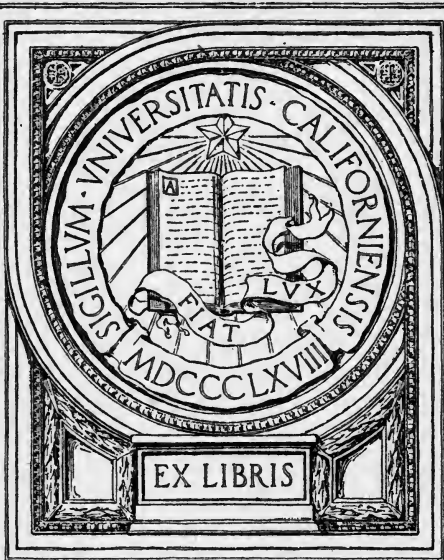
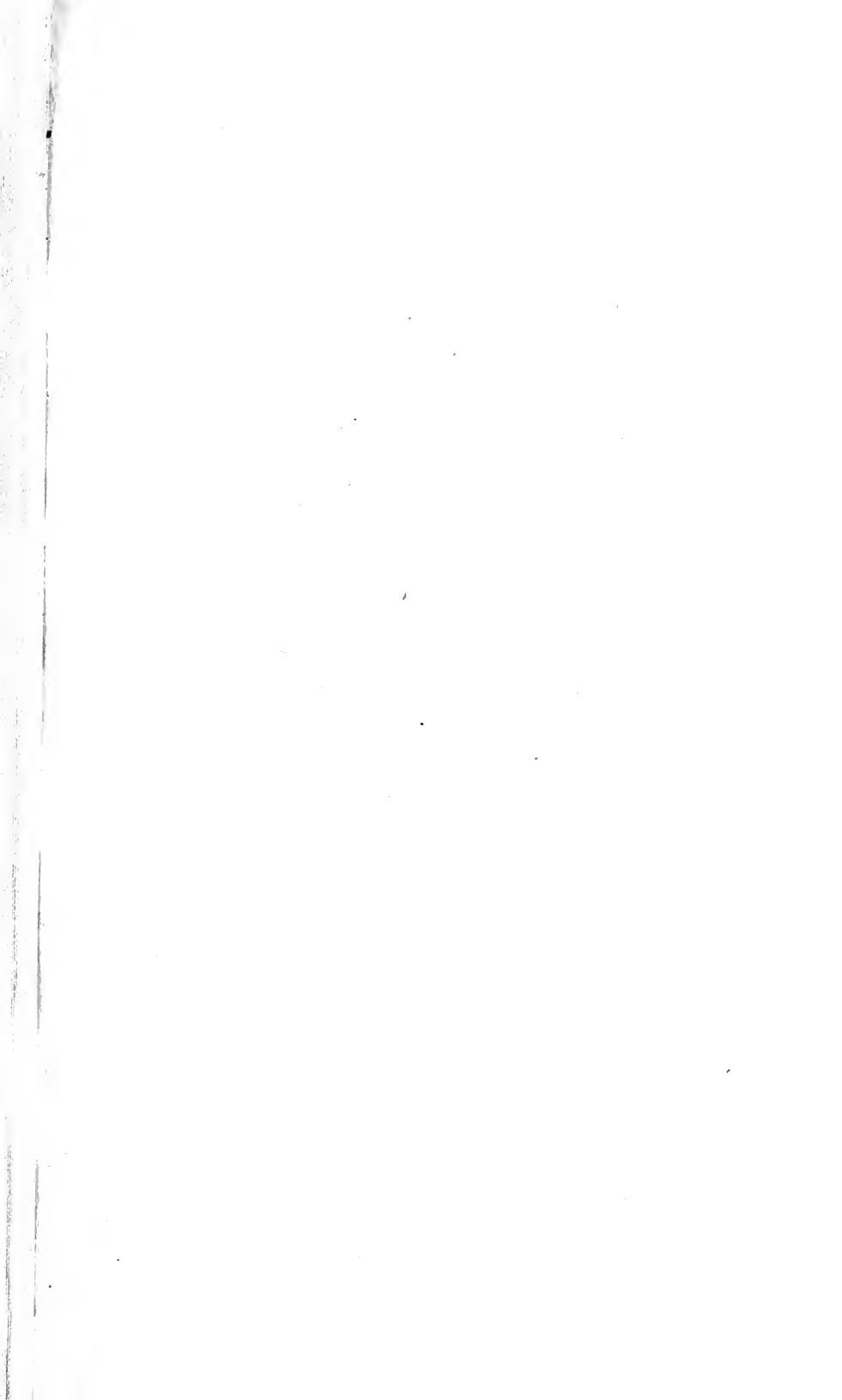




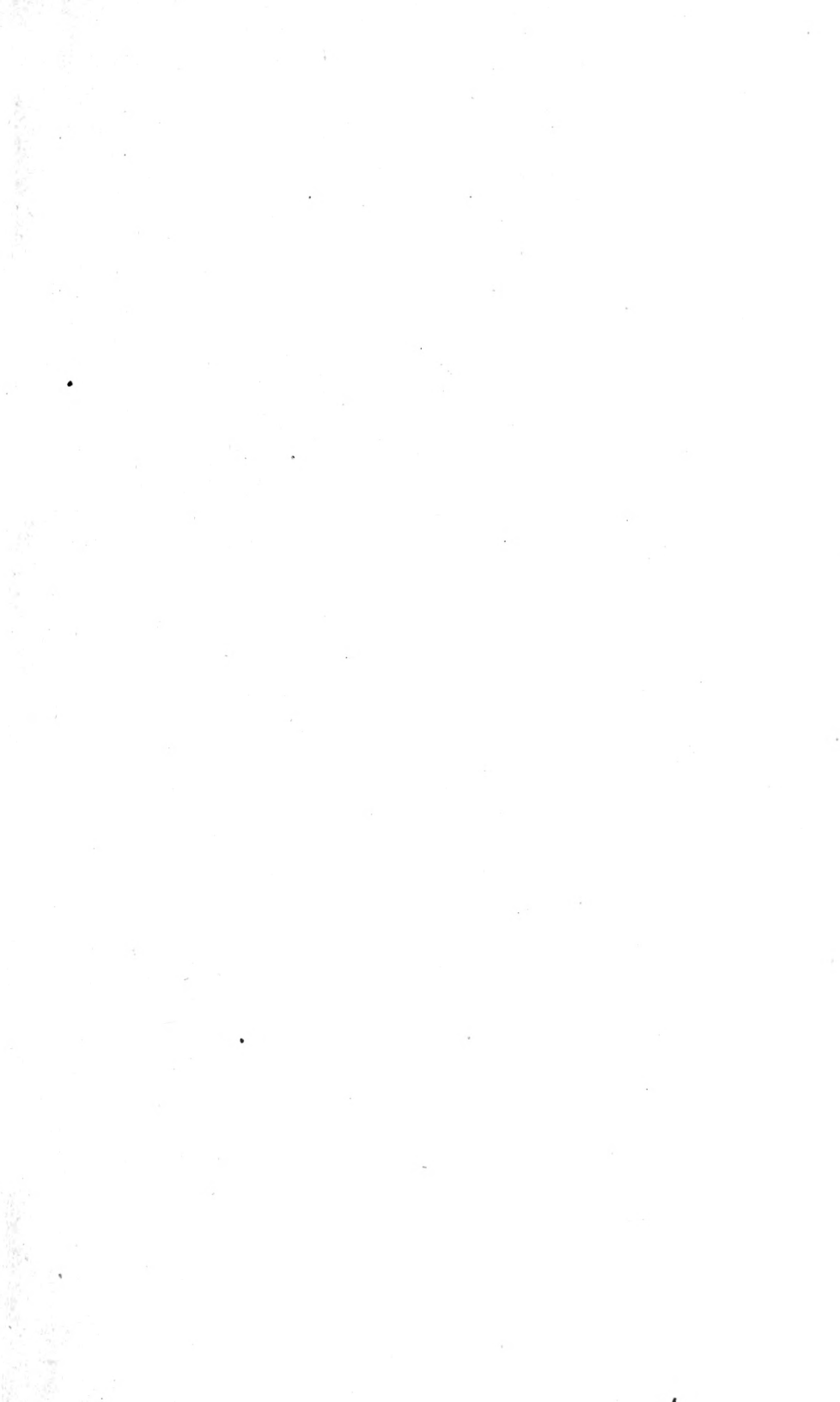
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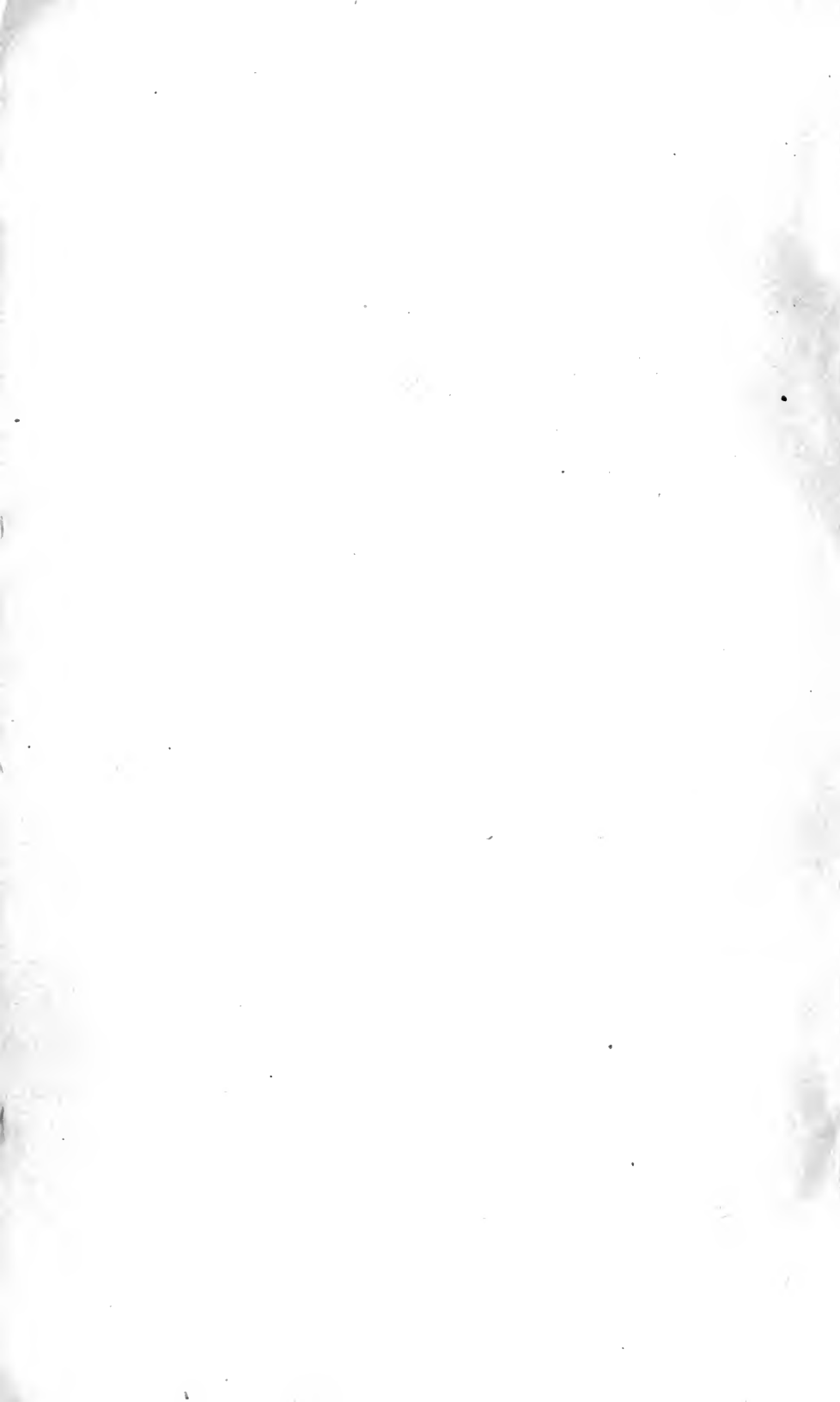


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Smith College Studies in History

JOHN SPENCER BASSETT
SIDNEY BRADSHAW FAY

Editors

THE HOHENZOLLERN HOUSEHOLD AND ADMINISTRATION IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

CHAPTERS I-II

By SIDNEY BRADSHAW FAY



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JOHN SPENCER BASSETT
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SMITH COLLEGE STUDIES IN HISTORY

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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

The Hohenzollern Household and Administration in the Sixteenth Century

CHAPTER I

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE REIGN OF JOACHIM II¹

(1) *Introductory*

Sometimes the reign of a single ruler marks a turning point in the constitutional and administrative history of a country. So it was with the reigns of Henry II, Edward II, and Henry VII in the history of England, or those of Philip IV, Louis

¹ Bibliographical Note. For convenience of reference I give here at the outset the abbreviations under which the works chiefly used will be cited hereafter:

ARCHIVES

Geh. StA.—The Geheime Staatsarchiv in Berlin, Klosterstrasse 76. This central Public Record Office contains the archives of (a) the old Electorate of Brandenburg, (b) the later Province Brandenburg, and (c) the Prussian state.

Hausarchiv—The Königlich Preussische Hausarchiv in Charlottenburg, Spandauerstrasse 1, where are preserved the Hohenzollern private family papers as distinguished from the state, or public, records.

PRINTED SOURCES

Hass—M. Hass, *Die Hofordnung Kurfürst Joachims II von Brandenburg*, Berlin, 1910 (*Ebering's Historische Studien*, Nr. 76). For a further account of this and the following sources, see below ch. ii.

Ho—*Die Politischen Testamente der Hohenzollern*, ed. G. Küntzel and M. Hass, Berlin and Leipzig, 1911 (*Quellensammlung zur Deutschen Geschichte*, ed. E. Brandenburg and G. Seeliger). Contains, pp. 1-40, the Hofordnung of 1537 (1542-6).

Kern—*Deutsche Hofordnungen des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols. ed. A. Kern, Berlin, 1905-7 (*Denkmäler der deutschen Kulturgeschichte*, ed. G. Steinhäuser).

Mylius—Chr. Otto Mylius, *Corpus Constitutionum Marchicarum*, 6 vols. in folio, Berlin and Halle, 1736 ff. An invaluable, though inaccurate, collection of edicts.

Raumer—G. W. V. Raumer, *Codex diplomaticus Brandenburgensis continuatus*, 2 vols. Berlin, 1831-33.

Publ—*Publikationen aus den kgl. Preussischen Staatsarchiven*, 88 vols. Leipzig, 1878-1914.

Riedel—A. F. Riedel, *Codex diplomaticus brandenburgensis*, 36 vols. Berlin, 1838-65. In addition, a two-volume chronological index and a three-volume index of names by A. W. Heffter, Berlin, 1867-69. Riedel's work is divided into four main parts (and a supplementary

XI, and Louis XIII in that of France. So also was it, if we may compare small things with great, with the reigns of Albert Achilles (1440-1486), Joachim II (1535-1571) and the Great Elector (1640-1688) in the history of Brandenburg-Prussia. Under Joachim II, in the middle of the sixteenth century, im-

volume): (a) Local and family history, 25 v., (b) foreign relations, 6 vols., (c) general history of Brandenburg, 3 vols., and (d) chronicles, 1 vol. The first three main parts are commonly cited by the letters A. B. C. followed by the number of volume and page, e. g. "Riedel, A. 1. 1"—Riedel, *Cod. dipl. brandb.*, Hauptteil I, vol. I, p. 1.

Ständeakten—Kurmärkische Ständeakten aus der Regierungszeit Kurfürst Joachims II., 2 vols. ed. W. Friedensburg, Leipzig, 1913-16. (Veröffentlichungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Mark Brandenburg).

UA—Urkunden und Aktenstücke zur Geschichte des Kurfürsten Friedrich Wilhelm von Brandenburg, 21 vols. Berlin, 1864-1913.

MONOGRAPHS RELATING TO THE INSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF BRANDENBURG

Hass, Kurmärk. Stände—M. Hass, *Die kurmärkischen Stände im letzten Drittel des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig, 1913 (Veröffentl. d. Vereins f. Gesch. d. Mark Brandb.). The best book on the Brandenburg Diets.

Hintze—O. Hintze, *Ratstube und Kammergericht in Brandenburg während des 16. Jahrhunderts*, in *Forschungen zur Brandenburgischen und Preussischen Geschichte*, xxiv (1911) 1-84. A skillful polemic against Stölzel.

Hintze, Hofverwaltung—O. Hintze, *Hof- und Landesverwaltung in der Mark Brandenburg unter Joachim II*, in *Hohenzollern-Jahrbuch*, X (1906), richly illustrated; text reprinted with slight alterations in author's *Historische und politische Aufsätze*, II, 3-68, Berlin, 1908.

Holtze—F. Holtze, *Geschichte des Kammergerichts in Brandenburg-Preussen*, 4 vols. Berlin, 1890-1904. A standard work of great value; contains documents.

Isaacsohn—Isaacsohn, *Geschichte des preussischen Beamtentums von Anfang des 15. Jahrhunderts bis auf die Gegenwart*, 3 vols. Berlin, 1874-84. Comes in fact only to the 18th century, but is based on careful researches and contains documents.

Klinkenberg—M. Klinkenberg, *Ratstube und Kanzlei in Brandenburg im 16. Jahrhundert*, in *Forschungen z. Br. u. Pr. Gesch.*, XXVI (1913) 413-428.

