK, *Zur Bedeutung des Wortes procurator in den Quellen des klassischen Rechts*, “Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Romanistische Abt.,” 124, 2007, pp. 25–52. For wider insight: M. HERDER, *Substitutue or subordinate? The role of a male procurator at a Benedictine women’s monastery*, “Journal of Medieval History,” 31, 2005, pp. 231–242.

55 M. DREWNIOK, *Der Einfluss der Stifte und Klöster auf den Kapital- und Rentenmarkt*, [in:] K. HENGST (ed.), *Westfälisches Klosterbuch. Lexikon der vor 1815 errichteten Stifte und Klöster von ihrer Gründung bis zur Aufhebung*, vol. 3: *Institutionen und Spiritualität* (Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission für Westfalen, 44, Quellen und Forschungen zur Religionsgeschichte, 2), Münster, 2003, pp. 519–544.

56 B. MENDEL, *Z hospodářských dějin středověké Prahy* (Sborník přískěvků k dějinám města Prahy, 5, 2), Praha, 1925, pp. 386s.; cf. F. ŠMAHEL, *Intra et extra muros*, p. 278. On owner’s annuities on houses in Pre-Hussite Prague: J. MEZNIK, *Vlastnictví rent na Starém Městě počátkem 15. století*, „Pražský sborník historický“, 7, 1972, pp. 50–61.

57 On the well investigated Cistercians, see for instance: M. LANGE, *Das Zisterzienserkloster Himmelfort. Eine Spätgründung im Randgebiet der Mark Brandenburg*, [in:] W. SCHICH (ed.), *Zisterziensische Klosterwirtschaft zwischen Ostsee und Erzgebirge* (Studien zur Geschichte, Kunst und Kultur der Zisterzienser, 19), Berlin, 2004, pp. 179–291. Only blurred information is handed down to us with regard to the running of breweries by the Friars: M. NODL, *Socialní aspekty středověkého městského pivovarnictvo*, “Documenta Pragensia”, 25, 2007, pp. 53–67, talking only about the Prague case; indication about Krummau in 1369: *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Krummau*, eds. V. SCHMIDT, A. PÍCHA (Städte und Urkundenbücher aus Böhmen, 5), Prag, 1908, p. 45, no. 186.

58 *Soudní Akta konsistoře Pražské = Acta Judicaria consistorii Pragensis*, ed. F. TADRA, vol. 2: (1380–1387) (Historický archiv, 2), Praha, 1893, pp. 311s., no. 119; further example: vol. 3: (1392–1393. 1396–1398) (Historický archiv, 8), Praha, 1893, p. 341, no. 119. With regards to the economic history of the town, V. V. TOMEK, *Dějepis města Prahy*, 9 vols., vol. 1–6, Prag, 18922–19062, vol. 7–9, Praha, 1886–1893, provides the most thorough investigation; see also F. PICK, *Beiträge zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte der Stadt Prag im Mittelalter*, “Mitteilungen des Vereins der Geschichte der Deutschen in Böhmen”, 44, 1906, pp. 277–321. About the overall

Another branch of acquisition difficult to access is the confiscation of possessions and rights of convicted heretics in the inquisitorial proceedings<sup>59</sup>. In the Bohemian Crown lands, the Inquisition, continuously documented from the 1310th and the 1340s onwards and equipped with its own office adjacent to the Prague friary of Saint James, was mainly driven by the two largest mendicant orders, first the Dominicans and second the Franciscans<sup>60</sup>. The names of the inquisitors like Hartmann of Pilsen, Jaroslav of Beneschau and Peter of Načerač, as well as some of their trials are known in greater detail<sup>61</sup>. They make us aware that the Inquisitor often could demand for himself and thus for his community the third part of the heretic's possession<sup>62</sup>; but the information is too scarce for a reliable appraise of the overall extent as well as of the amount of income generated over a longer observation period<sup>63</sup>. The anti-mendicant, sometimes even internal criticism of the procedural zeal of the brothers might not only be connected with the suspicion that the processes had been exploited in the conflicts between clergy and mendicants, but also hint to related economic incentive<sup>64</sup>.

Other economic activities of the Franciscans are tapped also only indirectly or in a speculative manner. This applies to the disposal of own premises for worldly concerns. It may be assumed that the use of the large church buildings for meetings,

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relevance of this type of transaction: A. SCHLUNK, *Kloster und Kredit. Die Rolle der Klöster als Kreditgeber und Kreditnehmer vornehmlich im 14. Jahrhundert*, "Scripta Mercaturae", 23, 1989, pp. 36–74.

59 M. BENEDETTI, *Le finanze dell'inquisitore*, [in:] *L'economia dei conventi*, pp. 363–401; see also P. KRAS (ed.), *Inkwizycja papieska w Europie* (Studia i Źródła Dominikańskiego Instytutu Historycznego w Krakowie, 6), Kraków, 2010.

60 A. PATSCHOVSKY, *Quellen zur böhmischen Inquisition im 14. Jahrhundert* (Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Monographien, 11), Hannover, 1985; IDEM, *Die Anfänge einer ständigen Inquisition in Böhmen* (Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters, 3), Berlin-New York, 1975. The earliest mentioning of a Franciscan inquisitor in Bohemia goes back to 1257, when Alexander IV commissioned Bartholomäus, lecturer in Brno, and Lambert "the German" with it on the plea of king Ottokar II; cf. *Les registres d'Alexandre IV. Recueil des bulles de ce pape*, ed. C. B. DE LA RONCIÈRE, vol. 2: *Texte: année III (1256–1257)*, ed. J. DE LOYE (Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, Série 2, 15), Paris, 1917, pp. 608–610, no. 1975; quoted again by A. PATSCHOVSKY, *Die Anfänge*, pp. 44s.

61 A. PATSCHOVSKY, *Quellen zur böhmischen Inquisition*, pp. 10s., 44s., 86s., 94–111, 124s., 128–131; IDEM, *Die Anfänge*, pp. 15–18, 23–25, 28. See also: I. HLAVÁČEK, *Zur böhmischen Inquisition und Häresiebekämpfung um das Jahr 1400*, [in:] F. ŠMAHEL (ed.), *Häresie und vorzeitige Reformation im Spätmittelalter* (Schriften des Historischen Kollegs, Kolloquien, 39), München, 1998, pp. 109–131.

62 A. PATSCHOVSKY, *Quellen zur böhmischen Inquisition*, pp. 135–138, no. 26 (=106) and esp. no. 27 (=107): "de qua bonorum confiscacione tercia pars plene et integre cedit nostro officio". On the differing portions of acquisition: *ibidem*, p. 138, note 205.

63 Introductionary: G. GELTNER, *The making of medieval antifraternalism. Polemic, violence, deviance, and remembrance*, Oxford, 2012; about the critiques of Bohemian preachers: C. OCKER, *Die Armut und die menschliche Natur: Konrad Waldhauser, Jan Milič von Kroměříč und die Bettelmönche*, [in:] M. DERWICH, M. STAUB (eds.), *Die "Neue Frömmigkeit" in Europa im Spätmittelalter* (Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, 205), Göttingen, 2004, pp. 111–132; information from within the Order: A. NEUMANN, *Výbor z předhusitských postil*, [in:] *Archiv literární II. Beilage der Revue Archa*, Olomouc, 1922, pp. 94s.

64 E. DOLEŽALOVÁ, *Inquisitionsprotokolle als Tunnel zwischen dem katholischen und dem waldensischen Kommunikationsraum – Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung Böhmens im 14. Jahrhundert*, [in:] E. DOLEŽALOVÁ, R. ŠIMUNEK (eds.), *Ecclesia als Kommunikationsraum*, p. 72.

assemblies of estates, councils or provincial assemblies, as we can prove it, for example, for the Saint James friary of Prague in the years 1343, 1372, 1386, 1392, 1405 and 1407<sup>65</sup>, had an impact not only on the everyday life of the brothers, but may also have been rewarded by the applicants or users *ex post* and beyond contractual arrangements. Certainly this form of acquisition includes the accomplishment of smaller to large ceremonials as well as the quite frequently noted solemn settlement of disputes<sup>66</sup>.