Schapper—G. Schapper, *Die Hofordnung von 1470 und die Verwaltung am Berliner Hofe zur Zeit Kurfürst Albrechts*, Leipzig, 1912 (Veröffentl. d. Vereins f. Gesch. d. Mark Brandb.). A detailed and valuable study of Hohenzollern household and administration in the 15th century.

Spangenberg—H. Spangenberg, *Hof- und Zentralverwaltung der Mark Brandenburg im Mittelalter*, Leipzig, 1908 (Veröffentl. d. Vereins f. Gesch. d. Mark Brandb.). Invaluable on origins, but deals mostly with the period prior to Joachim II.

portant changes were taking place in the constitutional, religious, economic, and administrative fields which make his reign deserve a fuller and fairer treatment than it has received from German, not to mention English, historians.

(2) *Joachim II and the Estates*

From the constitutional point of view Joachim II's reign marks the lowest point to which the authority of the ruler fell at any time since that summer's day in 1412 on which Frederick of Hohenzollern marched from his southern home near Nuremberg to undertake the difficult government of the northern Mark with which his family was ever after to be associated. Under Joachim the Electoral authority touched the nadir in its long conflict with the Estates—a conflict which was not ended until they were virtually crushed as a political factor a century later by the

Stölzel—Stölzel, *Entwicklung der gelehrten Rechtsprechung*, 2 vols. Berlin, 1901-10), Vol. II, "Billigkeits- und Rechtspflege der Rezeptionszeit in Jülich-Berg, Bayern, Sachsen und Brandenburg," Berlin, 1910, is particularly valuable on legal procedure and the Reception of the Roman Law.

Stölzel, *Rechtsverwaltung*—A. Stölzel, *Brandenburg-Preussens Rechtsverwaltung und Rechtsverfassung dargestellt im Wirken seiner Landesfürsten und obersten Justizbeamten*, 2 vols. Berlin, 1888. Good as a survey and for biographical material.

GENERAL WORKS ON BRANDENBURG-PRUSSIAN HISTORY
Allg. D. Biog.—*Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, 55 vols. Leipzig, 1875-1910. Contains useful brief biographies of Brandenburg rulers and leading officials.

MF—*Märkische Forschungen*, herausg. von dem Verein f. Gesch. d. Mark Brandenburg 20 vols. Berlin, 1841-1888.

FBPG—*Forschungen zur Brandenburgischen und Preussischen Geschichte*, 28 vols. Leipzig, 1888-1915. A continuation of the preceding periodical, and an invaluable medium for scholarly monographs and critical reviews of works on Brandenburg-Prussian history.

Droysen—J. G. Droysen, *Geschichte der Preussischen Politik*, 5 parts in 14 vols. Berlin, 1855-1886 (vols. 1-4, 2nd ed. 1868-72). A gigantic Protestant patriotic political pamphlet, as well as a monument of prodigious historical industry, designed to promote "Prussia's Mission" of uniting Germany under Hohenzollern leadership.

Koser—R. Koser, *Geschichte der Brandenburgischen Politik bis zum Westphälischen Frieden von 1648*, Berlin, 1913. A brilliant outline of Prussian foreign policy, unfortunately left unfinished by the author's death in 1914.

Prutz—H. Prutz, *Preussische Geschichte*, 4 vols. Stuttgart, 1899-1902. Scholarly and critical; the best general history of Prussia.

absolutistic administration of the Great Elector and by the financial necessities of his newly created standing army.

Joachim II's predecessors in the fifteenth century had managed in large part to build up the electoral authority by reducing the robber barons of the Mark Brandenburg and by suppressing the powerful town-leagues which were inclined to defy the rule of the prince. Feudal wars and disorders were largely put down. But while his predecessors had freed themselves from the military domination of the nobles, Joachim II fell under their financial control. For his domain revenues, which would have been inadequate in any case for the increasing financial demands of a sixteenth-century prince, were speedily dissipated by his own excessive generosity, his spendthrift passion for costly building and display, and his neglect of attention to business. He quickly came to the verge of bankruptcy and had to appeal to the nobles and towns to help him out of his distress.

(The nobles, meanwhile, deprived of feudal warfare as a past-time, had turned from fighting as a profession to farming. They beat their swords into plough-shares—though the ploughs were not guided by their own noble hands, but by those of their peasants, upon whom increasing burdens were being loaded.) By the time of Joachim II these nobles had succeeded in building up for themselves the great patrimonial landed estates (*Gutsherrschaften*) which have in large part lasted until the present day and which have been one of the strongholds of Prussian militarism.²

² It must be remembered that in German agrarian history the development east of the Elbe, in the lands "colonised" by Germans in the 13th and 14th centuries, was altogether different from that in the rest of Germany. For excellent general accounts of the contrast between these great *produce*-yielding estates of the cultivating lords to the east of the Elbe (*Gutsherrschaften*) and the *rent*-yielding estates of landlords in the south and west of Germany (*Grundherrschaften*) see G. v. Below, *Territorium und Stadt* (Leipzig, 1900) 1-96; and T. Knapp, *Gesammelte Beiträge zur Rechts- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (Tübingen, 1902) 348-388 (reprinted from *Zeitschrift d. Savigny-Stiftung*, XIX (1898) 16-51. Monographs on special regions are noted in Dahlmann-Waitz, *Quellenkunde der Deutschen Geschichte* (8th ed., Leipzig, 1912) nos. 2173-2275. For Brandenburg in the 16th century good accounts are: F. Grossmann, "Über die gutsherrlich-bäuerlichen Rechtsverhältnisse in der Mark Brandenburg vom 16. bis 19. Jahrhundert" in Schmoller's *Forschungen*, IX

Under Joachim II they were extending these great estates by expropriating their helpless peasant tenants³ and they were seizing for their own exclusive use woodlands in which the peasant had formerly been free, by medieval custom, to hunt, to fish, to gather fire-wood, and to turn out swine to fatten upon the acorns or grub among the roots.⁴ [They wanted to extend their acres because they had begun to grasp what large profits were to be made by exporting their grain, wine, lumber and other produce down the Elbe to Hamburg or elsewhere. This export trade had formerly been exclusively in the hands of the burghers as one of the usual medieval privileges of the towns.] But during the sixteenth century these growing, grasping Brandenburg nobles had managed to extort from the weak Electors a series of edicts which reversed the situation: the nobles instead of the burghers came

(1890), heft 4; W. Schotte, *Fürstentum und Stände in der Mark Brandenburg unter der Regierung Joachims I* (Leipzig, 1911) 19-69; Hass, *Kurmärk. Stände*, 135-171. Problems connected with the earlier development are discussed by A. Ernst, "Zur Entstehung der Gutsherrschaft in Brandenburg," in *FBPG*, XXII (1909) 493-520.

³ This right to expropriate their peasant tenants was virtually conceded to the nobles in March, 1540. The nobles of the Altmark had demanded confirmation by the Elector of what they asserted (with doubtful truth) had always been an old custom, "das sie nach irer gelegenheit zu zeiten haben etzlich bauren ausgekofft und den acker zu sich gebracht;" to which the assent of the Elector was jotted on the margin of the paper: "Solchs sal nachgeben werden, das ain pauer allaine mocht ausgekauft werden and im (ihm) sein gut nach wirderung (be-) zalt werden" (*Ständeakten*, I, 94, and note 3). A few days later in a general confirmation for the whole Electorate Joachim conceded to all the nobles the right of expropriation, provided they themselves wanted to occupy the land, and provided the peasant was paid the estimated value of his tenement: "pauern auszukaufen soll inen (dem Adel) furo an auch freistehen, do sie der ausgekauften paur gutter selbst wolten bewohnen; doch, das sie den pauern so sie auskaufen wollen, ire gutter nach wirderung, wess sie gelten mochten, entrichten und bezalen" (*ibid*, I, 101, 26; 17 Mar. 1540). For the right to expropriate "contumacious" peasants see below, note 70.

⁴ Occasionally the towns—when it was for their own self-interest—championed the cause of the peasants against the oppression of the nobles. For instance, they begged the Elector (*Ständeakten*, I, 437, § 26; 17 Aug. 1549) to stop the nobles from forbidding their peasants to cut fire-wood and make charcoal and sell it in the towns. The towns wanted the peasants to be free to do this, for it naturally lowered the cost of fuel for the burghers.

to have the exclusive enjoyment of the export trade in grain. They gained thereby a great advantage in agrarian competition with burghers and peasants. The towns cried out loudly against this, somewhat inconsistently urging at one moment that they also ought to enjoy the freedom to export, and objecting at the next moment that no exportation at all should be allowed, since it made grain scarce and prices high in the Electorate. On 23 April, 1542, the towns begged that in the fall and early winter the export be forbidden to everyone; but that in the spring after Candlemas (Feb. 2) if the price was not high, the export should be freely open, not only to nobles, but also to all burghers regularly resident in the towns. But with the selfish economic class-spirit of the age, they insisted that to foreigners, "other loose fellows," and peasants, who are not included in this privilege, the export of grain should always be absolutely prohibited.⁵

Importuned on one side by the towns, and on the other by the nobles, the Elector vacillated somewhat in his tariff policy. He had no strong personal interest in favor of either side, and he had not worked out any definite economic principles. His decisions were determined rather by his view of the relative financial importance of the two conflicting parties and of their readiness to help him out of his debts. In general he inclined to favor the nobles. The arrangement adopted in 1536 soon after his accession was that no one at all was allowed to export any grain by water or by land ("on the axle") in the fall and winter between St. Lawrence's Day (Aug. 10) and Candlemas (Feb. 2). After Candlemas exportation was permitted to nobles, provided the price in Brandenburg was not high. But they must not buy

⁵ Bitten, die schiffung im herbst genzlich zu verbieten, aber im frueing nach purificationis Marie, wo sich sonst kein theurunge anlest,—das es den prelaten, vom adel, und den von stedten, so besessene burger, freistehe; doch das die frembden, auch sonst ledige gesellen, darzu die paurn ufm lande, hirein nicht gezogen, sonder inen solchs verboten" (*Ständeakten*, I, 206-207). Usually, however, they wanted it forbidden to everybody: e. g. 12 Jan. 1552, "Bitten die ausfur des korn disz jar zu stopfen (*ibid.*, II, 28); 24 Aug. 1562: "im lande teurung. . . so bitten. . . die ausfur des korns zu wasser und zu lande bis auf Pfingsten zu voriethen" (*ibid.* II, 150). The towns wished the export of lumber also to be totally prohibited (*ibid.* I, 434).

up from the peasants or towns until after Candlemas any grain for export, lest such purchasing should lead to a rapid enhancing of the price. On grain grown on their own estates they paid no tolls.⁶ In 1540, however, when the nobles agreed to assume about two-thirds of his debts and the towns the other third, Joachim II allowed the nobles to export grain grown on their own estates at any time of the year, provided the price was not high at home. The question whether it was high or not was to be settled by consultation between him and a committee of the Estates. With the nobles were always included the "prelates," that is, the bishops, deans, and canons of the three Electoral dioceses of Havelberg, Lebus, and Brandenburg.⁷

[Thus, when Joachim II appealed to the Brandenburg Estates (i. e. Diet) to save him from bankruptcy, these prosperous nobles were even better able than the towns to come to his assistance with considerable grants of money. The Estates consented to become responsible for their prince's debts, but they sold their consent at a high political price. They compelled him to assent to the establishment of a financial administration (*Ständisches Creditwerk*) under the exclusive control of a committee of the Diet.; The Diet's agents took the place of the Elector's officials in collecting taxes and paying the Elector's creditors. Henceforth, until the changes of the Great Elector's time, there was a dual financial administration in Brandenburg; most of the taxes and the debt were under the control of the Diet; to the Elector was left only the domain revenues and such grants of money as the Diet saw fit to make to him. The nobles and towns who composed the Diet were not slow to perceive that "redress of grievances" might be made to precede "grants of supply." At

⁶ *Ständeakten*, I, 38, §§ 17-18 (10 Aug. 1536); *ibid.*, I, 52, §§ 16-17; 57, § 35 (29 Sept. 1538).

⁷ "Der ausfür halber des getreids wollen wir, das zu jeder zeit denen von prelaten, probsten und den dreien capitteln, nemlich Havelberg, Lubus, Brandenburg, und von der ritterschaft ir aigen gewachsen getreid und pachtorn, so viel sie des uber ire notturft haben werden, zu wasser und lande auszufuren gestattet werden solle, es fiele dan die teurung vor, das wir mit raht des ausschusses befunden die schiffart zu stopfen" (*ibid.* I, 99, § 12; 17 Mar. 1540); cf. also *ibid.* II, 65; 15 Jan. 1554.

each meeting of the Diet, or its committee, he was forced by the nobles and towns to confirm or extend their special selfish class privileges, as well as their increasing domination over himself and his administration.⁸ Many of these class privileges, by which the burgher aristocracy in the towns and the Junker aristocracy in the open country were also obtaining for their own selfish advantages the political and economic control over wage-earners and peasants, are to be found in the so-called Police Ordinances which were issued by the Elector at the insistence of the Estates.⁹

The fact was, as the Elector several times mournfully had to admit to the Estates, he "could not make his income meet his expenses." Particularly in his later years, when his gray hairs were bringing his thoughts more frequently toward the grave, in his appeals to the Diet to help him out of his debts, he called the Estates to witness that he "had restricted his Household and other expenses much more closely and economically than befitted his pre-eminence and dignity as an Elector of the Holy Roman

⁸ See the Grievances (*Beschwerdeartikel*) of the Nobility (*Prelaten, Herren, und Ritter*) in *Ständeakten*, I, 103-104 (Mar. 1540); 107-109 (May, 1540); 139-143 (3 Oct. 1540); 189-194 (1542); 298-308 (1547-8); 385-389 (29 June 1549); 453-4 (Aug. 1549); 684-7 (12 May 1550); 800-805 (9 Oct. 1550); II, 348-350 (Nov. 1564); 455-8 (19 Jan. 1565).

Grievances of the towns: *ibid.*, I, 206-210 (23 Apr. 1542); 343-347 (29 Apr. 1549); 379-382 (28 June 1549); 395-431 (July 1549); 431-441 (17 Aug. 1549); 591-594 (18 Mar. 1550); 697-703 (5 June 1550); 721-2 (1 July 1550); II, 5-8 (5 Apr. 1551); 28-30 (12 Jan. 1552); 52-54 (23 Nov. 1553); 70-79 (19 Feb. 1555); 248-252 (25 Sept. 1562); 387 (Nov. 1564); 609-617 (5 June 1569).

Redress of grievances and confirmation of privileges by Joachim II: *ibid.* I, 31-40 (10 Aug. 1536); 47-58 (29 Sept. 1538); 81-85 (14 Mar. 1540); 85-102 (17 Mar. 1540); 144-155 (1 Nov. 1540); 385-389 (29 June 1549); 454-8 (Aug. 1549); 502-9 (2 Oct. 1549); 509-522 (4 Oct. 1549); 722-735 (1 July 1550); 800-805 (9 Oct. 1550); 809-815 (14 Oct. 1550); II, 65-67 (15 Jan. 1554); 351-353 (11 Nov. 1564). From the dates it will be seen that the Estates obtained most of their power during the first half of Joachim II's reign, especially at the great Diets in 1540 and 1550. I have given a detailed list of grievances and their redress because there is only the very briefest table of contents in the *Ständeakten* and the index of subjects is so incomplete as to be of little value.

⁹ "Polizeiordnungen," in *Ständeakten*, I, 78-81 (22 Mar. 1540); 481-488 (14 Sept. 1549); 824-836 (7 Oct. 1550); 838-843 (2 Nov. 1551).

Empire."¹⁰ He reminded them that he had kept the peace and avoided the extra cost of wars, that he had not brought shame into their homes, nor wasted his substance in gambling and riotous living, but still he had been compelled to borrow money and so fall into debt.¹¹ Therefore he begged their financial assistance.

[Through their control of the purse the Estates were able to assume for themselves a control over a field which had always been regarded as peculiarly within the competence of the prince himself, namely, the direction of foreign relations.) As early as 1540 Joachim II was compelled to promise "not to undertake or conclude any weighty matter touching the weal or woe of the land, or to enter into any alliance, without the previous knowledge and advice of the Estates."¹² At the same time he acknowledged to the Estates their full right over taxation, and registered his own financial abdication, by pledging that "henceforth he would not burden the land with any sort of taxation, except on the three customary exceptional occasions as agreed by his predecessors, namely, a striking military defeat to us or ours (which God forbid!), a war undertaken with the advice of the Estates, or the marriage of one of the daughters of our family," for whom a dowry was provided by a small special tax (*Fräuleinsteuer*). Even in these three cases the Elector would act only with the advice and consent of the Estates.¹³ This pledge was not altogether an innovation in 1540. It had been made originally by Albert Achilles in 1472 at the time of the grant of the Old Beer

¹⁰ "Gemeine landstende werden s. chf. g. selbst zeugnus geben, dass s. chf. g. sich diese jar her mit irer hoffhaltung und sonsten viel enger and neherlicher eingezogen dan s. chf. g. als einem churfursten des heiligen reichs irer chf. g. preeminenz und hoheit halben woll geeigent und geburet hett" (*Ständeakten*, II, 334; 3 Nov. 1564).

¹¹ "S. churf. g. weren nuhemer ein sechzigjeger, gingen teglich auf der gruben. . . . hetten unsere weiber nicht geschendet, das unser nicht genommen, und uns in friden erhalten. So hetten sie auch das ire nicht verhuret noch verspilet, sondern weren in schulden geraten. . . ." etc. (*Ständeakten*, II, 429; 22 Dec. 1564).

¹² *Ständeakten*, I, 97, §§ 2-3; 17 Mar. 1540.

¹³ *Ibid.*, I, 100, § 19; reaffirmed, 11 Nov. 1564, *ibid.*, II, 352.