The measures outlined above could easily be categorized according to the agent; a distinction between external and internal is necessary knowing that some friars became recipients of offices or positions<sup>67</sup>, that is obtained prebends or obligations, either via the appointment as Inquisitors, as doctors to domestic or foreign universities (e.g. Albert Bludův 1355, nominated in addition Auxiliary Bishop of Prague)<sup>68</sup>, as chaplains or confessors (often under the Přemyslids)<sup>69</sup>, as court historians under Charles IV (e.g. Beneš Minorita or John of Marignolla)<sup>70</sup>, or in receipt of curial positions as in the case of the Friar Minor Pribislav, titular Bishop of Satora from 1313 to 1333<sup>71</sup>. The ordination lists of the Prague archdiocese, the *libri erectionum*, however, show only very sporadically such entries to the Friars Minor. Anyway, ecclesiastical careers of individuals shall be disregarded for the investigation of a friary's material running, as a phenomenon of rather less relevant economic size<sup>72</sup>.

65 *Privilegia měst Prazských = Privilegia civitatum Pragensium*, ed. J. ČELAKOVSKÝ (Codex Juris Municipalis regni Bohemiae, 1), Praha, 1886, pp. 68–70, no. 45 (13 VI 1343); pp. 175s., no. 108 (13 XII 1386); pp. 190–193, no. 121 (5 I 1405); see also J. SPĚVÁČEK, *Václav IV. 1361–1419. K předpokladům husitské revoluce*, Praha, 1986, pp. 172, 471; V. TOMEK, *Dějepis města Prahy*, vol. 2, Praha, 18922, p. 149. ŠMAHEL, *Intra et extra muros*, p. 280, indicates this function as a crucial motive for moving *intra muros*. On the settlements of disputes in the local friary of St James: *Acta summorum pontificum res gestas Bohemicas aevi praehussitici et hussitici illustrantia. Acta Innocentii VII., Gregorii XII., Alexandri V., Johannis XXIII. nec non acta concilii Constantiensis 1404–1417. Acta Clementis VII. et Benedicti XIII. 1378–1417*, ed. J. ERŠIL, pars 1 (Monumenta Vaticana res gestas Bohemicas illustrantia, 6/1), Praha, 1980, pp. 320–326, no. 484 (20 VII 1410). For Opava cf. the hints provided by: J. ZUKAL, *Paměti opavské. Črty kulturní a místopisné*, Opava, 1912, p. 32.

66 Well known example: king Wenceslas' I second coronation in the local monastery Saint Francis in 1249; cf. *Chronicon Marignolla*, [in:] *Kroniky doby Karla IV.* ed. M. BLAHOVÁ, Praha, 1987, p. 465; overview of these functions in J. KEJŘ, *Die mittelalterlichen Städte in den böhmischen Ländern. Gründung – Verfassung – Entwicklung* (Städteforschung, A, 78), Köln-Weimar-Wien, 2010, pp. 352–362.

67 The two Prague settlements is explored by F. FELSKAU, *Agnes von Böhmen*, pp. 486–489.

68 J. KADLEC, *Die Franziskaner in den böhmischen Ländern*, p. 88.

69 M. SOVADINA, *Dvůr Václava I.*, "Sborník archivních prací", 45, 1995, pp. 3–40; H. PATZE, *Die Hofgesellschaft Kaiser Karls IV. und König Wenzels in Prag*, [in:] IDEM (ed.), *Kaiser Karl IV. 1316–1378. Forschungen über Kaiser und Reich*, Neustadt/Aisch, 1978, pp. 733–773 (Sonderdr. aus: "Blätter für deutsche Landesgeschichte", 114).

70 K. ENGSTOVÁ, *Jan Marignolla a památky doby Karla IV. (K významu písemných pramenů pro výzkum hmotných památek)*, "Český časopis historický", 97, 1999, pp. 476–505.

71 *Urkundenbuch des Stiftes Schlägl*, ed. I. H. PICHLER, Aigen i. M., 2003, p. 102, no. 86. For further references consult the entries in RBM, vol. 2.

72 *Libri Erectionum Archidioecesis Pragensis saeculo XIV. et XV.*, ed. C. BOROVÝ, A. PODLAHA, vol. 1–6, Praha, 1875–1889, 1927; E. DOLEŽALOVÁ, *Comparison of Czech and English ordination lists of the late Middle Ages*, "Historica", n.s., 12, 2005, pp. 45–83.

After all, the remarks made above show that important aspects of the economic livelihood of a community are recorded if at all to moderate extent. Too often the information is delivered indirectly or fragmentary; at the best, sources of serial character allow a successful examination of acquisition or income in a compact form<sup>73</sup>. Noteworthy, one can not assign the forms of income and expenditure to an economic industry stringently: the economy based on the exchange of natural goods (*Naturalienwirtschaft*) probably took place in activities rather distant to literal bonds, but surely could also consist in the contractual delivery of grain, fish or timber as prominent issues of charters, while the monetarian economy (*Geldwirtschaft*) must have formed a weighty share of non-formalized relationships between the monastery and the outside world.

### Approaching an inventory of sources about the economic history of the Bohemian and Moravian Franciscans

We must assume that the frequently fractured history of many friaries as indeed of the whole country has caused heavy losses to the formerly existing amount of sources. Great historical cuts like the Hussite movement<sup>74</sup>, the religious wars of the early modern period, most notably the Thirty Years War<sup>75</sup>, the secularization of Emperor Joseph II<sup>76</sup> or the world wars of the 20<sup>th</sup> century bear responsibility for minimizing the (internal) tradition; but many local effective regional events, such as natural disasters like floods or fires in the town, famine, riots or, in view of our study period, the plague, have to be taken into account as well<sup>77</sup>.

The own tradition of the friaries can thus be easily reconstituted<sup>78</sup>. In light of the overall poor tradition, many early modern source materials gain an often not sufficiently acknowledged value because they rumores later lost knowledge, though usually

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73 An exceptional richness of tradition is published in the case of Krummau: *Urkunden- und Regestenbuch des ehemaligen Klarissinnen-Klosters in Krummau*, ed. J. M. KLIMENSCH, Prag, 1904.

74 J. ČECHURA, *Sekularizace církevních statků v západních Čechách v létech 1421–1454*, „Časopis Národního muzea“, 165, 1996, pp. 1–22.

75 J. P. PALMITESSA, *Wer besaß die Kirchen und Klöster in Prag vor dem Dreißigjährigen Krieg?*, [in:] J. BAHLCKE (ed.), *Konfessionelle Pluralität als Herausforderung. Koexistenz und Konflikt in Spätmittelalter und früherer Neuzeit. Winfried Eberhard zum 65. Geburtstag*, Leipzig, 2006, pp. 431–458.

76 See for instance: *Urkunden-Regesten aus den ehemaligen Archiven der von Kaiser Joseph II. aufgehobenen Klöster Böhmens*, ed. A. SCHUBERT, Innsbruck, 1901. The work of T. V. BÍLEK, *Statky a jmění kolejí jezuitských, klášterů, kostelů, bratrstev, a jiných ústavů v království českém od císaře Josefa II. zrušených*, Praha, 1892, esp. pp. 228–231, 334–337 on the Prague situation, remains fundamental.

77 Their impact was discussed recently: E. MAUR, *Gutsherrschaft und „zweite Leibeigenschaft“ in Böhmen. Studien zur Wirtschafts-, Sozial und Bevölkerungsgeschichte (14.–18. Jahrhundert)* (Sozial- und wirtschaftshistorische Studien, 26), München, 2001, pp. 17–58.

78 First access in: J. SVÁTEK, *Organizace řeholních institucí v českých zemích a péče o jejich archivy*, „Sborník archivních prací“, 20, 1970, 2, pp. 505–624, esp. pp. 544–550.



only sporadic and in a more narrative appeal<sup>79</sup>: the baroque chronicals of local historiographers such as the work of the Brno master Stephen Christ<sup>80</sup>, the *Chronologia conventus ad sanctos Joannes Brunae Minorum Ordinis Sancti Francisci Conventualium Collecta* of John Impekhoven<sup>81</sup> from 1658, the yet unexplored *Memorabilia* of the observant Provincial Viktor Swatha<sup>82</sup> of 1727, and finally the printed writings of the historiographers Wrbcansky (observant) or Biernacky (conventual)<sup>83</sup> provide at least a contribution to the overall understanding of the Order's development in the region in which its economic life is embedded.