Tax,¹⁴ and had been renewed by Joachim I,¹⁵ but it did not reach its full significance until Joachim II's reign. Under him the Estates had a permanent financial committee and the necessary machinery for compelling the Elector to observe his pledge.

In the following years the successive diets investigated and criticised repeatedly what they regarded as Joachim II's excessive salaries and gifts to the officials of his household. They mentioned particularly the "doctors," i. e., the university trained Roman lawyers, who to some extent were supplanting the ignorant ("ungelehrte") country nobles, clergy, and burghers as the Elector's advisors.¹⁶ They drew reproachful and unflattering comparisons between Joachim II's lax administration and the business-like ways of his father¹⁷ and of his brother, Markgraf Hans of the Neumark. The latter Joachim II was advised either to imitate in economical ways, or to employ as an assistant administrator in Brandenburg.¹⁸ They begged him to stop throwing away his money on experiments in alchemy, which according to common report "cost much money"; the kind of alchemy which he ought to practice was the proper administration of his domain and secularized lands.¹⁹ They did not hesitate to lecture

¹⁴ Riedel, C, 2, p. 62; reaffirmed, in 1473, *ibid.*, 82.

¹⁵ In 1524 (Mylus, VI, i, no. 12); and in 1534 (*ibid.*, no. 17).

¹⁶ Cf., for instance, the "Verzeichnus was kf. g. . . fur rethe und edelleut besoldungen am hoff und uffm land,—auch gemeinen hoffgesinde. . . bezahlt hat" (*Ständeakten*, I, 187; Mar. 1541). Cf. also list of "guttgelder" and salaries (1569-70), II, 780-782. Typical are requests to the Elector like the following, "das uber den hoff gute ordenung muge gemacht werden. Die grossen besoldungen der diner abzuschaffen" (*ibid.* I, 298; 1547-48); "Klaren schultregister uns zuzustellen. . . . Die hohen dinstgelde and umbschleger abzuschaffen, darmit iren chf. g. desto stadlicher underhalt bleibe. Das auch die unnottigen doctores sampt dem unnottigen dinstgelde in stetten abgeschafft" (*ibid.* II, 456-7; 19 Jan. 1565).

¹⁷ "Der alte kurfürst 33 jar regirt, städtlichen hoff gehalten, reichstage besucht, hat wochenrechnung genohmen, futterzettel gelesen, shrecken gemacht, rechnung genohmen: jetzo" etc. (*ibid.* I, 345; 29 Apr. 1549).

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 344: "Item das unnottige gesinde vom hof zu thun, sicut marchio Hans facit. . . . Ideo sollten hiezu marggraff Hansen brauchen."

¹⁹ "Geldspildung durch die alchimei durch verfuering; und gemeine man redt, es koste viel geldes, sed pater odiit hoc. . . . Bit von verderblichen handel abezustehen, sed uf alchimei des landes zu gedenken als ambe, kloster etc." (*ibid.* I, 722; 1 July 1550).

him for his expenditures and for his excessive fondness for the chase, which led him frequently to abandon affairs of state for the pursuit of the boar and the deer. "We all beg that Your Grace will not lie around in the woods all the time . . . but give attention in person to your officials and your subjects."²⁰ To which Joachim II wrathfully replied, that the criticisms of him were due to the gossip of trouble-makers and quarrelsome people; that he was not aware that he was paying his officials any more than his father had done; that nowadays, to be sure, it was not perhaps always possible to get servants as cheaply as formerly; that he would be very glad if any of his critics would serve him for nothing, or find others who could do so; "and, as for his hunting and his constantly lying around in the woods, His Electoral Grace is not aware that he has gone hunting except at suitable times, or that he is constantly lying in the woods, as he is charged in the grievances; for he has not been in the woods for four weeks, and he has not done so every day at other times." "And," he added indignantly, "if I could not have this diversion after the great trouble and care of government, I would much rather be a lesser person or in another job."²¹ Doubtless it would have been better for the administration of Brandenburg had he abdicated, and devoted all his time to the joys of the chase. Certainly the Estates thought so, for a few years later it was seriously proposed to him "that he hand over the whole administration of the Household and the domains to his son, as governor. For the Estates are of the opinion that unless this is done, the further making of debts can be avoided only with difficulty, if at all." To soften the bluntness of the proposal they added that it would "spare him labor and pains in

²⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 143.

²¹ "Von wegen der jagt und stettigen holzliegen weiss ir chf. g. nit das sie ausserhalb beqwemer zeit sich der jagt braucht oder verhielt, auch nit, wie im artickel angezogen, stettigs im holz liegen, dann je ir chf. g. in vier wochen itzo nie ins holz kommen, zu dem daz es sonst auch nicht teglich beschicht. . . . Und so dann ir chf. g. uber di grosse muhe und sorg der regierung solch ergetzlichkeit nit haben solt, wolt ir chf. g. auch vil lieber ein geringere person oder in anderm beruf sein" (*ibid.* I, 151; 1 Nov. 1540).

his old age, which his son, who was diligent and painstaking in such matters, could better bear."²² Two months later the nobles again urged Joachim to "give the supervision of the Household and domains to John George [his son], to appoint true and diligent officials who would not cheat the Elector, . . . and to have two of the nobles assist the young prince in auditing the domain revenues—for your Electoral Grace is now so weighted down with heavy old age."²³ To such a point had the authority of the prince been abased and that of the Estates exalted! That is why Joachim II's reign may be regarded as a turning-point in the constitutional history of Brandenburg, comparable in some respects to that of John or Edward II in English history. Unfortunately, as far as efficiency in administration was concerned, the Estates did not press their proposal to its logical conclusion and depose Joachim II, when he declined to retire voluntarily. But that all their criticisms were by no means beside the mark is evidenced by the financial débâcle at his death. In fact nothing that they had said was half so severe in criticism of him as the denunciation of his loose methods and dishonest councillors and creditors in which his son, John George, castigated his father's mismanagement of the Hohenzollern patrimony.²⁴

(3) *Joachim II and the Lutheran Reformation*

In the matter of religion, Joachim's attitude was fraught with momentous consequences for the government of Brandenburg and for his own personal reputation. Face to face with the irrepressible conflict between Lutheranism and Roman Catholicism, he attempted to stand with a conciliatory foot in each camp, and be at peace with all men. Because of his policy of compromise and neutrality, he has been too often misjudged by his contemporaries and by later historians. By Roman Catholic writers he has been branded as "atheus, scortator, adulter,"²⁵ because he

²² Memorial of Thomas Matthias, 1 Nov. 1564; *ibid.*, II, 321.

²³ *Ibid.*, II, 456-457; 15 Jan. 1565.

²⁴ *Ständeakten*, II, 617-623 (1571).

²⁵ Cf. F. Holtze, "Zur Geschichte der märkischen Reformation," in *FBPG*, II (1889) 402.

made no pious filial effort to carry out his father's last wish of saving Brandenburg for the true faith. These writers, however, do not undertake to show how Joachim could have succeeded in so doing, in the face of the almost unanimous opposition of his determined Lutheran subjects.²⁶ Protestant writers, on the other hand, find fault with him for his canine fidelity to the House of Hapsburg and for his refusal to take a more definite and active stand in defence of Lutheranism when it was attacked by the Emperor and his treacherous ally, Maurice of Saxony. These writers cannot forgive Joachim for his neutrality in the Schmalkald War, nor for the eagerness with which he negotiated with the Catholics to find a compromise statement which would bring Catholics and Protestants peacefully back into a harmonious fold. They have therefore sarcastically dubbed him "Fat Old Interim," in reference to his share in drawing up and urging the adoption of the attempted basis of reconciliation known as the "Augsburg Interim." Joachim II's attempt to be neutral in the religious conflict merely affords another example of the truth of Machiavelli's sage dictum: that a Prince who takes one side or the other is more respected than he who remains neutral; for when the conflict is over, he who wins does not want doubtful friends, and he who loses will hate you because you did not court his own fate.²⁷

But if Joachim II's religious moves are carefully examined, step by step, it will be found that they were all shrewdly dictated by political motives which were designed to advance him in his great ambition for the territorial aggrandizement of his family. Some of these designs, such as his aspirations for Courland, the Archbishopric of Riga, a Polish senatorship, and even the Polish

²⁶ The mere rumor in 1550 that papistical masses were being celebrated was enough to rouse the Estates: "Bitten. . . . das die Papistischen messe und andere ergerliche greuel und missbreuche. . . . abgeschafft werden," *Ständeakten*, I, 433; 17 Aug. 1549). "Bitten abzuwenden, ut im stifte Brandenburgk er Funck eine papisthe messe gehalten, quod est abominatio" (*ibid.*, I, 722; 1 July 1550).

²⁷ *Il Principe*, ch. xxi.

crown itself,²⁸ failed completely. But others, such as his acquisition of the right of succession to the Bishoprics of Magdeburg and Halberstadt, to the great secularized Duchy of Prussia, and to the Silesian districts of Liegnitz, were crowned with a success which went far toward building up the Hohenzollern state in North Germany two or three generations later. Such services deserve due recognition, though they scarcely justify for him the title, "Hector," repeated by a modern patriotic biographer,²⁹ which was bestowed upon him according to the pedantry of that humanistic age, which loved to call his three immediate predecessors Albert "Achilles," John "Cicero," and Joachim "Nestor," and which with somewhat more real appropriateness named his ambitious, adventurous cousin, Albert "Alcibiades."³⁰

Though it is true that Joachim was inclined to subordinate religion to politics, it would be unjust to him to imply that he had no religious convictions. That he had such, particularly in his later years—when the victory for Lutheranism had been won—is clear from the care with which he drew up religious ordinances, and also from a remarkable religious session in his new church at Berlin in 1563, at which he presided and did most of the talking. In that year he had fallen sick on a journey to Frankfort to take part in the election of a King of the Romans. On returning to Berlin, with his thoughts still brooding on the uncertainty of this mortal life, he wished to hold a service of praise

²⁸ Cf. F. Holtze, *op. cit.*, in FBPG, II (1889) 395-406; P. Karge, *Kurbrandenburg und Polen, 1548-1563*, *ibid.* XI (1898) 103-173. R. Koser, *Geschichte der brandenburgischen Politik bis zum westphälischen Frieden von 1648* (Berlin, 1913) 229-277.

²⁹ Th. Hirsch, *Allg. D. Biog.*, XIV, 78-9.

³⁰ Frederick the Great made the dry comment: "Joachim Ier, surnommé Nestor. Il reçut le surnom de Nestor, comme Louis XIV celui de Juste, c'est-à-dire sans que l'on en pénètre la raison." Ignorant of Joachim II's classical name, as of much else about his ancestry, but conscious of his own inaccessibility to flattery, he continues sardonically, "Il paraît qu'on revint, du temps de Joachim II, de l'abus de donner des surnoms aux princes; celui de son père avait si mal réussi, qu'il était devenu plutôt un sobriquet qu'une illustration. La flatterie des courtisans, qui avait épuisé les comparaisons de l'antiquité, se retourna sans doute d'un autre côté; et il faut croire que l'amour-propre des princes n'y perdit rien." *Oeuvres de Frédéric le Grand* (Berlin, 1846) I, 15-16.

and thanksgiving, and to make again a public confession of faith.³¹ On this occasion he recalled how, as a boy of thirteen, when returning with his father from a meeting of the Reichstag in 1519, he happened to hear Luther, who made a tremendous impression on him. From that moment, he said, he began to have a great desire to learn more of the teachings of the Wittenberg reformer, whom he praised as "the German Prophet." He went on to expound with much zeal and many apt Biblical quotations Luther's doctrines of Justification by Faith, the Real Presence of Christ in the Sacrament, and the Communion with both the Wine and the Bread. Finally, after some singing of Psalms, and readings from the Scriptures and from his own religious edicts, he began to lecture one of his ministers, George Buchholtzer. He charged him with teaching "the necessity of good works," and a Philippist (Calvinistic) doctrine of the sacrament, at variance with the Brandenburg Confession of Faith, which Joachim II himself had issued in 1540. He blamed Buchholtzer also for attacking and insulting his other orthodox Lutheran ministers. Buchholtzer finally interrupted the Elector, to defend himself against these charges. The result was that the latter part of the long religious service, which began at half-past eight in the morning and lasted till one, closed in a sharp dialogue between Buchholtzer and the Elector. It was at last cut short, according to the reporter, in the following fashion: "The Elector [addressing Buchholtzer]: 'You have heard me. There is a saying: *contra verbosum noli contendere verbis!* You're a babbler, an old fool, and an idiot. There is no health in you. Everything is lost on you.' And he blessed Buchholtzer with the words: 'I commend myself to God, and you, Herr George, to the Devil.' At which some of the congregation responded, 'Amen!' Whereupon the Elector said, 'I will go and eat; it is better for me than doing good works from necessity'."³²

³¹ A most interesting and picturesque account of this occasion, in the words of a deacon who was present and took notes, has been published by P. Steinmüller, "Das Bekenntnis Joachim's II," in FBPG, XVII (1904) 237-246.

³² *Ibid.*, 246.

In the first years of his reign, however, when the Lutheran cause was still in a critical position, if Joachim II had the Lutheran convictions which he asserted so vigorously in 1563, he did not at any rate express them openly. Perhaps they were not really so strong then, as they seemed to him in retrospect twenty-five years later. To his contemporaries in 1535, he still passed for a Roman Catholic and he was in political alliance with Catholic princes. Precisely what his religious attitude was, at his father's death in that year, it is difficult to say, for he has passed under various religious influences since childhood. Born in 1505, he had been educated at first in unquestioned Roman Catholicism. One of his Franconian relatives was High Master of the Teutonic Order in Prussia. An uncle was Albert, the Cardinal-Archbishop of Mainz, who often visited Berlin. Joachim himself has described how he used to sit between the Archbishop's knees at these visits, and learn from him how to sing the Latin chants, the words of which he was still too young to understand.³³ For thirty years thereafter, Albert continued to have a good deal of influence over his nephew. He was that Archbishop of Mainz who had sent out Tetzel with the Indulgences, which started Luther in his stinging attacks against the abuses of the Roman Church in Germany. Joachim was certainly impressed by Luther and shared with him, as did so many German princes and nobles, the general indignation at the papal practices. When his father, Joachim I, took a decided stand against Luther at the Diet of Worms, young Joachim showed his Lutheran leanings by securing from his father the promise that he would not proceed against Luther's adherents in Brandenburg without the consent of the Estates.³⁴ But in spite of this promise, Joachim I a few weeks later re-enacted the Edict of Worms for Brandenburg, and threatened the severest penalties to any of his subjects who should infringe it. Thenceforth Joachim I's chief purpose in life was to check the rising flood of Lutheranism in Brandenburg.

³³ *Ibid.*, 239.

³⁴ Letter of the Electoral Prince Joachim to the High Master of the Teutonic Knights, 29 July 1524, *Publ. aus den Preuss. Staatsarchiven*, vol. 61, p. 181.

He had conceived a bitter personal hatred for Luther and believed his subversive teachings to be directly responsible for the great Peasant Revolt of 1524-25. In order to create for his son a bond which should hold him to the Catholic faith, he chose for him a Catholic wife, Magdalena, the daughter of Duke George of Saxony. Duke George was the man who presided at the Disputation of Leipzig, and who cried out, at Luther's admission that the Hussite opinions were not all wrong, "God help us, the pestilence." He remained ever after one of Luther's most determined opponents. Prince Joachim and Magdalena were married at Dresden in November, 1524, and shortly afterwards, in the midst of the Peasant Revolt, their two fathers signed an alliance for maintaining the old faith. This was soon joined by some of the other Catholic rulers of North Germany. After this young Joachim appears to have acquiesced in his father's attempt to check Catholicism. In 1530 he himself helped put down with a heavy hand a Lutheran outbreak at Stendal, which had begun with singing Lutheran hymns in the church, but which ended with an assault on the monks and the breaking of windows belonging to the clergy. But all the efforts of Joachim I could not prevent the spread and acceptance of the Lutheran doctrines in Brandenburg. Even in the bosom of his own family the heresy made its appearance. His own wife, Elizabeth, a Danish princess, turned Lutheran in 1527. The threats of her husband that he would have her brought to trial for heresy, or imprison her for life, so frightened her that she fled one night from Berlin to Saxony. Here she found refuge and protection with the Elector of Saxony, and even had the joy of being a guest for a few weeks in Luther's own home. But she did not set foot again in Brandenburg for eighteen years. After her husband's death, she had to endure the bitter fact that her own son, Joachim II, would not allow her to return, for fear that in so doing he might give offense to the Emperor and the other Catholic rulers.³⁵

³⁵ P. Steinmüller, *Einführung der Reformation in die Kurmark Brandenburg durch Joachim II*, Halle, 1903 (*Schriften des Vereins f. Reformationsgeschichte*, No. 76) pp. 34-35.

Prince Joachim's wife, Magdalena, remained firm in the faith of her fathers, and bore to her husband a son, the later Elector John George (1571-1598). But Magdalena died on 4 Jan. 1534. In connection with the choice of a second wife, it has usually been stated by historians that the zealous Joachim I again hastened to impose upon his son another Catholic wife from the same religious motives as before.³⁶ But as a matter of fact, the suggestion of the person for Prince Joachim's second wife came from his Protestant Hohenzollern cousin, Albert, Duke of Prussia.³⁷ Albert, the former High Master of the Teutonic Knights, at Luther's suggestion had dissolved the Prussian branch in 1525, and thereby made himself hereditary Protestant Duke of their former East Prussian possession. He was a vassal of the King of Poland and now suggested the Polish King's daughter, Hedwig, as a good second wife for the Brandenburg heir. Through his good offices the marriage contract was soon signed on 21 March 1535, and the marriage took place in the following summer. Hedwig was, of course, a Catholic, and it was stipulated that she might bring a Polish priest with her, and always be free in the exercise of the Catholic religion, to which she remained true, even after her husband turned Lutheran. It is clear, therefore, that this Polish marriage was not primarily the work of Joachim's father, dictated by religious interests. It was quite voluntarily entered into by Joachim and probably indicates even at this early date his territorial ambitions in regard to Poland and the eventual succession in the Duchy of East Prussia, which was a fief of Poland. It also suggests that at the time of his accession, in 1535, Joachim II was already subordinating his early Lutheran sympathies to political interests, and that for the present at any rate he was willing to continue his father's policy of standing on the Roman Catholic side.