But back to the medieval sources: the dispositions, set off externally or internally, from the rule and its interpretations through the Constitutions up to the statutes issued on overall<sup>84</sup> or provincial level<sup>85</sup>, shape the normative framework of the friars'

79 See also the recent dissertation: M. F. BAJGER, *Česká františkánská knižní kultura knihovny minoritů, františkanů a kapucínů v průběhu staletí*, Ostrava, 2007 – unfortunately only accessible through internet; [www.bajger.wz.cz/frk/](http://www.bajger.wz.cz/frk/).

80 Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna v Brně, *Rukopisy z knihovny minoritů v Brně*, sign. Mn 60. Same remark about the Order's historiography of M. KOLLENBERGER, *Historiae provinciae Bohemiae fratrum Minorum Conventualium*, Prague, 1745.

81 Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna v Brně, *Rukopisy z knihovny minoritů v Brně*, sign. M 59. Inventory: *Soupis rukopisů knihovny brněnských minoritů, připravil Státní vědecká knihovna*, Brno, 1953.

82 Brno, Archiv města Brna, Jakobska knihovna, *Sbírka rukopisů Bedřicha Mitrovského*, Sign. A 1.14j. Consider also V. DOKOUPIL, *Soupis brněnských tisků. Staré tisky do roku 1800*, Brno, 1978.

83 J. C. BIERNACKI, *Speculum Minorum in quo Primigenia Religio Ordinis Minorum Conventualium Omnium Primi Ordinis Minorum*, Krakau, 1688; S. WRBEZANSKÝ, *Nucleus Minoriticus, seu vera, et sincera relatio originis, et progressus provinciae Bohemiae, conventuum et residentiarum*, Vetero Praga, 1746.

84 For instance the regulation of the Narbonne general chapter in 1260, rubrica III (*de observantia paupertatis*), esp. paragraph V; edited by: F. EHRLE, *Constitutiones Generales Fratrum Minorum Narbonenses anno 1260*, "Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte", 6, 1862, pp. 45–47; decisions of other general chapters: G. ABATE, *Memoriali, statuti, ed atti dei capitoli generali dei fratri minori die secoli XIII e XIV*, "Miscellanea franciscana", 33, 1933, pp. 15–45, 320–336; 34, 1934, pp. 248–253; 35, 1935, pp. 101–106, 232–239; C. CENCI, *De Fratrum Minorum Constitutionibus Praenarbonensibus*, AFH, 83, 1990, pp. 50–95; M. BIHL, *Statuta generalia Ordinis edita in Capitulis generalibus Narbonae an. 1260, Assisii an. 1279 atque Parisiis an. 1292 (Editio Critica et Synoptica)*, AFH, 34, 1941, pp. 13–94, 284–358; S. J. P. VAN DIJK, *The statutes of the general chapter of Pisa (1263)*, AFH, 45, 1952, pp. 299–322; A. CARLINI, *Constitutiones generales Ordinis Fratrum Minorum an. 1316 Assisii conditae*, AFH, 4, 1911, pp. 269–302, 508–526, 526–536; P. S. MENCHERINI, *Constitutiones Generales Ordinis Fratrum Minores a Capitulo Perpiniani anno 1331 celebrato editae*, AFH, 2, 1909, pp. 269–292, 412–430, 575–599; F. DELORME, *Acta capituli generalis anno 1346 Venetiis celebrati*, AFH, 5, 1912, pp. 698–709; IDEM, *Acta et Constitutiones capituli generalis Assisiensis (1340)*, AFH, 6, 1913, pp. 251–266; M. BIHL, *Statuta Generalia Ordinis edita in capitulo generali an. 1354 Assisii celebrato communiter Farineriana appellata*, AFH, 35, 1942, pp. 35–112, 177–253; C. CENCI, *L'Ordine francescano e il diritto. Testi legislativi dei secoli XIII–XV* (Bibliotheca eruditorum, 15), Goldbach, 1998; H.-M. STAMM, *Strafbruchliche Bestimmungen in der Gesetzgebung des Minderbruderordens bis Anfang des 15. Jahrhunderts*, [in:] *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law* (Monumenta iuris canonici, Ser. C, Subsidia, 10), Città del Vaticano, 2004, pp. 713–722.

85 For Bohemia, such documents are only edited with regard to the Observants; cf. G. FUSSENEGGER, *Statuta observantium provinciae Bohemiae annis 1471 et 1480 condita*, AFH, 47, 1954, pp. 367–384. For the Poor Clares: O. M. PRZYBYŁOWICZ, *Statuty klarysek znojmskich z 1436 roku. Gradacja wykroczeń i kar w świetle reguły oraz wybranych źródeł wydanych dla klasztorów klarysek prowincji czesko-polskiej XV i XVI wieku*, [in:] A. RADZIWIŃSKI, D. KARCEWSKI, Z. ZYGLEWSKI (eds.), *Sanctimoniales. Zakony żeńskie w Polsce i Europie Środkowej (do przełomu XVIII i XIX wieku)*, Bydgoszcz-Toruń, 2011, pp. 80–104.

economic action. So few news to local provincial chapters exist, so much the remains of tradition need to be adequately evaluated<sup>86</sup>. Serial sources, produced by local friaries, and more or less exclusively dedicated to the economic management as urbars, fief's books (*Lehnbücher*), registers, or books of income and expenses (*redditus* and *impensa*), in German speaking regions often called *Gültbücher*, were mostly kept in the sacristy of the monastery and experienced a certain spread in the northern Alpine region only in the 14<sup>th</sup> century<sup>87</sup>; unfortunately, they are not handed in our area of interest, at least not for the first Franciscan Order<sup>88</sup>. An exception in this respect constitutes the so-called *Salbuch* of the Cheb Poor Clares, which consists of a register of letters and documents not only of the local Clarissans, but also of the neighbouring Franciscans to a meaningful extent<sup>89</sup>. Nevertheless, due to the very modest survival of appropriate sources, one has to pay more attention to written sources coming from institutions exterior to the friars: charters, privileges, indulgences and edicts are, up to the 14<sup>th</sup> century, when the public notary began to enforce as a certifying agency for legal acts<sup>90</sup>, undoubtedly the most valuable sources of such content. They can be reached in the commonly known serial publications of regis-

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86 Among the relevant archival material of medieval origin, the manuscript V F 29 of the Národní knihovna v Praze/Nationalbibliothek in Prag; it contains passages on the interpretation of the rule and some regulations of local provincial chapters: *Expositio regulae, moniciones fratrum minorum in Capitulo Znojmensi a.d. 1412 ordinate, Collationes ad fratres min., Formularius epistolarum magna ex parte usui fratrum minorum accomodatus; or ibidem, sign. IV G 30, fol. 226a–226b: Ordinationes capituli Franciscanorum celebrati in Olomoucz anno 1353; inventory: J. TRUHLAŘ, *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum latinorum, qui in C.R. Bibliotheca publica atque Universitatis Pragensis asservantur*, 2 vols., Praha, 1905–1906.*

87 K. HAUBERTOVÁ, G. HOFMANN, L. LEŠICKÝ, *Soupis západočeských urbářů: 2. pol. 13. století – 1773*, Plzeň, 1993; J. KUBA, T. ŠIMEK, FR. ZAHŘÁDKA, *Soupis východočeských urbářů: 2. polovina 13. století – 1776*, Zámorsk, 1997. For Moravia, similar inventories are lacking till today. See also A. NEUMANN, *Deutsche Franziskanerhandschriften in den Bibliotheken Mährens*, "Franziskanische Studien", 9, 1922, pp. 260–263.

88 See for neighbouring regions: *Die mittelalterlichen Urbare der Minoriten und Dominikaner in Pettau*, ed. H. PICHEGGER, W. SITTIG, (Österreichische Urbare, Abt. III: Urbare geistlicher Grundherrschaften, 4), Wien, 1955. For Bohemia, just to quote the codex of the Prague Austin Hermits: J. KADLEC, *Das Augustinerkloster Sankt Thomas in Prag: vom Gründungsjahr 1285 bis zu den Hussitenkriegen, mit Edition seines Urkundenbuches* (Cassiacum, 36), Würzburg, 1985, esp. pp. 81–99; for the Poor Clares: *Urkunden- und Regestenbuch des ehemaligen Klarissenklosters zu Krummau*, quoted above.

89 K. SIEGL, *Das Salbuch der Egerer Klarissen v. J. 1476 im Egerer Stadtarchiv*, "Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Deutschen in Böhmen", 42, 1904, pp. 207–252, 293–317, 450–479; 43, 1905, pp. 77–105; separated print: *Das Salbuch der Egerer Klarissen v. J. 1476 im Egerer Stadtarchiv*, ed. K. SIEGL, Prag, 1905 (henceforth cited by the latter edition). On the rich preservice of liturgical material of the monastery: J. LIŠKOVÁ, *Liturgické knihy chebského františkánského konventu, unveröffentl. Magisterarbeit*, Praha, 1991.

90 I. HLAVÁČEK, *Das öffentliche Notariat in den böhmischen Ländern von den Anfängen bis zur hussitischen Revolution*, [in:] *Notariado público y documento privado. De los orígenes al siglo XIV. Actas del VII. Congreso Internacional de Diplomática Valencia 1986* (Papers i Documenti, 7), Valencia, 1986, pp. 177–193; corresponding observations taken from other regions: N. KERSKEN, *Öffentliches Notariat und klösterliches Urkundenwesen*, [in:] O. AUGÉ, F. BIERMANN, C. HERRMANN (eds.), *Glaube, Macht und Pracht. Geistliche Gemeinschaften des Ostseeraumes im Zeitalter der Backsteingotik* (Archäologie und Geschichte im Ostseeraum, 6), Rahden, 2009, pp. 339–348.

ters, although not always consistently, for systematic examination<sup>91</sup>, or if compiled in cartularies, partially still preserved in archives<sup>92</sup>. Especially with regard to the well examined last wills<sup>93</sup>, the economic importance of the legacies for individual communities can be grasped quite well — from the four marks granted to the Friars Minor of Königgrätz by the Royal *pincerna* Zbraslaus in 1238 to the widespread disregard of the Order in the first two decades of the 15<sup>th</sup> century<sup>94</sup>. These sources are followed, in terms of a relatively high density of information, by the urban or municipal account books<sup>95</sup>, which were published and scientifically explored at least for some central locations such as Prague, Brno or Pilsen; finally, the formula books and text collections of worldly or ecclesiastical chancelleries have to be mentioned in that respect<sup>96</sup>.

91 Apart from the collections like RBM (cited in n. 40), the MVB (cited in n. 65), one should mention the *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Bohemiae*, its Moravian counterpart, the *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Moraviae* as well as the *Regesta Bohemiae et moraviae aetatis Venceslai IV. (1378 dec. – 1419 aug.16)*; many of these fundamental sources are now accessible through the internet by the Centrum mediévistických studií, cf.: <http://cms.flu.cas.cz/>.

92 Further indication in I. HLAVÁČEK, *Cartularies and the Preservation of Documents in the Archives of the Bohemian Crown before the Hussite Revolution*, [in:] A. J. KOSTO, A. WINROTH (eds.), *Charters, Cartularies, and Archives. The Preservation and Transmission of Documents in the Medieval West* (Papers in Medieval Studies, 17), Toronto, 2002, pp. 137–150.

93 K. JÍŠKOVÁ, E. DOLEŽALOVÁ (eds.), *Pozdně středověké testamenty v českých městech. Prameny, metodologie a formy využití. Sborník příspěvků z konference uspořádané 30. listopadu 2005 Archivem hlavního města Prahy a Historickým ústavem Akademie věd České republiky*, Praha, 2006; T. KRZENČEK, *Books in late medieval wills in Bohemia*, “Annual of medieval studies at Central European University Budapest”, 7, 2001, pp. 187–209; and IDEM, *Methodische und methodologische Probleme bei der Erfassung und Auswertung spätmittelalterlicher Bürgertestamente unter besonderer Beachtung böhmischer Quellen*, “Mediaevalia historica Bohemica”, 9, 2003, pp. 211–243.

94 RBM, vol. 2, p. 1218, no. 2786: “et in Gradech fratribus Minoribus quatuor marce, et in Praga fratribus de sancto Jacobo committo dare elemosinam, quantum uxori mee secundum deum videbitur.” Witnesses are amongst others two Dominicans (“frater Chuno” and “frater Stephanus”) and two Franciscans (“frater Petrus macer” and “frater Gerodus”); cf. the listing at T. KRZENČEK, *Böhmische Bürgertestamente des 15. Jahrhunderts. Regestenverzeichnis*, “Archiv für Diplomatik”, 44, 1998, pp. 141–186, who significantly does not note a single dedication to the Friars after 1400.

95 Basic inventory: R. NOVÝ, *Soupis městských knih českých do roku 1526* (Acta Universitas Carolinae, Philosophica et historica, 4), Praha, 1963; recently for Prague: *Liber Vetusissimus Antiquae Civitatis pragensis 1310–1518*, ed. H. PÁTKOVÁ (Documenta Pragensia Monographia, 25) Praha, 2011, p. 223, fol. 7v, with the unique and rather occasional mentioning of St Francis friary. For Brno: *Knihy počtu města Brna*, pp. 295, 327, 330, 353–355; for Pilsen: *Listář královského města Plzně, část 1: Od r. 1300–1450*, ed. J. STRNAD (Publikaci městského historického musea v Plzni, 1), Plzen, 1891; for Hohenmaut: R. DVORAK, F. HYSKA, *Knihy bíla úzká (městská registra vysokomýta 1423–1464)*, “Listy orlického muzea”, 1–2, 1967, pp. 19–58, 163–204, and continuation. Urban book of Leitmeritz without entries of the Friars in B. KOČANOVÁ, J. TOMAS, *Městská kniha Litoměřic (1341)–1562 v kontextu písemností městské kanceláře. Třetí ze svazku Libri civitatis přináší edici nejstarší městské knihy významného královského města Litoměřic. Tato městská kniha je zároveň i třetí nejstarší dochovanou knihou v Čechách. (v kontextu písemností městské kanceláře)* (Libri civitatis, 3), Ústí nad Labem, 2006.

96 E.g.: *Summa Cancellariae. Cancellaria Caroli IV*, ed. F. TADRA (Historický archiv, 6), Prag, 1895, pp. 201s., no. 353, reporting an incidence, where the St James friary served as a place of refuge. Furthermore: F. TADRA, *Cancellaria Arnesti. Formelbuch des ersten Prager Erzbischofs Arnest von Pardubic, nach einer Handschrift der k. k. Universitäts-Bibliothek*, “Archiv für Österreichische Geschichte”, 61, 1880, pp. 267–597.

A source of same rank with regard to its systematic lay out, are the records of the spiritual court (*Offizialat*, Czech: *soud*). They collect legal disputes between ecclesiastical institutions and are edited for the Prague archdiocese under the title *Acta iudiciaria*<sup>97</sup>; though mentioning them in a rather laconic or sporadic way, they shed light on the friar's conflicts about monetary or real estate issues.

To the sources explicitly dealing with economic issues, one has to add a variety of writings of memorial concern which uncover at least indirectly clues to the *economia monastica* of the brothers. The necrologies of the friaries of Olomouc and Český Krumlov<sup>98</sup> and manuscript collections of mixed text forms, here foremost the so-called *Epicedium*, the memorial book of the Brno Friars Minor, are to be named<sup>99</sup>. Once more, these remarks make clear that certain continuities of tradition are to be expected in those parts of the country which remained rather unaffected by the Husitism, especially the Margraviate of Moravia. The protocols of visitation, usually ordered by the Order itself and in rare cases also decreed from the outside, constitute an additional surviving source in both core countries of the kingdom; these documents report, apart from disciplinarian sanctions, the economic condition of a friary<sup>100</sup>.