Joachim I died on 11 July, 1535. There was a general curi-

³⁶ E. g., Droysen, II, ii, 161-2; Prutz, I, 194. Droysen gives correctly the date of Magdalena's death, but Prutz, following a common error of several previous writers, gives it as 28 Dec. 1534.

³⁷ Letter of the Duke of Prussia to Prince Joachim, 3 Sept. 1534; Steinmüller, 31.

osity to know what his successor's policy would be. At the news of Joachim I's death, the papal nuncio, Vergerio, who mistakenly supposed that the Polish match was the father's work, feared that Joachim II might not proceed in the marriage with Hedwig nor remain firm in the Catholic cause.³⁸ But he was soon somewhat reassured, and in the view of Germany which he gave to his successor, Morone, in October, 1536, he shrewdly describes Joachim II as "not very firm, but very different from his deceased father";³⁹ and he thinks that Joachim, being no longer under any Lutheran influence from his exiled mother, can be held to the Catholic cause by his uncle, Archbishop Albert of Mainz. But the papal nuncio had not counted upon the strong pressure which would be exerted on Joachim II by the fact that most of his subjects were already Lutheran, as well as most of those counsellors who would come into daily contact with him. Nor had he counted on the temptation toward Lutheranism which the possibility of a secularisation of the monastic lands must have held out to Joachim. Before the new Elector took any decisive steps in the Lutheran question, however, there was another matter which demanded his attention at the beginning of his reign. This was the regulation of the details of the partition of the Electorate between himself and his brother Hans.

On 22 Oct. 1534, a few months before his death, Joachim I had made, as so many of the Hohenzollern rulers have done, a last will and testament, in which he sought to determine the future, by imposing conditions on his two sons and heirs, Joachim and Hans.⁴⁰ By one clause he sought to bind them by a last solemn obligation to remain in the Catholic faith and to renew the Halle League which he had signed with other rulers of North

³⁸ *Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland* (Gotha, 1892 ffg.) I, 465: "Et se questa morte è vera, si stima che la cosa non procedrà."

³⁹ "Marchio Brandenburgensis novus elector: juvenis, ut fama fuit non admodum firmus sed longe dissimilis defuncto patri," *Ibid.* II, 67.

⁴⁰ Printed in Riedel, C, 3, 393-405; better edition, with valuable notes by the late H. v. Caemmerer, *Die Testamente der Kurfürsten von Brandenburg und der beiden ersten Könige von Preussen* (Leipzig, 1915) 55-71.

Germany for the preservation of Catholicism. By another clause, which was of more immediate moment, he had directed that Joachim and Hans should rule together jointly, just as he himself at the beginning of his reign had ruled jointly with his brother, Albert, until the latter had been provided for by being made Archbishop of Magdeburg and of Mainz. But foreseeing that such a joint government might prove impracticable, Joachim I had also provided that his sons might, if they wished, divide the land in such a way that Hans, the younger son, should have the Neumark and the lands east of the Oder, with the title of Markgraf, while Joachim was to be Elector of Brandenburg and rule over the rest of the territory. Joachim I's motives in arranging for such a partition of the Electorate, which was contrary to the Golden Bull and which would inevitably weaken the Hohenzollern family power, have been variously interpreted. Most writers look for a religious explanation, and think that he deliberately planned to weaken the Electorate in order to increase in Brandenburg the Catholic influence of the Hapsburgs.⁴¹ They point out that the will was presented to the Emperor for his special confirmation. One writer ⁴² thinks that Joachim I realized before his death that his elder son would be as extravagant and careless as the younger one was economical and careful; and that he therefore tried to yoke them together in a joint rule; or, if that failed, that he planned that only a part of the patrimony should be endangered by being put into Joachim's hands; the Neumark at any rate should be preserved for the careful rule of Hans. But these views rest on no documentary evidence, and may be regarded as doubtful conjectures. The simplest and most probable explanation is that the father wanted to make provision for both sons, either by a joint rule such as he himself had exercised at the beginning of his reign, or by a partition such as his grandfather had made by the so-called *Dispositio Achillea* of 1473, which gave Brandenburg to the eldest heir and the Franconian lands to the younger sons. This document of Albert Achilles has

⁴¹ E. g. Droysen, II, ii, 161-3; Prutz, I, 194-5.

⁴² Steinmüller, *op. cit.*, 38.

been celebrated by Prussian writers as establishing primogeniture and the indivisibility of the Brandenburg territories as the rule of the Hohenzollern House. But it is clear that it was not so understood by Joachim I at his own accession, nor at the time he made his last will and testament. It was not so interpreted by two lawyers whom Joachim II consulted, with the evident purpose of finding legal grounds for claiming the whole inheritance for himself.⁴³ It was the realization of the practical advantage of having the eldest son inherit all the lands which gradually, in the course of the sixteenth century, wisely led the Hohenzollern rulers to interpret one of the clauses of the *Dispositio Achillea* as establishing primogeniture.

Joachim I's hope that his two sons might rule jointly soon proved illusory. For Joachim II and Hans were too unlike one another for any harmonious action. Joachim was slow, timid, and lacking in decision and energy—failings which became more marked with the increasing corpulence of age. With his kindly generous nature, he disliked giving offence or engaging sharply on one side or the other of a question. Like many easy-going characters, he preferred to pursue peace at any price rather than to stand up and fight for his beliefs, like most of his Lutheran neighbors.⁴⁴ His brother, however, Hans of Cüstrin, as he is usually called, was a man of a very different stamp. He had nothing of Joachim's mildness of character, conciliatory spirit, and financial carelessness. He was quick and determined to stand on his rights, as he soon showed in the heated discussion of the details of the partition arrangement. Throughout his life he displayed a clear, cool calculation in both political and financial matters. Free from the love of display and the spendthrift habits of his brother, he had in him something of the thrifty ways of his great grandfather, Albert Achilles. In due course of time he became a banker for all the princes round about. He loaned large sums with good advantage to himself to his own brother

⁴³ Von Caemmerer, *op. cit.*, 67*f.

⁴⁴ One of the points which he harps on with most satisfaction in his dealings with the Estates in the latter part of his reign is to the effect, "I have kept you out of war." *Ständeakten*, II, 336, 429.

Joachim, to Polish princes, and even to common merchants, in spite of the fact that in that age such money-lending activities were not considered altogether becoming in a ruling prince. Money-lending was for burghers and Jews. Nevertheless, Markgraf Hans was able to leave behind him at his death the round sum of 569,000 Thalers in money and notes, while Joachim II left nothing but debts to several times that amount. In money matters Hans felt none of the scruples which bound his conscience in religion. In fact he distinguished sharply between the ethics applicable to temporal, and those applicable to spiritual, affairs. For the former he adopted the proverbial rule, "Of two evils choose the lesser"; but in religion, "One must serve God rather than man." His letters, burning with religious zeal, glow like sermons or confessions of faith and leave no doubt of his unquestioned sincerity. He never subordinated his faith to his political interests, and he had no sympathy with the time-serving methods of his brother. On the contrary, as soon as he became ruler of the Neumark, he carried through a thorough-going Lutheran Reformation, and joined the Schmalkald League.

With characters so different as those of Joachim and Hans a joint rule was out of the question. In a meeting at Berlin in November, 1535, they agreed to carry out the partition arrangement, but it was accomplished only after a good deal of wrangling and bitterness over various details relating to the finances or to matters of form.⁴⁵ As was stipulated in the will, Hans received the Neumark east of the Elbe, Sternberg, Crossen, Cottbus and Peitz,—in all about two-sevenths of the whole. Joachim received the rest. From the administrative point of view this partition was unfortunate. It burdened the land with the support of two Households and two sets of administrative agents, where one had sufficed before. It cut down very considerably the domain lands from which the Elector of Brandenburg could draw his revenues for the next generation, and it weakened his political position in the Empire. Hitherto the Neumark had been regarded as part

⁴⁵ *Ständeakten*, I, 1-63.

of the Electorate.⁴⁶ Its towns and nobles had been members of the Brandenburg Diet; it had been under the same laws and administration as the rest of the Electorate. Thereafter, it had a more or less separate existence. As it happened, Joachim and Hans died within ten days of one another (Jan. 3 and 13, 1571), and, as Hans had no sons, the Neumark was inherited by Joachim's son, John George; it was thus reunited politically to the Electorate; but it was not organically incorporated in it in the complete manner that it had been before 1535.

The lands which Joachim II received by the partition of the Electorate comprised all the older districts west of the Oder, and contained a population of between three and four hundred thousand souls. Of these, roughly, a third lived in the towns and two-thirds in the country. These figures are based on a careful estimate which Thomas Matthias made about 1564, when he was trying to figure out the probable yield of an excise tax on cloth.⁴⁷ He reckoned that in all the towns of the Electorate, taken together, there were 16,500 houses or hearths; allowing six persons to each house he estimated the burgher population at 99,000. In the villages and hamlets of the country districts, not counting the houses of clergy and nobles, he reckoned 33,000 houses, which, allowing five persons to a house, would make a peasant population of at least 165,000. In addition to this total of 264,000 persons living by families in separate houses in town and country, the clergy and the nobility, with their domestic servants, would bring the total population up to the given figure of between 300,000 and 400,000.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ The commonly accepted view to the contrary is shown by von Caemmerer, pp. 69-71, to be incorrect.

⁴⁷ *Ständeakten*, II, 305-312.

⁴⁸ *Ständeakten*, II, 305-312. For the half of the Electorate with which he was more familiar (Mittelmark, Uckermark, Ruppín, Zossen and Lebus, but not Altmark and Priegnitz) Matthias gives detailed rural statistics from which he arrives at these totals: 947 country villages, 18,148 peasant houses, 10,424 full peasant tenants (*Hufner*), 7,724 cottiers (*Cossaten*), and 28,187 virgates of peasant arable land (*Hufen*). His figure of 16,500 houses or hearths in the towns of the whole electorate he reduced on more careful investigation to 15,212 (p. 309). Probably the real number lay roughly half-way between these two figures, say at

Meanwhile Joachim II was being urged by men in both religious parties to take a more definite stand in regard to religion. Philip of Hesse wrote pressing letters begging him to carry out a definite reformation in Brandenburg. Melancthon made several visits to Berlin, and revived that early inclination toward Lutheran teachings which Joachim had undoubtedly felt twenty years before, after his personal meeting with Luther. His brother Hans had at once introduced the Reformation into the Neumark, secularised the lands, and made a new ecclesiastical visitation and organization. In July, 1538, he ranged himself definitely on the Protestant side by joining the Schmalkald League.⁴⁹ He hoped his brother Joachim would follow his own good example. Joachim II's own subjects also, at a meeting of the Estates in the fall of 1538, pressed for the adoption of Lutheran forms, but Joachim replied in non-committal language, that in the matter of the Christian religion and ceremonies he would still continue to act so as to satisfy his conscience, his honor, and his responsibility to God Almighty and to the Emperor.⁵⁰

On the other side, the papal nuncios sought to keep Joachim's good will by making several concessions to him in minor matters, and by urging the Emperor's brother, Ferdinand, to meet the Elector's political wishes as far as possible.⁵¹

But Joachim still hesitated. He desired, as did many other liberally minded Roman Catholics, that there should be a general reform of the ecclesiastical abuses which Luther had so sharply exposed and which Catholics themselves admitted did exist. At the outset Joachim thought that the proper way to accomplish such

15,900. This is almost the exact figure reached in another and apparently independent estimate, made at about the same time by Nicholas Goldbeck, burgomaster of Stendal; he gives the number of houses in towns by districts as follows: Altmark, 4136; Priegnitz, 1523; Ruppín, 1452; Mittelmark, 6995; and Uckermark, 1792, making a total of 15,898 (*ibid.*, II, 473, note 4.) The total area of the Electorate (*Kurmark*) after 1535 was nearly 10,000 sq. miles, so that Joachim II ruled over a district and population roughly equal to that of the present State of Vermont.

⁴⁹ Steinmüller, 48.

⁵⁰ *Ständeakten*, I, 48, § 2 (29 Sept. 1538).

⁵¹ *Nuntiaturberichte*, I, 549 ffg.

a reform was by the action of the Catholics themselves in a General Council of the Church. He several times expressed this opinion to the nuncio. But he soon came to see that there were a good many obstacles in the way of reaching any results through a General Council. He then began to advocate, therefore, the idea of securing a religious settlement by a direct negotiation between the Catholics and Lutherans in Germany. He made this proposal to Ferdinand in an interview at Bautzen in 1538, and it was agreed that the experiment should be tried. Delegates were sent to a conference at Frankfort in February, 1539. But the meeting was doomed to failure, as one of the Catholic delegates was Aleander, the papal nuncio who had previously taken such an uncompromising attitude toward Luther. Aleander would not agree to the moderate concessions which Joachim had hoped could be made a basis of settlement, such as the marriage of the priests and the Communion in Both Kinds. A few weeks later a similar effort to find a basis of concord at Nuremberg met with no better success. Joachim then began to realize how unlikely it was the Catholics would ever agree to accept even the more moderate demands of the Lutherans. This realization came upon him just at the moment his own subjects were becoming more clamorous for free permission to use the Lutheran forms. Some of his clergy, even the Bishop of Brandenburg himself, Matthias von Jagow, had already openly adopted Lutheran practices. In the spring of 1539 the nobles of the Teltow district, headed by the Bishop of Brandenburg, came to Joachim to beg that at the coming Easter Communion they might be allowed to receive both the Bread and the Wine, as Luther taught. A delegation from the burghers of Berlin made the same request.⁵² Some of his most trusted councillors, particularly Eustachius von Schlieben, advised that the time was ripe for the introduction of the Reformation. Accordingly, in the summer of 1539, Joachim did call as court preacher, Jacob Stratner, the man who had helped Margraf Hans to introduce the Reformation in the Neumark. He invited Melanchthon to come again to Berlin, and he appointed

⁵² Steinmüller, 54-57.



a commission to work at the draft of a reforming ecclesiastical ordinance. At last, on 1 Nov. 1539, he himself took the communion in the Lutheran form.

It is a curious fact that the place at which Joachim II took this decisive step has for centuries been a matter of uncertainty. In front of the Church of St. Nicholas in Spandau there now stands a monument, unveiled in 1889, on the three hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Reformation, which, as the traveller is informed by Baedeker,⁵³ "commemorates the Elector Joachim II's profession of Protestantism *here* in 1539." This assertion that it was at Spandau, not at Berlin, that Joachim first took the communion in the Lutheran form is one which has also been made by the most eminent historians, since it was given currency by the master, Ranke.⁵⁴ Droysen adds the wholly unfounded conjecture that Joachim II purposely chose Spandau because it was the residence of his dowager mother,⁵⁵ and by taking this step before her eyes he would be honoring what she had suffered in behalf of her Lutheran faith. As a matter of fact, the dowager Electress was still in exile, and was not allowed by her son to return to Spandau till the latter part of 1545.⁵⁶ Prutz, on the other hand, with no more basis in fact for his statement, asserts that Joachim selected Spandau in order to spare the Catholic sensibilities of his wife, Hedwig, and to avoid, if possible, any rupture or unpleasantness with his Catholic father-in-law, Sigismund of Poland.⁵⁷ The writers of the sixteenth century, however, who were nearest in time to the event and therefore deserve special credence, mention without exception the new cathedral church at Berlin, not the St. Nicholas church at Spandau.⁵⁸ But in 1628 there appeared a book by one Cernitius, a secretary.

⁵³ *Northern Germany*, 12 ed. (1897) 106.

⁵⁴ *Zeitalter der Reformation*, in *Sämmtl. Werke*, IV, 112: "Am 1 November 1539 versammelten sich die sämmtlichen Praedicanten in der Nicolaikirche zu Spandau," etc.

⁵⁵ Droysen, II, ii, 186.

⁵⁶ Steinmüller, 34-35.

⁵⁷ Prutz, I, 211 f.

⁵⁸ Steinmüller, 63-65.

of Elector George William, which directly named "Spandau, which he [Joachim II] had given to his mother Elizabeth in place of a dowry after his father's death."⁵⁹ Naturally the imposing title of his book and his position as Electoral secretary gave much authority to his assertion, and started a legend which grew stronger and stronger with time, and with each recurring centennial anniversary.

In spite of the monument, Baedeker, and the leading historians, we must reject Spandau's claim as a pure legend,⁶⁰ as well as the supposititious motives assigned to Joachim II by Droysen and Prutz. It was in the new church at Berlin that Joachim II, on 1 Nov. 1539, took the decisive step which marks the introduction of the Lutheran Reformation into Brandenburg. It was in fact the most natural thing in the world that Joachim should wish this new church, which he had just built with much expense, adorned with relics gathered from monasteries all over the Electorate, and sanctified with the bones of his ancestors which had been transferred from the ancient family vault at Lehnin, to be made glorious by being the scene of the most momentous step in his own religious life.

Joachim II's adoption of Lutheranism led naturally to the secularisation of nearly all the monasteries and nunneries as well as the three bishoprics and some other pious foundations. This meant the virtual disappearance of the clergy as one of the "Estates" of the land. Henceforth, the Diet, instead of consisting of three estates, as formerly, was composed of practically only two, the nobility and the towns. The old formula suggesting the three estates ("*Prelaten; Grafen, Herren, und Ritter; und Städte*") appears frequently in the documents long after the Reformation. But it was the mere survival of a formula; like the clergy (*Prelaten*), the ancient counts and lords (*Grafen und Herren*) had almost disappeared or become merged in the lesser nobility (*Ritter*). It was these Ritter, or lesser nobility, who

⁵⁹ *Decem e familia Burggraviorum Nurnburgensium Electorum Brandenburgicorum*, Berlini, 1628: "Spandoa, quam Matri Elisabethae dotalitii nomine post Parentis obitum concesserat."

⁶⁰ Cf. Steinmüller, 63-72.

formed by far the most numerous and the most powerful part of the Diet, quite overshadowing the representatives of the towns. Significant of their superior importance is the fact that the contemporary documents continually refer to the whole Diet as "die von der Ritterschaft," "die vom Adel," or "die Landschaft," without any mention of the towns; and conversely "die Stände," or "die Landstände," is frequently used to designate, not the whole Diet of nobility and towns, but merely the nobility; the nobility, in other words, were popularly thought of as *the* Estate. But when it came to granting taxes the antagonistic interests of town and country always led to the sharp cleavage between burgher and noble which was characteristic of the Brandenburg Diets in Joachim II's time and later.

The secularisation of the church lands might have been expected to provide Joachim II with resources for helping himself out of his financial difficulties. But they did so only to a small extent. In the case of a great many of the smaller pious foundations the revenues were turned over to local uses, particularly to the support of schools, hospitals, and the local ministers. In the case of the monasteries, Joachim II, like his generous contemporary, Henry VIII, gave away a great part of the confiscated property to nobles and officials; most of the remainder he soon burdened with heavy mortgages in return for cash loans. It made little difference that he had been warned by the Diet not to do this, and had promised he would not do so. Within a dozen years after his adoption of the Reformation, he lost the revenues from so many secularised lands that the Diet had to take steps to help him redeem the mortgaged property, and so recover revenues which he need never have lost, if he had been a more economical and business-like administrator.⁶¹ His change in religion resulted also in a change in ecclesiastical organization. With the extinction of the authority of the Pope in Brandenburg, Joachim himself became, like Henry VIII, supreme head—

⁶¹ This dissipation and mismanagement of the secularized lands was the object of one of the most frequently repeated criticisms in the long series of grievances listed above in note 8.

summus episcopus—of the church in Brandenburg. As such, he issued at once a long Ecclesiastical Ordinance, a part of which he proudly said he “wrote with his own fist.”⁶² It had been prepared by a commission, on which both Lutherans and Catholics were represented, and at which Joachim II himself personally presided, taking an active part in the work. It reflects his desire to please both religious parties. While it emphasizes some of Luther’s fundamental doctrines, such as Justification by Faith, and approves of the marriage of the clergy and Communion with the Wine and the Bread, it retains as much as possible of the old Roman ceremonial. For Joachim did not intend that his adoption of the Reformation should lead to a political rupture with the Catholic princes. To his Catholic father-in-law he took pains to explain: “We have no intention of subjecting ourselves wholly to the Lutheran teaching or of introducing any innovations; we simply wish to secure uniformity of ceremonial and discipline in our lands, and thereby put an end to the many unnecessary ‘Disputationes and quaestiones’ by which the common man nowadays is stirred up.”⁶³ He allowed his wife to remain Catholic and have her Polish priests with her. He did not join the Protestant Schmalkald League, but remained in close political touch with the emperor during the next few years, endeavoring always to find a peaceful basis of settlement between Lutherans and Catholics.

Joachim sent copies of his new Ecclesiastical Ordinance to Luther, Melancthon and Justus Jonas, and, in spite of its generous retention of Romanist practices, received from all these leading Protestants hearty letters of congratulation and approval for the Reformation which he had at last introduced into Brandenburg. It also received the formal approval of the Emperor, at least until a General or National Church Council should settle definitely all the religious differences in Germany. Joachim’s

⁶² “Ich habe mit meiner eigenen faust vor 23 Jaren die vorrede in meiner ordenung gestellet; da sihet man, was ich dozumal geglaubet,” he said at the thanksgiving service in 1563 (FBPG, XVII, 243).

⁶³ Joachim II to Sigismund of Poland, 1 Sept. 1539, in FBPG, II (1889) 403.

Ordinance provided Brandenburg with a confession of faith, a catechism, and a book of ecclesiastical discipline and ceremonial.⁶⁴ Following the Saxon example, Joachim also sent out commissioners who during the next three years made a careful visitation of every parish, making an inventory of church property, transferring superfluous silver vessels to Berlin and providing for the proper support of the local pastor and sexton.

In 1543 the elector completed his reorganization of the church in Brandenburg by the appointment of a permanent Ecclesiastical Commission (*Consistorium*) to assist him in appointing pastors, hearing ecclesiastical cases, and administering the rest of the church business which had formerly been in the hands of the three bishops of Brandenburg, Havelberg, and Lebus. This Consistorium, composed of an ecclesiastical superintendent, a Roman trained lawyer, and two or three other officials, with clerks, a seal of its own, and a regular time and place of meeting, was one of the first governing boards which differentiated itself from the rest of the Household administration and began a separate corporate existence with specialized functions of its own.

Joachim II's reign therefore may properly be regarded as marking a turning-point in the matter of religious doctrine and of ecclesiastical organization and discipline.

(4) *Economic Changes*

(In the field of economic history, also, Joachim II's reign is of much importance. The peasant was rapidly losing the protecting benefits of his medieval customary tenure. The relatively free and independent economic position which his ancestors had enjoyed when they settled as colonizers east of the Elbe in the thirteenth century was being lost by the peasant of the sixteenth century. He was being depressed further and further through the exploitation of powerful noble landlords on one hand and strong town-gilds on the other. In the interests of the towns the peasant was forbidden to engage in any buying and selling or

⁶⁴This Kirchenordnung of 1540, the most important document in the Brandenburg Reformation, is printed by Mylius, I, 6 ffg.

peddling "lest it injure the burgher's means of livelihood."⁶⁵ Such trading, being one of the burgher occupations, must be exclusively reserved for burghers, according to the general medieval idea that each social class must keep within the limits of its own recognized professions. This idea of caste was even extended to the land, so that peasants were not allowed to buy land which belonged to burghers.⁶⁶ Town land must remain in the hands of townspeople. But it is noteworthy that this rule for preserving caste in land worked only in one way—in favor of the two ruling social classes; for the noble could expropriate peasants and thereby change peasant land into noble land. Not until the great agrarian reforms of the Stein-Hardenberg period at the beginning of the nineteenth century was this "caste in land" broken down and in its place established a "free-trade in land" which worked with fairness for all classes.⁶⁷ Nor could the peasant sell his grain at his own barn-door to persons who would buy it of him. He must haul it to the towns to sell, and even then was allowed to dispose of it only at the specified markets under the supervision of the town authorities, and often even at prices fixed by them. He never enjoyed the chance to export grain freely out of the Electorate.⁶⁸ But the frequent complaints of the towns about grain being "smuggled out at night in small boats" suggest that the peasants managed occasionally to get some little advantage from the higher price of grain which often prevailed outside the Electorate of Brandenburg.⁶⁹

(It was, however, chiefly from the side of the nobles, rather than that of the towns, that the oppression and deterioration of

⁶⁵ *Ständeakten*, I, 57, § 38 (29 Sept. 1538).

⁶⁶ *Ständeakten*, I, 439, § 32; 512 (4 Oct. 1549).

⁶⁷ For an account in English, over-optimistic, however, see J. R. Seeley, *Life and times of Stein* (Boston, 1879) Part III, ch. iv.

⁶⁸ *Ständeakten*, I, 36, § 15 (10 Aug. 1536); 56-57, §§ 31, 37 (29 Sept. 1538). A passage in the 1540 confirmation of privileges, where the text is defective and the meaning obscure, is interpreted by Hass (*Kurmärk. Stände*, 137) as giving the peasant the right to export, but there is no evidence that he was generally allowed to do so.

⁶⁹ *Ständeakten*, I, 441, § 48 (17 Aug. 1549); I, 483 (14 Sept. 1549); II, 65 (15 Jan. 1554).

the peasantry mainly took place under Joachim II. / The peasants suffered particularly from the process described above by which the nobles were building up large estates and producing for export. The peasant was expropriated if the lord wanted to extend his own acres and could give a sufficient reason. One of the commonest pretexts for expropriation was that the peasant tenant was "mutwillig," that is, contumacious, malicious, or mischievous in his influence on other peasants, tending to make them defy the lord's authority. Such contumacious peasants were no doubt troublesome to the lord, and probably would have threatened the successful exercise of his police power over the peasantry, is left unpunished. But it is not unlikely that peasants whose lands the lords particularly wanted were the ones whom the lords deemed contumacious. In 1540, after much insistence, the nobles secured from the Elector the right to expropriate these "mutwillige" peasants; the only condition was that the peasant should be paid the value of his tenement.⁷⁰ As the valuation apparently lay in the hands of the lord, it is apparent how easily he could abuse this right.

(Under Joachim II the unhappy Brandenburg peasantry also became definitely bound to the soil. / The nobles needed labor on their grain-raising estates. Formerly, before they had begun farming on a large scale and producing for export, they had had sufficient labor in the few days of labor services which were owed them by their tenants. But as they extended their estates and reduced the number of peasants performing services, they had to increase proportionately the amount of labor services exacted from the tenants who remained, demanding four and even five days a week instead of a few days for the whole year. From these increasing burdens the peasant sometimes tried to escape by giving up his tenement and moving elsewhere. Under Joachim I the peasant could still do this, provided he furnished some one to take his place, so that the services would not remain unperformed. But it naturally became increasingly difficult for the peasant to find a substitute to leave. In this case his only course was

⁷⁰ *Ständeakten*, I, 95; 98 § 7 (17 Mar. 1540).

to run away. (Even this escape was cut off by a police regulation of 1550, issued at a time when the nobles had again come forward to rescue Joachim II from his creditors. | According to this regulation, "whenever a peasant runs away and will not keep up his tenement for his lord or Junker, no matter where he turns, upon the request of his lord people must join in the pursuit of him, without making any objections."⁷¹ Towns were forbidden to receive any peasant who could not produce a letter of withdrawal (*Abzugsbrief*) from the lord under whom the peasant had been living, showing that the peasant was allowed to withdraw with the lord's full knowledge and approval.⁷² Such a letter it was contrary to the lord's interest to give. Thus the peasant lost his freedom of movement. Henceforth he was virtually bound to the soil—*adscriptus glebae*. He was sinking into that condition of serfdom (*Leibeigenschaft*) from which the peasants in south and west Germany were tending to emerge. In a couple of generations more, lawyers trained in the Roman law would even speak of him as if his condition were no better than that of a Roman slave.⁷³

It was under Joachim II also that the compulsory menial service of the peasant's children in the lord's household (*Gesindezwangdienst*), as maids or as kitchen scullions and stable-boys, also became practically established. "If a peasant subject of a noble has children whom the peasant does not need in his own work, and whom he wishes to put out at service, he must first offer them for service to the lord to serve at a fair pay. Only in case the lord does not want them, may the peasant offer them for service to others at his pleasure," declared edicts of 1536 and 1538.⁷⁴ To prevent wages from rising

⁷¹ Polizei-Ordnung of 3 Nov. 1550, in *Ständeakten*, I, 834. Cf. Raumer, II, 226, for similar edict in 1518.

⁷² *Ständeakten*, I, 36, § 13 (10 Aug. 1536); 56, § 30 (29 Sept. 1538).

⁷³ S. B. Fay, "The Roman Law and the German Peasant," in *American Historical Review*, XVI (1910) 234-254.

⁷⁴ *Ständeakten*, I, 35 and 53, following a similar edict of 1534 (Mylius, VI, i, no. 16). Cf. E. Lennhoff, *Das ländliche Gesindewesen in der Kurmark Brandenburg vom 16. bis 19. Jahrhundert* (Breslau, 1906), in Gierke's *Untersuchungen zur Deutschen Staats- und Rechtsgeschichte*, no. 79.

in the same proportion that prices in general were rising in the middle of the sixteenth century edicts were issued by the Elector establishing fixed wages for different occupations.⁷⁵

It was during Joachim II's reign that there began in Germany the first great rise in the general level of prices due to the influx of gold and silver from the New World, to the new systems of credit, and to a number of other causes.⁷⁶ In England, where the commutation of labor dues into money rents had already taken place long before the rise in prices began, the peasant suffered no great injury from the rise in prices. He might even benefit from it. If he were a copyholder, he paid the small rent which became merely nominal in comparison with the greatly increased prices at which he could sell his produce. If he were a laborer serving for hire, his wages, the price of his labor, tended to go up in rough proportion to the rising level of general prices. In Brandenburg it was quite otherwise. Some peasants at the beginning of the sixteenth century had begun, as in England, to commute their labor dues into money payments. But as soon as the lords perceived that with the rising prices it was much more to their interest to have the peasants' labor services again, now that they were rising in value, instead of the fixed money payments, they tried to force the peasants back to the old services. Joachim II or his father had at first evidently protected the peasants in their commutation arrangement as the royal courts in England to some extent protected the copyholders. For in 1540 we find the nobles complaining that they had formerly "accepted money payments (*Dienstgeld*) in commutation for labor services from some of their peasants; but now since their needs demand that

⁷⁵ For such "Lohnordnungen" see *Ständeakten*, I, 817-819 (Oct. 1550); 838-841 (2 Nov. 1551); cf. also *ibid.*, I, 438, § 30.

⁷⁶ That the rise of prices due to the influx of the new gold and silver did not begin as early in the sixteenth century as usually supposed is shown clearly by G. Wiebe, *Zur Geschichte der Preisrevolution des XVI. and XVII. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig, 1896. Further evidence from the Spanish sources of the relatively small amount of the precious metals from America which actually filtered into the countries of Europe during the first half of the sixteenth century is given by C. H. Haring, "American Gold and Silver Production in the First Half of the Sixteenth Century," in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, XXIX (May, 1915) 433-479.

they receive the services again from the peasants and drop the money payments, the peasants object. And judgment has been given here in the Elector's court of appeal (*Kammergericht*) in their favor, to the effect that peasants who have given money payments are not again obliged to perform labor services." Of this decision the nobles "most loudly complain," and beg the Elector that their grievance may be remedied. Joachim assented at once.⁷⁷ In Brandenburg therefore it was the peasant who suffered and the lord who prospered by the rising prices of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Another factor which worked to the detriment of the peasant was the great jurisdictional or police power which the Elector of Brandenburg had allowed the nobles to acquire over their peasant tenants. The landed noble in Brandenburg, as in the rest of the German "colonized" region northeast of the Elbe, was not only a landlord (*Grundherr*) with the great economic opportunities for exploiting his peasantry which have just been indicated, but he was also a police judge or magistrate (*Gerichtsherr*). As such he was able under Joachim II to make good his demand that no peasants could bring suits against their lords in the court of the Elector, as a court of first instance; and they could not bring them at all except on the grounds of a denial of justice by the lords. The nobles feared that if peasants were allowed "to go running to court" at Berlin "to bring suits against their masters" it would "make the peasants defiant and rouse them to rebellion."⁷⁸ Therefore they obtained from Joachim II not only the promise that such suits by peasants would not be entertained, but

⁷⁷ This interesting complaint, which throws so much light on the question of commutation of labor services, but which, so far as I know, has not been noticed by any writer, is in *Ständeakten*, I, 95-96, § 49 (some time before 17 Mar. 1540); the Elector's reply, written on the margin of the grievance paper was, "So zu rechte befunden, das die pauern vor das gelt, so sie uber vorwerthe zeit gegeben, dienste zu laistn schuldige, so sal es dorbei bleiben" (*ibid.*, note 4).

⁷⁸ *Ständeakten*, I, 90, § 15 (1540); II, 349, § 11; "Bitten daz di paure uf ire erste clage iren junkern zuwiddern nicht mugen geleitet werden, den sie daruber widderwillig und zu ufrur muchten erweckt werden; sondern ein iglicher vom adel die seinen der pillickeit nach muchte zwingen, wie von alters" (Nov. 1564).

also the issuance of an edict in which peasants who attempted to bring in the Elector's court such annoying and baseless suits against their masters "were to be punished with imprisonment in a tower, so that others may refrain from malicious suits of this kind."⁷⁹ (In disputes therefore between lords and peasants the lord was both party and judge in his own case. The peasant could hope for little justice. He could not look for protection to the Elector, as the copyholders in England were able to look to the Court of Chancery, the Court of Requests, the Council, and, to some extent, to the common law courts of the King, for the Elector was too weak to shelter them against the oppression of the powerful nobles; and anyway he had sold himself out to the nobles in return for their assumption of some of his debts.

On the other hand, an economic change of a progressive nature, looking toward the future, was Joachim II's effort to secure more uniform weights and measures in place of the medieval practices which varied greatly from place to place. "Throughout all our lands the same ell, namely the Berlin ell, shall be used under the pain of confiscation of goods measured otherwise." For weighing small amounts, such as spices and wax, the Erfurt standard of weights was adopted; for heavier articles, such as meat, copper, lead and tin, the Berlin centner of one hundred and ten pounds was made the standard. The tun was to be everywhere uniformly of twenty-four *stübchen*.⁸⁰ In this effort at standardization he was heartily supported by the nobility.⁸¹ But in the towns medieval custom and local tenacity were too strong to make possible complete uniformity. The Berlin bushel (*scheffel*), for instance, was to be enforced only in the Middle Mark; in the Altmark, Uckermark, Priegnitz, and Ruppín the local bushels respectively of the towns of Prenzlau,

⁷⁹ *Ständeakten*, I, 99, § 11 (17 Mar. 1540); cf. also I, 34, § 6 (10 Aug. 1536); 51-52, §§ 9, 14 (29 Sept. 1538); 813, § 7 (14 Oct. 1550).