In addition, some narrative source<sup>101</sup> hitherto has received little attention. We learn, for example, in the legend of Princess Agnes of Bohemia the meticulous division of the incoming resources for the Poor Clare Monastery of the royal daughter<sup>102</sup>. The

97 *Acta Iudiciaria, passim*; discussion on this type of source: *The Records of the Medieval Ecclesiastical Courts*, ed. C. DONAHUE, vol. 1: *The Continent: Reports of the Working Group on Church Court Records* (Comparative Studies in Continental and Anglo-Saxon Legal History, 7), Berlin, 1989; highlighting the development of this institution in Bohemia: B. KUBÍČKOVÁ, *K počátkům pražského oficiálního*, "Sborník příspěvků k dějinám hl. m. Prahy", 5, 1932, pp. 391–479.

98 J. EMLER, *Dvě nekrologia Krumlovská*, "Věstník královské české společnosti nauk", 1, 1887, pp. 198–227; on the double cloister: H. SOUKUPOVÁ, *Kláster minoritů a klarisek v Českém Krumlově*, "Průzkumy památek", 6, 1999, pp. 69–86; J. LOSERTH, *Das Nekrolog des Minoritenklosters in Olmütz*, "Archiv für Österreichische Geschichte", 65, 1884, pp. 230–254; for the Poor Clares, see: Moravský zemský archiv v Brně, fond G 11 = Františkovo muzeum, číslo 512: *Necrologium monasterii ordinis s. Clarae Znoyme*, XIV. c.; cf. I. ZACHOVÁ, S. PETR, *Soupis sbírky rukopisů bývalého muzea v Brně* (Studie o rukopisech, monographia, 14), Praha, 2010, pp. 222–224, 476; about further archival material on the spot: *Ibidem*, p. XLV.

99 See M. GROLIG, *Das Epicedium des Brünner Minoriten-Klosters*, "Zeitschrift des Vereins für Geschichte Mährens und Schlesiens", 1, 1873, pp. 73–105; succeeding edition: A. KRATOCHVIL, *Epicedium minoritského kláštera v Brně*, "Časopis Matice Moravské", 43–44, 1919–1920, pp. 14–64.

100 J. OBERSTE, *Die Dokumente der klösterlichen Visitationen* (Typologie des sources du Moyen Âge, 80), Turnhout, 1999, pp. 45–50, introduces this type of source. Fortunately, for the Olomouc Poor Clares, we have at our disposal such a protocol, cf. A. NEUMANN, *Prameny k dějinám duchovenstva v době předhusitské a Husově. Studie a texty k náboženským dějinám českým*, Praha, 1926, pp. 157–161; IDEM, *Z dějin českých klášterů do válek husitských*, Praha, 1939, pp. 167, 184.

101 This type of source includes also letters that reveal narrative information on a monastery's overall status: Zprávy o statcích a přech venkovských z archivu města Prahy (A–K), vyd. J. TEIGE, "Archiv český čili staré písemné památky české i moravské, sebrané z archivů domácích i cizích", 26, Praha, 1909.

102 J. K. VYSKOČIL, *Legenda blahoslavené Anežky a čtyři listy sv. Kláry. Kritický rozbor textový i věcný legendy a čtyř listů s nejstarším (původním) textem milánského rukopisu*, Praha, 1932; *Candor lucis eterne – Glanz des ewigen Lichts. Die Legende der heiligen Agnes von Böhmen*, übersetzt von J. SCHNEIDER, mit einer Einleitung

hagiographical source informs us also about the authority of the monastery's foundress when she endows the neighbouring brethren with food supplies; in the miracle report of her legend, we face statements which identify the friars as active mediators in the allocation of adoration and healing objects<sup>103</sup>. This form of promotion certainly caused profitable effects, which went beyond the issuance of votive offerings to pilgrims and worshipers<sup>104</sup>. Information of some indicative character concerning the economic life are even embodied by some liturgical sources when they reveal major benefactors of a monastery, the names and dates of their funeral and the incurred memorial obligations, therefore drawing attention to a specific quality of support for it. The most telling example here would probably be the already mentioned Brno Memorial book, which consists of statements of his foundation operations, a listing of burials in the choir, and a rather small collection of eternal wills (*Ewigtestamente*) and bonds.

### Evaluation possibilities and research perspectives

To what extent can the quite sparse material outlined above widen our knowledge of economic practices of the Friars Minor, and in the second place of the Poor Clares, and what can be the objective and limits of our interpretation? If one leaves for the time being the possible gains of insight related to individual friaries of the Franciscans through archival present, but largely untapped sources aside<sup>105</sup>, and deals with most urgent and fruitful research purposes, then the already mentioned published registers strictly require systematic review and analysis; thus a "charter's book of the Bohemian and Silesian custodies of the Friars Minor from foundation to Hussite Reformation" could emerge which stands in line with similar publications for other regions and provinces, mostly composed around 1900; the scientific value of this edition as a starting point for further research needs no further discussion, even if it incorporates only information on a few monasteries of a remarkable size, while other houses would be represented with perhaps not much more than two or three (rather

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von C.-F. FELSKAU (Johannes-Duns-Skotus-Akademie für franziskanische Geistesgeschichte und Spiritualität, 24), Mönchengladbach, 2007.

103 *Candor lucis eterne*, cap. [V], *miraculum* nos. 11, 12, 13+15, pp. 36–38, 65–68.

104 F. PIGOZZO, *I denari dei pellegrini. Oblazioni votive e istituzioni ecclesiastiche nell'Italia centrale alla fine del XIV secolo*, [in:] F. AMMANNATI (ed.), *Religione e istituzioni religiose*, pp. 743–753; see also: H. MANIKOWSKA, H. ZAREMSKA (eds.), *Peregrinationes. Pielgrzymki w kulturze dawnej Europy* (Colloquia Mediaevalia Varsoviensia, 2), Warszawa, 1995; J. HRDINA, *Die Topographie der Wallfahrtsorte im spätmittelalterlichen Böhmen*, [in:] F. ŠMAHEL (ed.), *Geist, Gesellschaft, Kirche im 13.–16. Jahrhundert, Internationales Kolloquium Prag 5.–10. Okt. 1998* (Colloquia mediaevalia Pragensia, 1), Praha, 1999, pp. 191–208; study dealing with the same subject: R. I. BURNS, *Relic vendors, barefoot friars, and Spanish Muslims: reflections on medieval economic and religious history*, "Comparative studies in society and history", 24, 1982, pp. 153–163. Not at least, the *ostensio* of the Krumlov Franciscans pertains to this context; cf. Národní knihovna v Praze, sign. XIV B 15: *Martyrologium praecedente Calendario Necrologium mon. fr. min. p. Francisci Crumloviensis continente Ordo ostendendum*.

105 Národní knihovna v Praze, sign. IV G 30, fol. 226a–226b (like n. 86); also: Olomouc/Olmütz, Státní Vědecká knihovna v Olomouci, sign. M II 15: *Chronicarum fragmentum*.

arbitrary?) entries<sup>106</sup>. By this way, insights could be gained, which at least shed some sharper light, on the relative weight of the Friars Minor in general or of individual houses in particular, always in the overall framework of normative traditions of economic activities in the countries of the Bohemian kingdom. A similar procedure is recommended, by the way, with the aforementioned legal acts of the spiritual court. The *Acta Judiciaria* that have been evaluated on a descriptive level for both Prague friaries offer an opportunity to evaluate the legal endeavors of the communities that secured economic subsistence in conflictual contexts<sup>107</sup>.

In a second perspective, on the level of analysis of individual monasteries, the municipal books, the *libri civitatis*, above all the account books of the urban administration entities, require a thorough analysis, especially when they are preserved for a longer period and comprise a high density of tradition, as in the case of Brno<sup>108</sup>. They provide excellent evidence when showing the urban anchoring of the Friars Minor; like for the sources already listed, this material allows to adopt the comparative approach, here for obvious reasons firstly compassing the biggest “rival”, the Dominicans, but then also the other mendicant orders<sup>109</sup>. An evaluation of the releases of the Brno City Council for the years 1343–1365 illustrates the goals and limits of such an approach for the local convent of Saint James (founded before 1238), first on the basis of the listing of all entries, including the so-called distributions (*Losungen*) and the debenture bonds (Fig. I), second by a comparison with other religious institutes on the spot<sup>110</sup>.