⁸⁰ Edict of 3 Nov. 1550, in Mylius, V, i, no. 2; KS, I, 833. A similar edict had been issued in 1518 but had not been effective; cf. Raumer, II, 225. The *Stübchen* was equivalent to about three and a half English quarts.

⁸¹ *Ständeakten*, I, 94, § 44; 685, §§ 8-9.

Stendal, Perleberg and Ruppín were to be used.⁸² Of more importance for the future was the fact that money was beginning to be used instead of natural products as a means of paying the Elector's officials. Joachim II makes the distinction, as we shall see, between those Household officials who are rewarded by receiving room and board and lands, and those who are to receive money in hard cash (*Kostgeld*). A change in the Household administration was beginning to take place, as Germans would say, from a *Naturalwirtschaft* to a *Geldwirtschaft*; but the change was not to be complete for more than a century.

(5) *The Household and Administration Under Joachim II*

More important and more interesting than the constitutional, religious or economic changes under Joachim II were the beginnings of a new development in the Household and Administration. This is the subject which will be the chief object of attention in the remainder of this study. For historians have not yet appreciated how important for the later history of the Hohenzollern state is the evolution in administration which was beginning to take place in the Sixteenth Century. Institutional changes usually take place slowly, and it would be easy to exaggerate here, as in other respects the importance of Joachim II's reign as a turning point in the system of administration in Brandenburg. It is true that tendencies are manifest under his predecessors which did not develop fully until long after Joachim II had been laid away to rest in the church which he built at Berlin to hold his ashes. But in the study of the administrative arrangements of a state, it makes for clearness and simplicity to take a cross-section view of conditions during a single ruler's reign, rather than to try to make vertical study running down a long period of time. For this purpose of a cross-section study of administration, no reign prior to that of the Great Elector (1640-1688) offers so much of importance or is so advantageous for investigation as that of Joachim II. It affords the best point of departure for an account of that unfolding of the great depart-

⁸² *Ibid.*, I, 813, 832-833.

ments of government which originated out of the administration of the Elector's Household, and which developed gradually in organization and in independence from one another until they became, under the Great Elector, the agencies for the founding of the powerful, centralized, absolutistic and bureaucratic Hohenzollern state, which Brandenburg-Prussia has ever since remained.¹

(In Brandenburg before Joachim II's reign, as in the other principalities of Germany, there had been the very closest organic connection between the administration of the prince's domestic household and the administration of the territory over which he ruled.) No clear distinction existed between the prince in his private capacity as the patriarchal feudal owner of a great estate and as master of an extensive domestic establishment, and the sovereign in his public capacity as the political ruler of the territorial state. The personal interests and affairs of the prince were still inextricably associated and interwoven with those of his state. The idea of public revenues, as distinct from the ruler's personal private income, had scarcely emerged. The government of the territory was still carried on for the most part by the prince's domestic household officials, most of whom actually still lived in the castle with him. They ate in the same dining-room with him; at night they received candles from the same silver closet, and wine and beer from the same cellar with him; and they stabled their horses in the same stable with his.⁸³ The very title borne by some of the most important political officials was reminiscent of their originally domestic character. Such were the Marshal, the Master of the Household, the Chamberlain, and the Manager of the Storehouse.⁸⁴ They drew no distinction

⁸³ Household Ordinance of 1537, sects. 10, 13, and 14: "Ordnung des Kellers," "der Sylberkammer," and "des Stalles."

⁸⁴ "Marschall"—late Latin *mariscalcus*, from Germanic *Mare*=horse+*scalc*=servitor: the servant in charge of the stable, or Master of the Horse. "Haushofmeister" is self-explanatory. The "Kämmerer," "camerarius," or Chamberlain served in the bed-chamber both as a master of ceremony and as a keeper of the ruler's private hoard; the double character of his office explains its later bifurcation into the separate offices of Chamberlain and Treasurer. The "Verweser des Möllenhofs," or Manager of the Storehouse, kept the supply of provisions for Elector's table in a mill-house on the Spree near the castle at Berlin.

S between the domestic service of the Household and the public service of the state, for the Elector's Household was thought of as co-extensive with the Electorate, which was one of the states of the Holy Roman Empire. The Marshal, for instance, after a busy domestic morning going the rounds of the stable, inspecting the saddles or the horse-shoeing, would join the Elector's councillors and discuss high matters of state policy, or perhaps receive and negotiate with foreign ambassadors. But every evening after supper he would descend to the humbler but necessary task of noting how many people had dined that day at the Elector's tables, how much food was on hand for the morrow, and what necessaries ought to be ordered. From an inspection of the kitchen or the reprimanding of a disorderly scullion, he might go straight forth to lead the Elector's army against the enemy or to negotiate a treaty in a foreign capital.

By the reign of Joachim II, however, came the glimmerings of the consciousness of these distinctions between the private and the public aspects of the ruler. The business of the Household was increasing greatly in volume, and becoming more complicated. Some of the noble officials found it boresome to attend long council meetings or listen to law-suits where lawyers were using more and more of the Roman phraseology and handing in long written briefs. Some of these bored nobles, therefore, ceased to serve the Elector actively as councillors and judges, and allowed their places to be taken by "learned" councillors, or "doctores," as those men were called who had had a university training, often a law course at the famous University of Bologna. The more strictly domestic business of the Household, such as provision for the daily food, the management of the domains from which the food chiefly came, and the receiving and paying of moneys, came to be separated from the prince's more public business, such as receiving petitions, issuing grants or privileges, settling law-suits, regulating church affairs, or discussing in secret the policies to be followed toward foreign states. Certain kinds of business were assigned more and more to certain officials or groups of officials, who formed about themselves the embryo

of the great departments of state, the organs of government of the future. Around the Chancellor was his staff of clerks who made up the large force of the Chancery. Around the Prince himself, with a few of his most intimate councillors who could be trusted with state secrets, was forming the board soon to be known as the Privy Council. Those councillors who devoted most of their time to hearing and deciding law-suits were becoming separated from the others to form the Court of Appeal (*Kammergericht*). And so on. Out of, and along side of, the Household administration was growing up the political administration of the state. (After the middle of the sixteenth century it is really correct therefore to speak of the Hohenzollern Household and Central Administration.⁸⁵ |

As the branches of a growing vine soon extend themselves in size far beyond, and finally even hide, the parent stock from which they are sprung, so these organs of political administration extended themselves steadily. In the seventeenth century they had already begun to overshadow in importance the Household out of which they had grown.⁸⁶ As the different branches of business—clerical, religious, financial, judicial, and advisory—became more clearly separated from one another the different

⁸⁵ But to use the phrase as do German writers generally, e. g. Spangenberg, "*Hof- und Zentralverwaltung in der Mark Brandenburg in Mittelalter*", for a period much earlier than Joachim II is altogether infelicitous. It implies a distinction, which as I have tried to show, did not exist in Germany much before the sixteenth century. It obscures the essential fact that the Household Administration was *the* administration and the only administration. It imputes centralizing aims to rulers of which they were entirely innocent and unconscious. Recognizing the infelicity of "Hof- und Zentralverwaltung" for the earlier period, one German writer has recently coined a phrase which very happily describes the situation as "administration at the Household" ("*Verwaltung bei Hofe*"). See R. Petsch, *Verfassung und Verwaltung Hinterpommerns im 17. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 1897; Schmoller's *Forschungen*, Heft 126) p. 93.

⁸⁶ As a curious eighteenth-century surviving reminder of the undifferentiated sixteenth century administration, when Household officials performed unconsciously what a later age would call public functions, may be mentioned the fact that several of the most domestic Household officials continued to be members of the Privy Council, and the despatches of the provincial to the central boards were still called "Despatches to the Household" ("*Berichte nach Hofe*").

boards of administration which dealt with them became more clearly differentiated.) Their functions became more specialized. For division of labor always tends toward specialization of function. This process of specialization and differentiation, by which the Household officials were developing into public functionaries, is already evident under Joachim II. But it was still in the embryonic stage. The same councillors still dealt at different moments with very different kinds of business; there was much of that overlapping of the work of one official over that of another which was characteristic of the older Household administration. Joachim II's Household Ordinance of 1537 is one of the first of a series of subsequent edicts which attempt to secure a more precise definition of functions for the various branches of administration.)

(The organs of government which were in process of development under Joachim II functioned at first, of course, exclusively for the Electorate of Brandenburg. But a century later, under the Great Elector, after the acquisition by the Hohenzollerns of the Cleves territories in the west and the Duchy of Prussia in the east, these Brandenburg organs of government were widened and extended more or less effectively over these, and other, newly-acquired territories. They were thus transformed to some extent from local Brandenburg organs of government into departments of administration for the whole new Brandenburg-Prussian State. It is because of their later important evolution as the framework of the Prussian bureaucracy, that the embryonic origins of these organs of government under Joachim II deserve a fuller and clearer treatment than they have hitherto received.')

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CHAPTER II

(1) *Modern Writers*¹

There is no wholly satisfactory account of the Household and Administration under Joachim II and of their later evolution. The best general sketch is perhaps that by Gustav Schmoller,² but even this is very brief for the sixteenth century, and contains some views which must be rejected. The older accounts of the administrative system under Joachim II by Bornhak, Isaacsohn, and other constitutional historians are also brief; and, inasmuch as they make little or no use of the Household Ordinances and of the *Ständeakten*, are antiquated and inaccurate. The historian who has made by far the most valuable contribution to the subject, so far, is the late Martin Hass, in his admirable edition of the Household Ordinance (*Hofordnung*) of 1537 in 1910; but his contribution is largely in the form of disconnected notes and commentary to different clauses of the Ordinance. The most adequate and well-rounded intensive study, which has become the starting point for some most recent investigations, is that published by Otto Hintze in 1906.³ Professor Hintze is perhaps the most able and distinguished student of Brandenburg-Prussian institutions. His views are accepted almost *in toto* by Hass. But on the fundamental question of the origin and nature of the Supreme Cameral Tribunal (*Kammergericht*), and its relation to the Elector's general advisory Council, he holds views which are diametrically opposed to those held by the leading student of Brandenburg legal history and institutions, the venerable jurist, Dr. Adolf Stölzel. Between Hintze and Stölzel a long and stiff polemic has been carried on. No German writers

¹ Cf. ch. i, note 1, for the full titles of the works of the authors referred to below.

² His "Introduction" to the volume entitled "Behördenorganisation" in the great set of eighteenth-century administrative documents called *Acta Borussia*, in course of publication by the Prussian Royal Academy (Berlin, 23 vols., 1892-1915).

³ "Hof- und Verwaltung in der Mark Brandenburg unter Joachim II," in the *Hohenzollern-Jahrbuch*, vol. X.

have ventured into the lists with them.⁴ It may therefore be profitable that the problem should be examined anew, on the basis of the sources, by one who has no preconceived thesis to maintain, and who ventures to think that he can bring forward some unnoticed facts and suggest a hypothesis which largely reconciles their opposing views and afford a natural explanation of arguments heretofore apparently irreconcilable.

Another reason for taking up this subject anew is that no writer has examined it from the point of view of comparative institutions. It has occurred to no one, for instance, to compare Joachim II's Household Ordinance with similar English ones, notably with that recently published and provided with a most valuable commentary by Professor Tout.⁵ It would be easy, of course, to exaggerate the points of similarity between the stage of administrative development reached by Brandenburg in the sixteenth century, with that reached by England during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, or by France in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. That of Brandenburg is Lilliputian as compared with those of the great monarchies of the West. But there are nevertheless some interesting analogies which may be made which do not appear to have occurred to any one hitherto. English writers are as ignorant of the institutional history of Brandenburg, as students of the Hohenzollern Electorate are neglectful of that of England. Hass and Schapper, the two authorities on the Brandenburg Household Ordinances of 1470 and 1537, never so much as mention England or France. Gneist's great work of sixty years ago on English institutions⁶ had more influ-

⁴ Except Hass, who sides with Hintze; and Dr. M. Klinkenborg, who brings some valuable evidence from the close of the sixteenth century which throws light back on the problems connected with Joachim II's reign: Klinkenborg, "Ratstube und Kanzlei in Brandenburg im 16. Jahrhundert," in FBPG, XXVI (1913) 413-428.

⁵ T. F. Tout, *The Place of the Reign of Edward II in English History*, Manchester, 1914 (Publications of the University of Manchester, Historical Series, No. xxi); for the interesting text of this Norman-French Household Ordinance of 1318, cf. pp. 270-318.

⁶ R. Gneist, *Das Heutige Englische Verfassungs- und Verwaltungsrecht*, 3 pts., Berlin, 1857-63. A kind of digest of a part of this, entitled

ence as a powerful liberal pamphlet in favor of the establishment of more local self-government and representative institutions among the Junkers of Bismarck's time, than as a stimulus to stir historical investigators of the present generation to a consideration of medieval English institutions. No Prussian writer has sought to draw light for Brandenburg institutional development from a study of that unfolding of the central organs of government from the *curia regis*, which have been so clearly diagrammed for England by Professor G. B. Adams,⁷ and for France by Noël Valois.⁸ On the other hand, from the English point of view, the two best accounts of the rise of Brandenburg-Prussia,⁹ owing to the necessary brevity in surveying several centuries, have no space to dwell on institutional development. And Tuttle,¹⁰ though he offers many shrewd observations on Anglo-Brandenburg parallel developments, was really not thoroughly informed about the Brandenburg side of the case. He did not work in the archives at all, and only in part from the sources. The secondary works on which he largely depended, when he wrote a generation ago, have been almost altogether superseded by later monographs. But his history still deserves to be read, not so much for his facts, as for his stimulating suggestions of English analogies, and as an antidote to Droysen.

Fortunately for the purposes of this study, there is much satisfactory source material which is now available in printed form.

Englische Verfassungsgeschichte (Berlin, 1882) is familiar to students of English History in P. A. Ashworth's translation (2 vols., London, 1886); also *Das Englische Parlament in tausendjährigen Wandlungen* (Berlin, 1886), translated by R. J. Shee (London, 1886) and by A. H. Keane (London, 1887).

⁷ "The Descendants of the Curia Regis," in *The American Historical Review*, XIII (1908), 11-15. A much more elaborate chart of the descent of English institutions is appended to L. O. Pike's *The Public Records and the Constitution. A Lecture* (London, 1897).

⁸ *Le Conseil du Roi au XIVe, XVe, et XVIe Siècles* (Paris, 1888).

⁹ A. W. Ward, in *The Cambridge Modern History* (New York, 1908), vol. VIII, pp. 616-672; 883-894, and J. A. R. Marriott and C. Grant Robertson, *The Evolution of Prussia* (Oxford, 1915).

¹⁰ Herbert Tuttle, *History of Prussia to the Accession of Frederick the Great* (Boston, 1884).

(2) Sources: (a) Documentary Collections

Among the general collections of printed sources, the three of most importance for the study of the Household and administration under Joachim II are the *Ständeakten* very recently published in an excellent edition by W. Friedensburg (2 vols., Berlin, 1913-16), and the older great documentary collections of Mylius and Riedel.

A few of the Elector's confirmations of privileges which Friedensburg includes in his edition of the *Ständeakten* had already been made known by Mylius, and by more considerable extracts by G. Winter.¹¹ But these piece-meal extracts from the negotiations between the Elector and the Estates were not satisfactory. The formal confirmations, promises, and agreements with which the meetings of the Diets closed can be properly interpreted only when read in connection with the grievances to which they are an answer and the long negotiations of which they are the conclusion. The confirmations and promises were usually granted to nobles and towns united together in the Diet as a whole, and are the law of the land for everybody. But which are the clauses in the confirmations which are intended to satisfy the nobles and which the towns? One can tell only with certainty by reading the grievances, for these were usually presented separately by the nobles and by the towns. It is Friedensburg's publication of these grievances and the long preliminary negotiations which gives his edition of the *Ständeakten* its special value. From them may be gleaned all sorts of information bearing on Joachim II's Household and administration: some salary lists; names of officials whose salaries are in arrears; figures estimating the Elector's revenues, debts, and expenditures; criticisms of his management of the domains, and shrewd suggestions for their improvement and for the tapping of new sources of revenue by taxation; and many other matters. The index of names in each volume is excellent, but the only index of subjects, at the

¹¹ "Die Märkischen Stände zur Zeit ihrer höchsten Blüte, 1540-1550," in *Zeitschrift f. Preuss. Geschichte und Landeskunde*, XIX-XX (1882-83).

close of the second volume, is so brief and inadequate that it is of no great value.