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106 Beyond the already mentioned publications: L. LEMMENS, *Die Franziskanerkustodie Livland und Preussen. Beitrag zur Kirchengeschichte der Gebiete des Deutschen Ordens*, Düsseldorf, 1912.

107 To my knowledge, the relations between the ecclesiastical court and the Friars have not been investigated yet ; see their itemization: R. M. NICKEL, *Zwischen Stadt, Territorium und Kirche: Franziskus' Söhne in Westfalen bis zum Beginn des Dreißigjährigen Krieges*, downloadable on the University's page: <http://www-brs.ub.ruhr-uni-bochum.de/netahtml/HSS/Diss/NickelRalfMichael/diss.pdf>; pp. 186, 399, with reference to the court in Münster, where the court gave permission for the requested begging districts.

108 Recently: K. URBÁNKOVÁ, *Brněnské berní rejstříky z přelomu 14. a 15. století* (Prameny dějin moravských, 15), Brno, 2008; on the scope of this tradition: R. NOVÝ, *Soupis městských knih*, pp. 39–49. On this type of source: I. EBELOVÁ, *Libri Civitatis. Zur Edition der ältesten Stadtbücher Böhmens und Mährens*, [in:] M. THUMSER, J. TANDECKI (eds.), *Editionswissenschaftliche Kolloquien 2005/2007. Methodik – Amtsbücher, digitale Edition – Projekte* (Publikationen des Deutsch-Polnischen Gesprächskreises für Quellenedition, 4), Toruń, 2008, pp. 77–97; in addition: F. DEBUS (ed.), *Stadtbücher als namenkundliche Quelle. Vorträge des Kolloquiums vom 18.–20. September 1998* (Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse – Einzelveröffentlichungen, 7), Stuttgart, 2000, here especially the contributions of Skála and Srámek on the Bohemian *libri*.

109 V. DOKOUPIL, *Soupis rukopisů z knihovny minoritů v Brně, františkánů v Moravské Třebové a premonstrátů v Nové Říši. Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum, qui in Bibliothecis Fratrum Minorum Brunensium, Fratrum Ordinis Sancti Francisci Moravotriboviensium, Fratrum Ordinis Praemonstratensis Neoreischensium asservantur* (Soupisy Rukopisných Fondů Universitní Knihovny v Brně, Catalogi codicum manu scriptorum in Bibliotheca Universitatis Brunensis asservatorum, 3), Praha, 1959.

110 Data based on: *Knihy počtů města Brna*. On the monastery: E. WAUER, *Die Anfänge des Klarissenordens*, p. 36; on the foundation: RBM, vol. 1: *Annorum 600–1253*, ed. K. J. ERBEN (Ex actis regiae scientiarum societatis Bohemiae, ser. 5, 8.), Pragae, 1855, pp. 432s. no. 931 (first mentioning 1238). About the urban bonds see: H.-J. GILOMEN, *Städtische Anleihen im Spätmittelalter. Leibrenten und Wiederkaufsrenten*, [in:] C. HESSE,

Fig. I. *Losungen* and debenture bonds of the Brünn municipal administration to the local Friars Minor, 1345–1367

Year	Event / Type	Text / Amount	Quote
1345	Distributum / Losung	It. Fratribus Minoribus pro structura ecclesie sue date sunt 4 mar.	p. 49s.
1347	Distributum / Losung	It. Ad opus ecclesie fratrum Minorum 4 mar. et eisdem fratribus dati sunt 18 gr. de censu alterius medie marce extra leczam ante portam Letorum	p. 74–78, here 76
1362	Distributum / Losung	It. Fratribus Minoribus 20 mar., census 3 mar.	p. 273s.
1363	Debitum subscriptum / percepta	It. Fratribus Minoribus 20 mar.	p. 275s., 277s.
1365	Debitum subscriptum / percepta	It. Fratres Minores, habet vineam in Gurde pro 8 mar., tenetur fert.	p. 301–341, here 341
1363	Debitum subscriptum	It. Fratribus Minoribus ad s. Johannem 20 mar., de quibus censuantur tres marce	p. 412
1365	Debitum subscriptum	It. Fratribus Minoribus ad s. Johannem 20 mar.	p. 413

The comparative evaluation of such a serial source can be carried out very easily between the brothers of the Friars Minor and the local resident Dominicans of St Michael (founded before 1247<sup>111</sup>), in addition to other spiritual communities on the spot. In terms of a relative classification of the findings, it is certainly helpful to interpret the urban distributions (i.e. collections) or the debenture bonds more precisely for a specific year in order to classify the urban ties of the brothers (Fig. II)<sup>112</sup>.

In general, only after a reconciliation of such extra-monastically created record series and under consideration of all forms of proceedings, the secular agents or “business entities” had chosen, one can appreciate in a critical way Šmahel’s *dictum* about the relative marginal importance of the Friars Minor from an economic point of view<sup>113</sup>. Such an attempt cannot be successfully exerted on various levels and different compasses, but it might lead to meaningful statements already, when a collection of all charters is handed down, as described earlier.

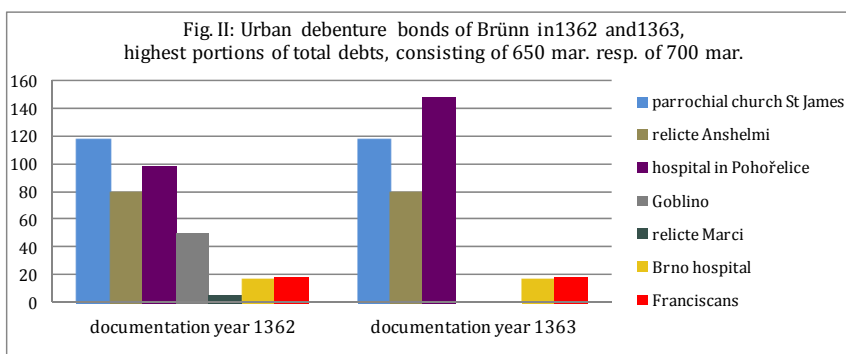
For further investigation opportunities at the scale of individual friaries, the already introduced *Salbuch* of the Poor Clares in Cheb (Eger) offers an unequalled insight into the course and nature of economic contracts of the sisterhood; its compact tradition of 54 business-related documents of the neighbouring Friars charged of the *cura* of the sisters shows in details key aspects of their economic management. Certainly,

B. IMMENHAUSER (eds.), *Personen der Geschichte, Geschichte der Personen. Studien zur Kreuzzugs-, Sozial- und Bildungsgeschichte. Fs. Für Rainer Christoph Schwinges zum 60 Geburtstag*, Ostfildern, 2003, pp. 165–186.

111 V. J. KOUDELKA, *Zur Geschichte der böhmischen Dominikanerprovinz im Mittelalter, II: Die Männer- und Frauenklöster*, “Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum”, 26, 1956, pp. 141s.; on the Bohemian Dominicans, see the book: T. ČERNUŠAK, *Historie dominikánů v českých zemích*, Praha, 2001.

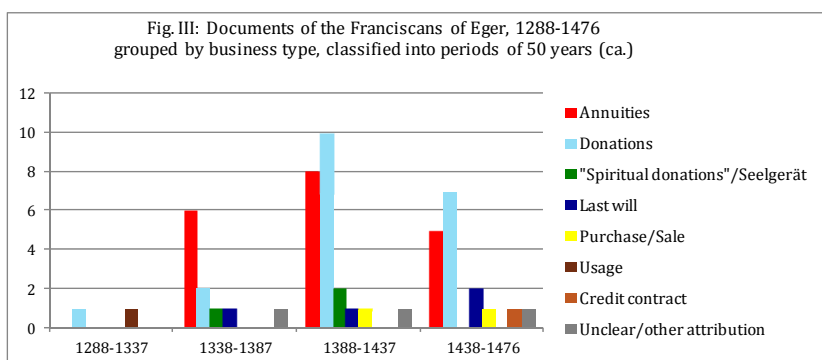
112 Taken from: *Knihy počtů města Brna* (quotation of pages according to fig. I).

113 F. ŠMAHEL, *Intra et extra muros*, p. 278, asserts that, in many cases, the Franciscans received one third of what the Dominicans obtained.