Mylius's *Corpus Constitutionum Marchicarum*, published in 1736 and the following years with the co-operation and approval of Frederick William I, and later given statutory authority, professes to contain all the more important edicts of the Electors of Brandenburg prior to the publication of the work. With free access to the archives, Mylius gathered a great mass of documents which he classified according to subject-matter, his main classes being religion, law, feudal matters, army, tariffs, hunting, coinage, postal system, direct and indirect taxation, police, manufactures, artisans, towns, and villages. Within each class he arranged the documents chronologically so that, by using his collection, one may trace the main outlines of the development of most of the Brandenburg institutions. But a comparison of his printed text with the originals still in the archives shows that his edition is not free from minor errors. Much more serious is the fact that he sometimes printed as edicts actually issued, documents which in fact were only drafts of edicts. For instance, the so-called *Kammergerichtsordnung* of 1516,¹² which has been regularly cited at length by historians and celebrated as establishing for the first time a Supreme Court in Brandenburg, was only a draft. It was never issued as a formal law because of the criticisms made of it by some of the Estates. In fact the original manuscript in the archives shows that it was not in a form for issuing: some of the clauses were not in their logical place; some were still left which were in contradiction with one another; and the date and the signature of the Elector were lacking. These facts ought to have given Mylius pause; but he arbitrarily supplied the date, 1516, added a title, and published it as though it were a law in full force.¹³ In other cases he sometimes supplied

¹² Mylius, II, ii, No. 1.

¹³ It may be added that Mylius omitted from it the clauses which deal with appeals from the lower courts, the reason doubtless being that he overlooked folio 13 in the original ms. owing to the fact that it was misplaced. Cf. Holtze, *Gesch. des Kammergerichts*, I, 161-167.

a title which was not in the original manuscript and which has been altogether misleading to historians.¹⁴

Riedel's *Codex Diplomaticus Brandenburgensis*, a massive work in 36 volumes (Berlin, 1838-65), though it deals mainly with an earlier period than Mylius, is very much wider in scope. It is not confined to edicts and proclamations issued by the Electors, but contains also a great many charters and other documents relating to local, family, and monastic affairs. By using the admirable two-volume chronological index and the three-volume index of names subsequently prepared by A. W. Heffter (Berlin, 1867-69), one can often trace the offices, lands, relatives, and other interesting items connected with the various officials in the Household and administration. The second volume of Raumer's very much briefer *Codex Diplomaticus Brandenburgensis Continuatus* (Berlin, 1833) also contains some material of value for the first half of the sixteenth century.

(3) Sources: (b) *The Household Ordinance of 1537*

The German Household Ordinances have long suffered an undeserved neglect at the hands of historians. It is only within the last decade that some attention to them has been paid by German investigators and that they have been made easily available for study.¹⁵ Yet they contain a wealth of interesting information about the daily life of the German courts, the number of servants for the prince, the princess, and the princely children; the organization of the prince's kitchen, wine-cellar, linen-closet, and stable; the amount of pay in goods or in cash meted out to the servants; and the cost of living in the sixteenth century. But more than this they are invaluable for the light

¹⁴ For instance, he printed (II, ii, No. 9, col. 53 ffg.) a document which he entitled, "Churfurstens Joachimi II Ordnunge der Rethe des Cammer-Gerichts zu Berlin von Anno 1562." But the original ms. (Geh. St.A., Rep. 9, X, 1a) had no date and no title except "Ordnunge der Rethe;" cf. Stölzel, II, 698 ffg. To the title of the following document also (No. 10), which in the original was merely "Ordnunge der Cantzlei," Mylius has added similarly "des Cammergerichts zu Berlin, anno 1562."

¹⁵ In the editions by Kern, by Hass, and by Küntzel and Hass; see the bibliography above, Ch. I, note 1.

they throw on the system of administration and the origins of the administrative organs of government which become so important in the subsequent age of absolutism.

In Brandenburg the first of these Household Ordinances which have come down to us is that issued in 1470 by Albert Achilles.¹⁶ It outlined the administration to be followed in Brandenburg during his absence in the home lands of Franconia, from which he and his ancestors had come. It must therefore be regarded as issued for an exceptional occasion, rather than as a description of the normal state of affairs in Brandenburg. It is unnecessary therefore to consider it here, especially as it has been ably and adequately discussed in a recent monograph by Gerhard Schapper.

Much more important, on account of its greater length and detail and of its close connection with the later development of administrative institutions, is the Household Ordinance of Joachim II of 1537. Though it was printed more than a century ago by the antiquarian, König,¹⁷ its existence and value remained practically unnoticed by historians until attention was called to it by Otto Hintze. Its value for seminar study was at once recognized by Martin Hass, who published it in 1910 in a critical edition with notes and commentary,¹⁸ and in 1911 as an inexpensive tool for seminar students.¹⁹ It has been preserved in three manuscript copies, now in the Hausarchiv at Charlottenburg, which Hass designates as Texts A, B, and C respectively. Text A can

¹⁶ Printed by Riedel, *Codex Dipl. Brandb.*, C, 3, 115 ffg. The date of it has usually been given as 1473, until it was recently correctly established as 1470 by G. Schapper, *Die Hofordnung von 1470* (Leipzig, 1912), 1-10. Schapper also (pp. 270-273) corrects some of the inaccuracies in Riedel's edition of the text.

¹⁷ A. B. König, *Versuch einer historischen Schilderung der Hauptveränderungen der Religion, Sitten, Gewohnheiten, Künste, Wissenschaften der Residenzstadt Berlin*, (Berlin, 1792) I Theil, 246-288.

¹⁸ M. Hass, *Die Hofordnung Kurfürst Joachims II von Brandenburg*, Berlin, 1910 (Ebering's *Historische Studien*, No. 87); cited in the following pages as "Hass."

¹⁹ G. Küntzel und M. Hass, *Die Politischen Testamente der Hohenzollern*, Leipzig, 1911 (Quellensammlung zur Deutschen Geschichte, ed. E. Brandenburg and G. Seeliger) I, 1-40. It is to this edition, cited hereafter as "HO," that references will be made in the following pages.

be dated with certainty, for a note at the top of the manuscript states that it was written in 1537, and the note is in the same handwriting as the Household Ordinance itself. Texts B and C are evidently based on A, for they agree with it closely except for a few additions and slight variations. B appears to stand closer to A in date than does C, but C is in closer agreement with A in wording and contents. Neither B nor C show any dependence on one another; they are evidently both derived directly from A. Their date cannot be fixed with such precision as that of A.

The date of Text B is believed by Hass to lie between the years 1542 and 1546. It certainly could not have been written earlier than 1542, because it names as Master of the Kitchen one Hans Blankenfeld,²⁰ and we know that his predecessor, Hans Tempelhof, still occupied this office in February, 1542.²¹ It also mentions among the Elector's domain lands the property of the monastery of Lehnin, which was not secularized until December, 1542.²² It can scarcely have been written later than 1546, because in the section on the Stable it mentions the six carriage horses of the Electoral Princess,²³ Sophia of Liegnitz, the first of John George's three wives. She was married on 15 Feb. 1545 and died in giving birth to Joachim Friedrich on 6 Feb. 1546.²⁴ This would seem to point with certainty to 1545-46 as the date of Text B. The only objection to accepting this date is the fact that, in contradiction with it, B also names, as being still Cup-bearer, Christoph von Schlieben,²⁵ who was certainly already dead on 27 July 1543.²⁶ The simplest and most probable explanation of this contradiction is that B was really written some

²⁰ HO, 19: "Hans Blankenfelt, kuchemeister."

²¹ Geh. StA. Rep. 78, 42, fol. 187. Tempelhof died 21 Oct. 1544 (Rep. 78, 42, fol. 220 *verso*), but he appears to have given up his office some time before his death. Cf. Hass, 19-20, 119-120.

²² HO, 34; Hass, 133.

²³ HO, 32: "Anschlag der wagenpferde. . . . 6 pf. unser g. junge frau."

²⁴ Cf. J. Grossmann, E. Berner, G. Schuster, und K. Th. Zingler, *Genealogie des Gesammthaus Hohenzollern*, Berlin, 1905.

²⁵ HO, 23: "Christoff von Schlieben, unser schenk."

²⁶ Geh. StA. Rep. 78, no. 35, C. M. 46, fol. 246; Hass, 162, note 37.

time in 1545-46, and that the person who wrote it down copied Schlieben's name by mistake, forgetting that he was no longer living. Another possible explanation is that the first part of the text, at least through the section on the Kitchen where Schlieben's name appears, was written before his death in 1543, and that the latter part containing the reference to Sophia's six carriage horses was made later in 1545-46. On the whole, however, 1545-46 may be preferred as the probable date of the whole of Text B. Some years later, sometime between his entrance into Brandenburg service in 1551 and his drawing up of the new Chancery Organization Ordinance of 1562, Text B was annotated in the margin by the hand of Joachim II's well known councillor and later chancellor, Lampert Distelmeier. This is the text which was edited by Hass in 1910 and 1911.²⁷

The date of Text C can also be fixed within limits by internal evidence, as being between 1546 and 1552. It cannot be earlier than 1546; for it names, as Manager of the Storehouse, Antonius von Spiegel, and we know that this office was still held in March, 1546, by his predecessor, Hans von Thermo.²⁸ It cannot be later than 2 Oct. 1552, for it mentions Markgraf Friedrich, and the Markgraf died on that date. This is the text published by König.²⁹

Of all three texts of the Household Ordinance of 1537 it may be further noted that they are only drafts of a decree. They lack the formal date, the enacting introductory formula, and the signature of regularly proclaimed Electoral decrees. They have also annotations, corrections, and blanks left for the further insertion of names, such as would not be found in the final form of a decree actually issued. All this does not mean, however, that the rules of the Household Ordinance were not actually followed, or that

²⁷ Cf. *supra*, notes 18, 19. It may be added that this Household Ordinance of 1545-46, being evidently derived from Text A and being essentially the same ordinance, is usually referred to as the Household Ordinance of 1537 for convenience in comparing it with other later Household Ordinances.

²⁸ Hass, 20-21; 115.

²⁹ Cf. *supra*, note 17.

it is of any less value as evidence as to the details of administration under Joachim II. In fact, it was drawn up with the purpose of systematizing the Household administration and cutting down the excessive number of officials and persons living at the Elector's expense.³⁰ The author was Eustachius von Schlieben, an able economist and administrator, and a life-long friend of Joachim II. It was he who drew up for him later, in 1562, his last will and testament, basing it, with necessary alterations, upon the testament of Albert Achilles of nearly a century earlier.³¹ Schlieben was the man selected at the beginning of his reign for conducting the delicate negotiations with Joachim II's brother, Markgraf Hans of Cüstrin, for the partition of the Electorate after Joachim I's death. During the thirty-two years which he served Joachim II, he made some very shrewd suggestions for the improvement of the coinage and the increase of the domain revenues.³² It was to him, as the *Ständeakten* show, that the Elector turned more frequently for advice and assistance than to anyone else. It was quite natural, therefore, that he should have been selected to draw up this program of administrative reform known as the Household Ordinance of 1537; or very likely the idea of it came from Schlieben himself, for he was fertile in suggestions for reform. In the Ordinance one is struck by the extraordinarily wide powers which are accorded to the Marshal, an official whose duties will be described later. The explanation for this probably lies in an interesting fact which has escaped all the writers, including even Hass: Eustachius von Schlieben intended to, and did, fill this office himself. He therefore, made it an exceedingly important one, just as Bismarck in creating the

³⁰ Sect. 10 of the Ordinance, according to Texts A and C, declares: "We order that now and henceforth not more than 400 persons at the most in our Household shall be supported at our table daily." In Text B (HO, 19) the number is fixed at 350. But as we shall see, according to the name-list of 1548-51, the number in the middle of the sixteenth century was actually 455.

³¹ H. von Cämmerer, *Die Testamente der Kurfürsten von Brandenburg und der beiden ersten Könige von Preussen* (Leipzig, 1915) 72-75.

³² Cf. particularly his "Bedencken, wie die vorgewesene unordnung und beschwerung in besserung zu bringen," published by Hass in FBPG, XXIV (1911), 85-107.

office of Imperial Chancellor, which he knew he himself was to fill, took care to make it one of exceptional power.³³ The Household Ordinance, therefore, which he drew up is not to be regarded as a mere theoretical counsel of perfection, but as the actual working basis of the Brandenburg administration in the middle of the sixteenth century.

What was the attitude of the Estates toward the Household Ordinance? There is no evidence that it was laid before them at first for their consideration, though in their frequent visits to Berlin to attend meetings of the Diet or its committees, they had ample chance to note with their own eyes some of the principal features of Joachim II's Household. Schlieben himself, as one of the leading nobles, may have told his fellow nobles of some of the main parts of the ordinance which he had drawn up. The chief criticisms of the Estates were mainly to the effect that Joachim had too large and expensive a Household and that some of his parasites ought to be dismissed. Some of the poorer nobles, jealous of Schlieben's power and the fact that he had been made bailiff (*Amtmann*) of the rich bailiwick of Zossen, attacked him bitterly as a "foreigner" and "bad counsellor." They prayed the Elector to deprive him of his rich bailiwick, which ought to be reunited to the Elector's domains and thus swell the Elector's revenues. They complained of some of the irregularities and objectionable features in the Chancery, the Exchequer, and the Court of Appeals, to be discussed later.³⁴ But otherwise, the Household Ordinance appears to have met with the general

³³ Hass pp. 151-158, 175, in giving the list of persons who filled the office of Marshal under Joachim II, does not mention Eustachius von Schlieben. Nor does any other writer. But that he did hold this office seems to be clear from a record in the Kammergerichtsregister of 1540, p. 50, according to which he and Kettwig sat as judges (councillors), and in which he is distinctly called "the Marshal:" "Montag nach Trin. Soll der Kastner zu Tangermünde eines teils and J. Dolchow anders teils *vor dem Marshalk* Eustachius v. Schlieben und Doctor W. Ketwig zu rechter Tagzeit erscheinen in ihrer Gebrechen Handlung—zu gewarten" (quoted by Stölzel, *Die Entwicklung der gelehrten Rechtsprechung*, II, 667). Further evidence that v. Schlieben held the office of Marshal will be brought forward later in connection with the discussion of the Marshal's duties.

³⁴ *Ständeakten*, I, 189-193 (March, 1542).

approval of the Estates. For in 1549, when Joachim was again appealing to the Estates to help him in his debts, he seems to have actually laid the Household Ordinance before them for criticism, and expressed his willingness to cut down somewhat the membership of his Household. Several nobles individually expressed their satisfaction with the Ordinance and merely hoped the Elector would live up to its provisions.³⁵ A year later the nobles jointly expressed the opinion that it "was drawn up after good reflection and is satisfactory. But it ought to be lived up to; and because up to this time this has not been done, we beg that the ordinance be observed. Therefore let the Marshal and other officials be instructed in it, so that abuses may be done away with, and every official be able to give a good account of himself."³⁶ The towns also were perfectly content with the Household Ordinance.³⁷

(4) Sources: (c) *The Name List of 1548-51*

In addition to the Household Ordinance, which contains some names indicating the personnel of the Household, it was found convenient to draw up Name Lists to show what persons had the right to be served at the Elector's tables, keep horses in his stables, and receive from him grants of food, clothing and allowance money. Such lists could be easily corrected and copied from time to time, so that they might be kept up to date, as old officials died or resigned, and new ones were appointed in their places. Two such lists from Joachim II's reign have been pre-

³⁵ The Bishop of Lebus: "Die furschlege und hoffordnung weren guth genug, wan mans ad effectum bringt und hernach auch doruber halte." Haus von Arnim: "Daz der hoffordnung gehalten und nicht so leichte vorandert werde." Curdt Rohr, Jacob von Arnim, and Joachim von Bredow: "Placet hoffordnung" (*Ständeakten*, I, 385-389; 29 June 1549).

³⁶ "Hoffordnung sei mit gutem bedacht gemacht, ideoque placet. Sei aber nachzusetzen; et quia hactenus non factum, bitten der ordnung volge zu thun" (*Ständeakten*, I, 800; 9 Oct. 1550); cf. also I, 788 ffg.

³⁷ The towns: "Hoffhaltung lassen bleiben." To which the gratified Elector replied: "Placet quod hoffordnung gefellet." He also promised to have it published and to have the Marshal and the Chancellor expound it. *Ibid.*, I, 802-803.

served.³⁸ They agree very closely with one another, the only considerable difference being that the earlier one³⁹ indicates 455 persons comprising the Household, and the later one⁴⁰ indicates only 435; this, however, is simply because the later one omitted to mention the officials in the Storehouse (*Mühlenhof*). This earlier Name List gives such a good general conception of the whole Household personnel, and reference will be made to it so often that I have deemed it advisable to print it below, using the text printed by Hass.

The date of the Name List is later by some years than that of the Household Ordinances, as is evident from a comparison of the names given in each. In the case of the mounted nobles, for instance, only seventeen of those mentioned in the Household Ordinance are still found in the Name List.⁴¹ It was clearly drawn up some time between 1548 and 1551. It could not have been earlier than 12 Feb. 1548, because it refers (§ 5) to the wife of John George, the young Electoral Prince; this must be his second wife, to whom he was married on that date; it cannot refer to his first wife, for at the time of her death on 6 Feb. 1546, Dr. Junge had not entered Brandenburg service nor even taken his law degree at Bologna; yet the Name List (§ 20) mentions him as already among the Councillors (*Hofräte*). It could not have been later than 12 Feb. 1551, for it knows nothing of Lampert Distelmeier who on that day became one of the Councillors.⁴² It was probably made shortly after June, 1549, for it adopts the

³⁸ Hausarchiv, Rep. XXX. They are found in a manuscript directly following the Household Ordinances, but are in a different handwriting; Hass, 22-24.

³⁹ Printed by Hass, 89-95.

⁴⁰ Printed, with many inaccuracies by König, *op. cit.*, 289 ffg. That this is the later one is indicated by the fact that a certain Wolff who was in the first name-list was a mere gun-smith (Kleinschmidt), has been promoted, according to this second Name List, to be Master of the Guns (Buchsenmeister), while his former place of gun-smith has been filled by some one else.

⁴¹ Cf. below, Name List, § 8, where I have indicated by an asterisk (*) those nobles who according to the Ordinance (HO, 31) had been allowed to keep one or more horses in the Elector's stable.