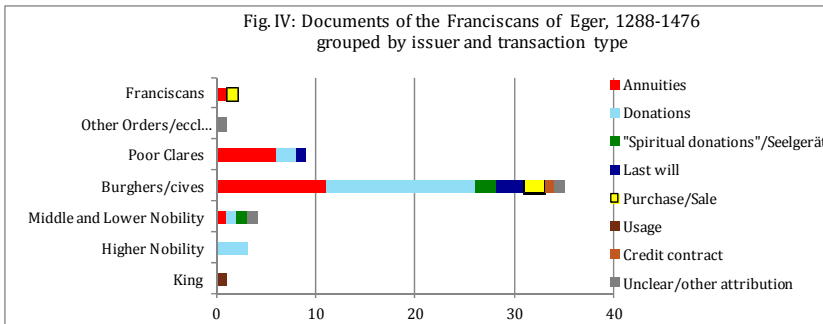
one has to bear in mind a set of very particular spatial conditions, among which the fact that the friary was affiliated of the Saxon province and located in a border region of the realm, where German-speaking immigrants and a Hohenstaufen ministeriality dominated for long the setting<sup>114</sup>. The scope of the material, beyond the observation of a single incident, to observe and to analyse contractual economic activities over a period of about 200 years and to characterize the Friar's economic relations, at first by means of a list of the subjects of authentication (Fig. III), followed by a distinction of the acts according to their agents, the inducers or issuers of the contracts (Fig. IV, following).

The information given reveals the variety of business transactions, the juxtaposition of currencies (Prague groschen, Cheb pounds, Rhenish gulden, Meissner) and the common practice in the linkage of goods (*Kahr*/basket and "tons" as a special meas-



114 For the history of the region: F. KUBŮ, *Chebský městský stat. Počátky a vrcholné období do počátku 16. století* (České dějiny, 1), České Budějovice, 2006; for a deeper knowledge on the history of the Saxonian province, consult: B. SCHMIES, K. RAKEMANN, *Spuren franziskanischer Geschichte. Chronologischer Abriß der Geschichte der Sächsischen Franziskanerprovinzen von ihren Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (Saxonia Franciscana Sonderband), Werl, 1999, esp. pp. 29–91.





uring unit of weight for grain, chickens, or fish, intermingled with tangible benefits as constituting elements of pensions) and money<sup>115</sup>. From the consideration of the individual business contract or better his record to an interpretation of the overall results from the complete findings, one can draw a wide range of conclusions. Striking elements of an individual business practice are as much insightful as the disclosure of fundamental structures of the business behaviour throughout the period, let it be the tendencies of sinecure observable, disclosed only after the mid of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, let it be the considerable degree of “inter-community transactions” of the two houses of the Franciscan family. The latter observation strenghtens the hypothesis of close economic ties between the Poor Clares and the friars, regardless of the well documented occurrences of discord between them. The wide scope as well as the extraordinary amounts of individual annuities (*Jahrzeitrenten*) that the Poor Clares contracted with the Friars Minor cast a revealing light on a binding aspect that should not be underestimated considering the numerous double monasteries in that region<sup>116</sup>.

The favorable situation concerning the surviving sources in this case opens up the opportunity to investigate, apart from social and material aspects of these transactions, also the topographic, spatial dimensions of the so-strained network. The close connection between the depth and the scope of evaluation possibilities on the one hand and the wealth of tradition on the other hand, becomes undoubtedly evident in this privileged example. It seems that we will be able to develop suitable and proofable categories of characterization of the entities, like active/passive – suggested by Anglosaxon historians –, town orientated versus land orientated, nobility driven versus burghers driven, economically saturated or suffering, influential versus inconspicuous, or rich versus poor, only in such cases and commencing on a comparative scale<sup>117</sup>.

115 The still fundamental study on the most proliferated Bohemian coins is: K. CASTELIN, *Grossus Pragensis. Der Prager Groschen und seine Teilstücke 1300–1547*, Braunschweig, 1973<sup>2</sup>, esp. pp. 1–27.

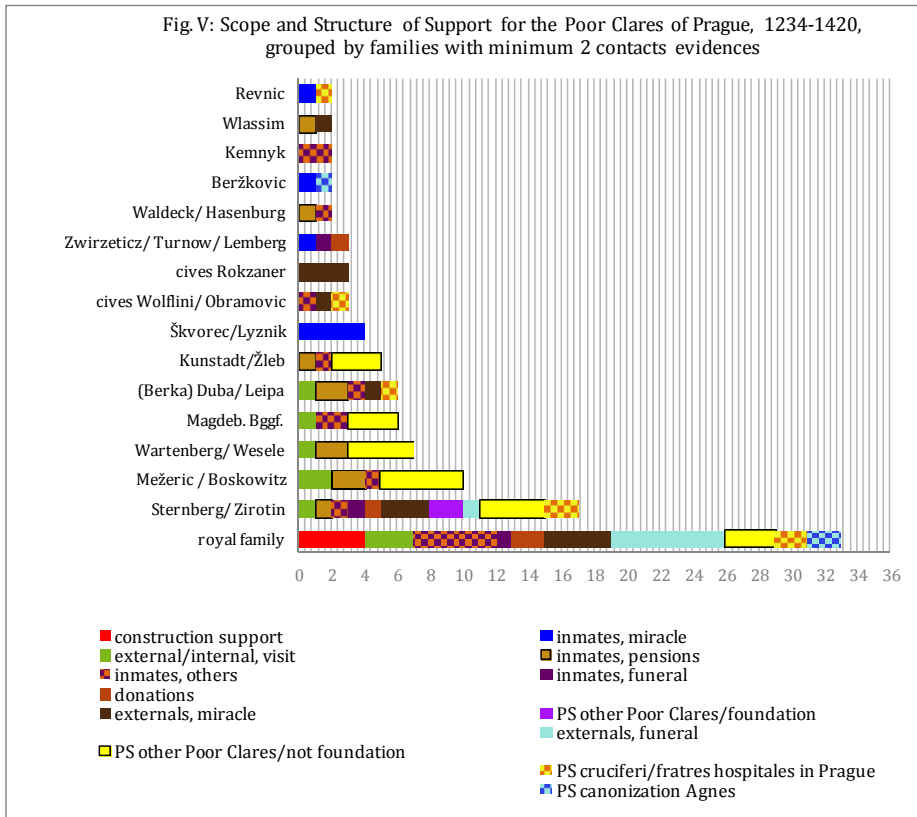
116 Mentioning of a prebendary: *Das Salbuch der Egerer Klarissen*, p. 121, no. 304 (29 XI 1464); from the relatively rich documentation of the annuities, starting with 1374: *Ibidem*, p. 99, no. 233 (15 VI 1436). Consider also the entries, for instance in: *Urkundenbuch des Klarissinnen-Klosters Krummau*, pp. 51–53, no. 13 (1364).

Further opening prospects, to one who wants to raise the question of the economic behavior of all related tangible aspects of relationships of a given monastic establishment, can be best demonstrated with the example of the Prague double monastery of the Order, St Francis. Here, the multi-layered tradition, based on a variety of sources which we can grasp with regard to the royal monastery of the Poor Clares, including legendary information, narrative notes, and normative documents from charters to court records, offers a complex insight into the spiritual, social, and economic ties of the sisters, thus helps to evaluate the network of relationships they maintained. From the various elements which compose the support of monastic institutions, from the *ingressus*-permits through donations to funerals, a typology of monastic contacts can be established, which allows (even though surely incomplete) to establish representative patterns of support. Sorted according to the participating families and placed in a comparative ranking, a complex network of relationships can be figured out, providing a meaningful access to the outer and inner ties of the sisterhood; these observations can even be classified, when the quality and quantity of families' contacts is expanded to other parameters like their support of other Clarissan houses; by that, their relationship to the female Franciscan monastery is brought in a relative weighting (Fig. V)<sup>118</sup>.

The exemplified approach emphasizes that the gathering of dispersed, if not disparate, elements of the tradition might be a fertile method to be applied when the complexity of the economic conditions of individual friaries or monasteries must be caught „holistically“. This can be achieved only in a few monasteries to a certain extent, once these are bestowed with a workable minimum of surviving tradition. And even still, a well-balanced analysis of such privileged monasteries requires the courage to draw from the silence and the inevitable voids the correct deductions, refraining far-reaching conclusions, such as attempting to attribute losses in economic relevance to the

117 The Cheb documentation supposedly could be best ranked and compared, for instance on the basis of the convenient period 1338–1387, by considering the rich documentation preserved from the Prague Austin Hermits, because the 19 contracts entailing annuities there (J. KADLEC, *Das Augustinerkloster*, pp. 88–90) could be easily juxtaposed with the eight documents of same nature we have for the Cheb Franciscans. If we break down the number of such contracts in other parts of Europe to our investigation period of 50 years (M. DREWNIÖK, *Der Einfluss der Stifte und Klöster*, p. 537, with 131 annuities during the span 1368–1500), where collegiate chapters signed nearly 50 of such transactions, we incline to interpret the local evidence as a proof for the marginality of the Friars in economic terms. The distinction between active and passive was proposed by R. GILCHRIST, *Gender and material culture. The archeology of religious women*, New York, 1997<sup>2</sup>, p. 152, with regard to female houses; to my mind, such a differentiation is easily applicable to male houses comprising the aim to characterize their economic behavior. An excellent discussion of the social strata distinctions is exposed in : I. HLAVÁČEK, *Adel und Nicht-Adel an der Schwelle von der Přemysliden- zur Luxemburger-Zeit in Böhmen*, [in:] K. ANDERMANN, P. JOHANEK (eds.), *Zwischen Nicht-Adel und Adel* (Vorträge und Forschungen, 53), Stuttgart, 2001, pp. 157–178.

118 Based on: F. FELSKAU, *Agnes von Böhmen*, p. 599. Cf. the profound monography of H. SOUKUPOVÁ, *Anežský klášter v Praze*, Praha, 2011<sup>2</sup>. M. PAUK, *Der böhmische Adel im 13. Jahrhundert: Zwischen Herrschaftsbildung und Gemeinschaftsgefühl*, [in:] I. HLAVÁČEK, A. PATSCHOVSKY (eds.), *Böhmen und seine Nachbarn in der Přemyslidenzeit* (Vorträge und Forschungen, 74), Ostfildern, 2011, p. 269 and *passim*, interprets monasteries as symbols of noble powership.



Legend: PS = parameter of support

decline of social embediment, at least on an indicative level<sup>119</sup>. Nevertheless, digging deeper into the economic history of the Franciscan friaries in medieval Bohemia and Europe remains these limits notwithstanding a much worthwhile task<sup>120</sup>.

119 The state of recent methodological discussions summarizes: A. MOLINARI, *Fonti materiali, archeologia e storia economia del medioevo: verso quali modelli interpretativi?*, [in:] FR. AMMANNATI (ed.), *Dove va la storia economica? Where is economic history going?* (Atti delle settimane di studi e altri convegni, dell'Istituto internazionale di storia economica F. Datini, Prato, 42), Firenze, 2011, pp. 307–324.

120 The publication of the sixth conference of the Forum Urbes Medii Aevi (FUMA), organized by the Archaia Brno and accomplished 14–17 V 2007, is still to come out.

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Hereditas Monasteriorum  
vol. 3, 2013, s. 27–54

## Źródła pisane dotyczące ekonomii franciszkanów (a także klarysek) w Czechach i na Morawach w latach około 1230 – około 1450

### Streszczenie

Niniejszy artykuł analizuje zachowane źródła pisane dotyczące ekonomii (lub istotne dla tego zagadnienia) średniowiecznych franciszkanów na obszarze dzisiejszej Republiki Czeskiej, obejmującym głównie ziemie należące wówczas do Korony Czeskiej, tzn. Czechy i Morawy. Autor najpierw opisuje początki działalności franciszkanów, ich idealistyczną postawę wobec ubóstwa oraz wyrzeczenie się dóbr materialnych, a następnie przedstawia zarys podstawowych regulacji prawnych, zarówno zakonnych, jak i papieskich, dotyczących dysponowania pieniędzmi, ziemią oraz dobytkiem jako środkami zapewniającymi ekonomiczne przetrwanie oraz powodzenie tego obejmującego zasięgiem całą Europę zakonu.

Następnie przedstawia rozlokowanie klasztorów i ich przynależność prowincjonalną oraz krótki przegląd historiografii poświęconej praktyce ekonomicznej franciszkanów. Proponuje kategoryzację różnorodnych typów działalności ekonomicznej franciszkanów, ich podział na kategorie według ich gospodarczego znaczenia, kontekstu i związków z tradycją. Omawia też najważniejsze źródła oraz zbiory źródeł (publikowane bądź nie), które wnoszą znaczący wkład do badań nad działalnością ekonomiczną franciszkanów. Ta część artykułu ma na celu stworzenie podstaw dla inwentarza źródeł.

Na zakończenie prezentuje jedno z najcenniejszych źródeł, mianowicie księgi miejskie z Brna, księgę przywilejów z podwójnego klasztoru w Cheb/Eger oraz rozproszoną dokumentację podwójnego klasztoru w Pradze. Przegląd ten ma ukazać, na wybranych przykładach, cele i ograniczenia obecnych i przyszłych badań oraz możliwości interpretacji. Przykłady te pokazują też szeroki zakres badań, oscylujący pomiędzy jednowymiarową oceną poszczególnych typów źródeł a łączeniem świadectw zaczerpniętych z różnych źródeł, z których każde odznacza się swoistą przydatnością dla problemu. Ze względu na ubóstwo źródeł cechujące wiele klasztorów franciszkanów autor przyjmuje pracochłonną metodę intertekstualną, aby uzyskać – przynajmniej w pewnym stopniu – „holistyczny” obraz zagadnienia, którego badacze zmagają się z brakiem wartościowych źródeł, a także by włączyć analizę zachowanych źródeł masowych w szersze ramy międzyinstytucjonalnych porównań w celu oszacowania wagi konkretnych poczynań ekonomicznych danego klasztoru franciszkanów.

### Słowa kluczowe

zakony żebracze, mendykanci, franciszkanie, klaryski, gospodarka klasztorów mendykantkich, Czechy średniowieczne, Morawy średniowieczne, Cheb, Praga

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Hereditas Monasteriorum  
vol. 3, 2013, p. 27–54

## Economy-related written sources of the Franciscans (and partially of the Poor Clares') in Bohemia and Moravia, ca. 1230 – ca. 1450

### Summary

The article examines the surviving written sources of economic content or relevance related to the Medieval Friars Minors on the territory of present day Czech Republic, which covers the core lands of the Bohemian crown in the Middle Ages, i.e. Bohemia and Moravia. Starting with the Order's initiations and its idealistic attitude towards poverty and the refusal of material goods, it gives then an overview of the most fundamental internal regulations and external, merely Papal decisions on the treatment of money, land and goods as means of ensuring the economic survival and success of the Europe-wide proliferated Order.

The following section provides a brief review of the historiography dealing with the economic practice of the friars, preceded by a summary of their provincial organization and distribution of settlements. This is followed by a methodological discussion of the relationship between activities of economic relevance, their categorization in terms of economic weight as well as content and the chance of their tradition. Then, the author discusses the most important sources and source collections (published or not) which attribute significantly to the investigation of the Friar's economic activities; this part of the study aims to provide the basis for an inventory of sources still to come.

In the last paragraph, some of the most meaningful sources, namely the urban books of Brno, the charter book of the Order's double monastery of Cheb/Eger, and the scattered documentation on the Prague double monastery are presented in order to exemplify goals and limits of present and future examination and paths of interpretation; these examples demonstrate the wide range of investigation, oscillating between a one-dimensional evaluation of a specific type of source and the bundling of multiple evidences taken from a broad variety of sources, each of them characterized by its own validity; taking the relatively poor tradition of many Franciscan houses into account, the article finally intends to argue to adopt an laborious inter-textual approach for gaining at least to some extent a 'holistic' picture where researchers have to deal with a lack of a premium source traditions and, otherwise, to integrate the analysis of surviving serial sources into a wider frame of inter-institutional comparisons in order to assess the relative weight of specific economic transactions of one individual Franciscan house.

### Keywords

mendicant orders, friars, Franciscans, Poor Clares, economy of mendicant convents, medieval Bohemia, medieval Moravia, Cheb, Prague