⁴² Hass, 23.

two-fold classification of the Household officials which was approved in principle at that time.⁴³

A further comparison of the Name List of 1548-51 with the Household Ordinance of 1537 reveals an interesting and important change taking place in the system of making provision for the support of the members of the Household. According to the Ordinance one would infer that they all were provided with room and board at the castle where the Elector himself lived. The councillors are to be up and at work together at 6 A. M. in summer and at 7 A. M. in winter.⁴⁴ None of the chamberlains are to spend the night outside the castle except with the Elector's special permission.⁴⁵ The whole circle of court attendants are to gather up-stairs in the castle every Sunday and Friday at half-past seven and on other days at eight to attend the Elector to morning worship.⁴⁶ The Ordinance fixes for each group of officials the number of the tables to be set, the amounts of wax candles and evening drinks to be meted out, and the number of horses to be provided with fodder, etc., etc. It orders that "not more than three hundred and fifty persons at the most shall be maintained with meals daily," from the castle kitchen.⁴⁷ This was the ancient medieval way of taking care of the members of the Household. The Elector did not have to pay out much hard cash for their support, nor did they themselves. He simply used the provisions which came in from his domains for their support.

⁴³ *Ständeakten*, I, 385-389 (29 June 1549). On this date also the Elector refers to an "estimate of how many horses, how many persons, and how much allowance money are to be arranged for" ("Ist noch anschlag, wiewiel pferde, personen und kostgeld zu halten," *Ibid.*, 386).

⁴⁴ HO, 1.

⁴⁵ HO, 4. Albert Achilles in 1473 made the rule that *none* of his Household should ride from the castle and stay away over night without his express permission, under pain of forfeiting their right to fodder and support for their horses and servants. (Riedel, C, 2, 94).

⁴⁶ HO, 5.

⁴⁷ HO, 18-19: "Ordnung der kuchen. Wir wollen auch, das hinfuro, und numer in unserer hoffhaltunge zum teglichen speysen und abspeysen nicht mehr dann zum allermeisten 350 person sollen gehalten werden." 400 was the limit set in Text A of 1537. The reduction to 350 is due either to an effort to introduce economy; or possibly it indicates the beginning of the change to be described below.

But this old system of making provision *in natura* for all the officials, instead of paying some of them allowance money (*Kostgeld*) and letting them find their own board and lodging, had its inconveniences and disadvantages. As the size of the Household increased, it became more difficult to find room for all the officials. At some time near the beginning of the sixteenth century the Chancery staff needed so much more space than it could be given in the castle that it was moved over to the Chancellor's private house.⁴⁸ Probably Joachim II's considerable enlargement of the castle in 1538 was due in part to a real overcrowding, as well as to his love of building and display. Then in the case of those officials who were married, it was manifestly impossible to have their wives and children getting in the way at the castle; and it was not altogether satisfactory either for the officials to sleep in the castle away from their wives and children, or to sleep at home and come to the castle for their meals. Furthermore, if several hundred persons were given food and drink from the castle supplies there was an increased danger that some of it would be slipped out of the castle to relatives and friends. That this danger was a real one is clear from the numerous clauses in the Household Ordinance which are designed to stop such leakages. The danger was particularly great in the case of the food and drink sent out to persons, who "ate outside" (*abspeisen*) instead of sharing in the regular meals in the castle.

These difficulties and inconveniences would be partially obviated if those officials whose duties did not exact their continuous presence in the castle were allowed to live outside, perhaps with a wife and children in a house of their own; they could then easily provide their own food and lodging and come to the castle only at stated hours for work. To compensate them, however, so that they should be at no disadvantage as compared with

⁴⁸ Today No. 32 in the Breitestrasse, hard by the castle. It was known first as the Stublinger Haus, after Joachim I's Chancellor Stublinger, and afterwards as the Vossenholl Haus, after a merchant who acquired it later. The Chancery staff was moved back again, however, before Joachim II's time. Under John George some of the Chancery documents were again moved to the private house of one of the secretaries, in the Heilige Geiststrasse, cf. Hass, 229-230; 234.

the rest of the Household who were still lodged and fed without expense to themselves in the castle, they should be given allowance money (*Kostgeld*).

The fertile Eustachius von Schlieben urged this change about 1544. He proposed to provide at the castle for the ladies, nobles, councillors, pages, mounted serving men, and the staffs of the chancery, kitchen, cellar, and silver-chamber; all the rest should be given ten gulden apiece as allowance money. "Thereby the excessive drinking and the great confusion will be done away with, and the smaller number (who remained in the castle) will be provided for so much better and in a so much more economical and orderly fashion."⁴⁹

Schlieben's suggestion found favor with the Elector, who made this very proposal to the Estates in 1549, when seeking to win their financial assistance by offering to introduce more economy into his Household. The Estates also appear to have approved the proposal, one of them remarking, however, as Schlieben had done, that care must be taken that those who receive

⁴⁹ "Also ist es auch von nöten, nicht allein die personen, sondern was sonst unratsham ist, am hoffe und in ampten einzuzihen und abzuschaffen; und were gut, das am hoffe allein das frauenzimmer, reth und adel, auch edle knaben, canzelleien, zudem koche, keller und sylberknecht, auch reysige knecht, die teglich uff den furstentisch und herschafft auffwarten müssen, gespeiseth und dem andern hoffgesinde, wie vor auff ein persohn x fl. kostgelt gegeben würde. Dodurch wurd das uberschwingliche schwelgen und die grosse unordnungen abgethan, und wurden auch die wenigen so vil bas und desto eingezogener und ordentlicher underhalten werden.

Wie aber der kleine hauff ordentlich solle gehalten werden und auch auffgesehen, das sich diejenigen, so kostgeld nehmen, vor kuchen und keller nicht eindringen, kuchen und keller zu rechter zeit geoffneth und geschlossen, ist in der hoffordnung notdurftiglichen und genugsam versehen." (Eustachius v. Schlieben, "Bedencken, wie die vorgewesene unordnung und beschwerung in besserung zu bringen," ca. 1544, in FBPG, XXIV (1911) 101. For the clauses in the Household Ordinance designed to prevent the leakage of food and drink from the Elector's kitchen and cellar to which Schlieben here refers, cf. HO, 8-9, 13-14, 23-24, 27. This form of petty grafting was evidently a common evil. Schlieben's proposal was probably not an absolute innovation. Cases of furnishing allowance money occur here and there in Germany during the later Middle Ages. Cf. G. L. v. Maurer, *Gesch. d. Fronhöfe*, II, 349 ffg. But a general adoption of the practice for a considerable part of the Household was an innovation in Brandenburg in the middle of the sixteenth century.

allowances do not at the same time come into the castle and get their meals too.⁵⁰

In the Name List, Schlieben's proposal is finally put into practical operation. In §§ 1-19 are listed the 308 "persons who must be given daily meals." Then follow, §§ 20-28, the 147 "persons to whom our gracious master gives allowance money." But it will be noticed that the Name List does not adopt Schlieben's proposal precisely as he made it; the Councillors and Chancery staff, for whom Schlieben would have made provision at the castle, are placed, according to the Name List (§§ 20-21), in the second category, with those who are to receive allowance money.

In the evolution of the Household and administration, this two-fold division of the Elector's officials, which the Name List makes, is significant as indicating the line of cleavage which was taking place between the Household on its more strictly domestic side, and the Household as the source of public administration. The officials of the first category, who remain in the castle, are generally the ones who tend to be confined to the non-political and therefore less important duties connected with the Elector's domestic establishment and its ceremonial. From the second group of officials, particularly the councillors, the chancery, and the exchequer, who were now a little more separated from the Household through their receipt of allowance money, were to develop the great organs of central bureaucratic administration, which finally overshadowed the Household.

⁵⁰ The Elector proposed: "Rethe, canzlei, edeln gespeiset, den andern kostgeld gegeben werden" Curdt Rohr replied: "Placet hoffordnung. Abspeiser abzuschaffen. Item kostgelder zu geben, tamen curandum ne illi intrent aulam." The leading noble of the Altmark also said, "Placet kostgeld." (*Ständeakten*, I, 385-388; 29 June 1549).

NAME LIST OF THE HOUSEHOLD OFFICIALS, 1548-51

*Ordnung der personen, so in teglicher
hofhaushaltung befunden werden.*

Erstlich der personen, die man teglich speysen muss.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>[1] <i>Personen, so auff unsers gnedigisten herrn des churfursten gemach wartenndt</i>
i Engel
i Stellanus
i Bastian
Summa iij person</p> | <p>i der Herr von Starenbergk
i [Matthias von] Saldern*
i Anthonius Spiegel*
i George Zabeltitz*
i Joachim Flans hofmaister*
i Wolf vom Closter*
i Steffan Ror
i Hans Hennig von Arnym
i Kanitz
i Weichart Bardelebe*
i George Flans*
i Curth Flans*
i Bernewitz*
i Cristof Sparr*
i Cristof Fronhof[er]*
i Caspar Welle*
i Otto von Thumen*
i Levin Winterfeldt
i Peter Rathenow*
i Caspar Flans*
i Hennigk Possenow
i Karstedt
i teichmeister*
i Wilhelm Krummensehe
i Guntzel von Bertenslebe
i [Clas] Leisten*
i Otte Krummensehe
i Dittrich Spiegel
i Andres Bardelebe
i Hans Holtzendorf
i Rider
xij [12] einrosser
i Cristof Bardelebe
i Hans Schneidt
Summa xlvj [46] person</p> |
| <p>[2] <i>Auff unser gnedigisten frauen gemach</i>
i Kubke
i Joachim
Summa ij person</p> | |
| <p>[3] <i>Das frauenczylinder</i>
xiiij [13] personen hofmaisterin, junckfrauen und
i magdt
i junckfernknecht
Summa xv [15] person</p> | |
| <p>[4] <i>Auff unsers gnedigen jungen herrn gemach</i>
i stubenheitzer
Summa i person</p> | |
| <p>[5] <i>Auff unser gnedigen jungen frauen gemach</i>
ij megde
i stubenheitzer
Summa iij person</p> | |
| <p>[6] <i>Auff marggraff Fridtrichs gemach</i>
i magister
i magisters junge
i stubenheitzer
Summa iij person</p> | |
| <p>[7] <i>Das kindergemach</i>
i hofmaisterin
i Cordula
i kochinne
i amme
ij megde
i stubenheitzer
Summa vij [7] person</p> | |
| | <p>[9] <i>Eddelknaben</i>
viij unser gnedigisten herrn
iij lackeyen
iij unser g[nedig]st[en]
frauen
vi marggraf Johans Georgen
iij unser g[nedigen] jungen
frauen
x unsers g[nedigen] herrn
marggraff Fridtrichs</p> |
| <p>[8] <i>Personen der eddelleut</i>
i marschalck</p> | |

- i ins Kindes gemacht
Summa xxxiiij [34] person
- [10] *Die kuchen*
i kuchmaister
i kuchenschreiber
i Hans Francke
i Hans Francken knecht
i Hans Francken junge
i Hainrich [Braunschweiger] koch
i Hainrich kochs junge
i kleine Hans koch
i sein junge
i Hans Lemchen
i Jorge ritterkoch
i Joachim hausskoch
i Jorge ritterkochs knecht
i Hans Lemchens junge
i Andres koch
i sein junge
i bratmaister
i Bernth koch
i Peter aufspuler
i Dictus fischer
i Hans fischer
i thurknecht
ij schlechter
Summa xxiiij [24] person
- [11] *Keller*
i Alexander hausskeller
i Greger
i Dittrich
i Hanns
i Mollerchen
i butcher
Summa vi [6] person
- [12] *Silbercammer*
i Bernth
i Wilhelm
i Wolff
i Merten
i Merten balbirer
i junge herrn balbirer
Summa vj [6] person
- [13] *Marstall*
i stalmaister
i sein junge
i sattelknecht
ij knechte bei den hengsten des alten herrnpferdt
- ij knechte auf des jungen herrnpferdt
i underknecht
ij schmiede
ij jungen bei den hengsten
ij jungen bei den ritlingen
ij jungen bei des jungen herrnpferdt
ij jungen bei der einrosserpferdt
Summa xviiij [18] person
- [14] *Trummetter*
xiiij [13] person
Summa xiiij [13] person
- [15] *Der junckern knecht und jungen*
[Here follow the names of the nobles already given in § 8 (with the exception of the "12 Einrosser," of Bertensleben, and of Hans Schneidt, whose groom appears below in § 16), and the number of servants each was allowed to keep at court: the Marshal had 3 servants (*Knechte*) and 2 grooms (*Junge*); Starenberg, Saldern, Spiegel, and Zabeltitz each had 2 servants and 2 grooms; Joachim Flans and the others in § 8 who follow him down to Fronhöfer have each one servant and one groom; and the rest only one servant.]
Summa Lix [59] person
- [16] *Gemain hoffgesinde*
i rademacher mit
i gesellen
ij Hans kotzenknecht
i Kerstian thurhuter in der kirchen
i bretttrager
ij Veith wagenknecht
ij Andres m[einer] g[nedig]sten f[rauen] wagenknecht
i vorreitter vor m[einer] g[nedig]sten f[rauen] wagen
ij prebender
i Hans Schneid[s] junge
i calcant

- ij knecht und
i jungen Barthelt schneider
i knecht und
i junge Asmus schneider
i wagenknecht dem jungen
herrn
ij wagenknecht zum hof-
geschir
i pirschkarrenknecht
Summa xxiiij [24] person
- [17] *In der thorstuben*
ij der hausvoigt mit eim
knecht
i thorhuether
iiij wechter
Summa vij [7] person
- [18] *Jeger*
ij der jegermaister mit eim
jungen
iiij beyde reittende jeger
mit ij jungen
ij der pirschjeger
i haussknecht
iiij tucherknecht
- iiij jeger dem jungen herrn
i hassenheger
i knecht bei den engelisch-
en hunden
Summa xviiij [18] person
- [19] *Mollenhoff*
i Urban [Kemnitz] ampt-
schreiber
i zollner
i Joachim ackerfoigt
i haussknecht
iiij becker
ij meltzerin
ij wagenknecht
ii breuer
ij schweinewarther
i ochssenwarther
i futherschneider
i Johan Bunne
i schweinhirth
Summa xix [19] person
Summa summarum der per-
sonen, die man speysen wirdet,
seint iiijCviiij [308] personen..
- Diesen nachfolgenden personen gibt gnedigister herr
costgelt.*
- [20] *Hoffrethe*
ij Doctor [Timotheus]
Junge
ij Licentiat [Johann]
Heyler
i Doctor [Fabian] Funcke
i Doctor [Joachim]
Lintholtz
i Her Andres Stolp
i Thomas Matthis
ij Doctor Krabath
Summa x [10] person
- ij Jacob Francke
i Jacob Detert
i Claus Thamme
i Michel Damerow
i Cantzleyknecht
ij Hans Bretschneider
Summa xvij [17] person
- [21] *Cantzley*
ij cantzler
i Jacob Speckwagen
i Joachim Schaum
i Seydel
i Alexius [Schultes]
i Michel Protz
i Joachim Francke
i Nickel Hartman
i Hans Hofman
- [22] *Renthey*
i Rucker [Rost]
i sein junge
i Jacob [Pietrich]
i Hans
Summa iiij person
- [23] *Harnischknecht*
i Levin Brasche
i Jorge Holstein
i Hans von Espach
Summa iiij person
- [24] *Baumaister*
i Hans Scheutzlich
Summa i person

- [25] *Buchsenmaister*
 ij zeugmaister mit eim jungen
 i Nickel giesser
 i Brosse tischer
 i Wolff kleinschmidt
 i spiessmacher
 Summa vj [6] person
- [26] *Reittende botten*
 i Matthis
 i Veith
 i Jorge
 i Hans
 i Merten
 i Lorenz
 Summa vj [6] person
- [27] *Einspenniger*
 iiij personn
- [28] *Gemain hoffgesindt*
 ij Thomas [Berndt] holtzforster
 i harppfenschleger
 ij weinmaister und i knecht zum thirgarten
 i hauptman im thiergarten
 i heubinder
 ij Merten entensteller
 ij Hans entensteller
 i Hans fogelsteller
 i Urban fogelsteller
 i Andres fogelsteller
 i sangmaister
 iiij custer
 iiij alleluiajungen
 i Barthelt schneider
 i Asmus schneider
 i Leonhardt organist
 ij Hans Keller organisten
 i Matthis Zuls organisten
 ij ceptertrager
 i pfaf Wolfgang
 ij polnisch pfaff
- i Andres Schilt maler
 i Fridtrich steinmetz
 i platner
 i boltzendreger
 i Thomas Blaufelder
 i Her Vincentz
 i haussman
 i Andres schutze
 i Hans Hefel
 i bader
 i m[einer] g[nedig]sten
 f[rauen]gertner
 iij landtreitter
 i der alt muntzmaister
 i Simon [Rickner]
 i Lucas
 i butchers kinder
 i m[einer] g[nedig]sten
 f[rauen] badtstuberin
 i pantzermacher
 i custer auffm schloss
 viij [8] auf di schulen
 iij hulffer auffm mullenhof
 i musterer
 i Caspar seygermacher
 iij m[einer] g[nedig]sten
 f[rauen] wascherin
 iij hofwescherin
 iij im krautgarten
 ij Erhart betmacher
 i Hainrich der arme man
 i Peter Meyer der arme man
 i Heine wasserzieher
 iij der ammen kinder
 x lauffende potten
- Summa Lxxxxvj [96] person
 Summa summarum der personen,
 so man kostgelt gibt, seint iCxlviij
 [147] personen
 Summa summarum aller personen
 am hoff iijCLv [455] personen







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